second edition

The Black Experience in the Americas

Encyclopedia of African~American Culture and History

published in association with
THE SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE

Colin A. Palmer
Editor in Chief

Volume 1 A-B

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Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History, Second Edition

Colin A. Palmer, Editor in Chief

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Preface to the First Edition

The history of African Americans, beginning in 1619 with the arrival of the first slaves from Africa, is to a great extent the history of the United States. Yet, until the second half of the twentieth century too few historians made African-American culture and history their area of expertise. Because of this long neglect of a vital part of the nation's history, important knowledge about almost 15 percent of America's current population has gone unexamined or remained accessible only to a small group of scholars.

In 1989 the Center for American Culture Studies at Columbia University approached Macmillan Publishing Company with the proposal to remedy this lack of accurate, easily available information by preparing an encyclopedia that would present the lives and significance of African Americans in the broadest way possible. The result is this 1.8-million-word set covering all aspects of the African-American experience.

The Editorial Board began its work by establishing several criteria for inclusion of biographical entries in the Encyclopedia and the amount of space given to each. Perhaps the most significant was the decision that only African Americans should warrant biographies. Therefore, one will not find entries on such figures as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Carl Van Vechten, Joel Spingarn, Harriet Beecher Stowe, or even Abraham Lincoln, even though each of these played an imporant role in the lives of black Americans. It was the Board's opinion that it was far more important to reserve space for information about a wide range of African Americans and to preserve a record of achievement not covered elsewhere.

Also not to be found here are entries on Africans, for example, Nelson Mandela and Wole Soyinka, even though they have exerted a great influence in North America. We did include several articles on Africa, specifically an entry on the regions from which most slaves were taken and a general anthropological overview of the continent ["Africa: An Introduction" in the front matter of this second edition]. Also included are articles on influential West Indians and overview entries on Canada and Mexico. Among the many editorial issues requiring attention was that which led to the decision to use the terms "African American" and "black" interchangeably; "Negro" and "colored" are used only when the historical context demands their use.

About two-thirds of the 2,200 entries are biographies that range from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the twentieth century, from jazz greats such as Louis Armstrong to William Grant Still, composer of the opera *Troubled Island*; from the Nobel Prize–winning author Toni Morrison to Jupiter Hammon, an eighteenth-century

slave and poet; from Michael Jordan to the baseball player Monte Irvin; from W. E. B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King Jr. to Congressman Ron Dellums; and from George Washington Carver to Norbert Rillieux, inventor of the vacuum-chamber evaporation process used to produce sugar.

The remaining entries deal not with people but with events, historical eras, legal cases, areas of cultural achievement (music, architecture, the visual arts), professions, sports, and places. The Encyclopedia also includes entries for all fifty states as well as separate articles for cities with a special significance for black Americans, past or present.

One of the features that will make this Encyclopedia stand out from other reference works is the inclusion of a number of large essays by well-known scholars that examine the importance and legacy of such events as the Civil War and the various civil rights movements or discuss the role of religion in the lives of African Americans. Beyond information, these entries provide an intellectual interpretation and synthesis that will help readers to see historical events and creative accomplishments in a larger perspective. Examples are the entry on "Literature" by Arnold Rampersad and John S. Wright's article on "Intellectual Life."

We have taken the word "culture" to mean all expressions by which people define themselves and not just Art with a capital *a.* Thus the reader will find entries on "Black English Vernacular," on "Comic Strips," and on "Hair and Beauty Culture." Indeed, the reader is encouraged to review the entire list of article titles that begins on page xi [now on page xxxvii] to form an idea of the vast scope of this Encyclopedia.

Another important feature and exciting part of the Encyclopedia is the large number of illustrations—more than one thousand—that enrich these volumes. Much time and effort was spent in obtaining historical photographs from state historical societies, pictures of representative art works, and images from private photograph collections. The Photographs and Prints Division of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture was the single largest source for historical images. The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University provided many others. From the collections of the Library of Congress and the National Archives we obtained illustrations for the Civil War and civil rights eras, while commercial repositories provided up-to-date photos of athletes, politicians, and entertainers. These illustrations have never before been brought together in one publication.

The extensive Appendix in Volume 5 [now in Volume 6] provides statistical information for many subjects. Among others are tables of African-American population by state and over time, lists of awards, economic data, degrees earned in education, and sports championships. This information provides rich supplemental background for many entries in the body of the Encyclopedia.

The entries have been arranged alphabetically. In addition, a system of cross-references makes it easy to find one's way through the Encyclopedia. For example, in the entry titled "Elaine, Arkansas, Race Riot of 1919," references to the "Red Summer," "World War I," and the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" are set in small capital letters, indicating that there are separate entries for these terms. By reading these additional articles, one becomes aware of the political climate during which the riot took place.

The *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* does not claim to be a complete record of the history of African Americans. It will take many more years of intensive scholarship to unearth all the riches in forgotten or neglected archives. We will consider ourselves successful in our work if the material presented here inspires future students of history to complete the task.

A work of this magnitude calls for appropriate words of thanks to those who supported its development over several years. We offer collective thanks to the many who made this work possible. At the same time, we would like to single out one person and dedicate this work to the historian John Hope Franklin, who turned eighty as we neared completion of the Encyclopedia. His has been a remarkable life, as he has been and remains a remarkable human being. It is impossible to count the number of people who have been touched and inspired by him, and we consider ourselves fortunate to be among them. This work is dedicated to John Hope Franklin because his scholarship provided so much of what we know about African-American history and because his teaching—at North Carolina Central University, Howard University, Brooklyn College, the University of Chicago, Duke University, or as an expert witness before the U.S. Supreme Court—made us understand the importance of doing what we do with our lives.

JACK SALZMAN (1996)
DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
CORNEL WEST (1996)

Preface to the Second Edition

This second edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* (EAACH-2) is a revision of the 1996 Encyclopedia and its 2001 supplement. The nearly 1,300 alphabetically-arranged articles in this edition, whether new, revised, updated, or reprinted from the earlier publications, are signed by experts in the field and are accompanied by a selected bibliography. In addition to essays, EAACH-2 includes an appendix of statistical data and primary source documents, a thematic outline of contents, and a comprehensive index. Cross-references are provided at the ends of articles to inform readers of related topics. Blind entries direct readers from alternate names of topics to the name used in this set. The text is embellished with nearly 450 photographs and illustrations as well as occasional sidebars that highlight notable tangents.

The second edition's editorial board evaluated the 2,500 articles from the first edition and supplement and decided which to keep, which to update, and which not to include in the new edition. Some first edition essays and many biographies were excluded from EAACH-2 to make room for more thematic essays and to enable coverage of the African-American experience beyond the United States and throughout the western hemisphere. The encyclopedia still offers a strong list of commonly-studied U.S. personages—including Muhammad Ali, Toni Morrison, and Colin Powell—and is complemented by pieces on important Caribbean and Latin American figures such as Machado de Assis, Pelé, Portia Simpson-Miller, and Eric Williams.

ARTICLES REPRINTED FROM THE FIRST EDITION AND SUPPLEMENT. Approximately one-third of the 1.6 million words in the new edition were reprinted with no changes or with minor changes only. Articles on individuals such as Richard Allen, W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett and topics such as the Black Arts Movement, Emancipation in the United States, and the Harlem Renaissance appear essentially unchanged. The editorial staff attempted to contact each author of the 800 carry-over articles, whether they were selected to be updated or reprinted "as is." Authors were invited to update or revise their material as they saw fit, including refreshing their bibliographies with new citations. As a result of these efforts, approximately 400 reprinted articles include such updates. Articles reprinted from the first edition or the supplement with few or no changes have *1996* or *2001* following the original author's byline. If the bibliography was updated for this edition, *Updated bibliography* appears below the byline.

ARTICLES UPDATED FOR THE SECOND EDITION. Approximately one-third of EAACH-2's word count is revised or otherwise updated. Articles on such topics as art, education, literature, music, politics, and religion were expanded to provide coverage of the western hemisphere and update U.S. coverage. Articles such as Reparations, Affirmative Action, and Muslims in the Americas now reflect current affairs and more recent scholarship. Articles revised by the original author are noted with *Updated by author 2005* in the byline. When the original authors could not be located or were unable to update their material, the publishers updated as necessary and *Updated by publisher 2005* appears in the byline. If a different writer provided an update to an article from the first edition, the article will have two bylines, the original author's name followed by "(1996)" and the second edition author's name followed by "(2005)."

NEW ARTICLES IN THE SECOND EDITION. The editorial board identified and selected almost 400 new topics for this edition. These new articles represent one-third of the 1.6 million words in EAACH-2, which now includes longer thematic articles, such as African Diaspora, Anti-colonial Movements, Economic Condition, and Military Experience. New articles for the second edition have *2005* as part of their bylines. This information is included in the List of Articles and the Directory of Contributors, both included in the front matter of this first volume. Wherever possible, the publishers have provided current affiliation information for authors of first edition articles reprinted in this edition.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Colin Palmer and the editorial board for their tireless dedication to recruiting talented and knowledgeable scholars to write and update articles. Not including the hundreds of contributors who worked only on the first edition and its supplement, almost 500 authors worked to implement the editorial board's revision of an already stellar reference source, and we thank them for their scholarship and cooperation.

As it did for the first edition, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture again provided assistance and enriched the product by providing access to its extensive collection of texts and images. Many thanks are due to Howard Dodson, director of the Schomburg Center, Mary Yearwood, curator of the Photographs and Prints division, and to the staff who generously assisted in many ways.

Foreword

This second edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* (EAACH) is being published in association with the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library. A product of the most recent scholarship on the African American and African Diasporan Experience, EAACH is a comprehensive compendium of knowledge on the historical and cultural development of people of African descent in the Americas at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It differs from the first edition in that it includes a broad array of subjects on the black experience in Latin America and the Caribbean as well as the United States and Canada. Broader treatment of institutions, organizations, and events have been added to counterbalance the heavily biographical focus of the first edition.

A century ago an encyclopedia such as this was unthinkable, much less imaginable. The reigning unwisdom in the United States at the time was that people of African descent had no history or culture. A foundation on which the myths of black racial inferiority and white supremacy were based, this notion that black people were history- and culture-less beings provided the ideological justification for the European colonization of Africa and the establishment and enforcement of systems of racial segregation in the United States during the nineteenth century. Systems of colonization and segregation based on race survived in Africa and the southern United States, respectively, well into the twentieth century. This predominant view transcended geographical, class, regional and even racial boundaries. Newspapers, journals, and magazines promoted it, churches and religious bodies subscribed to it, legal systems were invented to enforce it, and colleges and universities taught it and produced the "scholarship" to affirm its truth. It was not a regional, southern belief. It was national (and indeed international). European colonial powers who were flexing their triumphal colonizing muscles like their Euro-American counterparts in the United States were convinced of the truth of their mythology. Their dominance of African people (and people of color in general) proved, for them at least, that their white supremacist mythology was true.

Fledgling efforts to rescue and reconstruct the history and cultural heritage of people of African descent had been made throughout the nineteenth century. Black newspapers founded to defend "the race" from these racist assaults, challenged the reigning unwisdom throughout the century. Black churches and black ministers challenged the Christian myth that attributed the presumed inferiority of black folk to the Biblical curse on Ham. Nineteenth century black historians including William Wells Brown and

George Washington Williams, wrote histories of black folk that disproved the myth of black racial inferiority; all to little or no avail. The overwhelming preponderance of the testimony if not evidenced through the end of the nineteenth century came down on the side of the reigning unwisdom. And so it reigned.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, vindicationist collectors and scholars had started gathering evidence and creating new works of scholarship whose purpose was to destroy the myth of black racial inferiority and document the place of people of African descent in the making of human history, civilization and culture.

A number of bibliophiles and collectors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries assumed leadership roles in amassing collections of documents, images, artworks, books, and memorabilia to support the new research and scholarship. Daniel Alexander Payne Murray started his career at the Library of Congress in 1871 and over a period of fifty-two years devoted most of his time to collecting Afro-Americana. His planned, "*Murray's Historical and Biographical Encyclopedia of the Colored Race throughout the World,*" a six-volume compendium never came to fruition, but the Africana collections he assembled at the Library of Congress were among the strongest in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Other distinguished collectors of this period included Jesse Moorland whose collection became one of the foundations on which Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Collection was built, and Henry Proctor Slaughter whose collection was eventually purchased by Atlanta University, Wendell Dabney, William Carl Bolivar, and Robert Mara Adger (Sinnette, 76–87).

Foremost among these vindicationist collectors, however, was Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent who began his collecting adventures toward the end of the nineteenth century and continued until his death in 1938. By 1926 he had amassed a collection of over 10,000 items—all containing evidence of the place and role of people of African descent worldwide in the making of human history, culture, and civilization. The foundation on which today's Schomburg Center is based, the 10,000-item collection has grown to more than 10 million sources of evidence on the historical and cultural legacies of African peoples around the globe. It is arguably the most comprehensive research library in the world devoted exclusively to documenting the global black experience. It was the emergence of collections such as these that inspired and supported the work of researchers and scholars who sought to rescue and reconstruct the true history of black people.

In the meantime, African American scholars took the lead in creating the new twentieth century scholarship on the African American and African experience. W.E.B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson, both Ph.D. graduates of Harvard University's History Department were among the foremost creators and exponents of this new scholarship during the first half of the twentieth century. Du Bois, working from his base at Atlanta University, produced both historical and sociological studies of Africans and African Americans. His *Souls of Black Folk* remains a classic work in African American Studies. Woodson, frequently called the father of black history (in the United States), founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the *Journal of Negro History*, the *Bulletin of Negro History,* and Associated Publishers. Beginning in 1916, and continuing until his death in 1950, Woodson used these tools to organize and conduct research on the black experience, publish research findings, disseminate the new knowledge to public audiences and promote the study of the black experience.

It should not be surprising that these same two twentieth century scholars of the African American experience, W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson, would follow Daniel Murray's lead and attempt to publish encyclopedias of the black experience. Each was possessed of encyclopedic knowledge of the subject and each was committed to making the available knowledge accessible to the public. Each was committed to, on the basis of authoritative information and scholarship, setting the record straight and challenging the "reigning wisdom" with unimpeachable facts and truths. Du Bois first proposed to publish an encyclopedia in 1909. Woodson proposed such a work in 1921. Du Bois's efforts eventually produced a preparatory volume. An enlarged 216-page volume appeared under the auspices of the Phelps Stokes Fund in 1945. Principally a list of subjects to be included in such a work with the sources to support each entry, Du Bois's preparatory volume demonstrated the scope of such a project and the potential such a compendium had for enhancing public knowledge and appreciation of the African American historical and cultural experience. Funding for such an effort was not forthcoming, however.

The Woodson proposal never materialized in any form during his lifetime. Like Du Bois, Woodson was unable to raise the funding from traditional foundations and other philanthropic sources to give material form to his ideas. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which Woodson had founded in 1915 published a multi-volume *International Library of Negro Life and History* in 1967, which had largely been inspired by Woodson's encyclopedia idea. Organized thematically, the volumes

treated specific subjects in African American history and culture but did not conform to the alphabetical ordering by entry title that has become the norm for encyclopedias.

Meanwhile, Du Bois's later efforts to revise his *Encyclopedia Africana* idea under the sponsorship of President Kwame Nkrumah and the independent republic of Ghana was not completed prior to his death in 1963. While scholars in Ghana continue to work on it, it is more an aspiration rather than a reality. Henry Louis Gates and Anthony Appiah's one-volume *Encyclopedia Africana*, which was published in 1999, three years after the publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History*, was inspired by the Du Bois project.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an encyclopedia such as this was, indeed, unimaginable and unthinkable. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the state of knowledge and scholarship on the African American and African Diasporan experience is such that it insists that the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* be published. Over the last century and especially the last four decades, interest in things African American has increased exponentially. So has the quantity and quality of books, articles, essays, artworks, and audiovisual materials on the black experience. The emergence of African American Studies programs and other formal degree-granting programs that encouraged research and scholarship on the black experiences contributed significantly to the proliferation of these new works. Publishing houses and scholarly journals in traditional disciplines have also found African American subject matter economically and intellectually profitable enterprises. As a result, the quantity and quality of knowledge on the black experience requires an encyclopedia format to simply introduce the public to the vast array of information currently available on this, diverse and increasingly complex field of human endeavor and intellectual interest. The pace at which new knowledge is being produced in this field is part of the reason why the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* demands a second edition a mere ten years since it was first published. Changes in the way the field of African American Studies has evolved also demand such updating.

As new intellectual paradigms have raised questions about the experience, so has the nature of the scholarship changed. Biographical compendiums of great men and women are being complemented or replaced by broader social history inquiries. The lives and struggles of ordinary people are being given equal weight with those of leaders and heroes. Studies exploring the economic, intellectual and cultural history of black people are complementing the traditional political histories. The relationships between the African American experience in the United States and the African, Caribbean and Latin American experiences of people of African descent are also being explored in new and exciting ways. The roles of blacks in major events in mainstream American history are being complemented by approaches to African American history that are defined by the major events and movements in African American and African Diasporan history. Scholars writing entries for this edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* reflect these new trends in African American history writing.

Approaches to the teaching of African American culture have also been changing. Traditional approaches focused largely on arts and entertainment and emphasized the biographies of great black artists. The area of African American cultural studies has expanded to include the products of day-to-day living and human interaction and creativity. Family and community life, religious practices, the diverse genres of African-based musics, dances, literatures and visual arts throughout the Americas are all part of the African American cultural pallet and are explored in this encyclopedia. In addition, totally new entries reflecting these emerging trends in scholarship are also included.

This second edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* is a comprehensive survey of knowledge on the African American experience (in the hemispheric sense of the term), which has been updated based on the scholarship produced over the last decade or so. Organized alphabetically by entry, it is easy to use and written in a language that makes complex concepts and ideas accessible to a general reading audience.

The scholarship produced on the black experience over the last century has long since laid to rest, intellectually, the myth of black racial inferiority. The reigning unwisdom has been exposed for what it is—white supremacist mythology masquerading as scholarship. Scholars, especially those of the last four decades, have therefore turned their attention to the more complex problem of documenting and interpreting the remarkable processes of human development and social, political and cultural change that have characterized the African American experience in the Americas over the last five hundred years. This second edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History* is designed to introduce the public to this new knowledge.

HOWARD DODSON (2005)
Director, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library

Introduction

According to the written historical record, the first person of African descent arrived in the Americas in 1494 as a member of Christopher Columbus's entourage in his second voyage. He was apparently a free man. In 1501, confronted with a declining indigenous population and with the Spanish colonists unwilling to perform their own labor, Governor Nicolas de Ovando of Hispaniola requested the monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, to introduce African slaves. The first human cargo disembarked on the island in 1502, inaugurating almost four centuries of African slavery in the Americas. In time, the institution spread to the colonies established by the Portuguese, the English, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes in the hemisphere. Estimates vary, but by the time the human commerce ended in the nineteenth century, some ten to thirteen million Africans had been transported to the Americas as slaves. This number, it should be noted, does not include the millions who were the progeny of these Africans and who were born into slavery.

This encyclopedia addresses the experiences of these Africans and their descendants in the societies of the Americas. It identifies some of the major issues and problems that have informed their lives since the sixteenth century. The entries highlight the significant events in their trajectory over time as well as the outstanding men and women who have made enduring contributions to the history and culture of their people. In addition, the encyclopedia's range includes entries on the cultures of these African descended peoples in the Americas and their roles in shaping the contours of the societies in which they live and their animating intellectual currents.

Although African Americans receive disproportionate attention in the volumes, this is in large measure a function of the extant scholarship. Most of the entries are country specific but others, particularly those that are thematic, are comparative in their focus. The distinctiveness of the encyclopedia resides in its hemispheric and comparative emphases and in its attempt to strike a balance between biographical entries and those that are thematic. The original manuscripts that are included in volume 6 capture the voices of prominent personages and important moments in the history of these African peoples in the Americas. Numerous photographs and illustrations enrich the appeal of the entries.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that an encyclopedia of this intellectual breadth and depth could have been compiled. A pioneering venture, the appearance of the collection demonstrates the vibrancy of scholarship on the peoples of African descent and its increasing importance in the curriculum of schools, colleges, and universi-

ties in the hemisphere. Still, it should be recognized that the study of blacks in the diaspora is still in its infancy. The methodologies of this emerging multidisciplinary field are constantly being refined, new areas of enquiry identified, and fresh questions asked.

The African peoples who were enslaved in the Americas were denied access to literacy. Masters of the land, the European slave owners wanted Africans for their brawn, not their intellect. An expanding body of pseudo-scientific literature, particularly in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, promoted the doctrine of white supremacy and the biological inferiority of African peoples. This ideology was more vociferously and aggressively articulated in the United States of America than elsewhere in the Americas, but it was invoked everywhere. Not only was the personhood of blacks assaulted, but their heritage was systematically denigrated. Africa and her peoples were deemed not to have a history or cultures deserving of serious study. The debasement of Africa and Africans had no national boundaries.

Throughout the Americas, the peoples of African descent had the burden of affirming their humanity and challenging negative definitions of themselves by others. In the early nineteenth century, free blacks in the United States undertook the task of studying and celebrating their African heritage, underscoring the achievements of African civilizations and emphasizing the role of Egypt in the construction and development of Western civilization. These African-American writers opposed slavery and castigated whites for their mistreatment of African peoples. Recognizing that history could play a powerful role in the psychological liberation of a people, they urged their readers to recover, study, and write about their past.

In time, a number of black writers responded to this admonition. Hosea Easton, James W. Pennington, William Nell, George Washington Williams, among others, all wrote histories of African Americans during the nineteenth century, laying the foundations of the historiography of a people. These pioneering writers were essentially self-taught and would be succeeded by such university trained scholars as W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. In 1896, Du Bois published the *Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America 1638–1870*, the first of his many books in a long and distinguished career. Popularly known as the father of black history, Woodson published *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* in 1915. These men did not stand alone, to be sure. Benjamin Brawley, for example, published his *Short History of the American Negro* in 1913.

African Americans were far more successful than their brethren elsewhere in the Americas in pioneering and shaping scholarship about themselves. In March 1897, a group of African Americans led by the Episcopal priest and scholar Alexander Crummell, founded the American Negro Academy in Washington, D.C., to promote scholarship on the peoples of African descent. Possessing a higher literacy rate and more abundant resources than others of African descent in the Americas, African Americans established schools, colleges, and universities and set their curricula, sometimes with the assistance of white philanthropists. On the other hand, the European colonies in the Caribbean had no control over the curriculum of their schools and were fed a steady Eurocentric educational diet that glorified the achievements of the mother country. Students of the elementary schools in the Anglophone Caribbean sang "Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves, Britons never never shall be slaves," a supreme irony since the singers were the descendants of slaves. The black populations in Latin America fared hardly better as they were marginalized in their native lands.

Carter G. Woodson's founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 gave an inestimable boost to the study of the history of the peoples of African descent. A year later, he launched the *Journal of Negro History,* and it would become the principal vehicle for the publication of historical scholarship on blacks. It has since been renamed the *Journal of African American History.* In order to underscore the importance of black history, Woodson founded Negro History Week in 1926, which evolved into Negro History Month.

The history of African descended peoples and their cultures did not become serious and sustained areas of scholarly enquiry until substantial changes had taken place in the racial ethos and power relations of the societies of the Americas. In the case of the United States of America, an increasingly pugnacious African-American community began to demand their civil rights, forcing the larger society to effect reforms and to keep faith with the nation's founding principles. Beginning in the late 1960s, university students and others demanded that the study of Africa and the peoples of African descent be included in the curriculum. Responding to these demands, many universities hastily created Black Studies programs and began to hire black professors. Reflecting the pernicious racist assumptions of the larger society, white administrators at these institutions doubted the intellectual integrity of such programs and the subjects of their study, funded them inadequately, hired ill prepared black instructors, and accorded little respect even to those who were academically distinguished. This should not have been a surprising development since white administrators and academics were not immune to the racist virus that had infected the society for

so long and so intensely. The Black Studies movement, however, had the salutary effect of stimulating research on black history and on the contemporary black condition and many outstanding works of scholarship appeared and continue to appear.

These intellectual currents were not confined to the United States. The achievement of self government and the end of colonial rule in some of the Anglophone Caribbean islands in the 1960s allowed the leaders of these societies to rethink and reimagine the nature and emphases of their educational systems. Black heads of government such as Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago and Michael Manley of Jamaica presided over the expansion of educational opportunities for their citizenry and the introduction of a curriculum that responded to their people's circumstances and needs. Eric Williams, a former professor, emphasized in his book *Education in the British West Indies* that the role of the educational system "should be that of a midwife to the emerging social order." Similar reforms have not yet been embraced in any systematic fashion in Latin American societies.

The uneven nature of curricula reform notwithstanding, scholarship on the peoples of African descent has made remarkable advances since the 1960s, a fact that is reflected in the generally high quality of the published works and the range of the issues they address. Some of these scholars, especially those based in the United States, have embraced a conceptual framework characterized as Afrocentric. Molefi Asante is the principal advocate of such a theoretical strategy, which he defines in his book *The Afrocentric Idea* as "placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior." This approach has its critics but there can be no doubt that the Eurocentric conceptual paradigm that was prevailing had to be challenged. Increasingly, scholars are situating their studies in an African diasporic framework, emphasizing a shared heritage and the interrelationships among the peoples of African descent regardless of their societal location. The recently founded Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD) gives organizational expression to this imperative.

Conceptually, this encyclopedia reflects a diasporic approach to the study of the peoples of African descent in the Americas. As such, it stands at the forefront of contemporary scholarship. Hemispheric wide in scope, it situates the peoples of African descent at the center of their history and culture. In spite of the enormous difficulties that the peoples of African descent have confronted historically, they have never been vanquished. They are, for the most part, depicted in these volumes as actors in their own lives, beating against the barriers, sometimes successfully. Their lives, struggles, and accomplishments in spite of considerable oppression constitute an important part of a universal human quest for justice and self-affirmation.

COLIN A. PALMER (2005)

Africa: An Introduction

This essay deals with the African background of African Americans as a means of understanding the ecological aspects of the continent from which the ancestors of this population came, and the history and nature of the major biological, linguistic, and sociocultural processes that produced those Africans. Although many of these processes were continent-wide, specific attention is paid to West and Central Africa, the regions that contributed most of the ancestors of Africans in the Americas.

African Americans may have more reasons than other people to ponder the symbolism in the very shape of Africa—a question mark. After pondering the question of their connection to Africa for several centuries, as did Countee Cullen in his classic poem "Heritage" (1925), most African Americans now fully affirm their link with what Cullen described as a land of:

Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang? (Cullen, 1947)

Today, African Americans point with pride to their many Pan-African links, especially with black South Africans, whose political emancipation they view as ending the long, bitter years of alien domination of the continent. Many proudly wear articles associated with Ghana's "kente-cloth complex" (the royal colors of kings and queens).

Almost as soon as African Americans had mastered elements of European culture, they fought against the notion that "the superior white man must bear the burden of civilizing colonial peoples of the world, if necessary against the will of those peoples" (Drake and Cayton, 1970, p. 47). They especially resented and resisted the assertion that "The very existence of social order [in America] is believed to depend upon 'keep[ing] the Negro in his place'" (Drake and Cayton, 1970, p. 756). African Americans were determined to disprove the implications of the belief that "it would be a matter of a thousand years before Africans could develop high forms of civilization or become dangerous to the white race" (Beale, 1956, p. 44). The issue for African Americans was not to become "dangerous to the white race," but to liberate themselves and Africa from the control of those who questioned their very humanity. African Americans were determined to disprove the common belief that Africa had no history.

African Americans were among the first persons of African origin to insist that the brilliance of the Egyptian past is only one episode in the history of a continent that gave the world so much. Furthermore, while most of the

ancestors of African Americans came from the Atlantic coasts of the continent, their cultural background undoubtedly shared many aspects of a widespread and ancient civilization. More than most continents, Africa has always been a veritable museum where kaleidoscopic cultural patterns from various epochs and their syntheses have coexisted. To avoid confusion, it is best to describe many aspects of Africa in the past tense—as part of history, since the African background often resonates as a heritage in the lives of its now far-flung peoples.

The Geography of Africa

A realm of abundant sunshine, Africa bisects the equator; 80 percent of its land mass falls between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. The continent's 11.7 million square miles makes it more than three times the size of the United States, including Alaska. Its northern part borders the Mediterranean. To its east lie the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; South Africa is surrounded by a confluence of the Indian and the Atlantic oceans. The Atlantic borders all of the western coasts of Africa. Madagascar, the largest of the continent's islands, lies to the southeast, surrounded by the Indian Ocean, and the other African islands—São Tomé, Príncipe, Bioko, Cape Verde, and the Canaries—are westward in the Atlantic Ocean.

Some geologists believe that Africa was the geo-morphological core of an ancient supercontinent known as Gondwanaland. Around 200 million years ago, this enormous land mass, averaging about 2,500 feet above sea level, fractured, leaving Africa as a high plateau of ancient Precambrian rocks sloping toward the north, while the other pieces drifted away to form South America, the Indian Subcontinent, Australia, and Antarctica. Although this giant fracture created very few mountain ranges and water basins within Africa, it did create a system of spectacular trenches known as the Great Rift Valley in eastern Africa. Starting in Anatolia of northern Turkey, the rift goes south for a distance of some six thousand miles, through what are now the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea; through the Gulf of Aqaba and the length of the Red Sea; bisecting the Ethiopian Massif and continuing down into East Africa, where it divides into two branches in which are found lakes Kivu, Edward, Rudolf (Turkana), Albert, Victoria (the source of the Nile River and the second largest of the world's freshwater lakes), Malawi, and Tanganyika, whose bottom is several thousand feet below sea level; and finally ending at the mouth of the Zambezi River.

The majestic glacier-tipped Kilimanjaro, 19,340 feet above sea level and the highest mountain in Africa, was formed, like the other mountain ranges, by tectonic forces after the ancient faulting. The Atlas range in the northwest rises to some 13,000 feet, the Tibesti Massifs in the Sahara are over 13,000 feet, and the Cameroon Highlands in the west are comparable in height. In East Africa there are the Ethiopian Highlands with Mount Ras Dashan (15,158 feet), and further south are the great extinct volcanoes of Mounts Elgon, Kenya, and Ruwenzori (the Mountains of the Moon), which average about 17,000 feet high. The Drakensberg Mountains in southeast Africa rise to more than 11,000 feet.

Large inland basins, which are drained by the continent's spectacular rivers, often extend from the base of these mountain ranges. Characteristically, most African rivers are navigable for great distances across the continent's interior plateau until they plunge over impassable rapids or cataracts as they approach an extraordinarily narrow and relatively straight coastal plain. The advantage here is that the points at which these rivers leave the plateau can be the sites for hydroelectric dams. The disadvantage is that the rivers enter the ocean through deltas and shifting sandbars rather than through estuaries, thereby depriving the African continent of a large number of bays and gulfs that provide natural harbors in other parts of the world.

For example, the Zambezi drops some 343 feet over the spectacular Victoria Falls—more than twice the height of Niagara—before it heads for the sea. The Nile, along whose banks early civilizations bloomed, flows northward out of Central Africa and drops over several cataracts before joining the Mediterranean. The Niger River rises in the Liberian Highlands and goes east and then south, picking up such tributaries as the Benue and Cross rivers before emptying into the Atlantic. The great Congo River with its huge tributaries, the Kasai and the Ubangi, drains thousands of square miles before tumbling over falls to flow into the Atlantic. Many of Africa's smaller river systems, such as the Limpopo, Orange, Senegal, Vaal, and Voltas, exhibit the same pattern. Without outlets to the sea, such internal drainage systems as Lake Chad in the north and the Okavango Swamp in the south end up in shallow, brackish lakes or salt marshes.

Africa has basically seven climatic and vegetation zones. There is a central equatorial zone, and, radiating both north and south, replicating subtropical savanna zones, low-altitude desertlike zones, and Mediterranean zones. All of these are influenced by the contour of the land, and by monsoons and coastal currents. Africa's humid equatorial zone, though often referred to as "jungle," is smaller than those found either in South America or in parts of Asia. It covers Central Africa, strips along the Guinea coast, and parts of Gabon, Cameroon, and

northern Congo. Here the temperatures range between 90°F during the day and 70°F during the nights. Rainfall is highest following the equinox (March and September), with an annual amount of about 50 to 70 inches. In some coastal areas where moisture-laden winds ascend steep slopes, the total can rise to more than 200 inches. The East African Highlands, situated on the equator, have lower temperatures and rainfall than the lowlands. In the lowlands there are tropical rain forests characterized by liana and dense vegetation, as well as species of valuable palm trees, mahogany, ebony, teak, sapele, niangon, and kolas. The vegetation in the East African Highlands includes deciduous forests and evergreens.

The subtropical savanna ecological zones, which lie both north and south of the equatorial zone, occupy the largest area on the continent and differ only by altitude and proximity to the oceans. The fairly large northern ecological zone, which is also incidentally lower and wider, covers parts of Nigeria, the Sudan, and Chad. The temperatures can range up to 100° F, especially from March to May, just before the rains, but are usually between 70 and 50 degrees; temperatures in December and January are lower, especially during the harmattan, a dry, dusty wind that blows from the Sahara southward. Temperatures are lower in the southern subtropical zone because of the higher elevation and decreased width. The annual rainfall in both zones is 30 to 60 inches. Both subtropical zones are marked by the preponderant vegetation cover of the continent—grass—and within grasslands are found scattered trees of species such as the baobab and (where rainfall permits) acacia. At particularly high elevations such as the Cameroon Highlands, or the highlands and rolling plateaus of Kenya (Mounts Kilimanjaro and Ruwenzori have permanent ice fields), the upland grasslands are replaced by forests, such as the High Veldt of Transvaal, or by steep mountain slopes. Taken as a whole, this region is the one that supports many of the continent's herbivores, and pastoral activities play an important role in the economies of the indigenous peoples.

Low, dry, hot ecological zones are found both north and south as one moves further away from the equator. The Sahel in West Africa gradually shades into the Sahara, the desert of the Horn, and the Kalahari and Namid deserts are found in the south. The temperatures in the desert areas are quite variable, with great changes in daily temperature, except near the coasts. And while annual precipitation in the northern desert ranges from only 4 inches downward to zero, the popular image of the African deserts as barren rock and sand dunes bereft of vegetation is incorrect. The deserts actually support scrub and, on the margins, even grass for pasturage. The Sahara, in particular, is dotted with oases that support intensive agriculture, and in the east there is the fertile Nile Valley. The Namid Desert, which borders the Atlantic coast of southwestern Africa, is more desolate, receiving less than 10 inches of rain annually; but the Kalahari, inland from the Namid, is really only a semidesert, receiving as much as 15 inches per year. The Kalahari comes to quick life with the first sprinkling of rain, and often has stands of grasses and inland pans of water.

Mediterranean subtropical ecological zones are the next latitudinal regions. Characteristic of these are winter rains (from 25 to 32 inches) and summer droughts. The winters are mild, between 50°F and 60°F, and the summers around 70° F. The variable rainfalls and temperatures in these zones permit the growth of forests and brush.

The climate of Madagascar, Africa's largest island, ranges from tropical to largely subtropical. Its coastal lowlands are wet, hot, and covered with tropical forests, while the Central Highlands are drier, fairly cool, and covered with grass and interspersed woodlands. Bioko (the former Fernando Po) and São Tomé possess equatorial ecologies; the Cape Verde Islands share the ecology of the Sahel and are often plagued by droughts.

The distribution of African soils reflects the belts of temperature and especially rainfall. Approximately 36 percent of Africa, especially the equatorial zone of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Guinea coast, may be characterized as humid, 22 percent semiarid, 26 percent arid, and 16 percent desert. This means that nearly two-thirds of Africa has a moisture deficiency during all or part of the year. The amount of water available is a function of regional and seasonal swings; it ranges from excess water, due to persistent rainfall and high humidity, to too little rainfall and high evaporation. The result is that if the soil is suddenly exposed to the elements by either humans or nature, there is severe erosion and a loss of the fertility so necessary for crop cultivation. Nevertheless, most if not all African soils are good for short periods, provided that they have a long fallow period. The soils in humid and semiarid areas, while initially rich in humus content, lose their fertility and become lateritic if cultivated continuously. The soils of the arid lands are relatively rich in inorganic minerals but low in humus content, and need additional water in order to be usable. Typically, seasonal variation in moisture distribution sets limits on the types and amounts of crops grown. Several parts of Africa have suffered from droughts and "hungry periods" due to shortages of food.

Mineral, Plant, and Animal Resources.

Africa is immensely rich in minerals, in flora, and in fauna. The continent has about two-thirds of the world's phosphorites, some 45 percent of the world's bauxite, 20 percent of its copper, 16 percent of its uranium, and substantial reserves of iron ore, manganese, chromium, cobalt, platinum, and titanium. The food crops of Africa include coffee, ensete (a banana-like fruit), varieties of yams and rice, millets, sorghums, varieties of oil palms, the kola nut, and melons, all of which are believed to be indigenous to the continent; wheat, barley, and oats, of Middle Eastern origin; varieties of bananas and plantains, thought to be of Southeast Asian origin; and maize, manioc, peanuts, tomatoes, varieties of potatoes, and some tubers and cocoa beans—all cultigens that arrived in Africa as a result of the post-Columbus great plant migration. Cotton is common in the northern savanna belt, and species of trees produced bark used for making cloth. In addition, the hardwoods and lianas of the tropical forests have been utilized by human beings for shelter and for many useful products over generations.

The domestic animals of the continent include varieties of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, camels, pigs, dogs, chickens, ducks, and the semidomesticated guinea fowl. Africa is famous for its wide variety of animals representing thousands of species of mammals, reptiles, amphibians, fish, birds, and insects. Huge herds of a variety of antelopes, giraffes, and zebras roam the savannas, providing the prey for cheetahs, leopards, and lions. Herds of elephants still roam parts of eastern and southern Africa, having been largely eliminated in the north and west. The hippopotamus still lives in tropical rivers; varieties of water birds, such as the flamingo, are among the enormous range of African birds. Many of the animals in Africa, such as the rhinoceros, are now under stress for survival as a result of excessive hunting and the growth of the human populations.

Africa and the Origin of Human Beings

A growing number of paleontologists and human geneticists now believe that the origins of the billions of human beings on earth can be traced to a woman who lived in Africa some 200,000 years ago and left an unmistakable signature on the DNA of all *Homo sapiens.* This was the most important stage in a process that started some four million years ago, when the genus *Homo* emerged from the *Australopithecus,* giving rise to *Homo erectus, Homo neanderthalensis,* and other varieties of *Homo.* Then, some 250,000 to 100,000 years ago, modern humans—with lighter skeletons, "their more capacious brains, and their softer brows" and possibly "with language"—radiated out from "their African homeland and overwhelmed or supplanted the many more primitive humans who were then living in Asia and Europe" (Angier, 1991, C1). That such a theory is gaining ground is all the more remarkable since in the past, the prejudice against all things African was pronounced. Charles Darwin suggested that in view of the abundance of animal life there, especially that of the primates, it would be wise to look to Africa as the possible cradle of humankind, but this was rejected by his contemporaries, who were convinced of white supremacy.

Biologists now believe that as human beings moved about within and outside the African continent, they retained the ability to interbreed, but their geno-phenotypes (often referred to as geographical "races") emerged as adaptations to different ecological zones. No one knows what the earliest *Homo sapiens* in Africa looked like, but the so-called Negro-appearing people became the dominant physical type in sub-Saharan Africa (pockets of these Negroid people also lived in the oases of the Sahara). The Negroes in the Nile Valley tend to be taller and darker; eastward, in the Horn of Africa, the people appear to be a mixture of Negroids and the so-called Caucasoids. Caucasoid populations live in northern Africa and in the northern parts of the Sahara and the Nile Valley. A short variety of Negroids, popularly known as Pygmies (Twa), live scattered among their taller neighbors in the central regions, and in southern Africa live another fairly short population, yellowish in skin color and possessing wiry hair, known as the Khoisan. Also in southern Africa and parts of eastern Central Africa are found Caucasoid and Caucasoid-like populations of European and Indian provenance; Malayo-Polynesian populations are settled in Madagascar.

Challenges to Human Life

The human populations in Africa have had to cope with a variety of insect-borne and other diseases that flourish in the tropics, and in a few cases they have adapted geno-phenotypically to these. Yellow fever and malaria, carried by mosquitoes, have been widespread, and some populations, especially in West Africa, have acquired a certain immunity to sicklemia (sickle-cell anemia), caused by malaria. Trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, whose vector or carrier is the tsetse fly, is found primarily in humid forested or savanna areas and is dangerous to both human beings and animals, especially cattle and horses. Schistosomiasis, by far the most widespread of African diseases, is caused by parasites of the genus *Schistosoma,* which live in running water and enter the human body through the skin after a

complex life cycle that includes the snail as an intermediate host. Also associated with river valleys is onchocerciasis, or river blindness, which is carried by a species of fly, *Simulium damnosum.* In addition to these, there are varieties of diseases caused by nematodes such as guinea worms, liver flukes, and tapeworms.

HIV/AIDS is the most recent virulent disease to have appeared. In contrast to many other parts of the world, where it is often associated with homosexuality and intravenous drug use, in Africa HIV/AIDS is often associated with heterosexual activities. While no cure has been found for HIV/AIDS, such diseases as schistosomiasis, malaria, yellow fever, and trypanosomiasis are less morbid than in the past, and yaws and leprosy have been largely eliminated from African populations. A new source of concern is the appearance of a rare but virulent disease called Ebola. Africans are increasingly concerned about identifying and dealing with new diseases.

African Languages

Africa's 750 to 800 different languages not only represent the largest group of languages found on any continent but are spoken by populations differing in physical types and cultures. The debate about the classification, nature, and number of African languages continues, due to the lack of agreement among scholars as to criteria used to determine genetic relationships and differences between languages and their dialects. One major consensus, however, is that all African languages fall into four major families. The languages of the largest family, the Niger-Kordofanian, are spoken in western, central, eastern, and southern Africa. The Bantu languages—one of six subgroups of the Benue-Congo languages—are believed to have recently spread over most of central and southern Africa, since they are closely related to each other. Swahili, spoken in many parts of East Africa, is an Arabized Bantu language. In southern Africa and in parts of Tanganyika are found a small but important group of languages belonging to the Khoisan family. This family is believed to be the source of the "clicks" found in the Bantu languages.

The Nilo-Saharan languages are not only the second largest group of African languages, but members are found widely separated in the Nile Valley and in the Niger Basin of West Africa. Also widely distributed are members of the Afro-Asiatic family, which include Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew spoken outside of Africa, as well as Berber, Hausa, and ancient Egyptian, in addition to such Cushitic languages as Amharic, found in Ethiopia. Malayo-Polynesian languages are found in Madagascar; Germanic and Latin languages were brought into Africa by the incoming Europeans.

Peoples and Cultures of Africa

Africa was the site not only of important steps in the evolution of the human species, but of a parallel development: the evolution of culture, a distinctive human characteristic. Some of the earliest traces of human cultural activities—such as stone assemblages—subsequently spread, and the evolution of these artifacts both within the African continent and outside of it, with frequent interchange, attests to the processes by which African cultures subsequently developed. Initially, all African populations lived by foraging, but by 13,000 years before the present there is evidence that the Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age) population, which lived in the valley of the Nile around Khartoum, included harvested wild cereals in its diet. By 6,000 years ago, the peoples in the Nile Valley shared the practice of crop cultivation and animal domestication with those in other parts of the Fertile Crescent, which extended eastward to the Tigris and Euphrates river valleys. Within the limits of ecological constraints, these food-production techniques involving plants and animals specific to Africa spread to various parts of the continent, replacing but not totally eliminating earlier foraging patterns. The same generalization can be made about the invention and spread of Iron Age technologies and other traits important to early African peoples (Wai Andah, 1981, p. 592; Posnansky, 1981, pp. 533–534).

Partly as a result of the interchange of indigenous cultural elements within Africa and the addition of those from exogenous regions, it has never been unusual to find Africans with differing physical types, speaking different languages, and having different sociocultural systems living contemporaneously in the same or neighboring ecological niches. For example, in Central Africa, foraging populations such as the Batwa (Bantu-speaking Pygmies) have lived in contact with the pastoral Hima and agricultural Hutu (both of which are also Bantu speakers). And while these groups borrowed sociocultural traits from each other, they did not necessarily change their ways of life. In other cases, groups in contact changed their physical types, languages, and sociocultural traits, such as their economic, political, and religious systems. In this way, Africa often presented a veritable museum where the surviving evidence of important stages in the evolution of humans and culture could be witnessed. It is partly because of the interdigitation of African peoples that the classification of their societies has proved difficult—made more so by the cultural, ethnic, and biological chauvinism of Africans themselves and of foreigners who used notions

about the level of cultural attainment of Africans as rationalizations for conquest, colonization, and exploitation.

Regional variations of Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic cultural assemblages appeared in all parts of Africa, a function of both indigenous development and external influences. From the Neolithic period onward, the cultural assemblages in the Nile Valley had a brilliant florescence as a result of this mingling of indigenous development and external contacts. And while until recently—for racist, historical, and political reasons and because of various strictures peculiar to particular academic disciplines—Egyptian civilization was viewed strictly in terms of its relationship to Asia and the Mediterranean, that view is now changing. One well-known scholar remarked that "if the history of early Africa is unthinkable without Egypt, so too is the history of early Egypt inexplicable without Africa. Ancient Egypt was essentially an African civilization" (Davidson, 1991, p. 49; see also Diop, 1974). Nevertheless, it is also true that during certain epochs many parts of Africa were firmly linked to external civilizations, and that at other times some external areas were viewed as African. How these links were seen was very much a function of military and political power relations of the world in a given period.

Many early scholars and even contemporary ones have been so impressed by the remarkable similarities of the sociocultural institutions throughout Africa that some have speculated incessantly about whether the migrating "children of the sun" from Egypt diffused such traits as divine kingship, dual monarchies, and matriliny to all parts of the continent, and in some cases to outside areas. One may even postulate the existence of a widespread early "Ur-African" culture, or proto-African cultural elements that constituted a foundation upon which elaborate cultural complexes or centers in such areas as Egypt, the Upper Nile, the Niger, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Zambezi were constructed. What follows is a description of African sociocultural institutions, especially those of the western and central regions, which most nearly resemble those of the millions of Africans who were transported to the western hemisphere during the terrible transatlantic slave trade.

Economic Organization

Most Africans, including the ancestors of those who came to the Americas, were slash-and-burn horticulturists or agriculturists who used irrigation techniques where warranted. Wheat, barley, and oats were commonly produced in the Nile Valley and North Africa by plow agriculture with irrigation. In other savanna regions, in East, Central, and South Africa and the western Sudan, cereals such as millets, sorghums, and—to a limited extent—varieties of rice and legumes were cultivated by means of the hoe. Root crops, such as yams and other tubers, and varieties of rice and bananas were widely cultivated in the more tropical regions of West Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Cotton was widely cultivated in the drier regions, and bark for bark-cloth processing was produced in such forested regions as Ashanti.

And while pastoralism based on the herding of cattle, sheep, goats, camels, donkeys, and horses was an important food-producing strategy, it was feasible primarily in the savanna areas that were free from the tsetse fly. Nevertheless, few of the so-called classic pastoralist societies, such as the Masai, the Nuer, the Dinka, the Kabbabish Arabs, and the Somali, lived primarily by the products of their herds. Most of them, including the cattle-keeping people of East, Central, and southern Africa and the Fulani of West Africa, lived in symbiotic relations with their cultivator neighbors. Especially in West Africa, many cattle herders often became sedentary cultivators when disease or droughts decimated their herds. This was not so difficult for them, since they moved in transhumance cycles among horticulturists between the forest zones and the desert, as pasturage and rainfall permitted. (Islamic practices appear to have limited the rearing of pigs, even in those areas where climatic factors made this possible.) In many parts of southern and East Africa, there were populations with mixed economies of horticulturists and pastoralists, though in many cases animals were the most valued products.

A minuscule number of African societies, such as the Batwa of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Hadtsa and Sandawe of East Africa, and the Kung-San of southern Africa, retained an early adaptation to hunting and general foraging activities, but these economic strategies largely gave way to fishing, pastoralism, and horticulture. Hunting remained only an ancillary economic pursuit among all Africans, including the Mande, Akan, Mossi, Bakongo, and Baluba peoples of West and Central Africa. Fishing, too, declined as a major economic activity, except among a few riverine and coastal populations such as the Ebrie people of coastal West Africa and the Bozo people of the inland Niger River area.

A marked division of labor based on gender existed among all African food producers. Among the cultivators in most West and Central African societies, males were primarily responsible for the heavy work of clearing and preparing the land and growing specific crops. Women generally did most of the actual cultivation, harvesting,

and processing of food. In addition, they often cultivated certain crops that were viewed as "women's" crops. Families who needed additional food for ceremonial or fiscal reasons obtained labor from voluntary organizations of youths and adults, whom they paid or entertained. In the more complex Mande, Bakongo, and Fon societies, free persons and war captives who had become serfs and slaves were obliged to produce foodstuffs for their masters. In certain parts of the Sudan and the Sahel, horticulturists kept animals when conditions permitted, or traded vegetable products for animal products from neighboring pastoralist populations or foragers who hunted wild animals. The pastoralists, such as the Fulani of West Africa and the Kabbabish Arabs of the eastern Sudan, moved their herds in transhumance cycles between the tsetse-infected forest zones and the drier savannas. Males did most of the herding, leaving women to milk animals and to process and trade milk products. Hunting, whether among cultivators, pastoralists, or foragers, was the occupation of males, while women among all of these groups gathered wild products for food. Both males and females kept chickens, ducks, and small domestic animals.

Crafts, Manufactured Products, and Systems of Exchange

Almost all African cultivators used iron implements produced by male blacksmiths whose wives often made pots. These persons were often the only specialists in small-scale subsistence societies. Nevertheless, even these small-scale societies often produced surplus goods and interacted economically with the larger African societies, where specialization gave rise to other smiths who worked such metals as tin, copper, silver, and gold, procured either by mining or by placer washing. This was especially prevalent in West Africa, the Nile Valley, and the Zimbabwe region in southeastern Africa. Weavers, carpenters, glassmakers, and other specialists—especially in North Africa, the Nile Valley, Ethiopia, and West Africa—produced surpluses for high-status persons or for trade in local periodic markets and with long-distance caravaners who supplied complex economies. Many producers of craft goods—for example, smiths, weavers, potters, and leather workers in the western Sudan—were organized into endogamous castelike guilds that posted members along trade routes. And while most of the guilds were egalitarian, others gave unequal access to their economic assets.

Barter persisted in small African communities that were largely self-sufficient, but also continued to play an economic role in some of the larger communities. Silent trade involving barter for gold and other products—such as occurred, for instance, between the ancient Malians and Phoenicians—persisted for a long time in many parts of Africa where vast differences in language and culture made face-to-face trade hazardous. Also employed were various types of currencies that ran the gamut from iron implements, lengths of cloth, beads, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and waist bands to cowrie shells, gold dust, and slaves. In the Niger River areas, merchant guilds took goods on consignment, and used credit to procure goods for sale.

The notion of profit was well developed in various parts of North, East, and West Africa, except where inhibited by Islam. Also in parts of West Africa, destitute persons could pawn themselves or dependents for money. Those pawns who were unredeemed were often married, if female, by the creditors, or became serfs or slaves if male. The urban, or palace- and temple-based, complex economies in Egypt, the western Sudan, and East Africa were often the transit points for international products leaving from or arriving in many African ports of trade. Many West Africans were involved in the economic complex of the Niger River described below.

Lying between the desert and the forest regions of West Africa was a veritable *sahil* (an Arabic word for *shore*), part of a well-known ecosystem that facilitated the rise of a complex sociocultural system serving as a transit point for persons and products coming from north, south, and east. This region had among its characteristics a large floodplain suitable for cereal agriculture and livestock rearing, numerous waterways that provided easy transportation for natural resources and manufactured products, and an extensive savanna rich in minerals and in faunal and floral resources. Here arose the core states or empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, whose influence radiated throughout West and Central Africa.

As an example of the complexity, Leo Africanus, the sixteenth-century Spanish-born traveler and author, described Jenne, one of the most important cities of the Mali empire, as a "place exceedingly aboundeth with barlie, rice, cattel, fishes, and cotton: and their cotton they sell unto the merchants of Barbarie, for cloth of Eirope, for brazen vessels, for armor and other such commodities. Their coine is of gold without any stampe or inscription at all" (Leo Africanus, 1956, p. 468). A number of traditions hold that the gold used to mint the first English coin, the guinea, came from Jenne (Jennie or Guinea). A local scholar, al-Sadi, writing about 1655, described Jenne as,

> large, flourishing and prosperous; it is rich, blessed and favoured by the Almighty.… There one meets the salt merchants from the mines of Teghazza and merchants carrying gold from the mines of Bitou.… The area around Jenne is fer-

> tile and well populated; with numerous markets held there on all the days of the week. It is certain that it contains 7077 villages very near to one another. (Al-Sadi. 1987, p. 97)

These reports from West Africa could easily be replicated from other parts of the continent with complex economies such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zimbabwe, the Swahili coast, and Mogadishu in East Africa, North Africa—which at one time served as the granary of Rome—and, of course, Egypt and the Sudan.

Social Organization

There was a basic notion that the complementary relationship, or what is now being called *complementarity,* between females and males lay at the center of the social organization of most African societies. Again, with very few exceptions, the people in African societies always emphasized the "extended family": that is, a group of married and unmarried males, females, and children, living in common or contiguous habitations, normally under the directorship of men. In most cases these men were descended from a common ancestor or ancestress, and the adults tended to interact most frequently with persons of their own gender except for purposes of reproduction. This is contrasted to the so-called nuclear family, where males and females maintained close relations for economic purposes as well as for reproduction and the rearing of children. A common domestic cycle was for a woman (rarely a man) to leave her natal family on marriage, join the extended family of a spouse, and return to her own natal family before death or, in spirit, after death.

The overwhelming majority of African societies emphasized corporate descent groups that were patrilineal: Both females and males traced their descent in the male line to a known apical ancestor, and children belonged to the husband's lineage. The size of the lineages varied in different societies, with subsidiary branches made up of descendants of subordinate known ancestors. In contrast were a small number of matrilineal societies such as the Akan in the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the Lele in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Tonga in eastern Central Africa, where descent was traced to apical female ancestors and children belonged to the lineages of mothers. Where, as among the Akan, both men and women tended to marry others in neighboring areas, they could remain in their natal villages and visit spouses nearby; or either males or females could join the villages of their spouses. In Central Africa the men of matrilineages tended to join the villages of their wives, or in some cases men could remain at home and have the husbands of daughters or sisters join them. In a very few societies, such as the Yako of contemporary Nigeria, people recognized both lines, making for what is called "double descent."

Despite the emphasis on either patriliny among the Mande, Mossi, Yoruba, and Igbo or matriliny among the Akan of Ghana and Lele of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, people usually recognized the lineage of their other parent, and sought help and refuge from these relatives when the need arose. Sometimes relationships between such relatives were so close that they risked jeopardizing the rule of corporate lineage affiliation. So important were kin relations in African societies that with few exceptions, the siblings of fathers and mothers (among the Yoruba, for example) were glossed by the same term—that is, *father* and *mother,* with terminological distinction based on relative age. It followed then that most of the children of uncles and aunts were considered brothers and sisters, instead of cousins, and the children of these as sons and daughters instead of nephews and nieces.

In societies where parental siblings were distinguished from parents, there were terms that were glossed as *aunt* and *uncle* and, of course, the children of these were glossed as *cousins.* A variation on this theme occurred when the siblings of only one set of parents, as among the Tuareg, were equated, thereby making their children "brothers" and "sisters," while the children of unequated siblings were "cousins." In some cases, these "cousins" were eligible as spouses while the children of other parental siblings were not, and in such situations the normal incest rule against marriage with relatives was strongly invoked. Noted exceptions to this rule pertained in ancient divine Egyptian families, especially among the pharaohs, where brother-sister marriages were preferred so as not to dilute their divinity.

With very few exceptions, the families in African societies exchanged or transferred valuables upon the marriage of their children, whether (as among the Lobi) young people chose their own spouses or (as among the Kikuyu) spouses were chosen for them. In what has been called *restricted exchange,* families exchanged women among one another (one can say men or grooms were exchanged, but Africans would not agree with that formulation) over an extended period of time. More common was a Hebraic-like *bride service* in which men provided labor for the families of their future spouses. Most common were marriages involving the gift of valuables by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. Referred to variously as *bride price, bride wealth,* and *progeny price,* these valuables, usually provided by sections of the corporate lineage, legitimized marriages and especially the parentage of the children. Significantly, matrilineal societies such as the Ashanti of Ghana and the Tonga of Zambia made comparably little

use of the bride price even though, as in Ashanti and Baule, ritual drinks confirmed the marriage.

What the bride price or progeny price entailed was the responsibility of a family to provide additional brides if the one involved was deemed infertile, a practice known as the *sororate* (marriage of sisters). Women often divorced men who were judged infertile, or if husbands died young, women married their husbands' brothers, another Hebraic-like practice known as the *levirate.* Like African men, African women deemed it proper to bear children, either for their own lineages, if matrilineal, or for their husbands' lineages, if patrilineal. There were almost no cases of marriages in Africa whereby a woman's family transferred valuables to the family of a potential husband. In almost all African societies, however, women took valuable goods with them, often household items, when they joined their husbands.

The practice of having plural wives, or *polygyny,* was the ideal marital state for most African men, but actually most marriages were monogamous, that is, a man had only one wife. Nevertheless, most men hoped to become polygynous because, they insisted, polygyny guaranteed progeny. Within the household, however, polygyny was not always viewed as a blessing because there was the recognition that care was necessary to avoid conflict among co-wives. Husbands had to provide wives with separate dwellings and were cautioned to treat them as equitably as possible. In successful polygynous marriages, senior wives often actively sought additional wives for their husbands, not only to ease their own domestic chores, but to increase their own prestige and that of the husband. Apropos to this, in a number of African societies, including such West African cultures as the Fon, Mossi, and Yoruba (all patrilineal societies), women who were able to pay a bride price were able to procure other women as their own "wives," but not for sexual purposes. Such "wives" performed domestic or commercial duties for their "female husbands," but any children born to them by men were either transferred to the female husband's patrilineage or could be given to the patrilineages of the female husband's patrilineage.

The existence of polygynous marriages and extended families influenced the structure of family life in most African societies. The men of such extended families, whether matrilineal or patrilineal (but especially the latter), tended to bond together, interacting with each other both economically and socially. The wives of men in extended families followed the same pattern, allowing, of course, for conflicts between co-wives. Domestically, however, individual women tended to form a unit with their own children, which sought its interest against the domestic units of co-wives, or of the wives of other men in the extended family. Thus, while the authority of husbands and fathers over their wives and children was fully acknowledged—domestically and, especially, publicly—women were very much in charge of their own hearth and family. Moreover, as African women aged, their status and roles also changed. From timid and prudent brides new to the family of their spouse, they increasingly asserted themselves as they became mothers and senior and respected female relatives in their own households and own lineages. Later, they continued to gain respect as confidants of aging husbands, and finally as the often stern mothers-in-law whose duty it was to watch over the morals of incoming brides.

Since most African women shared many attributes of their domestic units and of their lineages, those women of royal descent and wives of important men often exercised a great deal of power within their domestic units and political systems. They not only had slaves and "wives" but were not above threatening the power of the ruler. From Mali there is an anecdote about a serious dispute between the ruling king and his wife, the daughter of his maternal uncle. She was "his partner in rule according to the custom of the Sudan, and her name was mentioned with his from the throne." Much to the chagrin of his subjects, the ruler suddenly imprisoned his queen and took a commoner as wife. The queen did not reveal the source of the conflict, but sought to shame her husband by placing dust on her head as a mark of humiliation and standing beside the council chamber. The king summoned a servant, who told the court that the queen had sent her to the king's cousin with a message expressing support for the cousin if he were to replace the sovereign, and promising, "I and all the army are at your service." The courtiers agreed that such treachery deserved death, but the queen escaped by seeking sanctuary in a mosque (Levtzion and Hopkins, 1981, pp. 294–295).

Africans generally desired children as necessary links in the chain of human life. Throughout the continent there were elaborate naming ceremonies, carried to great lengths by the Wolof, Akan, and Mande groups. In addition to training children at home, most African societies—particularly the ancient Egyptians, the Nuba in the Sudan, and the Somali, Kikuyu, Nyakyusa, Zulu, Bakongo, and Mossi—placed their pubescent children in special schools. There, in addition to undergoing ritual circumcision for boys and clitoridectomy for girls, the young were often enrolled in age-sets and age-grades where they were taught the facts of life, certain social graces, economic activities, political responsibilities, and religious beliefs. Among the Mende of what is now Sierra Leone, the age-set/age-grade

systems, called *Poro* for boys and *Sande* for girls, provided the basis for their economic, military, social, political, and religious life. Chaka of the Zulu, the Masai, and many martial societies used these units as part of their military establishment. Here friendships and values were formed for life, and prepared people to take their future place in society. In some complex cultures, such as the Baganda, requirements of the political system were also taught. In ancient Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia and in Islamic societies, where literacy was important for bureaucracies and for the priesthood, boys and sometimes girls went to special schools (*madrassa*).

Political Organization

African societies differed in scale and had a wide range of mechanisms for preserving order. While such acephalous groups as the Igbo, the Nuer, and the Kikuyu have attracted attention with their ability to preserve order without complex political structures, there is a wide consensus that Africans developed what one scholar claimed to be "relatively large-scale political societies" that could be studied. It was also suggested that "of all the areas inhabited by nonliterate peoples, Africa exhibits the greatest incidence of complex governmental structures. Not even the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico could mobilize resources and concentrate power more effectively than could some of these African monarchies" (Herskovits, 1948, p. 332; Skinner, 1963, p. 134).

Those simple African foraging societies, such as the San and the Batwa, that used kinship, name, and clientelistic ties within their own groups to maintain internal order utilized the same mechanisms to live in peace with their more powerful neighbors. And while many of the pastoral societies, such as the Kipsigis and the Masai, were especially bellicose, they had to protect themselves and their herds, and they used kinship solidarity for such purposes. The Somali used what was called *dia-paying* groups of kinsmen to pay for damages and seek revenge. The pastoral Fulani and Tuareg of West Africa utilized powerful individuals, sometimes known as *sheiks,* to maintain order. The Nuer and Dinka of the Nilotic Sudan also had recourse to ritual specialists such as *leopard-skin chiefs* and *prophets,* who restored peace (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 209, 134; Herskovits, 1948, p. 32).

Some of the small-scale African horticultural groups organized in village communities, such as the Alur, Lugbara, Tiv, Igbo, Kpelle, and Tallensi, used such institutions as shrines, rain medicines, and medicine men for maintaining peace (Southall, 1956, pp. 181–196; Middleton and Tait, 1958, pp. 131, 224; Fortes, 1945, p. 53). Some of these societies used marriage alliances, common ritual paraphernalia, and myths that they had requested governors from larger and imperialistic African societies in order to live in peace and security. These myths also provided legitimacy for dominant or domineering groups.

The institution of the divine king, who ruled with the legitimacy of heaven and with the support of royal ancestors, appears throughout Africa. Examples include the pharaohs in Egypt; the Ethiopia *negus,* who had the title "King of Kings and Lion of the Tribe of Judah"; the *reth* of the Shilluk in the Sudan; the *kabaka* of the Baganda; the king of the Bakongo; the kings of the Ashanti; the Alafin of Oyo among the Yoruba; the *mais* of the Kanuri; and the Mogho Naba of the Mossi in western Sudan. Often complementing these rulers were royal women who, as in Egypt, the Sudan, and Angola, ruled in their own right but were also royal consorts, queen mothers, queen sisters, or princesses. The Candaces and the Cleopatras of the Sudan and Egypt are well known; their counterparts, such as Queen Nzinga of Angola and Amina of the Hausa, are less renowned. Both male and female rulers often had shrines, groups of priests, and religious paraphernalia that helped legitimize their rule.

These rulers had elaborate courts or temple complexes, as in the Nile Valley, from which they ruled over provinces, districts, and villages. Quite common was the tendency of rulers to relocate their capitals when they assumed power, and in the case of the Egyptians and Sudanese they were not above erasing the names of predecessors on the stelae about the kingdom. It was also common for monarchs to use royal relatives to rule outlying provinces and districts. But neither was it uncommon to see these personages replaced by administrative officials when the state became more secure. Many were the mechanisms used by African rulers to take censuses and to obtain the revenue to support their thrones and their states. Children were counted during puberty rites; priests reported the number of protective devices given to peasants to save animals from disease; spies reported the riches of subordinate rulers. In this manner, bureaucrats knew the amount of taxes to expect. These taxes included custom receipts from traders and manufacturers, products from fields cultivated for the state, and part of the temple tithes and presents destined for local deities and for the rulers themselves. Rulers received wives not only for their bedchambers but to be used as pawns in dynastic marriages or to cultivate fields.

Scholars have been impressed by what is considered to be an African court tradition that was remarkably similar throughout the continent. With respect to West Africa, some of the early court traditions of Ghana, Mali, and

Songhay still persist among the Mossi and Ashanti. The Malian king held court in a domed pavilion in which stood ten horses covered with gold-embroidered materials; behind him stood ten pages holding shields and swords decorated with gold, and on his right were the sons of vassal kings wearing splendid garments, with their hair plaited with gold. Before him sat the governor of the city and his ministers, and guarding the pavilion were pedigreed guard dogs that wore gold and silver collars studded with balls of the same metals. When the beating of a drum announced that the king would receive his visitors, those who professed the king's religion (that is, all except the Muslims) approached him, fell on their knees in greeting, and sprinkled dust on their heads. Visitors reported the Malians to be "the humblest of people before their king and the most submissive towards him. They swear by his name, saying: Mansa Sulayman ki (the king has spoken)" (Levtzion and Hopkins, 1981, p. 291). The revenue of this king included all gold nuggets found in the country; he received one golden dinar on every load of salt that entered the kingdom, and two dinars when this amount was exported.

African communities and polities used a range of devices to maintain peace internally and to wage war against outsiders. Small village communities, such as those in Ebo land, used ridicule, various types of ordeals, expulsion, and belief in the efficacy of supernatural entities, often disguised as masked figures, to sanction evildoers. The acceptance of the decision of moot courts in larger societies was often enough to restore social harmony, in the absence of bodies that could enforce the law. State-level societies permitted the use of many informal legal devices at local levels, but all insisted upon judicial review at higher levels, with the monarch sitting as judge. Women often had parallel quasi-judicial and judicial institutions. The death penalty was often meted out for heinous crimes, such as rape, murder, and treason. The legal philosophy in most African societies was based on concern for what "reasonable persons" would do if provoked or would expect as punishment for crimes.

Of course, African judges were not infallible, and the complaints of those who believed that they were treated unjustly have come down to us. The legal codes of dwellers in the Nile Valley are well known, and ethnographers have furnished details of legal decisions in other societies. In addition, one reporter from fourteenth-century Mali cited the "lack of oppression," and "the security embracing the whole country, so that neither traveller there nor dweller has anything to fear from thief or usurper." We are told that the ancient Malians "do not interfere with the wealth of any white man who dies among them, even though it be quintar [coins] upon quintar. They simply leave it in the hands of a trustworthy white man until the one to whom it is due takes it." Persons suspected of wrongdoing were subject to the poison ordeal. The innocent was applauded and the guilty punished (Levtzion and Hopkins, 1981, p. 217).

The smaller African polities had no standing armies and waged war only when the men had completely taken in the harvest. In contrast, an aggressive ruler such as Shaka of the Zulus used his society's age-set/age-grade system to build a standing army as a vehicle for conquest. Ancient rulers in Egypt and the Sudan used standing armies not only to unify the valley of the Nile, but to wage war against the ancient Libyans and Assyrians. Hannibal took his elephants across France and the Alps to wage war on Rome, and in revenge the Romans destroyed Carthage in what is now Tunisia. Then when Arab armies conquered Egypt and their converts waged war in the western Sudan, they found that the king of Ghana could put an army of 200,000 soldiers in the field, including 40,000 archers and cavalry. West African soldiers served in the Muslim armies that conquered Spain and governed it until the Reconquista ended their rule.

Religion

Beliefs in the supernatural are often the oldest aspects of human cultures. Therefore, it is not surprising that certain African beliefs were continent-wide. And while God and other deities were ready references to most Africans, the conduct and fate of human beings appeared to remain the center of their religious concerns. In this context it is not surprising that for one critic, religion is a language that "allows humans to insert themselves into intimate relationships with the universe" (Mudimbe, 1991, p. 9). Myths featuring a creator-god, who lived in the sky and was often personified as the sun, the earth, the moon, and all things that ever lived and will live, were almost universal throughout Africa. The Re/Osiris/Isis/Horus mythic complex of the Nile shares many features with Amma among the Dogon, Mangala among the Mande, Oludarame/Olorum (who came down to earth in an ark) among the Yoruba, Winnam/Naba Zid Winde among the Mossi, and Nyame among the Akan—all creator-gods associated with the sky and the sun. In the larger state societies, important rulers such as the pharaohs and Yoruba/Nago kings such as Sango were deified. Also participating in aspects of the divine were deities responsible for death, dealing such diseases as smallpox. Other tutelary deities included the serpent and religious referents in bori, mammy water, orisha, vodun, and other possession cults through which spirits and humans expressed their will.

The Mande creation story tells how Mangala, the creator, made "the egg of the world" in which were pairs of seeds and pairs of twins, prototypes of future people. One male twin, Pembe, desiring to dominate creation, erupted from the egg, tearing away a piece of his placenta as he plunged through empty space. That piece of placenta became the dry, barren, and polluted earth, but Pembe could not fructify it, and so he returned to the sky for seeds. Meanwhile, Mangala, who had created the sun, sacrificed another male twin, Faro, to account for Pembe's sin. Mangala cut Faro's body into sixty pieces and scattered them through space until they fell to earth, becoming vegetation, symbols of resurrection. Faro was restored to heaven in human form, and Mangala, using part of his placenta, created an ark in which he sent eight ancestral pairs of human beings, plants, and animals down to earth. These human ancestors, like Faro himself, had a common vital force (soul) and complementary male and female spiritual forces. Emerging from the ark, the ancestors watched for the first time the rising of the sun (Dieterlen, 1957, pp. 124–138).

As the Mande myth indicates, human beings possessed elements of the divine, such as souls, the "breath of life," and "shadows," whose fates and needs could be divined and propitiated when deemed necessary. Belief that one's fate or destiny could be known and influenced was found in the cult of Fa among the Yoruba/Nago and the notion of *chi* (personality characteristics) in Igbo country. There was often the need for people to protect themselves against evildoers (sorcerers), who were believed capable of bringing harm and even death by magical means. There were priests who also knew how to acquire the power to heal—aided, of course, by the more powerful ancestors.

Ancestor veneration was an important feature in most African religions. The ancestors provided a chain across generations, often warning their descendants through dreams or divination that the illnesses, misfortunes, and infertility being experienced were punishments for sins that had to be propitiated. By insisting upon moral rectitude among their descendants, and insisting that only sacrifices to them would bring human happiness, African ancestors could be said to have attempted to cheat death by remaining in the lives of the living. Among the West African Igbo the ancestors were represented as masked figures who came from the land of the dead to preside at court cases of living people. Here, as in many other societies throughout Africa, people believed in forms of reincarnation in which ancestors were reborn. With their emphasis on living human beings, Africans attached less significance to the notion of the land of the dead, or of heaven and hell.

Those external religions that came into Africa—such as early Christianity in ancient Egypt, North Africa, and Ethiopia—usually adapted to local conditions. Monophysite Christianity in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Sudan successfully resisted pressure from Rome and Byzantium and indeed attempted to impose its doctrines on external Christians. Evangelical and militant Islam failed to dislodge Egyptian Coptic Christianity, but eliminated the churches in North Africa and eventually those in the Sudan. Through the *jihad* (holy war) and peaceful merchants, Islam gained many adherents in North, West, and East Africa, but not in central or southern regions. Islam, too, adapted to the realities of Africa, and its many practices and beliefs were modified throughout the continent. A number of African rulers in the Sudan used the jihad to enlarge their realm and to challenge local traditional beliefs. In some cases, rulers did not adopt Islam since they needed the legitimacy of traditional religion, but they permitted nonruling royals to do so. In East Africa, Islam added another dimension to the Swahili culture, which was an early synthesis of African and Arab cultures.

Sciences and Arts

Ancient Africans probably made the first tools used by human beings, the so-called *eoliths* or *dawn stones,* and these were progressively modified as Africans and their neighbors entered the Copper Age, the Bronze Age, and finally the Iron Age. Along with inventing tools for food production and implements for warfare, early populations in the various river valleys learned about seed selection, and developed complex forms of irrigation that depended upon the invention and use of mathematics for measuring fields and astronomical tables that charted the course of heavenly bodies. Mathematics was important to the architecture used in the building of pyramids, palaces, and cities in the Sudan and Egypt. Some of these inventions remained valid for thousands of years, and undoubtedly diffused and adapted themselves to local cultural traditions throughout Africa and beyond. Mud brick pyramids among the pastoral Nuer people of the Upper Nile come to mind, and the elaboration of an imposing acropolis in Zimbabwe, based on the cattle kraal, is another example of that type of development. Pastoral and agricultural peoples throughout the continent, such as the Fulani and Dogon, had calendars based on the movements of such configurations of stars as the Pleiades cluster to know when to begin transhumance cycles in search of pastures, and when to plant certain crops. No doubt, the need of evolving states for correct data stimulated the evolution of

symbolic writing systems that led to the development of hieroglyphic and its more common version, hieratic. These systems recorded the deeds of royalty on temples and pyramids, as well as hymns of praise to them and to gods in several books of the dead. The need to embalm the dead led inexorably to the knowledge of anatomy and medicines, and the practice of autopsies to determine the causes of death influenced religious beliefs.

The relationship between these aspects of African cultures can be seen in a description of ancient Ghana. The king's town was said to be a complex of domed buildings, groves, and thickets in which he lived surrounded by priests of the traditional cult, who cared for royal graves decorated with statues. Only the king and his heir could wear sewn clothes (the others dressed in flowing robes), and the monarch wore strands of necklaces and bracelets. He also wore a high cap decorated with gold and wrapped in a turban of fine cotton.

What has been glossed as "art"—in the form of jewelry, statues, carvings, or masks—was well developed, whether used for funerary or other religious purposes, for secular functions, or for both. There is evidence that prehistoric Africans and their descendants transformed their natural bodily characteristics (for example, by creating hairstyles) and used various forms of painting and decoration, as if to move beyond the realm of the "natural" to the domain of the "cultural." The so-called African rock art, consisting of engravings on rocky surfaces both outside and within caves found in the Saharan region of North Africa, the Libyan desert, the Nile Valley, the Sudan, West and Central Africa, and East and South Africa, dates to the sixth millennium BCE, and may be related to comparable examples in Spain and southern France. Whether in the Tassili region of the Sahara or in Botswana and Namibia, the art depicts the activities of everyday life, grooming and decorating the body, walking, running, dancing, hunting, feasting, fighting, and worshiping.

Much of African art is symbolic, with those aspects of the body involving fertility or power highlighted, whereas other parts of the body are not highlighted. Even in areas with elaborate naturalistic statues, such as Egypt, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Nigeria, symbolic forms are often included. Egyptian art, with its mixture of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic characteristics, is well known; less well known are the terra-cotta Nok art figures from northern Nigeria, dating from 900 BCE or earlier, which may have been the prototype for the naturalistic bronze portrait heads of kings and queens of Benin and of the early Portuguese travelers in the region. The art and architectural complex of ancient Zimbabwe suggests not only a heroic period, but also provided an artistic pattern for building work, implements, and decoration throughout southern Africa. The stelae of Egypt, Aksum, and the Sudan provided dynastic histories in artistic form, and recorded totemic relations between humans and the natural and supernatural worlds. Articles used by crafts producers, such as whorls and spindles, were themselves often carved; domestic articles such as calabashes, water bags, pots, and spoons and other utensils were often decorated. Women obtained pot covers on which were carved symbols representing unacceptable behavior; they used these to cover dishes of food, which they brought to their husbands to signal displeasure of their spouses' conduct.

The word—language itself—was the basis of elaborate oral traditions in African societies. Incantations, oaths, warnings, edicts, epics, and praises affected the lives of African peoples. Used for didactic reasons in theater, legends, myths, poetry (especially among the Swahili), riddles, parables, and proverbs were common. Fourteenth-century travelers in the Niger area recorded the presence of "poets" exhorting the monarch to rule well: "This bambi [throne] on which you are sitting was sat upon by such-and-such a king, and his good deeds were so-and-so; so you do good deeds which will be remembered after you." The traveler was specifically informed that this practice "was already old before Islam, and they had continued this to this day" (Levtzion and Hopkins, 1981, p. 296).

Africans possessed an impressive number of musical genres, musical instruments, songs, and dances for secular as well as religious purposes. The simple musical bow of the foragers evolved into such chordophones (stringed instruments) as the four-stringed fiddle of the Congos, the chora in Mali, and, of course, the harp in the Nile Valley. The idiophones ranged from simple sticks, rattles, and large varieties of bells to veritable xylophone orchestras among the Chopi in the Congo/Zimbabwe region to the West African region. The membranophones, or varieties of drums, such as the "hourglass," pot, gourd, and frame drums, often formed part of orchestras with the xylophones, or were used to send messages. Adding to this musical mélange were aerophones, consisting of trumpets, horns, flutes, whistles, and the like. These instruments were often used together in intricate musical rhythms.

African songs ranged from lullabies, children's didactic songs, initiation chants, love melodies, and work songs to praise songs, religious chants, and funeral dirges. Here again, the songs were either performed by themselves or accompanied by musical instruments. Many melodies emphasized "call and response"—that is, one person sang and the chorus responded—but Africans often utilized two-, three-, or four-part harmonies. In most cases, however, songs were sung as people danced. The type of dances

varied within societies and across regional or cultural areas. Again, dances also varied with the social function involved, from dances of welcome to the stately and slow dances of royalty. And while most African dances were collective, soloists often broke ranks to highlight individual skills, then rejoining the group's intricate choreography. Finally, music and masked dancers often contributed to theatrical festivals and communal rituals.

Given the reasons for which Africans were uprooted and transported to the Americas, not all aspects of their cultures were either encouraged or permitted to survive. What is surprising, however, is just how much of this traditional background was reinterpreted and/or syncretized with elements of other cultural systems to act as guides for the behavior of African Americans over the centuries. What is also surprising is the way aspects of the African background often remained quiescent and unrecognized, only to emerge when necessary for survival. Lastly, many contemporary African Americans are going to Africa and seeking forms of culture that they are bringing back to America, and implanting as part of a continuum between the past and the present. This is often quite successful, since for human beings of every time and place, whatever happened before they were born—regardless of how long ago—becomes part of their cultural background to be used as a guide to action.

The cataclysmic changes that occurred during and after World War II are still transforming the various people and cultures of Africa, creating new political systems, changing the names of old societies and often reinventing past political systems. While initially Africans outside of Africa, commonly known as "Africans in the diaspora," played a dominant role in what was know as the Pan-African movement, they have yielded sway to Africans living in Africa, many of whom have studied outside of Africa.

Today, almost all the traditional societies of Africa are independent, and new nation states are struggling to survive. The results have been conflict and increasing transformation of African customs. This is exemplified in the struggles for peace and reconciliation that occurred after the ethic genocide in Rwanda and Burundi. The years of conflict and resulting ethic migrations in the former Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, have led to political and social upheaval resulting in the fluctuation of names and political realties. The constant renaming of African societies often creates problems for persons attempting to understand the peoples and cultures of this exciting continent. Also to be noted is that although increasingly affected by the outside world, African institutions are being transformed and in some cases are attempting to reinvent older institutions and political organizations. Surprisingly, one of the more dynamic regions of change in Africa has been South Africa, a region long believed to be the "new homeland" of European settlers. This area is becoming the center of hope for millennial change directed by Africans in the interests of all Africa and other parts of the world.

Also of importance is the emergence of African leaders in the global system. Among these is Kofi Annan, who became secretary-general of the United Nations in 1997. In the United States such persons of African descent as Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice have served as secretary of state. Perhaps most significant of all is that there are now in the United States more persons who were born in Africa and migrated the United States than the millions of Africans who were enslaved and became part of American society. The history of these new American immigrants will no doubt greatly influence the nature of the future United States and the world.

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Farrakhan, Louis
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Father Divine
FIRST EDITION

Fauset, Jessie Redmon
FIRST EDITION

February Revolt
SECOND EDITION

Federal Writers' Project
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Feelings, Thomas
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Feminist Theory and Criticism
SECOND EDITION

Festivals, U.S.
FIRST EDITION

Fifteenth Amendment
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Film in Latin America and the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Film in the United States
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Film in the United States, Contemporary
SECOND EDITION

Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of
SECOND EDITION

Filmmakers in the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Fisher, Rudolph
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Fisk Jubilee Singers
FIRST EDITION

Fisk University
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Fitzgerald, Ella
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Flake, Floyd H.
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Flipper, Henry O.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Folk Arts and Crafts
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Folklore
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Folklore: Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters
SECOND EDITION

Folklore: U.S. Folk Heroes and Characters
SECOND EDITION

Folk Medicine
FIRST EDITION

Folk Music
FIRST EDITION

Folk Religion
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Food and Cuisine, Latin American and Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Food and Cuisine, U.S.
SECOND EDITION

Football
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Ford, James W.
FIRST EDITION

Foreman, George
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Forten, James
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Fortune, T. Thomas
FIRST EDITION

Fourteenth Amendment
FIRST EDITION

Foxx, Redd
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Francisco, Slinger "The Mighty Sparrow"
SECOND EDITION

François, Elma
SECOND EDITION

Franklin, Aretha
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Franklin, C. L.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Franklin, John Hope
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Franks, Gary
SUPPLEMENT

Fraternal Orders
SECOND EDITION

Fraternities, U.S.
SECOND EDITION

Frazier, Edward Franklin
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Frazier, Joe
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Frederick Douglass' Paper
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Free Blacks, 1619–1860
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Freedman's Bank
FIRST EDITION

Freedmen's Hospital
FIRST EDITION

Freedom Rides
SUPPLEMENT

Freedom's Journal
FIRST EDITION

Freedom Summer
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Freeman, Elizabeth (Mum Bett, Mumbet)
SUPPLEMENT
Updated bibliography

Freeman, Morgan
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Free Villages
SECOND EDITION

Frente Negra Brasileira
SECOND EDITION

Fuller, Charles
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Fuller, Meta Vaux Warrick
FIRST EDITION

G

Gabriel Prosser Conspiracy
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Gaines, Ernest J.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gairy, Eric
SECOND EDITION

Gama, Luiz
SECOND EDITION

Gardens and Yard Art
SECOND EDITION

Garnet, Henry Highland
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Garrido, Juan
SECOND EDITION

Garvey, Amy Ashwood
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Garvey, Amy Jacques
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Garvey, Marcus
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Gary Convention
FIRST EDITION

Gaskin, Winifred
SECOND EDITION

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Gaye, Marvin (Gay, Marvin Pentz)
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Gay Men
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Rogers-Cooper 2005

George, David
SECOND EDITION

Gibson, Althea
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gibson, Josh
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Gillespie, Dizzy
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Giovanni, Nikki
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Glasspole, Florizel
SECOND EDITION

Glissant, Edouard
SECOND EDITION

Glover, Danny
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Glover, Savion
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Goldberg, Whoopi
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gomes, Peter John
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Gómez, Juan Gualberto
SECOND EDITION

Gordon, George William
SECOND EDITION

Gordy, Berry
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gospel Music
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gossett, Louis, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Goveia, Elsa V.
SECOND EDITION

Grace, Sweet Daddy
FIRST EDITION

Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose
SECOND EDITION

Grajales Cuello, Mariana
SECOND EDITION

Grandfather Clause
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Grandmaster Flash (Saddler, Joseph)
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Gravenberch, Adolf Frederik
SECOND EDITION

Gray, William H., III
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Great Depression and the New Deal
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Green, Al
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Gregory, Dick
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Griggs, Sutton Elbert
FIRST EDITION

Grimké, Angelina Weld
FIRST EDITION

Grimké, Archibald Henry
FIRST EDITION

Grimké, Charlotte L. Forten
FIRST EDITION

Grimké, Francis James
FIRST EDITION

Guardian, The
FIRST EDITION

Guillén, Nicolás
SECOND EDITION

Gullah
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

H

Hair and Beauty Culture in Brazil
SECOND EDITION

Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Haitian Creole Language
SECOND EDITION

Haitian Revolution
SECOND EDITION

Haitian Revolution, American Reaction to the
SECOND EDITION

Haley, Alex
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hall, Prince
FIRST EDITION

Hamer, Fannie Lou (Townsend, Fannie Lou)
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hamilton, William
FIRST EDITION

Hammon, Briton
FIRST EDITION

Hammon, Jupiter
FIRST EDITION

Hammons, David
FIRST EDITION

Hampton, Lionel Leo
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hampton Institute
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hancock, Gordon Blaine
FIRST EDITION

Hancock, Herbie
FIRST EDITION

Hansberry, Lorraine
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Harlem, New York
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Harlem Globetrotters
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Harlem Renaissance
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Harlem Writers Guild
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Harris, Abram Lincoln, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Harris, Barbara Clementine
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Harris, Patricia Roberts
FIRST EDITION

Harris, Wilson
SECOND EDITION

Harrison, Hubert Henry
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Hart Sisters of Antigua
SECOND EDITION

Hastie, William Henry
FIRST EDITION

Hatcher, Richard Gordon
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hayes, Isaac
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Haywood, Harry
FIRST EDITION

Headley, George
SECOND EDITION

Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures
SECOND EDITION

Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar)
SECOND EDITION

Hector, Tim
SECOND EDITION

Height, Dorothy
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hemphill, Essex
SUPPLEMENT

Hendrix, Jimi
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Henson, Josiah
FIRST EDITION

Henson, Matthew A.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Higginbotham, A. Leon, Jr.
SUPPLEMENT

Highlander Citizenship School
FIRST EDITION

Hill, Errol
SECOND EDITION

Hill, Ken
SECOND EDITION

Hilliard, Earl Frederick
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Hill-Thomas Hearings
FIRST EDITION

Himes, Chester
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hines, Gregory
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Hip-Hop
SECOND EDITION

Historians and Historiography, African-American
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Holder, Geoffrey
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Holiday, Billie
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Holiness Movement
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Holland, Jerome Heartwell
FIRST EDITION

Holly, James T.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hood, James Walker
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hooker, John Lee
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hooks, Benjamin L.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hope, John
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hope, Lugenia Burns
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hopkins, Pauline Elizabeth
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Horne, Lena
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Horton, George Moses
FIRST EDITION

Hospitals in the United States, Black
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Gunby 2005

Houston, Charles Hamilton
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Houston, Whitney
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Howard University
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hoyte, Desmond
SECOND EDITION

Hudson, Hosea
FIRST EDITION

Hughes, Langston
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Huie, Albert
SECOND EDITION

Huiswoud, Otto
SECOND EDITION

Hunter-Gault, Charlayne
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Hunton, William Alphaeus, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hurston, Zora Neale
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Hutson, Jean Blackwell
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

I

Identity and Race in the United States
SECOND EDITION

Innis, Roy
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Institute of the Black World
FIRST EDITION

Insurance Companies
FIRST EDITION

Intellectual Life
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Inventors and Inventions
FIRST EDITION

Islam
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Islam in the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

J

Jack and Jill of America
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Jackson, George Lester
FIRST EDITION

Jackson, Janet
SECOND EDITION

Jackson, Jesse
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jackson, Jimmy Lee
FIRST EDITION

Jackson, Joseph Harrison
FIRST EDITION

Jackson, Lillie Mae Carroll
FIRST EDITION

Jackson, Luther Porter
FIRST EDITION

Jackson, Mahalia
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Jackson, Maynard Holbrook, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Jackson, Michael
SECOND EDITION

Jackson Family
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Jacobs, Harriet Ann
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Jamaica Labour Party
SECOND EDITION

Jamaica Progressive League
SECOND EDITION

James, A. P. T.
SECOND EDITION

James, C. L. R.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

James, Daniel "Chappie"
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

James, Etta
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jamison, Judith
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Jazz: Overview
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Jazz in African-American Culture
SECOND EDITION

Jazz Singers
SECOND EDITION

Jeffers, Audrey
SECOND EDITION

Jefferson, Blind Lemon
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jesús, Úrsula de
SECOND EDITION

Jet
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jim Crow
FIRST EDITION

John Henry
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Charles Richard
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Johnson, Charles Spurgeon
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Earvin "Magic"
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Johnson, Jack
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Johnson, James Weldon
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Joshua
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Noble and George
FIRST EDITION

Jones, Absalom
FIRST EDITION

Jones, Claudia
FIRST EDITION

Jones, Gayl
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jones, James Earl
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jones, Philip Mallory
SECOND EDITION

Jones, Quincy
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jongo
SECOND EDITION

Joplin, Scott
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Jordan, Barbara
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, June
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, Michael
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordon, Edward
SECOND EDITION

Joshua, Ebenezer
SECOND EDITION

Journalism
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Journal of African American History, The
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Judaism
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Just, Ernest
FIRST EDITION

K

Karenga, Maulana
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Kawaida
FIRST EDITION

Keckley, Elizabeth
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Keith, Damon Jerome
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Kennedy, Adrienne
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Kennedy, Imogene Queenie
SECOND EDITION

Kerner Report
FIRST EDITION

Killens, John Oliver
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Kincaid, Jamaica
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

King, B. B.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Coretta Scott
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Don
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Iris
SECOND EDITION

King, Martin Luther, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

King, Sydney (Kwayana, Eusi)
SECOND EDITION

Kitt, Eartha Mae
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Knight, Gladys
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Kumina
SECOND EDITION

Kwanza
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

L

LaBelle, Patti (Holt, Patricia Louise)
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Labor and Labor Unions
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Tomassini 2005

Labov, William
SECOND EDITION

Lafayette Players
SUPPLEMENT
Updated bibliography

Lam, Wifredo
SECOND EDITION

Lamming, George
SECOND EDITION

Lampkin, Daisy
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Langston, John Mercer
FIRST EDITION

Larsen, Nella
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Last Poets
FIRST EDITION

Latimer, Lewis Howard
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Laveau, Marie
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Law and Liberty in England and America
SECOND EDITION

Lawrence, Jacob
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lawrence, Margaret
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Leadbelly (Ledbetter, Hudson William)
FIRST EDITION

League of Revolutionary Black Workers
FIRST EDITION

Lee, Spike
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Leon, Rose
SECOND EDITION

Leonard, Sugar Ray
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lesbians
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Carrington 2005

Lester, Julius
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lewis, Arthur
SECOND EDITION

Lewis, Edmonia
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Lewis, John
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Liberation Theology
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Liberator, The
FIRST EDITION

Liele, George
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lighbourne, Robert
SECOND EDITION

Ligon, Glenn
SECOND EDITION

Lincoln, Abbey
FIRST EDITION

Lincoln Theatre
FIRST EDITION

Lincoln University
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lisboa, Antônio Francisco
SECOND EDITION

Literacy Education
SECOND EDITION

Literary Criticism, U.S.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Literary Magazines
FIRST EDITION
Updated by O'Neal 2005

Literature of French Guiana
SECOND EDITION

Literature of Haiti
SECOND EDITION

Literature of Martinique and Guadeloupe
SECOND EDITION

Literature of Suriname
SECOND EDITION

Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Literature of the Netherlands Antilles
SECOND EDITION

Literature of the United States
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Dunning 2005

Little Richard (Penniman, Richard)
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

L. L. Cool J (Smith, James Todd)
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Locke, Alain Leroy
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Logan, Rayford W.
FIRST EDITION

Longbridge-Bustamante, Gladys
SECOND EDITION

Lorde, Audre
FIRST EDITION

Louis, Joe
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Lovelace, Earl
SECOND EDITION

Lowery, Joseph E.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Lowndes County Freedom Organization
SUPPLEMENT

Lucy Foster, Autherine
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Luperón, Gregorio
SECOND EDITION

Lynch, John Roy
FIRST EDITION

Lynching
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

M

Mabley, Jackie "Moms"
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Maceo, Antonio
SECOND EDITION

Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria
SECOND EDITION

Mackey, William Wellington
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco)
SECOND EDITION

Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.)
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Mais, Roger
SECOND EDITION

Makandal, François
SECOND EDITION

Malcolm X
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Malê Rebellion
SECOND EDITION

Manley, Edna
SECOND EDITION

Manley, Michael
SECOND EDITION

Manley, Norman
SECOND EDITION

Manning, Patrick
SECOND EDITION

Manumission Societies
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Manzano, Juan Francisco
SECOND EDITION

Marley, Bob
SECOND EDITION

Maroon Arts
SECOND EDITION

Maroon Societies in the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Marrant, John
FIRST EDITION

Marsalis, Wynton
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Marshall, Kerry James
SECOND EDITION

Marshall, Paule
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Marshall, Thurgood
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Marson, Una
SECOND EDITION

Martin, John Sella
FIRST EDITION

Masculinity
SECOND EDITION

Mathematicians
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Hornik-Evans 2005

Mathis, Johnny (Mathias, John Royce)
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Mayfield, Julian
FIRST EDITION

Mayors
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Hornik-Evans 2005

Mays, Benjamin E.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Mays, Willie
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

McBurnie, Beryl
SECOND EDITION

McDaniel, Hattie
FIRST EDITION

McHenry, Donald F.
SUPPLEMENT

McIntosh, George
SECOND EDITION

McKay, Claude
FIRST EDITION

McKinney, Cynthia Ann
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

McKissick, Floyd B.
FIRST EDITION

McMillan, Terry
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

McRae, Carmen
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Media and Identity in the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Medical Associations
FIRST EDITION

Meek, Carrie
SUPPLEMENT
Updated by publisher 2005

Meredith, James H.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Messenger, The
FIRST EDITION

Metcalfe, Ralph
FIRST EDITION

Mfume, Kweisi
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Michaux, Elder
FIRST EDITION

Micheaux, Oscar
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Midwifery
FIRST EDITION

Migration in the African Diaspora
SECOND EDITION

Migration/Population, U.S.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Military Experience, African-American
SECOND EDITION

Million Man March
SUPPLEMENT
Updated bibliography

Mingus, Charles
FIRST EDITION

Minstrels/Minstrelsy
FIRST EDITION

Missionary Movements
FIRST EDITION

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Mitchell, Arthur
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Mitchell, Arthur Wergs
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Mitchell, Clarence, Jr.
FIRST EDITION

Mitchell, Parren J.
SUPPLEMENT

Modern Jazz Quartet
FIRST EDITION

Moncada, Guillermo
SECOND EDITION

Monk, Thelonious Sphere
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Montejo, Esteban
SECOND EDITION

Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott
FIRST EDITION

Montgomery Improvement Association
FIRST EDITION

Moody, Anne
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Moody, Harold Arundel
SECOND EDITION

Moore, Archie
SECOND EDITION

Moore, Audley "Queen Mother"
FIRST EDITION

Moore, Richard Benjamin
FIRST EDITION

Morant Bay Rebellion
SECOND EDITION

Moravian Church
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Morehouse College
FIRST EDITION

Morejón, Nancy
SECOND EDITION

Morris Knibb, Mary
SECOND EDITION

Morrison, Toni
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Mortality and Morbidity in Latin America and the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Mortality and Morbidity in the United States
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Gunby 2005

Moseley-Braun, Carol
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Moses, Robert Parris
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Motley, Archibald John, Jr.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Motley, Constance Baker
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Moton, Robert Russa
FIRST EDITION

Mound Bayou, Mississippi
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Movimento Negro Unificado
SECOND EDITION

Moyne Commission
SECOND EDITION

Muddy Waters (Morganfield, McKinley)
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Muhammad, Elijah
FIRST EDITION

Mulzac, Hugh
SECOND EDITION

Muralists
FIRST EDITION

Murphy, Eddie
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Murray, Pauli
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Museums
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Cooks 2005

Music in Latin America
SECOND EDITION

Music in the United States
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Music, Religion, and Perceptions of Crime in Early Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro
SECOND EDITION

Musical Instruments
FIRST EDITION

Musical Theater
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Music Collections, Black
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Muslims in the Americas
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Mutual Aid Societies
SECOND EDITION

Myal
SECOND EDITION

Myers, Isaac
FIRST EDITION

N

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
FIRST EDITION

Nabrit, James Madison
FIRST EDITION

Names and Naming, African
FIRST EDITION

Names Controversy
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Nanny of the Maroons
SECOND EDITION

Nascimento, Abdias do
SECOND EDITION

Nash, Diane
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Nash, William Beverly
FIRST EDITION

National Afro-American League/Afro-American Council
FIRST EDITION

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
FIRST EDITION
Updated by Tomassini 2005

National Association of Colored Women
FIRST EDITION

National Association of Negro Musicians
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

National Bankers Association
FIRST EDITION

National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

National Black Evangelical Association
FIRST EDITION

National Council of Negro Women
FIRST EDITION

National Federation of Afro-American Women
FIRST EDITION

National Hospital Association
FIRST EDITION

Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century
SECOND EDITION

National League for the Protection of Colored Women
FIRST EDITION

National Negro Congress
FIRST EDITION

National Negro Labor Council
FIRST EDITION

National Urban League
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

National Welfare Rights Organization
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Nation of Islam
FIRST EDITION
Updated by authors 2005

Nat Turner's Rebellion
FIRST EDITION

Natural Resources of the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Naylor, Gloria
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Neal, Larry
FIRST EDITION

Négritude
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Negro American Labor Council
FIRST EDITION

Negro Elections Day
FIRST EDITION

Negro National Anthem
FIRST EDITION

Negro Sanhedrin
FIRST EDITION

Negros Brujos
SECOND EDITION

Negro String Quartet
FIRST EDITION

Negro World
SECOND EDITION

Nell, William Cooper
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Nethersole, Noel Newton
SECOND EDITION

Nettleford, Rex
SECOND EDITION

New Jewel Movement
SECOND EDITION

New Media and Digital Culture
SECOND EDITION

New Negro
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Newton, Huey P.
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Newton, James
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Niagara Movement
FIRST EDITION

Nixon, Edgar Daniel
FIRST EDITION

Noble Drew Ali
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Norman, Jessye
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Northrup, Solomon
FIRST EDITION

North Star
SUPPLEMENT
Updated bibliography

Norton, Eleanor Holmes
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Numbers Games
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Nursing in the Caribbean
SECOND EDITION

Nursing in the United States
SECOND EDITION

O

OBAC Writers' Workshop
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Obeah
SECOND EDITION

Oblate Sisters of Providence
FIRST EDITION

Odetta (Gordon, Odetta Holmes Felious)
FIRST EDITION

Ogbu, John
SECOND EDITION

O'Leary, Hazel Rollins
FIRST EDITION

Olympians
SECOND EDITION

Opera
FIRST EDITION
Updated by publisher 2005

Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity)
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life
FIRST EDITION

Orisha
SECOND EDITION

Owen, Chandler
FIRST EDITION

Owens, Jesse
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

P

Padmore, George
SECOND EDITION

Paige, Satchel
FIRST EDITION
Updated bibliography

Painter, Nell Irvin
SECOND EDITION

Painting and Sculpture
FIRST EDITION
Updated by author 2005

Palcy, Euzhan
SECOND EDITION

Palenque San Basilio
SECOND EDITION

Palmares
SECOND EDITION

Pan-Africanism
FIRST EDITION

Pan-African Orthodox Church (the Shrine of the Black Madonna)
FIRST EDITION

Panama Canal
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Directory of Contributors

Authors are listed below in alphabetic order followed by their affiliations and the article(s) they contributed. Articles reprinted from the first edition (1996) or from the supplement (2001) are indicated by dates in parentheses. The year 2005 indicates a new article or significant update written for the second edition. Current affiliations are offered whenever possible.

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national federation of afro-american women (1996)
third world women's alliance (1996)

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alexander, sadie tanner mossell (1996)
burke, yvonne brathwaite (1996)
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coleman, bessie (1996)
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motley, constance baker (1996)
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robeson, eslanda (1996)
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lovelace, earl (2005)

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patents and inventions (1996)
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colored farmers alliance (2001)
mfume, kweisi (2005)

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hart sisters of antigua (2005)
prince, mary (2005)
seacole, mary (2005)
slave narratives of the caribbean and latin america (2005)

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affirmative action (2005)

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allen, debbie (1996)
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jackson, maynard holbrook, jr. (2005)

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Deceased
randolph, asa philip (1996)

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slave narratives (1996)

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protestantism in the americas (2005)
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albizu campos, pedro (2005)

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labor and labor unions (1996)

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césaire, aimé (2005)

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de jesus, carolina maria (2005)

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evers, medgar (1996)
james, daniel "chappie" (1996)
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Arthur R. Ashe Jr.
Deceased
american tennis association (1996)
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tennis (1996)

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muslims in the americas (2005)
webb, frank j. (1996)

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walker, alice (1996)

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luperón, gregorio (2005)
yoruba religion and culture in the americas (2005)

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University of Alabama
europe, james reese (1996)

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spiritual church movement (1996)

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hopkins, pauline elizabeth (1996)

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Department of History
abdul-jabbar, kareem (1996)
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african union methodism (1996)

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francisco, slinger "the mighty sparrow" (2005)

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Perkins Eastman Architects
architecture (1996)

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black studies (1996)

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barry, marion (2005)
wilder, lawrence douglas (2005)

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yerby, frank (1996)

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radio (1996)

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olympians (2005)

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charles, eugenia (2005)

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labov, william (2005)

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burke, rudolph augustus (2005)
nethersole, noel newton (2005)

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wideman, john edgar (1996)

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reggae aesthetics (2005)

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banneker, benjamin (1996)

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hastie, william henry (1996)

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PURYEAR, MARTIN (1996)

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JUDAISM (1996)

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DOCUMENTARY FILM (2005)
URBAN CINEMA (2005)

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APOLLO THEATER (1996)

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Miller Place, New York
JOPLIN, SCOTT (1996)
RAGTIME (1996)

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FREE BLACKS, 1619–1860 (1996)

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (2005)

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OBEAH (2005)

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VANDERZEE, JAMES (1996)

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GRAVENBERCH, ADOLF FREDERIK (2005)
HUISWOUD, OTTO (2005)
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AFRICAN BURIAL GROUND PROJECT (2005)

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EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES (1996)

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CHRISTOPHE, HENRI (2005)
DESSALINES, JEAN-JACQUES (2005)
DUVALIER, FRANÇOIS (2005)
ESTIMÉ, DUMARSAIS (2005)

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SOCIOLOGY (2005)

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ASHE, ARTHUR (1996)

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MARLEY, BOB (2005)
REGGAE (2005)

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PRICE, GEORGE (2005)

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SANTERÍA (1996)

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REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACKNESS IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)

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ABBOTT, ROBERT SENGSTACKE (1996)
CHICAGO DEFENDER (1996)

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CLEVELAND, JAMES (1996)
DORSEY, THOMAS A. (1996)
GOSPEL MUSIC (1996)
JACKSON, MAHALIA (1996)

James Bradley
Brooklyn, New York
DINKINS, DAVID (1996)
HARRIS, PATRICIA ROBERTS (1996)
O'LEARY, HAZEL ROLLINS (1996)

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Detroit, Michigan
TYSON, MIKE (2005)

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Department of History
AMELIORATION (2005)
BELMANNA RIOTS (2005)
GOVEIA, ELSA V. (2005)

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Department of Art
PHOTOGRAPHY, DIASPORIC (2005)

Alejandra Bronfman
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Department of History
PARTIDO INDEPENDIENTE DE COLOR (2005)

LeRonn Brooks
Graduate Center, City University of New York
LIGON, GLENN (2005)
MARSHALL, KERRY JAMES (2005)

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Columbia University
HARRIS, BARBARA CLEMENTINE (1996)
HOLINESS MOVEMENT (1996)
JACKSON, LUTHER PORTER (1996)

VARICK, JAMES (1996)
WILLIAMS, PETER, JR. (1996)

AGGREY BROWN
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Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Education
MEDIA AND IDENTITY IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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Department of History
MALÊ REBELLION (2005)
TAILOR'S REVOLT (2005)

ANTHONY BROWN
University of California, Berkeley
Department of Music
BLAKEY, ART (BUHAINA, ABDUL-LAH IBN) (1996)
NEWTON, JAMES (1996)
ROACH, MAX (1996)

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SUN RA (BLOUNT, HERMAN "SONNY") (1996)

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WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY (1996)

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Theological School
VOODOO (1996)

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BONDS, MARGARET (1996)

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Department of English
BAMBARA, TONI CADE (1996)
CHILDRESS, ALICE (1996)

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Department of History
DIALECT POETRY (1996)
DUNBAR, PAUL LAURENCE (1996)
GRIMKÉ, ANGELINA WELD (1996)
GRIMKÉ, ARCHIBALD HENRY (1996)
GRIMKÉ, CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN (1996)

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Department of English
LITERARY MAGAZINES (1996)
MCDANIEL, HATTIE (1996)

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CLARKE, AUSTIN (2005)

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Department of Government
HILL, KEN (2005)
LEON, ROSE (2005)
SHEARER, HUGH (2005)
WEST INDIES DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (2005)
WEST INDIES FEDERAL LABOUR PARTY (2005)

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Department of Music
CAESAR, SHIRLEY (1996)

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WALKER, MADAM C. J. (1996)

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LISBOA, ANTÔNIO FRANCISCO (2005)

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CHAMOISEAU, PATRICK (2005)
MAKANDAL, FRANÇOIS (2005)
TOUSSAINT-LOUVERTURE (2005)

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Department of Communications
POPULAR CULTURE (2005)

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AFRICAN DIASPORA (2005)
BLACK PRESS IN BRAZIL (2005)
FRENTE NEGRA BRASILEIRA (2005)

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JONES, GAYL (1996)

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GEORGE, DAVID (2005)

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MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS (1996)

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE (1996)

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EDUCATION IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)
SHERLOCK, PHILIP (2005)
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BEARDEN, ROMARE (1996)

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BAHÁ'Í COMMUNITIES IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

ANDRÉ M. CARRINGTON
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY, U.S. (2005)
LESBIANS (2005)

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Department of History
MANNING, PATRICK (2005)
ROBINSON, A. N. R. (2005)
WILLIAMS, ERIC (2005)

CLAYBORNE CARSON
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Department of History
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (1996)
KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1996)
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) (1996)

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PHILANTHROPY AND FOUNDATIONS (2005)

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Department of History
SCOTTSBORO CASE (1996)

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TAYLOR, KOKO (2005)

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Massachusetts Institute of Technology
ASTRONAUTS (2005)

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Department of Sociology
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGISTS, AND RACE (2005)

Barbara Chase-Riboud
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BAKER, JOSEPHINE (1996)

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TIA CIATA (2005)

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ADAMS, GRANTLEY (2005)

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RASTAFARIANISM (2005)

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FOLK RELIGION (1996)

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BLAXPLOITATION FILMS (1996)
LEE, SPIKE (1996)

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Deceased
ANGELOU, MAYA (1996)
JORDAN, JUNE (1996)

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Department of English
CANADIAN WRITERS IN ENGLISH (2005)

William S. Cole
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COLTRANE, JOHN (1996)
DAVIS, MILES (1996)
PARKER, CHARLIE (1996)

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SAAR, ALISON (2005)

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Systematic Theology
LIBERATION THEOLOGY (2005)
MALCOLM X (2005)
THEOLOGY, BLACK (2005)

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MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (1996)

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MUSEUMS (2005)

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MCKAY, CLAUDE (1996)

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MOVIMENTO NEGRO UNIFICADO (2005)

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BLAIZE, HERBERT (2005)
GAIRY, ERIC (2005)

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MAROON SOCIETIES IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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FILM IN THE UNITED STATES (1996)

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JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON (1996)
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PENTECOSTALISM IN NORTH AMERICA (1996)

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BRATHWAITE, EDWARD KAMAU (1996)
KILLENS, JOHN OLIVER (1996)
SANCHEZ, SONIA (2005)

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Department of Economics
ECONOMIC CONDITION, U.S. (2005)
HARRIS, ABRAM LINCOLN, JR. (2005)
REPARATIONS (2005)

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Department of Africana Studies
GLISSANT, EDOUARD (2005)
LITERATURE OF HAITI (2005)

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The John H. Johnson School of Communications
COSBY, BILL (1996)

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Department of History
RACE AND EDUCATION IN BRAZIL (2005)

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FILM IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (2005)
REVOLTA DA CHIBATA (2005)

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LARSEN, NELLA (1996)

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MAIS, ROGER (2005)
WILLIAMS, FRANCIS (2005)

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BAILEY, BERYL LOFTMAN (2005)

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MADHUBUTI, HAKI R. (LEE, DON L.) (1996)

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AILEY, ALVIN (2005)
BALLET (2005)
BREAKDANCING (2005)
DANCE THEATER OF HARLEM (1996)
DOVE, ULYSSES (1996)
JAMISON, JUDITH (2005)
MITCHELL, ARTHUR (2005)

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FISHER, RUDOLPH (1996)
WALCOTT, DEREK ALTON (2005)

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ANDERSON, MARIAN (1996)
NORMAN, JESSYE (1996)
OPERA (1996)
PRICE, MARY VIOLET LEONTYNE (1996)

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SOCCER (2005)

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SICKLE-CELL DISEASE (1996)

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Feminist Studies, History of Consciousness, and Legal Studies
DOVE, RITA (1996)
KINCAID, JAMAICA (1996)

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CAPOEIRA (2005)

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HANCOCK, HERBIE (1996)
MODERN JAZZ QUARTET (1996)
MONK, THELONIOUS SPHERE (1996)

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MUSEUMS (1996)

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AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1996)
MAYS, BENJAMIN E. (1996)

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BROWN, CLAUDE (1996)
ROLLE, ESTHER (1996)
SCOTT, HAZEL (1996)
WINFREY, OPRAH (1996)

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NOBLE DREW ALI (1996)
PAN-AFRICAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (THE SHRINE OF THE BLACK MADONNA) (1996)

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COLEMAN, ORNETTE (1996)

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MACHADO DE ASSIS, JOAQUIM MARIA (2005)

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New York Public Library
COPPIN, FANNY JACKSON (1996)

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CANADIAN WRITERS IN FRENCH (2005)

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ARCHITECTURE (1996)

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TANNER, HENRY OSSAWA (1996)

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Department of History of Art and Architecture
WALKER, KARA (2005)

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History Department
HAITIAN REVOLUTION, AMERICAN REACTION TO THE (2005)

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African and African American Studies Program
EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)
IDENTITY AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)
OGBU, JOHN (2005)
SCIENCE (2005)

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Department of English
LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES (2005)

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Department of History
JOHNSON, EARVIN "MAGIC" (2005)

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Department of History
wells-barnett, ida b. (1996)

Mervyn Dymally
California State Assembly
politics in the united states (1996)

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Department of Religious Studies
jackson, jesse (1996)

Doris Dziwas
Berlin, Germany
hammon, briton (1996)
marrant, john (1996)

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Department of Arts & Sciences
ali, muhammad (1996)
boxing (1996)
cullen, countee (1996)
louis, joe (1996)

George E. Eaton
York University
School of Analytic Studies and Information Technology
bustamante, alexander (2005)

Brent Edwards
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
griggs, sutton elbert (1996)

Lillie Johnson Edwards
Drew University
Department of History
episcopalians (1996)

Peter Eisenstadt
Albany, New York
rhythm and blues (1996)

Dena J. Epstein
Chicago, Illinois
folk music (1996)
spirituals (1996)

Alana J. Erickson
Columbia University
brimmer, andrew felton (1996)
council on african affairs (1996)
league of revolutionary black workers (1996)
nash, william beverly (1996)
rapier, james thomas (1996)
red summer (1996)
turner, benjamin sterling (1996)
united states commission on civil rights (1996)
washington, margaret murray (1996)

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Graduate Center, City University of New York
Department of English
sororities, u.s. (2005)

Demetrius L. Eudell
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History and African American Studies
wynter, sylvia (2005)

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Department of English
literary criticism, u.s. (2005)

Geneviève Fabre
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American Studies
festivals, u.s. (1996)

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Research Center in African American Studies
bradley, david (1996)
dixon, melvin (1996)
dunbar-nelson, alice (1996)
pinchback, p. b. s. (1996)
wright, richard (1996)

Crystal N. Feimster
Boston College
Department of History
painter, nell irvin (2005)

Tamara L. Felton
Richmond, Virginia
saar, betye irene (1996)

Gerard Fergerson
New York University
Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service
race, scientific theories of (1996)

Ada Ferrer
New York University
Department of History
bandera, quintín (2005)
moncada, guillermo (2005)

Henry J. Ferry
Howard University
Department of Divinity
grimké, francis james (1996)

Ângela Figueiredo
Salvador, Brazil
hair and beauty culture in brazil (2005)

Paul Finkelman
University of Tulsa
College of Law
black codes (1996)
brown v. board of education of topeka, kansas (1996)
dred scott v. sandford (1996)
plessy v. ferguson (1996)
slavery and the constitution (1996)

Tom Finkelpearl
New York, New York
hammons, david (1996)

Roy E. Finkenbine
University of Detroit Mercy
Department of History
attucks, crispus (1996)
christiana revolt of 1851 (1996)
names controversy (1996)
nell, william cooper (1996)
payne, daniel alexander (1996)

Dawn-Elissa Fischer
University of Florida
literacy education (2005)

Leroy Fitts
Baltimore, Maryland
baptists (1996)
carey, lott (1996)
national baptist convention, u.s.a., inc. (1996)

Michael W. Fitzgerald
Saint Olaf College
Department of History
bureau of refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands (1996)
fifteenth amendment (1996)
grandfather clause (1996)
thirteenth amendment (1996)

UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA (1996)

SUZANNE FLANDREAU
Columbia College Chicago
Center for Black Music Research
MUSIC COLLECTIONS, BLACK (2005)

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American Studies Program
NEW MEDIA AND DIGITAL CULTURE (2005)

MARVIN E. FLETCHER
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Department of History
DAVIS, BENJAMIN O., JR. (1996)

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Department of Philosophy & Religion
THURMAN, HOWARD (1996)

BARBARA CLARE FOLEY
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FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT (1996)

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GOSSETT, LOUIS, JR. (1996)
PARKS, SUZAN-LORI (1996)
VAN PEEBLES, MELVIN (1996)

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Department of English
DELANY, SAMUEL R. (1996)

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CARIBBEAN/NORTH AMERICAN WRITERS (CONTEMPORARY) (2005)

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SCHOLES, THEOPHILUS (2005)

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COPPIN, LEVI JENKINS (1996)

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LYNCH, JOHN ROY (1996)
WILLIAMS, GEORGE WASHINGTON (1996)

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MCINTOSH, GEORGE (2005)
MULZAC, HUGH (2005)

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CHAGUARAMAS (2005)
HOYTE, DESMOND (2005)

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BUNCHE, RALPH (1996)

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CAREW, JAN (2005)
COLÓN MAN (2005)

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JACKSON, JANET (2005)
JACKSON, MICHAEL (2005)
JACKSON FAMILY (2005)

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Brock University
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FORTUNE, T. THOMAS (1996)
GUARDIAN, THE (1996)
HOPE, JOHN (1996)
MESSENGER, THE (1996)
TROTTER, JAMES MONROE (1996)
TROTTER, WILLIAM MONROE (1996)
VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 (1996)
YOUNG, WHITNEY M., JR. (1996)

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FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT (1996)
INSURANCE COMPANIES (1996)
LIBERATOR, THE (1996)
SANTERÍA (2005)

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Montclair State University
BRAWLEY, EDWARD MCKNIGHT (1996)
CRAFT, ELLEN AND WILLIAM (1996)
EDELMAN, MARIAN WRIGHT (1996)
FREEMAN, MORGAN (1996)
FULLER, CHARLES (1996)
GLOVER, DANNY (1996)
JONES, JAMES EARL (1996)
LAWRENCE, MARGARET (1996)
PROCTOR, HENRY HUGH (1996)
TYSON, CICELY (1996)

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ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH (1996)
COKER, DANIEL (1996)
PRIMITIVE BAPTISTS (1996)

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GRANDMASTER FLASH (SADDLER, JOSEPH) (2001)

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JAMES, C. L. R. (1996)

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MICHEAUX, OSCAR (1996)

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HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES, BLACK (1996)
NATIONAL HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION (1996)

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JOURNALISM (2005)

REEBEE GAROFALO
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College of Public and Community Services
RECORDING INDUSTRY (2005)

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KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1996)
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) (1996)

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SKIN COLOR (1996)

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SUPREMES, THE (1996)
TEMPTATIONS, THE (1996)
WONDER, STEVIE (MORRIS, STEVLAND) (1996)

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JAZZ IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE (2005)

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) (1996)
RUSTIN, BAYARD (1996)

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HILL, ERROL (2005)
ORISHA (2005)

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ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CREATIVE MUSICIANS (1996)
DE PASSE, SUZANNE (1996)
DIDDLEY, BO (MCDANIEL, OTHA ELIAS) (1996)
GILLESPIE, DIZZY (1996)
GORDY, BERRY (1996)
JEFFERSON, BLIND LEMON (1996)
JONES, QUINCY (1996)
LAST POETS (1996)
LEADBELLY (LEDBETTER, HUDSON WILLIAM) (1996)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (1996)
NUMBERS GAMES (1996)
PRIDE, CHARLEY FRANK (1996)
RHYTHM AND BLUES (1996)
SAVOY BALLROOM (1996)
SCOTT, JAMES SYLVESTER (1996)
WALROND, ERIC DERWENT (1996)
ZYDECO (1996)

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MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (2005)

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DREKE, VÍCTOR (2005)
RISQUET, JORGE (2005)

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ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS (1996)
ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE AND HISTORY (1996)
BLACK HISTORY MONTH/NEGRO HISTORY WEEK (1996)
JOURNAL OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY, THE (1996)
WOODSON, CARTER G. (1996)

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New York, New York
JAZZ: OVERVIEW (2005)

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SHUTTLESWORTH, FRED L. (1996)

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NASCIMENTO, ABDIAS DO (2005)
PALMARES (2005)
TRINDADE, SOLANO (2005)

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MIGRATION IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA (2005)
SLAVE RELIGIONS (2005)

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WILSON, FRED (2005)

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FANON, FRANTZ (2005)

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ALLAN, HAROLD (2005)
JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY (2005)
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BUTLER, OCTAVIA (1996)

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DA SILVA, BENEDITA (2005)

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FREEDOM RIDES (2001)

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WALKER, MARGARET (1996)

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REBOUÇAS, ANTÔNIO PEREIRA (2005)

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE (2005)

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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PATTERSON, PERCIVAL JAMES "P. J." (2005)
SANGSTER, DONALD (2005)
URBAN POVERTY IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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BLAKE, EUBIE (1996)

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MADAME SATÃ (DOS SANTOS, JOÃO FRANCISCO) (2005)

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ENGLISH, AFRICAN-AMERICAN (2005)

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BRODBER, ERNA (2005)

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POITIER, SIDNEY (1996)

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Elon University
Business Administration Department
HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES, BLACK (2005)
MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)

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American Studies Program
GARDENS AND YARD ART (2005)

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Department of History
LYNCHING (1996)

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Kingston, Jamaica
CAMPBELL, CLIFFORD CLARENCE (2005)
GLASSPOLE, FLORIZEL (2005)

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History Department
APONTE, JOSÉ ANTONIO (2005)
CLUB ATENAS (2005)
MACEO, ANTONIO (2005)

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Department of English and Program in Southern Studies
BLUES IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE (2005)

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Southern University System
SLAVE CODES (2005)

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Department of African American Studies
AMISTAD MUTINY (1996)

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Lehman College, City University of New York
GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL (1996)

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Deceased
WILLIAMS, MARY LOU (1996)

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LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM ORGANIZATION (2001)

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Veterans of Hope Project
CANDOMBLÉ (2005)

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JET (1996)
ROSS, DIANA (1996)

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SMITH, ANNA DEAVERE (2001)

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Department of Art
STOUT, RENEÉ (2005)

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HISTORIANS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY, AFRICAN-AMERICAN (2005)

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Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics
ASTRONAUTS (2005)

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Department of History
REED, ISHMAEL (1996)

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Department of Political Science
POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES (2005)

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BLUESWOMEN OF THE 1920S AND 1930S (2005)
RAINEY, MA (1996)
SMITH, BESSIE (1996)

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Department of Anthropology
ANTHROPOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS (2005)

Robert C. Hayden
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College of Public and Community Service
DREW, CHARLES RICHARD (1996)

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Department of History
AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY (AFCS) (1996)
ANTEBELLUM CONVENTION MOVEMENT (1996)
BROWN, HENRY "BOX" (1996)
CHRISTIAN RECORDER (1996)
FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER (1996)
FREEDOM'S JOURNAL (1996)
HENSON, JOSIAH (1996)
LANGSTON, JOHN MERCER (1996)
QUARLES, BENJAMIN (1996)
REMOND, CHARLES LENOX (1996)
SMITH, JAMES MCCUNE (1996)
WRIGHT, THEODORE SEDGWICK (1996)

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Department of English
WHITEHEAD, COLSON (2005)

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BERRY, CHUCK (1996)
HENDRIX, JIMI (1996)
PRINCE (NELSON, PRINCE ROGERS) (1996)

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Department of English
THURMAN, WALLACE (1996)

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MUSIC, RELIGION, AND PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY RIO DE JANEIRO (2005)

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MORANT BAY REBELLION (2005)

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Humanities, Arts, and Cultural Studies
BUBBLES, JOHN (1996)
HINES, GREGORY (2005)
ROBINSON, BILL "BOJANGLES" (1996)
TAP DANCE (1996)

Errol G. Hill
Deceased
ALDRIDGE, IRA (1996)

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Department of History
AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD (1996)
BRIGGS, CYRIL (1996)
GARVEY, MARCUS (1996)
UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (1996)

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TELEVISION (1996)

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Department of History
PRINCE, LUCY TERRY (1996)

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AFRICAN FREE SCHOOL (1996)
RUGGLES, DAVID (1996)
RUSSWURM, JOHN BROWN (1996)

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BANNISTER, EDWARD MITCHELL (1996)

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Music Building
NEGRO STRING QUARTET (1996)

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AFRICANISMS (1996)
NAMES AND NAMING, AFRICAN (1996)

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CONE, JAMES H. (1996)

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Communication Studies
BRADLEY, TOM (1996)
NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS (1996)

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MATHEMATICIANS (2005)
MAYORS (2005)

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Department of English
COCHRAN, JOHNNIE L., JR. (2005)
PHYLON (2001)

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Department of History
ALMEIDA BOSQUE, JUAN (2005)

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New York Public Library
HARLEM WRITERS GUILD (1996)

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Faculty of Arts and Sciences
ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM (2005)

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Department of History
LAW AND LIBERTY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA (2005)

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HAITIAN REVOLUTION (2005)

Marshall Hyatt
New York, New York
HARLEM, NEW YORK (1996)
LEWIS, JOHN (1996)
MOSES, ROBERT PARRIS (1996)
POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN (1996)

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Randolph-Macon College
Department of English
COMIC STRIPS (2005)

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Department of English Language and Literature
FEELINGS, THOMAS (1996)
LUCY FOSTER, AUTHERINE (1996)
MOODY, ANNE (1996)

Irene V. Jackson
Port Chester, New York
tharpe, "sister" rosetta (1996)

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Department of History
alleyne, george (2005)
barrow, errol (2005)
barrow, nita (2005)
bishop, maurice (2005)
walcott, frank (2005)
west indies federation (2005)

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bethune-cookman college (1996)

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Anacostia Museum
inventors and inventions (1996)

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African and Afro-American Studies
logan, rayford w. (1996)

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Barrister, Kingstown, St. Vincent and the Grenadines
joshua, ebenezer (2005)

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Pennsylvania State University
clarke, lewis g. (2001)
cleage, albert b., jr. (2001)
crockett, george william, jr. (2001)
easton, hosea (2001)
flake, floyd h. (2001)
freeman, elizabeth (mum bett, mumbet) (2001)
lafayette players (2001)
mitchell, parren j. (2001)
north star (2001)
wilson, flip (2001)

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School of Social Work
social work (1996)

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Department of History
domestic workers (2005)

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politics and politicians in latin america (2005)

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tuskegee syphilis experiment (1996)

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Department of History and Archaeology
burke, lilly mae (2005)
dalton-james, edith (2005)
longbridge-bustamante, gladys (2005)
morris knibb, mary (2005)

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Department of History
brown, andrew benjamin (2005)
burnham, forbes (2005)
critchlow, hubert nathaniel (2005)
denbow, claude h. a. (2005)
gaskin, winifred (2005)
moody, harold arundel (2005)
people's national congress (2005)
phillips-gay, jane (2005)

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Comparative Literature Department
négritude (2005)

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Department of History
attucks, crispus (1996)

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Department of Anthropology
communist party of the united states (1996)

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marshall, thurgood (1996)

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basquiat, jean-michel (1996)

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Department of Anthropology
black caribs (2005)

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History Department
anti-colonial movements (2005)

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Department of Ethnomusicology
rap (2005)

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mutual aid societies (2005)

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carnival in brazil and the caribbean (2005)

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johnson, charles spurgeon (1996)

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lorde, audre (1996)

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Art History
painting and sculpture (2005)

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Department of English
gaines, ernest j. (1996)

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bibb, henry walton (1996)

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Columbia University
FITZGERALD, ELLA (1996)
FRANKLIN, ARETHA (1996)
HOLIDAY, BILLIE (1996)
MCRAE, CARMEN (1996)
REDDING, OTIS (1996)
SMITH, MAMIE (1996)
VAUGHAN, SARAH (1996)

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Department of History
HEARNE, JOHN (CAULWELL, EDGAR) (2005)
SLAVERY (2005)

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CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS, INDEPENDENT (2005)

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BLACK-INDIAN RELATIONS (2005)

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Pius XII Library
ARCHITECTURE (2005)

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HARRIS, WILSON (2005)

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CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (1996)

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DIVINATION AND SPIRIT POSSESSION IN THE AMERICAS (2005)

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GRACIA REAL DE SANTA TERESA DE MOSE (2005)

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LESBIANS (1996)

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BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, INCIDENT (1996)

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JONES, PHILIP MALLORY (2005)

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WOODS, TIGER (1996)

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Department of English
PHILLIPS, CARYL (2005)

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Department of History
CLARK, SEPTIMA (1996)
HAMER, FANNIE LOU (TOWNSEND, FANNIE LOU) (1996)

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School of Art
DOUGLAS, AARON (1996)
FULLER, META VAUX WARRICK (1996)
SAVAGE, AUGUSTA (1996)

Steven J. Leslie
Columbia University
BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN GRIFFITH (1996)
BROOKE, EDWARD W. (1996)
COOK, MERCER (1996)
DEPRIEST, OSCAR STANTON (1996)
DIGGS, CHARLES, JR. (1996)
FARMER, JAMES (1996)
MEREDITH, JAMES H. (1996)
REDDING, JAY SAUNDERS (1996)
WILLIAMS, HOSEA LORENZO (1996)

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NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL (1996)

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HARLEM RENAISSANCE (1996)

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NEGRO ELECTIONS DAY (1996)

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BARTHÉ, RICHMOND (1996)

C. Eric Lincoln
Deceased
NATION OF ISLAM (1996)

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Department of Art History
CONGOS OF PANAMA (2005)
SANTERÍA AESTHETICS (2005)

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Department of History
SLAVE TRADE (2005)

Leon F. Litwack
University of California, Berkeley
Department of History
FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE (1996)
JIM CROW (1996)

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BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN (1996)
JOHNSON, MORDECAI WYATT (1996)

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Department of History
ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS (2005)

Joseph E. Lowndes
University of Oregon
Department of Political Science
CAIN, RICHARD HARVEY (1996)
GREEN, AL (1996)
PARSONS, LUCY (1996)
TYSON, CICELY (1996)

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Duke University
John Hope Franklin Center, African American Studies
MORRISON, TONI (1996)

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Department of Social Sciences
BIGGART, JAMES (2005)
CONSTANTINE, LEARIE (2005)
JAMES, A. P. T. (2005)

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Antioch College
SOCIAL GOSPEL (1996)

Christine A. Lunardini
Saint Michael Academy, New York
BROWN, RONALD H. (1996)
CLARK, KENNETH BANCROFT (1996)
CONYERS, JOHN (1996)
DAVIS, ANGELA (1996)
DU BOIS, SHIRLEY GRAHAM (1996)
HIGHLANDER CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL (1996)
JORDAN, BARBARA (1996)
ROOSEVELT'S BLACK CABINET (1996)
SPELMAN COLLEGE (1996)
YOUNG, ANDREW (1996)

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ALEXANDER, RAYMOND PACE (1996)

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DELANEY, JOSEPH (1996)
WASHINGTON, DENZEL (1996)

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Department of English
EVERS, CHARLES (1996)

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BURNS, ANTHONY (1996)

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THEATRICAL DANCE (1996)

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FARRAKHAN, LOUIS (2005)
ISLAM (2005)
MUHAMMAD, ELIJAH (1996)
NATION OF ISLAM (2005)

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Writing and Humanistic Studies
COBB, W. MONTAGUE (1996)
FOLK MEDICINE (1996)
JUST, ERNEST (1996)
MATHEMATICIANS (1996)
SCIENCE (1996)

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FARM WORKER PROGRAM (2005)

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Department of English and Department of American Studies
EQUIANO, OLAUDAH (1996)
HIMES, CHESTER (1996)

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RACE, SCIENTIFIC THEORIES OF (2005)

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GUILLÉN, NICOLÁS (2005)

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MANLEY, MICHAEL (2005)

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NEAL, LARRY (1996)

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AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH (1996)
MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS (1996)

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NEGRO WORLD (2005)

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Department of History
DOUGLASS, FREDERICK (1996)
KARENGA, MAULANA (2005)

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Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures
FOLKLORE: LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN CULTURE HEROES AND CHARACTERS (2005)

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Department of Film
FILM IN THE UNITED STATES, CONTEMPORARY (2005)
FILMMAKERS, LOS ANGELES SCHOOL OF (2005)

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Department of History
CANADA, BLACKS IN (2005)

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Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology
MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)

Louise P. Maxwell
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ALLEN, MACON BOLLING (1996)
AMERICAN MORAL REFORM SOCIETY (1996)
DURHAM MANIFESTO (1996)
FREEDMAN'S BANK (1996)
GULLAH (1996)
HANCOCK, GORDON BLAINE (1996)
HOOKS, BENJAMIN L. (1996)
KEITH, DAMON JEROME (1996)
KING, CORETTA SCOTT (1996)
TUBMAN, HARRIET (1996)
WATERS, MAXINE MOORE (1996)
WHIPPER, WILLIAM (1996)

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POWERS, HARRIET (2005)

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QUERINO, MANUEL (2005)

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WEST, DOROTHY (1996)

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (2005)

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FISK JUBILEE SINGERS (1996)
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO MUSICIANS (1996)

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DAVIS, OSSIE (1996)
DEE, RUBY (1996)
FOXX, REDD (1996)
GLOVER, DANNY (1996)
GOLDBERG, WHOOPI (1996)
HOLLY, JAMES T. (1996)
KITT, EARTHA MAE (1996)
MURPHY, EDDIE (1996)
STEPIN FETCHIT (PERRY, LINCOLN) (1996)

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HURSTON, ZORA NEALE (1996)

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SOCIOLOGY (1996)

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CARVER, GEORGE WASHINGTON (1996)
WORK, MONROE NATHAN (1996)

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HOUSTON, CHARLES HAMILTON (1996)

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BARBADOES, JAMES G. (1996)
CAIN, RICHARD HARVEY (1996)
DICKSON, MOSES (1996)
FREEDMEN'S HOSPITAL (1996)
HAMILTON, WILLIAM (1996)
HANCOCK, GORDON BLAINE (1996)
HOOD, JAMES WALKER (1996)
LAWRENCE, MARGARET (1996)
MARTIN, JOHN SELLA (1996)
MOORE, RICHARD BENJAMIN (1996)
NASH, DIANE (1996)
NAYLOR, GLORIA (1996)
WALKER, WYATT TEE (1996)

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FRATERNITIES, U.S. (2005)

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ECKSTINE, BILLY (1996)
MARSALIS, WYNTON (1996)
MINGUS, CHARLES (1996)

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AFRICAN BURIAL GROUND PROJECT (2005)
CIVIL WAR, U.S. (2005)

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NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT (2005)

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BROOKS, GWENDOLYN (2005)

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WILKINS, ROY (1996)

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COMMUNITY RADIO (2005)

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NATIONAL BLACK EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION (1996)

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CARNEY, WILLIAM H. (1996)
JACKSON, LILLIE MAE CARROLL (1996)
LATIMER, LEWIS HOWARD (1996)

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ABAKUÁ (2005)

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ATTAWAY, WILLIAM (1996)
BLACK WORLD/NEGRO DIGEST (1996)
GREGORY, DICK (1996)

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BULLINS, ED (1996)

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BLACK DANDY, THE (2005)

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RACIAL DEMOCRACY IN BRAZIL (2005)

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KING, IRIS (2005)
MANLEY, EDNA (2005)

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HEADLEY, GEORGE (2005)

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AFROCUBANISMO (2005)

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RIOTS AND POPULAR PROTESTS (2005)

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BENNETT, LOUISE (2005)
DUB POETRY (2005)

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ART IN HAITI (2005)

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CRUMMELL, ALEXANDER (1996)
PAN-AFRICANISM (1996)

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TOUSSAINT, PIERRE (1996)

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AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY (ANA) (1996)

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EGIPCÍACA, ROSA (2005)

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CONDÉ, MARYSE (2005)

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BELAFONTE, HARRY (1996)
HORNE, LENA (1996)
LINCOLN, ABBEY (1996)
MATHIS, JOHNNY (MATHIAS, JOHN ROYCE) (1996)
WATERS, ETHEL (1996)

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LITERATURE OF MARTINIQUE AND GUADELOUPE (2005)

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ART IN THE UNITED STATES, CONTEMPORARY (2005)

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ISLAM IN THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

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OPPORTUNITY: JOURNAL OF NEGRO LIFE (1996)
OWEN, CHANDLER (1996)

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ALEXANDER, SADIE TANNER MOSSELL (1996)
BLACK ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS (1996)
BLACK WOMEN'S CLUB MOVEMENT (1996)
BRAWLEY, EDWARD MCKNIGHT (1996)
BURROUGHS, NANNIE HELEN (1996)
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (1996)
CONGRESS OF NATIONAL BLACK CHURCHES, INC. (1996)
COOPER, ANNA J. (1996)
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN (1996)
NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION (1996)
PARKS, ROSA (1996)
PATTERSON, WILLIAM (1996)
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (1996)
ROBINSON, JO ANN GIBSON (1996)
RUDOLPH, WILMA (1996)
SISTERS OF THE HOLY FAMILY (1996)
WILLIAMS, ROBERT FRANKLIN (1996)

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LAMMING, GEORGE (2005)

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ALLEN, RICHARD (1996)
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DIGITAL CULTURE (2005)

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GATES, HENRY LOUIS, JR. (2001)
GRACE, SWEET DADDY (1996)
GRAY, WILLIAM H., III (1996)
LINCOLN THEATRE (1996)
SCHOMBURG, ARTHUR (1996)
WALKER, AIDA OVERTON (1996)
WEST, CORNEL (2001)

Charles H. Nichols
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Department of English
BONTEMPS, ARNA (1996)

Albert Nickerson
Staten Island, New York
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT (1996)

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Medical School
DOUGLAS, AARON (1996)
MURALISTS (1996)

Mansur M. Nuruddin
Brooklyn, New York
al-amin, jamil abdullah (brown, h. "rap") (1996)
chavis, benjamin franklin, jr. (1996)
du sable, jean baptiste pointe (1996)
kawaida (1996)

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Department of History
lincoln university (1996)
seale, bobby (1996)

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danticat, edwidge (2005)

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ellison, ralph (1996)

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Freelance writer
Moscow, Idaho
literary magazines (2005)
simpson, o. j. (2005)
winfrey, oprah (2005)

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Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc.
International Center for Jefferson Studies, Monticello
declaration of independence (2005)
nettleford, rex (2005)

Rachel Sarah O'Toole
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History Department
san martín de porras (2005)

Naomi Pabst
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Department of African American Studies
critical mixed-race studies (2005)

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LACED–Museu Nacional, Associação Cultural Caburé
jongo (2005)

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Department of Educational Research and Development
filmmakers in the caribbean (2005)
peck, raoul (2005)

Nell Irvin Painter
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Department of History
delany, martin r. (1996)
hudson, hosea (1996)

Michael Paller
Columbia University
Department of Drama and Theatre Arts
american negro theatre (1996)
foxx, redd (1996)
fuller, charles (1996)
giovanni, nikki (1996)
jackson, jimmy lee (1996)
johnson, noble and george (1996)
mackey, william wellington (1996)
negro sanhedrin (1996)
sullivan, leon howard (1996)
voting rights act of 1965 (1996)

Melina Ann Pappademos
University of Connecticut
Department of History
gómez, juan gualberto (2005)

Robert L. Paquette
Hamilton College
History Department
manzano, juan francisco (2005)

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Department of English
cortez, jayne (2005)
shange, ntozake (2005)

Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert
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Department of Hispanic Studies
healing and the arts in afro-caribbean cultures (2005)
women writers of the caribbean (2005)

Freddie Parker
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Department of History
runaway slaves in the united states (2005)

Kevin Parker
Medgar Evers College, City University of New York
garvey, amy ashwood (1996)
latimer, lewis howard (1996)

LaRose T. Parris
City University of New York
English Department
folklore: u.s. folk heroes and characters (2005)
pelé (nascimento, edson arantes do) (2005)
sports (2005)

Mary Pattillo-McCoy
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Department of Sociology and Department of African-American Studies
black middle class (2001)

Carleen Payne-Jackson
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Clarence Fitzroy Bryant College
bradshaw, robert (2005)
southwell, paul (2005)

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mortality and morbidity in the united states (1996)

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Department of History
augier, roy (2005)
caribbean commission (2005)

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critical race theory (2005)
tennis (2005)
williams, patricia joyce (2005)

Jeffrey B. Perry
Westwood, New Jersey
harrison, hubert henry (2005)

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Saint Louis University
Department of History
abolition (2005)

James Peterson
Pennsylvania State University, Abington
English Department
hip-hop (2005)
music in latin america (2005)

Paula F. Pfeffer
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Department of History
brotherhood of sleeping car porters (1996)

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Berlin, Germany
literature of suriname (2005)
literature of the netherlands antilles (2005)
winti in suriname (2005)

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Department of History
barbados labour party (2005)

Glenn O. Phillips
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Department of History and Geography
nursing in the caribbean (2005)
sobers, garfield (2005)

Lily Phillips
Columbia University
hansberry, lorraine (1996)
naylor, gloria (1996)

Dianne M. Pinderhughes
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Department of Political Science
washington, harold (1996)

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Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
dos prazeres, heitor (2005)

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Columbia University
jack and jill of america (1996)

Anthony M. Platt
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Department of Social Work
frazier, edward franklin (1996)

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Department of History and Archaeology
blake, vivian (2005)
revivalism (2005)

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University of Central Florida
Institute for Diversity in Sport
williams, venus and serena (2005)

Horace Porter
University of Iowa
African American World Studies
baldwin, james (1996)

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Department of Music and Performing Arts Professions
music in latin america (2005)

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Department of Art and Art History
printmaking (1996)

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dos prazeres, heitor (2005)

Quandra Prettyman
Barnard College, Columbia University
Department of English
braithwaite, william stanley (1996)
cary, mary ann shadd (1996)
food and cuisine, u.s. (2005)
hammon, jupiter (1996)
horton, george moses (1996)
terrell, mary eliza church (1996)
ward, samuel ringgold (1996)

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Department of Anthropology
runaway slaves in latin america and the caribbean (2005)

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maroon arts (2005)

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Department of Latin American and Latino Studies and Department of Political Science
panama canal (2005)
westerman, george (2005)

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Department of History
coartación (2005)

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Africana Studies Department
haitian creole language (2005)

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representations of blackness in latin america and the caribbean (2005)

Arnold Rampersad
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School of Humanities and Sciences
du bois, w. e. b. (1996)
hughes, langston (1996)
literature of the united states (1996)
robeson, paul (1996)

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Department of Music
hampton, lionel leo (1996)

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wilberforce university (1996)

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MITCHELL, ARTHUR WERGS (1996)

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FRANÇOIS, ELMA (2005)
JEFFERS, AUDREY (2005)

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MICHEAUX, OSCAR (1996)

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Department of English
BIOGRAPHY, U.S. (2005)
GAY MEN (1996)

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GARRIDO, JUAN (2005)
SAN LORENZO DE LOS NEGROS (2005)

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Department of Religious Studies
CATHOLICISM IN THE AMERICAS (2005)
ROMAINE-LA-PROPHÉTESSE (2005)

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DAVIS, SAMMY, JR. (1996)

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COOKE, HOWARD (2005)
SIMPSON-MILLER, PORTIA (2005)

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CONDÉ, MARYSE (2005)

Wilbur C. Rich
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Department of Political Science
YOUNG, COLEMAN (1996)

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School of Communication, Performance Studies
DRAMA (1996)

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Department of Geography
DEMOGRAPHY (2005)
NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

Marilyn Richardson
Watertown, Massachusetts
LEWIS, EDMONIA (1996)

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Department of History
BASEBALL (1996)
JOHNSON, JACK (1996)
PATTERSON, FLOYD (1996)
ROBINSON, SUGAR RAY (1996)

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American Music Research Center
MUSICAL THEATER (2005)

Kim Robbins
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REMOND, SARAH PARKER (1996)

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FOLKLORE: OVERVIEW (1996)

Samuel Roberts
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NURSING IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)

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CARTER, MARTIN (2005)

Greg Robinson
New York, New York
ANGLO-AFRICAN, THE (1996)
ATLANTA RIOT OF 1906 (1996)
BARNETT, MARGUERITE ROSS (1996)
BLACKWELL, UNITA (1996)
BOND, JULIAN (1996)
BUTTS, CALVIN (1996)
CAYTON, HORACE (1996)
CHAMBERLAIN, WILT (1996)
CLARKE, JOHN HENRIK (2001)
CLAY, WILLIAM LACY (1996)
CORNISH, SAMUEL E. (1996)
COX, OLIVER CROMWELL (1996)
CROUCH, STANLEY (2001)
CRUSE, HAROLD (1996)
DAVIS, ALLISON (1996)
DILLARD UNIVERSITY (2001)
DOMINGO, W. A. (1996)
DU SABLE, JEAN BAPTISTE POINTE (1996)
EBONY (1996)
ELDERS, JOYCELYN (1996)
FRAZIER, JOE (1996)
GOMES, PETER JOHN (2001)
HARLEM GLOBETROTTERS (1996)
HIGGINBOTHAM, A. LEON, JR. (2001)
HILL-THOMAS HEARINGS (1996)
JACKSON, JOSEPH HARRISON (1996)
JOHN HENRY (1996)
MAYORS (1996)
MILLION MAN MARCH (2001)
MITCHELL, CLARENCE, JR. (1996)
MOTON, ROBERT RUSSA (1996)
MYERS, ISAAC (1996)
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND (1996)
NIAGARA MOVEMENT (1996)
NORTON, ELEANOR HOLMES (1996)
PENNINGTON, JAMES W. C. (1996)
POOR, SALEM (1996)
RENAISSANCE BIG FIVE (HARLEM RENS) (1996)
RIGGS, MARLON (1996)
ROWAN, CARL T. (1996)
SHABAZZ, BETTY (2001)
SHARPTON, AL (1996)
SMITH, VENTURE (1996)
SPINGARN MEDAL (1996)
TURNER, LORENZO DOW (1996)
TWILIGHT, ALEXANDER (1996)
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND (1996)
WALCOTT, JERSEY JOE (1996)
WATTS, J. C. (2001)
YERGAN, MAX (1996)

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Atlanta, Georgia
MOTLEY, ARCHIBALD JOHN, JR. (1996)

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Department of Religion
RELIGION (2005)

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Department of Political Science
TRANSAFRICA FORUM (1996)

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PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY (2005)

Justin Rogers-Cooper
Astoria, New York
FRATERNAL ORDERS (2005)
GAY MEN (2005)

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Schenectady, New York
BASEBALL (1996)

Noliwe Rooks
Princeton University
Program in African American Studies
WOMEN'S MAGAZINES (2005)

Joel N. Rosen
Oxford, Mississippi
MOUND BAYOU, MISSISSIPPI (1996)

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Department of English
MARSON, UNA (2005)

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MASCULINITY (2005)

Rob Ruck
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
GIBSON, JOSH (1996)
PAIGE, SATCHEL (1996)

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John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York
TOOMER, JEAN (1996)

Thaddeus Russell
Barnard College, Columbia University
Department of History
BOND, HORACE MANN (1996)
BROWN, WILLIE (1996)
CAMBRIDGE, GODFREY MACARTHUR (1996)
COTTON CLUB (1996)
DELLUMS, RON (1996)
FORD, JAMES W. (1996)
HAYWOOD, HARRY (1996)
HENSON, MATTHEW A. (1996)
JONES, CLAUDIA (1996)
KECKLEY, ELIZABETH (1996)
KING, DON (1996)
KITT, EARTHA MAE (1996)
KNIGHT, GLADYS (1996)
LEONARD, SUGAR RAY (1996)
LOWERY, JOSEPH E. (1996)
MAYS, WILLIE (1996)
MICHAUX, ELDER (1996)
MOSELEY-BRAUN, CAROL (1996)
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL (1996)
NORTHRUP, SOLOMON (1996)
RANGEL, CHARLES BERNARD (1996)
REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (1996)
SALEM, PETER (1996)
SIMPSON, O. J. (1996)
SINGLETON, BENJAMIN "PAP" (1996)
STILL, WILLIAM (1996)
STOKES, CARL BURTON (1996)
WALKER, GEORGE WILLIAM (1996)

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Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies
FEBRUARY REVOLT (2005)
WOODFORD SQUARE (2005)

Layn Saint-Louis
Silver Spring, Maryland
BLYDEN, EDWARD WILMOT (1996)

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Morgan State University
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
BENN, BRINDLEY (2005)
CARTER, JOHN (2005)
CHASE, ASHTON (2005)
KING, SYDNEY (KWAYANA, EUSI) (2005)
RODNEY, WALTER (2005)

Jack Salzman
Columbia University
American Culture Studies
BROWN, ROSCOE, JR. (1996)

Linda Salzman
Columbia University
ALEXANDER, CLIFFORD L., JR. (1996)
CHARLES, EZZARD (1996)

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Center for Ethnomusicology
SAMBA (2005)

Rosita M. Sands
Columbia College Chicago
Center for Black Music Research
ODETTA (GORDON, ODETTA HOLMES FELIOUS) (1996)
SIMONE, NINA (WAYMON, EUNICE KATHLEEN) (1996)

Pedro L. San Miguel
University of Puerto Rico
Department of History
ANTI-HAITIANISM (2005)

David Sartorius
Whittier College
Department of History
NEGROS BRUJOS (2005)

D. Gail Saunders
Bahamas National Archives
PINDLING, LYNDEN OSCAR (2005)

Vasanti Saxena
Columbia University
CARROLL, DIAHANN (1996)

Peter Schilling
Wagner College
Information Technology Department
HALL, PRINCE (1996)
JORDAN, VERNON E., JR. (1996)
MAYFIELD, JULIAN (1996)
METCALFE, RALPH (1996)
WILSON, HARRIET E. ADAMS (1996)

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Fordham University
Department of History
EMANCIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (2005)

Monica Schuler
Wayne State University
Department of History
BEDWARD, ALEXANDER (2005)
MYAL (2005)

Anna Beatrice Scott
University of California, Riverside
Department of Dance History and Theory
PERFORMANCE ART (2005)

Benjamin K. Scott
Columbia University
flipper, henry o. (1996)
liele, george (1996)

Deirdre A. Scott
Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution
simpson, lorna (1996)

Michael D. Scott
Oakland, California
basie, william james "count" (1996)
calloway, cab (1996)
gaye, marvin (gay, marvin pentz) (1996)

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Department of History and Department of African-American Studies
garnet, henry highland (1996)

Ann Sears
Wheaton College
burleigh, harry t. (1996)

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Dept of African American Studies
religion (1996)

Helen M. Shannon
New Jersey State Museum
woodruff, hale (1996)

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Department of English
wilson, august (2005)

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Department of History and Archaeology
nanny of the maroons (2005)
sharpe, samuel (2005)

John C. Shields
Normal, Illinois
wheatley, phillis (1996)

Ann Allen Shockley
Fisk University Library
Department of Special Collections
fisk university (1996)

Evan A. Shore
Columbia University
bond, julian (1996)
forten, james (1996)
norton, eleanor holmes (1996)

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Department of Anthropology
creole languages of the americas (2005)

Eduardo Silva
Centro de Estudos Históricos, Brasil
dom obá ii d'áfrica (2005)

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Washington, D.C.
johnson, joshua (1996)

Lowery Stokes Sims
The Studio Museum in Harlem
lam, wifredo (2005)

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Hispanic Health Council
Center for Community Health Research
aids in the americas (2005)

Amritjit Singh
Bryant University
cleaver, eldridge (1996)
lester, julius (1996)
mcmillan, terry (1996)

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Department of History
butler, uriah (2005)
moyne commission (2005)

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Department of History
civil rights movement, u.s. (2005)

Harvard Sitkoff
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History Department
weaver, robert clifton (1996)

Rene Skelton
Perth Amboy, New Jersey
kerner report (1996)

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University of Massachusetts Amherst
Department of English
marshall, paule (2005)

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africa: an introduction (front matter) (2005)

Robert W. Slenes
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central african religions and culture in the americas (2005)

Jean Small
St. Catherine, Jamaica
caribbean theater, anglophone (2005)

David Lionel Smith
Williams College
Department of English
baraka, amiri (jones, leroi) (1996)
black arts movement (1996)
brown, sterling allen (1996)
comedians (2005)
comic books (2005)
literary criticism, u.s. (1996)
obac writers' workshop (1996)

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Department of African & Afro-American Studies
literature of the english-speaking caribbean (2005)

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archaeology and archaeologists (2005)

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John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library
collins, cardiss (2001)
houston, whitney (2001)
mchenry, donald f. (2001)
simmons, ruth j. (2001)
smith, barbara ("b. smith") (2001)
wilson, william julius (2001)

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Department of English
TROUPE, QUINCY (2005)

Theophus H. Smith
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Department of Religion
SPIRITUALITY (1996)

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FOOTBALL (1996)

Raymond W. Smock
U.S. House of Representatives
WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. (1996)

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Music Department
BURLEIGH, HARRY T. (2005)

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Department of English
JOHNSON, CHARLES RICHARD (1996)
PASSING (1996)

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DUNHAM, KATHERINE (1996)
SOCIAL DANCE (1996)
TAP DANCE (1996)

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Department of History
AARON, HANK (2005)
ATLANTA COMPROMISE (1996)
BROWN FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY (2005)

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Department of History
PALENQUE SAN BASILIO (2005)

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BRUCE, BLANCHE KELSO (1996)
DICKSON, MOSES (1996)
FOREMAN, GEORGE (1996)
INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD (1996)
PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (1996)

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MONTEJO, ESTEBAN (2005)

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AL-AMIN, JAMIL ABDULLAH (BROWN, H. "RAP") (1996)
CHANEY, JAMES EARL (1996)
FREEDOM SUMMER (1996)
HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES (2005)
INNIS, ROY (2005)
JACKSON, GEORGE LESTER (1996)
KAWAIDA (1996)
KWANZA (1996)
MCKISSICK, FLOYD B. (1996)
NASH, DIANE (1996)
NEWTON, HUEY P. (1996)
SHAKUR, ASSATA (CHESIMARD, JOANNE DEBORAH BRYON) (2005)
TILL, EMMETT (2005)
WILLIAMS, HOSEA LORENZO (1996)

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FOOD AND CUISINE, LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN (2005)

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DOZENS, THE (1996)

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DECARAVA, ROY (1996)

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CHARLES, RAY (ROBINSON, RAY CHARLES) (1996)
COLE, NAT "KING" (1996)
JAMES, ETTA (1996)

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BROADSIDE PRESS (1996)
HUNTON, WILLIAM ALPHAEUS, JR. (1996)
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE (1996)
OPERATION PUSH (PEOPLE UNITED TO SERVE HUMANITY) (1996)
POWELL, COLIN (2005)
WILLIAMS, BILLY DEE (DECEMBER, WILLIAM) (2005)

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NEGRO NATIONAL ANTHEM (1996)

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GRAJALES CUELLO, MARIANA (2005)

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AFROCENTRISM (2005)
ANASTÁCIA (2005)
BARBOSA GOMES, JOAQUIM BENEDITO (2005)

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BRUCE, JOHN EDWARD (1996)
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS (1996)
HATCHER, RICHARD GORDON (1996)
LAMPKIN, DAISY (1996)
MITCHELL, ARTHUR WERGS (1996)
NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE/AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL (1996)
SULLIVAN, LOUIS (1996)
SUTTON, PERCY ELLIS (1996)

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BLACK TOWNS (1996)

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African American Studies
GARVEY, AMY JACQUES (1996)

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PADMORE, GEORGE (2005)
SOLOMON, PATRICK (2005)
WILLIAMS, HENRY SYLVESTER (2005)

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BEVEL, JAMES (1996)
BLACK MANIFESTO (1996)
GARY CONVENTION (1996)

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HAYES, ISAAC (2001)

Daniel Thom
Long Beach, California
HOOKER, JOHN LEE (1996)
KING, B. B. (1996)
LITTLE RICHARD (PENNIMAN, RICHARD) (1996)
MUDDY WATERS (MORGANFIELD, MCKINLEY) (1996)

Lamont D. Thomas
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CUFFE, PAUL (1996)

Sasha Thomas
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BAGNALL, ROBERT (1996)
HOLLAND, JEROME HEARTWELL (1996)
HOPE, JOHN (1996)
NABRIT, JAMES MADISON (1996)
NATIONAL BANKERS ASSOCIATION (1996)
SCOTT, EMMETT J. (1996)
TANNER, BENJAMIN TUCKER (1996)
VARICK, JAMES (1996)

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CHESNUTT, CHARLES W. (1996)
TOLSON, MELVIN B. (1996)

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ART IN THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN (2005)
HUIE, ALBERT (2005)

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MONTGOMERY, ALA., BUS BOYCOTT (1996)
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NIXON, EDGAR DANIEL (1996)

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ETHNIC ORIGINS (2005)

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national league for the protection of colored women (1996)
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smith, barbara (2001)

Aaron, Hank

February 5, 1934

Baseball player Henry Louis "Hank" Aaron grew up in relative poverty in Mobile, Alabama. The third of eight children born to Herbert and Estella Aaron, he developed an early love for baseball, playing whenever possible on vacant lots and, later, at municipally owned, though racially restricted, diamonds in his neighborhood. He played semipro ball for the Mobile Black Bears before signing a contract in 1952 with the Indianapolis Clowns of the American Negro League. Aaron quickly attracted the attention of major league scouts, and in May 1952 he signed with the Boston Braves of the National League. The Braves sent him to their Northern League farm club in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, where he won Rookie of the Year honors. In 1953 Aaron and two other black ball players were selected to integrate the South Atlantic League by playing for the Braves' Class A farm team in Jacksonville, Florida. In 1954 he was elevated to the Braves' major league club, which had moved to Milwaukee the previous year. Aaron rapidly became one of the mainstays for the Braves, both in Milwaukee and, from 1966 to 1974, in Atlanta, leading the Milwaukee club to World Series appearances in 1957 and 1958 and a world championship in 1957, and Atlanta to the National League championship series in 1969. In 1957 he was named the National League's most valuable player. In 1975, after twenty-one seasons with the Braves, Aaron was traded to the American League's Milwaukee Brewers, where he completed his playing career in 1976.

The most celebrated highlight of Aaron's major league career came on April 8, 1974, when he eclipsed the career home run record of Babe Ruth by connecting off the Los Angeles Dodgers' Al Downing at Fulton County Stadium in Atlanta. The home run, his 715th in the major leagues, climaxed a very difficult period in Aaron's life as he confronted various forms of abuse, including racial insults and death threats, from those who did not want an African American to surpass Ruth's mark. "It should have been the happiest time of my life, the best year," Aaron said. "But it was the worst year. It was hell. So many bad things happened. . . . Things I'm still trying to get over, and maybe never will. Things I know I'll never forget" (Capuzzo, 1992, p. 83).

Aaron's lifetime record of 3,771 base hits ranks behind only those of Pete Rose and Ty Cobb, and he is the all-time leader in home runs (755), runs batted in (2,297), extra-base hits (1,477), and total bases (6,856). His 2,174 runs scored tie him for third place (with Ruth) behind

Rickey Henderson and Cobb. These credentials, established over a 23-year career, easily earned "Hammerin' Hank" induction into the Major League Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York, in his first year of eligibility, 1982. In 1997 his hometown of Mobile honored Aaron by naming its new baseball stadium, home to the Southern League's AA franchise BayBears, in his honor.

Following his retirement as a player, Aaron returned to the Braves' organization as director of player development and later was promoted to a senior vice presidency. In this capacity, he has been one of the most outspoken critics of Major League Baseball's sparse record of bringing minorities into executive leadership positions both on and off the playing field. In addition, he is a vice president of Turner Broadcasting Company and maintains a number of business and charitable interests in the Atlanta area.

See also Baseball

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JAMES M. SORELLE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Abakuá

Abakuá, a mutual aid society for men based on religion, was established by Africans in Regla, Havana, in the 1830s. It represents one of the least known yet most powerful examples of West African cultural influence in the Americas. The Abakuá society is derived principally from the male "leopard societies" of the Àbàkpà (Qua Ejagham), Efut, and Èfik peoples of the Cross River Basin (Old Calabar, now called Calabar), in southeastern Nigeria, and southwestern Cameroon. These societies are called Ngbè and Ékpè, after the Ejagham and Èfik terms for leopard.

A variety of distinct ethnic groups from southeastern Nigeria and western Cameroon were brought to the Caribbean region as slaves. Because the port many departed from was called Old Calabar, and because the language of many others (from the Niger delta) was Kalabari, many of them became known as "Calabarí," (and later in Cuba, "Carabalí," reversing the "l" and "r"), in the same way that various Yorùbá subgroups became known collectively as "Lukumí" and various Bantu groups became known as "Congo."

As Africans were brought to Cuba during the slave trade, the Spanish government divided them ethnically by encouraging those in urban areas to form *cabildos*, or "nation-groups." These *cabildos* became important centers for the conservation of African languages and cultural practices. Carabalí peoples formed several *cabildos* in the eighteenth century, and titled members of the leopard societies were among them.

Cuban Abakuá have never sought repatriation to the African continent, as did the original Rastafarians of Jamaica. Instead, because Abakuá *fundamentos* (sacred objects) were established by Africans in northwestern Cuba, this region is the center of the society's activities. The consecration of land that accompanied the creation of the first *fundamento* by Calabari immigrants definitively established Abakuá in Cuban soil.

Because their primary allegiance is to Ékue, their central *fundamento*, Abakuá consider their society to exist as a separate state within the nation, with their own language and laws. Although each group is distinct, with a pattern of independent settlement closely resembling the social organization of precolonial Southeastern Nigeria, all Abakuá groups share a common mythology and organizing structure. Following the *tratado* (origin myth) of each group, they are identified with Cross River ethnic groups—Efí (Èfik), Efó (Efut), and Orú (Oron). These groups are relatively independent, yet they are answerable to an informal council of elders (recognized for their mastery of Abakuá lore) who convene in times of crisis.

Language

Many key Abakuá terms are slightly transformed Èfik terms still used in the Calabar region. For example, the word *íreme* (spirit dancer) derives from *ídem* (body), while *ékue* (sacred drum) derives from *ékpè* (leopard). Used to evoke ancestral and other divine forces, Abakuá words are believed to motivate inanimate forces into action.

The Abakuá language has influenced Cuban popular speech: *chébere* (or chévere), used popularly to mean "valiant, wonderful, excellent," derives from "Ma' chébere," a title of the Abakuá dignitary Mokóngo. The Abakuá terms *asére* (greetings), *ekóbio* (ritual brother), and *monína* (ritual brother) are used as standard greetings among urban Cuban males.

National and Popular Culture

Partially inspired by the Harlem Renaissance and "Bohemian" Paris of the 1920s and 1930s, the intellectual and artistic movement called Afrocubanismo emerged in Havana during this same period. Seeking to define a national culture, the movement drew inspiration from local black and mulatto working-class cultures. Because the Abakuá were anticolonial, endemic to Cuba, highly organized, exclusively male, secret, and uniquely costumed, they became an important symbol for the Afrocubanistas.

At the forefront of this movement were Fernando Ortiz (1881–1969), who in 1923 founded the Sociedad de Folklore Cubano; Nicolás Guillén (1902–1989), who published his first book of poetry, *Motivos de son,* in 1930; Alejo Carpentier (1904–1980), who published his first novel, *¡Ecue-Yamba-O!*, using an Abakuá theme, in 1933; and Lydia Cabrera (1900–1991), who published *Contes Nègres de Cuba*, in 1936. The composer Ernesto Lecuona (1895–1963) used Abakuá themes in his 1930 composition "Danza de los náñigos [Abakuá]", and the singer Rita Montaner performed Félix Caignet's (1892–1926) composition "Carabalí" in Paris in the late 1920s.

Cuba's renowned painter Wifredo Lam (1902–1982) returned from an apprenticeship with Pablo Picasso in France to live in Cuba from 1941 to 1952, where Alejo Carpentier and Lydia Cabrera encouraged his exploration of African-derived themes. A 1943 painting (untitled) depicts an Abakuá *íreme* with conical headgear and playing a drum. The conical Abakuá mask appears repeatedly in Lam's later work in abstracted forms. In 1947 he painted "Cuarto Fambá," his imaginary recreation of the Abakuá initiation room, which of course he never saw.

Many important musicians of Cuban popular music have been Abakuá members. Because the rumba percussion ensembles were marginalized and rarely recorded before the 1950s, many early composers and compositions remain obscure. Ignacio Piñeiro (1888–1969), a member of the Abakuá group Efóri Nkomón, founded the *son* group Septeto Nacional in 1927. Piñeiro was known as "the poet of the *son*" because his over 400 compositions helped create the global *son* craze of the 1930s. Chano Pozo (1915–1948), a member of the group Muñánga Efó, composed the classic "Blen, blen, blen" in 1940. His later compositions and performances with jazz great Dizzy Gillespie in the late 1940s helped create the bebop genre and are celebrated as a foundation to Latin jazz. Pozo and Gillespie collaborated on compositions in Afro-Cuban jazz (or Latin jazz), including "Manteca" and "Afro-Cuban Suite," performed in 1947 with the Gillespie Band, integrating Abakuá ceremonial music and chants with jazz harmonies. In "Afro-Cuban Suite," Pozo chants "Jeyey baribá benkamá," a ritual phrase in homage to the celestial bodies. Dizzy performed these compositions into the mid-1980s as standards, fusing Abakuá rhythms to popular music in the United States.

The enduring legacy of the Pozo-Gillespie collaboration is felt in numerous ways. In the late 1940s, conga and bongo drums became symbols for the emerging beatnik movement, and the conga drum is now a standard instrument in the United States. Musical tributes to Chano Pozo began in 1949, the year after his death, and continue in the twenty-first century. Irakere, an important jazz group in Cuba in the 1970s and 1980s, also used Abakuá themes.

See also Africanisms; Afrocubanismo

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IVOR L. MILLER (2005)

Abbott, Robert Sengstacke

November 28, 1868
February 22, 1940

The editor and publisher Robert S. Abbott was born in the town of Frederica on Saint Simon's Island, Georgia, to former slaves Thomas and Flora (Butler) Abbott. He developed an interest in African-American rights at a young age, and after learning the trade of printer at the Hampton Institute between 1892 and 1896 earned an LL.B. from Chicago's Kent College of Law in 1898. Abbott practiced law for a few years but soon gave up the profession, for reasons that are unclear, and began a career in journalism.

On May 6, 1905, he founded the *Chicago Defender,* a weekly newspaper that, over the next three and a half decades, evolved into the most widely circulated African-American weekly ever published. As its title suggests, the paper was conceived as a weapon against all manifestations of racism, including segregation, discrimination, and disfranchisement.

The *Defender* gave voice to a black point of view at a time when white newspapers and other sources would not, and Abbott was responsible for setting its provocative, aggressive tone. Among the paper's most controversial positions were its opposition to the formation of a segregated Colored Officers Training Camp in Fort Des Moines, Iowa, in 1917; its condemnation in 1919 of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA); and its efforts to assist in the defeat of U.S. Supreme Court nominee John J. Parker in 1930. The *Defender* frequently reported on violence against blacks, police brutality, and the struggles of black workers, and the paper received national attention in 1915 for its antilynching slogan, "If you must die, take at least one with you."

In addition to exerting community leadership through the newspaper, Abbott was active in numerous civic and art organizations in Chicago. He was a member of the Chicago Commission of Race Relations, which in 1922 published the well-known study *The Negro in Chicago.* In 1932 Abbott contracted tuberculosis; he died in Chicago of Bright's disease on February 29, 1940. His newspaper continues to be published. Its archives, in addition to housing complete files of the *Defender,* contain the Robert S. Abbott Papers.

See also *Chicago Defender*; Lynching; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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JOSHUA BOTKIN (1996)
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Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem

April 16, 1947

Basketball player Kareem Abdul-Jabbar was born Lewis Ferdinand Alcindor, the only child of Ferdinand Lewis and Cora Alcindor, in the Harlem district of New York City. His father took a degree in musicology from the Juilliard School of Music on the GI bill but worked most of his life as a prison corrections officer and as a policeman for the New York Transit Authority. In 1950 the family moved to the Dyckman Street projects, city-owned middle-class housing in the Inwood section of Manhattan. Surrounded by books and jazz in his home, young Alcindor attended a parochial elementary school, Saint Jude's, and in 1961 he enrolled at another Roman Catholic school in Manhattan, Power Memorial Academy.

Alcindor began playing basketball competitively at age nine. Standing six feet, eight inches tall at fourteen years of age, he proceeded to lead Power Memorial High School to two New York City interscholastic basketball championships and to two national crowns; he made All-City and All-American three times each. Widely recruited by colleges, in 1965 he chose the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), whose basketball program thrived under coach John Wooden. Freshmen were then ineligible for varsity competition, but in all three of his varsity years Alcindor led the Bruins to National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championships. By now he was more than seven feet tall, making it virtually impossible for opponents to block his trademark shot, the skyhook. But another of his tactics proved to be more controversial. After his sophomore season, his awesome dunk shot (jamming the ball in the basket) provoked NCAA officials to estab-

lish a rule against dunking. The "Alcindor Rule" lasted for just ten years.

During his three varsity seasons, Alcindor scored 2,325 points, averaged 26.4 points per game, and achieved the rare distinction of making first-team All-American for all three years. Yet as a collegian he is probably best remembered for a single game he played in 1968, one of the most famous games in the history of college basketball. In the Houston Astrodome, a live audience of more than fifty thousand and a television audience of millions watched Elvin Hayes and the unbeaten Houston Cougars challenge Alcindor and unbeaten UCLA. Suffering double vision from an eye bruised in an earlier game, Alcindor still performed well, but Hayes's thirty-nine points led the Cougars to a two-point victory. Later, in the NCAA semifinals, UCLA with a healthy Alcindor demolished Houston, 101–69.

Never a mere athlete, Alcindor emerged in 1968 as a person of political and religious principles. In high school in the early 1960s, his racial consciousness had been raised by the civil rights movement, Birmingham church bombings, Harlem riots, and a racially insensitive coach. He wore his hair Afro-style, participated in the verbal and visible "revolt of the black athlete" led by California sociology professor Harry Edwards, and in 1968 effectively boycotted the Mexico City Olympics by refusing to compete for an assured place on the United States Olympic basketball team. For some time he had been studying Islam, and in 1968 he dispensed with his Catholic religion to become a Muslim. His Muslim mentor gave him a new name, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, "generous and powerful servant of Allah"; three years later he legally changed his name.

In 1969 Abdul-Jabbar launched his professional career with the Milwaukee Bucks, winning the Rookie of the Year award. In 1971, following the acquisition of veteran Oscar Robertson, the Bucks seized the National Basketball Association (NBA) championship. For six seasons with the Bucks, Abdul-Jabbar averaged more than thirty points per game and won three Most Valuable Player (MVP) trophies. Yet he was never really happy at Milwaukee, whose culture and climate were vastly different from anything he had ever known. Marriage and a child provided little solace. Burrowing deeper into his Islamic faith, in 1972 he studied Arabic at a Harvard summer school and bought a house for the extended family of his Muslim teacher, Hamaas. Tragedy struck in January 1973, when rival Muslims massacred several members of that family; two years later, Hamaas and several comrades were sent to prison for their illegal activities in opposition to a public showing of a film that negatively portrayed Muhammad.

In that same year, 1975, Abdul-Jabbar went to the Los Angeles Lakers in a six-player exchange. Within his first five years with the Lakers, he won three MVP awards. After a frustrating first year, he led the Lakers to the NBA playoffs thirteen consecutive times and (teamed with Earvin "Magic" Johnson in the golden Laker decade of the 1980s) to three NBA championships. For a man seemingly always in search of inward peace, however, sad moments continued to intrude upon Abdul-Jabbar's personal life. In 1983 fire destroyed an expensive California home and an irreplaceable collection of jazz recordings; in 1987 Abdul-Jabbar lost $9 million in bad business deals. All the while two sons and two daughters bounced back and forth from their mother, Habiba, to their father in an on-and-off marriage.

After thirty-three years of competitive basketball, Abdul-Jabbar retired in 1989 at the age of forty-two. His numerous NBA records included the most seasons, games, and minutes played; the most field goals attempted, the most made, and the most points scored; and the most personal fouls and blocked shots. In a total of 1,560 NBA outings, he averaged 24.6 points per game. Into retirement he carried six MVP awards, six championship rings, and memories from nineteen NBA All-Star games.

After his retirement Abdul-Jabbar turned his attention to African-American history and the plight of minorities. He authored or coauthored numerous books on the subject, including *A Season on the Reservation: My Sojourn with the White Mountain Apaches.*

See also Basketball

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WILLIAM J. BAKER (1996)
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Abernathy, Ralph David

March 11, 1926
April 17, 1990

Born in Linden, Alabama, clergyman and civil rights leader Ralph Abernathy was initially called only "David" among family members; later, through the inspiration a teacher gave one of his sisters, the appellation "Ralph" was added. In his formative years, Abernathy was deeply influenced by his hardworking father, William L. Abernathy, who was a Baptist deacon and a farmer who owned five hundred acres of choice real estate. The son's admiration for his father was a major factor in his work in public life. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, Abernathy seized the opportunity offered by the GI Bill and earned a B.S. degree in 1950 from Alabama State College (now Alabama State University). In 1951 he earned an M.A. in sociology from Atlanta University.

In 1948 Abernathy was ordained a Baptist minister and went on to serve as pastor of the congregations at the Eastern Star Baptist Church in Demopolis, Alabama, in 1950 to 1951, then at the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, from 1951 to 1961 and the West Hunter Street Baptist Church in Atlanta from 1961 to 1990.

While a student at Alabama State, Abernathy had two experiences that would prepare him for his later role as a civil rights leader: He was urged to contribute to the freedom struggle of African Americans by such professors as J. E. Pierce and Emma Payne Howard; and, as president of the student council, he led two campus protests for improved cafeteria services and dormitory conditions. Because of his dignified protests, Abernathy won the respect of the institution's administration. As a result, in 1951 he returned to his alma mater to become dean of men.

While pastor of First Baptist, Abernathy became a close friend of the courageous pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Vernon Johns. Johns, as an older, seasoned pulpiteer, displayed extraordinary boldness in his personal defiance of Montgomery's oppressive Jim Crow climate. When Johns's ties with Dexter were severed, Abernathy developed an even closer friendship with his successor, Martin Luther King Jr. The two young pastors' families became intertwined in a fast friendship that prompted alternating dinners between the two households. At these social meetings numerous conversations were held that frequently centered around civil rights.

In 1955 the two friends' ideas were propelled into action by the arrest of Rosa Parks, a black seamstress. After a long day of toil, Parks refused to yield her seat on a public bus for a white passenger who boarded after her. This refusal by Parks was in violation of the city's segregationist laws. Her action was not the first of its kind by African Americans in Montgomery. However, when Parks was arrested, her quiet, admirable demeanor coupled with her service as secretary of the local NAACP branch helped to stir the black community to protest.

King and Abernathy became leaders of what came to be known as the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). Through meetings in churches, the two men spearheaded a mass boycott of Montgomery's buses. While King served as head of the MIA, Abernathy functioned as program chief. Nonviolence was the method with which the protest was implemented. Despite having been a soldier, Abernathy, like King, was convinced that nonviolence was the only acceptable means of dissent. Both had read and accepted the philosophies of Henry David Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi. The boycott persisted for more than a year. Despite the inordinate length of the struggle, the black community was consolidated in its refusal to ride segregated buses. Finally, in June 1956 a federal court upheld an injunction against the bus company's Jim Crow policy.

This successful boycott inspired the two young clergymen to expand their efforts to win civil rights for America's black citizens. As a result, in January 1957 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was born in Atlanta. King was elected president of the new organization, and Abernathy became its secretary-treasurer. While he attended this meeting, Abernathy's home and church were bombed in Montgomery. Although it was a close call, Abernathy's family was spared any physical harm.

King moved to Atlanta in 1960 and a year later persuaded Abernathy to follow him and take on the pastorate of West Hunter Street Baptist Church. In the years that followed, the two men, under the auspices of SCLC, led nonviolent protests in cities such as Birmingham and Selma, Alabama; Albany, Georgia; Greensboro, North Carolina; and St. Augustine, Florida. As a consequence, both were arrested many times and experienced violence and threats of violence. In 1965 Abernathy became vice president at large of SCLC. When King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, Abernathy was unanimously elected his successor. Soon after, Abernathy launched King's planned Poor People's Campaign. He led other protests until he resigned as head of SCLC in 1977.

After Abernathy assumed the leadership of SCLC, many compared him to King. Unfortunately, he was often perceived as lacking the charisma and poise of his friend. Some even accused Abernathy of being cross or crude in

his leadership style. Perhaps the best historical defense of Abernathy's reputation came from himself in the publishing of his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* (1989). However, its content and literary style were unappreciated by many because of the book's revelations about King's extramarital affairs. Critics accused Abernathy of betraying his long-deceased friend.

Abernathy died in 1990.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Jim Crow; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Parks, Rosa; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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RANDOLPH MEADE WALKER (1996)
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Abolition

Scholars often distinguish "abolitionism" from "antislavery," with the latter designating all movements aiming to curtail slavery, no matter how slowly or cautiously, and "abolitionism" reserved for the most immoderate opposition. This distinction echoes the usage of radical abolitionists, who described their goal as "immediate abolition" and disparaged other reformers' gradualism. The gradualists, for their part, labeled the radicals "ultraists," a term some "immediatists" embraced despite its intended derogatory connotations. As this war of labels suggests, controversies over methods and goals were recurrent in the history of organized opposition to slavery. In addition, rifts between black abolitionists and white abolitionists in the United States have led some scholars to speak of two abolitionisms.

If they cling to the radicals' narrow definitions, scholars may get a skewed perspective on the movement's progress: Immediatism emerged only in the early 1830s and was submerged in broad-scale political movements in the 1840s and 1850s. To stress sectarian disagreements is to obscure the success of slavery's foes in winning allies and eliminating a mammoth institution during a remarkably brief period of history.

In a series of sardonic letters, "To Our Old Masters," published in Canada West (now Ontario) in 1851, Henry Walton Bibb, an ex-slave speaking for all the "self-emancipated"—those who had escaped from the American South's peculiar institution—placed abolitionism in a broader context. Improving the opportunities that freedom provided for the study of history, Bibb had learned "that ever since mankind formed themselves into communities, slavery, in various modifications, has had an existency." The master class's own ancestors had experienced subjugation in eras when Romans and Normans invaded England. History proved other lessons, too: "the individuals held in bondage never submitted to their yoke with cheerfulness," and in slavery's entire history no moral argument had ever been "adduced in its favor; it has invariably been the strong against the weak." Modern masters were crueler than any before, in Bibb's view, but they also were broadly despised: "you elicit the contempt of the whole civilized world." Inevitably, they would have to "adopt one of the many proposed schemes which the benevolent have put forth for our emancipation," or they would reap the whirlwind. Bibb may have been wrong about past justifications for bondage, but his sense that slavery had lost legitimacy and was approaching its termination turned out to be accurate.

The economic historian Robert William Fogel points out, for example, "how rapidly, by historical standards, the institution of slavery gave way before the abolitionist onslaught." A small group of English reformers formed a society to abolish the slave trade in 1787; by 1807 they had won that fight, by 1833 the slave system in the British Empire was toppled, and slavery was abolished in its last stronghold, Brazil, in 1888. "And so, within the span of little more than a century, a system that had stood above criticism for three thousand years was outlawed everywhere in the Western world" (Fogel, 1989, pp. 204–205). In the United States, where slavery was a deeply entrenched institution and antislavery coalitions looked comparatively weak, the period required to outlaw slavery was even shorter. Thus, discussion of abolitionist factionalism must be balanced by recognition of its triumph.

Early English and American Endeavors

In England, the Quakers, a small sect with little political influence, took most of the early steps against slavery. Alliances with other dissenting sects broadened support for antislavery in a political system increasingly responsive to popular agitation. When antislavery gained the support of

BOBALITION
Of Slavery.

Broadside marking the "bobalition" of slavery. *A series of broadsides marked the anniversary celebrations of the abolition of the slave trade in the United States, where the importation of new slaves was formally prohibited beginning in 1808. Created in the form of reports and letters parodying black dialect and stereotypes, these broadsides appeared in Boston between 1819 and 1832.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and other Anglican evangelicals, it acquired respectable voices in Parliament. While advancing the view that slavery was obsolete and immoral, English leaders ensured that no fundamental threat to property rights was associated with abolition.

Slave owners retained their human property during a six-year transitional "apprenticeship," and they received compensation for their losses. Having abolished its own immoral institution, England assumed responsibility for campaigns against the slave trade on the high seas, in the Islamic world, and in India. These campaigns had the effect of spreading British imperial influence and promoting British views of civilization.

As British antislavery approached its great triumphs, it began to send speakers, books and pamphlets, and some financial support to its American counterpart. Some Americans viewed British encouragement of American antislavery efforts as unwelcome meddling that endangered American independence and welfare. Both black and white abolitionists venerated names like Wilberforce and applauded the British example, but there was little resemblance between slavery in the two economies and political systems. American antislavery was compelled to address issues affecting a growing black population, a prosperous domestic economic institution, and sectional animosities in a federal political system for which England's experience offered little precedent. On the other hand, there was no existing English equivalent to the network of organizations among northern free blacks, who sought to embolden white reformers to pursue the cause of abolition more aggressively and to combat racial discrimination wherever it occurred.

As they had in England, Quakers took early leadership in American antislavery activities; they were joined, sometimes, by liberal and evangelical movements to whom old institutions no longer seemed sacred and unchanging. Unlike England, the United States experienced a revolution that supplemented religious reform motivations with strong new reasons for opposing traditional inequalities. Slavery not only violated the law of God, but in an age of liberation and enlightenment, it contradicted the rights of man. Neither religious nor secular arguments necessarily obliged whites to combat racial prejudice or extend humanitarian aid to free blacks. Though black abolitionists would often accuse whites of coldhearted bigotry, it may still be the case that the American Revolution "doomed" slavery.

In the 1780s abolitionist societies were formed in most states (including the upper South). A national abolitionist "convention" met annually from 1794 to 1806 and periodically thereafter. In the decades after the revolution, northern states abolished slavery, often after organized antislavery campaigns. In 1808 Congress, which had previously prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory, ended the foreign slave trade. This was assumed to be a blow to North American slavery (though some slave owners supported the measure, and later experience showed that the slave population grew rapidly without imports). Appeals to the great principles of republican government seemed ready to transform American society.

Those who believed in an optimistic scenario of revolutionary liberation underestimated the ways in which persistent white hostility to blacks would impede antislavery activity. They also overlooked obstacles imposed by the Constitution. Most abolitionists accepted the prevailing consensus that the federal government lacked any constitutional power over slavery in the states. While antislavery coalitions prevailed in states like New York and Pennsyl-

Anthony Burns, fugitive slave, 1855. *Wood engraving featuring a portrait of Burns. Copyrighting works such as this print under the name of the subject was a common abolitionist practice.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

vania, residents of a northern state had no way of influencing legislatures in South Carolina or Tennessee. When controversies over slavery arose in the U.S. Congress, as in debates over fugitive slave acts from 1793 to 1817, proslavery forces won repeated victories. With the elimination of slavery in northern states, abolition societies lost membership and purpose.

The Colonizationist New Departure

Only a change of direction, one that attracted support among southern slaveholders as well as black and white Northerners, revitalized antislavery commitments in the 1820s. Some southerners had long entertained hopes of deporting freed slaves (a solution to racial problems somewhat analogous to Indian removal). If ex-slaves could be relocated in the West, perhaps, or Africa or Central America, slaveholders might be less reluctant to free them, nonslaveholding whites might be less anxious about competition for work, and northern and southern townspeople might show less fear of the social consequences of emancipation. Some northern reformers believed that American society would never accept blacks as equals. Appealing simultaneously to those who hated or feared free blacks and those who deplored or regretted American racism, removal schemes raised hopes of forging an irresistible coalition that might, once and for all, end slavery.

The premier organization advancing these schemes was the American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in 1816, which rapidly won the approval of prominent leaders of church and government in both the North and South. It sent only a few thousand blacks to its colony Liberia before 1830, however, and it failed to get federal funding for its efforts. Enthusiasm for the movement began to subside (although the ACS survived into the twentieth century) as doubts of its practicality grew. Modern scholars frequently dismiss its efforts as futile and its objectives as racist—both irrefutable charges. Less often pointed out are that slavery's most implacable champions hated the ACS; that with its decline, hopes for a national antislavery movement virtually disappeared; and that its predictions of enduring racism and misery for free blacks were realistic. If it included in its numbers such slaveholders as Henry Clay, it also included many northerners who would hold fast to abolitionist purposes for decades to come. It attracted the support of some northern blacks, including John B. Russwurm, a Bowdoin College graduate who spent much of his life in Liberia, and free southern blacks, such as those who appealed to Baltimore's white community in 1826 for help in leaving a republic where their inequality was "irremediable." Not only did they seek for themselves rights and respect that America seemed permanently to withhold, but they also upheld an antislavery vision: "Our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage."

Black support for colonization was undeniable. It was also extremely limited, while rejection of such schemes by prominent black abolitionists intensified during the 1820s. As early as 1817 a Philadelphia meeting had protested against the ACS's characterizations of blacks as a "dangerous and useless" class; linking manumission to colonization, the meeting continued, would only strengthen slavery. Even such black leaders as James Forten, who privately favored emigration and believed African Americans would "never become a people until they come out from amongst the white people," joined in the protest. By 1829 militant documents, such as David Walker's Appeal, denounced "the Colonizing Plan" as evidence of the pervasive racism that caused "Our Wretchedness."

The Immediatist New Direction

Anticolonizationist societies were launched in free black communities throughout the North, and several efforts

were made to establish national newspapers to coordinate the movement. (Russwurm edited one before his conversion to colonizationism.) It was clear, however, that blacks could never sink the ACS without enlisting white allies. This meant, in practice, that blacks would have to speak in a less militant voice than Walker and other leaders might have preferred: They could not stress the virulence of racism or doubt the responsiveness of whites to conciliatory tactics. They could not advocate violent resistance to slavery or discrimination. They might also have to accept subsidiary roles in a coalition movement led by whites. These risks seemed tolerable, however, in light of the emergence in the early 1830s of a new, radical, and interracial antislavery movement that defined itself in opposition to the ACS. What for whites was a bold new departure was for blacks an episode in prudent compromise and coalition building.

Black abolitionists discovered a white champion in William Lloyd Garrison. James Forten and other blacks emboldened him to reject colonizationism and embrace the idea of human equality. Black readers enabled him in 1831 to launch his Boston-based newspaper, the *Liberator,* and they made up the great majority of subscribers to this weekly organ of immediate abolitionism throughout its early years. David Walker was one of several blacks who named children after Garrison; others gave him financial support or protected him as he walked home at night. Many viewed the *Liberator* as their voice in American public life. Maria Stewart was one of many blacks who contributed articles condemning slavery, prejudice, and colonizationism. Garrison adopted a style of denunciation thrilling to his friends and infuriating to those whom he opposed: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. . . .I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD," proclaimed his first issue. He took up the view of the ACS that blacks had urged in the previous decade and gave it powerful and influential expression. In its first year the *Liberator* published ten times as many articles denouncing the ACS as explaining immediate abolition. Garrison's *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), a withering critique of racist and proslavery quotations from colonization leaders, was widely distributed and persuaded many young reformers to change loyalties and follow a new course.

The attack on the ACS was a means of redefining antislavery strategy that appealed to a new generation of reformers in the early 1830s. Besides Garrison, the most influential of these was Theodore Dwight Weld, a restless and charismatic leader from upstate New York who had traveled extensively and worked for causes ranging from religious revivals to educational reform. As a student at Cincinnati's Lane Seminary in the early 1830s, he worked with blacks in the student body and local community, precipitating a crisis by forcing discussion of slavery and racial prejudice. He had no peer at a style of earnest, emotional antislavery lecturing, facing down mobs and winning converts to the cause, that he taught to other abolitionist speakers. Though Garrison and Weld were (in a not fully acknowledged sense) rivals, the former's uncompromising editorial stance and the latter's confrontational lecture style joined in shaping an exciting new era for abolitionism. Other important abolitionist leaders included the brothers Lewis and Arthur Tappan, merchants in New York City, well connected with prominent evangelical reform movements, who furnished a sober counterpoint to Weld's and Garrison's romantic outbursts. John Greenleaf Whittier, early in a career that led to great fame as a poet, was a valued new convert.

Despite condemnation by Andrew Jackson and other public figures, anticolonizationism spread with remarkable velocity. In 1832 eleven persons formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society, "the first society of this kind created on this side of the Atlantic," as the South Carolina political leader James Henry Hammond later recalled. Though slaveholders initially mocked this news, by 1837 Massachusetts had 145 societies, and New York and Ohio, where the Tappans and Weld held influence, had 274 and 213, respectively. In December 1833 sixty-three men (three of them black) formed the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). Earlier that year, interracial female antislavery societies were formed in Boston and Philadelphia, and in 1837 the first "national" (northern) women's antislavery convention took place. By 1838 the AASS claimed 1,350 affiliated societies, with membership approaching a quarter million. Important new voices, including those of ex-southerners James G. Birney and Angelina and Sarah Moore Grimké, added to the excitement of the mid-1830s.

The positive meaning of the immediatist, anticolonizationist doctrines that stirred up so much commotion was never a simple matter to establish. For decades scholars have argued over which of two strategies—political coercion or nonviolent persuasion—was more consistent with the immediatist commitment of the early 1830s. The truth is that immediatism had more than two potential meanings, as it blended rather unrealistic expectations of religious transformation with cautious recognition of obstacles to reform. On the one hand, some abolitionists wished to persuade slaveholders to let their slaves go free, or they hoped, at least, to encourage antislavery majorities to form in southern states. Conceding the lack of federal authority to interfere with state institutions, founders of

Propaganda portrait of Fannie Virginia Casseopia Lawrence. *Fannie Lawrence, five years old in this photograph, was redeemed from slavery, or freed through the payment of a fee, in Virginia by Catherine S. Lawrence.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the AASS were obliged to adopt a conciliatory stance toward the South. In particular, they denied any intention to use coercion; slavery must end by "moral suasion." On the other hand, the harsh, categorical denunciations of slavery that distinguished the new movement from the ACS were hardly conciliatory. In letters of instruction and training sessions for antislavery lecturers, Weld (who injured his own voice and retired from the field) insisted that they should not get bogged down in political or economic issues: "the business of abolitionists is with the heart of the nation, rather than with its purse strings." Slavery was, he taught, "a moral question," and the conviction to drive home was simply that "slavery is a sin." Once convinced of that, clergymen and other opinion leaders would exert pressure on slaveholders to give up their sin. Repentant slaveholders would soon be impelled to change their lives. If they did not, morally awakened democratic majorities had to compel them.

Schism and Variation

By decade's end it was obvious that slavery was not going to succumb to northern condemnation, no matter how conciliatory or intemperate. Disagreements among abolitionists, subdued during years of enthusiasm, took on new seriousness. The AASS split in two at its 1840 convention when the Tappans and other prominent reformers walked out after a woman, Abby Kelley, was elected to a committee. They protested that under Garrison's leadership the movement was too defiant of social conventions, thus offending the clergy and other respectable leaders of society, and too enthusiastic about new radical causes, especially a new form of nonviolent anarchism called "nonresistance." The departing abolitionists believed the cause could gain popular support by shunning "extraneous," controversial positions. Many on this side were moving toward more active participation in politics. For Garrison's loyal cadres in the AASS, including such radical pacifists as Henry C. Wright, abolitionist commitments led toward broad condemnation of coercive behavior and institutions. The AASS survived as a separate organization, open to all who chose to join, while in the *Liberator* and in speeches and writings, Garrisonians gave increasing attention to nonviolence, utopian communities, women's rights, and other enthusiasms of the 1840s. (They showed less sympathy with working-class reforms.) They remained adamant in opposing political ventures, some out of anarchistic convictions, others out of dismayed assessment of the receptiveness of American politicians to antislavery principles.

Many black abolitionists continued to admire Garrison, but they, too, often criticized the lengths to which he carried the logic of moral suasion. Some agreed with the charge that he depleted antislavery energy by his romantic penchant for adopting new causes. But he, at least, was unwilling to compromise the principle of equality in order to appease northern majorities. Although blacks tended to favor political action, they appreciated Garrison's scorn when political abolitionism bowed to necessity by accepting slavery where it existed in the South and segregation as it worsened in the North. They complained repeatedly that all factions of white abolitionists relegated blacks to subsidiary roles, at best, in their organizations. Such inability to accept blacks in visible leadership positions showed that white abolitionists had not really understood

the links between bigotry and slavery. It was difficult, moreover, to interest whites in combating Jim Crow in northern streetcars with the zeal aroused by movements to keep slavery (and African Americans) out of the territories. After the schism of 1840 black abolitionists met more frequently in their own organizations, held their own conventions, and supported their own newspapers, such as Samuel E. Cornish's *Colored American* and *Frederick Douglass's Paper.*

In a powerful 1843 address to slaves, Henry Highland Garnet urged, "Resistance! Resistance! Resistance!" His controversial text was suppressed until 1848, but in the following years, similar militancy among other black leaders became increasingly noticeable. Talk of moral suasion gave way to insistence on the universal right of revolution. If whites did not concede to blacks the right to self-defense, some leaders asked, and if blacks never showed their willingness to fight, then how could southern slavery and northern injustice ever be ended? Blacks (with limited white support) engaged in civil disobedience against segregated schools and streetcars, and they used all available means to assist fugitives from slavery. But such militancy coincided with renewed interest in emigration, either to Canada, where tens of thousands of blacks, many of them fugitives, lived in constant rebuke to conditions in the northern and southern United States, or perhaps to Liberia (despite continuing black denunciation of the ACS), or Haiti, favored by Garnet as late as 1861. Douglass, James McCune Smith, and other black leaders deplored any possible abandonment of the cause of civil rights for free blacks and emancipation of the slaves.

After the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848, a series of political events and court decisions—particularly events and decisions returning fugitives to bondage—struck abolitionists as calamities. Not only were some black leaders resigned to emigration, but many white Garrisonians denounced the political system dominated by proslavery leaders. Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and some others began to contemplate acts of violent resistance to proslavery legislation. Wendell Phillips advocated disunion: the northern states must sunder connections with southern sinfulness. At one public meeting in 1854, Garrison denounced the Fugitive Slave Act and burned the Constitution as "a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell." Southern extremists portrayed Garrisonians as men and women of enormous influence in the North. They had no such influence, but in taking positions of uncompromising moral purity, these skilled agitators created an atmosphere of escalating moral concern. While eschewing politics, they guaranteed that southern political victories brought the fate of slavery closer and closer to the center of national political debate.

Political abolitionists, meanwhile, tried various courses of action. Some, including many blacks, voted for the Whigs; others experimented with third parties. During a period of confusing political realignment, skilled publicists such as the journalist Horace Greeley and clergyman Henry Ward Beecher used newspapers, lecture platforms, and other popular institutions to disseminate selected elements of the abolitionist message—that the slave power jeopardized the liberty and prosperity of all workers and farmers—across the North and much of the West. In this endeavor they gained the cooperation of antislavery politicians, who were usually reluctant to confront racial prejudice or clarify the meanings of equality. An antislavery majority probably could not have been assembled without ambiguous appeals to expediency and prejudice as well as to principle. It is important to note, nevertheless, that as political abolitionism augmented its small shares of the electorate (the Liberty Party garnered about 6,000 votes in the 1840 presidential election and 60,000 in 1844, and the Free Soil party polled about 290,000 in 1848), the clarity of its attacks on slavery blurred. Both Weld and Garrison had counseled abolitionists to stick to the moral high ground, to denounce the iniquity of slavery and racism. Antislavery opinion grew in the North and West, however, as slavery was seen as threatening to the economic welfare of whites. More often than not, antislavery public opinion of the kind that sustained the Republican Party's slim majority in 1860 was saturated by racial prejudice. It would have been content to tolerate slavery where it already existed, if proslavery politicians had not repeatedly fueled northern fears and resentments and if escalating violence, sometimes subsidized and carried out by abolitionists, had not made a final confrontation seem inevitable.

The Triumph of Antislavery

Abolitionism existed in a tense love-hate relation with Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans in the 1860s. Abolitionists took credit for preparing the ground for the new party's success, but some sought to oust Lincoln in 1864. If anything, Garrisonians were more willing than other factions to excuse the Republicans' slow advance toward the goal of abolishing slavery, a goal promoted by all abolitionists throughout the war. Abolitionists did what they could to pressure the Union army to mobilize black soldiers and treat them fairly once in uniform. Black abolitionists worked at recruitment, and some, including Martin R. Delaney, as well as whites such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson, served as officers. Pacifistic abolitionists volunteered for medical duties in hospitals and on the battlefield. Before slavery was abolished, abolitionist men and women went south to work among freedmen in

Celebration of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, April 19, 1866. *After Emancipation, many northern blacks began traveling south in search of friends and family who had been sold during slavery. Others moved back to the South to teach or to establish churches. F. Dielman's wood engraving was printed in* Harper's Weekly *on May 12, 1866.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

areas occupied by Union armies, thus setting a pattern for educational and related endeavors during Reconstruction and afterward.

At the end of the Civil War, and with enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment, abolitionists were jubilant. The *Liberator* ceased publication, and the AASS disbanded. But abolitionists, especially younger ones who had entered the movement in the 1850s, continued to promote education for African Americans and condemn violations of their civil rights long after the war. As the century approached its end, such endeavors increasingly seemed futile, and many victories of Civil War and Reconstruction days were overturned. At the same time, ironically, some northerners lauded abolitionists as an example of a principled minority who had led the nation to higher moral conceptions and practices.

Some of this glorification can be discounted as an expression of sectional pride and Republican partisanship. It was offset, for many decades, by scholarly condemnation of abolitionists as fanatics responsible, along with southern fire-eaters, for disrupting the Union. Nevertheless, the merging of abolitionist principles, espoused by a zealous minority, with the concerns and interests of a majority of citizens, led to the destruction of slavery, for so long an accepted social institution, and this triumph has gained a prominent place in the history of American democracy. Abolitionists tested the openness of democratic politics to reform, and they agitated successfully for the extension of the nation's founding principles to groups that had formerly been left out. Their triumph has served as an inspiring model for subsequent movements, on both the left and right, from woman's suffrage before 1920, to civil rights from the 1940s through the 1960s, to both gay rights and antiabortion activism in the early twenty-first century.

See also Douglass, Frederick; Emancipation; Forten, James; Frederick Douglass' Paper; Free Blacks 1619–1860; *Liberator, The*; Manumission Societies; Slave Codes; Slavery; Thirteenth Amendment

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LEWIS PERRY (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Abyssinian Baptist Church

The Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City, one of the oldest African-American Baptist churches in the northern states, was founded in 1808 when a white-led church, the First Baptist Church, restricted black worshippers to a segregated area of the sanctuary. In response, The Reverend Thomas Paul, a black minister from Boston, and eighteen black Baptists left and founded their own congregation on Anthony Street (now Worth Street). The name of the church allegedly derives from a group of seamen and merchants from Ethiopia (then known as Abyssinia) who helped found the new church. Abyssinia was a historically Christian African country. The church soon moved to larger quarters on Waverly Place in Greenwich Village. By 1840 the church's membership numbered more than four hundred, and it was the largest African-American Baptist congregation outside the South.

After the Civil War, the church's membership grew slowly, reaching about one thousand by the turn of the century. Since New York's black population had moved uptown, the Reverend Robert D. Wynn repeatedly urged that the church be relocated in the rising African-American center of Harlem. But in 1902, under the leadership of the Reverend Charles S. Morris, the church moved into a new building on West 40th Street.

In 1908, the hundredth anniversary of the church, a dynamic leader, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Sr. (1865–1953), was installed as pastor. Powell campaigned successfully to raise money for a church building in Harlem, and in 1923 the new building opened at 132 West 138th Street. The new church cost $350,000 to build and had lush carpets, a recreational center, and an imported marble pulpit.

Despite the cost, the Abyssinian Baptist Church was considered the "church of the people." Its membership, which grew to fourteen thousand by 1937 (the year the Reverend Powell Sr. retired), reflected the social and economic composition of the surrounding black community. Most of the church's members were poor or lower middle class, and there were few professionals among them.

Once settled in Harlem, the church immediately became active in social programs. Powell continued the antiprostitution efforts he had begun on 40th Street, and in 1926 he founded a senior citizens' home at 732 St. Nicholas Avenue, which was named in his honor. Under the leadership of his son, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (1908–1972), the church opened a federal credit union and the Friendly Society, a benevolent organization.

Church activities increased with the coming of the Great Depression. In 1930 a soup kitchen opened, followed by a day nursery, an employment bureau, and, most significantly, an adult education school, which had some two thousand students by 1935. After succeeding his father as pastor in 1937, the younger Powell led boycotts and picket lines aimed at obtaining jobs for blacks in Harlem. Even after he became a New York City councilman in 1941, and then a U.S. congressman in 1945, Powell retained his pulpit at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, where he was renowned for his oratory.

After the death of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in 1972, the church selected the Reverend Samuel Dewitt Proctor (1921–1997), a former president of both North Carolina A&T College and Virginia Union University in Richmond, to become its next pastor. Proctor continued the social activism for which the church was known. Under his leadership, the church created the Abyssinian Housing Development Fund Company, which provides housing to needy families in Harlem. Proctor also invited the New York Philharmonic to give annual concerts in the church.

In 1990 the Reverend Calvin Butts, who had been the executive minister under Proctor, assumed the pastorate of the church. Butts expanded the church's role in housing development, child care, and adult education through the Abyssinian Development Corporation. A powerful but often controversial leader, Butts has carried out highly publicized campaigns against alcoholism and against alcohol and tobacco companies that target black and Latino consumers for their products. In 1993 Butts began a heated campaign to boycott rap songs with lyrics that denigrate black men and women. Though the membership of the church has dropped over the years to about five thousand, the Abyssinian Baptist Church is still one of the largest and most powerful black churches in America.

See also Baptists; Butts, Calvin; Protestantism in the Americas; Religion

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TIMOTHY E. FULOP (1996)
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Adams, Grantley

April 28, 1898
November 28, 1971

Grantley Herbert Adams was born in Barbados to Fitzherbert and Rosa Adams. Grantley was one of seven children and received his primary education at St. Giles Boys' School, where his father was head teacher. Thereafter, he was educated at Harrison College and won the prestigious Barbados Scholarship in Classics in 1918. After winning the scholarship, Grantley served for a year on the staff of his alma mater. That scholarship enabled him to receive his tertiary education and professional training at St. Catherine College at Oxford University and at the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London.

In 1925 Adams returned to Barbados and was called to the bar. It did not take him too long to establish his reputation as a formidable advocate and build up a reasonably thriving practice. He combined the practice of law with journalism as lead writer of the *Agricultural Reporter,* a daily newspaper owned and supported by the ruling class of merchants and planters.

In 1934 Adams won a seat in the Barbados House of Assembly, which he held until 1958 when he retired to contest the federal elections and serve in the federal parliament.

The conditions in Barbados at the time of his birth and up to the riots of 1937 and beyond need to be accurately described if Adams's contribution is to be fully appreciated and properly assessed.

The majority of Barbadians was black and had neither the right to vote nor any strength in relation to the elite. So severely restricted was the franchise that in 1932 only 4,807 persons were on the electoral register. According to Adams himself, "Power in the colony rests in the hands of a narrow, bigoted, selfish and grasping plutocracy." Color discrimination was "greatly practised" and it was a rare sight to see men of color holding positions in the civil service, the professions, or the church. Wages for all categories of workers were low and rarely exceeded one shilling, or twenty-four cents a day. Unemployment was high and living conditions were deplorable. Those who lived in the slums around Bridgetown were said to be existing under "horrible animal conditions." The society was semi-feudal in character, highly stratified with little or no social mobility. Sugar, the mainstay of the economy, employed upwards of one quarter of the working population on a seasonal basis.

Generally speaking, these conditions were similar elsewhere in the English-speaking Caribbean, and by 1935 a wave of violent dissatisfaction broke out across the region, starting in St. Kitts. From July 26 to July 31, 1937 Barbados experienced "riotous disorders." Shop windows in Bridgetown were smashed and businesses were robbed and vandalized. In addition, police patrols were stoned and cars were overturned. A state of emergency was declared, and armed police and volunteers shot and killed some fourteen persons and injured forty-seven. In the rural parishes, potato fields were raided and shops broken into.

A local commission of inquiry, which came to be known as the Disturbances or Deane Commission, was es-

Sir Grantley Adams (1898–1971). *Known as the "Father of Barbadian Democracy," Adams was the first premier of Barbados and the prime minister of the short-lived West Indies Federation.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

tablished one month after the riots. It found that although there was an event that triggered the riots, the underlying cause was "the large accumulation of explosive material" on the island. Put differently, the fundamental cause of the riots was "economic" and arose from what Adams in his testimony before the commission referred to as "the deteriorating social economic conditions" in the country.

Resulting from the testimony given to the Disturbances Commission and its recommendations, and from the expectation that a high-powered commission would be established by the British Government in relation to events across the English-speaking Caribbean, there was an upsurge of energy and expectations that needed be mobilized and channeled. The establishment of a political party was an urgent necessity. Adams and his supporters saw this clearly and by March 1938 a committee was formed that founded the Barbados Labour Party. An interim executive was put in place, and Adams was named vice president in *absentia*. By mid-April 1938 the name was changed to the Barbados Progressive League, but by 1945 it was again called the Barbados Labour Party.

Within a year of its launch there was a struggle within the newly formed party over ideology, tactics, and leadership. Adams triumphed in this struggle, and in the ensuing special general meeting Adams became the first president-general of the Barbados Progressive League.

As early as 1940 the Barbados Progressive League campaigned in the general election as an organized party, and Adams and his colleagues laid out a comprehensive and enlightened program which informed policy initiatives in Barbados for at least a generation. The program called for a living wage for all workers. It emphasized, too, a modern medical service, well-planned slum clearance, and housing schemes for the whole island. It committed the league to compulsory education, the establishment of free technical schools, and the provision of meals for schoolchildren. The program stressed the importance of old-age pension at age sixty-five and unemployment insurance for workers. Adult suffrage, the creation of new industries, and the conduct of an economic survey and census to provide accurate information on employment were at the heart of the program.

The Progressive League was to contest each and every succeeding election until it was renamed the Barbados Labour Party, and from then on the party, which was the party in office in 2005, has been a major political institution in Barbados and is the oldest party in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Although the idea of a federation of the English-speaking Caribbean was discussed for many years, it was not until the Montego Bay Conference held in Jamaica in 1947 that the concept was given practical definition and significant momentum. The conference was organized by Labour leaders in the region, and Adams's proposals called for a strong central federal government. They were accepted, and he was thereafter seen as the "architect" of the federation, although it was not formally established until 1958, with its capital in Trinidad.

Following the federal elections in March 1958, Adams assumed the office of Prime Minister of the first West Indies Federation, which comprised the countries of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent.

Many factors contributed to the dissolution of the federation on May 31, 1962. To begin with, the federal constitution was colonial in character, with considerable discretionary powers given to the governor general. Further, Her Majesty's government was granted reserve pow-

ers to legislate in matters relating to defense, external affairs, and the finances of the federation.

On the question of the powers of the federal government, there was a sharp division of opinion between the two biggest territories participating in the federation, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Dr. Eric Willams, Premier of Trinidad, favored a strong central government. He argued that "only powerful and centrally directed coordination and interdependence can create the foundations of a nation." Jamaica on the other hand wanted the powers of the federal government, already weak, to be further restricted.

There was doubtful support for the federation in Jamaica, and the matter was tested in a referendum on September 19, 1961, following which Jamaica, and soon thereafter, Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the federation.

Adams returned home, and by 1964 he was active in Barbadian politics. In 1966 he led the Barbados Labour Party in the general election and he was again elected to the House of Assembly, where he served as opposition leader. In October 1970 he was forced to retire from the House of Assembly for the second and final time. His long tenure in politics and his disappointment over the collapse of the federation had taken a toll upon his health.

After Adams's death in 1971, he was accorded a state funeral and is buried in the churchyard of the Cathedral of St. Michael and All Angels in Bridgetown. Buried there, too, are his wife, Grace, and their only son J. M. G. "Tom" Adams, who followed his father in law and politics and was the second prime minister of Barbados (1976 to 1985).

Adams held many positions of public trust and responsibility, and he achieved many firsts in his lifetime. He was the first president-general of the Barbados Progressive League. He was also the first chairman of the Barbados Labour Party. He was the first premier of Barbados and the first and only prime minister of the ill-fated West Indies Federation. His most enduring contribution rests on the large role he played in wresting power from the old ruling elite of merchants and planters in Barbados and locating it in the hands of the masses. His campaign and that of his party to win adult suffrage—one man, one woman, one vote—in September 1950 moved the black masses of Barbadians from the periphery of national politics to the center of the political process. This, combined with the transformation he realized in improving the living standards of Barbadians, in providing them with economic opportunities and in laying the infrastructure for a modern country, earned him the sobriquet of "Father of Barbadian Democracy and of the Social Revolution." He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II in 1957 for his contribution to Barbados and the West Indies through public service. He has, too, been admiringly referred to by the masses as "Moses." Of equal importance was his strategy of incorporating the old ruling class into the national development effort by accommodation rather than confrontation. It has been followed by successive leaders and governments and helps to account for the stability and cohesion in the Barbadian society.

See also Barbados Labour Party; West Indies Federation

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R. "JOHNNY" CHELTENHAM (2005)

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is an act, policy, plan, or program designed to remedy the negative effects of wrongful discrimination. "Affirmative action" can remedy the perceived injustice of discrimination on the basis of a person's race, national origin, ethnicity, language, sex, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or affiliation. As a civil rights policy affecting African Americans, "affirmative action" most often denotes race-conscious and result-oriented efforts undertaken by private entities and government officials to correct the unequal distribution of economic opportunity and education that many attribute to slavery, segregation, poverty, and racism.

What counts as affirmative action varies from one field to the next. Affirmative action in employment has generally meant seeking to hire a racially mixed and balanced workforce that includes a representative number of

Americans of African, Latin, Asian-Pacific, or native ancestry, using the distribution of minority groups in the national or local population to gauge adequate representation. Self-described "equal opportunity/affirmative action" employers may voluntarily seek to hire African Americans, sometimes with explicit numerical goals and timetables in mind. For example, an employer whose workforce is two percent African American begins to hire additional blacks aiming at a workforce that will eventually include ten percent African Americans, three percent of whom will occupy management positions within three years.

Employers may base affirmative-action programs on the assumption that they can achieve racially balanced workforces through race-conscious hiring and promotion preferences. Preferential employment strategies involve affirmative action on behalf of a racial minority group when a person's minority race results in employment for which race is not otherwise a significant qualification. A person's race may sometimes be a bona fide job-related qualification (Fullinwider, 1980). For instance, undercover police work in black neighborhoods may require black police officers; realistic filmmaking about African-American history may require black actors. In such instances, preferring black workers is not affirmative action.

Not all racial preferences involve affirmative action, and not all affirmative action involves racial preferences. For example, to attract more African-American job applicants, an employer with a mainly white workforce begins to advertise job openings in the city's neighborhood newspapers, including newspapers circulated in black neighborhoods. This change in practice is potentially effective affirmative action, but it is not preferential treatment in the sense of according blacks employment advantages over whites or other groups (Greenawalt, 1983). However, if the same employer committed itself to hiring blacks over similarly qualified or better qualified whites, or by exempting blacks from the adverse impact of seniority rules, one could describe the employer as according blacks preferential treatment as an affirmative-action measure.

Affirmative action in public and private education has focused on such race-conscious programs as "desegregation," "integration," "diversity," and "multiculturalism." Whether voluntarily or pursuant to court orders, to achieve desegregation in public primary and secondary schools formerly subject to state-imposed racial segregation, school officials have expressly mandated numerical goals, ratios, and quotas for faculty hiring and pupil enrollment. At some schools, voluntary affirmative action has meant allocating financial resources to recruiting and retaining minority students with special scholarships, curricula, and social programs. At others, it has also meant admissions procedures that de-emphasize standardized test scores and other traditional qualifications. Some colleges and universities have adopted legally controversial minority admissions quotas or diversity criteria aimed at enrolling a representative percentage of nonwhite students each year. In many schools the ideal of a diverse, multicultural student body is thought to require affirmative action to employ teachers and to enroll and retain students of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Beyond employment and education, the distribution of public or private benefits on the basis of race for the remedial purpose of redressing group discrimination fits the definition of affirmative action. Hence, minority "set-aside" requirements that reserve a percentage of public contracts for minority businesses qualify as affirmative action. The concept also reaches special effort made by public and private scientific, humanistic, and arts organizations to disburse a share of their grants, awards, and prizes to members of once-neglected minority groups. The concept even reaches redistricting to aggregate minority voters into district to remedy a history of inadequate political representation.

Viewing affirmative action goals as quotas is often designed to suggest "that they, like yesterday's quotas, serve an immoral end" (Ezorsky, 1991). Indeed, the affirmative action practiced in employment, education, and other fields has excited intense moral and legal debate. The debate centers on the charges that race-conscious remedies designed to redress invidious discrimination against some groups amount to wrongful "reverse discrimination" against others (Steele, 1990). Opponents of affirmative action raise particular concern about any form of affirmative action that involves numerical mandates, especially goals and quotas. Although the word *goals* often connotes flexible guidelines for group inclusion and *quotas* often connote rigid limits with discriminatory intent, both entail optimal percentages or numbers of persons belonging to specific groups targeted to serve in specific capacities (Fullinwider, 1980). The strongest proponents of affirmative action argue that numerical mandates, whether termed "goals" or "quotas," are just and effective remedies for persistent discrimination (Bowen and Bok, 1998; Johnson, 1992).

History

The idea that special effort is needed to remedy discrimination on the basis of race is as old as President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution ending slavery. However, affirmative action as a distinct race-relations policy did not

come about until the crest of the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Anderson, 2004). The term "affirmative action" quietly made its debut in American law in 1935, the year Congress passed the Wagner Act, expressly requiring "affirmative action" of employers guilty of discrimination against workers on the basis of union membership.

In June 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, a precursor of affirmative-action policies in the arena of race relations, which called for "special measures" and "certain action" to end "discrimination in the employment of workers in the defense industries or government [occurring] because of race, creed, color, or national origin." Roosevelt's historic move was intended to boost the wartime economy and reduce severe black unemployment, as urged by A. Philip Randolph and other leaders. Executive Order 8802 was not consistently enforced, but in some states sudden black competition for traditionally white jobs prompted hostility and violence against blacks.

Internal White House discussions of employment policy during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower included consideration of mandatory affirmative action. On March 8, 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 establishing a President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to expand and strengthen efforts to promote full equality of employment opportunity across racial lines. Order 10925 also required that all government contractors agree not to "discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin."

The monumental Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed the most blatant forms of racial discrimination in employment, education, housing, public accommodations, and voting. The 1964 act desegregated restaurants, cinemas, retail stores, hotels, transportation, and beaches. Building on *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the historic Supreme Court decision that ended legal racial segregation of public primary and secondary schools and pronounced that school desegregation should occur "with all deliberate speed," the act blocked federal aid to segregated schools. The act banned unequal application of the requirements of voter registration. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 went even further in protecting the franchise, restricting literacy tests and authorizing federal election supervision in the states. Title VII of the 1964 act banned discrimination by employers of twenty-five or more, labor unions, and employment agencies, and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Title VII empowered the federal courts to order "affirmative action as may be appropriate" to remedy past workplace discrimination.

Finally, on September 28, 1965, in the wake of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson's Executive Order 11246 launched affirmative action as the centerpiece of national employment policy and race relations. Aimed at "the full realization of equal employment opportunity," Executive Order 11246, like Kennedy's earlier order, required that firms conducting business with the federal government and these firms' suppliers "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." Order 11246 was amended by Executive Order 11375 and implemented by Labor Department Revised Order No. 4, requiring that government contractors in "good faith" set "goals" and "timetables" for employing previously "underutilized" minority group members available and qualified for hire. The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, awarded responsibility for implementing Order 11246 and its amendments, developed regulations defining a program of "affirmative action" as "a set of specific and result-oriented procedures" undertaken with "every good faith effort" to bring about "equal employment opportunity." Vice President Hubert Humphrey coordinated the Johnson administration's civil rights and affirmative action policies. On August 20, 1965, at a White House conference on equal employment opportunity, Humphrey had revealed a broad understanding of the economic plight of blacks. Humphrey said America had "neglected the Negro too long" and that "government, business and labor must open more jobs to Negroes [and] must go out and affirmatively seek those persons who are qualified and begin to train those who are not."

In 1967 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) began requiring colleges and universities receiving federal funds to establish affirmative-action goals for employing female and minority faculty members. In 1972 HEW issued guidelines for higher education requiring both nondiscrimination and efforts to recruit, employ, and promote members of formerly excluded groups "even if that exclusion cannot be traced to particular discriminatory actions on the part of the employer." The HEW guidelines also indicated that colleges and universities were not expected to lower their standards or employ less qualified job candidates. The HEW guidelines distinguished affirmative-action "goals," which its directives required as an indicator of probable compliance, from "quotas," which its directives expressly prohibited. Critics of HEW have argued that a firm distinction is untenable since "a positive 'goal' for one group must be a negative

'quota' for another" (Goldman, 1977). Numerous efforts to distinguish goals from quotas have left some analysts unpersuaded: although the purpose of goals may be inclusion and quotas exclusion, "getting people in, where the shape of the 'in' is fixed, will be possible only by keeping others out" (Fullinwider, 1980).

By the early 1970s affirmative action in employment became a full-fledged national policy. The EEOC had taken the stand that an obligation of result-oriented affirmative action extended to all employers within its jurisdiction, not just federal contractors or educational institutions receiving federal funds. Political support for the federal government's affirmative action initiatives was initially strong and broad based. Some maintained that affirmative action utilizing numerical goals and timetables was a necessary complement to the 1964 civil rights statutes. A century after the formal abolition of slavery, African Americans as a group remained substantially poorer, less well educated, and politically less powerful than whites as a group. Legally enforced segregation had intensified black inequality.

The leadership of the NAACP, the Congress on Racial Equality, the NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund, and the National Urban League quickly endorsed affirmative action. Diverse sectors of the economy promptly responded to Washington's affirmative action programs. For example, in 1966 the city of New York, the Roman Catholic Church in Michigan, and the Texas-based retailer Neiman Marcus were among the organizations announcing voluntary plans requiring that their suppliers and other contractors to take affirmative steps toward hiring African Americans.

The political popularity of affirmative action during the Johnson administration subsequently yielded to controversy. An erosion of political support in Congress and the White House for higher education affirmative-action programs was evident as early as 1972, seemingly prompted by opposition from faculty members and administrators fearing the demise of traditional standards of scholarly merit. In 1975 U.S. Attorney General Edward H. Levi publicly stated that affirmative action constitutes "quotas" and is "not good government." After 1976, both during and after the one-term presidency of the pro-affirmative action Democrat Jimmy Carter, disagreements over the legality, morality, and efficacy of affirmative action strained African-Americans' relationships with labor unions, the Republican Party, and white liberal Democrats, including Jewish liberals who supported the civil rights movement but who were suspicious of government-backed racial quotas that historically had been used to exclude Jews.

Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush campaigned for the presidency on opposition to affirmative-action "quotas." President Reagan spoke out against affirmative-action's numerical goals and quotas, and this opposition became one of the cornerstones of his public policy agenda on issues affecting African Americans. High-profile conservatives defended the ideal of a colorblind society and characterized blacks as overly dependent upon welfare, affirmative action, and other government programs promulgated chiefly by liberal democrats. *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, as well as other mainstream media, lavished more publicity on affirmative-action controversies than any other topic related to blacks, including unemployment, health, hunger, and homelessness (Daniel and Allen, 1988). The NAACP and the National Urban League maintained their support for affirmative action and the civil rights laws. Consistent with the Reagan agenda, however, the federal government lessened its enforcement of federal contracts compliance programs in the 1980s, and a number of Supreme Court cases curbed affirmative action in employment and other key fields.

In the 1990s some were prepared to attribute significant gains for blacks to affirmative action, including an increase in black employment and promotion at major corporations, in heavy industry, in police and fire departments, and in higher education (Ezorsky, 1991). Yet persistent critics converted "affirmative action" into a virtual pejorative, along with "preferential treatment," "reverse discrimination," and "quotas." Symbolic of the era, Democrat Bill Clinton, a supporter of affirmative-action policies, after election to the presidency in 1992 abruptly withdrew the nomination of Lani Guinier to the Justice Department after her critics labeled her affirmative-action policies as outside the mainstream.

In June 1995 the Supreme Court ruled that all race-based programs would be subject to "strict scrutiny" and must be narrowly tailored to suit specific goals. The following month, President Clinton, responding to congressional pressure to roll back minority preferences, proposed a new initiative on affirmative action that would "mend it, not end it." Despite continued support from Clinton, support for affirmative action nationwide continued to erode. In July 1995, following a lengthy campaign by California governor Pete Wilson, the trustees of the University of California voted to end minority preferences in state college admissions. The following year, a coalition led by Wilson and African-American businessman Ward Connerly introduced Proposition 209, which barred affirmative action programs under the guise of promoting equal rights for all racial groups.

The state of California successfully passed Proposition 209 in November 1996, thereby prohibiting the state from discriminating, or granting "preferential treatment,"

on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the fields of employment, education, or contracting. Similarly, in 1998 the voters of Washington State adopted the ballot initiative known as I-200. Essentially ending the state's use of affirmative action, Initiative 200 expressly prevented any government entity from making hiring, promotion, and contracting decisions based on racial criteria and gender.

The enactment of Proposition 209 by California voters (and the U.S. Supreme Court's subsequent dismissal of legal challenges to it) paved the way for similar measures in other states. Although in 1997 Houston's voters defeated a challenge to the city's affirmative-action program, the vote was suspended after a court fight. Despite the efforts of influential educators such as Nathan Glazer and Derek Bok to defend the social impact of minority preferences, by the late 1990s the future of affirmative action was more than ever in doubt.

Although such initiatives may point to public support of anti–affirmative action policies, there is evidence that public sentiment may be changing. In 2003 the Racial Privacy Initiative, also known as Proposition 54, was placed on the California ballot. Overwhelmingly rejected by California voters, Proposition 54 would have prohibited state and local governments from classifying and collecting data on the basis of one's race or ethnicity.

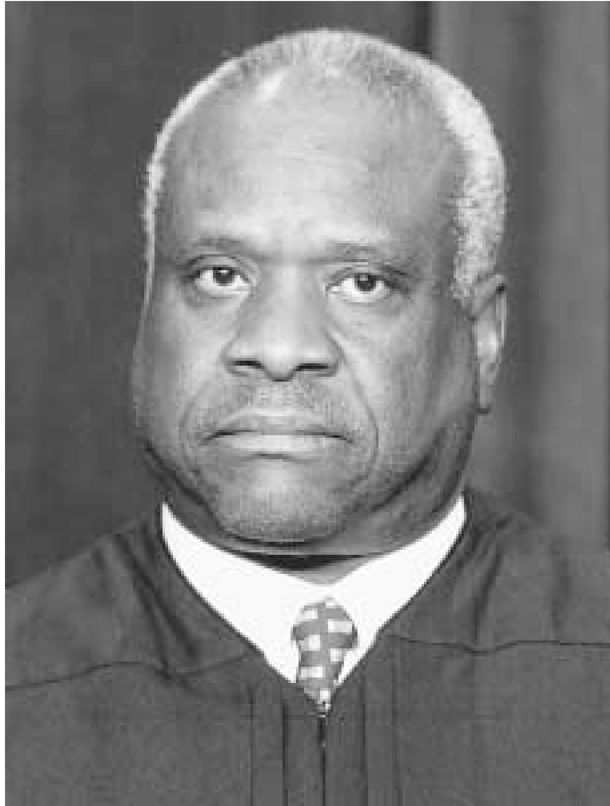
Affirmative action debates are not unique to the United States (Sowell, 2004). Tending to focus on ensuring equal opportunity, many countries outside the United States have adopted a version of affirmative action described as "positive action" (Appelt and Jarosch, 2000)—for example, targeted advertising campaigns in Europe encourage ethnic minority candidates to join the police force. Other countries like South Africa and Canada have passed Employment Equity Acts requiring certain employers to draw up an Equity Plan outlining the company's commitment to equity (i.e., promotion of diversity, development and training of designated group, preferential treatment and numerical goals to ensure equitable representation). India has implemented a system that targets discrimination based on caste status by reserving certain positions in university and government to historically disadvantaged people known as the "untouchables," while New Zealand offers preferential access to university courses and scholarships to individuals of Maori or other Polynesian descent. While use of affirmative action had previously been questioned by the European legal community, a 1997 European Court of Justice determined that appointing women to public-sector jobs where they are underrepresented was a legal form of "positive action" provided that rigid quotas were not involved.

Moral and Policy Debates

Reflecting ties to the civil rights movement, the stated goals of affirmative action range from the forward-looking goal of improving society by remedying distributive inequities to the backward-looking goal of righting historic wrongs (Curry and West, 1996; Ezorsky, 1991; McGary, 1977–78). Affirmative action on behalf of African Americans often was, and often is, defended by scholars as compensation or reparation owed to blacks by whites or a white-dominated society (Boxhill, 1984; Thomson, 1977). In particular, it is argued that after two centuries of legally enforced slavery, racial segregation, and racism, African Americans now deserve the jobs, education, and other benefits made possible through affirmative action. Beyond compensatory or reparative justice, goals ascribed to affirmative action include promoting economic opportunity for minority groups and individuals; eradicating racial subordination; neutralizing the competitive advantages many whites enjoy in education, business, and employment; educating a cadre of minority professionals for service in underserved minority communities; creating minority role models, intellectuals, artists, and civic leaders; and, finally, acknowledging society's cultural diversity (Goldberg, 1994; Ezorsky, 1991; Boxhill, 1984; Greenawalt, 1983).

African Americans widely support affirmative action policies. To be sure, some African-American neoconservatives, such as Glen Loury, Thomas Sowell, and Clarence Thomas, have rejected affirmative action on the grounds that it is incompatible with a "colorblind" civil rights policy. Other African Americans sometimes have also criticized affirmative action, often on pragmatic grounds (Carter, 1991; Steele, 1990; Wilson, 1987). They have joined those who argue that preferential treatment in education and employment mainly benefits middle-class blacks, leaving the problem of profound rural and urban black poverty untouched (Goldman, 1979; Cohen, 1980). Critics say affirmative action reinforces pervasive negative stereotypes of blacks as inferior to whites (Jencks, 1983). African Americans have noted this and have argued that racial preferences are demeaning or dispiriting to minorities, that they compromise African-Americans' self-esteem or self-respect (Sowell, 1976). Some reject affirmative action because it has proven to be socially divisive, having bred resentment among white Americans (Nagel, 1977).

As an antidote to simmering white resentments, William J. Wilson (1987) has proposed promoting race-neutral "universal policies" aimed at the health and employment problems of the poor rather than merely promoting affirmative action for racial minorities. The search for factors beyond race and racism to explain persistent



U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Clarence Thomas, 2003. *Thomas was nominated to the Supreme Court by George H. W. Bush and joined the court in October 1991. Like some other African-American neoconservatives, he has rejected affirmative action on the grounds that it is incompatible with a "colorblind" civil rights policy.* © JASON REED/REUTERS/CORBIS

black inequality in the post-civil-rights era has led some politically conservative opponents of affirmative action to advance the argument that minority economic inequality stems from a pervasive breakdown in work, family, and community values in minority communities.

Supporters of affirmative action offer pertinent replies to all of these arguments (Ezorsky, 1991). To the contention that affirmative action does not help the poorest blacks, a reply has been that affirmative action nonetheless enhances the lives of some deserving blacks. To the argument that affirmative action lowers esteem for blacks and blacks' self-esteem, a reply is that blacks are held in very low esteem already and are vulnerable to low self-esteem because of their inferior education and employment. To the argument that affirmative action is racially divisive and breeds resentment, a reply is that blacks should not be deprived of the benefits of affirmative action simply because of white resentment unless that resentment can be shown to stem from genuine racial injustice. Finally, to the "fingerpointing" argument that blacks' problems result from lapses of individual responsibility, one reply is that communities of poverty, drugs, and violence result from decades of private and public decision making concerning legal, economic, and social policy.

Gertrude Ezorsky (1991), who supports affirmative action, has noted a libertarian argument against affirmative action: employers should be free to choose their own workers as a basic moral freedom, comparable to the freedom to choose one's own spouse. The more common libertarian argument asserts that social and economics benefits should be distributed solely in accordance with colorblind principles of entitlement, merit, and personal characteristics. In liberal academic and intellectual circles, opponents of affirmative action have questioned the coherence of the idea that blacks as a group are entitled to, merit, or deserve affirmative action as compensation or reparations for past wrongdoing (Sher, 1977). Corrective justice, some philosophers say, is both causal and relational. That is, when an injury occurs, the person who caused that injury must personally pay his or her victim. Yet affirmative action makes white males pay for societal injuries to women and minorities that they did not cause (Paul, 1991). The ex-slaves wronged by slavery are dead, as are the people who wronged them. It is therefore illogical, the argument continues, to hold all current whites responsible for the evils of slavery that were perpetrated by the remote ancestors of some whites on the remote ancestors of some blacks (Sher, 1977). In sum, set-asides and other preferential programs that fall under the rubric of affirmative action "reward an ill-defined class of victims, indiscriminately favor some in that class and leave others totally uncompensated, benefit groups whose members were never the victims of state imposed discrimination, and most importantly, do not concentrate recompense on those whose rights were most flagrantly violated, namely, the black slaves, now long dead" (Simon, 1977).

Against the commonly asserted argument that African Americans who stand to benefit by affirmative action were never in bondage to whites and may have led lives free of egregious discrimination, some philosophers defend affirmative action as a moral right of persons belonging to groups that have been uniquely harmed in the past by public law and that are disproportionately poor or otherwise disadvantaged today. Admitting that white citizens are not personally at fault for slavery and may not harbor racist sentiments, these advocates of affirmative action observe that white citizens benefit from the system of racial privilege and institutional racism that continued to pervade American institutions after blacks' emancipation from slavery and segregation (Thomson, 1977). Whites have a competitive advantage over blacks that society may fairly seek to erase through affirmative action.

Legal Dimensions

Frequently challenged in the courts of scholarly and public opinion, affirmative action also has been litigated frequently in the nation's federal courts. The question of the legality of racial quotas and other affirmative-action measures has no simple answer. From 1969 to 1993 alone, the Supreme Court decided more than twenty major cases relating to the legality of diverse race-conscious remedies. In the same period at least five cases considered the legality of affirmative action on behalf of women. While a number of these twenty-five cases validated one or another form of affirmative action, several important cases related to education, employment, minority business opportunity, and voting rejected it as a legal strategy.

Paramount in affirmative-action cases are the implications of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other civil rights statutes enacted by Congress. Equally important when plaintiffs contest affirmative action by governmental entities are the principles of equal protection embodied in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court has established that the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of race by state and federal government as a denial of equal protection of law. The Court's equal-protection jurisprudence presumes that racial classifications are potentially invidious, giving rise to the need for "strict scrutiny" when challenged. Defined as a stringent, virtually impassable standard of judicial review, strict scrutiny requires government to justify its law or conduct by appealing to a compelling governmental interest. The constitutional conundrum posed by affirmative action is whether the provisions of the Constitution that presumptively ban state and federal government discrimination on the basis of race and entail the need for strict scrutiny review nonetheless permit the use of the race-conscious remedies to redress racial discrimination. Whether framed by constitutional or statutory questions, affirmative-action cases commonly involve procedural complexities relating to assigning the burdens of proving or disproving that the absence of minorities or women in an institution is the result of intentional or other unlawful discrimination.

Endorsing Race-Conscious Remedies

The Supreme Court unanimously endorsed quotas and other race-conscious numerical requirements to achieve school desegregation in *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1969) and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971). In a different context the Court again endorsed race-conscious remedies in *United Jewish Organizations v. Carey* (1977). Over Fourteenth Amendment and other constitutional objections, the Court upheld a New York redistricting plan that explicitly attempted to increase the voting strength of "nonwhite" voters—blacks and Puerto Ricans—seemingly at the expense of a community of Hasidic Jews, viewed as whites under the plan. Four justices agreed that the use of race as a factor in districting and apportionment is constitutionally permissible; that express findings of past discrimination were not required to justify race-conscious policies; and that racial quotas in electoral districting were not by definition unconstitutional. Chief Justice Warren Burger dissented from the judgment of the Court, stressing his discomfort with putting the "imprimatur of the State on the concept that race is a proper consideration in the electoral process."

Seniority Limits on Workplace Preferences

In 1977 the Court established a limitation on affirmative action that it would reiterate in subsequent cases. *International Brotherhood of Teamsters v. United States* (1977) held that a disparate impact on minorities alone does not make a seniority system illegal under Title VII. Justice Thurgood Marshall, partly dissented from the majority, joined by Justice William Brennan. The Court's lone African-American justice, Marshall cited Federal Court of Appeals opinions, EEOC decisions, scholarly materials, and legislative history to attest to the broadness of the remedial goal of Title VII. Marshall admitted that Congress had expressed reservations about orders of retroactive seniority in a nonremedial context or based solely upon a showing of a policy's disparate impact on minorities without any evidence of discriminatory intent. But Marshall argued that Congress did not clearly intend to preserve seniority systems that perpetuate the effects of discrimination. Seven years after the teamsters case, *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts* (1984) overturned a district court's injunction prohibiting the city of Memphis from following its seniority system's "last hired, first fired" policy during layoffs. In *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education* (1986), Justice Marshall again dissented from a ruling elevating seniority rules over affirmative-action principles. Here the Court invalidated the provision of a collective-bargaining agreement between a school board and the local teachers' union that would have preserved minority representations in teaching staff in the event of layoffs. Justice Powell applied strict scrutiny to the contested provision, arguing for the Court that strict scrutiny applies to any racial classification, even when the classification "operates against a group that historically has not been subject to discrimination." Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and

Justice Byron White concurred in the use of strict scrutiny review to assess the impact of affirmative action on whites.

School Admissions: No Strict Quotas Allowed

Two cases involving affirmative action in law and medical school admissions evidence the Court's judgment of limited constitutional tolerance for affirmative-action plans involving numerical quotas: *Defunis v. Oregaard* (1977) and *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). In *Defunis,* a law school applicant challenged the race-conscious admissions policies of the state-supported University of Washington Law School as a violation of his right to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. The school had established a separate admissions process for minorities and a fifteen to twenty percent admissions goal for applicants who described their dominant ethnic origin as black, Chicano, American Indian, or Filipino. The *Defunis* case was not decided on its merits; the Court declared the case moot after Defunis matriculated in law school while the suit was pending. However, in a dissenting opinion, Justice William O. Douglas criticized conventional law school admissions criteria and stressed that schools can and should broaden their inquiries beyond test scores and grades. Douglas opined that race could be a factor in admissions, consistent with the constitutional requirement of race neutral evaluation, so long as all persons are judged "on an individual basis, rather than according to racial classifications."

Decided fully on the merits, the highly publicized *Bakke* case struck down the special admissions program of the public Medical School of the University of California at Davis. The program featured a sixteen percent quota for "blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and American Indians." The purpose of the program was to increase minority representation in the medical field, to compensate minorities for past societal discrimination, to increase medical care in underserved communities, and to diversify the student body. Allen Bakke, a twice-rejected white applicant to the medical school, challenged its admissions program both under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The court issued a long and complex series of opinions to resolve Bakke's case. In the final analysis, the case declared minority admissions quotas unlawful at schools receiving federal dollars, but upheld the use of race as a factor in selecting a diverse student body. Five members of the Court affirmed the illegality of the Davis program and directed Bakke to be admitted to the school. Justice Powell affirmed the illegality of the school's admissions program but voted with Justices Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun to approve the use of race as a factor in higher education admissions. Justice Stevens and three others thought it unnecessary to decide the constitutional issues raised by the case, finding that the admissions policy was invalid under Title VI. They ascertained that the plain language of the statute prohibiting discrimination was sufficient justification for nullifying the program.

> ***Justice Thurgood Marshall***
>
> "It is because of a legacy of unequal treatment that we now must permit the institutions of this society to give consideration to race in making decisions about who will hold the positions of influence, affluence, and prestige in America. For far too long, the doors to those positions have been shut to Negroes. If we are ever to become a fully integrated society, one in which the color of a person's skin will not determine the opportunities available to him or her, we must be willing to take steps to open those doors. I do not believe that anyone can truly look into America's past and still find that a remedy for the effects of that past is impermissible."
>
> DISSENTING OPINION IN *UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BOARD OF REGENTS V. BAKKE,* 438 U.S. 265 (1978).

The dissenting opinion of Justices Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun cautioned that the nation's "colorblind" values were purely aspirational. They argued that a reading of the history and purpose of Title VI did not rule out race-conscious remedies. Taking up the constitutional issues, these justices rejected strict scrutiny review in favor of a lower, "intermediate" level of scrutiny. They reasoned that intermediate scrutiny permits racial classification "substantially related to an important government objective" and concluded that the university's purpose of counteracting an actual or potential disparate racial impact stemming from discrimination was sufficiently important to justify race-conscious admissions. Justice Marshall also separately wrote a dissenting opinion expressing his sense of irony at the Court's reluctance to uphold race-conscious remedies: "[It] is unnecessary in 20th century

America to have individual Negroes demonstrate that they have been victims of racial discrimination; the racism of our society has been so pervasive that none, regardless of wealth or position, has managed to escape its impact."

In 1982 the Supreme Court again took up the subject of affirmative action in professional school admissions in *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan*. The nursing school of the university denied full admission to male students (admitted only as auditors) on the grounds that the education of women was "educational affirmative action" intended to mitigate the adverse effects of discrimination on women. A man denied admission brought suit under the Equal Protection Clause. A five-justice majority that included Justices Marshall and O'Connor invalidated the single-sex policy on his behalf. Justice O'Connor wrote for the Court, applying the intermediate scrutiny standard of review. This same standard is the one the Court normally applies to gender classification cases brought under the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. It is also the standard that Justice Marshall defended as appropriate for affirmative-action cases involving remedial racial classifications. The Court required that Mississippi advance an "exceedingly persuasive justification" for its gender distinction in nursing education that included a claim that the distinction was substantially related to an important government goal. Finding no such relationship or justification, the Court disparaged the ideal of a single-sex learning environment in nursing as a "self-fulfilling prophecy" based on the stereotype that nursing is "women's work." Dissenting Justices Powell, Blackmun, and Rehnquist, and Chief Justice Burger denied that the case raised a serious question of gender discrimination. Powell stressed that no woman had complained about the school and that coed nursing education was available elsewhere in the state. Although the majority limited its holding to the nursing school, the dissenters raised concerns about the implication of the case for traditional same-sex higher education in the United States. It appears that affirmative action for women may not be used as a rationale for excluding men from women's traditional provinces.

In its first ruling on affirmative action in higher education admissions since *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the Supreme Court in two landmark decisions involving the University of Michigan's affirmative-action policies ruled that race could be used in university admission decisions for a specific purpose (Stohr, 2004). In *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), a rejected white applicant challenged the University of Michigan Law School's admission policies. Upon an investigation revealing that African Americans and ethnic minorities who had lower overall admissions scores were admitted, the petitioner brought suit, arguing that she had been a victim of illegal discrimination. In a five-to-four decision, the Court upheld the law school's policy, declaring that race could be one of many factors considered by colleges when selecting their students because it furthers "a compelling interest in obtaining the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body." The Supreme Court, however, in *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003) ruled six to three that the more formulaic approach of the University of Michigan's undergraduate admissions program, which uses a point system that rates students and awards additional points to minorities, had to be modified because it violated equal protection provisions of the Constitution. The undergraduate program, unlike the law school's, did not provide the "individualized consideration" of applicants deemed necessary in previous Supreme Court decisions, nor was its use of race "narrowly tailored" to achieve the university's diversity goals.

Barbara Grutter (l), of Plymouth, Michigan, and Jennifer Gratz of Oceanside, California. *Two of the plaintiffs in the University of Michigan affirmative action cases, Grutter and Gratz leave a news conference held by Ward Connerly at the University on July 8, 2003. Connerly, chair of the American Civil Rights Association, had introduced California Proposition 209, which barred affirmative action programs in higher education.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

While the political and legal debate continues, the impact of affirmative action programs is significant. In an empirical analysis of academic, employment, and personal data collected from more than 45,000 students of all races who attended academically selective universities from the 1970s to the early 1990s, the aggregate statistics support the argument for the use of affirmative action in college and university admissions (Bowen and Bok, 1998). Upon examination, the study determined that candidates assist-

President George W. Bush's Remarks on the University of Michigan Affirmative Action Case, January 15, 2003

The Supreme Court will soon hear arguments in a case about admission policies and student diversity in public universities. I strongly support diversity of all kinds, including racial diversity in higher education. But the method used by the University of Michigan to achieve this important goal is fundamentally flawed.

At their core, the Michigan policies amount to a quota system that unfairly rewards or penalizes perspective students, based solely on their race. So, tomorrow my administration will file a brief with the court arguing that the University of Michigan's admissions policies, which award students a significant number of extra points based solely on their race, and establishes numerical targets for incoming minority students, are unconstitutional.

Our Constitution makes it clear that people of all races must be treated equally under the law. Yet we know that our society has not fully achieved that ideal. Racial prejudice is a reality in America. It hurts many of our citizens. As a nation, as a government, as individuals, we must be vigilant in responding to prejudice wherever we find it. Yet, as we work to address the wrong of racial prejudice, we must not use means that create another wrong, and thus perpetuate our divisions.

America is a diverse country, racially, economically, and ethnically. And our institutions of higher education should reflect our diversity. A college education should teach respect and understanding and goodwill. And these values are strengthened when students live and learn with people from many backgrounds. Yet quota systems that use race to include or exclude people from higher education and the opportunities it offers are divisive, unfair and impossible to square with the Constitution.

In the programs under review by the Supreme Court, the University of Michigan has established an admissions process based on race. At the undergraduate level, African American students and some Hispanic students and Native American students receive 20 points out of a maximum of 150, not because of any academic achievement or life experience, but solely because they are African American, Hispanic or Native American.

To put this in perspective, a perfect SAT score is worth only 12 points in the Michigan system. Students who accumulate 100 points are generally admitted, so those 20 points awarded solely based on race are often the decisive factor.

At the law school, some minority students are admitted to meet percentage targets while other applicants with higher grades and better scores are passed over. This means that students are being selected or rejected based primarily on the color of their skin. The motivation for such an admissions policy may be very good, but its result is discrimination and that discrimination is wrong.…

Schools should seek diversity by considering a broad range of factors in admissions, including a student's potential and life experiences.…

America's long experience with the segregation we have put behind us and the racial discrimination we still struggle to overcome requires a special effort to make real the promise of equal opportunity for all. My administration will continue to actively promote diversity and opportunity in every way that the law permits.

ed in admission stayed in school, graduated, and did very well academically. Further assessments of salary information, workforce participation, family structure, and leisure activities revealed that graduates of selective colleges, especially black matriculants even more than their white counterparts, tended to do extremely well after graduation.

Title VII Permits Voluntary Quotas

In a significant decision, the Supreme Court reconciled Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with voluntary affirmative-action programs in *United Steel Workers v. Weber* (1979). By a vote of five to two (two justices did not

participate in the decision), the Court in *Weber* upheld an employer's affirmative-action plan that temporarily required a minimum of fifty percent African-American composition in a skill-training program established to increase African-American representation in skilled positions. The lower courts had ruled that any racial preferences violated Title VII, even if they were established in the context of an affirmative-action plan. Importantly, the Court held that Title VII's ban on all racial discrimination did not apply to affirmative-action plans. Dissenting Justices Burger and Rehnquist disagreed, arguing in separate opinions that the plain language of Title VII and its legislative history banned voluntary racial preferences, even those employed as affirmative-action remedies. *Newsweek* magazine reported the *Weber* decision as a "Victory for Quotas." Eleanor Holmes Norton, the African-American head of the EEOC, declared that "employers and unions no longer need fear that conscientious efforts to open job opportunities will be subjected to legal challenge." Senator Orrin Hatch responded differently, asserting that the purpose of the Civil Rights Act had not been to "guarantee any racial group a fixed proportion of the positions and perquisites available in American society" and that the "American dream" of true liberty was "in real danger."

In *Johnson v. Transportation Department* (1987) the Court held (six to three) that Title VII permits affirmative consideration of employees' gender when awarding promotions. In *Johnson* the Court upheld the promotion of Diane Joyce, made according to the Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County's voluntarily adopted affirmative-action plan. Permitting the use of sex, minority status, and disability as factors for promotional consideration, the plan survived a challenge under Title VII by a man passed over for a road dispatcher position. In another case, *Local No. 93, International Association of Firefighters v. Cleveland* (1986), the Court held that parties to a consent decree may agree to relief that might not be within a court's ordering authority under Title VII. An African-American and Latino firefighters' organization, the Vanguards, had filed a complaint against the city of Cleveland for intentional discrimination in "hiring, assignment, and promotion." Since the city had previously been unsuccessful in defending other discrimination suits, it sought to settle with the Vanguards. Local 93 (the union) intervened, not bringing any claims for or against either party but voicing strenuous opposition to a settlement including any race-conscious action. When a consent decree that provided for the action was agreed upon and entered, the union filed its unsuccessful formal complaint that the decree exceeded a court's authority under Title VII.

Title VII permits affirmative action that includes numerical goals, and may permit courts to order it. In *Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association v. EEOC* (1986), the Supreme Court upheld a court-ordered membership plan for a trade union found guilty of racial discrimination by violating Title VII. The plan included a membership goal of twenty-nine percent African American and Latino. The Court was again willing to permit a numerically based affirmative-action remedy in *United States v. Paradise* (1987). In this case the Court validated a temporary affirmative-action plan ordered by a lower court that required a one-for-one promotion ratio of whites to qualified blacks in the Alabama Department of Public Safety. The department had been found guilty of discrimination in 1972, but had failed to adopt promotion procedures that did not have a disparate impact on blacks. Justice William Brennan argued that the affirmative-action order was a narrowly tailored means to achieve a compelling government purpose, so it therefore met the requirements of strict scrutiny imposed by the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Noncongressional Business Set-Asides

A year after the *Weber* case, in *Fullilove v. Klutznick* (1980), the Court upheld a provision of the congressional Public Works Employment Act, which mandated that ten percent of $4 billion in federal funds allocated for local public construction projects go to "minority business enterprises," statutorily defined as at least fifty percent owned by citizens who are "Negroes, Spanish-speaking, Oriental, Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts." The provision had been challenged under equal protection principles. Chief Justice Burger delivered the judgment of the Court, joined by Justices White and Powell. Justice Marshall, concurring in the judgment in *Fullilove* and joined in his opinion by Justices Brennan and Blackmun, argued that "Congress reasonably determined that race-conscious means were necessary to break down the barriers confronting participation by minority enterprises in federally funded public works projects." *Fullilove* survived challenge in the Court at a time when critics of federal support for minority business enterprises argued that, in addition to raising questions of fairness raised by all affirmative action, the disbursal of funds under the 1977 Public Works Employment Act by the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration was subject to abuse (Ross, 1979). The Government Accounting Office uncovered hundreds of instances of federal dollars being awarded both to minority brokers serving as go-betweens for nonminority firms and government administrators and to nonminority firms feigning minority ownership with the help of minority "fronts" installed as phony partners or owners.

Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co. (1989) successfully attacked an affirmative-action plan reserving specific numerical percentages of a public benefit for minorities. The invalidated "minority set-aside" plan required prime contractors with the city of Richmond to "subcontract at least 30 percent of the dollar amount of the contract to one or more Minority Business Enterprises." The plan was challenged under 42 U.S.C. §1983, a civil rights statute, by a nonminority firm that lost a contracting opportunity because of noncompliance with the program. The justices widely disagreed about the outcome and the reasoning of the case. Justice O'Connor delivered the opinion of the Court with respect to three of its parts, joined by Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Stevens, White, and Kennedy; Justices Stevens and Kennedy filed separate partial concurrences; Justice Scalia filed a concurring opinion; Justice Marshall dissented, joined in his opinion by Justices Brennan and Blackmun; finally, Justice Blackmun filed a dissenting opinion, joined by Justice Brennan. A major task for the majority was to explain how they could invalidate the set-aside in *Croson* when the Court had previously validated a similar set-aside in *Fullilove*. Justice O'Connor distinguished the *Fullilove* case on the ground that its set-aside had been created by Congress and involved an exercise of federal congressional power, whereas the set-aside in *Croson* was a creature of municipal government. Justice Thurgood Marshall dissented from the judgment in *Croson,* warning that the Court's ruling threatened all affirmative action plans not specifically enacted by Congress—virtually all plans.

Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC (1990) upheld two race-conscious Federal Communications Commission programs designed to enhance program diversity. The race-conscious set-asides were challenged under equal protection principles by a nonminority broadcasting company that had lost its bid to acquire a broadcasting license to a minority-owned company. The Court argued that programming diversity, a goal both the FCC and Congress linked to ownership diversity, was derived from the public's First Amendment interest in hearing a wide spectrum of ideas and viewpoints. The interest was a sufficiently important one to justify race-conscious allocation policies. Justice O'Connor and three other justices dissented from what they considered excessive deference to Congress and a refusal to apply strict scrutiny to an instance of race-conscious thinking grounded in racial stereotypes.

Future Directions

Decided by the slimmest majority and largely on unusual First Amendment grounds, *Metro Broadcasting* leaves standing the basis for Justice Marshall's concerns about the future of all affirmative action. So, too, does *Shaw v. Reno* (1993). This case held that white voters stated a legitimate Fourteenth Amendment equal protection claim against North Carolina for creating a voter redistricting plan described as "so irrational on its face that it c[ould] be understood only as an effort to segregate voters" on the basis of race. Justices White, Souter, and Stevens dissented. In an attempt to comply with the Voting Rights Act, North Carolina had created a redistricting plan with two irregularly shaped "majority-minority" (majority black and Native American) districts. In reversing the lower court, the Court invoked the ideal of a "colorblind" society and warned of the dangers of "political apartheid." Nonetheless, the constitutionality of the districts was subsequently upheld by a federal judicial panel.

The ideal of a colorblind society continues to vex proponents of race-conscious remedies to discrimination. The greatest consistency in the evolving law of affirmative action is that, at any given time, its precise contour mirrors the mix of perspectives represented on the Court concerning the deepest purposes and meaning of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has upheld key affirmative-action measures in the past, and may again in the future. A series of rulings in the spring and summer of 1995 narrowed the allowable scope of affirmative action beyond the university. Notably, in the case of *Adarand Constructors v. Peña* (1995) the Court ruled, five to four, that the federal government's affirmative-action programs must be able to meet the same strict standards for constitutional review as had previously been applied by the Court to state and local programs. *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), the University of Michigan law school admissions case, proves that affirmative action can be constitutional, but the debate over affirmative action continues.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Marshall, Thurgood

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ANITA L. ALLEN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) was the first black organization in the twentieth-century United States to advance the concept of armed black self-defense on behalf of African-American rights. It was founded in September 1919 by the West Indian radical Cyril Valentine Briggs.

A semisecret, highly centralized propaganda organization, the ABB was a product of the upsurge of militant racial consciousness enshrined in the New Negro movement that arose following America's 1917 entry into World War I. Formally entitled the African Blood Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption, it was organized specifically in response to the convulsions spawned by the race riots that swept various cities in the United States during the summer of 1919 and caused it to become known as the Red Summer.

Formation of the brotherhood was announced in the October 1919 issue of Briggs's magazine *Crusader*, which became the official organ of the ABB. With Briggs as its executive head, the group was governed by a supreme executive council that included Theo Burrell (secretary), Otto E. Huiswoud (national organizer), Richard B. Moore (educational director), Ben E. Burrell (director of histori-

cal research), Grace P. Campbell (director of consumers' cooperatives), W. A. Domingo (director of publicity and propaganda), and William H. Jones (physical director).

Combining revolutionary Bolshevik principles with fraternal and benevolent features, the ABB warned in its recruiting propaganda that "Those only need apply who are willing to go to the limit!" (Hill, 1987, vol. 2/2, p. 27). From its inception, the brotherhood was aligned with the nascent Communist Party USA (CPUSA). Along with fellow West Indians Otto Huiswoud (from Suriname) and Arthur Hendricks (from Guyana), Briggs was among the party's charter members at the time of its founding.

As the first black auxiliary of the CPUSA, the brotherhood served as a vehicle for Communist recruitment efforts in black communities. It also was the mechanism through which the party attempted to exert ideological influence on other black organizations, most notably against Marcus Garvey's leadership of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

Although it derived symbolic inspiration from the "blood brotherhood ceremony performed by many tribes in Black Africa" (Hill, 1987, vol. 5/3, pp. 6, 32), the ABB was modeled on the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which dated back to 1858 and the founding of the Irish Fenian movement. The group's ritual was said to resemble that of a fraternal order, with the regular trappings of degrees, passwords, signs, initiation ceremony, and a brotherhood oath. Organizationally, it comprised a series of posts, such as the Menelik Post in New York, directed by individual post commanders.

Membership in the brotherhood was by enlistment, making it difficult to reconstruct even an approximate number of members. It is doubtful, however, that membership ever consisted of more than a few hundred. Commentators such as W. A. Domingo and Claude McKay, who were adherents of the brotherhood, even asserted that the ABB was never more than a paper organization.

The only public demonstration the ABB is known to have mounted occurred in August 1921, during the second annual international convention of Garvey's UNIA in Harlem, at which the ABB attempted unsuccessfully to lobby convention delegates outside Liberty Hall in support of the link proposed by the ABB with UNIA. Prior to this, in June 1921, the group was catapulted into national attention, if only briefly, by a race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma; the media linked the resistance raised by the Tulsa African-American community with ABB organizers. The ABB was also involved in the All Race Conference of Negroes, better known as the Negro Sanhedrin, which met in Chicago in February 1924, with Briggs as secretary.

Self-described as a workers' organization, the ABB claimed to be "an organization working—openly where possible, secretly where necessary—for the rights and legitimate aspirations of the Negro workers against exploitation on the part of either white or black capitalists." In terms of its political program, one of ABB's distinguishing ideological features was its attempt to marry the principle of racial self-determination to the goal of revolutionary class consciousness. As stated in its program, the ABB sought "a liberated race" while working to achieve "cooperation with other darker races and with class-conscious white workers."

Liquidated in 1924 to 1925 by decision of the CPUSA (following the latter's shift from an underground organization to an aboveground movement), the ABB was replaced by a succession of front organizations subsequently set up by the party, most notably the American Negro Labor Congress and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

See also Black Power Movement; Communist Party of the United States; Huiswoud, Otto; Red Summer; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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African Burial Ground Project

In the summer of 1991, during preparation for a federal office building in lower Manhattan, archaeologists unearthed an eighteenth-century cemetery that had been appropriated for use by Africans and African-descended people in colonial New York. The five- to six-acre site—the oldest and largest colonial cemetery ever excavated in North America—is estimated to have been the final resting place of between 10,000 and 20,000 people before its closing in the 1790s. Although researchers have not uncovered recorded evidence of the burial ground's existence before 1712, the presence of a free black community in the vicini-

African Americans preparing to bury a casket, c. 18th century. *Illustration by the artist Charles Lilly, 1994, depicting an interment at the lower Manhattan site now known as the African Burial Ground Memorial in New York City.* ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ty as early as the 1640s suggests earlier origins. The excavated portion—less than one city block long and located today just north of City Hall—is bounded by Duane, Reade, and Elk Streets and Broadway. The cemetery had survived for more than 200 years after its closing because of the topography of the original site. During the colonial period the African Burial Ground was located outside the palisades in a low-lying area near the "Collect," also called Fresh Water Pond. As the city expanded at the end of the eighteenth century, between sixteen and twenty-eight feet of fill was used to grade the area. That soil fill protected the graves from destruction as roadways and buildings were constructed.

The rediscovery of the cemetery generated a great deal of interest within the African-American community, especially in New York City, where residents demanded proper memorialization and study. Their activism led to the burial ground's designation as a National Historic Landmark in 1993, and to the General Services Administration (the federal agency responsible for construction on the site) funding a multidisciplinary study of both the disinterred remains and the society in which New York Africans lived and labored during the colonial era. The research team, drawn from across the nation, conducted its work under the auspices of Howard University in Washington, D.C.

For nearly a dozen years, scholars in biological anthropology, history, and archaeology examined the 419 sets of skeletal remains, studied thousands of artifacts, and combed through thousands of documentary sources as they sought to reconstruct the lives of persons interred in

African Burial Ground Memorial Site, Lower Broadway, New York City, 2003. *New York City officials, including Mayor Michael Bloomberg (far right), stand behind four coffins containing the remains of free and enslaved African Americans, some 300 years after they were first laid to rest. The eighteenth-century burial ground is estimated to contain as many as 20,000 graves.* AFP/GETTY IMAGES

the African Burial Ground, most of whom were enslaved. Researchers pursued a diasporic approach that drew on the expertise of specialists in Africa and the Caribbean, as well as those familiar with the experiences of African peoples in colonial America. This methodology reflected recognition of the relevance of origins and the significance of experiences New York Africans may have had before they arrived in the colonial city.

The African Burial Ground Project was also distinguished by the extent to which it involved the public, especially New York's African-American community. The project considered that community to be its "ethical client," and the study was conducted with the community's permission and input. The public was most directly engaged through the efforts of the project's Office of Public Education and Information, which conducted workshops and sponsored tours of significant African-American sites around the city. A reading room with literature on the African presence in New York was also established.

The African Burial Ground not only offered researchers the opportunity to study the African presence in colonial New York, but also to investigate the broad dimensions of the African-American experience. The site provides a unique vantage point from which to study ethnic origins, physical stressors, and assimilation, as well as cultural continuities and resistance. Heretofore, slavery in a northern, urban setting had been considered mild and devoid of the odious features that characterized the institution in a southern, plantation setting. The physical remains suggested otherwise, however. They revealed high infant mortality, significantly elevated death rates among women of the fifteen to twenty-five age range, and a life expectancy that was much shorter than that enjoyed by European Americans. Anthropologists observed numerous fractures, spinal and limb joint degeneration, enlarged muscle attachments, and other musculoskeletal stress markers, apparently as a result of strenuous physical labor. Nearly half of those disinterred from the site were children, and they were found to have suffered from a variety of ailments, including nutritional deficiencies, dental pathologies, and developmental defects such as slowed, disrupted, or stunted growth.

Historical study has confirmed the often arduous and diverse labor experiences of New York Africans and documented the ways in which ethnic origins and experi-

ences—as well as the nature of slavery within colonial New York—may have shaped black social institutions. However, both archaeological and documentary evidence—including beads fashioned into a belt that encircled the waist of a woman, a silver earring that appears to have been strung around the neck of a child, the discovery of crystals, and references to "shake-down" dancing—suggest the rich culture of New York's African population.

The disinterred remains were reinterred on October 4, 2003, following a two-day journey of four representative sets of remains from Howard University to the cities of Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, and Newark, and then finally to the memorial site in New York. There, they were met by hundreds of African Americans who had gathered to honor the men, women, and children who had built the colonial city and left a legacy of dignity and humanity in the face of oppression.

The anthropological, archaeological, and historical research serves as a reminder that the African presence in America was national, and that the institution of slavery, although differing from one region to another, shared characteristics that sought to dehumanize and debase the enslaved. But in their refusal to think of themselves as someone's property, New York Africans asserted their humanity in myriad ways, especially in the manner in which they commended loved ones to a final resting place.

See also Africanisms; Archaeology and Archaeologists; Cemeteries and Burials; Historians and Historiography

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EDNA GREENE MEDFORD (2005)
MICHAEL L. BLAKEY (2005)

African Civilization Society (AfCS)

The African Civilization Society was a Christian missionary and black-emigration organization. After it was founded in September 1858, the society was led by Henry Highland Garnet (1815–1882), a well-known Presbyterian clergyman. From the beginning, the AfCS had close ties with the New York State Colonization Society, and several of the Colonization Society's leaders sat on the eighteen-member AfCS board of directors. Both societies had their offices in Bible House in New York City, and both shared an interest in settling free blacks in Africa, although the white-sponsored colonization movement had been vigorously opposed by northern free blacks ever since its founding in 1817.

The AfCS constitution advocated the "civilization and evangelization of Africa, and the descendants of African ancestors in any portion of the earth, wherever dispersed." Under Garnet's leadership, the AfCS focused this broad directive on establishing a colonial settlement in Yoruba, a region of West Africa. Garnet envisioned the Yoruban settlement as a base from which to extend the supposed benefits of Western civilization—particularly commerce and Christianity—to the entire African continent. The Yoruban settlement also had an antislavery objective. AfCS leaders believed that by encouraging native Africans to grow cotton, they might undermine the profitability of American slavery and the slave trade.

The AfCS generated much interest and gained a substantial following, particularly through the endorsement of Henry M. Wilson, Elymas P. Rogers, and several other noted African-American clergymen. But the society's close association with leaders of the New York State Colonization Society made it suspect in the minds of many black leaders. Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), James McCune Smith (1813–1865), and J. W. C. Pennington (1807–1870) led the anti-emigrationist attack and criticized Garnet personally for his involvement in the African emigration movement.

The society's financial resources never matched its ambitious program. One of the AfCS directors, Theodore Bourne (1821–1910), traveled to England early in 1860 to build interest and gain financial backing for the Yoruban settlement. Even with the support of an English AfCS affiliate, the African Aid Society, Bourne encountered insurmountable difficulties. Martin R. Delany (1812–1885), the organizer of the Niger Valley Exploring Party, was also in Britain promoting his own African settlement proposal. Competition between the two programs created doubt

and confusion and dampened enthusiasm among British reformers. Later in 1860, Elymas P. Rogers led an AfCS-sponsored expedition to West Africa to survey possible locations for the Yoruban settlement. The mission was cut short by Rogers's death from malaria shortly after his arrival in Liberia. Garnet traveled to England in August 1861 in a final, futile effort to revive flagging interest in African settlement.

In the early 1860s the AfCS began distancing itself from the controversial subject of African emigration, focusing more on home missions. The Civil War opened up new opportunities for missionary activity among former slaves in the South. Under the guidance of a new president, the Presbyterian clergyman George W. Levere, the AfCS directed its attention to freedmen's education. From 1863 through 1867, the AfCS sponsored several freedmen's schools in the Washington, D.C., area and parts of the South.

See also Garnet, Henry Highland; Missionary Movements

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African Diaspora

The *African diaspora* is a term that refers to the dispersal of African peoples to form a distinct, transnational community. It is most often used to refer to Africans and their descendants living outside the continent, but diasporas have formed within Africa as well. At its simplest, the word *diaspora* is defined as a dispersion of a people from their original homeland. The term derives from the Greek verb *diaspeirein* meaning "to scatter" (Tölöyan, p. 9), and it is expressed in English in other words with the *spr* root, such as "spore," "disperse," and "sperm." Until relatively recently, the term was most closely associated with the dispersion of Jewish peoples, although there are also extensive bodies of literature about the Armenian, Greek, and African diasporas. The term *African diaspora* was first adopted by scholars in the mid-twentieth century, but the concept of a global community of African descendants may be traced back much further.

It can be argued that all of humanity may be considered part of the African diaspora, based on the archaeological evidence that humankind originated in East Africa, subsequently migrating to other regions of the world. However, the use of *diaspora* as an interpretive concept requires greater specificity about what types of migrations are diasporas. As the field of diaspora studies developed in the late twentieth century, scholars began to identify certain features that distinguish diasporas from other types of migrations.

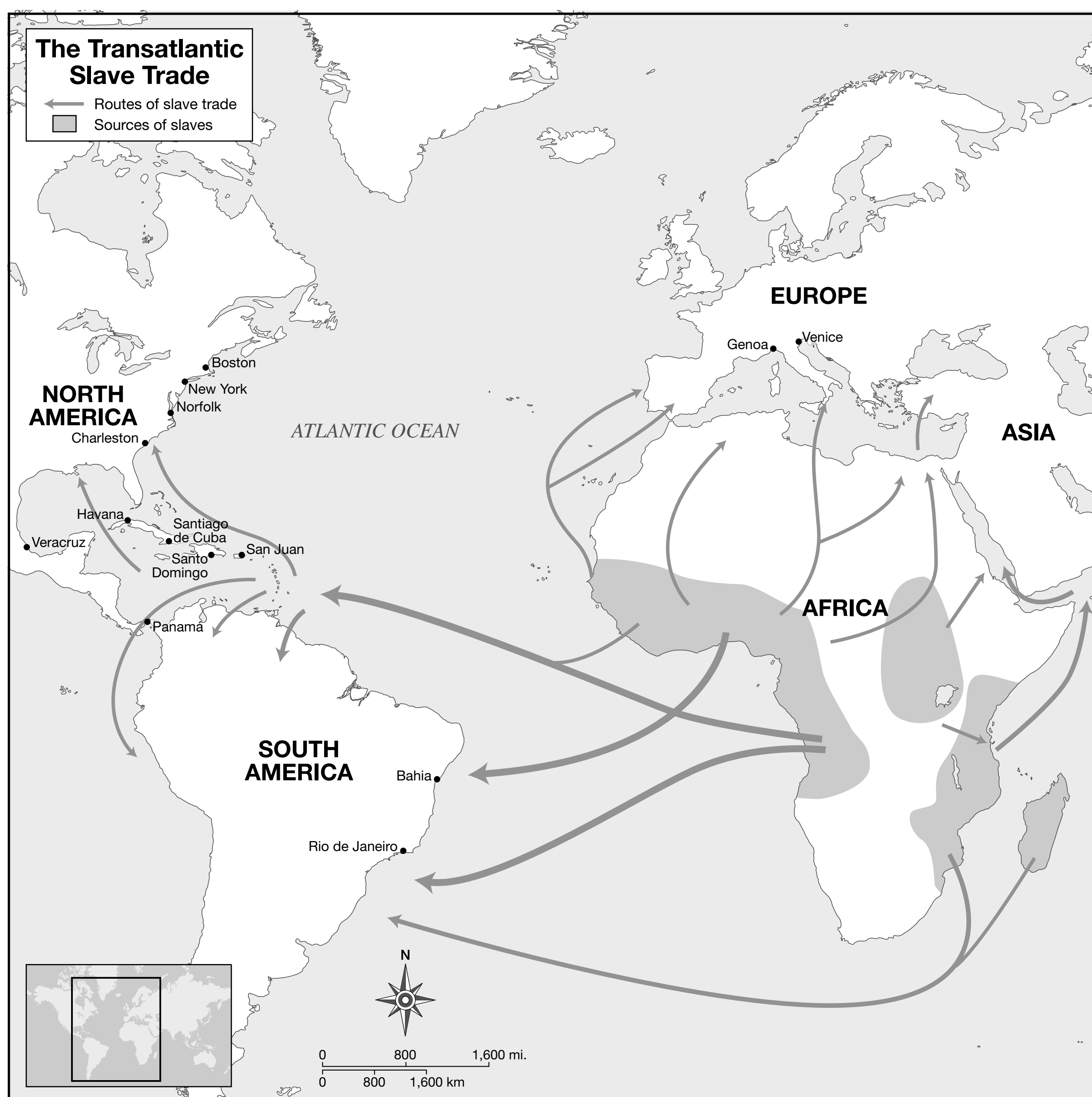
First, diaspora refers to a dispersion of people from a homeland to multiple destinations. This reflects the scattering implicit in the word itself, and it creates conditions under which different segments of the diaspora can create relationships among themselves.

Second, diasporas are connected in some form to an actual or imagined homeland. Each segment of the diaspora shares a common bond with the homeland, the place from which they all originated. This makes diasporas different from nomadic groups without a fixed homeland. The reason that some homelands exist only in the imagination is that the process of diasporization—the departure of large segments of the population—is often the result of traumatic political or economic situations that sometimes destroy the homeland.

Third, diasporas have self-awareness of the group's identity. Diasporic communities are consciously part of an ethno-national group—a "nation" of people defined by a collective ethnic, or group, identity. This shared identity binds the dispersed peoples not only to the homeland, but to each other. Especially in the cases of diasporas for whom the homeland no longer exists, or those who have been separated from the homeland for many generations, this identity has been pivotal to their existence and survival as a cultural unit. Further, the internal networks between the various segments of a diaspora are a unique feature that differentiates them from other types of migrations.

A fourth distinguishing feature of diaspora is its existence over two or more generations. A group meeting all of the above criteria, but able to return within a single generation, may be more appropriately described as temporary exiles. (Gérard Chaliand and Jean-Pierre Rageau also included the criterion of time in their definition of diaspora.)

There are many migrations that may be classified as diasporas in African history, beginning with the spread of early humans from eastern Africa to populate the rest of the world. From around 3000 BCE, Bantu-speaking peoples moved from the region that is now modern Nigeria and Cameroon to other parts of the African continent and to the Indian Ocean. From the fifth century BCE onward, as societies and commerce became more complex, African



The transatlantic slave trade, tracing the movement of African peoples to the Americas and other parts of the world. *During a period of nearly four centuries, from 1502 until slavery was finally abolished in the western hemisphere in 1888, about ten million Africans were taken from their homeland to become forced laborers in the Americas. More than 90 percent of these slaves were taken to Central and South America and the Caribbean.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

traders, merchants, slaves, soldiers, and others began circulating around parts of the Middle East, Europe, and Asia. This movement led to a significant African presence in Europe during the height of the Greco-Roman empires, and to the establishment of North African empires that extended northwards into modern Spain and Portugal (the Moors).

The modern African diaspora arose from three great historical traumas and their aftermaths: the Atlantic slave trade, the Indian Ocean slave trade, and European colonization on the African continent. The Atlantic slave trade was directly responsible for removing upwards of ten million people from the continent over four centuries, destroying whole nations in the process and enslaving the

descendants of the original captives. The violent nature of both the dispersal and subsequent captivity created a distinct Afro-Atlantic diaspora history and culture (which is the focus of this encyclopedia). A much older commercial network trading in slaves across the Indian Ocean dates back to the first or second century CE. This trade was responsible for African relocations within the continent, to India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Yemen, and probably as far as China. European military and commercial involvement in Africa culminated in colonization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and subsequent migrations of Africans between the continent and colonial capitals led to the creation of many diasporic communities in Europe. While each of these branches of the modern African diaspora has unique characteristics, the entire diaspora has at times been mobilized around such issues as African independence, the struggle against apartheid, or the politics of race, particularly in world capitals where members of all branches reside. Since lived experience and scholarship tends to revolve around communities of shared history, "the" African diaspora is a universe comprised of many constellations.

The African diaspora in the Americas is concentrated in the Caribbean and Brazil, where colonial economies relied on enslaved Africans to produce such export commodities as sugar, tobacco, and coffee. However, Africans and their descendants were integral to all aspects of American life, thought, and culture throughout the entire hemisphere. Africans participated in the conquest of the Americas, and they fought in the trenches to win its independence. They contributed to American architecture, technological innovation, the arts, and more, yet the societies arising on the pillars of slavery were predicated on inequality and exploitation. Thus, after the abolition of slavery, a host of Africans and their descendants migrated to pursue better living and economic conditions, resulting in additional scattering throughout the Americas as well as to Europe and continental Africa.

The literature on the African diaspora dates back to before the term entered the academic canon. As with all scholarship, it reflects contemporary concerns at the time each work was written. In the nineteenth century, international matters, such as relations with Haiti, missionary work and repatriation to Africa, and the implications of African colonization deeply concerned African Americans in the United States. Moreover, the continued racial exploitation and escalating violence around the turn of the twentieth century contributed to a sense of racial solidarity among all African peoples. Yet in the Americas, declaring such kinship with Africans was still a delicate matter. Because the full rights of citizenship were denied to most blacks in the Americas on the pretense that Africans were genetically inferior, there was both a distancing and an embrace of continental connections at this time. The work of George Washington Williams (1849–1891) in the 1880s took on the myth of Africa's limited contributions to civilization and knowledge, anticipating much subsequent research documenting the transformative influence of African peoples and philosophy throughout the world, as well as the extent to which global cultures are, to varying degrees, themselves of African origin.

The partitioning and colonization of Africa, followed by World War I, marked the beginning of a new era of global political consciousness within the African diaspora. This period gave rise to political endeavors such as the Pan–African Congresses, diaspora organizations such as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), periodicals such as the *African Times and Orient Review* and the *Journal of Negro History*, and artistic and cultural movements including the Harlem Renaissance and *Négritude*. The scholarship of the early twentieth century documented and analyzed the multiple interconnections that constituted the changing African diaspora, as evidenced in the work of W. E. B. DuBois, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Anna Julia Cooper, and others. These scholars, along with significant contributions from such figures as C. L. R. James and Eric Williams in Trinidad and Tobago, simultaneously addressed the politics behind not only the contemporary diaspora, but its very foundations.

Also in the early twentieth century, the new discipline of anthropology was beginning to challenge the tenets of genetic inequality through culture study. Though much of the early work grappled with the "Negro problem"—the implications of having significant citizens of African descent particularly in the emerging nations of the Americas—the resulting comparative ethnographies helped chart the cultural terrain of the African diaspora. The anthropologists Melville Herskovits and Roger Bastide greatly influenced this early generation of culture scholars, and pioneers such as the writer Zora Neale Hurston and the dancers Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus innovated methods of interpreting the new research through the arts.

Despite the extent of early scholarship, scholars did not begin to characterize their work as "diaspora" until the mid-twentieth century. The term had particular resonance in the United States during an era of black nationalism and increasing disillusionment about the failure of the nation to fulfill its commitment to its black citizens. The first widely cited use of the term was a paper and panel on "The African Abroad, or the African Diaspora," presented at a meeting of the International Congress of African Histori-

ans in 1965. An emerging field of African diaspora studies took root in newly created black studies programs, and other academic disciplines began to consider the African experience. The First African Diaspora Studies Institute convened an international group of scholars at Howard University in 1979, followed by a host of conferences, research projects, and academic programs, not only at American universities but around the world.

Today, scholarship on the African diaspora focuses on the ways in which individuals and communities experience the diaspora, as well as the social processes that create and sustain diaspora communities. Recent research has allowed for focus on the many diasporas contained within the larger diaspora, such as dispersals from individual nations or regions. An example of this would be the Caribbean diaspora, with communities throughout Europe, the United States, and Latin America. As a component of black studies, it affords scholars an analytical tool to examine how transnational communities form, operate, and interact within the global African experience. It also allows for better understanding of specific branches of the diaspora through comparison with other branches of the African diaspora and with other diasporas as well.

See also Afrocentrism; Black Studies; Slave Trade

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KIM D. BUTLER (2005)

African Free School No. 2, New York City. *The New York African Free Schools were sponsored by the New York Manumission Society, which was educating 500 pupils annually by 1820. This depiction is from an 1830 engraving of a drawing made by P. Reason, a 13-year-old student at the school.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

African Free School

The African Free School opened in a private home on Cliff Street in New York City in 1787 with forty-seven students. It was supported by the New York Manumission Society, a joint effort of Anglicans and Quakers. Over the next fifty years the school was the primary vehicle for black education in New York City. Descended from the Trinity Church School for blacks, first headed by Elias Neau and maintained until 1778, the African Free School had served over 2,300 students by 1814. In 1809 it was the largest single school in the city, with 141 pupils. Like other charitable schools, it received city assistance beginning in 1796.

In 1813 a state law provided that the African Free School would receive both city and county school funds. Four more such schools had been opened by 1827. The first nonprivate building for the African Free School was at William and Duane streets. Later, schools opened at Mulberry and Grand streets (these were turned into an all-female school in 1831, with additional buildings at Sixth Avenue and Nineteenth Street, at 161 Duane Street, and at 108 Columbia Street). The Free School taught a basic curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic, augmented with poetry, drawing, and public speaking. Navigation

skills were emphasized, an indication of the importance of seafaring for black employment. Teachers gave special lessons on Haiti. As scrapbooks of award-winning assignments show, the students performed admirably. School rules were strict. Students were required to attend church and read the scripture, and were continually warned about the minor sins of lying, dishonesty, profanity, and "cruelty to beasts." School commenced at 9 a.m. and again at 2 p.m., with penalties for lateness. The school used the Lancastrian system of education, employing student monitors to assist in instruction. Despite the racism its graduates encountered, the African Free School was the training ground of a generation of talented African Americans. Among its most illustrious graduates were James McCune Smith, Ira Aldridge, Peter Williams Jr., James Varick, Charles Lewis Reason, Alexander Crummell, and Thomas Sydney.

After a period of declining enrollments, Samuel Eli Cornish, editor of *Freedom's Journal,* spearheaded efforts to double the student body by 1830. Four new schools opened in 1832. The Free School survived, despite bitterness among African Americans toward the procolonization stance of the longtime head of the school, Charles Andrews. It also faced competition, since other members of the black community had opened private schools as early as 1812.

The Free Schools did not go above the lower grades. Efforts by Peter Williams Jr. and David Ruggles between 1831 and 1837 failed to establish permanent, black-maintained high schools. African-American students were thus forced to continue to patronize the Free Schools, without much hope for advancement. In 1834 the Free Schools were transferred to the control of the New York State Public School Society, the major local conduit for state funds. In reality, the schools had already ceased to be philanthropic institutions and had become public schools.

See also Education in the United States; Manumission Societies

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GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES (1996)

AFRICANISMS

An Africanism is any cultural (material or nonmaterial) or linguistic property of African origin surviving in the Americas or in the African diaspora. The study of Africanisms in the Americas has sparked much debate over the survival of African culture in North America.

AVENUES OF TRANSMISSION

The transatlantic slave trade was the main avenue for the transmission of African culture to the Americas, establishing a permanent link between Africa and North America as Africans sold into slavery transplanted their culture to North America. Africanisms survived in North America by a process of cultural transference, cultural synthesis, and cultural transformations. Africans, unlike European immigrants, were deprived of their freedom to transport their kinship structures, courts, guilds, cult groups, market, and military. However, Africans made substantial contributions in agriculture, aesthetics, dance, folklore, food culture, and language.

African cultural retentions were found at various levels of the plantation work force. Some of the earliest groups to have a major impact on American culture were the first Africans—Mandes and Wolofs from Senegambia—arriving in colonial South Carolina. Between 1650 and 1700, the dominant group of Africans imported to South Carolina were Senegambian in origin, and they were the first Africans to have elements from their language and culture retained within the developing language and culture of America. David Dalby has identified early linguistic retention among this group and traced many Americanisms to Wolof, including *bogus, boogie-woogie, bug* (insect), *dig* (to understand), *guy, honky, jam, jamboree, jitter(bug), jive, John, juke(box), fuzz* (police), *hippie, mumbo-jumbo, OK, phony, rooty-toot(y),* and *rap,* to name just a few.

African culture also survived in the form of folklore. Brer Rabbit, Brer Wolf, Brer Bear, and Sis' Nanny Goat were part of the heritage the Wolof shared with other West African peoples such as the Hausa, Fula (Fulani), and Mandinka. The Hare (Rabbit) stories are also found in parts of Nigeria, Angola, and East Africa. Other animal fa-

bles that remained popular in North America include the Tortoise stories found among the Yoruba, Igbo, and Edo-Bini peoples of Nigeria, and the Spider *(Anansi)* tales, found throughout much of West Africa, including Ghana, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. The latter have reappeared in the United States in the form of Aunt Nancy stories, which found their way into American culture through Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories, as well as through more authentic African-American sources.

Many slaves, including Mande house servants in South Carolina, served as intermediaries in the acculturation of both the planters and the field slaves. The house servant incorporated African cultural patterns into the culinary, religious, and folkloric patterns of the planters. At the same time, the slaves learned European cultural standards. So while house servants drew their European heritage from the planters, planters drew their African heritage from their black servants.

Reciprocal Acculturation and Isolation

The acculturation process was mutual as well as reciprocal: Africans assimilated white culture and planters adopted some aspects of African customs and practices, including African methods of rice cultivation, African cuisine (which had a profound impact on what became southern cooking), open grazing of cattle, and the use of herbal medicines to cure diseases. For example, Africans are credited with bringing folk treatments for smallpox to America, as well as antidotes for snakebites and other poisons. Through the root doctor, Africans brought new health practices to the plantations. The African house servants also learned new domestic skills, including the art of quilting, from their mistresses. They took a European quilting technique and Africanized it by combining an appliqué style, reflecting a pattern and form which is still found today in the Akan and Fon textile industries of West Africa.

In South Carolina and Louisiana, the field slaves were mainly Angolan and Congolese, and they brought a homogeneous, identifiable culture. They often possessed good metallurgical and woodworking skills, and had a particular skill in ironworking, making the wrought-iron balconies in New Orleans and Charleston. But as field workers, the Angolans were kept away from the developing mainstream of white American culture. This isolation worked to the Angolans' advantage in that it allowed them to escape acculturation and maintain their cultural homogeneity.

Angolan contributions to South Carolina and Louisiana include not only wrought-iron balconies but also wood carvings, basketry, weaving, baked clay figurines, and pottery. Cosmograms, grave designs and decorations, funeral practices, and the wake are also Bantu in origin. Bantu musical contributions include banjos, drums, diddley bows, mouthbows, the washtub bass, jugs, gongs, bells, rattles, ideophones, and the *lokoimni,* a five-stringed harp.

After 1780 the Angolans had a substantial presence in South Carolina and other areas of the southeastern United States, including Alabama and Louisiana. In areas such as the Sea Islands of South Carolina, the Angolans were predominantly field hands or were used in capacities that required little or no contact with Euro-Americans, so they were not confronted with the same problems of acculturation as were West African domestic servants and artisans. Living in relative isolation from other groups, they were able to maintain a strong sense of unity and to retain a cultural vitality that laid the foundation for the development of African-American culture.

Culinary Culture

Much of Mande culture was transmitted to white Americans by way of the "big house." African cooks introduced deep-fat frying, a cooking technique that originated in Africa. Most southern stews (gumbos) and nut stews are African in origin. Gumbo *(kingombo),* a soup made of okra pods, shrimp, and powdered sassafras leaves, was known to most southerners by the 1780s. Other southern favorites are jambalaya *(bantu tshimbolebole)* and callaloo, a thick soup similar to gumbo.

Another African dish that was recreated by the descendants of Africans in North America is *fufu,* a traditional African meal eaten from Senegambia to Angola. In South Carolina, it is called "turn meal and flour." Cornbread was mentioned by slavers as one of the African foods provided for their African cargo. From this *fufu* mixture, slaves made hoecake in the fields. Later hoecake evolved into pancakes and hot-water cornbread. As early as 1739 American naturalist Marc Catesby noted that slaves made a mush from cornmeal called pone bread. He also noted that slaves used Indian corn hominy and made grits (similar to the African dish *eba*.) Other African dishes that became part of southern cuisine are hop-n-johns (rice and black-eyed peas cooked together) and jollof rice (red rice).

Some important crops brought directly from Africa during the transatlantic slave trade were gathered for Africans on board slave ships, including okra, tania, black-eyed peas, and kidney beans. Other crops introduced into North America from Africa are coffee, peanuts, millet, sorghum, guinea melon, watermelon, yams, and sesame seeds.

Soul food goes back to the days when plantation owners gave slaves discarded animal parts, such as hog maw (stomach), hog jowl, pigs' feet, and ham hocks. To these, African Americans added African cooking methods and a group of African foods that included collard greens, dandelion greens (first recorded in 1887), poke greens, turnip greens, and black-eyed peas (first brought to Jamaica from Africa in 1674 and to North America by 1738).

Agriculture and Livestock

The first rice seeds were imported to South Carolina directly from Madagascar in 1685. Africans supplied the labor and the technical expertise, and Africans off the coast of Senegal trained Europeans in its cultivation. The methods of rice cultivation used in West Africa and South Carolina were identical.

Africa also contributed to American cattle raising. Fulanis accustomed to cattle raising in the Futa Jallon in Senegambia oversaw the rapid expansion of the British-American cattle herds in the middle of the eighteenth century. They were responsible for introducing open grazing patterns, now practiced throughout the American cattle industry. This practice is used worldwide in cattle culture today. Open grazing made practical use of an abundance of land and a limited labor force.

Longhorn and shorthorn cattle were common across much of western Africa, particularly in the River Gambia area. Many Africans entering South Carolina after 1670 were experienced in tending large herds. Eighteenth-century descriptions of West African animal husbandry bear a striking resemblance to what appeared in Carolina and later in the American dairy and cattle industries. The harvesting of cattle and cattle drives to centers of distribution were also adaptations of African innovations, and Africans introduced the first artificial insemination and the use of cow's milk for human consumption in the British colonies.

The historian Peter Wood has argued that the word *cowboy* originated from this early relationship between cattle and Africans in the colonial period, when African labor and skills were closely associated with cattle raising. Africans stationed at cow pens with herding responsibilities were referred to as cowboys, just as Africans who worked in the "big house" were known as houseboys.

Africanisms

Much of the early language associated with cowboy culture had a strong African flavor. The word *bronco* (probably of Efik/Ibibio and Spanish origins) was used centuries ago to denote Spanish and African slaves who worked with cattle and horses. The word *buckra* (a poor white man) is derived from *mbakara,* the Efik/Ibibio word for "white man." *Buckra* described a class of whites who worked as broncobusters—bucking and breaking horses, perhaps because planters used *buckras* as broncobusters when slaves were too valuable to risk injuring. A related term of cowboy culture is *buckaroo,* another Efik/Ibibio word also derived from *mbakara*. Another African word that found its way into popular cowboy songs is *dogie,* which grew out of the Kimbundu words *kidogo,* "a little something," and *dodo,* "small."

Africanisms are not exclusive to African-American culture, but contributed to an emerging American culture. One area that has been largely ignored in the debate over African cultural survival in the United States is the survival of African culture among white Americans. Many Africanisms have entered southern culture as a whole, including the banjo, the elaborate etiquette of the South with respect for elders, its use of terms of endearment and kinship in speaking to neighbors, and its general emphasis on politeness. White southerners have adopted African speech patterns and have retained Africanisms from baton twirling and cheerleading to such expressions and words as *bodacious, bozo, cooter* (turtle), *goober* (peanut), *hullabaloo, hully-gully, jazz, moola* (money), *pamper, Polly Wolly-Doodle, wow, uh-huh, unh-unh, daddy, buddy,* and *tote,* to list a few.

These are only some of the ways in which African culture contributed to what was to become American culture. Americans share a dual cultural experience—one side European and the other African.

See also Dance; English, African-American; Folk Arts and Crafts; Folklore; Folk Religion; Food and Cuisine; Gullah

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JOSEPH E. HOLLOWAY (1996)

African Methodist Episcopal Church

Richard Allen (1760–1831), the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, was born a slave in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 14, 1760. The slaveholder Benjamin Chew sold Allen, his parents, and his three siblings to Stokley Sturgis of Kent County, Delaware, around 1768. Methodist Church circuit riders frequently preached in the area, and Allen responded to their evangelism—perhaps also to their antislavery reputation—and joined the Wesleyan movement. His piety deepened because Sturgis permitted him to attend Methodist services regularly and to hold religious gatherings in the slave owner's own home. Sturgis also allowed Allen and his brother to buy their freedom, a task that was accomplished in 1783. For three years, Allen traveled through the Middle Atlantic states as an itinerant Methodist preacher, finally settling in Philadelphia to preach to blacks at the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church.

The founding of the Free African Society of Philadelphia in 1787, and a racial altercation, caused him to leave St. George, which in turn led to the building of Philadelphia's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (often known as the Mother Bethel Church) in 1794. In 1807, efforts by several pastors at St. George to control the congregation moved Allen to gain judicial recognition of Bethel's independence. A final attempt in 1815 by a St. George pastor to assert authority at Bethel Church induced Daniel Coker (1780–1846), the leader of Baltimore's black Methodists, to preach a sermon the following year commending Allen for his successful stand. Not long after, Allen drew Coker and other blacks from Baltimore, Salem, New Jersey, and Attleborough, Pennsylvania, to meet with his Philadelphia followers to form the AME Church.

At the AME's 1816 conference in Philadelphia, Coker was elected bishop, but he declined the offer, perhaps because of his light skin color. Allen was then chosen bishop, and under his leadership the denomination rapidly expanded. African Methodism spread north to New York and New England; south through Maryland, the District of Columbia, and (for a time) South Carolina; and west to the Ohio Valley and the old Northwest Territory. During the antebellum period, the denomination included congregations in the slave states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Louisiana. Missionaries such as William Paul Quinn (1788–1873), an AME bishop after 1844, founded scores of congregations in the Midwest in the 1830s and 1840s. Along the Pacific Coast, the AME church spread from Sacramento and San Francisco in the early 1850s to other locations in California and adjoining territories. AME loyalists also had success in Canada and made some inroads into Haiti. In 1864, thirty-three years after Allen's death, the AME Church had a membership of 50,000 in 1,600 congregations.

During the antebellum period, while the AME Church was largely restricted to the northern states, numerous clergy and congregations gave direct aid to the abolition movement. Morris Brown, who became the second bishop of the church after Allen's death, had been implicated in Denmark Vesey's abortive slave insurrection in South Carolina in 1822. Vesey himself was an AME preacher who, according to white authorities, planned the slave revolt during AME church services. The abolitionist stances of Allen, Quinn, and Brown were reaffirmed at the 1840 Pittsburgh Annual Conference. Stating that "slavery pollutes the character of the church of God, and makes the Bible a sealed book to thousands of immortal beings," the delegates resolved that their denomination should use its "influence and energies" to destroy black bondage.

Daniel A. Payne (1811–1893), who became a bishop in 1852, greatly influenced the development of the AME church. Freeborn in Charleston, South Carolina, Payne was a schoolteacher in his early adult years, until a South Carolina state law forbade the education of blacks and forced him to close his school. In 1835 he moved north and matriculated at Gettysburg Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. After his ordination into the AME ministry in 1843, Payne pastored in Baltimore and crusaded for an educated clergy. He later served the denomination as historiographer. In 1863 Payne convinced reluctant AME leaders to commit to a daring venture in higher education by founding Wilberforce University, the first black college started by African Americans. Wilberforce was only the first of several colleges founded by the AME. Others include Allen University (1880) in South Carolina, Morris Brown College (1881) in Georgia, Paul Quinn College (1881) in Texas, and Kittrell College (1886) in North Carolina.

The period of the Civil War and Reconstruction proved pivotal to AME Church development. Recruitment of black soldiers occurred on the premises of AME congre-

Sketch of Rev. Deaton Dorrell, 1852. *Dorrell was pastor of the AME Church in New Bedford, Massachusetts.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

gations such as Israel Church in Washington, D.C. Four AME ministers—Henry M. Turner, William H. Hunter, David Stevens, and Garland H. White—served with ten other black chaplains in the Union Army. Additional AME clergy, including some who would become bishops, also fought on the Union side.

As northern victories liberated Confederate strongholds in Virginia and North Carolina, the Baltimore Annual Conference dispatched AME preachers in 1864 to those states to attract blacks into African Methodism. In 1865, Bishop Daniel A. Payne sailed from New York City to his hometown, Charleston, South Carolina, to establish the AME mission in the South. The rapid acquisition of members and congregations from Virginia to Texas swelled the denomination in 1880 to 387,566 persons in 2,051 churches.

The development of the AME Church in Alabama is illustrative of the denomination's expansion in the postbellum South. Mobile had the first AME congregation as early as 1820, though it was short-lived. The denomination revived when two AME ministers preached in the state in 1864. Formal organization of an Alabama Annual Conference occurred in Selma in 1868, a year after missionaries arrived from Georgia; it started with 6 churches, 31 missions, and 5,617 members. Preachers such as Winfield Henri Mixon played a large role in spearheading AME Church growth. Born a slave near Selma in 1859, Mixon began a long career in 1882 as a pastor and presiding elder, serving until his death in 1932. As a presiding elder, he reported that between 1892 and 1895 he launched fourteen new congregations. When he started his ministry, the state comprised three annual conferences: the Alabama, the Central Alabama, and the North Alabama. As a result of his efforts and those of other church founders, Mixon mapped out three additional jurisdictions, including the East, South, and West Alabama annual conferences. In 1890 there were 247 AME congregations in the state, with 30,781 total members. Mixon helped to increase these numbers to 525 congregations and 42,658 members in 1916.

These evangelistic efforts paralleled the unprecedented political involvement of the AME clergy in Reconstruction state governments and in the U.S. Congress. Approximately fifty-three AME ministers served as officeholders in the legislatures of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and other states. Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915), a Republican, was elected to the Georgia state legislature in 1868, only to be ousted that same year by triumphant Democrats. Richard H. Cain (1825–1887), then pastor of Emmanuel Church in Charleston, served in the South Carolina state senate from 1868 through 1870, and then in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1873 through 1875. Turner and Cain became AME bishops in 1880.

Bishop Payne was unhappy about the ascent of Turner and Cain to the AME episcopacy. He and other northern-based bishops were wary of the new generation of denominational leaders whose followers came from the South. Many of these new leaders, among them Turner and Cain, had experiences in elective offices that Payne believed caused an unfortunate politicization of denominational affairs. In the late nineteenth century, regional backgrounds of ministers determined regional alliances and formed the bases of power within the AME Church.

There was also increasing political involvement of AME clergy in the northern branch of the denomination. Ezekiel Gillespie, a lay founder of the St. Mark Church in Milwaukee, for example, initiated a state supreme court case that won suffrage for Wisconsin blacks in 1866. Benjamin W. Arnett, who became a bishop in 1888, won an

The bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, 1876. *The post–Civil War engraving depicts Richard Allen, the founder of the AME Church, surrounded by later church bishops. Vignettes in the corners depict the church's educational and missionary endeavors.* GETTY IMAGES

election in 1886 to the Ohio legislature, where he became a friend of the future president William McKinley. He successfully pushed a repeal of Ohio's discriminatory Black Laws.

In the late nineteenth century, the denomination expanded outside of the United States. In 1884 the British Methodist Episcopal (BME) Church, in existence since 1856, united with the AME Church. Thereafter, BME congregations throughout Canada, Bermuda, and South America were part of the AME fold. In 1891, Bishop Turner, who was an influential African emigrationist, established annual conferences in West Africa, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. Five years later, Turner formally received the Ethiopian Church of South Africa into the denomination. This church was established in 1892, when dissident Africans led by M. M. Mokone withdrew from the white-dominated Wesleyan Methodist Church after experiencing the same kind of racial discrimination that had brought the AME Church into existence in the United States. Turner invited an Ethiopian delegation to the United States, where they accepted membership. (In 1900, Bishop Levi J. Coppin became the first resident bishop in South Africa.)

Bishop Turner's missionary interests were not confined to Africa. Between 1896 and 1908 he presided as bishop of Georgia, and he mobilized support and manpower from this jurisdiction for expansion into Cuba and Mexico. He commissioned presiding elders from Georgia to establish congregations among black Latinos in both countries, and several successful AME missions were instituted.

Whenever AME advocates for overseas expansion combined this perspective with black nationalism, ideological fissures surfaced in denominational affairs. Turner's espousal of emigration drew vehement opposition from Benjamin T. Tanner (1835–1923). Tanner—who in 1868 became editor of the *Christian Recorder,* a weekly founded in 1852—started the *AME Church Review* in 1884, and he edited it until his election to the episcopacy in 1888. Concerning Turner's back-to-Africa efforts, Tan-

ner asserted that those who wished to escape the fight for racial equality in the United States counseled "cowardice." He felt that blacks should remain in the United States to secure their full constitutional privileges. However, while Tanner opposed black emigration to Africa, he and other AME leaders did not fully disagree with all of Turner's nationalist views. Tanner, for example, authored *Is the Negro Cursed?* (1869) and *The Color of Solomon, What?* (1895), both of which challenged racist interpretations of scripture and argued that persons of color figured prominently in Biblical history. In 1893, Benjamin Arnett, who served as bishop with Turner and Tanner, told the World's Parliament of Religions (in his speech "Christianity and the Negro") that St. Luke was black and so were other important figures in the early church.

Between 1890 and 1916 the AME Church grew from 494,777 members in 2,481 congregations to 548,355 members in 6,636 congregations. In 1926 the denomination included 545,814 members in 6,708 congregations. There was significant numerical strength in Georgia, where 74,149 members worshipped in 1,173 congregations. Florida had 45,541 members in 694 churches. There was some decline in AME strength by 1936, however, when the church reported 4,578 congregations and 493,357 members.

While the AME Church in the South was growing, so was the church in the industrial North. The massive black migration from southern rural communities to industrial centers in the North, South, and West during the two World Wars caused major growth in AME churches in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, Birmingham, Los Angeles, and other major cities. In these settings, clergy fashioned a version of the Social Gospel that required their involvement with numerous issues in housing, social welfare, unionization, and politics. In the 1920s the Reverend Harrison G. Payne, pastor of Park Place Church in Homestead, a mill town near Pittsburgh, initiated an effort to supply housing to blacks newly arrived from the South; during World War II, investigators with the federal Fair Employment Practices Committee found cooperative AME pastors in numerous cities. Many AME pastors worked with labor unions. Dwight V. Kyle of the Avery Chapel Church in Memphis, Tennessee, for example, sided with the efforts of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to unionize black and white mass-production workers in a dangerous antiunion setting.

The burgeoning civil rights movement of the late 1940s and early 1950s found substantive support within the AME clergy. J. A. Delaine, a pastor and school principal in Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Oliver Brown, the pastor of St. Mark Church in Topeka, Kansas, filed suits against public school segregation. Their efforts culminated in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision in which the U.S. Supreme Court nullified the "separate but equal" doctrine. Threats against Delaine pushed him out of South Carolina to New York City. Activist AME clergy moved the denomination at the 1960 general conference to establish a social action department; Frederick C. James, a South Carolina pastor and future bishop, became its first director.

When Bishop Richard Allen authorized Jarena Lee in 1819 to function as an exhorter in the AME Church, he opened the door to women in the ministry. For nearly 150 years, unordained female evangelists played important roles as preachers, pastors, and founders of congregations. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Amanda Berry Smith, Sarah Hughes, and Lucy Thurman preached in AME pulpits. Smith, for example, evangelized widely in the United States and then preached abroad in the British Isles, India, and West Africa. Like many, Millie Wolfe, a woman preacher in Waycross, Georgia, focused her efforts on the denomination's Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society. She published a book of sermons that included "Scriptural Authority for Women's Work in the Christian Church." Female evangelists in the Rocky Mountain states in the early 1900s became crucial to AME Church expansion in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, and Montana. They established congregations and frequently supplied pulpits throughout this large region. While the gifted preaching of Martha Jayne Keys, Mary Watson Stewart, and others sustained the visibility of female ministers in the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until 1960 that the denomination allowed the full ordination of women. (An earlier attempt by Henry M. Turner to ordain women in 1885 had been promptly overturned by a church conference.)

Ecumenical efforts among African-American Christians also drew upon AME church leadership. In 1933, Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom (1861–1959) called together black denominational leaders to establish the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches. Similarly, in 1978 Bishop John Hurst Adams spearheaded the founding of the Congress of National Black Churches. Subsequently, Bishop Philip R. Cousin became president of the National Council of Churches in 1983, while Bishop Vinton R. Anderson became president of the World Council of Churches in 1991.

The Black Theology movement, which lasted from the late 1960s into the 1980s, drew AME participation through AME-trained theologians Cecil W. Cone (author of *The Identity Crisis in Black Theology* [1975]) and James H. Cone (author of *Black Theology and Black Power*

Juliann Jane Tillman, preacher of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, 1844. *Though the AME Church did not ordain women as ministers until the mid-twentieth century, female preachers played an important role from the earliest years of the denomination.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

[1969]). Jacqueline Grant, another theologian out of the AME tradition, pioneered the development of feminist theology. Her ideas were explored in *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus* (1989).

Throughout its history, the AME Church has embraced congregations that crossed lines of class, culture, and geography. Several elements of Wesleyan worship remain in AME services, regardless of location and demography. A standard order of worship, mainly consisting of hymn singing, remains a staple of AME worship. Baptismal practices and the communion service make the AME Church virtually indistinguishable from white Methodist congregations. However, other practices rooted in African-American tradition—such as extemporaneous praying, singing of spirituals and gospels, and shouting—were observed depending on the cultural makeup of the congregation.

Since its formal founding in 1816, the AME Church's quadrennial General Conference has remained the supreme authority in denominational governance. Annual conferences, over which active bishops preside, cover particular geographical areas. During these yearly jurisdictional meetings, ministers receive their pastoral appointments. Within the annual conferences, districts have been established; these are superintended by presiding elders. The AME episcopacy, from Richard Allen's election and consecration in 1816 to the present, has been a lifetime position. General officers who administer such programs as publishing, pensions, Christian education, and evangelism serve for four years, but they can stand for re-election. Bishops and general officers are chosen at the general conference by elected ministerial and lay delegates. By 1993 the denomination had grown to 2,000,000 members in 7,000 congregations in the United States and thirty other countries in the Americas, Africa, and Europe. The AME Church has no central headquarters, although its publishing house is located in Nashville, Tennessee. At the turn of the twenty-first century, twenty-one active bishops and nine general officers made up the AME Church leadership. In 2005, the AME Church listed 2,500,000 adherents in the United States and 300,000 in other countries.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; African Union Methodism; Allen, Richard; Black Codes; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Cain, Richard Harvey; Congress of National Black Churches, Inc.; Payne, Daniel Alexander; Social Gospel; Turner, Henry McNeal

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DENNIS C. DICKERSON (1996)
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African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ) was organized in the early 1820s, but its roots go back to the late eighteenth century. A few black congregations in the New York City area in the 1790s sought greater freedom of worship and some measure of autonomy from white-controlled congregations in the predominantly white Methodist Episcopal denomination. With approximately 5,000 members by 1860, the AMEZ Church by the 1990s had a membership in excess of 1.3 million, with 3,000 clergy, 2,900 congregations, and 100,000 members overseas, principally in Africa and the Caribbean. By 1900 the group also had shifted most of its operations from New York to North Carolina and had become a truly national denomination.

The AMEZ has organized agencies and divisions devoted to such matters as youth, Christian education, domestic and overseas missions, and social concerns. Its highest organizational authority is the General Conference, which includes representatives from both clergy and laity. Two other main operational bodies are the Connectional Council, composed of the thirteen bishops as well as other significant ecclesiastical officers, and the Board of Bishops. The denomination has a publishing house located in Charlotte, North Carolina, where it publishes, among other works, the church newspaper, the *Star of Zion*. It supports four colleges: Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina; Clinton Junior College in Rock Hill, South Carolina; Lomax-Hannon Junior College in Greenville, Alabama; and AME Zion Community College in Monrovia, Liberia.

Like the other black denominations, associations, and conventions founded prior to the Civil War, the AMEZ Church was formed primarily for the sake of greater autonomy in church participation and leadership, and to evangelize and serve in other ways the needs of African Americans in the late 1700s and the 1800s. The evangelical American Christianity that came to its earliest fruition during the Great Awakening (1730–1750) and the Second Great Awakening (1790–1825) had a profound impact upon the membership of the Christian churches in the United States. Evangelicalism was most clearly manifested during the Second Great Awakening in groups such as the Methodists, revivalist elements in the Church of England (Protestant Episcopal church), the Baptists, and some Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

Compared with their nonevangelical counterparts, white evangelicals were more receptive to black membership in their societies and churches and even sometimes open to various roles of black leadership. Thus, by the Revolutionary era, evangelicalism was a racially mixed phenomenon, with whites and blacks acting as missionaries, teachers, and preachers, although the preponderance of these activities were still intraracial. By the 1780s and 1790s, evangelical blacks were members of a movement and of churches in which they exercised a considerable degree of freedom of religion, relative to the treatment of blacks in nonevangelical churches.

The Revolutionary age brought with it intense rhetoric about the equality of all men and their inalienable rights. Not surprisingly, therefore, when a number of white-controlled (though not always predominantly white) congregations began to curb religious freedom, to introduce new strictures of racial segregation and discrimination, and to refuse to modify policies and practices of caste, many African Americans, especially those with leadership talents, rebelled.

With these rebellious leaders—Peter Spencer in Wilmington, Delaware; Richard Allen in Philadelphia; and William Miller in New York City—lie the origins of the independent black Methodist congregations. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, they joined forces to form three separate black denominations: the Union Church of Africans, in Delaware, in 1813; the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME Church), based in Philadelphia, in 1816; and the Zion group, based in New York City, in the 1820–1824 period. For the AMEZ, the focal point seems to have been the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York.

By 1793 the John Street congregation's membership was about 40 percent black. Yet blacks were blocked from the higher orders of the ministry and faced discrimination at the Holy Communion table as well as in seating. In 1796 Peter Williams and William Miller helped start a separate black Methodist congregation. They founded the African Chapel in a shop owned by Miller. By 1800 the group gathered around these two men constructed a church building, and in 1801 their congregation was incorporated. These Methodists emphasized their desire to be free of white domination by restricting trustee membership to those of African descent.

Like their forerunners in the Union Church of Africans and the African Methodist Episcopal denomination, these black Methodists were struggling to establish and maintain a significant degree of autonomy in the midst of clear, overt white opposition to their efforts. By ensuring that control of their church was in the hands of African

Americans, these Methodists were guaranteeing that they would not again be relegated to the status of second-class membership in their own church, as they had been in John Street and other Methodist Episcopal congregations. With the assistance of a white preacher, John McClaskey, nine men incorporated the African Chapel church in 1801: Francis Jacobs, Peter Williams, David Bias, George E. Moore, George Collins, George White, Thomas Sipkins, Thomas Cook, and William Brown. The church was incorporated as the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of New York.

From 1816 to 1824 this small group of black Methodists moved more decisively toward the establishment of a separate denomination. In 1816 the Zion Church (formerly the African Chapel) joined with the Asbury Church to petition the Methodist Episcopal Conference of New York to establish a separate circuit for African Methodists. In 1820 the beginnings of a split in the white parent body, the Methodist Episcopal Church, had ramifications for African Methodists. William Stillwell, a white minister who had been appointed pastor of the Zion Church, withdrew from the larger body in an attempt to introduce more democratic procedures.

This move of Stillwell's occasioned further reflection on the part of the African Methodists concerning their own organizational relationship with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In August 1820 the African Methodists became a separate black conference within the larger denomination; by October they had established a discipline (a set of church policies, beliefs, and rules) for the two congregations, Zion and Asbury. A pivotal move took place on June 21, 1821, when the African Methodists held their first annual conference and rejected affiliation with the AME Church, also deciding against reaffiliation with the white-controlled Methodist Episcopal Church. Many scholars date the origins of the AMEZ denomination from this year. It was not until 1824, however, that the African Methodists in New York made it clear they were not under any supervision of the Methodist Episcopal denomination.

The new denomination registered slow but steady growth from 1821 to the advent of the Civil War. At the 1821 conference (their first annual meeting), the Zionites had six churches with fewer than 1,500 members: Zion Church (763) and Asbury Church (150) of New York City, and congregations from Long Island, New York (155); New Haven, Connecticut (24); Easton, Pennsylvania (18); and Philadelphia (Wesleyan Church, with 300). In 1822 the group selected James Varick, the pastor of Zion Church, as its first superintendent. He served until 1828, when he was replaced by Christopher Rush, who had migrated north from eastern North Carolina. Throughout the nineteenth century there was intense controversy, friction, debate, and rivalry between the Zion denomination and the AME denomination—much of it fueled by the fact that both, prior to the New York–based group's addition of "Zion" to its title in 1848, termed themselves the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

"Mother Zion," AME Zion Church in Harlem, New York. *A street view of the church, taken from "Harlem, Mecca of the New Negro," the March 1925 issue of* Survey Graphic, *highlights its prominent double doors with gothic arches, as well as adjacent row apartments.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Given their competition for new members and the alliances of black Methodist congregations, this similarity in names caused confusion and charges of misrepresentation. There was also a lively debate as to which was actually the first organized group. Each extended the date of its founding back into the eighteenth century to coincide with the rise of the oldest congregation of the connection. Concomitantly, each tended to overlook or downplay the origins of the first congregation of the rival group. The Zion group, moreover, was beset by schism in the 1850s arising from controversy surrounding the status of one of its bishops.

With the coming of the Civil War, the AMEZ, like other independent black denominations and conventions, embarked upon a new era of opportunity and growth. Whereas the Zionites had only a few more than 1,400 members and 22 ministers in 1821, by 1860 they had grown to 4,600 members with 105 ministers. But this slow growth in membership was outdistanced considerably by the phenomenal rise during and following the Civil War. By 1884 the AMEZ registered 300,000 members; by 1896, the number had increased to 350,000.

Both the AMEZ and the AME experienced rather small growth during the pre–Civil War years because both were mainly confined to the northern portion of the country, especially the Northeast. Understandably, independent black organizations, religious or secular, mainly comprising free persons committed to an antislavery stance, were not welcomed in the slaveholding South. In addition, most African-American Methodists in New York, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere elected for a number of reasons to remain with the predominantly white Methodist Episcopal denomination. Much of the black Methodist Episcopal constituency had a degree of autonomy as largely black congregations with black ministers, while maintaining the advantages of continued association with a white organization. With the coming of the Civil War, however, and the emancipation of previously enslaved blacks, the doors for inclusion in northern-based, independent black denominations and conventions were opened much wider.

A substantial number of black southern Christians did remain with the white-controlled Methodist Episcopal Church–South, and the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) gained a considerable number of congregations, ministers, and members from their ranks. The vast majority of black Christians, however, flocked to the independent black ecclesiastical groups that followed Union troops into the old Confederacy. The black Baptist churches secured the most members, followed by the AME. But the AMEZ captured a significant and substantial segment of southern black Christians for its connection.

The Zion denomination has encountered a number of significant challenges. One of the main reasons for its debut was the evangelization and religious training of people of African descent. A number of organizations connected with the denomination were formed over the years to deal with these goals. The denomination not only expanded in the South following the Civil War but entered the Midwest, the Far West, Canada, and the Caribbean. Nova Scotia and the Caribbean areas figured prominently in the AMEZ's outreach efforts during the postbellum years. During the 1870s and 1880s the AMEZ, like its AME

Sketch of Christopher Rush (1777–1873). *Rush, who succeeded James Varick as general superintendent (bishop) of the AME Zion Church, was the first historian of the denomination and was responsible for much of its antebellum growth. The sketch is from Carter G. Woodson's* History of the Negro Church, *c. 1921.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and black Baptist counterparts, joined in the efforts to missionize Africa. Andrew Cartwright, the first Zion missionary in Africa, and Bishop John Bryan Small, who later was the first to have episcopal jurisdiction in Africa, were forerunners in the African mission program. The AMEZ Church, like other black Christian groups, pursued the missionizing of Africa for reasons that connected evangelical interests with practical concerns for the well-being of African people.

The AMEZ has always been intimately involved in efforts to achieve greater citizenship rights for African Americans. Outstanding nineteenth-century AMEZ members such as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Jermain Loguen, Catherine Harris, and Frederick Douglass fought to abolish slavery, gain equal rights and justice for black

citizens, and expand the freedom of American women. Jermain Loguen's classic address "I Will Not Live a Slave" testifies to the precarious position of many people of color who had escaped bondage in the South and border states, and points out the connections between free people of the North and their enslaved brothers and sisters.

An issue of internal concern in the Zion denomination was the debate over the role and meaning of the terms "superintendent" and "bishop." Zion, like the predominantly white Methodist Protestant Church, envisioned itself originally as a more democratic institution than the mother Methodist Episcopal Church. It selected the name "superintendent" for its episcopal overseers and mandated their election every four years rather than for life, as was the case in the Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Churches. When their AME rivals cast doubts on the episcopal validity of Zion's superintendents, the AMEZ changed its title to bishop and passed a rule stipulating that each was elected for life. This last rule was later modified to require retirement at a certain age. Bishop James Walker Hood was instrumental during the 1800s in defending the validity of Zion's episcopacy and undergirding the "high church" tradition of episcopacy within the Zion church.

The Zion church has been at the forefront within American Methodism in advancing democracy within its membership by expanding representation in its highest councils to laypersons. It also supported the ordination of women to the office of elder, the church's highest ministerial office except for bishop. In 1898 Bishop Charles Calvin Pettey ordained Mary Julia Small, a bishop's wife, as the first woman elder in the Zion church, or any major American Methodist denomination. Julia Foote, an author, evangelist, and supporter of the Holiness Movement, was ordained an elder by Bishop Hood. Although Bishops Pettey and Hood stood by their controversial actions, not until the 1980s and 1990s were a significant number of women ordained to the eldership. At the start of the twenty-first century, none of the major black Methodist groups, including the AMEZ, has appointed a female bishop, unlike the United Methodist Church, which has appointed both black and white women to the episcopacy.

Another area of concern to Zionites has been ecumenism, especially within the family of black Methodist churches. The first serious and hopeful efforts at black Methodist unity came during the Civil War, in 1864, when the AME and the AMEZ nearly agreed upon a document cementing the union of the two churches. The measure failed because conferences within the AME Church, where the matter was submitted for ratification, rejected the proposal. Other discussions since then have included dialogues with the AME, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME), and the Methodist Episcopal denominations. The CME and the AMEZ were close to union at one point during the 1980s, but progress stalled. It appeared that independent black denominations are torn between racial solidarity on one hand and transracial unity on the other—between the ideal of union across racial lines and the reality of continued racial prejudice and discrimination, even in ecclesiastical circles.

The AMEZ Church, like most other black denominations, however, has been involved in ecumenical efforts at cooperation, such as the Federal Council of Churches (later the National Council of Churches) and the World Council of Churches. It has participated with other black Methodists, as well as other Christians, in interfaith efforts to advance the civil, political, and economic progress of African Americans. Its membership in the National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, founded in 1933, serves as an example of Zion's work in this regard.

There have been other major figures in AMEZ history. Bishop Joseph J. Clinton commissioned James Hood and other missionaries for work in the South during and following the Civil War; his efforts greatly facilitated the geographical and numerical expansion of Zion's ranks. Rev. Joseph C. Price, popularly esteemed as an orator, was one of the founders and the first president of Livingstone College. Mary Jane Talbert Jones, Meriah G. Harris, and Annie Walker Blackwell were early leaders in the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, established in 1880.

The historical and theological significance of the AMEZ Church rests in the claims that black people, when their humanity was greatly compromised in the eyes of many whites, were capable of managing and directing enterprises without the governance and supervision of whites, and the theological position that the Christian faith condemns racial discrimination as sin and heresy.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Allen, Richard; Truth, Sojourner; Tubman, Harriet

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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN (1996)

African Orthodox Church

The African Orthodox Church (AOC) was founded September 2, 1921, by George Alexander McGuire, an Antiguan follower of Marcus Garvey who had been ordained a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The purpose of the new denomination was originally to create a kind of state church for the Universal Negro Improvement Association and to further black nationalist religious symbolism, but when the AOC did not become an official part of the Garvey movement, it concentrated on defending the validity of its claims to apostolic succession through orders from the West Syrian Jacobite Church of Antioch.

The AOC has never grown beyond a few thousand members in the United States, and they are concentrated primarily along the East Coast. Its clergy and members have been largely West Indian, although it occasionally appeals to dissident Roman Catholics and a few traditional Protestants. The church's liturgy is formal and high, a combination of Anglican and Roman rites with some Orthodox influences and usages. The AOC spread to Africa, where its membership numbers in the millions and where it exists uniquely as an independent church with legitimate ties to historic Christianity as well as involvement in African cultural nationalism.

In the United States, the AOC has been a channel of "valid though irregular" ordinations and consecrations among so-called Old Catholic bodies. McGuire was canonized in 1983, but the church did not participate in or benefit from the post–civil rights movement surge of black nationalism. In California, a communitarian group formerly gathered around the widow of jazz musician John Coltrane has affiliated with the AOC and appears to give the denomination its best hope for active continuity.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)

African Union Methodism

African Union Methodism is the common name shared by those churches stemming from the movement founded by the Maryland ex-slave Peter Spencer in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1805. In its contemporary usage, it refers to the African Union Methodist Protestant (AUMP) Church and the Union American Methodist Episcopal (UAME) Church, the only two remaining bodies with roots in the Spencer tradition.

In June 1805 Spencer and William Anderson led some forty African Americans out of the predominantly white Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilmington. Racial discrimination and the desire for black religious independence figured prominently in the secession. The dissenters immediately formed Ezion Methodist Episcopal Church, designed to function as a black "mission church" under the auspices of Asbury Church and the Methodist Episcopal Conference. A second secession occurred in 1813, mainly because of the arbitrary exercise of power against blacks by white elders and disputes over seating arrangements. On September 18, 1813, Spencer took the lead in organizing the Union Church of Africans, also known variously as the Union Church of African Members, the African Union Church, the African Union Methodist Church, and the Union Methodist Connexion.

The new denomination remained essentially Methodist in its articles of religion, general rules, discipline, and multiple conference system. However, the episcopacy, the itineracy, and the strong connectional system of the Methodists were rejected in favor of a more democratic style involving lay elders, elder ministers, deacons, licensed preachers, local congregational autonomy, and the stationed pastorate.

Beginning in the 1850s, a series of schisms interfered with the growth and development of the Spencer church-

es. In 1855 to 1856 conflict in the Union Church of Africans over the authority of elder ministers resulted in the formation of a rival body known as the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1866 the remaining congregations in the Union Church of Africans merged with the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church of Baltimore, Maryland, resulting in the African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church, also called the African Union Methodist Protestant Church. A serious rift occurred in the UAME Church in 1935 when three candidates ran unsuccessfully for the episcopacy. This schism culminated in the organization of the rival Reformed Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, a body that no longer exists.

From their founding, the AUMP and UAME churches have remained regional due to insufficient resources, poor missionary outreach, the lack of strong connectional systems, numerous schisms, and a dearth of vigorous, educated leadership. In 1990 both the AUMP and the UAME churches reported fewer than ten thousand members located in congregations in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Washington, D.C. Since the late 1970s the UAME Church has also struggled to build congregations in parts of the West Indies.

Both the AUMP and the UAME churches remain significantly smaller and less socially active than the larger national branches of black Methodism, such as the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, and the Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

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LEWIS V. BALDWIN (1996)

Molefi Kete Asante. *Dr. Asante, credited with establishing the first doctoral program in African-American Studies, coined the term afrocentrism in 1976, defining it as a worldview that consciously places Africa, rather than Europe, at the center of scholarly focus.* COURTESY OF MOLEFI KETE ASANTE

AFROCENTRISM

Afrocentrism has a long and often misunderstood history. Though usually associated with the intellectual lineage that runs from Cheikh Anta Diop (1923–1986) to Molefi Asante (1942–), the ideology actually has a pedigree that dates back to some of the most distinguished African-American intellectuals of the nineteenth century, including David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, Martin Delany, Alexander Crummell, and Edward Wilmot Blyden. The actual term *Afrocentric* apparently was coined by W. E. B. Du Bois only in the early 1960s. Du Bois wrote that his proposed *Encyclopedia Africana* would be "unashamedly Afro-centric" in focus. Asante resurrected the term in his 1980 work, *Afrocentricity*, injecting new energy into an old approach to the study of Africans and their descendants. By the late 1980s, the term *Afrocentric* was used to describe a range of thinkers, from mainstream historians like Sterling Stuckey to more controversial scholars like Leonard Jeffries.

While the term *Afrocentric* has been applied to both credible and dubious attempts at scholarly analysis, at its broadest, it is simply an attempt to place Africa, instead of Europe, at the center of scholarly analysis of peoples of African descent. In his 1987 book, *The Afrocentric Idea*, Molefi Asante defines *Afrocentricity* as "the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior" (p. 6). It should be emphasized that this perspective is not an explicit argument for African superiority in culture and history, although some scholars have used it to that end. Rather, it is a conceptual tool for seeing the history of African-descended peoples through their own lens, and not through the lens of Europe or the West. As a mode of analysis, Afrocentrism has remained remarkably durable over the past two hundred years; however, scholars have often reached radically different conclusions in their utilization of this analytical tool.

Black Nationalism, Afrocentrism, and the Academy

A crucial prerequisite to an Afrocentric perspective is the recognition of Africa as a common "homeland" to all peoples of African descent. The earliest expressions of this sentiment emerged out of late eighteenth-century African-American communities, where figures like Prince Hall and Paul Cuffe initiated movements to return to Africa and create settlements there. In 1787 Hall, the most prominent free black in Boston, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to aid African Americans "to return to Africa, our native country." For black people born in America, as well as for various African societies, the notion of a singular African homeland represented the reality of shared historical trajectories in the diaspora. By defining themselves as "Africans," rather than as "Americans," "Yorubas," or "Kongos," these early Afrocentrists played a crucial role in conceptualizing a shared history of African-descended peoples, regardless of natal background.

Because of the connections between emigration and racist slave-holding interests, many African Americans rejected emigration schemes of the early nineteenth century; however, new initiatives in the 1850s once again drew attention to the shared history of peoples of African descent. In 1858 Henry Highland Garnet called for the construction of "a great center for Negro nationality" in Africa or the Americas. One year later, in 1859, Martin Delany traveled to West Africa in the hopes of realizing his vision of "Africa for the African race and black men to rule them." Similar expressions could be found in the ideas of Henry McNeal Turner, and much later, Marcus Garvey. These "back-to-Africa" movements faded after the 1920s, but by this time the idea of Africa as the common homeland of African-descended peoples was well established.

Concurrent with emerging ideas about a singular "Africa" were new interpretations of African history and culture. Challenging racist characterizations of Africa as a dark continent lacking science and history, a number of nineteenth-century black intellectuals pointed to the achievements of Egypt and Ethiopia as evidence of Africa's rich and glorious past. In *Appeal* (1829), David Walker highlighted "the arts and sciences—wise legislators—the pyramids and other magnificent buildings . . . by the sons of Africa . . . among whom learning originated, and was carried thence into Greece." Similar emphasis on Egypt, and especially the ancient Christian tradition of Ethiopia, can be found in the works of Frederick Douglass, James C. Pennington, and Henry Highland Garnet.

While Egypt eventually emerged as central in the debates over Afrocentrism in the mid-twentieth century (see below), these earlier imperatives were aimed at recovery and redemption of the African past. As such, Egypt represented a convenient and easily accessible entry point to deeper explorations of Africa's complex history. Nowhere is this clearer than in the evolution of Edward Wilmot Blyden. In his early writings, Blyden adopted the position of a linear connection between Egyptians and African Americans, and he repeated the argument that Egypt spawned Greek "civilization." Though he never completely abandoned this teleology, by the time of his death in 1912, Blyden had devoted himself to the study of West African languages, cultures, and histories. As a result, he moved away from static interpretations of a homogenous Africa toward interpretations that recognized the diversity of the continent, still emphasizing the strong cultural and historical connections between various peoples, becoming the first to emphasize the importance of an "African personality."

If Blyden was a pioneer in seriously considering the depth and diversity of West Africa, others quickly followed. Hubert Henry Harrison, a socialist and Garveyite who emigrated from the Virgin Islands to New York in 1900, was renowned for his knowledge of Africa, applying a sophisticated Afrocentric analysis to the history of African-descended peoples. In *When Africa Awakes* (1920), Harrison implored African Americans to:

> go to Africa, live among the natives and LEARN WHAT THEY HAVE TO TEACH US (for they have much to teach us). . . . Let us begin by studying the scientific works of the African explorers and stop reading and believing the silly slush which ignorant missionaries put into our heads about the alleged degradation of our people in Africa. Let us learn to know Africa and Africans

> so well that every educated Negro will be able at a glance to put his hand on the map of Africa and tell where to find Jolofs, Ekoisi, Mandingoes, Yorubas, Bechuanas or Basutos and can tell something of their marriage customs, their property laws, their agriculture and system of worship. For not until we can do this will it be seemly for us to pretend to be anxious about their political welfare. (Harrison, 1920, pp. 34–35)

Here, Harrison clearly evokes the depth and diversity of Africa. Moreover, he appeals to African Americans to learn about "our people," not from Europeans, but through the eyes of Africans themselves.

The idea that African-American culture was essentially African soon gained currency in the mainstream academic world. Carter G. Woodson's *The African Background Outlined* (1936) demonstrated African survivals in religion, folklore, art, and music in African-American communities. Perhaps the most enduring contribution to modern-day Afrocentrism is Melville Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Herskovits emphasized West African cultural survivals in the Americas, particularly in South America and the Caribbean. Though he has been criticized in recent years for applying his argument for cultural survivals too broadly and for homogenizing West Africa, Herskovits's research influenced the works of many Afrocentric scholars, including Roger Bastide, Robert Farris Thompson, St. Clair Drake, and Sterling Stuckey. Among these, Stuckey makes the most eloquent and forceful argument for African survivals in the United States. In *Slave Culture* (1987), Stuckey argued that the organizing sociocultural principle of African-American communities is the African-derived "ring shout," a religious ritual performed in a circle of dancing, with singing participants moving in a counterclockwise motion that culminates in spirit possession. Stuckey traced elements of this religious ritual from West and West Central Africa, to North American slave communities, and finally to contemporary African-American culture. The approach of Herskovits, Stuckey, and more recently Michael Gomez, Paul Lovejoy, and John Thornton, has not gone unchallenged. Anthropologists and historians such as Sidney Mintz, Richard Price, Ira Berlin, and Philip Morgan have criticized the emphasis on African survivals, claiming that the agency and creativity of the enslaved were more important than the African past. Thus, they challenge the Afrocentric mode of analysis and the centrality of Africa to the African-American past.

Molefi Kete Asante

"Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person."

"THE AFROCENTRIC IDEA IN EDUCATION."
JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION (SPRING 1991)

Egyptocentrism and Populist Afrocentrism

Since the 1950s, another stream of Afrocentric thought has emerged that builds on earlier attempts to trace a direct lineage between ancient Egyptians, sub-Saharan Africans, and Africans in the diaspora. This stream of thought has tended to dominate popular and even some scholarly understandings of Afrocentrism ever since. The "grandfather" of this school of Afrocentrism, the intellectual forefather of Molefi Asante, Leonard Jeffries, and Martin Bernal, was Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop. In his *The African Origin of Civilization*, first published in French in 1955, Diop argued that Africa was the cradle of humanity and civilization. Not only did the letters and sciences emerge in Egypt; black Egyptians spawned the greatest of human social attributes, distinguishing themselves from the "ferocity" of Eurasians in their "gentle, idealistic, peaceful nature, endowed with a spirit of justice and gaiety" (Diop, 1974, pp. 111–112). Climate played a prominent role in Diop's formulations: Egypt's warm, favorable climate, as opposed to Eurasia's cold and forbidding climate, went far in explaining the benevolence of the African personality. Diop also repeated the assertion that ancient Greece drew all of the important elements of its civilization from Egypt and Africa, a claim that was made even more forcefully in American George James's *Stolen Legacy* (1954).

Elements of Diop's arguments can be found in nearly all of the populist and Egyptocentric scholarship of the late twentieth century. In fact, very little in the recent scholarship goes beyond Diop's central claims, other than the application of the term *Afrocentric* to this particular mode of inquiry. In 1980 Molefi Asante reintroduced the term *Afrocentric* to the scholarly world in his book *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change.* In this book and his *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge* (1990), Asante set

out to define what he claimed was an entirely new discipline of academic inquiry. Despite these claims of originality, much of what Asante argued was drawn from scholars going back to the 1800s, and more particularly from Diop. According to Asante's theory of Afrocentricity, humanity developed and was perfected in Africa, therefore endowing Africans with a head start on other humans. Egypt, or Kemet, was the first great civilization, forming the foundation for all of the great African cultures that would follow it. Moreover, Egyptians passed on to other African peoples "an African orientation to the cosmos" that resulted in common spiritual values. The arts, letters, and sciences of Egypt were stolen by ancient Greece, and ultimately transferred to all of Europe. Europeans then conspired to hide Egypt's greatness from Africans, convincing them that Europe was the source of all civilization. The lineage of intellectual greatness and African personality was passed down to all peoples of African descent, including those in the diaspora, and it is their obligation to reclaim the glories of this common African past.

Notwithstanding the lack of originality in Asante's major works, his charisma and energy injected new life into the Egyptocentric stream of Afrocentrism. As chair of the Department of African American Studies at Temple University in Philadelphia from 1984 to 1996, Asante developed a graduate curriculum that produced dozens of Ph.D.s. He has spoken at numerous public events and at more than a hundred different colleges and universities. Asante has lobbied for curriculum changes in America's public schools, particularly around the issue of African-American speech and language, or *Ebonics*. Asante also has been a prolific writer, publishing dozens of books and articles. *Afrocentricity* has been widely read by mainstream scholars, as well as the broader public. While many have criticized the teleology and hagiography that characterize much of Asante's approach to Afrocentrism, there is little doubt that the energy and attention he has brought to the Afrocentric paradigm have made an immense contribution to scholarship, forcing scholars of all stripes to be more serious in their considerations of the African past. In this way, his contributions far surpass those of his intellectual predecessors in the nineteenth century, and even Diop.

Perhaps the most controversial contribution to this new stream of Afrocentric scholarship relates to the question of Egypt's influence on ancient Greece. The idea of the "stolen" Egyptian legacy received serious consideration from the scholarly community with the publication of Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987–1991). Indeed, Bernal's book became a lightning rod for controversies surrounding Afrocentrism, dominating much of the debate. Bernal, a white professor at Cornell University, made arguments that were strikingly similar to those made by earlier African-American intellectuals, such as Marcus Garvey, Cheikh Anta Diop, and others. In short, Bernal argued that the Greeks were indebted to Egyptian influences in the building of Western civilization. However, Bernal went one step further when he argued that portions of the ancient Greek population were actually derived from Egyptians who colonized the region. He shows that until the late eighteenth century, even European scholars acknowledged the influence of the Egyptians on Greece. Only with the emergence of pseudoscientific racism was this "Ancient Model" replaced by the "Aryan Model" that views ancient Greece as almost entirely "white" and European.

What separated Bernal from scholars who preceded him was his expertise in ancient history and languages, as well as the rigorous methodology he employed in researching his book. Evocative and dramatic in its rendering, *Black Athena* has been criticized by some classicists as being too imaginative in its use of archaeological and linguistic evidence. Nevertheless, other scholars of ancient Greece find Bernal's arguments provocative and compelling.

Unfortunately, some of Bernal's critics refused to engage his research on its merits, preferring instead to resort to broadside assaults. Foremost among these critics was Mary Lefkowitz. Her *Not Out of Africa* (1996) bears on its dust cover a bust of Socrates wearing a Malcolm X baseball cap. Its contents are no less subtle. Rather than trying to understand the historical imperatives that inspire claims of Socrates' or Cleopatra's blackness, Lefkowitz smugly refutes all claims that the ancient world was anything other than "Aryan." In her high-handed attempt to dismiss the evidentiary basis for Egyptian and African claims to the ancient world, she unwittingly feeds into the very marginalization and exclusion that initiated these inquiries in the first place.

Take, for example, her claim that the Egyptian "stolen legacy" theory "robs the ancient Greeks and their modern descendants of a heritage that rightly belongs to them" (Lefkowitz, 1996, p. 126). Here, she tacitly excludes Africans and their descendants from what most would consider the *human* heritage of Greek achievement. In yet another passage, Lefkowitz writes:

> Any attempt to question the authenticity of ancient Greek civilization is of direct concern even to people who ordinarily have little interest in the remote past. Since the founding of this country, ancient Greece has been intimately connected with the ideals of American democracy. Rightly

> or wrongly, since much of the credit belongs to the Romans, we like to think that we have carried on some of the Greeks' proudest traditions: democratic government, and freedom of speech, learning, and discussion (Lefkowitz, 1996, p. 6).

Again, Lefkowitz belies her own racialized assumptions. Not only does she fail to recognize that for most of the country's history African Americans have been excluded from the "ideals of American democracy," she implicitly reinscribes this exclusion in her use of the word *we*, a *we* that, given her overall argument, can only be interpreted as "we *white* Americans." Thus, democracy remains a peculiarly "white" historical legacy. Unfortunately, Lefkowitz fails to recognize that it was precisely this exclusion that first prompted Afrocentric inquiries as early as the nineteenth century. And, erroneous as some Afrocentric conclusions might be, reactionary tracts like hers only confirm the deepest suspicions of those who claim a stolen legacy. As Wilson Moses noted in his fine examination of the history of Afrocentrism, *Afrotopia* (1998), "the appearance of Lefkowitz's book has been heralded with jubilation by paranoid black nationalists and Egyptocentrists. What better proof [of the stolen legacy] could they have desired than such a volume?" (p. 8).

The deepest irony of Lefkowitz's attack on Afrocentrism is that it unwittingly replicates some of the very same essentialist, separatist racism that can be found on the furthest fringes of Afrocentrism. Building on Diop's ideas about climatology, Leonard Jeffries, one-time chair of the Black Studies Department at the City College of New York, has argued that white "Ice People" are biologically inferior to black "Sun People." In Jeffries's views, white people's lack of melanin and their underdeveloped genes are products of the ice age, resulting in cold, callous, and selfish people. Meanwhile, the abundance of melanin in African-descended peoples results in creativity, communalism, and a love of humanity. Jeffries is not alone in this biological essentialism. Psychologist Frances Cress Welsing replicates Jeffries's arguments regarding the benefits of high levels of melanin in black people. Yet in her book, *The Isis Papers* (1991), she goes one step further when she argues that white males, obsessed with their lack of melanin, engage in a series of self-negating behaviors aimed at manufacturing more melanin. As an example, she argues that homosexuality is "a symbolic attempt to incorporate into the white male body more male substance. . . . [Thus] the self-debasing white male may fantasize that he can produce a product of color, albeit that the product of color is fecal matter. This fantasy is significant for white males, because the males who can produce skin color are viewed as the real men" (p. 47). Though easy to reject, some have assumed that the ideas of people like Jeffries and Welsing are synonymous with Afrocentrism, writ large. At the risk of sounding like an apologist for such extremism, it bears repeating that Afrocentrism is not a set of fixed ideas; rather, it is a method of inquiry that centers Africa and African-descended peoples in their own cultures and histories. How that method is applied can result in radically different sets of conclusions.

Ultimately, Afrocentrism defies many of the simplistic assumptions that have been applied to it. As an approach to the study of African and African-descended peoples, it has a long and distinguished lineage. Indeed, scholars continue to utilize the Afrocentric "survivals" paradigm in their analysis of African contributions to the Americas. The best of these studies go well beyond the homogenous Africa of Egyptian teleology to note the specific ethnic and even family histories of Africans in their journeys through the diaspora. Yet most of the scholarly mainstream still insists on labeling Afrocentrism an essentially anti-intellectual, methodologically flawed endeavor. While there is little doubt that there is a vast gulf between those who romanticize the African past and those who study Africans and their descendants on their own terms, there is also little doubt that the imperatives driving these approaches are common ones—an attempt to raise questions that emanate out of the black experience, centering African-descended peoples in their own temporal and historical realities.

See also Anthropology and Anthropologists; Black Arts Movement; Black Power Movement; Blyden, Edward Wilmot; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Garnet, Henry Highland; Garvey, Marcus; Turner, Henry McNeal

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JAMES H. SWEET (2005)

Afrocubanismo

Afrocubanismo was the name given to an influential artistic movement of the late 1920s and 1930s in Cuba, similar in many respects to the Harlem Renaissance. It was characterized by an explosion of interest in Afro-Cuban themes in music, novels, painting, ballet, and other forms of expression that had no precedent in the Caribbean prior to that time. These were the first decades in which the culture of the black working class came to be accepted as a legitimate form of national expression by Cuban society as a whole. Afrocubanismo influenced virtually all types of art, both elite and popular, including the poetry of Emilio Ballagas, José Tallet, and Nicolás Guillén; the paintings of Eduardo Abela, Jaime Valls, and Wilfredo Lam; the novels of Alejo Carpentier; the musical theater of Ernesto Lecuona, Jaime Prats, and Gonzalo Roig; the symphonic compositions of Alejandro García Caturla, Amadeo Roldán, and Gilberto Valdés; and the phenomenal popularity of Cuban *son* music and commercial dance bands.

Afrocubanismo art was created and promoted by various groups. Formally trained (and primarily white) middle-class artists created representations of black culture that had a tremendous impact on national consciousness, especially through the medium of popular song. Cuba's black middle classes contributed significantly to the popularization of such repertoire as well, though primarily as interpreters. Working-class Afrocubans supported the movement more directly by forming carnival bands, popularizing new musical genres from within their own communities, performing for tourists, and by infusing commercial arts of various kinds with influences from cultural traditions (e.g., linguistic, musical, choreographic) of African origin.

While progressive in many respects, the movement was characterized by fundamental contradictions. Most exponents of Afrocubanismo tended to be middle-class Euro-Cubans who drew inspiration from black working-class culture but created highly stylized representations of it, depictions that at times bordered on being racist. Afrocubanismo art underscores the unease with which much of the middle class viewed African-influenced culture, as well as the racially divided nature of Cuban society at that time. Examples of Afrocubanismo recordings include those of pianist and singer Ignacio Villa (1911–1950), better known as Bola de Nieve. Villa, himself a middle-class black performer with classical training, became one of the most popular performers of songs by white composers such as Eliseo Grenet (1893–1950) that straddled the line between ridicule and celebration of Afro-Cuban heritage. The same sort of ambivalence is found in other works. Nevertheless, some middle-class black artists took part in the Afrocubanismo movement and promoted decidedly positive images of blackness, using their art as a means of addressing issues of racism and racial oppression. Exam-

ples include the paintings of Alberto Peña ("Peñita") (1894–1938) and sculptures of Teodoro Ramos Blanco (1902–1972). Clearly, the movement had different meanings for particular artists and their audiences.

Various international influences contributed to the development of Afrocubanismo. The 1920s saw fundamental changes in the commercial music of nearly all Western countries. Its most obvious manifestation involved concession to blue-collar and non-Western aesthetics on an unprecedented scale. This was the era of the tango, the jazz craze, bohemian Paris, the primitivists, the fauvists, *Naive Kunst*, and a host of related movements drawing inspiration from non-European traditions. From the perspective of the present day, the 1920s can be seen as a crucial first step in the gradual democratization of national cultures globally, paralleled by the emergence of musical genres such as calypso and samba and presaging negritude and black nationalism in other parts of the hemisphere.

Afrocubanismo art represented a reaction against foreign influences as well, primarily from the United States. Artwork with Afro-Cuban themes might be considered a counter-discourse of sorts in the face of European and North American assertions of inherent racial and cultural superiority. Economic upheaval in the 1920s made issues of sovereignty especially important. Underemployment and poverty became severe following the U.S. stock-market crash of 1929. This in turn threatened the political stability of the administration of Cuba's president Gerardo Machado (1871–1939), culminating in outright civil war in 1933. Machado had allied himself closely with the United States; resentment towards him was fueled by the widespread perception that the United States had contributed to Cuba's economic instability and that it could not keep from meddling in the country's domestic affairs. During the rebellion against Machado, and for a short time after its resolution, the country's intellectual elite attempted to more actively promote uniquely Cuban culture. The sudden prominence of African-influenced expression within Cuba owe much to these events.

Contrary to what might be expected, most spokespersons of the black middle class reacted negatively to Afrocubanismo art. They took exception with the tendency of the movement to stereotype blacks as a whole and to depict them in a demeaning fashion. After having struggled for decades to overcome discrimination, characterizations in poetry and song that too often described them as drunken, lascivious, or worse inspired outrage. Many objected to the very term "Afro-Cuban," pointing out that the common distinction of the period between "Cuban"—implicitly a white category— and "Afro-Cuban" implied that blacks had an identity distinct from that of other citizens. They did not view the new vogue of blackness as an attempt to redress the marginal status of Afro-Cuban culture historically, but rather as a means of further exoticizing and excluding them. To many, therefore, the emphasis on African-derived culture tended to factionalize the population.

The movement went into decline toward the end of the 1930s, primarily because Cuban society was not yet ready to fully embrace African-influenced arts. Mainstream Cuban audiences had come to accept representations of blackness in national culture, but only from a certain perspective, using particular stereotypes, and limited to well-defined aesthetic conventions. Listening to a white vocalist in blackface sing slave laments, or to a black middle-class artist read a humorous poem about the African god Babalú-Ayé could be tolerated, even enjoyed. But when working-class blacks themselves became increasingly involved in commercial entertainment and more openly infused their compositions with influences from African-derived religions, when street drummers began to predominate as entertainers in cabarets, when scholars and folklorists arranged to have Yoruban *batá* drums performed on the concert stage, most middle-class listeners were horrified. Developments of this sort forced the intelligentsia to confront the fact that Afrocubanismo art had little in common with the actual expression of the black working class.

Perhaps the most defining characteristic of the Afrocubanismo movement was its ambivalence towards African-influenced expression. Imagery of African deities, of slaves during the colonial period, of drumming practices, and all other perceived Africanisms served as simultaneous sources of pride and embarrassment to the nation. They were powerful local icons to rally behind and markers of degeneracy—reminders of a cultural legacy that most considered shameful. An ongoing antagonism characterized the 1920s and 1930s, antagonism between an emergent racially and culturally based nationalism incorporating mulatto imagery and a widespread belief in the inherent superiority of whites over those of black or mixed ancestry. For the most part, the depictions of black culture from the period represent a fantasy of sorts, a middle-class projection that transformed the reality of the nation into a more Europeanized form. Despite these shortcomings, however, Afrocubanismo constitutes a relatively progressive moment in Cuba's history, and an important harbinger of change. The music, dance, literature, and visual art that it generated continue to influence present-day artists and have served as the conceptual foundation of modern Cuban culture ever since.

See also Africanisms; Guillen, Nicolás; Harlem Renaissance; Lam, Wilfredo; Music in Latin America; Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

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ROBIN MOORE (2005)

AIDS IN THE AMERICAS

AIDS is one of the most devastating diseases in human history. The global count of people living with HIV/AIDS reached forty million by the end of 2004; millions more had already succumbed to the disease. Although HIV/AIDS is worldwide in its spread, it is not equally divided among the populations of the world.

The Distribution of AIDS in the Americas

One way of understanding the impact of the disease on populations of African descent in the Americas is by looking at the worldwide number of people living with HIV/AIDS disease along a continuum. At one end of the continuum is sub-Saharan Africa, which remains the region hardest hit by the disease, with approximately 25.5 million people now living with HIV/AIDS infection and an adult (ages 15–49) prevalence rate of 7.4 percent. Near the opposite end of the continuum falls North America, with about a million people living with HIV/AIDS and an adult prevalence rate of 0.6 percent, which is not significantly above that of Oceania, the region of the world with the lowest prevalence rate. Between these two epidemiological regions lie the island nations of the Caribbean, with under half a million cases and a prevalence rate of 2.3 percent. After sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean is now the second most intensely impacted region of the world. HIV/AIDS prevalence has grown rapidly in the Caribbean since the mid-1990s. Consequently, there were more cases of HIV reported in the Caribbean between 1995 and 1998 than from the early 1980s until 1995 (World Health Organization, 1998). AIDS has emerged as the leading cause of death in the English-speaking, African-American sector of the region among people fifteen to forty-four years of age.

These figures only give a broad sense of the extent and impact of the epidemic in the far-flung African-American populations of the New World. In Haiti, prevalence has surpassed 6 percent, the highest of any country outside of sub-Saharan Africa. Because of AIDS, life expectancy at birth in Caribbean countries like Haiti and Trinidad with majority African-American populations is projected by the year 2010 to be nine to ten years shorter than it would have been without the disease.

Other islands in the Caribbean with large populations of African descent have also developed significant AIDS epidemics. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) ranks the U.S. Virgin Islands, for example, fourth in the United States in AIDS incidence. Among women in the Virgin Islands, the AIDS-case rate of approximately 30 per 100,000 population is nearly three times the U.S. national rate (with 27 percent of AIDS cases and 47 percent of combined HIV/AIDS cases among women). By late 2000, there were over four hundred AIDS cases in the Virgin Islands; 54 percent of those with the disease had already died (Nelson, Todman, and Singer, 2005).

Based on frozen tissue samples, the oldest confirmed case of AIDS in the Americas was a fifteen-year-old African-American male from St. Louis who was hospitalized in 1968 with an aggressive form of Kaposi's sarcoma. Twenty years later, his stored serum specimens tested positive for HIV-antibodies (Gerry, et al., 1988). Today, the AIDS case rate (for all ages) per 100,000 population in the United States is 6.1 among white non-Hispanics compared to 58.2 among African Americans. HIV/AIDS is more prevalent among African Americans, and significantly so, than any other racial/ethnic population in the country, a pattern that holds across age and gender subgroups.

Among men, for example, the AIDS case rate is over eight times greater among African Americans than among non-Hispanic whites (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2003). Among women, the difference is even greater. In terms of actual number of cases, almost twice as many African Americans have contracted HIV/AIDS than non-Hispanics whites. Importantly, while the number of deaths among whites living with HIV/AIDS steadily fell from 1999 to 2003, among African Americans a clear trend has not emerged, with the number of deaths due to AIDS going up and down from year to year. Overall, however, while African Americans comprise about 12.3 percent of the U.S. population, from 1999 to 2003 they accounted for over 50 percent of the people who died of AIDS during those five years. By the end of 2003, almost 200,000 African Americans had died of AIDS. In other words, while compared to some other parts of the world the HIV/AIDS prevalence is low in the United States, HIV-related morbidity and mortality are notably concentrated in the African-American sector of the population. Moreover, in 2002 African Americans who died from HIV/AIDS had over ten times as many age-adjusted years of potential life lost before age seventy-five years as whites (Office of Minority Health, 2005).

AIDS also has reached significant levels among Brazilians of African descent. The first reported case of AIDS in Brazil was diagnosed in 1983. During the 1990s Brazil emerged as the epicenter of HIV/AIDS in South America with just under sixty percent of all AIDS cases in Latin America and the Caribbean combined. Cumulative AIDS cases passed a quarter of a million in 2003, with an adult prevalence rate for HIV/AIDS of 0.7 percent. Infection is not generally dispersed in the population but rather is concentrated among those who are twenty to thirty-five years of age and belong to at least one of four groups: men who have sex with men, sexually transmitted disease patients, commercial sex workers, and injection drug users. The latter two groups, in particular, tend to be poor, and they disproportionately comprise darker skinned Brazilians. Although the proportion of HIV/AIDS cases among women is rising—especially among those who have male sex partners who engage in high-risk behaviors—rates of infection are significantly higher among men (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2004).

BlackAIDS.org

According to the BLACKAIDS.org website, the Black AIDS Institute is the "first black HIV/AIDS policy center dedicated to reducing HIV/AIDS health disparities by mobilizing black institutions and individuals." The group's motto is "Our People, Our Problem, Our Solution."

The AIDS epidemic has had a disproportionate impact on black communities. As early as 1983, African Americans, who represented over 13 percent of the population, accounted for more than a quarter of reported AIDS cases. Now, African Americans account for greater than 50 percent of all new HIV infections in the United States. BlackAIDS.org is making an effort to reduce this trend.

The site focuses on global coordination and is a sort of alternative news center. Policymakers and other influential people who shape the general consciousness are interviewed. Every week new stories are featured and columnists' perspectives are offered, all centering around this topic. The goal is to educate people and to investigate stories that the mainstream media might have a tendency to overlook. Also of interest is a section devoted to arts addressing HIV. BlackAIDS.org is an excellent tool for anyone serious about learning more on this epidemic and its effect on African Americans.

AIDS as a Syndemic: The Political Economy of Suffering

AIDS does not exist in isolation from other diseases or from a social and political economic environment that shapes the general health, access to food and shelter, and availability of medical treatment. To help frame this critical biosocial, perspective medical anthropologists introduced the concept of "syndemic" in the mid-1990s (Baer, Singer, and Susser, 2003; Singer and Clair, 2003). While biomedical understanding and practice, traditionally, have been characterized by the tendency to isolate, study, and treat diseases as if they were distinct entities that existed separate from other diseases and independent of the social contexts in which they emerge, a syndemic model focuses on trying to understand social and biological interconnections as they are shaped and influenced by inequalities within society. At its simplest level, the term *syndemic* refers to two or more epidemics (i.e., notable increases in the rate of specific diseases in a population), interacting

synergistically with each other inside human bodies and contributing, as a result of their interaction, to excess burden of disease in a population. The term *syndemic* refers not only to the temporal or locational co-occurrence of two or more diseases or health problems, however, but also to the health consequences of the biological interactions among copresent diseases, such as between HIV and tuberculosis. HIV-positive individuals infected with TB are a hundred times more likely to develop an active disease than those who are HIV-negative, and TB is disproportionately prevalent among African Americans. In Jamaica this interrelationship of diseases has been found increasingly among children, with TB severity being greatest among children who are co-infected with HIV (Geoghagen, et al., 2004). Similarly, research has shown both that individuals co-infected with hepatitis (HCV) and HIV have higher HCV viral loads than those infected with only HCV alone and that African Americans have significantly higher HCV loads among co-infected individuals than do whites, suggesting important interrelations between copresent diseases and the differential consequence of co-infection across race/ethnicity (Matthews-Greer, et al., 2001).

Beyond the notion of disease clustering in a social location or population and the biological processes of interaction among diseases, the term *syndemic* also points to the determinant importance of social conditions in disease interactions and consequences. As Farmer (1999, pp. 51–52) has emphasized, "the most well demonstrated co-factors [for HIV] are social inequalities, which structure not only the contours of the AIDS pandemic but also the nature of outcomes once an individual is sick with complications of HIV infection." Living in poverty, for example, increases the likelihood of exposure to a range of diseases, including HIV. Also, poverty and discrimination place the poor at a disadvantage in terms of access to diagnosis and treatment for HIV, as well as ability to adhere to treatment plans because of structurally imposed residential instability and the frequency of disruptive economic and social crises in poor families. Haiti is by far the most impoverished country in the Americas, and it is not coincidental that it is the country in this hemisphere that has been hardest hit by AIDS thus far.

In multiethnic New World countries, racism is another critical social condition that appears to contribute to higher levels of HIV risk and infection among peoples of African descent. In Brazil, for example, while race-based oppression is denied officially and at the popular level, studies show that "the structures of racism are present in everyday experience" (Goldstein, 2003, p. 105). Consequently, writing of internalized racism in Brazil, Neusa Santos Souza (1983), notes that dark-skinned Brazilians commonly feel inferior and ugly because of all of the subtle reminders to which they are subjected each day that whiteness equals beauty. Internalized racism, no less than open color-based discrimination, is linked with heightened levels of HIV risk and infection (Baer, Singer, and Susser, 2003). Ultimately, such social factors as poverty, racism, sexism, and marginalization may be of far greater importance in HIV morbidity and mortality among people of African descent than the nature of the human immunodeficiency virus. Overall, populations of African descent in the Americas encounter HIV/AIDS not as a single life-threatening disease but as part of a set of interacting diseases and toxic social conditions with a resulting significant toll on their health and well-being.

AIDS Stigma: AIDS and Accusation

Goffman (1963) first defined *stigma* as the negative image that a social collectivity creates of a person or group based on some physical, behavioral, or social attribute that is perceived to diverge from established group norms. More recently, Link and Phelan (2001, p. 365) offered a definition of *stigma* in terms of "status loss and discrimination that lead to unequal outcomes" and argue that "stigmatization is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power that allows the identification of differentness, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labeled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination." Notably, this definition emphasizes the centrality of political economy in the emergence and distribution of stigma. Health-related stigma, in short, tends to reinforce other axes of social inequality.

AIDS stigma has had a significant impact on HIV-infected individuals of African heritage. At the national level AIDS stigma has been tied to efforts to blame AIDS on people of African origin, especially Africans and Haitians (Farmer, 1992). Such accusation is unsubstantiated by any research, as AIDS is a disease capable of infecting all humans and is impervious to ethnic or national boundaries. Stigma has also been significant at the individual level. A study among HIV/AIDS infected Haitian-American women, for example, found that they perceived five areas of AIDS-stigmatization in their lives: rejection by the dominant society, self-doubt, diminished self-esteem, stress in intimate relationships, and rejection by other Haitians within their community (Santana and Dancy, 2000). Comparative research on African-American women in the southern United States who were in treatment for either HIV or breast cancer found that reported levels of hope were significantly lower for those with HIV,

Haitian children, orphaned after losing their parents to AIDS, line up outside their classroom at the Rainbow House shelter in Boutillier, 1999. *In Haiti, the disease afflicts more than six percent of the total population, the highest rate of any country outside of Africa.* THONY BELIZAIRE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

as were their assessed coping skills, affirming the damage done by AIDS stigma (Phillips and Sowell, 2000).

Various researchers have asserted that AIDS-related stigma functions as a barrier to HIV-infected individuals voluntarily seeking counseling and testing. Research in rural Haiti, however, suggests that the introduction of high-quality HIV care can lead to a significant reduction in stigma and to increased rates of HIV testing (Castro and Farmer, 2005). Rather than stigma, these researchers argue, it is logistic and economic barriers that primarily determine who will access available HIV services. This finding further affirms the importance of understanding AIDS stigma in terms of the prevailing structures of social and economic inequality.

Conspiracy Theories: AIDS and Defensive Accusation

The flip side of AIDS stigma and blame is found in popular ideas about AIDS as a government conspiracy to exterminate people of color. A telephone survey of five hundred African Americans, for example, found that a significant proportion, especially men, held AIDS conspiracy beliefs (Bogart and Thorburn, 2005). Similar findings have been reached in door-to-door surveys with African-American populations (Klonoff and Landrine, 1999). Notably, those who embraced this perspective are much more likely to have negative attitudes about condom use and inconsistent condom use patterns, suggesting that belief in conspiracy theories is a barrier to AIDS prevention. Such attitudes are believed to have their origin in a defensive response to a long history of racial discrimination in health care as well as in medical research, including the infamous Tuskegee syphilis study of 1932 to 1972.

Coping with AIDS: The Range of National Responses

National responses to AIDS have varied considerably. Some predominant black nations, like the Bahamas, have demonstrated considerable success in responding to the epidemic. In 1994 the Bahamas recorded just over seven hundred new cases of HIV infection; by 1999, by contrast, the annual number of new cases was about half this level. The mortality rate for AIDS also fell by about half during this period as well (Baer, Singer, and Susser, 2003). Brazil,

after an initial hesitation, has also demonstrated an effective response to AIDS. In the early 1990s Parker (1994, p. 28) noted that the "history of the epidemic in Brazil has been marked by the relative failure of government authorities to develop cohesive policies and programs." Consequently, the World Bank predicted that by the year 2000 there would be 1.2 million people infected with HIV in Brazil. Instead, a significant change in governmental response, including guaranteeing AIDS care, the manufacture and broad distribution of AIDS medicines, and the emergence of an aggressive community-based response to the epidemic, resulted in only about half as many infections as had been expected by the turn of the twenty-first century.

In the United States, in 1998 the CDC released findings on the distribution of HIV/AIDS that revealed significantly disproportionate rates of infection among African Americans. In response, the Congressional Black Caucus requested the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services to declare the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the African-American community a "public health emergency." Instead, the government announced a comprehensive new initiative to improve the nation's effort to prevent the spread of AIDS in African-American and Latino communities and to enhance the level of care provided to people of color living with the disease. While new levels of funding were made available to state and city departments of public health and community-based organizations to implement AIDS prevention in communities of color, the epidemic has continued to have far greater impact among people of African descent than among the rest of the U.S. population. Even more drastic is the case of Haiti, which, because of continued political and economic crises, has not been able to sustain an effective national AIDS prevention program, resulting in a continued out-of-control AIDS epidemic.

Future of a Health Crisis

The AIDS epidemic has exacted an enormous toll on populations of African descent throughout the Americas, especially among people of childbearing age and the young. While the predominant mode of viral transmission has been through sexual contact, especially heterosexual contact, rates of infection have also been high among men who have sex with men, and, in some areas, injection and noninjection drug users. National responses have varied, and while the AIDS epidemic has not been effectively controlled in any country, coordinated government/community responses have been able to slow the rate of new infections in some countries or with some at-risk populations. Research on mathematical modeling of the epidemic in English-speaking Caribbean nations suggests that if the incidence of HIV cases is not reduced, it will lead to negative growth (i.e., falling gross domestic product rates) in future years (Nicolls, et al., 1998). Such a drop will lower the ability of countries to respond to the epidemic, further accelerating the negative health and social effects of HIV/AIDS in a potentially disastrous downward spiral. Relatively successful responses to the epidemic, as seen in the cases of the Bahamas or Brazil, or even Haiti on a limited scale, suggest alternative, less dismal futures for the epidemic.

See also Mortality and Morbidity

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MERRILL SINGER (2005)

Ailey, Alvin

January 5, 1931
December 1, 1989

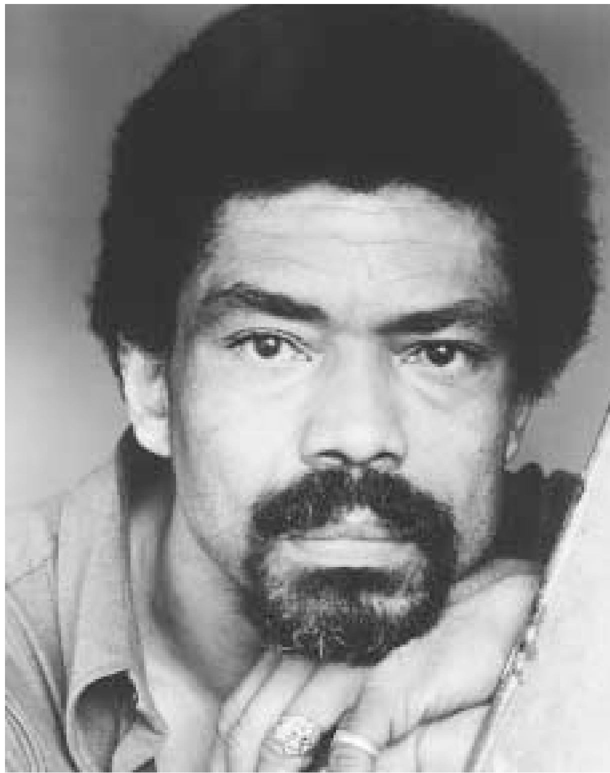
Born in Rogers, Texas, the only child of working-class parents who separated when he was two, dancer and choreographer Alvin Ailey moved to Los Angeles with his mother in 1942. Shy from his itinerant Texas life, Ailey reluctantly turned to dance when a high-school classmate introduced him to Lester Horton's Hollywood studio in 1949. He poured himself into study and developed a weighty, smoldering performance style that suited his athletic body. Ailey moved to New York in 1954 to dance with partner Carmen DeLavallade in the Broadway production of *House of Flowers*. Performing success and study with leading modern dance and ballet teachers Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, and Karel Shook led Ailey to found his own dance theater company in 1958. The Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater (AAADT) began as a repertory company of seven dancers devoted to both modern dance classics and new works created by Ailey and other young artists. The critically successful first concerts in 1958 and 1960 marked the beginning of a new era of dance performance devoted to African-American themes. *Blues Suite* (1958), set in and around a barrelhouse, depicts the desperation and joys of life on the edge of poverty in the South. Highly theatrical and immediately accessible, the dance contains sections of early twentieth-century social dances, Horton dance technique, Jack Cole–inspired jazz dance, and ballet partnering. Early performances of *Revelations* (1960) established Ailey's company as the foremost dance interpreter of African-American experience. The dance quickly became the company's signature ballet, eclipsing previous concert attempts at dancing to sacred black music. Set to a series of spirituals and gospel selections arranged by Brother John Sellers, *Revelations* depicts a spectrum of black religious worship, including richly sculpted group prayer ("I've Been Buked"), a ceremony of ritual baptism ("Wade in the Water"), a moment of introverted, private communion ("I Wanna Be Ready"), a duet of trust and support for a minister and devotee ("Fix Me, Jesus"), and a final, celebratory gospel exclamation, "Rocka My Soul in the Bosom of Abraham."

Several Ailey dances established precedents for American dance. *Feast of Ashes* (1962), created for the Harkness Ballet, is acknowledged as the first successful pointe ballet choreographed by a modern dancer. In 1966 Ailey contributed dances for the New York Metropolitan Opera's inaugural production at Lincoln Center, Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*. In 1970 he created *The River* for the American Ballet Theatre. Set to an original score commissioned from Duke Ellington, this ballet convincingly fused theatrical jazz dancing and ballet technique. In 1971 Ailey created the staging for Leonard Bernstein's rock-influenced *Mass,* which opened the newly built Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C.

Major distinctions and honors followed Ailey throughout his choreographic career, which spanned the creation of more than fifty dances for his own company, the American Ballet Theater, the Joffrey Ballet, the Paris Opera Ballet, the London Festival Ballet, and the Royal Danish Ballet. Among his many awards were honorary doctorates in fine arts from Princeton University, Bard College, Adelphi University, and Cedar Crest College; a United Nations Peace Medal, and an NAACP Spingarn Medal, in 1976. In 1988 he was celebrated by the president of the United States for a lifetime of achievement in the arts at the Kennedy Center Honors.

Company and Repertory

In its earliest years the AAADT spent much time on the road, touring and bringing dance to a large audience of



Alvin Ailey (1931–1989). *A pioneer in modern dance, Ailey founded the racially integrated and popular modern dance troupe, the Alvin Ailey Dance Theatre.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

people who had never heard of concert performance. This largely African-American audience provided the wellspring of support essential to the Ailey enterprise. The AAADT established its vast international reputation through a series of tours begun in 1962 by a five-month engagement in Southeast Asia and Australia. Sponsored by the International Exchange Program under the Kennedy administration, this tour established a pattern of performance in foreign countries that continued with a trip to Rio de Janeiro (1963); a European tour including London, Hamburg, and Paris (1964); an engagement at the World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal (1966); a sixteen-week European tour, including the Holland Festival in Amsterdam (1967); a visit to Israel (August 1967); a U.S. State Department–sponsored nine-nation tour of Africa (1967); and a performance at the Edinburgh Festival in Scotland (1968). In 1970 the AAADT became the first American modern dance company to perform in the post-war Soviet Union. The company retained peerless stature as a touring ambassador of goodwill beginning in the 1970s; high points included a prize-winning performance at the International Dance Festival in Paris (1970); a second Far East tour (1977); a Brazil tour (1978); and several command performances for heads of state and royalty. By 2004 the AAADT had been seen by some nineteen million people worldwide.

Active in the pursuit of dance history, the varied repertory of the AAADT has, in the words of Ailey in an American Broadcast Company television program, *Americans All*, sustained an "impulse to preserve modern dance to know where it's been in order to know where it's going, and to encourage the participation of the audience" in that process (1974). The eclectic repertory was provided by choreographers working in a variety of dance modes, including ballet, jazz dance, Graham modern, Horton, and Dunham technique. Important pieces danced by the company included Donald McKayle's *Rainbow 'Round My Shoulder* (1959), Talley Beatty's *The Road of the Phoebe Snow* (1959), Anna Sokolow's *Rooms* (1965), Louis Johnson's *Lament* (1965), Geoffrey Holder's *Prodigal Prince* (1967), Ulysses Dove's *Vespers* (1986), Judith Jamison's *Forgotten Time* (1989), Donald Byrd's *Dance at the Gym* (1991), Jawolle Willa Jo Zollar's *Shelter* (1992), Ronald K. Brown's *Grace* (1999), and Alonzo King's *Following the Subtle Current Upstream* (2000), as well as dances by venerable American choreographers Ted Shawn, Pearl Primus, Katherine Dunham, Joyce Trisler, and Lester Horton. In 1976 the AAADT celebrated composer Duke Ellington with a festival featuring fifteen new ballets set to his music, a project that highlighted Ellington's musical achievement.

Company Members

Ailey encouraged his dancers to present individualized and highly emotional performances, a strategy that created the first series of star personalities in American modern dance. Judith Jamison's electrifying performance of *Cry* presented a coherent relationship between the dancing body and the experience of living as a black woman in America. Created in 1971 as a birthday present for Ailey's mother, Lula Cooper, *Cry* has been successfully assumed by several dancers, most notably Donna Wood, Renee Robinson, Sara Yarborough, and Nasha Thomas. In 1972 Ailey created the elegiac solo *Love Songs* for dancer Dudley Williams, revived in 1993 by dancer Michael Joy. Dancer Gary DeLoatch, a longtime principal with the company, brought an eloquent intensity to his roles, especially as the pusher in Talley Beatty's *The Stack-Up* (1983) and as Charlie Parker in Ailey's *For "Bird"—With Love* (1984). Innumerable significant dance personalities have passed through the AAADT, including Marilyn Banks, Hope Clarke, Carmen DeLavallade, George Faison, Miguel Godreau, Dana Hash, Linda Kent, Dwight Rhoden, Desmond Richardson, Kelvin Rotardier, Elizabeth Roxas, Matthew

Rushing, Clive Thompson, James Truitte, Andre Tyson, and Sylvia Waters.

School and Outreach

In 1969 Ailey founded the Alvin Ailey American Dance Center to educate dance students in the history and art of ballet and modern dance. Courses were offered in dance technique and history, music for dancers, dance composition, and theatrical design. In 1974 the Alvin Ailey Repertory Ensemble, a professional performance ensemble, was formed under the direction of Sylvia Waters as a bridge between study and membership in professional dance companies. In 1984 the Alvin Ailey Student Performance Group was created under the direction of Kelvin Rotardier. The Student Performance Group offered lecture-demonstrations to communities traditionally underserved by the arts. In 1989 Dance Foundation Inc., the umbrella organizations for the AAADT and the Ailey School, initiated the Ailey Camps program, an outreach program designed to "enhance the self-esteem, creative expression, and critical thinking skills of inner-city youth through dance," according to a Dance Theater Foundation press release in 1989. Success of the initial venture in Kansas City, Missouri, led to similar programs begun in New York City (1990) and Baltimore, Maryland (1992).

Ailey created the AAADT to feature the talents of his African-American colleagues, although the company was never exclusively black. Ailey integrated his company to counter the "reverse chauvinism in being an all-black anything." He told the *New York Times,* "I am trying to show the world that we are all human beings and that color is not important. What is important is the quality of our work (1988)." In the last interview conducted before his death, he commented that the essence of the Ailey enterprise was that "the dancers be fed, kept alive, interested" in the work. "We're trying to create a whole spectrum of experience for the dancer as well as the audience," he said, dramatically understating the realities of his achievements.

Ailey stopped dancing in 1965 and slowed his choreographic assignments in the 1970s to attend to the administrative and fund-raising operations associated with his ever expanding company. Upon Ailey's death, Judith Jamison was appointed artistic director of the company, to work closely with rehearsal director and longtime company member Masazumi Chaya. The AAADT finally emerged from financial difficulties in 1992, when *Dance Magazine* proclaimed it "recession-proof" because of powerful development efforts on the part of the Dance Foundation Inc.'s board of directors. Jamison has led the troupe to great fiscal and artistic strength, with her own choreography featured in the newest repertory. In 2005, the Alvin Ailey Dance Center opened in Manhattan as the nation's largest facility devoted to dance.

Although Ailey gave numerous interviews throughout his career, he was decidedly private about his personal life. He described himself as "a bachelor and a loner" to writer John Gruen (1972) and hardly ever allowed outsiders into his most private thoughts. In 1980 Ailey was briefly hospitalized for stress-related conditions. His death followed a long, solitary struggle that had taken him out of the limelight for some time. Ailey's legacy to the dance world was to foster a freedom of choice—from ballet, modern, and social dance performance—to best express humanity in movement terms suited to the theatrical moment.

See also Ballet; Dove, Ulysses; Dunham, Katherine; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Holder, Geoffrey; Jamison, Judith; Parker, Charlie; Spingarn Medal; Spirituals

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah

October 4, 1943

Writer and activist Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, formerly known as H. Rap Brown, was born Hubert Gerold Brown

in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He became involved in the civil rights movement while a student at Southern High School. Brown attended Southern University in Baton Rouge, but in 1962 he left school and devoted his time to the civil rights movement. He spent summers in Washington, D.C., with his older brother, Ed, and became a member of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG). In 1964 Brown was elected chairman of NAG. Simultaneously, he became involved with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

In May 1966 Brown was appointed director of the SNCC voter registration drive in Alabama. He increased his involvement with SNCC, and in June 1967 he became Stokely Carmichael's successor as national chairman of SNCC, where he continued its militant stance. In 1968 Brown also served as minister of justice for the Black Panther Party during a brief working alliance between the two black power organizations.

As urban rebellions expressing black discontent spread across the United States, Brown's militant advocacy of black power made him a popular public speaker; his advocacy of black self-defense and condemnations of American racism—perhaps most memorably in his oft-quoted aphorism that "violence is as American as cherry pie"—made him a symbol of resistance and black pride within the Black Power movement. His rhetorical and vituperative talents—the source of his adopted name, "Rap"—were displayed in his one book, *Die Nigger Die!* (1969), a semiautobiographical account of his experiences with white racism. Brown embraced the term "nigger" as an embodiment of black resistance against racism.

Brown was consistently harassed by the police and was targeted by the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) because his speeches supposedly triggered volatile situations and violent outbreaks. On July 24, 1967, he was accused of "counseling to arson" in Cambridge, Maryland, because a city school that had been set on fire twice before was burned a third time after one of his speeches.

On August 19, 1967, Brown was arrested for transporting weapons across state lines while under indictment, although he had never been formally notified that he was under indictment. In May 1968 Brown resigned as SNCC chairman. Later that year he was found guilty of the federal weapons charges and sentenced to five years in prison. He was released on bond to stand trial on the Cambridge, Maryland, charges. Brown never appeared at the Maryland trial; two of his friends had recently been killed in a suspicious automobile explosion, and his defense attorney claimed that Brown would be endangered if he appeared. Brown went into hiding, and in 1970 he was placed on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. He was apprehended in 1972 but was released four years later.

Brown converted to Islam while in prison and took the name Jamil ("beautiful") Abdullah ("servant of Allah") Al-Amin ("the trustworthy"). Upon his release from jail, he moved to Atlanta, Georgia. In the 1990s Al-Amin continued to reside in Atlanta as the proprietor of a grocery called the Community Store and as the imam (leader) of the Community Mosque. He was the spiritual leader of hundreds of Muslim families in Atlanta and in thirty other cities, including Chicago, New York, and Detroit. Al-Amin practiced a strict Sunni interpretation of the Qur'an, with his followers maintaining a spiritual distance from the larger society.

In September, 1999, Al-Amin was indicted on charges of theft and impersonating an officer. When he failed to appear for his pre-trial hearing, a warrant was issued for his arrest. The following March, Al-Amin was charged with the shooting death of the sheriff's deputy who had come to deliver his arrest warrant, and for seriously wounding another deputy on that same occasion. Two years later, a jury sentenced him to life in prison without parole, rejecting a request for execution.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Black Power Movement; Carmichael, Stokely; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MANSUR M. NURUDDIN (1996)
ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Albizu Campos, Pedro

1891
April 21, 1965

According to popular historical accounts (i.e., Ribes Tobar, 1971), Puerto Rican labor leader and nationalist

Pedro Albizu Campos was born on September 12, 1891 in Barrio Mochuelo Abajo, located in Ponce, Puerto Rico. However, in archival documents housed at Harvard University, Albizu Campos lists his date of birth as June 29, 1893. His parents were Alejandro Albizu Romero, who was from the Basque country in Spain, and Juliana Campos, a Creole. As a dark-skinned Afro–Puerto Rican, Albizu Campos felt much discrimination from North Americans and other Puerto Ricans across the color gradient who internalized racism. He once stated: "For us, race has nothing to do with biology. Nor dusky skin, nor frizzy hair, nor dark eyes. Race is a continuity of characteristic virtues and institutions. We are distinguished by our culture, our courage, our Chivalry, our Catholic sense of civilization" (quoted in Ribes Tobar, p. 17).

Albizu Campos was regarded as an intellectually gifted and brilliant student. His formative years through high school were spent in Ponce, Puerto Rico, where he attended Ponce High School from 1909 to 1912. As a result of his high academic achievement, the high school's principal, Charles Terry, recommended he receive an Aurora Lodge of Ponce scholarship. In turn, he was admitted to the University of Vermont, where he began a formal course of study in agriculture from 1912 to 1913. Because of his continued academic achievement, he was awarded a second academic scholarship to transfer to Harvard University to complete his undergraduate education from 1913 to 1916. He also studied law and military science (ROTC) from 1913 to 1916 at the same institution. His studies were briefly interrupted because of World War I, during which he served as a second lieutenant in the segregated U.S. Army. Most biographical accounts report that the discrimination he felt as an Afro–Puerto Rican soldier led to his eventual philosophical/political transformation to nationalist thought and its eventual application within a Puerto Rican context. In 1921, Albizu Campos returned to Harvard to complete his law degree.

Albizu Campos was heavily influenced by Irish and Indian nationalist thought. On the Irish side, Father Ryan of Boston, Massachusetts, conversed often with the future leader of Puerto Rican nationalism while at Harvard. Furthermore, both were influenced by Irish Republican Army (IRA) leader Eamon de Valera, who gave a speech at Harvard in 1919 seeking support for Irish independence. Finally, as founder of the Irish Socialist Party, James Connolly shaped Albizu Campos's thinking around challenging and dismantling "home rule" (i.e., colonial governors). On the Indian side, Rabindranath Tagore, a Hindu poet and supporter of Indian independence, also shaped the young Puerto Rican student's beliefs about nationalism and decolonization.

In sum, Albizu Campos was able to weave his passion for anticolonial politics in the various leadership positions he held while a student at Harvard. These included such organizations as the Cosmopolitan Club, the League to Enforce Peace, and the International Polity Club, among others. Moreover, he was conversant in Spanish, English, German, Latin, Portuguese, and French.

Upon his return to Puerto Rico in 1921 at the age of thirty, Albizu Campos began to represent the rights of sugar workers. He began to give public speeches denouncing U.S. imperialism and its colonial relationship to the island. As a result, he was arrested, tried, and convicted of "seditious conspiracy to overthrow the United States government" under the Smith Act of 1940, also known as the "Gag Law." This law (still in effect) declared it unlawful to encourage, teach, or belong to any group advocating the forceful overthrow of any government in the United States. The evidence produced against Albizu Campos by the U.S. government included Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) tape recordings of his speeches, which are housed at the U.S. Library of Congress. Consequently, he was sentenced to ten years to the federal prison in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1947 he returned to Puerto Rico and subsequently helped lead and organize resistance movements against U.S. imperialism in the Puerto Rican municipalities of Adjuntas, Jayuya, Mayagüez, and Utuado. These protests were suppressed by the Puerto Rico National Guard with bombs and armed troops. In 1951 Albizu Campos was jailed again and sentenced to eighty years in prison.

While Albizu Campos served this sentence, his health began to deteriorate as a result of radiation exposure while incarcerated. Because of his deteriorating health and pleas by empathetic political leaders, Governor Luis Muñoz Marín (a former ally of Albizu Campos who later became the intellectual author of Puerto Rico's current colonial status) pardoned him in 1953. However, this pardon was revoked one year later by Muñoz Marín when Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa, and Irving Flores opened fire in the U.S. House of Representatives and pronounced, "Long live a free Puerto Rico!" In 1964 Muñoz Marín again pardoned Albizu Campos, who died the following year on April 21, 1965. The memory of Albizu Campos lives through the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and in such Puerto Rican communities as Chicago, Illinois, and other urban centers in the diaspora. Additionally, several public schools in Puerto Rico and Havana, Cuba, are named in his honor.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Labor and Labor Unions; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century

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RENÉ ANTROP-GONZÁLEZ (2005)

Aldridge, Ira

July 24, 1809
August 7, 1867

Born a free black in New York City, Ira Aldridge traveled to London at the age of seventeen to pursue a theatrical career. When he died fifty years later, he was known throughout Britain, Europe, and Russia as the greatest actor of his time.

Aldridge attended the African Free School in New York and possibly performed with the African Theatre of lower Manhattan before he left for England as a steward to the actor James Wallack. His first London stage appearance took place in 1825 at the Coburg Theatre, primarily a house for melodrama, where in a six-week season he performed five leading parts, including the title role of Oroonoko in Thomas Southerne's play and Gambia in *The Slave,* a musical drama by Thomas Norton.

Six years of touring followed in the English provinces, in Scotland, and Ireland. The title role in Shakespeare's *Othello* and Zanga the Moor in Edward Young's *The Revenge* were added to his repertoire. Aldridge also excelled as Mungo, the comic slave in Isaac Bickerstaffe's musical farce *The Padlock,* which was often billed as an afterpiece to Othello. In consequence, Aldridge was later compared to the great eighteenth-century English actor David Garrick, who was equally renowned in both tragedy and comedy.

Having exhausted the number of acceptable black characters in dramatic literature, Aldridge began to perform traditionally white roles such as Macbeth, Shylock, Rob Roy from Walter Scott's novel, and Bertram in the Rev. R. C. Maturin's *Bertram, or, The Castle of Aldobrand.* He received high praise in the provincial press, being referred to as "an actor of genius" and "the perfection of acting." By this point he was only twenty-four, and he set his heart on performing at a major London theater. His opportunity came in 1833, when the leading English actor Edmund Kean collapsed while playing Othello at the Covent Garden theater. Despite resentment from several London papers, Aldridge accepted the role, which he played to public, though not critical, acclaim.

Ira Aldridge as Othello, c. 1860s. *Aldridge, who was educated at the African Free School in New York City, traveled abroad at the age of seventeen to pursue a career as an actor. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Aldridge was widely regarded as one of the greatest actors of his day.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

After further provincial traveling, Aldridge at forty-five began touring in Europe, concentrating on performing Shakespeare. To his repertory of *Othello, Macbeth,* and *The Merchant of Venice* he had added *King Lear, Hamlet, Richard III,* and Aaron the Moor in an edited version of *Titus Andronicus.* He played in bilingual productions,

speaking English himself while the rest of the cast spoke their native language. These tours were largely successful and brought him considerable fame; many honors were conferred on him by ruling houses. "If he were Hamlet as he is Othello, then the Negro Ira Aldridge would [be] the greatest of all actors," wrote a German critic. The Moscow correspondent for the French publication *Le Nord* praised Aldridge's "simple, natural and dignified declamation . . . a hero of tragedy speaking and walking like a common mortal."

Aldridge was invited to perform Othello in 1858 at the Lyceum Theatre in London, and in 1865 at the Haymarket, winning a favorable press on both occasions. He was thinking of returning to the United States when he died in 1867 of lung trouble while on tour; he was buried in Lódz, Poland.

Aldridge was twice married and raised four children, three of whom were professional musicians. In addition, his daughter Amanda taught voice production and diction.

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ERROL G. HILL (1996)

Alexander, Clifford L., Jr.

September 3, 1933

Clifford Alexander, Jr., a lawyer, was born in New York City. His parents, Clifford L., Sr., and Edith Alexander, strongly influenced his decision to pursue a political career. Alexander graduated from Harvard University in 1955, where he was the first black president of the student council. In 1958 he received a degree from Yale Law School, and then worked as an assistant district attorney for New York County for two years. In 1961 he became the executive director of the Manhattanville-Hamilton Grange Neighborhood Conservation Project, where he worked to get landlords to meet housing code standards. He then became the Program and Executive Director of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) Inc. (1962–1963), an antipoverty program that attempted to improve the public schools and delinquency problems in Harlem.

In 1963 President John F. Kennedy asked Alexander to serve as foreign affairs officer of the National Security Council. In 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him deputy special assistant to the president, associate special counsel, and deputy special counsel to the president. Johnson sought his advice on civil rights issues, and in 1967 he made Alexander chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), an agency that focused on uncovering evidence of discrimination. Alexander left the EEOC when the Nixon administration took office in 1969 and accepted a partnership in the law firm of Arnold and Porter in Washington, D.C., where he remained until 1975, when he briefly joined the firm of Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Alexander.

From 1971 to 1974 Alexander was host and coproducer of the television show *Cliff Alexander: Black on White;* in addition, he held part-time teaching positions at Georgetown Law School and at Howard University. In 1974 he ran for mayor of Washington, D.C., but he lost to Walter Washington. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter named him Secretary of the Army, a position he held until January 1981. Later that same year Alexander established Alexander & Associates, a corporate consulting firm in Washington, D.C., which provides advice on workforce inclusiveness for corporate directors and executives. Alexander has received numerous honors and awards, including the Department of the Army's Outstanding Civilian Service Medal and the Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service award, the highest such award given to a civilian.

Alexander is on the board of directors of several national corporations and is also on the board of governors of the American Stock Exchange.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Politics in the United States

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LINDA SALZMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Alexander, Raymond Pace

October 13, 1898
November 23, 1974

The lawyer, politician, and judge Raymond Pace Alexander was born to parents of humble means and worked his way through high school as a paper boy and through college as a Pullman porter. In 1917 he graduated from Philadephia's Central High School, where he became the first African American to deliver the commencement address. He received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1920 and his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1923. That same year he returned to Philadelphia, established a private law practice, and married Sadie Tanner Mossell, who held a Ph.D. in economics and later graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Alexander quickly earned a reputation as a talented and accomplished trial lawyer and worked through the legal system to overcome racism. Although he is credited with ending discrimination in many Philadelphia hotels and restaurants, two of his most famous early successes were the Berwyn Schools (1923) and the Aldine Theater (1925) desegregation cases; the latter ended discrimination in Philadelphia movie theaters.

In 1935 his law practice had become so profitable that he was able to buy land and construct a building to house his law firm in the heart of the almost exclusively white Center City of Philadelphia. Alexander served two years as president of the largely African-American National Bar Association (1933–1935) and was a cofounder of the *National Bar Journal* (1925). He gained national recognition in 1951 when he replaced Thurgood Marshall as one of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) counsels in the Trenton Six trial, defending two of the six black men wrongly accused of murdering a white shop owner and his wife in Trenton, New Jersey. Alexander also prosecuted the Girard College desegregation case on behalf of the city of Philadelphia from 1953 to 1958. Although the desegregation ruling Alexander obtained was confirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court, it was rendered moot by a technical decision of the Philadelphia Orphans Court.

Alexander also had a career in politics. In the 1930s he made many attempts to secure a local judgeship but was thwarted by the racism of the local political parties. During the 1940s he sought various types of appointments at the federal level, but the appointment of William H. Hastie to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals effectively closed the doors to a similar appointment for Alexander. He was named honorary consul to the republic of Haiti in 1938 and in 1951 was nominated by President Truman (but not confirmed) for the ambassadorship to Ethiopia. Alexander made a successful foray into elective politics in 1951, when he was elected to the city council as a member of the Democratic reform platform, a position to which he was reelected in 1955.

In 1958 he was appointed by Pennsylvania Governor George Leader to the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia, becoming the first African American to hold a position on that court. He entered semiretirement as a presiding judge of the Common Pleas Court in 1970 and died of a heart attack while working late in his office in 1974.

See also Hastie, William Henry; Marshall, Thurgood; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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The Alexander Papers Collection, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia.

PAUL DAVID LUONGO (1996)

Alexander, Sadie Tanner Mossell

January 2, 1898
November 1, 1989

Sadie T. M. Alexander was a pioneer among African-American women in law and education and a committed civil rights activist. She was born Sadie Tanner Mossell in Philadelphia, to an accomplished family: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner, among the most prominent of nineteenth-century black clergymen, was her grandfather, and the painter Henry Ossawa Tanner was her uncle. Educated in Philadelphia and in Washington, D.C., she graduated from the M Street High School (now Dunbar High School) in Washington. She entered the University of Pennsylvania's School of Education in 1915, receiving a B.S. in education with honors in 1918. (That year, she helped found the Gamma Chapter of the Delta Theta Sorority.) She earned an M.A. (1919) and a Ph.D. in economics (1921) from the University of Pennsylvania and was one of the first two African-American women to earn a Ph.D. in the United States and the first African American to receive a doctorate in economics.

Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander, flanked by two of the other guest speakers appearing at a civil rights conference in Philadephia, 1948. *Alexander, an attorney, economist, and civil rights activist, served on the presidential commission that produced the report* To Secure These Rights *(1948), which called for an immediate end to all forms of segregation. The report contributed directly to the integration of the armed forces the following year.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

From 1921 to 1923 Alexander was an assistant actuary for the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, a black-owned company in Durham, North Carolina. On November 29, 1923, she married Raymond Pace Alexander, a graduate of Harvard Law School, who thereafter worked with his wife in numerous Philadelphia-area civil rights cases. Sadie Alexander continued to be a trailblazer for African-American women in the fields of law and education: She entered the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1924 (where her father, Aaron Albert Mossell, had graduated in 1888, becoming the first African American to graduate from the law school), worked on the law review, and was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar after graduating in 1927. During the late 1920s and 1930s she served as the assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia and as a partner in her husband's law firm. In November 1943 Alexander became the first woman to be elected secretary (or to hold any office) in the National Bar Association, a position she held until 1947.

In addition to her personal achievements and triumphs in overcoming racial barriers, for over half a century Sadie Alexander was at the forefront of the movement for civil rights for African Americans. In the 1920s and 1930s she and her husband successfully challenged discrimination in public accommodations in Pennsylvania. She also worked to integrate the University of Pennsylvania and the U.S. Armed Forces. On December 5, 1946, President Harry S. Truman appointed her to the President's Commission on Civil Rights. She helped prepare its report, "To Secure These Rights" (1948), which was influential in the formulation of civil rights policy in the years that followed. Alexander worked with her husband until 1959, when he was appointed judge in the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas and she began her own law practice. In 1976 she joined the law firm of Atkinson, Myers, Archie & Wallace as counsel, advising the firm on a part-time basis in estate and family law. Alzheimer's disease forced her retirement in 1982. She died in Philadelphia seven years later.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

ALI, MUHAMMAD

JANUARY 17, 1942

Boxer Muhammad Ali was born Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., in Louisville, Kentucky. He began boxing at the age of twelve under the tutelage of Joe Martin, a Louisville policeman. Having little interest in school and little affinity for intellectual endeavors, young Clay devoted himself wholeheartedly to boxing. He showed great promise early on and soon developed into one of the most impressive amateurs in the country. He became the National Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) champion in 1959 and 1960 and also won a gold medal in the light-heavyweight division at the 1960 Olympics in Rome. As a result of his boyish good looks and his outgoing personality—his poetry recitations, his good-natured bragging, and his undeniable abilities—Clay because famous after the Olympics. Shortly after returning from Rome, he turned professional and was managed by a consortium of white Louisville businessmen. Carefully nurtured by veteran trainer Angelo Dundee, he accumulated a string of victories against relatively mediocre opponents and achieved a national following with his constant patter, his poetry, and his boyish an-

Muhammad Ali, 1962. *Olympic gold medal winner Cassius Clay, pictured at a Madison Square Garden studio, shocked the world when he defeated Sonny Liston for the heavyweight title in 1964. That same year, Clay announced that he was a member of the Nation of Islam and was changing his name to Muhammad Ali.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tics. At six feet three inches and a fighting weight of around two hundred pounds, he astonished sportswriters with his blazing hand and foot speed, his unorthodox style of keeping his hands low, and his ability to avoid punches by moving his head back. No heavyweight in history possessed Clay's grace or speed.

On February 25, 1964, Clay fought as the underdog for the heavyweight title against Sonny Liston. Liston, an ex-convict, was thought by many to be virtually invincible because of his devastating one-round victories against former champion Floyd Patterson. An air of both the theater of the absurd and of ominousness surrounded the bout in Miami. Publicly, Clay taunted and comically berated Liston. He called him "the Bear," harassed him at his home, and almost turned the weigh-in ceremony into a shambles as he seemingly tried to attack Liston and appeared on the verge of being utterly out of control. Privately, however, Clay was seen with Malcolm X and members of the Nation of Islam (NOI). Rumors started that he had joined the militant, mysterious sect. Soon after, it was discovered that he had been secretly visiting NOI mosques for nearly three years and that he had indeed become a friend of Malcolm X, who sat ringside at the Liston fight.

Clay beat Liston fairly easily in seven rounds, shocking the world by becoming heavyweight champion. Immediately after the fight, he announced that he was a member of the NOI and that his name was no longer Cassius Clay but Muhammad Ali. The response from the white press, white America, and the boxing establishment generally was swift and intensely hostile. The NOI was seen, largely through the rhetoric of Malcolm X, its most stylish spokesman, as an antiwhite hate group. (When Malcolm X broke with the NOI shortly after the Liston fight, Ali remained loyal to Elijah Muhammad and ended his friendship with Malcolm X.) Following his public conversion to Islam, Ali was publicly pilloried. Most publications and sports journalists refused to call him by his new name. Former champion Floyd Patterson nearly went on a personal and national crusade against the NOI in his fight against Ali on November 22, 1965, but Patterson later became one of the few fighters to defend Ali publicly during his years of exile. Indeed, not since the reign of Jack Johnson was the white public and a segment of the black population so enraged by the opinions and life of a black athlete.

After winning his rematch with Liston in Lewiston, Maine, on May 25, 1965, in a bizarre fight that ended with Liston apparently being knocked out in the first round, Ali spent most of the next year fighting abroad, primarily because of his unpopularity in the United States. Among his most important matches during this period were a fifteen-round decision over George Chuvalo in Toronto, a sixth-round knockout of Henry Cooper in London, and a fifteen-round decision over Ernest Terrell in Houston. While Ali was abroad, American officials changed his draft status from 1-Y (unfit for army services because of his low score on army intelligence tests) to 1-A (qualified for induction). Many saw this change as a direct response to the negative public opinion concerning Ali's political views and the mounting war in Vietnam. Ali refused to serve in the army on the grounds that it was a violation of his religious beliefs. (Elijah Muhammad, leader of the NOI, had served time in prison during World War II for refusing to serve in the armed services.) In 1967 Ali was convicted in federal court of violation of the Selective Service Act, sentenced to five years in prison, and immediately stripped of both his boxing title and his boxing license. For the next three and one-half years, Ali, free on bond while appealing his case (which he eventually won on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court), was prohibited from boxing. Still, he had inspired black athletes to become more militant and more politically committed. Medal-winning track stars John

Carlos and Tommie Smith gave a clenched-fist salute during the playing of the National Anthem at the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968, and Harry Edwards became one of the more outspoken leaders of a new cadre of young black athletes who saw Ali as a hero.

By 1970, with public opinion decidedly against the Vietnam War and a growing black influence in several southern state governments, Ali was given a license to fight in Georgia. He returned to the ring on October 26 to knock out Jerry Quarry in the third round. Although he was still a brilliant fighter, the nearly four-year layoff had diminished some of Ali's abilities. He took far more punishment in the ring during the years of his return than he had taken before. This was to have dire consequences for him as he grew older.

In the early 1970s Ali fought several of his most memorable matches. On March 8, 1971, he faced the undefeated Philadelphian Joe Frazier in New York City. Frazier had become champion during Ali's exile. The fifteen-round fight, which Frazier won in a close decision, was so fierce that both boxers were hospitalized after it. Many have speculated that this fight initiated Ali's neurological deterioration. In July of that year Ali won the North American Boxing Federation (NABF) heavyweight title by knocking out Jimmy Ellis in twelve rounds. His next major boxing challenge came in March 1973, when Ken Norton captured the NABF title from Ali in a twelve-round decision. Ali regained the title six months later with a twelve-round decision over Norton. In January of the following year, Ali and Frazier staged their first rematch. This nontitle bout at Madison Square Garden ended with Ali victorious after twelve hard-fought rounds. Ali finally regained the world heavyweight title in Kinshasa, Zaire, on October 30, 1974, when he knocked out a seemingly indestructible George Foreman in eight rounds. To counter Foreman's awesome punching power, Ali used what he called his "rope-a-dope" strategy, by which he leaned back against the ropes and covered his head, allowing Foreman to punch himself out. The next year, Ali and Frazier faced off one last time in what Ali dubbed "the Thrilla in Manila." Both boxers received tremendous punishment during this bludgeoning ordeal. Ali prevailed, however, when Frazier's trainer refused to let the boxer come out for the fifteenth round.

During the 1970s Ali was lionized. No longer seen as a race demon, he virtually became a national icon. He appeared in movies—including *The Greatest* (1977), based on his autobiography of the same name (1975). Like Jackie Robinson and Joe Louis before him, Ali played himself in the film, and he also appeared in television programs and in commercials. He was one of the most photographed and interviewed men in the world. Indeed, Ali even beat

> *Muhammad Ali*
>
> "Keep asking me, no matter how long
> On the war in Viet Nam, I sing this song
> I ain't got no quarrel with them Viet Cong."

Superman in the ring in a special issue of the comic devoted to him. Part of Ali's newfound popularity was a result of a shift in attitude by the white public and white sportswriters, but part of it was also a reflection of Ali's tempered approach to politics. Ali became a great deal less doctrinaire in the political aspects of his Islamic beliefs and he eventually embraced Wallace D. Muhammad's more ecumenical form of Islam when the NOI factionalized after the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1975. Finally, as befitting a major celebrity, Ali had one of the largest entourages of any sports personality in history, resembling that of a head of state.

On February 15, 1978, Ali again lost the title. His opponent this time was Leon Spinks, an ex-Marine and native of a north St. Louis housing project. Spinks had fought in only eight professional bouts before he met Ali. Ali, however, became the first heavyweight in history to regain the title for a third time when he defeated Spinks on September 15 of the same year.

In 1979 Ali was aged and weary; his legs were shot, his reflexes had slowed, and his appetite for competition was waning as a result of the good life that he was enjoying. He retired from the ring at that time, only to do what so many other great champions have so unwisely done, namely, return to battle. His return to the ring included a savage ten-round beating on October 2, 1980, at the hands of Larry Holmes, a former sparring partner who had become champion after Ali's retirement. His next fight was a ten-round decision lost to Trevor Berbick on December 11 of the following year. After the Berbick fight, Ali retired for good. His professional record stands at fifty-six wins, thirty-seven by knockout, and five losses. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1987.

During Ali's later years, his speech became noticeably more slurred, and after his retirement he became more aged: moving slowly, speaking with such a thick tongue that he was almost incomprehensible, and suffering from attacks of palsy. There is some question as to whether he has Parkinson's disease or a Parkinson's-like deterioration of the neurological system. Many believe that the deterioration of his neurological system is directly connected to

the punishment he took in the ring. By the early 1990s, although his mind was still sound, Ali gave the appearance of being a good deal older and more infirm than he actually was. He found it difficult to write or talk, and he often walked slowly. Despite this, he lived a full life, traveled constantly, and seemed to be at peace with himself. During the late 1990s he became the object of renewed public interest. In 1996, in tribute to his travels for peace, Ali was chosen to light the Olympic torch in Atlanta. The same year, he was featured in *When We Were Kings,* a documentary movie about his 1974 defeat of George Foreman in Kinshasa.

Ali's personal life was turbulent. He was married four times and had several children as well as numerous affairs, especially during his heyday as a fighter. His oldest daughter, Maryum, is a rap artist, following in her father's footsteps as a poet—Ali made a poetry recording for Columbia Records in 1963 called *The Greatest*. Maryum recorded a popular rap dedicated to her father.

In 2001 *Ali,* a critically acclaimed movie starring Will Smith, was made about his life. Ali has received countless honors and in 2003 participated in the opening ceremonies of the Special Olympics World Summer games.

It would be difficult to overestimate Ali's impact on boxing and on the United States as both a cultural and political figure. He became one of the most recognized men in the world, an enduring, if not always appropriate, stylistic influence on young boxers, and a man who showed the world that it was possible for a black to speak his mind publicly and live to tell the tale.

See also Boxing; Foreman, George; Frazier, Joe; Louis, Joe; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam; Patterson, Floyd; Robinson, Jackie

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GERALD L. EARLY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Allan, Harold

March 15, 1895
February 18, 1953

Sir Harold Allan was born in Spring Bank, Portland, Jamaica. He was educated at Calabar Elementary School and Mico Teacher's College, as well as being privately tutored. He later became assistant headmaster at Calabar and headmaster at Titchfield Upper School. He entered the Jamaican legislature in 1935, representing the parish constituency of eastern Portland as an independent legislator. In 1938 he was one of the three commissioners appointed by the secretary of the state for the colonies, Malcolm McDonald, to investigate the disturbances at the Frome Sugar Estate following labor riots all over Jamaica. In late 1938, he pleaded Jamaica's deplorable socioeconomic conditions to the Colonial Office in London and was successful in establishing the Unemployment Scheme and the West Kingston Rehabilitation Center, as well as factories to produce cornmeal and condensers.

Allan played a critical role in the formation of a new constitution in 1944, since as an independent member of the legislature he was the bridge between the two main political parties (the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party). Allan's impressive ability as a legislator led Jamaica's chief minister, Alexander Bustamante, to appoint him minister of finance and general purposes after the first general elections, in 1944. Allan was the first Jamaican to preside over the country's budget and initiate financial discussions in the Legislative Council, as this was the traditional task of the colonial secretary.

In 1947 Allan led the international trade talks on behalf of the West Indian delegation in Geneva. He defended preferential tariffs, trade within the British Commonwealth, and an increase in the export of West Indian goods. Later, in 1947, he was appointed British West Indian advisor to the British delegation at the Havana Conference on Trade and Employment. He also created numerous administrative departments in Jamaica, such as the Land Authority and the Central Housing Authority. He also introduced the concept of the Non-Residents' Business Law, which led to a revision of Jamaica's immigration laws. In 1948, in recognition of his service, Allan was knighted by King George VI of Great Britain.

In 1951, at the annual Festival of Britain (where colonial members were usually invited as delegates), Allan used the opportunity to lobby James Griffiths, the secretary of state for the colonies. Allan noted that Great Britain undermined the export of Jamaican cigars by not signing the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). He also lobbied for a more liberal immigration policy to aid West Indian migrants and for fewer restrictions on work visas.

Allan remained an independent candidate until his premature death at the age of fifty-eight. At the time of his death he was the chair of a committee drafting a self-governing constitution, and it was expected that he would become the first minister of finance under a revised constitution in 1953. Allan, a trained teacher, left an indelible mark as a civic leader and politician. He was a legislator between 1935 and 1953; a privy counselor from 1942 to 1945; the leader of the House of Representatives in 1945; an organizer, founder, and secretary of the Association of Local Government; and he organized Jamaica's All-Island Championships in football and cricket.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Jamaica Labour Party; People's National Party

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DAVE GOSSE (2005)

Allen, Debbie

January 16, 1950

Dancer and television producer Debbie Allen was born in Houston, Texas, where her father, Andrew Allen, was a dentist and her mother, Vivian Ayers Allen, was a Pulitzer Prize–nominated writer. Her sister, Phylicia Rashad, became well known for her role as Claire Huxtable on the television series *The Cosby Show*.

As a child Allen tried to take ballet classes at the Houston Foundation for Ballet, but she was rejected for reasons her mother thought were discriminatory. Allen began learning dance by studying privately with a former dancer from the Ballet Russes and later by moving with her family to Mexico City, where she danced with the Ballet Nacional de Mexico. Allen reauditioned for the Houston Foundation for Ballet in 1964, and this time was admitted on a full scholarship and became the company's first black dancer.

After high school Allen hoped to attend North Carolina School of Arts, but when she was rejected she decided to pursue a B.A. at Howard University (1971) with a concentration in classical Greek literature, speech, and theater. During her college years, she continued to dance with students at the university and with choreographer Michael Malone's dance troupe. After graduating in 1971 Allen relocated to New York City, where she would develop her talents as a dancer, actress, and singer in her appearances on Broadway and eventually in television shows and movies.

Allen's Broadway experience began in 1971 when she became a member of the chorus in *Purlie,* the musical version of Ossie Davis's *Purlie Victorious*. The following year, when chorus member George Faison left the show to form the Universal Dance Experience, Allen became his principal dancer and assistant. By 1973 she had returned to Broadway, and for two years she played the role of Beneatha Younger in *Raisin,* a musical adaptation of Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun*.

Allen began receiving critical attention in 1980, when she appeared in the role of Anita in a Broadway revival of *West Side Story,* which earned her a Tony Award nomination and a Drama Desk Award. The next year she made her movie debut in the film version of E. L. Doctorow's novel *Ragtime,* and then appeared in the hit movie *Fame,* with a small part as the dance teacher Lydia Grant. When the movie was turned into a television series of the same name, Allen returned as Lydia Grant and developed the role, which brought her recognition by international audiences. She remained on the show until it went off the air in 1987, serving as a choreographer, and eventually as a director and producer.

During the 1980s Allen also acted in the television movie *Women of San Quentin* (1983), appeared in Richard Pryor's movie *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling* (1985), and played Charity in a Broadway revival of *Sweet Charity* (1986). In 1988 she became director of *A Different World* and helped turn it into a top twenty television hit. The next year she hosted her first television special on ABC, *The Debbie Allen Show,* and later that year she directed the television musical *Polly,* which was followed in 1990 by *Polly: One More Time*. During the 1990–1991 season Allen directed episodes of NBC's *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* and *Quantum Leap*. She was a choreographer for the Academy Awards show from 1991 to 1994, and in 1992 she produced and directed the television movie *Stompin' at the Savoy*.

Allen remained active throughout the late 1990s. In 1997 she realized a decades-long dream by producing Ste-

ven Spielberg's epic *Amistad*. The following year, she directed the musical *Brothers of the Knight* at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C.

Allen has long been involved with children and in 2001 opened the Debbie Allen Dance Academy to help combat shrinking arts programs in the schools.

See also Television; Theatrical Dance

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ZITA ALLEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Allen, Macon Bolling

1816
October 15, 1894

The lawyer A. Macon Bolling was born in Indiana. Little is known about Bolling's early life, but by the 1840s he had established himself as a businessman in Portland, Maine. In January 1844 Bolling had his name changed to Macon Bolling Allen by an act of the legislature in Massachusetts, where he was presumably a resident. With the assistance of white abolitionists, Allen first tried to gain admittance to the Maine bar in 1844 but was rejected on the grounds that he was not a United States citizen. However, the following year he passed the requisite exam and was admitted to the bar, becoming the first licensed African-American attorney in the United States.

Discouraged by the small black population in Maine, Allen chose to practice law in Boston. He was admitted to the Suffolk County bar on May 3, 1845, the first African American to become a member of the bar in Massachusetts. Although Allen opposed slavery, he clashed with New England abolitionists in 1846 when he refused to sign a pledge not to support the government in its war effort in Mexico. In 1847 Allen was appointed justice of the peace by Massachusetts Governor George N. Briggs. He was the first African American, after Wentworth Cheswill, of New Hampshire, to hold a judicial post. Allen's appointment was renewed in 1854, and he continued to practice law in Massachusetts until the advent of Reconstruction. In the late 1860s, Allen moved to Charleston, South Carolina, to practice law and enter politics.

In 1868 Allen joined William J. Whipper and Robert Brown Elliot in establishing Whipper, Elliot, and Allen, the country's first black law firm. Like his colleagues, who were both members of the South Carolina legislature (Elliot also served in the U.S. Congress), Allen sought political office. His 1872 race for South Carolina secretary of state, however, was unsuccessful.

In February 1873 Allen was elected to fill out the term of the deceased George Lee, an African American elected to the judgeship of the Inferior Court of South Carolina in 1872. Allen was subsequently elected to the probate court, on which he served from 1876 to 1878. At the end of his term, Allen returned to his law practice in Charleston; little is known about his career after the late 1870s. Allen died in Washington, D.C.

See also Abolition; Whipper, William

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)

Allen, Richard

February 14, 1760
March 26, 1831

As a reformer and institution builder in the post-Revolutionary period in the United States, Richard Allen was matched in achievements by few of his white contemporaries. At age twenty, only a few months after buying his freedom in Kent County, Delaware, Allen was preaching to mostly white audiences and converting many of his hearers to Methodism. At twenty-seven, he was a co-

founder of the Free African Society of Philadelphia, probably the first autonomous organization of free blacks in the United States. Before he was thirty-five, he had become the minister of what would be Philadelphia's largest black congregation—Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Over a long lifetime, he founded, presided over, or served as officer in a large number of other organizations designed to improve the condition of life and expand the sphere of liberty for African Americans. Although he received no formal education, he became an accomplished writer, penning and publishing sermons, tracts, addresses, and remonstrances; compiling a hymnal for black Methodists; and drafting articles of organization and governance for various organizations.

Enslaved at birth in the family of the prominent Philadelphia lawyer and officeholder Benjamin Chew, Allen was sold with his family to Stokely Sturgis, a small farmer near Dover, Delaware, in about 1768. It was here, in 1777, that Allen experienced a religious conversion, shortly after most of his family had been sold away from Dover at the hands of the itinerant Methodist Freeborn Garretson. Three years later he and his brother contracted with their master to purchase their freedom.

For a short time, Allen drove a wagon carrying salt for the Revolutionary army. He also supported himself as a woodchopper, brickyard laborer, and shoemaker as he carried out a six-year religious sojourn as an itinerant Methodist preacher. In something akin to a biblical journey into the wilderness, Allen tested his mettle and proved his faith, traveling by foot over thousands of miles, from North Carolina to New York, and preaching the word to black and white audiences in dozens of villages, crossroads, and forest clearings. During this period of his life, it seems, Allen developed the essential attributes that would serve him the rest of his career: resilience, toughness, cosmopolitanism, an ability to confront rapidly changing circumstances, and skill in dealing with a wide variety of people and temperaments.

Allen's itinerant preaching brought him to the attention of white Methodist leaders, who in 1786 called him to Philadelphia to preach to black members of the Methodist congregation that worshiped at Saint George's Methodist Church, a rude, dirt-floored building in the German part of the city. Allen would spend the rest of his life there.

In Philadelphia, Allen's career was marked by his founding of Mother Bethel, the black Methodist church that opened its doors in 1794, and by the subsequent creation, in 1816, of the independent African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME Church). Soon after his arrival in 1786, he began pressing for an independent black church. His fervent Methodism brought him into contention with

The Reverend Richard Allen (1760–1831). *The founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, Allen was also active in a host of other organizations dedicated to improving the lives of African Americans.* NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION

other emerging black leaders who wished for a nondenominational, or "union," church, and thus within a few years two black churches took form. Both were guided by the idea that African Americans needed "to worship God under our own vine and fig tree," as Allen put it in his autobiographical memoir. This was, in essence, a desire to stand apart from white society, avoiding both the paternalistic benevolence of its racially liberal members and the animosity of its racially intolerant members. Allen's Bethel church, after opening its doors in a converted blacksmith's shop in 1794, grew into a congregation of more than five hundred members by 1800.

Bethel's rise to the status of Philadelphia's largest black church was accomplished amid a twenty-year struggle with white Methodist leaders. White Methodists were determined to make the popular Allen knuckle under to their authority, and this ran directly counter to Allen's determination to lead a church in which black Methodists, while subscribing to the general doctrines of Methodism, were free to pursue their churchly affairs autonomously. The struggle even involved the ownership of the church building itself. The attempts of white Methodists to rein in Allen and his black parishioners reached a climax in

1815 and was resolved when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled on January 1, 1816, that Bethel was legally an independent church. Just a few months later, African-American ministers from across the mid-Atlantic region gathered in Philadelphia to confederate their congregations into the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was to spread across the United States and abroad in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Allen's epic twenty-year battle with white Methodist authorities represents a vital phase of the African-American struggle in the North to get out from under the controlling hand of white religionists. The AME Church, with Allen as its first bishop, quickly became the most important of the autonomous institutions created by black Americans that allowed former slaves to forge an Afro-Christianity that spoke in the language and answered the needs of a growing number of northern—and, later, southern—blacks. For decades the AME Church helped to heal the disabling scars of slavery and facilitated the adjustment of black southern migrants to life as citizens in the North. Allen's success at Bethel had much to do with the warmth, simplicity, and evangelical fervor of Methodism, which resonated with a special vibrancy among the manumitted and fugitive southern slaves reaching Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century.

Between the founding of Bethel in 1794 and the organization of the AME Church, Allen founded schools for black youths and mutual aid societies that would allow black Philadelphians to quash the idea that they were dependent upon white charity. A successful businessman and a considerable property owner, Allen also wrote pamphlets and sermons attacking the slave trade, slavery, and white racism. The most notable of them, coauthored with Absalom Jones in 1794, was "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia, in the Year 1793." In this pamphlet, Allen and Jones defended the work of black citizens who aided the sick and dying during the horrendous yellow fever epidemic of 1793, but they went on to condemn the oppression of African Americans, both enslaved and free. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, almost every African-American institution formed in Philadelphia included Allen's name and benefited from his energy and vision.

In the later years of his life, Allen was drawn to the idea of colonization—to Africa, Haiti, and Canada—as an answer to the needs of African Americans who, as freedpersons, faced discrimination and exploitation. His son, John Allen, was one of the leaders of the Haitian immigrants in 1824. The capstone of Allen's career came six years later, when he presided over the first meeting of the National Negro Convention movement—an umbrella organization that launched a coordinated reform movement among black Americans and provided an institutional structure for black abolitionism. When death came to Allen shortly thereafter, his funeral was attended by a vast concourse of black and white Philadelphians.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church

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GARY B. NASH (1996)

Alleyne, George

October 7, 1932

On December 15, 2003, representatives of the University of the West Indies met at the university's Cave Hill Campus in Barbados to witness the formal installation of the first Barbadian to become chancellor of the University of the West Indies, and the first chancellor of that school to be installed at a campus other than the original Mona Campus of the university in Jamaica. In an impressive and emotional ceremony, Sir George Alleyne also became the first chancellor to have received his university education at the institution.

George Allenmore Oganen Alleyne was born at Saint Philip, Barbados. The son of a schoolteacher, in 1943 his early academic promise was rewarded with a Primary First Grade Scholarship to Harrison College. He graduated from Harrison College in 1950 with the Barbados Scholarship in the Classics. Ignoring conventional wisdom, which led Island scholars to study at universities in the United Kingdom, Alleyne entered the fledgling University College of the West Indies.

Alleyne was among the earliest students who enrolled for medical training at what was then a two-year-old single-campus university at Mona, Jamaica. Medicine was one of the university's earliest faculties. Public health had been one of the major concerns of those responsible for establishing the university, so public and community health received special emphasis.

Alleyne excelled in these areas. He was the outstanding student in the class of 1957 and was awarded, among

other prizes, the University Gold Medal. The school of medicine recruited him to conduct research and train new students.

Alleyne's research into such health problems as malnutrition in children established him as an internationally respected expert in the field, especially during the time when he was a member of the Tropical Metabolism Research Unit. During his career, he published more than one hundred scientific papers. In 1976, he was one of the coauthors of the *Protein Energy Malnutrition,* which remains a standard text on the subject.

His research extended to renal function and disease. When the British Medical Research Council relinquished the Tropical Metabolism Unit, which was then fully integrated into the Faculty of Medicine, Alleyne was appointed professor within that department. He led a research team that published some forty papers in international journals, mostly on renal biochemistry.

His work began to receive favorable notice in both the region and the hemisphere. He was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1973 and in 1975 he was admitted to the American College of Physicians. He first became a member of the Advisory Committee on Medical Research of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), then its chairman, and later director of medical research. In 1995, Alleyne became director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and later director of PAHO itself. He was the first representative of the Anglophone Caribbean to be elected to such a position and his re-election, by acclamation in 1998, was without precedent, as directors of PAHO are generally chosen by the formal process of nomination, campaigning, and voting.

In 1990, he was made Knight Bachelor by Queen Elizabeth II for his contribution to medicine. Honorary doctorates and similar honors have been conferred on him by universities throughout the Americas, as well as from the University of the West Indies. In 2001, Alleyne received the Order of the Caribbean Community. In 2002 the Pan American Health Organization published a selection of his speeches.

After retiring as director of PAHO in February 2003, he was appointed United Nations Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS for the Caribbean Region. In July, he was appointed by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) to head a new commission to examine health issues, including HIV/AIDS, confronting the region. In October, he was appointed chancellor of the University of the West Indies, bringing to the position a gift for oratory and a lifetime of commitment to regional and hemispheric development. The medical challenges the Caribbean faced had changed significantly since he entered the University of the West Indies as a medical student. Whereas in the 1950s the major public health problem was malnutrition, it is now such diseases as diabetes, hypertension, and HIV/AIDS.

See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); University of the West Indies

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Almeida Bosque, Juan

February 17, 1927

The Cuban revolutionary leader Juan Almeida Bosque was born into poverty in Havana. He had to drop out of school after completing only the fourth grade in order to find a job so he could help his parents take care of his brothers and sisters. Even while working as a bricklayer in the early 1950s, Almeida continued to give some of what he described as "a miserable salary" to his parents. Although he worked daily, his salary was never enough to prevent him from enduring hunger and misery. Almeida's economic condition was undoubtedly a result of his ethnicity. As a mulatto, Almeida confronted a racist system that generally denied Cubans of African descent the opportunity to obtain the skills and experience required by labor organizations to hold the title of master bricklayer.

Almeida's political and economic career began after Fulgencio Batista overthrew the Cuban government of President Carlos Prío Socarrás in March 1952. After the coup occurred, Almeida went to the University of Havana

Major Juan Almeida Bosque, commander of the Cuban army. *Almeida (r.) is shown with Cuban dictator Fidel Castro at the Theresa Hotel in New York City, September 22, 1960. The two were in New York for Castro's address to the General Assembly of the United Nations.* GETTY IMAGES

with a friend, Armando Mestre, to protest Batista's actions. One of the principal leaders of the protest was a young lawyer by the name of Fidel Castro Ruz. Almeida and Castro immediately became friends for life. Almeida was inspired to become politically active by discussions with Castro on how to create a revolution against the man responsible for compromising Cuba's political development since the mid-1930s and by Castro's call for unity between young Cubans and those in other sectors of society who had not been collaborators of Batista in the past. It appears that their friendship grew out of mutual respect. According to Castro, Almeida could be trusted because he was a "man of the people."

After joining the Orthodox Party, Almeida helped Castro and others organize the resistance against Batista in the province of Matanzas, though their effort was unsuccessful. Their failure led them to conclude that they themselves had to overthrow the Batista government. Establishing clandestine groups that trained without communicating with each other, Almeida, Castro, and other conspirators, including Abel Santamaria, met in July 1953 in Santiago de Cuba in order to attack the Moncada army barracks, hoping to seize a large cache of weapons and to encourage the Cuban nation to rise up against Batista. The attack failed miserably, and Castro, Almeida, and other *moncadistas* fled into the nearby Sierra Maestra Mountains to avoid capture. Nevertheless, on August 1, 1953, both Almeida and Castro were caught. In October, Almeida was tried and sentenced to ten years in prison on the Isle of Pines. In prison for a total of eighteen months, he and the other *moncadistas* were released in May 1955 after Batista issued an amnesty decree.

By February 1956, Almeida had joined Castro and other opponents of the Batista regime in Mexico, where they began training for an invasion to force Batista out of power, planned for the fall of 1956. On November 25, 1956, Almeida, now holding the rank of captain, and with twenty-two men under his command, boarded the yacht

Granma along with Castro and sixty other rebels and sailed for Cuba.

Juan Almeida demonstrated exceptional courage, heroism, and leadership during the revolution. On December 5, 1956, he saved the life of Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the masterminds of the revolution, and others at the Battle of Alegria de Pio. Between the spring of 1957 and the fall of 1958, Almeida commanded the rebel army of the Third Front. He became responsible for engaging and weakening Batista's troops in the territory that stretched from Santiago de Cuba to Guantanamo. In October 1958, Castro ordered Almeida's army to take Santiago de Cuba. The assault on the city proved to be the first step of the final rebel offensive that encouraged Batista to capitulate by the end of 1958.

Because of his loyalty to Castro, as well as his military prowess, Juan Almeida Bosque has been appointed to numerous high-ranking positions within both the Revolutionary government and the Communist Party. Promoted to the rank of major as Batista left the country, Castro appointed Almeida to head the Cuban Air Force in June 1959, following the dismissal of Diaz Lanz for insubordination.

According to some writers of Afro-Cuban history, Fidel Castro cynically used Juan Almeida in the early 1960s as a symbol of the revolutionary government's committed endeavors to address and end racism and racial discrimination and segregation in Cuban society. These writers point to Castro's 1960 visit to New York City, where he addressed members of the United Nations, as proof. After Castro moved the Cuban delegation to a hotel located in Harlem, he urgently sent for Almeida, who was living in Santiago de Cuba. Upon his arrival, Castro proceeded to parade Almeida through the streets of black Harlem. Almeida even dined with leaders of black America. Some have claimed that Almeida's token presence in New York allowed Castro to strategically employ race as a fundamental element in Cuba's foreign policy as a way of enhancing Castro's status among members of the Non-Aligned Movement centered in Africa and Asia, as well as among leaders of the African-American community of the United States.

Nevertheless, it appears that within Cuba Almeida has never been regarded as a token figure. In 1961 he became a member of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, a body that preceded the formation of a new Communist Party. He also served as the president of JUCEI, or the Board of Coordination and Inspection, for the province of Las Villas. This government agency sought to convey the interests and power of workers and peasants at the local level. In 1966 he graduated from the Superior Academy for Officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Since 1965 Almeida has continuously served on the Politburo of the Communist Party, and in 1998 the Cuban state awarded him the honorary title of "Hero of the Republic of Cuba." Since 1993 he has served as president of the National Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution, and he represents the Cuban government and nation before foreign dignitaries at home and abroad as vice president of the Cuban Council of State. Almeida has also become one of the most popular musicians and poets in Cuba; he has written over three hundred songs and sixty or more poems.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

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PHILIP A. HOWARD (2005)

Amelioration

In the history of the former British territories in the Caribbean, the term *Amelioration* (literally, "making better") refers to the efforts of the Imperial government to improve the situation of the enslaved people in its colonies during the decade between 1823 and the abolition of slavery by Parliament in 1834. The relative failure of this London-driven program of reform pushed both the British antislavery movement and the British government and Parliament to abandon "gradualism" and opt for outright abolition of slavery by 1834.

The abolition of the British slave trade in 1807 did not produce the improvements in the slaves' situation that the antislavery movement expected. In 1823 the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions was established. As its title suggests, gradualism was dominant in the British antislavery movement until 1830. Its parliamentary leader, Thomas F. Buxton (1786–1845), decided to move resolutions in the House of Commons in May 1823 calling for immediate amelioration of the slaves' situation and eventual

emancipation. The Tory leader in the House of Commons, George Canning (1770–1827), countered with resolutions of his own, reflecting a previously agreed-upon compromise between the antislavery lobby and the West India Interest, which represented the absentee slave-owners in London (many of whom were members of Parliament). These resolutions committed the House to emancipation "at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property." They also envisaged "a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for equal rights and privileges, as enjoyed by others of His Majesty's subjects" (Green, 1972, p. 102).

But how was a program to improve the slaves' lives and "character" to be implemented without abolishing the basic elements of chattel slavery? Any such program looking toward emancipation, even in the distant future, would certainly be resisted furiously by the planters and their organs, the elected Assemblies. The British government did not want to "coerce" them by enacting laws in Parliament and imposing them on the colonists; this, it was felt, was how the mainland American colonies had been lost fifty years before. So the Amelioration reforms would be imposed by direct legislation only on the "Crown Colonies," which had no elected Assemblies; the other colonies would be "persuaded" to enact similar laws themselves. This refusal to use the power of Parliament, as well as the strong resistance of the planters, ensured that the Amelioration program would have only limited success over the next ten years.

The main points of the program were circulated to the Caribbean governors in mid-1823. Slaves were to be given Christian instruction, and Sunday markets were to be abolished to encourage religious worship on that day. Marriages were to be encouraged, and slave families were not to be broken up by sale. Slave evidence, under certain conditions, was to be admitted in the courts. Enslaved persons were to be allowed to purchase their freedom, even against their owners' wishes. The informally recognized right of slaves to own property was to be backed by law. And corporal punishment, the core of plantation discipline, was to be limited: the flogging of women was to be absolutely prohibited, that of men restricted, and the whip was no longer to be carried (and used) by the drivers (gang foremen) as an instrument to coerce labor in the field. These were the major planks of the Amelioration policy. To the antislavery lobby, they were designed to prepare the slaves for freedom; to the government, their aim was to remove the most objectionable features of slavery and thus stave off emancipation for the foreseeable future.

To the planters in the colonies, these policies were wholly unacceptable. West Indian Assemblies responded with fury to the proposals: such reforms would undermine owners' control over their property, overturn plantation discipline, and incite slave rebellion. The uprising in Demerara (modern Guyana) in August 1823 seemed to vindicate their arguments. But London persisted. Despite strong objections from the planters of Trinidad, one of the Crown Colonies, an Order in Council—a law coming directly from the British government—was issued in March 1824 embodying all the main elements of the 1823 program. It was first to apply only to Trinidad—the "model colony" chosen because its Spanish legal heritage was believed to be especially favorable to the slaves—and was then to be extended to the other Crown Colonies; the colonies with Assemblies were expected to enact laws similar to the Trinidad Order.

The Order in Council became law in June 1824, with a protector of slaves appointed to implement its measures despite planter opposition. Yet even in the model Crown Colony, Amelioration achieved little by way of significant improvements in the slaves' lives. Only a handful of slaves were ever certified as competent to give evidence in court; very few slave marriages were legalized; manumissions did increase after 1824 but were made very difficult by the ridiculously high prices demanded by the owners. Solitary confinement, the stocks, and the treadmill were all used to punish women instead of flogging. Sunday work, prohibited by the order, generally continued, as did Sunday markets. Very few owners were ever prosecuted for breaches of the order, and it was extremely risky for a slave to make a complaint. The order had no teeth; and in the face of planter opposition and official indifference, Amelioration achieved little even in Trinidad, where all its main elements were enacted in law from mid-1824.

The colonies with their own Assemblies were able to resist the policy even more successfully, though eventually they were obliged, grudgingly, to comply with London's "persuasion" up to a point. Most limited the flogging of men, some removed the whip from the field, but few exempted women from corporal punishment—it was said to be impossible to "discipline" the women without flogging and, by the 1820s, the field gangs on West Indian plantations were predominantly female. Some colonies admitted slave evidence but (as in Trinidad) made it almost impossible to "qualify." Overall, the progress of Amelioration in the colonies with Assemblies—the majority of them—was difficult.

The Colonial Office in London worked hard to "persuade" and to bully the Assemblies, especially the two leading antislavery civil servants at the time, James Ste-

phen (1789-1859) and Henry Taylor (1800–1886). Cases of ill treatment of slaves were reviewed and adjudicated with great care; voluminous papers were published for Parliament and disseminated in the antislavery press; many colonial laws were vetoed because they did not comply with the Trinidad Order; and the colonies were warned that direct parliamentary legislation would be inevitable if they did not pass the necessary laws themselves.

The years 1830 and 1831 were a watershed for the antislavery movement. Impatience at the slow progress and limited achievements of Amelioration was a major factor in the movement calling for immediate emancipation and more radical modes of agitation. But ministers persisted; in August 1831 the colonial secretary assured the colonists that he would not abandon "that course of progressive improvement, which has had for its avowed object, the ultimate extinction of Slavery (Green, 1976, p. 112)." The last serious effort to implement Amelioration was the ambitious Order in Council of November 1831, which applied to all the Crown Colonies. This elaborate law (no fewer than 121 clauses) strengthened the previous orders and introduced new and tougher regulations to protect the slaves' rights and guarantee better standards of food, clothing, housing, and hours of work. It also made it possible to bring criminal prosecutions against owners charged with breaches of the order. This "121-pronged scourge" (to quote a Trinidad newspaper) was greeted with fury, both in the Crown Colonies, where it became law early in 1832, and in the colonies with Assemblies, to which it was recommended as a model for legislation. Jamaica, and all the Leeward Islands, flatly refused to enact any similar law.

An impasse, therefore, seemed to have arrived by early 1832; Amelioration was clearly a failure. The great Christmas Rebellion of 1831 in Jamaica, and the terrible reprisals that followed, convinced even conservative legislators and ministers in London that the costs and risks of withholding emancipation and persisting with Amelioration were simply too high. Once the Reform Act became law and the Commons was reformed—and purged of most of its "West Indian" members—emancipation was politically possible. The passage of the Slavery Abolition Act of Emancipation in August 1833, to become law on August 1, 1834, marked the end of Amelioration.

If the main purpose of Amelioration was to secure some improvements in the slaves' lives while staving off immediate emancipation, it can be judged a short-term, and limited, success. A few improvements in material living conditions were probably achieved; punishments were reduced, especially in Trinidad, where flogging of women was more or less stopped; and the rate of manumissions accelerated. Emancipation was postponed for a decade. If its purpose was to prepare the enslaved people for freedom, however, it was clearly a failure, or, rather, hopelessly misconceived. In the long run, planter obduracy and ministerial timidity doomed what was probably always a misguided attempt to tinker with chattel slavery while preserving its essential elements. Its failure made legislative emancipation inevitable.

See also Abolition; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Slavery

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BRIDGET BRERETON (2005)

American Moral Reform Society

The American Moral Reform Society (AMRS) was organized in 1836 by a group of elite black leaders in Philadelphia to promote morality among both white and black Americans through the influence of temperance, education, economy, and universal liberty.

The AMRS grew directly out of the National Convention Movement (NCM), which first met in Philadelphia in 1830, and it embraced many of the movement's programs for reform. At the fifth annual NCM convention in 1835, the delegates adopted a proposal, devised by the black abolitionist attorney William Whipper, for the formation of the AMRS. Black Philadelphians dominated the proceedings and comprised the majority of the officers chosen to the society. Among those appointed were Bishop Morris Brown of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and James Forten Sr., who served as the first president of the AMRS. Although plans were made for an NCM convention to meet in New York the following year, it was never held, and the AMRS replaced the convention movement until the AMRS disbanded.

Even at the society's first convention on August 8, 1836, there was factionalism among the leaders from Phil-

adelphia as well as an intercity rivalry between the delegates from that city and those from New York. Opponents of the AMRS accused its leaders of being too visionary and unrealistic. Two AMRS policies proved particularly divisive: the AMRS commitment to morally reforming the entire American population, regardless of race, and Whipper's insistence on banning the use of such terms as *colored* and *African.* The society's critics argued that terms of racial identification were not objectionable and asserted that the AMRS should limit its sphere of action to free blacks.

Following the first annual meeting of the AMRS in 1837, a clear split took place among northern black leaders over these issues, with Whipper, Forten, and Robert Purvis emerging as the primary supporters of the AMRS. Whipper, the chief promoter of the AMRS, redoubled his promotional efforts and helped the AMRS establish its own journal, the *National Reformer,* which failed after only one year. Opponents of the AMRS, meanwhile, became more unified and more insistent in their calls for the revival of the National Convention Movement.

In an attempt to broaden its base of support, the AMRS admitted its first female delegates to the 1839 convention, but its Garrisonian anticlericalism and the revival of the National Convention Movement worked against the AMRS. It ceased to be an effective organization after its sixth convention in 1841.

See also Abolition; Forten, James; Purvis, Robert; Whipper, William

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)

American Negro Academy (ANA)

The American Negro Academy (ANA), founded on March 5, 1897, in Washington, D.C., was the first national African-American learned society. Although American blacks had established numerous local literary and scholarly societies from the late 1820s on, the goals and membership of the American Negro Academy made it a distinct and original endeavor. The academy's constitution defined it as "an organization of authors, scholars, artists, and those distinguished in other walks of life, men of African descent, for the promotion of Letters, Science, and Art" (Moss, 1981, p. 1). The decision to exclude women was based on the belief that "literary . . . and social matters do not mix."

Although the chief concerns of the ANA's founders were to strengthen the intellectual life of their racial community, improve the quality of black leadership, and ensure that henceforth arguments advanced by "cultured despisers" of their race were refuted, it was equally significant that the organization was established at a time when European Americans were creating hundreds of learned, professional, and ethnic historical societies. The academy's birth was an expression of this general movement among educated members of the American middle class.

From its establishment until its demise in 1928, the academy claimed as members some of the most important male leaders in the African-American community. Alexander Crummell, its first president, was an Episcopal clergyman who held an A.B. from Queen's College, Cambridge University. Other founders included Francis J. Grimké, a Presbyterian clergyman trained at Lincoln University and Princeton Theological Seminary; W. E. B. Du Bois, professor of economics and history at Atlanta University and later a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); William H. Crogman, professor of classics at Clark University in Atlanta; William S. Scarborough, a scholarly classicist who was on the faculty of Wilberforce University; and John W. Cromwell, a lawyer, politician, and former editor of the *People's Advocate,* a black newspaper published in Washington, D.C., from 1878 to 1884. Throughout its existence, the academy continued to attract a number of the most intellectually creative black men in the United States. Some of those associated with the organization who achieved their greatest prominence after the turn of the century were John Hope, president of Morehouse College and later of Atlanta University; Alain Locke, writer, critic, and key figure in the Harlem Renaissance; Carter G. Woodson, historian; and James Weldon Johnson, poet, writer, and civil rights leader.

Relatively speaking, only a handful of educated black men were ever members of the academy. There were several reasons for this: The ANA was a selective organization, to which entrance was controlled by the membership; its activities and goals appealed mainly to a small group of black men who sought to function as intellectuals and who believed that the results of their efforts were cru-

cial to the development and defense of their racial group; it experienced continuous difficulties in realizing its goals; and it never enjoyed the support of Booker T. Washington, the powerful principal of Tuskegee Institute, who for over half the organization's life was the dominant figure in the African-American community. Washington was invited to become a founding member of the ANA and to attend the inaugural meeting in 1897, but he declined, pleading a busy schedule and prior commitments. The real reason for his absence and lack of involvement was his recognition that the major founders and early leaders of the academy—especially Crummell—were sharply critical of his educational theories, particularly his stress on industrial training as the best education for the majority of his race, and of his willingness to compromise with prominent white racists in both the South and the North.

Between 1897 and 1924, the ANA published twenty-two "Occasional Papers" on subjects related to the culture, history, religion, civil and social rights, and social institutions of African Americans. The process of choosing who would be invited to present papers at academy meetings and selecting which of the talks delivered would be printed as Occasional Papers was managed by the executive committee, a body composed of the president, first vice president, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, and treasurer. Although the quality of the papers varied, all of them illuminate the many ways in which, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, an important segment of the small community of educated American blacks attempted intellectually to defend their people, justify their own existence, and challenge ideas, habits, attitudes, and legal proscriptions that seemed to be locking their race permanently into an "inferior caste" (Moss, 1981, p. 2).

Throughout its existence, the ANA was preoccupied with survival. As a result, its officers and members were forced to put as much energy into keeping the organization alive as they did into conducting its programs. And yet the society survived for thirty-one years, functioning as a setting in which members and friends shared their intellectual and scholarly work with each other and engaged in critical reflection on it. Through annual meetings, Occasional Papers, exhibits, and the public interest they generated, the ANA was able to initiate dialogues in both the black and white communities that were important contributions to a growing discussion in the United States, Africa, and Europe about race and the relationship between blacks and whites; to introduce the concerns and opinions of educated blacks into quarters where previously they had been ignored or gone unnoticed; and to encourage the growing pride among African Americans in their culture and history.

The American Negro Academy was both a sustainer and a perpetuator of the black protest tradition in an age of accommodation and proscription. By functioning as a source of affirmation and encouragement for an important segment of the black intelligentsia and as a setting in which they could seek to understand the meaning of the African-American experience, it was a model for other and sometimes more successful black organizations founded after 1897 that engaged in similar work or attempted to realize goals that the ANA found unattainable. Perhaps most important, for its active members, the academy's various programs and activities and the interactions they promoted formed a dynamic process in which participants began to free themselves from the entanglements and confusions of ideas and theories that made them feel insecure about their own worth, ashamed of the history and condition of blacks, and doubtful of their race's future possibilities. By strengthening and adding to the intellectual autonomy and insight of its members, the academy helped to prepare them for more informed, honest dialogue with each other, with blacks in the United States and other parts of the world, and, when they would listen, with whites.

See also Crummell, Alexander; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Grimké, Francis James; Harlem Renaissance; Hope, John; Johnson, James Weldon; Locke, Alain Leroy; Washington, Booker T.; Woodson, Carter G.

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ALFRED A. MOSS JR. (1996)

American Negro Theatre

The American Negro Theatre (ANT) was founded in the Harlem section of New York City in 1940 by Abram Hill, a writer, and Frederick O'Neal, an actor. Their goal was to establish a community-based theater to provide opportunities for black theater artists, much as the Negro Units of the Federal Theatre Project had done before they were discontinued by Congress in 1939.

The theater was incorporated as a cooperative, and all members shared in expenses and profits, reflecting the

theater's policy of emphasizing an ensemble style of acting rather than individual stars. Some officers were paid part-time salaries for their work through a Rockefeller Foundation grant, but most workers donated their time. Those who also performed outside the company paid 2 percent of their earnings to help keep ANT solvent. In 1942 Hill and O'Neal established the ANT Studio Theatre (the first black theater institution sanctioned by the New York State Board of Education) to train a new generation of black theater artists.

From 1940 through 1949, ANT produced nineteen plays, twelve of which were new. ANT's biggest success was *Anna Lucasta* (1944), but the production also sowed the seeds of the company's eventual failure. Based on a play by Philip Yordan about a Polish-American family, Hill and director Harry Gribble Wagstaff adapted it for a black cast. After a five-week run at ANT's theater in the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, it moved to Broadway, where it played for two years, becoming the longest-running black drama in Broadway history. A national tour and a film followed, but ANT received no royalties from these, and only a small one from the Broadway production. In addition, the fact that only a few actors from the Harlem production were used on Broadway caused discord within the company, some of whose members became more interested in performing on Broadway than in Harlem. *Anna Lucasta* brought many critics to Harlem to see subsequent ANT productions, but their critical judgments were based on Broadway standards. The ANT seemed to change its standards as well, straying further and further from its original mission as a community-based theater. After 1945 it produced plays by theater playwrights only, such as Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* (1945–1946), George Kaufman and Moss Hart's *You Can't Take It With You* (1945–1946), and John Synge's *Riders to the Sea* (1948–1949). Although ANT transferred three more plays to Broadway, they were not financially successful. With growing financial problems in the late 1940s, the ANT lacked the finances to mount complete productions. They turned, instead, to producing inexpensive variety shows and by 1949 had ceased production entirely.

A number of prominent black actors and writers began their careers in American Negro Theatre productions or in the Studio school. They include Ruby Dee, Lofton Mitchell, Alice Childress, Earl Hyman, Sidney Poitier, and Harry Belafonte.

See also Childress, Alice; Drama

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated bibliography

American Tennis Association

The American Tennis Association (ATA) is the oldest continuously operated noncollegiate black sports organization in the United States—although it was not the first organization to offer opportunities for black tennis players. Sometime in the late nineteenth century (the date is uncertain), the Monumental Tennis Club, now called the Baltimore Tennis Club, had been formed to give blacks a venue in which to complete. Then in the spring of 1916 the ATA was formed by prominent African Americans in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore to provide encouragement, information, and tournaments for black tennis players. The attendees at the organizational meeting were Henry Freeman, John F. N. Wilkinson, Talley Holmes, H. Stanton McCard, William H. Wright, B. M. Rhetta, and Ralph Cook. Cook's brother, Charles, was one of the first coaches at Howard University.

The ATA listed four goals that are still followed today: to develop the sport among blacks, to spur the formation of clubs and the building of courts, to encourage and develop junior players, and to foster the formation of local associations. The ATA's first national championships, hosted by the Monumental Tennis Club, were held at Druid Hill Park in Baltimore in August 1917; twenty-three clubs sent thirty-nine entrants for the men's singles, won by Talley Holmes. Women's singles were added the following year, when Lucy Diggs Slowe became the first titleholder and the first black female national champion in any sport.

In the 1920s and 1930s the ATA concentrated on enlarging its summer tournament schedule to provide competitive opportunities for its members. Black college stars at white universities came out of the ATA-inspired programs: Henry Graham at Michigan, Richard Hudlin at the University of Chicago, Reginald Weir at the City College

of New York, and Douglas Turner at the University of Illinois. In 1929 the ATA and the sport's white governing body, the United States Tennis Association (USTA), had a confrontation over the rejection of two players, Reginald Weir and Gerald Norman, from the USTA Junior Indoors tournament. The USTA had an unwritten rule that blacks could not participate in tournaments, and when Weir and Norman were barred, the NAACP made a formal complaint to the USTA. While the NAACP had rarely taken a stand on discrimination in sports during the period, it played a role in the USTA dispute because tennis was a middle-class sport with an avid following in the NAACP's professional constituency.

Black women's tennis during the 1920s and 1930s was not dominated by a single player. In the first twenty years of the ATA's existence, however, there were only five different female winners: Lucy Slowe, M. Rae, Isadore Channels, Lulu Ballard, and Ora Washington. Channels and Washington dominated the tournaments, with Channels winning four ATA national titles (1922, 1923, 1924, 1926) and Washington winning a record eight (each year from 1929 to 1935 and 1937). Washington was unorthodox in her approach to the game; she held the racquet high up on the handle, hardly ever took a full swing, and had unsurpassed foot speed. She maintained her championship standing until 1936, when Lulu Ballard defeated her. Into the 1940s and 1950s other outstanding players included singles champion Flora Lomax (titleholder in 1938, 1939, 1941, and 1942) and the team of Margaret and Roumania Peters, who won the ATA women's doubles crown a record fourteen times (each year from 1938 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1953).

The depression of the 1930s posed many advantages and many challenges for tennis players. The decade saw an expansion of tennis facilities under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Works Project Administration (WPA), including the addition of park courts in black neighborhoods. However, the economic hardships of the 1930s left many people without the resources to spend time playing or watching tennis.

One stronghold of tennis activity during the period was in black colleges, which always had a close relationship with the ATA. Many ATA members were college professors or administrators, and tennis was the most popular participant sport among black female professionals. One early ATA member was R. Walter Johnson, who played football at Lincoln University. He directed the organization's junior development program, which began in the early 1940s and produced tennis champion Althea Gibson. Cleveland Abbott, Tuskegee University's famed athletic director, was an ATA president. In 1937 the ATA arranged an exhibition tour by its best players at eight high schools and twenty-one colleges.

When racial integration of professional sports began between 1946 and 1950, the ATA adjusted quickly, since acceptance into USTA events was slow for blacks. The ATA and the USTA had an arrangement beginning in 1951 whereby the ATA nominated the black players to compete in the USTA nationals. Sixteen-year-old Arthur Ashe was a nominated player in 1959. The ATA provided indispensable competition for the best black players until the early 1970s, when all racial restrictions were lifted. Blacks nurtured through ATA events captured nearly seventy USTA national junior and senior titles.

The ATA, headquartered in Silver Spring, Maryland, continues to sponsor training programs for young players and to conduct regional championships. Its National Championships remains a highlight of the African-American summer sports schedule.

See also Tennis

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ARTHUR R. ASHE JR. (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Amistad Mutiny

The *Amistad* mutiny was a rebellion of African captives that occurred off the northern coast of Cuba in July 1839. The mutineers had been seized in Africa, herded onto a Portuguese slave ship along with hundreds of others, and then transported illegally from the African island of Lombokor to Cuba (then a Spanish colony). Upon reaching Havana, the Africans were smuggled ashore under cover of night, in violation of an 1817 treaty between England and Spain that prohibited the slave trade. Fifty-three captives—forty-nine adult males, three girls, and a boy—were sold to two Spaniards, José Ruiz and Pedro Montes; they were then shipped along the Cuban coast to Puerto Príncipe aboard the Spanish schooner *La Amistad*.

On July 1–2, 1839, just a few days after the *Amistad* set sail, the captured Africans rose up in revolt. Led by Sengbe Pieh (or Joseph Cinqué), they freed themselves from their irons and launched an armed assault against their captors, killing the ship's captain and cook. Several

The death of Captain Ferrer aboard the slave ship* Amistad, *July 1839. *As slaveowners Don Ruiz and Don Pedro Montez look on in horror, captives aboard the* Amistad *kill the ship's captain.* CORBIS

crew members disappeared, and one African was killed in the fray. The mutineers spared Ruiz and Montes, ordering them to sail the ship back to Africa. The Spaniards, however, maintained a meandering northerly course that, by late August, brought the ship to New York state waters.

On August 25, the Africans, desperate from hunger and thirst, anchored the now-bedraggled *Amistad* off the coast of Long Island in New York to search for provisions. But they had been spotted by the crew of the USS *Washington;* after a show of resistance, they surrendered to the ship's commanders and were towed to New London, Connecticut. They were shortly afterward taken to New Haven, where they languished in jail while awaiting a hearing on their case. So began an ordeal for the "Mendians" (many of the Africans had come from Mende) that lasted for more than two years.

The *Amistad* case attracted widespread attention along the Atlantic seaboard, and even on an international scale. Ruiz and Montes insisted that the Africans had already been slaves in Cuba at the time of purchase and were therefore legal property; as such, they could be tried on charges of piracy and murder. Cuban and Spanish authorities demanded the return of the ship and its surviving human "cargo"—thirty-nine adults and the four children. But abolitionists mobilized in defense of the mutineers, hoping to prove that they had been unlawfully enslaved and should therefore be set free. Some antislavery advocates sought to use the case to demonstrate that the principle of natural rights applied to black people.

The *Amistad* Committee, composed of such prominent abolitionists as Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, and Simeon Jocelyn, launched a vigorous campaign to raise funds for the defense. They also succeeded in generating substantial public sympathy for the defendants, even among many who did not oppose the institution of slavery itself. Activists located two African-born seamen, James Covey and Charles Pratt, who were able to communicate with the prisoners, including the undisputed leader, Cinqué. The Africans were sketched by artists and displayed on speaking tours; models of them were made and sent along to sites where they could not personally appear. They were also taught English and instructed in Christianity. Throughout the prolonged period of litigation that followed their arrest, the case was hotly debated in the press.

Thousands of onlookers converged on Hartford, Connecticut, when the U.S. Circuit Court convened in September 1839. The court refused to release the captives and remanded the case to the U.S. District Court. It was not until January 1840 that a ruling was issued. Judge Andrew T. Judson determined that the Africans had indeed been illegally kidnapped and sold, and that they had legitimately rebelled to win back their freedom. At the same time, he upheld the institution of slavery by ordering the return to Cuba of Antonio, who actually had been a slave of the slain *Amistad* captain. Judson also ordered the return of the mutineers to Africa.

The U.S. government, under the administration of President Martin Van Buren, had been expecting a verdict that would uphold its own position: that the Africans should be returned to Spain under Pinckney's Treaty of 1795. A naval vessel, the USS *Grampus,* was anchored in New London harbor, waiting to spirit the Africans out of

the country and back to Cuba before the abolitionist forces could appeal the ruling. But now it was the government that filed an appeal. After Judson's decision was upheld in May 1840, the *Amistad* case was sent to the U.S. Supreme Court.

A majority of the Court were southerners who had been slave owners at one time, including Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. The *Amistad* Committee was able to secure the services of John Quincy Adams, former president of the United States, who argued the case before the Court. In March 1841, the Court delivered its opinion, affirming the original ruling by an eight-to-one margin. The *Amistad* mutineers were free. Antonio, at risk of being sent back to Cuba, was transported secretly to Canada via the Underground Railroad, while the *Amistad* Committee set about raising private funds to return the remaining Africans to their homeland.

On November 27, 1841, thirty-five Africans (the others had died while imprisoned in Connecticut), along with the translator James Covey and five white missionaries, left New York for Sierra Leone. Traveling with protection from the British, they reached Africa in mid-January 1842. Little is known of Cinqué after his repatriation—according to some accounts, he died some time around 1879—but he remains one of the leading symbols of resistance to the Atlantic slave trade. Although the Spanish government demanded reparations, their effort was hampered by sectional divisions within the U.S. Congress and was eventually abandoned with the coming of the U.S. Civil War.

See also Slave Trade; Slavery; Slavery and the Constitution

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ROBERT L. HALL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Anastácia

c. 1740s
UNKNOWN

There are numerous variations of Anastácia's life story, but the most detailed goes as follows: On April 9, 1740, the slave ship *Madalena* arrived in Bahia from Angola with 112 slaves on board. Among these newly arrived Africans was a woman named Delminda. Some years after her arrival, Delminda's master raped her, and upon discovering that she was pregnant, sold her away to the town of Pompeu in Minas Gerais. Delminda's daughter, Anastácia, was born with blue eyes and was widely recognized as beautiful. As Anastácia grew up, her master's son made numerous sexual overtures toward her, even offering her money to sleep with him.

After steadfastly refusing the boy's advances and fighting him off on several occasions, Anastácia was outfitted with an iron collar and a leather mask in order to make her acquiescent. This mask and iron collar were a common form of punishment in Brazil, particularly for runaway slaves. The mask was also utilized to prevent slaves from eating dirt, a common response to nutritional deficiency. Anastácia was tortured and raped, and the mask was removed only when it was time for her to eat. Suffering great pain and infection from the iron collar digging into her flesh, Anastácia maintained a quiet dignity throughout her ordeals. Eventually she was carried to Rio de Janeiro, where she died in agony on an uncertain date, still wearing the mask. Supposedly, she was buried in Igreja do Rosário in Rio de Janeiro, but her remains disappeared when the church was destroyed by fire.

In his ethnographic study of devotion to Anastácia, John Burdick has shown that veneration of a masked, collared female slave dates back until at least the 1940s, especially in Minas Gerais. The legend of Anastácia, which apparently was passed down through oral history in the years following her death, was exposed to a broader Brazilian audience beginning in the early 1970s. In 1968, the Museum of the Negro, an annex of the Igreja do Rosário in Rio de Janeiro, opened an exposition commemorating the eightieth anniversary of abolition. In order to illustrate methods of slave torture, an etching by the French traveler and artist Jacques Arago was included in the exposition. The exposition received little notice until 1971, when the remains of Princess Isabel, the "great liberator" of Brazil's slaves, were brought from Portugal. Before being taken to Petrópolis for burial, Isabel's coffin was put on display at the Museum of the Negro. Thousands arrived at the museum to pay their respects. Upon seeing the Arago etching,

people immediately associated it with the Anastácia of oral tradition. Ironically, Arago's original drawing was intended to depict a young man punished for running away from his enslavement. Arago's intentions aside, Brazilians were inspired by what they interpreted as a visual representation of the mythical Anastácia.

The oral tradition was quickly transcribed and published by a vanity press. The Brazilian media also eagerly consumed her story. As newspapers, radio, and television presented versions of Anastácia's life history, spiritual devotion to her spread throughout the country. By the mid-1980s, Anastácia claimed thousands of adherents who publicly recited her miracles. In 1984 her supporters circumvented official channels and appealed directly to the pope for Anastácia's canonization. Alarmed by Anastácia's growing popularity, Brazilian cardinal Dom Eugênio hired a historian to research whether Anastácia ever truly existed. After two years of research, the Church's historian determined that there was no evidence to support the existence of Anastácia. As a result of this ruling, Cardinal Dom Eugênio ruled that all objects related to the devotion of Anastácia must be removed from the Igreja do Rosário. Thus, the cardinal squashed any hopes that Anastácia would be accepted into church orthodoxy.

Despite the church's denial of Anastácia's historical existence, her adherents, especially black women, continue to maintain their devotion to her. The majority of these women believe that Anastácia was not of mixed ancestry but rather was a beautiful African woman. As a symbol of black phenotypical beauty, resistance to white and male power, and ultimate forgiveness, Anastácia represents a node of historical familiarity and temporal strength for Brazil's black women. By the mid-1990s there were four pilgrimage sites in Rio de Janeiro that attracted hundreds of people daily. Moreover, images and icons of Anastácia are widely available, thereby facilitating individual devotion. Some estimates claim that she has as many as twenty-eight million adherents.

See also Slavery

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JAMES H. SWEET (2005)

Anderson, Marian

February 17, 1897
May 19, 1993

Opera and concert singer Marian Anderson, a contralto of international repute, may be best remembered as the first African American to sing at the Metropolitan Opera Company. She grew up in Philadelphia, where her family members were active as musicians at the Union Baptist Church. An interest in singing was stimulated by her participation in the church choirs, and she began local solo performances by the age of ten, singing professionally while still in high school. Initial venues, in addition to her church, included the Philadelphia Choral Society, New York's Martin-Smith School of Music, the National Association of Negro Musicians (which in 1921 awarded her its first scholarship), the NAACP, the National Baptist Convention, schools, and various regional organizations.

Anderson's formal recital debut, at Town Hall in New York in 1922, was not a success, obligating further study. In 1925 she won a vocal competition that granted her a successful performance with the New York Philharmonic at Lewisohn Stadium, but the major appearances that followed were initially in Scandinavia. Her Parisian debut, in 1935, was attended by Sol Hurok, who then became her manager. That summer she won the notice of a distinguished audience at a private recital in Salzburg, Austria; in December she presented a Town Hall recital, this one well received.

Anderson's international acclaim encouraged Howard University in 1939 to seek a recital for her in Washington, D.C. When she was denied access for racial reasons to Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the public protest approached that of a scandal. Eleanor Roosevelt resigned her DAR membership, and criticism came from opera singer Lawrence Tibbett, New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, conductor Leopold Stokowski, and other major figures. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes granted Anderson use of the Lincoln Memorial for an Easter Sunday concert as an alternative. Seventy-five thousand people heard her program, which began in subtle irony with "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and ended with "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen." The location for this performance was not forgotten nearly a quarter of a century later by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who arranged for her to sing there again during the 1963 March on Washington.

Anderson's tour schedule intensified, and Metropolitan Opera manager Rudolph Bing determined that she would appear as Ulrica in Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera.*

She sang the role eight times, starting on January 7, 1955, although she was no longer in her prime. (In 1958 RCA Victor issued a recording of highlights from the opera with Dimitri Mitropoulos conducting and Anderson in the role of Ulrica.) She retired from the stage at Carnegie Hall on Easter Day 1965, after presenting fifty-one farewell concerts across the country. Her repertory was centered on sacred arias by J. S. Bach and Handel, spirituals (especially Harry Burleigh's "Deep River"), lieder (Schubert's "Ave Maria" was a favorite), and some opera arias—notably "O Mio Fernando" from Donizetti's *La Favorita,* in which she demonstrated that, given the chance, she could have excelled in bel canto roles. When granted the Bok Award in 1940, Anderson established a scholarship fund for vocalists whose awards have been granted to McHenry Boatwright, Grace Bumbry, Gloria Davy, Reri Grist, Bonia Hyman, Louise Parker, Rawn Spearman, Camellia Williams, and others.

Her primary voice teacher was Giuseppe Boghetti, although she worked in London with Amanda Aldridge, a daughter of the actor Ira Aldridge. Early in her career she was accompanied by minstrel pianist William King, then by Kosti Vehanen from Finland, and later by Franz Rupp of Germany. Anderson was appointed in 1958 to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, where she spoke on behalf of the independence of African nations. Although she denied playing an overt role in the civil rights movement, Anderson's dignity and artistry brought about social change and opened the door for the many concert singers who followed her. In tribute on her seventy-fifth birthday in Carnegie Hall, Leontyne Price paid her respects succinctly: "Dear Marian Anderson, because of you, I am."

See also Aldridge, Ira; Burleigh, Harry; National Association of Negro Musicians

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DOMINIQUE-RENÉ DE LERMA (1996)

Angelou, Maya

April 4, 1928

Born Marguerite Annie Johnson on April 4, 1928, to Vivian Baxter and Bailey Johnson in St. Louis, Missouri, writer Maya Angelou was raised in Stamps, Arkansas, by her grandmother, Anne Henderson. She related her experience of growing up in her popular autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970), a title taken from the poetry of Paul Laurence Dunbar. It was nominated for a National Book Award. Like many African-American autobiographers, Angelou saw herself not only as an individual but as a representative of black people.

What *Caged Bird* contributed to the tradition of African-American autobiography was its emphasis on the effects of growing up black and female in the South. Angelou writes of the rape of the protagonist by her mother's boyfriend. Until the late twentieth century, intragroup rape and incest were taboo subjects in African-American literature; *Caged Bird* helped to break that silence. Her second biography, *Gather Together in My Name* (1974), a title taken from the Bible, focuses on the vulnerable Angelou's entry into the harsh urban world of Los Angeles, while her third autobiography, *Singin' & Swingin' & Gettin' Merry Like Christmas* (1976), relates the experience of her first marriage and of raising her son while pursuing her singing, dancing, and acting career.

The fourth autobiography, *The Heart of a Woman* (1981), a title taken from a poem by Harlem Renaissance poet Georgia Douglas Johnson, presents a mature Angelou who works with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. Active in the civil rights movement, she served as northern coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1959–1960. In her fifth autobiography, *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes* (1986), Angelou goes to Ghana, where she experiences the complexity of being an African American in Africa. She also wrote a volume of inspirational essays, *Wouldn't Take Nothing for My Journey Now* (1993). Her sixth book in her autobiography series, *A Song Flung Up to Heaven* (2003), tells the story of Angelou's return from Africa to the United States. In this book Angelou describes the civil rights movement in the United States and recounts poignant stories about the assassinations of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Angelou turned this book into a series of four CDs in which she chants, sings, and vocalizes the stories of her life. In 2003 Angelou won a Grammy Award for Best Spoken Word Album for *A Song Flung Up to Heaven*.

Angelou has also published many volumes of poetry: *Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'fore I Diiie* (1971),

which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize; *Oh Pray My Wings Are Gonna Fit Me Well* (1975); *And Still I Rise* (1978); *Shaker Why Don't You Sing?* (1983); *Now Sheba Sings the Song* (1987); and *I Shall Not Be Moved* (1990). As these titles indicate, Angelou's poetry is deeply rooted in the African-American oral tradition and is uplifting in tone. Angelou says, "All my work is meant to say 'You may encounter many defeats but you must not be defeated.'"

A versatile writer, Angelou has written for television: the PBS ten-part series *Black, Blues, Blacks* (1968); a teleplay of *Caged Bird;* and for the screen, *Georgia Georgia* (1971) and *Sister, Sister* (1979). As well as being a prolific writer, Angelou has been a successful actress and received a Tony nomination for best supporting actress in the TV miniseries *Roots*. In 1998 she directed her first film, *Down in the Delta*. Angelou says of her creative diversity, "I believe all things are possible for a human being and I don't think there's anything in the world I can't do." On January 20, 1993, at the request of President Bill Clinton, Angelou concluded the president's inauguration by reading a poem composed for the occasion, "On the Pulse of Morning," which celebrated a new era of national unity.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Harlem Renaissance; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Malcolm X; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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BARBARA T. CHRISTIAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

ANGLO-AFRICAN, THE

The *Weekly Anglo-African* newspaper and the *Anglo-African* magazine were perhaps the most influential African-American journals of the late 1850s and the Civil War era. They were unique in that they served as forums for debate rather than simply reflecting the views of the publisher. They were owned by the journalist Thomas Hamilton (1823–1865), the son of New York City community leader William Hamilton. He and his brother Robert were the editors.

The *Weekly Anglo-African,* whose first issue was dated July 23, 1859, was a four-page weekly, with seven columns of large type to a page. It cost four cents per copy, with a yearly subscription price of two dollars. Its motto was "Man must be free; if not through the law, then above the law." Unlike most black newspapers of the time, which published only a few issues before folding, the paper was an almost immediate success. It came to be respected for its sophisticated analysis of issues such as violent resistance to slavery, the ramifications of the *Dred Scott* Decision, and John Brown's Raid.

The *Anglo-African* magazine, a thirty-two-page monthly with a yearly subscription price of one dollar, began on January 1, 1859. It was one of the first illustrated African-American publications. Its prospectus proclaimed that the magazine was devoted to the cause of literature, science, statistics, and the advancement of the cause of freedom. Among its other features were biographies of outstanding figures such as actor Ira Aldridge, evaluations of the abolitionist cause, comic prose, and fiction.

Many leading black writers and abolitionists, including Martin R. Delany, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, J. W. C. Pennington, and James Theodore Holly, were frequent contributors to the journals. Other luminaries, such as Frederick Douglass, William Cooper Nell, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Daniel Payne, and John Mercer Langston, wrote occasional pieces. The *Anglo-African* magazine, and later the *Weekly Anglo-African,* serialized Delaney's novel *Blake: or, The Huts of America,* one of the first African-American novels (it was not printed in book form until 1970). Hamilton also was a book publisher. His list included such books as Robert Campbell's *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa, 1859–1860* (1861) and William Wells Brown's *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863).

By early 1860, despite their critical success, the Hamiltons developed severe financial problems. The *Anglo-African* magazine ceased publication, and they sold the *Weekly Anglo-African* to James Redpath, a prominent white abolitionist and emigrationist. By fall 1861 they had regained control, with Robert Hamilton handling the business affairs. The radical abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet, named "Editor of the Southern Department," reported on events in Washington. During the Civil War, the paper covered war news and carried messages from black soldiers. Hamilton became a fervent supporter of the Republican Party, although he remained critical of northern discrimination. On March 29, 1862, he warned that northern prejudice was a "strong impediment" to black advancement. Hamilton and Garnet called for citizenship

and proper education for freedmen. On September 9, 1865, in one of the paper's last issues, Hamilton praised and defended northern black teachers who went south, claiming such work was blacks' chief responsibility and greatest service. The newspaper folded in December 1865.

See also Hamilton, William

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Antebellum Convention Movement

The antebellum convention movement consisted of a series of national, regional, and state conventions held by blacks in North America on an irregular basis from 1830 to 1861. The movement began in the 1830s and revealed the growing consensus among northern free blacks on the importance of moral reform. Six annual conventions, held from 1830 to 1835, were the first attempts by African Americans to address their concerns on a national level. Samuel E. Cornish (1795–1858), editor of *Freedom's Journal,* and others had called for a national gathering on several occasions, but it was the threatened enforcement of the Ohio black laws in 1829 and the revival of the African colonization movement that provoked the first national convention.

Several state laws restricted black civil rights in Ohio, including a requirement that all blacks register and post a $500 security bond or leave the state. When Cincinnati officials called for rigorous enforcement of this provision in 1829 and the city experienced an antiblack riot the following year, blacks in Ohio and other northern states feared a new wave of legal and extralegal racial oppression. Northern free blacks were also alarmed by the rapid growth of the American Colonization Society and its state auxiliaries in the late 1820s. The white-sponsored society, founded in 1816, sought to colonize free black Americans in Africa and vigorously lobbied federal and state governments for financial support.

In response to the Ohio crisis and colonizationist activities, forty blacks from nine states, including Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, met at Philadelphia in September 1830. Fearful of local white hostility to the assembly, the delegates held the first five days of sessions in secret. The delegates focused on Canadian emigration as a possible solution to the tandem threat posed by state black laws and forced resettlement in Africa. At the 1831 convention, after the crisis in Ohio had abated and the need to organize a black exodus to Canada seemed less urgent, moral reform emerged as the predominant issue. White abolitionists who attended the conventions encouraged the delegates to direct their attention to moral reform. William Lloyd Garrison, Arthur Tappan, and Simeon S. Jocelyn addressed the 1831 convention. Following their recommendations, the convention accepted a proposal for a manual-labor school in New Haven. The national conventions recognized temperance as a principal component of moral reform, and at the 1833 convention, a committee on temperance recommended the establishment of a national auxiliary—the Coloured American Temperance Society.

From the beginning, the convention movement was marred by personal and intercity rivalries. New York and Philadelphia delegates quarreled over procedural questions as well as issues of substance. Much time at the conventions was given over to formulating admission policies, certifying delegates, and appointing committees. These procedural disagreements revealed not just an intercity rivalry but, more profoundly, the problem of national leadership. Many who attended the conventions had questionable credentials, representing themselves and little else.

The conventions of the 1830s were reserved, even circumspect, in their official pronouncements. To protest the injustice of slavery and racial prejudice, the 1831 convention recommended "a day of fasting and prayer." The following year the convention agreed to establish provisional state committees, but cautiously added "where the same may be safely done." The 1834 convention condemned public demonstrations by blacks as "vain expenditures" of time and resources, serving only to incite racial prejudice.

Philadelphia delegates had the resources, organization, and leadership to dominate the 1830s convention movement (five of the six conventions were held in that city), and their interest in moral reform eventually prevailed. Led by William Whipper (1804–1876), the Philadelphia delegation turned the 1835 convention into a founding meeting of the American Moral Reform Society, an interracial organization committed to the principles of moral reform.

The antebellum convention movement underwent a profound transition in the 1840s, expanding to include

numerous state and regional gatherings. Several conventions focused on single issues, such as temperance, Christian missions, and emigration. The national convention sites—including Buffalo (1843), Troy, N.Y. (1847), Cleveland (1848), and Rochester, N.Y. (1853)—marked the geographical shift away from the Atlantic coastal cities. A new generation of black leaders, many of them former slaves, came forward to claim positions of leadership in the convention movement. Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), Henry Highland Garnet (1815–1882), James McCune Smith (1813–1865), and others sought to imbue the movement with a more practical outlook and a militant, independent spirit. Racial progress through moral reform, the staple of the conventions of the previous decade, was subsumed by the call for more forceful tactics and political action.

Not all black leaders welcomed a renewal of the convention movement. Those who held to strict integrationist principles counseled against convening separate black assemblies or establishing racially separate organizations. Others considered it wasteful of time and scarce resources to revisit the well-worn, intractable issues debated at past conventions. But most blacks favored continuing the convention process. The disagreements, often intense, centered mainly on form, agenda, and leadership.

David Ruggles's (1810–1849) revival of the national convention movement at New Haven in 1840 and New York City in 1841 attracted only a few delegates. Poor organization, vague objectives, and editorial opposition from the *Colored American* contributed to the dismal outcome. Henry Highland Garnet had more success in promoting the 1843 national convention in Buffalo. This convention set a new tenor for the movement with Garnet's controversial call for slave insurrection (disapproved by a narrow majority of the assembly) and the heated discussion of a resolution endorsing the Liberty Party. The 1847 and 1848 national conventions (in Troy and Cleveland, respectively) highlighted the theme of black independence. James McCune Smith and Frederick Douglass addressed the delegates on the symbolic and practical need for self-reliance and independent black initiatives. These insightful speeches on independence and racial identity affirmed their reputation as two of the leading black intellectuals of the antebellum period.

Just as in the 1830s, these later national conventions served primarily as a forum for competing ideas and leadership. The delegates approved plans for a national black press, an industrial-arts college, and other proposals of a practical nature. But without adequate resources, none of these objectives could be achieved. The conventions also sought continuity through the establishment of a permanent national organization. In the early 1840s, Ruggles anticipated the need for a national body with the short-lived American Reform Board of Disfranchised Commissioners. By the 1850s, however, even racial assimilationists like Douglass and Smith had come to accept the idea of a separate black national organization. Douglass promoted this as part of an ambitious agenda for the 1853 national convention in Rochester.

The Rochester convention marked the high point of the antebellum convention movement. Over 160 representatives from ten northern states attended. The convention established the National Council of the Colored People, a major advance in black organization, even if it suffered from a contentious leadership and lack of popular support. The council faded quietly after the 1855 convention at Philadelphia—the last national convocation before the Civil War. The Philadelphia convention was lackluster and unproductive in comparison with the previous meeting in Rochester. Dominated by the seventy-member Pennsylvania delegation, the convention deferred substantial issues and engaged in a lively debate on procedural questions, particularly the propriety of seating a woman delegate, Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823–1893).

Several conventions in the 1850s reflected the growing pessimism among African Americans. As hopes faded for racial progress in the United States, a black emigration movement gained increasing support. The North American Convention (1851) reflected the growth and growing influence of black communities in Canada West (modern Ontario). Canadian and American delegates meeting in Toronto considered the recent enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and its ramifications. They recognized that the law threatened all African Americans, not just former slaves, with arbitrary arrest and enslavement. The convention highlighted the advantages of Canadian and Jamaican emigration, and urged blacks living in the United States to come under the fair and equitable rule of British law. At the national emigration conventions of 1854 and 1856 in Cleveland, delegates weighed proposals for settlement in Haiti, Central America, and Africa. The interest in emigration continued well into the early 1860s.

In shaping a more practical agenda, blacks brought the convention movement to the state level in the 1840s and 1850s. The state meetings were better suited to address specific civil rights issues, and much of the struggle against racial discrimination involved state laws and municipal ordinances. The black vote, where permitted, weighed more heavily in state and local elections. State conventions thus made protection and expansion of black voting rights their primary concern. New York blacks held the first state convention at Albany in 1840 to launch a petition cam-

paign against a property requirement that severely limited their franchise. Blacks in Pennsylvania, Michigan, New Jersey, and Connecticut followed with a similar agenda at state conventions during the 1840s.

Emerging black communities in the western states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and California—also challenged voting rights restrictions and proscriptive black laws at state conventions in the 1850s. California blacks focused on restrictions against black testimony in court as well as the suffrage issue. Maryland blacks held the only convention permitted in a slave state before the Civil War. The 1852 Maryland convention, closely scrutinized by the Baltimore press, discussed colonization, the enslavement of free blacks, and the petitioning of the state legislature on civil rights issues. The convention's careful deliberations and guarded resolutions reflected the delegates' anxiety over the white response to their gathering.

Despite the energetic and determined efforts made by the many state and national conventions, blacks achieved few of their avowed goals. But, in the process, the conventions provided a sounding board for new ideas, strategies, and tactics. Many blacks established their credibility and their leadership through participation in these conventions, and the convention movement ultimately enhanced the sense of racial unity, identity, and purpose among black communities across the North American continent.

See also Cornish, Samuel E.; Douglass, Frederick; Garnet, Henry Highland; Politics; Ruggles, David; Smith, James McCune; Whipper, William

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Anthropology and Anthropologists

Anthropology is a social science that devotes itself to the holistic study of humankind in its variation and commonality across time and space. It encompasses four major subdisciplines: (1) cultural/social anthropology, also called ethnology, which focuses largely on contemporary cultures and societies, representing its findings in ethnography; (2) archaeology, which examines the evolutionary and historical past by excavating artifacts and other material remains; 3) anthropological linguistics, which studies the development, structure, and sociocultural dynamics of languages; and 4) physical or biological anthropology, the study of human biology as it has evolved over time and adapted to diverse biocultural environments. The anthropology of African Americans brings together concepts, perspectives, and methodological tools from all the discipline's subfields into a specialization that concentrates on African descendants in the Americas.

Although the United States has been a setting in which African-American studies has developed extensive institutional support, scholarly projects of this sort have not been restricted to the United States nor to academic settings. There are parallel yet interconnected African-American anthropologies in the Caribbean and Latin America. While each national project has had its own approach, there have been shared themes that unify these complementary bodies of knowledge into a cohesive inquiry. The field has developed, in part, from the efforts of scholars who have belonged to networks connecting them to their counterparts in other parts of the world. Ideas have been exchanged and cross-fertilized within these transnational circuits that have not been confined to university-based and formally trained researchers. Also, individuals trained in other professions have made their mark on the field. The father of U.S. anthropology, Franz Boas, began his career in physical geography. The physician, diplomat, and politician Jean Price-Mars founded Haiti's *Institut d'Ethnologie,* and the father of Afro-Cuban studies, Fernando Ortiz, initially worked as a lawyer.

The major themes within the various African-American anthropologies are: (1) nature versus nurture in explaining racial differences; (2) folklore; (3) African survivals versus New World or "Creole" cultural rebirth; (4) diasporic religions; (5) social organization; (6) forms of difference and inequality (e.g., race, class, ethnicity, and gender) and their implications for identity, social action, and political mobilization; and (7) the political economy of poverty, social mobility, and development. Anthropologists have brought historical depth, cross-cultural perspective, and geographical breadth to these concerns.

Debating the Biology and Biologization of Race

In the U.S. context, anthropology emerged as a profession in the middle of the nineteenth century. It played a leading role in the development of scientific racism, which gave a veneer of legitimacy to the idea that African Americans

were inferior and unworthy of full citizenship and equal rights. Race crossing was seen as a danger to white purity and national progress. Antimiscegenation laws promoted boundary maintenance and population control. While these devices did not prevent intimate interracial contact, they stigmatized it. This distinctly American approach contrasted with the way that interracial unions and mixedness were dealt with in other parts of the hemisphere. Intermediate categories between black and white existed, and national ideologies espousing the virtues of *mestizaje* (mixedness) prevailed. The implicit goal of these nations, however, was whitening. Whereas in the United States biologized thinking assumed that races were mutually exclusive and permanent, the version of Social Darwinism that took hold in Latin America and the Caribbean allowed for the racial mobility of the few individuals with sufficient money and cultural prestige to offset the stigma of blackness. Despite racial harmony myths, governments encouraged the immigration of Europeans and implemented other policies to reduce the population of blacks and mulattos, who were concentrated in the lowest sectors of the socioeconomic structure.

In his 1854 speech "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," Frederick Douglass initiated the nature versus nurture debate in U.S. public culture. In another part of the New World, Anténor Firmin, a Haitian statesman and member of the Paris Anthropology Society, refuted the validity of Arthur de Gobineau's 1853–1855 treatise, *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races,* with a counterargument entitled *The Equality of the Human Races*. This 1885 publication offered an alternative to biological determinism. Firmin's accomplishment inspired Jean Price-Mars, who established an ethnological school in the early twentieth century, to document the cultural roots of Haitian national identity. W. E. B. Du Bois's *Health and Physique of the Negro American* (1906) reported the results of anthropometric research that demonstrated the effects of environment on physique and health. In 1932 Carolyn Bond Day published *A Study of Some Negro-White Families in the United States*. She combined anthropometry and ethnography to demonstrate the normalcy of middle- and upper-middle-class African-American families in Atlanta, who because of their admixture were misrepresented as degenerate threats to the nation. In the 1920s Melville Herskovits conducted a study in Harlem, West Virginia, and the historically black Howard University in Washington, D.C. He concluded that African Americans were a new racial amalgam of tri-racial origins. Due to segregation, they had developed a distinctive physical type marked by relatively low variability. His observations at Howard convinced him that intelligence was not correlated with the amount of "white blood." W. Montague Cobb, a professor of anatomy and medicine at Howard (1930s–1980s), established a laboratory and skeletal collection with which he refuted biodeterminism and promoted socially responsible research on health.

Today critical biological anthropologists are examining racism's effects on health and learning, underscoring that genetic endowment never operates independently of social environments. Recent bio-archaeological investigations document the stresses that Africans and African descendants faced at work and in other domains of their lives. Manifested in diet, disease, childbirth, accidents, and violence, the abuses of both slavery and freedom had effects on bodies, revealed by skeletal and DNA remains. The excavation of burial grounds uncovers evidence on religious practices as well as clues about the regions of African origins.

Folklore

From the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, black folklore was an important focus of anthropological interest. Franz Boas was an advocate for collecting myths, legends, tales, songs, conundrums, jokes, and games as evidence for studying continuities and discontinuities with the past. He assumed that African Americans would eventually assimilate into Euroamerican culture and that the mass migration of southern blacks to northern cities would accelerate the loss of folk traditions. Hence, it was urgent to collect folk narratives while they remained elements of black popular life and cultural specificity. African Americans recruited and trained to collect folkloric materials included Arthur Huff Faucet and Zora Neale Hurston. Faucet studied blacks in Nova Scotia, Canada, emphasizing cultural hybridity and diversity among various African diasporic communities rather than diffusion from Africa. Hurston's research in the U.S. South and the Caribbean was published in *Mules and Men* (1935), *Tell My Horse* (1938), and in the novels and other literary writings for which she is better known. Operating outside the Boasian school, Katherine Dunham focused on dance in Jamaica and Haiti (e.g., *Journey to Accompong*, 1946; *Dances of Haiti*, 1947). She went on to develop a distinctive dance method and a style of concert dance informed by her fieldwork. Ellen Irene Diggs studied Afro-Cuban folkways with Fernando Ortiz. With Lydia Cabrera and Afro-Cuban intellectual Rómulo Lachatañeré, Ortiz established a program of study focused on Afro-Cuban folklore. Ortiz was influenced by Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, whose folkloric interests were in Afro-Brazilian religions. Rodrigues also influenced the direction that Arthur Ramos took (*O folk-lore negro do Brasil*, 1935). In Haiti, Jean Price-Mars (*Ainsi parla l'oncle,* 1928) pro-

moted folkloric studies of Haitian peasants. Another Haitian who conducted folkloric research was Jacques Roumain, whose writings helped to delineate a distinctively Haitian aesthetic. His most significant writing was ethnographic fiction. His novel, *Masters of the Dew* (1944), depicted the peasantry's collective potential for change.

Martha Warren Beckwith conducted extensive fieldwork on folk life in Jamaica in the early 1920s. Her *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folklife* (1923) was the most comprehensive treatment at that time of folk beliefs and practices, including Anansi stories, games, ethnobotony, and religious cults. John Szwed and Roger Abrahams were two other Americans who made contributions to folklore; in the 1960s they studied urban folklore in the United States. Szwed examined the adaptations to racial conflict that sacred and secular musical styles represented. Abrahams's research focused on the verbal arts, such as the competitive verbal sparring, "playing the dozens." He also extended his research to the English Caribbean, where he continued to examine the folk performances of "men of words."

Africanisms and Creolization

"Africanism" is the concept that Herskovits coined for African cultural survivals—retentions and the more amorphous reinterpretations. When Herskovits initially came into contact with members of the New Negro movement, the scholarly arm of the Harlem Renaissance, he, like his mentor Boas, espoused an assimilationism that conflicted with the views of his African-American colleagues. Through ongoing conversations with them as well as with his international counterparts, he shifted his position to one emphasizing the legacy of the African past, manifest in retentions, reinterpretation, syncretisms, and cultural foci.

Herskovits's approach sparked controversy. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier was the most articulate critic in the United States. In his view, African Americans in the United States had been stripped of African culture and social organization by the trauma of slavery and racism. Frazier's critique was informed by his focus on social structure and adaptation to economic conditions. Herskovits placed greater emphasis on symbolic elements, which were most amenable to his idea of reinterpretation. The Jamaican social anthropologist M. G. Smith expressed concern over Herskovits's conceptual imprecision and neglect of details about culture contact situations, which varied across the diaspora as well as over time. The varying social, economic, and political dynamics of New World contact situations affected the conditions under which cultural change occurred. Yet such variables were largely absent from Herskovits's analysis. Herkosvits found another theoretical contender in studies organized around the concept of creolization, the birth of new sociocultural forms from the raw materials of the cultures that came into contact in New World contexts. Those materials were reconstructed and reintegrated in response to environmental constraints.

Anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963). *The author of many influential works on African culture, Herskovits is pictured in Trinidad, posing with a drum, around 1939.* MELVILLE J. AND FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price have sought to reconcile retention and creolization approaches. They de-

lineate the processes by which African cultural materials contributed to the institution building that the enslaved undertook to make their lives meaningful and coherent (*The Birth of African-American Culture,* 1992 [1976]). Instead of emphasizing direct continuities from the African past, Mintz and Price point to the change and creativity that characterized African-American sociocultural life. They also underscore the role that underlying "grammatical" principles played. The study of language has been an important source of metaphor-concepts for cultural anthropological studies of the African diaspora. It also has elucidated the birth and development of creole languages, which are full-fledged languages in their own right, as well as of the situationally-shifting usage of black dialects of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch.

Diasporic Religions

Interest in syncretist religions has led U.S. and European researchers to the Caribbean and Brazil. Native researchers in these settings have been active documentarians as well. At the turn of the twentieth century, Raymundo Nina Rodrigues was known for his psychoanalytic approach to Afro-Brazilian religions. His work had a major impact on Ramos's research in the 1930s. Afro-Brazilians who studied the survival of African cultural heritage in Bahia included João da Silva Campos, João Varella, and Édison Carneiro. Carneiro was a journalist and amateur ethnographer (*Religiões Negras,* 1936) whose expertise put him in demand as a consultant for formally trained researchers. He collaborated with American anthropologist Ruth Landes, who researched Bahian Candomblé during the late 1930s and wrote *City of Women* (1947). Her emphasis was not on African survivals. Placing religious practices in the context of local history and politics, she examined gender and sexuality, including the ritual significance of homoeroticism. These foci made her work unacceptable in Brazil and the United States.

French ethnologist and sociologist Roger Bastide made an impact with his studies of Candomblé's relationship to historically changing social and economic conditions. Moving beyond a strictly cultural analysis, he recognized that the situations of culture contact that produced syncretisms and reinterpretations represented "complex webs of communication, of domination-subordination, or of egalitarian exchange. They are a part of institutions. . . ." (*The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*, 1978, p. x).

Cuba was also an important venue for research on religious syncretisms. In association with Cabrera and Lachatañeré, Ortiz produced an extensive body of work. His most important contribution was his theory of transculturation, a term he coined as an alternative to acculturation, which often assumes subordinates becoming more like those who dominate them. Elaborated in *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (1947), transculturation assumes a more complex multicultural situation in which there is interaction between two or more cultures that are mutually changed. Ortiz's earliest writings on Afro-Cuban religions were biased by his reduction of black religious practices to *brujería,* sorcery, illegal and deviant behavior. The view he articulated in *Los negros brujos* (1906) was influenced by the positivist criminology of Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Ferri. Their research on criminals relied on techniques for measuring faces and bodies, from which inferences about natural criminal inclinations were made. Lachatañeré criticized Ortiz's use of *brujería* and proposed an alternative term: Santería, the way of the saints. Lachatañeré was the first Afro-Cuban to write extensively on religious syncretism, interpreting myths of *orishas,* the syncretized deities or saints (*Oh, Mío Yemayá!* 1938, reprinted as *Afro-Cuban Myths: Yemayá and other Orishas*, 2005).

Cabrera, like Ortiz, was a white translator of black folklore. She collected proverbs, Abakuá tales and legends, and the ceremonial lexicon of the Yoruba. She also wrote fiction rich in symbolism informed by Afro-Cuban religion and culture (e.g., *Black Stories of Cuba*, 1940). Her most important book was *El Monte: Notes on the Religion, the Magic, the Superstitions, and the Folklore of Creole Negroes and the Cuban People* (1954). Andrés Rodriguez Reyes and Beatriz Morales are contemporary Afro-Cuban anthropologists who study Santería. Morales has followed its adherents' migration paths to the United States, where the religion has adapted to new settings and attracted non-Cuban converts. In one case, the *orishas* have been de-Catholicized in an Afrocentric "reinterpretation" that renews the religion's so-called authenticity.

Haiti and Jamaica have also been important sites for research on religious cults and movements. Native ethnologists such as Price-Mars and, decades later, Michel Laguerre (*Voodoo and Politics in Haiti*, 1989) and Leslie Desmangles (*The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti*, 1992), have made important contributions. Two African-American women, Zora Neale Hurston and Katherine Dunham, undertook ethnographic projects in Haiti during the 1930s. Hurston's treatment of voodoo in both New Orleans and Haiti reveals her interest in the central role women and male-female tensions played in religious and other societal contexts. Both she and Dunham underwent rites of initiation rather than only observe them. In the late 1930s and early 1940s Maya Deren worked as an assistant and performer in the Kather-

ine Dunham Dance Company. In 1947 she began to study vodou rituals in Haiti. Her participant observation led to initiation as a priestess. She published *Divine Horsemen* (1953) and produced the beginnings of a film by the same name. Swiss ethnologist Alfred Metraux gained international recognition as an authority; his ethnography, *Voodoo in Haiti* (1959) is still recognized as a classic. More recently, Karen McCarthy Brown's *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (1991) combines her personal experience, life history, and theology to examine the reorganization of vodou in the context of transnational life in the United States.

The American anthropologist George Eaton Simpson studied Caribbean religions and religious pluralism during the 1950s. His writings on Haitian vodou, Trinidadian Shango, and Jamaican Revivalism and Rastafarianism examined acculturation, racial and class conflict, and politics. He characterized Rastafari as a social movement and situated it in the context of urban poverty and colonial oppression in the shantytowns of Jamaica's capital city, Kingston. The Jamaican government-commissioned report (*The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*) that Jamaican social scientists M. G. Smith, Roy Auguier, and Rex Nettleford published in 1960 presented Rastafarian grievances as legitimate rather than as the irrational rantings of deviants. Barry Chevannes has produced the most comprehensive work on Rastafari religion as well as shed light on its historical continuities with earlier folk religions, such as the Revival tradition. American anthropologist John Pulis has also written on Rastafari and has taken an historical approach to tracing its genealogy. Toward that end, he has examined the early-nineteenth-century Native Baptism/Anabaptist movement, influenced by black loyalist ministers from the United States who migrated to Jamaica in the wake of the Revolutionary War. (The British promised manumission to blacks who supported the Crown.) Australian anthropologist Diane Austin Broos's writings on contemporary Pentecostalism are also noteworthy for elucidating working class experience and worldview.

Social Organization

The varied patterns of kinship, marriage, and household organization found especially in peasant and working-class communities have been the subject of debates over African survivals, adaptive mechanisms, and cultural deficits and pathology. Eurocentric and class-biased notions about nuclear families have interfered with culturally unbiased inquiry. British ethnographer R. T. Smith (*The Negro Family in British Guiana,* 1956) and Jamaican anthropologists Edith Clarke (*My Mother Who Fathered Me*, 1957) and M. G. Smith (*West Indian Family Structure*, 1962) provided evidence that African-Caribbean households and families should not be viewed through a lens that only sees disorganization and dysfunction. The adaptive kinship organization that they documented was characterized by matrifocality, a consanguineal (blood kin) emphasis, and a development cycle in which having children was not necessarily linked to legal marriage. Sexual relations and mating patterns ranged from visiting relationships and consensual unions to marriage, the latter being more likely to occur later in the life cycle, when resources were more predictable. American anthropologist Nancie L. Gonzalez (*Migration and Modernization: Adaptive Reorganization in the Black Carib Household,* 1969), who worked along Central America's Caribbean coast, emphasized the high rate of outmigration that left communities without large numbers of marriageable men. High levels of unemployment and economic insecurity have also been important factors. Matrifocal kinship networks have been instrumental in pooling limited resources and sharing responsibilities for subsistence and childcare.

In the late 1960s Peter Wilson studied Providencia's crews, male units of social organization. In *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Societies of the Caribbean* (1973) he claimed that West Indian life is organized around the contrasting principles of respectability and reputation. Tony L. Whitehead presented an alternative perspective on the importance of achieving a social balance between class-appropriate forms of respectability and reputation. Jean Besson disputed the claim that reputational attributes (e.g., toughness and independence) are only male, because working-class and peasant women exhibit them as well to meet their work and family responsibilities. Although respectability may be an important value, class and color dynamics make poor women less respectable than middle- and upper-class "ladies." Lisa Douglass's research (*The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchy, and the Jamaican Family Elite,* 1992) underscores this principle of gender, race, and class hierarchy. She also argues that elite and lower-class kinship is more alike than Fernandes Henriques's *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (1953) acknowledged. Matrifocal emphasis within the domestic sphere and the "cult of manhood" exist across class. Indeed, elite and lower-class families are sometimes connected by consanguineal relationships generated by extramarital bonds.

In the United States Carol Stack, Joyce Aschenbrenner, and Niara Sudarkasa have countered misrepresentations of African-American families as unstable units lacking organization. They argue that female-headed households are not intrinsically dysfunctional or responsi-

ble for perpetuating poverty, academic underachievement, and crime. In the 1980s Sudarkasa revived Herskovits's concern by arguing that continuities with the African cultural past can be detected in African-American families. In her view, the value placed on consanguineality and matrifocality is consistent with the cultural logic underlying West African polygynous family compounds.

Intersecting Hierarchies and Stratifications

African diasporic peoples live in societies characterized by complexity and diversity along lines of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. To make sense of Caribbean diversity in particular, M. G. Smith applied the plural society model, originally crafted for explaining interethnic conflicts in the former Dutch East Indies. In the anthropological study of the African Americas, concepts of race, class and gender have been significant. In the 1930s African-American anthropologists Allison Davis and St. Clair Drake were part of a biracial research team that studied the organization of race and class in Mississippi (Davis et al., *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*, 1941). They understood that class was an important organizing principle that operated in conjunction with race, conceptualized in that research in terms of birth-ascribed caste.

Anthropologists as well as laypeople commonly apply the concept of race in describing African descendants, whereas ethnicity is more often used for Native Americans and Asians. This double standard is particularly relevant to the Caribbean and Latin America because it implies a structure of differentiation in which black culture, apart from elements (e.g., Carnival and emblematic musical and dance genres) appropriated by national culture, are negatively evaluated in terms of deficits that must be filled through acculturation. The extensive color lexicon developed to describe peoples of African descent represents a yardstick for measuring improvement through admixture and lightening. A graded color vocabulary has not been applied to East Indians or Chinese, whose relationship to colonially dominant whites was expressed as a ranking among civilizations. Africans, on the other hand, were historically represented as primitive and savage.

Anthropologists have studied the social construction of race in diverse cultural contexts, showing that the racial regime in the United States is not universal but the product of unique conditions. Boas and Du Bois—and a later generation of scholars that included Allison Davis and his colleagues, Burleigh and Mary Gardner, St. Clair Drake, and Ashley Montagu—laid the foundations for the critical study of race in the United States. The 1990s saw a resurgence of interest in race. Social anthropologist Audrey Smedley (*Race in North America: The Origin and Evolution of a Worldview,* 1993) and historian of anthropology Lee D. Baker (*From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*, 1998) emerged as two of the leading voices in this discourse. Other African-American anthropologists who have recently addressed the ideological and material dynamics of race and racism in the United States and in other places in the diaspora include biological anthropologist Michael Blakey (U.S.) and cultural anthropologists Marilyn Thomas-Houston (U.S.), Angela Gilliam (Brazil and Mexico), Edmund T. Gordon (Nicaragua), Gayle McGarity (Cuba), Yolanda T. Moses (U.S.), Trevor Purcell (Costa Rica), Kimberly Simmons (Dominican Republic), Frances Winddance Twine (Brazil), and Faye V. Harrison, who has taken a comparative approach.

Brazil has long been a site where American anthropologists have gone to study race. In the 1950s and 1960s Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris studied racial classification there. Harris interpreted Brazil's situationally contingent and ambiguous "racial calculus," which contrasted with the bipolar categories in the United States. Recent ethnographers have questioned Brazil's racial democracy. France Winddance Twine, John Burdick, and Robin Sheriff are three of the American critics. Brazilian anthropologists have also been vocal. João H. Costa Vargas is an Afro-Brazilian whose research on racism, politics, and human rights raises provocative questions that challenge the dominant paradigm. A product of the black consciousness movement himself, he is interested in the solidarity networking that black Brazilian activists have begun to establish with their counterparts in the United States.

The dominant paradigm for studying race in Brazil can be traced back to Gilberto Freyre's historical sociology of slavery and race relations, as exemplified by his *Masters and Slaves* (1933) and *Mansions and Shanties* (1936). Providing an historical rationale for racial democracy, he claimed that Brazilian slavery was mild, based on paternalistic relationships that humanized the institution. Florestan Fernandes (*The Negro in Brazilian Society,* 1969), who was part of the UNESCO Race Relations Project of the 1950s, challenged the myth of racial democracy but explained racism's persistence as a remnant from the preindustrial past (without understanding that racism also has modern faces). The year he published his critique, the military dictatorship removed him from his teaching position, forcing him to flee the country for several years. Thales de Azevedo is another leading anthropologist who distinguished himself. To disprove the myth of racial democracy, he documented the cases of racial discrimina-

tion reported in the media, clearing the way for more recent research.

Other anthropologists who have made important contributions to our understanding of race in the African diaspora in Latin America are: Norman Whitten, Jr. (Ecuador), who in the 1960s helped set the stage for Afro-American studies in Latin America; Peter Wade (Colombia), whose ethnographic analysis is rich and theoretically nuanced; Arlene Torres (Puerto Rico), who insists that, regardless of socially orchestrated denials, blackness is central to the histories and cultural landscapes of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean; Bobby Vaughn (Mexico), who brings perspectives from the Pacific Costa Chica into the discussion; and Helen Safa (Hispanic Caribbean, Brazil), who has examined racial discourses in Latin America generally.

Studies of gender in the diaspora have grown considerably over the past two decades. Most of the chapters in *Black Feminist Anthropology* (McClaurin, 2001) address the interplay of gender and race in the diaspora. An earlier anthology, *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (1980), edited by Filomina Chioma Steady, was, and perhaps still is, the most extensive collection of anthropological essays on women in the diaspora and Africa. Recently women-centered research has been complemented by ethnographic investigations that examine gender—the meanings, relations, and practices that culturally define the identities, roles, and social positions of the sexes, males and females along with transgendered persons. Peter Wilson and Tony Whitehead are examples of ethnographers who have addressed the cultural struggles and negotiations that shape diasporic masculinity. Lisa Douglass examines the cultural politics of femininity in a cultural system in which stark distinctions are made between working-class black womanhood and upper-class white or whitened femininity. A number of other gender-cognizant ethnographies already been mentioned, for instance, the writings of Hurston, Landes, and McCarthy Brown. Studies of diasporic kinship, even when gender remains implicit, usually have relevant implications. Gender may also be a salient dimension in analyses of socioeconomic dynamics.

Our understanding of the cultural and power dynamics of gender, class, and race along with those related to age and rural or urban residence also has been enhanced by sociolinguistic research. Many diasporic situations are characterized by language usage and competence that is diglossic or heteroglossic. Culturally-intelligible communication often relies on code switching from one language or dialectal variety into another language or dialectical variety according to social parameters.

Diasporic Political Economy

Anthropologists have acknowledged that economic marginality is found throughout the African diaspora, challenging black people to exercise considerable creativity to make ends meet and develop humanizing adaptations. Economic insecurity and poverty are often backdrops to the ethnographic narratives that anthropologists write. A number of ethnographers have gone further to shed light on the economic practices, activities, and modes of organization that are integral to African descendants' everyday lives. Attention is also given to the embeddedness of local adaptations within national, regional, and global systems of production and exchange. Currently, globalization and transnational flows of capital and commodities—along with the mobile ideas, cultural forms, and people that accompany them—are popular issues for anthropological inquiry. The preoccupation with globalization is consistent with concerns that many African Americanists have had for a while. The New World diaspora formed from the transoceanic movements of people, capital, and commodities. Those transterritorial flows were integral to the development of plantation and mining-based societies that depended on captive Africans for their lucrative objectives. The history of the African diaspora, thus, implicates the development and expansion of the modern world system—global capitalism.

Caribbeanists have been particularly conscious of this history. Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz were early students of the haciendas and plantations that were major sites on the landscapes where African-Caribbean people were enslaved and later emancipated, only to face new forms of exploitation as peasants, rural proletarians, and urban wage workers and informal sector participants. Mintz's ethnographic and cultural historical analyses of Puerto Rican sugar plantations, Haitian and Jamaican peasantries, and the role of women in internal marketing systems were major contributions. Building on this foundational corpus of knowledge, Victoria Durant-Gonzalez focused her lens on more of the particulars in the work and family life of Jamaican market women, higglers. Charles Carnegie studied interisland or transterritorial marketing in the Eastern Caribbean, exposing the limitations of the nation-state as a unit of economic or even social analysis. Gina Ulysse has examined the modern-day higglers called informal commercial importers (ICIs), who operate under conditions of globalization and the neoliberal policies that the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and U.S. government have imposed on Caribbean economies. These ICIs travel across national boundaries to supply consumer goods to their clients back home. Carla Freeman has studied pink-collar workers in offshore data-processing firms

in Barbados. Although these working-class women earn wages no higher than those of women working in Free Trade Zones, working in air-conditioned offices with computers makes them feel they are better off and on the margins of the middle class. Their high heels and professional attire symbolize what they perceive as their new-found fortune. A. Lynn Bolles's research on women who work in assembly plants and in the tourist industry offers the nuanced perspective that ethnographic analysis can provide on economics and society. Faye V. Harrison has addressed Jamaica's urban informal economy and the impact of structural adjustment and other neoliberal policies on a slum where both political violence and drug-related conflicts are common. Her analysis shows how both households and drug gangs are local units of socioeconomic organization that have become increasingly transnational as subsistence security diminishes. Michel-Rolph Trouillot's research in Dominica reveals how small farmers are inextricably tied in circuits of global capitalism. Karla Slocum's research in another Eastern Caribbean setting, St. Lucia, elucidates how a social movement of small banana producers expresses grievances against the state, refusing to blame globalization for their problems. In an era that some anthropologists have characterized as post-national, with nation-states having less sovereignty vis-à-vis the global market, these peasants may be reminding us that the state is not yet obsolete, and its responsibilities to its citizens cannot be forgotten or dismissed.

Conclusion

The anthropology of African Americans, defined in hemispheric terms, is a growing body of evidence, concepts, interpretations and explanations. It has illuminated African-American cultural history, historical consciousness, and diversity as well as the significance of the international mobility of ideas and people. It encompasses diverse anthropologists, including a significant number of African Americans who have begun to move their scholarship from the margins into the center of the field.

See also Africanisms; Archaeology and Archaeologists; Candomblé; Creole Languages of the Americas; Dunham, Katherine; English, African-American; Folklore; Folk Religion; Haitian Creole Language; Hurston, Zora Neale; *Negro Brujos*; Orisha; Race and Science; Religion; Rastafarianism; Santería; Slave Religions; Sociology; Voodoo

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FAYE V. HARRISON (2005)

Anti-Apartheid Movement

The African-American struggle against segregation and apartheid in South Africa has a long history. In 1912 the NAACP played a role in the formation of the African National Congress (ANC), which opposed violence and

sought to end racial discrimination through legal strategy. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey expressed his solidarity with black South Africans and assured them that an army of black Americans would arrive on the shores of Africa to liberate them. The American Committee on Africa (ACOA) was formed in 1953 to coordinate U.S. activities with the South African liberation movement, which was challenging the oppressive 1948 apartheid laws.

After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, when South African police killed sixty-seven people who were opposing laws designed to enforce residential segregation and control the movement of black people, the solidarity movement in the United States gained national recognition and popular support. In the mid-1960s, students, religious leaders, and civil rights activists condemned the brutal policies of the South African government and demanded an end to U.S. bank loans to South Africa. The Congress of Racial Equality, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, NAACP, and Students for a Democratic Society led demonstrations and sit-ins and passed resolutions demanding that the United States cut all ties to South Africa. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., linked racism to the foreign policy of the United States when he argued that "the racist government of South Africa is virtually made possible by the economic policies of the United States and Great Britain."

Protests at Princeton University and the University of Wisconsin in 1968 and Cornell University in 1969 brought out hundreds of students who demanded that their universities divest from Chase Manhattan Bank and other corporations doing business in South Africa. Church groups around the country presented stockholder resolutions calling for divestment and voted to close accounts with banks doing business with South Africa. In 1972 the National Council of Churches examined the social impact of corporate behavior on black South Africans. Although these protests raised public awareness about apartheid, they were less successful at forcing companies to withdraw support from South Africa. In 1963 the U.S. Congress also responded to the repressive policies of the South African government and complied with a United Nations resolution for a voluntary ban on arms sales and related equipment to South Africa.

In 1976 student members of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, which was inspired partly by the black power movement in the United States, took to the streets of Soweto to protest their segregated educational system. Protestors were met by police fire, and the following year political leader Steve Biko was murdered while in police custody. In response, hundreds of protests occurred across the United States, and over seven hundred students were arrested. TransAfrica, an African and Caribbean lobbying organization, was formed in 1977; Randall Robinson, an anti-apartheid activist, was chosen as its head. The organization grew out of a meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus, where concern was expressed about the lack of African-American influence in U.S. foreign policy.

Divestment was the central tactic adopted by anti-apartheid protestors, who sought an end to U.S. governmental and corporate support for South Africa. Critics of divestment contended that American firms must continue to do business in South Africa in order to use their economic muscle to force a change in apartheid policies. They argued that withdrawing would only hurt black South Africans by depriving them of jobs and other benefits.

In 1977 the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a prominent African-American activist, developed a voluntary code of conduct for firms operating in South Africa. The Sullivan Principles, as the code of conduct was popularly known, included measures to train and promote black South Africans, increase wages and fringe benefits, and recognize black labor unions. By the mid-1980s, 135 companies had signed onto the Sullivan Principles, and used them to defend their presence in South Africa. It was becoming increasingly clear, however, that the new policy was having minimal influence on moderating apartheid.

In 1984 another South African uprising and the ongoing repressive policies of the white government reinvigorated the solidarity movement in the United States, and this time the movement won some concrete concessions. On Thanksgiving Eve in 1984, Randall Robinson and other prominent activists began a daily vigil in front of the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. The vigil, which lasted over fifty-three weeks, raised awareness about the evils of apartheid and expressed opposition to Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement. This policy pursued friendly relations with South Africa as a means of inducing the government to relax apartheid restrictions. The protest sparked similar actions across the country and in Great Britain and led to the arrest of over six thousand people, including twenty-three elected representatives.

On college campuses, students formed multiracial anti-apartheid organizations and demanded an end to their universities' involvement with companies doing business in South Africa. In 1985 at the University of California at Berkeley over seven thousand students attended a public hearing on divestment and were supported by union members and faculty. Students elsewhere held teach-ins, blockaded buildings, and built shanties to pressure universities to divest. At Yale University in 1986, 1,500 students demonstrated after the university destroyed

a shanty built by anti-apartheid activists. Through their tenacious and militant protests, students were able to win some important victories. Five months after a three-week sit-in at Columbia University in 1985, the university trustees divested. In 1986 Harvard University voted for total divestment, and the University of California voted to divest $3.1 billion of its stock in companies doing business with South Africa. In the same year, over Ronald Reagan's veto, Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which banned new public and private loans and investments, the importation of certain South Africa products, including steel and uranium, and the export of certain U.S. products to South Africa, including petroleum and computers. In 1987 Sullivan rejected his own principles and joined the call for a complete corporate pullout.

Because of intensified protests, including national boycotts, corporations began to respond to calls for divestment. In 1984, 406 United States companies operated in South Africa. By 1989, only 130 remained. Corporations played a clever public relations game by announcing their withdrawal and giving few details about how it would occur. In most cases withdrawal was not complete or straightforward. Companies created subsidiaries, continued to market their products, and still provided management and technical skills. The anti-apartheid movement, which had focused so much of its attention on divestment, found it difficult to sustain mass protests in the face of verbal compliance by multinationals. A media blackout of events in South Africa further hindered anti-apartheid organizing and contributed to a decline of the movement in the United States.

Nevertheless, the international movement had helped create a climate that made political and economic support for apartheid less acceptable, and this, in conjunction with continued protests by South Africans, led to the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the beginning of South African President F. W. de Klerk's effort to dismantle the legal apparatus of apartheid the next year. In 1991 George Bush lifted most federal sanctions against South Africa, even though many activists opposed this move until more progress had been made toward achieving a free and democratic state. Most local sanctions remained until Mandela called for their removal two years later. In 1994, after several years of negotiation and compromise by the white government and the African National Congress, South Africa held its first nonracial elections and Nelson Mandela was elected the first black president. In 1999 a symposium titled "The Anti-Apartheid Movement: A 40-Year Perspective," held at Sussex House in England and attended by more than 250 leaders, marked the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the anti-apartheid movement in England.

See also Black Power Movement; Congressional Black Caucus; Garvey, Marcus; Sullivan, Leon Howard

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ALBERT NICKERSON (1996)
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Anti-colonial Movements

Africans in the Americas often provided racial ideologies for modern nationalist and anti-colonial movements in Africa and Europe as well as in the Caribbean and the United States. These ideologies were rooted in similar racial identities drawn from colonial, enslaved, and post-emancipation experiences. This entry will focus upon anti-colonial movements, organizations, and prominent figures from the 1800s through the present.

Century of Emancipation, 1790s–1880s

Beginning in the early fifteenth century, the five major European powers of Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain established colonies in the Americas. Although all of these colonial powers appealed to God to rationalize theories of empire, they differed in their dependency on the state or civil society to run their American colonies. The former characterized Spanish colonialism; the latter, the British Empire. With the establishment of Creole (American-born) populations by the late eighteenth century, together with important shifts in political and economic power, New World colonies moved toward independence through a series of wars of national liberation.

In 1776 thirteen American colonies declared their independence from Great Britain. In 1804 Haiti declared its independence from France. In 1821 Mexico achieved its

independence from Spain. The following year, Brazil won its independence from Portugal. By the 1820s, most of the mainland Americas had achieved their independence from European colonial powers. With the exception of Haiti, however, the rest of the European Caribbean would have to wait until the twentieth century for its colonial independence.

One indispensable feature of European settlement in the New World was the establishment of colonial slavery. Scholars estimate that between nine million and thirteen million African slaves survived the transoceanic slave trade and eventually arrived in the Americas between 1450 and 1870. Most of these imported Africans ended up in the Caribbean and Brazil. The sources of slaves changed over the centuries, beginning in West Africa, and moving slowly southward to southwest Africa. Two-thirds of these slave imports were young men used primarily in the plantation production of crops such as sugar, tobacco, rice, wheat, indigo, and other commodities. Although shipboard conditions were disgusting, ship crews brutal, and water scarce, many Africans fought back. Revolts were common on slave ships. In one Dutch sample, 20 percent of voyages had slave rebellions; nearly half of all revolts on French slaving voyages during the eighteenth century were successful. The coming together of different ethnic groups in these revolts made these the first anti-colonial struggles by Africans coming to the Americas.

Although the major slave trading nations of Britain and the United States abolished their slave trades in 1807 and 1808 respectively, other colonial powers like the Portuguese and the Spanish continued to trade in slaves through the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the abolition of the Anglo-American slave trade encouraged the development of continental slave trades from older plantation crop regions like the Chesapeake, Barbados, and Bahia, to newer areas like Mississippi, Trinidad, and São Paulo. It also led to the development of an Afro-Creole slave populace. Three-fourths of the slave population in Jamaica were native-born in 1834, while most of the 3.9 million enslaved Africans in the fifteen slave states of the United States in 1860 had been born there.

The overthrow of this centuries-old system of colonial slavery was relatively quick. Between the 1790s and 1880s, around 6.5 million slaves of African descent gained their freedom in the Americas. The first period between the 1790s and 1820s linked slave emancipation and anti-colonial struggles in the French Caribbean as well as Spanish colonies in South America. The great era of emancipation, however, occurred in the following decades in the Anglo-Atlantic. The legal abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834 to 1838, together with the military defeat of the slave-holding South in the American Civil War by 1865, freed over 4.5 million enslaved people. In addition, the 1848 European revolutions liberated nearly 200,000 slaves in the French, Danish, and Dutch West Indies. Twenty years after the abolition of slavery in the United States in 1865, the effective end of colonial slavery in the New World was accomplished. Brazil legally ended slavery in 1888 and became a republic the following year. The Spanish ended colonial slavery in Puerto Rico in 1873, and Cuba did so in 1886. As a result of two major anti-colonial struggles during the 1870s, together with U.S. military intervention after 1898, Cuba finally achieved its political independence from Madrid.

Hubert Henry Harrison (1883–1927), dubbed by labor leader A. Philip Randolph the "Father of Harlem Radicalism." *A leading activist and intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance, Harrison espoused the importance of socialism in fighting racism and oppression.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Although there were complex reasons for the overthrow of colonial slavery in the nineteenth century, it is important not to overlook the critical role of Africans in

the Americas as fugitives, soldiers, spies, strikers, arsonists, and national liberation fighters.

"Africa for the Africans," 1914–1920s

At the same time that slavery and colonialism were coming to an end in Brazil and Cuba, European powers were scrambling for new colonial possessions in other parts of the world. Between the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 and the beginning of World War I in 1914, the European powers parceled up the African continent among themselves, with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia. Their most important motives included broad economic interests of profit and the prospect of new markets, together with strategic concerns and geopolitical interests.

In the wake of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the end of World War I in 1918, anti-colonial and national liberation struggles gained momentum in Ireland, Egypt, Vietnam, India, Iraq, and elsewhere. These events had a critical impact upon Africans in the Caribbean and the United States, in particular through the formation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) under the leadership of Marcus Mosiah Garvey. This Jamaican-born printer, journalist, and activist founded UNIA in Kingston on July 20, 1914. In 1917 Garvey relocated to New York City, where he headquartered UNIA. His personal charisma, together with messages of racial pride, Christian faith, and economic uplift, contributed to the formation of a mass movement eventually credited with one million followers in the United States and several million adherents in forty-two nations and colonies. In a 1921 speech at his Liberty Hall headquarters in New York City, Garvey called for "Africa for the Africans," an important manifesto for anti-colonial and domestic liberation movements.

That same year, however, the Garvey movement faced mounting pressures from the failure of its shipping line, federal government investigation and harassment, and internal dissension. The opposition from black critics took ideological and organizational forms. Hubert Henry Harrison, born in the Danish West Indies, immigrated to New York City where he became involved in socialist politics. In 1917 Harrison inaugurated the Liberty League of Negro-Americans on a platform of international solidarity, political independence, and class-race consciousness. With the failure of this body, Harrison joined UNIA, serving as editor of its newspaper, the *Negro World*. After increasing disillusionment with UNIA, he founded the International Colored Unity League, which called for racial unity and an independent African-American state within the United States.

Another radical black critic was Cyril Briggs. Born on Nevis in the British West Indies, Briggs migrated to the United States in 1905 and obtained work as a journalist. Between 1918 and 1922, he ran the journal the *Crusader*, which espoused revolutionary socialism and black self-determination. The newspaper became the official journal of the African Blood Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption (ABB), a semisecret militant internationalist organization serving as the first black auxiliary to the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). The ABB only had a few hundred members, but it was one of the first black organizations to call for armed self-defense of African Americans. Most importantly, these figures and organizations represented the earliest domestic expression of an anti-colonial ideology in the United States.

Colonialism and Anti-colonialism, 1930s–1940

The era of the Great Depression and World War II witnessed important new colonial and anti-colonial developments. During the early 1930s, the U.S. militarily occupied Haiti. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP's) journal *The Crisis*, challenged this colonial aggression. In 1935 Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini ordered 500,000 Italian troops to invade Ethiopia. This small nation on the horn of East Africa was important to people of African descent around the world for several reasons, including its ancient Christian roots, its independence during the European scramble for Africa, and its importance to followers in the Garvey movement. The African-American response varied. Several support organizations sprung up quickly in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Black volunteers came forward for the defense of Ethiopia, but were reportedly dissuaded by official U.S. pressure to stop recruitment and by a potential legal violation of U.S. citizens serving in foreign armies. Most important, black Communists in Harlem, along with some Garveyites, formed the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, which organized a "Hands off Ethiopia" campaign. This campaign represented a noteworthy anti-colonial movement by African Americans.

An important ideological expression of this anti-colonialism was the "internal colony" model. As a result of African-American initiative, the 1928 meeting of the Communist International in Russia resolved that black people in the American South constituted an oppressed nation with the right to their own self-determination. Although the latter proved unlikely, this ruling allowed African Americans to promote race politics, opened up the

CPUSA to black members, and provided an influential model for a future generation of black radicals. According to Spanish Civil War volunteer and lifelong communist Harry Haywood, there was "no substantive difference in the character of Black oppression in the United States and the colonies and semi-colonies." "In both instances," explained Haywood, "imperialist policy was directed towards forcibly arresting the free economic and cultural development of the people, towards keeping them backward as an essential condition for super-exploitation" (Haywood, 1978, p. 323). Not all black radicals agreed. British West Indian and revolutionary Marxist C. L. R. James thought that African Americans represented the vanguard of the American labor movement rather than a separate rural nation. Fellow British West Indian and revolutionary Marxist Walter Rodney later argued that the "internal colony" model failed to explain "the characteristics of a working class in a colony" (Rodney, 1990, p. 105).

Less debatable was the U.S. federal government's firm opposition to black radical thought and activity. Garvey had been jailed on questionable mail-fraud charges in the 1920s. During the 1950s, intellectuals, artists, and organizers like C. L. R. James and Claudia Jones were expelled from the United States as a result of state-sponsored anticommunist witch hunts. Ironically, much like earlier slave rebel leaders who were transported out of the country rather than executed, these black radicals ended up starting new organizations and influencing national liberation struggles elsewhere. Jones went to London, where she edited the *West Indian Gazette*; James joined the anticolonial movement in Trinidad and Tobago as editor of *The Nation*.

Communist leader Claudia Jones, 1940s. *Jones founded Britain's first black weekly newspaper, the* West Indian Gazette, *and was instrumental in the creation of the Notting Hill Carnival, an annual showcase for Caribbean talent.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

During the 1930s, there were a series of anti-colonial rebellions throughout the Caribbean. In 1937 Albizu Campos led a nationalist uprising in Ponce, Puerto Rico. But the most serious revolutionary unrest occurred in the British Caribbean between 1935 and 1938. Sugar-worker strikes and revolts broke out in Saint Kitts, British Guiana, Saint Lucia, and Jamaica. Coal workers and dockworkers struck in Saint Lucia and Jamaica. There was a revolt against the increase of customs duties in Saint Vincent, while a strike by oil workers evolved into a general strike in Trinidad. There were even rumors that an armed rebellion was planned for August 1, 1938, the centennial of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. A "West India Royal Commission Report" later concluded that the colonies had developed "an articulate public opinion." Scholar and future Trinidadian prime minister Eric Williams put it more bluntly: "The road to revolution had been marked out" (Williams, 1970, p. 473).

Meanwhile, a Pan-African politics was being developed in London, the heart of the British Empire. African merchants and black students had often visited London in the past. During the 1930s, however, numerous black intellectuals could be found there: George Padmore and C. L. R. James from Trinidad; Harold Moody of Jamaica; T. Ras Makonnen from British Guyana; Nnamdi Azikiwi of Nigeria; Kwame Nkrumah from the Gold Coast; P. K. I. Seme of South Africa; and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya. These black intellectuals were responsible for the formation of several important social and political organizations, including the West African Students Union in 1925, the League of Colored Peoples in 1931, and the International African Service Bureau in 1937. These radicals and

their organizations played an important role in raising consciousness about colonial conditions and developing a solid anti-colonial ideology. African American artist Paul Robeson, for instance, befriended Nkrumah, Padmore, and Kenyatta, all of whom were to have a profound impact upon the artist's racial politics and identity with African liberation struggles. Two points are worth emphasizing concerning these black radicals in the metropole (the center of imperial power). First, many were influenced by their early years of study, travel, and politics in the United States. Padmore, Azikiwi, Seme, and Nkrumah came to the United Kingdom from the United States, while James left England for the United States in 1938 or 1939 and stayed until he was deported in 1950. During his ten years in the United States, Nkrumah noted that of all the books he studied, "the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* published in 1923" (Nkrumah, 1957, p. 45). Second, these black intellectuals recognized that the project of anti-imperialism had to be centered in the metropole.

This period also saw important intellectual and cultural anti-colonial expressions. African-American writer Arna Bontemps's historical novel *Black Thunder*, published in 1936, linked slave revolts in Haiti and Virginia in a clear expression of literary Pan-Africanism. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* (1935), James's *Black Jacobins* (1938), and Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) provided pioneering scholarly attempts to understand the role of slavery and working-class slaves in the making of the modern world. Walter Rodney later explained the significance of these works, produced during the revolutionary ferment of the 1930s, for his generation during the 1960s. These books were "about black people involved in revolution, involved in making choices, involved in the real movements of history" (Rodney, 1990, p. 15).

Decolonization, 1950s–1960s

One of the most important consequences of World War II was the beginning of the end of European colonialism. Between the late 1940s and early 1960s, older colonies in the Caribbean and Asia, together with newer ones in Africa, successfully gained their national independence. In the case of the British Caribbean colonies, the movement toward independence was accompanied by debates over federation versus national independence, with the latter eventually triumphant. Although Cuba had won its independence from Spain, it remained economically dependent upon the United States. Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement against the U.S. puppet dictator Fulgencio Batista led to the installation of a new regime in 1959. The reasons for decolonization were varied and complex, but included the exhaustion of war-ravaged colonial powers, the emergence of mass protest movements, and the rise of anti-colonial leadership.

Moreover, these anti-colonial movements in the postwar world demonstrated significant interconnections among individuals, organizations, and ideas. On the one hand, the first generation of black leaders—Nkrumah, Eric Williams, and the others—had been influenced by living, working, and studying in the United States, especially through their contacts with African Americans at historically black colleges like Lincoln University and Howard University. On the other hand, anti-colonial struggles had a significant impact upon African Americans and the Black Freedom movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Penny von Eschen argues that African Americans "not only shared an oppression with colonized peoples," but saw that "their fate in the United States was intertwined with the struggles of those peoples" (von Eschen, 1997, p. 22). The national liberation of Ghana (1957) and Cuba (1959) provided constitutional and revolutionary models of change. Numerous African-American activists like Amiri Baraka, Vickie Garvin, Robert Williams, and Angela Davis were impressed with what they saw in Cuba. Algeria (1962) and Vietnam (1975) provided contemporary examples of the successful challenge of imperial domination. China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) offered the prospect of revolutionary transformation by people of color on the world stage. As Robin Kelley puts it, "a vision of global class revolution led by oppressed people of color was not an outgrowth of the civil rights movement's failure but existed alongside, sometimes in tension with, the movement's main ideas" (Kelley, 2002, p. 62).

There were also important intellectual and cultural expressions of decolonization during this era. Frantz Fanon, a Martinican-born psychiatrist who later joined the Algerian national movement, wrote *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). These two anti-colonial works were to have a critical impact on the Black Freedom movement in the United States, as well as on anti-colonial and black-consciousness movements around the world. Furthermore, popular festivals such as Kwanza, together with new expressions in clothing, hairstyles, and music, drew from an affinity with an African cultural heritage. Indeed, anti-colonialism even entered the world of sports. World heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali was stripped of his title and risked imprisonment in 1967 for refusing to be drafted into the U.S. military to fight, in his own words, "other poor people" in Vietnam.

Anti-Neo-colonialism, 1972–1994

Although many new nations had thrown off their old colonial rulers, they found it harder to shrug off a global world of trade, markets, and capital investment. Direct rule by imperial powers was replaced by economic dependency on former colonial powers. This was the context for the rise of social revolution and the emergence of opposition to neo-colonialism, especially in the Caribbean nations of Jamaica and Grenada.

Michael Manley, son of the prominent Jamaican anti-colonial activist Norman Manley, won the 1972 election and was reelected in 1976 for a second term as prime minister. He campaigned on a platform of anti-colonialism and socialist reconstruction with his slogan "Better must come." Once in office, Manley established links with Castro's Cuba and began educational and land reforms. Most importantly, he challenged the economic power of foreign-owned industries by either assuming public control or, as in the case of the powerful bauxite-mining and alumina industries, greatly increasing their payment of taxes to the state. The U.S. government expressed concern at Manley's anti-Yankee rhetoric and his socialist activities, and the United States refused loans and attacked Jamaica's credit rating. Despite the economic slump, Manley was reelected in 1976. The following year, Manley took on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and refused the austerity of its loan conditions. But Jamaica needed credit and foreign company jobs. Manley found it difficult to pursue his socialist agenda while avoiding dependency on foreign capital. By the 1980 election, Manley's compromises had alienated his radical supporters while not satisfying his liberal opponents, which resulted in a crushing defeat for him and the PNP.

In March 1979, the New Jewel Movement (NJM) led by Maurice Bishop seized power in Grenada. Much like Manley, Bishop began to court Castro's Cuba. Washington became concerned that Grenada offered another "communist" alternative in the Western Hemisphere. The self-destruction of the NJM government and the execution of Bishop by firing squad provided the reason for U.S. intervention. On October 25, 1983, the United States landed six thousand marines and installed its own regime. This military intervention met strong condemnation by Americans of African descent in the anti-colonial tradition of the 1930s and 1950s.

It was not the Caribbean, however, that saw the greatest mobilization of African Americans on behalf of national liberation struggles. The African-American movement for liberation in South Africa has a long history stretching back to Garvey during the 1920s through the Black Freedom movement in the 1950s and 1960s. This latter freedom struggle helped spawn the black consciousness movement in South Africa during the mid-1970s that was eventually brutally crushed by the apartheid state. In response, hundreds of protests flared across the United States with several hundred arrests. Sporadic protests and continuing violence against South Africans resulted in the organization of the anti-apartheid movement, whose primary aim was to terminate racist segregation through a program of economic destabilization brought about by divestment campaigns. By 1985 to 1986, 120 public colleges and universities had either partially or fully divested their investments in South Africa. The largest divestment was by the University of California, which sold $3.1 billion of its stocks in companies trading with South Africa's apartheid state. U.S. corporations also began to get the message: by 1989, there were 106 companies operating in South Africa, down from 406 five years earlier. The combination of external pressure from sanctions and internal pressure from mass protests led by the African National Congress (ANC) and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) paved the way for South Africa's first nonracial elections in 1994. The election of Nelson Mandela to the presidency and his visit to the United States were cheered by many African-American people, a number of whom had played a not insignificant external role in making the apartheid state indefensible.

There were also important cultural expressions of opposition to neo-colonialism, especially in the musical genre of reggae. Its origins lay in Caribbean calypso and post–World War II American rhythm and blues. Bob Marley and his group the Wailers grew up in post-independent Jamaica. They advocated radical politics in their music from their first hit "Simmer Down" in 1964, through Rasta theology of liberation, to Marley's early death from cancer in 1981. During the 1970s, Bob Marley and the Wailers had supported Michael Manley's policies of social redistribution of wealth through such albums as *Exodus* and *Natty Dread*. Marley was an important popularizer of social issues through reggae to Jamaican and Caribbean youth, as well as millions around the world. Much of this music was also reflected in the transnational migration of Afro-Caribbean people between North American, European, and African cities.

Anti-globalization in the Early Twenty-First Century

Anti-colonial movements played an important role in overthrowing colonial slavery, as well as in establishing national independence in the modern world. But there are new challenges for the 150 million Americans of African descent today, many of whom continue to suffer disparate

rates of poverty, poor health, and political powerlessness. These problems are compounded, rather than alleviated, by globalization policies stewarded by international financial organizations like the IMF, the World Bank, and the finance ministers of the eight richest nations represented by the Group of Eight (G8). The seeds of a growing opposition might be found in local and national movements, as well as in international movements such as Jubilee 2000 and other debt-cancellation organizations. In addition, belief in the power of African-descended people to overthrow slavery and colonialism points to a capacity to challenge globalization, or at least to one day offer a more humane and decent alternative to its destructive tendencies.

See also Briggs, Cyril; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Harrison, Hubert Henry; James, C. L. R.; Jones, Claudia; Manley, Michael; Marley, Bob; New Jewel Movement; Reggae; Robeson, Paul; Rodney, Walter

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JEFFREY R. KERR-RITCHIE (2005)

Anti-Haitianism

Anti-Haitianism consists of a hostile, unsympathetic, or derogatory stance towards Haiti, its people, and culture. It is, therefore, a particular kind of bigotry: a prejudice against a specific nation and its citizens. Because of the background of the Haitian population, composed largely of persons of African ancestry, anti-Haitianism is permeated by racism and deprecating notions about people of African descent in general. However, it possesses special manifestations, traceable to the way in which the Haitian nation came to exist and to the specific milieu in which it emerged.

Origins of Anti-Haitianism

Anti-Haitianism is a relatively modern phenomenon. Its genesis could be traced to the slave rebellion in the French colony of Saint Domingue in 1791. Up to then there was not a specific ideology that maligned the black inhabitants of Saint Domingue/Haiti for belonging to a concrete community. Until the eruption of the slave revolution, Saint Domingue was regarded as an archetypical colony. Actually, other Caribbean colonies sought to replicate Haiti's economy. The astounding profits generated by it, based on the exportation of tropical staples, aroused the jealousy of many non-French bureaucrats, planters, and businessmen. The backbone of this colonial utopia was its slave population, composed of over 400,000 slaves, mostly Africans, submitted to a harsh work system.

According to the colonialists' view, black equaled African equaled slave. Moreover, Africans and their descendants were perceived as barbaric and incapable of attaining civilization, defined as white (that is, Occidental or European). Nonwhites in general were regarded as backward and as a potential menace to civilization. This inca-

pacity for reaching civilization was a natural burden of the so-conceived inferior races. Slaves in Saint Domingue were depicted according to these notions, but this sort of prejudice affected Africans and their descendants everywhere.

The slave revolution and the creation of the Republic of Haiti (1804) modified this. From then on, Haitians acquired a particularly malevolent aura. Haiti came to symbolize the worst nightmare of colonial elites. It represented the victorious but dreadful rebellion of the nonwhite against the white; it epitomized the triumph of barbarism over civilization. According to sociologist Anthony P. Maingot, this image of Haiti produced a "terrified consciousness" in the Caribbean (Maingot, p. 53). Members of a particular community (Haiti) were regarded as a menace that jeopardized the stability of Caribbean societies based on slavery. This panic embodied the first form of anti-Haitianism. It resounded all over the Americas, where elites of European ascendancy based their privileged position on the domination of laborers of either African or Amerindian origins.

Vodou and Anti-Haitianism

Vodou, the religion of most of the Haitian population, was one of the reasons for the emergence of that terrified consciousness. Like other Caribbean religions, vodou's origins could be traced to Africa. It developed in Haiti among the slaves during the colonial period and was the main bonding force among the enslaved Africans, who came from a diversity of cultural backgrounds. For instance, vodou played a central role in the slave uprising of 1791.

Vodou was linked to witchcraft, cannibalism, and zombiism as a result of misconceptions that acquired popularity during the nineteenth century. These biases were a major influence in the emergence of anti-Haitianism. They reinforced the ideas about Haitians' backwardness and barbarism. Vodou was perceived as evidence of the imperviousness of Haitians to civilized forms of life. These images of barbarism were bolstered in the United States as a consequence of the military occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Literature, plays, travel narratives, movies, and popular magazines, as well as scholarly works, disseminated such ideas about vodou. In Haiti itself, vodou was chastised by the social elites. This internal discrimination against the religion of the vast majority of the population bolstered the anti-Haitian feelings of foreign onlookers. Haiti seemed to be shrouded in mystery, black magic, inhumanity, and wicked forces.

Genesis of Dominican Anti-Haitianism

In the Dominican Republic, the country that shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti, prevails a particularly vindictive type of anti-Haitianism. Dominican anti-Haitianism is infused by a deep nationalism that often becomes chauvinism. Dominican anti-Haitianism began to develop during the colonial period, when Spain and France shared the island of Hispaniola. According to Dominican nationalist accounts, the emergence of a French colony in Hispaniola amputated the original territory of Spanish Santo Domingo. Accordingly, Haiti is depicted as an intruder.

However, during the colonial period Dominican elites saw Saint Domingue as a model colony. Their animosity was directed against the French, not against the plantation system itself or against the black labor force. But this changed with the slave uprising in Haiti. Dominicans were also terrified by the revolution. Conceived as a war of races, the revolution aroused the specter of the Africanization of Caribbean societies. This perception was furthered by the occupation of Santo Domingo by Haitian armies, the disruption of its economic activities, and the killing and forced emigration of civilians.

The bitterness of Dominicans increased during the Haitian Domination (1822–1844), when Haiti occupied Santo Domingo. Nationalists argue that Santo Domingo's economic and cultural potential was hampered during this period, limiting its possibilities of becoming a modern nation. They claim that the aim of Haitian policies was to abate Santo Domingo's national identity and to integrate its territory into Haiti. This allegation was reinforced after Santo Domingo's independence from Haiti (1844), when the two countries engaged in several wars. Thus, during the mid-nineteenth century Haiti was perceived as a threat to the existence of the Dominican nation.

Twentieth-Century Dominican Anti-Haitianism

Haiti had desisted from regaining the Dominican Republic by the late nineteenth century. By then, the conflicts between the two countries revolved around their territorial limits. The border problem has haunted the two nations ever since, even though they have signed several frontier treaties. This issue and the emigration of Haitians to the Dominican Republic fostered anti-Haitian feelings in the latter country. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Haitians were mainly laborers on the sugar plantations. In addition, thousands settled in the Dominican side of the border.

During Rafael L. Trujillo's dictatorship (1930–1961), anti-Haitianism became a state policy. Such Dominican intellectuals as Manuel A. Peña Batlle (1902–1954) and Joaquín Balaguer (1906–2002) developed historical interpretations that agreed with the anti-Haitian ideology of Trujillo's regime. They depicted the presence of Haitians in Dominican territory as a pacific invasion. Likewise, they emphasized the primitiveness of the Haitians and the misfortunes suffered by the Dominican Republic as a result of being ravaged by its neighbors. In line with these views, in 1935–1936 the government revised the frontier treaty of 1929. It also took drastic measures to halt the occupation of Dominican land by Haitians. Thus, in 1937 thousands of Haitians were massacred in the frontier region.

Anti-Haitianism intensified in the Dominican Republic during the late twentieth century. The flow of migrants increased as economic conditions worsened in Haiti. Both in the countryside and in urban settings, Haitian laborers, peddlers, and the homeless became omnipresent in the Dominican Republic. This deepened the impression that the so-called pacific invasion was leading to the Haitianization of Dominican society. Though not always publicly acknowledged, often this apprehension was based on racial notions, on the idea that Haitians contributed to the darkening or the Africanization of the country. Although persons born in Dominican territory are constitutionally defined as nationals of the country, the offspring of Haitians often faced systematic discrimination. State agencies, the media, and the armed forces have been particularly active in fostering the discrimination against Haitians and their Dominican offspring.

Other Manifestations of Anti-Haitianism

Dominican anti-Haitianism is but one specific form of anti-Haitian feelings. Other forms of anti-Haitianism proliferated during the late twentieth century. A deteriorating economy and increasing political instability propelled the emigration of thousands of Haitians from the 1980s on. Because of its proximity to Haiti, the United States has been the principal destination of Haitians fleeing from poverty and political violence. Most of these immigrants try to enter the country illegally, crossing the sea in small and fragile ships. For this reason, these immigrants are known as boat people.

But the U.S. government has been reluctant to grant asylum to Haitian boat people. The official U.S. policy has been to return Haitians to their homeland, where most likely local authorities will harass them. This practice contrasts with the policy regarding Cuban boat people, who are granted sanctuary if they are able to reach the U.S. coast. This different treatment is justified by claiming that Cubans escape from tyranny while Haitians flee their country for economic reasons. However, Haitians and human rights organizations have condemned this selective policy as a veiled form of anti-Haitianism. Often this new form of discrimination is based on health reasons. Thus, the high prevalence of AIDS/HIV in Haiti has been used as an argument to deny admission of Haitians to the United States. While some of these arguments are a response to legitimate concerns, some may reflect new forms of sheer prejudice. After all, it is conceivable that racism, as well as old anxieties and prejudices, might still survive cloaked in scientific issues and uttered in modern language.

See also AIDS in the Americas; Haitian Revolution; Voodoo

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PEDRO L. SAN MIGUEL (2005)

Apollo Theater

The Apollo Theater has stood in the heart of Harlem, New York, as the single most important African-American theater for more than half a century, presenting major stars and launching the careers of previously unknown amateur musicians, dancers, and comics.

Located at 253 West 125th Street, the Apollo opened in 1913 as Hurtig and Seamon's Music Hall, presenting

white vaudeville and burlesque theater to white audiences. As burlesque routines lost popularity and became incorporated into the downtown musical comedy revues, the theater was rechristened the Apollo by Sidney Cohen, who bought it in 1933. The inaugural show, billed as "Jazz à la Carte" and held on January 26, 1934, featured a film and several types of acts, including the Benny Carter Orchestra.

Under the direction of Frank Schiffman, the Apollo soon became famous for presenting top performers in lavish costumes on often exotic stage settings in shows hosted by Ralph Cooper. The 1,600-seat auditorium hosted thirty shows each week and was the site of regular live broadcasts on twenty-one radio stations across the country. The greatest jazz musicians of the era performed at the Apollo, including the Duke Ellington Orchestra, Lionel Hampton's band, and Louis Jordan. Perhaps the most famous of the Apollo's offerings was its amateur hour, held every Wednesday night from 11:00 P.M. until midnight, when the performances of seven or eight contestants would be judged by audience response. Those who failed to earn the audience's approval were booed offstage in mid-performance, but winners, including Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, and Pearl Bailey, were sometimes rewarded with recording and performance contracts. The thrilling experience of concerts at the Apollo during this period is captured on a recording of jazz broadcasts made at the Apollo in the mid-1940s, *Live at the Apollo* (1985), including performances by the Count Basie Orchestra, the Jimmie Lunceford Orchestra, and Marjorie Cooper, a singer who failed to gain the amateur hour audience's approval.

With the demise of the swing era, many of New York's grand black theaters and nightclubs closed, but the Apollo remained popular by embracing the new sounds of rhythm and blues. By the mid-1950s the Apollo regularly featured rhythm and blues revues, as well as gospel stars and comedians such as Moms Mabley and Pigmeat Markham. With the ascendance of soul music in the 1960s, the theater presented sold-out runs by soul singers such as James Brown, Sam Cooke, and Jackie Wilson and popular shows by Dionne Warwick, the Jackson 5, Gladys Knight, and Funkadelic. Brown's album *Live at the Apollo* (1963) captured not only one of the greatest performances by the "Godfather of Soul" but the extraordinary fervor of which the discerning Apollo audience was capable.

By the mid-1970s black entertainers had gained access to better-paying stadium and arena venues, and the theater could no longer afford to draw top acts. The Apollo fell on hard times, presenting only a few dozen shows per year, and closed its doors in 1977. In 1981 an investment group headed by Percy Sutton bought the theater out of bankruptcy for $225,000. Despite being declared a national historic landmark in 1983, the reinstatement of amateur hour in 1985, and a guarantee of its mortgage by New York State, the theater failed to succeed. In 1988 it underwent a $20 million renovation, but it continued to lose money—$2 million a year until 1991, when it was taken over by a nonprofit organization led by Leon Denmark and Congressman Charles Rangel. Since that time, despite continued financial losses and complaints by city officials about its administration, the Apollo has led the revitalization of 125th Street by once again presenting both the stars and unknowns of black popular music, from B. B. King to Luther Vandross, hip-hop, and rap shows.

In 2001 the Apollo began a huge expansion and restoration. New lighting and sound systems have been installed as part of the renovations, which have been funded in part through proceeds from celebrity benefit shows.

See also Bailey, Pearl; Brown, James; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Fitzgerald, Ella; Knight, Gladys; Mabley, Jackie "Moms"; Vaughan, Sarah

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IRA BERGER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Aponte, José Antonio

c. 1756
April 9, 1812

The life of the carpenter, sculptor, and alleged rebel leader José Antonio Aponte exemplifies the experiences of people of African descent in Cuba during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Although the precise date of his birth is unknown (historians believe he was probably born in 1756), the extant documentation shows that Aponte was a free man of color who was part of the black artisanry in colonial Cuba. As was true in other parts of the Americas, Cuban slaves and free persons of color dominated the

urban trades and service sectors of the colonial economy. Aponte, in addition to being a carpenter and sculptor, was also a member of the colonial militia, which was, like other colonial militias established by Spain during the colonial period, composed of men of color and intended to help defend the colony from attack by rival powers. Thus Aponte was part of the more privileged sector of the Afro-Cuban population.

From January through March of 1812, a series of rebellions launched by slaves and free people of color erupted across Cuba. Rebels burned down sugar plantations in the island's interior and on the outskirts of Havana, and Spanish authorities imprisoned hundreds of slaves and free persons of color. On April 9, 1812, they executed the man they saw as the leader of the Havana rebellion: José Antonio Aponte.

In the early 1800s, the status of Cuba's free population of color was jeopardized by the expansion of slavery on the island. Since the seventeenth century, the Caribbean islands under European colonial rule supplied most of the world's sugar supply, and the production of sugar depended upon the massive exploitation of the labor of millions of African slaves. Like other Caribbean colonies, Cuba had been a slave society since the Spanish conquest in 1492. But in contrast to other Caribbean societies, such as Jamaica or Saint Domingue (today Haiti), plantation slavery was not the dominant labor system in Cuba. Rather, the island's economy was structured on small scale peasant production, cattle ranching, and contraband trade with other Caribbean colonies. However, the destruction of the sugar-plantation economy by the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (1791–1804) left a vacuum in the world sugar market. Soon thereafter, Cuban planters increasingly invested in sugar and slaves. Between 1790 and 1820, more than 300,000 African slaves arrived in Cuba. The development of sugar and the expansion of slavery dramatically transformed Cuba from a society with a relatively fluid class structure to a society whose hierarchy was more rigidly organized along racial lines. The expansion of racial slavery put free people of color in a precarious position. Fears of black rebellion routinely circulated throughout Cuban society, particularly after the outbreak of the slave revolt in Saint Domingue.

It was within this context that the slave revolts of 1812 unfolded. After arresting and interrogating suspected rebels, the Spanish colonial authorities became convinced that Aponte was the leader of a massive conspiracy. The most incriminating evidence was a book of drawings that they confiscated from his home. The book had a complex constellation of images produced by Aponte, but the ones that captured the attention of colonial authorities the most were maps of Havana and its fortifications, along with images of black soldiers defeating white soldiers in battle. Testimony from another accused conspirator claimed that Aponte also had images of the Haitian rebels Henri Christophe and Jean Jacques Dessalines. This seemingly solid evidence led the authorities to execute Aponte and a number of other free men of color for conspiring to incite a slave rebellion.

After decades of neglect, the Aponte Rebellion has become the subject of scholarly debate in recent years. Scholars such as Stephan Palmié have questioned the claim that Aponte was the mastermind behind the conspiracies. Palmié argues that historians' efforts to make Aponte into an ideal antislavery rebel has led them to overlook the other fascinating aspects of Aponte's book of drawings, which seemed to have little connection to an antislavery plot. Other scholars, including the historian Matt Childs, have acknowledged Palmié's points but still insist that the extant documentation supports the claim of an extensive conspiracy. Although Aponte clearly had relationships with a number of the rebels, his precise connection to the rebellion is difficult to determine. The debate on the rebellion exemplifies the challenges facing historians of slave resistance, who have to rely on the documents that were produced by white power structures. Although Aponte's exact role remains unclear, what is clear is that slaves and free persons of color in Cuba were active in resisting their oppression and saw the transformations enveloping the Caribbean at this time as an opportunity to strike for their freedom.

See also Christophe, Henri; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Haitian Revolution

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FRANK A. GURIDY (2005)

Archaeology and Archaeologists

The field of historical archaeology emerged in the United States in the mid-twentieth century out of a national preservationist movement that sought to celebrate the achievements of white America. Archaeological investigations at Jamestown, Plymouth, and Williamsburg, as well as Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, and Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, provided evidence for researchers to reconstruct the great places and venerate the great figures in American history. The experience of African Americans was all but overlooked in the early years of these endeavors. However, the civil rights movement motivated researchers to reconsider the narrow Eurocentric focus of their studies, and many historical archaeologists began to explore the black experience in the United States. Archaeological interest in the African diaspora grew with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The act, implemented by Congress to preserve and protect sites of national and historical significance, included broad language that opened the door for historical archaeologists to receive federal funding for investigations aimed at delineating the lives of historically disenfranchised groups, including African Americans.

Early historical archaeological research into the African diaspora focused heavily on investigating the lives of enslaved peoples in the Americas. The coercive structures of New World slavery stifled literacy among American slaves. As a result, those interested in understanding the history of slavery and plantation life have had to rely on the small number of firsthand accounts written by slaves or the biased reporting of literate whites, usually slave owners of the elite planter class. The methods of historical archaeology, therefore, offered a unique opportunity to explore the lives of enslaved peoples who left few written records. Using architectural evidence, human skeletal remains, and broken bits of pottery, glass, and metal, historical archaeologists have helped reconstruct the African-American experience and shed new light on a people who have often been silenced in traditional histories.

In the late 1960s Charles H. Fairbanks (1984) undertook the first systematic excavations of slave quarter sites at the Kingsley plantation on the northeast coast of Florida. Fairbanks recovered evidence of house construction techniques, diet, and ceramic usage that provided insights into the material conditions of slaves in the South. Fairbanks also used the information to challenge written accounts of slavery and plantation life. For example, Fairbanks recovered gunflints and evidence of bullet manufacture from the slave quarters, which clearly indicated that slaves at Kingsley plantation possessed and used firearms. The discovery was surprising because legal codes in the South specifically outlawed gun ownership by slaves. The excavations at Kingsley also uncovered animal bones, including those of raccoon, deer, and rabbit, which indicated that wild animal species made up a large proportion of the slaves' diet. Fairbanks speculated that the slaves at Kingsley hunted wild game and used the meat to supplement the weekly food rations given to them by the plantation owner. The evidence shows that slaves were active agents in shaping their material world and were not merely dependent on the paternalistic controls of the planter class.

Yet Fairbanks and others were primarily interested in discovering "Africanisms"—material culture evidence for the survival of West and West Central African cultural traditions in the Americas. Cowry shells and glass beads, used in West and West Central Africa as currency and forms of adornment and brought to the Americas by African slaves, became markers that helped archaeologists identify sites once occupied by enslaved peoples. However, it soon became clear that slaves brought few material possessions with them from Africa and that historical archaeologists would have to refine their search for surviving African cultural artifacts in the Americas. They focused on the use of European materials in distinctly African ways.

Studying ceramic vessels recovered from the slave quarters at Cannon's Point plantation in the Georgia Sea Islands, John Solomon Otto (1984) found that slaves used a variety of imported European ceramics. However, Otto found that bowls, rather than plates, represented a disproportionate number of the ceramics from the slave quarter sites. According to Otto, the large number of bowls indicated that slaves at Cannon's Point pursued West and West Central African culinary practices, which stressed the eating of stewed foods from bowls rather than roasts from plates. Animal bones recovered from a slave quarter at Monticello also show that the cuts of meat used by slaves were consistent with stewing.

In the Caribbean island of Barbados, in the early 1970s, Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Lange (1978) developed another pioneering program focused on the archaeology of slavery and plantation life. Unlike Fairbanks, who studied domestic dwellings, Handler and Lange investigated the slave burial ground at the Newton sugar estate. They sought to understand the demography, health conditions, social life, and mortuary practices of plantation slaves in Barbados. Handler and Lange identified mortuary practices consistent with West and West Central African cultural traditions, including the peripheral place-

ment of infants and children in the cemetery and the body orientations of the deceased. Moreover, the deceased were interred with grave goods, a common practice in West and West Central African mortuary rites. One individual, for example, was buried with a red clay tobacco pipe that had been produced in Africa and brought to Barbados by African slaves. However, most grave goods were of European manufacture. For example, white kaolin clay tobacco pipes, imported from Britain, were among the most prominent grave goods buried with the slaves at Newton. Yet rather than seeing the presence of European tobacco pipes as evidence that slaves in Barbados simply embraced European materials and customs, Handler and Lange stressed the blending of African and European cultural traditions. Thus, although slaves incorporated European tobacco pipes into their material world, they used them in distinctly African ways, as grave goods. Handler and Lange also scoured documentary sources to learn how slaves in Barbados acquired the kaolin clay tobacco pipes. By combining archaeological and documentary records, Handler and Lange were able to uncover an insidious reward-incentive system devised by whites in Barbados to elicit a favorable slave disposition. Tobacco and tobacco pipes were key items in that system.

The search for Africanisms continued in the United States. James Deetz (1977) investigated life at the freedman site Parting Ways in Massachusetts. As with Handler and Lange, Deetz focused not on the direct retention of African material culture but on the use of European goods in an African manner. For example, Deetz examined architecture at Parting Ways in order to show that the occupants recreated West and West Central African housing styles. Known to architectural historians as shotgun houses, the dwellings reflect an underlying African cognitive model that used twelve-foot dimensions in house construction. Although the glass windows and shingled roof of the structure gave it the appearance of a typical New England–style dwelling, the mental principles that shaped the size and spatial arrangement of the house had their origins in Africa. Root cellars, an architectural feature common on slave dwelling sites in the United States, may also reflect the continuity of West and West Central African storage techniques.

Perhaps the best evidence for the retention of African cultural traditions in the Americas comes from the study of slave-made coarse earthenware ceramics. Known to archaeologists as *colonoware*, these vessels were originally thought to have been a variety of Native American pottery. Yet the ubiquity of *colonoware* on plantation sites soon made it clear that slaves in the South exploited local clay resources and fired their own variety of pots. Leland Ferguson (1991) compared *colonoware* vessels from South Carolina with West and West Central African pottery types in order to show that the manufacturing techniques and stylistic attributes of *colonoware* had their roots in Africa. Moreover, Ferguson examined ritualistic designs, such as stars and crosses, incised on the bases of *colonoware* pots. These decorated *colonowares* were often found on river bottoms near slave settlements. Ferguson argued that the designs were similar to cosmological symbols used by the Kongo of West Central Africa to celebrate water deities. According to Ferguson, the presence of such designs on *colonoware* pots recovered from river bottoms in South Carolina reflected the ongoing spiritual beliefs of the Kongo people, who made up a large number of South Carolina slaves. Matthew Emerson's (1994) study of clay tobacco pipes in the Chesapeake also showed that slaves manufactured these pipes and incised them with traditional West and West Central African motifs. The presence of African-derived iconography on *colonoware* pots and clay tobacco pipes helped enslaved peoples in the Americas maintain material and symbolic links to their African homeland. According to Ferguson and Emerson, the slaves' use of these items represented a subtle form of resistance to the customs, beliefs, and material world of whites.

Historical archaeologists have also explored the experience of African Americans in the post-Emancipation era. Theresa A. Singleton and Mark D. Bograd (1995) and Charles E. Orser (2004), for example, studied changing settlement patterns on postbellum plantations in order to show how black tenant farmers in the South distanced themselves from the oversight and control of the planter class. Other researchers have looked at the migration of African Americans to northern cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and studied the ways in which these new migrants used material culture to define social boundaries and challenge racist ideologies. Archaeologists have also studied the homes of famous African Americans, including Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. Du Bois. Yet, perhaps the most important archaeological work in recent years has been the study of sites associated with the Underground Railroad. These sites have become locations for memorializing the African-American struggle for freedom and equality and for celebrating the endurance of African America.

See also African Burial Ground Project; Africanisms; Architecture, Vernacular; Historians/Historiography

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FREDERICK H. SMITH (2005)

Architecture

This entry consists of two distinct but interrelated articles.

OVERVIEW
Richard Dozier
Gretchen G. Bank
Mikael D. Kriz

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE
John Michael Vlach

Overview

African Americans have been involved in building and architecture since the colonial era. The colonial plantation system relied heavily on slave craftsmen imported from Africa, who brought with them skills in ironworking, woodcarving, and the use of earth and stone to produce buildings, furniture, and tools. Written records and physical examination of building technologies indicate slave involvement in most early plantation construction throughout Louisiana, such as Magnolia in Plaquemines Parish in 1795, Oakland in Bermuda, and the mansion in Cloutierville that became the home of the nineteenth-century novelist Kate Chopin. Gippy Plantation, in South Carolina, and Winsor Hall, in Greenville, Georgia, were also built by slave artisans. Some of these slave artisans were hired out to other owners as well, such as James Bell of Virginia, who was sent to Alabama to construct three spiral staircases for the Watkins-Moore-Grayson mansion.

A number of free blacks also designed and built in the antebellum South. Charles, a free black carpenter, woodworker, and mason, contracted with Robin de Logny in 1787 to build Destrehan Plantation in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. Free black planters in Louisiana built plantation houses that include Mignon Carlin's Arlington (1850), Pierre Cazelar's Cazelar House, and Andrew Drumford's Parrish Plantation. Louis Metoyer, one of fourteen children of a former slave, studied architecture in Paris and designed the Melrose house and several other later buildings in Isle Breville, a settlement of "free people of color." Central African influences are noticeable in most of his work, especially the African House (c. 1800), designated a landmark as the only structure of its type in the United States.

This period of African-American activity in building and construction came to an abrupt end after the Civil War. Increasing industrialization, developing trade unions in the cities of the North that excluded blacks, and the economic depression that accompanied Reconstruction largely eliminated the free black planter class and with it the independent artisan and craftsman. Many free black landowners, such as the Metoyers, either lost or had their property holdings significantly reduced.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, education throughout the United States became increasingly formalized in all disciplines, including architecture, making it more difficult for craftsmen to construct buildings independently. First basic curricula, then more formal programs of architecture began to be established across the country. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), founded in 1861, established the first architectural curriculum in the United States in 1868. That same year, the Freedman's Bureau founded Hampton Institute in Virginia to train black men and women, many of them former slaves, to "go out and teach and lead their people." From the start, Hampton offered a full building-skills program, and a number of campus buildings were designed and built by faculty and students.

Booker T. Washington modeled Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University) in Alabama on Hampton, his alma mater, and expanded the school to include training in architecture and the building trades. By 1893 the school had been renamed Tuskegee Normal & Industrial Institute

African House, built in Louisiana around 1800, designed by Louis Metoyer. *Metoyer, one of fourteen children of a former slave, studied architecture in Paris and designed a number of buildings in Isle Breville, a community of free blacks in Louisiana. Central African influences are evident in the structure pictured here, the only one of its kind standing in the United States.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and, under the direction of Robert R. Taylor, offered a complete architectural drawing program in its Department of Mechanical Industries. Tuskegee's early buildings were designed by faculty members and built under their supervision by students with student-made bricks. School records indicate that the department was established to make a profit—though this proved elusive—and that it took on design and construction jobs outside the school.

The Tuskegee program differed significantly from Hampton's in two ways; it employed a black faculty and it promoted a strong service ethic. Washington linked his architecture program to the school's primary mission to uplift a people. His program also sought to reinstate the role of the black artisan in the skilled trades. Speaking in 1901, Washington stated, "We must have not only carpenters, but also architects; we must not only have people who do the work with the hand but persons who at the same time plan the work with the brain." Aside from the work done at Hampton and Tuskegee, he continued, there were few African Americans trained in the basic principles of architecture. Indeed, in Washington's time (and to this day), the number of practicing black architects in the United States was (and is) disproportionately low. In the 1890 census, which was the first to provide a separate tabulation for architects of color, there were only forty-three black architects, a number that would rise, albeit slowly, over the succeeding decades.

A number of the earliest recognized black architects began their careers at Tuskegee as students or as faculty. Washington recruited Robert R. Taylor (1868–1942) in 1892 to develop the Department of Mechanical Industries. Taylor became the first black graduate of an architecture program, graduating from MIT in 1892. During his thirty-seven years at Tuskegee he became a vice president and confidant of Washington, designed many of Tuskegee's major buildings, and supervised much of the campus planning. Taylor retired to North Carolina in 1933 and served as a trustee of the Fayetteville State Teachers Col-

lege. Taylor died of a heart attack in 1942 while on a visit to Tuskegee. Other Tuskegee architecture faculty included Wallace A. Rayfield, William Sidney Pittman, and Walter T. Bailey.

Wallace A. Rayfield (1874–1941) taught at Tuskegee from the 1890s until 1907. Like Taylor, he designed several campus buildings but eventually left to establish the first known black architectural office in Birmingham, Alabama, whose successful practice was focused on church design, one of the major areas of the field then open to blacks. He became the national architect for the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church. Other Rayfield church designs include the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Chicago and Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a landmark of the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

John A. Lankford (1874–1946), one of Taylor's first pupils, established one of the first black architectural offices in Washington, D.C., in 1897. In 1898 he designed and supervised the construction of the $100,000 Coleman Cotton Mill in Concord, North Carolina. He later worked as an instructor in architecture at several black colleges and served as superintendent of the Department of Mechanical Industries at Shaw University. Lankford served as the national supervising architect for the African Methodist Episcopal Church, for which he designed Big Bethel, a landmark of Atlanta's Auburn Avenue. He also designed churches in West and South Africa. The Grand Fountain United Order of the True Reformers, organizers of one of the first black-owned banks, commissioned him to design their national office in Washington. Lankford also participated in the creation of the School of Architecture at Howard University. Both he and Rayfield published their work in leading black journals of the time, including *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*.

William Sidney Pittman (1875–1958), after earning degrees at Tuskegee and Drexel institutes, was a member of the Tuskegee faculty from 1899 to 1905. In 1905 Pittman moved to Washington, D.C., to establish an architectural office. In 1907 he married Booker T. Washington's daughter Portia. Pittman's output included designs for schools, libraries, other public buildings, and lodges, from 1907 to 1913, which established his reputation as one of the nation's most promising black architects. The frequent "Negro Exhibits" held at national expositions following the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 gave Pittman and many other black architects a chance to display their skills. Pittman won the national competition for the design of the Negro Building for the Jamestown Exposition in Virginia in 1907, a building that was erected by an all-black team of contractors and workmen. In 1913 Pittman and his family moved to Dallas, Texas, where he lived until his death in 1958.

Walter T. Bailey (1882–1941) studied architecture at the University of Illinois, graduating from the program in 1904. From 1905 through 1914 he oversaw the architectural program at Tuskegee. Following in the school's tradition, Bailey oversaw the design and construction of new campus buildings and the remodeling and repairing of older ones. In 1910 he was awarded an honorary master's degree in architecture from the University of Illinois. In 1914 Bailey left Tuskegee to establish his own office in Memphis. There, Bailey designed numerous buildings for African-American fraternal organizations, including the Pythian Bathhouse and Sanitarium (1923) in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Fraternal Savings Bank and Trust Company Building (1924) in Memphis, and the Tennessee State Pythian Building (1925) in Nashville. In 1926 he began designing the National Pythian Temple in Chicago. Shortly before the building was completed in 1928, Bailey moved his office to Chicago, where he practiced until his death in 1941. When the Pythian Temple was completed, the eight-story, $850 000 structure stood as the largest building financed, designed, and constructed by African Americans.

George Washington Foster Jr. (1866–1923) studied at Cooper Union in New York (1888–1889) and worked as a draftsman in Henry J. Hardenberg's firm; it is believed that he later worked on the Flatiron Building (1903) in New York City as a member of Daniel Burnham's firm. In 1902 he became the first black architect licensed to practice in New Jersey. After meeting Vertner Woodson Tandy through the Elks' "colored branch," the two established a partnership in 1909 that lasted until 1915. One of the highest achievements from the latter period of Foster's life was the commission to build the Mother African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Harlem.

Vertner Woodson Tandy (1885–1949) became the first African-American architect licensed in New York State. A Tuskegee alumnus (1905), Tandy was also the first black graduate of Cornell University's School of Architecture (1907), where he helped found Alpha Phi, the first black fraternity at Cornell. The most significant commissions of Tandy and Foster's practice in New York include St. Philip's Episcopal Church and its Queen Anne–style Parish House (1910–1911) and the Harlem townhouse of Madame C. J. Walker. After their partnership dissolved, Tandy designed Madame Walker's country house, the Villa Lewaro in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (1917–1918); the Harlem Elks Lodge; Smalls' Paradise; and the Abraham Lincoln Houses in the Bronx, a joint venture with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill in the 1940s.

John Lewis Wilson (1898–1989), who worked for Tandy, came from a prominent Mississippi family. He was inspired to study architecture by Rayfield, who designed a church for his father, a well-known minister. In 1923 Wilson became the first black student to attend the School of Architecture at Columbia University, but after graduating, he was unable to find work at any of the white firms to which he applied. After the Harlem Riots of 1935, Wilson was the single African American appointed to a team of seven architects to design the Harlem River Houses, one of the first federal housing projects. His appointment came after protests from the black community.

Julian Francis Abele (1881–1950) graduated from the School of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania in 1902. That same year, Abele enrolled in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he graduated in 1903 with a certificate in architectural design. It is believed that at this time he studied at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. In 1906 Abele was hired as a junior architect by Horace Trumbauer in Philadelphia. By 1908 he was senior designer for the office and responsible for all major design work. Some of the buildings that Abele was responsible for while working in Trumbauer's office include Harvard's Widener Library (1915), the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1926), and forty-nine buildings on Duke University's campus (1925–1940). Following the death of Trumbauer in 1938, Abele and Trumbauer's architectural engineer, William Frank, continued operating under the name Office of Horace Trumbauer. At this point Abele began signing his own name to his drawings and became one of the few black members of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1942.

Paul Revere Williams (1894–1980) was discouraged by his teacher at Los Angeles Polytechnic High School from pursuing a career in architecture because of his race. Ignoring this advice, he worked his way through the University of Southern California's School of Architecture and went on to achieve considerable fame. He is best known for his designs for houses of such Hollywood celebrities as Tyrone Power, Betty Grable, Julie London, Frank Sinatra, Cary Grant, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Barbara Stanwyck, Bert Lahr, and William Holden. For middle-class homeowners, he published *Small Homes of Tomorrow* (1945) and *New Homes for Tomorrow* (1946). In addition, Williams designed the Los Angeles International Airport restaurant building and the Freedmen's Hospital at Howard University. In 1926 he became the first black member of the AIA and was named by President Calvin Coolidge to the National Monument Commission. In 1956 Williams became the first black to be elected to the AIA College of Fellows. Over the years, Williams received numerous awards for his residential designs, as well as honorary degrees from Atlanta, Howard, and Tuskegee universities. World War II had a profound effect on the progress of African Americans in the architectural profession. In a milestone decision for black architects, the War Department awarded a $4.2 million contract in 1941 to McKissack & McKissack, a black architecture, engineering, and construction firm, founded in 1909, for the construction of Tuskegee Air Force Base. Hilyard Robinson, an architect practicing in Washington, D.C., won the architectural-design portion of the job. In 1943 Allied Engineers, Inc., a California firm organized by Williams, received a $39 million contract for the design and construction of the U.S. Navy base in Long Beach, California. Williams also contributed to the establishment of the Standard Demountable Homes Company of California, which focused on providing housing for war workers.

With funds newly available through the GI Bill of 1944, returning African-American veterans from World War II were eligible for educational opportunities far exceeding those open to previous generations. Racial segregation still limited their choices, however, creating unprecedented enrollments at Howard, Hampton, and Tuskegee. In 1949 Howard University's School of Architecture became the first predominantly black architecture school to be accredited. However, a series of U.S. Supreme Court cases culminating in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* opened the doors of white architectural schools to black students.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., the civil rights leader and executive director of the National Urban League, forced the architectural profession to reconsider its wider social responsibilities when he delivered his famous keynote address "Man and His Social Conscience" at the annual national convention of the American Institute of Architects in 1968. Young told his audience:

> You are not a profession that has distinguished itself by your social and civic contributions to the cause of civil rights, and I am sure that does not come to you as a shock. . . . You are most distinguished by your thunderous silence and your complete irrelevance. . . . You are employers, you are key people in the planning of our cities today. You share the responsibility for the mess we are in, in terms of the white noose around the central city. We didn't just suddenly get this situation. It was carefully planned.

Soon after Young's speech, the Ford Foundation established scholarships for black architecture students as part of a far-reaching program that included grants to

Julian Francis Abele (1881–1950)

Architect Julian F. Abele (pronounced "able") was born in South Philadelphia and received his secondary education at Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth. Enrolling in the University of Pennsylvania in 1898, Abele became president of the university's Architecture Society. He graduated from the Pennsylvania School of Fine Arts and Architecture in 1904—the first African American to do so. That same year Horace Trumbauer asked Abele to work for the hitherto entirely white firm of Horace Trumbauer & Associates of Philadelphia. Trumbauer sent Abele to L'Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, then one of the leading architecture schools in the world, from which Abele received his architectural diploma in 1906. Abele subsequently returned to the firm and became its chief designer in 1908. By 1912, he was drawing an annual salary of $12,000. As chief designer, Abele designed Philadelphia's Free Library and Museum of Art, as well as the Widener Library (the largest building on Harvard Square). He also designed the chapel and much of the campus of Trinity College in Durham, N.C., which would later become Duke University.

Abele was known for modernizing classical forms when designing structures; the Philadelphia Museum of Art, for example, with its striking colonnaded portico and Parthenon-style pediment, was a beaux arts version of a classical Greek temple. In a 1982 tribute to Abele for designing the museum, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* credited him with being "the first black American architect to have an impact on the design of large buildings."

Abele sought little personal fame for himself in return for his accomplishments. Despite his position as Horace Trumbauer's trusted friend and confidant (and Trumbauer's successor as head of the firm from 1938 to 1950), Abele's name did not appear on any of the buildings he designed, although the name of the firm was included. While the exclusion of an individual architect's name in favor of that of the firm was a professional convention of the era, it is also likely that Abele, and the Trumbauer firm as a whole, did not wish to draw attention to the fact that he was an African American. Perhaps for similar reasons, Abele did not personally visit the Duke University campus he designed or become a member of the American Institute of Architects until 1942. Whether by temperament or necessity, or perhaps a combination of the two, the light-skinned Abele was circumspect about the personal publicity he received outside of the Trumbauer firm.

Abele designed one of his last major buildings, the Allen administration building at Duke University, in 1950. He died in April of that year, a week before his sixty-ninth birthday.

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schools for the upgrading of facilities. The AIA itself created a Task Force on Equal Opportunity and formed a joint venture with the Ford Foundation to establish the Minority/Disadvantaged Scholarship Program (this replaced the Ford Foundation program when the latter was discontinued in 1973). In 1982 an endowment was created to support that program. In 1983 a program report stated that more than three hundred students in fifty schools had been assisted, with a considerable success rate.

In 1968 Howard University still had the only predominantly black, accredited architecture school, prompting the AIA and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA) to join forces to accredit other programs. In the mid-1990s eight institutions identified as historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) offered accredited, professional architecture degrees, and two offered degrees in architectural engineering. Those eight schools were Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia; Southern University, Baton Rogue, Louisiana; Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, Alabama; Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, Florida; Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland; Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View, Texas; and the University of the District of Columbia.

The Whitney M. Young, Jr., Citation Award was established in 1970 by the AIA's Social Concern Task Force. It is awarded to an architect or an architecturally focused organization in recognition of a significant contribution

to social responsibility. Robert Nash was the first recipient of the citation, and also became the AIA's first African-American vice president in 1970.

In 1971 the National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA) was founded in Chicago when a caucus of twelve black architects met at the AIA Convention in Detroit and resolved to "specifically address the concerns of black and other minority architects [in order to] add a needed dimension to the scope of the minority architects' sphere of influence." The organization strives to promote the design and development of a living, working, and recreational environment of the highest quality, as well as to increase the numbers of black architects by supporting the recruitment and education of new architects. In 1994 NOMA's membership reached approximately five hundred. Its forerunner was the National Technical Association, founded in 1926 in Chicago by Charles S. Duke.

Another resource group for black architects, founded since the 1970s, is the AIA's Minority Resources Committee (MRC), known until 1985 as the Minority Affairs Task Group (MATG). The MRC collects and disseminates information and oversees policies at the national level, as well as acting as a clearinghouse for the AIA, ACSA, and NOMA.

The tradition of African-American involvement in community-based and public building that began with the public housing and military projects of the 1930s and 1940s expanded in the 1960s and 1970s with the advent of the free clinic for architectural and urban design problems. The first prototype of the free clinic was the Architecture Renewal Committee in Harlem, or ARCH, founded by two white architects, Richard Hatch and John Bailey, in 1965 to address issues of "advocacy planning" (a phrase coined by urban planner Paul Davidoff); Max Bond was ARCH's first black director. The free-clinic concept was eventually adopted by the federal government as Community Design Centers, or CDCs. In President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, CDCs provided services for the disadvantaged, primarily in urban areas. By the end of the 1960s it was clear that a substantial market for nonprofit services of this kind existed, extending beyond minority groups to many segments of society.

The recession of the mid-1970s severely affected the architectural profession, as did President Richard Nixon's moratorium on construction of low- and moderate-income housing, one of the mainstays of black architectural practices. During this fallow period, architects were forced to search elsewhere for projects. However, William Coleman, a black lawyer from Philadelphia who was the Nixon administration's secretary of transportation, established a landmark affirmative action program in public works, which mandated that 15 percent of federal funds for mass-transit projects be allocated to minority firms. However, the withdrawal of much federal support for urban social programs and for low- and moderate-income housing under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush had a negative impact on the black architectural community.

In 1991 the *Directory of African American Architects* identified some 877 black architects across the country. Of these, only forty-nine were women. In 1993 black architects made up 7.5 percent of the AIA; in the profession as a whole, an estimated 1 percent, where African Americans represented 13 percent of the U.S. population. In 2005 there were 1,508 African-American architects registered in the directory, of which 172 were women. Although this is a significant improvement, African Americans are still vastly underrepresented in the profession. Furthermore, the majority of black architects work in the public sector on government projects, since institutional and professional biases continue to restrict their ability to obtain private commissions. Two reports from the 1990s commissioned by the AIA and the ACSA reiterate the fact of low numbers in the profession and focus on the problems faced by minorities in the profession. Major obstacles that were identified for students and practicing professionals included racism, depressed social communities, lack of role models, the cost of education, isolation from resources, a decrease in minority set-asides, poor representation in AIA, the absence of publicity of accomplishments in the field, tokenism in joint ventures to pursue commissions, and a high attrition rate among black students.

In addition, the century-old vocational/professional split still plagues blacks in the architecture profession. Related to the entrenched division between design and production maintained in the schools of architecture, there is even now a noticeable division in large majority firms, where larger numbers of African-American architects work on the production or technical side of building rather than in the design studios.

Black architects are engaged in a fierce debate on the merits of assimilation versus a more explicitly Afrocentric architecture, with a third group focused on the professional and artistic concerns of the architecture itself. A resurgence of interest in HBCUs, designs that incorporate traditional African elements, and interest in working almost exclusively within the black community characterize the Afrocentrist position, as opposed to the integrationists, who wish to be perceived as architects first and African Americans second.

The third group in the debate focuses on the role of African Americans in the architectural profession as a

whole. This group deals less with political concerns and more with issues of social responsibility and community orientation. Their approach is based on the complex cultural and artistic history of black architects in the context of American society. In a situation in some ways analogous to the history of jazz, the proponents of this third position tend to draw upon African elements in their work, but they filter them through the lens of contemporary American culture.

One of the most visible contemporary black architects is Jack Travis, editor of the widely acclaimed book *African-American Architects in Current Practice* (1991). Travis earned his bachelor of archictecture degree from Arizona State University in 1977. After working for Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, he established his own firm in New York in 1985. Travis served as a professional adviser on director Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever* (1991), a film that featured Wesley Snipes as a black architect trying to succeed in a white professional world. Travis frequently incorporates African-inspired elements into his sleek, modernist designs. His work includes Spike Lee's office headquarters in Brooklyn, New York; many corporate projects, including retail showrooms for designer Giorgio Armani; and various private residences.

Lou Switzer is the founder, chairman, and chief executive officer of the Switzer Group, the nation's largest black-owned interior architectural design firm, located in New York. Its clients include the Equitable Life Assurance Society, Con Edison, and Citibank. After working as an office messenger and then a draftsman for various design firms, Switzer attended night architecture courses at Pratt Institute. He worked at E. F. Hutton as assistant director of facilities planning worldwide, then began his own firm in 1975. Since the 1980s it has become a major mainstream design firm, not bound to any particular design philosophy. In the mid-1990s, Switzer designed IBM's Cranford, New Jersey, facility, combining the latest in technology and working environments.

Harvey B. Gantt, a founding partner of Gantt Huberman Architects in Charlotte, North Carolina (1971), harbored an ambition to become an architect since the ninth grade. He earned his bachelor of architecture degree from Clemson University in 1965 (the architecture department's first black graduate) and his master's in city planning from MIT in 1970. Major works include the First Baptist Church in Charlotte (1977) and the C. G. O'Kelly Library at Winston-Salem State University (1990). Since the 1980s Gantt has become active in politics. He was mayor of Charlotte from 1983 to 1987 and ran for the U.S. Senate in 1990 but was narrowly defeated by incumbent Jesse Helms.

J. Max Bond, Jr., a partner in Davis Brody & Associates Architects of New York, has distinguished himself as both a teacher and practitioner in the architectural profession. Bond earned his master of architecture degree from Harvard in 1958 and spent several years during the 1960s teaching and designing buildings in Ghana, West Africa. From 1969 to 1984 Bond was professor in and then chairman of Columbia University's Division of Architecture. Since 1985 he has been dean of the School of Architecture and Environmental Studies at City College of New York. A recipient of the Whitney M. Young, Jr., Citation Award in 1987, Bond has long been active in urban renewal efforts in New York City, serving as a member of the City Planning Commission from 1980 to 1986 and as executive director of the Division of Architects Renewal Committee of Harlem. Well-known projects include the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta (1981) and the Studio Museum in Harlem (1982).

Harry L. Overstreet had wanted to be an architect since high school and had gained practical building experience in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Overstreet worked as a self-employed designer in San Francisco and later became a licensed architect. He was appointed to the planning commission of the city of Berkeley, California, and served as the national president of NOMA from 1988 to 1990. Currently a principal in Gerson/Overstreet, Overstreet's work includes the Williard Junior High School in Berkeley (1980) and the San Francisco VA Medical Center (1991).

Roberta Washington is known for her work in Harlem salvaging neglected buildings and turning them into social-service and health-care facilities. Her twelve-person practice, Roberta Washington Architects, has taken on numerous renovation projects since its founding in 1983, including Astor Row, Hotel Cecil, Hale House Homeward Bound Residence, and Sarah P. Huntington House. Washington attended Howard University, then earned her master of architecture degree from Columbia University. She worked in Mozambique from 1977 to 1981, designing a prototype medical center for women and children.

Shortly after the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), which integrated graduate programs, John S. Chase entered the University of Texas Graduate School of Architecture in 1950 as that institution's first black student. Weathering intense racial prejudice and isolation at the university, Chase earned his master of architecture in 1952. After he graduated, no Houston architecture firms were willing to hire him, so Chase opened his own practice, becoming the first African American licensed to practice architecture in Texas, the

first accepted into the Texas Society of Architects, and the first accepted into the Houston chapter of the AIA. Today Chase is the chairman and president of his own firm, with offices in Washington, D.C., and Houston, Dallas, and Austin. Appointed by President Jimmy Carter as the first African American to serve on the U.S. Commission of the Fine Arts (1980), he received the Whitney M. Young, Jr., Citation Award in 1982 and has also received the NOMA Design Excellence Award four years consecutively. Chase's striking modernist designs include the School of Education Building at Texas Southern University (1977) and the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas (associate architect, 1992).

Norma Merrick Sklarek earned her bachelor or architecture degree from Columbia University in 1950. Thirty years later she became the first black female fellow of the AIA (1980). She was also the first black female licensed to practice architecture in California. She now serves as chair of the AIA National Ethics Council. Her work includes Downtown Plaza, Sacramento, California (1993), the all-glass Pacific Design Center in Los Angeles (1978), the Queens Fashion Mall in Queens, New York (1978), and the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, Japan (1976). An architectural scholarship award has been founded in her name at Howard.

Robert Traynham Coles has been the president and CEO of his own firm since 1963, with offices in Buffalo, New York, and New York City. He received his bachelor of architecture from the University of Minnesota (1953) and his master of architecture from MIT (1955). Coles has taught architecture at the University of Kansas (1989) and at Carnegie Mellon University (1990–1995). The recipient of a Whitney M. Young, Jr., Citation Award (1981), he has worked to increase the representation of blacks in the profession, serving as the AIA's deputy vice president for minority affairs (1974–1976) and becoming a founding member of NOMA. His work includes the Providence Railroad Station in Providence, Rhode Island (1986), the Frank D. Reeves Municipal Center in Washington, D.C. (1987), and the Human Services Office Building in Canandaigua, New York (1988).

Notable African-American architectural partnerships include Donald L. Stull and M. David Lee of Stull and Lee, Inc., Architects & Planners in Boston. Stull and Lee founded their firm in 1966, shortly after obtaining their master of architecture degrees from Harvard. Their work includes the Ruggles Street Station in Boston (1986); Roxbury Community College, (1987); and the Harriet Tubman House, Boston (1974). Their design for a Middle Passage Memorial (1990) consists of several giant, tangential, and abstract geometric forms, whose ominous shapes evoke a slave ship. Stull has served as president of the FAIA in addition to teaching design at Harvard (1974–1981) and winning numerous awards from the AIA. Lee has served as vice president of the AIA and has taught urban design and architecture at Harvard and at MIT (1974–1983).

Three generations of the Fry family comprise Fry & Welch Associates, P.C., Architects & Planners. The firm was founded in 1954 and maintains offices in Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Richmond, Virginia; and Baltimore. The Frys—Louis E. Fry, Sr., Jr., and III—have completed such projects as the Tuskegee Chapel, Tuskegee University (1960), and the Coppin State Athletic Center at Coppin State College (1986).

Wendell J. Campbell and Susan M. Campbell are the father-and-daughter team that make up Wendell Campbell Associates, now Campbell Tiu Campbell to honor the contributions of partner Domingo Tiu and daughter Susan, of Chicago. Wendell Campbell, the firm's president, was a founding member and the first president of NOMA (1971) and a recipient of the Whitney M. Young, Jr., Citation Award in 1976. Susan M. Campbell, the firm's vice president, received a master of urban planning degree from the University of Illinois in 1986 and an master of architecture from the Illinois Institute of Technology in 1992. The firm designed St. Mark's Zion Church in East Chicago, Indiana (1973), the Genesis Convention Center in Gary, Indiana (1982), and the Dr. John Price House in Downers Grove, Illinois (1990), among other projects.

There has been an increasing professional self-awareness among black architects. Robert Coles's speech "Black Architects: An Endangered Species," Richard Dozier's research and lectures, Jack Travis's pioneering book *African-American Architects in Current Practice,* Harry Robinson's implementation of archives at Howard University, Sharon E. Sutton's seminal work on architectural theory, and Harry Overstreet's energizing term as president of the NOMA have been critical elements in creating a climate that supports discussions of blacks in architecture.

In addition to this increasing self-awareness among black architects, the study of African-American architecture as a subject among scholars gained popularity in the 1990s and has continued into the twenty-first century. Historians' work in this area has helped to expand understanding of not only black architects and builders but also the African-American experience of living in and adapting structures for other uses (e.g., places of worship). Ellen Weiss's pioneering work on Robert R. Taylor and Tuskegee, Kenrick Ian Grandison's studies on Southern historically black colleges and universities, John Michael Vlach's examinations of plantation architecture, Barbara Burlison

Mooney's research on the architecture of slavey, and Dreck Spurlock Wilson's monumental biographical dictionary of African-American architects have contributed to establishing African-American architecture as a recognized area of research.

For three hundred years, the black experience in architecture has been inseparable from the social history, political involvements, and educational opportunities of African Americans. Black architects share not only the disadvantages but also the rich cultural heritage of African Americans. As the American population grows increasingly "minority," the architecture profession has the opportunity to enrich itself by becoming more representative of the nation as a whole.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; *Sweatt v. Painter*; Education in the United States; Hampton Institute; Tuskegee University; Walker, Madam C. J.; Washington, Booker T.

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RICHARD DOZIER (1996)
GRETCHEN G. BANK (1996)
MIKAEL D. KRIZ (2005)

Vernacular Architecture

Vernacular architecture is defined as the ordinary buildings and spaces constructed, shaped, or inhabited by a particular group of people. Vernacular architecture characterizes a place by giving it a specific social identity. Consequently, vernacular architecture is more than a segment of the man-made environment; it also entails an overall perception, a sense of place. Vernacular buildings and landscapes are especially important in the study of African-American history and culture, because, as a group, African Americans left very little in the way of written documentation about the intimate day-to-day features of their domestic experiences. Encoded within any artifact is its design—its cultural base—as well as evidence of manufacture and use—its social narrative. Vernacular architecture, while a diffuse sort of data demanding cautious interpretation, affords scholars entry into the spatial realms established by certain groups of African Americans.

The Africans brought to the United States during the seventeenth century were, contrary to dismissive prejudicial stereotypes, fully equipped with the conceptual and technological skills required to build their own houses. Forced to labor on plantations along the shores of the

Chesapeake and in the Carolina low country, they responded to the need for reasonable shelter by constructing small mud-walled dwellings. Archaeological remains indicate that these houses were generally rectangular in shape, and from various written accounts one can further surmise that they had roofs covered with a thatch made from tree branches or long grasses. Looking like houses straight out of Africa, these buildings did not pose, at first, the threat to a slaveholder's sense of command that one might suppose. Similar rectangular buildings with earthen walls and thatched roofs were commonplace in the British Isles, where they were usually identified as cottages suitable for the peasant classes who performed the bulk of the agricultural labor. The African houses with clay walls were thus allowed to stand for at least a generation.

The colonial period was characterized by a syncretic encounter between African and British cultures that fostered what the Africans would likely have interpreted as an opportunity to carry out their own ideas about house and home. What remained hidden within these buildings was an African feeling for appropriate space; the dimensions of the rooms were set according to the codes that their builders carried deep within their cultural personalities. In much of West and Central Africa, houses are built with small square rooms averaging ten feet by ten feet. That these same dimensions were discovered in the earliest slave quarters, constructed with either earthen walls or hewn logs, suggests perhaps an African signature and a significant degree of cultural continuity. Where Europeans saw only a small house built by people of little consequence, the enslaved Africans saw a good house constructed according to an appropriate and familiar plan. That its rooms were the right size for their style of social interaction should be seen as a subtle, but important, means of cultural preservation.

Overt African expressions of all sorts were met with increasing hostility over the course of the eighteenth century as planters initiated thoroughgoing campaigns to "improve" their properties. Even slave quarters were upgraded as slaveholders had new houses constructed with wooden frames covered with milled boards. Mud-walled houses, however, were still encouraged by some planters both for quarters and other service buildings. Robert Carter of Virginia, for example, in 1772 asked his slave dealer to find him an artisan who "understood building mud walls . . . an Artist, not a Common Laborer." But the appreciation of such skills was clearly on the decline by the middle of the nineteenth century. Sometime around 1850, James Couper, owner of Hopeton Plantation in Georgia, discovered that his African slave Okra had built an African hut plastered with mud and thatched with palmetto leaves. Upon learning of its existence, he had the building torn down immediately.

Nevertheless, mud continued to be used in the building of chimneys into the early twentieth century when bricks could not be obtained and when small outbuildings intended as animal shelters, particularly in the Sea Island areas of South Carolina, were still covered with a thatching of palmetto branches. While this can be seen simply as the methodology of poor people who had to make do with the materials that were easily available, African memories should not be discounted.

By 1860, 2.6 million blacks were living on plantations all across the South, and close to two-thirds of them were held on the larger estates in groups of fifty or more. Thus, the plantation was not only a familiar place in the black experience, it also provided a primary context in which a distinctive African-American identity would take place. An extensive repertoire of African-American cultural traits was nurtured in the quarters' communities where blacks lived largely in the exclusive company of one another. The testimony of former slaves who lived at such places describes their quarters as "little towns."

These were black places that were not merely left to the slaves, but were also, as repeated testimony confirms, places claimed by black people. Similar to the hidden African values found in the early slave houses was the sense of territorial imperative expressed by African Americans living on plantations. Out in the quarters, the fields, the work spaces, and in the woods at the margins of the plantation, too, some slaves reappropriated themselves. One Mississippi planter reported with a discernible measure of dismay that his slaves took pride in crops and livestock produced on his estate as theirs. With such possessive territorial gestures, slaves defined space for themselves.

In addition to distinctive expressions of music, oral literature, dance, folk art and craft, religion, and kinship that evolved within the plantation context, slave communities also developed sets of house types. While their designs most often had to be approved by the slave owners, slaves saw their various clusters of cabins as important buildings. Even when they were little more than simple, severe boxes, they were still homeplaces. The historian Leslie Howard Owens has recognized that the vigorous culture created by enslaved African Americans was contingent, in large measure, on a secure sense of place. "The Quarters," writes Owens, "sometimes partially, sometimes entirely, and often mysteriously, encompassed and breathed its own special vitality into these [social] experiences, frequently assuring that bondage did not snuff out the many-sided existence slaves created for themselves" (Owens, 1976, p. 224).

Under the watchful eyes of planters and overseers, quarters' communities were fashioned that contained a variety of housing options. All these house types were derived from the basic square room known as a "pen." A single pen could stand alone as a one-room cabin or could be combined with other pen units to form larger houses. Single- and double-pen cabins were the most frequently used, but also common was the "dogtrot cabin" (two pens with a wide passage between them). Occasionally, two-story houses were provided; these buildings were basically double-pen cabins stacked one on top of another. These houses, meant to provide shelter for four slave families, resembled a building type known as the I-house, the dwelling form used as residences by the majority of planters. Larger slave quarters were sometimes created by linking smaller cabins into a single structure; four- and six-pen barracks were built in this way. In the French areas of southern Louisiana, slaves were housed in distinctive buildings with relatively exotic features that one might expect to see in Quebec or even Normandy. During the 1820s on the larger rice plantations along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia, a specialized quarters house was developed that had an asymmetrical three-room plan consisting of one narrow but deep general-purpose room that was flanked to one side by two smaller bedrooms. The loft, which could be entered by a ladder from the larger room, was intended as a sleeping area for children. Referred to as "tenement houses," dwellings of this sort were built in either single or double configurations.

By 1860 most slave housing was constructed with wooden frames that were covered with siding. Nevertheless, many were also being built with tiers of corner-notched logs, in brick and stone masonry, and, in coastal Georgia and Florida, with tabby concrete. In addition to this variety of building techniques, slave quarters, particularly those within sight of the planter's residence, might be finished in one of several fashionable styles. Touches of Grecian, Gothic, or Italianate decoration might be added to the windows, doors, and eaves. One sees in slave housing the extensive efforts by slave owners to impose their will—indeed, their cultural values—upon their human property. These persistent attempts at discipline and control resulted in the architectural assimilation of African Americans, at least with respect to building repertoire.

By the mid-nineteenth century, blacks were thoroughly familiarized with Euro-American building forms and construction techniques. Significantly, the cabins used as quarters on plantations were not exclusively plantation structures; the same buildings were used by white yeoman farmers as residences on their modest holdings. As slaves became accustomed to living in and building these houses, they transformed themselves essentially into black southerners. When some of them were able to acquire their own land after 1865, they usually chose a standard plantation building, such as the double-pen or dogtrot house, as the model for their new homes. What was different was that now they occupied both halves of the house, whereas previously a whole family had been confined to only one room. Further, they appended all manner of sheds and porches to their dwellings—personalizing touches that expressed a sense of self-empowerment and a degree of autonomy plainly suppressed in the slave cabins that were, on the outside at least, merely unadorned boxes with roofs. On the plantation a slave quarter was an outbuilding in which property was sheltered. With the end of the plantation era, black builders transformed quarters into homes, a significant social achievement.

Throughout the nineteenth century, white and black vernacular traditions merged into a single regional entity, so that differences along racial lines were manifested more as a function of relative wealth than as a matter of design choice. One instance will serve as an example of the merger of cultures in the saga of African-American vernacular architecture. Sometime around 1910 an unknown black farmer living near Darien, Georgia, built what appeared to be nothing more than a slightly larger-than-usual single-pen house with a mud-and-stick chimney at one end. But the house was actually a miniature version of a planter's house, consisting of four rooms divided by central passageway. Black notions of appropriate form and the highbrow southern ideal had become thoroughly integrated.

There remained, however, one African-American house form that signaled an alternate tradition: the shotgun house, a building one-room wide and three or more deep, oriented with its gable end to the front, stood apart from dwellings derived from the Anglo-dominated plantation system. This house owes its origins to the free black people of New Orleans, a population shaped by a massive infusion of Haitian refugees in 1809. With the arrival that year of more than 4,000 Haitian blacks, 2,060 of them free people of color, the city developed a decided black majority. In such a context, free black citizens were almost equal in number to whites, and thus there was ample opportunity for them to exercise a greater degree of cultural autonomy than might be found in other places. When they commissioned contractors to build houses, it is not too surprising that the Haitians requested a building style familiar to them. The shotgun house had a history on the island nation of Sainte Domingue (known today as Haiti) reaching back to the early sixteenth century and had been

used as a mode of housing for both slaves and free blacks. Occasionally referred to as a *maison basse,* or "low house," examples were built in all sections of New Orleans, but most of them were concentrated in the Creole districts downriver and north of the French quarter.

Since almost all houses that come from European-derived traditions have their doorways on the long side, the shotgun, with its primary entrance located on the narrow gable end, was an immediately distinguishable building form. It was recognizable as both different and African American, and the name "shotgun" (locally explained as deriving from the possibility of shooting a shotgun through the house without hitting anything) may derive ultimately from the African word *to-gun,* meaning, in the Fon language of Benin, "place of assembly." These black cultural associations had become totally obscured by the turn of the twentieth century as more and more shotguns were constructed as homes for white people. Even the name was lost when the house was relabeled a "Victorian cottage."

However, hundreds of shotgun houses are still to be found in the black sections of southern towns and cities from New Orleans to Louisville, from Jacksonville to Houston. Indeed, one of the distinctive markers of the black side of town in the South is often the presence of rows of shotgun houses. This continuity, however, seems to stem mainly from the lack of economic power among contemporary blacks. Since more thin, narrow shotgun houses can be crammed into the confines of a piece of property than other house forms with wider frontage, they are the most profitable choice for rental speculators. Lower-income black people find themselves being exploited, then, by means of an artifact that once stood out as a sign of cultural difference.

As a result of the great migration of rural southern blacks to northern cities during the first half of the twentieth century, three-fourths of the African-American population in the United States could be found in urban settings by the end of the century. Contemporary black vernacular architecture thus consists mainly of buildings occupied by black people rather than buildings that they have constructed for themselves. Like most Americans, they have become consumers of domestic structures rather than creators of them. Nevertheless, through various means, principally with flowering plants and decorative painting schemes, some blacks are able to give their otherwise bland and conformist architectural settings some distinctive flourishes—often touches reminiscent of southern experience, of life "back in the country." To some extent, this type of behavior recalls the reappropriation of space first practiced in the plantation context. This is an efficient strategy, for it allows one to make rather bold claims of ownership without actually having to invest the resources required for construction. It is a marking strategy rather than a design strategy, and one that achieves important psychological benefits while husbanding one's limited economic assets.

See also Africanisms; Migration/Population, U.S.

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The 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, c. 1930s. *Distinguished black scholar Arturo Alfonso Schomburg added his personal collection of materials to the library's Division of Negro Literature, History, and Prints, and also served as curator of the division from 1932 until his death in 1938. The division was later renamed in his honor, and in 1972 the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture was designated as one of the Research Libraries of the New York Public Library.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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JOHN MICHAEL VLACH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Archival Collections

Manuscript collections and archival documentation for the study of African-American culture and history are extensive and located in all the countries of the African Diaspora. An overview of relevant collections cannot be limited to North America or repositories limited to the English language. African Americans came from various parts of western Africa, and some people even came from southeastern Africa. A consideration of these origins is essential in understanding the cultural and biological composition of the African-American population, and indirectly a survey of the available documentation on the origins of African Americans in Africa inevitably touches every part of the Americas and indeed Europe as well. A full understanding of the richness and complexity of the African background must consider the various contexts in which people of similar background found themselves, both in Africa and wherever they went in the Americas. The assumption here is that archival materials have to be examined in a global context, compatible with the aims and missions of various UNESCO initiatives, including the "Slave Route" Project and the Memories of the World Program. The dignity and humanity of Africans and their descendants require satisfactory programs of archival preservation and documentary accessibility.

Increasingly, primary source materials are accessible via the Internet and in other digitalized forms, although variations in copyright policy and other restrictions on use limit access in many cases. Hence a survey of available resources can only be a guide, not a complete list of materials, collections, or repositories. It was once said that Africa and its people had no history, and then it was said that large gaps in the past could not be filled because of a paucity of sources. In fact, however, the problem is that there are so many sources that there is a problem of accessibility and, indeed, of preservation. Not only are the sources voluminous, but they are found in every country of the African Diaspora, and in virtually every repository and library in Europe, the Americas, Africa, the Middle East, and even some places in Asia.

The formation of the African Diaspora was a global phenomenon, often tied to slavery, but not always. The associations between Africa and its population with Europe and the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa predate the development of the slavery systems of the Americas. Africans and people of mixed African and European descent were present in the Americas from the beginning of European subjugation and colonization of all parts of the Americas, from Canada to Argentina. Moreover, the development of the African Diaspora included the forced and voluntary movement of Africans to southeast Asia, the Philippines and Indonesia. The forced settlement of convicted criminals in Australia included Africans and their descendants. While a focus on the Caribbean, Latin America and North America is warranted, the global

Interior view of the reading room at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, with researchers working at the tables. *Now known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, one of four primary research libraries of the NYPL, the library maintains one of the world's finest collections of materials on African diasporan experiences.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

dimensions of African settlement and dispersal have to be remembered. Further, the archival sources for these components of the African Diaspora contain information on the dispersal of Africans everywhere. There are few places where the settlement of Africans and their descendants was not a part of the history of the modern world. The African Diaspora was a global population movement.

It has sometimes been suggested and even claimed that only minor or specific parts of archival holdings at the major archives in the Americas were related to issues of slavery and hence to the heritage of Africans and their descendants. In fact all archival holdings are potentially relevant, and in many cases it is impossible to distinguish materials that are specifically of interest to the study of the African Diaspora from general holdings of repositories. In summary, the archival materials that are crucial in the reconstruction of the history of Africans and their descendents in the Americas are voluminous and widely scattered. Moreover, knowledge of the extent of these archival holdings is increasing rapidly, raising issues of accessibility, which sometimes has become easier, but not always. Nonetheless, the quantity of documentation that is available—with the expectation that much more material will become accessible—has created problems associated with searching and otherwise identifying materials of interest on any specific topic. Major archival holdings exist in all the western European languages, especially Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Dutch, German, Danish, Italian, and Latin, but also in Arabic and in several African languages. Moreover, the chronological depth of the documentation introduces methodological issues of interpreting the meanings of words, deciphering difficult handwriting and archaic vocabulary, and overcoming problems of damaged documentation.

African Americans came from several specific parts of Africa, including the western Sudan in the interior of Senegal and Sierra Leone, the coast of lower Guinea, from modern Ghana through Nigeria, and finally from the region of modern Angola and Congo. Hence the archives on these regions of Africa are essential in documenting the African-American experience. Major holdings are in Dakar, Senegal; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Accra, Ghana; and Luanda, Angola. The archives in Nigeria include the National Archives in Ibadan, Enugu, and Kaduna. The

Howard Dodson, director of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. *Speaking at a press conference, Dodson shows a photograph from Malcolm X's collection of diaries, photos, letters, and other materials placed on long-term loan with the Schomburg Center by the Shabazz family. The photograph held by Dodson shows Muhammad Ali with three of Malcolm X's daughters.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

National Archives of Angola are particularly noteworthy in terms of the antiquity of documentation, the quantity of information, and the difficulty of access because of the fragile condition of most documents. In all these cases, there are also major repositories with information in Europe and the Americas, especially Brazil and Cuba. Furthermore, the archival holdings in Mali, especially in Bamako and Timbuktu, are rich in Arabic source material, much of which is indigenous to West Africa and relating to the slave trade across the Sahara as well as to the Atlantic coast. Various missionary archives, especially the Church Missionary Society, also have extensive holdings that deal directly with issues of slavery.

Major archival holdings exist in every country in North and South America, and in the islands of the Caribbean. For Martinique, Trois-Ilets and Rivière-Pilote concentrate on the history of the Diaspora. The Archives départementales de la Martinique preserve documents and have initiated a program for the conservation and digitization of records on slaves and former slaves. In other former French colonies there are collections of registers of baptism and separate registers of the enslaved population. Although many of these registers have not survived, there are some for parish of Casse-Pilote (from 1789), Macouba (from 1687), and for the nineteenth century for Carbet, Trinité, and Sainte-Marie, preserved at Centre des Archives d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence (Archives nationales de France).

Some holdings, such as those of Jamaica and Barbados, are vast. Detailed materials on land transfers, inheritance, legal matters, maps of plantations, and other materials are well preserved in the National Archives in Spanish Town, the Island Records Office, the National Library of Jamaica, and the Goveia Library at the University of the West Indies. In other places, the holdings are mixed. In Trinidad, very little has survived, while in Tobago there are excellent early records but in very bad condition.

Archival holdings in Cuba are extensive, located in major archives in Havana, Matanzas, and Santiago, and also in numerous churches, the ecclesiastical sources of Matanzas, Havana, Regla, and Guanabacoa. The Cuban National Archives in Havana and in Matanzas have extensive holdings. In Puerto Rico there are at least three centers that focus on documentation, including Centro de Investigaciones Historicas, University of Puerto Rico, Archivo General de Puerto Rico and the Centro de Estudios del Caribe. Nueva Granada; selection of archival documents on slavery, Archivo de la Nación, Colombia, Sección Colonia, Negros y Esclavos. Materials are supplemented by archives in Spain, especially the Archives of the Indies in Seville and in other locations. Much of the available archival materials for Central America, where the African presence was important from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, is available in digital form through the ProQuest Central American Archives Collection (1544–1821). The Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica at the Universidad Centroamérica has undertaken the digitalization of materials on the Mosquito Shore of the Caribbean coast.

In Brazil, there are several major national archives, such as Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, which is the largest archive in Brazil. The archive has a good collection on slavery and the slave trade, particularly in the nineteenth century after the relocation of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil in 1808. The archive also has material on the eighteenth century and most especially a large collection of emancipation documents. The Biblioteca Nacional, also in Rio de Janeiro, is especially rich on the eighteenth century, while the Arquivo Historico at Itamaraty has the

papers of the Ministerio das Relacoes Exteriores of Brasil, which houses the records of the Mixed Commission for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. In addition all bishopric and archbishopric jurisdictions have ecclesiastical documents, those in Rio the Janeiro and Sao Paulo being especially important. Every state also has an archive, such as Arquivo Publico do Estado do Rio de Janeiro and Arquivo Publico do Estado da Bahia. Those archives have information of the state administration and also political and judicial documents on slave resistance and prisons. The numerous municipal archives also have historic information. Finally, the records of the Santa Casa de Misericordia contain information on members and charitable activities. Among the Portuguese archives, the Arquivo Ultramarino contains extensive materials on Brazil. Virtually every archive in Brazil, even in areas that were not as central to slave society, has information on Africans and their descendants. For example, there are some sixty-nine archives of various sizes in Maranhão in northeastern Brazil. While the Arquivo Público do Estado do Maranhão is in good shape, materials are stored in inadequate space, making it difficult to access documents. The conditions at the other archives vary enormously, many in very bad condition. Similarly there are ten archives in Belém, the capital of the State of Pará.

The major repositories in North America include every archive and important institution in the United States and Canada. The Schomburg Center, Howard University, the Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Amistad Research Centre at Tulane University, the Huntington Library, the Library of Congress, the National Archives of the United States, National Archives of Canada, and other repositories have substantial holdings and are accessible online. The Public Record Office in London, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Archives de Indias in Seville, among other repositories, have undertaken extensive digitization programs or allow digitization of documents and therefore expanded accessibility. The Public Record Office, for example, has recatalogued materials relating to the Caribbean for easier access. There are also substantial holdings in the Netherlands, Denmark, and elsewhere. These archives contain shipping records, records of slave sales, births, deaths, marriages, court records, baptismal records, missionary archives, and newspapers, including fugitive slave advertisements and slave sales. The UNESCO "Slave Route" Project and Memories of the World program have resulted in extensive archival preservation and identification. The British Library Program for Endangered Archives is also notable. Collections of oral data, including testimonies of the enslaved and formerly enslaved, contain extensive information. The WPA project in the United States is an important example.

Various databases have been developed to organize the extensive amount of documentation which can serve as useful tools in accessing primary materials. The Voyage database developed by David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen Behrendt, and Herbert Klein has information on the archival sources for every known ship that transported enslaved Africans to the Americas. For a first approximation at a list of these sources, reference can be made to the 1999 published version of the database by Cambridge University Press. Biographical materials of enslaved Africans and their descendants are numerous, most especially for North America but also common in many parts of the diaspora, and information is being assembled in text format for all individuals who can be identified. This and other projects of data management and storage are the focus of the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora at York University (Canada) and the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation at University of Hull (United Kingdom). Data management also includes images of enslavement and the era of slavery, for which there are numerous websites that allow easy access to primary materials. A guide to primary materials can be found online at *A Roadmap to African-American and Diversity Resources* (ARAADR) (<http://cisit.sfcc.edu/~sdupree/RESORLIK2.HTM>).

PAUL E. LOVEJOY (2005)

Aristide, Jean-Bertrand

July 15, 1953

Jean-Bertrand Aristide is among the Republic of Haiti's most popular leaders at home and one of its best known public figures abroad, despite his forced resignation from the Haitian presidency and exile on February 29, 2004. Earlier that month, former Aristide loyalists (some of whom had been militant supporters just six months before), along with former soldiers ignored during the decade since the Haitian Army was disbanded, had launched an armed rebellion in cities and towns north of Port-au-Prince, the capital city, against President Aristide's second populist government. Significantly, peasants in northern rural settlements, like urban and rural populations south of Port-au-Prince, did not join the rebellion. Nevertheless, as the rebels approached the capital, fears of a bloodbath and an exodus of refugees prompted the three nation-states that dominate Caribbean affairs to action.

Exiled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, October 7, 2004. *In Pretoria, South Africa, Aristide gave his first interview since being ousted from Haiti on February 29, 2004, as he announced the launch of a new book detailing his experiences and observations.* © LOUISE GUBB/CORBIS

Opposition to Aristide

Concluding that President Aristide had "lost the legitimacy to govern," the United States, France, and Canada withdrew support for the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)–mediated negotiations between the Aristide government and the Platforme de l'Opposition Démocratique (French: Democratic Opposition Platform), which, goaded by the rebellion, pointedly added "nonviolent" to its name. The expedient but simplistic decision to intervene favored overlapping short-term special interests (both Haitian and foreign) in a political situation made complex by the stark contrast between any single group's special interest and the collective interest of nearly eight million Haitians in equitable and efficient long-term institutional change.

The Platform united populist factions that broke with President Aristide after the contested 2000 legislative and municipal elections with centrist political parties marginalized since the president's first electoral victory in 1990. It also included business groups, trade unions, and professional associations, as well as secular or church-based organizations advocating human rights and the rights of university students, women, and peasants. Throughout 2003, this coalition led the criticism of President Aristide and organized several massive demonstrations against his second government's policies and discourse. Platform spokespersons charged that Aristide was increasingly autocratic and venal and that his government encouraged, rather than curbed, corruption, economic decline, the intimidation of critics, and generalized insecurity. Faithfully articulating the views of its member groups, the Platform insisted on President Aristide's departure before the 2005 elections, if not immediately. However, the extent to which the opposition coalition represented broader Haitian constituencies was unclear, and, beyond replacing the president and other central government officials, its proposals for institutional change remained everything but concrete.

Hierarchy and Equality

Aristide's public career as a radical priest-politician began in 1983, coinciding with the latest phase of the Haitian people's two-hundred-year struggle to appropriate the sociocultural and political-economic benefits of personal liberty and national sovereignty. In 1804 Generals Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Henry Christophe, Alexandre Pétion, and other high-ranking army officers proclaimed the French colony Saint-Domingue independent and underscored its independence by restoring its original Taino name in Gallicized form, Haïti or Hayti. Their proclamation crowned the world-stunning success of a twelve-year slave rebellion-turned-revolution that united the eighteenth century's subjugated Haitians—those born in Africa or in Saint-Domingue, ex-slaves and ex-freedmen, blacks, and mulattos. The nineteenth century's great powers initially treated Haiti as a pariah but gradually accorded it diplomatic recognition and then regularly intervened to protect foreign capitalists who exploited Haitian resources.

Meanwhile, early generations of Haiti's *bourgeoisie politicienne* (French: [national] politicking bourgeoisie) instituted a hierarchical sociocultural and political-economic system. Contradicting lofty French slogans such as *"Liberté et Egalité"* (Freedom and Equality) and *"L'Union Fait la Force"* (Strength through Unity), discrimination took root along lines of class (large landowner-merchant versus peasant, worker, and artisan), color (mulatto versus black), cultural orientation (erroneously construed in terms of fidelity to putatively "French" or "African" culture traits, rather than variations on a Haitian cultural synthesis), and geography (urban versus

rural). The nineteenth-century politicking bourgeoisie comprised a few thousand blacks and mulattos from the elite and the middle classes for whom politics was either a livelihood or an avocation. The first U.S. occupation (1915–1934) transformed the politicking bourgeoisie, increasing its size by perhaps a factor of three, rationalizing the civilian and military wings of Haitian public administration, and centralizing power in the national capital to an unprecedented degree. Headquartered in what many Haitians began to call the "Republic of Port-au-Prince" but with branches in provincial cities and towns, the politicking bourgeoisie came to include high-ranking government officials (civilian or military), wealthy import-export merchants, practitioners of the liberal professions, and certain especially well-connected intellectuals or artists. The ideas and actions of these power-holders, aided by ideologues, counselors, messengers, brokers, and fixers, structure the Haitian polity and shape policymaking.

Voice of the People

Since 1983, Aristide's calls for radical action to deliver on past promises and remedy present inequities made him a lightning rod, a human symbol attracting adulation from supporters and hatred from detractors. He eclipses populist predecessors who, since 1804, periodically became resolute voices for their oppressed compatriots' long-denied rights and aspirations. His personal qualities made Father Aristide charismatic, and charisma became President Aristide's most important political asset. He is black, rail thin, and of small stature, and he has experienced poverty. He is also learned, mystically spiritual yet politically engaged, and an extraordinary orator in *Kreyòl,* the only language spoken and understood by most Haitians. However, Aristide resembles previous Haitian "outsiders from below" (Haitian Creole: Moun andeyò san fil ki fè deblozaj nan lapolitik nasyonal). Although such people from the provinces lacked elite social connections, their courage, skill, and popular following earned them seats at the table that was considered the politicking bourgeoisie's property, a table precariously set in a treacherous international political-economic arena. As a priest and as president, Aristide's passion-inflamed, highly metaphorical speeches for "the people" brought him national and international attention. Reactionaries deliberately misinterpreted his populist rhetoric as a sign of communist leanings. Yet that rhetoric, progressives and radicals noted, fueled impolitic strategies or tactics that sapped or obstructed collective efforts to overcome structural weaknesses in state and private institutions, ultimately undermining rights and frustrating aspirations for change.

Temperament, education, and faith-based mystical piety might have led Aristide to pursue a career in scholarship or pastoral counseling rather than radical politics. Born in 1953 outside Port-Salut, the beautiful town on the Caribbean toward the end of Haiti's southern peninsula, Aristide grew up in a middling peasant family—neither wealthy nor among the poorest of the poor—whom neighbors respected for its concern with justice and welfare. Aristide's widowed mother, a small-scale merchant, plied her trade between Port-Salut and Port-au-Prince, eventually settling there with young Jean-Bertrand and his sister. Aristide was a brilliant student, fascinated by historical, sociological, and cultural topics, and with a gift for foreign languages. Before his ordination as a Salesian priest on July 3, 1982, he excelled in the Catholic order's schools (primary school in Port-au-Prince, then seminaries in Cap-Haïtien and the Dominican Republic), and graduated from the State University of Haiti with a B.A. in psychology (1979). After ordination, he earned an M.A. in biblical theology (1985) and completed course requirements for a doctorate in philosophy and psychology at the University of Montreal before traveling to Israel for postgraduate work in theology and biblical studies.

By 1983 Father Aristide, who preached and practiced liberation theology in one of Port-au-Prince's most impoverished parishes, had begun to influence dissidents throughout Haiti as a stalwart of the politically engaged Ti Legliz (Haitian Creole: Little [Catholic] Church—the parish-level faithful, in contrast to the largely conservative ecclesiastical hierarchy). He set an example for Christian living by utilizing the meager resources at his disposal to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, obtain medicine or treatment for the ill, and soothe the wounds, physical as well as psychological, of people abused by Haiti's power-holders. However, his vision and voice had a wider impact than his local acts of Christian fellowship. Father Aristide steadfastly proclaimed the humanity and dignity of the Haitian masses (including those whom both Catholics and Protestants denigrated for practicing *Sèvis Lwa* (French: *Vodou*; English: Voodoo), while denouncing the root causes of oppression and poverty within Haitian society as well as in Haiti's relations with foreign countries. Father Aristide preached that the greed and indifference of wealthy Haitians, the Duvalier dictatorship's ruthless oppression and terror (symbolized by the Tonton Makout, or secret state security police), and the Catholic hierarchy's other-worldly orientation joined forces with capitalist exploitation from abroad, particularly from the United States. He tirelessly spread this gospel of social and economic justice in sermons at the Saint-Jean Bosco Church and in public speeches (frequently broadcast on Radio Soleil, the Catholic Church's station), as well as in inter-

views with journalists and innumerable clandestine meetings with Ti Legliz activists.

President Aristide

On February 7, 1986, three years of popular protest finally ended the brutal twenty-nine year dictatorship of Dr. François "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who were presidents-for-life with the right to name their successors. Jean-Claude Duvalier's ouster and the ratification of a new Haitian constitution in 1987, which seemed to restrict presidentialism—the endless quest for the presidency and a chance to wield its unmitigated power—emboldened anti-Duvalierist political factions. They formed Lavalas (Haitian Creole: flood or rising tide), a populist movement determined to end repressive, corrupt, and ineffectual military rule. In the 1990 presidential campaign, Lavalas unexpectedly chose Father Aristide as its candidate from a small cohort of activist-contenders and, stunning most observers, he won the presidency on December 16.

Contrary to global folklore, Aristide was not Haiti's first democratically elected president. He was, however, the first president chosen in a free and fair election based on universal suffrage and with a high turnout of eligible voters. President Aristide received some 67 percent of the ballots cast—the largest margin of victory by any elected head of state in the Western Hemisphere during the 1990s. For the majority of Haitians—poor peasants in rural localities, unemployed or underemployed workers in towns and cities, along with progressive elements of the urban middle classes and elite—Aristide embodied the hope for change. His February 7, 1991, inauguration represented a mandate to uproot dictatorship, facilitate full participation for all citizens in a genuine democracy, promote social justice, and implement sustainable development programs to improve living and working conditions.

Euphoria and righteous rhetoric, however, trumped long-range planning based on careful observation and analysis. Equally important, the new president faced staunch resistance from Haiti's established order: high-ranking army officers and their Tonton Makout associates, the Catholic hierarchy, certain self-styled "modern" businesspeople, and polite society in general—the privileged Haitians who feared losing power, authority, prestige, or wealth. The U.S. government and the Vatican joined with foreign corporations to signal dissatisfaction with Aristide, whom officials privately dubbed the "little Red priest." On September 30, 1991, barely seven months after the inauguration, a military junta backed by wealthy civilians drove President Aristide into exile and, until 1994, unleashed on Lavalas supporters and suspected sympathizers the most murderous reign of state-sponsored terror in Haitian history.

Exile and Return

President Aristide tirelessly traveled and spoke overseas to rally allies within the Haitian diaspora for the Lavalas government-in-exile, as well as allies among foreign governments and leftist political activists. Swayed by his exhortations, or reluctant to condone a precedent for violent regime change, the international community imposed an economic embargo on Haiti in 1992. Foreign diplomats, politicians, and activists gradually mustered support for Operation Restore Democracy, a joint U.S.-United Nations invasion of Haiti, which critics argued was the second phase of the first U.S. occupation (1915–1934). With President Bill Clinton's blessing, former President Jimmy Carter, Senator Sam Nunn, and General Colin Powell negotiated a deal with the Haitian Army's coup-makers that included a buyout and immigration to Panama.

On October 15, 1994, President Aristide triumphantly returned to find Haiti pacified by a multilateral force but devastated by the military junta's reign of terror and the embargo. Although the disbanding of the Haitian Army was applauded at home and abroad, proposed socioeconomic reforms did not materialize during the eighteen months remaining in his term. Partisans blame the neoliberal policies that foreign powers imposed in exchange for restoring Aristide to power. Equally important, however, were internal policy differences, exacerbated by three years of state-sponsored repression, which splintered the always fractious Lavalas movement. In the 1996 presidential elections, René Garcia Préval was the standard-bearer for Lafanmiy Lavalas (Haitian Creole: the Lavalas Family), the faction led by President Aristide following the Lavalas movement's split. Préval, Aristide's presumed placekeeper given the constitutional ban on successive presidential terms, was elected in December 1996 with a much lower voter turnout than in 1990.

Under what was called the Préval-Aristide government, splinter Lavalas factions battled over decentralization, privatization of state enterprises, land reform, and education and health policies, as well as nontransparent, ineffective administrative appointments and fiscal management decisions. Konvèjans Demokratik (Haitian Creole: Democratic Convergence Platform), an opposition coalition comprising all Lavalas factions except Lafanmiy Lavalas and centrist political parties, criticized the state's inaction and deliberate obstruction of remedial activities by civil society organizations and private entrepreneurs. Haiti's economy was crippled as the cost of living increased (especially prices for food, fuel, and sporadic elec-

Haitian President-elect Jean-Bertrand Aristide takes the oath of office, February 7, 2001. *At Port Au Prince, Aristide is sworn in as president for the second time, as former President Rene Preval (l) and Senate president Yvon Neptune observe.* © REUTERS/CORBIS

tricity) while employment and income declined. Insecurity reigned: armed robberies and kidnappings escalated, as did politically motivated crimes and crimes related to drug trafficking. Ecological conditions further deteriorated as deforestation, soil erosion, and water loss or pollution intensified amid mountains of trash and garbage.

In 2000 Aristide won the presidency again as expected, but Konvèjans boycotted the elections and voter turnout was lower than in 1995. The victory of Lafanmiy Lavalas candidates in nearly all legislative and municipal offices only deepened Haiti's political impasse. Opposition groups charged, and international observers corroborated, that the elections were rigged. Subsequently, Chimè (Chimera), bands of thugs said to be armed, paid, and commanded by the president, preyed on Haitians too poor to hire armed security guards for protection, violently imposing compliance with Lafanmiy Lavalas rule. Aristide himself was accused of having become a millionaire by monopolizing lucrative telecommunications businesses and diverting public funds to his private nonprofit "peoples" foundations. The gap between populist rhetoric about radical change and actual practice widened.

Second Exile

American and French officials escorted former President Aristide to exile in the Central African Republic on February 29, 2004, and he later resided briefly in Jamaica. In September 2004 he moved to South Africa as a guest of President Thabo Mbeki, the most prominent head of state to have attended the Aristide government's official celebration of the January 2004 Haitian bicentennial. While the government celebrated, the Haitian opposition, many citizens, and some foreign commentators suggested that lamentation was a more appropriate way to commemorate the bicentennial, given that a concatenation of political, economic, ecological, and social problems left Haiti more firmly lodged between a rock and a hard place than at any time in its history.

Some Haitians and foreign friends of Haiti maintain that President Aristide became as ruthless as François Duvalier with regard to justifying the achievement of political ends by any means necessary, a populist dictator ruling more erratically than Papa Doc because steadily declining state and private resources eroded the control mechanisms

that might restrain subordinates. Others insist that even in exile former President Aristide remains a radical prophet, heroically standing his ground against the nefarious designs of Haitian reactionaries and foreign imperialists. In either case, the bright hopes for a democratic and more prosperous Haiti occasioned by President Aristide's 1991 inauguration have dimmed, because he could not or did not end a state of affairs called in Haitian Creole *desepsyon, demagoji, magouy, ensekirite,* (deception, demagoguery, [sterile] political wrangling, insecurity).

A moderate interim Haitian government of "national unity" was selected to restore order (with the assistance of another foreign multilateral military force) and provide public services, while planning the 2005 presidential, legislative, and municipal elections. Some stakeholders in fundamental change for the country that non-Haitians dubbed the "Black Republic" during the 1820s have retreated into despair or apathy. Others are guardedly optimistic. Most wonder whether there is any satisfactory Haitian way out of a deepening socioeconomic-ecological crisis and political impasse, which is at once the context and outcome of an eighteen-year struggle to uproot Duvalierism.

Haiti's politicking bourgeoisie will again try to build democracy and promote development. The endeavor cannot be successful if they ignore the Lavalas movement's constructive efforts to extend full citizenship rights to all Haitians. Success also depends on the Haitian people's determination to conjure a major obstacle to democratic development: dysfunctional institutions, public and private. Perhaps Aristide has taught Haitians that personal charisma, righteously radical rhetoric, and hope alone cannot produce institutional change. If Haitians fail to learn that lesson, they will reproduce another dictatorship that neither fixes a failed state nor supports an emerging civil society, leaving both adults and children at the mercy of a new global order whose international community vacillates between indifference and myopic engagement.

See also Christophe, Henri; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Duvalier, François

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DREXEL G. WOODSON (2005)

Armstrong, Louis

August 4, 1901
July 6, 1971

Although it is certain that the jazz trumpeter and singer Daniel Louis Armstrong was born in New Orleans in pov-

Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong (1900–1971). MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK/ARCHIVE PHOTOS, INC/GETTY IMAGES

erty, there has long been confusion concerning his exact birth date. During his lifetime, he claimed he was born on July 4, 1900, but a baptismal certificate discovered in the 1980s now establishes his date of birth as August 4, 1901. He was raised in terrible poverty by his mother and grandmother, and he contributed to the family income from his earliest years. His first musical experience was singing in a barbershop quartet. In 1912 or 1913, according to legend, he celebrated the Fourth of July by firing a pistol; he was arrested and sent to the Colored Waifs' Home, where he remained for about two years.

Early Career and Innovations

There, his already evident interest in music was encouraged and he was given instruction on cornet and made a member of the band. Armstrong came to adulthood just as jazz was emerging as a distinct musical style in New Orleans, and the new music and Armstrong matured together. He played in local clubs called "tonks" and apprenticed in local bands, where he met most of New Orleans' early jazz musicians, and found a mentor in Joseph "King" Oliver. He soon developed a reputation as one of the best young brass musicians in the city. In 1919 he joined Fate Marable's band, playing on Mississippi riverboats, where he learned to read music. He returned to his hometown in 1921.

In 1923 King Oliver invited Armstrong to join his successful Creole Jazz Band in Chicago as second cornetist, and it was with Oliver that Armstrong made his first recordings. These records provide an invaluable document of early New Orleans jazz, and, although they contain much ensemble playing and collective improvisation, they also show that Armstrong was already a formidable soloist. The following year, encouraged by his second wife, Lil Hardin, Armstrong joined the jazz orchestra of Fletcher Henderson in New York City. Recordings such as Don Redman's arrangement of the 1924 "Copenhagen" reveal an inventive melodist and improviser. His big-band experience helped Armstrong fashion a new type of jazz playing, featuring extended improvised solos. In New York he also recorded as an accompanist to blues singers Bessie Smith, "Ma" Rainey, and Bertha "Chippie" Hill.

This new style was featured in the extraordinarily influential series of recordings made under Armstrong's leadership from 1925 to 1929 with ensembles called the Hot Fives and Hot Sevens. His collaborators on the early dates include Johnny Dodds on clarinet, Kid Ory on trombone, and pianist Lil Hardin, whom he married. Hardin played an important role at this time in furthering and supervising her husband's career.

His solos on "Big Butter and Egg Man" (1926), "Struttin' with Some Barbecue" (1927), "Potato Head Blues" (1927), and "Hotter Than That" (1927) are superb improvised melodies, and they showed that jazz was becoming a soloist's art. Every night on the bandstand, Armstrong found in pianist Earl "Fatha" Hines a musician who could not only function on his level but with whom he could exchange musical ideas. That collaboration did not produce recordings until 1928, but then it produced such masterpieces as "West End Blues," "Skip the Gutter," and the duet "Weather Bird."

In 1929 Armstrong returned to New York, which remained his home for much of the remainder of his life. That year he appeared in the Fats Waller/Andy Razaf Broadway show *Hot Chocolates.* He was also the leader of his own orchestra, which featured popular tunes rather than the original blues and New Orleans songs he had previously favored. Increasingly prominent in his performances at this time was his singing, which in its use of scat (wordless syllables) and creative rhythmic reworking of a song's lyrics and melodies influenced all subsequent jazz singers. His recordings "Body and Soul," "Memories of You," "Sweethearts on Parade" (all 1930), and "Stardust" (1931), among many others, helped establish both the repertory and playing style of big-band jazz. In 1932 and

again from 1933 to 1935, he toured Europe. On the first tour he acquired the nickname "Satchmo," short for Satchelmouth, although his fellow musicians favored the sobriquet "Pops."

Later Career and Legacy

There were no real innovations in Armstrong's work after the early 1930s, but over three decades remained of this powerful trumpeter and grand and compelling entertainer's life. Extending the range of his instrument to F above high C, Armstrong recorded "Swing That Music" (1936) and two years later revisited "Struttin' with Some Barbecue," offering another classic solo on that piece. In addition to his purely musical accomplishments, in the 1930s Armstrong became an entertainment celebrity, the first African American to appear regularly on network radio programs and to be widely featured in motion pictures such as *Pennies from Heaven* (1936) and *Going Places* (1938).

By the early 1940s, Armstrong's popularity had waned somewhat. In 1947 his career was reinvigorated by his return to a small-group format under the name of Louis Armstrong and the All-Stars, which he continued to lead with varying personnel for the remainder of his life. In its early years, his fellow band members included pianist Earl Hines, trombonist Jack Teagarden, and clarinetist Barney Bigard. In his later years Armstrong made numerous tours of Europe, Asia, and Africa; in 1960 the United States government appointed him a special "ambassador of goodwill" for the positive feelings his travels abroad engendered.

Armstrong's genial and nonconfrontational personality, and his inclusion of some "coon" and plantation songs in his repertory (including his theme song, "When It's Sleepy Time down South"), were sometimes criticized by a younger, more militant generation of black entertainers. Although Armstrong was a product of the segregated South who learned early in his career not to discuss racial matters in performance, he cared deeply about racial injustice. In 1957 his uncharacteristically blunt comments about the inaction of the Eisenhower administration in the Little Rock incident ("The way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell") created something of a furor, although such public statements by Armstrong were rare.

Armstrong was perhaps best known to the general public in the last years through popular recordings featuring his singing, including "Blueberry Hill" (1949), "Mack the Knife" (1955), and "Hello, Dolly" (1967). In 1988 his 1968 recording of "It's a Wonderful World" appeared on the popular charts after it was used in the film *Good Morning, Vietnam.*

Louis Armstrong had an innate ability to make people feel good simply by his presence, but that feeling was not a simple matter of cheering up his audiences. His music could encompass melancholy and sadness while at the same time expressing a compensating and equally profound joy. Armstrong was the first great improviser in jazz, and his work not only changed that music but all subsequent popular music, vocal and instrumental. He expanded the range of his instrument and all its brass cousins in ways that have affected composers and players in all forms of music. In his progression from simple beginnings to international celebrity, he became arguably both the most beloved and the most influential American musician of the twentieth century. Armstrong, whose career had slowed after a 1959 heart attack, died in Corona, Queens, where he had lived since 1942 with his fourth wife, Lucille Wilson.

See also Blues, The; Bluewomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Jazz; Jazz in African-American Culture

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MARTIN WILLIAMS (1996)
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Art

This entry consists of three distinct articles examining art in African-American culture from differing geographic perspectives.

Art in Haiti
Randall S. Morris

Art in the Anglophone Caribbean
Krista A. Thompson

Art in the United States, Contemporary
Derek Conrad Murray

Art in Haiti

The story of contemporary art in Haiti is complex. Precariously balanced between its creolized African culture and the influences of Europe, the country's art has been marked by a division between struggling academic artists and the equally talented (and equally struggling) self-taught artists. Haiti has always had problems of class, and this is reflected in the history of its artists. For example, while members of the middle and upper class have been able to afford art school, artists from the peasant class have been relegated to an autodidactic approach. Haiti's vernacular artists have never been truly integrated into the larger field of African-American self-taught artists. Nonetheless, most people, on hearing the phrase "Haitian Art," immediately assume it refers to the self-taught artists. Coupled with the still prevalent epithets "naïve" and "primitive," Haitian art is still veiled in a primitivist fog.

There was really no serious art movement of any kind in Haiti until the 1930s. Petion Savain (1903–1975), who studied at the Art Students League in New York in the early 1940s, was the first Haitian modernist. His work evolved toward an indigenist viewpoint, influenced by the 1928 publication of Dr. Jean Price Mars's *Thus Spoke the Uncle,* which presented Haitian folklore in a positive light. The cultural pride reflected in this book tied Haiti into the vast changes in colonial consciousness in the western hemisphere in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. Black Pride, the growing struggle for civil rights in the United States, and a widening and deepening independence movement in countries formally governed by European rulers all caused an intellectual and creative ferment in the arts.

Influenced by Europe but informed by a nationalistic interest in its own culture, the rich intellectual life of Haiti was a beacon for artists from all over the world, including the French Surrealist writer Andre Breton, the Cuban painter Wilfredo Lam, the Martiniquan poet Aimé Césaire, and others. Haiti shared with other Caribbean islands the slave roots of its complex and rich African-American religion, vodou, an African Catholicism that provided the underlying source material for the diverse range of Haiti's arts.

The founding of the Centre d'Art by the American painter Dewitt Peters in 1944 brought attention to Haiti's artists, as did their inclusion in two UNESCO exhibitions in Paris in 1946 and 1947. It became clear that there was an active art world in the Caribbean, and that these artists had taken what they had learned from European modernism and filtered it through their own Caribbean reality. Market scenes, workers, and some religious imagery made their way into the modernist imagery. At the same time the that academically trained artists were making their art, the vernacular culture itself was manifesting important and unique imagery. The self-taught painter Philome Obin (1891–1986), for example, had been painting socially conscious paintings since the 1930s. All Haitian artists were affected by events happening across the entire black diaspora after World War I, particularly issues of colonialism and self-determination, racism and self-recognition, Garveyism, the Harlem Renaissance, and *Négritude* (a culturally based movement of politically aware artists and writers). Yet they still maintained a connection with the European art world. The self-taught artists, of course, had little or no connection to the European art movements. Their work tended to be either more spiritualized or concerned with local events. Also during this period, the Surrealists were experimenting with the concept of *Art Brut* in Europe. Art Brut was the name given to nonacademic artists by the European artist Jean Dubuffet (1901–1985). He was primarily concerned with artists who worked "outside" the established art world. Andre Breton went to Haiti in 1946 and bought five pieces from the self-taught master Hector Hyppolite (1894–1948), an event the Haitian artist had foreseen in a dream.

In the 1940s, some of the trained Haitian artists, including Savain and Georges Remponeau (b. 1916), began to paint Haitian subject matter. Aimé Césaire, the founding father of *Négritude,* visited the island in 1944. The Centre d'Art, showing trained artists at the time, encouraged non-Haitian artists to spend time in Haiti, and many came from Cuba, which had a very strong painting tradition. This Cuban influx included artists such as René Portocarrero; Carlos Enriquez (1900–1957), who was married to the American painter Alice Neel; and Wilfredo Lam (1902–1982), who visited the island with Andre Breton. Two other trained Haitian artists working at this time were Luce Turnier (1924–1994), who taught at the Centre d'Art, and Lucien Price (1915–1963), who was one of the first abstractionists in Haiti, though he continued to make more realistic drawings of Haitian culture. In 1947 the art critic and writer Selden Rodman joined the Centre d'Art just as it began to open its doors to the self-taught artists.

The Centre d'Art tirelessly promoted self-taught Haitian artists, such as Philome Obin (1887–1986), who documented the past and present history of Cap Haitien; Wilson Bigaud (b. 1931), who portrayed a personal view of daily life; and Hector Hyppolite, who used his experiences as a vodou priest in his paintings of visions and gods; as

well as the dignified regal paintings of Castera Bazile (1923–1965), the wry beautifully executed vignettes of Rigaud Benoit (b. 1911), the abstract vodou spirits of Robert St. Brice (1893–1973), the allegorical political paintings of Jasmin Joseph (1914–1973), and others. A second generation of artists also emerged, including the sculptor Georges Liautaud (1899–1990). (It must be kept in mind that when art historians speak of "generations" in Haiti they are referring to the time of "discovery" rather than to the date of an artist's birth.) Many of these artists incorporated the vernacular culture in their work

Haitian self-taught artists were making an authentic art that drew its inspiration and subject matter from the local way of life. They were not primitivists working from a philosophical imperative, but the epitome of authenticity working from the roots of the culture itself. Many of their works had an immediacy, particularly in portraying the realities of everyday Haitian life, that rarely existed in the work of the trained artists, who continued to try to filter the influences of European studios into their work.

At this time, the academic painters felt the self-taught artists were receiving all the financial and critical attention, a situation that was seen as a form of reverse elitism. As a result, a rift developed at the Centre d'Art, and the earlier pioneers left the Centre in 1950 to form the Foyer des Artes Plastiques. Originally formed by academic artists such as Lucien Price, Dieudonne Cedor, Max Pinchinat, Roland Dorcely, and others, the number of artists involved in this enterprise was later reduced somewhat by those who left to study or live in Europe, though some eventually returned.

Part of the strategy of the Centre d'Art was to call the emergence of the vernacular painters a "renaissance," an unfortunate sobriquet that remains in use to this day. The term *renaissance* implies that there was a dark age, a previous period of formlessness that was then turned into a period of recognizable enlightened thinking and form. The work of twentieth-century Haitian artists, however, was always in the culture. Certain diaspora artists—such as the North Americans Bill Traylor and William Edmondson, the Jamaicans Mallica "Kapo" Reynolds and Everald Brown, or the Haitians Hector Hyppolite, Georges Liautaud, and Philome Obin—can be referred to as "culture bearers" because their work was created in the language of the culture they lived in, and because they pushed the boundaries of the Haitian matrix culture. Culture changes over time. In the Caribbean the slaves created a culture to replace what they had been uprooted and torn away from. The process of change is ongoing. Sometimes, as in the case of Liautaud's crosses, the work exists on two planes—as art and as utilitarian object. He was one of the few Haitian self-taught artists whose forged-iron crosses, for example, had one meaning to the people who commissioned his works for the cemeteries around his home, and another meaning when the same crosses were collected and shown as art in homes and galleries.

However, it was the richness of the intellectual and creative movements already in place in Haiti that laid the foundations for the creative impulses of both the trained and untrained artists. There was no "movement" uniting the self-taught artists; rather, they reinvented the wheel for themselves. Philome Obin's early paintings (beginning in the 1930s) of political history and unrest had no precedent in the Caribbean; Georges Liautaud was using his forge to make crosses and votive figures for his local communities, embellishing their altars and cemeteries as a blacksmith; and Hector Hyppolite, Andre Pierre, and Robert St. Brice were making *veves* (sacred ground drawings) and painting murals and altars in their local houses of vodou as part of their social roles as *houngans* (priests) long before the Centre d'Art existed. But there was no visual school of autodidactic art in Haiti, no group of artists who fostered a certain self-taught look. For example, in a Philome Obin painting one can readily see his Protestant outlook in the way the world is orderly and cleaned up—even in his most angry early paintings, while Hector Hyppolites' art represents an animistic African-Catholic worldview filled with an unadulterated vodou perspective. There was a wide range of approaches and styles within the self-taught artist community.

The Centre d'Art played a very important role in the early years of Haitian art, but it should primarily be seen as a great school and a provider of opportunity and publicity for a phenomenon that was already at play in the culture. It was also very much responsible for organizing the way the Western world came to view Haiti's self-taught artists. The Centre's leaders (e.g., DeWitt Peters, Selden Rodman, Francine Murat, Antonio Joseph, Pierre Monosiet) were visionary in intent but also in tune with their times. Without their input, enthusiasm, and tireless approach, much of the work of the vernacular artists of Haiti might have gone unseen, and might still be unknown. The Centre remains in operation today, attempting to keep its doors open in very turbulent times.

In the rocky political times of the early twenty-first century, Haitian art perseveres, as does the divide between the self-taught artists and the trained artists. In 1968, several younger trained artists formed a group called Poteau Mitan, drawing inspiration from the imagery and philosophy of vodou. This group included the artists Tiga (Jean-Claude Garoute, b. 1935), Patrick Vilaire (b. 1942), and Frido (Wilfred Austin, b. 1942). In the 1970s, Tiga became

the figurehead for a group of mostly self-taught artists that breathed new life into the islands' vernacular work. Called St. Soleil, the group also drew primary inspiration from the mother religion of the island. Notable were Louisianne St. Fleurant, Prospere Pierre Louis, Levoy Exil, and Denis Smith, to name only a few.

Artists still struggle in Haiti, despite the political conditions there, and the growth of the Haitian diaspora around the world has made their work more widely known. The vernacular work continues to metamorphose in shape and form, ranging from political murals in the streets to the altar works by the Barra family. Young artists such as Paul Gardere (b. 1944), Mario Benjamin (b. 1964), and Edouard Duval-Carrié (b. 1954) continue to pave the way for even younger trained artists. In addition, scholars are just now beginning to integrate the work of the self-taught artists of Haiti with the equally compelling and better-documented work of self-taught artists in the United States, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the Caribbean.

See also Césaire, Aimé; Art in the United States, Contemporary; Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Lam, Wilfredo; Négritude

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RANDALL S. MORRIS (2005)

Art in the Anglophone Caribbean

Art in the Anglophone Caribbean at the turn of the twenty-first century is a field in transition. Young artists, supported by recently established art institutions, have reimagined, redefined, and even rejected the national aims of their artistic forebears, a generation that came of age during and after the movements for national sovereignty had swept the region, starting with Jamaica's independence in 1962. In the nascent postcolonial period, many artists attended to the cause of nation building in their work. As recently elected majority black governments started to define and erect a pantheon of national symbols and heroes, many artists worked in concert to chisel or paint these newly minted icons in their representations. Frequently, aspects of the islands' "indigenous," or seemingly precolonial, flora and fauna or black working-class populations inhabited artists' representations. Many artists actively sought to elevate the long-devalued cultural expressions of African-Caribbean communities as worthy subjects of art. Boscoe Holder (c. 1920–) in Trinidad, Hervis Bain (1942–) in the Bahamas, and Karl Broodhagen (1909–) in Barbados turned to the islands' black communities in their paintings, national crests, and public sculpture commissions, respectively. Typically, artists represented black Caribbean culture through figurative forms of images, although several artists, most notably Aubrey Williams (1920–1990) of Guyana and Karl "Jerry" Craig (1939–) of Jamaica, embraced abstract expressionism. Although the artistic emphasis on black folk existed in places like Jamaica and Trinidad since the 1930s and 1940s respectively, in the post-independence era these representations formed an important image pool through which the new nation could be imagined.

Many younger artists, in contrast, create what can be described as postnational art, art precisely not compelled by and even critical of the national forces that mobilized artists working in the 1960s and 1970s. These artists, many of whom were not born under the British flag, reached artistic maturity when the sun had set on much of the optimism that pervaded the immediate post-independence era. Their work interrogates the ambiguities of the national project, its possibilities and its limits, its hopes and its unfulfilled promises. Artists variously reflect on the very signs and symbols canonized as representative of national culture, deconstruct the performance or mimicry of political authority and rule, call attention to the marginalization of certain communities in postcolonial society, and explore the continuities between colonial and national forms of governance. In Trinidadian artist Christopher Cozier's installation and performance art piece, *Conversations with a shirtjac* (1992), for example, the artist and subsequent viewers vet their disillusionment with the national project in front of a hanging shirtjac, once a symbol of the anticolonial black revolutionary and now the uniform of the national bureaucratic functionary. Bahamian artist Dionne Benjamin-Smith (1970–) similarly debunks the symbols of nationhood—the national anthem, pledge of allegiance, and flag—in her digital print *Black Crab Pledge of*

Allegiance (2004). Stanley Greaves (1934–), a Guyanese artist living in Barbados since 1987, started a series of paintings in 1992 that call attention to the seemingly carnivalesque character of contemporary national politics in Guyana and the wider Anglophone Caribbean. The works, which began with the painting *The Prologue: There Is a Meeting Here Tonight* (1994), present the political arena as a theatrical stage on which both political leaders and their followers become so consumed with the performance of power that political efficacy has been written out of the national script. In another appraisal of postcolonial society, Bahamian-Jamaican artist John Beadle's (1964–) paintings speak to the social marginalization of immigrants from throughout the Caribbean within the Bahamas. Cozier, Benjamin, Greaves, and Beadle, whose work can be characterized as postnational, should not be viewed as antinational; rather, they hold up the social, political, and artistic infrastructures of the nation to scrutiny.

Often these artists deal explicitly with the social and economic conditions and predicaments of the contemporary Anglophone Caribbean, addressing the tenability of Caribbean nationhood within the newest global economies. Barbadian Annalee Davis (1963–) in her multimedia sculpture *Barbados in a Nutshell* interrogates how Barbados's landscape, once radically overhauled by the sugar plantation, has been newly transformed by the tourist transplantation of golf courses. Jamaican-born artist Nari Ward (1963–) in his installation *The Happy Smilers: Duty Free Shopping* (1996) juxtaposes Jamaica's paradisical and duty-free touristic image, which lures travelers, with signs of widespread local migration. Barrels of immigrants' possessions placed next to the island's famed white sands attest to the ambivalent character of the contemporary Caribbean as a landscape of happy smiles and hardships, of desire and despair. Trinidadian Steve Ouditt's installation *Creole Processing Zone* (2000) explores the ambiguous place of free-trade zones or export-processing zones, spaces run by multinational corporations—exempt from national taxes and frequently free of local workers—in Caribbean islands such as Trinidad and Jamaica. Davis, Ward, and Ouditt all explore how the former plantation societies, which were intrinsic to the power of modern Europe, continue to produce commodities, and indeed to be commodities, through tourism and "free trade."

Many Caribbean artists deal with the personal implications of migration, addressing how their own identities and family histories have been transformed by "colonialization in reverse," migration of Caribbean inhabitants to Britain and cities in the United States. Starting extensively in 1947, when waves of Caribbean immigrants journeyed to England, migration has been central to the social, and artistic, formation of the contemporary Caribbean. The parents of artists David Bailey (1961–), Eddie Chambers (1960–), and Ingrid Pollard (1953–) migrated to England from Barbados, Jamaica, and Guyana, respectively. In works such as Pollard's installation *Oceans Apart* (1992) or Bailey's photographic series *From Barbados, Britain or Both*, the artists explore their relationships to and displacement from the Caribbean and their place in or alienation from the island of Britain. Albert Chong (1958–), a Chinese-Jamaican artist who migrated to the United States in 1977, similarly explores his family, diasporic, and ethnic identity through photographic images of old family photographs. Fittingly, photographs, objects especially important in the maintenance of memory and family lineage for migrants, have been central to these diasporic investigations.

While a generational split exists between national and postnational art on many Anglophone Caribbean islands, these forms coexist and a single artist's oeuvre can oscillate between them. Maxwell Taylor (1938–), for instance, started working on the eve of the Bahamas' independence in 1972 and continues to create woodblock prints and paintings of the islands' black population in a social realist vein, representations that still resonate with the elevation of black culture prevalent in the post-independence period. From the 1970s, however, the artist has been critical of the limited definition of the nation, exploring the exclusion of Haitian-Bahamian communities from the national mythos of the Bahamas. Taylor's work illustrates that long before the "postnational moment" some artists simultaneously invested in *and* maintained a critical distance from the national project.

The celebration of what artists identify as Africa or the African characteristics of Caribbean culture, a theme prevalent since the national era, remains evident in contemporary Caribbean art. Indeed, this form of art may be more popular among local collectors—typically upper-middle-class and expatriate patrons—than the work of artists who critique the nation-state. An older generation of artists continue to turn to "Africa" not only to explore the African heritage of national culture but to foreground the transnational or Pan-African links between people of African descent throughout the Caribbean and wider world. Trinidadian artist Leroi Clarke (1938–) and Bahamians Jackson Burnside (1949–) and Stanley Burnside (1947–) create semi-abstract paintings that draw stylistic influence from African-Caribbean belief systems and masquerade traditions like Obeah or Junkanoo respectively, and sometimes make figural reference to African and African-Caribbean cultures. Similarly, Jamaican artist Barrington Watson's (1931–) series of oil paintings of realistic por-

traits of leaders from throughout Africa and the diaspora titled *The Pan-Africanists* (2000) also stress diasporic links, broadening the national hero pantheon to a Pan-African one. In addition, many artists who identify with the Rastafarian faith, including Everald Brown (1917–) and Albert Artwell (1942–) in Jamaica, and Ras Akyem Ramsay (1953–) and Ras Ishi Butcher (1960–) in Barbados, also create expressionistic paintings that frequently speak to both the centrality of Africa or, more specifically, Ethiopia for blacks in the Anglophone Caribbean, using a visual iconography and colors of Rastafari. Although many of these artists do not participate explicitly in the postnational critiques as described above, they frequently image and imagine a world on canvas that extends beyond the boundaries of nation.

In summary, artists working in the contemporary Anglophone Caribbean variously critique the limits of nationalism, call attention to the global infringements on the island nations, interrogate their diasporic positions outside of the nation and region, and expand the imagination of nation to include a wider African diasporic community. Artists who address these and other concerns work in an increasingly active, vibrant, and diverse artistic environment in the Anglophone Caribbean, one with unprecedented support for their endeavors, both locally and globally. Previously, although the painterly and sculptural arts were important components of the national imagery in the post-independence Anglophone Caribbean, few local governments invested in institutions devoted to the visual arts or provided substantial financial support for artists in the immediate postcolonial era. One notable exception was Jamaica's National Art Museum, which was established in 1974. The museum, under the direction of David Boxer, was instrumental in expanding the national canon of art, at first centered on academic forms of art, to include the work by artists who never received formal training in art and those who drew inspiration from the wider international art world. Starting in the 1990s, national art galleries established in Trinidad, the Bahamas, and Barbados provided a venue for showcasing the islands' long institutionally neglected artists. These institutions devoted officially to "national art," however, were established when international art exhibitions and biennials, which championed "global art," increased in popularity. Exhibition spaces not officially connected to the state have been central in promoting artists in the wider art world and bringing artists from around the region and globe to the Caribbean: Caribbean Contemporary Arts (CCA7) in Trinidad and The Image Factory in Belize. Institutions based in London, such as the Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA), have also provided important exhibition opportunities for Caribbean artists. These state and independent nonprofit art institutions in and outside of the Anglophone Caribbean, which support national and postnational art and the diverse forms of art that do not fall into either category, have brought increased the local, regional, and international visibility of art in the Anglophone Caribbean.

See also Art in Haiti; Art in the United States, Contemporary; Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Painting and Sculpture; Pan-Africanism

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KRISTA A. THOMPSON (2005)

Art in the United States, Contemporary

Visual art created by people of African descent in the United States has changed dramatically, both aesthetically and conceptually, since the 1980s. Many factors have contributed to these shifts, most notably ever-changing sociopolitical and theoretical forces that shaped the concept of *blackness*, a term that emerged during the 1960s' push for self-empowerment. Since the 1980s, contemporary African-American artists have critically distanced themselves from the aesthetic and philosophical strategies galvanized during the years of the Harlem Renaissance, the civil rights movement, and the Black Power movement (i.e., from the 1920s through the 1970s). The art of these periods called for the visualizing of an ideal Afrocentric or nationalistic blackness, which in turn became an essential component to resistance efforts. While the term *blackness* provided a self-empowering means to counteract the negative stereotypes associated with African people living in North America, ultimately it was viewed as limiting by the subsequent generation of African Americans. As a result of the well-documented and extremely rich history of black art in the United States, work produced in the 1980s emerged as distinctly self-critical. In this regard, African-American visual artists began to aggressively respond to the intellectual and artistic efforts of this cultural legacy, with the intention of moving beyond the limitations of their predecessors.

Among the most enduring early twentieth-century theoreticians to be revisited by black visual artists and intellectuals in the mid-1980s was the African-American scholar W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). In 1900, at the Pan-African Conference held in London, Du Bois stated that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." Even today, his words are largely recognized as a "formulation that is often considered an inauguration for thinking about the significance of race in the modern world" (Edwards, 2003, p.1). The Harlem Renaissance is widely known as a time of cultural awakening and worldwide black allegiances forged under the banner of unity. The New Negro movement, defined by Du Bois and the scholar Alain Locke (1886–1954), functioned in many ways as a manifesto for the social, spiritual, and artistic goals for blacks in America. Locke, in his pioneering critical anthology, *The New Negro* (1925), captured the bourgeoning "racial attitudes" that articulated a renewed sense of pride, empowerment, and resistance to racial oppression. Both Locke and Du Bois championed the arts as an essential component in the development of a newly empowered blackness. Furthermore, these two pioneers called upon artists to reclaim their African past—aesthetically, spiritually, and politically—and to utilize it as a source of inspiration in an effort to create a uniquely black American voice.

The visualized Afrocentrism that Locke and Du Bois professed dramatically influenced black artists from the Harlem Renaissance through to the Black Power movement. However, it also created a dilemma for African-American artists who wanted to hold on to the freedom of self-expression and simultaneously support the struggle for black self-empowerment. These movements and the visual culture they produced also received criticism for their patriarchal underpinnings. Ultimately, Black Power became synonymous with new forms of sexual repression and gender inequalities. In 1971 a group of black female artists addressed their erasure from the male-dominated black arts movement and formed "Where We At," a collective designed to take on such issues as the black family, African traditions, and contemporary social conditions. Art works concerned with the marginalization of gender and sexuality crystallized in the post–Black Power era, in many respects dominating the landscape of African-American art production from the mid-1980s through the 1990s.

Like Du Bois, the Martiniquan psychiatrist and anti-colonial activist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) is one of the most important black intellectuals ever to ponder the crisis of race. Fanon was particularly adept at unraveling the psychological contradictions, complexities, and pathologies created by a society demarked along the lines of racial difference. Fanon's writings, along with Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, influenced black forms of militancy and resistance in the United States. However, in keeping with black intellectual efforts in America, Fanon's writings articulated an often problematic relationship towards gender and sexuality.

The importance of Fanon's writings among contemporary African-American artists—in the post–civil rights, post–Black Power era—provided the impetus to critique the compulsory masculinity of both movements. The ideal blackness professed in the New Negro renaissance reached its logical next phase in the resistance movements of the 1960s. Still, it was perhaps in the 1980s and 1990s that authentic, or *ideal,* blackness, as a heterosexual masculine mythology came under the most intense scrutiny. Utilizing Fanon's writings on the relationship between fantasy and the construction of race, black artists conceptually reinvigorated the art of the African diaspora. By embracing postmodern philosophical strategies, black gay artists—such as Lyle Ashton Harris and Glenn Ligon, and Afro-British artists Isaac Julien and Rotimi Fani-Kayode—confronted traditional notions of blackness that purported a utopian Afrocentric masculinity. In tandem with black women artists interested in exploring the intersections of gender and race (e.g., Joyce J. Scott, Renée Cox, Adrian Piper, Faith Ringgold, Lorraine O'Grady, Renée Green, Coreen Simpson, Betye Saar, Pat Ward Williams, and Emma Amos), these cultural producers reconfigured and interrogated historical conceptions of blackness, while simultaneously targeting the fetishization of racialized and gendered bodies within popular culture in the United States.

The artists Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953) and Lorna Simpson (b. 1960) confronted the history of exotic, sexualized representations of the black female body, ultimately asking serious questions about how black women see themselves in the wake of enduring misrepresentations. These artistic efforts—which came to be regarded as "identity-based art"—encompassed a vast array of aesthetic strategies, including site-specific installation, photography, performance art, and activist art. In these works, black, gay, and female bodies were visually foregrounded, allowing the artists to construct their own sense of self and to redress a history of erasure. Further emboldened by the feminist movement, the 1992 Los Angeles riots, and the international AIDS crisis, identity art created a sphere for neglected black subjectivities to be witnessed—and ultimately validated. The 1993 installment of the Whitney Museum of American Art's Biennial exhibition focused its attention primarily on identity-based art, generating a

"Junk Art"

Tyree Guyton, primarily a painter and sculptor, has been described as an urban environmental artist. He has waged a personal war on urban blight on Detroit's East Side, transforming first a street in his neighborhood and then two city blocks into a living indoor/outdoor art gallery by using discarded objects—everything from old shoes to bicycles to baby dolls—to embellish abandoned houses, sidewalks, and empty lots.

In the mid-1980s Guyton, a working but unrecognized artist, began the *Heidelberg Project,* which became his most famous work and the driving force behind a nonprofit community arts project. In his neighborhood, with its abandoned, drug-infested houses, he collected objects from the streets and used them to transform the outsides of houses into urban art and to construct roadside sculptures—such as empty lots lined with rows of drinking fountains and appliances. With the help of his grandfather, friends, and neighborhood children, Guyton painted these objects and surrounded them with everything from tires and toilets to tombstones.

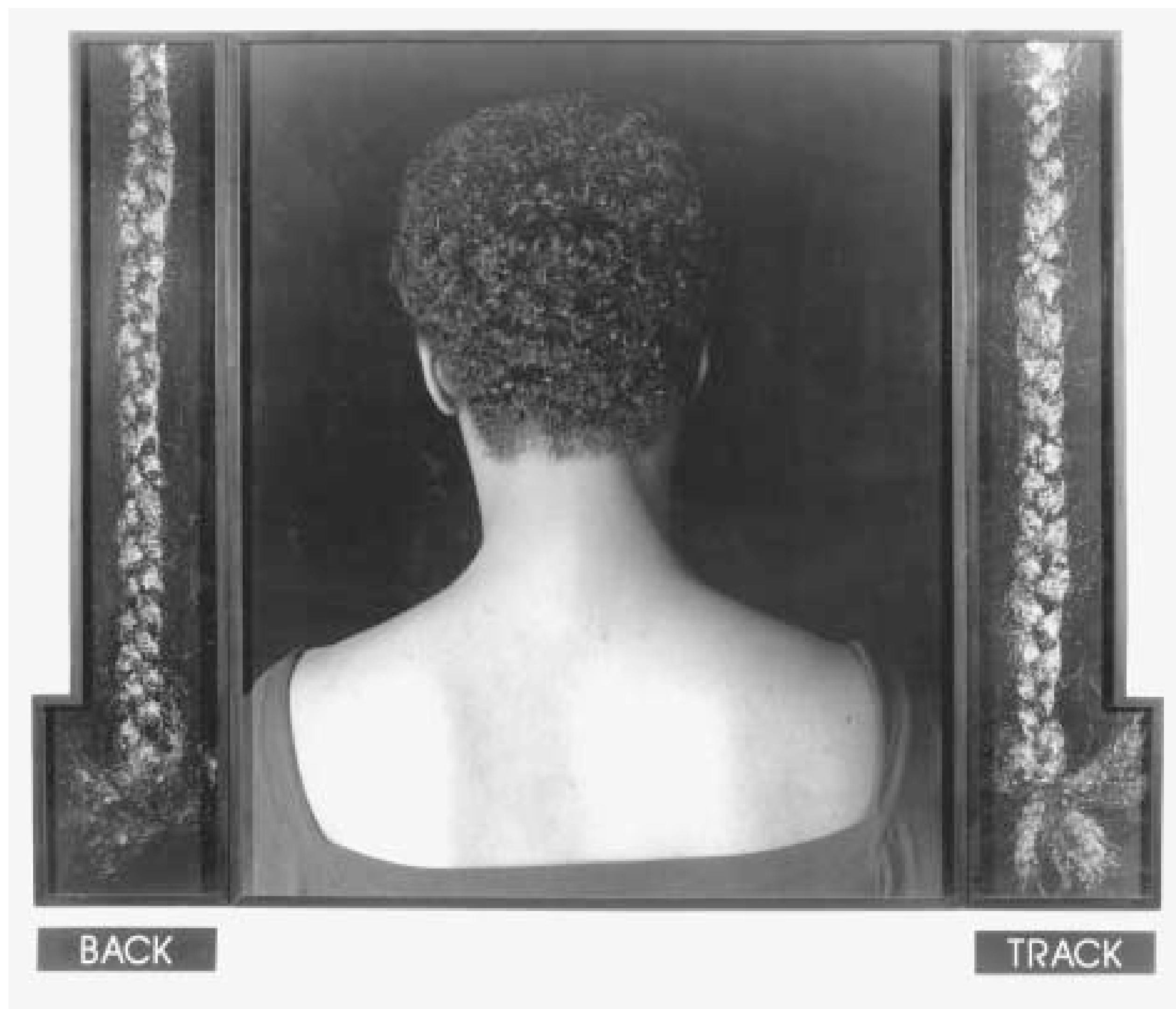
Through his work Guyton has challenged the boundaries between art and life as did French artist Marcel Duchamp and American artist Robert Rauschenberg. Duchamp took ordinary objects and presented them as art; Rauschenberg combined painting and common objects as collages, or combines. Guyton draws from the lives of the urban poor and makes their experiences and human spirit visible to people who have come from all over the world to see his work. He also shows how fragments of city life can be turned into art.

Guyton's so-called "junk art" on Heidelberg Street has been described in the press as controversial, political, and public—in short, the art of a revolutionary. His *Heidelberg Project* has attracted so much notice that the neighborhood's drug dealers and prostitutes ceased trying to use the vacant houses and lots. Guyton's cityscape art gallery has changed the surrounding area from deserted combat zones into places where people stop and stare with delight. Part of the fascination surrounding Guyton's works, perhaps, is that they are forever changing due to the ever-changing weather, environment, and artist's whims.

firestorm of intense scrutiny. However, the Biennial—organized by curators Thelma Golden, Elizabeth Sussman, Lisa Phillips, and John G. Hanhardt—ultimately solidified the cultural importance of this form of production.

While identity-based art thrived in the 1980s and early 1990s, other forms of black art proliferated as well. By then, the pressures of cultural nationalism had begun to wane. Simultaneously, Social Realism as an artistic strategy subsided, allowing a multiplicity of aesthetic styles to emerge. Abstract artists such as the painter Sam Gilliam (b. 1933) and sculptor Martin Puryear (b. 1941) articulated a sense of optimism by foregoing traditional conceptualizations of black identity as limited to concerns of racial politics. Hip-hop culture engendered its own brand of visual culture in the form of graffiti art (or "tags"), which emblazoned the urban landscape of most major cities in the United States. The transnational success of rap music was reflected in the sophistication of its visual art forms, ultimately garnering the interest of the art establishment. Manhattan-based painters Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960–1988) and Quattara Watts exemplified this new hybrid form, which infused modernist abstraction and graffiti styles with African and Haitian motifs. Despite moving beyond didactic meditations on black consciousness and overt racial polemics, the work of these artists still reflected the aesthetic styles and culturally rooted emblems of African peoples that make up what has become known as Black Atlantic culture.

In keeping with art of the period, many exciting artists further articulated African-American culture and history beyond nihilism, historical trauma, and dystopic present-day realities. The New York conceptualist David Hammons (b. 1943) appropriated cultural signifiers associated with black culture (e.g., hair, basketballs, wine bottles), transforming them into uplifting and often affirming artistic meditations on inner-city black life in the wake of intense poverty. In a similar vein, the Chicago-based painter Kerry James Marshall's (b. 1955) images of hous-



Lorna Simpson's Two Tracks, 1990. COLLECTION OF WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, GIFT OF RAYMOND J. LEARSY AND GABRIELLA DE FERRARRI. COURTESY OF THE SEAN KELLY GALLERY, NEW YORK.

ing projects envisioned a black public sphere that was a space of uplift rather than despair. The installations of the multimedia artist Fred Wilson (b. 1954) utilized the collections of major U.S. museums, reworking accepted art historical narratives that have traditionally marginalized the African-American past.

During the mid-1990s, Africa-American art took on an array of forms, many of which continued the fascination with historical memory. Young black artists, born in the period of post-civil rights optimism, often viewed the past with a cynicism that was not concerned with self-affirmation. The installation artist Kara Walker (b. 1969) received both critical accolades and intense scrutiny for her highly charged depictions of the antebellum plantation. Often violently sexual, Walker's imagery depicts the psychological dimension of stereotypes and the obscenity of the American racial unconscious. According to the artist's many detractors, Walker's work was said to embody a cocky disrespect and a youthful ambivalence towards the historical struggles of African-American people. Walker was not alone in her iconic exploration of racial stereotypes. The renowned figurative expressionist Robert Colescott (b. 1925) received international praise in the 1970s for his large-scale reinterpretations of canonical American history paintings. By replacing beloved historical figures such as George Washington with exaggerated minstrel representations of blacks, Colescott disallowed the comfortable contemplation of a mythical and heroic national past that is sanitized of America's history of racial terror. Often criticized for resurrecting degrading images of

blacks, Colescott's work gained renewed currency in the 1990s among younger artists who were exploring similar iconography. One such artist is the painter Michael Ray Charles (b. 1967), whose images most overtly exploit the striking visual potency and political import of racial caricatures. Best known for his searing critiques on the commoditization of the black body in the United States, Charles—like Walker and Colescott—successfully probes the psychic traumas inflicted by an exhaustive history of intolerance and anti-black racism.

From the latter part of the 1990s to the present, an art discourse concerned with African modernity, postcoloniality, and globalization has made its presence felt within contemporary art and academic circles. This discourse—inspired by the writings of Paul Gilroy, Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Sidney L. Kasfir, V. Y. Mudimbe, Martin Bernal, Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Olu Oguibe, Okwui Enwezor, Salah Hassan, and Coco Fusco, to name just a few—has aggressively indicted Western culture's claims of centrality and modern superiority over the second and third worlds. In many respects this discourse was provoked by the inequities of the 1984 MoMA (Museum of Modern Art) exhibition, *"Primitivism" in 20th-Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. The art historian Sidney L. Kasfir was an outspoken critic, suggesting that "Primitivism," as a fiction of Western desire and imperialist fantasies, was grounded in grossly misleading assumptions about African culture in general. MoMA's exhibition juxtaposed *modern* European art with African tribal art thought to be authentic on the basis of its *primitive* origins and qualities. Kasfir, among others, believed that this type of comparison re-inscribed the culturally biased dualism between the tribal and modern, and between the third and first worlds (Kasfir, 1992, p. 88). In the wake of MoMA's exhibition, a greater degree of emphasis was placed on contemporary African diaspora artists living and working in Western metropolises.

Initially, these developments appeared to be potentially unifying, bringing contemporary African and African-American artists together under negotiable common grounds. However, this bourgeoning discourse—while empowering for the postcolonial or transnational black artist—has been seen as an alienating or essentializing space that excludes African-American artistic production. Critics of these developments question whether or not "diaspora" is simply another form of self-segregation to be consumed by the international art market. While African-American artists have historically contemplated the ideological construction and representation of black identity in the United States, global discourses have extended the definition of *blackness* to encompass an international range of identities. The critically acclaimed though historically overlooked *Freestyle* exhibition, held at the Studio Museum in Harlem in 2001, successfully launched the careers of a new generation of black artists. However, *Freestyle* was not concerned with the presentation of a unified articulation of blackness, or with society's prevailing illusions about race. Neither was it rooted in a specific intellectual continuum, as earlier movements were. Curator Thelma Golden labeled her *Freestyle* progeny "post-black" artists, a moniker designed to emphasize their stated desire to transcend racial polemics. Post-black artists want be just that: artists, free of racial demarcations and the burden of representing a specified identity. Nevertheless, the highly political nature of global art discourses has overshadowed depoliticized efforts such as *Freestyle*, forcing contemporary black American artists to give up localized nationalisms and to ultimately view themselves as part of the international community that comprises the African diaspora.

See also Art in the Anglophone Caribbean; Painting and Sculpture; Performance Art; Photography, U.S.

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DEREK CONRAD MURRAY (2005)

Art Collections

There are numerous collections of African-American art throughout the United States in institutional, corporate, and private possession. Some of the major collections were established before 1950, but many were formed in the late 1960s or after 1970. One reason that most African-American art collections have only been developed recent-

ly is the lack of importance given to art in post-Reconstruction African-American education. A major thrust of education, from Reconstruction onward, was training for manual labor. The study of literature and art was considered superfluous. African-American artists were few, for they had no support groups, patrons, or buyers. (This situation caused George Washington Carver to change his major from art to science.)

When blacks from rural areas began moving to cities after World War I they took advantage of the greater scope of activities that urban centers had to offer. In his book *Modern Negro Art* (1943), James A. Porter notes the following landmarks in the progress of African-American artists: the annual exhibitions held at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library beginning in 1921, along with exhibitions held at Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C., in 1922 (sponsored by the Tanner Art League) and the Chicago Women's Club in 1927, and those of the Harmon Foundation from 1927 to 1933. Because of the exposure and prizes offered at these exhibitions and by the magazines *Crisis* and *Opportunity,* there was hope that the work of African-American artists would be recognized and valued. That happened, but slowly, because the collectors themselves were black and also subject to the economic restraints imposed by racism.

Many of the collections described below also include extensive holdings of African, Haitian, or Caribbean art.

Collections in Universities and Libraries

Hampton University in Virginia (founded in 1868 as Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute) houses the nation's oldest African-American museum. Samuel Armstrong established an ethnographic museum at the same time he founded Hampton. He wrote, "I wish to make and have here the finest collection in the U.S. I think that by taking pains I can beat the other collections in this country." The Hampton collection of African-American art began in 1894 with gifts of Henry O. Tanner's *Lion's Head* (1892) and *The Banjo Lesson* (1893). Now comprising 1,500 paintings, graphics, and sculpture, Hampton's African-American art collection is second only to that of the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

In 1967 Hampton University received a donation from the Harmon Foundation as it was dispersing its collection. In addition, Ida Cullen, the widow of Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen, sold twenty-six works from her husband's collection to Hampton University in 1986. She later donated three more works. Because of these acquisitions, the major artists of the Harlem Renaissance are exceptionally well represented: they include Richmond Barthé, Aaron Douglas, Palmer Hayden, Malvin G. Johnson, Augusta Savage, and Hale Woodruff. The collection includes eight more works by Tanner, as well as works by Romare Bearden, John Biggers, Elizabeth Catlett, Allan Crite, Paul Goodnight, Felrath Hines, Jacob Lawrence, Norman Lewis, Richard Mayhew, Raymond Saunders, James Wells, Charles White, Benjamin Wigfall, and Ellis Wilson. In 1997 Hampton greatly expanded its gallery space, creating a permanent chronological exhibition of African-American art.

The Howard University Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., opened on April 7, 1930, two years after the board of trustees established it. The first exhibition was a traveling show sponsored by the College Art Association. Under its first two directors, James V. Herring and James A. Porter, Howard's gallery developed a program to acquire a permanent collection. Henry O. Tanner's *Return from the Crucifixion* was possibly the first painting in the collection and the last one Tanner did before his death in 1937. The Howard University Gallery of Art now boasts one of the most comprehensive collections of work by African-American artists, from Robert Duncanson, Edward Bannister, and Edmonia Lewis of the nineteenth century, to such contemporary artists as Richard Hunt and Sam Gilliam. The collection was further enriched by Alain Locke's bequest in 1955 of his holdings of paintings and African sculpture.

In the early thirties, Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, began amassing an art collection through gifts. Fisk's collection of art by African Americans now comprises about nine hundred paintings, prints, and sculptures. Murals and other works by Aaron Douglas, who taught at Fisk from 1937 to 1966, are exhibited in Fisk's library. A gallery named for Douglas features changing exhibitions. Works by Malvin Gray Johnson, William H. Johnson, David Driskell, Sam Middleton, Alma Thomas, and James Lesesne Wells make up a small part of the large Fisk University collection.

The Clark Atlanta University Art Galleries (Clark College and Atlanta University merged in 1988) had an unusual genesis. In 1942 Hale Woodruff, who had initiated Atlanta University's art department a decade earlier, instituted an annual exhibition. He wanted both younger and older artists to be able to exhibit their work on a national, juried basis, free of racism. He also wanted to bring art to the community. The exhibition's winning entries were purchased to form the collection at Atlanta. Charles Alston and Lois Mailou Jones were among the winners in 1942. The annual exhibition, which continued until 1970, accounts for three hundred of the Clark Atlanta acquisi-

tions. This core collection has been increased by gifts from private individuals and institutions, as well as by purchases, including three Tanners in 1967. Gifts have included works by Romare Bearden, Beauford Delaney, Palmer Hayden, Malvin Gray Johnson, William H. Johnson, Jacob Lawrence, and Archibald Motley. In 1950 Hale Woodruff was commissioned to paint a six-part mural, *Art of the Negro,* for the Atlanta collection. The annual exhibitions not only created a major institutional art collection, but for twenty-eight years they provided an exhibition space and an atmosphere of artistic competition, free of racism, that engaged African-American artists and stimulated the public.

The University of Delaware became the repository of more than one thousands works by twentieth-century African-American artists in 2001 when Paul R. Jones of Atlanta donated his collection. Jones began collecting in the late 1960s when he noted that artists of color were rarely included in exhibitions of American art. Inspired by Atlanta University's annual exhibitions, Jones developed his collection to include both known and emerging artists. Jones's primary consideration was to see African-American art woven into American art, and he chose the University of Delaware for his gift because of its strong academic and conservation commitment to American art. In 2004 a multimillion-dollar restoration of a campus landmark, Mechanical Hall, was completed to hold the Paul R. Jones Collection.

Almost all of the Arts and Artifacts Collection of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, a research center of the New York Public Library, consists of paintings, sculpture, and prints by African-American artists. Prominent white artists such as Alice Neel and William Zorach are also included in the Schomburg collection. By 1926, when Arthur A. Schomburg's collection of books, manuscripts, prints, and other artworks became part of the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, the branch had been hosting annual art exhibitions for five years, selected by a committee that included W. E.B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson. This led to the library's beginnings as a repository for a major collection. As early as 1911, Schomburg commissioned a portrait of his wife from William E. Braxton, now in the collection with other works by Braxton. Most of the acquisitions, until the late seventies, were gifts of friends, patrons, and artists.

The Schomburg collection includes numerous works from the Works Project Administration (WPA), its paintings having been given to branch libraries when the WPA was dissolved in the 1940s. Works by Palmer Hayden, Malvin Gray Johnson, and Jacob Lawrence arrived this way. Works by all the important artists mentioned throughout this entry are represented in the Schomburg collection, as are works by E. Simms Campbell, Barbara Chase-Riboud, Claude Clark, Beauford Delaney, Rex Goreleigh, Sam Middleton, Sister Gertrude Morgan, Horace Pippin, Augusta Savage, William E. Scott, Charles Sebree, and Bill Traylor. As a result of the 1998 exhibition, *Black New York Artists of the 20th Century*, the Schomburg Center acquired forty-five works by forty-three artists who were not previously represented.

The Amistad Research Center, established by the American Missionary Association in 1966, is now located on the campus of Tulane University in New Orleans. Among its holdings is the Aaron Douglas Collection of nearly three hundred paintings and sculptures by African-American artists. This collection was assembled by David Driskell and Grant Spaulding for the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, which donated it to the Amistad Research Center in 1983. Rich in work from the Harlem Renaissance, the collection contains twelve paintings by Aaron Douglas and seventeen by Malvin Gray Johnson. There are also seventeen paintings by the nineteenth-century artist, Edward M. Bannister. Both Bearden and Lawrence are strongly represented, and among other artists there are works by Wilmer Jennings, Alma Thomas, William E. Scott, Ellis Wilson, Sam Middleton, Keith Morrison, Vincent Smith, David Driskell, Mildred Thompson, and Walter Williams.

South Carolina State College in Orangeburg opened its I. P. Stanback Museum and Planetarium in 1980. By 1991 it valued its collection of African-American art, acquired through gifts, at nearly one million dollars. African art, photography, and works by students are also included in the collection, along with works by such prominent artists as Romare Bearden and Jacob Lawrence.

Museums and Cultural Institutions

The National Museum of American Art, part of the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, D.C., has works of art by 105 African Americans. Although founded in 1829, the museum, reflecting American aesthetics and prejudices, did not own any African-American works before 1964. The first acquisition was James Hampton's room-sized 180-piece assemblage, *The Throne of the Third Heaven of the Nations Millennium General Assembly.* In 1966 IBM donated works by Sargent Johnson, Romare Bearden, and Charles Sebree. At the same time, the Harmon Foundation, a repository of black art for forty years, had to disburse its collection. Unable to find a taker in New York, it turned to the Smithsonian. This vast donation, plus purchases by the museum, paved the way for other donors,

including a bequest of twenty-five paintings from Alma Thomas and a donation by Warren Robbins of many nineteenth-century works by African-American artists.

The Studio Museum in Harlem opened in 1968 in rented quarters above a liquor store and without a permanent collection. Its aims were to provide studio space for black artists and to serve as a venue for exhibitions of their art. In 1979 the New York Bank for Savings donated a vacant building in Harlem, which opened in 1982 as the Studio Museum. With its own building, the Studio Museum could acquire a permanent collection and present exhibitions, lectures, performances, workshops, concerts, and seminars. The organization also continued to exhibit and provide space for artists in residence. The Studio Museum's permanent collection includes over 1,600 items in all formats, including installations. It is particularly strong in the politically conscious art of the 1960s. Artists represented in the collection include Terry Adkins, Robert Colescott, Melvin Edwards, Richard Hunt, Norman Lewis, Betye Saar, and Nari Ward. The Studio Museum was accredited by the American Association of Museums in 1988. An expansion and renovation project that began in 2001 has added increased gallery space, an auditorium, a café, and other building improvements.

Affiliated with the Elma Lewis School in Boston, the Museum of the National Center of Afro-American Artists was established in 1978. The museum was developed at that time in cooperation with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The permanent collection began with a donation of more than two hundred works by Allan Crite, Richard Yarde, and John Wilson, among others. Prints and photographs by African Americans are also held.

The Amistad Foundation at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, was founded in 1987 with the acquisition of the collection of Randolph Linsly Simpson, who had amassed over seven thousand artworks, artifacts, and documents related to the black experience in America. The Amistad Foundation continues to strengthen its visual arts component by acquiring the works of such contemporary African-American artists as Ellis Ruley and Carrie Mae Weems. In June 1992 the Amistad opened its gallery at the Wadsworth Atheneum, thus becoming the first gallery in a New England art museum to be permanently dedicated to the art, culture, and history of African Americans.

The Museum of African American Art in Tampa, Florida, opened in April 1991. It houses the Barnett-Aden Collection of 171 paintings, sculptures, and lithographs, representing eighty-one artists reaching back to the nineteenth century. The Barnett-Aden Gallery was started in 1943 by James V. Herring and Alonzo J. Aden of Howard University. It was open to white artists, although an objective was to collect and preserve the art of African Americans. Adolphus Ealy, to whom the collection was bequeathed, sold it to the Florida Endowment Fund for Higher Education in 1989 for six million dollars. Many major artists—Tanner, Bearden, Woodruff, Bannister, Catlett—are included in this collection, which spans almost a century of African-American creation (1860 to 1955).

The Afro-American Cultural Center in Charlotte, North Carolina, will become the new home of the works of art collected since 1949 by John H. and Vivian D. Hewitt. Strong in works by twentieth-century artists such as Charles Alston, John Biggers, Romare Bearden, Ronald Joseph, Richard Mayhew, Ann Tanksley, Virginia Smit, and Frank Wimberly, the collection also includes six works by Henry Tanner. Bought by the Bank of America Foundation in 1998 as a promised gift to the center, the collection will be housed in a newly renovated gallery at the Charlotte institution after a national tour that is scheduled to end in 2006.

Other museums that exhibit African-American art include the DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago, established in 1961, and the California African American Museum (CAAM) in Los Angeles (1975). The former has a permanent collection of eight hundred works from the WPA period and the black arts movement of the 1960s. A new wing that opened in 1993 increased the DuSable's gallery space. The CAAM is home to the Palmer C. Hayden Collection and Archives, as well as a substantial collection of nineteenth-century landscape paintings by Edward M. Bannister, Robert S. Duncanson, and Grafton Tyler Brown. Recent renovations have added three galleries and a sculpture court to accommodate its burgeoning holdings of modern and contemporary art. The museum has a strong collection of work by California artists, such as Betye Saar, John Outterbridge, and Sargent Johnson.

Corporate Collections

Several significant collections of art are held by large African American–owned companies. An early example is the Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company. Founded in Los Angeles in 1925, it began its art collection in 1949 to celebrate the dedication of a new building. The artists Charles Alston and Hale Woodruff were commissioned to paint two murals depicting the history of African Americans in California. Alston's panel, *Exploration and Colonization,* showed historic events from 1527 to 1850; Woodruff's *Settlement and Development* covered the years 1850 to 1949. Golden State's Afro-American Art Collection has

become a showplace for the works of, among others, Charles White, John Biggers, Hughie Lee-Smith, Richard Hunt, Beulah Woodard, Betye Saar, Henry O. Tanner, and Richmond Barthé.

The Atlanta Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, Georgia, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1980 by dedicating new corporate headquarters. Believing the community should have cultural enrichment as well as economic stability, president Jesse Hill Jr. established the Atlanta Life First National Annual African-American Art Competition and Exhibition. Winning works of the competition, for which $15,000 was provided, became part of the collection. Modeled on the annual juried exhibitions that formed the basis of Atlanta University's art collection, the Atlanta Life exhibitions give exposure and encouragement to up-and-coming artists rather than to those already established. The first planners and advisers included Margaret Burroughs, founder of the DuSable Museum, professors of art, and collectors. Jurors over the years have included E. Barry Gaither, Samella Lewis, Richard Long, Lowery Sims, and Robert Blackburn. The Atlanta Life Insurance Company now owns over three hundred pieces of art in many media, including photography. On display in the vast lobby is an impressive body of work by young or local artists, as well as by historical figures such as Romare Bearden, Elizabeth Catlett, Ed Dwight, Jacob Lawrence, and Hale Woodruff.

The Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago—the publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet*— has amassed one of the most important collections of African-American art. According to articles in *Ebony* (September 1972, December 1973), "It is the world's largest and most representative corporate collection of work by African American artists . . . what we intend is that the building and art collection combine as a really bold positive statement about the company's commitment to the black people it serves." By 1980 the collection consisted of about 250 pieces, displayed in the public spaces and the editorial offices of the building. The building, which opened in 1971, was designed by African-American architect John Moutoussamy. A number of the artists represented in the Johnson Publishing collection were born either in Chicago or have a connection to the city. The artworks include paintings, sculpture, drawings, and lithographs in all media. Richard Hunt was commissioned to create the bronze, *Expansive Construction* (1972). Romare Bearden, Jacob Lawrence, Charles Alston, Hughie Lee-Smith, and Hale Woodruff are some of the well-known artists in the collection. Others include Eldzier Cortor, Charles White, Robin Hunter, Geraldine McCullough, Valerie Maynard, Frank Hayden, and Jeff Donaldson. The Johnson Publishing collection also includes African and Haitian art.

Private Collections

It is impossible to provide a comprehensive list of private collections of African-American art. In 1980 Richard V. Clarke, former chairman of the Studio Museum in Harlem said, "I find it rare, now, to go into someone's home and not see black art" (Wilson, 1980, p. 39). Clarke started his own collection in 1958. It is strongest in works by Romare Bearden, Hughie Lee-Smith, Jacob Lawrence, Eldzier Cortor, Norman Lewis, Henry Tanner, and Hale Woodruff, who consulted in the development of the collection. James Audubon, Betye Saar, Wilfredo Lam, Edward Bannister, and Howardena Pindell are also represented, as are sculptors Richmond Barthé, Elizabeth Catlett, and Sargent Johnson. Clarke's collection also includes Haitian paintings, African masks and figures, and photographs.

Another important private collection of African-American art is held by Walter and June Jackson Christmas. Although each began collecting in the 1940s, their purchasing increased after their marriage. Their first purchase together was Ellis Wilson's *Three Kings.* The Christmas collection spans the twentieth century and includes works by Bearden, Lawrence, Tanner, Ellis Wilson, Norman Lewis, Ernest Crichlow, and Selma Burke. Also represented are Vivian Browne, Calvin Burnett, Frank Wimberly, Virginia Smit, Robert Blackburn, and Ronald Joseph. There is also a portrait of Walter Christmas, himself an artist, painted by Georgette Seabrook Powell. Modern South African artists, such as Hargreaves Entuckwana, are included, as are artists from Haiti, Brazil, and Jamaica. The collection includes two watercolor designs for costumes painted by Derek Walcott, the 1992 Nobel laureate for Literature, for one of his plays. Contemporary sculpture by Gordon Christmas and Clarence Queen, and from Burkina Faso, adds an extra dimension to the Christmas collection.

Harmon and Harriet Kelley began their collection in 1987 after attending a museum exhibition of African-American art. Thrilled by the beauty of the work and unnerved that they had never heard of these artists, the Kelleys decided to collect so that their daughters would know this aspect of their heritage. The Kelleys started with nineteenth-century artists, such as Tanner, Duncanson, Bannister, and Joshua Johnson. They then moved to more modern but not well-known artists, including Charles Sallee Jr. and Dox Thrash, a pioneering printmaker. Giants such as Bearden, Lawrence, Eldzior Cortor, Norman Lewis, and Archibald Motley Jr. are also represented in the Kelley collection, as is a work by Jean-Michel Basquiat.

Leon and Rosemarie Banks of Los Angeles began collecting art in the 1950s when Banks was a U.S. Air Force surgeon in England and was able to visit the museums and

galleries of Europe. Banks describes his collection as "mainly contemporary and American and while it doesn't reflect any specific trend, it does lean to more abstract styles" (*Black Enterprise,* December, 1975, p. 47). Both African-American and white artists are represented in the collection, including Richard Hunt, Mel Edwards, Sam Gilliam, Henry O. Tanner, and Bob Thompson among the former, and Alberto Giacometti, Willem de Kooning, David Hockney, and Robert Motherwell among the latter. Most of the purchases, however, have been of artworks by younger, less established artists.

The Walter O. Evans Collection of African American Art was started in the late 1970s. Evans, who lived in Detroit, met Romare Bearden and was inspired to collect art. At that time he purchased only paintings that portrayed African Americans because he almost never saw any in the museums he visited. Evans also commissioned Bearden and Richard Hunt to create album covers for his record label. Since then he has broadened the collection to include the major African-American artists of the nineteenth century, although their landscapes have no human figures. Artists such as Robert Duncanson, Edward Bannister, Charles Porter, and Henry O. Tanner are well represented in the Evans Collection. About half the works in the collection were painted for the WPA during the 1930s. Haitian painters and sculptors are also included in this collection, which is often exhibited. Selections from the Evans Collection have been on continuous tour since 1991, and have been exhibited in numerous museums and galleries throughout the United States. Evans has also established the Walter O. Evans Foundation for Art and Literature to disseminate knowledge about African American cultural achievements.

Other prominent private collectors included Arthur Ashe and his wife Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, Harry Belafonte, Camille Billops, Jacqueline Bontemps, Kenneth Clark, Bill Cosby, Wes Cochran, Robert H. Derden, David Driskell, Laura Hynes Felrath, Warren Goins, Russell Goings, Danny Glover, Edmund Gordon, Earl Graves, William Harvey, Jacqueline J. Holland, Spike Lee, James W. Lewis, Reginald and Loida Lewis, Peter and Eileen Norton, Regenia Perry, Joseph Pierce, Sidney Poitier, Beny Primm, Meredith Sirmans, E. T. Williams, and Reba and Dave Williams.

See also Art; Museums

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BETTY KAPLAN GUBERT (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Ashe, Arthur

July 10, 1943
February 6, 1993

Born in Richmond, Virginia, tennis player and political activist Arthur Robert Ashe Jr. traced his lineage back ten generations on his father's side to a woman who in 1735 was brought from West Africa to Yorktown, Virginia, by the slave ship *Doddington*. Ashe's mother, Mattie Cunningham, also of Richmond, taught him to read by the time he was four. She died when Arthur was six, one year after giving birth to her second son and last child, Johnnie.

Ashe, who was frail in his youth, was forbidden by his father, a police officer in Richmond's Department of Recreation and Parks, to play football on the segregated Brookfield playground adjacent to the Ashes' home. In-

stead, young Ashe took to playing tennis on the four hard courts of the playground. By the time he was ten Ashe had attracted the keen eye of Dr. Walter Johnson, a Lynchburg, Virginia, physician and tennis enthusiast who had previously discovered and coached Althea Gibson, the first black woman to win the Wimbledon tennis tournament.

Ashe's father and Dr. Johnson were both stern disciplinarians who insisted that Ashe cultivate self-discipline, good manners, forbearance, and self-effacing stoicism. These qualities would characterize Ashe throughout his entire life and, even in the midst of the most turbulent social conditions, would define him as a man of reason, conscience, integrity, and moral authority. His cool disposition enabled him not only to survive but to distinguish himself in an overwhelmingly white tennis environment.

In 1960 Ashe was awarded a tennis scholarship to UCLA, where he earned All-American status. Two years after he graduated with a business degree, he became the first black man to win one of the preeminent Grand Slam titles, accomplishing that as an amateur and U.S. Army representative at the U.S. Open of 1968. Numerous titles would follow, highlighted by Ashe's place on three victorious Davis Cup squads and the addition of two more Grand Slam titles, one at the Australian Open in 1970, and the other, his pièce de résistance, at Wimbledon in 1975.

Throughout those years, Ashe devoted considerable time and energy to civil rights issues. In 1973, after three years of trying, he secured an invitation to play in the all-white South African Open. Although his participation was controversial, it personified Ashe's lifelong belief in constructive engagement—an attitude that he abandoned only on one noteworthy occasion in 1976, when he joined in the call for an international embargo of all sporting contact with South Africa.

In 1979, at age thirty-six, Ashe suffered a myocardial infarction, which forced him to have bypass surgery and retire from tennis. Nevertheless, over the ensuing years he served as the U.S. Davis Cup captain (1981–1985), he worked as a journalist and television commentator, and he served or helped create various foundations, ranging from the American Heart Association to the United Negro College Fund to his own Safe Passage Foundation.

Eighteen months after undergoing a second heart operation in 1983, Ashe learned that he had contracted the AIDS virus through blood transfusions. He immediately set to work on his definitive three-volume history of black athletes in America, *A Hard Road to Glory* (1988). Forced by the national newspaper *USA Today* to reveal that he was suffering from AIDS in April 1992, Ashe worked as an activist for the defeat of AIDS until he died of the disease in February 1993.

Following his death, Ashe was honored in his native Richmond by the erection in 1996 of a statue on Monument Avenue, the city's central thoroughfare. Meanwhile, the Flushing Meadows Tennis Stadium, home of the U.S. Open, was rededicated Arthur Ashe Stadium in 1997.

In 1992 Ashe started the Arthur Ashe Institute for Urban Health, with a goal to improve health care and education in America's urban environments. In 2002 the institute celebrated its tenth anniversary, keeping Arthur Ashe's vision alive. The U.S. Postal Service announced plans at the U.S. Open in 2004 to commemorate Ashe with a postage stamp bearing his image.

See also Gibson, Althea; Tennis; Williams, Venus and Serena

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PETER BODO (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Associated Publishers

The historian Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) founded Associated Publishers in 1922 in Washington, D.C. Frustrated by his inability to get his own work published by white publishers, Woodson decided to form his own publishing company. He not only helped black scholars find publishers for their work, he also hoped to make money to support research programs initiated through the Association for the Study of Afro-American (originally Negro) Life and History, now known as Association for the Study of African-American Life and History. Although he tried to interest black scholars in becoming financial partners in his new firm, only a few close associates invested. Among them were Louis Mehlinger, who served as secretary, and John W. Davis, who was treasurer.

Although they published scores of books by black authors, as well as works by whites who wrote on black sub-

jects, they did not make money for Woodson's association and actually drained the organization financially. By the late 1930s, authors needed to pay a subvention to have their work published, though Associated Publishers continued to issue scholarly works, as well as those directed to a mass audience. Although published in smaller runs than books issued during the 1920s and 1930s, more than a dozen volumes were published in the 1940s, many directed at schoolchildren and a mass audience. Volumes that otherwise would not have been published came out under their auspices. Even English translations of books by foreign authors were published, including Arthur Ramos's *The Negro in Brazil.*

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Woodson, Carter G.

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JACQUELINE GOGGIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians

Originally an informal rehearsal band led by pianist Muhal Richard Abrams (b. 1930) and bassist Donald "Rafael" Garrett (1932–1989) in Chicago in 1961, the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) went on to become one of the dominant influences in avant-garde jazz. Along with Abrams and Garrett, several students studying at Wilson Junior College—including saxophonists Anthony Braxton, Henry Threadgill, Joseph Jarman, and Roscoe Mitchell and bassist Malachi Favors—were among the significant participants in weekly jam sessions at various nightclubs, small theaters, settlement houses, and churches on Chicago's South Side. Also involved as performers and composers were drummers Jack DeJohnette, Steve McCall, and Thurman Barker; saxophonists Maurice McIntrye and Troy Robinson; trumpeter Leo Smith; and pianists Phil Cohran, Amina Claudine Myers, and Jodie Christian. Inspired by Sun Ra, Cecil Taylor, Ornette Coleman, and John Coltrane, these musicians theatrically juxtaposed explosive free jazz with delicate, whimsical tinkling on hubcabs and frying pans.

The AACM was chartered as a nonprofit organization in 1965 (with Abrams as president) and began to sponsor art exhibits, plays, living arrangements, and a school. At first, the music world greeted the AACM with hostility, and as a result the cooperative's early work was poorly documented. Nonetheless, several albums alerted the New York-based avant-garde that a new movement was afoot in Chicago. These albums include Mitchell's *Sound* (1966), Jarman's *Song For* (1967), trumpeter Lester Bowie's *Numbers 1 and 2* (1967), Abrams's *Levels and Degrees of Light* (1968), and Braxton's *Three Compositions of New Jazz* (1968). These works were created not by improvising on a melodic theme or harmonic chord changes, but by exploring variations in instrumental texture, particularly unorthodox sounds on standard instruments. Along with such blips, squeaks, and overtones are sounds made by "little instruments," mostly common household or industrial objects.

In 1969, tragedy struck the organization with the death of two key members, bassist Charles Clark and pianist Christopher Gaddy. Many AACM musicians then moved to Paris, where they were soon engaged in celebrated concerts and recordings. However, they returned to the United States within a few years, claiming, in a famous statement, that they missed "the inspiration of the ghetto." Most settled in New York and participated in the cooperative "Loft Jazz" movement of the mid- to late 1970s (This music is documented in the multivolume *Wildflowers: The New York Loft Jazz Sessions*, recorded over a ten-day period in 1976).

The ensembles formed by members of the AACM have proved to be among the most significant in jazz. The Art Ensemble of Chicago, whose motto is "Great Black Music, Ancient to Future," was formed in 1969 by Bowie, Jarman, Mitchell, and Favors (the drummer Famoudou Don Moye joined them in Paris in 1970). Their recordings include *Message to Our Folks* (1969), *Nice Guys* (1978), and *Dreaming of the Masters* (1987). Art Ensemble concerts became famous for the energetic wit they brought to the avant-garde, and for the band's use of African-style face paint and clothing. Before his death in 1999, Bowie would often wear a chef's hat and white medical coat on stage, while the flamboyantly greasepainted Jarman has been known to wave flags and sound sirens. Favors passed away in early 2004, but the band continues with a lineup that includes Jarman, Moye, Mitchell, Corey Wilkes, and Jaribu Sahid.

In Paris, Braxton, Smith, and McCall, and the violinist Leroy Jenkins had great success under the name Cre-

ative Construction Company, but aside from one concert financed and recorded by Coleman (*Creative Construction Company,* 2 vols., 1970), they were unable to keep the group together in America. Braxton went on to lead his own ensembles (*Five Compositions (Quartet),* 1986), as did Smith (*Go in Numbers,* 1980). Jenkins worked with the Revolutionary Ensemble (*Manhattan Cycles,* 1972), and then as a leader (*For Players Only,* 1975). McCall worked in the group Air (*Air Lore,* 1975) with bassist Fred Hoplins and Threadgill, who has lead his own ensembles (*Just the Facts* and *Pass the Bucket,* 1983). Abrams has continued to work with his large ensembles, such as the Muhal Richard Abrams Orchestra (*Blu Blu Blu,* 1990).

Most of the members of the AACM overcame an initial obscurity, but some have remained undiscovered. These include pianist Jodie Christian, trombonist Lester Lashley, and saxophonists Fred Anderson, John Stubblefield, and Kalaparusha Maurice McIntyre. In the 1970s and 1980s, a new generation of AACM members came to prominence, including trombonist George Lewis and saxophonists Chico Freeman, Edward Wilkerson, and Douglas Ewart. Most of the original members of the AACM live in New York, and few remain in close contact with the organization. The AACM itself, however, has grown and prospered as a Chicago arts collective and continues to sponsor classes, workshops, and performances.

See also Coleman, Ornette; Coltrane, John; Jazz; Music in the United States; Sun Ra (Blount, Herman "Sonny")

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Association for the Study of African American Life and History

The historian Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in Washington, D.C., on September 9, 1915. Woodson may have been stimulated to found a new organization, albeit indirectly, by D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation,* released in 1915. To counter Griffith's racist depiction of blacks, Woodson began the organization in order to preserve and disseminate historical and sociological information on African Americans. He also became the first director of the organization, while George Cleveland Hall (1864–1930; personal physician to Booker T. Washington and a surgeon at Provident Hospital in Chicago) became the first president. Alexander L. Jackson, the executive secretary of the black YMCA organization in Washington, and James E. Stamps, a Yale economics graduate student who assisted Jackson, also helped to launch the association.

Prior to the establishment of the ASNLH, black historians had no professional organization that welcomed them as members. Racially exclusive, the historical profession fostered policies that promoted academic segregation, closely mirroring the racism and segregation of society as a whole. This racism was reflected in the practices of the American Historical Association, which was founded in 1884. Through the ASNLH, Woodson and the handful of black historians with whom he collaborated used their scholarship to influence white public opinion in general, and the white historical establishment in particular. With the founding of the ASNLH, Woodson not only challenged the scholarly authority of the white historical establishment, but he also provided black historians with a forum for the presentation and publication of their research.

Annual meetings of the association offered black historians an opportunity to deliver scholarly papers before their peers and encouraged further scholarly production. The association functioned as a clearinghouse and information bureau, providing research assistance in black history to scholars and to the general public. Woodson sponsored numerous research projects that involved a broad segment of the black community, and both scholars and interested amateurs participated in association research projects. To ensure the publication of the research undertaken by these scholars, Woodson founded Associated Publishers in 1922. Woodson collected historical documents and edited them for publication. He also edited and published the *Journal of Negro History,* which began in 1916, and the *Negro History Bulletin,* which began in 1937 and was directed at school children. Through the auspices of the association, Woodson brought black history to a mass audience when he began the annual celebration of Negro History Week in 1926. Negro History Week was celebrated annually in February in the closest possible

proximity to the birthday of Abraham Lincoln (February 12) and the presumed birthday of Frederick Douglass (February 14).

After Woodson's death in 1950, the organization underwent some financial difficulties and several administrative reorganizations. The historian Charles Harris Wesley (1891–1987) became president in 1951 and assumed many of Woodson's former administrative roles. (Under Mary McLeod Bethune [1875–1955], who served as the association's first female president from 1936 to 1951, the presidency had been primarily a ceremonial position.) By 1965 the association had largely completed its reorganization, and in that year Wesley became its first executive director since Woodson. Wesley guided the ASNLH through the tumultuous civil rights era and retired in 1972. That same year, recognizing the increasing cultural and race consciousness among African Americans, the association's members voted to change its name to the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH); this was later changed to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (retaining the same acronym). The headquarters of the organization remained in Washington, D.C., with offices in Woodson's original townhouse. In 1976 due in part to the efforts of executive director J. Rupert Picott, the association expanded Negro History Week into Black History Month, which is now celebrated for the entire month of February. Woodson's townhouse was declared a national historic landmark in 1976, and in February 1988 it became part of the Washington, D.C., Black History National Recreation Trail, which was also dedicated in Woodson's honor.

Woodson was succeeded as editor of the *Journal of Negro History* by the historian Rayford W. Logan, who served from 1950 to 1951. William Miles Brewer was editor from 1951 to 1970, and W. Augustus Low, best known for co-editing the *Encyclopedia of Black America* (1981) with Virgil A. Clift, was editor from 1970 to 1974. Low was succeeded by Lorraine A. Williams, who established the Carter G. Woodson Award for article contributions and worked to attract a wider spectrum of contributors to the publication. Alton Hornsby, Jr., a professor of history at Morehouse College, succeeded Williams in 1976.

In 1983 financial difficulties forced the association to briefly suspend the publication of the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin;* both publications were revived within a year. Financial difficulties also led the association to remove Dr. Samuel L. Banks from the position of national president in 1985, two years after his election to the post. Dr. Janette H. Harris became the association's second female president in 1993, and she was faced with these pressing economic conditions. Under Hornsby and Harris however, the *Journal of Negro History* attracted more black scholars from historically black colleges and universities. The journal also brought more women and first-time historians into its ranks of article contributors. The association continued to sponsor an annual essay contest for college students, a scholar-in-residence program, and an October convention on current historical research. In 2001 the *Journal of Negro History* became the *Journal of African American History,* and in 2003 Dr. V. P. Franklin became editor of the journal. Also in 2001, the *Negro History Bulletin* became the *Black History Bulletin*.

See also Associated Publishers; Black History Month/ Negro History Week; Douglass; Frederick; Washington, Booker T.; Woodson, Carter G.

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JACQUELINE GOGGIN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Astronauts

During the 1960s, the civil rights movement began to change the United States. Much of the country was engulfed in the sometimes violent struggle to either create equal rights or to ensure that minority groups remained as second-class citizens. In the South, segregation often furthered the social disparity between African Americans and whites, placing African Americans in schools that lacked the funding provided to their white counterparts. However, this is also the period that introduced the nation's first African-American space travelers.

The politics of change were apparent in the 1960 election campaign of John F. Kennedy, who was the first presidential candidate to strongly contend for the minority vote. In a post-election conversation with National Urban League President Whitney Young, Kennedy was told that an African-American astronaut could encourage black youngsters to enter the science and technology fields. At the same time, news commentator Edward R. Murrow began suggesting to National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) administrator James E. Webb that

Guion S. "Guy" Bluford (seated) with fellow astronauts Ronald McNair (left) and Frederick Gregory, 1978. *The three men joined NASA's astronaut training program together that year. In 1983, Bluford became the first African American in space. Two years later, Gregory became the first African American to pilot a U.S. spacecraft. McNair died in the explosion of the space shuttle* Challenger *in 1986.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the nation should consider sending a black man into space "to retell our space effort to the whole nonwhite world, which is most of it" (Phelps, p. xviii). In 1962 President Kennedy asked the department of defense to find a black pilot who met the requirements to become an astronaut.

Edward J. Dwight (b. 1933) became the first African American selected to attend astronaut training in 1962. An accomplished pilot with an aeronautical degree from Arizona State University, Dwight received a letter from the president informing him of his selection. However, White House favoritism and racial prejudice—as described by Dwight in a fifteen page memorandum to the department of defense—eventually undermined his career. Although he was recommended by the astronaut selection board, Dwight and five of his eight recommended classmates were not selected to head into space. After suffering what he considered further discriminatory behavior by the U.S. Air Force, Dwight described significant social discrimination and resigned his commission in 1966.

Just one year later, however, Dr. Robert H. Lawrence (1935–1967), an air force major, qualified for the air force's Manned Orbital Laboratory program, becoming the first African-American astronaut designee and the only designee until that time who had earned a doctorate. Unfortunately, this new hope for an African-American astronaut passed at the end of that year with Lawrence's accidental death aboard an F-104 aircraft. No other African American would join the astronaut program until 1978, leading the Soviet Union to accuse the U.S. space program of racism. In 1963 the Soviets placed the first woman in space (Colonel Valentina Tereshkova, born in 1937) and allowed Cuba's Colonel Arnaldo Tamayo-Mendez, born in 1942, to become the first black man in space in 1980. As a participant in the Soviet Union's Intercosmos guest cosmonaut program, Tamayo-Mendez spent eight days aboard the Salyut 6 space station.

1978 TO 1987

Whereas the 1963 entry of a Soviet woman into space embarrassed some senators who believed that the United States should have made a greater effort to create an inclusive astronaut corps, the 1964 Civil Rights Act encoded the need for NASA to integrate. In 1978, the astronaut training program welcomed its first female candidates—including Sally K. Ride, the first American woman in space—and three African Americans: Guion (Guy) Bluford, Ronald McNair, and Frederick Gregory.

Guy Bluford Jr. (born in 1942) became the first African American in space on August 30, 1983. His launch aboard the *Challenger* was attended by black political leaders, educators, and entertainment figures. Bluford's contribution to aviation, however, had begun years before. After graduating from Pennsylvania State University as the only black student in the engineering school, he served with distinction in the skies over Vietnam. Upon his return from duty, he obtained a master's degree in aerospace engineering, followed by a doctorate in the same field and a minor in laser physics. His doctoral dissertation contributed to the study of thin wings traveling at velocities well above the speed of sound. From 1974 to 1978, as the chief of Air Dynamics and Airframe Branch at the Air Force Flight Dynamics Library, he supervised the research of over forty engineers using two wind tunnels. Finally, in 1979 he applied to and was accepted by the astronaut corps as a mission specialist. He performed work on various satellites and conducted experiments in physics, biology, and the processing of materials. In 1993 Bluford retired from both NASA and the air force with the rank of colonel.

African Americans in Non-Astronautical Aviation

Successful African-American aviators include General Lester L. Lyles of the U.S. Air Force (ret. 2003), Professor Wesley L. Harris of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Joseph R. Cleveland, Chief Information Officer for Lockheed Martin. Four-star General Lester Lyles, a graduate of Howard University, served in several capacities in the military. After leaving his position as Vice Chief of Staff, he assumed the leadership of the Air Force Materiel Command in April 2000, where he worked to invigorate his organization's role in science and technology. He emphasized the growth of Air Force participation in space and in developing government/industry partnerships. Wesley L. Harris, similarly, has sought such partnerships during his career. In the time since receiving his doctorate from Princeton University, Harris has served as the NASA Associate Administrator for Aeronautics, co-director of the Lean Aerospace Initiative, and currently heads the MIT Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics. Like many noted astronauts, he has demonstrated sincere dedication to the advancement of minorities through education, having founded the MIT Office of Minority Affairs in 1975. Finally, community leader Joseph R. Cleveland exemplifies a leading African American within commercial aviation. As a member of the 2003 Board of Governors for the Orlando, Florida, Chamber of Commerce, he has devoted significant efforts to developing the local community. A graduate of Tennessee State University, a historically black institution, he now oversees the information technology operations at Lockheed Martin Corporation, the nation's largest military aerospace contractor. In 1996 Cleveland was named Black Engineer of the Year for Career Achievement in Industry by the Engineering Deans of Historically Black Colleges and Universities and one of the Premier 100 Information Technology Leaders by *Computerworld* magazine in 2004.

His classmate, Frederick Gregory (born in 1941), was from a successful middle class family (his uncle was Dr. Charles Drew, a pioneer in blood storage and collection techniques). He pursued his education at the Air Force Academy, having been nominated by the civil rights leader and U.S. Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. After serving as a combat rescue pilot in Vietnam, he worked as a research test pilot at Langley Air Force Base from 1974 until 1978, when he joined the astronaut corps. Seven years later, in 1985, Gregory became the first African American to pilot an American spacecraft, maneuvering the *Challenger* into space. He served in mission control for subsequent spacecraft launches, and in 1993 he became administrator for the Office of Safety and Mission Assurance.

In 1986, while serving in mission control, Gregory witnessed the death of his classmate Ronald E. McNair (1950–1986) in the explosion of the space shuttle *Challenger*. At the age of nine, McNair defied the law and began to use the whites-only library in Lake City, South Carolina. As a physics student at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, he participated in an exchange program with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He later pursued his doctoral degree—with the aid of a fellowship from the Ford Foundation—at MIT, where he continued to study physics because of its combination of math and science. There he helped develop some of the first chemical and high-pressure carbon dioxide lasers. As staff physicist at Hughes Research Labs in Malibu, California (1976–1978), McNair researched the use of lasers for satellite-to-satellite communication. He joined NASA's astronaut program as a mission specialist in 1978 and became the second African American in space in 1984. His research efforts in space included the testing of a remote manipulator arm, used to repair damage to satellites and to the shuttle itself, and the study of solar cells. Among the several memorials to McNair are the MIT McNair building, a center for space research, and the MIT McNair Scholarship, which honors African-American students for academic achievement and community development.

1987 TO 2005

With the resurrection of the shuttle program in 1988 came another achievement for African Americans in aviation and space technology. In 1987, Dr. Mae Jemison (born in 1956) became the first African-American woman to gain entry to the Astronaut Candidate Program. Having graduated from Stanford University with a degree in chemical engineering, Jemison obtained a doctorate in medicine from Cornell University Medical College in 1981. Before joining NASA, she supervised the medical staff of the

Peace Corps in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and practiced medicine with CIGNA Health Plans in California. On September 13, 1992, Dr. Jemison entered space on board the shuttle *Endeavour.* There she conducted experiments regarding the creation of drugs and the effects of low gravity on the human body. She also participated in a biofeedback experiment meant to help future space travelers deal with the effects of living outside the earth's atmosphere. In 1993 Jemison resigned her position at NASA to become a professor at Dartmouth University. At the same time, as director of the Jemison Institute for Advancing Technologies in Developing Nations, she led research to improve the living conditions in the developing world.

After Jemison's departure, her colleague Dr. Bernard Harris Jr. (born in 1956) continued to focus on maintaining human health in space, an ongoing NASA initiative. After becoming an astronaut candidate in 1990, he worked as project manager on the NASA Exercise Countermeasures Project, designing exercises to offset the loss of physical conditioning in space. In March 1993 Harris flew on *Columbia* and conducted the first medical conference from space with doctors at his alma mater, the Mayo Clinic.

Other Notables

As of 2005, NASA reported that fifteen African Americans have become astronauts or astronaut trainees. Other noted black astronauts include Charles F. Bolden (born in 1946), who served onboard *Discovery* in 1990 during the launch of the Hubble telescope and commanded the shuttle *Atlantis* in 1992, and Robert L. Curbeam (born in 1962), who was a member of the six-person crew that installed the laboratory on the International Space Station. In a tragic way, African-American astronaut Michael Anderson gained national attention following his death in the 2003 *Columbia* explosion.

A Common Thread

Despite the diverse backgrounds of the several African-American astronauts, one important similarity may be noted: a dedication to education. Of Bluford, McNair, Jemison, Bolden, and Gregory, all had at least one parent who worked as a teacher and imbued in his or her child the importance of education and a determination to learn and advance. After Edward Dwight left NASA, videos of his training were used to inspire young African Americans to enter science and technology. Ronald McNair encouraged young blacks to succeed as he traveled the country speaking to youth and advocating the recruitment of first-rate teachers for inner city schools. Both Guy Bluford and Frederick Gregory devoted time to similar causes. Mae Jemison's company, Jemison Group Inc., facilitates health care for the developing world by advocating the embrace of science and education. She also encourages young people to pursue careers in science and technology.

See also Drew, Charles Richard; Science

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WESLEY L. HARRIS (2005)
RICHARD-DUANE S. CHAMBERS (2005)

Atlanta Compromise

On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington, the president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, delivered an address at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, that gained him recognition as the leading spokesman for African Americans.

Speaking to a predominantly white audience, Washington called upon black southerners to subordinate their demands for equal civil and political rights, at least temporarily, in order to focus upon efforts to achieve an economic base in the New South. The speech climaxed with Washington's apparent acquiescence to southern white desires for racial segregation when he proclaimed: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This "compromise" epitomized the accommodationist ideology of racial self-help that came to be associated with Booker T. Washington's leadership in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

See also Tuskegee University

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JAMES M. SORELLE (1996)

Atlanta Riot of 1906

The Atlanta Riot was an expression of southern white hysteria over rape and the social and political implications of race. On September 22, 1906, following a race-baiting gubernatorial campaign by Hoke Smith and a lengthy newspaper series about a purported wave of rapes of white women by black men, the city of Atlanta, Georgia, a center of the black middle class, was taken over by a white mob.

On the evening of September 22, whites, aroused by false and exaggerated reports of arguments between blacks and whites, massed on Decatur Street. Word spread, and whites attacked streetcars and destroyed black shops and businesses on Auburn Street, then invaded black neighborhoods, with halfhearted resistance by or the support of city police and local militia. Black homes were pillaged, and five blacks were murdered. Blacks put up some resistance but were overwhelmed and outnumbered in pitched battles with armed whites. On the following night, state militia troops arrived, but many joined the white mob, which headed toward Brownsville, the city's middle-class black college suburb, and attacked its black residents. Police arrested and disarmed blacks who attempted to defend themselves. The next morning, police and militia entered Brownsville homes, supposedly to hunt for guns and arrest rioters; they beat and arrested affluent blacks. White rioting continued every night until September 26, when order was finally restored. Twenty-five blacks had been killed (as well as one white), and hundreds had been injured or had their property destroyed. More than a thousand blacks left Atlanta during and after the riots.

The rioting in Atlanta demonstrated the helplessness of black populations in urban settings and the emptiness of rhetoric about the "New South." The white savagery caused many blacks to question the effectiveness of Booker T. Washington's accommodationist philosophy. Washington himself was energized by the riots into calling the Carnegie Hall Conference of 1906, which prompted the formation of the Committee of Twelve, a short-lived attempt at unified black leadership. Elite whites disclaimed participation in the riot, which they blamed on blacks and on poor, immigrant whites. However, elite whites joined in promoting the rebuilding of black Atlanta. They sought to avoid further rioting by joining with "respectable" black moderates such as John Hope and Henry Hugh Proctor to reduce racial tensions. Out of the movement came annual meetings on race relations in the Southern Sociological Congress, beginning in 1912, which led to the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919.

See also Washington, Booker T.

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Attaway, William

November 19, 1911
June 17, 1986

Novelist William Alexander Attaway was born in Greenville, Mississippi, to William Attaway, a physician, and Florence Parry Attaway, a schoolteacher, and was raised in Chicago. He attended local public schools and the University of Illinois, where he pursued literary interests. His father died during his second year in college and Attaway left school to hobo his way west, working along the way as a cabin boy, stevedore, and migrant laborer. He returned to Chicago and the university in 1933; there he published his first literary efforts. During this period Attaway became involved with the Illinois branch of the Federal Writers' Project and first met Richard Wright.

After graduating from the University of Illinois in 1936, Attaway moved to New York City, determined to earn his living as a writer. With the assistance of his younger sister, Ruth, an actress, he won a role in the road company of *You Can't Take It with You.* He was on tour with the play when he learned that his first novel, *Let Me Breathe Thunder* (1939), a naturalistic novel about the experiences of two white migrant farmworkers, had been accepted for publication.

Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. *Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, led the crowd of men and boys who challenged British authority in the first battle of the American Revolution.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Blood on the Forge (1941), Attaway's second and most significant novel, encapsulates the mass migration of southern blacks to northern cities as it traces the experiences of three half-brothers in the steel mills of Pennsylvania. Although *Blood on the Forge* received favorable reviews, the novel was not a success in the literary marketplace—overshadowed, perhaps, by the triumph of Richard Wright, whose novel *Native Son* had become a best seller the previous year. *Blood on the Forge* was the high point of Attaway's literary career. In his later years, he wrote for radio, film, and television; developed a deep interest in Caribbean and U.S. folk music; and published two works, *The Calypso Song Book* (1957) and *Hear America Singing* (1967). He spent the last years of his life in Los Angeles and died in relative obscurity.

See also Federal Writers' Project; Literature of the United States

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JAMES A. MILLER (1996)

Attucks, Crispus

c. 1723
March 5, 1770

Crispus Attucks is acclaimed by many as the first martyr of the American Revolution. Although not much is known about Attucks's early life, he was a tall, muscular mulatto, probably of African and Natick ancestry. He was a slave of William Brown of Framingham, Massachusetts, before

he ran away in November 1750. Attucks worked on whaling ships operating out of various New England ports over the next two decades. On the night of March 5, 1770, he was a leader of a crowd of twenty to thirty laborers and sailors who confronted a group of British soldiers, whose presence in Boston was deeply resented. Brandishing a club, Attucks allegedly struck one of the grenadiers, prompting several soldiers to fire into the crowd. Attucks fell instantly, becoming the first of five to die in the so-called Boston Massacre. His body was carried in its coffin to Faneuil Hall, where it lay for three days before he and the other victims of the massacre were given a public funeral. Ten thousand people marched in their funeral cortege. During the officers' trial, John Adams, acting as their defense attorney, ascribed to Attucks, whom he claimed had "undertaken to be the hero of the night," chief blame for instigating the massacre. Most of the soldiers were acquitted.

The Boston Massacre was used by Revolutionary-era patriots to heighten opposition to the British, and March 5 was commemorated annually in Boston from 1771 to 1783, when it was displaced by the celebration of July 4th. Attucks seems to have largely faded from public memory thereafter, until the African-American historian William Cooper Nell made him an important symbol of black citizenship, patriotism, and military service in the 1850s. In 1858, as a reaction to the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, Nell revived Crispus Attucks Day, and Boston's blacks celebrated it until 1870. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Attucks's name graced numerous African-American schools, military companies, and other institutions. In 1888, Boston authorities erected a monument to him on Boston Common.

Attucks has remained an important symbol. In 1965, for example, blacks in Newark, New Jersey, revived Crispus Attucks Day with annual parades, and in 1967 the Newark school system began school closings to observe the holiday. By the 1970s a few U.S. cities were celebrating Crispus Attucks Day. Although interest in Crispus Attucks Day waned somewhat after the 1960s, his memory was honored by the U.S. Mint with a commemorative coin in 1998.

See also *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

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ROY E. FINKENBINE (1996)
MITCH KACHUN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Augier, Roy

December 13, 1924

Born in St. Lucia, Fitzroy Richard Augier was educated at the Roman Catholic Boys Elementary School and at St. Mary's College in Castries and at the universities of St. Andrew and London. He was appointed as a junior research fellow at the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University College of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica, in 1954. In 1955, he became a lecturer in the department of history, a senior lecturer in 1965, and a professor of history in 1989.

As a historian, Augier worked to establish Caribbean history as a study in its own right. He was involved in three seminal publications. Firstly, the publication with Douglas Hall, Shirley Gordon, and Mary Reckord of *The Making of the West Indies* in 1960 revolutionized the teaching and studying of history in the region. It provided students with reading material, which permitted them to study and understand their societies, and stimulated volumes of writing and research on Caribbean topics. With Rex Nettleford and M.G. Smith, he produced the *Report on the Rastafarian Movement,* which demonstrated the importance of historical examination of this group in Caribbean society. He also served as chairman of the drafting committee for UNESCO's *General History of the Caribbean.*

These volumes reflect the extent to which Caribbean historiography has developed, and it is fitting that one of the founding fathers of Caribbean history is at the helm of this development. Augier has popularized Caribbean history. He infused his students with a sense of history and of the fundamental role of historical understanding for Caribbean development. Because he taught students in several departments, he influenced the generations that would carry on the work of development. Augier was the "Man with the Hammer" who developed and honed an appropriate curriculum for Caribbean university students and stimulated them to undertake further research.

Augier's efforts were not confined to the university. He criticized the Cambridge Caribbean history examination for its focus on Britain, was asked to review the Cambridge Ordinary and Advanced Level Caribbean history

syllabuses, and for many years he was the sole examiner for the A level exams. Augier chaired the history panel of the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) from its inception, and from 1986 to 1996 he served as chair of the Caribbean Examinations Council. In this latter role he spear-headed the move to institute a regional examination to replace the Cambridge A level examination, as a result of which, the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE) has come on stream. Once again, this able foot soldier lobbied for popular support of the new program through regional meetings with government officials and teachers and through school visits. Caribbean history became fully legitimized. Thus, Augier contributed to the process of development of a cadre of Caribbean people who would begin to reinterpret their history.

Augier was also involved in curriculum development and teacher-training workshops for CXC and CAPE preparation. He served as examiner of the Institute of Jamaica, where he assisted in curriculum development, paper setting, and marking scripts for teacher training institutions in Jamaica. Because of his varied involvement in the education system, he was well placed to wield considerable influence on the teaching of history at secondary and tertiary levels in the region.

For Augier, education was the means to establish closer relations across the language barriers of the Caribbean. As a founding member and past president (1984) of the Association of Caribbean Historians, he promoted closer relations between French- and English-speaking historians. For this, he was honored as Chevalier, Ordre des Arts et Lettres in 1989.

An administrator par excellence, Augier served as dean of the Faculty of General Studies (1967–1972), acting principal of the Cave Hill campus, (1970), and pro vice chancellor of the university (1972–1990). He influenced programming in the institution and along with Elsa Goveia, is credited with ensuring that the students of non-elite schools got a fair stake in the university. He has served on archive committees in Jamaica and initiated the establishment of the Barbados Archives. For his contribution to regional archival development, he was awarded a medal by the International Council of Archives. He also received awards from the Institute of Jamaica in 1996 and 2003, and was knighted for his contribution to education in St. Lucia. Sir Roy Augier is at heart a scholar, architect, visionary, pioneer, activist intellectual, and the quintessential Caribbean man.

See also Education in the Caribbean

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D. RITA PEMBERTON (2005)

Autobiography, U.S.

Autobiography holds a position of distinction—indeed, many would say preeminence—among the narrative traditions of black America. African-Americans had been dictating and writing first-person accounts of their lives for almost a century before the first black American novel appeared in 1853. Between 1850 and 1950 the autobiographies of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Richard Wright made a more lasting impression on the American readership than did any African-American novel or school of novelists from the same era. The number of fictional and scholarly works by African-Americans that read as autobiographies or include elements of memoir confirms the judgment, made by more than one critic, that black writing in the United States incorporates an extraordinarily self-reflexive tradition.

African-American autobiography has consistently testified to the commitment of people of color to lay claim to full citizenship as Americans and also to articulate their achievements as individuals and as persons of African descent. Perhaps more than any other form in black American letters, autobiography has since its inception achieved recognition as an authentic form of cultural expression and as a powerful means of addressing and altering sociopolitical realities in the United States.

Foundations of a Tradition

Nineteenth-century abolitionists sponsored the publication of the narratives of escaped slaves out of a conviction that first-person accounts of those victimized by and yet triumphant over slavery would mobilize white readers more profoundly than any other kind of antislavery discourse. A similar belief in contemporary black American autobiography's potential to liberate white readers from racial prejudice, ignorance, and fear prompted a relatively large and generally supportive response on the part of publishers and critics to African-American autobiographers in the twentieth century, particularly since the 1960s.

As a form of discourse, African-American autobiography might be characterized best in terms of the three

constituent elements of the word itself: *autos* (self), *bios* (life), and *graphe* (writing). Undoubtedly, the stylized treatment that autobiography offers to African-American lives through a written medium has been crucial to the success of the genre with the popular readership in the United States and abroad, especially as a way to relate aspects of the writers' lives made distinctive by racial difference. But one should not overlook the social import of the psychological and experiential distinction that black autobiographers claim for themselves. Writers with those individual concerns have also usually acknowledged an obligation to speak for and to people of color, in addition to proclaiming their uniqueness.

Yet autobiographers from Mary Prince to Malcolm X have realized that by identifying the aspirations of a people with the ambitions of a self, they could generate a genuine impetus to the cause of freedom for the race. A key manifestation of *autos* since the beginning of the African-American autobiographical enterprise has been the drive to attain the autonomy of authorship, the right to express oneself independent of the direction or approval of white sponsors and editors. Increasingly in the twentieth century, the act of writing, the representation of selfhood through a personalized storytelling style, became a sign of the African-American autobiographer's assertion of independence of mind and individuality of vision.

During its first century or so from 1760 to 1865, the form was dominated by autobiographical narratives of ex-slaves. The best-known of these narratives were authored by fugitives from slavery who used their personal histories to expose the horrors of America's so-called peculiar institution. Classics of the genre by Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, and Harriet Jacobs center on their rites of passage from bondage in the South to freedom in the North. Advertised in the abolitionist press and sold at antislavery meetings throughout the English-speaking world, at least a dozen of the more than seventy slave narratives published in the antebellum era went through multiple editions. A few, such as *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789) and the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), sold in the tens of thousands. Equiano was one of several black writers, enslaved and free, whose autobiographies arose from throughout the Americas in this period. *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (1857) is the rare story of a free black woman's life and travels by Mary Seacole, a Jamaican Creole who worked as a nurse in the Crimean War.

From the end of the Civil War to the onset of the Great Depression, the ex-slave narrative remained the preponderant subgenre of African-American autobiography. Former slaves who wrote or dictated book-length accounts of their lives depicted slavery as a crucible in which the resilience, industry, and ingenuity of the enslaved were tested and ultimately validated. The bestselling African-American autobiography of the early twentieth century was Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1901), his contribution to the American ideals of resourcefulness and responsibility.

Black Autobiographies for the Twentieth Century

As African-Americans learned the bitter lessons of the post-Reconstruction era, black autobiography became less focused on the individual's quest for freedom and recognition and more concerned with the realization of communal power and prestige in African-American institutions, especially the school and the church. Educators, headed by Booker T. Washington and his many protégés who wrote autobiographies, and ministers, whose influential memoirs range from Bishop Daniel Payne's *Recollections of Seventy Years* (1888) to Bishop Alexander Walters's *My Life and Work* (1917), argued that black survival, not to mention fulfillment, depended largely on building institutional bulwarks against the divide-and-conquer strategy of American white supremacy. By sublimating his own desires and ambitions in a larger framework, the institutional man of African-American autobiography asked the world to judge him primarily according to his usefulness, his ability to work within the existing socioeconomic order to accomplish good for his people.

William Pickens and Ida B. Wells-Barnett—both southern-born, middle class, and dedicated to civil rights activism—made significant contributions to African-American autobiography in the 1920s. Pickens's *Bursting Bonds* (1923) chronicles the evolution of a latter-day Booker T. Washington into a militant proponent of the ideas of W. E. B. Du Bois. Wells's posthumously published *Crusade for Justice* (1970), edited by her daughter, tells an equally compelling story of its author's dauntless commitment to a life of agitation and protest on behalf of African-American men and women. The pioneering efforts of Pickens and Wells, and James Weldon Johnson's *Along This Way* in 1933, helped to reorient African-American autobiography to its roots in the ideal, from the slave narrative, of the black leader as an articulate hero who uses knowledge and literacy as resources in the struggle for personal and collective liberation.

The decade and a half after the New Negro renaissance saw the publication of several important autobiographies by literary figures such as Claude McKay (*A Long Way from Home*, 1937), Langston Hughes (*The Big Sea*,

1940), Zora Neale Hurston (*Dust Tracks on a Road*, 1942), and Richard Wright (*Black Boy*, 1945). The unprecedented emphasis in these texts on the search for an authentic selfhood, one that was predicated on the writers' skepticism about institutions and epitomized in their heightened sensitivity to literary style as self-presentation, marks a turning point in the history of African-American autobiography. Autobiographies became a complement to black literary figures' efforts to undermine racial stereotypes in modern media and academic disciplines dominated by whites. *Black Boy* became the most widely read and discussed black American autobiography of the post–World War II period, primarily because of its quintessentially modernist portrait of the black writer as an alienated rebel dedicated uncompromisingly to the expression of truth as individually perceived.

The Roles of the Writer

This sense of the autobiographer's foremost responsibility to absolute authenticity of self-expression largely precluded Wright from a role that had become traditional for the African-American autobiographer by the mid-twentieth century—that of spokesperson for the black community. To a new generation of self-styled revolutionary black autobiographers in the 1960s, however, Wright's ideal of personal authenticity could be achieved only by identifying with the oppressed masses of black America and "telling it like it is" to white America on their behalf. The prototype for this mode of testimony is *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), which turned a former street-corner organizer steeped in black nationalism into a culture hero for young, disaffected blacks and whites in search of a standard-bearer for a new racial consciousness. Also "telling it like it is," often to their brothers in arms, were women writers of the civil rights and Black Power movements. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (1974) is exemplary as it chronicles how the young radical became a political prisoner and a philosopher, a model of personal transformation for a period of tremendous social change. The generation energized by these movements produced a chorus of denunciation of American racism and hypocrisy unmatched since the era of the fugitive-slave narrative.

The appearance in 1970 of Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* signals one of the most remarkable developments from late twentieth-century African-American autobiography: the unprecedented outpouring of narratives of intimacy and conscience by black women. Although women had been longtime contributors to such bedrock African-American traditions as the spiritual autobiography, writers including Angelou and Audre Lorde recast the ideas of the spirit and salvation in the secular experience of black female artists and activists. Lorde's *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982) opened a vista onto the experiences of feminist, gay and lesbian, and West Indian people in black communities. Hers is part of a long tradition of autobiographies that enrich the African-American struggle against oppression by grounding it in cultural heritage and lived experience.

Because autobiographies have brought the distinctive experiences of African-Americans to the attention of the reading public, they offer uniquely informed perspectives on the issues all individuals face in a racialized society. Since the 1980s, Marita Golden (*Migrations of the Heart*, 1987) and Itabari Njeri (*Every Good-Bye Ain't Gone*, 1991) have been among the autobiographers who herald the importance of national origin and skin tone to everyday life in black communities. Colin Powell, in *My American Journey* (1995), describes his military career and the positions of power he has held in terms of his personal and family history, explaining how the latter inculcated the ideals he shares with his allies in government; similar convictions inspired J. C. Watts's *What Color is a Conservative* in 2002. Though their political concerns set them apart from many of their generation, by narrating other aspects of their lives as black Americans they join the ranks of autobiographers who contribute to the complicated history of black experiences in the United States. The divergent interpretations of history amid every generation of autobiographers demonstrate the importance of the form as a social and political medium as well as a means of self-expression.

Learning from African-American Autobiographies

Considering the critical role autobiographies have played in the development of social consciousness about African-Americans' lives, first-person accounts are crucial to the study of black identity, history, and culture. All biographies straddle the line between history and literature, because the narratives they depict refer to real-life people and events. The relationship between subject matter and representation is even more contingent in autobiography, which puts into words the interpretations of a single author affected by the events described in the account. For people of African descent, putting renditions of their lives into writing has been a way to intervene in the circulation of knowledge about their communities, often contradicting superstitious and misrepresentative tendencies in history and the sciences. In that way, black autobiography is a kind of *autoethnography*, a set of writings about a cultural group produced by its own members. Efforts to convey the real-life circumstances of black persons' lives also inform the concepts and feelings that accompany portrayals

of them in fiction and creative media. From the strivings of the enslaved through the enduring contributions of inspired individuals to a richly-textured culture, autobiographies have maintained a wealth of reflections on the lived experience of blackness, its challenges, and its fortunes.

See also Biography, U.S.; Black Arts Movement; Drama; Literary Criticism, U.S.; Literary Magazines; Poetry, U.S.; Slave Narratives

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WILLIAM ANDREWS (1996)
ANDRÉ M. CARRINGTON (2005)

Bagnall, Robert

October 14, 1883
August 20, 1943

Robert Wellington Bagnall Jr., a priest and an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was born in Norfolk, Virginia, the son of an Episcopal priest. Following his father's vocation, the younger Bagnall attended Bishop Payne Divinity School in Petersburg, Virginia, an institution organized to train African Americans for the Episcopal ministry. Bagnall graduated in 1903 and was ordained as an Episcopal priest the same year. In 1906 he married Lillian Anderson of Baltimore. Between 1903 and 1910 he led Episcopal congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio, and ultimately became rector of Saint Matthew's Church in Detroit in 1911. Bagnall helped organize the Detroit branch of the NAACP and served as the principal speaker for its first session in 1914. Between 1914 and 1918 he successfully fought school segregation in Ypsilanti, Michigan, campaigned against police maltreatment, and persuaded the Ford Motor Company in Dearborn, Michigan, to hire more African-American workers. He was appointed NAACP district organizer for the Michigan area in 1918, and in the next two years he campaigned unsuccessfully for the passage of civil rights bills in Michigan and Ohio.

In 1921 Bagnall moved to New York City, where he succeeded James Weldon Johnson as national director of NAACP branches. In this capacity, he traveled to NAACP branches nationwide to raise funds for the central organization; he also streamlined the branch system so that it contained fewer but stronger units. Throughout the 1920s, Bagnall contributed articles to such periodicals as the *Crisis* and the *Messenger*. From 1923 to 1926, he worked to deport the pan-Africanist leader Marcus Garvey. Bagnall attacked Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association as impractical and denounced Garvey as a racial traitor for his association with the Ku Klux Klan. In 1923 Bagnall cosponsored an open letter to Attorney General Harry Daugherty, urging Garvey's prosecution for mail fraud.

As the NAACP faced fiscal retrenchment in 1930, newly appointed national secretary Walter White urged Bagnall's removal on the grounds that Bagnall was not raising sufficient revenue. Under increasing pressure from the NAACP board, Bagnall resigned in 1931. The following year he moved to Philadelphia and became pastor of Saint Thomas's Episcopal Church, which he led until his death in 1943. He was remembered by associates in both the Episcopal church and the NAACP as an outstanding orator and community organizer.

See also *Crisis, The*; Garvey, Marcus Mosiah; *Messenger, The*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Universal Negro Improvement Association

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)

Bahá'í Communities in the Caribbean

With the achievement of unity and justice as its pivotal tenets and fundamental aim, the Bahá'í faith has attracted increasing attention throughout the Caribbean since the 1940s. In his voluminous writings the faith's founder, Bahá'u'lláh, addresses large cosmological questions such as the nature of God and faith, the basis of moral authority in human affairs, and the relationship between the world's religions. Equally emphasized in his writings are the principles and structures needed to transform human society: the elimination of racial and other forms of prejudice, equality of women and men, economic justice, and the need to establish an auxiliary world language, among many others. First started in Iran in the mid-nineteenth century, the Bahá'í faith as of 2002 was established in 191 countries and forty-six dependent territories or overseas departments, its scriptures translated into over eight hundred languages worldwide.

People in the Caribbean first learned of the faith from visitors from North America in the late 1930s. Among these enthusiastic promoters of the faith were several prominent black believers such as Louis Gregory, Ellsworth Blackwell, and others—including Dr. Malcolm King, a Jamaican who became a Bahá'í in Milwaukee in 1931—of Caribbean background. By the early 1940s the study groups these teachers formed in Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic had blossomed into flourishing Bahá'í communities. With the exception of Puerto Rico, these communities expanded sufficiently to elect their respective national governing bodies in 1961 and participated in 1963 in electing the first Universal House of Justice, the international governing council of the faith, democratically elected every five years. Other Caribbean territories were opened to the faith in the early 1950s and gradually consolidated, increasing the number of National Spiritual Assemblies in the region to nineteen by 2003.

The Bahá'í faith in the Caribbean, as elsewhere in the world, has attracted adherents from all ethnic and class segments and from a variety of religious backgrounds. To peoples in this region the consciousness cultivated in the Bahá'í faith of the wholeness of the human race, and the imperative need for world citizenship based on unity in diversity, has no doubt had special resonance. The Caribbean, after all, has been globalized for five centuries, has struggled with diversity, and has produced artists and leaders of thought on the world stage to an extent disproportionate to its geographic and demographic size. One indication of the appeal of the faith's progressive international emphasis is that several of the earliest Bahá'ís in Jamaica came from a background in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the transnational black movement founded by Marcus Garvey that reached its high point in the 1920s.

Bahá'ís from the Caribbean have served with distinction in promoting global citizenship and advancing the work of the faith worldwide. One early Jamaican Bahá'í, Julius Edwards, who served as a secretary to Garvey in the early 1930s, left his homeland in the early 1950s to take the Bahá'í teachings to Ghana and Liberia. Late in life he returned to the Caribbean and helped with the development of the Grenada Bahá'í community. A Bahá'í of Jamaican background was elected to and has served on the nine-member Universal House of Justice since 1982. The faith has been included in the school curriculum of various Caribbean countries, won widespread commendation from civic and government leaders, and is now widely recognized for its contributions to social development.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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CHARLES V. CARNEGIE (2005)

Bailey, Amy

November 27, 1895 (or November 28, 1896) October 3, 1990

Even in death, Amy Bailey advocated service to Jamaica, claiming a last word for a mission to which she had dedicated much of her life. At the service of thanksgiving held to commemorate her life, a brief letter she had written sometime in 1989 and updated in 1990 was read. Addressed "To my friends and those interested," the letter explained that she had asked that no eulogy be given at the service because she wanted the praise and honor not for herself but to "humbly say, Thank you, God." She ended the letter with a call to serve others and "to leave Jamaica a better place" (Bailey, 1990).

Bailey had done just that. She was born and lived at a time when the structures of slave society remained deeply embedded in the economic, social, and political fabric of colonial Jamaica, despite Emancipation in 1838. Her parents, who were teachers, lived and worked in rural Jamaica and regarded education as the foundation necessary for blacks to advance in society. They inspired their eight children with this vision.

Bailey's early education, her formal training at Shortwood Teachers' College, and her work as a teacher at Kingston Technical School from 1919 to 1958 shaped her sense of mission. In addition to teaching her students shorthand and typing, she persistently advocated for employment opportunities for graduates in a system that did not regard technical school graduates to be "civil service quality."

Bailey's political orientation included race consciousness and anticolonial activism, and she was influenced by the work of Marcus Garvey and her involvement beginning in the 1930s with organizations such as the Jamaica Poetry League and the Readers and Writers Club. She was also active in social welfare groups such as Save the Children and in 1939 she co-founded the Birth Control Association. The Women's Liberal Club (WLC), which she co-founded in 1936, combined a women's rights agenda with the nationalist call "to help make Jamaica a better place for Jamaicans" (Domingo, 1937/1993, pp. 35–36). The resolutions of the WLC's First Women's Conference in 1939 included calls for women to vote on equal terms with men (but not for universal adult suffrage); for the appointment of women as jurors, justices of the peace, and police officers; and for women to be able to stand for election for the legislative council.

Bailey had raised many of the WLC's demands in articles she published regularly in *Public Opinion,* a progressive nationalist newspaper founded in the late 1930s. She wrote on a range of social issues and spoke out on topics that polite society considered unspeakable: race and color; black women who were not wanted by black men, who chose to marry brown or white women; and black young women who were not wanted as workers in business establishments. Her advocacy was strengthened by practical action directed toward changing employment practices in retail establishments. She felt great satisfaction for this aspect of her work and more generally for what she "did for colour in this country" (Brodber, 1986, p. 14).

Bailey was co-opted into the leadership of the colonial-oriented Jamaica Federation of Women, which was founded in 1944. This was probably a tactical move by Bailey, who was moving to form her own organization but saw the benefit of her presence and voice in an organization that brought together all the main women's groups in the country under the charismatic leadership of the governor's wife and was to be a space for struggle between the procolonial and nationalist tendencies within the women's movement of the time.

Bailey's focus was on her Housecraft Training Centre, where young women received training in domestic science. Some of the estimated six thousand young women who attended were able to use their training as a way to improve their lives, while for the majority, domestic service was presented as the main option for women's employment.

Bailey belonged to a generation of black Jamaican nationalist feminists that includes Amy Jacques Garvey, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Una Marson, Mary Morris Knibb, Edith Dalton James, and Eulalee Domingo, who were determined to change the face and nature of Jamaica and to secure women both influence and a place of respect in the life of the country. The government of Jamaica honored Bailey with the Order of Distinction in 1971 and in 1990 with the second highest national honor, the Order of Jamaica. The pamphlet *Tributes to Miss Amy* that was published after her death and distributed at her funeral, as well as the guard of honor at her thanksgiving service that was formed by the representatives of women's and other civic organizations, comprised her eulogy, never spoken but still declared.

See also Garvey, Amy Ashwood; Garvey, Amy Jacques; Garvey, Marcus; Morris Knibb, Mary; Marson, Una

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LINNETTE VASSELL (2005)

Bailey, Beryl Loftman

January 15, 1920
April 18, 1977

A native Jamaican and a bilingual speaker of Jamaican Creole (JC) and Standard English (SE), Beryl Loftman Bailey was the first linguist to describe JC as a coherent linguistic system and advocate the teaching of SE to JC speakers in a manner that takes its systematic nature into account. She also made seminal contributions to the description and analysis of African American English "as a systematic language variety rather than a dialect typified by error or randomness" (R. W. Bailey, 1992, p. 103). She was the first linguist to develop scholarly arguments concerning the relationship of African-American language to creole languages of the Caribbean.

Bailey pursued undergraduate and graduate studies at Columbia University and held faculty positions at Yeshiva University and Hunter College. At Hunter, she was the founding chair of the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Department. Her most important work was produced in the 1960s, when the peoples of the African diaspora were emerging politically and culturally from colonial domination, and when the theory of transformational-generative grammar was revolutionizing linguistics. In her dissertation, published as *Jamaican Creole Syntax: A Transformational Approach* (1966), Bailey describes an abstract system underlying the mixture of JC and SE elements observed in the everyday speech of Jamaicans. In 1968 she produced a Jamaican Creole training manual for use by Peace Corps volunteers.

The influence of transformational grammar is apparent in Bailey's analysis of African-American language. In an article calling for "a new perspective on Negro English dialectology," she calls attention to such distinctive features of African-American language as the absence of the copulative (linking) verb in sentences such as "She a big woman." Although she used a novel, *The Cool World* (1959) by Warren Miller, as a major source of data in addition to nonempirical methods of transformational grammar, her findings and conclusions have held up to subsequent work based on tape-recorded samples of empirical data. In a notable quote, she unapologetically defends her unorthodox methods: "This may sound like hocus-pocus, but indeed a good deal of linguistics is. A hocus-pocus procedure which yields the linguistic facts is surely preferable to a scientifically rigorous one which completely murders those facts" (Bailey, 1965).

The most important facts about Jamaican Creole, from Bailey's point of view, are those that support the contention that it is a rule-governed linguistic system worthy of recognition as a language in its own right. There is a coherent system of rules to be taken into account by educators in the design and delivery of instruction to Creole speakers in Standard English medium classrooms.

Bailey "grew up valuing education" (Wade-Lewis, 1993). Her mother was a schoolteacher, and Bailey herself served as an English teacher in Jamaica prior to moving to the United States. In the introduction to her thesis, she expresses the desire to "explode once and for all the notion which persists among teachers of English in Jamaica, that the 'dialect' is not a language: and further that it has no bearing on the problem of the teaching of English" (Labov, 1998, p. 111).

See also Creole Languages of the Americas; English, African-American

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CHARLES E. DEBOSE (2005)

Bailey, Pearl

March 29, 1918
August 17, 1990

The singer and actress Pearl Bailey, popularly known as Pearlie Mae, was born in Newport News, Virginia, to Joseph James Bailey, a revivalist minister, and Ella Mae Bailey. At the age of four, she moved with her family to Washington, D.C., and after her parents divorced she moved to Philadelphia with her mother and her stepfather, Walter Robinson. There, Bailey attended school until the age of fifteen, when she began her career as an entertainer after winning an amateur contest at the Pearl Theater. For a while she performed in coal-mining towns in Pennsylvania, then in small clubs in Washington, D.C. Beginning in 1941 she toured with the United Service Organization (USO), and in 1943–1944 she performed with bands led by Charles "Cootie" Williams (1908?–1985), William "Count" Basie (1904–1984), and Noble Sissle (1889–1975). It was during this period that she began to develop her distinctive trademark, described by John S. Wilson in the *New York Times* as "a warm, lusty singing voice accompanied by an easy smile and elegant gestures that charmed audiences and translated smoothly from the nightclub stage and Broadway to film and television."

In the early 1940s Bailey made solo appearances at the Village Vanguard and the Blue Angel in New York City, and she made her Broadway debut in 1946 in the musical comedy *St. Louis Woman,* for which she won the Donaldson Award as the most promising new performer of the year. The following year she appeared in the motion picture *Variety Girl,* in which she sang one of her most popular songs, "Tired." Thereafter, she made numerous stage, screen, and television appearances, including the 1954 Broadway musical *House of Flowers* and such films as *Carmen Jones* (1954), *St. Louis Blues* (1958), and *Porgy and Bess* (1959). Her most acclaimed performance came in 1967, when she appeared with Cab Calloway (1907–1994) in the all-black production of *Hello, Dolly!* This brought her a special Tony Award in 1968 for distinguished achievement in the New York theater.

In 1969 Bailey received the USO's Woman of the Year award. The following year President Richard Nixon appointed her "Ambassador of Love," and in 1975 she was appointed special "goodwill" ambassador to the United Nations. Despite her popularity, however, Bailey's association with the Nixon administration was criticized by some African Americans; the Harlem congressman Charles Rangel in particular stated that her appointment was an insult to better-qualified blacks.

During this period, Bailey returned to school, studying theology at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., from which she received both an honorary degree in 1978 and a bachelor's degree in 1985, at the age of sixty-seven. An inveterate traveler—frequently accompanied by her husband, the jazz drummer Louis Bellson (whom she married in 1952)—Bailey also authored several books, including the autobiographical *The Raw Pearl* (1968) and *Talking to Myself* (1971). *Between You and Me: A Heartfelt Memoir on Learning, Loving, and Living* was published in 1989, shortly before she died of heart disease on August 17, 1990. Two years before her death, Bailey was presented with the Medal of Freedom by President Ronald Reagan.

See also Calloway, Cab; Musical Theater

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KRISTA WHETSTONE (1996)

Baker, Ella J.

December 13, 1903
December 13, 1986

The activist Ella Josephine Baker was a leading figure in the struggle of African Americans for equality. In the 1960s she was regarded as the godmother of the civil rights movement, or, as one activist put it, "a Shining Black Beacon." Though she was not accorded recognition by the media, Baker was affiliated with all the major civil rights

Civil rights activist Ella J. Baker (1903–1986). PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

organizations of her time, and she worked closely with all the better-known leaders of the movement.

Ella Baker was the daughter of a grade-school teacher and a waiter on the Norfolk-Washington ferry, and the granddaughter of slaves. From the extended family of aunts, uncles, and cousins who lived on land her grandfather had purchased from the owners of the plantation on which they had worked as slaves, Baker acquired a sense of community, a profound sense of the need for sharing, and a sense of history and of the continuity of struggle. She also gained a fierce sense of independence and a belief in the necessity of rebellion, which guided her work for the rest of her life.

After leaving Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, from which she graduated as valedictorian, Baker immersed herself in the cause of social justice. She moved to New York, where she continued her education on the streets of the city, attending all kinds of political meetings to absorb the intellectual atmosphere. In the 1930s, while earning her living working in restaurants and as a correspondent for several black newspapers, Baker helped to found the Young Negroes Cooperative League, of which she became executive director. She worked for the Work Projects Administration (WPA; originally Works Progress Administration),teaching consumer and labor education. During the depression, Baker learned that, in her words, "a society could break down, a social order could break down, and the individual is the victim of the breakdown, rather than the cause of it."

In 1940 Baker accepted a position as field secretary at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). She soon established regional leadership-training conferences, using the slogan "Give light and the people will find a way." While a national officer, Baker traveled for several months a year throughout the country (concentrating on the segregated South), building NAACP membership and working with the local people who would become the sustaining forces of the civil rights movement. Her organizing strategy was to stress local issues rather than national ones and to take the NAACP to people, wherever they were. She ventured into beer gardens and nightclubs, where she would address crowds and secure memberships and campaign workers. Baker was named director of branches in 1943, but, frustrated by the top-down approach of the NAACP leadership, she resigned in 1946. During this period she married a former classmate, Thomas Roberts, and took on the responsibility of raising her sister's daughter, Jacqueline.

From 1946 to 1957, while working in New York City for the New York Cancer Society and the New York Urban League, Baker participated in campaigns to desegregate New York City schools. She was a founder of In Friendship, a group organized to support school desegregation in the South; a member of the zoning subcommittee of the New York City Board of Education's committee on integration; and president (and later education director) of the New York City branch of the NAACP.

In 1957 Bayard Rustin and Stanley Levison, advisers to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., asked Baker to return to the South to set up the office of the newly organized Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by King, and to organize the Crusade for Citizenship, a voter-registration drive. Intending to stay six weeks, she remained with the SCLC for two years, serving variously as acting director, associate director, and executive director.

In 1960 Baker mobilized SCLC support for a meeting to bring together the student sit-in protest groups that had sprung up across the South. A battle for control of the sit-in movement ensued. Older civil rights organizations, particularly the SCLC, sought to make the new movement a youth arm of their own operations. Baker, however, advocated an independent role for the student activists.

Baker resigned from the SCLC in 1960 to accept a part-time position as human-relations consultant to the

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), working with colleges across the South to further integration. In 1963 she joined the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a regionwide interracial organization that put special emphasis on developing white support for racial justice. While affiliated with the YWCA and SCEF, Baker devoted much of her time to the fledgling Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in which she found the embodiment of her belief in a "group-centered leadership, rather than a leadership-centered group."

SNCC was the "new community" Baker had sought. Her work was an inspiration for other activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly the anti–Vietnam War movement and the feminist movement. But Baker's greatest contribution was her counseling of SNCC. During one crisis she pointed out that both direct action and voter registration would lead to the same result—confrontation and resolution. Her support of confrontation was at variance with the Kennedy administration's policy, which advocated a "cooling-off" period. Baker also counseled the young mavericks of SNCC to work with the more conservative southern ministers, who, she advised, had resources that could help them.

In 1964, SNCC was instrumental in organizing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which sent its own delegation to Atlantic City to challenge the seating of the segregationist Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention. Baker, in the new party's Washington headquarters (and later in Atlantic City), orchestrated the MFDP's fight for the support of other state delegations in its claim to Mississippi's seats. This challenge eventually resulted in the adoption of new Democratic Party rules that guaranteed the inclusion of blacks and women in future delegations.

After the convention, Baker moved back to New York, where she remained active in human-rights affairs. During her life she had been a speaker at hundreds of Women's Day church meetings across the country, a participant in tenants' associations, a consultant to the wartime Office of Price Administration, an adviser to the Harlem Youth Council, and a founder and administrator of the Fund for Education and Legal Defense. In her later years she worked with such varied groups as the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, the Episcopal Church Center, and the Third World Women's Coordinating Committee.

While never professing a political ideology, Baker consistently held views far to the left of the established civil rights leadership. She was never a member of a political party, but she did run for the New York City Council on the Liberal Party ticket in 1951. She acted within the constraints of a radical critique of society and was drawn toward "radical" rather than "safe" solutions to societal problems. Her credo was "a life that is important is a life of service."

See also Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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JOANNE GRANT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Baker, Josephine

June 6, 1906
April 14, 1975

Entertainer Josephine Baker was born in St. Louis, Missouri, the daughter of Carrie McDonald, an unmarried domestic worker, and Eddie Carson, a jazz drummer. At age eight she was working as a domestic. At age eleven she survived the East St. Louis race riots in which thirty-nine blacks were killed. Before she was fourteen, Baker had run

away from a sadistic employer, and married and discarded a husband, Willie Wells. “I was cold, and I danced to keep warm, that’s my childhood,” she said. After entertaining locally, she joined a traveling show called the Dixie Steppers, where she developed as a dancer and mime.

In 1920 Baker married a jockey named Willie Baker, but she quickly left him to try out for the new black musical, Noble Sissle and composer Eubie Blake’s pathbreaking *Shuffle Along*. She was turned down as too young, too thin, and too dark. At sixteen she was hired as end girl in a *Shuffle Along* road show chorus line, where she captivated audiences with her mugging. Sissle and Blake wrote her into their next show, *Chocolate Dandies* (1924), and the next year, Caroline Dudley invited her to join a troupe of “authentic” Negro performers she was taking to Paris in *La Revue Nègre*.

Baker was an overnight sensation and became the rage of Paris. As a black exotic jungle Venus, she became a phenomenon whose style and presence outweighed her talents. Everyone danced her version of the Charleston and black bottom. Women copied her hairdo. Couturiers saw a new ideal in her body. She took a series of lovers, including Paul Colin, who immortalized her on posters, and Georges Simenon, who worked as her secretary. In 1927 “La Bakair” opened at the Folies Bergère in her famous costume of a few rhinestoned bananas.

That same year Baker met the café-society habitué “Count” Pepito de Abatino (actually a Sicilian stonemason). He became her lover and manager, taught her how to dress and act, trained her voice and body, and sculpted a highly sophisticated and marketable star. They toured Europe and South America. In Vienna, Baker was preached against for being the “impure incarnation of sex.” She provoked hostility fueled by economic frustration, moral indignation, xenophobia, and racism.

When Baker returned to France, Abatino had done what he had promised: turned the diamond-in-the-rough of 1925 into the polished gem of 1930. There followed a ten-year reign of Baker in the music halls of Paris. Henri Varna of the Casino de Paris added to her image a baby leopard in a $20,000 diamond necklace and the song that would become her signature “J’ai deux amours, mon pays et Paris.” Her name was linked with several Frenchmen, including singer Jacques Pills, and in 1934 she made her best motion picture, *Zouzou,* costarring Jean Gabin, followed by *Princess Tam Tam* in 1935.

Baker returned to New York to play in the 1936 Ziegfeld Follies, but the show was a fiasco. She learned that America would neither welcome her nor look on her with color-blind eyes as France did. Abatino died of cancer before she returned to Paris. Baker married Jean Lion, a

Josephine Baker (1906–1975). *Born in the United States, Baker traveled abroad in the 1920s, becoming a popular dancer and singer in Paris and later a citizen of France. Flamboyant and controversial, she was a member of the French Resistance during World War II, adopted twelve children of various ethnic backgrounds (her “Rainbow Tribe”), and was an active participant in the U.S. civil rights movement.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

wealthy sugar broker, in 1937, and divorced him fourteen months later. By 1939 Baker had become a French citizen. When the Nazis occupied France during World War II, Baker joined the Resistance, recruited by the head of French intelligence. For her activities in counterintelligence, Baker received the Croix de Guerre and the Légion d’Honneur. After operating between Marseilles and Lisbon under cover of a revival of her operetta *La Creole,* she was sent to Casablanca in January of 1940 to continue intelligence activities.

In 1941 Baker delivered a stillborn child, the father unknown. Complications from this birth endangered her life for more than nineteen months, and at one point her obituary was published. She recovered and spent the last years of the war driving an ambulance and entertaining Allied troops in North Africa. After the war she married

orchestra leader Jo Bouillon and adopted four children of different races whom she called her "Rainbow Tribe." She turned her château, Les Milandes, into her idea of a multiracial community. In 1951 she attracted wide attention in the United States and was honored by the NAACP, which organized a Josephine Baker Day in Harlem.

Baker continued to be an outspoken civil rights advocate, refusing to perform before segregated audiences in Las Vegas and Miami and instigating a notorious cause célèbre by accusing the Stork Club of New York of discrimination. Her controversial image hurt her career, and the U.S. State Department hinted that it might cancel her visa. Baker continued to tour outside America as her Rainbow Tribe grew to twelve. From 1953 to 1963 she spent more than $1.5 million on Les Milandes, her financial affairs degenerated into chaos, her fees diminished, and she and Bouillon separated.

In 1963 Baker appeared at the March on Washington, and after performing in Denmark had her first heart attack. In the spring of 1969 she declared bankruptcy and Les Milandes was seized. Baker accepted a villa in Monaco from Princess Grace, began a long series of farewell performances, and begged in the streets when she couldn't work. In 1975 she summoned all her resources and professionalism for a last farewell performance at the Olympia Theatre in Paris. Baker died two days into her performance run on April 14. Her televised state funeral at the Madeleine Church drew thousands of people and included a twenty-one-gun salute.

See also Blake, Eubie; Musical Theater

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BARBARA CHASE-RIBOUD (1996)
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Baldwin, James

August 2, 1924
November 30, 1987

Author and civil rights activist James Baldwin was born in New York City's Harlem in 1924. He started out as a writer during the late 1940s and rose to international fame after the publication of his most famous essay, *The Fire Next Time*, in 1963. However, nearly two decades before its publication, he had already captured the attention of an assortment of writers, literary critics, and intellectuals in the United States and abroad. Writing to Langston Hughes in 1948, Arna Bontemps commented on Baldwin's "The Harlem Ghetto," which was published in the February 1948 issue of *Commentary* magazine. Referring to "that remarkable piece by that 24-year old colored kid," Bontemps wrote, "What a kid! He has zoomed high among our writers with his first effort." Thus, from the beginning of his professional career, Baldwin was highly regarded and he began publishing in magazines and journals such as *The Nation, New Leader, Commentary,* and *Partisan Review.*

Overview

Much of Baldwin's writing, both fiction and nonfiction, is autobiographical. The story of John Grimes, the traumatized son of a tyrannical, fundamentalist father in *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), closely resembles Baldwin's own childhood. His celebrated essay "Notes of a Native Son" (1955) describes his painful relationship with his stepfather. Born out of wedlock before his mother met and married David Baldwin, young Jimmy never fully gained his stern patriarch's approval. Raised in a strict Pentecostal household, Baldwin became a preacher at age fourteen, and his sermons drew larger crowds than his father's. When Baldwin left the church three years later, the tension with his father was exacerbated, and, as "Notes of a Native Son" reveals, even the impending death of David Baldwin in 1943 did not reconcile the two. In various forms, the father-son conflict, with all of its Old Testament connotations, became a central preoccupation of Baldwin's writing.

Baldwin's career, which can be divided into two phases—up to *The Fire Next Time* and after—gained momentum after the publication of what were to become two of his more controversial essays. In 1948 and 1949, respectively, he wrote "Everybody's Protest Novel" and "Many Thousands Gone," which were published in *Partisan Review.* These two essays served as a forum from which he made pronouncements about the limitations of the protest tradition in American literature. He scathingly criticized Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Richard Wright's *Native Son* for being firmly rooted in the protest tradition. Each writer failed, in Baldwin's judgment, because the "power of revelation. . .is the business of the novelist, that journey toward a more vast reality which must take precedence over all other claims." He abhorred the idea of the writer as a kind of "congressman," embrac-

ing Jamesian ideas about the art of fiction. The writer, as Baldwin envisioned himself during this early period, should self-consciously seek a distance between himself and his subject.

Baldwin's criticisms of *Native Son* and the protest novel tradition precipitated a rift with his mentor, Richard Wright. Ironically, Wright had supported Baldwin's candidacy for the Rosenwald Fellowship in 1948, which allowed Baldwin to move to Paris, where he completed *Go Tell It on the Mountain*. Baldwin explored his conflicted relationship with Wright in a series of moving essays, including "Alas, Poor Richard," published in *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961).

Baldwin left Harlem for Paris when he was twenty-four. Although he spoke little French at the time, he purchased a one-way ticket and later achieved success and fame as an expatriate. Writing about race and sexuality (including homosexuality), he published twenty-two books, among them six novels, a collection of short stories, two plays, several collections of essays, a children's book, a movie scenario, and *Jimmy's Blues* (1985), a chapbook of poems. Starting with his controversial *Another Country* (1962), many of his books, including *The Fire Next Time*, *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974), and *Just above My Head* (1979), were best sellers. His play *Blues for Mr. Charlie* (1964) was produced on Broadway, and his scenario "One Day When I Was Lost: A Scenario Based on Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*" was used by the movie director Spike Lee in the production of his feature film on Malcolm X.

The Novels

Baldwin credits Bessie Smith as the inspiration that allowed him to complete *Go Tell It on the Mountain*. In "The Discovery of What It Means to Be an American," he writes about his experience of living and writing in Switzerland: "There, in that alabaster landscape, armed with two Bessie Smith records and a typewriter, I began to re-create the life that I had first known as a child and from which I had spent so many years in flight. . . .Bessie Smith, through her tone and cadence. . .helped me dig back to the way I myself must have spoken when I was a pickaninny, and to remember the things I had heard and seen and felt. I had buried them very deep."

Go Tell It on the Mountain recaptures in some definitive ways the spirit and circumstances of Baldwin's own boyhood and adolescence. John Grimes, the shy and intelligent protagonist of the novel, is reminiscent of Baldwin. Moreover, Baldwin succeeds at creating a web of relationships that reveals how a particular character has arrived at his or her situation. He had, after all, harshly criticized Stowe and Wright for what he considered their stereotypical depiction of characters and their circumstances. His belief that "revelation" was the novelist's ultimate goal persisted throughout his career. In his second and third novels—*Giovanni's Room* (1956) and *Another Country*—he explores the theme of a varying, if consistent, American search for identity.

In *Giovanni's Room* the theme is complicated by international and sexual dimensions. The main character is forced to learn a harsh lesson about another culture and country as he wrestles with his ambivalent sexuality. Similarly, in *Another Country* Baldwin sensationally calls into question many American taboos about race, sexuality, marriage, and infidelity. By presenting a stunning series of relationships—heterosexual, homosexual, interracial, bisexual—he creates a tableau vivant of American mores. In his remaining novels, *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968), *If Beale Street Could Talk*, and *Just above My Head*, he also focuses on issues related to race and sexuality. Furthermore, he tries to reveal how racism and sexism are inextricably linked to deep-seated American assumptions. In Baldwin's view, race and sex are hopelessly entangled in America's collective psyche.

Essays and Political Involvement

Around the time of *The Fire Next Time*'s publication and after the Broadway production of *Blues for Mr. Charlie,* Baldwin became known as a spokesperson for civil rights and a celebrity noted for championing the cause of black Americans. He was a prominent participant in the March on Washington at which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. He frequently appeared on television and delivered speeches on college campuses. Baldwin published two excellent collections of essays—*Notes of a Native Son* and *Nobody Knows My Name*—before *The Fire Next Time*. In fact, various critics and reviewers already considered him in a class of his own. However, it was his exhortative rhetoric in *The Fire Next Time*, which was published on the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and anticipated the urban riots of the 1960s, that landed him on the cover of *Time* magazine. He concluded: "If we—and now I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively conscious blacks who must, like lovers, insist on or create the consciousness of the others—do not falter in our duty now, we may be able. . .to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world."

After the publication of *The Fire Next Time*, several black nationalists criticized Baldwin for his conciliatory attitude. They questioned whether his message of love and understanding would do much to change race relations in

America. Eldridge Cleaver, in his book *Soul on Ice,* was one of Baldwin's more outspoken critics. But Baldwin continued writing, becoming increasingly dependent on his early life as a source of inspiration, accepting eagerly the role of the writer as a "poet" whose "assignment" was to accept the "energy" of the folk and transform it into art. It is as though he was following the wisdom of his own words in his story "Sonny's Blues." Like Sonny and his band, Baldwin saw clearly as he matured that he was telling a tale based on the blues of his own life as a writer and a man in America and abroad: "Creole began to tell us what the blues were all about. They were not about anything very new. He and his boys up there were keeping it new at the risk of ruin, destruction, madness, and death, in order to find new ways to make us listen. For, while the tale of how we suffer, and how we are delighted, and how we may triumph is never new, it always must be heard. There isn't any other tale to tell, it's the only light we've got in all this darkness."

Several of his essays and interviews of the 1980s discuss homosexuality and homophobia with fervor and forthrightness, most notably "Here Be Dragons." Thus, just as he had been the leading literary voice of the civil rights movement, he became an inspirational figure for the emerging gay rights movement. Baldwin's nonfiction was collected in *The Price of the Ticket* (1985).

During the final decade of his life, Baldwin taught at a number of American colleges and universities, including the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Hampshire College, frequently commuting back and forth between the United States and his home in Saint Paul de Vence in the south of France. After his death in France on November 30, 1987, the *New York Times* reported on its front page for the following day: "James Baldwin, Eloquent Essayist in Behalf of Civil Rights, Is Dead."

See also Autobiography, U.S.; Literature of the United States

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Ballet

The African-American presence in classical ballet, triumphantly confirmed by the founding of the Dance Theater of Harlem in 1969, grew slowly alongside general American interest in the European form of theatrical stage dancing. Classical ballet developed from dancing styles of sixteenth-century European courts. Refined in France, especially under the monarchy of Louis XIV, ballet became the preferred form of dance expression in Europe and Russia by the nineteenth century. Ballet captured the interest of an American public only after tours of Daighilev's Ballets Russes proved undeniably entertaining in the early part of the twentieth century. The assumption that the European outlook, history, and technical theory of ballet were alien to the black dancer culturally, temperamentally, and anatomically plagued African-American interest in the form for generations. Dance aesthetes wrote about the unsuitability of the black dancer's "tight joints, a natural turn-in rather than the desired ballet turn-out, hyperextension of the knee, [and] weak feet" (McDonagh, 1968, p. 44), and most black dancers, barred from all-white ballet schools, turned to performing careers in modern and jazz dance. Ballet training, however, remained the basis of many stage-dance techniques, and individual teachers had profound effects on pioneer African-American dance artists. In Chicago in the 1920s, Katherine Dunham studied ballet with Ludmilla Speranzeva before creating her own Dunham dance technique. The Jones-Haywood School of Dance, founded in Washington, D.C., in 1940, trained several significant ballet personalities, including Sylvester Campbell and Louis Johnson. Philadelphia's Judimar School, created in 1948, offered ballet classes led by Essie Marie Dorsey and produced several outstanding ballet artists, including Delores Brown, Tamara Guillebeaux, John Jones, and Billy Wilson.

The racial division of Americans led to the formation of several separatist, "all-black" dance companies to offer performing opportunities for growing numbers of classically trained dancers. Hemsley Winfield's New Negro Art Theater Dance Group brought concert dance to the New York Roxy Theater in 1932, effectively proving that largely white audiences would accept black dancers. John Martin of the *New York Times* noted the dancers' refusal to be "darkskinned reproductions of famous white prototypes" and termed the concert "an effort well worth the making" (Martin, 1932, p. 11). Winfield's company performed with the Hall Johnson Choir in dances of his own making.

Eugene Von Grona's American Negro Ballet debuted on November 21, 1937, at Harlem's Lafayette Theater. The son of a white American mother and a German father,

Arthur Bell

Dancing proved not to be the most lucrative of career choices for Arthur Bell. A pioneering black ballet dancer, he was found homeless wandering the streets of Brooklyn at age seventy-one in the late 1990s. Still, he does not regret following his dreams and, in fact, left his artistic mark on the classical dance scene of the 1940s and 1950s—a time that was not very receptive to African Americans in classical ballet.

Bell's Pentecostal parents viewed dance as sinful and so did not approve of their son's fascination with it. Attempting a career in dance was especially troubling to them because of the lack of employment opportunities for African Americans. Knowing the odds were not in his favor, Bell decided anyway to pursue dance as one of very few black students at the School of American Ballet. His skills were highly regarded and he eventually made a career for himself in Paris and London. Being invited by Frederick Ashton to appear in the New York City Ballet's world premiere of *Illuminations* was a career peak as he was the first black man to ever perform with this elite company.

Age caught up with Bell and he returned to New York City where he worked at a variety of menial jobs from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. Some time after this he became homeless. It is not clear what led to these circumstances, but he came into contact with a social worker named Mafia Mackin. Mackin was a former ballet photographer, so Bell's accounts of his experiences in 1950s London and Paris rang truthful to her whereas other social workers felt that Bell's accounts of his life in ballet were signs of dementia.

After confirming Bell's stories, Mackin contacted the *New York Times* who made Bell the subject of a feature article. Soon Bell received international news coverage and was reunited with two of his siblings. He went on to reside at the Actors Fund Retirement and Nursing Home in Englewood, New Jersey, where he spent the last six years of his life with a regained dignity. Bell died at the age of 77 on January 23, 2004.

Von Grona trained with modern dance choreographer Mary Wigman before moving to the United States in 1925. To form his company, he ran a newspaper advertisement in the *Amsterdam News* offering free dance lessons at the Harlem YMCA. Von Grona chose thirty trainees out of 150 respondents, and after three years of training in ballet and modern dance relaxation techniques, the company offered a program designed to address "the deeper and more intellectual resources of the Negro race" (Acocella, 1982, p. 24). The original program, choreographed by Von Grona to Ellington, Stravinsky, W. C. Handy, and J. S. Bach, was received by critics as "more of the nature of a pupil's recital than an epoch-making new ballet organization." The program included a version of Stravinsky's Firebird, although critics worried that "a Negro interpretation of a classical ballet would . . . be too unrestrained" to appeal to a ballet audience. Lukewarm critical reception and the absence of a committed audience shuttered the company's concert engagements after only five months. In 1939 the company appeared in Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds* and at the Apollo Theater and was renamed Von Grona's American Swing Ballet. By the end of that year Von Grona was bankrupt and disbanded the company. Dancers in the company included Lavinia Williams, Jon Edwards, and Al Bledger.

Wilson Williams's Negro Dance Company, founded in 1940 to "discipline talent, give it creative direction, [and] to train artists capable of expression through means of a technique" (Williams, 1940, p. 14), struggled for five years to garner dancers and patronage. Williams, an accomplished black modern dancer, intended to provide a three-year course at his School of Negro Ballet, with classes in folk forms as well as modern and classical ballet. The Negro Dance Company's first performances in 1943 were received as modern dance.

The First Negro Classic Ballet, also briefly known as the Hollywood Negro Ballet, was founded in 1948 by Joseph Rickhard. Rickhard, a German émigré and former dancer with the Ballets Russes, taught ballet to black students in Los Angeles. The company had a first concert in 1949. This was truly a classical company, with ballerinas performing on point. They performed *Variations Clas-*

siques, a suite of dances to Bach, as well as a reworking of *Cinderella* with African-American materials. Critically successful, the company lasted seven seasons touring the West Coast, with an annual performance at Los Angeles' Philharmonic Auditorium. In 1956 Rickhard brought his dancers to New York, and this company combined with the New York Negro Ballet.

Aubrey Hitchens' Negro Dance Theater, created in 1953, was an all-male repertory company. Hitchens was born in England and had danced with the Russian Opera Company in Paris before he opened his own New York school in 1947. Hitchens, who "ardently believed in the special dance talents of the Negro race" (Hitchins, 1956, p. 12), managed to book his group to perform at Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival in August 1954. Its repertory included *Gotham Suite* by Tony Charmoli, with "modern idioms based on classical forms being suggested by the five boroughs of New York City" (Hitchins, 1956, p. 13), and Hitchens' own *Italian Concerto* to music of Bach. Among the dancers associated with the Negro Dance Theater were Anthony Basse, Frank Glass, Nat Horne, Bernard Johnson, Charles Martin, Charles Moore, Joe Nash, Charles Queenan, Edward Walrond, and Arthur Wright. The company remained together only through 1955.

Edward Flemyng's New York Negro Ballet Company, founded as Les Ballets Nègres in 1955, began as a small group that took daily technique classes with Maria Nevelska, a former member of the Bolshoi Ballet. Flemyng, a charismatic and driven African-American dancer born in Detroit, organized private sponsorship of the company, which in 1957 led to a landmark tour of England, Scotland, and Wales. Among the dancers on that tour were Anthony Basse, Dolores Brown, Candace Caldwell, Sylvester Campbell, Georgia Collins, Theodore Crum, Roland Fraser, Thelma Hill, Michaelyn Jackson, Frances Jiminez, Bernard Johnson, Charles Neal, Cleo Quitman, Gene Sagan, Helen Taitt, Betty Ann Thompson, and Barbara Wright. The company's repertory included Ernest Parham's *Mardi Gras;* two Louis Johnson ballets—*Waltze,* a classical ballet for twelve dancers, and *Folk Impressions,* an American ballet set to music by Morton Gould; and a purely classical pas de deux from *Sleeping Beauty* danced by Dolores Brown and Bernard Johnson. Reviews of the company were flattering and encouraging, and the a reviewer in the London-based *Dance and Dancers* wrote: "New York Negro ballet amounts to a sincere attempt at establishing the Negro as an important contributor to the art of ballet as a whole" (1957, p. 9). Soon after the two-month tour, Flemyng's principal patron died and the company began to unravel. A 1958 performance in New York under the name Ballet Americana was noted by writer Doris Hering as having a "zest and high energy . . . yet to be cast in the careful mould of ballet" (Hering, 1958, p. 57), but the company could not find sufficient patronage and was completely disbanded by 1960.

Dances and Dancers

Documentation of African-American interest in the ballet exists well before the establishment of any of the all-black companies. Helena Justa-De Arms performed toe dances in vaudeville in the 1910s; Mary Richards danced on toe in the 1923 Broadway production of *Struttin' Along;* and Josephine Baker performed on toe for at least one number in her Paris Opera days. In 1940 Agnes De Mille created *Black Ritual* for the New York Ballet Theater, the precursor of the present-day American Ballet Theatre. Performed by a cast of sixteen women to a score by Darius Milhaud, the piece was intended to "project the psychological atmosphere of a primitive community during the performance of austere and vital ceremonies" (Martin, 1940, p. 23). Although this was not a classically shaped ballet, its cast had received dance training in a specially established "Negro Wing" of the Ballet Theater school. Critical reaction to the piece was muted but inspired dance writer Walter Terry's call for "a Negro vocabulary of movement . . . composed of modern dance movements, ballet steps, tap and others . . . [which] should enable the Negro to express himself artistically and not merely display his muscular prowess" (Terry, 1940).

The post–World War II era brought the beginnings of integrated classical dance in the United States. Talley Beatty, Arthur Bell, and Betty Nichols were briefly associated with New York's Ballet Society, where Beatty appeared in Lew Christiansen's *Blackface* (1947) and Bell in Frederick Ashton's *Illuminations* (1950). In 1952 Louis Johnson, a student of the School of American Ballet (SAB), created a role in Jerome Robbins's *Ballade* for the New York City Ballet. Johnson began his significant choreographic career with *Lament* (1953), a story ballet set to music of Heitor Villa-Lobos and first presented with an integrated cast at the third New York Ballet Club Annual Choreographers' Night.

Janet Collins, the most famous African-American classical dancer of this era, began her career in vaudeville and was a member of the original Katherine Dunham troupe. Born in New Orleans and raised in Los Angeles, Collins danced with Lester Horton before moving to New York in 1948, where she won a prestigious Rosenwald Fellowship to tour the East and Midwest in her own dances. Her 1949 New York performance debut was greeted with exceptional enthusiasm by John Martin (1949) of the *New York Times,* who called her a "rich talent and a striking

theatrical personality at the beginning of a promising career. Her style is basically eclectic; its direction is modern and its technical foundation chiefly ballet. The fusing element is a markedly personal approach." Collins won a Donaldson Award for her Broadway performance in Cole Porter's *Out of This World* (1951). Collins achieved her greatest fame as prima ballerina at the Metropolitan Opera from 1951 to 1954, where she danced in *Aida* (1951), *La Gioconda* (1952), and *Samson and Delilah* (1953).

Many African-American ballet artists found an acceptance in Europe unknown in the United States. Sylvester Campbell remained in Europe after the New York Negro Ballet tour and eventually became a principal with the Netherlands National Ballet, dancing leading roles in *Swan Lake, Romeo and Juliet,* and *Le Corsaire*. Gene Sagan and Roland Fraser, also of the New York Negro Ballet, joined the Marseilles Ballet and the Cologne Ballet, respectively. Brooklyn-born Jamie Bower danced with Roland Petit's Ballets de Paris and appeared with the company in the MGM film *The Glass Slipper* (1953). In 1954 Raven Wilkenson was admitted to the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo as that company's sole black female ballerina. Wilkenson stayed with the company for six years, although she was occasionally barred from performing in some southern theaters because of her race. Arthur Mitchell, who joined the New York City Ballet as its first permanent black dancer in 1955, experienced similar racial discrimination when U.S. television broadcasters refused to air programs in which he danced with white ballerinas.

The affiliation of African-American dancers with mostly white companies accelerated throughout the 1960s. The Harkness Ballet of New York ran an aggressive recruitment and educational program in consultation with New York Negro Ballet alumna Thelma Hill that, by 1968, had successfully placed five black members in that company. Choreographer Alvin Ailey, who created *Feast of Ashes* for the Joffrey Ballet in 1962, also made *Ariadne* (1965), *El Amor Brujo* (1966), and *Macumba* (1966) for the Harkness Ballet. Keith Lee joined the American Ballet Theatre in 1969, and in 1970 he created the popular ballet *Times Past* to music by Cole Porter. Lee achieved the rank of soloist in 1971 and left in 1974 to form his own company. Significant post–civil rights era dancers affiliated with major American ballet companies include John Jones, who danced with Jerome Robbins's Ballets: USA, the Dance Theater of Harlem, the Joffrey Ballet, and the Harkness Ballet; Christian Holder of the Joffrey Ballet; Debra Austin of the New York City Ballet and the Pennsylvania Ballet; and Mel Tomlinson of the Dance Theater of Harlem and the New York City Ballet.

The Dance Theater of Harlem Legacy

The founding of the Dance Theater of Harlem (DTH) in 1969 conclusively ended speculation about the suitability of African-American interest in ballet. Arthur Mitchell's company and its affiliated school provided training and performing opportunities for black dancers and choreographers from all parts of the world. Heralded as a major company of international stature within its first fifteen years, the DTH fostered an unsurpassed standard of black classicism revealed in the versatile technique of principal dancers Stephanie Dabney, Lorraine Graves, Christina Johnson, Virginia Johnson, Tai Jiminez, Andrea Long, Ronald Perry, Judith Rotardier, Eddie J. Shellman, Lowell Smith, and Donald Williams.

As DTH performances set a standard of black classicism, discernible African-American influences on ballet began to be understood and documented. Choreographer George Balanchine, who served on the original DTH board of directors, successfully articulated a neoclassical style of ballet that emphasized thrust hips and rhythmic syncopations commonly found in African-American social dance styles. Prominent in his masterpieces *The Four Temperaments* (1946) and the "Rubies" section of *Jewels* (1967) are references to the Charleston, the cakewalk, the lindy hop, and tap dancing.

The critical success of the DTH hinged upon its dancers' ability to embody these social movement styles within classical technique. The company excelled in its resilient performances of the Balanchine repertory. It also turned to African-American folk materials that underscored affinities between ballet and ritual dance, as in Louis Johnson's *Forces of Rhythm* (1972), which comically juxtaposed several styles, including generic "African" dance, vaudeville, Dunham-based modern, disco, and ballet; Geoffrey Holder's *Dougla* (1974), a stylized wedding-ceremony synthesis of African and Hindu motifs; and Billy Wilson's *Ginastera* (1991), a combination of Spanish postures and point dancing.

Black musicians inspired several important ballet collaborations, including Alvin Ailey and Duke Ellington's *The River* (1970), which was choreographed for the American Ballet Theatre and included both parody and distillation of social African dance styles in several sections; Wynton Marsalis and Peter Martins's *Jazz (Six Syncopated Movements)* (1993), created for the New York City Ballet and featuring African-American dance soloist Albert Evans; and the Joffrey Ballet production of *Billboards,* set to music by Prince (1993). In Atlanta, the company Ballethnic has successfully fused classical technique with other forms since 1990. Other choreographers who have worked in the classical idiom include Paul Russell, once

The dancers Carmen De Lavallade and Geoffrey Holder, 1955. *Among the most versatile dancers of their generation, De Lavallade and Holder were accomplished in both theatrical dance and ballet, and also enjoyed success as choreographers, actors, directors, and authors. Photograph by Carl Van Vechten.* REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE CARL VAN VECHTEN TRUST

a leading dancer with the DTH, who became artistic director of the American Festival Ballet of Boise, Idaho, in 1988; former DTH principal Homer Bryant, who formed the Chicago-based Bryant Ballet in 1991; Barbados-born John Alleyne, who trained at the National Ballet School of Canada and in 1993 was appointed artistic director of Ballet British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada; and Ulysses Dove, former principal of the Alvin Ailey company. Dove's searingly physical point ballets predict a heightened awareness of African-American performance practice in their reliance on asymmetry, prolonged balance, and cool stance tempered by explosive power.

The profound artistic achievement of the DTH, innumerable individual African-American artists in companies around the world, and Balanchine's neoclassic fusion of ballet and African dance style created a contemporary ballet repertory that was indisputably African based, vividly realized in works by American choreographers Gerald Arpino, William Forsythe, Jerome Robbins, and Twyla Tharp. Ironically, core African-American dance styles, which value subversive invention, participatory interaction, and an overwhelming sense of bodily presence, diverge neatly from ballet's traditional conception of strictly codified body line, a silenced and motionless audience, and movement as metaphoric abstraction. The process of building an African-American audience base responsive to ballet, an action begun by the DTH, is necessary to expand the legacy of black classicism for generations to come.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Apollo Theater; Dance Theater of Harlem; Dove, Ulysses; Dunham, Katherine; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Holder, Geoffrey; Marsalis, Wynton; Mitchell, Arthur

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Updated by author 2005

Baltimore Afro-American

The *Baltimore Afro-American,* first published in 1892 and now in its second century of continuous publication, is the oldest family-owned black newspaper in America. During its peak years, between the two world wars, the newspaper printed thirteen separate editions from New Jersey to South Carolina and competed with both the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* to be the nation's largest African-American paper.

Founded by ex-slave John Henry Murphy, the *Afro-American* grew from a small, church-based newsletter to the largest black paper on the eastern seaboard, with a circulation that reached over 225,000. After John Murphy died, his son Carl became senior editor and publisher. For nearly forty years, Carl Murphy and the *Afro-American* never shied from reporting the truths of life in a segregated America.

As early as 1912 the *Afro-American* addressed the discriminatory practices of the U.S. military. In the late 1930s the paper reported on the early signs of apartheid in South Africa and was soon supporting Thurgood Marshall and the legal battles of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end school segregation. Throughout these years, numerous articles were devoted to black leaders such as Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Du Bois, Ralph Bunche, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In addition to providing the news of the day, the *Afro-American* performed a community service by publishing the births, marriages, and deaths of local African Americans, since these listings were rarely found in the white-owned newspapers of the time. Ironically, the newspaper's gradual decline in circulation in the later decades of the twentieth century was due in part to its success in pressuring the white news media to hire black journalists. In 2005, the *Afro-American* claimed a readership of more than 120,000.

See also Bunche, Ralph; *Chicago Defender*; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Journalism; Garvey, Marcus; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Marshall, Thurgood; *Pittsburgh Courier*

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MICHAEL A. LORD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Bambara, Toni Cade

March 25, 1939
December 29, 1995

Born Toni Cade in New York City to Helen Brent Henderson Cade, writer Toni Cade Bambara adopted her last name in 1970. Bambara grew up in various sections of New York (Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and Queens) as well as in Jersey City, New Jersey. She earned a B.A. in theater arts and English from Queens College in 1959—the year in which she published her first short story, "Sweet Town"—and an M.A. in English from City College of New York in 1965. At the same time, she served as a community organizer and activist as well as occupational therapist for the psychiatric division of Metropolitan Hospital.

Bambara's consciousness was raised early as she watched her mother instruct her grade school teachers about African-American history and culture and as she listened on New York street corners to Garveyites, Father Diviners, Rastafarians, Muslims, Pan-Africanists, and communists. She learned early of the resiliency that would be needed for a poor black female to survive. Bambara's streetwise sensibility informs two collections of writings by black women that she edited, *The Black Woman* (1970) and *Tales and Stories for Black Folks* (1971). The stories she contributed to these collections portray young black women who weather difficult times and who challenge others to join the struggle for equality.

From 1959 to 1970 Bambara wrote a series of short stories that were published in 1972 as *Gorilla, My Love*. A collection of fifteen stories, this book focuses on relationships that rejuvenate—family, community, and self-love. Her second collection of stories, *The Sea Birds Are Still*

Alive (1977), revolves around the theme of community healing. Her characters do not despair; instead, they nurture each other back to spiritual and physical health. The theme of healing is further explored in Bambara's novel *Salt Eaters* (1980), which received the American Book Award in the year of its publication.

Bambara taught at several universities, including City College of the City University of New York, Rutgers University, Livingstone College, Duke University, and Spelman College. Her commitment as a writer was to inspire others to continue to fight for improved conditions for the community.

Soon after Bambara's death from colon cancer in 1995, some of her unpublished short stories and essays were published in the collection *Deep Sightings and Rescue Missions* (1996), edited by Toni Morrison. Morrison also edited the manuscript of Bambara's novel *Those Bones Are Not My Child,* published in 1999.

See also Literature; Morrison, Toni

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ELIZABETH BROWN-GUILLORY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bandera, Quintín

October 30, 1834
c. August 22, 1906

Quintín Bandera was among the most significant black leaders in the struggle for Cuban independence from 1868 to 1898, a struggle that overlapped with the process of slave emancipation and in which questions of race and citizenship were highly prominent.

Bandera was born in Santiago to free black parents. He worked as a bricklayer, rural day worker, and a cabin boy and fuel stoker on a ship. When the first war of independence (Ten Years' War) began in 1868, he joined as a private and was among the last to surrender as a lieutenant colonel in 1878. With other notable black and mulatto rebel leaders, he participated in the Protest of Baraguá in March 1878, when these and other leaders took a public stance against the peace pact signed by the highest ranking Cuban officers, a pact that accepted peace without the achievement of either independence or abolition. Bandera also participated in the second war of independence, the Guerra Chiquita, or Little War, from 1879 to 1880.

But it was in the final war of independence against Spain, which began in February 1895 and ended in August 1898 (several months after United States intervention) that Bandera became most prominent (and controversial). He was among the first to rise up on February 24, 1895; indeed he appears to have participated in some of the preparatory work done in the months before the outbreak of war. He was an important figure in the insurgent invasion of the western regions of the island, a march led by Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez, that began in October 1895 in Oriente and successfully entered the western provinces of Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Rio by the end of that year. During that invasion, Bandera was the target of racist rumor and propaganda, as the Spanish press and others portrayed his troops as "exotic" blacks wearing nose rings and loincloths. In July 1897, Bandera, by then a division general, was relieved of his command by Máximo Gómez, head of the Cuban Liberation Army.

The decision was not without controversy. The disciplinary action has generally been interpreted as punishment for his lack of military activity and for shunning his duty in order to remain near a mistress in the south-central area of Trinidad. Bandera himself offered a different explanation, arguing that he had served honorably, that he was simply a humble man, and that he had been badly treated by local, white insurgent leaders around Trinidad. Whatever the reason, the punishment meant that the end of the war in August 1898 found Bandera back in Santiago still stripped of his command.

The controversy that surrounded him late in the war continued into the postwar period. In 1899 he founded the Cuban National Party of Oriente and, in 1900, toured the island, visiting towns where he was received by local authorities and notables. At the same time, however, revisionist historians point to his marginalization in the republic inaugurated in 1902—the denial of full payment for military service, his difficulties in obtaining suitable employment, his need to conduct fund-raisers for his own benefit—to make a larger point about the ways in which black veterans of independence were sidelined in the republic their labor and patriotism created. In 1906, in the midst of an armed rebellion against the first president of the republic, Bandera was ambushed and killed by a white veteran of the Cuban Liberation Army. A year later, when

authorities allegedly uncovered a black conspiracy, the signal for the start of the projected uprising was to be the assassination of the man who had assassinated Bandera.

In many ways Bandera is emblematic of the complex and highly charged relationship between race and nationalism in late-nineteenth-century Cuba. On the one hand, he exemplifies the prominence and recognition achieved by black men of humble origins in the independence struggle. On the other, the controversy and racism he confronted throughout his career speak to the thorny limits of that same inclusion and recognition.

See also Maceo, Antonio

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ADA FERRER (2005)

Banneker, Benjamin

November 9, 1731
October 9, 1806

Benjamin Banneker was an amateur astronomer and the first African-American man of science. He was born free in Baltimore County, Maryland, the son of a freed slave from Guinea named Robert and Mary Banneky, the daughter of a formerly indentured English servant named Molly Welsh and her husband Bannka, a freed slave who claimed to be the son of a Gold Coast tribal chieftain.

Raised with three sisters in a log house built by his father on his 100-acre farm near the banks of the Patapsco River, Banneker received no formal schooling except for several weeks' attendance at a nearby Quaker one-room schoolhouse. Taught to read and write from a Bible by his white grandmother, he became a voracious reader, borrowing books when he could. He was skillful in mathematics and enjoyed creating mathematical puzzles and solving others presented to him. At about the age of twenty-two he successfully constructed a wooden striking clock without ever having seen one. Banneker approached the project as a mathematical problem, working out relationships between toothed wheels and gears and painstakingly carving each from seasoned wood with a pocketknife. The clock continued telling and striking the hours until his death. Banneker cultivated tobacco, first with his parents and then alone until about the age of fifty-nine, when rheumatism forced his retirement. He was virtually self-sufficient, growing vegetables and cultivating orchards and bees. Banneker espoused no particular religion or creed, but he was a very religious man, attending the services and meetings of various denominations held in the region, although he preferred those of the Society of Friends.

It was during his retirement that Banneker became interested in astronomy, after witnessing a neighbor observing the stars with a telescope. With borrowed instruments and texts and without any assistance from others, Banneker taught himself sufficient mathematics and astronomy to make observations and to be able to calculate an ephemeris for an almanac. His efforts to sell his calculations for 1791 to a printer were not successful, but he continued his celestial studies nonetheless.

Banneker's opportunity to apply what he had learned came in February 1791, when President George Washington commissioned the survey of an area 10 miles square in Virginia and Maryland in which to establish the national capital. Unable on such short notice to find an assistant capable of using the sophisticated instruments required, the surveyor Andrew Ellicott selected Banneker to assist him until others became available. During the first three months of the survey, Banneker occupied the field observatory tent, maintaining and correcting the regulator clock each day, and each night making observations of the transit of stars with the zenith sector, recording his nightly observations for Ellicott's use on the next day's surveying. During his leisure time, he completed calculations for an ephemeris for 1792. Banneker was employed on the survey site from early February until late April 1791 and then returned to his home in Baltimore County. Records of the survey state that he was paid $60 for his participation and the costs of his travel.

Shortly after his return home, Banneker sent a handwritten copy of his ephemeris for 1792 to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, because, he wrote, Jefferson was considered "measurably friendly and well disposed towards us," the African-American race, "who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world . . . have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt, and . . . have

An Excerpt of Benjamin Banneker's Letter to Thomas Jefferson

…. Sir,…I hope you cannot but acknowledge that it is the indispensable duty of those, who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who possess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burden or oppression they may unjustly labor under…. Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and for those inestimable laws, which preserved to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied short of the most active effusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted, with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude: … reflect on that time, in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation….

This, Sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition. It was now that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." …but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.

…. And now, Sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope, that your candor and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but having taken up my pen in order to direct to you, as a present, a copy of an Almanac, which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto….

And now, Sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNEKER

long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments" (Jefferson-Coolidge Papers, I.38–43, Massachusetts Historical Society). Banneker submitted his calculations as evidence to the contrary and urged that Jefferson work toward bringing an end to slavery. Jefferson responded promptly: "No body wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of other colours of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa & America. . . . no body wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition of both their body & mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecillity of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit" (Thomas Jefferson Papers, f.11481, Library of Congress).

Jefferson sent Banneker's calculations to the Marquis de Condorcet, secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, with an enthusiastic cover letter. There was no reply

from Condorcet because at the time of the letter's arrival he was in hiding for having opposed the monarchy and having supported a republican form of government. The two letters, that from Banneker to Jefferson and the statesman's reply, were published in a widely distributed pamphlet and in at least one periodical during the following year.

Banneker's ephemeris for 1792 was published by the Baltimore printer Goddard & Angell with the title *Benjamin Banneker's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia Almanack and Ephemeris for the Year of Our Lord 1792.* It was also sold by printers in Philadelphia and Alexandria, Virginia. He continued to calculate ephemerides that were published in almanacs bearing his name for the next five years. Promoted by the abolitionist societies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Banneker's almanacs were published by several printers and sold widely in the United States and England. Twenty-eight separate editions of his almanacs are known. A recent computerized analysis of Banneker's published ephemerides and those calculated by several contemporaries for the same years, including those by William Waring and Ellicott, has revealed that Banneker's calculations consistently reflect a high degree of comparative accuracy. Although he continued calculating ephemerides through the year 1802, they remained unpublished.

Banneker died in his sleep following a morning walk on October 9, 1806, one month short of his seventy-fifth birthday. He was buried several days later in the family graveyard within sight of his house. As his body was being lowered into the grave, his house burst into flames, and all of its contents were destroyed. The cause of the fire remains unknown. Fortunately, the books and table he had borrowed, his commonplace book, and the astronomical journal in which he had copied all of his ephemerides had been given to his neighbor immediately following his death and thus were preserved.

See also Science

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SILVIO A. BEDINI (1996)
Updated bibliography

Bannister, Edward Mitchell

c. 1826
January 9, 1901

Edward Mitchell Bannister was born sometime between 1826 and 1828 in St. Andrews, a small seaport in New Brunswick, Canada. His father Edward Bannister, probably a native of Barbados, died in 1832, and Edward and his younger brother, William, were raised by their mother, Hannah Alexander Bannister, a native of St. Andrews. Bannister's artistic talent was encouraged by his mother, and he won a local reputation for clever crayon portraits of family and schoolmates.

By 1850 Bannister had moved to Boston with the intention of becoming a painter, but because of his race he was unable to find an established artist who would accept him as a student. He worked at a variety of jobs to support himself and by 1853 was a barber in the salon of the successful African-American businesswoman Madame Christiana Carteaux, whom he married in 1857.

Bannister continued to study and paint, and he began winning recognition and patronage in the African-American community. In 1854 he received his first commission for an oil painting, from African-American physician John V. DeGrasse, titled *The Ship Outward Bound*. By 1863 Bannister was featured in William Wells Brown's book celebrating the accomplishments of prominent African Americans (Brown, 1863). His earliest extant portrait, of Prudence Nelson Bell (1864), was commissioned by an African-American Boston family.

Bannister was active in the social and political life of Boston's African-American community. He belonged to the Crispus Attucks Choir and the Histrionic Club. His colleagues included such leading black abolitionists as William Cooper Nell, Charles Lenox Remond, Lewis Hayden, and John Sweat Rock. He was an officer in two African-American abolitionist organizations (the Colored Citizens of Boston and the Union Progressive Association), added his name to antislavery petitions, and served as a delegate to the New England Colored Citizens Conven-

tions in 1859 and 1865. In 1864 Bannister donated his portrait of the late Col. Robert Gould Shaw to be raffled at the Solders' Relief fair organized by his wife to assist the families of soldiers from the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Colored Regiment.

Bannister is said to have spent a year in New York City in the early 1860s apprenticed to a Broadway photographer; he advertised himself as a photographer from 1863 to 1866. An 1864 photograph of Bannister's early patron Dr. DeGrasse survives from that period. Bannister continued to paint and win commissions, and although he listed himself in city directories as a portrait painter until 1874, works like his *Untitled* [Rhode Island Seascape] and *Dorchester, Massachusetts,* both painted around 1856, document his beginning interest in interpreting the New England landscape.

In the mid-1860s Bannister began to receive greater recognition in the Boston arts community. Sometime between 1863 and 1865 he received his only formal training, studying in the life-drawing classes given by physician and artist William Rimmer at the Lowell Institute. Bannister took a studio in the Studio Building from 1863 to 1866, where he was exposed to William Morris Hunt's promotion of the French Barbizon painters, and his paintings began receiving favorable notices from Boston critics. His growing confidence as an artist is indicated in two tightly painted monumental treatments of farmers and animals in the landscape, *Herdsman with Cows* and *Untitled* [Man with Two Oxen], both completed in 1869.

Bannister was part of a community of African-American artists in Boston in the 1860s. Sculptor Edmonia Lewis had a studio just two doors from him in the Studio Building; portraitist William H. Simpson was a neighbor and fellow member of the Crispus Attucks Choir and the Histrionic Club; and the young painter Nelson Primus sought out Bannister when he moved to Boston in the mid-1860s.

In 1869 the Bannisters moved to Providence, Rhode Island, where Bannister was immediately recognized by its growing art community. His first exhibit included *Newspaper Boy* (1869), one of the earliest depictions of working-class African Americans by an African-American artist, and a portrait of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison.

Bannister came to national attention in 1876, when his four-by-five-foot painting *Under the Oaks* won a first-prize medal at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. This bucolic view of sheep and cows under a stand of oaks received widespread critical acclaim. But Bannister later remembered how, when he stepped forward to confirm his award, he was "just another inquisitive colored man" to the hostile awards committee.

Recognition for *Under the Oaks* brought Bannister increasing stature and success. By 1878 he sat on the board of the newly created Rhode Island School of Design, and he and fellow artists Charles Walter Stetson and George Whitaker founded the influential Providence Art Club. From 1877 to 1898 Bannister's studio was in the Woods Building, along with those of artists John Arnold, James Lincoln, George Whitaker, Sidney Burleigh, and Charles Walter Stetson. His Saturday art classes were well attended, and he won silver medals at exhibitions of the Boston Charitable Mechanics Association in 1881 and 1884. He exhibited throughout his career at the Boston and Providence Art Clubs, and also in New York City, New Orleans, Detroit, and Hartford, Connecticut. His work was much in demand by New England galleries and collectors, and in 1891 the Providence Art Club featured thirty-three of his works in a retrospective exhibition, to favorable reviews.

A number of Bannister's paintings, including *Woman Walking Down a Path* (1882), *Pastoral Landscape* (1881), *Road to a House with a Red Roof* (1889), and *Seaweed Gatherers* (1898), reflect his strong affinity for the style and philosophy of such Barbizon artists as Jean-François Millet and Camille Corot. But Bannister drew from numerous sources throughout his career, producing work in a variety of styles and moods, from serene vistas such as his *Palmer River* (1885), to the Turner-influenced dramatic skies of *Sunset* (c. 1875–1880) and *Untitled* [Landscape with Man on Horse] (1884), to free and lushly rendered views of woodland scenery such as *Untitled* [Trees and Shrubbery] (1877), in order to express what he described as "the infinite, subtle qualities of the spiritual idea, centering in all created things."

Although he is remembered primarily as a landscape painter, Bannister also drew his subjects from classical literature (*Leucothea Rescuing Ulysses,* 1891), still life (*Untitled* [Floral Still Life], n.d.), and religion (*Portrait of Saint Luke,* n.d.). His prolific output as a marine painter is represented by numerous drawings, watercolors, and paintings such as *Ocean Cliffs* (1884), *Sabin Point, Narragansett Bay* (1885), and *Untitled* [Rhode Island Seascape] (1893).

As in Boston, Bannister associated with, and his work was collected by, leaders of Rhode Island's African-American community. Bannister and his wife continued their involvement in the concerns of their church and community. In 1890 Christiana Carteaux Bannister led the efforts of African Americans to establish a Home for Aged Colored Women in Providence, which is today known as the Bannister Nursing Care Center.

Although he had been experiencing heart trouble in his later years, Bannister continued to paint. Indeed, his

late works (*Street Scene,* c. 1895; *The Old Home,* 1899; *Untitled* [Plow in the Field], 1897) reveal an openness to experimentation and growth, with an increasingly abstract consideration of form and color on canvas.

On January 9, 1901, Bannister collapsed at an evening prayer meeting at the Elmwood Street Baptist Church and died shortly thereafter. Held in great esteem by Providence artists and patrons, he was the subject of lengthy tributes and eulogies. In May 1901 his friends in the Art Club organized a memorial exhibition of over one hundred Bannister paintings loaned by local collectors. Later that year, Providence artists erected a stone monument on his grave in North Burial Ground. Christiana Carteaux Bannister died two years later.

See also Art; Painting and Sculpture

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JUANITA MARIE HOLLAND (1996)
Updated bibliography

Baptists

African-American Baptists are Christians who trace their common descent to Africa and share similar Biblical doctrines and congregational policies. They share these values with the broader American Baptist religious tradition. African-American Baptists represent the largest and most diverse group of the many African-American denominations in the United States. They are known for their emphasis on emotional preaching and worship, educational institutions, economic leadership in the community, and sociopolitical activism.

The origin of African-American Baptists must be understood in the context of the interracial religious experiences of colonial American history and the African roots of the spirituality of slaves. White Baptists were initially slow in their evangelistic efforts among African slaves, as language barriers and economic considerations prevented the rapid evangelization of transplanted Africans. However, by the second half of the eighteenth century, a few persistent Baptist evangelists eluded these barriers and converted growing numbers of slaves.

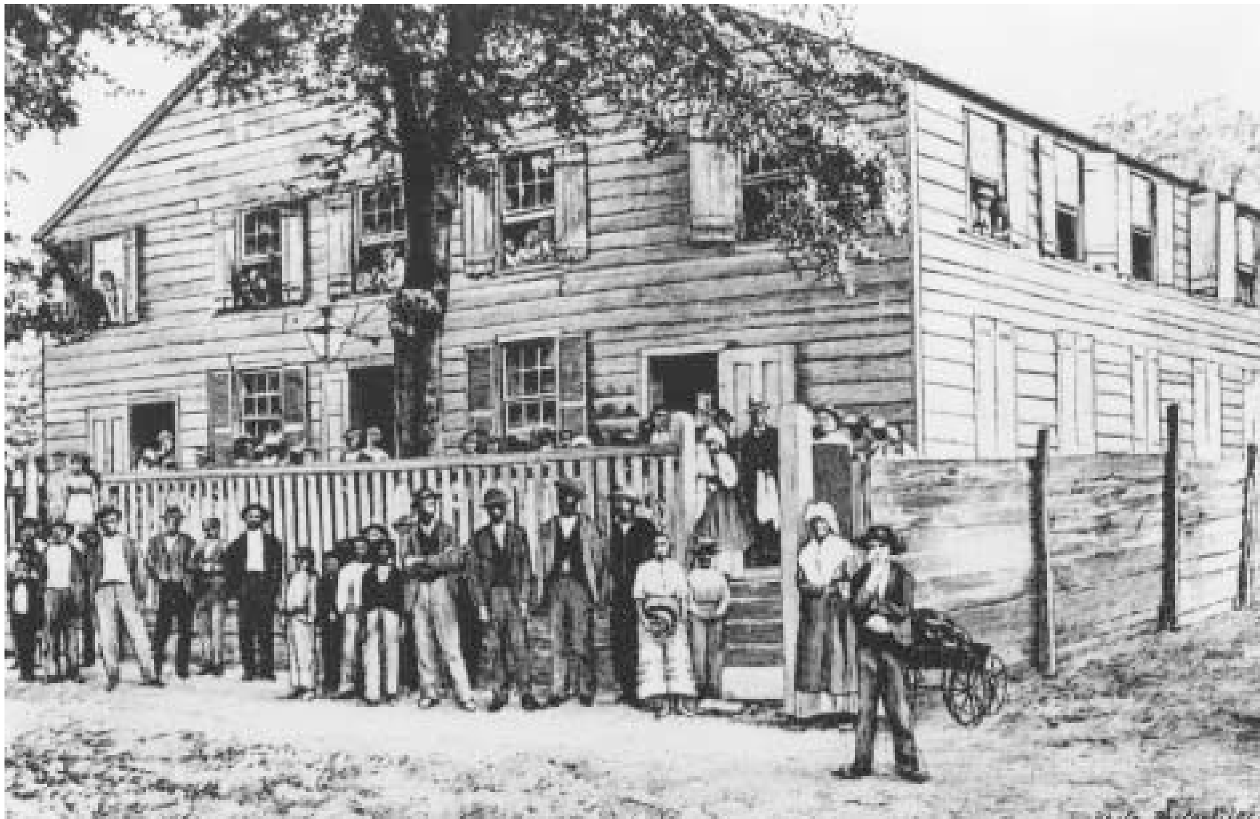
Antebellum Baptists

The movement began largely on plantations in the South, where the vast majority of African slaves resided, and it spread to urban areas. Generally, the conversion of slaves tended to follow the denominational lines of white masters. Hence, the numbers of African-American Baptists tended to grow along with the remarkable expansion of Baptists in the South between 1750 and 1850. On occasion, Baptist evangelists were invited by slaveholders belonging to local Baptist congregations to preach to their plantation slaves. On other occasions, slave owners would allow slaves to accompany them to church or hold devotional services in their own "big houses."

There were scattered instances of African Americans attending biracial churches during the late colonial period. As early as 1772, Robert Stevens and eighteen other African Americans were members of the First Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island. By 1772, the First Baptist Church of Boston was also receiving blacks into its congregation. Very likely, the Baptist churches of the South had some black members prior to the 1770s. As a result of interracial evangelizing between 1773 and 1775, David George organized the first black Baptist church in North America, at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, near Savannah, Georgia. This increasing tendency to receive slaves into the Baptist churches created the interracial Baptist church experience in colonial American society.

By the early national period, the presence of slaves exceeded the numbers of whites in a few churches in the South. However, whether they were the majority or minority presence in these churches, African-American Baptists were still limited in their membership privileges and responsibilities. Slavery and racism prevented the existence of authentic fellowship based on Christian principles within these early churches. These social pressures later resulted in the demise of racially mixed churches and the emergence of Baptist churches organized along racial lines.

Slave preachers were the first to verbalize the need for churches separate from the white Baptists. Some of them had been previously exposed to leadership roles, having served as religious leaders in Africa. They wanted a style



The First Colored Baptist Church in North America. *A frontispiece from the book of the same title by James M. Simms (published 1888), the drawing shows a Baptist Church established in Savannah, Georgia, in 1788.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

of Baptist life and witness that would permit the free expression of spirituality and the involvement of African-American preachers in pastoral leadership. The first movement toward separate black Baptist churches took place when African Americans stole off to the woods, canebrakes, and remote cabins to have preaching and prayer meetings of their own. These meetings were usually held early in the morning, when the patrols over the slaves would retire from night duty to sleep during the day. Hence, early morning prayer meetings were created out of necessity.

Among the early African-American Baptist preachers who pioneered the plantation missions and the movement toward separate churches were: "Uncle Jack," who went from plantation to plantation in Virginia in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, preaching to whites as well as African Americans; "Uncle Harry" Cowan, who labored extensively in North Carolina; and George Liele (1752–1825), who preached on the plantations of South Carolina and Georgia and actually paved the way for the planting of the first separate churches among African-American Christians. Liele's evangelistic ministry inspired the founding of the Silver Bluff Baptist Church in Aikens County, South Carolina, by David George (1742–1810) in the late 1700s and of the First Colored Baptist Church of Savannah, Georgia, by Andrew Bryan (1737–1812) in the 1780s. There were other African-American preachers who labored on plantations for the evangelization of slaves and the subsequent separate Baptist church movement, but most of their names are now lost.

Within a decade after the founding of African-American Baptist churches in South Carolina and Georgia, slaves and free blacks in other parts of the country began similar movements away from white-dominated churches and toward the creation of their own churches. During the American Revolution, the African-American Baptists of Petersburg, Virginia, organized the Gilfield Baptist Church and the Harrison Street Baptist Church (both in Petersburg) and the first Baptist churches in both Williamsburg and Richmond, Virginia.

African-American Baptist churches were soon organized in the north. The Joy Street Baptist Church, original-

ly called the African Meeting House, was constituted in Boston in 1805. The Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York City was organized in 1808, presumably by a group of traders who came to New York City from Ethiopia (then called Abyssinia). These were followed by the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, New York (May 18, 1847); the First African Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (June 19, 1809); the First African Baptist Church in Trenton, New Jersey (1812); the Middlerun Baptist Church in Xenia, Ohio (1822); and the First Colored Peoples' Baptist Church of Baltimore (1836). This lists only some of the more important churches.

The roots of the Baptist cooperative movement go back to the antebellum period. In the early 1830s, organizational consciousness emerged among black Baptists in Ohio with the evolution of the associational movement. Baptists began to see the need for united Christian ministries among churches in near proximity. Hence, local churches began the formation of associations to advance such causes as education, home missions, and foreign missions. In 1834 they organized the Providence Baptist Association in Berlin Cross Roads, Ohio. This was followed by the founding of a politically oriented movement called the Union Anti-Slavery Baptist Association, also organized in Ohio in 1843. Slowly, the associational movement spread to other states. The organization of Baptist state conventions began in North Carolina with the founding of the General State Convention in 1866.

The cooperative efforts of African-American Baptists were prompted by a growing consciousness of an interest in doing missionary work in Africa. Lott Carey and other pioneer African-American missionaries inspired early church leaders to seek even greater cooperation among their separate churches. As early as 1840, black Baptists of New England and the Middle Atlantic states met in New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church to organize the American Baptist Missionary Convention, their first cooperative movement beyond state lines.

Civil War and the Era of Church Growth

The Civil War era and Reconstruction gave impetus to the organization of several cooperative movement bodies. The Baptists of the West and Southwest met in St. Louis in 1864 and organized the Northwestern and Southern Baptist Conventions. In 1866 these two regional conventions met in a special session in Richmond, Virginia, and organized the Consolidated American Baptist Convention, representing 100,000 black baptists and two hundred ministers. The new convention was an attempt to promote unity, discourage sectionalism, and create a national spirit of cooperation. The work of the Consolidated Convention was fostered by the formation of district auxiliary conventions, state conventions, and associations.

In 1873 the African-American Baptists of the West organized the General Association of the Western States and Territories, and in 1874 those in the East organized the New England Baptist Missionary Convention. These two bodies soon overshadowed the spirit of unity expressed in the Consolidated American Baptist Convention. A persistent spirit of independence and sectionalism on the part of both eastern and western Baptists caused the decline of the Consolidated Baptist Convention, resulting in its termination at its last meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1878. A vacuum in the cooperative missionary movement resulted.

In response, William W. Colley, a missionary to Africa appointed by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, returned to the United States with a determination to revive a cooperative spirit among African-American Baptists. He led the way for the organization of the Baptist Foreign Mission Convention on November 24, 1880, in Montgomery, Alabama. This convention effectively revived an expanding interest in the evangelization of Africa.

The next steps toward separate denominational development came with the organization of the American National Baptist Convention (1893) and the Tripartite Union (1894). On September 28, 1895, these organizations merged to form the first real denomination among African-American Baptists, the National Baptist Convention (NBC) U.S.A. For the first time, the combined ministries of the churches throughout the nation were fostered by a separate national organization of African-American Baptists.

Primitive Baptists

A number of African-American baptists were opposed to the organization of missionary associations, in part because the Arminianism of the mid-nineteenth-century revivals was in conflict with traditional notions of predestination. The major outgrowth of the antimission movement was the rise of the African-American Primitive Baptists. Initially, Primitive Baptists inherited their antimission spirit from white Baptists. As early as 1820, the Saint Barley Primitive Baptist Church of Huntsville, Alabama (originally organized as the Huntsville African Baptist Church), evolved as one of the earliest separate Primitive Baptist churches. Subsequently, a number of churches joined with them. By 1907 these churches had gained sufficient strength to organize themselves into the National Primitive Baptist Convention. However, their rate of

growth was far below that of the National Baptists. Still smaller in numbers and influence were the United American Freewill Baptists. Today, both the Primitive and Freewill Baptists still constitute a minority presence among African-American Baptists.

The question of missions also played a major role in a split at the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. In 1897 a controversy erupted at the annual session of the convention, convening that year in Boston. The major issues in dispute were the financial administration of foreign mission programs and cooperation with white Baptists. The majority opinion favored the fiscal policy of the convention and the exclusive operation of the denomination independent of white Baptist influence.

However, a minority of delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, and several other Atlantic Coast states, as well as Washington, D.C., decided to organize a separate missionary society that, with white support, was designed exclusively to advance a foreign mission enterprise. They met at the Baptist Church, in Washington, D.C., and organized the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention. These leaders adopted a constitutional provision requiring at least 75 percent of all funds collected by the convention to be sent to foreign missions.

The great break within the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. came during its formative years, in 1915. Efforts to maintain unity and harmony within the convention had previously posed vexing challenges to church officials. Unlike the crisis that led to the Lott Carey Convention movement, the crisis of 1915 was primarily a legal problem regarding the ownership and management of the National Baptist Publishing Board, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee. Signs of dissent within the leadership of the convention were apparent for almost a decade before the actual separation of 1915.

The crisis came to a head during the annual session in Chicago. It took the form of a legal struggle between two groups: the majority, who supported convention control of the publishing board, and those who favored the independence of the publishing board as a separate corporate entity. The court decided in favor of the majority, and unity between the factions could not be restored. The result was the organization of a new denomination. The majority faction incorporated as the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc; the minority group met on September 9, 1915 at the Salem Baptist Church and organized the National Baptist Convention of America. It is now called the National Baptist Convention of America. Members of the publishing board played the key role in the development of the new denomination, which has policies similar to those of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

Progressive National Baptist Convention

The Progressive National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., organized in 1961, grew out of a major crisis within the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., relating to the issues of tenure and civil rights strategies. Joseph H. Jackson, the president of the National Baptist Convention, was opposed to the civil rights agenda of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and related organizations. He was opposed by Gardner C. Taylor, pastor of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York, and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the SCLC.

The initial struggle erupted in 1961 when Taylor challenged Jackson's bid for re-election to the presidency on the grounds that Jackson had exceeded the tenure requirement. The challenge was marked by violence, controversy, and a legal battle. The "Taylor team" was determined to defeat Jackson and plan a new course for the convention. However, Jackson's popularity prevailed in the vote on the floor of the convention and was upheld in a civil court. The Taylor team did not accept this defeat, however, since they were determined to lead African-American Baptists in a new and progressive direction, especially in the area of civil rights.

On September 11, 1961, a national news release invited progressive-minded leaders to join forces with the Taylor team and organize a new denomination named the Progressive National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. The new denomination promoted the civil rights program of Martin Luther King, Jr. and launched a program of cooperation with the largely white American Baptist Churches, U.S.A. The new program was called the Fund of Renewal, designed to promote specialized mission projects.This program also engendered a new spirit of cooperation between African-American and white Baptists.

Black Baptist churches were one of the anchors of the civil rights movement, with Baptist ministers such as Vernon Johns, Benjamin Mays, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Martin Luther King Jr., David Abernathy, and Gardner Taylor in the forefront of the struggle for black equality. The contribution of black Baptists to the civil rights movement, and the inspiration that it has provided to both Americans and oppressed people elsewhere, is one of the greatest legacies of twentieth-century African-American Baptists.

The vast majority of African-American Baptists have been strong supporters of foreign missions. Early pioneers of the missionary enterprise, besides Lott Carey (1780–1829) and George Liele, were Prince Williams and W. W. Colley. These men set the stage for an aggressive missionary program in India, Africa, Central America, and the

Olivet Baptist Church. The Chicago church, founded by Samuel McCoy and John Larmon in 1850, was originally called Zenia Baptist Church. Photograph from Souvenir of Negro Progress: Chicago, 1779–1925 (1925) by John Taitt. GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

West Indies. With the rise of foreign missions boards among the denominations, African-American Baptists developed a sophisticated approach to the evangelization of non-Christians. They developed schools, hospitals, clinics, and agricultural projects, and they established new churches in various parts of the world. The Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention pioneered the movement to utilize indigenous people in leadership positions in foreign missions, which facilitated the philosophy of self-help and independence among peoples in developing nations. Many of the leaders within these nations came out of the missionary agencies.

One of the important changes in the black Baptist church since the 1960s has been the changing status of women. Nannie Helen Burroughs (1883–1961), through her longtime leadership of the Women's Convention Auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention, was a dominant figure in twentieth-century African-American Baptist life. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, however, women were not allowed to be preachers or to take active roles in church leadership. The Baptists were slow to ordain women for the ministry; black women were not ordained until the 1970s, and even then only in small numbers. Other leadership roles were also denied to women, such as that of deacon. The bias against promoting women to positions of prominence in the Baptist has changed, however, although too slowly for many.

Education

The ministry of education of African-American Baptists has been in the forefront of the cooperative programs of associations, state conventions, and national conventions. The Civil War marked the beginning of strong cooperative strides among local churches to advance the intellectual development of blacks. Many churches served as schools during the week and houses of worship on Sundays. Moreover, local associations organized schools in many of the rural areas and small towns of the South. With the rise of public education, most of the associational secondary schools were closed.

The development of higher education for African Americans, however, has been among the lasting contributions of African-American Baptists. The magnitude of the task prompted African-American Baptists to cooperate with whites in the development of schools of higher learning. This evolution may be classified into two groups: cooperative schools with whites, and independent African-American schools. There are a number of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) that were founded with Baptist support. These colleges, most of which were created in the South in the postbellum years, had two main purposes. Some of these schools were seminaries and helped train young men for the ministry. An even more pressing task in the minds of many of the college founders was to create a cadre of teachers who could, in turn, educate freedmen in primary schools. However, due to funding problems, many of the Baptist HBCUs functioned as little more than secondary schools in their early decades.

Many Baptist HBCUs were founded by whites, one of the driving forces being the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS). Wayland Seminary, the first seminary for black Baptists, later incorporated into Virginia Union University, opened in Washington, D.C., in 1865. Another root of the Virginia Union University was the Richmond Theological Center, founded in Richmond, Virginia, also in 1865. Other HBCUs founded by white Baptists include Shaw University (originally Raleigh Insti-

tute, 1865) in Raleigh, North Carolina; Morehouse College (originally Augusta Institute, 1867) in Atlanta, Georgia; Spelman College (originally Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, 1881) in Atlanta; Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina (1870); Jackson State University (originally Natchez Seminary, 1877) in Jackson, Mississippi; and Florida Memorial College (originally Florida Baptist Institute, 1879) in Miami.

Many of these schools represent substantial efforts by white Baptists in the intellectual development of African Americans. They financed, administered, and staffed most of these schools, and only gradually did African-American Baptists assume responsibility for directing the schools. A number of schools were founded by African-American Baptists, but, because of problems with funding, they faced severe operating difficulties and had to close. The first independent African Baptist school of higher learning founded by black Baptists was Guadelupe College in Seguin, Texas. Others appeared in rapid succession: Houston College at Houston, Texas (1885); Walker Baptist Institute in Augusta, Georgia (1888); and Friendship Baptist College in Rock Hill, South Carolina (1891). Only Morris College in Sumter, South Carolina (1908)remains open in the early twenty-first century.

In the early twentieth century, Baltimore became a center of Baptist seminaries. The Colored Baptist Convention of Maryland organized Clayton-Williams Academy and Biblical Institute in 1901; the Maryland Baptist Missionary Convention organized Lee and Hayes University in 1914; the Independent Colored Baptist Convention organized Williams and Jones University in 1928; and the United Baptist Missionary Convention organized Maryland Baptist Center and School of Religion in 1942. These Baltimore schools were largely the result of convention rivalry and survived only a few years. In 1921 two other schools were organized: Central Baptist Theological Seminary in Topeka, Kansas, and Northern Baptist University in Rahway, Nw Jersey. Both schools provided educated leadership for blacks, and many of the graduates have helped to advance the social, political, economic, and religious progress of African Americans. The Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, was formed in 1958 by a merger of a number of African-American seminaries, including the former Morehouse School of Religion.

Music and Liturgy

From the beginning of separate religious services, African-American Baptists utilized music in their worship. This music was an expression of the deep sentiment of the people as they reacted to the severe oppression of life in America. It grew out of the secular songs of plantation slave-labor gangs. As slaves were converted to Christianity, they incorporated their new religious beliefs into the songs of the plantations. The result was Negro spirituals. These songs played a major role in church life until the postbellum era, when Protestant hymns from the white religious experience began to become more important in church services. However, groups such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers (1871) sustained the spiritual tradition in the late nineteenth century. Their concert tours of Europe and America introduced spirituals to a new and highly receptive audience.

Gospel music has been one of the most important innovations in church services in the twentieth century. Thomas A. Dorsey, a pioneer gospel music composer, exponent, and instructor, was largely responsible for the introduction of gospel music in the worship of these churches. In 1932 the National Convention of Gospel Choirs was organized to promote the work of Dorsey in the churches. This organization encouraged the introduction of contests of choirs, quartets, and soloists in local churches. Two other major individuals contributed to the development of music in the religious experience of African Americans: James A. Cleveland, through his National Workshop Choir, and Glenn T. Settle, the originator of Wings Over Jordan, a nationally acclaimed chorus. Subsequently, most of the performing artists in the broader culture received training, inspiration, and exposure from serving in local church choirs and choruses. Currently, many African-American Baptist churches are influenced by recording artists on popular gospel music radio stations.

Similarly, drama has played a role in the development of African-American Baptist churches. African-American preaching itself emerged as a unique art form. The dramatic presentation of the sermon was characteristic of these churches; preachers literally acted out the contents of their messages to their congregations. Moreover, these churches served as the central stage for dramatic presentations of other performing artists in talent shows, plays, and pageants. The recitation of religious poetry became a component of the artistic expression of church programs.

Painting has been less influential in African-American Baptist churches, which have tended to accept white expressions of religious art. However, the Black Power and black theology movements altered the art works in the churches.In the late twentieth century, some churches, like New Shiloh Baptist Church of Baltimore, began developing Afrocentric murals of the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and scenes from African-American life and culture.

Because of the inherent autonomy of African-American Baptists, there remains much variety in size, po-

Group portrait of members of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, Birmingham, Alabama, 1902. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

litical involvement, and religious practice of independent congregations. Some of the larger urban churches—such as Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., Mount Olivet in Chicago, Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York, and the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem—have long been centers of community activity and have served as political bases for their pastors. On the other hand, small rural Baptist churches, while their numbers have declined, remain the backbone of numerous communities.

Since the 1930s, and with even more emphasis since the 1960s, many black Baptist pastors have emphasized the social aspects of their ministry. They have stressed social outreach, particularly working with disaffected teenagers and prison populations and discouraging drug use. Baptist churches represent the largest denominational group among African Americans, and they continue to shape black cultural, political, and spiritual life in countless ways. In 1990 there were approximately twelve million African-American Baptists. Black Baptists will likely continue to endure and change in response to the myriad challenges of contemporary African-American life.

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Burroughs, Nannie Helen; Carey, Lott; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Liele, George; Missionary Movements; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; Primitive Baptists; Protestantism in the Americas; Theology, Black

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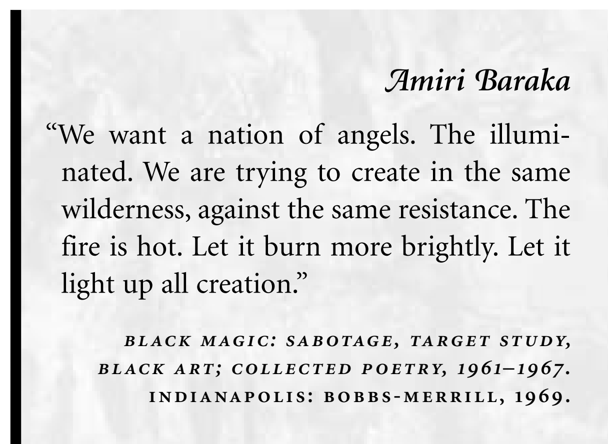

Amiri Baraka

"We want a nation of angels. The illuminated. We are trying to create in the same wilderness, against the same resistance. The fire is hot. Let it burn more brightly. Let it light up all creation."

BLACK MAGIC: SABOTAGE, TARGET STUDY, BLACK ART; COLLECTED POETRY, 1961–1967.
INDIANAPOLIS: BOBBS-MERRILL, 1969.

Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi)

October 7, 1934

Amiri Baraka, born Everett LeRoi Jones in 1934, first gained fame as a poet and playwright in New York's Greenwich Village and subsequently became the most prominent and influential writer of the black arts movement. Throughout his career Baraka has been a controversial figure, noted for his caustic wit and fiery polemics. In his poems, plays, and essays, he has addressed painful issues, turning his frank commentary upon himself and the world regarding personal, social, and political relations. As a stylist, Baraka has been a major influence on African-American poetry and drama since 1960; as a public figure, he has epitomized the politically engaged black writer.

Raised in Newark, New Jersey, Baraka attended Howard University and served briefly in the U.S. Air Force, an episode that his autobiography describes as "Error/Farce." As Baraka explains, his subscriptions to *Partisan Review* and other literary magazines led authorities to suspect him of communist affiliations, and he was "undesirably discharged." He subsequently moved to Greenwich Village, where he met and married another young writer, Hettie Cohen. They had two daughters, Kellie and Lisa. Baraka, known as LeRoi Jones in this period, gained notoriety in the Village literary scene, frequently publishing, reading, and socializing alongside Diane di Prima, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and other Beat movement figures. He and Cohen edited *Yugen,* an avant-garde literary magazine, and his book *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note* (1961) established him as a major voice among the new poets.

During this period he published his celebrated essay "Cuba Libre," a new journalistic travelogue about visiting Cuba shortly after that country's 1959 revolution. This essay marked the beginning of his movement toward radical politics and away from his bohemian associates. His early political essays were eventually collected in *Home* (1966). Similarly, his book *Blues People* (1963) introduced his continuing interest in jazz as a key to African-American culture. Baraka's plays of this period, emotionally intense and quasi-autobiographical, culminate with *Dutchman* (1964), an Obie winner that remains his most famous and admired work. *Dutchman* explores the manic tension and doomed attraction between a black man and a white woman riding in the New York subway. Like *The Slave* (1965) and his second volume of poems, *The Dead Lecturer* (1965), this work reflects the racial anxieties that would soon estrange him from his white wife and Village friends.

After the assassination of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965, LeRoi Jones abandoned his family, moved to Harlem, and changed his name to Imamu Amiri Baraka (Blessed Priest and Warrior). Entering a period of intense black cultural nationalism, he directed the Black Arts Repertory Theater and School in Harlem while continuing to publish prolifically throughout the late 1960s. His important books of this period include *Black Magic Poetry* (1969), *Four Black Revolutionary Plays* (1969), *Raise Race Rays Raze* (1971), and *Black Music* (1968). Many of these works attack whites and assail Negro false consciousness, advocating an authentic black identity as the prerequisite to political liberation.

In the 1970s Baraka renounced cultural nationalism, dropped "Imamu" from his name, and embraced what he called "Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought." His subsequent writing has remained in a Marxist mode but with a strong African-American and third-world orientation. Some of these later works lapse into schematically pedantic social commentaries and crude, unimaginative polemics. At his best, however, in long poems such as "In the Tradition" and "Wailers," Baraka demonstrates his con-

tinuing brilliance, combining music, sports, and political struggle into a densely realized vision of African-American culture as a triumphant, complexly expressive tradition.

In August, 2001, Baraka was appointed poet laureate of New Jersey, an acknowledgement that was generally celebrated by the literary community. However, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Baraka published a long, apocalyptic, polemical poem called "Somebody Blew Up America," which incited fiery controversy, due to its political content—especially its innuendoes that the Israeli government had foreknowledge of the attacks. Baraka was asked to resign his laureateship. He refused, and a year later, the New Jersey general assembly abolished the post. Regardless, Baraka remains unapologetically committed to his vision of the poet as activist and provocateur.

See also Black Arts Movement; Malcolm X

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Updated by publisher 2005

Barbadoes, James G.

c. 1796
January 22, 1841

Little is known about the birth or early life of the abolitionist James Barbadoes. By 1830 he was living in Boston and had emerged as a leader of the Boston African-American community, supporting himself as a clothes dealer and barber. He was a leader with David Walker in the Massachusetts General Colored Association, founded in 1826, and served as its secretary. In 1831 he was delegate to the Convention of the People of Color, in Philadelphia.

Barbadoes was an associate and admirer of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), and he named a son after him. He was one of three blacks among the founders of Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society, established in Philadelphia in 1833, and he served on its board of managers from 1833 to 1836. In 1834 he helped organize the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, where he spoke of his recent efforts to free his brother, Robert, from prison. A free man born in Boston Robert Barbadoes had been kidnapped in New Orleans, jailed, and threatened with slavery. It took five months of agitation by Barbadoes, and letters from the governor of Massachusetts, for him to be released.

Barbadoes was opposed to African-American colonization of Africa, and he publicly supported Garrison against conservative abolitionists within the American Anti-Slavery Society on this and other issues, including women's rights. However, after his involvement in a project in 1840 to recruit free black settlers to British Guiana, Barbadoes became interested in leaving the United States. Shortly afterward, he emigrated with his family and a group of other blacks to Jamaica, intending to farm silkworms. However, two of his children died of malaria soon after they arrived, and Barbadoes himself perished of the same disease the following year.

See also Abolition; Slavery

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Barbados Labour Party

Barbados in 1938 was a colony in the British Empire. The system of enslavement had ended in 1838, but the masses of black and brown people remained in a state of persis-

tent poverty. The white minority dominated politics and exploited the black majority. There was a clear need for mobilization of the people for collective action. Ethnic imbalances, class contradictions, and gender discrimination had to be challenged.

Throughout the English-speaking Caribbean workers were "on the march" in the 1930s. Disturbances took place in Barbados in July 1937. Many people agreed that significant change was urgently needed. Black politicians busied themselves with the formation of mass-based political parties and linked them to trade unions.

In Barbados on March 31, 1938, seven black progressive activists established the Barbados Labour Party (BLP). From the beginning, lawyers were prominent in the BLP. As a result, close attention was paid to constitutional forms within the party and also on the wider political scene. The political culture of Barbados was irreversibly transformed. Grantley Herbert Adams (later Sir Grantley Adams) was soon chosen as political leader. The movement established branches in all eleven parishes of the island. Its ideology was necessarily left of center, challenging the conservatism of the white planter-merchant oligarchy.

The BLP was a "historic necessity." The needs of the masses were great. In 1937 only 3.3 percent of the people had the right to vote—6,299 out of a population of 190,000. The extension of the franchise had to be a priority. The BLP became a voice for the voiceless. The party launched a campaign of political education in order to raise the political consciousness of the people and mobilize support. The weekly newspaper the *Beacon* was among the agencies used to spread the word.

Rival parties included the West Indian National Congress Party (1944–1956), the Barbados Electors Association (renamed the Progressive Conservative Party and later the Barbados National Party), and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) from 1956.

The BLP manifesto for the 1944 general election, just four pages, was optimistically entitled *Labour Looks Forward.* This election produced the striking outcome that the BLP, the Congress Party, and the Electors Association each won eight seats. But support for the BLP steadily increased. In 1948 it won twelve of the twenty-four seats.

In 1943, for the first time, some women who were eligible had gained the right to vote. Eventually, in 1951 all adults gained the franchise. Ermie Bourne became the first woman to be elected to Parliament. Women have continued to advance in the party and in the society.

In preparation for the West Indies Federation, the BLP joined with other regional progressive parties to create the Federal Labour Party. In Barbados the BLP won four of the five federal seats. Grantley Adams, leader of the BLP, became the prime minister of the federation. While he was out of office, the BLP was in opposition as the minority party from 1961 to 1976.

Circumstances led the DLP government to seek political independence for Barbados alone. The Colonial Office agreed on November 30, 1966. There was to be a general election on November 3. The BLP manifesto solemnly declared: "This election is the most momentous election in the history of the Barbados Labour Party because it is the most important in the history of Barbados." But the Democratic Labour Party retained office. Barbados was no longer a colony but an independent, sovereign state. Coincidentally, the election of 1966 was the first one in which no white person was elected to the legislature.

It was not until September 1976 that the BLP returned to office. At the helm was John Michael Geoffrey Manningham ("Tom") Adams. The BLP won seventeen seats and the DLP seven. The pamphlet *Achievements* summed up the era as follows: "The B.L.P. Governments of 1976–86 were reformist, socialist and visionary. They transformed the social and economic landscape at great pace" (Simmons, 1998, p. 14). The inherited economy based on sugar monoculture was modernized. Economic diversification was pursued with tourism, manufacturing, offshore companies, and service industries.

The party published the booklet *The Promises We Make, We Perform: Promises & Performance, 1981–1986.* Nevertheless, at the general election of 1986 the BLP won only three seats. This was the low point in its fortunes. It at once embarked on a rebuilding process.

The fiftieth anniversary of the BLP was marked by a series of activities, and the *Advocate* newspaper published a sixteen-page supplement in the *Sunday Advocate* of October 30, 1988. The sixtieth anniversary saw the publication of the pamphlet *Achievements of the Barbados Labour Party (1938–1998)*, compiled and edited by David A. C. Simmons and his team of writers.

In the 1991 general election the BLP improved its performance, winning ten seats. Then in 1994 the BLP succeeded in so challenging the DLP government that a general election was called, and the BLP won nineteen of twenty-eight seats, returning to office. Owen Seymour Arthur became prime minister.

Ten years later, the 66th Annual General Conference was held in October 2004. The brochure by this time had grown to 104 pages. By a process of nation building, the colony of 1938 has been transformed into a community that is approaching the status of "developed," as seen in the annual United Nations Human Development Index. The BLP is clearly dedicated to the economic and social

development of Barbados as a community where social justice is pursued by all the social partners—government, trade unions, employers' associations, churches, and civil society.

See also Adams, Grantley; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean; West Indies Federation

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ANTHONY DE VERE PHILLIPS (2005)

Joaquim Benedito Barbosa Gomes, Brazil's first black Supreme Court Justice in 2003. © REUTERS/CORBIS

Barbosa Gomes, Joaquim Benedito

October 7, 1954

The Brazilian Supreme Court justice Joaquim Benedito Barbosa Gomes was born in Paracatu, Minas Gerais, the oldest of eight children. The son of a brickmaker, Barbosa Gomes left the tiny town of Paracatu at age sixteen to finish secondary school in the capital city of Brasília. In order to support himself, Barbosa Gomes worked as a janitor for the Regional Electoral Tribunal. One day, while cleaning a restroom, one of the court directors heard him singing in English. Impressed with his command of the language, the judge arranged to get him a job as an offset printer at the newspaper *Correio Braziliense*. Barbosa Gomes used his skill as a printer to buy a car, help his family, and continue his studies. He eventually earned entry into the University of Brasília. Working nights at the congressional printing service, he took classes in the mornings and slept briefly in the afternoons. In 1976 Barbosa Gomes passed Brazil's Office of the Chancellery exam and began working as an overseas consular official, serving in Finland, England, and Switzerland. Even as he was engaged in his consular work, Barbosa Gomes continued his university studies, earning his law degree in 1979. Barbosa Gomes had aspirations of becoming a diplomat, but he was denied entry into the diplomatic corps, allegedly because of racial discrimination—he passed all of his written exams but could not pass the interview stage. Barbosa Gomes began his legal career in 1979, working as a lawyer for the Ministry of Finance. He served as chief legal counsel for the minister of health from 1985 to 1988. Until 2003 he served as public prosecutor before the Federal Regional Tribunals of Brasília and Rio de Janeiro.

As he embarked on his career in law, Barbosa Gomes continued his wide-ranging education. He mastered four foreign languages—French, English, German, and Italian. In 1993 he completed a Ph.D. at the University of Paris II, specializing in comparative constitutional law. He is the author of two books, *La Cour Suprême dans le système poli-*

tique Brésilien (The Supreme Court in the Brazilian political system, 1994) and *Ação afirmativa & princípio constitucional da igualdade: O direito como instrumento de transformação social. A experiência dos EUA* (Affirmative action and the constitutional principle of equality: The law as instrument of social transformation—The experience of the United States, 2001). He has worked as a visiting professor of law at UCLA and Columbia University and has been the recipient of several prestigious fellowships, including ones from the Fulbright Program and the Ford Foundation. Barbosa Gomes also has served various organizations as a consultant on human rights issues, with an emphasis on combating racial discrimination.

For much of his career, Barbosa Gomes has been a strong advocate for equal rights and racial equality in Brazil. He has criticized Brazil for being more racially and socially polarized than the United States or Europe. Indeed, he points to the history of affirmative action in the United States as a model that Brazil might follow in trying to narrow inequalities of opportunity for minorities and poor people. He has also defended racial quotas in the most flagrant cases of inequality, such as in hiring practices and in university admissions. In 2003, amid a controversy over new laws requiring racial quotas at state universities, the Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva nominated Barbosa Gomes to become Brazil's first black Supreme Court justice. Barbosa Gomes has vowed to continue his support of legal remedies for social and racial inequality.

See also Politics; Race and Education in Brazil

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La Cour Suprême dans le système politique Brésilien. Paris: LGDJ/Montechrestien, 1994.

JAMES H. SWEET (2005)

Barnett, Marguerite Ross

May 21, 1942
February 26, 1992

Born in Charlottesville, Virginia, Marguerite Ross Barnett, an educator, grew up in Buffalo, New York. She received a bachelor's degree from Antioch College in 1964 and subsequently studied at the University of Chicago, where she received a doctorate in political science in 1972. A specialist in Indian and African-American politics, she taught at Princeton University, Howard University (where she also served as political science department chair), and Columbia University. In 1975 she published *Electoral Politics in the Indian States: Party Systems and Cleavages* and in 1976 *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India.* That same year she coedited *Public Policy for the Black Community: Policies and Perspectives*. In 1983 Barnett was hired by the City University of New York (CUNY) as vice chancellor of academic affairs and served in that post for three years. In 1985 she published *Images of Blacks in Popular Culture: 1865–1955,* a sociological study, and coedited *Race, Sex, and National Origin: Public Attitudes on Desegregation*.

In 1986 Barnett was named chancellor of the University of Missouri–St. Louis. A talented administrator, she succeeded in raising enrollment, firming up standards (including inaugurating an engineering program for undergraduates), and raising funds. She was active in community-based outreach, notably by periodic reports to the community, as well as the Bridge Program, an educational program for poor public school children that in 1991 won the Anderson medal from the American Council on Education as outstanding public school initiative of the year.

In 1990 Barnett was appointed president of the University of Houston, a thirty-two-thousand-student institution, becoming the first African-American woman to head a major university that was not a historically black college. There she continued her commitment to educational reform, offering a "Report to the Community" on the school's future and developing the Texas Center for University-School Partnerships in order to devote university resources to improving public education. In January 1992, suffering from hypoglycemia and cancer, she took a leave of absence from the University of Houston and traveled to Hawaii. She died there a month later.

Barnett's papers are housed at the University of Houston. A memorial scholarship was established in her name to help part-time working students.

See also Education in the United States

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Barrow, Errol

January 21, 1920
June 1, 1987

Errol Walton Barrow, Barbados's "Father of Independence," was born to Ruth and Reginald Barrow at St. Lucy, Barbados, on January 21, 1920. His formal education was at Wesley Hall Boys' School and later Harrison College, where he won the Island Scholarship in 1939. With the outbreak of World War II, Barrow abandoned plans for studies in theology in favor of military service in the British Royal Air Force, where he became navigator to the air chief marshal during the Allied occupation of Germany.

After the war Barrow worked briefly in the Colonial Office before pursuing studies at the University of London and the London School of Economics, where he came under the influence of the socialist intellectual Harold Laski, whose views influenced Barrow throughout his public career. In the meantime, Barrow married an American, Carolyn Plaskett, and the couple had two children, Lesley and David. In 1950 he was admitted to the bar in Britain before returning to Barbados, where his radical political views soon gained him membership in the Barbados Labour Party (BLP). He was elected as the senior member for St. George in the 1951 elections.

Barrow later broke with the BLP, amid rumors of an imminent "left-wing" takeover of that party, after which he helped to form the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) in 1955. He was defeated in the 1956 elections, but won a by-election to the constituency of St. John in 1958, which remained his political bailiwick until his death.

The DLP won the general elections of 1961. This placed Barrow at the center of the politics of Barbados and the Anglophone Caribbean for the next fifteen years. He was engaged in the most important national and regional developments of the Anglophone Caribbean during this period. He introduced free education from primary school to university. His aerial "discovery" of a fifty-acre parcel of land at Cave Hill while flying himself over Barbados in search of a site for the third campus of the University of the West Indies, is now part of the lore of that institution. Cave Hill is today the only campus with a view of the Caribbean Sea. Barrow lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen and modernized Barbados's national electoral system. His governments also made important strides in the development of a National Health Service and social security system.

Perhaps most important, Barrow accelerated the process of independence for Barbados after the dissolution of the British West Indies Federation in 1962. After successfully challenging Barbados's colonial establishment, Barrow became the first prime minister of independent Barbados as a Westminster-model constitutional monarchy in the British Commonwealth on November 30, 1966. Later, Barrow pulled Barbados out of the Eastern Caribbean Currency Authority and issued the Barbados dollar instead.

During Barrow's tenure Barbados gained membership in both the United Nations and the Organization of American States. After the demise of the federation, Barrow was one of the original signatories of the treaty establishing the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) in 1968, an organization that later evolved into the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) in 1973, where he also signed the Treaty of Charuaramas on Barbados's behalf on July 4, 1973. In 1972 he was among the leaders of the Anglophone Caribbean who established diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Barrow and the DLP lost the elections of 1976. He spent a decade in the political wilderness, during which he spent time in opposition politics and supervised the construction of the DLP headquarters. He also condemned the American invasion of Grenada in 1983. Barrow and the DLP returned to power in 1986, but after a year, his unexpected death brought an end to his political career.

Barrow was socialized in a family that placed strong emphasis on leadership and public service. In a public career lasting nearly four decades, Barrow and the DLP managed to seize control of the state apparatus in order to allocate its resources for the benefit of the greatest number of Barbadians. This is particularly evident in the areas of education, public housing, tourism development, industrialization, and the general physical infrastructure, which brought Barbados out of the obvious vestiges of its colonial past and irretrievably set it on the path of social development that the country enjoys today.

In recognition of Barrow's contribution to the development of modern Barbados, his likeness appears on the $50 banknotes. His birthday is now a national holiday in Barbados, and in 1998 he was declared a National Hero.

See also Barbados Labour Party

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Barrow, Joseph Louis

See Louis, Joe

Barrow, Nita

November 15, 1916
December 19, 1995

The sister of one Barbados' national heroes, the cousin of a second, and the niece of a third, Ruth Nita Barrow was born at Nestfield, Saint Lucy, Barbados, the second child and first daughter of the five children born to Reginald and Ruth O'Neale Barrow. Her father, an Anglican clergyman, worked in several Caribbean territories.

In 1928 she was among the first seventy-nine entrants at St. Michael's Girls' School, the first secondary school for black girls in Barbados, graduating in 1934 with a grade one senior school certificate.

Against the wishes of her relatives, in 1935 Barrow enrolled as a student nurse at the Barbados General Hospital, and in midwifery training in Trinidad and Tobago five years later. Following social unrest in many of the islands in the 1930s, the British government allocated greater resources to public health and provided greater employment opportunities for British Caribbean women, particularly in the field of nursing. This policy decision facilitated both Barrow's studies and her career.

Barrow's sense of social justice, which was already evident during her years as a student nurse, was developed in Trinidad and Tobago, where among other activities she became a member of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).

A fellowship at the University of Toronto in 1941 led to other opportunities. An impressive year's work culminated in her being class valedictorian and led to another year's scholarship to study nursing education. This included field work in Jamaica, which led to an appointment there as assistant instructor with the School of Public Health. Barrow became the founder and president of the Nurses Association of Jamaica and a board member of the Jamaica chapter of the YWCA. She later became the first person from the English-speaking Caribbean to be elected to the executive committee of the YWCA World Council.

A fellowship at the Royal College of Nursing at Edinburgh led to a postgraduate course at the Royal College of Nursing at London for training as a ward sister. In 1954 Barrow became the first West Indian matron of the teaching hospital of the University College of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica. After two years she left to become the first principal nursing officer of Jamaica, the first time in Commonwealth history that the post had been created. She held this position for six years.

Barrow completed a bachelor's degree in nursing at Columbia University, in New York City, in 1963. Contacts there led to an appointment with the Pan-American Health Organisation (PAHO) to direct a survey of Caribbean nursing schools. Visiting each territory enabled her to increase her already large number of contacts throughout the region. After the project was completed, Barrow continued with PAHO as nursing director.

In 1976 Barrow became the first woman and first black director of the Christian Medical Council and the first black president of the World YWCA; she was also awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University of the West Indies.

In 1980 Barrow was made a Dame of the Order of Saint Andrew and Saint George for "extraordinary and outstanding achievement and merit in service to Barbados and humanity at large." An early supporter of the International Council on Adult Education, she was elected president of that body in 1982. This resulted in the creation of the Dame Nita Barrow Award for organizations making significant contributions to the empowerment of women through adult education.

In 1985 Barrow was the only woman member of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons to visit South Africa to broker the transformation from apartheid to majority rule. She was convener of Forum '85, UN Decade for Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya, and was named West Indian of the Year by *Bajan* magazine.

In 1982 she was awarded an honorary doctor of sciences degree by McMaster University, in Canada. In 1986 Barrow was Barbados' representative to the United Nations. In 1987 she received the Caribbean Community's (CARICOM) Women's Award. In 1988 she received the CARICOM Triennial Award for her contribution to the development of women in the region. In 1989 the International Council of Nurses made her the second recipient of the Christiane Reimann Award.

In 1990 Dame Nita Barrow became the first woman governor-general of Barbados. She was a popular head of state until her unexpected death on December 19, 1995. In a long and successful public career, she used the nursing profession to advance the cause of women in Barbados, the Caribbean, and the world at large.

See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); University of the West Indies

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Barry, Marion

March 6, 1936

Civil rights activist and politician Marion Shepilov Barry was born to sharecroppers on a cotton plantation near Itta Bena, Mississippi. After his father's murder in 1944, Barry's mother moved the family to Memphis, Tennessee, and remarried. The family lived in poverty and often picked cotton in nearby Mississippi to earn money.

After graduating from high school, Barry enrolled at Le Moyne College in Memphis, where he became president of the campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1958 he graduated as a chemistry major and became a graduate student at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

At Fisk Barry led several successful student sit-ins against segregated facilities. His leadership led to his election in April 1960 as the first national chair of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He earned an M.S. in chemistry from Fisk that August and resigned as the chair of SNCC in November, although he remained a member of the group and participated on its executive and finance committees. Pursuing a doctorate in chemistry, Barry took courses at the University of Kansas (1960–1961) and at the University of Tennessee (1961–1964). He relinquished his graduate study to work full-time for SNCC.

In 1964 Barry was assigned to raise funds for SNCC in New York City; he was transferred to Washington, D.C., in June 1965, where he led protests against the Vietnam War, led a boycott against proposed fare increases on district bus lines, and helped organize the Free D.C. Movement aimed at placing control of the district's government in the hands of its black citizens. In August 1967 he helped establish Youth Pride, Incorporated, a self-help organization that created employee-owned businesses in the inner city and offered job training to poor black youths. After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968 and the subsequent riots in Washington, D.C., Barry worked to reform the city's economy in a way that would increase African-American control over some local businesses.

Barry's popularity as a political activist helped him get elected to the city's school board in 1971; he became president of the board a year later. In 1974, the first year in which a mayor and city council were elected under district home rule, Barry won a seat on the city council, where he fought against inner-city gentrification and wasteful municipal spending. Campaigning for mayor on these same issues in 1978 (and gaining public sympathy after an attempt on his life that March), Barry narrowly defeated incumbent African-American mayor Walter Washington for the Democratic nomination and won the election against Republican Arthur Fletcher. Barry was not the district's first African-American mayor; that distinction belonged to Washington, who was appointed mayor from 1967 to 1974 and elected mayor under home rule the following term. Barry's election was for many Washington citizens the culmination of the city's civil rights struggle.

Barry's three-term mayoral administration (1979–1991) was credited by many with successfully mediating group conflicts, balancing the city's budget, instituting a second financial accounting system, improving the city's bond rating, and enhancing delivery of city services.

At the same time, Barry's success was undercut by charges of fiscal mismanagement and corruption; in addi-

tion, there were allegations of cocaine use in his administration. In October 1990 Barry was convicted of cocaine possession and served a six-month prison sentence. The conviction sparked a controversy because the videotaped evidence against Barry suggested that he may have been the victim of entrapment. Barry and his followers charged the federal prosecutor, Jay Stephens, with conducting a racially biased prosecution. Barry's conviction split his constituency between those who remained loyal and those who felt he had outlasted his usefulness to Washington's black community.

As a result of the controversy, Barry did not run for reelection as mayor in November 1990, but he unsuccessfully ran for an at-large seat on the city council. His loyal followers returned him to a council seat in 1992, and with their support Barry entered the 1994 campaign to unseat incumbent mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly. Barry's cocaine conviction and questions about corruption in his administrations reduced his support among most whites and many middle-class African Americans, but he retained a large enough core of support among African Americans to win the election.

Following a controversial comeback campaign that played heavily on the theme of redemption, Barry was reelected mayor in November 1994, despite heavy opposition by whites and middle-class blacks. His last term was marked by scandals over political favoritism and the city's near-bankruptcy. During his fourth term, most of Barry's power was reassigned by Congress to a control board, and he did not seek reelection. In 2002 he sought a city council seat, but withdrew. Barry has been treated for prostate cancer, diabetes, and high blood pressure. In 2004 he was elected to a city council seat.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MANLEY ELLIOTT BANKS II (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Barthé, Richmond

January 28, 1901
March 6, 1989

Sculptor Richmond Barthé was born in Bay Saint Louis, Mississippi, to Richmond Barthé and Marie Clementine Roboteau. His father died at the age of twenty-two, when Richmond was only one month old. Left with a devoted mother whose influence on his early life and his aesthetic development was significant, Barthé credited her with providing experiences that nurtured his desire to become an artist.

At the age of twelve, Barthé's work was shown at a county fair in Mississippi. He continued to demonstrate his remarkable talent, and at age eighteen, having moved to New Orleans, he won his first prize, a blue ribbon for a drawing that he entered in a parish (county) competition.

In New Orleans Barthé's work attracted the attention of Lyle Saxon of the *Times-Picayune*. Saxon tried unsuccessfully to register Barthé in a New Orleans art school. The refusal was based on the young man's color rather than on his artistic ability. This early rejection made Barthé more determined than ever to become an artist of note.

In 1924, with the aid of a Catholic priest, the Rev. Harry Kane, Barthé, with little formal training and a great deal of ambition and talent, was admitted to the school of the Art Institute of Chicago. During his four years there he followed the curriculum designed for majors in painting. However, during his senior year he was introduced to sculpture by his anatomy teacher, Charles Schroeder, who also suggested that a better understanding of the third dimension might improve his knowledge of painting. This, according to Barthé, was the beginning of his long career as a sculptor.

In February 1929, following his graduation from the institute, Barthé moved to New York. The following two decades saw him build a reputation that would be the envy of many of his peers. The 1930s and 1940s would see him rise to great prominence and gain high praise for his work from both critics and collectors.

By 1934 Barthé was granted his first solo show at the Caz Delbo Galleries in New York City. Numerous other exhibitions and important commissions followed thereafter. His works were added to important collections such as the Whitney Museum of American Art (*African Dancer*), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and the Museum of the Art Institute of Chicago (*The Boxer*).

Barthé's commissions included a bas relief of Arthur Brisbane for New York's Central Park and an eight-by-eighty-foot frieze, *Green Pastures: The Walls of Jericho,* for the Harlem River Housing Project. Other commissions included two portrait busts and a garden sculpture for the Edgar Kaufman house (*Falling Water*), designed by architect Frank Lloyd Wright; a Booker T. Washington portrait bust for the Hall of Fame of New York University; an Othello modeled after Paul Robeson for Actor's Equity; and the General Toussaint-Louverture Monument, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

In 1947 Barthé moved from New York to Jamaica, West Indies, to escape the tense environment of big-city life, which was taking its toll on his creative energies. By this time he was considered to be one of the leading "moderns" of American art, but he decided to abandon this role at the peak of his career for the calm and peaceful countryside of rural Jamaica, where he lived until 1969. Barthé later traveled to Europe, where he spent several years enjoying the company of old friends and immersing himself in the art and culture of the Italian Renaissance masters Donatello and Michelangelo, whose works he revered and to whom he owed a great debt.

In 1976 Barthé returned to the United States. Following a brief stay in Queens, New York, he moved to Altadena, California, where he lived until his death in 1989.

See also Robeson, Paul; Washington, Booker T.

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SAMELLA LEWIS (1996)

Baseball

African Americans have been involved in baseball, or "base ball" as it was first known, since its earliest days. Some enslaved blacks on southern plantations played baseball during their time off from work, and there were scattered African-American amateur baseball players in the Northeast before the Civil War. Games were played in Brooklyn between the Colored Union Club and the Unknown Club in 1860 and also between the Unknown Club and the Monitors in 1862. African Americans also played for the Philadelphia Pythians, founded in 1867 by civil rights activist Octavius Catto and businessman and educator Jacob C. White, Jr. The Pythians sought admission to the National Association of Base Ball Players, but the nominating committee unanimously voted to exclude "any club which may be composed of one or more colored persons."

In the nineteenth century, black teams, which mainly had middle class members, competed with black and sometimes white teams. In 1869, the Pythians played and defeated the white Philadelphia City Items in a series of games, while the Brooklyn Uniques and the Philadelphia Excelsiors were matched for the "Championship of Colored Clubs." There were even interracial contests in New Orleans, where thirteen black clubs played in a tournament in 1875. By the late 1870s, a number of blacks played for white college nines, including Oberlin's Fleet and Weldy Walker, Marietta College's John L. Harrison, and Dartmouth's Julius P. Haynes. In the 1890s, James Francis Gregory served as captain for Amherst's nine, while his brother Eugene pitched for Harvard.

Early Professional Baseball

The National Association of Professional Baseball Players, established in 1871, never formally banned black teams and players, but it and its successor, the National League, formed in 1876, adhered to a tacit prohibition. Seventy-three African Americans competed at various levels of minor-league play during the nineteenth century. John "Bud" Fowler was probably the first black professional ballplayer, pitching for Lynn, Massachusetts in the International Association in 1878. Six years later he played for Stillwater, Minnesota, of the Northwestern League. In 1885 Fowler played for Keokuk, Iowa, in the Western League, and for Topeka of the same league one year later. He was released after pressure from white players led to the exclusion of blacks from that league. Writing of Fowler's predicament, *Sporting Life* commented: "He is one of the best general players in the country, and if he had a white face would be playing with the best of them . . . the poor fellow's color is against him. With his splendid abilities he would long ago have been on some good club had his color been white instead of black. Those who know say there is no better second baseman in the country."

In 1883, the Toledo, Ohio, team of the Northwestern League hired catcher Moses Fleetwood "Fleet" Walker. Walker, a minister's son from Steubenville, Ohio, had attended college at Oberlin and Michigan. That season, Adrian "Cap" Anson, player-manager of the National

League's Chicago White Stockings, threatened to cancel an exhibition game with Toledo if Walker played, but owner Albert G. Spalding wanted the guaranteed money, so the game was played. The next year, Toledo joined the American Association, a rival of the National League, and Fleet Walker became the first black major leaguer.

Walker faced enormous obstacles. Pitcher Tony Mullane later admitted that Walker "was the best catcher I ever worked with, but I disliked a Negro and whenever I had to pitch to him I used anything I wanted without looking at his signals." In Richmond, Virginia, six fans (using pseudonyms) wrote a letter threatening him with a beating by a mob of seventy-five men if he played. Walker was no longer on the team by then, and the threat went unchallenged. In fifty-one games, Walker batted .263, and he was praised for his catching. At the end of the season, brother Weldy Walker joined Toledo for five games. The two Walkers were the only African-Americans known to have played in the majors before Jackie Robinson.

In 1885 Fleet Walker played for Cleveland in the Western League and then Waterbury in the Eastern League. Two years later he joined Newark of the International League (IL), then just one step below the majors. There were seven African Americans in the IL, playing on six of the league's ten teams. The most notable of these players were pitcher George Stovey of Newark, who set an all-time IL record with 34 wins, and second baseman Frank Grant of Buffalo, considered the best black player of the nineteenth century. Grant batted .366 in 1887, leading the league in doubles, triples, and home runs.

However, black players in the IL faced widespread abuse from racist white players, management, and fans. Ballplayers feared that the presence of blacks would lower the status of their occupation and lower salary levels. They threw balls at African American players, and often spiked them on the base paths. Frank Grant allegedly developed wooden shin guards to protect his legs from injury by white base runners. White teammates gave wrong advice to blacks and shunned them off the field. Some white players even refused to pose with black teammates for pictures. The media reinforced the derogatory public image of black players. Pictures in *Harper's Weekly* depicted them as lazy and stupid, and *The Official Baseball Record* referred to them as "coons." In July 1887, the IL league's team owners bowed to pressure from white players, agreeing not to sign additional black players and limiting the active black players to two per team. There were no African Americans in the IL after 1889.

Several all-black professional teams were formed in the early 1880s, including the Philadelphia Orions and the St. Louis Black Stockings. The best of these clubs was the Cuban Giants, founded in 1885 by Frank Thompson, headwaiter at Babylon, N.Y.'s Argyle Hotel and his partner and team manager, S. K. McGovern, a headwaiter and journalist. The club, composed originally of hotel staff, called itself "Cuban" to alleviate prejudice (which was often less pronounced in the case of dark-skinned foreigners) and "Giants" after New York's National League team. The nickname became a common one among black teams, with ball clubs such as the Philadelphia Giants, the (New York) Lincoln Giants, and the Chicago Giants. In 1886 white businessmen Walter Cook and J. M. Bright owned the Cuban Giants. Players earned wages of $48 to $72 per month depending on their position (pitchers and catchers made the most, outfielders the least), good wages in comparison to what other black workers earned. The Cuban Giants played black teams, college squads, and even major league clubs, although the American Association champion St. Louis Browns backed out of a scheduled contest in 1887. In 1889, the Cuban Giants and another black team, the New York Gothams, were members of the otherwise all-white Middle States League. The creation of the six-team Southern League of Colored Baseballists in 1886 marked the first effort to form a black baseball league, but the arrangement lasted only a few games. The nine-team League of Colored Baseball Clubs was organized one year later, but disbanded after only one week.

In 1887, the same year the International League restricted blacks, "Cap" Anson refused to schedule a game with the Newark team of the International League if Stovey played. Newark complied, benching Stovey. At the time, conventional wisdom held that Anson was primarily responsible for pushing blacks out of organized baseball. However, it seems clear that Anson's actions merely reflected widespread white opinion. As *Sporting News* commented in 1889, "Race prejudice exists in professional baseball to a marked degree, and the unfortunate son of Africa who makes his living as a member of a team of white professionals has a rocky road to travel." That season the Cuban Giants and the Gothams of New York played in the otherwise all white-Middle States League. The last all-black team to play in a white League was the Acme Colored Giants of Celeron, N.Y. in the white Iron and Coal League in 1898. Overall seventy African Americans played in the white leagues in the nineteenth century. The last was Bill Galloway, who played five games in the Canadian League in 1899.

Black Baseball in the Early Twentieth Century

African Americans were big baseball fans and countless black youths played baseball at the turn of the century.

Cover of the first issue of the **Colored Baseball & Sports Monthly,** ***September 1, 1934.*** PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Prominent blacks ranging from activist Ida B. Wells to poet James Weldon Johnson were players or fans. It is not known if any African Americans passed for white and played in organized baseball. In 1901 Baltimore Orioles manager John McGraw tried to pass Charlie Grant as white during spring training, but his ruse was discovered, and Grant was released. Ten years later the Cincinnati Reds signed two Cubans, allegedly "Castilian," though one was dark skinned; and a few years later, the Reds hired another Cuban whose brother played on a Negro team. In 1916 pitcher Jimmy Claxton, of mixed black and Indian ancestry, played two games for the Oakland Oaks of the Pacific Coast League before being released.

Chicago established itself as a leading center of black ball with several fine semipro teams, most notably the Leland Giants, the best team in the otherwise all-white City League in the late 1800s. There were several black army teams, including a squad from the all-black 25th Infantry (later famous for its involvement in the Brownsville, Texas incident of 1906), which beat all comers in the Philippines. Collegiate ball clubs existed at Howard University and elsewhere since the era of Reconstruction. In the 1890s, Atlanta became a center of college baseball, with competing teams from local black colleges, including Atlanta Baptist Seminary (now Morehouse College), Atlanta University, Clark University, and Morris Brown College.

Players on the semipro black teams played well over 100 games, and earned up to $100 a month. They played on Sundays in their home city, and on other days "barnstormed," touring out of town, playing other black teams, college squads, town nines, and semipros. They played occasional post-season games against major leaguers and wintered in California. The top clubs included the Cuban Giants, Philadelphia's Cuban X Giants, and the Leland Giants, who went 110–10 in 1907 and vied for "The Colored Championship of the World." In 1911 star pitcher Andrew "Rube" Foster, nicknamed for outpitching New York Giants star Rube Marquard in an exhibition game, founded the outstanding Chicago American Giants with his white partner John Schorling. Three years later, J. K. Wilkinson, a white man, put together the powerful All-Nations team, which included African Americans, whites, Latinos, and Native Americans. In 1920, Wilkinson combined players from the All-Nations team with members of the black 25th Infantry Squad Army team to form the famous Kansas City Monarchs. Top players then included John Henry Lloyd, a shortstop for the Indianapolis ABC's who was dubbed "the Black Honus Wagner," and "Rube" Foster, who one year went 54–1 pitching for the Cuban X-Giants. Another star of that era was "Smokey Joe" Williams of the Lincoln Giants, who compiled a 6–4–2 record against white major leaguers in exhibition games, including a three-hit shutout against the National League champion Philadelphia Phillies in 1915.

The Negro Leagues

There were a couple of unsuccessful efforts to form a black league in the early 1900s. Then in 1920, Rube Foster, who had built the Chicago American Giants into a financially successful enterprise, formed the National Association of Professional Baseball Clubs (popularly known as the Negro National League). Foster's organizational genius and astute understanding of the promotional possibilities inherent in league play, plus his desire to wrest economic power and leadership over black baseball from white booking agents, led him to put together the first lasting Negro league. The league was composed of six teams located in midwestern cities with significant black populations. The association was intended to be entirely black-owned,

but the popular appeal of Wilkinson's Kansas City Monarchs led Foster to include that club also. The new league was an almost immediate success, with outfielders like Oscar Charleston of Indianapolis ("the Black Babe Ruth") and John Lloyd, and pitchers like "Smokey Joe" Williams and Wilbur "Bullet" Rogan of the Kansas City Monarchs.

The Negro National League (NNL) was challenged in 1923 by white booking agent Nat Strong, who created the Eastern Colored League with six teams, four white-owned, in eastern cities. After a period of mutual bad feeling and raids on each other's players, the two leagues observed a truce and organized a structure similar to that of white leagues, with champions of the two leagues competing in a black World Series. However, since ball clubs sometimes preferred lucrative barnstorming exhibitions to scheduled league games, teams played uneven numbers of games, so league standings were hard to determine. There was also a third league for black players in the 1920s, the short-lived Southern Negro League, which could not compete financially with the others. A few independent teams, notably Pittsburgh's Homestead Grays, refused to join the Negro Leagues but played exhibition games with league teams. The Eastern Colored League folded in 1928, and some teams were absorbed into the NNL.

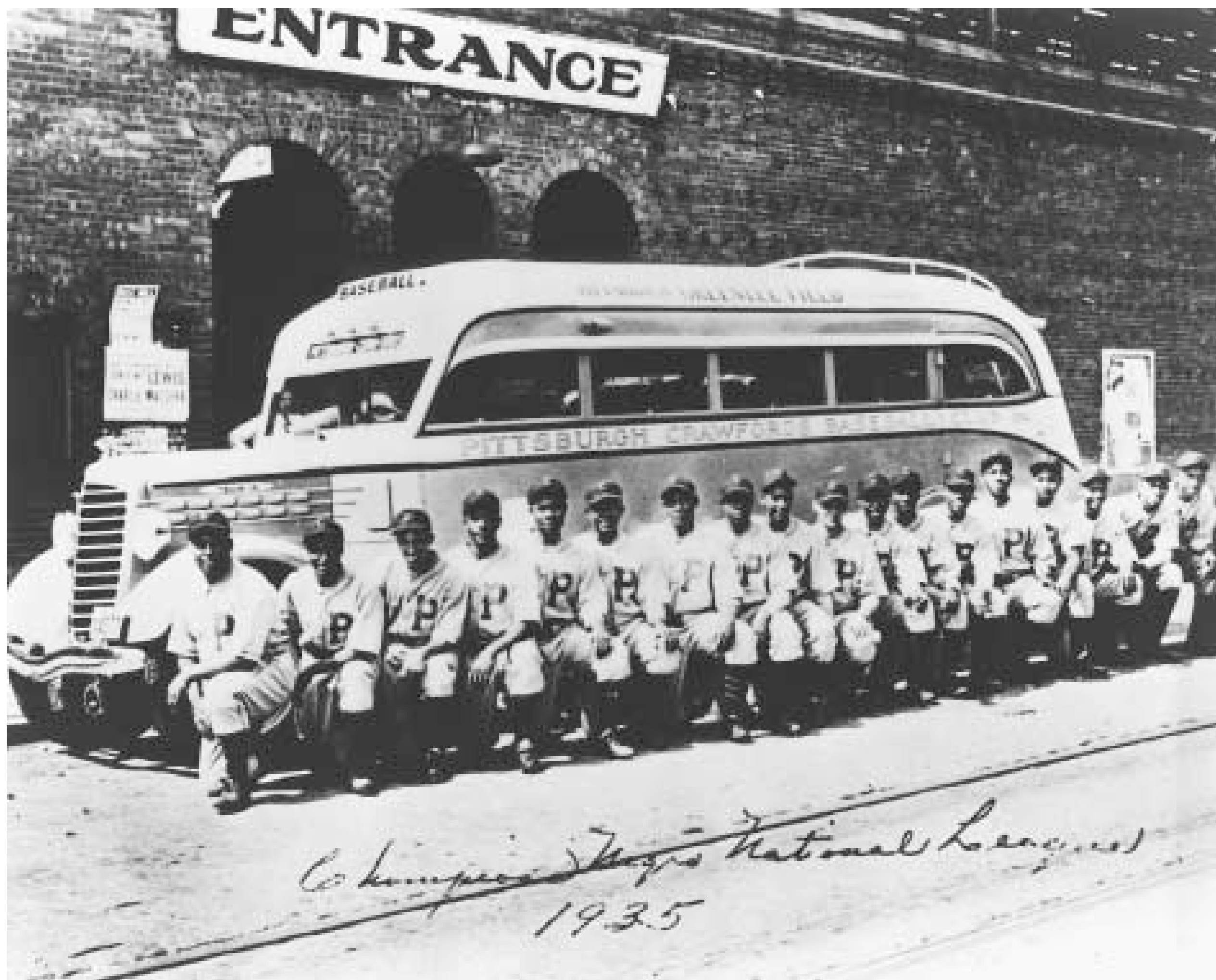
The Great Depression took a heavy toll on black baseball. The NNL, already weakened by Rube Foster's 1926 breakdown and his subsequent death in 1930, was unable to meet its debts and folded in 1931. During the following two years, teams disbanded or survived precariously as local semipro or touring barnstorming teams depended on white bookers for survival. Some players went to play in the Caribbean or Mexico.

In 1933, a new Negro National League, containing six teams (later eight), was reformed under the guidance of Gus Greenlee, a prosperous "numbers" (an illegal lottery) king in Pittsburgh who sought a legitimate investment for his money. Greenlee owned the Pittsburgh Crawfords and most of the other teams in the league were also owned by black numbers operators. Starting in 1934 the NNL played two half-seasons, and the winners of each half-season met in the Negro World Series. The Crawfords dominated at first, as the free-spending Greenlee recruited LeRoy "Satchel" Paige, Josh Gibson, Oscar Charleston, James "Cool Papa" Bell, and Judy Johnson, all future Hall-of-Famers, to play on his team, but other clubs eventually evened the balance of power within the leagues. In 1937, the six-team Negro American League (NAL) was organized. The NAL was mainly white-owned and included the Kansas City Monarchs, who had previously declined to join the revamped NNL. The NNL concentrated on eastern teams, with the NAL operating in the west. The respective league champions met each other in the Colored World Series. However, the biggest event in black baseball in the 1930s was not the Colored World Series but the East–West All-Star game, first played in Chicago in 1933, shortly after Major League Baseball held its first All-Star Game, also in Chicago at Comiskey Park. The annual event routinely attracted crowds of 30,000 to 40,000. This showcase event was covered nationally in the black press, especially the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier,* which featured extensive coverage of black baseball. The East–West game became a national social event for black Americans.

In the 1930s, the NNL season began in the south with a brief spring training, followed by barnstorming tours as clubs traveled north. The exhibition games furthered team development and strategy, were a necessary source of revenue, and helped cement the relationship between players and the local black populations. In April or May the teams arrived in their home cities and commenced league play. Black urban populations were not large enough to sustain more than a 70 game season, and the high unemployment rate during the Depression further hurt the gate. Black teams had to be innovative, and around 1932, the Kansas City Monarchs became one of the first teams to use portable lights for night baseball. Night games encouraged a larger black working class audience, appealing to many laborers who could attend games in the evening after work. League games were usually on the weekends, but teams traveled extensively during the week to bolster incomes with exhibitions throughout the season, sometimes playing three or four games per day. Clubs usually traveled by bus or in a caravan of cars, often over bad rural roads. Few black nines owned their own field, which created scheduling problems (although when business picked up in the 1940s, several teams were able to rent major or minor league ballparks.) When the season ended in September, or after the Colored World Series, the better Negro Leagues players went on to play in winter leagues in Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and California.

The Negro Leagues had a hard time surviving the poverty created by the Depression, and problems were exacerbated by mismanagement and poor planning. During the late 1930s the average player made $100 to $150 a month. Since they commonly played without formal contracts, players often jumped teams in search of better pay. In 1937 Gibson, Paige and Bell all left their teams to play in the Dominican Republic for the team sponsored by dictator Rafael Trujillo.

The Negro Leagues games were exciting to watch. While there were power hitters, most notably Josh Gibson of the Pittsburgh Crawfords and Homestead Grays, runs



The 1935 Pittsburgh Crawfords. *The Crawfords, a Negro Leagues baseball team that is considered among the greatest in the history of the sport, featured five (future) Hall of Fame members: Oscar Charleston, Judy Johnson, James "Cool Papa" Bell, Josh Gibson, and Leroy "Satchel" Paige.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

were often hard to come by. Games depended, more than in white leagues, on pitching, defense, and speed. Pitchers like "Satchel" Paige of the Kansas City Monarchs worked frequently and were reliant not only on speed but also on trick pitches to beat opposing teams. There was little money for equipment, so scuffed and loaded balls remained in play. The spitball and similar pitches, banned in the major leagues in 1920, remained legal in the Negro Leagues. Speed was also emphasized in Negro League play, and bunts, stolen bases, and hit-and-run plays were common strategies.

Another difference between white and black baseball was showmanship. Black players were conscious of their role as entertainers. Batters might begin their at-bat with their back to home plate, and then turn around to hit the ball. Satchel Paige was known to occasionally call in the outfielders, and then proceed to strike out the side. Paige was so popular that the Kansas City Monarchs raised revenue by loaning out Paige, who earned $37,000 in 1941, to other teams. The Indianapolis Clowns (previously the Ethiopian Clowns), an independent black team whose players clowned and pulled trick plays in the manner of basketball's Harlem Globetrotters, were such a financial attraction that despite their unserious reputation, they were invited to join the Negro American League in 1938.

By the 1940s, Negro League baseball was one of the most successful black businesses of the Jim Crow era. Good players could earn $300 a month, while superstar Josh Gibson got $1,000. The teams were profitable, earning about $5,000–$15,000 each in 1943, and boosted the

business of related black-owned enterprises. As a cultural institution, Negro League baseball was ubiquitous throughout black America. The games provided an important source of recreation and local pride, and were choice social events. The barnstorming tradition meant that teams played wherever there was a sizeable black population, and indeed in many places, such as in the Dakotas or the Canadian prairie provinces, the local populace's only contact with blacks was via the black teams that came to town every summer.

Despite the hard life and the rigorous travel and playing schedules that ballplayers had to endure, the leagues had a certain glamour. The players were popular heroes of the first magnitude in northern black communities. Black fans especially idolized them because of their victories over white players in exhibition games. They were also a particularly cosmopolitan group, akin to other black entertainers of the period. These celebrities were equally at home in the small-town rural world of the Deep South, staying in homes of local community members when they visited southern towns, and in the big cities of the North with their vibrant social and cultural life. Also, the many darker-skinned Latinos, such as Martin Dihigo and Luis Tiant, Sr., who played in the leagues gave them an international flavor, buttressed by the sojourns of Negro League stars in Latin America, where they mingled freely with the political and economic leadership of those countries like other celebrities.

The integration of professional baseball, beginning with Jackie Robinson in 1946, plus the coming of televised games, spelled the end of the Negro Leagues. Black fans made it clear that they preferred seeing their heroes compete in the newly integrated major leagues rather than in all-black leagues. As early as 1947, the Negro League teams on the eastern seaboard ("Jackie Robinson country") suffered severe financial losses as black fans deserted the Negro National League. The last East–West classic was played in 1950, and the NNL folded after the following season. The Negro American League, whose franchises tended to be in midwestern states, further from major league ball clubs, continued to play on a reduced schedule. In a move to increase attention in 1953, the NAL's Indianapolis Clowns signed a woman, Toni Stone, who played 50 games at second base and hit .253. During the 1950s, major league teams moved west and NAL teams could not compete financially for talented players. The NAL folded in 1960, and the Indianapolis Clowns returned to their independent status, touring small towns and playing semi-pro teams through the 1980s.

During the 1970s, African American and white interest in the Negro Leagues was awakened, partly by the book and documentary film *Only the Ball Was White* (1969). The Baseball Hall of Fame created a Negro League Committee, and 24 players out of an estimated 2,600 who played in the Negro Leagues have been inducted, including: Rube Foster, Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, Judy Johnson, Buck Leonard, Oscar Charleston, Monte Irvin, Martin Dihigo, Ray Dandridge, and John Henry Lloyd. In 1990, the Negro League Baseball Museum was created in Kansas City, Missouri, and the Negro Leagues Players Association was established in New York.

Integration

By the 1930s, major leaguers and baseball experts recognized the skill of Negro Leaguers, especially in exhibition contests against major league baseball players. A movement began in that decade to secure integration, promoted particularly by baseball writers. White journalists Westbrook Pegler, Jimmy Powers, and Shirley Povich recognized black prowess in baseball and the accomplishments of other black sportsmen such as Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, and called for integration. Black colleagues, including Wendell Smith of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* Sam Lacy of the *Baltimore Afro-American,* and Joe Bostic of the *People's Voice* (Harlem) were ardent advocates for integration. Communist writers, notably Lester Rodney, the white sports editor of the Daily Worker, also played a role in publicizing the issue. Civil rights activists demanded tryouts for Negro Leaguers, collected petitions, and picketed ballparks.

The Lords of Baseball did not support integration. Commissioner Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, a Midwesterner who served from 1920 to 1944, disingenuously maintained that there was no rule against blacks in organized baseball. He was long criticized as an ardent foe of integration, but recent scholarship has suggested that he was not a major factor in blocking integration, which was prevented primarily because of team owners. The baseball magnates worried that fans would lose interest in organized baseball if there was integration, that black players would be opposed by their white colleagues (while some players were racist, a poll of major leaguers in the late 1930s indicated that 80 percent did not object to integration), and that severe social problems would emerge, especially during spring training in the South. Furthermore, in 1943, Larry MacPhail, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers, claimed that integration would kill off the Negro Leagues, a valuable source of ballpark rental fees for many major league teams. This assertion was challenged by white Newark Eagles owner Effa Manley, the only female owner in the Negro Leagues, but many other Negro League owners

opposed integration, fearing rightly that it would destroy their business.

In 1943, at the annual baseball meetings, African Americans led by Paul Robeson were granted the opportunity to speak to owners about integration, but made no headway. That year, entrepreneur Bill Veeck tried unsuccessfully to purchase the Philadelphia Phillies, and later claimed he would have stocked the team with black players but that Landis had blocked the sale. However, recent scholarship disputes Veeck's assertion.

Ultimately, World War II tipped the balance, causing Americans to reevaluate the meaning of democracy. It was difficult to fight for freedom overseas while neglecting the same principles at home. Furthermore, when the major leagues, faced with a shortage of players, contracted players who would not normally be given a chance to compete, such as teenagers and handicapped players like one-armed Pete Gray, the exclusion of blacks seemed more glaring. Judge Landis's death in December 1944 removed an important obstacle to integration. The new commissioner, former Kentucky governor and senator Albert "Happy" Chandler, was subjected to pressure for integration from labor unions, civil rights leaders, and politicians. On opening day in 1945, one banner outside Yankee Stadium read, "If We Can Stop Bullets, Why Not Balls?" The demonstrations led to several tryouts for black players but no jobs. In Boston, Alderman Isadore Muchnick threatened to block the Red Sox's Sunday baseball license unless they held tryouts for black players. The tryouts were held, but were a sham.

In the summer of 1945, the crucial first step toward integration was taken by President Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers. He secretly investigated Negro League talent under the guise of scouting for a new Brooklyn Brown Dodgers Negro League team. Rickey knew that the first African American in the majors had to be an excellent all-around athlete who could maintain a high level of performance despite certain abuse and pressure, and decided that the best candidate was Jackie Robinson of the Kansas City Monarchs, a good player though hardly a star. Robinson grew up in an interracial community in California, where he had been an outstanding all-around athlete and an All-American football player at UCLA. Furthermore, he had been an officer in the Army, and was married. After a stressful interview with Rickey, in which he promised not to challenge racist attacks, Robinson was signed on October 33, 1945. Rickey's action was unanimously opposed by other club owners.

In 1946, Robinson played professional baseball for the Montreal Royals, the Dodgers' top farm team. Spring training in Florida proved a trying experience, as Robinson had difficulty finding meals and accommodation and was once even ordered off the field by a local sheriff, but when the club moved north conditions eased. For a time, he was joined by John Wright and Roy Partlow, Negro League veterans, but they were eventually demoted to Trois Rivières, Quebec (Class C). Robinson was enormously successful, leading the Class AAA International League with a .349 batting average and in runs scored with 119. The Dodgers also had two other African-American minor leaguers, catcher Roy Campanella and pitcher Don Newcombe, who played for Nashua, N.H. (Class B).

In 1947, Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers following spring training in Cuba, where race relations were less hostile than in Florida. He encountered discrimination from teammates, who originally petitioned to keep him out. Rickey offered to trade any player who did not wish to play alongside Robinson. Opponents, particularly members of the Philadelphia Phillies and St. Louis Cardinals, threatened to strike, but were warned by Commissioner Chandler that any player who protested in that manner would be suspended. Robinson turned out to be a great gate attraction, and had a superb first year, despite being moved to an unfamiliar position, first base. He led the Dodgers to the National League pennant and won the first Rookie of the Year Award. A handful of other blacks also played that year, including pitcher Dan Bankhead for the Dodgers. Larry Doby, one of the Negro Leagues' top prospects, became the first African American in the American League when Cleveland Indians' owner Bill Veeck purchased his contract for $10,000 from the Newark Eagles in the summer of 1947. This purchase was an exception to the general pattern of uncompensated raids that major league clubs were beginning to make on Negro League teams, whose players had no reserve clause binding them to their teams. Later in the season, Henry Thompson and Willard Brown were briefly brought up by the St. Louis Browns to increase attendance, but neither did well and they were demoted after a month.

In 1948, the Dodgers called up Roy Campanella, and late in the season, the Cleveland Indians added forty-two year old pitcher Satchel Paige, a twenty-two year veteran of the Negro Leagues. Paige, like most other black players, took a substantial salary cut to compete in the major leagues. His contribution, however, was less significant than that of Doby, who batted .301 and helped lead the Indians to the World Championship.

The following year, Don Newcombe of the Dodgers was named Rookie of the Year, Jackie Robinson was named National League Most Valuable Player, and he, Doby, and Campanella made the All-Star teams. However, the major leagues had room only for stars and were not

Black major league baseball stars from the Brooklyn Dodgers and Cleveland Indians, pictured together at Ebbets Field in Brooklyn, July 24, 1950. *From left are Jackie Robinson, Larry Doby, Don Newcombe, Luke Easter, and Roy Campanella. In 1949, Robinson, Doby, Newcombe, and Campanella became the first blacks to play in Major League Baseball's All-Star Game.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

interested in older players, with the exception of Paige. There were blacks in every Class AAA and A league that year. However, many, including Ray Dandridge, an all-time Negro League star who hit .364 for Minneapolis (of the Class AAA American Association), started in leagues beneath their ability.

Within the next few years, lower minor leagues and other areas of organized baseball outside the South also integrated. Even the All-American Girls Baseball League discussed integrating its teams in the years before its demise in 1954. The integration of southern teams in the minors (there were no major league teams in the deep South until 1965) began in 1952 in Florida, the Upper South, and the Southwest, because of blacks' superior play and their ability to attract crowds. A major breakthrough occurred in 1953 when the Class A South Atlantic (Sally) League, which had teams in Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, integrated with three blacks, including Henry "Hank" Aaron with Jacksonville. The Cotton States League integrated in 1954, with blacks playing for Hot Springs, Arkansas, and Meridian, Mississippi. After the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision in 1954, race relations became more hostile in the South, and integrated baseball became a threat to white supremacy. Integration continued, however, though at a slower pace. By 1955, the only high-level minor league without blacks was the Southern Association (AA). Nat Peeples, who appeared in two games for Atlanta, was the only African American to play in the league, which disbanded in 1961. In 1957 Texas League nines were barred by Louisiana law from playing their black players in Shreveport. African-American fans responded by boycotting the league, with the result that the league dropped the Louisiana franchise.

The pace of integration in the major leagues was slow, and as late as September 1953, only six teams had black players. Many whites undoubtedly agreed with St. Louis

Cardinals owner Sam Breadon, who in the late 1940s expressed his belief that only a handful of black players could be talented enough to make the major leagues. Teams avoided hiring veteran black ballplayers, and sought only young men with star potential and a clean image. Players considered too proud or "uppity," like Yankee minor leaguer Vic Power, faced great difficulties. Between September 1953 and early 1954, six more teams integrated, but the champion New York Yankees refused to integrate until 1955, when catcher Elston Howard joined the team, and it was not until July 21, 1959, that the last holdout, the Boston Red Sox, brought Elijah "Pumpsie" Green to the majors. Once teams were integrated, they did not go out of their way to assure their black players service at restaurants and hotels. Players of different races were rarely roommates, and teams with more than one African-American player always roomed blacks together.

African Americans in Major League Baseball after 1960

In the years since integration, African Americans have starred in major league baseball. In the National League, the first of the two major leagues to integrate, African Americans soon won five straight Rookie of the Year Awards (1949–1953) and seven straight Most Valuable Player (MVP) Awards (1953–1959). Blacks and Latinos, most of whom had been too dark-skinned for the major leagues before integration, soon revolutionized the game, introducing an emphasis on speed and base running in addition to power hitting. Between 1949 and 2004, white players led the NL in stolen bases just four times, and in the AL only three from 1951–2004. Maury Wills broke Ty Cobb's record by stealing 104 bases in 1962, before his total was exceeded by Lou Brock, who stole 118 in 1974 and a record 938 during his career, which included 3,023 hits. Brock's records were exceeded in turn by Rickey Henderson, who set the single-season mark with 130 steals in 1982 and 1,406 total for his career.

Black African Americans and Black Latinos have won scores of batting titles, home run championships, and MVP awards. They have included four of the top five lifetime home run leaders: Henry Aaron, the all-time leader in home runs (755), runs batted in (2,297), and extra-base hits (1,477); Barry Bonds, seven time MVP, Willie Mays, and Frank Robinson, a Triple Crown Winner (1966) and the first player to win the Most Valuable Player award in both leagues. Among pitchers, in 1968 Bob Gibson attained a 1.12 ERA, by far the lowest since World War I, and is second all-time in World Series wins and strikeouts (holding the single-game World Series strikeout record of 17). Ferguson Jenkins won 284 games and amassed 3,192 strikeouts. By 2005, more than forty players of color had been inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Among North American blacks, representation in the major leagues reached its proportionate share of the national population in the late 1950s (12 percent). The first all-black starting team played for the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1967. The percentage of black Americans in the major leagues peaked at 27 percent in 1975. By 1995, blacks were down to 19 percent, and in 2002 were just 10 percent of all major leaguers. The waning African-American presence in baseball reflects reduced black interest in the sport.

Baseball, like other sports, has been an avenue of African-American social mobility. A study made during the late 1980s of major leaguers born since 1940 found that five-sixths of blacks (83.3 percent) had blue-collar backgrounds while three-fourths of white players came from white-collar backgrounds. Until the 1970s, black players generally earned less than white players of equal ability. By the mid-1980s, African-American players made more money per capita than white players, and race was no longer considered a factor in their compensation.

However, discrimination has continued in many areas. Blacks have long complained of informal team quotas and the fact that mediocre black players were removed from teams, while white nonstarters were retained. Blacks have also been slotted by position. Black pitchers and catchers (positions which are often considered centers of leadership and intellectual challenge) have been disproportionately rare.

Many blacks still consider racism prevalent in the baseball world. In the early 1970s, when Henry Aaron was challenging Babe Ruth's home run record, he received hate mail and racial threats. In the 1980s, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found that Boston Red Sox coach Tommy Harper was fired after he complained that the Florida country club, which served as the team's spring training headquarters, excluded blacks. In 1993 Cincinnati Reds owner Marge Schott was suspended for racial slurs. During the summer of 1998, when new season home run records were set, many blacks questioned whether the achievements of Chicago Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa, a dark-skinned Dominican, were being ignored by Americans due to racial factors.

Off-the-field opportunities in baseball have slowly improved. In 1966, Emmett Ashford became the first black umpire in the major leagues. The issue of blacks in management positions got considerable attention in 1987 from an interview with Al Campanis, Los Angeles Dodgers vice president for player personnel, on the ABC-TV show Nightline. Campanis questioned whether blacks had the "necessities" to be managers. The first black manager was

Barry Bonds

Perhaps best known as the holder of Major League Baseball's single season home run record (seventy-three in 2001), Barry Bonds has crafted one of the finest careers baseball has ever seen. A thirteen-time all star with seven Most Valuable Player awards—four more than any other National League player ever—and two batting titles, Bonds also holds the major league record for most consecutive seasons (thirteen) with thirty or more home runs, bested his own single-season records for on-base percentage (.582 in 2002, .609 in 2004) and walks, and surpassed Rickey Henderson as the all-time most-walked player.

In 2004 alone, Bonds drew 232 walks (120 intentional) while still managing to hit forty-five home runs in fewer than 400 at bats. That he hit with such little protection around him in the line up throughout much of his career made it unlikely that he would see many good pitches. Babe Ruth had Lou Gehrig hitting behind him and Mickey Mantle had Roger Maris. To some, this assessment combined with his numbers make Bonds a clear choice as most dominant offensive force in the game.

Some pundits argue that his offensive stats cannot be compared fairly with those of great players past—such as Babe Ruth—because of the allegations of Bonds using steroids in addition to claims of his playing during "the age of the home run." Like Babe Ruth, Bonds's success does not rest solely on one-dimensional talent, however. Bonds's arm and range in the outfield are excellent and he has frequently stolen extra-base hits from opposing teams because of his athleticism and speed. These talents earned him eight Gold Glove awards. Additionally, Bonds surpassed thirty stolen bases nine times in his career, stealing as many as fifty-two in 1990, though the frequency of thefts has declined. His speed on the basepath made him the charter member of the 500-homer/500-steals club. Manufacturing runs (2,070; seventh most all-time) with walks and steals helped his team to victory just as much as the long ball did.

In 1993 Bonds, along with family members, founded the Barry Bonds Family Foundation. Its mission is to promote and fund programs for African-American youth within San Francisco Bay Area communities. Bonds has been a supporter of several charities including, Homepage for the Holidays, which provides toys and gifts to low-income children on Christmas Day. He has also been involved in the Barry Bonds Bone Marrow Campaign to Celebrate Life and The Field O' Dreams Project.

Frank Robinson of Cleveland in 1975, who later managed in Baltimore, San Francisco, Montreal, and Washington, D.C. There have been a number of African American managers since, including Cito Gaston, who won the World Series with Toronto in 1992. In 2005 there were four black managers, Willie Randolph of the Mets, Dusty Baker of the Cubs, Robinson of the Expos, and Lloyd McClendon of the Pirates, and one black Latino manager, Felipe Alou of the San Francisco Giants, out of thirty major league baseball teams.

Regarding front office positions, 10 percent of all senior administrators in 2005 were black, including 5 percent of vice presidents. In 1990, Ellen Weddington of the Boston Red Sox became the first black female assistant general manager, and five years later, Bob Watson of the New York Yankees became the first black general manager. Blacks in administration are mainly in community relations (33 percent). The highest ranking black in MLB history was Bill White, president of the National League from 1989 through 1994.

Black interest in baseball has been declining over the last generation. A 1986 survey found that blacks made up just 6.8 percent of baseball spectators, less than either football (7.5 percent) or basketball (17.0 percent), both of which are professional sports with higher average ticket prices, but sports whose players are predominantly African American. Ironically, as African Americans have become dominant in other major sports, their level of participation in the sport that broke most social barriers has fallen dramatically.

See also Aaron, Hank; Great Depression and the New Deal; Howard University; Mays, Willie; Morehouse College; Paige, Satchel; *Pittsburgh Courier;* Robeson, Paul;

Robinson, Jackie; Related Maps, Graphs, or Tables in Appendix: African-American Members of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, N.Y.; Negro League Teams; Negro League Batting Champions; and First African-Americans Players on Major League Baseball Teams

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DONN ROGOSIN (1996)
STEVEN A. RIESS (1996)
Updated by Riess 2005

Basie, William James "Count"

August 21, 1904
April 26, 1984

Born in Red Bank, New Jersey, jazz pianist and bandleader William "Count" Basie took up drums as a child, performing at informal neighborhood gatherings. He began to play piano before his teens, and in high school he formed a band with drummer Sonny Greer. In 1924 Basie moved to New York, where he was befriended by two of the greatest stride piano players of the day, Fats Waller and James P. Johnson. Basie himself became a fine stride pianist, as well as a proficient organist, learning that instrument while observing Waller's performances at the Lincoln Theater in Harlem. Basie left New York in the mid-1920s to work as a touring musician for bands led by June Clark and Elmer Snowden, and as accompanist to variety acts such as those led by Kate Crippen and Gonzelle White. When White's group broke up in Kansas City in 1927, Basie found himself stranded. He supported himself as a theater organist, but more importantly, he also began performing with many of the southwest "territory" bands. In 1928 he joined bassist Walter Page's Blue Devils, and the next year he joined Bennie Moten's band in Kansas City.

After Moten's death in 1935, Basie took over the group, now reorganized as Count Basie and the Barons of Rhythm. Producer John Hammond heard the band on a 1935 radio broadcast from the Reno Club in Kansas City, and the next year brought the band to New York City. During this time the Basie band became one of the country's best-known swing bands, performing at the Savoy Ballroom, at the Famous Door on 52nd Street, and at the Woodside Hotel in Harlem, a stay immortalized in "Jum-

pin' at the Woodside" (1938). The band's recordings from this time represent the best of the hard-driving, riff-based Kansas City style of big-band swing. Many of these recordings are "head" arrangements, in which the horns spontaneously set up a repeating motif behind the melody and solos. Memorable recordings from this period include "Good Morning Blues" (1937), "One O'Clock Jump" (1937), "Sent for You Yesterday" (1937), "Swinging the Blues" (1938), "Every Tub" (1938), and "Taxi War Dance" (1939). In 1941 the Basie band recorded "King Joe," a tribute to boxer Joe Louis, which had lyrics by Richard Wright and vocals by Paul Robeson. In 1943 the band appeared in two films, *Stage Door Canteen* and *Hit Parade of 1943*.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Basie group was primarily a band of soloists. The leading members included tenor saxophonists Herschel Evans and Lester Young, alto saxophonists Buster Smith and Earle Warren, trumpeters Harry "Sweets" Edison and Wilbur "Buck" Clayton, and trombonists Eddie Durham and William "Dicky" Wells. Jimmy Rushing, Helen Humes, and Billie Holiday provided vocals. In the 1940s Basie also added saxophonists Buddy Tate and Don Byas, trumpeters Clark Terry and Joe Newman, and trombonists Vic Dickenson and J. J. Johnson. Throughout, the band's "all-American rhythm section" consisted of Basie, drummer Jo Jones, bassist Walter Page, and guitarist Freddie Green, who remained with the band for more than fifty years. Together, they provided the sparse and precise, but also relaxed and understated, accompaniment. Basie himself was one of the first jazz pianists to "comp" behind soloists, providing accompaniment that was both supportive and prodding. His thoughtful solos, which became highly influential, were simple and rarefied, eschewing the extroverted runs of stride piano, but retaining a powerful swing. That style is on display on Basie's 1938–1939 trio recordings ("How Long, How Long Blues" and "Oh! Red"). He also recorded on the organ in 1939.

With the rise of the bebop era, Basie had difficulty finding work for his big band, which he dissolved in 1949. However, after touring for a year with a bebop-oriented octet, Basie formed another big band, which lasted until his death. The "second" Basie band was very different from its predecessor. The first was famed for its simple and spontaneous "head" arrangements. In contrast, arrangers Neal Hefti, Johnny Mandel, and Ernie Wilkins, with their carefully notated arrangements and rhythmic precision, were the featured musicians of the second Basie band. The latter also had many fine instrumentalists, including saxophonists Eddie "Lockjaw" Davis and Paul Quinichette, Frank Wess and Frank Foster playing saxophone and flute, trombonist Al Grey, trumpeter Thad Jones, and vocalist Joe Williams.

Basie's second band toured extensively worldwide from the 1950s through the 1970s. Basie had his first national hit in 1955 with "Every Day I Have the Blues." Other popular recordings from this time include *April in Paris* (1955, including "Corner Pocket" and "Shiny Stockings"), *The Atomic Basie* (1957, including "Whirly Bird" and "Lil' Darlin"), *Basie at Birdland* (1961), *Kansas City Seven* (1962), and *Basie Jam* (1973). During this period the Basie band's popularity eclipsed even that of Duke Ellington, with whom they made a record, *First Time,* in 1961. The Basie band became a household name, playing at the inaugural balls of both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson and appearing in such films as *Cinderfella* (1959), *Sex and the Single Girl* (1964), and *Blazing Saddles* (1974).

In the 1980s, Basie continued to record, in solo, small-group, and big-band settings (*Farmer's Market Barbecue,* 1982; *88 Basie Street,* 1984). He lived for many years in the St. Albans section of Queens, New York, with Catherine Morgan, a former dancer he had married in 1942. Health problems induced him to move to the Bahamas in his later years. He died in 1984 in Hollywood, Florida. His autobiography, *Good Morning Blues,* appeared the next year. Basie's band has continued performing, led by Thad Jones until 1986 and since then by Frank Foster.

See also Holiday, Billie; Robeson, Paul; Savoy Ballroom

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MICHAEL D. SCOTT (1996)

Basketball

Although basketball in the United States is now dominated by African Americans, their role in the sport was relatively unimportant in the early years of the game. Created in 1891 by James Naismith at a Springfield, Massachusetts, YMCA, basketball was originally played primarily at YMCAs. Black YMCAs produced the earliest African-American teams.

By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, a handful of blacks competed on white varsity basketball teams, mostly in small, remote midwestern colleges. Ironically, a

man who did not play varsity basketball, Edwin B. Henderson, opened the door for many others to compete at both the interscholastic and intercollegiate levels. In 1905, after a summer at Harvard, Henderson, who was a physical education instructor, returned home to Washington, D.C., to become a founding father of African-American basketball. As physical education director for black schools in Washington, Henderson led in the organization and promotion of high school, club, and YMCA sports programs for African-American youths. In 1909 he became an instructor at Howard University, where he introduced basketball. Two years later he launched a varsity program, recruiting most of his players from the black YMCA in Washington.

A number of black colleges joined Howard in adopting basketball for intramural and intercollegiate purposes. During World War I these colleges began forming conferences "in a common effort for athletic elevation," as a Howard professor put it, and "to train students in self-reliance and stimulate race-pride through athletic attainment." In 1916 Howard, Lincoln, Shaw, and Virginia Union universities joined Hampton Institute in forming the Central Interscholastic Athletic Association. Four years later, educators and coaches from several Deep South colleges convened at Morehouse College in Atlanta to form the Southeastern Athletic Conference. By 1928 four regional conferences covered most of the black institutions below the Mason-Dixon line. By codifying rules and clarifying terms of athletic eligibility, these new conferences benefited the game of basketball.

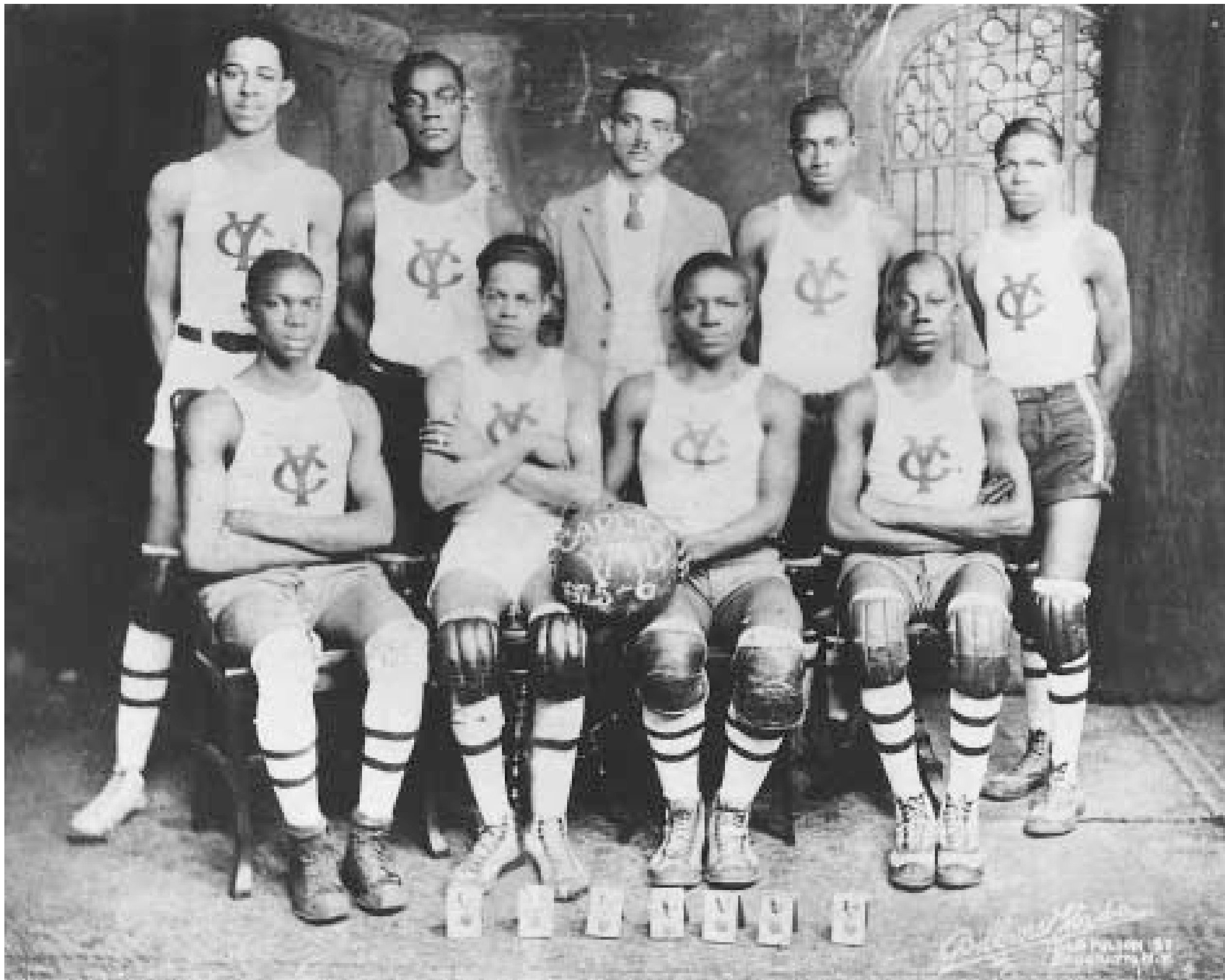
Historians have made much of the massive black migration northward in the 1920s, but there also was a reverse migration of black athletes from the North to such southern schools as Tuskegee Institute (later Tuskegee University) in Alabama and Tugaloo College in Mississippi. Basketball especially flourished at Morgan State University in Baltimore, which went undefeated in 1927; Xavier University in New Orleans, whose entire starting team in the late 1930s came from a championship high school team in Chicago; and Virginia Union University, whose 42–2 record in the 1939–1940 season included two victories over the National Invitation Tournament (NIT) champions Long Island University.

During the period between World War I and World War II, some black students played basketball at integrated colleges. John Howard Johnson, the first black basketball player at Columbia University, graduated from there in 1921. Basketball players who later achieved fame in other endeavors included Ralph Bunche, a Nobel Peace Prize recipient who starred at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) in the mid-1920s, and Jackie Robinson, who, also playing for UCLA (1939–1941), led his conference in scoring two years in a row before he went on to become the first African American to play baseball in the modern major leagues.

Because basketball is less expensive than football and more centrally positioned in the academic year than baseball, it became popular in black high schools in the 1920s. The black state high school athletic associations of West Virginia were the first of many to begin sponsoring state basketball tournaments in 1924. By 1930 eight tournaments had been established; by 1948 every racially segregated southern and midwestern state had African-American statewide athletic organizations that emphasized basketball. In May 1929 Charles H. Williams, the director of physical education at Hampton Institute, inaugurated the National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament, which was held annually until 1942.

Of the several professional basketball leagues that rose and fell during the interwar period, all excluded blacks, though given the weak and disorganized nature of professional basketball at this time, this ban had less impact than for other professional sports. Independent all-black teams such as the Smart Set in Brooklyn, as well as St. Christopher's, Alphas, and the Spartans in New York City and Loendi in Pittsburgh, were beset with inadequate facilities, small turnouts, and uncertain schedules, and they struggled to survive. The most successful teams hit the road, barnstorming from city to city on a trail blazed by the best all-white team of the interwar era, the Original Celtics. The two best African-American squads, the New York–based Renaissance Big Five ("Harlem Rens") and the Chicago-based Harlem Globetrotters, frequently played against the Original Celtics and other all-white touring teams, thus making basketball the only interwar professional team sport to allow interracial competition.

The Rens were created in 1923 by the St. Kitts native Robert L. Douglas, who immigrated as a child to the United States in 1888. For several years Douglas played with the New York Spartans, then decided to form his own team. He rented the Renaissance Casino ballroom in Harlem. The team took their name from that home site but played most of their games on the road against any team—black or white, city or small town—that would take them on. Over a twenty-year span, the Rens averaged more than one hundred victories annually. In their greatest season, 1932 to 1933, they won eighty-eight consecutive games and finished with a 120–8 record. At Chicago in 1939 they won the first "world tournament" of professional basketball. Little wonder that all seven players who formed the core of the team during the 1930s—Charles T. "Tarzan" Cooper, John "Casey" Holt, Clarence "Fats" Jenkins,



Youth basketball team, New York City, 1926. *Black YMCA's produced the earliest African-American teams, providing talent for black colleges like Howard University, the first to adopt basketball as an intermural (and later intercollegiate) activity during the second decade of the twentieth century.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

James "Pappy" Ricks, Eyre "Bruiser" Satch, William "Wee Willie" Smith, and William J. "Bill" Yancey—are in the Basketball Hall of Fame.

The Rens were already well established when the Harlem Globetrotters played their first game in January 1927. Initially called the Savoy Big Five because they played in the Savoy Ballroom in Chicago, the Globetrotters were the brainchild of a Jewish immigrant, Abraham Saperstein. The somewhat misleading Harlem tag was a public relations ploy, which provided a racial rather than a geographical reference. As a team of barnstorming professionals, they traveled far longer, more widely, and to consistently larger crowds than any sports team in history. In 1951 they appeared before 75,000 spectators in Berlin's Olympic Stadium. They have performed for literally millions of live spectators around the world, as well as to huge television and movie audiences.

Although best known in later years for their basketball comedy, the original Globetrotters were serious, highly skilled athletes. In 1940 they succeeded the Rens as "world champions" in the fiercely fought Chicago tournament. Earlier, during the Great Depression, they averaged nearly two hundred games per year, winning more than 90 percent of them. Constant travel produced fatigue; large margins of victory made for boredom. For rest and relief from tedium, the Globetrotters began clowning, especially on those frequent occasions when they dramatically outmatched their opponents. Comedy proved contractually lucrative, so the Globetrotters developed funny skits and routines. Staged silliness swamped competitive play in the 1940s. Still, Reece "Goose" Tatum, Marques

Haynes, Meadow George "Meadowlark" Lemon, Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton, Connie Hawkins, and Wilt Chamberlain are among the most famous of the many superb athletes who wore the colorful Globetrotter uniform.

It was just as well that the Globetrotters shifted from serious basketball to comedy routines, because the racial integration of the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1950 meant that the Globetrotters could no longer attract the best college athletes. (A forerunner of the NBA, the Basketball Association of America, signed black players as early as 1948.) For the 1950–1951 season, the Boston Celtics recruited Charles "Chuck" Cooper from Duquesne University, the Washington Capitals tapped Early Lloyd from West Virginia State College, and the New York Knicks bought Sweetwater Clifton from the Globetrotters.

Prior to World War II the abolition of the center jump, the introduction of an innovative one-handed shot, and the use of the fast break served to streamline Naismith's slow and deliberate original game. In the early 1950s the NBA responded to the market's demand for a faster, more attractive game by banning zone defenses, doubling the width of the foul lane (to twelve feet), and introducing a twenty-four-second shot clock. All these changes were completed by 1954 and worked to the great advantage of African-American newcomers who had mastered a more spontaneous, personalized style of play on the asphalt courts of urban playgrounds.

The first African American to become a dominant player in the NBA was William "Bill" Russell. Russell came from an extremely successful undergraduate career at the University of San Francisco, where he and another gifted African American, K. C. Jones, led the San Francisco Dons to fifty-five straight victories and two National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championships. Rather than go into the NBA immediately, however, both men participated in the 1956 Summer Olympics in Melbourne, Australia, leading the United States basketball team to an easy gold medal. Then, while Jones fulfilled a two-year military obligation, Russell joined the Celtics at midseason. The defensive, shot-blocking, and rebounding skills of Russell complemented those of several high-scoring Celtics. Together they produced their first NBA championship in Russell's first pro season.

Jones joined the Celtics in the 1958–1959 season, and he and Russell helped the Celtics to an all-time record nine consecutive NBA crowns. In 1964 Boston fielded the first all-black starting lineup in the NBA: Russell, Jones, Sam Jones, Tom "Satch" Sanders, and Willie Naulls; John Thompson, the future coach of Georgetown University, backed up Russell. Russell's NBA nemesis was a high-scoring giant of a man, Wilton Norman "Wilt" Chamberlain. Over seven feet tall and weighing 265 pounds in his prime, Chamberlain earlier led Overbrook High School in Philadelphia to two city championships, once scoring ninety points in a single game. In his varsity debut at the University of Kansas in 1957, his fifty-two points set the Jayhawks on the path to the NCAA finals, where they narrowly lost in triple overtime to top-ranked North Carolina. After two All-American seasons at Kansas, Chamberlain toured for a year with the Harlem Globetrotters, then joined the Philadelphia Warriors in the NBA in 1959. In a fourteen-year NBA career, he played with four different teams and was selected for thirteen All-Star games, seven first-team All-NBA squads, and four Most Valuable Player awards. In a total of 1,045 NBA games, he averaged more than thirty points per game, and in 1962, he scored one hundred points in a single game against the New York Knickerbockers. At his retirement in 1973, he held or shared forty-three NBA records.

In addition to Chamberlain and Russell, black athletes such as Elgin Baylor and Oscar Robertson achieved basketball renown in the late 1950s and 1960s. Though they had their differences in talent and style, it is perhaps possible to see in their play elements of a shared athletic aesthetic that would dominate NBA basketball in the 1970s. Baylor, Chamberlain, Robertson, and Russell exhibited skills developed in playground competition best represented in the Rucker tournament (New York) and the Baker League (Philadelphia), both created in the postwar era. All four of these early NBA stars grew up in urban, not rural, America, and they developed their game in East Coast, industrial Midwest, and West Coast inner-city playgrounds. All four also attended white rather than traditionally black colleges. Another player from the early and mid-1960s who exemplified the playground style was Earl "the Pearl" Monroe, who attended Winston-Salem College in North Carolina before beginning a successful career with the Baltimore Bullets and New York Knicks. Connie Hawkins, a consummate playground basketball player from New York City, had his promising career derailed by his ambiguous involvement in a point-shaving scandal in 1960. After some years in basketball purgatory, he joined the Phoenix Suns in 1969.

In the period after World War II, blacks became prominent in college basketball. Two black players started for the City College of New York (CCNY) squad of 1950, the only team ever to win the NCAA and NIT tournaments in the same year. When the first significant cracks appeared in the armor of racially segregated universities in the 1950s, basketball coaches rushed to recruit blue-chip African-American athletes for traditionally all-white teams. Even the smallest of colleges sought to enhance

Basketball players Bill Russell and Wilt Chamberlain, 1969. *The 1969 NBA playoffs featured one of the most famous confrontations in all of basketball: Chamberlain of the Los Angeles Lakers going for the shot, Russell of the Boston Celtics defending.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

their status through the basketball prowess of new black talent. With fewer than one thousand students, little St. Francis College of Loretto, Pennsylvania, wooed Maurice Stokes. He carried them from the obscure National Catholic Tournament to the more prestigious and lucrative National Invitational Tournament in 1955.

As integration undercut black college athletics, coach John B. McLendon's program at Tennessee A&I enjoyed a kind of last hurrah of basketball excellence. After successful stints at North Carolina College and Hampton Institute, McLendon in 1954 went to Tennessee A&I in Nashville. Employing a fast-break press-and-run game that he claimed to have learned years earlier from the aged Naismith at the University of Kansas, within five years McLendon won four league championships and three national titles in the newly integrated National Association for Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA). The Most Valuable Player of the 1959 NAIA Tournament was Tennessee A&I's Richard "Dick" Barnett, a future New York Knickerbocker stalwart.

Strong racially integrated teams won NCAA titles for the University of Cincinnati and Loyola University of Chicago in the early 1960s. Building on a tradition of integration that dated back to the 1920s, UCLA attracted a number of African-American athletes during the eleven-year span (1964–1975) in which they won ten national titles. The person most identified with UCLA's reign was Lew Alcindor, later known was Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, a 7'2" dominating center with a deft scoring touch who later went on to a twenty-year career in the NBA with the Milwaukee Bucks and the Los Angeles Lakers.

The passing of the old era of segregated basketball was symbolized in the NCAA finals of 1966, in which an all-black squad from Texas Western University (now the University of Texas at El Paso) defeated a highly favored all-white team from the University of Kentucky. Shortly thereafter, the color bar began crumbling in the segregated schools of the Southwest Conference when James Cash became Texas Christian University's first black basketball player in 1966. In Maryland, Billy Jones became the first African-American basketball recruit in the Atlantic Coast Conference. Finally, Perry Wallace of Vanderbilt University broke the racial barrier in the Southeastern Conference (SEC) in 1967, the same year the University of Alabama's new basketball coach, C. M. Newton, began recruiting African Americans. In 1974 Alabama became the first SEC team to field five black starters.

The growing dominance of African Americans in college basketball has not been without its share of problems, however. Many colleges recruit black players as athletes, with little regard for or interest in providing them with an education. For example, shortly after winning the 1966 NCAA title, members of the Texas Western team began dropping out of college. They had all been recruited from the New York City area, and the overwhelmingly white, southern campus environment provided a combination of academic and social pressure. Dropout rates remained at high levels into the 1990s but showed some improvement. According to NCAA reports, in 1997 to 1998, 42 percent of black male college basketball players graduated (as opposed to 48 percent of white male players). Another problem that has ruined or seriously detoured many promising careers is drug addiction. Len Bias, a number-one NBA draft choice from the University of Maryland, allegedly died of a drug overdose in 1988. Other talented black basketball players, such as the playground legends Earl "the Goat" Manigault and Herman "Helicopter" Knowings of New York City, and William "Chicken Breast" Lee and Terry "Sweets" Matchett of Washington, D.C., did not have the social skills to enable them to move beyond the milieu of their hometown neighborhoods.

The African-American player has simply transformed basketball at all levels, especially bringing extraordinary excitement, media exposure, and financial success to the NBA. The seamless web of connections between high

school, college, and professional basketball is best seen in Baltimore's Dunbar High School squad during the 1982–1983 season. Finishing with a 31–0 record, Dunbar was top-ranked among all high school teams by *USA Today*. Virtually the entire team went to college on basketball scholarships. In 1987 three of them were selected in the first round of the NBA draft: Tyrone "Mugsey" Bogues of Wake Forest, by the Washington Bullets; Reggie Lewis of Northeastern, by the Boston Celtics; and Reggie Williams of Georgetown, by the Los Angeles Lakers. As of 2005 nearly 80 percent of all NBA players were black.

African Americans also play a prominent role in women's basketball. The 1984 Olympic women's basketball team, the first to win a gold medal, included Cheryl Miller, who led her University of Southern California team to two NCAA championships; Pam McGee; Lynette Woodard, who later became the first female player for the Harlem Globetrotters; and C. Vivian Stringer, who became coach of the women's basketball team at Cheyney State College in 1972, leading them to a second-place victory in the NCAA Women's National Basketball Championship ten years later. When Stringer became coach of the University of Iowa's women's team in 1983, she became the first black female coach to lead a women's basketball team of national rank. Under her leadership, the Iowa team qualified to play in the NCAA national tournament for seven straight years, from 1986 to 1992. In 1992 Stringer became the NCAA delegate for the committee organizing the Barcelona Olympic Games. Black women, notably Nikki McCray, also dominated the women's basketball competition at the 1996 Olympics, at which the American women's team won the gold medal. McCray went on to star in both the American Basketball League and the Women's National Basketball League (WNBA), the two women's leagues that were created in the mid-1990s. The American women's basketball team won gold medals again at the 2000 and 2004 Olympics. The 2004 team at Athens was led by Dawn Staley, who was chosen as the flag bearer for the U.S. Olympic team, as well as Lisa Leslie and Sheryl Swoopes.

Although African Americans are vastly underrepresented in the management and coaching ranks of the NBA, they are considerably more visible there than in major league baseball or in the National Football League. In 2005 the NBA had ten black head coaches out of a total of thirty (as opposed to only two a decade earlier), and fully one-third of the NBA's assistant coaches were black. However, the number of African-American general managers, owners, and others in positions with decision-making powers remains in the single digits.

In the collegiate ranks, in 2005 there were fifty-four African-American head coaches out of 318 Division I schools. Some of the most successful Division I coaches were John Thompson of Georgetown, John Chaney of Temple, George Raveling of the University of Southern California, and Nolan Richardson of the University of Arkansas. Division II coach Clarence "Big House" Gaines, who retired from Winston-Salem State University in 1993, was by far the most successful of all African-American coaches, having won the most victories in Division II history.

Georgetown's John Thompson became probably the most visible, and certainly the most controversial, African-American coach. After a brief, successful stint at St. Anthony's Catholic High School in Washington, D.C., Thompson moved to Georgetown in 1972. Emphasizing the tenacious defense and team play he had learned during his brief time as a Celtic, he steered the Georgetown Hoyas to three consecutive NCAA finals, from 1983 to 1985, and to the national championship in 1984. Four years later he coached the United States Olympic team to a bronze medal in Seoul. Always emphasizing the primacy of academics, he ably recruited African-American athletes for Georgetown. Patrick Ewing and Alonzo Mourning are two of the most famous among many players to whom Thompson directed his homilies of racial pride and achievement.

In the 1980s basketball soared to new heights of international popularity, as did African-American basketball players. Two players who stood out in particular were Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Michael Jordan. Johnson, an unusually tall guard at 6'8", led Michigan State University to an NCAA championship in his sophomore year in 1979 before turning pro and joining the Los Angeles Lakers. He helped the Lakers to an NBA championship in his rookie season and subsequently led his team to five championships during his career. In addition to his basketball skills, his effervescent and winning personality propelled him to media celebrity. His many admirers were shocked to learn of his early retirement in the fall of 1991 after he announced that he had contracted HIV. In the second half of the 1980s and the 1990s, the dominant basketball player was Michael Jordan. Jordan played for the University of North Carolina before joining the Chicago Bulls in 1984, where, as a shot maker of astounding versatility, he quickly became one of the most powerful players in league history. Jordan also became a media spokesman for a number of products and advertising campaigns. His widespread acceptance and popularity was as remarkable as his outstanding on-court skills. Michael Jordan retired from professional basketball in October 1993 but returned in the spring of 1995. He helped lead the Bulls to a total of six NBA titles during his years in Chicago, before and after

his first retirement. Jordan retired a second time in 1999, before returning for a final two-year stint with the Washington Wizards (2001–2003).

The role of African Americans in basketball was further underlined by the success of the so-called Dream Team, an NBA All-Star team that romped against the best of the rest of the world in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona and (to a lesser extent) the 1996 games in Atlanta. Eight of the twelve players on the team were black, including Magic Johnson in his final competitive appearance before his retirement. The 2000 U.S. men's basketball team, with eleven black players, won the gold medal at the Sydney Olympics.

Other gifted African-American players entered the basketball spotlight in the 1990s and early 2000s, including Shaquille O'Neal, Hakeem Olajuwon, Scottie Pippen, Charles Barkley, David Robinson, Karl Malone, Kobe Bryant, and Allen Iverson. Seven-foot-tall O'Neal, who in February 1993 became the first rookie since 1985 to lead the NBA All-Star Game starting lineup, went on to become one of the most celebrated stars of professional basketball. Winner of numerous Most Valuable Player awards, O'Neal's scoring average ranks third all-time among NBA players (behind Jordan and Chamberlain). More than any NBA star, O'Neal has achieved celebrity status in the larger culture. Kobe Bryant went from high school directly into the NBA, becoming the youngest player in NBA history. He helped lead the Los Angeles Lakers to league titles in 2000, 2001, and 2002. In women's basketball, star players included Cynthia Cooper, who won four WNBA championships with the Houston Comets and went on to become a coach; Olympian Sheryl Swoopes, voted the 2003 WNBA defensive player of the year; and Teresa Edwards, the most decorated Olympic basketball player of all time, male or female.

Yet, despite the increasing successes of individual black basketball players, the nature of collegiate basketball itself continues to be an issue of controversy in the African-American community. In the 1990s the NCAA established rules for prospective players, setting minimum academic standards for team admittance (graduation from high school, completion of a specified number of core courses, and specified grade point averages) and limiting the number of college scholarships offered for basketball. Many decried these rules as unfair to young African-American athletes from disadvantaged backgrounds. Balancing a number of interests has been tricky for the NCAA. Challenges include the need to attract more promising minority athletes, the need to maintain a quality team in order to attract alumni donations, the need for schools to maintain consistent academic standards, and the decrease in available scholarship funds. For prospective African-American student athletes, the new NCAA rules meant the intensification of an already keen competition for a chance at professional status. The controversy highlighted the debate within the black community on the role of basketball as a means of upward mobility for inner-city youth and whether basketball unduly dominated the activities of black teenagers.

See also Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem; Chamberlain, Wilt; Harlem Globetrotters; Howard University; Johnson, Earvin "Magic"; Jordon, Michael; Lincoln University; Olympians; Sports; Related Maps, Graphs, or Tables in Appendix: African-American Members of the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Springfield, Mass.

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WILLIAM J. BAKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Basquiat, Jean-Michel

December 22, 1960
August 12, 1988

Jean-Michel Basquiat was one of the most prominent artists to gain worldwide recognition in the 1980s. He was born in Brooklyn, New York, of Haitian and Puerto Rican–American parentage. His parents were separated in 1968, and Basquiat and his two sisters grew up with their father in Brooklyn, except for a period from 1974 to 1976, when the family lived in Puerto Rico. At the age of seven, Basquiat was hit by a car and badly hurt. He spent a month

in the hospital, where his spleen was removed. While he was recuperating, his mother gave him *Gray's Anatomy*, a reference work that led to a lifelong interest in images of human anatomy.

Basquiat dropped out of high school and left home at the age of seventeen, determined to become a star in the downtown art and club scene of the late 1970s, where his aphoristic graffiti writings and drawings signed "SAMO-(c)" soon earned wide underground recognition. In 1980 his art was exhibited, for the first time and to critical acclaim, in the Times Square Show in New York City. Other group shows followed, and in 1981 he had his first solo exhibition in Modena, Italy.

In New York, Basquiat began showing at the Annina Nosei Gallery in SoHo, using the gallery basement as his studio. His first one-person show at Annina Nosei took place in 1982, and soon his work was being exhibited at prominent galleries worldwide. In 1982, Basquiat was the youngest artist to participate in Documenta 7 in Kassel, Germany, and one of the youngest ever to be included the following year in the Whitney Biennial. A close friendship with Andy Warhol was a significant force in his life until Warhol's death in 1987.

Within the space of a few years, Basquiat rose from an anonymous street graffitist to become a world-famous artist, a feat that—as much as his art itself—came to define his popular image and epitomize the fast-paced art world of the 1980s. As a young black male, however, he was viewed with suspicion by people blind to the significance of his work. In addition, a growing drug problem exacerbated his difficult relations with art dealers, family, and the people closest to him. Basquiat died of a heroine overdose in August 1988 at the age of twenty-seven.

Since his death, the importance of Basquiat's work has come to be still more widely recognized. In only eight years his work evolved from a direct, highly energized, expressionistic vocabulary to a complex synthesis of African-American and European cultural traditions, incorporating elements of black history, music, and popular culture in an advanced visual language of painting, collage, photomechanical reproduction, and sculpture. In his hands, a sometimes raucous world of boxing, jazz, TV, and political reality was expressed in the language of Pablo Picasso, Robert Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol, Cy Twombly, Jean Philippe Arthur Dubuffet, and Leonardo da Vinci. His syncopated and haunting juxtaposition of words and images created a kind of visual poetry that is one of his most distinctive contributions to twentieth-century painting.

The first full museum retrospective of Basquiat's work, organized by the Whitney Museum of American Art, opened in New York City in 1992. In 1998 (a year after the release of Julian Schnabel's *Basquiat,* a respectful film biography) one of his paintings was sold for a price in excess of three million dollars.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture, Photography, U.S.

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NATHAN KERNAN (1996)

BASS, KINGSLEY B.

See Bullins, Ed

BATES, DAISY

NOVEMBER 11, 1914
NOVEMBER 4, 1999

Daisy Lee Gaston Bates is best known for her leadership in the struggle to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. A native of Arkansas, she knew well the realities of education under segregation. The black schools in her local school system, like others under segregation, suffered from inadequate facilities and lack of access to textbooks and supplies. This experience had a profound effect on her, and it moved her to action, as it did so many others in the civil rights era. In 1941 Daisy Gaston married L. C. Bates, a journalist from Mississippi, and the two published the weekly *Arkansas State Press.* Through the paper they addressed major issues facing African Americans, making it a popular and effective community instrument.

As president of the state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Bates, with other activists, sought to move the school systems to comply with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. Although Little Rock had designed a program for integrating its schools, it had failed to act on the plan. One of the tactics Bates employed to draw attention to this was photographing African-American children attempting to gain admission to

white public schools. This tactic was bolstered by an NAACP lawsuit against the school board for failure to implement a desegregation plan. Finally, the school board agreed to integrate Central High School in the fall of 1957.

Bates spearheaded the movement to organize students to register for Central. While almost eighty students were willing to register, the school board placed obstacles in the way and dissuaded parents, bringing the final number to nine. None of these was among the group of students involved in the NAACP court case against the Little Rock board. It was clear that there would be violence surrounding the opening of school when, two weeks before the semester began, a rock was thrown through the window of Bates's home. A note attached to the rock read, "Stone this time. Dynamite next."

Bates took responsibility for transporting the nine students to Central High. However, under the pretense of maintaining order, Gov. Orval Faubus used the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine from entering the school. The immediate situation was resolved when President Dwight D. Eisenhower brought the Arkansas National Guard under federal control to protect the students and their right to attend Central High School. The "Little Rock Nine" finally began the school year on September 25, 1957. It was the beginning of what would prove to be a very difficult year.

Bates and other state NAACP officials were arrested the following month for violating a statute that required organizations to furnish the county with membership and financial information. The statute was designed to hinder the operations of civil rights organizations. Bates was convicted and fined one hundred dollars, but her conviction was overturned by the Supreme Court.

Following the integration of Central High, Daisy Bates continued to be active in Democratic Party politics, voter registration, and community projects and continued to be a voice in the ongoing struggle for civil rights until her death in 1999. In tribute to her achievements, a nonprofit group bought Bates's Little Rock house in 1998 with the intention of transforming it into a civil rights museum. In 2001 Bates was honored when Arkansas declared a state holiday in her name.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Battle, Kathleen

August 13, 1948

The opera singer Kathleen Battle was born in Portsmouth, Ohio, the daughter of Ollie Battle, a community and church activist, and Grady Battle, a steelworker. A National Merit Scholar in mathematics, Battle majored in music education at the University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music (B.M. and M.M.). She taught music for two years in Cincinnati elementary schools before embarking on her professional career.

A lyric soprano noted for her small, sweet voice, she made her professional singing debut in 1972 in Johannes Brahms's *German Requiem* with the Cincinnati Orchestra at the Spoleto Festival in Italy. Her opera debut came soon after as Rosina in Gioacchino Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* with the Michigan Opera Theater. In 1974 she met James Levine, later to become artistic director of the Metropolitan Opera, who became her mentor. The following year she appeared on Broadway in Scott Joplin's opera *Treemonisha*.

In 1976, Battle appeared as Susanna in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* at the New York City Opera, and she made her Metropolitan Opera (the Met) debut in 1978, singing The Shepherd in Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Her professional career flourished with leading roles at the MET, among them Mozart's Pamina (*Die Zauberflöte*), Richard Strauss's Sophie (*Der Rosenkavalier*), and George Frideric Handel's Cleopatra (*Giulio Cesare*). Subsequent to her European operatic debut as Despina in Mozart's *Così fan tutte* in Salzburg in 1982, Battle performed there several times as Despina, as Susanna, and as Zerlina (Don Giovanni)—the last for American national television—as well as in many other places. In 1993 she attracted sellout audiences during a Metropolitan Opera tour of Japan.

Battle, whom *Time* magazine in 1985 called "the best lyric coloratura in the world," shifted effortlessly between the opera stage and the concert hall. However, in 1994 she was dismissed in a statement issued by the Met for "'unprofessional actions . . . profoundly detrimental to the ar-

tistic collaboration among all the cast members" (Walsh, 1994, pp. 61–62). Unprofessional behavior reported by the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper included: rude behavior to colleagues, showing up late for rehearsals . . . and demanding that the director change the production so that all her exits and entrances were on the side of the stage closest to her dressing room (Wigler, 1994, p. C2). The news of her firing was met with swift reactions of glee, jokes, and applause within the music industry. Although hugely popular with audiences, she incited a maelstrom of ill-wishers among her associates (singers, conductors, stage hands, technicians, costumers, etc.) because of her mistreatment of her colleagues. According to Schuyler Chapin, the former general manager of the Met, "She's the only artist that I know of in my 43 years of dealing with artists who has managed to alienate practically everyone in every single place where's she's ever been" (Swan, 1994, p. 80). Other opera companies followed the Met's lead, thus ending her operatic career. Nonetheless, she continued performing in concerts and on recordings.

In 1995 Battle released her first crossover album, *So Many Stars,* with jazz musicians such as Grover Washington Jr. and Christian McBride. The record rose to the top on *Billboard* magazine's Classical Crossover lists. She has won five Grammy Awards, including one for her recital album *Kathleen Battle at Carnegie Hall* (1992). In 1991, Battle and the soprano Jessye Norman gave a concert of spirituals at Carnegie Hall, which was shown on national television and prompted a best-selling recording. In 1993, Battle recorded the premiere of a song cycle, *Honey and Rue,* she had commissioned from the African-American writer Toni Morrison and the composer André Previn. Her many CDs include: *Pleasures of their Company* (1990) and *Angels' Glory* (1996), both with the guitarist Christopher Parkening; *Grace* (1997); *Baroque Duet* (1991), with African-American trumpeter Wynton Marsalis; *Vangelis: "Mythodea"—Music for the NASA Mission: 2001 Mars Odyssey* (2001); and *Classic Kathleen Battle: A Portrait* (2002).

Battle has used tenacity, intelligent musicianship, and a stunning voice to build a diverse career that has lasted more than three decades. She elevated soubrette opera roles (usually relegated as secondary) to star status, while presenting sold-out concerts and successfully recording classical and crossover repertoire.

See also Norman, Jessye; Opera

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LOUISE TOPPIN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Baumfree, Isabella

See Truth, Sojourner

Bearden, Romare

September 2, 1912
March 12, 1988

In the last twenty-five years of artist Romare Bearden's life, collage was his principle medium. Through that medium, relying on memory, he recorded the rites of African-American life in all their historical and ceremonial complexity. In so doing he joined the ranks of Picasso, Matisse, and Miró, artists who transformed collage into a quintessentially twentieth-century language. Working with a medium that by its very nature is fragmented and heterogeneous, where reality and illusion hang in a precarious balance, Bearden, as his friend the writer Ralph Ellison once noted in *Romare Bearden: Paintings and Projections* (1968), captures the sharp breaks, leaps in consciousness, distortions, paradoxes, reversals, telescoping of time and surreal blending of styles, values, hopes, and dreams that characterize much of African American history.

Fred Howard Romare Bearden was a child of privilege. He was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, in the home of his great-grandparents, Rosa and Henry Kennedy. Former slaves, the Kennedys had become prosperous landowners, and Bearden spent the early years of his life in a spacious Victorian-style frame house surrounded by doting great-grandparents and grandparents. In spite of their comfortable life, however, Bearden's college-educated parents, Bessye and Howard, were dissatisfied with the limitations of the Jim Crow South. On the eve of World War I, like hundreds of thousands of black Americans throughout the South, they migrated north.

After traveling to Canada, Bessye and Howard finally settled in Harlem. Harlem, in the years following World

Romare Bearden (1912–1988). *The artist Bearden expressed in his celebrated collage and photomontage compositions the fullness of his own experience of black America, from boyhood summers spent in rural North Carolina, to memories of his grandmother's boardinghouse near the steel mills of Pittsburgh, to the spirited Harlem of his adolescence and early adulthood, then in its heyday as a black cultural and intellectual mecca.* THE ESTATE OF CARL VAN VECHTEN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

War I, was the black cultural capital of the world, the home of the New Negro movement, the site of the Harlem Renaissance. A flowering of poetry, painting, and music that marked the African American's first efforts to define himself as a distinctive cultural entity within the larger American culture, the Harlem Renaissance proved to be a rich crucible for Bearden.

Bessye, Bearden's beautiful and dynamic mother who was a New York editor for the *Chicago Defender* and a political organizer, was at the center of this cultural activity. Her Harlem apartments were always filled with writers and intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston, as well as painters Aaron Douglas and Charles Alston. Musicians, too, were part of Bearden's circle, and young Romy, as he was called, was surrounded by such exciting jazz musicians and composers as Fats Waller, Andy Razaf, and Duke Ellington. Together, Bessye and Howard, who worked for the Department of Health, provided their only child with a remarkable upbringing.

During the summers Bearden often visited his great-grandparents and grandparents in Mecklenberg, New York, a place that became a veritable paradise in his mind. During his high school years he lived in Pittsburgh with his maternal grandmother, Carrie Banks, who ran a boardinghouse for steelworkers. Like Charlotte and Harlem, Pittsburgh became part of a rich inventory of images for Bearden's mature art.

Bearden came of age as an artist during the depression. While in high school, he met the successful black cartoonist E. Simms Campbell. Campbell's success inspired Bearden to try his hand at cartooning. From 1931 to 1935 he did editorial cartoons for the *Baltimore Afro-American* and drawings for *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. After short stays at Lincoln University and Boston University, he enrolled at New York University, where in 1935 he received a B.S. in education. He continued cartooning at NYU, contributing to the university's humor magazine, *The Medley*.

After he graduated, Bearden became interested in inserting a social message into his cartoons, which led him, as he said, "to the works of Daumier, Forain, and Käthe Kollwitz, to the Art Students League and to George Grosz." Grosz, a German satirist whose visual commentary on post–World War I society was unforgiving, instilled in Bearden the lifelong habit of studying the artists of the past even as he was trying to make contemporary social commentary. Bearden's stay at the Art Students League was his only formal art school training.

Formal training, however, was amply augmented for Bearden by the Harlem art scene of the 1930s and 1940s. In spite of the depression, Harlem boasted a thriving community of visual artists. Many, supported by the New Deal's federally funded Works Project Administration (WPA), worked on public art projects, taught, or worked on WPA easel projects. They were supported by a network of exhibition spaces and art centers: the federally supported art center at West 125th Street, sculptor Augusta Savage's art garage, Ad Bates's exhibiting space at 306 West 141st Street, local libraries, the YMCA, and upscale living rooms and salons. Although Bearden did not qualify for the WPA because his well-to-do parents supported him, he was active nonetheless in artistic activities uptown. He was one of the artists who organized uptown artists into the Harlem Artists Guild, and he wrote articles for *Opportunity,* the magazine of the Urban League, on black American art and social issues.

More important, Bearden and his artist friends—Norman Lewis, Roy DeCarava, and Ernest Crichlow—

were devotees of jazz. They regularly made the rounds of nightclubs and cabarets where they heard firsthand the compositionally complex, innovative music. Though it was many years before Bearden was able to recognize the aesthetic importance of jazz to his painting—inspired by his mentor, Stuart Davis—the music became as important to him as the painting of the masters he studied with George Grosz.

During this time, 1937 to 1940, Bearden produced his first paintings, gouaches on brown paper, eighteen of which were exhibited along with some drawings at his first solo show held at Ad Bates's place on West 141st Street. Scenes of black life in Charlotte and on the streets of Pittsburgh and Harlem, these early paintings, with their terracotta colors, bulky figures, and narrative, almost illustrational quality, were painted in the then fashionable social realist style.

Bearden's uptown art community disintegrated with the coming of World War II and the dismantling of the WPA. Bearden enlisted in the army, continued to exhibit, and came to the attention of Caresse Crosby, the flamboyant founder and publisher with her husband of Black Sun Press. Crosby exhibited Bearden's works at the G Place Gallery in Washington and introduced him to gallery dealer Samuel M. Kootz. Kootz invited Bearden to exhibit, and from 1945 until 1948 Bearden showed there along with such other leading avant-garde painters as Robert Motherwell, Adolph Gottlieb, William Baziotes, Carl Holty, and Byron Browne. During this period Bearden painted oils filled with abstract figures. His works were largely derived from epic literary sources—the Bible, Rabelais, Homer, García Lorca. The style, boldly drawn contours filled with vibrant stained-glass color, was derivative as well, reminiscent of analytical cubism.

During his time at the Kootz gallery, Bearden grew intellectually restless. He found the direction of his colleagues—who came to be known as abstract expressionists—unsatisfying, and he left the country in 1950 to study in Paris on the GI bill. Though he enrolled at the Sorbonne, Bearden spent most of his time enjoying the city. When he returned in 1951, he found that he had lost interest in painting and took up songwriting. Without painting, however, he was disconnected. He had a nervous breakdown and recovered with the help of Nanette Rohan, whom he married in 1954.

With Bearden's recovery came a return to painting. To spur his return, he systematically copied the old masters, actually making large photostatic copies and tracing them. Starting with Duccio and Masaccio, he worked his way into the present, tracing Vermeer, Rembrandt, Delacroix, Matisse, and Picasso. Bearden's copying taught him

The Family ***(1988) by Romare Bearden.*** *Family life was a favorite theme of Bearden's, and a number of his works bear the title* The Family. *The work pictured here was completed in the last year of the artist's life.* THE ESTATE OF ROMARE BEARDEN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

well, and with Carl Holty he wrote a book on space, color, and composition entitled *The Painter's Mind: A Study of the Relations of Structure and Space in Painting* (1969). Once he had relearned painting, Bearden began to paint large abstract expressionist oils with mythopoeic titles such as *Blue Is the Smoke of War, White the Bones of Men* (1960).

Bearden's most noteworthy work did not come until he was over fifty years old. Galvanized by the civil rights movement, Bearden, as he had done in the 1930s, organized a group of black artists that took the name Spiral. The group wanted to do something to celebrate the movement, and Bearden thought that perhaps a group work, a collage, might be a vehicle. The group, however, was not interested, but he found himself engaged by the medium. As Bearden worked on these collages, allowing images of Charlotte, Pittsburgh, and Harlem to flood his memory,

he captured the turbulence of the time with spatial distortions, abrupt juxtapositions, and vivid imagery.

Bearden's collages made use of a visual language seldom seen in American painting. His collages were populated by conjure women, trains, guitar players, birds, masked figures, winged creatures, and intense ritualistic activities: baptism, women bathing, families eating together at their dinner tables, funerals, parades, nightclub scenes. His representative works contain scenes of enduring ceremonies underscoring the beauty and densely complex cultural lineage of African-American life. Notable works include *Watching the Good Trains Go By* (1964); *At Connie's Inn* (1974), one of his many collages on the theme of jazz; *Maudell Sleet's Magic Garden* (1978) from his autobiographical series; *Calypso's Sacred Grove* (1977) from his series based on Homer's *Odyssey;* and lushly colored, late works such as *In a Green Shade* (1984). Ralph Ellison (1968) referred to Bearden's images as "abiding rituals and ceremonies of affirmation." Bearden invented his own phrase—the "Prevalence of Ritual"—to underscore the continuity of a culture's ceremonies, marking the traditions and values that connect one generation to another.

In his earliest works Bearden painted genre scenes, but in his mature work he pierced the skin of those scenes to explore the interior lives of black people. His first collages were photomontages, that is, photographic blow-ups of collages. After a year he abandoned that technique and, as his collages matured, began to use color more sensuously, creating lush landscapes with layers upon layers of cut paper, photographs, and paint. By the time of his death in 1988, Bearden had won virtually every prize and accolade imaginable, including the Medal of Honor, countless honorary doctorates, cover stories in the leading art magazines, and several retrospectives of his work, including one at the Museum of Modern Art in 1971.

See also Art; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Decarava, Roy; Douglas, Aaron; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Ellison, Ralph; Harlem Renaissance; Hurston, Zora Neale; Jim Crow; New Negro; Painting and Sculpture; Robeson, Paul

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MARY SCHMIDT CAMPBELL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Bedward, Alexander

c. 1850
November 8, 1930

Between 1891 and 1921, Alexander Bedward, an African-Jamaican healer, led the Jamaica Baptist Free Church in August Town, Jamaica, on the Hope River. Born in 1848 or 1850 at the present Matilda's Corner, then part of Hope Plantation in St. Andrew Parish, Bedward died on November 8, 1930. As a youth he raised provisions on Hope Plantation, and he was later employed on Louis Verley's sugar property, Mona, in St. Andrew. Apart from a period spent as a laborer in Colon, Colombia (later Panama), from 1883 to 1885, he worked until 1891 at Mona. He and his wife Elizabeth also leased land in the estate village of August Town. Between 1882 and 1889, a series of frightening dreams and visions, considered signs of divine election by African-Jamaicans, convinced Bedward to abandon an immoral life. In 1889 H. E. Shakespeare Wood (1800–1901), a reputed African-American, inducted Bedward as an elder of the Native Baptist Church. In October 1891 Bedward resigned his Mona Estate job. In December, citing divine commands to conduct thrice-weekly fasts and weekly riverside healing services, he began the ministry that made him famous. Hope River holy water became the conduit for visits to the other world, for encounters with angels or the holy spirit, and for healing and rebirth through baptism by immersion. In addition, fasting and meditation induced trances that produced insight.

Such activities suggest an otherworldly preoccupation, but given his prophetic persona and self-description as one of the *Book of Revelation*'s "two witnesses," Bedward could not help being dissatisfied. Low wages and land hunger compounded by natural catastrophes pushed many, like the younger Bedward himself, into the wider Caribbean as migrant laborers. Bedward assailed ministers and physicians as mercenaries for charging fees, and he prophesied the imminent end of the world. Jamaica's privileged class feared Bedward's heated sermons, and in 1895 the press and police framed him, accusing him of advocat-

ing insurrection. A white lawyer, Philip Stern (d. 1933) defended him. Bedward was acquitted by reason of insanity and committed to an asylum. Released on a technicality, he continued his ministry.

Bedward had approximately 125 congregations in Jamaica, Cuba, and Central America. Many members were poor, but others earned a good living as dray-cart operators or contractors, and one owned an ice-cream parlor. Bedwardites in August Town worked for neighboring plantations, farmed, and sold firewood, Hope River water, or home-processed foods. Bedward settled labor disputes when they arose.

By 1920, Bedward decided that his powers had failed. Another Jamaican, Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), had become prominent, and Bedward identified Garvey as Moses and himself merely as Moses' spokesman, Aaron. Convinced that his earthly mission had ended, Bedward revealed that he would undertake a spiritual ascension into heaven on December 31, 1920. In a July 1921 interview, Bedward averred that his followers had misunderstood him. Expecting him to take them up to heaven, between 3,000 and 6,000 followers disposed of their belongings and gathered to join the event. When the ascension did not occur, Bedward announced that he had risen in spirit.

In April 1921 Bedward rebuffed an armed police attempt to evict him from his home, flouted a ban on marching, and led a procession "to show the people of Kingston how strong I was." An armed force surrounded the procession and arrested Bedward and several hundred supporters. Released by the judge, Bedward was rearrested, declared insane, and again committed to the lunatic asylum, where he died in 1930. Under the leadership of George Burke (1873–1939), Bedward's son-in-law, the sect declined.

As an Old Testament–style prophet and millenarian who believed in the approach of a more perfect thousand-year-old society, Bedward drew on African-Jamaican misfortune. However, he never advocated armed rebellion, as the colonial state's treason case asserted and some unwary scholars have believed. On the contrary, Bedward later denied that he had ever incited people to rebel, and his actions belie the charge. He sought recognition of his pastors as marriage officers, solicited votes for Philip Stern in 1895, and he remained accessible to white visitors. In 1920 he predicted God's punishment of both white and black "rascals" on the Last Day.

The consolation and release that Bedwardites found in prophetic biblical texts with visions of millennial bliss diluted any potential for political insurrection even if Bedward had wished it. The ascension fiasco, which impoverished his followers and made them laughing stocks, may have persuaded some to trust other doctrines. Roman Henry, Bedward's private secretary and a Garveyite, broke with Burke. In the 1930s, Bedwardites and Garveyites Robert Hinds (d. 1950) and Leonard Howell (1898–1981) transformed Bedward's millenarianism into the more antiestablishment and durable Rastafarian movement, which recognized Ras Tafari (Emperor Haile Selassie, r. 1930–1974) of Ethiopia as a politico-religious redeemer.

See also Baptists; Garvey, Marcus; Rastafarianism

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MONICA SCHULER (2005)

Belafonte, Harry

March 1, 1927

The son of a Jamaican mother and a father from Martinique, singer, actor, and activist Harold George "Harry" Belafonte was born in New York City but received his early education in the public schools in Jamaica. In 1940 he returned to the United States and attended high school in New York. After navy service during World War II, he enrolled in Irwin Piscator's Dramatic Workshop in New York City and in 1948 became a member of the acting group of the American Negro Theater in New York. In September and October 1949 he appeared as a regular on CBS's black variety show, *Sugar Hill Times*.

Racial stereotyping greatly limited Belafonte's acting possibilities, and so he turned to singing. He made his debut in 1949, singing pop songs at New York's Royal Roost nightclub. He signed a record contract with RCA in 1952; however, it was not until 1957 that he achieved major commercial success as a singer. In the meantime he turned again to acting, and his muscular body, good looks, and rich, husky voice made him one of the first interracial male sex symbols. He appeared in the Broadway show *Al-*

manac, for which he won a Tony Award (1952), and he shared billing with Marge and Gower Champion in the musical *Three for Tonight* (1954). Belafonte's first film role was in *Bright Road* (1953), and he drew critical acclaim for his performance the next year in *Carmen Jones,* a black version of George Bizet's opera *Carmen*. He also appeared in the films *Island in the Sun* (1957) and *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil* (1959).

In the mid-1950s Belafonte began singing calypso, a folk-song style popular in Trinidad and other Caribbean islands. His passionate, witty, and suave renditions of such songs as "Matilda," "Jamaica Farewell," "Island in the Sun," "Brown Skin Girl," "Come Back Liza," and his signature tune, "The Banana Boat Song," ignited a calypso fad in the United States. Belafonte's album *Calypso* (1956) became the first solo album in history to sell a million copies. Over the next decade he recorded eleven more albums, including *Belafonte Sings of the Caribbean* (1957), *Belafonte at Carnegie Hall* (1957), *Porgy and Bess* (with Lena Horne, 1959), *Jump Up Calypso* (1961), *The Midnight Special* (1962), and *Belafonte on Campus* (1967).

In 1960 Belafonte became the first African American to star in a television special, which won him an Emmy Award. He also began a long association with African culture and politics at this time. In 1959 he brought to the United States two protégés, the South African musicians Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela.

Like his idol, Paul Robeson, Belafonte combined singing with civil rights activism. In part because of his friendship with Robeson, Belafonte was partially blacklisted during the early 1950s and was refused television and other engagements. He, in turn, refused to appear in the South from 1954 to 1961. In 1956 Belafonte helped raise money to support the Montgomery bus boycott and met the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The two became close friends, and by 1960 Belafonte was a major fund-raiser and strategist in the civil rights movement. He helped raise funds to support freedom riders and voter-registration efforts and in 1963 helped establish the Southern Free Theater in Jackson, Mississippi, which was dedicated to the development of a black political leader. Belafonte also served as an unofficial liaison between the Kennedy administration and black leaders. In 1961 he was named to the advisory committee of the Peace Corps.

Belefonte was an active film and television producer, and his company, Harbel, formed in 1959, was responsible for the first major television show produced by a black, *Strolling Twenties,* which featured such well-known black artists and performers as Duke Ellington, Sidney Poitier, Nipsey Russell, and Joe Williams. In 1959 the company also produced the film *Odds Against Tomorrow,* in which Belafonte appeared with Ed Begley and Robert Ryan. In the 1970s, following the death of Martin Luther King and the ebbing of the civil rights movement, Belafonte resumed making films, appearing with Sidney Poitier in *Buck and the Preacher* (1971) and *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974). Toward the end of the 1970s, Belafonte, who had sung in nightclubs only sporadically in the previous decade, resumed singing. He made major tours in 1976 and 1979. In 1984 he coproduced the hip-hop film *Beat Street.*

Through the 1980s and early 1990s Belafonte achieved a new renown for his international political activities. Most notable was his commitment to humanitarian efforts in Ethiopia. In 1985 he conceived the project that resulted in the recording "We Are the World," written by Lionel Richie and Michael Jackson and conducted by Quincy Jones, which raised over $70 million to aid victims of famine in Africa. For his humanitarian work he was awarded the position of goodwill ambassador for UNICEF in 1986. In 1988 he recorded an album of South African music, *Paradise in Gazankulu*. In 1990, Belafonte, a longtime opponent of apartheid, served as chair of the committee that welcomed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to America. The same year, New York governor Mario Cuomo appointed him to lead the Martin Luther King, Jr., Commission to promote knowledge of nonviolence.

During the 1990s Belafonte continued both his performing and his producing career. Among other projects, he starred in the television special *Harry Belafonte and Friends* (1996) and he appeared in Robert Altman's film *Kansas City* (1995) and in *White Man's Burden* (1995), which he also produced.

Belafonte won the Best Supporting Actor award from the New York Film Critics Circle in 1996 for *Kansas City.* In 2004, in his role as the UN Children's Fund goodwill ambassador, he was deeply involved in publicizing the poverty in Kenya.

See also Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Film; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Musical Theater; Poitier, Sidney; Robeson, Paul; Television

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JAMES E. MUMFORD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Belmanna Riots

The Belmanna Riots, which took place in 1876 in Tobago, a small British colony in the southern Caribbean, were typical of post-emancipation protests by black laborers and peasants in the English-speaking West Indies. The cluster of grievances that lay behind these riots were paralleled in nearly all of the impoverished plantation colonies in the nineteenth century.

The events of 1876 can be quickly summarized. Unrest developed among workers at the Roxborough Estate, on the southern coast of Tobago, early in that year, especially among immigrant laborers from Barbados. Fires were set on the estate on May 1, and policemen under Corporal Belmanna attempted to arrest the arsonists on May 3. A crowd resisted and attacked the policemen, and Belmanna fired into the people, killing a Barbadian woman. This triggered a major riot outside the Roxborough Court House, during which Belmanna was beaten to death and other officers were injured. The disorders briefly spread to other estates in the Windward District, but order was restored within a few days, especially after a British warship arrived with a contingent of Barbadian policemen.

Belmanna's firing into the crowd was clearly the catalyst for the violence that followed, but the underlying causes of the riot were the classic labor grievances of the post-emancipation era: disputes over wages; arbitrary wage stoppages by management; the estate shop, or truck, system (where an estate owner runs a shop and forces the resident laborers to purchase their supplies from it, usually at higher prices than could be found elsewhere); and the objectionable, contemptuous behavior of the estate owner and manager towards the workers. Other grievances included the lack of proper medical care and the laborers' difficulties in obtaining lands. The lieutenant governor of Tobago believed that wage disputes were the chief source of unrest, reflecting what he called the "chronic want of sympathy between capital and labor" that had long existed in Tobago (Brereton, 1984, p. 118). Discontent over these issues, common to most labor protests in the region at this period, was heightened for the Barbadians at Roxborough by news of the serious riots in Barbados a few days earlier (the Confederation Riots).

This was, then, a classic plantation labor protest. There is some evidence that the trouble at Roxborough Estate was triggered by its owner's attempt to withdraw "privileges," such as the right to pasture livestock on estate land and to cut and use timber from the estate, free of charge, that had become customary. He had also instituted a new wage policy that the laborers resented. Again this was a common cause of agrarian protest in the region—similar acts were responsible for the riots on the island of St. Vincent in 1862. But there is no evidence that the riots were long premeditated or well organized, or that the rioters intended to do harm to Tobago's small white community or "take over" the island.

Nevertheless, this was what many resident whites feared, for they had not forgotten the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica eleven years earlier. The outcome of the Belmanna Riots was, in fact, quite similar to that of the Jamaican uprising: in August 1876 the members of the legislative assembly agreed to give up their right to elective representation and to accept a "pure" Crown Colony constitution, with a wholly nominated legislative council. They believed that if Tobago was a pure Crown Colony under direct British rule, they would be better protected (by Britain) against future threats from black laborers and peasants. Thus, the way was cleared constitutionally for Tobago's unification with Trinidad (as a British colony), which occurred in two stages between 1889 and 1899.

See also Morant Bay Rebellion; Riots and Popular Protests

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BRIDGET BRERETON (2005)

Benn, Brindley

January 24, 1923

Brindley Horatio Benn was born in Kitty, British Guiana, and attended Central High School, where he was successful in the Junior and Senior Cambridge exams. Before entering politics, Benn was a teacher in Georgetown, the capital city, and was motivated to become involved in politics as a result of his interest in social work and youth work, and in finding solutions to the problems the citizenry confronted. He joined the People's Progressive Party (PPP),

the nation's first mass-based political party, which came into existence in January 1950, and was editor of *Thunder,* a publication of the party. By the time the PPP was elected to office in the wake of the March 1953 elections—the first under universal adult suffrage—Benn was an executive committee member of the party.

Consequent upon the suspension of the constitution in October 1953 and the removal of the PPP government from office, Benn was restricted to an area of about one mile in radius in New Amsterdam in the county of Berbice and required to report to the police daily. In 1954 the leadership of the party split, and in 1956 three of the most important African-Guianese members of the party defected. These events were occasioned in part by the about-face of the party's Marxist leader, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, regarding the question of joining the West Indies Federation. After these events, Benn remained with the PPP despite his personal feeling that the party should not have changed its position on federation. Benn held this position although his assessment that the crisis in the leadership of the party was between the "left," comprising the Marxists who favored more rapid changes, and the "right," who advocated a softer pro-Moscow line.

Following the PPP victory in the 1957 general election, Benn served as a member of parliament from 1957 to 1964. As minister of education and community development, he coined the slogan "One People, One Nation, One Destiny," which became the national motto. During his tenure as minister of agriculture, the Guyana School of Agriculture was established. By 1960 he had become disenchanted with the PPP leadership, which he felt was abandoning its class concerns. He also believed that the leadership was more concerned with winning elections as a way of maintaining itself in office than with providing gradual improvement in the education of the masses—which was essential to preparing the colony for political independence—in accordance with espoused socialist principles and with developing viable policies geared to the achievement of the government's goals. By the 1964 elections Benn had risen to the position of deputy premier, and in the second PPP prenomination-day broadcast to the nation, titled "The PPP and Human Rights," Benn not only specified the human rights to which every Guianese was entitled (freedom of organization and association, of movement, to give and receive information, of religion, of assembly and demonstrations, of the right to recognition of trade unions, and of equality before the law) but also the party's record in the field of civil rights while it was in office from 1953 to 1964.

In 1964, also, Benn was detained by the British government as a political prisoner under the Emergency Regulations at the Sibley Hall Detention Center in the county of Essequibo. Then in 1965 he formed the Working People's Vanguard Party and printed a weekly mimeographed account of the political and economic scams that were occurring in the country. He maintained friendly relations with other political parties through the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy.

After the PPP regained power following the 1992 elections, Benn won a seat in parliament, which he subsequently relinquished to become Guyana's high commissioner to Canada from August 1993 to November 1998. In 1994 Benn was awarded the Cacique Crown of Honour, a national honor, for his contribution to the restoration of democracy in Guyana. From 1999 to 2002, he served as chairman of the Public Services Commission and as a member of the Judicial Service Commission and the National Archives Board. In 2003 he became chairman of the Guyana Lotteries Commission and of the Internal Revenue Board of Review.

Although Benn previously favored Guyana's entry in the West Indies Federation, he now feels that despite previous strong support from other West Indian leaders, such as Trinidad and Tobago's Dr. Eric Williams, Barbados's Grantley Adams, and, for a time, Jamaica's Norman Manley, it was "a colonial-style institution" that was "being foisted on the Caribbean by Britain" (Benn, 2004), and, moreover, "an artificial attempt at regional unity, and a hurried arrangement created by the British in an area of emerging Third World Countries" (personal communication with author).

See also Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE (2005)

Bennett, Louise

September 7, 1919

Born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1919, Louise Bennett emerged as a writer in the nationalistic ferment of the late

1930s. She liked the English literature she encountered in school and for a while attempted to emulate it. Then one day, struck by the vividness of "dialect" (Jamaican Creole), she began to wonder "why more of our poets and writers were not . . .writing in this medium . . . instead of writing in the same old English way about Autumn and things like that" (Bennett, 1968, p. 99). Bennett began to write verse in dialect and to develop a reputation for reciting it. At the invitation of Eric Coverley, she performed in his 1938 Christmas morning concert and received her first professional fee.

Bennett's first book appeared in 1942. In May 1943 Jamaica's leading newspaper, *The Gleaner,* began to publish each Sunday a column of Louise Bennett's verse. Although she has had to contend with disapproval—mainly from people deeming her a threat to "proper English"—her work has always been widely enjoyed. Yet in spite of early endorsement by cultural leaders such as Philip Sherlock and Robert Verity, her writing was largely undervalued until the 1960s.

Bennett's most substantial books of verse are *Jamaica Labrish* (1966) and *Selected Poems* (1982). Her prose includes the stories in *Anancy and Miss Lou* (1979) and topical radio monologues in *Aunty Roachy Seh* (1993). The recipient of many awards since 1960, she is now generally acknowledged as an important artist and a pathfinder in the use of Creole. In a book on postcolonial poetry, Jahan Ramazani deems her "long overdue for recognition beyond the West Indies—as master ironist, as master poet, as a major anglophone poet of our time" (Ramazani, p. 140).

Bennett is also an expert performer, trained at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts. She helped Jamaicanize the Little Theatre Movement pantomime, now only distantly related to its English antecedents. She wrote some of the scripts and contributed to others, and from 1943 to 1975 was one the focal personalities in the annual show.

Some critics argue that only in performance are the talents of Bennett truly realized. Her audio recordings include *Yes, M'Dear: Miss Lou Live* (1984), *Bre' Anancy & Miss Lou* (1991), *Miss Lou's Views* (1991), and *Lawd . . .Di Riddim Sweet* (1999). She appears on video in *Miss Lou and Friends* (1991) and *Visiting with Miss Lou* (2003).

A poem by Bennett is usually a dramatic monologue in Jamaican Creole, employing a version of the ballad quatrain that accommodates the rhythms, tone, and pitch of Jamaican speech. Her comedy, often topical, evaluates. Her writings—poems, stories, commentary, pantomime scripts—ridicule pretension, prejudice, and self-contempt. They laugh at people ashamed of being Jamaican or ashamed of being black. They respect, but sometimes criticize, the values and perceptions of the ordinary Jamaican, the "small man" struggling to cope. They celebrate Jamaican culture, with frequent allusion to proverbs, folksongs, African continuities, colonial education, and the Bible.

Louise Bennett migrated from Jamaica early in the 1980s. She has lived in Toronto since 1987.

See also Caribbean Theater, Anglophone; Dub Poetry; Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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MERVYN MORRIS (2005)

Berry, Chuck

October 18, 1926

The rock-and-roll singer Charles Edward Anderson "Chuck" Berry was born in St. Louis, Missouri, the third of four children. His parents were deeply religious Baptists, but Berry became interested in secular music as a teenager. He was inspired to become a performer and guitarist after receiving an enthusiastic reception of his rendition of "Confessin' the Blues" at Sumner High School, where he was a student. He attended Poro School of Beauty Culture in St. Louis during the 1940s, and then used his skills as a hairdresser and cosmetologist to support himself in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Berry also performed with several groups at clubs around St. Louis in the early 1950s, and he became popular with both white and black audiences because he sang country songs and blues with equal zest.

In 1955 Berry relocated to Chicago, where Muddy Waters (1915–1983) recommended him to Chess Records, which signed him to a recording contract. Berry's first re-

cording, and his first hit, was "Maybelline" (1955), a reinterpretation of the traditional country song "Ida Red" (Berry's title was inspired by the Maybelline line of hair creams). He performed the song with crisp rapid-fire delivery and introduced new lyrics on the subjects of teenage love and car racing.

Berry was a pioneer in rock and roll and helped transform the new music into a commercially successful genre. His greatest success came in the late 1950s with songs that were definitive expressions of the themes of teenage angst, rebelliousness, and the celebration of youthful vitality. His best-known recordings include "Roll Over, Beethoven" (1956), "School Days" (1957), "Rock-and-Roll Music" (1957), "Sweet Little Sixteen" (1958), "Memphis" (1958), and "Johnny B. Goode" (1958). Surprisingly, his only number-one record was the crass and forgettable "My Ding-a-Ling" (1972), a salute to male teenage masturbation.

After 1959, Berry's career was interrupted when he was arrested for transporting a minor across state lines. Though the events are still contested, Berry allegedly took a fourteen-year-old prostitute from Texas to St. Louis to check hats at a nightclub where he was performing. When he fired her, she reported his actions to local police. Berry served a two-year prison sentence at the federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana, from 1961 to 1963. While Berry never reached his former level of popularity after this, he became active in the rock-and-roll revival of the 1980s and early 1990s and performed widely.

Berry was arguably the central figure in the creation of the sound and style of rock and roll in the mid-1950s. He had a tremendous influence on rock performers who came after him, including Buddy Holly, the Beatles, the Beach Boys, and the Rolling Stones, who emulated both his guitar style and his highly energized stage presence. Berry's recording of "Johnny B. Goode" was included in the payload of the Neptune-bound Voyager 1 spacecraft, a testimony to the original and representative nature of his work. In 2004, *Rolling Stone* published a list of the fifty greatest rock-and-roll artists. Chuck Berry was number five on that list.

See also Muddy Waters (Morganfield, McKinley); Music in the United States

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DAVID HENDERSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Berry, Halle

August 14, 1966

Halle Maria Berry was born in Cleveland, Ohio, to an African-American father, Jerome, and a Caucasian mother, Judith. Named after Cleveland's Halle Building, which housed Halle Brothers department store, Berry and her older sister Heidi were raised by their mother after their parents divorced when Halle was four. After graduating from Bedford High, she attended Cuyahoga Community College. Berry won the Miss Teen All-American pageant in 1985 and the Miss Ohio USA pageant in 1986; she was the first runner-up in the 1986 Miss USA pageant.

While living in Chicago, Berry did modeling while studying with the Second City improvisational group. Her first acting job was portraying a model on the 1989 television series *Living Dolls*. Berry admits she has had to fight against both racism and her own beauty when auditioning for film roles. The actress had to convince director Spike Lee that she was not too glamorous to play crack addict Vivian in his 1991 film *Jungle Fever* (her screen debut). She then went on to roles in such films as *The Last Boy Scout* (1991), *Boomerang* (1992), *Losing Isaiah* (1993), *The Flintstones* (1994), *Executive Decision* (1996), *The Rich Man's Wife* (1996), *B*A*P*S* (1997), *Bulworth* (1998), and *Why Do Fools Fall in Love* (1998). She also appeared on television in the miniseries *Alex Haley's Queen* (1993), *Solomon & Sheba* (1995), and *Oprah Winfrey Presents: The Wedding* (1998).

In 1999, Berry won an NAACP Image Award, Golden Globe, Emmy, and Screen Actors Guild award as Best Actress in the Miniseries/TV movie category for the HBO movie *Introducing Dorothy Dandridge*, which she also produced. In 2002, Berry became the first African-American actress to win the Best Actress Academy Award for her role in *Monster's Ball,* in which she played a poor single mother, another unglamorous role she had to persuade director Marc Foster that she could play. She also won a Screen Actors Guild and a National Board of Review award for the part.

After filming *Monster's Ball,* Berry played "Bond Girl" Jinx Johnson in the twentieth film in the series, *Die Another Day* (2002). Later films included *X-Men* (2000), *Swordfish* (2001), *Gothika* (2003), *X-Men 2: X-Men United* (2003), *Catwoman* (2004), and *Robots* (2005). Berry took the leading role in the 2005 television movie *Oprah Winfrey Presents: Their Eyes Were Watching God* and served as an executive producer on the HBO film *Lackawanna Blues* (2005). She has also served as a spokeswoman for Revlon Cosmetics since 1996. Berry was previously married to David Justice (1993–1996) and Eric Benet (2001–2005).

See also Film in the United States

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

BETHUNE, MARY McLEOD

JULY 10, 1875
MAY 18, 1955

"If I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving. As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of peace, progress, brotherhood, and love." With these words, rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune concluded her last will and testament, outlining her legacy to African Americans. Bethune lived up to her stated philosophy throughout her long career as a gifted institution builder who focused on securing rights and opportunities for African-American women and youth. Her stunning successes as a leader made her one of the most influential women of her day and, for many years, a premier African-American leader.

Mary McLeod was born in 1875, the thirteenth of fifteen children of Sam and Patsy (McIntosh) McLeod. The McLeod family, many of whom had been slaves before the Civil War, owned a farm near Mayesville, South Carolina, when Mary was growing up. Mary McLeod attended the

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955). *Bethune, pictured in her office in this 1943 photograph by Gordon Parks, founded a school for African-American girls in a rented house in Daytona, Florida at the age of twenty-nine. The school expanded progressively in numbers of students and program offerings, gaining a national reputation and eventually merging with the failing Cookman Institute of Jacksonville to form Bethune-Cookman College, a fully accredited institution awarding bachelor's degrees by the time of Parks's photograph.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Trinity Presbyterian Mission School near her home from 1885 until 1888, and with the help of her mentor, Emma Jane Wilson, she moved on to Scotia Seminary (later Barber-Scotia College), a Presbyterian school in Concord, North Carolina. McLeod set her sights on serving as a missionary in Africa and so entered the Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions (later known as the Moody Bible Institute) in Chicago. She was devastated when she was informed that the Presbyterian Church would not support African-American missionaries to Africa. Instead, McLeod turned her attentions and talents to the field of education at home.

From 1896 through 1897 McLeod taught at the Haines Institute, a Presbyterian-sponsored school in Augusta, Georgia, an experience that proved meaningful for her future. At Haines, McLeod worked with Lucy Craft Laney, the school's founder and a pioneering African-

American educator. McLeod took away examples and skills she would put into action throughout her life.

From Haines, McLeod moved on to another Presbyterian school, the Kendall Institute in Sumter, South Carolina, where she met and married Albertus Bethune in 1898. The couple moved to Savannah, Georgia, and in 1899 their only child, Albert Bethune, was born. Although Albertus and Mary McLeod Bethune remained married until Albertus's death in 1918, they were no longer together by 1907. In 1900 Bethune moved to Palatka, Florida, where she founded a Presbyterian school and later an independent school that also offered social services to the community.

In 1904 Bethune settled in Daytona, Florida, to establish a school for African-American girls. She opened her Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute in a rented house with little furniture and a tiny group of students. Students at the school learned basic academic subjects, worked on homemaking skills, engaged in religious activities, and worked with Bethune in the fields of a farm she bought in 1910. Through the farm, Bethune and her students were able to feed the members of the school community, as well as sell the surplus to benefit the school. The Daytona Institute also emphasized connections with the community, offering summer school, a playground for children, and other activities. All of this made Bethune an important voice in her local community.

The school's reputation began to grow at the national level through a visit by Booker T. Washington in 1912 and the addition of Frances Reynolds Keyser to the staff in the same year. Keyser had served as superintendent of the White Rose Mission in New York and was a well-known activist. After World War I the school grew to include a high school and a nurses' training division. In 1923 the school merged with the failing Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida, and embarked on a coeducational program. In 1929 it took the name Bethune-Cookman College. By 1935 Bethune's school, founded on a tiny budget, had become an accredited junior college and, by 1943, a fully accredited college, awarding bachelor's degrees. This success gained Bethune a national reputation and won her the NAACP's prestigious Spingarn Medal in 1935.

In addition to her success as an educator, Bethune also made a major mark on the black women's club movement in America. In 1917 she was elected president of the Florida Association of Colored Women, a post she retained until 1924. Under her leadership the organization established a home for young women in Ocala. In 1920 she organized the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women and guided this group through 1925. From 1924 to 1928 she served as president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the most powerful organization of African-American women's clubs in the country. During this period, she toured Europe as the NACW's president and established the organization's headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1928. Bethune's crowning achievement in the club movement was the 1935 founding of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). This organization served to coordinate and streamline the cooperative work of a wide variety of black women's organizations. During Bethune's fourteen years as president, the NCNW achieved this goal, began to work closely with the federal government on issues facing African Americans, and developed an international perspective on women's lives.

Bethune's influence with the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration led her to activities that made her an even greater public figure on behalf of African Americans. In 1936 she organized the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, popularly known as the Black Cabinet, a group of black advisers who helped coordinate government programs for African Americans. In this same period, she became deeply involved in the work of the National Youth Administration (NYA), serving on the advisory committee from its founding in 1935. In 1936 Bethune began functioning as director of the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs, a position that became official in 1939 and that she held until 1943. This appointment made her the highest ranking black woman in government up to that point. Bethune's goals in the NYA were to increase the representation of qualified African Americans in leadership in local and state programs and to ensure that NYA benefits distributed to whites and to blacks achieved parity.

In addition to Bethune's many other achievements, she served as the president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from 1936 to 1951, established the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation, and wrote a column for the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Bethune's career is testimony to her leadership skills, her commitment to justice and equality for African Americans, her unfailing dedication to the ideals of American democracy, and her philosophy of service.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Bethune-Cookman College; National Association of Colored Women; National Council of Negro Women; *Pittsburgh Courier;* Spingarn Medal; Washington, Booker T.

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Bethune-Cookman College

On October 3, 1904, African-American educator and activist Mary McLeod Bethune founded a normal and industrial school for African-American girls in Daytona Beach, Florida. Although she began with only five students in a small rented house, in less than two years Bethune attracted 250 pupils and founded the Daytona School for Girls in a building she erected on top of a garbage dump. By 1916 the school had grown into the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute and was affiliated with the United Methodist Church. After absorbing the Cookman Institute for Boys, previously located in Jacksonville, the school, newly christened Bethune-Cookman College, was established as a high school with junior college courses in 1924.

Bethune, who continued as president of the college until 1947, raised funds for the school from middle-class blacks and liberal white philanthropists. Committed to integration and interracial cooperation, Bethune sought out a mixed-race board of directors, but she opposed white directors who favored a vocational curriculum. Bethune pushed for the inclusion of a full liberal arts program, and the school continuously upgraded its standards and facilities. Despite a heavy financial squeeze during the Great Depression, Bethune-Cookman became a two-year junior college in 1939 and a four-year institution shortly after, receiving a Grade A accreditation in 1947, the last year of Bethune's presidency. In 2005 Bethune-Cookman, the only historically black college founded by a woman, had a student body of approximately 2800 and had thirty-five buildings on more than seventy acres. The college offered degree programs in 39 major fields of study, including subject areas as diverse as biology, business, and communications.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Dillard University; Fisk University; Howard University; Lincoln University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Tuskegee University; Wilberforce University

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MARGARET D. JACOBS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bevel, James

October 19, 1936

Civil rights activist James Bevel was born in Itta Bena, Mississippi. In his early teens he experienced a religious conversion and became well known throughout his town as an inspiring preacher. He was ordained as a Baptist minister in 1959 and received a B.A. from American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee, two years later.

Bevel's childhood had familiarized him with wrenching rural poverty and left him with a commitment to work for an end to racial injustice. In 1958 he attended the Highlander Folk School, an interracial adult-education center in Tennessee that focused on promoting social activism. At Highlander, Bevel had his first in-depth exposure to nonviolent theories of social change and was deeply influenced by the commitment to interracialism of Myles Horton, the school's director. One year later, Bevel attended a Vanderbilt University training workshop for student activists in Nashville sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a nonviolent direct action group. Through his involvement with FOR, he became a leader in the Nashville student movement and played a central role in organizing and staging sit-ins to force Nashville businesses to desegregate.

In 1960 Bevel became one of the founding members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

(SNCC), a grassroots civil rights organization. The following year, he married Diane Nash, a SNCC activist, and in 1962 they moved to Albany, Georgia, where he became a prominent leader in the Albany movement to fight racism and segregation and became involved in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

In SCLC Bevel coordinated direct action protests and trained student activists. In 1963 he was appointed director of direct action and nonviolent education. He traveled to Birmingham, Alabama, to coordinate SCLC's activities and led a protest march of black children from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church that played a pivotal role in galvanizing Birmingham's black community. He worked closely with his wife, and the couple's ideas were influential in the planning for the March on Washington later that year. Bevel played an integral role in SCLC's attempt to apply nonviolent civil rights techniques in the North, and in 1966 he traveled to Chicago to organize direct-action workshops and tenant strikes.

Over time Bevel became involved in a broader range of social and political issues. In the summer of 1966, he worked with the Nonviolent Human and Community Development Institute, and in 1967 he took a leave of absence from SCLC to become executive director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Despite his relative obscurity, Bevel was a dynamic and dedicated civil rights leader. He composed several freedom songs—"Dod-Dog" (1959), "Why Was a Darky Born" (1961), and "I Know We'll Meet Again" (1969)—that inspired many in the civil rights movement. He worked closely with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and was at his side when he was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968. Assessing Bevel's pivotal role in the civil rights movement, Ralph Abernathy said, "I guess Bevel was the number three man in the movement [alongside King and himself] because he didn't want the glory or the praise, he just wanted to do the work."

Following King's death, Bevel left SCLC after unsuccessful attempts to focus the organization's agenda on education, international arms reduction, and a fair trial for King's accused assassin, James Earl Ray. By the 1980s, when Bevel reentered the public arena, his politics had shifted to the right. In 1980 he campaigned for Ronald Reagan, and four years later he ran unsuccessfully for the House of Representatives from Chicago on the Republican ticket.

In the late 1980s Bevel centered his attention on education—founding Students for Education and Economic Development (SEED) in Chicago—and international issues, such as human rights abuses in former Soviet bloc countries. In 1989 he formed the National Committee against Religious Bigotry and Racism (NCARBAR), and in the early 1990s he gained prominence as an opponent of capital punishment.

In the opening years of the twenty-first century, Bevel came under much criticism while working for the American Freedom Coalition defending the religious practices of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church (renamed the Family Federation).

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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JEANNE THEOHARIS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bibb, Henry Walton

May 10, 1815
1854

Henry Walton Bibb, an author, editor, and emigrationist, was born a slave on a Kentucky plantation. He was the oldest son of a slave, Milldred Jackson. Like many slaves, he never knew his father and was even unsure of his father's identity; he was told, however, that he was the son of James Bibb, a Kentucky state senator. His six brothers, all slaves, were sold one by one, until the entire family was scattered. In 1833, he met and married a mulatto slave named Malinda, with whom he had one daughter, Mary Frances. Bibb's fierce desire to obtain his freedom and reclaim his wife and daughter motivated his repeated attempts to escape from slavery. In 1842 he successfully fled to Detroit, where he began work as an abolitionist. He continued to search for Malinda and his daughter, but after learning that Malinda had been sold as the mistress of a white slave owner, Bibb gave up his longtime dream and resolved to advance the antislavery cause.

In 1850 Bibb published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American*

Slave. One of the best-known slave narratives, the book contains an extensive, personal account of Bibb's life as a slave and runaway. Soon after it appeared, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which gave slave owners the right to reclaim runaways—and obligated northerners to help them to do so. Bibb, like many others, openly stated that he preferred death to re-enslavement, and he fled with his second wife, Mary Miles Bibb of Boston, to Canada. In Ontario, the Bibbs soon became leaders of the large African-Canadian community.

In 1851 Bibb established the *Voice of the Fugitive,* the first black newspaper in Canada. Through the *Voice,* he expressed his essential ideas as an emigrationist by urging slaves and free blacks to move to Canada. The newspaper became a central tool of emigration advocates. In addition to the *Voice,* Bibb's civic and political accomplishments in the Ontario communities were substantial.

Two years before his death, and as a direct result of his work as a writer and orator, Bibb was reunited with three of his brothers, who had also escaped from bondage and emigrated to Canada. He interviewed them and published their stories in the *Voice of the Fugitive*. Bibb died in the summer of 1854, at the age of thirty-nine.

See also Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slave Narratives

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JEFFREY L. KLEIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Bible and African-American Culture, The

See Christian Denominations, Independent; Religion; *and articles on particular Christian denominations (e.g., Baptists)*

Biggart, James

1878
1932

James Alphaeus Alexander Biggart was the first black Tobagonian druggist and the first black legislator (1925–1932) in the Trinidad and Tobago Legislative Council. Given the high property and income qualifications for candidates, he was one of Tobago's well-to-do, politically astute, educated black professionals. He began his pharmacist career in 1892 and had the only pharmacy in the rural Windward District before Tobago became a ward in the colony of Trinidad and Tobago in 1899. He was a passionate advocate for the welfare of Tobagonians and the development of his native island.

With only limited success, Biggart campaigned for the development of the infrastructure of the island. He called on the colonial government to improve and increase the mileage of roads and the number of bridges on the island; to improve sea communications and education; and to establish and improve markets, post offices, wireless and telephone services, and the provision of government services in Tobago—which would make it unnecessary for Tobagonians to go to Trinidad to access those services. Biggart began a tradition of strong advocacy on behalf of Tobagonians, and his efforts for the development of Tobago were carried on by A P. T. James (1901–1962), Arthur N. R. Robinson (b. 1926), and others. The campaign for political autonomy conducted by these men eventually led to Tobago gaining internal self-government in 1980. Thus, Biggart can be viewed as the one who laid the foundation on which the 1970s Tobago autonomy movement was built.

Biggart was also in the forefront of efforts to establish secondary education in Tobago. He requested more money, College Exhibition (government scholarships to secondary schools) set-asides for Tobagonian students, special representation on the board of education for Tobagonians, and a resident inspector of schools for the island. A resident inspector of schools was reappointed in 1930.

In addition, Biggart was concerned about the disparity in wages paid to government workers on the two islands, the high level of unemployment in Tobago, and the lack of industries on the island. To alleviate this last problem, a lime factory was built, and the first meeting of the Tobago Lime Growers Association was held in 1930. He also sought to make the provision of government services more convenient for Tobago's rural population. Through his efforts a post office was established at Moriah.

As a health professional, Biggart had a vested interest in increasing the number of medical personnel and im-

proving the medical facilities in Tobago. In 1926 Biggart requested a motor ambulance service for Tobago and brought the deplorable condition of the Scarborough Poor House to the attention of the government. That geriatric facility was later remodeled, repaired, painted, and a qualified nurse and matron were appointed.

James Biggart had a strong sense of Tobagonian identity, as reflected in his insistence on the preservation of Tobago's history. In 1929 he successfully requested that the government collect the historical literature, documents, and other items of interest in Tobago and preserve them for future generations. After only six months in office, Governor Horace A. Byatt (1875–1933; gov. 1924–1930) described him as being "specially active" in presenting the interests of Tobago in the legislature.

See also James, A. P. T.; Robinson, A. N. R.; Williams, Eric

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LEARIE B. LUKE (2005)

Billy Dee

See Williams, Billy Dee (December, William)

Biography, U.S.

In 1835 Susan Paul, Boston teacher and biographer, made literary history. She published *Memoir of James Jackson: The Attentive and Obedient Scholar Who Died in Boston, October 31 1833, Aged Six Years and Eleven Months*. This memorial text is believed to be the first biography of a person of African descent published in the United States. Moreover, it appeared some ten years before Frederick Douglass's epoch-making *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), twenty years before the first black American novel, William Wells Brown's *Clotel, or the President's Daughter* (1853), and nearly thirty before *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Harriet Jacobs's amazing story of enslavement, abuse, romance and escape. This was not, however, a wholly unexpected event. Paul's narration of young James Jackson's life was just one more significant effort on the part of blacks who were struggling to resist the tendency to treat their lives lightly. Like Phillis Wheatley and Olaudah Equiano, Jupiter Hammon and Solomon Northrup, Susan Paul insisted on valuing the specificity of James Jackson's life experience even as she celebrated the vibrant black antebellum community in which he lived.

Biography operates then in much the same way as autobiography. Stories of unique individuals struggling for and within their communities have been particularly important for black people because of the way life writing specifically challenges the notion that blacks lack intelligence, culture, and individuality. Unlike autobiography, however, the black biographer is free to present his or her subject as exemplary, even saintly. Thus Paul's treatment of Jackson's life tends to present seemingly mundane aspects of the young boy's life (his education, for example) as exemplary and perhaps even unexpected.

It was this celebratory aesthetic that dominated black American biographies throughout much of the nineteenth century. Often the emphasis was less on telling the story of truly exceptional individuals than on creating black social registries in which any type of accomplishment deserved recognition. William C. Nell's *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, With Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons to Which is Added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans* is a text that briefly treats dozens of individuals: Crispus Attucks, Primus Hall, Paul Cuffe, David Ruggles, Oliver Cromwell, James Forten, Benjamin Banneker, Frances Ellen Watkins, and Denmark Vesey, among many others. Clearly Nell was attempting to establish a basic architecture for students of black American history and culture with his broad efforts to name names within the emerging black public sphere. This effort was followed by Williams Wells Brown's 1863 *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements*. In the same vein William Still published *The Underground Railroad: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters* in 1872. This nineteenth-century tradition of brief treatments of many individuals probably reached its zenith with Rev. William J. Simmons's *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising,* published in 1887. This was a 1,400-page volume that included 177 biographical sketches of blacks who had achieved distinction as professionals and race leaders, including slave rebels and postbellum politicians. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, biographers began to turn to new forms in

their efforts to demonstrate the strength and diversity of black communities.

In 1886 Sarah H. Bradford published *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* and *Harriet: The Moses of Her People*, texts that represented significant new departures for black biography. While these works lacked basic information about Tubman's life and were largely based on information that Bradford gained from Tubman herself, they nonetheless broke new ground by focusing on a single, exceptional woman. Many more such biographies would be published over the course of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More to the point, from the late nineteenth century forward we see much more emphasis by biographers on singular, even heroic black persons. While texts treating the lives of multiple individuals continued—and continue—to be published, at the turn of the century a new orientation in black biography could be seen. It was represented by the work of persons like the famed black American writer Charles W. Chesnutt, who published *Frederick Douglass* in 1899. This effort was followed by Booker T. Washington's own *Frederick Douglass,* published in 1907, Shirley Graham's 1947 work, *There Was Once a Slave: The Heroic Story of Frederick Douglass,* and Benjamin Quarles's *Frederick Douglass* published a year later. Clearly, then, twentieth-century biographers revived some of the spirit of Susan Paul as they once again produced texts that privileged the life experiences and psychologies of individuals.

The release of Langston Hughes's *Famous American Negroes* in 1954 represented a significant turning point in the professionalization and commercialization of black biography. Published in the same year as the Supreme Court's landmark desegregation ruling, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* Hughes's text was one of several written during the mid-twentieth century designed to represent the lives of modern, forward-thinking, and cosmopolitan blacks. Richard Bardolph published *The Negro Vanguard* in 1959 explicitly to celebrate the most successful among black Americans. John A. Williams's 1970 work, *The Most Native of Sons: A Biography of Richard Wright*, helped solidify the reputation of the man thought to be the most significant black writer of his generation. Michel Fabre followed this with *The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright* in 1973. At the same time, by the late 1960s and early 1970s black nationalists were also using biography as a way to celebrate the lives and efforts of previous generations of nationalist intellectuals and activists. Examples of these efforts are Victor Ullman's work, *Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism*, published in 1971, and Cyril E. Griffith's 1975 text, *The African Dream: Martin R. Delany and the Emergence of Pan-African Thought*.

By the early nineteen eighties hundreds of biographies of black persons had been published, so much so that some of the nation's most prominent historians began to produce work that synthesized the abundant data available for biographers and other students of black history and culture. Thus at precisely the moment when biographies of blacks became altogether common, many prominent historians produced "group biographies" that were similar, in many ways, to those of the nineteenth century. In 1982 alone Howard Rabinowitz's edited volume, *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era,* appeared with John Hope Franklin and August Meier's text, *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, as well as Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston's *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*.

These were followed by studies of black individuals that have now become standard parts of the American historical archive: Louis R. Harlan published *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee* in 1983. Faith Berry's controversial work *Langston Hughes: Before and Beyond Harlem* came out that same year. Nellie McKay's *Jean Toomer, Artist: A Study of His Literary Life and Work* followed in 1984, as did Waldo Martin's *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*. Even more significantly, Arnold Rampersad published extended treatments of the black American writer, Langston Hughes, *The Life of Langston Hughes, Vol I: I, Too, Sing America* (1986) and *The Life of Langston Hughes Volume II: I Dream a World* (1988). Faith Berry and Arnold Rampersad's work demonstrated some of the stakes involved in the production of black biography as the two authors grappled with the question of Hughes's sexuality. Berry suggested that Hughes was homosexual, while Rampersad maintained that the evidence pointed to Hughes' asexuality. This topic would be of only passing interest if it did not speak directly to the question of whether biographies should be designed first and foremost to celebrate remarkable individuals or instead to undress them, to reveal both their good and bad attributes, in an effort to understand better their motivations and their genius.

All of these questions were perhaps most richly explored in the work of historian, David Garrow, whose 1996 text, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* was remarkably thorough, so much so that many believed that King's reputation as a race leader and a man of God was tarnished. David Levering Lewis suffered less criticism for his works, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race*, published in 1993 and *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century*, published in 2000. Again, however, he did reveal information about Du Bois's personal and professional life that firmly established the innate humani-

ty–and fallibility–of the famed race leader. Still, the fact that both Garrow and Lewis won Pulitzer Prizes for their works demonstrated that black biography (warts and all) had been fully integrated into the main currents of American high culture.

It is important to note that the "tell-all" orientation within black biographical writing, represented by the controversies surrounding the works of Berry, Rampersad, and Garrow did not come out of nowhere. In 1988 Margaret Walker published *Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius*, a text that many took to be a scandalous treatment of Wright's life. Thus, from that moment forward it became clear that the days of fully laudatory biographies of black individuals were over. In her work, Walker, an extremely significant poet and novelist in her own right, suggested that the more well known Richard Wright was misogynistic, homophobic, and bisexual to boot. Thus, even though Walker published in the same year that saw the release of Leon Litwack and August Meier's much more respectful edited volume, *Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century,* one can see a pronounced shift in tone during this period. Martin Duberman's 1989 study of the performer and activist Paul Robeson, *Paul Robeson: A Biography*, demonstrated the man in all his complexity, including the mental and emotional battles that he suffered in both private and public life. The same was true of Bruce Perry's controversial 1991 work, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed America*, Jill Watts's 1992 *God, Harlem, U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story,* and David Leeming's 1997 text, *James Baldwin: A Biography*. Perhaps no biographer went quite as far, however, as did Nell Irvin Painter whose work, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol,* challenged many of the myths surrounding Truth, including the widespread belief that she rescued a group of white feminists from male hostility with her famed "Ain't I a Woman" speech.

In the contemporary era a rather encouraging emphasis on the necessity of reclaiming the lives of more recent black intellectuals and activists can be seen. In particular, there has been a surprising amount of recent work that examines the lives of important American activists and intellectuals of the 1940s through 1970s. In 1999 Chana Kai Lee published her treatment of activist and founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Fannie Lou Hamer, *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer.* Hazel Rowley published *Richard Wright: The Life and Times* in 2001. Lawrence Jackson published *Ralph Ellison: Emergence of Genius* in 2002. Barbara Ransby followed with *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* while John D'Emilio released his masterful work, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* that same year. D'Emilio's text not only examined Rustin's extremely important contributions to the civil rights and anti-war movements, but also dealt in some detail with Rustin's homosexuality, including his infamous arrest in Pasadena on a morals charge.

It is stunning to see not only how much energy continues to be expended telling the story of black people through the example of individual persons but also how very successful the writing of black biographies has become. Geoffrey C. Ward's 2004 study of boxer Jack Johnson, *Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson* sold wildly and was quickly adapted as a public television special. At the same time Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham's edited volume *African American Lives*, published in 2004, also promises to be a briskly selling work even as it returns to the tradition of mini-biographies that was first introduced in the nineteenth century. The writing of black biography has come quite a long way since Ms. Paul's humble efforts to memorialize the life of her young student, James Jackson. It seems, then, that biographers have only just begun to test the many possibilities inherent in this important literary form.

See also Autobiographies, U.S.; Black Arts Movement; Feminist Theory and Criticism; Literature; Literary Magazines;

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ROBERT REID-PHARR (2005)

Bird, V. C.

December 9, 1909
June 28, 1999

Vere Cromwell Bird, or "Papa Bird" as he was affectionately called by his Labour Party supporters, was born in St. Johns, the capital of the Caribbean islands of Antigua/Barbuda. He was the third of four boys born to laundress Amanda Edgehill. Despite his humble beginnings, "V. C." became one of the most significant Caribbean leaders of the twentieth century.

In 1943 Bird became the second president of the Antigua Trades and Labour Union (ATLU) after Reginald St. Clair Stevens, the union's first president, resigned. In 1946 the union under Bird formed the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), the people's first political party. Together the ATLU-ALP became the most significant institutions in the struggle for workers' rights and for political self-determination in the island nations. This was Bird's legacy in the region, the creation and management of the first of the Leeward Island institutions that fought and won the struggle for basic rights for the black and colored majority. Bird's political career began in 1939, when he joined other local activists Norris Allen, Reginald Stevens, F. O. Benjamin, S. A. Henry, Griffith Matthews, Randolph Lockhart, B. A Richards, Thomas Martin, James Jarvis, Stanley Walter, C. A. Perry, and Thomas Brooks in forming the ATLU.

As ALP leader, Bird would become the first chief minister (1960), first premier (1967), and first prime minister (1981) of the twin island nations. Bird created a true peasant class by dramatically expanding land ownership among rural Antiguans/Barbudans, allowing them to actually own the lands they worked.

Bird modernized the islands from the 1960s to the 1980s, expanding electricity and education and building housing and the infrastructure for a tourism industry that

replaced the exhausted sugar industry. The partnered institutions system introduced by Bird in the 1940s became the symbol for progress for the island nation, but it also became the source of conflict. The ATLU-ALP existed unopposed by any other party or union/party alliance until 1967, when the Antigua Workers Union (AWU) was formed by former members of the ATLU. These union leaders, Donald Halstead, George Walter, and Keithlyn Smith, would form both a rival labor union and political party by 1968. The Progressive Labour Movement (PLM) became the political arm of the union to rival the ATLU-ALP partnership.

The two union/party teams, the ATLU-ALP and AWU-PLM, would engage in intense competition for control of labor and for political control of the islands until the decline and demise of the PLM in the 1980s. Despite the existence of a third party, the Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) in the 1970s, the two-party system dominated. In the 1976 election and again in the 2004 election the ALP lost control of the Antigua/Barbuda government. In both instances political control of the government was ceded to ALP protégés who had become opposition leaders.

From the 1940s to the 1960s Bird directed the struggle against labor exploitation and social exclusion of the majority through the use of trade unionism, which had been introduced in 1939 by Moyne Commission member and Trade Union Congress (TUC) representative Sir Walter Citrine. Leeward Island trade unionists made the movement their own by the 1960s and used it to take social and political control from the British.

At age eighty-three, Bird retired from Antigua/Barbuda politics in 1994 after dominating it for fifty-five years. His retirement ended one of the longest political careers in the Caribbean region. His eulogy, written by journalist Leonard Tim Hector, highlighted his career and his single-minded focus on politics, which has rendered him invisible in some of the best known of Caribbean works, in particular Eric Williams's *From Columbus to Castro*. Writing in *Outlet,* a newspaper that Bird made numerous efforts to destroy, Hector opined, "Bird was all politics. His was the single-minded pursuit of political ends. Politics was his only occupation and pre-occupation. Longevity in power was his reward."

See also Hector, Tim; International Relations in the Anglophone Caribbean

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CHRISTOLYN A. WILLIAMS (2005)

Bishop, Maurice

May 29, 1944
October 19, 1983

Maurice Bishop was born in Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, the last child and only son among three children born to Grenadians Rupert and Alimenta La Grenade Bishop. In 1951 the Bishops returned to a Grenada in political ferment, due largely to the grant of universal adult suffrage that year. The family settled in Saint George's, Grenada's capital, where Rupert operated a number of successful small businesses.

Maurice attended the Wesley Hall Primary School and the Saint George's Roman Catholic Primary School, where in 1957 he won a scholarship to the Presentation Brothers College. There, he excelled in English, history, and literature and became an avid follower of the international anticolonial movement. In 1962 Bishop was awarded the Principal's medal for public speaking.

In 1963 Bishop left for England, where he studied law at the University of London's Holborn College. He became involved in radical student politics, serving as president of the West Indian Students' Society and joining the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination. He also cofounded a legal aid clinic for London's West Indian community. In 1969 he completed his legal training at Grey's Inn and returned to Grenada in 1970.

Bishop plunged into local politics and participated at all levels of opposition to Eric Gairy's government both before and after Grenada's independence in 1974. In 1973 Bishop's Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP) merged with the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation (JEWEL) to form the New JEWEL Movement (NJM) and the National Liberation Army (NLA), its secret military wing. Bishop and other NJM leaders were often victims of state-sponsored political violence.

In 1976 Bishop was elected to the Grenada assembly as a member of the People's Alliance. On March 13, 1979,

he was one of the leading revolutionaries who toppled Gairy's government and became the head of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). Bishop's government developed close diplomatic relations with Cuba, Nicaragua, Jamaica (under Michael Manley), the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe. In Grenada itself, his doctrinaire Marxist government experimented with innovations in participatory democracy that were different from the Westminster-style model to which the Anglophone Caribbean has been socialized.

By 1983, however, internecine conflict within the People's Revolutionary Government over ideological and other differences led to open violence. On October 19, Bishop and several government ministers loyal to him were assassinated at Fort Rupert, Saint George's. A week later, Grenada was invaded by U.S.-led forces to restore order.

Maurice Bishop presided over an unprecedented, idealistic episode in the history of the Anglophone Caribbean, when an elected government was overthrown by extraconstitutional methods, and which, after beginning with high expectations, ended in tragedy. To this day, Bishop's remains have never been identified. He was an iconic, albeit controversial figure in contemporary Grenada. The highway leading to the Point Salines International Airport, easily the most visible public works project undertaken during his four-year government, is named Maurice Bishop Highway.

See also Gairy, Eric; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; New Jewel Movement

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Black Academy of Arts and Letters

The Black Academy of Arts and Letters was founded in Boston in 1969 in the tradition of the American Negro Academy (1897–1916) to "define, reserve, cultivate, promote, foster and develop the arts and letters of black people." At the founding meeting C. Eric Lincoln, a noted historian of black religion, was elected president; novelist John O. Killens, vice president; psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint, treasurer; and author Doris Saunders, secretary. The fifty founding members included African Americans from a wide spectrum of the artistic and scholarly world, such as Alvin Ailey, Margaret Walker Alexander, Lerone Bennett, Arna Bontemps, Oliver Cromwell Cox, Alex Haley, Vincent Harding, Vivian Henderson, Henry Lewis, Carl Rowan, and Nina Simone.

One goal of the Black Academy of Arts and Letters was to recognize those who have made a notable contribution to black America. The First Annual Awards Banquet in 1970 drew a crowd of over six hundred members and friends. With Harry Belafonte as master of ceremonies, a hall of fame was established and Carter G. Woodson, Henry O. Tanner, W. E. B. Du Bois, Lena Horne, C. L. R. James, Diana Sands, Imamu Amiri Baraka, and Paul Robeson were inducted.

The academy honored George Jackson with an award for his book *Soledad Brothers* after its publication in 1970. In 1972 it sought to bring W. E. B. Du Bois's remains from Ghana for burial in the United States in hopes of bringing greater recognition of his achievements and contributions to the African-American struggle for freedom. The academy also attempted to purchase Langston Hughes's house in Harlem. After restoration, they hoped to use one wing of the house as their hall of fame. However, the controversy surrounding some political positions of the academy, such as their support of George Jackson, made fund-raising extremely difficult. By the early 1970s the academy had ceased functioning.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Belafonte, Harry; Bontemps, Arna; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Haley, Alex; Killens, John Oliver; Robeson, Paul; Rowan, Carl T.; Tanner, Henry Ossawa

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

Black Arts Movement

The Black Arts movement (BAM), which could be dated roughly to 1965 through 1976, has often been called the "Second Black Renaissance," suggesting a comparison to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and '30s. The two are alike in encompassing literature, music, visual arts, and theater. Both movements emphasized racial pride, an appreciation of African heritage, and a commitment to produce works that reflected the culture and experiences of black people. The BAM, however, was larger and longer lasting, and its dominant spirit was politically militant and often racially separatist.

To specify the exact dates of cultural movements is difficult and, given the amorphous nature of complex cultural phenomena, may appear arbitrary. In 1965, however, several events occurred that gave direct impetus to the movement: the assassination of Malcolm X, which prompted many African Americans to take a more militantly nationalist political stance; the conversion of the literary prodigy LeRoi Jones into Imamu Amiri Baraka, the movement's leading writer; the formation of the musically revolutionary Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) in Chicago; and the founding of Broadside Press, which became a leading publisher of BAM poets, in Detroit. Each of these events galvanized black artists.

While the movement had no specific end point, certain events and works decisively marked shifts in the cultural climate. For example, the decision in 1976 by Johnson Publishing to discontinue *Black World* effectively silenced the most important mass-circulation periodical voice of the movement. Furthermore, works published in 1976, such as Ntozake Shange's *for colored girls . . .* , Ishmael Reed's *Flight to Canada*, and Alice Walker's *Meridian*, spoke critically and retrospectively of the movement. The major figures of the movement became less prominent in the late 1970s as new, different African-American voices began to emerge. Thus, while no one can specify when the movement ended, there was a consensus in the late 1970s that the movement was indeed over.

The BAM was fundamentally concerned with the construction of a "black" identity as opposed to a "Negro" identity, which the participants sought to escape. Those involved placed a great emphasis on rhetorical and stylistic gestures that in some sense announced their "blackness." Afro haircuts, daishikis, African pendants and other jewelry, militant attitudes, and a general sternness of demeanor were among the familiar personal gestures by which this blackness was expressed. In many cases these activists dropped their given "slave names" and adopted instead Arab, African, or African-sounding names, which were meant to represent their rejection of the white man and their embracing of an African identity. Such gestures, as they became popularized, rapidly degenerated into clichés, which have subsequently become easy targets of satire for the movement's many detractors. Depicted in extreme forms, Afrocentric dress, soul handshakes, and other affectations of blackness appear ludicrous. Facile parodies, however, should not blind us to the serious social, cultural, and political yearnings that common gestures of personal style reflected but could not adequately express. Silly fads as well as profound art derived from this impulse to discover and create black modes of self-expression.

The BAM is often but inadequately conceived of as a poetry and theater movement that articulated in literary terms the militant, separatist, social, and political attitudes of the 1960s Black Power movement. While the BAM had direct links to the Black Power movement, both movements derived from complex historical legacies and cannot be understood simply in the context of the black community or the 1960s. The BAM, in particular, drew inspiration from numerous sources and manifested itself across the spectrum of aesthetic modes, casting its influence far beyond the black community and the tumultuous 1960s. To understand the BAM adequately, we must consider its manifestations in literature, music, dance, visual arts, theater, and other modes. Ultimately, this movement represented an evolving consensus about the nature and sources of art and the relationship of art to its audience.

The movement is often attacked or dismissed by subsequent artists and critics as having been dogmatically polemical. Since the movement generated a great deal of polemical and theoretical writing, this criticism does have a

> "The Black Arts and the Black Power concept both relate broadly to the Afro-American's desire for self determination and nationhood. Both concepts are nationalistic. One is concerned with the relationship between art and politics; the other with the art of politics."
>
> LARRY NEAL
> "BLACK ART IS THE AESTHETIC AND SPIRITUAL SISTER OF THE BLACK POWER CONCEPT" (1968). SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

basis in fact. For example, many poems of the movement contain attacks on white people and "Uncle Tom Negroes"; many plays pontificate about the proper relationship between black men and black women (often asserting male primacy and advocating female submissiveness); musical compositions often incorporate rambling monologues of "relevant" poetry or invoke ancient African kingdoms or Malcolm X; and the images of Malcolm X and the American flag recur incessantly in the visual arts of the movement. To recognize that the movement has its clichés, however, is not to suggest that cliché typifies all or even most of its works.

It is also important to acknowledge that the BAM did not encompass every African-American artist who was active during the 1960s and '70s, nor did all of the artists within the BAM agree with each other on every social and aesthetic issue. The consensus that characterized the movement represented a very broad set of attitudes and principles that participants in the movement understood in varying ways and shared to varying degrees. At the same time, sharing these general principles and attitudes did not necessarily entail the acceptance of the agendas or judgments of those who articulated or advocated these principles. Establishing these distinctions allows us to understand that the movement reflects both strong agreement and acrimonious dissent.

The shared agenda of the movement was commonly described as the quest for a black aesthetic. Despite constant efforts, the term "black aesthetic" never acquired a precise definition, and it is better understood as the symbol of a shared aspiration than as a descriptively accurate label for a fully elaborated mode or theory of art. Nevertheless, "black aestheic" does clearly indicate the attempt to create art with African-American cultural specificity. What this might mean is surprisingly difficult to ascertain.

One aspect of it is obviously social. The most concise statement of this social dimension of the black aesthetic appears in "Black Cultural Nationalism," an influential 1968 essay by Ron Karenga (who later adopted the name Maulana, meaning "teacher"). Citing Leopold Senghor, Karenga asserts that "all African art has at least three characteristics: that is, it is functional, collective, and committing." By this Karenga means that "black art must expose the enemy, praise the people, and support the revolution." Karenga's influence became pervasive in part because his theories were embraced and promulgated by the influential Imamu Amiri Baraka. This view of art, arguably more Marxist-Leninist than African, became the dominant view of the social function of black art: It should expose the enemy and raise black consciousness.

This narrowly pragmatic conception of black art worked against another major concern of the black aesthetic: to connect with black cultural traditions. Ironically, many of the black aestheticians spurned significant aspects of genuine African-American culture, such as the blues. Karenga, for example, complained that the blues enabled an acceptance of existing realities, while Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti) remarked in his poem "Don't Cry, Scream": "All the blues did was / make me cry." In such instances, black aesthetic ideology severed black art from black traditions. Regarding actual African-American culture, the movement was often divided against itself.

The most important legacy of the Black Arts Movement was its quest for new modes of expression based on African-American traditions. The sentiment of black solidarity provided a fundamental premise of the movement. Practically speaking, this sentiment led to the formation of artists' organizations, schools, and publishing ventures located in and directed to the black community. In order for black art to flourish, these activists believed, black artists must control the means of production. Needless to say, such principles had always been operative in black cultural institutions, and some precursors of the black arts, such as the Karamu Playhouse in Cleveland, had been active for decades. One of the earliest 1960s black arts groups was the Umbra Writers Workshop, founded in New York's Greenwich Village in 1963 by Tom Dent, Calvin Hernton, and David Henderson. Although political and aesthetic disagreements soon caused Umbra to implode, it provided an important model for subsequent groups, and several of its members were among the most innovative and influential figures of the BAM. These include Ishmael Reed, Roland Snellings (Askia Touré), Henry Dumas, Norman Pritchard, and Steve Cannon.

Even before Umbra, the National Conference of Artists (NCA) had been founded in 1959. While a few visual artists, among them Joe Overstreet, and even some musicians, such as Sun Ra (who was also a poet), had been involved with Umbra, NCA was strictly a visual artists' organization. Though conceived as a professional organization rather than a workshop, NCA shared with subsequent black arts organizations the broad objectives of "preserving, promoting, and developing the creative forces and expressions of African-American artists." Its activities included annual conferences, a newsletter, a journal, regional meetings, exhibitions, lectures, workshops, placement services, and scholarships. The national scope and professional orientation of this group, however, distinguish it from most BAM institutions. The differences between NCA and AfriCobra, reflect, as we shall see, the particularity of the BAM.

Though much of the Black Arts activity occurred on the East Coast, Chicago incubated two of the most influential and enduring of the movement's institutions: the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC), founded in 1967, and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) founded in 1965. Also notable among Chicago institutions are Third World Press and the Institute for Positive Education, founded in 1967 by OBAC members Haki Madhubuti and Johari Amini. OBAC was originally conceived as an umbrella group, comprising workshops in literature and visual arts, as well as a politically oriented community workshop. In its original declaration of principles, OBAC stated its intention to encourage work based on the black experience and expressing a black aesthetic. Like NCA, it aspired to develop both artists and critics who could create and appraise black art and to develop various mechanisms for disseminating art and fostering discussions within the community.

Even the acronym OBAC was designed to reflect the high ambitions of the group. Pronounced "oh-bah-see," OBAC echoes the Yoruba word *oba,* which denotes royalty and leadership. OBAC aspired to spearhead the incipient black cultural revolution. Its founders included Hoyt Fuller, the editor of *Negro Digest* (renamed *Black World* in 1970) and Gerald McWorter (Abdul Alkalimat), a graduate student at the University of Chicago. The work of OBAC writers such as Johari Amini, Haki Madhubuti, and Carolyn Rodgers often appeared in *Negro Digest/Black World* along with the editorials and commentaries of Hoyt Fuller and quickly gained a national audience for both the art and the polemics of OBAC.

The most dramatic public statement by OBAC was *The Wall of Respect*, a Black Power mural painted on a building at the corner of 43rd Street and Langley Avenue on Chicago's South Side by Jeff Donaldson, Eugene Wade, Bill Walker, and other members of the visual arts workshop in 1967. The wall depicted various historical and contemporary black heroes such as Muhammad Ali, W. E. B. Du Bois, Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, Nina Simone, Amiri Baraka, and Gwendolyn Brooks. This mural galvanized the imaginations of community people, and based on their comments, the artists made various revisions on the mural. The appeal of public art notwithstanding, this privately owned building was eventually razed, and *The Wall of Respect* passed into legend.

Despite its brief existence, the mural sparked a local and national movement. Numerous cities soon produced their own equivalents, such as The Wall of Dignity in Detroit, several murals by artists including Dana Chandler and Gary Rickson in Boston, and similar projects in New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, among others. Needless to say, the mural movement had roots going back to the 1930s in the WPA public art projects and especially in the powerful work created by the Mexican artist Diego Rivera. The Black Arts movement also echoed the 1930s in that the vogue of murals was seized upon by state and federal arts agencies. While black artists could see such murals as "committed and committing," government agencies saw them as a fine combination of public art and social control mechanisms for urban youths who could be organized into painting teams during the incendiary summers of the 1960s. Artists such as Bill Walker and Dana Chandler organized mural projects in several cities, but the political impact of these projects diminished as their frequency increased, and when government support evaporated in the arid 1970s, the mural movement withered away.

Nevertheless, the movement launched the careers of many artists. Five of the OBAC artists—Jeff Donaldson, Jae Jarrell, Wadsworth Jarrell, Barbara B. Jones, and Gerald Williams—formed their own organization, COBRA (Coalition of Black Revolutionary Artists) in 1968. The next year they became AfriCobra (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists), adding Napoleon Henderson and Nelson Stevens to their ranks. By the time of the first AfriCobra show at Harlem's Studio Museum in July 1970, Sherman Beck, Omar Lama, and Carolyn M. Lawrence had joined the group, bringing the number to ten. For many people, AfriCobra came to epitomize the new black art. Their work used vivid, basic colors. It was representational, usually incorporating the faces of black people, and it was explicitly political. In direct rebellion against the elitist norms of establishment art, these artists endeavored to produce work that was immediately comprehensible

and appealing to common people. As Jeff Donaldson put it, "This is 'poster art'—images which deal with concepts that offer positive and feasible solutions to our individual, local, national, international, and cosmic problems. The images are designed with the idea of mass production." This statement captured the spirit of the black aesthetic as many artists understood it.

The music of the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians, was arguably even more dazzling, iconoclastic, and influential than the poetry, fiction, and art of OBAC. AACM resembled OBAC in that it was independent and community based. Both groups consisted mostly of younger artists, in college or recently graduated, but both received leadership from older, established figures. Three band leaders, Muhal Richard Abrams, Phil Cohran, and Jodie Christian, for example, conceived AACM and called its founding meeting on May 8, 1965. Abrams, a noted pianist and composer, was elected president of AACM and served in that capacity for over a decade. The initial impetus for AACM was more economic than political. By the mid-1960s most of Chicago's important jazz clubs had closed, and jazz was everywhere in decline. These musicians saw a cooperative as the best way for musicians to take control of their own professional destinies.

AACM soon attracted many of the best young musicians in Chicago. The group established an educational program (in 1967) and an AACM orchestra that met (and continues to meet) weekly to perform new compositions by AACM members. Most importantly, AACM provided a setting in which young musicians could meet, perform together, and exchange ideas. AACM members and groups performed frequent concerts around Chicago's South Side during the late 1960s and early '70s. Ensembles formed, dissolved, and reconfigured around AACM, a few of which soon distinguished themselves: the various groups led by Abrams; the Fred Anderson Quintet; the Art Ensemble of Chicago; the Creative Construction Company; and (in the 1970s) Air.

Each of these groups had its own unique character but they had some traits in common. They were profoundly influenced by the "free jazz" innovations of Cecil Taylor and Ornette Coleman, by the intense instrumental styles of John Coltrane and Eric Dolphy, by the musical eclecticism of Charles Mingus, and by the theatrical staging and grand vision of Sun Ra. Unlike the populist OBAC, AACM produced difficult, challenging, unabashedly avant-garde work. While these musicians could play blues and conventional jazz, their interests lay in extending the frontiers of musical possibility. They experimented with extended and free-form compositions, and with exotic instruments; they even tried to redefine what constitutes music. Some compositions by the Art Ensemble, for example, incorporated bicycle horns, bird whistles, street noises, poetry, sermons, screams, and nonsense conversation.

The Art Ensemble was the group that most epitomized AACM as an aspect of the Black Arts movement. The group consisted of Roscoe Mitchell and Joseph Jarman, reeds; Lester Bowie (deceased), trumpet; Malachi Favors (deceased), bass; and Famodou Don Moye, percussion. While performing, Jarman, Favors, and Moye wore facial paint and African-style costumes; Bowie wore a white lab coat; and Mitchell dressed in ordinary street clothes (jeans, turtlenecks, etc.). Usually, the Art Ensemble packed the stage with batteries of standard instruments (sopranino to bass saxophones, soprano to bass clarinets, various flutes, and often bassoons); a standard drum kit, plus congas, gongs, and marimbas; and countless "little instruments" (whistles, bells, tambourines, conch shells, maracas, and various noisemakers). Art Ensemble concerts were visual spectacles and unpredictable musical events, reflecting the group's motto: "Great Black Music: Ancient to the Future." Their compositions, such as People in Sorrow (1969), exemplified the devotional parodic, evocative, experimental, lyrical eclecticism of the Art Ensemble.

In contrast to the Art Ensemble, which flourished for three decades, the Creative Construction Company—Anthony Braxton, reeds; Leroy Jenkins, violin; Leo Smith, trumpet; Muhal Richard Abrams, piano; Richard Davis, bass; and Steve McCall, drums—persisted only for a few years. However, all of these men became major figures in the new music. Their concerts and albums were celebrated for their dazzling ensemble playing, which emphasized collective improvisation rather than solos. Both these bands developed aesthetics based upon the Black Arts precept of committed collectivity.

Chicago also developed notable and enduring black theater groups, such a KUUMBA and Ebony Talent Theater (ETT), but New York was clearly the more important city for theater and dance, and most of the famous Black Arts plays premiered there. However, the proliferation of black theater groups on campuses and in communities throughout the country guaranteed that plays by established authors, local talents, and emerging stars were quickly disseminated. Although Amiri Baraka, due to his broad range of literary and political activities, was the best known of the Black Arts playwrights, he had many talented peers. Ed Bullins, Ron Milner, Lonne Elder, Charles Fuller, Douglass Turner Ward, Adrienne Kennedy, Melvin Van Peebles, Loften Mitchell, and Ben Caldwell all wrote provocative work that challenged audiences and incited lively debate.

These authors worked in a variety of styles, and their political and cultural views differed. Nonetheless, they shared a vision of American society in crisis and a conviction that drama should challenge the complacency of audiences by exposing racism, economic exploitation, social conflict, and false consciousness. Some of these plays were satirical, while others were intensely confrontational; some relied on dialogue, while others bristled with shocking language. Furious assaults on whites were at times matched by blistering arguments between father and son, brother and sister. Black Arts theater was the theater of a people becoming aware of and rebelling against their own oppression. However, it was also a theater that sought solutions, new understandings, and transformed social relations. In keeping with the idea of an art derived from and directed to the black community, nearly all of the Black Arts theaters instituted discussion forums immediately following their productions, involving the director, cast, audience, and sometimes the author. Black art was to be educational, not just entertaining.

Black dance also proliferated during this period. The Alvin Ailey group, though founded in 1960, just before the advent of BAM, exemplified the visual and rhythmical ideals of the black aesthetic. Several other major companies were formed during the movement: among others, Dayton Contemporary Dance Company in Ohio (1968); the Dance Theater of Harlem in New York City (1969); the Philadelphia Dance Company, or Phildanco (1970); Garth Fagan's Bucket Dance in Rochester, N.Y. (1970); the Cleo Parker Robinson Dance Ensemble in Denver (1971); and the Joel Hall Dancers in Chicago (1974). While all of these troupes specialize in African-American dance, most of them have been multiethnic in composition. This conflict between the nationalist impulse to form all-black companies and the pluralist impulse to include qualified people who, regardless of their background, have the talent and disposition to make a contribution reflects a larger tension in the movement. African-American culture is inherently an amalgam, including European elements as well as African. Most black artists have been trained in institutions with European orientations. How, then, can black artists come honestly to terms with the complex nature of their own cultural heritage? Dance embraced the pluralist reality of American culture more forthrightly than the other black arts generally did.

At the same time, black dance immersed itself deeply in the cultures of Africa, the Caribbean, and black America. Unlike the literary artists and theorists of the BAM, whose acquaintance with Africa was too often only through cursory reading and vigorous fantasy, dancers had a highly developed tradition of African dance technique to draw upon. Since the early 1930s, African dancers such as Asadata Dafora and Shologa Oloba had taught African dance in New York. Nana Yao Opare Dinizulu had begun teaching African dance and culture in Harlem in 1947 and founded a company in the same year. Subsequently, the companies of Charles Moore and Chuck Davis extended this tradition. African percussion masters such as Babatunde Olatunji also traveled to the United States, imparting their vast knowledge of African music and dance. African traditions as developed in Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad had been studied, adapted, and taught since the 1930s by influential dancers such as Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, and Jean-Leon Destinée. Even costuming and stage design had transcended mere ethnographic imitation and instead, borrowing the vivid colors and basic styles of African tradition, had evolved—preeminently in the work of Geoffrey Holder—into dazzlingly imaginative modes of expression. Thus, when large numbers of dancers began traveling to study in Africa during the late 1960s and '70s, their challenge was not to introduce new forms to American dance but rather to refine and extend a firmly established tradition.

To explain companies like Bucket Dance and the Dance Theater of Harlem as products of BAM would be simplistic and inaccurate. Clearly, however, the desire to create black cultural institutions and the desire to engage artists and audiences in a rediscovery of African and African-American expressive modes links the efforts of choreographers such as Garth Fagan and Arthur Mitchell to the broader BAM. These dancers also shared the educational commitments of the movement. In addition to training young dancers for their own companies in the traditional manner of independent dance ensembles, choreographers like Fagan, Mitchell, and Davis have always maintained vigorous public outreach programs, including workshops for children. Furthermore, since dance often captured the aesthetics of the movement without its polemics, many of the works created by Ailey, Mitchell, Fagan, Talley Beatty, Eleo Pomare, and other choreographers of that period have remained fresh and compelling, while by contrast, many popular literary works of the era now seem shrill and dated. The greatest artists of BAM may not be its acknowledged spokespersons.

Similarly, many artists who came of age during the movement have continued to develop, leaving behind many of the themes, modes, and attitudes of their own earlier work. In the visual arts, for example, many artists relied on chains and distorted images of American flags to make overtly political points. The sculptor Melvin Edwards, for example, created a series of works in the late 1960s called Lynch Fragments. One installation of it ap-

peared at the Whitney in 1970, consisting of strands of barbed wire strung from the ceiling and attached to loops of heavy chain. Such work is pointed but aesthetically limited. By contrast, Edwards's works of subsequent years are large-scale, welded-steel sculptures, often in abstract forms but sometimes incorporating chain or chainlike figures as well. The growth in imaginative complexity and aesthetic appeal is immediately obvious.

Faith Ringgold, a painter with strong political commitments, was actually convicted in 1970, along with two other artists, for desecrating the American flag. Her flag paintings such as "The Flag Is Bleeding" (1967) and "Flag for the Moon: Die Nigger" (1969) are effective polemics about American violence and racism. Nonetheless, outside the angry context of the late 1960s, these works appear strident and facile. Her later works that utilize folk-art forms (as she had begun to do even in the 1960s), textiles, quilting, and various other media embody artistic maturity, not just effective visual rhetoric. David Hammons made heavy use of both flags and chains in his works of the late 1960s. Indeed, his body prints such as "Pray for America" (1969) and "Injustice Case" (1970), the latter regarding the Chicago Seven case, are among the most memorable American art images of that era. Like Edwards and Ringgold, however, Hammons discovered profounder aesthetic possibilities and resources when he moved away from the obvious symbolism and unambiguous political sentiments of BAM. Hammon's work of the 1980s and '90s, from his spade sculptures to his basketball installations, is playful, ironic, and much more deeply grounded in African-American culture. Like many other artists of their generation, Edwards, Ringgold, and Hammons were BAM artists, but their artistic growth did not terminate at the boundaries of the movement.

Some critics of the BAM have focused exclusively on a few extremist works, artists, or tendencies of the movement, thereby defining the movement only in terms of its most egregious features. While the extremes of the movement are shocking indeed, its fecundity and diversity have not been sufficiently recognized. Much has been written, for example, about the political assertiveness of BAM works. The humor of the movement, in all of its genres, has not generally been acknowledged. Much of Baraka's work is bitingly satirical. Douglass Turner Ward's *Day of Absence*, a coon show performed in whiteface, is slapstick comedy in the ministrel tradition. Cecil Brown, Sam Greenlee, and Ishmael Reed are all comic novelists. David Hammons, the Art Ensemble, and Garth Fagan have made humor a major element of their works. Haki Madhubuti and Nikki Giovanni, even at their most earnest, are playful and witty poets.

Despite the stern dogmatism of some Black Arts theory, the movement always encompassed diverse voices and perspectives. Some critics have dismissed the BAM as a sexist outpouring, dominated by misogynistic men. Actually, many of the iconic BAM figures were women, such as Sonia Sanchez, Nikki Giovanni, Carolyn Rodgers, Audre Lorde, Toni Cade Bambara, Faith Ringgold, June Jordan, and Adrienne Kennedy. These and other women within the movement vigorously debated gender issues among themselves and with their male counterparts, in their works, in public forums, and in organizational meetings. The common claim that women's voices were suppressed by the BAM is belied by a reading of the anthologies, periodicals, museum show catalogs, playbills, and other documents of the period.

In fact, one might argue that the most direct literary legacy of the BAM was the explosion of black women's writing in the late 1970s and '80s. For instance, while Ntozake Shange's play *for colored girls who have considered suicide/when the rainbow is enuf* (1976) anticipates in its themes and attitudes the feminism and womanism of the 1980s and '90s, its aesthetic roots—especially its use of vernacular language, color, music, and dance—are clearly in the BAM tradition. Toni Cade Bambara's intricate masterpiece *The Salt Eaters* (1980) is certainly the most sophisticated and probing book yet written on how this black nationalist political and aesthetic movement shaped the lives of its participants. Finally, womanist critics of the BAM have rejected many aspects of the movement, including some of its fundamental social values. Nevertheless, their conception of art, especially literature, as a tool of consciousness raising and community building is a direct echo of Black Arts theory.

BAM even had within it a vigorous multiculturalist tendency, which was most forcefully represented by Ishmael Reed and his San Francisco Bay Area cohorts, such as Al Young. In his poems, essays, and novels, Reed advocated a vision of multicultural pluralism, social freedom, and political tolerance. Spurning the dogmatic nationalism of many BAM adherents, Reed declared himself a multicultural artist more than a decade before the idea of multiculturalism became fashionable. Through his editing of periodicals such as *Yardbird Reader*, *Y'bird*, and *Quilt*, which published writers of numerous ethnic backgrounds and his leadership in multicultural collectives such as the Before Columbus Foundation, Reed acted decisively to implement his pluralist commitments. Furthermore, Reed has written devastating satires on and criticisms of Black Arts dogmas and excesses. Yet as an alumnus of the Umbra Workshop, Reed is himself a foundational figure of the movement. Clearly, the BAM was large enough, in

the best Whitmanesque tradition, to contain contradictions and multitudes.

See also Afrocentrism; Autobiography, U.S.; Biography, U.S.; Black Power Movement; Drama; Feminist Theory and Criticism; Literary Criticism, U.S.; Last Poets; Literary Magazines; OBAC Writers' Workshop

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DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
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Blackburn, Robert

December 10, 1920
April 21, 2003

The lithographer and teacher Robert Hamilton Blackburn was born to Jamaican parents in Summit, New Jersey, in 1920 and moved to Harlem in 1926. He took art classes at P.S. 139 in Harlem under the instruction of Works Project Administration (WPA)-sponsored teachers Rex Gorleigh and Zell Ingram. In 1935 he studied at the Harlem Community Arts Center and joined the Uptown Community Workshop. In 1941 he received a scholarship at the Art Students League and apprenticed in the studio of printmaker Will Barnet (1941–1943).

In 1948 Blackburn opened his own studio, the Printing Workshop, on 17th Street in New York City, offering evening classes and space for artists to operate printing presses. He created a collaborative relationship between the artist and lithographer so that printing became part of the artistic process. He remained involved with the workshop for over forty years, teaching printmaking and creating his own prints. Artists who used the facility included Romas Viesulas, Clare Romano, Sue Fuller, and Chaim Koppelman.

While teaching at the workshop, Blackburn was also an instructor at the National Academy of Design (1949), the New School for Social Research (1950–1951), Cooper Union (1965–1971), the School of Visual Arts (1967–1971), and at the Painting and Sculpture Division of Columbia University's School of the Arts (1970–1991). He exhibited at community galleries and in larger venues, including the Brooklyn Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Columbia Museum of Art in South Carolina.

In 1957 Blackburn became the master printer for Tatyana Grosman's Universal Limited Art Editions, a printing house that operated from Grosman's living room in West Islip, Long Island, in New York State. While at Universal, Blackburn was the lithographer of choice for many artists of the New York School, including Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg. He also printed works by many black artists, including Romare Bearden and Hale Woodruff.

In 1971, the Printing Workshop was incorporated as a nonprofit organization and began teaching lithography in economically disadvantaged communities. Some of Blackburn's own prints include "Girl in Red" (1951), "Strange Objects" (1959), and "What Is Apartheid" (1984). Blackburn died in 2003 at the age of eighty-two.

See also Art; Bearden, Romare; Woodruff, Hale Aspacio

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RENEE NEWMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Black Caribs

The biological and cultural origins of the Black Caribs are traced to the encounter of Carib Indians and Africans on the island of St. Vincent during the seventeenth century. Ancestors of the Carib Indians had migrated from South America, settling in St. Vincent and some other islands in the eastern Caribbean centuries before Europeans entered the region in the 1490s. By the seventeenth century the growth of sugar plantations and the slave trade brought increasing numbers of Africans to the Caribbean. The African ancestors of the Black Caribs arrived during this period. According to some accounts, all written long after the events took place and thus open to question, a ship carrying enslaved Africans to Barbados was blown off course and sank near St. Vincent. Some of the Africans reached shore, where they encountered Carib Indians. While accounts vary as to whether or not the Indians welcomed the survivors, a European visitor to St. Vincent in the 1670s reported seeing hundreds of armed men of African ancestry alongside nine hundred Carib warriors.

The Africans adopted the Carib language and many of the Indians' cultural practices, but by 1700 two politically separate groups occupied the island. The Indians, whom the Europeans called the Red Caribs or Yellow Caribs, lived on the leeward side of the island. The Black Caribs, or *les Caraïbes Noirs,* as they were known to the French, claimed the less accessible windward side of St. Vincent. It was said that the Black Caribs had chosen that name for themselves in their dealings with Europeans. The British often referred to them by other names, including Wild Negroes, suggesting that they regarded these black Indians as Maroons.

The Black Carib population grew rapidly during the eighteenth century, not only because of natural increase but reputedly because they also took Red Carib women captive and harbored fugitive slaves. In 1763, when the British gained formal control of St. Vincent from the French, the Black Caribs numbered two thousand and the Red Caribs only some hundreds.

The British made plans to colonize the island, but the Black Caribs refused to surrender their land and maintained an alliance with the French that strengthened their position. After three decades of uneasy peace punctuated by broken treaties and resistance, the Black Caribs finally revolted against the British in 1795. In 1796, following a decisive victory, the British proceeded with plans to deport the Black Caribs thousands of miles away from St. Vincent. A few evaded deportation and remained in St. Vincent, but thousands did not. Many of them died of disease before arriving at the intended destination, the island of Roatán. From there the survivors soon spread to the nearby eastern coast of Central America.

Today their settlements lie along a narrow strip of shoreline from Belize to Nicaragua. Their language and their origins in Yurúmai (St. Vincent) remain central to their ethnic identity. Since the late twentieth century they have increasingly used the names Garífuna and Garinagu rather than Black Carib to identify themselves.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Migration

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VIRGINIA KERNS (2005)

Black Codes

Black codes were laws passed to regulate the rights of free African Americans in the antebellum and post–Civil War eras. Before the Civil War, a number of midwestern states adopted black codes (or black laws) to inhibit the migration of free blacks and in other ways limit black rights. After the Civil War, most southern states adopted far more severe black codes to prevent former slaves, called freed-

men at the time, from having the full rights of citizens and to reimpose, as much as possible, the labor and racial controls of slavery.

Black Codes in the North

In 1804 Ohio passed an act to "regulate black and mulatto persons." This law became the prototype for subsequent laws passed in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Michigan Territory. It required that blacks migrating to Ohio show proof of their freedom and exacted a $50 fine from any white hiring a black who did not have such proof. On its face, this law could be seen as a good-faith effort to prevent fugitive slaves from entering the state. In fact, it was primarily designed to discourage black migration. An 1807 law raised the fine to $100 and required migrating blacks to find two sureties to guarantee their "good behavior" and assure that they would not require public assistance. Subsequent amendments to these laws prevented blacks from serving on juries and testifying against whites and severely limited their access to public schools. Although discriminatory, these laws did not prevent blacks from owning real estate, entering professions—including law and medicine—or exercising freedom of speech, press, assembly, and worship. Moreover, once blacks were legally present in a state, the black codes of the North did not inhibit their geographic mobility.

These laws were generally ineffective in limiting the growth of the free black population. From 1803 to 1860, Ohio's black population actually grew at a slightly faster rate than did its white population. Between 1830 and 1860, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio all saw over 300 percent growth in their black populations. Little evidence exists that migrating blacks were generally asked to prove their freedom or that anyone enforced the requirement that migrating blacks find sureties to sign bonds for them. In addition, no cases are on record of any whites being fined for hiring blacks who failed to provide proof of their freedom.

In 1849 Ohio repealed most of its black codes, including those provisions discouraging black migrants from coming to the state. The repeal was part of an elaborate legislative compromise that also sent the abolitionist Salmon P. Chase to the U.S. Senate. Indiana and Illinois retained their discriminatory laws until after the Civil War. Iowa, California, and Oregon also adopted some aspects of the northern black codes, but Iowa and California dropped virtually all these rules before or during the Civil War.

By the end of the Civil War, blacks in the North had substantial equality under the law, except that in most states they could not vote or serve on juries. These disabilities based on race disappeared after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. After 1870, some northern states still prohibited marriages between blacks and whites, but otherwise most remnants of the black codes were no longer on the books.

Black Codes in the South

In the South, the situation was far different. The loss of the war and the emancipation of four million slaves immediately and dramatically affected southern society. Emancipation upset the system of racial control that had kept blacks subordinate to whites since the seventeenth century, and also destroyed the economic relationship that had allowed planters to count on a pliable and ever-present source of labor. With slavery gone, the legal status of the freedmen and their role in the postwar South were uncertain. Immediately after the war, southern legislatures began to adopt black codes to define the status of former slaves and to cope with the emerging problems resulting from Emancipation.

Northerners assumed that after Emancipation ex-slaves would have the same rights as other free people, but white southerners did not hold the same views. Before the war, the rights of free blacks were severely restricted and usually enumerated in slave codes, underscoring the antebellum southern view that free blacks were an anomalous and inherently dangerous class of people. Thus, when the war ended the ex-slaves of the former Confederate states lacked most legal rights. The black codes changed this but in a way that rigorously limited the rights of freedmen.

At the personal level, the black codes allowed African Americans to marry each other (but not whites) and declared that all slaves who had lived as married couples would be considered legally married. Mississippi's laws of 1865—the first adopted in the postwar South—illustrate how the black codes gave former slaves some rights while at the same time denying them many others that whites had. The end result was to give former slaves most of the responsibilities but few of the benefits of freedom.

Mississippi

An 1865 law with the misleading title "An Act to confer Civil Rights on Freedmen, and for other Purposes," declared that blacks could "sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded" in all state courts, but only allowed them to testify in cases involving other blacks and prohibited them from serving on juries. The law allowed freedmen to acquire and dispose of property "to the same extent that white persons may," but prohibited them from renting any land except in "towns or cities." In other words, free blacks could not rent farmland. In overwhelmingly rural

Mississippi, this meant that freedmen would become a peasant class, forced to work for white landowners and unable to acquire land on their own. Another provision of this law required that all labor contracts made with freedmen for more than a month had to be in writing, and that any freedman who quit before the end of the term of a contract would "forfeit his wages for the year," including those earned up to the time he quit. In a provision similar to the antebellum slave codes, this law obligated "every civil officer" to "arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro or mulatto, who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service." This in effect made the free blacks of Mississippi slaves to their employers, at least for the term of their employment. Anyone attempting to hire a black under contract to someone else was subject to fines, jail terms, and civil damage suits.

Another Mississippi statute allowed counties to apprentice African-American children if their parents were declared to be too poor to support them. To many, this appeared to be an attempt to re-enslave the children of the freedmen. Still another statute, also enacted in 1865, declared that any black who did not have a labor contract would be declared a vagrant and would be subject to fines or imprisonment. This law provided punishment for free blacks who were "found unlawfully assembling themselves together either in the day or night time," for whites who assembled with such blacks, and for whites and blacks who married or cohabited.

Other States

Other states adopted laws with similar intent but different provisions. Rather than prohibiting blacks from renting land, South Carolina prohibited them from working in nonagricultural jobs without paying special taxes that ranged from $10 to $100. South Carolina also enacted harsh criminal laws to suppress African Americans. Stealing a hog could lead to a $1,000 fine and ten years in jail. Other crimes had punishments of whipping, the stocks, or the treadmill, as well as fines and long imprisonment. Hired farm workers in South Carolina could not even sell farm produce without written authorization from their employers. Other provisions of the law created special taxes and fines for blacks, with imprisonment or forced labor for those who lacked the money to pay them. Like Mississippi, South Carolina provided for the apprenticing of black children. These and similar laws created something close to a reimposition of slavery in South Carolina. In 1865 Louisiana and Alabama adopted laws similar to those of South Carolina and Mississippi.

The black codes of 1865 shocked many northerners. In South Carolina, General Daniel E. Sickles suspended the law, as did Union troops in the Mississippi military. Even some white governors, including William L. Sharkey of Mississippi and Robert Patton of Alabama, opposed some of the more blatantly discriminatory laws. In Congress, Republicans responded by introducing legislation that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and eventually to the Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1866 the rest of the former Confederacy adopted black codes. Florida's code was as harsh as those of Mississippi and South Carolina, providing whipping, the pillory, and forced labor for various offenses. Florida prohibited any blacks from moving into the state, prohibited African Americans from owning firearms, and although allowing the creation of schools for blacks prohibited the use of state money to pay for them.

Other states were more discreet in their legislation, trying to avoid giving ammunition to Republicans in Congress, who were growing increasingly impatient with the South's attempts to reimpose bondage and oppression on the freedmen. Virginia's vagrancy law carefully avoided any reference to race but still punished offenders with forced labor and was clearly directed at the freedmen. Not surprisingly, General Alfred H. Terry suspended its operation, although two other generals, in other parts of Virginia, allowed it to go into force. Tennessee's new criminal code provided the death penalty for breaking and entering with the intent to rob, for robbery itself, and for horse stealing. This law did not use any racial terms but was again clearly aimed at blacks. Similarly, Georgia and North Carolina tried to avoid the use of racial terms that might have jeopardized their chances of readmission to the Union. Nevertheless, none of the former Confederate states was ready to have racially blind statutes, much less racially blind justice. North Carolina's law, arguably the least offensive of the new black codes, nevertheless provided a death penalty for black rapists when the victim was white, but not for white rapists, no matter what the color of the victim.

Like the 1865 laws, those passed in 1866 regulated the movement of blacks, their ability to live where they wished, and their ability to sell their labor on an open market. All the 1866 laws also tried to create racial controls to keep African Americans in a subordinate role, even as they tried to avoid the appearance of racial discrimination. By 1867, southern legislatures had repealed most of the provisions that designated specific punishments by race. Even without racially specific language, however, courts continued to apply solely to African Americans provisions of the black codes regulating vagrancy, contracts, and children.

Although these laws remained on the books in one form or another throughout Reconstruction, their enforcement was sporadic. Congress, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the military opposed them. Nevertheless, the laws remained a symbol of the oppression that the postbellum South offered African Americans. After 1877 the South gradually reimposed those provisions of the black codes that segregated blacks and regulated labor contracts. Such laws led to peonage and a second-class status for southern blacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

See also Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment

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PAUL FINKELMAN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Black Dandy, The

The history of black style's most famous figure, the dandy, strikingly chronicles the sometimes exuberant, sometimes tortured relationship between dress and identity for black people. Although dandies are best known in Western high culture as fashionably dressed aesthetes, well-tailored but morally bankrupt aristocrats, or bohemian conversational wits, when racialized as black, however, their extravagant bodily display changes supposed frivolity into a mode of social, cultural, and political critique.

Black dandyism originated with the beginning of European exploration of Africa. As early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, young children from Africa, primarily

Black Codes of Mississippi (1865)

Apprentice Law

Section 3. *Be it further enacted,* that in the management and control of said apprentices, said master or mistress shall have power to inflict such moderate corporeal chastisement as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her child or ward at common law:

Provided, that in no case shall cruel or inhuman punishment be inflicted.

Section 4. *Be it further enacted,* that if any apprentice shall leave the employment of his or her master or mistress without his or her consent, said master or mistress may pursue and recapture said apprentice and bring him or her before any justice of the peace of the county, whose duty it shall be to remand said apprentice to the service of his or her master or mistress; and in the event of a refusal on the part of said apprentice so to return, then said justice shall commit said apprentice to the jail of said county, on failure to give bond, until the next term of the county court; and it shall be the duty of said court, at the first term thereafter, to investigate said case; and if the court shall be of opinion that said apprentice left the employment of his or her master or mistress without good cause, to order him or her to be punished, as provided for the punishment of hired freedmen, as may be from time to time provided for by law, for desertion, until he or she shall agree to return to his or her master or mistress:

Provided, that the court may grant continuances, as in other cases; and *provided,* further, that if the court shall believe that said apprentice had good cause to quit his said master or mistress, the court shall discharge said apprentice from said indenture and also enter a judgment against the master or mistress for not more than $100, for the use and benefit of said apprentice, to be collected on execution, as in other cases.

boys, were imported to Europe by the elite as a special kind of servant—as "luxury" slaves. This trend of keeping young Africans as pets, dressing them up in elaborate liveries and sometimes educating them and training them to be companions, became even more popular later during British control of the slave trade in the eighteenth century. These dandified blacks came to understand and take advantage of their status as social spectacles: Some of them became celebrities whose fame confused their status as in-human chattel; others, after a time as luxury slaves, became early members of the free black British community. Due to their spectacularity, these blacks also became a part of literary and visual culture, becoming characters on the stage and also the subject of paintings, prints, and political cartoons that sometimes valorized and sometimes criticized the wealthy who tried to domesticate black people by means of elaborate dress. This practice gave the enslaved and free working blacks a strategy with which to define their own identity: the pointed redeployment of clothing, gesture, and wit.

As Europe colonized the Americas, the black dandy took on another set of meanings because the conditions of enslavement were very different. In Europe, dandified slaves had for the most part lived with masters in individual households, making their "masquerade" as elites much easier to manage. In the Americas, especially by the nineteenth century, most slaves experienced slavery in larger groups on farms and plantations, making this play with dress and status much more anxiety producing. Blacks in fancy dress in the American colonial period therefore could either be a part of the luxury slave tradition or participate in African-derived carnivalesque class and race cross-dressing festivals in which slaves and free people wore their master's clothing, symbolizing a temporary, joyous power exchange. Later, especially right before abolition, they could be slaves who managed to barter for or buy clothing for special occasions (Sunday, weddings, festivals) or newly free, urban blacks striving to present themselves with dignity and self-respect on the streets. None of this black play with clothing went unnoticed, for in different ways it threatened the status quo and evidenced a black creativity and resilience. The dandyism on display allowed blacks and whites to imagine the potential of the enslaved, to visualize black social and economic mobility, education, and equality. These thoughts were so threatening for the majority that repressing them became a national concern. During the nineteenth century, the most popular form of entertainment was the blackface minstrel show that featured the denigration of its two principal characters: the plantation darky and the black dandy, who was incompletely educated, sexually promiscuous, greedy, scheming, and ostentatiously dressed.

A young black man poses in formal suit and top hat, c. 1890. *The dandy, whose elegant appearance communicated dignity and respectability, helped combat stereotypical, cartoonish images of blacks in the nineteenth century.* GETTY IMAGES

When African Americans began to have more control over their representation in literature and visual culture, the blackface dandy caricature and its imputation of African-American intelligence, masculinity, moral character, and even aesthetic sense became a primary target for reform. Writers such as Charles Chesnutt, Nella Larsen, and others interested in presenting images of "New Negroes" created characters whose elegant outward appearance communicated the respectability, dignity, wisdom, and righteousness they knew to be characteristic of black life. This effort to present new, more realistic, idealized, or self-fashioned images flowered in the New Negro or Harlem Renaissance, when there was an explosion of new black style both on the streets and in literature, artwork, and theater. This increased concentration on black images and style even took dandyism in a number of directions: Many groups began to use elegant, fancy, fashionable, or distinctive clothing to announce their presence on the world's stage. People perceived as dandies could be found in literary salons, onstage in the musical *Chocolate Dandies,*

Singer Andre 3000 of Outkast poses for a studio portrait during the MTV Europe Music Awards in Rome, Italy, 2004. *Andre 3000 was featured on the cover of Esquire in September 2004, having topped their list of "World's Best Dressed Men."* GETTY IMAGES

parading down Harlem's Seventh Avenue or Chicago's Stroll, in the audience at Small's Paradise, sitting for portraits in James Van Der Zee's studio, or as audience and participants at Harlem's famous drag balls. Despite the many ways one could identify or define a dandy during this era, the figure still came up for censure as debates raged concerning the effectiveness of image in the quest for civil and political rights. These debates continue today.

In the later twentieth century, black dandies and dandyism have taken even more forms, as, for example, the entertainment industry has come to rely on and be fueled by the evolution of black style, especially black musical and dress styles. Entertainers as diverse as Duke Ellington, Little Richard, Prince, Snoop Dog, and Andre 3000 of Outkast are considered dandies. In the twenty-first century, dandyism has taken an interesting new turn as hip-hop moguls, such as Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, have themselves become designers and CEOs of fashion houses that produce urban looks as well as bespoke suits that are sold internationally. As black style becomes more and more mainstream and media driven, initiating new conversations about the relationship between blackness, masculinity, sexuality, cosmopolitanism, and consumption, black dandyism's next step is uncertain; what is guaranteed is that whatever form it takes, the "look" will be illustrative of current black consciousness concerning identity.

See also Free Blacks 1619–1860; Identity and Race in the United States; Representations of Blackness

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MONICA L. MILLER (2005)

Black English Vernacular

See English, African-American

Black Entertainment Television (BET)

Black Entertainment Television (BET), a twenty-four-hour cable television station and entertainment company, targets African Americans by offering original programming and diverse black musical video programming. BET was founded in 1979 by Robert L. Johnson and aired its first movie, *A Visit to the Chief's Son,* on January 25, 1980. The station, originally a subsidiary and the primary business of BET Holdings, Inc., reached some 45 million subscribers worldwide by the end of the 1990s. One of the biggest minority-owned businesses in the United States, BET was sold to media giant Viacom for nearly $3 billion in November 2000.

A graduate of Princeton University and past vice-president of government relations for the National Cable and Television Association (NCTA) from 1976 to 1979,

Johnson secured a consulting contract with the NCTA and then used the contract to secure a loan from the National Bank of Washington. He also secured a $320,000 loan from John C. Malone, head of Tele-Communications Inc (TCI). After Malone and TCI also paid him $180,000 for a 20 percent share in the network, Johnson created BET. In 1984 Johnson also formed District Cablevision Inc. to serve Washington, D.C., residents. TCI owned 75 percent of the new company, and Johnson encountered several lawsuits by competitors. Yet by 1989 Johnson was able to repay his investors. On October 30, 1991, BET became the first black-controlled company to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange. On the first day of its listing, the stock value grew from $9 million to $475 million. In 1995 the company relocated to a new $15 million facility. In 1996, BET added a BET/Starz! Channel 3, a premium movie channel. In the same year Johnson pledged $100,000 to Howard University's School of Communication and was awarded the university's Messenger Award for Excellence in Communication.

BET further diversified its holdings by publishing magazines, marketing clothing and cosmetics, and forming a radio network to provide news to urban market radio stations. In 1996 the company entered a partnership with Microsoft to form MSBET, an online service with entertainment news and information.

With the sale of BET to Viacom, founder and present chief executive officer Johnson became the first African American billionaire. In 2002, he also became the first black principal owner of a major sports franchise, the Charlotte Bobcats of the NBA.

See also Television

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Black History Month/Negro History Week

The annual celebration of Negro History Week was one of the historian Carter G. Woodson's (1875–1950) most successful efforts to popularize the study of black history. Omega Phi, one of the oldest African-American fraternities, first celebrated black achievements on Lincoln's birthday (February 12). Woodson, an honorary member of the fraternity, convinced the Omegas to let the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which he had founded in 1915, sponsor Negro History Week in an effort to reach a larger audience. Woodson began the annual celebration in 1926 to increase awareness of and interest in black history among both blacks and whites. Months before the first celebration, he sent out promotional brochures and pamphlets suggesting ways to celebrate to state boards of education, elementary and secondary schools, colleges, women's clubs, black newspapers and periodicals, and white scholarly journals. Woodson chose the second week of February, to commemorate the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln. Each year the association produced bibliographies, photographs, books, pamphlets, and other promotional literature to assist the black community in the celebration. Over 100 photographs of blacks were available for sale, and specialized pamphlets included bibliographies on various aspects of African-American history. In 1928 Woodson also prepared a "Table of 152 Important Events and Dates in Negro History," which he sold for fifty cents. Negro History Week celebrations generally included parades of costumed characters depicting the lives of famous blacks, as well as breakfasts, banquets, lectures, poetry readings, speeches, exhibits, and other special presentations.

During the 1940s, Negro History Week celebrations became increasingly more sophisticated and attracted even larger audiences. Woodson compiled and sold Negro History Week kits, posters, and large photographs that depicted periods of African-American history. Black women's organizations and social-service groups sponsored lectures and rallies for their members. Libraries, museums, and educational institutions held special exhibits. School systems throughout the country sponsored institutes to help teachers prepare. Teachers assigned students essays on topics in black history, helped them write and produce plays, and sponsored oratorical and essay contests. Woodson credited schoolteachers with ensuring the success of the annual celebrations, and he regularly reported on their

efforts in the *Journal of Negro History* (now the *Journal of African American History*) and in the black press, highlighting the most creative and innovative activities. In some school systems the celebration was so successful that teachers established Negro History Study Clubs, which gave attention to the subject throughout the school year. White politicians made annual proclamations in honor of Negro History Week, and whites began to participate in special activities. During Woodson's lifetime the celebration became so far-reaching in its popularity that whites and blacks in Latin America, the West Indies, Africa, and the Philippines participated.

Many of Woodson's contemporaries contended that the annual celebration was his most impressive achievement. Writing in *Dusk of Dawn* in 1940, the sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) claimed that it was the greatest single accomplishment to arise from the Harlem Renaissance. Similarly, the historian Rayford Logan (1897–1982) maintained that Negro History Week helped blacks overcome their inferiority complex and instilled racial pride and optimism. After Woodson's death in 1950, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History) continued to sponsor the annual event, selling Negro History Week kits and assisting teachers, women's clubs, and civic associations with their celebrations. By the early 1970s the organization decided to extend the celebration to the entire month of February and use the term *black*. Politicians, the media, and the organization that previously had supported the effort to promote black history during the second week of February began celebrating throughout the month, while also continuing to press for greater recognition of black history throughout the year.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Journal of African American History, The; Woodson, Carter Godwin

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Black Identity

See Identity and Race in the United States; Media and Identity in the Caribbean

Black-Indian Relations

People of African descent have a long history of relations with the indigenous peoples (Indians or Native Americans) of the Americas. Initial contact between Africans and Indians occurred during the sixteenth century, when free and enslaved African men traveled to the Americas with European explorers and conquerors. After European countries such as England, Spain, Portugal, and France established their overseas empires, settlers in the Americas quickly came to rely on the labor of enslaved Indians and Africans to cultivate food crops and commodities for export. In North and South America, Africans and their American-born descendants lived and labored alongside Native Americans during much of the eighteenth century.

Even after Europeans ceased enslaving Indians and only owned Africans and African Americans as chattel, black people and Native Americans continued to come into contact with each other and establish various kinds of ongoing relations. In some instances, Indians assisted runaway slaves, while in others, Indians served as slave catchers, returning fugitives to their masters. In other cases, African Americans and Native Americans formed intricate ties of cultural exchange and intimate relations of kinship and family bonds. Early contact between Africans and Native Americans was initiated by factors beyond their control—European colonialism and slavery—but the ongoing relations between blacks and Indians developed as the result of each party's careful and deliberate decision making.

In the sixteenth century, African men worked as sailors, soldiers, and servants in Spanish expeditions, accompanying the *conquistadores* who claimed land and riches in North and South America for the Spanish Empire. In 1527, for example, the Spanish king authorized Pánfilo de Narváez to lead a voyage of five ships to the Florida region; among the men under his control was a Spanish-speaking African slave named Esteban. Most of the men in this expedition perished shortly after reaching the Gulf Coast, but Esteban survived, as did Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, the Spaniard who recorded their encounters with Indians and their journey across the lands of the Zuni people

(present-day New Mexico and Arizona) as they made their way to Spanish colonial authorities in Mexico City. Just over a decade later, in 1538, the Spanish king gave Hernando de Soto the authority to raise an army, invade Florida, and establish armed settlements there. A Spanish-speaking slave named Gomez was one of the men in de Soto's party when they landed in Florida in 1539. Hernando de Soto's brutal treatment of the servants in his ranks prompted many of the men, including Gomez, to flee from the expedition and seek refuge with the Indians who inhabited Florida.

To the north, in the British colonies such as Virginia and Carolina, British farmers and tobacco planters relied on enslaved Native Americans captured in frontier wars to provide agricultural labor. Indians taken as captives were bought and sold as slaves to colonists in British North America and in the Caribbean. At the same time, low numbers of enslaved Africans were shipped to the North American colonies. Thus, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Africans and Native Americans often lived and labored alongside each other, forming friendships as well as family ties through marriage, and it is quite likely that people born to the unions of African and Native American men and women were also enslaved.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, colonists in the Americas shifted away from enslaving Indians and purchased greater numbers of African slaves. Enslaved Indians were familiar with their surroundings and could easily escape and return to their people. Enslaving Indians, moreover, threatened to compromise Europeans' diplomatic relations with the Indian nations bordering the colonies. By contrast, Africans enslaved in the Americas were thousands of miles from their homelands, and the commercial slave trade proved highly profitable to European investors and merchants. Although Africans came to replace Indians as enslaved laborers in colonial North America, lines of communication and cross-cultural exchange had been well established by the two parties. Crops cultivated in the southern colonies for local consumption, for example, reflected the presence and interaction between Africans and Indians. African foods such as okra, peanuts, and sesame seeds were used in southern cooking and were often combined with standard Native American ingredients such as sassafras. Gumbo, the classic Louisiana dish, was made by cooking okra with sassafras in slowly heated oil. The utensils and containers used to prepare and store food also reflected the joint influence of African and Native American knowledge and tradition. While Europeans had never encountered any plants like the palmetto trees of coastal Carolina, the trees, which of course were well known to Native Americans, were also familiar to West Africans, who used the fronds to weave baskets for the preparation and storage of food. Similarly, both Africans and Indians were adept at fashioning utensils and containers from gourds, another item unknown to European colonists.

In the eighteenth century, Indian peoples did not share Euro-Americans' ideas about race and racial hierarchy, nor did they believe that black people (Africans and African Americans) were inherently inferior and only suited for enslavement. For many Native American peoples, social hierarchies were determined by age, gender, physical strength, and kin relations. Outsiders, such as runaway black slaves or other Indians, could be incorporated into a particular Native American society if they were adopted into a specific kin group. Indians also recognized black people as valuable allies in their struggles against the colonial settlers and authorities. Around 1714 to 1715, Yamasee Indians, along with bands of Choctaws and Cherokees, began to revolt against British traders from Carolina. It was believed that blacks assisted the Indians in their rebellion, and after the war Yamasee Indians aided fugitive slaves in their efforts to reach St. Augustine, Florida, where Spanish authorities, acting in accordance with the king's 1693 edict, granted freedom to fugitive slaves from the British colonies.

In 1739 the Spanish governor established an armed garrison near St. Augustine called Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, which became the first known free black community in North America. Spain relied on these armed black men to assist them in their military campaigns to repel British forces in 1740. The inhabitants of Fort Mose established economic and personal ties with the outlying Seminole towns in the vicinity, trading with Indians and marrying into their families. In 1763 Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, but the change in flags did little to halt the flow of runaway slaves into Florida. Fugitives could no longer expect freedom from the Spanish and instead lived on their own, in what were known as maroon (fugitive slave) communities, near scattered settlements of bands of Indians that would become known as Seminoles.

Anglo-American colonists regarded the interactions and communication between Africans, African Americans, and Indians with suspicion and concern. They worried especially about the assistance Indians gave to runaway slaves, and they feared the possibility of a black-Indian alliance and armed rebellion against the colonies. White authorities thus passed laws designed to regulate the movement of enslaved people and to limit their contact with Native Americans. Enslaved black men, for example, were restricted from serving in the colonial militias that fought frontier wars against Indians. Other laws

worked to prevent alliances between Indians and Africans by offering financial rewards to those Indians who captured and returned runaway slaves to their owners. Treaties between the colonies and Indian nations contained provisions requiring Indians to return runaway slaves. Even when Indians returned fugitives to their masters, however, the runaways had acquired crucial knowledge about a particular Indian community's willingness or unwillingness to assist runaways. Thus, despite colonial authorities best efforts, contact occurred between enslaved African Americans and local Native American populations, relations were established, and knowledge was exchanged.

The most extensive and well-known instance of sustained interaction and exchange between African Americans and Native Americans occurred in Florida, beginning around the time of the American Revolution. By the late eighteenth century Seminoles had already established relations with runaway slaves, or maroons, who had formed their own settlements in Florida. During the Revolution, Seminoles allied with the British and raided colonists' plantations, capturing slaves and livestock. After the war, Seminoles retained these black people as their own subordinates but did not own them as chattel or property. Black people lived in their own settlements within Seminole towns, raised their own crops, tended their own cattle herds and ran their own households. In an annual show of loyalty to their Seminole leaders, black people as well as Indians offered Seminole headmen an annual tribute payment of livestock and produce. The close ties of loyalty between blacks and Seminoles were demonstrated when black men engaged in warfare alongside Seminole men. In 1812 Seminoles and blacks fought together against American militias seeking to acquire control of East Florida, which had been returned to Spanish control. During the following years, the black-Seminole settlements continued to attract runaways from Georgia and South Carolina. African Americans who fled to Florida intermarried with Seminoles and with the black people who had already settled among them. By the 1830s, American slaveholders could no longer tolerate their slaves' escape to Seminole lands, and they grew increasingly fearful of a black-Seminole rebellion. Growing anxiety about black-Indian contact and alliances culminated in federal efforts to remove Indians from the southeastern states. The initial step was the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. In December 1835 the United States commenced a military assault—the Second Seminole War—to remove the Seminoles and Maroons from Florida and relocate them in the West.

The Seminoles were but one of the Indian nations in the southeastern United States to establish extensive and intricate ties with African Americans during the early nineteenth century. Each of the five principal southeastern Native American nations—Seminole, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek—incorporated free and enslaved African Americans into their communities, but they did so in distinct ways. While the Seminoles did not regard African Americans as slaves and inferiors, but as compatriots and allies, Indians in the other four nations practiced forms of slavery that more closely resembled the United States system of chattel slavery. African Americans' experiences were different in each nation, however, and not all Indians owned black slaves or supported slavery.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, free black people lived in the Indian nations and many were married to Indians. The Cherokee nation's 1839 constitution, for example, granted citizenship to the descendants of Cherokee women and African-American men. On many occasions, Indians recognized fugitive slaves from the United States as free people in the Indian nations. The Creeks, for example, refused to return both fugitive slave women and the children they had with Creek men to white slaveholders in the states. Indians' reluctance to regard African Americans as chattel and as inferiors and to assist white slaveholders by returning runaways reflected the Indians' own traditions of slaveholding in which individuals were treated as subordinates for only a limited period of time and were then recognized as full members of an Indian community. Yet in the early decades of the nineteenth century, many Indians gradually changed their definitions and patterns of slaveholding, bringing them more in line with those of white Americans.

The Cherokees held more African Americans as slaves than any of the other Indian nations. In 1835, when the Cherokees were removed from their lands in Georgia and relocated in the area that would become Oklahoma, there were over 1,500 enslaved blacks in the Cherokee nation. Although the number is quite small when compared to the number of enslaved people in the United States, it represented nearly 8 percent of the Cherokee nation's total population. Each of the Indian nations, with the exception of the Seminole, passed laws in the 1840s that imposed greater restrictions on slaves' lives than before, suggesting a shift in attitudes towards enslaved people. Laws prohibited black people from owning property and livestock, carrying firearms, moving freely, and learning to read or write. Large slaveholders, like their white counterparts in the southern United States, harnessed enslaved people's labor for profit, putting blacks to work in cotton fields to produce surplus goods for sale and profit. Those Indians who owned only a few slaves, however, tended to work alongside the enslaved, growing food crops for their own con-

sumption. Many Indians never owned slaves, and some formed antislavery associations or supported the efforts of abolitionists from the states.

After the Civil War, African Americans who had been enslaved in Indian nations considered themselves to be culturally and politically affiliated with Indians. Former slaves recalled their experiences during the period of Indian removal, when they, too, were relocated from the South to the West. Many African Americans had Indian parents or grandparents and identified with both their black and Indian ancestors and cultures. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, African Americans in the Indian nations spoke Native American languages as well as English, dressed in the styles particular to Indians, and had extensive knowledge of sacred medicines and rituals. For blacks in the Indian nations, their history in the nations and their family ties and shared cultural practices with Native Americans were vital elements in shaping their identities as people firmly rooted in specific Native American communities. This sense of connection has endured for many African Americans who trace their family history to people who were enslaved in the Indian nations and to those black men and women who married Indians.

Although relations between African Americans and Native Americans were extensive across the southeast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, black people and Indians came into contact with each other throughout the United States. In the Northeast, for example, indigenous inhabitants of Massachusetts, such as the Mashpee and Pequot, were often recognized as having intermarried with Africans and African Americans over many generations. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, in coastal communities around major ports in Connecticut and Massachusetts, men of Afro-Indian descent played important roles as sailors and crewmembers in the whaling industry. In the Southwest, too, intermarriage between African Americans and Native Americans was not uncommon in the nineteenth century and resulted in the formation of families and communities whose family history and cultural traditions cannot be defined by a single label.

Relations between Africans, African Americans, and Native Americans reach back to the fifteenth century, when free and enslaved Africans arrived in North America with European explorers, conquerors, and colonial settlers. Beginning in the early twentieth century, scholars of African American history have researched and documented this contact, tracing the economic, political, personal, and cultural ties and exchanges that were developed—and that continue to occur—between African Americans and Native Americans.

See also Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose; Maroon Arts; Maroon Wars; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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BARBARA KRAUTHAMER (2005)

Black Manifesto

Prepared by James Forman with the assistance of the League of Black Revolutionary Workers and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) in Detroit, Michigan, on April 26, 1969, the Black Manifesto called on white churches and synagogues to pay $500 million (about $15 per black person) in reparations for black enslavement and continuing oppression. The money would fund projects to benefit blacks, including the establishment of a southern land bank, four television networks, and a black university. The manifesto indicted white religious organizations for complicity in American racism and called on blacks to bring whatever pressure was necessary to force churches and synagogues to comply.

On May 4, 1969, the date set by the manifesto to start disrupting religious institutions, Forman took the pulpit in the middle of services at New York City's Riverside Church and demanded reparations. Riverside Church was selected because of its connections with the Rockefeller family, viewed by the manifesto's authors as classic white oppressors. Some predominantly white churches expressed some sympathy with the aims of the manifesto but primarily increased aid to existing or new programs of

their own rather than providing money for the reparations fund. Forman's call did raise about half a million dollars, about $200,000 of which came from Riverside Church alone. Many prominent black organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Baptist Convention, distanced themselves from the call for reparations and urged that money be given to them for related purposes instead.

By mid-May 1969 both the FBI and the Justice Department had begun investigations into the NBEDC. The money raised by the manifesto was used by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Projects for a number of projects, including the funding of Black Star Publications, a revolutionary black publishing house in Detroit, connected to James Forman.

See also League of Revolutionary Black Workers; Reparations

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JEANNE THEOHARIS (1996)

Black Middle Class

Classical notions of class are related to economic stratification. Because racism has historically relegated much of the African American population to poverty, blacks employed other noneconomic bases for stratification. Thus, the black middle class is a segment of the African-American community distinguished by economic as well as social characteristics. Economic dimensions include income, occupation, and wealth, while social characteristics may include education, skin tone, respectability, church affiliation, or social club membership. However, substantial upward mobility in the second half of the twentieth century increased the importance of economic characteristics for defining the black middle class.

In the antebellum period, there was no group that could be called the black middle class. Yet slavery's racial and skin-color hierarchy constituted an early foundation and became part of blacks' evaluation of each other. Slaves with lighter skin had particular advantages because of their position in the slave economy as house or skilled servants. Their sustained contact with the slave-owning white upper class provided opportunities for direct observation and knowledge of dominant styles. After Emancipation and during Reconstruction, these mulatto house and skilled slaves, along with free Negroes who were also disproportionately of mixed race, constituted the first black middle class. Aside from a small black intelligentsia, of which such figures as W. E. B. Du Bois would have been a part, the first black middle class earned its living primarily through service to whites as caterers, barbers, tailors, and other skilled workers.

At the end of the nineteenth century, southern Jim Crow laws and the Great Migration of southern blacks to northern cities altered interracial relations and, hence, the configuration of the black middle class. Growing residential segregation in the North and South created all-black ghettos. The second black middle class formed to serve these racially separate communities. Entrepreneurs and professionals—doctors, teachers, social workers, and the like—formed the core of this new black middle class, indicating the growing importance of such economic factors as occupation. Skin color and connections to whites as markers of black-middle-class status receded but did not disappear. Also, blacks in lower-status occupations could distinguish themselves as middle class by joining the right church (often Episcopal or a more reserved Baptist congregation), gaining membership in the right social clubs (with such names as "Amethyst Girls" or "Kool Kustomers" in Chicago), or working for the right causes (often framed in such general terms as "race pride" or "social betterment").

National economic prosperity after World War II, followed by progressive racial attitudes and policies of the civil rights era, marked another change in the size and composition of the black middle class. Predominantly white educational institutions admitted black students, firms recruited at black colleges, affirmative action policies held employers accountable, and unions yielded to the pressure of their formerly excluded black co-workers. Until 1960 less than 10 percent of blacks were in white-collar occupations. At the end of the 1990s half of all blacks worked as professionals, managers, administrators, technicians, salespeople, or clerics. Residential segregation began a slow decline in the 1970s, and blacks began to move to the suburbs. The late-twentieth-century black middle class is a much more diverse population of secretaries and executives, suburbanites and inner-city residents, Catholics and Apostolics.

Throughout these historical transformations, debates have focused on the responsibilities of the black middle

class to "the race." Du Bois argued in the early 1900s that the "talented tenth"—that is, blacks who had received a liberal education and were politically astute—would lead the black masses out of poverty and despair. He later became disenchanted with their apparent apathy. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier incited debate in the 1950s with his scathing account of the social life and psychology of the black middle class, stressing their foolish imitation of the white upper class and the rejection of and disdain for black folk culture. Such portrayals continue into contemporary discussions but have been countered by evidence of enduring racial consciousness among the black middle class and solidarity with the black poor, especially in the realms of culture and politics.

The large black middle class cohort formed after World War II is now begetting a second and third generation that has made unprecedented economic gains. Nationwide, African Americans earned about $656 billion in 2003, double the amount of ten years earlier. According to the U.S. Census, a third of the black families in Chicago, for instance, make incomes of over $50,000, firmly entrenching them in the middle class. These new members were born after southern Jim Crow and with the benefits of affirmative action, however imperiled. The reproduction, growth, and entrenchment of the black middle class and the concurrent decline in black poverty signal a significant shift in the composition of the African-American community that will likely have consequences for many other arenas of black American life.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Economic Condition, U.S.; Frazier, Edward Franklin; Migration

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Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in October 1966 by Huey P. Newton (1942–1989) and Bobby Seale (b. 1936). Despite periods of imprisonment, the two remained leaders as the party expanded from its Oakland, California, base to become a national organization. Assuming the posts of defense minister and chairman, respectively, Newton and Seale drafted a ten-point platform that included a wide range of demands, summarized in the final point: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace." However, the party's appeal among young African Americans was based mainly on its brash militancy, often expressed in confrontations with police. Initially concentrated in the San Francisco Bay area and Los Angeles, by the end of 1968 the Black Panther Party ("for Self-Defense" was dropped from its name) had formed chapters in dozens of cities throughout the United States, with additional support chapters abroad. Although most of its leaders were male, a substantial proportion of its rank-and-file members were female. Influenced by the ideas of Marx and Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party's ideology was not clearly defined, and the party experienced many internal disputes over its political orientation. The FBI's covert Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) and raids by local police forces exacerbated leadership conflicts, resulted in the imprisonment or death of party members, and hastened the decline of the group after 1968.

After joining the party in 1967, Eldridge Cleaver (1935–1998), a former convict and author of a book of essays titled *Soul on Ice,* became one of the party's main spokespersons and provided a link with white leftist supporters. Arrested in May 1967 during a protest at the California state capitol in Sacramento against pending legislation to restrict the carrying of weapons, Cleaver remained affiliated with the Panthers despite the repeated efforts of authorities to return him to prison for parole violations. His caustic attacks on white authorities combined with media images of armed Panthers wearing black leather

Four Black Panther Party members giving the "Black Power" salute. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

jackets attracted notoriety and many recruits during the summer of 1967. Cleaver's prominence in the Black Panther Party increased after October 28, 1967, when Newton was arrested after an altercation that resulted in the death of an Oakland police officer. The Panthers immediately mobilized to free Newton, who faced a possible death sentence if convicted. As part of this support effort, Cleaver and Seale contacted Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998), the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a nationally known proponent of Black Power. SNCC activists and representatives from other black militant groups participated in "Free Huey" rallies during February 1968, helping to transform the Panthers from a local group into a national organization. When Cleaver was arrested during an April 6 raid that resulted in the killing of party treasurer Bobby Hutton, his parole was revoked, and his legal defense, as well as that of Newton, became a major focus of Panther activities.

Serious conflicts accompanied the party's rapid growth, however, for its leaders were divided over ideological and tactical issues. Cleaver and Seale were unsuccessful in their effort to forge an alliance with SNCC, whose members distrusted the Panthers' hierarchical leadership style. When relations between the two groups soured during the summer of 1968, Carmichael decided to remain allied with the Panthers, but his advocacy of black unity and

> "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community."
>
> THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY: PLATFORM AND PROGRAM, *THE BLACK PANTHER*, JULY 5, 1969. REPRINTED IN JOHN BRACEY, AUGUST MEIER, AND ELLIOTT RUDWICK, EDS. *BLACK NATIONALISM IN AMERICA*. INDIANAPOLIS: BOBBS-MERILL, 1970, P. 531.

Pan-Africanism put him at odds with other Panther leaders, who advocated class unity and close ties with the white New Left. Although his presence helped the Panthers to establish strong chapters in the eastern United States, Carmichael severed ties with the party after he established residency in Africa in 1969. The party's relations with southern California followers of black nationalist Maulana Karenga (b. 1941) also deteriorated, a result both of the FBI's COINTELPRO efforts and the Panthers' harsh criticisms of Karenga's cultural nationalist orientation. In January 1969, two members of Karenga's U.S. organization killed two Panthers during a clash at UCLA.

Although the Black Panther Party gradually shifted its emphasis from revolutionary rhetoric and armed confrontations with police to "survival programs," such as free breakfasts for children and educational projects, clashes with police and legal prosecutions decimated the party's leadership. Soon after finishing his 1968 presidential campaign as the candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, Cleaver left for exile in Cuba and then Algeria to avoid returning to prison for parole violations. In March 1969, Seale was arrested for conspiracy to incite rioting at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, and in May 1969, Connecticut officials charged Seale and seven other Panthers with murder in the slaying of party member Alex Rackley, who was believed to be a police informant. In New York, twenty-one Panthers were charged with plotting to assassinate policemen and blow up buildings. Though nearly all charges brought against Panther members either did not result in convictions or were overturned on appeal, the prosecutions absorbed much of the party's resources. An effort during 1969 to purge members considered disloyal or unreliable only partly succeeded.

In 1970, when Newton's conviction on a lesser manslaughter charge was reversed on appeal, he returned to find the party in disarray. Seale still faced murder charges (they were dropped the following year), while the chief of staff, David Hilliard (b. 1942), awaited trial on charges of

threatening the life of President Richard Nixon. Further, some chapters, particular those in the eastern United States, resisted direction from the Oakland headquarters. In 1971 Newton split with Cleaver, then in exile in Algeria, charging that the Cleaver's influence in the party had caused it to place too much emphasis on armed rebellion. In 1973 Seale ran an unsuccessful, though formidable, campaign for mayor of Oakland. The following year, Newton, facing new criminal charges and allegations of drug use, fled to Cuba. After Newton's departure, Elaine Brown (b. 1943) took over the leadership of the ailing organization. The Black Panther Party continued to decline, however, and, even after Newton returned in 1977 to resume control, the group never regained its former prominence.

See also Black Power Movement; Carmichael, Stokely; Cleaver, Eldridge; Karenga, Maulana; Malcolm X; Newton, Huey P.; Seale, Bobby

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Black Power Movement

The Black Power movement was a collective, action-oriented expression of racial pride, strength, and self-definition that percolated through all strata of Afro-America during the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. Interpreted variously both within and outside black communities, Black Power was a logical progression of civil rights–era efforts to achieve racial equality. It also was a reaction against the tactics, pace, and certain of the operative assumptions of the earlier movement.

As a political expression, the term *Black Power* was given a national forum during the summer of 1966 by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) head Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998). In Greenwood, Mississippi, he told a crowd of civil rights workers and reporters, "We been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is Black Power!" (Sellers, 1973, p. 166). The audience responded by chanting the new slogan. For many, "Black Power" would replace "One Man, One Vote" and "We Shall Overcome" as the rallying cry of the freedom struggle. Reflecting the frustration felt by civil rights activists whose hopes for a rapid transformation of U.S. racial relationships had proven illusionary, it came to symbolize rejection of black moderate leadership, white liberal allies, and the time-honored integrationist ethic.

According to Black Power militants, nonviolent approaches to integrationist ends had done little to alleviate poverty, end de facto segregation, promote legal equality, or counteract white-sponsored terrorism. Instead, traditional strategies had encouraged harmful assimilationist tendencies and seemed productive only of continued dependency and the debasement of racial culture. The preferred alternative was to seek personal and group empowerment via a variety of initiatives grounded in either pluralist or black-nationalist ideologies.

Both nationalists and pluralists understood that white power, as manifested in the workings of American economic, political, and intellectual life, constituted a major impediment to the advancement of black Americans. They held that in order to surmount this barrier, blacks had to mobilize, close ranks, and build group strength in all areas of community life. With unity achieved, African Americans would form a significant power bloc and be able to exercise true freedom of choice for the first time. Nationalists might then choose to go it alone, either in "liberated" urban enclaves, in a separate nation-state, or simply in the realm of the psyche. Pluralists could hope to parlay their newfound racial solidarity into a representative share of both local and national decision-making power. Having established a corporate consciousness and sense of collective responsibility, cultural pride would replace despair. The black community would be able to employ its own, to govern itself, and to protect its residents against external

Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) at the University of California, 1966. *Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), first used the phrase "black power" in 1966. He is pictured above speaking at a rally of the radical activist group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which sought to establish a "participatory democracy" and was a major force in the anti–Vietnam War movement.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

enemies. Thereafter, the myth of the melting pot never again could be used to obscure the role of minority group power in ordering societal affairs.

All manner of Black Power theorists believed that psychological liberation was a prerequisite for acquiring these more tangible manifestations of power. It was anticipated that a "revolution of the mind" would lead to enhanced group cohesion, alter extant patterns of cultural hegemony, and provide a guiding force for black activism. Noting that a people ashamed of themselves cannot soon hope to be free, they claimed that African Americans had the right to reject organizational structures, values, and methodologies that emanated from sources outside the group experience. Also claimed was the right to define whites. Even commonplace concepts such as "truth" and "beauty" were to be redefined. Blacks, they said, were a capable, attractive people with a rich cultural heritage. To be assertive and take pride in skin color and historical accomplishments was to remove the negative connotations of race that had long served as a constraining social force.

Although the concept may have seemed unfamiliar, Black Power's ideological roots ran deep. Inextricably intertwined with Afro-America's historical struggles for freedom, its essential spirit was the product of generations of black people confronting powerlessness—and surviving. The widely expressed desire to preserve and honor racial distinctives, to define the world in black terms, and to experience the joys of self-discovery and autonomy reaffirmed the teachings of earlier generations of activists whose pioneering efforts at individual and group empowerment were held up as behavioral benchmarks.

Before the Civil War, black Americans formed fraternal, mutual aid, and cooperative organizations to promote solidarity and aid in racial survival. In militant fashion, their reform conventions made it clear that black people would speak for themselves and fight their own battles, no matter what the odds. Such gatherings condemned both slaveholding and the legal proscriptions that hindered free black advancement. Those in attendance discussed proposals to encourage runaways and to aid insurrection movements. They also celebrated the accomplishments of

heroic ancestors and compared their physical attributes favorably with whites. Many demanded to be called "African" or "colored" rather than some slurred variant of the Portuguese *os negros*.

Although suspicious of white-dominated groups such as the American Colonization Society, antebellum activists formulated a variety of plans to create an independent, black-run state in West Africa. This notion of establishing a racial refuge and showcase for black initiative outside the United States was reinvigorated during the late nineteenth century by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915) of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, and it flowered during the 1920s in the pages of Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*.

During the Great Depression, the Pan-African sentiment encapsulated in this deep-seated longing for a national homeland could be seen in the outpouring of support for Ethiopia in its struggles with Italy. In later years, numerous black Americans were inspired by the anticolonial uprisings that foreshadowed independence in Kenya, Ghana, and across the continent.

Following the collapse of Radical Reconstruction in the 1870s, a domestic variant of this empowering nation-building enthusiasm was seen in the resettlement movement to Kansas and Oklahoma. Benjamin Singleton's (1809–1892) efforts to form African-American enclaves in the Plains states earned him the sobriquet "Pap: Moses of the colored exodus," while talk of turning Oklahoma into an all-black state was spurred by the founding of dozens of black towns. As grassroots examples of racial solidarity, these projects promoted the ethic of self-determination throughout the southern and border states. Always compelling, this concept of creating a black nation within a nation was carried into the twentieth century by Cyril Briggs (1919–1993), founder of the African Blood Brotherhood, by the Forty-Ninth State movement of Chicago lawyer Oscar C. Brown (1895–1990), and by Depression-era communists through their "self-determination in the Black Belt" doctrine.

By the mid-1960s, no single figure more completely encapsulated the interconnected themes of psychological liberation, Pan-African unity, and institution-building than Malcolm X (1925–1965). Taught by Nation of Islam patriarch Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975) that there could be neither peace nor true freedom in the world until "every man is in his own country" (Lincoln, 1963, p. 6), the charismatic Black Muslim minister was a tireless champion of group empowerment. When he disavowed the philosophy of nonviolence, proclaimed Black America's right to self-defense "by any means necessary" (Breitman, 1970, p. 54), and labeled white liberal allies of the civil rights movement as hypocrites and deceivers, many African Americans agreed. After he had informed his audiences that they were a colonized people firmly linked to other black world communities by white exploitation, some began to formulate a new understanding of realpolitik. In highlighting the need for a spiritual and cultural back-to-Africa movement, as well as the expansion of black-run businesses and educational institutions, he foreshadowed later, more fully developed, Black Power sentiment.

During the movement's peak years of visibility and influence (1966–1975), African-American activists utilized a variety of programmatic approaches to effect a revolution in minority-group affairs. Stratagems grounded in pluralistic conceptualizations of U.S. society often seemed less precipitous than those favored by revolutionary, territorial, or cultural nationalists. Nevertheless, each of the competing ideological camps was capable of expressing "authentic" Black Power thought. Both pluralists and nationalists sought to combat the psychological, political, and economic problems plaguing black communities through purposeful self-definition. By resisting cultural diffusion, establishing their own priorities, and building outward and upward from a foundational core of group values, they intended to gain entry into the national storehouse of influence, respect, and power.

African-American pluralists concentrated their efforts on an area broadly defined as "community control." A major goal was to reorient and reinvigorate institutions that were central to modern urban life. They sought to bring schools, hospitals, and government agencies closer to the people by atomizing existing centers of power. Optimally, decision making would be transferred from bureaucratic outsiders to indigenous leaders who were better equipped to define priorities and win the cooperation of local residents. It was anticipated that the presence of such individuals on key councils, boards, and commissions would mitigate the destructive effects of institutionalized racism. In this fashion, the special needs of inner-city residents could be addressed fully and in a sensitive manner.

Typically, those who attempted to form such power blocs in the central city claimed they were not being antiwhite, but problack. As members of other ethnic groups had done, they refused to be patronized or dominated. Instead, with the support of sympathetic policymakers, they would band together in cooperative ventures to address common concerns. Maintaining that human rights should take precedence over property rights, they sought ways to rid their communities of absentee landlords and storekeepers. New black-owned businesses, guided by consumer-oriented codes of conduct, were encouraged. Plans

were drawn up for the transfer of established firms from white to black management and control. The merits of forming neighborhood tenant associations, credit unions, employment agencies, and development corporations were debated extensively. It was hoped that community control would improve public education and expand the workforce skills-base, thereby enabling formerly unemployed youth, welfare recipients, and Aid to Dependant Children mothers to increase their earning power. As the movement grew, black activists prepared to reorganize the structure of municipal government and city life in general—from bottom to top.

Noting the previous generation's lack of success in alleviating poverty, many African Americans saw little hope of improving their lot without the creation of a viable independent political movement. Political apathy was widespread and the race remained a third-class influence within the two-party system. To remedy this situation, a variety of proposals were forwarded that sought to nurture and expand the black vote until it became a true source of empowerment. Most were pluralistic in the sense that they envisioned the eventual sharing of political power with other interest groups. At gatherings such as the national black political conventions held in Gary, Indiana, in 1972 and in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1974, delegates probed the inadequacies of the existing system and established guidelines for endorsing candidates. Energized by these meetings, black officeholders formed the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, and the National Conference of Black Mayors to promote the goals of the new black politics. Those most skeptical of entering into strategic alliances with nonblacks opted to promote a "third party" movement modeled on the successes of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization.

African-American nationalists sought to break with white society in an even more dramatic and permanent fashion. Members of the Nation of Islam, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Republic of New Africa were especially vocal in presenting proposals for the acquisition of sovereign territory. Hoping eventually to bargain with mainstream power brokers at a distance and from a position of strength, they developed ambitious plans to relocate abroad in expatriate settlements, to carve black living spaces out of existing southern political units, and to transform impoverished northern slums into constituent components of a prosperous city-state federation. Wherever it was to be located, the newly liberated territory would be governed through parallel institutions but guided by nontraditional, even non-Western, values.

Influenced by the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao, Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), Sékou Touré (1922–1984), and Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), groups such as the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and the Black Liberation Army felt that any alteration of territorial boundaries had to be accompanied by a thoroughgoing socialist transformation of society. These revolutionary nationalists held that the right to self-determination was inherent in all nations, including the black "internal colony" of the United States. The founding of a black nation-state was to be viewed as part of the world liberation movement, not as an end in itself. Led by the black "peasantry" (variously defined as the laboring class or the underclass), this epic reformulation of caste and class relationships would be accomplished by violent means, if necessary. After the establishment of a worker-controlled international order, racism, capitalism, and imperialism would be consigned to the dustbin of history.

For other nationalists, a black cultural renaissance became the central component of the revolutionary struggle for empowerment. Supporters of groups such as the Los Angeles–based US Organization believed that it was a mistake to pick up a gun without first reaffirming the beauty and uniqueness of black folk culture. By asserting racial distinctives via clothing, language, and hairstyle, and by recounting group history through the literary and performing arts, cultural nationalists sought to encourage self-actualization and to discredit assumptions of white cultural superiority. Throughout the era, their colorful celebrations of blackness fostered pride and helped spread the Black Power message nationwide. In doing so, they provided the impetus for the flowering of a black arts movement among their contemporaries. In later years, cultural nationalist precepts played an important role in the development of Afrocentric models for urban education.

Although ideological infighting, U.S. counterintelligence intrigues, bad press, and tactical errors disrupted hoped-for unity, Black Power had tangible political and psychological effects and left a distinctive cachet on the cultural landscape. Key contributors to an ongoing revolt against white domination, 1960s pluralists and nationalists decolonized minds and heightened expectations. They introduced many within the mainstream to the plight of the less privileged. They also raised substantive issues in aesthetics and created a receptive audience for the next generation of race-conscious writers, artists, musicians, and filmmakers. Black Power motivated African-Americans of the 1960s and 1970s to redefine themselves as members of a beautiful, capable, highly cultured race, to become entrepreneurs, and to run for public office.

Black Power's challenge to the white world order also encouraged members of other oppressed groups to question the legitimacy of prevailing social and cultural norms. During the final decades of the century, both the positive and negative experiences of black militants informed the organizational efforts of U.S. ethnic- and gender-based rights advocates. Internationally, the black empowerment model was utilized by South African activists working to create a Black Consciousness movement that would speed the demise of apartheid. In varying degrees, it helped mobilize support for a Black Power movement in Trinidad, a Black Soul movement in Brazil, and numerous campaigns to extend long-overdue governmental and economic reforms throughout the Third World. Today, the residual influence of the movement can be seen whenever marginalized people band together to contest what the SNCC's Stokely Carmichael once termed "the dictatorship of definition, interpretation, and consciousness."

See also Afrocentrism; Black Panther Party for Self Defense; Carmichael, Stokely; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Garvey, Marcus; Jackson, George Lester; Malcolm X; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century; Newton, Huey P.; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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Black Press in the United States

See Journalism

Black Press in Brazil

The black press in Brazil has been a significant record of literary and political expression since the emergence of small Afro-Brazilian newsletters early in the twentieth century. The earliest of these to be archived was *O Bandeirante*, published in Campinas, São Paulo, in 1910, just twenty-two years after the abolition of slavery in 1888. In 1915 *O Menelick* appeared in the city of São Paulo. These two publications inaugurated the first era of a flourishing black press in the cities of southern Brazil. The focus of these journals was not to cover general news items but, rather, to develop a forum for discussing issues of concern to the Afro-Brazilian community and to support the initiatives that helped shape that community.

Afro-Brazilian social and beneficent clubs were largely responsible for the growth of the early black press, particularly in São Paulo. As the nation's emerging urban center, São Paulo attracted an influx of new arrivals from elsewhere in Brazil as well as from abroad. Alongside the burgeoning communities of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, and other immigrants were small communities of Afro-Brazilians seeking opportunities not available in the former slave-based economies from which they came. They initially established networks based on common hometown affiliations, but São Paulo was a city defined in large measure by its ethnic enclaves of immigrants. Oper-

ating in much the same fashion, an expanding circle of Afro-Brazilians began to sponsor social events that led to formally organized social and recreational clubs. Newspapers helped circulate club news and general information of interest to the Afro-Brazilian, thus creating a sense of community for the newcomers.

In addition to being informative, the early black press provided a platform for creative writing and political analysis. The columnists typically focused on ways to uplift the Afro-Brazilian community. In so doing, the journals published between 1910 and the mid-1920s articulated ideals of Afro-Brazilian identity and position within Brazilian society.

Despite a wide range of political sentiments, early black columnists generally sought to situate Afro-Brazilians as equal partners in modern society. They often used historical references to counter attempts at marginalizing Afro-Brazilians from the core of national identity. For example, the title *Bandeirante* refers to an archetype of the São Paulo pioneering spirit based on the frontierspeople of the colonial era, and the first culture popularly regarded as uniquely Brazilian because of its racial mixture of primarily European and indigenous peoples. In taking that name, *Bandeirante*'s publishers staked the claim by black people that they, too, were an intrinsic part of Brazil's history, identity, and future. Writers venerated historical figures such as abolitionists Jose do Patrocinio and Luiz Gama. The celebrated Henrique Dias (c. 1600–1662), who helped defend Brazil against a Dutch invasion in the seventeenth century, had particular resonance because of black military service to Brazil in the Paraguayan War (1864–70). Such heroes were held up not merely as sources of pride, but as reminders of the extent of black contributions to the nation.

Rather than stress a distinct African heritage, the early black press embraced the dominant values of the Brazilian middle class. Society columns pointedly teased inappropriate behavior and even styles of dress. Editorials fretted about shortcomings within the Afro-Brazilian community and the need to master the tools of social advancement. The papers featured what they regarded as marks of refinement, such as literature. Several newspaper publishers, including Lino Guedes of *Progresso* and Jayme de Aguiar of *Clarim da Alvorada*, were avid writers who regularly included classically styled poetry and prose in their publications. In the words of a column published in *Elite* in 1924, "We will educate our children, we will sacrifice everything to raise them to the status of the perfect citizen, and the day will come when it will be loudly proclaimed to the whole universe that they are Brazilians as worthy as any other." Such a position became an integral element of much Afro-Brazilian political thought in the face of marginalization and economic competition with recently arrived immigrants.

Though they had a decided local emphasis, black publications were far from parochial. Named for the Ethiopian ruler, *O Menelick's* title signals an international consciousness that consistently informed the politics of the Afro-Brazilian community, and is also reflected in the juxtaposition of the international title and local content. Given that World War I (1914–18) was underway at the time these first journals appeared, there was much international news that they chose not to cover. Yet a global awareness of news, culture, and issues of Africa and the African diaspora was evident in the earliest days of the black press. It was through the black press that an early dialogue with international black movements began. Robert Abbott, publisher of the *Chicago Defender*, visited Brazil and began sending newspapers whose stories were translated and excerpted in local black papers. Columns from Marcus Garvey's *Negro World* also appeared in the Afro-Brazilian press. At a time of heightened global awareness, commentary on international items in the black press both broadened the political context and established their relevance to ongoing issues within Brazil.

Gradually, the newspapers began to focus on the reasons behind the persistence of inequality and lack of opportunities for Afro-Brazilians. In addition, domestic power struggles were challenging the political order. Among the journals reflecting this more politicized era of the black press were *Clarim da Alvorada* and *Progresso*. Both were affiliated with a group of young activists involved in the Centro Cívico Palmares, an early advocacy group in São Paulo founded in 1926. *Clarim da Alvorada* went from describing itself as a journal of literature, news and humor to a focus on "news, literature and struggle" (*Clarim da Alvorada*, January 15, 1927; February 5, 1928). *Progresso* became the first news outlet for the Frente Negra Brasileira after its formation in 1931 as the first national Afro-Brazilian political organization. In March 1933 the Frente Negra began publishing its own journal, *A Voz da Raça* (Voice of the Race). Beginning with weekly, then monthly, publication, the *Voz da Raça* eventually became widely circulated particularly in southern Brazil, with printings ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 copies.

Along with the Frente Negra itself, the *Voz da Raça* became prominent in Afro-Brazilian political advocacy, but it was not the only perspective coming from the diverse community. J. Guaraná Santana, a founder of the Radical Nationalist Party known commonly as the Black Legion, began publishing *Brasil Novo*, a socialist newspaper, in April 1933. Dissent from the Frente Negra's politi-

cal platform also appeared in the pages of *Clarim da Alvorada* and *A Chibata,* which, in part, led to the creation of *A Voz da Raça*. However, the climate for open political debate chilled after President Getulio Vargas declared a new regime, the Estado Novo (1937–1945), that banned all political parties.

The collapse of the Estado Novo and the democratic idealism of the postwar era brought a resurgence of the black press in the 1940s. Artist, intellectual, and activist Abdias do Nascimento of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, helped open new avenues for exploring the position of blacks in Brazilian life with the creation of the Teatro Experimental do Negro (Black Experimental Theater) in 1944 and the journal *Quilombo* in 1948. The pages of *Quilombo* reflected the cosmopolitan intellectual and artistic milieu of Rio de Janeiro, nurturing its links to the black press and creative movements, particularly in the United States and Paris.

In this regard, it expanded on relationships established earlier on; Abdias do Nascimento was himself originally from São Paulo and a former member of the Frente Negra Brasileira. Do Nascimento chronicled his frequent encounters with internationally renowned guests including Albert Camus and Marian Anderson. *Quilombo* published articles by prominent Brazilian intellectuals and artistic pieces such as Jean Paul Sartre's "Black Orpheus." *Quilombo* often exchanged news items with publishers of black newspapers outside Brazil, such as an article denouncing Do Nascimento's political ambitions as "racist" imitation of black nationalism abroad (*Quilombo*, May 1950, 5) George Schuyler of the *Pittsburgh Courier* frequently sent notices to be published by do Nascimento. The journal advocated education subsidies for blacks, the declaration of race discrimination as a crime, and the inclusion of African heritage in school curricula—part of a political agenda do Nascimento helped put in place throughout his long political career.

Other black newspapers appeared during this era, typically associated with political and cultural organizations, such as *Alvorada*, founded by the Associação dos Negros Brasileiros in 1945. The leaders of these organizations were typically veterans of the movements of the 1930s who became deeply involved in the emergence of new political parties and trade unions. The journals published between 1945 and 1964 largely reflected the maturation of new forms of Afro-Brazilian collective endeavors in the urban south. Because they served to promote political initiatives, they are rich in details about major conferences and organizations that helped develop particular agendas within national and international Afro-Brazilian activism.

The repressive military regime that came to power in 1964 forced overt political expression underground until the mid-1970s. As in the past, the post-dictatorship opening heralded the creation of new groups with affiliated publications combining features of literary journals, magazines, and hard news. The rapid appearance and disappearance of newspapers reflected the dynamics of the movement and its personalities—the publications began as outgrowths of organizations and dissipated along with their finances and memberships. Black Power, African independence, and new leftist politics were some of the hallmarks of the era reflected in Afro-Brazilian organizations and publications. Journals such as *Jornegro*, *Avore de Palavras,* and *Cadernos Negros* articulated emerging political currents and landmark events.

Afro-Brazilian members of leftist and other interest-group organizations increasingly voiced their own analyses of the link between race and class. This debate surfaced within *Versus*, a publication of a socialist organization (Convergencia Socialista) in which many future leaders of Afro-Brazilian organizations participated. They formed their own "Afro-Latino America" section of the publication, in which they argued that race could not be completely subsumed as a function of class. Two developments were of particular importance at this time. The creation of the Movimento Negro Unificado in 1978 launched a powerful attack on all forms of racial discrimination, and through the collaboration of constituent black organizations from around the country systematically began efforts to dismantle them. Also in the late 1970s activists in Salvador, Bahia, had developed a new form of activism through carnival groups (*blocos afros*) that celebrated black identity and African heritage. This increased organizational activity around the country led to numerous local publications.

The appearance of the monthly magazine *Raça Brasil* in 1996 was momentous in the history of the black press of Brazil. Published by a professional media company, Editora Simbolo, *Raça* was a full-color glossy comparable with the most popular national magazines. While it included some coverage of political issues, it emphasized "showing that blackness (negritude) is joyful, rich, beautiful," rather than the demands of struggle (*Raça Brasil,* September 4, 1997, p. 4). Editor-in-chief Aroldo Macedo described *Raça's* mission as giving readers pride in being black; the magazine profiled black celebrities from Brazil and abroad, offered home design and fashion advice, and provided lifestyle tips along with its coverage of political and intellectual news. *Raça*'s format and marketing highlighted a significant black consumer market for advertisers, attracting major clients. Its success inspired other glossies, such as *Agito Geral* (1997), focusing on music,

and *Revista Negro 100 Por Cento* (1998), whose format was similar to that of *Raça*. Editora Simbolo also launched a magazine on black hairstyles, *Visual Cabelos Crespos*, in 1997.

Part of *Raça*'s significance was its creativity in revitalizing approaches to the black consciousness movement of the 1970s and 1980s. New voices began appearing in the 1990s; among these were the Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, which first published its own journal, the *Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu* in August 1997. The increasing accessibility of the internet propelled online publications such as *Afirma Revista Online* (founded in 2000) and *Portal Afro* (2001). Some print journals offered online versions; *Cadernos Negros*, a literary journal launched in 1978, established an affiliation with the online *Quilombhoje*.

As the black press tradition in Brazil continues to evolve, significant hallmarks have remained constant. There has always been a strong literary and artistic component, and a concern for defining negritude within Brazil as well as in a global context. The black press has never reflected the full spectrum of Afro-Brazilian ideologies, insofar as it is a medium defined by access to certain resources, and it has been closely associated with formal organizations. The internet has provided a broader forum for organizations and individuals unable to shoulder the costs of printing, although it remains out of reach for millions of the Afro-Brazilian poor.

Within the history of the African diaspora in the Americas, the black press in Brazil followed a trajectory similar to that of newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender,* the *Amsterdam News* (New York), and the *Pittsburgh Courier,* chronicling the aspirations and struggles of emerging black communities in U.S. cities after the abolition of slavery. Elsewhere in Latin America, print journals have accompanied the growth of black organizations, such as *Palenque* (Quito, Ecuador), a publication of the Centro Cultural Afro-Ecuatoriano first appearing in 1982. The Brazilian black press, especially through its numerous connections to significant figures from Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and the Americas who corresponded with and visited Brazil, also constitutes an important part of the intellectual and political literature of the global African diaspora.

See also Abdias do Nascimento; Frente Negra Brasileira; Journalism; *Pittsburgh Courier*; Schuyler, George S.

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KIM D. BUTLER (2005)

Black Star Line

See Universal Negro Improvement Association

Black Studies

Black studies, also known as African studies, is "the multidisciplinary analysis of the lives and thought of people of African ancestry on the African continent and throughout the world" (Harris, Hine, and McKay, 1990, p. 7). Black studies is interdisciplinary; its earliest roots are in history, sociology, literature, and the arts. The field's most important concepts, methods, and findings are still centered within these disciplines.

Black studies consists of research; courses at the high school, college, and university levels; and organizational structures such as programs, centers, and departments. This entry focuses on the historical development of research in black studies in part because the research aspects of the field are much better documented in the literature than course offerings (Lyman, 1972; Meier and Rudwick, 1986). Also, there were few course offerings outside of historically black institutions prior to 1970 (Ford, 1973). Readers can examine other sources for a discussion of organizational issues; they are beyond the scope of this entry (Harris, Hine, and McKay, 1990; Hu-DeHart, 1995). Because of its limited scope, this article focuses on historical and sociological research in black studies; scholarship in literature and the arts is not discussed. Readers are referred to the following sources for treatment of these research areas: Baker and Redmond, 1989; Campbell et al., 1987; Dallas Museum of Art, 1989; Jackson, 1989.

The typology of the development of black historical scholarship conceptualized by John Hope Franklin (1986)

is used to organize this entry. It is appropriate to use this typology to describe the historical development of black studies because history was the field's birthplace and remains an important center. Franklin describes four generations of scholarship in African-American history. These periods are not clearly distinct but are overlapping and interrelated.

The First Generation of Black Studies

The first period or generation is marked by the publication of what is generally regarded as the first history of African Americans in 1882, *History of the Negro Race in America* by George Washington Williams, published in two volumes (1882 and 1883). Williams, the first black to serve in the Ohio legislature, was not a professionally trained historian but was a gifted and interesting orator, writer, soldier, minister, journalist, lawyer, and politician. Other significant works published during this period included *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America* by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1896 and *Story of the Negro* by Booker T. Washington in 1909. Du Bois's book, a carefully researched and respected publication, was his Ph.D. thesis at Harvard.

An important goal of the writers during the first generation of African-American scholarship was to counteract the negative images and representations of African Americans that were institutionalized within academic and popular cultures. A key tenet of social science research of the time was that blacks were genetically inferior to whites and that Africa was the "dark continent" that lacked civilizations (Caldwell, 1830; Ripley, 1899). The American Negro Academy, founded in 1896, had as one of its major goals "to aid, by publications, the vindication of the race from vicious assaults, in all lines of learning and truth" (Moss, 1981, p. 24).

It was also during this first generation that "early black literary associations sought to preserve and to publicize the legacy of African peoples" (Harris, Hine, and McKay, 1990, p. 7), and black academics initiated research studies. In 1899 Du Bois published a landmark sociological study, *The Philadelphia Negro.* He implemented, at Atlanta University, a series of important studies from 1898 to 1914 known as the Atlanta University Studies. The series consists of more than sixteen monographs (Harris, Hines, and McKay, 1990).

Carter G. Woodson and the Professionalization of Black Studies

The rise of Carter G. Woodson as an influential scholar and the founding of the Association for the Study of Afro-American [formerly "Negro"] Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 signaled the beginning of a new era in black studies. Woodson, his publications, and the people he mentored and influenced—such as Charles H. Wesley and Rayford W. Logan—were destined to dominate the second generation of black studies.

Woodson probably had more influence on the teaching of African-American history in the nation's schools and colleges from the turn of the century until his death in 1950 than any other scholar. With others, he established the ASNLH. He founded the *Journal of Negro History* in 1916 and served as its editor until his death. It is one of Woodson's most significant contributions to the study and teaching of black studies. In 1921 Woodson established Associated Publishers, a division of the ASNLH, to publish scholarly books and textbooks on African Americans. In addition to publishing Woodson's major books, Associated Publishers also published important books by scholars such as Horace Mann Bond and Charles H. Wesley.

Woodson, a former high school teacher, played a major role in popularizing African-American history and in promoting its study in the nation's black schools, colleges, churches, and fraternities. He initiated Negro History Week in 1926 to highlight the role that African Americans played in the development of the nation and to commemorate their contributions. In time, and with vigorous promotion efforts by the ASNLH and its branches throughout the nation, Negro History Week—later expanded to Afro-American History Month—became nationally recognized and celebrated. Woodson never intended for Negro History Week to be the only time of the year in which black history was taught. Rather, he viewed it as a time to highlight the ongoing study of black history that was to take place throughout the year.

In 1937 Woodson established the *Negro History Bulletin* to provide information on black history to elementary and secondary school teachers. He also wrote elementary and secondary school textbooks that were widely used in black schools, including *African Myths* (1928a), *Negro Makers of History* (1928b), and *The Story of the Negro Retold* (1935). His widely used and popular text *The Negro in Our History,* first published in 1922, was published in eleven editions.

More White Scholars Participate in Black Studies

The period from about 1945 to the late 1960s marked the third generation of African-American scholarship in history and the social sciences (Franklin, 1986). Franklin notes that this period was characterized by an increasing

legitimacy of the field and by the entrance of increasing numbers of white scholars. Prior to the 1940s most of the research done in black studies was conducted by African-American scholars who taught at small, historically black institutions.

From 1940 to 1960, whites began to publish significant works in black studies. The Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal published *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* in 1944. Supported by the Carnegie Corporation and begun in 1939, it was the most expensive and comprehensive study of race relations ever undertaken in the United States. It is significant that a European—and not an African American—was chosen to direct the study. However, Myrdal drew heavily on the works of African-American scholars such as Allison Davis, W. E. B. Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, Ralph Bunche, and Charles S. Johnson. Some of these scholars wrote original papers for the Carnegie project.

Two European-American scholars who made significant contributions to black studies were Franz Boas, an anthropologist at Columbia University, and Robert E. Park, a sociologist at the University of Chicago. Boas challenged the dominant paradigm about race, which stated that some races were inferior to others and that the environment could have little influence on heredity (Stocking, 1974).

Park taught one of the first black studies courses at a predominantly white university. In the fall quarter of 1913 he taught the course "The Negro in America" at the University of Chicago (Bulmer, 1984). Park was a leader in the "Chicago School" of sociology, which became distinguished for its empirical studies on cities and minority groups. Park also trained some of the nation's leading African-American sociologists, such as Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, and Horace Cayton. Some of the influential books by Park's former students include *Shadow of the Plantation* by Johnson (1934) and *The Negro Family in the United States* by Frazier (1939/1966). St. Clair Drake, who also studied at Chicago, coauthored a seminal sociological study with Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City,* published in 1945.

Important historical works published by white scholars during this period included *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* by Kenneth M. Stampp (1956), *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* by Stanley Elkins (1959), and *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* by August Meier (1963).

African-American scholars continued to produce significant and landmark publications in black studies, even though their institutions provided them with little scholarly support. Among the influential historical works produced by African Americans during this period were *What the Negro Wants* by Rayford Logan (1944); *The Negro in the American Revolution* (1961) and *Lincoln and the Negro* (1962) by Benjamin Quarles; *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (1943) and *The Emancipation Proclamation* (1963) by John Hope Franklin. The first edition of John Hope Franklin's influential college textbook *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* was published in 1947. It is still one of the most popular textbooks in African-American history.

A New Era of Black Studies Begins in the 1970s

Prior to 1970 most African-American students attended historically black colleges and universities in the southern and border states. One consequence of the civil rights movement of the 1960s was that an increasing number of African-American students attended predominantly white institutions, especially in the Midwest, East, and West. Many of these students, a significant percentage of whom were admitted to college through equal opportunity or open admission programs, were from working-class backgrounds. Many were the first children in their families to attend college. Their presence on college campuses was destined to have a significant influence on the curriculum and the ethnic makeup of the faculty.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s African-American students—often in strident voices that reflected their sense of marginalization on predominantly white campuses—made a number of demands on universities. These included demands for black studies programs, black professors, black cultural centers, and in some cases, separate dormitories.

In responding to the demands of African-American students—who were often joined by the black community and later by other students of color who made parallel demands—colleges and universities established black studies courses, programs, centers, and institutes. In time, some of these programs and centers became departments.

In part because of the political climate out of which they emerged, black studies courses, programs, and centers had a rocky beginning in the early 1970s. Many university administrators created instant programs and hired professors who did not have standard academic qualifications in order to silence ethnic protest. There was a shortage of individuals trained in black studies. Courses and programs were developing more rapidly than qualified individuals could be trained in doctoral programs. Another problem that haunted early black studies programs was the series of budget cuts that colleges and universities throughout the United States experienced in the 1970s and

1980s. Because they were the last hired, many teachers and administrators in black studies programs were highly vulnerable to financial downturns.

Black studies programs and black studies scholarship have experienced a renaissance since the early 1970s. According to a report prepared by Robert L. Harris Jr., Darlene Clark Hine, and Nellie McKay (1990) for the Ford Foundation on the status of black studies in the United States, most black studies programs have gained legitimacy on their campuses, are valued by campus administrators, and are becoming institutionalized. Because of the growth and increasing legitimization of black studies, more black professors are being hired on predominantly white campuses.

Despite their march down the road toward institutionalization, black studies programs still face important challenges as they enter the twenty-first century. These include retaining and acquiring new resources in an era of aggressive budget cutting; attaining departmental status so they will gain needed control over budgets, tenure, and promotion; and educating and mentoring a new generation of scholars to whom the torch can be passed. Black studies programs must also determine the amount of time and resources to devote to a consistent research agenda and how much time to devote to the new wave of racist social science epitomized by the publication and public reception of *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994).

Scholarship Since the 1970s

The period from 1970 to 1995 was one of the most richly prolific periods in black studies scholarship. Many well-trained African-American scholars—who are teaching and doing research at some of the nation's most prestigious universities—entered the field. They have written many significant and landmark publications. David L. Lewis's seminal biography of W. E. B. Du Bois was the recipient of the Pulitzer, Parkman, and Bancroft prizes in 1994 (Lewis, 1993).

Important studies produced by black scholars since the 1970s include *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* by Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1988); *Long Black Song: Essays in Black American Literature and Culture* by Houston A. Baker Jr. (1972); *The Slave Community* by John W. Blassingame (1972); *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and The Foundations of Black America* by Sterling Stuckey (1987); *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* by C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya (1990); and *The Truly Disadvantaged* by William Julius Wilson (1987).

Many white scholars are also producing significant publications in black studies. Notable works written by white scholars since 1970 include *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slave Made* by Eugene D. Genovese (1972); *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* by Herbert G. Gutman (1976); and *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* by Lawrence W. Levine (1977).

The Afrocentric Paradigm

In the 1980s the Afrocentric movement became important within black studies. It has been influenced most significantly by Molefi K. Asante (1987, 1990) and his colleagues at Temple University. The Afrocentric paradigm is a radical critique of the Eurocentric ideology and research paradigm that, in the view of Afrocentric theorists, "masquerades as a universal view" in the various social science and applied disciplines (Asante, 1987, p. 3). Afrocentricity, according to Asante, means "placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior" (p. 6). Afrocentrists believe that all knowledge is positional and that Eurocentric knowledge reinforces and legitimizes dominant group hegemony and structural inequality (Ani, 1994).

Black Women's Studies

Another important challenge black studies faces is how to incorporate the new field of black women's studies into the discipline. Feminist researchers such as Stanlie E. James and Abena P. A. Busia (1993), Patricia Hill Collins (1990), and Angela Y. Davis (1981) have developed concepts, paradigms, and insights that describe the extent to which black women have been marginalized in black studies. They document ways in which black studies has traditionally been and still is primarily black men's studies. The title of one of the earliest edited works in black women's studies exemplifies this marginalization: *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, 1982). Betty Schmitz and colleagues write that, "A new field of study, black women's studies, emerged in part because of the failure of both black studies and women's studies to address adequately the experiences of women of African descent in the United States and throughout the world" (1995, p. 711).

Black women's studies is a growing and significant field. Significant and influential scholarly works are published each year. An important early publication is an edited collection by Toni Cade, *The Black Women* (1970). Other notable works in the genre *include The Afro-American Women: Struggles and Images* (1978), edited by Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and S. Harley, and *When and Where I Enter* by Paula Giddings (1984). Major original,

scholarly works include *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present* (1985) by J. Jones, a white scholar; and *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (1993) by E. B. Higginbotham.

In the 1990s two major collections of studies on the African-American experience were produced. *Black Women in United States History,* a sixteen-volume collection of studies and primary resources edited by eminent historian Darlene Clark Hine and colleagues, was published in 1990. By the end of the decade, one of the most notable of African American studies units emerged at Harvard University under the direction of Henry Louis Gates Jr. In 1999 Gates and Harvard philosopher Anthony Appiah published *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience.*

The Future of Black Studies

Black studies seems anchored to face successfully the challenges related to its quest for legitimacy, financial constraints, and the need to be transformed so it can incorporate concepts and paradigms related to the experience of black women. If the field meets these challenges, not only will it be revitalized but so will the curricula of the nation's colleges and universities.

See also Afrocentrism; Black History Month/Negro History Week; Woodson, Carter Godwin

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JAMES A. BANKS (1996)
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Black Towns

African-American town promoters established at least eighty-eight, and perhaps as many as two hundred, black towns throughout the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Black towns, either mostly or completely African-American incorporated communities with autonomous black city governments and commercially oriented economies often serving a hinterland of black farmers, were created with clearly defined economic and political motives. The founders of towns such as Nicodemus, Kansas; Boley, Oklahoma; and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, like the entrepreneurs who created Chicago, Denver, and thousands of other municipalities across the nation, hoped their enterprises would be profitable and appealed to early settlers with the prom-

ise of rising real estate values. However, they added special enticements for African Americans: the ability to escape racial oppression, control their economic destinies, and prove black capacity for self-government.

The first all-black communities began in Upper Canada (Ontario) as an offshoot of the abolitionist movement. In 1829 the settlement of Wilberforce was created to resettle black refugees expelled from Cincinnati. Wilberforce, as well as most of the later Canadian settlements, such as Dawn and Elgin, were operated largely by white charities and were designed to give African Americans land and teach them usable skills. However, most of these efforts were poorly funded and managed, and none survived very long. The first black town in the United States was created in 1835, when "Free Frank" McWhorter, an ex-Kentucky slave, founded the short-lived community of New Philadelphia, Illinois. More black towns emerged in the first years after the Civil War. Texas led the way in the late 1860s, with the founding of Shankleville in 1867 and Kendleton in 1870. These communities, populated by ex-slaves from the surrounding countryside, arose from the desire of freedpeople to own land without interference.

The vast majority of black towns emerged in the West, however, following the end of Reconstruction. Like whites, blacks were lured by the promise of the West. African Americans, largely unable to secure land and economic opportunity in the ex-Confederate states, looked to the West, with its reserves of inexpensive land that could be accessed through the Homestead Act. Moreover for the African Americans who had briefly held political power in the Reconstruction-era South before being overwhelmed by conservative white regimes, the possibility of distinct black political autonomy was particularly attractive. Six representative communities—Nicodemus, Kansas; Langston City, Oklahoma; Boley, Indian Territory; Mound Bayou, Mississippi; Dearfield, Colorado; and Allensworth, California—all shared these characteristics and will be discussed in depth.

Nicodemus, Kansas, was the first predominantly black community that gained national attention. Nicodemus was founded by W. R. Hill, a white minister and land speculator, who during the mid-1870s joined three black Kansas residents—W. H. Smith, Simon P. Rountree, and Z. T. Fletcher—in planning an agricultural community in sparsely populated western Kansas. After naming Nicodemus after a legendary African slave prince who purchased his freedom, they soon recruited settlers from the South.

The first thirty colonists arrived from Kentucky in July 1877, followed by 150 from the same state in March 1878. Other newcomers arrived later in the year from Tennessee, Missouri, and Mississippi. By 1880, 258 blacks and 58 whites resided in the town and surrounding township. Both the townspeople and the farmers, who grew corn and wheat, helped Nicodemus emerge as a small, briefly thriving community. The first retail stores opened in 1879. Town founder and postmaster Z. T. Fletcher opened the St. Francis Hotel in 1885. Two white residents established the town's newspapers, the Nicodemus *Western Cyclone* in 1886 and the Nicodemus *Enterprise* one year later. By 1886 Nicodemus had three churches and a new schoolhouse.

The town's success attracted other African Americans, including Edwin P. McCabe, who would soon become the most famous black politician outside the South. Born in Troy, New York, in 1850, McCabe arrived in Nicodemus in 1878 and began working as a land agent. In 1880, when Kansas governor John P. St. John established Graham County (which included Nicodemus), McCabe was appointed acting county clerk, beginning a long career of elective and appointive office holding. In November 1881 McCabe was elected clerk for Graham County, and the following year, at age thirty-two, he became the highest-ranking African-American elected official outside the South when Kansas voters chose him as state auditor.

Nicodemus's fortunes, however, began to decline in the late 1880s. An 1885 blizzard destroyed 40 percent of the wheat crop, prompting the first exodus from the area. By 1888 three railroads had bypassed the town, despite its purchase of $16,000 in bonds to attract a rail line. Moreover, toward the end of the decade Oklahoma became more appealing to prospective black homesteaders.

The Twin Territories, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, became the most important center of black town activity in the nation. Thirty-two all-black towns emerged in the territories, including Langston City (Oklahoma Territory) and Boley (Indian Territory). Although the specific reasons for town founding varied, most grew out of the desire for political autonomy among the black ex-slaves of Indian peoples, antiblack violence in the South, and the political maneuvers of Edwin McCabe and other black politicians who settled in Oklahoma. For African Americans such as McCabe, Oklahoma Territory, whose former Native American reservations were opened to non-Indian settlement in 1889, represented not only the last major chance for homesteading but also a singular opportunity to develop communities where black people could achieve their economic potential and exercise their political rights without interference. McCabe, who emerged as the leading advocate of black settlement, would also become a town promoter, combining political and racial objectives with personal profit.

McCabe and his wife, Sarah, moved to Oklahoma Territory in April 1890 and six months later joined

Black pioneers in front of a sod house, Nicodemus, Kansas. DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY–WESTER COLLECTION

Charles Robbins, a white land speculator, and William L. Eagleson, a black newspaper publisher, in founding Langston City, an all-black community about ten miles northeast of Guthrie, the territorial capital. Langston City was named after the Virginia black congressman who supported migration to Oklahoma. The McCabes, who owned most of the town lots, immediately began advertising for prospective purchasers through their newspaper, the Langston City *Herald,* which was sold in neighboring states. The *Herald* portrayed the town as an ideal community for African Americans. "Langston City is a Negro City, and we are proud of that fact," proclaimed McCabe in the *Herald*. "Her city officers are all colored. Her teachers are colored. Her public schools furnish thorough educational advantages to nearly two hundred colored children." The *Herald* also touted the agricultural potential of the region, claiming the central Oklahoma prairie could produce superior cotton, wheat, and tobacco. "Here is found a genial climate, about like that of . . . Northern Mississippi . . . admirably suited to the wants of the Negro from the Southern states. A land where every staple . . . can be raised with profit." By February 1892 Langston City had six hundred residents from fifteen states including Georgia, Maryland, and California, with the largest numbers from neighboring Texas. Local businesses included a cotton gin, a soap factory, a bank, and two hotels. An opera house, a racetrack, a billiard parlor, three saloons, Masonic lodges, and social clubs provided various forms of entertainment.

Like Nicodemus, Langston City residents counted on a railroad line to improve their town's fortunes. From 1892 to 1900 McCabe waged a steady but ultimately unsuccessful campaign to persuade the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad to extend its tracks through Langston City. When the rail line bypassed the town, many disheartened Langston residents believed they lost their main opportunity to prosper. Throughout the railroad campaign, however, town promoters urged other reasons for migration to their community. The *Herald* (no longer owned by the McCabes) continued to emphasize the superior racial climate of the area. In 1896 McCabe, using his political connections as chief clerk of the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature, obtained for Langston City the Colored Agricultural and Normal School (later Langston University). The loca-

tion of the school, the only publicly supported black educational institution in the territory, in Langston City ensured the town's permanence.

Boley, the largest all-black town in Indian Territory, was founded in the former Creek nation in 1904 by two white entrepreneurs, William Boley, a manager for the Fort Smith & Western Railroad, and Lake Moore, an attorney and former federal commissioner to the region's Indian tribes. Boley and Moore chose Tom Haynes, an African American, to handle promotion of the town. Unlike Langston City, Boley was on a rail line and in a timbered, well-watered prairie that easily supported the type of agriculture familiar to most prospective black settlers. The frontier character of the town was evident from its founding. Newcomers, who usually arrived by train, lived in tents until they could clear trees and brush to construct homes and stores. During the town's first year, Creek Indians rode several times through Boley's streets on shooting sprees that killed several people. Boley's reputation for lawlessness continued into 1905, when peace officer William Shavers was killed while leading a posse after a gang of white horse thieves who terrorized the town.

With one thousand residents and more than two thousand farmers in the surrounding countryside by 1907, Boley's permanence seemed assured. Local businesses included a hotel, sawmill, and cotton gin. Churches, a public school, fraternal lodges, women's clubs, and a literary society attest to the cultural development of the town. A community newspaper, the Boley *Progress,* was founded in 1905 to report on local matters and promote town growth. After a 1905 visit, Booker T. Washington described Boley as a "rude, bustling, Western town [that nonetheless] represented a dawning race consciousness . . . which shall demonstrate the right of the negro . . . to have a worthy place in the civilization that the American people are creating."

Despite Washington's endorsement, Boley's spectacular growth was over by 1910. When the Twin Territories became the state of Oklahoma in 1907, the Democrats emerged as the dominant political party. They quickly disfranchised black voters and segregated public schools and accommodations. Their actions eliminated the town's major appeal as a community where African Americans could escape the Jim Crow restrictions they faced in southern states. Although African Americans continued to vote in municipal elections, political control at the local level could not compensate for marginal influence at the courthouse or the state capital, where crucial decisions affecting the town's schools and roads were now routinely made by unsympathetic officials. Moreover, after the initial years of prosperity, declining agricultural prices and crop failures

FIGURE 1

Black towns, listed by state

Alabama
Cederlake
Greenwood Village
Hobson City
Plateau
Shepherdsville

Arkansas
Edmondson
Thomasville

California
Abila
Allensworth
Bowles
Victorville

Colorado
Dearfield

Florida
Eatonville
New Monrovia
Richmond Heights

Illinois
Brooklyn
Robbins

Iowa
Buxton

Kansas
Nicodemus

Kentucky
New Zion

Louisiana
Grambling
North Shreveport

Maryland
Fairmont Heights
Glenarden
Lincoln City

Michigan
Idlewind
Marlborough

Mississippi
Expose
Mound Bayou
Renova

Missouri
Kinloch

New Jersey
Gouldtown
Lawnside
Springtown
Whitesboro

New Mexico
Blackdom

North Carolina
Columbia Heights
Method
Oberlin

Ohio
Lincoln Heights
Urbancrest

Oklahoma
Arkansas Colored
Bailey
Boley
Booktee
Canadian Colored
Chase
Clearview
Ferguson
Forman
Gibson Station
Grayson
Langston City
Lewisville
Liberty
Lima
Lincoln City
Mantu
Marshalltown
North Folk Colored
Overton
Porter
Redbird
Rentiesville
Summit
Taft
Tatum
Tullahassee
Vernon
Wellston Colony
Wybark
Two unnamed towns in Seminole Nation

Tennessee
Hortense
New Bedford

Texas
Andy
Board House
Booker
Independence Heights
Kendleton
Mill City
Oldham
Roberts
Union City

Virginia
Ocean Grove
Titustown
Truxton

West Virginia
Institute

SOURCES: Adapted from Kenneth Marvin Hamilton, *Black Towns and Profit: Promotion and Development in the Trans-Appalachian West, 1877–1915* (Urbana, Ill., 1991); and Ben Wayne Wiley, Ebonyville in the South and Southwest: Political Life in the All-Black Town, Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Arlington (1984).

gradually reduced the number of black farmers who were the foundation of the town's economy. Although Boley remained the site of a famous black rodeo, it ceased to be an important center of African American life in the state.

Although most black towns were in the West, Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the most successful of these enterprises, emerged east of the Mississippi River. Founded by the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad in 1887, the town was situated along the rail line that extended through the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, an area of thick woods, bayous, and swamps that nonetheless contained some of the richest cotton-producing lands in the state. When the fear of swampland diseases deterred white settlement, the railroad hired two prominent African-American politicians, James Hill and Isaiah Montgomery, as land promoters. Hill had once been Mississippi's secretary of state, while Montgomery was the patriarch of a well-known family of ex-slaves of Joseph Davis. After the Civil War, the Montgomery family acquired the Davis Bend plantations of their former master and his more famous brother, Confederate ex-president Jefferson Davis. When the Davis heirs successfully reclaimed the lands in the 1880s, the Montgomery family sought business opportunities elsewhere in the state.

The railroad, which wanted settlers on the least populated lands along its route, chose a town site fifteen miles east of the Mississippi River and ninety miles south of Memphis. The four-square-mile area selected included two bayous and several Indian burial mounds, inspiring Montgomery to name the town and colony Mound Bayou. Montgomery, the more active of the two promoters, sold the first town lots to relatives and friends from the Davis Bend plantations. In the fall of 1887 he led the first twelve settlers to Mound Bayou. By 1888 the town had forty residents, and about two hundred people had settled in the surrounding countryside. Twelve years later it had grown to 287 residents, with 1,500 African Americans in the vicinity.

With rail transportation assured and a sizable population of black farmers nearby, Montgomery and other promoters concentrated on efforts to increase the number and size of local African American businesses. Montgomery's close association with Booker T. Washington aided those efforts. Montgomery and Washington met in 1895 when the Mississippi planter served as a commissioner for the Atlanta Exposition, where Washington gave the speech that launched his national career. Washington, who saw in Montgomery and Mound Bayou the embodiment of his philosophy of black economic self-help, featured the Mississippian in exhibitions and conferences sponsored by Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University). Montgomery, in turn, used the Tuskegee educator's fame and contacts to attract investors. Although Montgomery accepted a federal post in Jackson in 1902 and ceased his direct involvement in Mound Bayou promotional activities, Washington's interest in the town remained strong. He switched his support to merchant-farmer Charles Banks, who settled there in 1904 and founded the Bank of Mound Bayou. In 1908, following a visit to Mound Bayou, the Tuskegee educator prompted a number of flattering articles on the town in national magazines and profiled the community in books he published in 1909 and 1911.

Mound Bayou's population peaked at eleven hundred in 1911, with nearly eight thousand in the surrounding rural area. The sizable population ensured economic support for the town, which featured the largest number of African-American-owned businesses of any of the all-black communities. Mound Bayou's businesses included its bank, a savings and loan association, two sawmills, three cotton gins, and the only black-owned cottonseed mill in the United States. By 1914, however, some businesses, including the Bank of Mound Bayou, closed, and the town experienced its first population losses. Booker T. Washington's death in 1915 ended its national promotion. By the early 1920s the town lost its vitality and began to resemble other small delta communities.

One all-black Colorado town, Dearfield, emerged in Weld County. Dearfield was conceived by O. T. Jackson, who arrived in the state in 1887 and became a messenger for Colorado governors. Inspired by Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, Jackson argued that successful farm colonies were possible on the Colorado plains and chose as his first site a forty-acre tract twenty-five miles southeast of Greeley, which he personally homesteaded. Jackson attracted other black Denver investors who made additional land purchases. Among them was Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook, a physician, who suggested the name Dearfield. The town's population peaked at seven hundred in 1921, with families occupying nearly fifteen thousand acres in the area. Dearfield's farmers grew wheat, corn, and sugar beets, and like their Weld County neighbors, prospered during World War I because of the European demand for American foodstuffs. Town founder Jackson was also its most prominent businessman; he owned the town grocery store, restaurant, service station, and dance hall. The war years were the apex of the town's prosperity. Declining agricultural prices and the attractiveness of urban employment caused Dearfield to steadily lose population. Only a handful of "pioneers" remained when Jackson died in Dearfield in 1949.

In 1908 white and black land speculators combined to create the westernmost all-black town in the United

States: Allensworth, California. The town was conceived by the California Colony and Home Promoting Association (CCHPA), a Los Angeles–based land development company owned by African Americans. CCHPA hoped to encourage black settlement in California's rapidly growing San Joaquin Valley and envisioned a town as the commercial center of a thriving agricultural colony. Since CCHPA had no resources to purchase land, it joined with three white firms, the Pacific Farming Company (owners of the site of the prospective town), the Central Land Company, and the Los Angeles Purchasing Company, to create an eighty-acre town site in Tulare County along the Santa Fe Railroad, about halfway between Fresno and Bakersfield. Allensworth was named for Lt. Col. Allen Allensworth, chaplain of the all-black Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment and the highest-ranking African American in the U.S. Army. After his retirement, Allensworth settled in Los Angeles and became president of the CCHPA in 1907.

Initial sales were slow, and by 1910 the town had only eighty residents. Most of the adults worked ten-acre farms nearby, which they purchased for $110 per acre on an installment plan. The town's slow growth prompted Allensworth to intensify his promotional efforts. In January 1912 he sent a lengthy letter to the New York *Age,* the nation's largest African-American newspaper, promoting the town site by linking it to Booker T. Washington's call for black economic self-help and suggesting that his town's objectives were similar to those of Mound Bayou. By May 1912 Allensworth concentrated recruiting efforts on black veterans, issuing a promotional newspaper, *The Sentiment Maker,* which specifically targeted black military personnel.

The town of Allensworth had one hundred residents in 1914. Despite their small numbers, they owned dozens of city lots and three thousand acres of nearby farmland. Oscar O. Overr, a migrant from Topeka, Kansas, was the community's most prosperous resident, with a 640-acre farm and four acres of town lots. In 1914 Overr became California's first elected black justice of the peace. Allensworth also had a twenty-acre park named after Booker T. Washington and a library named for Colonel Allensworth's wife, Josephine, which received as its first holdings the family's book collection. After the colonel's death on September 14, 1914, Overr and William A. Payne, the town's first schoolteacher, attempted to establish the Allensworth Agricultural and Manual Training School. Modeled after Tuskegee Institute, the school would train California's black youth in vocational skills. Overr and Payne failed to obtain state funding, however, because urban black political leaders feared the school would encourage segregation. The school promotion scheme was the last concerted effort to lure settlers to Allensworth. Except for a brief period in the 1920s, the town's population never exceeded one hundred residents.

None of the surviving black towns ever reached the potential envisioned by their founder-promoters. Allensworth and Dearfield have long been emptied of residents. Nicodemus, Boley, Mound Bayou, and Langston City continue, but they are not dynamic centers of economic or cultural activity for their regions. Like thousands of small towns throughout the United States, these African-American communities were subject to the vagaries of transportation access, unpredictable agricultural productivity, detrimental county or state political decisions, and shifting settlement patterns. Moreover, towns such as Nicodemus, Allensworth, and Dearfield, which had few black farmers in their hinterlands to sustain their prosperity, were especially vulnerable to decline.

Moreover, none of the black towns could successfully compete with the attraction of larger cities, which lured millions of Americans from farms, hamlets, and small towns across the nation during the twentieth century. By 1915 thousands of southern African Americans who might have considered black towns now sought northern cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and New York for both political freedom and economic opportunity. Paradoxically, the initial reason for the founding of these towns may have hastened their demise. The racial insularity of these communities, which seemed attractive to one generation, proved restricting to the next. Nonetheless, for one brief period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nearly one hundred fledgling black communities throughout the nation symbolized the aspirations of African Americans for political freedom and economic opportunity.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Jim Crow; Migration; Mound Bayou, Mississippi; Washington, Booker T.

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QUINTARD TAYLOR (1996)
Updated bibliography

Blackwell, Unita

March 18, 1933

Born in Lula, Mississippi, civil rights activist and politician Unita Blackwell grew up during the depression and spent her first thirty years migrating from farm to farm in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Blackwell has been an exemplar of grass-roots activism and organization within rural African-American communities.

In 1962 Blackwell and her first husband settled in the then-unincorporated town of Meyersville in Issaquena County, Mississippi, where she chopped cotton in the fields for three dollars a day. Inspired by visiting civil rights workers, she registered to vote and began to encourage other laborers to register. Fired by her employers for her activism, Blackwell joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee full-time. In 1964 she helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and traveled to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City with the party in its failed attempt to be seated. In 1968 she would serve as a state delegate at the Democratic convention in Chicago. In 1965 and 1966 she initiated *Blackwell v. Board of Education,* a landmark case that furthered school desegregation in Mississippi.

In 1976, equipped with the political and administrative skills she had developed in the civil rights movement, Blackwell set out to incorporate the 691-acre town of Mayersville, Mississippi, organizing town meetings, filing petitions, and having the land surveyed. The incorporation became official on December 28, 1976. Blackwell was elected mayor, the first African-American woman mayor in Mississippi, a post she held for four terms. An expert on rural housing and development, Blackwell has campaigned successfully for state and federal funds for public housing and welfare. She was selected as chairperson of the National Conference of Black Mayors, and she received a MacArthur Fellowship in 1992.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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NANCY YOUSEF (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Black Women's Club Movement

The black women's club movement emerged in the late nineteenth century and comprised a number of local reform organizations dedicated to racial betterment. These grass-roots organizations were made up primarily of middle-class women who were part of the larger progressive reform effort. Black women formed social organizations to provide services, financial assistance, and moral guidance for the poor. Many of the groups grew out of religious and literary societies and were a response to the intensified racism in the late nineteenth century.

Although organizations existed all over the country, they were concentrated in the Northeast. Women involved in the club movement gained knowledge about education, health care, and poverty and developed organizing skills. They also sought to teach the poor how to keep a household, manage a budget, and raise their children. The local groups were usually narrow in focus and supported homes for the aged, schools, and orphanages. In Washington, D.C., the black women's club movement was dominated by teachers who were concerned about children and their problems. Active participants held conventions, conferences, and forums to engage the intellectual elite. In New York City clubwomen honored Ida B. Wells for her political activism to publicize the prevalence of lynching.

In 1895 women organizing at the local level made attempts to develop national ties. The New Era Club in Boston began a publication, *Woman's Era,* which covered local and national news of concern to clubwomen. Two national federations of local clubs were formed in 1895. The next year these two merged and became the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Women in the Northeast played a central role in setting the agenda for the NACW, which was more conservative than some of the local clubs. Mary Church Terrell, a supporter of Booker T. Washington, was the first president of the NACW.

In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, self-help and social reform came under attack as methods of social

change. Increasing emphasis was placed on structural change and electoral politics. In 1935 a faction of the NACW, led by Mary McLeod Bethune, which rejected the philosophy of self-help and sought to put pressure on the political system to improve conditions for African Americans, formed the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). The NCNW quickly came to dominate both the politics of the club movement and the national political agenda of black women. Although both the NACW and the NCNW continued to be central to black women's political activity, the social conditions and context for organizing had changed dramatically in the 1930s. As the reform efforts of African-American women became more explicitly political, both the local and national club movements declined in importance.

See also National Association of Colored Women; Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell; Women's Era

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Black World/Negro Digest

Created in 1942 by Chicago-based publisher John H. Johnson, who also produced *Ebony, Tan,* and *Jet* magazines, the original series of *Negro Digest* was published monthly from 1942 to 1951. An unabashed imitation of *Reader's Digest,* it published general articles about African-American life, with an emphasis on racial progress. It also reprinted relevant articles from other journals, particularly mainstream white publications. The original *Negro Digest* ceased publication in 1951, but it reappeared after a ten-year hiatus, with Johnson listed on the masthead as editor, Hoyt W. Fuller as managing editor, and Doris E. Saunders as associate editor.

During the first several years of its reincarnation, *Negro Digest* generally followed the path of its predecessor. It continued to reprint articles from other magazines and its outlook was distinctly integrationist, an emphasis underscored by the monthly column "Perspectives," originally coauthored by Fuller and Saunders. At the same time, however, it devoted considerably more attention to African-American literature, history, and culture than the earlier *Negro Digest.* Fuller assumed sole responsibility for the "Perspectives" column in August 1962, signaling the beginning of his emergence as the most influential editor among the numerous African-American journals that flourished during this period.

In his column and in book reviews, articles, news items, and various notes, Fuller's ideological outlook shifted from civil rights and integration to Black Power, black arts, and Pan-Africanism. These shifts—reflective of wider changes in the mood and outlook of the black community—were inevitably reflected in the pages of *Negro Digest.* Beginning with his essay "Ivory Towerist vs. Activist: The Role of the Negro Writer in an Era of Struggle," published in the June 1964 issue, Fuller began to emphasize his belief in the connection between politics and literature. As his outlook evolved further in the direction of black nationalism, Fuller began to aim sharp verbal attacks at two targets: white literary critics and anthologists, whom he saw as cultural interlopers unable to understand African-American literature, and those African-American writers, most notably Ralph Ellison, who emphasized literary craft over political commitment.

Fuller pursued his efforts to develop new standards for African-American writing by polling black authors on various questions. The results appeared in two symposia in *Negro Digest:* "The Task of the Negro Writer as Artist," in the April 1965 issue, and "A Survey: Black Writers' Views on Literary Lions and Values," in January 1968. The second symposium in particular spurred the national debate about the black aesthetic. By 1968 Fuller's transformation to black cultural nationalism was virtually complete, and the pages of *Negro Digest* reflected his altered outlook. As of the May 1970 issue, the title of the magazine was changed to *Black World* to reflect its new emphasis.

As the only national black literary magazine with a paid staff and a solvent financial base, *Negro Digest/Black World* played a prominent role in the debates about African-American literature, culture, and politics that flourished during the 1960s and early 1970s. During its heyday, it served as a national forum for emerging, as well as established, black writers and intellectuals. As the revolutionary mood of the late 1960s and early 1970s subsided, however, a complex set of economic, political, and cultural forces led to its demise—and indeed to the demise of many of the "little" black magazines of the period. The final issue of *Black World* appeared in April 1976. Hoyt Fuller returned to his native Atlanta, where he launched a new

journal, *First World,* publishing several issues before his death in 1981.

See also Black Power; *Ebony*; *Jet*; Journalism

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JAMES A. MILLER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Blaize, Herbert

February 26, 1918
December 19, 1989

The son of James and Mary Cecilia Blaize, Herbert Augustus Blaize was born on the island of Carriacou, Grenada. He attended primary school there and secondary school on the main island of Grenada from 1930 to 1936. A politician in later life, he eventually became chief minister, premier, and prime minister of an independent Grenada.

On graduation from secondary school, Blaize entered government service, working initially as a clerk in the Revenue Office in Sauteurs on the northern part of the island. As was then the case with many of his compatriots, he traveled to Aruba in 1944 to seek employment with the Lago Oil Company, which had then been recruiting workers from the British Caribbean islands. His superiors soon recognized his abilities and promoted him to a managerial position. But a near-fatal spinal injury he had suffered from a bicycle accident in 1939 resurfaced, prompting him to return to Carriacou in 1952.

Political Activities

Blaize became involved in politics when he joined the Grenada National Party (GNP), founded in 1955 by Dr. John Watts. The GNP was a relatively conservative, middle-of-the-road, urban-based party, organized chiefly to check the advances being made by Eric Gairy's more radical Grenada United Labour Party. Although Blaize was unsuccessful in his 1954 attempt to capture the Carriacou seat, he succeeded in 1957 as a member of the GNP. Except for the 1979 to 1984 revolutionary period when elections were nonexistent, Blaize retained this seat until his death in 1989.

The political landscape was changing when Blaize entered the Legislative Council. Through a new advisory-committee system of government that came into effect in 1957, he was appointed to the Trade and Production Committee. Constitutional changes in 1959 provided for a ministerial form of government, with the administrator still effectively in charge. Blaize became the first chief minister that year. He won election again in 1962 and was appointed the first premier under the new constitution that took effect in early 1967 when Grenada, together with other Eastern Caribbean islands, became the Associated States of Great Britain. After the 1983 collapse of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) that had ruled Grenada since 1979, Blaize's GNP merged with two smaller parties to form the New National Party (NNP) to contest successfully the 1984 elections. Most Grenadians believed that he was the most experienced leader who could be trusted to bring Grenada back into the democratic fold after the turbulent revolutionary years. He became prime minister in 1984, a position he held until his death.

Political Ideology

Fiscally conservative, Blaize was well known for his frugality in public service. He insisted on maintaining balanced budgets and was reluctant to borrow excessively, even at the cost of lower economic growth rate. As prime minister, he created a number of organizations to help with economic planning. In a way, this represented a reworking of some of the institutions that had been formed during the revolutionary period. Yet by neglecting to put in place immediately after becoming prime minister a bold and much-needed plan for the nation's economic development, he failed to create job opportunities to alleviate rising unemployment.

To Blaize lay the task of successfully restoring orderliness in the civil service on two occasions, the first after Gairy's 1962 misuse of his powers that resulted in financial improprieties being uncovered in a commission appointed by the governor. The commission's findings, called the "Squandermania Report," resulted in the suspension of the island's constitution. The second instance of stabilizing the civil service occurred after he returned to office in 1984 following the aborted people's revolution. Viewing accountability as essential to good government, he required all government ministers to follow his lead and deposit with the governor general a list of their assets. He left

in place a country almost debt free, transparency in financial dealings, and structure in the civil service and in the conduct of public affairs.

Foreign Affairs

Blaize maintained a foreign policy of close cooperation with the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, with whom he forged close ties and received substantial financial support. Foreign policy, however, also proved to be the Achilles' heel of successive Blaize administrations. After the collapse of the West Indian Federation in 1962, he pursued an ill-advised policy of seeking unitary statehood with Trinidad. By making this issue the central plank of his reelection platform, he inflamed passions locally and provided Gairy with an effective tool to use successfully against him in his campaigns. His strong anticommunist beliefs especially after 1984 precluded him from completing any initiative that the PRG had started with Cuba, even the highly successful adult education programs they had introduced.

Governmental and Party Defections

By 1986 his deteriorating health and the emerging strains in the political marriage that had created the NNP posed additional problems for Blaize. His old physical ailments resurfaced, limiting his mobility and forcing him to set up office at his official residence. In August two members of his cabinet resigned. In April 1987 three more followed. Soon they would leave the party also. Blaize's majority in parliament, which once stood at fourteen to one, quickly evaporated by 1998 into a minority of six to nine. Still garnering some support from a number of his former cabinet colleagues, he clung to power by failing to introduce into parliament any controversial measures.

By 1988 many people felt strongly that Blaize should resign and pave the way for fresh elections. Leadership of the NNP devolved in January 1989 to Keith Mitchell, a member of cabinet and general secretary of the party. Blaize eventually fired Mitchell from the cabinet on July 20. He then renamed his wing of the party, consisting of the core elements of the now defunct GNP, The National Party. Increasingly fearing a vote of no confidence in parliament, and buttressed by the governor general's advice, he had parliament suspended in August 1989. The special parliamentary session convened on December 8 had as its sole purpose approving financial measures to borrow money to pay recently striking workers.

Worn out by his ailments and the increasing strains of office, Blaize succumbed to an apparent stroke. He died at home in the presence of his wife and children.

Increasingly stubborn and somewhat authoritarian from about 1985, Blaize was nonetheless a firm believer in parliamentary democracy. Politically conservative, his greatest legacies to the nation were his honesty and the alternatives he provided to Gairy's more radical policies in the 1950s and 1960s. Grenada also benefited from the political stability he afforded it from 1984 to 1989.

See also Gairy, Eric; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean

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EDWARD L. COX (2005)

Blake, Eubie

February 7, 1883
February 12, 1983

The jazz pianist and composer James Hubert "Eubie" Blake was born in Baltimore, Maryland. The son of former slaves, he began organ lessons at the age of six and was soon syncopating the tunes he heard in his mother's Baptist church. While still in his teens, he began to play in the ragtime style then popular in Baltimore sporting houses and saloons. One of his first professional jobs was as a dancer in a minstrel show, *In Old Kentucky*. During this time Blake also began to compose music, with his first published piece, "Charleston Rag," appearing in 1899. In his twenties Blake began performing each summer in Atlantic City, where he composed songs (e.g., "Tricky Fingers," 1904) and came in contact with such giants of stride piano as Willie "The Lion" Smith (1897–1973), Luckey Roberts (1887–1968), and James P. Johnson (1894–1955). His melodic style and penchant for waltzes were influenced by the comic operettas of Victor Herbert, Franz Lehar, and Leslie Stuart. Blake soon began to perform songs in his mature style, which was marked by broken-octave parts, arpeggiated figures, sophisticated chord progressions, and altered blues chords. In 1910 Blake married Avis Lee, a classical pianist.

In 1916, with the encouragement of the bandleader James Reese Europe (1881–1919), Blake began performing with Noble Sissle (1889–1975) as "The Dixie Duo," a piano-vocal duet. Sissle and Blake performed together on the B. F. Keith vaudeville circuit, and they also began writing songs together. In 1921, Sissle and Blake joined with the well-known comedy team of Flournoy Miller and Aubrey Lyles to write *Shuffle Along,* which became so popular in both its Broadway and touring versions that at one point three separate companies were crisscrossing the country performing it. In 1924 Sissle and Blake teamed up with Lew Payton to present *In Bamville,* later known as *The Chocolate Dandies*. After the closing of the show in 1925, Sissle and Blake returned to vaudeville, touring the United States, Great Britain, and France. In 1927 Sissle remained in Europe, while Blake teamed up with Henry Creamer to write cabaret shows. In 1928 Blake joined with Henry "Broadway" Jones and a cast of eleven performers to tour the United States on the Keith-Albee Orpheum circuit with *Shuffle Along Jr.* In that year he also wrote "Tickle the Ivories." Two years later Blake set lyrics by Andy Razaf to music for Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds of 1930,* which included "Memories of You," one of the best-known of Blake's many songs. In 1932, after the death of Lyles, Sissle and Blake reunited with Miller to present *Shuffle Along of 1933,* but the show closed after only fifteen performances. During the Great Depression, Blake wrote several shows with Milton Reddie. *Swing It,* which included the songs "Ain't We Got Love" and "Blues Why Don't You Leave Me Alone," was produced by the Works Project Administration. During the war years, Blake performed in U.S.O. shows and wrote *Tan Manhattan* (1943). When "I'm Just Wild About Harry," from *Shuffle Along,* became popular during the 1948 presidential campaign of Harry Truman, Sissle and Blake reunited to update the show. The new version failed to gain popularity, however, and Blake retired from public life.

In the 1960s there was a renewed public interest in ragtime, and Blake recorded *The Eighty-Six Years of Eubie Blake* (1969), an album that led to a resurgence in his career. Thereafter, Blake performed regularly in concert and on television, and continued to compose songs, such as "Eubie's Classic Rag" (1972). He also performed at jazz festivals in New Orleans (1969) and Newport R.I. (1971). Even in his last years, he retained his remarkable virtuosity on piano, vigorously improvising melodic embellishments to a syncopated ragtime beat. In 1978 the musical revue *Eubie!* (featuring many songs written by Blake) enjoyed a successful run on Broadway and received three Tony Award nominations. A scaled-down version of the show was revived in 1997, and it has played at small theaters since then. Blake also established a music publishing and recording company and received numerous honorary degrees and awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1981. Blake, whose more than three hundred compositions brought a sophisticated sense of harmony to the conventions of ragtime-derived popular song, was active until his ninety-ninth year, and his centennial in 1983 was an occasion for many tributes. However, the 1982 death of his wife, Marion, to whom he had been married since 1945 (his first marriage had ended with the death of his wife, Avis) led to a decline in his own health. He died on February 12, 1983 in Brooklyn, N.Y., only five days after his hundredth birthday. In 1995, Blake was featured on a U.S. postage stamp.

See also Europe, James Reese; Ragtime

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JOHN GRAZIANO (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Blake, Vivian

March 15, 1921
December 28, 2000

Vivian Osmond Scott Blake was born in St. James, Jamaica, to Rufus Alexander Blake, a schoolmaster, and Florence Maud Blake (neé Scott). He was educated at Wolmer's Boys School in Kingston and studied law at Gray's Inn, London, from 1945 to 1948, when he was called to the Jamaican Bar. Having worked at the law firm run by statesman Norman Manley, Blake was regarded Manley's potential successor as leading Jamaican barrister. Blake held offices as president of the Jamaican Bar Association and chairman of the Bar Council's Disciplinary Committee, and he reached the pinnacle of his legal career when he became chief justice of the Bahamas.

Blake entered politics in 1962, the year of Jamaica's independence from British rule. He was appointed mem-

ber of the Legislative Council and later made senator when the Council was replaced by the Senate. Blake served in the Senate as leader of opposition business until 1967 when he successfully contested a seat for South Eastern St. Elizabeth in the House of Representatives. He rose to become vice president of the People's National Party (PNP) and unsuccessfully ran for president against Michael Manley on February 9, 1969. When the PNP came to government in 1972, Blake was appointed to the cabinet and given the portfolio of minister of marketing and commerce in 1974. He was in charge of the trade administrator's department, the prices commission, Jamaican Nutrition Holdings, and the Agricultural Marketing Corporation. In 1975 Blake briefly served as minister of health and the environment.

As minister of marketing and commerce, Blake presided over a difficult period in the Jamaican economy, when trade restrictions were enforced due to economic constraints. Controversial issues emerged regarding import licenses, quotas, price controls, and negotiations with taxi operators arising from an increase in the price of gasoline. He was also part of the failed negotiations with Jamaica Flour Mills over government participation in the ownership of the company. Whereas the price of such commodities as as gasoline, cooking gas and cement increased, Blake was responsible for price reductions of other products, including tinned corn beef, bread, counter flour, and rice. His handling of these and other issues earned him the esteem of the majority of the Jamaican people.

Blake's political career ended in 1978 when he resigned as the member of parliament for North Eastern St. Ann, the seat he won in July 1973 after ceasing to represent South Eastern St. Elizabeth a year earlier. His official reason for resigning was his acceptance of an appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court in the Bahamas. However, the announcement of his resignation followed a disagreement he had with the PNP executive committee concerning his right to speak and vote as he did on a bill before the House in February of that year. Though this was resolved, Blake left for the Bahamas, where he rose to become chief justice until his retirement in 1984 when he left for England. He remained there for ten years while practicing as a legal consultant for overseas clients.

Blake eventually returned to Jamaica and resumed his law practice as a senior member of the legal firm of Myers, Fletcher and Gordon. He was an avid sportsman with an interest in cricket, boxing, rifle shooting, and horse racing.

See also Manley, Norman; People's National Party; Politics

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NICOLE PLUMMER (2005)

Blakey, Art (Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn)

October 11, 1919
October 16, 1990

The drummer and bandleader Art Blakey was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and orphaned as an infant. Blakey learned enough piano in his foster home and at school to organize a group and play a steady engagement at a local nightclub while still in his early teens. He later taught himself to play drums, emulating the styles of Kenny Clarke, Chick Webb, and Sid Catlett. Blakey left Pittsburgh for New York City with Mary Lou Williams' band in the fall of 1942. He left her band in 1943 to tour with the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra. After his stint with Henderson, he briefly formed his own big band in Boston before heading west to Saint Louis to join Billy Eckstine's new big bebop band. Blakey remained with the band during its three-year duration, working with other modern jazz musicians including Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Sarah Vaughan, Miles Davis, Dexter Gordon, and Fats Navarro.

After Eckstine disbanded the group in 1947, Blakey organized another big band, the Seventeen Messengers. At the end of the year, he took an octet including Kenny Dorham, Sahib Shihab, and Walter Bishop Jr. into the studio to record for Blue Note Records as the Jazz Messengers. That same year, Blakey joined Thelonious Monk on his historic first recordings for Blue Note, recordings that document both performers as remarkably original artists. The next year Blakey went to Africa to learn more about Islamic culture and subsequently adopted the Arabic name Abdullah Ibn Buhaina. During the early 1950s Blakey continued to perform and record with the leading innovators of his generation, including Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, and Clifford Brown. With his kindred musical spirit Horace Silver, Blakey in 1955 formed a cooperative group with Kenny Dorham (trumpet), Doug Watkins (bass), and

Hank Mobley (tenor saxophone), naming the quintet the Jazz Messengers. When Silver left the group in 1956, Blakey assumed leadership of the seminal hard bop group, renowned for combining solid, swinging jazz with rhythm and blues, gospel, and blues idioms.

Blakey's commitment to preserving the quintessence of the hard bop tradition was unflagging for over thirty-five years. His group toured widely, serving both as a school for young musicians and as the definitive standard for what has become known as straight-ahead jazz. Blakey's Jazz Messengers graduated from its ranks many of the most influential figures in jazz, including Wayne Shorter; Freddie Hubbard; Donald Byrd; Jackie McLean; Lee Morgan; Johnny Griffin; Woody Shaw; Keith Jarrett; JoAnn Brackeen; Branford, Delfeayo, and Wynton Marsalis; Donald Harrison; and Terence Blanchard.

A drummer famous for his forceful intensity, hard swinging grooves, and inimitable press roll, Blakey also adopted several African drumming techniques, including rapping the sides of his drums and altering the pitch of the tom-toms with his elbow, expanding the timbral and tonal vocabulary of jazz drumming. His drumming style as an accompanist is characterized by an unwavering cymbal beat punctuated by cross-rhythmic accents on the drums. A distinctive soloist, Blakey exploited the full dynamic potential of his instrument, often displaying a command of rhythmic modulation and a powerful expressiveness that incorporated polyrhythmic conceptual influences from West Africa and Cuba. In addition to his singular achievements as a drummer and bandleader, Blakey also served as a catalyst, bringing together percussionists from diverse traditions to perform and record in a variety of ensembles. His versatility as a drummer outside of the context of his own group received global recognition during his 1971–1972 tour with the Giants of Jazz, which included Dizzy Gillespie, Sonny Stitt, Thelonious Monk, Kai Winding, and Al McKibbon. Blakey died in New York City in 1990.

See also Islam; Jazz

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ANTHONY BROWN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Blaxploitation Films

Blaxploitation film is a type of film oriented to black audiences. It developed in the late 1960s and flourished up through the late 1970s. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the term *blaxploitation* was first employed in the June 12, 1972, issue of *New York* magazine to characterize such films, specifically *Superfly* (1972). The word derives from *sexploitation,* first used in 1942. The OED defines *blaxploitation* as "the exploitation of blacks, especially as actors in films of historical or other interest to blacks." A variant spelling, *blacksploitation,* is provided by *Colliers Year Book* (1973). Some film critics, such as James Robert Parish and George H. Hill, have preferred the term *black action film*, seeing the form as a continuum of black adventure films that began in the 1950s. For the film scholar Thomas Cripps, blaxploitation is a subgenre of the black film itself. *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), an independent production written, filmed, directed, and produced by Melvin Van Peebles (who also plays the title role), is generally considered the first blaxploitation film. Notable successors include *Shaft* (1971), *Superfly* (1972), *Blacula* (1972), *Coffy* (1973), *The Legend of Nigger Charlie* (1972), *Melinda* (1972), *Cleopatra Jones* (1973), and *The Mack* (1973). An estimated 150 blaxploitation films were produced before the vogue faded.

Origins of the Blaxploitation Film Movement

The blaxploitation film movement had six sources of origin: (1) the precedent of integrationist films that began in the 1940s; (2) the decline of the Hollywood studio system; (3) the Black Power movement; (4) the independent black film movement; (5) the availability of talented black actors and musicians; and (6) the newly discovered profitability of the urban black film audience.

After World War II, pressure from black and white American groups and the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union for favorable world opinion made the integration of America a national priority. For Hollywood, desegregation meant the increased hiring of black actors, the creation of viable black characters instead of replicating stereotypes, and the production

of serious films that addressed the issue of sustaining democratic values in a racist society. Films such as *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), *The Defiant Ones* (1958), and *Pressure Point* (1962) portray black men in complex social relationships with whites, in which they often assert themselves through moral or physical confrontation of racism—a first step in a new black cinema.

In the 1960s, the feature action film was integrated. A number of such feature films starred the former football great Jim Brown (*Rio Concho,* 1964; *The Dirty Dozen,* 1967; *Ice Station Zebra,* 1968; *The Split,* 1968; *100 Rifles,* 1969; and *Riot,* 1969) with white stars such as Gene Hackman, Julie Harris, Rock Hudson, Lee Marvin, Burt Reynolds, and Raquel Welch. Brown's virile, brooding presence reflected the growing influence of the Black Power movement upon mainstream culture and established the black rebel as a legitimate screen persona. Brown became the prototype of the black male action star.

Another contributing factor was the decline of the Hollywood studio system as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court antitrust ruling of 1948. This ruling required Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), Warner Brothers, Paramount, Columbia, Twentieth Century Fox, and other giant studios to divest themselves of their nationwide theater chains, thus breaking the studios' previous monopoly on all aspects of the film industry. The decline of this monopoly also ended Hollywood's power to define the black presence in American films and control its dissemination to the public. Television further weakened the studios, and in the free fall that followed, major actors became independent contractors, independent film companies developed, and the theater chains were forced into open competition for the moviegoer's dollar. By the mid-1960s, 80 percent of all films released by major distributors were made by independent companies, in contrast to 20 percent in 1949. Independent black filmmakers begin to spring up and production companies emerged that were free to address racial issues. The seminal films *Nothing but a Man* (1964, Ivan Dixon, director), *The Story of a Three-Day Pass* (1968, Melvin Van Peebles), and *Odds Against Tomorrow* (1959), were independent productions. The independent black film movement was furthered by the demands of the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement for positive portrayals of black life. Black actors, always minimally employed during the Jim Crow era, provided a ready pool of talent for the new films; among these actors were Adolph Caesar, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Moses Gunn, Ellen Holly, William Marshall, Brock Peters, and Beah Richards. New talents also emerged, among them John Amos, Rosalind Cash, Godfrey Cambridge, Pam Grier, Vonetta McGee, Ron O'Neal, Richard Pryor, and Richard

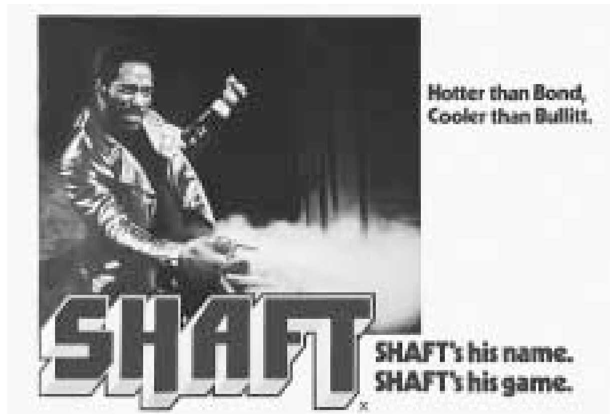
Jim Brown

From his athletic prowess on the football field to rubbing elbows with the likes of Lee Marvin and John Cassavettes in films like the *Dirty Dozen*, Jim Brown was a larger-than-life hero for many African Americans growing up in the 1950s and 1960s.

Much is made of Brown's physicality, speed, and power, but he was also considered one of the smartest players on the field. Generally regarded as the greatest full back of all time, he led the league in rushing eight of his nine years in the National Football League. He rushed for a total of 12,312 yards, while averaging 102 yards per game and 5.2 yards per carry—a record that still stands. Twice he ran for 237 yards in a single game. He was named to the Pro Bowl (the NFL's "all-star game") every year he played and elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1971.

Unlike many athletes, Brown retired when he was on top. At age 30, he decided he'd rather star in movies than on a football field and helped usher in the blaxploitation genre. He appeared in *Ice Station Zebra*, a number of action films, and, as mentioned above, the *Dirty Dozen*. Eventually he would become the head of his own independent movie production company and would go on to executive produce *Richard Pryor Here and Now*.

Despite a highly publicized volatile personal life, Brown is still respected by many in the community. In 1988 he created the Amer-I-Can program, an effort to improve the lives of Los Angeles gang members. Brown also founded an organization called Black Economic Union that assists black-owned businesses. He has written two autobiographies, *Off My Chest* (1964) and *Out of Bounds* (1965), and is the subject of a documentary directed by Spike Lee titled *Jim Brown: All American*, which came out in 2002. The film chronicles Brown's athletic and movie career, youth, and personal life.



Poster for* Shaft, *starring Richard Roundtree, 1971. *Among the earliest of the Blaxploitation films,* Shaft *was also among the most successful. Composer Isaac Hayes won an Oscar for his musical score for the film, which grossed over $16 million in its first year of release.* THE KOBAL COLLECTION

Roundtree. Composers such as Marvin Gaye (*Trouble Man,* 1972), Isaac Hayes (*Shaft*), Quincy Jones (*Melinda*), and Curtis Mayfield (*Superfly*) composed scores for these films, with Hayes winning an Oscar in 1971 for his score for *Shaft*.

Character, Plot, Content, and Thematic Concerns of Blaxploitation Films

The typical blaxploitation protagonist, male or female, is a proud, self-assured, independent person of action who is often a private detective, intelligence agent, or underworld antihero. The protagonist's ethic includes professionalism; loyalty to friends, family, and community; a belief in the efficacy of violence and the necessity of revenge; a distrust of government; and a relentless opposition to white racism. This ethic does not preclude professional and sexual bonding across the color line or open conflict with black antagonists who, typically, have "sold out the black community," betrayed a personal trust, cheated on a business deal, or in some other way violated the protagonist's ethic.

Fast-paced action is the essential feature in a blaxploitation film plot, and it usually supersedes character development. The plot line is simple and direct, often based upon revenge, rescue, or money. At the film's conclusion, the protagonist has usually achieved his or her goal and emerged intact. In one of the most critically esteemed films, *Shaft,* the protagonist, John Shaft (Richard Roundtree) is a private detective hired by a black gangster, Bumpy Jonas (Moses Gunn), to rescue his daughter, who has been kidnapped by the Mafia. The Mafia hopes to extort control of the Harlem rackets from Bumpy, while white control of black rackets is viewed as an intrusion by the black community. As is often the case in blaxploitation films, the black community is portrayed as a unified whole, and youths, militants, and hustlers all unite to help Shaft rescue Bumpy's daughter.

Blaxploitation films also featured female protagonists. Tamara Dobson portrayed a U.S. government agent, Cleopatra Jones, in *Cleopatra Jones* and *Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold* (1975). In the style of the 1970s, Cleopatra Jones is a sexually liberated female and, like her male counterparts, is expert in martial arts and weapons use. In *Coffy,* Pam Grier stars as a black woman who seeks vengeance upon the drug dealer who made her sister a hopeless drug addict at the age of eleven. To achieve this goal she poses as a call girl, seduces the drug czar, and after failing in her first attempt to assassinate him, escapes, destroys his operation, and then kills him.

There are two Americas in the blaxploitation film, a privileged white America and an oppressed black America, separated by racism and economic exploitation. Characteristically, the ghettoes of urban black America are its mise-en-scène, and their problems of crime, drug traffic, sexual exploitation, police brutality, and government indifference and corruption are grist for the plot. The positing of a separate black America in such films permitted a nationalist and, at times, revolutionary treatment of U.S. race relations. This black perspective engaged the African-American community and at times distanced white American viewers, particularly critics who would complain of reverse racism. Blaxploitation films often provided a parodic treatment of black-white relationships and the stereotypes portrayed during the earlier stages of American film.

Black films of this era also reworked earlier white films and genres. John Ford's *The Informer* (1936) became *Uptight* (1968); Edward G. Robinson's *Little Caesar* (1931) was refilmed as *Black Caesar* (1972); John Huston's *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) was remade as *The Cool Breeze* (1972); the Dracula legend was retold as *Blacula,* starring William Marshall; and Stanley Kubrick's S*partacus* (1960) was reworked as *The Arena* (1974), featuring a revolt of female gladiators led by Pam Grier, reprising Kirk Douglas's role in the original film. *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1972) and *Come Back, Charleston Blue* (1972), both based upon novels by black author Chester B. Himes, recast the detective genre in humorous terms.

The Profitability of Blaxploitation Films

The black urban film audience proved a lucrative market and inner-city blacks filled the decaying old-line theaters in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and other metropolises that had been left empty by whites' migration to the suburbs. Shot on location with low budgets, rapid schedules, and unknown or low-paid black actors, the blaxploitation film's average cost ranged from $150,000 to $700,000. *Shaft,* for example, cost less than $700,000 to make, including a $13,500 salary for its star Richard Roundtree, and within its first year it grossed over $16 million. It is credited with saving MGM from bankruptcy. (Roundtree received $50,000 for the sequel, *Shaft's Big Score,* in 1972.) *Coffy* (1973), starring Pam Grier, cost an estimated $500,000 and grossed over $2 million in domestic film rentals. *The Legend of Nigger Charley* (1972), a black Western starring Fred Williamson, another former football star, cost $400,000 to make and grossed $3 million in domestic film rentals. The independent production, *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song,* cost under $500,000 and grossed $4.1 million in domestic film rentals. However, with the exception of *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* and *Superfly,* both black-financed productions, the majority of blaxploitation profits went to the white studios, producers, and distributors responsible for their production. (The figures cited represent the distributor's gross income after the theaters have been paid; figures do not include videotape and DVD rights and rentals.)

The Critical Response to the Blaxploitation Films

These films influenced fashion and styles and had social impact. The chic clothing and accessories worn by the heroes of *Shaft* and *Superfly* were marketed to black youth, as were hairstyles, cosmetics, and jewelry, and their soundtracks became best-selling records. The blaxploitation film, some critics argued, not only exploited the black moviegoer, but as its images became reified throughout the society, it influenced black consumer and behavior patterns, too.

Black psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint (1974) charged, "These movies glorify criminal life and encourage in black youth misguided feelings of machismo that are destructive to the community as a whole. . . . These films, with few exceptions, damage the well-being of all Afro-Americans. Negative black stereotypes are more subtle and neatly camouflaged than they were in the films of yesteryear, but the same insidious message is there: blacks are violent, criminal, sex savages who imitate the white man's ways as best they can from their disadvantaged sanctuary in the ghetto." Poussaint continued, "Movies of any type are seldom mere entertainment because they teach cultural values and influence behavior." The black critic Clayton Riley added, "the danger of this fantasy is to reinforce the ordinary black human being's sense of personal helplessness and inadequacy." Observing the hunger of black audiences for films that see the world from a black point of view, *Newsweek* magazine concluded that "the intent of the new black films is not art but the commercial exploitation of the repressed anger of a relatively powerless community" (*Newsweek*, August 28, 1972). Junius Griffin, the former head of the Beverly Hills-Hollywood branch of the NAACP, made similar criticisms, and in 1972 he launched the Los Angeles-based Coalition Against Blaxploitation (CAB), which included the NAACP, CORE, and SCLC.

In responding to the fantasy-versus-reality critique, the photographer and auteur Gordon Parks, director of *Shaft*, argued, "It's ridiculous to imply that blacks don't know the difference between truth and fantasy and therefore will be influenced by these films in an unhealthy way." "People talk about black movies being exploitative," said Hugh Robertson, director of *Melinda*, "and sure a lot of them are spoofy and outrageous, but the black community has been conditioned to want fantasy in films by the movies they've seen just as white people have. The only difference now is that the black fantasy isn't totally negative." In the distinguished black actor James Earl Jones's opinion, "If they're going to put the damper on John Shaft, let them put it on John Wayne too and they'll find out that there are a lot of people who need those fantasies" (Micher, 1972).

In reference to the issue of crime and violence, the white film producer Larry Cohen (*Black Caesar*) argued that the "white" gangster films of the 1930s that starred Humphrey Bogart, James Cagney, and Edward G. Robinson also featured violence to an approving audience: "The only difference was that the perpetrator had to pay for his crime before the film ended, due to the Code restrictions of that day . . . it really made no difference in the impact on the audience" (*Variety,* March 7, 1973). Further, stated Ron O'Neal, the star of *Superfly*, "the critics of *Superfly* want to support the myth that crime doesn't pay. But we all happen to know that crime is paying off for some people every day." In a review of *The Mack* and *Superfly,* the critic Stanley Kauffmann addressed the issue of quality: "Why in the world should we expect black film people, now empowered to make movie money, to behave differently or better than 99 percent of white film people behaved in the seventy years that they had full control of the screen . . . only after there is a body of black films, as gener-

Poster for the 1975 film* Dolemite, *starring Rudy Ray Moore. *Oriented to black audiences, black action films like* Dolemite *generally featured simple plot lines and fast-paced action at the expense of emotional depth and character development.* THE KOBAL COLLECTION

ally rotten as most white films, will there be a chance for the occasional good black film, as there is for the occasional good white one" (*New Republic,* April 28, 1973).

As the movement drew to a close, most blacks involved in the film industry concluded that to assure quality, blacks must finance and control the production of black-oriented films. In Jim Brown's view, the blaxploitation films were a necessary stage: "The Black films were at least developing producers, directors and technical people, and everyone knows that you have to crawl before you can walk. Maybe the Black films weren't of the highest quality, but Black people were getting experience in the industry" (*Ebony,* October 1978).

The Legacy of Blaxploitation Films

Blaxploitation films were part of a general resurgence of black artistic and political activity during the 1960s and early 1970s. In tandem with these black action films, a number of black feature films were produced that satisfied the concern of middle-class black and white communities for black positive images and value systems that would vindicate the quest for assimilation into mainstream American society. These films included *Sounder* (1972), *Claudine* (1974), *The Learning Tree* (1969), and *The River Niger* (1976), and featured such black stars as Diahann Carroll, Louis Gossett, James Earl Jones, Sidney Poitier, Richard Pryor, Diana Ross, Cicely Tyson, and Paul Winfield. In considering the complex relationship between market, film quality, and the audience for race-related films in 1963, *Variety* commented, "it's a hard fact of film life that the race pix which have been most successful at the box office have been out-and-out exploitation dramas of rather dubious artistic and social import." The marketing strategy of race films was to budget the picture so that the producer, if necessary, could recoup the film's costs in just the black market, even while aiming at as broad a market as possible. Concluded *Variety*: "Ironically, however, as the equal rights fight must continue to succeed, that very hard core 'Negro market' must continue to diminish. Thus, to succeed, these projected films must appeal to the new, 'desegregated market' " (*Variety,* July 17, 1963). The great appeal of the blaxploitation films indicated that much of America's population and imagination was still segregated in the 1970s.

But the blaxploitation films integrated attitudes, expressions, body language, and style of inner-city blacks into the repertory of both black and white feature films, thus legitimizing both black culture and these media. Richard Pryor and Eddie Murphy became major box office attractions in the 1980s through a series of fast-paced action comedies. Often playing fast-talking street hustlers, Pryor and Murphy incorporated into their characters many of the iconoclastic and scatological attitudes of inner-city blacks toward whites that were first developed in the blaxploitation films. Whoopi Goldberg continued this trend in many of her vehicles.

Among the first of the post-blaxploitation action films, Sylvester Stallone's *Rocky* series, (beginning in 1976) effected such an integration through the use of black actors Carl Weathers (who plays flamboyant heavyweight champion Apollo Creed, patterned upon Muhammad Ali) and Mr. T. (who plays ghetto-tough boxer Clubber Lang). However, Stallone's films valorized the Italian-American working-class culture, as roustabout Rocky Balboa, played by Stallone, becomes a champion boxer in a sport domi-

nated by blacks. Increasingly, feature films began to include black actors in major roles, but the ideological authority of the film resided within the actions and perspective of the white protagonist.

Interest in blaxploitation films and actors revived following Keenan Ivory Wayans's affectionate spoof *I'm Gonna Git You Sucka* (1989), and the genre enjoyed a popular renaissance in the 1990s, a development influenced by such diverse factors as nostalgia for the 1970s and the popularity of hip-hop films. In particular, Quentin Tarentino, a white director, openly acknowledged the influence of the blaxploitation film on his scenarios, dialogue, and directorial style, and he paid tribute to the genre with his film *Jackie Brown* (1998), which provided a comeback for actress Pam Grier.

In summary, blaxploitation films achieved several things: they (1) proved that black audiences would support black films; (2) revitalized white studios and urban theaters during the late 1960s to mid 1970s; (3) developed a genre of black action film; (4) stimulated the integration of mainstream feature films; (5) broadened the range of character for black actors and actresses; and (6) provided an opportunity for new black talent, in front of the camera and behind it.

See also Black Power Movement; Film in the United States, Contemporary; Film in the United States; Hayes, Isaac; Murphy, Eddie; Pryor, Richard; Van Peebles, Melvin

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Blount, Herman "Sonny"

See Sun Ra (Blount, Herman "Sonny")

Blues, The

This entry consists of three distinct, but interrelated articles.

Overview
Jeff Todd Titon

The Blues in African-American Culture
Adam Gussow

Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s
Daphne D. Harrison

The Blues

A type of African-American musical art that was first developed in the Mississippi Delta region at the end of the nineteenth century, the blues, like many musical expressions, is difficult to define. Some people think of the blues as an emotion; others regard it primarily as a musical genre characterized by a special blues scale containing twelve bars and three chords in a particular order. Besides embodying a particular feeling (the "blues") and form, the blues also involves voice and movement: poetry set to dance music. It is vocal not only in the obvious sense that most blues songs have lyrics, but in that even in purely instrumental blues, the lead instrument models its expressivity on the singing voice; and it involves dance because it quite literally moves listeners—even when they are sit-

ting down. Its influence on jazz, gospel music, theater music, rock, soul, hip-hop, and almost every form of popular music since the 1920s has been enormous. The historical importance of the blues was underscored recently when Congress declared 2003 the "Year of the Blues." To commemorate the occasion, the film director Martin Scorsese produced seven documentary films on blues, which were shown on public television, while a thirteen-part interpretive radio series on blues was broadcast on National Public Radio. Today, blues is usually positioned as one of the most important genres of American roots music.

Early blues singers composed their own songs, inventing verses and borrowing from other singers, and they were among the first Americans to express feelings of anomie characteristic of modern life—and to rise above it through art. By singing about frustration, mistreatment, and misfortune, and often overcoming it with irony, blues singers helped themselves and their listeners to deal with the problems of life, whether frustrated and angered by cheating lovers, ignorant bosses, hypocritical churchgoers, crooked shopkeepers, an unjust legal system, racism and prejudice, police brutality, inadequate pay, unemployment, or the meaninglessness of menial labor. Blues singers fought adversity by asserting human creativity, by turning life into art through ironic signification, by linking themselves through their traditional art to others in the community, and by holding out a future hope for freedom and better times down the road. The blues as music and poetry can convey a tremendous range of emotions succinctly and powerfully. Blues lyrics represent an oral poetry of considerable merit, one of the finest genres of vernacular poetry in the English language.

The blues is a distinct musical type. It is an instrumentally accompanied song-type, with identifying features in its verse, melodic, and harmonic structures, composition, and accompaniment. Most blues lyrics are set in three-line or quatrain-refrain verses. In the three-line verse shown below, the second line repeats the first, sometimes with slight variation, while the third completes the thought with a rhyme.

I'm gonna dig me a hole this morning, dig it deep
down in the ground;
I'm gonna dig me a hole this morning, dig it deep
down in the ground;
So if it should happen to drop a bomb around
somewhere, I can't hear the
echo when it sound.
("Lightnin' " Hopkins, "War News Blues")

In the quatrain-refrain verse shown below, a rhymed quatrain is followed by a two-line refrain. Each verse form occupies twelve measures or bars of music; in the quatrain-refrain form the quatrain occupies the first four of the twelve.

I got a job in a steel mill,
a-trucking steel like a slave.
For five long years every Friday
I went straight home with all my pay.
If you've ever been mistreated, you know just what I'm
talking about:
I worked five long years for one woman; she had the
nerve to throw me out.
(Eddie Boyd, "Five Long Years").

The tonal material in the blues scale (illustrated herewith) includes both major and minor thirds and sevenths and perfect and diminished fifths. Blues shares this tonal material with other African-American music, such as work songs, lined hymnody, gospel music, and jazz. A sharp rise to the highest pitch followed by a gradual descent characterizes the melodic contour of most vocal lines in each verse. Blues shares this contour with the field holler, a type of work song.

Blues has a distinctive harmonic structure. The first line of the verse (or the quatrain in the quatrain-refrain form) is supported by the tonic chord (and sometimes the subdominant, resolving to the tonic at the end of the line), the second line by the subdominant (resolving to the tonic), and the third line by the dominant seventh and then the subdominant before resolving to the tonic. Urban blues and jazz musicians modify this harmonic structure with altered chords and chord substitutions. The blues also has characteristic contents and performance styles. Most blues lyrics are dramatic monologues sung in the first person; most protest mistreatment by lovers and express a desire for freedom. Early blues singers improvised songs by yoking together lines and verses from a storehouse in their memories, while most of today's singers memorize entire songs.

Most early down-home blues singers accompanied themselves on piano or guitar, on the latter supplying a bass part with the right-hand thumb and a treble part independently with the right-hand fingers. Early vaudeville or classic blues singers were accompanied by pianists and small jazz combos. In the 1930s or after, blues "shouters" were accompanied by jazz and rhythm-and-blues bands, and this led in the 1940s to urban blues singers who played electric guitar and led their own bands. After World War II, most down-home blues singers played electric guitar, sometimes with a small combination of bass, drums, second guitar, harmonica, or piano.

The beginning of blues cannot be traced to a specific composer or date. The earliest appearance of music recog-

nizable as the blues was the publication of W. C. Handy's "The Memphis Blues" (1912) and the "St. Louis Blues" (1914), but by his own testimony, Handy first heard the blues along the lower Mississippi River in the 1890s, and many historians agree with Handy that this was the likeliest environment for the origin of the blues. However, just when and where one locates the origin of blues depends upon what is considered sufficient to the genre. Some cultural historians locate the essence of the blues in resignation or in protest against mistreatment, and they believe that since slaves sung about their condition, these songs must have been blues, even though there is no evidence that they were called blues or that the verse or musical forms resembled later blues. Folklorists and musicologists, on the other hand, have constructed a narrower definition, essentializing structural aspects of the blues as well as their subject and relying for evidence on a combination of oral history, autobiography, and the first blues music recorded by the oldest generation of African Americans.

W. C. Handy (1873–1958) and Jelly Roll Morton (1890–1941), well-known and accomplished African-American musicians who were very much involved in music before the turn of the twentieth century, recalled in their autobiographies that blues began along the Mississippi in the 1890s as a secular dance music, accompanied by guitars and other portable instruments or piano, with more or less improvised verses, among the river roustabouts in the juke joints and barrelhouses and at picnic and other roadside entertainments. About 1900, folklorists first collected this music, but they did not realize they were witnessing the formation of a new genre. Verse patterns varied, with the only standard feature being the repetition of the first line—sometimes once, sometimes twice, sometimes three times. The verses were aphoristic, and their subjects concerned lovers, traveling, and daily aspects of life. Harmonic support often was confined to the tonic. The collectors did not call those songs blues, and one may suppose that the singers did not, either.

The first recordings of African Americans singing blues were not made until the 1920s, but it is clear that between 1890 and 1920 the blues developed into a named and recognizable musical genre. In this period the blues developed and diffused wherever there were African Americans in the United States, in the rural areas as well as the towns and cities and among the traveling stage shows. Ma Rainey (1886–1939), the "Mother of the Blues," claimed to have begun singing blues from the stage in 1902, while Jelly Roll Morton identified a blues ballad, "Betty and Dupree," as popular fare in New Orleans during the last years of the nineteenth century. Handy's "Memphis Blues" was used in the 1912 mayoralty campaign, while "St. Louis Blues" was a show tune designed to elevate blues to a higher class. Rural songs at country dance parties gradually consolidated toward three-line verse forms with twelve-measure stanzas and the typical harmonic pattern indicated above, while many of the stage songs featured two sections—an introduction followed by a section in recognizable blues form. The stage songs later became known as "classic" or "vaudeville" blues.

African Americans recorded vaudeville blues beginning with Mamie Smith (1883–1946) in 1920. Women with stage-show backgrounds, accompanied by pianists and small combos, sang blues songs composed by professional tunesmiths. The best of the vaudeville blues singers, Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith (1894?–1937), appealed across racial and class boundaries, and their singing styles revolutionized American popular music. In some of their blues, Rainey and Smith sang about strong, independent women who put an end to mistreatment. Rainey, who sang about such subjects as prostitution, lesbianism, and sadomasochistic relationships, may particularly be viewed as a spokesperson for women's rights. Other vaudeville blues singers, such as Mamie Smith, Sippie Wallace, Ida Cox, and Alberta Hunter, were also very popular in the 1920s, but the era of vaudeville or "classic" blues came to an end during the Great Depression. The down-home, or country-flavored, blues was recorded beginning in 1926, when record companies took portable recording equipment to southern cities and recorded the local men who sang the blues and accompanied themselves on guitars and pianos in the juke joints and at the country dance parties. Some of the older singers, such as Charley Patton (1891–1934) and Henry Thomas (1874–c. 1959) sang a variety of traditional songs, not all blues; others, such as Blind Lemon Jefferson (1897–1929), specialized in blues; while still others, such as Blind Blake (c.1893–c. 1933), achieved instrumental virtuosity that has never been surpassed. The variety of traditional music recorded by the older generation reveals the proto-blues as well as the blues and helps to show how the form evolved.

Geographic regions featured their own particular instrumental guitar styles before World War II. The down-home blues of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas tended toward rapidly finger-picked accompaniments: "ragtime" styles in which the right-hand thumb imitated the stride pianist's left hand, while the right-hand fingers played the melody. Blind Blake, Blind Boy Fuller (c. 1909–1941), and Blind Gary Davis (1896–1972) were among the first exponents of this East Coast style. In Mississippi, on the other hand, chord changes were not as pronounced, and accompaniments featured repeated figures, or riffs, rather than the melody of the verse. Charley Patton, "Son" House

John Lee Hooker (1917–2001). *One of the earliest performers of blues on the electric guitar, Hooker crafted a distinctive vocal and instrumental style that helped shape the development of rock and folk music in the 1960s.* © JACK VARTOOGIAN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1902–1988), Robert Johnson (c. 1911–1938), and Muddy Waters (McKinley Morganfield; 1915–1983) were outstanding guitarists in the Mississippi Delta style. Piano styles equally reflected regional differences. All embodied genuine innovations, such as bottleneck or slide guitar or imitating the expressiveness of the voice, and an inventiveness and technical accomplishment unparalleled in vernacular American music.

Down-home blues became so popular in the late 1920s that talent scouts arranged for singers to travel north to make recordings in the companies' home studios. Blues music was available on what were called "race records," 78-rpm records for African Americans, and they were advertised heavily in black newspapers like the *Chicago Defender*.

While early recordings offer the best evidence of the sound of blues music in its formative years, they can only begin to capture the feel of an actual performance. Because down-home blues usually was performed in barrelhouses, juke joints, and at parties and picnics—where the bootleg whiskey flowed, gambling took place, fighting was not uncommon, and sexual liaisons were formed—the music became associated with those who frequented these places. Churchgoers shunned blues because it was associated with sin, while middle-class blacks kept blues at a distance. Most communities, whether rural or urban, had their local blues musicians and entertainments, however. In the 1920s, blues was the most popular African-American music.

The Depression cut heavily into record sales and touring stage shows, and most of the classic blues singers' careers ended. The increasing popularity of jazz music, however, provided an opportunity for their successors to tour and record with jazz bands. The down-home blues continued unabated in the rural South and in the cities. A small number of outstanding down-home singers, including Tommy McClennan (1908–1960), Memphis Minnie (Douglas; 1897–1973), and Robert Johnson, made commercial recordings, but the big-band blues of Count Basie and other jazz bands, featuring blues "shouters" like Walter Brown, Jimmy Rushing, and "Hot Lips" Page, rode radio broadcasts and records to national popularity later in the 1930s. The blues form became a common ground for jazz improvisers, and jazz artists of the highest stature—from Louis Armstrong through Duke Ellington, Billie Holiday, and Charlie Parker, Sarah Vaughn, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, and Wynton Marsalis, composed and improvised a great many blues. For Charles Mingus (1922–1979), one of the most important jazz innovators of the 1950s and 1960s, blues and church music were the twin African-American cornerstones of jazz, and much of his music successfully integrated these roots into contemporary "soul" music. Indeed, since the 1940s, periodic reinvigorations of jazz have taken blues for their basis, and it appears that they will continue to do so: bop, hard bop, funk, and other jazz movements all looked for inspiration in blues roots.

Besides the jazz bands, blues in the 1940s and 1950s was featured in the urban and rhythm-and-blues bands led by such guitarists-singers as (Aaron) "T-Bone" Walker (1910–1975) and (Riley) B. B. King (b. 1925), whose spectacular instrumental innovations virtually defined urban blues and influenced countless blues and rock guitarists. Electronic amplification of the guitar allowed it to be heard above the piano and brass and reed instruments; Walker, with his pioneering efforts, invented the modern blues band, the core of which is an electric guitar accompanied by a rhythm section. King's live performances combined instrumental virtuosity in the service of great feeling with a powerful, expressive voice that transformed daily experience into meaningful art, and he spoke to and

for an entire generation. His album *B. B. King Live at the Regal* (1965) is often cited as the finest blues recording ever made.

Down-home blues was well served in the years just after World War II by a host of new recording companies. Among the outstanding singer-guitarists were Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins (1912–1982) from Houston and John Lee Hooker (1917–2001) from Mississippi (and later Detroit) who, along with harmonica-player Sonny Boy Williamson (Rice Miller; 1899–1965; known to blues aficionados as "the second sonny boy," to distinguish him from the first recorded Sonny Boy Williamson, John Lee Williamson [1914-1948], although Rice Miller claimed to have been the original Sonny Boy) contributed a magnificent body of original blues lyric poetry. The Mississippi Delta connection led to such singers as Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf (Chester Burnett; 1910–1976), who led small combos in Chicago after 1945 that helped create the Chicago blues style, basically a version of the Delta blues played on electrified and amplified instruments. Muddy Waters' band of the early 1950s, featuring Little Walter (Jacobs; 1930–1968) on amplified harmonica, defined a classic Chicago blues sound that many think was the high point of the genre. With his horn-influenced, amplified harmonica solos, Little Walter invented a completely new sound, and his work stands as another influential example in a music with a history of astonishing technological innovation in the service of greater expressivity. A cluster of post–World War II artists, including Waters, Wolf, Jimmy Reed (1925–1976), John Lee Hooker, Elmore James, Little Walter, Sonny Boy Williamson, and others, greatly influenced rock and roll in the 1960s, while a number of similar artists, relying heavily on blues, such as Fats Domino and Chuck Berry, helped to define rock and roll in the 1950s.

In the 1960s, the African-American audience for blues declined, while the white audience increased and the first "blues revival" occurred. Young white musicians and researchers rediscovered older down-home blues singers such as Son House (1902–1988) and Mississippi John Hurt (1893–1966), and blues singers and bands became featured acts in coffeehouses, clubs, and festivals that catered to a college-age white audience. Many blues singers' musical careers were extended by this attention. Young white musicians began to play and sing the music, and, along with traditional blues musicians, found a new audience. Earlier recordings were reissued for collectors, research magazines devoted to blues appeared, and cultural historians and scholars began writing about the music. Although black musicians continue to perform blues in traditional, and now tourist, venues (bars, juke joints, etc.), particularly in Chicago and in the Mississippi Delta, since the 1960s newer styles such as Motown, soul music, disco, funk, rap, and hip-hop eclipsed blues as popular music among African Americans.

In the early 1990s, fueled by the success of the *Blues Brothers* film, and the release on CD of the complete recordings of Robert Johnson, another blues revival began to take place. As a resurgence of interest in blues continues, older blues recordings are being reissued on CD, while younger singers and musicians, black and white, increasingly choose to perform and record blues. Blues radio shows have increased the music's visibility and popularity. Blues now appears as background music for ads on radio and television; nightclubs for tourists featuring blues can now be found in many American cities; and older artists such as Buddy Guy have revived their careers, while younger artists such as Keb' Mo (Kevin Moore) and Bobby Rush have come to prominence. Some cities and states, such as Memphis, Chicago, and Mississippi, promote blues as cultural tourism, and there are blues museums and monuments as well. While blues was a music in decline in the 1960s, known outside African-American culture only to a small number of aficionados, today the blues is historicized, an official part of American and African-American culture. And while literary critics and cultural historians once saw little use for the blues, viewing it as a music of slave-consciousness and resignation, today a respected generation of African-American writers, such as Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Houston Baker, see blues as a source of black pride and a root tradition. As such, blues has had a profound effect upon African-American life, and upon popular culture throughout the world wherever it and its musical offspring have spread.

See also Blues in African-American Culture; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Jazz; Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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JEFF TODD TITON (1996)
Updated by author 2005

The Blues in African-American Culture

The blues are, or have been, many things within the space of African-American culture, and those things inevitably show up in opposed pairs. The blues are a lowdown lonesome feeling, a song of abandonment and despair, but they're also a kind of euphoria, a freedom cry of lusty survivorship and deliverance down the open road. The blues are about poverty and bottom-of-the-barrel hard times, but they're also—in the hands of a skilled bluesman like B. B. King or Honeyboy Edwards—a pretty good way of hustling a living from a black public that values your gifts. (See Edwards's 1996 autobiography, *The World Don't Owe Me Nothing.*) The blues are kerosene lamps and backwoods jooks and homemade corn liquor; the blues are so country they have mud squishing between their toes. But the blues are also about Saturday night in the big city: slipping into your red dress or your pinstriped suit and cruising downtown (or uptown) behind the wheel of your Terraplane or Rocket 88, manifesting the sort of elegant high style celebrated by Albert Murray in *Stomping the Blues* (1976). The blues are the devil's music—and assailed as such by certain sectors of the churchgoing black middle class—but the devilishly resourceful transformations they celebrate are the gifts of the African trickster deity Legba, god of the crossroads: a place where opposites come together and unsettle the world in explosively creative and liberating ways.

The blues, in short, are dialectical. They defy every effort to constrain or define or decisively pronounce on them—as African Americans, survivors and singers of the blues, have continually recreated and liberated themselves within the problematic confines of American history. As James Cone argues in *The Spirituals and the Blues* (1972), the blues may "have roots stretching back into slavery days and even to Africa" (Cone, 1991, p. 98). But the blues, as an African-American folk music and distinctive form of vernacular expression, do not blossom into being until the dark days of the 1890s, when Jim Crow segregation begins to harden, the promise of sociopolitical and economic equality vanishes, and lynching becomes a public sport across the South. "[T]he blues ain't slave music," insists Kalamu ya Salaam in *What Is Life?: Reclaiming the Black Blues Self* (1994). "[D]idn't no slaves sing the blues. [W]e didn't become blue until after reconstruction, after freedom day and the dashing of all hopes of receiving/attaining our promised 40acres&1mule" (Salaam, 1994, p. 7). The blues are, in other words, what Amiri Baraka called the "changing same" of African-American culture: They've been around forever, seemingly, but they've proven endlessly responsive to the fresh hopes and bitter disillusionments that characterize black life in modern America, whenever you define "modern" as beginning.

Writing the Blues

If the blues now seem like a central component of the African-American cultural imagination, much of the credit must go to three black writers—a songwriter/autobiographer, a poet, and an anthropologist/novelist—who helped transform blues song and blues culture into popular blues texts. W. C. Handy, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston were each, in their own distinctive ways, educated middle-class celebrants of unlettered working-class blues people.

W. C. Handy (1873–1958), the so-called Father of the Blues, was an Alabama-born son and grandson of Methodist ministers who abdicated the family calling to make his living in black show business during the 1890s. After a four-year stint as a bandleader with Mahara's Minstrels, a touring theatrical troupe, Handy moved to Clarksdale, Mississippi, in 1903. He soon encountered the blues in the form of a "lean, loose-jointed Negro" guitar-man at a Delta train station who was singing "the weirdest music I had ever heard" (Handy, 1991, p. 74), a life-changing experience that he later recounted in his celebrated autobiography, *Father of the Blues* (1941). Determined to transform this new and distinctive black folk music into American pop music, Handy is credited with the first blues instrumental hit, "Memphis Blues" (1912), and perhaps the most widely recorded blues song of all time, "St. Louis Blues" (1914). One of the first "talkies" (movies with a synchronized soundtrack), in fact, was a short entitled "St.

Louis Blues" (1927) that featured blues queen Bessie Smith singing Handy's hit.

Langston Hughes (1902–1967), born in Joplin, Missouri, and raised in Lawrence, Kansas, first heard the blues on Independence Avenue in Kansas City, Missouri, and later absorbed a wide variety of blues styles in Chicago, Harlem, Paris, and Washington, D.C. In 1925, with a poem entitled "The Weary Blues," Hughes inaugurated an aesthetic revolution: He was the first American writer to translate the three-line "AAB" lyric structure of blues song into a six-line poetic stanza, injecting blues rhythms and the earthiest of blues themes into an American literary tradition that had preferred to see black folk culture through the distorting stereotypes of blackface minstrelsy. If Hughes's first volume of blues-accented poems, *The Weary Blues* (1926), saw him celebrated as the "busboy poet," then his second volume, *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927), saw him harshly criticized in the black press as "the poet low-rate" (rather than "laureate") of Harlem: He had dared to let his blues people speak in their own vernacular voices about love, lust, loss, and violent revenge. Hughes held firm to his conviction about the artistic validity of black popular music in a manifesto entitled "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926). "Let the blare of Negro jazz bands," he wrote, "and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals until they listen and perhaps understand" (Hughes, 1994, p. 59). Every twenty-first century poet who strives to write a blues poem—or, for that matter, a jazz poem, or a hip-hop poem—owes a debt to Hughes for his pioneering work.

Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) was, in some sense, more naturally aligned with the blues than Handy or Hughes, growing up as she had in a small Florida town where "box pickers" (guitarists) of local renown frequently entertained crowds on the front porch of a local dry-goods store. Yet Hurston's most important contribution to our understanding of African-American blues culture came as a result of several extended visits she made to the jooks, the backwoods blues clubs, of a lumber camp in Polk County, Florida—a subculture that no other anthropologist, black or white, had ever investigated. Her vivid descriptions of Big Sweet, Lucy, Ella Wall, and the other tough-talking, razor-wielding blueswomen helped animate both her germinal volume of black folklore, *Mules and Men* (1935), and her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942). An amateur blues singer and harmonica player in her own right, Hurston used her juke-joint experiences to create the central character of her best-known novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937): Tea Cake, the joyous, playful, sometimes violent young Florida bluesman who helps liberate the novel's heroine, Janie Crawford Killicks Starks, by convincing her to follow him down onto the "muck" of Florida's Lake Okeechobee region where "blues are made and used right on the spot" (Hurston, 1990, p. 125).

The Black Arts Movement and After

Between 1920, when Mamie Smith's recording of "Crazy Blues" became a race-records sensation, and 1961, when Jimmy Reed's "Baby What You Want Me to Do" was a top-ten hit in Chicago, blues music was arguably *the* black popular music: not just a commodity, but a way of life and a worldview. All that changed in the course of the 1960s, as soul music swept across black America and the black youth market for blues—much to the chagrin of blues performers such as Muddy Waters and B. B. King—effectively disappeared. To a prideful and assertive new generation, blues music seemed old, tired, worn-out, politically retrograde. The blues, in this view, were the soundtrack of segregation and resignation rather than the battle cry of black collective progress and radical self-fashioning. "blues ain't culture," wrote Sonia Sanchez in "liberation / poem." "they sounds of / oppression / against the white man's / shit. . . .blues is struggle / strangulation / of our people / cuz we cudn't off the / white motha / fucka. . . ." (Sanchez, 1970, p. 54). Sanchez and many of her fellow writers and intellectuals in the black arts movement rejected the blues with as much vehemence as they critiqued the pandemic racism of white America. "[T]he blues are invalid," Maulana Ron Karenga famously declaimed in an 1968 essay in *Negro Digest*, "for they teach resignation, in a word acceptance of reality—and we have come to change reality" (Karenga, 1968, p. 9).

For another cohort of black arts writers led by poet and critic Larry Neal, however, the blues were something quite different: a cherished ancestral rootstock, an inalienably black cultural inheritance that could be put to political as well as aesthetic good use. "The blues," Neal argued in "The Ethos of the Blues" (1972), "represent. . .the essential vector of the Afro-American sensibility and identity. . . . [T]he blues are basically defiant in their attitude toward life. They are about survival on the meanest, most gut level of human existence" (Neal, 1972, p. 42). These blues were not sorrow songs but *survivor* songs, a cultural resource that had long sustained, and continued to sustain, a beleaguered but resourceful people. African-American writers of the 1960s who embraced the blues on these terms include Kalamu ya Salaam, Stanley Crouch, Jayne Cortez, Quincy Troupe, Eugene Redmond, and Nikki Giovanni, among others.

Although blues music would, with notable regional exceptions, never again regain its former chart-topping position in the black pop mainstream after the early 1960s, the blues continued to resonate loudly within African-American culture—a direct result, arguably, of Larry Neal's determination to celebrate what he called "the blues god" through a period of political upheaval. Contemporary African-American literature, in particular, embodies the blue-toned legacy of the black arts movement: writers such as Toni Morrison (*The Bluest Eye*), August Wilson (*Ma Rainey's Black Bottom*), Alice Walker (*The Color Purple*), Gayl Jones (*Corregidora*), Sherley Anne Williams (*Some One Sweet Angel Child*), Sterling Plumpp (*Blues: The Story Always Untold*), Eugene Redmond (*The Eye in the Ceiling*), Arthur Flowers (*Another Good Loving Blues*), Bebe Moore Campbell (*Your Blues Ain't Like Mine*), Walter Mosley (*RLs Dream*), and Kevin Young (*Jelly Roll: A Blues*) all testify to their enduring vitality and validity. To this richly varied list must be added a second list of contemporary African-American historians and theorizers of the blues: Amiri Baraka (*Blues People* and *Black Music*), Houston A. Baker Jr. (*Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature*), Jon Michael Spencer (*Blues and Evil*), Albert Murray (*The Blue Devils of Nada*), Angela Y. Davis (*Blues Legacies and Black Feminism*), and Tony Bolden (*Afro-Blue*). African-American literature at the dawn of the second millennium is, by any measure, supremely conscious of its southern-born vernacular taproot.

Blues Across the Arts

African-American literature is, of course, merely one place on the cultural landscape where blues energies have registered their bittersweet lyrical presence. The art world is another: Both fine art and folk or "outsider" art have found ways of translating the cackling audacity, dialectical swing, and down-home grit of the blues into visual terms. Critic Richard J. Powell has praised the "blues aesthetic" of African-American artists Romare Bearden, Aaron Douglas, and Alison Saar for embodying the collage-based "will to adorn" celebrated by Zora Neale Hurston in "Characteristics of Negro Folk Expression" (1934). The Mississippi Delta, ancestral home of the blues, happens also to be a haven for blues-based folk art, from the playfully morbid clay skulls (adorned with real human teeth) constructed by the late bluesman James "Son" Thomas to the homemade guitars that Clarksdale bluesman James "Super Chikan" Johnson hammers together out of gas cans.

Blues photography has more often than not been the province of white American and European photographers and folklorists; the notable African-American exception is Ernest Withers, whose *The Memphis Blues Again* (2001) vibrantly documents the Memphis years of B. B. King, Bobby "Blue" Bland, Little Walter, Howlin' Wolf, and other legends. When the blues have found their way onto film, they've generally done so in the form of concert footage or documentaries, although Steven Spielberg's cinematic retelling of Alice Walker's novel *The Color Purple* (1985) contained a piquant juke-joint performance by actress Margaret Avery in the role of blues diva "Shug" Avery.

Apart from literature, it is on the stage—the dramatic and musical theater stage—where the blues have registered most forcefully within contemporary African-American culture. If playwright August Wilson is the acknowledged master of the field with works such as *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* (1984), *The Piano Lesson* (1995), and *Seven Guitars* (1996), then blues drama as a whole experienced a renaissance during the final decade of the twentieth century. *Mule Bone,* a play coauthored by Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston in the early 1930s, was staged for the first time in 1991 with Baton Rouge bluesman Kenny Neal in the leading role. Other notable blues theatricals include *Thunder Knocking on the Door* (1999), coauthored by playwright Keith Glover and blues performer Keb' Mo', and *Lackawanna Blues* (2001), which paired actor Reuben Santiago-Hudson and bluesman Bill Sims Jr. In 1999 the Broadway revue *It Ain't Nothin' But the Blues* won two Tony Awards before touring regionally, recreating a series of classic blues tableaux—back porches down South, smoky bars up North—as showcases for the innate theatricality of blues standards such as "Crawling Kingsnake" and "Someone Else Is Steppin' In."

Blues Legacies

Despite frequent advisories to the contrary, blues music—live, recorded, broadcast—remains a significant, if somewhat diminished presence in contemporary African-American culture. This is due in no small part to the unexpected small-market success of two mid-1980s hits: Z. Z. Hill's "Down Home Blues" (1982) and Little Milton's "The Blues Is Alright" (1984). Evincing both nostalgia for the "down home" South that northern black migrants had left behind and a prideful assertion of the continuing relevance of a blues-based sensibility, the two hits helped anchor a resurgent black southern market in what came to be known as "soul blues," a fusion of Memphis soul, synthesizer-tinged disco, gospel, and electric blues. Jackson, Mississippi, is the home of contemporary soul blues, thanks to Malaco Records and the American Blues Radio Network; recent hitmakers include Sir Charles Jones ("Love Machine"), Marvin Sease ("Women Would Rather Be Licked"), Peggy Scott-Adams ("Hot and Sassy"), and

Gertrude "Ma" Rainey (1886–1939) performs in Chicago with the Georgia Jazz Band, 1923. *Among the best and most influential blues singers of the 1920s and 1930s, Rainey came to be known as the "Mother of the Blues."* ARCHIVE PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Willie Clayton ("Call Me Mr. C"). Finally, the sort of rough-and-ready backwoods blues that Zora Neale Hurston encountered down in Polk County, Florida, remains a surprisingly vital presence among a working-class black clientele in parts of the Deep South. The legendary jook in Chulahoma, Mississippi, at which bluesmen Junior Kimbrough and R. L. Burnside used to preside burned down in 1999, the year after Kimbrough's death, but various sons, a grandson, and cousins currently play at and preside over the Burnside Blues Café in nearby Holly Springs. Mississippi jooks such as Po' Monkeys in Merigold, Bug's Place in Rosedale, and Betty's Place in Sandyland keep the blues alive: a homespun alternative to MTV and a key component of a far-reaching African-American cultural legacy.

See also Beardon, Romare; Blues, The; Douglas, Aaron; Harlem, NY; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Hurston, Zora Neale; Music in the United States; Neal, Larry; Saar, Allison; Wilson, August

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ADAM GUSSOW (2005)

Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s

Bessie Smith (c. 1892–1937), Mamie Smith (1893–1946), and Gertrude "Ma" Rainey (1886–1939) are perhaps the most recognizable names of women blues singers of the 1920s. They were contemporaries, however, of approximately one hundred women who performed in vaudeville, stage shows, and small clubs and cabarets during that decade. Mamie Smith's second recording, "Crazy Blues" on General Phonograph's Okeh label, was an unexpected success in 1920 and spurred a rapid movement by record companies, songwriters, singers, and musicians to capitalize on women's blues. Black songwriters such as William C. Handy (1873–1958), Perry Bradford (1893–1970), and Clarence Williams (1898–1965) were pioneers in obtaining recording contracts for women singers. It is ironic, therefore, that the two most popular, experienced, and accomplished blues singers at that time—Bessie Smith and Rainey, who had developed their talent and repertoires on the vaudeville circuit in the first two decades of the twentieth century—were not recorded until 1923. Nevertheless, Mamie's fortuitous success led to twenty years of recordings, stage shows, and movies for dozens of women. Some of the women who left the traveling show circuits, cabarets, and nightclubs of the South, Southwest, and North to become the next "blues queen" on recordings had exceptional talent and ingenuity that they employed to enhance their performances on record and on stage. Others were mediocre talents, though their stylish gowns, physical attractiveness, and ability to entertain endeared them to audiences in the North and South. Many of these women were sent on tours with bands that included some of the most talented musicians of the day. Among these were stellar artists such as Louis Armstrong, Johnny Dunn, Sidney Bechet, Clarence Williams, Kid Ory, Johnny Dodds, Don Redman, Fletcher Henderson, Thomas Dorsey (who later became renown for his role in developing gospel music), and, notably, two women pianist-composers, Lovie Austin (1887–1972) and Lil Hardin (1898–1971).

Bessie Smith (c. 1894–1937). *The "Empress of the Blues," pictured here in a 1924 photograph, Smith was born into poverty, singing for coins on street corners in Chattanooga, but rose to fame as one of the most gifted and accomplished blues singers of her era.* THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

During the1920s, more than one hundred women were recorded on labels ranging from Okeh, the pioneer of women's blues recordings, to Paramount, Columbia, and small labels such as Charles Pace and William Handy's unsuccessful Swan Records. Blues were composed at an astonishing rate by Bradford, Handy, Clarence Williams, and some of the women singers, although comparatively few made multiple recordings or had careers that lasted several years. However, they established black women as

essential to the recording industry. This array of talent included deep-voiced moaners, brassy shouters, and lilting light sopranos. Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Clara Smith (1894–1935), Sippie Wallace (1878–1986), Victoria Spivey (1906–1976), and Ida Cox (1886–1967) did not have beautiful or even pleasant voices (in the narrow aesthetic sense), but they represented the voices of the folk roots that nurtured them. All of their recordings are earthy, and many were confrontational on issues of infidelity, poverty, racism, mistreatment by lovers, aesthetics of physical beauty, desertion, natural disasters, and sometimes the supernatural.

Although many of the blues recorded in the 1920s and 1930s were written by men, both black and white, most of the women had performed in local venues where they grew up or lived before going on the vaudeville circuit. Therefore, some of their experiences contributed to their blues creations. Sippie Thomas Wallace, Victoria Spivey, and Ma Rainey were "making" their own blues in their early teens at house parties, picnics, or local clubs. Even as preteens, Wallace and Spivey played piano at picnics and house parties in Texas. Wallace's family was evidently quite musical and included her brothers—the bandleader and composer George and the talented pianist Hersal. According to Spivey, her father, Grant, played a stringed instrument. She taught herself to play piano and gained experience playing for silent movies in Dallas, Texas, but her blues training came at parties or picnics playing with blues men such as "Blind Lemon" Jefferson (1897–1929). Later, as a song transcriber in Missouri, Spivey developed her songwriting skills and eventually became a prolific composer of blues. Her lyrics were often scathing in their attack on the racial injustice and poverty that blacks suffered. She and Ida Cox also incorporated superstition in their lyrics.

Many of the blues written by women tended to deal with two-timing men, loss of control over their lives, and traveling away from a bad relationship or loneliness. However, violence, prostitution, fear, retribution, disease, and poor health, as well as natural disasters, were sung about. For example, Spivey's "T. B. Blues" laments deaths caused by the dreaded disease tuberculosis, which plagued poor people, and in other songs she comments on the squalor of the New York prison known as "the Tombs." She openly addressed "dope" as a ravaging menace spreading failure and crime in New York. Consequently, the listener has to listen closely to the lyrics, not just the music or the beat, in order to understand the gravity, desperation, threat, advice, or sheer sensuality and delight that are often couched in metaphors or folk language. Cox seemed to be particularly concerned with death, the supernatural and most convincingly with poverty and suffering as in songs such as "Death Letter Blues," "Mojo Hand Blues," "Hard Times Blues," and "Pink Slip Blues." Her traveling show, the "Raisin' Cain" revue, was so popular that it was the first show to open at the Apollo in 1929. She was one of the few "blues queens" to continue performing into the 1930s, playing with her pianist-bandleader husband, Jesse Crump.

Towards the end of the 1920s, the approaching Depression took its toll on blacks who were already at the low end of the economic scale, and women's blues began to address the injustices that their people confronted. Although the "classic blues" era supposedly ended by 1930, many of the women continued to perform in theaters and clubs in the South and North.

Recordings by country-style singers illustrate the significant differences in voice quality and vocal styling that distinguished them from their "classic" counterparts. They came from the Mississippi Delta, Alabama, Texas, Kansas, and other areas. The majority of their recordings were made between 1926 and 1937. Among them were singers who had less fame than the Smiths or Cox or Rainey, but they endured and adapted to the changing demands of the market, advances in recording technology, and radio. Lucille Bogan (1897–1948, aka Bessie Jackson) was a prime example of the "country style" singer who demonstrated that timing, phrasing, and a choice selection of subject matter could overcome limited vocal talent. Although she began recording around 1923, she continued performing and recording until the mid-1930s. She seldom strayed from her dry, down-home style, whether she was singing "Women Won't Need No Men" or "B. D. Woman's Blues." Both of these blues imply that women can fare as well without men as with them. The lyrics of the former assert that "there'll come a time [when] women ain't gonna need no men" to take care of their physical or sexual needs, but it is ambiguous enough to consider it a call for women's liberation. The latter is a bold interpretation of a blues about homosexual women that Rainey recorded in the early 1920s. Other country-style singers were Pearl Dickson, Lottie Kimbrough, and Bobby Cadillac.

One of the most gifted of the country blues women at the turn of the decade was Minnie Douglas (1897–1973), later known as Memphis Minnie. According to her biographers Paul and Beth Garon, Minnie's guitar-playing talent surpassed that of most men during the 1930s, but, surprisingly, she was not rare among southern women musicians in her choice of instrument. Memphis Minnie began playing banjo in her preteens and switched to the guitar in the 1920s. Her earliest recordings were made in Chicago with her first husband, "Kansas" Joe McCoy, with

Mamie Smith and the Jazz Hounds. *The first African-American female recording star, Smith helped spark the blues craze of the 1920s and 1930s with her recording of "Crazy Blues" (1920).* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Minnie playing lead guitar parts that she composed. She constantly revised her "Bumblebee Blues," because her fans insisted on it at every performance ("bee" was a metaphor for sexual performance).

Trixie Smith (1895–1943), who recorded several "railroad" blues in the 1920s, had a dry vocal style that became richer as she matured. Her 1938 rendition of "My Daddy Rocks Me," backed by Charlie Shavers, Sidney Bechet, Sammy Price, and others, is illustrative of the transformation of a simple blues into a fine jazz piece. This period afforded some of the "classic blues singers" an opportunity to break from the old blues formula and to become more creative and improvisatory. Likewise, Cox's 1939 reprise of one of her most popular blues, "Four Day Creep," with Sammy Price's swinging piano ensemble giving it a touch of quiet melancholy, was totally different from the slow-paced 1920s version.

Though less known and celebrated, Bertha "Chippie" Hill (1900–1950) was a blues shouter in the style of the 1920s singers Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Clara Smith. She also followed the vaudeville trail to New York, but ended up singing in whiskey joints and small clubs. Her first recording was on the Okeh label in 1925. However, her best output was in the late 1930s and early 1940s as a mature performer. "Trouble in Mind" and "Lonesome Road" demonstrated her superb musicianship.

Historically, the most stunning set of 1930s blues was not performed on stage or recorded in a studio, but rather on location at the infamous Parchman Farm, a notoriously brutal penitentiary in Mississippi. The ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax (1915–2002) captured the voices of incarcerated women who sang about forced labor, sex, unwanted pregnancies, and party games. These blues are probably the most authentic in the rawest sense. They speak of life as it was lived, not as imagined by some of

the singers, composers, or musicians who became famous on various records or stages.

The blues women of the 1920s and 1930s sang, played, and wrote about life as they experienced it or as they imagined it could be, and they left a rich legacy of variety, comedy, pathos, and sheer musical joy.

See also Blues, The; Blues in African-American Culture; Music in the United States; Rainey, Ma; Smith, Bessie; Smith, Mamie

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DAPHNE D. HARRISON (2005)

Blyden, Edward Wilmot

August 3, 1832
February 7, 1912

The Liberian nationalist Edward W. Blyden was born on the Caribbean island of St. Thomas. He was the son of free blacks—Romeo, a tailor, and Judith, a schoolteacher—and was the third of seven children. As early as 1842, while in Porto Bello, Venezuela, he began to develop a facility with language. He also became more acutely aware that the majority of people of African descent in the Americas were slaves, and this affected the future course of his life. Upon returning to St. Thomas, Blyden attended school and completed a five-year apprenticeship as a tailor. He grew interested in becoming a minister after meeting a Dutch Reformed minister, Rev. John P. Knox.

Knox was instrumental in Blyden's decision to come to the United States in 1850 and seek admission to Rutgers Theological College. Blyden was prevented from entering the school, however, because of his race. This experience, coupled with his devotion to further the black struggle, led him to support the African colonization movement. Less than a year after entering the United States, Blyden emigrated to Liberia with the support of members of the American Colonization Society (ACS).

Once in Liberia, Blyden entered school and prepared himself for a leadership role. His education was enhanced by travels to Europe, the Middle East, and throughout Africa. By 1858 he had been ordained a Presbyterian minister and accepted a position as principal of a high school in Liberia. He also served as a government correspondent and editor for the government newspaper, the *Liberian Herald,* for a year. His most important appointment was from 1880 to 1884 as president of Liberia College, which was overseen by a board of trustees in Boston and New York.

While Blyden was unable to receive all the formal educational training he hoped for, his vision for Liberia and for all people of African descent was defined in his writ-

ings. He argued that the African race had made significant contributions to human civilization and that African cultural institutions and customs should be preserved. He expressed the view that Islam had served Africa better than Christianity had, but that there was much for Africa to learn from the West. The essence of Blyden's thoughts was contained in his books *Hope for Africa* (1861), *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887), and *African Life and Customs* (1908). A major portion of his writings focused on the colonization of blacks in Liberia. He envisioned that, with the emigration of highly educated blacks, Liberia could reach its full potential and become an example of the capabilities of the African race to the world.

Blyden was a major supporter of the ACS, which had founded Liberia in 1821. This organization was instrumental in his own emergence within Liberia and in the international community. Blyden wrote many articles for the ACS journal, the *African Repository,* and he regularly corresponded with the group's officials. He also made numerous visits to the United States on behalf of the ACS to urge educated blacks to emigrate. Throughout his lifetime, Blyden held the view that blacks could never be wholly accepted as equals in America. His emigrationist appeals, however, fell primarily on deaf ears, and Blyden and the ACS were on occasion forced to look for emigrants to Liberia in the Caribbean.

Much of Blyden's life was spent in pursuit of political goals. After being appointed Liberia's secretary of state in 1864 (he served until 1866), Blyden used this position to encourage the emigration of "genuine blacks," rather than mulattoes, to Liberia. In 1871 he left the country after narrowly escaping being lynched in an atmosphere of political instability caused by warring factions, and because of his opposition to mulatto rule and control within Liberia. He spent this time in Sierra Leone, returning to Liberia in 1873. After his return, Blyden continued traveling to the United States to advocate emigration. He resumed his role as an educator and was appointed minister of the interior and secretary of education in 1880. He also made an unsuccessful attempt to become Liberia's president in 1885.

After 1885, Blyden focused much of his attention on the issue of West African unity, which had been initiated while he was in Sierra Leone. He used his diplomatic positions in London and Paris to advance this agenda. However, the unity theme was clouded by his belief that European colonialism in Africa could be positive for development. He believed that the climate would prevent Europeans from settling in Africa on a permanent basis.

Prior to his death in Sierra Leone, Blyden was in poor health and received a moderate pension, at the instruction of the colonial secretary, from the governors of Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast. While his emigrationist vision for Liberia did not succeed as he had hoped, his racial fervor made him a symbolic figure for future generations of nationalists.

See also Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century; Pan-Africanism

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LAYN SAINT-LOUIS (1996)

BOGLE, PAUL

c. 1820
OCTOBER 24, 1865

Paul Bogle was born into slavery in Jamaica sometime between 1815 and 1820. After slavery was abolished in the British Caribbean in 1838, he was among thousands of Jamaican freedpeople who, in search of independence from the grinding demands of plantation labor, relocated to their own independent freeholds. Bogle, along with black artisans and small farmers, settled at Stony Gut, a hilly area in St. Thomas in the East, bordering Spring Garden and Middleton sugar estates and about three miles from Morant Bay. With his freehold of around five acres on which he raised livestock and cultivated sugar, cotton, ground provisions, and tree crops, Bogle was better off than the majority of laborers who still had to look to the estates for their livelihood.

Bogle's dynamic leadership role in the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion, a protest against poor economic and social conditions in Jamaica, indicated that, although he had limited formal education, he was literate, articulate, and occupied an important position among the freedpeople in the parish of St. Thomas in the East. As a taxpayer, he qualified for the highly restrictive property franchise, and he supported George William Gordon, a radical, free, colored (of mixed European and African ancestry) man who challenged the political hegemony of the plantocracy in the parish. Indeed, it was largely because Bogle mobilized the small freeholders from Stony Gut and other postslavery settlements that Gordon was elected to the Assembly and to the Vestry, the unit of local government, in 1863.

Paul Bogle remained steadfast in his support for Gordon, despite the political machinations against him by the magistrates and the governor, Edward Eyre, who was severely criticized by Gordon for his incompetence in dealing with the island's affairs, particularly his neglect of the hardships that confronted the people. In early 1865 the relationship between Gordon and Bogle was further cemented when Bogle was ordained by Gordon as a deacon in the mainly black Native Baptist Church, which had a more radical agenda on social issues than the European directed religious groups on the island.

In August 1865 in Morant Bay, Paul Bogle addressed a public meeting, which Gordon had organized in support of other meetings that concerned the social and economic hardships faced by the people. Issues included the high taxation on imported staples when a series of droughts and floods had ravaged local provision growing and the denial of political rights. The meetings also protested against the insensitivity of the political administrators, who blamed the people's poverty on their supposed indolence and mocked their requests for access to unused lands held by the Crown. Bogle led a delegation of small farmers from the meeting to Spanish Town, a distance of nearly forty miles, to present their grievances, but the governor refused to meet with them.

In September 1865 social relations in St. Thomas in the East became more strained when the planters secured the transfer from the parish of Thomas Witter Jackson, a colored stipendiary magistrate who had opposed the corrupt rulings of planter magistrates against the laborers. Through the network of Native Baptist chapels in St. Thomas in the East, Bogle organized meetings that highlighted the chronic injustice in the lower courts, as well as the vexed issue of access to land that would have empowered the people who received low and irregular wages on the estates. After Lewis Miller, Paul Bogle's cousin and coreligionist, was brought before the court in Morant Bay on October 7, 1865, for trespassing, the issues of land and justice were fused. Bogle led his followers into Morant Bay as a show of solidarity with Miller. Before Miller's case was heard, Bogle and others prevented the police from arresting another man whose comments had interrupted the court. Two days later, the police went to Stony Gut with a warrant for Bogle's arrest. They were resisted, however, and on October 11, 1865, Paul Bogle led his followers, some armed with sticks and machetes, into Morant Bay where, after sacking the police station, they clashed with the militia outside the courthouse where the Vestry was meeting. Eight of Bogle's followers were shot and killed before the militia was overpowered. The courthouse was set on fire, and eighteen from the militia and magistracy were killed escaping the burning building.

The governor declared martial law, and the rebellion was brutally suppressed. More than four hundred people were hung, including Gordon and Bogle. Several hundred others were indiscriminately whipped, and many of the villages were burned.

In1965 the Jamaican government elevated Paul Bogle to the status of a national hero for his struggles against the oppression of the colonial state in the early postslavery period.

See also Gordon, George William; Morant Bay Rebellion

SWITHIN WILMOT (2005)

Bojangles

See Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"

Bond, Horace Mann

November 8, 1904
December 21, 1972

Teacher and administrator Horace Mann Bond was born in Nashville, Tennessee, the youngest of five sons of Jane Bond and James Bond, an educator and Methodist minister. He was named for Horace Mann, the nineteenth-century proponent of public education. When he was young, the family traveled throughout the South, settling near educational institutions with which James Bond was affiliated, including Berea College in Kentucky, Talladega College in Alabama, and Atlanta University. A precocious student, Horace Mann Bond entered high school when he was nine years old. While in high school, Bond moved with his family back to Kentucky, where his father served as chaplain during World War I at Camp Taylor.

In 1919, at the age of fourteen, Bond enrolled at Lincoln University, an African-American liberal arts college in southeastern Pennsylvania. After graduating from Lincoln in 1923, Bond entered the University of Chicago as a graduate student in education. While pursuing his Ph.D., he worked as a teacher and administrator at several African-American universities: Langston University in Oklahoma, Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

In the early 1930s Bond gained a national reputation by publishing a number of articles in scholarly journals

and popular magazines on black education in the South. In 1934 he published a major scholarly work, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order,* which argued that the poor quality of education among African Americans was directly linked to their lack of political and economic power. Bond did not recommend the abolition of segregated schools; instead, he called for equalization of the resources given to black and white children. In accordance with W. E. B. Du Bois's theory of the "talented tenth," Bond's book argued that young African Americans showing intellectual promise should be trained as future leaders.

While at Chicago, Bond developed a relationship with the Julius Rosenwald Fund, a philanthropic organization that provided funding for African-American scholars and universities. The fund supported Bond through most of his career, first with research fellowships that allowed him to publish widely and later with significant grants to the universities where he served as administrator.

In 1936, the same year he completed his dissertation on the development of public education in Alabama, Bond accepted the deanship of Dillard University, a newly reorganized black college in New Orleans. Bond remained at Dillard until 1939. That year he published his dissertation, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study of Cotton and Steel.* The work was considered an important challenge to established scholarship on Reconstruction. Bond argued that Reconstruction was a significant step forward for black Americans, in particular in the educational institutions established during that period.

After the publication of *Negro Education in Alabama,* Bond devoted the rest of his career to the administration at black colleges, serving as president of Fort Valley State Teachers College in Georgia from 1939 to 1945 and as the first black president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania from 1945 to 1957. In large part, his career was made by successfully lobbying for his institutions, often transforming them from underfunded colleges into comprehensive, well-respected research and teaching universities.

Bond had a variety of social involvements and intellectual interests. While at Lincoln University, he helped to direct research for a historical document supporting the challenge to segregation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, Supreme Court case. In the 1950s and 1960s Bond developed an interest in Africa. Through tours, lectures, and articles, he attempted to raise support among African Americans for independence movements in African countries. He was a leader of the American Society for African Culture, an organization funded by the Central Intelligence Agency, which both encouraged interest in African culture and warned against the dangers of communism in the African independence movements.

After Bond left Lincoln in 1957, he spent the rest of his career as an administrator at Atlanta University, first as dean of the School of Education and then as the director of the Bureau of Educational and Social Research. During the summer before his first year at Atlanta, Bond delivered the Alexander Inglis Lectures at Harvard University, published in 1959 under the title *The Search for Talent,* in which he argued that social circumstances determine the outcome of mental testing. In the last half of his career, Bond's scholarship focused primarily on social influences, and he often argued that IQ tests were biased against African Americans. He retired in 1971 and died in Atlanta in 1972.

Horace Mann Bond was the father of Julian Bond, the civil rights activist and politician.

See also Bond, Julian; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Du Bois, W. E. B.

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Bond, Julian

January 14, 1940

Activist and elected official Julian Bond was born in Nashville, Tennessee, of a prominent family of educators and authors. He grew up in the town of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, where his father, Horace Mann Bond, was then president of the university, and later in Atlanta when his father became president of Atlanta University. While attending Morehouse College in the early 1960s, Julian Bond helped found the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. He dropped out of Morehouse to join the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), of which he became communications director in 1962. In 1964 he traveled to Africa and upon his return became a feature writer for the *Atlanta Inquirer*. Later he was named its managing editor. He eventually received his B.A. from Morehouse in 1981.

Bond won election to the Georgia House of Representatives in 1965, triggering controversy. On January 10, 1966, fellow legislators voted to prevent him from taking his seat in the house when he refused to retract his widely publicized support of draft evasion and anti–Vietnam War activism. Protest in defense of Bond's right to expression was strong and widespread. Both SNCC and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sought mass support for Bond through community meetings, where discussion and ferment strengthened African-American awareness of the relationship between peace activism and the civil rights struggle. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., rallied to Bond's defense, Vice President Hubert Humphrey publicly supported Bond, and noted cultural figures took out ads for pro-Bond campaigns.

After nearly a year of litigation, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Bond's disqualification was unconstitutional. The Georgia House was forced to seat Bond, and he remained in the House until 1975. In 1968 he was presented as a possible vice presidential candidate by opposition Democrats at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. He was too young, however, to qualify for the office, and his name was withdrawn. In 1972 he published *A Time to Speak, a Time to Act: The Movement in Politics,* in which he discussed ways of channeling civil rights activism into the electoral system. In 1975 Bond was elected to the Georgia state senate, where he served for twelve years. His activities during this period included the presidency of the Atlanta NAACP, where he served until 1989, and service as the narrator of both parts of the popular PBS documentary series about the civil rights movement, *Eyes on the Prize* (1985–1986, 1988–1989).

In 1986 Bond ran for U.S. Congress from Georgia and narrowly lost in a bitter contest with John Lewis, his former civil rights colleague. In the early 1990s Bond served as visiting professor and fellow at various colleges, including the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, Harvard University, and the University of Virginia, and was a frequent essayist and commentator on political issues. In the early 1990s he was also the host of a syndicated television program, *TV's Black Forum.* In February 1998 Bond was elected chairman of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Bond, who continues as NAACP chair in 2005, has also edited (with Sondra K. Wilson) a well-received collection of photographs and essays in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the hymn that became known as the Negro National Anthem (and was adopted as the official song of the NAACP). *Life Every Voice and Sing: A Celebration of the Negro National Anthem, 100 Years, 100 Voices* (Random House, 2000) features one hundred photos and one hundred essays by a variety of artists, politicians, businesspeople, educators, and activists.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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EVAN A. SHORE (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bonds, Margaret

March 3, 1913
April 27, 1972

The composer and pianist Margaret Allison Bonds was born in Chicago. She showed musical promise early, composing and performing as a child. Her early piano and composition teachers were T. Theodore Taylor, Florence Price, and William Levi Dawson. She received her B.M. and M.M. degrees from Northwestern University in 1933 and 1934, respectively. In 1939 she moved to New York and attended the graduate school of the Juilliard School of Music, where she studied with Djane Herz, Roy Harris, and Robert Starer.

During the 1930s Bonds was active as a concert pianist and accompanist. In 1933 she became the first black soloist to appear with the Chicago Symphony in a performance of Florence Price's *Piano Concerto in One Movement.* During this time she founded the Allied Arts Academy, a school for talented black children, in Chicago. In New York she worked as an editor for the Clarence Williams publishing house. After moving to Los Angeles in the 1960s, she became director for the Inner City Repertory Theatre. She wrote art songs, popular songs, piano music, arrangements of spirituals, orchestral and choral works, and music for the stage. Her best known works include the cantata *Ballad of the Brown King* (1961, text by

Langston Hughes) and the art songs "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (1946, text by Hughes) and "Three Dream Portraits" (1959, text by Hughes). Representing the second generation of African-American composers, Bonds was strongly influenced by modern music, including jazz and blues idioms.

See also Hughes, Langston

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RAE LINDA BROWN (1996)

Bontemps, Arna

October 13, 1902
June 4, 1973

Arna Bontemps—poet, playwright, novelist, critic, editor, and anthologist—was a leading figure in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s. His work is distinguished by a passionate struggle for liberation and a mystical faith in the unseen. The latter may derive from his early religious training, for his parents were Seventh-Day Adventists. Born in Alexandria, Louisiana, Bontemps grew up in Los Angeles. The early death of his mother left him in the care of an austere father and his grandparents. Upon his graduation from San Fernando Academy in 1920, he enrolled in Pacific Union College, another Seventh-Day Adventist institution, where he earned an A.B. degree in 1923.

In 1924 Bontemps went to New York, where he met other young writers, including Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Claude McKay. He was stimulated by the cultural vitality of New York—its theater, its music, its concern with world affairs, and the struggle of its black people for social recognition and cultural realization. Bontemps taught in Adventist schools, such as the Harlem Academy, and began his serious career as a writer. His first novel, *God Sends Sunday,* published in 1931, is the story of Little Augie, a jockey who earns a great deal of money and spends it lavishly on brothels, women, and fancy cars. The character was suggested by a great-uncle of Bontemps. Bontemps and Countee Cullen transformed the story of Little Augie into a musical, *St. Louis Woman,* which played on Broadway in 1946.

Bontemps's historical novel *Black Thunder* (1936), among the first of the genre in African-American literature, was based on a Virginia slave revolt in 1800. *Drums at Dusk* (1939), more superficial and romantic than *Black Thunder,* deals with the Pierre Toussaint-L'Ouverture uprising in Haiti. Other historical works include *We Have Tomorrow* (1945) and the biography *Frederick Douglass: Slave, Fighter, Freeman* (1958). In collaboration with Jack Conroy, Bontemps wrote a history of black migration, *They Seek a City* (1945; updated in 1966 as *Any Place but Here*).

In 1932 Bontemps coauthored, with Langston Hughes, *Popo and Fifine: Children of Haiti*. He and Conroy also produced a series of original tales for children: *The Fast Sooner Hound* (1942); *Slappy Hooper, the Wonderful Sign Painter* (1946); and *Sam Patch, the High, Wide and Handsome Jumper* (1951). In writing books for children, Bontemps made a major contribution, since juvenile literature written by and for African Americans was virtually nonexistent at the time. In 1956 he received the Jane Addams Children's Book Award for *Story of the Negro* (1948).

Throughout his career, Bontemps produced original poetry, notable for its brooding quality and its suggestive treatment of protest and black pride. "A Black Man Talks of Reaping," which won a *Crisis* magazine first prize in 1926, is one of the strongest of his protest poems. "Golgotha Is a Mountain" and "The Return" won the Alexander Pushkin Award for Poetry offered by *Opportunity* magazine in 1926 and 1927, respectively. *Personals,* a collection of his poems, was published in 1963 by Paul Bremen in London.

In 1943 Bontemps became head librarian at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee; in 1965 he became director of university relations. From 1966 to 1969 he was a professor at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois and in 1969 served as visiting professor and curator of the James Weldon Johnson Collection at Yale University. In 1970 he returned to Fisk as writer-in-residence; he died there in 1973.

See also Cullen, Countee; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; McKay, Claude

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CHARLES H. NICHOLS (1996)

Boxing

Professional prizefighters and sites for professional boxing matches are found all over the world. But the origins of modern boxing can be traced to one country and era: England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although protoforms of combat or blood sports existed in ancient Greece and Rome, they have little connection with the sport of boxing as practiced and understood today. The antecedent of modern boxing was bare-knuckle prizefighting, which sprang up in England almost simultaneously with that country's emergence as a major capitalist world power.

To be sure, the less restrictive moral atmosphere accompanying the decline of Puritanism in the mid-1600s permitted a revival of the rough sports of antiquity. Early on, boxing had close ties to the city because it was supported by urban wealth when local squires migrated to the metropolis along with increasing numbers of working-class men. The rise of boxing came in large part from the growth of commercialized leisure and popular recreation.

Before the rules formulated by Jack Broughton, one of the earliest of the new breed of "scientific boxers" who appeared on the English sporting scene in the early 1730s, bare-knuckle fighting largely consisted of butting, scratching, wrestling, and kicking. Under the Broughton Rules, elements of wrestling remained, but there was more emphasis on the fists, on skilled defensive maneuvers, and on different styles of throwing a punch effectively. Broughton, for instance, developed the technique called "milling on the retreat," or moving backward while drawing one's opponent into punches, a technique Muhammad Ali used to great effect during his reign as heavyweight champion over two hundred years later. Broughton also used gloves or "mitts" for training his pupils, many of whom were among England's leading citizens.

Under the Broughton Rules, which were superseded by the London Prize Ring Rules in 1838, boxers fought for indeterminate lengths of time, a fight not being declared ended until one fighter could not come up to the scratch mark in the center of the ring. A round lasted until one fighter was felled; both men then returned to their corners and were given thirty seconds to "make scratch" again. London Prize Ring Rules governed the sport of prizefighting as a bare-knuckle contest until the coming of gloves

Tom Molineaux, a Virginia slave of the eighteenth century, boxing his way to freedom. *Molineaux later made his way to England, where he had several important bare-knuckle matches, including a bout with the English champion Tom Cribb.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and the Marquis of Queensberry Rules. The first heavyweight championship fight under the Queensberry Rules was held between the aging John L. Sullivan and James J. "Jim" Corbett on September 7, 1892. Not only did the fight usher in the age of Queensberry, it also ushered in the age of American domination of the sport, as both Sullivan and Corbett were Americans.

The golden age of bare-knuckle fighting in England, overlapping with the Regency period, occurred between 1800 and 1824, an era captured by Pierce Egan, one of the earliest boxing journalists, in his classic work *Boxiana* (1828–1829). Records of the first black boxers of note date from this era. Bill Richmond was a slave who learned to box by sparring with British seamen. He was taken to England in 1777 by General Earl Percy, a commander of British forces in New York during the American Revolution. Richmond, known as "the Black Terror," became the first American to achieve fame as a prizefighter. He stood about five feet tall and weighed between 155 and 170 pounds. Richmond beat such established British fighters as Paddy Green and Frank Mayers. Among his losses was one in 1805 to the British champion Tom Cribb, who was a title aspirant at the time. Richmond, who died in London, is probably best known not for his fighting but for being a second to the first black fighter to challenge for the championship.

That man, also an American ex-slave, made an even bigger name for himself as a prizefighter. Tom Molineaux apparently came from a boxing family, as it has been claimed that his father was an accomplished plantation scrapper. Although there is no record of Molineaux's career before his arrival in England, it is well established that many planters engaged their more athletic slaves in sports. Given that most young planters had taken the obligatory European tour and discovered boxing to be the rage among British gentlemen, it is little wonder they imported it to America.

Molineaux, who became known in England as "the Moor," arrived in England in 1809 and quickly defeated Bill Burrows and Tom Blake. Molineaux was matched with Tom Cribb, the champion, for the first time on December 18, 1810, a bitterly cold day (during the bare-knuckle era, most fights took place outdoors). It was one of the most talked-about and eagerly anticipated sports events in British history. Molineaux apparently won the fight, knocking Cribb out in the twenty-eighth round. However, Cribb's seconds accused Molineaux of illegal tactics. During the pandemonium that ensued, Cribb was able to recover, finish the fight, and beat Molineaux, largely because the black boxer had become chilled by the damp cold. The two men fought a rematch in 1811, with Cribb the easy winner because Molineaux had failed to train and had generally succumbed to dissipation. He went downhill rapidly after his second loss to Cribb and died in Ireland in 1818, a shell of the figure he had been in his prime.

Despite the impact of Richmond and Molineaux, blacks did not constitute a significant presence in boxing until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the United States became the principal venue for professional matches. This era can be referred to as the pre-Jack Johnson age; the coming of Johnson signified a new epoch not only in boxing but in American sports history. The years 1890 and 1905 are considered among the worst in American race relations, when blacks experienced Jim Crow and American racist practices in their most virulent, oppressive, and blatant forms. Life for black fighters was far from easy: They often were denied fights against whites or, if permitted, found they were expected to throw the fight. They were paid less and fought far more often than did their white counterparts.

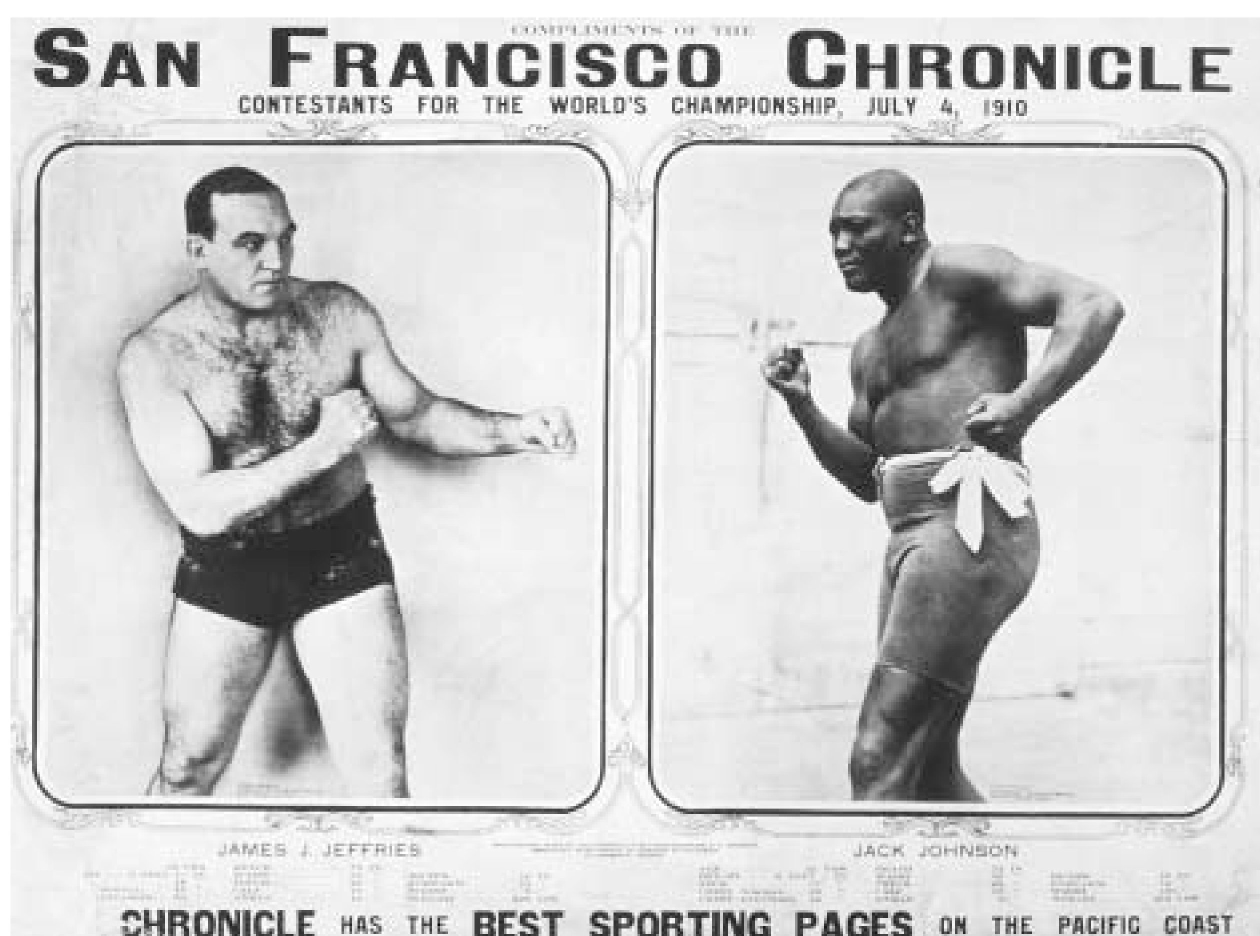
Among the important black fighters of this era were Peter Jackson, George Dixon, Joe Gans, and Jersey Joe Walcott. The latter three were all champions in the lighter weight divisions. Boxing under the Queensberry Rules had evolved to the point where there were now firmly established weight divisions, in contrast to the bare-knuckle days of Richmond and Molineaux, when boxers fought at "open weight" and there were sometimes great weight disparities between the contestants.

Peter Jackson was arguably the best heavyweight of his generation. Many experts felt he could have taken the measure of the then-champion, John L. Sullivan, had not Sullivan—in keeping with the intense racism of the times—drawn the color line and refused to meet Jackson. The "Black Prince," as Jackson was called, was born in St. Croix, Virgin Islands. His family emigrated to Australia when he was twelve years old and returned to the Virgin Islands three years later. Jackson did not come back with them, opting to seek his fortune as a sailor. During his years as a sailor, Jackson developed his boxing skills. He became the Australian heavyweight champion, but on discovering that America was a place to make one's name, he emigrated in 1888.

At the age of thirty, in 1891, Jackson fought contender Jim Corbett to a sixty-one-round draw, but it was Corbett who fought Sullivan for the title the following year. Although Jackson enjoyed success as a fighter, he left the ring for the stage because he was unable to obtain a title match against either Sullivan or Corbett after Corbett defeated Sullivan for the championship. Jackson toured with a stage production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for several years. At thirty-seven, out of condition and well past his prime, he tried a comeback against Jim Jeffries, only to be knocked out in three rounds. Despite the frustration Jackson endured, he was widely admired by many white sports enthusiasts for his gentlemanly demeanor, and he was idolized by blacks. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass in his old age hung a portrait of Jackson in his home. Jackson died of consumption in Australia in 1901.

George Dixon, known to the world as "Little Chocolate," was a smooth and cagey boxer who began his professional career on November 1, 1886. He first became bantamweight champion, although there was dispute about the exact weight qualification for this division. He eventually became the world featherweight champion, a title he held from 1892 to 1900. Dixon was a popular fighter who was often featured in white sporting publications such as the *National Police Gazette*, as well as being seen in the haunts of the black entertainment world. Life in the sporting world eventually wore Dixon down. He was knocked out by Terry McGovern in New York in 1900 and lost his last fight to Monk Newsboy in 1906. His health ruined, he died penniless in 1909.

Joe Gans, "the Old Master," is considered by many historians of boxing to be one of the greatest lightweights of all time. He was born in Baltimore on November 25, 1874, and launched his professional career in 1891. He



Publicity Poster for the 1910 boxing match between world heavyweight champion Jack Johnson and former champion James Jeffries. *The historic fight between Jeffries and Johnson took place on Independence Day in an atmosphere filled with racial overtones. Johnson easily beat Jeffries, who had been lured out of retirement as the "great white hope."* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

reigned as lightweight champion from 1902 to 1908. Gans was plagued by ill health, eventually losing his title to Battling Nelson in a rematch. In 1909 he tried to win his title back in another battle against Nelson, but he was sick and aging and easily beaten. Gans died in Baltimore a year later of tuberculosis. It has been suggested that Gans had become a follower of Father Divine, a black religious leader, who was also then living in Baltimore. However, at this stage in his career, Father Divine was known only as a healer; it is not clear whether his followers believed he was God, as they later did. Because Gans was afflicted with an incurable disease that was ravaging the black community, he may have been drawn to Father Divine as a last-ditch effort to seek a cure.

Joe Walcott was born in Barbados on March 13, 1873. Called "the Barbados Demon" because of his whirlwind punching power and ability to endure punishment (a style that can be likened to that of the popular 1970s junior welterweight champion Aaron Pryor), Walcott held the welterweight title from 1898 to 1906. He retired from the ring in 1911 and worked for a time as a janitor, winding up, as many black fighters did, with no money from his ring efforts. He was killed in an automobile accident in 1935.

In the twentieth century, three periods demarcate the history of blacks in boxing: the Jack Johnson era (1908–1915), the Joe Louis era (1937–1949), and the Muhammad Ali era (1964–1978). There have been many impressive and important black fighters aside from these heavyweight champions. Henry Armstrong, a dominant force in the 1930s, became champion of the featherweight, lightweight, and welterweight divisions simultaneously, the first fighter to achieve such a feat. Sugar Ray Robinson, welterweight champion and winner of the middleweight title on five different occasions, dominated his weight division in the 1950s and was one of the most stylish and influential boxers in history. Archie Moore, "the Old Mongoose," was champion of the light heavyweight division from 1952 and 1962. Floyd Patterson was Olympic cham-

FIGURE 2

Black members of the International Boxing Hall of Fame, Canastota, N.Y., modern inductees

Name	Birth country	Year inducted
Muhammad Ali	United States	1990
Wilfred Benitez	Puerto Rico	1996
Jimmy Bivins	United States	1999
Joe Brown	United States	1996
Charley Burley	United States	1992
Miguel Canto	Mexico	1998
Jimmy Carter	United States	2000
Antonio Cervantes	Colombia	1998
Jeff Chandler	United States	2000
Ezzard Charles	United States	1990
Curtis Cokes	United States	2003
George Foreman	United States	2003
Bob Foster	United States	1990
Joe Frazier	United States	1990
Kid Gavilan	Cuban	1990
Wilfredo Gomez	United States	1995
Emile Griffith	Virgin Islands	2000
Marvin Hagler	United States	1993
Beau Jack	United States	1991
Harold Johnson	United States	1993
Ismael Laguna	Panama	2000
Ray Leonard	United States	1997
Sonny Liston	United States	1991
Joe Louis	United States	1990
Mike McCallum	Jamaica	2003
Bob Montgomery	United States	1995
Archie Moore	United States	1990
Jose Napoles	Cuba	1990
Ken Norton	United States	1992
Terry Norris	United States	2005
Floyd Patterson	United States	1991
Eusebio Pedroza	Panama	1999
Aaron Pryor	United States	1996
Dwight Muhammad Qawi	United States	2004
Ultiminio Ramos	Cuba	2001
Luis Rodriguez	Cuba	1997
Ray Robinson	United States	1990
Matthew Saad Muhammad	United States	1998
Sandy Saddler	United States	1990
Michael Spinks	United States	1994
Joe Walcott	United States	1990
Ike Williams	United States	1990
Albert "Chalky" Wright	Mexico	1997

pion in 1952 and heavyweight champion from 1956 to 1962, one of the youngest men ever to hold that title. Sugar Ray Leonard, Olympic champion in 1976 and champion in the welterweight, junior middleweight, middleweight, and super middleweight divisions, was one of the most popular fighters in the 1980s. And the controversial Mike Tyson, who was imprisoned for rape, became the youngest man ever to win the heavyweight championship when he won the belt in 1986. Tyson was one of the most ferocious and unrelenting fighters ever to enter the ring.

These are a few of the notable black fighters of the twentieth century. But none of these men exercised the social and political impact on American society that Johnson, Louis, and Ali did. These three not only changed boxing, but their presence reverberated throughout the world of sport and beyond. People who normally had no interest in either boxing or sports took an interest in the careers of these three.

Like many black youngsters, Jack Johnson learned the craft of boxing as a child by participating in *battles royal*, where five, six, or seven black youngsters were blindfolded and fought against one another in a general melee. The toughest survived the ordeal and made the most money. It may be argued that battles royal were not necessarily more brutal than ordinary prizefights, but they were surely far more degrading.

Johnson fought his first professional fight at the age of nineteen, and the defensive skills he learned to survive the battle royal stood him in good stead when he challenged white fighters in the early twentieth century. Black fighters at this time were expected not to win many fights against white opponents; if they did win, they did so on points. Johnson was among three other black heavyweights who fought during this period: Joe Jeanette, Sam McVey, and Sam Langford, also known as "the Boston Tarbaby." Johnson became a leading contender for the title. After much wrangling and many concessions, he fought Tommy Burns for the heavyweight championship in December 1908 in Sydney, Australia.

Although the color line had been drawn against black challengers to the heavyweight title, Johnson succeeded in part because he was in the right place at the right time. Many in the white sporting public felt it was time to give a black a shot at the title, and Johnson was at that point well liked by the white sporting fraternity. Publications such as the *National Police Gazette*, not noted for any enlightened racial attitudes, campaigned vigorously for him to get a title fight. When Johnson defeated Burns, he became the first black heavyweight champion, the most prized title in professional sports.

Soon, however, the white sporting public soured on Johnson. His arrogance and his public preference for white women provoked a cry for "a great white hope" to win the title back for whites. In 1910 Jim Jeffries, a former champion, was lured out of a six-year retirement to take on Johnson in the Nevada desert, a fight that was the most publicized, most heatedly discussed, and most fervently anticipated sporting event in American history at that time. It was the first prizefight to take on significant political overtones, as many whites and blacks saw it as a battle for racial superiority. Johnson was easily the most famous—or most infamous—black man in America, and the fight occurred at the height of racial segregation and oppression of blacks in the United States. Johnson easily won the fight, and the victory caused race riots around the country as angry whites brutalized rejoicing blacks. This was Johnson's last great moment as a professional athlete.

In 1912 Johnson's first white wife, Etta Duryea, committed suicide at the champion's Chicago nightclub. In 1913, on the testimony of a white prostitute with whom Johnson had once been intimate, he was convicted under the Mann Act and sentenced to a year and a day in federal prison. His personal life now in shambles, with no future as a fighter because he was thoroughly hated by the white public, he fled the country for Paris.

Johnson lost the title to Kansan Jess Willard in Cuba in 1915, a fight Johnson claimed he threw in order to regain entry to the United States. In fact, he did not return until 1920, when he served his time in prison with little notice. Johnson went on to become a museum raconteur, an autobiographer, a fight trainer, and an occasional participant in exhibitions. He died in an automobile accident in 1946.

When Joe Louis defeated Jim Braddock in June 1937 to win the heavyweight title, he was the second black to become heavyweight champion, and the first permitted even to fight for the championship since the end of Johnson's tenure in 1915. During the ensuing twenty-two years, there were only three black champions of any division, and two had brief reigns: West African Battling Siki was light heavyweight champion from September 1922 to March 1923; Tiger Flowers was middleweight champion for six months in 1926; and Kid Chocolate was featherweight and junior lightweight champion from 1931 to 1933.

Joe Louis's father was institutionalized for mental illness and his mother remarried. The family relocated from Alabama to Detroit because of job opportunities in the automobile industry. Louis had little interest in school and was attracted to boxing. He had a distinguished amateur career before turning professional in 1934 under the management of John Roxborough and Julian Black, both African Americans. Louis's trainer, Jack Blackburn, a former fighter of considerable accomplishment, was also black. Mike Jacobs, an influential New York promoter, steered Louis toward big-time fights, and thus Louis's career was carefully guided to the championship in three years.

Image was everything for Louis, or at least for his handlers. In order to be accepted by the white public, he had to be the antithesis of Johnson in every respect. Johnson had bragged and consorted with white women publicly; Louis was taciturn and seen only with black women. Louis went about his business with dispatch, never relishing his victories or belittling his opponents. This latter was an especially sensitive point because all of Louis's opponents, before he won the championship, were white.

Louis came along at a time when blacks were more assertively pushing for their rights, unlike the era of Johnson. The labor leader A. Philip Randolph scored a significant victory when he achieved recognition for his union from the Pullman Car Company and achieved further gains when his threatened March on Washington forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Federal Order 8802 in 1942, integrating defense industry jobs. Louis came of age after the Harlem Renaissance and after Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association movement, both of which signaled greater militancy and race awareness on the part of blacks.

Louis's most important fight was his rematch against German heavyweight Max Schmeling in 1938. Louis had lost to Schmeling in 1936 and for both personal and professional reasons wanted to fight him again. Because Schmeling was German and probably a Nazi, the fight took on both racial and political overtones. Louis became the representative of American democracy against German arrogance and totalitarianism, as well as of American racial fair play against Schmeling's image of racial superiority and intolerance.

Louis won the fight easily, smashing Schmeling in less than a single round. As a result, he became the first black hero in American popular culture. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army and donated purses from his fights to the war effort. He retired in 1949, after holding the title longer than any other champion and defending it successfully more times than any other champion. Money problems, particularly back income taxes, forced him to make a comeback in 1950. He retired permanently after his loss to Rocky Marciano in 1951. In later years, Louis became a greeter in a Las Vegas hotel. He suffered from mental problems, as well as a period of cocaine addiction. He died in Las Vegas in 1981, probably the most revered black boxer, and arguably the most revered black athlete, in American history.

Muhammad Ali, born Cassius Clay Jr., had a distinguished career as an amateur boxer, culminating in a gold medal at the 1960 Olympic Games. Always outgoing with a warm but theatrical personality, the photogenic young boxer spouted poetry, threw punches with greater grace and speed than any heavyweight before him, and was generally well received by the public. Although many people disliked his showy, sometimes outrageous ways, others thought him a breath of fresh air in boxing. The young Clay fought an aging but still intimidating Sonny Liston for the championship in 1964, defeating the older man in a fight in which Clay was the decided underdog.

It was after this fight that Clay announced his conversion to the Nation of Islam. Shortly afterward, he changed his name to Muhammad Ali, probably one of the most widely and thoroughly discussed and condemned name

Joe Louis vs. Max Schmeling, June 22, 1938. *World Heavyweight boxing champion Joe Louis stands over German boxer Max Schmeling, down for a count of three, in Yankee Stadium, New York City. Louis lost to Schmeling two years earlier, but easily won the rematch, becoming the first national African-American hero in America.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

changes in American history. Ali's popularity among whites plummeted as a result of his conversion.

But he was not done provoking the white American public. In 1967 he refused induction into the armed services on religious grounds. His spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad, had served time in prison during World War II for taking the same stand. Ali was stripped of his title, and his license to fight was revoked. Despite outcries from more liberal sections of the white public, Ali was in effect under a kind of house arrest for three and a half years. He was not permitted to fight in the United States and was not permitted to leave the country to fight abroad while his case was being appealed.

Ali was finally permitted to fight again in late 1970 in Georgia against journeyman heavyweight Jerry Quarry, whom he dispatched in a few rounds. During the interval of Ali's exile, the sentiments of the white public had changed significantly. Many turned against the Vietnam War. The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy only two months apart in 1968 made many think the country was on the verge of collapse, and as a result there was a greater sense of tolerance and understanding. Ali's religious beliefs no longer struck the public as bizarre and threatening. Finally, blacks had achieved some political leverage in the South, and this was instrumental in getting Ali a license to box again. Ali eventually won his case in the U.S. Supreme Court when his conviction was overturned as one of a series of decisions that broadened the allowable scope for conscientious objection to war.

Ali lost his claim to the title when he suffered his first professional defeat at the hands of Joe Frazier in March

1971, the first of three epic battles between the two great fighters. But Ali eventually regained his title in 1974 when he defeated George Foreman in a shocking upset in Zaire. He lost the title again in 1978 to Olympic champion Leon Spinks, but regained it a few months later in a rematch, becoming the first heavyweight to win the championship three times.

Ali was by far the most popular champion in the history of boxing. His face was, and still is, recognized more readily in various parts of the world than that of virtually any other American. Ali has been particularly important in creating a stronger sense of kinship between American blacks and people of the Third World. He is the most renowned Muslim athlete in history.

Like many before him, Ali fought too long, disastrously trying a comeback in 1980 against champion Larry Holmes, who badly thrashed him over ten rounds. Ali's health deteriorated throughout the 1980s. Parkinson's disease, induced by the heavy punishment he took in the ring, took its toll. Nevertheless, Ali remained a formidable physical presence, an athlete who continued to be honored around the world for his courage both in and out of the ring.

With Ali's departure from boxing, the heavyweight division was dominated for a considerable period by Holmes, a formidable fighter but a man of little personality, wit, or engagement. Although Holmes enjoyed considerable popularity during his reign, it was fighters from the lighter weight divisions who attracted media attention and huge purses during the late 1970s through the 1980s. Sugar Ray Leonard, Marvelous Marvin Hagler, Matthew Saad Muhammad, Aaron Pryor, Dwight Muhammad Qawi, Thomas "Hitman" Hearns, Marvin Johnson, Mike "the Body Snatcher" McCallum, Livingstone Bramble, and Michael Spinks were among the best and most highly publicized fighters of the day.

Relying on the popularity of several highly skilled Latin American fighters, including the redoubtable Roberto Duran, Alexis Arguello, Pipino Cuevas, and Victor Galindez, which enabled fight promoters to once again use ethnic and cultural symbolism as a lure for a diverse and fragmented public, these black fighters were able to bring greater attention and larger sums of money to boxing arenas in the 1980s than ever before.

After Holmes, the heavyweight class fell into complete disarray, as it had during the 1930s before the coming of Joe Louis. A succession of undistinguished champions paraded before the public. Not until the emergence of Mike Tyson did the category reclaim its position as the glamour division of the sport. Tyson enjoyed greater financial success than any other heavyweight in history. However, he was poorly advised and surrounded by cronies who did not protect his interests or their own. Tyson pursued a self-destructive path of erratic, violent behavior and suspected substance abuse, and was finally imprisoned for an assault on a black beauty contestant.

Following Tyson's imprisonment the heavyweight crown remained split. However, Evander Holyfield was popularly recognized as heavyweight champion, especially after he scored a surprise victory over Tyson in 1996 and successfully defended the title in a rematch (following which Tyson was suspended for biting Holyfield's ear during the match) in May 1997. In 1998 Tyson's boxing suspension was lifted.

After Tyson's period in the limelight, no single boxer captured public attention. In the late 1990s and the first years of the twenty-first century, no one fighter held on to the heavyweight title. Several black boxers were among the champions, including Holyfield, Lennox Lewis, Riddick Bowe, and, in a startling comeback, George Foreman, by then in his forties. During this time, as during the period after Muhammad Ali's retirement, boxing's popularity was kept alive mainly by smaller fighters. Oscar de La Hoya became a big name, drawing a huge following, especially in the Hispanic community. Other popular boxers were the African-American fighters Roy Jones and Sugar Shane Mosley, and Felix Trinidad of Puerto Rico. These fighters became stars through television pay-per-view, through which viewers themselves generate the payouts for prizefights.

In 2001 two daughters of former heavyweight champions entered the ring, bringing a female angle to prizefighting. However, many saw the match between Muhammad Ali's daughter, Laila Ali, and Joe Frazier's daughter, Jacqui Frazier-Lyde, more as a publicity stunt than a serious fight.

In the late 1990s and early twenty-first century, boxing suffered from scandal and confusion, including criminal convictions of several prominent fighters, squabbles among boxing organizations over the authority to sanction fights and proclaim champions, injuries and deaths in the ring, and claims lodged by lower-class fighters of exploitation by promoters. Nevertheless, boxing continues to be a big-money sport, winning huge audiences through closed-circuit television.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Foreman, George; Frazier, Joe; Louis, Joe; Olympians; Robinson, Sugar Ray; Tyson, Mike

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GERALD EARLY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Boyd, Walter

See Leadbelly (Ledbetter, Hudson William)

Bradley, David

September 7, 1950

Novelist David Henry Bradley Jr. was born and raised in rural Bedford, Pennsylvania, the son of David Henry and Harriette (Jackson) Bradley. He attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied English and received his B.A. (summa cum laude) in 1972. Afterward he moved on to King's College in London, where he earned his M.A. in United States studies in 1974. After working for two years in publishing, Bradley became a member of the English department at Temple University in Philadelphia.

Bradley wrote his first novel, *South Street* (1975), while still an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. Alienated from his peers, whose urban lifestyle and politicized outlook he found artificial, Bradley spent most of his free time with the locals at a bar on Philadelphia's South Street. The novel offers original perspectives on the links within the black community and its relationship to history and memory and powerfully evokes life in the ghetto, with its numbers games, Saturday-night drinking parties, and storefront churches.

Bradley's second novel, *The Chaneysville Incident* (1981), won several awards in 1982: the PEN/Faulkner Award, the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters award for literature, and a *New York Times Book Review* "Editor's Choice" citation. The core of this more ambitious novel is an incident from Bedford's history. In doing research for the area's bicentennial in 1969, Bradley's mother discovered thirteen unmarked graves on the property of a Bedford County landowner. In doing so, she confirmed a local myth concerning thirteen fugitives on the Underground Railroad who, on the point of recapture, had preferred death to slavery and asked to be killed.

Bradley's narrative concerns a young black historian, John Washington, who has returned to his hometown in western Pennsylvania for the last few days of his surrogate father's life. His return inspires him to investigate his past; by digging up information from family papers, he manages to tie his natural father's suicide to the death of the thirteen fugitives. In relating his discovery to his girlfriend, a white psychiatrist, the protagonist discovers that history must be rooted in communal memory to be authentic, and that, in order for an individual to create, his emotions must be fed and sustained by the oral traditions of the group. This itinerary informs the narrative, which is gradually transformed from a factual account into a reflection on the meaning of the past.

In addition to two novels, Bradley has written articles and essays for many publications, including *Esquire,* the *New York Times Magazine and Book Review, Redbook,* and the *Southern Review*. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1989 and a National Endowment for the Arts Fellowship in 1991.

In 1998 Bradley coedited *The Encyclopedia of Civil Rights in America.* In recent years he has been a visiting professor at various colleges, including City College of New York, the University of Texas, and the University of Oregon. In 2003 he was at work on a nonfiction study, tentatively titled *The Bondage Hypothesis: Meditations on Race, History, and America.*

See also Literature of the United States

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MICHEL FABRE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bradley, Tom

December 29, 1917
September 29, 1998

Politician Thomas "Tom" Bradley was born in Calvert, Texas, a town located between Waco and Houston. Both his mother and father were sharecroppers. When Bradley was four, the family moved to Dallas, and when he was six, to Somerton, Arizona, where they lived with relatives and where he first attended school.

In 1924 the family moved to Los Angeles and Bradley attended Polytechnic High School; he was one of 113 blacks out of a student population of 1,300. He excelled as a scholar and athlete and won a scholarship to the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

In 1941 Bradley left UCLA to enter the police academy. He remained in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) until 1961, rising to the rank of lieutenant, the highest position achieved up to that time by an African American.

During his years on the police force, Bradley attended Loyola University Law School and Southwestern University Law School at night, and he was accepted to the California Bar in 1956. Upon leaving the force in 1961, he joined the law practice of Charles Matthews. In 1963 Bradley ran successfully for the City Council seat for Los Angeles's tenth district, which was predominantly white. He was one of the first blacks outside the East Coast elected to political office by a nonblack majority constituency. He retained his seat until 1973.

In August 1965, when the Watts Riots erupted, Councilman Bradley's criticism of police brutality brought him into conflict with his former comrades in the LAPD, and with Mayor Sam Yorty. Despite a widespread white backlash against civil unrest and black militancy, Bradley's law enforcement background and moderately liberal politics, along with his dignified, unthreatening bearing, gave him interracial popularity in a city that was only 15 percent black. In 1969 Bradley challenged Yorty for the office of mayor. He won the primary with 46 percent of the vote to Yorty's 26 percent, but in the runoff, after a race-baiting campaign by Yorty, Bradley was narrowly defeated.

In 1973 he ran again, this time defeating Yorty 56 percent to 43 percent to become Los Angeles's first black mayor, as well as the first African-American mayor of a predominantly white city. He was reelected four times. A major highlight of Bradley's tenure was the athletically and commercially successful 1984 Summer Olympics. The Bradley administration also spurred downtown development. However, partly as a result of weak municipal government, Bradley was accused of neglecting working-class and inner-city neighborhoods, particularly black areas. Nevertheless, he was sufficiently popular in 1982 to win the Democratic Party nomination for governor of the nation's largest state. He was projected to win the race but narrowly lost to Republican George Deukmejian. In 1985 Bradley won a fourth term as mayor, and the same year he won the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Spingarn Medal. In 1986 he again ran for governor and once again lost.

Bradley was reelected mayor in 1989, but his final term was marred by the savage March 1991 beating of Rodney King, a black motorist, by four LAPD officers, an incident that was secretly videotaped by a bystander. Repeated showings of the tape on national television caused a nationwide furor. When the officers who had been charged were acquitted in 1992, Los Angeles erupted in a riot that dwarfed the Watts uprising of 1965. Bradley drew heavy criticism from blacks over his ineffective control of the police department and from whites for his inability to reestablish order in the city. When King's assailants were tried on federal charges in 1993, Bradley prepared an emergency response in case of another riot, but two officers were convicted and no violence occurred. Bradley completed his last term in 1993 and died of a heart attack in Los Angeles on September 29, 1998.

The International terminal at Los Angeles Airport is named after Bradley, who was mayor when the terminal was funded and built.

See also Mayors; Politics in the United States

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GERALD HORNE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bradshaw, Robert

September 16, 1916
May 23, 1978

Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw was born on the island of St. Kitts, which at the time was dominated by sugar plantations. He was dismissed from his job as a machinist in a sugar factory because of his participation in a 1940 strike. This precipitated his involvement with the St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labour Union—first as a member of the Executive Committee, and then as president from 1944 until his death. Bradshaw's prominence in ensuing strikes, as well as his charismatic self-presentation and forceful oratory, propelled him to the leadership (and unquestioned dominance) of the union's political branch, the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party, thus setting the stage for his aggressive crusade for self-government and social reform in the British colonies of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla.

In 1946 Bradshaw was elected to the Legislative Council. From this arena he launched the thirteen-week strike of 1948, which almost brought the exploitative sugar industry on St. Kitts to a standstill. He then served on the Soulbury Economic Commission that inquired into the strike, but he refused to sign the joint commission report, submitting instead his own minority version. He also unleashed protests against European appointments to the island's government, including the 1947 candlelight procession demanding the removal of the St. Kitts administrator, Leslie Stuart Greening (with the crowd chanting "Greening Must Go") and the massive 1950 demonstration against the governor of the Leeward Islands, Kenneth Blackburne.

Bradshaw was re-elected in 1952 when universal adult suffrage was introduced, and he successfully contested subsequent elections. In the wake of further concessions by the Colonial Office, he was appointed minister of trade and production in 1956.

Bradshaw used his dual position as union leader and political leader to advance the welfare of workers, primarily on St. Kitts. He presided over the enactment of legislation providing for a social security system, free secondary education and health care, improved housing, road rebuilding programs, and other infrastructure development. The wage increases and yearly bonuses he gained endeared him to the people of St. Kitts, who referred to him affectionately as "Papa." However, the predominantly peasant societies of Nevis and Anguilla nursed perceptions of neglect by Bradshaw's government.

Bradshaw also took up the cause of Caribbean integration. He participated in the establishment of the federation-minded Caribbean Congress of Labour 1945, and also served as its first assistant secretary. In 1958 he turned over the reins of Kittitian government to his lieutenant, Paul Southwell, in order to enter federal politics. In his role as minister of finance in the West Indies Federation, he worked tirelessly—though with negligible funds at his disposal—towards the federation's success. When it collapsed, in 1962, he took part in attempts to salvage a federation of the smaller islands of the eastern Caribbean.

Bradshaw returned home to resume his role in the local legislature, and he was sworn in as chief minister of the three-island colony of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla following the 1966 elections. By 1967, he had become the first premier of the Associated States of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, with full responsibility for internal affairs. But his belief in a united Caribbean was further challenged by Anguilla's secession from the three-island state in 1967. He also faced continuous threats of secession from Nevisians, who had long asserted a right to self-determination.

One of Bradshaw's major triumphs was in reversing the stranglehold the sugar plantations had over the St. Kitts economy and the subordination of workers to estate proprietors. In 1975 Bradshaw's government acquired all the plantation land on the island, which was to be retained in public ownership. The nationalization of the assets of the St. Kitts Sugar Factory followed in 1976. Although there was no significant land reform, light industries were introduced and other crops cultivated in a diversification effort.

Bradshaw had hoped to have independence listed as his crowning political achievement, and he participated in the 1976–1977 independence talks with the British government. His death on May 23, 1978, following a long battle with cancer, deprived him of witnessing this final victory, which was achieved on September 19, 1983. Since 1995, the life-long advocate of economic and political autonomy has been hailed as the "architect of modern St. Kitts-Nevis" and officially recognized as a National Hero.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean

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CARLEEN PAYNE-JACKSON (2005)

Braithwaite, William Stanley

December 6, 1878
June 8, 1962

The son of an immigrant from British Guiana and the daughter of a former slave, William Stanley Beaumont Braithwaite, an author, was born and raised in Boston. He and three other siblings were educated at home until 1884, when his father's death left the family destitute. For some years afterward, Braithwaite attended public school, but he left when he was twelve and went to work full-time to support his family. He worked for several firms before finding employment as an errand boy at the publishing firm of Ginn & Co., where he eventually became apprenticed as a compositor. Braithwaite later claimed that he had been setting the first lines of John Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" when he realized his passion for poetry and determined to write his own verse. He submitted poems and critical essays to various newspapers and magazines, including the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *North American Review,* and *Scribner's,* before publishing his first book of verse, *Lyrics of Life and Love,* in 1904. Two years later he began contributing essays and reviews to the *Boston Evening Transcript* and published his first anthology, *Book of Elizabethan Verse.* A second volume of poetry, *House of Falling Leaves,* appeared in 1908.

Braithwaite was appreciated more for his editorial efforts than for his own poems, which emulate the traditional forms, meters, and themes of British nineteenth-century works and make no reference to racial identity. Two additional anthologies, *Book of Georgian Verse* and *Book of Restoration Verse,* were published in 1908 and 1909. In 1913 Braithwaite produced the first *Anthology of Magazine Verse and Yearbook,* the publication for which he is best known. The anthology appeared annually between 1913 and 1939 and included such Harlem Renaissance authors as Sterling Brown, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, and Anne Spencer, as well as the early work of Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Amy Lowell, Wallace Stevens, and Robert Frost. Braithwaite also served as an editor for the *Poetry Journal* (1912–1914) and *Poetry Review* (1916–1917). In recognition of his literary accomplishments, he was awarded the NAACP's Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement by an African American in 1918; that same year, he received honorary degrees from Taladega College and Atlanta University. In 1922 Braithwaite founded the B. J. Brimmer Publishing Company and published several works, most notably Georgia Douglas Johnson's first volume of poetry, *Bronze* (1922), and James Gould Cozzen's first novel, *Confusion* (1924), before his firm folded in 1925. Braithwaite's famous essay, "The Negro in American Literature," appeared in Alain Locke's *The New Negro* that year. Braithwaite continued to support himself and his family through writing and editing before accepting a professorship in creative literature at Atlanta University, where he taught for ten years. During this time, he started to work on his autobiography, *The House Under Arcturus,* which was published in three parts in *Phylon* in 1941.

Braithwaite retired from teaching and moved to Harlem in 1945. He published a volume of his Selected *Poems* (1948); *The Bewitched Parsonage,* a critical work on the Brontës (1950); and the *Anthology of Magazine Verse* for 1958 (1959).

See also Cullen, Countee; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Johnson, James Weldon; McKay, Claude

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau

May 11, 1930

The poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite was born to Hilton Edward and Beryl (Gill) Brathwaite in Barbados. He attended Harrison College and earned degrees from Cambridge University (B.A., 1953; Diploma of Education, 1954), and the University of Sussex (Ph.D., 1968). From 1955 to 1962 he was an officer in the Ministry of Education of Ghana, and he later balanced his teaching duties at the University of the West Indies (St. Lucia, Jamaica) with travel and work in England and the United States. In 1994 he was a visiting professor at New York University.

Brathwaite's earliest poetry collections—*Rights of Passage* (1967), *Masks* (1968), and *Islands* (1969)—established him as a major talent. This autobiographical trilogy, collected as *The Arrivants* (1973), reflects the poet's contact with white cultures and Africa and explores the shaping of racial identities. In the volumes that followed, such as *Other Exiles* (1975), *Sun Poem* (1982), *X/Self* (1987), *Middle Passages* (1992), *Trenchtown Rock* (1993), *Words Need Love Too* (2000), and *Ancestors* (2001), he highlights global concerns from a remarkable array of African, European, and Caribbean perspectives. His poetry is characterized by a deft interweaving of voices, innovative fonts, and vivid renderings of black speech and music, particularly jazz.

In addition to more than ten volumes of poetry, Brathwaite has worked as a playwright (*Odale's Choice,* 1967), essayist (*Caribbean Man in Space and Time,* 1974), editor (*New Poets from Jamaica,* 1979), and contributor to periodicals. *Roots,* a 1986 history of Caribbean literature and culture, won the Casa de las Americas Prize for Literary Criticism. The *Zea Mexican Diary* (1993) is a memoir chronicling his wife's illness and death from cancer.

Brathwaite's other honors include Guggenheim (1972) and Fulbright fellowships and the Institute of Jamaica Musgrave Medal (1983). In 1994 he received the $40,000 Neustadt International Prize for Literature. Sponsored by *World Literature Today* and the University of Oklahoma, the award recognized Brathwaite for being what the Ghanian author Kofi Awoonor called "a poet of the total African consciousness."

See also Literature

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DEKKER DARE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brawley, Benjamin Griffith

April 22, 1882
February 1, 1939

Educator and author Benjamin Griffith Brawley was born in Columbia, South Carolina, to Margaret Dickerson Brawley and Edward McKnight Brawley. His father's career as a Baptist preacher and professor required that the family move several times; although Brawley attended a succession of elementary and secondary schools, his early education took place primarily at home. He earned a baccalaureate degree at Atlanta Baptist (later Morehouse) College in 1901; in 1907 he earned a B.A. from the University of Chicago, and he completed his M.A. at Harvard University in 1908.

Brawley devoted his life to the study of literature; in particular, he concentrated on the lives and works of African-American writers and artists. His teaching career was spent primarily at Atlanta Baptist College (1912–1920); Shaw University (1922–1931), where his father was also a professor; and Howard University (1910–1912 and 1931–1939). While teaching at Howard in 1912, he met and married Hilda Damaris Prowd.

Brawley built a reputation as a prolific scholar, a master teacher, and an occasional poet, and although his verse is not remembered today, his scholarly works are still highly regarded. Among his seventeen books are: *A Social History of the American Negro* (1921); *The Negro in Literature and Art* (1918), which was republished as *The Negro Genius* (1937); *Early Negro American Writers* (1935); and *Paul Laurence Dunbar: Poet of His People* (1936). He also lectured frequently and published many scholarly articles and textbooks, including *A New Survey of English Literature* (1925).

Brawley's quiet and sensitive approach to literary studies utilizes biography and history, reading artistic works from within the context of the authors' lives. He was keenly aware of the struggles of blacks in American society and dedicated to making his audience, black and white, aware of the breadth and depth of the contributions of African Americans. As his writings demonstrate, he also sought to illuminate universal themes transcending race. As he concludes in his respected work on Paul Laurence Dunbar (1936), "Against the bullying forces of industrialism he [Dunbar] resolutely set his face. . . . Above the dross and the strife of the day, he asserted the right to live and love and be happy."

Brawley died on February 1, 1939. On February 6, classes and other activities at Howard University were suspended for the day to mark his funeral and interment.

See also Literary Criticism, U.S.; Literature of the United States

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)

Brawley, Edward McKnight

March 18, 1851
January 13, 1923

Edward McKnight Brawley, a minister, was born free in Charleston, South Carolina, to James M. and Ann L. Brawley. In 1861 he was sent to Philadelphia, where he attended grammar school for three years and graduated from the Institute for Colored Youth in 1866. From 1866 to 1869 he worked as an apprentice to a shoemaker in Charleston. Brawley was baptized in the Shiloh Baptist Church in Philadelphia in 1865, and thus began a life of religious involvement.

In 1870 he entered Howard University in Washington, D.C., to study theology. The following year he transferred to Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in 1875 he became the first African American to receive a bachelor's degree from that school. Three years later, Brawley received a master's degree from Bucknell. In 1885 he received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the State University of Louisville.

Brawley was an active educator and administrator. In 1875 he was ordained as minister of the white Baptist church in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and was commissioned by the predominantly white American Baptist Publication Society (ABPS) to work as a missionary in South Carolina. Under these auspices, Brawley organized Sunday schools into a state convention over which he presided as secretary and financial agent. He remained in South Carolina until 1883, when he became president of the Alabama Baptist Normal Theological School, later renamed Selma University. At Alabama Baptist he overhauled the curriculum and brought it up to college status. Brawley also helped found Morris College in Sumter, South Carolina, and assumed the position of president in 1885.

Throughout his career Brawley was committed to integration, and his involvement in the ABPS was indicative of his desire to bring black and white Christians together. He believed black Baptists "should merge race feeling in the broader spirit of an American Christianity." In 1890, in an effort to give greater public recognition to black Baptists, black ministers within the ABPS invited black Baptists to be writers and agents for the organization. The all-white Southern Baptist Convention responded with outrage and protest and threatened to withdraw support from the ABPS. Most black Baptists condemned the ABPS for succumbing to southern white racism, and many advocated greater separation from white Baptists. Brawley's was one of the few conciliatory voices. Rather than dealing with the crisis at hand, he reviewed what the ABPS had accomplished for black people and urged reconciliation. This incident widened the chasm between Brawley and many other black Baptists. After this conflict the ABPS tried to appease black ministers and in 1890 recruited Brawley to edit the *Negro Baptist Pulpit,* the first collection of theological and denominational articles ever written and edited by black Baptists.

In January 1877 Brawley married Mary Warrick. By the end of the year his wife and child had died. In December 1879 he married Margaret Dickerson, with whom he had four children. Their eldest son, Benjamin Brawley, author and historian, was born in 1882. From 1912 until 1920, Brawley served as minister of White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina. He also taught bibli-

cal history at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. Brawley wrote several religious texts, including a book on evangelism entitled *Sin and Salvation,* and edited the *Baptist Tribune* and *The Evangel*. Brawley died on January 13, 1923, ending a long career in the ministry, education, publishing, and writing.

See also Baptists

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Breakdancing

An elaborate social dance form originated by teenage African-American males in the South Bronx of New York City, breakdancing appeared during the early to mid-1970s. It began as a form of gang fighting, a mixture of physically demanding movements that exploited the daredevil prowess of performers and stylized punching and kicking movements directed at an opponent. A descendant of *capoeira,* the Brazilian form of martial arts disguised as dance, breaking developed as the movement aspect of rap music when breakdancers—"B-Boys"—filled the musical breaks between records mixed by disc jockeys at parties and discotheques. Breakdancing was part of a young urban culture built upon innovations in language, hip-hop music, fashion (unlaced sneakers, hooded sweatshirts, nylon windbreakers), and visual arts (graffiti).

The elaborate spins, balances, flips, contortions, and freezes performed by breakdancers required extreme agility and coordination. Real physical danger surrounded movements such as the "windmill," in which dancers spun wildly, supported only by the shoulders, or the "suicide," in which an erect dancer would throw himself forward to land flat on his back. The competitive roots of breakdancing encouraged sensational movements such as multiple spins while balanced on the head, back, or one hand. Dancing "crews" met on street corners, subway stations, or dance floors to battle other groups with virtuosity, style, and wit determining the winner. Breakdancing came to be divided into several classifications of movement, including "breaking" (acrobatic flips and spins with support by the head and arms, with the shoulders as a point of balance), "uprock" (fighting movements directed against an opponent), "webbo" (extravagant footwork that connected breaking movements), and "electric boogie" (robotlike dancing movements borrowed from mime). The electric boogie style, reminiscent of a long tradition of eccentric African-American dances, developed in Los Angeles concurrent with electronically produced disco music. In this style dancers typically appeared to be weightless and rubber limbed, performing baffling floating walks, precise body isolations, and pantomimed robotic sequences. This form includes the "moonwalk," popularized on national television by Michael Jackson, in which the dancer's feet appear to be floating across the floor without touching it. Other boogie moves include the "wave," in which the body simulates an electric current passing through it, and "poplocking," a series of tightly contained staccato movements separated by freezes. An "Egyptian" style, which imitated ancient wall paintings, was also briefly popular.

Breakdancing found a mainstream audience through several films that cashed in on its sensational aspects and minimized its competitive format. Charlie Ahearn's *Wild Style* (1982), the first film to document emergent hip-hop culture, was eclipsed by a thirty-second breaking sequence in *Flashdance* (1983), which brought the form to international attention; *Breakin'* (1984), which starred Shabba Doo (Adolfo Quinones), an important breakdance choreographer from Chicago; and Harry Belafonte's *Beat Street* (1984), which featured the New York City Breakers. Breakdancing dropped out of the public limelight in the late 1980s, only to reemerge as a social dance form practiced by teenagers in nightclubs during the 1990s. By 2004 the form had become a component aspect of codified hip-hop dance, practiced by teams in international competitions, popular in music videos, and once again featured in Hollywood films, including Chris Stokes's *You Got Served* (2004).

See also Capoeira; Hip Hop; Rap; Social Dance

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Breedlove, Sarah

See Walker, Madam C. J.

Briggs, Cyril

1888
October 18, 1966

Cyril Valentine Briggs was a radical publicist of the New Negro movement and one of the black charter members of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). As the political organizer of the African Blood Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption—better known as the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB)—a semisecret propaganda organization founded in September 1919 in reaction to the unprecedented racial violence of the Red Summer of 1919, Briggs was the first to enunciate in the United States the political principle of armed black self-defense.

A native of the tiny island of Nevis in the Leeward Islands chain of the British West Indies, Briggs was the son of a planter-manager for one of the island's absentee landlords. Of an extremely light complexion, he was later dubbed the "Angry Blond Negro" by George W. Harris of the New York *News*.

Briggs received his early start in journalism working after school with the Saint Kitts *Daily Express* and the Saint Christopher *Advertiser*. As a young man in Saint Kitts, he was influenced by the published lectures of the great American orator Robert Green Ingersoll, whose irreverent wit and questioning of the tenets of Christian belief earned him the sobriquet "the great agnostic."

Briggs came to the United States in July 1905. His involvement in the fight for African-American rights began in earnest in October 1915 when he was appointed editor of the *Colored American Review,* mouthpiece of the Harlem black business community, which stressed black economic success and racial pride. When his editorship came to an abrupt end with the second issue, Briggs resumed work with New York's *Amsterdam News,* which had hired him as an editorial writer shortly after it began publication in 1912.

During and after World War I, Briggs's outspoken *Amsterdam News* editorials, directed against what he perceived to be the hypocrisy of U.S. war aims in view of U.S. mistreatment of black soldiers and the continuing denial of democracy to African Americans at home, came under increasing official censorship. It culminated in the detention by the U.S. Post Office of the March 12, 1919, issue containing Briggs's editorial denouncing the League of Nations as a "League of Thieves." Two months later, Briggs finally severed his ties with the newspaper for which he had been not only editorial writer but also city editor, sports editor, and theater critic.

His resignation from the *Amsterdam News* enabled Briggs to devote his entire time to the *Crusader,* which he had begun publishing in September 1918. With a free hand to promote the postwar movement through the *Crusader,* Briggs joined such black radical figures as Hubert H. Harrison, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, William Bridges, and W. A. Domingo in giving voice to the era's black militancy.

Initially emphasizing the racial theme of "self-government for the Negro and Africa for the Africans," the *Crusader* proclaimed itself in its early issues as the publicity organ of the Hamitic League of the World, which had been started by the brilliant young racial vindicationist author George Wells Parker in Omaha, Nebraska. By the first anniversary of its publication, however, the editorial line of the *Crusader* had changed radically. Whereas its original focus had been on postwar African issues, it now espoused the revolutionary ideology of Bolshevism.

Starting with the October 1919 issue, the *Crusader* became the official mouthpiece of the ABB, which at the time functioned clandestinely as the CPUSA's first black auxiliary. In keeping with the group's ideological position, Briggs emerged during 1921 and 1922 as the most outspoken critic of the leadership of Marcus Garvey, against whom he supplied some of the critical evidence that would lead eventually to the federal government's successful prosecution of Garvey for mail fraud.

When the *Crusader* ceased publication in early 1922, Briggs set about organizing the Crusader News Agency. In February 1924, he was involved in the formation of the Negro Sanhedrin movement, under the leadership of Kelly Miller, with the aim of creating a federation of black organizations. Briggs had by this time become a full-time functionary of the CPUSA. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s,

he was actively involved in organizing a succession of black auxiliaries of the CPUSA, most notably the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. In December 1929 he was made editor of the *Harlem Liberator,* the official organ of the ANLC.

Briggs was also directly involved in planning and implementing the CPUSA's role in the defense campaign of the famous Scottsboro Case in the early thirties. But in 1938, after becoming embroiled in a dispute with James W. Ford, the leading black figure in the CPUSA at the time, Briggs was expelled from the party, along with Richard B. Moore and Otto Hall, for an alleged "Negro nationalist way of thinking." In 1944 Briggs moved to Los Angeles, where he rejoined the Communist Party in 1948. During the fifties, he was employed as an editor with the *Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch.*

See also African Blood Brotherhood; Communist Party of the United States; Ford, James W.; Garvey, Marcus; New Negro; Red Summer; Scottsboro Case

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ROBERT A. HILL (1996)

Brimmer, Andrew Felton

September 13, 1926

Born in Newellton, Louisiana, economist Andrew F. Brimmer attended high school in Louisiana before moving to Bremerton, Washington, in 1944. Shortly thereafter, he joined the U.S. Army and served in Hawaii from 1945 until 1946. Subsidized by the GI Bill, Brimmer was able to attend the University of Washington; he received his B.A. in 1950 and his M.A. in 1951. As a Fulbright fellow, Brimmer traveled to India during 1951 and 1952 for a year of postgraduate work at the University of Bombay. Returning to the United States, he completed a Ph.D. in economics at Harvard University in 1957.

Brimmer began his career as an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1955–58). During his time at the bank, he was one of the several economists sent to the Sudan in late 1956 and early 1957 to aid the Sudanese in establishing a central bank. Brimmer then taught at Michigan State University (1958–1961) and at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business (1961–1966). President John F. Kennedy appointed Brimmer as a deputy assistant secretary of commerce for economic policy in 1963; two years later, he became assistant secretary for economic affairs. In 1966 President Lyndon B. Johnson named him to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Bank. The first black member of the board, Brimmer was an expert on international monetary issues. While at the Federal Reserve, he consistently advocated a tight monetary policy, favoring the restriction of the money supply and interest rates in order to control inflation. Serving only half of his fourteen-year term, Brimmer resigned in 1974 to take a teaching position at Harvard's Graduate School of Business. Two years later, he left Harvard and founded Brimmer and Company, Inc., an economic consulting firm in Washington, D.C.

A prolific writer, Brimmer has authored numerous books and articles on various economic topics, ranging from public utilities to international trade and finance. Since 1978 he has regularly contributed "Economic Perspectives" articles in *Black Enterprise*. In his writings Brimmer has consistently argued that the disparity in income between whites and blacks results only in part from differences in educational achievement; underlying the differential, he says, is persistent racial discrimination, which "hampers access" for African Americans to higher-paying jobs. At the same time, he has contended that other problems afflicting the African-American community, such as the high rate of teenage pregnancy and the high rate of unemployment among young black people, result mainly from behavior instead of outside forces such as the economy. A proponent of encouraging African Americans to look beyond small business to larger markets and increased capitalization, he took part in President Bill Clinton's economic summit in December 1992.

Brimmer has served on the boards of numerous corporations and organizations, including United Air Lines, Du Pont, and the Tuskegee Institute. He has twice been president of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, been cochairman of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, and is a member of many professional organizations. Among the many honors Brimmer has received are awards from the National Economic Association, One Hundred Black Men, and the New York Urban Coalition.

In 1995, Brimmer was named by President Bill Clinton to head a five-person financial control board that

helped steer the District of Columbia through a severe financial crisis. A decade later, Brimmer continued to serve as president of Brimmer & Company, his economic and financial consulting firm based in Washington, D.C.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

British West Indian Emancipation Act

See Slave Trade

Broadside Press

The Broadside Press, one of the most influential black presses to emerge during the black arts movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, began operation in 1965 in an attempt to secure copyright privileges to "Birmingham Ballad," a song commemorating the bombing deaths of four young black children at a Birmingham, Alabama, church in September 1963. Located originally in the Detroit home of its founder, poet Dudley F. Randall, Broadside quickly grew in size, requiring larger offices and attracting manuscripts from black artists across the country. The press was particularly successful in publishing poets, many of whom explored the characteristic black arts movement themes of self-pride and anger against white-dominated institutions.

After publishing such poets as Gwendolyn Brooks, Nikki Giovanni, and Audre Lorde, Haki Madhubuti, Sonia Sanchez, and others, Broadside suffered reverses during the recession of the mid-1970s. By 1975, Broadside's tenth anniversary, operations at the press had to be scaled back. Its finances were in poor condition, forcing Randall to put the press up for sale. In 1977 Randall sold Broadside to the Alexander Crummell Memorial Center, an activist organization within the Episcopal Church.

After several years, however, Randall regained control. He sold the press again in 1985, this time to Detroit schoolteacher and poet Hilda Vest and her husband, Donald, who became the editors and publishers. During the late 1980s and 1990s the press concentrated on helping Detroit poets and authors publish and distribute their works. It also continued the tradition of featuring the work of poets of the black arts movement by publishing its Broadside Classics series. Randall died in 2000.

See also Black Arts Movement; Brooks, Gwendolyn Elizabeth; Giovanni, Nikki; Lorde, Audre; Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.); Sanchez, Sonia

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brodber, Erna

April 20, 1940

Jamaican writer Erna May Brodber was born in the village of Woodside, St. Mary, to parents Ernest and Lucy Brodber, a farmer and a teacher. Among her earliest influences were the rich cultural life, social activism, and deep community involvement cultivated by her parents. Brodber brings to her craft a wealth of expertise honed in various fields: She has worked as a teacher, scholar, researcher, civil servant, and community activist. Her writing and prodigious scholarship span the disciplines of history, sociology, anthropology, and literature. Firmly refusing the ruling concept of the Caribbean as Creole, mixed, or hybrid, she reflects in her oeuvre a preoccupation with Africans in the diaspora. This enterprise is part of what Brodber calls "the re-engineering of blackspace" (Brodber,

1999/2000, p. 153), a spiritual and cultural ground from which people of African ancestry reflect upon and reconstruct their place in the world. The range and depth of Brodber's intellectual and activist work derive from her insistence on "completing the emancipation process. [T]he part of the task awaiting the intellectual worker is the development of a philosophy, of creeds, of myths, of ideologies, of pegs on which to hang social and spiritual life, the construction of frames of reference" (p. 157). An important component of this task is an engagement with the past through what can be defined as a critical remembrance.

Even as Brodber consciously looks to the past for fresh moral insights, her body of work establishes new coordinates of memory, history, and of knowledge itself. In the field of social history she starts from the premise that the mental and imaginative powers of those "from below" are important to an understanding of their own lives and of society more broadly. Brodber therefore incorporates their language and thought in the conceptual world of her scholarship. Crucial texts include *Life in Jamaica in the Early Twentieth Century: A Presentation of Ninety Oral Accounts* (1980), "Oral Sources and the Creation of a Social History in the Caribbean" (1983), and "Afro-Jamaican Women at the Turn of the Century" (1986). Her fiction reveals that she also sees as urgent the task of infiltrating the dominant narratives whose roots are to be found in colonial slavery and whose tentacles continue to shape the present. For example, Brodber's critical analysis and reconstruction of European accounts of the African-derived religious system of Myal is an important dimension of her 1988 novel of the same name. In *Louisiana* (1994) the so-called native informant captures the academically trained anthropologist and her equipment, transforming both observer and her methods into instruments that tell the collective history. Combining the use of oral sources with a willful reading of written history, Brodber brings to book its power and assumed morality, challenging it on its own terms and questioning conventional notions of reality.

The construction of black West Indian womanhood is yet another significant strand of Brodber's fiction and nonfiction. She pays particular attention to the social framework from which various aspects of female identity take their shape. The form of her first novel, *Jane and Louisa Will Soon Come Home* (1980), both weaves and unweaves the historical and linguistic conditions that create, entrap, and finally provide the sources of liberation for the story's protagonist. In *Perceptions of Caribbean Women: Towards a Documentation of Stereotypes* (1982), Brodber searches the colonial chronicles as well as postslavery and postindependence documents to unearth the formation of key ideas about West Indian women. Erna Brodber's wide-ranging literary, intellectual, and social efforts make a distinctive contribution to the understanding of the black experience in the Americas.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean and Latin America

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Toni Cade Bambara's *The Salt Eaters.*" In *Caribbean Women Writers: Essays from the First International Conference*, edited by Selwyn R. Cudjoe. Wellesley, Mass.: Calaloux Publications, University of Massachusetts Press, 1990.

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VERONICA MARIE GREGG (2005)

Brooke, Edward W.

October 26, 1919

The first popularly elected African-American member of the Senate when he entered that body in 1966, Edward William Brooke III served two terms as an independent Republican and distinguished himself as a proponent of civil rights legislation.

Brooke was born in Washington, D.C., to Edward William Brooke, a lawyer, and Helen Seldon Brooke. He gained his education first at Dunbar High School and later at Howard University, where he completed a bachelor of science degree in 1941, the same year in which his Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) obligations called him to active combat duty after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. During World War II Brooke served behind enemy lines in Italy and later defended soldiers in court-martial cases. This last experience inspired him to enter Boston University Law School on his return to the United States in 1945.

In 1962 Brooke won election as Massachusetts attorney general after three unsuccessful previous campaigns for public office. In that position he quickly attracted both local and national attention by aggressively prosecuting corrupt politicians and their cohorts outside of government. As a liberal Republican Brooke helped lead the failed opposition to the nomination of archconservative Barry Goldwater at the 1964 party convention. He remained neutral in the following general election.

In the senatorial elections in 1966 the voters of Massachusetts chose Brooke and his moderate program. After the ghetto riots of the following summer, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed the freshman senator to the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, a position that led him to champion and steer through Congress one of the commission's primary recommendations: the guarantee of open housing contained in the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Despite Brooke's advocacy of such legislation, he frequently encountered criticism from civil rights movement leaders when he disagreed with their positions on issues or their tactics.

Brooke supported Republican nominee Richard Nixon's victorious 1968 and 1972 presidential campaigns, notwithstanding the deep differences between the two men. They were on opposite sides of such issues as the pace of racial integration, the Vietnam War, economic policy, and the arms race. Their greatest conflict came, however, in 1969–1970, when Brooke helped defeat two successive Nixon nominees to the U.S. Supreme Court: Judges Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., and G. Harrold Carswell. After these fights Brooke and his fellow senators unanimously approved Nixon's third proposed High Court member, Judge Harry Blackmun. Brooke won a landslide victory in his 1972 reelection bid, and in the wake of the revelations of the Watergate scandal he became the first Republican to call on President Nixon to resign. After Brooke lost his seat in an attempt for a third term in 1978, he returned to the practice of law, first in Boston and later in Washington, D.C.

Brooke also served on the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (1981–1983). During the 1990s he was criticized for alleged ethical lapses as a lobbyist for Massachusetts developers with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In 2003 Brooke was diagnosed with breast cancer—rare among men—and was treated for it. In 2004 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's top civilian honor for accomplishments in culture, politics, science, sports, and business.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Politics in the United States

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Brooks, Gwendolyn

June 7, 1917
December 3, 2000

Taken to Topeka, Kansas, to be born among family, poet, novelist, teacher, and reader/lecturer Gwendolyn Elizabeth Brooks was reared in Chicago, where she continued to reside. In her autobiography, *Report from Part One* (1972), she describes a happy childhood spent in black neighborhoods with her parents and younger brother, Raymond. "I had always felt that to be black was good," Brooks observes. School awakened her to preferences for light skin among blacks, the "black-and-tan motif" noted in her earlier works by critic Arthur P. Davis.

Brooks's father, David Anderson Brooks, was the son of a runaway slave, a janitor with "rich Artistic Abilities" who had spent a year at Fisk University in Nashville, hoping to become a doctor, and who sang, told stories, and responded compassionately to the poverty and misfortune around him; her mother, Keziah Wims Brooks, had been a fifth-grade teacher in Topeka and harbored a wish to write. They nurtured their daughter's precocious gifts. When the seven-year-old Gwendolyn began to write poetry, her mother predicted, "You are going to be the *lady* Paul Laurence Dunbar." Years later, Mrs. Brooks took her daughter to meet James Weldon Johnson and then Langston Hughes at church. Hughes became an inspiration, friend, and mentor to the young poet.

Brooks graduated from Wilson Junior College (now Kennedy-King) in 1936. She was employed for a month as a maid in a North Shore home and spent four months as secretary to a spiritual adviser (see the "prophet Williams" section of the poem "In the Mecca"). In 1939 she married Henry Lowington Blakely II, a poet, writer, and fellow member of Inez Cunningham Stark's poetry workshop in the South Side Community Art Center. The marriage lasted fifty-seven years, until Blakely's death in 1996. Motherhood (Henry Jr., 1940; Nora, 1951), early publishing (*A Street in Bronzeville,* 1945), warm critical reception, careful supervision of her career by her editor at Harper's, and a succession of honors and prizes helped Brooks overcome her reticence about public speaking.

The first African American (or "black," her articulated preference) to win a Pulitzer Prize, for poetry (*Annie Allen,* 1950), Brooks also received two Guggenheim Fellowships. Upon the death of Carl Sandburg in 1968, she was named the poet laureate of Illinois. She was the first black woman to be elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1976); to become consultant in poetry to the Library of Congress (1985–1986, just before the title was

Gwendolyn Elizabeth Brooks. *Best known for her intense poetic portraits of urban African Americans, Brooks was the first black American to receive a Pulitzer Prize for Poetry.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

changed to poet laureate); to become an honorary fellow of the Modern Language Association; and to receive the Poetry Society of America's Shelley Memorial Award and its Frost Medal. She was elected to the National Women's Hall of Fame and given the National Endowment for the Arts Lifetime Achievement Award in 1989. Named the Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities (1994), she also received the National Medal of Arts (1995). In Illinois, the junior high school at Harvey, the Cultural Center at Western Illinois University, and both the Center for Black Literature and Creative Writing and a chair as Distinguished Professor of English at Chicago State University all bear her name. On June 6, 2003, at a ceremony in Springfield, Illinois, the Gwendolyn Brooks Illinois State Library was dedicated. The number of her honorary doctorates exceeds seventy.

Brooks's work is notable for its impeccable craft and its social dimension. It marks a confluence of a dual stream: the black sermonic tradition and black music, and white antecedents such as the ballad, the sonnet, and conventional and free-verse forms. Influenced early by Hughes, T. S. Eliot, Emily Dickinson, and Robert Frost,

she was propelled by the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s into Black Nationalist consciousness. Yet her poetry has always been infused with both humanism and heroism, the latter defined as extending the concept of leadership by both personality and art. In 1969 she moved to Dudley Randall's nascent, historic Broadside Press for the publication of *Riot* and subsequent works.

Brooks's books span six decades of social and political changes. *A Street in Bronzeville* addresses the quotidian realities of segregation for black Americans at home and in World War II military service; *Annie Allen* ironically explores postwar antiromanticism; *Maud Martha,* her novel (1953), sketches a bildungsroman of black womanhood; *Bronzeville Boys and Girls* (1956) presents sturdy, home-oriented black children of the 1950s; *The Bean Eaters* (1960) and new poems in *Selected Poems* (1963) sound the urgencies of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1967, at the Second Fisk University Writers' Conference at Nashville, Brooks was deeply impressed by the activist climate, personified by Amiri Baraka. Though she had always experimented with conventional forms, her work subsequently opened more distinctly to free verse, a feature of the multiform *In the Mecca* (1968), which Haki R. Madhubuti calls "her epic of Black humanity" (*Report from Part One,* p. 22).

Upon returning to Chicago from the conference at Fisk, Brooks conducted a workshop with the Blackstone Rangers, a teenage gang, who were succeeded by young writers such as Carolyn M. Rodgers and Madhubuti (then don l. lee). Broadside published *Riot* (1969), *Family Pictures* (1970), *Aloneness* (1971), and *Beckonings* (1975). Madhubuti's Third World Press published *The Tiger Who Wore White Gloves* (1974) and *To Disembark* (1981). In 1971 Brooks began a literary annual, *The Black Position,* under her own aegis, and made the first of her two trips to Africa. Beginning with *Primer for Blacks* (1980), she published with her own company *The Near-Johannesburg Boy* (1986), the omnibus volume *Blacks* (1987), *Gottschalk and the Grande Tarantelle* (1988), and *Winnie* (1988, a poem honoring Winnie Mandela). Her books are being reissued by Third World Press. The poems of *Children Coming Home* (1991) express the perspectives of contemporary children and may be contrasted with the benign ambience of the earlier work, *Bronzeville Boys and Girls*. *Report from Part Two* (1996) presents the second part of her autobiography. *In Montgomery and Other Poems* (2003), which the poet meticulously prepared, was published posthumously.

After a brief hospital stay, where she was diagnosed with cancer, Brooks died at home in Chicago on Sunday, December 3, 2000, surrounded by family and friends. Her personal papers are archived at the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library.

Brooks supported and promoted the creativity of other writers. Her annual Poet Laureate Awards distributed considerable sums of her own money, chiefly to the schoolchildren of Illinois. She visited prisons, where her readings inspired poets such as the late Etheridge Knight. Lauded with affectionate respect in two tribute anthologies, recognized and mourned nationally and internationally as a major literary figure, Brooks continues to claim and to vivify U.S. democratic heritage.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Literature of the United States; Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.); Poetry, U.S.

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D. H. MELHEM (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), organized in secret on August 25, 1925, became the first successful African-American labor union. From its inception in 1867, the Pullman Company had employed black porters because company officials believed their subservience could be depended upon and because they would work for low wages. Pullman thereby created an occupation over

which African Americans had a monopoly. While steady employment and travel experience made porters the elite of black labor, they were not unionized and were often exploited and underpaid. Capitalizing on the fact that he was not a porter and hence could not be fired, socialist journalist A. Philip Randolph seized on the porters' complaints, educated them about collective bargaining and the value of trade unionism, and began organizing them in 1925. The question of unionization to the average porter, however, meant a choice between steady, albeit low, pay and reprisals by the company, so organizing had to be carried on covertly and employees' wives were often utilized for the job. Loyal assistants, such as Milton P. Webster in Chicago, Ashley Totten and Benjamin McLauren in New York, C. L. Dellums in Oakland, and E. J. Bradley in St. Louis, took care of the daily details and organizing while Randolph obtained outside publicity and funding.

Porters had legitimate complaints, working long hours for little pay. They made the railroad car ready, assisted with luggage, waited on passengers, converted seats into beds that they then made up, polished shoes, and remained on call twenty-four hours a day. Nevertheless, because they had been inculcated with the idea of company benevolence, and because of their fear of reprisal, most porters were reluctant to jeopardize their jobs by joining the union. Many did not understand the difference between the company union, the Employee Representation Plan (ERP), and a trade union like the BSCP.

Still, despite obstacles, BSCP membership increased, and Pullman attempted to undermine its success with a series of retaliatory measures, including frame-ups, beatings, and firings. The company had previously dealt with labor unions, but now resisted bargaining with African Americans as equals. Company propaganda identified Pullman as a benefactor of African Americans, which led many prominent blacks to oppose the BSCP. Organized labor was anathema to others because they believed, with justification, that black workers were discriminated against by white unions.

Although initially opposed to its craft-union stance, Randolph began taking a more conciliatory tone toward the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in his writings as early as 1923. After he began organizing the porters, Randolph continually sought the advice of William Green, head of the AFL. The BSCP first applied for an international charter from the AFL in 1928. Because of jurisdictional disputes with white unions, most likely prompted by racism, the AFL refused the international charter, granting instead federal charters to individual locals. Brotherhood officials were unhappy with federal status, but the weak BSCP needed the support of the AFL. For his part, Green, concerned about communist infiltration of black labor, considered the BSCP an acceptable alternative, not only to communism but also to masses of African-American laborers remaining outside the federation, where they acted as potential strikebreakers.

Realizing that the success of the union ultimately depended on its ability to correct grievances and provide job security, Randolph employed various strategies to force the company to the bargaining table. First, in 1926 he attempted to bring the dispute before the federal Board of Mediation under the Watson-Parker Railway Labor Act. Although the board recommended arbitration, under the act arbitration was voluntary and the company demurred. Second, believing that depending on tips was a degrading practice and because the uncertainty of the amount to be expected was one of the porters' primary grievances, Randolph brought the tipping system before the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1927. A ruling prohibiting tipping in interstate travel would have compelled a wage increase, but the ICC ultimately decided it did not have jurisdiction. Thus the BSCP was forced to call a strike in 1928, but, accustomed to finding jobs as strikebreakers, African Americans knew other blacks would be eager to take what many considered a plush position and consequently were reluctant to actually walk off the job. In response to a rumor that Pullman had nearly five thousand Filipinos ready to take the places of brotherhood members, William Green advised Randolph to postpone the strike.

After the aborted strike, membership dropped and the BSCP almost ceased to exist. The more favorable labor legislation under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, however—especially passage of the amended Railway Act of 1934, which outlawed company unions—revived the BSCP. Although Pullman responded by replacing its ERP with the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, the situation for labor had changed. The AFL granted the brotherhood an international charter in 1935. After twelve years the Pullman Company finally signed a contract with the BSCP on August 25, 1937, bringing improved working conditions and some $2 million in income to the porters and their families.

Beginning with the 1932 AFL convention, Randolph started denouncing racism within the federation and attacking federal unions designed for African Americans. Although well disposed to John L. Lewis and the industrial unionism of the unions that left the AFL in 1937 to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Randolph—who had long advocated industrial unions—held the BSCP in the AFL, saying he thought it wiser to remain and fight for equality than to leave and let the federation

African-American railroad porters pictured at the International Headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) in Harlem, 1944. *The BSCP, organized secretly in 1925, survived more than a decade of opposition (including that of many black porters who feared the loss of their jobs) to win significant concessions from the Pullman Company in 1937, becoming the first successful African-American labor union in the United States.* HERBERT GEHR/GETTY IMAGES

continue its racist policies undisturbed. BSCP officers contented themselves with trying to prevent the split in the union movement and later working for reunification, but competition from the CIO forced the AFL to a more egalitarian position on racial equality. When the two federations merged in 1955, Randolph became a vice president of the newly created AFL-CIO, and the BSCP became instrumental in pushing the combined federation to financially back civil rights activity.

Not only did the BSCP successfully negotiate a series of favorable wage agreements between Pullman and its porters through the years, but the union provided support for civil rights activity by contributing its labor and some 50,000 dollars to Randolph's various equality movements as well. By the fall of 1940, fueled by defense contracts, the American economy was beginning to emerge from the Great Depression. But because of racial discrimination, African Americans found themselves locked out of the new job opportunities opening in defense industries. Randolph, backed by the brotherhood, threatened a march on Washington of one hundred thousand blacks the following July 1, to demand jobs in defense plants and integration of the armed forces. While integration of the military was not achieved, the Roosevelt administration was sufficiently concerned to issue Executive Order 8802 in June 1941, creating the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) in exchange for cancellation of the march. Although weak, the FEPC did provide job training and economic improvement for many African Americans. In 1948 the porters' union assisted, albeit more reluctantly, Randolph's threat of a black boycott of universal military training; the Truman administration capitulated with

integration of the military by Executive Order 9981. The BSCP supported Randolph's prayer pilgrimage in 1957, marches in Washington for integrated schools in 1958 and 1959, and the march on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. (Many organizers for the BSCP went on to assume important roles in the civil rights movement, such as E. D. Nixon, who played an instrumental part in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–1956.)

BSCP officers realized early on the threat to Pullman travel presented by the rise of commercial aviation; the drop was precipitous after World War II, with the porters becoming a diminished and aging group. Bowing to the decline of the railroad industry, in 1978 the BSCP merged with the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. The brotherhood, however, had served its members well. Although porters were often absent from home because of long runs and usually missed holidays as well, the brotherhood helped the porters' domestic situation by providing job security, higher wages, and improved working conditions. Furthermore, during its heyday, under Randolph's leadership the BSCP became more than an instrumentality of service to the porters. From its inception in 1929 Randolph utilized the union's organ, the *Black Worker,* in the fight against communism, to educate porters to fight for civil rights, and to cajole them to abide by such middle-class virtues as thrift, cleanliness, and abstinence from alcohol. He organized the porters' wives into a Ladies' Auxiliary and their children into Junior Auxiliaries. The union thus encircled its members' lives and built their self-esteem. Trained in trade-union methods of collective bargaining, porters refused to beg for favors from the white power structure. Hence, the BSCP stimulated black participation in unions and fought to end discrimination in organized labor. The BSCP left an important legacy to both organized labor and the struggle for civil rights.

See also Labor and Labor Unions; Randolph, Asa Philip

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PAULA F. PFEFFER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brown, Andrew Benjamin

May 12, 1857
January 9, 1939

"It was not possible to know him and not to love him; those who loved him were many—of all races and in all walks of life," said Justice Sir Donald Jackson (as quoted in Campbell-Brown, foreword) of the Honorable Andrew Benjamin Brown, barrister-at-law and member of British Guiana Court of Policy and Combined Court. Brown was born in Den Amstel Village, West Coast Demerara, of an African-Guianese mother and a Barbadian father. He became a schoolmaster, member of the bar and Combined Court, and a businessman. After an early education under the tutelage of missionaries of the London Missionary Society in West Coast Demerara, he became a pupil teacher, entered Bishops' College, Georgetown, and trained as a schoolmaster. He was the headmaster of St. Mark's Scots School, LaRetraite, West Bank Demerara, in 1887 when a dispute over his pay ended in court. Brown's victory prompted him to proceed to England to enter the Middle Temple, University of London, as a law student.

After being called to the bar of the Middle Temple in July 1890, Brown returned home that year and opened a law firm. He was the first Guianese to qualify as a barrister. On August 30, 1904, he married Edith M. Campbell. He was actively involved in the Salem Congregational Church and School in Lodge, Greater Georgetown, becoming the school's manager. For many years Brown was the legal adviser of the British Guiana Congregational Union, and in 1921 he was elected its chairman. He gained prominence by successfully representing clients of all races, especially in rural courts in accident cases against the Demerara Railway Company. He also played a leading role in the aftermath of the colony's 1905 civil unrest and the indictment of the chief inspector of police, Colonel Lushington, for the shooting of a citizen.

Brown was also an entrepreneur and an early investor in the fledgling gold-mining industry from the 1890s to

the 1920s. He financed many prospecting crews to the Mazaruni and Cuyuni hinterland mining regions as an absentee proprietor. In 1895 he became a part owner of Plantation Middlesex, No.2 Canal Polder, West Coast Demerara, where coffee and cocoa were planted. By 1910 he was also investing in the coconut and sugar industries.

When Brown returned to the colony in 1890 from the United Kingdom, the People's Reform Party, formed by African Guianese to challenge the dominance of white planters in the legislature, had already been founded. Brown joined the People's Reform Party and was selected as the party's candidate in the 1896 general elections. He won the West Coast Demerara seat and became the first "pure" African Guianese to gain a seat in the Court of Policy, the premier chamber of the legislature. He won the second election and returned unopposed on three successive occasions, serving for twenty-five years altogether. He earned the title "Father of the Court."

Among Brown's contributions were the opening of the Colonial Civil Service to all races and classes by means of an examination. Previously, civil service jobs had been filled primarily by Europeans regardless of suitable qualifications. He also ensured that the 1876 law on Compulsory Education in Primary Schools was enforced. He spearheaded the bill for the appointment of district education officers, resulting in a marked improvement in school attendance. He was also at the helm of the bill passed to prevent the employment of mostly East Indian children below twelve years of age on sugar estates. Brown was an advocate for changes in the conditions under which police and postal workers were employed, and he was able to gain improved transportation and living arrangements and increased allowances for them.

After the British Guiana Teachers Association (BGTA), formed in 1852, was resuscitated in the 1890s, an honorary life membership was conferred on him because of his consistent legislative struggles and gains for education. He had helped frame the association's constitution and rules, and he presented the BGTA's petitions to the Court of Policy. He also advocated that village councils, elected by the villagers themselves, should run the affairs of their communities. Thus, he introduced legislation to organize councils and to fix the boundaries of villages, giving birth to the Village Council Ordinance and the Annual Village Chairman's Conference. In 1912 he also served as a member of the Georgetown Town Council. Additionally, the issue of importing labor migrants, mostly Africans and East Indians, was ongoing in Guiana, and in 1919 he was part of an unsuccessful colonization deputation in England seeking to continue the labor migrant policy.

Monday, April 10, 1922, was a momentous day in Den Amstel Village, West Coast Demerara. Electors of the Western Division of Electoral District No.1 Demerara presented Brown with an address and a souvenir to express their appreciation for his public service as a member of the Court of Policy for twenty-five years from 1896 to 1921. The address was subsequently hung on the wall of the Negro Progress Convention Hall (NPC), an African-Guianese organization, similar to the League of Coloured Peoples. The souvenir, a silver salver, is in the Guyana Museum. The souvenir is inscribed: "Presented to A.B. Brown, MCP, 1896–1921. By the Electors of Western Division, Demerara and Friends. April 10, 1922."

The Den Amstel branch of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) also used the occasion to express its pleasure for the part Brown had played in its formation thirty-five years previously and his active support ever since. In addition, the Lodge Young People's Improvement Association thanked him for being its patron from its inception in 1916 and for his interest in its welfare, and it tendered "sincere congratulations to A. B. Brown for such an illustrious public career." In 1922 King George V of England agreed to allow Brown to retain the title "Honourable" for life.

See also Politics

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Brown, Charlotte Hawkins

June 11, 1883
January 10, 1961

One of the premier educators of her day, Charlotte Hawkins Brown was also a key figure in the network of southern African-American clubwomen who were active in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Brown was born Lottie Hawkins in Henderson, North Carolina. When she was five her family moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where her mother and stepfather operated a laundry and boarded Harvard students. During this period the family retained close ties with its Carolina roots.

Hawkins studied hard and was active in church and youth groups in Cambridge. She also developed an interest in art and music that became lifelong. As a high school student, Hawkins met Alice Freeman Palmer, the second president of Wellesley College, who took an immediate interest in her. Palmer was so impressed with Hawkins that she financed her education at the State Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts, where Hawkins enrolled in 1900 to earn a teaching certificate. She left school in 1901 to take a position with the American Missionary Association at a small school in North Carolina. Although the school soon closed because of inadequate funding, Hawkins determined to dedicate herself to education in her home state.

By October 1902 Hawkins had secured a donation of land, a building, and funds to open the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina. In 1909 she married Edward Brown, a graduate of Harvard, who taught at the Palmer Institute briefly before the couple separated and divorced. Over the years, under Charlotte Hawkins Brown's leadership, Palmer developed into a highly respected institution for preparatory training. From its early focus on vocational education, the school moved to a strict academic curriculum. The campus, the student body, and the faculty grew steadily, and Palmer sent many of its graduates to institutions of higher learning. Brown's work as an educator received recognition within her home state and across the country.

Brown was a key figure among black clubwomen, serving as president of the North Carolina State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. She was also active in interracial work as a member of the national board of the YWCA, and she also worked with other organizations. She campaigned against lynching and toured widely as a lecturer. She also assisted in the founding of other schools in North Carolina, including the Dobbs School for Girls and the Morrison Training School, and she helped to establish scholarship funds for the college education of African-American women.

In addition to her work as an educator and activist, Brown raised her brother's three children and three of her young cousins. She also published two works, *Mammy: An Appeal to the Heart of the South* (1919) and *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say and to Wear* (1941). Brown remained the president of the Palmer Memorial Institute until 1952 and died nine years later. Although the institute ceased operation in 1971, the state of North Carolina has kept the memory of Brown's contributions and achievements alive in a memorial to her and to her institution.

See also Education in the United States

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brown, Claude

February 23, 1937
February 2, 2002

The writer Claude Brown was born in Harlem in New York City, one of four children of a railroad worker and a domestic worker. Brown displayed behavioral problems and at age eight was sent to Bellevue Hospital for observation. By the time he was ten, he had an extensive history of truancy and expulsion and was sent to the Wiltwyck School, a school for emotionally disturbed boys, and then to the Warwick reform school. After his release Warwick, Brown performed a series of odd jobs and enrolled in night courses at Washington Irving High School. He graduated in 1957 and returned to Harlem, where he sold cosmetics and played piano for a living. In 1959 he won a

grant from the Metropolitan Community Methodist Church to study government at Howard University, which awarded him a B.A. in 1965. While in his last year of college, Brown was encouraged by a mentor from the Wiltwyck School to write an article about growing up in Harlem for *Dissent* magazine. An editor at Macmillan Publishing saw the article and offered Brown an advance to write what would become his celebrated 1965 memoir, *Manchild in the Promised Land.*

The book was an uncensored account of coming of age in the turbulent setting of Harlem and was praised by critics for its honesty in its depiction of his difficult childhood. The bestseller made Brown a celebrity and interfered with his studies at Stanford University Law School. He transferred to Rutgers Law School, which he left in 1968 without obtaining his degree. In 1976, Brown's second book, *Children of Ham,* about a group of Harlem youths struggling to succeed, was published, but it failed to have the same impact as his first book.

Beginning in the 1970s, Brown worked as a freelance writer, commenting on the status of urban America. His articles were published in a number of periodicals, including the *New York Times,* the *Los Angeles Times, Esquire,* and the *New York Times Magazine.*

Brown died in 2002 from a lung condition at the age of sixty-four.

See also Literature of the United States

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KENYA DILDAY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Brown, Henry "Box"

c. 1815–?

The abolitionist Henry "Box" Brown was born a slave on a plantation near Richmond, Virginia. As a young man, he worked in a tobacco factory in Richmond. As an adult, the sale of his wife and three children to a North Carolina clergyman in 1848 provoked him to attempt an audacious escape. In March 1849 he had himself crated in a wooden box and shipped to Philadelphia via Adams Express. He survived the torturous twenty-seven-hour journey and created a sensation when news of his escape reached the public.

After his escape, Brown took his salary and his "box" on the antislavery lecture circuit. The threat of slavecatchers, heightened by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, compelled him to leave the United States for England in the fall of 1850. To enhance his antislavery presentations, he commissioned a panorama entitled "Mirror of Slavery." Boston artists painted several thousand square feet of canvas to illustrate slave life in the South and Brown's dramatic escape to freedom. With his panorama, and a narrative published in 1851, Brown became a well-known abolitionist lecturer during his four years in England.

See also Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slavery

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brown, H. "Rap"

See Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah (Brown, H. "Rap")

Brown, James

May 3, 1933

Singer and songwriter James Joe Brown Jr. was born near Barnwell, South Carolina, to Joe Brown, a turpentine worker, and Susan Behlings. After his mother left the family when the boy was four years of age, Brown spent his formative years in a brothel run by his aunt Handsome Washington in Augusta, Georgia. After the authorities closed the brothel in 1943, he lived with his aunt Minnie

Walker, receiving occasional tutoring on drums and the piano from neighbors and showing early promise on the harmonica and organ. He absorbed the music of the black church and of the minstrel shows that passed through Augusta, he heard the blues his father learned in the turpentine camps, and he listened to pop music on the radio. Fascinated by "soundies" (filmed musical numbers that preceded the feature at movie theaters), he paid close attention to those of Louis Jordan and His Tympany Five, who performed jump blues and novelty songs with great showmanship. Singing Jordan's "Caldonia," Brown entered and won local talent contests while not yet in his teens. At thirteen he formed the Cremona Trio, his first musical group, performing the songs of such rhythm-and-blues artists as Jordan, Amos Milburn, Wynonie Harris, Charles Brown, and the Red Mildred Trio.

These early musical endeavors were cut short when Brown's habit of stealing clothes and other items from unlocked automobiles earned him a harsh eight- to sixteen-year prison sentence, which he began serving at Georgia Juvenile Technical Institute (GJTI) in Rome, Georgia, in 1949. In GJTI, he formed a gospel quartet with three other inmates, including Johnny Terry, who would later become one of the original Famous Flames. After serving three years, he was paroled in Toccoa, the small town in northeast Georgia to which GJTI had been moved. He soon formed a gospel group with several youthful Toccoa musicians, including Bobby Byrd, a talented keyboard player, who would remain a central figure in James Brown's musical endeavors into the early 1970s.

The fledgling gospel group soon began playing rhythm and blues and performed for dances and in small clubs throughout eastern Georgia and neighboring areas of South Carolina until Little Richard's manager induced them to come to the vital music scene centered in Macon, Georgia. At a Macon radio station, the group, soon to be known as the Famous Flames, recorded a demo of "Please, Please, Please," which attracted the attention of Cincinnati-based King records. Rerecorded in Cincinnati and released in 1956, the song eventually climbed to number six on the rhythm-and-blues record chart. During the next two years, Brown sought to duplicate the success of "Please," essaying a number of rhythm-and-blues styles and occasionally imitating the differing approaches of Little Richard and King labelmates Hank Ballard and the Midnighters and the Five Royales. In 1958, with the recording of "Try Me," a pleading ballad steeped in gospel, he achieved the number one position on the rhythm-and-blues chart and began to realize his own distinctive style.

Brown soon became a headliner at Harlem's Apollo Theater and toured tirelessly, playing as many as three hundred dates annually and presenting a stage revue complete with comedians, warm-up acts, dancers, and a full orchestra. As a singer, he developed a powerful shouting style that owed much to gospel, but his rhythmic grunts and expressive shrieks harked back farther still to ring shouts, work songs, and field cries. As a band leader, he developed one of the most disciplined bands in entertainment and maintained it for more than three decades. He reimported the rhythmic complexity from which rhythm and blues, under the dual pressure of rock and roll and pop, had progressively fallen away since its birth from jazz and blues. As one of the greatest vernacular dancers in rhythm and blues, he integrated the latest dance crazes with older black popular dance styles and integrated them into a seamless whole that came to be known as "the James Brown." He became one of the most exciting live performers in popular music, capping his performances with a collapse-and-resurrection routine that became his trademark.

James Brown, the "Godfather of Soul." AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

With the album *Live at the Apollo* (1963), Brown brought the excitement of his stage show to record buyers throughout the world. Through the mid-1960s, he enjoyed enormous success with such compositions as "Out of Sight" (1964), "I Feel Good (I Got You)" (1965), "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" (1965), and "Cold Sweat" (1967). These infectious, rhythmically complex dance hits propelled him to international stardom and heralded funk, his

most original and enduring contribution to popular music around the world. Dispensing almost entirely with chord changes, Brown by the late 1960s had stripped the music to its rhythmic essence. Horns, guitars, and voices—including Brown's rich assortment of grunts, groans, shrieks, and shouts—were employed percussively. Rhythmic emphasis fell heavily on the downbeat at the beginning of each measure, imparting a sense of overwhelming propulsiveness to the music while leaving ample room for complex rhythmic interplay.

From the late 1960s through the mid 1970s, Brown and his band, assisted by gifted arrangers Pee Wee Ellis and Fred Wesley, produced powerful, polyrhythmic funk music that included inspired dance tracks as heard on albums such as *Sex Machine* (1970) and *Super Bad* (1971). He also wrote inspirational political and social commentary such as the anthem of black pride "Say It Loud—I'm Black and I'm Proud" (1968). Brown also became something of a political figure; several presidential candidates sought his endorsement. Following the murder of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968, Brown helped quell riots in Boston and Washington, D.C. In 1971 he produced a single about the dangers of drug use, "King Heroin."

Although Brown's records sold well through the early 1970s, the magnitude of his accomplishment was obscured by the rise of disco. Plagued by personal problems, including the break-up of his second marriage, the death of his oldest son, a federal tax case, and troubles with his numerous business enterprises, he briefly went into semiretirement, though he never entirely stopped performing, and he recorded numerous albums during this period, including *Hot* (1976) and *Bodyheat* (1976).

In the early 1980s he staged a successful comeback. He made cameo appearances in numerous motion pictures such as *The Blues Brothers* (1980). A series of retrospective albums, including *The Federal Years* (Part 1 and 2, 1984) and *Dead on the Heavy Funk* (1985), traced the development of his music from 1956 to 1976, and he returned to extensive recording and performing. His music was also widely sampled by rap artists, though in the 1990s he became a vocal supporter of a movement to persuade rap artists to avoid obscene lyrics. In 1986 he performed "Living in America" in the film *Rocky IV* and in 1987 became one of the first performers inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

In 1988, after leading police in Georgia and South Carolina on a high-speed chase that ended when the police fired some two dozen bullets into his truck, Brown was sentenced to six years in prison for failing to stop for a police officer and aggravated assault ("I aggravated them and they assaulted me," he famously stated). Although the lengthy sentence sparked a national outcry for Brown's pardon, he remained incarcerated for more than two years, earning early release in 1991. He had further legal problems in the 1990s, including a domestic violence charge and a marijuana and illegal firearm arrest in 1998. Nevertheless, he reemerged to be seen as one of the towering figures of popular music throughout the world. His musical innovations inform rock and jazz-funk hybrids, dance pop, reggae, hip-hop, and much African and Latin popular music. Critics, formerly ignoring him, now generally recognize him as one of the most influential American musicians of the past half century. His output has been prodigious, including more than seventy albums. In 1991 he released *Star Time,* a seventy-one-song, four-CD compilation of his greatest hits, and in 2003 *50th Anniversary Collection* was released. He has also produced hundreds of recordings by other artists. In 1992 he was given an Award of Merit at the American Music Awards ceremony for lifetime achievement, and in 2003 he received a Kennedy Center Honor.

See also Apollo Theater; Little Richard (Penniman, Richard); Music; Rhythm and Blues

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BRUCE TUCKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Brown, Ronald H.

August 1, 1941
April 3, 1996

Born in Washington, D.C., to William H. and Gloria Osborne Carter Brown, Ronald Brown, a politician, graduated from Middlebury College in 1962 and joined the U.S. Army. He served from 1963 to 1967 and was discharged with the rank of captain. In 1970 he graduated from St. John's University School of Law and went to work at the National Urban League, where he served as general coun-

sel, chief Washington spokesperson, deputy executive director, and vice-president of Washington operations from 1968 to 1979. In 1980 Brown became chief counsel to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, and in 1981 he was general counsel and staff director for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

Brown joined a private law practice for the first time in 1981, when he became a partner in the Washington firm of Patton, Boggs, and Blow. His desire to return to politics was realized in 1989 when the Democrats selected him as their national chairman, the first African American to chair a major political party. Brown was assigned the task of rebuilding a dispirited party after the unsuccessful presidential campaign of 1988. His diplomacy and organizational skills were praised by both participants and observers following the 1992 Democratic National Convention in New York. In 1993 he was appointed secretary of commerce by President Bill Clinton.

Brown was a close Clinton adviser, as well as a visible and controversial figure, during his years in the Commerce Department. Though dogged by Republican charges of corruption and income tax evasion, he also was celebrated for his economic diplomacy, by which he sought to obtain trade agreements and open markets for the United States in countries such as China. On April 3, 1996, while on a trip to Croatia, Brown and his party were killed in an airplane crash.

See also National Urban League; Politics and Political Parties, U.S.

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brown, Roscoe, Jr.

March 9, 1922

Roscoe Conkling Brown Jr., educator, was born in Washington, D.C. He attended Dunbar High School, a segregated academic high school in Washington also attended by such significant black figures as William Hastie, Charles Drew, and his father, Roscoe Conkling Brown Sr. (who was to become head of the National Negro Health Movement in Roosevelt's Black Cabinet). After graduating from Dunbar in 1939, the younger Brown went to Springfield College in Massachusetts, graduating as valedictorian in 1943.

That year, Brown enlisted in the Army Air Force. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in March 1944, and in July joined the 100th Fighter Squadron in Italy. From July 1944 to May 1945 he flew sixty-eight combat missions and was credited with one of the first downings of a German jet. Near the end of the war, Brown was promoted to captain and served as squadron commander of the 100th Fighter Squadron of the 332nd Fighter Group. For his achievements in combat he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with eight oakleaf clusters.

After leaving the service, Brown worked as a social investigator for the New York Department of Welfare before accepting a position in September 1946 at West Virginia State College as a teacher and basketball coach. Two years later, he was awarded a Rosenwald Foundation grant to attend graduate school at New York University. He received a Ph.D. in education in 1951 and accepted a teaching position at NYU, where in 1964 he established and became director of the Institute for African-American Affairs, a position he held until 1977. While at NYU he wrote and edited four books, including *Negro Almanac* (1967), and hosted three major New York television series, one of which, *Black Arts,* received an Emmy Distinguished Program Award in 1973.

In 1977 Brown became president of Bronx Community College in New York, where he remained until 1993. From 1985 to 1993 he also served as president of One Hundred Black Men, helping to make the organization a major advocacy force for African Americans in New York. In the fall of 1993 he accepted a position as Director of the Center for Urban Education Policy and University Professor at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. Brown is the author of over sixty scholarly articles and serves on the board of numerous nonprofit organizations. For his scholarly and community activities, Brown has received many awards and honors, among them the NAACP Freedom Award, the Congressional Award for Service to the African-American Community, and honorary doctorates from Springfield College, the University of the State of New York, and the Regents of the State of New York.

See also Drew, Charles Richard; Hastie, William Henry; Roosevelt's Black Cabinet

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JACK SALZMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Brown, Sterling Allen

May 1, 1901
January 13, 1989

Sterling A. Brown, who expressed the humor and resilience of the black folk tradition in his poetry, teaching, and public persona, was born on the Howard University campus. Except for a few years spent elsewhere as student and teacher, he remained at Howard most of his life. His father, Sterling Nelson Brown, born a slave, became a distinguished clergyman in Washington, D.C., as pastor of the Lincoln Temple Congregational Church and professor of religion at Howard, beginning in the 1890s. Reverend Brown died shortly before his son followed his example by joining the Howard faculty in 1929, a post that he held until his retirement forty years later in 1969.

As a youngster Brown attended the Lucretia Mott School and Dunbar High School, which was generally acknowledged as the finest black high school in the country. Upon graduation Brown accepted the scholarship that Williams College in Massachusetts offered to the Dunbar valedictorian each year. At Williams he joined the debating team, earned Phi Beta Kappa membership, and became the doubles tennis partner of Allison Davis, subsequently a distinguished social scientist and University of Chicago professor. After graduating from Williams in 1922, Brown earned his master's degree in English from Harvard University the following year. Before returning to Howard in 1929, he taught for three years at Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg, for two years at Lincoln University in Missouri, and for a year at Fisk University in Nashville.

Brown achieved an enduring reputation as a poet, scholar, and teacher. His most celebrated volume of poems was *Southern Road* (1932). Unlike such Harlem Renaissance contemporaries as Claude McKay and Countee Cullen, who wrote sonnets imitating Keats and Shakespeare, Brown eschewed traditional high literary forms and subjects, preferring instead the folk-ballad form and taking common black people as his subjects. In this he was like Langston Hughes. Brown was influenced by realist and narrative poets such as A. E. Housman, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and Edgar Lee Masters, as well as by African-American folklore, blues, and work songs. The characters of Brown's poems, such as Slim Greer, Scrappy, and Old Lem, are tough, worldly, and courageous. Some are fighters and troublemakers; some are pleasure seekers or hardworking farmers; and some are victims of racist mobs. At once unsentimental and unapologetic, these characters embody the strength and forthrightness that was typical of Brown's work in every genre.

As a scholar, Brown is best remembered for two books: *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937) and *Negro Poetry and Drama* (1937). These are both exhaustive works that document the African-American presence in American literature from the beginnings to the 1930s. The former book, especially influential as the first and most thorough work of its kind, has been a foundation for all subsequent studies of blacks in American fiction. From 1936 through 1940 Brown served as national editor of Negro affairs for the Federal Writers' Project (FWP). In this position he was involved with reviewing how African Americans were portrayed in the publications of the FWP, especially the series of state guidebooks. Although the task was frustrating—especially where the Deep South states were concerned—the appointment reflected how highly Brown, not yet forty, was regarded. During this same period, Brown also edited, along with Arthur P. Davis and Ulysses Lee, *The Negro Caravan* (1941), which remains one of the most useful and comprehensive anthologies of African-American writing ever published. All in all, the 1930s was the most intensely productive decade of Brown's life.

As a teacher, Brown was broadly influential. He was a pioneer in the teaching of African-American literature, and a startling number of black writers, scholars, and political figures studied with him. Outside the classroom Brown for many years held informal listening sessions, using his own massive record collection to introduce students to jazz, the blues, and other black musical forms. Alumni of those sessions include LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka) and A. B. Spellman, both of whom subsequently wrote important books about jazz. Similarly, Stokely Carmichael and Kwame Nkrumah were students who have often acknowledged their debt to Brown. His power as a teacher derived in part from his erudition but especially from his rare ability to combine the vernacular, scholarly, and literary traditions of the United States with progressive political values and a blunt, unpretentious personal style.

Brown's literary productivity decreased after the 1940s, partly because of recurrent illnesses. He nonetheless

remained active as a guest lecturer and poetry recitalist and taught at several universities during his forty-year tenure at Howard, including Vassar College, Atlanta University, and New York University. In 1980 Michael S. Harper edited Brown's *Collected Poems,* which was awarded the Lenore Marshall Prize for the outstanding volume of poetry published in the United States that year. Brown's memoir, "A Son's Return: 'Oh, Didn't He Ramble,'" published in *Chant of Saints* (1979), recounts his early years, especially his life at Williams College, and is, despite its short length, one of the most compelling of African-American literary memoirs. Brown died in Takoma Park, Maryland.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Carmichael, Stokely; Cullen, Countee; Federal Writers' Project; Harlem Renaissance; Howard University; McKay, Claude

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Stuckey, Sterling. Introduction to *The Collected Poems of Sterling A. Brown*, edited by Michael S. Harper. New York: HarperCollins, 1980.

DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)

Brown, William Wells

c. 1814
November 6, 1884

Born in Kentucky around 1814, novelist and historian William Wells Brown was the son of a slave woman and a white relative of her owner. The diverse jobs that Brown filled as a youth gave him the rich firsthand knowledge of the slave-era South that informs his autobiographical and fictional narratives. Moreover, it was while working for a printer named Elijah Lovejoy (who was later murdered by anti-abolitionists) that he took his first halting steps toward literacy.

Brown escaped from slavery in January 1834. During his flight he received aid from an Ohio Quaker named Wells Brown, whose name he subsequently adopted in the course of defining his new identity as a free man. Brown settled in Cleveland, where he married Elizabeth Schooner, a free black who bore him three children, two of whom—Clarissa and Josephine—survived to adulthood. Brown's antislavery activities began during these years as he helped numerous fugitive slaves escape to Canada. After moving to Buffalo, he continued his participation in the Underground Railroad and also spoke publicly on behalf of abolition, women's rights, peace, and temperance. By 1847 Brown had settled in Boston, where he published *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* to considerable success.

In 1849 Brown traveled to Europe to attend the Paris Peace Congress and to solicit support for American abolition. While abroad, he delivered over a thousand speeches and wrote some of his most important work, including the first African-American travelogue, *Three Years in Europe; or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met* (1852; issued in the United States in 1855 as *The American Fugitive in Europe*). In 1853 he published in London what has long been considered the first African-American novel, *Clotel; or The President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States* (revised and reprinted three times in United States under different titles). After leaving Europe in 1854, when supporters purchased his freedom from Enoch Price, his last master, Brown turned to drama, producing the satirical *Experience; or, How to Give a Northern Man a Backbone* in 1856 and, in 1858, *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom,* the first play published by an African American.

Brown's wife had died during his European sojourn, and in 1860 he married Annie Elizabeth Gray. Meanwhile he continued his political and literary activities, supporting black recruitment efforts during the Civil War and writing *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863), ten editions of which appeared within three years. His other historical works include *The Negro in the American Rebellion: His Heroism and His Fidelity* (1867), a landmark study of blacks in the Civil War, and *The Rising Son; or The Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race* (1874). His final book—*My Southern Home; or, The South and Its People*—appeared in 1880. Brown died in 1884 after working for much of his later life as a physician in the Boston area.

If Brown's fiction is sometimes overly sentimental and structurally flawed and his histories can be insufficiently documented and repetitive, Brown's writing also manifests a sharp eye for telling detail, a skilled use of irony, and a clear, accessible prose style. Above all, he was an extraordinary pioneer; as such, he holds a crucial place in the African-American literary tradition.

See also Slave Narratives; Slavery; Underground Railroad

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RICHARD YARBOROUGH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Brown, Willie

March 20, 1934

Willie Lewis Brown Jr., a politician, was born and raised in Mineola, Texas. After graduating from high school in 1951, he moved to San Francisco, where he received a B.A. from San Francisco State University in 1955 and a J.D. from the Hastings College of Law in 1958. In 1959 Brown opened the law firm of Brown, Dearman, and Smith.

In 1964 Brown was elected to the California state assembly. In 1974 he unsuccessfully campaigned to become speaker of the assembly, but he won the post in 1980, becoming the first African American to hold one of the most powerful positions in California politics. Since then Brown has established himself as the most prominent and influential black politician in the state. Although he toned down his early, left-liberal politics when he rose to the position of speaker, Brown has consistently championed California's public education system and supported minority, gay, reproductive, and workers' rights.

Despite his credentials as a populist defender of liberal reforms, Brown has been criticized for his expensive taste in clothes and cars and his various alliances of convenience with Republican politicians and big business. As senior partner of Brown, Dearman, and Smith, his clients have included some of California's most powerful businesses, and Brown has often been charged with conflict of interest, particularly when he has endorsed tax breaks for corporations and real estate developers. In 1984 Republican opponents took advantage of Brown's image as an opportunist and autocrat by sponsoring Proposition 24, which would have significantly reduced the speaker's power, but it was rejected by the state's voters.

Brown has also been an influential figure in national Democratic politics. He served as campaign chairman and raised more than $11 million for Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign during the 1988 primary election.

In the 1990 election, Brown's tenure was limited when the state's voters passed Proposition 140, limiting members of the assembly to three two-year terms and state senators to two four-year terms. In November 1994 the Republicans gained a slim majority in the assembly. However, through a parliamentary maneuver, Brown retained his post as speaker. In 1996 he resigned his post prior to making a successful run for mayor of San Francisco.

During his tenure as mayor, Brown distinguished himself in San Francisco by construction of a new central library and by introducing plans for the conversion of the abandoned naval base at Treasure Island. In 2003 Brown left office because of term-limit provisions, but he remains one of the most influential African-American leaders in California.

See also Politics in the United States

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Brown Fellowship Society

An elite social club and mutual-aid society founded on November 1, 1790, by five free mulattoes in Charleston, South Carolina, the Brown Fellowship Society symbolized the existence of class and color consciousness within Charleston's African-American community.

Membership in the society was not to exceed fifty persons and was limited to "free brown men of good character" and their descendants who could afford the $50 membership fee. The organization maintained a clubhouse for its monthly meetings, and traditional lore claims that no person whose skin was darker than the door of the meetinghouse would be considered for membership. Many of the society's members were skilled craftsmen who had developed significant contacts with influential white Charlestonians with whom they shared upper-class interests

and values. In fact, the original founders were members of St. Philip's Episcopal Church, a predominantly white congregation. Later generations of members were associated with St. Mark's Episcopal Church, an African-American congregation with a reputation for distancing itself socially from poorer and darker-skinned black Charlestonians. This association with prominent whites was reflected in the bylaws of the organization, which prohibited the discussion of controversial religious or political subjects, such as slavery. Violations of this proscription occasionally resulted in the expulsion of the offending member.

A number of Brown Fellowship Society's members were slave owners whose treatment of their chattel property ranged from exploitation to humanitarianism. Some slaves probably benefited from paternalistic treatment by these African-American masters, but this did not prevent slaveholding members of the organization from using their wills to perpetuate the "peculiar institution" by conveying ownership of slaves to surviving members of their families.

At the same time, the Brown Fellowship Society reflected the desire of Charleston's free blacks to control important aspects of their own lives. Operating under the motto "Charity and Benevolence," the society not only provided a school for its members and their families but also subsidized the Minors' Moralist Society for the education of impoverished free black children. It paid insurance and death benefits to the widows and orphans of deceased members and oversaw the burial of dead members in a private cemetery maintained by the society. In addition, the society served as a credit union whereby members could obtain loans, at the interest rate of 20 percent, to finance home improvements, start-up costs for small businesses, or merely to pay the bills in times of financial crisis.

The organization changed its name in 1890 to the Century Fellowship Society and added a women's auxiliary (the Daughters of the Century Fellowship Society) in 1907. Although little is known of the organization's later history, it continued to operate well into the twentieth century and maintained its character as a socially exclusive institution within Charleston's African-American community. In addition, several former members, through geographical mobility or marriage, became prominent in the aristocratic circles of other cities in the United States.

See also Fraternal Orders; Masculinity; Mutual Aid Societies

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JAMES M. SORELLE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Brownsville, Texas, Incident

On the night of August 13, 1906, some 250 rounds of ammunition were fired into several buildings in Brownsville, Texas. One man was killed and two others were wounded. The townspeople's suspicions immediately fell upon the members of Companies B, C, and D of the First Battalion of the United States 25th Infantry, Colored. The African-American soldiers had arrived sixteen days before the shooting and were stationed at Fort Brown, just outside of town and near the site of the incident. Tensions between the black troops and some openly racist Brownsville residents flared. Although the soldiers and their white commander consistently denied any knowledge of the "raid," as it came to be called, subsequent investigations sustained the townspeople's opinion of their guilt.

President Theodore Roosevelt appointed an assistant inspector general to investigate. Two weeks later the inspector reported that it "can not be doubted" that the soldiers were guilty but that their white officers were not responsible. He recommended that "all enlisted men" be discharged from service because some of the soldiers "must have some knowledge of the guilty parties." Roosevelt then appointed Gen. E. A. Garlington inspector general to discover the guilty soldiers; all continued to proclaim their innocence. In his report Garlington referred to "the secretive nature of the race, where crimes charged to members of their color are made." By the end of November all soldiers in the battalion were discharged without honor from the U.S. Army because no one would point a finger at the supposed guilty parties. Those who were able to prove their innocence of participation in the raid were allowed to reenlist, and fourteen did so.

However, when an interracial civil rights organization, the Constitution League, reported to Congress that the evidence demonstrated the innocence of the soldiers, Senate hearings were held and Brownsville became a national issue. In March 1910 a Senate committee issued a majority report concluding that the shooting was done by some of the soldiers, who could not be identified, and upheld the blanket discharge of the battalion. Two minority reports were also issued. The first asserted that there was no evidence to indict any particular soldier, and that therefore there was no justification for discharging the entire battalion. The second minority report argued that the weight of the testimony showed that none of the soldiers participated in the shooting. Military courts-martial of two white officers found them not guilty of responsibility for the affray.

The incident had assumed national importance largely because Sen. Joseph Benson Foraker of Ohio charged that Theodore Roosevelt had allowed a decision based on flimsy evidence to stand. Thus, the Brownsville affray became an issue in Foraker's lengthy but ultimately unsuccessful campaign against Roosevelt for the 1908 presidential nomination.

The Brownsville incident also divided the African-American community. A split in 1905 that had resulted in the establishment of a group opposed to Booker T. Washington, the Niagara Movement, forerunner to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), sharpened appreciably. Washington's unwillingness to criticize Roosevelt publicly—although privately he tried to dissuade the president from discharging the soldiers—induced many of his previous supporters to desert him. On the Brownsville issue, the division soon became those committed to the Republican Party versus everyone else.

It is possible that some of the soldiers of the 25th Infantry were guilty of the attack; it is also possible they were not. What is clear is that the soldiers were not proved guilty. When the incident was over, Roosevelt and Washington, if not unscathed, at least survived. Foraker risked his career on a bid for the presidency and lost. The black community lapsed into political silence. The soldiers of the 25th remained penalized until 1973, when they were granted honorary discharges. Only one soldier was still alive.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; Washington, Booker T.

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ANN J. LANE (1996)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

Brown (347 U.S. 483 [1954]) was the most important legal case affecting African Americans in the twentieth century and unquestionably one of the most important Supreme Court decisions in U.S. constitutional history. Although directly involving segregated public schools, the case became the legal underpinning for the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the dismantling of all forms of statutory segregation.

Brown combined separate cases from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware that turned on the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment's requirement that states not deny their citizens "equal protection of the law." The Court also heard a similar case from Washington, D.C., *Bolling v. Sharpe,* which involved the meaning of the Fifth Amendment's due process clause.

In 1954 laws in eighteen states plus the District of Columbia mandated segregated schools, while other states allowed school districts to maintain separate schools if they wanted to do so. Although theoretically guaranteeing blacks "separate-but-equal" education, segregated schools were never equal for blacks. Linda Brown, whose father, Rev. Oliver Brown, sued the Topeka, Kansas, school system on her behalf, had to travel an hour and twenty minutes to school each way. If her bus was on time, she was dropped off at school a half hour before it opened. Her bus stop was six blocks from her home, across a hazardous railroad yard; her school was twenty-one blocks from her home. The neighborhood school her white playmates attended was only seven blocks from her home and required neither bus nor hazardous crossings to reach. The *Brown* companion cases presented segregation at its worst. Statistics from Clarendon, South Carolina, where one of the cases began, illustrate the inequality of separate but equal. In 1949 and 1950 the average expenditure for white students was 179 dollars, but for blacks it was only 43 dollars. The county's 6,531 black students attended school in 61

buildings valued at 194,575 dollars; many of these schools lacked indoor plumbing or heating. The 2,375 white students in the county attended school in twelve buildings worth 673,850 dollars, with far superior facilities. Teachers in the black schools received, on average, salaries that were one-third less than those of teachers in the white schools. Finally, Clarendon provided school buses for white students in this rural county but refused to provide them for blacks.

The plaintiffs could easily have won orders requiring state officials to equalize the black schools on the grounds that education was separate but not equal. Since the 1930s the Court had been chipping away at segregation in higher education, interstate transportation, housing, and voting. In *Brown* the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, led by Thurgood Marshall, decided to directly challenge the whole idea of segregation in schools.

Marshall's bold challenge of segregation per se led the Court to reconsider older cases, especially *Plessy v. Ferguson,* that had upheld segregation. The Court was also compelled to consider the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, which had been written at a time when most states allowed some forms of segregation and when public education was undeveloped in the South. The Court ordered attorneys for both sides to present briefs and reargument on these historical matters. In the end the Court found the historical argument to be at best inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post–Civil War amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

After reviewing the histories of the Fourteenth Amendment, public education, and segregation, Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for a unanimous Court, concluded, "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation." Warren found that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate education facilities are inherently unequal." *Brown* did not technically overturn *Plessy* (which involved seating on railroads) or the separate-but-equal doctrine. But that technicality was unimportant. *Brown* signaled the end to the legality of segregation. Within a dozen years the Supreme Court would strike down all vestiges of legalized segregation.

Brown did not, however, lead to an immediate end to segregated education. The Court instead ordered new arguments for the next year to determine how to begin the difficult social process of desegregating schools. The NAACP urged immediate desegregation. However, in a second case, known as *Brown II* (1955), the Court ordered its mandate implemented with "all deliberate speed," a process that turned out to be extraordinarily slow. Linda Brown, for example, did not attend integrated schools until junior high; none of the plaintiff children in the Clarendon County case ever attended integrated schools.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Fourteenth Amendment; Marshall, Thurgood; *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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PAUL FINKELMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bruce, Blanche Kelso

March 1, 1841
March 17, 1898

Blanche K. Bruce was the second African American to be elected to the U.S. Senate, and the first to serve an entire six-year term. Born a slave on a plantation near Farmville, Prince Edward County, Va., he enjoyed an unusually privileged upbringing. His mother, Polly, was a slave owned by Pettus Perkinson, who may have been Bruce's father. Perkinson took an interest in Bruce and allowed him to be educated by his son's tutor. While growing up, Bruce moved with Perkinson and his family several times between Virginia, Missouri, and Mississippi. By all accounts, his childhood was pleasant, comfortable, and virtually free from punishment.

Nevertheless, Bruce refused to accept his status as a slave, and he ran away to Kansas at the beginning of the

Civil War. In Lawrence, Kansas, he founded and taught in a school for black refugees. In 1864 he moved to Hannibal, Missouri, where he started the state's first school for blacks. He also apprenticed briefly to a printer. After studying at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1866, Bruce returned to Missouri to work as a porter on a steamboat.

Like many ambitious blacks and whites, Bruce recognized that the South during Reconstruction offered many opportunities for both political power and economic advancement. He settled in Mississippi in 1869 and immediately became active in the state's Republican Party. He served in a series of appointive public offices, including voter registrar for Tallahatchie County, sergeant-at-arms of the state senate, and tax assessor for Bolivar County. Gaining a reputation for honesty and efficiency, he was elected sheriff and tax collector of Bolivar County in 1871. Bruce also held positions as county superintendent of education and as a member of the district board of levee commissioners. In addition to his electoral base among black voters, he won the support of many white planters for his competence and promotion of political and economic stability. The dominant political figure in Bolivar County, Bruce also became an important landowner, with a 640-acre plantation and city lots in the county seat of Floreyville.

Mississippi's Republican-dominated legislature elected Bruce to the U.S. Senate in 1874, and he took office on March 5, 1875. He served on the Pensions, Manufactures, and Education and Labor Committees, as well as on the Select Committee on Mississippi River Improvements. As chairman of the investigating committee into the bankrupt Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, Bruce conducted an impressive inquiry into the corrupt and inept handling of nearly $57 million in deposits of former slaves. Cautious by nature and moderate politically, Bruce nevertheless often spoke and voted in defense of the rights of African Americans. At the same time, he believed that blacks were best advised to pursue advancement through education and self-help. He opposed the mass movement of African Americans from the South to Kansas, as well as efforts to promote emigration to Liberia.But he also reminded southern conservatives that the exodus was prompted by increasingly hostile conditions in the former slave states, and he sponsored legislation to aid exodusters suffering hardships in Kansas.

Bruce was cultured and intelligent, with refined manners and shrewd political judgement. In Washington, the light-skinned and sophisticated senator moved easily in elite circles, both black and white. On June 24, 1878, he married the elegant and beautiful Josephine Willson, daughter of a prominent Cleveland dentist. At first, the couple associated with the leading members of white Washington society as well as with leading blacks. However, after Bruce left the Senate in 1881, and as the color line in the capital began to harden, they had less contact with whites, becoming mainstays of Washington's African-American "aristocracy." The Bruce's only child, Roscoe Conkling Bruce (1879–1950), later became a prominent educator and manager of the famous Dunbar Apartments in Harlem.

By the end of Bruce's term in the Senate, Democrats dominated Mississippi, and no Republican could hope to win a state election. By retaining control of the state's Republican Party, however, Bruce remained an important figure in national party affairs. He served as register of the treasury under presidents James Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, and William McKinley (1881–1885 and 1897–1898), and as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia under President Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893), two of the highest patronage positions in the federal government traditionally reserved for blacks. A member of the boards of the Washington public schools and Howard University, Bruce was also a sought-after lecturer. In addition, he amassed close to 3,000 acres of land in the Mississippi Delta, and he operated a successful agency in Washington for financial investment, claims, insurance, and real estate. In 1895, Bruce was worth an estimated $150,000, making him one of the wealthiest men in the capital. Bruce died in 1898 after years of deteriorating health.

See also Politics in the United States

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DANIEL SOYER (1996)

Bruce, John Edward

February 22, 1856
August 7, 1924

Journalist and historian John Edward Bruce, who achieved a wide reputation as a journalist under the pseudonym "Bruce Grit," was born into slavery in Piscataway, Maryland. His father was sold when he was three, and Bruce and his mother were subsequently sent to Fort Washington, where his mother served as a cook for the Marines. In 1860, while following soldiers marching from Maryland to Washington, D.C., Bruce and his mother were freed. While his mother found domestic work, John Bruce was educated in local public schools and by private instructors and later took a three-month college course at Howard University.

Bruce was hired as an office assistant in the Washington, D.C., correspondent's office of the *New York Times* in 1874. Shortly afterward, he began his career as a journalist and publisher. He founded three periodicals in quick succession, a Washington weekly called the *Argus* in 1879, the *Sunday Item* in 1880, and the *Washington Grit* in 1884. He also began to write commentaries for the *New York Times* and mainstream newspapers, including the *Boston Transcript,* the *Washington Evening Star,* and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Taking the name "Bruce Grit" in 1884 for his column in the *New York Age* and the *Gazette* of Cleveland, Bruce acquired the pseudonym by which he would become widely known in his journalistic career. In addition to writing for T. Thomas Fortune's *New York Age,* Bruce also assisted *Fortune* throughout the 1890s as a member of the Afro-American League and the Afro-American Council.

In 1879 Bruce and Charles W. Anderson (Booker T. Washington's lieutenant in the New York City Republican Party) cofounded the *Chronicle* in New York City. Bruce moved to Albany, New York, in 1900 and later cofounded the *Weekly Standard* in Yonkers with Anderson in 1908. Despite his ties to the Washington camp, Bruce was an independent in the black political wars of the early nineteenth century. He was a sometime supporter of Washington's bitter opponent, William Monroe Trotter, and attended the conference that founded the Niagara Movement in 1905. Around 1908 he took a job with the Port of New York Authority to have a more consistent means of financial support than his peripatetic newspaper publishing provided.

In his articles Bruce urged black readers to take greater pride in their African ancestry. He vehemently attacked what he saw as the attempts of lighter-skinned black "aristocrats" to deny their African heritage. For instance, in an 1877 essay titled "Colored Society in Washington," Bruce ridiculed the "colored aristocracy" for avoiding the company of darker-skinned blacks and thereby creating a "color line" within the black community itself. Bruce believed that all Americans of African descent, regardless of color, ought to be called "Negro" rather than "Afro-American" or "colored." The other terms, he thought, were attempts by the "black aristocrats" to differentiate themselves from working-class darker-skinned blacks. To reinforce racial pride among black Americans, Bruce published *Short Biographical Sketches of Eminent Negro Men and Women in Europe and the United States* in 1910 and founded the Negro Society for Historical Research with Arthur Schomburg in 1911. In 1916 he published a work of fiction, *The Awakening of Hezekiah Jones,* and subsequently published such pamphlets of social commentary as *The Making of a Race* and *A Tribute for the Negro Soldier*.

A popular and powerful orator, Bruce argued for racial solidarity and self-help as the best means of combating segregation and lynching. His hopes that an Allied victory in World War I would bring African Americans greater political equality were disappointed in 1919 by the ensuing riots in East St. Louis and other cities. Bruce joined Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), sympathetic to its antipathy toward lighter-skinned African Americans and its skepticism about the prospects for civic equality in the United States. Bruce became a contributing editor for two of the UNIA's periodicals, *The Negro World* and the *Daily Negro Times.*

Bruce retired from the Port of New York Authority in 1922 and died at Bellevue Hospital.

See also Fortune, T. Thomas; Garvey, Marcus; Niagara Movement; Trotter, William Monroe; Washington, Booker T.

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated bibliography

"B. Smith"

See Smith, Barbara ("B. Smith")

Bubbles, John

February 19, 1902
May 18, 1986

The tap dancer John Bubbles, known as "the father of rhythm tap," was born John William Sublett in Louisville, Kentucky, and raised in Indianapolis. At the age of ten, he teamed up with six-year-old Ford Lee Washington (1906–1955) in an act billed as "Buck and Bubbles." Bubbles sang and danced while Buck, standing at the piano, played accompaniment. The duo won a series of amateur-night shows, and they subsequently began playing engagements in Louisville (where the two sometimes appeared in blackface), Detroit, and New York City. When Bubbles's voice changed at the age of eighteen, he focused on dancing.

Bubbles developed a new style of tapping that was spiced with extremely difficult innovations, such as double over-the-tops (normally a rough figure-eight pattern executed with the appearance of near self-tripping; Bubbles would do them with alternate legs, traveling backwards and forwards and from side to side). By 1922, Buck and Bubbles reached the pinnacle in vaudeville by playing at New York's Palace Theatre. Bypassing the black Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA) circuit, they headlined the white-vaudeville circuit from coast to coast. Their singing-dancing comedy act, in which Buck's easy piano style contrasted with Bubbles's witty explosion of taps, was featured in the *Broadway Frolics of 1922,* Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds of 1930* and the *Ziegfeld Follies of 1931.* Bubbles secured his place in Broadway history when he created the acting, singing, and dancing role of Sportin' Life in George Gershwin's opera *Porgy and Bess* in 1935.

During the 1930s, Buck and Bubbles played the London Palladium, the Cotton Club, and the Apollo Theater; they were also the first black performers to appear at Radio City Music Hall. The two broke color barriers in theaters across the country. Motion pictures in which they appeared include *Varsity Show* (1937), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), *Atlantic City* (1944), and *A Song Is Born* (1948). The duo remained together until shortly before Buck's death in 1955. On his own, Bubbles appeared with Bob Hope in Vietnam and recorded several albums, including *From Rags to Riches* (1980). After being partly paralyzed by a stroke in 1967, Bubbles made one of his final public appearances as a singer in 1980 in the revue *Black Broadway.*

Bubbles's rhythm tapping, later called "jazz tap," revolutionized dancing. Before him, dancers tapped up on their toes, emphasizing flash steps (difficult, acrobatic steps with extended leg and body movements), and danced to a quicker tempo (two beats to a bar). Bubbles cut the tempo in half, extended the rhythm beyond the normal eight beats, dropped his heels, and hit unusual accents and syncopations. "I wanted to make it more complicated, so I put more taps in and changed the rhythm," said Bubbles about his style, which anticipated both the new sound of bebop in the 1940s and the prolonged melodic line of "cool" jazz in the 1950s.

See also Apollo Theater; Cotton Club; Tap Dance

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CONSTANCE VALIS HILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn

See Blakey, Art (Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn)

Bullins, Ed

July 2, 1935

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, playwright Ed Bullins attended public schools there and received a B.A. from Antioch University in San Francisco in 1989. He did graduate work at San Francisco State University. In 1976 Columbia College in Chicago awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree. From 1952 to 1955 he served in the United States Navy.

During the 1960s on the West Coast, Bullins was one of the leaders of the black arts movement and a founder and producer from 1965 to 1967 of Black Arts/West, an African-American theater group in San Francisco. He was also a cofounder of the Black Arts Alliance and Black House, a militant cultural-political group that included Eldridge Cleaver, Huey Newton, and Bobby Seale, all three of whom later became Black Panther Party leaders. Bullins served briefly as minister of culture of the Black Panthers in California. He left Black House after a disagreement over ideology. As an artist, Bullins was interested in cultural awakening, whereas the revolutionaries thought that creative work should be incendiary enough to stir people to action. While he was on the West coast, some of his earliest plays were written and produced: *Clara's Ole Man* (1965), *Dialect Determinism* (1965), and *How Do You Do?* (1965).

At the New Lafayette Theatre in Harlem from 1968 to 1973, Bullins was playwright-in-residence and, later, associate director. He was also editor of *Black Theatre* magazine. After the New Lafayette Theatre closed, he was writer-in-residence at the American Place Theatre in 1973 and on the staff of the New York Shakespeare Festival's Writers' Unit from 1975 to 1982. Best known as a playwright, Bullins has also written fiction, poetry, and essays.

Inspired by Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), whose plays *Dutchman* and *The Slave* he saw in San Francisco during the 1960s, Bullins has written many plays on the African-American experience, dealing with ordinary African-American life and, in some cases, race relations. A pioneer interested in developing new theater forms, he writes in many styles: realism, naturalism, satire, and farce, as well as absurdist and other avant-garde methods. He has written black rituals, street-theater plays, and agitprop plays, but his main dramatic works have been what he terms "theater of reality" plays, which are mostly naturalistic.

Bullins's productivity as a playwright and his writing about the African-American experience have given him considerable influence. New York theater practitioners such as Robert Macbeth, founder and director of the now-defunct New Lafayette Theatre, embraced Bullins, along with audiences, critics, and publishers. For his plays he has earned the Drama Desk-Vernon Rice Award (1968) and Obie awards (1971 and 1975). *The Taking of Miss Janie* (1975), one of his best-known plays, received the Drama Critics Circle Award as the best American play of 1974–1975 and was selected as a Burns Mantle Best Play for the same year.

In addition to the theater awards, Bullins has been the recipient of Rockefeller grants (1968, 1970, 1973, and 1983), Guggenheim fellowships (1971 and 1976), and National Endowment for the Arts grants (1972 and 1989). His plays have been produced throughout the United States and abroad. He has taught at various colleges and universities, including New York University, City College of San Francisco, and the University of California at Berkeley. In the 1990s he published *New/Lost Plays by Ed Bullins,* a collection of his work. In 1997 the Negro Ensemble Company produced a new play, *Boys x Men* (that is, "Boys Times Men"), a play that concerns family, class, and memory.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement; Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Cleaver, Eldridge; Newton, Huey P.; Seale, Bobby

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JEANNE-MARIE A. MILLER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Bunche, Ralph

August 7, 1904
December 9, 1971

Ralph Johnson Bunche, a scholar, diplomat, and international civil servant, was born in Detroit, Michigan, to Fred and Olive Johnson Bunch. His father, a barber, abandoned the family when his son was young. Bunche moved to Albuquerque, New Mexico, with his mother, who died there in 1917. He then went to Los Angeles to be raised by his maternal grandmother, Lucy Taylor Jackson. During his teen years, he added a final "e" to his name to make it more distinguished. Bunche lived in a neighborhood with relatively few blacks, and he was one of only two blacks in his class at Jefferson High School, where he graduated first in his class, although Los Angeles school authorities barred him from the all-city honor roll because of his race. Bunche's valedictory address was his first public speech. Bunche entered the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on a scholarship, majoring in political science

***Portrait of United Nations official Ralph Bunche, April, 1955.** In 1950, Bunche became the first African-American (and first UN official) to win the Nobel Peace Prize for his negotiation of the Arab-Israeli treaty of 1948.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

and philosophy. He was active on the debating team, wrestled, played football and baseball, and was a standout basketball player. In 1927 he graduated *summa cum laude* and, again, first in his class.

Assisted by a tuition fellowship and a $1,000 scholarship provided by a group of African-American women in Los Angeles, Bunche enrolled at Harvard University in 1927 to pursue graduate study in political science. He received a master's degree in 1928 and then accepted an invitation to join the faculty of Howard University. Bunche was only twenty-five when he created and chaired Howard's political science department. His association with Howard continued until 1941, although he also pursued graduate work at Harvard during this period.

Bunche's graduate work combined his interest in government with a developing interest in Africa. He conducted field research in western Africa in 1932 and 1933, and he wrote a dissertation on the contrast between European colonial and mandatory governments in Africa. The dissertation, completed in 1934, won a Harvard award as the best political science dissertation of the year, and Bunche was awarded the first Ph.D. in political science ever granted to an African American by an American university. Bunche undertook postdoctoral studies in 1936 and 1937, first at Northwestern University, then at the London School of Economics and at South Africa's University of Cape Town. In 1936 he published a pamphlet, *A World View of Race*. His notes, taken during fieldwork in South Africa and detailing the political and racial situation, were published in 1992 under the title *An African American in South Africa*.

During Bunche's time at Howard in the 1930s, he was deeply involved in civil rights questions. He believed that black people's principal concerns were economic, and that race, though significant, was secondary. While he participated in civil rights actions—notably a protest he organized against segregation in Washington's National Theater in 1931—Bunche, a principled integrationist, warned that civil rights efforts founded on race would collapse over economic issues. He felt that the best hope for black progress lay in interracial working-class economic improvement, and he criticized Franklin Roosevelt both for his inattention to the needs of black people and for the New Deal's failure to attack existing political and economic structures. In 1936 Bunche and others founded the National Negro Congress, a broad-based coalition he later termed "the first sincere effort to bring together on an equal plane Negro leaders [and] professional and white-collar workers with the Negro manual workers and their leaders and organizers." The Congress was eventually taken over by Communist Party workers. Bunche, disillusioned, resigned in 1938.

In 1939, Bunche was hired by the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal to work on what would become the classic study of race relations in the United States, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944). Over the next two years Bunche wrote four long research memos for the project (one was published in 1973, after Bunche's death, as *The Negro in the Age of FDR*). The final report incorporated much of Bunche's research and thought. The unpublished memos, written for the Carnegie Corporation, have remained an important scholarly resource for researchers on black America, both for their exhaustive data and for Bunche's incisive conclusions.

In 1941, after the United States entered World War II, Bunche left Howard to work for the Office of the Coordinator of Information for the Armed Service, and he later joined the newly formed Office of Strategic Services, the

chief American intelligence organization during World War II and a precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency. Bunche headed the Africa section of the Research and Analysis Branch. In 1944 Bunche joined the U.S. State Department's Postwar Planning Unit to deal with the future of colonial territories.

From this point forward, Bunche operated in the arena of international political affairs with an ever-increasing degree of policymaking power. In 1945 he was appointed to the Division of Dependent Area Affairs in the Office of Special Political Affairs, becoming in the process the first African American to head a State Department "desk."

In 1944 Bunche was a member of the U.S. delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C., which laid the foundation for the United Nations. Appointed to the U.S. delegation in San Francisco in 1945 and in London in 1946, Bunche helped set up the UN Trusteeship system to prepare colonies for independence. His draft declaration of principles governing all dependent territories was the basis of Chapter XI, "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories," of the United Nations Charter.

Bunche went to work in the United Nations Secretariat in 1946 as head of the Trusteeship Department. In 1947 he was assigned to the UN Special Commission on Palestine which was a United Nations Trusteeship. The outbreak of the First Arab-Israeli War in 1948, and the assassination of UN mediator Folke Bernadotte by Jewish militants, propelled Bunche, Bernadotte's assistant, into the position of acting mediator. Bunche brought the two sides together, negotiating with each in turn, and succeeded in arranging an armistice. Bunche's actions earned him the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize. He was the first United Nations figure, as well as the first African American, to win a Nobel Prize. Bunche also won the NAACP's Spingarn Medal (1950), and other honors. In 1953 the American Political Science Association elected him its president, the first time an African American was so honored. In 1950, President Truman offered him the post of assistant secretary of state. Bunche declined it, and in a rare personal statement on racism, explained that he did not wish to raise his family in Washington, a segregated city.

Bunche remained at the United Nations until shortly before his death in 1971. In 1954 he was appointed United Nations Undersecretary General for Special Political Affairs, and served as a roving specialist in UN work. Bunche's most significant contribution at the United Nations was his role in designing and setting up UN peacekeeping forces, which supervise and enforce truces and armistices and have arguably been the UN's most important contribution to global peace. Building on the truce supervising operation he put into place after the 1949 Middle East armistice, Bunche created a United Nations Emergency Force in 1956, after the Suez crisis. UN peacekeepers played a major role in Lebanon and Yemen, and later in the Congo (now Zaire), in India and Pakistan, and in Cyprus. Sir Brian Urquhart, Bunche's assistant and successor as UN Undersecretary General for Special Political Affairs, said: "Bunche was unquestionably the original principal architect of [what] is now called peacekeeping . . . and he remained the principal architect, coordinator, and director of United Nations peacekeeping operations until the end of his career at the UN."

While Bunche remained primarily involved as an international civil servant with the United Nations, promoting international peace and aiding developing countries, he also remained interested in the civil rights struggle in America. Indeed, Bunche demanded and received special dispensation from the United Nations to speak out on racial issues in the United States. Bunche served on the board of the NAACP for many years, and he served as an informal adviser to civil rights leaders. In 1963 he attended the March on Washington, and two years later, despite poor health, he traveled to Alabama and walked with the Reverend. Martin Luther King Jr. in the front row of the Selma-to-Montgomery Voting Rights March.

See also King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Negro Congress

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C. GERALD FRASER (1996)

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, the federal agency that oversaw Emancipation in the former slave states after the Civil War, is commonly known as the "Freedmen's Bureau." Officially designed to protect the rights of ex-slaves against intrusion by their former masters, it is now seen by many historians as paternalistic. In this view, the Freedmen's Bureau pursued "social control" of the freedpeople, encouraging them to return to work as plantation wage laborers.

The Freedmen's Bureau developed out of wartime private relief efforts directed at the "contrabands" who had fled to Union lines. At the suggestion of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, a body set up by the War Department to investigate issues relating to the freedpeople, Congress established the bureau on March 3, 1865, as a military agency. Intended as a temporary organization to exist for one year after the official end of the rebellion, the bureau had "control of all subjects relating to . . .freedmen from rebel States." In addition, it would undertake white refugee relief and manage confiscated Confederate property. The commissioner of the bureau, Oliver Otis Howard (1830–1909), was known as the "Christian general" for his philanthropic interests and Congregationalist religious enthusiasm. Howard eventually presided over a network of almost one thousand local military and civilian agents scattered across the South, nearly all of them white.

Initially, Howard and his subordinates hoped to provide the rumored "forty acres and a mule" to at least some freedpeople from plantations seized by the government during the war. The legislation creating the bureau had authorized some land redistribution, and Howard's office drafted Circular 13, which would have implemented the distribution of land in bureau possession. However, President Andrew Johnson countermanded the proposal, and his policy of widespread pardons for ex-Confederates restored most property to its former owners. Stymied, Howard then felt obliged to evict the freedpeople from the lands given them during the war under the "Sherman grant." These were located on the Sea Islands and coastal areas of South Carolina and Georgia. Thus, by the late summer of 1865, Howard abandoned land redistribution and turned his attention to more attainable goals.

The bureau's remaining areas of activity were broad. It assumed the responsibility for aiding the destitute—white and black—and for the care of ill, aged, and insane freedpeople. It also subsidized and sponsored educational efforts directed at the African-American community, developed both by the freedpeople themselves and by the various northern missionary societies. The postwar years witnessed an explosive growth in black education, and the bureau encouraged this development in the face of white southern opposition. The bureau's agents also assumed the duty of securing minimal legal rights for the freedpeople, especially the right to testify in court.

Perhaps the bureau's most enduring, and controversial, aspect was its role in overseeing the emergence of free labor. While it attempted to protect freedpeople from impositions by their former masters, freedpeople were also enjoined to labor diligently. The favored bureau device for adjusting plantation agriculture was the annual labor contract, as approved by the local bureau agent. Tens of thousands of standardized contracts were written and enforced by the bureau in 1865 and 1866. The contracts it approved generally provided for wage labor under circumstances reminiscent of slavery: gang labor, tight supervision, women and children in the workforce, and provisions restricting the physical mobility and deportment of the freedmen

In practice, bureau agents spent much of their time encouraging diligent labor by freedmen; quashing rumors of impending land redistribution, and even punishing the freedmen for refractory behavior. In some cases, agents issued and enforced vagrancy codes directed at the freedpeople. Despite encouraging the freedpeople to act as disciplined wage laborers, the bureau soon incurred the enmity of the planters. It insisted that corporal punishment be abandoned, and it backed this policy up with frequent arrests. It also established a dual legal structure, with local agents acting as judges in those instances where the civilian courts refused to hear blacks' testimony or committed flagrant injustice. Finally, the bureau and the military opposed the efforts of the conservative presidential Reconstruction governments to reimpose harsh vagrancy laws through the Black Codes and similar legislation. President Andrew Johnson heeded the complaints of the planters, and in February 1866 he vetoed legislation providing for the extension of bureau activities.

The Freedmen's Bureau became a focus of the emerging political struggle between Johnson and Congress for the control of Reconstruction. With the increasing power of the Republican party, especially the Radical faction, the bureau secured powerful political sponsorship. Its functions were extended over Johnson's veto in July 1866. With the enactment of congressional Reconstruction in March 1867, Freedmen's Bureau personnel tended to be-

come involved with the political mobilization then sweeping the black community. For example, in South Carolina, Assistant Commissioner Robert K. Scott was elected the state's first Republican governor, and in Alabama four of the six Republican congressmen elected in February 1868 were bureau officials. Though they were widely denounced as "carpetbaggers," bureau officials exercised an important role in the politicization of the freedpeople through Republican groups such as the Union League.

The restoration of most of the southern states under the military Reconstruction acts furnished the immediate cause of the bureau's demise. With southern governments now granting freedpeople equal legal rights, there no longer appeared any need for interference in local legal functions. The expansive powers of the Freedmen's Bureau had long violated states' rights taboos, and, moreover, the expense of the bureau's programs proved unpopular with the northern public. The renewal bill of July 1866 provided for the organization's essential termination in two years' time. Later legislation changed that date to the end of 1868, and after that time only the bureau's Education Division and efforts to secure bounties owed to black veterans continued. On June 30, 1872, these operations ended, and the Freedmen's Bureau ceased to exist.

Many of the bureau's aims were certainly laudable, and its accomplishments in promoting black legal rights and education substantial, but the overall record is mixed. In abandoning land redistribution, and in promoting the return of ex-slaves to plantation agriculture as hired labor under the contract system, the bureau also assisted in the survival of the plantation economy.

See also Black Codes; Civil War, U.S.; Slavery; Union League of America

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MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Burials

See African Burial Ground Project; Cemeteries and Burials

Burke, Lilly Mae

June 11, 1899
March 3, 1968

Lilly Mae Burke, one of Jamaica's notable women of the late colonial period, was devoted to the building of the nation from the grassroots upwards. A teacher, farmer, hotelier, and social worker, she was interested in the country's youth and believed that their improvement would lead to the betterment of an independent Jamaica. Much of her life was characterized by volunteer work and an interest in marginalized groups.

Burke was born in 1899 in Highgate in the parish of St. Mary. She was one of eight children (she had four sisters and three brothers) of Charles Nathaniel Dixon, a planter and businessman, and Susan Eugenie Dixon. When she was in her early twenties, she married Timothy Adolphus Burke, a teacher. While she served the nation in several capacities, she lived her life in her parish of birth, where she died in 1968 at the age of sixty-nine. She went to the elementary school in her district and later attended a private secondary school and Carron Hall Practical Training Centre in the adjoining district. Later in life she became proficient in shorthand and typing.

Burke entered the teaching profession as a young woman, serving at her old school, Carron Hall. After her marriage, she joined her husband at Goshen Primary School, where he served as the principal. As a teacher, she was often a mother figure for the young, and her life was spent shaping the lives of those children with whom she came in contact. While at Goshen, she started classes for poor girls, including classes in domestic science and handicrafts, and she passed on to the girls her skills in shorthand and typing.

As a farmer, Burke understood the plight of the farming community, and she served the community of farmers in St. Mary as secretary of the People's Cooperative Agricultural Loan Society of Guys Hill and Carron Hall, and she chaired the Lucky Hill Farmers' Association. She believed in agricultural production to reduce food imports, and she advocated a better rural water supply to advance farming.

Burke served her community in many areas. She got involved in Jamaica Welfare Limited (later the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission), the first social welfare organization in Jamaica. Burke's involvement meant mobilizing of her local community to build better villages through a cooperative approach, self-help, and community organization. She would be active in the building of community centers and would encourage the development of cottage industries to provide employment for rural women in craft production. As an active member of Jamaica Welfare Limited, she would work for the enhancement of local domestic food though partnership with the Jamaica Agricultural Society and would see to the education of rural people in nutritional practices through partnership with the Education Department. Her community involvement took her to women's associations, social clubs for the young, and social welfare organizations. She worked to legalize common law marriages as a means to improve the stability of family life. This was a reflection of her belief in Christian values in nation building. Her commitment to the well-being of young Jamaicans can best explain her association with the Save the Children Fund, the 4H Club, the Juvenile Probation Committee, the Youth Committee, the Child Welfare Association, the YWCA, the Esher Remand Home, and scouting. For many of these associations, she served as a member of the executive committee, on the advisory boards, or as a commissioner. She was also an executive member of the Red Cross, a director of the Jamaica Citizens' Bank, vice president of the Hotel Resort Association, and a justice of the peace (JP). As a JP she served as a lay magistrate; she tried cases in the local petty session courts and might have been called upon to sign search warrants, to witness the searching of persons suspected by the police, and to authorize and authenticate documents, such as applications for passports. She was also involved in the Women's League. In 1943 she began to mobilize the women of St. Mary, eventually establishing seventy-two branches of the Jamaica Federation of Women (JFW) in that parish. She served the JFW as administrator of her parish and was elected as the national chairperson in 1962. She also served as the organist of the Carron Hall Presbyterian Church.

When she organized her Cub Scout Pack in 1930, she became the only female scout leader in the West Indies. She did not let it deter her that she was going against what was considered acceptable female activity. As the boys got older, she added a Boy Scout Troop and a Rover Scout Crew (for those over seventeen years of age). Yet with all this activity, she still found time to help the young people in her parish find jobs, go abroad for further education, or get vocational training locally. She also found time to put on a Christmas Treat for the young, old, and indigent in St. Mary for thirty-one years. In addition, she visited the aged, assisting them in household chores and reading to them.

As a social worker, Burke was strategically placed to become active in politics. In 1955 she won a seat on the St. Mary Parish Council, but she was unsuccessful in her bid for a seat in the House of Representatives. Instead, she supported the representatives of her parish in the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives. Her interest in creating a new Jamaica was recognized when she was asked to serve on a committee planning the celebration of Jamaican independence in 1962.

Burke subscribed to the gender division of work, and she herself was a devoted wife and housekeeper, in spite of her many activities outside the home. Her renown as a social worker went beyond her parish and the shores of the nation, and she was invited to be the vice president of the Commonwealth Countries League in 1962. In 1964 she was made a Member of the British Empire (M.B.E.) in honor of her service to the people of Jamaica.

See also Education

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ALERIC J. JOSEPHS (2005)

Burke, Rudolph Augustus

June 13, 1899
February 2, 1972

Rudolph Burke was a planter, sportsman, politician, and leader of the Jamaican farming community. He was born in Kingston and attended Wolmer's High for Boys and Jamaica College. He later made his home in the Llandewey area of Saint Thomas, where he managed the farm left by his deceased parents. Burke held numerous positions in

Jamaica's agricultural sector, most importantly as president of the Jamaica Agricultural Society (JAS) between 1944 and 1962. This society was launched in 1895 by the governor, Sir Henry Blake, to develop the agricultural industry in Jamaica and to improve the socioeconomic position of farmers.

Burke effected many changes in the JAS. He conceived and headed the Central Committee of the Primary Producers (CCPP), which organized agricultural groups in Jamaica. He also spearheaded the establishment of the All Island Banana Growers Association, of which he was vice chairman, and the Citrus Growers Association, which he directed. Among Burke's achievements in agriculture was the negotiation of the ten-year plan under which concentrated orange juice was supplied to the United Kingdom from Jamaica. Burke was also a member of negotiation teams that developed trade links with England, including the Banana Delegation from Jamaica to Britain's Ministry of Food.

Burke stressed the importance of relying on local agricultural produce in order to cement the country's independence and increase economic prosperity. He also refused financial incentives to align the JAS with other farming organizations made up of estate owners. In so doing, he reinforced the position of the JAS as a platform for small farmers and set a tone of propriety and integrity in the organization.

Burke held numerous public offices during his career. He was a director of Jamaica Welfare Limited, founded to improve the lives of rural Jamaicans by Norman Manley, the leader of the People's National Party (PNP). Burke also was elected to the parochial board in Saint Thomas at the age of twenty-two, becoming the youngest person ever elected a member of a parochial board. He served as chair of this board from 1933 and 1939. In addition, Burke was one of the early members of the PNP, one of Jamaica's two major political parties. Although he ran unsuccessfully as the PNP candidate for Western Saint Thomas in 1944, he was later selected by the PNP to sit on the Legislative Council, where he remained from 1951 to1962. Burke was also appointed to serve as minister without portfolio in the Executive Council from 1955 until this body became the cabinet in 1962. He served as a senator between 1962 and 1967.

Burke was accorded many honors, including the Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1957. There is also a trophy given in his name at the annual Denbigh All Island Agricultural Show held in Clarendon. This agricultural show, which Burke was responsible for setting up, remains an annual feature on the Jamaican cultural calendar.

Before entering public life, Burke became a Champion Class One athlete in 1916 and successfully led Jamaica College's cricket, football, and track teams. In 1921 he married Edna Hermina Ramsey, with whom he had two sons and four daughters. Burke was an Anglican and a Master of the Saint Thomas Masonic Lodge. His numerous roles attest to his commitment to Jamaica's political, social, and agricultural welfare. His illustrious career has been a great legacy for the island's agricultural sector and Jamaica's small farmers, for whom Burke worked assiduously and whose interests he represented for decades.

See also Dalton-James, Edith; King, Iris; Manley, Norman; People's National Party

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DALEA M. BEAN (2005)

Burke, Yvonne Brathwaite

October 5, 1932

Yvonne Brathwaite was born and raised in South Central Los Angeles. She received an associate's degree from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1951; a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1953; and a law degree from the University of Southern California in 1956, the year in which she was admitted to the California bar and began a private law practice. In 1965 California Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown appointed Burke as attorney for the McCone Commission, which investigated the Los Angeles Watts Riots of that year.

In 1966 Burke was elected to the first of her three two-year terms representing the Sixty-third District in the California State Assembly. As California's first black assemblywoman she focused on prison reform, child care, equality for women, and civil rights. In 1972 she served as vice chairperson of the Democratic National Convention, where she received national attention as a promoter of changes in the party's rules enabling greater participation by minorities. That same year she was also elected to the

first of three terms representing the Thirty-seventh District in the United States House of Representatives and became the first black congresswoman from California. In Congress she again focused on social issues, especially housing and urban development. In 1975 she was appointed to the powerful House Committee on Appropriations, and in 1976 she became chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Although her early political career made her one of the most prominent black women in American politics, her political campaigns in the late 1970s were unsuccessful, and she then concentrated on her career as a lawyer and senior partner at the Los Angeles firm of Jones, Day, Deavis, Bogue. In 1978 she ran for state attorney general, winning the Democratic nomination but losing the general election to Republican George Deukmejian. On July 6, 1979, Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. appointed her to a vacancy on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, a position she held until an election defeat in 1980. She resumed her political career in 1992, when she was elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. There she focused her attention on the needs and education of children. She has served as chair of the Board of Supervisors for three terms, most recently in 2003–2004.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Burleigh, Harry T.

December 2, 1866
September 12, 1949

Singer, composer, arranger, and music editor Henry Thacker Burleigh was born in Erie, Pennsylvania, into a family noted for singing and for the active pursuit of education and civil rights. His grandfather, Hamilton Waters, a former slave, was active in the Underground Railroad in Erie. Fatherless at six, Burleigh was raised by an extended family, the most important influences being his mother, stepfather, and grandfather. His mother, Elizabeth Burleigh Elmendorf, graduated from Avery College in Pennsylvania in 1855. In 1892, after earning a reputation as one of the finest singers in Erie, Burleigh began studies in New York City at the National Conservatory of Music and taught there for two years. Burleigh often sang the plantation songs and spirituals he had learned from his grandfather for Antonín Dvořák, the conservatory's director, introducing him to the African-American music Dvořák argued should form the basis of an American school of music, along with the music of Native Americans. Well established as a recitalist in the black communities along the East Coast by 1893, Burleigh sang that year at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. From 1894 to 1946 he was baritone soloist at St. George's Episcopal Church in New York; from 1900 to 1925 he was soloist at Temple Emanu-El. These two wealthy religious institutions provided many opportunities for Burleigh as a composer and singer.

From 1911 until his death, Burleigh was an editor for the music publisher Ricordi, a position that greatly facilitated the publication of his art songs and spiritual arrangements. He was a charter member of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) in 1914. His first art songs were published in 1898, and by 1915 many internationally renowned singers, including John McCormack, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, and Nellie Melba, were singing them. His first choral arrangements of spirituals, published in 1913, have been in print continuously since that time, and in 1916–1917, his solo arrangement of "Deep River" was said to be the most-performed song of the New York concert season. During the next ten years Burleigh published over forty spirituals, many in both solo and choral arrangements. His success brought awards such as the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1917, honorary degrees from Atlanta University in 1918 and Howard University in 1920, and the Harmon Foundation award in 1929. Burleigh's multifaceted career included singing, composing, arranging, and giving frequent lectures on spirituals, which he called the "greatest evidence of a spiritual ascendancy over oppression and humiliation." He was a mentor and coach to many young artists such as Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Abbie Mitchell, and Carol Brice.

Burleigh pioneered in arranging spirituals for solo voice with piano accompaniment and for mixed voices, and his sophisticated arrangements helped preserve the genre. Although some early critics stood opposed to his

rich harmonies and innovative piano accompaniment for moving the spiritual away from its original improvisatory nature, Burleigh's arrangements remained in the repertory throughout the twentieth century, in both solo and choral form. Among the most famous of these are the solo arrangement of "Deep River" and the choral arrangement of "My Lord, What a Mornin'."

Burleigh's art songs, most of which fell out of print after his death, began to be rediscovered by singers and recorded at the end of the twentieth century. Noted works include the song cycles *Saracen Songs* (1914), *Passionale* (1915), and *Five Songs on Poems of Laurence Hope* (1915) and the songs "Jean" (1903), "Little Mother of Mine" (1917), "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors" (1915), and "Lovely Dark and Lonely One" (1935).

See also Folk Music; Robeson, Paul; Spingarn Medal; Spirituals; Underground Railroad

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JEAN E. SNYDER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Burnett, Charles

April 13, 1944

The filmmaker Charles Burnett was born in Vicksburg, Mississippi. He moved with his family to Watts in South Central Los Angeles during World War II. In 1971 he received a B.A. in theater arts from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), where he made his first film, *Several Friends* (1969), about a group of young African-American men who are unable to see or understand that something has gone wrong in their lives. Burnett completed his M.F.A. at UCLA as well. As a graduate student in 1977, he made a fourteen-minute film, *The Horse,* about a boy in the South who has to witness the death of an old horse. The film won first prize at the fifteenth Westdeutsche Kurzfilmtage Oberhausen in West Germany.

Killer of Sheep, Burnett's first feature film, was made the same year as *The Horse,* at which time he not only satisfied his M.F.A. thesis requirement but was also awarded a Louis B. Mayer Grant, given to the thesis project at UCLA that shows the most promise. Touted for its neorealist approach, *Killer of Sheep* received critical praise and a life in the festival circuit. The film was a winner of the Berlin International Film Festival Critics Prize in 1981. In 1990, *Killer of Sheep* was selected for the National Film Registry at the Library of Congress. Each year, twenty-five American films deemed culturally and historically significant are selected for the registry.

Finding inspiration outside the Hollywood formulaic aesthetic, Burnett's *Killer of Sheep, My Brother's Wedding* (1984), and *To Sleep with Anger* (1990) focus on the dynamics, tensions, and frustrations of urban black families, with a particular emphasis on the relationships between fathers, sons, and brothers. His films strive to reflect the black American culture and the black American experience familiar to him. According to Burnett, "To make filmmaking viable you need the support of the community; you have to become a part of its agenda, an aspect of its survival. A major concern of storytelling should be restoring values, reversing the erosion of all those things that make a better life."

In 1980 Burnett received a Guggenheim Fellowship to do pre-production work on *My Brother's Wedding.* In 1988, he was the recipient of one of the MacArthur Foundation's "Genius" Awards, which provided the resources for a production company and a professional cast, including the actor Danny Glover, for *To Sleep with Anger,* his most critically acclaimed work. The film earned a special jury prize at the 1990 Sundance Film Festival in Park City, Utah. Following that film, Burnett began work on *America Becoming,* a 1991 documentary about new immigrants that was funded by the Ford Foundation. Burnett's film *The Glass Shield,* which depicts the travails of the first black cop in an all-white police squad, opened to enthusiastic reviews in 1995.

Burnett has also directed a number of successful television movies and miniseries. His film *Nightjohn* (Disney Channel, 1996) received a Special Citation Award from the National Society of Film Critics. In 1998, he directed

Oprah Winfrey Presents: The Wedding, a television adaptation of Dorothy West's novel. Burnett returned to the big screen in 1999, directing *The Annihilation of Fish,* and to documentary in 2003, directing the film *Nat Turner: a Troublesome Property (2003).*

See also Glover, Danny

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FARAH JASMINE GRIFFIN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Burnham, Forbes

February 20, 1923
August 6, 1985

Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, or Forbes "Odo" Burnham, as he was popularly known, was a lawyer, politician, and founder and leader of the People's National Congress (PNC), the political party that led the colony of British Guiana to become the independent nation of Guyana. He was born to schoolmaster James E. Burnham and Rachel A. (Sampson) Burnham in Kitty, a suburb of Georgetown, the capital city. Other family members included siblings Olga, Freddie, Jessica, and Flora. Burnham received his primary education at Kitty Methodist School, where his father taught. In 1935 his secondary education started in Georgetown, first at Central High School and then at Queen's College, the country's premier secondary school. At Queen's College Burnham won three scholarships: the Centenary Exhibition in 1936, the Government Junior in 1937, and the Percival Exhibition in 1938. His performance as a student prepared him for a legal career, and he became an important political and public figure, holding positions as a trade unionist, city councilor, mayor of Georgetown, premier and prime minister of British Guiana, and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana's first executive president.

When Burnham graduated from Queen's College in 1942 he was named that year's British Guiana Scholar as the colony's most outstanding student. World War II delayed his plan for immediate study in the United Kingdom. The delay enabled Burnham to teach at Queen's College as an assistant master and to earn a bachelor of arts degree at the external examinations of the University of London in 1944. The next year he entered the University of London for legal studies.

In the United Kingdom, Burnham was elected president of the West Indian Students Union in 1947 to 1948, further stimulating his interest in politics. He was the organization's delegate to the International Union of Students' Congress in Prague and Paris. He was also a member of the League of Coloured Peoples, founded in London in 1931 by Jamaican-born Dr. Harold Arundel Moody with West Indian, African, and Asian students. In the 1940s the organization spearheaded demonstrations against colonial rule in their homelands. As a testament to his oratorical skill, Burnham won the Best Speaker's Cup, awarded by the Law faculty at the University of London. After graduating in 1947 with a bachelor of laws degree and being called to Gray's Inn in 1948, he returned to British Guiana in 1949.

Burnham was a physically imposing person who stood six feet two inches tall and weighed over two hundred pounds when he first headed the government of Guyana. He married twice, the first time in May 1951 to Sheila Bernice Latase, an optician from Trinidad and Tobago. This union produced three daughters: Roxanne, Annabelle, and Francesca. The second marriage, in February 1967 to Viola Victorine Harper, led to the birth of Melanie Abiola and Ulele Imodinda. Burnham was an avid sports fan with an interest in cricket, tennis, chess, horseback riding, swimming, and fishing.

When Burnham returned to British Guiana, he entered the private law chambers of Cameron and Shepherd in Georgetown. Later, he opened his own law firm, Clarke and Martin. The year 1949 also witnessed a significant political event when Burnham (of African descent) and Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan (of East Indian descent) cofounded the People's Progressive Party (PPP), a name Burnham chose. Burnham was instrumental in transforming a quasipolitical organization, the Political Affairs Committee, originally led by Jagan, into a nationally organized political party. Under their leadership the PPP brought together the racial groups in the colony.

In 1952 Burnham was elected to the Georgetown Town Council. He headed the Kitty Brotherhood Movement from 1952 to 1956 and served as president of the British Guiana Labour Union from 1952 to 1956 and 1963 to 1965. In 1959 he was elected president of the British Guiana Bar Association. One year later he was appointed a Queen's (Senior) Counsel. Burnham was the minister of education in the short-lived PPP government that won the

Forbes Burnham, prime minister of Guyana, c. 1970s. *The founder and leader of the People's National Congress (PNC), Burnham led the coalition government which won independence for the former British colony Guiana in 1966.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

general elections of 1953. In 1955, during the Cold War era, events centering on some party members' alleged communist bent and his rivalry with Jagan caused Burnham to lead a breakaway faction of the PPP and eventually to form the PNC in 1957. The next year the PNC and John P. Carter's United Democratic Party merged. Burnham was the leader of the main opposition party in British Guiana's legislature from 1957 to 1964. After the December 1964 elections, the Burnham-led PNC headed a coalition government with Peter S. D'Aguiar's United Force. Burnham became the premier of the colony.

The period during which Burnham headed the government, from December 15, 1964, until his death, has remained one of significance in the annals of the country's history. British Guiana achieved independence from Great Britain on May 26, 1966. Renamed Guyana, it was the first new nation in South America in eight decades, with Burnham as its first prime minister. When the country became a republic in February 1970, Arthur Chung was appointed as the ceremonial president. Burnham, as head of government, became the first executive president of Guyana under the Constitution of February 14, 1980.

As leader of the PNC and during his tenure as head of the government of Guyana, Burnham must be credited with a remarkable number of developments. National emblems—the flag's Golden Arrowhead; the coat of arms; the anthem, "Dear Land of Guyana;" the Canje pheasant, Guyana's national bird; the national flower, the Victoria Regia lily, one of the largest of its kind in the world; and the motto "One Nation, One People, One Destiny"—were instituted and are symbols of Burnham's legacy. His administration created national monuments acknowledging outstanding local and international figures, such as the 1763 monument erected to honor Cuffy, the leader of a slave insurrection, and the Non-Aligned Movement Monument with busts of Nasser (Egypt), Nkrumah (Ghana), Nehru (India), and Tito (Yugoslavia). The administration recognized ethnic religious events, such as Pagwah (Hindu) and Dewalli (Muslim) festivals, along with Mashramani, a national festival, and they were established as public holidays. Mashramani, an Arawak (indigenous Indian) word, means a celebration to mark the end of a community self-help effort like building a house or planting and reaping a field.

National development in education, health, housing, pure water and electricity supplies, and youth schemes accelerated when Burnham headed Guyana's government. Major construction works such as the Soesdyke-Linden highway, the West Demerara, Corentyne and Mahdia roads, and the international airport, Timehri, were completed. Planned resettlement schemes to relocate persons to hinterland locations were implemented. The Demerara Harbour Bridge, reputedly, the world's longest floating bridge, and a textile mill and clay brick factories became operational during Burnham's tenure. A National Insurance scheme, the Guyana Defense Force, the Guyana National Service, the Guyana National Cooperative Bank, the Agricultural Bank, Critichlow Labour College, Kuru Kuru Cooperative College, President's College, the National Cultural Center, and a host of other enterprises are among institutions established during Burnham's time in office.

As a Caribbean leader, Forbes Burnham advocated regionalism, nonalignment, a new international economic order, and a new world information order. He made Guyana one of the original members of the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) that in 1973 became the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), with most Caribbean countries. Burnham supported a West Indies Federation as leader of the opposition and as head of the PNC. He was also a keen supporter of the struggle

against apartheid in South Africa and of liberation movements in Africa.

Honors and awards attest to Burnham's significance and stature. They include the Order of Excellence in 1973 (Guyana), the Grand Cordon of L'Orde du Nil (Egypt) and Jose Marti (Cuba) in 1975, an honorary doctorate of laws from Dalhousie University (Canada) in 1977, the Cruseiro De Sul (the highest award in Brazil) in 1983, the Bulgarian Star of Planinay in 1984, and Yugoslavia's Order of the Red Star in 1985.

There were several controversies during Burnham's regime. He had foreign policy disputes with the United States; his embracing of socialism and Cuba and the nationalization of American, Canadian, and British private entities led to economic hardships; and he faced challenges from opposition parties and allegations of dictatorial rule. Accusations of "rigged" national elections also bedeviled his tenure in office. His greatest achievement was the implementation of specific national development programs that continue to impact the country.

The significance of Burnham's life and times is measured by samples of outpourings of grief and condolences as gleaned from the pages of the *Guyana Chronicle* in the days following his death. Apart from African, Caribbean, and European dignitaries who paid tribute to Burnham, Brazil and Cuba declared three days of mourning. Roderick Rainford, CARICOM secretary general, viewed his passing as a great loss. Indira Gandhi, president of India, who headed the nonaligned movement, lauded Burnham as one of the twentieth century's outstanding figures. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the secretary general of the United Nations, expressed shock and sadness at the death, observing that "Burnham served his country and his people with outstanding leadership and was a dedicated and valued friend and supporter of the United Nations." Educator and trade unionist T. Anson Sancho's *The Green Way* (1996) argued that Burnham was perhaps the cleverest politician the Caribbean had seen so far.

See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Hoyte, Desmond; People's National Congress; Politics

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Burns, Anthony

May 31, 1829?
July 27, 1862

The fugitive slave Anthony Burns was born and reared in northern Virginia, where he taught himself to read and write, converted to the Baptist faith, and became a preacher to other slaves. From boyhood he was annually hired out and, during one such hire, accidentally broke his right hand. Although the break healed, Burns feared he would be sold south and put to some new kind of work that he would perform so poorly as to be mistreated. So he decided to escape. While hired as a stevedore on the Richmond docks, he enlisted the aid of a sailor who stowed him aboard his Boston-bound ship, but his owner learned of his whereabouts and federal marshals arrested him in Boston on May 24, 1854.

The arrest prompted Boston's Vigilance Committee to stage a mass protest meeting in Faneuil Hall that the abolitionists Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker addressed. At its midpoint, some militants in the audience interrupted the proceedings to lead an armed attack to rescue Burns, who was being held in the nearby municipal courthouse. A biracial assault force of fourteen rioters failed to gain entry when the expected reinforcement from the Faneuil Hall audience did not back them, but during the struggle, they stabbed to death a specially deputized guard. The government later prosecuted the rioters and speakers Phillips and Parker for obstructing federal officers, but discontinued (*nol-prossed*) the case because of a defective indictment.

The next morning, Burns's owner, Colonel Charles F. Suttle, agreed to sell Burns to some Bostonians, whose leader, black minister Leonard A. Grimes, had raised the purchase money. The group would then free Burns. But United States Attorney Benjamin F. Hallett, citing the kill-

ing of the guard as justification, stopped the sale until after the case was decided. To guard the prisoner from any more rescue attempts, Hallett also assembled some 180 soldiers and marines and 120 armed civilians known as the "marshal's guard." Anticipating Burns's likely return, he persuaded the mayor with the suggestion of probable federal payment to call out approximately 1500 militiamen to keep the peace while the federal soldiery marched their prisoner to the wharf. President Franklin Pierce not only approved these actions but also sent to Boston the adjutant general to coordinate the regulars and militia and a U.S. revenue cutter to carry Burns back to Richmond, if necessary. The federal government paid the city $14,165.78 for their costs of an estimated $40,000 for the nine-day affair.

Although defense counsel Richard Henry Dana, Jr. emphasized the defects in the record, Judge Edward G. Loring, the commissioner appointed by the federal courts to decide fugitive slave cases, used Burns's replies to his master on the night of his arrest to identify him and issued the certificate for his removal. While church bells tolled dirges at Boston and throughout the state, an estimated 50,000 persons lined the one-third mile route to witness the rendition; later Burns quipped that "there was lots of folks to see a colored man walk through the streets."

Back in Virginia, Burns was punished with four months solitary confinement until sold. Luckily, Bostonians learned of his whereabouts and arranged to buy his freedom from his new owner, David McDaniel, who defied a southern mob to sell the notorious fugitive for $1,300 raised by Grimes. Now a freedman, Burns decided to study for the ministry and was helped by a benefactress to attend the Preparatory Department of Oberlin College intermittently from 1855 to 1862. He became pastor of a black Baptist church in Indianapolis, but soon left the state in part because of Indiana's racially discriminatory Black Laws. He moved to St. Catharines, Canada West (now Ontario), and became pastor of its fugitive slave community. There he died of tuberculosis in July 1862.

The coincidental timing of Burns's case, with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Sherman M. Booth fugitive slave rescue case earlier that year, contributed to the rise of antislavery parties throughout the North, including Massachusetts, where the secret American or Know-Nothing order was elected to office for the next three years. This nativist, antislavery party promptly disbanded all five Irish militia companies because of their participation in the rendition. Massachusetts joined seven other states in enacting new personal liberty laws that withdrew state support from fugitive slave rendition. The resentment against Commissioner Loring's decision re-

Cover of The Boston Slave Riot, and Trial of Anthony Burns, 1854. *The account chronicles the efforts of an abolitionist mob to rescue Burns, an escaped slave and Baptist minister, from the hands of federal marshals at a Boston prison. Although he was returned to Virginia and punished with four months solitary confinement, Burns was eventually purchased and freed by a group from Boston.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

sulted in social ostracism for Loring and the loss of his Harvard Law School professorship and state probate office. After Burns's rendition, no owner ever again chanced fugitive slave recovery in Boston.

Throughout his ordeal, Anthony Burns demonstrated his intelligence and resourcefulness, courage and humor, honesty and integrity. As the victimized protagonist, of the most dramatic and famous such case, he became "the fugitive." He originally had discouraged the legal defense urged on his behalf, telling his lawyer that he would fare

worse if he lost, for his master was "a malicious man if crossed." And so he was returned, punished, sold, and celebrated as "the Boston Lion."

See also Black Codes; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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DAVID R. MAGINNES (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Burroughs, Margaret Taylor

November 1, 1917

The daughter of Octavia Pierre Taylor and Alexander Taylor, artist, educator, and museum director Margaret Burroughs was born in St. Rose Parish, Louisiana. In 1920, in search of better lives, her parents migrated to Chicago, where Burroughs made significant, lasting contributions to her community and beyond.

In 1946 she earned her bachelor's degree in art education at the Art Institute of Chicago and began teaching at DuSable High School in Chicago. A committed, impassioned teacher of art, she held this job for twenty-two years until retiring in 1968 to oversee the development of the DuSable Museum of African American History. The museum—which she originally founded as the Ebony Museum of Negro History with her second husband, Charles Gordon Burroughs, in their home on Michigan Avenue—today occupies more than sixty thousand square feet in Washington Park on the south side of Chicago. Managed by Burroughs and a staff of twenty-one, it contains more than fifty thousand items, including art, books, papers, artifacts, and memorabilia.

Since the 1940s Burroughs's art has been displayed in galleries and exhibitions in the United States and abroad. In 1952 and 1953 she was given a one-woman show in Mexico City, where she lived and studied for that year. Influenced by the "new realism" movement of the 1930s and inspired by the works of Mexican muralists Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, Burroughs sought to fuse art with politics, thereby using it as a vehicle for deeper social awareness and, ultimately, social change. This purpose has remained with her throughout her long career as both a visual artist and, later, a poet. She has described her central mission as "the betterment of life for all mankind and especially my people."

Burroughs's sculpture is the product of a "subtractive" style, by which the artist carves the image from large blocks of marble or stone rather than shaping or molding a cast. Her works are characterized by bold, heavy lines that straddle the boundary between realism and abstraction. Certain Burroughs sculptures, for example, portray the heads of African-American women in a manner reminiscent of African and ancient Egyptian art. Her poetry, which draws on folk traditions and contemporary events and focuses on the African and African-American experiences, is written in similarly "broad" strokes of simple, direct language. She is the author of *Jasper, the Drummin' Boy* (1947); *Did You Feed My Cow?: Rhymes and Tales from City Streets and Country Lanes* (1955; revised, 1969); *What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black?* (1968); and *Africa, My Africa* (1970).

In 1980 Burroughs was one of the ten black artists honored by President Jimmy Carter at the White House; in 1982 she received an Excellence in Art award from the National Association of Negro Museums; and in 1986 Mayor Harold Washington proclaimed February 1 as "Dr. Margaret Burroughs Day in Chicago." She has received a vast number of other awards, citations, and honorary degrees. Still dedicated to guarding and enriching the African-American tradition, Burroughs, now director emerita of the DuSable Museum, lives in Chicago.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture; Poetry, U.S.

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NANCY YOUSEF (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Burroughs, Nannie Helen

May 2, 1879
May 20, 1961

Nannie Helen Burroughs, an educator, was born in Orange, Virginia. Her father, born free, attended the Richmond Institute and became a preacher. Her mother, born a slave in Virginia, left her husband and took her two young daughters to Washington, D.C., to attend school. At the Colored High School (later Dunbar High), where she was deeply interested in domestic science, Burroughs came in contact with Mary Church Terrell and Anna Julia Cooper, two women who became her role models. After graduation in 1896 she got a job at the Philadelphia office of the *Christian Banner* while also working part-time for the Rev. Lewis Jordan, an official of the National Baptist Convention (NBC). When Jordan moved to Louisville, Kentucky, Burroughs also relocated there. In Louisville she initiated her career of activism by organizing a women's industrial club that offered evening classes in bookkeeping, sewing, cooking, and typing.

In 1900, at the annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention in Virginia, Burroughs gave a speech titled "How the Sisters Are Hindered from Helping," which gained her national recognition and served as a catalyst for the formation of the largest black women's organization in the United States, the Woman's Convention (WC), an auxiliary to the NBC. The WC was the result of long-standing efforts by women in the Baptist Church to develop an organization to represent them. It provided a forum for black women to deal with religious, political, and social issues and took the lead in their religious and educational training. From 1900 to 1948 Burroughs served as corresponding secretary to the WC, and from 1948 until her death in 1961 she served as president. Because of her hard work and leadership, the membership of the WC grew dramatically, reaching one million members in 1903 and 1.5 million in 1907.

Burroughs spent nearly her entire adult life in the public arena challenging racial discrimination and encouraging African Americans to maintain pride and dignity. An eloquent public speaker, she toured the country denouncing lynching, segregation, employment discrimination, and colonialism. She supported the efforts of the NAACP to attain legal equality for blacks and criticized President Woodrow Wilson for his silence on lynching. She was a staunch feminist who believed women's suffrage was a route to racial advancement as well as a safeguard against male domination and sexual abuse. Like many women of her time, Burroughs believed in the moral superiority of women and the positive impact they could have on the public life of African Americans. Referring to the ballot, she wrote, "The Negro woman needs to get back by the wise use of it what the Negro man has lost by the misuse of it." She was convinced that if given political power, black women would take an uncompromising stand against racial discrimination and political disfranchisement.

In 1896 Burroughs joined other women and formed the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) to promote the political mobilization of black women. She became deeply involved in partisan politics, and in 1924 she and other clubwomen founded the National League of Republican Colored Women. Burroughs became a much sought-after participant by the Republican Party's national speakers bureau. After Herbert Hoover was elected president in 1928, he chose Burroughs to head a fact-finding commission on housing. Even after the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, when most African Americans transferred their political loyalty to the Democratic Party, Burroughs continued her steadfast support of the Republicans.

In addition to opposing institutional racism, Burroughs was also a tireless advocate for black pride and self-help. She believed that progress was ultimately a question of individual will and effort and that with enough self-esteem and self-confidence people could overcome racial barriers. In 1909 in Washington, D.C., she founded the National Training School for Women and Girls, which was renamed the Nannie Helen Burroughs School in 1964. The core of the school's training was what Burroughs called the "three B's": Bible, bath, and broom. The school also offered industrial training in a wide variety of occupations, such as printing, bookkeeping, housekeeping, stenography, dressmaking, and cooking. Burroughs encouraged black women to work hard and excel, whatever their position in society. Through her religious and educational work, she hoped to imbue black women with moral values, such as thrift and hard work, as well as prepare them to become self-sufficient wage earners. Burroughs died in Washington, D.C., at the age of eighty-two.

See also Cooper, Anna J.; National Association of Colored Women; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Business, Black

See Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship

Bustamante, Alexander

February 24, 1884
August 6, 1997

Alexander Bustamante, one of the leading political figures in Jamaica during the twentieth century, was born William Alexander Clarke at Blenheim Estate in Lucea, a coastal town in western Jamaica. He was the second of five children born to Robert Clarke, a white Jamaican, and Mary Wilson, Clarke's second wife, a colored woman of peasant stock. When he married Mary Wilson, Robert Clarke was employed as overseer at Blenheim Estate, a relatively large mixed farming enterprise leased and operated by his stepfather, Alexander Shearer, and his mother Elsie Clarke Shearer. When the widowed Elsie Clarke married Shearer, a white Jamaican of Irish extraction, her social status was enhanced as the mistress of the Blenheim Great House. Her son, Robert, however, incurred her displeasure by marrying beneath him, and he found it necessary to build a modest cottage overlooking the Great House; it was in this cottage that William Alexander Clarke was born and lived with other siblings. Later, when failing health forced the aging Shearers to relinquish the lease, Robert Clarke was retained by the new management as property manager and overseer, and he took up residence in the Great House with his family.

Alexander (Aleck) Clarke left Blenheim in his late teens to become a store clerk, but by the age of twenty he had taken up residence at Belmont Estate, in the south-

Alexander Bustamante (1884–1997) celebrating at a rally, Annette Bay, Jamaica, 1958. *The leader of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and a national hero, Bustamante became the first prime minister of independent Jamaica in 1962.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/ GETTY IMAGES

eastern parish of St. Catherine, to be trained as a junior overseer. Belmont was owned by Thomas Manley, a black man, and his fair-skinned wife, Margaret Shearer. They were the parents of five children, including Norman Washington Manley (1893–1969), later to become Clarke-Bustamante's lifelong political rival. Together, they founded a political dynasty, each serving more than once as the head of the government while the other took the role of leader of the opposition. Both men were half cousins by virtue of sharing a common maternal grandmother, Elsie Clarke Shearer.

Restless, Alexander Clarke left Belmont Estate and went to Cuba in 1905. Initially, he worked as a public transit employee, but he was transferred, due to a promotion, to Panama. On his return to Cuba, he joined the Cuban president's Special Police Force. Between 1910 and 1931 he also made four return visits to Jamaica, including one to start a business venture. In 1934 he migrated from Cuba to New York City, where, identifying himself as Alejandro Bustamanti, a cultivated gentleman of Spanish birth, he worked in a private hospital until he returned, finally, to Jamaica in 1934, and set himself up as a small-business money lender.

The year 1935 witnessed the onset of labor unrest, culminating in an island-wide revolt of the working classes and peasants during 1937 and 1938. Simultaneously, the

unrest gave birth to a political movement and a trade union movement. The expectation was that both would be complementary arms of a single process: the political arm was to be led by the leading barrister Norman Manley, who launched the avowedly socialist People's National Party in September 1938; while the trade union arm was to be led by Alexander Bustamante, who registered the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) in January 1939.

In September 1940, Bustamante was incarcerated by the governor for making inflammatory speeches. He was released in February 1942, and immediately took absolute control of the BITU from a joint caretaker administration, which included his cousin Norman Manley. In July 1943, Bustamante launched the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) as the political arm of the BITU to contest the first general election based on universal suffrage under the new 1944 constitution. The BITU/ JLP bloc won the election with a large majority and ushered in the era of "Bustamantee-ism"—with its highly personalized rule—and of "political unionism." The BITU/JLP was returned to office for another five years in 1949, and Bustamante (whose surname was legally adopted in 1945) progressed from head of government to chief minister. The JLP lost the election of 1955, and Bustamante served as the leader of the opposition party from 1955 until 1961. He then dramatically reversed his political decline, regained power, and became the first prime minister of independent Jamaica from 1962 until 1964, when failing eyesight forced him to relinquish duties to an acting prime minister.

Bustamante was able to seize the opportunities for leadership provided by the social upheaval by going outside the interests of his own class, the indigenous plantocracy, and identifying himself with the downtrodden masses of the black population. He also enhanced his "representativeness" and acceptability by participating in the organizational work of other trade unions, and by sharing the platforms of activists associated with the teachings of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), the Jamaican-born advocate of "black consciousness and pride." His credibility and legitimacy as an authentic leader of the working classes were cemented by his arrest and four days of incarceration in May 1938, and by his forcible internment two years later. He was a tall imposing figure, often elegantly dressed, and his fearless confrontations with the armed police as he led protest marches throughout Kingston served to reinforce the legend that he had initiated about himself—namely, that of the swashbuckling foreign adventurer who had lived in Spain and had served in the Spanish army as a cavalry officer and who, notwithstanding the Great Depression, had made his fortune in the New York stock market.

Bustamante also had an intuitive grasp of the psychology of the workers and peasants, and he could understand their yearnings for a measure of dignity and respect. Unlike previous Jamaican "messiahs" in the twentieth century, Bustamante focused on the material improvement of the dispossessed through direct action. His autocratic and flamboyant style of leadership, as well as his bravado, affability, and accessibility, inspired undying devotion and loyalty—especially on the part of women, towards whom he was always deferential and chivalrous. The refrain "we will follow Bustamante till we die" was chanted by thousands of his supporters at rallies and marches across the country.

While employers could count upon his sense of fair play, Bustamante was first and foremost a champion of the underdog. He would make realistic union demands and then strive to attain them, first by industrial action, and then, if need be, by political action. He also used the BITU to meet the emotional needs of workers, especially on the socially stratified sugar estates, by meeting the employers' high-handed action and deprecating language with equally intimidating language and action.

Deprived by the BITU of mass support, the rival PNP's only hope of electoral victory lay in building its own trade union base, with the result that Jamaican society evolved into two tribe-like political groupings, each with a political culture reflecting the ethics of the two dominant leaders. The Bustamante model of "political unionism"—involving the alliance of unions and parties, the overlap of leadership, and the use of the state apparatus to further labor interests—served to bring organized labor into the center of organized politics and to make support of labor critical to any party that wished to survive and achieve power. This situation led to the entrenchment of the two-party system of representative parliamentary government in Jamaica.

The support of a predominantly rural and agrarian labor force—with whom he shared an emotional attachment to the British monarchy—along with his own private-enterprise orientation, enabled Bustamante to establish the JLP as a genuine conservative party akin to the British Conservative Party. His political philosophy was one of "gradualism" combined with fiscal prudence, particularly as he felt that both he and the newly enfranchised working classes were on trial. Nation building was a process of gradually building development institutions. Bustamante thus had to be won over even to the cause of self-government and political independence by the force of circumstances, including pressure from the rival PNP/trade union bloc.

Although he was also won over to West Indian unity and Jamaica's participation in the West Indies Federation

Alexander Bustamante with labor strikers, Kingston, Jamaica, 1938. *Bustamante led the march of striking workers that resulted in rioting which paralyzed the city of Kingston for six hours before British troops, policemen, and others restored order. The following year, he registered the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), and launched the Jamaica Labour Party in 1943.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

(WIF, inaugurated in 1958), Bustamante was first and foremost a Jamaican nationalist, and he became increasingly disenchanted with the federation. By 1961 he had taken political opposition to the point where the Norman Manley–led PNP government opted for a referendum to settle the issue of Jamaica's continuing participation in the WIF. Bustamante and the JLP campaigned successfully against participation, leading to Jamaica's withdrawal and the breakup of the federation. The ensuing general election returned his party to office, and Sir Alexander Bustamante (he was knighted in 1955) became the first prime minister of Jamaica in 1962. His first act as prime minister was to complete the first phase of the "mental revolution"—the phrase he used in 1938 to describe Jamaica's social upheaval—by recommending the appointment of a black man to be the first native born governor general, a role representative of the formal head of state.

Illness forced Bustamante to retire his post in 1967, though he lived another thirty years. During his life he held many titles and honors, including Honorary Doctor of Laws, lifelong president of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), lifelong leader and "chief" of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), mayor of the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation, and the first person to be named a National Hero in Jamaica during his or her own lifetime.

See also Jamaica Labour Party; Manley, Norman; People's National Party

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GEORGE E. EATON (2005)

Butler, Octavia

June 22, 1947

Octavia Estelle Butler, a novelist and short-story writer, is one of a select number of African Americans whose writing deliberately discards the realistic tradition to embrace a specialized genre—namely, science fiction. The only surviving child of Laurice and Octavia M. Guy Butler, she was raised in a racially and culturally diverse neighborhood of Pasadena, California. She attended a two-year program at Pasadena City College and took subsequent course work at both California State College and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Dyslexic, extremely shy, and therefore solitary, Butler began writing as a child, convinced she could write better science-fiction stories than those she saw on television.

Respected by the science-fiction community of writers, critics, and fans as an important author ever since her first books earned excellent reviews, Butler has produced many novels and several highly regarded short stories. Her first published novel (although plotwise the last in its series), *Patternmaster* (1976), is one of the five books in her past-and-future-history Patternist saga, a series of interrelated stories using genetic breeding and the development of "psionic" powers as a unifying motif. The saga reaches from precolonial Africa to a post-holocaust Earth of the distant future. In the proper reading order, the books in the tale are *Wild Seed* (1980), *Mind of My Mind* (1977), *Clay's Ark* (1984), and *Survivor* (1978).

In each of these novels, as in *Kindred* (1979)—her only novel outside a series—Butler conspicuously introduces issues of race and gender to science fiction. Her female protagonists are African, African-American, or mixed-race women operating principally in nontraditional modes. This depiction of women as powerful, self-sustaining, and capable—able either to adapt or to nurture and heal, and equally equipped to fight or to compromise—gained Butler the critical approval of two additional audiences—black readers and scholars, and white feminists.

Butler's Xenogenesis series—*Dawn* (1987), *Adulthood Rites* (1988), and *Imago* (1989)—which was deemed "satisfying . . . hard science fiction" by Orson Scott Card (1992), continues an examination of women in differing roles as it explores issues of human survival in another grim post-holocaust future where aliens have landed. Here Butler continues to explore her interest in genetics, anthropology, ecology, and sociobiology. Also central are issues of family, alliances or networks, power, control, and hierarchical structures fueling what Butler designates the "human contradiction," the capacity for self-destruction if humanity refuses to change.

Although she is primarily a novelist, Butler's short stories have won two coveted science-fiction awards: "Speech Sounds" (1983) received a Hugo Award, and "Bloodchild" (1984) earned both a Hugo and a Nebula Award. Each first appeared in *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*. "The Evening and the Morning and the Night" (1987) initially appeared in *Omni*. "Bloodchild" explores a forced human adaptation to change through the metaphor of male pregnancy, while "Speech Sounds" examines a violent near-future cityscape whose inhabitants contract a sometimes deadly illness that dramatically affects language. "The Evening . . ." recounts the impact of a terrifying genetically based disease and the efforts of those affected to eradicate or control it. Butler's 1999 novel *Parable of the Talents* won the Nebula Award, and she received the PEN Center West Lifetime Achievement Award in 2000.

See also Delany, Samuel R.; Literature of the United States

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SANDRA Y. GOVAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Butler, Uriah

January 21, 1897
February 20, 1977

Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler was born in the South Caribbean island of Grenada in 1897. In 1917 he volunteered to serve with a detachment of the British West Indies Regiment and was posted to Egypt. At the time, West Indian blacks were not permitted to engage in frontline fighting against white troops. Toward the end of the First World War he returned to Grenada and joined the Grenada Union of Returned Soldiers, which pressed for improved compensation packages for West Indian soldiers. He also became politically active and formed the Grenada representative government movement.

In the meantime, the political and social situation in Trinidad and Tobago had become explosive. From December 1919 to February 1920 the island was rocked by a wave of industrial unrest led by a radical black working-class organization called the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA). Following these " disturbances," the TWA, which at the time had close links with the British Labour Party, helped to persuade the British Colonial Office to send a commission of enquiry headed by Major E. L. F. Wood, the undersecretary of state for the colonies, to investigate political and social conditions in the British West Indies. One of the consequences of the commission's report in 1922 was that the British Government conceded to Trinidad and Tobago, then a Crown Colony, elective representation to its legislative council. Trinidad and Tobago was at the time experiencing a rapid development of its petroleum industry, while the traditional sugar and cocoa sectors of its plantation economy were beginning to decline.

Migration to Trinidad

The growing petroleum economy brought many Grenadians to Trinidad and Tobago in the 1920s. Butler joined the stream of migrants in 1921 and found employment in a small oil field owned by Timothy Roodal, with whom he would maintain a special relationship even after he had left Roodal's employment. Butler performed such sundry jobs as pipe fitter, pumpman, and rigman. In 1929 he suffered a permanent injury to his leg while working for the Venezuelan Consolidated Oilfields. This was the year that marked the beginning of the Great Depression, which reduced workers' wages and lowered living conditions throughout the colony, and Butler did not receive compensation for his injury. He began to pursue the avocation of Moravian Baptist preacher among the Grenadian immigrants in the oil districts. This brought him into intimate contact with the trials and tribulations of oil workers, which the TWA—renamed the Trinidad Labour Party (TLP) in 1932—seemed unwilling or unable to address. In March 1935, Butler identified with the cause of striking oil workers of the Apex company. Following their dismissal by the company, he joined a " hunger march" of workers from the southern oil districts to Port of Spain, the colony's capital city. They headed for the Red House, the seat of administration in the colony, and Butler was part of a delegation permitted an audience with the governor, Sir Claude Hollis. When it became apparent that the governor would do nothing to assist the workers, Butler fell on his knees to plead their cause, and the Governor relented and promised the workers some financial assistance.

The 1937 Unrest

Butler's encounter with the governor demonstrated the emotional ties he had developed with the oil workers. From then until June 19, 1937, he wrote several letters to the governor and the colonial secretary about the plight of the poor and disadvantaged. He also became more passionate in his public addresses and sermons, usually conducted from dusk into the night, in which he combined biblical invocations, oath-taking, and hymn-singing with bitter denunciation of the colonial authorities and the oil companies. His addresses began to be closely monitored by detectives and spies in the employment of the colonial constabulary. In July 1936, he broke ranks with Captain Arthur Cipriani (1878–1945), head of the TLP, after Cipriani endorsed the disappointing recommendations of a government-appointed committee to review minimum wages in the colony. Butler then formed his own organization, which he called the *British Empire Workers' and Citizens' Home Rule Party*. At midnight on June 18, 1937, the oil workers—rallying around the one spokesman courageous enough to publicly denounce both the oil companies and the colonial authorities—went on strike.

That strike became a generalized strike throughout Trinidad and Tobago within a week. It was a virtual repetition of the unrest of 1919–1920, but with a greater degree of violence on the part of both the colonial authorities and the striking workers, resulting in several fatalities. Fearing that he would be the object of a revenge killing by the police if he were arrested, Butler went into hiding, only to surrender in September, 1937, when he emerged to testify before a commission of enquiry, the Foster Commission, appointed by the British government. It was left to one of his earlier collaborators, the lawyer and political radical Adrian Cola Rienzi (1905–1972), to rally the workers and

consolidate them into a union called the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) during Butler's three month absence. Butler was arrested after his testimony before the Foster Commission, and he was subsequently tried and jailed for two years.

Postwar Career

On his release from prison on May 6, 1939, Butler found the oil workers well-organized and led by Rienzi and the OWTU. He was integrated into the union as General Organizer, a salaried position. But he soon broke ranks with the union and sought to ignite another strike movement. On November 28, he was arrested by the colonial authorities under emergency war regulations and kept in prison for the duration of the Second World War. By the time of his release in April 1945, the British government had decided to concede universal adult voting rights to the colony, and Butler's party began to campaign for the legislative council elections scheduled for July 1946. Butler was particularly hostile to candidates of the Socialist Party, sponsored by the OWTU, which led to their defeat, though he himself was defeated by Albert Gomes in Port of Spain. Butler's party won only two of the nine elective seats in the colony.

Once the elections were over, Butler resumed his campaign to become the leading labor representative in the colony. From November 1946 to May 1947 he encouraged strike action among waterfront workers, oil workers, and sugar workers, causing the colonial government to declare a state of emergency and ban him from entering the oil districts. Officially condemned as an irresponsible leader, he nevertheless maintained enormous popularity among workers and established political links with middle-class Indian politicians. In the 1950 elections to the legislative council, his party won the largest bloc of elective seats, though not enough to form a working majority. The governor did not select Butler as a member of the Executive Council, the de facto cabinet.

From 1950 until his death in February 1977, Butler's star began to wane. The rise of race-based party politics in Trinidad and Tobago in 1956, most clearly represented by the African-based People's National Movement (PNM) and the Indian-based Democratic Labour Party left his party little political space, while his lengthy sojourns to London in the 1950s left it without inspired leadership. He was defeated in the elections of 1961 and 1966, but after his death in 1977 he has remained a revered symbol of heroism and personal sacrifice on behalf of Trinidad and Tobago's working class.

See also Labor and Labor Unions; People's National Movement (PNM)

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KELVIN SINGH (2005)

Butts, Calvin

July 22, 1949

Born in New York City, the son of a restaurant chef and an administrator of welfare services, Calvin Otis Butts III, a minister, attended public schools, becoming class president at Forest Hills High School in 1967. He attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, graduating in 1971, and then entered New York's Union Theological Seminary. In 1972, while at Union, he was recruited by leaders of the four-thousand-member Abyssinian Baptist Church, the largest and most prestigious church in the city's Harlem section. The church's influential pastor, Congressman Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. had just died. Butts was hired as assistant to the new pastor, the Rev. Samuel Proctor.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Butts earned a reputation as a community leader and activist, as Powell had before him. Butts accepted the chair of Harlem's YMCA branch, toured neighborhood schools to report on education, called for hearings on police brutality, and in 1988 marched in the city's Bensonhurst section following the shooting of an African-American teenager. He also aroused controversy through his denunciations of liquor and tobacco billboard advertisements in black communities and his attacks on New York's political leaders, both white and black. (Butts once referred to New York's then mayor Ed Koch as a "racist" and "opportunist.") In 1986 one-third of the membership of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra refused to participate in the orchestra's annual concert at Abyssinian when Butts refused to distance himself from Louis Farrakhan after the Nation of Islam leader was accused of anti-Semitic remarks.

On July 1, 1989, following Proctor's retirement, Butts was elected chief pastor of Abyssinian. During the following years he devoted increased time to managing the church's endowment, employment, and welfare programs and attempting to attract investment in the community. One notable project in which Butts was involved was the effort during the early 1990s to reopen the Freedom National Bank, Harlem's leading financial institution, after it went bankrupt. However, Butts retained his activist posture, continuing his campaigns against alcohol and cigarette advertising and gambling. In 1993 he began a well-publicized crusade against rap music, which he denounced as violent and pornographic. Butts called for his congregation to bring in rap recordings, which he would "crush by steamroller." Butts also attracted significant attention through his maverick political stance, particularly his support of independent presidential candidate Ross Perot in 1992. In 1998 Butts became the center of renewed controversy when he publicly accused New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani of being a racist.

In 1999 Butts was elected president of the Old Westbury campus of the State University of New York. He continued his role as chief pastor of the Abyssinian Church. In 2001 a photobiography of the Abyssinian Church was published.

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam; Rap

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
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COLIN A. PALMER
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Colin A. Palmer, Editor in Chief

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Caesar, Shirley

October 13, 1938

Born in Durham, North Carolina, gospel singer Shirley Caesar began singing as a child, inspired by her father, "Big Jim" Caesar, a singer in the Just Come Four gospel quartet. Nicknamed "Baby Shirley," she made her first recording, "I'd Rather Have Jesus," in 1951, and sang throughout the South during her teenage years. In 1958 she began to gain national recognition as a soloist with the Caravan Singers, which included Albertina Walker and Inez Andrews. Although at the time a Baptist, Caesar adopted the "sanctified" style of gospel singing, characterized by fast tempos and extensive improvisation. Recordings from this period include "I've Been Running for Jesus a Long Time, and I'm Not Tired Yet" (1958), "Hallelujah, It's Done" (1961), and "I Won't Be Back" (1962). In 1966 she left the Caravan Singers and formed the Caesar Singers. She continued to perform and record, but her style became less energetic and ornamental. Instead, she favored the "song and sermonette" approach then popular with gospel singers, performing songs such as "Don't Drive Your Mama Away" (1969), "No Charge" (1978), and "Faded Roses" (1980).

Caesar continued to enjoy success in the 1990s, earning five Grammy Awards during this period. In 1997 she released an album titled *A Miracle in Harlem* that was recorded live at the First Corinthian Baptist Church in Harlem. That same year she published her autobiography, *Shirley Caesar: The Lady, the Melody, the Word.* In 2000 she released *You Can Make It,* a compilation album. In 2002 she released *Hymns.*

In addition to performing and recording, Caesar, the winner of numerous Grammy Awards and seventeen Dove Awards, the Gospel Music Association's highest tribute, has had several other careers. She received a B.S. in business education from Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, and went on to serve from 1987 to 1991 on the Durham City Council. She then became pastor of the Mt. Calvary Word of Faith Church in Raleigh, as well as president of Shirley Caesar Outreach Ministries, an emergency social services organization. Her husband, Harold T. Williams, is bishop of the Mt. Calvary Holy Churches of America, a small African-American holiness denomination.

See also Gospel Music

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KATHY WHITE BULLOCK (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Cain, Richard Harvey

April 12, 1825
January 18, 1887

The clergyman and politician Richard Cain was born free in Greenbriar County, Virginia (now West Virginia), and moved with his African-born father and Cherokee mother to Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1831. While still a young boy he worked on the steamboat service on the Ohio River. In 1841 he converted to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and four years later became licensed to preach in Hannibal, Missouri. He returned to Ohio soon thereafter and joined the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Cincinnati, where he was ordained as a deacon in 1859. The following year he studied at Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio, before transferring to Brooklyn, New York, where he served as a minister for four years.

In 1865, at the end of the Civil War, the AME Church Council assigned Cain to Charleston, South Carolina, to minister to recently freed slaves. In 1866 he became editor of the *Missionary Record,* a black newspaper, a position he held until 1872. During that time he launched a political career wherein he became known as a fiery and eloquent campaigner for the Republican Party, a land reformer, and a vigorous civil rights advocate. In 1868 he was sent as a delegate to the South Carolina Constitutional Convention, where he advocated for Congress to appropriate funds to purchase land for freed blacks. In July of that year, Cain was elected to the state senate, where he served for one term. Soon thereafter he became involved in an ambitious plan to buy three thousand acres of land to sell in small plots to freedmen. The project went bankrupt, however, and Cain was indicted on charges of fraud, though the case was never brought to trial. In 1872 Cain was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he spent much of his time lobbying on behalf of a civil rights bill. He did not run for re-election in 1874, but he ran in 1876 and was again elected. In that session he campaigned for women's suffrage and for more funding for education. But by that time Cain's outlook on the possibilities for political advancement by blacks in the United States had diminished, and he supported the renewed Liberia emigration movement and put more of his energies into his ministry.

In 1880 Cain was elected the fourteenth bishop of the AME Church and assigned to Louisiana and Texas. He helped found Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas, and served as the college's second president. He returned to his post as bishop in 1880 and presided over the New York, New Jersey, New England, and Philadelphia districts. He died in Washington, D.C., in 1887.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Politics in the United States

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
JOSEPH W. LOWNDES (1996)

Calloway, Cab

December 25, 1907
November 18, 1994

Born in Rochester, New York, jazz singer and bandleader Cabell "Cab" Calloway was raised in Baltimore, Maryland. In high school he sang with a local vocal group called the Baltimore Melody Boys. The Calloway family, including Cab's sister, singer Blanche Calloway, then moved to Chicago, where Cab attended Crane College. Calloway began his career as a singer, drummer, and master of ceremonies at nightclubs in Chicago and other midwestern cities. In the late 1920s in Chicago Calloway worked with the Missourians, a big band; in the male vocal quartet in *Plantation Days;* and as leader of the Alabamians. In 1929 he took

the Alabamians to Harlem's Savoy Ballroom and that same year was featured in Fats Waller and Andy Razaf's Hot Chocolates revue.

In 1929 Calloway began to lead the Missourians under his own name. In 1931 they replaced Duke Ellington as the Cotton Club's house band. During the 1930s Calloway became a household name, the country's prototypical "hipster," renowned for his infectious vocal histrionics, his frenzied dashing up and down the stage in a white satin zoot suit, and leading audience sing-alongs, particularly on his biggest hit, "Minnie the Moocher" (1931). That song, with its "Hi-de-ho" chorus, was a million-copy seller and earned him the nickname "Hi-de-ho Man."

Calloway's talents were not limited to comic entertainment. During the swing era Calloway's band was one of the most popular in the country, known for such songs as "At the Clambake Carnival" (1938), "Jumpin' Jive" (1939), and "Pickin' the Cabbage" (1940), and he nurtured some of the best instrumentalists of the day, including saxophonists Ben Webster and Chuck Berry, trumpeters Jonah Jones and Dizzy Gillespie, bassist Milt Hinton, and drummer Cozy Cole. The orchestra held its own in competitions throughout the 1930s with the bands of Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Chick Webb, and Jimmy Lunceford. Calloway's orchestra left the Cotton Club in 1934 for a European tour. In addition to its success in nightclubs and on the concert stage, the Calloway orchestra also appeared in movies, including *The Big Broadcast* (1932), *The Singing Kid* (1936), *St. Louis Blues* (1939), and *Stormy Weather* (1943). Calloway disbanded the orchestra in 1948 and worked with a sextet before touring England as a soloist.

Calloway returned to his roots in musical theater in 1952 for a two-year run in the role of Sportin' Life in a touring version of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess.* Throughout the 1950s and 1960s he continued to perform both as a solo act and as the leader of big bands. In the mid-1960s he toured with the Harlem Globetrotters comic basketball team. In 1974 he appeared in an all-black version of *Hello, Dolly!,* and two years later he published his autobiography, *Of Minnie the Moocher and Me.* Calloway appeared on Broadway in *Bubbling Brown Sugar* in 1975, and his cameo in *The Blues Brothers* (1980) brought a revival of interest in him. In 1984 he sang with his vocalist daughter, Chris, in an engagement at New York's Blue Note nightclub. In 1987 he again appeared with Chris Calloway, this time in *His Royal Highness of Hi-De-Ho* in New York.

See also Basie, William James "Count"; Cotton Club; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Gillespie, Dizzy

Cab Calloway (1907–1994). *One of the most popular performers of the 1930s and 1940s, jazz musician Calloway was known for his dramatic vocals and white satin zoot suit, and for the "Hi-de-ho" chorus in his hit song "Minnie the Moocher" (1931).* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

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MICHAEL D. SCOTT (1996)

CALLOWAY, NATHANIEL

OCTOBER 10, 1907
DECEMBER 3, 1979

The chemist and physician Nathaniel Oglesby Calloway was born in Tuskegee, Alabama, the son of James and Marietta (Oglesby) Calloway. He graduated from Iowa State College in 1930. In 1933, when he earned a Ph.D. in organic chemistry (also at Iowa State), Calloway became the first African American to receive an academic doctor-

ate from an institution west of the Mississippi. He taught chemistry until 1940 at Tuskegee Institute and then at Fisk University. In 1935, he prepared the first English-language review of the so-called Friedel-Crafts reaction (1877), a phenomenon in organic chemistry with important applications in the plastics, perfume, textile, and petroleum industries. Calloway's work was widely cited.

Calloway enrolled in medical school at the University of Illinois, graduating with an M.D. in 1943. During World War II, he directed a government-sponsored study of convalescence practices. He became a staunch advocate of early ambulation, the theory (now generally accepted) that post-operative patients improve more rapidly when not confined to their beds. After 1947 his research focused on topics in gerontology and geriatrics. He proposed a "general theory of senescence" (or aging) in 1964. Over the next ten years, he published twenty-six articles in the *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*.

Calloway served as medical director of Provident Hospital in Chicago until 1949, when he founded Medical Associates of Chicago, a black group-practice in the inner city. After fourteen years as president of Medical Associates, he became chief of medical services for the Veterans Administration Hospital in Tomah, Wisconsin. A civil rights activist, he was president of the Chicago Urban League from 1955 to 1960 and of the Madison, Wisconsin, branch of the NAACP in 1969.

See also Science

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PHILIP N. ALEXANDER (1996)

Calypso

Born in post-emancipation Trinidad, calypso possesses a unique and lasting quality that has carried it far beyond the Caribbean. The distinctive music that became its hallmark in the latter half of the twentieth century was a major change from early calypso, which evolved out of simple efforts at communication among the largely African underclass. Singers, first called *chantwells*, extemporized songs in which they flattered friends, attacked adversaries, or poked good-natured fun at one another. This mock warfare led them to adopt sobriquets that complemented the battles (e.g., Hubert Raphael Charles was known as Roaring Lion, or Neville Marcano as Growling Tiger), and the tradition of singing under an assumed name has persisted, although the newer versions (e.g., Slinger Francisco as Mighty Sparrow, or Hollis Liverpool as Chalkdust) are far less warlike, and many contemporary singers simply use their real names (e.g., David Rudder).

Calypso was already being sung when the British came to Trinidad, but it was known by other names, among them *kaiso,* apparently derived from a West African (Hausa) term meaning "bravo." The word *calypso* was an attempt to anglicize that appellation, and both terms have survived to the present, with *kaiso* being used for a more authentic version of the song, or as a term of praise and encouragement when a calypso is felt to be particularly well rendered.

As the chantwell evolved into the calypsonian, calypso's role as the people's newspaper or purveyor of social commentary began to take shape. Calypsonians sang about nearly every aspect of life in Trinidad and the world beyond, providing a healthy and often humorous dose of down-to-earth philosophizing. By the 1940s a large body of these songs was already on record, contributing in no small way to calypso's international appeal. The Andrews Sisters, with "Rum and Coca Cola" in 1944, and Harry Belafonte, with his pioneering LP *Calypso* in 1956, are only two of the bigger recording acts who helped popularize calypso.

In its most elementary form, a calypso consists of three or four stanzas with a chorus after each one. The early melodies were fairly simple and frequently recycled among singers. As a result, listeners paid close attention to what the singers were saying. This type of calypso is still the favorite of many aficionados, who go to hear the newly composed songs as they are presented—at venues called *tents*—before each year's carnival.

Any consideration of calypso must take into account its close link with Trinidad carnival and its post-emancipation development. Calypsos would provide nearly all the music accompanying the revelers who took to the streets in the annual masquerade. Gradually, a dual expectation arose: infectious music for street revelers to dance to, as well as traditional lyrics to entertain and even educate the listeners. Ideally, the perfect calypso combines both. Increasingly, though, with the advent in the mid-1970s of a popular new strain of calypso called *soca*—allegedly derived from a combination of soul and calypso—the music and its commercial potential are overshadowing the importance of the lyric.

In 1956, Mighty Sparrow won the coveted annual competition to select the king (now monarch) of calypso.

The lyrics of his winning "Yankees Gone" were hard hitting; his melody was unforgettable; the combination was perfect. That calypso was not the first to comment on the devastating increase in prostitution as a result of the American presence in Trinidad after World War II, but it is, deservedly, the best known. Sparrow boasted in his chorus, easily learned by carnival revelers as they paraded in the streets the very morning following Sparrow's victory:

Well, is Jean and Dinah
Rosita and Clementina
Round the corner posing
Bet your life is something they selling
But if you catch them broken
You can get it all for nutten
Don't make a row
Yankees gone, Sparrow take over now.

Sparrow revolutionized the art form. After him, calypso melody would no longer be of secondary importance—an encouraging development for soca two decades later. But he did not overlook the powerful lyric, and his political and social commentaries were so forceful and on target that he could openly boast later on that "if Sparrow say so, is so."

Calypso, ably assisted by its cultural twin, carnival, has spread throughout the Caribbean, and to the major metropolitan cities where Caribbean communities have established themselves. At home, calypso's duality has been entrenched with the growing popularity of soca, and the composition of songs whose lyrics have very little of substance—the so-called party songs, in which the public is encouraged to "put your hands in the air" or to "get something and wave." However, the prestigious annual calypso monarch competition is dominated by calypsos of social or political commentary, to the point where government officials attending the performance have at times felt under attack. It is all good natured, however, and there is no official censorship of these songs, despite spasmodic outcries from the various groups being pilloried. Calypsonians and their craft have gained acceptance in Trinidad and Tobago society and beyond. No longer are they seen as the undesirables, for, as Sparrow sang in his calypso "Outcast," "Calypsonians really catch hell for a long time / To associate yourself with them was a big crime." It is inconceivable that such a state of affairs could ever arise again, given the local and international recognition earned by this truly indigenous art form.

See also Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean; Nationalism and Race in the Caribbean; Reggae

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KEITH Q. WARNER (2005)

Cambridge, Godfrey MacArthur

February 26, 1933
November 29, 1976

Actor Godfrey Cambridge was born in New York City in 1933 and grew up in Harlem with his parents, Sarah and Alexander Cambridge. He attended Flushing High School, where he excelled as both a student and a leader of extracurricular activities. Cambridge won a scholarship to Hofstra College (now University) on Long Island, where he majored in English and had his first acting experience, appearing in a school production of *Macbeth*. After racial threats forced him to leave Hofstra during his junior year, Cambridge attended City College in New York City. Upon graduating, he worked at a number of jobs including stints as an airplane wing cleaner, a judo instructor, a cab driver, and a clerk for the New York City Housing Authority.

In 1956 Cambridge landed his first professional role, as a bartender in an Off-Broadway revival of Louis Peterson's *Take a Giant Step*. The play ran for nine months and led to television appearances in shows such as *The United States Steel Hour, Naked City,* and *You'll Never Get Rich* (with Phil Silvers as Sergeant Bilko). In 1961 Cambridge appeared in Jean Genet's *The Blacks,* a savage drama about racial hatred, and for his efforts he received the *Village Voice*'s Obie Award for best performer of 1961. The following year he appeared in Ossie Davis's *Purlie Victorious,* for which he earned a Tony nomination. Cambridge went on to perform in other plays, including *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962), *The Living Promise* (1963), and *How to Be a Jewish Mother* (1967), in which he played every part but the title role.

After a successful appearance on *The Jack Paar Program* in 1964, Cambridge was able to choose his roles and began turning down film parts that stereotyped him. Instead he played a wide variety of movie characters, includ-

ing a reprise of his role in the film version of *Purlie Victorious,* titled *Gone Are the Days* (1963); an Irishman in *The Troublemaker* (1964); a Jewish cab driver in *Bye, Bye, Braverman* (1968); and a concert violinist in *The Biggest Bundle of Them All* (1968). Cambridge is probably best known for his leading roles in the popular films *Watermelon Man* (1970) and *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970).

In addition to his film appearances, Cambridge was a successful stand-up comedian. His sense of humor, while not alienating to white audiences, did not lack bite. Essentially a social satirist, his comedy often dealt with ordinary people, black and white, struggling with the problems of everyday life.

During the civil rights movement Cambridge performed at rallies and organized support for the employment of more African Americans in the entertainment industry. A compulsive eater who at times weighed as much as three hundred pounds, in 1976 Cambridge collapsed and died on the set of the TV movie *Victory at Entebbe,* in which he played the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Campbell, Clifford Clarence

June 28, 1892
1991

Sir Clifford Clarence Campbell, the first native governor general of Jamaica, was born in Petersfield, in Westmoreland Parish, to James Campbell, a civil servant, and his wife Blance, née Ruddock. Clifford Campbell was educated at Petersfield Elementary School from 1901 to 1912 and at Mico Training College, a teachers college, in Kingston from 1913 to 1915. After graduating from Mico, he began his teaching career as headmaster at Fullersfield Government School in 1916, where he served until 1918, when he moved to Friendship Elementary School. He served as headmaster of this school for ten years, then as headmaster of the Grange Hill Government School from 1928 to 1944. On August 1, 1920, Campbell married Alice Estephene, with whom he had four children.

Apart from teaching and politics, Campbell took a keen interest in music, painting, community, and professional services. He was a member of the Manchester Committee of the Westend Federation of Teachers, the board of visitors to Savalamar Public Hospital, the Advisory Committee of the Knockalva Practical Training Center, the Board of Education from 1944 to 1945, the Westmoreland School Board, the Issa Scholarship Awards Committee in 1945, the Westmoreland Rice Growers Association, and the Committee on Training of Government Officers in 1945. Campbell became the first vice president of the Association of Westmoreland Branches of the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and he served in 1945 as a member of a delegation sent to investigate the conditions of Jamaican farmworkers in the United States.

The constitution of Jamaica provides that "There shall be a Parliament of Jamaica which shall consist of Her Majesty, the Senate, and a House of Representatives." The governor general is by the same constitution declared to be the representative of the queen in Jamaica. The Jamaican Parliament therefore consists of three branches: the House of Representatives; the Senate; and in the context of Jamaica, the governor general. Campbell had the great distinction of being not only the first native governor general of Jamaica, but also the first Jamaican to have served the country in all three branches of government.

Campbell inaugurated his career in politics in 1944 when, as a member of the Jamaica Labour Party, he won a seat (Westmoreland Western) to the House of Representatives in the first elections under universal adult suffrage. Campbell was chairman of the House Committee on Education from 1945 to 1949 and was first vice president of the Elected Members Association from 1945 to 1954. In 1950 he became speaker of the House of Representatives, and in 1962 he was appointed president of the Senate.

When Jamaica became independent in 1962, Campbell was appointed by Queen Elizabeth as governor general of Jamaica. He greeted the news of his appointment with these words: "I shall maintain that humility in which state I came into the world, in which state I have lived among the human element and in which state I hope to die—with a spirit of humility and respect for my fellow men." Over the intervening years he did not in any way deviate from his avowed intent.

In 1989 Campbell was awarded the Order of the Nation, the second highest honor in Jamaica after the Order of National Hero. Queen Elizabeth also awarded him with the honor of Knight Grand Cross of Saint Michael and

Saint George and later with the Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order.

Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley's tribute to Campbell emphasizes the role he played in nation building. According to Manley: "As the first Jamaican-born Governor, he had the very special constitutional responsibility of guiding the country through a new unchartered journey in which we were no longer dependent on outside authority to shape our destiny. He had to instill in us his own personal faith and conviction in our ability as a people to travel along this new road. He well understood that we would have to help each other move the obstacles in our path. He knew he had to inspire us to become architects and builders of our nation."

See also Jamaica Labour Party

LEO GUNTER (2005)

Canada, Blacks in

People of African descent first came to what is currently called Canada in the seventeenth century, serving as explorers, translators, trappers, servants, and farmers. Though still a young man when he made his passage across the Atlantic, Mathieu Da Costa became the first recorded African to reach the burgeoning French colony of New France when he arrived around 1603. According to early reports, Da Costa's linguistic and commercial skills proved most valuable to Portuguese and French merchants, for whom he interpreted. In 1608, Da Costa also bore witness to the founding of Québec City, a monumental event signaling France's determination to remain in North America. Da Costa's ultimate fate is not known, though for a time he is said to have worked as servant in Acadia, a settlement in what is now Nova Scotia.

Within two decades of Da Costa's arrival in New France, conditions had dramatically changed for Africans. The institution of slavery, already well entrenched in the American colonies to the south, had been haphazardly established by missionaries and a handful of the wealthiest colonists. Though only six years old at the time of his enslavement in Madagascar, Olivier Le Jeune earned the dubious distinction of being the first enslaved African brought to New France (he arrived between 1629 and 1632). Le Jeune eventually became the property of Jesuit priests in Québec City, where he worked as a domestic until he died in 1654.

Slavery received full royal sanction in 1689, when Louis XIV endorsed the sale of slaves in New France. Even if slavery never thrived in New France, for those Africans and Panis (Native Canadians) robbed of their freedom, that distinction rarely mattered. Panis slaves were typically used for fur trading and exploration, while enslaved Africans worked as domestics and artisans. They were even paraded as curios among the rich. Throughout the eighteenth century, the number of slaves grew steadily, namely in Québec, Trois-Rivières, Montréal, and Detroit, thanks to colonists and slave traders who ferried slaves up from the American South and the Caribbean. It is estimated that more than 4,000 Panis and Africans were enslaved in present-day Canada between 1632 and 1820.

Even if the daily rigors of enslavement in Canada paled in comparison to those in the colonies to the south, slaves employed a host of strategies when challenging their bondage. For example, in 1734, Marie-Joseph Angélique, a Portuguese-born slave woman of a prominent Montréal family, plotted her escape with her white lover, Claude Thibault. Fearing that their plot would be foiled, Angélique set fire to her mistress's house as a diversion, inadvertently burning down half of Montréal in the process. Her trial, subsequent torture, and death by hanging called attention to the desperation experienced by slaves. In fact, by 1784, a southbound Underground Railroad had developed. This network of early abolitionists facilitated the escape of enslaved Africans from New France into New England and the Northwest Territories, where slavery had by then been outlawed.

If most blacks in Canada lived in New France before 1750, by the end of the century, the Maritime provinces (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) became home to the largest number of black migrants. The outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776 forced the immigration of United Empire Loyalists into present-day Ontario, Québec, and the Maritimes. From the outset of the conflict, Britain encouraged rebellion among African Americans, promising freedom, goods, and land to those who fought on their side. As many as 5,000 Black Loyalists—both freedmen and rebels—came to Canada between 1781 and 1784, with more than fifty percent of them settling in Nova Scotia alone. For the most part, these black migrants eked out a difficult existence in the Maritimes because, more often than not, British officials failed to deliver on their promises of land and supplies. Moreover, white Loyalists who headed to the Maritimes, often with chattel in tow, had not made the decision to relocate north because of a distaste for slavery. In fact, they most often resented efforts to give blacks land and waged work, and black émigrés found themselves increasingly forced onto the poorest and most remote lots of land.

Even so, Black Loyalists and other black migrants who poured into the Maritimes at the end of the eighteenth

century created communities that in many cases still exist today. Historian Bridglal Pachai posits that Birchtown, one such township populated by 2,700 blacks in 1784, may well have been one of the largest free black urban centers outside of Africa at the time. The port city of Halifax, certainly the largest urban center in the Maritimes, also became home to many people of African descent during this period, with most finding work in the seafaring industry.

After trying their hand at British "freedom" for more than a decade, some Black Loyalists had reached a point of saturation with British land mismanagement and the failed promise of citizenship. By the end of the eighteenth century, a utopian back-to-Africa movement developed among blacks in Canada, supported in no small measure by British officials happy to see disgruntled migrants relocated off shore. In 1792 approximately 1,200 Black Loyalists elected to abandon North America for resettlement to Africa, driven by both missionary zeal and the prospect of greater independence once away from white bureaucrats.

However much whites in the Maritimes might have begrudged their black neighbors, the Africa-bound exodus aggravated the need for labor in the region, which likely explains, at least in part, the British decision to import some 600 Jamaican Maroons in 1796. Their arrival, originally welcomed by local whites, quickly turned to frustration as these new migrants fought off attempts at subjugating them as either indentured workers or slaves. To complicate matters, Maroons had already earned a reputation back in Jamaica for their resistance to British rule, making it far less likely that they could be easy quelled once in Canada. Though they joined forces with other blacks in the Maritimes, most of the Maroon migrants never established permanent lives in Canada, choosing instead to follow those who had set off for Sierra Leone just a few years earlier. By 1800, only ten percent of Maroons still remained in Canada.

A third wave of Southern black migrants arrived in Canada during the War of 1812. Once again, British forces lured African-American soldiers and their families to their cause by promising safe passage to Canada and freedom to any who joined their army. Just as they had in 1776, countless African Americans risked imprisonment or death by helping the British battle the Americans. If many died earning their freedom, some 2,000 refugees eventually traveled to Canada, becoming much needed workers and small-scale farmers once there.

Events at the turn of the eighteenth century combined to bring an end to slavery in Canada. As early as the 1790s, judges and governors in Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) and Lower Canada (Québec) increasingly sided with slaves petitioning for their manumission. The Emancipation Act of 1833 abolished slavery in the British Empire, but for the majority of blacks in Canada, the de facto end of slavery had come nearly a generation before. By 1833 the number of enslaved Africans was at best negligible. It is interesting to note that the tradition of hosting family reunions and carnival in Canada in early August actually dates back to the celebration of emancipation, officially declared on August 1, 1834.

A group of refugee settlers, Windsor, Ontario. *Twenty thousand people arrived in Canada between 1820 and 1860 via the Underground Railroad. Windsor, once known as Sandwich, Ontario, became a popular place for fugitive slaves to settle because they could keep in touch with their families in the United States while living free from fear of capture.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

If blacks in Canada breathed a sigh of relief once slavery ended, they remained keenly aware that in the United States most African Americans still lived in bondage. As of the 1830s, an increasing number of African Americans sought sanctuary in Canada, especially those from Southern border states. They braved harsh weather and slave catchers in the hope of a free life on British soil. Frustrated by runaway slaves and stories of Canada as Canaan, slave owners intensified their hunt for both escaped bondsmen and those helping them northward along what came to be

known as the Underground Railroad. It was hoped that passage of Fugitive Slave Laws in the 1850s would deter fugitives and abolitionists, but in the end the laws aggravated tensions between those Americans intent on protecting their right to slaves and Canadian abolitionists determined to end what they saw as an inhumane practice.

The arrival of Freedom Seekers, as these runaway slaves are often called in Canadian historiography, represented the largest single influx of blacks in Canada until the late twentieth century, when West Indians and Africans arrived in record numbers. Not all African Americans coming to Canada between 1830 and 1865 were enslaved; a growing number of African Americans chose to relocate to Canada during that same era due to concerns that slavery could engulf even those states that had abandoned it. In addition, many feared being apprehended by slave catchers poaching in Ohio and Michigan, who were out to claim the often large rewards offered by disgruntled Southern slavers.

Estimates vary widely on the actual number of African Americans who settled in present-day Ontario and Québec, but perhaps as many as 40,000 successfully reached Canadian shores before the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War. These political asylum seekers established all-black townships along Lake Ontario, crafting the types of utopian models of freedom and agency that would also arise in the American South during Reconstruction. For example, in Chatham, blacks ran their own local government, produced a well-circulated black newspaper, set up Freemasonry temples, and operated their own schools. Even if such settlements were short lived due to limited resources and internal tensions, their mere existence proved inspiring for African Americans trapped south of the Mason-Dixon line. In fact, during Reconstruction, it is reported that a large number of black migrants in Canada returned to the United States to help with rebuilding efforts and to reunite with their families. For some, like Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823–1893), chief editor of the *Provincial Freeman,* the rest of their lives would be spent shuttling between Canada and the United States, demonstrating the extent to which many blacks led a life that defied national borders.

Black immigration to Canada was not limited to the East. A steady stream of African Americans living in the West and in California also moved into Canada, hoping to secure homesteads and set up early businesses in Western cities like Calgary, Vancouver, and Victoria. By the 1860s, black Californians represented the largest single migrant group on Vancouver Island. They were the advance vanguard of black entrepreneurs and merchants who, fearing that white supremacists would take over the California government, sold their land and businesses and headed north. Their arrival in western Canada was auspiciously timed, as these early migrants were perfectly poised once the gold rush started in the region.

By the 1880s, black migrants who came to Canada did so to set up farms. Their arrival coincided with the closing of the American frontier and worsening conditions in the Oklahoma, Kansas, and Arkansas basin. Already well acquainted with prairie farming, these black migrants saw Canada's offer of free land to would-be farmers as a godsend. For example, whole black counties in Oklahoma were evacuated, sometimes seemingly overnight, by immigrants determined to live outside of Jim Crow's reach. They came to Canada citing its abolitionist tradition and its generous land policies as their chief reasons for migrating. At this time, black Oklahomans were often quite prosperous, as evidenced by Tulsa's vibrant black business district. Canadian Immigration Department records indicate that Southern African Americans who emigrated to Canada between 1870 and 1911 frequently arrived with enough cash and supplies to succeed at farming.

African-American and West Indian immigrants were also headed to Canadian cities by the 1890s, where they often found work in the transportation industry, either as mariners or sleeping car porters. By World War I, the Canadian Pacific Railway had become the largest employer of black men in Canada. In fact, the Canadian Pacific Railway seemingly could not meet its insatiable demand for black railroaders, opting instead to import Southern African Americans and West Indians for their service. As a result of this employment, African Canadians were a highly urbanized population at the dawn of the twentieth century. By 1921, over sixty percent of blacks in Canada lived in urban centers, with Québec (80%) and Manitoba (88%) home to the most cosmopolitan black populations. What Canada then experienced was a dramatic increase in its urban black population: Montréal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, respectively, experienced a 49 percent, 21 percent, and 96 percent growth in their black citizenry in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Not all Canadians welcomed this rapid change in the make-up of their cities. Many white Canadians, especially those living in the West, pointed to the arrival of blacks from the United States and the Caribbean as endangering the fabric of Canadian society. They reasoned, in the press and to their elected officials, that Canada should be kept "for the white race only" and petitioned for a more exacting defense of its borders from "undesirables." They also insisted that black migrants could not withstand Canada's harsh winters, making them "climactically unsuitable" for citizenship. Some even clamored for the Canadian govern-

ment to adopt race-based exclusion laws and barring that, they at least expected that their government would levy head taxes on black immigrants. In the end, the Canadian government opted for a complete ban on black immigration in 1911. While the official law was short-lived, its exercise by border guards remained well into the 1950s, making it virtually impossible for all but the most determined black migrants to lawfully enter the country.

Many white Canadians insisted that their distaste for black migrants was born out of a desire "not to inherit Uncle Sam's problem." They pointed to alcohol, crime, changing sexual mores, and—worse still—jazz as problems produced by the mere presence of black migrants, ignoring the fact that the majority of blacks living in Canadian urban centers were industrial workers, small-scale business owners, university students, or children. In fact, in the first half of the twentieth century, Canada's black population was overwhelmingly young. In 1931, for example, more than half of blacks in Canada were under the age of twenty-five, with black children under the age of five accounting for the bulk of blacks living in urban centers. With so young a population, any rise in criminality and lasciviousness in Canada's urban centers could hardly be the singular work of blacks.

Even so, as of World War I, white Canadians called for a greater division of the races. Whereas segregation had been rare and haphazardly applied before, white Canadians adopted Jim Crow in just about every aspect of public life in Canada by the 1920s. To be sure, Canada did not enact Jim Crow laws, as was done in the Southern United States. Instead, just as in the American North, Canadians practiced de facto segregation, barring blacks from schools, pools, hotels, theatres, orphanages, restaurants, and even cemeteries used by whites. For instance, blacks who wanted to see an opera in Montréal in the 1920s were marooned in the "monkey cages," the upper balcony sectioned off for black patrons.

Black Canadians, especially Great War veterans and their families, did not sit idly by as "white only" signs spread across the country. For African-American émigrés from the American South, these new practices were far too reminiscent of the lives they had left behind in the United States. Blacks in Canada galvanized in defense of their civil rights, their families, and their communities. With the assistance of various self-help and racial uplift organizations, such as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), black Canadians challenged segregation using a host of protest methods.

African Canadian women played a critical role as defenders of their communities. Ignoring social conventions requiring that women confine their work to the home, black Canadian women organized consumer boycotts of stores that would not employ people of African descent. When a theatre in Winnipeg aired around-the-clock showings of *The Klansman*, black women picketed the theater, calling attention to the film's racist and pernicious content and eventually causing the theater to shut down the movie before the end of its scheduled two-week run. Black club and church women also pressured local hospitals to admit young women to their nursing programs, increasing the earning potential of black women who could secure professional training. Where schools failed to provide their children with a good education, black women supplemented the curriculum with arts, music, and literature programs.

In effect, blacks in Canada were able to respond to violations of their civil rights because they had already established strong communities of their own. In many cases, the black church provided black communities with both a firm anchor and a site for organizing their legal, social, and political campaigns. When, in 1936, Jamaican-born Fred Christie decided to sue Montréal's York Tavern for refusing him service, citing their white-only policy, black Montréalers mapped out their legal plan at the Union United Church, the largest and most influential black church in Canada. Although the court ultimately rejected his petition, *Christie v. York* became the first civil rights case brought before Canada's Supreme Court.

Life for blacks in Canada during the interwar period mirrored that of other Canadians: they focused on navigating the Great Depression's troubled waters and protecting their loved ones when war broke out. Black communities across Canada rallied together and pooled their resources in order to survive an era made all the more taxing given the climate of "negrophobia," as Canadians liked to call it, tainting relations between whites and people of African descent. And just as they had during the World War I, blacks joined the Canadian military forces, serving in Europe alongside other British forces. Back in Canada, many others gained a foothold in war industries, bringing the destitution they had experienced during the 1930s to an end. The interwar period also witnessed the creation of a broad range of black organizations dedicated to civil rights work, most importantly the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Colored People, loosely modeled after its American counterpart.

With the return to peace, it seemed that Canadians now envisaged a very different society for themselves, incrementally abandoning longstanding attachments to discriminatory practices. The historian James Walker contends that after World War II, Canadians became

increasingly invested in humanitarian efforts, especially within the context of United Nations programs. Accordingly, under the banner of various interracial human rights organizations, legal challenges to restrictive housing covenants, school segregation, unfair labor laws, and exclusionary immigration statutes slowly dismantled century-old practices. In their stead, Canadian legislators enacted the *Bill of Rights of 1960,* and by 1967 new immigration law opened the country's borders to people from Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa, finally admitting them on the basis of merit rather than excluding them on the basis of race. To be sure, the success of these laws was made possible by white and black Canadians committed to casting off the yoke of Jim Crow.

The result of Canada's new stand on immigration and civil rights could be felt immediately. For example, in 1931, 85 percent of blacks in Canada were born there, but by 1981, Canadian-born blacks accounted for only 15 percent of the black population. West Indians, especially Jamaicans, quickly became the largest black ethnic group in Canada, as evidenced by their dramatic increase within a twenty-year period: in 1961 the census reported that approximately 12,000 West Indians permanently resided in Canada, while two decades later their numbers swelled to over 200,000. An estimated 50,000 African migrants added to the diversity among black people in Canada. Whereas many of these migrants arrived in Canada with professional degrees from their countries of origin, many more emigrated to attend Canadian universities under programs designed to assist newly decolonized nations. The influx of this ostensibly highly educated and professional black migration created a Canadian black middle class that, more often then not, prospered and remained deeply committed to protecting their rights and privileges.

Regardless of ethnic background or nationality, blacks in Canada banded together, exposing discriminatory practices and breaking down barriers to their advancement. If that first generation of West Indian and African migrants thrived, their children did not, and by the end of the twentieth century there was a disparity in education that endangered black Canadians' middle-class foothold. By the close of the twentieth century, younger black Canadians pointed to discrimination in employment and housing as their greatest impediment, though dissatisfaction with educational options and racial skirmishes were also listed among their grievances. Particularly troubling was the rising rate of high school attrition among Canadian-born blacks, certainly singling them out for an even more insecure economic future in the twenty-first century.

The black experience in Canada has always been defined by a quest for full citizenship set against a background of laws and practices overwhelmingly designed to keep people of African descent confined to marginalized spaces, first as slaves, then as political asylum seekers, and finally as undesirable immigrants. Black migrants to Canada envisioned a very different plan for themselves and fought off attempts to keep them out of the country all together or to deny them meaningful citizenship. In the end, they successfully forged lives for themselves in every part of Canada, making clear that no barrier to their success proved too great.

See also African Diaspora; Canadian Writers; Migration

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SARAH-JANE (SAJE) MATHIEU (2005)

Canadian Writers

This entry consists of two distinct articles with differing linguistic domains.

Canadian Writers in English
George Elliott Clarke

Canadian Writers in French
Max Dorsinville

Canadian Writers in English

African-Canadian literature in English begins in the same ruptures that gave birth to African-American literature. Its arrival was later, however, both chronologically and culturally, and it has become a product of the general African diaspora. Both facts render it superficially similar to its American counterpart, yet also radically *other*. If the first is characterized by DuBoisian "double-consciousness," the latter may be said to possess a "polyphonous consciousness."

While African-American letters locates its effective genesis in the American Revolutionary poet Phillis Wheatley, African-Canadian writing originates in British Loyalist—and evangelical—pamphleteers such as David George, Boston King, and John Marrant, all Americans who sided with Britain during the War of Independence, and, losing, later took refuge in the northern Royalist colonies. Naturally, George, King, and Marrant may be claimed as "Canadian" only with an asterisk, for Canada proper did not exist when they spoke (or wrote) their testaments about slavery and redemption, with George's appearing in 1793, King's in 1798, and Marrant's native-captivity narrative in 1785. Indeed, the latter's *Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia)*, the fount of African-Canadian literature, received at least twenty-one printings.

Most of the 3,400 so-called black Loyalists who flooded into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1783 were illiterate, so their archival documents consist of letters inked (or dictated) after 1,200 of these black pilgrims abandoned frigid, inclement "Acadia" for Sierra Leone in 1792. Among this party, an ex-Virginian, Susannah Smith, directed a letter, dated May 12, 1792, to colonial authorities, requesting "sope" for her family. This missive inaugurates the "womanist" side of African-Canadian literature.

Between 1783 and the mid-nineteenth-century, African-Canadian publications were few. For one thing, British North America remained legally an oppressive, slaveholding territory until 1834 (although slavery died a de facto death by the beginning of the nineteenth century). Though another two thousand black refugees (that is, African-American slaves liberated by British troops during the War of 1812) entered Nova Scotia and New Brunswick between 1812 and 1815, these émigrés, again illiterate, could not enter the nascent canon. However, with the arrival to Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec), between the 1830s and the 1860s, of up to forty thousand African Americans—voting with their feet against Southern slavery—several of them became nominally "African-Canadian" writers. Most prominent in this category is Martin Robinson Delany, whose *Blake, or the Huts of America* (1859, 1861–1862), written in Chatham, Ontario, from 1856 to 1859, is the third African-American novel but the *first* African-Canadian one. Other expatriate African-American writers now counted as "Canadian" include Mary Ann Shadd, whose *A Plea for Emigration, or, Notes of Canada West* (Ontario) was issued in 1853; Henry Bibb, whose *Narrative* was published in 1849; and Samuel Ringgold Ward, whose *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro* saw publication in 1855. Also notable here is Josiah Henson, whose ghost-written narrative, released in 1849, served supposedly as a source for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Slave narratives were penned by onetime Americans Moses Roper (1838), Lewis and Milton Clarke (1845–1846), Thomas Smallwood (1851), Theophilus Steward (1856), Jermain Loguen (1859), and John William Robertson (1854), whose unique text fuses autobiography and sanguinary theology.

A set of diaries (1840–1865) kept by the Guyanese-born "octoroon" governor of British Columbia, Sir James Douglas, constitutes the earliest literary expression by a Caribbean-Canadian writer. (The diaries were partly published in 1965.)

With the conclusion of the American Civil War, many African Canadians, both long-settled and recent arrivals, removed to the United States, thus stranding the bulk of the black community in Nova Scotia, with pockets surviving in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Canada (Québec and Ontario), and British Columbia. These colonies began to coalesce into the new Dominion of Canada in 1867.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, then, African-Canadian literature consists of church documents sponsored by the African (United) Baptist Association of Nova Scotia and the British Methodist Episcopal Church in Ontario, plus other, smaller churches elsewhere; occasional sociological essays; two major church histories (*History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia,* by Antigua native Peter E. McKerrow in 1895, and *History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782–1953*, by Pearleen Oliver in 1954); various collections of hymns and songs, culminating in R. Nathaniel Dett's *Religious Folk-Songs of the Negro* in1927; and a major folklore

study (*Folk-Lore of Nova Scotia* in 1931 by Arthur Huff Fauset, an African-American anthropologist). Three novelists born in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century published their works at the century's end, all in the United States: See Amelia E. Johnson (1890, 1894, 1901), Lucretia Coleman (1890–1891), and William Haslip Stowers, or "Sanda" (1894). The Canadian-born Dett (1911) and Theodore Henry Shackelford (1916, 1918) issued the first poetry collections. The first important African-Canadian woman poet, Anna Minerva Henderson, released her single chapbook in 1967 when she was eighty years old and Canada was a hundred years old. For his part, John Hearne, born in Canada in 1926, became a top Jamaican novelist in the mid-twentieth century.

As the foregoing chronicle indicates, early African-Canadian literature possesses a skimpy corpus. Its bibliography expanded only with the onset of immigration from the Caribbean in the mid-1950s, then Africa in the 1970s. Thus, new energy came to its poetry in 1973, with the publication of *Dead Roots,* a posthumous work by South African exile and Canadian immigrant Arthur Nortje. Ex-Trinidadian Lennox Brown published the first African-Canadian play in English (*The Captive* in 1965), while Barbados native Austin Clarke produced the first "contemporary" novel (*The Survivors of the Crossing* in 1964).

Since 1964 for fiction, 1965 for drama, and 1973 for poetry, the majority of the writers contributing to a self-conscious African-Canadian *literary* canon are first-generation immigrants, primarily from the Caribbean. The major writers are such Trinidad and Tobago natives as Andre Alexis (1957–), Dionne Brand (1953–), Lennox Brown (1934–), Claire Harris (1937–), M. NourbeSe Phillip (1947–), and David Woods (1957–); ex-Jamaicans such as Lillian Allen (1951–), Hopeton Anderson (1950–), Louise Bennett (1919–), Afua Cooper (1957–), Ahdri Mandiela (1955?–), Pamela Mordecai (1942–), and Olive Senior (1941–); ex-"Bajans" such as Austin Clarke (1934–), Lorris Elliott (1932–1999), and Cecil Foster (1957–); former Antiguans such as Clifton Joseph (1957–) and Althea Prince (1945–); ex-Guyanese such as Jan Carew (1920–) and Nalo Hopkinson (1965?–); as well as native Grenadian Richardo Keens-Douglas (1955?–) and St. Vincentian H. Nigel Thomas (1947–). Vital African-born writers include former South Africans such as Archie Crail (1948–), Harold Head (1936–), Rozena Maart (1962–), and Arthur Nortje (1942–1970); Kenyans David Odhiambo (1965–) and Jan Tapsubei Creider (1950?–); as well as Malawian Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (1955–), Nigerian Ken Wiwa (1968–), Tanzania's Tololwa M. Mollel (1955?–), Ugandan George Seremba (1958–), and Ethiopian Nega Mezlekia (1958–). African-American principals also continue to "infiltrate" the black Canuck canon. Note Rubin "Hurricane" Carter (1937–), Christopher Paul Curtis (1953–), Charles R. Saunders (1946–), and Frederick Ward (1937–). Crucial British-born authors are Djanet Sears (1955?–) and Rachel Manley (1947–), who is also of Caribbean heritage. Major native-born authors include George Boyd (1952–), Wendy Braithwaite (1970?–), George Elliott Clarke (1960–), Wayde Compton (1972–), Lorena Gale (1958–), Lawrence Hill (1957–), Sonnet L'Abbé (1970?–), Suzette Mayr (1967–), Andrew Moodie (1967–), Robert Sandiford (1968–), and Maxine Tynes (1949–). Given that second-generation immigrant youth constitute the largest portion of the African-Canadian community, "indigenous" authors will multiply.

The multicultural origins of African-Canadian literature give it a protean diversity. Its authors stress their "Canadian" identity (e.g., Alexis and Moodie), immigrant experience (e.g., NourbeSe Phillip and Mandiela), their homeland (e.g., Creider and Mezlekia), or the historical reality of "African Canada" (e.g., Compton and Tynes). The cosmopolitan, kaleidoscopic "fact" of the literature—its status as a callaloo of accents and a gumbo of perspectives—renders it a jazzy hubbub of voices, sans concord on "black identity," "Afrocentrism," "Canadian identity," or any topic of African diasporic concern. Assuredly, the "black community" in Canada is really a "community of communities" (to borrow a well-known Canadian political phrase), and the literature reflects this internal (in)consistency. Add the reality of regional difference (the West and Atlantic Canada versus the center, Québec versus the rest of Canada, the "ethnic" cities versus the homogeneous countryside), as well as the divisions among immigrant generations and those between immigrant and "indigenous" blacks, not to mention the distinctions between Anglophones and Francophones, and one ends up with a literature that, unlike its African-American and Afro-Caribbean cousins, can *never* pretend to certainty about its identity. Because no one definition of "blackness" rules in Canada, everyone is free to be "black" as he or she chooses.

Ultimately, African-Canadian literature is the literary laboratory of the African diaspora, for in this unique space, one created by transients—exiles, refugees, fugitives—as well as scattered, but hardy, "settlers," there is room for divergence, for a "blackness" that is a spectrum of skin tones and ideologies, for a multiplicity of discourse that can never be grounded in any one constricted (or constricting) faith or belief, for debates that can never be resolved for anyone's totalitarian satisfaction. "African Canada" is a homeland where no one need pledge alle-

giance, where "blackness" is defined as persistent, bitter, exhilarating, Sisyphean questioning.

See also Canadian Writers in French

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GEORGE ELLIOTT CLARKE (2005)

Canadian Writers in French

Black Canadian writers who write in French are of Haitian descent. Exiled by the chaos of the dictatorial rule in Haiti of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier (ruled 1957–1971) and his son Jean-Claude Duvalier (ruled 1971–1986), they are among the thousands of Haitians who fled their country in search of asylum in Canada. The novels, short stories, and poetry they have written in Canada, however, are not thematically different from the mainstream of modernist and postcolonial writing worldwide. Expatriation and the quest for reinvention are recurrent features in the works of Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, and Ernest Hemingway (among modernist writers), and those of Salman Rushdie, Derek Walcott, and Michael Ondaatje (among postcolonial writers).

Initially, Haitian writers in Canada had no alternative but to confront expatriation. Their works succeeded when they were inscribed in a literary continuum in which the commonplace theme of exile was accompanied by a reinvention in form. They failed, however, when they did not respond to the demands placed on art by both the modernists and the postcolonials.

For the icons of modernism and postcolonialism, the idea of "home" means the reinvention of place, but most Haitian writers in Canada are at first locked in the idea and the concreteness of a realistically represented "home," void of redefinition. Thus, the foremost concerns of the first generation of Haitian-Canadian writers are the nostalgic evocation of their lost homeland and, relatedly, the denunciation of the political regime responsible for that loss. The works of Gérard Etienne *(Le Nègre crucifié),* Émile Ollivier *(Mère-Solitude; La Discorde aux cent voix; Les Urnes scellées),* Anthony Phelps *(Mémoire en colin-maillard; Moins l'infini),* and Liliane Dévieux Dehoux *(L'Amour, oui, la mort, non)* are linked in this respect, being closely related to the writers' personal experiences of the Duvalier regime that led to their expatriation. They portray Haiti as a dichotomy of victims and victimizers, and the prevalent picture is one of relentless degradation unrelieved by the light of survival. Canada is not present in these works, except as an implicit "clean and well-lighted place" that allows for the act of writing as catharsis.

On the other hand, the works of a second generation of writers (e.g., Dany Laferrière, Stanley Péan, Joël des Rosiers, Marie-Célie Agnant, and Georges Anglade) are characterized by eclecticism in their formal and thematic reinvention beyond conventional realism.

In his first novel, *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (1988), Dany Laferrière, the best-known writer of the group, builds on Ollivier's early symbolic use of a Canadian setting in *Paysage de l'aveugle* (1977). But, like Ollivier, his characters are not Canadians. While Ollivier's vision of the Duvalier years is at times leavened by satirical humor, Laferrière largely ignores this period, and while he also relies on humor, he does so to undermine interracial taboos. Laferrière's later work is set in Haiti and is mainly steeped in images of childhood filtered by an elliptical style of writing.

Laferrière paved the way for the writings of Péan, des Rosiers, and Agnant that intermingle different strategies distinct from the conventional representation of Haiti. However, nostalgia for the lost homeland is not altogether absent from Péan's *La Plage des songes* (1988), Agnant's *La Dot de Sara* (1995), and des Rosiers' *Vétiver* (1999). Nor is the horror of the Duvalier years ignored in des Rosiers' first book, *Métropolis Opéra* (1987)—whose dedication reads: "These verses are not dedicated to you who moans in the Tropics"—and Péan's *Zombie Blues* (1996), which echoes Etienne's early novels through the repulsive figure of a Duvalierist bogeyman let loose in Montreal. By contrast, Agnant's *La Dot de Sara* and, especially, *Le Livre d'Emma* (2001) proffer a modern feminist point of view on traditional gender imbalance in Haiti.

Georges Anglade, the most original writer of the group, adapts the Haitian oral narrative form of *lodyans*

(a rough translation is "storytelling") in three collections of short stories (*Les Blancs de mémoire* [1999]; *Leurs jupons dépassent* [2000]; and *Ce pays qui m'habite* [2002]). His is a notable attempt at formal and thematic renewal in a series of interlocking stories set in Canada and Haiti using the village (Nedgé and Quina, respectively) as a unifying metaphor. These humorous stories are told by a first-person narrator who lives in Montreal and speaks from a more comprehensive temporal perspective than the restricted spatial perspective of most of his predecessors. The narrator's manipulation of language is undoubtedly reminiscent of Jacques Roumain's use of the language of the elite (French), yet it resounds with the tonality of the people's vernacular Creole. A conscious attempt is made to reconcile the polarities between classes, between expatriates and natives, and between Creole and French speakers in Haiti and in Canada.

Neither the first nor the second generation of Haitian-Canadian writers feels rooted in Canada to the extent of creating fully developed Canadian characters. There are no French-speaking Canadian characters in the novels and short stories of Ollivier, Laferrière, and Phelps. When they appear in other works, they are cardboard figures—victims of the bogeyman in the works of Péan and Etienne, and helpful allies of helpless Haitians in Etienne's *Un Ambassadeur macoute à Montréal* (1979) and *Une Femme muette* (1983). And, except for Laferrière's use of an African character in his first novel, none of the writers turns to Africa for a broadening of the representation of the Haitian condition. In *Passages* (1991), Ollivier traces the plight of Haitian boat people in Florida, and in *La Chair du maître* (1997), Laferrière caricatures the sex drive of American tourists.

There are a few English-Canadian coeds and do-gooders in Laferrière's first novel and in Etienne's *Une Femme muette*—they purportedly represent the bilingual nature of Canada. Ideology of a nationalist or racialist nature is identified with the excesses of *Négritude* personified by "Papa Doc" Duvalier, which the second generation chooses to exorcise in the process of reinvention.

Finally, there are the novels of Alix Renaud and Stanley Norris, whose characters are solely French-Canadians. Both writers follow the example of the early Haitian novelist Démesvar Delorme, who set his *Francesca* (1872) in sixteenth-century Italy (when Haiti did not exist as a nation). Delorme was also an expatriate writer. It is a measure of the relative achievements of his compatriots in Canada that they, as a whole, chose to create or reinvent their Haitianness.

See also Canadian Writers in English; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary)

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MAX DORSINVILLE (2005)

Candomblé

Candomblé is one of the oldest and most popular Afro-Brazilian spiritual traditions. Created by enslaved Africans and their descendants, the religion emerged in late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century northeastern Brazil, particularly around the port city of Salvador, Bahia. Candomblé combines cosmologies and ritual practices from West and Central African sources with elements developed in the New World matrix of slavery, interactions with Native Americans and Europeans, and reconstructed meanings of identity and lineage. Much of the religion's historic and contemporary meaning can be attributed to its role as an instrument of resistance and transformation in the lives of black women and men who draw upon its resources to sustain the deepest sources of their humanity in the midst of great personal and collective trauma.

Fundamentally, Candomblé is a religion of balance and reciprocity that emphasizes the interconnectedness of all forms of life. Humans are recognized as part of a larger community of being that includes ancestors, the unborn, the entire natural world, and the world of the spirits. Most collective and personal rites within the tradition are related to addressing imbalances and nurturing the *axé* (life force or spiritual force) that enables healthy interactions among all elements of the created universe.

Candomblé is a hierarchical, initiatory religion with little moral dichotomy of good versus evil but with a strong ethical sense based in African values of reciprocity and ancestral obligation. There are six major divisions within the tradition, organized as ethno-liturgical "nations": Ketu, Ijexá, Jêje, Angola, Congo, and Caboclo. In their initial manifestations in the nineteenth century, the African nations of Candomblé represented the Yoruba (Ketu and Ijexá), Dahomean/Ewe (Jêje), and Bantu (Congo and Angola) ethnic identities of many of the individuals associated with ritual communities. Over the course of the development of the religion, as larger numbers of Brazilian-born participants entered the ceremonies, the identity of Candomblé nations became a liturgical designation and not a genetic or clan-based one. The Caboclo Candomblé is an additional division that specifically and extensively cultivates Amerindian ancestral spirits in addition to those of African origin. It is a more recent development, dating from the early twentieth century and prominently incorporating Brazilian national symbols such as the country's flag, its green and yellow colors, and the use of Portuguese as the language of ceremony.

Because of the strength and prestige of Yoruba-based candomblés, the Yoruba term *orixá* (*orisha*) has become the most common descriptor of the phenomenon of spiritual forces or divinities cultivated in the religion. Nonetheless, in the contexts of their own rituals, the Ewe and Bantu nations of Candomblé call the spirits by other names—voduns (among the Jêje) and *nkisis* (among the Congo and Angola communities).

In Brazil, the most commonly cultivated *orixás* of the Yoruba pantheon are: *Exú*, *orixá* of the crossroads who controls communication between human beings and the world of the spirits; *Ogun*, warrior god of metals and the forest who is the path-breaker; and *Oxôssi,* ancient head of the Kêtu kingdom, a hunter *orixá* characterized by mental acuity. *Omolû* or *Obaluaiye* is *orixá* of the earth and of both illness and healing. *Ossâin* is guardian of herbs and herbal wisdom, and *Oxumarê* is the serpent deity associated with life cycles of renewal. Another warrior energy, *Logun-Ede*, is son of Oxôssi and Oxum and shares their qualities. *Xangô*, the much beloved ancient king of Oyo, is *orixá* of fire, justice, storm, and friendship. *Oxum* is the *orixá* of sweet waters, creativity, beauty, and abundance. The energetic female warrior *orixá Oyá*, or *Iansã*, is associated with storm, transformation, and the spirits of the dead. *Iemanjá*, patroness of salt water, is an *orixá* of maternal strength and protection. *Obá* is another river deity, also a fierce female warrior energy; and *Euá*, a river nymph *orixá,* is associated with youthful grace and a fighting spirit. An ancient female energy, *Nana Burukû,* is *orixá* of still, muddy waters. *Oxalá*, father of the other *orixás,* is the principle of peace and protection. Like the Hindu deities of India, *orixás* in Afro-Brazilian Candomblé are recognized as having several different avatars, or manifestations, often of different ages, and each representing a slightly different variation on the general theme.

While each human being is believed to have been born under the guidance of a specific grouping of *orixás,* most are not required to do anything special to cultivate or develop their connection to these spiritual forces. An occasional offering of flowers, food, or even simple prayers is often sufficient to acknowledge and sustain the innate relationship between a person and his or her patron deities. For others, however, the responsibility is much greater. These are the *adoxu,* the devotees who have been "called" by the *orixá* to be their embodied human presence in the world, their priestesses and priests, their servants. These women and men are understood to have a ritual obligation to devote significant portions of their lives to the

A* Candomblé *religious ceremony in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. *Female dancers serving as spirit mediums enter into trances during a ceremony dedicated to some of their* orishas, *or gods. Men are in attendance to assist, and to aid the women if they fall while in a state of trance. Bahia maintains Brazil's earliest form of* Candomblé *worship, which is among the oldest and most popular of Afro-Brazilian religious traditions.* © STEPHANIE MAZE/CORBIS

spiritual work of the *orixás,* incorporating the spirits' energies into their bodies, being the "voice" or the "presence" of the *orixá* in the human community, and carrying out the work of healing, reconciliation, blessing, and the balancing of personal, social, and environmental inequalities and instabilities. This responsibility, for which devotees are specially prepared through an extensive, years-long initiation process, is often seen as an inheritance from ancestors who also shared their connection to a particular *orixá*.

Candomblé ritual communities, or *terreiros,* exist in a variety of forms. In older or more well-off sites, there are often a series of buildings that include "houses" for the deities; living and cooking space for members of the community; a large hall, or *barracão,* for conducting ceremonies; and both garden and uncultivated spaces outdoors for essential plant resources. Newer and more urban *terreiros,* and those with fewer material means, are often incorporated into the homes of religious leaders where the living room may be used as the *barracão* and bedrooms may be combined with altar spaces.

The Brazilian national census of 2000 indicates that devotees of Afro-Brazilian religions constitute three percent of the country's total population. Scholars of the religions, however, have calculated the figure at closer to eight percent. Most Candomblé ritual communities involve a small number of participants, generally no more than fifty, except in the case of the oldest "mother houses" of Bahia from which descend many *terreiros* around the country. Ceremonies open to the public may attract several times the number of actual members, and nonmembers may frequent the *terreiro* for spiritual advice and ritual assistance on a wide range of matters, including physical health, psychological stability, personal relationships, financial difficulties, and employment issues. Extensive traditions of ritual and medicinal pharmacopoeia support *trabalhos* (spiritual healing works), and many new adepts, as well as clients, are attracted to the religion by the reputation of

priestesses and priests for successful intervention in problematic cases.

When a priest or priestess is approached, the first step is often a *consulta,* a private divinatory session, in which the religious leader will consult the *orixás* by means of the *jogo de búzios*, an oracle of cowrie shells. Reading and interpreting the shells, the *mãe* or *pai de santo* diagnoses the problem and, determining if it is within the purview of the religion's resources to be addressed, prescribes a remedy. This may be as simple as an herb bath and an offering of flowers or food at the seashore or as complex as the eventual need for a full initiation into the priesthood.

Most *terreiros* follow a fairly strict organization of ritual responsibilities according to gender and length of initiation. At the pinnacle of the *terreiro* leadership is the *mãe* or *pai de santo*—the head priestess or priest—whose authority is unchallenged in the context of the ritual community. Other titles for these individuals depend on the specific ritual language and tradition of each house: *iyalorixá* and *babalorixá* (mother and father of the *orixás*) are terms used in the Yoruba-based candomblés; *nenguankisi* and *tatankisi* (mother and father of the *nkisi*) are used in the Congo and Angola candomblés; and *doné* and *doté* (chief priestess and chief priest of the voduns) in Jêje candomblés. Initiated members of the communities are *filhos* and *filhas de santo* (children of the saint).

The majority of Candomblé devotees are women, and some *terreiros* have a longstanding tradition of exclusively consecrating women as supreme leaders of the community. Indeed, the place of women as utmost ritual authorities in many *terreiros* is a distinguishing characteristic of the religion. Candomblé communities have often been recognized as "privileged" women's spaces in Brazilian society.

The central rites of Candomblé are a series of initiations, periodic reinforcements of the spiritual energies of both devotees and *orixás,* and a cycle of annual ceremonies in honor of the *orixás*. Among the first rituals a new initiate experiences are the *banho de folhas* (ritual cleansing bath with herbs), *limpeza* (ritual cleansing with song, prayers, and a variety of animal and vegetable elements passed lightly over the body), *lavagem de contas* (consecration of beaded necklaces in herb mixtures sacred to the *orixás*), and *obí com agua,* an offering of kola nut and water to the *orixá* who most closely accompanies each devotee. Other rituals related more directly to the process of initiation, *fazer santo* (literally, "to make the saint"), are designed to reinforce the spiritual link between devotee and *orixá* as well as to prepare the new initiate to properly receive and care for the *orixá* that enters her body in ceremony. The rites associated with initiation, *obrigações,* are renewed in one-, three-, and seven-year cycles.

Each *terreiro* conducts a sequence of annual celebrations for the patron *orixás* of the house. These *festas* are the major public ceremonies of the religion. Initiated members who receive the *orixá* circle the *barracão* in festive ritual dress: lace and embroidered blouses, panes of cloth with stripes or lace designs wrapped around their chests, wide skirts of lush and beautiful fabrics—their fullness accentuated by starched underskirts—and the *contas,* beaded necklaces in colors and patterns associated with the various divinities. They dance barefoot, in a counterclockwise ring, varying their steps and gestures in accordance with the rhythms played on sacred drums, *atabaques:* a different rhythm for each *orixá*. The drums are accompanied by a metal bell, *agogô,* and songs calling the *orixás* to join their devotees in the circle of dancers.

After a while, the spirits begin to descend, temporarily occupying the bodies of their adepts. In the moments of transition, some devotees are in noticeable discomfort, clearly demonstrating that the process of sharing their physical being and consciousness with another entity is an immensely taxing effort. Others seem to make the shift almost imperceptibly; under all but the closest observation, the moment of change passes unnoticed. As the *orixás* arrive, they are ushered out of the *barracão* and into back rooms where they are dressed in their own ritual clothes, in colors, textures, and designs that clearly identify each—red and white for Xangô; light blue for Iemanjá; raffia palm and burlap for Omolû; white for Oxalá. They reemerge wearing beaded crowns that cover their eyes. They carry the implements associated with their dramatic and interwoven mythologies—Oxum's mirror and fan; Oyá's horsehair whisk; Ogun's sword and shield. They dance into the small hours of the morning, pausing to receive ritual greetings and to offer hugs and parental caresses (and sometimes a concise word of advice) to members of the community and guests.

In Candomblé, as in most Afro-Brazilian religions, ritual knowledge is primarily transmitted in oral and gestural forms. A popular saying in the religion is "Quem pergunte no Candomblé não aprende." (She who asks questions in Candomblé does not learn.) Knowledge passes as much from hand to hand in the conduct of daily tasks as from mouth to ear. The appropriate comportment in the ceremonial as well as quotidian contexts is one of manifest, corporeal respect for elders and for the *orixás*. This means that devotees with fewer years of initiation should defer to those who have more. Candomblé ceremony involves an elaborate etiquette of greeting and respect for elders that, even outside of the explicitly ritual context, requires initiates to acknowledge and ask the blessing of their elders and give special prostrated reverence to the chief priestess or priest.

Outside of the hierarchy of individual *terreiros,* there is no external organizing structure that dictates standards of ritual activity for Candomblé communities. The absence of a larger governing organization means that each ritual community is essentially autonomous. In some states there are licensing bodies to ensure "authenticity" and affirm the training of *pais* and *mães do santo,* but these do not set policy. Correspondingly, there is little institutional support for the religions beyond informal (but important) networks of friendship, mutual respect, and the rumors, reports, and inter-*terreiro* conversations that serve significantly as a kind of standardizing influence, especially among communities of the same "nation."

Most devotees of Afro-Brazilian religion are members of the Brazilian working classes. And although blacks have historically been in the majority as participants and leaders in the religions, beginning in the 1950s, people who claim no African ancestry have increasingly joined the ranks of adepts. In some parts of southeastern Brazil there are ritual communities in which more than half of the members are white. There are also Asians, Europeans, other Latin Americans, and blacks from the United States and the Caribbean who are attracted to Afro-Brazilian religion and who have been integrated into its communities. Candomblé and its sister-traditions continue to provide devotees an alternative space for the cultivation of connection to ancestral sources of strength, healing, and mystic/ritual approaches to the resolution of quotidian problems of modern life. Candomblé also offers access to deeper, more multifaceted, and more respected personal identities, an important resource for individuals who are severely marginalized by the political, racial, and economic structures of a profoundly unequal society.

See also Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas; Orisha; Religion; Santería; Spirituality; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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RACHEL E. HARDING (2005)

Capoeira

Capoeira is a martial art of African origins that was once used by enslaved Africans in Brazil as a form of physical and social resistance. Despite years of persecution, the art has recently experienced a boom in popularity and spread throughout the world. This graceful art is practiced to music and combines a dynamic assortment of head butts, dodging movements, foot sweeps, and dynamic kicks. The origin of the word *capoeira* is uncertain, although a number of unproven etymological hypotheses link it to the Portuguese term *capoeira* for "basket" used to carry chickens, a Central African term for the fighting style of chickens, or Native American terms for a secondary-growth brushland. This unique martial art tradition itself, however, can be traced back to Central Africa, particularly the highland and Cabinda regions of Angola.

In the Angolan highlands the art evolved under the name *engolo* before the tenth century as part of a wider militarization of culture by pastoral peoples seeking to effectively protect their herds from cattle raids and engage

Danmyé

Unique to the island of Martinique is the martial art danmyé. Mainly a competitive sport for men, it contains a combination of music, dancing, martial arts, and wrestling. Invented by the slaves of Senegal, danmyé was primarily inspired by the initiation ceremony that symbolized the passing from adolescence to adulthood and consisted of a confrontation that took the form of fight. From their fascination with this ritual, an innovative, rare combination of art and sport was born. The reemergence of this martial art occurred during the 1960s when folk ballets regained importance and popularity. *Le Ballet Martiniquias,* in particular, with its choreographic contests fueled a danmyé resurgence.

Music is an essential component to danmyé as drummers follow the contestants closely, timing their drumrolls and crescendos to the fighters' blows. The wrestler has to hit and move in harmony with the drum rhythm as well. If this condition is not respected, the fight is stopped and the guilty wrestler is disqualified. While danmyé drumming has, for the most part, a specific basic rhythm pattern, there is room for very frequent and elaborate improvisations. Singing, too, sometimes provokes the wrestler. Lyrical phrasing often centers around the wrestlers themselves and can be provocative, critical, or used to stimulate the wrestler into performing at a higher level.

During the rise of the drum the opponent tries to do damage to his opponent, or outdo the other in terms of strength or agility. Danmyé, for the most part, is a nonviolent activity. The strokes must be restrained and given without intending to hit. In fact, they must be shown rather than given unless it is necessary to drive an opponent back to refuse a hand-to-hand fight. Victory assessment is dependent on two things, harmony with the sound and decisive blows that might have lead to a knockout had they really been carried out.

in lucrative raids of their own in times of famine. The three major techniques of the art were head butts in imitation of the fighting style of their prized cattle, acrobatic dodging ability, and sweeps and kicks. The latter were unique from other martial arts in that they were often executed from an inverted position in imitation of ancestors who were believed to live in an inverted state from our own. These skills were developed during practice rituals in which adepts would form a circle and enliven the exercise with percussion and song. Two adepts would enter the circle and practice trading attacks, evasions, and counterattacks in a graceful exchange. This ritual practice took place during rites of passage, healing rituals, and community festivals. It was also understood as a form of military training as it developed in young warriors the crucial ability to defend themselves with agility rather than shields, which were not utilized in the Angolan highlands.

More enslaved Africans were taken from Central Africa than any other region in Africa. Central African warriors took their martial art tradition everywhere they settled in the Americas. In North America the Angolan martial art of head butting and kicking became known as knocking (head butting) and kicking, which became the primary combat style of enslaved peoples in North America. It continued to play a role in covert religious rituals, community dances, initiation societies, and self-defense. Similarly the Central African martial art tradition was extended to Martinique, where it became known as *danmyé* and was also associated with secret societies during slavery.

The Central African martial art tradition also appeared in Brazil under the name of *capoeiragem* in the late eighteenth century. *Capoeiragem* appears to have been primarily located in such major urban centers as Salvador and particularly Rio de Janeiro, which was the epicenter of slavery and African culture in the late eighteenth century. The art was most associated with enslaved Africans who worked *de ganho,* as wage laborers who paid their masters much of their earnings but otherwise lived relatively autonomous lives. The martial art continued to be practiced in a number of contexts, including entertainment at dances *(batuques),* popular festivals, as well as bloody conflicts. However, by the early nineteenth century the primary context for the art was urban initiation societies called *maltas*. These societies were dedicated to the protection of the enslaved population of a given parish and often held ceremonies in the bell towers of the church. The *maltas* taught the martial art to youth, who would continue to advance in the art as they moved up the various levels of initiation in the society. A fully initiated member, called a *capoeira,* was expected to fight for the *malta* in administering punishments to those who failed

Two young men practice* capoeira *in Bahia, Brazil. *An energetic hybrid form of martial arts and dance, capoeira originated in central Africa and was practiced by enslaved Africans in Brazil as a means of physical and social resistance. The art has experienced a twenty-first century resurgence, and is gaining popularity in many parts of the world.* © THE COVER STORY/CORBIS

to respect their code or in clashes with other *maltas* or police. In the teeming streets of Rio de Janeiro, *capoeiras* were set apart by their characteristic clothes, style of walk, and often their drums, which were used to accompany the ritual practice of the art, the *jogo de capoeira.* Their visibility and the threat they posed to the slave system made them constant targets for police repression, which the *capoeiras* resisted in ongoing bloody battles with the police. Although the art was highly persecuted, it continued to spread through the urban African population in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the gradual elimination of the Atlantic slave trade, the African-born population dwindled, and the *maltas* began initiating Brazilian-born blacks and *pardos* (people of mixed heritage). As the art spread from enslaved Africans to other Brazilians, it also developed a sort of symbiosis with various Brazilian police and military institutions. *Capoeiras* were forcibly conscripted or voluntarily joined the ranks of these organizations, which afforded them some protection from persecution. During the War of Paraguay beginning in 1865, many of the highest-ranking *capoeiras* were sent off as soldiers to the front lines. In their absence a large number of European immigrants filled the reduced ranks of the *maltas* as a means of survival on the harsh streets of Rio de Janeiro. At the war's end in 1870, however, the conscripted *capoeiras* returned as conquering heroes widely acknowledged for their bravery in the war. They reestablished control over the *maltas* and streets of Rio and, despite the continued prohibition against *capoeiragem,* many of these *malta* chiefs became immersed in Rio's political system. The *maltas* were loosely organized into two rival umbrella organizations, the *Nagoas* and *Guayamus,* each allied with different political parties. The *maltas* received patronage and political protection from elites in exchange for violently breaking up the political rallies of their opponents and stuffing ballot boxes during elections. Although often in conflict with one another, *capoeiras* tended to unify against the Republican Party, who were seen by many as proslavery.

The twentieth century was marked by alterations in the practice of this martial art. Throughout Brazilian

urban centers the *maltas* were effectively disbanded, although *capoeiragem* continued to be perpetuated by independent experts called *bambas* or *valentões*. A number of musical transformations also took place in the region of Salvador, Bahia. Sometime around the first decade, the drum, formerly the main instrument used to accompany the *jogo de capoeira,* was replaced by a musical bow of Central African provenance. This musical bow, originally called *urucungo* in Brazil but later popularized as *berimbau,* was a more mobile instrument and doubled as a weapon. In the 1930s and 1940s new instruments were sporadically joined to the growing ad hoc orchestra, often including the tambourine *(pandeiro),* double cow bell *(agogo),* wooden scrapers *(reco-reco),* or a new drum *(atabaque).*

In Rio a *capoeiragem* expert, Mestre Macaco (Ciríaco Francisco da Silva), defeated a visiting jujitsu expert in a public challenge match in 1908. The national pride in his victory was an important watershed in the movement to end the ban on the art. A number of intellectuals and adepts of the art in Rio began publishing literature calling for the adoption of the art as a national sport. Despite this early drive for legitimacy in Rio, the successful transformation of the martial art into a national sport took place in Salvador, Bahia, in the 1930s and 1940s. This occurred in a larger political context in which a populist policy led by President Getúlio Vargas attempted to create a Brazilian identity by transforming African Brazilian cultural forms such as *candomble, samba, umbanda,* and *capoeiragem* into national symbols. In 1927 Mestre Bimba (Manuel dos Reis Machado) catalyzed this transformation by opening the first formal academy dedicated to promoting his new variant of *capoeiragem* termed *a luta regional Baiana,* or more popularly *capoeira regional.* The efforts of Mestre Bimba and the policies of Vargas together led to a legalization of a controlled *capoeira* separate from the art's earlier associations with Africa, violence, and the underclass. In 1935 Mestre Pastinha (Vicente Ferreira Pastinha) followed suit by opening the first academy for the purportedly unaltered style of the art, called *capoeira Angola.* Both masters promoted the art under the term *capoeira* ("regional" or Angola) to distinguish their styles and possibly to separate the art from the violence associated with the term *capoeiragem.* By teaching the art in structured school settings, these two masters proliferated their formalized teachings of the art and eclipsed the lineages of other *bambas.*

Capoeira regional in particular was adopted by the police and promoted by sporting federations. Students of Mestre Bimba spread this new variant throughout Brazil and more recently the world. Although not nearly as widespread as *capoeira regional*, *capoeira Angola* has also begun to spread worldwide during the last two decades. *Capoeira* is now recognized as a Brazilian national sport and is one of the fastest growing martial arts of the twenty-first century.

See also Candomblé; Samba

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T. J. DESCH-OBI (2005)

Cardozo, Francis L.

February 1, 1837
July 22, 1903

Minister, educator, and politician Francis Louis Cardozo was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1837. His father, Isaac N. Cardozo, a prominent Jewish businessman and economist, was married to a free black woman. Cardozo's parents' wealth enabled him to be educated at a free Negro school in Charleston until he was twelve. His mother and father subsequently apprenticed him to a carpenter, and after completing his apprenticeship, Cardozo pursued this vocation for several years. When he was twenty-one, he went to Great Britain, where he studied for the ministry, and upon returning to the United States in 1864, he became a Congregational minister. Like a number of black churchmen, Cardozo went south after the Civil War. The conclusion of hostilities between North and South opened a vast missionary field for black ministers who wanted to work with freedmen.

Returning to Charleston as a missionary of the American Missionary Association, Cardozo became principal of

the Saxton School, replacing his younger brother, Thomas, who had been forced to resign after a sexual indiscretion at his previous post was revealed. Cardozo did not remain long at this position; in 1866 he helped establish the Avery Normal Institute in Charleston and became its first superintendent. Avery was founded to train black teachers, and in the post–Civil War South the school played a prominent role in the education of blacks.

Serving as both educator and minister, Cardozo was drawn into the web of Reconstruction politics. He began his career as a politician inauspiciously as a delegate to the 1868 South Carolina state constitutional convention. He then served as South Carolina's secretary of state from 1868 to 1872, the first black in South Carolina's history to hold government office. He was state treasurer from 1872 to 1877. Compared with other black preacher-politicians during Reconstruction, Cardozo was fairly moderate. He did not alienate his white Republican peers in the ways that R. H. Cain, Tunis G. Campbell, and Henry McNeal Turner did. For example, Cardozo did not urge freedmen to seize their former masters' land, as Campbell did in Georgia. When the Reconstruction government of South Carolina was overthrown in 1877, Cardozo moved to Washington, D.C., where he became a member of the city's black elite. He died there in 1903.

See also Cain, Richard Harvey

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CLARENCE E. WALKER (1996)

Carew, Jan

December 24, 1920

Jan Rynveld Carew personifies Berbice, the Guyanese county of his birth. One might also trace his eclectic career to educational opportunities that mirrored what Eusi Kwayana described as Carew's "ideological self reliance." Perhaps these influences explain his oeuvre's continuing relevance.

Born in Agricola-Rome, Berbice County, when Guyana was still British Guiana, Carew benefited from the region's fertile climate. He has said that Berbice, known as "the ancient county," was underdeveloped but "had a remarkable texture, ambience, and quality for the arts" (Dance, 1992, p. 33). There is more to this statement than the pride of a native son, for along with Carew, Berbice fashioned Martin Carter, Edgar Mittelholzer, and Wilson Harris. Apparently channeling this rich atmosphere, Carew began to paint and write poetry. His brother-in-law, Wilson Harris, added another geographical aspect to Carew's intellectual development by making it "possible for [him] to enter into [Guyana's] rain forest" and bask in "the stimulating business" of being around Harris (Dance, 1992, p. 37). These particular consequences of Guyanese geographies shaped the author's educational career.

Though a serious childhood illness affected Carew's early academic success, it proved fortuitous because it enabled him to attend Berbice High School. Considered a distant second to the country's renowned Queen's College, the high school had an environment that suited the intellectually curious and creatively imaginative. Featuring what some might call lax attendance and curriculum policies, the high school attracted a progressive teaching staff. As a student who could "simply . . . gallop along and do whatever one wanted to do," Carew studied "Latin, French, math, geography, literature, art, and general science" (Dance, 1992, p. 33). High school master J. A. Rodway punctuated the perspicacious student's loosely guided romp through the classics by nurturing his creative writing (Ramchand, 2002, p. 60). Universities in countries as diverse as the United States (Howard and Western Reserve Universities), Czechoslovakia (Charles University), and France (the Sorbonne) allowed Carew to pursue the kind of "unstructured" learning he had begun in Guyana.

The socio-political climates of these countries also contributed to Carew's political consciousness and extended his personal experiences. The racism he faced in Washington, D.C., and being part of a vibrant, poor African-American community in Chicago solidified his "instinctive" connection to the United States' black community (Dance, 1992, pp. 34–35). Finally, his mother's response to U.S. racism (see Cooke) as well as both grandfathers' desire that their children learned trades (Dance, 1992, p. 34) confirmed what would come to be the activist's defining interests.

Jan Carew is respected for his contributions to the "freedom for the oppressed and downtrodden—teaching, writing, broadcasting, [and] engaging" all manner of people, including Claudia Jones, Cheddi Jagan, and Kwame Nkrumah (Sivanandan, 2002, p. 1). In fact, he parlayed his work with Nkrumah into a commitment to Pan-African

Studies as a discipline (Brutus, 2002, p. 72). His lasting influence might be due to his investment in shaping "the cultural revolution against colonialism and racism [through] poetry, painting, polemic, and play" (Sivanandan, 2002, p. 1). In fact, Carew's work is counted among Caribbean fiction "that informed the intellectual and cultural self-confidence of a generation" (Ramchand, 2002, p. 57).

Carew has written in several genres: adult and children's short and long prose, poetry, drama, and history/criticism. Suitably, each piece in his body of work reflects a holistic approach to intellectual/political explorations. One can find this mix in his most influential works: *Black Midas* (1958), in which the author uses an acquaintance's life to explore relationships between Indian and African Guyanese peoples; *The Wild Coast* (1958), in which Carew's study of New World African religions reflects semi-autobiographical experiences; *Moscow is Not My Mecca* (1964), which offers a critique of race and communism via the fictionalized experiences of Carew's distant cousin; *The Third Gift* (1975), a children's book using Amerindian myths; and the oft cited *Ghosts in Our Blood* (1994), in which the author explores the experiences of blacks in the diaspora through conversations with Malcolm X.

Despite advancing age, Jan Carew continues to be a voice for progressive change, not only through his commitment to oppressed peoples but also through his willingness to break genre and intellectual boundaries.

See also Literature of Guyane

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RHONDA FREDERICK (2005)

Carey, Lott

c. 1780
November 28, 1828

Lott Carey, America's pioneer missionary to Africa, was born in slavery around 1780 on the plantation of William A. Christian in Charles City County, some thirty miles south of Richmond, Virginia. In 1804 he was hired out to work in Richmond at the Shockoe tobacco warehouse. From the segregated gallery of Richmond's First Baptist

Church, Carey was converted to the Christian religion in 1807 by the preaching of John Courtnay, a white man. Courtnay baptized him, and he joined the church. Carey then determined to enter the ministry, and he learned to read and write. Permitted to preach to both blacks and whites in the area, Carey formed the African Missionary Society, which raised $700 in five years to send him and Collin Teague to Africa. At the tobacco warehouse he earned an extra $850 by 1813, with which he purchased his own and his children's freedom (his first wife had recently died).

In January 1820 (or possibly 1821) Carey and Teague sailed on the *Nautilus* for Africa. Teague retired after a year to Sierra Leone, but Carey was instrumental in establishing the colony of Liberia and forming a Baptist church in Monrovia, the colony's capital. He became the country's health officer, and in 1826 he was named vice agent of the colony under the American Colonization Society. Carey identified with the effort to build a black republic, stating "I am an African. . . . I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, and not by my complexion; and I feel bound to labor for my suffering race."

Carey was killed on November 28, 1828, in an accidental explosion of gunpowder while he was engaged in making cartridges to fight off attacking native Liberians. In 1897 the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was established in his memory.

See also Missionary Movements

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LEROY FITTS (1996)

Caribbean Commission

The Caribbean Commission began as the Anglo American Caribbean Commission on March 9, 1942, a cooperative effort of the United States and the United Kingdom to deal with the World War II emergency. Reorganized in 1945 as the Caribbean Commission, France and the Netherlands were included, but the life of the organization was terminated in 1957.

Concerns by British and American authorities about reports on the state of Caribbean misery—especially the Moyne Commission Report (1938), war conditions, and the impact of German submarine activity on the region made colonial defense a priority for the United States and Britain. In return for a ninety-nine year lease to establish naval and military bases in the region, fifty antiquated American naval destroyers were given to Britain. American bases were established in seven British Caribbean territories.

Each country had three representatives on the commission, one of which was designated cochair. The commission functioned as two national sections. The British Section was the Barbados-based Colonial Development and Welfare Organisation and the American section was administered from Washington, D.C., as a part of the Department of State.

Charged with the responsibility of attending to social and economic issues pertaining to the region and advising their respective governments, the commission undertook a survey of ways to cope with the basic social and economic problems of the region and formulated war emergency measures. From 1942 to 1945 the commission held seven formal meetings and organized two conferences.

The commission established two auxiliary bodies. The Caribbean Research Council was established in August 1943 to advise the commission on mutual problems of the member nations. The membership of the council included representatives from Britain, the United States, and Holland. The council established committees on agriculture, fisheries, forestry, and nutrition and later added committees on public health and medicine, industrial technology, building and engineering technology, and social services. The second auxiliary body was the West Indian Conference, a forum for the discussion of regional matters, which was first held in Barbados, March 21-30, 1944.

Over the fifteen-year period of its existence, the commission successfully directed the region's war survival strategy, identified a ten-point development program for the region that focused on the most critical issues in Caribbean development, and developed programs around them. Unemployment relief was offered through the American bases and a labor recruitment scheme. A Venereal Disease Control Center was established to provide free blood testing, and there were increased opportunities for education and training. The commission offered greater attention to regional matters, it provided the opportunity for the United States to play a larger role in the social and economic life of the region, it helped to foster increased contact between the American and British colonies, and it promoted greater information exchange and communication among the British West Indian territories. Ironically, one of its major contributions was that it provided an avenue for the

growth and expression of nationalism in the region, a factor that contributed to its own demise.

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D. RITA PEMBERTON (2005)

Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)

In 1958 the West Indies Federation, which consisted of Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Windward and Leeward Islands under British control, was established with the hope of regional integration. It came to an end in 1962 with the independence of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago from Great Britain, but it led to the political leaders in the Caribbean hoping to strengthen their ties with a Common Services Conference that was called in mid-1962. The government of Trinidad and Tobago proposed the creation of a Caribbean Community that would consist of not only the ten members of the former federation but also of French Guiana, Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana), Guyana (formerly British Guiana), and all the islands—both independent and nonindependent—in the Caribbean Sea. The prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago convened the first Heads of Government Conference in July 1963, which was attended by the leaders of Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. The July 1965 conference established a Free Trade Area, and in December 1965 the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) was established. The CARIFTA agreement came into effect May 1, 1968, with Antigua, Barbados, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago participating. In July 1968 Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent joined. Jamaica and Montserrat became members in August 1968, and Belize joined in May 1971.

At the seventh Heads of Government Conference in October 1972, the leaders decided to transform CARIFTA into a common market and establish the Caribbean Community. The members signed a draft in April 1973, and the Treaty of Chaguaramas, which established the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), was signed at Chaguaramas, Trinidad, on July 4, 1973. It went into effect on August 1, 1973, among the independent countries of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. Eight other territories—Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Monserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines—became full members on May 1, 1974. The Bahamas joined on July 4, 1993, Suriname on July 4, 1995. Haiti became the fifteenth member state on July 3, 2002. (However, Haiti's membership was put on hold with the ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in February 2004.) Associate members include Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the Cayman Islands, and Bermuda. The fifteen member nations have a combined population of some twelve million.

CARICOM has concentrated on the promotion of cooperation, especially in human and social development, and in the integration of the economies of its members. The objectives of CARICOM include establishing a free-trade area within its member nations; improving the region's standard of living and work; full employment; accelerated, coordinated, and sustained economic development; expansion of trade and economic relations; enhanced levels of competitiveness; increased production and productivity; greater economic leverage and effectiveness; and the coordination of foreign and economic policies. The Conference of the Heads of Government, the decision-making forum and final authority for CARICOM, is made up of the heads of government of the member states, with their primary responsibility being to determine and provide policy direction. There are four minister councils within the community: The Council for Trade and Economic Development (COTED), the Council for Foreign and Community Relations (COFCOR), the Council for Human and Social Development (COHSOD), and the Council for Finance and Planning (COFAP).

The eighth conference in 1987 established the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) to promote economic issues and to allow goods, services, people, and capital to move throughout the community without tariffs

Members of the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). *The Treaty of Chaguaramas, which established CARICOM, was signed in Trinidad on July 4, 1973. Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago were the four pioneering member nations. Eight other territories, Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines, were added the following year. The Bahamas and Suriname joined the community in the 1990s, with Haiti added as a fifteenth member state in 2002.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

and restrictions; the CSME was included as part of the Treaty of Chaguaramas when it was revised in February 2002. In 1992 CARICOM established the Charter of Civil Society to recommend and develop a free press; a fair and open democratic process; respect for fundamental civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights; the rights of women and children; respect for religious diversity; and greater government accountability. In July 1994 CARICOM established the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) to promote and implement policies and programs designed to utilize and develop the Caribbean region to attain cultural, economic, social, scientific, and technological advancement as well as promote trade and investment and various cooperative arrangements. The ACS consists of thirty-seven states and associated territories located in and around the Caribbean Basin. In 1999 the Heads of Government also established a supreme court for the region known as the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). Although the court has been in the planning stages since 1970, various disputes concerning its legal powers and authority have hindered its effectiveness. CARICOM has also mobilized a region-wide response against HIV/AIDS through the Pan-Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS (PANCAP), and its leaders also work to promote the Caribbean region as a tourist destination with more than twenty-five percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) currently provided by the tourism industry. The community also maintains a number of subsidiary organizations, including the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency (CDERA), the Caribbean Meteorological Institute (CMI), the Caribbean Environment Health Institute (CEHI), and the Caribbean Agriculture Research and De-

Colin Powell meets CARICOM ministers in Washington, D.C., 2003. *U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (center) poses with Caribbean Community (CARICOM) ministers prior to their meeting at the State Department. From left are Guyana Foreign Minister Samuel Insanally, Jamaican Foreign Minister Keith Knight, St. Vincent Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Louis Straker, Powell, Barbados Trade Minister Kerry Symmonds, Bahama Foreign Minister Fred Mitchell and CARICOM Secretary General Edwin Carrington.* © YURI GRIPAS/REUTERS/CORBIS

velopment Institute (CARDZ), among others. The headquarters of CARICOM is located in Georgetown, Guyana, and is headed by a secretary-general who is responsible for providing leadership to the development of the community.

CARICOM also has its own flag, which was approved by the Heads of Government Conference in November 1983. The flag features a blue background—the upper part being a light blue representing the sky and the lower part a dark blue representing the Caribbean Sea. The yellow circle in the center represents the sun. On it, printed in black, are two interlocking Cs (for Caribbean Community) in the form of broken links in a chain that symbolize both unity and a break with the community's colonial past. A narrow green ring around the sun represents the vegetation of the region.

See also West Indies Federation

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary)

The work of Caribbean-American writers generally reflects a sense of rootedness in the American landscape while simultaneously expressing a connection to and knowledge of their Caribbean home cultures, be it Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad, or Jamaica. Poised between two cultures, this literature belongs equally to both spaces and reflects a Pan-Caribbean perspective. This includes Dominican American writers such as Junot Diaz, Angie Cruz, Loida Maritza Perez, Julia Alvarez, and Nelly Rosario; writers of Jamaican descent such as Patricia Powell, Colin Channer, Kwame Dawes, Claudia Rankine, Thomas Glave, Ifeona Fulani, Donna Hemans, and Shara McCallum; Haitian American writers such as Edwidge Danticat and Danielle Legros Georges; and Trinidadian writer Elizabeth Nunez. Many of these writers belong to the canon of American immigrant literature, yet they explore the tensions between Caribbean cultures in the region and the diaspora. Edwidge Danticat's *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (1994) and Julia Alvarez's *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) are novels about young women from the Caribbean coming of age in New York, where they must negotiate the cultural baggage brought from their respective homelands. Yet other novels by these authors, such as Danticat's *Farming of Bones* (1998) and Alvarez's *In the Time of Butterflies* (1994), explore a history of racial tensions in Haiti and Dominican Republic, which for Danticat culminates in the 1937 massacre of Haitian migrant laborers in the Dominican Republic, and for Alvarez concerns the making of a totalitarian president in the form of Rafael Molina Trujillo. In chronicling moments of contact, conflict, and even pleasure, these writers engage in a conversation about a Pan-Caribbean sensibility and sense of responsibility for shared regional histories.

From as early as the 1920s, with writers such as Claude McKay and Eric Walrond, early Caribbean/North American writing has been Pan-African and anticolonial in orientation—focusing on a larger black world outside of the United States and the Caribbean. In novels such as McKay's *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929), or Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983), writers have created spatial scenes where various black identities meet and discover what differences of nationality, class, and gender mean for their sense of racial connection. For McKay, socialism is the uniting factor, whereas for Marshall it is an Afrocentric spirituality.

Today's literature builds on these earlier themes, focusing on questions of diaspora and postcolonialism. Like McKay, the novels of Colin Channer (*Waiting In Vain* [1998] and *Satisfy My Soul* [2003]) deal with contemporary black diasporic subjects. Set in New York, London, and Jamaica, *Waiting in Vain* chronicles the romance of Fire, a London- and Jamaica-based Booker Prize–winning author, and Sylvia, a magazine editor who is a second-generation Caribbean-American living in Brooklyn. They meet by chance on a Manhattan street and proceed to fall in love—in spite of complications of geographical distance and the entanglements of past and present relationships. While they are both Jamaicans, class background makes all the difference. As an American immigrant of working-class Jamaican origins, Sylvia left Jamaica as a child and has never returned. In contrast, Fire is from a wealthy Jamaican family, maintains homes in London and Jamaica, and considers the latter his primary residence.

Adhering to the plot structure of the romance genre, class, geographical differences, and time spent abroad are rendered insignificant as the novel ends with the possibility of Sylvia and Fire's reconciliation. She leaves the safety of Brooklyn and goes to Jamaica in search of Fire. There she is received by the local community, which suggests the possibility of her re-integration in Jamaica, despite the years of her American absence. Significantly, while their romance starts in Brooklyn it gets resolved in Jamaica. The message here for Channer's Caribbean diasporic readers is that you can go home again, and that you will be welcomed.

Satisfy My Soul, in contrast, is a narrative of romantic failure and points to the limits of diaspora. While our contemporary moment of rapid globalization brings various black diasporic subjects together in one locale—Channer shows how distinctions of origins matter, since they shape one's worldview. Although the story begins in Jamaica, Channer goes to great length to make his characters more than Caribbean. The hero, Carey McCullough, a thirty-eight-year-old Cambridge-educated New York playwright, for example, is born in Harlem but raised in Cuba and Jamaica to a mother of Jamaican Jewish ancestry and a father who has Ghanian and southern black American roots. The heroine, Frances Carey, the owner of a small construction company in Kingston, has similar black Atlantic roots: born in Guyana, she moved to Jamaica at seventeen. But her parents are Ghanian and she stills speaks Hora, her

native Ghanaian language. More importantly, the narrative emphasizes that she also lived and worked in the United States as a jazz singer. While their roots and routes span the black Atlantic world, the novel still retains a Jamaican undercurrent. But rather than the romantic happy ending, this novel presents a love plot in which differences between lovers are irreconcilable.

Channer's treatment of cosmopolitan black characters who are at home in the world, yet who cannot resolve differences of interests to sustain a lasting love relationship, points to the limits of diaspora. These differences are predicated upon how various diasporic sites distinctly mark and make each subject. Black diasporic subjects carry their old world histories with them, and these histories complicate and often compromise how they relate to each other. In this novel, the diaspora does not become a space where people meet and reconcile differences, as in *Waiting in Vain*. Instead, it is a place where differences collide and people have to find a new language to communicate across the gulf of divergent imperial histories. It is the failure to create new modes of communication across ideological borderlines, in the end, that makes the gulf unbridgeable.

The relation between sexuality and national belonging is another theme explored by Caribbean-American writers. Michelle Cliff, Thomas Glave, and Patricia Powell, for example, address how a homosexual identity impacts one's sense of belonging to the nation-state. Powell's *Pagoda* (1998) tells the story of Lau A-yin Ling, who faces famine, clan fighting, and gender restrictions in nineteenth-century patriarchal China. Then, disguised as a young man, she travels to the West Indies. In her oceanic passage in search of freedom, Ling's true gender and sexual identity is uncovered by Cecil, the white shipmaster. With no law to protect her at sea, Cecil repeatedly rapes Ling aboard the ship, despite her numerous attempts to kill him. By the time they arrive in the new world, Ling is pregnant. After giving birth to her daughter, Lizabeth, Ling cloaks her female identity and assumes a Chinese maleness in order to survive as a Chinese single mother on the island. When Lizabeth is two years old, Cecil establishes Ling as a local male shopkeeper and renames her Lowe. To complete the masquerade, he brings Miss Sylvie, who appears to be a white creole, to play mother to Lizabeth and wife to Lowe. Another level of passing ensues here, as Miss Sylvie is, in fact, a black woman who was married to a white man. When her pregnancies result in visibly black babies, she kills her husband before he kills her for "darkening" and, therefore, bringing shame to his white patrilineage. Cecil joins these two nonblack, but "not quite white," women together in marital union, protecting the secrets of their racial and gender identities, while they secure his economic interests. Furthermore, with the profits he makes from his trafficking in enslaved and indentured women's bodies, Cecil sets them up in a house that "stood grandly on the very pinnacle of the hill," and from which they "gazed down at the villagers' mud-and-wattle, thatch-roofed hovels and huts" (p. 103). Based on public appearances, the villagers would have envied Lowe, a newly arrived Chinese immigrant, for so quickly forming relationships with that society's elite and living an idealized interracial heterosexual romance. What they do not yet know, however, is the private trauma Ling relives every day for her "apparent" privilege. This gender and sexuality passing, with the accompanying loss of body, language, history, and family is the drama that unfolds.

With this focus on the violated sexed body, Powell belongs to a new generation—a third wave—of Caribbean women writers. These women explore questions of sexual violence enacted against women and girls. In previous generations, these stories were protected through silence and concealment in national and family histories. In this post-postcolonial moment, these writers excavate those buried stories and explore the existing cultural narratives that enable various kinds of sexual trauma against women to continue relatively unchecked by the culture. Among these writers are Edwidge Danticat, Elizabeth Nunez, Nelly Rosario, Patricia Powell, Julia Alvarez, Angie Cruz, Shani Motoo, Dionne Brand, and Marlene Nourbese Phillip.

Through their fictional narratives, third-wave writers highlight that sex is one vehicle through which power is exercised and maintained over the minutest details of women's lives. Not content to have the politics of sexuality severed from other sociopolitical issues, trivialized, or rendered "merely" private, these writings address issues of domestic violence, sex work, and sexual abuse, making explicit the implications of these occurrences for women's experiences of citizenship, of belonging to a national community with rights of protection. Challenging dichotomous readings that celebrate Caribbean women's resistance on the one hand, or lament their victimization on the other, these writers show that women are not without power to reproduce sexual violence themselves. Such narrative emphases go against conventions of respectability and received narratives, and also allow for a more complicated understanding of the relationship between the individual body, the state, and society. Put another way, third-wave texts make explicit the linkages between the Caribbean female body, sexuality and citizenship.

At once (though not simply) queer, feminist, immigrant, Latino, African American, American minority literature, or science fiction, Caribbean North American writ-

ings further complicate our understanding of global black identities and what it means to be a Caribbean person in the twenty-first century.

See also African Diaspora; Danticat, Edwidge; Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Marshall, Paule; McKay, Claude; Walrond, Eric Derwent; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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DONETTE A. FRANCIS (2005)

Caribbean Theater, Anglophone

To understand the nature of the development of Caribbean theater over the centuries, as well as the form of theater that is now evolving in the region, it is important to know something of the history of the Caribbean. The experience of colonization and the type of slavery that existed there have left an indelible mark on the creative impulses of the people. Theater in the Caribbean, therefore, must be seen as having various stages of development. These stages are defined by historical periods, beginning with the meeting of African and European cultures, then the period after Emancipation, followed by a more classical form of theater, and finally a period of ritualistic and popular expression.

The source of Caribbean drama is in the folklore, myth, and rituals of the people. There are two types of rituals: (1) the sacred rituals, which include a variety of social, spiritual, and religious actions performed privately by and for the participants who are integral to the ceremony; and (2) profane rituals, which are those that make everyday life meaningful, predictable, and comfortable. Spectators are allowed to watch these profane rituals, and they may even participate in them. Included in all these rituals are the religious practices of the Indians, the Chinese, and the other peoples who were brought to the Caribbean. Unlike the indentured laborers who were brought to the region with a promise of returning home, the Africans, who were chattel slaves, suffered a violent sense of dispossession after being prevented from returning to Africa. Loss, dispossession, alienation, and a lifetime of imposed poverty resulted in a search for a cultural identity, which is a major theme in the literature of the Caribbean.

In their early theatrical presentations, slaves took the opportunity to ridicule their oppressors, and to console themselves, by presenting the victorious efforts of small, cunning animals. They also sought relief in entertainment through drumming and dancing. This entertainment took place on days when they were free from work, such as Sundays, Christmas, and Easter, as well as on certain work-related holidays, such as the end of the sugarcane harvest. Many of the communal festivals of black people in the Caribbean—such as Papa Diable or Papa Jab in Trinidad, La Rose and La Marguerite in Saint Lucia, Jonkunnu in Jamaica and the Bahamas, Crop-Over in Barbados, Masquerade in Guyana, and even the short skits performed during the renditions of calypsos—have their origin in these entertainments.

Freedom and voting rights gave the masses the opportunity to question what had been presented to them as theater, providing a chance to found a theater that expressed their own aspirations. It was obvious that this would require that they ignore the theatrical fare given to them by the plantocracy. The first National Hero of Jamaica, Marcus Garvey, was the first proponent of black pride in black culture, and between 1930 and 1932 he produced four plays with large casts. Unfortunately, these plays have been lost to posterity. In 1941, Greta and Henry Fowler founded the Little Theatre Movement and introduced the Pantomime, based on the traditional English Pantomime. The Jamaica National Pantomime remains faithful to the structure of the traditional English Pantomime, presenting the same type of traditional characters and a pervading theme of good overcoming evil. Louise Bennett, the *grande dame* of Jamaican theater, was the leading Pantomime figure for many years. She played alongside Ranny Williams, and these two actors remain unforgettable icons of the Jamaica Pantomime. The Little Theatre Movement still produces the National Pantomime, though the social commentary, the content, and artistic form are more definitively Caribbean than when it was introduced by the Fowlers. Also in the 1940s, the Yard Theater was founded in Barbados, as was the Theatre Guild in Guyana.

In the early 1950s, Errol Hill (1921–2003), a leading Trinidadian playwright, called for a national theater that truly represented the cultural attitudes, expressions, and aspirations of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. Over the course of his life, he produced and directed over 120 plays and pageants in the West Indies, England, the United States, and Nigeria. He wrote eleven plays, of which *Man Better Man* is considered a Caribbean classic. The poet and playwright Derek Walcott, from Saint Lucia, made his appearance on the scene in the 1950s. A winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1992, Walcott sometimes writes plays in verse, and his work, though firmly aligned to the ancient classical drama of Europe, is unmistakably Caribbean in content. He founded The Little Carib Theatre in Trinidad.

The 1950s also saw the appearance of a number of playwrights who were committed to presenting a mirror of society. "Yard" plays, as they were called, examined the conflicts of life in low-income communities, the tenement yard, and rural areas. Some of the playwrights involved in this movement were Barry Reckord from Jamaica; Slade Hopkinson from Guyana; and Errol Hill, Eric Roach, and Douglas Archibald from Trinidad. The Yard Theatre in Jamaica was part of this movement, and the Trinidadian playwright Marina Omowale Maxwell was its chief exponent. Unfortunately, yard theater had a rather short life span.

One of the outstanding modern Caribbean playwrights is Errol John (1924–1988) of Trinidad. Two of his plays, *The Tout* and *Moon on a Rainbow Shawl,* have become Caribbean classics. Other playwrights who wrote works that can be classified as social realism also came to the fore at this time. These writers dealt not only with the social issues affecting low-income communities, but with those important to a cross-section of Caribbean society. Among these playwrights are Basil Dawkins, Ginger Knight, Carmen Tipling, Pat Cumper, and Trevor Rhone from Jamaica; Stanley French from Saint Lucia; Ronald Amoroso from Trinidad; and Rudolph Wallace from St. Thomas. Of these playwrights, Trevor Rhone has received the widest international acclaim. His most famous work, written largely in the vernacular, is *Old Story Time,* which makes use of significant Caribbean folk forms. His other well-known works are *Smile Orange, School's Out, Two Can Play,* and the screenplay for the 1988 film *Milk and Honey*. He is also an actor, and his performance in his own play *Bellas Gate Boy* (2002) was a one-man *tour de force*.

Another playwright who is highly esteemed is Earl Lovelace (b. 1935) from Trinidad. He came into prominence first as a novelist. In both his novels and his plays he is deeply concerned about the human condition. Another prominent playwright is Dominican artist, actor, and director Alwin Bully. His most memorable plays are *Streak, Folk Nativity, Pio-Pio, McB* and *The Ruler of Hiroona*.

Under the aegis of the Little Theatre in Kingston, the Jamaica School of Drama was established in 1969, and a permanent home for the school was erected in 1976. This is the only theater school in the English-speaking Caribbean, and it has brought together theater practitioners from all over the region. It has, however, been plagued by a lack of funds from its inception. In 1979, Jean Small, a tutor at the school, devised a course titled "A Caribbean Laboratory," which explored Caribbean folk forms in order to arrive at a Caribbean theater aesthetic. The research done in this laboratory influenced much of the ritual theater that took place in that period. Dennis Scott, a poet, playwright, dancer, choreographer, and theater director, was the then director of the school.

One of the interesting outcomes of the work done at the Jamaica School of Drama was the formation in 1983 of Groundwork Theater, a company formed by graduates of the school. They performed in schools using the popular form of theater that marks this period of theater, particularly in Jamaica, in which the structure of the African ritual, the use of significant ritual objects, the function of ritual agents, and the use of sound and movement were all studied and applied to relevant everyday Caribbean human issues. Scott displayed his adeptness in using ritual as an act that binds human communities in his outstanding play *An Echo in the Bone*. His other major play is *Dog.*

Following in this mode of ritual theater was the Trinidadian playwright Rawle Gibbons. His first full-length play, which made use of ritual, was *Shepherd,* which opened at the Jamaica School of Drama in 1981. Gibbons also became the director of the Centre for Creative and Festival Arts on the Saint Augustine Campus of the University of the West Indies. In 1991 he staged his calypso musical *Sing de Chorus,* which won five national Cacique Awards. The show is a docudrama on the development of calypso and Trinidadian society. Other ritual playwrights are Marina Omowale Maxwell, whose *Play Mas* is based on Trinidad's Carnival, while her *Hounsi Kanzo* is based on a Haitian ritual of consciousness. Zeno Constance Obi, a secondary school teacher, writes mainly for his student actors, and his play *The Ritual* has become the play of choice for teenagers. A splinter group of the Theatre Guild in Guyana commissioned the multitalented Guyanese playwright Michael Gilkes to write a play. The result was *Couvade,* which was performed at the first Carifesta, held in Guyana in 1972. The uniqueness of this play is that it makes use of an Amerindian ritual, and that it deals with the subject of Caribbean integration. In 1979 Gilkes settled in Barbados as a member of staff of the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies. He became the founder and first artistic director of Stage One, the leading theatre company in Barbados.

Popular theater was a reaction to the middle-class proscenium-arch type of theater. There were two important factors that identified popular theater: (1) it was led by an academic with formal knowledge of theater; and (2) it utilized the culture and aesthetics of the working class. In Jamaica, Ralph Holness was the founder of a sub-genre of popular theater called "roots theater," which focused on the lives of the working-class populace and the inner city. These plays were performed in unconventional spaces, such as a cinema that was no longer used as such, a section of a bar, or a space in a restaurant close to a bar. The proximity to a bar seemed to be very important as an adjunct of the performance, and the intermission of the included light entertainment of singing and dancing. Roots theater placed emphasis on the use of nation language, such as the Creole languages of the region, and it was usually done in a humorous way. This theater of the masses spread all over the Caribbean.

In 1977 in Jamaica, under the Michael Manley government, an "Emergency Employment," or "Crash," program was introduced. A number of inner-city women found employment in this program as street sweepers.

Under the same government, the Bureau of Women's Affairs was set up, and that office decided to put on a show to celebrate the Annual Workers' Day. The street sweepers were invited to participate in this show, and when asked what they would like to do, thirteen of them decided that they wanted to act in memory of plays they had done as children in Sunday school. As they had no theater experience, the Jamaica School of Drama was approached to assist, and a member of staff there, Honor Ford Smith, volunteered to work with them. As the women could not read or write, she developed a form of oral theater using Jamaican Creole, the medium of expression with which they were most confident. The group dubbed themselves the Sistren Theatre Collective, and they were the first to proudly use Jamaican Creole in theater. Their first performance, *Downpression Get a Blow*, lamented the abandonment of a move to improve the conditions of factory workers.

The early work of Sistren was mainly improvisational, and the content of their plays was based on their life experiences. Their second major production *Bellywoman Bangarang,* produced in 1978, was an award-winning play that established Sistren as the new grassroots voice for women in the 1970s. Sistren's work concentrated on the plight of women, as well as the universality of women's issues. They became internationally recognized, although their plays were performed in Jamaican Creole using symbols, colors, dance forms, music, and ritual that came directly from their culture. An oral history project on their personal lives, their hardships, and their courage was documented by Honor Ford Smith in the publication *Lionheart Gal.* Some of their other important plays are *Bandool-oou Version,* and *Muffet Inna Alla Wi*. Hertencer Lindsay directed *QPH,* a play on the lives of three well-known women living in a retirement home. In 1980, Jean Small directed *Nana Yah* which was based on the life of the Jamaican National Heroine, Nanny of the Maroons, and from then on Sistren started creating plays on subjects outside of their personal lives but relevant to the lives of all women.

During the turbulent period of the 1970s in Jamaica, this type of activist theater had its place and was very popular, but with the change of government in the 1980s the mood changed and the freedom of expression that was experienced under the Manley government disappeared. Sistren had by this time acquired a home base, and they had created an income-generating screen-printing business. Their cushion covers, bags, curtains, and wall hangings depicted themes from their work. Unfortunately, as the activist leaders of the group moved on to other jobs, and as members of Sistren themselves started to look for opportunities outside of Jamaica, the original group fell apart and the screen-printing work came to an end. Sistren now mainly conducts workshops in communities and schools, and only four of the original thirteen members are currently residing in Jamaica. A later production, directed by Jean Small, was *Mirro Mirro,* a play about women's sexuality and incest. In the 1990s, however, the audiences in Jamaica were searching for entertainments that offered relief from the stresses and strains of life, and serious discussions of women's issues were no longer appealing. The play, therefore, was not financially successful.

In Guyana in the 1990s, a few stalwarts, such as Al Creighton and Ron Robinson, kept theater activities going in spite of the inactivity of the Theatre Guild. Directors turned to the National Cultural Centre as the main theater space. Theater at the center gave rise to a large proletariat audience. The Link Show, a satirical commentary on current events in Guyana, is the only current annual production. A committee has been set up, however, with the support of the government, to refurbish the Theatre Guild.

In Jamaica, the commercial theater production company Jambiz International was formed in 1996. Their productions take place at the Centerstage Theatre, in Kingston, and they concentrate on humorous entertainment with actors such as Oliver Samuels, Glen Campbell, Christopher Daley, and Claudette Pious. Their main playwright is Patrick Brown. They also take their work to places such as London, New York, Miami, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and Toronto.

Most theater practitioners in the Caribbean cannot afford to be engaged on a full-time basis in theater. In Jamaica, the prolific playwright Basil Dawkins is one of the few practitioners who works professionally in the theater. Most of his plays are directed by Buddy Pouyat, and he regularly takes his productions to England, the United States, and other parts of the Caribbean region. His work analyzes serious current social issues in an entertaining manner. His plays feature such well-known actors as Charles Hyatt, Karen Harriott, Volier Johnson, and Leonie Forbes. In Grenada, the Heritage Theatre Company offers light fare in the form of situational theatrical performances. Grenada also stages an annual Spice Festival, which consists of productions in which laughter is the main ingredient. The Cultural Division of the Antigua government promotes theater activity and exports their productions to neighboring islands. In 2001, theater practitioners in Jamaica came together to form the Jamaica Association of Dramatic Artists (JADA), with the determination to improve the quality of theater in the island. In 2002, JADA organized their first Script Festival as a first step to acquiring a stock of quality plays.

A genre of theater that is becoming increasingly important in the Caribbean is storytelling. Louise Bennett,

through her poetry and storytelling written in Jamaican Creole, has helped give the Jamaican people a sense of self and a cultural identity. The Trinidadian storyteller Paul Keens-Douglas has similarly used Trinidadian Creole in his poems and stories, and he has helped to establish storytelling as a respectable form of theater. Storytelling is maintained in Saint Lucia by George "Fish" Alphonse, while Ricardo Keens-Douglas has been an important practitioner in Grenada. In Guyana, Desrey Foster, an academic in the Amerindian Research Unit of the University of Guyana, is the only established Amerindian storyteller in the region. There are also other young storytellers in the region, such as Joan Andrea Hutchinson, Amina Blackwood-Meeks, and AdZiko Simba. Storytelling has influenced Jean Small's one-woman performances, and her *Black Woman's Tale* has been performed internationally.

Twelve of the Caribbean islands came together in 1997 to form the Caribbean Regional Alliance (CARA) which is the regional representative body to the International Amateur Theatre Association (IATA). The first CARA Theater Festival was held in Trinidad, hosted by the National Drama Association of Trinidad and Tobago. Since CARA was established, IATA has been forced to include Spanish as one of its working languages.

Since 2000, the University of the West Indies has been organizing an Inter-Campus Foreign Language Theatre Festival, which takes place each year at one of the three campuses of the University—Mona Campus in Jamaica, Saint Augustine Campus in Trinidad, and Cave Hill Campus in Barbados—and only Anglophone students who are studying a foreign language are allowed to participate.

See also Bennett, Louise; Creole Languages of the Americas; Garvey, Marcus; Hill, Errol; Walcott, Derek

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JEAN SMALL (2005)

Carmichael, Stokely

June 29, 1941
November 15, 1998

Born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, Stokely Standiford Churchill Carmichael, an activist, graduated from the Bronx High School of Science in 1960 and received a bachelor's degree in philosophy from Howard University in 1964. During his college years he participated in a variety of civil rights demonstrations sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). As a freedom rider, he was arrested in 1961 for violating Mississippi segregation laws and spent seven weeks in Parchman Penitentiary. After college, he worked with the Mississippi Summer Project, directed SNCC voter-registration efforts in Lowndes County, Alabama, and helped organize black voters through the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

Elected SNCC chairman in 1966, Carmichael took an outspoken, militant stance that helped distance SNCC from the moderate leadership of competing civil rights organizations. A chief architect and spokesperson for the new Black Power ideology, Carmichael coauthored (with Charles V. Hamilton) *Black Power* (1967) and published a collection of his essays and addresses, *Stokely Speaks* (1971). He left his SNCC post in 1967. The next year he was made prime minister of the Black Panther Party; in 1969 he quit the Black Panthers and became an organizer for Kwame Nkrumah's All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Studies with Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea confirmed his Pan-Africanism and, in 1978, moved him to change his name to Kwame Ture. For the last thirty years of his life he made Conakry, Guinea, his home, and he continued his work in political education, condemning Western imperialism, Zionism, and capitalism while promoting the goal of a unified socialist Africa. He died of prostate cancer in 1998.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998). *Carmichael, one of the most influential leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) during the early 1960s, became the center of controversy when he articulated his thoughts about "Black Power" before assembled television cameras during a march in Mississippi in 1965.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Stokeley Carmichael

"We are going to use the term 'Black Power' and we are going to define it because Black Power speaks to us."

FROM SPEECH ON BLACK POWER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA–BERKELEY, JULY 28, 1966. REPRINTED IN JOHN BRACEY, AUGUST MEIER, AND ELLIOTT RUDWICK, EDS. *BLACK NATIONALISM IN AMERICA.* INDIANAPOLIS: BOBBS-MERILL, 1970, P. 470.

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WILLIAM L. VAN DEBURG (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Carneiro, Edison

August 12, 1912
December 2, 1972

Edison Carneiro was born in Salvador, Bahia. In addition to earning a law degree in 1935, he dedicated his life to journalism, the study of black culture and folklore, and political militancy. At every step he sought to defend communist ideals and Brazil's Afro-descendant population.

During the 1930s, influenced by his family and by larger debates about the role of blacks in Brazilian society—especially works by Gilberto Freyre, Renato Mendonça, and Artur Ramos—Carneiro became one of the most well-known and effective advocates of Afro-Brazilian studies. In 1932 he presented two essays at the First Afro-Brazilian Congress in Recife, both of which previewed future interests: "A Situação do negro no Brasil" (The Situation of the Black in Brazil) and a study of African-influenced religion titled "Xangô."

Between 1936 and 1937, Carneiro prepared and published his first books, *Religiões Negras* (Black Religions) and *Negros Bantus: Notas de ethnographia religiosa e de folklore* (Black Bantus: Ethnographic Notes on Religion and Folklore). During the same period, he collaborated with Aydano Couto Ferraz and Reginaldo Guimarães to organize the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress, in Salvador. According to contemporary accounts, the second gathering was largely successful, despite criticisms made by Gilberto Freyre, the luminary scholar who organized the First Congress but publicly denounced the second for being disorganized.

In addition to Brazilian intellectuals, the conference in Salvador brought together foreign scholars such as Melville Herskovits, Donald Pierson, and (from Cuba) Salvador Garcia Agüero. Participants discussed themes ranging from religion, music, dance, class relations, race, and culture to assessments of the study of blacks in Brazilian history and culture. The conference produced a volume titled *O Negro no Brasil* (The Black in Brazil), published in 1940 by Civilização Brasileira.

The Second Congress was also notable for the participation and presentations made by leaders from Salvador's

terreiros: communities dedicated to the worship of Candomblé, a popular African-derived religion. Those notable participants included Martiniano do Bonfim (during the late nineteenth century an informant for Nina Rodrigues, a leading researcher at the Bahia Medical School who took particular interest in Afro-Brazilian religion), Manoel Bernardino da Paixão, Manuel Vitorino dos Santos, and Eugênia Ana dos Santos. Dos Santos, better known as Donha Aninha, hosted a party for the conference's participants at the *terreiro* of her Axé do Opô Afonjá congregation.

The Second Congress also led to the founding of the "Union of Afro-Brazilian Sects of Bahia," which united all of the Bahian Candomblé communities. The federation's larger purpose was to fight persecution against Candomblé and to defend religious freedom. With the support of Carneiro, Martiniano do Bonfim won the presidency. The conference also helped alter the way that politicians and the press treated African-influenced religions in Bahia, a change affected largely by the writings of Carneiro and the increased exposure that religious and black studies had won in academic circles.

Carneiro's time in Bahian *terreiros* and his relationships with religious leaders allowed him to record important ethnographic observations during the 1930s. He also facilitated research by the likes of Donald Pierson, Ruth Landes, and Roger Bastide. At the onset of President Getúlio Vargas's dictatorial *Estado Novo* (New State), Carneiro found political refuge in the house of Donha Aninha. In the preface to *Negros Bantus,* Carneiro thanked the religious leaders, as well as the *capoeiristas* (practitioners of *capoeira*, a combination of martial art and dance) and samba musicians (samba combined musical streams from Africa, Europe, and the Americas, becoming by the 1920s and 1930s the de facto national rhythm), naming them all as the book's collective author. Carneiro's relationship with those whom he studied would mark his oeuvre for the rest of his career.

After moving to Rio de Janeiro in 1939, Carneiro continued writing while remaining active in academic and political circles. In addition to dozens of articles and encyclopedia entries, he published widely read books, such as *Candomblés da Bahia* (1948), *Antologia do Negro Brasileiro* (1950), *Linguagem Popular da Bahia* (1951), *O Negro em Minas Gerais* (1956), *A Sabedoria Popular* (1957), *Samba de Umbigada* (1961), *Ladinos e Crioulos* (1964), and *Dinâmica do Folclore* (1965). *Folguedos Tradicionais* was published posthumously in 1974.

With the organization of the Brazilian Folklore Movement in the late 1940s, and with increased government interest, Carneiro assumed a crucial role in national projects to preserve folklore. In 1961, he was named executive director of the Campaign in Defense of Folklore, leaving the post three years later after a coup established the military regime that would rule until 1985. Even after the coup, Carneiro remained an active intellectual, and in 1966 he traveled to Africa, chosen by the Ministry of Foreign Relations to represent Brazil at the First Black Art Festival in Dakar, Senegal.

Carneiro's interest in folklore is indicative of his larger desire to understand and explain the formation of Brazilian culture. To Carneiro, Africans and their descendants made enormous contributions to that culture, but in a 1953 article (included in *Ladinos e Crioulos*) he pushed his contemporaries to see "the Negro as a Brazilian with black skin" (Carneiro, 1964, p. 117). By doing so, he challenged the notions that black populations were isolated from the rest of Brazil and that studying them meant *only* studying Africa. The "Afro-Brazilian phase," which made blacks strangers in Brazil, would be definitively closed. Carneiro considered the search for a black cultural personality a "forced Americanization of the problem." Instead, he sought details about what he saw as a reciprocal relationship between whites and blacks in Brazil.

In 1962 Carneiro organized another conference, this time in order to discuss and implement strategies to protect and preserve samba music. The conference's participants declared samba to be a unique manifestation of Brazilianness (they called samba, among other things, the "legitimate expression of our people" and "one of the cultural manifestations that most clearly distinguishes our nationality") and felt the music to be threatened by the influence of international music. Participants issued a manifesto titled "Carta do Samba" which identified *samba* schools (associations that, in addition to serving as community centers throughout the year, organize parades and events during Carnival) as the guardians of traditional samba. Having already established numerous links between academic and nonacademic circles, Carneiro was well connected among the schools, just as he had been among Candomblé communities in Salvador during the 1930s. In 1960 he received honorary titles from three of the oldest and most famous samba schools: Portela, Mangueira, and Salgueiro.

See also Black Press in Brazil; Candomblé; Folklore; Race and Education in Brazil; Samba

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MARTHA ABREU (2005)
Translated by Marc Hertzman

Carney, William H.

c. 1840
December 9, 1908

First black winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor, William Carney was born to a slave woman and her free husband in Norfolk, Virginia. When his master died, Carney, aged fourteen, and his mother were manumitted. Carney studied for a time at a school run secretly by a minister. He also worked at sea with his father. In 1856 Carney's family moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts. He joined a church there and studied for the ministry. In February 1863 Carney enlisted in the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, the first African-American regiment recruited by the United States Army.

On July 18, 1863, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts led the charge against Fort Wagner on Morris Island, South Carolina. Carney caught the Union colors when the flag bearer was wounded by an exploding shell. Carney made his way alone to the outer wall of the fortress, until advancing Confederate troops forced him back. Although he was shot twice and had to crawl on his knees, he kept the flag aloft until he reached his company. While he crept back in retreat under fire, he was shot again before reaching safety. Upon reaching Union lines, Carney is reported to have said, "Boys, the old flag never did touch the ground."

The Battle of Fort Wagner signaled a turning point in the federal government's use of black troops. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts dispelled doubts about the reliability of black soldiers; by the end of 1863 there were sixty African-American regiments in combat or being organized. After the war, the battle flag Carney had carried was enshrined in the Massachusetts statehouse.

Carney was discharged with the rank of sergeant in 1864. He lived for two years in California but eventually returned to New Bedford, where he worked as a mail carrier until 1901. He was a popular speaker at patriotic celebrations, including a convention of black veterans in 1887. For his valor Carney was the first African American cited for the Congressional Medal of Honor, on June 18, 1863, although he was not issued the medal until May 20, 1900. He retired in 1901 and moved to Boston, where he served as a messenger in the statehouse. He died in 1908.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Military Experience, African-American

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
ALLISON X. MILLER (1996)

Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean

The term *Carnival* refers generally to a wide range of festivities that are held in Europe and the Americas in the days before the Catholic observance of Lent. The festivities are a time when the normal restraints of society are abandoned and the hierarchy of social class is reversed or subverted. In the Americas the regions that received large numbers of African slaves developed some of the most famous and colorful Carnival celebrations that exist today. In those places Carnival, although it follows the Catholic calendar and has many strong roots in European traditions, has been shaped by the infusion of African traditions that slaves and their descendents brought to them. The music, instruments, themes, styles of singing and dance, traditions of masking, and many other discrete cultural elements show a link to an African past. The naming of kings and queens, which has a counterpart in European traditions, can be linked in the Americas to a practice from the time of slavery when communities of Africans named their own leaders, expressing a hierarchy in their own community that built on memories of different types of African social organization. These black kings and queens could be found throughout the Americas, from the Argentine and Uruguayan Candombe to the "Negro Election

Scene of Carnival in Brazil. *From Debret, Jean Baptiste,* Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Bresil, ou Sejour d'un artiste francais au Bresil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, epoques de l'avenement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'Empire bresilien. *Dedie a l'Academie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France. Published 1834–1839.* ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Days" in the United States. In the twentieth century, many of these kings and queens came to be translated into Carnival figures that take to the streets in the upside-down world of Carnival.

Brazil has one of the most famous Carnival traditions in the world. Most people think of the Rio de Janeiro Carnival when they talk about this celebration in Brazil, but there are many different expressions of Carnival in Brazil, each with its own local character. In every case, however, Carnival has been shaped by the traditions of Africans and their descendents. In Rio de Janeiro, many different threads came together in the late nineteenth century to give birth to the music and dance of samba and the *batucadas* (percussion orchestras), dances, and parades that make the current Rio de Janeiro Carnival famous. The signature music and dance of the current-day Carnival celebration, samba, had its roots in the *lundu,* a popular dance of the African population. The dance was known for its "breaking" of the body and circular movements of the hips, done to a polyrhythmic music, which directly linked *lundu* to its Afro-Brazilian predecessors such as the *batuque.* The dance became popular among many Brazilians of European descent, especially during the European pre-Lenten festivities called *entrudos* in the nineteenth century, when people would go out for several days and throw colored powders and water balloons at each other.

In the late nineteenth century the *lundu* evolved into a new dance craze, the *maxixe,* which soon swept throughout Brazil. At first the *maxixe* was danced in dance halls, but it soon emerged on to the streets when, during the 1880s, groups of blacks brought their *cucumbys* to the streets during the pre-Lenten celebration. The *cucumbys*, also known as *congos* and *congadas* in different regions of Brazil, were expressions that emerged from lay religious brotherhoods of blacks and that included the procession of kings and queens accompanied by ambassadors, who dressed as different "nations" of Africans and Indians. Processions of the *cucumbys* were most often associated with the Day of Kings (the feast day of the Epiphany), January 6, when many of the black lay-religious brotherhoods held their feast-day celebrations. They emerged in the pre-Lenten Carnival in the same year as the abolition of slavery, in 1888, probably to celebrate that victory. Soon the *cucumbys*, who had paraded with drums and various hand-percussion instruments, were mixing their movements with the *maxixe*, which led to the formation of the modern samba. In the 1930s, in large part because of a populist mayor, the descendents of Africans who lived in the shantytowns around Rio de Janeiro started their own "samba schools," and the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro as we know it was born.

Salvador, Bahia, has a reputation for a Carnival that emphasizes Afro-Brazilian themes. Like Rio de Janeiro, Carnival in nineteenth-century Salvador was marked by the *entrudo,* which was characterized by play and practical jokes. In the late 1880s, again corresponding with the abolition of slavery and in an attempt to get the unruly *entrudo* off the streets, the elite of Bahia started to sponsor Carnival clubs that celebrated the European past of Bahia. In response, descendents of Africans started to sponsor their own clubs that honored a noble African past, including African kings and their entourages. The first club to start was the Embaixada Africana (African Embassy) in 1895, which in its first year crowned King Babá-Anin and Ajahy, figures reminiscent of West African kings. The club paraded to the rhythm of African instruments, the *atabaque* and the *agôgô*. In 1898 the same club chose an Ethiopian king, whom they crowned in front of the Church of the Rosary, a nod to the lay religious brotherhoods that had for centu-

Black Kings and Queens in the Americas

The presence of black kings and queens in almost every Euro-American colony highlights the important role that concepts of kingship and hierarchy played in Africans' understanding of the world. African leaders, whether chiefs of small polities or kings of large states, held important ritual positions that mediated several levels of social, spiritual, and political relationships. When Africans were brought to the Americas, they reconstructed these social structures as best they could in the narrow nooks and crevices that the slave structure left open. In some cases the kings and queens may have been part of, or been descended from, royal families in Africa. In other cases they may have been elected, or chosen, by a particular community. When communities lasted longer than a generation, some black kings and queens in the Americas inherited their titles from relatives. All of these variations represented the reconstruction of African social structures in the Americas.

The two most common settings in which black kings and queens appeared in the Americas were in black social organizations and runaway slave communities. The social organizations took various forms. Whether in the black confraternities of Brazil and Spanish America, the *cabildos* of Cuba, or the "Negro Election Days" and Pinkster Festivals of British North America, records exist of black leaders—kings, queens, governors, and chiefs—presiding over black festivities. In many cases, however, their influence went beyond simply being "king for a day." The authorities in seventeenth century Mexico City closely associated the coronation of black kings and queens in confraternities with slave uprisings, and quickly moved to ban those organizations. In Brazil, where authorities saw confraternities as a form of social control, kings and queens would often be in their positions for life and would pass on their scepter and crown to a chosen successor. Sometimes these successions could be fraught with political intrigue and eventual recourse to the authorities. In small towns in the Brazilian backlands authorities would complain of the assumed power of the black kings and queens—some of whom were still slaves. The positions of kings and queens were so important throughout the Americas that they still survive, not only in the ubiquitous Carnival celebrations but also in confraternities of blacks and communities descended from them. As in the past, these kings and queens today are often much more than just "festive" royalty, they hold their positions for life and are respected and influential in their communities.

Slaves and free blacks that participated in these enclave communities found a way to interact with the dominant society, which constantly placed them at the bottom of the social structure. Many slaves, however, chose to flee intolerable conditions by running away and forming communities with fellow runaways. These communities, called *quilombos* and *mocambos* in Brazil, maroon communities in the Caribbean and the Guianas, and *palenques* in much of Spanish America also named leaders who often took the titles of kings, queens. Some of the most famous leaders have gone down in history as mythic heroes in the fight against slavery, such as Zumbi of the Quilombo dos Palmares in Brazil, and Nanny, the leader of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica. Although many maroon societies were destroyed or eventually assimilated into the modern nations in which they were located, examples of the hierarchical systems in these runaway communities still exist in a few places, such as among the Bush Negro groups in Suriname which still have their own tribal chiefs and village leaders.

ries crowned their black kings and queens. The Embaixada Africana was only one of many African clubs, which had names such as the African Merrymakers and the Sons of Africa.

Around 1905 began a period of repression of the African clubs, which threatened the new concept of order and progress of the Brazilian First Republic. In 1949 there emerged a new type of Afro-Bahian Carnival group, *afoxés*, which used in their songs a secular version of the music of the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé. In 1975, as a result of the growing black consciousness movement, blacks in Bahia started the *blocos afros*, the first of which called themselves Ilê-Aiyê, or "House of Life" in Yoruba. Like their predecessors almost a century earlier, *blocos afros* be-

Paraders and Float pictured during the celebration of Carnival in Brazil. *Shaped by traditions that slaves and their descendants brought with them to the Americas, Carnival festivities are especially popular in Brazil.* © CLAUDIO EDINGER/CORBIS

came places to honor and teach about the African past, as well as to serve as a forum for criticizing racial inequality in Brazil.

Cuba has one of the strongest African cultural complexes of the Caribbean, and traditionally its Carnival celebrations have expressed those influences. In Santiago de Cuba, as elsewhere on the island, present-day Carnival traditions are based on the *cabildos,* mutual aid societies that were similar to the black lay religious brotherhoods of Brazil. In Cuba, the African *cabildos* tended to divide by "nations," each of which would choose its own royalty. Although they had long celebrated privately, after 1823 *cabildos* were given permission to parade publicly on the Day of Kings, January 6, and at that celebration each of the *cabildos* crowned its king and queen. The *cabildos* also participated in the Carnival celebrations and inspired the other major types of Carnival groups in Santiago, the *congas, comparsas,* and *paseos,* all of which continue to play important roles in Santiago's Carnival. Until the 1920s there were two Carnival celebrations in Santiago, a pre-Lenten Carnival held in exclusive clubs and a Carnival held on the feast day of St. James on July 25. The summer Carnival was held by the workers to celebrate the end of the sugar harvest. In the 1920s the pre-Lenten festival ended in Santiago, leaving only the summer celebration. After the revolution, Fidel Castro officially changed the date of Carnival to July 26, near to the date of the already existing Carnival in Santiago, to commemorate the attack on the Moncada barracks that started the revolution. Even with the sponsorship and control of the state, the *cabildos* and their royalty still play a role in the Carnival of Santiago, most notably the Cabildo Carabalí Isuama and the Cabildo Carabalí Olugo, both of which trace their origin from the Igbo region of Nigeria. Afro-Haitian groups, such as the Tumba Francesa and Tajona, whose members are descendents of nineteenth-century Haitian immigrants to Cuba, also continue to participate in Carnival in Santiago with their kings and queens and their distinctive style of music and dance.

Trinidad, despite the British and Protestant influence on the island, boasts one of the most energetic Carnival celebrations in the Caribbean. More than any other place in the Caribbean, Trinidad has been the site of a riotous mixture of cultures and influences. Nonetheless, as elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, its Carnival has been highly influenced by the African branch of its history. The traditions of masking (to "play mas'"), *canboulay* (*canne brûlée*, burning cane), and *calinda* (stick fighting) all emerge from strong African roots. Masking in Trinidad's Carnival descends in part from West African traditions of masking and masquerading, as do the stilt dancers. The *canboulay* tradition, which is the central aspect of the Trinidadian Carnival, reenacts the times when slaves were called to put out burning cane fields, and probably dates from before the abolition of slavery. Shortly after emancipation, which came on August 1, 1838, the whites stopped participating in Carnival altogether until the beginning of the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century *canboulay* bands, which also divided by African "nation," would each have their own kings, queens, and princes. By the 1880s Carnival centered on the predawn activities of the Monday before Lent, called *J'Ouvay,* when *canboulay* bands would gather, sing call-and-response songs, and engage in the *calinda*. Despite inevitable changes of the twentieth century, including the invention of the steel drum and the development of music such as *soco,* the traditions of masking, *J'Ouvay*, *canboulay*, and *calinda* remain central to the Trinidadian festival.

See also Festivals, U.S.; Samba

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ELIZABETH KIDDY (2005)

Carroll, Diahann

July 17, 1935

Singer and actress Diahann Carroll was born Carol Diahann Johnson in New York, the daughter of John Johnson, a subway conductor, and Mabel (Faulk) Johnson. Her mother had her take voice and piano lessons, and at the recommendation of a guidance counselor she enrolled in the High School of Music and Art. She modeled for *Ebony* and other magazines, and at fourteen, appearing under the name "Diahann Carroll," she won first prize on the popular television show *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. Carroll enrolled at New York University but left during her first year after winning a talent contest on the television show *Chance of a Lifetime*. Over the following years she toured as a singer in various important hotels and nightclubs. Her light, swinging style was influenced by Frank Sinatra and Ella Fitzgerald. She released several albums, including *Fun Life* (1961).

In 1954 Carroll began an acting career when she was chosen for the role of Ottilie in Harold Arlen and Truman Capote's *House of Flowers*. While small, the role included the song "A Sleepin' Bee," which Carroll popularized. She received a Tony Award nomination for the role. The same year, she made her screen debut in a small role in the film *Carmen Jones*. She went on to perform in such films as *Porgy and Bess* (1959), *Paris Blues* (1961), and *Goodbye Again* (1961). She returned to Broadway in 1962 as the lead in Richard Rodgers's musical *No Strings,* for which she won a Tony Award. Twenty years later she again appeared on Broadway, this time in the drama *Agnes of God*.

In 1968 Carroll became the first African-American woman to have her own television series, when she starred in the series *Julia*. Carroll played a widowed mother who worked as a nurse. The role aroused a storm of opposition among some blacks, who felt that the character was too "white" and represented white liberal images of African Americans rather than being authentically black. Nevertheless the program was a success.

Carroll remained with the program for three seasons; then, tired of the controversy, she asked to be released from her contract. In a reversal of her image, Carroll next played a single ghetto mother in the film *Claudine* (1974), for which she was nominated for an Academy Award and won an NAACP Image Award. In 1976 she was inducted into the Black Filmmakers' Hall of Fame.

Starting in the 1970s, Carroll revived her singing career, starring in nightclubs and in such places as the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (1971). Her solo album *Diahann Carroll* (1974) won her a Grammy Award nomination.

During the late 1970s and 1980s Carroll also returned to television. In 1979 she appeared in the miniseries *Roots: The Next Generation,* and in the television film *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. In 1984 she took the role of Dominique Devereaux on the television series *Dynasty,* thus becoming the first African American to star in a nighttime soap opera. Carroll felt that her portrayal of a character as conniving and mean-spirited as her white peers was both her best work and an important step forward for black actors. In the 1990s she appeared frequently on the TV series *A Different World,* as the mother of Whitley Gilbert. In 1999 she appeared in the movies *Having Our Say* and *Livin' for Love: The Natalie Cole Story*.

See also Fitzgerald, Ella; Television

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VASANTI SAXENA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Carter, John

January 27, 1919

The politician and diplomat John Patrick Carter was born in the village of Cane Grove, British Guiana. He received

his secondary education at Queen's College from 1931 to 1938, after qualifying at the Government County scholarship examination that determined who would be eligible to attend that elite school. Carter's political awakening occurred in the 1920s when his mother took him to meetings of the Negro Progress Convention (NPC), a group that aimed to uplift black people, whom NPC leaders felt were oppressed like crabs in a barrel. As a student in London, where he studied law and qualified as a barrister with a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Laws degree in 1942, Carter's experience with the "English landlady" who refused to rent rooms to nonwhite students sensitized him to racial injustices in England and was the most significant reason he became involved in political activity. During his sojourn in England, Carter also joined the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP), whose membership at the time included all races, especially whites, as well as students from the colonies of Britain, all of whom were fighting for racial integration in Britain. Eventually, the aims of the LCP expanded to include self-government for the colonies.

Upon returning to British Guiana, Carter entered politics, became a member of the colony's Labour Party, and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1947, after Hubert Critchlow, the original winner of the constituency in question, was unseated as a result of a libel suit brought against him by the wife of a prominent attorney, whom Critchlow had accused of mistreating a black employee. In any event, Carter pursued a labor line as a politician, and although he and later People's Party Progressive (PPP) leader Cheddi Jagan supported each other initially, in the Legislative Council their paths eventually diverged as Jagan's more radical politics began to obtrude.

Carter also became assistant secretary of the LCP in Guiana, which at the time was seeking not merely to sensitize African Guianese regarding the issue of political independence but was also concerned with promoting their social, economic, educational, and political interests. Indeed, one manifestation of this concern occurred in January 1953, when along with other LCP leaders Carter protested against the appointment of a Guianese Royal Air Force Officer, who had served in World War II and had later qualified as a barrister, as a sergeant-major in the police force. This incident, which clearly involved a gross injustice as the disjuncture between academic qualifications and the occupational status of the job was one that was clearly based on race, was taken up with the attorney general, as a result of which the individual in question was seconded to the attorney general's office.

Also with fellow LCP leaders, Carter was involved in the formation of the National Democratic Party (NDP)—subsequently becoming an executive member of the party—which contested the 1953 general elections, the first to be held under universal adult suffrage, and which was won by the PPP. After the PPP ministers were dismissed, the constitution was suspended in October 1953, and a struggle for the leadership of the party ensued between Cheddi Jagan, the party leader, and Forbes Burnham, the chairman. Carter, who reportedly had heard the news of the suspension "with a heavy heart," traveled to England with a delegation of prominent political figures to consult with Colonial Office officials and to express the group's disenchantment with the PPP. While there, British officials suggested that although they were sympathetic to the delegation, it was in the latter's interest to organize politically to present a stronger opposition to the PPP and thereby enhance the prospects of democracy in Guiana. Perhaps with that in mind, and because Carter felt that he had more in common with the more moderate Burnham than with Jagan, and since the NDP and the People's National Congress (PNC), which came into being in 1958 with Burnham as its leader, were not too far apart on the issues, the two parties merged.

As a diplomat from 1966 to 1970, Carter was accredited to the United States as Guyana's first ambassador to that country, with additional accreditation to Canada and the United Nations; from 1970 to 1976, he was accredited to Great Britain as Guyana's high commissioner, with additional accreditation to France, West Germany, Netherlands, Austria, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and India; from 1976 to 1981 he was accredited to the People's Republic of China as Guyana's ambassador, with additional accreditation to Japan and North Korea; and finally from 1981 to 1983 he was accredited to Jamaica as Guyana's ambassador. For his services to the Guyana government, Carter was knighted by Britain's Queen Elizabeth.

See also Burnham, Forbes

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE (2005)

Carter, Martin

June 7, 1927
December 13, 1997

The poet and political activist Martin Wylde Carter was born into a middle class family in Georgetown, Guyana (then British Guiana), on June 7, 1927. Committed to a life in the Caribbean, Carter was a founding member of the socialist and anticolonial People's Progressive Party (PPP). His first major publication, *To a Dead Slave* (1951), made him one of the first poets in the anglophone Caribbean to tie his colonial experience directly to his slave ancestry.

In 1953 Carter married Phyllis Howard. In the same year, the PPP won a landslide victory in the first universal suffrage elections, and Carter attended the World Festival of Youth in Romania. As he returned, the political landscape of British Guiana changed. Due to a perceived Communist threat, Britain declared a state of emergency in the colony and dismissed the PPP government. Carter was arrested on October 25, 1953, and detained at the U.S. airbase, Atkinson Field, for "spreading dissension." During this period, Carter published "University of Hunger" in the journal *Kyk-Over-Al,* writing in Creole, "is the university of hunger the wide waste / is the pilgrimage of man the long march." Released in January 1954, Carter was quickly reimprisoned for breaking laws that came in the wake of the state of emergency. Nevertheless, his poetry was on the move: *Poems of Resistance from British Guiana* (1954) was published in London by Lawrence and Wishart, who heralded Carter as "the foremost poet of the Caribbean."

Split between radical and moderate factions, in 1955 the PPP fragmented; Carter chose Cheddi Jagan's radical faction, only to leave the party a year later, having been accused of "ultra-leftism." By 1959 Carter was employed as an information officer at Bookers, the colony's major sugar producer, which was foreign controlled. But Carter was increasingly disappointed by his country's failure to recognize how race and colonialism had twisted Guyana's revolutionary prospects. His poem "Black Friday 1962" (named after a day of rioting and burning that took place in Georgetown) addresses the dreams and disappointments of insurrection. A year after Guyana became independent (in 1966), Linden Forbes Burnham of the People's National Congress (PNC) invited Carter to join the government as minister of information. In November 1970 he resigned, later saying that he could not accept this privileged position in the face of so much material want.

Carter was writer-in-residence at the University of Essex in 1975. From 1978 until his death he was employed by the University of Guyana as a writer and researcher. Although Carter was never again involved in party politics, he was increasingly critical of the PNC, participating in demonstrations against corruption and electoral fraud. Carter's poetry from this period provides an excoriating anatomy of a postcolonial country caught between hope and despair. When the academic and activist Walter Rodney was murdered in 1980, Carter wrote, "Assassins of conversation / they bury the voice / . . . I intend to turn a sky / of tears for you" ("For Walter Rodney").

In 1989 Carter's *Selected Poems* won the Guyana Prize for Literature, but a series of strokes in the early 1990s left him unable to write. In 1994 Carter received the Guyanese Order of Roraima for his "outstanding contribution to literature." In 1996 the Chilean government awarded him the Gabriela Mistral Gold Medal for his contribution to literature. Carter died on December 13, 1997. He is survived by his wife and their four children, and was given a state funeral and buried at the Place of the Seven Ponds in Georgetown.

See also Creole Languages of the Americas; Literature; Politics

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GEMMA ROBINSON (2005)

Carver, George Washington

c. 1864
January 5, 1943

Born in Diamond, Missouri, scientist and educator George Washington Carver did not remember his parents. His father was believed to be a slave killed accidentally before Carver's birth. His mother was Mary Carver, a slave apparently kidnapped by slave raiders soon after he was born. He and his older brother were raised by their mother's former owners, Moses and Susan Carver, on their small, largely self-sufficient farm.

Denied admission to the neighborhood school because of his color, Carver was privately tutored and then

George Washington Carver at work in his laboratory at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, c. 1920. *Carver developed a crop rotation system and other innovations that greatly improved southern agriculture.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

moved to nearby Neosho to enter school in the mid-1870s. He soon realized he knew more than the teacher and left with a family moving to Fort Scott, Kansas. After witnessing a lynching there, he left that town and for over a decade roamed around the Midwest seeking an education while supporting himself by cooking, laundering, and homesteading.

In 1890 Carver enrolled in Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, where he was an art major and the only African-American student. After his teacher convinced him that a black man could not make a living in art, Carver transferred to Iowa State College at Ames in 1891 to major in agriculture. Again the only black student on campus, Carver participated fully (except for dating) in extracurricular activities and compiled such an impressive academic record that he was hired as a botany assistant to pursue postgraduate work. Before he received his master of agriculture degree in 1896, he was placed in charge of the greenhouse and taught freshmen students.

An expert in mycology (the study of fungi) and plant cross-fertilization, Carver could have remained at Iowa and probably would have made significant contributions in one or both fields. However, he felt an obligation to share his knowledge with other African Americans and accepted Booker T. Washington's offer to become head of the agricultural department at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1896.

When he arrived at Tuskegee, Carver intended to stay only a few years and then pursue doctoral work. Instead, he spent his remaining forty-six years there. Although he once considered matrimony, he never married and instead "adopted" many Tuskegee students as his "children," to whom he provided loans and guidance. For the first half

of his tenure, he worked long hours in administration, teaching, and research. The focus of his work reflected the needs of his constituents rather than his personal talents or interests. As director of the only all-black-staffed agricultural experiment station, he sought answers to the debt problems of small-scale farmers and landless sharecroppers. Thus, in his teaching, extension work (carried on with a wagon equipped as a movable school), and agricultural bulletins, Carver preached the use of available and renewable resources to replace expensive, purchased commodities. He especially advocated the growing of peanuts as a cheap source of protein and published several bulletins with peanut recipes.

After twenty years at Tuskegee, Carver was respected by agricultural researchers but largely unknown to the general public. His rise to fame began with his induction in 1916 into Great Britain's Royal Society for the Arts and the growing realization of his usefulness by the peanut industry. In 1921 a growers' association paid his way to testify at tariff hearings in Congress. There his showmanship in demonstrating peanut products drew national press coverage. Two years later some Atlanta businessmen founded the Carver Products Company, and Carver won the Spingarn Medal of the NAACP. Although the company failed, it generated publicity. Then in 1933 an Associated Press release exaggerated Carver's success in rehabilitating polio patients with peanut-oil massages. Soon he was perhaps the best known African American of his generation.

The increasing publicity caught the attention of numerous people who found Carver's rise from slavery and his personality appealing. Articles began to appear describing the flowers in the lapels of his well-worn jackets and his rambles in the woods to commune with his "Creator," through which he expressed his devout but nonsectarian belief. Because he took no public stand on political or racial matters, many diverse groups could adopt him as a symbol of their causes. Thus, he was appropriated by advocates of racial equality, the "New South," religion, the "American Dream," and even segregation. His significant work as an agricultural researcher and educator was obscured by the myth of the "peanut wizard."

Relishing the publicity, Carver did little to correct the public record, aside from general statements of his "unworthiness" of the honors that came with increasing frequency. Some symbolic uses of his life helped to perpetuate white stereotypes of African Americans, but most of the publicity had a positive impact on both white and black Americans. Indeed, Carver became a potent tool for racial tolerance after the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the YMCA began to sponsor his lecture tours of white college campuses in the 1920s and 1930s. On these tours, Carver added dozens of whites to his adopted "family." To them he was no "token black" but a trusted father figure to whom they wrote their innermost thoughts. Many, such as white clergyman Howard Kester, became outspoken advocates of racial justice.

Because of his compelling personality, Carver had a profound impact on almost everyone—black or white—who came in contact with him. His "special friends" ranged from white sharecroppers to Henry Ford. Most of his major publicists were true disciples of Carver's vision of the interrelatedness of all human beings and their environment. Because of his extreme frugality, he was also able to leave a substantial legacy by giving about sixty thousand dollars to establish the George Washington Carver Foundation, which continues to support scientific research at Tuskegee University. Although his scientific contributions were meager relative to his fame and he could not singlehandedly save the black family farm, Carver's work and warmth greatly enriched the lives of thousands.

See also Inventors and Inventions; Science; Tuskegee University

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LINDA O. MCMURRY (1996)
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Cary, Mary Ann Shadd

October 9, 1823
June 5, 1893

Teacher and journalist Mary Ann Shadd Cary was born in Wilmington, Delaware, the daughter of free blacks Abraham and Harriet Parnell Shadd. After attending a Quaker school in West Chester, Pennsylvania, she returned to Wilmington, where at age sixteen she opened a school, the

first of several she was to establish during the following decades. After passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Mary and her brother Isaac went to Windsor, Canada, where she founded a school for both black and white pupils. In 1856 she married Thomas F. Cary of Toronto. She resumed teaching in Chatham (1859–1864) under the auspices of the American Missionary Association.

Cary's most noteworthy achievements center on the *Provincial Freeman,* a weekly Canadian newspaper, published with varying regularity between 1853 and 1859. Although men (Samuel Ringgold War and the Rev. William P. Newman) served as titular editors, Cary's contemporaries recognized her as the real editor. She is generally acknowledged to be the first woman publisher of a newspaper in Canada and the first black newspaperwoman in North America. A crusading journalist, Cary became embroiled in particularly bitter quarrels—notably with Henry Bibb—over the issue of integration (the question of whether blacks were exiles or new citizens of Canada) and about the activities of the Refugee Home Society, whose land-purchase scheme, she claimed, offered no advantage over the Canadian government's offers and was sometimes more costly.

During the Civil War, Cary returned to the United States to recruit for the Union army, working in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan. From 1869 to 1874 she taught public school in Detroit and in Washington, D.C., where she also served as a principal (1872–1874). An activist for women's suffrage, Cary addressed the annual convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878 and was founder of the Colored Women's Progressive Association (Washington, D.C.). She received her LL.B. degree from Howard University Law School in 1883; she was the first woman to receive the degree from that school and only the second black woman to earn a law degree.

In addition to her work for the *Provincial Freeman,* Cary was the author of an advisory pamphlet, *Hints to the Colored People of the North* (1849), espousing her ideals of self-help; of *A Plea for Emigration, or Notes on Canada West, in Its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect* (1852), a booklet describing opportunities for blacks in Canada; and (with Osborne Anderson, one of the five survivors of John Brown's raid) of *A Voice from Harpers Ferry* (1873). She contributed to Frederick Douglass's *New National Era* and John Wesley Cromwell's *Advocate* as well.

See also Douglass, Frederick; Journalism

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)
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Catholicism in the Americas

Numbering some two billion in all, one of every three people in the world today is Christian, half of them Catholic. Fifty percent of all Catholics live in the Americas, where the three countries with the largest Catholic populations in the world—Brazil, Mexico, and the United States—are located. In all, more than sixty percent of the population of the Americas is Catholic, with the highest numbers of African-descended Catholics being found in Brazil (forty million), Colombia (fifteen million), the Dominican Republic (eight million), and Haiti (six million). In all, eighty million of the five-hundred million Catholics in the Americas—or roughly sixteen percent—are of African descent, with three-fourths of this population residing in Latin America and the balance residing in the Caribbean and North America.

However, these figures are to some degree misleading, as millions of other blacks in the Americas practice African-derived religions such as Vodou, Santería, and Candomblé, which draw considerable symbolic and ritualistic substance from Catholicism. Therefore, Catholic influence in the Americas, among both African-descended and indigenous peoples, extends far beyond the confines of formal parish membership and dogmatic obedience. It is also important to take into account the complicity of the Roman Catholic Church in the epic horrors of the transatlantic slave trade that made the region the major part of the African diaspora that it is, for many slaves never embraced Catholicism sincerely, just as many of their descendants are concerned with the faith's healing potential rather than with being the kinds of orthodox believers that the Church hierarchy would prefer. Nevertheless, the vast majority of black Catholics in the Americas are (and always have been) sincere in their faith and find abundant meaning, solace, and hope in belonging to the world's largest religious community.

National Sanctuary of Our Lady of Aparecida, Aparecida do Norte, Brazil, 2004. *A black virgin, Our Lady of Aparecida, is the patroness of Brazil, which is home to the world's largest Catholic population, including more than 40 million Catholics of African descent.* AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Bulls, Sacraments, and Slavery in the "New World"

Christianity's long acceptance of slavery received its most momentous doctrinal sanction in the form of a series of papal bulls, beginning with *Romanus pontifex*, which was promulgated in 1455 to legitimate the plunder of the West Coast of Africa by the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. The bull states that "The Roman pontiff . . . seeking and desiring the salvation of all, wholesomely ordains and disposes upon careful deliberation those things which he sees will be agreeable to the Divine Majesty and by which he may bring the sheep entrusted to him by God into the single divine fold, . . . [bestows] favors and special graces on those Catholic kings and princes, who . . . not only restrain the savage excesses of the Saracens and of other infidels, . . . but also . . . vanquish them and their kingdoms and habitations, though situated in the remotest parts unknown to us." Thirty-eight years later, Columbus's "discovery" of the Americas would drive the Vatican to promulgate other bulls that would have immense influence and forever shape this "New World," in large part by legitimating the transatlantic slave trade and requiring the baptism of African slaves into the "single divine fold." The most important of these pontifical documents was *Inter caetera*, promulgated by Pope Alexander IV in 1493. This document drew a line of demarcation from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, passing between the Azores and Cape Verde, with all "islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others" west of the line to Spain, and those east of the line to Portugal, "to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants."

As early as 1502, Africans were shipped to the island of Kiskeya, which the Spanish had claimed and renamed Hispaniola. The first enslaved Africans in the Caribbean were imported from Latin Europe's slave market, which was already over half a century old in Portugal. Soon, the island became the first Catholic seat of power in the Americas, home to the New World's first Catholic church, the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in the capital city of Santo Domingo. In addition to Christianity, the

Archbishop Wilton Gregory, the first African-American president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, addressing his colleagues at their annual conference, Washington, D.C., 2003. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Spanish also brought forced labor and disease to this and other American colonies, which triggered a staggering spike in the morbidity rate for the indigenous populations. Some clerics, like Bartolomé de Las Casas, were horrified by this and argued for the rights of local victims of Euro-Catholic plunder. Others, like Juan de Sepulveda, countered that the indigenous peoples of the Americas were "a thick, servile people created inferior by God, who could legitimately be constrained for the benefit of the more evolved nations" (Bien-Aimé, pp. 564-565). After several decades devoted to the Amerindian's rights and liberation, Las Casas pleaded personally before the Spanish throne, and finally, in 1542, legislation was passed that banned the forced labor of indigenous peoples in the colonies. A similar law would be codified for Portugal's American colonies in 1570.

It is altogether regrettable that this missionary who devoted the better part of his life and talents to the humanitarian concerns of the Amerindians was among the first to endorse the large-scale importation of enslaved Africans as replacement labor for the decimated indigenous population. However, it is stretching the point to suggest, as some commentators have, that Las Casas was chiefly responsible for initiating the transatlantic slave trade, for the Jeromite Fathers were also then petitioning for Africans to be enslaved and brought to the Americas. King Carlos I of Spain, moreover, had sanctioned the direct importation of slaves from Africa to New Spain as early as 1518, and by the 1530s there were already African slaves toiling in Brazil.

Despite such ecclesial promotion of slavery, many Africans quite ably managed to appropriate Catholic saints to bolster their resistance to the injustices of slavery, viewing the saints as new manifestations of the powerful spiritual beings they had known, venerated, and counted on in Africa. In Brazilian maroon communities (*quilombos*)

such as Palmares, for example, statues of Catholic saints were featured in redoubt shrines in order to spiritually empower the antislavery resistance struggle. The most significant Maroon community in Colombia, meanwhile, took Saint Basil as its patron (*Palenque de San Bisilio*), while Maroon raiders in the early stages of the Haitian Revolution (e.g., Makaya and Romaine-la-Prophétesse) appealed to Catholic saints and biblical figures to bolster their charisma and chances on the battlefield. One of the most influential leaders of the Mexican independence struggle, furthermore, the Afro-Mexican Catholic priest José María Morelos y Pavon, saw his cause to be in large part a endeavor to raise oppressed Afro-Mexicans to positions of social and political equality. By 1812, Morelos's ultimately victorious army was comprised mostly of blacks and mulattoes. Also worthy of mention concerning Catholic resistance to slavery in colonial America is the contribution of some European Catholic missionaries, especially Jesuits, to the subversive cause, which was surely a key reason for their banishment from the Catholic New World in 1762.

Despite the Catholic Church's complicity in the brutality of the Atlantic plantation system, there were Catholic clerics who represented to enslaved Africans the compassionate side of Christianity in a heroic, and even saintly, manner. In 1610, the Spanish Jesuit Peter Claver arrived as a missionary in Cartagena, where he began a thirty-three-year ministry to African slaves, and where he became a rare abolitionist voice in one of the New World's busiest slave ports, declaring himself "a slave to the Negroes." His ministry extended onto plantations, and Claver is said to have converted 300,000 Africans to Catholicism. Around the same time, an Afro-Peruvian Dominican, Martin of Porres, demonstrated similar compassion in his establishment of an orphanage and children's hospital for Lima's poor. He also created a shelter for stray cats and dogs. Claver was canonized in 1888, and Porres in 1962, the first-ever black American saint.

While their contributions have been muted by the patriarchal and racist biases of much historical scholarship, black Catholic women in the Americas have also exhibited genuine saintliness. In spite of the evils engendered by the institutional Catholic Church on their people, both during the slave trade and during the institutionalized racism that followed in most of the Americas after abolition, these women successfully aspired to embody the true love of neighbor demanded by Jesus Christ in the Gospels. Mother Theresa Lange is one significant example. Born during the Haitian Revolution in Saint Domingue, her family fled the violence then raging in the French colony, settling for a time in Cuba before eventually immigrating to Baltimore. There, in 1828, Mother Lange, a nun of the Oblate Order, founded the first black Roman Catholic order in the United States, the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The Order established the St. Frances of Rome Academy, the oldest continuously functioning black school in the United States, and it later founded similar educational institutions in other cities.

Until the 1570s, most African slaves in the Americas toiled in Peruvian and Mexican mines. The development of plantation economies, first in Brazil, and later in the Caribbean and in the United States, would change this. By the 1780s the French (as well as the British and Dutch) had established lucrative plantations so aggressively that Saint Domingue (the western third of Hispaniola, which was ceded to them by the Spanish in 1697) had become, in the words of historian Philip Curtin, "the pinnacle of achievement of the South Atlantic system as a whole" (Curtin, p. 75). Although Dutch and British colonies would likewise draw tens of thousands of slaves in this same period, among the northern European nations it was only France that would join Spain and Portugal in shaping the Catholic foundation of the Americas, including, of course, its African and African diasporic populations and dimensions. These three imperial powers brought about sixty percent of the approximately ten million African slaves who survived the Middle Passage and arrived in the New World.

In French and Spanish colonies, a series of legal codes obliged slave owners to deliver religious instruction to their slaves. In Brazil, meanwhile, the Portuguese never codified any parallel document to regulate the treatment of slaves, though even there the application of papal bulls, at least in theory, meant that all slaves should have been indoctrinated in the Catholic faith. For the French, the most significant of these documents was *le Code Noire*, which was promulgated at Versailles by King Louis XIV in 1685. The first eight articles of *le Code Noire* dealt specifically with religion, stipulating that slaves could practice no other religion but Roman Catholicism, and that they could only be baptized, married, and buried as Catholics. Modeled largely after the *le Code Noire,* a series of Spanish *codigos* culminated with the *Codigo Negro Carolina*, promulgated in Santo Domingo in 1784. Reflecting Europeans' clear grasp of Catholicism's great utility as putative divine sanction for the unspeakable injustices of New World slavery, *Codigo Negro Carolina* labeled Africans "superstitious and fanatics . . . inclined to poisonous acts," and explained that Catholic indoctrination was crucial to "assure internal and external security of the island because [Catholicism's] powerful influence has preserved Spanish colonies in the past."

Thus, slave owners in Spanish, French, and Portuguese America were doctrinally and legally bound to bap-

tize into Catholicism, at the very least, roughly six million Africans and their descendants (more than half of all slaves in the New World) over a period of more than three hundred years. Yet, more often than not, the baptism of enslaved Africans was a nominal gesture. More often still, slaves who sought baptism of their own accord—and many did so on numerous occasions—understood the sacrament in decidedly African terms as a healing ritual rather than as any sacramental demarcation of religious conversion. Moreover, most planters were loathe to expend their own and their slaves time and energy in seeing to Africans' religious instruction, and thus the Catholicism of Africans and their descendants in the Americas developed in a climate that was abundantly fertile for the development of Afro-Catholic religious syncretism, especially in Brazil, Saint Domingue, and Cuba, where emerged the great African-derived religions of Candomblé, Vodou, and Santería, respectively.

African Catholics and African Innovation in New World Catholicism

Soundly understanding the origins of black Catholicism in the Americas demands focusing some careful attention on the presence in the New World of Central Africans (who were already Catholic prior to being enslaved). The late-fifteenth century introduction by the Portuguese of Catholic saints in the kingdom of Kongo, and the baKongo's subsequent appropriation of the saints over the next quarter millennium, is, as much as any European Catholic culture, a taproot of Catholicism in the Americas. Given the strength and nature of the indigenous Kongolese ancestor and *bisimbi* (spirits of the soil and terrestrial waters) cults and the cosmology in which they were framed, Catholic saints—who, like ancestors, were white and would have to traverse waters (*nzadi*) were they ever to visit the world of the living (*nza yayi*)—resonated quite harmoniously with traditional Kongolese religious notions. Once Kongolese people learned about the lives of Catholic saints, they quite logically identified them with the ancestors. Ancestor/saint assimilation, furthermore, readily explains why in Kongo—and in Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, and elsewhere—All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day remain so wildly popular to this day. Although accuracy in estimating the number of Kongolese Catholic slaves who arrived in the Americas is elusive, it is safe to claim that tens of thousands were, if not ardent Catholics, quite exposed to Catholicism long prior to their enslavement. These Africans, in effect, were the first significant black Catholic community in the New World, and their influence remains far greater than scholarship has heretofore shown.

Perhaps nowhere was the Kongolese Catholic influence greater than in Saint Domingue, where more than half of all slaves imported during the last half of the eighteenth century were from Central Africa. Given that the Kingdom of Kongo had been exposed to Catholicism for roughly a quarter-millennium by this time, thousands of these slaves had been born, baptized, and raised Catholic prior to their enslavement. In effect, this meant that much of the development of popular Catholic devotions in Saint Domingue were in large part extensions of Kongolese Catholic traditions, and to this day in Haiti the most popular saints in the precolonial Kingdom of the Kongo—the Virgin Mary and Saint James the Greater—remain the most popular saint cults in the modern Caribbean nation. Furthermore, just as in the Kongo there was an acute shortage of ordained Catholic priests to administer the sacraments, forcing the Church to rely largely on catechists as its leaders, so too in Saint Domingue were Kongolese catechists instrumental in carrying on the faith in a religious field where orthodox sacerdotal leadership was scant and often dubious. As one colonial administrator in Saint Domingue remarked in 1761, it was "not uncommon to find them [African Catholics] acting as missionaries and priests." The value of such forms of initiative in sacerdotal Catholic leadership among Africans and their descendants was amplified, furthermore, during the decades following Haitian independence in 1804, as the Vatican refused to recognize the new republic, and thus declined to send it any priests until a concordat was signed with Port-au-Prince in 1860.

Enslaved Catholics from Central Africa also played significant roles in the origins of New World black Catholicism in the most important Portuguese and Spanish plantation colonies, namely Brazil and Cuba. According to legend, King Galanga (later named and recalled as "Chico Rei"), the leader of one small community near the mouth of the Congo River, was enslaved around 1720 and brought to Brazil. In time, Galanga managed to secure his freedom and began to build *Igreja Nossa Senhora Efigenia no Alto Cruz* (Church of Our Lady of Saint Efigenia of the High Cross), dedicated to one of the emergent patron saints of slaves. In Brazil, the mark of Kongolese Catholicism is also prominent in the vastly popular cult of Our Lady of the Rosary (whose feast some believe was initially established by Galanga), to whom African slaves once composed and sang hymns to the Marian icon as "Queen of the Kongo" and "Queen of Angola." Similarly, throughout Brazil, black religious societies (*irmandades*) have long fused Catholic devotions with memorial feasts for ancestral Kongolese kings, the first on record occurring in 1760.

Elsewhere, African religious societies were also a major influence on the development of black Catholicism

Father Charles Randolph Uncles

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1859, Uncles was baptized as a Roman Catholic at the age of sixteen at St. Francis Xavier's Church, founded in 1863 by Archbishop Spalding for the exclusive use of blacks. Uncles attended Baltimore Normal School and taught in the Baltimore County Schools from 1880 to 1883. Unable to gain admittance to local Roman Catholic colleges and seminaries because of his race, Uncles traveled to Canada in 1883 to matriculate at St. Hyacinthe's College in Quebec. He graduated with honors in 1888 and returned to Baltimore to attend St. Mary's Seminary, whose all-white student body voted unanimously to allow him to enter.

On December 22, 1891, Uncles became the first black to be ordained a Roman Catholic priest in the United States. (Previous African-American priests had been ordained in Europe.) The ceremony took place in Baltimore Cathedral and was conducted by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. After his ordination, Uncles served as a professor of English, Latin, and Greek at Epiphany Apostolic Church in Walbrook, Md., transferring to Newburgh, N.Y., when the college moved there in the 1920s. He was recognized as a Latin-language expert and published a Latin grammar. The Rev. Charles Uncles was a member of the Josephite Brothers, a society founded in England in 1871 with the specific purpose of serving as missionaries to emancipated blacks in the United States. He died in 1933.

LYDIA MCNEILL (2005)

in the Americas. Usually consecrated to a particular saint, these "brotherhoods" organized feast day processions and, as much as anything else, shaped the nature of popular Catholicism in places like Brazil and Cuba. Certain black saints, like Benedict of Palermo, Our Lady of Czestochowa, and Santa Ephigenia, gained much prominence on the popular level in this way, as did the Feast of the Magi throughout the Iberian New World. Black religious societies were perhaps most germane to African innovations in New World Catholicism in Cuba, where they were called *cabildos* or *cofradías*. Sanctioned by the Cuban Catholic Church and organized according to African ethnic origins as of the mid-seventeenth century, the primary religious function of the quasi-autonomous *cabildos* was to indoctrinate Africans into the Catholic faith, with saint veneration taking center stage in this regard. Besides nourishing black devotion to Catholic saints, *cabildos* also served as mutual aid societies for slaves and free blacks alike, providing health and burial services and sometimes managing to purchase manumission. But their lasting legacy for black religion in Cuba and beyond was their fertility for Afro-Catholic syncretism. With its belief in a single creator God and a pantheon of spirits and ancestors who intervene in their lives in the here-and-now, traditional West African, and particularly Yoruba, religion was structurally resonant with Catholic understandings of spiritual beings and ritual paraphernalia, such that Catholicism, far from being adopted by Africans merely as a mask to perpetuate their ancestral traditions, was quite fluidly adapted and adopted by them. Out of the *cabildos*, as a result, emerged the rich (and now global) Afro-Cuban religion of Santería.

From 1804 to 2004

Beginning with Haiti in 1804 and ending with Cuba in 1888, American nations with large African-descended populations gained political independence from their respective European colonizers. The true independence of local Catholic hierarchies from European control, however, would in many places take much longer to be realized, as light-skinned archbishops and bishops from São Paolo to San Juan allied themselves with the economic and political elites that replaced European administrators. For much of its post-independence history in the Americas, the Catholic hierarchy has thus played a legitimating role for the elite and the status quo, providing invaluable religious sanction for the ravages of classist and racist oppression. Cognizant of the important role that African-derived religion played in the Haitian Revolution and in slave rebellions elsewhere, the Catholic hierarchy, whose local clergy were now under the authority of Rome rather than regional sees, soon became an agent of religious persecution against practitioners of Candomblé in Brazil, Santería in Cuba, and Vodou in Haiti. This often tragic trend would generally continue until after the Second World War, further alienating blacks from the institutional Catholic Church.

The resultant sociocultural imbalance and irrelevance of the Catholic hierarchy, along with the Eurocentric ritualism of the Latin Mass, eventually caused many Catholics

Group portrait of Catholic nuns and priests, Harlem, New York. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

in the Americas, especially those of the underclasses, to feel disenfranchised by their church. This opened the door for the extraordinary spread of Protestantism in the Caribbean and Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century. At the peak of the Protestant explosion in the 1970s and 1980s, several thousand Catholics were leaving their mother church—often for Pentecostal sects—every day. Obviously, from the Catholic standpoint, something had to be done to stem this massive outflow of apostates, and the changes in liturgy and doctrine forged at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) offered the means by which to resolve this crisis. In seeking to make the Catholic Church less archaic and alien to its global flock, and to bring it up to date (*aggiornomento*), the Council empowered local churches to enculturate Catholicism in ways that would help keep people in their pews. In Brazil this meant that the Mass was said in Portuguese, while in Colombia and the Dominican Republic it was said in Spanish, and in Haiti in French and Haitian Creole. Even more important for New World Catholics of African descent, cultural and even religious expressions rooted in African traditions were integrated into communal rites, and thus the drums of Candomblé, Vodou, and Santería are beaten regularly in Catholic Masses today, from rural Colombian and Venezuelan parishes to the national cathedrals of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

Also inspired in part by the Second Vatican Council and subsequent regional episcopal conferences in Medellín, Colombia (1968) and Puebla, Mexico (1979), liberation theology began to inspire Catholics throughout Latin America and the Caribbean to embody a more socially-engaged form of Catholicism, one rooted in a "preferential option for the poor." The appeal of liberation theology to the disenfranchised masses of the region was powerful, as thousands of Catholics joined base church communities (*communidades eclisiales de base,* or CEBs) in response to a fresh commitment among many priests and theologians

to ensure Catholic action on behalf of social justice for the downtrodden. In Brazil, where the Catholic left had been productive in social activism as early as 1959, some CEBs became important bases for black unity and consciousness. Although liberation theology would take root there somewhat later than in Brazil or Central America, nowhere were its fruits more impressive than in Haiti, where CEBs led a popular protest movement in 1986 that toppled the thirty-five-year dynastic Duvalier dictatorship. In 1990 a liberation theologian and Catholic priest, Jean Bertrand Aristide, was elected president in one of the largest margins of victory in any fair national election in the history of the Americas.

However, for all of its admirable accomplishments and its success in making the Catholic Church more concretely relevant to the poor of the Americas, liberation theology had lost much of its force by the end of the twentieth century, in part due to political repression and the fruitless martyrdom of many of its adherents. A slightly newer Catholic movement would also contribute to the decline of liberation theology in the Americas: the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Being definitively Pentecostal in its theology, ecclesiology, and practice, the Renewal encourages rebirth in the Holy Spirit and inward spiritual transformation, rather than political engagement and street protests, as the means to improve the lives of the poor. Paralleling certain principal forms of ecstatic ritual and religious experience of traditional African religion and its New World manifestations, such as speaking in tongues, faith healing, and spirit possession, it is not surprising that millions of African-descended Catholics are finding the comfortable space for free spiritual expression in the Renewal that is lacking in most other forms of communal Catholic ceremony. Attracting throngs of adherents through its formidable blend of Pentecostal spirituality and Roman Catholic tradition, today the Renewal in Latin America could count roughly twenty-five million members, or approximately half of the world total, in the early twenty-first century. Some observers would argue that these figures fall far short of the actual reality, noting that in Brazil, for example, fully half of all Catholics are now Charismatics. Statistical concerns aside, there is no doubt that the Charismatic Renewal, having overtaken the CEB movement, is currently the most impressive and dynamic movement in the contemporary Latin American, Caribbean, and North American Catholic Church. Its revivals fill soccer stadiums from Lima to Caracas, while the annual National Charismatic Congress in Haiti draws over 100,000 believers, making it the second largest gathering in the country, after carnival.

Besides the resonance of the Renewal's animated and ecstatic rituals with traditional African spirituality, another factor surely helps explain the movement's extraordinary success in the course of merely three decades. For the poor of all ethnic backgrounds, it became increasingly apparent that for all of its activism and strides in consciousness, the CEB movement ultimately failed to achieve the kind of concrete liberation that they were so longing for. The CEBs, furthermore, never offered the parallel spiritual liberation or faith healing that is central to the Charismatic Renewal. For Charismatics, the promise of liberation lies not in street protests, voter registration, or literacy campaigns, but in direct ecstatic rebirth in the Holy Spirit. For the millions of African-descended Catholics in the Americas, most of whom can be counted among the region's marginalized, the solace, hope, and solidarity that Charismatic spirituality brings is certainly to be welcomed. However, CEB enthusiasts have lamented the Renewal's social agenda as being weak and misguided. This suggests, if history indeed unfolds in dialectical processes, that a synthesis of Charismatic spirituality with the social and political agenda of the CEB movement could well amount to the greatest triumph of black Catholicism in the Americas. Indeed, concrete signs suggest that something momentous could be on the verge of happening, half a millennium after Roman Catholicism first reached the shores of the New World, as more and more Charismatics seem to be rekindling their interest in social and political reform. For black Catholics throughout the region, so much will depend on such a synthesis, as noted so eloquently by Archbishop Wilton Gregory, the first-ever African-American president of the United States Catholic Bishops Conference, in his 2004 address to the Black Caucus of the United States Congress: "For us religious leaders to deliver a message of hope is crucial, because it will be a defeat for our nation if a new atmosphere of fear and mistrust were to choke the oxygen out of the God-given concern that each of us must bear for one another, especially the underprivileged and the deprived; a commitment that we Catholics call 'Christ's preferential love for the poor'."

See also Candomblé; Oblate Sisters of Providence; Protestantism in the Americas; Religion; Santería; Slave Religions; Toussaint, Pierre; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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TERRY REY (2005)

Catlett, Elizabeth

April 15, 1919

The youngest of three children, printmaker and sculptor Elizabeth Catlett was educated at Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C. Her father, John Catlett, taught at Tuskegee Institute and in the D.C. public schools. He died before her birth. Her mother, Mary Carson Catlett, worked as a truant officer.

Catlett graduated cum laude from Howard University School of Art in 1937, studying with James Herring, James Porter (drawing), James Wells (printmaking), and Lois Mailou Jones (design). In 1940 Catlett earned the M.F.A. degree from the University of Iowa. She studied with painter Grant Wood and changed her concentration from painting to sculpture. In 1941 her thesis project, a marble sculpture titled *Mother and Child,* took first prize in the American Negro Exposition in Chicago.

From 1940 to 1942 Catlett was head of the Art Department at Dillard University. Among her students was Samella Sanders (Lewis), who became a lifelong friend and her biographer. In the summer of 1941 Catlett studied ceramics at the Art Institute of Chicago. She met and married Charles White. Over six years they spent time in Chicago, where she worked at the South Side Art Center; New York, where she studied with sculptor Ossip Zadkine (1942 and 1943); and Hampton Institute, where she taught sculpture (1943). She came to believe that graphics was the appropriate medium to reach large, diverse audiences, and in 1944 she studied lithography at the Art Students' League in New York.

In 1945 Catlett received a Julius Rosenwald Foundation award to do a series on African-American women. She and White traveled to Mexico to work at the Taller de Gráfica Popular. She also studied sculpture at the Escuela de Pintura y Escultura with Francisco Zúñiga and wood carving with José L. Ruiz. After a brief period in New York when she divorced, she returned to Mexico. In 1947 she married Mexican artist Francisco Mora, and the two had three sons, Francisco, Juan, and David. The two artists remained part of the Taller de Gráfica Popular until 1966.

In 1958 Catlett became the first woman to teach at the National University of Mexico's School of Fine Arts. From 1959 until her retirement from teaching in 1976, she served as the head of the school's sculpture department.

Catlett's work combines realism and abstract art. Much of her work deals with African-American women: the mother-and-child theme is strong and recurring. Her art reflects her concern with the needs and aspirations of common people, the poor, and the oppressed. The influence of Mexican as well as African-American culture is evident. Her sculpture, which ranges from monumental to small, is in wood, bronze, stone, terra-cotta, or marble. Works on paper are lithographs, linocuts, woodcuts, collographs, and serigraphs. Among the most well known are *Sharecropper* (1968) and *Malcolm X Speaks for Us* (1969).

Beginning in 1940 Catlett's work has been shown in numerous solo and group exhibitions. It is included in over two dozen prestigious public collections and in many books, catalogs, periodicals, and film and video productions. She has received awards in several countries. Elizabeth Catlett correctly has been called a pioneer and one of the greatest artists of the twentieth century. In 2003 she received the Lifetime Achievement in Contemporary Sculpture Award from the International Sculpture Center. She and her husband live in Cuernavaca and New York City.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Hampton Institute; Painting and Sculpture

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JEANNE ZEIDLER (1996)
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Caulwell, Edgar

See Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar)

Cayton, Horace

April 12, 1903
January 22, 1970

Sociologist and educator Horace Roscoe Cayton Jr. was born in Seattle, Washington, the son of activist and newspaper publisher Horace R. Cayton Sr. and Susie Revels Cayton, the daughter of former U.S. Senator Hiram Revels. Cayton dropped out of high school in his junior year and signed up as a messman on a coastal steamer, and in the four succeeding years traveled to California, Mexico, and Hawaii. At the age of twenty, he returned to Seattle. After enrolling in a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) preparatory school, he entered the University of Washington, supporting himself by working as a detective. In 1932 he graduated with a degree in sociology.

Invited by eminent sociologist Robert Park to the University of Chicago, Cayton became a research assistant and did graduate work there. In 1934 he became an assistant to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior and helped draft a study of black workers in Birmingham, Alabama. In 1935 he was named instructor of economics and labor at Fisk University in Nashville. In 1936 he returned to Chicago, where he headed a Works Project Administration (WPA) research project that focused on Chicago inner-city life. He also worked as a columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier* and various magazines. In 1939 he and George S. Mitchell coauthored a book, *Black Workers and the New Unions,* which discussed prejudice in the labor movement and examined the integration of blacks into steel, railroad, and meatpacking unions. The following year, after a study tour in Europe financed by a Rosenwald Foundation grant, Cayton was named director of Chicago's Parkway Community House, a black settlement house and study center. During World War II, Cayton refused to serve in a segregated army and enlisted in the Merchant Marine.

Cayton's best-known scholarly work is *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945), which he cowrote with St. Clair Drake. Focusing on African-American life in Chicago, the book was hailed as an original study of urbanization in the United States. It received the Anisfield-Wolf Award and was named the outstanding book on race relations for 1945 by the New York Public Library.

In 1950 Cayton left Parkway Community House and was briefly a research assistant for the American Jewish Committee. Some time later, he was hired as a researcher by the National Council of Churches. He continued to write scholarly articles on such subjects as the sociology of mental disorders and the psychology of prejudice. In 1955 he and Setsuko Matsanuga Nishi cowrote *The Changing Scene: Current Trends and Issues,* a discussion of the attitudes of different churches toward social work. During this period, he also served as the *Pittsburgh Courier*'s correspondent at the United Nations. In 1959 Cayton was hired as professor of sociology by the University of California at Berkeley, a position he retained until his death. He published an autobiography, *Long Old Road,* in 1964.

In the late 1960s, Cayton became interested in writing a biography of his friend, the writer Richard Wright (who had written the introduction to *Black Metropolis*). In 1968 he edited a special issue of *Negro Digest* devoted to Wright, and the next year traveled to France to do research for a biography. He died while in Paris, collecting material on Wright.

See also *Black World/Negro Digest*; Revels, Hiram Rhoades; Wright, Richard

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Celia

Celia, a slave, stood trial in 1855 in Fulton, Missouri, for the murder of her master, Robert Newsom, a prosperous Callaway County farmer. The events that led to her arrest, her trial, and her ultimate fate provide a fascinating case study of the significance of gender in the slaveholding

South, illustrating the manner in which the southern legal system was manipulated to ensure the slaveholders' power over their human chattel while creating the illusion of a society that extended the protection of the law to its slaves.

Purchased a year after the death of Newsom's wife in 1849, Celia served as his concubine for five years, during which time she bore him two children. She lived in a brick cabin he built for her behind the farmhouse, where Newsom lived with two adult daughters, one of whom had two children of her own. By the mid-1850s, Newsom's two sons had established their own farms near that of their father. Sometime in 1854, Celia began a relationship with George, another of Newsom's slaves. When she became pregnant for the third time, George demanded that Celia cease to have sexual relations with her master. Celia appealed to the Newsom women to prevent their father from sexually abusing her. The daughters, however, were in no position to control the actions of their father, who continued to view sexual relations with Celia as his privilege.

On a June night in 1855, Newsom demanded sex of Celia, who responded by beating him to death with a club and disposing of his body by burning it in her fireplace. The family's efforts to find the missing father led George to implicate Celia in his disappearance, and under threat to her children, she confessed and was arrested and tried. Missouri law assigned her public council, led by John Jameson, a noted attorney and democratic politician. Jameson based his defense on the claim that Celia, under Missouri law, had the same right to use deadly force to defend her honor as did white women. This defense not only recognized the crime of rape against slave women, something the legal system of no southern state did; but it also threatened a slaveholder's control over the reproductive capabilities of female slaves. For precisely these reasons it was disallowed by the presiding judge, who agreed with the prosecution's traditional contention that a female slave had no right to use force to reject her master's sexual demands. A jury of local farmers convicted Celia, and the Missouri Supreme Court rejected her attorneys' appeal for a new trial. On December 23, 1855, Celia was hanged in Fulton.

See also Slavery and the Constitution

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Cemeteries and Burials

One of the most direct and unaltered visual manifestations of the African influence on the culture of African Americans in the United States is found in the social behaviors associated with funerals. In many rural graveyards across the South, and in quite a few urban cemeteries in the North and Far West, too, black Americans mark the final resting places of their loved ones in a distinctive manner. While they use standardized stone markers and floral arrangements, the personal property of the deceased is frequently placed on the grave as well. Sometimes a single emblematic item, such as a glass pitcher or vase, sits atop the mounded earth, while in other places a grave may be covered with a veritable inventory of the dead person's household goods.

In addition to glass and ceramic containers (which might also serve as holders for flowers), one may also find cups, saucers, clocks, salt-and-pepper shakers, spoons, toothbrushes, lightbulbs, soap dishes, flashlights, razors, toys, cigar boxes, false teeth, marbles, and piggy banks. Such material assemblages do not merely contrast with the usual Euro-American ideal of a sedate cemetery landscape; they establish a link to customary practices known not only on southern plantations but in West and Central Africa.

In 1843 the daughter of a Georgia planter recalled that "Negro graves were always decorated with the last article used by the departed, and broken pitchers and broken bits of colored glass were considered even more appropriate than the white shells from the beach nearby. Sometimes they carved rude wooden figures like images of idols, and sometimes a patchwork quilt was laid upon the grave." This antebellum scene not only matches much of what can be found today in black graveyards but could be substituted for descriptions of African practice as well. E. J. Glave, who traveled through Zaire in 1884, wrote that "the natives mark the final resting-places of their friends by ornamenting their graves with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, and so on, all of which articles are rendered useless by being cracked or penetrated with holes."

Another traveler in nearby Gabon observed, "Over or near the graves of the rich are built little huts, where are laid the common articles used by them in their life—pieces of crockery, knives, sometimes a table, mirrors, and other goods obtained in foreign trade." While the stability of these behaviors across such lengthy spans of time and space might at first seem astonishing, it must be recalled that funerary customs were one of the few areas of black life into which slave owners tended not to intrude. Thus, in spite of the massive conversion of Africans to Christian faiths, they retained many of their former rituals associated with the veneration of the dead.

They remembered, for example, that the spirit of the deceased person might linger near the body for a period of time before moving to the spirit world. Believing further that the needs of the spirit are similar to those of a living human, they maintained the belief that the potential fury of an individual's spirit could be soothed by presenting it with the various items that the individual had used while alive. One resident of the Georgia Sea Islands testified, "I don't guess you be bother much the spirits if you give-em a good funeral and put the things what belong to 'em on top of the grave." Another added, "Spirits need these [things] same as the man. Then the spirit rest and don't wander." Statements from other Deep South black communities support this belief in the lingering spirit and warn that "unless you bury a person's things with him, he will come back after them." Left unsaid here is a more threatening corollary belief that roaming spirits can exact a further toll; they could, if disturbed, cause another person's death.

Placing personal items on graves is, then, more than an emotional gesture aimed at providing the bereaved with the ritual means to reconnect with a loved one (although this behavior does indeed serve that function). For those who retain the African-derived belief in a soul with two parts—one that travels immediately to the afterworld and one that lingers for a while near the body—the burial mounds that bristle with bowls, lamps, mirrors, plaster statues, and other hardware not only keep the deceased at rest but contribute to the physical well-being of the community. However, for those African Americans whose beliefs are derived from a more orthodox Christian position, the vessels placed atop burial mounds (often broken just slightly) are explained simply as metaphors of death, and such proverbs as "The pitcher that goes often to the well shall at last be broken" are cited as a plausible rationale for their use as grave decorations.

In addition to personal objects, some African-American graves in the South are decorated with white seashells and pebbles. These suggest a watery environment at the bottom of either the ocean or a lake or river. While some might see the allusion to water as derived from the Christian association of water with salvation (as in the sacrament of baptism), these objects are more likely signs of the remembrance of African custom. In Kongo belief (in South Carolina, nearly 40 percent of all slaves imported between 1733 and 1807 were from the Kongo-speaking region), the world of the dead is understood to lie not only underground but also underwater. This place is the realm of the *bakulu,* creatures whose white color marks them as deceased. Shells and stones signal the boundary of this realm, which can be reached only by penetrating beneath two physical barriers. Their whiteness, moreover, recalls that at least in Central Africa, white, not black, is the color of death. Also found in black cemeteries are a number of other features traceable to Kongo sources: pipes driven into burial mounds to serve as speaking tubes that may allow beneficial communication with the deceased, statues of chickens that recall animal sacrifices offered to the deceased, and mirrors that are said to catch the flashing light of a spirit and hold it there. Any of these features alone might indicate only the action of a single imagination engaged in the task of decorating a loved one's final resting place. But when several occur together, as is so often the case in graveyards of the black Sea Islanders of South Carolina and Georgia, we have powerful evidence of allegiance to a venerable African tradition.

In the light of these signs (all of which may be interpreted as elements of cultural continuity), it is not surprising that black burial sites in the Bay Area of California should resemble those seen in South Carolina. When given the opportunity, any people will carry its heartfelt customs from place to place as indispensable cultural baggage. Nor is it strange that a Mr. Coffee machine should turn up in a black cemetery in Mississippi. Among the more tradition-minded of the African-American faithful, the significance of a modern-day coffeemaker in a graveyard is very clear: "Spirits need these same as the man."

See also African Burial Ground Project; Africanisms

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JOHN MICHAEL VLACH (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas

"Central Africa," more properly "West-Central Africa," is the huge region inland from the Atlantic coastline delimited in the north by Cape Lopez in present-day Gabon and in the south by the Kunene River, now the border between Angola and Namibia. People from Central Africa formed a significant proportion of Africans in most black communities of the Americas throughout the period of the slave trade. Of the 11.1 million persons embarked as slaves from Africa to the Americas, 44 percent were from Central Africa. People from this area formed 89 percent of those sent in the early decades of the trade (1519–1650). Their presence declined to 29 percent in the period 1651–1725, then rose to 41 percent in 1726–1825 and 50 percent in 1826–1867.

Of all major slave-importing areas, the British Caribbean exhibited the lowest proportion of Central Africans among incoming bondspeople: about fifteen percent. At the other extreme were Brazil and Saint Domingue, where Central Africans constituted respectively about three-fifths and half the total. Cuba and Guadeloupe were intermediate cases, with a little under one-third of the newly enslaved from Central Africa. In French/British/Dutch South America and British North America (including Louisiana), the proportion was somewhat over one-fourth. Within each of these societies there were variations over time and by subregion. An extreme case is Brazil's Southeast after 1810, where three-fourths of forced migrants were Central Africans. In the American South, Louisiana and South Carolina received proportionately more Central Africans than other areas.

The cultural impact of Central Africans in the Americas may have been more than commensurate to their numbers. Central Africa was a relatively uniform "culture area," compared to the regions of West Africa. Then too, even after 1750, when the trade in human beings extended far into the interior, at least a large minority of enslaved Central Africans still came from closely related peoples near the coast: in particular, the Kongo (Bakongo) from the lower Zaire basin, the Mbundu from the hinterland of Luanda, and the Ovimbundu from the highlands behind Benguela. Thus, Central Africans sold into Atlantic slavery from different origins often quickly found that they had much in common, from language (all were speakers of West Bantu tongues, many mutually intelligible) to cosmology. In sum, their numbers, their general similarities, and the large core group among them from closely related cultures probably hastened the formation of new Central African communities in the Americas and strengthened their hand in negotiating differences with other displaced Africans.

A significant minority of Central Africans also brought with them an unusual resource for their encounter with European and Creole cultures: a prior knowledge of Christianity, acquired in their homelands. The Kingdom of Kongo, in the lower Zaire basin and northern Angola, adopted Christianity as the state religion in the early sixteenth century, and the Portuguese introduced it a century later into their spheres of influence in Angola. In the former region, lay catechists linked to the nobility were important in bringing Christian rituals and knowledge about Christ and the saints to the local level, even in the absence of missionaries. This was a Christianity reinterpreted from a Central African perspective, as one would expect in a part of Africa where religious movements have commonly experimented with foreign rituals and symbols, while subordinating them to indigenous understandings.

Among Central Africans carried to the Caribbean and to British North America, people shipped from the Zaire and points north generally predominated. The same applies to Central Africans carried to Brazil during the early decades of the trade and (to a lesser extent) after about 1820. In these cases, then, Kongo and near-Kongo culture left a strong imprint. Brazil during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries received Central Africans predominantly through Luanda and Benguela. Thus, in this period the Kongo influence in Brazil was weaker, but the

Portuguese colony was strongly marked by the presence of enslaved people from the Kongo-related Mbundu and Ovimbundu.

Emblematic of the encounter of enslaved Kongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu is the name they attributed to shipmates in the Middle Passage, regarded as siblings: *malungu*, meaning "ship" (literally "gigantic canoe") or, by extension, "partner in misfortune." Reflection on *malungu* and its referent, the slave ship, a vehicle of physical and social death, would have led bondspeople from these core Central African groups to discover that they shared the concept of *kalunga,* signifying "ocean (or large body of water)," "death," "the otherworld," and "the interface between this and the otherworld." Through *kalunga*, in turn, these people would have recognized a common cosmology, centered in a concern to propitiate ancestral and tutelary earth and water spirits (the latter called *bisimbi,* plural of *simbi*, among the Kongo) to maintain community health; in the diagnosis of individual and social disorders as frequently the product of witchcraft; and in the recourse to ritual specialists in "cults of affliction" (a phenomenon widespread in Central Africa) to counter witchcraft and effect cures, usually through the use of consecrated medicines (among the Kongo, *minkisi,* plural of *nkisi*) that captured the force of specific spirits. Among the Kongo at least, these holy objects were often spiritually empowered by being tied intricately with rope or thread; symptomatically, their verb for "tie" (*kanga*) was used to translate the Christian concept of "save" (as in "Christ saves").

In conversing about "cults of affliction," newly enslaved Kongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu would have realized that they all perceived drums to be eminent mediators with the spirit world, particularly the single-skin, long cylindrical drum made of a hollowed-out log, called *ngoma* by the Kongo. The subject of *ngoma* (at least among Kongo and Mbundu) would have led to reflections on dancing, which was commonly accompanied by drumming and call-response singing and practiced in a circle of participants that moved in a counterclockwise direction. Dancing, in turn, would have evoked ritual kick fighting, also practiced within a similarly moving circle. This counterclockwise motion and certain movements in kick fighting made explicit reference to what scholars have called the "Kongo cosmogram": a "cross" inscribed in a circle or reclining oval, with the horizontal east-west line representing the *kalunga* interface and the vertical north-south line connecting the high noon (masculine power) of this life, above, with the midnight (feminine power) of the other world, below. In this symbol of the cosmos, the outer circle or oval described the counterclockwise movement of the sun, when seen from the southern hemisphere. Ritual kick fighters, within their moving circle, purposely adopted inverted positions—supporting their weight on their hands, with their feet in the air—thereby symbolically mirroring *kalunga* to draw on its power. More broadly, in Central African warfare "dancing" was deemed part of a spiritual preparation to confront the enemy, not just a means of honing one's combat skills.

In the Americas, abundant evidence indicates that some combination of Kongo, Mbundu, Ovimbundu, and related cultures was indeed at the core of most Central African communities. *Malungu,* as a metonym for "shipmate," entered European languages: directly in Brazil (Portuguese *malungo*), in translation in Haiti and Cuba, respectively as *batiment* ("ship") and *carabela* ("caravel"). More significantly, in Cuba the extensive ritual vocabulary of the "lengua congo" has been shown to be basically Kikongo, the language of the Kongo. In southeastern Brazil, the ritual vocabularies of Macumba and Umbanda, African-Brazilian religions described in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo from the early twentieth century on, show considerable resonance with Kikongo and Kimbundu (the language of the Mbundu). The lexicon of the Cabula, a cult described around 1900 in Espírito Santo, is even more clearly related to these languages. The vocabulary of Petro cults in Haitian vodou includes clear references to Kongo spirit names (among them, *simbi*).

In Cuba, evidence of the heritage of Central African "cults of affliction" can be found in the Palo Monte cults and their practice still today of making *prendas*: spiritually empowered charms, commonly made in a pot, which clearly resemble in form and function Kongo *minkisi,* even to the point of being bound with thread in intricate patterns. In nineteenth-century Brazil such objects were also present, as were anthropomorphic charms (in the Cabula called *baculo*, the Kikongo word for "ancestor"). The Cabula itself had much in common with a community cult of affliction among the Kongo (most commonly referred to as *kimpasi*), in the delimitation of its sacred space (a Kongo cosmogram) and in the ritual death and rebirth through trance experienced by both its male and female initiates. During and after slavery in Saint Domingue/Haiti, North America, and Brazil, there are abundant references to small amulet-charms containing medicinal substances empowered by tightly wound thread, called *paquets congo* in Saint Domingue and French Louisiana. In Brazilian Macumba and Umbanda, as well as in Haitian vodou and Cuban Palo Monte, ritual marks drawn on a consecrated ground, on banners, or on charms (marks known in Brazil as *pontos riscados*—drawn "knots" or "stitches"), which demand esoteric knowledge to be interpreted, seem inspired by the Kongo cosmogram.

Vodou sacrifice in Haiti. *A Vodou priest takes blood from the neck of a recently sacrificed bull, offered to the Vodou spirit Ogou by a mambo (priestess) at the edge of a sacred pool of mud in Plaine du Nord, Haiti, July 23, 2004. Haitians gather there to honor the saint day of the hamlet's patron saint Jacques (St. James of Compestela) and also Ogou, the Vodou spirit of war and iron.* © DANIEL MOREL/CORBIS

With respect to dance, the *jongo/caxambu/batuque* in Brazil's Southeast is performed to the rhythm of the single-faced drum mentioned above, as well as sometimes to that of the friction drum (*puíta*), an instrument known to the three "core" Central African peoples. (Both drums are also found in Cuba, where they are associated with the "Congo" community.) The dance's variable choreography in western São Paulo and in the Paraíba Valley (respectively with and without the *umbigada*, the sudden meeting of the navels of the dancing couples), corresponds to the variants observed in the mid-nineteenth century among the Mbundu and Kongo, respectively. In the Paraíba Valley, its opening rituals, its performance within a circle of observers-participants moving counterclockwise, and the riddles posed by one master singer to the other—*pontos de demanda,* or challenge "knots" demanding to be "untied"—indicate its origins in Central African religious precepts. *Capoeira*, the now-secularized Brazilian kick dancing, whose performers still commonly assume "upside-down" positions, must initially have had similar religious connotations, as probably did its relative, "knocking and kicking," centered in South Carolina. The dancing engaged in before battle by African slave rebels in South Carolina's Stono rebellion (1739), most of them from the region of the Kingdom of Kongo, almost certainly had this religious dimension.

Central Africans of diverse provenance in many, perhaps most areas of the Americas were able to form new, enlarged communities that provided them with a sense of cultural continuity, as well as a set of shared outlooks to confront the challenges of slavery. Yet, they also soon began building bridges to Africans of other origins, often aided in this by the discovery of significant shared understandings. The American ring shout is a case in point; although scholars have emphasized its Central African origins, they have also shown that counterclockwise movement in a circle (with participants keeping their feet constantly in touch with the ground) was typical of religious dancing in West as well as Central Africa. That it was not typical of dances of European origin further contributed to the ring shout's evolution as a central element of African-American identity. Another example is the Candomblé Angola in Salvador, Bahia. Here the deities have

the attributes of those of the Candomblé of Yoruba origin, but Central African names (the spirit of thunder is *Nsasi*, which means "thunder" in Kikongo); furthermore, drum rhythms are identical to ones documented among the Kongo. A third example is Haitian vodou, which has separate Rada and Petro forms (reflecting strong initial influences, respectively, from Dahomey and Central Africa) yet an essential unity of ritual and cosmology.

Finally, the reinterpreted Christianity of many Central Africans also played a role in the formation of New World cultures and identities. It provided Africans (and Creoles) with polysemic symbols and rituals that could alternately provide an avenue for integration into a European-dominated society, a way of feigning such integration, a resource to reaffirm Central African identities (after all, the 1704 Antonian movement in the Kongo Kingdom appropriated Saint Anthony and Christ as native-born Kongolese), or even a common ground for unity between different African groups (something that has been argued for the case of pre- and postrevolutionary Saint Domingue).

See also Africanisms; Candomblé; Capoeira; Jongo; Social Dance; Voodoo

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ROBERT W. SLENES (2005)

Césaire, Aimé

June 26, 1913

The Martinican poet, playwright, essayist, and politician Aimé Césaire emerged as one of the leading voices of the *Négritude* movement after World War II. Born in Basse-Pointe, in 1931 he was sent to the Louis-le-Grand secondary school in Paris on scholarship to prepare for entrance to the École Normale Supérieure, which he entered in 1935. In March of that year he published an article on "Black Youth and Assimilation" (Négreries: Jeunesse noire et assimilation") in the only surviving issue of *L'Étudiant noir*. Neither he nor L. S. Senghor used the term *Négritude* in that ephemeral student paper. The notions of African heritage that would eventually be called *Négritude* were initially culled from Leo Frobenius's book *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas,* in French translation *La Civilisation africaine* (1936), as both Césaire and Senghor later confirmed.

Césaire has had a tortured relationship with black America. In the decade prior to *Brown v. Board of Education* professors Mercer Cook and Edward A. Jones saw the young intellectual and poet of *Négritude* as a beacon to the race. (Césaire's thesis on the theme of the South in the work of black American writers received a mention in Cook's *Five French Negro Authors* in 1943.) From the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in Paris in 1956 to the late 1960s, however, Césaire was held in suspicion by the black elite of the United States. In 1958 John A. Davis of Howard University, who led the U.S. delegation to the Paris conference and who had taken grievous offense at Césaire's depiction of black Americans as a colonized people within their own country, co-edited the volume *Africa from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars.* Davis assigned to Samuel Allen the difficult task of presenting to integrationists the originality of a poet who was a Marxist, a Communist delegate from Martinique to the French National Assembly from 1946 to 1956, and an atheist. The Black Power movement from the end of the 1960s through the 1970s, which would promote a new radicalized black elite—many of whom had Caribbean connections—overturned the view of Césaire held by their

elders. From the late 1970s to the present a new generation of university-trained black intellectuals has developed a more sophisticated view of Césaire, which has followed the general trend toward diasporic and postcolonial studies.

Négritude is the central subject that has dominated discussion of Césaire in the United States. Poorly understood and usually reduced to a tag line such as "Black is Beautiful," the word and the concept emerged in Césaire's long poem *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land (Cahier d'un retour au pays natal)*, which was first published as a volume in New York by Brentano's in 1947. The poem in its pre-1956 editions demonstrates a fairly clear dialectical structure in which the speaker-hero first describes the sick state of his colonized native land; then, in a long middle section, the speaker makes an Orphic descent into his own and his island's social and psychic history; so as to be reborn in the upward-surging and much shorter final section of the poem. In conclusion, the speaker assumes a messianic leadership role. Césaire's concept of *Négritude*, unlike that of L. S. Senghor of Senegal with which it is too often confused, is thus a dynamic structure of a lyric and dramatic type that he has sometimes called Pelean (after the name of Martinique's volcano) because of the violent explosive imagery that characterized his poetry from the early 1940s to about 1960. The period from 1941 to 1948 marked Césaire's closest association with the Paris surrealists. The surrealist poetic features of his collections *Miraculous Weapons* (1946) and *Solar Throat Slashed* (1948) were so mystifying to American readers used to the style of Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen that his treatment of subjects such as lynching elicited no critical reaction. His poem on the brutal killing of young Emmett Till in Mississippi in August 1955 was published in the Paris journal *Présence Africaine* as "Message sur l'état de l'Union" ("State of the Union Address") in the February–March 1956 issue before being collected in *Ferrements* (*Ferraments*, 1960). It met the same fate.

The full flower of Césaire's heroic vision of *Négritude* is to be found in his lyrical oratorio *And the Dogs Were Silent (Et les chiens se taisaient)*, which was first published in English in 1990. In *Dogs* the sacrificial hero, called The Rebel, undergoes agony and death, which are meant to galvanize the community to collective action. Césaire told an early student of his theater that he had in mind the tragedies of Aeschylus as Nietzsche understood them in *The Birth of Tragedy.*

During the decade of the 1960s, as African and Afro-Caribbean societies—other than Césaire's own in the French West Indies—were gaining their independence, Césaire published no new poetry and turned to the theater. In his first play written for the stage, *The Tragedy of King Christophe (La Tragédie du roi Christophe,* 1963), a minor character called Metellus embodies the agonism that characterized the speaker of the *Notebook* and the hero of *Dogs.* Unable to come to terms with the needs of political compromise, Metellus is killed by the future leaders of Haiti on the battlefield. This fate quite clearly signifies that Césaire's lyrical Rebel was to be abandoned on the threshold of politics as predominantly black societies emerged across the world. The Haitian Revolution in Césaire's work is usually summed up in a few lines extracted from the *Notebook*. *Toussaint Louverture* (1961) preceded *The Tragedy of King Christophe* by two years and explains many of the choices Césaire made in the events and characters depicted. *Toussaint Louverture* is divided into three sections, which represent the dialectical movement of history as Césaire then understood it: I—The Insurrection of the White Colonists; II—The Mulatto Revolt; III—The Black Revolution. The revolt of the mulattos was but the antithesis of the white reactionary insurrection; it triggered the only true revolutionary movement, that of the black ethnoclass. Thus, Césaire's dramatic hero had to be Christophe, the black emperor, rather than Dessalines (murdered by his generals), Pétion (a mulatto), or Toussaint (the Rebel who dies sacrificially in a French military prison).

The condemnation of the United States and the United Nations for complicity in the death of Patrice Lumumba in *Une Saison au Congo (A Season in the Congo,* 1965) did not elicit much sympathy from either black or white America. Nor did Césaire's preference for Malcolm X over Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in *Une Tempête (A Tempest,* 1969) improve the playwright's standing in the eyes of the African-American establishment in the aftermath of the assassination of King. (Césaire told interviewers that he had King in mind in rewriting Shakespeare's Ariel and that Malcolm was his model for Caliban.) The elegiac tone of Césaire's final collection of verse, *moi, laminaire. . . (i laminaria. . . ,* 1982) marked a critical engagement with the heroic pose of the hero of *Négritude*. It has been neglected by partisans of Afrocentrism, who have invested heavily in a mythic interpretation of Césaire's first phase to the detriment of a full understanding of his work's significance for the black Americas.

See also Afrocentrism; Chamoiseau, Patrick; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Haitian Revolution; Négritude; Toussaint-Louverture

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A. JAMES ARNOLD (2005)

Chaguaramas

In the summer of 1940, as the Nazi war machine launched its furious assault on France and Britain in an effort to inflict a decisive victory on its European opponents, the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration and the British wartime government, headed by Winston Churchill, negotiated an exchange of surplus destroyers and other military supplies for several naval bases in the British West Indian colonies and Bermuda. The exchange of notes between the two governments on September 2, 1940, marked a major turning point in Anglo-American relations and in the course of the war against the Axis powers. In effect, the British West Indian colonies had become a cornerstone of the "Special Relationship" that would be consolidated over the course of World War II and the Cold War that arose after 1945.

As part of the exchange the United States obtained the right to establish a military base in Chaguaramas on the northwest peninsula of Trinidad and Tobago—a relatively secluded region with easy access to the Caribbean Sea. The choice of the site was met with less than enthusiasm by the existing colonial administration, and, despite the reservations of the governor of the British colony, the area was ceded to American control for ninety-nine years. The wartime context did not disguise the Imperial government's lack of concern for local sentiment; in fact, it emphasized the arbitrary nature of colonial rule and the willingness of the United States to profit from Britain's increasing dependence upon American support for its war effort.

It was a decision that would return to haunt both the British and American governments when West Indian nationalists sought to achieve political independence from the British government in the 1950s and 1960s. The American attempts to retain the base in the 1950s were perceived as a symbol of the colonial order under which the rights and wishes of the inhabitants of the colony were treated dismissively. Chaguaramas also represented, in the eyes of West Indian nationalists, the heavy-handed effort by the United States to establish a new quasicolonial order in the West Indies in the waning years of British colonial rule.

The eruption of the Anglo-American–West Indian dispute over Chaguaramas occurred in 1956 as plans were being finalized to bring the West Indies Federation into existence. The British government and West Indian nationalists had agreed that the West Indies Federation would constitute the basis for the transfer of power in the Caribbean and the accession to independence by the colonies. In 1956 the issue of identifying a suitable site for the federal capital was entrusted by West Indian leaders to a group of British officials who were to identify a list of suitable sites. In Trinidad, a wide cross section of local opinion championed the island as the site for the federal capital, and in the 1956 national election campaign, Eric Williams, the leader of the victorious People's National Movement, endorsed the idea of Trinidad as the future capital. Unfortunately, the British commission was not impressed by Trinidad's appeal to its citizens, and its report ranked Trinidad as the third choice for the capital site. In explaining the low ranking for Trinidad, the commission's report was scathing about the colony's political life and disparaging in its specific references to the Indian community on the island. It was a decisive moment in the development of West Indian nationalism, and the commission's report was emblematic of the discomfiture that West Indian nationalism had created for British officials. In February 1957 the West Indian leadership decided to endorse Trinidad as the site of the future capital—a decisive rejection of the commission's report.

As a consequence, the West Indian leaders requested that the British government convene a tripartite meeting

among the West Indies, the United Kingdom, and the United States to discuss: (1) releasing the naval base at Chaguaramas for the establishment of the federal capital, and (2) a defense agreement among the three parties. The West Indian leaders were making it clear that they would not accept the inequities of the agreement of 1940 and that they were prepared to renegotiate the American presence in Trinidad and the wider region.

Over the next three years the dispute would escalate as Eric Williams used the Chaguaramas issue to establish his credentials as a committed Trinidadian nationalist who was prepared to challenge both the United Kingdom and the United States on the legacies of the colonial order. Williams's challenge would force both the United States and Britain to agree to renegotiate the terms of the Chaguaramas lease and to accept that West Indian nationalism had redefined the terms of the Anglo-American relationship in the Caribbean. Just as important, it expanded the number of independent states in the Caribbean that stood as a model of political development in which people of African descent were key players (in marked contrast to the continued weight of Jim Crow on American life). The Chaguaramas issue formed part of the ongoing effort to consolidate the idea of freedom for African-descent populations in the Americas.

See also Caribbean Commission; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Peoples National Movement; West Indies Federation; Williams, Eric

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CARY FRASER (2005)

Chamberlain, Wilt

August 21, 1936
October 12, 1999

Born in Philadelphia, basketball player Wilton Norman "Wilt" Chamberlain was one of nine children of William Chamberlain, a custodian/handyman, and Olivia Chamberlain, a part-time domestic. Large even as a child, he grew to seven feet one inch by the age of eighteen and developed great running speed and endurance. At Overbrook High School, he starred in track and field. Dubbed "Wilt the Stilt" and "The Big Dipper" for his great height, he became the premier high school basketball player of his era. The Philadelphia Warriors of the National Basketball Association (NBA) drafted him before he finished high school, but Chamberlain elected to go to college. After fierce competition among colleges, he chose to attend the University of Kansas. While at Kansas, he starred in track, and his amazing basketball skills and dominance led to many changes in the college rule book, including the widening of the foul lanes, in order to hamper him. Despite these impediments, in his first year with the varsity Chamberlain led Kansas to the National College Athletic Association (NCAA) finals. However, the constant harassment, fouling, and triple-teaming upset him, and after another year he left Kansas, saying basketball was no longer fun. Not yet eligible for the NBA, he spent a year touring with the Harlem Globetrotters (playing at guard!).

Chamberlain entered the NBA with the Philadelphia Warriors in 1959–1960 and was an immediate sensation. In his rookie year he broke eight NBA scoring and rebounding records, and was named both Rookie of the Year and Most Valuable Player. In 1960 he grabbed a record fifty-five rebounds in one game. The following season Chamberlain had the greatest individual scoring performance the game has ever seen. He scored 4,029 points, an average of 50.4 points per game, and on March 2, 1962, scored 100 points in a game.

Chamberlain went on to play a total of fourteen seasons with the Philadelphia/Golden State Warriors (1959–1965), the Philadelphia 76ers (1965–1968), and the Los Angeles Lakers (1968–1973). He won four MVP awards and was named to the All-Star team thirteen times (every year he was in contention). He revolutionized professional basketball, ushering in the era of the dominant centers, usually seven feet or taller. A sensational scorer during his early years, he relied on a graceful jump shot and popularized the "dunk" shot. His lifetime scoring totals—31,419 points and an average of 30.1 points per game—stood for many years. He also excelled at shot blocking and defense. While Chamberlain led his teams to NBA championships in 1967 and 1972, his teams lost several times in playoff finals, and fans unfairly derided him as a "loser." A controversial figure, he complained about the lack of recognition of his talents, stating "nobody roots for Goliath." In 1973 he left the Lakers and was hired as a player-coach by the San Diego Conquistadores of the American Basketball Association (ABA). The Lakers obtained an injunction in

court forbidding him from playing, and he passed the year unhappily as a coach, leading the team to a 38–47 record, and then retired. He was elected to the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1978.

After his retirement, Chamberlain, a volleyball enthusiast, helped start the International Volleyball Association and also sponsored track-and-field meets. At various times he pursued a performing career. He acted in the film *Conan the Destroyer* (1984) and appeared as himself in several commercials. During the 1960s he owned the Harlem nightspot Big Wilt's Small Paradise, and he later owned Wilt Chamberlain's Restaurants. He achieved considerable notoriety for his claims of extraordinary sexual promiscuity in his 1991 book, *A View from Above*. Whatever his exploits off the court, he remains one of the greatest basketball players of all time.

Chamberlain died unexpectedly of heart failure in 1999.

See also Basketball

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Chambers, George

October 4, 1928
November 4, 1997

George Michael Chambers, the second prime minister of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, received his early education at Nelson Street Boys Roman Catholic School in Port of Spain, where he later attended Burke College and Osmond High School. He left school at an early age, taking up a job as an office boy in a solicitor's office. Later he pursued a correspondence course in general education from Wosley Hall, Oxford, and was employed in the legal department of a locally based foreign oil company.

He served as prime minister and political leader of the Peoples National Movement (PNM) from 1981 to 1986. Until his appointment as prime minister, he was the least known by the public among the three deputy political leaders of the party. This was for want neither of experience nor ability. For having first entered politics in 1966, he had served since 1971 as the member of parliament for the constituency of St. Ann and on the Central Executive and General Council of the party. He was appointed minister of public utilities and housing in 1969 and minister of national security in 1970. From 1971 to 1975 he held the portfolios of minister of finance and minister of planning and development. From 1976 to 1981 he served as minister of agriculture, lands, and fisheries, and as minister of industry and commerce.

The first general elections contested by the PNM under his leadership saw the party winning twenty-four of thirty-six seats, although largely out of respect for his predecessor, Eric Williams. It proved challenging to succeed the latter, who had died in his fourth consecutive term in office and had exerted unparalleled influence over the country. Many viewed Chambers as less formidable and charismatic, especially as his was a humble and unassuming style. Most critical of him were the opponents of the PNM, who made every effort to portray him as a simpleton, lacking in intellect and ability.

Still, during Chambers' short tenure as prime minister, his was a significant contribution to the development of the party and nation. One of his objectives was to promote greater productivity among a population that had become complacent, fortified by the proceeds of an earlier oil boom. Chambers introduced various belt-tightening measures to bring inflation and unemployment under control after the country's economy was negatively affected by falling oil prices during the early 1980s. Yet, he maintained the anti-imperialist position the PNM had taken since the March for Chaguaramas in 1961, refusing to implement certain recommendations of the International Monetary Fund and dismissing the organization as a group of meddlesome international civil servants. He was a firm believer in Caribbean integration. Yet in the aftermath of a bloody palace coup against the Maurice Bishop regime in Grenada, he held out for a policy of nonintervention, despite a decision by some Caribbean neighbors to support a U.S.-led invasion of that island.

Chambers' policies were located in neither right-wing nor left-wing politics but in what was politically pragmatic at the time. However, he had come to power at a difficult period in the nation's social and economic history when, despite the slump in international economic activity and declining oil revenues, the expectations of the mass of the people remained high. Consequently, his austerity measures left many disgruntled, and in the national elections

of 1986 the PNM suffered a humiliating defeat under his leadership, losing the general elections for the first time in thirty years.

Following this defeat, Chambers resigned his post as political leader of the party and retired to an almost completely reclusive life, though reportedly many continued to seek his advice and expertise regarding political matters.

Since his death, Chambers' critics have been far more generous concerning his abilities. There is now widespread consensus that he was an extremely competent but grossly underrated administrator, with better than average ability, and one of the best finance ministers of Trinidad and Tobago.

See also Peoples National Movement (PNM)

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MICHAEL F. TOUSSAINT (2005)

Chamoiseau, Patrick

March 12, 1953

Born in Fort-de-France, Martinique, Patrick Chamoiseau has become one of the island's most successful and celebrated authors and a leading figure in contemporary postcolonial and world literature. After studying law at universities in Martinique and Paris, he became a social worker. Since returning to live in Fort-de-France, he has continued his vocation as a probation officer working with young offenders. This proximity to Martinican society and culture has influenced his work.

Although he is principally known for his novels, Chamoiseau has ranged broadly into other genres. He has written autobiographical narratives, assembled a collection of folktales, and been at the forefront of the theoretical debates surrounding *créolité,* or creoleness. He has also written for the theater, contributed to discussions on contemporary Martinican and Caribbean politics, and collaborated on several photographic essays. A testament to his importance and appeal as a writer and commentator is the portion of his work, both fiction and nonfiction, that has been translated into other languages.

Chamoiseau began to draw serious attention as a novelist after the publication of his first two novels, *Chronique des sept misères* (*Chronicle of the Seven Sorrows,* 1986), and *Solibo magnifique* (*Solibo Magnificent,* 1988). His third novel, and perhaps the most successful to date, is *Texaco* (1992), for which he garnered France's most important and prestigious literary award, the Prix Goncourt. After the English translation of *Texaco* appeared in 1997, critical acclaim for his work began to take on new dimensions and his international stature as a writer grew. Other awards include the 1993 Prix Carbet de la Caraïbe for his novel *Antan d'enfance* (*Childhood*), and in 2002 he was the recipient of the Prix Spécial du Jury RFO for his novel *Biblique des derniers gestes* (2002).

Chamoiseau's fictional trademark is his integration of French Creole into his French prose, thereby emphatically affirming the socio-cultural importance of the Creole language and its connection to an authentic Martinican identity. It is this focus on language and orality that is also central to his theoretical work and the idea that it is not French, but rather Creole, that is the authentic linguistic representation of Martinique.

The subject and style of his fiction have closely mirrored the political and theoretical interventions of his essays. His most important, and likely most controversial, was the 1989 *Éloge de la créolité* (*In Praise of Creoleness*), a collaboration width writer Raphaël Confiant and linguist Jean Bernabé, which signaled the official launch of the *créolité* movement. In this seminal essay (in reality a manifesto), the authors argued that their identity was emphatically Creole; it was not singularly European, African, or Asian. This was important because it was a direct challenge to the *Négritude* movement founded in part by the Martinican writer and politician Aimé Césaire. The essay is, therefore, a move away from the black-white binary of *Négritude,* suggesting instead that politics, like literature, must reflect the complexities of multiracial histories and realities in places like Martinique and the wider Caribbean. This theory, with all of its political and cultural implications for contemporary Martinique, continues to be fiercely debated.

Nevertheless, Chamoiseau continues to be one of the most important and creatively provocative voices in Caribbean and world literature.

See also Creole Languages of the Americas; Literature of Martinique and Guadeloupe; Négritude

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THORALD M. BURNHAM (2005)

Chaney, James Earl

May 30, 1943
June 21, 1964

Civil rights activist James Chaney was born in Meridian, Mississippi, to Ben Chaney and Fannie Lee Chaney. His parents instilled a strong sense of racial pride in him, and in 1959 he, along with a group of his friends, was suspended from high school for wearing a button meant to criticize the local NAACP chapter for its unresponsiveness to racial issues. One year later he was expelled from school and began to work alongside his father as a plasterer. Chaney's experiences traveling to different job sites throughout Mississippi on segregated buses, at the same time that Freedom Rides mounted by civil rights organizations aimed at challenging segregated interstate transportation were occurring throughout the South, further spurred his activism. In 1963 he became directly involved in civil rights activities and joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). One year later CORE joined forces with the Mississippi branches of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to form the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to spearhead a massive voter-registration and desegregation campaign in Mississippi called the Freedom Summer.

During his work with COFO, Chaney met Michael Schwerner, a white Jewish liberal who had been a New York City social worker before he joined CORE in 1963 and relocated to become a field worker in Mississippi, and Andrew Goodman, a young Jewish college student who had volunteered for the Mississippi Freedom Summer project. Assigned to work together in Meridian, on June 21, 1964, the three men went to Longdale—a black community in Neshoba County, Mississippi—to investigate the burning of a church that had been a potential site for a Freedom School teaching literacy and voter education. The Ku Klux Klan was firmly entrenched in large areas of Mississippi, and it was widely suspected that the Klan had burned the church down to prevent civil rights activities. As the three men were driving back to Meridian, they were detained by the police in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Chaney was arrested for speeding and Schwerner and Goodman were arrested as suspects in the church bombing. None of the men was allowed to make a phone call or pay the fine that would have facilitated his release from the Neshoba County jail.

The arrest of Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman was no accident. Civil rights workers were constantly harassed by white night riders and local policemen who were often Klan members more committed to maintaining the racial status quo than to upholding justice. Schwerner was the first white civil rights worker to be stationed outside of Jackson, Mississippi. His activities and presence had made him well known to Meridian whites, and his success in initiating civil rights programs and his Jewish background had made him a target of the Klan, which had nicknamed him "Goatee" because he wore a beard. After Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price confirmed that the car Chaney had been driving was registered to CORE, he alerted local Klan leader Edgar Ray Killen. Killen quickly organized a posse of Klansmen and formulated a plan of action with as many as twenty conspirators. Later that same night, Price released the three men from jail after Chaney paid the fine. They were followed out of town by a Klan posse, forcibly removed from their cars, driven to an isolated wooded area a few miles away, and killed. Their bodies were buried in an earthen dam in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, a burial site that had been chosen beforehand.

Attempts to locate Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman had been initiated by COFO when the trio had not called or reached their destination at the allotted time. As it became increasingly apparent that harm had befallen them, COFO renewed its longstanding request for assistance from the Justice Department and mobilized a campaign among their membership to put pressure on governmental officials. Social violence against black people in Mississippi was commonplace, and despite the high proportion of lynchings that took place in Mississippi, no white person had ever been convicted of murdering a black person in the history of the state. The heightened interest in civil rights, and the likely involvement and disappearance of two white men, commanded national attention and federal response. Attorney General Robert Kennedy met with the families of the missing men, and FBI agents were dispatched to the scene to mount an extensive investigation. When the charred remains of Chaney's car were found a few days after the incident, Neshoba county was flooded with journalists who reported to the shocked nation the

hostility of Mississippi whites who seemed to epitomize southern racism.

The FBI recovered the bodies of the three civil rights workers from the earthen dam on August 4, 1964, and four months later nineteen men were charged with the conspiracy. The federal government was forced to use a Reconstruction-era statute to charge the men with conspiring to deprive Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman of their civil rights because the social consensus behind the lynch mob's actions made state prosecution for murder unlikely.

Recalcitrant judges, defense delays, and problems with jury selection hampered the due process of law for three years. In 1966 the U.S. Supreme Court stepped in to reinstate the original indictments after the case had been thrown out of court, and in February 1967 the long-delayed trial finally began. Despite various confessions and eyewitness accounts, only seven defendants, one of whom was Deputy Sheriff Price, were convicted nine months later. Only two men were given of the maximum sentence of ten years under the law. Two of the other men received sentences of six years, and three received three-year sentences. The conspirators were all paroled before serving full jail terms and most returned to the Mississippi area by the mid-1970s.

The murders of Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman became a milestone in the civil rights movement. Although an important precedent for federal intervention on behalf of civil rights workers was set, this incident was memorialized by many in the civil rights movement, not only as an instance of southern injustice but as the result of many years of federal indifference to the plight of African Americans. In 2004, the fortieth anniversary of the murders, Ben Chaney, James's brother and head of the James Earl Chaney Foundation, spearheaded a grassroots campaign to reopen the case.

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Freedom Summer; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)

Mary Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister of the Dominican Republic, 1983. RAY FISHER/GETTY IMAGES

Charles, Eugenia

May 15, 1919

Mary Eugenia Charles became Prime Minister of Dominica in 1980. She remains the first and so far only elected female head of government, minister of finance and economic affairs, and minister of foreign affairs in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Charles successfully led the Dominica Freedom Party (DFP), which she cofounded in 1968, through three successive general elections. She became the leader of the parliamentary opposition in 1970, and her party won its first general election in 1980.

Charles's political leadership in the Caribbean is unprecedented. She is the only woman to have been the cofounder and leader of a political party—and to have held the aforementioned ministries simultaneously. In 1993 she resigned as political leader of the DFP, but she remained as prime minister until the 1995 general elections, when she retired from active politics, becoming the first Caribbean leader to retire undefeated.

Charles catapulted into national political prominence in 1968 when she mobilized a citizens' campaign against

a repressive piece of legislation, the Seditious and Undesirable Publications Act. She led a group called the "Freedom Fighters" in a series of public meetings, in demonstrations outside the House of Parliament, and in the gathering of 3,317 signatures supporting the repeal of the legislation. This effort was unsuccessful, however, and even when Charles herself took power, she did not repeal the bill.

Before becoming politically active, Charles became, in 1949, the first woman lawyer in Dominica. She was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in London in 1949, after graduating from the University of Toronto in 1947 with an L.L.B. in law. She continued her legal education at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Charles was a forceful, decisive, and confrontational leader who enjoyed the practice of politics and the exercise of political power. Her tenure was marked by concerted efforts to restore political and economic stability on the island, minimize deficits, reduce foreign debt, improve basic social services, and develop an economic infrastructure. To counter declining economic conditions, Charles introduced a controversial economic citizenship program designed to attract foreign investment. The program enabled an investor (and up to three dependents) to gain economic citizenship after a successful application and a deposit of 35,000 American dollars in a designated escrow account. However, the opposition, and many citizens, criticized the policy as a sale of citizenship.

Charles was relatively successful in introducing fiscal management and helping to halt the decline of the economy, especially after the country's main export and revenue earner, the banana industry, was devastated by two successive hurricanes. She was even more successful in restoring political stability after thwarting two coup attempts by disgruntled members of the disbanded defense force (they conspired with mercenaries on the second attempt to overthrow her administration).

Charles's lasting political legacy is her role in the U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983. As chair of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), Charles insisted that the OECS had invited the Reagan administration to invade Grenada after the People's Revolutionary Government had been overthrown in a military coup and its popular prime minister, Maurice Bishop, had been assassinated. Charles stated that countries in the region shared a common bond, and they had therefore asked the United States to intervene to halt the spread of communism in the region. She gained international prominence by appearing in a nationally televised press conference at the White House with President Reagan to announce and support the deployment of United States forces in Grenada.

Throughout her career, Charles remained a staunch political conservative, and she was publicly critical of progressive and socialist Caribbean leaders, particularly Fidel Castro and Maurice Bishop. In honor of her service, she was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1991. In 2002 the London School of Economics named her as one of five distinguished Honorary Fellows, while the Caribbean Community conferred on her its highest honor, the Order of the Caribbean Community.

See also International Relations in the Anglophone Caribbean

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V. EUDINE BARRITEAU (2005)

Charles, Ezzard

July 7, 1921
May 28, 1975

Boxer Ezzard Charles was born in Lawrenceville, Georgia. When he was a child, his family moved to Cincinnati, where he became interested in boxing. By the time he was sixteen, he had taught himself the rudiments of boxing so well that he won forty-two amateur fights in a row—including two Golden Gloves and the AAU National Championship in 1939—before turning professional in 1940. His ascending career was interrupted by service in the U.S. Army, but after Joe Louis announced his retirement as undefeated world heavyweight champion in 1949, a title match was set up between Charles and Jersey Joe Walcott. Charles won the title in a fifteen-round decision on June 22, 1949. He held the title from 1949 to 1951, successfully defending it in 1950 against Joe Louis. Despite this victory, Charles did not receive the recognition many felt he deserved. He depended on his boxing skills and ability to score points rather than delivering one powerful knockout punch and thus was criticized by some for lacking a harsh fighting instinct.

Charles lost his heavyweight title on July 18, 1951, when he was knocked out by Joe Walcott in the seventh round of their third fight. Three years later, on June 17, 1954, he lost a grueling fifteen-round decision to Rocky Marciano, and in a rematch later that year Marciano knocked him out in the eighth round. Charles retired from boxing in 1956, with two brief, unsuccessful comeback attempts in 1958 and 1959. From 1940 to 1959 he fought in 122 bouts, winning 96 of them. In 1966 he was stricken with a muscle-debilitating disease, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, and was confined to a wheelchair. Charles died on May 28, 1975, at the age of fifty-three. In 1987 he was named the ninth greatest heavyweight of all time by *The Ring*.

See also Boxing

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linda salzman (1996)

Ray Charles (1930–2004). *Charles's rich vocals, soulful piano style, and remarkable versatility as a performer and composer of gospel, blues, country, pop, and jazz music made him one of the most popular and influential musicians of the twentieth century.* ap/wide world photos. reproduced by permission.

Charles, Ray (Robinson, Ray Charles)

September 23, 1930
June 10, 2004

Ray Charles's achievements mark him as one of the most important and influential U.S. musicians of the postwar period. He is often called the Father of Soul, both for his innovative blending of gospel, blues, and jazz, and for his enormous versatility as a singer, pianist, songwriter, composer-arranger, saxophonist, and band leader.

Born into a poor family in Albany, Georgia, Ray Charles Robinson was raised in Greenville, Florida. At the age of five he contracted glaucoma; it was left untreated and soon blinded him. His mother, Aretha, sent him to the School for the Deaf and Blind in Saint Augustine, where he spent the next eight years studying composition, learning to write musical scores in braille, and mastering various instruments (trumpet, alto saxophone, clarinet, organ, and piano). After his mother died in 1945, he left school to form a combo, and after he had saved enough money he moved to Seattle, where he played in a number of jazz trios, gradually developing a piano and vocal style heavily influenced by Nat "King" Cole. At around this time, Ray Charles dropped his surname in order to avoid being confused with prizefighter Sugar Ray Robinson.

Charles developed a significant following in Seattle and soon began to record for various labels. His first hits, "Baby Let Me Hold Your Hand" (1951) and "Kiss Me Baby" (1952) were recorded for the Swing Time label. In 1952 he began to record for Atlantic Records, where he made his first musical breakthrough with "I've Got a Woman" (1955), a blend—startlingly unconventional for the time—of coarse bluesy sexuality with the intense emotionality of gospel. Many of his musical ideas in this period were taken from gospel music, but his adaptations provoked much criticism for combining sexually explicit lyrics with the vocal techniques of "testifying." The style nevertheless provided Charles with some of his most successful songs, among them, "Hallelujah, I Love Her So" (1956), "The Right Time" (1959), and "What'd I Say" (1959).

As his fame increased, Charles increasingly found favor with white audiences. In 1959 he left Atlantic for ABC/Paramount; the move signaled a turn toward country-and-western music and popular standards. While his early recordings with ABC (such as "Georgia on My Mind," "Hit the Road Jack," and "I Can't Stop Loving You") are generally considered the equals of those of his Atlantic period, some critics charged that his music was gradually becoming conventional and uninspired. Nevertheless, throughout the 1960s Charles turned out scores of Top-Ten hits (including "You Are My Sunshine," "Let's Go Get Stoned," and "Here We Go Again"), and a number of successful LPs.

Charles's rise to fame was not without its struggles. Along the way he developed an addiction to heroin, and in 1955, 1961, and 1965 he was arrested for possession of narcotics. He never served a long prison term, but he stopped performing for a year after his last arrest, during which time he worked successfully to overcome his seventeen-year-long addiction, after which the record shows a steady series of successes and honors. In 1966 the U.S. House of Representatives passed a special resolution honoring Charles for his musical achievement. In the late 1960s he founded his own record label and music publishing firm. In 1979 Hoagy Carmichael's "Georgia on My Mind," perhaps Charles' best-known recording, was adopted as the official song of Georgia. In 1986 Charles was among the first ten artists inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

During his career, Charles appeared in several films, including *Blues for Lovers* (also known as *Ballad in Blue,* 1965) and *The Blues Brothers* (1980), and has performed on the soundtracks of many more, including *The Cincinnati Kids* (1965) and *In the Heat of the Night* (1967); his song "What'd I Say" was the subject of *Cosmic Ray,* an experimental film by Bruce Conner, in 1961.

Charles was also active in various social causes, including civil rights, African famine relief, and aid to the disabled. In 1985 he attributed the presence of several bombs found under a bandstand where he was to perform to his public statements opposing racism. In 1987 he made an appeal to Congress for federal aid for the deaf and established the Robinson Foundation for Hearing Disorders with an endowment of $1 million.

In addition to making frequent concert appearances and appearing in several popular commercials (most notably the phenomenally successful Diet Pepsi ads in the early 1990s), Charles remained active in producing and recording his own albums. His LP *Friendship* rose to number one on the country-and-western charts in 1985. In 1990 he performed with B. B. King in the Philip Morris Superband and released an album, *Would You Believe?* His autobiography, *Brother Ray* (1978, with David Ritz), was re-released in a revised and updated edition in 1992. Charles won eleven Grammy Awards, the title of Commandeur de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres from the French Republic, a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Hall of Fame Award (1983), and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (1989).

Ray Charles died in 2004, the same year that *Ray,* a motion picture based on his life and starring Jamie Foxx, was released. The movie was a critical and box office success, with Foxx earning an Academy Award for best actor. Charles won five posthumous Grammy Awards in 2005 for his final album, *Genius Loves Company,* which features duets with many artists, including B. B. King, Willie Nelson, Elton John, Norah Jones, and Diana Krall.

See also Blues, The; Cole, Nat "King"; Gospel Music; Jazz

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ROBERT W. STEPHENS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Chase, Ashton

July 18, 1926

Ashton Chase was born in Georgetown, British Guiana, and received his primary education at St. Andrews Scots School and his secondary education at what was then Alleyne High School. Possibly because Chase's grandmother was an executive in the British Guiana Labour Union (BGLU), the first union in the colony, which had come into existence in 1919, Chase was associated with trade union activity and served as assistant secretary of the

BGLU before his entry into the political arena in British Guiana. An early admirer of Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, the father of trade unionism in the colony and founder of the BGLU, Chase later became a founding member of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC), initially a shadowy group that met in a house located in a suburb of Georgetown and that was beyond the gaze of colonial authorities. The PAC sought to analyze political and trade union social developments using political education as a major tool, and to mold and form political opinion from the perspective of scientific socialism.

The PAC, which was also designed to be an ad hoc entity, eventually morphed into the People's Progressive Party (PPP), the colony's first mass-based political party, which viewed trade unions as a focal point for rallying the masses, with Chase becoming one of its central figures. Chase became minister of labor, industry, and commerce in the first PPP government in 1953. He was instrumental in introducing a labor relations bill in September 1953 after a sugar workers' strike by the Guiana Industrial Workers' Union (GIWU), whose president was PPP minister of health Dr. Joseph Prayag Lachmansingh. The GIWU was seeking recognition by the powerful Sugar Producers' Association, which had recognized the Man Power Citizen's Association, then viewed as a company union. The strike, which had the support of PPP leaders, led to much concern from the Americans, who feared that what they regarded as a politically motivated strike action might spread to other territories. The British also deemed it necessary to provide emergency powers to the governor on short notice in order to preserve public safety and maintain essential services. However, while the labor relations bill also occasioned the ire of the local establishment, especially the business community, Chase felt that the government was on solid ground because the intention to introduce a bill of that nature had formed part of the PPP's election manifesto.

Though viewed as a moderate by the governor, the British removed Chase and the PPP government from office and suspended the constitution in October 1953. In Chase's view, the suspension of the constitution changed the character of politics in the colony and corrupted the thrust for change. Some people, unable to withstand the pressure, compromised with the demands of the political situation, which resulted in an upsurge of right-wing influence and the emergence of socialism without socialists, referring to the idea that socialism should be actualized by socialists, that is, by individuals who have read about, understand, and believe in the application of socialist principles so as to bring about improved social change. By making this observation, Chase was suggesting that this was no longer the case.

After the suspension of the constitution, Chase went to England in 1954, where he read law and was called to the bar at Gray's Inn in 1957, the same year that he graduated with a bachelor of laws degree with honors from London University. Following his return to Guiana, Chase served as a member of Parliament from 1964 to 1968, after which he never held political office. Chase was appointed senior counsel in 1985 after the death of President Forbes Burnham, who had long denied Chase that distinction. In 1991, though, he came out of political retirement to be the consensus presidential candidate in the 1992 general elections, conceivably the fairest election held since 1968. At the 1992 elections, however, the PPP led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan garnered the most votes, and Jagan then became President of the Republic of Guyana, after being out of office since 1964.

In addition to serving from 1970 to 1974 as a member of the Public Service Commission, from 1971 to 1973 Chase was vice president of the Guyana Economic Society. On various occasions he served as president of the Guyana Bar Association from the 1980s to 1998 and as a member of the Council of Legal Education (a body responsible for training attorneys in the Commonwealth Caribbean), including a period as the council's chairman from 1992 to 1998. An acknowledged expert on trade union law, after his retirement from politics Chase published *Trade Union Law in the Caribbean, Glimpses of the Growth of Trade Unions in the Commonwealth Caribbean,* and *Guyana—A Nation in Transit—Burnham's Role.*

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE (2005)

Chavis, Benjamin Franklin, Jr.

January 22, 1948

Born and raised in Oxford, North Carolina, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., a civil rights activist, came from

a long line of preachers. His great-great-grandfather, the Rev. John Chavis, was the first African American to be ordained a Presbyterian minister in the United States. Chavis first became involved in the struggle for civil rights at the age of twelve, when his persistence in seeking privileges at a whites-only library in Oxford started a chain of events that led to its integration. In 1967, while a student at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Charlotte, Chavis became a civil rights organizer with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); he remained active with the organization until he graduated from UNC in 1969 with a B.A. in chemistry. After a year spent as a labor organizer with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), he joined the Washington field office of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice (UCCCRJ).

On February 1, 1971, Chavis was sent to Wilmington, North Carolina, in response to a request from Wilmington ministers for a community and civil rights organizer. The racial climate in Wilmington had become explosive when court-ordered desegregation began in 1969. In January 1971 black students began a boycott of Wilmington High School; Chavis was sent to help organize this student group. Within two weeks of his arrival, Wilmington erupted in a weeklong riot.

In March 1972, fourteen months after the riot ended, Chavis and fifteen former students were arrested for setting fire to a white-owned grocery store and shooting at firemen and policemen who answered the call. Chavis, eight other black men, and a white woman were convicted for arson and conspiracy to assault emergency personnel. Chavis and the nine other defendants became known as the Wilmington Ten. In 1975, after his appeals were exhausted, Chavis entered prison. Because of the weak nature of the evidence against them, Amnesty International designated them political prisoners in 1978, the first time the organization had done so for any U.S. convicts. Their case received national and international support.

In 1977 all three witnesses who testified against the Wilmington Ten admitted they had given false testimony and had been either pressured or bribed by the Wilmington police. Despite this new evidence, the defendants were denied the right to a new trial. Chavis, the last of them to be paroled, was released in 1980, having served more than four years of his thirty-four-year sentence at Caledonia State Prison. On December 4, 1980, a federal appeals court overturned the convictions, citing the coercion of prosecution witnesses.

While in prison, Chavis taught himself Greek, translated the New Testament, wrote two books (*An American Political Prisoner Appeals for Human Rights* in 1979 and *Psalms from Prison* in 1983) and earned a master of divinity degree magna cum laude from Duke University. After his release he earned a doctor of ministry degree from the Divinity School of Howard University. In 1986 Chavis became the executive director of the UCCCRJ. In this capacity, he focused on combating both what he calls "environmental racism"—the government and industry's practice of burdening poor and predominantly black neighborhoods with toxic waste dumps—and gang violence. In 1993 he became the seventh executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; his election at age forty-five made him the youngest person ever to lead the organization. He pledged to revitalize the organization, whose aging membership had been a source of concern, and to sharpen its focus; he also cited the longer-term goal of expanding membership to include other minorities.

Chavis's policies during his tenure as executive director proved extremely controversial. In an attempt to reorient the NAACP toward young urban blacks, he held dialogues with militant black leaders, including Louis Farrakhan. In the summer of 1994 he acknowledged that he had used NAACP funds in an out-of-court settlement with a female NAACP staff member who accused Chavis of sexual harassment. Amid these and other charges of financial impropriety, the board of directors relieved Chavis of his position as executive director on August 20, 1994.

Following his resignation from the NAACP, Chavis joined the Nation of Islam as an organizer and close adviser of Louis Farrakhan. In 1995 Chavis was the principal organizer of the Million Man March. In February 1997 he announced his conversion to Islam, and he took the name Benjamin Chavis Muhammad. He was subsequently defrocked by the United Church of Christ. He was named by Farrakhan to lead Malcolm X's old mosque in Harlem.

In 2001, Chavis became president of the Hip-Hop Summit Action Network (HHSAN), an organization working for the rights of African Americans.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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MANSUR M. NURUDDIN (1996)
ALEXIS WALKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Chesimard, Joanne Deborah Bryon

See Shakur, Assata

Chesnutt, Charles W.

June 20, 1858
November 15, 1932

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, to freeborn mulattoes, the writer Charles Waddell Chesnutt was raised mostly in Fayetteville, North Carolina, by his father, Andrew; his mother, Ann Maria, died when he was only thirteen. Though Chesnutt attended the Howard School and received a fairly sound general education, he proved to be a model autodidact, teaching himself advanced mathematics, ancient languages, history, and shorthand. His first teaching assignments—in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Spartanburg, South Carolina, from 1875 to 1877—served as a proving ground for what he had learned. He rose from being first assistant to the principal of the State Colored Normal School of North Carolina to become its principal in 1879, serving also as Sunday-school superintendent of the renowned Evans Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

Despite his success, Chesnutt was determined to escape the harsh racism of the South. In 1883, peddling his shorthand skills, he sought work with northern newspapers, such as the *New York Mail and Express.* However, he stayed in New York for only five months before moving on to Cleveland to try his luck in this city of his birth, soon to become his permanent place of residence. While working in the law offices of a railroad company, Chesnutt studied law, and in 1887 he passed the Ohio bar examination. Pleased with his accomplishments, he began operating a stenographic service for the courts, and he was well rewarded for his efforts. Having secured a foothold in this trade, he sent for his wife, Susan (whom he had married in 1878) and his children, who were left behind in Fayetteville while he traveled from the South to the North and back again—a pattern of departures and returns that would later play a subtle role in most of his fiction.

Rankled by racist or insensitive southern white writers and their depictions of miscegenation and the black experience, Chesnutt vowed to render a more accurate and faithful account of the issues. In 1887 his tale of magic, witchcraft, and slavery, "The Goophered Grapevine," brought him to the nation's attention, though by now he had already published approximately sixteen short stories in a variety of magazines and newspapers. With the heavy-handed assistance of his publisher's editors, Chesnutt produced *The Conjure Woman* (1899), a collection of tales connected by their depiction of magical events and unified by their portrayal of the horrors of slavery, while also raising troubling questions regarding the complex attachments that linked ex-slaves to their slave forebears and to their masters. It was a stunning success, preceded a few months earlier by *The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line* (1899)—a collection of tales wherein irony and inexplicable coincidences, rather than magic, represent the controlling literary technique, and where blacks confront the lessons of the "color line," or color prejudice among blacks, which is as much about race as it is about kinship and familial affiliation. This collection was also very well received.

Though Chesnutt appears to have been steadfast against any temptation to pass as white himself, he often flirted with this topic in his fiction. Thus, the pathos aroused in his first novel, *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), is created by the choice a young woman must make between passing as white, thereby enjoying the apparent benefits of white society, and remaining with her mother to live among those of the black race with whom she was raised, but among whom she would be forever blocked from enjoying the fruits due her as an American citizen.

In the wake of his early successes, Chesnutt closed his stenographic offices and devoted himself full-time to writing fiction. By now it appeared that he had joined that diverse group of regional writers called "local colorists." But with a compulsory life of Frederick Douglass (1899) behind him, his next literary efforts proved too realistic and bitter for his newfound audience. Though his readers may have been be moved by the sibling rivalry of two women, one black and one white, depicted in *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), his second novel, the story of their kinship was eclipsed by the highly charged politics of the post–Civil War period, a polarized time that left little room for moderating sentiments in the North or the South. The plot de-

picts strange bedfellows brought together by political goals based more on postbellum fears than on any alliance they might have forged during the antebellum era or any indignity they might have suffered in common. Poor sales force Chesnutt to return to stenography in 1901, and he consequently remained sorely underrated during his lifetime.

As a witness to events that took place in the South during the 1890s, Chesnutt could no longer believe that paternalistic, well-meaning whites were able or willing to do anything more for blacks. In his last published novel, *The Colonel's Dream* (1905), a white colonel returns to his southern home with the belief that he can forestall the return to slave conditions into which many blacks and poor whites are falling. Having failed, the colonel returns north with the belief that blacks cannot win the war of "Redemption," as this era was dubbed, with or without the assistance of white patrons. With Reconstruction over, blacks were, during this nadir of their odyssey in America, on their own.

Chesnutt's light complexion, erudition, sophistication, and accomplishments, however, gave him an entrée into the upper ranks of Cleveland society, where he observed activities satirized in his highly ironic short story "Baxter's Procrustes." As one of the wealthiest black men in the city, Chesnutt was among the most successful political forces in Cleveland, though he never held political office. He often took the middle ground in racial affairs, whether the issue was between blacks and whites or among blacks—he was a member of both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in part by the militant W. E. B. Du Bois, and the Committee of Twelve, steered by the cautious and conciliatory Booker T. Washington.

Nevertheless, until his death, Chesnutt was so outspoken in defense of blacks against discrimination and illegal practices that in 1928 he was awarded the NAACP Spingarn Medal for the most "distinguished service" of any black person that year who had acted to advance the cause of blacks in America.

Besides his two published collections of short stories, Chesnutt wrote and/or published an additional twenty-nine short stories, sixteen "tales," ten "anecdotes," seven occasional poems, and numerous essays, articles, and book reviews. He continued to write and publish until 1930 ("Concerning Father" was his last short story), despite poor critical reception and sales, not to mention poor health. As Chesnutt's reputation grows, however, he will likely be seen as the first African-American master of the short story.

See also Literature of the United States

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GORDON THOMPSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Chica da Silva

c. 1731
February 15, 1796

Francisca da Silva de Oliveira, known as Chica da Silva, was a slave who lived in Brazil in the eighteenth century at the height of diamond production. Her mythical figure has served to represent the sensuality of the black woman and the capacity for race mixing characteristic of Brazilian society. This slave woman became legendary for her relationship with the diamond contractor João Fernandes de Oliveira, who had the monopoly on extraction of ore in the region of the hamlet of Tejuco, today the city of Diamantina, in Minas Gerais.

The myth of Chica da Silva began to be built up by a nineteenth-century memorialist of Diamantina, who dedicated a few chapters of his book to the story of the slave and her relationship with the diamond contractor, although the author portrayed her in a negative way. At the beginning of the twentieth century, local writers began to add some positive features to the image of the legendary slave, describing her as a woman of rare beauty. Since then the character has been immortalized in poems, novels, television serials, and in the cinema with the film *Xica da Silva*, directed by Cacá Diegues, in 1976.

Francisca da Silva de Oliveira was the daughter of an African slave, Maria da Costa, who was born in the Costa da Mina, and the Portuguese Antonio Caetano de Sá. While still a slave, Chica had her first child, Simão, with her owner, the Portuguese doctor Manuel Pires Sardinha,

who granted the boy his freedom on the occasion of his baptism. In 1753 she was bought by the judge João Fernandes de Oliveira, who had arrived in the hamlet to administer the diamond contract, bid for by his father in Lisbon. Soon afterward, in December of the same year, he granted Chica her freedom.

From 1755 to 1770 Chica and João Fernandes lived together as if they had been officially married. They had thirteen children, four boys and nine girls, but they never legalized their relationship, which would have been dishonorable for a white man, and such mixed marriages were discouraged by church and state. Having an average of one child every thirteen months transforms the sensual, lascivious, man-devouring image with which Chica was always associated.

The ex-slave tried to act like any lady of the local elite. She had her daughters educated at the best educational establishment of the Minas, which was intended only for the daughters of well-off families. Chica always sought the social placement of herself and her children in the bosom of the local elite. This was achieved by way of various expedients, not to be credited only to the importance and fortune of João Fernandes, as he had to return to Portugal in 1771 to resolve family disputes over the paternal inheritance and never returned. Since she had to depend only on herself, Chica found mechanisms to maintain her status, like other freedwomen of Tejuco. One of these was membership in several brotherhoods (*Irmandades*), which most often joined individuals of the same origin and social condition as a way of obtaining distinction and social recognition. These rules were not always respected, however, and some people of color succeeded in becoming members of societies that were usually exclusive to white people.

The proof of the importance and degree of social success that Chica obtained was the fact that Dona Francisca da Silva de Oliveira, as she was always addressed, and her children belonged to the principal brotherhoods, whether of white, brown, or black people. She was also the owner of many slaves and of a house near those of the important local people. This was a solidly built, large and airy two-story house with a backyard, which had its own chapel—the privilege of few—where two of her daughters would later marry.

Chiua died in Tejuco and was buried at the Church of São Francisco de Assis, whose brotherhood was normally reserved for the local white elite, a demonstration of her importance and prestige. All the priests of the hamlet gathered in ceremony around her body, which was accompanied to the grave by all the brotherhoods she belonged to, a way of demonstrating the distinction she had achieved in life. In contrast to the myth that emerged around her, Chica da Silva was not the queen of the slaves or redemptress of her race, nor was she a shrew, a witch, or a seductress. She knew, as was common for freedwomen of the period, how to take advantage of the few possibilities that the system offered her. Her actions among the white elite of the hamlet of Tejuco were always aimed at diminishing the stigma that color and slavery had imposed on her and of promoting the social ascension of her descendents.

See also Folklore; Slavery

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Diegues, Cacá, director. *Xica da Silva.* 117 min. Brazil: Globo Vídeo, 1976.

JÚNIA FERREIRA FURTADO (2005)

Chicago Defender

The *Chicago Defender* was founded in 1905 by Robert Sengstacke Abbott, a journalist and lawyer from Georgia. He started the newspaper with almost no capital and worked out of the dining room of his landlady, who supported him during the first years of operation. The paper was initially a four-page weekly that Abbott peddled from door to door on the South Side of Chicago. Through his work with the *Defender,* Abbott began a new phase in black journalism. He did not appeal primarily to educated African Americans, as earlier black newspapers had, but sought to make the paper accessible to the majority of blacks. Although the *Defender* adopted a policy of muckraking and sensationalism, covering topics such as crime and scandal as well as prostitution in the black community, Abbott used the paper primarily as a vehicle for achieving racial justice. He refused to use the word *Negro* be-

cause of what he believed were its derogatory connotations, preferring the word *race.* The paper also took a militant stand against segregation and discrimination and encouraged blacks to protest. In 1907 it "pledge[d] itself to fight against [segregation, discrimination, and disfranchisement] until they have been removed." It believed in the importance of political participation and stated that blacks should use their vote as leverage to win concessions from both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The *Chicago Defender* gained national prominence during the Great Migration during World War I, when large numbers of African Americans left the South to move North. The paper covered brutal incidents of racism in the South and encouraged African Americans to leave the rigid segregation, poor pay, and violence of the South. In 1915, in response to the rising incidence of lynching, the *Defender* advised, "If you must die, take at least one with you." It promised better-paying jobs and more freedom in northern cities. Although Abbott decried World War I as "bloody, tragic, and deplorable," he believed there were some benefits from it for African Americans, noting that "Factories, mills, and workshops that have been closed to us through necessity are being opened to us. We are to be given a chance."

Many black southerners wrote to the *Defender* asking for job-placement help. The *Defender* also tried to address the problems of migrants by helping form clubs that arranged reduced rates on the railroad. It counseled newly arrived African Americans, helped them find jobs, and sent them to the appropriate relief and aid agencies. To alleviate the acute housing shortage, the *Defender* supported the construction of housing for African Americans and opposed restrictive covenants. The paper was repeatedly attacked by white southerners, who attempted to control its distribution by preventing its sale in many southern towns, harassing and intimidating anyone who possessed a copy. Despite this, copies of the paper were distributed by railroad porters and shipped to more than 1,500 southern towns and cities. The circulation of the *Defender* increased dramatically during World War I, climbing from 33,000 in 1916 to 125,000 in 1918. Branch offices were opened across the country and around the world.

Like most newspapers, the *Defender* was hurt by the Great Depression. By 1935 circulation had dropped to 73,000. It continued to cover black civil rights issues, but also included cartoons, personals, and social, cultural, and fashion articles. In 1939, the year before he died, Abbott passed control of the paper to his nephew John Sengstacke. Under Sengstacke's leadership, the *Defender* continued to be an advocate for social and economic justice. During World War II, its editors wrote, "In pledging our allegiance to the flag and what it symbolizes we are not unmindful of the broken promises of the past. We ask that America give the Negro citizen the full measure of the democracy he is called upon to defend." The paper covered the racial violence and riots during the war but made a special effort to see that its coverage was not provocative. Editors refused, for example, to publish photographs of the 1943 Harlem Riot. In 1945 its total Chicago and national circulation was 160,000. In 1956 the paper became a tabloid issued four times a week with a national weekend edition.

During the civil rights movement, the *Defender* took a strong stand in favor of racial equality. It criticized the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because it did "nothing" for the North. The paper advocated open housing and argued that "the nation must sooner or later come to the grim realization that residential segregation is the root cause of the racial unrest." In addition, the *Defender* supported nonviolent direct-action demonstrations and protests as a method of change. Of Chicago protests, the editors wrote, "The demonstrations, so loudly denounced by City Hall and most of the press, have proved their justification beyond the shadow of a doubt. . . . It was the demonstrations and the inflexible determination of Negro leadership as spearheaded by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. that caused the city of Chicago to acknowledge its mistakes and agree to rectify them." Although the *Defender*'s political tone had become more moderate by the early 1990s, it continued to cover both national and local news and speak out against what it considered unfair housing, employment, and educational policies.

See also Abbott, Robert Sengstacke; Journalism; Lynching; Migration

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JOSHUA BOTKIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Chicago Riot of 1919

See Red Summer; Riots and Popular Protests

Children's Literature

The portrayal of African Americans in mainstream American children's literature has been, on the whole, demeaning and unrealistic. From the inception of children's literature as a separate genre in the early nineteenth century, African Americans were presented by white authors as mindless, superstitious, and shiftless. This treatment was particularly evident in two nineteenth-century works, Thomas Nelson Page's *Two Little Confederates* (1888) and Joel Chandler Harris's *Free Joe and the Rest of the World* (1887). A further example of this kind of racism can be found in Helen Bannerman's *Little Black Sambo* (1928).

These stereotypical portrayals continued throughout the early decades of the twentieth century; however, by the late 1930s several works emerged that tried to convey the African-American experience in an informed manner. Among the first such efforts were African-American author Arna Bontemps's *You Can't Pet a Possum* (1936) and *Sad-Faced Boy* (1937). However, most of the material published for children during this period continued to depict stereotypes of African Americans.

By the mid- to late 1940s, books began to portray a slightly more realistic picture of blacks and began to address civil rights and other issues relevant to the African-American community. Carter G. Woodson, the father of modern black historiography, wrote several books for children in the 1940s documenting African-American heritage, among them *African Heroes and Heroines* (1944) and *Negro Makers of History* (1948). During the 1950s Langston Hughes wrote a series of educational books for children, among them *The First Book of Negroes* (1952), *Famous American Negroes* (1954), and *The First Book of Jazz* (1955). Pulitzer Prize–winning poet Gwendolyn Brooks wrote *Bronzeville Boys and Girls* (1956), a book of poems for children depicting the lives of the urban poor. (Brooks wrote another children's book, *The Tiger Who Wore White Gloves,* in 1974.) Other titles from this period include author Jesse Jackson's *Call Me Charley* (1945) and Dorothy Sterling's *Mary Jane* (1959).

By the 1960s, some well-written material portraying African Americans was being published. Examples include white author Ezra Jack Keats's *The Snowy Day* (1962) and Ann Petry's *Tituba of Salem Village* (1964). But in 1965 Nancy Larrick was still able to present significant evidence in her analysis of the literature that omissions and distortions were widespread. She surveyed sixty-three mainstream publishers who had published a total of 5,200 children's books between 1962 and 1964. Her investigation revealed that only 6.7 percent included a black child in either the text or the illustrations (Larrick, p. 64).

Larrick's article, coupled with the rise of the civil rights movement and the increased availability of funds for schools and libraries, motivated publishers to produce more materials about African Americans. In 1969 the Coretta Scott King Book Award was established in order to recognize African-American authors and illustrators for outstanding contributions to children's literature. As a result, more realistic portrayals began to emerge, presenting the diversity of black life, culture, and experience in both fictional and nonfictional works.

Louise Clifton wrote her first book for children, *Some of the Days of Everett Anderson,* in 1970; she has since written many books of poetry and stories for children that are widely praised as realistic portrayals of black children's experience and as valuable introductions to African-American heritage. During this period, June Jordan also began writing books for children and young adults that were acclaimed for their political relevance and for the intensity of their reproduction of the African-American experience; examples include *His Own Where* (1971), which was nominated for a National Book Award; *New Life: New Room* (1975); and *Kimako's Story* (1981). By incorporating elements of black southern folklore with a contemporary political consciousness, Julius Lester brought a special emphasis to his children's literature. His works for children and young adults include *To Be a Slave* (1968), which was nominated for a Newbery Medal; *Black Folktales* (1969); *The Knee-High Man and Other Tales* (1972); and *The Long Journey Home: Stories from Black History* (1972), a nonfiction collection of slave narratives that was a finalist for a National Book Award. International authors of children's literature also began to gain recognition in this period; a notable example is Chinua Achebe, the celebrated Nigerian author, whose best-known children's book is *How the Leopard Got His Claws* (1973). Other significant authors and illustrators from the period include Virginia Hamilton, Walter Dean Myers, John Steptoe, Eloise Greenfield, and the artist team of Leo and Diane Dillon.

This positive trend continued to the end of the next decade, as evidenced in the 1979 study conducted by Jeanne S. Chall, which updated Larrick's investigation. Chall's study indicated that in 4,775 children's books published between 1973 and 1975, 14.4 percent represented black characters in the text or illustrations—more than double the percentage found by Larrick in 1965 (McCann, p. 215).

As the civil rights movement waned in the late 1970s and 1980s, the publication of books on the African-American experience diminished. New African-American

writers could no longer break into the mainstream easily, and even established authors found themselves struggling to find publishers. Despite this trend, additional new authors emerged. Ossie Davis, for example, wrote two books for children based on major figures in black history: *Escape to Freedom: A Play About Young Frederick Douglass* (1978) and *Langston, A Play* (1982). Mildred Taylor also entered the scene with *Song of the Trees* (1975) and the Newbery Award–winning *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976).

With the retrenchment of mainstream publishers in the 1980s, alternative presses emerged to fill the void. Black Butterfly Press, Just Us Books, and the Third World Press were among the few houses that published African-American authors who were shut out of the mainstream. By the 1990s these publishers had expanded in response to the public's demand for African-American materials. Mainstream publishers also again responded to the interest in these materials, so that in the early years of the twenty-first century, numerous African-American titles were found on the lists of major publishing houses.

With the increase of these publications, debate has arisen over whether non-African Americans can write effectively about the black experience. While the cultural background of an author/illustrator is important, the crucial issue is one of perspective (i.e., the author's mind-set and point of view in creating the work). An important consideration is whether, at the time of creation, the author/illustrator—regardless of his or her own cultural background—was thinking as a member of the group or as an outsider (Lachmann, p. 17). If the former perspective is operative, it allows the creator to produce sincere and meaningful portrayals of the subject. Examples of white authors and illustrators who have successfully portrayed the black identity include Ann Cameron, William Loren Katz, Ann Grifalconi, and Ezra Jack Keats.

A number of successful African-American titles were published in the 1990s, including Mildred Taylor's *Mississippi Bridge* (1990), Angela Johnson's *When I Am Old with You* (1990, winner of an Honorable Mention at the 1991 Coretta Scott King Book Awards), Eloise Greenfield's *Night on Neighborhood Street* (1991), and Rosa Parks's *Rosa Parks: My Story* (1992, with James Haskins). The literature now offers a rich complexity in depicting ethnic experience. This situation is beneficial not only to the African-American community but to the larger society because it furnishes insights that can help to further communication and understanding. This trend should serve to increase the quantity and quality of African-American literature for children.

In the new century authors such as Mildred Taylor, Ann Grifalconi, Patricia McKissack, Virginia Hamilton, Angela Johnson, and Walter Dean Myers continued to produce high-quality work reflecting the African-American Experience. Contemporary issues such as teen parenthood in Angela Johnson's *The First Part Last* (2005), incarceration in Walter Dean Myers's *Monster* (2001), gang violence in Barbara M. Joosse's *Stars in the Darkness* (2001), and family strength in Virginia Hamilton's *Time Pieces* (2005) gave voice to the reality of contemporary life.

Captivating African tales such as Ann Grifalconi's *The Village That Vanished* (2004) and Tamara Bower's *How the Amazon Queen Fought the Prince of Egypt* (2005) included exceptional illustrations. Patricia McKissack's *Precious and the Boo Hag* (2005) brought humor and suspense as a young girl followed her mother's advice and outwitted the scary monster, a not too subtle reminder for young readers to mind their elders.

The journey of African Americans from slavery through racism and prejudice is chronicled in Hariette Robinet's *Twelve Travelers, Twenty Horses* (2005) and Elisa Carbone's *Last Dance on Holladay Street* (2005), which graphically depict life in 1800s America. In *The Land* (2003) Mildred Taylor explains the genesis for racial feuds found in her earlier novels, giving voice to the struggles of the period. Toni Morrison's fictional dialogue and actual photographs result in an eloquent photo-essay, *Remember: The Journey to School Integration* (2004). Race relations and family strength are key elements in this world of harsh realities.

Contemporary big city life is captured in Barbara Joosse's *Hot City* (2004), while Jane Kurtz's *In the Small, Small Night* (2005) and Marie Fritz's *A Gift for Sadia* (2005) portray the adjustment of African children who migrated to America. Strength of character, perseverance in the face of hardship, and family love predominate. Stories written by, or about, African-American celebrities include Will Smith's *Just the Two of Us* (2005), George Forman's humorous *Let George Do It* (2005) and Chris Raschka's *John Coltrane's Giant Steps* (2002). Books that introduce both the writer and the works include Patricia McKissack's *Zora Neale Hurston: Writer and Storyteller* (2002), Caroline Lazo's *Alice Walker: Freedom Writer* (2000), and Doreen Rappaport's *Martin's Big Words: The Life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* (2001).

The decade that began in 2000 produced African-American children's literature of substance. These works, and hopefully more to come, are a dynamic segment of the children's literature market.

See also Bontemps, Arna; Brooks, Gwendolyn; Davis, Ossie; Folklore; Hughes, Langston; Literature; Morrison, Toni; Parks, Rosa; Slave Narratives; Woodson, Carter G.

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HEATHER CAINES (1996)
NORMA L. GRANT (2005)

Childress, Alice

October 12, 1920
August 14, 1994

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, playwright Alice Childress was reared in Harlem by her grandmother, Eliza Campbell. Childress grew up economically poor but culturally rich because her grandmother exposed her to the arts, fostered in her a desire for excellence, and introduced her to testimonials at the Salem Church in Harlem. It was her grandmother who encouraged her to write by creating a game that allowed her to develop fictional characters. She was forced to drop out of high school when her grandmother died. But she decided to educate herself by reading books borrowed from the public library.

Childress began her writing career in the late 1940s while involved in helping develop and strengthen the American Negro Theatre (ANT), where she studied acting and directing. Her decision to become a playwright was a natural outgrowth of her experiences at ANT. She wrote and produced thirteen plays, including *Florence* (1949), *Trouble in Mind* (1955; winner of an Obie Award in 1956 for the best original Off-Broadway play—the first time the award was given to a black woman), *Wedding Band: A Love Hate Story in Black and White* (1966; televised on ABC in 1974), *Wine in the Wilderness* (1969; produced on National Educational Television that year), *Mojo: A Black Love Story* (1970), and *Moms* (1987). Childress's plays treat the plight of the poor and the oppressed. She championed underdogs and showed their dignity and will to survive.

Childress was an equally dynamic novelist, having published five novels, including *Like One of the Family: Conversations from a Domestic's Life* (1937), *A Hero Ain't Nothin' but a Sandwich* (1973), *A Short Walk* (1979), *Rainbow Jordan* (1981), and *Those Other People* (1990). Her novels, like her plays, champion the poor and explore the inspiriting influences of the community.

In addition to the Obie she received in 1956, Childress received several honors and awards, including a John Golden Fund for Playwrights grant (1957), a Rockefeller grant (1967), and an appointment to Harvard's Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study (1966–1968).

See also American Negro Theatre; Drama

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ELIZABETH BROWN-GUILLORY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Chisholm, Shirley

November 30, 1924
January 1, 2005

Shirley Chisholm was among the most significant black politicians of the twentieth century. Born Shirley St. Hill, in Brooklyn, she lived with her family in Barbados for some years before returning to the United States. She graduated cum laude from Brooklyn College in 1946 and earned a master's degree from Columbia University's Teachers College. After her marriage to Conrad Chisholm in 1949, she taught nursery school and became involved in the Democratic Party.

In 1960 Chisholm helped form the Unity Democratic Club in New York, and in 1965 she ran a successful campaign for a seat in the New York State Assembly. During her tenure there she helped establish the Search for Educa-

Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005). *The first African American woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, Chisholm was a candidate for the Democratic Party's nomination for President in 1972.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tion, Equity, and Knowledge (SEEK) program to assist low-income students. She also helped win a maternity-leave policy for teachers.

In 1969 Chisholm won a seat in the House of Representatives, becoming the first African-American woman elected to Congress. While in the House she served on a number of committees, including Veterans' Affairs, Education and Labor, and House Rules. She was an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam and continued to fight for economic justice and women's rights.

In January 1972, Chisholm announced her candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president, becoming the first African American ever to do so. Although her campaign was unable to gain the support of the Congressional Black Caucus or the major women's groups with which she had long worked, Chisholm's effort was nonetheless groundbreaking.

Shirley Chisholm retired from Congress in 1982 and went on to teach at Mount Holyoke and Spelman colleges. She remained active in politics as the founder of the National Political Congress of Black Women and as its first president.

The story of Chisholm's rise in was recounted in *Chisholm '72: Unbought and Unbossed,* a documentary produced by Shola Lynch and Phil Bertelson in 2004. After suffering a series of strokes, Chisholm died at the age of eighty on January 1, 2005, in Ormond Beach, Florida.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Christiana Revolt of 1851

One of the major episodes of African-American resistance to enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the first in which blood was shed, occurred on September 11, 1851, near the tiny Quaker village of Christiana, Pennsylvania. That morning, Maryland slave owner Edward Gorsuch, several of his relatives, and three U.S. marshals bearing federal warrants surrounded the house of William Parker, a local black leader. The posse demanded the surrender of two of Gorsuch's slaves, who had run away from the Gorsuch farm two years before and were hiding inside Parker's home. Parker and his guests sounded an alarm to which local citizens responded. Although two Quakers advised the posse to retreat, Gorsuch refused, declaring, "My property I will have, or I'll breakfast in hell (Slaughter, 1991, p. 63)." Shots rang out, and when the smoke cleared, Gorsuch lay dead and three members of his party were wounded.

Within hours, the incident assumed national significance. A Lancaster, Pennsylvania, paper proclaimed: "Civil War—The First Blow Struck." One representative of the southern press, warning of secession, announced that "unless the Christiana rioters are hung . . .the bonds will be dissolved (Slaughter, 1991, pp. 220-221)." Sensing the event's political importance, President Millard Fillmore dispatched a company of U.S. Marines and some forty Philadelphia policemen to the village to apprehend those involved. After combing the countryside, they arrested more than thirty blacks and half a dozen whites. Even so, the five blacks most responsible for Gorsuch's

death escaped; three—Parker, and Gorsuch's two runaway slaves—fled to Ontario. Although federal officials sought their extradition, Canadian authorities refused.

Hoping to make examples of the rioters, federal prosecutors charged them not only with resisting the Fugitive Slave Act but with treason. A federal grand jury indicted thirty-six blacks and two whites, some with tenuous links to the incident, and imprisoned them pending trial before the U.S. circuit court in Philadelphia. Federal attorneys used the trial of Castner Hanway, a white Quaker alleged to have directed the rioters in their attack on the posse, as a test case upon which to decide the fate of the other thirty-seven. The trial—which, ironically, convened on the second floor of Independence Hall—took on comic overtones. One defense attorney chided the government for arguing "that three harmless non-resisting Quakers and eight-and-thirty wretched, miserable, penniless negroes armed with corn cutters, clubs, and a few muskets . . .[had] levied war against the United States (Slaughter, 1991, p. 127)." The available evidence proved insufficient to substantiate the charges and, after acquitting Hanway in early December, the government dropped all remaining indictments and released the rioters.

The Christiana incident raised serious questions about the ability of the federal government to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. But it did even more. Southerners were outraged by the results of the trial, and federal efforts to punish the rioters had increased sympathy for the abolitionists throughout the North. By galvanizing public opinion in both the North and the South on the question of enforcement of the law, the Christiana riot moved the nation closer to civil war.

See also Demerara Revolt; Malê Rebellion; Nat Turner's Rebellion; Stono Rebellion; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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ROY E. FINKENBINE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Christian Denominations, Independent

Independent black denominations are Protestant communions controlled entirely by blacks. The seven largest Independent black denominations are Baptist, Methodist, or Pentecostal and include the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, the Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. (NBC), the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (NBCA), the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC), and the Church of God in Christ (COGIC).

Independent black denominations of the nineteenth century formed as black members of predominantly white churches sought freedom from white governance and control, with racism being the initial catalyst for their formation. Thus from their inception African-American Protestant denominations acted as agents for the educational, political, economic, and social welfare of their black constituencies.

Independence took on two additional connotations from the late nineteenth century onward. First, independent inferred the differences in doctrine, decorum, and governance that fostered subsequent black religious independence movements. This is evidenced by splits occurring within Black Baptist and Methodist denominations and the eventual birth of autonomous black denominations such as the Church of God in Christ, whose history is traced uniquely to black religious leaders.

Independent also refers to the growth of loose inter- and nondenominational fellowships, whose founders and member churches trade doctrinal positions in favor of a more general emphasis on Bible-based sermons and attempts to overcome racial division. The media and Internet have provided denominations, fellowships, and individual churches with global access and worshippers of every persuasion with countless opportunities to observe, examine, or emulate the practices of others at home without censure or obligation.

Nondenominational ministries, especially those headed by popular ministers with television ministries, often bring together members from various traditions by providing safe space for adherents to participate in activities that individual churches may not sponsor. Despite the doctrinal competition that remains among independent black denominations, history affirms the growth of inter-

faith initiatives, where member churches attempt to find common ground.

Black Baptists: Founders of the First Independent Black Churches

Black Baptists in the U.S. South are credited with establishing the first black congregations. Given slavery throughout the South and the fear of insurrection among slaveholders, Black Baptist congregations remained under white control until Emancipation. Thereafter, Black Baptists formed the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. (NBC), the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated (NBCA), and the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC).

The first known Black Baptist, identified only as Quassey, was listed as one of fifty-one members of the Newton, Rhode Island, church in 1743. The Baptist congregation in Providence, Rhode Island, had nineteen black members in 1762, and blacks were first received into the First Baptist Church of Boston in 1772. Most Black Baptists were nonetheless in the South.

Black Methodists: Founders of the First Independent Black Denomination

Black Methodists are credited with institutionalizing black religious independence. Free blacks in the North formed early Methodist churches, conferences, and denominations after growing weary of restrictions on their level of participation in church governance and proceedings.

Black Methodists generally refers to the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ), and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME). Five smaller communions exist as well, including the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church (UAME), the oldest of all Black Methodist denominations. Additional groups resulted from splits within the AME and AMEZ churches.

The Black Methodist Church emerged from the Methodist movement, which began in Oxford University in the 1720s and was named for its distinct "methods" of organization and spiritual discipline. The denomination's antislavery position enhanced the appeal of Methodism to African Americans, free and enslaved. The church later retreated from its position after 1785, but the number of black members continued to increase as African Americans embraced the church's earlier position and experienced the fervor of the Second Great Awakening at the turn of the century.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church

Richard Allen, a former slave, initiated the separation of blacks from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1787. Allen, Absalom Jones, and other black worshippers withdrew their membership from St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia after being pulled from their knees while worshipping in a gallery that was off limits to blacks.

Allen also organized the Free African Society the same year for religious and secular purposes. Allen and Jones raised funds to build a church and intended to remain under the jurisdiction of the Methodist church. But when the edifice was completed, St. George's refused to send a minister there. Allen then moved to an old blacksmith shop that he owned. The structure was transformed into the mother church of the soon-to-be-founded AME denomination.

The Free African Society, the birthplace of Episcopal and Bethel AME churches, was duplicated by several like organizations in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. After communicating with each other over a period of years and discussing their racial struggles within the Methodist church, representatives from five of the congregations came together at Bethel Church in 1816 to officially organize the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Richard Allen, ordained a deacon by Bishop Asbury in 1799, was then ordained an elder. At the same gathering he was elected bishop of the AME after Daniel Coker declined the office.

The Free African Society focused specifically on racial solidarity and abolitionist activity. Education was an equally important issue. Although early church leaders were not educated, they understood the positive impact education would have on the livelihood of the church and the progress of African people.

The organization focused on missions as well, increasing from a thousand members to approximately seven thousand within two years of its founding. It attracted thousands of new members in the South, where membership grew from 20,000 at the beginning of the Civil War to nearly 400,000 by 1884 and over 450,000 by 1896. The pattern of growth and expansion returned north and westward as African Americans migrated from the South in the early twentieth century. The AME has been the most effective of all black denominations in its overseas missionary efforts. The denomination claims one million members and over 22,000 churches in Africa and the Caribbean.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

The AME Zion Church originated in the late eighteenth century when a delegation of black members separated from the white-controlled John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City. In 1796, at the behest of Peter Williams, a former slave, one of the classes organized an African chapel in a cabinetmaker's shop that William Miller, another member, owned. Services were held there until a new edifice was built in 1800. In 1801 the chapel was incorporated as the "African Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of New York." It was required that church property be owned by the board of trustees and that only trustees of African descent act for the corporation. Membership was restricted to Africans, and voting on church matters was restricted to men.

The conference separated in 1816 and included Zion Church and Asbury African Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City. In October 1820 the two black churches adopted their own discipline and the name African Methodist Episcopal Zion. However, they opted not to join the conference over which Bishop Richard Allen presided.

Because of internal conflict and competition with "Allenites," the growth of the AME Zion Church was stunted prior to the Civil War. It began with 22 preachers and 1,400 members in 1821 and by 1860 numbered 4,600 with 105 preachers. By 1884 the church had grown to 300,000, with membership standing at 250,00 by in 1896. Foreign mission programs were established in South America, Africa, and the Caribbean. The church experienced a third wave of growth in the twentieth century as African Americans migrated northward and from rural to urban areas. Today, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion is the second largest black Methodist denomination. In 1989 it counted 1.2 million members in the United States, with an additional 100,000 in Africa and the Caribbean.

Known as "The Freedom Church," AME Zion claimed as members such abolitionists as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass, who was licensed as an AME Zion preacher. Many members, pastors, and church officials were abolitionists and greatly involved with the Underground Railroad. Their commitment to social justice remains a characteristic of the church. The AME Zion Church was the first of all Methodist denominations, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, to ordain women. While whites have been admitted to membership and may hold any church office, their numbers remain small.

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

The CME Church, unlike the AME or AME Zion, was born in the postslavery South with a different experience than its northern predecessors, as demonstrated in the name it selected. Initially called the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, the name was changed in 1954 to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. Although the AME Church in 1876 rejected a proposal to change its name from African to American, the CME changed the word "Colored" to "Christian" during the integrationist era.

The CME was affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church, South, the branch of white Methodism that emerged when the Methodist Episcopal church split over the issue of slavery. Their departure from the ME Church, South, was a protest of the segregated conditions and degrading treatment to which northern and southern blacks were subjected, as well as a declaration of self-determination. Their departure was particularly significant given that almost all of its members had been enslaved.

The separation from the ME church came with restrictions. As a condition of transferring ownership of properties to the new denomination, political activity was prohibited. Notwithstanding the criticism of many northern blacks, many recently emancipated southern blacks acquiesced to the restrictions. As the CME began under such limitations and lacked the tradition of the African societies and abolitionist movement, its early development appeared ultraconservative on political and social fronts.

Although the CME grew more slowly than the African churches, by 1890 its membership exceeded 103,000, 77 percent of whom were in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. By 1945 it had expanded to eighteen states in the North and West, a process amplified by the emigration of blacks from the South during the two world wars and the Great Depression. The CME remains the smallest of the three black Methodist denominations. By 1989 membership stood at 900,000 in the United States and 75,000 overseas.

Black Pentecostals: A New Kind of Independence

With roots in the Holiness movement, an offshoot of Wesleyan Methodism, the Pentecostal movement is exceptional for the unprecedented level of interracial cooperation that occurred in its wake. White minister Charles Parham of Topeka, Kansas, began holding seminars on speaking in tongues in Topeka, where Lucy Farrow, Frederick

Douglass's niece, served as Parham's governess and became a missionary for the Pentecostal Movement, and in Houston, Texas, where William J. Seymour, a black Baptist preacher from Louisiana, listened in on messages from outside the classroom. Social customs of the time forbade his sitting in the same classroom with whites.

Influenced by Parham's teaching, Seymour journeyed to California and established the Azusa Street Mission, where he began to hold prayer meetings. Christians from throughout the world flocked to Los Angeles to witness the Azusa outpouring when participants began speaking in tongues. Among those attending the meeting was Charles Harrison Mason, cofounder with C. P. Jones of the Church of God in Christ. When Mason and Jones parted company over the question of tongues, Mason established a reorganized Church of God in Christ in 1907. The COGIC, therefore, did not evolve from racial division but rather theological interpretation, a characteristic that sets it apart from independent black churches of the nineteenth century. Pentecostals will celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the movement in 2006.

The Church of God in Christ (COGIC)

Under Mason's charismatic leadership, the COGIC became the fastest growing independent black religious organization in the country in the early twentieth century, although the organization was interracial at the outset. White ministers received ordination papers from Bishop Mason and worshipped among the COGIC for approximately ten years. Racial division prompted their egress and led to the formation of the Assemblies of God, a predominantly white Pentecostal body.

The COGIC has always been an urban movement with an affinity for attracting and affirming small and rural congregations. But it was a southern organization until the 1940s, when postwar and social changes sent black southerners to the Midwest, West, and Northeast. Early COGIC leaders placed great emphasis on land acquisition for church work. Property records affirm the steady rate of COGIC growth and expansion in the early twentieth century as southern and rural blacks migrated out of the South and into urban areas.

Independent Black Churches and the Sustained Quest for Civil Rights and Cultural Autonomy

Independent black churches have always emphasized the civil rights movement, with different denominations taking the lead on various political, social, and cultural fronts. In the antebellum period, the AME and AMEZ led the charge for social justice, focusing on abolition and the proposed colonization of Sierra Leone by American-born blacks. Independent black churches of the Reconstruction period focused on educating millions of former slaves and helping them navigate their political, social, and economic transition from bondage to freedom.

The AME had a track record of supporting black progress. But Black Baptists, particularly those affiliated with the Progressive Baptist Movement, became the dominant figures of resistance during the civil rights era, with Martin Luther King's ascendancy representing the zenith of Baptist participation in the quest for justice.

The COGIC denomination did not take an institutional position on the civil rights movement, but select COGIC members participated in key moments. Robert's Temple COGIC in New York City hosted Malcolm X's eulogy. Mamie Till Mobley, a COGIC adherent and the mother of Emmett Till, galvanized the movement by allowing photographs of her son's remains to be published in *Jet* magazine. Mason Temple COGIC, the headquarter church for the COGIC named for founder C. H. Mason, hosted rallies and musicals to support workers participating in the Sanitation Workers Strike in Memphis, Tennessee—the strike Martin Luther King was in town to support when he was assassinated. And Mason Temple was also the place King delivered his "mountaintop" speech, the last public address given before his assassination.

New Changes and Challenges

Although independent black denominations and fellowships continue to play a significant role in the African-American community, classic divides remain over the status of women and sexuality. Since the 1970s the black church has also been challenged by the appeal of the Nation of Islam to African-American men, a development underscoring the complex chasm between the black church and the contemporary struggles of black men. Despite new challenges, the black church remains a premier institution within the African-American community.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; African Orthodox Church; African Union Methodism; Allen, Richard; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Nation of Islam; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.; National Black Evangelical Association; Pentecostalism in North America; Protestantism in the Americas

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KAREN KOSSIE-CHERNYSHEV (2005)

Christianity

See Christian Denominations, Independent; Religion; *and articles on particular Christian denominations (e.g., Baptists)*

Christianity in Film

African Americans have long recognized the power of popular culture and media to help shape the society's views on race. As a result of the explicit intent of the artists and in less conscious ways, popular culture has informed discussions about civil rights, politics, and economics. While literary, theatrical, journalistic, and radio representations of African Americans have been influential, motion pictures have held a particularly prominent place in the American imagination. Film scholars have noted that, from film's earliest days, the appearance of black skin on screen—either on black actors or white actors in blackface makeup—has signaled a complex set of issues about political and social power. The stereotypical images that civil rights activists and film scholars have identified—which generally mark African Americans as lazy, childlike, hypersexual, or superstitious, for example—function to invest race with moral meaning, justifying racial hierarchy. At the same time, black filmmakers have also used the medium to explore artistic, social, and political issues of importance in ways that do not rely on those stereotypes.

Representations of African-American religious beliefs and practices have been featured prominently in many early, Hollywood, and more recent independent films that focus on African-American life or feature African-American characters. The appearance of this subject matter over time reflects in part the historical and contemporary significance of religion for many African Americans, both in institutional forms and as a component of individual identity. Film historian Thomas Cripps argues that films about religion made by African Americans for black audiences constitute a distinct genre, and he notes that, "No other genre, except perhaps the American western, spoke so directly to the meaning and importance of shared values embraced by its audience (1996, p. 12)." In addition to this small subset of black religious films, one finds explorations of black religion across an assortment of genres. This variety points to the way in which African-American religion in film has provided an imaginative arena to explore a broad range of topics, including politics, class, skin color, regional issues, gender, and theology.

Early Black Film

Film historians often cite white director D. W. Griffith's 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* as transformative because of its compelling visuals and sophisticated use of cinema as a medium for storytelling. Griffith's extremely popular work, which was based on Thomas W. Dixon's 1905 novel *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan,* is also significant in film history because it made clear the utility of cinema to locate Christian white supremacy as the basis of American identity. Outraged by the racism and violence of the film, African Americans and concerned whites in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People mounted an unsuccessful campaign to halt its exhibition in a number of cities. In addition to protesting formally, African Americans addressed the troubling perspective advanced in *The Birth of a Nation* by presenting alternative visions on film and, in a number of cases, their cinematic responses spoke to the religious implications of Griffith's perspective. In 1920 black director Oscar Micheaux, who produced almost forty films in the silent and sound eras, released *Within Our Gates,* which

tells the story of Sylvia Landry, a black teacher in a southern school for black children. Responding to Griffith's justification of segregation and of Ku Klux Klan lynchings as necessary tools to restore the divinely ordained glory of the white nation, Micheaux presented a story of racial violence from the perspective of innocent and upstanding African Americans who seek nothing more than just pay for their labor and fair treatment as citizens. In addition to his critique of racial violence directed at African Americans, Micheaux directed his attention to questions of what African Americans at the time termed "racial uplift"—strategies for political, economic, and social development that would enable blacks to claim the full rights of citizenship.

Religious leadership proved an important part of Micheaux's vision, and *Within Our Gates* argues—through the character of Old Ned—that uneducated and manipulative ministers threaten black progress by diverting attention from more significant issues toward an unproductive quest for reward in heaven. Micheaux presented a similar and even more dangerous character in his 1925 *Body and Soul* in which Paul Robeson stars as the greedy, manipulative, and violent Rev. Isaiah Jenkins, whose reign of terror is enabled by the utter devotion of the congregation's women. While Micheaux called into question the frequent reliance of African Americans on clergy for leadership, he still provided a place for religion, and Christianity in particular, in racial uplift. Micheaux's theological response to Griffith's Christian white supremacy was to argue, through the character of Dr. V. Vivian in *Within Our Gates*, a model of appropriate commitment to racial uplift, that Christianity insists on racial equality and human rights for all.

The Birth of a Race (1919), directed by John W. Noble, responded directly to the religious implications of *The Birth of a Nation*. Although the film's title might lead viewers to expect a film that focuses on African-American achievements, *The Birth of a Race*'s approach to countering Griffith's presentation of the American nation as fundamentally Anglo-Saxon instead relates the history of the human race, using the Bible as its source. The film narrates the birth and development of humanity as a product of God's desire for peace. Produced in the shadow of World War I, Noble's film presents America's sacred history as a divinely ordained development of biblical sacred history and endorses African-American participation in the war, which it sees as benefiting "the Cause of Mankind" and God's ultimate desire for peace.

Later "race films"—intended for black audiences and produced by independent black filmmakers or in cooperation with white production companies—provide evidence that these artists were concerned about the past and future place of black religious institutions and their leaders in light of the social changes brought on by urbanization and the Great Migration. Some of these films are devotional and were produced from an explicitly religious perspective in an effort to evangelize and instruct about the dangers of the modern secular world. Others sought to provide a critique of black religious leadership, and yet other films simply included religious themes because black audiences found the familiar material entertaining.

Among the devotional films produced before 1950, those of African-American directors Eloyce King Patrick Gist and James Gist stand out as particularly geared toward engaging the viewer in an explicitly religious mode. Two of their surviving silent films made in the mid-1930s—*Hell-Bound Train* (c. 1929–1930) and *Verdict Not Guilty* (c. 1930–1933) focus on demonstrating the potential consequences for Christians of participation in worldly and sinful activities. In *Verdict Not Guilty* a woman's soul is brought before a heavenly court to answer for behavior during her life. While found innocent, she is subjected to Satan's attempts to claim her for himself by characterizing her as an irredeemable sinner. Similarly, in *Hell-Bound Train* the Gists presented their audience with examples of behaviors that they believed would lead the individual to hell, including gambling, drinking, dancing, listening to jazz music, abortion, and adultery.

African-American director Spencer Williams's films from the 1940s engaged many of the same themes as those found in the Gists' films but set the moral and religious messages in a variety of generic contexts, including melodrama, comedy, and musical. Two of his religious melodramas—*The Blood of Jesus* (1941) and *Go Down, Death* (1944)—pit devout churchwomen against the attempts of scheming men who scorn religion. In both cases religion triumphs in the end. Both films are also characterized by Williams's superimposition of one image over another to make present a variety of divine and demonic figures who interact with and attempt to influence the human characters. Even in a comedy, such as *Dirty Gertie from Harlem, U.S.A.* (1946), Williams engaged religious themes and provided a cautionary tale for viewers. A reworking of W. Somerset Maugham's 1924 story "Miss Thompson," *Dirty Gertie* interrogates the moral fortitude of black clergy, presenting Rev. Jonathan Christian as a sanctimonious and prim man who finds he cannot resist his desire for a nightclub dancer.

Hollywood Films

Representations of African and African-American religion have been common in Hollywood films, which have often characterized these beliefs and practices as savage, super-

Scene from Oscar Michaux's* Within Our Gates: A Story of the Negro *(1920). *Michaux's critique of racial violence was meant to counter the racist themes in D. W. Griffith's popular film* The Birth of a Nation. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

stitious, hysterical, or childlike. During the heyday of the studio system, Hollywood films frequently made use of images of African-derived and African-American religion to evoke laughter or terror and sometimes both within the same narrative. Vitaphone Varieties' short silent comedy *Revival Day with Slim Timblin* (1930), for example, takes the viewer into the world of the black church and lampoons the preaching styles and comportment of black ministers, using a white actor in blackface makeup in the lead role. Hal Roach's film *The Little Sinner* (1935), a short in the *Our Gang* series, relies for its comedy on a white character's terror in response to seeing members of a black congregation's river baptism. A scene in the Marx Brothers' *A Day at the Races* (1937) also enlists African-American religious culture in its humor, presenting black culture as authentic and joyful when set against the pretensions of wealthy whites. During this same period, film audiences frequently saw adventure films that focused on a white explorer's encounter with savage black jungle peoples whose superstitious practices mark them as a danger to white civilization. Whether set in Africa or in the Caribbean, such films typically revolved around the rescue of a white woman from rape, cannibalism, or the threat of her surrender to "voodoo" or paganism. *Trader Horn* (1931), *White Zombie* (1932), *Kongo* (1932), *King Kong* (1933), *Black Moon* (1934), and *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943) typify such early films. Although they are set in contexts far from the United States, American ideas about the moral valence of race, which equates blackness with evil, informed these adventure films. Similar approaches to African-derived religions are present in later Hollywood films such as *The Believers* (1987), *Angel Heart* (1987), and *The Serpent and the Rainbow* (1988). These movies promote the view that the African-derived religions of vodou and Santería are profoundly dangerous and, as with the earlier generation of films, attempted to speak to the par-

ticular historical moment and to fears about African and Caribbean immigrants to the United States.

On a number of significant occasions in its early years, Hollywood turned its attention to "all-black cast" films, spurred on by the idea that black religious music, particularly spirituals, provided the best material to demonstrate the wonders of the new sound technology. In 1929 Fox released *Hearts in Dixie* and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer *Hallelujah,* the first all-black cast Hollywood films. Even after sound had become a routine part of the movies, the studios continued to be interested in all-black cast films set in religious contexts. Warner Brothers followed in 1936 with a film adaptation of Marc Connelly's Pulitzer Prize–winning play, *The Green Pastures,* an attempt to present a black version of the Hebrew Scriptures, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer returned again in 1943 with *Cabin in the Sky,* also adapted from a Broadway show. While novel in the context of Hollywood because of their use of black casts, these films nevertheless attempted to fix African Americans in an imagined untroubled rural past, failing to note economic exploitation, racial violence, or political disfranchisement. Each of these early all-black cast films employed images of simple or superstitious black religion as a sign that the black masses were suited to a subordinate economic, political, and moral standing in America. These patterns held true in later films, even when the focus was not on an imagined all-black context.

Contemporary Film

Hollywood's representational traditions of black religion had a long-term impact, and the absence of religious themes in later films by black filmmakers may be attributed, in part, to this legacy. The writers and directors of the male-oriented new black independent cinema of the 1980s and 1990s, for example, showed little interest in exploring religious belief and practice in their art. Spike Lee's 1992 biographical film, *Malcolm X,* engaged Malcolm's religious beliefs only briefly and, in charting his movement out of the Nation of Islam, emphasized political over equally important theological motivations. A number of films directed by black and white directors in the 1990s and early 2000s did take the opportunity to engage religious themes in ways that charted new territory with regard to the representation of black religious life. Charles Burnett's *To Sleep with Anger* (1990) is set in Los Angeles but presents a family with roots deep in the South and for whom belief in conjure—African-derived magical practices—remains strong. Julie Dash's 1991 *Daughters of the Dust* also concerns itself with conjure traditions among the Gullah people of the Sea Islands but uses the medium in novel ways in her attempt to represent African sensibilities about memory, time, and place. In addition, Dash's work stands out because of her focus on African-American women's religious sensibilities as central to the formation of collective identity. *Eve's Bayou* (1997), written and directed by Kasi Lemmons, also interweaves magic into its exploration of secrets and family dynamics in 1960s New Orleans. A number of films in the period returned to explore the significance of Christianity for African Americans. In 1992 actor Blair Underwood directed *The Second Coming,* a short film in which he stars as a modern-day Jesus who is judged insane for declaring himself the son of God. The film takes on the contested issue of representing the race of the historical Jesus, as well as poses questions about how to make the Christian message relevant in modern times. White actor, writer, and director Robert Duvall, in his 1997 independent film *The Apostle,* surrounds white Pentecostal preacher Sonny Dewey with a largely black congregation in his search for personal redemption. Avoiding both the conventional Hollywood stereotypes of revivalist preachers and of black congregations, Duvall's work proved effective in imagining a religious landscape in which people engage each other's deep human frailties.

The increasing presence of African Americans behind the camera in Hollywood and in independent film, coupled with the interest among white directors familiar with black religion in presenting stories about African-American religious life, makes it likely that audiences will have access to a broader range of representations and more complex examinations of black religion in American film in the twenty-first century.

See also Film in the United States; Film in the United States, Contemporary; Religion; Representations of Blackness in the United States

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The Blood of Jesus, dir. Spencer Williams. Amegro Films/Sack Amusement Enterprises, 1941.

Body and Soul, dir. Oscar Micheaux. Micheaux Film Corp., 1925.

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The Serpent and the Rainbow, dir. Wes Craven. Universal Pictures, 1988.

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Trader Horn, dir. W. S. Van Dyke. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1931.

White Zombie, dir. Victor Halperin. United Artists Corp., 1932.

Within Our Gates, dir. Oscar Micheaux. Micheaux Film Corp., 1920.

JUDITH WEISENFELD (2005)

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America (CME) was organized December 16, 1870, in Jackson, Tennessee, by former slaves who had been members of the Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church–South. After their emancipation, however, they realized that continued membership in the church of their former masters was neither desirable nor practical and requested their own separate and independent church "regularly established," as Isaac Lane said, "after our own ideas and notions." With careful attention to what was pointed to as the "desires of our colored members," the ME Church–South, provided the basic ecclesiastical, legal, and practical means that enabled them, in the words of Lucius H. Holsey, to establish their "own separate and distinct ecclesiasticism."

From 1866 to 1870 several hundred black preachers were ordained, an official periodical, *The Christian Index,* began publication, five black annual conferences were established, delegates empowered to set up their "separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction" were called to meet, the ordination of bishops was authorized, and transfer to the new church of all properties that had been used by slave congregations was sanctioned. On December 21, 1870, William H. Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst—two black preachers elected bishops and ordained by Robert Paine, senior bishop of the ME Church–South—assumed the Episcopal oversight of the new jurisdiction, and an independent church of African Americans became a reality.

The CME Church soon emerged as one of the more influential churches in African-American communities throughout the South. Beginning with approximately seventy-eight thousand members, competent leaders, several hundred congregations, and title to hundreds of pieces of church property, it had, by the turn of the century, expanded beyond the Mason-Dixon Line following the migrations of African Americans to the North, Midwest, and the Pacific Coast. At the close of World War I, the CME Church was established wherever significant numbers of African Americans were located. After World War II, as CMEs found themselves in more racially inclusive communities and the civil rights struggle intensified, the term "colored" took on the stigma of discrimination and Jim Crow–ism. Consequently, in 1954 the name was changed to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. By 1990 it had more than 812,000 communicant members, congregations throughout the United States, and conferences in Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Haiti, and Jamaica.

The CME Church is the ecclesiastical outgrowth of the grafting of nineteenth-century Protestantism, as practiced by American Methodists, and African slave religion, as found in the peculiar institution of slavery. In confronting slavery, Protestant denominations endeavored to "save" the souls of slaves rather than free them from their bondage. Preaching the gospel to the slaves was the means to this end. The Methodists were highly effective in slave evangelism. Methodism, begun by John Wesley in England and established on the American continent in 1784 as the Methodist Episcopal Church, was appealing to slaves. Methodists preached a plain and simple gospel that gave meaning and hope to the desperate conditions of the slave experience, practiced styles of preaching and worship that encouraged the expression of deep feelings and strong emotions, and provided a system of licenses and ordination that enhanced the status of slave preachers.

Early American Methodists had opposed slavery, but as more southerners and slaves joined the church, irreconcilable conflicts developed, and in 1844 Methodism split over the slavery issue. The southern branch of Methodism promoted such an extensive program of slave evangelism that by the beginning of the Civil War more than 207,000 slaves—almost 50 percent of all slaves who embraced Christianity—were members of the ME Church–South. Among them were those who would organize the CME Church in 1870.

The Christianity that the slaves embraced, however, was reshaped in accordance with the realities of their slave experiences and the remnants of their African heritage. Residual elements of African religion such as belief in one Supreme Being, the union of the spiritual and the material, a strong affirmation of the present life, and certitude of life after death, molded the gospel preached to the slaves into African-American religion, the most powerful force of African-American life. Although the scion of African-American religion would flourish from the sap of orthodox Christian faith, it would nonetheless have a shape all its own. And it would sprout the varied branches of African-American religion, such as the CME Church, as former slaves, finally set free, established their separate churches, giving institutional meaning to the religion that had sustained them in the darkest days of slavery.

The CME Church perceived the social concerns of African Americans to be a significant part of its mission. CMEs have been in the vanguard of black America's "stride toward freedom" in demanding their own church, sharing in Reconstruction governments, protesting the enactment of Jim Crow laws, helping establish and support civil rights organizations, and participating fully in the civil rights struggle. It has been a leader in the education of black youth as many of its early church buildings were used as schools. Twenty-one educational institutions have been under its auspices, and four colleges and a school of theology are presently under its sponsorship. CME churches helped to meet the needs of African Americans through ministries such as low-income housing projects, credit unions, senior citizens' homes, child care centers, Project Head Start, and antipoverty and drug prevention programs. The CME Church has been a pioneer participant in the ecumenical movement through the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and the National Congress of Black Churches.

Influential African Americans of the CME Church include William H. Miles, its first bishop; Lucius H. Holsey, the leader in establishing CME schools; Charles H. Phillips, the major influence in expanding the church; Helena B. Cobb, founder of an institute for black girls and an early proponent of women's rights; Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board of the NAACP; John Hope Franklin, historian of African Americans; William Y. Bell, who served as dean of the School of Religion of Howard University; B. Julian Smith, a leader in the ecumenical movement; Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., a black theologian; and Alex Haley, author.

See also Franklin, John Hope; Haley, Alex; Slavery

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OTHAL HAWTHORNE LAKEY (1996)

Christian Recorder

The *Christian Recorder,* the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, was established as the *Christian Herald* in 1848. It was renamed the *Christian Recorder* in 1852. During the nineteenth century, several AME clergymen served as editors of the weekly journal: Augustus R. Green (1848–1852); Molliston Madison Clark (1852–1854); Jabez Pitts Campbell (1854–1858); Elisha Weaver (1861–1867); Benjamin Tanner (1868–1884); Benjamin F. Lee (1885–1892); H. T. Johnson (1893–1902).

As an AME periodical, the *Christian Recorder* focused primarily on church matters and moral and religious top-

ics in its early years. But as a voice for African Americans, it served a broader audience and addressed a wider range of community concerns. During the Civil War, the *Recorder* served as a communications link between black communities and their soldiers in the field. A weekly "Information Wanted" column helped reunite families torn apart by slavery, war, and economic distress. During Reconstruction, reports from AME clergymen working in southern missions provided information on the condition of the freedpeople.

Correspondence from black communities across the continent created a composite picture of American race relations in the decades following the Civil War. *The Christian Recorder,* as the oldest surviving publication of the black periodical press, provides a valuable historical record of African-American life and culture.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Tanner, Benjamin Tucker

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)
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Christophe, Henri

October 6, 1767
October 8, 1820

Henri Christophe was born in 1767 in Grenada, in the Lesser Antilles. As a boy he worked as a sailor and accompanied a French naval officer to Savannah, Georgia, where he fought against the British in the American Revolution (1765–1783). He then found work as a chef at the Hotel de la Couronne in Le Cap, Haiti. Scholars disagree as to whether Christophe was born a free black or bought his way out of slavery through his employment as a chef. Regardless, in 1794, when he joined in the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), he was not bound by slavery.

During the Haitian Revolution, Christophe served as one of General Toussaint L'Ouverture's chief officers. Under Christophe's leadership, troops in the North of Haiti expanded the revolution from an internal conflict to a full-scale assault on imperialism, fighting off the invasion of French general Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc in 1802. Christophe refused to allow Leclerc to dock in Le Cap until he received permission from L'Ouverture. Leclerc charged Christophe with rebellion and landed his forces anyway. In the meantime, Le Cap was evacuated and burned to the ground leaving Leclerc at a strategic disadvantage. However, the French were able to win a number of important engagements, and only months after having been the first to directly resist the French army, Christophe and his troops deserted. Christophe most likely deserted at this time because it appeared the French would not be defeated. Under the French, Christophe and his soldiers were used to suppress the Haitians who continued to resist the French. With time it became clear that the revolutionary forces were unlikely to be broken, and Christophe and his soldiers returned to fight on the Haitian side.

Independence was finally achieved on January 1, 1804, and Jean Jacques Dessalines became Haiti's first ruler. When Dessalines was assassinated in 1806, Christophe was elected to succeed him. Christophe refused to serve as president, however, because he believed the Haitian Constitution placed too many restrictions on the office. Instead, he attempted to seize Port-au-Prince and take unbridled control of Haiti. Mulatto General Alexandre Pétion and his forces stopped Christophe and forced him to retreat to the North. Christophe established a mostly black kingdom, while Pétion maintained control of the largely mulatto population in southern Haiti. The people of northern and southern Haiti engaged in a civil war, fed by regionalism and racism, before coming to an armed truce around 1809.

Christophe declared himself King Henri I in 1811 and set up a court that included hereditary barons and counts. He maintained a fear, however, that Haiti would again be invaded, and he saw to the construction of the Citadelle la Ferriere to defend Haiti. This massive fortress sits on top of a mountain near Cap Haïtian (formerly known as Le Cap) and was built over a period of thirteen years with walls up to twelve feet thick. It is claimed that as many as twenty thousand Haitians died in its construction, though this estimate remains unverified. The Citadelle served as a barracks capable of housing as many as ten thousand soldiers. According to his contemporaries, Christophe sometimes marched soldiers off the edge of the fortress to their deaths in order to display his authority.

Christophe's reign encompassed a number of important changes. He initially attempted to confront the war-ravaged Haitian economy through the maintenance of the plantation system complete with *corvé,* or compulsory

labor. This, of course, proved far too similar to the slave system that had been successfully toppled, and it therefore met with widespread resistance. As autocratic as Christophe attempted to be, he could not ignore the demands of his subjects and was forced to embrace small landholding among the people. Christophe implemented an education system modeled primarily on the British school system, and he invited European teachers to settle in Northern Haiti. He also supported the abolition movement and courted Spain and England in the hopes of securing allies against possible French invasion.

Christophe expected the complete submission of the Haitian peasantry and became increasingly concerned at their growing disaffection for him. When unrest turned into rebellion, Christophe took his own life. He is said to have killed himself with a silver bullet, but, like many aspects of Christophe's life, this claim remains unconfirmed. His death allowed Jean-Pierre Boyer to reunite Haiti. Despite his authoritarian rule, Christophe played an important role in the independence of Haiti and remains a major figure of early Haitian history.

See also Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Haitian Revolution; Toussaint-Louverture

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SEAN BLOCH (2005)

Cinema

See Blaxploitation Films; Christianity in Film; Documentary Film; Film; Filmmakers

Civil Rights Congress

The Civil Rights Congress (CRC) was founded in 1946 with the merger of the International Labor Defense, the National Negro Congress, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—three organizations closely associated with the Communist Party, U.S.A. During the late 1940s and early 1950s the CRC fought for the civil rights and liberties of African Americans, labor leaders, and suspected communists. They believed that the defense of communists was the first line in the defense of civil liberties generally and sought to overturn the Smith Act (1940) and the McCarran Act (1950), both designed to stifle dissent and harass left-wing organizations.

Like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the CRC pursued legal cases to challenge the racism and inequality in American society. However, the CRC did not rely on legal strategy alone but combined it with political agitation, massive publicity campaigns, and large demonstrations to mobilize public opinion to demand an end to racist attacks. In the early 1950s the CRC launched a campaign to raise public awareness about the systemic violence and segregation that African Americans faced by presenting a petition to the United Nations that charged the U.S. government with genocide.

In one of the CRC's earliest cases, Rosa Lee Ingram, a black tenant farmer and widowed mother of twelve children, together with two of her sons, was convicted in 1947 of the murder of John Stratford and sentenced to death. Stratford, a white tenant farmer, had been sexually harassing Ingram when her sons came to her defense and hit Stratford on the head. The CRC, under the leadership of its women's auxiliary, Sojourners for Truth and Justice, fought a public battle to free the Ingrams. They filed a petition with the United Nations, named Rosa Ingram Mother of the Year, started the National Committee to Free the Ingram Family, which raised money for family members, and sent a delegation armed with 100,000 signatures to the Department of Justice and the White House. As a result of the CRC's efforts and the resulting press coverage, Rosa Ingram and her sons were freed in 1954.

In another well-publicized effort the CRC defended the Martinsville Seven, seven young black men in Virginia sentenced to death in 1949 by an all-white jury for raping a white woman. Civil rights organizations were outraged by the harshness of the sentence as well as the judge's refusal to grant a change of venue to ensure that the men received a fair trial. Deferring the legal case to the NAACP, the CRC focused on the publicity campaign. They conducted a massive international letter campaign, organized a prayer vigil, picketed the White House, held demonstrations in Richmond, and demanded a pardon from the governor. Although the NAACP and the CRC failed to save the lives of the Martinsville Seven, they succeeded in exposing the racism of the legal system in the United States.

The CRC fought tenaciously to defend the civil rights of the persecuted. They were not, however, strict civil libertarians. For example, they opposed free speech for the Ku Klux Klan and other racists, which brought them into conflict with an organization such as the American Civil Liberties Union. In addition, recurring tension with the NAACP made an alliance difficult, but at times the two organizations were able to achieve behind-the-scenes cooperation. Nevertheless, the CRC's unyielding opposition to racism won it support among some sectors of the African-American community. At its peak, the CRC reached a membership of ten thousand, with its strongest base in large cities. William Patterson, a lawyer and Communist Party leader, served as executive secretary of the organization during its existence. Other prominent leaders included Paul Robeson, Dashiell Hammett, and Louise Thompson Patterson.

The CRC was active during the McCarthy period, and the U.S. government tried persistently to repress the organization. In the mid-1950s the organization was under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service, New York State, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Government officials impounded CRC records, conducted an audit, and demanded lists of contributors. In 1954 the organization's leaders refused to give up the names of supporters and were arrested on contempt charges. Two years later, the Subversive Activities Control Board concluded that the CRC was "substantially controlled" by the Communist Party, U.S.A. Although many Communist party members and sympathizers were active in the CRC, the organization was always independent of the party. Nevertheless, in 1956 the CRC was forced to close its doors because of the increasing legal costs of the government investigations and a decline in the number of contributors. Despite its short-lived existence, CRC succeeded in bringing to international attention the injustice prevalent in the American legal system and the racism endemic to American society.

See also Communist Party of the United States; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Negro Congress; Patterson, William; Robeson, Paul

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

From the beginning of their involuntary servitude in the United States, Africans contested the exploitation of their labor, their unequal treatment, and their less-than-human status. Black slaves engaged in work slowdowns and sabotage, escapes, and rebellions, while enclaves of free blacks opposed racial discrimination through petitions, litigation, incipient political organization, communal self-defense, and nonviolent protest, including a boycott campaign from 1844 to 1855 that pressured Boston authorities to desegregate public schools.

Until 1910, 90 percent of blacks lived in the South, where legal slavery persisted until 1865. The Civil War accelerated black freedom struggles throughout the country as free blacks in Massachusetts clamored to enlist in Northern armies (where they served in a segregated regiment), while numerous slaves deserted their war-torn plantations. Under Northern occupation during Reconstruction, emancipated slaves asserted their rights as voters and public officials and engaged in nonviolent protests against segregated transport.

The specter of black political power and public assertiveness spurred countermovements of white guerilla warfare and racial terror, particularly in the Deep South. This, coupled with the corruption, war-weariness, and casual racism of national political leaders, led to the withdrawal of Northern armies and the consolidation of legalized segregation, much of which was modeled upon existing statute and nationwide practice. These "Jim Crow" laws triggered black resistance in every state of the former Confederacy, much of it centered on boycotts of segregated streetcars, but including efforts to sustain nascent black political organization. These actions postponed the spread of segregation in some cities, but ultimately they failed everywhere amid a surge of white violence and legal repression, including disfranchisement of most southern blacks by 1900. Segregation was legitimized nationally by the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that upheld a Louisiana segregation statute for affording blacks "separate-but-equal" facilities.

The preeminent southern black spokesman, Booker T. Washington, accommodated these bleak trends by appealing to whites for economic cooperation and racial peace while publicly renouncing agitation for social and political rights. Heavily patronized by white elites across the country, Washington presided over the truncated field of black political action until his death in 1915. Outspoken activists such as editor and antilynching crusader Ida B.

Chain gang in Richmond, Virginia. *Under President Andrew Johnson's post-Civil War reconstruction government, black codes were used in an attempt to preserve some remnant of the status quo. "Vagrancy" laws targeted at former slaves forced them, like the man pictured here, into chain gangs and involuntary labor.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Wells-Barnett were literally driven from the South. Wells would ultimately find a more receptive audience for her message overseas than she did in the United States.

Because of the long odds and mortal risks facing black dissidents in the South, organized agitation for civil rights in the early twentieth century became chiefly the province of northern blacks, such as Massachusetts attorney William Monroe Trotter and writer and scholar W. E. B. Du Bois. In 1905 Du Bois began a movement in Niagara Falls, New York, to urge redress of racial injustices. Poorly attended and funded, the Niagara Movement reformed into a new, interracial organization in the wake of white rioting in Springfield, Illinois, the city of Abraham Lincoln's youth. In 1910 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began its long crusade for racial equality, operating through the courts and the trenchant pen of Du Bois, the group's first black officer and the editor of a new journal, *The Crisis*.

The NAACP pinned its hopes upon educating elite public opinion into a more favorable dispensation toward blacks as fellow citizens. Its strategy focused on the courts, where it sought to chip away at the legal edifice of segregation. In the 1915 case *Guinn v. United States,* attorneys for the NAACP persuaded a unanimous Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the "grandfather clause," by which some states had disfranchised blacks through harsh registration tests while exempting citizens—invariably whites—whose grandfathers had voted. Beginning in the 1930s the NAACP sued for equal school facilities for blacks, in accord with the Supreme Court sanction of separate-but-equal treatment, securing the desegregation of all-white law or graduate schools in Maryland, Missouri, and other states unable to convince federal courts of an equal commitment to black and white students.

These unusual victories neither exhausted the South's legal stratagems for denying blacks the ballot nor frontally challenged the institutional segregation that powerfully skewed the distribution of rights and recognition, opportunity and reward along racial lines. At the same time, the impact of black migrations out of the South and the economic and political crisis of the 1930s were forcing issues of black civic inclusion and political representation onto

the national agenda. More than 500,000 blacks entered into new industrial unions by the end of the decade and 150,000 blacks were on the federal payroll by the end of the 1930s—triple the number when Herbert Hoover left office in 1932. Black voters in northern cities defected to the Democratic Party en masse, providing a counterweight to the party's dependency on the white South. Federal antilynching bills pushed by the NAACP passed the House of Representatives in 1937 and again in 1940, though each time succumbing to southern filibusters in the Senate.

A range of militant civic and political organizations began championing the cause of racial justice. The Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia (PCDE) against the Italian invasion of that country signaled the enduring mass appeal of race-based internationalism once arrayed under the banner of Garveyism. The Communist Party widened its popularity among blacks as its International Labor Defense (ILD) spearheaded the defense of the unjustly convicted Scottsboro boys in Alabama. The National Negro Congress and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), supported by such black newspapers as the *Pittsburgh Courier,* agitated for racial equality in the United States to the point of collective action.

In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union, formed the all-black March on Washington Movement (MOWM), which planned a massive march on the nation's capital to protest racial discrimination in the armed forces and defense industries. A young MOWM organizer, and later key strategist of the nonviolent civil rights movement, Bayard Rustin would describe this as the "symbolic inauguration" of the modern civil rights era. To persuade Randolph to call off the march, President Franklin Roosevelt in July 1941 created an advisory committee, the Fair Employment Practices Committee, to promote racial integration in munitions factories. A limited step, it was the first presidential order for civil rights since Reconstruction—and the first intended chiefly to quiet an emerging black mass movement.

World War II dramatically accelerated black struggles for democratic rights. Black activists and liberal intellectuals called for a "Double Victory" against fascism abroad and racism at home, sharply illuminating the contradiction between fighting a war against the vicious racial policies of Nazi Germany while sustaining a legalized racist order at home. Blacks in the United States consciously laid claim to the global promise of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, in which the Allies avowed that they were fighting for the rights of all peoples to self-determination. Millions of blacks worked in the armed forces and served in the munitions industry during these years, further augmenting claims for full citizenship. In 1944 the NAACP won a significant legal victory against southern apartheid as the Supreme Court overturned the formal exclusion of blacks from party primary elections in the South in *Smith v. Allright*.

Despite these signs of progress, this was a period of intensifying racial conflict around employment, housing, and public space, particularly in centers of wartime production like Detroit, where a race riot in 1943 left thirty-four dead and where racially motivated hate strikes were a regular occurrence. VE Day yielded a resurgence of incidents of white terrorism in the South in response to a new assertiveness, particularly among returning black veterans, while such northern cities as Chicago were gripped during the 1940s and 1950s by violent racial conflicts around neighborhood boundaries and the integration of public housing.

The cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union had a contradictory impact upon the national arena of race relations formed by World War II. Competition for support from emerging nonwhite nations in the decolonizing world made evidence of American racism a damaging embarrassment. At the same time, domestic anticommunism was enlisted to retrench southern apartheid, with defenders of racial segregation sturdy proponents of anticommunist legislation in Congress. Vocal black liberals such as the NAACP's Walter White and Roy Wilkins were effective in linking the cause of cold war to civil rights, arguing that white supremacy was the "Achilles' heel" of U.S. claims to defend the "free world." Yet, prominent black leftists, critical of U.S. foreign policy, including Paul Robeson, Du Bois, Benjamin Davis, and Claudia Jones, were harassed by state agencies, opened to public vilification, and in some cases tried, imprisoned, or deported.

Under pressure to establish his legitimacy both at home and in the world arena, President Harry Truman appointed a committee to investigate violations of black rights. In 1946 he endorsed the resulting report, titled "To Secure These Rights," which prescribed a comprehensive federal assault on Jim Crow. In 1948 Truman acceded to a strong civil rights plank that liberal delegates had inserted in the Democratic national platform. He then weathered defections by a minority of southern whites to narrowly win a second term, aided by 70 percent of the northern black vote. Two years later he began desegregation of the armed forces to heighten military efficiency for the Korean War and to quiet restive black leaders threatening a mass boycott of military service.

By the late 1940s the NAACP's chief legal counsel, Thurgood Marshall, directly attacked the principle of seg-

March on Washington, August 28, 1963. With the Washington Monument in the background and facing the Lincoln Memorial, a crowd of more than 200,000 gathers on the mall in Washington, D.C. to hear Martin Luther King Jr. speak. © FLIP SCHULKE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

An Appeal to You from

JAMES FARMER
Congress of Racial Equality

MARTIN LUTHER KING
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

JOHN LEWIS
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
Negro American Labor Council

ROY WILKINS
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WHITNEY YOUNG
National Urban League

to
MARCH ON WASHINGTON

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 28, 1963

America Faces a crisis . . .

Millions of Negroes are denied freedom . . .

Millions of citizens, black and white, are unemployed . . .

Discrimination and economic deprivation plague the nation and rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity and self-respect. As long as black workers are disenfranchised, ill-housed, denied education and economically depressed, the fight of white workers for a decent life will fail.

Thus we call on all Americans to join us in Washington:

- to demand the passage of effective civil rights legislation which will guarantee to all
  - . . . decent housing
  - . . . access to all public accommodations
  - . . . adequate and integrated education
  - . . . the right to vote
- to prevent compromise or filibuster against such legislation
- to demand a federal massive works and training program that puts all unemployed workers, black and white, back to work
- to demand an FEP Act which bars discrimination by federal, state and municipal governments, by employers, by contractors, employment agencies and trade unions
- to demand a national minimum wage, which includes all workers, of not less than $2.00 an hour.

In your community, groups are mobilizing for the March. You can get information on how to go to Washington from civil rights organizations, religious organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations and youth groups.

JOIN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
and become part of the great American revolution for human freedom and justice Now.

National Office—

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130 Street **New York 27, New York**
FIlmore 8-1900

Cleveland Robinson
Chairman, Administrative Committee

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director

Flyer for the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. COURTESY OF MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

regation in public education. In several cases before the Supreme Court, Marshall argued that segregation denied blacks "equal protection of the laws" as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In 1954 Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote for a unanimous Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* that in the area of public education "the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

By threatening white supremacy the *Brown* case intensified southern resistance to the civil rights agenda. The Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups experienced overnight revivals, congressmen and governors vowed "massive resistance," and state district attorneys sought injunctions to ban NAACP branches (they were entirely successful in Alabama by 1957). In May 1955 the Supreme Court tempered its original ruling in *Brown* by requiring no timetable for school desegregation, only that school districts move "with all deliberate speed." Compliance proved minimal, and when President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent federal troops in 1957 to guard nine blacks attending a formerly all-white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, the prolonged furor discouraged further national intervention for desegregation.

Despite its limited tangible impact, *Brown* did confer legitimacy on black activists, who prepared bolder assaults on segregation in the South. In December 1955 blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, organized a bus boycott after a former NAACP secretary, Rosa Parks, was arrested for refusing to yield her seat on a segregated bus to a white man. The boycott leader was a twenty-six-year-old northern-educated minister originally from Atlanta, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King gained national attention for the protest against segregation by invoking Christian morality, American ideals of liberty, and the ethic of nonviolent resistance to evil exemplified by Mohandas Gandhi of India in his campaign against British colonial rule. Like Gandhi, King advocated confronting authorities with a readiness to suffer rather than inflict harm, in order to expose injustice and impel those in power to end it. In November 1956, despite growing white violence, the boycott

triumphed with aid from the NAACP, which secured a Supreme Court decision (in *Gayle v. Browder*) that overturned Montgomery's laws enforcing bus segregation.

Growing black restiveness in the South encouraged new civil rights initiatives. In January 1957 King organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a network of nonviolent civil rights activists drawn mainly from the black church. In September of that year Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction; the act created a commission to monitor civil rights violations and authorized the Justice Department to guard black voting rights through litigation against discriminatory registrars. This act (and a follow-up measure in April 1960) nonetheless failed to curb the widespread disfranchisement of southern blacks.

The failure to implement federal civil rights edicts increasingly provoked blacks to disruptive protest and collective action. During the late 1950s blacks, often affiliated with local NAACP youth chapters, conducted scattered, short-lived sit-ins at lunch counters that served whites only. On February 1, 1960, a sit-in by four students at the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, triggered a host of similar protests throughout the South, targeting Jim Crow public accommodations from theaters to swimming pools. Strict conformity to the tenets of nonviolence characterized the demonstrators, many of whom courted arrest and imprisonment in order to dramatize the evils of segregation.

In April 1960 several hundred student activists gathered in Raleigh, North Carolina, at the invitation of Ella Baker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Baker urged the students to preserve their grass-roots militancy by remaining independent of established civil rights groups, and they responded by forming the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced "snick"). By the summer of 1960 the sit-ins, which were often reinforced by boycotts of offending stores, had desegregated dozens of lunch counters and other public accommodations, mainly in southern border states.

Black protests intensified during the presidency of John F. Kennedy, a Democrat elected in 1960 with heavy black support. Kennedy directed the Justice Department to step up litigation for black rights, but he avoided bolder commitments that he feared would trigger southern white racial violence and political retaliation. Civil rights leaders therefore increasingly designed campaigns to pressure their reluctant ally in the White House. In May 1961 James Farmer, who had cofounded CORE nearly two decades earlier, led fourteen white and black CORE volunteers on a freedom ride through the South, testing compliance with a Supreme Court order to desegregate interstate bus terminal facilities. White mobs abetted by police beat the riders in Birmingham, Alabama, on May 14; six days later federal marshals saved the riders from a mob in Montgomery.

Racial violence was unrelenting in these years. In October 1962 Kennedy sent federal marshals to protect a black student, James Meredith, who had registered at the all-white University of Mississippi at Oxford. After mobs killed two people at the campus and besieged the marshals, the president was forced to send troops to restore order. In early May 1963, police in Birmingham beat and unleashed attack dogs on nonviolent black followers of Dr. King, in full view of television news cameras. The resulting public revulsion spurred President Kennedy to address the nation on June 11, to confront a "moral issue" that was "as old as the Scriptures" and "as clear as the American Constitution." He urged Congress to enact a strong civil rights law that would allow racism "no place in American life."

A coalition of African-American groups, led by Randolph, Rustin, and King, along with their white allies in labor and peace and justice organizations, sponsored a March on Washington on August 28, 1963, to advance the civil rights bill then before Congress. Reflecting the growing national stature of the civil rights movement, the rally secured the participation of diverse political, cultural, and religious figures. Standing before the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. King told several hundred thousand blacks and whites at this event of his "dream" for interracial brotherhood.

When Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded to the presidency on November 22, 1963, he made passage of the civil rights bill his top priority and effectively linked this goal to the memory of the martyred President Kennedy. A broad-based federation called the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights coordinated the lobbying efforts of over a hundred groups on behalf of the legislation and centered on extraordinary activity by Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish ministers. On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the omnibus Civil Rights Act, which barred segregation in public accommodations, ended federal aid to segregated institutions, outlawed racial discrimination in employment, sought to strengthen black voting rights, and extended the life of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

SNCC remained in the vanguard of black activism in 1964 by organizing rural black voters in Mississippi, a state whose history was pockmarked with the casual murder of black people. About a thousand college students, most of them white, volunteered for the Freedom Summer project to further the nonviolent, integrationist ideals of the civil rights movement. The project workers set up "Freedom

Civil rights marchers, 1965. *Walking fifty-four miles along Route 80 from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, where they will demonstrate for African-American voting rights, the activists endure rain on the third day of their journey.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Schools" to give black children a positive sense of their history and identity, and an interracial party, the "Freedom Democrats," to give disfranchised blacks a political voice. The project also exposed the extreme dangers facing civil rights workers after a federal manhunt recovered the bodies of three volunteers—Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney—murdered by a mob led by the deputy sheriff of Philadelphia, Mississippi. In late August the project workers helped the Freedom Democrats try to unseat Mississippi's entirely white delegation at the Democratic National Convention. Despite considerable northern support, their challenge failed because of strong resistance by President Johnson, who feared the loss of southern white voters in an election year. This harsh coda to the Freedom Summer spurred younger black activists to question alliances with white liberals and to stress instead the importance of black solidarity.

The fraying civil rights coalition rallied in 1965 behind Dr. King's campaign in Selma, Alabama, for equal voting rights. On March 7 black marchers setting out from Selma toward Montgomery suffered assaults by state and local police. The televised scenes of violence galvanized national support for protection of blacks seeking the ballot, a view that President Johnson reinforced in a special appearance before Congress on March 15. Ten days later twenty-five thousand black and white marchers reached Montgomery escorted by federal troops. On August 6, 1965, Johnson signed a strong Voting Rights Act, which authorized the attorney general to send federal examiners to supersede local registrars and regulations wherever discrimination occurred. The act also directed the attorney general to challenge poll taxes for state and local elections in the courts (the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1964, had already banned such taxes in national elections).

With the passage of landmark national legislation, black movements for racial equality and social justice suffered new divisions and faced new strategic dilemmas. During a march with King through Mississippi in June 1966, SNCC's Stokely Carmichael criticized faith in nonviolence and white goodwill and demanded "black power," a slogan that alienated white liberals and worried established black leaders. The emphasis of the movement turned from the problem of de jure segregation to issues relating to de facto segregation: poverty, police brutality, and the unequal access to employment, education, housing, and transportation produced by the divide between black urban areas and white suburbs. Ghetto riots, includ-

ing a six-day conflagration in South Central Los Angeles in August 1965, highlighted these issues and divided the movement and its supporters by shattering the aura of nonviolence.

Despite the Johnson administration's avowed commitment to waging a war on poverty, the escalating war in Vietnam increasingly monopolized its resources and attention. In the spring of 1967, King, drawing upon a long tradition linking black struggles in the United States with the global tribulations of a colonized world, sharply attacked the war in Vietnam as an unjust war that undermined the promise of "the Great Society" at home. While younger activists cautiously applauded, established black leaders publicly repudiated King's stance, with Johnson accusing him of betrayal bordering on sedition. The cold war civil rights consensus that had linked official progress on racial matters with support for U.S. foreign policy was broken.

On April 4, 1968, King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, where he was supporting the unionization efforts of predominantly black sanitation workers. King's murder touched off riots that left Washington, D.C., in flames for three days. The following week, partly in tribute to the slain King, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which banned discrimination in the sale and rental of most housing.

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of expressly race-conscious government programs to redress the legacy of racial discrimination. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971), the Supreme Court acknowledged the failures of earlier approaches to school desegregation by sanctioning the busing of children to other neighborhoods as a tool to achieve racial balance. The federal government also promoted affirmative action to afford blacks (and, increasingly, other minorities and women) preference in school admissions and employment. These developments reflected the limitations of civil rights legislation in affording access to the economic mainstream; but they provoked fierce opposition. Violence in Boston and other cities over racial busing confirmed that the race problem was truly national rather than regional. And in *Regents of University of California v. Bakke* in 1978 the Supreme Court reflected the national acrimony over affirmative action by ruling five to four to strike down racial quotas in medical school admissions while allowing (by an equally slim margin) some race-conscious selection to achieve educational "diversity."

During the 1980s a conservative shift in national politics frustrated civil rights leaders, especially in the NAACP and the Urban League, who relied on federal activism to overcome state, municipal, and private acts of discrimination. Symbolically, Ronald Reagan, a Republican who won the presidency for the first of two terms in 1980, launched his presidential campaign in Philadelphia, Mississippi, with the promise to trim federal authority in racial matters. From 1981 to 1985 his administration reduced the number of lawyers in the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division from 210 to 57 and also vainly attempted to disband altogether the United States Commission on Civil Rights. On January 8, 1982, Reagan restored the federal tax exemptions for segregated private schools that had been ended in 1970. The following year the Supreme Court, by an eight-to-one vote, overturned this ruling as a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; in 1986 Reagan appointed the lone dissenter, William Rehnquist, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Rehnquist Court increasingly chipped away at government safeguards of black rights, a pattern evident from several employment discrimination cases in 1989: In *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* the Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 protected blacks merely in contracting for jobs but did not protect them from racial harassment by employers; in *Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio* the Court shifted the burden of proof from employers to employees regarding job discrimination; in *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.* the Court rejected a program setting aside 30 percent of city contracts for minority businesses in the absence of flagrant evidence of discrimination, although Richmond had a history of official segregation and although minority contractors held fewer than 1 percent of the city contracts in Richmond, where minorities constituted half the population; in *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* the Court exonerated an employer who had committed acts of racial discrimination but who also cited other, legitimate reasons for such actions. In October 1990 Republican president George H. W. Bush vetoed a civil rights bill that expressly restored the earlier, tougher curbs on job discrimination, and the Senate sustained his veto by a single vote. In November 1991 President Bush signed a milder version of this same bill while restating his opposition to quotas to promote minority hiring.

The central goal of the long civil rights movement that unfolded over the second half of the twentieth-century—full equality between blacks and whites—remains a distant vision. Residential segregation, seen in the persistence of inner-city black ghettos and white suburbs, has easily survived federal open-housing statutes. De facto segregation of churches, social centers, and private schools also remains routine; and wealth, too, is largely segregated along racial lines, with the median family income of blacks in 1990 barely three-fifths that of whites, and with blacks three times as likely to be poor. Since the

1980s, as a "war on drugs" replaced antipoverty at the center of urban policy agenda, black incarceration rates soared—over one millions African Americans are now incarcerated, approximately 50 percent of the U.S. prison population. Many civil rights leaders have urged comprehensive government remedies, but black political power remains limited with regard to national office holding and access to the circles that make foreign and domestic policy.

Despite its limitations, the civil rights movement has in key respects transformed American society. During the 1960s "whites only" signs that had stood for generations in the South suddenly came down from hotels, restrooms, theaters, and other facilities. School desegregation by the mid-1970s had become fact as well as law in over 80 percent of all southern public schools (a better record than in the North, where residential segregation remains pronounced). The federal government has also checked groups promoting racial hatred: Beginning in 1964 the FBI infiltrated the Ku Klux Klan so thoroughly that by 1965 perhaps one in five members was an informant; federal indictments and encouragement of private lawsuits helped reduce Klan membership from 10,000 in 1981 to less than 5,500 in 1987.

Protection of the suffrage represents the civil rights movement's greatest success: When Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965 barely a hundred blacks held elective office in the country; by 1989 there were more than 7,200, including twenty-four congressional representatives and some three hundred mayors. Over 4,800 of these officials served in the South, and nearly every Black Belt county in Alabama had a black sheriff. Mississippi, long the most racially repressive state, experienced the most dramatic change, registering 74 percent of its voting-age blacks and leading the nation in the number of elected black officials (646). The unexpectedly strong showing by the Reverend Jesse Jackson in seeking the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988 reflected the growing participation by blacks in mainstream politics. The release of Nelson Mandela and the crumbling of the apartheid regime in South Africa in the early 1990s was in part a product of international pressures for divestment that captured the imagination of younger activists and tapped wellsprings of the international solidarity that animated the black freedom movement from its inception.

In some ways the civil rights movement is a misnomer. There were in fact many movements dedicated to black freedom, social justice, and equality in the United States. Having leveled the formal barriers of a legal caste system during the early 1960s, the civil rights movement returned to older, more intractable problems of substantive equality of opportunity in all areas of American life. The NAACP and the Urban League have for decades urged federal measures to reconstruct the inner cities, create jobs, extend job training to all poor Americans, and strengthen affirmative action to help minorities overcome a legacy of exclusion. Beginning in the 1980s, however, a growing minority of blacks have gained national influence (highlighted by the appointment of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991) by emphasizing private rather than government initiatives and by deploring quotas and other race-conscious programs as politically divisive. The movement for racial equality is now struggling to forge a program that can both unify black activists and also capture the nation's moral high ground and its reform impulses as convincingly as earlier civil rights campaigns.

See also Affirmative Action; Carmichael, Stokely; Congress of Racial Equality(CORE); Freedom Rides; Freedom Summer; Jim Crow; Marshall, Thurgood; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Negro Congress; Niagara Movement; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee(SNCC); Trotter, William Monroe

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ROBERT WEISBROT (1996)
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Civil War, U.S.

The dispute between white brothers that erupted into armed conflict in April 1861 was a turning point for American men and women of color. African Americans had fought in the nation's previous wars, but the Civil War was different. Much more was at stake, for themselves as well as for the country. At the beginning of the conflict, nearly four million enslaved people lived and labored as property, denied a birthright while making the nation (not just the South) richer. The nearly 500,000 African Americans who had known statutory freedom before the war had endured a second class status that denied them a political voice, refused them equal access to economic opportunity, and marginalized them socially. Aliens in their own homeland, they watched as immigrants sought and eventually received the fruits of American democracy, only to use their newly acquired citizenship to perpetuate long-established traditions of bigotry and injustice.

Aims of the War

When the war came, African Americans recognized its long-term as well as its immediate implications for themselves. Long before the rest of the nation acknowledged the possibility, blacks saw the war as an opportunity to topple the socioeconomic foundation of the southern way of life. In striking a blow against slavery, they sought both liberation for the enslaved and an extension of rights that for so long had been denied to all African Americans. Black men and women, therefore, agitated for an expansion of the war's limited aim—preservation of the Union—while pressing for the right of black men to don the Union blue. But a nation fearful of even greater disunion, and doubtful of the ability and courage of black men, was not immediately prepared to accept them as soldiers. This was a white man's war, they believed, to be fought by them exclusively for the preservation of the Union.

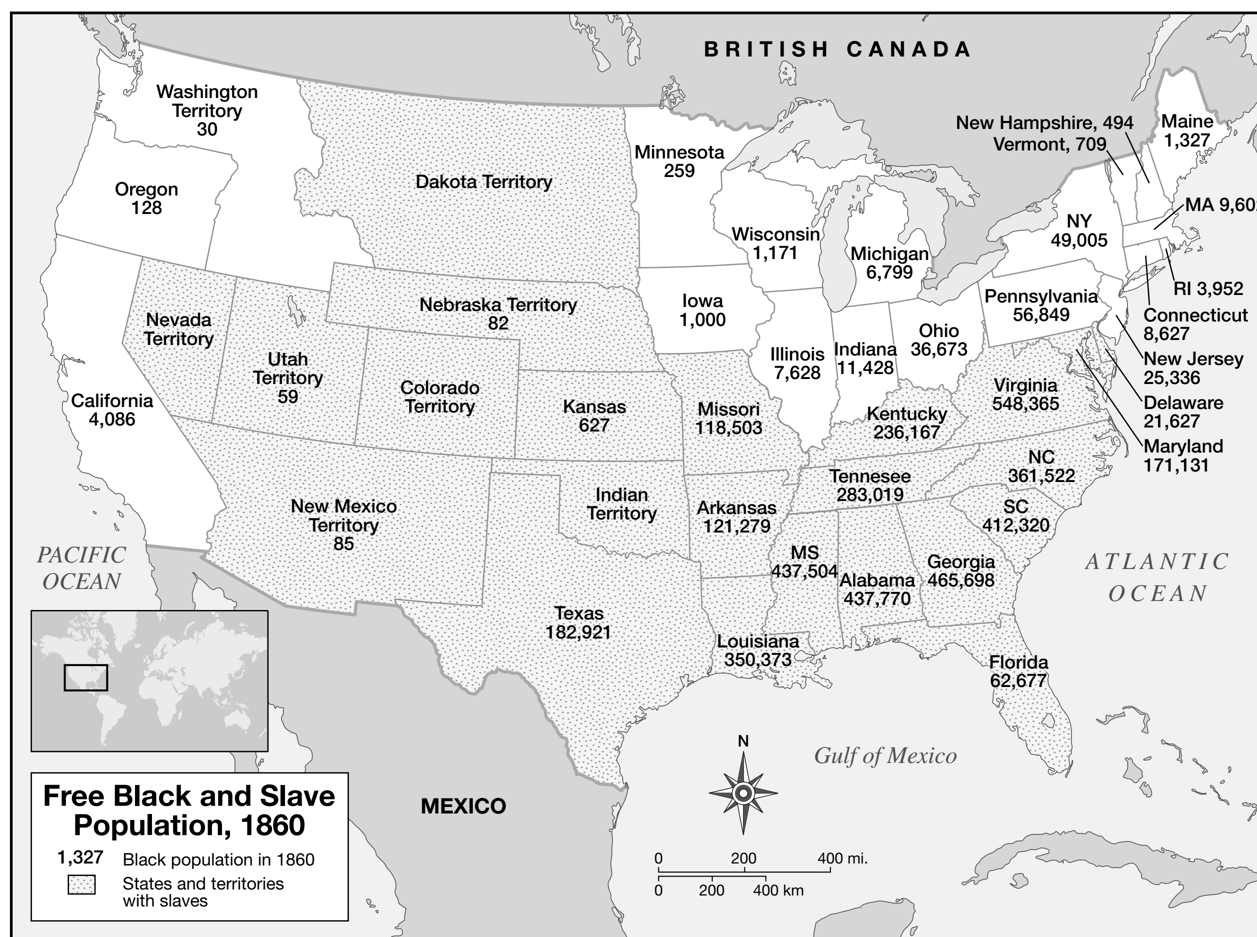
While black men waited for the nation to recognize their value to the Union cause, they drilled and prepared themselves for service. Some of them responded to the army's rebuff by joining the navy, which historically had admitted black men into its ranks. Others managed to gain entry into all-white units, despite laws meant to exclude them. Attempts to organize black units early in the war, especially efforts by Senator James Lane of Kansas and Major General David Hunter in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, met with outright rejection or slow acceptance from the Lincoln administration. Hunter was forced to disband his units and official recognition of Lane's force was delayed until 1863.

"Contrabands," Culpepper, Virginia, 1863. *Although initially there was no clear Federal policy regarding contrabands, as escaped slaves came to be known during the Civil War period, most union army units set up camps providing food, clothing, and shelter for former slaves.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

With Lincoln's 1863 proclamation of freedom for enslaved people living and laboring in Confederate-controlled territory, the conflict became not simply a fight for the Union, but a war of liberation as well. This shift, along with a desire to strengthen Union forces, which had been depleted by a war of attrition, led to the admission of black men into the army. Ultimately, nearly 200,000 African Americans would serve in the army and navy, the majority of them former slaves. Approximately 50,000 of them were drawn from the North. In addition, former slaves and the free born who had fled the country following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, now returned to the United States to help liberate their people. These black soldiers were organized into segregated units under the division of United States Colored Troops and were commanded overwhelmingly by white officers.

Discrimination in the Armed Forces

Winning the struggle to enter the war, however, led neither to respect nor equal treatment. Instead of real soldiering, black men often found themselves erecting fortifications and engaging in fatigue duty. Moreover, black men suffered externally imposed disabilities that left them demoralized and resentful. For instance, they were paid roughly half what a white soldier of comparable rank received, making it difficult for the families of black soldiers

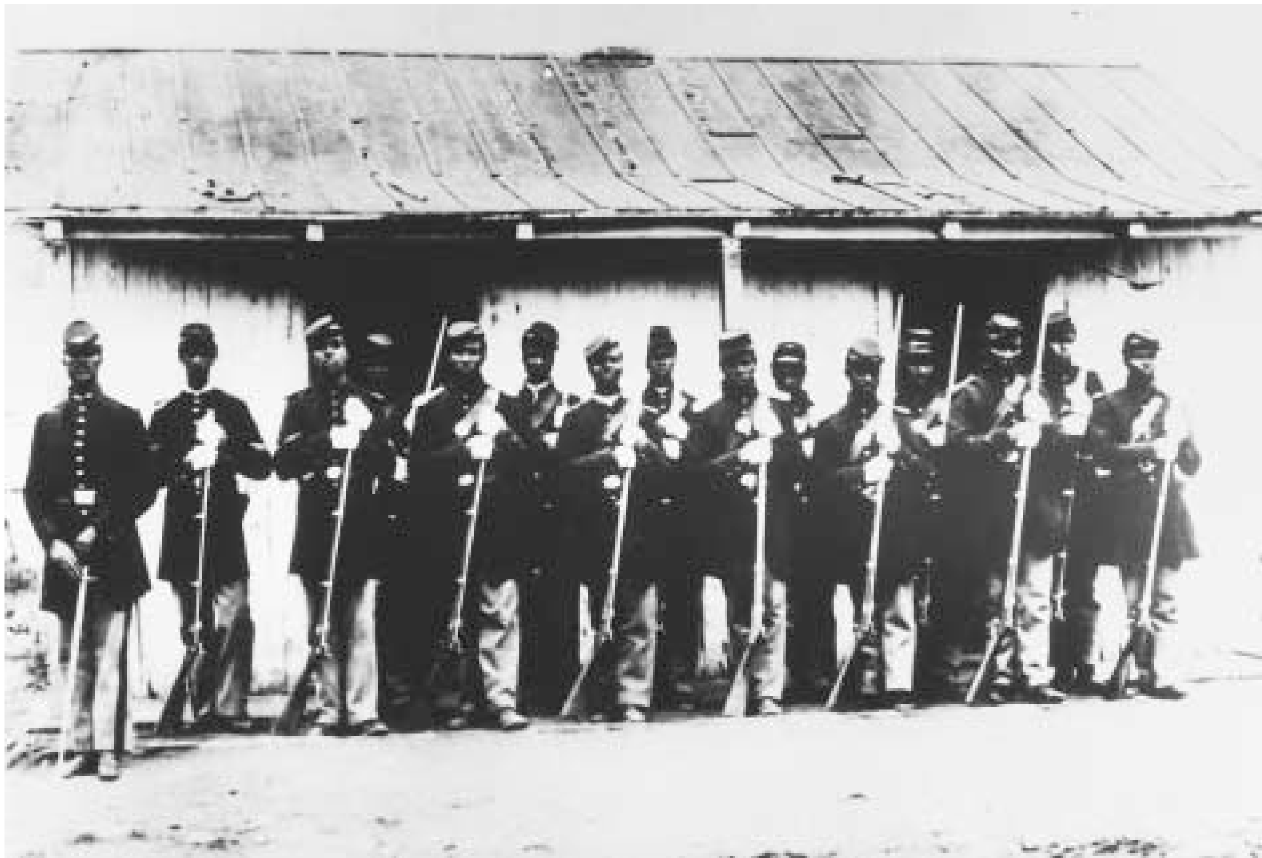


Map of the United States in 1860, showing the free black and slave populations of each state. *At the start of the war, African Americans comprised about 14 percent of the nation's total population. Of that number, some 90 percent, or over four million persons, were slaves.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

to survive and sometimes leading black soldiers to protest by stacking their arms or refusing to receive any pay until their grievances had been redressed. When the men of the Third South Carolina Volunteers stacked their arms in protest against their low pay, the leader of the protest was court-martialed and executed.

Black military men were especially vulnerable to the Confederate forces, who were determined to treat them as property, without regard for rules governing the treatment of captured enemy soldiers. The Confederacy considered all black troops slaves in insurrection, regardless of their status before the war. Hence, rebel forces executed some and sold others into slavery. The Fort Pillow Massacre of April 1864 provides a chilling example of the consequences of this policy. After having surrendered to Confederate forces led by General Nathan Bedford Forrest, Union troops, most of whom were African American, were shot down. The incident outraged the black community and inspired black men to fight even more tenaciously, adopting the rallying cry "Remember Fort Pillow!"

In spite of discriminatory practices, black soldiers served in battle with valor and distinction. During the spring of 1863, at Port Hudson, Louisiana, they engaged in a desperate (and unsuccessful) assault against rebel units perched atop an 80-foot bluff. Two weeks later, at Milliken's Bend (near Vicksburg), inexperienced black soldiers stood firm as Confederate forces descended on their position. At Morris Island, South Carolina, in July of that same year, the famed 54th Massachusetts, under the most difficult of circumstances, advanced on Confederate forces positioned at Fort Wagner before a torrent of artillery fire forced the black soldiers to withdraw. And at the Battle of the Crater (Petersburg, Virginia) in July 1864, black units stormed the rebel position after white soldiers



The Union Army's 107th Colored Infantry, at Fort Corcoran, Washington, D.C. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

failed to exploit effectively the breech in Confederate lines caused by Union underground mining. By the war's end valiant black soldiers and sailors had won two dozen Medals of Honor and had dispelled doubts about their courage under the most extreme of combat conditions.

Civilian Contributions to the War Effort

African-American contributions to the war effort extended beyond armed military service. Long before blacks were accepted as fighting men, military laborers provided valuable assistance in building fortifications and as teamsters, cooks, launderers, and orderlies. Southern blacks provided invaluable aid by serving as guides, scouts, and spies, often relaying detailed information on Confederate troop movements and activities. Many of them risked their lives smuggling escaping Union soldiers and sympathizers out of the Confederacy. The indomitable Harriet Tubman, who had escaped slavery and returned south to lead many others to freedom before the war, is perhaps the most celebrated of these "civilian soldiers." In addition to spying for the Union army, she traveled with troops up South Carolina's Combahee River, where she helped liberate hundreds of her people from bondage. Similarly, Robert Smalls won respect and admiration for his daring escape from slavery by piloting the Confederate boat *Planter* out of Charleston Harbor, securing the freedom of fifteen members of the crew and their families, including his own.

Although the majority of enslaved blacks trapped behind Confederate lines never took up arms against their owners, they used the disruptions of war to destroy the institution of slavery from within. Emboldened by the absence of so many able-bodied white men from the farms and plantations, they flouted the rules and customs that had governed their behavior. Insolence became commonplace and the threat of flight was employed to negotiate the terms and conditions of labor.

With a quiet militancy and considerable dignity, black men and women—soldier and civilian—used the Civil War to effect a revolution. African-American soldiers demanded that they be treated not just as men, but as men

with equal standing. Noncombatants pressed for recognition of the right of all African Americans to full citizenship. They expected a grateful nation to honor the obligation it incurred from black sacrifice and loyalty during the war years.

Black soldiers and civilians measured the success of the war not simply in terms of objectives seized or positions successfully defended. Every black man who enlisted or received a commission, every opportunity for marching at the front of the assaulting army, every shackled man, woman, or child rescued from bondage placed people of color closer to their intended objective: preserving the Union, perhaps; winning universal freedom for the enslaved, undoubtedly; but equally important, attempting to bequeath to America a new national identity predicated on true equality and recognition of an African-American birthright.

See also Military Experience, African-American; Smalls, Robert; Tubman, Harriet Ross

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EDNA GREENE MEDFORD (2005)

Clark, Kenneth Bancroft

July 24, 1914

Born in the Panama Canal Zone, psychologist Kenneth Bancroft Clark, the son of Hanson and Miriam Clark, had a direct influence on the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* in 1954. The Court cited Clark's psychological research on race relations in its favorable ruling outlawing segregation. Clark attended Howard University (B.A., 1935; M.S. 1936), and earned a Ph.D. from Columbia in 1940. He had a distinguished career at the City College of New York, where he taught from 1942 to 1975, retiring as professor emeritus of psychology. During his City College career, he also served as visiting professor at Columbia, the University of California at Berkeley, and Harvard. A writer as well as scholar, Clark is the author of *Prejudice and Your Child* (1955), *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (1965), *Crisis in Urban Education* (1971), and, with Talcott Parsons, *The Negro American* (1966). He was also one of the chief organizers of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited. He has been recognized for his scholarship and his contributions to the black community, most notably as the winner of the Spingarn Medal in 1961. Since his retirement from academia, he has served as president of Kenneth B. Clark and Associates, a consulting firm specializing in affirmative action in race relations.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Spingarn Medal

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May 3, 1898
December 15, 1987

Educator and civil rights activist Septima Poinsette was born and reared in Charleston, South Carolina. Her mother, Victoria Warren Anderson, was of Haitian descent and worked as a laundress, and her father, Peter Porcher Poinsette, was a former slave who worked as a cook and a caterer. Her parents deeply influenced Poinsette and instilled in her a willingness to share her gifts and a belief that there was something redeeming about everyone. In addition, Poinsette's early education, which brought her into contact with demanding black teachers who insisted that students have pride and work hard, left a positive and lasting impression on her. Partly as a result of these influences, Poinsette pursued a career in education. In 1916 she received her teaching certificate from Avery Normal Insti-

tute, a private school for black teachers founded after the end of the Civil War by the American Missionary Association in Charleston.

Poinsette's first teaching position was on John's Island, South Carolina, from 1916 to 1919, because African Americans were barred from teaching in the Charleston public schools. She tried to address the vast educational, political, and economic inequities that faced John's Island blacks by instituting adult literacy classes and health education and by working with the NAACP. In 1919 she returned to Charleston to work at Avery and spearheaded a campaign against Charleston's exclusionary education system that resulted, one year later, in the overturning of the law barring black teachers from teaching in public schools. In May 1920 Poinsette married Nerie Clark, a back navy cook. She had two children, one of whom died at birth. After her husband died in 1924, Clark sent her other child, Nerie, Jr., to live with his paternal grandmother because she could not support him financially.

Shortly thereafter, Clark returned to Columbia, South Carolina, became active in various civic organizations, and continued her education, receiving a B.A. from Benedict College (1942) and an M.A. from Hampton Institute (1945). She led the fight for equal pay for black teachers in South Carolina. Her efforts attracted the attention of the NAACP, which initiated litigation and won a 1945 ruling mandating equal pay for black teachers in South Carolina. In 1947 Clark returned to Charleston to teach in public schools and continued her civic activities until she was fired in 1956 because of her membership in the NAACP. Unable to find another position in South Carolina, Clark moved to the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, an interracial adult education center founded by Myles Horton in 1932 to foster social activism and promote racial equality. There Clark became director of education. Together with Horton and South Carolina black activists such as Esau Jenkins from John's Island, she devised educational strategies to challenge black illiteracy and encourage black voter registration. Clark, guided by the belief that literacy was integral to black equality, instituted the citizenship school program, an adult literacy program that focused on promoting voter registration and empowering people to solve their own problems through social activism.

The first citizenship school, founded on John's Island in 1957, was a success, and Clark traveled throughout the Deep South, trying to make links with other local activists to foster the expansion of the schools. In 1961 the citizenship school program was transferred to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) after the Tennessee legislature's persistent efforts to disrupt Highlander activities resulted in the school's charter being revoked and its property being confiscated. Clark joined the SCLC to oversee the newly renamed Citizen Education Project, and by 1970 over eight hundred citizenship schools had been formed that graduated over 100,000 African Americans who served as a key grass-roots base for the civil rights movement throughout the Deep South. In 1971, however, she retired from SCLC because long-term commitment to the schools had faded.

Clark remained an outspoken spokesperson for racial, as well as gender, equality. She chronicled her life of activism in her autobiography, *Echo in My Soul,* in 1962. In 1966 she spoke at the first national meeting of the National Organization of Women (NOW) about the necessity of women challenging male dominance. In 1976 she was elected to the Charleston, South Carolina, school board. Three years later, she was awarded the Living Legacy award from President Jimmy Carter in honor of her continuing dedication to black empowerment through education. In 1987 she received an American Book Award for her second autobiography, *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement* (1986). Later that year, Septima Clark died in Charleston.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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CHANA KAI LEE (1996)

Clarke, Austin

July 6, 1934

Austin Ardinel Chesterfield Clarke, born in Barbados, is one of the most prolific Canadian writers of Afro-Caribbean descent; he is considered the godfather of Caribbean-Canadian writing. His body of work spans four decades of literary productivity (including ten novels, six short story collections, three memoirs, and a number of

newspaper articles and essays) and helps to define and nuance discussions about the African diaspora, the immigrant experience, ethnicity, and the multicultural, international contexts of his writing. As the foremost writer on Afro-Caribbean/Canadian subjects, Clarke was the first to explore the conditions of labor and cultural adjustment for Caribbean women who moved to Canada to work as domestic helpers in the 1950s. The major themes of the Toronto trilogy (*The Meeting Point* [1967], *Storm of Fortune* [1971], and *The Bigger Light* [1975]), and his other Canadian-based novels and short stories, include cultural dislocation and adjustment, race, class and cultural hegemony, and issues of gender. In both his Canadian and Caribbean writing, Clarke explores the postcolonial dilemmas of identity, poverty, exile, belonging, and nationhood, while celebrating cultural resuscitation in the New World through Afro-Caribbean speech rituals.

Prestigious awards conferred on Clarke signify his lifelong contribution to the literary arts in Canada and the Caribbean. He won the 1999 W. O. Mitchell Prize for his outstanding body of work and for his mentorship of young writers, the 2002 Giller Prize, the Trillium Book Award, and the 2003 Commonwealth Writer's Prize for Best Book (for *The Polished Hoe).* This novel, which chronicles the epic story of colonial atrocities on the lives of Afro-Caribbean peoples via the confessions of murder by the mistress of a plantation owner, represents the pinnacle of Clarke's literary efforts up to this point. Other accolades include the 1980 Casas de las Americas Prize (for *Growing Up Stupid under the Union Jack*), the 1998 Rogers Communications Writers' Trust Prize (for *The Origin of Waves*), 1999 nominations for the James Beard Award (for *Pigtails 'n Breadfruit: The Rituals of Slave Food: A Barbadian Memoir*), and the conferment of honorary doctorates and national awards in Canada and Barbados. In addition, his novel *The Question* (1999) was a finalist for the Governor General's Award.

Clarke's commitment to the African diasporic community goes beyond his literary engagement. His role as journalist, activist (he organized protests against South African apartheid and its subtle resonance in Canada), or representative of disadvantaged groups on civic boards confirm his impressive support of the causes and issues of Africans in the diaspora. Prior to his short, controversial reign beginning in 1975 as manager of the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation in Barbados—which made him the satiric subject of a calypso song and led to the subsequent censorship of his political thriller, *The Prime Minister* (1977), based on that period—he had already made his mark at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. As a broadcast journalist, he brought to the Canadian public a magnified focus on the American civil rights movement through interviews with figures like Malcolm X and documentaries on places such as Harlem. Moreover, he stoutly debated cultural and racial issues in numerous newspaper articles in both Barbados and Canada, and he represented the disenfranchised on the Metro Toronto Library Board, the Ontario Board of Censors, and the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board. From watchman to government advisor, stagehand to cultural attaché, from journalist to successful writer, and from janitor to eminent statesman, Clarke, the "lyrical Blues geographer," charts the African diasporic journey as both a life of struggle and a life of triumph (Walcott, p. 13).

See also Canada, Blacks in; Canadian Writers in English; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary)

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MICHAEL A. BUCKNOR (2005)

Clarke, John Henrik

January 1, 1915
July 16, 1998

The historian John Henrik Clarke, a founding father of Afrocentrism, was born in Union Springs, Alabama. He moved to New York's Harlem in 1933. During the 1930s he attempted, unsuccessfully, to publish plays and poems and began his intensive reading of African and world history under the guidance of the African-American bibliographer Arthur Schomburg. Clarke also became involved in the Young Communists League. Although he never actually joined the Communist Party, he was long active in left-wing African-American groups, including the Harlem Writers Guild.

In 1941 Clarke entered the U.S. military, and he served throughout the war as a master sergeant in the Army Air Forces. During the postwar years, he taught Af-

rican and Afro-American history at the New School for Social Research, worked as a columnist and writer, and began developing his thesis that black Americans were Africans who shared in Africa's advanced cultural and political legacy.

During the 1960s, Clarke was energized by the civil rights movement. In 1962 he began a twenty-year assignment as assistant editor of the newspaper *Freedomways.* He also became a close associate of Malcolm X and in 1964 drew up the charter for Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity. Clarke also continued his historical/literary pursuits, eventually writing twenty-three books. In 1966 he edited an anthology, *American Negro Short Stories,* and two years later compiled the anthology *William Styron's* Nat Turner: *Ten Black Writers Respond.* In 1970 Clarke became a professor of black studies at Hunter College. After retiring in 1986 he continued to lecture and write on Africa's legacy. With Yosef ben-Jochannan, he published *New Dimensions in African History: The London Lectures of Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannan and Dr. John Henrik Clarke* in 1991. Clarke also published two studies, *African People in World History* and *Christopher Columbus and the Afrikan Holocaust: Slavery and the Rise of European Capitalism* in 1993.

See also Afrocentrism; Communist Party of the United States; Harlem Writers Guild; Malcolm X; Schomburg, Arthur

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

CLARKE, LEWIS G.

1815
1897

Lewis G. Clarke was a fugitive slave who became an ardent abolitionist. He was born in Madison County, Kentucky, one of ten children. Clarke had a white father and was owned by his grandfather, Samuel Campbell, who made unfulfilled promises to free Clarke's slave family.

An aunt who was notorious for her mistreatment of young slaves claimed Clarke as part of her dowry when he was six, and he suffered the woman's cruelties for ten years. Then, in 1831 Samuel Campbell died and Clarke's family was broken up and sold at auction. Clarke became a field laborer. When he was inherited by a new owner, the man allowed Clarke to hire out his time; that is, Clarke worked for wages but gave his owner most of his earnings beyond a sum to cover living expenses.

In Clarke's first attempt to escape in August 1841, he assumed the role of master to a darker-skinned companion, but they soon gave up the attempt because neither could read. Two weeks later Clarke set off alone and reached Canada. He later returned to Oberlin, Ohio, in search of his brother Milton. He was in contact with the abolitionists there and became an antislavery advocate, speaking widely and effectively. By 1861 he was living in Canada, but he returned with his children to Oberlin in 1871 after the death of his wife. Clarke died in Lexington, Kentucky, and his body was returned to Oberlin for burial. Harriet Beecher Stowe based the character of George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on Clarke.

See also Abolition; Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slave Narratives; Slavery

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

CLASSICAL MUSIC

See Music; Opera

CLAY, CASSIUS

See Ali, Muhammad

Clay, William Lacy

April 30, 1931

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Congressman William Clay was the son of Luella and Irvin Clay, a welder. He attended the city's public schools, helping to support himself by working as a tailor and a salesman in a clothing store. He then attended St. Louis University, graduating with a B.A. in 1953. Following his graduation, Clay was drafted into the army. After his discharge in 1955, he returned to St. Louis and worked several years at such jobs as insurance salesman and bus driver. Meanwhile, he became active in civil rights efforts in association with the St. Louis branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1959, with aid from group members, Clay was elected to the St. Louis Board of Aldermen. During his first term, he sponsored passage of the city's first Fair Employment Act. Reelected in 1963, he proposed an ordinance banning discrimination in public accommodations, but he resigned from the board shortly after and was selected for the more influential post of Democratic ward committeeman.

Clay became involved in political organizing while on the board of aldermen. In 1961 he was named business representative for the city branch of the state, county, and municipal employees' union. He also engaged in civil rights work and spent four months in prison in 1963 following a demonstration at the city's Jefferson Bank and Trust Company. In 1966 he became election coordinator for the local branch of the powerful steamfitters' union.

In 1968 a black majority congressional district opened up in St. Louis following redistricting. Clay won a five-person Democratic primary by 6,500 votes, then handily defeated his white Republican opponent in the general election to became Missouri's first black member of Congress. Initially Clay was assigned to the Education and Labor Committee, where he called for a raise in the minimum wage and for stronger fair employment laws. As head of the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee, he began a long-standing effort to pass legislation requiring employers to hire back striking workers following settlement of labor disputes. As head of the Subcommittee on Pensions, Clay won changes in laws to allow workers to be vested in their retirement system after fewer years of experience.

In 1975 Clay was the target of investigations following charges that he had engaged in drug trafficking and evaded income taxes. Although exonerated of any drug charges by the Justice Department, he sharply criticized what he claimed were politically motivated attacks on his character. He was also embarrassed in 1992 by revelations that he had overdrawn 290 checks on his account in the House bank. Despite both attacks, Clay was easily reelected in both 1976 and 1992.

Long a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Clay was named chair in December 1990, a post he held for four years. During his tenure he sponsored legislation extending job-safety protections to post office workers and worked to amend the Hatch Act to permit lobbying and voluntary political action by federal workers.

Clay is the author of *Thoughts on the Death Penalty* (1976), an investigation of capital punishment; and *Just Permanent Interests* (1992), a history of blacks in Congress.

Clay retired from Congress in 2000 to be replaced by his son, William Lacy Clay, Jr. In 2004 Clay published his autobiography: *Bill Clay: A Political Voice at the Grass Roots.*

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Cleage, Albert B., Jr.

June 13, 1911
February 20, 2000

Clergyman Albert B. Cleage, also known as Jaramogi Abebe Agyeman, was born on June 13, 1911, and graduated from Wayne State University (Michigan) in 1937 with a degree in sociology. He received a divinity degree from Oberlin College in 1943, the year he married Doris Graham. (One of the two daughters of this union is the noted author Pearl Cleage). The couple divorced in 1955.

After serving as a Congregational minister in Kentucky, California, and Massachusetts, Cleage became pas-

tor of Saint Mark's Community Church in Detroit, which was renamed Central United Church of Christ in 1953. There he became increasingly involved in political and community activism and grew convinced that white resistance blocked black advancement and that blacks could depend only on their own efforts. In 1967 Cleage unveiled a 20-foot portrait of a black Madonna with Jesus at his church and changed its name to Shrine of the Black Madonna.

This church became the mother church of the Black Christian Nationalist Movement, which called for economic self-sufficiency in the black community and presented Jesus as a black revolutionary. Other churches across the country came to espouse the same philosophy, and the movement soon numbered 50,000 members. Cleage expounded on his theology in *The Black Messiah* (1968) and *Black Christian Nationalism* (1972). In the early 1970s he adopted the name Jaramogi Abebe Agyeman. Cleage's political organization, Black Slate, Inc., became influential in Detroit politics, particularly in the 1973 election of Coleman Young as Detroit's first African-American mayor.

See also Pan-African Orthodox Church (The Shrine of the Black Madonna); Young, Coleman Alexander

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

Cleaver, Eldridge

August 31, 1935
May 1, 1998

Writer and political activist Eldridge Leroy Cleaver was born in Wabbaseka, Arkansas, where he attended a junior college. From 1954 to 1957 and again from 1958 to 1966 he was incarcerated on drug and rape charges, and furthered his education while in prison. In 1965 Cleaver became the most prominent "Black Muslim" prisoner to break with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam after Malcolm X's assassination. Just as FBI director J. Edgar Hoover had begun to target the Black Panthers as the nation's "greatest threat," Cleaver became the party's minister of information in 1966, calling for an armed insurrection to overthrow the U.S. government and replace it with a black socialist government. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, he also was an assistant editor and contributing writer to *Ramparts* magazine.

In 1968 Cleaver published *Soul on Ice,* which remains his primary claim to literary fame. A collection of autobiographical and political essays in the form of letters and meditations, *Soul on Ice* articulated the sense of alienation felt by many black nationalists who refused to work within an inherently corrupt system. Cleaver viewed his own crimes as political acts and spelled out how racism and oppression had forged his revolutionary consciousness.

Later that year, while on parole, Cleaver was involved in a shootout with Oakland police during which a seventeen-year-old Black Panther, Bobby Hutton, was killed; Cleaver and a police officer were wounded. Cleaver's parole was revoked and he was charged with assault and attempted murder. Although he received worldwide support and was chosen to run as the presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party (see Dick Gregory for discussion of another 1968 black antiwar presidential candidate), Cleaver feared for his safety if he surrendered to the authorities. He fled the country, jumping a $50,000 bail, and lived for the next seven years in Cuba, France, and Algiers. He also visited the Soviet Union, China, North Vietnam, and North Korea during these years of exile. But in 1975 he returned to the United States and struck a deal with the FBI. Although he faced up to seventy-two years in prison, he was sentenced instead to 1,200 hours of community service.

In 1978 Cleaver published *Soul on Fire,* a collection of essays on his newly acquired conservative politics, and in 1979 he founded the Eldridge Cleaver Crusades, an evangelical organization. In 1984 he ran as an independent candidate for Congress in the Eighth Congressional District in California. In the 1980s he lectured on religion and politics, and published his own poetry and polemical writings. In March 1994 his struggle with drugs came to national attention when he underwent brain surgery after he had been arrested in Berkeley, California, late at night with a serious head injury, in a state of drunkenness and disorientation. During this period he attended Harvard Law School, then returned to Berkeley, where he became a preacher. In his later years he spoke in prisons, schools, and churches about drug addiction and nonviolence. He was also a consultant to the Coalition for Diversity at the University of La Verne in Southern California. In the Pomona, California, area he spent many evenings giving poetry readings at local coffeehouses and in his spare time crafted ceramics.

Cleaver was a prolific writer and speaker and was seen by some in the late 1960s as a black leader capable of orga-

Poster for the Black Panther Party featuring "Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information." THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

nizing and leading a mass movement. *Soul on Ice* won the Martin Luther King Memorial Prize in 1970. Most of his work consists of nonfiction writing: *Eldridge Cleaver: Post-Prison Writings and Speeches* (1969), *Eldridge Cleaver's Black Papers* (1969), the introduction to Jerry Rubin's *Do It!* (1970), and contributions to *The Black Panther Leaders Speak: Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, and Company Speak Out Through the Black Panther Party's Official Newspaper* (1976) and to *War Within: Violence or Nonviolence in Black Revolution* (1971). He also authored and coauthored numerous pamphlets for the Black Panther Party and the People's Communication Network. Some of his work has also appeared in anthologies such as the *Prize Stories of 1971: The O. Henry Awards.*

Cleaver had both his critics and his followers. There are those who felt that his commitment to violence and his use of rape as a political weapon in the 1960s had no place within society. Others have questioned the sincerity and credibility of his later volte-face to right-wing politics and fundamentalist Christianity, and Cleaver often felt compelled to explain and defend himself. According to him, combined with his growing disenchantment with communism and radical politics was a mystical vision resulting in his conversion to Christianity. When accused of having mellowed with age, Cleaver replied, "That implies that your ideas have changed because of age. I've changed because of new conclusions."

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Gregory, Dick; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam

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AMRITJIT SINGH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Cleveland, James

December 5, 1931
February 9, 1991

Born in Chicago, gospel singer James Edward Cleveland was educated in public schools and began piano lessons at the age of five. Three years later he became a soloist in Thomas A. Dorsey's Junior Gospel Choir at Pilgrim Baptist Church. At age fifteen he joined a local group, the Thorne Crusaders, with whom he remained for the next eight years. He began composing, and at age sixteen wrote "Grace Is Sufficient," recorded by the Roberta Martin Singers and now a part of the standard gospel repertory.

After leaving the Thorne Crusaders, Cleveland served as pianist and arranger for Albertina Walker's Caravans and recorded with them. He later joined the Gospel Chimes and the Gospel All-Stars, and eventually organized the James Cleveland Singers. In 1963 he joined Rev. Lawrence Roberts and his choir at First Baptist Church in Nutley, New Jersey, to make a number of recordings beginning with "Peace, Be Still" (1962). Cleveland liked a treble sound and dispensed with the bass voice in the gospel choir. He also preferred the call-and-response delivery to singing in concert, and on choir recordings he played the role of preacher to the choir as congregation. He felt that gospel needed a congregation present and made all his choir recordings live.

During the 1950s and 1960s Cleveland wrote over five hundred songs, including "Oh, Lord, Stand By Me" (1952), "He's Using Me" (1953), "Walk On by Faith" (1962), and "Lord, Help Me to Hold Out" (1973). He con-

tinued to compose into the 1980s and scored a success with the Mighty Clouds of Joy recording of "I Get a Blessing Everyday" (1980).

The Cleveland style was one of half-crooning, half-preaching the verses and then moving into sung refrains. His hard gospel technique of singing at the extremes of his register created a contrast with the falsetto he employed. He was fond of the vamp—a section of the song, usually toward the end, when the choir repeated one phrase, over which he extemporized variations. Like Dorsey, Cleveland wrote and sang in the everyday language of his audiences, dealing with such common subjects as paying rent and buying food.

In August 1968 Cleveland formed the Gospel Music Workshop of America, an organization with several hundred thousand members by the mid-1980s. Each year's convention released a recording; one of the better known was with his protégée Aretha Franklin ("Amazing Grace," 1971), who studied his style when he was director of the Radio Choir at Detroit's New Bethel Baptist Church, where her father, Rev. C. L. Franklin, was pastor.

Known as the "Crown Prince of Gospel" and "King of Gospel," Cleveland won several gold records and three Grammy Awards, appeared at Carnegie Hall, worked with Quincy Jones in the TV production of *Roots,* and recorded the opera *Porgy and Bess* with Ray Charles and Cleo Laine. In 1980, along with Natalie Cole, he starred in the television special *In the Spirit,* filmed in England for Grenada Television (BBC). In November 1970 Cleveland organized and became pastor of Cornerstone Institutional Baptist Church in Los Angeles, with sixty charter members. At his death in 1991, membership totaled over seven thousand.

See also Charles, Ray (Robinson, Ray Charles); Dorsey, Thomas A.; Franklin, C. L.; Franklin, Aretha; Jones, Quincy

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HORACE CLARENCE BOYER (1996)

Club Atenas

The Club Atenas (Athens Club), founded in Havana in 1917, was the most influential civic and cultural organization among peoples of African descent in Cuba during the Republican period (1902–1958). Despite its elitist tendencies, the club provided a space for congregation and recreation and an important political advocacy group for Afro-Cubans in an era when racial discrimination governed many aspects of Cuban social life.

The Club Atenas was part of a long tradition of Afro-Cuban institution-building since the colonial period. In the era of slavery, African-based fraternal societies called *cabildos de nación* served mutual aid and recreational functions for slaves and free persons of color. After Emancipation, Afro-Cubans created new organizations called "colored societies" to cater to their social and educational needs during the transition from slavery to freedom. The colored societies expanded during the opening decades of the Cuban Republic, many of them led by upwardly mobile Afro-Cubans who saw their chances for equality and citizenship limited by racial discrimination. In 1917 an emerging class of Afro-Cuban professionals founded the Club Atenas as an institution that would further their interests and provide recreational opportunities in a society where most leisure activities were racially segregated. By naming the group after the mecca of ancient Greek civilization, the club's founders sought to lay claim to a Western cultural image.

The Club Atenas became the most influential of these Afro-Cuban societies because of the social and political stature of its members. Lawyers, doctors, dentists, professors, students, politicians, journalists, and other distinguished Afro-Cubans were the backbone of the organization. While full-fledged membership was reserved for males only, women participated in the group's activities through "women's sections." The club's class and gendered elitism made it a frequent target of criticism from social activists throughout its history.

The Club Atenas, like many other civic, political, and recreational associations in the African diaspora during this time, was dedicated to the goal of racial "improvement," the project launched by black aspiring classes in order to "uplift" the black masses from the vestiges of slavery. The club's preoccupation with uplift is exemplified in the association's "respectable" recreational activities, which included dances, costume parties, sport contests, concerts, and beach excursions. Club members danced to *danzones* (as opposed to *rumbas*), listened to classical music, and read the works of classical Western authors. Moreover, part of the club's project of racial improvement

entailed establishing ties with prominent African Americans. By hosting African-American travelers to Cuba, and by profiling the works of writers such as Langston Hughes, the club sought to ally itself with what it saw as the vanguard of the global "colored race."

A major figure throughout the Club Atenas's history was Miguel Angel Céspedes. Born in the town of Camagüey in 1885, Céspedes's status as a lawyer, intellectual, and politician made him one of the more influential Afro-Cuban public figures during the Republican period. In the first decade of the century he was director of the Instituto Booker T. Washington, a trade school in Havana that was inspired by its namesake's program of industrial education for black youth. Years later he was among the founders of the Club Atenas and served several terms as president of the organization. It was through his position as president of Atenas that Céspedes developed his reputation as an Afro-Cuban leader. During the 1920s he was an outspoken critic and activist against racial discrimination, leading protests to oppose instances of racial violence against Afro-Cubans.

From the time of its inception until the mid-1950s, the Club Atenas was the most powerful Afro-Cuban society. However, the polarization of politics engendered by the revolutionary struggle against the Fulgencio Batista regime during the 1950s crippled the organization. After the revolution took power, an increasing number of Cubans argued that racially defined organizations such as Atenas had no place in a revolutionary society with a commitment to racial equality. Soon thereafter, the club became a casualty of the revolution's program of abolishing societies organized along racial lines. In 1961 the Club Atenas was forced to close its doors by the revolutionary government, seemingly with little protest. The club's old headquarters was converted into a day care center that still exists in Havana today.

See also Abakuá; Afrocubanismo

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FRANK A. GURIDY (2005)

Coartación

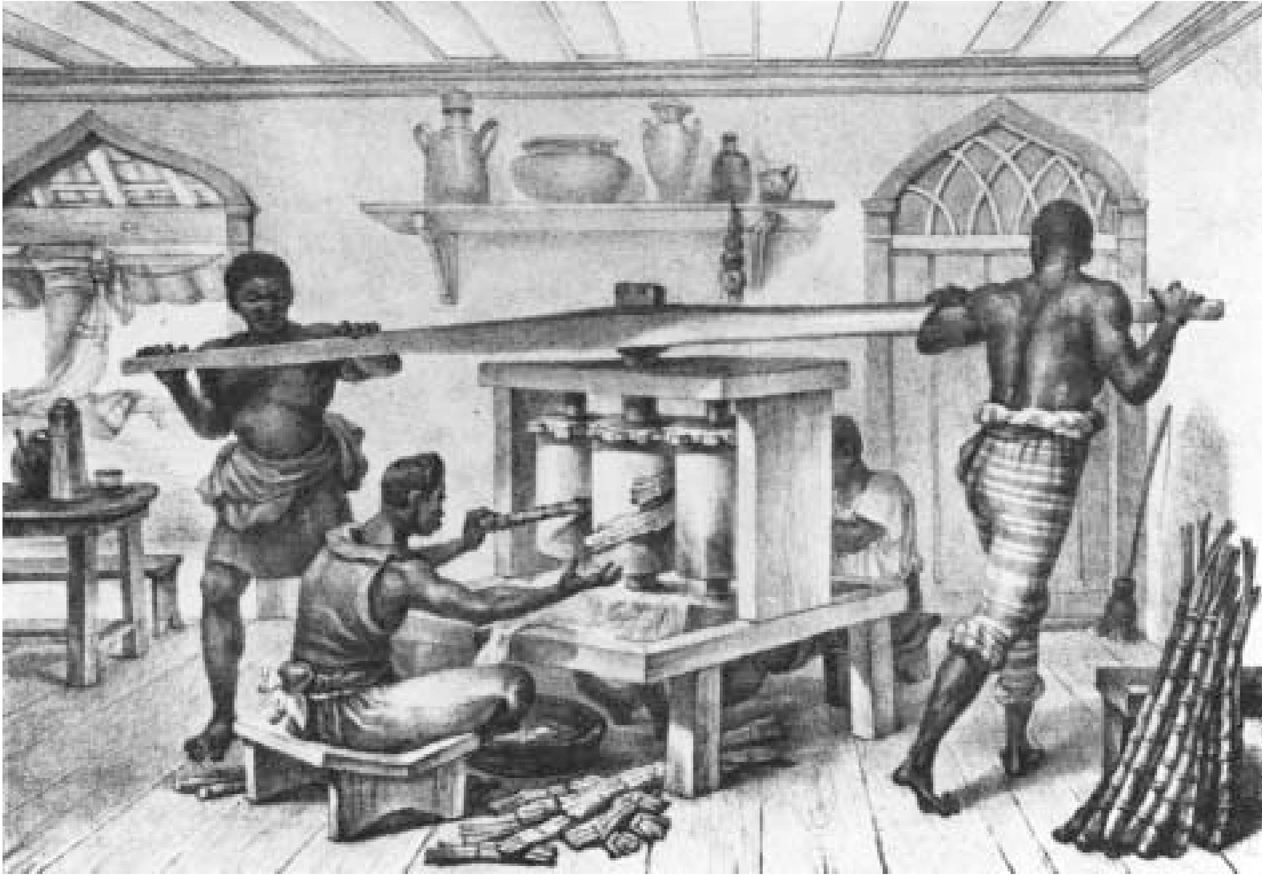
The frequency of manumission, the legal act of releasing a slave from his or her bondage, is often highlighted as a primary distinction between colonial Latin American slavery and its counterparts in the slave societies of the Caribbean and British North America. Manumission is important not only because of the potentially profound impacts it had in the lives of slaves, but also because the intricacies of its operation speak volumes about the institution of slavery in Latin America.

As Iberian (Spain and Portugal) imperial law did not guarantee slaves access to manumission, it is best understood as a customary right. Although the *Siete Partidas* (1348), the basis for colonial Iberian slave law, stipulated that "all laws of the world should lead towards freedom," this body of law only outlined the processes by which slave owners could free their chattel, stopping short of guaranteeing the right to emancipation for slaves. Nor did subsequent slave legislation for Spanish America—including the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* and the Royal Cedula of 1789—codify a slave's right to manumission.

Manumissions generally took one of three forms: (1) immediate freedom without compensation; (2) immediate freedom for payment; and (3) conditional freedom, contingent upon the completion of a specific term of service or upon the owner's death. The last type was often granted in the last will and testaments of masters, while the first two tended to be granted in formulaic manumission deeds called *cartas de libertad* (Spanish) or *cartas de alforria* (Portuguese), which were sworn out before a notary public. Self-purchase became increasingly important over time, as slaves actively pursued their freedom rather than relying on the generosity of their owners.

Many historians believe that a another option—*coartación* (Spanish) or *quartação* (Portuguese)—became increasingly important throughout Latin America after the middle of the eighteenth century. The process of *coartación*, which originated in eighteenth-century Cuba, consisted of the setting of a "just price," agreed upon by slave and master, for self-purchase. Once set, the price could not be raised, and slaves could make payments towards their manumission price until they reached the stipulated amount. Slaves in the process of purchasing themselves, known as *coartados* (Portuguese, *quartados*), remained in the service of their master until the total self-purchase price was met.

While *coartación* existed in both Spanish and Portuguese America, it appears to have developed slightly differently in those two contexts. In Spanish America, colonial



A sugar mill in Brazil, early 1800s. *Slaves could work to earn money that could be applied to* coartación, *or self-purchase at an agreed-upon price. From Debret, Jean Baptiste.* Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Bresil, ou Sejour d'un artiste francais au Bresil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, epoques de l'avenement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'Empire bresilien. *Dedie a l'Academie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France. Published 1834–1839.* ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

courts became involved in the process both in terms of setting a "just price" and in guaranteeing a slave's right to self-purchase. In other words, despite the fact that *coartación* was not guaranteed in Spanish American colonial law until 1843, when Cuban masters were required to *coartar* those slaves who offered a minimum down payment of fifty pesos towards self-purchase, slaves throughout Spanish America could theoretically avail themselves of the courts to set their manumission price and to guarantee that they were freed upon meeting their self-purchase price. In Brazil, however, the courts refused to serve as arbiters between masters and slaves precisely because the practice had no basis in law.

The importance of *coartación* may have been overstated within past treatments of slavery in colonial Iberian America. Quantitative studies for Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil (Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) have found that only in colonial Buenos Aires and Minas Gerais were a majority of manumissions purchased, and it is unclear what proportion of those manumissions resulted from *coartación.* Additionally, in regions of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais and nineteenth-century Cuba, approximately one percent of the total slave population was in the process of purchasing their freedom through *coartación*, while only six-tenths of one percent of the slave population achieved freedom annually via *coartación* in 1850s Cuba, when it became the primary means of liberating slaves.

The importance of purchased manumission requires discussion of a related topic: the slave *peculium,* or private fund. Throughout Latin America individual slaves could and did accumulate money that could be applied to self-purchase. However, the *peculium* is also best understood as a customary right because the *Siete Partidas* stipulated that slaves did not have the right to possess private property. Yet Spanish American courts did defend slaves' possession of property and money, so long as it was earned legitimately.

Manumission was a decidedly urban phenomenon, with the exception of rural slaves engaged in gold or diamond mining. Estimates of manumission rates in urban and mining contexts range from 0.33 to 1.5 percent of the slave population annually. In one extreme case, manumission rates may have been as high as three percent annually in the gold mining fields of colonial Colombia. Compared to the average rural field hand, the typical urban or mining slave probably had greater opportunities to accumulate money for self-purchase due to the specific waged occupations they filled (e.g., marketeering, waged day labor, prostitution, mining). This explains, in part, their greater access to manumission.

There is a surprising uniformity in terms of which slaves tended to be liberated throughout Latin America. Primarily, women received between fifty-five and sixty-seven percent of all manumissions. These numbers are made all the more impressive because women were generally a minority within the slave population itself. For example, in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century, women represented approximately forty percent of the slave population, but they received sixty-four percent of all manumissions. Children occupied a similarly advantaged position in terms of access to manumission, but rates throughout the Americas show much greater variability than was the case for manumission based upon gender.

Historians have offered numerous possible explanations for the advantages enjoyed by women and children in achieving liberty. They highlight their lesser market value compared to adult men, as well as the greater opportunities for women to accumulate money as marketeers or prostitutes that could theoretically be used to free themselves or their children. Alternatively, these patterns might reflect strategies of slave families for achieving freedom. Freeing women served to prevent their future offspring from being born into slavery, as only children born to slave mothers were slaves under Spanish and Portuguese law. In addition, adult children may have been more likely to free their slave mothers due to the matrifocal nature of most slave families. A dominant explanation for the preponderance of these two groups among freed slaves is that slave women were able to manipulate their sexuality to improve their own chances for freedom (and those of their children). It has also been suggested that women's domestic occupations within the household may have provided more opportunities for daily interactions with slave owners, and thus for stronger, more amiable relations between masters and slaves. This may, in turn, have translated into increased opportunities for freedom for slave women and their children. Clearly, all of these explanations point to the reality that gender played a key role in manumission.

A slave in Brazil being corrected by his master. *From Debret, Jean Baptiste.* Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Bresil, ou Sejour d'un artiste francais au Bresil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, epoques de l'avenement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'Empire bresilien. *Dedie a l'Academie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France. Published 1834–1839.* ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Generally, American-born slaves (Creoles) had greater chances to be manumitted than did African-born slaves. Likewise, mixed-race slaves were more likely to be freed than were black slaves. However, these patterns are more likely explained by increased opportunities to achieve skilled positions within slavery and to cultivate relationships with masters than any other factor.

Female slave-owners were responsible for a significant portion of freed slaves, liberating between one-third and one-half of all slaves freed throughout Latin America. Furthermore, the proportion of slaves freed by women, compared to those freed by men, was much higher than

the percentage of slaves that women actually owned. Men dominated economic life in colonial Latin America, and thus more men than women owned slaves, and men generally owned more slaves than did women.

The practice of manumission served to buttress the institution of slavery in important ways. Opportunities for manumission had obvious potentially positive ramifications for slaves, but it also served to empower masters, as the possibility of manumission served as an incentive to insure the good behavior of slaves. In theory, the possibility of manumission made slaves less resistive because they would not want to jeopardize their chances for manumission, and through coartación and conditional manumission, masters could insure faithful service from slaves during their prime working years.

As a result of manumission (and the subsequent natural growth of the families of those freed), Latin America was characterized by sizeable free populations of color. For example, in Salvador, Brazil, in 1835, free people of color represented nearly thirty percent of the total population, compared to twenty-eight percent for whites and forty-two percent for slaves. At the turn of the nineteenth century in Rio de Janeiro, free people of color accounted for twenty percent of the total population, while slaves accounted for thirty-five percent and whites for forty-five percent. In Spanish America, free people of color actually came to outnumber slaves in colonial Mexico by the middle of the seventeenth century, and in Peru and New Granada they outnumbered slaves by the end of the eighteenth century. These large populations of freed people did not undermine the integrity of slavery as an institution, however. Although this population faced significant racism, which prevented their complete incorporation into Spanish and Portuguese society, differences in status (free vs. slave), race and ethnicity, and occupation, among other factors, prevented the unification of slaves and free people of color against slavery and Europeans. Even in contexts where slaves were outnumbered by free people of color, slavery proved to be a very stable and enduring institution. It was not uncommon for ex-slaves and free people of color to own slaves themselves, although they were less likely to do so than whites.

See also Manumission Societies; Slavery

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FRANK "TREY" PROCTOR III (2005)

Cobb, W. Montague

October 12, 1904
November 20, 1990

William Montague Cobb, a physician, was born in Washington, D.C., the son of William Elmer and Alexzine Montague Cobb. A graduate of Dunbar High School (1921), he pursued a liberal-arts program at Amherst College and earned an A.B. there in 1925. Cobb's special talent for science earned him the Blodgett Scholarship for work at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, where he studied embryology in the summer of 1925. He entered Howard University Medical College that fall, earning an M.D. in 1929.

During his final year at Howard, Cobb taught embryology to medical students. This was the start of a lifelong career in teaching and research. Following a year's internship at Freedmen's Hospital, he enrolled in the doctoral program at Western Reserve University and was awarded a Ph.D. in anatomy and physical anthropology in 1932.

Cobb taught anatomy at Howard University for forty-one years. Starting as an assistant professor in 1932, he attained the rank of full professor in 1942. He served as chairman of the Department of Anatomy from 1947 to 1969. In 1969 he became the first to hold a distinguished professorship at Howard. Following his official retirement in 1973, he served as visiting professor at several institutions, including Stanford University, the University of Maryland, and Harvard University.

Cobb's research interests were wide-ranging. He contributed the chapter on the skeleton to the third edition (1952) of E. V. Cowdry's *Problems of Aging: Biological and Medical Aspects*. Other work of his was cited in *Gray's Anatomy,* Sir Henry Morris's *Human Anatomy,* and *Cunningham's Manual of Practical Anatomy*. He is said to have been the first black scientist cited in all three of these standard medical texts. Cobb's work on the "physical anthropology of the American Negro," published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* and other periodicals, was recognized as authoritative.

Along with Julian H. Lewis, Cobb pioneered efforts to counteract the myths that had evolved among scientists concerning the biological inferiority of black people. In all, he published over six hundred articles in professional journals. His prominence brought him terms as president of the Anthropological Society of Washington (1949–1951) and of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (1958–1960), at a time when it was almost unheard of for an African American to hold such posts within predominantly white organizations.

Cobb is perhaps best remembered, both within the medical community and beyond, for his civil rights activities. During the 1940s he represented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) before the U.S. Senate in testimony supportive of a national health-insurance program. Under the auspices of the NAACP he prepared two seminal monographs, *Medical Care and the Plight of the Negro* (1947) and *Progress and Portents for the Negro in Medicine* (1948), which helped raise public awareness of how discriminatory practices had adversely influenced the access of blacks to health-care services and professional opportunities. Cobb served as NAACP president from 1976 to 1982.

In his capacity as president (1945–1947, 1951–1954) of the all-black Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia, Cobb led two important campaigns: the racial integration of Gallinger Hospital (later, D.C. General Hospital) in 1948 and the admission, in 1952, of black physicians to membership in the all-white Medical Society of the District of Columbia. He also served a term as president of the National Medical Association in 1964. It was in his role, however, as editor of the *Journal of the National Medical Association* (1949–1977) that he found his primary forum, both for discussing contemporary issues of health-care access and for portraying the rich historical heritage to which blacks—going back beyond colonial America to prehistoric times—can lay claim.

See also Freedmen's Hospital; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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Lawlah, John W. "The President-Elect." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55 (November 1963): 551–554.

KENNETH R. MANNING (1996)

Cochran, Johnnie L., Jr.

October 2, 1937
March 29, 2005

Johnnie Cochran, a lawyer, civil libertarian, and philanthropist, gained national recognition as a defense lawyer in O. J. Simpson's murder trial. Cochran was born in Shreveport, Louisiana. His family later moved to Los Angeles, where he attended public schools before attending the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA; B.A., 1959) and Loyola Marymount University School of Law (J.D., 1962).

Cochran began his public career in 1963 as a deputy city attorney for the city of Los Angeles. After entering private practice in 1965, Cochran returned to public service in 1978 to become the first African-American assistant district attorney of Los Angeles County. He returned to private practice in the early 1980s, eventually becoming the only Los Angeles attorney to receive both the Criminal Trial Lawyer of the Year and the Civil Trial Lawyer of the Year awards. In 2001, after heading several law firms, he founded The Cochran Firm, a bicoastal conglomerate devoted to personal injury and civil law. He was also involved with various legal teams exploring the issue of reparation for slavery and worked with the Innocence Project, which contests wrongful convictions using DNA evidence.

Among the influences on Cochran's career are Thurgood Marshall and Martin Luther King Jr.—particularly

King's belief that one must question the "official" version of events. Cochran represented (and successfully defended) many high-profile personalities, including Michael Jackson, Jim Brown, and Tupac Shakur. His media involvement included both print and television appearances (the latter as both newscaster and anchor). Cochran wrote *Journey to Justice* (1996), *Last Man Standing: The Tragedy and Triumph of Geronimo Pratt* (2000), and *A Lawyer's Life* (2002).

Cochran served as a member of the American College of Trial Lawyers, the International Academy of Trial Lawyers, and the Inner Circle of Advocates. His many awards included *National Law Journal*'s Trial Lawyer of the Year (1995), the Arizona Civil Liberties Union's Lifetime Achievement Award (2001), and the Association of Manhattan's Autistic Children's Humanitarian Award (2001). He established university scholarships at UCLA, the University of New Mexico, and Southern University, and funded and dedicated several community projects. Cochran died of a brain tumor in 2005 at the age of sixty-seven.

See also Jackson, Michael; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Marshall, Thurgood; Simpson, O. J.

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helen r. houston (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Coker, Daniel

1780
1846

Born Isaac Wright in Maryland to an African slave father and an English indentured-servant mother, minister and abolitionist Daniel Coker received a rudimentary education while attending school as his white half-brother's valet. He escaped to New York while still a youth and took his new name to avoid detection. In New York Coker met Bishop Francis Asbury, who ordained him to the Methodist Church ministry around 1800. Coker returned shortly after to Baltimore and, with his freedom recently purchased, spoke out against slavery, writing an abolitionist pamphlet, *A Dialogue Between a Virginian and an African Minister,* in 1810. He became the leader of a society of black Methodists who desired independence from white Methodists because of discrimination, and ran the African School in connection with this society.

Coker's Methodist society evolved into the independent African Bethel Church. In 1816 delegates, including Coker and Richard Allen, from five black Methodist societies gathered in Philadelphia to establish the independent African Methodist Episcopal Church. Elected as the first bishop of the new denomination, Coker declined the post—perhaps because of dissension over his light skin color—and Allen became the first bishop. Coker returned to his Baltimore pastorate, but was expelled from the ministry from 1818 to 1819 for an unknown offense. He left for Africa in 1820 as a missionary with the assistance of the Maryland Colonization Society. After spending some time in Liberia, he settled in Sierra Leone, where he was the superintendent of a settlement for "recaptured" Africans and helped found the West African Methodist Church.

See also Abolition; African Methodist Episcopal Church

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timothy e. fulop (1996)

Cole, Nat "King"

March 17, 1919
February 15, 1965

Singer and pianist Nathaniel Adams Cole was born in Montgomery, Alabama, and moved with his family to Chicago when he was two years old. His father, the Rev. Edward James Cole Sr., was a pastor at the True Light Baptist Church. His parents encouraged the musical talents of young Cole and his four brothers. All but one eventually became professional musicians. Cole had his earliest musical experiences in his father's church, where he sang and played the organ. While in high school, he played in the

Rogues of Rhythm, a band led by his brother Eddie, at a Chicago night spot called the Club Panama. In 1936 he played piano in a touring production of Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake's *Shuffle Along.* The tour ended in Long Beach, California, in 1937. Cole stayed in southern California and played piano in Los Angeles–area clubs.

In 1938 he organized a trio with Oscar Moore on guitar and Wesley Prince on bass. At about this time he adopted the name Nat "King" Cole. The trio began to gain popularity, largely due to Cole's sophisticated, swinging piano style. In 1943 Cole signed a contract with the newly organized record company Capitol.

On his first hit recording, "Straighten Up and Fly Right" (1943), Cole sang for the first time. The song, based on a sermon of his father's, was taken from a traditional black folktale. In 1944 Cole achieved a national reputation as a pianist, taking part in "Jazz at the Philharmonic," a series of touring jazz concerts.

Eventually, Cole's singing came to dominate his piano playing. His 1946 recording of "The Christmas Song," which added a string section to Cole's singing, was a turning point in his career. By 1949 he was recording primarily with orchestral accompaniment, and his piano playing was relegated to a secondary role. Cole achieved great success with such vocal recordings as "Mona Lisa" (1950) and "Unforgettable" (1951). His singing style was, like his piano playing, relaxed, disarming, and authoritative. His performances remained impressive, even with the most banal material, and they always retained their integrity, shunning both pseudodramatic straining for effects and coy mannerisms. His singing had an immense popularity with both white and black audiences. Cole's was the first black jazz combo to have its own sponsored radio program (1948–1949), and in 1956 and 1957 he became the first black performer to have his own series on network television. (The program was canceled, however, because of the difficulty in finding sponsors for it.) Cole also made several films, including *St. Louis Blues* (1958, a life of W. C. Handy), and *Cat Ballou* (1965).

In the early 1960s Cole was sometimes criticized by black activists for his failure to actively participate in the struggle for civil rights. He resented the accusations, noting that he had made substantial financial contributions to civil rights organizations. By this time, Cole was a headliner at Las Vegas casinos and was one of the most financially successful performers in popular music. He died of lung cancer in 1965, at the height of his popularity. He was the most successful black performer of the postwar era. Appreciation of his contribution to popular music has increased since his death, and his television show has been syndicated and many of his recordings reissued.

Cole's first marriage, to Nadine Robinson in 1937, ended in divorce. He married Maria Ellington (no relation to Duke Ellington) in 1948. They had four children, and also adopted Maria's niece. One of their children, Natalie Cole, has had a successful career as a pop singer. In 1991, Natalie Cole achieved considerable recognition for her album *Unforgettable,* an ingeniously recorded album of duets with her late father, which won Grammy Awards for best album and best song.

See also Blake, Eubie; Jazz; Jazz Singers; Music

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ROBERT W. STEPHENS (1996)

Coleman, Bessie

January 26, 1892
April 30, 1926

Bessie Coleman was the first African-American female aviator. She was born in Atlanta, Texas, but her family moved to Waxahachie, Texas, when she was still an infant. When she was seven, her parents separated. Her father, who was a Choctaw Indian, returned to the reservation in Oklahoma, and her mother supported the large family by picking cotton and doing laundry, jobs in which her children aided her. Because she wanted Coleman to attend college, her mother allowed her to keep her income from her laundry work, but this money only financed one semester at the Colored Agricultural and Normal University in Langston, Oklahoma (now Langston University). After this semester, she returned to Waxahachie briefly; and between 1915 and 1917, she went to Chicago, where she took a course in manicuring and worked at the White Sox barbershop until the early years of World War I. She then managed a small restaurant.

Coleman became interested in the burgeoning field of aviation, which had entered the national consciousness as a consequence of its role in World War I, but aviation schools rejected all her applications on the basis of her race

and/or gender, until Robert S. Abbott, founder and editor of the *Chicago Defender,* advised her to study aviation abroad. She took a course in French, went to Paris in November 1920, and attended an aviation school in Le Crotoy. She returned to the United States in September 1921 with a pilot's license and went back to Europe in 1922, this time obtaining an international pilot's license, the first African-American woman to earn these licenses. When she returned to the United States after her second sojourn in Europe, Coleman made a name for herself in exhibition flying, performing at shows attended by thousands. She barnstormed throughout the United States and became known as "Brave Bessie." She lectured in schools and churches on the opportunities in aviation wherever she performed, and she saved the money she earned from these lectures and performances in the hope of opening an aviation school for African Americans. On April 30, 1926, during a practice run in Jacksonville. Florida, Coleman's plane somersaulted out of a nosedive, and Coleman fell 2,000 feet (610 meters) to her death.

See also Abbott, Robert Sengstacke

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated bibliography

Coleman, Ornette

March 9, 1930

Born in Fort Worth, Texas, on a date that remains in dispute, jazz saxophonist and composer Ornette Coleman's early musical influences included gospel, rhythm and blues, and bebop. Coleman, whose father was a singer, began playing saxophone at age sixteen and had little formal music instruction. His earliest performances were in local churches, and he was expelled from his high school band for improvising during a performance of John Philip Sousa's "Washington Post March." Coleman at first played tenor saxophone in a honking rhythm-and-blues style influenced by Illinois Jacquet and Big Jay McNeely. His first professional work came in 1949 with the Silas Green Minstrels, a tent show that toured the South and Midwest. Coleman also traveled with blues singer Clarence Samuels and blues singer and guitarist "Pee Wee" Crayton. By this time he had been inspired by bebop to start playing with a coarse, crying tone and a frantic, unrestrained sense of rhythm and harmony. The reception in the jazz community to his controversial style kept him from working for a decade.

In 1950 Coleman moved to Los Angeles and began to recruit a circle of associates, including drummers Edward Blackwell and Billy Higgins, trumpeters Don Cherry and Bobby Bradford, bassist Charlie Haden, and pianist Paul Bley. He married poet Jayne Cortez in 1954; unable to support himself as a musician, he took a job as a stock boy and elevator operator at a Los Angeles department store. Despite his reputation as an eccentric who had unusually long hair, wore overcoats in the summer, and played a white saxophone, in 1958 he was invited to make his first recording, *Something Else!,* which included his compositions "Chippie" and "When Will the Blues Leave." Pianist John Lewis brought Coleman and Cherry to the Lenox (Massachusetts) School of Jazz in 1959, which led to a famous series of quartet performances at New York's Five Spot nightclub.

The albums Coleman made over the next two years, including *Tomorrow Is the Question, The Shape of Jazz to Come, This Is Our Music,* and *Free Jazz,* were vilified by traditionalists, who heard the long, loosely structured, collective improvisations and adventurous harmonies as worthless cacophony. However, among his admirers, those performances, which included his compositions "Focus on Sanity," "Peace," "Lonely Woman," and "Beauty Is a Rare Thing," were also recognized as the first significant development in jazz since bebop. Although modeled on the wit and irreverence of bebop, Coleman's pianoless quartets broke out of traditional harmonies, as well as rigid theme-and-improvisation structures. He began to call this style "harmolodics," referring to a musical system, since developed in a vast, unpublished manuscript, in which improvised melodies need not obey fixed harmonies.

In the 1950s Coleman was shunned by the jazz world, but in the 1960s he found himself hailed as one of the greatest and most influential figures in jazz. Yet Coleman, who was divorced from Cortez in 1964, scaled back his activities in order to study trumpet and violin. In the mid-1960s he most frequently appeared in trio settings (*At the Golden Circle,* 1965–1966), often including bassist David

Izenzon and drummer Charles Moffett. In 1967 Coleman became the first jazz musician to win a Guggenheim fellowship. During the late 1960s and early 1970s he often played with the members of his old quartet, plus tenor saxophonist Dewey Redman, with whom he had first become acquainted in Fort Worth (*Science Fiction,* 1971).

Coleman, who had been composing classical music since the early 1950s, also saw performances in the 1960s of his string quartet *Dedication to Poets and Writers* (1961), his woodwind quintet *Forms and Sounds* (1967), and *Saints and Soldiers* (1967), a chamber piece. Coleman's *Skies of America* symphony was recorded in 1972 with the London Symphony Orchestra. In 1973 he traveled to Morocco to record with folk musicians from the town of Joujouka.

Coleman's next breakthrough came in 1975, when he began to play a style of electric dance music that recalled his early career in rhythm-and-blues dance bands. Using Prime Time, a new core group of musicians that often included his son, Denardo, a drummer, born in 1956, Coleman recorded *Dancing in Your Head,* an album-length elaboration of a theme from *Skies of America,* in 1975, and *Of Human Feelings* in 1979. During this time he also founded Artists House, a collective that helped introduce guitarists James "Blood" Ulmer and bassist Jamaaladeen Tacuma.

The mid-1980s brought a revival of interest in Coleman. His hometown, Fort Worth, honored him with a series of tributes and performances, including the chamber piece *Prime Design/Time Design* (1983). A documentary by Shirley Clarke, *Ornette: Made in America,* was released in 1984, and he collaborated with jazz-rock guitarist Pat Metheny (*Song X,* 1985), and rock guitarist Jerry Garcia (*Virgin Beauty,* 1987). On *In All Languages* (1987) he reunited with his 1959 quartet, and in 1991 Coleman, who had composed and performed on the film soundtracks for *Chappaqua* (1965) and *Box Office* (1981), recorded the score for *Naked Lunch*. Coleman, who has lived in Manhattan since the early 1960s, continues to compose regularly, though performing and recording only sporadically with Prime Time. In 1997, the same year he received the French award of Commander of the Order of Arts and Letters, he wrote a jazz concerto grosso, "Skies of America."

In the early 2000s Coleman was touring as part of the Ornette Coleman Quartet, and the group released a CD, titled *Ornette!,* in 2004.

See also Cortez, Jayne; Jazz; Lewis, John; Music

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BILL DIXON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Collins, Cardiss

September 24, 1931

Cardiss Robertson Collins was the first African-American woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. Born in St. Louis, Cardiss Robertson moved with her family to Detroit when she was ten years old. She studied accounting at Northwestern University and in 1958 married George Washington Collins, a local politician. Collins helped organize campaigns for her husband. Her own career in politics began when she became Democratic committeewoman in Chicago's twenty-fourth ward.

After U.S. Congressman George Collins died in 1972, Cardiss Collins resigned her position with the Illinois Department of Revenue, ran for his seat, and won handily. She took office on June 5, 1973. In 1979 she became the first woman to chair the Congressional Black Caucus. Two years later she became the first African American and the first woman to be appointed Democratic whip-at-large. In the mid-1980s she led inquiries into the employment practices of the airline industry. She also investigated college sports and pressed colleges and universities to meet the mandates of Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 regarding female athletes. The NCAA yielded to her prodding and moved to bring about gender equity in sports. Collins introduced the Non-Discrimination in Advertising Act aimed to correct injustices against minority-owned media. In 1993 she co-authored the Child Safety Protection Act, which set standards for bicycle helmets and required warning labels on potentially dangerous toys.

Throughout her political career, Collins was a strong advocate of civil rights, the rights of women and the poor, and of universal health insurance. She wrote the resolution that designated October as National Breast Cancer Awareness Month.

After twenty-three years in Congress, Collins retired in 1996.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Colón Man

Caribbean men migrated to Panamá to work on its railroad (1850–1855), French-supported canal (1881–1898), and the successful United States canal (1904–1914). These Colón Men, taking the name of Panamá's port city, were defined by their migration to and work in the Central American country. Appearing in historical, literary, lyrical, and personal narratives, the figure's cockiness, possessions, cosmopolitanism, canal-forged masculinity, and even the illnesses he contracted distinguish him. Because of the significance of one of the Caribbean's largest internal migrations and the construction of the Panamá Canal, the Colón Man has come to signify the real and imagined possibilities of both.

This migration's import can be seen in the figure's dynamic representation in nineteenth- and twentieth-century narratives, representations that include the poorly depicted Caribbean worker in early histories, the thwarted lover in folk songs, and the ancestral figure in pan-Caribbean literature. The differences between these narratives suggest that Colón Men occupy both "factual" and "imaginable" spaces in the Caribbean imaginary. Thus, maintaining the collisions and parallels inherent in the various depictions of these laborers offers details about migrants and isthmian migration, about the ways canal work influenced these laborers, and about the communities shaped by these men's absence and presence.

Fictionalized Colón Men are cosmopolitan, ladies' men, Pan-Africanist, and rich; importantly, they are also unsuccessful lovers, loyal colonials, poor, and a mixture of all these characteristics. This ambivalence suggests that creative narratives make accessible aspects of the canal enterprise that are "undocumentable"—that is, inaccessible and/or devalued—in some canal histories. Colón Men went to Panamá to profit from their employers, but they also traveled with desires that had little to do with the United States or canal construction.

Historical narratives about the Panamá Canal reference workers from Jamaica and Barbados; songs that were popular during the construction period also prominently feature men from these two countries. Literature and workers' letters, however, feature migrants who traveled from Guadeloupe, the Bahamas, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua, Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent. That this isthmian migration mainly comprised Afro-Caribbean men makes this pan-Caribbean national representation more startling. Of course, women, East Indian, Chinese, and other peoples occupied the region at the time, but very few migrated to Panamá, or inadequate documentation makes their presence hard to reconstruct.

Although economic reasons—both on the isthmus and within the Caribbean—partially explain migrants' reasons for leaving home, the range of Colón Man stories reveals more complex motivations. The chance to make money was a definite draw; however, the uses to which the money was put appeared to be more significant. Whether Colón Men used their "Panamá Money" to purchase shops, buy or improve property, or sport the latest jewelry and fashions, they were determined to project an image of a successful (though mostly mythic) migrant. In many cases this image was more important than the money.

For another population of Panamá Men, migration served as a form of resistance. When facing post-emancipation laws designed to limit the franchise, employment, and movement of formerly enslaved plantation workers, they left for the isthmus. Plantation owners pressured their governments to impose taxes on would-be migrants to stem this tide; however, this merely changed the character of migrant populations: more affluent, urban, skilled, and white-collar workers displaced rural, peasant, and unskilled ones.

Finally, the lure of adventure and the desire to accrue characteristics believed to be "manly" pulled Caribbean men to the isthmus. Former canal workers described their desire for "adventure and experience" and to test their "adult" status by challenging their parents, comments that speak to the power that these more-than-economic reasons held, as they often diminished the impact of stories about diseases in the Canal Zone. Even after confronting for themselves Colón's inadequate sewer systems, diseases, work-related injuries and deaths, and North American racism, Colón Men remained on the isthmus, went home to show off their finery, and returned to Panamá when their money ran low.

The U.S. Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) hired Colón Men for various jobs. For example, Caribbean men worked as water or messenger boys, pick-and-shovel men, carpenters, plumbers, subforemen, machine operators, and in various white-collar jobs. Yet because of the ICC's rigidly held "color line," few black workers rose to the highest levels of employment; even those who did were subject to its silver/gold payment scale: white, U.S. citizens were paid in gold currency, and all others were paid in silver (hence the designation of "Silver Men" for the overwhelmingly black workforce and "Silver City" for the town where many of them lived).

See also Panama Canal

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RHONDA FREDERICK (2005)

Colored Farmers Alliance

The Colored Farmers Alliance, an agrarian organization founded in Texas in 1886, represented the largest network of black farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural laborers in the South during the late nineteenth century. Fueling the region's black populist movement, the organization began by espousing self-help and economic cooperation, but it then took increasingly radical measures to improve economic conditions through lobbying efforts, boycotts, and strikes, meeting fierce resistance from white authorities, often joined by the segregated Southern Farmers Alliance.

Within five years, the Colored Alliance spread to every southern state, comprising an estimated membership of 1,200,000—of whom 300,000 were women. Many African Americans who joined the Colored Alliance were previously active in the Colored Agricultural Wheels, the Cooperative Workers of America, and the Knights of Labor. While the white Baptist minister Richard M. Humphrey served as the organization's general superintendent, most of its key leaders were black, including the Rev. Walter A. Pattillo of North Carolina and Oliver Cromwell of Mississippi. In 1891 the Colored Alliance launched a national cotton-pickers' strike, which was quickly suppressed by white planter militias. Members of the Colored Alliance turned to electoral politics, endorsing the Lodge Bill for federal supervision of elections, then helping to establish the People's Party. As the black populist movement grew and developed politically, the Colored Alliance began to dissolve. Black agrarian radicalism would resurface in the 1930s through the work of the Sharecroppers Union and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

See also Labor and Labor Unions

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OMAR H. ALI (1996)
Updated bibliography

Coltrane, John

September 23, 1926
July 17, 1967

Born in Hamlet, North Carolina, jazz tenor and soprano saxophonist John William Coltrane moved with his family to High Point, North Carolina, when he was only a few months old. His father was a tailor, and his mother was an amateur singer. Coltrane received his first instrument, a clarinet, when he was twelve, although he soon began to play the alto saxophone, which was his primary instrument for a number of years.

After high school Coltrane moved to Philadelphia, where he studied at the Ornstein School of Music and the Granoff Studios, where he won scholarships for both performance and composition. He played in the Philadelphia area until 1945, when he entered the navy for two years, playing in navy bands. His exposure at this time to bebop and the playing of Charlie Parker proved a major and lasting influence on Coltrane's music. Coltrane was so awed by Parker's abilities on the alto saxophone that he switched to playing the tenor saxophone, on which he felt he wouldn't be intimidated by the comparison. When Coltrane returned to Philadelphia, he started playing in blues bands, and in 1948 he was hired by Dizzy Gillespie. But Coltrane began drinking heavily and using drugs, and in 1951 he lost his job with the Gillespie band.

The recognition of Coltrane as a major jazz figure dates from his joining the Miles Davis Quintet in 1955, an association that would last, on and off, until 1959. In 1957 Coltrane overcame his drinking and narcotics problem, in the process undergoing a spiritual rebirth. Also in 1957 he began to play with Thelonious Monk and recorded his first album as a leader, *Blue Train*. Other important albums from this period include *Giant Steps* and *Coltrane Jazz,* both from 1959.

Coltrane left Davis in 1959 and thereafter led his own ensemble. The key personnel in Coltrane's definitive quartet of the period, which stayed together from 1961 to 1965, included McCoy Tyner on piano, Elvin Jones on the drums, and Reggie Worhman on bass. Alto saxophonist Eric Dolphy played regularly with the ensemble until his death in 1964. In 1959 Coltrane started playing the soprano saxophone (an instrument that, except for Sidney Bechet, had been rarely used by jazz musicians). He soon recorded his most famous soprano sax solo, "My Favorite Things." Coltrane developed a distinctive soprano style, different from the one he favored on the tenor saxophone. His best-known works of this period include *A Love Supreme* (1964) and the collective free jazz improvisation *Ascension* (1965). In 1965 Coltrane's band underwent another change. His regular band members included Rashied Ali on drums, Pharoah Sanders as a second tenor saxophone, and on the piano, his second wife, Alice Coltrane. With this ensemble, Coltrane explored free jazz improvisation until his death from cancer.

In the little more than ten years of his active career, Coltrane's music underwent a number of metamorphoses. He first achieved renown as bluesy hard-bop tenor saxophonist. After 1957 he began to develop a new approach in which his solos were filigreed with myriad broken scales and arpeggios played extremely rapidly—this became known as his "sheets of sound" approach. In 1961 Coltrane began to play solos of unprecedented length, often lasting twenty or thirty minutes. If some found these solos to be soporific and self-indulgent, others were mesmerized by their sweep and intensity, and Coltrane acquired a number of avid fans. His best solos in the early 1960s were often gentle and powerfully introspective. By the mid-1960s Coltrane was playing free jazz, where his former lyrical style was often replaced by a harsh and turbulent soloing.

Coltrane, often simply called "Trane," was by far the most popular jazz musician to emerge from the New York City jazz avant-garde of the late 1950s and 1960s. His personal and communicative style, his spiritual quest, and his early death, in addition to the virtuosity and grace of his solos, contributed to a Coltrane "cult" that has not abated in the decades since his passing. His influence on subsequent musicians, which has been immense, includes not only his musical ideas but his taking of extended solos and his view of jazz as an ongoing quest for spiritual knowledge and self-wisdom.

See also Davis, Miles; Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Monk, Thelonious Sphere; Parker, Charlie

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WILLIAM S. COLE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Combs, Sean

November 4, 1969

Rapper, producer, songwriter, and entrepreneur Sean Combs was the son of a well-known street hustler who was murdered when Combs was three. Nicknamed "Puffy" for his exaggerated "huffing and puffing" displays of anger as a child, Combs attended Howard University in Washington, D.C., where he became a successful party and concert promoter. He returned to New York after two years and convinced Andre Harrell—then president of Uptown Records—to give him an internship. Combs worked ardently, and within a year Harrell promoted him to vice president of promotion.

At Uptown Combs established himself as a producer for Mary J. Blige and Jodeci. After an argument with Harrell in 1993, he formed his own label—Bad Boy Records. That year he negotiated a $15 million deal with Arista Records that granted him full creative control and distribution. His artists—Lil Kim, Notorious B.I.G., Total, and Mase—sold millions of albums, and his own 1997 album, *No Way Out,* sold over seven million copies. In 1997 he was responsible for nearly 60 percent of the year's hit pop songs.

While Combs is often criticized for his reliance on well-known samples, his musical and business accomplishments are undeniable. He owns two successful restaurants and a clothing line, and publishes *Notorious* magazine. His Daddy's House social program is a nonprofit charity organization that services inner-city children and the homeless. In 2001 Combs changed his stage name from Puff Daddy to P. Diddy.

See also Hip Hop Rap; Recording Industry

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Comedians

In any culture, comedians serve complicated functions as both entertainers and social critics. For African-American comedians, this has been further complicated by the burden of American racism and the historical legacy of racial comedy in this culture. Racially grounded humor has been both a means of denigrating black people—reinforcing their degradation and justifying their oppression by white society—and a repository of folk wisdom, a popular tradition of criticism and self-criticism, and a means by which black people could affirm and enjoy their own view of the world. Black comedians have derived much of their humor from the precarious balance between these two tendencies.

African-American comedy as a professional genre originated with blackface minstrelsy, which remained the province of white performers until around the time of the Civil War. According to Robert Toll (1974), the performance of "alleged Negro songs and dances" in these shows emerged as a popular genre in the 1820s. When all-black troupes such as Callender's Georgia Minstrels were formed after the war, they continued to perform the same kind of material. These early black minstrels, unlike their white rivals, usually did not perform in burnt cork (except for the end men), so that the audience could recognize them as authentic African Americans. As the years passed, however, more and more of these performers reverted to using burnt cork.

The fact that many performers continued to use burnt cork as late as the 1920s and 1930s, supported by a predominantly black clientele, attests to the powerful and paradoxical legacy of the minstrel tradition. Other conventions of minstrelsy persisted in the styles of black comedians as well: for example, the use of ludicrous attire, grotesque facial expressions and body movements, and song-and-dance routines. Favorite minstrel subjects also persisted, such as linguistic maladroitness and misunderstandings, differences in racial behavior, romantic mismatches and misadventures, overindulgence in alcohol and other pleasures, and the common folk's views of current events. Black comedy teams often maintained the basic structure of minstrelsy, generating comic effects from the interaction between a "straight" person (the minstrel "interlocutor") and a foolish companion (the end men, Mr. Tambo and Mr. Bones). As scholars such as Constance Rourke (1931) and Walter Blair (1978) have demonstrated, these subjects and most minstrel conventions derived from old traditions of European comedy. Nevertheless, the racial elaborations of the traditions were distinctly American.

Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham. *One of the leading black comedians of the 1920s and 1930s, Markham is best remembered for his routine "Heah Come de Judge," created in 1929.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

In the twentieth century, after the collapse of traditional minstrel shows, black performers continued to practice their craft on the TOBA circuit (Theater Owners Booking Association, which controlled tours of black theaters and clubs around the country) and in black musical comedies, such as *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *Hot Chocolates* (1929). Often performing in blackface, these comedians did skits, sang, and danced. The greatest of them was Bert Williams, a magnificent performer whose ability to range from the hilarious to the heartrending eventually made him the first black star of the Ziegfeld Follies.

The establishment of Harlem's Apollo Theater in 1934 was an important event for black performers. It provided a black equivalent of Carnegie Hall or the Grand Ole Opry: a venue where amateurs could gain recognition and where stars could compete for preeminence. In subsequent decades other venues, such as the Roberts Show Club in Chicago, performed a similar function. From the beginning, comedians were a staple at the Apollo. As in smaller clubs and theaters, they performed both as filler between acts and as headliners when they gained sufficient popularity. One of the most popular acts of the 1930s was Butterbeans and Susie. This husband-and-wife team (Joe and Susie Edwards) specialized in risqué, sexually suggestive humor. Ted Fox (1983), a historian of the Apollo, describes their song "I Want a Hot Dog for My Roll" as typical of their material, which delighted their audiences and outraged censorious middle-class black critics.

Among their contemporaries at the Apollo, Fox lists Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham, Dusty Fletcher, Tim "Kingfish" Moore, and Jimmy Baskette. These men were among the leading comedians of the day. Their routines—again, often in blackface—included skits, songs, and dances, much in the minstrel tradition. Markham is best remembered for his routine "Heah Come de Judge," created in 1929, which was resurrected and popularized by Sammy Davis, Jr., on the television show *Laugh-In* in the 1960s. Markham also claimed to have invented "truckin'," a comic dance that is now best known from Robert Crumb's underground comic strips. No comedy routine of those years was better known or more loved than Dusty Fletcher's "Open the Door, Richard." Playing a bumbling drunk in minstrel attire attempting to enter a house, Fletcher would stagger repeatedly up a stepladder, falling off again and again, as he wailed piteously: "Open the door, Richard!" This line entered the vernacular as a self-sufficient punch line.

Jackie "Moms" Mabley is a crucial transitional figure, both because her popularity spanned from these early days through the 1970s and because stylistically she represented a new form of comedy. Like other early comics, Moms played a character, a "dirty old lady," who dressed in oversize, faded cotton dresses, baggy cotton stockings, large brogans—or, in later years, sneakers—and droopy hats. Her signature line was "An old man can't do nothing for me but show me which way a young man went." But Moms was a stand-up monologist rather than a skit performer. In this, she anticipated the dominant style of later comedians. Her forte remained sexual comedy about the failings of old men and the appeal of young ones, but in the 1960s she turned increasingly to political commentary. For instance, in the early 1960s she composed an "opera," rewriting the words of traditional songs and children's rhymes to praise the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and satirize segregationists. She sang these songs in her gravelly voice, with a piano accompanist—naturally, a young man.

In the 1950s and 1960s the work of comedians was often disseminated on recordings called "party records." These records usually featured "adult" humor, and they ranged in style from madcap, minstrel-style skits by acts like Skillet and Leroy to the nightclub acts of comedians like George Kirby, Melvin "Slappy" White, and Redd

Jackie "Moms" Mabley. *One of the best loved and most enduring of black comics, Mabley entertained audiences from the 1920s through the 1970s with her witty and mordant observations on life.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Foxx. All of these performers used sexual humor, with Kirby inclined more toward wit and Foxx more toward raunchiness and profane language. Slappy White, Foxx's partner when the two began performing in the late 1940s, was simultaneously witty and raunchy. All three of these comedians made their reputations on the nightclub circuit and eventually made television appearances. Redd Foxx, the most popular of the group, gained mainstream success in the 1970s as star of the television series *Sanford and Son.* Compared with Foxx's scathing nightclub persona, the mildly naughty Fred Sanford was a pussycat.

A remarkable group of young stand-up comics emerged in the early 1960s, and most of them went on to very successful careers that included work in television and movies: Nipsey Russell, Godfrey Cambridge, Scoey Mitchell, Flip Wilson, and, most important, Dick Gregory, Bill Cosby, and Richard Pryor. Russell, noted for his quick, razor-sharp wit, was very popular in New York City. He soon developed a lucrative career as a headliner in Las Vegas nightclubs and as a regular on the television show *Hollywood Squares*. Cambridge, a very large man, combined gentleness, vulnerability, and moral fervor in his routines about race relations, obesity, international politics, and contemporary culture. Like Dick Gregory, he was an outspoken supporter of the civil rights movement. Flip Wilson, due to the popularity of his weekly television comedy show in the early 1970s, became, for a time, perhaps the most familiar of all these comedians. On *The Flip Wilson Show,* he played a variety of amusing characters, most memorably a saucy woman named Geraldine.

Nonetheless, Gregory, Cosby, and Pryor are among the most talented and enduringly important of this group. One could hardly imagine three more sharply contrasting comedians: Gregory, the impassioned and blunt-spoken social activist; Cosby, the cool, politely middle-class comedian of family relations; and Pryor, the manic, whimsical, outrageous improviser on every aspect of human and animal life. Collectively, these three represent the finest achievements of modern African-American comedy.

Dick Gregory, more than any other comedian, has used his celebrity as an entertainer to advance social causes. His style employs deadpan understatement and understated exaggeration to great satirical effect. For example, he commented in one of his routines: "I know the South very well. I spent twenty years there one night." Gregory joined the voter-registration marches in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1963, becoming the first celebrity to participate in that struggle. During the 1960s he was a popular speaker on college campuses and television talk shows. His unique ability to combine social satire and moral fervor with a compassionate humor regarding the foibles of people from all backgrounds made him a compelling, immensely popular comedian. In the 1970s Gregory began to devote most of his energy to research, writing, and consulting on issues of health, nutrition, and obesity.

Though not an activist, Bill Cosby has also made a significant social impact, both through the content of his television shows and through his philanthropy, as a donor of millions of dollars to Spelman and other black colleges. Cosby first gained national fame in the early 1960s as co-star of the television series *I Spy*. His brilliance as a comedian, however, was established by a series of recordings that revealed him to be a versatile, broadly appealing entertainer. Avoiding "blue" humor and political commentary, Cosby's albums focused on childhood, movies, animals, sports, and various whimsies, such as "Why is there air?"

His reminiscences about a childhood friend called Fat Albert eventually developed into a very successful television cartoon series. A significant amount of Cosby's work has been not only about but for children. The ultimate popularity of Fat Albert notwithstanding, however,

Comedian Bill Cosby. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Cosby's most famous routine of the 1960s was "Noah," a series of exchanges between God and Noah regarding the ark. When Noah, exasperated by animal care and neighbors' ridicule, threatens to dismantle the ark, God asks him: "How long can you tread water?" After a pause, Noah recants with his characteristic, deadpan refrain: "Riiight!" Like Dusty Fletcher's "Open the door, Richard," these lines quickly entered the vernacular.

In the early 1970s Cosby appeared with Sidney Poitier in a series of popular movies, including *Uptown Saturday Night.* Though entertaining, these did nothing to advance Cosby's reputation as a comic. In the 1980s he returned to television with *The Cosby Show,* a series about a physician, his lawyer wife, and their several children. This show was designed to break the stereotype of black families as ghetto-dwelling buffoons with unmarried parents. The backbone of the show, of course, was Cosby's wise and gentle humor, as he dealt with the family's problems and adventures. This was the most successful television show of the decade, gaining top ratings even in South Africa. It brought an unprecedented dignity to blacks in television comedy, and it introduced a new generation to the benevolently mischievous, family-oriented humor of Bill Cosby. Cosby decided to conclude the show in 1992.

Despite the brilliance of Dick Gregory and Bill Cosby, Richard Pryor must be acknowledged as the preeminent African-American comedian of the past two decades. The uniqueness of Pryor's comic genius lies not just with his extraordinary ability to make people laugh but, more important, with the emotional complexity of his humor. Pryor is the most frighteningly confessional of all comedians, and much of his humor derives from his own failed relationships, his personal fears, misfortunes, angers, and addictions. His unprecedented willingness to expose everything, combined with his childlike ability to find wonderment in common things, produces a comedy of breadth and profundity, encompassing emotions from moral horror to sheer exhilaration.

From the beginning of his career in the early 1960s, Pryor had the reputation of being a crazy, unpredictable performer, one who would do or say anything, no matter how profane or taboo. Even then, however, his routines were tempered by moments of poignant self-revelation. Pryor's reputation as America's top stand-up comedian was consolidated in the 1970s and 1980s with the release of several live performances as full-length theatrical films (and subsequently as LP recordings). In these concerts, Pryor demonstrates the full range of his art. He does impersonations of white people, women, dogs, monkeys, and children; he portrays Mudbone, an old black storyteller from the South; and he discusses his misadventures with women, his heart attack, his drug addiction, and even his horrible self-immolation in a freebasing accident.

After this close brush with death Pryor's comedy mellowed somewhat, causing some critics to complain that he had lost his comic edge. Nevertheless, his spellbinding narrative of his addiction, his accident, and his convalescence clearly epitomizes the combination of pain and humor, confession and moral reflection, that has always made him unique. Throughout his career, the conflict between desire and restraint has been central to Pryor's comedy. In his late work, this continues to be the case, except that he has gained a sharper understanding of moral consequences in the failure of restraint. By traditional aesthetic criteria, this discovery of wisdom must be considered a deepening and not a diminution of his art.

Of the African-American comedians to emerge since the 1970s, three are clearly preeminent: Arsenio Hall, Eddie Murphy, and Whoopi Goldberg. Hall, due to his nightly monologues on his popular late-night program, *The Arsenio Hall Show,* became the most familiar of the three as a stand-up comic. Early in his career, Hall toured with popular soul-music bands, including Patti LaBelle's, as a warm-up act. He gained national television exposure as a regular on *Solid Gold,* a popular soul-music show of

the late 1970s and early 1980s. Hall's monologues were reminiscent of Johnny Carson's, drawing heavily on current news stories and celebrities. Aside from his television work, Hall received critical accolades for his comic roles in two Eddie Murphy films: *Coming to America* and *Harlem Nights*.

Eddie Murphy created an immediate sensation when he joined the cast of *Saturday Night Live* in the late 1970s. Distinguished by his exceptional talents as a mimic, Murphy created several memorable caricatures for the show, including portrayals of Buckwheat and Stevie Wonder. Several of those performances were compiled on a videocassette, *The Best of Saturday Night Live: Eddie Murphy*. In the 1980s Murphy gained stardom in a series of immensely popular movies, such as *Beverly Hills Cop* and *48 Hours,* that capitalized on his biting repartee and derisive cockiness. He also filmed a pair of live-performance movies, *Eddie Murphy Live* and *Raw*. Murphy's monologues focus primarily on family and sexual relations, but they lack the shifting perspectives and self-critical insight of Pryor's routines. The caustic edge of Murphy's humor has rarely been tempered by compassion.

Whoopi Goldberg incorporates elements of several earlier comedians. Goldberg's stage persona—dreadlocks, athletic shoes, guttural voice—brings to mind Moms Mabley. Like Richard Pryor, she portrays characters facing personal crises with a combination of humor and pathos. Like Dick Gregory, she has incorporated political activism into her career. Goldberg's one-woman show on Broadway in the early 1980s brought her instant acclaim. Her characters, such as a Valley girl who attempts abortion with a coat hanger and a black girl who wears a mop as a wig, yearning for blond hair, were at once funny, poignant, and politically charged. Goldberg's greatest triumph came with her portrayal of Celie in the movie *The Color Purple* (1985), but her first memorable comic role came in *Ghost* (1990), in which she played a phony psychic who suddenly begins to communicate with real ghosts. Though Goldberg brings flashes of brilliance to all her work, she has not consistently played roles commensurate with her talent.

During the 1990s several factors combined to produce a renaissance in comedy. The popularity of comedy clubs began in the major cities and soon spread to smaller cities and towns across the country. At the same time, new shows featuring stand-up comedy proliferated on television, especially on the new cable channels, which soon included a channel devoted entirely to comedy. African-American comedians have been a notable presence in these new venues. *Saturday Night Live* has continued to be an important showcase for emerging stars, such as Chris Rock and Chris Tucker, who have both earned starring roles in several high-profile Hollywood films. Tucker is a singular and zany comic actor whose style of manic, physical comedy harks back to Jerry Lewis. Rock, on the other hand, is a classic, straight-talking, sharp-witted stand-up comedian, reminiscent of Nipsey Russell.

The most significant black comedy show since Flip Wilson's show of the 1970s and Richard Pryor's brilliant but very brief show in 1977—it lasted only four episodes—was *In Living Color,* which began the first of its three seasons in 1990. This show was historically significant for several reasons. Its format, essentially the same as that of Rowan and Martin's *Laugh-In* from the 1960s, was not original. Indeed, the mix of skits, dialogues, and monologues, separated by dance or musical interludes, is the classic form of American comedy shows since the heyday of minstrelsy. But just as *Laugh-In* brought the music, dance, and fashions, the psychedelic colors and shifting shapes, the attitudes, and the aesthetic sensibilities of 1960s youth counterculture to the mass audience, *In Living Color* introduced a mass-market version of hip-hop culture to the television audience.

The show was also significant because the Fox network so conspicuously placed creative control in the hands of Keenan Ivory Wayans, who was host, executive producer, and lead writer for the show. This was a sharp contrast to the public debacle created by NBC executives in their inept handling of Richard Pryor's show. Network censorship became an embarrassingly pervasive theme of the show after its first episode. Whatever the reality behind the scenes may have been, *In Living Color* was presented to the public as a joyful, celebratory family enterprise, featuring the talented and seemingly endless Wayans clan (beginning with three brothers and a sister) along with their madcap, multiethnic posse. The show was a hit with the television audience, and it launched several major comedy careers, most notably those of Keenan Ivory Wayans, Damon Wayans, and Jim Carrey. Perhaps the most celebrated recurring feature on the show was "Men on Film," which sometimes became "Men on Art." It presented Keenan and Damon, in clownish attire and makeup, posed as homosexual critics on a cultural appreciation TV show. Full of outlandish double entendres and signifying glances, these hilarious skits became the show's signature, epitomized by Damon's catchphrase of ultimate approval: "I'll give that two snaps and a circle." This accolade was usually reserved for representations of male beauty, such as Michelangelo's *David,* which often appeared in these skits in all his nude glory, sporting a bow tie.

Regardless of their actual class backgrounds, most of the new comedians of the past decade evince a clear

middle-class orientation in their performances. However, the revival of performance venues in black communities has allowed the development of comedians who are derived from and oriented toward a primarily black audience. Cedric the Entertainer and Mo'Nique are good examples. Cedric is a veteran of the black stand-up comedy circuit. He first became familiar to the television audience in a series of Bud Lite commercials. Subsequently, he has starred in several movies, most notably, *Barbershop.* His stage persona is a genial, cheerful, slightly nervous man, self-impressed with his own constant efforts to appear cool, yet always on the brink of becoming merely silly and pompous. Thus far, he has succeeded brilliantly at walking this dangerous tightrope.

Similarly, Mo'Nique has adopted the very risky stance of defining herself as proudly overweight. She defends the dignity and sexiness of "big girls," yet she also derives much of her humor from the common negative attitudes regarding obesity. At a time when obesity is becoming a rampant health problem for all Americans, and especially for black women, Mo'Nique has positioned herself in a worrisome area that is nonetheless ripe for comedy. Of course, embracing the "big girl" identity connects her with a long tradition of blueswomen, from Bessie Smith and Big Momma Thornton to Koko Taylor and Shemekia Copeland. It also resonates with Moms Mobley's persona as an old woman, which Moms began to cultivate long before she was truly old. Mo'Nique has now gained national celebrity as a hostess of the Apollo Theater's televised amateur night shows. She has been well received in this role. Her comic persona reminds us that painful truths can yield robust laughter.

All of these are highly accomplished comedians, yet all of them work within some particular niche of comedy. None of them has been able, in the manner of Richard Pryor, to encompass all the familiar modes of comedy with equal adeptness and to open up, as well, the wholly unexpected. When the *Dave Chappelle Show* began on Comedy Central in 2003, a new young star with exceptional range materialized before a delighted public. Chappelle's topics include race, relationships, identity, politics, and current events, as one might expect of any black comedian. However, he is also as zany and whimsical as Richard Pryor and Robin Williams: a manic, unpredictable, morally probing and satirically incisive comedian. In his first two seasons, his show has been extraordinarily successful, catapulting him to preeminence in the world of comedy. Unfortunately, just as he was set to begin filming, in the spring of 2005, for his third season, Chappelle abruptly disappeared. After many days of mysterious absence, he turned up in South Africa: he had decided to give himself an unplanned sabbatical. Whether he will continue his show and realize the potential of his astonishing talent remains to be seen.

For black comedians who came of age during the civil rights era, there was a sense of imperative to transcend racist stereotypes and to perform even comedy with intelligence and dignity. In this era of resurgent conservatism, comedians face a more complicated set of challenges. If opportunities diminish for black comedians to work, the pressures may increase for them to accept problematic arrangements or to perform in ways that they would not freely choose. Such has been the plight of black performers throughout modern history, and the inevitable tendency of conservative periods is to move backward. The commitment to perform with intelligence and dignity may be displaced by the imperative simply to find work. In any case, the greatest challenge for comedians will always be to create a humor that taps deep emotions and engages experience honestly, provoking a laughter intensified by moral passion and tempered with tears.

See also Apollo Theater; Cambridge, Godfrey MacArthur; Cosby, Bill; Foxx, Redd; Goldberg, Whoopi; Gregory, Dick; Mabley, Jackie "Moms"; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Murphy, Eddie; Pryor, Richard; Walker, George; Williams, Bert; Wilson, Flip

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DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Comic Books

In the early years of comic books, African Americans sometimes appeared as minor characters, usually in the demeaning guise of familiar stereotypes. Not until the 1960s did blacks begin to appear as important figures in mass-circulation comic books. African-American artists and writers, meanwhile, did not gain a significant presence in the comic book industry until the 1970s, and their numbers have remained very small.

In important respects, comic books have always reflected tendencies in other popular genres, including comic strips, radio shows, movies, and television. Thus, the depictions of black Americans in comic books have often reflected established popular cultural norms. In the 1940s, for example, Will Eisner's series *The Spirit* included a black sidekick named Ebony White. Reflecting the transition between traditional racial stereotypes and an incipient realism during that decade of World War II, Eisner drew Ebony with some stereotypical features, such as exaggerated lips, but also portrayed him as a sympathetic character, no more the butt of low humor than *The Spirit*'s other characters.

In the 1960s such television shows as *I Spy* and *Julia* began to incorporate black characters as educated middle-class professionals—for example, as intelligence agents and nurses. Correspondingly, the Spiderman comic book introduced Joe Robertson as city editor at the *Daily Bugle,* the newspaper where Spiderman's alter ego, Peter Parker, worked as a freelance photographer. This trend continued in the 1970s, especially in the Marvel Comics universe. For example, *Silver Surfer* #5 (1969) featured a black scientist named Al B. Harper who used his technical skills and ultimately sacrificed his life to help the Silver Surfer save humanity from extermination by the Stranger, an intergalactic misanthrope.

Marvel also introduced the first major black superhero, the Black Panther, in 1966. The ruler of a fictional African nation called Wakanda, T'Challa, the Black Panther, wore a skintight black costume that invoked his namesake and personal totem. Though he lacked true superpowers, the Panther possessed the enhanced strength, quickness, and agility that his name suggested. Wakanda maintained a combination of traditional culture and advanced technology; reflecting this cosmopolitanism, the Black Panther often traveled to America, becoming involved with superhero groups. He first appeared in *The Fantastic Four* No. 52 and eventually became a regular member of The Avengers. He gained his own series, titled *Jungle Action,* beginning in 1973.

Marvel's first and most successful black title, however, was Luke Cage, Superhero for Hire (1972). In an accident involving a combination of electric shock and immersion in chemicals, Cage acquired impenetrable skin and greatly magnified strength (though not "superhuman" power on the scale of Marvel's the Hulk or DC Comics' Superman). A comic book equivalent of popular "blaxploitation" movie heroes, Cage lived in Harlem and fought various criminals, usually working on a "for hire" basis. Later in the 1970s, as the popularity of martial-arts films began to eclipse blaxploitation, Marvel teamed Luke Cage with a martial-arts superhero, Iron Fist. The Luke Cage series was significant as the first major black feature to be drawn by a black artist, Billy Graham. Graham also drew some issues of the Black Panther series.

Subsequent black characters in Marvel Comics have included Black Goliath, who briefly had his own title; Storm, an African woman who joined the New X-Men, a group of mutant superheroes; and the Falcon, who became the partner of Captain America in the 1970s. There have been fewer black characters in DC comics, and nearly all have been minor figures. These have included John Stewart, who occasionally appeared in Green Lantern, and Mal, a sidekick of the Teen Titans. In the 1970s a special DC collectors' series included a duel between Superman and Muhammad Ali. In the 1980s DC introduced Cloak and Dagger, a pair of symbiotically linked superheroes. Cloak is a black man, Dagger a white woman.

Also worthy of note is *Sabre,* a series produced by Eclipse Publications, a small comics company. Created by Don MacGregor, who wrote the Black Panther series for Marvel, Sabre features a protagonist modeled visually on the rock guitarist Jimi Hendrix. This is not a superhero comic. Rather, it is a philosophical, postnuclear holocaust fiction, somewhat like the Mad Max movies. Sabre's adventures are secondary to his meditations, and, despite his appearance, his blackness has no ethnic content. The series originally appeared in an extended, black-and-white graphic-novel format, drawn by Paul Gulacy, in 1978. Subsequent issues have been in conventional full-color comic format, drawn by Billy Graham.

In the 1980s the proliferation of specialty comic book stores and other economic factors led to fundamental changes in the comics industry. The creation of new outlets undermined the power wielded by the major companies through their control of newsstand space. New comics companies developed, marketing their titles through specialty stores, often to more mature and selective clienteles than traditional comic books had targeted. This created opportunities for people with special genre interests (social realism, fantasy, science fiction, horror, etc.),

Black Superheroes

The names Storm, Black Panther, and Luke Cage may not invoke the same connotations as Superman, Batman, and Spiderman, but that is changing as black superheroes become more prevalent in mainstream comics and take on further starring roles. The first recurring black comic character was Ebony White, created by Will Eisner as a sidekick for Spirit, a crime-fighting detective. Ebony White was a poor taxi driver with overly large lips and exaggerated saucer-like eyes. Black superheroes have come a long way since this stereotypical sidekick.

Possibly the most famous black superhero is The Black Panther, created by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby in 1966 for Marvel Comics. The Black Panther is known as T'Challa, king of the imaginary African nation, Wakanda. He is a scientist as well as a superhero and wears a suit of all black. He first started as an adversary to the Fantastic Four and moved on to eventually become one of The Avengers. In 1973 he finally got his own series. The Black Panther is not a character defined by his skin color, but his adventures often do involve conflict between ancient and modern nations, racial issues, and ecological issues.

Since the emergence of The Black Panther, there have been many other black superheroes and characters in comics. Luke Cage (otherwise known as Power Man) was a street thug until he was framed and went to prison where he volunteered to be experimented on. The experiment left him with super strength and super powers. He showed up in Marvel Comics in 1972 as a "hero for hire." In 1977, DC Comics introduced its first black superhero, Black Lightning. Created by Tony Isabella, Jefferson Pierce (a.k.a. Black Lightning) was an Olympic athlete who returns to his old school to teach and decides to crusade against the school's rampant drug problem.

Other characters include Blade, a vampire hunter. Bishop and Storm, both members of the famed X-Men, Todd McFarlane's Spawn, and Battalion, part of Stormwatch. The Falcon is a street-level crime fighter who eventually teams up with Captain America. Cyborg is a member of the Teen Titans, a child genius named Victor Stone whose parents worked as scientists causing a freak accident and turning him into a cyborg. There are scores of black superheroes, both male and female represented in comics today. Instead of the stereotypical representations of the past, such as a grammatically challenged character used for comic relief, these action heroes are diverse and heroic.

women, ethnic minorities, and others to produce and consume a greater variety of comics than ever before. Even the major companies began to produce graphic novels and other special projects, designed for this new comic book market. In the early 1990s some independently produced black comic books have appeared, such as *Brotherman* by David, Jason and Guy Sims, and *Black Thunder* by Ernest Gibbs, Jr. African Americans currently working for the major companies include the writer Dwayne McDuffie and Marcus McLaurin, an editor at Marvel. These exceptions notwithstanding, black people remain underrepresented in the world of comic books, both as subject matter and as producers.

See also Comic Strips; Popular Culture

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DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
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Comic Strips

From its very beginnings in 1895, the American comic strip has reflected the nation's rich ethnic mixture, with such features as *The Katzenjammer Kids* (1897–), *Alphonse and Gaston* (1902), *Bringing Up Father* (1911–), and *Abie*

the Agent (1914–1940) focused on characters of German, French, Irish, and Jewish backgrounds, respectively. The African American, however, generally served as a background character in early comic strips and was consistently portrayed in the mainstream press in the stereotyped minstrel-show style that had become commonplace in the films, cartoons, advertising, and other media of the period. This was true even of the early work of the brilliant creator of *Krazy Kat,* George Herriman (1880–1944), who, it is now widely believed, was of African ancestry.

After the turn of the twentieth century, it became evident that the comic strip had become a permanent part of the newspaper, and many black newspapers encouraged the development of comic strips by black staff artists. These were often only for local consumption, but they were more sensitive to the nuances of black character and life. The best known and longest lived of them was *Bungleton Green* (1920–1963), which appeared in the *Chicago Defender.* The strip was first created by Leslie L. Rogers, and it continued under the hands of Henry Brown from 1929 to 1934, Jay Jackson from 1934 to 1954, and Chester Commodore until its end. Bung, the central character, was an inept opportunist and con man, much in the pattern of such mainstream characters as Mutt and Jeff and Barney Google, and the humor derived from his unsuccessful efforts to make a quick buck by hustling someone. Since his economic woes were not far from the situations of most of the strip's readers, Bung struck a responsive chord in his faithful following, who approved of his spunk, if not his methods. During the 1940s the strip became more of an adventure tale, though it eventually returned to the gag format. From time to time, it dealt in satiric and indirect ways with racial themes.

Other African-American strips to emerge in the wake of *Bungleton Green* in the 1930s were *Sunnyboy Sam* by Wilbert Holloway, *Bucky* by Sammy Milai, and *Susabelle* by Elton Fax, the last two beginning a tradition of features about black children drawn with honesty and humor. Oliver W. "Ollie" Harrington (1912–1995), who has been called one of America's greatest cartoonists, earned prominence and popularity in the black community in the mid-1930s through his candid cartoons about the character Bootsie for the *Amsterdam News,* and in the mid-1940s for the World War II adventure strip about a black aviator, *Jive Gray*. This strip was distributed nationally by the Continental Features Syndicate, which was established by the black entrepreneur Lajoyeaux H. Stanton and was one of the first to handle black features.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Mel Tapley's *Breezy* was about teenagers, Chester Commodore's *The Sparks* satirized middle-class black family life, and Tom Feelings' (1922–2003) *Tommy Traveler in the World of Negro History* took its young hero back to witness some of the proud achievements of the black past. The panel *Cuties* by Elmer Simms Campbell (1906–1971) began mainstream syndication in 1943, but here, as in his work for *Esquire* and, later, *Playboy,* Campbell specialized in drawing beautiful white women in romantic situations. Most readers never knew he was black. The most important feature to appear at the time was *Torchy Brown* by Jackie Ormes, a distinctively drawn strip about an independent, aggressive, and attractive woman who becomes involved in fighting racism and sexism, among other social problems, in exciting adventure narratives. Torchy was a powerful role model for young black women.

The first African-American strip to achieve mainstream national distribution by a major syndicate was *Wee Pals* by Morrie Turner (b. 1923), in 1964. The California-born Turner had first drawn an all-black strip about children called *Dinky Fellas* (and modeled after *Peanuts*) for two black papers, the *Berkeley Post* and the *Chicago Defender,* in 1963. With the encouragement of Charles Schulz and Dick Gregory, the strip was integrated with children of different races and dispositions (Anglo-American, Asian, Native American, Chicano, and Jewish; intellectual, feminist, militant, etc.). The charm of Turner's style and his gently satiric treatment of racial and political themes made the strip a great success during the years of the civil rights movement, and he turned his characters to educational advantage by using them in children's books, television shows, and campaigns in support of social improvement and racial harmony.

Turner's success in breaking the racial barrier in mainstream syndication was emulated by two more features about children. *Luther* (named after the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) was begun by Brumsic Brandon Jr. (b. 1927) in 1968, with the intent of finding humor in the lives of working-class blacks in the urban ghetto, without gloss or glamour. In addition to Luther, it featured such young characters as Hardcore, Oreo, and the white teacher Miss Backlash. In 1970 the Jamaica-born Ted Shearer (1921–1996) began another racially mixed strip called *Quincy,* which was more sentimental and gentle-natured than *Luther*. Shearer's style was distinctive and the humor engaging, but *Quincy* was like too many other children's strips of the time and seldom reflected the social and economic problems of blacks. Both *Luther* and *Quincy* ended in 1986. Three integrated adventure strips appeared during this period, but none lasted very long: *Dateline Danger* began in 1968, *The Badge Guys* in 1971, and *Friday Foster* in 1972, the last featuring a glamorous black heroine.

After Turner, Brandon, and Shearer had demonstrated a national interest in comic strips about blacks, the syndicates soon began to search out African-American talents and nurture their work. Between 1980 and 1982, Ray Billingsley (b. 1957), a young cartoonist from North Carolina, created a popular feature about a black inner-city family called *Lookin' Fine.* Billingsley found more widespread success in 1988 with the appearance of *Curtis.* This strip also features a typical black family, but Billingsley succeeds in balancing the ethnic humor with generalized situations of family conflict. Occasionally, the strip ventures into controversial areas such as drugs, drinking, smoking, and discrimination (which sometimes generates letters to the newspaper editors from readers upset over the idea of treating such topics in the pages of the "funny papers").

While a young, hardworking black couple are at the center of *Jump Start* by Philadelphia-born Robb Armstrong (Joe is a policeman and Marcy a nurse), this strip, begun in 1988, takes in, through numerous subsidiary characters, an entire urban community. The stresses of their action-oriented careers and the strains of married life are major sources of comedy. In 1989 Stephen Bentley of Los Angeles began *Herb & Jamaal,* featuring two mature and experienced men, former high-school buddies, who have opened an ice cream parlor. The ethnicity of the strip resides less in its humor than in its authentic feel for black, streetwise, inner-city relationships. In 1991 Barbara Brandon, the daughter of Brumsic Brandon Jr., nationally syndicated a feature she had first developed in 1989 called *Where I'm Coming From.* Using an open panel style and talking heads rather than full figures (in order to reverse the traditional emphasis on the female body), Brandon had created a small community of women characters who observe social attitudes, politics, and gender behavior through the prism of their experience as black women in America. The humor is acerbic and often provocative to male readers, but it is nevertheless realistically and sensitively attuned to contemporary social issues. In 2005, Brandon announced that she was retiring the feature.

The provocative nature of Brandon's panel was taken a radical step further in 1999 by Aaron McGruder's brilliant comic strip *Boondocks.* Originating in a 1996 feature for the University of Maryland student newspaper, it addresses the problems of two black children from Chicago who find themselves living with their grandfather in the mainly white suburbs of Woodcrest. The character Huey Freeman adopts the role of the intellectual revolutionary, while Riley aspires to be a "gangsta." However, their diminutive size and lack of any power continually undermine their efforts. While racism more often than not is the topic of the humor, McGruder targets discrimination in all its forms and attitudes both within the black community and the larger white society. The Reverend Jesse Jackson and Black Entertainment Television (BET) are as likely to be ridiculed as U.S. Senator Jesse Helms and President George W. Bush for their hypocrisy and political stupidity. *Boondocks* is the first black strip to compete with Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury,* which McGruder greatly admires, in its ability to generate controversy, letters of complaint to the editors, and subscription cancellations. McGruder has taken his angry message—that the right is corrupt, the left is naïve, and no one cares enough to make a difference—to animation, film, television, and the lecture platform as well.

A less provocative comic strip begun in 2003 is Darrin Bell's *Candorville,* in which a group of racially diverse, inner-city friends discuss such matters as bigotry, biracialism, poverty, and personal responsibility. Even so, the satire has a sharp and honest edge. It was launched in both English and Spanish versions.

Another sign of an African-American presence in the comics is the number of black characters that have been added to popular features since the 1960s. A selective list of these include Franklin in *Peanuts* by Charles Schulz, Lieutenant Jack Flap in *Beetle Bailey* by Mort Walker, Morrie (after Morrie Turner) in *Family Circus* by Bill Keane, Clyde and Ginny in *Doonesbury* by Garry Trudeau, and Oliver Wendell Jones and Ronald-Ann in *Bloom County* by Berkeley Breathed. While they may appear to be token presences, these are characters who have moved beyond stereotypes and become integrated in the larger community of the world of comic art.

See also *Chicago Defender*; Comic Books; Feelings, Thomas; Gregory, Dick

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M. THOMAS INGE (1996)
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Communist Party of the United States

When the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) was founded in 1921, few people realized the critical role it would play in African-American politics and culture. The product of several splinter groups emerging out of the Socialist Party's left wing in 1919, it was founded by people who—like the Socialists before them—viewed the plight of African Americans as inseparable from the class struggle. However, pressure from the newly formed "Third" International (that is, Comintern) and popular support for black nationalist movements within African-American communities compelled the CPUSA to reconsider its approach to the "Negro question." In 1921 V. I. Lenin assailed the American Communist leadership for neglecting the plight of black workers; one year later, Comintern officials insisted that African Americans were a "nationality" oppressed by worldwide imperialist exploitation and called on American Communists to work within Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. In 1928 the Comintern, with input from Harry Haywood and South African Communist James La Guma, passed a resolution asserting that African Americans in the southern Black Belt counties constituted an oppressed nation and therefore possessed an inherent right of self-determination.

An emerging black left, deeply touched by the Bolshevik revolution as well as by postwar workers' uprisings and racial violence, also shaped the Communist position toward African Americans in the 1920s. The members of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), founded in 1918 by Cyril Briggs, eventually joined the CPUSA en masse during the early 1920s. Formed as a secret, underground organization of radical black nationalists, the ABB supported collective working-class action and advocated armed defense against lynching as well as racial equality and self-determination for Africans and peoples of African descent. After being absorbed by the CPUSA, the ABB ceased to exist as an independent entity. In its place the party in 1925 created the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC), an organization led chiefly by ex-ABB leaders intent on building interracial unity in, and black support for, the labor movement. When the ANLC disintegrated after failing to gain popular support, it was replaced by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in 1930. This proved to be somewhat more successful because of the popularity of its newspaper, the *Liberator*. Under the editorship of Cyril Briggs, it became a journal of black news tailor-made for the African-American community and a forum for radical black creative writers.

The self-determination slogan may have inspired a few black intellectuals already in the CPUSA, but it was not the key to building black working-class support during the 1930s. However, the party's fight for the concrete economic needs of the unemployed and working poor, its role in organizing sharecroppers in Alabama, its militant opposition to racism, and its vigorous courtroom battles in behalf of African Americans through the International Labor Defense (ILD) attracted a considerable section of America's black working class and intelligentsia. In particular, the ILD's defense of nine young black men falsely accused of raping two white women in Alabama, known as the Scottsboro Case, crystallized black support for the CPUSA in the 1930s.

Black support during this period typified black working-class life and culture, and many rank-and-file Communists were churchgoing Christians who combined the party's politics and ideology with black folk culture. Moreover, in spite of the Communist Party's highly masculine language of class struggle and self-determination, black women played central roles in both the leadership and the rank and file. African-American working women participated in and sometimes led relief demonstrations and marches to free the Scottsboro Boys, resisted evictions, confronted condescending social workers, and fought utilities shutoffs. The American Communist movement produced a significant group of black women leaders during the Great Depression and World War II, including Louise Thompson Patterson, Audley Moore, Bonita Williams, Claudia Jones, Dorothy Burnham, Moranda Smith, and Esther Cooper Jackson.

In 1935, in accordance with the Comintern's Seventh World Congress, the CPUSA called for a Popular Front against fascism, de-emphasized its Marxist ideology, and eventually supported Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. While southern Communists chose to play down race in order to build alliances with southern white liberals, the Popular Front led to more support from African Americans in the urban North. The party gained a larger black following in such places as Harlem and Chicago because of its opposition to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, and when African-American radicals were unable to join Haile Selassie's army because of U.S. government restrictions against the enlistment of U.S. citizens in a foreign army, many closed ranks with the left and fought in the Spanish Civil War. Communists were also the primary force behind the National Negro Congress (1935–1946) and the Southern Negro Youth Congress (1937–1949), both of which represented hundreds of black organizations. Finally, during the Popular Front, black Communist labor organizers—among them, Hosea Hudson, Ebb Cox,

Benjamin J. Davis Jr. marching beneath a Communist Party banner in New York City. *Davis, a member of the New York City Council from 1943 to 1947, was one of the few persons elected to public office as a member of the Communist Party.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

James Hart, and Ferdinand C. Smith—played a critical role in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), particularly in the steel, mining, marine transport, and meatpacking industries.

During this period the party attracted a considerable number of black artists, including Paul Robeson and Langston Hughes. Communist cultural critics collected African-American music, began to write jazz criticism, and insisted that black culture was the clearest expression of "American culture." This newfound appreciation of black culture opened up potential space for creative expression within CPUSA circles. Communist papers published poems and short stories by black writers and carried articles and cartoons on black history; CPUSA auxiliaries sponsored plays by black playwrights, art exhibits, benefit jazz concerts, and dances. Nevertheless, many projects were constrained by ideological imperatives or failed because of lack of support. In 1932, for example, the Soviet Union invited a group of twenty-two black artists, including Louise Thompson and Langston Hughes, to make a film about African-American life, but the Soviets soon abandoned the project.

The Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, the CPUSA's sudden shift to an extreme antiwar position, the Dies Committee's investigation into "un-American" activities, and the rising anticommunism among CIO leaders weakened the party's base of support on the eve of World War II, but its relationship to black workers and artists remained fairly strong, especially in Harlem. Between 1939 and 1940, for instance, black Communists led a boycott of the film *Gone with the Wind,* initiated a campaign to "End Jim Crow in Sports," collected ten thousand signatures to demand the integration of blacks in major league baseball, organized numerous plays and jazz concerts, and persuaded blues composer W. C. Handy to lecture at the Workers School.

When Communists shifted to a prowar position after Germany invaded Russia in 1941, the African-American leadership, for the most part, adopted an uncompromising stance vis-à-vis the war effort, insisting on a "double victory" against racism at home and fascism abroad. While the CPUSA essentially opposed the "Double V" campaign, arguing that too much black militancy could undermine the war effort, rank-and-file Communists continued to fight on the civil rights front throughout the war, demand-

ing, among other things, the full integration of the armed forces and implementation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. In spite of these measures, the party's opposition to the Double V slogan left many African Americans feeling that it had abandoned them for the sake of the war.

After the war Communists shifted to the "ultra left." The party again advocated class struggle and it sought to rebuild ties to black working-class communities, a strategy that included resurrecting the self-determination thesis. The Civil Rights Congress, led by Communist William L. Patterson, gained notoriety for its militant defense of African Americans falsely accused of crimes and Communists accused of "un-American" activities, and for its historic petition to the United Nations charging the U.S. government with genocide against African Americans in 1951.

The late 1940s and the early 1950s were an exciting time for black feminist theorizing and activism in the American Communist movement. For example, in 1949 the CPUSA's theoretical journal *Political Affairs* published Claudia Jones' seminal essay, "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!" The article strongly criticized "white chauvinism" within the party in particular and black women's marginal place within the left in general. The article also popularized the term "triple oppression"—race, class, and gender oppression—within the party. In 1951 Louise Thompson Patterson, with poet, actor, and progressive activist Beah Richardson, founded the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. This short-lived, all-black women's, progressive civil rights organization sought to give black women an independent voice in the left and in the emerging, postwar black freedom movement.

The left also served as an important cultural and political site where a small but vibrant community of black women artists and writers came together. For example, articles by playwright and journalist Lorraine Hansberry, playwright and novelist Alice Childress, and labor organizer Vicki Garvin appeared in Paul Robeson's *Freedom*, a black progressive newspaper published between 1950 and 1955. Novelist Rosa Guy took part in the progressive Harlem Writers Guild during the McCarthy period. And visual artists Margaret Burroughs and Elizabeth Catlett forged ties with progressives in Chicago, Mexico, and beyond during the 1940s and 1950s.

However, McCarthyite repression and the party's leftward turn in the wake of Secretary Earl Browder's expulsion and William Z. Foster's rise to power weakened the CPUSA considerably. The state arrested Communists for violating the Smith Act—including black leaders such as Henry Winston, Ben J. Davis Jr., Claudia Jones, William L. Patterson, James Jackson Jr., and Pettis Perry. This stifling cold war political climate isolated the CPUSA from politically mainstream African-American protest groups. McCarthyism also contributed to the demise of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. As the state targeted the left, the party experienced its own factional disputes and expulsions. As the country moved right, the party under Foster moved farther left and further into isolation. By 1956 the CPUSA had become a shadow of its former self, never to achieve the status it had enjoyed in the 1930s and 1940s.

> "The Communist Party not only declares its support for social, economic, and political equality—for complete unconditional equality—for the Negroes, but the Communist Party fights for equality for the Negroes."
>
> CLARENCE HATHAWAY
> FROM SPEECH ON BLACK SELF DETERMINATION, REPRINTED IN WILLIAM L. VAN DEBURG. *MODERN BLACK NATIONALISM*. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1997, P. 61.

During the next three decades, black Communists and ex-Communists such as Jack O'Dell, Mae Mallory, Abner Berry, Audley "Queen Mother" Moore, and Hosea Hudson participated in various civil rights organizations, antiwar movements, labor unions, and black nationalist struggles. As an organization, however, the CPUSA maintained a significant black constituency only in New York City, Detroit, and California—with the latter regarded as a renegade state by the CPUSA Central Committee. While the national leadership attacked black nationalism during the height of the Black Power movement, the California cadre, under the guidance of leaders such as Charlene Mitchell and Dorothy Healey, not only gave support to various nationalist movements but established an all-black youth unit called the Che-Lumumba Club, in defiance of Central Committee directives. The movement to free Angela Davis, the last nationally renowned black Communist of the twentieth century, further strengthened the CPUSA's black support in California.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the CPUSA practically fell apart. Virtually every leading African-American cadre member, including Angela Davis, James Jackson, and Charlene Mitchell, quit the party altogether with the hope of reconstituting a new democratic

left-wing movement. The late 1990s, however, saw a resurgence of activity in the Young Communist League (YCL). YCL members took part in graduate student labor, antisweat shop, and trade union organizing and in antiglobalization demonstrations. Despite these activities, the American Communist Party remains a marginal force in the U.S. left.

See also African Blood Brotherhood; Briggs, Cyril; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; National Negro Congress; Politics in the United States

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ROBIN D. G. KELLEY (1996)
ERIK S. MCDUFFIE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Community Radio

The history of black public radio parallels the history of noncommercial radio, the oldest form of radio broadcasting in the United States. Philip A. Thompsen notes that "noncommercial radio arose from the radio broadcasting pursuits of college students, community groups, political parties, and non profit organizations" (Albarran, p. 133). The first noncommercial station in America, WHA, began as a radio experiment in the physics department of the University of Wisconsin in 1902, according to Thompsen.

Black Public Radio Early History

Black public radio's early stages evolved on the campuses of the historically black colleges and universities. The missions of the black college stations were to train, educate, and inform, though their primary purpose was to educate students in radio. The radio station functioned as a learning laboratory that students programmed with the oversight of a faculty advisor. A strong commitment to public affairs programming emerged as a means to inform the local community, which was typically politically disenfranchised by commercial mass media. The local black community began to have a voice through the medium of black public radio.

In 1945 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) designated one-fifth of the FM band from 88.1 and 91.9 megahertz for the exclusive use of noncommercial educational radio. The term *public radio* is sometimes used

by listeners and holders of noncommercial educational FM licenses to refer to FM stations operating in this band. In fact, all AM and FM radio service in the United States is public.

Black noncommercial radio began in the early 1960s with WCSU-FM at Central State University in Ohio and KUCA at the University of Central Arkansas. North Carolina has the largest number of black noncommercial stations with seven. In 1967, the Public Broadcasting Act was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson. The act created a federally funded radio service that would greatly increase public interest programming and relieve commercial broadcasters from FCC-mandated public service obligations. The passage of this law and the subsequent formation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting opened opportunities for black colleges and universities to secure federal funding and establish noncommercial stations. It was in the early 1970s that black public radio began to flourish. Eighteen black college radio stations began broadcasting during the 1970s as a result of the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act and the federal funds made available through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Additionally, the description of "public radio" refers to black college stations with an affiliation to the Corporation of Public Broadcasting and National Public Radio.

Categories and Formats of Black Public Radio

Black public radio consists of two categories: educational and community stations. These stations are primarily owned and operated by black colleges and universities. Within the classification of educational noncommercial stations licensed to the black colleges and universities is another form of radio broadcasting called cable or carrier current stations. These stations broadcast primarily on the college campus by closed-circuit cable connections or carrier currents. Carrier current stations are limited in power and not required to be licensed by the FCC. Carrier current stations are mainly operated by students.

Some historic black colleges and universities have both educational noncommercial and carrier current stations. Clark Atlanta University in Atlanta and Bethune Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida, have student-run carrier current stations and FM noncommercial stations. Carrier current stations located on the campuses of Clark Atlanta University, Tennessee State University, Bethune Cookman College, and Howard University are the most influential. Presently there are at least fifty-four terrestrial and carrier current/closed circuit black college radio stations, with forty-two stations broadcasting over the air regularly.

The general format of most black public radio stations is a mixture of music, news, information, and public affairs. In addition, many of the black colleges have a regular schedule of gospel music aired daily. The most common formats of public radio stations are news, information programs, jazz, and classical music.

Serving the Community

The majority of black public stations owned and operated by historically black colleges and universities play jazz music. However, some black college stations are changing to include contemporary and other music genres. At Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, the general manager of KBWC states, "The station was only a one-format station (jazz), and the community wanted more of a variety." Accordingly, in recent years the station has offered more of a variety, a mix of gospel, R&B, hip-hop, smooth jazz, blues, reggae, and old school. The inclusion of more music genres helped KBWC cater to the community it serves.

On the other hand some black public stations have extended the ideal of serving the community through more informational programming. Clark Atlanta University station WCLK produces its own public affairs programming for distribution to forty black public stations in urban areas, including Atlanta; Houston, Texas; Baltimore, Maryland; Memphis, Tennessee; Columbia, South Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Durham, North Carolina. The primary method of program distribution includes satellite communication, Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN), and programs recorded on tape and compact disc. One of the most popular public affair programs is *Power Point* produced at Clark Atlanta University.

Recent advances in Internet technology increased black public radio's ability to distribute programming through a new method of program distribution called media on demand. Media on demand enables the listener to download a program on the Internet at any time from a specified content provider. Black public radio since its inception has attempted to provide programming to serve the local community whether it is music or information.

Community Radio Stations

Community radio stations by contrast are owned and operated by nonprofit foundations controlled by a local board of directors and operated by mostly volunteers. Black community stations were an outgrowth of a movement pioneered by the Pacifica Foundation in the 1950s.

The primary task of community radio stations is to provide programming that is an alternative to commercial radio stations. The most distinctive feature of the black community station is its commitment to sustain an independent, critical, and oppositional stance.

One of the first black community radio stations was WAFR in Durham, North Carolina, in 1971. The black community station rose as a means to facilitate access to the airwaves for black viewpoints and music typically ignored by commercial stations. Black community radio stations have adapted a wide range of organizational structures and program formats to meet the communication and informational needs of a particular community.

Listener support is the primary funding source for the black community stations. Federal funding through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is limited because most community radio stations do not meet the minimum transmitting power requirement of 100 watts. In 1974 the National Federation of Community Broadcasters was founded to develop a national organization representing community broadcasters. The federation helped stations obtain their FCC licenses and set up a program exchange to facilitate sharing of programming tapes among stations. To date there are over 125 community radio stations, but of that number only ten are black controlled and operated.

Black-controlled community radio started on the west coast. KPOO in San Francisco was the first black-controlled community station, although it was actually established by white community activists in 1972. Other black-controlled community radio stations were founded by nonprofit foundations such as Pacifica, Radio Free Georgia, and the Students for a Democratic Society. In 1977 in Warren County, North Carolina, a black nonprofit organization called Sound and Print United established WVSP-FM. One of the most successful community radio stations is WPFW in Washington D.C., founded by the Pacifica Foundation and funded by listener support. WPFW is a powerful community radio station with a transmitting power of 50,000-watts and a broadcast coverage radius of over thirty-five miles.

The New Role of Black Public Radio

Most of this country's broadcast media have been stripped of an authentic sense of place, culture, and experience. In this media environment, black public radio is one of the few trusted sources of information, dialogue, and culture in a rapidly changing international environment. Black public radio provides opportunities for new voices and innovative programming. Producers work independently crafting exceptional documentaries for black public radio, such as Radio Smithsonian Black Radio's *Telling It Like It Was*. Other program productions, such as Clark Atlanta University's *Power Point* and the *Tavis Smiley Show,* were developed to fill the information void in the black community. Black public radio brought a position of strength by reinvigorating public radio's public vision and extending its core values to minority audiences.

Despite the financial challenges of federal funding cutbacks and dwindling listener support, black public radio stations provide a wide variety of innovative, interesting, and illuminating programs designed especially for the communities it serves, filling the information vacuum created by commercial radio because of dwindling news, cultural, and public affairs programming, as well as the focus on profits.

The Challenges of Black Public Radio

The changing political landscape of the United States also has had an effect on black public radio. Since the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act, the CPB has had to argue its case to every newly elected Congress. The climate for funding black public radio has not fared well. The black colleges and universities that hold a broadcast license are putting less money into the radio stations. Many stations dramatically slashed budgets and adopted alternative fund-raising methods to stay operational. Many of the early community stations, notably WAFR in Durham, North Carolina, are no longer broadcasting because of lack of financial support. Money has been the biggest challenge to black public radio.

Yet with both political and economic challenges black public radio remains resilient, with a focus toward a unified network. The road of a unified consortium is being paved through annual meetings of the African American Public Radio Futures Summit, which started in 1998. This group of some twenty-one powerful black college and community stations has mapped out strategies for the future of African-American public radio. The consortium, headed by radio stations at Clark Atlanta University, Morgan State, Jackson State, North Carolina Central, and Texas Southern universities, urged executives at NPR to bring Tavis Smiley on in order to appeal to African-American listeners. The black college consortium felt that this program was necessary for diversity and to provide information to the African-American community. The consortium of unified black college and universities within the Corporation of Public Broadcasting presented in 2001 a persuasive argument to bring the program to National Public Radio. In addition to program inclusion the consortium focuses on finance, audience research, technology, and development during its annual summit meetings.

On the Horizon

The future for black public radio in the new millennium is very promising. The FCC has conducted several engineering studies regarding interference and concluded that there is available spectrum space for new low-power FM (LPFM) stations. These stations are authorized for noncommercial educational broadcasting only and operate with an effective power of 100 watts or less. LPFM stations are available to noncommercial educational entities and public safety and transportation organizations but are not available to individuals or for commercial operations. Current broadcast licensees with interests in other media (broadcast or newspapers) are not eligible to obtain low-power FM stations. These stations would open the door for more broadcasting opportunities to African-American and other minority communities. The combination of digital technology with traditional broadcasting is helping public radio stations connect with the community better. Several black public radio stations, including WBGO-FM, WEAA-FM, WPFW-FM, and WWOZ-FM have websites and broadcast on the Internet.

In addition, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is taking the initiative to fill the information void left by commercial radio by awarding public and community stations with grants to enhance listener and community service through the Internet. Black public and community stations are taking advantage of the technology and adding Web broadcasts to their broadcasts, thus making the smallest of stations accessible not only to their communities but to the world.

See also Radio

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REGINALD D. MILES (2005)

Condé, Maryse

February 11, 1937

Born in Guadeloupe, Maryse Condé, novelist and critic, is one of the most well-known twentieth-century Francophone Caribbean writers. Although she started her career writing plays, *Dieu nous l'a donné* (1972) and *Mort d'Oluwemi d'Ajumako* (1973), she is known mainly for her novelistic oeuvre. Her first novel, *Heremakhonon* (1976), the story of a young Guadeloupean woman who travels to West Africa in search of her mythical ancestors, is set against the backdrop of President Sekou Toure's political regime. It already contains most of the themes that would later become landmarks of Condé's fiction: the historical relationship between Africa and its diaspora in *A Season in Rihata* (1981); the relentless quest for identity, love, and freedom by black protagonists throughout the "monde noir" in *Les derniers rois-mages* (1992) and *La colonie du nouveau monde* (1993); the often iconoclastic challenging of black mythical figures and discourses in *La vie scélérate* (1987); the complexity of family ties and genealogical intricacies in *Désirada* (1997). However, it is with a historical saga of precolonial Africa that the French public came to know Condé when the Malian saga of *Segou* became a best-seller in France in 1985. The African continent, where she resided for about twelve years, remained a crucial source of inspiration for her, such as in *Histoire de la femme cannibale* (2003), figuring again a Guadeloupean female protagonist, this time residing in South Africa.

Critics often distinguish between Condé's "African" novels and her more Caribbean-inspired ones, such as *I, Tituba* (1986); *La vie scélérate* (1989); *Traversée de la mangrove* (1989), set entirely in a small community in Guadeloupe; or *Désirada* (1997) and *La belle créole* (2001), where Condé also experiments with the *policier* (detective) genre.

Some of the recurrent themes in Condé's fiction can be related to her own trajectory, particularly her nomadic existence between her native Guadeloupe, to France, where she studied in the 1970s, Africa, and the United States, where she resided and taught until she retired from academia in 2002. In this respect her fictional autobiography, published in 1999 under the title *Le cœur à rire et à pleurer: Contes vrais de mon enfance* (1999), translated as *Tales from the Heart: True Stories from My Childhood* (2001), reads as a meticulous historical and social account of the life of a young woman in colonial Guadeloupe and Paris. This intimate text is a good introduction for the new reader of Condé, since it sheds a personal light on the writer's life, philosophy, and thoughts. A prolific writer, Condé never fails to give a challenging, often provocative or controversial view of the issues and worlds so artistically evoked in her texts. These characteristics of her fiction can be found also in her work as a literary critic and commentator on, among others topics, globalization, postcolonialism, feminism, being Francophone, and the Francophone world. Condé also returned to dramatic writing with plays such as *The Tropical Breeze Hotel* (1988) and *In the Time of the Revolution* (1989), commissioned by the Conseil Général de la Guadeloupe for the commemoration of the French Revolution. Some of her plays have been widely staged. She also wrote several texts for younger readers: *Hugo le terrible* (1991) on the devastating hurricane that hit Guadeloupe in 1989 and *Haïti chérie* (1991) about the difficult life in Haiti and the tragic destiny of a young Haitian girl, who will eventually try to reach the U.S. coast.

Condé received numerous awards and prizes, in the United States (Puterbaugh, Marguerite Yourcenar), the Caribbean (Carbet), Germany (Liberatur), and France (Grand Prix Littéraire de la Femme, Prix de l'Académie Française). Her books, most of which are promptly translated into English by her husband, Richard Philcox, are taught in schools and universities all over the world.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean and Latin America

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MICHELINE RICE-MAXIMIN (2005)
LYDIE MOUDILENO (2005)

Cone, James H.

August 5, 1938

Theologian James Hal Cone was born in Fordyce, Arkansas, in 1938 and was raised in Bearden, Arkansas. He received degrees from Philander Smith College (B.A.), Garrett Theological Seminary (B.D.), and Northwestern University (M.A., Ph.D.). His intellectual, emotional, and racial identities developed out of two threads of his childhood experiences. First, the wholesome encouragement and support of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and Bearden's black community reinforced his fundamental sense of self-worth and his Christian convictions. Second, the negative effects of segregation and white racism left him with an intolerance for discrimination.

Born into a family of modest means (his father cut wood), Cone experienced poverty and grew to appreciate the problems of the poor in American society. His father became his decisive role model for what it meant to be a poor, proud African-American man in a predominantly white society.

Cone's theological reflections are products of both the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Although he earned his Ph.D. in 1965 and taught at Philander Smith College and Adrian College, Cone's theological creativity bore fruit with his first book, *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969). This text catapulted Cone, then a little-known college professor, to the prestigious and internationally recognized faculty at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

Black Theology and Black Power was the first scholarly work published on black theology. Cone contended that the 1960s Black Power movement was the revelation of Jesus Christ. Conversely, North American white churches represented the Antichrist and therefore were non-Christian. Similarly, all black churches siding with white Christianity were evil. Basically, religious institutions could find God's presence only in urban rebellions and community organizing among poor black Americans. Only when the poor obtained their full humanity could

everyone be free; hence the universal dimension of black theology.

A further systematic treatment of the poor and the Christian faith appeared in Cone's next book, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970). This work marked the first attempt to develop a black theology by investigating major church doctrines through the eyes of the African-American poor. It made black religious studies into a systematic theology. In reaction to his overreliance on white religious systems of thought, *The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation* (1972), Cone's third book, indicates black theology's major turn toward religious sources created by the African-American church and community. If black theology was a faith expression of poor African Americans, Cone believed, then such a theology must arise organically from the African-American experience itself.

His fourth text, *God of the Oppressed* (1975), marks Cone's second systematic black theology of liberation, this time based on his personal experiences and black resources.

Cone closed out the 1970s by coediting (with Gayraud Wilmore) *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979* (1979). After *My Soul Looks Back* (1982), *For My People* (1984), and *Speaking the Truth* (1986), Cone published *Martin and Malcolm and America* (1991), a pioneering advancement of black theology into mainstream popular discussion.

In 1999, Cone published *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation,* tracing the Civil Rights movement from the 1950s to the end of the twentieth century.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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DWIGHT N. HOPKINS (1996)
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CONGOS OF PANAMA

The Congos of the Republic of Panama inhabit small villages and towns on the Caribbean coast of the isthmus and along the trans-Isthmian highway. While some present-day Congos are actual descendants of *cimarrónes*—Africans who liberated themselves by fleeing to the mountains and rainforests—most are inheritors of the cultural traditions developed by both the *cimarrónes* and enslaved Africans during the colonial period. Once free, the *cimarrónes* established *palenques,* or fortified villages, from which they set out on raiding parties against Spanish settlements and caravans.

During the colonial period, the term *Congo* was used more as a generic term for African, rather than as a definitive term referring to a specific ethnic or religious group. Africans from almost every region of the continent from which people were abducted passed through Panama on their way to forced labor in the gold and silver mines of Peru and other parts of the Americas. Some scholars in Panama, however, believe that a significant number of Africans who remained may have come from the region of the Kongo and Guinea. For the most part, however, the *cimarrónes* became a culturally mixed group, since they consisted of Africans from various ethnic groups who intermarried. They also married other blacks and mulattos who had been born in Panama, as well as indigenous people. The *lingua franca* for both the enslaved and the *cimarrónes* became an Africanized version of Spanish, which the enslavers had difficulty understanding. Recognizing their ability to communicate with each other without their enslaver1s knowledge, they created a jargon that consisted of double meanings, reverse meanings of some words, and some African words and phrases. This "language" was used by the *cimarrónes* and enslaved Africans to plan escapes, develop and manage an elaborate system of espionage, and organize acts of subterfuge.

Very often, the *cimarrónes*—adhering to the adage "my enemy's enemy is my friend"— collaborated with pirates in actions against the Spaniards. After several defeats, the Spaniards were forced to sign truces with the *cimarrónes,* recognizing their freedom and sovereignty over parts of the country. The *cimarrónes* then attempted to live normal lives and raise families in their *palenques*. Some palenques were more successful than others. In some cases, like the village of Palenque, palenques became towns that still exist today in Panama. The legacy of their linguistic subterfuge, however, has infused their history, culture, and customs with layers of idiosyncratic symbolism, paradigms, tropes, and metaphors that can best be described as a living art tradition.

Historians in Panama differ in their accounts of the origins of Congo traditions. At least two popular versions seem credible and can be substantiated by recorded data. The first theory links the present-day Congo celebrations to those held by the *cimarrónes* in commemoration of winning their freedom in the wars against the Spaniards. A second theory suggests that the origins are in the festive dancing and singing performances of enslaved Africans who assumed the role of court jesters, wearing European clothing backwards to entertain the Spaniards during Carnival. These Africans employed double meaning and reversals, however, and were actually mocking the Spanish.

While Congo traditions may have many points of origin, by the nineteenth century they were an integral part of Carnival in Panama. It is difficult to date with any degree of accuracy the beginning of Congo traditions because little attention has been paid to the history and cultural developments of the *cimarrónes*. In addition, many valuable documents were lost over the last three centuries due to the numerous raids of Panama City and Portobelo by pirates, the humid climate of the isthmus, and fires in public buildings. As a result, Congo customs today comprise a "living art tradition" that serves as an innovative way to tell the stories and oral history of the *cimarrónes*.

Congo traditions consist of a complex social structure, unscripted traditional performances with mythological personages, buffoonery, a language, music, dance, the culinary arts, and material culture. These traditions, however, are practiced during the Carnival season and on special occasions. Except for those instances, the Congos are not a separate or distinct ethnic group in Panama. In recent years, Taller Portobelo, an artist cooperative dedicated to preserving Congo culture in the village of Portobelo, has introduced a new Congo tradition in the visual arts.

The five most important characters in Congo society are: the queen, known as *María Merced*; the king, *Juan de Dioso*; *Pajarito* (little bird) who functions as a messenger of the group; the *Diablo Mayor* (the major devil) who represents the Spaniards; and the archangel who is the leader of seven angels, also referred to as *animas* (tortured souls). The king, queen, and *Pajarito* are the only members of the group who wear crowns. New characters have been added over the years as Congos take on new names and personas.

Congo drama is manifested in two very significant ways. First, as impromptu street theater, in which the Congos use the license of Carnival to assert their authority over the land. This is a reminder that their ancestors had dominion over their land. They stop cars and demand a tariff to pass through *Tierra Guinea* (Guinea land). They may demand that the *extranjero* (foreigner) buy them a bottle of beer or contribute food to their communal meal. Should the *extranjero* refuse or insult them, she or he may be "arrested" and brought to trial, though all in good Carnival humor. The other significant dramatic event takes place on Ash Wednesday, when the *diablos* (the devils) assume the right to whip anyone in the village they wish and attempt to capture the angels. The Congos, who—along with the angels—are the benevolent figures in this drama, chase after the *diablos*, capture them, and then deliver them to the "priest" to be baptized. Finally their leader, the *Diablo Major* is captured, forced to renounce evil, and is baptized. He is then tied up and taken throughout the community to be "sold." Metaphorically, this act recalls the plight of their ancestors who were caught, baptized, and sold into slavery. This event, which also highlights the triumph of good over evil ends the Carnival season. The Congo flag is lowered and the village settles down to forty days of self-denial during Lent.

See also Maroon Societies of the Caribbean; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

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ARTURO LINDSAY (2005)

Congressional Black Caucus

The Congressional Black Caucus was a product of the growth in black political power in the 1960s and 1970s.

The creation of an institutional base for black Americans within the U.S. Congress had been encouraged by the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1969 Rep.Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) formed the Democratic Select Committee (DSC), the precursor of the Congressional Black Caucus, as a means by which the nine black members of the House of Representatives could address their common political concerns. Later that year Diggs and his colleagues played a role in defeating the nomination of Clement Haynesworth to the U.S. Supreme Court, and they investigated the killings of Black Panther Party members in Chicago. They boycotted President Richard Nixon's 1970 State of the Union address and pressured Nixon into meeting with the DSC concerning civil rights, antidrug legislation, welfare reform, and Vietnam.

On June 18, 1971, at its first annual dinner in Washington, D.C., the group was formally organized as the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and Diggs became its first chairman. In March 1972 the CBC helped sponsor the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, but distanced itself from the convention because of it was dominated by militant activist groups. In June of that year, in order to make the 1972 Democratic National Convention more attentive to black concerns, the CBC drafted the Black Declaration of Independence and the Black Bill of Rights. The Black Declaration of Independence demanded that the Democratic Party and its nominee commit themselves to full racial equality. The Black Bill of Rights called for, among other items, a full-employment program, a guaranteed-annual-income system, an end to American military involvement in Vietnam and all African countries, and a setting aside of 15 percent of all government contracts for the use of black businesses. However, the CBC failed to win the official support of the Democratic Party or its nominee, George McGovern, for these demands.

In 1973 Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) succeeded Diggs as caucus chairman. Stokes worked to get individual CBC members greater seniority and more powerful committee chairs in Congress. Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) became the CBC chair in 1974, serving until 1976. Over the next twenty years, Rangel became one of the leading congressional authorities on urban housing and narcotics control. During that same period, the CBC extended its influence both within and outside of Congress. CBC members became chairs of seven out of twenty-seven congressional committees. It developed nationwide networks of black voters and business leaders and "brain trust" networks addressing education, health, the justice system, and foreign affairs. In 1976 it established the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, which conducts and funds studies relating congressional politics to the concerns of the black community. In 1977 the CBC established TransAfrica, headed by Randall Robinson, which became the major lobbying body in Washington on behalf of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and of other African policy issues. The CBC was also involved in the successful efforts to pass the 1977 Full Employment Act, the 1982 Martin Luther King Holiday legislation, and the 1986 sanctions against South Africa.

The growth of black political power has expanded the size of the CBC. In 1992 an unprecedented forty African Americans were elected to Congress. This increase in size has tested and transformed the CBC in other ways as well. In 1993 Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.) became the first black senator in fourteen years and one of ten black women in Congress. In 1990 Gary Franks (R-Conn.) became the first black Republican elected to the House of Representatives since 1932. A conservative Republican, Franks has been at odds with the policies of the CBC and has attacked it for its liberal slant and allegiance to the Democratic Party.

There has been a growing ideological diversity within the CBC, its chairs ranging from such centrists as Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) and Edolphus "Ed" Towns (D-N.Y.) to such left-liberals as Ron Dellums (D-Calif.). In 1993 Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) became chair and has been active in publicizing the activities of the CBC. He has also been its most controversial chair. In 1993 he advocated the formation of a "sacred covenant" between the CBC and the Nation of Islam with its leader, Louis Farrakhan. The other members of the CBC subsequently renounced this covenant, and Mfume eventually followed the rest of the Black Caucus in doing so.

Although controversial, Mfume helped to make the CBC more aggressive in influencing domestic and foreign policy. When the House of Representatives, without consulting the CBC, moved to give President Bill Clinton the line-item veto (a tool that governors had used in the past to keep civil rights measures out of legislative bills), Mfume led the CBC in blocking the effort. Mfume also helped change President Clinton's policy toward Haiti. His pressure persuaded Clinton to extend more aid to Haitian refugees, place stronger sanctions on Haiti's military government, and consider returning Haiti's democratic government to power by force.

The Congressional Black Caucus has become one of the most influential voting blocks within Congress. While it has been divided on certain issues, such as the 1993 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), on many other issues, such as health care, welfare reform, and crime, the CBC has emerged as a shrewd and pragmatic advocate for African-American interests.

In 2004 members of the CBC, in conjunction with Africa Action, spearheaded a petition urging the United States to take direct action to put an end to the genocide in Darfur, a region in western Sudan. Many thousands around the country signed the petition.

See also Anti-Apartheid Movement; Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Dellums, Ron; Diggs, Charles, Jr.; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam; Rangel, Charles Bernard; Voting Rights Act of 1965

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
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Congress of National Black Churches, Inc.

The Congress of National Black Churches (CNBC), an interdenominational religious organization, is an umbrella organization of eight major African-American denominations that represents 65,000 churches and over 20 million individuals. Based in Washington, D.C., CNBC was founded in 1978 by Bishop John Hurst Adams of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to establish dialogue within the African-American community across denominational lines and to facilitate collective church action. It unites the following denominations: African Methodist Episcopal; African Methodist Episcopal Zion; Christian Methodist Episcopal; Church of God in Christ; National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.; the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.; National Missionary Baptist Convention of America; and Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. The board of directors of CNBC is made up of four representatives from each denomination and meets twice a year. A staff of approximately twenty people, headed by an executive director, implements policy and keeps the organization running on a day-to-day basis.

The platform of the CNBC has two goals. First, it strives to provide moral leadership for African Americans, enhance spirituality, and strengthen values. Second, the Congress operates as a social service agency, providing material assistance to meet the needs of the poor and augment the power of the African-American community. It holds seminars and awards fellowships to those interested in the ministry as a career. In the past the Congress initiated an Anti-Drug Campaign to provide assistance and information to community groups that want to rid their neighborhood of drugs, and it discussed the possibility of providing health insurance for larger numbers of African Americans. In 1993, in cooperation with Africare, it raised over $100,000 for the starving people of Somalia. According to Bishop Adams, the vision includes "organizing the institutional power of the black church to address the pragmatic needs of the black community. It is to use power to relieve pain; to use power to enhance possibilities."

One of CNBC's most well-known and successful ventures, which combines both these goals, is Project SPIRIT (Strength, Perseverance, Imagination, Responsibility, Integrity, and Talent). Launched in 1985, SPIRIT has as its central component an after-school tutoring and morale-building program. Other aspects of this project, which is designed to strengthen the black family, are a weekly session for parents on child rearing, and counseling sessions to prepare pastors to deal with family problems. Another major project of CNBC was the creation in 1984 of the Church Insurance Partnership Agency, an alliance between churches and insurance companies, which provides churches with property and liability coverage. More recently CNBC has begun a dialogue about sexuality to examine AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, homosexuality, male-female relationships, and birth control within the black community. In the early 2000s, CNBC began working on other socially and politically important projects, including partnering with a major telecommunications company to expand access to the Internet and technology to underserved communities.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
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Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

With a political and ideological legacy that spans the decades from interracial nonviolent direct action in the 1940s and 1950s, militant black nationalist separatism in the late 1960s, and black capitalism in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is one of the most important civil rights organizations in the history of the United States. It was founded in Chicago in 1942 as the Committee of Racial Equality (the name was changed to the present one in 1943) by a group of ten white and five black student activists who were influenced by the Christian Youth Movement, rising industrial unionism, and the antiracist political activism of black and white communists in the 1930s. The founders of CORE were staunch believers in pacifism. Many of them were members of the Chicago chapter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), an interracial and pacifist civil rights organization committed to social change through the transformation of racist attitudes, led by A. J. Muste (1885–1967). Deeply influenced by the strategies of social change championed by Indian activist Mahatma Gandhi as described in Krishnalal Shridharani's *War Without Violence* (1939), "CORE founders believed that through interracial organizing and nonviolent direct action they could attack racism at its core."

CORE was an informal, decentralized organization. Members drafted a "Statement of Purpose" and "CORE Action Discipline," both of which served as a constitution for the organization and proclaimed the members' commitment to working for social change through nonviolent direct action in a democratic, nonhierarchical organization. Guidelines for new members demanded familiarity with Gandhian ideas and active participation in the organization. Voluntary contributions from the members served as the organization's only source of funding. The leadership of CORE was shared by George Houser, a white student at the University of Chicago, and James Farmer, a black Methodist student activist. James Robinson, a white Catholic pacifist, and Bernice Fisher, a white divinity student at the University of Chicago, also provided inspirational and organizational leadership.

In their first year, CORE activists organized sit-ins and other protests against segregation in public accommodations, but white recalcitrance and a weak membership base left them with few victories. In 1942, at a planning conference to discuss organizational growth, CORE activists declared their commitment to expanding nationally by forming alliances with local interracial groups working to defeat racism through nonviolent direct action. Farmer argued that CORE would not grow as a mass-based activist organization unless it severed its ties to FOR and disassociated itself from the organization's pacifism. Under the rubric of FOR's Department of Race Relations, he and Bayard Rustin (1910–1987), a black FOR field secretary, traveled around the country and met with activists sympathetic to Gandhian ideology and fostered interest in forming CORE chapters among those present at FOR events.

As a result of their efforts, CORE had seven affiliates by the end of 1942. Most chapters were located in the Midwest; they contained fifteen to thirty members, who were usually middle-class college students and were predominantly white. Local groups retained primary membership affiliation and control over local funds. As a result, chapter activities varied widely and were not centrally coordinated. Chapters where pacifists dominated focused almost entirely on educating and converting racists, rather than on direct action. The repressive atmosphere of the South in the 1940s severely curtailed the activity of CORE's few southern affiliates. New York, Chicago, and Detroit were the most active and militant chapters, conducting training workshops in nonviolent direct action for volunteers in selected northern cities. They also organized sit-ins—a tactic pioneered by CORE activists—and picket lines at segregated restaurants, swimming pools, movie theaters, and department stores.

CORE had some success in integrating public accommodations and recreational areas, but it was clear to CORE's founders that to mount a sustained assault on racism they would have to create a stronger national structure. In 1943 Farmer was elected the first chairman of CORE, and Bernice Fisher was elected secretary-treasurer. By 1946, due to both the reluctance of local chapters to relinquish their independence or share their funds and to the infrequency of national planning meetings, CORE faced an organizational crisis. After much debate, CORE revamped its national structure: Farmer resigned and George Houser occupied the newly created leadership position of executive secretary. Houser played a central role in defining the ideology of CORE as editor of the CORE-lator, the organizational newsletter, and author of almost

CORE-sponsored protest. *Demonstrators picket outside a Woolworth store in Harlem, protesting discrimination practices at Woolworth's lunch counters there and in Greensboro, Charlotte, and Durham, North Carolina.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

all CORE literature. He focused CORE's organizational energy and limited resources on a closer coordination of local activities among its thirteen affiliates, with the ultimate goal of building a mass movement.

The culmination of Houser's efforts was CORE's first nationally coordinated action, the Journey of Reconciliation—a two-week trip into the Upper South to test the 1946 Morgan decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, which outlawed segregation in interstate travel. In April of 1947, sixteen men—eight white and eight black—traveled by bus through the region challenging segregated seating arrangements that relegated blacks to the back of the bus. The protesters were confronted by some violence and overt hostility, but in general they were faced with apathy from most whites, who were unaware of the Morgan decision. In many instances, black passengers on the bus followed suit when they saw racial mores being successfully challenged. The arrest of four of the protesters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina—with three of them, Bayard Rustin, Igal Roodenko, and Joe Felmet, forced to serve thirty days on a chain gang—catapulted CORE and the Journey of Reconciliation to national attention.

In 1947, CORE took further steps to strengthen its organizational structure by creating an office of field secretaries to travel around the country to organize new CORE chapters. Two year later COREs leadership created the National Council—a policymaking body with one representative from each local chapter—to improve communication between the local and the national chapters. In 1951, CORE hired James Robinson to coordinate fund-raising efforts. Despite these efforts, the early 1950s marked another period of organizational decline for CORE, as the number of affiliated chapters dropped from a high of twenty at the end of the 1940s and fluctuated around eleven during the early 1950s.

Weakened by continuing debates over the role of pacifism and the national organizational structure, CORE's

growth was further stunted by anticommunism. Although CORE's executive committee had drafted a "Statement on Communism" in 1948, saying that it would not work with communists, CORE's civil rights activities were attacked as "subversive" and "un-American" in the hostile racial climate of the 1950s. At this organizational nadir, Houser resigned and the national structure was once again reorganized to divide his duties among three people: Billie Ames, a white activist from CORE's St. Louis chapter, became group coordinator and took charge of organizational correspondence; James Peck, a white Journey of Reconciliation veteran, was in charge of editing the CORE-lator; and James Robinson continued to serve as treasurer. Wallace Nelson, who had held the salaried position of field secretary, was replaced by four volunteers.

CORE found a renewed sense of purpose in the mid-1950s. In 1954, the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision declared separate but equal educational facilities unconstitutional. One year later, the Montgomery bus boycott mobilized thousands of African Americans to challenge segregated buses. CORE activists—as pioneers of the strategy of nonviolent direct action—provided philosophical resources to the boycott and dispatched LeRoy Carter, a black field-secretary, to Montgomery to provide support. Electrified by rising black protest, CORE decided to channel the majority of the organization's energy into expanding into the South.

To facilitate this expansion, there was a revival of the national staff. In 1957, James Robinson, whose tireless fund-raising efforts had boosted organizational finances, was appointed executive secretary. He worked closely with the National Action Committee, comprising influential members based in New York who made policy decisions. CORE created a staff position for a public relations coordinator, who was in charge of promoting CORE as a major civil rights organization alongside the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which was founded after the Montgomery bus boycott. In addition, the CORE-lator was transformed from an organizational organ into an informative news magazine that reported on the social movements emerging in the South.

Most importantly, CORE directly confronted its relationship to the black community for the first time. Although its predominantly white leadership structure remained firmly in place, African Americans such as James McCain, who was appointed field secretary in 1957, were sought out for prominent and visible positions. Publicity for CORE was also sought in the black press. Nonetheless, CORE's ideological commitment to interracialism continued to be unwavering. McCain, for example, worked closely with James Carey, a white field secretary, to demonstrate the viability of interracial organizing to potential new affiliates. However, the fundamental nature of the organization had begun to change. Interracialism—which had been defined since CORE's inception as racial diversity within chapters—was redefined on a regional level. To reflect the probability of minimal white support for CORE in the South, as well as the continued inability of majority white chapters on the West Coast to secure a black membership base, the interracial requirement for chapters was removed from the constitution. In addition, although CORE retained its base among white and black middle-class college students, its class and age composition was radically altered as many younger and poorer African Americans, with few ideological links to pacifism, joined its ranks.

By 1960 the number of CORE chapters had risen to twenty-four, with new chapters springing up in Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, and Kentucky. With a stable national structure, growing income, new constituencies, and increased visibility, CORE finally seemed poised to join the ranks of the major civil rights organizations. In February 1960, when four college students sat in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina to protest segregation and ignited a wave of student protest that spread throughout the South, CORE activists scrambled to provide guidance. In Florida, CORE members pioneered the "jail-in" technique when five members chose to serve out their sentences rather than pay bail after being arrested for sitting in at a department store counter. One year later, CORE activists organized another "jail-in" in Rock Hill, South Carolina. This time, they received national attention, helping to galvanize the black community and setting a precedent of "jail–no bail" that became an important direct action strategy in the civil rights movement. In the North, affiliates started sympathy demonstrations for the student demonstrators and called for nationwide boycotts to attempt to place economic pressure on national chains to desegregate their facilities.

In May 1961, CORE mounted its most militant challenge to segregation: the Freedom Rides. Modeled on the earlier Journey of Reconciliation, the Freedom Rides were protests against segregated interstate buses and terminals in the South. Seven white and six black activists, including James Farmer (who had been appointed CORE executive director earlier that year), participated in the Freedom Rides. After successfully challenging segregation in Virginia and North Carolina, the Freedom Riders faced harassment, intimidation, and violence from racist southern whites in the Deep South. Two riders were attacked in Rock Hill, South Carolina; two were arrested in Winnesboro, South Carolina; and in a violent climax, riders were

beaten and their bus bombed by a white mob near Birmingham, Alabama. After this event, which was recorded by the press for a shocked nation to see, CORE terminated the rides. Activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) resumed the Freedom Rides in Mississippi, unleashing a white backlash so virulent that the Kennedy administration was forced to intervene with federal protection. Though SNCC activists—with some resentment on the part of CORE officials—took the leadership of the protest and received most of the credit for the remaining Freedom Rides, CORE continued to provide guidance to the freedom riders and stationed field secretaries in key southern cities to assist riders. Many CORE activists, including Farmer, rejoined the rides when SNCC continued them. The freedom riders finally triumphed in September 1961 when the Interstate Commerce Commission issued an order prohibiting segregated facilities in interstate travel.

The Freedom Rides placed CORE in the vanguard of the civil rights movement. As a result of the national attention that the rides had generated, James Farmer joined SNCC's John Lewis and the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) as national spokespersons for the civil rights movement. By the end of 1961, CORE—with fifty-three affiliated chapters, rising income, and increased visibility—was able to mount new activities. CORE was an active participant in the wave of direct action protest that swept through the South in 1962 and 1963. In 1962, CORE worked closely with the local NAACP to launch the Freedom Highways project designed to desegregate Howard Johnson hotels along North Carolina highways. Faced with retaliatory white violence, and locked into increasingly contentious competition with the other civil rights organizations, CORE broadened the scope of its activities. In 1962, CORE joined the Voter Education Project (VEP) initiated by President John F. Kennedy and mounted vigorous voter registration campaigns in Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

CORE activists played a pivotal role in many of the leading events of the civil rights movement. In 1963, CORE joined the NAACP, SCLC, and SNCC in sponsoring the March on Washington. As a part of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a statewide coalition of civil rights organizations engaged in voter registration, CORE played a crucial role in the Freedom Summer in 1964 in Mississippi. James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, two of three civil rights workers killed in June 1964 by racist whites in the infamous case that focused national attention on the South, were members of CORE.

By 1963, CORE activities—severely curtailed by arrests and racial violence—shifted from the South to the North. Two thirds of CORE's sixty-eight chapters were in the North and West, concentrated mainly in California and New York. In the North, CORE chapters directly confronted discrimination and segregation in housing and employment, using tactics such as picketing and the boycott. As they began to address some of the problems of economically disadvantaged African Americans in the North—including unemployment, housing discrimination, and police brutality—they began to attract more working-class African-American members. To strengthen their image as a black-protest organization, leadership of northern chapters was almost always black, and CORE chapters moved their headquarters into the black community. As member composition changed and CORE acquired a more militant image, CORE's deeply held ideological beliefs and tactics of social change were increasingly challenged by black working-class members. These members were willing to engage in more confrontational tactics, such as resisting arrest, obstructing traffic, all night sit-ins, and other forms of militant civil disobedience. Drawing on different ideological traditions, they viewed nonviolence as a tactic to be abandoned when no longer expedient—not as a deeply held philosophical belief. They often identified with Malcolm X, who preached racial

Jackie Robinson marches with CORE executive director James Farmer in San Francisco, July 12, 1964. *Former major league baseball star Robinson, center right, confers with James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) as the two prepare to lead a massive parade during the peak years of the civil rights movement. The previous month, two members of CORE were among three civil rights workers killed in the infamous "Freedom summer" murders in Mississippi.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

Roy Innis poses with presidential candidate George W. Bush at CORE fundraiser in New York City, June 26, 2000. *Born in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, Innis joined the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1963, and was elected National Chairman of the organization in 1968.* © CINIGLIO LORENZO/CORBIS SYGMA

pride and black separatism, rather than with Gandhian notions of a beloved community.

By 1964 the integrationist, southern-based civil rights coalition was splintering, and consensus over tactics and strategy within CORE was destroyed. Vigorous debates emerged within CORE about the roles of whites (by 1964, less than 50 percent of the membership) in the organization. Infused with heightened black pride and nationalism, angered by the paternalism of some white members, and believing that black people should lead in the liberation of the black community, many black CORE members pushed for the diminution of the role of whites within the organization; an increasingly vocal minority called for the expulsion of whites.

As CORE struggled for organizational and programmatic direction, old tensions between rank and file members of the national leadership resurfaced as local chapters, operating almost autonomously, turned to grass-roots activism in poor black communities. In the South, CORE activities centered on building self-supporting community organizations to meet the needs of local communities. Activists organized projects that ranged from job discrimination protests to voter registration to securing mail delivery for black neighborhoods. In the North, CORE activists continued in the tradition of direct action. They fostered neighborhood organizations with local leadership, started community centers and job placement centers, and organized rent strikes and welfare rights protests.

In 1966 the National CORE convention endorsed the slogan of Black Power. Under the leadership of Farmer and Floyd McKissick—elected in 1963 as CORE national chairman—CORE adopted a national position supporting black self-determination, local control of community institutions, and coalition politics. In 1967 the word "multiracial" was deleted from the constitution, and whites began an exodus from the organization. One year later, Roy Innis, a dynamic and outspoken leader of CORE's Harlem chapter, replaced Farmer, and under the new title of national director took control of the organization. Innis staunchly believed in separatism and black self-determination and argued that blacks were a "nation with-

in a nation." He barred whites from active membership in CORE and centralized decision-making authority to assert control over local chapter activities. By this point, however, CORE was a weakened organization with only a handful of affiliated chapters and dwindling resources.

Innis's economic nationalism and support for black capitalism led to an extremely conservative political stance for CORE on issues ranging from civil rights legislation and foreign policy to gun control and welfare. In 1970 he met with southern whites to promote separate schools as a viable alternative to court-imposed desegregation and busing. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, almost all CORE activities ground to a halt as Innis and CORE came under increasing criticism. In 1976 Farmer severed all ties with CORE in protest of Innis's separatism and his attempt to recruit black Vietnam veterans to fight in Angola's civil war on the side of the South-African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). In 1981, after being accused by the New York State attorney general's office of misusing charitable contributions, Innis agreed to contribute $35,000 to the organization over a three-year period in exchange for not admitting to any irregularities in handling funds. In the early 1980s, former CORE members, led by Farmer, attempted to transform CORE into a multiracial organization, but Innis remained firmly in command. In 1987 Innis supported Bernhard Goetz, a white man who shot black alleged muggers on the subways in New York; and Robert Bork, a conservative Supreme Court nominee. CORE chapters have mounted only sporadic activities in the 1990s, but Innis—at this point, one of the leading black conservatives—has maintained visibility as national director of the organization.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Farmer, James; Freedom Rides; Freedom Summer; Innis, Roy; McKissick, Floyd B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rustin, Bayard; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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CAROL V. R. GEORGE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Constantine, Learie

September 21, 1901
July 1, 1971

Learie Nicholas Constantine was one of the best all-round cricketers in the world. Born in Diego Martin, Trinidad, Constantine was selected to the Trinidad and Tobago and the West Indies teams in 1922 and 1923, respectively. In 1928 he became the first member of the West Indies team to achieve 1,000 runs and 100 wickets in a season. He played on the West Indies team until he retired in 1940. The first black professional to play cricket for the Nelson team in the Lancashire League (1928–1937), he wrote many books on cricket, including *How to Play Cricket* (1954).

In 1946 Constantine received the M.B.E. (Member of the Order of the British Empire) for his work as a billeting officer in Nelson—where he lived for many years with his wife, Agatha, and daughter Gloria—and as a welfare officer in the British Ministry of Labour in Liverpool. In 1955 he was admitted to the bar in England, but he returned to Trinidad, where in 1956 he became one of the founding members and the first chairman (the highest office) of the People's National Movement led by Dr. Eric Williams. Because of his international reputation he attracted wide support for the party, which won the 1956 general elections. Constantine won the Legislative Council seat for Tunapuna and became the minister of communications, works, and, utilities, responsible for over half of all government expenditures.

In 1962, after Trinidad and Tobago gained independence, Constantine was appointed the first high commissioner to England (1962–1964). That same year he was knighted for his contribution to cricket. In his ambassadorial role he challenged the restrictions the British government placed on West Indian immigration. He also intervened in the Bristol transport strike in which white workers protested the appointment of blacks as bus conductors and drivers.

Constantine was honored many times by being appointed or elected to many prestigious institutions and

boards. In 1963 he was given the unprecedented honor, as a junior barrister, of being elected an Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, London's prestigious legal association. Between 1966 and 1971 he served on the British Race Relations Board, which investigated cases of racial discrimination in England. He was known for his strong views against racial discrimination in England and South Africa, and he wrote the book *Colour Bar* (1954), an autobiographical work that dealt with racial prejudice in England. In 1967 he was honored by the town of Nelson as a Freeman of the Borough of Nelson. He was also the first black elected as rector—the third-ranking official—of St. Andrew's University in Scotland. At his installation as rector in 1968, he spoke on the theme "Race in the World."

Before his death on July 1, 1971, in London, he was appointed a governor of the British Broadcasting Corporation, for which he served as a broadcaster on many occasions. His capstone honor came in 1969 when he was given life peerage, as the first black man appointed to the House of Lords, as Baron Constantine of Maraval in Trinidad and Tobago and of Nelson in the County Palatine of Lancaster. He was buried in his native country, which posthumously gave him its highest national award, the Trinity Cross.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Peoples National Movement (PNM); Williams, Eric

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LEARIE B. LUKE (2005)

CONSTITUTION (U.S.), AMENDMENTS TO

See Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Thirteenth Amendment

CONYERS, JOHN

MAY 16, 1929

Congressman John Conyers Jr. was born in Detroit to John and Lucille Conyers. He graduated from Wayne State University (B.A., 1957) and Wayne State Law School (J.D., 1958). From December 1958 to May 1961 he served as a legislative assistant to Michigan representative John D. Dingell. During these years, he was also a senior partner in the law firm of Conyers, Bell & Townsend. In October 1961 Conyers was appointed by Gov. John B. Swainson to be a referee for the Workman's Compensation Department. When redistricting created a second black-majority congressional district in Detroit in 1964, Conyers entered the race. Running on a platform of "Equality, Jobs, and Peace," he won his first election by a mere 108 votes and became the second black to serve as congress representative from Michigan (he followed Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr. from the Thirteenth District, who had been elected in 1954). In subsequent years, Conyers gained reelection by ever increasing margins, winning his fifteenth term, in 1992, with 84 percent of the vote.

In his long tenure as representative of Michigan's First District, and as a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), Conyers has worked to promote social welfare and civil rights causes. Soon after his arrival in Washington, he supported President Lyndon Johnson's Medicare program and the Voting Rights Act (1965). Just four days after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968, Conyers submitted a bill to create a national holiday on the birthday of the slain civil rights leader. Getting federal approval for the holiday proved to be an arduous task; fifteen years passed before President Ronald Reagan signed the bill into law on November 22, 1983. In the interim, Conyers had convinced a number of mayors and governors throughout the country to declare January 15 a local or state holiday.

While Conyers has advocated independent black political movements, he has avoided aligning himself with black separatists. At the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, in March 1972, Conyers was critical of those who advocated forming an independent black political party, saying, "I don't think it is feasible to go outside the two-party system. I don't know how many of us blacks could be elected without white support."

During the 1980s Conyers was often an opponent of the administrations of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. He spoke out against Bush's efforts to keep Haitian refugees from entering the United States in 1992 and opposed the appointment of conservative African American Clar-

ence Thomas to the Supreme Court. While a lifelong Democrat, Conyers was also at times critical of President Jimmy Carter, as he was when Carter dismissed UN ambassador Andrew Young. In fact, relations between Carter—who had also failed to support the King holiday bill—and Conyers grew so strained that the congressman launched a "dump Jimmy Carter for President" campaign on the eve of the 1980 primaries.

Conyers has served as chairman of the Government Operations Committee and has also served on the House Small Business Committee and the Speaker's Task Force on Minority Set-Asides. In 1998, as the ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, Conyers was a vocal opponent of the impeachment of President Bill Clinton.

In 2002 Conyers was reelected to his nineteenth term in Congress. Conyers has spearheaded an effort to correct the voting system that eliminated thousands of African Americans from the voting lists in 2000 and has worked to improve living conditions in Haiti.

See also King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Politics in the United States; Thomas, Clarence; Voting Rights Act of 1965

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Cooke, Howard

November 13, 1915

Howard Felix Hanlan Cooke was born in the aptly named town of Goodwill, Saint James Parish, Jamaica, where he began a lifelong dedication to the freedom and welfare of his country. Cooke's commitment reached its peak in 1991, when he was appointed governor-general of Jamaica by Queen Elizabeth II.

Cooke was raised by his parents, David and Mary, in Goodwill, where he played cricket and football as a young man. After both public and private schooling, he attended Mico College in Kingston, where he earned his teaching certificate. After graduation, Cooke remained at Mico as a teacher until 1938. He also married, joined a teachers' union, and became involved in politics at a time when many Jamaicans were unhappy with British rule. Particularly hard hit by economic woes, the country was rocked by rampant unemployment and rioting. Those favoring change established political parties affiliated with labor unions, and Cooke was a founding member of the People's National Party (PNP), which allied itself with the National Workers Union (the PNP's rival, the Jamaica Labour Party [JLP], was aligned with the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union). The British, who had been in control of the country since 1655, responded to the growing unrest by allowing Jamaicans to hold elections in 1944 under the system of universal adult suffrage. Although the PNP did not gain much of the country's newfound political power, it would wrestle control of the island's government from the JLP in 1955.

Cooke continued teaching while he pursued his political activities, serving as headmaster at Montego Bay Boys' School, Port Antonio Upper School, and Belle Castle All-Age School in the 1950s. In 1958, when Jamaica and its neighboring islands formed the West Indies Federation (WIF), Cooke served as a representative from the parish of Saint James. In 1961, however, Jamaica withdrew from the federation, followed by Trinidad and Tobago. The move triggered action by the British, who granted Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago their independence. On August 6, 1962 Jamaica became an independent nation within the British Commonwealth. Cooke, as a prominent PNP member, became one of Jamaica's twenty-one newly appointed senators, serving until his election to Parliament in 1967.

As a member of Parliament, Cooke was appointed a minister of government in 1972, when the PNP gained control of the House, the Senate, and the office of prime minister. Over the next eight years Cooke headed the Pension, Labour, and Education ministries, instituting a number of reforms and initiatives and gaining the respect of his people. In 1978 he was named a Commander of the Order of Distinction, and he was given a commendation for distinguished service by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in 1980. Cooke served as president of the Senate for two years (1989–1991) and was elected to the executive board of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

After completing his term as president of the Senate, Cooke was appointed by Queen Elizabeth II as Jamaica's governor-general in August 1991. The following year Prime Minister Michael Manley stepped down and another PNP member, Percival James (P. J.) Patterson, was installed as his successor. In 1991 Cooke was knighted by the queen and bestowed with the Grand Cross of Saint Mi-

chael and Saint George (GCMG) and the Order of the Nation (ON). He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order (GCVO) in 1994.

As a longtime supporter of education and the arts, Cooke has served on the Jamaica Cultural Development Commission, the Saint James Cultural Commission, and various other organizations. He has remained active in religious groups as well, serving as a senior elder and lay pastor of the United Church of Jamaica and the Cayman Islands, and as a lay pastor and chairman of the Cornwall Council of Churches. In addition, Cooke was a member of the Ancient Free and Accepted Order of Masons and received honorary doctorates from Western Carolina University and the University of the West Indies in 2003. In addition, from the 1960s through the 1990s Cooke worked in the insurance industry, holding management positions at Standard Life Insurance Company, Jamaica Mutual Life Assurance Company, and American Life Insurance Company.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Jamaica Labour Party; Manley, Michael; Patterson, Percival James "P.J."; People's National Party; West Indies Federation

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NELSON RHODES (2005)

Cook, Mercer

March 30, 1903
October 4, 1987

The son of composer Will Marion Cook and singer Abbie Mitchell, educator and ambassador Mercer Cook was born in Washington, D.C., and given the full name of Will Mercer Cook. He received his B.A. from Amherst College in 1925, a diploma from the University of Paris in 1926, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Brown University in 1931 and 1936. He served as assistant professor at Howard University from 1927 until 1936; he then joined the faculty at Atlanta University as a professor of French, where he taught for seven years. From 1943 to 1945 Cook was supervisor of English at the University of Haiti in Port-au-Prince, after which he returned to Howard University, where he taught until 1960. During these years he wrote and edited books in English and French, most prominently *Le Noir* (1934), *Portraits americains* (1939), and *Five French Negro Authors* (1943). He also translated Léopold Senghor's *African Socialism* (1959), Mamadou Dia's *The African Nations and World Solidarity* (1961), and Cheikh A. Diop's *The African Origins of Civilization* (1974).

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy appointed Cook ambassador to the Republic of Niger, a position he held for three years. From 1964 to 1966 he was the envoy to Senegal and Gambia. Cook also occupied leadership positions in the American Society for African Culture and the Congress of Cultural Freedom. In 1963 he represented the United States as alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly.

Cook returned to Howard University in 1966 to head its department of romance languages. In 1969 he coauthored with Stephen Henderson *The Militant Black Writer in Africa and the United States.* The following year he retired from active teaching. Cook died of pneumonia in Washington, D.C.

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)

Cooper, Anna J.

August 10, 1858
February 27, 1964

Educator and writer Anna Julia Haywood was born a slave in Raleigh, North Carolina. While still a child, she was hired out as a nursemaid and developed a love for books and learning. In 1867 she entered St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate Institute in Raleigh, where she soon began to tutor and teach other students. While there, she met George A. C. Cooper, a teacher of Greek. The couple married in 1877, but George Cooper died two years later.

In the fall of 1881 Anna Cooper entered Oberlin College. She received a B.A. in 1884 and an M.A. three years later. She taught for a short while at Wilberforce College in Ohio and at St. Augustine's in Raleigh before going to the M Street (now Paul Laurence Dunbar) High School in Washington, D.C., in 1887. In 1902 Cooper became principal of M Street High School.

Cooper believed that African Americans needed to pursue not only industrial training but academic education as well. During her tenure as head of M Street, she successfully expanded college prep courses, attracted academically oriented black students, and increased the proportion of M Street graduates attending Ivy League schools. Cooper's commitment to classical studies for African Americans clashed with Booker T. Washington's philosophies, which dominated black higher education at the time. Her unconventional approach resulted in charges of misconduct and insubordination. Because of the charges leveled against her, the school board decided not to reappoint her as principal in 1906. Cooper then taught for four years at Lincoln University in Missouri before returning to M Street to teach Latin.

At the age of fifty-three, Cooper began doing graduate work. She studied at La Guilde Internationale, Paris (1911–1912), and at Columbia University (1913–1916), working toward her Ph.D., which she received from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1925. Her dissertation, *"L'attitude de la France à l'égard de l'esclavage pendant la revolution"* (translated as "The Attitude of France Toward Slavery During the Revolution") was published in 1925.

Much of the rest of Cooper's career revolved around Frelinghuysen University in Washington, D.C., an institution of adult education offering evening classes in academic, religious, and trade programs. She served as president of Frelinghuysen from 1930 to 1940. Because of financial difficulties, the university lost its charter in 1937, becoming the Frelinghuysen Group of Schools for Colored Working People, and Cooper became its registrar. Cooper continued to be centrally involved with the school, offering her home for classes and meetings, when necessary.

Throughout her career Cooper was a staunch defender of African-American rights and a relentless proponent of education for females. She believed that race and sex were inseparable and that both racism and sexism affected the social status of black women. She also argued that the struggles of all oppressed people were "indissolubly linked" together. In her book *A Voice from the South,* published in 1892, she asserted that African-American women were a distinct political and social force and that they could act as spokespersons for their race and as advocates for women.

Anna Julia Cooper

"Only the BLACK WOMAN can say 'when and where I enter,' in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing, or special patronage, then and there the whole…race enters with me."

A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH (1892). INTRODUCTION BY MARY HELEN WASHINGTON, NEW YORK: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, 1988.

Cooper believed that the key to achieving social equality for women was education, and she fought for women's collective right to higher education. During her early years at St. Augustine, she protested the exclusion of females from courses for ministerial studies and argued that boys and girls should have equal access to education. She believed that education would widen women's horizons and make them less dependent on marriage and love. She was one of the earliest advocates for women's rights and one of the most tenacious supporters of women's suffrage. Cooper was also the only woman elected to the American Negro Academy, was a participant in the 1900 Pan African Conference, and was elected to its executive committee.

Although Cooper never had children of her own, she adopted and raised five great-nieces and nephews. The death in 1939 of her niece and namesake, Annie Cooper Haywood Beckwith, who had lived with her since 1915 when she was six months old, devastated Cooper. Shortly after Beckwith's death in 1939, Cooper's public activity diminished. Nevertheless, she continued to write and work at home. She was a prolific writer, publishing on a wide variety of subjects, such as *Le Pélerinage de Charlemagne* (*Charlemagne's Pilgrimage*) (1925), *Equality of Race and the Democratic Movement* (1945), *The Life and Writings of the Grimké Family* (1951), and essays on "College Extension for Working People" and "Modern Education." Cooper died in her sleep in 1964 at the age of 105.

See also Education in the United States; Washington, Booker T.

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Coppin, Fanny Jackson

1837
January 21, 1913

The educator Frances "Fanny" Jackson Coppin was born a slave in Washington, D.C. When she was approximately twelve years old, her freedom was bought for $125 by her aunt Sarah Orr Clark, who saved the purchase price from her $6-a-month salary. Coppin went to live with another aunt in Newport, Rhode Island, but felt she was a strain on her relative's limited resources. At the age of fourteen, she went to live as a domestic servant with a white couple, using her salary to pay for a private tutor and piano lessons. In 1859 she entered the Rhode Island State Normal School in Bristol. From 1860 to 1865 she attended Oberlin College, where she earned a B.A. and was named class poet at graduation. While at the college, Coppin had sixteen private music students and established an evening adult-education class for freed blacks, which she taught voluntarily four nights a week. The publicity she received for this class prompted Oberlin to name her a student teacher for preparatory classes. She was the first African-American student named to this position.

In 1865 Coppin became principal of the girls' division of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia (later known as Cheyney State College). The institute had been founded in 1837 by the Society of Friends to counter anti-abolitionist claims that blacks were incapable of acquiring a classical education. In 1869 Coppin was named principal of the entire institute, becoming the first black American female to head an institution of higher learning.

In 1889 the institute opened an industrial department, for which Coppin had vigorously campaigned because she wanted to train black men and women in the technical skills and trades from which they were often excluded by trade unions. In her 1913 autobiography, *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching,* she wrote, "In Philadelphia, the only place at the time where a colored boy could learn a trade, was in the House of Refuge, or the Penitentiary!"

Coppin actively campaigned to earn women the right to vote. She wrote a column for the *Christian Recorder,* the newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. After her retirement in 1902, she traveled with her husband, an AME minister, as a missionary to South Africa. Coppin State College in Baltimore is named in her honor.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Education in the United States

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JUALYNNE DODSON (1996)

Coppin, Levi Jenkins

December 24, 1848
June 25, 1924

A native of Fredrickstown, Maryland, Levi Jenkins Coppin spent his childhood in Baltimore and in Wilmington, Delaware. It took Coppin only a short time to rise in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church after receiving his license to preach in 1876. Twelve years later the denomination chose him as editor of its major publication, the *AME Church Review,* a post he held until 1888, when he ran unsuccessfully for the bishopric. He then returned to Philadelphia, where he had previously resided, to serve as pastor of the historic Bethel Church.

Coppin became a bishop in the AME Church in 1900. From 1990 to 1904 he served in South Africa, where he worked to spread the influence of the denomination in that area and in Ethiopia. Coppin, a devoted Mason, also established the Masonic Lodge of Capetown, which had an affiliation with the Philadelphia Jurisdiction of the Prince Hall Masons. After his return to the United States, he served most of his remaining years in the South.

Coppin was a moderately conservative theologian on the issue of race. Although he counseled patience, hard work, and thrift, he did hold membership in social protest groups such as the Afro-American Council and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Coppin is remembered best for the influence he had upon the church as editor of the *Review* and for his work in Africa.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church

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JIMMIE LEWIS FRANKLIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

CORE

See Congress of Racial Equality

Cornish, Samuel E.

1795
November 6, 1858

Abolitionist and newspaper editor Samuel Eli Cornish was born of free parents in Sussex County, Delaware, and raised in Philadelphia and New York City. He graduated from the Free African School in Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter he began training for the ministry under John Gloucester, pastor of the First African Church, Presbyterian, in Philadelphia. Licensed to preach as a Presbyterian minister in 1819, Cornish spent six months serving as a missionary to slaves on Maryland's Eastern Shore before returning to New York to organize the New Demeter Street Presbyterian Church. He was ordained in 1822 and continued there until 1828. Throughout his life Cornish remained involved in religious activities, working as a preacher and missionary to African Americans in New York, Philadelphia, and Newark, New Jersey; in 1845 or 1846 he organized Emmanuel Church in New York City, remaining as its pastor until 1847.

In addition to his role as a clergyman, Cornish was noted as a journalist. His most significant contribution was the founding of *Freedom's Journal,* the first African-American newspaper in the United States. Cornish began the weekly journal in New York on March 16, 1827, serving as senior editor, with another young African American, John B. Russwurm, holding the position of junior editor. As fathers of the African-American press, the two men stated in their first editorial that "we wish to plead our own cause. Too long others have spoken for us." Under Cornish's control, *Freedom's Journal* became a popular protest vehicle and an instrument for promoting racial pride, as well as an advocate of education and emancipation.

Cornish resigned as editor of the *Journal* in September 1827 and became an agent for the New York Free African schools, but under Russwurm's editorship the paper declined. In 1829 Cornish revived it, changing the name to the *Rights of All,* and sustained publication for one year. Cornish went on to serve in various positions in missionary and benevolent societies. From 1837 to 1839 he served as the sole or joint editor of the *Colored American.* In 1840 Cornish wrote *The Colonization Scheme Considered,* a powerful pamphlet against colonization, which he felt was unjust and failed to provide a solution to the problem of slavery.

In addition to his religious and journalistic efforts, Cornish served antislavery and other reform causes through a number of benevolent organizations. Among his other efforts, he helped found and served as an executive committee member of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1835–1837), was vice president of the American Moral Reform Society (1835–1836), and served on the executive committee of the New York City Vigilance Committee (1835–1837) and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (1840–1841; 1847–1848). By the 1850s, Cornish, who had been at one time both a founding member of the American Missionary Association and a fervent Garrisonian, grew impatient with anticlericalism and black exclusiveness in antislavery efforts. He remained active in American Missionary Society efforts as a member of the executive committee (1846–1855) and as vice president (1848–1858), but essentially ceased active participation in the abolitionist movement. In poor health in his later years, he moved to Brooklyn in 1855 and died there in 1858.

See also Abolition; *Freedom's Journal*; Religion; Russwurm, John Brown

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Cortez, Jayne

May 10, 1936

The poet Jayne Cortez was born in Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and she moved with her family to Watts in Los Angeles when she was seven. Jazz was one of her earliest and most significant artistic influences. In 1954 she married the avant-garde saxophonist Ornette Coleman. The two were divorced in 1960, and Cortez soon began to pursue her childhood dream of becoming an actress. She studied drama and attended acting workshops, and it was around this time that she began to write poetry.

In 1963 she met James Forman, the executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who persuaded her to go to Mississippi to help register voters. After spending the summer of 1963 in Greenwood and the summer of 1964 in Jackson, she was, by her own account, transformed: "I saw history being made."

Upon her return to California, Cortez founded the Watts Repertory Theater Company, a writers' and actors' workshop, and she began public readings of her poetry there. In 1967 she moved to New York City, where she founded Bola Press. Two years later she published her first collection of poetry, *Pissstained Stairs and the Monkey Man's Wares* (1969). In 1975 she married the artist Melvin Edwards, and from 1977 to 1983 she served as writer-in-residence at Livingston College of Rutgers University.

African imagery, poetic forms, and language are important facets of Cortez's work, which is collected in the volume *Coagulations: New and Selected Poems* (1984). However, it is music that most permeates Cortez's poetry. She abruptly changes line lengths and frequently repeats words and lines, establishing rhythms evocative of the spectrum of the African-American musical tradition, from the blues to experimental jazz. She often performs with her own jazz band, the Firespitters, which includes her son Denardo Coleman on drums. She has released several CDs of her poetry set to music, including *Borders of Disorderly Time* (2003). This interest in music also pervades her latest collection of poetry, *Jazz Fan Looks Back* (2002), which celebrates such artists as Louis Armstrong and Miles Davis.

In addition to her poetry, Cortez and Ghanian writer Ama Ata Aidoo founded the Organization of Women Writers of Africa, and in 1999 and 2004 she coordinated the "Yari Yari International Conference of Women Writers of African Descent." She also helped to organize "Slave Routes: The Long Memory," an international symposium that took place in New York City in 1999. Cortez continues to be a highly political poet, and she has traveled widely, reading her poetry in North America, Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the Caribbean.

See also Poetry, U.S.

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LOUIS J. PARASCANDOLA (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Cosby, Bill

July 12, 1937

Comedian and philanthropist William Henry "Bill" Cosby Jr. was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, to William and Annie Pearle Cosby. After a stint in the Navy (1956–1960), Cosby studied at Temple University in Philadelphia but dropped out to pursue a career as a stand-up comic.

During the 1960s Cosby worked in network television as a comedian featured on late-night talk shows. In 1965 he became the first African-American network television star in a dramatic series when producers named him to co-star with Robert Culp in *I Spy* (1965–1968). Cosby's character, Alexander Scott, did not usually address his blackness or another character's whiteness. As with other forms of popular entertainment with black characters at the time, Cosby's character was portrayed in a manner in which being black merely meant having slightly darker skin. He won Emmy awards for the role in 1966 and 1967.

From 1969 through 1971 Cosby appeared as Chet Kincaid, a bachelor high school coach, on the situation

Comedian Bill Cosby, 1965. *That year, in the series* I Spy, *Cosby became the first African American to have a starring role in a television dramatic series. Co-starring with Robert Culp, Cosby won Emmy awards for his portrayal of the character Alexander Scott in 1966 and 1967.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

comedy series *The Bill Cosby Show*. Cosby portrayed Kincaid as a proud but not militant black man. The series was moderately successful. A few years later, Cosby and CBS joined forces in a television experiment, *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids* (1972–1977), a cartoon series for children. The series set the course for television in the vital new area of ethics, values, judgment, and personal responsibility. By the end of its three-year run, *Fat Albert* had inspired a number of new directions in children's television.

In 1972 and 1973 Cosby starred in *The New Bill Cosby Show,* a comedy-variety series. Cosby's Jemmin Company, which he had recently established, produced the shows, allowing him to have more control over the productions. As he did in all his television series, Cosby made great use of other black artists who had had few opportunities to practice their craft elsewhere.

For a few months in late 1976, largely because of his success as a regular guest on the PBS educational series *The Electric Company,* where he demonstrated great skill at working with and entertaining youngsters, ABC hired Cosby to host a prime time hour-long variety series oriented toward children, *Cos*. It did not catch on with viewers, however, and was canceled after a few months.

In the fall of 1984 *The Cosby Show* began on NBC, featuring Cosby as Cliff Huxtable, an obstetrician living with his wife and four children in a New York City brownstone. Their fifth child, away at college most of the time, appeared sporadically in featured parts. The show put black images on the screen that many people admired. The characters on *The Cosby Show* represented a real African-American upper-middle-class family, rarely seen on American television. Cosby sought black artists who had not been seen on network television in years for cameo roles (Dizzy Gillespie and Judith Jamison, for example). He also included black writers among his creative staff, and by the third year, he insisted on using a black director for some of the episodes. In its first year, *The Cosby Show* finished third in the ratings; from the second season through the fourth season, it was the number-one-rated show in the United States.

Conscious of the need to lead the networks toward more equitable treatment of African Americans, Cosby used his position to require that more doors be opened. He had a presence in almost every area of television programming: He was a mass volume spokesman and star presenter for advertisements and public relations image campaigns that included Jell-O, Coca-Cola, Delmonte, Kodak, and E. F. Hutton. He appeared in drama, action-adventure stories, comedies, and children's programs. In 1992 he also entered into prime-time syndication with Carsey-Werner Productions with a remake of the old Groucho Marx game series, *You Bet Your Life*. The show lasted only one season. That same year, however, Cosby made public his bid to purchase the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC-TV), a television network worth $9 billion. Cosby was determined to call attention to the proliferation of negative images of black people and the titillation of viewers with sex and violence. All television viewers, he argued, were diminished by the spate of "drive-by images" that reinforced shallow stereotypes. In 1995 Cosby produced another unsuccessful syndicated series, *The Cosby Mysteries*. In 1996 he began a new hit series, *Cosby,* in which he played a working-class man from Queens, New York.

Throughout his career Cosby appeared at highly popular concert performances across the United States. His comedy focused on his own life as a reflection of universal human needs. He also produced more than twenty comedy/musical record albums, many of which won Grammy awards, including *Bill Cosby Is a Very Funny Fellow* (1963), *I Started Out as a Child* (1964), *Why Is There Air?* (1965), *Wonderfulness* (1966), *Revenge* (1967), *To Russell, My Brother, Whom I Slept With* (1968), *Bill Cosby* (1969), *Bill Cosby Talks to Children About Drugs* (1971), and *Children, You'll Understand* (1986). Cosby has written many best-selling books, including *The Wit and Wisdom of Fat Albert* (1973), *You Are Somebody Special* (1978), *Fatherhood* (1986), *Time Flies* (1987), and *Love and Marriage* (1989).

He has served on numerous boards, including those of the NAACP, Operation PUSH, the United Negro College Fund, and the National Sickle Cell Foundation.

Cosby, who in 1993 was listed in *Forbes* magazine as one of the four hundred richest people in the world with a net worth of more than $315 million, has been one of the most important benefactors to African-American institutions. In 1986 he and his wife gave $1.3 million to Fisk University; the following year they gave another $1.3 million to be divided equally among four black universities—Central State, Howard, Florida A & M, and Shaw; in 1988 they divided $1.5 million between Meharry Medical College and Bethune-Cookman College. In 1989 Bill and Camille Cosby announced that they were giving $20 million to Spelman College, the largest personal gift ever made to any of the historically black colleges and universities. In 1994 the couple donated a historic landmark building in downtown Washington, D.C., to the National Council of Negro Women to help them establish a National Center for African-American Women. Cosby himself has been the recipient of numerous awards, including the NAACP's Spingarn Medal (1985). He holds an M.A. (1972) and a doctorate (1976) in education from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. In 1976 he also finally received a B.A. from Temple University. Cosby, who married Camille Hanks in 1964, has lived in rural Massachusetts since the early 1970s.

In 1997 Cosby's life was shattered when his son Ennis was robbed and murdered in Los Angeles. (Mikail Markhasev, a Russian immigrant, was convicted of the murder in 1998.) In the fall of 1997 Cosby was the target of an extortion plot by Autumn Jackson, an African-American woman who threatened to reveal that Cosby was her father unless he paid her. At Jackson's extortion trial, Cosby was forced to admit to an extramarital affair with Jackson's mother, but he denied he was Jackson's father. After Cosby's assertion was confirmed by DNA testing, Jackson was convicted. In 1998 he began a new television series, *Kids Say the Darnedest Things*.

In addition to his stand-up comedy, Cosby has produced movies, including *Men of Honor* (2000) and *Fat Albert* (2004), as well as numerous television shows. At the 2003 Emmy Awards, Cosby received the Bob Hope Humanitarian Award.

See also Comedians; Philanthropy and Foundations; Television

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JANNETTE L. DATES (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Cotton Club

The Cotton Club, at Lenox Avenue and West 142nd Street in Harlem, first opened in 1920 as the Club Deluxe but took on new ownership and its permanent name in 1922. Owney Madden, who bought the club from heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson, intended the name Cotton Club to appeal to whites, the only clientele permitted until 1928. The club made its name by featuring top-level black performers and an upscale, downtown audience. It soon became a leading attraction for white tourists from high society who wanted to see the much publicized, risqué Harlem cultural life.

Following the death in 1927 of Andy Preer, leader of the house band, the Cotton Club Syncopators, Duke Ellington and his orchestra were brought in as replacements and began a four-year rise to prominence on the Cotton Club's stage. Soon after Ellington took over as bandleader, the Cotton Club Orchestra began to be broadcast nightly over a national radio network.

Responding to local protests, the club's management opened its doors to black patrons for the first time in the winter of 1928. Nonetheless, prices were kept prohibitively high and the club's audience remained virtually all white. The nightly revues, which were generally more popular than the orchestra, featured scantily clad, light-skinned women dancing to Ellington's "jungle music."

In 1931 Ellington and his orchestra left the club and were replaced by Cab Calloway's Missourians. Calloway, like Ellington, established himself as a major figure in mainstream jazz during his Cotton Club years. Calloway's Missourians remained the house band until 1934, when they were replaced by Jimmie Lunceford's acclaimed swing band. Most of the renowned jazz performers of the period appeared at the Cotton Club, including Louis Armstrong, Ethel Waters, and dancers Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and the Nicholas Brothers.

Following riots in Harlem in 1935, the club was forced to close due to a widespread perception among whites that the area was unsafe. It reopened downtown in

The Cotton Club. *The famed Harlem, New York, nightclub is seen here at night, with the illuminated marquee advertising performances by Cab Calloway and Bill Robinson.* HULTON/ARCHIVE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1936, at 200 West 48th Street, where it remained until its final closing in 1940.

See also Calloway, Cab; Ellington, Duke; Harlem Renaissance; Jazz; Robinson, Bill "Bojangles" (Robinson, Luther)

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Council on African Affairs

The Council on African Affairs (CAA), the most important Pan-Africanist group of the 1940s, was founded on January 28, 1937, by a group led by Paul Robeson and Max Yergan, a former YMCA secretary. Originally named the International Committee on African Affairs, it was a small information and lobbying group. Anticolonialist in nature, it was dedicated to increasing Americans' awareness of conditions in Africa, to expose the "ruthless exploitation of the people; repressive legislation . . . and the growing poverty of the Africans." For many years it was the only organization dedicated to African problems. It was funded largely by Frederick V. Field (of the Chicago de-

partment store family), who had communist leanings, as did many of the CAA's leaders. Its seventy-member board, however, included such noncommunist luminaries as Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Alain Locke, Channing Tobias, Herbert Delany, and Mary McLeod Bethune. Two other board members, Ralph Bunche and Mordecai Johnson, decided shortly after joining that the CAA was too left wing in its politics and resigned. In 1941 the group had fourteen active committee members who met three times per year.

In 1942 the organization, renamed the CAA, set up offices at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street in New York City, and in August published its first two-page newsletter, *News of Africa*. In 1943 Alphaeus Hunton, a Howard University English professor, became the CAA's educational director. He began a monthly bulletin, *New Africa* (later called *Spotlight on Africa*), which was part of a program to influence mass opinion, especially on the U.S. role in Africa as exploiter of cheap labor and raw materials. In April 1944 the CAA sponsored a conference titled "Africa—New Perspectives" with Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) as the guest speaker.

During World War II Hunton and Yergan conferred with the U.S. State Department's Division of African Affairs about economic and political questions, advocating a program of postwar liberation and self-determination for African colonies. In 1945 CAA chairman Paul Robeson lobbied President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State Edward Stettinius to support African decolonization at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. Hunton was an accredited observer, and he attended meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories. He prepared reports for UN delegates on South Africa. When Jan Smuts, the prime minister of South Africa, applied for permission to annex South West Africa, the CAA led the successful fight at the UN to block the measure.

By 1946 the CAA had seventy-two members, some 80 percent of whom were African Americans. Often the only source of information on Africa, the CAA provided news releases to sixty-two foreign and sixty-seven U.S. newspapers. Its *African Bibliography* was published from January 1945 to February 1950. It publicized apartheid, starvation, and exploitation of black Africans in South Africa, and supported the African National Congress. So influential was the CAA that *New Africa* was banned in British-held Kenya. CAA activities included mass meetings, picketing of the South African embassy, and a food drive.

The last big CAA event was an April 1947 meeting at the 71st Regimental Armory in New York. Paul Robeson spoke, comparing the United States unfavorably to the Soviet Union, citing the latter's aid to third-world countries. That year, as the cold war heated up, the CAA was placed on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations.

In February 1948 a major schism occurred. Executive Director Max Yergan insisted that the CAA Council should declare its "nonpartisan" character, while Robeson and his followers claimed this would aid anti-Soviet reactionaries. The dispute was referred to a policy committee headed by W. E. B. Du Bois, who had become active in the CAA following his departure in 1948 from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In March the CAA board defeated Yergan's motion and censured him for alleged financial irregularities. Yergan claimed the CAA had been taken over by communists and formed his own rump faction. That summer, the CAA leadership expelled him. This action cost the organization the support of Powell, Tobias, Delany, and Bethune. Robeson remained as chairman, Du Bois became vice chairman, and Hunton became executive secretary. Louise Thompson Patterson, a prominent communist, became the director of organization, and with Robeson he organized fund-raising concerts and local chapters. The CAA became Robeson's power base, and supporters demonstrated in 1950 after he was denied a passport.

In 1953 the CAA was ordered to register under the McCarran Act as a subversive organization, and in 1955 Hunton was called before a federal grand jury to testify about whether the CAA was a foreign agent, given its ties with the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. Funding soon dried up, and in 1955 the CAA ceased most activities. The U.S. government's Subversive Activities Control Board finally shut it down for good in 1956.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Du Bois, W. E. B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Robeson, Paul; Yergan, Max

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Count Basie

See Basie, William James "Count"

Cox, Oliver Cromwell

August 24, 1901
September 4, 1974

Sociologist Oliver Cox was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, the son of Virginia Blake and William Raphael Cox. His father, a customs officer and the captain of a revenue schooner, was too busy to supervise the education of Cox and his eight siblings, and so it was entrusted to his uncle, Reginald W. Vidale, a teacher and headmaster of Saint Thomas Boys' School in Port of Spain.

Cox came to the United States in 1919 to work and be educated. In 1925 he entered Lewis Institute in Chicago, where he majored in history and economics. He received an associate degree in the spring of 1927 and that fall entered Northwestern University, where he graduated with a bachelor of science in law in 1929. Shortly thereafter he was stricken with polio. He spent eighteen months recovering and thereafter always walked with crutches.

After abandoning the idea of practicing law in Trinidad, Cox decided to go into academic work, which would, he said, "not require too much legwork." In the fall of 1930 he entered the University of Chicago as a graduate student in economics, earning an M.A. in 1932. Soon after, however, he switched to sociology, claiming that economists had not explained the causes of the Great Depression. His dissertation, "Factors Affecting the Marital Status of Negroes in Chicago," was based on the study of a massive quantity of statistical data. Cox received his Ph.D. in August 1938.

Despite his degrees in both economics and sociology, Cox was unable, then as later, to find a job at a white institution. He took a position in the economics department at Wiley College in Marshall, Texas. After five years he accepted a more lucrative post at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Tuskegee's vocational approach to education frustrated him, however, and he joined the faculty of Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, in 1949. He stayed at Lincoln until 1970, when he joined the faculty at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, where for a short time he was a distinguished visiting professor.

Cox is best known for his attack on the caste school of race relations, of which W. Lloyd Warner was the most articulate member. Cox argued, first in his article "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations" (1942) and at greater length in his major work, *Caste, Race, and Class* (1948) that to view race relations in America as analogous to caste systems such as that of Hindu India ignored historical differences in the development of the two systems and discounted the political and economic basis of American race relations. Cox insisted that racism in America was a product of class conflict. In later years, Cox elaborated his Marxist view of capitalism and race relations in three books: *Foundations of Capitalism* (1959), *Capitalism and American Leadership* (1962), and *Capitalism as a System* (1964). He underlined the importance of international trade and uneven global development in the history of European capitalism. Cox's final work, "Jewish Self-Interest and 'Black Pluralism'" (1974), dealt with the problem of black nationalism. His assertion that ethnic pluralism was promoted by Jews for their own benefit caused a storm of criticism.

Only at the end of his life did Cox achieve limited professional recognition. His work, despite its originality, remains curiously overlooked.

See also Tuskegee University

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Craft, Ellen and William

Ellen (1826–1891) and William (1824–1900) Craft were fugitive slaves who became known for their dramatic escape to freedom. Ellen Smith was born in Clinton, Georgia, the daughter of a mulatto slave, Maria, and her owner, Major James Smith. At eleven years of age, Ellen was given as a wedding gift to one of Smith's daughters living in Macon, Georgia. She soon met William Craft, a fellow slave and cabinetmaker, and within a few years they began

Fugitive slaves Ellen and William Craft. *In a carefully arranged plan for escape, Ellen, of fair complexion, disguised herself as an invalid white male traveling north to consult doctors; William impersonated her black slave. Journeying successfully to Philadelphia in 1848, the Crafts were driven into exile in England by the passage of the Fugitive Slave law two years later.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

to plot their escape from bondage. The couple were married in 1846.

Escape from the Deep South was a rare and dangerous undertaking, and the Crafts' plan was bold, creative, and worked out in detail. They first procured passes to visit friends during the Christmas season, when discipline was known to be lax. Their pass was good for several days, so they had time to travel some distance before their absence was noticed. Ellen had a fair complexion, and she posed as an invalid white male traveling north to consult doctors; William impersonated her black slave. She cut her hair, wrapped her head in a bandage, and practiced imitating a man's gait. As a final touch, she wore eyeglasses to disguise her appearance, and because she was illiterate, she held her writing arm in a cast to avoid having to sign her name. This part of the disguise would be crucial when they were forced to sign hotel registers.

The couple left for freedom on December 21, 1848, and traveled by train, steamer, and ferry through Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, in a journey that involved several near discoveries. Finally, they arrived in Philadelphia, which was free territory, on Christmas day, 1848.

In Philadelphia, Ellen and William Craft stayed with free blacks and Quakers. They were befriended by abolitionist luminaries such as William Wells Brown (c.1814–1884) and William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), and the Crafts frequently lectured on their dramatic escape on the antislavery circuit. In 1850, however, national events changed their lives dramatically. In that year the Fugitive Slave Law was passed and the Crafts were literally hunted down in Boston by southern slavehunters and driven into exile in England. Their plight became a national issue when President Millard Fillmore insisted that if the laws of the land were not obeyed in Boston, and the Crafts not shipped back to the South, he would use the United States Army to force the issue.

While in England, the Crafts remained active in the abolitionist movement. They went on a speaking tour with abolitionist William Wells Brown, and in 1851 they took a post teaching at the Ockham School, a pioneering trade school that combined classroom work in traditional subjects with farming, carpentry, and other crafts. William Craft also gained a reputation as a public spokesman against slavery, and he made several trips back to the United States to speak out against the Confederacy during the Civil War. Ellen was active in the British and Foreign Freedmen's Aid Society, a missionary organization that organized "civilizing" work in British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean. The Crafts published the story of their escape from slavery, *Running a Thousand Miles for Free-*

Fugitive slave Ellen Craft, in disguise. *From* Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; *or,* The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery *(1860), by William Craft.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

dom, while in London in 1860. Between 1863 and 1867, William was in Dahomey in West Africa with the Company of African-American Merchants, where he started a school and established commercial ties.

In 1868 the Crafts returned to the United States with two of their five children and settled in Bryan County, Georgia, where they opened an industrial school for black youths. They purchased a plantation in Woodville in 1871, where they continued their school and hired tenant farmers to grow rice, cotton, corn, and peas, which they sold in the Savannah area. By 1877 they had seventy-five pupils, but they were suffering from the financial burden of keeping up the school.

William became a leader in the local Republican Party, ran for the state senate in 1874, and in 1876 represented his district at the state and national Republican conventions. He also spent a good part of his time in the North, raising funds for the school and lecturing to church groups on conditions in the South. Ellen managed the plantation while he was away, negotiated the annual contracts with tenants, and drove their crops to market. But the plantation never prospered, and northerners, in the mood for reconciliation with the South, were less forthcoming with donations to the experimental school. Rumors spread by the Crafts' enemies suggesting that they were living off the largess of naive northern philanthropists did not help their project, and they eventually gave up the school. Around 1890 they left the Woodville plantation and moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where they remained for the rest of their lives. In 1996, Ellen Craft was named a Georgia Woman of Achievement.

See also Abolition; Brown, William Wells; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)

CREOLE LANGUAGES OF THE AMERICAS

Enslaved by the European superpowers of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands thousands of Africans primarily from the west coast of the continent were transported to the Americas. The fates of these people varied widely according to where they were located. In Surinam and a few other places, large numbers escaped the plantations to live in the bush, often in close contact with the native peoples of the region. In Haiti, slaves rose up against the French slave owners, ousted them and established their own sovereign state. In Barbados, Africans toiled alongside large numbers of indentured laborers from England and Ireland. New societies—characterized by new forms of art, kinship, politics and language—were

forged from this contact between Africans, Europeans, and others.

For many people, the term *creole* is intimately associated with the language, people, and cuisine of Louisiana. Most linguists, however, use this term to designate a group of languages either on the basis of a common history or a shared set of linguistic features. A few linguists would say that whether one calls a language creole or not is purely a matter of historical accident (since, according to this line of argument, these languages have no more in common than do Chinese and French), while some refuse to use the term altogether. As this dilemma suggests, the "creole languages of America" represent a great challenge to current scholarship, and even the terms used to describe them are a matter of some controversy.

The word *creole* was, of course, not originally used to refer to language at all, but to people—a *criollo* was a person of Spanish descent born in the New World. Eventually, the word came to be used not only for people of European, African, and mixed ancestry born in the Americas, but also for the distinctive languages they spoke.

The term *creole* is used here to designate a broad swath of languages sometimes called *patois* (for instance in Jamaica), *pidjin* (in Hawaii), *Kweyol* (in St. Lucia), *Creolese* (in Guyana) and *dialect* (for instance, in the Sea Islands of Georgia and in many Caribbean Islands). What these languages have in common is that they emerged out of contact between speakers of a number of different languages in the context of plantation slavery and colonialism. Exactly how this happened is again a matter of some controversy. However, it seems relatively certain that in all cases, the result was a fairly extensive restructuring of the languages present at the time of such contact. In the case of Ndjuka (a language spoken in Suriname) restructuring was so extreme that it requires systematic linguistic investigation to find any residue of English in the language spoken today. In other cases, where the restructuring was less extensive, as in Barbados, a speaker of a relatively standard variety of English may be able to recognize a few words upon hearing the language as it is spoken, though there will be little hope of following a conversation.

For many years, linguists treated these languages as oddities and unworthy of serious study. A few early pioneers such as Hugo Schuchardt, John Reinecke, Lucien Rens, Uriel Weinreich, and Lorenzo Dow Turner recognized the importance of Creoles, but for the most part the languages went unstudied. Then, in the 1950s, a group of scholars gathered for the first conference on pidgins and creole in Mona, Jamaica. Since that time, a growing number of linguists have turned their attention to pidgins and creoles, not only in the Americas but also in Melanesia, Africa, and the islands of Mauritius and Seychelles in the Indian Ocean. Today, a relatively small but tightly knit group of researchers, many of whom are themselves native speakers of a creole language, work at describing and understanding these languages through the application of modern linguistic techniques. The question of how these languages formed and developed continues to dominate the field.

Variation

All languages exhibit internal variation. Since the 1960s, sociolinguists have shown that this variation is not random but highly systematic. Creole languages are no exception. Indeed, due to their particular histories of contact and colonialism, creole languages often offer the most extreme cases of such variation.

Such variation has posed significant challenges for linguistic theory, and a number of alternatives have been developed to model it. While consideration of this research would take us too far afield, it is crucial to understand that variation is not the result of speaking "incorrectly." A creole language, like any other, may be spoken correctly or incorrectly, but this has nothing do with the rules of English (or French, etc.) grammar. Native speakers of Creolese (Guyanese Creole) often claim that their language has no rules—that it is simply "broken English." Many, however, would agree that

> *mi na worii goo* [I didn't bother to go.]

is a perfectly good sentence, whereas

> *worii na goo mii*

is not. Every language has its own rules, and native speakers use these rules to produce and understand sentences, as well as to decide what is acceptable and unacceptable.

Linguistic Features of Creoles

Creole languages tend to draw the bulk of their words from the superstrate—the language of the colonizer. Most of these languages developed in settings where there were many different native languages. The European language thus served as a bridge between people who did not share a common language. The European vocabulary was therefore particularly important.

In Barbados and a number of other early colonies, Africans worked for many years side by side with indentured servants from Ireland, Scotland, and western England. The European language that slaves learned was therefore derived from regional sources. Thus, there are many words in contemporary creole languages that have their source

in the regional dialects of European languages. For instance, the Sranan word *wenke* (woman) derives from English wench, while the verb *bay/ba* (to give) in the French creoles derives from *bailer,* an archaism preserved in regional dialects. The early colonies were, in many ways, societies built around the sea, and nautical usage has provided many words to the Creoles of the Caribbean. In the Atlantic English creoles, for instance, *hais* (lift) comes from the English hoist.

All the creole languages of the Americas show some influence of the substrate languages (the original African languages) in their vocabulary. This influence ranges from a fairly significant proportion of words of African origin in the Surinamese creoles—perhaps as much as 5 percent in Saramaccan—to the much more limited influence on the varieties spoken in other places. Of course, the slaves who made up the early linguistic communities of the colonies spoke many different languages, so that relatively few words were likely to carry over into the common creole language. There are some exceptions, however, for example Berbice Creole Dutch mentioned below.

In his *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949), African-American linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner recorded hundreds of words of African origin that had survived in Gullah. The bulk of these are used as personal names. A full 150 pages of Turner's book is devoted to recording these names and their sources in various African languages. The number of words listed as "used in conversation" is considerably smaller. This category of words includes, for instance, *bEble,* an Ewe word for deceit, as well as *ibi* (to vomit) from Yoruba. Some African words such as *nyam* (to eat/food) and *bokra/bakra* (white man) are particularly widespread, occurring in creoles with different lexical bases.

An early pioneer of creole studies, Frederic Cassidy (b. 1966), pointed out another way in which African words were preserved in creole vocabularies. He called this phenomenon "multiple etymology" which points to the fact that sometimes a word can be traced to more than one source, and that its current usage reflects this multiple etymology. Cassidy gave examples such as Jamaican *cuss-cuss,* or *kas-kas,* which may be traced to both English *cuss* and Twi *kasa-kasa* (argument).

Another process widely evidenced in creole languages is "calquing." Calques are produced when idioms or phrases in one language are translated word-for-word into the creole using the superstrate lexicon. For instance in Caribbean English creoles, *big-eye* means greedy. Parallel forms of this metaphor are found not only in Haitian (*gwo že*), but also in African languages such as Twi (*ani bre*) and Ibo (*aŋa uku*). All of these examples literally translate as "big" plus "eye".

One also finds influence in a variety of word-formation rules. For instance, reduplication is a process in which a word or part of a word is repeated, resulting in a distinct lexical item. Reduplication is associated with a variety of meanings such as intensification (e.g., *kwik-kwik*—as in *da bai a iit kwik kwik,* the boy eats very fast), distribution (e.g., *di piknii a waak wan-wan,* the children are walking one by one), and reiteration (e.g., *di pkinii a krai-krai*, the child is constantly crying).

Many other languages have contributed to the vocabularies of creole languages. In the Caribbean, the Amerindian languages of the Carib and Arawak people have contributed words such as the Carib *mabii* (root from which a drink is made) and the Arawak (possibly via Spanish) *ginip* (a little fruit). In Guyana, where the majority of the population today is of East Indian ancestry, Bhojpuri has contributed a large number of words to the lexicon of Guyanese Creole such as *baigin* (eggplant) and *kaharii* (curry pot).

Phonology

The sound systems of creole languages—their phonologies—differ according to the languages that contributed to their formation, though they also show a number of quite striking similarities. In general, there seems to be a preference for syllables without extensive clustering of consonants. This may be the result of substrate influence, though it may also be the product of second language learning in the contact situation. Holm (1988) notes that African languages such as Ewe, Vai, and Wolof have a basic CV (consonant–vowel) syllable structure. The basic CV syllable structure of many creole languages contrasts with a language like English which has a range of syllable types (e.g., CVC *bit,* CCVC *snap,* CCVCC *stink).*

Creole languages have been affected by a wide variety of phonological processes through which words from European languages have been adapted to the sound systems and phonotactic patterns of the creole. In aphesis, for example, one or more sounds are omitted at the beginning of the word, which results in words such as the Sranan *tan* (stand). Syncope involves the omission of one or more sounds in the middle of a word (e.g., Sranan *kosi,* from the English curtsy). Apocope, in which one or more sounds are omitted from the end of a word, has had a massive effect on creole languages—as in the Haitian *ris* (from the French *risqué*) and the Caribbean English Creole words *lan* (land), *hool* (hold), *las* (last), and *fos* (first). Epenthesis involves the insertion of a sound in the middle of a word. A vowel inserted in this way typically serves to break up a consonant cluster (e.g., Negerhollands *kini,* knee, from the Dutch *knie*). Paragogue, in which a sound is added at

the end of a word, has operated across the lexicon of the Surinamese Creoles, resulting in Sranan words such as *bigi* (big), *dede* (dead), and *mofo* (mouth). The two vowels in the resulting Sranan words exhibit a feature known to linguists as vowel harmony (a characteristic of many West African languages).

Some creole languages have sounds known as co-articulated stops. These are quite rare across the world's languages (what linguistics call a "marked feature"), and their presence in creole languages is a clear inheritance from the West African languages spoken by slaves. Labiovelar co-articulated stops such as *gb* or *kp* occur in a number of Niger-Congo languages, and Saramaccan and Ndjuka also have these stops in words of African origin (e.g., *kpasi,* vulture, and *gbono-gbono,* moss).

Grammar

Creole languages tend to be more highly analytic than the languages that contributed to their formation. This means that they tend to avoid inflectional morphology in favor of relatively short words, which are more or less invariant. In this they resemble languages such as Cantonese or Laotian more than Russian, Inuktitut, or Kwakiutl. This tendency toward analyticity is seen in many areas of the grammar. For instance, in many languages, whether an action or event took place in the past or will take place in the future (tense) is indicated by an inflectional ending (e.g., the *–ed* in *worked*). Another distinction often marked in the same way (by inflectional endings) is called aspect. Aspect indicates, among other things, whether the action is completed (bounded) or ongoing (e.g., the *–ing* in "John is walking"). Again, these distinctions are typically not marked through inflection in creole languages, but rather through a series of preverbal markers.

The tendency towards analyticity has sometimes been misunderstood as making creole languages "easier" or even "simpler." While there is some evidence that highly inflected languages are more difficult to learn (Marianne Mithun's 1989 study of the acquisition of Mohawk), it does not follow that highly analytic languages are easier or simpler. What the language does not convey through inflection it conveys through a complex combination of preverbal markers, and what it does not convey through highly specified semantic or grammatical categories, speakers may convey through adverbial specification or grammatical processes such as reduplication or pragmatic inference.

English-Based Creoles

Perhaps the best known creole languages of the Americas within the English speaking world are those of the Anglophone Antilles (Jamaica, Barbados, Saint Vincent, Saint Kitts, etc.) and mainland South and Central America (Guyana, Belize, etc.). Gullah (spoken along the coast of Georgia and on the Sea Islands) should also be included here. That these form a group of interrelated languages can be shown through both linguistic and historical evidence. Certain islands such as Saint Kitts and Barbados were colonized very early. Colonies established later typically drew a larger proportion of their founding population from these islands. Thus, an early creole language was first established on one or two islands, and this provided the initial input to a number of other languages that emerged sometime later.

An important fact about these languages is that they typically co-exist with (standard) English. In all of the places named above, English is the official language of education and government. This means that English acts as the lexifier language, influencing the creole by providing a constant stream of new words. English also has exerted an influence on the grammar and phonology of these languages. Moreover, because the creole is in contact with the lexifier language, it is constantly compared to it. As a result, many speakers of the creole often do not recognize that they speak a different language but rather see themselves as speaking an incorrect version of the standard.

The following excerpts are from the small Grenadine Island of Bequia. They show some of the major grammatical features of the language, as well as the range of variation between different speakers.

Speaker 001 (Hamilton)

> yu sii a faal dong an a hit dis fut hii an di boon kik out. So ai doz wak wid a piis o stik. Oonlii fo kiip dii fut bot— an a stil wok in mai grong. Til plantin mai kan an piiz az uujal. Karn ai don akostom. luk a ha rait- a piis a grong rait bai di walsaid wen aalyu komin dong. De we yu sii a waal de soo. You sho noo wa mos de soo. Rait de mi a wok.
>
> [You see I fell down and I hit this foot here and the bone kicked out. So I walk with a piece of stick only to keep the foot. But—and I'm still working my ground, still planting my corn and peas as usual. Hm. Because I'm accustomed. Look I have a piece of ground right by the roadside when you're coming down there, where you see a wall there so. You should know what is there. Right there I work.]

Speaker 029 [LaPompe-Southside]

> it streenj. Wans wii wor cheesin dii foulz an sombadi didn sii won an it et a gud lat an it fal dong,

it star to staga an it fal dong. An—an Mamii see to mii "keerii it giv moma," da iz mai granmoda, "keerii it giv or." An wen ai keerii it giv or shii get a litl pen naif an shi hool dong di foul an shii kot open di cra, an shii teek out al di kasava, an shii chroo som wata, an shii wash it out, an shi stich it bak and di foul get op an goo abou ii biznis. Ya, ya as lang az dee kech it in taim dee alweez uusto duu dat.

[It is strange—once we were chasing the fowls and somebody didn't see one and it ate a good lot and it fell down. It started to stagger and it fell down. And—and mommy said to me, "carry it give momma," that is my grandmother, "carry it give her," and when I took it to her she took out a little pen knife and she held down the fowl and she opened the craw and she took out all the cassava and she splashed some water and she washed it out and she stitched it back and the fowl got up and went about his business. Yeah yeah as long as they caught it in time they always used to do that.]

These fragments provide a number of examples of tense and aspect. Whereas English relies primarily on tense—distinguishing actions and events that occurred *before* the time of speaking from those that did not—most English creoles rely more heavily on a basic aspectual distinction between perfective (unmarked) and imperfective (the marked option). Imperfectivity indicates that the action or event is one that is either in progress or done habitually. In Guyanese and Vincentiation (along with other conservative or basilectal English creoles of the Eastern branch), imperfective is conveyed by the preverbal marker *a* or *da,* as in *rait de mi a wok* (Right there I work). These passages also illustrate the rather extreme grammatical variation that is characteristic of this community. Thus, imperfectivity (including the specific senses of progressivity and habituality) is marked in the following ways:

TABLE 1.

doz	*So ai doz wak wid a piis o stik.* [So I walk with a piece of stick.] (Habitual)
ø	*An a stil ø wok in mai grong.* [And I'm still working my ground.] (Habitual)
ø V+ing	*Til plantin mai kan an piiz az uujal.* [Still planting my corn and peas as usual.] (Habitual)
a	*Rait de mi a wok.* [Right there I work.] (Habitual)
were V+ing	*Wans wii wor cheesin dii foulz an sombadi didn sii won.* [Once we were chasing the fowls and somebody didn't see one.] (Past Progressive)
used to	*Dee alweez uusto duu dat.* [They always used to do that.] (Past Habitual)

Perfectivity, which "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation" (Comrie, 1976, p. 36) is usually expressed by the use of the unmarked verb. Taken in context, it is clear that these events and actions took place in the past. Thus, what a language like English conveys with tense, this one conveys with aspect. A final marker of aspect illustrated here is *don—I done accustom*. Notice that in many cases *don* is more or less equivalent to English "finish" (as in *di torkii don kuk,* The turkey has finished cooking.). Here, however, the word does not mean "finish" but rather something like "already." This illustrates a widespread phenomenon called grammaticalization found in all languages, whereby lexical items are gradually transformed into grammatical items and in the process undergo a change of meaning.

Another feature illustrated in the passages is the use of serial verbs. In the second passage, the mother tells her daughter to *keerii it giv mama*. Here two verbs ("carry" and "give") are combined to convey a complex meaning that is expressed by the combination of verb and preposition in English. This is a very common pattern in the Caribbean creoles. Typical examples are from Donald Winford (1993, see also Migge, 1998):

Mieri waak go a maakit. [Mary walked to the market.]

Jan bring moni gi shi. [John brought money for her.]

Di pikni tall paas mi. [The child is taller than me.]

In a serial verb construction, the second verb is used to express a grammatical relation—directional, benefactive, and comparative, respectively, in the above three examples).

The Creole Languages of Suriname

Suriname is located between Guyana and French Guyana. Like its neighbors, it is a country of dense tropical rainforest and long, winding rivers. Although the official language of Suriname is Dutch, the coastal population speaks Sranan, an English-based creole, as the vernacular. In the

interior, the descendants of escaped slaves—Maroons—speak their own creole languages: Ndjuka, Saramaccan, and Kwinti. Suriname was originally colonized by the English in 1651. However, in 1667 the territory was ceded to the Dutch. Although many English took their slaves with them on their departure (some to Jamaica, where a language clearly related to the Surinamese creoles exists as Maroon Spirit Language), some did not. The African slaves of English planters left behind in Suriname formed a linguistic community that was eventually to develop Sranan. Because the period of contact between African slaves and English speakers was so short, only a very small part of the English lexicon, grammar, and phonology made it into the new language. This meant that the emerging linguistic community drew heavily both on the universal structures of language and the African substrate. Sranan appears to have developed gradually through processes of both grammaticalization and continuous contact with the African languages spoken by newly arrived slaves. The result is a radical creole that resembles English only to a very limited extent.

In the interior, things were even more complicated. Whereas Ndjuka, like Sranan, is unambiguously English-derived, Saramaccan contains a high proportion of words of Portuguese origin. The explanation for this has been a matter of some controversy. Some creolists have claimed that Saramaccan is based in part on the language spoken by Jewish refugees who came to Suriname from Brazil. Others have suggested that Saramaccan inherited its Portuguese content from the original Portuguese pidgin purportedly spoken in the Angola area and Slave Coast, where the Dutch acquired most of their slaves from the 1640s until 1725. The weight of evidence, both historical and linguistic, seems to support a Brazilian rather than African origin for the Portuguese component of Saramaccan.

French-Based Creoles

A French-based creole language is spoken in a number of Caribbean islands, including Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Lucia, Saint Barts, and Dominica. French Guiana is also home to a French lexicon creole called *Guyanais*. There are also remnants of French-based Creole in Grenada, Carriacou, and Trinidad. Finally, a French-based creole is also spoken in Louisiana.

These languages exhibit a number of striking similarities, both among themselves and to the other creole languages of the region. Similarities among the French creoles in the region may be due, at least in part, to the fact that between 1664 and 1763 planters throughout the French West Indies were legally obligated to import their slaves by way of Martinique. Although it is likely that the law was sometimes violated, it appears that the creole of Martinique and Guadeloupe was transferred to Haiti and the Windward Islands during this period.

The articles of the French creoles have attracted a good deal of attention from creolists. In French, as in English, the article always precedes the noun, as in *l'eglisse* (the church), *le chat* (the cat), and *le chien* (the dog). In Haitian, however, the article follows the noun, as in *pen-a* (the bread), *banan-la* (the banana). This looks like a very straightforward transfer from substrate languages such as Fongbe. Noting the similarities between Haitian Creole (HC) and Fon, and how they differ from the French, Claire Lefebvre argues that such examples provide evidence for the relexification model of creole formation, in which creoles are generated when superstrate word forms are mapped onto the substrate grammar. However, it is not quite true to say that French provided no model at all for such structures in the creole. In French, an item homophonous with the feminine article (*la*) can follow a noun in a construction such as *Qui est ce monsieur-là?* (Who is that gentleman there?). Such structures were likely a pervasive feature of the dialectal varieties spoken by early French settlers (as they are today in vernacular varieties) and may have provided a model for the creole grammar. At the same time, this model provided by French vernacular varieties cannot account for the many correspondences between Haitian Creole and Fongbe.

Dutch-Based Creoles

The Dutch were heavily invested in both the slave trade and plantation colonialism, and it is therefore no surprise to find that there have been a number of Dutch creoles. One of these, Skepi Dutch, is no longer spoken and is attested only by a few words lists. Another, Berbice Dutch Creole (BDC) is spoken by a handful of older people. Negerhollands, a creole once widely spoken in what are now the U.S. Virgin Islands, is also virtually extinct and spoken only by a few second-language speakers.

Before it became British, Guyana was under Dutch control. In the 1970s, a Guyanese linguist named Ian Robertson discovered that a Dutch-based creole was still spoken in the interior. This language was apparently once the vernacular of the Dutch-owned Berbice colony. As of 1993, the number of BDC speakers numbered only four or five.

Berbice Dutch Creole is of special interest because, unlike many other creoles, its substrate appears to have been quite uniform. As Ian Robertson writes, "the seminal African substratum input into Berbice Dutch Creole came from Eastern Ijo, with the Kalabari dialect perhaps the major contributor" (1993, p. 297). By a standard measure

of the most common terms in the language, the Berbice Dutch Creole lexicon is 61 percent Dutch, 27 percent Ijo, 7 percent English and 5 percent other. This is quite remarkable given that the substrate contributed about 5 percent of the lexicon in other conservative creoles (e.g., Saramaccan). In terms of tense and aspect marking, Berbice Dutch Creole is quite unlike other creoles in having a marked perfective category (as opposed to an unmarked verb stem conveying this meaning), which is indicated by an inflectional element on the verb. In this and other respects Berbice Dutch Creole resembles not other creole languages but, rather, Eastern Ijo, the substrate. Robertson writes that the perfective suffix *–te* "appears to be a direct transfer from Eastern Ijo" (1993, p. 303).

Iberian-Based Creoles: Palenquero and Papiamento

The relative scarcity of creoles based on Spanish has been a matter of debate for some time. The anthropologist Sidney Mintz has suggested "with considerable caution" that this might be explained by the fact that "the Hispano-Caribbean colonies were never dominated demographically by inhabitants of African origin" and further that in these colonies "movement from the social category of 'slaves' to that of 'freemen' was almost always *relatively* rapid and *relatively* continuous" (Mintz, p. 481). More recently, however, John McWhorter has challenged this apparently quite reasonable explanation and suggested a provocative alternative account. There is one clearly Spanish-based creole in the Americas: Palenquero, which is spoken by the older members of a community of approximately 2,500 people living in the isolated village of El Palenque de San Basilio on the Caribbean coast of Colombia. Another possible instance is Papiamento, which is spoken by approximately 200,000 people on the leeward Netherland Antilles (Curacao and Bonaire) and on Aruba. Unlike other creoles, Papiamento has a fairly well-established literary tradition, a spelling system, and it plays a role in the educational system. The language emerged in the seventeenth century and is based primarily on Portuguese and Spanish. In terms of tense and aspect marking, Papiamento differs from the prototypical creole pattern in having an overtly marked perfective category as well as a "past imperfective."

Theories of Creole Formation

The question of how these languages originated is highly contentious, and a number of accounts have been developed. A theory of how creoles emerge must account for both the striking similarities and the important differences among these languages.

Most accounts of creole formation assume the following scenario: When African slaves were brought to New World and Indian Ocean plantations, they encountered the European languages of the masters and their indentured servants. However, this encounter was characterized by severely limited access to the relevant European language. Africans patched together what they could of the lexical, phonological, and grammatical structures of the language, but this process left gaping holes. This situation then led—either gradually or more or less spontaneously in conjunction with language acquisition—to significant reconstitution, reorganization, and restructuring. The most important attempts to explain how this restructuring took place can be divided into four main groups: monogenetic, universal, superstratal, and substratal.

MONOGENETIC THEORIES: THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AFRICAN ORIGIN. Many pidgins and creoles share a core of words from Portuguese. For instance, Jamaican, Guyanese Sranan, Tok Pisin, Krio, and many French creoles include the words *piknii* (child) from the Portuguese *pequenos* (little ones) and *sabi* (know) from the Portuguese *saber* (to know). A more restricted group (e.g., Sranan, Saramaccan) also have *ma* (but) from *mas* (but), *na* as a locative preposition from *na* (in the; used before singular feminine nouns), and *kaba* or *kba* as a completive marker from *acabar* (to complete, finish). On the basis of this widespread distribution of Portuguese lexical items, some early creolists suggested that all the creoles developed out of a Portuguese pidgin spoken on the west coast of Africa and in other places where the Portuguese traded in the fifteenth century (this included the Pacific region). In each territory, this contact vernacular was relexified by the local superstrate language (a kind of calquing).

More recently, John McWhorter has developed another monogenetic theory. He suggests that the Caribbean Creoles, as well as those of the Indian Ocean, originated in slave-trading forts along the west coast of Africa. According to this theory, English-based creoles originated as a proto-variety at Cormantin among castle slaves, and this language was then transported to Barbados. According to McWhorter, all this happened sometime between 1630 and 1650.

The early colonies of the seventeenth century comprised small settlements, homesteads, and farms. This period was not characterized by significant demographic disproportion between white and black or by excessive social distance. Rather, European indentured laborers and Africans worked side-by-side in close quarters. The limited access model simply does not apply to this period. It was on the basis of such historical evidence that the limited access

model was significantly revised in the 1980s, with many creolists coming to argue that the varieties closest to English (or the lexifier) emerged first. These were then subject to a process of "basilectalization" or dilution and restructuring as the numbers of African people increased significantly in the eighteenth century. The problem with this account, according to McWhorter, is that Sranan must have formed before 1671 when the English left Suriname for Jamaica. The slaves they brought to Jamaica introduced a language very similar to Sranan, which is still spoken as a ritual register by Maroons (Maroon Spirit Language, or MSL). The MSL–Sranan connection suggests that these languages formed early in the seventeenth century and thus makes the revised "limited access" scenario problematic.

THE ROLE OF AN INNATE CAPACITY FOR LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS. Among linguists, the theories that emphasize the role played by an innate human capacity for language have attracted the most interest. The most prominent advocate of such a view is Derek Bickerton. This basic idea has been around for as long as people have seriously studied these languages. The story goes as follows: In the initial stages of plantation slavery, Europeans tended to outnumber Africans. However this situation did not last long. After the initial settlement stage, plantations expanded massively and many thousands of Africans were imported. After a few decades, Africans greatly outnumbered the Europeans. The African population in these colonies was heterogeneous, and their own languages did not provide a viable vehicle for interethnic communication. As a result, a rudimentary pidgin developed based on the vocabulary of the European language. This language would have been adequate for organizing work on the plantation and for other rudimentary tasks, though it lacked the expressive capacity of a full-blown language. Not only was the lexicon severely limited, there was essentially no grammar. The general paucity of expressive resources reflected a learning environment in which access to the target language was severely limited. Moreover, whatever parts of the target language did make it into the pidgin were continually "diluted" as they spread throughout the population of nonnative speakers.

This meant that the inflections by which many languages express tense, aspect, and other important information were lost. When children were born into this community, the language they encountered was radically deficient and irregular. In order to construct a fully functional, natural language—a first language—children in this situation independently drew on their inborn capacity for language. They had to reconstruct a system for expressing distinctions of tense and aspect, for example. Because they all drew on the same innate capacity for language, they produced similar creole languages—but because in each case they were dealing with different levels of dilution of different languages, they produced different languages. Bickerton supports his argument with data such as in Table 2.

Bickerton's theory is a sophisticated version of the life-cycle model of pidgins and creole development. It is a commonly held view that these languages originate in grammarless jargons—essentially just a collection of words. They may go on to become stabilized pidgins used only for trade and interethnic contact. Alternatively, they may be "nativized" when a generation of children learn them as a first language, at which point they are transformed into creoles (*see* Figure 1).

THE SUPERSTRATE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES. A number of scholars have suggested that many creoles owe much more to their superstrate languages than has been previously acknowledged. Theories that emphasize the superstrate were long associated with French scholars who examined the French of Reunion. More recently, a kind of superstrate model has been developed by Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte in studies of African-American English. In part, this work was a reaction to research that tacitly assumed monolithic European languages, such as English, French, and Dutch. Scholars in this tradition rightly pointed out that the dialectal and regional versions of English that would have been spoken on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plantations were quite varied and incorporated many features similar to the ones seen in contemporary creoles. This research has focused, however, on a limited set of languages, such as African-American English and Reunion French, which have been only moderately restructured.

THE SUBSTRATE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES. Perhaps the most popular theory among creolists is one that emphasizes the role of substrate languages in the formation of creoles. Although there are a number of different accounts, West African languages provided a base of common grammatical structures, which were transferred to the creole through some kind of calque-like mechanism. Where one substrate language was dominant—such as Eastern Ijo for Berbice Dutch Creole, or Gbe for Sranan—its structures tended to get transferred. Where no particular substrate was dominant, structures common across them—such as serial verbs—were likely to get transferred.

There are a number of different substratal theories. Perhaps the most explicit is that developed by Claire Le-

	Hawaiian	Haitian	Sranan
Base form			
"He walked"	*He walk*	*Li mache*	*A waka*
"He loves"	*He love*	*Li reme*	*A lobi*
Anterior			
"He had walked."	*He bin walk*	*Li té maché*	*A ben waka*
"He loved."	*He bin love*	*Li té rêmé*	*A ben lobi*
Irreal			
"He will/would walk."	*He go walk*	*L'av(a) maché*	*A sa waka*
"He will/would love."	*He go love*	*L'av(a) rêmé*	*A sa lobi*
Nonpunctual			
"He is/was walking."	*He stay walk*	*L'ap maché*	*A e waka*
Anterior + irreal + nonpunctual			
("He would have been walking")	*He bin go stay walk*	*Li t'av ap maché*	*A ben sa e waka*

Table 2

febvre and her colleagues, known as "relexification." According to Lefebvre, exposure to the superstrate languages in the early days of plantation slavery provided access to "phonetic strings" (strings of sounds understood as a "word"). These did not necessarily correspond to French words (in fact they rarely did). For instance, the Haitian Creole word for water is *dlo* which is quite clearly a concatenation of the preposition *de*, the article *l'*, and the noun *eau*, forming *de l'eau* (water). These phonetic strings were then mapped onto the lexical entries of Africans' native languages.

While there appears to be some strong evidence for relexification, there are also problems with this theory. First, it works best when a given structure from Haitian Creole and Fongbe match, and the French is different, but this is not always the case. Moreover, relexificationists can be accused of failing to consider what kind of French would actually have been spoken in the contact situation. For the most part, their claims are based on the more-or-less standard French of today and not the regional, vernacular, and nonstandard dialects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Relexificationists also often do not consider the full range of substrate languages, focusing instead on the one they argue was dominant.

Creoles, Language Attitudes, and National Life

Creole languages vary greatly in terms of the status accorded to them. In Guyana, most people are deeply ambivalent about the language they speak. In rural villages, everybody speaks creolese, and a person speaking standard English is mocked and often not trusted. On the other hand, a person who is able to speak only the creole is sometimes characterized as stupid and ignorant. Such complex attitudes pose a challenge for those who wish to standardize and institutionalize the language in the service of national or international (i.e., Caribbean) integration.

In Guyanese education, the creole language is unrecognized, and it has no place in government except to the extent that politicians make use of it in presenting themselves to the people. Although writers sometimes use creole when writing dialogue, and sometimes in poetry, creole is basically absent from the newspapers, except where it is used in a story or to voice a character.

In contrast, entire newspapers are published in Haitian Creole, Papiamento, and Sranan. Indeed, when Jean-Bertrand Aristide came to power in Haiti he used Haitian Creole, not French, to address the people. This signaled a significant change in a country that was included as a prototypical example in Charles Ferguson's original discussion of diglossia. Perhaps the most extreme case is presented by a few of the formerly French colonies. In Saint Lucia and Dominica, where English is making significant inroads, the local language has been taken up and valorized by the cultural elite. In Saint Lucia, Kweyol has been invoked as a symbol of cultural heritage.

Creoles and African-American English

A matter of great controversy since the 1960s is the relationship between the various Caribbean English Creoles and the variety of English spoken by many African Americans in the United States. In the 1970s a number of creolists argued that African-American English descended from a prior creole language that in many respects resembled the vernacular languages of Guyana and Jamaica. They pointed to similarities in the area of phonology (significant consonant cluster reduction), morphology (in the expression of past tense, for example) and vocabulary.

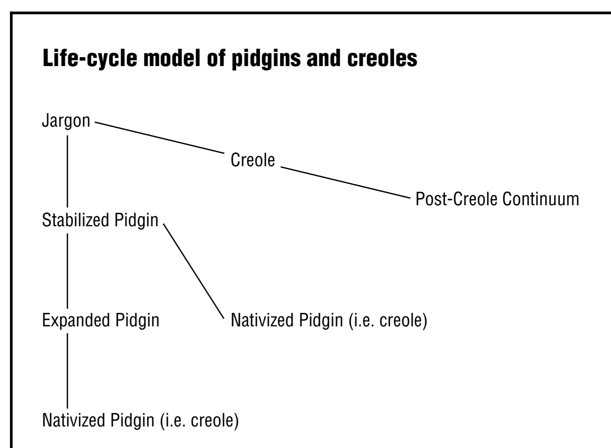

Figure 1

Conclusion

Although these languages show a number of significant similarities both in terms of their linguistic structures and the conditions within which they developed, they are also distinct in many ways. Each is a living tradition which is valued by its speakers not for its connections to Africa or for what it might reveal about the human mind, but for its capacity to effectively represent the natural, social, and political world, and at the same time serve as an efficient vehicle of communication.

See also English, African-American; Haitian Creole Language

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JACK SIDNELL (2005)

Criminal Justice System

The American criminal justice system has shaped racial inequalities and been shaped by them. From 1619 until Emancipation, the vast majority of African Americans were enslaved. At Emancipation, approximately four million people were enslaved in the United States. This 250-year period saw the development of a system of laws and practices that often protected white people from conviction for crimes against African Americans. This legal system also regulated marriage and mobility in a restrictive manner for African Americans.

Slave Codes

In the South until slavery was abolished, policing was carried out by publicly or privately financed patrols. These patrols—called *paterollers*—policed the roads, woods, and public spaces in the plantation South. The earliest slave patrols were groups of owners in sixteenth-century Cuba, then a Spanish colony, who gathered to capture enslaved people who had fled their plantations. Over time, this amateur system was replaced by professionals—often themselves former bondsmen—who were paid a bounty for each fugitive they apprehended.

Whereas these early patrols focused their energies on enslaved people who had fled, the British colony of Barbados was the first to develop a system of laws to regulate the movement and behavior of all enslaved peoples. In reaction to an abortive rebellion in 1649, Barbados instituted a pass system. In addition to enforcing the pass system, which required enslaved people to carry passes explaining and authorizing their movement, Barbadian patrols also enforced laws that forbade enslaved people from carrying firearms and from moving around on Sundays. In 1661 Barbados created the first slave code in the British colonies in an "Act for the Better ordering and governing of Negroes." As Sally Hadden notes, this act was based on the assumption that enslaved people were "heathenish brutish" and a "'dangerous kinde of people' who had to be controlled" (2001, p. 11).

This code was soon adopted by other British colonies, first in Jamaica and Antigua and then in the North American colony of South Carolina, founded in part by former Barbadian slave owners in 1670. South Carolina created its "Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves" in 1690. Designed primarily to limit the movement of free and enslaved black people to specific days and the carrying out of specific tasks, it also regulated behavior. Whites who apprehended an enslaved person without a pass were mandated by law to administer a whipping under the 1696 revision of the South Carolina Act. After the Stono Rebellion in 1739, patrolling became the exclusive duty of the militia. These codes soon spread to other North American colonies, including Georgia, Virginia, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Alabama.

In still other ways, the emerging criminal justice system played a central role in establishing racial inequality. The lives of the approximately 500,000 free African Americans in 1860 were heavily regulated by the criminal justice system. Laws in the slave states barred black people from serving on juries or serving as witnesses against whites. Maryland and Louisiana maintained a large free black population throughout the period, particularly in Baltimore and New Orleans. But in most states in the early nineteenth century, if someone wanted to free an enslaved person he or she was required to pay the freedperson's transportation out of the state.

Criminal Justice in the Jim Crow Era

Through legislation, the antebellum criminal justice system codified the meanings of racial difference. After the Civil War, when slavery no longer existed, the codified meanings of racial difference underwent transformations through subtle and pernicious changes in criminal law. Through the convict-lease system, the southern criminal justice system managed to maintain many of the worst elements of slavery. In the convict-lease system, African Americans—including juveniles—could be leased out to labor contractors to engage in backbreaking labor for no compensation. As W. E. B. Du Bois would later argue, the convict-lease system was a "spawn of slavery" that did nothing to lower crime rates. Like the paterollers, post-Civil War criminal justice was designed primarily to maintain white racial supremacy by restricting the movement and behavior of African American people. As social reformers and journalists investigated and revealed these practices, the convict-lease system gave way to state-run

prison farms. From Angola in Louisiana to Parchman Farm in Mississippi, former plantations turned prison farms became among the most profitable farms in the post-Reconstruction South. This segregated—or Jim Crow—system of punishment recreated the brutality and exploitation of slavery within the criminal justice system.

Extralegal practices of policing and punishment developed alongside this Jim Crow system of criminal justice. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, lynching was the most pernicious form of extralegal social control. Between 1877 and 1892, 728 documented lynchings took place. The charge of rape often accompanied lynching. Memphis journalist Ida B. Wells revealed that the premise that lynching was needed to curb an insatiable black male desire to have sex with white women obscured more credible underlying reasons. Perhaps her most important argument centered on the contention that "the whole matter is explained by the well-known opposition growing out of slavery to the progress of the race. . . .The South resented giving the Afro-American his freedom, the ballot box, and the Civil Rights Law" (Wells, p. 30). She saw lynching as a political act intended to maintain white economic, political, and social supremacy. The strategy was "kill the leaders and it will cow the Negro" (Wells, p. 34). In the absence of police protection, she urged every African American to learn that "a Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refused to give" (Wells, p. 37).

Like paterollers, the convict-lease system, and prison farms, lynching served to maintain white supremacy through terror and violence. In couching the atrocity of lynching as a response to a rape or attempted rape, "Judge Lynch," as the practice was sometimes called, placed the extralegal practice within the language of law and order. As Ida B. Wells argued, however, lynching maintained racial oppression while claiming to protect citizens from organized violence. This ongoing link between policing and racial oppression resulted in a criminal justice system that could not be seen merely as a means of protecting law-abiding citizens from criminals. Rather, the criminal justice system was supportive of lawlessness in the case of lynching and, as the twentieth century opened, overzealous in its prosecution of African Americans, whom whites increasingly believed were associated with the problem of urban crime.

The Great Migration

Partly in response to continued discrimination, one million African Americans moved from the South to the North between 1915 and 1925. This became known as the

Cover page from* Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases *(1892), by Ida B. Wells. *Wells's landmark study explored the motivations behind the lynching of blacks in the South.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Great Migration. African-American neighborhoods in cities like New York and Chicago often had high crime rates, in part because they housed vice districts that served a broad, multiracial, illicit market for drugs, prostitution, and gambling. During the 1920s, sociologists offered two competing explanations for the involvement of some African Americans in urban vice and crime. The first posited that overcrowding, poverty, and uprooting helped to produce an increase in criminality. The second, more popular explanation sought racialized explanations for what was called "Negro crime." In short, explanations alternated between blaming the ghetto environment and blaming the "innate criminality" of black people. Although the explanations differed, most whites agreed that the newly urban African-American population needed intensive policing. Almost immediately following the Great Migration, state and local police resources targeted African-American

communities. A third explanation soon emerged, blaming saturation policing of black communities, discrimination throughout the criminal justice system, and racist stereotypes for the overrepresentation of black people in crime data and the prison system.

Despite changes in location and justification, the criminal justice system maintained white racial domination in a historically consistent manner. In 1931 national attention focused on nine young African-American men ranging in age from thirteen to twenty-one who became known as the Scottsboro Boys after they faced trial in Alabama on rape charges. When the "boys" were convicted and sentenced to death, many observers used the case as evidence that the old system of racially inspired justice remained firmly in place. The Supreme Court reversed their convictions in *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), but subsequent trials resulted in prison sentences of up to nineteen years for five of the defendants. Outrage at this treatment, however, inspired the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund (LDF). Under Charles Hamilton Houston, vice dean of the Howard University Law School, the LDF joined the efforts of the civil rights movement to transform the criminal justice system during the post–World War II period.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Criminal Justice System

In 1963, while incarcerated in a Birmingham, Alabama, jail, Martin Luther King Jr. wrote a justification of civil disobedience. His willingness to violate the laws that legitimized segregation stemmed from his belief that "all segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distort[s] the soul and damages the personality. . . .Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong" (King, p. 38). In both his practice and advocacy, King urged people to break unjust laws even as the movement worked to reshape the legal system in ways that advanced the cause of racial justice, as had, for example, the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, which outlawed school segregation.

The LDF emerged as the most powerful proponent of changing the criminal justice system during the 1960s and 1970s. While the LDF became well known for its work on school desegregation, it worked equally hard on revising laws and practices that unfairly targeted African Americans. In the years following the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, the LDF joined Amnesty International and the American Civil Liberties Union in condemning the death penalty. These organizations insisted that the application of the death sentence—particularly in cases involving the rape of a white woman—constituted an arbitrary and racist double standard. Between 1930, the first year such statistics were collected, and 1969, state governments executed 445 men for rape. Of these, 40 were white, the rest African American (Bernstein, p. 16). The LDF succeeded in overturning the death sentences of over 600 death row inmates in a series of cases between 1967 and 1972.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, the argument that the criminal justice system played a crucial role in maintaining racial inequality intensified. Most notably, prisoners and former convicts voiced their concerns that racism had fundamentally influenced their incarceration. Malcolm X was joined by Huey P. Newton, George Jackson, Ericka Huggins, and Angela Davis in articulating the link between racial inequality and the policing of African-American communities. In 1967, according to Useem and Kimball (1989), 80 percent of the almost 300,000 prison inmates in the United States were people of color. These masses of incarcerated people raised more than their voices: On the East Coast, the Attica prison riots became the best known of the approximately 300 such disturbances in the United States between the late 1960s and early 1980s. Forty-eight of these were concentrated between 1968 and 1971.

The liberation of all black prisoners became a central demand of the struggle for social justice in the aftermath of the civil rights movement. As Huey P. Newton—the founder of the Black Panther Party, whose release from prison became a focus of Panther efforts—said at the eulogy for Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas, "There are no laws that the oppressor makes that the oppressed are bound to respect" (Newton, p. 322). Jonathan Jackson's older brother George soon became known for his book of prison letters, *Soledad Brother,* in which he observed that "there are still some blacks here who consider themselves criminals, but not many"(Jackson, p. 36).

These writers also articulated the view that police officers were a colonizing presence in black communities; that as agents of oppression, police officers were agents of the perpetuation of segregation and exploitation. As these arguments achieved widespread influence in the wake of urban uprisings in Los Angeles, Detroit, and northern New Jersey, police departments began actively recruiting African-American officers. There had long been some few African-American police officers, but they largely served in segregated "Negro divisions" or as one of several token figures in otherwise white departments. In an explicit effort to improve relations between black communities and

police departments, African Americans were hired in large numbers in Chicago, Newark, Detroit, and Houston during the 1960s and 1970s. In other cities, African Americans were promoted to leadership positions. In some cases, they spoke out against racism in their ranks in order to expedite changes in the culture of police departments. In addition, some cities joined New York City in establishing civilian review boards to investigate citizen complaints against police departments. However, white-dominated police unions took legal action against both affirmative action policies and civilian review boards. Even where they existed, the presence of African-American officers and civilian review boards did little to change discriminatory practices at every level of the criminal justice system.

The appointment of African-American judges and prosecutors proceeded even more slowly than the racial integration of police departments. In 1977, 22 of 500 federal judges were African American (4.4%). In the area of jury service, the rate of inclusion for African Americans was also low. Although the exclusion of African Americans from juries was outlawed in 1875, African Americans continued to be excluded from juries through the use of peremptory challenges—a practice that allows prosecutors to eliminate individuals from the jury pool without needing to explain their reasons. This resulted in the underrepresentation of African Americans on juries in federal and state trials.

Criminal Justice Since the 1970s

Since the 1970s, two factors have dominated explanations for the continued overrepresentation of African Americans in the criminal justice system. First, the war on drugs has disproportionately affected African Americans and other peoples of color. Although drug use occurs across racial lines and some studies suggest that drug use among whites is higher than among African Americans, African Americans are prosecuted, convicted, and incarcerated for drug and drug-related crimes at far higher rates than people from all other backgrounds. Second, while scholarly studies disagree on whether people from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to break laws, they agree that they are much more likely to enter into the criminal justice system when they do so. According to U.S. census data cited by Marvin Free (1996), between 1970 and 1990 the percentage of black families with incomes below the poverty line increased from 20.9 percent to 25.6 percent. During this same period, African-American overrepresentation in correctional facilities increased. These trends have led some criminologists to suggest that an improvement in African-American socioeconomic conditions must join fundamental changes in the criminal justice system—including the decriminalization of violations that unfairly target African Americans—in order to begin disentangling the legacies of racial inequality and criminal justice.

See also Black Panther Party; Davis, Angela; Houston, Charles Hamilton; Jackson, George Lester; Jim Crow; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Slave Codes

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LEE BERNSTEIN (2005)

CRISIS, THE

The Crisis magazine is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was founded in 1910 by its first editor, W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). The publication's original title for many years was *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races,* and its contents over time have continuously reflected its historical importance as the chronicler of African-American history, thought, and culture. The title, Du Bois later wrote, was the suggestion of William English Walling (1877–1936), a founder of the NAACP.

Du Bois said his object in publishing *The Crisis* was "to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice, particularly as manifested today toward colored people. It takes its name from the fact [that] the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history of the advancement of men" (Du Bois, 1910, p. 10). The monthly issues contained subject matter ranging from literary works, editorial commentary, feature stories, and reports on NAACP activities to articles on current events. In the first decades, two regular features were "American Negroes in College" and "Along the NAACP Battlefront."

Du Bois served as editor for twenty-four years before retiring in 1934. By that time, *The Crisis* could boast among its contributors such luminaries as George Bernard Shaw, Mahatma Gandhi, Sinclair Lewis, Langston Hughes, and James Weldon Johnson. Although founded with the objective of being the official organ of the NAACP, it was also intended to be as self-supporting as possible. But when Du Bois retired as editor in 1934, its circulation had dropped from 100,000 (1918) to only 10,000. His successor as editor was Roy Wilkins (1901–1981), who served in that role until 1949 before being succeeded by James W. Ivy, who was at the helm during the peak years of the civil rights era, until his retirement in 1966.

During the transition years, *The Crisis* shifted its focus from the issues of wartime discrimination against African Americans in the U.S. armed forces, lynchings, and other manifestations of Jim Crow policies, to the courts, where rights were being upheld in voter registration, school desegregation, and housing discrimination. By 1988, circulation had risen to 350,000 subscribers. The magazine's basic editorial philosophy changed little over time from that established by Du Bois, but it had attracted enough major national corporate advertisers to place it on solid financial footing. Moreover, the NAACP had changed its policy to require both members and nonmembers to pay the subscription fee.

The Crisis continues with contributors from all walks of African-American life, including leadership in the clergy, academe, business, law, medicine, and other professions. It continues the tradition of serving as the cultural and social "record of the darker races."

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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CLINT C. WILSON II (1996)

CRITCHLOW, HUBERT NATHANIEL

DECEMBER 18, 1884
MAY 14, 1958

Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, OBE, was born to James Nathaniel and Julia Elizabeth Critchlow in Georgetown, British Guiana. Critchlow is renowned as the "Father of the Trade Union Movement" in Guyana for his pioneering role in organizing workers. After an early education at Bedford Wesleyan School, Georgetown, at age fourteen he became an engineer apprentice at the Demerara Foundry. However, his initial work experiences consisted of a series of low-paying jobs under abject conditions. He was an electric car motorman, cigar maker, bottle washer, office boy, gold miner, and a dockworker for Bookers Brothers Ltd., the sugar plantation colonial conglomerate. Critchlow, well known for his track-and-field prowess, was also a footballer and cricketer. Still, it was as a trade union activist that Critchlow made his greatest contributions to Guyana and the Caribbean.

Critchlow was the origin of trade union activism in the country. On November 28, 1905, he organized and led the dockworkers of Sandbach Parker & Co. Ltd., another colonial conglomerate, on a strike to protest deplorable working conditions. At a time of social unrest in the colony, Critchlow's actions served to unite urban working-class and rural estate workers against colonial officials and companies' management. Although the police on that occasion fired into the crowd of marching workers Critchlow led, the next year he organized a similar protest.

In 1917 and 1918 Critchlow was again at the helm of workers protesting for higher wages. For this action, he lost his job and was unable to secure further waterfront employment. On January 11, 1919, he formed the British Guiana Labour Union (BGLU), the first of its kind in British Guiana. Its membership was approximately 13,000 in the early years, at a time when the population of the country was estimated at 295,000. Critchlow served as general secretary of the union until his resignation in 1952. From 1924 to 1932 Critchlow attended several labor and workers conferences held in England, Germany, and Russia. Under his guidance the BGLU initiated the British Guiana and West Indian Labour Congress, a regional meeting of trade unionists.

Critchlow's most significant accomplishments include the 1922 introduction of a Rent Restriction Bill in the British Guiana Legislative Council. The bill's success led to the designation of July 3, 1922, as "Critchlow Day." In 1923 Critchlow supported petitions urging the colonial government to address increasing unemployment and rising consumer prices in the colony. He also advocated the introduction of national health insurance, old-age pensions, a girls' industrial training school, and a children's court. In addition to waterfront workers, Critchlow also demonstrated concern for domestics, nurses, carpenters, and shop assistants, who worked for long hours at low wages. He was instrumental in obtaining an eight-hour workday for dock and stevedore laborers and in the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Moreover, under his leadership the BGLU demanded of the colonial administration the extension of the franchise to women, universal adult suffrage, labor representation in the legislative council, and self-government.

Critchlow served on the Discharged Prisoners Aid Committee, the Advisory Committee to the Rent Assessor, Georgetown, the Ex-Servicemen Committee, Poor Law and Local Government Boards, the Old Age Pensions Board, and the Public Works Advisory Committee. When the first British Guiana Trade Union Congress registered on April 8, 1941, Critchlow was the secretary. In 1943 he was appointed the first labor representative in the British Guiana Legislative Council. One year later, in 1944, he became the first labor leader appointed to the executive council of the British Guiana legislature. He was a government nominee to the Georgetown Town Council and also a member of the Arbitration Tribunal, under Sir Clement Malone, which inquired into a wage dispute concerning waterfront workers in Grenada, West Indies.

By December 1951 Critchlow was elected to the Legislative Council as a member of the British Guiana Labour Party. In 1951 he was awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE). Critchlow influenced a new era in the country's history—the coming of the trade union movement. For example, by 1931 the British Guiana Workers League was formed and in 1937 the Man Power Citizens' Association was founded. Tributes to his contributions in improving labor conditions and the lives of workers include a statue of him on the lawns of the Public Buildings, the seat of the country's government, and the establishment of the Critchlow Labour College. Appropriately, the headquarters of the BGLU is named Critchlow House.

See also Labor and Labor Unions

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Critical Mixed-Race Studies

Critical mixed-race studies is a burgeoning scholarly approach to race, culture, and ethnicity. While its proponents hold widely varying opinions, they share a commitment to placing at the forefront of analysis the historical and present-day significance of race mixing, racial border crossing, and interracial life in the United States and elsewhere. Topics of particular interest within this line of inquiry include individual and collective identity, sexuality, marriage, and adoption. Like its counterpart, African-American studies, most scholars in this field take as a given that a complex legacy of racism lingers, that "the problem

of the color-line," as W. E. B. Du Bois called it (1903, p. 3), persists, even though scientists have proven "race" to be a biological fallacy. There is, in fact, as much genetic variance within races as between races. Nor is race a reliable index for culture or for people's beliefs and practices, as these vary greatly among members of so-called races as well. While blacks are defined (in a U.S. context) as having African ancestry, the vast majority also have ancestors who were white, Native American, Asian, or some other "race." That is, they are racially mixed. Moreover, most Americans are familiar with the "one-drop rule," also called the law of *hypodescent*, which classifies interracial persons as black if they have any African ancestors, however distant in history and however few in number. Historically, the one-drop rule was applied far less than is perceived to be the case, however. Even though blacks are mixed, and mixed people with African ancestry are black, debates about the racial and cultural status of mixed-race subjects are ongoing and can be traced a long way back. These debates have permeated the realms of legal classification, census taking, and grassroots movements (i.e., the growing "mixed-race movement"), along with other discursive, popular, and ideological domains. The engagement of, and intervention into, these debates is one facet of critical mixed-race studies.

The negotiation of black-white interconnections is another dominant strand of critical mixed-race studies, though its practitioners might choose to examine any possible racial and cultural mixtures and their ramifications. Some in this field believe that the primacy of black-white mixing within critical mixed-race studies is problematic in its eclipsing other, equally significant manifestations of racial and cultural crossover, such as that between whites and Native Americans or Asian Americans, or between Native Americans and Asian Americans. Critical mixed-race studies overlaps with African-American studies in its concern with matters of race, racism, culture, and identity, but it is distinct in its focus on racial mixing—that is, on the fact that people from different racial backgrounds have interacted and reproduced throughout history, whether by choice, coercion, or force (as in the case of rape). Critical mixed-race studies confronts the reality that, as a result of extensive human intermixing, so-called racial groups cannot easily be divided into neat categories. While there is consensus that some fall in between socially constructed categories, debates ensue about whether this in-between space is a new category unto itself. Certainly, pervasive racial intermingling and color-line crossing raise the question of whether the color line is really a line at all. And critical mixed-race studies scholars share an interest in the vantage point from this would-be color line itself, rather than from one side of it or the other. What point of view emerges—what lessons reveal themselves—if race and culture, past and present, are assessed from the location of racial crossover, of mixing, of in-between spaces, of intercultural contact zones? Applying such a lens can give rise to useful revisions of history and more accurate reinterpretations of social reality. Though it should be said that some African-American critical writings have already noted the frequency with which the racial divide has always been crisscrossed, with these color-line transgressions long operating as a site of political strategy, a site for the implementation of antiracist visions and agendas.

Critical mixed-race studies accounts for the degree to which racial contact zones can be fraught with conflict and risk. But interracial cooperation, collaboration, and cohabitation are also aspects of American reality that often go unacknowledged, given the emphasis on the black-white binary as the predominating racial schema, and given widespread notions of the workings of power and oppression as straightforwardly white over black. Within critical mixed-race studies, racial dichotomies are problematized, treated not as a matter of black or white (or red or yellow or brown, etc.), but rather as a matter of spectrums, of multiplicity, of heterogeneity, and above all of complexity. Despite racism as an overarching reality, race mixing has always occurred. The rape of slave women by slave owners was one dominant form in which race mixing took place, but it is less well known that there have always been freely chosen interracial unions as well.

Antimiscegenation laws—legislation against interracial marriage and interracial sexual relations—came about because of both racism and the rampant race mixing that was taking place historically. These laws were taken off the books only as recently as 1967, with the U.S. Supreme Court's *Loving v. Virginia* court case, a case that figures prominently within critical mixed-race writings. Interracial marriage between whites and all nonwhite races, and in some cases between various nonwhite races, has been outlawed in various places and at various times in U.S. history. But the mandates against black-white intimacy seem to have been the most strenuously enforced and obsessed over by those who were invested in such things, as many were, due to prevailing social, political, and economic forces, and due to the depth and magnitude of racism. Racism fueled the logic that mixing with other groups contaminated, debased, and ruined whiteness. Many, however, felt that mixing was an equally bad idea for all races given the supposedly inferior nature of the progeny, seen as inferior for being impure, a mongrel race. As Robert J. C. Young writes in his book *Colonial Desire*, no one in the annals of human history has been so maligned and "so demonized as those of mixed race" (1995, p. 180).

Biological or other ties to nonblack groups might appear to be beneficial to a person socially designated as black, but critical mixed-race studies proponents would question whether this is necessarily the case. Certainly much has been made of light-skinned privilege, the relative social, political, and economic advantages that can accrue to black people who are fair in complexion. Some have noted the preference shown by some whites for light-skinned blacks in employment practices, politics, the media, and the like. There are also troubling histories of black people themselves excluding darker blacks from membership in the black elite. Efforts to determine a person's "blackness" have included the administering of tests to assess whether a person was lighter in color than a brown paper bag, whether blue veins were visible on the underside of their wrists, and whether a comb or a pencil would pass effortlessly through their tresses. Persons who did not pass these tests would be barred from the proceedings to which they sought admittance. Many of mixed parentage "failed" such tests, for many were not light skinned with straight hair. And even those with the requisite coloring and coiffeur could be barred from the black elite precisely for being the offspring of a white person. To have a white parent, historically, was literally to confront assumptions of one's illegitimacy, as decreed by antimiscegenation laws. Having racially divergent parentage also conjured up a slew of anti–mixed-race prejudices that operated alongside of and in addition to antiblack ones.

The disadvantages that accrue to interracial subjects are another concern of critical mixed-race studies. One is the general incomprehension one incurs when one's identity is "both/and" in a context where "either/or" thinking continues to dominate. Hybrid persons are seen as enigmatic, anomalous, as an assault on a common-sense logic that insists on categorizing and sorting people. Some have noted that stereotypes of mixed people being especially attractive, exotic, or occupying "the best of both worlds" serve to objectify, fetishize, and emphasize "otherness." Interracial persons are frequently asked the million-dollar critical mixed-race studies question, "What are you?" by curious intimates and strangers alike, who are unabashed in seeking assistance in their efforts to pigeonhole them. The crisis of classification mixed-race people can inspire, the confusion they can generate at the level of public perception, gets projected back onto them—*they* must be confused. In the past, such reactions were even more extreme. Black-white mixed people specifically were seen as high-strung with jangled nerves and a tendency toward flightiness and shallowness. This was attributed in part to the two warring, irreconcilable bloods said to be coursing in their veins, some of which was flowing in one direction, the rest in another, wreaking havoc on body and psyche. They were also seen as weak, effete, effeminate, and prone to mental illness. They were purported to be sexually impotent, with scientific thought holding officially, as recently as the early 1900s, that black-white persons were unable to reproduce—like the mule from which, according to myth, the word *mulatto* derives (a mule being the infertile offspring of a donkey and a horse).

Black mixing with nonwhites gives rise to still other cultural considerations and forms of prejudice. In Itabari Njeri's essay "Sushi and Grits" (1993), a woman of Japanese, Native-American, and African-American descent speaks of being taunted for being a "half breed," but more specifically for eating the sushi her mother put in her school lunch and for swinging her long hair in a way some of her peers perceived as inappropriate for a "black" girl. She became a staunch mixed-race movement advocate as a result. Critical mixed-race studies can itself be seen as a kind of intellectual mixed-race movement, one that is concerned with critiquing and complicating prevailing paradigms of race, culture, and ethnicity, whether those often employed within African-American studies or elsewhere. Eschewing a monolithic approach, critical mixed-race studies emphasizes racial hybridity, overlap, and crossover. It centralizes the many manifestations, past and present, of an interracial reality.

See also Black Studies; Identity and Race in the United States; Intellectual Life

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NAOMI PABST (2005)

Critical Race Theory

The critical race theory (CRT) movement developed in the mid-1970s as lawyers, law students, and legal scholars who were sympathetic to the social justice movements of the 1960s witnessed a backlash against the advances of the previous decade. Critical race theory intended to address the most insidious forms of racism and unearth the multiple sources of racial inequality through a critical examination of laws, social practices, and institutions.

Critical race theorists seek to challenge racial inequality by questioning the underlying biases present in the practices and norms of American law, specifically liberalism, integrationism, rationalism, and the notion of an objective Constitution. Although the movement began with law professors and students, it is interdisciplinary. It uses theories and methods of economics, history, sociology, pedagogy, literature, narrative theory, and cultural studies. It has drawn scholars from a range of disciplines, although it remains centered in law and legal academia.

Critical race theory scholars write on an array of subject matters, from very specific case or doctrine analyses to theoretically broad examinations of race in society. However, some principles are consistent across the field. Critical race theorists reject the idea that integration necessarily means equality. They believe in interrogating what are often considered to be objective norms, such as "merit" or "color blindness," to see if they entail racial bias, and they believe in working against the subordination of people of color by placing at the fore perspectives and experiences that are often submerged.

Critical race theory found its intellectual origins in the crossroads of several movements: critical legal studies, a scholarly movement in which the law was considered to be an instrument for maintaining the status quo rather than a set of abstract rational principles; the civil rights and Black Power movements, with their interests in redress, self-determination, and socially engaged thought; and radical feminism, with its observations about the relationship between power and social roles. While it is often suggested that CRT was self-consciously born out of student movements at Harvard Law School, the movement appears to have coalesced from multiple origins and diverse actors with shared concerns. Seminal scholars in the critical race theory movement include Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman (who together made up the first generation of CRT scholars), Patricia Williams, Charles Laurence, Neil Gotanda, Robert Williams, Mari Matsuda, Kimberle Crenshaw, Angela Harris, Francisco Valdes, Margaret Montoya, Richard Delgado, and Jean Stefanic.

CRT has been criticized by detractors from several angles. Some have said that the personal narratives of law professors of color have figured too centrally in the work, while empirical data has been minimal. Others have said that CRT critiques structures of inequality but provides few answers on to how to address them, and still others have challenged it for venturing too far afield of traditional legal writing, even as the work is still principally found in law reviews that are not widely accessible.

CRT scholarship is extremely diverse. While some authors have innovatively used narrative, including personal narrative or fiction, as an argumentative technique, others have used traditional social science methodologies. And while CRT principally provides a critical lens through which to interpret social realities, a great deal of CRT scholarship also makes arguments about how certain legal doctrines should be interpreted or changed. Such arguments have been used in courts as well as in other fields of scholarly inquiry and by activists.

The first CRT conference was held in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1989. Since then dozens of meetings, conferences, and retreats have been held with CRT as a focus. A number of CRT scholars, including Derrick Bell and Patricia J. Williams, have become public figures who have impacted the national conversation about race, and many critical race theorists work in their local communities as practicing attorneys or grassroots activists. Critical race theory has become a subject for many university courses, in which students are encouraged to examine race critically using a wide range of materials.

In addition to finding its origins in several movements, CRT has also led to the development of other movements. Although historically CRT was principally concerned with African Americans, in the 1990s new voices began to emerge in CRT, giving birth to LatCRIT, a Latino-focused critical race theory, and Asian American Jurisprudence, as well as a convergence of queer theory and CRT. Additionally, critical race feminism has emerged, in which the specific gendered experience of women of color is centralized as a subject of concern. In recent years, CRT scholars have increasingly been looking to how race operates internationally, and specifically toward how to address global structures of racial inequality.

See also Black Studies; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Critical Mixed-Race Studies

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IMANI PERRY (2005)

Criticism, Feminist

See Feminist Theory and Criticism

Criticism, Literary

See Literary Criticism, U.S.

Crockett, George William, Jr.

August 10, 1909
September 7, 1997

George William Crockett Jr. was born in Jacksonville, Florida, received his B.A. degree from Morehouse College in 1931 and his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1934, and became a champion of civil rights. In 1939 he became the first African-American attorney at the United States Department of Labor. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him hearings officer of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1943. In 1944 he became head of the United Auto Workers Fair Employment Practices Office and returned to private practice in Detroit in 1946.

In 1949 Crockett undertook the defense of eleven Communists charged under the Smith Act; for his vigorous defense he was sentenced to four months in jail for contempt of court and narrowly escaped disbarment. In 1964 Crockett again demonstrated his commitment to civil rights by becoming director of Project Mississippi for the National Lawyers Guild. He sought election to Detroit Recorder's Court in 1960, winning a six-year term and later a second term in 1972.

As a judge, Crockett was noted for his lenient treatment of first-time offenders and his concern for civil rights. In 1969 a policeman was killed outside a black church where a meeting of black separatists was underway. The police stormed the church and arrested 140 people. Crockett went to the police station, declared court in session, and began freeing those he deemed held without probable cause. Almost all were released.

Crockett's popularity with blacks in Detroit was demonstrated by his election to the House of Representatives in 1980 with 98 percent of the vote. He served six terms.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Politics in the United States

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

Crouch, Stanley

December 14, 1945

Critic and essayist Stanley Crouch was born in Los Angeles, where he was raised by his mother, Emma Bea Crouch, a domestic. During his boyhood he became fascinated by jazz music. In 1965, after attending school and junior college in Los Angeles, he was inspired by the Watts riot to become involved in the Black Power and black arts movements, and he joined the Watts Repertory Theatre Company as an actor and writer. In 1968 Crouch was hired by California's Claremont College as an instructor, and he later became the first full-time faculty member of the Black Studies Center.

By 1975 Crouch left Claremont and moved to New York. Disenchanted with black nationalism, he became a disciple of writers Ralph Ellison and Albert Murray, who celebrated the centrality of blacks in a pluralistic American culture. He joined the staff of the weekly *Village Voice* as a jazz and cultural critic, where he remained until 1989. At the *Voice* Crouch became controversial for his forthright critiques of modern jazz, African-American literature, and other subjects. *Notes of a Hanging Judge* (1990), a collection of his *Voice* columns, was a finalist for the National Book Award.

During the 1990s Crouch worked as a freelance scholar and essayist and functioned as an advisor to the Lincoln Center Jazz Program. In 1993, Crouch won a prestigious MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant of $296,000. He joined the New York *Daily News* as a columnist in 1995. *Always In Pursuit: Fresh American Perspectives,* a collection comprised mostly of his *Daily News* columns, was published in 1998.

Crouch was further honored as the 2002–2003 Louis Armstrong Visiting Professor of Jazz Studies at Columbia University. His collection *The Artificial White Man: Essays on Authenticity* was published in 2004.

See also Intellectual Life; Jazz; Journalism; Literary Criticism, U.S.

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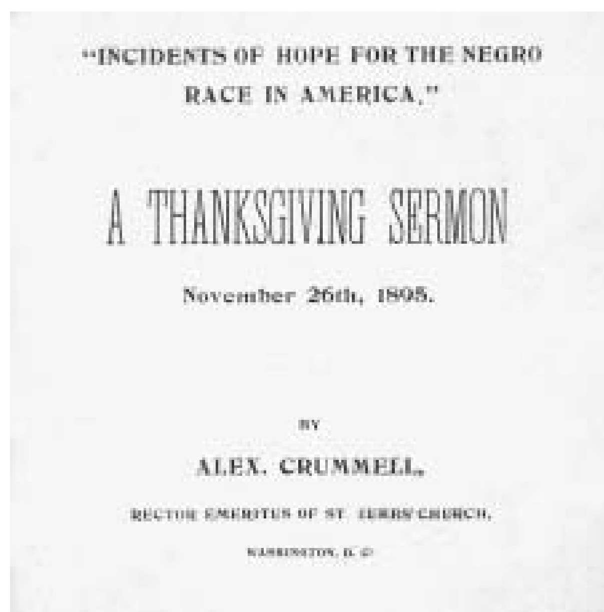

"INCIDENTS OF HOPE FOR THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA,"

A THANKSGIVING SERMON

November 26th, 1895.

BY

ALEX. CRUMMELL,

RECTOR EMERITUS OF ST. [illegible] CHURCH,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Title page from Alexander Crummell's **Incidents of Hope for the Negro Race in America: A Thanksgiving Sermon, November 26, 1895.** THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Crummell, Alexander

March 3, 1819
September 19, 1898

Nationalist, abolitionist, and missionary Alexander Crummell was the son of Boston Crummell, who had been kidnapped from his homeland in Temne country, West Africa, and enslaved in New York. Boston Crummell was never emancipated, his son later wrote, but obtained his freedom simply by announcing to his master that "he would serve him no longer." Boston Crummell married Charity Hicks, a freeborn woman from Long Island, New York, and established an oyster house in lower Manhattan. It was in the Crummell home that the African-American newspaper *Freedom's Journal* was founded.

The Crummells were members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Alexander came early under the influence of Rev. Peter Williams Jr. Williams was a supporter of back-to-Africa movements and had been friendly with the repatriationists Paul Cuffe and John Russwurm. Crummell attended school in Williams' church and in the African Free School until his early teens, when he enrolled in the Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire. Shortly after it opened, the academy was closed by mob violence and Crummell resumed his studies at the Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York.

Encouraged by Williams to become a candidate for ordination, Crummell applied to the General Theological Seminary in New York City but was rejected. He informally attended lectures at Yale University and studied privately with clergymen in New England. While in New England he married Sarah Mabritt Elston of New York, ministered to congregationists in New Haven and Providence, and worked as a correspondent for the *Colored American.* Crummell was ordained to the Episcopal priesthood in 1842 and labored with small congregations in Philadelphia and New York. He went to England in 1848, ostensibly to raise funds for his parish; almost immediately, however, he began preparing with a tutor to enter Cambridge University. His familial obligations and lecturing activities detracted from his academic performance, and he failed his first attempt at the university examinations, but he was among the eleven out of thirty-three candidates who passed an additional examination, and he was awarded the bachelor's degree in 1853.

Wanting to bring up his children "under black men's institutions," he embarked on his missionary career in West Africa under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Over the ensuing decades he was often in conflict with his immediate superior, Rev. John Payne, the bishop of Cape Palmas, especially when Crummell attempted to organize another diocese in the Liberian capital city of Monrovia. Crummell at first showed little interest in working with the native population. Many of his writings during these years addressed such statesmanlike topics as "God and the Nation" and "The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa." These, along with a number of his other essays on black-nationalist themes, were collected for his first book, *The Future of Africa* (1862).

Between 1853 and 1872, Crummell spent sixteen years in Liberia, although he returned to the United States twice during those years to raise money. The assassination of Liberian president Edward James Royce and threats against Crummell's own life led to his hasty and final departure in 1872. Sarah Crummell died in 1878 and he was remarried, to Jennie M. Simpson, on September 23, 1880. Crummell established Saint Luke's Episcopal Church in Washington in 1879 and retained the pastorate until 1894, when he retired. He continued to write and lecture actively until his death in 1898. Among his important writings during the Washington years were "The Destined Superiority of the Negro" and "The Black Woman of the South, Her Neglects and Her Needs" (1883). These and other sermons were collected in his books *The Greatness of Christ and Other Sermons* (1882) and *Africa and America* (1891).

Crummell's theological writings are dominated by the idea that salvation cannot be achieved solely by the acceptance of grace. He believed that God works actively in history and that the good are punished and the evil rewarded in this life. Crummell was contemptuous of enthusiastic revivalism and believed that the struggle for salvation must remain an arduous task, even after the Christian has experienced conversion. Although a notorious Anglophile and hostile to the cultural expressions of the black masses, he never wavered in his black-nationalist chauvinism, apparently seeing no contradictions in his position. His essay "The Destined Superiority of the Negro" revealed his confidence that the African race was a chosen people.

> *Alexander Crummell*
>
> "The greatness of a people springs from their ability to grasp the conception of being. It is the absorption of a people, of a nation, of race, in large majestic and abiding things which lifts them up to the skies."
>
> *CIVILIZATION: THE PRIMAL NEED OF THE RACE AND ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN MIND TOWARD NEGRO INTELLECT.* IN AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY. OCCASIONAL PAPERS, 3:3–7. WASHINGTON, D.C.: THE ACADEMY, 1897.

In the year before his death, Crummell organized the American Negro Academy, which was dedicated to the pursuit of the higher culture and civilization for black Americans. He influenced W. E. B. Du Bois, whose sentimental and somewhat inaccurate eulogy, "Of Alexander Crummell," was reprinted in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Other Crummell protégés were William H. Ferris and John E. Bruce, both of whom became prominent Garveyites during the 1920s.

Crummell's papers are widely scattered. The main repository is in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library. A number of important letters are in the American Colonization Society Papers in the Library of Congress and in the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society Papers in the Archives of the Episcopal Church at Austin, Texas. Additional important materials are in the Massachusetts and Maryland State Historical Societies.

See also Abolition; Bruce, John Edward; Cuffe, Paul; Du Bois, W. E. B.; *Freedom's Journal*; Missionary Movements; Religion; Russwurm, John Brown

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WILSON J. MOSES (1996)

Cruse, Harold

March 18, 1916

Relatively little is known of the life of writer and educator Harold Wright Cruse, who is known primarily for his authorship of a single influential book, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967). He was born in 1916 in Petersburg, Virginia, where his parents separated when he was young. He moved with his father to New York, where the elder Cruse became a cleaning supervisor on the Long Island Railroad. Cruse studied in New York's public schools and worked at a variety of jobs after his graduation. He dates his intellectual life from 1940, when he attended a book party/lecture by author Richard Wright in Harlem. Cruse served in the quartermaster division of the army during World War II. Following his discharge, he attended City College of New York on the GI Bill but dropped out after less than a year.

During the following fifteen years Cruse became involved in Harlem left-wing circles, although he has long refused to give details of his involvement with the Communist Party. He attempted to write articles and plays and held a variety of part-time jobs. Eventually, he became a bitter opponent of the Communist Party. Around 1963 he began work on *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual,* which he completed four years later. The book was a massive historical study that criticized many black leaders and thinkers for their failure to give expression to nationalist consciousness. Cruse argued that Harlem culture had been dominated by a "clique" of writers and artists affiliated with left-wing groups such as the Communist Party, which had systematically opposed the creation of black intellectual or cultural autonomy. As a result, they had no black intellectual or political program to offer as an alternative to integration and assimilation into white America. The book, published in the midst of the Black Power movement, stirred up enormous controversy among both blacks and whites. In 1968 Cruse published a book of essays on black nationalism, *Rebellion or Revolution?*

In the fall of 1968 Cruse was hired as a visiting professor by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The following year he helped found the university's Center for Afro-American and African Studies. In 1977 he became the first African-American professor without an academic degree to be named full professor at an American university. In 1982 he published a second full-length work, *Plural but Equal,* a critique of the effects of integration on African-American education and life. In 1987 he was named professor emeritus.

In 2002 *The Essential Harold Cruse: a Reader,* edited by William J. Cobb, was released.

See also Black Power Movement; Communist Party of the United States; Wright, Richard

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
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Cuffe, Paul

January 17, 1759
September 9, 1817

The merchant and emigrationist Paul Cuffe was born on Cuttyhunk Island in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to Cuffe Slocum, a former slave who had purchased his freedom, and Ruth Moses, a Wampanoag Native American. Growing up near the busy port of New Bedford, Massachusetts, Cuffe shipped out on whaling expeditions while still a teenager. On one voyage, at the beginning of the American Revolution, his ship was seized by the British in the Bay of Mexico and Cuffe was imprisoned in New York City for three months. After returning to Massachusetts in 1776, he resumed self-education and farming before returning to a maritime career.

Early in his life Cuffe—like most of his nine siblings, he used his father's African name as a surname—showed

disdain for racial discrimination. In 1780 he and his brother John refused to pay taxes to protest a clause in the state constitution that forbade blacks suffrage. Their petition to the Massachusetts General Court alluded to the injustice of taxation without representation. Although Cuffe was again briefly imprisoned, this time by Massachusetts authorities for civil disobedience, the bold action successfully reduced the family's taxes.

On February 25, 1783, Cuffe married Alice Pequit. They had seven children. Throughout the American Revolution, Cuffe continued his maritime activities, captaining several boats to Nantucket Island past patrolling British privateers. He began family-based businesses, which included farming, fishing, and whaling, as well as coastal and international commerce. He built at least seven vessels at his Westport, Massachusetts, docks, including the schooner *Ranger,* the bark *Hero,* the brig *Traveler,* and the ship *Alpha.* His own ship's crews were identified by their African ancestry, customarily drawn from extended family members, mainly the offspring of his sister Mary and her Native-American husband, Michael Wainer. Cuffe amassed a fortune in trade, despite ostracism and periodic encounters with arriving slavers. His property in 1806 was valued at approximately $20,000, making him Westport's wealthiest resident.

In 1808 Cuffe was received into the Society of Friends. He became a devout Quaker, contributed over $500 toward the building of meetinghouses, and entered into business ventures with leading Friends such as William Rotch Jr. Religious affiliations also linked Cuffe to the Anglo-American abolitionist movement to end the transatlantic slave trade. Cuffe received requests from members of the Royal African Institution to visit Sierra Leone, England's West African asylum for ex-slaves. The possibility of Cuffe's involvement in resettling American blacks in Africa became the subject of letters between James Pemberton, Benjamin Rush, and James Brain of the Pennsylvania and Delaware Abolition Societies, and William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Zachary Macauley of Britain's abolitionist coalition in Parliament.

Cuffe made two trips to Sierra Leone. The first left Westport on January 1, 1811, with a crew of nine black sailors. Disembarking on the West African coast from his brig *Traveler,* Cuffe became intrigued with the possibilities of beginning a three-way trade among the United States, England, and Sierra Leone. The trade route, he imagined, would bond together African descendants and their benefactors on three continents. On this trip, Cuffe also sailed to England, where he protested the effects of Britain's trading monopoly upon aspiring black settler merchants. Nevertheless, he was warmly received by English abolitionists and lionized by the British press as the "African Captain."

Cuffe's efforts—he hoped to bring skilled immigrants for settlement on annual trips to Africa—were inhibited by the War of 1812, during which both the United States and England forbade trade with one another. Cuffe's petitions to allow continuance of his peaceful traffic, which he made both to the United States Congress and to the British Parliament, were refused.

After the war's end, Cuffe sailed again for Sierra Leone—this time leaving on December 10, 1815, with nine families consisting of thirty-eight people. Two of the families were headed by Congolese and Senegalese men returning home. America's urban black elite, particularly Philadelphia's James Forten, Absalom Jones, and Richard Allen, endorsed Cuffe's emigration scheme.

Upon his return to the United States, Cuffe became increasingly convinced of the need for a mass emigration of blacks. He even gave his support to the American Colonization Society—an organization led by white southerners and widely suspected by abolitionists—after they courted his endorsement. Cuffe's death in 1817 came before he could fulfill his own emigration plan, which he hoped would lessen the plight of black Americans and bring a measure of prosperity to Africa. He is considered by some to be the father of black nationalism.

See also Abolition; Allen, Richard; Forten, James; Jones, Absalom

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LAMONT D. THOMAS (1996)

Cullen, Countee

March 30, 1903
January 9, 1946

It has been difficult to place exactly where poet, novelist, and playwright Countee Cullen was born, with whom he spent the very earliest years of his childhood, and where

Countee Cullen (1903–1946). *Pictured here in a portrait by Carl Van Vechten, Cullen rose to fame in the early years of the Harlem Renaissance, winning more major literary prizes than any other African American writer during the 1920s.* THE LITERARY ESTATE OF CARL VAN VECHTEN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

he spent them. Scholars variously cite New York City and Baltimore as his birthplace, but Cullen himself, on his college transcript at New York University, listed Louisville, Kentucky, as his place of birth. A few years later, when he had achieved considerable literary fame during the era known as the New Negro or Harlem Renaissance, he was to assert that his birthplace was New York City, a claim he continued to make for the rest of his life. Both Cullen's second wife, Ida, and some of his closest friends, including Langston Hughes and Harold Jackman, all said he was born in Louisville, although one Cullen scholar, Beulah Reimherr, claims in her M.A. thesis that Ida Cullen gave her husband's place of birth as Baltimore. As James Weldon Johnson wrote in *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1931), "There is not much to say about these earlier years of Cullen—unless he himself should say it." And Cullen—revealing a temperament that was not exactly secretive but private, less a matter of modesty than a tendency toward being encoded and tactful—never in his life said anything more clarifying.

What we know for certain is that he was born on March 30, 1903, and that sometime between his birth and 1918 he was adopted by the Rev. Frederick A. and Carolyn Belle (Mitchell) Cullen of the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church in Harlem. It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how old Cullen was at the time or how long he knew the Cullens before he was adopted. Apparently he went by the name of Countee Porter until 1918. He became Countee P. Cullen by 1921, and eventually just Countee Cullen. According to Harold Jackman, the adoption was never really "official"; that is to say, it was never formally consummated through the proper state-agency channels. It is difficult, indeed, to know whether Cullen was ever legally an orphan at any stage in his childhood.

Frederick Cullen was one of the pioneer black activist-ministers; he moved his Salem Methodist Episcopal Church from a storefront mission—where it was in 1902, when he first arrived in New York City—to the site of a former white church in Harlem in 1924, where he could boast of a membership of over 2,500. Since Countee Cullen himself stated in his 1927 anthology of black American poetry, *Caroling Dusk,* that he was "reared in the conservative atmosphere of a Methodist parsonage," it is clear that his foster father, particularly, was a strong influence. The two men were very close, often traveling abroad together. But as Cullen evidences a decided unease in his poetry over his strong and conservative Christian training and the attraction of his pagan inclinations, his feelings about his father may have been somewhat ambivalent. Frederick Cullen was, on the one hand, a puritanical Christian patriarch, and Countee was never remotely that. On the other hand, it has been suggested that Frederick was also something of an effeminate man. (He was dressed in girl's clothing by his poverty-stricken mother well beyond the acceptable boyhood age for such a practice and was apparently effeminate in his manner as an adult.) Some scholars, especially Jean Wagner, have argued that Countee Cullen's homosexuality, or decidedly ambiguous sexual nature, may have been attributable to his foster father's contrary influence as both fire-breathing Christian and latent or covert transsexual. To be sure, in his poetry Cullen equated paganism with various sensual postures, including homosexuality. Cullen was a devoted and obedient son, and the fact that the Cullens had no other children made this attachment much easier to achieve.

Cullen was an outstanding student both at DeWitt Clinton High School (1918–1921)—where he not only edited the school's newspaper but also assisted in editing the literary magazine, *Magpie,* and wrote his first poetry that achieved notice—and at New York University (1921–1925), where he wrote most of the major work that was to make up his first two volumes, *Color* (1925) and *Copper Sun* (1927). It was also while at NYU that he wrote *The Ballad of the Brown Girl* (1927). In high school Cullen won his first contest, a citywide competition, with the poem "I

Have a Rendezvous with Life," a nonracial poem inspired by Alan Seeger's "I Have a Rendezvous with Death." If any event signaled the coming of the Harlem Renaissance, it was the precocious success of this rather shy black boy who, more than any other black literary figure of his generation, was being touted and bred to become a major crossover literary figure. Here was a black man with considerable academic training who could, in effect, write "white" verse—ballads, sonnets, quatrains, and the like—much in the manner of Keats and the British Romantics (albeit, on more than one occasion, tinged with racial concerns), with genuine skill and compelling power. He was certainly not the first African American to attempt to write such verse, but he was first to do so with such extensive education, with such a complete understanding of himself as a poet, and producing poetry that was not trite or inferior. Only two other black American poets before Cullen could be taken so seriously as self-consciously considered and proficient poets: Phillis Wheatley and Paul Laurence Dunbar.

If the aim of the Harlem Renaissance was, in part, the reinvention of the native-born African American as a being who could be assimilated while decidedly retaining something called a "racial self-consciousness," then Cullen fit the bill better than virtually any other Renaissance writer. And if "I Have a Rendezvous with Life" was the opening salvo in the making of Cullen's literary reputation, then the 1924 publication of "Shroud of Color" in H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury* confirmed the advent of the black boy wonder as one of the most exciting American poets on the scene. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from NYU, Cullen earned a master's degree in English and French from Harvard (1927). Between high school and graduation from Harvard he had become the most popular black poet—virtually the most popular black literary figure—in America. It was after one of his poems and his popular column appeared in *Opportunity* magazine that A'Lelia Walker (heiress of Madame C. J. Walker's hair-care-products fortune) named her salon, where the black and white literati gathered in the late 1920s, the Dark Tower.

Cullen won more major literary prizes than any other black writer of the 1920s: the first prize in the Witter Bynner Poetry Contest in 1925; *Poetry* magazine's John Reed Memorial Prize; the Amy Spingarn Award of *The Crisis* magazine; second prize in *Opportunity* magazine's first poetry contest; second prize in the poetry contest of *Palms*. He was the second African American to win a Guggenheim Fellowship. His first three books—*Color, Copper Sun,* and *The Ballad of the Brown Girl*—sold well and made him a hero for many blacks. Lines from Cullen's popular poems, such as "Heritage," "Incident," "From the Dark Tower," and "Yet Do I Marvel," were commonly quoted.

Image Not Available

Cullen was also at the center of one of the major social events of the Harlem Renaissance; on April 9, 1928, he married Yolande Du Bois, the only child of W. E. B. Du Bois, in one of the most lavish weddings in black New York history. This wedding was to symbolize the union of the grand black intellectual patriarch and the new breed of younger African Americans who were responsible for much of the excitement of the Renaissance. It was an apt meshing of personalities, as both Cullen and Du Bois *père* were conservative by nature and ardent traditionalists. That the marriage turned out so disastrously and ended so quickly—Yolande and Cullen divorced in 1930—probably adversely affected Cullen. (He remarried in 1940.) Cullen published *The Black Christ and Other Poems* in 1929, receiving lukewarm reviews from both black and white presses. He was bitterly disappointed that "The

Black Christ," his longest and in many respects his most complicated poem, the product of over two years' work, was considered by most critics to be his weakest and least distinguished.

From the 1930s until his death, Cullen wrote a great deal less, partly hampered by his job as a French teacher at Frederick Douglass Junior High (his most famous student was James Baldwin). But he wrote noteworthy, even significant work in a number of genres. His novel *One Way to Heaven,* published in 1934, rates among the better black satires and is one of the three important fictional retrospectives of the Harlem Renaissance, the others being Wallace Thurman's *The Infants of the Spring* and George Schuyler's *Black No More;* his translation of *The Medea* is the first major translation of a classical work by a twentieth-century black American writer; the children's books *The Lost Zoo* and *My Lives and How I Lost Them* are among the more clever and engaging books of children's verse, written at a time when there was not much work published for children by black writers; and his poetry of the period includes perhaps some of his best, certainly some of his more darkly complex, sonnets. He was also working on a musical with Arna Bontemps called *St. Louis Woman* (based on Bontemps's novel, *God Sends Sunday*) at the time of his death from high blood pressure and uremic poisoning.

For many years after his death, Cullen's reputation was eclipsed by those of other Harlem Renaissance writers, particularly Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, and his work had gone out of print. Later, however, there was a resurgence of interest in his life and work, and his books were reissued.

See also Baldwin, James; Bontemps, Arna; Du Bois, W.E.B.; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Harlem Renaissance; Hurston, Zora Neale; New Negro; Schuyler, George S.; Thurman, Wallace; Walker, A'Lelia; Walker, Madam C. J.; Wheatley, Phillis

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GERALD EARLY (1996)

Daddy Grace

See Grace, Sweet Daddy

Dalton-James, Edith

February 1, 1896
November 5, 1976

Edith Dalton-James was one of the pioneering women of Jamaica during the first half of the twentieth century. She moved beyond merely pursuing a profession tailor-made for women of her times to challenge the status quo by entering the world of politics, the world of men. She was known for her dedication to education and public service and her desire to see Jamaicans become a free and independent people. She believed that women had a significant role to play in the process.

Dalton-James was born of John William and Jeanette Walcott in Townhead (near Savanna-la-Mar), Westmoreland. Her father was a mechanical engineer. In 1919 she married Spencer Wesley James, son of Haughton James, a teacher. The marriage produced a son (Dr. Seymour W. James, Jr.) and two daughters (Marebelle James Mowat and Dr. Joyce James). She was a member of the Anglican Church.

Dalton-James attended school in her community where her performance got her into Shortwood Teachers College before the normal age of matriculation. She attended the college from 1911 to 1914 and graduated with honors. She taught at Unity and Half Way Tree schools with her husband before serving as principal of Chetolah Park Primary School beginning in 1951. She was a schoolteacher for forty years, twenty of which she spent at Chetolah Park. While at Chetolah Park, she attended the London Institute of Education, University of London, and graduated with honors.

She was first and foremost an educator and served Jamaica well in this area. Her investment in the educational system of Jamaica is seen in the offices she held in related local and international organizations, allowing her to voice her position on issues such as corporal punishment in schools. She served four terms as president of the Jamaican Union of Teachers (JUT), three times as president of the Caribbean Union of Teachers, and was a life member of both these associations. She was a uniting force in education in her native land and was instrumental in the development of the Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA, for-

merly the JUT, which was formed in 1894). Her prowess and pioneering spirit is seen in the fact that she was the only assistant teacher who sat on the Board of Education, and she was the first woman and classroom teacher to become president of the JUT/JTA in 1949. When she became president in 1949, there were several small teachers' associations. She called a joint conference of teachers that resulted in the formation of the Joint Executives of Teachers' Associations (JETA). This eventually became the Jamaica Teachers' Association. She served as vice chair of the Teachers' Mutual Aid Society and was manager of the Teachers' Book Centre, of which she was a founding member. She sat on the advisory board of the Moneague Teacher Training College and Jamaica Advisory Council. She served the Caribbean Union of Teachers as president for two terms, sat on the committee of the International Council for Teachers Education, and was active in the World Conference of the Teaching Profession. She fought for the cause of teachers, and the JTA recognized her work and worth by mounting a plaque in their headquarters building on Church Street in her honor.

Dalton-James carried a vision for a better Jamaica and was not satisfied to operate only in the classroom and through educational associations. She was active in community work and served in a number of social and charitable associations. An important part of her community outreach was her pet project, adult literacy. She also served the Junior Centre of the Institute of Jamaica, the City Mission Orphanage, the Mass Wedding Committee, the Convalescent Society, the Save the Children Fund, and the Women's Liberal Club.

Dalton-James was interested in public affairs and entered politics when adult suffrage was granted. She became a founding member of the People's National Party (PNP) in 1939, was made a life member in 1962, and ran three times as a candidate for the House of Representatives. She was elected to the House of Representatives Legislative Council in 1944. She served until 1949 when she lost her seat to another woman. She again became a member of the Legislative Council from1959 to 1962. She was to influence other women such as Daphne Campbell, who was a political activist in the 1940s.

Dalton-James's contribution to public affairs and her fellowmen was widely recognized. In 1953 she was awarded the Queen's Coronation Medal, and in 1958, the insignia of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE). In 1971 the University of the West Indies conferred on her the honorary Doctor of Laws, and in 1975 the Jamaican government conferred on her the Order of Distinction (Commander Class). Her community service was recognized when in 1977 a community complex on Slipe Pen Road, Kingston, was named in her honor. The complex houses a basic school, a day care center, a library, and a community college. Edith Dalton-James's life commitment was to the cause of teachers, education, and her country. She lived her motto: "work hard; study continuously; service for reward or no reward."

See also Education in the Caribbean; People's National Party

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ALERIC J. JOSEPHS (2005)

Dance

See Ballet; Breakdancing; Capoeira; Dance, Diasporic; Tap Dance; Social Dance; Theatrical Dance

Dance, Diasporic

African diasporic dance denotes those dances and dance traditions Africans brought with them and passed on to their descendants during the great "scattering," or diaspora. Beginning with the slave trade to Portugal in the fifteenth century and lasting well into the nineteenth century, between ten and thirteen million Africans were enslaved and displaced throughout the Americas. With them came African worldviews that meshed the material and spiritual worlds and incorporated music and dance into life's every aspect.

Preserved through an oral tradition, passed from generation to generation and body to body, these dances have survived as characteristic traits, entire rituals, and spiritual traditions, thus creating a basic vocabulary of movement principles common throughout the entire diaspora. They survived because they were the easiest to conceal and the hardest to erase.

These principles are part of what can be called an African cultural continuum or aesthetic— ways of speaking, moving, and approaching artistic expression that have roots firmly planted in Africa yet are clearly transformed by Africans' experiences in the Americas. These principles have shaped much of what is seen as uniquely American forms of expression and have been fundamental in creating American vernacular dance. International dance crazes such as the Charleston, cakewalk, Lindy Hop, bossa nova, and twist sprang forth from the loins of African diasporic dance. Theatrical forms of dance have felt its touch as well, influencing the fields of ballet, modern dance, and the Broadway stage.

The Role of Dance in African Cultures

Art historian Robert Farris Thompson states in *African Art in Motion: Icon and Act* (1974) "Africa . . . introduces a different art history, a history of *danced* art" (p. xii).

More than three times the size of the continental United States, Africa is home to hundreds of different cultural groups and over seven hundred distinct languages. The music and movement styles of Africa are as diverse as its peoples. Yet comparative studies show that there are commonalities that cross ethnic and cultural lines and grow out of a shared conceptual approach to art. In *African Rhythm and African Sensibility* (1979), John Miller Chernoff maintains that people in Africa "do not so much observe rituals in their lives, as they ritualize their lives" (p. 160). Music and dance are inextricably linked, a multidimensional community event that integrates dance, instrumental music, song, literature, and visual arts.

Africanisms

Old dances made anew—reinvented and renamed, evolving and merging with other types of movement while never losing certain characteristics—these traits, or "Africanisms," become part of the hallmark of African diasporic dance. These African-derived movement characteristics can be described as polyrhythmic and multicentered music and movement, orientation toward the earth, call and response, improvisation, functionality, circularity in movement, formation and community, repetition, and spiritual transport, or "flash of the spirit."

Rhythm is made visible through movement that breaks the body into various points of interest or centers with overlapping *polyrhythms,* often with the hips as the central focus. Its bent-kneed, full-footed contact stance is the embodiment of a "get-down quality" or *orientation toward the earth,* exhibited also through descent in posture and musical tone as intensity increases. Angularity in the elbows, torso, and legs—knees bent, hips riding above the rhythmic steps, close to the ground—ensure that legs are seldom straight and the feet leave the ground only to return again.

In *call and response*, dancers "answer" the call of the drum with a movement response, be it a specific rhythmic pattern that signifies a particular movement of dance or the dialogue between the lead drummer and dancer during solos. Throughout the South, gandy dancers moved railroad ties in a unified rhythmic response to the chants of the lead "caller."

Improvisation is an essential part of expression, implying a connection to the divine that inspires the dancer to do the impossible. A sense of *functionality* prevails so that gestures become symbol, a means of spiritual transport, to pass on to others cosmic principles or the values of a society.

Circularity in movement, formation, and community, expressed in the saying "Let the circle be unbroken," reflects a cosmology that sees the continuity of life and our connection to those passed on before us. Form is secondary to motion, and circular formations encourage little separation between participant and observer. One dances with and for the community. Movements are repeated, building toward a climactic end. This use of *repetition* raises energy and increases intensity.

African-American Origins

Although African traders, soldiers, and diplomats prior to the fifteenth century migrated to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, bringing their cultures with them, it was not until the European transatlantic slave trade that the dissemination of African culture was so extensive. Dispersed throughout North America, the Caribbean, and South and Central America, these Africans, who came primarily from West and Central Africa and Mozambique, would make up the largest forced migration in history.

During the weeks and months of the Middle Passage, slave traders would often "dance the slaves" in an attempt to keep them somewhat healthy. Chained together naked in filthy shallow berths, slaves were forced on deck to "dance"—that is, jump up and down while still chained, encouraged by the cat-o'-nine-tails, a particularly brutal type of whip.

One of the earliest and most important dances to appear in the Americas was the ring shout. This ancestral dance became a powerful tool for Christian conversion, as well as survival and resistance. It was as sacred as prayer and provided Africans with a way of worship, even as they

converted to Christianity. Counterclockwise shuffling of the feet, close to the ground and never crossing but sustaining the rhythm, accompanied by singing, hand clapping, stomps, and an occasional broom handle upon the floor, the shout symbolized the very meaning of being African in the Americas.

During the 1800s, Place Congo, once a site for informal gatherings of Africans, Indians, and Creoles, was designated as Congo Square by the mayor of New Orleans, Louisiana, the only place where African Americans, free or enslaved, were allowed to gather to dance, and only before sunset on Sundays.

Growing largely out of public interest in African American culture, the minstrel show becomes the most widespread form of entertainment in the United States from the 1840s to the 1890s. Largely a northern entertainment, these performances by white performers in blackface, or "blackened up" with burnt cork and makeup, were based on imitation and mockery of African-American music, dance, and performance styles. Idealizing plantation life with caricatured portrayals of African Americans, these minstrel shows become the basis of some of the longstanding stereotypes of African Americans. The minstrel show also provided one of the first performance venues for African Americans.

It took one extraordinary performer, William Henry Lane, to break this standard. Lane, born a free black in Providence, Rhode Island, came to notoriety for his exquisite dancing, which mixed the rhythmic foot patterns of Irish step dancing with African movement vocabulary and the syncopation of flatfooted buck dances. Often considered the father of American tap dance, Master Juba, as Lane was called, "ingeniously combined the Irish jig and reel with African-derived movements and rhythms to lay the foundation for what we know as American tap dance," as stated by dance historian Jacqui Malone in *Steppin' on the Blues* (1996, p. 54).

Another dance made popular by the minstrel stage was the cakewalk, first created as a dance of derision by African Americans mocking the mannerisms of slaveholder society, and then imitated by minstrel performers, unwittingly imitating the imitators. It became the first international dance craze, often accompanied by the syncopated piano rolls of ragtime music at the turn of the century.

Twentieth-Century Forms

Dances like the black bottom and the Charleston, observed in African-American communities, become international dance crazes. The Lindy Hop, so named after Charles Lindbergh's successful flight across the Atlantic, emerged from the dance halls of Harlem and spread across the United States like wildfire. The Lindy Hop included both acrobatic partnering lifts and its characteristic breakaway—partners "breaking away" to insert their own improvised steps, such as the shorty George or hucklebuck—giving rise to the jitterbug. The jitterbug became the emblem of the 1950s, danced to another music evolved from the blues: rock and roll.

On the Broadway stage, American tap dance was the predominant style of dance used in musicals of the 1930s and 1940s. Brilliant tap artists such as the Nicholas Brothers, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, John Bubbles, and Jeni LeGon were innovators in the art form, serving as coaches and unnamed choreographers in movie musicals such as *Orchestra Wives* and *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. Evolving out of the buck dances of African-American slaves and meshed with the stepping traditions of Irish immigrants, tap dance focuses on the feet as percussive instruments, involving intricate rhythms performed for the ear as well as the eye. Young choreographers such as Savion Glover have reinvigorated the form, infusing it with the heavy rhythms of hip-hop and urban style.

Stepping, born on the campuses of the historically black colleges and universities, began as a bonding ritual for young African-American college students in black fraternities in the 1920s. This uniquely African-American dance form, characterized by elaborate syncopated stomps, hand clapping, and verbal play, had its roots in military-style marching, children's hand-clapping games, South African gumboot dances, cheerleading, and patting traditions. Step shows, showcasing choreographed step routines of the various black Greek organizations, have grown to be hugely popular intercampus events, involving students across both cultural and ethnic lines.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, a new urban culture burst forth from African-American and Latino communities in New York City. Rooted in grassroots Africanized urban music/dance culture and practiced at house parties, playgrounds, and dance halls, hip-hop developed into a global phenomenon, shaping music, dance, fashion, poetry, and visual arts.

Breaking was a social dance form that included "popping and locking," "up and down rock" (stylized mock fighting modeled after Asian martial arts movement), and the dance-like movements of the Afro-Brazilian fighting form *capoeira.* Renamed *break dancing* by the media, breaking borrowed elements from earlier dance forms, such as the aerial and ground Lindy, the Charleston, cakewalk, jitterbug, double-dutch jump rope, and stepping. Elaborate graffiti mural paintings appeared everywhere,

Contestants for the Cakewalk Crown, c. 1890s. *First created as a dance of derision by African Americans mocking the mannerisms of slaveholder society, the Cakewalk gained popularity when it was imitated by minstrel performers, becoming an international dance craze by the early years of the twentieth century.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

emblazoned across subway cars and city buildings, as the fashion world exploded with baggy, low-slung pants, sneakers, and baseball caps.

American Concert Dance

On the concert stage, innovators such as choreographers Edna Guy, Hemsley Winfield, and Asadata Dafora (Horton) meshed African-American sacred and secular dance traditions with modern dance in the early 1930s. Horton, originally from Sierra Leone, fused African and Western performance styles to create concert dances drenched in African movement principles yet stylized for the concert stage. Edna Guy, a student of modern dance pioneer Ruth St. Denis, created works based on African-American spirituals and, with fellow choreographer Hemsley Winfield, gave the first Negro art dance concert at the Ninety-Second Street YMHA in 1937. In the 1940s choreographer Katherine Dunham brought forward African-American and Afro-Caribbean social and traditional folkloric dance and ritual forms through her choreography, at the same time as Pearl Primus began her research of rural southern migrant communities. Primus's choreography was embedded with elements observed in sacred and secular dance traditions, and after completing her Rosenwald Fellowship in Africa, she became one of the preeminent teachers of African dance in the United States.

Generations of dancers have followed in the footsteps of these trailblazing women. Choreographers, performers, and artists have continued to reinvent and reshape African dance forms, including modern dancers Alvin Ailey, Dianne McIntyre, and Bill T. Jones; tap dancers Savion Glover and Gregory Hines; ballet choreographer Alonzo King; and hip-hop artist Rennie Harris, among others.

Conclusion

African diaspora dance is part of an African cultural continuum that has, from the beginning, altered American dance from within. It developed out of the circumstances of slavery, the socioeconomic marginalization of African Americans, and the presence of European influences. Rather than dying out, it has persisted, deeply imprinting American dance expression with traditional African dance characteristics. From the pulpit to the concert stage, African diaspora dance continues to express the values of a people and infuse American culture.

See also Africanisms; Ballet; Dunham, Katherine; Tap Dance; Theatrical Dance

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ROBIN MARIE WILSON (2005)

Dancehall

The musical style known as "dancehall" derives its name from the Jamaican dance hall, a cultural institution that has historically nurtured all major genres of that country's recorded popular music. While dancehall first emerged in the late 1970s as a distinct style, its real explosion occurred in the early 1980s, coinciding with the widespread use of digital music technology by Jamaican record producers.

The contemporary roots of the dancehall movement are evident in the "toasting" records of disc jockeys, or DJs, produced during the "roots reggae" era of the 1970s. The half-spoken, half-sung improvisations known as "DJ toasting," exemplified by U-Roy and Big Youth, were a standard accompaniment used by DJs when playing reggae records to live audiences, and toasting soon became an integral part of recorded reggae. However, the DJ became much more central to reggae culture in the dancehall era, overlapping with the influence that DJ toasting had on the birth of hip-hop culture in America.

The initial domestic underground impact of dancehall in Jamaica is inextricably linked with the work of the producer Henry "Junjo" Lawes, whose early 1980s recordings helped establish both the genre in general and the careers of many of its better-known proponents, such as Yellowman. However, this phase was a precursor to the wave of digital dancehall that broadened the genre's mass appeal and significantly increased the number of available recordings, many of which utilized either the same or very similar rhythm tracks. The spread of affordable digital music technology beyond the recording studio accelerated and solidified dancehall. Producers could create rhythms more cheaply because the programmable technology freed them from both the need for session musicians and the expense of hiring a professional recording studio. The economics of dancehall production were therefore as important as the audiences' demand for the records. The crucial turning point for dancehall was Wayne Smith's massive 1985 hit "Under Mi Sleng Teng," a minimalist song overseen by producer King Jammy, which eventually led to the recording of over 400 versions.

As a result of dancehall's rapid rise in international popularity, and its notable lyrical and instrumental differences from "roots" reggae, deep divisions have arisen within reggae communities. Key observers often note that the 1980s transformation of reggae was far from being exclusively musical, but was also integrally connected to political and economic circumstances. This was an economically impoverished era characterized by widespread violence, and the conservative foreign and domestic policies of the United States and Great Britain (under President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, respectively), coupled with the domestic conservatism of the Jamaican leader Edward Seaga (prime minister, 1980–1989), stimulated rebellion against major social ills and the establishment identified with worsening them. This environment fostered a lack of creative innovation

and a large-scale recycling of rhythms. Moreover, the philosophical and political ideals featured in many roots reggae lyrics were initially replaced by "slackness" themes that highlighted sex rather than spirituality. The lyrical shift also coincided with a change in Jamaica's drug culture from marijuana to cocaine, arguably resulting in the harsher sonic nature of dancehall, which was also referred to as *ragga* (an abbreviation of ragamuffin), in the mid-1980s.

The centrality of sexuality in dancehall foregrounded lyrical sentiments widely regarded as being violently homophobic, as evidenced by the controversies surrounding Buju Banton's 1992 hit, "Boom Bye Bye." Alternatively, some academics argue that these viewpoints are articulated only in specific Jamaican contexts, and therefore should not receive the reactionary condemnation that dancehall often appears to impose on homosexuals. While dancehall's sexual politics have usually been discussed from a male perspective, the performances of X-rated female DJs, such as Lady Saw and Patra, have helped redress the gender balance. By the early 1990s, with the emergence of performers such as Luciano offering a blend of reggae styles, dancehall became more philosophical, although X-rated lyrics maintained their popularity.

Dancehall has gradually become a global popular music commodity, with record sales closely linked to an ongoing alliance with the hip-hop world. The development of transnational corporate ties has also affected its popularity, as key independent record labels have been able to increase distribution through major established companies. Following the signing of Lieutenant Stitchie to Atlantic Records in 1987 (the first signing of a dancehall DJ by a major record label), commercial peaks have included the early 1990s success of Shabba Ranks (the first internationally successful Jamaican DJ) and the twenty-first-century impact of Shaggy, Beenie Man, and Sean Paul.

See also Reggae

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MIKE ALLEYNE (2005)

Dance Theater of Harlem

The Dance Theater of Harlem (DTH), a classical dance company, was founded on August 15, 1969, by Arthur Mitchell and Karel Shook as the world's first permanent, professional, academy-rooted, predominantly black ballet troupe. Mitchell created DTH to address a threefold mission of social, educational, and artistic opportunity for the people of Harlem, and to prove that "there are black dancers with the physique, temperament and stamina, and everything else it takes to produce what we call the 'born' ballet dancer." During its official 1971 debut, DTH triumphantly debunked opinions that black people could not dance ballet. By 1993 DTH had become a world-renowned company with forty-nine dancers, seventy-five ballets in its repertory, an associated school, and an international touring schedule.

DTH's extensive repertory has included technically demanding neoclassic ballets (George Balanchine's 1946 *The Four Temperaments*); programmatic works (Arthur Mitchell's 1968 *Rhythmetron* and Alvin Ailey's 1970 *The River* to music by Duke Ellington); and pieces that explore the African-American experience (Louis Johnson's 1972 *Forces of Rhythm* and Geoffrey Holder's 1974 *Dougla* created in collaboration with DTH conductor-composer Tania Leon). DTH also excels in its own versions of classic ballets, including a sumptuous, Geoffrey Holder–designed production of Stravinsky's *Firebird* (1982) choreographed by John Taras, and a stunning Creole-inspired staging of *Giselle* (1984) created by Arthur Mitchell, designer Carl Mitchell, and artistic associate Frederic Franklin. This highly acclaimed *Giselle* set the Romantic-era story in the society of free black plantation owners in pre–Civil War Louisiana. DTH is perhaps best known for its revivals of dramatic ballets, including Agnes de Mille's 1948 *Fall River Legend* and Valerie Bettis's 1952 *A Streetcar Named Desire,* both of which have starred principal ballerina Virginia Johnson. Other important classical dance artists associated with DTH include Lydia Arbaca, Karen Brown, Stephanie Dabney, Robert Garland, Lorraine Graves, Christina Johnson, Ronald Perry, Walter Raines, Judith Rotardier, Paul Russell, Eddie J. Shellman, Lowell Smith, Mel Tomlinson, and Donald Williams.

A scene from the Dance Theater of Harlem production of the ballet Firebird. *Since its premier performance in 1971, the Dance Theatre of Harlem has become a world-renowned dance company, performing both traditional classical ballets and new works inspired by the African-American experience.* © JACK VARTOOGIAN/ FRONTROWPHOTOS

In 1972 the DTH school moved to its permanent home at 466 West 152nd Street, where training in dance, choreography, and music supplemented outreach programs bringing dance to senior citizens and children of the Harlem community with special needs. The international celebrity achieved by DTH began with a Caribbean performance tour in 1970, an engagement at the Spoleto Festival in 1971, and an auspicious 1974 London debut at Sadler's Wells Theatre. In 1988 DTH embarked on a five-week tour of the USSR, playing sold-out performances in Moscow, Tbilisi, and Leningrad, where the company received a standing ovation at the famed Kirov Theatre. In 1992 DTH successfully performed in Johannesburg, South Africa.

In 1990, faced with a $1.7 million deficit, DTH was forced to cancel its New York season and lay off dancers, technicians, and administrative staff for a six-month period. Mitchell and the board of directors responded with increased efforts to enlarge corporate support and strengthen their African-American audience base. In 1994 DTH completed a $6 million expansion and renovation project, which doubled classroom and administrative space and confirmed the DTH commitment to provide access to the disciplined training necessary for a career in classical ballet. However, financial problems continued. In February 1997 the company was paralyzed by a three-week strike. In 2004 the company faced an overwhelming deficit that forced extended layoffs for much of its staff.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Ballet; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Dandridge, Dorothy

c. November 1923
September 8, 1965

The daughter of a minister and a stage entertainer, the actor and singer Dorothy Dandridge was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and was groomed for a stage career by her mother, Ruby Dandridge, who separated from her husband and began touring the country as a performer shortly after Dorothy, her second daughter, was born. While still a child, Dandridge sang, danced, and did comedy skits as part of her mother's show. When their mother settled in Los Angeles, she and her older sister, Vivian—together they had been billed as "The Wonder Kids"—attended school and appeared in bit parts in films, including the Marx Brothers comedy *A Day at the Races* (1937). During the 1940s, Dorothy and Vivian joined with another young African-American woman, Etta Jones, to form an act called "The Dandridge Sisters," and the three embarked on a tour with the Jimmie Lunceford band. Dandridge met her first husband, Harold Nicholas (of the Nicholas Brothers dancing team), while she was performing at the Cotton Club in Harlem. A brain-damaged daughter, Harolyn, was born to the couple before they divorced.

During this time, Dandridge managed to secure a few minor Hollywood roles, appearing in such films as *Drums*

of the Congo (1942), *The Hit Parade of 1943* (1943), *Moo Cow Boogie* (1943), *Atlantic City* (1944), *Pillow to Post* (1946), and *Flamingo* (1947). The early 1950s witnessed the flowering of her movie career, as she acquired leading roles in the low-budget films *Tarzan's Perils, The Harlem Globe-Trotters,* and *Jungle Queen* (all made in 1951). Dandridge, who was exceptionally beautiful, worked actively at cultivating a cosmopolitan, transracial persona, brimming with sexual allure. She also became increasingly well known as a nightclub singer. Indeed, Dandridge's performances at New York's La Vie En Rose in 1952 were in such demand that the club—then on the brink of bankruptcy—was saved from financial collapse. She was one of the first African Americans to perform at the Waldorf-Astoria's Empire Room, and she appeared at such prestigious clubs as Ciro's (Los Angeles), the Cafe de Paris (London), the Copacabana (Rio de Janeiro), and the Chi Chi (Palm Springs).

Dandridge's big break as a motion picture actress came in 1954, when she secured the title role in Otto Preminger's all-black production *Carmen Jones*, a role for which she became the first black actor to be nominated for an Oscar for a performance a leading role. That she had achieved celebrity stature was evidenced by her appearances on the cover of *Life,* as well as in feature articles in other national and international magazines. However, three years were to pass before Dandridge made another film, largely because, in racist Hollywood, she was not offered roles commensurate with her talent and beauty, and she felt she could no longer settle for less. Her next film, *Island in the Sun* (1957), was the first to feature an interracial romance (between Dandridge and white actor John Justin); the film was poorly received, however, as were *The Decks Ran Red* (1958), *Tamango* (1959), and *Malaga* (1962), all of which touched on interracial themes. Although Dandridge won acclaim in 1959 for her portrayal of Bess (opposite Sidney Poitier) in Otto Preminger's film of *Porgy and Bess,* she received fewer and fewer film and nightclub offers as time passed. After divorcing her second husband, the white restaurant-owner Jack Dennison, she was forced to file for bankruptcy and lost her Hollywood mansion. Her sudden death in 1965 was attributed to an overdose of antidepressants; she was forty-one years old. Dandridge's autobiography, *Everything and Nothing,* was published posthumously in 1970; in 1977, she was inducted into the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame. In 1999, a film biography of her life, *Introducing Dorothy Dandridge,* starring Halle Berry, was produced for television by HBO Pictures.

See also Film in the United States; Poitier, Sidney

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PAMELA WILKINSON (1996)
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Danticat, Edwidge

January 19, 1969

Edwidge Danticat was born in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Her parents emigrated to the United States when she was only two years old, leaving her and a younger brother in the custody of their aunt and uncle. The two children had to wait until 1981 to be reunited with their parents, who were living in Brooklyn, New York. Sent to an American public school, she started writing in English to develop her mastery of the language. While attending Barnard College, some of her short stories were published in the magazines *Essence* and *Seventeen.* In 1991 she became involved with the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees (NCHR), speaking at public meetings in defense of Haitian boat people and other illegal immigrants.

In 1994 Danticat published her first novel, *Breath, Eyes, Memory.* The novel tells about the experience of migration and adjustment in the United States from a child's perspective, and it explores mother-daughter relationships and female bonding. The work was widely acclaimed upon publication, and it has generated numerous critical studies.

Danticat's second book, *Krik? Krak!* (1995), a collection of short stories, was a finalist for the National Book Award and received the Pushcart Short Story Prize. The stories of the collection, anchored around the imaginary provincial town of Ville-Rose, reveal a writer experimenting with style and technique. In 1998 Danticat published *The Farming of Bones,* a compelling novel about the 1937 slaughter of Haitian cane workers in the Dominican Republic. In June of that same year, *Breath, Eyes, Memory* was selected as a featured book on the *Oprah Winfrey Show* as part of Oprah's Book Club.

Danticat has also edited two anthologies: *The Beacon Best of 2000: Great Writing by Women and Men of All Colors and Cultures* and *The Butterfly's Way: Voices from the Haitian Diaspora* (2001), a collection of writings by Haitians living in the United States. Other publications include a book on Carnival in Haiti, *After the Dance: A Walk Through Carnival in Jacmel, Haiti* (2002); a children's story, *Behind the Mountains* (2003); her third novel, *The Dew Breaker* (2004); and a historical young-adult novel, *Anacoana* (2005).

Danticat's books have been translated into French, Spanish, German, and Dutch, and in 1999 she received the Prix Carbet (a coveted French Caribbean literary prize) for *La Récolte douce des larmes,* the French translation of *The Farming of Bones.* Because she writes in English, it took some time for her to find acceptance among Haitian writers living in Haiti. However, they have come to recognize her as a "go-between" and the most talented writer of the young generation.

Danticat is also very committed to the Haitian community, both in Haiti and the United States. She collects books for Haitian schools and visits the special sections of American schools to which Haitian migrant children are often relegated.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of Haiti; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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MARIE-JOSÉ N'ZENGOU-TAYO (2005)

Dash, Julie

October 22, 1952

The filmmaker Julie Dash was born and raised in New York City. She began studying film as a teenager in 1969 at the Studio Museum of Harlem. After receiving a B.A. in film production from the City College of New York, Dash moved to Los Angeles to attend the Center for Advanced Film Studies at the American Film Institute (she is the youngest person ever to receive a fellowship to attend this institution). She later did graduate work at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Dash's films are sensitive, complex portrayals of the dilemmas confronting a diverse group of black women. While at the American Film Institute, she directed *Four Women*, an experimental dance film inspired by the Nina Simone song of the same title. The film won the 1977 Golden Medal for Women in Film at the Miami International Film Festival. In addition, she directed *Diary of an African Nun,* based on a short story by Alice Walker, during her time at the institute. This film was the 1977 winner of the Director's Guild Award. Her 1983 black-and-white short Illusions, the story of a fair-skinned black female film executive set in 1942, was nominated for a Cable ACE Award in art direction and is permanently archived at Indiana University and at Clark College in Atlanta.

In 1986 Dash relocated to Atlanta from Los Angeles and began work on *Daughters of the Dust*. Generally regarded as the first feature-length film by an African-American woman, *Daughters of the Dust* opened in 1992 to critical acclaim. Its nonlinear narrative, focusing on the Gullah culture of the South Carolina Sea Islands, centers on the lives of African-American women. They are the bearers of the culture, tellers of the tales, and most important, spectators for whom she created the film. Dash's approach to filmmaking has been "to show black women at pivotal moments in their lives . . .[to] focus on and depict experiences that have never been shown on screen before."

Dash then moved to London to collaborate on a screenplay with Maureen Blackwood, a founding member of Sankofa Film and Video, a collective of young black British filmmakers. She also began work on a series of films depicting black women in the United States from the turn of the twentieth century to the year 2000. In 2002, Dash directed the highly acclaimed television movie *The Rosa Parks Story*, about the woman credited with spawning the modern civil rights movement. The movie was nominated for Black Reel and Directors Guild of America awards.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary

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FARAH JASMINE GRIFFIN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

da Silva, Benedita

c. 1943

Benedita da Silva was born in the *favela* (shantytown) Praia do Pinto in the barrio of Leblon in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She moved with her family a few months later to another favela, Chapéu Mangueira, situated on a hill overlooking Copacabana Beach. Her adopted father, José Tobias de Sousa, worked in construction, and her mother, Maria da Conceiçao de Sousa, washed clothes. The de Sousas had thirteen children, only eight of whom survived infancy, and Benedita was the only one who learned how to read and write. Because the family lived in poverty, Benedita was forced to earn money starting at age seven. She shined shoes, sold candies in the streets, and worked as a live-in maid, as a school janitor, and in a leather factory. In her thirties, she worked as a clerk in the Department of Transportation of Rio de Janeiro and supplemented her income as a nurse's aid at the Miguel Couto Hospital. In 1980 Benedita earned her high school degree, and only a year later she graduated from the State University of Rio with a degree in social work.

Benedita married three times. She married her first husband, Nilton Aldano da Silva, at age sixteen; he was ten years older than her. The couple had four children, two of whom died within days of their birth. After Nilton's death in 1981, she married Aguinaldo Bezerra dos Santos, a community leader in Chapéu Mangueira. In 1988, however, Aguinaldo died suddenly. Benedita married again in October 1993. Her third husband was Antônio Pitanga, a popular actor and city councilor in Rio de Janeiro.

Benedita's experiences as a black child, a wife, and a mother shaped her political activism. Elected president of the community association for Chapeu Mangueira in 1978, she was the first female to hold the position. Influenced by the ideas of liberation theology and the progressive ideas of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, she became a vigorous proponent of educational opportunity for all Brazilians. During her political career, Benedita has led efforts to assure that domestic workers receive a minimum wage, to make gender discrimination illegal, to end mass sterilization of women, to defend female prisoners from violent abuse, to provide access tohealthcare, and to protect the reproductive rights of women.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, U.S. civil rights leader, campaigns with Rio de Janeiro state Governor Benedita da Silva in Rio, 2002. *Da Silva, an international spokeswoman for women's and human rights who helped found Brazil's Workers Party in 1980, became the first black female senator in the history of Brazil in 1994. She was defeated in the 2002 gubernatorial elections.* © REUTERS/CORBIS

In 1980 Benedita helped found the Workers Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*). Two years later, campaigning with the slogan "I am [proud to be] black, a woman, and from the favela," she was elected to the City Council of Rio de Janeiro, the first black woman to attain this position in the history of Brazil. This success was followed by a series of stunning electoral victories as a representative of the state of Rio de Janeiro. In 1986, she was elected to the Federal Chamber of Deputies, and she was re-elected in 1990. Four years later she won election as Brazil's first black female senator. Then, in 1998, she became vice-governor (deputy governor) of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

When Governor Anthony Garotinho ran for the presidency of Brazil in March 2002, Benedita took up the governorship. Although she was defeated in the gubernatorial election of October 2002, she was soon after appointed

Minister of Social Welfare by Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. She headed this ministry until January 2004. Since her resignation, Benedita has spoken on behalf of women's rights and human rights around the world. In February 2005, she visited Atlanta, Georgia, to establish the Benedita da Silva Foundation in that city. The foundation seeks improve social conditions and increase educational opportunities for Afro-Brazilians, particularly women marginalized children, and the poor.

In a nation that has been portrayed as a "racial democracy," Benedita's career has vividly shown the harsh struggles faced by Afro-Brazilians. Although she has endured racist slander and discrimination, she has been unceasing in her defense of the rights of Afro-Brazilians (estimated to number more than half of Brazil's 186 million inhabitants), women, and native people (estimated at 734,000 in the 2000 census). Benedita's extraordinary journey and contributions are a testament to her determination to survive and succeed in spite of the desperate circumstances into which she was born.

See also Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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DALE TORSTON GRADEN (2005)

das Neves, Eduardo

1874
1919

The musician Eduardo Sebastião das Neves was born in 1874, most likely in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, the same city in which he died in 1919. Of African descent, he was by his own definition a *crioulo,* an antiquated term used to refer to Brazilian-born blacks. The word may carry strongly racist meanings, but, as in the case of das Neves, was also appropriated by blacks, similar to the multiple contemporary uses of *nigger* in English. He became a famous singer and a famous guitar player just after the abolition of slavery in 1888. He sang numerous musical styles, including *lundu*, *modinha*, *marcha*, *seresta*, *samba*, *valsa*, and *maxixe*, performing on stages in Rio de Janeiro and throughout Brazil. Turn-of-the-century newspaper accounts describe das Neves as squandering his earnings, and he died poor, but he enraptured crowds with his guitar.

The lyrics of his song "O Crioulo," written in Rio de Janeiro in 1900, present a kind of autobiography and reveal the confidence that das Neves had in his own abilities. The song begins by declaring his superior knowledge of the guitar, which he claimed to have possessed from his earliest days and maintained as he learned and grew, even while mixing in mischief. His success was such, the song continues, that when he picked up a musical instrument, "all the little brown girls loved watching the *crioulo* play his music" (das Neves, 1926, p. 64).

Until 1902, when he was discovered by Casa Edison—an influential purchaser and vendor of sheet music and records—the "Crioulo Dudu," as he like to be called, shared the hard life of the city's thousands of other poor workers. In 1892 he served in the National Guard, achieving the title of captain and defending President Floriano Peixoto during an uprising in 1893. Soon afterwards, he joined the fire department, but he was fired after various reprimands for insubordination. At the age of twenty-one, he worked as a brakeman on the railways. In "O Crioulo," he explains that he left the rails after a strike because his boss "did not like his *ginga,*" a kind of strut, which also implies here attitude (das Neves, 1926, p. 64). Beginning in 1895, he dedicated himself completely to his guitar and public performances.

With the popular publishing company Editora Quaresma, das Neves published four books of songs, many of which appear to have been written by him. He selected others from various regional and slave traditions in Brazil. In the preface of one book, *O Trovador da Malandragem* (1902), with songs produced between 1889 and 1902, he complained that other artists often used his work without recognizing his contributions. As he made clear, his songs were "sung by everyone everywhere, from fancy parlors to street corners, at all hours of the night" (das Neves, 1926, p. 3).

Among the often humorous and irreverent verses sung and written by das Neves, many deal with daily problems in Rio de Janeiro (e.g., urban reform, the rising cost of public transportation, mandatory vaccinations, hunger, squalid living conditions, taxes, street fighting), celebrations of the nation (e.g., an anthem written to Santos Dumont, the hero of Brazilian aviation, and other public figures), and satires about noble figures (especially barons and bishops) and social practices (such as festivals and patronage relationships). Some deal directly with race rela-

tions and challenge what were then widely-held racist theories suggesting the inferiority of black and mixed-race Brazilians. There are also tales of romance with *iaiás* (a word used during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to refer to wives and daughters of slaveholders), encounters with women, and descriptions of flashy, self-styled *crioulos* and various black figures from the times of slavery. From the serious to the whimsical, the musical genres that das Neves played were not just produced and played by Afro-Brazilians, but instead were composed and performed by numerous writers and artists and disseminated in theaters, circuses, and cafés.

However, by identifying the value of nonwhites in his work, das Neves made manifest the important role that musical production played for Afro-Brazilians who were fighting racial oppression and attempting to realize their dreams during a period of low literacy rates and levels of education. However limited, the rise and recognition of the "Crioulo Dudu" in Brazilian music—which grew steadily during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—reveals a strategy employed by Afro-Brazilians to assert themselves in a nation not inclined to accept them.

See also Music in Latin America; Samba

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MARTHA ABREU (2005)

Davis, Allison

October 14, 1902
November 21, 1983

The educator William Allison Davis was born in Washington, D.C., and attended Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, graduating in 1924. The following year he received an M.A. in English from Harvard University. Soon after, he switched his focus to anthropology; he received an M.A. in anthropology from Harvard in 1932. From 1933 to 1935 he was a field researcher for social anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner, studying class/caste relations in a southern town. The project ultimately resulted in the well-known study *Deep South* (1941). In 1935 Davis was hired as professor of anthropology at Dillard University in New Orleans, and in 1939, after a brief period at Yale University, he moved on to the University of Chicago, where he was named an assistant professor by the university's Center for Child Development. Soon after, Davis and his colleague John Dollard collaborated on *The Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South* (1940), a study of the destructive psychological effects of segregation on southern black children. In 1942 Davis received his Ph.D. in education from the University of Chicago and was named an assistant professor of education. Over the following years he did exhaustive research on racial bias in intelligence testing, and in 1948 he published his most notable book, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning,* in which he argued that black children's lower scores on IQ tests were not based on their lower intelligence, but resulted from middle-class cultural bias in the questions posed.

In 1948 Davis was granted tenure and promoted to full professor at the University of Chicago, the first African American to hold such a position at a major integrated university. During the next twenty years, he continued his work in psychology and education. He devised the Davis-Ellis intelligence test, a relatively bias-free measure of mental development, and wrote several important studies of the influence of social and class factors in the education of children, including *Psychology of the Child in the Middle Class* (1960) and *Compensatory Education for Cultural Development* (1964), as well as numerous articles in professional journals.

Davis received many tributes for his work. He was the first scholar from the field of education elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1965 he was elected a Distinguished Professor at the University of Illinois. In 1966 he was appointed the President's Commission on Civil Rights, and in 1968 served as vice-chair of the U.S. Labor Department's Commission on Manpower Retraining. In 1970 he became the University of Chicago's first John Dewey Distinguished Service Professor.

Davis retired from teaching in 1978 and was named professor emeritus. He devoted his last years to writing *Leadership, Love, and Aggression* (1983), a study of the psychological forces governing four African Americans—Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Richard Wright—and the role of anger and love in their leadership efforts. In November

1983, shortly after the book was published, Davis died following heart surgery. In 1993 the U.S. Postal Service honored him with a postage stamp.

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Davis, Angela

January 26, 1944

Political activist Angela Yvonne Davis lived in a section of Birmingham, Alabama, known as "Dynamite Hill" because of the violent attacks by white night riders intent on maintaining the residential demarcation line between blacks and whites. Both of her parents were educators, worked actively for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and taught their children not to accept the socially segregated society that existed at the time. She attended Brandeis University, where she was influenced by the teachings of Marxist philosopher Herbert Marcuse. After graduating in 1961, she spent two years in Europe, where she was exposed to student political radicals. Her own radicalism, however, came into focus with the murder in 1963 of four young black Sunday school children in a Birmingham, Alabama, church bombing. In California, where she went to pursue graduate study with Marcuse (who was now at the University of California at San Diego), Davis began working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Panthers, and the Communist Party, of which she became a member in 1968.

Hired in 1969 by UCLA to teach philosophy, Davis not long after was fired by the board of regents and then-governor Ronald Reagan because of her Communist Party affiliation. Ultimately, her case went to the Supreme Court, which overturned the dismissal. By that time, however, Davis herself was in hiding as a result of an incident at the Soledad state prison. In August 1970 George Jackson, a prisoner and member of the Black Panthers, assisted by his brother Jonathan, attempted to escape using smuggled guns. Both brothers were killed and some of the guns were traced to Davis. Fearful for her safety and distrustful of the judicial system, Davis went underground. For two months she was on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list before being apprehended and incarcerated. She remained in jail for sixteen months before being tried for murder and conspiracy. In June 1972 she was acquitted of all charges against her.

Davis resumed her academic career at San Francisco State University and again became politically active, running as the Communist Party candidate for vice president in 1980 and 1984. In 1991 she joined the faculty of the University of California, Santa Cruz, as professor of the history of consciousness. She left the Communist Party in 1991 but remained politically active. In 1995 she was a prominent feminist critic of the Million Man March. She is the author of several books, including *If They Come in the Morning* (1971), *Women, Race, and Class* (1983), *Women, Culture, and Politics* (1989), and *Blues Legends and Black Feminism* (1998). In 2003, Davis took a searing look at the prison system in her work, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Her autobiography, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography,* originally published in 1974, was reissued in 1988.

See also Black Panther Party for Self Defense; Communist Party of the United States

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Davis, Benjamin O., Jr.

December 18, 1912
July 4, 2002

Benjamin Oliver Davis Jr., son of the first African-American general in the U.S. Army, had a long and distinguished career of his own in the U.S. Air Force. Following his long military service, he spent a number of years working as an important administrator in the Department of Transportation.

The younger Davis was born in Washington, D.C., and he spent many of his early years watching or participating in his father's military activities. In the 1920s he lived with his parents and attended school in Tuskegee, Alabama, and Cleveland, Ohio. One of his most vivid mem-

ories from those days involved his father facing down a Ku Klux Klan march while the family lived at Tuskegee. As an adolescent, Davis Jr. was an excellent scholar and displayed leadership qualities. He was one of the few African-American students at Central High School in Cleveland and was elected president of his graduating class. He attended college at Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio) and the University of Chicago, but then decided on a military career. Despite the handicaps that had faced his father, he felt that it was a profession where he could advance on his merits. In 1932 his father asked the assistance of Oscar DePriest, a congressman from Illinois, who nominated Davis Jr. to the United States Military Academy. He subsequently passed the entrance examination and entered West Point in 1932.

Life at the military academy had change little since the last African American had graduated in the 1880s. The presence of blacks was resented, and almost all the cadets ignored Davis. The only time he had any companionship was when he was allowed to leave West Point. During his years at the academy he began to develop an interest in flying, an area the Army had closed to African Americans. When he graduated in 1936, ranking thirty-fifth in a class of 276, he requested assignment to the Army Air Corps. The Army refused because there were no African-American flying units and they would not assign a black officer to a white unit. During the next few years he performed a variety of duties, similar to those of his father. In 1938 he received an appointment as professor of military science at Tuskegee Institute. Two years later he was detached to work as an aide to his father, who was then commanding the 2nd Cavalry Brigade at Fort Riley, Kansas.

His interest in flying never waned, and in 1941 he received his opportunity. Bowing to pressure, the army decided to allow African Americans into the Army Air Corps, established a flight-training program at Tuskegee Institute, and ordered Davis to command the first class. After he graduated in 1942, he was rapidly promoted to the rank of major and given command of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, the first African-American air unit. In April 1943 the unit was transferred to North Africa, and in June it flew its first combat mission. Most of the ensuing missions were rather routine, but not everyone was persuaded of their effectiveness. A number of white officers were convinced that no African-American air unit could ever measure up to the quality of the white units.

Later in the year Davis was ordered back to the United States and assigned command of the 332nd Fighter Group, a larger all-black flying unit. More important, he was able to answer the many questions that army staff officers posed about the effectiveness of the 99th Squadron. Enough of these officers were convinced to the extent that they decided to continue the African-American flying program and transferred the 332nd to the Italian theater. During the last year of the war, Davis was promoted to the rank of colonel, flew sixty combat missions (mainly escorting bombers) and received several awards, including the Distinguished Flying Cross. At the end of the war he returned to the United States and was placed in command of the 477th Composite Group. Among the problems he had to face in his new assignment were segregated base facilities, poor morale, and continued evidence of the detrimental impact of segregation.

During the next few years Davis continued to deal with those problems while advocating an end to segregation. When President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948, ending racial discrimination in the armed forces, Davis became a key officer in the Air Force. He helped draft desegregation plans and put them into practice at Lockbourne Air Base. Subsequently he was assigned to the new Air War College. During the Korean War he served at the Pentagon as deputy for operations in the Fighter Branch. Later he was given a variety of command assignments throughout the world, including Formosa, Germany, and the Philippines. In 1965 he was promoted to lieutenant general, the first African American to reach that rank. He retired from the Air Force in 1970.

During the following years he served in a variety of positions within civilian government. For several months in 1970 he was director of public safety in Cleveland, Ohio, but found he could not work well with Mayor Carl Stokes. Adapting to the world of urban politics proved to be quite difficult for a man who had spent the previous thirty years in the military. In June 1970, Davis became a member of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. From 1970 to 1975 he served as an administrator in the Department of Transportation. As assistant secretary of transportation, he headed the federal programs developed to deal with air hijacking and highway safety. In 1978 he became a member of the Battle Monuments Commission, a position his father had held twenty-five years earlier. During the next few years he remained busy with a variety of activities, including programs designed to tell people about the role of African Americans in aviation, and the writing of his autobiography, which was eventually published in 1991. In 1998 he was awarded an honorary promotion to the rank of general.

Davis died of complications from Alzheimer's disease on July 4, 2002.

See also Military Experience, African-American

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MARVIN E. FLETCHER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Davis, Miles

May 26, 1926
September 28, 1991

One of the most influential musicians in America in the 1950s and 1960s, jazz trumpeter and composer Miles Davis was a restlessly innovative performer, a central figure in several post-bebop jazz styles, including cool, hard-bop, modal, fusion, and electric jazz. Born in Alton, Illinois, Miles Dewey Davis III grew up in East St. Louis. His mother was a classically trained pianist and violinist. Davis received his first trumpet at the age of thirteen from his father, a successful dentist. In high school he studied with Elwood Buchanan, and trumpeter Clark Terry also served as a mentor. Davis began playing dates in the St. Louis area in his mid-teens, and in 1943 and 1944 he played with Eddie Randle's Rhumboogie Orchestra. He also performed with Adam Lambert's Six Brown Cats in Chicago and with Billy Eckstine in St. Louis before moving to New York in 1944. Davis's ostensible reason for going to New York was to study at the Juilliard School, but he gained his real education in the jazz clubs of Harlem and Fifty-second Street.

Once in New York, Davis began associating with the young musicians beginning to popularize bebop. He made his first recordings in 1945 with vocalist Rubberlegs Williams. Later that year he recorded with alto saxophonist Charlie Parker ("Billie's Bounce," "Now's the Time"). Parker became Davis's mentor and roommate, and over the next few years the two made many important and influential bebop recordings, including "Yardbird Suite," "Ornithology," "A Night in Tunisia," "Donna Lee," "Chasin' the Bird," and "Parker's Mood." On these recordings Davis distinguished himself by his intimate tone and sparse, hesitant style of improvisation. During this time Davis was a fixture on Fifty-second Street, performing and recording with pianist Tadd Dameron, pianists Bud Powell and Thelonious Monk, vocalist Billy Eckstine, and saxophonist Coleman Hawkins. He first recorded as a band leader in

Miles Davis (1926–1991), New York City, 1986. *Davis was one of the most innovative musicians of the twentieth century, standing at the forefront of a number of modern jazz movements.* PHOTOGRAPH BY JON SIMON. CORBIS/BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1947 ("Milestones" and "Half Nelson," with Parker on tenor saxophone), and the next year he left Parker to form an experimental nine-piece group in collaboration with arranger Gil Evans. The ensemble, which included a French horn and tuba and featured advanced harmonies and unusual compositional forms, was short-lived, performing at the Royal Roost nightclub for only two weeks. Nonetheless, its recordings from 1949–1950 ("Move," "Venus de Milo," "Boplicity," and "Israel") spawned the cool jazz movement of the 1950s and became particularly popular upon their 1954 re-release in LP form as *The Birth of the Cool.*

Despite a period of heroin addiction from 1949 to 1953, Davis continued to perform and record in a cool style, often with saxophonist Sonny Rollins ("Morpheus," "Dig," "The Serpent's Tooth," "Tune Up," and "Miles Ahead"). His career took another leap forward with the 1954 recording of "Walkin'." That recording, with its more extroverted approach, inaugurated hard bop, a rugged and bluesier version of bebop. In 1955 Davis formed his first significant quintet, including tenor saxophonist

John Coltrane, bassist Paul Chambers, pianist Red Garland, and drummer Philly Joe Jones. They recorded the landmark *Round About Midnight* (1955) and performed and recorded until 1957, when Davis added alto saxophonist Cannonball Adderley to the group. In 1957 Davis went to France to record the soundtrack for Louis Malle's film *Elevator to the Gallows*. Back in the United States the next year, Davis recorded *Milestones,* which introduced the concept of modal jazz, in which modes or scales, as opposed to chord changes, determine a song's harmonies. In 1959 Davis recorded perhaps his greatest record, *Kind of Blue,* which included the modal compositions "So What," "All Blues," and "Freddie Freeloader," with an ensemble that included drummer Jimmy Cobb and pianists Wynton Kelly and Bill Evans. In the late 1950s Davis also renewed his association with arranger Gil Evans. They produced three acclaimed orchestral works, *Miles Ahead* (1957), *Porgy and Bess* (1958), and *Sketches of Spain* (1959–1960). During this time Davis achieved his mature instrumental style, delicate and tentative on ballads, boldly lyrical on up-tempo numbers.

Davis's trumpet style resembled, in a famous description, "a man walking on eggshells," but he was often belligerent and profane, on stage and off. He refused to announce titles, walked off the stage when sidemen soloed, and rarely acknowledged applause. Nonetheless, he openly demanded the respect he felt was appropriate to jazz musicians. During the 1950s Davis also became an internationally known public figure noted for his immaculate attire, his interest in sports cars, and for taking up boxing as a hobby.

In 1960 Adderley and Coltrane left the ensemble, which underwent a number of personnel shifts until 1963, when Davis hired pianist Herbie Hancock, bassist Ron Carter, and drummer Tony Williams. With saxophonist Wayne Shorter's arrival the next year, Davis began featuring churning, lengthy improvisations built around Shorter's quirky compositions (*E.S.P.,* 1965; *Miles Smiles,* 1966).

During the late 1960s Davis became disenchanted with the poor reception his music found among black audiences, and he began to search for a new, more commercially appealing style. He found inspiration in the funk rhythms of James Brown and Sly Stone, as well as in Karlheinz Stockhausen's vast electric-mystic soundscapes. Davis added Keith Jarrett and Chick Corea on electric pianos and John McLaughlin on electric guitar to his regular ensemble and recorded *In a Silent Way* (1969) and the best-selling *Bitches Brew* (1969), albums that introduced the style that has become known as jazz-rock or "fusion," using loud rock instruments and funk rhythms to accompany extended solo and group improvisations. Davis continued in this vein on *Big Fun* (1969), *Live-Evil* (1970), *On the Corner* (1972), *Agharta* (1975) and *Pangea* (1975). Although Davis gained many fans of rock music, jazz fans were perplexed and unsympathetic. Health problems due to drug abuse and a 1972 car accident convinced Davis to retire in 1975.

In 1980 Davis returned to music, but to the disappointment of many of his fans he continued using popular forms of electric instruments. In his best performances Davis still communicated with the intensity and fire he had in the 1950s, but his recordings, including *The Man with the Horn* (1981), *Star People* (1982), *Tutu* (1986), and *Amandla* (1989), were largely panned by critics, who were particularly harsh on his undistinguished accompanists. Davis, who lived in New York and Malibu, continued to perform and record in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1982 Davis married his third wife, the actress Cicely Tyson; they were divorced in 1989.

Davis published an outspoken memoir, *Miles, the Autobiography,* in 1989. After many years of battling alcoholism, drug addiction, and circulatory and respiratory ailments, Davis died in 1991 in New York.

See also Brown, James; Coltrane, John; Eckstine, Billy; Hancock, Herbie; Jazz; Parker, Charlie; Monk, Thelonious Sphere

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WILLIAM S. COLE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Davis, Ossie

December 18, 1917
February 4, 2005

Actor and playwright Ossie Davis was born in Cogdell, Georgia, to Kince Charles Davis, a railroad construction

worker, and Laura Cooper Davis. After finishing high school in Waycross, Georgia, he hitchhiked north and attended Howard University. In 1937 Davis left Howard and went to New York City, where he worked at odd jobs before joining Harlem's Rose McClendon Players in 1939.

Davis was drafted into the army in 1942, and after his discharge in 1945 he again pursued his acting career. In 1946 he successfully auditioned for Robert Ardrey's *Jeb,* in which he starred opposite actress Ruby Dee. Davis and Dee were married in 1948.

In 1953 Davis wrote *Alice in Wonder,* a one-act play produced in Harlem that dealt with the politics of the McCarthy era. Blacklisted for left-wing associations, Davis and Dee supported themselves by staging readings at colleges. In 1955 Davis starred in a television production of Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones,* and two years later appeared on Broadway opposite Lena Horne in *Jamaica!*

In the 1960s Davis achieved broad success in the performing arts. In 1960 he replaced Sidney Poitier and appeared with Ruby Dee in Lorraine Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun*. The following year, his play *Purlie Victorious,* a satire on southern racism, opened on Broadway to an enthusiastic response. Davis also wrote and starred in the film version of *Purlie Victorious,* entitled *Gone Are the Days* (1963). He appeared in several other films during this period, including *The Cardinal* (1963), *The Hill* (1964), *The Scalphunters* (1968), and *Slaves* (1969). He also appeared on several television shows, wrote an episode for the popular series *East Side/West Side,* and narrated National Education Television's *History of the Negro People* (1965). In 1969 Davis was nominated for an Emmy award for his performance in the Hallmark Hall of Fame special *Teacher, Teacher*. That same year Davis directed, cowrote, and acted in the film *Cotton Comes to Harlem,* based on a novel by Chester Himes.

During these years, Davis continued his political activities. In 1962 he testified before Congress on racial discrimination in the theater and joined the advisory board of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The following year he wrote a skit for the 1963 March on Washington, and in 1965 he delivered a eulogy at the funeral of his friend, Malcolm X. In 1972 he served as chairman of the Angela Davis Defense Fund. While Davis has strong affinities with black nationalism, he has nonetheless rejected black racism and separatism.

Through the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, Davis continued his performing career, notably in a radio series, the *Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Hour* (1974–1976); in the public television series *With Ossie and Ruby* (1981); in the role of Martin Luther King, Sr., in Abby Mann's television miniseries *King* (1977); and in the Spike Lee films *Do the Right Thing* (1989), *Jungle Fever* (1991), and *I'm Not Rappaport* (1996). Throughout the early 1990s, he was a semiregular on the television series *Evening Shade*. Davis also has written several children's books, which include plays based on the lives of Frederick Douglass and Langston Hughes, and a novel, *Just Like Martin* (1992), about a southern boy, inspired by the life of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1998 Davis celebrated his fiftieth wedding anniversary with Ruby Dee by publishing a joint memoir, *With Ossie and Ruby Dee: In This Life Together*. His play *A Last Dance for Sybil* was produced off-Broadway in 2002. Davis continues to take on roles in films and television shows, including episodes of such series as *JAG, Third Watch,* and *Touched by an Angel.*

In December 2004 the Kennedy Center honored Davis with a lifetime achievement award. Davis died at age eighty-seven on February 4, 2005.

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Hansberry, Lorraine; Himes, Chester; Lee, Spike; Malcolm X; Poitier, Sidney

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Davis, Sammy, Jr.

December 8, 1925
May 19, 1990

Singer, dancer, and actor Sammy Davis Jr. was born in Harlem in New York and began performing with his father, a vaudeville entertainer, before his fourth birthday. Davis made his first film, *Rufus Jones for President* (1933) when he was eight years old. By the time he was fifteen, he had traveled widely throughout the United States as a full partner in the Will Mastin Trio, comprised of Davis, his father, and Davis's adopted "uncle" Will Mastin. Although they often played at white venues, the trio was compelled to eat and room at Negro establishments; yet Davis, who had received an informal education at the

hands of family and friends, was unprepared for the virulent racism he encountered upon joining the army in 1943. During his tenure in the military, he produced and performed in shows with other service personnel, including the singer and songwriter George M. Cohan, Jr.

Following World War II Davis returned to the Will Mastin Trio. The group played to segregated audiences and, despite their rising popularity, were forbidden to sleep or socialize in the hotels and casinos where they worked. Davis began recording songs for Capitol Records in 1946; one of his first cuts, "The Way You Look Tonight," was named Metronome's Record of the Year. An extremely versatile performer, adept at tap dancing, singing, impersonations, and comic and serious acting, he received his first big break when Frank Sinatra asked the trio to open for his show at Manhattan's Capitol Theater. Davis went on to perform at Slapsie Maxie's and Ciro's in Los Angeles and at the Copacabana in New York, in addition to appearing on *The Ed Sullivan Show* and Eddie Cantor's *The Colgate Comedy Hour*.

In November 1954 Davis, who had become a celebrity with white and black audiences alike, was involved in a near-fatal car accident while driving from Las Vegas to Los Angeles. He lost his left eye and was hospitalized for several months; during this time, he was visited by a rabbi, who urged him to reflect on the consequences of the accident and the meaning of his previous actions. After a period of intense study, Davis, who claimed to have found an "affinity" between blacks and Jews as oppressed peoples, converted to Judaism.

Davis's popularity was much enhanced by his brush with death. He performed in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles before taking the lead role in *Mr. Wonderful,* a musical comedy that opened on Broadway in 1956. Two years later Davis, who had been nicknamed "Mr. Wonderful" after the Broadway show, was featured in a serious dramatic role in the movie *Anna Lucasta*. In the 1959 film version of *Porgy and Bess,* Davis gave a memorable performance as the character Sportin' Life. That year, he married Loray White, an African-American dancer whom he later left for the Swedish actress Mai Britt. Davis's interracial romance with Britt was highly publicized, and the couple married in 1960.

Davis is perhaps best known for the films he made during the 1960s, when he worked and socialized with the "Rat Pack," a group of Hollywood actors that included Sinatra, Dean Martin, Peter Lawford, and Joey Bishop, who were featured, along with Davis, in such films as *Oceans Eleven* (1960), *Sergeants Three* (1962), *Robin and the Seven Hoods* (1964), *Salt and Pepper* (1968), and *One More Time* (1970). Davis also appeared in such films as

Sammy Davis Jr. on a speaker's platform at Wrigley Field with Martin Luther King Jr. May 28, 1963. *Striking a Napoleonic pose, Davis was among 35,000 in attendance at the freedom meeting in Chicago. The popular entertainer was awarded a Spingarn Medal by the NAACP in 1968 for his work to promote civil rights.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

Johnny Cool (1963), *A Man Called Adam* (1966), *Sweet Charity* (1969), and the German remake of *The Threepenny Opera* (1964), in which he sang "Mack the Knife." In addition, he continued to perform in clubs and on Broadway, where he was praised for his rendering of the title character in *Golden Boy,* Clifford Odets's play about an African-American boxer struggling to free himself from the constrictions of ghetto life. Davis appeared on television in numerous comic and guest-artist roles, as well as in serious dramatic series like the *Dick Powell Theatre* and *General Electric Theater*. In 1966 he hosted a television variety and talk show called *The Sammy Davis Jr. Show,* which ran for less than a year. He also continued to record albums and produced such hit songs as "Candy Man," "Hey There," "Mr. Bojangles," and "The Lady Is a Tramp."

Throughout the 1960s Davis worked to promote civil rights and African-American/Jewish relations by giving benefit performances and substantial donations. His first autobiography, *Yes I Can,* was published in 1965; three years later, he was awarded the Spingarn Medal by the

NAACP for his work in civil rights. Davis's marriage to Mai Britt ended in 1968, and two years later, he married African-American actress Altovise Gore. In 1971 he was awarded an honorary doctorate of fine arts by Wilberforce University in Ohio. A controversy erupted the following year when Davis, a registered Democrat and supporter of left-wing causes, allowed himself to be photographed with President Richard Nixon at the 1972 Republican Convention; he publicly endorsed Nixon for a time but then renounced their affiliation in 1974.

During the early 1970s Davis, by then almost as well known for his extravagant spending habits and hard-drinking lifestyle as for his stage presence and vitality, began to experience liver and kidney problems, for which he was eventually hospitalized in 1974. However, he rebounded fairly quickly and was back onstage a few months later in a revue called *Sammy on Broadway*. From 1975 to 1977 he starred in the television show *Sammy and Company*. He performed regularly on the Las Vegas club circuit, and in 1979, became the first recipient of *Ebony* magazine's Lifetime Achievement Award.

Davis's second autobiography, *Hollywood in a Suitcase,* was published in 1980; throughout the decade he continued to appear, albeit less frequently, in films, on television, and onstage. In 1986 he received an honorary degree from Howard University. Two years later he embarked on a national tour with Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, and Liza Minnelli. Davis was featured in the movie *Taps* (1989), a tribute to showbiz entertainers, and published a third autobiographical work, *Why Me?* (1989), before dying of throat cancer in the spring of 1990.

See also Film; Tap Dance; Theatrical Dance

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JESSE RHINES (1996)
Updated bibliography

DeCarava, Roy

December 9, 1919

The photographer Roy DeCarava was born in New York's Harlem. He was raised by his mother and graduated with a major in art from the Straubenmuller Textile High School in 1938. While still in high school he worked as a sign painter and display artist and in the poster division of the Works Projects Administration (WPA) in New York City. In his senior year he won a competition to design a medal for the National Tuberculosis Association's high school essay contest and upon graduation received a scholarship for excellence in art.

Supporting himself as a commercial artist, DeCarava studied painting at Cooper Union with Byron Thomas and Morris Kantor from 1938 to 1940, and lithography and drawing at the Harlem Art Center from 1940 to 1942. He attended the George Washington Carver Art School in 1944 and 1945, studying painting with Charles White. In 1946 his serigraph won the print award at the Atlanta University Fifth Annual Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture (a national juried exhibition for black artists), and the following year he had a one-man show at the Serigraph Gallery in New York.

In 1946 DeCarava began to use photography as a way to sketch ideas for paintings, and by 1947 he had decided to concentrate exclusively on it. Although he lacked formal training, DeCarava approached photography as "just another medium that an artist would use"; he quickly established a distinctive style and chose a subject—the people of Harlem—that engaged him deeply and productively. Some of his strongest work dates from the late 1940s and early 1950s, including *Graduation* (1949) and *Gittel* (1950). His first photographic exhibition was in 1950 at New York's Forty-Fourth Street Gallery, and that year he sold three prints to the Museum of Modern Art. In 1952 DeCarava became the tenth photographer and among the earliest black artists to be awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. Continuing his work in Harlem during the fellowship year, DeCarava produced over 2,000 images; he wanted to show, he said, "[African Americans'] beauty and the image that we presented in our being." In 1955 four of his photographs appeared in the Museum of Modern Art's famous *Family of Man* exhibition and best-selling book. In the same year, 141 photographs were published with a text by Langston Hughes in their much-acclaimed classic *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (1955), a tale of everyday events in the lives of a fictional yet representative Harlem family.

DeCarava formed his style at a time in photographic history when the social documentary ethos of the 1930s

Photographer Roy DeCarava. *DeCarava, best known for his deeply evocative images of the African-American experience in Harlem, poses at his Brooklyn home.* PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIN CABRERA. AP/ WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

Roy DeCarava, 1940. *An art student at Cooper Union, DeCarava poses with one of his prize-winning designs.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

was giving way to a more formalist aesthetic, which especially appreciated a photographer's manipulation of the unique qualities of the medium. He was influenced by the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson, whose theory of the "decisive moment" credits formal organization equally with factual content in conveying essential meaning in a photograph. Like Cartier-Bresson, DeCarava uses a small camera, avoids contrived settings, often shooting in the street, and achieves important, often metaphorical, effects through composition, as in *Sun and Shade* (1952) and *Boy Playing, Man Walking* (1966). Indeed, DeCarava has taken pains throughout his career to foster interpretations that see more in his style than literal and programmatic documentary. His titles are always brief and uninflected, and he insists that his work is not political and that "the definition of truth is a personal one." Dismayed that so few galleries showed photography as a fine art, DeCarava operated the Photographer's Gallery from 1954 to 1956, exhibiting work by such artists as Berenice Abbott, Harry Callahan, and Minor White.

DeCarava felt keenly that black people were not seen as "worthy subject matter" for art; he was determined that African Americans be portrayed in ways that were "serious," "artistic," and "human." His dual commitment—to content representing the beauty and diversity of the African-American experience and to full formal mastery of his medium—has deeply influenced younger photographers, who have seen him as the first to develop the black aesthetic in photography. From 1963 to 1966, he directed the Kamoinge Workshop for black photographers and chaired the Committee to End Discrimination against Black Photographers of the American Society of Magazine Photographers. In 1968 DeCarava picketed the Metropolitan Museum of Art's controversial *Harlem on My Mind* exhibition, protesting its emphasis on documentary, rather than artistic, representation of the Harlem community. In 1972 DeCarava received the Benin Award for contributions to the black community.

DeCarava's work was included in six group shows at the Museum of Modern Art during the 1950s and 1960s, and he had a one-man show at the Studio Museum in Harlem in 1969. In 1958 he gave up commercial art to support himself as a freelance photographer for magazines, advertising agencies, museums, and nonprofit organizations. From 1968 to 1975, DeCarava was a contract photographer for *Sports Illustrated* magazine, and in 1975 he was appointed associate professor of art at Hunter Col-

lege, attaining the rank of City University distinguished professor in 1989.

DeCarava's impressive exhibition record continued in the 1970s and 1980s with solo shows at the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Museum of Modern Art in Sweden. *The Sound I Saw,* an exhibition of 100 jazz photographs at the Studio Museum in Harlem, was accompanied by a publication of the same title (1983). In 1982, the Friends of Photography published *Roy DeCarava: Photographs,* a major monograph with eighty-two pictures.

In the course of his career DeCarava has traveled and photographed in Paris, London, Stockholm, and Bangkok. His developing interest in abstraction has suggested to some critics that he feels an increasing emotional detachment from his subjects. Most viewers, however, have appreciated the artist's occasional experiment with blur or soft focus in later work as evidence of his ongoing creative exploration of his medium.

A retrospective of DeCarava's works was held at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1996. More recent photographs were exhibited in a commercial gallery showing at Ariel Meyerowitz (New York City) in 2004.

See also Art; Harlem, New York; Photography, U.S.

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MAREN STANGE (1996)
Updated bibliography

December, William

See Williams, Billy Dee (December, William)

Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence is the formal statement of independence from Britain made by the Continental Congress through which the thirteen American colonies became the United States of America. It was passed and signed well over a year after the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. The patriot leadership had initially insisted that they were fighting for the redress of grievances and that they sought reconciliation with Britain. Thomas Jefferson and George Washington claimed that they did not consider independence until well into 1775. In addition, several colonies specifically instructed their delegates not to consent to independence in the closing months of 1775 and the beginning of 1776. However, independence soon became a practical necessity, both in order to give the state governments official sanction to exercise authority and in order to permit the negotiation of treaties with foreign countries. The movement gained added momentum from popular outrage at British military tactics, including their use of slaves and mercenaries, and from the realization that there was no chance of mediation by King George III. Thomas Paine articulated the most compelling case for independence in his widely read pamphlet, *Common Sense,* published in January 1776.

Richard Henry Lee proposed a series of resolutions for independence in the Continental Congress on June 7, 1776, stating that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." After four days of debate, Congress appointed a committee to draft a declaration consisting of members from the northern, middle, and southern colonies. The committee included John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Robert R. Livingston of New York, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut. They delegated the task of making the first draft to Jefferson and submitted to Congress on June 28: "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled." The motion for independence passed on July 2, with the single absten-

tion of New York. There followed a debate and amendments to Jefferson's draft, and the final draft, titled "The Unanimous Declaration of the 13 United States of America," was approved on July 4.

According to a later account by John Adams, the committee chose Thomas Jefferson to write the Declaration because he had a reputation for his literary skills and because he was from Virginia, which was the largest state in the union, with about a quarter of the total population. Jefferson's primary concern was to justify the reasons for declaring independence from Britain. The great body of the text is therefore a long litany of grievances, for which Jefferson personally blamed George III. This was because he wanted to establish that a state of tyranny existed to legitimate the rebellion: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of injuries & usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world."

The opening paragraphs of the Declaration are its most well-known section. It asserts the broader principles that Jefferson, as he asserted in a letter to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825, "intended to be an expression of the American mind and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit" (Ford, vol. 10, p. 343). The second paragraph most famously includes the assertion "that all men are created equal," it proclaims the doctrine of natural and inalienable rights that governments must protect, including "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and it states that government is based on the "consent of the governed." Although debate continues among historians about the source of the ideas contained in the Declaration, it is widely held that Jefferson was particularly indebted to the writings of John Locke. Indeed, there is such strong similarity with passages in Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* that Richard Henry Lee charged that Jefferson plagiarized from Locke. The Scottish Enlightenment thinkers Frances Hutcheson and Lord Kames also influenced Jefferson, together with the thought of English republicans and "Country" Whigs, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opposition writers and politicians like Lord Bolingbroke. Jefferson later recalled that he turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing the Declaration, since he did not consider it his role to invent new ideas altogether or to offer sentiments that had never been expressed before.

In the minds of modern readers, the lofty ideals of the document might seem at odds with the reality of social conditions at the time they were written. The claim "that all men are created equal" particularly seems at variance with the presence of slaves, who accounted for a fifth of the total population in 1776. Indeed, such sentiments appear hypocritical from the pen of one who was himself a tobacco planter and slave owner. While Jefferson denounced slavery throughout his life, historians disagree about his sincerity. He had included in the original draft of the Declaration a passage condemning George III for the slave trade, but this section was deleted at the behest of southern representatives in the Continental Congress. And he did exclude slavery in his draft of an ordinance for the Northwest Territories. As president of the United States, Jefferson played a major role in the abolition of the slave trade in 1808. Towards the end of his life, he wrote nothing was more certainly written in the book of fate than that slaves would eventually be free. However, he did not emancipate his own slaves, unlike George Washington. Furthermore, he was unable to conceive of a biracial society, believing that blacks and whites could not live under the same government. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), in which he condemned the slave trade, he wrote of his "suspicion" and "opinion" that blacks were mentally and physically inferior to whites. He proposed a gradual plan of emancipation but advocated that free blacks be resettled elsewhere.

Whatever Jefferson's intentions, his use of abstract universal principles in the Declaration of Independence has facilitated the demands of those seeking equality. Martin Luther King, Jr. described it as a promissory note to black people in his "I Have a Dream" speech. Nevertheless, the laudable ideals that it expresses did not prevent manifest inequalities, especially between the races. Slavery was abolished throughout much of the Caribbean and South America before it was officially outlawed by the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution in the United States.

See also Banneker, Benjamin; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Slavery and the Constitution; Thirteenth Amendment

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ANDREW JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY (2005)

Dee, Billy

See Williams, Billy Dee (December, William)

Dee, Ruby

October 27, 1924

Born Ruby Ann Wallace in Cleveland, Ohio, actress Ruby Dee and her family soon moved to New York City and settled in Harlem. After graduating from high school, Dee attended Hunter College, and from 1941 to 1944 she prepared for a stage career at the American Negro Theater. In 1943 she made her Broadway debut with Canada Lee in Harry Rigsby and Dorothy Heyward's *South Pacific* (not to be confused with the later Rodgers and Hammerstein musical of the same name). She had her first starring role on Broadway in *Jeb,* alongside Ossie Davis. Two years later she married Davis, who subsequently appeared with her in several productions. Her notable New York theater performances include *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959); *Purlie Victorious* (1961); *Boseman and Lena* (1971), for which she won a 1971 Obie Award; and *Wedding B*and (1972–1973), for which she won a Drama Desk Award (1974).

Dee's film debut was in the role of Rachel Robinson in *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950). She went on to perform in *St. Louis Blues* (1957), *A Raisin in the Sun* (1961), *Gone Are the Days* (1963), and *Buck and the Preacher* (1971). In 1965 she joined the American Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Connecticut, and was the first black actress to play major roles in the company. In 1975 Dee and Ossie Davis received a special award from Actor's Equity for "outstanding creative contributions both in the performing arts and in society at large." Dee collaborated on the screenplay for *Uptight* in 1968 and wrote the Off-Broadway musical *Twin-Bit Gardens* (1979).

Together with Ossie Davis, Dee has long been a participant in civil rights efforts. She has served on national committees of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and has performed in numerous fund-raising benefits. In the late 1960s she hosted benefits for the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords. In 1970 Dee and Davis were presented with the Frederick Douglass Award by the New York Urban League. Her other activities include reading for the blind, raising money to fight drug addiction, and helping black women study drama through the Ruby Dee Scholarship in Dramatic Art, established in the late 1960s. A frequent reader of poetry and drama in national tours, she has also written several books of poetry and short stories, including *Glowchild* (1972), *My One Good Nerve* (1987), *Two Ways to Count to Ten* (1988), and *Tower to Heaven* (1991). Dee has contributed columns to the *New York Amsterdam News,* and she was the assistant editor of the magazine *Freedomways* in the early 1960s.

Dee has been seen in the films *Cat People* (1982) and *Do the Right Thing* (1989). Television appearances include her Public Television Series *With Ossie and Ruby* (1981), the Negro Ensemble Company's production of *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1983), and the Hallmark Hall of Fame production *Decoration Day* (1991), for which she was awarded an Emmy. In 1990 Dee wrote the script and starred in the American Playhouse production *Zora Is My Name,* a one-woman show based on the life and work of Zora Neale Hurston. In 1998 Dee and Davis celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary by publishing a joint memoir, *With Ossie and Ruby Dee: In This Life Together.* Dee received a Lifetime Achievement Award at the Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in December, 2004. Her husband Ossie Davis died two months later at the age of 87.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Davis, Ossie; Hurston, Zora Neale; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

de Jesus, Carolina Maria

March 14, 1914
February 13, 1977

Born illegitimate and impoverished in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, Carolina Maria de Jesus had to overcome a series of seemingly insurmountable obstacles throughout her lifetime just to survive. During her childhood, de Jesus had few educational opportunities, taking only two years of formal schooling. As a young adult she migrated to São Paulo, South America's industrial megalopolis, where as an unemployed single parent she struggled to eke out a living for herself and her three children. Eventually, she moved into a shack in one of the city's worst *favelas* (slums).

There, around 1955, de Jesus began keeping a crudely written account of the brutal reality of her day-to-day existence in a community populated by society's outcasts. In these journal entries she documented the grinding poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment that characterized the lives of her neighbors, calling attention to a host of social problems—prostitution, adultery, incest, alcoholism, physical violence, foul language—that these ills engendered. She constantly worried that her children would succumb to the pernicious influence of this hazardous environment. While hunger remained an ever-present theme, de Jesus also offered opinions on such topics as politics, social conditions, religion, and morality, and she communicated her pride in being Brazilian and black. Over the next several years she continued to jot down observations and impressions, little realizing that her insider perspective on the sights, sounds, and smells of the *favela* would one day appear in print and break all records for book sales in Brazil.

For de Jesus, writing was a pastime and a way to vent her frustrations. She routinely remarked on what she ate and when she bathed—far from mundane matters to those in her predicament—and cherished the occasions when her stomach was full and when, if she had been fortunate enough to obtain soap, she could attend to personal hygiene. She also detailed the drudgery of drawing water at the *favela*'s common spigot and having to roam the city streets every day to collect paper and scrap metal she could sell in order to get money for food.

In 1958 a young reporter, Audálio Dantas, met de Jesus by chance while on assignment. Upon learning that she kept a journal, he quickly recognized the uniqueness and sociological importance of these writings and the human-interest potential in her story. After winning de Jesus's confidence, he began editing her handwritten manuscripts (she wrote on the clean pages of used notebooks she had retrieved from garbage bins). Following the appearance of journal excerpts in Dantas's newspaper, she became an overnight sensation. In 1960 the diary was published in book form as *Quarto de Despejo,* and the following year it appeared in English as *Child of the Dark.* The book soon had a worldwide readership. The original title, a phrase designating a room in the back of a house reserved for short-term storage of trash, garbage, and other disposable items, was de Jesus's crude but effective way of accentuating the abject poverty in which she lived. If, according to this "house" metaphor, slum dwellers occupied the trash room or garbage dump, then middle-class Brazilians resided in the parlor or living room. The stark contrast explicit in this comparison provides convincing evidence of de Jesus's class consciousness and literary sensibility.

Using book royalties, de Jesus was able to realize her lifelong ambition of purchasing a house in a middle-class neighborhood. During this transition period—one of great turmoil in her life—she continued to write, and in 1961 a second volume of diary entries, entitled *Casa de Alvenaria,* was released. This new installment, the title of which alludes to the sturdy, masonry-constructed house of her dreams, offers a fascinating glimpse into her ill-fated attempts to enter mainstream Brazilian life. In these entries her humanity is on display as she recounts her struggles, triumphs, and failures, making no attempt to hide her emotions. This sequel garnered little attention, and, like de Jesus herself, it was soon forgotten, until 1997 when the University of Nebraska Press translated and published it with the title *I'm Going to Have a Little House.*

In her second diary, de Jesus wrote about the elation and disappointments she experienced on book-signing tours throughout Brazil, her inability to adjust to living in a new neighborhood, and her annoyance at being accosted by strangers asking for money. Eventually, she decided to leave her chaotic middle-class urban existence and start a new life in the countryside on the outskirts of the city. There, de Jesus spent the remainder of her life, and although she relapsed into poverty, she did not reexperience the destitute conditions of her former life. When she died in 1977, her passing went virtually unnoticed.

De Jesus also composed poems, childhood memoirs, a novel, and other works, but she never succeeded in winning the favor of Brazilian literary elites. Nevertheless, her writings serve as enduring reminders of the richness of the testimonial narrative tradition in Latin America.

See also Literature; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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MELVIN S. ARRINGTON JR. (2005)

Delaney, Joseph

September 13, 1904
November 20, 1991

Painter Joseph Delaney was born in Knoxville, Tennessee. Both he and his older brother Beauford Delaney became painters of contemporary urban African-American life. Joseph Delaney came north after high school, living briefly in Cincinnati, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, working at odd jobs along the way. He was captivated by the social life of Chicago in the early 1920s and remained in that city until 1928, shining shoes, washing windows, waiting tables, and meeting many of the jazz musicians who would become subjects for his paintings. In 1925 he began a three-year term with the National Guard; when he returned to Knoxville for a year in 1928, he organized the city's first Boy Scout troop and sold insurance.

Delaney settled in New York City in 1929 and enrolled at the Art Students League, where he was a student of Thomas Hart Benton and a classmate of Jackson Pollock. During the 1930s he was a muralist for New York's Federal Art Project (1936–1939), taught art in Brooklyn and Harlem, and cataloged textiles, Chippendale furniture, and Paul Revere silver for the Index of American Design.

Delaney's paintings include portraits and street scenes of New York; his most famous works are *V-J Day, Times Square* (1945) and *Penn Station at Wartime* (1945). Both scenes capture the movement of crowds in the metropolis while concentrating on each individual's unique facial expression and physical constitution. His works, which depict the constancy of everyday routines during moments of historical significance, tell a story through the stylistic tendencies of regional realism and German expressionism, influenced by Thomas Hart Benton and Jackson Pollock respectively. While the paintings communicate a concrete sense of place, presenting viewers with recognizable New York terrain and highly individualized characters, the linked elongated figures and the flattened perspective are informed by expressionist techniques.

Delaney exhibited individually through the 1940s at numerous galleries, and during the 1960s and 1970s his work was included in large exhibits that spanned the history of African-American visual arts in the United States. These included The Evolution of Afro-American Artists: 1800–1950 at City College of New York (1968), Invisible Americans, Black Artists of the 1930s at the Studio Museum in Harlem (1969), Fragments of American Life at Princeton University (1975), and Two Centuries of Black Art, which was produced by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and traveled throughout the United States (1977). Until his death, Delaney continued to operate a studio in Manhattan and showed his paintings at the annual Greenwich Village Art Show near Washington Square in New York.

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JANE LUSAKA (1996)

Delany, Martin R.

May 6, 1812
June 24, 1885

Abolitionist and writer Martin Robison Delany was born in Charles Town, Virginia (now Charleston, West Virginia); his mother was free, his father a slave. Delany grew up in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and was educated at the school of the Rev. Louis Woodson in Pittsburgh. His men-

tor was the well-to-do John B. Vashon. In 1843 Delany married Catherine Richards and began his career as a medical doctor and abolitionist. From 1843 to 1847 Delany published the first African-American newspaper west of the Alleghenies, *The Mystery*. In 1847 he joined Frederick Douglass as coeditor of the newly founded *Rochester North Star,* in which his letters provide valuable commentary on antebellum free blacks.

In the 1840s Delany and Douglass criticized the American Colonization Society's advocacy of emigration of free African Americans to Liberia, which Delany, like most blacks, saw as forcible exile. But as the decade ended, Delany and Douglass grew apart. Delany left the *North Star* in 1849, advocating more black self-reliance than Douglass, who welcomed the support of white reformers. The strengthening of the federal Fugitive Slave Laws and his frustration with his fellow blacks prompted Delany to withdraw from reform in 1850 and attend the Harvard Medical School until he was forced out in 1851.

The crisis of the 1850s distressed northern blacks, many of whom fled to Canada to avoid reenslavement and harassment. Four years before moving his family from Pittsburgh to Chatham, Canada West (now known as Ontario), Delany published the first book-length analysis of the economic and political situation of blacks in the United States: *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (1852), which is cited for its nationalism and advocacy of emigration out of the United States. In 1859 the *Anglo-African Magazine* and in 1861–1862 the *Weekly Afro-American* published his only novel, *Blake, or the Huts of America,* in serial form.

During the 1850s Delany moved from cautious endorsement of emigration within the Americas to planning African-American colonies in West Africa. He organized emigration conferences in 1854, 1856, and 1858, and in 1854 he published *The Political Destiny of the Colored Race,* a pamphlet that recommended emigration. In late 1858 he sailed to West Africa, visiting Alexander Crummell in Liberia in 1859. In December of that year, in the company of Robert Campbell, a teacher at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, he signed a treaty with the Alake of Abeokuta, in what is now western Nigeria, providing for the settlement of educated African Americans and the development of commercial production of cotton using free West African labor. Before the first group of settlers could leave for West Africa, however, the Civil War broke out and the plan never materialized.

In 1863 the War Department reversed its refusal to enroll black volunteers in the Union army, and Delany became a full-time recruiter of black troops for the state of Massachusetts. One of the earliest volunteers in the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was Toussaint Louverture Delany, his oldest son. (The Delanys had named each of their seven children after a famous black figure.) In early 1865 Martin Delany was commissioned a major in the Union army, the first African American to be made a field officer. He finished the war in the South Carolina low country and began to work for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau).

Immediately after the war, Delany was a popular speaker among the freedpeople, for he symbolized both freedom and blackness. But as the years passed and the South Carolina Republican Party became the party of the poor and black, Delany also began to question its ability to govern South Carolina as a whole. He went into the real estate business in Charleston and drifted into conservatism. By the mid-1870s he was criticizing South Carolina blacks and white carpetbaggers (he, too, was a carpetbagger) for demagoguery and corruption. In 1874 he ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor on the slate of the Independent Republicans, a coalition of conservative Republicans and moderate Democrats. By 1876 he was supporting the candidacy of the Democratic candidate for governor, Wade Hampton III, who had been the richest slave owner in the South before the war. Hampton and the Democrats were elected and by 1879 had purged the state of all black officeholders, including Delany.

At sixty-seven Delany once again dedicated himself to emigration, this time to Liberia, with the ill-fated Liberian Exodus Joint-Stock Steamship Company. His last acts were the publication of *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races with an Archaeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization* and selling his book on a lecture tour. He died in Wilberforce, Ohio.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Civil War, U.S.; Crummell, Alexander

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NELL IRVIN PAINTER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Delany, Samuel R.

April 1, 1942

Born in Harlem in comfortable circumstances, science fiction writer and critic Samuel R. Delany graduated from the Bronx High School of Science and briefly attended City College of New York. Despite serious dyslexia, he embarked early on a literary career, publishing his first novel, *The Jewels of Aptor,* in 1962. Delany has been a rather prolific writer, and by the time of his eighth novel, *The Einstein Intersection* (1967), he had already achieved star status in science fiction. He was the first African American to devote his career to this genre. Delany won the Nebula—one of science fiction's two most prestigious awards—in 1967, twice in 1968, and again in 1969. He received the other major science fiction award, the Hugo, in 1968 and 1989 (the latter for his autobiography). Today, he is considered to be one of the wide-ranging masters of the field, having produced books of sword-and-sorcery fantasy as well as science fiction. In addition, he has established himself as a rigorous and erudite theorist and critic of what he calls "the science fiction enterprise."

From a perspective of African-American literary history, Delany is noteworthy in part because he was the first significant black figure in a field with which, previously, African Americans at best had had a tangential relationship. Still, he was not the first writer to introduce black themes or characters into science fiction; indeed, he has written of how startled he was to discover, deep into the novel, that the hero of Robert Heinlein's *Starship Troopers* (1959) was non-Caucasian. Early in his own career, in fact, Delany's blackness certainly was not evident to the majority of his readers. However, his real importance depends, first, upon the way his work has focused on the problematic aspects of desire, difference, and the nature of freedom. In his four-volume Nevèrÿon fantasy series (1983–1987), these themes are played out in a mythical past. In *The Tides of Lust* (1973) and *Dhalgren* (1975), the site is a kind of mythical present; and in *Triton* (1976) and *Stars in My Pocket Like Grains of Sand* (1984), the setting is the far future. Many of the same concerns found in his fiction are articulated in his autobiography, *The Motion of Light in Water* (1988). Delany's second major contribution is his successful meshing of postmodern critical thought with the discourses of science fiction and fantasy. He has brought to these often scorned forms a narrative depth and linguistic sophistication they had seldom previously displayed.

In 1961 Delany married the poet Marilyn Hacker. The two separated in 1975. They have a daughter, Iva Alyxander, born in 1974. Delany taught at the State University of New York at Buffalo, the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, Cornell University, and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Delany was also a fellow at the University of Michigan's Institute for the Humanities in 1993. He joined the faculty of Temple University in 2001 as a professor of English and creative writing.

See also Butler, Octavia; Literature of the United States

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The Review of Contemporary Fiction 16, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 90–171.

ROBERT ELLIOT FOX (1996)

Dellums, Ron

November 24, 1935

Congressman Ronald Vernie Dellums was born and raised in Oakland, California. He received undergraduate degrees from Oakland City College and San Francisco State University before earning an M.S.W. degree in psychiatric social work from the University of California at Berkeley. He served on the Berkeley City Council from 1967 to 1971 and in 1970 mounted a successful campaign for Congress. Dellums's victory in the Democratic primary over longtime representative Jeffrey Cohelan, a white liberal who was slow to oppose the Vietnam War, was largely due to his militant opposition to the war in a district that was a center of the peace movement. Dellums's Eighth District, which encompasses Berkeley, Oakland, and the surrounding suburbs, was 70 percent white in 1993 and the eighth best-educated district in the nation. But the district also includes West Oakland and East Oakland, two of the larg-

est and poorest black ghettoes in the western United States. The district has been described as "a mixture of poverty and intellectual ferment."

Dellums's unique constituency has enabled him to maintain his stance as one of the nation's most radical national politicians. The legislation he sponsored included bills to impose sanctions against apartheid South Africa, to remove restraints on abortion and marijuana, to create a national health care system, and to grant amnesty to all Vietnam War resisters. Unlike most of his legislation, the South African sanctions bill actually passed, after fifteen annual submittals, in 1986. Dellums has been a consistent and unabashed gadfly from the left. In 1977 he shocked Congress with his characterization of the American class system: "America is a nation of niggers. If you are black, you're a nigger. Blind people, the handicapped, radical environmentalists, poor whites, those too far to the left are all niggers."

Dellums was the leading congressional dove and consistently opposed expansion of the military and U.S. intervention abroad. He was the first to introduce legislation to preclude funding for the MX, Pershing II, Midgetman, and B-1 weapons programs. In 1991 he was one of very few members of Congress to remain opposed to the war in the Persian Gulf after it began. Because of his seniority on the House Armed Services Committee, he became chair of the committee in 1993. He also served as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus from 1989 to 1991. Dellums retired from Congress in February 1998.

See also Congressional Black Caucus

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Demerara Revolt

In August 1823 slaves in the British colony of Demerara, part of present-day Guyana, stopped working, seized the arms of their owners, and demanded their freedom. Led by a slave named Quamina and his son Jack, an estimated twelve thousand slaves from thirty-seven plantations participated in an uprising that would later become the largest slave revolt in British Guianese history.

After gaining possession of the colony from the Dutch two decades before the revolt occurred, the British immediately pushed Demerara toward a monoculture economy based on sugar production. While the majority of the colony's white population lived in Georgetown, the rest managed an unhealthy, overworked slave population that outnumbered whites by twenty to one. In 1823 Parliament ordered Demerara to improve the condition of its slaves. The slave population misunderstood the decree, firmly believing that Parliament granted them their freedom and that Demerara planters continued to enslave them illegally.

On August 18, 1823, slaves on Success and Le Resouvenir plantations quickly spread throughout the colony. Led largely by Christianized slaves who worshipped at Le Resouvenir's Bethel Chapel, the rebels attempted to succeed through peaceful methods and opted to imprison Demerara's whites rather than murder them. Some participants demanded their immediate freedom from slavery, while others wanted two or three days a week away from the fields to attend religious services, work their provision grounds, and go to the market. Others rebelled against the separation of families by sale and the punishment many endured from plantation managers who felt their slaves were too Christian.

Within twenty-four hours, the revolt spread as far east as Mahaica and as far west as Georgetown. To quell the rebellion, the colony declared martial law and deployed regular troops, as well as civilian militiamen. Although the rebels succeeded in their efforts at first, the tide turned on the third day. That day, troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Leahy met over three thousand slave rebels at Bachelor's Adventure plantation. Leahy commanded the slaves to surrender and return to their estates. They refused, and Leahy's troops opened fire. The massacre sparked a turning point in the revolt, leading to a drop in rebel morale, as well as desertion. The majority abandoned the revolt and returned to their estates, while Leahy's troops traveled the countryside, freeing the white population and killing slaves.

Fearing that fugitive rebels might incite another revolt, the white community organized expeditions into the plantation backlands in search of escaped insurgents. These expeditions, aided by Amerindian slave hunters, continued for several weeks and led to the deaths of many participants. During one of these expeditions, an Amerin-

dian found and shot Quamina in his refuge behind Chateau Margot plantation. His son Jack turned king's evidence and was deported to Saint Lucia. In all, over two hundred slaves were killed, while dozens more were executed. Those spared death received a thousand lashes and hard labor.

Martial law continued long after the rebellion ended, largely as a justification for the expeditions. Furthermore, martial law allowed for the trial of Reverend John Smith, an English clergyman who ministered to the slaves of Success and Le Resouvenir estates. Demerara planters accused Smith of being the main instigator of the revolt. Consequently, Demerara courts sentenced him to death. Smith, later called the Demerara Martyr by the colony's slaves, died in prison of consumption before he was hanged.

The Demerara revolt of 1823 was by far the largest slave rebellion in British Guianese history and one of the largest revolts in Caribbean history. Only the Haitian Revolution and the Jamaican Rebellion of 1831, or "The Baptist War," had larger numbers of insurgents. Despite testimony from the whites captured by the rebels stating that their captors treated them humanely, news of a Creole-led rebellion in Demerara spread throughout the Caribbean and England. As a result, the revolt cemented the belief that Creole slaves were more rebellious than African-born slaves, a sentiment born out of the Creole-led revolt in Barbados just seven years earlier. Although the goal of the revolt was to bring emancipation, England did not end slavery in her colonies until 1834. In the short term, the revolt changed little for Demerara's slaves. The surviving participants were executed, and the colony returned to business as usual. The revolt itself, however, caught the attention of the English, who long thought that Demerara planters were the most benevolent toward their slaves. More importantly, the revolt caught the interest of England's abolitionists, who incorporated the Demerara revolt into their antislavery campaign.

See also Christiana Revolt of 1851; Haitian Revolution; Malê Rebellion; Nat Turner's Rebellion; Stono Rebellion

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COLLEEN A. VASCONCELLOS (2005)

Democratic Party

See Political Ideologies; Politics in the United States

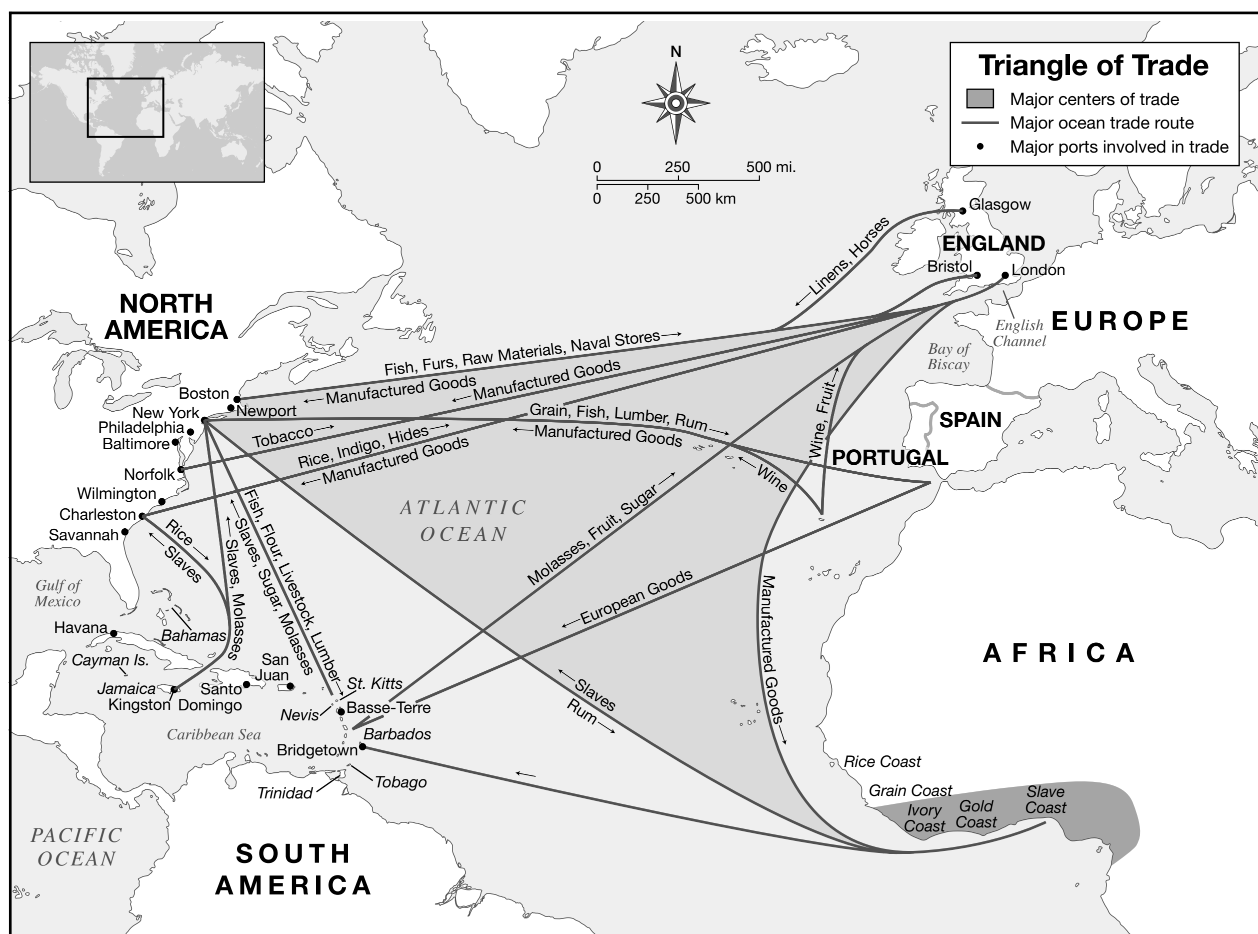
Demography

The approximately 150 million people of African descent who inhabit the Americas are concentrated on the coastal rim of Brazil, the eastern and southern parts of the United States, and the Caribbean region, helping to create a geographical pattern characterized by some people as the "Black Atlantic." Yet important concentrations of these peoples are found throughout the Western Hemisphere, the result of a continuing dispersion or movement of black peoples that continues in the twenty-first century.

With relatively few exceptions, blacks in the Americas are descendants of the slaves transported from Africa in the transatlantic slave trade that lasted from the early sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century. The origins of this trade were nearly simultaneous with the exploration and conquest of the Americas by Europeans. Blacks actively resisted enslavement from the start; as early as 1505, African slaves escaped into the mountains of what is now the Dominican Republic, thereby establishing a free black presence in the Americas that predates the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock by more than a century.

In 1969 the historian Philip Curtin, having researched censuses, ship records, and similar documents, estimated that a total of 9.6 million African slaves were brought across the Atlantic in the four centuries of the slave trade. Subsequent academic work has revised these figures, usually upwards. Taken altogether, these studies reveal the broad contours of the Atlantic slave trade. The overwhelming majority of slaves were from West and West Central African, from Senegal south to Angola. The main destination for African slaves (nearly 40%) was Brazil. African supply patterns and the labor requirements and economic cycles for tropical and subtropical plantation staple crops in the Americas led to an uneven flow of slaves, rather than a continuous movement. The overall numbers of slaves brought to particular regions did not necessarily predict population totals of later years; very high slave imports into the Caribbean, for example, were almost always reduced by the tragically high slave death rates in the region.

Liberation and emancipation movements of the nineteenth century, from Haiti's successful rebellion of 1803 to the last slave emancipations in Brazil and Cuba in the



The "triangle of trade" outlines the movement of slaves from Africa to the islands of the Caribbean and the coastal areas of the Americas, partly in exchange for manufactured goods from Europe. *In this triangle, slaves were not only a primary commodity, they also produced, by means of their forced labor, many of the crops and products that were traded.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

1880s, led to increased mobility. Since that time, black individuals, families, and groups, have moved from country to city, from one region to another, and internationally. These movements defy simple classification, reflecting at once coercion, opportunity, dissatisfaction, and personal choice, and they have complicated explanations for subsequent black population patterns in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere.

A further complication is the impossibility of designating a common meaning of who is and is not "black." The intermixing of those of pure African descent with others in the Americas has led to an almost infinite gradation of skin colors and other physical attributes among individuals, so that an individual considered "black" in the United States may not be so designated in Jamaica or Brazil. These varying attributes or features also lead to difficulties and ambiguities in self-identity that often change over time, greatly complicating the tasks of census takers.

North America

The 2000 population census of the United States enumerated 281 million people, of whom 36.4 million (nearly 13%) considered themselves black. Among black Americans, 55 percent resided in the South, 18 percent in both the Midwest and the East, and 9 percent in the West. In the District of Columbia, 61 percent of the residents were black, and the states with the highest black percentages were Mississippi (37%), Louisiana (33%), South Carolina (30%), Georgia (29%), and Maryland (29%).

Whereas the prototypical black American of the early twenty-first century lives in a southern town or small city, the greatest concentrations are in the large urban areas. The 2000 census counted 2.3 million black people (accounting for 28.5% of the city's total population) in New York, while Chicago had over one million black residents. Among the largest cities in the country, Detroit (82%), Philadelphia (44%), and Chicago (37%) had the largest

percentages of black people. In Baltimore, Memphis, Washington D.C., and New Orleans over 60 percent of the population was black.

The census data gathered in 2000 contributed to a national statistical profile showing that blacks (36% of males were under eighteen) were younger than non-Hispanic whites (24%). At the other end of the age spectrum, only 7 percent of black males lived past age 65 and were therefore able to collect full social security benefits, whereas their non-Hispanic white counterparts were twice as likely to live beyond 65. A lower percentage of black families were headed by married couples than whites; 43 percent of black families were headed by a single woman and 9 percent of black families headed by a single man. An estimated 32.9 million people in the United States lived below the poverty line, among them 23 percent of blacks (8.1 million) and 8 percent of whites (15.3 million).

The statistical contours of the black American populace delineated by the 2000 census data were, of course, the cumulative result of decades of demographic history. The United States population census of 1790, which showed a total human population of almost four million, enumerated over 757,000 African Americans, roughly 19 percent of the total. And although studies of British colonial demographic history are complicated by conflicting and unreliable data, scholars agree that, beginning around the 1730s, the black population of British North America (later the United States) showed a high rate of natural increase, especially when compared with the British West Indies.

Roughly 95 percent of the blacks enumerated in the 1790 census were slaves, about the same percentage as in 1810, by which time the black population of the United States had nearly doubled to 1,378,000. This dramatic rise came from a combination of slave imports (until the trade was abolished in 1807) and natural increases. In the next half century, as plantation cotton came to dominate the U.S. Gulf Coast states all the way to Texas, the black slave population grew accordingly. In 1870, the year of the first U.S. census taken since slave emancipation in 1862, the black American population had grown to 4,880,000.

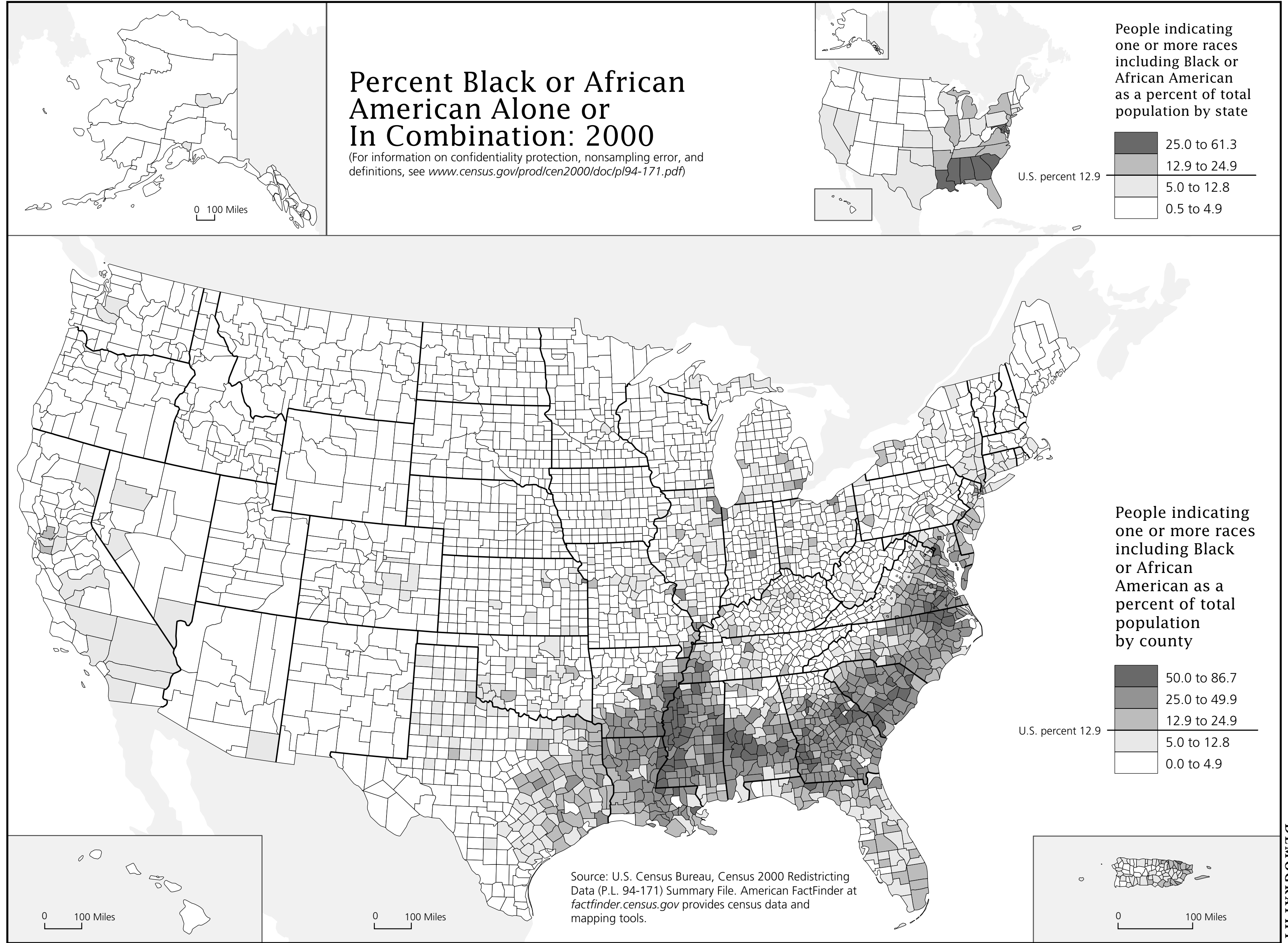
This figure grew in the next half century, and in 1920 there were 10,463,000 blacks in the United States. Yet because of the remarkably high immigration rates of Europeans into the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the percentage of African Americans in 1920 was just under 10 percent, down from the nearly 20 percent in colonial days. The early and middle decades of the twentieth century saw an expansion of black America into the country's heartland. From border states such as Kentucky and Missouri, African Americans began migrating north in substantial numbers during World War I, followed by larger numbers from the Deep South in subsequent decades to Chicago, Detroit, and other industrial cities. The overall percentages of blacks in the country's total population increased somewhat by the end of the century; the 1980 U.S. census enumerated a total of 226.5 million Americans, of whom 26.5 million (11.7%) were black; there were 30 million African Americans (12.1%) among the overall total of 249 million in 1990; and in 2000, the census counted almost 35 million African Americans (12.3%) among the 281 million U.S. residents.

Black immigrants coming to the United States have augmented natural population increases in the latter decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Notably, Caribbean peoples have come in the thousands—some to Miami and other large cities, but the great majority to New York. Perhaps two million black people of Caribbean descent inhabited the New York area at the start of the twenty-first century, but any such figure is an estimate because many have come without formal documentation and because there is much back-and-forth movement between the Caribbean and New York.

Perhaps one million Canadians are black. The 2001 census, enumerating nearly 30 million Canadians, included "Black" as a category, but it also included categories such as "Jamaican," "Haitian," and "West Indian," which include black people. Blacks have lived in Canada since colonial days. Their numbers were increased by the Underground Railroad traffic in the 1800s during U.S. slavery. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, thousands of black West Indian immigrants settled mainly in the eastern part of Canada, with English-speakers concentrated in Ontario and French-speakers in Quebec. A few tens of thousands of noticeably black peoples live in the coastal areas of Mexico's Vera Cruz state and also in the Pacific "Costa Chica" zone of Guerrero and Oaxaca states. An important presence of descendants of black slaves in Mexico has been reduced, however, apparently through absorption into the larger population.

The Caribbean and Central America

Probably two-thirds of the 35 to 40 million people inhabiting the Caribbean region in the early twenty-first century are of African descent. The region's relatively small population does not square with the estimate that 50 percent of all African slaves brought to the Western Hemisphere during the four centuries of the slave trade came to the Caribbean. The slaves' high death rates in the region, and their subsequent inability to sustain their own populations, came from overwork, an alien disease environment,



Map depicting Blacks as a percentage of total population by U.S. county, 2000. *At the time of the 2000 census, about 55% of black Americans resided in the South.* U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

and precarious food sources that often depended upon imports.

Although most people in the Caribbean are black and consider themselves so, the region is characterized by ethnic and racial complexity. An estimated 62 percent of Cuba's 11 million people are black or Mulatto. Well over 90 percent of the 2.5 million Jamaicans and 7 million Haitians are black. The 11 percent black population among the nearly 9 million people in the Dominican Republic, Haiti's neighbor on the eastern side of the island of Hispaniola, does not include the nation's very high percentage of mixed-blood peoples. Only 8 percent of the 3.8 million Puerto Ricans counted in the 2000 U.S. population census considered themselves "Black," yet an additional 11 percent were of "some other race." Among the islands of the eastern Caribbean, most people are black—on some of the smallest islands almost every person could be classified as Afro-Caribbean. Yet among the 1.5 million Trinidadians, only half are of African ancestry; this is because of the presence of hundreds of thousands who descend from indentured laborers from India.

Caribbean demography is further complicated by high rates of migration. Since British slave emancipation in the 1830s, black men and women have traveled away—permanently and temporarily—in quest of better opportunities elsewhere, to improve conditions at home, as an antidote to the boredom of insularity, and for many other reasons. The probable majority of these movements have been within the Caribbean itself, resulting in enclaves of outsiders residing on nearly every island. But Caribbean migrants have moved internationally as well. When attractive prospects elsewhere have combined with economic distress at home, these migrations have taken on sizable proportions. Tens of thousands of black West Indians traveled to work on the Panama Canal in the early twentieth century and to Cuban and Dominican sugar cane fields thereafter. Similar numbers have migrated to Europe since the mid-twentieth century.

The historically recent movements of black peoples from the Caribbean to New York and elsewhere in the United States has reinforced an earlier African presence that is centuries old and has greatly affected American culture. Early-twentieth-century labor and cultural movements (such as the Harlem Renaissance) were heavily influenced by black Caribbean migrants. Music and sport in the United States in the late twentieth century would be very different without black West Indians. Important personalities all along the black American political spectrum—including Harry Belafonte, Shirley Chisholm, Louis Farrakhan, Malcolm X, and Colin Powell—trace their heritage to the Caribbean.

Caribbean migrants have also traveled to work destinations in Central America, both as individuals and as groups of laborers. In some cases they have encountered black descendants of earlier enslavement there. The resulting black presence in Central America is most noticeable along the Caribbean rim of the isthmus. In any case, population estimates of Afro–Central American peoples are contested and unreliable. Conservative estimates for other black populations in the region are Honduras: 110,000; Nicaragua: 379,000; Costa Rica: 103,000; and Panama: 379,000.

South America

As one would assume from historical slavery estimates, by far the largest numbers of Afro–South Americans are Brazilian. Brazil's estimated total population of 182 million in 2003 included 6 percent black and 38 percent of mixed black ancestry—percentages that many consider too low, owing to a widespread desire to be considered white for purposes of socioeconomic advancement. Like most people in the country, Afro-Brazilians are mainly urban dwellers, and high percentages of black people reside in the enormous cities of southern Brazil; an estimated 25 percent of the 18 million people residing in São Paolo are of African descent, and 66 percent of Rio de Janeiro's 10 million people are black. In the same way that many U.S. blacks continue to inhabit the nineteenth-century tobacco and cotton zones of the U.S. South, many Afro-Brazilians reside in the former sugar cane zones in the northeastern part of the country. Bahia (or Salvador), the principal city in that region, and Brazil's third largest urban area at 2.5 million people, is estimated to have a black populace nearing 80 percent.

Brazilian demographic data show a distressing disparity in well-being between whites and blacks, and thereby run counter to exuberant claims that the country is a "racial democracy." Infant mortality rates among white Brazilians are 37 per 1000 live births, but 62 per 1,000 for Afro-Brazilians; white life expectancy is 66 years, while for blacks it is 59; and literacy rates are 85 percent for whites but only 65 percent for blacks. Brazilian education, income, and employment figures show similar disparities between blacks and whites.

After Brazil, Colombia (with an estimated total population of 41 million in 2001) has the largest black populace in South America. An estimated 7 million (18% of all Colombians) are of African ancestry, and probably two-thirds of them are mixed-blood peoples. Black Colombians descend from slaves brought by the Spaniards to work in colonial mines and plantations. Early in the twenty-first century, Afro-Colombians inhabit the nation's Caribbean

coastal areas and the Cauca and Magdalena river valleys farther south. In both Venezuela (where 2.3 million people of black ancestry reside) and Ecuador (1.2 million blacks), people of African ancestry make up about 3 to 5 percent of national populations. An estimated 750,000 blacks live in Peru, and smaller numbers of Afro–South Americans are found elsewhere on the continent.

A numerically tiny yet culturally significant black group lives in the rainforests of northern South America. The so-called "Bush Negro" peoples of interior Suriname inhabit river settlements inland from the coastal zone of the small country. Numbering only a few thousand, they are direct descendants of slaves who escaped from Dutch colonial plantations. Their material culture is thus heavily influenced by their African heritage, and their oral history tells of their escapes from plantation control and a centuries-long resistance to European domination. These small African village settlements along the rapids of Suriname's rivers are thereby a living microcosm of the historical sweep of a black African presence in the Western Hemisphere for five hundred years.

See also African Diaspora; Identity and Race in the United States; Migration; Mortality and Morbidity, Latin America and the Caribbean; Mortality and Morbidity, United States; Slave Trade

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BONHAM C. RICHARDSON (2005)

Denbow, Claude H. A.

March 28, 1911
January 6, 1979

Claude Hicks Augustus Denbow epitomized the mission of his alma mater, Howard University, in providing "leadership for America and the global community." The son of Sarah Louisa and Charles Denbow, chief county sergeant major of police, he attended Leonora Primary School, West Coast Demerara, and the prestigious Queen's College in Georgetown, Guyana, where he excelled academically. In the early 1930s he was unable to obtain employment at the Royal Bank of Canada, Georgetown, likely because he was a dark-skinned African Guianese, so he became a conductor with the Transport and Harbours Department before attending Howard University, beginning in 1935. Denbow was a brilliant undergraduate student and was awarded a chemistry scholarship to attend the College of Dentistry in 1937. He returned home in 1942 and began a career as a dentist. He was also a politician and community leader.

Denbow practiced dentistry for thirty-one years. As president of the British Guiana Labour Union from 1945 to 1952, he was instrumental in improving labor conditions in the colony. He chaired the Waterfront Enquiry Commission (the Denbow Commission) from 1969–1970, which investigated the working conditions of waterfront workers and resulted in significant reforms. Denbow was a founding member of the National Democratic Party in 1943, the forerunner of the United Democratic Party of 1947 that merged with Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress in 1958 and led British Guiana from colonial status to independence from Great Britain as Guyana.

As leader of British Guiana's branch of the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP), founded by Dulcina Armstrong in 1937, Denbow endeavored to fulfill the organization's aims, including instilling in the peoples of African descent racial consciousness and pride, promoting and protecting the general interests of its members, and cooperating and affiliating with sympathetic organizations. The LCP was formed in England in 1931 by Jamaican-born Dr. Harold A. Moody with the assistance of the African Americans Drs. Charles Wesley Harris and St. Clair Drake, along with Jamaican Joel Augustus Rogers, a self-educated historian, to fight the racism that people of color encountered there.

From 1944 to the 1960s, Denbow initiated and organized the LCP's Annual Exhibition and Fair, which showcased local talent, skills, and crafts. The event attracted and promoted African, Caribbean, and African-American artists and entertainers and raised funds for the purchase of the Harold Arundel Moody LCP Hall. Apart from functioning as the organization's headquarters and as a venue for dances, ice-cream banquets, and concerts, it accommodated a school from kindergarten to high school grades, serving its members and children countrywide. It also provided space for co-op savings societies, credit unions, penny banks, and affairs held by the juvenile and women's sections.

Denbow encouraged the study of African culture and languages, and LCP funds provided scholarships for members or their children to study abroad. A scholarship granted to E. V. Liverpool enabled him to train at Boni College, West Africa, as a teacher of the Ibo language. In 1950 Denbow's invitation to King Eze II of Oweri, Nigeria, to visit the country created controversy because some East Indians and the British governor publicly questioned if Eze was indeed royalty and deserved welcome as such. Denbow immediately solicited help from Dr. Ralph Bunche at the United Nations, who had taught him when he was a Howard undergraduate, in making the visit possible. The visit is captured in the 1954 publication *Seven Amazing Days.* Mary McLeod Bethune emphasized that "this book is most vital since it portrays the great potentials of mankind through the experiences of real people . . . through the inspiration of their own pride in themselves and in the accomplishments of their kind" (Bethune, 1954).

Denbow maintained linkages with African Americans, including George S. Schuyler of the *Pittsburgh Courier.* He visited the United States in 1950 and was a guest on Schuyler's *Negro World Program* on radio station WLIB. Still, Denbow's greatest contribution to Guyana and the African diaspora was his launching of one of the first newspapers by a Howard University alumnus from the Caribbean. The *Sentinel,* the LCP's organ, was published beginning on April 30, 1950. On August 21, 1950, Howard's president, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, belatedly acknowledged Denbow's invitation to write a column on Africa in the inaugural edition of the newspaper. He praised Denbow for his "efforts towards improving conditions touching people of African descent" and congratulated him for his "insight, vision, and industry." Dr. Johnson regarded Denbow as a "credit to Alma Mater."

Denbow's marriage to Catherine Mood Griffith in 1943 produced two sons: Charles, a heart specialist at the University of the West Indies Hospital, Jamaica, and Claude Jr., a law professor at the university's Trinidad campus.

See also Burnham, Forbes; Howard University; People's National Congress

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

De Passe, Suzanne

1946?

The entertainment executive Suzanne de Passe grew up in Harlem. She guards her private life carefully, and as a result little is known about her early life and career. De Passe apparently was working as a booking agent at the Cheetah Disco in New York when she met Berry Gordy, then the head of Motown Records. Her strong criticisms of Motown's business operations, delivered directly to Gordy, earned her a position as his creative assistant. Until 1972 she served as road manager, costume designer, and choreographer for the Jackson Five, then Motown's newest sensation. She was also responsible for signing the Commodores, who went on to become one of Motown's most popular singing groups during the 1970s.

In the 1970s de Passe became increasingly involved with Motown's theater, television, and film productions. In 1971 she helped write *Diana,* the first production by Motown's television and theatrical division. That project was so successful that the next year Gordy named de Passe corporate director of Motown's Creative Production division and vice president of Motown's parent corporation, positions that allowed her to work almost exclusively in television and film. De Passe was nominated for an Academy Award for co-writing the Motown-produced film *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972).

In the late 1970s Gordy began to entrust de Passe with the fastest-growing and most profitable divisions of Motown. In 1977 she was promoted to vice president of Motown Industries, another television and film subsidiary, and in 1981 she was named president of Motown Productions. Under de Passe, the budget for the company grew from $12 million in 1980 to $65 million in 1989. She won Emmy Awards for *Motown 25: Yesterday, Today, Forever* (1982–1983) and *Motown Returns to the Apollo* (1984–1985).

By the early 1980s de Passe was considered one of the rising black female Hollywood executives. In 1985 her reputation soared further after she paid $50,000 for the rights to *Lonesome Dove,* the Larry McMurtry novel about a nineteenth-century cattle drive. The project had been rejected by every major Hollywood studio. De Passe sold the telecast rights for *Lonesome Dove* to CBS for $16 million, and by 1989 she had produced an eight-hour program that won seven Emmy Awards and drew one of the largest audiences ever for a television miniseries. In 1990 de Passe produced *Motown 30: What's Goin' On.*

In the early 1990s de Passe started a new company, de Passe Entertainment, and produced the five-hour miniseries *The Jacksons: An American Dream* (1992). During the same period she also served as co-executive producer of the film *Class Act*. Scoring another hit, she joined with Hallmark Entertainment in 1998 to produce the well-received four-hour miniseries "The Temptations." In 2004 de Passe announced plans for another such effort, to be produced jointly with NBC. Based on Berry Gordy's autobiography *To Be Loved: The Music, the Magic, the Memories of Motown,* the docudrama will relate the phenomenon of Motown from the perspective of its founder.

Considered one of the most powerful black female executives in Hollywood, de Passe won a 1989 Essence Award, and was inducted into the Black Filmmaker's Hall of Fame in 1990. That same year, de Passe received a Micheaux Award for her contributions to the entertainment industry.

See also Gordy, Berry; Jackson Family; Recording Industry

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Depression, the Great

See Great Depression and the New Deal

DePriest, Oscar Stanton

March 9, 1871
May 12, 1951

Congressman and businessman Oscar DePriest was born in Florence, Alabama, the child of former slaves. In 1878, as part of the Exodusters migration, the family emigrated to Kansas to escape poverty. DePriest went to Chicago in 1889 and worked as a painter and decorator, trades that led him to become a building contractor and later a successful real estate broker. He also turned out to be a tireless

political organizer and established himself as a valuable member of the powerful Republican Party organization. The party slated him in 1904 for his victorious first race for a public position, a place on the Cook County Board of Commissioners. He won reelection in 1906, but his loss two years later sidelined him from political office until he won election as Chicago's first black alderman in 1915.

Rapid migration of African Americans to Chicago from the South drove up property values in the segregated South Side Black Belt, and DePriest capitalized on the resulting real estate opportunities to amass a considerable fortune. These new immigrants would also refuel DePriest's political career as he became the central black leader in Republican mayor William ("Big Bill") Thompson's machine—a formidable organization held together by patronage, generosity in political appointments, and extraordinary party loyalty among blacks. DePriests's big political break came in 1928 with the death of his mentor, Congressman Martin Madden. DePriest insisted that the party support his candidacy for Madden's old seat, and with its backing the district's swelling black majority elected him. When, in 1929, DePriest took his seat in the 71st Congress as the first African-American U.S. representative from a northern state, it was the first time in twenty-eight years that the House had had a black member.

In Congress, DePriest was an energetic, controversial figure who had little success in enacting his frequently introduced civil rights measures. His colleagues defeated his antilynching bill, a measure prohibiting government job discrimination in the South, a proposal to have blacks served in the House restaurant, and a plan for transfer of jurisdiction in criminal cases when a defendant feared local racial or religious prejudice. His most outstanding achievement was an amendment that Congress enacted in March 1933 to prohibit discrimination in the Civilian Conservation Corps. He also secured greater government support of Howard University and was a strong supporter of immigration restriction to preserve jobs for African Americans.

DePriest survived the first Democratic electoral sweeps of 1930 and 1932, but he lost two years later to a black Democrat, Arthur Mitchell, as African-American voters in Chicago gave up their traditional loyalty to the party of Abraham Lincoln and turned to the Democrats. DePriest resumed his real estate career, lost to Mitchell again in 1936, and served once more as a Chicago alderman between 1943 and 1947. He died of a kidney ailment in 1951.

See also Mitchell, Arthur

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)

Dessalines, Jean-Jacques

c. 1758
October 17, 1806

Jean-Jacques Dessalines's origins are somewhat unclear. He was most likely born a slave in Grande-Riviere-du-Nord, Haiti, but there is also speculation that he was born in West Africa around 1758. In either case, he lived out the early part of his life as a slave to a free black, serving as a coachman. He escaped slavery in 1791 and joined the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804). Through his aptitude for military science and leadership he quickly earned the confidence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, commander of the revolutionary forces, and became his second in command.

During the revolution, Dessalines proved himself to be a brilliant general. In 1802 he and his soldiers captured the fort at Crete-a-Pierrot, where they fended off twelve thousand French troops before escaping through enemy lines. Yet only months later Dessalines followed Henri Christophe, another of L'Ouverture's principle officers, and deserted to the French side. Shortly after the defections, L'Ouverture was captured and shipped to the French Alps, where he died in prison.The Haitian people continued to fight against the French, and Dessalines soon came back to their side. After returning to fight against the French, he ruthlessly squashed any opposition to his leadership. This earned him a reputation for brutality and eventually led to his ascendance to control of the Haitian army. He assumed command of the revolutionary army on July 5, 1803, and led the final charge to independence. On November 18, 1803, the revolutionaries scored a decisive victory over General Rochambeau's army at the Battle of Vertieres, forcing Napoleon to abandon his claims—not only to Haiti, but also to Louisiana and other French territories in the Americas. Haitian independence was achieved on January 1, 1804.

After independence, Dessalines attempted to consolidate his power over the war-ravaged state. Ironically this

resulted in his sometimes emulating Napoleon. On September 22, 1804, Dessalines had himself crowned Emperor Jacques I. Among his first acts was changing the name of Haiti from its colonial moniker of Saint Domingue to its modern Arawak-derived name. A product of the Atlantic slave system, Dessalines maintained a bitter hatred of whites. During the revolution, Dessalines equated independence with the elimination of whiteness from Haiti, and he even established the style of the modern Haitian flag by ripping the white section out of the French tri-color flag. After the revolution, Dessalines ordered the extermination of all remaining whites, though some clergymen, as well as the Poles and Germans who had defected from the French army, were spared. Though they were phenotypically white, these soldiers were considered black in the Haitian racial schema, which was and is intimately connected to class.

On the economic front, Dessalines oversaw the emergence of the peasantry that would drive subsequent Haitian history. Postrevolutionary Haitians desired a tangible realization of their freedom, and land provided the basis for a sustainable future. Dessalines made cultivation the basis for land ownership thereby acquiescing to the desires of the people. This was a serious blow to the many mulattoes who had benefited from the French defeat by purchasing or confiscating large French plantations as the war wore on. In the aftermath of the war, Dessalines instituted a policy nationalizing all lands that had formerly been held by the French, and he issued a decree in February 1804 that nullified all gifts and sales of land made by the French during the war. This was quickly followed by the confiscation of more than five hundred properties in thewestern part of the country. The threat of enforcing this law in the mulatto-controlled South led to the uprisings that eventually resulted in the assassination of Dessalines. On October 17, 1806, he was ambushed in Port-au-Prince and killed by a group of mulatto officers. His body was mutilated. The period following his assassination was one of civil war between northern Haiti, under the black leader Henri Christophe, and southern Haiti, under the mulatto Alexandre Pétion.

The legacy of Dessalines, the "father of Haiti," is extensive. The anniversary of his death is commemorated each year as a national holiday. While the commitment of Dessalines to the peasantry ultimately resulted in his death, it earned him the continued reverence of the Haitian people. His invocation of the link between race and class set the tone for future black nationalism in Haiti.

See also Christophe, Henri; Haitian Revolution; Toussaint-Louverture

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SEAN BLOCH (2005)

Detroit Riots (1943 and 1967)

See Riots and Popular Protests

Dialect Poetry

Although it had been written by white and black poets alike, dialect poetry emerged as a significant part of African-American writing in the mid-1890s with the success of its first well-known black practitioner, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and it played a dominant role in African-American poetry until World War I. It figured prominently in black-edited newspapers and periodicals and in virtually all of the many collections of verse by the black poets of the time. Among its leading creators, in addition to Dunbar, were James Edwin Campbell, Daniel Webster Davis, James D. Corrothers, James Weldon Johnson, Elliot Blaine Henderson, and Fenton Johnson.

Much of the earliest African-American dialect poetry was inspired by, and a response to, the highly successful work of white plantation-tradition writers, who, evoking nostalgic images of the Old South, used dialect in a way that furthered negative racial stereotypes. This plantation-tradition background was apparent in the work of black dialect poets, who drew on it thematically and wrote in a dialect that—rarely going beyond fairly conventionalized misspellings—owed more to that white literary tradition than to actual folk speech. The opening of Dunbar's "Lover's Lane" was fairly typical in its language and tone: "Summah night an' sighin' breeze, / 'Long de lovah's lane; / Frien'ly, shadder-mekin' trees, / 'Long de lovah's lane."

Some dialect poets even came close to their white counterparts in both nostalgia and the use of stereotypes. Davis, for example, penned a tribute to the slave-owning plantation mistress, "Ol' Mistis," fondly describing life on the plantation and including such lines as "Ub all de plezzun mem'riz' / Dar's one dat fills my heart, / 'Tiz de thought ub dear ol' Mistis, / An' 'twill nebber frum me part."

But most dialect poets, including Dunbar and even Davis, sought to use the problematic plantation-tradition background in a way that rescued both the form and its subjects from the more demeaning aspects of the tradition on which they drew. These poets often made use of actual folk sources, subtly subverting the stereotypes white writers portrayed, as in Dunbar's "An Ante-bellum Sermon," in which a slave preacher turns a message of heavenly freedom into a barely disguised anticipation of the day "when we'se rec'onised as citiz'—/ Huh uh! Chillun, let us pray!" or even working to create a dialect poetry of protest against racial oppression, as when Elliot Blaine Henderson wrote of black American life in a South where "Dey lynch him on de lef' / An' dey lynch him on de right." In so doing, the poets moved dialect poetry away from caricature and even, in the view of some writers and critics of the time, toward the presentation of a distinctive African-American cultural heritage rooted in the folk life of the rural South.

Following World War I, dialect poetry lost much of its prominence in African-American literature. Many writers, especially during the Harlem Renaissance, became more troubled by the form's lingering association with plantation-tradition writing while agreeing with the famous 1922 statement of James Weldon Johnson, rejecting his own earlier work, that dialect poetry was severely constrained as a form, limited to little more than humor and pathos. Still, a few poets, notably Langston Hughes, experimented with it. And, toward the end of the Renaissance period, with the 1932 publication of Sterling Brown's *Southern Road,* dialect poetry—which Brown strongly defended against Johnson's strictures—received a major, if somewhat isolated, re-elaboration.

It would be difficult to argue for any direct connection between the dialect tradition and contemporary African-American poetry. Nevertheless, many of the impulses that took shape within that older body of writing have been notable in more recent work as well. Beginning particularly with the black arts movement in the 1960s, a number of poets have sought to put distinctively African-American forms of speech to poetic use. Their work, having a flavor that is both urban and militant, is very different from the dialect poetry of Dunbar or even Brown. Growing out of an urban milieu and out of specifically urban speech, this later vernacular poetry represents a self-conscious rejection of dominant literary models and of dominant cultural models. Still, the earlier dialect poets remain important precursors to this more contemporary work. Above all, they help emphasize the length of a tradition into which it fits, a tradition marked by recurring efforts to create a distinctively African-American literature and cultural identity through the possibilities inherent in the representation of a unique folk life and a unique folk speech.

See also Black Arts Movement; Brown, Sterling Allen; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Johnson, James Weldon

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DICKSON D. BRUCE JR. (1996)

Diasporic Cultures in the Americas

From 1492 on radical changes took place in the Americas as the European conquest and the ensuing colonial period brought ideas of race into the classification and treatment of all peoples. Those of European descent occupied the top of a pyramid that placed people classed as Indians and Africans as slaves and lesser beings on the bottom. In the late nineteenth century concepts of culture either fused with or replaced the idea of "race" but preserved the same system of ranking and classification that worked to the advantage of the few and the detriment of many others.

Culture

Four approaches to culture are in vogue in the twenty-first century: the *elitist,* the *hegemonic-diffusionist,* the *historical,* and the *paradigmatic.* The first affirms that only some people in a given society are cultured (as in high culture), while others are not. Those others exist in "subculture,"

something below that of the elite. From this perspective, cultured people are formally educated, speak language correctly, and worship in a well-known religious manner. By contrast, other people, especially Native Americans and African Americans, are seen as illiterate or unable to learn correctly, speak dialects, and practice "cults."

The second concept is associated fundamentally with the anthropology of the early twentieth century. In this hegemonic-diffusionist approach, associated especially with Melville J. Herskovits and later with Robert Farris Thompson, cultural elements are diffused from specific distant origins. In such diffusion the pristine and authentic becomes retained as corrupt retentions and reinterpretations. To understand the ways of life of an African-American people, one searches the "high" donor cultures of Africa (as though they have remained essentially unchanged for centuries) for elements "found" in the Americas. The result is a view of all African diasporic cultural systems in the Americas as syncretic hodgepodges. By this scheme, the self-liberated Saramaka people of Suriname and French Guiana (Guyane), and more recently Brazil, rank "high" in the "scale of intensity of Africanisms," but the self-liberated Afro-Lowlanders of Ecuador, Colombia, and Panama are said to "lack" Africanisms and by implication to be "without authentic culture" and "acculturated." African Americans of the United States were ranked by Herskovits at the very bottom of the scale of intensity, thereby denying their past, present, and future contributions to the cultural systems of the Americas.

The third concept, *historical,* is well stated by Daniel Boorstin: "'Culture' (from the Latin *cultus* for 'worship') originally meant reverential homage. Then it came to describe the practices of cultivating the soil, and later it was extended to the cultivating and refinement of mind and manners. Finally, by the nineteenth century 'culture' had become a name for the intellectual and aesthetic side of civilization" (1983, p. 647). In 1977, at the First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas, held in Cali, Colombia, black people confronted self-styled intelligentsia and insisted on the Spanish definite article "*la*" before the Spanish word *cultura* and initiated a foundational concept of *la cultural negra,* black cultural systems that are sophisticated, existential, experiential, and adaptable. They constitute entwined processes of tradition, history, and modernity moving toward higher and higher levels of black civilization in the Americas. The idea here of *emergent culture* is just as important as history, tradition, and legacy, and it is far from any concept of bits and pieces of Africa retained, and much culture lost.

A critically important dynamic in this perspective is that of *cultural continuity.* Culture is always changing. People make it as it is and interpret their own lifeways dynamically. People are not at the periphery of culture but at its center, its generative heart. There are also, as Amiri Baraka makes clear in his discussion of "the changing same," remarkable continuities in cultural systems as well. Examples include some of the art forms of the Saramaka people and the marimba music of the Afro-Ecuadorian and Colombian lowlanders. This historical perspective differs significantly from the imperialist-diffusionist, however, because it draws on *paradigmatic* approaches to decide what to study.

Stated briefly, the paradigmatic perspective stresses an understanding of what real people living their own way of life take to be significant. One studies how culture unfolds in real life in real places and works outward from people-in-action to broader and more distant systems to make comparisons, without evaluating the "degree" or "intensity" or "level" of culture. Taken together, historical and the paradigmatic approaches establish a contemporary critical perspective in the social sciences and the humanities. They are used in the remainder of this article.

History

African-American systems of life and thought are profoundly cultural. They are clearly African descended and African diasporic. Any study of Afro-American cultural systems must comprehend commonalities of experience and especially of local interpretations of experiences at specific places in given periods in time, and also some degree of cultural construction of a meaningful historical past that may be obliterated, or highly distorted, by written literature. In *Silencing the Past* (1995), Michel-Rolph Trouillot discusses two dimensions of history that must always be considered: that which happened (an event such as a forced passage from Africa across the Atlantic Ocean to be sold in a slave market in the Americas, or the myriad revolts, rebellions, and movements of self-liberation of Africans in the Americas) and the *stories told about the event*. When stories are not told, or are not remembered, or are hidden, history is silenced. The stories themselves must be opened up and studied to be reasonably sure that they reflect events critical to the real cultural histories of people, not bent and distorted to the canons of a rigid educational system.

For example, in 1991 a dramatic discovery was made in Lower Manhattan in New York City: A graveyard was unearthed by construction workers. It was found to contain the bodies of African people—men, women, and children—buried there from the 1600s through 1794. Although clear evidence of the importance of enslaved Africans in the development of New York City existed, it

was ignored and silenced by historians and archivists. Eventually, African-American archaeologist Michael L. Blakey received permission and funds to excavate the site and demonstrated that the presence of Africans constituted "the earliest and largest African cemetery found in North America." Africans were fundamental to the building of New York City, but their lives and deaths were not written into history, even though their presence was quite clear in the archives of New York City. An estimated twenty thousand Africans were buried near what is now Wall Street. They were brought to New Amsterdam in 1626, so were part of the founding of New York. Indeed, "*Ian Rodriguez, a free black trader, had set up the first long-term trading post in Manhattan prior to the establishment of the Dutch colony, making a person of African descent Manhattan's first foreign (i.e. nonindigenous) businessman*" (Blakey, 2001, pp. 222–223, emphasis added).

Stories such as this one, well documented in the official city archives, go far to contradict U.S. educational stereotypes, such as the one that says slavery began in the South and existed until Northerners freed black people there. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which obligated Northerners to return escaped Southern slaves to their owners, revolts and movements of self-liberation increased throughout the northern United States, where slavery also existed.

Another story—that an enduring ideology of a history of slavery and a cultural legacy of deprivation per force predates a sense of freedom for black people in the Americas—must also be contested. In 1712 in New York City, for example, enslaved African-American people rose up and killed at least nine whites (Bennett, 1964, p. 101). In the Americas, wherever slavery existed self-liberation also occurred (Laguerre, 1989; Taussig, 1980; Whitten and Torres, 1998). The true stories reveal the early presence of black people where national educational literature says they never were, and that freedom of African and African-European peoples in the Americas may precede, or coexist with, systems of enslavement.

Space, Time, and African-Descended People

We reflect now on the breadth of the African diaspora and important dimensions of the history of African-descended people. We must first set aside notions of cultural or racial purity of the few and contamination of the rest. The African diaspora does not begin in the Americas, and certainly not in North America, as is so often supposed, nor is Africa divorced from Europe and Christianity prior to the horrors of the European-sponsored Middle Passages that brought Africans to the Americas against their will to build the very systems that may now deny their existence.

In 711, as the Muslim conquest of Iberia began, black soldiers were present in the Islamic forces. Further north, according to the historian Folarin Shyllon, Irish records suggest that during a Viking raid on Spain and North Africa in 862, a number of Africans were captured and some carried to Dublin, where they were known as "blue men." In the tenth century, black Africans who fought alongside North African Moors made up a significant part of the conquering army of the Iberian Peninsula.

By the eleventh and twelfth centuries (and on into the sixteenth) images of black Africans were present in European monumental art and architecture, Christian iconography, and heraldic shields throughout western Europe. Between the fourth and fourteenth centuries, representations of Africans appear in religious works involving the land of Ethiopia, the coming of the Magi to confirm the birth of Christ, the realm and person of Prester John in India or Africa, the queen of Sheeba, St. Maurice, and the meaning of Old Testament legends and prophecies about the cosmic relationship between darkness and light.

In the mid-fifteenth century, sailors under the command of the Portuguese entrepreneur Prince Henry the Navigator began purchasing diverse people at ports in West Africa and shipping them to Lisbon for sale throughout Europe. As Prince Henry's sailors color-coded their chattel, Africans previously known on the Iberian Peninsula by multiple cultural and ethnic designations such as Biafara and Mandingo, in all their diversity, were designated by a single color term, *negro* (black). Such pejorative and dangerous labeling of diverse African peoples ironically coincided with large-scale conversions of Africans to Christianity in the region of the Congo and by the emergence of "racially mixed" people in the coastal towns of West Africa.

The multiple cultural heritages and histories of Afro-Americanity stem from African and European sources, including, after 1492, indigenous contributions (e.g., Whitten and Corr, 2001). Cultural systems were suppressed tremendously by slavery but rejuvenated, recreated, and revitalized by revolt and revolution, wherein Maroons (from the American Spanish–Arawak word *cimarrón*) came to stand for the core values of freedom itself, a concept built into African-American cultural systems across the entire hemisphere. Most of the prominent black areas of eastern and northern South America, Central America, and the Caribbean stem directly from creative processes of rebellion, self-liberation, and sovereign territoriality that were initiated and sustained by African-American people.

They include various regions of Brazil; the *yungas* (deep Andean valleys) of Bolivia; the northwest coast of Ecuador; the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and Cauca Valley of Colombia; the Venezuelan *llanos* (plains) and northern coastal crescent; the interior of the Guianas, including Amazonas; the Darién, coasts, and interior of Panama; the Mosquitia of Honduras and Nicaragua; the west coast of Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and Nicaragua; the mountains of Haiti and the Dominican Republic; the Jamaican Blue Mountains and Red Hills regions; the Cuban eastern highland region; and the list goes on. When combined with similar lists from Canada and the United States and fused with the reality of extensive travel of African Americans across the entire continent, the image of profound continuities and innumerable radical changes is sustained and fortified.

Maroon People in History and Contemporary Culture

To begin to understand African-American cultures in the Americas from intertwined paradigmatic and historical perspectives, we turn now to two dynamic, contemporary peoples, each with deep roots in multiple pasts: the Afro-Lowlanders of Esmeraldas Province, northwest Ecuador, and the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname, French Guiana, and more recently Brazil. The latter were regarded by Melville J. Herskovits (1941) as the most African in the Americas, while the former long languished in historical and cultural scholarship by an apparent "lack" of African cultural features (e.g., Whitten, 1974/1996; Rahier, 1999). Both cultural systems are highly dynamic and have made and are making their presence felt in their respective nations. One does not find them represented in textbooks on the history of the Americas, as taught in high schools, nor are they represented as exemplars of cultural dynamics in the innumerable introductory texts to anthropology, ethnology, or history used in colleges and universities. The formal education system of the United States silences their past and their present.

AFRO-LOWLANDERS OF NORTHWEST ECUADOR. Esmeraldas, so named for its three-tiered canopied rain forest in northwest Ecuador, became home to self-liberated African and Afro-Hispanic people in the mid-1500s (Lane, 2002). Different groupings seized their freedom in the north and south of the province after fortuitous shipwrecks, intermarried with indigenous people, became the dominant force in the Emerald Province, and resisted all attempts by the Spanish military and the Roman Catholic Church to subdue and subvert them. In 1599 direct descendants of one grouping of the original Maroons, fifty-six-year old don Francisco de Arobe and his two sons, don Pedro and don Domingo (ages twenty-two and eighteen, respectively), journeyed to Quito to pay homage to the Spanish court (Lane, 2002). Their portrait was painted by an indigenous artist, Andrés Sánchez Gallque, in a magnificent work entitled *Esmeraldas Ambassadors*. Today, a restored version of this painting hangs in the Museo de Américas, Madrid. Kris Lane captures the elegance of these Esmeraldan lords in this manner:

> The men's noses, ears, and lips are studded with strange crescents and balls and tubes of gold. Beneath starched white ruffs flow finely bordered ponchos and capes of brocaded silk, their drape lovingly rendered by the painter: here a foil-like blue, there bronze, now bright orange against velvety black. Only don Francisco's poncho appears to be woolen, perhaps fashioned from imported Spanish broadcloth. The three are further adorned with matching shell necklaces, and don Francisco holds a supple, black felt hat with a copper trim. Don Domingo holds a more pedestrian sombrero. . .and all three appear to be wearing fitted doublets of contemporary, late-Renaissance European style. These are all but hidden, nestled beneath flowing Chinese overgarments, which are, in turn, cut in a distinctly Andean fashion. (2002, p. xi)

The African-American ambassadors from the Emerald land constituted in 1599 a global presence in a parochial Spanish court of the Americas. Over 460 years have passed since the first moments of *cimarronaje* (marronage) in Esmeraldas, and over four centuries have gone by since the aesthetic moment of magnificent representation of three of the elite of the earliest Afro-indigenous American republic. Through three hundred years of colonial rule that featured European-dominated gold lust, slavery of indigenous and African peoples, and a shift from a Renaissance to a baroque ethos, Afro-Hispanic Esmeraldanians endured (Lane, 2002). They fought in the wars of liberation and later in the Ecuadorian Liberal Revolution. In 2005 they regard themselves proudly as the true Christians of Ecuador. They manifest some of the most Spanish and the most African music and storytelling in the Americas, and they are among the poorest people in modern twenty-first-century Latin America.

In the twenty-first century the cultural system of these Afro-Ecuadorians is rich in its diversity and deep in its African, European, and indigenous legacies. During the conquest and colonial era the Spanish divided up the people of their vast empire into two republics: that of the Spanish, and that of the *indios.* No place was ever created under co-

lonial rule for black people, *los negros,* nor was a construction of blackness, *lo negro,* recognized. Afro-Latin American people created their own niches, environmental adaptations, ideologies, and cosmologies. Among the core features of blackness in Ecuador, as in Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, and elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean, is the enduring emphasis on *freedom.* One is either free or not. There is no middle ground (Price, 1996; Whitten and Torres, 1998).

In 1992 blackness in Ecuador clearly emerged as a national quality spanning coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions. Its ethnic nationalist expression was called *négritud,* coined initially (as *négritude*) by the Martinique writer Aimé Césaire. As the movement surged under such cultural rubrics as "the advancement of the black community," and identification of the movement among white and black intellectuals was expressed by the representations *afro-ecuatorianos(as)* (Afro-Ecuadorians) and *afro-latinoamericanos(as)* (Afro-Latin Americans), varied associations between those so identifying and the surging indigenous movement came into being. As the concept of Afro-indigenous peoples also became salient in national discourse, the concept of *zambaje* entered the Ecuadorian literary lexicon. *Zambo(a),* long a term of identity and reference in Esmeraldas and elsewhere in the Americas, signifies freedom and dignity; it refers to the genetic blending of African peoples with indigenous peoples, the epitome of such blending historically embodied in the painting of the three cosmopolitan ambassadors and lords from Esmeraldas, described above. Significantly, perhaps, in the restoration of the Museo de Américas' painting, the features of *zambaje* described by Lane were transformed to very black, denying thereby the representation and significance of mixed heritage of the Afro-indigenous *cimarrones.* Once again, history was silenced, this time through powerful museum imagery.

Christianity pervades the cosmology of the Afro-Esmeraldians. Some aficionados of Afro-Americana and other scholars and activists are bothered by the self-assertion of black people in this area that they are true Catholic Christians, people who resisted subversion by the imperialism of the Roman Catholic Church and resisted the ideology and praxis of inquisitorial curates. Esmeraldians nonetheless cooperate with priests, nuns, and brotherhoods who respect their beliefs and practices. *Respect* is a key to understanding the resilience of black people of Esmeraldas, as elsewhere. Those who respect people and their customs may move freely in and out of the Afro-Esmeraldanian world, but those who seek to deprecate or humiliate their persons and their lifeways may find them uncooperative and unresponsive. Respect and freedom are clearly tied together in the twenty-first century as in the sixteenth through the twentieth, and before.

Salient cultural features of the black lowlanders that go back into deep antiquity and stretch into the present with the promise of a dynamic future include the marimba dance, featuring the most African musical and rhythmic styles in the Americas; the songs of praise (*arrullos*) to saints, with origins in both Africa and Iberia; and wakes and second wakes for adults with strong roots in Moorish Iberia and North Africa.

La tropa. This cultural performance—called the troop (or troops)—is the most dramatic ceremony held in the province of Esmeraldas and in the neighboring departments of Nariño, Cauca, and Valle, Colombia. It is a forceful enactment of the capture, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ that some take to be an extended dramatic metaphor for the formation of an Afro-indigenous Maroon settlement and the resurrection of Christ within it. *La tropa* is enacted during the week leading up to Easter Day and ends with a secular parade, sometimes called Belén, on Easter Sunday. *La tropa* brings outmigrants back home from urban areas to small villages such as Güimbí on the Güimbí River and Selva Alegre (Rahier, 1999) on the Santiago River. Community ties are very important to many outmigrants, who spend considerable sums of money and take up to two or three weeks from their urban lives to make their way up the coast of Ecuador, and thence upriver by launch or canoe, to attend this important and dramatic communal event.

The *la tropa* ceremony begins in the fringes of the community as groups of soldiers with shotguns, machetes, spears, and knives run off in directed squads to search for the lost or hidden Christ, but they find only the biblical thief, Barabbas. They then march in step on the church and enter it, march within it, and eventually enact the killing of Christ, his removal from the cross, the reign of the devil on Saturday, the bringing of the forest into the Catholic Church within the black and free village, and perhaps the liberation of the people of the forest and of the true free church from oppression of crown, church, and later state (Rahier, 1999). During this ceremony women sing sacred hymns of praise to Christ and to the assembled "sinners." The *tropa* formation itself, composed strictly of adult men, marches in a stylized manner to a drumbeat not used in any other ritual. The stylized manner of marching and walking to and from the church and within the church has been recorded on film and audiotape since the 1940s.

On Easter Sunday, after the enactment of Christ's resurrection, women take over the entire ceremony and lead the participants to and fro through main streets, back

streets, and house yards to the songs of praise of the *arrullos* and to national popular music. This street parade, called Belén ("Bethlehem," and also "bedlam"), is led and controlled by women, just as in the hymns and dances to saints and to deceased children. Members of marimba bands participate and are controlled by women, who dance, sing, and shake tube rattles or maracas. With the beginning of the Belén the transformation from sacrality and connectivity with the realm of the divine to secularity and severance from that realm is instantaneous. Life in the realm of the human, which is connected to hell (Quiroga, 2003)—with its myriad of dangers—is fully restored in festivity and joy.

> Barrio de los negros Barrio of blacks de calles oscuras of dark streets preñadas de espantos, bursting with spooks que llevan, que asustan, that carry off, that frighten, que paran los pelos that make hairs stand [rise] en noches sin luna on moonless nights Barrio encendido, Inflamed barrio de noche y de día by night and by day infierno moreno, dark hell, envuelto en las llamas enveloped in the flames de son y alegría of rhythm and happiness. (Preciado Bedoya, 1961/1983, pp. 121–122)

MAROONS OF THE GUIANAS. Marronage began in a burst of freedom off the coast of Ecuador in the mid-1500s, led by both Africans and *ladinos,* black people of Afro-Hispanic descent. It was preceded by the first such movements in Hispaniola (contemporary Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in 1502, which continued. Enslaved Africans fled to the forested mountains in the interior, known as *haiti* in the Taíno (Arawak) indigenous language, merged with indigenous Taíno people, and began to raid and trade with new slaveholding colonists. Such movements became salient in African-American stories about their cultural origins and vigorously denied by white historians (Price, 1996; Trouillot, 1995).

Self-liberation in the Guianas (Guyana, Suriname, Guyane) took place on highly profitable sugar plantations operated by white European owners and overseers. As Sally Price and Richard Price note, "Between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, the ancestors of the present-day Maroons escaped from the coastal plantations on which they were enslaved, in many cases soon after their arrival from Africa, and fled into the forested interior, where they regrouped into small bands" (1999, p. 15). In Suriname, the Saramaka people tell the stories of First-Time (*fesi ten*) to commemorate not only such monumental events but also to evoke the dangers therein. In one case, at the plantation run by a Sephardim Jewish Brazilian named Imanüel Machado, two relatively newly arrived Africans, first Lanu by himself, and then his younger brother Ayako with his sister and sister's baby daughter, fled the local plantation atrocities and escaped into the rain forest hinterland where, after trials and tribulations, they founded the Matjáu clan of the contemporary and historical Saramaka cultural nationality. The soul of Lanu, it is said, returned to Africa, while the souls of his siblings remained in the Americas as founders of the Saramaka people.

It was supposed to be impossible to escape from the plantations, but these Maroons did so because, as a First-Time story goes, Ayako saw that following the brutal killing by a plantation overseer of his sister's son, he would have no kinspeople left when (as seemed to be inevitable) the overseer killed his sister's daughter the next day. Thus, not only was the concept of freedom at any cost established in the cultural system of the Saramaka, but the seeds of African-American structural matriliny were sown there, to mature eventually into an incredibly full social system of matrilineal descent reminiscent of West African systems but forged in the crucible of self-liberation and the often silenced wars of black liberation in the Americas.

Saramaka people and the five other Maroon peoples—Kwinti, Matawai, Ndyuka, Paramaka and Aluku—raided plantations to liberate more of their African congeners and fought a war of one hundred years against the Dutch, which they won. They were then instrumental in establishing the peace of 1762, which lasted until 1986. Richard Price studied the cultural system of First-Time while undertaking long-term ethnography with the people, where he listened with care to Maroon tellers, who located their own ancestry in the tales of significant events. Then, unlike most anthropologists, he worked in Dutch archives (the Algemeen Rijksarchief of The Hague), and there he found references to the very events that the Saramaka preserved orally, ritually, and in many other ingenious cultural ways, in their own historicities. Later, however, when he returned to the archives in Holland, he found that the documents were missing. Again, the Dutch silenced the past that the Saramaka tellers maintained in a reverential manner.

Maroon arts of the Guianas are particularly rich, and reminiscent of Africa in their tales, sense of historicity, kinship system, drumming, and especially the aesthetics of wood carving by men and the quilts and carved gourds made by women. But the timing for direct transmission ("diffusion") from Africa to the Americas is all wrong. The arts of the Suriname Maroons are not to be taken as "retentions" or "survivals" or "relics" of Africa, as followers of the hegemonic-diffusion position would, did, and still

hold. They are African-American creations that resemble African forms through a series of cultural and aesthetic templates first forged among *different* African people and reconstituted from deep aesthetic patterns in the Americas. They share broad African traditions found especially in West and Central Africa (Price and Price, 1999, p. 280), but it was and is their creative use of such complex but recognizable aesthetic templates in the Americas, some influenced by Native American arts and crafts, that forged the African American cultural systems of Suriname, as elsewhere.

In *Maroon Arts* (1999) Sally Price and Richard Price address this issue, as they have been doing since the 1970s. To understand cultural systems of African Americans we must understand continuity-in-change, what Amiri Baraka (who was once known as Leroi Jones) called "the changing same." By so doing we appreciate culture in its own right, as created by real people in real places, and abandon the archaic search for traces of a lost past and a lost culture. Such a perspective, together with that of the real power of professional silencing of salient voices and suppressing of historical evidence that is disturbing to entrenched educational systems, opens African-American Studies to new vistas of understanding. As Price and Price note:

> Where scholars once strained to discern the stylistic essences of particular arts in particular cultures, they are now directing their gaze more frequently toward the doorways where artistic and aesthetic ideas jostle with each other in their passage from one cultural setting to the next. Where the emphasis was once on abstracting back from an overlay of modernity to discover uncorrupted artistic traditions, modernization now lies at the heart of the enterprise, providing a springboard for explorations of cultural creativity and self-affirmation. (1999, p. 6)

Differences and Similarities

This entry makes broad statements, buttressed by long-term serious ethnographic research with two distinct peoples from western and eastern South America (the Afro-Lowlanders of Ecuador and the Saramaka of Suriname). The same sort of description could be written of hundreds of different African-American people in the Americas, who share legacies of enslavement and self-liberation, who speak many languages, and some of whose ritual activities and religious beliefs and practices are fairly well known, if often distorted (Haitian Vodoun, Brazilian Candomblé, Cuban Santería).

With regard to similarities in the two case presentations, the concept and practice of *freedom* undergirds secular and religious ideology in both systems, as it does in the rest of the Americas. Another foundational concept is that of the viability of *soul,* not as something detached from the body but as an enduring and empowering concept of expanded brotherhood and sisterhood across innumerable boundaries and barriers. Expression of complex ideas through rhythm and stylized motion together with considerable improvisation in text and performative modes also characterizes both peoples, as in other African-American systems in the Americas.

Reverential homage to ancestors takes a very different, indeed opposite, track in the two dynamic cultural systems, but even here there are similarities. The Saramaka place themselves in huge matrilineal (but not matriarchal) systems with ascendant male authority. But the ancestors can be dangerous, so little by little they are "forgotten" and the torts that may have been made from one clan or lineage member to another in recent and past times are somewhat diffused of an awful power of spiritual revenge. In the Pacific Lowlands of Ecuador, there are no unilineages, and a complex network system of kinship exists, also reminiscent of African systems. Ancestors are *dismissed at death,* but lingering worries hang on that they may return in a vengeance mode, either as a real ancestor or as one transformed into a dangerous spirit, ghost, or ghoulish creature. In both cases, which in some ways seem so very different, the closeness of the living and the dead combine with a world of sentient spirit, water, and forest beings to create a rich if at times frightening image of contemporary existence.

Finally, to add one more feature of comparison, in both systems people have, because they initiated their own heritage and ideology of freedom and defended it against many adversaries, learned to live effectively in two radically different economic systems: the global, expanding, and contracting money economy dictated by world demands of capital gain, and the local, sustainable system of subsistence life that provides their basis for survival.

See also African Diaspora; Identity and Race in the Americas

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NORMAN E. WHITTEN JR. (2005)

Dickson, Moses

April 5, 1824
November 28, 1901

The political and fraternal leader Moses Dickson was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and supported himself as a barber from an early age. He took a position on a steamboat in 1840, and his travels through the South over the next three years gave him the opportunity to witness slavery first-hand.

Dickson was profoundly affected by what he saw, and determined to do whatever he could to abolish the slave system. He later claimed to have met with eleven other black men in Saint Louis in August 1846 to found a secret organization known as the Twelve Knights of Tabor, or the Knights of Liberty. According to Dickson, this organization claimed 47,000 members at its peak and was actively preparing to do battle against slavery when its work was suspended in 1856 in anticipation of an impending war between the North and the South. Dickson also claimed that the organization helped as many as 70,000 slaves escape to freedom through the Underground Railroad. In the absence of any other evidence for the order's existence, however, Dickson's account is regarded with skepticism.

Dickson fought in the Civil War, returning in 1864 to Missouri, where he became active in local politics. He was a delegate to every Republican State Convention in Missouri from 1864 to 1878, and served as an elector for Ulysses S. Grant in 1872. He was also a leading member of the Equal Rights League, an organization that worked to secure the franchise and equality before the law for African Americans in the state. Dickson lobbied for improved education for ex-slaves and their children, and he was one of the founders of the Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University) in Jefferson City, Missouri, serving as the institution's vice president and as a trustee. In 1866 he joined the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, in which he was licensed to preach the following year. In 1878, he became president of the Refugee Relief Board of Saint Louis, which provided food and clothing to thousands of people on their way to resettlement in Kansas and elsewhere.

A prominent fraternalist, Dickson served as Grand Master of the Missouri lodge of the Prince Hall Masons. In 1871 he founded a new fraternal order, the International-

al Order of the Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor. He wrote an elaborate ritual for this order, combining elements drawn from Masonry and Methodism, and he encouraged members to practice Christianity, education, temperance, self-reliance, and economic self-improvement. The organization also provided its members and their families with material assistance in cases of illness or death. In 1907, six years after Dickson's death, the order claimed 100,000 members in thirty states and several foreign countries. Moses Dickson died in St. Louis, where he had lived for many years.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Fraternal Orders

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
DANIEL SOYER (1996)

Diddley, Bo (McDaniel, Otha Elias)

December 30, 1928

Bo Diddley, a rhythm-and-blues singer and guitarist, was born Otha Ellas (or Elias) Bates in McComb, Mississippi. Shortly after his birth he was sent to Chicago to live with his cousins, whose last name, McDaniel, he then adopted. He began studying the violin while still a child. In his early teens he also taught himself to play the guitar, and he was soon playing in informal bands. He also played trombone in Chicago's Baptist Congress Band. He attended Foster Vocational High School, and after graduating he made his living as a boxer and construction worker. In 1946 he married Ethel Mae Smith. During this time he performed with the Langley Avenue Jive Cats, a rhythm and blues ensemble that included the guitarist Earl Hooker.

In the 1950s he adopted the name Bo Diddley, apparently in reference to the diddley bow, a one-string guitar. He has also suggested that his name was slang for a mischievous youngster. In 1955 he recorded the songs "Bo Diddley" and "I'm a Man," appeared on Ed Sullivan's television show, and soon became a significant figure in Chicago's blues scene. His other important recordings from this time include "Crackin' Up" (1959) and "Say Man" (1959). In the 1960s Bo Diddley gained an international reputation for his electrifying live performances, but his recordings, including "You Can't Judge a Book by Its Cover" (1962), "Boss Man" (1966), and "Ooh Baby" (1967), were never hits.

Bo Diddley's notoriety derives largely from a signature syncopated rhythm, related to the "shave and a haircut" and "hambone" figures, which he has used in most of his songs. He has also cultivated a reputation as a powerful and outrageous singer, famous for shouting, growling, and howling boastful lyrics filled with sexual innuendo. His stark and earthy, yet highly experimental, guitar playing, combining Chicago electric blues and Afro-Cuban influences, was a prime influence on British rock bands in the 1960s. Bo Diddley appeared in three films during this time, *The Big T.N.T. Show* (1966), the documentary *The Legend of Bo Diddley* (1966), and *Keep on Rockin'* (1969).

Since the 1960s Bo Diddley has maintained a busy schedule. He has performed all over the world, hailed as one of the pioneers of rock and roll. His recordings include *Black Gladiator* (1971), the soundtrack for the animated film *Fritz the Cat* (1971), The *London Bo Diddley Sessions* (1973), and *I'm a Man* (1977). Bo Diddley's connection with British rockers has continued, including tours with The Clash in 1979 and Rolling Stones guitarist Ron Wood in 1988. In the 1980s Bo Diddley recorded for his own record label, Bokay Productions, a record distribution company based in Hawthorne, Florida. He also occasionally performed with Offspring, a group led by his daughter. He performed at George H. W. Bush's presidential inauguration in 1989, and again at Bill Clinton's inauguration in 1993.

Bo Diddley was honored with a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Rhythm and Blues Foundation at the Seventh Annual Pioneer Awards in 1996. He has his own "Star" on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and is a member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (inducted in 1987). In 1999 Diddley released *Road Runner Live,* and he has continued performing into the early years of the twenty-first century.

See also Rhythm and Blues

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Diggs, Charles, Jr.

December 2, 1922
August 24, 1998

Born in Detroit, Congressman Charles Coles Diggs Jr. was the only child of Mayne Jones and Charles Coles Diggs. The senior Diggs was a Michigan legislator and the owner of the state's largest funeral home. Diggs Jr. studied at the University of Michigan and Fisk University. During World War II he served as a Tuskegee airman, reaching the rank of lieutenant. After his discharge in 1945, he attended Wayne State University in Detroit, where he obtained a degree in mortuary science. He then went to work in his father's funeral home.

In 1950 Diggs's father, who had been imprisoned for taking bribes, won reelection to his Michigan state senate post in a special election, but the legislature refused to seat him. Diggs Jr. ran for the seat in a special election, defending his father's record. He won both the primary and the general election by large margins. In the legislature Diggs allied himself with the policies of Gov. G. Mennen Williams, a friend of the labor movement. In 1951 and 1952 Diggs took night law courses at the Detroit School of Law.

In 1954 Diggs ran for the House of Representatives from Michigan's 13th District. He defeated incumbent George O'Brien in the Democratic primary and defeated a Republican challenger in the general election, becoming Michigan's first African-American congressman. Once in the House of Representatives, Diggs pressed for civil rights legislation and enforcement. In 1956 he introduced the measure to establish a Civil Rights Commission. Later, in 1971, he became a founder of the Congressional Black Caucus. In the 1960s Diggs backed successful measures to lower the voting age to eighteen and to aid minority businesses. In 1972 he was one of the organizers of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, an unsuccessful attempt to unify African Americans politically and to form an alternative political party. Diggs established himself on the House District of Columbia Committee, helping to win the district home rule. In 1973 he was named chair of the District Committee.

Diggs also specialized in foreign affairs, particularly in Africa. A champion of foreign aid, in 1959 he became the first African-American member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and he later served as chair of the Committee's Africa Subcommittee. Named by President Richard Nixon to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, he resigned in December 1971 to protest U.S. support of South Africa and Portuguese involvement in Africa.

In 1978 Diggs, by then the senior black representative, was convicted of mail fraud and payroll kickbacks involving his office employees. His constituents elected him to a thirteenth term, and he appealed his conviction. Under pressure, he resigned his committee chairmanships, and on July 31, 1979, the House formally censured Diggs, 414–0, for his conduct. On June 3, 1980, the Supreme Court refused to hear Diggs's appeal. He resigned his seat and went to prison in Alabama, where he served seven months. Following his release he served as an aide to the Congressional Black Caucus and practiced his mortician trade in Maryland. In 1987 he ran unsuccessfully for the Wayne County Commission in Michigan, but that same year he regained the state mortuary license he had lost with his conviction.

Charles Diggs died in 1998. More than six hundred people attended a ceremony in Maryland celebrating his civil rights record.

See also Congressional Black Caucus

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Digital Culture

In the mid-1990s, a confluence of factors—including exponentially increasing microchip processing power, the diffusion of personal computing, the largesse of venture capitalists, and the conception of the World Wide Web—culminated in a thoroughgoing transformation of Ameri-

can society. Dubbed the "information revolution," the digitalization of ever-larger segments of American life irreversibly changed modes of communication, circuits of commerce, methods of governance, and rhythms of work and leisure.

However, the social power of new information technology was neither universally nor equally distributed in the United States. The "digital divide," a phrase coined in 1995 by an Ohio reporter and popularized as the subtitle of a 1999 National Telecommunications and Information Administration report entitled *Falling Through the Net,* soon became shorthand for a host of inequities that attended the emergence of the United States as an information society, including disparities in language (English remains the lingua franca of the Internet); accessibility to computer hardware and software; the availability of the basic telephony infrastructure that supports networked computing, especially in rural areas; and the age of those most likely to log on.

For the most part, however, the phrase "digital divide" connotes the uneven access to information technology that exists among different racial and ethnic communities—in particular, between African Americans, who report the lowest rates of personal computer and Internet usage, and other social groups. Although this gap is steadily diminishing, black Americans remain somewhat less likely than Latinos, and appreciably less likely than whites and Asian Americans, to regularly use the Internet. In 2002, for example, 45 percent of African Americans had Internet access compared with 60 percent of whites and 54 percent of Latinos.

Although the digital divide paradigm, which measures the adoption of networked computing to the exclusion of other technologies, succinctly describes a new frontier of race-based social stratification, it also at times obscures the diversity of African-American digital culture. Encompassing the Internet and World Wide Web, yet ranging beyond them, African-American digital culture can be said to include multiple forms of technical *and* artistic creation, a proliferating network of virtual communities, and a unique standpoint on contemporary technoculture that stems from black diasporic experience. And, though black digital culture is characterized by the use of new techniques and media, it also extends an already rich tradition of aesthetics and critical reflection.

Bill Gates, Steve Jobs, and Tim Berners-Lee—the captains of computer science and industry whose combined efforts ushered in the information revolution are now legendary. Other founding figures are less renowned, but their labors were no less important. Among these are African-American entrepreneurs, engineers, programmers, and creatives who played a role in the conception of the hardware and software architecture that supports information society and who continue to contribute to its growth. Nigerian-American computer scientist and engineer Philip Emeagwali, for instance, has been called "a father of the Internet." In 1982 Emeagwali conceived of a globe-shaped network of interlinked microprocessors spanning the planet that has been credited with prefiguring the idea of the Internet, a similarly expansive international network of computers. Mark Dean, an IBM executive, also contributed to the foundation of the information society: Working with a collaborator, he devised a flexible plug-in technology that opened up personal computers (PCs) to an array of peripheral devices such as headphones, speakers, and printers. First used commercially in 1984, this technical innovation enabled personal computers to evolve from business tools into technologies of leisure and entertainment as well. PC culture was further pushed in this direction with the introduction of programs that enabled the evolution of the Internet and the World Wide Web from text-based mediums to multimedia platforms—including images, animation, text, and sound. Two such programs were Macromedia Director and Shockwave, which were built on the backbone of the Lingo scripting language developed by African-American computer scientist and engineer John Henry Thompson.

The creation of a hardware-software information infrastructure readied the way for new configurations of the black community. An early pioneer in this effort was Brooklyn-based computer aficionado and businessman Omar Wasow. In 1993 Wasow founded New York Online (NYO), a dynamic virtual gathering place for people of color in the New York metropolitan area. This undertaking became the inspiration for his pathbreaking subsequent project, blackplanet.com. Soon after its founding in 1999, blackplanet.com, a website fostering online community among people of African descent, became one of the most popular sites on the Web; the site continues to draw an impressive audience. Other websites popular among African Americans include africana.com, a joint venture between Harvard University academics K. Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr. and the Microsoft Corporation that features original reporting and cultural criticism across the African diaspora; the multichannel arts and entertainment site seeingblack.com; and the politically oriented blackcommentator.com.

While recent technological advances provided a vehicle for novel forms of African-American community, these developments also inspired social observers to theorize African-American engagement with technology. Sometimes grouped together under the general rubric of Afro-

futurism, cultural critics Mark Dery and Greg Tate and novelists Samuel R. Delany and Octavia Butler, among others, observed a tradition of technical experimentation and futurist themes in African-American culture that both anticipated and found continued expression in black digital culture. Black critical reflection on new technologies spans utopian and dystopian perspectives, including parts of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* in which the nameless narrator becomes a cog in the machine of modern life; labor activist James Bogg's optimistic essay "The Negro in Cybernation," which opines that technology might help create the conditions for social equality; the Black Panther Party's Vietnam War–era lament that "The Spirit of the People is Greater Than the Man's Technology"; and the symbolism in black music genres such as techno and funk that likens the experience of black Americans to that of space travelers, cyborgs, and robots.

The innovative music production techniques pioneered by black American hip-hop artists, as documented by scholar Tricia Rose in her *Black Noise* (1994), also partake of this Afro-futurist spirit, as do the creations of artists like Keith and Mendi Obadike, whose art transports interrogations of black identity into the digital realm with multimedia projects. The Obadike's *The Interaction of Coloreds* project, for example, uses the familiar image of the color dialog box, familiar to users of word-processing software, to simultaneously comment on information society and the politics of color caste in American society.

Digital culture comprises the ways in which new technologies figure—literally, figuratively, and virtually—in black experience. Black technoculture reveals that the "digital divide" is but one perspective on African Americans' interactions with new technologies. Moreover, there is a longer continuum of black theory and practice around technology that proliferates and finds novel form in contemporary digital culture.

See also New Media and Digital Culture

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ALONDRA NELSON (2005)

Dillard University

Dillard University, a historically black college located in New Orleans, Louisiana, grew out of two institutions, Straight College and New Orleans University. Straight College (originally Straight University) was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1869 to educate emancipated African Americans. Straight featured both secondary and undergraduate programs and briefly housed a Law Department. New Orleans University, created by the Methodist Episcopal Church, was originally called the Union Normal School. Following the end of Reconstruction, Union was transformed into an undergraduate institution, New Orleans University, while the Gilbert Academy was established under university auspices as a secondary school. Shortly thereafter, a medical department and nursing school were added, and the Sarah Goodridge Hospital and Nursing Training School (later Flint-Goodridge Hospital) was set up as a teaching institution. Although the medical school closed in 1911, Flint-Goodridge Hospital remained affiliated with the university until 1983.

In 1930 Straight College and New Orleans University merged. The new institution was named Dillard University in honor of James Hardy Dillard, a pioneering educator of African Americans in the South. Will W. Alexander, the director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and a leading southern white liberal, was named acting president. Following Alexander's departure in 1937, the distinguished educator Albert Dent became Dillard's first African-American president. During these years a student theater group, the Dillard Players, became nationally known. By 2003, Dillard had more than 2,300 students and nearly 150 full-time faculty directing 31 major programs of study. In addition to its academic and athletic programs, it sponsors a notable yearly conference on Black-Jewish relations.

See also Bethune-Cookman College; Bond, Horace Mann; Catlett, Elizabeth; Fisk University; Howard University;

Lincoln University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Tuskegee University; Wilberforce University

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Dinkins, David

July 10, 1927

Born and raised in Trenton, New Jersey, politician David Norman Dinkins served in the Marine Corps during World War II. In 1950 he graduated from Howard University and later entered Brooklyn Law School, where he received a degree in 1956. From 1956 through 1975 Dinkins worked as an associate and partner in a law firm.

In the early 1960s Dinkins joined Harlem's George Washington Carver Democratic Club, then headed by the powerful city councilman J. Raymond Jones. He soon took an active interest in local politics and was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1965 and as a New York State Democratic Party district leader in 1967. He lost his assembly seat as a result of redistricting after only one term but continued his political career as Harlem's district leader. In 1972 Dinkins became the first African-American president of the Board of Elections, but he resigned a year later in protest when the department failed to enact registration reforms.

In 1973 Dinkins was appointed deputy mayor for planning and development under newly elected Mayor Abraham Beame. His attempt to become New York City's first black deputy mayor was ended when he disclosed that he failed to pay income taxes for the four previous years. He withdrew his nomination and paid heavy fines, but he continued his career despite this setback. In 1975 he was named city clerk, a position he would hold for ten years. He twice ran for Manhattan borough president, in 1977 and 1981, losing both times to Andrew Stein. Dinkins finally won the office in 1985 and served for one term.

In 1989 Dinkins ran for mayor against incumbent Edward I. Koch. Dinkins presented himself as a civil alternative to the acrimonious Koch and as someone who could better handle the city's racial problems, which he accused the three-term mayor of exacerbating. He defeated Koch in the Democratic primary and in the election defeated Republican Rudolph Giuliani by a slim margin, thereby becoming the first African-American mayor in New York City's history. His tenure as mayor had its share of budgetary and political problems. He earned the reputation of a cautious and careful administrator who proved reasonably adept in negotiating the treacherous complexities of New York City's racial and ethnic politics, but he was widely criticized as ineffective and biased in his handling of black boycotts of Korean-American shop owners in 1992 and in his response to the Crown Heights riot in 1993. Following his narrow defeat for reelection by Rudolph Giuliani in 1993, Dinkins began teaching at Columbia University and hosted a weekly public affairs radio program.

A former tennis player, Dinkins was inducted into the United States Tennis Association (USTA) Eastern Section Tennis Hall of Fame in 1993. Serving a fourth consecutive term as a Director at Large of the USTA in 2005, Dinkins continued teaching as Professor in the Practice of Public Affairs at Columbia University.

See also Mayors; Politics in the United States; Tennis

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JAMES BRADLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Diseases, Tropical

See Tropical Diseases

Divination and Spirit Possession in the Americas

The *orishas* (also spelled *orisa* and *orixá*), the guardian spirits of Yoruba religions, originally settled in the city of Ile Ife (in present-day Nigeria). There they established all of the ancient Yoruba arts, including farming, smithing, sciences, and divination. Each orisha, upon his or her passing, became the divine patron of the individual art he or she had mastered. The creator god, Olodumare, asked

the orisha Orumila to stay on earth to advise humans regarding the dangers of daily life through the art of divination. Since then, divination has been used in Africa—and eventually in the New World—as the way for humans to receive advice from the orishas in matters that range from the spiritual to the physical. However, as time has passed, the orishas have availed themselves of man's own advances (e.g., in the arts of medicine, law, finances, etc.) and directed their believers to an expert in specific fields. This has been the most important change in the divination process since its creation.

The character of divination is predominantly private, while that of spirit possession is usually communal. Spirit possession or mounting (as in climbing on a horse), is common to most ancient belief systems, benefiting one person or an entire community through the energy that is believed to come from the spirits. This energy, known as *axé* or *aché,* is achieved through trance. Two elements are necessary for the propitiation of a trance: drumming and dance. At a speed of 200 to 220 beats per minute, drumming induces a state of altered consciousness. The drums employed for these rituals have been consecrated to particular deities. Dancing adheres to similar parameters, with an endless repetition of simple steps done to prepare for a trance. Particular rhythms are associated to each divinity. Once mounted, trancers dance the characteristic steps and movements of the visiting spirit. Another manifestation of trance is a sudden change from the mother tongue to one of the Yoruba dialects.

Spirit possession can be observed in the rituals of four of the major African-based religions in America: Candomblé, Santería, Umbanda, and Vodou. Eventually, these religions meshed with the Catholic beliefs of the colonizers and were enriched by the cosmology and trance traditions of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Americas, such as the Caribs, Arawaks, and Tainos.

Candomblé

Candomblé has two realms, the spiritual (or *orun*), and the earthly (or *aiê*). *Orun* is composed of nine concentric energy circles of ever-increasing power. Olorum, the main god, presides where the energy is highest. Closest to Orolum is the *irumale*, then the ancestors or *eguns*, and finally the *orixás*. These circles surround *aiê.* The level inhabited by the *orixás* has an energy level similar to that of Earth, thus facilitating transit during possession rituals.

The *pai-* or *mãe-de-santo* (fathers and mothers) occupies the highest position within the religion. The high priest is assisted by the *iaôs,* also known as *filhos-* and *filhas-de-santo,* or sons and daughters. Possession occurs predominantly through filhas during rituals held in their temples (*terreiros*). Trance occurs within the context of religious festivities conducted in the *barracão*, the meeting room for public ceremonies. When possession seems imminent a drummer plays a dissonant note as if to precipitate the event. The *orixás* announce their identity by uttering Yoruba expressions associated with their individual personality; for example, those possessed by Omula will shout *Atotô*! The trancers then start to act out the *orixá's* personality.

During this activity, the congregation dances in concentric circles. In this manner their individual energies are channeled into the ritual's focal point. The possessed worshiper is placed at that focal point when the first signs of spirit possession appear. Another manifestation of trance is a sudden change from the mother tongue to one of the Yoruba dialects. After possession occurs, the individual is taken to an adjacent room and dressed in the color-coded garments and attributes associated with the deity. Returned to the *barracão* wearing the proper regalia, the *orixá* begins to provide personal advice, warnings, admonitions, and guidance to devotees. The character of this advice is general in nature; individualized advice is received only via divination.

In the early hours of morning, the body of the possessed filhas experiences a secondary trance in which the *orixá* changes to a childhood state, called *erê.* In this state the *orixá* tends to be obscene, playful, and boisterous. This type of trance signals the ending of the festivities. Once the *santo* leaves the body it has occupied during the festivities, the vehicle person has no recollection of the events that ensued during the trance and does not remember any message given by the o*rixá*.

Communication between *orun* and *aiê* is achieved with the intervention of the *pai-de-santo.* The first step of divination is the identification of the client's guardian deities, of which there are usually two. Of the many divination methods brought from Africa to Brazil, the *jogo de búzios*, or shell toss, remains paramount. The priest begins the ritual with salutations and invocations to the *orixás* in a mixture of Yoruba and Portuguese. Sixteen cowry shells are tossed into a small wooden board adorned with sacred necklaces. The formation and position, open or closed, of the cowries will determine which *odu,* or myth, is applicable to the problem at hand. A second toss, this time using only four shells, is done to verify the answer obtained during the first toss. Other materials employed in divination to communicate with the *orixás* include small fruits and grains favored by the deity summoned.

Santería

Possession in Santería (often referred to as *Regla de Osha*) is also known as *mounting,* as in climbing atop a horse. Commonly limited to members of the priesthood class, however, it is not restricted to initiates alone. Mounting in non-initiates can signal a calling into the priesthood class to serve under the possessing orisha, called a *santo*. Mounting occurs within the content of a religious festivity (*bembé*). The events that follow the coming of the orisha are very similar to those described in Candomble.

There are two types of divination in Santería. One of them, *diloggun*, can be performed by all priests and priestesses while *ekuele* or *ifa* is reserved for the high priests alone. In *diloggun*, cowry shells or coconut pieces are the vehicle of communication with the *orishas*. As a result, coconut consumption is forbidden to initiates. The coconut used in divination is broken into pieces, from which the officiating priest chooses four. Small portions from each are removed to equal the number associated with the orisha to be consulted, and the pieces are placed on the deity's soup tureen. Chants are then sung in honor of Olodumare, the supreme being, the orishas, the priest's godparents, the client's godparents (in the event they exist), and the ancestors, or *eguns*. Following this ritual, the santero (priest) asks permission to perform the divination from all of the previously mentioned spirits and deities, and from Biague, the first diviner who employed coconut pieces in divination. A strict ritual ensues, whereby the four pieces are passed over the client's head, shoulders, chest, hands, knees, and feet, while the santero requests that the coconut pieces tell the truth. Once this ritual is finished, the pieces are cast into a special rug used only for divination. Each question is then repeated for verification purposes. The coconut pieces can fall with the white side up or with the dark outer cover up, in any of the mathematical combinations possible for the number four. A *letra* (letter) with its own particular meaning is associated to each of the five possible combinations. Each letter has its own name: *Alafia, Otagüe, Eyife, Okana Sorde* and *Oyekun*. The *santos* also employ the coconut to communicate with a particular adherent, though on those occasions questions are not formulated before casting the pieces into the mat.

A similar approach is followed when using the cowry shells for divination. The bottom of each shell is removed for stability, and the way the shells fall determines the *orisha's* message. The number of shells employed is sixteen, a sacred amount in the religion. In their absence, larger shells, (*ayes*), small black stones, (*ota*), and even human vertebrae are used as substitutes. The different numeric combinations, *odús,* are identified by individual names. *Odús* are associated with several stories (*appatakis*) from the lives of the orishas. It is up to the priest, who must memorize all of these stories, to choose the one that carries a message applicable to the condition or situation experienced by the person undergoing the divination.

Only the highest priests within the religion, the *babalaos,* can perform the most reliable form of divination in Santería. This type leaves no room for mistakes, since it involves direct communication with Olodumare. Two modalities are available: the *Ekuele* and the *Tablet of Ifá.* The Ekuele is made up of two chains, fourteen to sixteen inches long. Hooked to these chains are pieces of metals, seeds, and a variety of small objects. Only one chain is employed per day. Part of a priest's morning rituals is to throw the ekueles into the divination matt, which allows Olodumare to decide which one will be used that day.

Ifá's Tablet (*Opon Ifá*) has two components, a round tablet and sixteen palm nuts. The heads of the orishas who control the four cardinal points are engraved in the tablet. Occasionally, the tablet is rectangular in shape, and in those cases the number of palm nuts increases to seventeen. The ritual begins with invocations like those employed for divining through coconut and cowries. The ritual develops in the following manner: the priest holds all the nuts in the right hand and allows them to slide through his fingers. The resulting combinations and *letras* depend on the number of shells that escape and those that remain in the priest's hand. The process is repeated eight times in order to obtain an *odu*.

Umbanda

With a cosmos organized somewhat differently than that of the other three religions discussed in this article, the dynamics of spirit interaction and possession in Umbanda also vary. Here, the cosmos is divided into three spaces: the underworld, earth, and the ancestral realm, home to good spirits. *Exús* and *Quinbanda* spirits inhabit the underworld but venture to earth to harm humans, which harm is undone by the enlightened spirits. Among the enlightened spirits are the *Caboclos,* unacculturated Amazonian natives, and *Pretos Velhos,* elderly enslaved Africans. The latter perform their good deeds on earth as a means to ascend to a higher level of spiritual awareness. *Orixás* also take part in trance, depending on the type of Umbanda practiced at the individual center. The most important forms of Umbanda practiced are *Kardecista* (spiritism), Oriental, and Africana (African). Trances occur within the context of public celebrations, held in tents or rooms of worship (*terreiros*).

Umbanda ritual is conducted in a rectangular white room divided in two. This is a sacred place, with an altar

and a public place for the congregation. The altar holds representations of *Pretos Velhos, Caboclos*, Catholic counterparts of the *orixás*, and glasses of water (known in spiritism as *Grave*). A ritual cleansing (*defumacão*) is followed by invocations dedicated to God and to more festive deities, as members of the congregation join the celebrants in clapping hands as they invite the spirits of *Caboclos* and *Pretos Velhos* to *vem trabalhar* (come to work).

Possession begins when the mediums stop dancing and start to convulse and perspire. Immediately after this, they assume the facial and bodily demeanors of the spirits who have entered their bodies. Once settled inside the mediums' bodies, the spirits proceed to greet one another, special members of the congregation, and important visitors. Divination is central to this ritual. An attendant gives numbers for consultation with the different spirits. Consultations aim at resolving the physical and spiritual problems of members of the congregation. At times this consultation involves the transferring of an evil spirit, or *exú,* from the body of a parishioner to that of a medium. These exorcists claim to have protection against the negative vibrations of the *exús*.

Spirit possession varies according to the type of Umbanda practiced at each *centro*. Those with a Kardecian orientation are visited by divinities of the spiritism pantheon: spirits of Arabs, Aztecs, Chinese, and Hindus. Here, trance is subdued and is accompanied by religious classical music, such as the "Ave Maria." In the more African *centros* it is *orixás* who come down to earth. The ritual is more elaborate and includes all of the elements of trance described in Candomblé and *Regla de Osha*.

In Umbanda, the male *chefes* (leaders) and male mediums, or spiritists, attests to the religion's Kardecian influence. Brazilian *machismo* still prevails in the religion, to the extent that only in the more Afro-Brazilian practices will a male possessed by a female *orixá* be allowed to display an overt feminine demeanor without risking expulsion from the *centro*.

Vodou

Because *Le Bon Dieu,* or *Bondye* (the good god) is well disposed towards man, the religion of Vodou focuses on the *loas* (spirits and divinities) who are closer to mankind. Music, dance, and animal sacrifices are important parts of the spirit possession experience.

Trance occurs through the *serviteurs*, members who serve as vehicles. The loas' presence at the ceremonies is understood by the *fideles* (worshipers) as a positive answer to their prayers and requests. Once a *loa* has entered the body of a *serviteur* the *fideles* can observe the physical manifestations of the *loa*'s character in the person possessed. It is then that the spirit communicates with the worshipers, either on an individual or collective basis. In many cases, the saint or loa is offered one of its favorite animals, which is then sacrificed by the *serviteur*, manifesting the *loa*, in trance. The animal is then given cooks who prepare their meat for the loas and the fideles. Only in Vodou has trance been openly associated with political actions. The slave uprising organized by Mackandal in Saint Domingue (Haiti) in 1757–1758, was one such instance, for Mackandal claimed to be the representative of an African divinity. Also important was the August 14, 1791, *Petro* ritual, a form of vodou that allegedly triggered the Haitian Revolution by empowering slaves through possession rituals. In such a spiritual state the slaves emerged victorious over the Napoleonic army in spite of their inferior numbers and lack of sophisticated weaponry.

As in the other religions the Vodou priest, or *houngan,* is responsible for both trance induction and divination. Communicating with the loas is also very important in Vodou. Playing cards and bones are employed, alternating with the techniques used in Candomblé and *Regla de Oshá:* seeds or coconut pieces, obí, cowry shells, and Ifá. In Vodou, Ifá is performed with the aid of palm nuts or with a chain of eight half-seed shells, called *opelé*. Trance is not to be confused with the Petro practice of zombification, which is induced by ingestion of particular substances that produce an altered state in humans. Zombification does not involve communion with the loas, nor does it affect the congregation in a positive manner. Zombification occurs when a person ingests a mixture of herbs and toxins especially prepared by a vodou sorcerer (the mixture may also be applied to the skin). The signs and symptoms follow a progression from feeling sick to generalized body weakness, ending in a decrease of vital signs to levels barely compatible with life. Once this occurs the individual is aware of his or her surroundings but is unable to react to them. At the mercy of the sorcerer, the victim might even be buried alive, only to be disinterred days later and given the antidote. This particular ritual, often performed as punishment, constitutes a show of power.

See also Candomblé; Folk Religion; Orisha; Myal; Religion; Santería; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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JOSÉ ANTONIO LAMMOGLIA (2005)

Divine, Father

See Father Divine

Dixon, Melvin

May 29, 1950
October 26, 1992

Born in Stamford, Connecticut, novelist and poet Melvin Dixon received his B.A. from Wesleyan University in 1971 and his Ph.D. in American Studies from Brown University in 1975. He taught African-American literature, modern drama, and creative writing at Fordham University, Williams College, Queens College of the City University of New York (CUNY), and the CUNY Graduate Center, where he was professor of English from 1986 to 1992. As a critic Dixon helped to shape the emergent field of comparative African-American literary studies. His major critical work, *Ride Out the Wilderness: Geography and Identity in Afro-American Literature,* was published in 1987. He also translated two important volumes from the French: Geneviève Fabre's *Drumbeats, Masks, and Metaphor* (1983), a seminal study of contemporary African-American theater, and *The Collected Poems of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (1987).

In addition to his success as a critic, Dixon was an award-winning creative writer. His collection of his own verse, *Change of Territory* (1983), reflects his spiritual itinerary and development as a black writer; drawing upon diverse travels and sojourns in France, the Antilles, and Senegal, these poems reenact his pilgrimage to many different African-American historical sites. His first novel, *Trouble the Water* (1989)—which received the Charles H. and N. Mildred Nilon Excellence in Minority Fiction Award—poetically chronicles the dramatic homecoming of a black protagonist to his southern roots. By contrast, his second novel, *Vanishing Rooms* (1991), is a terse story set in New York about the agonies and rewards of love and friendship; it is one of the few major works in the African-American literary tradition that focuses on issues of black male homosexuality. Shortly before his death in 1992, Dixon completed a volume of poetry titled *Love's Instruments,* about his experience of living with AIDS. He also completed an authorized translation of the complete poems of Léopold Sédar Senghor.

See also Literary Criticism, U.S.; Literature of the United States

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MICHEL FABRE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Documentary Film

Documentary film has played a central role in the long-standing African-American tradition of presenting the lives and struggles of Black people as a means to achieve

social justice. As a result, it owes a tremendous debt to African-American slave narratives, journalism, and photography. African-American documentary generally refers to artistically crafted, nonfiction films made by and about people of African descent but may also include films about African Americans by individuals of other backgrounds.

In Klotman and Cutler's *Struggles for Representation: African American Documentary Film and Video* (1999), Pearl Bowser describes the mission of African-American documentary as "recording the highs and lows of ordinary folk, as well as extraordinary moments in Black history and culture as seen from within" (1999), p. 31. From early twentieth-century newsreels through the 1970s Black documentary film movement to contemporary experimental films, Black America has produced many of the most prolific and masterful documentary filmmakers in cinema history.

Inventing African-American Documentaries

African Americans began to use moving pictures to document their lives as soon as film technology became available in the early twentieth century. Black photographers like Addison Scurlock, Peter P. Jones, Jennie Louise Touissant Welcome, Ernest Touissant Welcome, and Arthur Laidler Macbeth used their photographic expertise to become some of the world's first documentary filmmakers. In addition to making their own films, these artists, along with other Black photographers like James Van Der Zee, created the photographs that continue to enrich African-American documentaries.

Many consider *A Day at Tuskegee* (1910) the first comprehensive African-American documentary. Political leader and Tuskegee Institute founder Booker T. Washington commissioned George W. Broome and the National Negro Business League to document Tuskegee's history. The acclaimed film opened at Carnegie Hall in New York City and was the first to reveal documentary's political potential.

Prior to World War I, several African-American film companies emerged to produce fictional and documentary films, which often screened together in theaters, schools, and churches. Early documentaries, like narrative "race movies," attempted to challenge the growing number of racist films by documenting impressive activities and achievements of African Americans. Peter P. Jones Photoplay Ltd.'s elaborate *Dawn of Truth* (1915) combined a number of Jones's shorts into one of the earliest historical survey documentaries.

Most early African-American documentaries were newsreels and short subjects that, because they have deteriorated or been lost, are now known to us only through references in written texts. However, these images are still being discovered. Ethnographic film footage by African-American anthropologist/novelist Zora Neale Hurston was recently found, and more lost films promise to emerge.

With the advent of sound in the 1920s and the controlling influence of the Hollywood studio system, the cost of film production became prohibitive for many artists. Despite this, filmmakers like Edward Lewis, William Alexander, and Carlton Moss sustained the emerging African-American documentary industry.

In the 1930s Edward Lewis created a number of documentary series that would foreshadow theme-based formats, like *Eyes on the Prize*, to emerge decades later. William Alexander founded The All-America Newsreel Company, which generated hundreds of newsreels. Alexander worked with the Office of War and Information, where he created *A Call to Duty* (1946) and focused media attention on African Americans in the military. After the war Alexander spent several decades in Africa, where he produced documentaries about emerging African nations.

The topic of African Americans in the military was one of the first and most popular in African-American documentaries. During World War II, *The Negro Soldier* (1944) became one of the most significant African-American documentaries ever produced. The War Department commissioned Carlton Moss to create the film, which was aggressively promoted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and eventually shown to thousands of white as well as black troops. A number of other films about African Americans in the military were created during this period, and Moss continued to make documentaries until his death in 1997.

Many of these early African-American documentary filmmakers struggled in isolation and anonymity. However, their work helped define the medium and proved documentary's political and cultural potential, soon to be realized by their successors.

Visions of a Movement: Documentary Activism

In the 1960s the civil rights movement inspired documentary artists of all races to use film to represent, preserve, and propel impending social change. By the 1970s the ensuing Black Power movement's emphasis on preserving Black history and the emergent Black independent film movement combined with the training and inspiration provided by documentary institutions like *Black Journal*

Actor Gabriel Casseus (l) and former major league baseball star Maury Wills (r) pose with director Spike Lee at the premiere of Lee's documentary film* Jim Brown: All-American, *April 17, 2002, in Beverly Hills, California. *Lee is among several prominent African American filmmakers who have used the documentary to chronicle black life, politics, and the civil rights movement in the United States.* LEE CELANO/GETTY IMAGES.

and Blackside, Inc. to produce an unprecedented number of African-American documentaries.

Madeline Anderson's *Integration Report #1* (1961) documented the nation's first sit-ins and arguably launched the second wave of the contemporary Black documentary film movement. The 1960s also saw documentaries by former actor William Greaves; Gordon Parks, of *Shaft* (1971) fame; and journalist St. Clair Bourne, who previously wrote for William Alexander's newsreels. All of these men would continue to make significant contributions to cinema throughout the rest of the century.

A steady stream of Black documentaries began in 1969 when Greaves became executive producer of the *Black Journal*. Following the 1967 race riots, President Lyndon B. Johnson's Kerner Commission mandated improvements in media representations of African Americans. The result was the 1968 Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) program *Black Journal,* which soon hired Greaves as executive producer. Greaves turned *Black Journal* into an Emmy- award-winning documentary and news program that set the highest standard for all nonfiction media production and launched a generation of Black filmmakers including Madeline Anderson, St. Clair Bourne, Kathleen Collins, Lou Potter, Jacqueline Shearer, and Tony Brown (who in 1976 turned the program into *Tony Brown's Journal*). PBS continues to serve as a home for African-American documentaries, and Greaves, who has made more than two hundred documentaries, has emerged as one of the most prolific filmmakers of any race.

Although it was not broadcast until 1987, the 1970s also set the stage for the Oscar-nominated *Eyes on the Prize*, a documentary series about the civil rights movement by Henry Hampton, founder of Blackside, Inc. Blackside made many other documentaries in the 1970s while creating *Eyes on the Prize,* and the company later produced the Emmy-award-winning *Eyes on the Prize* II (1990). Blackside, Inc., like *Black Journal,* trained important filmmakers, including Orlando Bagwell, Carroll Parrot Blue, Louis Massiah, and Sam Pollard. Blackside has also created successful documentary series on African-American science, poverty, and faith.

Reinventing African-American Documentary

Changes in society and technology from the 1980s to the present have been reflected in documentaries. Video has made documentary filmmaking more affordable. In the last several decades successes in Black independent film, combined with increased access to university film training, have inspired hundreds of African-American documentaries.

While African-American women and gay filmmakers have always made documentaries, in recent years their numbers and visibility have grown, as have the number of films addressing gender and sexuality. Black artists of all backgrounds are making increasing numbers of personal, essay, and experimental films.

Inspired by Black feminist discourses, African-American women filmmakers created a movement within a movement, documenting black women's lives through innovative combinations of history, poetry, and performance. In the 1970s and early 1980s Camille Billops, Cheryl Fabio Bradford, Ayoka Chenzira, Julie Dash, Zeinabu Irene Davis, Alile Sharon Larkin, Barbara McCullough, O. Funmilayo Makarah, Michelle Parkerson, Debra J. Robinson, Kathe Sandler, and Sandra Sharp were among the first documentary filmmakers to explicitly address the experiences of Black women.

This wave of Black women's documentaries continues to inspire filmmakers of both genders. *Suzanne, Suzanne*

(1982) by Billops and James Hatch initiated a focus on personal family politics. Chenzira's *Hairpiece: A Film for Nappy Headed People* (1984) made her the first African-American woman animator, Parkerson's films popularized biographies of Black women artists, and Dash applied her documentary training to narrative film, becoming the most successful Black woman independent filmmaker in the world.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, award-winning documentaries like Marlon Riggs's *Tongues Untied* (1989) and Isaac Julien's *Looking for Langston* (1989) candidly explored the complexity of Black gay identities, a theme also engaged by the films of Cheryl Dunye, Shari Frilot, Donna Golden, Thomas Allen Harris, and Cyrille Phipps.

William Greaves's *Symbiopsychotaxiplasm* (1968) was one of the first experimental documentaries in film history, and beginning in the 1980s numerous Black documentaries regularly employed experimental elements. As of the early twenty-first century, hundreds of black experimental film and digital projects were reinventing the style, structure, and content of documentary filmmaking. Documentaries by Isaac Julien, John Akumphrah, and other members of the British Sankofa and Black Audio Film Collective documented African-American subjects and were expanding African Diaspora documentary film.

The late twentieth- and early twenty-first century witnessed the emergence of documentaries about hip-hop culture, including numerous profiles of Tupac Shakur. Several hip-hop documentaries, such as Lauren Lazin's Oscar-nominated *Tupac: Resurrection* (2003), have enjoyed theatrical releases, which few documentaries receive, and high domestic and international DVD/Video sales to become some of the most successful documentaries ever made.

During this period, cable television networks began to create new distribution avenues for documentaries. However, PBS networks remain the most committed distributors of African-American documentary films. Documentary has always informed the style and content of African-American fiction films, contributing to what Valerie Smith calls the "documentary impulse" in urban cinema (1998). In fact, the narrative film and television careers of important contemporary filmmakers began in the 1970s documentary film movement. In addition to artists already mentioned, these include Gil Noble, Haile Gerima, Warrington Hudlin, Carol Munday Lawrence, Monica J. Freeman, Philip Mallory Jones, Stan Lathan, William Miles, and others. In recent years, successful African-American fiction filmmakers, like Charles Burnett (*Nat Turner: A Troublesome Property*, 2003) and Spike Lee (*Four Little Girls*, 1997), have reversed this process by making documentaries, further revealing the dynamic relationship between African-American fiction and nonfiction film art.

U.S. president Woodrow Wilson famously described the racist classic *Birth of a Nation* (1914) as "history writ with lightening." However, it is the work of African-American documentary filmmakers that truly deserve this description for bringing America's complex racial and cultural heritage to cinematic life. For more than a century, the creative activists of documentary film have merged art, history, and politics, and they continue to march for freedom with cameras in their hands.

See also Film in Latin America and the Caribbean; Film in the United States; Film in the United States, Contemporary; Filmmakers in the Caribbean; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of; Urban Cinema

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DIONNE BENNETT (2005)

Dodge Revolutionary Union Movements

See League of Revolutionary Black Workers

Dodson, Owen

November 28, 1914
June 2, 1983

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Owen Vincent Dodson, an educator and writer, received his B.A. from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, in 1936 and an M.F.A. from Yale University in 1939. He began his career in education as drama director at Spelman College, where he worked from 1938 until 1941. In this early phase of his career he also served as an instructor and director of drama at Atlanta University (1938–1942) and at the Hampton Institute in Virginia (1941–1942). His teaching career was briefly interrupted by his enlistment in the navy (1942–1943). In 1947 Dodson joined the faculty at Howard University. In 1949 he led the Howard University Players on what was both the first State Department–sponsored European tour by a black theater company and the first European tour of any American college theater group; their success influenced Congress to establish a nationally funded cultural exchange program. Dodson directed, produced, and taught drama at Howard for the next twenty-three years, eventually becoming chair of its drama department (1960–1969). He also lectured at Vassar and Kenyon Colleges and at Cornell University and served as poet-in-residence at the University of Arizona from 1969 to 1970. After his retirement, he returned to New York City, where he died of a heart attack at age sixty-eight.

Dodson was a versatile and prolific writer whose works reflect his acute concern for the problems of racism and injustice while at the same time evincing a belief in the basic goodness of humanity and in the redemptive power of love. His poetry, in which he characteristically adapts traditional European forms such as the sonnet to the rhythms of black street language, was published in three volumes: *Powerful Long Ladder* (1946), *The Confession Stone* (1968; revised as *The Confession Stone: Song Cycles,* 1970) and *The Harlem Book of the Dead* (1978, with James VanDerZee and Camille Billops). He contributed verse, short stories, and nonfiction to numerous anthologies and periodicals. He also wrote novels, including the semi-autobiographical *Boy at the Window* (1951; published in paperback as *When Trees Were Green,* 1967) and its sequel, *Come Home Early, Child* (1977). Together with composer Mark Fax he wrote two operas, *A Christmas Miracle* (1955) and *Till Victory Is Won* (1967).

Dodson also wrote many plays, including the popular *Divine Comedy* (1938), a portrait of religious chicanery first produced at Yale University, and *New World A-Coming: An Original Pageant of Hope* (1944), a work celebrating the black American contribution to the war effort, first produced at Madison Square Garden. His other plays include *The Shining Town* (1937), *The Garden of Time* (1939), *Bayou Legend* (1946), and *The Third Fourth of July* (1946, with Countee Cullen).

Dodson's work brought him a number of awards, including a General Education Board fellowship (1937), a Rosenwald fellowship (1945), a Guggenheim fellowship (1953), a *Paris Review* prize for his short story "The Summer Fire" (1956), an honorary doctorate from Bates College (1967), and a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship (1968).

See also Education in the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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ALEXIS WALKER (1996)

Domestic Workers

Domestic workers (also called domestic servants and household workers) are those who are paid to perform

personal or domestic service within households other than their own. In the Americas, wherever there have been significant numbers of Africans or persons of African descent, some of them have been involved in and associated with domestic work; and where there have been blacks performing domestic work, these have primarily been black female domestic workers, "doing the dirty work." However, the paid domestic work performed by black female workers has its antecedents in the slavery that so marked and shaped the black experience in the Americas. The links between "domestic slavery" and "domestic work" for black female workers are as strong as they are poignant.

Without a doubt, in most slave societies, the focus of the slaveholders was on productivity and economic gain; enslaved African labor was deployed with those twinned goals, and their commensurate benefits, in mind. However, enslaved Africans and their descendants were also used to provide personal service for those who had invested in their bodies: these were the domestic slaves. In the areas of the region where the enslaved black populations were large (the Caribbean, Brazil, the southern United States), there were slaves who functioned almost exclusively as domestic workers, constituting between five and fifteen percent of the enslaved population. In places where the enslaved black populations were smaller or where slaveholders owned five or fewer slaves (e.g., in New England or British North America), the domestic slaves also performed heavy agricultural work. In those places where enslaved Africans were few, and where they were a minority among aboriginal slaves (e.g., New France), they spent most of their lives performing domestic service. Yet like their counterparts elsewhere, they were constant symbols of the slaveholders' prosperity and power.

Enslaved persons who were chosen to perform domestic labor were sometimes selected because of their perceived affinity for and skill in providing the sort of personal service that was required. But sometimes the choice of a domestic worker was made on the grounds of race and color: there was an abiding belief that enslaved persons who were of lighter complexion were less able to withstand the rigors of agricultural labor, so they were "saved" by domestic work. What was at issue with the cadre of lighter colored slaves (mulattos or "coloreds" in the Caribbean) was that they were part white and, by virtue of that, believed to be more delicate. In truth, very often they were the children of the slaveholders or their white employees. The "colored domestic slaves" then, represented many aspects of the slave societies where they were forced to work, and they often operated as a buffer group between the masses of enslaved blacks and the white slaveholding class. They both resulted from and represented the (often violent) sexual contact between the races (even where that contact was illicit). Their circumstances were, indeed, curious; they performed domestic work for households that were sometimes headed by their biological fathers, who owned them.

During the nineteenth century, as slavery was slowly abolished across the hemisphere, the transition from forced labor to paid domestic work did not mean an end to the association between the formerly oppressed state of slaves and the personal service that domestic workers were hired to perform after slavery. In societies where social and economic categorizations ran along the same fault lines as did racial groupings, many domestic workers were triply disadvantaged: they were poor, they were almost always black, and the vast majority of them (more than 90%) were women.

Whether during the period of slavery or for many decades after its end, the tasks that black female domestic workers had to perform were not easy: often food preparation was over an open flame (with numerous reports of injury), laundry was done by hand in water that the worker had to fetch, the house was cleaned with cloths and rags (often on hands and knees), and child care consisted of an ongoing series of demands. All of these tasks were carried out according to the demands and standards of employers who watched, "supervised," and criticized every small detail. The symbolic and real relations of exploitation and subordination were clear.

In many ways, the domestic-service sector ran counter to the developments that were taking place in many other occupations; by its location, poor remuneration, conditions of work, and labor relations, domestic service seemed decidedly precapitalist. While other types of employment were affected by the increasingly applied template of "modernity," which separated workers from workplaces that were also households, domestic workers continued to labor in the home.

The remuneration that domestic workers commanded was very often among the lowest among workers. Part of the challenge that domestic workers faced was the fundamental categorization of their work as not productive—their labors were often excluded from national account statistics, and in some circumstances they were labeled as earners and consumers, but not as producers. Their situation was further complicated by the variety of wages that many domestic workers received—cash wages, cash in kind (e.g., food, housing, clothing), and often combinations of these types of wages. Where the cash nexus characterized other working experiences as "modern," this haphazard way of paying domestic workers not

only indicated remnants of precapitalist labor conditions, but it marked those who received (often discarded) goods as payment as dependents whose circumstances had not greatly improved over those of their foremothers.

The conditions of work that many black female domestic workers experienced were determined by their geographical locations, the positions that they were employed to fill, and whether they were "live-in" or "live-out" servants. Workers who operated in urban areas were sometimes relieved of some of the harsher aspects of rural domestic work (e.g., fetching water, procuring firewood) because many urban employers enjoyed higher material standards than their rural counterparts. The positions that domestic workers filled helped to determine exactly what was involved in their daily tasks. However, few domestic workers were treated as skilled workers; the majority tended to be drawn from a large labor force, expendable and invisible.

It is in the area of labor relations—that curious employer-employee connection—that the precapitalist nature of domestic work was most apparent. In some societies in the Americas, that relationship was defined by long histories of paternalism, prescribed by law and custom, that gave the "master" control over all who were in his house. Thus, while the laws might have changed, the attitudes remained long in place. Since these societies were affected by the ideologies of race and hierarchy, the emphasis on difference and the expectations of deference made the circumstances of black female domestic workers exceedingly complex. Where both employer and employee were black or colored, they used other means, such as uniforms, to differentiate and separate themselves.

In the attempt to control the activities and actors within their households, many employers sought to recruit young, unattached female domestic workers, whom they thought would be most easily controlled. They attempted to determine how their employees should live (where they should go, what they should do, who they should spend time with) because, for many employers, domestic workers gave "dignity" to their households, and since the workers represented those households, their behavior needed to be controlled. In response to these attempts, some domestic workers accepted the proscriptions, while many others resisted them by the only means they could—they left their jobs.

Domestic workers were often in the vanguard of the movement out of the depressed social and economic circumstances that so many black persons in the Americas continued to experience. In their attempts to better their circumstances, many migrated from rural areas into urban centers. During the Great Migration of the early 1900s, thousands of blacks in the United states migrated from the rural south to the cities of the north. However, this movement did not necessarily alleviate the unemployment and underemployment that blacks were trying to address. Some workers even crossed international borders in search of better circumstances. Within the Caribbean, some women migrated to territories (for example to Aruba) that were able to offer jobs and levels of remuneration not available in their own countries. Having left their families behind to labor in isolation, these women found that they were no more "at home" in their places of employment, even after decades of work.

Since the twentieth century, by various schemes and means, there has been a steady flow of black women out of the Caribbean and into North America to perform domestic work. Some of them have arrived on government-supported schemes (e.g., to Canada), after extensive screening to make sure that they are the "right type" to provide personal service, and many arrive on their own auspices. Even more recently, some of the women willing to take these jobs, which closely define their status in the country, were not domestic workers in their home countries, but were professionals who are now willing to work as servants in order to leave economic and personal difficulties behind. The situation is similar among those who go to the United States, for even as many African-American women move out of domestic work, their place is taken by a silent army of "undocumented" black female domestic workers from the Caribbean. Having made the decision to migrate, many of these former professionals find that the remuneration and conditions of work leave them barely able to survive.

Still largely relegated to the bottom of hierarchies constructed along lines of class, race, or gender, black female domestic workers are increasingly organized. They continue to struggle for the reward and respect that their hard work, unacknowledged and often unrecorded, ought to provide.

See also Economic Condition, U.S.; Labor and Labor Unions

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MICHELE A. JOHNSON (2005)

Domingo, W. A.

1889
February 14, 1968

Born in Kingston, Jamaica, editor and activist Wilfred Adolphus Domingo was the youngest son of a Jamaican mother and a Spanish father. He was orphaned soon after birth, and he and his siblings were raised by their maternal uncle. Domingo attended Kingston Board School, then took a job as a tailor in Kingston. He wrote newspaper articles and joined the National Club in lobbying for home rule for Jamaica, becoming the club's second assistant secretary. There Domingo met and became close with the first assistant secretary, Marcus Garvey. In 1912 Domingo came to the United States, settling in Boston, where he intended to enroll in medical school. In 1913 he left Boston and moved to New York, where he began working for Jamaican freedom. In 1917 he formed the British Jamaican Benevolent Association, and he became associated with the Socialist Party shortly thereafter.

In 1918 Garvey asked Domingo, who had been peripherally involved in the activities of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), to find him a publisher for a UNIA newspaper. Domingo obliged and wrote two lead editorials for the first issue of the new *Negro World*. Soon after, Garvey hired him as editor of the journal. Domingo was not passionate about Garvey's back-to-Africa ideology, although he later claimed to have invented the newspaper's tag line, "Africa's Redemption." Instead, he turned the paper into a forum for a discussion of socialist ideas. Domingo warned white labor leaders to unite with black workers or become a tool of strikebreaking capitalists. In the summer of 1919 Garvey, displeased, charged Domingo before the UNIA Executive Committee with writing editorials that diverged from the group's program. Domingo resigned and soon became a bitter critic of Garvey. He began a short-lived socialist paper, the *Emancipator*. After it failed he began working for A. Philip Randolph's black socialist newspaper, the *Messenger*. In 1923 Domingo broke with Randolph, whom he accused of anti–West Indian prejudice. He joined Cyril Briggs's newspaper, the *Crusader,* and became active in the African Blood Brotherhood.

After 1923 Domingo returned to Jamaica, where he spent several years working as a food importer. In later years he became active in the Jamaican independence movement, helping to found the Jamaica Progressive League in 1936 and later joining the People's National Party (PNP). He spent the early 1940s in Jamaica, then returned to New York, where he became an enemy of the PNP. Domingo suffered a paralyzing stroke in 1964 and died four years later.

See also Garvey, Marcus; *Messenger, The*; *Negro World*, People's National Party; Political Ideologies; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Dom Obá II D'África

c. 1845
July 8, 1890

The popular Afro-Brazilian leader Dom Obá II D'África was born Cândido da Fonseca Galvão, in Lençóis, in the interior of the then province of Bahia. Dom Obá was the son of a freed African slave. He was also an African prince, thought to be the grandson of Aláàfin Abiodun, the founder of the Yoruba Empire.

A warrior prince, Dom Obá was a volunteer with the Brazilian forces in the Paraguayan War (1865–1870). In recognition of his bravery, he was made an honorary officer in the army. After being demobilized, Dom Obá settled in Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, where he fought for the rights of the poor and for the abolition of slavery.

To the white elite, Dom Obá was considered a "half-crazed" figure whom the Brazilian emperor, Dom Pedro II, was misguided enough to receive at the palace. To Rio's slaves and people of color, however, he was revered as a true African sovereign. His followers paid him a tithe, they would fall to their knees before him, and they gathered in public places to listen to his articles, which were published in the popular press, being read aloud.

Having an alternative view of the Brazilian society and its historical process, Dom Obá was, at least in theory, a monarchist standing above all political parties. He was, in his own words, "a conservative to conserve what is good," as well as "a liberal to repress the murders that have taken place in the current time on the orders of certain potentates" (Dom Obá II D'África, 1885, p. 5).

The struggle against racism was a crucial element in the thought and political practice of Dom Obá. He believed that "it is right that Brazil should give up the question of colour, because the real question is value and when a man has value one should not look at what colour he is" (Dom Obá II D'África, 1887, p. 4). In his articles, the prince spoke on behalf of "the Blacks and Pardos" (people of mixed race). He also came out with apparently original formulations, arriving at an aesthetic perception remarkably similar to the "black is beautiful" approach developed in the United States in the 1960s. Dom Obá encouraged his followers to feel that black was not only beautiful, but "superior to the finest diamonds."

See also Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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EDUARDO SILVA (2005)

Dorsey, Thomas A.

July 1, 1899
January 23,1993

Born in Villa Rica, Georgia, the oldest of three children of Rev. Thomas Madison and Etta Plant Dorsey, gospel composer Thomas Andrew Dorsey obtained his education in the public schools of Villa Rica and Atlanta. His first piano teacher was his mother, from whom he learned enough by age eight to play the pump organ for church services at which his father preached. In his early teens he began piano lessons, four times weekly, with a Mrs. Graves, from whom he learned not only piano technique and musical reading but enough music theory to be able to jot down musical ideas he was already creating. He was encouraged in this aspect of musicianship by the band members who accompanied acts at the 81 Theater, a vaudeville house on Atlanta's Decatur Street, where, since age eleven, he had worked selling soda pop. It was in this capacity that, at age thirteen, he met the legendary Ma Rainey. Other performers he met who were to influence him were pianists Eddie Heywood and Ed Butler, and the comedy team Butterbeans and Susie. Shortly thereafter, Dorsey began playing the house-party circuit in Atlanta.

Desiring a better musical education, Dorsey migrated to Gary, Indiana, in 1916, where he worked in a steel mill and played piano in various jazz bands. After returning to Atlanta for the winters of 1917 and 1918, he settled permanently in Chicago in 1919, where he studied for a short while at the Chicago Musical College. From 1923 until 1924 he served as pianist and arranger for Les Hite's Whispering Serenaders. During this time he composed "Riverside Blues" (1923), recorded by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band. Around 1924 Dorsey organized his own group, the Wildcats Jazz Band, at the request of J. Mayo ("Ink") Williams of Paramount Records. This group accompanied Ma Rainey on recordings and on tour. While he accompanied

Rainey irregularly for a number of years, Dorsey also began a successful association with Tampa Red (born Hudson Whittaker) in 1925. This duo produced the 1928 hit "Tight Like That." It was during this time that Dorsey became known as "Georgia Tom" and "Barrelhouse Tom" because of the raunchy nature of the songs he played.

Although he continued to play in and conduct jazz and blues bands throughout the 1920s, Dorsey's interest was steadily growing toward the new gospel music created by the southern Pentecostal churches and a prominent form of music in Chicago at this time.

Dorsey then wrote his first gospel song, "If I Don't Get There," which was published in the National Baptist Convention's *Gospel Pearls*. Despite this new conviction, Dorsey returned to the blues world until 1928, when he suffered a nervous breakdown. His second conversion to Christianity—he had been converted as a child in Georgia but in the terminology of the African-American church of the era "backslid" when he began to play secular music—occurred in Chicago, at the 1932 annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention, the largest organization of African-American Christians. During the convention, Rev. A. W. Nix of Birmingham, Alabama, delivered a stirring gospel rendition of Edwin O. Excell's "I Do, Don't You?" Not only did Dorsey join the church again, but he decided that he wanted to dedicate his life to writing gospel music.

In 1930 Dorsey renounced secular music and became a full-time gospel musician, composing gospel pieces and peddling "song sheets" throughout Chicago. The response was discouraging and he was often the butt of jokes. Notwithstanding these initial rejections, Dorsey organized one of the first gospel choirs at Chicago's Pilgrim Baptist Church in 1931, where his accompanist was the young Roberta Martin and whose future members included Eugene Smith, leader of the Roberta Martin Singers, and James Cleveland, later known as the "Crown Prince of Gospel." The next year Dorsey opened the first publishing house for the exclusive sale of gospel music by African-American composers in the country. The same year, along with Sallie Martin and others, he organized the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, which, along with Cleveland's Gospel Music Workshop of America (organized in 1968), annually draws the largest number of gospel musicians and music lovers in the United States. In addition to Martin, Dorsey was aided in the early gospel movement by composers Theodore R. Frye and Kenneth Morris and singer Willie Mae Ford Smith. In 1932 Dorsey and Frye traveled from Chicago to Indianapolis to organize a gospel choir. When Dorsey arrived in Indianapolis, a telegram informed him that his wife had given birth to a child but had not survived. Dorsey returned to Chicago, only to find that his newly born daughter had died as well. In his grief, he sat alone in a dark room for three days, emerging to write the song that—after "Amazing Grace"—is the second most popular song in African-American Christendom, "Precious Lord, take my hand, lead me on, let me stand. / I'm tired, I'm weak, I am worn, through the storm, through the night / Lead me on to the light, take my hand, precious Lord, lead me home.

Dorsey taught this song to his choir at Pilgrim Baptist, and in less than a year it had moved into the folk category, with congregations singing all three stanzas without the benefit of sheet music. Since then, it has been translated into more than fifty languages, and Dorsey conducted it throughout the world.

"Precious Lord" is not unlike most of Dorsey's compositions, in that the text is that of the poor, disfranchised African-American Christian but also speaks to all people. He had a special penchant for imbuing his songs with catchy phrases, such as "I'm Going to Live the Life I Sing About in My Song," "If We Ever Needed the Lord Before, We Sure Do Need Him Now," and the song written for Mahalia Jackson, who served as his song demonstrator from 1935 to 1946, "There Will Be Peace in the Valley for Me." His melodies were simple, supported by harmonies that did not detract from the text. Dorsey was so instrumental in the development of gospel music that there was a period during the 1930s and 1940s when gospel songs were referred to as "Dorseys." For his contributions he was early on dubbed the "Father of Gospel."

Although only a few of Dorsey's songs helped to initiate new trends in gospel music, he is nevertheless remembered as the most important person in gospel music to date. He organized gospel music's first chorus and its first annual national convention, founded its first publishing house, established the gospel-music concert tradition, and in recognition of this, he was celebrated in the 1982 documentary *Say Amen, Somebody*.

See also Gospel Music; Jazz

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horace clarence boyer (1996)
Updated bibliography

dos Prazeres, Heitor

September 23, 1898
October 4, 1966

Eduardo Alexandre dos Prazeres, a clarinetist in the Brazilian National Guard Band, had enormous pride in his origins. He saw heroic resistance in the stories of slaves who fought to liberate and affirm their African roots. His own name—Prazeres (Pleasures)—represented to him the ability to find light and joy even in the darkest situations. This pride turned into enormous satisfaction on the day his son, Heitor dos Prazeres, was born. Heitor would carry the family name and his father's pride into the twentieth century. (Famous Brazilians are often referred to by their first name or by a nickname.)

One day in 1908, Heitor left his house in Rio de Janeiro early. He had a can of shoe polish and a leather rag slung over his shoulder, and he carried a *cavaquinho* (a four-stringed instrument, resembling a ukelele) in his other hand. The instrument was a present from the famous musician and close family friend "Uncle" Hilário Jovino (also known by his nickname, Lalau de Ouro), one of the founders of Rio de Janeiro's *ranchos* (carnival groups from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). The instrument would become his constant companion and faithful partner in creations like the *chorinho* "Cadenciado"—his first composition, written when he was twelve years old—and it helped him gain the nickname "Lino do Cavaquinho." (The c*horinho* was a popular musical genre at the turn of the century, played with string and wind instruments and marked by improvisation and rapid and changing melodies.)

In addition to his work polishing shoes, Heitor worked as a newspaper boy, a carpenter's assistant, and a furniture polisher. But he continued to work on his music, and by 1910 he was participating in the gatherings at Tia Ciata's house, where participants cultivated African-Brazilian religious practices and musical rhythms like *candomblé*, *jongo*, *lundu*, *cateretê*, and *samba*. Among the stars that participated in those gatherings were Lalau de Ouro, José Luiz de Moraes (a.k.a., Caninha), João Machado Guedes (João da Baiana), José Barbosa da Silva (Sinhô), Getúlio Marinho (Amor), Ernesto Joaquim Maria dos Santos (Donga), Saturnino Gonçalves (Satur), and Alfredo da Rocha Viana (Pixinguinha), each of whom became icons of Brazilian popular music.

The development of these sounds took place in the area that Heitor is popularly credited for naming "Little Africa," which extended from the city's ports to the Cidade Nova neighborhood, with its geographical heart at the famous plaza Praça Onze. It was in Little Africa where Heitor spent countless hours, became a respected *samba* musician, and helped found the first *samba* schools (carnival groups that succeeded the *ranchos* and gained limited government patronage beginning in the 1930s.)

Heitor's complete oeuvre includes more than three hundred compositions ranging from sacred (Candomblé, Umbanda, and Christian hymns) to popular (waltzes, *choros*, *sambas*, *canções*, marches, *rancheiras*, *baiões*, *rumbas*, and *mambos*). Of these works, 219 were recorded, the most important of which are "Pierrô Apaixonado," "Lá em Mangueira," "Gosto que me Enrosco," "Mulher de Malandro," "Vou ver se Posso," "A Tristeza me Persegue," "Canção do Jornaleiro," "Olinda," "Carioca Boêmio," and "Consideração."

After the death of his wife in 1937, Heitor began to dedicate himself to painting. He taught himself his new trade, and his initial objective was simply to decorate the walls of his house and illustrate sheet music. His artistic production through 1940 was dominated by depictions of rustic, rural scenes of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, images he transferred to the canvas by relying on little more than his intuition.

In 1943, at the urging of his friend Augusto Rodrigues, he participated in an exposition organized by the Royal Air Force to benefit victims of the Second World War. In the following years, he took part in various expositions, both in Brazil and abroad. In 1951 he was honored at the First Bienal in São Paulo, winning third place among national artists with *Moenda*, a painting inspired by the daily life of sugar planters. Today, the work hangs in São Paulo's Museum of Contemporary Art.

The mark of Heitor's self-taught work rests in its uninhibited artistic creativity. Like other naïf artists, he portrayed an intensely personal vision of the world, replete with color and marked by careful but unique brush strokes. In Brazil, the art naïf movement gained momentum after 1937, in large part due to the work of Heitor and Cardosinho, both of whom were also inspired by contemporary European artists.

In 1950 the writer Rubem Braga said about Heitor, "His paintings are flowers which bloom from his music and his life" (Braga, p. 14). In 1961, a *Time* magazine contributor wrote, "A modest, quiet, and unassuming man,

Heitor dos Prazeres is, as we are seeing, a name which deserves respect and attention. The victories he has won in music and in painting are the result of his own hard work."

See also Art; Candomblé; Jongo; Music; Samba; Tia Ciata

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WALTER PINTO (2005)
HEITORZINHO DOS PRAZERES (2005)
Translated by Marc Adam Hertzman

dos Santos, João Francisco

See Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco)

Douglas, Aaron

May 26, 1899
February 24, 1979

Born in Topeka, Kansas, Aaron Douglas, a painter and educator, graduated from Topeka High School in 1917, then earned his B.F.A. from the University of Nebraska in 1922. While he taught art at Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri (1923–1925), his social circle included future civil rights leader Roy Wilkins, future classical music composer William Levi Dawson, and Ethel Ray (Nance), who became Charles S. Johnson's assistant at *Opportunity* magazine. Ray and Johnson persuaded Douglas to postpone study in France to work in New York. Douglas soon became one of the leading artists of the New Negro movement, developing a geometric, monochromatic style of depicting African Americans in dynamic silhouettes by synthesizing formal and symbolic elements of West African sculpture with European-American traditions and modern design into a hard-edged, art deco–like style.

In 1925 Douglas earned three important distinctions that launched his career—first prize for a front cover illustration of *Opportunity,* first prize in drawing (for *The African Chieftain*) from *Crisis* magazine, and a commission to illustrate Alain Locke's anthology, *The New Negro*. The following year, Douglas married his high school classmate, educator Alta Sawyer, and illustrated *The Emperor Jones* and the short-lived magazine of African-American art and literature *Fire!!* In 1927 he illustrated *Plays of Negro Life,* edited by Locke and Montgomery Gregory, and *God's Trombones: Seven Sermons in Negro Verse* by James Weldon Johnson. Six works in the latter book, along with a portrait, were exhibited at the Harmon Foundation in 1928. Over the next decade, Douglas would illustrate books by Charles S. Johnson, Claude McKay, Paul Morand, and Andre Salmon, as well as numerous magazine covers.

In the late 1920s Douglas studied privately with Fritz Winold Reiss, a German-American artist whose modernist work Douglas had admired in the New Negro issue of *Survey Graphic* (edited by Locke in March 1925). Reiss and Locke encouraged Douglas to look to African art for inspiration and develop his own racially representative work. Through their influence Douglas received a one-year scholarship (1928–1929) to the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania, where he studied both African and modern European art.

In 1930 Douglas painted heroic murals of African-American culture and history in the library at Fisk University in Nashville, the Sherman Hotel in Chicago, and Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. In 1931 he went to Paris for one year to study independently and with Charles Despiau and Othon Friesz at the Académie Scandinave. While Douglas worked diligently, only one piece from his time abroad is known: *Forge Foundry,* a black-and-white illustration published in the French journal *Revue du monde noir* (1931).

In the 1930s Douglas based himself in New York as an arts leader and muralist. The year after he was elected president of the Harlem Artists' Guild (1935), he addressed the First American Artists Congress. With sponsorship from New Deal art programs and various grants, Douglas completed several murals, most notably *Aspects of Negro Life,* at the 135th Street Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library (1934); those for the Hall of Negro Life exhibited at the Texas Centennial Exposition (1936); and *Education of the Colored Man,* at the Atlanta City Housing Project (1938). In 1938 Douglas received a travel fellowship to the American South and Haiti from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He exhibited his paintings of Haitian life at the American Contemporary Art Gallery in New York the following year.

In 1939 Douglas began teaching art at Fisk University, where he served as professor and chair of the Department

of Art Education for nearly three decades. During this period, he often divided his time between Nashville and New York, where he completed his M.A. in art education at Columbia University Teachers College in 1944 (his fraternal affiliations included Sigma Pi Phi and Kappa Alpha Psi) and received a Carnegie teaching grant in 1951. From the 1930s until the 1950s, the Douglases frequently entertained artists and writers at their home at 409 Edgecombe Avenue, known as "the White House of Harlem" because the building's residents included prominent intellectuals and civil rights leaders. Douglas painted many of their portraits, in addition to landscapes.

As founder of the Carl Van Vechten Gallery (1949) at Fisk, Douglas acquired a major gift from Georgia O'Keeffe, the Alfred Steiglitz Collection (1949), as well as an important series of portraits of African Americans, the Winold Reiss Collection (1952), and he brought numerous artists to the university for lectures and exhibitions. Noted for these achievements and his art, Douglas was honored by President John F. Kennedy at a White House reception commemorating the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1963. In 1972 he became a fellow of the Black Academy of Arts and received its outstanding achievement award. The following year, Fisk University awarded Douglas an honorary degree of Doctor of Fine Arts. After retiring as professor emeritus in 1966, Douglas lectured widely and continued to paint until his death in 1979.

Douglas's work has appeared in many major American museums and galleries and in university and community center exhibitions. Additional solo exhibitions were held at D'Caz-Delbo Gallery (1933); University of Nebraska, Lincoln (1941); People's Art Center, St. Louis (1947); Chabot Gallery, Los Angeles (1948); Riley Art Galleries, New York (1955); University of California, Berkeley (1964); and Mulvane Art Center, Topeka, Kansas (1970).

See also Art; *Crisis, The*; Johnson, Charles Spurgeon; Johnson, James Weldon; Locke, Alain Leroy; McKay, Claude; New Negro; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; Painting and Sculpture; Wilkins, Roy

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THERESA LEININGER-MILLER (1996)
LINDA NIEMAN (1996)

Douglass, Frederick

February 1817?
February 20, 1895

Born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey to Harriet Bailey, a slave, and an unacknowledged father (perhaps his master, Aaron Anthony) in Tuckahoe, Maryland, abolitionist, journalist, orator, and social reformer Frederick Douglass—he assumed this name in 1838 when he escaped north to freedom—soon became the most famous African American of the nineteenth century. Separated from his family while young, he was a personal slave to several whites during his formative years. Consequently, at an early age he learned self-reliance and began honing the arts of survival. At the same time, he found a sense of belonging through his relationships with various families and individuals, white and black, who liked and encouraged the bright and precocious youth. Ultimately, the lure of freedom and equality proved irresistible and propelled him on an extraordinary journey of both individual achievement and service to his people and his nation.

Taken in 1826 to Baltimore—where, as an urban slave, he could expand his horizons greatly—Douglass taught himself how to read and write with the witting and unwitting assistance of many around him. Similarly, this more open urban environment, with its large and expanding free African-American population, further whetted his desire to learn as much as possible about freedom, including runaway slaves and the abolitionist movement.

Around the age of thirteen, Douglass converted to Christianity, but over time he became increasingly disillusioned with a religious establishment that compromised with and supported evil and injustice, especially slavery and racial prejudice and discrimination. Also around that age, he purchased his first book, *The Columbian Orator,* which deepened not only his understanding of liberty and equality but also the enormous power of rhetoric, as well as literacy. Indeed, throughout his life he firmly believed in the power of the written and spoken word to capture and to change reality.

As a rapidly maturing eighteen-year-old developing spiritually and intellectually as well as physically, he re-

vealed an intensifying longing to be free that led him to plan an unsuccessful runaway scheme with several fellow slaves. Several months previously he had fought and defeated Covey, the "Negro breaker"—one versed in subduing unruly slaves—another sign of the depth of that longing. He later portrayed his triumph over Covey as a turning point in his struggle to become a free man. With the aid of Anna Murray, a free African-American woman in Baltimore with whom he had fallen in love, he escaped to freedom. They moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts (1838); Lynn, Massachusetts (1841); Rochester, New York (1847); and Washington, D.C. (1872).

In the North Douglass found it very hard to make a living as a caulker because of racial discrimination, and he often had to resort to menial jobs. Anna worked hard as well, creating a comfortable domestic niche for a family that eventually included five children: Rosetta, Lewis Henry, Frederick Jr., Charles Remond, and Annie. Frederick's speeches within the local black communities brought him to the attention of the mostly white abolitionists allied with William Lloyd Garrison, and in 1841 they asked him to join them as a lecturer. An increasingly powerful lecturer and draw for the Garrisonian Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Douglass learned a great deal from his work with such people as Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Most importantly, he adopted their pacifism and moral suasionist approach to ending slavery and was deeply influenced by their interrelated perfectionism and social reformism. As a good Garrisonian he argued for disunion and rejected the political approach to ending slavery as a compromise with a proslavery constitution.

Douglass also began to come into his own as an activist and a thinker. Drawing upon his experiences as a slave, he lambasted slavery and its notorious effects, most notably antiblack prejudice and discrimination in both North and South. As the living embodiment of a small measure of success in the enormous struggle against slavery, he spoke eloquently with uncommon authority. In 1845 his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* was published, and its huge success, followed by a successful speaking tour of Great Britain, heightened his celebrity immeasurably. Ever conscious of his public persona and his historical image, he carefully crafted both. *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881; revised 1892), fuller autobiographies, were likewise crucial in this regard.

Douglass's stirring narrative and equally stirring oratory derived much of their power and authenticity from his deep-seated engagement with the plethora of issues confronting blacks north and south, free and slave. His strong involvement in the national Negro convention

A recruitment poster soliciting Black soldiers to fight for the Union army in the American Civil War. *The poster features signatures including that of African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who urged President Abraham Lincoln to accept black troops in the Union Army, then recruited actively among blacks for men to support the union cause.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

movement, as well as with various state and local black conferences, furthered his impact and by 1850 made him the principal spokesman for his race. His fierce commitment to egalitarianism, freedom, and justice similarly led him to embrace the women's-rights movement, notably women's suffrage, and to become one of the most important male feminists of the nineteenth century. He attended the first Women's Rights Convention, in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848; on the day of his death, February 20, 1895, he had earlier attended a meeting of the National Council of Women.

Shortly after his return from Great Britain in 1847, Douglass embarked upon a distinguished career in journalism. He edited the *North Star* (1847–1851), *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–1860), *Douglass' Monthly* (1859–1863), and, for a time, the *New National Era* (1870–1874). Complementing the other aspects of his varied public voice and extending its reach and influence, Douglass's work as a journalist furthered his use of the printed word as a tool for agitation and change. Stressing self-reliance, hard work, perseverance, education, and morality, Douglass exemplified the embrace by many African Americans of middle-class values and the American success ethic. Likewise, invoking America's revolutionary tradition, he emphasized the imperative of full black liberation within the confines of the American nation. After 1851, when he formally broke with the Garrisonians and accepted political action against slavery as viable and necessary, he became more politically engaged. By the outbreak of the Civil War, he supported the Republican Party.

The tumultuous events of the 1850s convinced Douglass, like untold numbers of his compatriots, that war was unavoidable, the Union cause just, and slave emancipation inevitable. He urged his audience, most notably President Abraham Lincoln, to further ennoble the Union cause by accepting black troops into the Union army and treating them fairly. He exhorted his people to support fully the Union cause and to struggle ceaselessly to ensure that Union victory would mean emancipation and the necessary conditions for black progress. His often arduous efforts to recruit black Union troops, who braved strong white hostility and mistreatment, showed him grappling intensely with the central and complex issue of African-American identity. African Americans, he cogently argued, honored their group as well as national heritage and mission through vigorous support of an abolitionist Union cause.

Douglass emerged from the war even more widely known and respected. He continued to urge his nation to deal justly and fairly with his people, even after the nation reneged on its insufficient and short-lived efforts to do so during Reconstruction. While many blacks questioned his continuing allegiance to the Republican Party, Douglass valiantly—albeit unsuccessfully—endeavored to help the party rediscover its humanistic and moral moorings. Appointed to serve as the United States marshal for the District of Columbia (1877–1881), recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia (1881–1886), and chargé d'affaires for Santo Domingo and minister to Haiti (1889–1891), he remained a stalwart Republican.

Over the years Douglass's status as a comfortable middle-class elder statesman tended on occasion to blind

Statue of Frederick Douglass, Rochester, New York. *Dedicated by New York State governor Theodore Roosevelt in 1898, the statue of Douglass, later moved to Highland Park, was the first public monument to an African American.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

> ***Frederick Douglass***
>
> "This Fourth of July is *yours,* not *mine. You* may rejoice, I must mourn, to drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman and sacrilegious irony."
>
> "WHAT TO THE SLAVE IS THE FOURTH OF JULY" SPEECH, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, JULY 5, 1852.

him to the harsh conditions confronting rural, impoverished, and migrant blacks. Still, as in his fiery condemnation of the alarming growth in the number of lynchings of black men in the 1880s and 1890s (often upon the false

accusation of an attack on a white woman), it was clear that his commitment to justice never wavered. Likewise, while many women's-rights advocates criticized him for supporting the Fifteenth Amendment, which failed to enfranchise women as it enfranchised black men, Douglass contended that the greater urgency of the black male need for the vote and its greater likelihood of passage made support imperative. After its passage he continued his efforts on behalf of women's rights and sought to heal the rift within the movement.

When Douglass married Helen Pitts, his white secretary, in January 1884, a year and a half after the death of his first wife, they endured much criticism from many blacks and whites, including close family members. Nonetheless, Douglass, the quintessential humanist, steadfastly articulated his commitment to a composite American nationality, transcending race, as an integral component of his vision of a democratic and egalitarian country. When others criticized him for a lack of race spirit, Douglass, refusing to be imprisoned within a racialist universe, claimed ultimate allegiance to the human race.

Yet Douglass also fully understood and vividly personified his people's struggle from slavery to freedom, from obscurity and poverty to recognition and respectability. His enduring legacy to his people and all Americans is best captured in his lifelong and profound dedication to the imperative of agitation and concerted action: "If there is no struggle," he declared, "there is no progress."

See also Abolition; Free Blacks, 1619-1860

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WALDO E. MARTIN JR. (1996)
Updated bibliography

Dove, Rita

August 28, 1952

Poet Rita Dove was born in Akron, Ohio. She graduated summa cum laude from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, in 1973, then spent the following year in Tübingen, Germany, as a Fulbright scholar. In 1975 she enrolled in the Writers' Workshop at the University of Iowa, where she received her Master of Fine Arts degree two years later. In 1981 Dove joined the English department at Arizona State University, where she continued to teach creative writing until 1989. In that year she accepted a position at the University of Virginia, which named her Commonwealth Professor of English in 1992.

Dove's first volume of poems, *Yellow House on the Corner,* was published in 1980. It was followed in 1983 by *Museum,* which displays a more conscious awareness of the conventions of artistic and historical practice. Three years later, Dove published *Thomas and Beulah* (1986), two versions of the story of two ordinary African Americans. The volume, which loosely narrates the lives of Dove's grandparents, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in Poetry in 1987. *Thomas and Beulah* was a turning point in Dove's career for more reasons than its award-winning status. Not coincidentally, its narrative style emerged just after Dove's first published foray into fiction, *First Sunday* (1985), a collection of stories. Dove also published one novel, *Through the Ivory Gate* (1992), the story of a black woman whose work as a puppeteer evokes painful childhood memories of disturbing cultural significance. What *First Sunday* and *Through the Ivory Gate* may lack in believable dialogue and depth of characterization is made up for in the echoes of *Grace Notes* (1989). In the poems in this collection, each moment is filled by the persistent ringing of carefully culled metaphor.

More public attention has fallen on Dove's career than on that of any other contemporary African-American poet. Recognized for her virtuoso technical ability, Dove represents a generation of poets trained in university writers' workshops who are sometimes chastised for their formal competence at the expense of emotional depth. Dove has distinguished herself in her capacity to filter complex historical and personal information through precise selections of poetic form. In this, she is most closely allied to black poets such as Gwendolyn Brooks, Michael S. Harper, and Robert Hayden. Her unusual range of subject matter, thematically and geographically, has earned her a reputation as a black writer unafraid to set African-American culture within a global context. Dove's gifts as a poet were most fully acknowledged in 1993 when she was appointed Poet Laureate of the United States, the first black writer and the youngest poet ever to have been so honored.

Dove has continued reaping honors, including the 1996 National Humanities Medal, the 2001 Duke Ellington Lifetime Achievement Award, and the 2003 Emily Couric Leadership Award. She has also been awarded honorary doctorates from more than twenty colleges and universities across the United States. From 2000 to 2002, she wrote a weekly poetry column in the *Washington Post*. In 2004 Dove published *American Smooth,* a collection of poetry.

See also Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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GINA DENT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Dove, Ulysses

January 17, 1947?
June 11, 1996

Modern dancer and choreographer Ulysses Dove was born in Columbia, South Carolina, the eldest of three children. He began dance study with Carolyn Tate while a premedical student at Howard University. He transferred to the University of Wisconsin to study with Xenia Chlistowa of the Kirov Ballet, and in 1970 he graduated from Bennington College with a degree in dance. Upon moving to New York, Dove joined the Merce Cunningham Dance Company and also performed with Mary Anthony, Pearl Lang, and Anna Sokolow. In 1973 he joined the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, where he quickly rose to the rank of principal dancer acclaimed for his commanding presence, bright clarity of movement, and truthful dramatic intensity.

Dove turned to choreography at Ailey's urging and created the 1980 solo "Inside" for Judith Jamison. He left the Ailey company that year to begin a significant freelance career choreographing dances for the Basel Ballet, Swedish Cullberg Ballet, Dutch National Ballet, London Festival Ballet, American Ballet Theater, New York City Ballet, and Groupe de Recherche Choreographique de l'Opéra de Paris, where he spent three years as assistant director. Several Dove ballets have found their definitive, punchy interpretations in performances by the Ailey company, including "Night Shade" (1982), "Bad Blood" (1984), "Vespers" (1986), "Episodes" (1987), and "Vespers" (1994). His final projects included "Red Angels," which was premiered by the New York City Ballet in 1994, and "Twilight," made for that company and premiered May 23, 1996. His choreography was marked by its relentless speed, violent force, and daring eroticism.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Ballet

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)

Dozens, The

The dozens—also referred to as "playing the dozens," "sounding," "joning," or "woofing"—is a verbal game of insult and boasting involving at least two participants and an audience. The dozens are played by males and females across all age groups. Insults can be rhymed or unrhymed, although adult versions rely less on rhyme and more on improvisation. Audience participation is integral, since observers issue the verbal praise that regulates the contest to either a peaceful or violent resolution.

The dozens can be "clean" or "dirty." Performers of the clean or ordinary dozens insult intelligence, achieve-

ments, or appearance, as in this example: "Your lips are so big, they call them soup coolers." Performers of the dirty dozens use obscene language to boast of sexual conquests, frequently of the contender's family members, as in the following: "I fucked your mother between two cans. Up jumped a baby and hollered, 'Superman'" (Abrahams, 1990, p. 301). The retort "Your mama!" is considered a shorthand form of the dirty dozens.

Early researchers pinned Freudian explanations for the dozens to their perceptions of a dysfunctional community. These patterned insults were interpreted as release valves for a racially repressed group (Dollard, 1990) or as strategies for African-American males to build masculine identities within a matriarchal society (Abrahams, 1990). Later research targeted functional values, citing the dozens's role in promoting community norms and teaching verbal strategies for resolving actual conflicts (Garner, 1983).

The origins of the dozens are uncertain. However, analogs include the verbal duels or "joking relationships" of various African ethnic groups and the derisive exchanges in West Indian calypso and African-American rap music. Before scholarly attention was accorded them, the dozens were recorded by blues performers such as Memphis Minnie McCoy, Sweet Peas Spivey, and Lonnie Johnson. The consensus of researchers and performers is that the dozens are entertaining exercises that display cultural competency. Along with other speech acts such as preaching, signifying, and rapping, the dozens demonstrate the high value placed on verbal skills across the African diaspora.

See also Blues, The; English, African-American; Rap

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CASSANDRA A. STANCIL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Drake, St. Clair

January 2, 1911
June 14, 1990

Sociologist St. Clair Drake was born in Suffolk, Virginia, where his father was a Baptist pastor in small rural parishes. Although Drake knew his father only during his first thirteen years, the elder Drake had a decisive influence on his son's later development. John Gibbs St. Clair Drake had been born in Barbados but studied for the Baptist ministry in Lynchburg, Virginia. During World War I, Reverend Drake followed his congregation to Pittsburgh, where many had migrated to work in the steel mills.

In Pittsburgh the family lived in a "middle class" house, with access to a well-stocked library. There Drake formed his habit of wide reading on many subjects. He attended a school where he was the only African-American child, and listened, fascinated, to discussions of religion and race between his father and other preachers.

His parents were divorced in 1924, and Drake accompanied his mother back to Virginia. He attended Booker T. Washington High School in Staunton, Virginia, where he had his first encounters with southern segregation.

From 1927 through 1931 Drake attended Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he was an outstanding student. Central to his subsequent career was the influence of a young professor, W. Allison Davis, who introduced him to anthropology. After graduating, Drake taught high school in rural Virginia, traveling to Philadelphia every summer and investing his small earnings in a few books on anthropology. During those summers he worked and studied with the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization.

In the summer of 1931 Drake demonstrated the quiet courage that remained characteristic of him. Some of the Friends initiated a "peace caravan," and Drake and his friend, Enoch Waters, traveled with it through the South, attempting to win support for disarmament and international cooperation. Remarkably, the trek did not terminate in disaster.

In 1935, while still teaching in Virginia, Drake became a member of a research team that was making a social survey of a Mississippi town. Davis had questioned whether the ideas of the white anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner concerning class and caste were applicable to blacks and whites in the South. The outcome was Drake's earliest published research, which was incorporated into Davis's *Deep South*. Working with senior anthropologists, Drake conducted much of the research and prepared the manu-

script for publication. After *Deep South,* Drake's closeness to those whom he studied caused him always to describe himself as a "participant-observer."

In 1937 Drake entered the University of Chicago on a Rosenwald Fellowship for further studies in anthropology. Intermittently, he continued to study there over the next fifteen years. In 1942 he married Elizabeth Johns, a white sociologist. *Black Metropolis,* his best-known work, appeared in 1945. Coauthored with Horace Cayton, it is a pathbreaking work of description and analysis of African-American life in Chicago.

In 1946 Drake joined the faculty of the newly established Roosevelt College (later University) in Chicago, where he remained until 1968. This college had been created as a protest against the racially restrictive Central YMCA College, its predecessor.

Drake was increasingly interested in Africa and the African diaspora. His doctoral dissertation for the University of Chicago, "Value Systems, Social Structure, and Race Relations in the British Isles," involved one year of research of the "colored" community of Cardiff, Wales, placing that community into the larger context of Africa and the South Atlantic. During that year in Britain, Drake became a close associate of George Padmore, the West Indian Pan-Africanist and adviser to Kwame Nkrumah. After Ghana's independence, from 1958 to 1961, Drake became professor of sociology at the University of Ghana, while still holding his professorship at Roosevelt University.

In 1969 Drake accepted a long-standing invitation to become professor of sociology and anthropology and director of African and Afro-American Studies at Stanford University in California. The Stanford period was most notable for the publication of the vast and erudite *Black Folk Here and There* (two volumes, 1987–1990). Using an enormous array of sources, it presents the thesis that prejudice against blacks is a relatively recent phenomenon, arising first during the Hellenistic period.

See also Anthropology and Anthropologists; Cayton, Horace; Davis, Allison

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FRANK UNTERMYER (1996)

Drama

African-American drama draws from at least two sources: the heritage of Africa and that of Europe. On the North American continent, those cultures met, interacted with Native American traditions and a new physical environment, and produced a culture that, while related to both Africa and Europe, is nonetheless distinct from both. For the historian of African-American drama, this heritage poses a series of complex questions: What kinds of events count as drama, in that Europeans have come to define drama primarily as a written text, while Africans have placed more value on the communicative capacity of such ephemeral elements as dance, music, and spectacle? If one focuses on written forms, then for whom have black playwrights written? What are the indicators—in terms of content and/or style—that signify the choice of a primarily black, white, or mixed audience? How have dramatists coded or masked their intentions so as to speak to these different audiences simultaneously?

If emphasis is placed on performance rather than upon a written script, then African-American drama begins on the slave ships, when Africans were forced to sing and dance in order to ensure their health and salability and to provide entertainment for white crewmen. Slave narratives and travelers' accounts attest to the fact that plantation owners encouraged their property to perform because they thought that occasional merry-making increased productivity and lessened the possibility of revolt, and because they seemed genuinely fascinated by the musical idioms, gestures, and the black body itself, all of which were radically different from what they knew of European tradition.

Long before black men were allowed on American stages, a caricature stage Negro made an appearance. The English dramatist Isaac Bickerstaff introduced a lazy, rambunctious West Indian slave in *The Padlock* in 1769; in 1795 the white American James Murdoch followed suit with *The Triumph of Love,* in which a stupid buffoon known as Sambo delighted audiences and initiated a derogatory stereotype that the American public seemingly will not let die. To counter this representation with spectacles more pleasing to "ladies & gentlemen of color," a free black man named Mr. Brown (first name unknown) opened the African Grove Theatre in lower Manhattan in New York City in 1821. This first, professional black theater company mounted productions of Shakespeare, dance and pantomime interludes, and *King Shotaway* (1823), thought to be the first play written and performed by African Americans. Though no script remains today, records indicate that it concerned a slave insurrection in

the Caribbean. Produced within a year of the Denmark Vesey slave insurrection in Virginia, the play roused the ire of white spectators to the extent that a group of rowdies intent on "wanton mischief" destroyed the theatre building and forced the company's closure in 1823. With its demise, Ira Aldridge, who had been inspired to join the group after seeing the West Indian actor James Hewlett in *Richard III,* left for Europe where he eventually won gold medals from the Prussian and Austrian heads of state for his superior artistry in Shakespearean tragedies as well as in popular comedies. Sadly, Aldridge became the first of a long line of African-American expatriate artists who found greater acceptance abroad than at home.

The Sambo stereotype would solidify in the 1840s into the minstrel show. According to conventional theater history, minstrelsy began in 1828 when a young white performer named Thomas D. Rice observed an old, deformed Negro singing and dancing. He is said to have borrowed the man's entire performance (including his clothing), thereby initiating what would become an extremely popular form of entertainment—and a pattern of exploitation repeated by many other white performers who reaped great profit from their imitations of black art. More recent scholarship, however, argues that minstrelsy originated not with Rice and his colleagues who claimed that they were accurately depicting real African-American customs, but with black people themselves. In gathering to sing and dance, enact stories, and mock the cultured pretensions of their masters, slaves were creating a form in which improvisation and ecstatic response based upon the interactions of those assembled were more important than a fixed or written text wherein all elements are related to each other by an inviolable logic that does not give any space to the unplanned or unexplained. They were pioneering a form in which language was treasured for its power to stimulate the imagination and emotions. Given slave conditions, they were projecting a metaphysical stance and style that enabled them to survive with their intelligence, humor, and dignity relatively intact. But in performing for white observers, these slaves masked their behavior so that the owners could interpret their efforts as black incompetence rather than as a critique of what appeared to the slaves as white ridiculousness. Thus, white minstrel performers were offering white audiences a parody of black behavior that was, unbeknownst to them, already a parody of white customs. By the 1860s when black men were allowed to perform onstage, audiences had grown so accustomed to the black-face image that African Americans had to black up—adding yet another layer of parody.

Because of its topicality, improvised quality, and general construction as entertainment aimed at the masses, the minstrel show is usually not considered drama. Yet, it was particularly significant for what would follow, because any playwright wishing to represent African Americans onstage would have to confront the enduring legacy of minstrelsy's grinning darky. Furthermore, it signaled that performance modes rooted in African-American culture were likely to be characterized by masking, evocative language, improvisation grounded in a mastery of technique, episodic structure shaped as much by performer-audience interactions as by logic, as well as by ecstasy, and an ethical/aesthetic stance that seeks to affirm the humane even while it holds opposites in balanced tension.

Masking is at the core of *The Escape; or a Leap for Freedom* by William Wells Brown, who is generally considered the first African American to have a play published. First read from Northern, abolitionist platforms in 1857 by Brown, who was a successful fugitive, this text appears double-voiced, offering contradictory representations to audience members. Undoubtedly, abolitionist attendees at a reading agreed with the representation of slave owners as exploitative and religiously hypocritical, and they sympathized with the mulatto couple who, in fine diction, vow to seek freedom. They probably also found comic relief in Cato, the stereotypical buffoon who uses nonsensical words, pursues gluttonous pleasures, and apes white mannerisms. But Cato is also a trickster who, when beyond his owners' presence, sings freedom songs (in standard English) and cunningly schemes to turn every situation to his own advantage. Thus, when freedom is almost at hand, he jettisons the grinning mask, helps the runaway couple, and makes his own leap to freedom. In his trickstering, Cato seems to represent an independent spirit that will not be contained by social conventions not of his own making. That position could hardly have been a comforting prospect to those Northerners who, despite their antislavery convictions, believed in black inferiority, and yet, presumably it accurately reflected one attitude found among pre–Civil War blacks. Though the figure of the manipulative buffoon found no place in the theaters patronized by whites, its appearance in one of the earliest black plays identifies masking as an important African-American survival strategy. It is a representation to which African Americans have periodically returned in the musical comedies of Bert Williams and George Walker (*Abyssinia,* 1906; *Bandanna Land,* 1908), and in dramas as different as Garland Anderson's *Appearances* (1925), LeRoi Jones's (Amiri Baraka's) *The Slave* (1964), Douglas Turner Ward's *Day of Absence* (1965), and Ed Bullins's *The Gentleman Caller* (1969).

The use of theater as an arena for advancing social change continued in the first decades of the twentieth cen-

tury, when W. E. B. Du Bois and others organized the pageant *The Star of Ethiopia.* Seeking to teach history to both blacks and whites, Du Bois and his pageant master Charles Burroughs crafted a series of tableaux linking Egyptian and Yoruba cultures with African-American heroes like Nat Turner and with the quest for freedom. Between 1913 and 1925, this pageant involved approximately three thousand people as performers and was performed in four cities before more than thirty thousand people. Not only did the pageant mobilize often competitive community energies, foster racial pride, and indulge a love of spectacle, but it also provided a model of nonprofessional, socially charged art that others would utilize. Thus, for example, inhabitants of Los Angeles mounted "50 Years of Freedom" in 1915 to combat the negative imagery of D. W. Griffith's film *The Clansman,* and in 1974, people dressed in Ku Klux Klan outfits appeared in San Francisco City Hall chambers as part of an effort to ban the display of regalia of groups advocating hate and genocide.

Angelina Weld Grimké's *Rachel* is the first twentieth-century full-length play written, performed, and produced by blacks. In this sometimes melodramatic coming-of-age play, a high-spirited young woman rejects marriage and the possibility of motherhood because she fears that future generations will be unable to escape the racism she has personally experienced. The production provoked a storm of controversy when sponsored by the District of Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1916, because it implicitly defied the NAACP philosophy of racial progress led by an educated, black elite, whom Du Bois had termed "the talented tenth." For some, the play reduced art to the level of propaganda. Thus, when Alain Locke, one of the leading theoreticians and promoters of the Harlem Renaissance, and educator Montgomery Gregory founded Howard University's dramatic art department in 1921, they explicitly espoused an aesthetic that privileged technical beauty or art over social concerns. W. E. B. Du Bois took a different position, arguing both in his writings and his organization of the amateur Krigwa Players that the two were not so easily separated. Though short-lived (1925–1927), this drama group was significant because it extended Du Bois's efforts and those of Charles Johnson to foster formal cultural production and increase readership through contests and publication in the NAACP and Urban League magazines, Crisis and Opportunity. Additionally, the theater's manifesto propounded a standard of evaluation that would be echoed in the militant sixties. Namely, an authentic black theater had to be "about us. . .by us. . .for us. . .and near us."

Also differing with Locke's and Montgomery's emphasis on art divorced from a strong social referent were a number of women who won most of the drama prizes in the Crisis and Opportunity contests sponsored between 1925 and 1927. Protest against lynching, the lack of birth-control information, and racial discrimination against returning black World War I veterans were some of the issues that women like Alice Dunbar Nelson, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Mary Burrill, and May Miller dramatized in plays like *Mine Eyes Have Seen* (1918), *Sunday Morning in the South* (1925), *Safe* (c. 1929), *Blue-Eyed Black Boy* (c. 1930), *Nails and Thorns* (1933), *They That Sit in Darkness* (1919), and *Aftermath* (1919). The antilynching dramas are of particular importance because these women, largely deprived of leadership roles in organizations like the NAACP or the Urban League, seemingly viewed the stage as an arena for advancing an important social agenda. Their work formed a continuum with the direct, anti-lynching campaigns launched by Ida B. Wells and other black women active in the Women's Club movement from the turn of the century to the early decades of the twentieth century. Additionally, the antilynch play was a genre in which black women predominated, producing more plays than either black men, white women, or white men.

The Great Depression of the 1930s largely stymied African-American efforts to establish their own theaters. One outlet for theatrical interests was the black church, where folk dramas such as "The Old Ship of Zion," "Heaven Bound," or "In the Rapture" began. Popular throughout the Midwest, East, and South, these dramas took their plots from the Bible. Often a given church would mount the same play over a number of years, so that novelty of story line was not an objective. Rather, dramatic appeal rested in the improvisational space allotted to comic byplay, the artistry with which spirituals were rendered, and the affirmation of a sense of communal solidarity in terms of both religious emotions aroused by the actual event and the creative energies marshalled in preparing costumes, sets, and participants for performance. The aesthetic evident in these folks dramas has parallels with such African traditions as festivals, for in both instances a community, sharing a set of beliefs and symbols, gathers to enact itself in a performance balancing fixed and fluid elements. That is, the broad parameters of a known plot, familiar spirituals, and performers whose personalities both onstage and offstage are known to the community are balanced against fluid performance specifics like the particular placement and rendition of individual songs and narrative episodes, the spontaneous extension of humorous moments, and the emotional dynamic between audience and performers. Through this symbolic practice, a value system is reaffirmed, and the individual is offered an opportunity to experience his or her relationship to a community. Started during the Great Depression, folk dramas like *Heaven*

Bound, Noah's Ark, or *The Devil's Funeral* can still be witnessed in some black Baptist and fundamentalist churches.

The government inadvertently became another sponsor for dramatic activity during the Depression. Faced with the collapse of financial markets and the unemployment of millions of Americans, in 1935 the federal government established a relief program known as the Works Progress Administration. It included the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) that during its four years of operation annually employed some thirteen thousand theater workers who performed before approximately 65 million people in theaters, parks, schools, hospitals, and churches. With black units in twenty-two cities, FTP not only offered work to black performers, but also provided many of them with their first formal training in acting, directing, writing, and technical design. Offerings ran the gamut from adaptations of mainstream plays to musicals and dramas addressing contemporary social issues. One of its most popular shows with white and black audiences was a "voodoo" *Macbeth* directed by Orson Welles for the New York Negro unit of FTP. In setting this classic in the tropics, Welles was not only continuing the practice of making Shakespeare accessible to people with varying degrees of formal education, but he was also furthering a theatrical convention in which aspects of African-related culture are used to make mainstream fare more exotic or appealing. "Voodoo" *Macbeth* was soon followed by *Swing Mikado,* a jazz version of the Gilbert and Sullivan light opera; in more recent years, black "remakes" of white standards have resulted in such musicals as *The Wiz* (1975; adapted from *The Wizard of Oz*) and Lee Breuer's *The Gospel at Colonus* (1983; adapted from the fifth-century Greek drama *Oedipus at Colonus*).

In addition to delightful spectacles, the FTP also produced serious drama that questioned the fabric of American life. One such drama, *Big White Fog* by Theodore Ward, is a good example of a play that speaks simultaneously to both white and black audiences. Its realistic style with an immediately recognizable physical setting, operation of cause-and-effect within family relationships, and the hero's movement toward greater self-knowledge locates the text within the mainstream of American dramaturgy. The play's cultural specificity resides in it focus on the competing promises of Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement, a black capitalism derived from Booker T. Washington, and socialism within the context of the Depression. Furthermore, its dramatization of intraracial (as well as interracial) color prejudice adds powerful depth, because it captures a reality known painfully well by African Americans, but for the most part hidden from the view of the larger society. Produced first in 1938 by the FTP black unit in Chicago, it aroused a certain degree of controversy because of its seeming support of communism. It was subsequently remounted in New York in 1940 by the short-lived Negro Playwrights Company, which Ward had helped to organize along with other playwrights like Langston Hughes and Abram Hill (*On Striver's Row,* 1940; *Walk Hard,* 1944). Theodore Ward subsequently found critical praise and limited audience success with his historical drama about Reconstruction, *Our Lan'.* Begun in 1941, it was first produced off-Broadway at the Henry Street Settlement Playhouse in 1946.

Further fueling conservative concern about art and politics was a form of experimental theater known as the Living Newspaper. The format was initially conceived by FTP director Hallie Flanagan, who, like many other white American artists had been impressed by the theatrical experimentation she witnessed in Germany and Russia in the 1920s. The Living Newspaper hired unemployed workers to research current events that were then enacted by large casts in an episodic, panoramic fashion with minimal sets or costumes, in effect producing a kind of theatricalized newsreel. One of the first Living Newspapers to run afoul of its government sponsors was *Ethiopia,* which was closed after an initial preview because of fears that its powerful dramatization of Benito Mussolini's invasion of the African nation of Ethiopia would provoke protests and jeopardize relations with the Italian government, with which the nation was then at peace. Politics also seems to have been the explanation for not producing Abram Hill and John Silvera's script *Liberty Deferred* (1938), which utilized many of the Living Newspaper techniques to dramatize the African-American history. Though FTP fare was very popular with the American public, it nonetheless drew the suspicions of congressmen who regarded this first attempt at subsidized public art as a haven for allegedly anti-American, communist sympathizers. With the economy improving as the nation moved toward active participation in World War II, the Dies Committee killed the Federal Theatre Program in 1939.

Langston Hughes's *Don't You Want to Be Free?* (1937) stands in marked contrast to Ward's *Big White Fog.* While Ward's play had been sponsored by the Federal Theatre, Hughes's was produced by his own leftist-affiliated Harlem Suitcase Theatre. Like much of the agitprop, or agitation-propaganda play writing of the Great Depression, his play utilizes minimal scenery, a small pool of actors to play a large number of roles, and direct address to the audience, designed to encourage them to undertake a specific action. In this case, the text argues for an acceptance of working-class solidarity across racial barriers. The play's distinctiveness is marked by its use of poetry, gospel and blues songs,

dance, and vignettes to suggestively chronicle black history from Africa to the United States. The validation of culture that Hughes had begun in experimenting with poetic form in *The Weary Blues* (1926) was here extended to the theater; his use of an episodic structure, knitted together and propelled by the emotional energy of black music as well as by the evocative intensity of language, provided a model that more contemporary playwrights like Amiri Baraka and Ntozake Shange would emulate in the 1970s. Hughes's later deployment of religious experience, which found commercial success in *Black Nativity* (1961), helped inaugurate the contemporary gospel drama genre, practiced by such artists as Vinnette Carroll with *Your Arms Too Short to Box with God* (1975) and Ken Wydro and Vi Higgensen with *Mama I Want to Sing* (1980).

World War II (1939–1945) brought in its wake increased militancy at home and abroad, as African Americans agitated for fair-employment practices, the elimination of restricted housing, and an end to segregated schools, and as Africans mobilized to gain their independence from colonial masters. This new aggressiveness was mirrored in Lorraine Hansberry's A Raisin in the Sun (1959). Using Langston Hughes's poetic query, "What happens to a dream deferred?", the young playwright explored the conflicting aspirations of the Youngers, a Chicago tenement family eagerly awaiting the arrival of a $10,000 insurance check paid upon the death of the father. Thirty-year-old Walter Lee's dream of owning a liquor store and hence of functioning as a man in terms espoused by the American middle class clashes with Mama's desire to purchase a comfortable house with a small garden, while Beneatha's medical studies and humanist philosophy come into conflict with her brother's chauvinism and her mother's religiosity. Sister-in-law Ruth's decision to seek an illegal abortion marks the battering that the older generation's Southern, sharecropping values have taken in the industrial North. Paradoxically, Mama's spiritual faith, rooted in the American slave experience, is congruent with Asagai's progressive social commitment based in contemporary, African anticolonial movements, for in wooing Beneatha, this Nigerian student speaks of the necessity of belief in human potential and the consequence struggle for human betterment.

Produced five years after the historic *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* decision outlawing segregated schools, *A Raisin in the Sun* seemed to signal the nation's willingness to live up to its credo of equality. It constituted a number of landmarks: the first time that an African-American woman's work had been produced at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre on Broadway; the directorial debut of African-American Lloyd Richards in such a prestigious venue; widespread recognition for actors Claudia McNeil, Ruby Dee, Sidney Poitier, and Diana Sands; and encouragement for other artists to articulate their visions of black America. In addition, it won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award, beating out such mainstream competitors as Tennessee Williams's Sweet Bird of Youth, Eugene O'Neill's A Touch of the Poet, and Archibald MacLeish's J.B. Thus, the play's ending was interpreted, for the most part, as a ringing endorsement of integration. But at the time of its twenty-fifth-anniversary production in 1984, optimism had waned; the reinsertion of the character of the chatty neighbor, who brings news of a racial bombing, along with the final action of the play, namely Mama's retrieving her sickly plant for the family's move into a white neighborhood, clarified Hansberry's call for continued struggle for dignity.

In both its content and structure, Raisin speaks to the white mainstream and to black audiences. In fact, critics have compared this drama to the Depression-era *Awake and Sing* (1935), written by the white author Clifford Odets, because not only do both feature families dominated by women, but they also deploy ethnic slang and the metaphors of a cramped physical environment as a sign of moral constriction and of money from an insurance check as the vehicle for exercising personal integrity. Ephemeral, performance-based yet nonetheless significant elements, along with the written text, serve, however, to simultaneously locate this drama within an African matrix. Rather than arguing, as did critics influenced by the federally sponsored Moynihan Report on black families, that Mama is an emasculating matriarch because the Youngsters do not conform to the 1950s norm of the nuclear family, one can more profitably understand them as fitting the pattern of an extended African family in which great respect is due elders. At moments of extreme crisis, Mama and Walter Lee each evoke the dead patriarch's memory in halting, yet repetitive linguistic rhythms (that are merely suggested in the written script) seemingly to gain access to his moral support in their decision making. Their actions in these instances are akin to African customs of conjuring the spiritual energies of departed relatives in order to solve current, material problems. Similarly, Beneatha and Walter Lee's fanciful creation of a dance welcoming African warriors home from battle constitutes a writing of culture on the body that provides them a dignity denied them by the American environment; as such, it conforms to African assertions that knowledge is kinesthetic and subjective as well as cerebral.

If Hansberry's hero could be aligned with the southern Civil Rights Movement in his attempt to find a place within the American mainstream, then LeRoi Jones's

(a.k.a. Amiri Baraka) protagonists in *Dutchman* and *The Slave* were related to the Nation of Islam and its fiery spokesman Malcolm X, for at the time of the plays' premieres in 1964, spectators saw these characters as determined to destroy the social system. In the former drama, a twentyish African-American man and older, white woman engage in a bizarre dating game on a subway car that never reaches its final destination. Claiming to know both everything and nothing concerning Clay's life history, this stranger named Lula alternately describes a tantalizing sexual liaison that they will enjoy and hurls racial taunts at the would-be poet until he sheds his polite, middle-class demeanor and acknowledges a deep hatred of white America. But Clay fails to act upon his murderous knowledge, preferring instead to use art as a safety valve that tempers rebellious impulses. Once Lula has exposed this rage, she kills Clay and enlists the aid of the hitherto passive onlookers in throwing his body off the train. Like the mythic captain of the Flying Dutchman, who was fated to sail the world looking for absolution for his crimes, Lula begins to seek out another young black male as the play closes. Seemingly, the play functioned as a cautionary tale demonstrating to blacks that death was the price for inaction upon their justifiable anger and warning whites of the rage they could expect if they continued to deny full citizenship to African Americans. Largely unnoted at the time was the text's gender politics, which accuses the white woman rather than fingering the actual holders of oppressive power in the United States.

In contrast, the black man is no longer the victim and the white man is visible in *The Slave*. Walker has invaded the home of his white former wife in order to take his daughters to safety behind the lines of his revolutionary army advancing on the city—or, so he alleges, because it seems as though Walker's real purpose is to exorcise those feelings that bind him to Grace and Easley, Grace's present (white) husband and Walker's former professor. In the ensuing literal and figurative battle, Walker kills Easley, a beam fatally hits Grace, and Walker departs, apparently leaving the children upstairs crying.

But social psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, whose writings on anticolonial struggles in Algeria provided intellectuals in the 1960s with an important framework for conceptualizing Black Power movements, has argued that it is easier to proclaim rejection than to reject. Fanon's analysis is pertinent to the Baraka text, for despite his aggressive stance, Walker agonizes that he has no language with which to construct a new world, his sole epistemology or frame of reference is a Western system that enforces hatred of black people.

The ambiguity of his position has, in fact, been signaled at the outset by a prologue in which an actor, dressed as a stereotypical old field slave, addresses viewers directly, arguing that whatever he and they understand as reality may be a lie told for survival purposes. What is needed, he suggests, is a superstructure that will enable communication among blacks and whites by ensuring that their common language has the same undeniable referents; otherwise, a black man's legitimate quest for control over his destiny may be understood by a white man as senseless terrorism. The rest of the play then argues that this enabling structure is violence, undertaken by the exploited black masses in defense, as Fanon argued, against the violence waged upon them by the state. But as a playwright, Baraka is caught in a problematic position, for his primary tool of communication with audiences is language itself, suspect because of its inherent capacity to simultaneously convey multiple references and values. Yet, given the extra-theatrical, social backdrop of armed confrontations waged by groups like the Black Panther Party, most spectators and readers at the time of the drama's initial productions focused their attention on the text's revolutionary rhetoric rather than its ambivalence.

At the heart of both these plays is an examination of hegemony or the power of a ruling class to enforce throughout the entire society perspectives that maintain its privileged status through noncoercive means like education, the arts, or certain everyday practices. In *Dutchman* the dominance of the elite, as embodied in Lula, is maintained in part because art functions as a passive mode of resistance that deflects direct confrontation. In *The Slave* and subsequent dramatic works like *Four Black Revolutionary Plays*, *Arm Yrself or Harm Yrself* (1967), or *The Motion of History* (1977), art is defined as counterhegemonic; it is seen as a weapon that can be utilized to attack sociopolitical hierarchies. In rejecting, as Du Bois had done previously, the opposition of art to propaganda, Amiri Baraka became a major proponent of the Black Arts Movement (1964–1974), functioning as a role model for a younger generation eager to assert a positive sense of their black identity.

In an atmosphere of civil rights demonstrations and urban rebellions, entitlement programs designed to bring about what President Lyndon Johnson termed "the Great Society," Vietnam war protest, and the beginnings of a renewed feminism, African-American drama, with its implicit critique of the dominant social structure, briefly flourished. Playwrights like Ed Bullins, Richard Wesley, Clay Goss, Ron Milner, Ben Caldwell, Sonia Sanchez, and Marvin X followed Baraka's example. Artists like Robert Macbeth, Barbara Ann Teer, and Woodie King, Jr. established companies that advocated a black nationalist position (New York's the New Lafayette, National Black The-

atre, and Concept East in Detroit respectively), while more moderate practitioners like Douglas Turner Ward, Hazel Bryant, C. Bernard Jackson, John Doyle, and Nora Vaughn, and such companies as the Negro Ensemble, the Richard Allen Cultural Center in New York, the Inner City Cultural Center in Los Angeles, and the Grassroots Experience and Black Repertory Group Theatre in the San Francisco Bay Area also found governmental funding and receptive audiences for their efforts.

Another of the most prolific playwrights of this period was Ed Bullins, who has written in a variety of styles, including comedy (*The Electronic Nigger*, 1968), theater of the Absurd (*How Do You Do?* 1965), fictionalized autobiography (*A Son Come Home*, 1968), and a realism whose seemingly photographic accuracy does not reveal the playwright's evaluation of his source material (*Clara's Ole Man*, 1965). Unlike virtually any other black dramatist before him, Ed Bullins placed onstage—and thereby validated—in plays like *Goin' a Buffalo* (1966), *In the Wine Time* (1968), and *The Taking of Miss Janie* (1975) lower-class hustlers, prostitutes, pimps, and unemployed teens as well as lower-middle-class community college students, veterans, musicians, and would-be artists and intellectuals, virtually all of whom aggressively pursue an individually-oriented materialism shorn of any rhetoric of concern for a shared, common good.

In disavowing the espoused social values of the American mainstream, Bullins's playwriting style in his full-length dramas also demanded a mode of criticism that was outside the Aristotelian-derived, mainstream preference for tightly organized, linear dramatic structures. Thus, these dramas may be more productively analyzed in terms of jazz, a musical idiom that originated among African Americans and was until relatively recently held in low regard by the American public. Like a jazz composition in which individual musicians improvise a solo or "riff" off a shared melodic line, a play such as *The Fabulous Miss Marie* (1971) has a basic narrative concerning a group of black Los Angelenos who party unconcernedly while a civil rights demonstration is being broadcast on television. The seemingly endless rounds of drinking, meandering conversations, verbal sparring, and sexual repartee function as a base line from which action is periodically stopped in order for individual characters to step from the shadows into a spotlight and address the audience directly with their own solos on the theme of trying to "make it" in the United States.

Adrienne Kennedy is another playwright whose work demanded different critical tools. Like Baraka, Kennedy confronts, in plays like *The Owl Answers* (1965) and *Rat's Mass* (1963), questions of representation and identity formation, offering a black woman's account of the cultural schizophrenia induced by American racial constructions. Thus, protagonists like Sarah in *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1963) are paralyzed by devotion to European culture, symbolized in this text by Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of Hapsburg, and by psychosexual confusion centered on a father figure, associated here with blackness, encroaching jungles, civilizing missions in Africa, and contradictorily, the anticolonialist Congolese hero Patrice Lumumba. Adding to the ambiguity is Kennedy's consistent decision to distribute the female protagonist's story amongst a number of different characters, thereby producing an identity or voice that does not come together in a single, coherent whole. Though her earliest plays were produced during the same time period as Baraka's, the ideological demand for positive valorization of "the black experience" in the sixties' Black Arts and Black Power movements meant that her frighteningly powerful dramatizations of the anguished sensibility Du Bois had termed "double consciousness" won a few supporters among African-American theatergoers. Notwithstanding, her highly abstract style found positive response within the limited circles of the white avant-garde in New York. Given subsequent critiques of identity and relationships of domination and marginality launched from theorists of feminism, literary deconstruction, postcoloniality, and postmodernism, a space has been cleared, and Kennedy's work is presently garnering from white and black critics alike the attention it deserves.

Exploding on the theatrical scene in 1976 with *for colored girls who have considered suicide/when the rainbow is enuf*, Ntozake Shange builds upon examples set by Hughes, Baraka, and Kennedy in black theater as well as those offered by Europe's Antonin Artaud and Bertolt Brecht. Coining the term "choreo-poem," Shange creates a total theater in which unscripted elements like music and dance become equal partners with the written word—i.e., poetry. Thus, in *for colored girls* . . . not only do the women talk about their encounters with men, but they also utilize 1960s Motown tunes, Afro-Cuban rhythms, nonsensical chants, and gospel cadences in order to break out of a social world in which they have been devalued as "a colored girl an evil woman a bitch or a nag." With this first text, Shange placed African-American women's experiences of rape, abortion, domestic abuse, sexual desire, and self-affirmation center stage, and she helped fuel an intense debate within black communities concerning the relevance of feminism—understood at that time as the preoccupation of white, middle-class women—to the lives of African Americans. Seeking in *Spell #7* (1979) to confront the power of the minstrel mask that has determined representations of blacks in American popular imagination she

crafts a provocative theater whose implications refuse to remain within the illusionary space created by drama. Shange has continued in texts like *Boogie Woogie Landscapes* (1979), *From Okra to Greens/ A Different Kinda Love Story* (1978), and *The Love Space Demands: A Continuing Saga* (1992) to utilize poetry, music, and dance in a nonlinear fashion to explore ways in which a sense of personal integrity and nobility can be harmonized with the realities of racist and sexist social constructions of black (female) identity. Playwrights like Alexis Deveaux, Aishah Rahman, and George C. Wolfe have followed Shange's lead in experimenting with dramatic form, while the last has parodied the feminist content of Shange's dramas in *The Colored Museum* (1986).

Closer to the American mainstream's penchant for realism is August Wilson, who has benefited from a virtually unique, creative collaboration with Lloyd Richards, the same director who brought Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* to Broadway some thirty-five years earlier. Each of his plays has been "workshopped" (read aloud by professional actors and a director, critiqued, and re-written) at the National Playwrights Conference of the Eugene O'Neill Theater, run by Richards, before receiving productions (and further revisions) and national media attention at various, mainstream regional theaters and on Broadway.

A skilled storyteller, Wilson has taken on the challenge of writing a play for each decade of the twentieth century. Thus, *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* (1984) focuses on the renowned 1920s blues singer and her band, who, through their casual reminiscences, reveal a collective history of discrimination. *Fences* (1985) centers on an overbearing man's relationship to his son and other family members at the point in the 1950s when African Americans were being allowed entry into white, professional sports organizations; and *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* (1986) dramatizes the search by various boardinghouse occupants for a sense of wholeness and sustaining purpose in the first decade of the twentieth century, when thousands of rural black people moved north seeking employment in an industrializing economy. In *The Piano Lesson* (1987), set in the 1930s, a brother and sister fight for possession of the family's piano, which seems to symbolize conflicting ideas concerning uses of the past in charting present courses of action; while set against the backdrop of Malcolm X's militancy of the 1960s, *Two Trains Running* (1990) features the regular patrons of a modest diner who pursue their own dreams of advancement by playing the numbers (i.e., illegally betting on the outcome of horse races) or consulting Aunt Esther, a local fortune teller whose alleged, advanced age happens to correspond to the numbers of years African-Americans have lived in the United States.

Like the novelist Toni Morrison, August Wilson crafts a world in which the pedestrian often assumes grand, mythic proportions, nearly bursting in the process the neat, explanatory rationales implicit in the genre of dramatic realism. Characters regularly fight with ghosts, make pacts with the Devil, or talk to Death; seemingly, they quest for a spiritual center or standpoint from which to confront a material world hostile to their presence. Arguing the importance of blues music in shaping the identity of African Americans, Wilson seems to create characters whose very lives are a blues song: improvisatory, ironic, yet simultaneously affirmative, grounded in a bedrock of belief in the possibility of human integrity.

Seemingly with the post-sixties integration of some public school systems, (sub)urban neighborhoods, job sites, and mass media, the hybrid character of African-American—and indeed, American—culture has accelerated. Those comfortable with a postmodernism that often finds its inspirations in a global eclecticism of "high" and "low" cultures, can enjoy such African-American performance artists as Robbie McCauley (*My Father and the Wars*, 1985; *Sally's Rape*, 1991), and Laurie Carlos who, in the tradition of Ntozake Shange, work individually and collaboratively to fuse personal narratives with larger feminist issues. Also termed a performance artist, Anna Deavere Smith offers in her *On the Road: A Search for American Change* series solo performances of edited interviews with people, both famous and obscure, on topics like gender and racial tensions in professional organizations, urban neighborhoods, and on university campuses. She has also focused on the increasingly multicultural, fractious character of American cities, for her *Fires in the Mirror: Crown Heights, Brooklyn and Other Identities* (1992) and *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* (1994), in which she performs the words of more than thirty women and men within an hour and a half, challenges audiences to grapple with notions of community in the context of competing demands for racial and economic justice. They can also sample dramas by Suzan-Lori Parks (*The Death of the Last Black Man in the Whole Entire World*, 1990; *Imperceptible Mutabilities in the Third Kingdom*, 1989), who cites the white, American expatriate writer Gertrude Stein and "The Wild Kingdom" television program among her influences; or work by Eric Gupton, Brian Freeman, and Bernard Branner (*Fierce Love: Stories from Black Gay Life*, 1991), collectively known as AfroPomoHomo, a shortening of the identificatory tags, African-American, postmodernist, and homosexual. Or, spectators can attend a concert by Urban Bush Women, Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company, or David Rousseve, whose mixture of modern dance choreography, pedestrian gestures, athleticism, and narrative communicated through both move-

ment and spoken text blur conventional Western distinctions between drama and dance. What all these artists share is a sensibility that does not reach for some grand, master truth. Rather, juxtaposing elements as diverse as European high art, Georgia Sea Island chants, television programs, West African religions, and popular music, they recognize that African-American identity is varied, and no one can claim to represent black authenticity without doing violence to other perspectives found in these communities.

Indeed, for those theatergoers in the 1990s who find the choreopoem form of an Ntozake Shange, the mythic reach of an August Wilson, or the puzzling symbolism of a Suzan-Lori Parks not to their liking, other options are available. They can attend a performance of *Beauty Shop*, *Living Room*, or *Beauty Shop, Part 2*, all of which have been written, produced, and directed by Shelly Garrett. Starting in 1987 with the intention of simply creating dramatic pieces that would leave audiences exhausted with laughter, Garrett is said to have targeted his attentions primarily toward an underserved population of black women, ages 25 to 54 who watch soap operas and rarely frequent theater. Thus, his scripts are closer to TV sitcoms in their representations of everyday life; stereotypes abound, with the women portrayed as materialist, classist, sexually repressed or rapacious. Men are represented as self-centered sex objects, financially secure but dull, or flamboyant homosexuals outgossiping the most catty (yet hilarious) women. Seemingly, considerable advertising on black-oriented radio stations, the dramas' verbal play, the performers' zestful aura, a mixture of some recognizable truths, and cheerful confirmation of spectators' misogynist and homophobic attitudes have attracted thousands of spectators, enabling Garrett to tour at least fifty cities nationwide for more than two years with one show. But those disturbed by what they may perceive as rampant sexuality in these shows also have an option in the commercial arena, for producers have created a religious version, like Michael Mathews's *I Need a Man* (1993), wherein some of these lively stereotypes undergo spiritual conversion aided by the performance of gospel music. As with much black art, the form is elastic, so that local, gospel radio personalities occasionally make guest appearances onstage during the performance; the predictability of plot and character types is offset by the dynamics of the performer-viewer interactions. Whether participants undergo a religious experience in this highly commercialized venue depends, as it does in church, upon their own belief systems and sensibilities.

In the 1990s, approximately 200 companies were dedicated to the production of African-American theater and drama. As the foregoing account suggests, audiences can experience a wealth of themes, perspectives, and styles, all of which seek to articulate aspects of African-American culture. This diversity is indeed a cause for celebration. Yet, given the nation's difficult economic conditions that promise no easy solution, the arts in general and black and other so-called minority expressive cultures in particular will be under intense pressure to obtain the financial resources that enable artistic production. Perhaps artists from earlier generations would have spoken of the economic constraints upon their work, too, and advised their descendants that the challenge remains constant: To create a tasty "soul" food of dramatic fare, one must utilize the diverse materials at hand, seasoning them with attention to technique, intelligence, passion, an occasional bit of humor, openness to inspiration, and most important, grace under pressure.

See also Aldridge, Ira; Black Arts Movement; Bullins, Ed; DuBois, W. E. B.; Jones, LeRoi (Amiri Baraka); Joplin, Scott; Kennedy, Adrienne; Literature of the United States; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Parks, Suzan-Lori; Shange, Ntozake; Walker, George; Wilson, August

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SANDRA L. RICHARDS (1996)

DRED SCOTT V. SANDFORD

In the *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, by a 7–2 vote, that free blacks were not citizens of the United States and that Congress lacked the power to prohibit slavery in the western territories.

Scott was a Virginia slave, born around 1802, who moved with his master, Peter Blow, to St. Louis in 1830. Blow subsequently sold Scott to Dr. John Emerson, an army surgeon, who took Scott to Fort Armstrong in Illinois, a free state, and Fort Snelling in the Wisconsin Territory, where slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. In 1846, after Emerson's death, Scott sued for his freedom (and that of his family). In 1850 a St. Louis court ruled that Scott became free by residing in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory. In 1852 the Missouri Supreme Court, articulating the South's proslavery ideology, rejected precedents of its own that went back more than twenty-five years and reversed the lower court decision:

> Times are not as they were when the former decisions on this subject were made. Since then not only individuals but States have been possessed of a dark and fell spirit in relation to slavery, whose gratification is sought in the pursuit of measures, whose inevitable consequence must be the overthrow and destruction of our government.

Thus, Missouri would not recognize the freedom a slave might obtain by living in a free state.

In 1854 Scott began a new suit in United States District Court against John F. A. Sanford, a New Yorker who became the executor of Emerson's estate after Emerson's widow, the initial executor, remarried. Scott claimed he was a citizen of Missouri, suing Sanford in federal court because there was a diversity of state citizenship between the two parties. Sanford answered with a plea in abatement, arguing that no black, free or slave, could ever sue as a citizen in federal court. Federal District Judge Robert W. Wells ruled that if Scott was free, he was a citizen of Missouri for purposes of a diversity suit. However, Wells's ruling after the trial was that Scott was still a slave. Scott then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. At issue was more than his status: The Missouri Supreme Court's decision challenged the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. The central political issue of the 1850s—the power of the federal government to prohibit slavery in the territories—was now before the Supreme Court.

The ardently proslavery Chief Justice Roger B. Taney used *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (Sanford's name was misspelled by a clerk during the filing of the case) to decide this pressing political issue in favor of the South. Taney asserted that (1) the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because Congress could not legislate for the territories; (2) freeing slaves in the territories violated the Fifth Amendment prohibition on taking of property without due process; and (3) blacks, even those in the North with full state citizenship, could never be U.S. citizens. Taney asked: "Can a negro, whose ancestors were imported into

> ***Justice Roger Taney***
>
> "We think they [Blacks] . . . are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States."
>
> *DRED SCOTT V. SANDFORD,* 60 U.S. 393 (1856).

this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by that instrument to the citizens?" Taney answered his own question in the negative. He asserted that at the nation's founding blacks were considered "beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit." Taney thought his lengthy decision would open all the territories to slavery and destroy the Republican Party. In essence, he had constitutionalized racism and slavery. America, in Taney's view, was thoroughly a "white" nation.

Justice Benjamin Robbins Curtis of Massachusetts protested Taney's conclusions. Curtis noted: "At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation [1781], all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchises of electors, on equal terms with other citizens." Curtis concluded that when the Constitution was ratified, "these colored persons were not only included in the body of 'the people of the United States,' by whom the Constitution was ordained and established, but in at least five of the States they had the power to act, and doubtless did act, by their suffrages, upon the question of adoption." Curtis also argued that under a "reasonable interpretation of the language of the Constitution," Congress had the power to regulate slavery in the federal territories.

Northern Republicans and abolitionists were stunned and horrified. Horace Greeley, writing in the *New York Tribune,* called Taney's opinion "atrocious," "abominable," and a "detestable hypocrisy." The *Chicago Tribune* was repelled by its "inhuman dicta" and "the wicked consequences which may flow from it." Northern Democrats, on the other hand, hoped the decision would destroy the Republican Party by undermining its "free soil" platform and by finally ending the national debate over slavery in the territories. The *New York Journal of Commerce* hopefully declared that the decision was an "authoritative and final settlement of grievous sectional issues."

Ultimately, it was neither authoritative nor final. By 1858 northern Democrats faced a politically impossible dilemma. Their answer to the problem of slavery in the territories had been popular sovereignty—allowing the settlers to vote slavery up or down. But Taney's opinion denied both Congress and the settlers of a new territory the power to prohibit slavery. This made popular sovereignty meaningless. Stephen A. Douglas, the most prominent proponent of popular sovereignty, told his Illinois constituents that settlers could still keep slavery out of most of the territories by not passing laws that would protect slave property. This simply led to southern demands for a federal slave code for the territories and a split within the Democratic Party in 1860.

Republicans made Taney and the decision the focus of their 1858 and 1860 campaigns. Abraham Lincoln argued in his "house divided" speech (1858) that Taney's opinion was part of a proslavery conspiracy to nationalize slavery. He predicted "another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits." He told Illinois voters that "we shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their state free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave state."

Such arguments helped lead to a Republican victory in 1860. During the Civil War the Lincoln administration gradually reversed many of Taney's assertions about the status of blacks. This Republican policy culminated with the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which explicitly overruled *Dred Scott,* declaring, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

See also Slavery and the Constitution

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PAUL FINKELMAN (1996)
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Dreke, Víctor

March 10, 1937

Víctor Dreke Cruz is one of the heroes of Cuba's African story. Born in 1937 to a working-class family in the town of Sagua la Grande in Cuba's Villa Clara province, he joined the struggle against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista (1952–1958), rising to the rank of captain (the second highest rank, immediately below commander) in Fidel Castro's rebel army. After Castro assumed power in January 1959, Dreke served in the country's elite antiguerrilla force. In December 1962, at age twenty-five, he was promoted to the rank of commander.

In April 1965 Dreke left Havana on a secret mission. Cuba's interest in sub-Saharan Africa had quickened in late 1964. This was the moment of the great illusion, when the Cubans (and many others) believed that revolution beckoned in Africa. Guerrillas were fighting the Portuguese in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, while in Congo Brazzaville a new government was loudly proclaiming its revolutionary sympathies. Above all, in Congo Leopoldville (the Democratic Republic of the Congo), an armed revolt had been spreading with stunning speed, threatening the survival of the corrupt pro-American regime that Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy had laboriously put in place. To save the Congolese regime, the Lyndon Johnson administration raised an army of a thousand white mercenaries in a major covert operation that provoked a wave of revulsion even among African leaders friendly to the United States. The Cubans saw the conflict as more than an African problem; as Che Guevara put it, "Our view was that the situation in the Congo was a problem that concerned all mankind" (Guevara, p. 41).

At the request of the Congolese rebels, Castro agreed to send a group of military instructors. (The Cuban approach to guerrilla warfare required instructors to fight with their students.) Che Guevara led the column, and Dreke was his second in command. But Central Africa was not ready for revolution. By the time the Cubans arrived in the Congo, the mercenaries had broken the resolve of the rebels. The story of Che's column is not one of great battles, but of 120 people thrust into an impossible situation in a totally alien world, who retained their humanity until the end. Guevara could only preside over the agony of the rebellion until the rebels' collapse left him no choice but to withdraw in November 1965. A few weeks later, in a secret document in which he assessed each of the men who had served under him in the column, Che honored Dreke with unusual praise: "He was, throughout our stay, one of the pillars on which I relied," he wrote. "The only reason I am not recommending that he be promoted is that he already holds the highest rank" (Gleijeses, p. 88).

After returning from the Congo, Dreke headed the bureau that trained Cubans going on military missions abroad and foreigners who came to Cuba for instruction in guerrilla warfare. In 1967, he left on a second African mission. By then the main focus of Havana's attention in Africa was Guinea-Bissau, where rebels were fighting for independence from Portugal. They were "Africa's most successful liberation movement," according to U.S. State Department reports (Gleijeses, p. 185). Until the colony won its independence in 1974, Cuban instructors helped operate the rebels' more sophisticated weapons, plan military strategy, and conduct military operations on the ground. Their contribution was, in the words of Nino, the senior rebel commander, "of the utmost importance." Dreke headed the Cuban military mission in Guinea-Bissau in 1967–1968 with great distinction, and he left a lasting impression on the men who served with him, Cubans and Guineans alike. "Dreke has always been a role model," a Cuban volunteer recalled, "very simple, very austere." He was, said Nino, "an exceptional leader" (Gleijeses, pp. 191, 196).

After returning to Cuba, Dreke held several high positions in the army, while also earning a law degree in 1981. After retiring from the army in 1990, he worked in Africa for two Cuban government corporations involved in trade and construction, and he was appointed ambassador to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea in 2003.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Politics

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PIERO GLEIJESES (2005)

Drew, Charles Richard

December 6, 1904
April 1, 1950

The surgeon Charles Richard Drew was born and raised in Washington, D.C., graduating from Dunbar High School in 1922. In 1926 he received a B.A. from Amherst College. Drew was a first-rate basketball player, and upon graduation he was given an award as best athlete of the college. Between 1926 and 1928 he taught biology and chemistry at Morgan College (now Morgan State University) in Baltimore, where he also served as football coach and as director of athletics.

In 1928 Drew began medical studies at McGill University Medical School in Montreal, Canada. He excelled in medical science courses; won the annual prize in neuroanatomy; was elected to Alpha Phi Omega, the medical honorary scholastic fraternity; and received a prize for the top score in a medical exam competition. In 1933 Drew earned an M.D. and a Master of Surgery degree. He spent the next two years as an intern and a resident in medicine at Royal Victoria and Montreal General Hospitals.

As a McGill medical student, Drew was introduced to research on the chemical composition of blood and blood groups by John Beattie, a British medical researcher. A major problem then facing medical science was that quantities of whole, fresh blood large enough to match blood group types between blood donor and blood receiver were not readily available. Drew was bothered by the deaths of seriously ill or injured patients due to blood loss. Learning more about blood and how to preserve it over long periods of time became a research interest that Drew carried with him when he left Montreal to assume a teaching position at Howard University's College of Medicine in 1935.

In 1938 Drew received a research fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation for study at Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. He and John Scudder undertook research that led to the finding that it was blood plasma (the liquid portion of the blood, devoid of blood cells), rather than whole blood, that needed to be preserved for transfusions. Drew established an experimental blood bank at Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital. In 1940 he was awarded a doctorate at Columbia University with a thesis on "Banked Blood."

Returning to Howard University in 1940, Drew devoted himself to training medical students in surgery. His teaching was abruptly interrupted, however, by a call for blood plasma needed by wounded soldiers on the battlefields of Europe during World War II. The Blood Transfusion Association in New York City asked Drew to help. He was given leave from his instructional duties at Howard University to accept an assignment in the fall of 1940 as medical director of the Blood for Britain Program, which supplied blood for the British Red Cross. Under Drew's guidance, dried plasma was flown across the Atlantic Ocean to England. Once England had established its own banks, a larger blood program for U.S. military forces was developed. The American Red Cross and the Blood Transfusion Association jointly conducted this program, and Drew became its medical director.

In 1941 the military established a system of refusing blood donations from nonwhites to be used by whites. Blood donated by blacks was stored separately and given only to blacks. As director of the Red Cross Blood Bank Program, Drew took a strong stand against the racial separation of banked blood. As a result, he was asked to resign his directorship position, which he did. He then returned to teaching surgery at Howard University, where he became professor and head of the department of surgery, as well as surgeon-in-chief at Freedmen's Hospital.

On March 31, 1950, after working a long day that included performing several operations, Drew agreed to drive with other colleagues to a medical conference in Tuskegee, Alabama. He dozed at the wheel, and the car went off the road near Burlington, North Carolina, and overturned. Though stories abound that his medical emergency was ignored because of his race, he received prompt medical attention. He died from injuries resulting from the accident.

Drew gained much recognition during his lifetime. He was named Diplomate of Surgery by the American Board of Surgery in 1941; was a recipient of the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP in 1944; was granted honorary

Doctor of Science degrees from Virginia State College (1945) and Amherst College (1947); and was elected as a Fellow of the International College of Surgery (1946).

See also Howard University; Science

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ROBERT C. HAYDEN (1996)

Drew, Timothy

See Noble Drew Ali

Du Bois, Shirley Graham

November 11, 1896
March 27, 1977

Writer and political activist Shirley Graham Du Bois was born Lola Bell Graham in 1896 near Indianapolis, Indiana, the daughter of an African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) minister. She studied music at the Sorbonne and Harvard University, and from 1929 to 1931 she headed the music department at Morgan College in Baltimore. In 1931 she enrolled at Oberlin College, where she earned bachelor's and master's degrees. In 1932 her opera *Tom-Tom* was staged at the Cleveland Stadium. She became director of the Chicago unit of the Federal Theatre Project and then received a Rosenwald Fellowship for creative writing, which she used for study at Yale from 1938 to 1940.

Graham directed YWCA theater groups until the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) employed her as a field secretary in New York, a position she held from 1942 until 1944. During this period she began her series of biographies for young adults of noteworthy African Americans. Graham held a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1945–1947 and a National Institute of Arts and Letters Award in 1950. On February 14, 1951, she married her longtime friend and adviser, W. E. B. Du Bois, and devoted her energies to causes he championed.

At the invitation of President Kwame Nkrumah, the couple moved to Ghana in 1961, the year she also became a founding editor of *Freedomways*. From 1964 to 1966 Graham was the organizing director of Ghana television. When a coup toppled Nkrumah, she moved to Cairo. The U.S. Department of Justice would not permit her to return to the United States, citing her membership in numerous subversive groups. She died of cancer in Beijing in 1977.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
Updated bibliography

Du Bois, W. E. B.

February 23, 1868
August 27, 1963

Historian, sociologist, novelist, and editor William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. His mother, Mary Burghardt Du Bois, belonged to a tiny community of African Americans who had been settled in the area since before the American Revolution; his father, Alfred Du Bois, was a visitor to the region who deserted the family in his son's infancy. In the predominantly white local schools and Congregational church, Du Bois absorbed ideas and values that left him "quite thoroughly New England."

From 1885 to 1888 Du Bois attended Fisk University in Nashville, where he first encountered the harsher forms of racism. After earning a B.A. (1888) at Fisk, he attended Harvard University, where he took another B.A. (1890) and a doctorate in history (1895). Among his teachers were psychologist William James, philosophers Josiah Royce and George Santayana, and historian A. B. Hart. From 1892 to 1894 he studied history and sociology at the University of Berlin. His dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States," was published in 1896 as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies.

From 1894 to 1896 Du Bois taught at Wilberforce University in Ohio, where he met and married Nina

W. E. B. Du Bois. *Director of publications and research for the fledgling National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, Du Bois was also the founding editor of the NAACP's official media organ, the monthly* Crisis *magazine.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

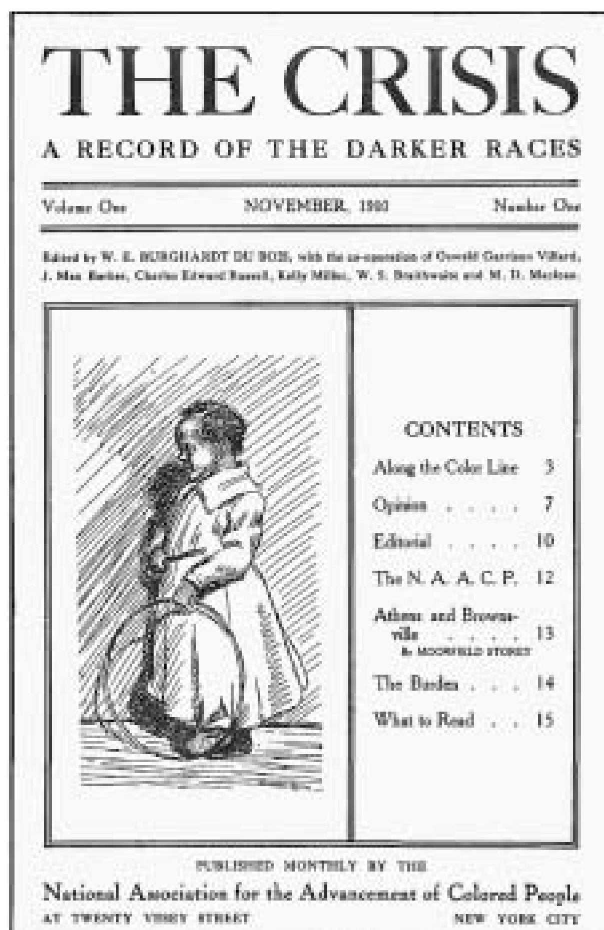
Gomer, a student, in 1896. The couple had two children, Burghardt and Yolande. In 1896 he accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania to gather data for a commissioned study of blacks in Philadelphia. This work resulted in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), an acclaimed early example of empirical sociology. In 1897 he joined the faculty at Atlanta University and took over the annual Atlanta University Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems. From 1897 to 1914 he edited an annual study of one aspect or another of black life, such as education or the church.

Appalled by the conditions facing blacks nationally, Du Bois sought ways other than scholarship to effect change. The death of his young son from dysentery in 1899 also deeply affected him, as did the widely publicized lynching of a black man, Sam Hose, in Georgia the same year. In 1900, in London, he boldly asserted that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line." He repeated this statement in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), mainly a collection of essays on African-American history, sociology, religion, and music, in which Du Bois wrote of an essential black double consciousness: the existence of twin souls ("an American, a Negro") warring in each black body. The book also attacked Booker T. Washington, the most powerful black American of the age, for advising blacks to surrender the right to vote and to a liberal education in return for white friendship and support. Du Bois was established as probably the premier intellectual in black America, and Washington's main rival.

Du Bois's growing radicalism also led him to organize the Niagara Movement, a group of blacks who met in 1905 and 1906 to agitate for "manhood rights" for African Americans. He founded two journals, *Moon* (1905–1906) and *Horizon* (1907–1910). In 1909 he published *John Brown,* a sympathetic biography of the white abolitionist martyr. Then in 1910 he resigned his professorship to join the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in New York, which had been formed in response to growing concern about the treatment of blacks. As its director of research, Du Bois founded a monthly magazine, *The Crisis*. In 1911 he published his first novel, *The Quest of the Silver Fleece,* a study of the cotton industry seen through the fate of a young black couple struggling for a life of dignity and meaning.

The Crisis became a powerful forum for Du Bois's views on race and politics. Meanwhile, his developing interest in Africa led him to write *The Negro* (1915), a study offering historical and demographic information on peoples of African descent around the world. Hoping to affect colonialism in Africa after World War I, he also organized Pan-African Congresses in Europe in 1919, 1921, and 1923, and in New York in 1927. However, he clashed with the most popular black leader of the era, Marcus Garvey of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Du Bois regarded Garvey's "back to Africa" scheme as ill considered and Garvey as impractical and disorganized.

Du Bois's second prose collection, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (1920), did not repeat the success of *The Souls of Black Folk* but captured his increased militancy. In the 1920s *The Crisis* played a major role in the Harlem Renaissance by publishing early work by Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and other writers. Eventually, Du Bois found some writers politically irresponsible; his essay "Criteria of Negro Art" (1926) insisted that all art is essentially propaganda. He pressed this point with a novel, *Dark Princess* (1928), about a plot by the darker races to overthrow European colonialism. In 1926 he visited the Soviet Union, then nine years old. Favorably impressed by what he saw, he boldly declared himself "a Bolshevik."



THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume One | NOVEMBER, 1910 | Number One

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

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AT TWENTY VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY

The cover for Volume One, Number One (November, 1910) of **The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races,** *the monthly journal founded and edited by W. E. B. Du Bois.*

> *W.E.B. Dubois*
>
> "…One even feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."
>
> *THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.* CHICAGO: A.C. MCCLURG AND CO., 1903.

The Great Depression increased Du Bois's interest in socialism but also cut the circulation of *The Crisis* and weakened his position with the leadership of the NAACP, with which he had fought from the beginning. In 1934 he resigned as editor and returned to teach at Atlanta University. His interest in Marxism, which had started with his student days in Berlin, dominated his next book, *Black Reconstruction in America* (1934), a massive and controversial revaluation of the role of the freedmen in the South after the Civil War. In 1936 Du Bois commenced a weekly column of opinion in various black newspapers, starting with the *Pittsburgh Courier*. He emphasized his continuing concern for Africa with *Black Folk: Then and Now* (1939), an expanded and updated revision of *The Negro*.

In 1940 Du Bois published his first full-length autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept,* in which he examined modern racial theory against the major events and intellectual currents in his lifetime. In 1944 his life took another dramatic turn when he was suddenly retired by Atlanta University after tension grew between him and certain administrators. When the NAACP rehired him that year, he returned to New York as director of special research. In 1945 he was honored at the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, and published a bristling polemic, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*. A year later, he produced a controversial pamphlet, "An Appeal to the World," submitted by the NAACP on behalf of black Americans to the United Nations Commission on Civil Rights. In 1947 came his *The World and Africa,* an examination of Africa's future following World War II.

By this time Du Bois had moved to the left, well beyond the interests of the NAACP, which generally supported the Democratic Party. In 1948, when he endorsed the Progressive Party and its presidential candidate, Henry Wallace, he was fired. He then joined Paul Robeson, who was by this time firmly identified with radical socialism, at the Council on African Affairs, which had been officially declared a "subversive" organization. In 1950 Du Bois ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate from New York on the American Labor Party ticket. Also that year, in another move applauded by communists, he accepted the chairmanship of the Peace Information Center, which circulated the Stockholm Peace Appeal against nuclear weapons.

Early in 1951 Du Bois and four colleagues from the Peace Information Center were indicted on the charge of violating the law that required agents of a foreign power to register. On bail and awaiting trial, he married Shirley Lola Graham, a fellow socialist and writer (his first wife had died in 1950). At the trial in November 1951, the judge heard testimony, then unexpectedly granted a motion by the defense for a directed acquittal. Du Bois was undeterred by his ordeal. In 1953, he recited the Twenty-third Psalm at the grave of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed as spies for the Soviet Union. For such involvements, he found himself ostracized by some black leaders

and organizations. "The colored children," he wrote, "ceased to hear my name."

Returning to fiction, he composed a trilogy, *The Black Flame,* about the life and times of a black educator seen against the backdrop of generations of black and white lives and national and international events (the trilogy comprised *The Ordeal of Mansart,* 1957; *Mansart Builds a School,* 1959; and *Worlds of Color,* 1961). After the government lifted its ban on his foreign travel in 1958, Du Bois visited various countries, including the Soviet Union and China. In Moscow on May 1, 1959, he received the Lenin Peace Prize.

In 1960 Du Bois visited Ghana for the inauguration of Kwame Nkrumah as its first president. He then accepted an invitation from Nkrumah to return to Ghana and start work on an *Encyclopedia Africana,* a project in which he had long been interested. In October 1961, after applying (successfully) for membership in the Communist Party, he left the United States. He began work on the project in Ghana, but illness the following year caused him to go for treatment to Romania. Afterward, he visited Peking and Moscow. In February 1963 he renounced his American citizenship and officially became a citizen of Ghana. He died in Accra, Ghana, and was buried there.

See also Communist Party of the United States; Council on African Affairs; Cullen, Countee; Great Depression and the New Deal; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; *Pittsburgh Courier*; Universal Negro Improvement Association; Robeson, Paul; Washington, Booker T.

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ARNOLD RAMPERSAD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Dub Poetry

The word "dub" in "dub poetry" is borrowed from recording technology, where it refers to the activity of adding and/or removing sounds. "Dub poetry," which is usually in Jamaican Creole, incorporates a music beat, often a reggae beat. It is often performed to an accompaniment of instrumental music, recorded or live. Although dub poets sometimes publish books, most of their work is designed for presentation live and is marketed in recordings. Some "dub poets" prefer not to be called by that name: They say they are simply poets, that some of what they write is manifestly not "dub poetry," and that, even in performance mode, they sometimes draw on musical forms that are not reggae or dub.

Dub poetry invites comparison with oral performance in any culture. In tracing its lineage, some commentators begin with African griots. Some point to more immediate connections—with Jamaican DJs of the 1970s, figures such as U. Roy, I. Roy, and Big Youth. "The 'dub-lyricist,'" wrote Linton Kwesi Johnson, "is the DJ turned poet. He intones his lyrics rather than sings them. Dub-lyricism is a new form of (oral) music-poetry" (Johnson, p. 398).

Early in 1979 a group of young poets in Jamaica began to promote the term "dub poetry" (adumbrated by Johnson) to identify work then being presented by Oku Onuora, Michael Smith ("Mikey"), and others. They paid frequent tribute to Jamaican poet Louise Bennett for having shown that Jamaican Creole can be the vehicle of significant art. Onuora (formerly Orlando Wong) was inspired by Bob Marley and the Wailers and other Jamaican reggae artists; he also learned from Langston Hughes, The Last Poets, Gil Scott-Heron, Kamau Brathwaite, and others steeped in the rhythms of black music.

The pioneer theorist on dub poetry, Onuora initially talked about its form: In a dub poem, he argued, reggae rhythms can be heard even when the poem is presented with no instrumental backing. By 1986 he was also highlighting sociopolitical content: "Dub poetry simply mean to take out and to put in, but more fi put in more than anything else. We take out the little isms, the little English ism and the little highfalutin business and the little penta-metre. . . . It's . . . dubbing in the rootsical, yard, basic rhythm that I-an-I know. Using the language, using the body. It also mean to dub out the isms and schisms and to dub consciousness into the people-dem head" (into the people's thinking; Morris, pp. 37-38).

Expressions such as "rootsical" (grounded, relating comfortably to poor black people), "I-an-I" (we), "isms

and schisms" (pretentious ideologies and ideological disputes), and "consciousness" (progressive black consciousness) do not necessarily identify the speaker as Rastafarian, for Rastafarian influence is widely diffused. It is true, however, that a number of well-known dub poets are Rastafarian or have passed through a Rastafarian phase.

Like Rastafari and the Black Power movement (another major influence), dub poetry typically seeks to promote black consciousness and to confront injustice. Politically focused, it does not often explore subtle shifts of feeling or ambiguities of self-discovery. Some critics have noted with disapproval what they adjudge to be its limited emotional range and its tendency to rely on direct statement. Others commend dub poets for rhetorical force and political clarity and are critical of commentators who, invoking broad categories such as "performance poetry," seem inclined to blunt the political force of "dub." Various academics, including Gordon Rohlehr in *Voiceprint* (1989) and Carolyn Cooper in *Noises in the Blood* (1993), have praised particular pieces or poets, without seeming to endorse dub poetry in general as Christian Habekost does in *Verbal Riddim* (1993), which is an invaluable source of information.

Well known "dub poets"—though some resist the category—include Mutabaruka, Oku Onuora, the late Mikey Smith, Yasus Afari, Cherry Natural (Jamaica), Linton Kwesi Johnson, Benjamin Zephaniah (resident in the United Kingdom), Jean Binta Breeze (Jamaica and the U.K.), Lillian Allen, and Afua Cooper (based in Canada). Each is a compelling performer whose work has been available in recordings and in print. In 2002 *Mi Revalueshanary Fren: Selected Poems* by Linton Kwesi Johnson was published as a Penguin Modern Classic.

See also Bennett, Louise; Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Rastafarianism; Reggae

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MERVYN MORRIS (2005)

Dunbar, Paul Laurence

June 27, 1872
February 9, 1906

Paul Laurence Dunbar, the child of ex-slaves, was the first African-American writer to attain widespread fame for his literary activities. Known chiefly for his dialect poetry, Dunbar also broke new ground in several ways for the further development of an African-American literary tradition.

Born and raised in Dayton, Ohio, Dunbar showed early signs of literary ambition. He served as editor of his high school newspaper and at the same time began a short-lived newspaper of his own, the *Dayton Tattler,* focusing on matters of interest to the black community. Like most young black men, and despite a good school record, he confronted upon graduation a world with few opportunities and had to take work as an elevator operator; but he also became increasingly dedicated to his literary activity, especially to poetry. Encouraged by several white friends in Dayton as well as by the noted popular poet James Whitcomb Riley, Dunbar published locally his first book of poetry, *Oak and Ivy,* in 1892. However, he achieved real fame in 1896, when an expanded and revised collection, *Majors and Minors*—also published mainly for a local audience—came to the attention of the prominent American writer William Dean Howells. Howells admired it and saw to the publication that year of a larger volume, *Lyrics of Lowly Life,* by the established American firm Dodd, Mead. It was the first of five major collections to be published by the company during Dunbar's lifetime.

Singled out for praise by Howells, and serving as the basis for Dunbar's fame, was his dialect verse. Fitting broadly into the popular, mainly white-authored, plantation-tradition literature of the time, Dunbar's dialect poetry created a sentimental portrait of African-American folklife in the antebellum South, treating a variety of themes, from love and courtship to social life and folk ideas. Although the dialect Dunbar used owed more to its literary antecedents than to actual folk speech, he also drew heavily on folk traditions for his own subjects and themes and thus often succeeded in giving real life to the form, freeing it from the stereotypes that dominated the works of white practitioners. The publication of this work, together with successful public readings of it throughout the United States and abroad, made Dunbar among the most popular poets, regardless of race, in America at the turn of the twentieth century.

A postcard portrait of Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906), proclaiming him the "Poet Laureate of the Negro Race." PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Dunbar's success with dialect poetry had a powerful impact on black American literature during its time. He had few black predecessors in the form—although such early black dialect writers as James Edwin Campbell and Daniel Webster Davis were his exact contemporaries—but as his fame grew, so did the volume of dialect poetry in African-American literature. It began to appear frequently in black newspapers and magazines, and few collections of African-American poetry over the next two decades lacked at least some examples of dialect verse. Many were dominated by it.

Dunbar himself was ambivalent about his success with the dialect form. He wrote a great deal of poetry in standard English and felt that this was his most important work. Much of this verse is significant, especially for its time, as Dunbar not only addressed such contemporary issues as southern racial injustice and violence but broke notably from conventions of piety and gentility that had earlier dominated poetry by black Americans. Still, it was the dialect poetry that critics, black and white, praised during Dunbar's lifetime, a fact that the poet found greatly frustrating. His frustration spilled over into a personal life marked by real difficulties, including problems in his marriage to the talented writer Alice Moore Dunbar and the alcoholism and chronic ill health, culminating in tuberculosis, that led to his early death.

Although Dunbar made his reputation as a poet, his literary production during his brief life showed real diversity. It included a large number of short stories that appeared in popular magazines and in four major collections published by Dodd, Mead. Much of this short fiction complemented the popular dialect poetry, some of it written entirely in dialect and most of it featuring dialect-speaking folk characters. A few stories, however, moved in directions of protest, or of exploring issues of urbanization and cultural conflict. Dunbar also did some writing for the theater, including the highly popular musical comedy *Clorindy,* on which he collaborated with the composer William Marion Cook.

But some of his most important work, outside his poetry, lay in his novels. Dunbar published four novels; one, *The Love of Landry* (1900), was a sentimental work set in the American West, but the other three focused on questions of culture and identity in ways that allowed him to explore the issues affecting him as an individual and as an artist. These included *The Uncalled* (1899), tracing a young man's efforts to deal with pressures exerted on him to enter the ministry; *The Fanatics* (1901), a tale of Civil War–era Ohio; and *The Sport of the Gods* (1902), describing the travails of a black family forced to flee the South and to make its way in the more complex setting of urban New York. Only the last novel featured black protagonists, and it has often been considered the pioneering work in literary realism by a black writer. But all, excepting *The Love of Landry,* looked significantly and innovatively at the kinds of forces, cultural and psychological, that confront and constrain the individual in an effort to create a satisfying personal identity, and looked, at least implicitly at the meaning of race in American life.

Dunbar's work did not always fare well in the hands of critics in the years after his death. Not without justification, many found too much of the dialect work, despite the writer's efforts to the contrary, to be uncomfortably close to that of white plantation-tradition writers, contributing to the same stereotypes the plantation tradition helped to spread. But Dunbar's influence and originality remain important milestones in the subsequent evolution of an African-American literary tradition.

See also Dunbar-Nelson, Alice; Literature of the United States

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DICKSON D. BRUCE JR. (1996)
Updated bibliography

Dunbar-Nelson, Alice

July 19, 1875
September 18, 1935

Writer Alice Dunbar-Nelson was born Alice Ruth Moore in New Orleans, Louisiana. From her father, Joseph Moore, a sailor who never lived with the family, she inherited the light-colored skin and hair that enabled her to pass as white when she wished. Her mother, Patricia Wright Moore, an ex-slave who was part black and part Native American, supported the family as a seamstress. After attending public schools, Dunbar-Nelson graduated from the teachers' training program at Straight College (now Dillard University) in her hometown in 1892. In addition to her teaching she worked as a stenographer and bookkeeper for a black printing firm. She was interested in theater, played the piano and cello, and presided over a literary society. In 1895 *Violets and Other Tales,* her first collection of stories, essays, and poetry, was published.

In 1896 Dunbar-Nelson moved with her family to West Medford, Massachusetts. The following year she moved to New York, where she taught public school in Brooklyn while she helped her friend Victoria Earle Matthews found the White Rose Mission (later the White Rose Home for Girls in Harlem), where she also taught. On March 8, 1898, she married the poet Paul Laurence Dunbar and moved to Washington, D.C., where he lived. Their romance had been conducted through letters. He first wrote to her after seeing her picture alongside one of her poems in a poetry review. At their first meeting they agreed to marry.

Although it was a stormy marriage, it significantly aided Dunbar-Nelson's literary career. In 1899 her husband's agent had her second collection, *The Goodness of St. Roque,* published as a companion book to Dunbar's *Poems of Cabin and Field*. The couple separated in 1902 and Dunbar-Nelson moved to Wilmington, Delaware, where she taught English at the Howard High School. Paul Dunbar died in 1906. In 1910 Dunbar-Nelson married a fellow teacher, Henry Arthur Callis, but that union soon dissolved. In 1916 she married Robert J. Nelson, a journalist with whom she remained until her death in 1935.

Dunbar-Nelson's writings, published continually throughout her life, displayed a wide variety of interests. After studying English literature as a special student at Cornell University, she published "Wordsworth's Use of Milton's Description of Pandemonium" in the April 1909 issue of *Modern Language Notes*. She also published several pedagogical articles, including "Is It Time for the Negro Colleges in the South to Be Put into the Hands of Negro Teachers?" (*Twentieth Century Negro Literature,* 1902) and "Negro Literature for Negro Pupils" (*The Southern Workman,* February 1922). *The Journal of Negro History* published her historical essay "People of Color in Louisiana" in two parts; the first appeared in October 1916 and the second in January 1917. From 1920 to 1922 she and Nelson published and edited the *Wilmington Advocate*. In addition, she reviewed contemporary literature and delivered political analyses in columns for the *Pittsburgh Courier* (1926, 1930) and the *Washington Eagle* (1926–1930).

In 1920 Dunbar-Nelson lost her job at Howard High School because of her political activity on behalf of women's and civil rights. That year she founded the Industrial School for Colored Girls in Marshalltown, Delaware, which she directed from 1924 to 1928. From 1929 to 1931 she served as executive secretary of the American Inter-Racial Peace Committee, a subsidiary of the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee. She used this position to organize the National Negro Music Festival in 1929 and to engage in a ten-week cross-country speaking tour in 1930. In 1932 she moved to Philadelphia, where her husband was a governor appointee to the Pennsylvania Athletic Commission. Her lifelong interest in the African-American oral tradition prompted her to publish *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence* in 1914 and *The Dunbar Speaker*

and Entertainer in 1920. She was a member of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority and the Daughter Elks. Dunbar-Nelson is often considered a poet of the Harlem Renaissance. Her two most anthologized poems are "Sonnet" (often called "Violets"), and "I Sit and Sew." Her diary, published in 1984, is an invaluable source of information about her life.

See also Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Harlem Renaissance; Literature of the United States

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MICHEL FABRE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Dunham, Katherine

June 22, 1909

Born in Chicago and raised in Joliet, Illinois, choreographer and dancer Katherine Dunham did not begin formal dance training until her late teens. In Chicago she studied with Ludmilla Speranzeva and Mark Turbyfill, and danced her first leading role in Ruth Page's ballet *La Guiablesse* in 1933. She attended the University of Chicago on scholarship (B.A., social anthropology, 1936), where she was inspired by the work of anthropologists Robert Redfield and Melville Herskovits, who stressed the importance of the survival of African culture and ritual in understanding African-American culture. While in college she taught youngsters' dance classes and gave recitals in a Chicago storefront, calling her student company, founded in 1931, "Ballet Nègre." Awarded a Rosenwald Travel Fellowship in 1936 for her combined expertise in dance and anthropology, she departed after graduation for the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Cuba, Haiti, Martinique) to do field research in anthropology and dance. Combining her two interests, she linked the function and form of Caribbean dance and ritual to their African progenitors.

The West Indian experience changed forever the focus of Dunham's life (eventually she would live in Haiti half of the time and become a priestess in the vodoun religion), and caused a profound shift in her career. This initial fieldwork provided the nucleus for future researches and began a lifelong involvement with the people and dance of Haiti. From this Dunham generated her master's thesis (Northwestern University, 1947) and more fieldwork. She lectured widely, published numerous articles, and wrote three books about her observations: *Journey to Accompong* (1946), *The Dances of Haiti* (her master's thesis, published in 1947), and *Island Possessed* (1969), underscoring how African religions and rituals adapted to the New World.

And, importantly for the development of modern dance, her fieldwork began her investigations into a vocabulary of movement that would form the core of the Katherine Dunham Technique. What Dunham gave modern dance was a coherent lexicon of African and Caribbean styles of movement—a flexible torso and spine, articulated pelvis and isolation of the limbs, a polyrhythmic strategy of moving—which she integrated with techniques of ballet and modern dance.

When she returned to Chicago in late 1937, Dunham founded the Negro Dance Group, a company of black artists dedicated to presenting aspects of African-American and African-Caribbean dance. Immediately she began incorporating the dances she had learned into her choreography. Invited in 1937 to be part of a notable New York City concert, Negro Dance Evening, she premiered "Haitian Suite," excerpted from choreography she was developing for the longer *L'Ag'Ya*. In 1937–1938 as dance director of the Negro Unit of the Federal Theater Project in Chicago, she made dances for *Emperor Jones* and *Run Lil' Chillun,* and presented her first version of *L'Ag'Ya* on January 27, 1938. Based on a Martinique folktale (*ag'ya* is a Martinique fighting dance), *L'Ag'Ya* is a seminal work, displaying Dunham's blend of exciting dance-drama and authentic African-Caribbean material.

Dunham moved her company to New York City in 1939, where she became dance director of the New York Labor Stage, choreographing the labor-union musical *Pins and Needles*. Simultaneously she was preparing a new production, *Tropics and Le Jazz Hot: From Haiti to Harlem*. It opened February 18, 1939, in what was intended to be a single weekend's concert at the Windsor Theatre in New York City. Its instantaneous success, however, extended the run for ten consecutive weekends and catapulted Dunham into the limelight. In 1940 Dunham and her company appeared in the black Broadway musical *Cabin in the Sky,* staged by George Balanchine, in which Dunham played the sultry siren Georgia Brown—a character related to Dunham's other seductress, "Woman with a Cigar," from

her solo "Shore Excursion" in *Tropics.* That same year Dunham married John Pratt, a theatrical designer who worked with her in 1938 at the Chicago Federal Theater Project, and for the next forty-seven years, until his death in 1986, Pratt was Dunham's husband and her artistic collaborator.

With *L'Ag'Ya* and *Tropics and Le Jazz Hot: From Haiti to Harlem,* Dunham revealed her magical mix of dance and theater—the essence of "the Dunham touch"—a savvy combination of authentic Caribbean dance and rhythms with the heady spice of American showbiz. Genuine folk material was presented with lavish costumes, plush settings, and the orchestral arrangements based on Caribbean rhythms and folk music. Dancers moved through fantastical tropical paradises or artistically designed juke joints, while a loose storyline held together a succession of diverse dances. Dunham aptly called her spectacles "revues." She choreographed more than ninety individual dances and produced five revues, four of which played on Broadway and toured worldwide. Her most critically acclaimed revue was her 1946 *Bal Nègre,* containing another Dunham dance favorite, "Shango," based directly on vodoun ritual.

If her repertory was diverse, it was also coherent. *Tropics and Le Jazz Hot: From Haiti to Harlem* incorporated dances from the West Indies as well as from Cuba and Mexico, while the "Le Jazz Hot" section featured early black American social dances, such as the juba, cakewalk, ballin' the jack, and strut. The sequencing of dances, the theatrical journey from the tropics to urban black America implied—in the most entertaining terms—the ethnographic realities of cultural connections. In her 1943 *Tropical Revue,* she recycled material from the 1939 revue and added new dances, such as the balletic "Choros" (based on formal Brazilian quadrilles) and "Rites de Passage," which depicted puberty rituals so explicitly sexual that the dance was banned in Boston.

Beginning in the 1940s, the Katherine Dunham Dance Company appeared on Broadway and toured throughout the United States, Mexico, Latin America, and especially Europe, to enthusiastic reviews. In Europe Dunham was praised as a dancer and choreographer, recognized as a serious anthropologist and scholar, and admired as a glamorous beauty. Among her achievements was her resourcefulness in keeping her company going without any government funding. When short of money between engagements, Dunham and her troupe played in elegant nightclubs, such as Ciro's in Los Angeles. She also supplemented her income through film. Alone, or with her company, she appeared in nine Hollywood movies and in several foreign films between 1941 and 1959, among them *Carnival of Rhythm* (1939), *Star-Spangled Rhythm* (1942), *Stormy Weather* (1943), *Casbah* (1948), *Boote e Risposta* (1950), and *Mambo* (1954).

In 1945 Dunham opened the Dunham School of Dance and Theater (sometimes called the Dunham School of Arts and Research) in Manhattan. Although technique classes were the heart of the school, they were supplemented by courses in humanities, philosophy, languages, aesthetics, drama, and speech. For the next ten years many African-American dancers of the next generation studied at her school, then passed on Dunham's technique to their students, situating it in dance mainstream (teachers such as Syvilla Fort, Talley Beatty, Lavinia Williams, Walter Nicks, Hope Clark, Vanoye Aikens, and Carmencita Romero; the Dunham technique has always been taught at the Alvin Ailey studios).

During the 1940s and 1950s, Dunham kept up her brand of political activism. Fighting segregation in hotels, restaurants, and theaters, she filed lawsuits and made public condemnations. In Hollywood she refused to sign a lucrative studio contract when the producer said she would have to replace some of her darker-skinned company members. To an enthusiastic but all-white audience in the South, she made an after-performance speech, saying she could never play there again until it was integrated. In São Paulo, Brazil, she brought a discrimination suit against a hotel, eventually prompting the president of Brazil to apologize to her and to pass a law that forbade discrimination in public places. In 1951 Dunham premiered *Southland,* an hour-long ballet about lynching, though it was only performed in Chile and Paris.

Toward the end of the 1950s Dunham was forced to regroup, disband, and reform her company, according to the exigencies of her financial and physical health (she suffered from crippling knee problems). Yet she remained undeterred. In 1962 she opened a Broadway production, *Bambouche,* featuring fourteen dancers, singers, and musicians of the Royal Troupe of Morocco, along with the Dunham company. The next year she choreographed the Metropolitan Opera's new production of *Aida*—thereby becoming the Met's first black choreographer. In 1965–1966 she was cultural adviser to the President of Senegal. She attended Senegal's First World Festival of Negro Arts as a representative from the United States.

Moved by the civil rights struggle and outraged by deprivations in the ghettos of East St. Louis, an area she knew from her visiting professorships at Southern Illinois University in the 1960s, Dunham decided to take action. In 1967 she opened the Performing Arts Training Center, a cultural program and school for the neighborhood children and youth, with programs in dance, drama, martial

arts, and humanities. Soon thereafter she expanded the programs to include senior citizens. Then in 1977 she opened the Katherine Dunham Museum and Children's Workshop to house her collections of artifacts from her travels and research, as well as archival material from her personal life and professional career.

Dunham has received numerous awards acknowledging her contributions. These include the Albert Schweitzer Music Award for a life devoted to performing arts and service to humanity (1979); a Kennedy Center Honors Award (1983); the Samuel H. Scripps American Dance Festival Award (1987); and induction into the Hall of Fame of the National Museum of Dance in Saratoga Springs, New York. (1987). That same year Dunham directed the reconstruction of several of her works by the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater and *The Magic of Katherine Dunham* opened Ailey's 1987–1988 season. Later awards include the Presidential Medal of Arts, the French Legion of Honor, the Southern Cross of Brazil, the Grand Cross of Haiti, an NAACP Lifetime Achievement Award, Lincoln Academy Laureate, and the Urban Leagues' Lifetime Achievement Award.

In February 1992, at the age of eighty-two, Dunham again became the subject of international attention when she began a forty-seven-day fast at her East St. Louis home. Because of her age, her involvement with Haiti, and the respect accorded her as an activist and artist, Dunham became the center of a movement that coalesced to protest the U.S. deportations of Haitian boat-refugees fleeing to the United States after the military overthrow of Haiti's democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. She agreed to end her fast only after Aristide visited her and personally requested her to stop.

Boldness has characterized Dunham's life and career. And, although she was not alone, Dunham is perhaps the best known and most influential pioneer of black dance. Her synthesis of scholarship and theatricality demonstrated, incontrovertibly and joyously, that African-American and African-Caribbean styles are related and powerful components of dance in America.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Ballet

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SALLY SOMMER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Durham Manifesto

On October 20, 1942—during World War II—a group of southern black leaders convened in Durham, North Carolina, to address the problem of increasing racial tension in the South. The convention, called the Southern Conference on Race Relations, was organized at the suggestion of Jessie Ames, a white moderate and an active member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC). Ames, fearing that the voices of white and black southern moderates were being drowned out by more radical blacks and white supremacists, urged Gordon Blaine Hancock, a black sociologist and a moderate on racial issues, to convene the meeting. Ames expressed her hope that the black leaders would propose a "New Charter of Race Relations" for the South that would win the approval and support of white moderates, thereby restoring the role of the increasingly weak CIC and salvaging the possibility of interracial cooperation.

After some disagreement among the organizers (a group of black Virginians) over whether to include northern leaders, Hancock and the others decided to limit the conference to southern blacks. Of the eighty southern black leaders invited to attend the Durham conference, fifty-two accepted. Many of the attendees, including Charles Spurgeon Johnson of Fisk University, Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, and Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University, were former members of the CIC who had become disenchanted with the hesitant attitude of southern white moderates. In addition to Hancock, who served as the director of the conference, two other blacks from Virginia, Luther Porter Jackson and P. B. Young, the owner and editor of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* assumed leadership positions.

On December 15, 1942, the conference issued the Durham Manifesto, a statement outlining the leaders' demands for improving the position of African Americans in the South. In this statement of purpose, the delegates voiced their fundamental opposition to segregation but avoided a frontal attack on such issues as the desegregation of schools and public accommodations, which might appear to white southerners as calls for social equality. Instead the leaders expressed their belief that it was more important for the conference to address the "current

problems of racial discrimination and neglect." Among the leaders' demands were calls for equal pay and opportunities for blacks in industry, the abolition of poll taxes and white primaries, the protection of civil rights, and a federal antilynching law. The leaders also implored white moderates to take a more active role in helping blacks combat racial discrimination in the South.

White moderates responded by organizing their own conference to address the black leaders' demands, and in June 1943 the two groups met at a collaborative conference in Richmond, Virginia, where they agreed to disband the CIC and replace it with the new Southern Regional Council. Many of the white leaders, however, objected to the Durham statement as too aggressive. When the conference finally drafted a common platform, it, like the Durham Manifesto, continued to avoid a direct confrontation on the issue of segregation. Although the Durham Manifesto failed to receive the full support of white moderates, it marked a major step forward in articulating an antisegregationist stance by southern black moderates.

See also Hancock, Gordon Blaine

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)

Du Sable, Jean Baptiste Pointe

c. 1750
1818

Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable (also spelled Au Sable, De Sable, and De Saible), the founder of Chicago, is thought to have been born in Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) to an African mother and a French mariner father. After his mother's death, his father sent him to Paris, where he was educated. After his stay in Paris, Du Sable worked as a seaman on his father's ships. How he came to North America is not known. According to one account, he immigrated to French Canada and became a fur trapper; another says he immigrated to Louisiana.

What is certain is that by 1779 Du Sable had traveled north to the Chicago River area, where he established trading posts on the sites of Peoria, Illinois, and Michigan City, Indiana. That year he also established a trading post at the mouth of the river, at a place local Indians called *Checagou*, the site of present-day Chicago. He returned that fall to Peoria, where his support of the Americans during the Revolutionary War angered the powerful Mackinac tribe, who were allies of Great Britain. Du Sable was arrested for espionage by British authorities, but his reputation was sufficiently impressive that not only was he released the following year but the British made him a trader for supplies for their fort and hired him to manage their own trading post.

In 1784, after the British left the region, Du Sable returned to Checagou, where he reestablished his trading post and built a cabin, the first house ever built in Chicago. Du Sable decorated it with French furniture and some twenty-three paintings, plus other luxury items. He lived in the region for sixteen years and married a Potawotomi Native American woman named Catherine, with whom he had two children.

In 1800, after an unsuccessful attempt at being elected chief of the Potawotomi, Du Sable suddenly sold his lucrative Chicago business and land holdings for about $1,200 and moved back to Peoria. Despite owning eight hundred acres of property there, a claim later upheld in a U.S. court, Du Sable lost his money and declared bankruptcy in 1814. Ironically, his land holdings in Chicago are now worth more than a billion dollars. Du Sable subsequently moved to St. Charles, Missouri, near St. Louis, where he died in poverty in 1818. His grave was discovered in St. Charles in 1991.

As the first permanent non–American Indian resident of the area, Du Sable is honored as the founder of Chicago. Plaques and a large high school in the city bear his name. The Du Sable Museum of African-American History, the oldest private nonprofit black museum in America, opened in 1961. In 1987 a portrait of Du Sable appeared on a postage stamp.

See also Black-Indian Relations

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MANSUR M. NURUDDIN (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Duvalier, François

April 14, 1907
April 21, 1971

François Duvalier was born on April 14, 1907, in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. As a child he was afflicted with yaws, a potentially disfiguring skin condition marked by sores, lesions, and pain in the bones and joints. Duvalier was one of a great many Haitian children plagued by yaws, but he was one of only a small number who had the opportunity to study at the Lycée Petion, where he studied under Dumarsais Estimé before going on to earn his medical license in 1934. As a doctor, Duvalier spearheaded a successful campaign to eradicate yaws and gained the famous nickname "Papa Doc."

Duvalier maintained an interest in politics and ethnology. He was part of a group of black intellectuals known as the Griots whose writings claimed a unique spiritual prowess attached to blackness and connected oppression to white and mulatto governments. Duvalier was a member of Mouvement Ouvrier Paysan (MOP), a popular black nationalist party led by Daniel Fignolé. In 1946 Duvalier was appointed minister of public health following the election to the presidency of his former teacher, Dumarsais Estimé. The Estimé government professed an adherence to *noirisme,* a black nationalist rhetoric closely connected to the *Négritude* and Griot movements. In 1950 Estimé provoked a coup by attempting to maintain the presidency through a constitutional amendment.

Duvalier was forced into the interior to hide out during the tenure of Colonel Paul Magloire (1907–2001) who became president shortly after the coup. Magloire remained in office until 1956, when he attempted to extend his presidency and was overthrown in another coup. This was followed by a series of six governments, all of which failed to gain enough support to endure longer than a few months. In 1957 Duvalier returned to the political scene and ran for president as the heir to Estimé's *noiriste* legacy. He gained the support of the military and a large segment of the black majority and was elected president later that year.

While in office, Duvalier constructed an image based upon a number of important Haitian personas. In an attempt to present himself as a patriarch, Duvalier looked to "the father of Haiti," Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1758–1806), for legitimacy. He named the army barracks after Dessalines and often compared himself to the famous ruler. Duvalier also campaigned with Estimé's widow and claimed to "take up the banner of *estimisme*" in order to reemphasize his link to the popular *noiriste* government of Estimé and its promises of modernization, autonomy, and black power. But Duvalier is best known for presenting himself as something of a *houngan,* or vodou priest. In particular he was connected with Gede, the *lwa* (spirit) most associated with death and comedy. Duvalier recognized the importance of vodou to the average citizen and was therefore quick to connect himself to it. He also attempted to control the egalitarian and potentially revolutionary possibilities of the religion through the manipulation of houngans throughout Haiti. Duvalier appointed many houngans to the upper positions of his personal army, the Tontons Macoutes. The term *Tonton Macoute* is Creole for "Uncle Basket," the "Bogeyman" of Haitian folklore. The Tontons Macoutes were recruited from the masses, operated as secret police, and owed personal loyalty to Duvalier. They dealt out violent retribution to Duvalier's political foes and were renowned for their brutality. Other presidents, such as Elie Lescot (ruled 1941–1946), had employed a personal guard, but never as effectively as "Papa Doc."

Duvalier's Tontons Macoutes were in part a response to the Haitian army, which had removed many presidents from office. To further secure his position vis-à-vis the army, Duvalier frequently switched the appointments of officers so that the military leadership remained fluid, which allowed him greater control of the forces. He also appointed lower-ranking black soldiers to high positions, and they often rewarded him with their loyalty. Based on his adoption of popular imagery, the infamous cruelty of the Tontons Macoutes, and the weakening of internal military opposition, Duvalier declared himself "president for life" in 1964. He remained in this dictatorial position until his death on April 21, 1971. Earlier that year he amended the constitution to allow his son Jean-Claude to take control of the presidency.

The Duvalier presidency was one of the highest periods of out-migration in Haitian history. Duvalier's authoritarian regime and the often arbitrary violence of the Tontons Macoutes led large numbers of Haitians to seek refuge, primarily in the United States, Canada, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic. While Duvalier improved the condition of a number of previously immobile poor, black Haitians, the overall conditions under Duvalier were fairly desperate and the average Haitian suffered under his reign.

See also Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Estimé, Dumarsais; Magloire, Paul; Négritude

François Duvalier (1907–1971). *Duvalier reads his acceptance speech during a ceremony in which he was sworn in as the thirty-fourth president of Haiti in 1957. Declaring himself "president for life" in 1964, the authoritarian leader reigned in that dictatorial position until his death.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

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SEAN BLOCH (2005)

Easton, Hosea

September 1, 1798
1837

In 1837 the abolitionist Hosea Easton published one of the earliest analyses of slavery by an African American, *Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States.* Although it addressed the issues facing African Americans in a comprehensive fashion, it attracted little enduring attention.

Easton came from a distinguished family of mixed African, white, and Native American heritage. His father, James (1854–1830), was a skilled ironworker in North Bridgewater (now Brockton), Massachusetts. James Easton established a manual training school for young black men; its failure after nearly ten years of existence, coupled with the failure of James Easton's business, embittered Hosea.

Hosea Easton's early years are obscure, but by 1828 he was active in Boston and taking his position among the elite. His first publication was a "Thanksgiving Day Address" to the black population of Providence, Rhode Island (1828). He was a delegate to the first National Colored Convention, held in Philadelphia in 1831, as well as to subsequent conventions. In 1833 he became pastor of Talcott Street Congregational Church in Hartford, Connecticut. Racial tensions and violence in the city ran high, and in 1836, just after he became pastor of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Zion church, the building was burned.

Easton perceived clearly the limited extent to which self-help and uplift within the black community could improve the situation. His *Treatise* addressed whites and called on them to realize the deleterious effects of racism and to take steps to repair the damages it caused. The work appeared shortly before his death.

See also Abolition; Antebellum Convention Movement

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

Ebony

Published by the Johnson Publishing Company, *Ebony* has the largest circulation of any African-American periodical. Founded in 1945, it grew out of an attempt by publisher John H. Johnson to please two staff members who wanted to start an entertainment magazine, *Jive*. Johnson agreed to a three-way partnership on the project, but the two staffers were unable to put up money, so Johnson assumed full ownership. Johnson changed the style of the proposed magazine into one whose philosophy would be to highlight the positive side of African-American life, emphasizing black pride and achievements rather than oppression and poverty. Recognizing the widespread appeal of photos, Johnson planned a monthly glamour magazine on glossy paper, in the style of the popular weekly *Life,* filled with pictures of prominent and successful blacks. The new magazine, which Johnson named *Ebony* (after the beautiful and strong black wood), was planned during World War II, but because of paper restrictions, the first issue did not appear until November 1, 1945. Johnson had pledged to accept no advertisements until circulation reached 100,000; the magazine was an immediate success and the first ads appeared in the May 1946 issue. By May 1947, when *Ebony* became the first African-American periodical large enough to be audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulation, its circulation had reached 309,715. Despite its prestige and large circulation, however, poor advertising revenues made it unprofitable until Johnson secured advertising contracts from white firms previously reluctant to purchase space in African-American publications.

Ebony has drawn some criticism over the years for the showy, escapist nature of its features and its emphasis on the activities of wealthy blacks, although the magazine took a more activist direction starting in the era of the civil rights movement. Over time, the magazine has added sections on cooking, health, and gossip. The enormous success of *Ebony* has inspired numerous competitors over the years, and the magazine has had numerous spin-offs, including the periodicals *Ebony Man,* the now defunct *Ebony Jr.,* the Ebony Fashion Fair traveling fashion show, and the syndicated television program *Ebony/Jet Showcase*.

In the 1990s the magazine's circulation was about 1.9 million, of which 12 percent were white, and *Ebony* was distributed in some forty countries, including many in Africa. African-American stars came out in force in 1996 to celebrate fifty years of the magazine in a TV special titled *Celebrate the Dream: 50 Years of Ebony Magazine.*

Ebony presented a redesigned look and new features with its issue of July 2003, the journal's first major update in more than two decades. Circulation in 2004 was estimated at about 1.6 million.

See also *Black World/Negro Digest; Jet;* Journalism

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Eckstine, Billy

July 8, 1914
March 8, 1993

Popular singer and bandleader William Clarence "Billy" Eckstine was born in Pittsburgh, the youngest of three children. His family moved several times in his early childhood, and he attended high school in Washington, D.C. He later attended the St. Paul Normal and Industrial School in Lawrenceville, Virginia, and Howard University.

Eckstine began his career in show business as a singer and nightclub emcee in Buffalo, Detroit, and Chicago. In 1939 he was hired as the main vocalist for the big band of Earl "Fatha" Hines. While with Hines, he introduced Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, and Sarah Vaughan to the Hines band. After a number of hit recordings, including "Jelly, Jelly" (1940) and "Skylark" (1942), he left Hines in 1943.

In 1944 Eckstine organized his own big band, with personnel that included many up-and-coming bebop musicians, including Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Charlie Parker, Dexter Gordon, and Art Blakey. When, for financial reasons, he was obliged to abandon the band in 1947, he became a solo singer. His smooth baritone was particularly well-suited for ballads. In the late 1940s and early 1950s his popularity rivaled that of Frank Sinatra. He was one of the first black singers to transcend the race market and to become a national sex symbol.

Eckstine spent the next several decades as a performer in nightclubs, often accompanied by pianist Bobby Tucker. He also appeared in such films as *Skirts Ahoy* (1953), *Let's Do It Again* (1975), and *Jo Jo Dancer: Your Life Is Call-*

ing (1986). "Mr. B," as he was widely known, occasionally played the trumpet but was primarily known as a singer. He influenced several generations of African-American singers, including Joe Williams, Arthur Prysock, and Lou Rawls. He died in Pittsburgh.

See also Blakey, Art (Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn); Davis, Miles; Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Parker, Charlie; Vaughan, Sarah

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EDDIE S. MEADOWS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Economic Condition, U.S.

Despite the impression of economic progress and success conveyed via the media by talk-show host Oprah Winfrey, basketball legend Michael Jordan, and business mogul Robert Johnson, the general economic status of African Americans in the United States is best characterized as a condition of persistent disparity. Relative economic outcomes for black Americans consistently lag behind those of whites collectively and most other nonblack segments of the U.S. population.

Most of the U.S. population, approximately 80 percent of the total, self-reports its race as white in recent decennial censuses. This, however, masks major variation in economic outcomes among them. In Census 2000, for example, white males ages 25 to 64 who declared Irish ancestry reported annual mean earnings of $37,029, white males who declared English ancestry reported annual mean earnings of $37,995, and white males who declared Russian ancestry reported annual mean earnings of $48,176. All of these reports were at least $10,000 higher than the $26,637 annual mean earnings reported by black males ages 25 to 64.

All groups of men reporting a white racial identity and European ancestry earned more than black males. In fact, virtually all of the thirty-five white, European ethnic groups in the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses reported earnings outcomes at or above the national mean.

For females, racial disparities in annual earnings were not as large, but generally white females with European ancestry still earned more than black women. White females who declared Irish ancestry reported annual mean earnings of $27,376; white females who declared English ancestry reported annual mean earnings of $27,405, and white females who declared Russian ancestry earned $34,586. For 25- to 64-year-olds, black women's mean annual earnings were $23,809.

Coupled with lower earnings when at work, blacks in the United States suffered far greater exposure to joblessness. Racial differences are pronounced, even when educational attainment is taken into account.

In 2004 the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) estimated that annual unemployment rates for white men and white women 16 years of age and older were 5 percent and 4.7 percent respectively. In contrast, for black men and black women in the same age category the rates were more than twice as high, 11.1 percent and 9.8 percent respectively.

The gap for teens was even greater. In 2004 white males 16 to 19 years of age had an unemployment rate estimated at 16.3 percent by the BLS; white females 16 to 19 years of age had a rate of 13.6 percent. But for black males ages 16 to 19 the unemployment rate was 35.6 percent, and for black females it was 28.2 percent.

Data from 2002 is the most recent available from BLS that provides information for education-adjusted unemployment rates by race for persons 25 years of age and older. For whites with less than a high school degree the unemployment rate was 7.5 percent, with a high school degree it was 4.5 percent, with some college education it was 4.2 percent, with an associate degree it was 3.5 percent, and with a bachelor's degree it was 2.7 percent. Again, in contrast, in 2002 for blacks 25 years of age and older with less than a high school degree the unemployment rate was 13.6 percent, with a high school degree it was 8.8 percent, with some college it was 8.8 percent, with an associate degree it was 6 percent, and with a bachelor's degree it was 4.2 percent.

Thus, a black college graduate had almost the same odds of exposure to joblessness as a white high school graduate—and greater odds of exposure to joblessness than whites with some college education or an associate degree. And blacks with some college education had a greater likelihood of being unemployed than whites with less than a high school degree.

The racial disparity in education-adjusted unemployment rates suggests that discriminatory practices remain central to maintaining black disadvantage in U.S. labor markets. Evidence of the ongoing significance of discrimination in employment is compelling. The best available statistical inquiries indicate that there was a dramatic decline in labor market discrimination affecting both earnings and occupational status in the decade immediately following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Thereafter, however, black men have continued to suffer fairly stable 12 to 15 percent losses in earnings due to labor market discrimination relative to all men in the United States. Correspondingly, they also have incurred 8 to 10 percent losses in occupational status, measured by the Occupational Score (OCCSCORE) index, from 1980 through 2000.

Although the statistical procedures used by economists generally do not detect discriminatory losses for black women in earnings relative to all women, those procedures do find evidence of 5 to 6 percent discriminatory losses in occupational status again measured by OCCSCORE between 1980 and 2000. Furthermore, direct tests of discrimination via audit studies and résumé controls—utilizing both trained actors seeking jobs and utilizing correspondence tests, where race is signaled to prospective employers by the use of names—consistently expose significant levels discrimination against both black men and black women.

So even if blacks attain equivalent or superior credentials as whites, whites are still beneficiaries of racial privilege in U.S. labor markets. Higher levels of educational attainment improve an individual African American's labor market position vis-à-vis other African Americans, but they do not insulate him or her from labor market discrimination. Indeed, there is some preliminary evidence that indicates that the magnitude of discriminatory deficits in earnings and occupational status rises as black educational attainment increases.

The historical record is revealing in this regard. Between 1880, a mere fifteen years after the end of slavery in the United States, and 1910, African Americans underwent a spectacular increase in literacy. The black literacy rate rose from less than 30 percent in 1880 to close to 70 percent by 1910. As literacy rose, the magnitude of discriminatory losses in occupational prestige also grew substantially. Thus, the consolidation of Jim Crow practices went hand-in-hand with improved black skills. Discrimination began to function more intensively to exclude blacks from white terrain as the skills basis for exclusion eroded.

Far more pronounced than racial differences in earnings are racial differences in wealth. The Survey of Income and Program Participation provides data from 1988 that demonstrates that the mean net worth of white families was $127,237, while mean black family net worth was only $31,678. This would constitute a black-white mean wealth ratio of 25 percent. During the same year the black-white household income ratio was 63 percent. According to Thomas Shapiro (2001), even taking "the average black household and [endowing] it with the same income and age and with comparable occupational, educational, and other attributes as the average white household still [would leave] a $25,794 racial gap in financial assets."

At every income/education level blacks have significantly lower levels of wealth than whites. The racial gap in wealth is so vast that it renders it misleading to treat black and white families with similar income, educational, or occupational status levels as equivalently middle class. The black middle class is decidedly wealth poor in comparison with the white middle class.

By 1993 black median net worth was only 9.7 percent of white median net worth ($4,418 versus $45,740). A study conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center found that by 2002 the median net worth of a black household was $6,000, while median white wealth was $88,000, barely an 8 percent ratio.

Why does this matter? Wealth provides the capacity to take advantage of windfall opportunities, to pursue the option of self-employment, to ensure that one's offspring receive a quality education especially if public schools are unsatisfactory, to protect one's family in times of emergency, and to have access to homeownership, the major source of equity for most American families.

The racial gap in wealth is not attributable to greater black profligacy in spending. If anything the most recent research on consumption behavior indicates that, after adjusting for income, the black savings rate is at least as high as the white savings rate. The major source of personal wealth today is intergenerational transfers, in the forms of in vivo (transfers of wealth made by living relatives) transfers and inheritances; these transfers constitute large, nonmerit sources of pecuniary resources.

While inheritances among those who have the capacity to provide them are larger, in vivo transfers are vital for maintaining and increasing wealth because of the timing of such transfers during the course of the life cycle. Major in vivo transfers occur at graduation, marriage, the birth of the child, or as down payments at the initial purchase of a home.

The magnitude of in vivo transfers and inheritances made by blacks are much smaller than those made by whites. M. O. Wilhelm (2001) has estimated not only that a much smaller proportion of blacks receive inheritances

Western Migration

After the Civil War, Reconstruction began social, but not economic, reform in the South. By the 1870s African Americans still seemed to be facing a bleak future despite Emancipation having been declared a decade earlier. Southern legislatures passed laws forbidding blacks to own land and other measures to restrict the freedoms of African Americans. Hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan formed during this time as whites feared retribution for years of slavery, thus producing an environment even more hostile to blacks. Some African Americans began to feel that true freedom could be gained only through emigrating out of the South.

As a result, many African Americans went westward. African American laborers worked as cattlemen, cleared the land, built homes and raised crops and livestock.

One of the most well-known African-American westerners is Bill Pickett, whom some dub "the greatest cowboy of his day." He was born in Texas in 1870 and left school in the fifth grade to become a ranch hand. With his four brothers, he started the Pickett Brothers Bronco Busters and Rough Riders Association, performing rodeo shows all over the United States and Canada.

Oklahoma became a popular destination for African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Several all black towns were established after the Civil War, including Boley, Oklahoma, with more than 5,000 residents by 1905. Early settlers here were accorded the privileges of owning their own businesses, governing their own communities, and owning homes without the threat of white hostility present in the South.

From the beginning of the U.S. migration westward, African Americans were part of it either as freed people or as slaves. Along with everyone else immigrating to the west, emigrating free blacks were looking for a better way of life. The West provided hope for more freedom and diminished racial tension.

ERIC LINDERMAN

than whites (6 percent versus 24 percent) but also that the mean black inheritance is $41,985, while the mean white inheritance is $144,652. The racial incidence of in vivo transfers in a given year is similar at about 20 percent, but, according to Wilhelm, the black mean transfer is $805 while the white mean transfer is $2,824.

Blacks provide smaller inheritances and in vivo transfers because blacks have less wealth in the first place. Thus, the wealth gap is a cumulative product of intergenerational racial inequality. It originates with the failure of the nation to provide ex-slaves with an initial foundation in land ownership with the abrogation of the commitment to provide each freedman family of four with forty acres. The commitment evinced in General Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, the first Freedman's Bureau Act, and the Southern Homestead Act went unfulfilled. Indeed, as Joe Feagin has observed in *Black Commentator,* the homestead legislation provided white families, including new immigrants, with access to public land and wealth between the 1860s and 1930s. Forty-six million white Americans received 246 million acres of land; only four thousand African Americans acquired land under the Homestead Act.

The commitment to forty acres per family of four would have provided 4 million ex-slaves with 40 million acres of land. By dint of their own determination and perseverance, blacks accumulated 15 million acres of land by the start of the twentieth century, still a shortfall of 25 million acres from the original promise. But the seizure of black-owned property by theft, fraud, and outright land taking by white terrorists became the norm throughout the first half of the century to such an extent that by the 1980s black land ownership had declined to 1 million acres. Some prosperous black communities literally were exterminated in white massacres, for example, Wilmington, North Carolina (1898), Tulsa, Oklahoma (1921), and Rosewood, Florida (1923).

The systematic denial of access to wealth and the systematic deprivation of wealth accumulated created the conditions in which blacks collectively have had fewer resources to endow upon subsequent generations. This is what has produced and sustained the gap in wealth, the

most palpable and virulent dimension of racial economic inequality in the United States. A serious commitment to addressing the economic condition of black Americans will require contemplation of substantive procedures for engineering a racial redistribution of wealth.

See also Education in the United States; Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Literacy Education; Politics; Reparations

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WILLIAM DARITY JR. (2005)

Edelman, Marian Wright

June 6, 1939

The daughter of Arthur Jerome Wright, minister of Shiloh Baptist Church, and Maggie Leola Wright, a community activist, Marian Edelman, an attorney and the founder of the Children's Defense Fund, was born and raised in Bennetsville, South Carolina. She attended Spelman College, from which she graduated as valedictorian in 1960. During her senior year Edelman participated in a sit-in at City Hall in Atlanta. Responding to the need for civil rights lawyers, Edelman entered Yale Law School as a John Hay Whitney Fellow in 1960. After graduating from law school in 1963, she became the first black woman to pass the bar in Mississippi. From 1964 to 1968 she headed the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in Mississippi, where she met her husband, Peter Edelman, a Harvard Law School graduate and political activist. In 1971 she became director of the Harvard University Center for Law and Education. She was also the first black woman elected to the Yale University Corporation, where she served from 1971 to 1977.

Edelman is best known for her work with the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), a nonprofit child advocacy organization that she founded in 1973. The CDF offers programs to prevent adolescent pregnancy, to provide health care, education, and employment for youth, and to promote family planning. In 1980 Edelman became the first black and the second woman to chair the Board of Trustees of Spelman College. She has been the recipient of numerous honors and awards for her contributions to child advocacy, women's rights, and civil rights, including the MacArthur Foundation Prize Fellowship (1985), the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Prize from Johns Hopkins University (1988), and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (2000). Edelman has published numerous books and articles on the condition of black and white children in America, including *Children Out of School in America* (1974), *School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?* (1975), *Portrait of Inequality: Black and White Children in America* (1980), *Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change* (1987), *The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours* (1992), *Guide My Feet: Meditations and Prayers on Loving and Working For Children* (1998), and *I'm Your Child, God: Prayers for Children and Teenagers* (2002).

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Education

This entry contains two distinct essays covering the topic of education from differing geographic perspectives.

EDUCATION IN THE CARIBBEAN
Carl C. Campbell

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES
Garrett Albert Duncan

Education in the Caribbean

The Spanish introduced formal schooling in the Caribbean in the sixteenth century. Although African slaves were present in the early Spanish Caribbean settlements, they were seldom in a majority anywhere in the Caribbean until the end of the eighteenth century. Schools for slaves did not exist, though some African slaves might have been literate in Arabic. The few schools in the Spanish Antilles were for the children of rich settlers and privileged persons of mixed racial descent. The major achievement in education during this period was the formation in 1538 of the Roman Catholic–owned University of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, which today is the oldest university in the western hemisphere. Still, it was the norm for rich settlers to send their sons to Spain for education.

The Other European Colonies, 1620s to 1840s

Sugar plantation economies with black African slave majorities were first established by the English, French, and the Danes in the 1620s. From then until the late eighteenth century there were no schools for slaves in these colonies, and little schooling for the free population.

The French and the humanitarian revolutions, which occurred between the 1790s and the slave emancipations in the 1840s, brought improvements in schooling though the latter weakened the Roman Catholic Church. The rebellious slave societies were open to various antislavery ideologies. If slaves were to be freed, they were believed to be in need of religious instruction. Protestant missionaries were allowed more space to provide this service, and they began to take haphazard opportunities to teach Bible reading. In a few towns, a handful of children of privileged slaves began to visit part-time schools, and eventually the idea of schools for slaves was countenanced by liberal French metropolitan governments in the early nineteenth century, and by the Danish authorities in the 1840s just before Emancipation. Full-curriculum day schools were never possible, but an incipient breakdown of the rule that literacy was incompatible with slavery was occurring. Writing and arithmetic did not yet enter the picture. In Haiti, however, where slavery was defeated by the slaves, a completely new revolutionary opportunity for full-curriculum day schools of ex-slaves had been created. Everywhere in this revolutionary era, the free colored population claiming full equality with whites wanted more local public colleges.

Major Developments in the Nineteenth Century

There were major advances in education from the mid-nineteenth century to the start of the twentieth century. During this period, momentous developments significantly changed the context in which schools and formal education developed. There was the independence of Haiti (1804) and the Dominican Republic (1865); the threatening independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico; and, of course, slave emancipations that occurred in the other empires.

The task of governments in Haiti, with a black majority, was to construct from scratch a system to serve the new black nation. But Haitian governments only made provisions for a small elite of coloreds and blacks, leaving the black masses in the countryside uneducated. In the Dominican Republic, where blacks were in a minority, the task was rather to integrate them into the schools for whites. There were few schools, however, and the country was so turbulent that education made little progress. Nonetheless, the professional education of the elites in law and medicine in these countries was provided for better than in colonial times.

In Cuba and Puerto Rico the problem was to integrate the black ex-slave minority into the schools for the whites. Many schools for the free population had been destroyed by the independence wars in Cuba. These schools and their teachers, especially the private schools, became polit-

Queen's Royal College, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. *Founded in 1870 under the British colonial government, the college is now part of the free secondary school system in Trinidad. Dr. Eric Williams, the first prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, is listed among the distinguished graduates of the school.* © NEIL RABINOWITZ/CORBIS

icized as teachers and students took a stand for or against independence, and Spanish governors hired or fired teachers according to their known political views. In Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and even Puerto Rico, the question of the role of schools in nation building was blatantly posed. Schools were expected by nationalist politicians as well as Spanish loyalists to foster patriotism and nationalism—even for the mother country, Spain.

Neither the black rural majority in Haiti nor the black minorities in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Puerto Rico generated their own schools, except in the case of some Afro-Cuban societies in the early twentieth century. Generally, what this meant is that the African cultural elements found no place in schools organized for the blacks; instead, schools continued to work relentlessly for the Europeanization of the population.

In the sugar plantation colonies with black slave majorities, the major challenge was to establish a new educational provision for the black masses, and some major successes were recorded. Emancipation provided the first opportunities for the governments of the British, French, and Danish colonies to develop a system of mass provision of full-curriculum primary day schools, including writing and arithmetic. Religious instruction was still the lifeblood of these schools, representing a key element in the search for new bases of social consensus.

The British, French, and Danish governments gave moral and financial support to new schools. In the post-Emancipation nineteenth century, governments accepted the responsibility of funding schools, and government inspection and control via boards of education came into existence at that time. Governments also formed open, if problematic, partnerships with churches to provide schools. The Roman Catholic Church was turned out of such a partnership in Martinique and Guadeloupe in the later nineteenth century. Generally speaking, the intention was not to provide upward social mobility, but social peace and continued economic production.

Primary school was all that existed for all but the few who were to become the new black and colored teachers, the vanguard of a new lower middle class. These teachers did not attend secondary schools, however, but went to

teacher training colleges, usually run by the churches. As in slavery days, secondary schools were for the whites (or near whites) who had the means and ambition to study abroad or become junior civil servants. The best secondary schools aspired to be Latin grammar schools, and indeed without Latin grammar no school was truly a secondary school.

Despite the social and racial chasm between primary and secondary schools, some black and colored boys began to enter secondary schools—where custom, not laws, provided the racial barriers against them. Inevitably, postslavery societies became more responsive to academic talent, and secondary schools were the most public arena of academic competition even in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, which had universities. A few secondary schools in the British colonies submitted their work to overseas examiners in England, using these examinations to set high standards of work and to judge the winners (often talented black and colored boys) of scholarships to English universities.

Secondary schools worked as powerful agents of European civilization. Their curriculum was often a direct replica of that of the metropolitan schools and was designed to prepare students for university work. As in slavery days, sending children away for an education remained a primary policy of all who could afford it. In Haiti the lycées took their inspiration from France, and in Martinique and Guadeloupe the official policy of assimilation, accepted then by the aspiring black and colored middle class, drew the post-Emancipation lycées into a very close relationship with the lycées in France. The enormous prestige of secondary schools, which continued well into the twentieth century, was cemented in the nineteenth century in the face of a system that provided little beyond primary schools for the masses.

The secondary schools of the islands offered no technical or vocational subjects, thought then to be wholly inappropriate for such schools. Even primary schools had a "bookish" nature, but there were more voices in favor of exposing boys in primary schools to agricultural work, if not to agricultural skills. But the clerics and parents were unhappy with this direction for schools, and as in Europe, the inferiority of agricultural education and trade training was recognized by their exclusion from formal schools.

Major Developments in the Twentieth Century

The second half of the twentieth century saw the expansion of secondary education for the masses and the opening of more universities. It was a century of progress and improvement in which Caribbean countries narrowed the gap between their educational institutions and those of western Europe and North America. In 1900 secondary education was reserved for whites or near whites, or for those who could pay for it; by the 1960s it was almost a right of all children; in 1900 the Caribbean had two or three universities; by the 1980s it had scores of universities, with Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic each having several. And while in 1900 the European churches were the major providers of education, which was thought of mostly as service for the personal advancement of individuals, by the 1970s governments had become the major providers in most territories and education was for national development.

Some remarkable developments occurred in the interplay between the newest imperial power in the Caribbean, namely the United States of America, and the Greater Antilles (excepting Jamaica). In various invasions and occupations, and in the case of the Danish islands and Puerto Rico through acquisitions, the United States imposed its education models on Caribbean territories for the first time. This Americanization worked to expand primary schools, to increase the participation of women and girls as students and teachers, and to include agriculture and trades as worthy element in schools. The U.S. insistence on the primacy of technical-vocational education in Haiti in the 1920s evoked great resentment among Haitians, while the use of the English language for instructional purposes in schools became a focus of resistance by Puerto Ricans. The Danish West Indian islands were too small to resist Americanization effectively. United States influence in education continued everywhere in the twentieth century as the most potent source of the Europeanization of the Caribbean.

As in the nineteenth century, political turbulence in Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico created situations in which teachers and students sometimes supported, but more usually stood against, certain regimes or dictators. In this sense, education was very politicized in these territories. In the colonies of the French, British, or Dutch, teachers and students stayed out of politics generally, while student disturbances on university campuses in Havana or the Dominican Republic were not uncommon. The political involvement of University of the West Indies students in Jamaica and Trinidad in the Black Power politics of the late 1960s was really exceptional and not sustained. Also, the greater secularization of life in the twentieth century loosened the hold of some European churches on the Caribbean populations. It was still exceptional, though, for governments to reject these churches completely as partners in the formal provision of schools. This was done most resoundingly by the Cuban Revolu-

tion of the 1960s. The Roman Catholic Church remained a vital element in a few territories, and dictators in the Dominican Republic managed to use its schools as part of their mechanism of suppression.

The Caribbean country to depart most fundamentally from its nineteenth-century path was Cuba under Fidel Castro. The socialist revolution allowed radically new education models to be developed. Cuba abolished private schools and put in new programs at all levels, from the mass literacy campaign of 1961 to the reorganization of the universities in the 1970s. Work-study programs appeared in almost all schools, secondary schools were built in the countryside and made to produce goods, and the universities were made to concentrate on science and technology. The hope was to produce a new socialist person, and education was free for all who supported the revolution.

The British territories did not experience a revolution and had to build on educational foundations inherited from their imperial masters. But they too sought a measure of decolonization in education after independence: They reduced the role of the churches, secondary education was democratized, schoolbooks and curricula were redone to reflect local themes and interests, and the traditional classical grammar school education was partly deemphasized to make way for technical-vocational subjects. All these changes left the education models in the British Caribbean well within the colonial framework of the past, but notably decolonized.

In the decolonization of education, the solutions could vary greatly from island to island. The redefinitions of education in Cuba before and after the Castro revolution had nothing to do with blackness or Africanness. Neither did the fierce cultural resistance of many Puerto Ricans to Americanization involve any cultural strivings after blackness or Africanness. All the Spanish-speaking territories identified themselves as white or colored Creole societies in which citizens of African descent had no official cultural existence apart from the Hispanic mainstream culture. However, in the Caribbean societies with black majorities there were feeble attempts to introduce elements of blackness or Africanness into schools. But the ascendancy of metropolitan educational culture remained intact even in Haiti.

Schools also faced criticisms that they were too "bookish," and one of the major twentieth-century trends was towards the greater inclusion of technical-vocational subjects into schools. School gardens became a feature of primary schools in British colonies especially in the first half of the twentieth century. The notion that education was a factor in development that came to the fore after World War II made technical-vocational education seem all the more important. But this kind of education was still treated as inferior. The traditional grammar school curriculum of secondary schools, even after reforms eliminating Latin, remained stubbornly in the mainstream of what was thought to be proper secondary education. Although it was not always easy to fit girls into technical-vocational education, a major twentieth-century trend was the rise in participation of girls in all levels of education.

See also Education in the United States; Educational Psychology and Psychologists

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CARL C. CAMPBELL (2005)

Education in the United States

The education of African Americans in the United States predates the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands that was established by an act of Congress in 1865 to assist newly emancipated slaves to become self-sufficient in all areas of life. As Bureau agents fanned across the South to assess conditions, they discov-

***Busing.** Police on motorcycles escort school buses down a street in South Boston, September 16, 1974. Court-ordered busing of students to achieve integrated schools was highly controversial in many urban areas.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ered that black southerners had already created the rudiments of an educational system for themselves. That this was the case may be understood within the larger context of the curious history that education has played in the lives of Americans of African descent. For instance, as early as 1787, black parents petitioned the Massachusetts state legislature on behalf of their children to obtain equal educational rights for them. These Bostonians made their case on the grounds that their young were being denied access to the very school that they, like their fellow white citizens, shared the tax burden of supporting. The request, although denied, was an augur of the desire—and the struggle—that would characterize the black quest for education for the next two hundred plus years.

The above example also indicates that even as education is inextricably tied to notions of freedom, justice, and citizenship, it is also linked to the oppression of subordinated racial groups in the United States. Since the beginning of formal schooling in the United States, a dominant view that citizenship should be limited to free whites informed popular attitudes about the role that education should play in the lives of Americans of African descent and other people of color. The majority of white citizens in the American South believed that educating captive Africans would render them unfit for servitude and make it impossible to subordinate them or to retain them as slaves (Woodson, 1919). Such views were not at all unfounded. There were examples aplenty in colonial and antebellum America that pointed to the insight, courage, and sense of responsibility that education instilled among those fortunate enough to have access to it. Consider, for example, the case of the late eighteenth-century poet Phillis Wheatley. Arriving to the New England colonies as a young captive Senegalese, Wheatley would become renowned for her elegies, captured in the 1773 collection published as *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.* Although poems written during her early years suggested that Wheatley identified wholesale with her white captors, those written during the later years of her life pointed to a change in her consciousness. For instance, Wheatley provided a subtle, and peculiar, critique of New World slavery in the following elegy:

But how, presumptuous shall we hope to find
Divine acceptance with th' Almighty mind—
While yet (o deed Ungenerous!) they disgrace
And hold in bondage Afric's blameless race?

Let virtue reign—And thou accord our prayers
Be victory ours, and generous freedom theirs.
(Wheatley, 1773, p. 238).

Conflicting views of the role and purpose of black education have characterized the nearly 400-year struggle around the schooling of Americans of African descent in the United States. On one end of the ideological and programmatic spectrum was the advocacy of an education to extend the practice of freedom and democracy to black communities. Along these lines, the quest for black liberation was realized through a two-pronged approach to education. According to noted educational historian James D. Anderson, "the short-range purpose of black schooling was to provide the masses of ex-slaves with basic literacy skills plus the rudiments of citizenship training for participation in a democratic society. The long-range purpose was the intellectual and moral development of a responsible leadership class that would organize the masses and lead them to freedom and equality" (1988, p. 31).

On the other end of the ideological and programmatic spectrum was the advocacy of an education for black students to ensure the maintenance of white supremacy. Such was especially true during the post-Reconstruction era. An observation made by W. E. B. Du Bois, reported in a 1918 issue of *The Crisis*, is typical of the second-class education provided to black children and youth during this period. Here, Du Bois decried the material disparities he found in the education of black and white students in Butte, Montana, public schools:

> What, now, is the real difference between these two schemes [white and black] of education? The difference is that in the Butte schools for white pupils, a chance is held open for the pupil to go through high school and college and to advance at the rate which the modern curriculum demands; that in the colored, a program is being made out that will land the boy at the time he becomes self-conscious and aware of his own possibilities in an educational *impasse*. He cannot go on in the public schools even if he should move to a place where there are good public schools because he is too old. Even if he has done the elementary work in twice the time that a student is supposed to, it has been work of a kind that will not admit him to a northern high school. No matter, then, how gifted the boy may be, he is absolutely estopped from a higher education. This is not only unfair to the boy but it is grossly unfair to the Negro race. (Du Bois, 1995, p. 263)

As indicated, black communities have long advocated for themselves an education for liberation—that is, one that promotes their full participation in the civic and economic life of the nation or that provides the means for self-sufficiency. Yet, as also indicated, the goals of black communities notwithstanding, white power interests have historically used the material and political resources at their disposal to exercise tremendous control over the direction of the education of black children and youth.

Brown and Educational Justice

Education took on decisive meanings for black students in 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Brown et al v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. This landmark education ruling provided the legal basis for equal education for all subordinated racial groups, not the least being the black infant plaintiffs at the center of the celebrated case. *Brown* was sweeping in its mandate to shape race and education in the United States. The Supreme Court, though, did not provide clear guidelines to end *de jure* public school segregation and the imprecision of the ruling, captured in the order to proceed in the dismantling of segregated schools "with all deliberate speed," all but guaranteed that the desegregation of public schools would occur at a snail's pace. For instance, some of the white communities affected by the ruling attempted to close public schools rather than allow black students to attend them. Others adopted "freedom of choice" plans that permitted students to choose the schools they wanted to attend. Predictably, freedom of choice plans generally resulted in continued segregation of public educational facilities. Even in instances where authorities attempted in good faith to implement plans to desegregate schools, these efforts were often undermined by state-level action.

As a result of white resistance to the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, little dismantling of *de jure* segregation in public schools occurred during the decade after *Brown*. In addition, *Brown*'s implications for nonsouthern schools were even less clear. The segregation of schools in northern, western, midwestern, and southwestern regions of the country occurred largely as the result of housing patterns that allegedly were not the result of direct state action, although researchers later found evidence that demonstrated the complicity of both local and federal governments in maintaining the color line (e.g., Massey and Denton, 1993). It wasn't until 1973, in *Keyes v. School District of Denver*, that the U.S. Supreme Court expanded *Brown* to include the dismantling of de facto segregation in public schools.

Despite the often-violent resistance to desegregation, the constitutional impact of *Brown* was enormous and lasting in creating educational opportunities for black students in the United States. For instance, the Supreme

A "Head Start" program classroom. *Conceived as an eight-week summer program in 1965, Head Start is now a comprehensive child development program that increases the school readiness of young children in low-income families.* PHOTOGRAPH BY SHELLEY GAZIN. CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Court's ruling resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of desegregation suits filling lower court dockets. In addition, the *Brown* ruling had extralegal, or indirect, effects that shaped education in the United States, even those that perhaps went beyond the intention of the landmark 1954 decision. In upholding the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in its rendering of *Brown*, the Supreme Court largely affirmed civil and political rights, also known as *first generation rights*. However, once black students gained access to predominately white schools, especially institutions of higher education, they not only pressed for their civil and political rights guaranteed by *Brown*, they also demanded that schools recognize their social, cultural, and economic rights. These latter rights are also called *second generation rights* and are affirmed by the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), to which U.S. courts are not bound.

Black students' exercise of second generation rights manifested itself, among other things, in the establishment of black studies programs at colleges and universities throughout the United States. The first such program was established at San Francisco State University in 1968, and many others soon followed, including the institution of black studies at Harvard, Yale and Ohio State, to name a few, in 1969. In addition, the increase in the number of black students on college campuses was the impetus behind the establishment of other organizations and programs to support these students, as well as to recruit and prepare those in precollege settings for success in higher education, especially in the areas of science and engineering. In 1971, for instance, two undergraduates at Purdue University founded the Society of Black Engineers, now the National Society for Black Engineers (NSBE), to improve the recruitment and retention of black students in the field. NSBE now has a membership of 15,000 members, 17 precollege programs, and 268 student and 50 alumni/technical professional chapters.

Curricular and institutional changes at American colleges and universities that resulted from the increased presence of black students stimulated similar changes in U.S. public elementary and secondary schools as well. These changes are evident in yearly observances of Black History Month and the establishment of black student unions, as well as in the adoption of multicultural curricula in K–12 schools. Demands for multicultural education in K–12 schools also contributed to changes in the content of textbooks and, recursively, in how schools and colleges

Home schooling, Transylvania, Louisiana, 1939. *An African-American mother teaches her two children in their sharecropper's home. Often under such circumstances, children would attend school from November to March, helping with work in the fields during the remainder of the year.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

of education and state departments of education certificated teachers and administrators, especially those preparing to work in school districts with large minority student populations.

Race and Education in Post–Civil Rights America

Even as the *Brown* decision contributed to unprecedented improvements in the condition of black education in the United States, it did not completely resolve the 400-year struggle that shaped the efforts of black students to obtain quality schooling in America. For example, as a federal legal intervention into the education of black students, *Brown* never fully equalized the resources that black students received, especially in terms of per student funding. Huge racial disparities persist in public education, largely as a result of the ways schools in the United States are funded. Most local funding derives from property taxes; it follows that in wealthier white districts, property values and, hence, property taxes are much higher than those in less affluent and poor districts where black students are concentrated. In the 1990s this resulted in funding disparities in which New York State, for example, spent $38,572 per student in its richest school district, a sum that was seven times more than that of its poorest district, $5,423. The disparity was even greater in Texas, where the wealthiest schools spent as much as thirteen times more on students ($42,000 per pupil) than the state's poorest district, which spent $3,098 per pupil (Gordon, 1998).

In addition, *Brown* contributed to the mass displacement of black educators in teaching and administrative positions in K–12 public schools (Ethridge, 1979). In the

Supporters and opponents of school vouchers rally outside the Supreme Court building in Washington, D.C. *The twenty-first century debate centers on programs in some cities allowing students to use publicly funded vouchers to attend private schools.* PHOTOGRAPH BY RICK BOWMER. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

absence of these educators, many students of color who integrated K–12 public schools often encountered second-generation discrimination and other challenges to obtain quality education (Meier, Stewart, and England, 1989). Second-generation discrimination refers to unjust education practices, such as the resegregation of students in previously desegregated schools and the disproportionate punishment of black students. As implied, these forms of injustice often stem from the failure of white teachers and administrators to recognize or respect the self-determination of their black students.

With respect to resegregation, integrated schools typically sort students into homogeneous subsets by ability groupings. This generally results in the concentration of white students in honors and gifted classes and of students of color in lower tracks, remedial courses, and special education programs. Although disparities in measures of academic attainment between black and white students began to narrow in the 1970s and 1980s, they began to widen in the 1990s and into the first decade of the twenty-first century, resulting in widely publicized reports of a "racial achievement gap" in public schools. The racial achievement gap reflects variances in standardized test scores that indicate that white and some Asian American students consistently outperform their black and Latino peers.

The 2000 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the "nation's report card," shows disparities among racial and ethnic groups. For example, in the area of mathematics, two-thirds of black and more than half of Latino and Native American eighth graders are performing below basic levels of achievement compared to a quarter of their white and Asian American peers. Similar disparities are evident in the area of science. For example, according to the NAEP's science results for 1996, three-quarters of black, two-thirds of Latino, nearly half of Native-American, and more than a third of Asian-American students performed below basic achievement levels in contrast to a quarter of white students that did so. The percentages in the below-basic category actually increased for all groups in grade twelve, with even greater disparities indicated between white students and their Asian-American and Native-American peers.

Racial academic disparities mirror significant differences in the quality of instruction that students receive, especially when it comes to the use of computer technologies. For example, in 1998 more teachers reported using

computers primarily for drill and practice with their black eighth-grade students (42%) than they did with their white (35%), Asian-American (35%), or Latino (35%) eighth-graders. In contrast, fewer of these teachers reported using simulations and applications or learning games as their primary computer tools with black students (14% and 48%, respectively) than they did with their white (31% and 57%), Asian-American (43% and 57%), and Latino (25% and 56%) students (Wenglinsky, 1998). Some educational experts, such as Linda Darling-Hammond, point out that these differences result from the different levels of expertise among the teachers that are typically assigned to black and white students. Educational experts such as Asa Hilliard and Theresa Perry argue that these differences stem from the different expectations that teachers have for black and white students.

Racial gaps in the way that discipline in public schools is meted out also persist in the United States. These gaps increased in the late 1990s and the early 2000s as a result of the adoption by districts of "zero-tolerance" policies to curb real and imagined violence in American schools (Gordon, 1998). Widespread reports and highly publicized incidents of the expulsion of black students in the late 1990s refueled concerns in communities of color about educational justice and prompted the prominent civil rights leader Jesse Jackson to observe that, with increasing frequency, "school districts [are choosing] penal remedies over educational remedies when it comes to disciplining students" (*Washington Post*, 1999, p. A3). While, in general, poorer students are more likely to be suspended than wealthier students, researchers have found that black students from the wealthiest families were suspended at almost the same rate as white students from the poorest families (Gordon, 1998). Interestingly, a 2005 Yale study found that, nationally, prekindergarten students were expelled three times as often as students in K–12 settings and, predictably, that black prekindergarten students were twice as likely to be expelled as were their white and Latino preschool peers (Gilliam, 2005).

Finally, despite integration gains in the 1970s and 1980s, public schools became more segregated in the 1990s and the early years of the twenty-first century. Urban and fringe city school districts are being populated by increasingly multicultural populations of students of color from working-class and poor families, and more affluent suburban schools are being populated by homogeneous bodies of white students from middle-class families (Orfield and Yun, 1999). The reversal of school integration is attributable both to failed attempts to integrate schools at the local level as well as to significant Supreme Court rulings such as *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) that removed the powers of federal courts to impose interdistrict remedies between cities and surrounding suburbs to desegregate city schools. Lastly, the resegregation of schools in the 1990s and 2000s occurs within a broader political context of changing public investments where states are increasingly spending more on criminal justice than they are on public education (Ziedenberg and Schiraldi, 2002). Indeed, during the opening years of the twenty-first century, states on average spent three times more on corrections than they did on public schools (Children's Defense Fund, 2004). Such public policy decisions have resulted in what Jonathan Kozol has called the "savage inequalities" that plague urban and rural schools, leaving them in the new millennium to provide their largely black student populations with what Robert Moses has called a "sharecropper's education."

Race and Education in the Twenty-First Century

Echoing a view expressed by W. E. B. Du Bois at the beginning of the twentieth century, the eminent American historian John Hope Franklin noted that the problem of the color line will also be part of the legacy and burden of the twenty-first century (Franklin, 1993). Perhaps nowhere is Franklin's observation more evident than in the area of education. The matter of the education of black students has resurfaced in the late 1990s and into the new millennium both to unify and to divide Americans. For example, the issue of school privatization has made for strange bedfellows in the political arena where liberal black civic and religious leaders have joined with conservative white politicians and foundations to support the establishment and public funding of vouchers. Most notable of these are the programs established in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Washington, D.C., that allowed students, mostly black, to use publicly funded vouchers to attend private schools. The same period has also seen the unprecedented inroads made by for-profit educational companies into public schools, particularly through the establishment of charter schools in predominately black educational systems. In a similar vein, in higher education, ethnic studies programs have yet to find complete acceptance or legitimacy in colleges and universities. In addition, there have been numerous attempts, some of them successful, to dismantle affirmative action gains.

At the same time, there is still broad support for race-conscious educational policies, such as diversity, multiculturalism, bilingual education, and school funding in the arenas of K–12 schooling and higher education. Also, a number of black communities have rallied around their schools, and some predominately black school districts

have experienced a renaissance in the education of their students. In some instances, measures have been taken to establish Afrocentric schools within public school districts. Notable among these are the Paul Robeson Academy and the Malcolm X Academy in Detroit, Michigan, and the Malcolm X African American Immersion Middle and the Martin Luther King African-American Immersion Elementary schools in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Despite recent challenges to affirmative action in higher education, a number of colleges and universities and other institutions in the United States have redoubled their efforts to increase the number of black students and faculty members in academia. The U.S. Supreme Court's preservation of the narrow use of affirmative action in higher education in its 2003 *Grutter v. Bollinger* ruling also lends renewed hope and support for the struggle of black communities in the United States to obtain educational justice for their students. However, whether or not such conditions will be realized within the twenty-five-year period expressed by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in rendering the majority opinion in *Grutter* is one of the central questions confronting the education of black students in the twenty-first century.

See also Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Education in the Caribbean; Educational Psychology and Psychologists

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GARRETT ALBERT DUNCAN (2005)

Educational Psychology and Psychologists

Since the inception of the field of educational psychology in the early 1900s, researchers have focused on attention, memory, teaching, and learning, and on experimental approaches to these topics. While much of the seminal research in the field has been conducted on European-American subjects, and the literature reflects this focus, interest in African Americans has waxed and waned at various times over the last one hundred years. Key topics of research with regard to African Americans have included the differential performance of blacks and whites on intelligence tests and, more recently, the black-white gap in academic achievement and ways of promoting school success among African-American students.

Early in the last century, in an emerging debate on what was then called "Negro education," scholars argued about the educability of people of African descent, questioning whether they were innately inferior in intelligence. Edward Thorndike, the founder of educational psychology, and his students stressed the importance of educational measurement. Using intelligence (IQ) tests originally developed in France and adapted for U.S. populations, researchers sought to determine intelligence "scientifically." In 1913 A. C. Strong published one of the first studies that purported to show hereditarily determined racial differences in intelligence. This was the beginning of a series of studies that would be used to justify claims of mental inferiority of African Americans.

Horace Mann Bond, an African-American educator and researcher, and other African-American social scientists in the 1920s were instrumental in refuting many of these claims. Bond used findings from intelligence tests administered to white soldiers by the U.S. Army to argue against racial explanations for differences in intelligence. The median score of white soldiers from four southern states corresponded to the mental age of a twelve-and-a-half-year-old child; northern white soldiers on average scored higher. Such variations within a single racial group showed, according to Bond, that intelligence tests are less a measure of innate ability than a measure of such factors as environment and education.

William B. Shockley, 1956. *Co-winner of the 1956 Nobel Prize in Physics for his work in the development of the transistor, Shockley became avidly interested in a controversial topic for which he had no special training: the genetic basis of intelligence. During the 1960s, in a series of articles and speeches, he argued that people of African descent have a mental capacity that is genetically inferior to those of Caucasian ancestry. His hypothesis became the subject of intense and acrimonious debate during the tumultuous years of the Civil Rights movement.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

From the 1930s through the 1960s hereditary explanations for differences in intelligence largely fell out of favor. Psychologists argued that there were intractable problems in the design of intelligence tests, including failure to control for the influence of subjects' economically unequal backgrounds. Moreover, they argued, the meaning of the test scores was debatable. And the validity of race as a scientific category was increasingly coming into question.

Instead, scholarly attention turned to the influence of environment on intelligence. As detailed in recent work by James Banks, the educational and social science theories, concepts, and research of the early 1960s depicted African Americans as culturally deprived. Scholars favoring the cultural deprivation or "culture of poverty" paradigm posited that low-income populations lacked the socialization experiences that would enable them to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the middle class. Though these skills and attitudes were rarely measured, educational reform driven by this ideology aimed to transform many of the early socialization experiences of "disadvantaged" children. An array of programs such as Head Start were created with this goal in mind.

In 1966, however, Johns Hopkins University sociologist James S. Coleman wrote a landmark report that suggested, among other things, that remedial programs could not effectively combat the "culture of poverty" as long as children returned to culturally deprived homes. Meanwhile, noted geneticists Arthur Jensen and William Shockley turned the discussion once again toward the question of innate differences. In 1969 Jensen published a seminal article in the *Harvard Educational Review,* arguing that compensatory programs would not work for African Americans because of their supposed deficits in cognitive abilities. Though the scientific merit of his work has been widely debated, Jensen has continued to focus on differences between black and white IQ scores for more than thirty years and has become one of the most cited educational psychologists.

From the 1970s through the 1990s intelligence as measured by standardized tests remained a popular topic in the field of African-American educational psychology. Claims of innate differences in intellect received renewed attention with the 1994 publication of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*. Critics of this controversial work argue that IQ tests actually measure subjects' assimilation of white middle-class culture rather than their general abilities. Asa Hilliard, a noted African-American educational psychologist and historian, has argued against the use of IQ tests in general, citing their cultural biases. He contends that the problem of how much an individual can learn is complex and cannot be understood from the perspective of a single subdiscipline of psychology, that is, intelligence testing.

Critics of Jensen's research have also cited the problem of cultural bias in IQ tests. In one study, for example, Jensen compared the performance of black children to that of white children who were younger, in some cases by two or more years. High correlation between the test scores of these two groups served as the basis for his claim that black children lag in cognitive development and that this is likely the result of heritable differences in general ability. African-American psychologist Janet Helms has argued that the developmental lag Jensen apparently found may have been due to differences in acculturation rather than in intellectual ability. That is, white children may learn their own culture two years earlier than black children vicariously learn white culture, which is also the culture of the test.

Understanding the Achievement Gap

Though biological explanations for differences in group performance are now widely rejected, many measures point to a persistent educational achievement gap between African-American and European-American children. In 2001, for example, whites outperformed blacks in math and reading at every grade level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). Various explanations have been advanced to account for the apparent discrepancy. In addition to purported differences in innate ability, as noted above, these hypotheses focus on poverty; actions and attitudes of parents and teachers; school-related inadequacies, ranging from differences in resources to inattention to the cognitive styles of African-American youth; an "oppositional culture" among blacks; and discrimination.

Several of these factors are clearly correlated with educational achievement within racial groups as well as between them. Within every American ethnic and racial group, children in higher socioeconomic brackets score better on standardized tests than children in lower brackets, and they are more likely to finish high school and attend college. Socioeconomic status has been shown to be an important predictor of differences in academic achievement among African-American children, with black children from poor backgrounds performing less well on average than those from more affluent backgrounds. The question that has not yet been clearly resolved by research, with adequate controls for different factors, is the extent to which socioeconomic differences account for the observed differences between racial groups. High expectations in parents and teachers also have been positively related to children's achievement, both in the general population and among black children in particular. Moreover, when African-American parents are involved in schools, such as by volunteering in the classroom, their children's academic skills and achievement improve.

African-American educational psychologists Barbara Shade, Wade Boykin, and Janice Hale attribute differences in black-white achievement in part to group differences in cognitive or learning styles (subsumed in the category "be-

havioral style" in the work of Hilliard). They argue that cognitive style accounts for group differences in a variety of cognitive, perceptual, and personality variables, which in turn influence the ways in which individuals perceive, organize, and interpret information. Scholars have noted, however, that important variations in cognitive style exist within the African-American population. For example, while some research suggests that African Americans typically exhibit "field dependence," tending to perceive things in relation to other objects in a given domain, it is clear that some blacks exhibit high levels of "field independence," tending to perceive things analytically and in isolation. Such intragroup differences have cast doubt on the claim that groups have particular cognitive styles. Some scholars believe that group differences in cognitive styles do exist in a broad sense but that class background may contribute to differences within groups.

John Ogbu, a Nigerian-born anthropologist, offers an alternative explanation for the gap in achievement. Since the slavery era, he contends, African Americans have developed a culture in opposition to that of whites. African-American students' low performance, according to this hypothesis, reflects their perception of academic achievement as "acting white."

One of the first scholars to examine social aspects of the schooling experiences of black children was Inez Beverly Prosser. The first African-American woman to earn a doctorate in educational psychology, she received her degree from the University of Cincinnati in 1933. Her dissertation, "The Non-Academic Development of Negro Children in Mixed and Segregated Schools," showed, although with modest results, that children in segregated schools fared better than those in mixed schools as measured by several social and personality variables, including introversion and extraversion.

In 1939 prominent African-American psychologist Kenneth Clark, along with his wife Mamie Clark, began a series of studies of African-American preschool and elementary school children in segregated, semi-segregated, and integrated groups. Among the instruments used were white and black dolls, identical except for skin color. When asked to "show me the doll that you like best," the black children displayed consistent preference for the white dolls, leading the Clarks to conclude that the children were developing a negative self-image and that segregation was taking a psychological toll. Kenneth Clark's testimony was influential in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954 that found racially segregated schooling unconstitutional.

Both the Prosser and Clark studies foreshadowed more recent research that cites discrimination as an important factor that hinders the cognitive performance of African-American children. Claude Steele and his colleagues have argued that both socioeconomic status and genetic differences are insufficient explanations for underachievement by African-American children. Instead, they emphasize the role of negative stereotypes. According to this view, African Americans bear a psychological burden caused by society's stereotypes of black inferiority in achievement domains, and they may feel threatened by the risk of confirming these stereotypes. If this "stereotype threat" is strong enough, it interferes with social interaction and intellectual performance and can even lead to decisions to withdraw from participation in certain domains.

Promoting Black Children's School Success

It is clear from the literature that no single factor causes the gap in academic achievement. In an effort to explore the myriad contextual factors that can lead to successful cognitive development, educational psychologists have begun to study specific cases of excellence in teaching and learning that have fostered academic success among African-American children.

One of the most noted ethnographic case studies is that of African-American educator Gloria Ladson-Billings, who looked at effective teaching in an African-American community. Based on her observations, Ladson-Billings contends that teachers can promote academic success for African-American children by adopting culturally relevant pedagogical strategies. These include (a) allowing students to be apprenticed into a learning community rather than studying subject matter in isolation; (b) allowing students' real-life experiences to become "official" curriculum; (c) broadening the concept of literacy to incorporate both literature and oratory; (d) treating students as competent; (e) providing instruction that helps students move from what they already know to what they need to know; (f) extending students' thinking and abilities by first assessing their initial knowledge of the subject matter, and (g) having in-depth knowledge of their students and subject matter.

The literature on effective schooling for all racial groups has underscored the importance of strong leadership, accountability, academic focus, and orderliness. These and other school-related factors have been associated with high achievement among African American students. A case study of Providence–St. Mel, an independent, all-black school in Chicago, details the factors that have led to a one hundred percent college admission rate at the school. They include high expectations, praise, cooperative learning, caring teachers, tangible rewards, and

extensive test preparation. School success or failure is attributed to a student's level of effort rather than to innate ability. The school encourages its students to envision constructive identities for themselves—as doctors, for example—and to learn about and take pride in their African-American heritage.

Early childhood educator Janice Hale, in *Learning While Black,* argues that promotion of academic success for African-American children requires building an infrastructure for educational accountability like those often created by parents in schools serving white middle-class students. Drawing on thirty years of experience working with schools that mainly serve black children, as well as on her own son's schooling experience, she calls for creation of a school culture in which every child is treated as part of a family. The school in turn must be part of a larger community in which concerned citizens are engaged to support families and the mission of the schools.

See also Education; Ogbu, John; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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BRENDESHA TYNES (2005)

Egipcíaca, Rosa

1718
1765

Rosa Egipcíaca da Vera Cruz is certainly the eighteenth-century black African woman about whose life there exist the most documentary details and writings—in Africa, in the Afro-American diaspora, and in Brazil. She was the first Afro-Brazilian woman to have written a book, of which there remain some manuscript copies, and two dozen of her letters survive. She was considered at the time as "the holiest saint in heaven," whom whites, mestizos, and blacks, including all the family of her master and respectable Catholic priests, adored on their knees, kissing her feet, venerating her relics, and calling her "the Flower of Rio de Janeiro." Rosa founded a convent for ex-prostitutes, most of them black and mestizo women, the chapel of which, although remodeled, remains to this day in the same place in central Rio. She was imprisoned by the Inquisition of Lisbon on the charge of being a false saint.

Rosa Egipcíaca was born to the Koura Nation ("Courana"), on the Costa de Mina, close to where Lagos is today in Nigeria. She came to Rio de Janeiro on a slave ship in 1725 at age six. At the age of twelve she was sexually abused by her master and sold to the Captaincy of Minas Gerais, earning a living as a prostitute in the village of Inficcionado until she was twenty-nine, when she started to have supernatural visions and was exorcized by an old Portuguese Catholic priest. Examined by a group of theologians, she was accused of being a witch and was brutally whipped on the pillory in Vila de Mariana, after which the right side of her body was paralyzed for the rest of her life. She fled with her guardian priest to Rio de Janeiro, where she began to receive spiritual guidance from the Franciscans, who believed in her visions and encouraged her Christian virtues in their wish to have a black model of holiness for Brazil's slaves.

Rosa Egipcíaca learned to read and wrote 250 pages of a book titled *Sacred Theology of the Love of God Shining*

Light of the Pilgrim Souls, in which she said that the infant Jesus came every day to feed on her breast and, in gratitude, combed her hair; that the Lord had exchanged his heart with hers, and that Jesus, transubstantiated, was in her bosom; that she had died and been resuscitated; that Mary was the mother of mercy and that she, Rosa Egipcíaca, was the mother of justice, on whose will it depended whether souls went to heaven or hell; and that she was the wife of the Holy Trinity, the new redeemer of the world. In 1754 she founded the Convent of Our Lady of Childbirth, where numerous devotees venerated her as the holiest saint in heaven. She prophesized that there would be a new flood and that her nunnery would become an ark of salvation that would take her disciples to Portugal, where she would marry the mysterious King Dom Sebastião and give birth to a redeemer of mankind. Arrested by the Inquisition, she spent several years in Lisbon's jails, where she always maintained that her visions were true. She was not condemned to death by burning, but it is unknown how her life ended.

Rosa Egipcíaca da Vera Cruz is the Afro-Brazilian woman who best typifies the diversity and force of Catholic Afro-Brazilian syncretism. All the details of her life are found in three documents conserved in the Torre do Tombo, the Portuguese national archives in Lisbon, and published in Luiz Mott's *Rosa Egipcíaca: Uma Santa Africana no Brasil* (1993).

See also Catholicism in the Americas

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LUIZ MOTT (2005)

Elders, Joycelyn

August 13, 1933

Born in Schaal, Arkansas, Minnie Joycelyn Jones, who would become U.S. surgeon general, was the eldest daughter of Haller and Curtis Jones. She attended Philander Smith College in Little Rock, Arkansas, where she received her B.A. in 1952. Wishing to become a doctor, she joined the U.S. Army and trained in physical therapy at the Brooke Army Medical Center at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. In 1956 she left the army and enrolled at the University of Arkansas Medical School, one of the first African Americans to attend, and received her M.D. degree in 1960, the same year she married Oliver Elders. Joycelyn Elders served an internship in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota, then returned to the University of Arkansas in 1961 for her residency period. Elders was ultimately named chief resident, and also received an M.S. in biochemistry in 1967. In 1971 the University of Arkansas Medical School hired Elders as an assistant professor in pediatrics and five years later named her a full professor. Over the succeeding years, she published 138 articles, mostly on child growth problems and diabetes.

In 1987 Arkansas governor Bill Clinton named Elders as the Arkansas Health Commissioner. Her advocacy of making birth control information and condoms available in schools as ways of fighting teenage pregnancy and AIDS caused a storm of controversy. Conservative critics decried her supposedly permissive attitudes toward sex and her implementation of a kindergarten-to-college health education program that included sex education as well as the usual information about hygiene, substance abuse, and other matters.

In 1993 Clinton, by then president of the United States, appointed Elders U.S. surgeon general. Despite conservative opposition in Congress over her advocacy of abortion rights and sex education, she was confirmed and was sworn in on September 10, 1993. During her first year as surgeon general, Elders faced continued opposition by conservatives to her advocacy of condom distribution and sex education in schools and stirred debate through several controversial stands, such as her support of the medical and compassionate use of marijuana, her warnings to parents against purchasing toy guns for children, and most notably her proposal that the question of legalizing drugs in order to "markedly reduce" the nationwide crime rate be studied. Her supporters claimed that opponents of the administration were simply using Elders as a target, and her courageous, forthright style made her a hero to thousands of African Americans and whites throughout the United States. In the wake of continuing controversy, however, President Clinton asked for her resignation; she left the surgeon general's office on December 30, 1994. Since her resignation, Elders has worked as an endocrinologist at the University of Arkansas Medical School. Her autobiography, *Jocelyn Elders, M.D.,* was published in 1996.

In 2002 the American Medical Women's Association inducted Elders into the International Women in Medicine Hall of Fame.

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"

April 29, 1899
May 24, 1974

One of the supreme composers of the twentieth century, Edward Kennedy Ellington was born into a comfortable middle-class family in Washington, D.C. The son of a butler, Ellington received the nickname "Duke" as a child because of the care and pride he took in his attire. As he grew older, his aristocratic bearing and sartorial elegance made the nickname stick. Although he took piano lessons starting in 1906, he was also a talented painter, and before he finished high school he was offered an NAACP-sponsored painting scholarship for college. By this time, however, his interests were again turning toward music, especially ragtime and stride piano. By 1918, when Ellington married Edna Thompson, he was leading a band that played popular tunes in a ragtime style at white "society" events. To support his wife and son, Mercer, who was born in 1919, Ellington also worked as a sign painter.

In 1923, encouraged by pianist Fats Waller, Ellington moved to New York to be the pianist and arranger for the Washingtonians. When the leader of the ensemble, Elmer Snowden, left in 1924, Ellington took over and led the band in his first appearances on record. The Washingtonians had extensive stays at the Club Hollywood, later called the Kentucky Club, from 1924 to 1927. In this formative period, Ellington's key influence was the trumpeter Bubber Miley (1903–1932), whose guttural, plunger-muted style added a robust, blues-tinged element to Ellington's previously genteel compositions and arrangements. Miley's growling, mournful solos inspired Ellington's most important compositions in the 1920s, including "East St. Louis Toodle-O" (1926), "Black and Tan Fantasy" (1927), and "The Mooche" (1928). Another important composition from this period, "Creole Love Call" (1927), features a wordless obbligato by vocalist Adelaide Hall.

On December 4, 1927, Ellington's band debuted at Harlem's Cotton Club, an all-white nightclub. The engagement lasted on and off for four years and gave Ellington a national radio audience, as well as the chance to accompany a variety of chorus and specialty dance numbers and vocalists, often portraying "primitive" and "exotic" aspects of African-American culture. It was in this environment that he perfected the style, marked by energetic climaxes and haunting sonorities, that became known as his "jungle music."

The Cotton Club engagement made Ellington one of the best-known musicians in jazz, famed not only for his eminently danceable tunes, but also for compositions that attracted the attention of the classical music world. During the 1930s the orchestra toured the United States extensively, and they made trips to Europe in 1933 and 1939. Ellington's 1930s recordings, which achieved a great success among both white and black audiences, include "Ring Dem Bells" (1930), "Mood Indigo" (1930), "Rockin' in Rhythm" (1931), "It Don't Mean a Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing" (1932), "Sophisticated Lady" (1932), "Daybreak Express" (1933), "Solitude" (1934), "In a Sentimental Mood" (1935), trombonist Juan Tizol's "Caravan" (1937), "I Let a Song Go out of My Heart" (1938), and "Prelude to a Kiss" (1938). Ellington's early 1940s band is often considered the best he ever led. Bolstered by tenor saxophonist Ben Webster, bassist Jimmy Blanton, and Ellington's assistant, composer and arranger Billy Strayhorn, the orchestra recorded a number of masterpieces, including "Ko-Ko" (1940), "Concerto for Cootie" (1940), "In a Mellow Tone" (1940), "Cotton Tail" (1940), "Perdido" (1942), and "C-Jam Blues" (1942), as well as Strayhorn's "Chelsea Bridge" (1941) and "Take the A Train" (1941). Ellington also recorded in groups led by clarinetist Barney Bigard, trumpeters Cootie Williams and Rex Stewart, and saxophonist Johnny Hodges.

In the 1940s Ellington became increasingly interested in extended composition. Though he was the greatest master of the four-minute jazz composition, he chafed against the limitations of the length of a 78-rpm record side. As early as 1934 he wrote the score for the short film *Symphony in Black,* and the next year recorded *Reminiscing in Tempo,* a contemplative work taking up four sides. His greatest extended composition was the fifty-minute *Black, Brown and Beige,* which premiered at Carnegie Hall on January 23, 1943. This work, which included the hymnlike "Come Sunday" passage, depicted African Americans at work and at prayer, with vignettes on aspects of history from emancipation to the development of Harlem

Time ***magazine cover featuring "Jazzman Duke Ellington," August 20, 1956.*** GETTY IMAGES

as a black community. Other extended works from this period include *New World-a-Comin'* (1943), *The Liberian Suite* (1947), and *The Tattooed Bride* (1948). Ellington continued to issue shorter recordings, but there were fewer memorable short compositions after the mid-1940s, though "The Clothed Woman" (1947) and "Satin Doll" (1953) were notable exceptions. In addition to composing and conducting, Ellington was an excellent pianist in the Harlem stride tradition, and he recorded memorable duets with the bassist Jimmy Blanton in 1940.

During the bebop era of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Ellington's band declined in influence. However, their performance at the 1956 Newport Jazz Festival, featuring the saxophonist Paul Gonsalves's electrifying solo on "Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue," reaffirmed their reputation and earned Ellington a cover article in *Time* magazine. After this, Ellington took the orchestra to Europe, Japan, the Middle East, India, South America, and Africa. The orchestra also made albums with Louis Armstrong, Coleman Hawkins, Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, and John Coltrane, and Ellington recorded as part of a trio with the drummer Max Roach and the bassist Charles Mingus. Among his many later extended compositions are *Harlem* (1951), *A Drum Is a Woman* (1956), *Such Sweet Thunder* (1957), *The Queen's Suite* (1959), *The Far East Suite* (1967), and *Afro-Eurasian Eclipse* (1971). Ellington also composed film scores for *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959) and the Oscar-nominated *Paris Blues* (1961). He composed music for ballets by the choreographer Alvin Ailey (1931–1989), including *The River* (1970) and *Les Trois rois noirs*, which has a section dedicated to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and was composed in Ellington's final years and premiered in 1976. In his last decade, Ellington also wrote religious music for three events he called "Sacred Concerts" (1965, 1968, 1973). These were vast productions that evoked his strong sense of spirituality through gospel and choral music, dancing, and thankful hymns.

Starting with the 1943 *Black, Brown and Beige,* many of Ellington's extended works were tributes to his African-American heritage and demonstrations of his pride in the accomplishments of African Americans. His many shorter depictions of Harlem range from the elegiac "Drop Me Off in Harlem" (1933) to the boisterous "Harlem Airshaft" (1940). Perhaps his most personal tributes are his two musicals, *Jump for Joy* (including "I Got It Bad and That Ain't Good," 1942), and *My People* (1963), both dealing with the theme of integration. The latter includes the song "King Fit the Battle of Alabam."

Ellington's music was collaborative. Many of his works were written by band members, and many more were written collectively, by synthesizing and expanding riffs and motifs into unified compositions. Ellington's compositions were almost always written with a particular band member's style and ability in mind. His collaborator Strayhorn remarked that, while Ellington played piano, his real instrument was his orchestra. Ellington was an exceptionally original musical thinker whose orchestral sound was marked by instrumental doublings on reeds, ingenious combinations of instruments, and the carefully crafted use of a variety of muted brasses. The diversity of the band was remarkable, containing an extraordinary variety of masterful and distinctive soloists, ranging from the smooth, sensuous improvisations of saxophonist Johnny Hodges to the gutbucket sounds of trumpeter Cootie Williams and trombonist "Tricky Sam" Nanton.

In the ever-changing world of the big bands, the Ellington orchestra's core roster seldom changed. The most important of his band members, with their tenures parenthetically noted, include trumpeters William "Cat" Anderson (1944–1947, 1950–1959, 1961–1971), Bubber Miley (1924–1929), Rex Stewart (1934–1945), Arthur Whetsol (1923–1924, 1928–1936), and Cootie Williams (1929–

1940, 1962–1973); violinist and trumpeter Ray Nance (1940–1963); trombonists Lawrence Brown (1932–1951, 1960–1970), Joe "Tricky Sam" Nanton (1926–1946), and Juan Tizol (1929–1944, 1951–1953); alto saxophonists Otto Hardwick (1923–1928, 1932–1946), Johnny Hodges (1928–1951, 1955–1970), and Russell Procope (1946–1974); tenor saxophonists Paul Gonsalves (1950–1970, 1972–1974) and Ben Webster (1940–1943, 1948–1949); baritone saxophonist Harry Carney (1927–1974); clarinetists Barney Bigard (1927–1942) and Jimmy Hamilton (1943–1968); vocalists Ivie Anderson (1931–1942) and Al Hibbler (1943–1951); drummer Sonny Greer (1923–1951); bassist Jimmy Blanton (1939–1941); and composer and arranger Billy Strayhorn (1939–1967).

During his lifetime, Ellington was celebrated as a commanding figure in American culture. He cherished the many awards and honorary degrees he earned, including the Spingarn Medal (1959) and eleven Grammy Awards. Ellington remained gracious, though many were outraged by the refusal of a 1965 Pulitzer Prize committee, firmly opposed to recognizing "popular" music, to give him a special award for composition. In 1970 Ellington was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Nixon and was feted with a seventieth-birthday celebration at the White House. He died of cancer on May 24, 1974.

Since Ellington's death, his orchestra has been led by his son, Mercer, himself a trumpeter and composer of note. In 1986 Duke Ellington became the first African-American jazz musician to appear on a U.S. postage stamp. Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in Ellington among scholars, particularly in the extended compositions, and among jazz fans, who have had access to a wealth of previously unreleased recordings. Such attention, which hit a peak in 1999, the centennial of his birth, inevitably confirms Ellington's status not only as the greatest composer and bandleader in jazz, but as a figure unique in the history of twentieth-century music.

See also Cotton Club; Jazz; Jazz in African-American Culture; Music in the United States; Spingarn Medal

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MARTIN WILLIAMS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Ellison, Ralph

March 1, 1914
April 16, 1994

Author Ralph Ellison was born to Lewis and Ida Millsap Ellison in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, a frontier town with a rich vernacular culture. As a child he worked at Randolph's Pharmacy, where he heard animal tales and ghost stories. The local all-black high school provided rigorous training in music, and the Aldridge Theatre featured many of the leading blues, ragtime, and jazz musicians of the day. Ellison played in high school jazz bands and in 1933 enrolled as a music major at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He involved himself in the other arts as well and on his own discovered T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land,* where he found a range of allusions "as mixed and varied as that of Louis Armstrong."

At the end of his third college year, Ellison went to New York to earn money. He never returned to Tuskegee. He met Langston Hughes, whose poetry he had read in high school, and Richard Wright, who urged him to write for *New Challenge,* which Wright was editing. Ellison wrote a review for the magazine in 1937, his first published work. In 1938 he took a Works Progress Administration job with the New York Writer's Project and worked at night on his own fiction. He read Hemingway to learn style.

Ellison wrote book reviews for the radical periodicals *Direction, Negro Quarterly,* and *New Masses,* which in 1940 printed at least one review by him every month. His first

short stories were realistic in the manner of Richard Wright and presented fairly explicit political solutions to the dilemmas of Jim Crow. By 1940 he had begun to find his own direction with a series of stories in the Huck Finn/ Tom Sawyer mold—tales of black youngsters who were not so much victims as playmakers in a land of possibility. "Flying Home" (1944) offers wise old Jefferson as a storyteller whose verbal art helps lessen the greenhorn Todd's isolation and teaches him a healthier attitude toward the divided world he must confront. That story set the stage for Ellison's monumental 1952 novel *Invisible Man,* which received the National Book Award the following year.

Set between 1930 and 1950, *Invisible Man* tells of the development of an ambitious young black man from the South, a naïf who goes to college and then to New York in search of advancement. At first Invisible Man, unnamed throughout the novel, wants to walk the narrow way of Booker T. Washington, whose words he speaks at his high school graduation as well as at a smoker for the town's leading white male citizens. At the smoker he is required to fight blindfolded in a free-for-all against the other black youths. In this key chapter, all the boys are turned blindly against one another in a danger-filled ritual staged for the amusement of their white patrons. That night the young man dreams of his grandfather, the novel's cryptic ancestor/wise man, who presents him with "an engraved document" that seems an ironic comment on his high school diploma and its costs. "Read it," the old man tells him. "'To Whom It May Concern,' I intoned. 'Keep This Nigger Boy Running.'"

Ralph Waldo Ellison (1914–1994). *Ellison won the National Book Award for his novel* Invisible Man *(1952). A Bildungsroman that begins with a setting in the South, the novel graphically depicts the humiliating, often violent treatment the nameless hero suffers at the hands of Southern white men who "educate" him and black men in Harlem who "use" him.* GETTY IMAGES

Whether a student in the southern college or a spokesman in New York for the radical political movement called the Brotherhood (modeled on the Communist Party of the 1930s or some other American political organization that exploited blacks and then sold them out), Invisible Man is kept running. Quintessentially American in his confusion about who he is, he maddashes from scene to scene, letting others tell him what his experience means, who he is, what his name is. And he is not only blind, he is invisible—he is racially stereotyped and otherwise denied his individuality. "I am invisible," he discovers, "simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me."

After encounters with remarkable adults—some wisely parental, some insane but brilliant, some sly con men—he learns to accept with equipoise the full ambiguity of his history and to see the world by his own lights. "It took me a long time," he says, "and much painful boomeranging of my expectations to achieve a realization everyone else appears to have been born with: That I am nobody but myself. But first I had to discover that I am an invisible man!" He had to find out that very few people would bother to understand his real motives and values; perhaps not all of these mysteries were knowable, even by himself. And yet in this novel of education and epiphany, Invisible Man decides he can nonetheless remain hopeful: "I was my experiences and my experiences were me," he says. "And no blind men, no matter how powerful they became, even if they conquered the world, could take that, or change one single itch, taunt, laugh, cry, scar, ache, rage or pain of it."

Rich in historical and literary allusions—from Columbus to World War II, from Oedipus and Br'er Rabbit to T. S. Eliot and Richard Wright—*Invisible Man* stands both as a novel about the history of the novel and as a meditation on the history of the United States. In doing so, it presents a metaphor for black American life in the

twentieth century that transcends its particular focus. It names not only the modern American but the citizen of the contemporary world as tragicomically centerless (but somehow surviving and getting smarter): *Homo invisibilis.* It is Ellison's masterwork.

Shadow and Act (1964) and *Going to the Territory* (1987) are collections of Ellison's nonfiction prose. With these books he established himself as a preeminent man of letters—one whose driving purpose was to define African-American life and culture with precision and affirmation. The essays on African-American music are insider's reports that reflect Ellison's deep experience and long memory. Whether discussing literature, music, painting, psychology, or history, Ellison places strong emphases on vernacular culture—its art, rituals, and meanings—and on the power of the visionary individual, particularly the artist, to prevail. These books offer a strong challenge to social scientists and historians to consider African-American life in terms not just of its ills and pathologies but of its tested capacity to reinvent itself and to influence the nation and the world.

See also Hughes, Langston; Literature of the United States; Wright, Richard

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ROBERT G. O'MEALLY (1996)
Updated bibliography

EMANCIPATION

This entry is comprised of two unique essays differing mainly in their geographical focus.

EMANCIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
Christopher Schmidt-Nowara

EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES
David W. Blight

EMANCIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

The process of slave emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean was protracted and tortuous, beginning in the late eighteenth century with the Haitian Revolution, an event with profound consequences for slave regimes everywhere in the New World, and finally coming to an end with the abolition of Brazilian slavery in 1888. During that century, slavery was more pervasive than ever before in terms of the number of slaves working in the Americas, while also being more vulnerable given the rise of abolitionist movements, the spread of antislavery sentiment, and the numerous military and political crises that gave slaves opportunities both to escape enslavement and to take up arms against the institution. A comprehensive discussion of all the twists and turns in Latin American and Caribbean emancipation is impossible in these pages. Instead, this brief entry will offer a broad description of the forces that set the stage for emancipation and highlight them with specific examples from several countries, such as Haiti, Cuba, Brazil, and Jamaica. Though there was great variation in slave regimes and in the pressures leading to slavery's destruction across this geographically, economically, and politically diverse region, one overarching typology of slave emancipation will suggest the varieties of experience: on the one hand, emancipation via anticolonial rebellions, on the other emancipation through the legal process of abolition, keeping in mind that this division was not hard and fast and that in some cases both causes were at work in the same country.

ANTICOLONIAL REBELLION AND SLAVE EMANCIPATION: HAITI AND SPANISH AMERICA

African slavery was one of the central and most venerable institutions of the European empires in the Americas. The Spanish and Portuguese had turned early to the African slave trade, already flourishing in late medieval Europe, as they staked out colonies in the New World during the sixteenth century. While the sugar plantations of northeastern Brazil (Pernambuco and Bahia) were important destinations, so too were the great mining colonies of the Spanish empire, Peru and Mexico. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, other European rivals forced their way into the region, particularly the Caribbean. The British and French, and to a lesser degree the Dutch, created rich plantation economies in colonies like Barbados, Jamaica, and Saint Domingue (Haiti). Spain, too, eventually

Emancipation in Barbados, January 1, 1833. *Slaves march through the streets, with cymbals, drum, and concertina, to celebrate their freedom.* GETTY IMAGES

turned to the production of sugar through the use of slave labor, transforming Cuba and Puerto Rico into major producers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Slavery was thus widespread and well entrenched in the Americas by the late eighteenth century. Any challenge to the colonial status quo would thus involve some challenge to slavery as well. This nexus was immediately apparent in the Haitian Revolution.

By the late eighteenth century, the French colony of Saint Domingue, on the western end of the island of Hispaniola, was the largest producer of cane sugar in the world. A small white population, divided between great planters and smaller property owners, shopkeepers, and professionals, ruled alongside a towering slave population, largely African-born (Dubois, 2004). There was also a significant population of people of color, in many cases freed by European fathers and at times well prepared to take a predominant position in the colony through education and the inheritance of wealth, though they found their prerogatives increasingly curtailed in the second half of the century. Many free people of color were planters in their own right, though usually of coffee as opposed to sugar. Others filled positions in the colonial militia or the *maréchausée*, the gendarmerie dedicated to tracking down runaway slaves. They were accustomed to bearing arms and identified strongly with the dominant colonial culture.

When revolution broke out in France in 1789, the *gens de coleur* saw the new regime as a potential ally against the "aristocrats of the skin" who sought to disbar them from the full enjoyment of their liberty through racial discrimination, which had grown more onerous since mid-century. They found numerous advocates in France but also had to confront the vexing question of slavery and an abolitionist society, the Société des Amis des Noirs, founded in 1788 and dedicated to the gradual abolition of colonial slavery. By the later eighteenth century, more and more enlightened Frenchmen had come to see New World slavery as a gross injustice. They also saw it as a powder keg ready to explode at any moment.

Thus, at the inception of the French Revolution, the questions of race, slavery, emancipation, and citizenship were dramatically posed. When it became clear that the whites of Saint Domingue and their French allies would enforce white supremacy, several free colored leaders—such as Vincent Ogé—returned to the colony and took up arms to force their claims. They were quickly defeated, horribly tortured, and executed, but new openings would present themselves as both the colony and metropolis were divided. While the dominant groups fought among themselves, slaves in the northern part of the colony apparently saw the opportunity to assert their own demands for freedom. Inspired by diverse African and European ideas of justice and freedom, a huge slave rebellion erupted in 1791 across the hinterland of the city of Le Cap and eventually spread to other parts of the colony.

Rivals saw in this colonial unrest a chance to advance their own cause. Both the British and the Spanish dispatched large forces to the Caribbean, hoping to incorporate the rich colony into their own empires. Spain, for example, from the adjoining colony of Santo Domingo, supported Toussaint-Louverture, a well-educated former slave who, according to legend, was a reader of the Abbé Raynal, a *philosophe* who had predicted the violent destruction of New World slavery by a black Spartacus.

Ultimately, Toussaint defied his Spanish patrons. In 1793 he switched his allegiance from Spain to France in exchange for the legal abolition of slavery, ratified by the revolutionary government in France in 1794. For the next several years, he was the de facto governor of the colony, which he successfully defended for France against the Spanish and English. In 1802 France sought to restore slavery in its colonies. Though the French were successful

in their other Caribbean colonies and able to capture Toussaint, other rebel generals like Henri Christophe and Dessalines defeated a large European expedition and proclaimed the independence of the new nation, Haiti, in 1804.

By 1804 there were two independent nation-states in the Americas: the United States and Haiti. The fate of slavery was a crucial issue in the fight for independence and the consolidation of the new regimes. The United States reasserted the privileges of slave owners, though in the face of significant internal opposition. Haiti wiped out the colonial planter class and asserted the priority of slave emancipation. The wars of national liberation in the Americas always involved conflict over the survival of slavery, but the outcome was far from uniform. The same would hold true in the colonies of the Iberian monarchies a few years later.

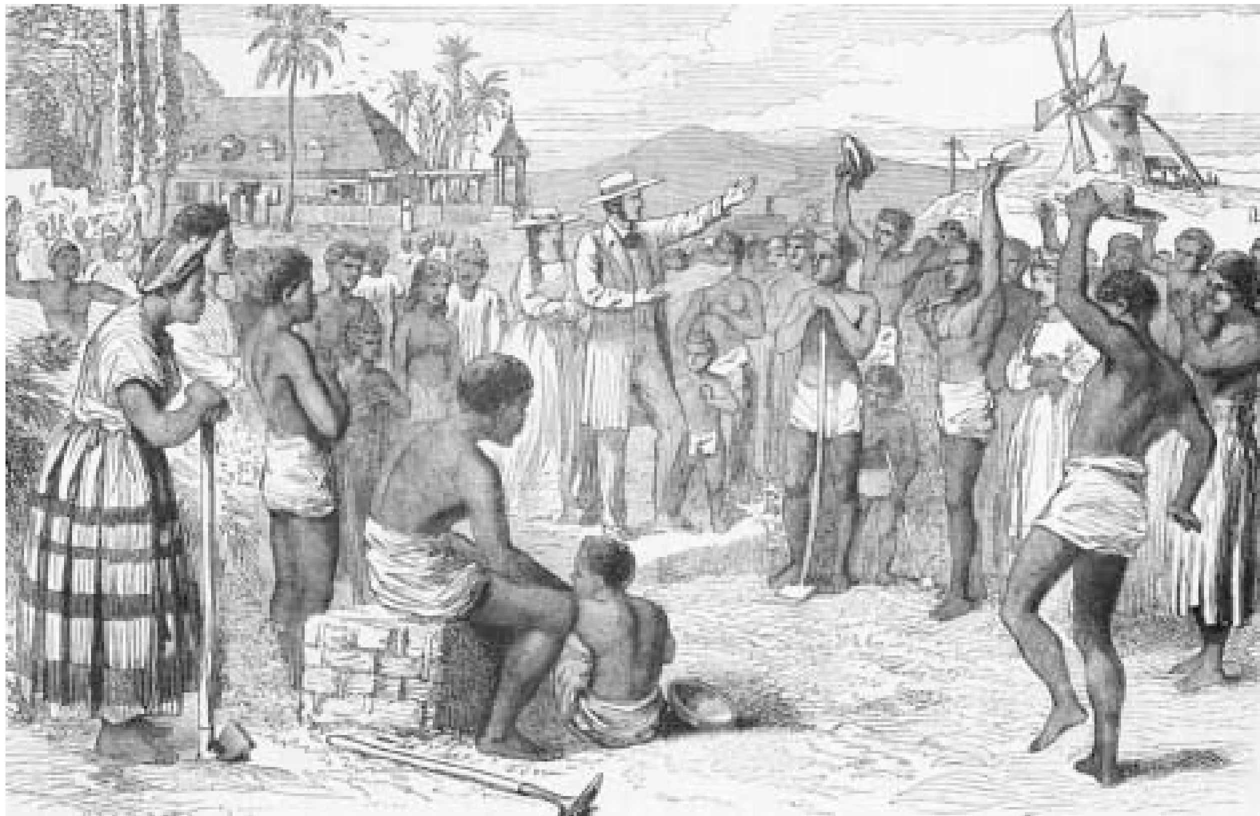
If the French Revolution of 1789 and the ensuing struggle for dominance in different corners of the Atlantic opened the way for the destruction of slavery and colonialism in Saint. Domingue, it had a similar impact on Spain's American empire. Information about the Haitian Revolution circulated throughout the Atlantic world, inspiring would-be rebels against the established order, despite the efforts of planters and government officials to silence it. Moreover, events in Europe continued to exert important and unpredictable influence. When France invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, the empires of Spain and Portugal suddenly found themselves thrown into profound crisis. The invasion had differing effects on slavery in the two empires. The Portuguese court embarked for Rio de Janeiro under British escort and remained there until 1822. With Rio as the new capital of the empire and the protection of the hegemonic economic and naval power, Brazilian ports enjoyed greater freedom, urban and plantation slavery boomed, and political order reigned, at least in the short term.

In contrast, a political vacuum opened in Spain and its overseas empire. The Spanish court fell captive to the French, and the country was submerged in a violent resistance to the occupying force between 1808 and 1814. The overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy led to an acute crisis of political legitimacy in the colonies. Many patriots saw this as the moment to fight for independence; in doing so, they unintentionally shattered the colonial social order from the Río de la Plata in the south to Mexico in the north.

Slaves and slavery figured centrally in the independence struggle (Andrews, 2004). Both loyalist and patriotic forces mobilized slaves to fight on their sides during the protracted wars for independence. Loyalists could draw on old precedents by promising freedom in exchange for a term of military service. Such a compromise had existed throughout the colonial period and recognized the basic legitimacy of slavery as an institution in Spanish America, while also honoring the mechanisms for acquiring freedom enshrined in Spanish law since the Middle Ages. Throughout the nineteenth century, from the first wars against Venezuelan patriots in 1809 to the final wars against Cuban patriots between 1868 and 1880, Spain was able to attract military recruits from the slave population, trading freedom for service to the king and nation, as it had done throughout the old regime. Patriot armies often tried to strike a similar bargain—many of their initial leaders were slave owners themselves, such as Simón Bolívar in Venezuela and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes in Cuba—yet found it harder to defend the persistence of slavery in the context of liberal and republican aspirations, the breakdown of traditional forms of order, and the spread of the language of liberation.

From all corners of South America, where slavery was most widespread and where the battles were fiercest, slaves flocked to patriot armies, using the language of national liberation to forward their demands for liberty. Free people of color also saw great promise in the revolutionary movements. For example, the Afro-Colombian population of Cartagena de Indias, long the major depot for the slave trade to Spanish America, enthusiastically supported the uprising against Spanish rule with the hope of achieving political equality under the new regime. Many were inspired by the spread of knowledge of the Haitian Revolution. Demands for equality and some vision of racial democracy pervaded revolutionary and postcolonial Spanish America as popular groups—slaves included—mobilized for independence and embraced liberal and republican ideologies. Under such conditions, efforts to formalize racial inequality as the Spanish colonial regime continued to do or to reinvigorate bonded labor were virtually impossible. Revolutionary leaders had to capitulate. Simón Bolívar, who led the struggle for independence in South America admitted: "It seems to me madness that a revolution for freedom expects to maintain slavery" (quoted in Blanchard, 2002, p. 514). With the important exception of Brazil, all Latin American states abolished slavery once they threw off colonial rule, though in most cases they compromised by granting freedom to slave combatants and passing gradual emancipation laws that extinguished slavery in countries such as Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia by midcentury.

Cuba offers a slight variation to this process. The colony did not rebel against Spain in the 1810s and 1820s as most of the empire did. Rather, given the huge growth of



Slaves on a West Indies plantation receiving news of their emancipation. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

the slave population (Cuba became by far the largest slave society in Spanish American history), local elites decided to collaborate with the metropolis. The first movement for independence came only in 1868. As in other parts of the Spanish America earlier in the century, leaders such as Céspedes had to address the question of emancipation, his hand forced by the slaves who fled their masters to join the insurgency against Spanish rule. Once more, antislavery and anticolonialism were conjoined, national independence holding out the promise of liberty and racial equality. In this case, however, Spain responded with its own emancipation laws, finally abolishing slavery altogether in 1886. Nonetheless, the fights against colonial rule and racism would remain fused in the Cuban independence movement for the rest of the century (Scott, 2000).

Abolitionism and Emancipation in the British West Indies and Brazil

We can see that even where anticolonial rebellions forced emancipation for many of the enslaved in Haiti and Spanish America, including Cuba, that the legal process of emancipation was still important. The French metropolis confirmed the abolition of slavery in Saint Domingue in 1794 (though confirming a right already effectively claimed by many of the enslaved themselves after the uprising of 1791); Spain passed laws that emancipated many Cuban slaves in the later nineteenth century to counter the anticolonial insurgency; and in independent Spanish America, some slave combatants claimed freedom for themselves, but many slaves were emancipated only later in the century under the auspices of laws passed by the new states. However, the importance of rebellion stands out when we look at other Caribbean and Latin American slave societies where governments, both colonial and national, exerted considerable control over the pace of slavery and emancipation.

Such was the case in Brazil and the British Caribbean colonies. In the latter, emancipation was legislated in stages by the metropolitan parliament under significant pressure from popular antislavery movements that arose in the later eighteenth century, inspired by nonconformist sects such as Quakerism and by conflicts over the nature of work and property in an emerging market society (Davis, 1975; Drescher, 1999). The strategy of British abolitionists was gradualist; they demanded first the suppression of the slave trade to the British colonies, a measure passed by the parliament in 1806. Again in the face of

widespread popular demands, the parliament passed an emancipation law that took effect in 1834, though with the major restriction that freed slaves must serve an apprenticeship with their former masters. This qualification of liberation set the tone for the struggles over the limits of freedom that would follow final emancipation in 1838 (Holt, 1992).

Brazil, like the United States, was an independent New World country that held out persistently against the forces of emancipation unleashed in the later eighteenth century (Conrad, 1972). The major American importer of African slaves during the long history of the Atlantic slave trade, Brazil relied heavily on slave labor in most sectors of the economy (the extent of which is hinted at by the French painter Jean-Baptiste Debret in his renderings of daily life in mid-nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro). Upon achieving independence from Portugal in 1822, largely without armed violence, the new country experienced a boom in slave imports to the Northeastern sugar regions. By midcentury, slavery was also on the rise in the southeastern coffee regions of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

However, the supply of forced labor became increasingly tenuous. Under intense British naval pressure Brazil abolished the slave trade in 1850 (the British were also pressuring Spain to suppress the slave trade to Cuba and Puerto Rico). Planters in the southeast began to purchase slaves from the stagnant northeastern sugar regions, but a crisis loomed. In 1871 the Brazilian government passed a gradual emancipation law that called for the *very* protracted abolition of the institution. But slaves and abolitionists eventually took matters into their own hands to expedite the process. Mass flight from plantations, organized efforts to obstruct the internal slave trade, and increasingly ebullient and defiant public demands for abolition ultimately led to final emancipation in 1888, a century after the unpredictable struggle to destroy slavery had taken root in the Atlantic world.

See also Coartación; Emancipation in the United States; Haitian Revolution; Slavery

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CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA (2005)

Emancipation in the United States

Few events in American history can match the drama and the social significance of black Emancipation in the midst of the Civil War. Since the early seventeenth century, when African-born slaves were first brought ashore in Virginia, through the long development of the South's plantation economy and its dependence upon slave labor, emancipation had been the dream of African-American people. From the age of the American Revolution when northern states freed their relatively small numbers of slaves to the time of increasing free black community development in the North, emancipation became a matter of political and religious expectation. To be a black abolitionist, a fugitive slave desperately seeking his or her way through the mysterious realities of the Underground Railroad, or one of the millions of slaves cunningly surviving on southern cotton plantations was to be an actor in this long and agonizing drama. The agony and the hope embedded in the story of emancipation is what black poet Francis Ellen Watkins tried to capture in a simple verse written in the wake of John Brown's execution in 1859 and only a little over a year before the outbreak of the Civil War:

Make me a grave where'er you will,
In a lowly plain, or a lofty hill,
Make it among earth's humblest graves,
But not in a land where men are slaves.

Soon, by the forces of total war, which in turn opened opportunities for slaves to seize their own freedom, emancipation became reality in America. Black freedom became the central event of nineteenth-century African-American history and, along with the preservation of the Union, the central result of the Civil War.

On Emancipation day, January 1, 1863 (when Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was to go into effect), "jubilee meetings" occurred all over black Ameri-

ca. At Tremont Temple in Boston, a huge gathering of blacks and whites met from morning until night, awaiting the final news that Lincoln had signed the fateful document. Genuine concern still existed that something might go awry; the preliminary proclamation had been issued in September 1862, a mixture of what appeared to be military necessity and a desire to give the war a new moral purpose. Numerous luminaries from throughout antebellum free black leadership spoke during the day; the attorney John Rock, the minister and former slave John Sella Martin, the orator and women's suffragist Anna Dickinson, author William Wells Brown, and Boston's William Cooper Nell as presiding officer were among them. The most prominent of all black voices, Frederick Douglass, gave a concluding speech during the afternoon session punctuated by many cries of "Amen."

In the evening, tension mounted and anxiety gripped the hall, as no news had arrived from Washington. Douglass and Brown provided more oratory to try to quell the changing mood of doubt. Then a runner arrived from the telegraph office with the news: "It is coming!" he shouted. "It is on the wires!" An attempt was made to read the text of the Emancipation Proclamation, but great jubilation engulfed the crowd. Unrestrained shouting and singing ensued. Douglass gained the throng's attention and led them in a chorus of his favorite hymn, "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow." Next an old black preacher named Rue led the group in "Sound the loud timbel o'er Egypt's dark sea, Jehovah has triumphed, his people are free!" The celebration lasted until midnight, when the crowd reassembled at pastor Leonard A. Grimes's Twelfth Baptist Church—an institution renowned among black Bostonians for its role in helping many fugitive slaves move along the road to liberty—to continue celebrating.

From Massachusetts to Ohio and Michigan, and in many Union-occupied places in the South where ex-slaves were now entering the Yankee army or beginning their first year as free people, such celebrations occurred. Full of praise songs, these celebrations demonstrated that whatever the fine print of the proclamation might say, black folks across the land knew that they had lived to see a new day, a transforming moment in their history. At a large "contraband camp" (center for refugee ex-slaves) in Washington, D.C., some six hundred black men, women, and children gathered at the superintendent's headquarters on New Year's Eve and sang through most of the night. In chorus after chorus of "Go Down, Moses" they announced the magnitude of their painful but beautiful exodus. One newly supplied verse concluded with "Go down, Abraham, away down in Dixie's land, tell Jeff Davis to let my people go!" Many years after the Tremont Temple celebration in Boston, Douglass may have best captured the meaning of Emancipation day for his people: "It was not logic, but the trump of jubilee, which everybody wanted to hear. We were waiting and listening as for a bolt from the sky, which should rend the fetters of four millions of slaves; we were watching as it were, by the dim light of stars, for the dawn of a new day; we were longing for the answer to the agonizing prayers of centuries. Remembering those in bonds as bound with them, we wanted to join in the shout for freedom, and in the anthem of the redeemed." For blacks the cruel and apocalyptic war finally had a holy cause.

The emancipation policy of the Union government evolved with much less certitude than the music and poetry of jubilee day might imply. During the first year of the war, the Union military forces operated on an official policy of exclusion ("denial of asylum") to escaped slaves. The war was to restore the Union, not to uproot slavery. But events overtook such a policy. Floods of fugitive slaves began to enter Union lines in Virginia, in Tennessee, and along the southern coasts. Thousands were eventually employed as military laborers, servants, camp hands, and even spies. Early in the war, at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, in May 1861, the ambitious politician-general Benjamin F. Butler declared the slaves who entered his lines "contraband of war." The idea of slaves as confiscated enemy property eventually caught on. In early August 1861, striking a balance between legality and military necessity, the federal Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, allowing for the seizure of all Confederate property used to aid the war effort. Although not yet technically freed by this law, the slaves of rebel masters came under its purview and an inexorable process toward black freedom took root. Into 1862 the official stance of the Union armies toward slaves was a conflicted one: exclusion where the slaveholders were deemed "loyal," and employment as contrabands where the masters were judged "disloyal." Such an unworkable policy caused considerable dissension in the Union ranks, especially between abolitionist and proslavery officers. But wherever Union forces gained ground in the South, the institution of slavery began to crumble.

By the spring and summer of 1862 Congress took the lead on the issue of emancipation policy. In April it abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and a large sum of money was allocated for the possible colonization of freed blacks abroad. The Lincoln administration, indeed, pursued a variety of schemes for Central American and Caribbean colonization during the first three years of the war. The sheer impracticality of such plans and stiff black resistance notwithstanding, this old idea of black removal from America as the solution to the revolutionary implica-

> "We were waiting and listening as for a bolt from the sky, which should rend the fetters of four million slaves."
>
> FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON THE MEANING OF EMANCIPATION DAY FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS.

tions of Emancipation died hard within the Lincoln administration and in the mind of the president himself. But Lincoln, as well as many other Americans, would be greatly educated by both the necessity and the larger meanings of Emancipation. A black newspaper in Union-occupied New Orleans declared that "history furnishes no such intensity of determination, on the part of any race, as that exhibited by these people to be free." And Frederick Douglass felt greatly encouraged by an evolving emancipation movement in early 1862, whatever its contradictory motives. "It is really wonderful," he wrote, "how all efforts to evade, postpone, and prevent its coming, have been mocked and defied by the stupendous sweep of events."

In June 1862 Congress abolished slavery in the western territories, a marvelous irony when one remembers the tremendous political crisis over that issue in the decade before the war, as well as the alleged finality of the Dred Scott Decision of 1857. In July Congress passed the Second Confiscation Act, which explicitly freed slaves of all persons "in rebellion," and excluded no parts of the slaveholding South. These measures provided a public and legal backdrop for President Lincoln's subsequent Emancipation Proclamation, issued in two parts, maneuvered through a recalcitrant Cabinet, and politically calculated to shape Northern morale, prevent foreign intervention (especially that of the British), and keep the remaining four slaveholding border states in the Union. During 1862 Lincoln had secretly maneuvered to persuade Delaware and Kentucky to accept a plan of compensated, gradual emancipation. But the deeply divided border states bluntly refused such notions. In the preliminary proclamation of September 21, 1862, issued in the aftermath of the bloody battle of Antietam (a Union military success for which Lincoln had desperately waited), the president offered a carrot to the rebellious South: in effect, stop the war, reenter the Union, and slavery would go largely untouched. In his State of the Union address in December, Lincoln dwelled on the idea of gradual, compensated Emancipation as the way to end the war and return a willful South to the Union. None of these offers had any chance of acceptance at this point in what had already become a revolutionary war for ends much larger and higher than most had imagined in 1861.

Lincoln had always considered slavery to be an evil that had to be eliminated in America. It was he who had committed the Republican Party in the late 1850s to putting slavery "on a course of ultimate extinction." At the outset of the war, however, he valued saving the Union above all else, including whatever would happen to slavery. But after he signed the document that declared all slaves in the "states of rebellion . . . forever free," Lincoln's historical reputation, as often legendary and mythical as it is factual, became forever tied to his role in the emancipation process. Emancipation did indeed require presidential leadership to commit America to a war to free slaves in the eyes of the world; in Lincoln's remarkable command of moral meaning and politics, he understood that this war had become a crucible in which the entire nation could receive a "new birth of freedom." The president ultimately commanded the armies, every forward step of which from 1863 to 1865 was a liberating step, soon by black soldiers as well. On one level, Emancipation had to be legal and moral, and, like all great matters in American history, it had to be finalized in the Constitution, in the Thirteenth Amendment (passed in early 1865). But black freedom was something both given and seized. Many factors made it possible for Lincoln to say by February 1865 that "the central act of my administration, and the greatest event of the nineteenth century," was Emancipation. But none more than the black exodus of self-emancipation when the moment of truth came, the waves of freedpeople who "voted with their feet."

The actual process and timing of Emancipation across the South depended on at least three interrelated circumstances: one, the character of slave society in a given region; two, the course of the war itself; and three, the policies of the Union and Confederate governments. Southern geography, the chronology of the military campaigns, the character of total war with its massive forced movement of people, the personal disposition of slaveholders and Union commanders alike, and the advent of widespread recruitment of black soldiers were all combined factors in determining when, where, and how slaves became free. Thousands of slaves were "hired out" as fortification laborers, teamsters, nurses, and cooks in the Confederate armies, eventually providing many opportunities for escape to Union lines and an uncertain but freer future. Thousands were also "refugeed" to the interior by their owners in order to "protect" them from invading Yankee armies. Many more took to the forests and swamps to hide during the chaos of war, as Union forces swept over the sea islands of the Georgia or South Carolina coast, or the dense-

Emancipation Day in Charleston, South Carolina. *African Americans in uniform assemble near Citadel Square for an Emancipation Day procession and celebration.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ly populated lower Mississippi Valley region. Many of those slaves eventually returned to their plantations, abandoned by their former masters, and took over agricultural production, sometimes under the supervision of an old driver, and sometimes by independently planting subsistence crops while the sugarcane rotted.

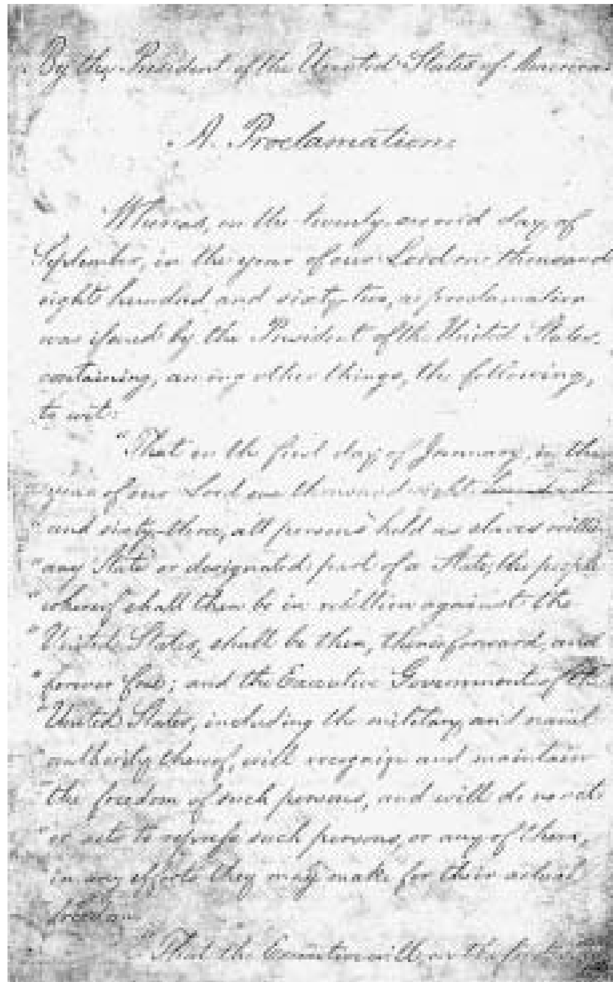
Many slaves waited and watched for their opportunity of escape, however uncertain their new fate might be. Octave Johnson was a slave on a plantation in St. James Parish, Louisiana, who ran away to the woods when the war came. He and a group of thirty, ten of whom were women, remained at large for a year and a half. Johnson's story, as he reported it to the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission in 1864, provides a remarkable example of the social-military revolution under way across the South. "We were four miles in the rear of the plantation house," said Johnson. His band stole food and borrowed matches and other goods from slaves still on the plantation. "We slept on logs and burned cypress leaves to make a smoke and keep away mosquitoes." When hunted by bloodhounds, Johnson's group took to the deeper swamp. They "killed eight of the bloodhounds; then we jumped into Bayou Faupron; the dogs followed us and the alligators caught six of them; the alligators preferred dog flesh to personal flesh; we escaped and came to Camp Parapet, where I was first employed in the Commissary's office, then as a servant to Col. Hanks; then I joined his regiment." From "working on task" through survival in the bayous, Octave Johnson found his freedom as a corporal in Company C, Fifteenth Regiment, Corps d'Afrique.

For many slaves, the transition from bondage to freedom was not so clear and complete as it was for Octave Johnson. Emancipation was a matter of overt celebration in some places, especially in Southern towns and cities, as well as in some slave quarters. But what freedom meant in 1863, how livelihood would change, how the war would progress, how the masters would react (perhaps with wages but perhaps with violent retribution), how freedpeople would find protection in the conquered and chaotic South, how they would meet the rent payments that might now be charged, how a peasant population of agricultural laborers deeply attached to the land might now become owners of the land as so many dreamed, and whether they would achieve citizenship rights were all ur-

Watch meeting, December 31, 1862. *The painting* Waiting for the Hour *depicts African Americans in church on New Years Eve, 1862, the night before the Emancipation Proclamation took effect.* PAINTING BY HEARD AND MOSELEY. PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

gent and unanswered questions during the season of Emancipation. Joy mixed with uncertainty, songs of deliverance with expressions of fear. The actual day on which masters gathered their slaves to announce that they were free was remembered by freedpeople with a wide range of feelings and experience. Some remembered hilarity and dancing, but many remembered it as a sobering, even solemn time. A former South Carolina slave recalled that on his plantation "some were sorry, some hurt, but a few were silent and glad." James Lucas, a former slave of Jefferson Davis in Mississippi, probed the depths of human nature and ambivalence in his description of the day of liberation: "Dey all had diffe'nt ways o' thinkin' 'bout it. Mos'ly though dey was jus' lak me, dey didn' know jus' zackly what it meant. It was jus' somp'n dat de white folks an' slaves all de time talk 'bout. Dat's all. Folks dat ain' never been free don' rightly know de feel of bein' free. Dey don' know de meanin' of it." And a former Virginia slave simply recalled "how wild and upset and dreadful everything was in them times."

But in time, confusion gave way to meaning, and the feel of freedom took many forms. For many ex-slaves who followed Union armies freedom meant, initially, life in contraband camps, where black families struggled to survive in the face of great hardship and occasional starvation. But by the end of 1862 and throughout the rest of the war, a string of contraband camps became the first homes in freedom for thousands of ex-slaves. At LaGrange, Bolivar, and Memphis in western Tennessee; at Corinth in northern Mississippi; in "contraband colonies" near New Orleans; at Cairo, Illinois; at Camp Barker in the District of Columbia; on Craney Island near Norfolk, Virginia; and eventually in northern Georgia and various other places, the freedpeople forged a new life on government rations and through work on labor crews, and received a modicum of medical care, often provided by "grannies"—black women who employed home remedies from plantation life. For thousands the contraband camps became the initial entry into free labor practices, and a slow but certain embrace of the new sense of dignity, mobility, identity, and education that freedom now meant. Nearly all white Northerners who witnessed or supervised these camps, or who eventually administered private or government work programs on confiscated Southern land, organized freedmen's aid societies and schools by the hundreds, or observed weddings and burials, were stunned by the determination of this exodus despite its hardships. In 1863, each superintendent of a contraband camp in the



By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred "and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within "any State or designated part of a State, the people "whereof shall then be in rebellion against the "United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and "forever free; and the Executive Government of the "United States, including the military and naval "authority thereof, will recognize and maintain "the freedom of such persons, and will do no act "or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, "in any efforts they may make for their actual "freedom.

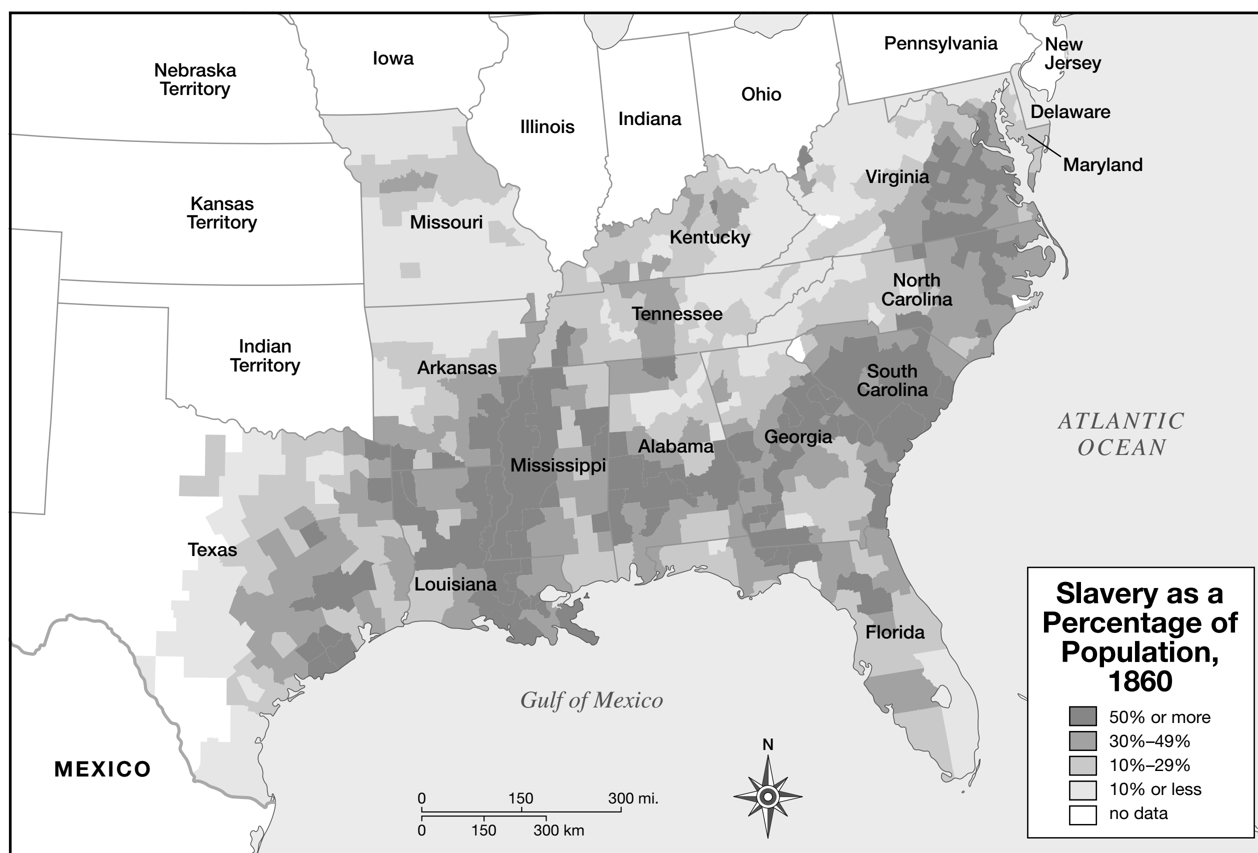
"That the Executive will, on the first

The first page of the original Emancipation Proclamation. AP/WWP/NATIONAL ARCHIVES

An 1863 propaganda drawing depicts "Emancipation" surrounded by slaves wrapped in the United States flag. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

western theater of war was asked to respond to a series of interrogatives about the freedmen streaming into his facilities. To the question of the "motives" of the freedmen, the Corinth superintendent tried to find the range of what he saw: "Can't answer short of 100 pages. Bad treatment—hard times—lack of the comforts of life—prospect of being driven South; the more intelligent because they wished to be free. Generally speak kindly of their masters; none wish to return; many would die first. All delighted with the prospect of freedom, yet all have been kept constantly at some kind of work." All of the superintendents commented on what seemed to them the remarkable "intelligence" and "honesty" of the freedmen. As for their "notions of liberty," the Memphis superintendent answered: "Generally correct. They say they have no rights, nor own anything except as their master permits; but being freed, can make their own money and protect their families." Indeed, these responses demonstrate just what a fundamental revolution Emancipation had become.

Inexorably, Emancipation meant that black families would be both reunited and torn apart. In contraband camps, where women and children greatly outnumbered men, extended families sometimes found and cared for each other. But often, when the thousands of black men across the South entered the Union army, they left women and children behind in great hardship, sometimes in sheer destitution, and eventually under new labor arrangements that required rent payments. Louisiana freedwoman Emily Waters wrote to her husband, who was still on duty with the Union army, in July 1865, begging him to get a furlough and "come home and find a place for us to live in." The joy of change mixed with terrible strain. "My children are going to school," she reported, "but I find it very hard



Map showing the number of slaves as a percentage of total population in the slaveholding states of the U.S., 1960. MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

to feed them all, and if you cannot come I hope you will send me something to help me get along. . . . Come home as soon as you can, and cherish me as ever." The same Louisiana soldier received a subsequent letter from Alsie Thomas, his sister, reporting that "we are in deep trouble—your wife has left Trepagnia and gone to the city and we don't know where or how she is, we have not heard a word from her in four weeks." The choices and the strains that Emancipation wrought are tenderly exhibited in a letter by John Boston, a Maryland fugitive slave, to his wife, Elizabeth, in January 1862, from Upton Hill, Virginia. "[I]t is with grate joy I take this time to let you know Whare I am i am now in Safety in the 14th regiment of Brooklyn this Day i can Adres you thank god as a free man I had a little truble in giting away But as the lord led the Children of Isrel to the land of Canon So he led me to a land Whare Fredom Will rain in spite Of earth and hell . . . i am free from al the Slavers Lash." Such were the joys of freedom and the agonies of separation. Boston concluded his letter: "Dear Wife i must Close rest yourself Contented i am free . . . Write my Dear Soon . . . Kiss Daniel For me." The rich sources on the freedmen's experience do not tell us whether Emily Waters ever saw her husband again, or whether the Bostons were reunited. But these letters demonstrate the depth with which freedom was embraced and the human pain through which it was achieved.

The freedpeople especially gave meaning to their freedom by their eagerness for education and land ownership. In the Sea Islands of South Carolina, the Port Royal Experiment was a large-scale attempt, led by Northern philanthropists interested as much in profits as in freedmen's rights, to reorganize cotton production by paying wages to blacks. But amid this combination of abolitionists' good works and capitalist opportunity, thousands of blacks of all ages learned to read. So eager were the freedmen to learn that the teachers from the various freedmen's-aid societies were sometimes overwhelmed. "The Negroes will do anything for us," said one teacher, "if we will only teach them." Land ownership was an equally precious aim of the freedmen, and they claimed it as a right. No one ever stated the labor theory of value more clearly than Virginia freedman Bayley Wyat, in a speech protesting the eviction of blacks from a contraband camp in 1866: "We has a right

to the land we are located. For Why? I tell you. Our wives, our children, our husbands, has been sold over and over again to purchase the lands we now locates upon; for that reason we have a divine right to the land. . . . And den didn't we clear the land, and raise de crops ob corn, ob cotton, ob tobacco, ob rice, ob sugar, ob everything?" The redistribution of land and wealth in the South would remain a largely unrealized dream during Reconstruction, and perhaps its greatest unfinished legacy. But armed with literacy, and an unprecedented politicization, Southern blacks accomplished much against great odds in the wake of Emancipation.

By the end of the war in 1865, the massive moving about of the freedpeople became a major factor in Confederate defeat. Thousands of white Union soldiers who witnessed this process of Emancipation became, despite earlier prejudices, avid supporters of the recruitment of black soldiers. And no one understood just what a transformation was under way better than the former slaveholders in the South, who now watched their world collapse around them. In August 1865 white Georgian John Jones described black freedom as the "dark, dissolving, disquieting wave of emancipation." That wave would abate in the turbulent first years of Reconstruction, when the majority of freedmen would resettle on their old places, generally paid wages at first, but eventually working "on shares" (as sharecropping tenant farmers). Reconstruction would bring a political revolution to the South, a great experiment in racial democracy, led by radical Republicans in the federal government and by a new American phenomenon: scores of black politicians. This "disquieting wave" would launch black suffrage, citizenship rights, civil rights, and widespread black officeholding beyond what anyone could have imagined at the outset of the Civil War. That the great achievements in racial democracy of the period 1865–1870 were betrayed or lost by the late nineteenth century does not detract from the significance of such a passage in African-American history. Many of the twentieth-century triumphs in America's never-ending search for racial democracy have their deep roots in the story of Emancipation and its aftermath.

See also Coartación; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Slavery

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Emigration

See Migration

English, African-American

African American English (AAE), which is not slang, is a form of communication for some African Americans in the United States. It has been one of the most widely discussed varieties of English since the 1960s. Different topics have been covered in research on AAE: its legitimacy and status as a dialect or language, its origin, and its effects on reading. Some of these topics have been hotly debated and have received media coverage.

From Arguments about Legitimacy to Views about Origin

Research in the1960s affirmed the legitimacy of AAE by explaining that it was not a deficient mode of speech used by culturally deprived speakers. Early work, such as that by Marvin Loflin and William Labov, showed that AAE had clearly definable patterns of sentence structure, sound combinations, meaning, and vocabulary. Since then, AAE has been characterized as a rule-governed system, although some people have negative attitudes toward it and call it bad English.

As evidence was being presented to support claims about the legitimacy of AAE, linguists were raising questions about the development of AAE—whether it originated as a plantation Creole such as Gullah (spoken in the coastal Carolinas and Georgia) (Rickford and Rickford, 2000), which would have been influenced by African languages, or whether it developed like other dialects of En-

glish. Early debates about the provenance of AAE focused on African and Creole origins in research by linguists such as Lorenzo Dow Turner, William Stewart, David Dalby, and J. L. Dillard and later by Charles DeBose and Nicholas Faraclas. Arguments in support of English origins were made by Raven McDavid and Virginia McDavid and later by Salikoko Mufwene, Shana Poplack, and others. Historical research on AAE has expanded to include proposals about gradual development of AAE as a result of contact between Africans and colonial settlers in the South (Winford, 1997). In this research, linguists analyze ex-slave narratives, which have been taken to be representative of early AAE, and historical documents about plantation life in the United States.

Systems of Sounds, Sentences, and Meaning

Much research on AAE has been on language used by adolescent males, but males and females of all ages use it. Speakers know rules of putting sounds and words together. Some speakers use a wide range of AAE rules, while others do not.

AAE consists of systems of sounds, sentence structure, meaning, and vocabulary items and related information. It has been argued that parts of the sound system of AAE share similarities with that of West African languages, in which there is no *th* sound. In words in AAE in which the *th* sound would be produced at the beginning of the word, it is pronounced as *th* in *thing* or as *d* in *dese* ("these"). When the *th* sound would be produced in the middle of the word, it is pronounced as *f* in *bafroom* ("bathroom") or *v* in *brover* ("brother"). At the end of the word, it can be pronounced as *t, f,* or *v,* as in *mont* ("month"), *norf* ("north"), or *smoov* ("smooth"), respectively. The sound depends on the position of the *th* in the word and the voicing property of the *th;* speakers do not haphazardly pronounce *t, d, f,* or *v* instead of *th*. Voicing is a technical term that is used to distinguish the two different *th* sounds: the *th* sound in *bath* and the *th* sound in *bathe*. Given the voicing property of *th, bath* would be pronounced with an final *f* ("baf"), and *bathe* would be pronounced with a final *v* ("bav").

In AAE, inflected *be* (e.g., *is*), which marks present tense, does not have to occur in sentences in many cases, as in *The boy_not running.* However, it must occur if it is the first person singular form (*I'm running.*). Habitual *be,* which is different from inflected *be,* indicates that some activity occurs habitually, as in *Those athletes be running fast* ("Those athletes usually run fast."). This *be* is never inflected and is a source of confusion for non-AAE speakers, who incorrectly assume that AAE speakers are misusing inflected *be* when they use habitual *be.*

Often the general public confuse AAE with slang, which has a short life span and is generally used by adolescent to young adult speakers. AAE is not slang, although slang is a component of AAE just as it occurs in all dialects and languages. Slang generally refers to vocabulary items, words, and phrases; however, AAE is a system of communication—including sounds, sentence structure, component parts of words—not just a compilation of cool words and phrases. Some slang items, which may signal identification with a group, are used exclusively in African-American communities or started off in such communities and were adopted by mainstream America. An African American in the adolescent to young adult age group may use *She was all up in my grill* to mean "She was staring at me while I was talking to someone else" or "She was getting on my case, asking a series of questions." One reason people often define AAE as slang is that they make the link between African-American youth and hip-hop and thus take the language of hip-hop, which includes slang and innovative uses of words and phrases, to be AAE. Hip-hop artists may use AAE, but that cannot be determined just on the basis of their use of slang (e.g., "bling bling" to refer to expensive jewelry). In cases in which slang items in African-American communities cross over into the mainstream, African-American users generally abandon the old terms and coin new ones. Slang may be used in secular environments (e.g., *get your roll on,* "to cruise in an expensive car") and in religious contexts (e.g., *get your praise on,* "to praise God"). Other slang items are associated with regions, such as the New Orleans *whoadie* ("friend").

Some words used by people in African-American communities differ from slang in that they are long lived and used by speakers of all ages. *Kitchen* ("hair at the nape of the neck") and *saditty* ("conceited") are old words that are used by speakers of all age groups in AAE-speaking communities throughout the United States.

Because AAE differs from mainstream English and other English varieties in certain ways, questions have been raised about whether it is a separate language. Such questions have socio-political implications; however, it is clear that AAE has its own rules, and some of them overlap with rules of other varieties of English. From a linguistic standpoint, languages and dialects are equal in that they are rule-governed. (See Green, 2002, for further discussion of these patterns.)

Discourse and Rhetorical Strategies

Discourse and rhetorical strategies reflect the link between language and culture. Speakers of AAE understand rules

of putting sounds together to form words and words together to form sentences, but they also know that there are rules of speaking that have social and cultural relevance. Topics in this area range from discourse marked by indirectness (Morgan, 2002) to speech events such as toasting, or paying tribute to oneself. In some instances, speakers make their points by indirectness, and the message may carry social, cultural, and historical information. As is the case with the dozens, the goal may be to insult or signify on an interlocutor, so extreme exaggerations may be made about family members, in particular "yo mama." An adult may say, "Common sense ain't so common" in the presence of a group intending to aim the remark at a person who has not displayed good judgment. In one conversation, a speaker directed his comment at another male. The first male asked whether the other had ever gotten a manicure and went on to talk about all the benefits, including a finger massage. The second male looked at his fingers and replied, "No, I don't get my nails did." The second male intentionally used a common phrase *get my nails did* with the past (*did*), not past participle (*done*) form, to signify on the first male. He indirectly indicated that getting his nails done was inappropriate for him and that the first male was engaging in bourgeois behavior. The interlocutors knew that *get my nails did* was used by some African-American females to refer to getting their nails done professionally.

Language and gender has not been widely researched in the AAE speech community with respect to social practice or linguistic patterns. Women use AAE on all levels; they are prime users of language (Smitherman, 1995). Troutman (2001) notes that African-American women's language includes a range of features from the general African-American speech community, such as signifying, and from the African-American women's speech community, such as assertiveness, "smart talk," and "sweet talk."

Features of AAE in Popular Culture

Features of AAE are evident in popular culture. Patterns from the grammar of AAE occur in rap, so habitual *be* is used by some rappers. Also, some vocabulary items in rap make their way into the slang component of AAE. For instance, *bling bling* and *fo' shizzle* ("for sure") first occurred in rap and then made their way into speech of adolescents to young adults. In some cases, vocabulary items in rap undergo broadening such that their meanings move from specific to general. For instance, *gangsta* or *g* could be used in a greeting as a general term for a male without reference to gangster behavior. Two rhetorical strategies that are used in rap are boasting and toasting. Rappers use a braggadocio tone to boast about their verbal prowess and material possessions. As more women enter the rap scene, they are also noted for mastering these verbal strategies. Toasting is certainly not just a property of rap or a strategy used by males. Chaka Kahn's "I'm Every Woman" is a toast that showcases the artist's talents and power.

AAE in Literature and Media

Different strategies are used to portray characters in literature and the media as speaking AAE. Eye dialect can be used to make the characters' language look like dialect or to distance it from mainstream English. This spelling technique may represent an AAE sound pattern, as in *bof* ("both"), or it may not reflect any change in pronunciation, as in *enuf* ("enough"). Some authors use strategies other than spelling techniques in representing the language of AAE speakers. Zora Neale Hurston, a twentieth-century African-American author, used sound, sentence structure, vocabulary, and meaning patterns in AAE, and it is necessary to understand linguistic and cultural meaning to get the gist of her characters' messages. For instance, *come* followed a verb ending in *–ing* (e.g., "come pulling") indicates speaker indignation, so when John in *Jonah's Gourd Vine* says, "She de one come pullin' on me," he is communicating indignantly that the woman had the audacity to pull or grab him. In John Edgar Wideman's *Brothers and Keepers,* AAE is used in contrast to "good English." Wideman associates rhetorical strategies such as rapping and trash talking, a form of bragging, with AAE and its users. Also, habitual *be* is used by AAE speakers in that book.

One marker that is used to signal black speech in the media is habitual *be*. Although the use and meaning of habitual *be* are not well understood by members outside of the AAE-speaking community, it is well known that the marker has a prominent place in AAE. It is used frequently in *Fresh,* a film about the coming of age of a streetwise adolescent. At times, the marker is used ungrammatically—in ways in which it is not used in AAE—and this suggests that its mere presence is intended to signal black street speech. Also, slang items are used in the media in representations of AAE. They occur in Spike Lee's movie *Bamboozled,* especially in the speech of a prominent white executive who tries to convince those around him that he is legitimately linked to the African-American community. African-American characters in Malcolm D. Lee's film *The Best Man* use language that is appropriate for them. One character who arguably has "street" and worldly experience uses habitual *be*. The characters also use slang items such as *cheese* ("money") and *get her lil swerve on* ("for her to have fun") and rhetorical strategies such as signification.

AAE Speakers and Education

Since the 1960s the relationship between AAE and education has been addressed in the literature. Two important events, *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board* (1979) and the 1996 Oakland, California, Ebonics controversy, called attention to the effect of AAE on students' success in school. In *King,* the judge acknowledged that AAE served as a barrier to education when teachers did not take it into consideration in teaching its speakers. The media misrepresented the situation in Oakland; however, that school system recognized that AAE is rule-governed and that it is beneficial to make students aware of the difference between AAE and mainstream English. (See Baugh, 2000; Perry and Delpit, 1998; and Wolfram, 1999, for more discussion.)

One issue that continues to be in the forefront of study of AAE and education is the relationship between reading and use of AAE. This issue is crucial because of the low reading performance of many African-American youth. Some school systems have addressed this problem by implementing mainstream English proficiency programs that are used to help students distinguish AAE and classroom English and use them in appropriate settings. Understanding that AAE is systematic is useful in combating negative attitudes towards the variety and its users and teaching speakers more effectively.

See also Creole Languages of the Americas

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Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship

African economic practices in food production and distribution provided the basis for the initial entrepreneurial expression of black people in the United States. A vibrant commercial culture existed in western and central Africa during the transatlantic slave trade era. The economic structures of African societies were exceedingly sophisticated. Internal market systems proliferated, regulated by central authorities at the national, regional, and local levels. International trade—including trade in slaves—was controlled by kings and wealthy merchants, while local economies required the participation of men and women as producers, wholesalers, and retailers in markets overseen by guilds.

1619–1789

Africans who were brought to the United States as slaves first made use of the surplus commodities from their own provision grounds—land either allotted to them or surreptitiously appropriated by them for food growing and, occasionally, tobacco cultivation—to create local produce markets where goods were sold or bartered. These were the first businessventures that provided slaves with money. Successful slave entrepreneurs could earn enough money to purchase freedom for themselves and their families and subsequently acquire land. In mid-seventeenth-century Virginia the Anthony Johnson family secured its freedom and opened a commercial farm producing tobacco for both local and international markets. The Johnsons also had a number of indentured servants and slaves.

Although there were relatively few free blacks with holdings in land or slaves, their numbers did increase during the eighteenth century. In colonial cities African Americans were particularly active as entrepreneurs in the food-service industry, first as market people and then as

street food vendors and cook- and food-shop owners. In 1736, in Providence, R.I., Emanuel Manna Bernoon opened the first African-American catering establishment with the capital from his wife's illegal whiskey distillery business. One of the leading caterers of nearby Newport was "Dutchess" Quamino, a pastry maker who conducted her business in a small house. The catering activities of blacks in these towns placed Rhode Island at the center of African-American enterprise and contributed significantly to the state's early development as a resort area.

One of the most renowned innkeepers in eighteenth-century America was Samuel Fraunces (1722–1795). While there is some dispute whether Fraunces was of African descent, there is no doubt that he was a West Indian who migrated to New York City in the 1750s. His tavern and inn, which opened in 1761, earned him a reputation as a leading restaurateur with "the finest hostelry in Colonial America." Four years later Fraunces established Vaux-Hall (named after the famous English pleasure gardens), a resort with hanging gardens, waxworks, concerts, fireworks, and afternoon dances, which set the standard for pleasure gardens in colonial America; during the 1780s, when New York City was the nation's capital, Fraunces' Tavern in lower Manhattan served as a meeting place for the new government and was the site of George Washington's farewell to his troops.

A number of northern blacks were successful tradesmen or artisans. Peter Williams, Sr., who was born a slave in New York and helped found the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1800, was a successful tobacconist. With the profits from his earnings, Williams purchased his freedom in 1786. African-born Amos Fortune (1710–1801) purchased his freedom at age sixty and established a successful tannery business with a clientele that extended to New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Black entrepreneurs were also to be found at the American frontier. In 1779 Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable established a trading post on the site of what later became the city of Chicago. In addition to importing merchandise from the East, Du Sable owned a bake house, mill, dairy, smokehouse, and lumberyard. His mercantile activities serviced a wilderness hinterland with a two-hundred-mile radius.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, blacks developed enterprises in sports and music. In Newport, R.I., African-born Occramer Marycoo, later known as Newport Gardiner (1746-?), established a successful music school based on his reputation as a musician and composer. In 1780 Gardiner cofounded the African Union Society, which kept community records, found training and jobs for black youth, and supported members in time of financial need. Gardiner led thirty-two other African Americans to Liberia, with support from the American Colonization Society, in 1826. The most famous late-eighteenth-century black sports figure was boxer Bill Richmond (1763–1829), who achieved recognition in both America and England. Born a slave in New York, Richmond left for London during the Revolution, where his fame in boxing grew. Upon retiring from the ring, he established a popular inn in London known as the Horse and Dolphin and opened a boxing academy.

1790–1865

The entrepreneurial efforts of African Americans became increasingly pronounced in the early national and antebellum years. Throughout this period African-American entrepreneurs were prominent in crafts and personal services, which required limited capital for the development of enterprise. Blacks also established profitable businesses in transportation, manufacturing, personal services, catering, restaurants and taverns, real estate, finance, commercial farming, merchandising, mining, and construction. Unlike later black entrepreneurs, most antebellum businessmen had a consumer base that was primarily white. By the advent of the Civil War, at least twenty-one black entrepreneurs had accumulated holdings of over $100,000.

A prominent figure in transportation and commodity distribution was Paul Cuffe (1759–1817), a native of New Bedford, Mass., who founded a shipping line, owned several vessels, and held an interest in several others. Cuffe purchased his first ship in 1785 and had constructed a wharf and warehouse by 1800. His shipping enterprises extended from whaling to coastal and transatlantic trade vessels, which carried cargo and passengers to the West Indies, Africa, England, Norway, and Russia. Cuffe's most notable voyage was undertaken in 1815, when he transported thirty-eight African Americans to Sierra Leone at his own expense. He died two years later and left an estate valued at $20,000. Like Cuffe, the Philadelphia entrepreneur James Forten (1766–1842) actively supported the abolitionist movement and agitated for the rights of free blacks. Forten, whose estate was valued at $100,000, invented a new sail-making device and ran a factory that employed over forty workers, both white and black. Other antebellum inventors and manufacturers included Henry Boyd (c. 1840–1922) and William Ellison (1790–1861). Boyd, a native of Cincinnati, patented a bedstead and employed some thirty people in his bed-making factory. Slave-born William Ellison of South Carolina established a successful cotton gin factory after he was freed. He invented a device which substantially increased the gin's effi-

ciency, and his market extended to most of the South's cotton-producing regions. He invested his profits in slaves and real estate holdings.

Antebellum blacks became leading innovators in the personal-service and hair-care industry, establishing luxurious barbershops, bathhouses, and hotels. In Mississippi, where there were fewer than a thousand free blacks and over four hundred thousand slaves, slave-born William Johnson (1809–1851) purchased his freedom and founded a successful barbershop and bathhouse in Natchez. Johnson used his profits to develop other enterprises, such as money brokerage, real estate leasing, a toy shop, a drayage business, and agriculture. He owned slaves, some of whom worked in his barbershop and on his plantation, while others were hired out. The most successful hairdresser in the North was Joseph Cassey of Philadelphia, whose estate was valued at $75,000 in 1849. Cassey's wealth also included profits from moneylending enterprises.

Another prominent African American in the hair-care business and an early African-American philanthropist was Pierre Toussaint (1766–1853), a Haitian immigrant who became one of New York's leading hairdressers. Toussaint was generous in his support of the Roman Catholic church and the education of young men studying for the priesthood. During the 1840s the three Remond sisters, Cecilia, Maritcha, and Caroline Remond Putnam—members of a prominent African-American abolitionist and business family (their mother was a successful caterer)—established the exclusive Ladies Hair Works Salon in Salem, Mass. In addition to promoting the sale of Mrs. Putnam's Medicated Hair Tonic and other products both locally and nationally (through mail-order distribution), they opened the largest wig factory in the state.

Black entrepreneurs also flourished in the clothing industry, as African-American tailors and dressmakers became leading designers in American fashion. Perhaps best known was Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker, Elizabeth Keckley (1818–1907), who employed twenty seamstresses at the height of her enterprise.

During the antebellum period Philadelphia and New York became the leading centers for black catering businesses. The most prominent caterers of Philadelphia were Robert Bogle, Peter Augustine, the Prossers, Thomas Dorsey, Henry Minton, and Eugene Baptiste. Much of the $400,000 in property owned by free Philadelphia blacks in 1840 belonged to caterers. New York's Edward V. Clark was listed as a jeweler in the R. G. Dun mercantile credit records; yet he operated a successful catering business, which included lending out silver, crystal, and china for his catered dinners. In 1851 Clark's merchandise was valued at $5,000.

During the War of 1812, Thomas Downing established a famous oyster house and restaurant on Wall Street, which became a noted attraction for foreign tourists and the haunt of the elite in business and politics. In 1844 Thomas's son, George T. Downing (1819–1903), founded the Sea Girt Hotel, housing businesses on the first floor and luxury rooms above. Twelve years after the Civil War, Downing expanded his food-service business to Washington, D.C., where he was known as "the celebrated colored caterer."

Samuel T. Wilcox of Cincinnati, who established his business in 1850 and relied primarily on the Ohio and Mississippi riverboat trade, was the most successful black entrepreneur in wholesale food distribution. Before the Civil War Wilcox's annual sales exceeded $100,000; his estate was valued at $60,000. Solomon Humphries, a free black in Macon, Ga., owned a grocery valued at $20,000. In upstate New York William Goodridge developed a number of diverse enterprises, including a jewelry store, an oyster company, a printing company, a construction company, and a large retail merchandise store, while running a train on the Columbia Railroad. In 1848, Goodridge earned a reported business capital of $20,000 in addition to real estate holdings in both New York and Canada. In Virginia the slave Robert Gordan managed his owner's coal yard and established a side business whose profits amounted to somewhere around $15,000. After purchasing his freedom, Gordan used the capital to start a profitable coal business in Cincinnati and by 1860 reported annual earnings of $60,000 from coal and real estate profits.

The extractive industries proved to be a source of wealth for slave-born Stephen Smith (1797–1873), a Pennsylvania lumber and coal merchant, bank founder, and investor in real estate and stock who was known as "Black Sam." The R. G. Dun mercantile credit records list his wealth at $100,000 in 1850 and $500,000 in 1865. Smith, whose wife ran an oyster house, obtained his start in business as the manager of his owner's lumberyard. William Whipper (1804–1876), Smith's partner in the lumber business from 1835 to 1836, started out in the steam-scouring business. Whipper, who, like Smith, had extensive real estate holdings, was a cashier in the Philadelphia branch of the Freedman's Savings Bank from 1870 to 1874, with reported assets (registered in the 1870 census) amounting to $107,000. Both men were leaders in abolitionist activities and provided financial support to black institutions.

Eight of the wealthiest antebellum African-American entrepreneurs were slaveholders from Louisiana who owned large cotton and sugar plantations. Marie Metoyer

(1742–1816), also known as Coincoin, the daughter of African-born slaves, was freed in 1796 at the age of forty-six and acquired several hundred slaves as well as ten thousand acres of land. The Metoyer family's wealth amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. Urban black businessmen and women in Louisiana also owned productive slaves: CeCee McCarty of New Orleans, a merchant and money broker who owned a train depot and used her slaves as a traveling sales force, accumulated $155,000 from her business activities. Most of the wealthy black entrepreneurs lived in New Orleans: the Soulie Brothers, Albin and Bernard, accumulated over $500,000 as merchants and brokers; Francis La Croix, a tailor and real estate speculator, declared assets of $300,000; and Julien La Croix, a grocer and real estate speculator, reported assets totaling $250,000.

The developing frontier continued to provide entrepreneurial opportunities to African Americans. William Leidesdorff, a rancher and businessman in San Francisco during the last years of Mexican rule, died in debt in 1848; shortly afterward, gold was discovered on his property, and the value of his estate leaped to well over a million dollars. While still a slave, "Free" Frank McWorter (1777–1854) established a saltpeter factory in Kentucky during the War of 1812. Profits from the mining of crude niter, the principal ingredient used in the manufacture of gunpowder, enabled McWorter to purchase freedom for his wife in 1817 and for himself two years later. After he was freed, McWorter expanded his saltpeter enterprise and engaged in commercial farming and land speculation activities. In 1830 he moved to Illinois, where in 1836 he founded the town of New Philadelphia, the first town promoted by an African American, though both blacks and whites purchased New Philadelphia town lots. By the time he died, McWorter had been able to free a total of sixteen family members from slavery.

Antebellum blacks, both slave and free, profited significantly from the construction industry. The most resourceful slave entrepreneur in this field was Anthony Weston, who built rice mills and improved the performance of rice-thrashing machines. By 1860 Weston's property in real estate and slaves—purchased in his wife's name, since she was a free black—was valued at $40,075. Slave-born Horace King (1807–1885) worked as a covered-bridge builder in Alabama and Georgia. After being freed in 1846, King established a construction company that was eventually expanded to include construction projects for housing and commercial institutions. After King's death the company was renamed the King Brothers Construction Company and overseen by his sons and daughter.

Binga State Bank, Chicago, 1925. *Chicago's first black-owned bank was founded by entrepreneur Jesse Binga in 1908 and became incorporated as a state bank in 1921. The Image is from John Taitt's Souvenir of Negro Progress, 1779–1925.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

1865–1929

By the time the Civil War ended in 1865, over twenty-five hundred African-American businesses had been established by slaves and free blacks. Despite the difficulties that blacks experienced with regard to continuing social, political, and economic inequalities, the end of slavery did bring about a much wider range of prospects for budding African-American entrepreneurs. It was during this time that the first black millionaires emerged.

Health and beauty-aid enterprises, real estate speculation, and the development of financial institutions such as

Staff of the Dunbar National Bank, Harlem, c. 1920. *The black-owned bank was Harlem's first to be managed and staffed by African Americans.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

banks and insurance companies provided the basis for the wealth accumulated by many of the most successful black entrepreneurs. The food– and personal-service industries continued to be sources of income. Durham, N.C., and Atlanta, Ga., became the commercial centers for black America. The numbers of blacks involved in business steadily increased: In 1890, 31,000 blacks were engaged in business; their numbers rose to 40,455 in 1900 and to 74,424 in 1920.

Many leading black entrepreneurs of this era were either slave-born or had slave-born parents. Others had only limited formal educations and often started as unskilled workers or laborers. A number of African-American businesses were farm related. In 1900 Junius C. Graves, who owned five hundred acres of Kansas land valued at $100,000, became known as the Negro Potato King. Perhaps the most successful black entrepreneur of the Reconstruction era was Benjamin Montgomery (1819–1877), a slave of Joseph Davis (brother of the Confederate president, Jefferson Davis). In 1866 Joseph Davis sold his cotton plantations to Montgomery for $300,000. In addition to establishing a retail store on the Davis plantation in 1842, Montgomery had managed the Davis plantation from the 1850s on. In 1871 Dun gave Montgomery—who continued to run both enterprises with his sons as commission merchants—an A credit rating, ranking his family among the richest planter merchants and noting: "They are negroes, but negroes of unusual intelligence & extraordinary bus[iness] qualifications." The Montgomerys registered a net worth of $230,000 in 1874 but suffered severe setbacks several years later when crops failed and cotton prices declined. In 1881 the family was unable to make payments on interest and capital and the property reverted to the Davis family by auction. In 1887 Benjamin Montgomery's son Isaiah Montgomery migrated to Mississippi and founded the all-black town of Mound Bayou, where

black enterprise was encouraged and where, in 1904, Charles Banks (1873–1923) founded the Bank of Mound Bayou and the Mound Bayou Loan and Investment Company.

By the turn of the century, some of the most successful black entrepreneurs had already begun to discover a national black consumer market. In 1896 Richard H. Boyd, a Baptist minister (1843–1922), established the National Baptist Publishing House in Nashville, Tenn., with a printing plant that covered half a city block. In 1910 the annual company payroll amounted to $200,000. Under Boyd's management the publishing house earned $2.4 million in just under ten years and by 1920 was one of the largest black businesses in the nation. But Boyd did not limit his business enterprises to religious publishing. His holdings included the One Cent Savings and Bank Trust, which he founded in 1904 (and which became the Citizens Savings Bank and Trust in 1920), the *Nashville Globe* (established in 1905), the National Negro Doll Company (1909–1929), the National Baptist Church Supply Company, and the Union Transportation Company. Union Transportation owned five steam-driven buses and fourteen electric buses, carrying twenty passengers each. This company was founded in 1905 to support a black bus boycott in response to the segregated streetcar ordinance that Nashville had passed that year. By 1993 four generations of Boyds had continued their ownership of the publishing house and Citizens Bank; as of that year the assets of the bank alone totaled $118.3 million.

Urban real estate investment and speculation ventures continued to be the major source of wealth for some of the leading black entrepreneurs during this era. In New Orleans Thomy La Fon (1810–1893), whose real estate activities began before the Civil War, left an estate valued at over $700,000. In St. Louis slave-born James Thomas (1827–1913) used the profits from his exclusive barbershop to invest in real estate; his property holdings exceeded $400,000 by 1879. In Memphis slave-born Robert Church (1839–1912) accumulated over $700,000 from real estate investments and speculation. His first enterprises were a bar, gambling hall, and pawnshop. Church Park, which he developed on Beale Street as a recreation center, included an auditorium used for annual conventions of black organizations and a concert hall that featured black entertainers. Church also founded the Solvent Bank and Trust Company.

The late nineteenth century marked the founding of large-scale black banks and insurance companies. In 1899 slave-born John Merrick (1859–1919) of Durham founded the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Company, which as of 1993 still ranked first on *Black Enterprise*'s list of black-owned insurance companies with assets of nearly $218 million. Merrick had little formal education and was a barber by trade; his initial business activities included a chain of barbershops as well as real estate investments. He also founded a land company, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank (1907), and the Durham Textile Mill. Indeed, while Chicago and New York were only emerging as important centers of African-American enterprise in the early decades of the twentieth century, Durham's black business district had come to be known as the Capital of the Black Middle-Class. "At the turn of the century," John Sibley Butler noted, "commentators were as excited about North Carolina as they are today about the Cuban-American experience in Miami." Atlanta was also rapidly rising to prominence as a center for black business. Slave-born Alonzo Franklin Herndon (1858–1927), who founded the Atlanta Life Insurance Company in 1905, left an estate valued at more than $500,000. Herndon's real estate investments and lavishly appointed barbershops—which catered to an elite white clientele—provided profits for the start-up and expansion of Atlanta Life.

In some cases, the overly rapid expansion of business enterprises led to bankruptcy. Atlanta businessman Edward Perry (1873–1929) established the Standard Life Insurance Company in 1913 and the Citizens Trust Bank in 1921. With the income from his Service Realty Company and Service Engineering and Construction Company, both founded in the 1920s, Perry purchased land on Atlanta's west side and constructed some five hundred homes. By 1925 he had established eleven different businesses together valued at $11 million and providing employment for twenty-five hundred people. Perry lost all of his holdings within four years. His contemporaries blamed his bankruptcy on imprudent expansion, limited capital reserves, and injudicious business decisions. An insurance company founder and winner of the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1927, Anthony Overton (1865–1945) was another black businessman whose success in the early decades of the century was followed by bankruptcy in the depression years.

Real estate, an enterprise crucial to the growth of northern black communities, offered similar opportunities for rapid expansion, sometimes with disastrous results. Jesse Binga (1865–1950) began his real estate operations on the south side of Chicago in 1905. Three years later he founded the first black-owned bank in the North, which in 1921 became the Binga State Bank. In 1929 he constructed the five-story Binga Arcade to revitalize the deteriorating black business district. Later that year, when his bank failed, Binga's wealth was assesssed at more than $400,000; he was convicted of fraudulent bank practices

in 1933 and spent three years in jail. Like Herman Perry and James Thomas, Binga spent the rest of his life in poverty and obscurity. The same fate befell Harlem's Phillip A. Payton, Jr. (1876–1917), who organized a consortium of black investors to found the Afro-American Realty Company in 1904. Within two years the company controlled $690,000 in rental properties. Payton was largely responsible for opening Harlem as a community to African Americans; subsequently, however, his stockholders charged him with fraudulent practices, and he went bankrupt.

Hair and beauty care, a less risky industry, proved especially profitable for black entrepreneurs. Annie M. Turnbo-Malone (1869–1957), founder of the Poro Company (1900) and a pioneer in the manufacture of hair- and skin-care products, is considered the first self-made American female millionaire. She began her business in Lovejoy, Ill., and eventually expanded to St. Louis, where she built a five-story manufacturing plant in 1917. The plant housed Poro College, a beauty school with branches in most major cities. In 1930 Turnbo-Malone moved her operations to Chicago and purchased a square city block on the South Side. She franchised her operations and, with national and international markets, reportedly provided employment opportunities for some seventy-five thousand people.

C. J. Sarah Breedlove Walker (1867–1919) was a Poro agent before she initiated her own hair-care products and cosmetics business in St. Louis in 1905. The "Walker system" for hair included an improved steel hot comb that revolutionized hair straightening for black women. The business strategies of the company—which employed over five thousand black women as agents who disseminated information on the Walker hair-care system in a marketing and employee-incentive program that utilized a national and international network of marketing consultants—presaged the practices of modern cosmetics firms.

The World War I era also witnessed the growth of black-owned publishing businesses. In 1905 Robert Abbott (1870–1940) founded the *Chicago Defender*, the first black newspaper with a mass circulation. The *Defender* used sensationalized news coverage to attract a large audience and was outspoken in its condemnation of racial injustice. By 1920 it had a circulation of over 200,000, with national circulation exceeding local sales. At Abbott's death the *Defender* was valued at $300,000. Abbott's successor, his nephew John H. Sengstacke, went on to establish Sengstacke Enterprises, which, with the *Defender* and ten other papers, became the largest black newspaper chain in America.

As media opportunities grew, African Americans became increasingly visible in the entertainment industry. One of the most successful black entrepreneurs in this field was Harry Herbert Pace (1884–1943). After founding Pace and Handy Music (1917), a sheet music company whose publications included W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues," he founded the New York-based Black Swan Record Company (1921), the first record company owned by an African American. Black Swan's first success was Ethel Waters's "Oh Daddy" in 1921, which sold 600,000 copies in six months. Pace, who wanted to tap a national market for his records, refused to record Bessie Smith because he thought her music "too colored." By 1923 Black Swan was cutting six thousand records a day. Pace sold the company, at a hefty profit, to Paramount later that year. In addition, Pace's creative management and financial strategies promoted the growth of several black financial institutions, including Robert Church's Memphis Solvent Savings Bank (whose assets he increased from $50,000 to $600,000 in the years from 1907 to 1911) and Herman Edward Perry's Standard Life Insurance Company. In 1929 Pace engineered the merger of three northern black insurance companies to form Supreme Liberty Life Insurance.

Even as African-American entrepreneurs were branching out into new lines of business, many remained active in the catering and hotel fields. James Wormley (1819–1884), a caterer and restaurateur who built the five-storied Wormley's Hotel (1871) in Washington, D.C., ranked among the most fashionable black hoteliers. Wormley's hotel was patronized by leading politicians and foreign dignitaries, and he left an estate exceeding $100,000 in assets. In Philadelphia the tradition of catering, long an African-American resource, reached a pinnacle with the Dutrieulle family. Their catering business, established by Peter Dutrieulle (1838–1916) in 1873, lasted for almost a century, flourishing under the management of his son Albert (1877–1974) until 1967.

African Americans also profited in new areas of the food industry. C. H. James & Company of Charleston, W.V., a wholesale food processing and distribution enterprise founded in 1883, lasted for four generations of family ownership. From the time of its inception, the company's suppliers and buyers were primarily white; it was initially headed by Charles Howell James (1862–1929) and included a traveling dry goods retail operation. However, once the family decided to abandon the retail operation (in 1916) and limit the enterprise solely to the distribution of wholesale produce, the profits escalated to over $350,000. After a brief period of bankruptcy—caused by the stock market crash of 1929—the company was resuscitated by Edward Lawrence James, Sr. (1893–1967), and began to show a profit by the end of the 1930s. The company's survival was due largely to innovations in wholesale food dis-

The Motown Museum. *Working from his home on West Grand Boulevard in Detroit, pictured here, entrepreneur Berry Gordy formed The Motown Record Company in 1959. By the end of the following decade, Motown Records had grown to become the largest independent record label in the world.* LAYNE KENNEDY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tribution methods. Now headed by Charles H. James III (1959–), it remains one of the most successful black businesses in the country.

Up to the onset of the Great Depression, black entrepreneurial efforts were concentrated primarily on the service industry, since in most cases African Americans could not gain access to the capital markets and financial resources needed for developing industrial enterprises. The few blacks who attempted to capitalize on the demand for such modern industries as auto manufactures, movie production, and airline companies did not succeed. Nevertheless, the Great Migration of the early twentieth century caused a dramatic rise in northern urban black populations, and entrepreneurs were quick to seize the opportunities afforded by a new and rapidly expanding African-American consumer base. This growth was not matched

in the South, where Jim Crow laws and societal racist practices restricted black enterprise to the same, increasingly depleted markets.

1930–1963

During the Great Depression the number of black businesses declined from 103,881 in 1930 to 87,475 in 1940. Among the few who prospered in those years was Texan Hobart T. Taylor, Sr., who used family money from farm property to start a cab company in 1931. The company continued to flourish during World War II, and Taylor added considerably to his wealth by investing the proceeds in rural and urban real estate. By the 1970s Taylor's assets were valued at approximately $5 million.

The food-processing industries remained a fairly stable resource for black entrepreneurs before, during, and after World War II. In the late 1930s California businessman Milton Earl Grant started companies in rubbish hauling and hog raising. In 1947 he founded the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association in Los Angeles. By 1948 Grant had grossed some $200,000 from the sale of hogs; he invested the profits in real estate, and by 1970 his holdings exceeded more than $1.5 million. In Buffalo, N.Y., Cornelius Ford founded the C. E. Ford Company, a cattle brokerage firm, during the 1920s. Ford's business survived the depression and in the 1950s was yielding over $1 million annually from livestock trade and sales. His company was one of the chief buyers for Armour and Company for some twenty-five years. In addition, Ford became president of the Buffalo Livestock Exchange (the fifth largest in the nation), speculated in the Canadian cattle market, and leased railroad yards from New York Central.

George McDermmod, a potato chip maker and chief executive officer of Community Essentials, established a manufacturing plant in Crescent City, Ill., and a distribution plant in Detroit during the 1940s. As of 1950 McDermmod was selling his products to fourteen hundred dealers in nine states with gross business receipts amounting to over $100,000 annually. In Chicago Kit Baldwin established an ice-cream company that catered primarily to the black community and was reporting annual business receipts of $75,000 by the late 1940s. During this same period Detroit entrepreneur Sydney Barthwell established a drugstore chain of nine stores and manufactured ice cream. In 1948 Barthwell reported a staff of eighty full-time employees and gross business receipts in excess of $1.5 million.

The hair-care and cosmetic-manufacturing business also continued to attract black entrepreneurs. In Harlem Rose Morgan and Olivia Clark established the Rose Meta House of Beauty in 1947. Three years later they were earning $3 million from the sale of cosmetics and hair-care products in national stores and via international mail. Morgan and Clark's chain of beauty shops proliferated in major American cities as well as in Monrovia, Liberia; Cayenne, British Guiana; Puerto Rico; Cuba; and Jamaica. In New York City alone, their three shops employed three hundred people.

One of the most successful and wealthiest black entrepreneurs of the World War II era was S. B. Fuller (1905–1988), whose Chicago business empire, Fuller Products, comprised health and beauty aids as well as cleaning products and real estate. Fuller's many investments included the famous Regal Theater, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Fuller Guarantee Corporation, the Fuller Department Store, and various livestock operations. In 1947 he secretly purchased a cosmetic factory owned and operated by whites. By 1960 Fuller, who had begun his career in 1935 as a door-to-door salesman, reported a payroll of five thousand employees, white and black, and a three-hundred-product line that brought in over $10 million in sales. However, when Fuller's ownership of the cosmetic factory—the products of which were tailored to the needs of southern white consumers—was discovered in the early 1960s, his cosmetics were boycotted by whites, and he was unable to raise sufficient capital to offset his loses. In 1964 the SEC charged Fuller with the sale of unregistered securities and forced him to pay $1.5 million to his creditors. Although Fuller Products was resurrected from bankruptcy in 1972, it never recovered as a major black business.

Another financier who rose to prominence after the depression was Arthur George Gaston (1892–1996) of Birmingham, Ala. Gaston's business activities began with the founding of a burial society, which he incorporated in 1932 as the Booker T. Washington Insurance Company. Seven years later, with the proceeds from life and health insurance sales, Gaston established the Booker T. Washington Business College, the Gaston Motel, and the Gaston Construction Company. In 1952 he expanded his holdings with the Vulcan Realty and Investment Corporation, a real estate firm that financed the construction of office and apartment buildings, as well as the development of housing subdivisions. Gaston's Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association—ranked seventeenth on the 1993 *Black Enterprise* list of financial companies—was founded in 1957. Additional enterprises included Booker T. Washington Broadcasting and a soft-drink bottling company. In 1987 Gaston sold ownership of his insurance, radio, and construction companies to the employees. In 1993 the Booker T. Washington Insurance Company ranked sixth on the *Black Enterprise* list of insurance companies, with assets over $43 million.

Robert L. Johnson. *In 1979, entrepreneur Johnson founded Black Entertainment Television (BET). BET became the first black-controlled company to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 1991. By the end of that decade, the company had become one of the largest minority-owned businesses in the United States.* AP/WIDE WORLD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The 1940s and 1950s witnessed an increase in manufacturing opportunities for African-American entrepreneurs. The Grimes Oil Company of Boston, a petroleum products distributor, was founded in 1940 by Calvin M. Grimes; as of 1993, its sales had reached $37 million. In 1949 Dempsey Travis founded the H. G. Parks Sausage Company in Baltimore. Subsequently, in 1990, Travis initiated the development of a middle-class townhouse project on Chicago's South Side.

1964–2005

The 1960s marked the emergence of a national network of large black businesses, many of which were founded on minute initial capital outlays. Johnson Publications began in 1942 with an investment of $250; the H. J. Russell Construction Company began in 1952 with a $150 truck; Berry Gordy started Motown for $700 in 1958. As the civil rights movement gathered momentum in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it became easier for blacks to obtain more substantial business financing; however, undercapitalized joint ventures persisted as a major method in the founding and development of new enterprises by African-American entrepreneurs. With few exceptions enterprises founded by black entrepreneurs remain relatively small private or family-owned companies. As of 2005 only seventeen of the *Black Enterprise* top 100 industrial/service businesses employed more than a thousand people.

In 1964, for the first time in the history of this country, the federal government took steps to provide assistance to black entrepreneurs by creating the Office of Minority Business Enterprises (OMBE), a division of the Small Business Administration (SBA), which was overseen in turn by the Department of Commerce. In 1969 President Richard M. Nixon issued executive order no. 11458, calling for the "strengthening of minority business enterprise"; by 1976 surveys showed that over two-thirds of the top black businesses had been started with support from

the SBA. However, under Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush progress toward business parity for blacks was visibly slowed.

While African-American businesses have continued to tap an African-American consumer market, black entrepreneurs have slowly expanded sales to include mainstream national and international markets. One ironic consequence of black economic success has been that some of the most profitable black-owned companies—such as Johnson Products and Motown Records—have since been acquired by larger, white-owned organizations. The first black company to have its stock publicly traded was the Johnson Products Company, which was founded by George E. Johnson (1927-) in 1954; it was listed for the first time on the American Stock Exchange in 1969. Johnson Products greatly increased its sales when it introduced a non-lye-based hair relaxer, Ultra-Sheen (developed by George Johnson), into the market in 1966. During the late 1960s Johnson developed another best-selling hair product, Afro-Sheen, in response to the newly popular Afro hair style; so successful were these and other items that his company controlled the market in black hair products throughout the mid–1960s and into the early 1970s. By the mid–1970s, however, a series of setbacks—mostly in the form of competition from new black- and white-owned companies—cost Johnson the leading market share; in 1989 he lost control of the company to his ex-wife, Joan B. Johnson, who then sold Johnson Products to IVAX for $67 million dollars in 1993. In its final year as a black company, Johnson Products ranked twentieth in the *Black Enterprise* top 100 of 1992, registering $46.2 million in sales.

The most prominent rival for Johnson Products was Edward G. Gardner's (1925-) Soft Sheen Products, established in 1964. Soft Sheen's most successful product, Care Free Curl, was introduced in 1979. Like Johnson, Gardner also had to compete with white companies—most notably Revlon and Alberto Culver—which controlled 50 percent of a $1 billion black hair-care market in 1988. By this time black enterprises were seriously theatened with losing the market to white corporations that had only recently entered the field. Black manufacturers launched an aggressive campaign to prevent white companies from gaining control and received support from Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, as well as from John H. Johnson, publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines, and *Essence* founder Edward T. Lewis, both of whom refused to accept advertisements from white-owned companies in their publications. The white cosmetic giants escalated their strategies; by 1993 only five of the nineteen cosmetic companies in the black hair-care market were African-American owned. Black hair-care products remain an extremely profitable field, but in 2005 only Bronner Brothers cracked the *Black Enterprise* top 100 industrial/service companies list, at seventy-third.

Berry Gordy's company, Motown Records, a subsidiary of Motown Industries, was the largest and most successful African-American enterprise in the entertainment field and the first to profit from the introduction of black music into the mainstream consumer market. Gordy's eight record labels, which recorded such groups as the Supremes and the Temptations, produced numerous hits on the pop and R&B charts. Almost from its inception Motown included Motown Productions, Hitsville, and the music publishing company Jobete. Most of Motown's holdings were sold to MCA Records for $61 million in 1988, and the company's listing was removed from *Black Enterprise.*

Motown's success served as a catalyst for African-American participation in the entertainment industry. Dick Griffey Productions, a concert-promotion and record company founded in 1975, has continued to flourish in recent years. Its founder, Dick Griffey (1943–) expanded into international markets by investing the company's proceeds in the African Development Public Investment Corporation, as well as in an African commodities and air-charter service, which he founded in 1985. In 2000 Dick Griffey Productions ranked forty-eighth on *Black Enterprise*'s listing with sales of $61 million, while in 1993 the African Development Corporation, registered sales of $57.8 million and ranked twenty-second.

Perhaps the most successful African-American entrepreneur of the postwar era was John H. Johnson (1918–), the owner of Johnson Publications. Johnson's business empire extends to various media corporations, Fashion Fair (a cosmetic company), radio stations, and television production companies. Founded in the 1970s, Fashion Fair has become the largest black-owned cosmetic company of the 1990s.

Black enterprise was greatly stimulated by an increasingly diversified African-American reading audience. Essence Communications, the parent company of *Essence,* a black woman's magazine, was founded in 1970 by four African-American men. Edward T. Lewis (1940–), the company's publisher and CEO, also established a direct-mail catalogue business before joining with J. Bruce Llewellyn and Percy Sutton in the purchase of an American Broadcasting Company (ABC) affiliate TV station in Brooklyn. In 1993 Essence Communications reported $71.1 million in sales.

In 1970 Earl G. Graves (1935–) launched *Black Enterprise,* a publication designed to address African-American interests in business and to report on black economic de-

velopment. Soon afterward, Graves expanded his business interests by acquiring both a marketing and research company and EGG Dallas Broadcasting. In 1990 he joined Earvin "Magic" Johnson in purchasing the Washington, D.C., Pepsi-Cola franchise, of which Graves was CEO. In 1998, they sold the franchise back to the parent company. Earl G. Graves, Limited, ranked sixty-fourth on the *Black Enterprise* listing in 2005, with sales of $57.8 million.

By the 1970s black entrepreneurs had managed to gain access to capital markets and were able to invest their wealth in a variety of business ventures. Some of the earliest black advertising agencies included the Chicago-based Proctor & Gardner Advertising, founded in 1970 by Barbara Gardner Proctor (1932-), and Burrell Communications Group, founded by Thomas J. Burrell (1939-) in 1971. In 2005 Burrell's client list included such megafirms as Coca-Cola, McDonalds, and Sears and registered assets in excess of $200 million.

One of the most promising businessmen to emerge during this period was New Yorker J. Bruce Llewellyn (1927–), who purchased FEDCO Foods Corporation, a Bronx chain of ten supermarkets, for $3 million. Llewellyn sold FEDCO for $20 million in 1984; the next year he joined basketball star Julius Erving and actor Bill Cosby in purchasing the Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Company. Four years later Llewellyn bought Garden State Cable Television. By 1993 Garden State's assets registered $96 million. In 2005, Philadelphia Coca-Cola reported sales of $450 million, making it the sixth most profitable company on the *Black Enterprise* top 100 list.

Entertainment entrepreneur Percy E. Sutton (1920–) pursued a political career (he was Manhattan borough president for several years) in addition to founding the Inner City Broadcasting Company in 1970. Sutton, who controlled the Inner City Cable and the Apollo Theater Group, expanded his interests with Percy Sutton International, which has built manufacturing plants in such countries as Nigeria. In 1989 Sutton estimated his net worth at $170 million.

Black participation increased significantly in the area of finance. Perhaps the most profitable business enterprise was the TLC Group, established by securities lawyer Reginald Lewis (1942–1993). Lewis purchased the McCall Pattern Company for $1 million in cash and $24 million in borrowed money; four years later he sold the company for $63 million. Aided by financing from Manufacturers Hanover Trust and Drexel Burnham Lambert, he then engineered a $985 million leveraged buyout of Beatrice International Companies, a large multinational corporation. Beatrice became the first billion-dollar black company, and in 1993 ranked first on the *Black Enterprise* top 100 list with $1.7 billion in sales (five times as much as the second company on the list). At its peak in 1996, TLC Beatrice had sales of $2.2 billion and was number 512 on *Fortune* magazine's list of 1,000 largest companies.

Construction and land development executive Herman J. Russell (1930–), founder and CEO of H. J. Russell & Company of Atlanta, Ga., started out in 1952 as the owner of the H. J. Russell Plastering Company, a small private business. In 1959, Russell established the H. J. Russell Construction Company, which specialized in building single-family homes and duplexes. His involvement in large-scale private-sector commercial projects began in 1969, when he was commissioned to construct the thirty-four story Equitable Life Assurance Building in Atlanta. In the 1970s Russell obtained financing from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in order to construct twenty-nine housing projects with four thousand units for low- and middle-income families, while he maintained ownership of the properties. Other large-scale construction projects followed: the Atlanta Stadium, the Atlanta City Hall Complex, the Martin Luther King Community Center, and the Carter Presidential Center. In joint-venture projects with white construction companies, Russell built the parking deck for Atlanta's Hartsfield Airport, the Georgia Pacific fifty-two-story office building, and the addition to the Atlanta Merchandise Mart. He also joined with another African-American-owned construction company, C. D. Moody Construction, to place the winning bid for the $209 million Olympic Stadium contract in Atlanta for the 1996 games.

Russell has expanded his conglomerate to include many diverse businesses. H. J. Russell & Company is the parent company of several subsidiary firms, including Williams-Russell and Johnson, an engineering, architecture, and construction management firm. Russell also owns Russell-Rowe Communications, an ABC affiliate in Macon, Ga. In addition, the City Beverage Company and the Concessions International Corporation, which oversees food concessions in several major airports, are owned by Russell. In 1972 he secured the management rights to Atlanta's Omni sports-convention complex and a 10 percent ownership share of the National Basketball Association's Atlanta Hawks, anticipating by almost two decades the 37.5 percent interest, $8 million purchase of the Denver Nuggets by black entrepreneurs Bertram Lee and Peter Bynoe (1989).

During the past three decades many black athletes and entertainers have assumed entrepreneurial management positions by using their million-dollar salaries to develop new enterprises both inside and outside the sports and entertainment industries. For example, former Green

Bay Packer football player Willie D. Davis (1934–) went on to earn an M.B.A. from the University of Chicago and found his own business, Willie Davis Distributing Company, in 1970. He sold the highly successful company (averaging annual sales of $25 million) in the late 1980s. Among Davis's multimillion-dollar enterprises are part ownership of five radio stations, significant shares in several companies, and the Alliance Bank of Culver City, Calif. Another successful athlete was football star Gale Sayers, who founded Crest Computer Supply in 1984, and by 1993 became the owner of a company whose annual sales amounted to $43 million. In 1999, George Foreman, boxer turned entrepreneur, put his name on a grill made by Salton. Salton purchased the rights to use his name for $127.5 million, plus $10 million in stock. By 2005, over 60 million George Foreman Grills were sold. Foreman helps to market and sell the grills and has also started a line of clothing and cleaning products.

One of the few very successful female entertainment entrepreneurs is television talk-show host Oprah Winfrey. In 1992 Winfrey became the highest paid U.S. entertainer, with earnings of $98 million. She has amassed a fortune of more than $250 million by controlling syndication of her talk show and founding the Harpo Production Company, a movie investment firm. In 2005, Harpo Inc. had $275 million in sales.

Another successful entrepreneur in the entertainment field is Robert Johnson (1946–), founder and CEO of Black Entertainment Television (BET). Johnson knew that the power of television could be a useful tool in promoting black businesses and culture. After graduating from Princeton University with a master's degree in public administration, Johnson worked as a lobbyist for the National Cable Television Association. In 1978, he began developing his plan to create the first cable television network aimed at African Americans. BET launched in January of 1980, eleven years later it became the first black-controlled company listed on the New York Stock Exchange. BET is now a number one brand in African-American media, reaching more than 65 million U.S. homes. Johnson also acquired the Charlotte Bobcats (an NBA expansion franchise) in 2004, making him the first African American to be principal owner of a major-league sports franchise.

Naomi Sims (1949–), one of America's first successful black models, capitalized on the black hair-care-product market by designing and manufacturing wigs that approximated the hair texture of black women. In 1973 she established the Naomi Sims Collection. With sales of $5 million the first year, Sims expanded distribution to include an international market. A cosmetic line, Naomi Sims Beauty Products, Limited, was introduced in 1986, and by 1988 sales from those products exceeded $5 million.

Historically, black entrepreneurs have participated in the clothing industry as tailors and dressmakers but seldom as manufacturers of mass apparel. In 1989 Carl Jones (1955–) formed the first African-American-owned clothing manufacturing firm, the Los Angeles-based Threads 4 Life Corporation, doing business as Cross Colours. Cross Colours, which reported sales of $93 million in 1993, capitalized on the urban hip-hop, Afrocentric focus in dress, which came to prominence in the early 1990s. The company now has five clothing lines, including Cross Colour Classics, a line tailored to older and more conservative buyers. Jones's innovative Cross Colours Home, a home-furnishing line in which African fabrics and African-designed bed and table linens are featured prominently, is sold in Marshall Fields, I. Magnin, and Macy's

New Jersey-based H. F. Henderson Industries, founded in 1954 by Henry F. Henderson (1928–), is an example of black participation in America's high-tech industries. Henderson specializes in automatic weighing systems, although most of the revenue for the company—which earned a reported $25.7 million in 1993—comes from defense contracts for the design and manufacture of control panels for the U.S. military. He began expanding his business in the 1970s with the Small Business Association's 8(a) program and a $125 million government contract; by the mid–1980s government contracts amounted to 50 percent of his business, with the private domestic sector accounting for 25 percent and the remaining 25 percent coming from an international market that included the People's Republic of China, Japan, Canada, Spain, and England.

Increasingly, black entrepreneurs are tapping markets on a global scale. Henderson, Sutton, Griffey, and George H. Johnson have all found international markets for their products. Soft Sheen's global expansion has taken place under the leadership of Edward G. Gardner's son, Gary, who purchased Britain's black-owned Dyke and Dryden, an import and manufacturing company that specializes in the distribution—primarily in Africa—of black personal-care products. Soft Sheen West Indies was also established in Jamaica. In the 1960s and '70s entrepreneur Jake Simmons Jr. (1901–1981), had used his earnings from the southwestern petroleum industry to invest in oil leases in West Africa.

Despite the development of multimillion-dollar businesses by African-American entrepreneurs, black business-participation rates remain low; only 4 percent of all companies in the United States are black owned. Publicly traded black companies remain few; indeed, only sixteen

black companies in the United States (and twenty-one in the Caribbean) have taken this route. In 1971 Parks Sausage of Baltimore went public; it was taken over by a white private investment group in 1977 but was reacquired by the former black owners in 1980. In 1993 its sales reached almost $23 million. Robert Johnson, the founder of the Black Entertainment Channel, placed his company in public trading in order to expand his holdings. "It's time for African-Americans to think of company control in terms other than just percentage of black ownership," Johnson explained. "We should start thinking in terms of black control through the creation of value."

The future of privately held black businesses in the early twenty first century remains unclear, though there are some promising statistics. There are one million African American owned businesses in the United States, which account for over $100 billion in annual sales. Instead of the traditionally owned businesses in the service sector, such as beauty shops, the fastest growing sectors are now legal services, real estate, and business services. According to U.S. Census figures, between 1975 and 1995, the number of black professionals, technicians, administrators and managers nearly tripled, and the number of black college graduates doubled.

It has been argued that in the 1990s and 2000s access to capital and strategic alliances has led some black-owned companies to either go public or become amalgamated within larger, interracial concerns. Whether exclusive black ownership of black enterprises will remain central to the black economy is one of many questions black entrepreneurship will face.

See also Abbott, Robert Sengstacke; Black Entertainment Television (BET); *Chicago Defender*; Cuffe, Paul; Du Sable, Jean Baptiste Pointe; Economic Condition, U.S.; Forten, James; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Gordy, Berry; Mound Bayou, Mississippi; North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; *Pittsburgh Courier*; Toussaint, Pierre; Walker, Madam C. J.; Winfrey, Oprah; Women Traders of the Caribbean

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JULIET E. K. WALKER (1996)
Updated by publisher

Environmental Racism

Environmental racism—defined as "any environmental policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color" by Robert Kuehn in his article titled "A Taxonomy of Environmental Justice"—became identified as a significant problem for blacks and other people of color during the last decades of the twentieth century. Most activists and many academics use the terms *environmental racism* and *environmental injustice* interchangeably. Some government agencies and industry groups are likely to employ the term *environmental equity*, a term coined by a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) working group, because they believe it lends itself most readily to scientific risk analysis and avoids the more charged and controversial terms *racism* and *justice*.

Focused protests in black neighborhoods against environmental pollution began during the late 1970s. The phrase *environmental racism* was first documented in 1982 when African-American protesters, led by Rev. Walter Fauntroy (b. 1933) and Rev. Benjamin Chavis (b. 1948), captured national media attention by launching mass demonstrations against the proposed construction of a landfill for highly toxic PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls) in the very poor, and predominantly black, Warren County, North Carolina. Fauntroy, the District of Columbia delegate to Congress in 1982, commissioned a U.S. General Accounting Office study, which found that three of the four commercial hazardous waste facilities in EPA Region 4 (which includes North Carolina) were in African-American areas, while the fourth was in a low-income area.

Meanwhile, the issue of environmental racism was receiving the attention of scholars, including Robert Bullard, a pioneer in the environmental justice movement. Bullard's 1983 research found that twenty-one of Houston's twenty-five solid-waste facilities were located in predominantly African-American neighborhoods, even though African Americans made up only twenty-eight percent of the city's population in 1980. In 1987 the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ published an influential national study that documented a close and significant relationship between race and the location of commercial hazardous waste facilities and uncontrolled toxic waste sites. This report, titled, "Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States," concluded that race was consistently the most significant variable in the location of these sites.

Many black communities throughout the United States struggled in the 1980s and 1990s against the placement of toxic waste plants and other polluting facilities close to their neighborhoods. Such struggles occurred in South Central Los Angeles; Alsen, Louisiana; Richmond, California; Halifax, Virginia; and Chester, Pennsylvania. In Africa, the Ogoni people battled to stop the environmental injustice inherent in Shell Oil's exploration activities in Nigeria.

Perhaps, the movement against environmental racism has gained the most prominence within the United States due to the work of certain key leaders of the environmental justice movement. Armed with studies documenting the disproportionate impact of pollution on low-income communities of color, these black community leaders and academics pressured President Bill Clinton to sign in early 1994 the Executive Order on Environmental Justice, which requires all federal agencies to "make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations." Since 1994, however, environmental justice activists have been bitterly disappointed with the performance

of the federal government with respect to both the letter and intent of the Executive Order. Furthermore, while several state governments have acknowledged the problem of environmental injustice and launched initiatives to combat it, most activists have been disappointed with the results. Similarly, legal challenges to environmental decision-making in federal government agencies based on racial discrimination or environmental injustice have been unsuccessful. Therefore, most activists and students of the struggle against environmental racism in the early twenty-first century would likely argue that mobilizing residents to be more powerful participants in environmental decision-making forums is the most effective strategy for combating this problem.

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JAMES STERLING HOYTE (2005)

Episcopalians

Although the first African-American Episcopal Church, St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, was consecrated on July 29, 1794, with Absalom Jones as the first priest, the history of the African-American affiliation with the Episcopal Church began with the baptism of African slave children in seventeenth-century Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, where most eastern seaboard planters belonged to the Church of England. Whereas some devout masters baptized slave children, others, suspecting that Christianity might legally or morally undermine their slaves' subordinate status, expressed indifference to religious training for slaves and resisted slave conversions. In spite of resistance in the colonies, several Anglican missionaries began training and baptizing slaves as early as 1695. The Church of England Christianized slaves and Native Americans through the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which was founded in 1701. The first schools for blacks in the colonies were organized by the SPG in the early eighteenth century. Through the SPG, the Church of England became the first church to take Christianity to slaves in the British North American colonies and became the earliest denomination to train blacks to be missionaries.

During the colonial period the Church of England and the SPG established Sunday schools and catechetical schools for missionary training and adult education of slaves. Since baptism and religious instruction depended upon the masters' and mistresses' attitude, SPG efforts to induce masters to send slaves to regular catechetical instructions met with inconsistent results. Whereas some masters encouraged slave baptism and conversion, many other colonists and Anglican ministers continued to ignore the religious lives of slaves throughout the colonial period. Other colonists apprehensively questioned SPG activities, rejected slave presence at the communion table, and doubted the qualifications of African Americans for Christian salvation and church participation.

Although at mid-century the Church of England carried out the most extensive work of any denomination among slaves in the southern colonies, the American Revolution disrupted the church's work and led to the complete reorganization of the Church of England in America into a separate denomination, the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, in 1787. In addition to losing the momentum and experience of seven decades of work among slaves, the church lost the most influential catalyst for bringing slaves into the Episcopal Church: the large number of Anglican southern aristocrats who were British sympathizers and loyalists. This contributed to the decay and disestablishment of the church in the southern states and the subsequent decline of its membership and the rise of the Baptists and Methodists.

Whereas in the colonial period black participation in the Anglican Church had been centered among slaves in eastern seaboard cities and on plantations, antebellum black Episcopalians were predominantly free blacks living in northern cities who saw themselves as role models of black achievement, activism, and independence for other blacks, and as members of a higher social class, differentiated from the masses of illiterate, rural slaves.

Given the identification of the Episcopal Church with the middle and upper classes, the bulk of the antebellum free black community rejected the Episcopal Church in favor of affiliation with the Methodists and Baptists, whose egalitarian message and ease of conversion offered greater access to membership and the ministry. Catechetical teaching and literacy requirements inhibited black membership in the Episcopal Church and especially denied African Americans access to the Episcopal ministry. With no literacy requirements for membership in Meth-

odist and Baptist churches, blacks could not only join these denominations but also become ministers to their own people. While Episcopalians recoiled at the emotional expressiveness of black worship in song, dance, and shout, the Methodist and Baptist evangelical traditions included these same worship styles. Free to lead their own congregations, black ministers could preach a message of liberation, and their congregations could claim this niche of cultural and political autonomy.

For the vast majority of antebellum blacks who were slaves, Methodist and Baptist membership and ministry were infinitely more accessible than Episcopalian affiliation on the expanding frontiers of plantation slavery. The farmers, planters, and slaves of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and other new states did not inherit the Anglican traditions of the eastern seaboard colonial aristocracy. Instead, they were claimed by the Second Great Awakening of Methodist and Baptist revivalism, which not only brought slaves into Christianity in large numbers but also provided fertile ground for the invisible slave church, led by black ministers and embraced by slaves who created African-American religious traditions.

By the end of the Civil War these developments—limited access to membership and the ministry, rejection of African and evangelical traditions, and early geographic containment of the church on the eastern seaboard—placed black Episcopalians wishing to proselytize the freed slaves in the disadvantageous position of being in a church that required a highly literate ministry, that rejected African folk traditions, that afforded African Americans little independence or autonomy compared to the black Baptist church or the independent black Methodist denominations, and that appealed to northern urban black communities rather than the majority of blacks in the rural South. Nonetheless, some of the most important leaders of African-American cultural and religious life were Episcopal priests, including James Holly (1829–1911) and Alexander Crummell (1819–1898), both of whom, somewhat surprisingly given their denominational background, became ardent black nationalists.

In the two decades following the Civil War, the Episcopal Church's Freedman's Commission operated schools, hospitals, and churches but failed to compete effectively against the missionary campaign launched by the predominantly black denominations, whose membership swelled. To make matters worse, the black membership of the Episcopal Church drastically declined during Reconstruction when the Episcopal Church failed to accept black Episcopalians' demands for black ministers. For example, in South Carolina between 1860 and 1868 black membership in the Episcopal Church declined from three thousand to fewer than three hundred.

By the 1880s a slight increase in black membership from the small but growing black middle class in southern cities alarmed southern Episcopalians who had embraced the widespread reestablishment of white supremacy and segregation of the post-Reconstruction South. In 1883 the Sewanee Conference of Southern Bishops met in Sewanee, Tennessee, and unanimously authorized diocesan segregation and placed the care of black congregations and ministers under missionary organizations. In response to this and other forms of church discrimination, Alexander Crummell, rector and founder of St. Luke's in Washington, D.C., founded the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People in 1883 and the Women's Auxiliary to the Conference in 1894. Although the Negro Conference failed in its appeal to the General Convention to change the Sewanee Canon's endorsement of church segregation, it succeeded in getting the General Convention to appoint a Church Commission for Work Among the Colored People. The meetings of the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People also provided black Episcopalians a forum in which they could meet each other, share their grievances, and formulate solutions to their ambiguous and limited role in the church.

As black Episcopalians entered the twentieth century, they confronted an ironic, complex dilemma that discouraged growth of black membership: Whereas their own predominantly white denomination continued to discriminate against them by denying black clergy and laypersons full voting rights on diocesan councils and in the General Convention, the black denominations saw the majority of black Episcopalians as elite, privileged, and snobbish. From the 1880s to the 1930s the Episcopal Church did not decide if black communicants should be separated into racial dioceses and missionary districts with their own bishops or if they should remain in a diocese and be given equal representation and perhaps a black suffragan bishop (a bishop without the right to become archbishop). In 1903 the Conference of Colored Workers asked that black churches be placed under the general church rather than the diocesan conventions composed of the same local white leaders who supported and upheld secular racial segregation and discrimination. Requests for redress of the inequality within the church at the 1905 General Convention went unanswered and revealed that sentiments among northern white Episcopalians were little better than those of the Sewanee Conference. Northern dioceses questioned African-American ordinations and promoted the idea of placing black congregations under the supervision of white parishes or under the direction of the bishop.

The question of independence was even more complicated because black churches were not self-supporting.

Black clergy salaries and black school supplies were paid for by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society or the American Church Missionary Society and their auxiliaries until 1912. In 1918 Edward T. Demby and Henry B. Delany became the first black suffragan bishops.

By 1921 the Episcopal Church had two black bishops, 176 black ministers, 288 African-American congregations, and 31,851 communicants concentrated along the eastern seaboard from New York to Georgia. The church had failed to respond adequately to requests for a black ministry, although it had established schools during the late nineteenth century—not only primary and secondary schools but also schools to train teachers, ministers, and missionaries to go to Africa. Like the churches, the schools also had a welfare status and received at least half of their funding from the American Church Institute for Negroes, Inc., the agency that disbursed general church funds for black education. In spite of extensive efforts in support of black education, these schools created few black members, churches, or ministers. Black students felt no necessary allegiance to or affiliation with the Episcopal Church. Rather, their training led to secular jobs and their membership remained with the predominantly black denominations. After decades of training blacks, the church continued to impede African-American ordinations and to maintain the dependent status of black congregations as subordinate churches.

The large urban African-American migrations following World Wars I and II failed to increase the numbers of black Episcopalians. Rather, the rural folkways of black southerners estranged black Episcopalians even more from the black southern working class that filled northern cities. As ever larger numbers of black southerners entered the urban North, black Episcopal scholars and clergy attacked the spontaneous, emotional music and folk traditions of rural black southern church culture in the Methodist and especially the Baptist churches.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s evoked increasing racial consciousness among blacks within predominantly white denominations, including Episcopalians. Black Episcopalians confronted their historical dual identity crisis—one within the Episcopal church where black members and clergy had felt alienated, excluded, and invisible for almost two centuries, and the other in trying to identify with other black Christians, especially those in independent black churches.

Black Episcopalians responded to this new climate of racial awareness by forming the Episcopal Society of Cultural and Racial Unity and the General Convention Special Program in 1967. Formed out of the merger of the Conference of Colored Church Workers and Summer Schools of Religious Education, the Union of Black Episcopalians was founded in 1968 to confront the historically diminished role of African Americans in the Episcopal Church. More than twenty chapters in the United States serve 150,000 black members out of 3,500,000 Episcopalians. In 1972 the Union of Black Episcopalians had the church establish the Absalom Jones Theological Institute at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta. In 1973 the General Convention formed the Commission for Black Ministries, now the Office of Black Ministries, which compiles a directory of black clergy, convenes the Black Diocesan Executives, and acts as a clearinghouse for African-American clergy. In 1981 the church published an official supplementary hymnal, *Lift Every Voice and Sing: A Collection of Afro-American Spirituals and Other Songs.* Since the 1960s a large influx of black Anglicans from the Caribbean and the development of new liturgies directed toward black parishioners have revitalized the African-American presence in the Episcopal Church.

Whereas the National Baptist Convention could claim a tradition of independence and the largest black Methodist denominations could embrace a strong tradition of protest, it seemed that the black Episcopal tradition could claim neither independence nor protest. Beginning in the 1960s black Episcopalians affirmed the strains of independence and protest within the African-American religious traditions by celebrating being Episcopalian and black. In recent years women have taken a more active role in the church. In 1976 the social activist, lawyer, and poet Pauli Murray became the first black female priest in the Episcopal Church; in 1980 Barbara Harris—a black woman—became the first female Episcopal bishop. Black Episcopal clergy joined the National Council of Black Churches in its attack on white domination of the National Council of Churches and in its efforts to improve the lives of urban blacks. Since 1973 the Episcopal liturgical calendar has included the celebration of Absalom Jones, the first black Episcopal priest.

See also Baptists; Crummell, Alexander; Holly, James T., Protestantism in the Americas

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LILLIE JOHNSON EDWARDS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Equiano, Olaudah

c. 1750
April 30, 1797

The autobiographer Olaudah Equiano, also known as Gustavus Vassa, was born the son of an Ibo chieftain in Benin, now part of Nigeria. He was eleven when he and his sister were kidnapped and sold to white slave traders on the coast. He was subsequently shipped to Barbados and, later, Virginia, where he was sold to a British naval officer whom he served for nearly seventeen years. On board ships and during brief intervals in England, he learned to read and write and converted to Christianity. His autobiography relates his several adventures at sea off the Canadian coast during the Seven Years' War and with Admiral Boscawen's fleet in the Mediterranean. To his dismay, his master, who had promised him his freedom, sold him to an American shipowner, who employed him in trading runs—sometimes with slaves as cargo—between the islands of the West Indies and the North American coast. In this capacity, Equiano witnessed murders and cruel injustices inflicted on blacks, both free and enslaved.

In 1766 Equiano was at last able to purchase his freedom, but he elected to remain a seaman, although he passed some periods in England. Among other adventures, he sailed on the Phipps expedition to the Arctic in 1772–1773, and he later worked as a manservant on a tour of the Mediterranean and as an assistant to a doctor treating the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua. After 1777 he remained largely land-bound in the British Isles and assumed increasingly active roles in the antislavery movement. In 1787 he was appointed commissioner of stores for the resettlement of free Africans in Sierra Leone, but he was dismissed after accusing a naval agent of mismanagement. His efforts to join an African expeditionary group or to do African missionary work also met with failure.

In 1789 Equiano published his autobiography under the title *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African, Written by Himself.* Three years later he married Susannah Cullen, an Englishwoman with whom he would have two children. Although several of his accounts have since been questioned, he saw nine editions of the book printed in his lifetime, thereby drawing invitations to lecture throughout the British Isles. Because Equiano infused his autobiography with antislavery views and identified enslaved blacks with biblical Hebrews, his work is generally regarded as a truer precursor of slave narratives written between 1830 and 1860 than other eighteenth-century African-American autobiographies.

See also Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Slave Narratives

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EDWARD MARGOLIES (1996)
Updated bibliography

Estimé, Dumarsais

April 21, 1900
July 20, 1953

Dumarsais Estimé was born on April 21, 1900, in Verettes, a village in the Artibonite Valley of Haiti. He attended public schools and became a schoolteacher at the Lycee Petion. Among Estimé's students was François "Papa Doc" Duvalier (1907–1971). Estimé later ventured into politics and secured the posts of secretary of education,

secretary of labor, and secretary of agriculture under President Stenio Vincent between 1930 and 1941. When widespread protests led to the removal of President Elie Lescot, who held power between 1941 and 1946, Estimé ran for president.

Estimé was one of many *noiristes,* Haitians who considered blacks to be the historical defenders of the nation's liberty and sought empowerment through opposition to white and mulatto rule. Inspired by popular disaffection with mulatto dictatorships and the black nationalism of *noirisme,* Estimé ran on the slogan "A Black Man in Power." Because he was the primary *noiriste* candidate from the North, he enjoyed the support of a large segment of the peasantry. He planned to liberate Haiti from U.S. domination, legislate greater freedoms, and embrace modernization as the panacea to the plight of workers and the peasantry. On August 16, 1946, Dumarsais Estimé was elected president of Haiti.

Estimé's election became known as the "revolution of 1946." His cabinet included Daniel Fignolé (1915–1986), the charismatic leader of *Mouvement Ouvrier Paysan* (MOP), as minister of education and François Duvalier as minister of public health. Among the first acts of the Estimé administration was the drafting of a new constitution that put strict limitations on foreign businesses (though less so on the tourist industry) and protected freedom of the press, allowing an opposition voice. The constitution equated citizenship with blackness, defining a Haitian as "any person of the black race born of a Haitian." In addition, the constitution reasserted the Haitian claim to the island of Navassa, located thirty-two miles southwest of Haiti. Both Haiti and the United States maintained an unresolved claim to Navassa, and Estimé's assertion of Haitian ownership continued this trend. Estimé also attempted to reinvigorate tourism. He courted Pan American Airways and Hilton Hotels and considered the possibility of a casino in Port-au-Prince. He also organized the International Exposition of 1949.

In 1950 Estimé proposed legislation to alter the constitution and extend his term of office. The Senate voted against him, but the Haitian public organized demonstrations in order to pressure the Senate to change their stance. With the public behind him, Estimé signed a decree to dissolve the Senate, but the military prevented its publication. The door was opened, and a coup instituted by a military junta that included Colonel Paul Magloire forced Estimé to resign and seek exile in New York, where he died three years later, on July 20, 1953.

Noirisme had brought Estimé to power, and within it the general public perceived the antidote to the class antagonism that inundated the nation. If blacks and mulattos could unite under the name *black* then presumably they could be mutually uplifted. This possibility, which Estimé had made tangible again, would continue to drive Haitian politics and result in the election of François Duvalier in 1957.

See also Duvalier, François; Magloire, Paul

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SEAN BLOCH (2005)

Ethnic Origins

Africans may have crossed the Atlantic Ocean before the 1492 voyage of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) by way of the Canary current. The current passes the coast of Senegal and proceeds across the ocean to the north coast of South America and the southern Caribbean and could easily carry even small watercraft from West Africa to America. Some scholars have suggested that such voyages, either accidental or intentional, took place in ancient times, though the most solid reference is to a voyage of exploration in the early fourteenth century by Mansu Qu, ruler of Mali. In 1312 Qu's successor, Mansa Musa, told Egyptian authorities that Qu had wished to explore the "Western Ocean" (Atlantic) and had shipped a large expedition to do so. The expedition never returned, however, undoubtedly because the wind and current system of the South Atlantic does not offer a ready means to return to Africa.

It wasn't until the fifteenth century that European navigators began to institute regular navigation between both Europe and Africa and between the Old World continents and the Americas. Portuguese navigators were regular visitors to West Africa by the middle of the fifteenth century, and they were visiting the entire coast by the end of the century.

Although one of their primary motives to sailing to Africa was to locate the sources of the trans-Saharan gold trade, early Portuguese sailors also began raiding the Afri-

can coast, They captured fishermen and other coastal people, who did not expect seaborne raiders to attack them. However, they soon responded with their own naval craft, and in a series of encounters successfully defeated a number of Portuguese raids. In the aftermath of these early armed conflicts, the Portuguese crown, working through Diogo Gomes, negotiated a series of peace agreements with the rules of the Senegambian coast: the Portuguese would cease raiding in return for peaceful exchange. In the following years, Africans in Senegambia, and elsewhere along the coast where Europeans met other African states, peaceful transactions included the purchase of slaves as well as other goods. During these centuries, the slave trade grew from about 5,000 per year in 1500 to more than 60,000 per year in the late eighteenth century.

Between 1450 and 1850 some twelve to fifteen million Africans were transported across the Atlantic and sold in the New World. Many were captured and enslaved in Africa by African armies fighting either wars between the various African states (about two hundred sovereign polities were involved in the slave trade) or in civil wars within those states. Another substantial group was enslaved illegally in Africa by bandits and other criminal elements and sold illicitly to African and European middlemen for eventual transport. Others were enslaved as the result of judicial actions taken by African authorities as punishment for crimes, both by the enslaved and often by family, friends, and associates of the guilty party. In a few cases, European shippers raided African coastal locations, joined their forces with African armies or bandits, or tricked Africans into boarding their ships to be transported away. In Angola, however, following the founding of the Portuguese colony in 1575, many thousands of Africans were enslaved as a result of the activities of Portuguese-led armies, especially in a series of wars in the seventeenth century, but intermittently in the eighteenth century as well.

Tracing African-American Roots

About half of the slaves purchased or acquired by Europeans in Africa were destined for Brazil, another 40 percent for the Caribbean, and only about 5 percent came to British North America and the United States. Those who were brought to North America had as their ancestral homelands a wide area of western, central, and eastern Africa. They represented numerous cultures and languages, probably as many as fifty.

In recent decades, in part inspired by Alex Haley's *Roots* (1976), a fictional account of his heritage, and by scholarship on African retentions, there has been renewed interest in tracing the origins of contemporary African Americans to the specific cultures that fed the slave trade. Similar interest in the African heritage is prominent in Brazil, especially in the Brazilian embrace of its African-inspired religious heritage and the writings of the prominent intellectual Gilberto Freyre on African influences in all aspects of Brazilian life. Cuban scholars and intellectuals have shown similar interest, both from the religious and cultural angles. The extent to which groups of African slaves were influenced by their distinctive heritage and how the various cultural legacies of Africa were in time combined and submerged have been a subject of intense debate.

In some ways the apparent cultural and linguistic diversity of African Americans can be misleading, for at any one time, either in Africa or in their destinations in the New World, only a few African cultural groups were dominant among those enslaved. For example, Brazil imported slaves from the Senegambia region in the sixteenth century, but in the early seventeenth century almost the entire African slave trade came from Angola. Portuguese slave ships rarely if ever took slaves from the Bight of Biafra area (though they did from the neighboring Slave Coast region), but English, French, and Dutch took them in large numbers, resulting in a considerable presence of people designated as *Ibos* (a term for the group of people living in the lower Niger region) in their respective colonies.

In North America, there was substantial regional diversity during its period of greatest imports from 1690 to 1810. Most of the slaves coming to the Chesapeake region arrived between 1680 and 1770, while those imported to South Carolina arrived over a much longer period, from about 1720 to 1810. Louisiana, on the other hand, imported some slaves between 1719 and 1743, and then none until a major burst after 1777 through the early nineteenth century. However, North America was in some measure exceptional, for most slave regimes had such dismal records of reproduction that they continued importing Africans from their earliest founding (or at least their earliest employment of slave labor on a large scale) and the end of the slave trade. Estates founded by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) in Mexico, for example, imported new Africans from the early sixteenth century until the nineteenth century. Indeed, North America was the only region to have a self-reproducing and growing population of enslaved people, thus limiting the numbers of imported Africans and allowing a much larger native-born population to shape the resulting cultural mix.

The population of African descent in the Americas derives primarily from several nodes of import. Because North American slave populations were self-reproducing, the major North American slave trade was internal, from older plantation areas to newer ones, typically in the Deep

South. These factors explain why the period of importation of Africans was relatively brief and why North America imported only about 5 percent of all slaves exported from Africa.

American importers drew slaves from all parts of west and west central Africa and a few from as far afield as Madagascar, off the southeast coast of Africa. In many areas of North America, however, slave imports were dominated by a particular African exporting region. This was because the shippers who supplied slaves to American buyers often had customary relations with a limited group of African sellers, and people from those regions tended to predominate.

Frequently within the English trade, North American importers were in competition with importers from the Caribbean, who often favored slaves from particular regions and retained them in the Caribbean. Often this was because there was widespread belief among planters that slaves of particular ethnicities were more suitable for certain types of labor; this placed a premium on them and drove up the price for those who wished to export them from the colony. Thus, for example, Jamaica retained a large number of slaves from the Gold Coast, and North America received relatively few people from this region, even though British shipping had good connections and purchased thousands of slaves on the Gold Coast every year.

Distribution of Africans

The African exporting area was traditionally divided by European shippers into three large regions. The first was Upper Guinea, which corresponded to the coast from Senegal down to roughly Liberia. Next came Lower Guinea, corresponding to the coast from eastern Ivory Coast to eastern Cameroon. The last was Angola, which commenced in modern Gabon and extended down to the central coast of Angola. These three regions were in turn subdivided into coasts. Upper Guinea had two major coasts: Senegambia on the north down to the Gambia River and Sierra Leone from Gambia down to Liberia. Lower Guinea had the Gold Coast from eastern Ivory Coast to the Volta River, the Slave Coast from the Volta to the eastern part of Nigeria, and the Bight of Biafra comprising the complex of rivers and deltas of eastern Nigeria and Cameroon. Terminology varied—Sierra Leone might be called the Rivers of Guinea by French or Portuguese shippers, for example—but the general boundaries remained quite stable throughout the long period of the Atlantic trade.

Although these coastal designations were created and maintained by European shippers, they did correspond to African cultural and political realities. Each coast possessed a complex commercial network reaching down to a group of related Atlantic ports, and each network, in turn, was also a zone of frequent communication that included cultural and political interaction. Thus, slave-trading patterns in Africa tended to produce a fairly predictable mixture of people from the hinterland area supplying the coast. By knowing from which coast a shipload of slaves came, both modern historians and eighteenth-century American slave owners could predict within fairly narrow limits from which African cultural groups the people derived.

The distribution of Africans varied in different parts of North America. Angolans and Senegambians predominated in South Carolina and Louisiana. In the Chesapeake area, there were fewer Angolans and Senegambians and more people from the Gold Coast and Bight of Biafra. People from Sierra Leone constituted a significant proportion of arrivals in South Carolina, but they were virtually absent in the Chesapeake area; people from the Slave Coast were important in Louisiana but not in South Carolina or the Chesapeake area. Historians have not yet fully investigated the implications of this regional diversity for the development of African-American culture.

Similarly, the distribution of slaves in the British Caribbean was different from that in North America, with Caribbean plantations receiving considerably more imports from the Gold Coast region and fewer from Senegambia. Brazil, on the other hand, derived the lion's share of its African population from Angola or from the Slave Coast, which Portuguese sources designated as *Mina*. The French Caribbean tended to have Africans from Central Africa and from the Slave Coast, though their trade in Senegambia was extensive.

Divisions Among African Americans

The people who came to America from each of these coasts were known to American slave owners as being divided into a fairly large number of nations or countries whose membership was determined by cultural criteria such as language or facial and body markings. Comparisons between the detailed surveys of these nations that were conducted by eighteenth-century writers and modern African history researchers reveal that there is a trend to identify an African nation using constructs that were not the same as those used by the Africans themselves. Eighteenth-century Africans organized their lives by village, family, and grouping, or state, but did not recognize linguistic or cultural criteria as a primary element of their identity. A larger frame of reference for Africans was an adherence to either Islam or Christianity. Many Africans from a broad band of West Africa stretching from Senegal

down to Sierra Leone and deep into the interior were Muslims, while most central Africans in Kongo and its southern neighbors in the Portuguese colony of Angola were Christians. In both regions, Africans had combined elements of their previous religious traditions with Christianity and Islam, often to the dismay of priests or visitors from more orthodox regions. Because of the regional patterns of enslavement, North America received a large number of slaves who followed either Christianity or Islam, and proportionately lower numbers of people who practiced other traditional African religions than might be found in the Caribbean.

However, there is good reason to believe that Africans in the Americas recognized cultural and linguistic divisions among themselves, and often were less concerned about the political divisions that may have been more prevalent in their homelands. Thus, Akan-speaking people from the Gold Coast region might form close bonds with other Akans, even if they were from different, and perhaps even rival, political groups. In this way, those in Jamaica or Antigua might recognize themselves as members of the *Coromantee* nation,, a term that was not used in Africa to identify either a language or any other group but was widely used in British America.

Wars, Banditry, and the Enslavement Process

The presence of these various African nations in America was a result of commercial, political, and military events in Africa. Historians have very little information about these processes because so many of the people were enslaved in areas where no contemporary written records were kept. Even where there are African records, such as in some parts of Muslim West Africa and in Kongo, relatively little light is shed on the enslavement process. One of the most important sources of the enslavement process are interviews conducted by interested parties, such as missionaries in the Americas, in which Africans provided some information about their own enslavement. None of these sources, however, provide us with statistical information that allows us to determine for sure which process was most prevalent at what times and places. Some people were enslaved because of poverty, others through judicial processes, but it appears that by far the most important reasons for African enslavement were wars and banditry.

In Senegambia, enslavement in the eighteenth century followed two models. The first of these was wars among the states of the Senegal Valley, particularly a cycle of conflict between Bawol and Kajoor that often involved their allies or neighbors. Further inland, a similar rivalry matched the states of Segu (on the Niger River) and Kaarta, farther north. These states fought each other and also raided far to the north. In addition to these wars, which were among states indigenous to the area, there were raids conducted from the north by the Moors, who were linked to Morocco and had ambitions in the Senegal Valley region.

A second mode of enslavement came from banditry. Senegambian bandits were often off-duty soldiers. The *ceddo,* royal slaves who governed and staffed the armies of the states, routinely conducted raids on the population of the area. While these raids were illegal, authorities often cooperated with the soldiers in the acquisition and sale of slaves. The *sofa,* professional soldiers of Segu and Kaarta, engaged in the same pattern of unofficial and illegal enslavement with official collusion. Popular resentment against this activity was strong, and on two occasions, in the 1670s and again in the 1770s, popular movements with Islamic leadership revolted against the leadership, although without long-term success. In the first of these, Nasr al-Din, a religious leader from the nomadic society of the desert advanced religious reform both among his own people and among the common people of the Senegal Valley. The group was strongly opposed to the oppressive wars waged against common people by the political elites, but was overcome by local rulers when Nasr al-Din was killed in battle. In the second movement, Abd al-Kadir led people from the valley of Senegal in a reform movement that sought to eliminate, among other things, the sale of Muslim slaves to Christian buyers, an action that greatly affected the slave trade for a time.

The many Bambara (African people of the upper Niger) slaves who were imported to Louisiana in the early eighteenth century probably were obtained through the wars and raids of the Senegambian region, as were the many Senegambians who appear in the inventories of the last part of the eighteenth century. Because the Bambaras were nearly the totality of the people brought to Louisiana from Africa during the first French period, they played a major role in defining the culture of this region.

In Sierra Leone, small-scale piracy was widespread on the many creeks and rivers of the coast where forests provided hideouts for raiders. This piracy coexisted with petty wars, but the most important source for eighteenth-century enslavement was the holy war (jihad) of the Muslim Fulbe cattle herders of Futa Jallon following 1726. While in its initial stages, the jihad was aimed at redressing grievances of the Fulbe and establishing a reformed Islamic polity; in time it became a source of wars, as the new state in Futa Jallon raided its neighbors and sent the fruits of its efforts overseas on the slave ships. The timing of the arrival of Sierra Leonean slaves in South Carolina suggests

that the wars of the jihad period played a major role in the burst of exports from the region.

Before the late seventeenth century, the Gold Coast was divided into dozens of small states. Wars were frequent in the area, often occasioned by commercial disputes and unpaid debts. European trading companies, which came to the coast to buy gold, often became involved in the disputes both in an effort to settle their own commercial affairs and also to act as mercenaries hired by African states. It was only in the late seventeenth century, with the rise of larger imperial states in the interior, that the region became a major supplier of slaves to the Atlantic region. The rise of the states of Denkyira, Asante, and Akwamu in the 1670s and later occasioned wars of expansion by these states, which were able to mobilize large armies, forced the coastal states to operate in conjunction with each other to meet the challenge. Although the petty disputes and wars continued into the eighteenth century, major wars in which tens of thousands of people were captured and exported became more important as the interior kingdoms fought coastal states and each other. By the 1720s Asante had emerged as the most powerful state in the area, but warfare was still common. Many of the areas that Asante had conquered revolted frequently, and Asante itself was beset with civil wars—especially upon the death of a ruler, as occurred in the 1750s.

Slaves from the Gold Coast, who were widely known in English-speaking America as Coromantees (from one of the exporting ports), were particularly valued for their strength and spirit in the West Indies. Their relatively limited numbers in America everywhere outside of the Chesapeake area reflected the greater purchasing power of the West Indian planters. On the other hand, their largely military enslavement made Coromantees capable of rebellion, and indeed, they were behind a large number of plots, conspiracies, and rebellions in both the West Indies and North America (such as the New York Slave Revolt of 1712, the Saint John's revolt of 1733, and Tackey's War in Jamaica in 1760–65).

The pattern of the Gold Coast was repeated on the nearby Slave Coast. Indeed, mercenaries from the Gold Coast were often involved in the politics of the petty states of the coast in the late seventeenth century. However, the rise of the kingdom of Dahomey in the 1680s increased the frequency of large-scale wars in the area. Almost every year Dahomey launched a campaign toward the coast and against the Mahi and the Nagos, loosely structured confederations of states that lie east and west of Dahomey's core. Slaves were taken from the Mahi and the Nagos if the Dahomean armies were successful, or from Dahomey itself if the campaigns failed, as they frequently did. The Empire of Oyo, lying inland from Dahomey, occasionally intervened in the affairs of its coastal neighbors in an attempt to control Dahomey, its nominal vassal since the 1720s, or to act in conjunction with it. Oyo also conducted its own wars, about which few details are known, and many of the people captured or lost in these campaigns were also exported.

Remarkably, few Slave Coast slaves found their way to North America except for those who arrived through French shipping in Louisiana. British shippers maintained posts on the Slave Coast, and slaves from these posts formed a portion of the population in Jamaica and other West Indian islands. They were not notable, however, in the cargos arriving at any North American port.

Relatively few slaves were taken from the coastal areas of the Bight of Biafra, although piracy along its many rivers and creeks was quite common. Instead, people who were enslaved from the interior were exported from the coastal ports. Many of these interior slaves were designated as *Ibos* in English-speaking America and often as *Calabars* in Romance-language-speaking areas. The river network of the region provided cheap and easy transportation, while the population density of the interior regions was probably the greatest of any in Atlantic Africa.

In the early eighteenth century the kingdom of Benin, which dominated the western part of the area, underwent a lengthy civil war between government factions that lasted into the 1730s. Benin exported many of the victims of these wars through its own port of Ughoton, while many others found their way to other ports such as Warri or New Calabar on the main channel of the Niger River. New Calabar, one of the major exporting ports of the area along with its neighbor Bonny, drew most of its slaves from the Igbo areas that lie up the rivers in the interior. The autobiography of Olouadah Equiano, enslaved around 1760, provided a description of the area from which he originated. As he described it, people were enslaved as a result of many inter-town wars or were captured by pirates who operated along the rivers and from bases in the thickly wooden regions. In the Cross River region, which was served by the port of Old Calabar, a religious association called the Arochukwu often contributed to the supply of slaves. (The Arochukwu was an oracle that settled disputes and had branches over a wide network.) In addition to their religious services, for which they often demanded slaves in payment for adjudication, the association operated a more conventional trading network. Sometimes the oracle or its agents were reputed to kidnap people as well as engage in religious and commercial operations.

The central African coast was involved in the Atlantic economy from the late fifteenth century. Initially most

slaves originated from the Kingdom of Kongo, acquired by the wars of expansion in that country in the early and middle sixteenth century. Later in the century, the Kingdom of Ndongo joined the trade and attracted enough Portuguese merchants that the Portuguese crown decided to establish a colony at Luanda (with the permission of Kongo) in 1575 to control it. However, in a series of wars between Portugal and Ndongo after 1579, the Portuguese managed to carve out a colony along the Kwanza River that served as their base and colony. When governors of the early seventeenth century made an alliance with the Imbangala, free-booting raiders from south of the Kwanza, they were able to launch a series of devastating attacks on Ndongo. This set off a half century of ferocious fighting that may have resulted in the capture of half a million slaves before the warring was over in the late seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century, the Angola coast was largely supplied by the civil war in the kingdom of Kongo. Although there was an active slave trade from the ports of Luanda and Benguela, relatively few slaves exported from these ports or from the hinterland they served in the Kimbundu speaking interior found their way to North America. Instead, they were primarily shipped to Brazil; a few were smuggled to Kongo's ports and taken as slaves by French shippers. A few English crafts worked this coast in the late eighteenth century.

Dynastic disputes of the late seventeenth century lay at the root of Kongo's civil war. Although they were never quite resolved by force, some of these disputes were settled by monarchs in 1715, in the 1760s, the mid-1780s, after 1794, and again in 1805. The violent episodes of royal contest were interspersed with periods of smaller-scale violence because authority was not very centralized. Local wars enforcing shaky authority figures were frequent. This civil unrest and subsequent breakdown of authority led to the rise of bandits who either allied themselves with those in power or operated on their own.

Just as Muslim reformers in Senegambia sought to mobilize popular support to oppose the oppression of the military bandits and state officials in their area, so the Christian kingdom of Kongo had its own movement of reform. Led by Beatriz Kimpa Vita, who claimed to be possessed by Saint Anthony, the movement sought an end to the civil wars and the enslavement that resulted; it also sought the restoration of Kongo under a new mystical Christian leadership. Although the movement succeeded in occupying the capital, the leader was soon captured and burned at the stake as a heretic in 1706.

After 1750 captives from the civil war in Kongo were joined by increasing numbers of people enslaved from both the north and the east of the kingdom. The slaves from the north seem to have been captured during the petty wars between commercial states, while the slaves from the east were taken as a result of the emergence and raiding of the Lunda Empire, which extended its authority—or at least its ability to raid—as far as the Kwango River by 1760. All of these slaves from Kongo or elsewhere were sold to merchants who served North America and the English, French, and Dutch colonies of the Caribbean largely through ports north of the Zaire River, often under the kingdom of Loango.

Africans from more southerly regions were taken either from the various civil wars or Portuguese military campaigns, which were often quite intense after 1700, in the Central Highlands region of Angola.. The Portuguese relocated their fortress of Caconda from the coast to the highlands and subsequently pursued wars along the eastern and southern edge of the highlands. In addition, several new kingdoms like Viye and Mbailundu emerged in the eighteenth century, creating a cycle of warfare that often spread the slave trade to regions that had not participated in the trade very extensively before. In the later eighteenth century, the Portuguese became involved in their politics, helping to impose rulers on Mbailundu in the lengthy Mbailundu War of the 1770s.

Angolans made up a significant portion of the slaves imported into all American regions, but they were particularly numerous in Louisiana and South Carolina. Because so many had served in wars, they, like the Gold Coast Coromantees, were often implicated in revolts and rebellions in America. Angolans led the Stono Rebellion in 1739, and they also played an important role in other revolts in America such as those in Brazil and Haiti.

African Culture in America

Africans who arrived in America came with specific cultural backgrounds that related to their region of origin in Africa. This was particularly true of their linguistic background, for their ability to communicate with other people was limited at first to those of their own ethnolinguistic group. Unlike African social organization, which tended to be based on kinship and locality or citizenship in a state, the social organization of Africans in America was based on common languages. American *nations* or *countries,* as they were called in contemporary records, formed social and mutual self-help groups from among people of their own background to bury their dead or to celebrate occasional holidays. Where marriage registers allow us to follow the role of ethnicity in making marriage choices, it was common for people of the same nation to marry each other. They sometimes formed shadow gov-

ernments with kings and queens, either independently or, in Spanish and Portuguese America, through membership in lay organizations created by the Catholic Church. In North America, this phenomenon was manifested in royal elections in New York and Negro Election Day in New England. The presence of these ethnic social groups helped to preserve African culture in America. They also provided a cross-estate network, which could allow coordinated action in larger areas and sometimes played an important role in conspiracies and revolts. Thus, ethnic networks were especially prominent in Tackey's War in Jamaica in 1760–65, which involved virtually only Coromantees, while runaway communities in Brazil often grouped themselves by ethnicity and sometimes either fought with or allied with other groups, as took place in the early eighteenth century in Minas Gerais.

See also African Diaspora; Africanisms; Diasporic Cultures in the Americas; Equiano, Olaudah; Migration; Slavery; Slave Trade

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JOHN THORNTON (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Eugenics

See Race, Scientific Theories of

Europe, James Reese

February 22, 1881
May 9, 1919

Born in Mobile, Alabama, composer and conductor James Reese Europe spent his formative years in Washington, D.C., where his father held a position with the U.S. Postal Service. The family was unusually musical; his brother, John, became a noted ragtime pianist, and his sister, Mary, was an accomplished concert pianist, choral director, and music teacher in the Washington public schools. James Europe attended M Street High School and studied violin, piano, and composition with Enrico Hurlie of the Marine Corps Band and Joseph Douglass, grandson of Frederick Douglass. Other musical influences included Harry T. Burleigh (especially his arrangements of African-American spirituals), organist Melville Charlton, and composer Will Marion Cook.

Like Cook and Burleigh—who had both studied with the celebrated Bohemian composer Antonín Dvorák while he was directing the Prague National Conservatory of Music—Europe accepted Dvorák's assessment of the importance of African-American folk music as a basis for an American national music. He did not believe, however, as did many at the time, that popular forms of musical expression were necessarily vulgar or lowbrow and therefore lacked potential musical value. He was a consistent champion of African-American music and musical artistry at every level and in any form, including those (like jazz) that had yet to emerge fully.

After moving to New York City in 1903, Europe established himself as a leading composer and music director in black musical theater, contributing to such productions as John Larkins's *A Trip to Africa* (1904), Ernest Hogan's *Memphis Students* (1905), Cole and Johnson's *Shoo-fly Regiment* (1906–1907) and *Red Moon* (1908–1909), S. H. Dudley's *Black Politician* (1907–1908), and Bert Williams's *Mr. Lode of Koal* (1910). In April 1910 Europe and several fellow professionals (including Ford Dabney, William Tyers, and Joe Jordan) formed the Clef Club, a union and booking agency that substantially improved the working conditions for black musicians in New York City. Europe was elected president and conductor of the club's concert orchestra, a 125-member ensemble whose unusual instrumentation (consisting primarily of plucked or strummed instruments) he felt to be better suited to the performance of authentic African-American music than that of the standard symphony orchestra. The orchestra's 1912 Concert of Negro Music at Carnegie Hall was a historic event, and Europe and the orchestra repeated their

appearance on New York's most famous stage in 1913 and 1914.

In addition to developing "an orchestra of Negroes which will be able to take its place among the serious musical organizations of the country," Europe realized the practical importance to black musicians of taking advantage of the increasing demand for popular music to support the expansion of nightlife. From 1910 to 1914 he built the Clef Club (and later, the Tempo Club) into the greatest force for organizing and channeling the efforts of black musicians in New York, providing musicians for vaudeville orchestras, hotels, cabarets, and dance halls, as well as for private society parties and dances. In 1913, as a result of his success in providing dance orchestras for the eastern social elite, Europe was recruited as musical director for the legendary dance team of Vernon and Irene Castle. Between them, they revolutionized American social dancing by making the formerly objectionable "ragtime" dances (turkey trots and one-steps, which had been derived from traditional African-American dance practice) widely acceptable to mainstream America. The most lasting of the Castle dances, the foxtrot, was conceived by Europe and Vernon Castle after a suggestion by W. C. Handy. Europe's association with the Castles led to a recording contract with Victor Records, the first ever for a black orchestra leader.

Late in 1916 Europe enlisted in the Fifteenth Infantry Regiment (Colored) of New York's National Guard and was commissioned as a lieutenant. Largely as an aid to recruitment, he organized a regimental brass band that became, when the Fifteenth was mobilized and sent overseas, one of the most celebrated musical organizations of World War I. As a machine-gun company commander, Europe also served in the front lines and was the first black American officer in the Great War to lead troops into combat. Upon his return to the United States in early 1919, he was hailed as America's "jazz king" for incorporating blues, ragtime, and jazz elements into his arrangements for the band. He received another recording contract and embarked upon a nationwide tour. During a performance in Boston, however, Europe was cut in a backstage altercation with a mentally disturbed member of the band. The injury did not appear serious at first, but his jugular vein had in fact been punctured, and he died before the bleeding could be stopped. Europe's funeral was the first public funeral ever held for an African American in New York City; he was buried with full military honors in Arlington National Cemetery.

Although Europe was not a composer of major concert works, his more than one hundred songs, rags, waltzes, and marches include several ("On the Gay Luneta," "Castle House Rag," "Castle Walk," "Hi There," "Mirandy") that exhibit unusual lyricism and rhythmic sophistication for their day. But it was as an organizer of musicians, as a conductor who championed the works of other African-American composers, and as an arranger and orchestrator that his genius was most pronounced and his influence the greatest. In this regard Europe may properly be seen as an original catalyst in the development of orchestral jazz, initiating a line of development that would eventually lead to Fletcher Henderson and Duke Ellington. Among the many individuals who acknowledged his pioneering influence were Eubie Blake, Noble Sissle (whose epoch-making 1921 musical *Shuffle Along* helped restore black artistry to the mainstream of American musical theater), and composer George Gershwin.

See also Blake, Eubie; Burleigh, Harry; Jazz; Musical Theater

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R. REID BADGER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Everett, Ronald McKinley

See Karenga, Maulana

Evers, Charles

September 11, 1922

Born in 1922 to an impoverished farm family in Decatur, Mississippi, civil rights leader James Charles Evers gained national prominence in 1969 when he was elected mayor of Fayette, Mississippi. Fayette was then a town of two thousand, of whom twelve hundred were African American. Evers's victory helped open the way for many black

candidates who had long desired political office but who had been restricted by racial discrimination. Since Reconstruction, white southerners had prevented African Americans not just from campaigning for public office but even from exercising their constitutional right to vote. Evers became the first black mayor since Reconstruction of a biracial Mississippi town.

In 1971 the Mississippi Democratic Party unanimously nominated Evers as its candidate for governor. Although he lost the election, he was the first African American in the history of the state to be a gubernatorial candidate. From 1973 to 1981 and from 1985 to 1987, Evers served again as mayor of Fayette.

Evers first attained national recognition when he replaced his slain younger brother, Medgar Evers (widely believed to have been assassinated by a white supremacist), as Mississippi field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The elder brother, who had been in business in Chicago, returned to his home state to devote his life to the nonviolent struggle for racial equality and social justice. Toward these ends, Evers successfully led numerous boycotts and voter-registration drives. He has also served as Jefferson County, Mississippi, chancery clerk administrator. In 1997 Evers published his autobiography, *Have No Fear: The Charles Evers Story*.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Evers, Medgar; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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LOIS LYLES (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Evers, Medgar

July 2, 1925
June 12, 1963

The civil rights activist Medgar Wylie Evers was born in Decatur, Mississippi, served in World War II, graduated from Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, and became an insurance agent. Refused admission to the University of Mississippi's law school, he became the first Mississippi field director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Civil rights leader Medgar Evers (1925–1963). *Evers was shot and killed outside his home in Mississippi after returning from an integration rally.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Evers's job entailed investigating the murders of blacks in Mississippi, including that of Emmett Till; local police generally dismissed such cases as accidents. A clear target for violence, Evers bought a car big enough to resist being forced off the road, roomy enough to sleep in where motels were segregated, and powerful enough for quick escapes. His family owned guns and kept the window blinds drawn. Evers received daily death threats but always tried reasoning with callers.

He led voter registration drives and fought segregation; organized consumer boycotts to integrate Leake County schools and the Mississippi State Fair; assisted James Meredith in entering the University of Mississippi; and won a lawsuit integrating Jackson's privately owned buses. He also began a similar effort with Jackson's public parks.

In May 1963, Evers's house was bombed. At a June NAACP rally he declared, "Freedom has never been free. . . . I would die, and die gladly, if that would make a better life for [my family]."

On June 12, Evers arrived home in the middle of the night. His wife heard his car door slam, then heard gunshots. He died that night; his accused murderer was acquitted, despite compelling evidence against him. Evers was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Meredith, James H.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Till, Emmett Louis

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ELIZABETH FORTSON ARROYO (1996)
Updated bibliography

Exodusters

See Migration/Population, U.S.

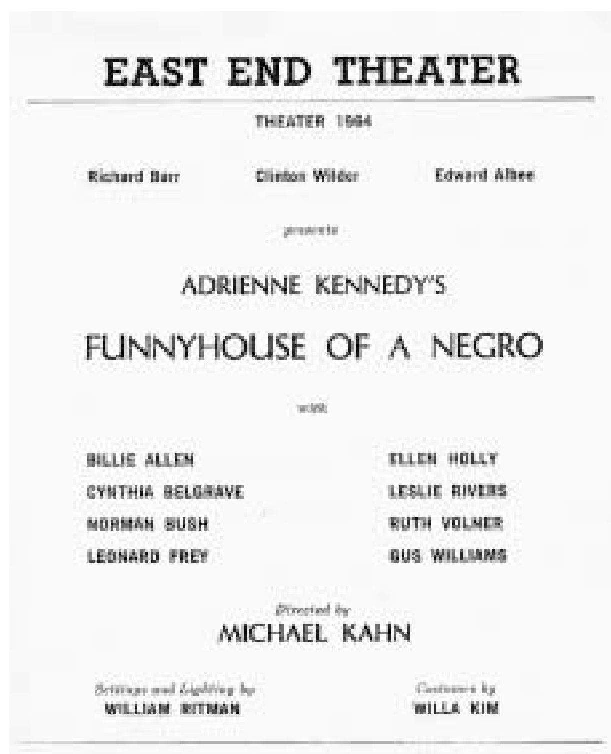
Experimental Theater

Experimental theater after the black arts movement is a loosely-related body of work that offers new ways of experiencing drama, reconsidering history, and interpreting black identity. Indebted to the theatrical, poetic, and performance trends of the black arts movement, especially its political and aesthetic innovations, experimental theater has both worked with and against the anti-assimilationist impulses of the black arts movement to create work that explores how black theater should engage with the world. Whereas the artists of the black arts movement sought to define a doctrine of black art as a collective vision, experimental theater relies on individual artists to articulate their own.

Despite this attention to individual vision, experimental theater embraces many elements of the black arts movement theater, including the "nonobjective," African-American history, black vernacular, poetry, and interdisciplinary art collaboration. The nonobjective was a strategy for challenging an audience's passive engagement with the theater by providing an opportunity for them to "live through" the event they had come to see. In Ed Bullins's play *The Theme Is Blackness* (1973), the nonobjective was realized as a performance of blackness—which in this case was the absence of light. When seated, the audience was told that the night's theme was blackness. All lights were turned out for twenty minutes. Lights were then turned up to announce a curtain call for blackness and turned out once more. Amiri Baraka's *Slave Ship* (1969) exposed audiences to the sounds and smells of Africans being tortured during their journey across the Atlantic. Instead of focusing on enacting a story, the nonobjective created a visceral experience that would stay with the audience after the performance.

Black arts movement theater also mined African-American history to expose the truth about slavery, segregation, and racial violence inflicted on African Americans. Because plays were written to appeal primarily to younger African-American audiences, black vernacular was featured prominently to connote the youth, social intelligence, and political awareness of characters. Poetry also thrived during the black arts movement. Independent presses such as Dudley Randall's Broadside Press in Detroit and Haki Madhubuti's Third World Press in Chicago published new voices to great international acclaim. Strong theatre and poetry communities helped to foster collaboration with artists from other disciplines including music and the visual arts. The Nuyorican Poets Café in New York, founded in 1973 by Miguel Algarin, served as an incubator for this kind of work. Eventually works that combined theater, poetry, dance, music, and visual art came to signify the broad aesthetics of experimental theater.

Experimental theater was also influenced by other artistic movements during the 1960s and 1970s, especially "happenings" and feminist performance art. Happenings, also called "the painter's theater," emerged in New York and echoed the impulses in abstract expressionist painting through presentations of public spectacle and action. Unlike traditional theatrical events, happenings did not require there to be a distinction between the actors and audience. Instead it was the crowd's response to an array of visual, aural, or textual stimuli that determined the meaning of the event. Happenings encouraged discussions about how art exists in time. Feminist performance art also help to define "live art" through the presentation of action-oriented art. Influenced by the activism of the civil



Playbill for Funnyhouse of a Negro, 1964. *Adrienne Kennedy's first one-act play addressed experiences of racial confusion and ambivalence.* PLAYBILL® IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF PLAYBILL INCORPORATED, N.Y.C. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

rights and antiwar movements, feminist performance art aimed to challenge entrenched ideas about gender, sexuality, and women's rights. During the 1970s conceptual artists Adrian Piper, Judy Chicago, and Yoko Ono pulled performance works out of gallery spaces and academic institutions where they were most commonly seen and brought them into the communities in which they were most relevant. Many of these works were about breaking taboos associated with women's bodies. For example, Hannah Wilke and Carolee Schneeman attempted to reclaim female power and identity through performances involving nudity and obsessive self-admiration. Feminist performance art also addressed gender inequities in the art world and brought attention to the ways various people had been excluded from participating in it. Repercussions from this movement reverberated across cultures and helped to create an audience for new works in experimental theatre, especially those created by African-American women.

Key Artists/Works

At once culturally rooted and innovative, experimental theater has been shaped by a variety of artists working across genres, including Adrienne Kennedy, Ntozake Shange, Robbie MacCauley, Laurie Carlos, Bill T. Jones, Suzan-Lori Parks, and Paul D. Miller, also known as "DJ Spooky."

The lyrical dramas of Adrienne Kennedy (b. 1931) were largely overlooked by other black playwrights during the black arts movement, but since then she has emerged as one of the most important and undervalued voices in experimental theater. Her first one-act play, *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1964), addressed experiences of racial confusion and ambivalence and was largely tragic in its depiction of a young woman's failed attempt to reconcile conflicts between her black and white ancestors. Other works addressing similar themes include *A Movie Star Has to Star in Black and White* (1976), *The Owl Answers* (1966), and *The Ohio State Murders* (1991). Kennedy's carefully wrought, poetic one-act plays borrow from films and other literary texts, including her own plays, in order to offer portraits of identity that reveal personal and psychological crises of racial identification. Her fragmentary and cinematic approach to autobiography reveals how the constant threat of violence shapes the real and imaginary worlds within the black experience.

Kennedy's plays helped to re-center the African-American woman as a vital subject for investigating culture and gender during a time when the particularity of the black woman's experience had been largely ignored. African-American women had also been excluded from much of the feminist performance art and theater taking place during the 1970s and would as a result have much to say over the next several decades. By the time that Ntozake Shange's (b. 1948) Obie-award-winning choreopoem, *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide, When the Rainbow is Enuf,* opened in 1975, theater by and about black women was starting to be acknowledged for its broad vision politically and aesthetically. *For Colored Girls* was told through dance, poetry, and song, and it revealed sensitive portraits of young, black women facing the repercussions of racial and gender bias, violence against women, and misogyny within the black community. The play was revolutionary in that it presented characters whose lives had never before been seen on stage.

Robbie MacCauley (b. 1942) performed in Shange's *For Colored Girls* and Kennedy's *A Movie Star* early in her career and eventually moved on to writing and directing her own work. Her 1991 piece *Sally's Rape* examines "the silences around racism in America that have gotten nailed in place" while recounting the life and survival of her

***A scene from* For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/ When The Rainbow is Enuf.** *Ntozake Shange's 1977 Obie Award-winning play centers on a series of twenty poems dealing with the lives of black women.* PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTHA SWOPE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

great-great-grandmother, a slave on a Georgia plantation. This provocative piece expects participation from the audience during the most climatic scene. MacCauley stands naked on an auction block, inviting the audience to bid on her body. With this, she brings attention to the sale and sexual abuse of her great-great grandmother and, ultimately, the audience's complicity with this history. *My Father and the Wars* (1992) addresses her relationship with her father and his military service. *Indian Blood* (1994) also considers an ancestral relationship, this time her grandfather's participation in the genocide of his own people. MacCauley has called these pieces metaphors for an African-American family surviving against racism.

Like MacCauley, Laurie Carlos (b. 1949) starred in Shange's *For Colored Girls*. Her work integrates movement, language, and music to uncover what Africanness means for African Americans: A character in one of her early pieces asks the question "Is we still black? Still black?" Her 1992 work, *White Chocolate for My Father,* explores stories of racial persecution through Carlos's own matriarchal line. Ritual is often a powerful component of her pieces, which also show how language has the ability to injure and heal. Other original works inspired by real women's experiences include *Organdy Falsetto* (1986), *The Cooking Show* (1997), and *Marion's Terrible Time of Joy* (2003), which blends poetry, art, and food to explore the mingled borders of African and Indian origins. As a director and dramaturge, Carlos has helped to shape the artistic direction of many black independent theater companies, including Urban Bush Women in New York and Penumbra in Minnesota, which is also the longest-running black theater in the United States.

Whereas dance was not considered a significant component of black arts movement theater, choreographers such as Carlos, Jawole Willa Jo Zollar of Urban Bush Women, Rennie Harris, and dancer/choreographer Bill T. Jones (b. 1952) have expanded the dimensions of experimental theater to include dance as a primary means of storytelling. Jones's career began in Binghamton, New York, in 1971 after he met Arnie Zane. They founded the Ameri-

Bill T. Jones. *Jones, the acclaimed dancer and cofounder of the Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company, is pictured here in 1996, performing his dance Ballad, which is set to the poems of Dylan Thomas.* © JOHAN ELBERS 1997. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

can Dance Asylum in 1973. In 1982 they created the Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company, which created pieces dealing with sexuality, racism, and power structures that maintain discrimination. Some of the company's key works include *Intuitive Momentum* (1982), *Secret Pastures* (1984) with sets by Keith Haring, and *History of Collage* (1988). When Zane died of AIDS in 1988, Jones took over full artistic direction of the company and created such pieces as *Last Supper at Uncle Tom's Cabin/Promised Land* (1990), *The Mother of Three Sons* (1990), and *Still Here* (1994). As part of *Still Here,* Jones created workshops for survivors of serious illnesses. Their voices were woven in and out of the performance and gave a sense of history told through individual lives. Through these community discussions and his own personal experiences, Jones articulated a vocabulary of movement to represent coping strategies for survival.

Playwright Suzan-Lori Parks (b. 1964) addresses the question of individual survival through dark and poetic satires of the American experience. Her 1999 play, *In the Blood*, contemporizes Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1850 novel *The Scarlet Letter*, only this time Hester is a homeless black woman living with her five children on the streets of New York. This parody addresses racism, gender, and social injustice and questions double-standards of morality. *Venus: A Play* (1996) recounts the exploitation of Saartje Benjamin, otherwise known as the Venus Hottentot, through her own eyes. In 2001 Parks won the Pulitzer Prize for *Topdog/Underdog,* which tells the story of two brothers, Lincoln and Booth, whose names portend a lifetime of sibling rivalry and resentment. Other major plays include *Imperceptible Mutabilities in the Third Kingdom* (1989), *The Death of the Last Black Man in the Whole Entire World* (1990), *Devotees in the Garden of Love* (1992), and *The America Play* (1993).

Whereas much theatrical innovation has taken place within the traditional stage environment, a new generation of multimedia artists are creating work that is impacting African-American drama at large. Paul D. Miller (b. 1970) is best known under the moniker of his "constructed persona" as "DJ Spooky that Subliminal Kid." His live remix of DW Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915), titled *Rebirth of a Nation* (2004), recuts the film's original narrative and infuses it with new short films by Bill T. Jones. The score includes sampled and scored music remixed for the occasion of each screening. The piece allows audiences to interrogate the distinctions between cinematic manipulations of narrative and their acceptance or rejection of that manipulation.

Whether experimental theater is highly conceptual and or rich with personal history, it offers audiences the opportunity to follow an individual artist's aesthetic and political journey through the nuances of the black experience and leaves each artist to articulate his or her own ideas about what it is that makes theater black.

See also Drama; Kennedy, Adrienne; Parks, Suzan-Lori; Performance Art

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WENDY S. WALTERS (2005)

Fanon, Frantz

July 20, 1925

December 6, 1961

Frantz Fanon was born on the French Caribbean island of Martinique. His father was a customs clerk, and his mother supplemented the family's income by running a variety store out of their home. There were eight children in this middle-class black family—four boys and four girls. Fanon attended the island's lycée, where he studied with the influential *Négritude* poet Aimé Césaire (1913–), who said that it was both beautiful and good to be black. It was during these years that the Nazi-controlled Vichy government of France (1940–1944) sent five thousand raucous white sailors to Martinique. Fanon escaped to the island of Dominica in 1943, where he joined the French Resistance and fought in North Africa and Europe. He returned to Martinique after the war with two decorations for bravery and the conviction that racism was a problem of European civilization in general, not only Vichy France. He then went to Paris to study dentistry, but he instead chose to study psychiatry in Lyon. It was there that he met and married Marie-Josèphe (Josie) Dublé, a Marxist journalist, with whom he had a son. (He also had a daughter from a previous, short-lived relationship with a Martiniquan woman.) Fanon earned his medical degree in 1951, and the following year he received his license to serve as director of any psychiatric ward in the French-speaking world. In 1953 he accepted a post as the director of psychiatry at the Blida-Joinville Hospital in Algeria.

Fanon's psychiatric practice is legendary. He implemented a system of humanistic therapy, the success of which his fellow physicians attributed to his energy and charisma. Everything changed, however, at the advent of the Algerian War (1954–1962). Fanon secretly joined the Algerian rebels, the Front des Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front, or FLN), at the outset, but he resigned from his post in 1956 and made his membership in the FLN public. He became an outlaw in France and its colonies, which led to several attempts on his life over the next three years. Yet he managed to remain active as a medical researcher and writer, while serving as a negotiator for the FLN. By 1960 his health had deteriorated considerably, and he was diagnosed with leukemia. He went to the Soviet Union in search of treatment, but the Soviet physicians informed him that the best treatment was in the United States, in Bethesda, Maryland. After planning some projects and completing his last book, *Les damnés de la terre* (The wretched of the earth, 1961) he went to Bethesda, where he was detained for ten days without treatment

by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He developed pneumonia and died on December 6, 1961.

Fanon completed three books in his lifetime. His first, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Black skin, white masks, 1952) offers his sociogenic theory of racial identity and oppression. This theory foregrounds contemporary theories of the role of society in the development of racial identity and prejudices. In this book, Fanon argues that mainstream psychology cannot alleviate the alienation of black people because it offers no livable model of a normal black adult. He urges people in colonized nations to fight against oppressive social systems and become questioning, critical human beings.

L'an v de la révolution algérienne (Year five of the Algerian revolution, translated into English as *Studies in a Dying Colonialism,* 1959), Fanon's second book, defends his view that colonized people must seize their freedom. His main point is that fighting for national independence awakens new ways of living in the world of colonized people. This means changing traditions, developing new relationships with technology (the radio), medicine, the family, and former white settlers.

The theme of seizing freedom returns in Fanon's most famous work, *The Wretched of the Earth.* Colonized people, he contends, face either demanding but not seizing their freedom and being welcomed by their colonizers as "nonviolent," or fighting for their freedom and being called "violent" by their opposition. He advocates the latter, arguing for the therapeutic value of violence. He also criticizes third world elites for propping themselves up as mediators with the old regimes and creating a neocolonial condition in which they become its new pillagers rather than building up their nation. The new struggle, then, is to fight this elite in the hope of achieving a genuine postcolonial society. Fanon closes the book with a call to build up the nation's material infrastructure (its roads, reservoirs, hospitals, and schools), and he asks colonized people to develop new ways of knowing and understanding themselves as human beings, to "shed our skin and set afoot a new humanity" (Fanon, 1961/1991; quotation translated by Lewis R. Gordon).

Finally, a collection of essays that includes his very prescient "Racism and Culture" was compiled and edited by his widow, Marie-Josèphe Fanon, and published in English in 1967 as *Toward the African Revolution*. Fanon's four books have been an influential legacy that continues to grow, though the author died when he was only thirty-six years of age. Leaders of the Black Panthers in the United States called *The Wretched of the Earth* "the textbook of the Revolution." The field of postcolonial studies has benefited significantly from his critique of colonialism, and his discussion of race and colonialism in the Caribbean has made him one of the most influential thinkers on contemporary Caribbean culture and society.

See also Anti-colonial Movements; Psychology and Psychologists: Race Issues

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LEWIS R. GORDON (2005)

Fard, Wallace D.

BIRTHDATE UNKNOWN
DISAPPEARED C. 1934

Little is known about the mysterious religious and political leader Wallace D. Fard, credited with founding the Nation of Islam. Only the years of 1930 to 1934 are clearly documented. He claimed to have been born in Mecca, a member of the tribe of Kureish, to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged, and to have been educated in England and at the University of California. His detractors claimed he had been jailed in California for dealing in narcotics. Neither of these accounts of his life was ever confirmed.

Fard appeared in Detroit sometime before 1930, peddling silks and raincoats and declaring that he was on a mission to secure justice, freedom, and equality for American blacks. He professed that he was an Islamic prophet and that redemption would come through Islam. Fard quickly gained a following, especially among recent immigrants from the South who were undergoing severe economic hardship. In 1930 he set up permanent headquarters for what he called the "Lost-Found Nation of Islam" in the Temple of Islam. He also organized the Fruit of Islam, a defense corps; the Muslim Girls Training Corps Class; and the University of Islam, a radically unconventional elementary and high school that Muslim children attended instead of public schools. Fard began the practice of substituting X for black Muslims' last names—disavowing their identities as slaves. The names were intended to be replaced later by their "original" Arabic names.

Fard asserted that blacks were the first people on earth, indicating their superiority to whites, whom he castigated as devils. Fard was a reputed nationalist, calling for racial separatism and self-determination in the form of an independent black republic within current U.S. borders.

The Nation of Islam gained mainstream public attention in Detroit in November 1932 when one of its members, Robert Karriem, "sacrificed" his boarder, a fellow Nation member, by plunging a knife into his heart. Press reports tried to link this crime to his involvement in the Nation of Islam. The movement, however, continued. After converting an estimated eight thousand Detroit blacks to the Nation of Islam, Fard disappeared in late 1933 or 1934. His followers used the mysterious circumstances of Fard's disappearance to deify him further, maintaining that he was God, although his successor as the Nation's head, Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975), claimed to have accompanied him to the airport when he was deported.

While Wallace Fard clearly was important in the 1930s, his legacy in the large and influential Nation of Islam is more significant. Although his tenure with the organization was short, he continued to be revered as its spiritual leader. The Nation of Islam stated in an official publication in 1942, "We believe that Allah appeared in the person of Master W. Fard Muhammad, July 1930; the long-awaited 'Messiah' of the Christians and the 'Mahdi' of the Muslims."

See also Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)

Farmer, James

January 12, 1920
July 9, 1999

Civil rights leader and educator James Farmer was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, where his father was a minister and professor at Rust College. The family moved when Farmer's father took a post at Wiley College in Marshall, Texas. Farmer grew up in Marshall and was educated at Wiley College and at Howard University, where he received a bachelor of divinity degree in 1941. During this time he became interested in the philosophy of nonviolence espoused by Mahatma Gandhi in his movement for India's independence. Farmer refused to become ordained to serve a segregated Methodist congregation (he was committed to interracial forums), and his pacifist ideas and opposition to army segregation led him to oppose the wartime draft. Exempted from service by his ministerial background, Farmer dedicated himself to pacifist and civil rights causes.

Shortly after graduating from Howard in 1941, Farmer took a job as race-relations secretary of the pacifist group Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). In 1942, while living in Chicago, he drew up plans for a civil rights group operating on Gandhian principles, and set up an organization with aid from some University of Chicago students. Farmer became the first executive director of the Chicago-based organization named the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Farmer was a committed integrationist, and CORE's early leadership was predominantly white. The congress remained small, and in 1946 Farmer tired of bureaucratic struggles with FOR and gave up his leadership role to work as a labor organizer for trade unions, and later as a civil rights campaigner for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He remained involved with CORE as a field worker.

In 1960, after the Montgomery bus boycott and sit-ins had made nonviolent protest a widespread civil rights tool, Farmer returned to leadership of CORE, by now based in New York City. In spring of 1961 he organized

the first Freedom Rides, which were designed to desegregate buses and terminals in the South and publicize denials of civil rights. During the effort Farmer was jailed for forty days—the first of many such imprisonments during the days of the civil rights movement as CORE contingents participated in strikes, sit-ins, voter-education programs, and demonstrations, both in the South and in the North. As CORE's national director, Farmer was one of the foremost leaders of the civil rights movement and participated in its major campaigns. His eloquent speaking voice and manner made him a popular lecturer and debater. He wrote many articles and essays, and his 1965 book *Freedom, When?* dealt with the problem of institutionalized inequality and the debate over nonviolence as a protest tactic.

One of Farmer's significant efforts during his years in CORE was his ongoing attempt to improve the position of blacks in the job market and in labor unions. Realizing that African Americans faced disadvantages in schooling and training, Farmer pushed the idea of "compensatory" action by employers and government, including programs for the hiring of numbers of black workers proportionate with a labor pool, and their training in job skills, when necessary. These ideas were a major ingredient in the formation of affirmative action policies.

By 1966, as CORE turned away from its original integrationist goals and nonviolent tactics in civil rights action, Farmer decided to leave the organization. For two years he taught social welfare at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. In 1968 Farmer, who had long been active in New York's Liberal Party, ran for Congress in Brooklyn on the Liberal and Republican tickets but was defeated by African-American Democrat Shirley Chisholm.

The following year Farmer faced a storm of criticism when he accepted the post of assistant secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) in Richard Nixon's Republican administration. Farmer, who felt blacks should reach out to all political parties, was given the job of increasing minority participation in government. He soon grew dissatisfied with his role in HEW, however, and resigned in 1971.

In 1972 Farmer set up the Council on Minority Planning and Strategy, a black think tank, but was unable to secure sufficient funding. In 1975 he became active with the Fund for an Open Society, and from 1977 through 1982 he served as executive director of the Coalition of American Public Employees. Starting in 1982 and continuing through the early 1990s, he taught at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Virginia. He continued to be a strong speaker for black equality, although he remained out of the political arena. In his later years Farmer developed retinal vascular occlusion, a rare eye disease, and lost all vision in one eye and some vision in the other. Still, he managed to complete a volume of memoirs, *Lay Bare the Heart,* in 1985. Farmer's forceful leadership and eloquence combined with his dedication to nonviolent principles made him one of the central figures of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

In 1998 Farmer was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He died in 1999, and in 2001 a memorial in his honor was unveiled on the campus of Mary Washington College.

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Howard University; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

FARM WORKER PROGRAM

From 1943 to 1947, under the terms of intergovernmental agreements with British West Indian governments, the U.S. government recruited and transported approximately seventy thousand Jamaicans, Barbadians, and Bahamians to the United States for agricultural employment. The stimulus for the agreements came from American farmers, especially large growers, who complained to the federal government that they were experiencing a shortage of farm labor. Many rural men and women entered the armed forces during World War II, while others escaped the low wages of farmwork for the better wages offered in the expanding defense industry. As men and women deserted the farms, farmers became increasingly concerned about their dwindling supply of labor, and although there was no severe scarcity of domestic workers, the federal government was convinced to create an emergency program to alleviate labor shortages on farms.

Concurrent with American growers' struggle to recruit labor, the Caribbean was experiencing extreme eco-

nomic devastation and political upheaval. In the late 1930s, high levels of unemployment and sociopolitical unrest led to riots throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean. Colonial administrations had only begun to propose remedies to the problems that gave impetus to the riots when World War II began. Additionally, wartime restrictions on shipping created food shortages and devastated the tourist industry in the Bahamas and on other islands, thereby exacerbating the already high levels of unemployment. These conditions encouraged Caribbean administrations and colonial authorities in Great Britain to support the American plan to transport West Indians to the United States for farmwork.

Jamaican officials were hopeful that the proposed American farmworker program would employ thousands of men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, the demographic with the highest unemployment rate. Such a program would alleviate some of the island's unemployment problems. They also expected the farmworkers' compulsory savings and remittances home to be an additional benefit, particularly as the money the farmworkers earned in a few months in the United Sates would take an entire year to earn in Jamaica. In fact, between the launching of the farm labor program in 1943 and its termination in 1947, West Indian farmworkers remitted to their home islands more than $40 million.

For these reasons, the United States successfully secured agreements with the government of the Bahamas (on March 16, 1943) and the government of Jamaica (on April 2, 1943) to bring West Indian labor to the United States. These two agreements established the British West Indies (BWI) Temporary Alien Labor Program. Barbadians were initially excluded because of the greater distance involved and additional transportation costs. The Barbadian governor urged their inclusion, however, and by 1944, Barbadians were employed on U.S. farms. Jamaicans always accounted for the largest number of Caribbean foreign workers in the United States, second only to the Mexican *braceros* (workers) employed on the West Coast.

The first Bahamian men and women arrived in the United States in April 1943 and one month later Jamaicans joined them (only men were recruited from Jamaica). In 1943 more than eleven thousand Jamaican men were employed in the United States. They were dispersed throughout fourteen states, including approximately 1,150 in Connecticut, 2,700 in Indiana, 950 in Michigan, 1,600 in New Jersey, and 2,000 in New York. In 1945, roughly 33,000 Jamaicans were employed in thirty-eight of the forty-eight states. Jamaican men worked on seasonal crops, which required significant hand labor in cultivation and harvest. Most were employed along the eastern seaboard from Florida to Maine. Workers harvested rhubarb, asparagus, peas, spinach, and beets in Pennsylvania; picked strawberries, spinach, onions, and potatoes in New York and New Jersey; worked on tobacco farms in Connecticut; and even helped bring in the sugar beet crops in Idaho and Michigan. During each contract period, Jamaican men were relocated from one locality to the next, with most ending the season cutting cane in Florida.

Since the fall of 1943, Jamaican men have cut cane in Florida. When the first 1943 intergovernmental agreement between Jamaica and the United States was signed, however, Jamaican men were not allowed to receive employment in southern states. Given the racial climate in the American South, colonial officials feared for the well-being of Jamaican men. However, pressure exerted by large citrus and sugarcane growers eventually led to a reversal of this policy. The first Jamaican men arrived in Clewiston, Florida, in early October 1943 via Michigan, and men later poured in from Connecticut and other New England states, where employment in the winter months was impracticable. The Jamaican men sent to Florida were contracted to work for the United States Sugar Corporation, a large agricultural company known for its Jim Crow–style working conditions and extremely low wages. Those that protested the corporation's unfair treatment or excessively low wages were subject to unlawful imprisonment, repatriation, and physical abuse.

According to the intergovernmental agreement, West Indian farmworkers were employed by the U.S. government, not individual farmers, and they were thus guaranteed basic protections. Each worker signed a contract with the U.S. government detailing the government's obligations. The agreements stated that workers would receive a minimum of thirty cents an hour, be provided employment for at least 75 percent of the time, be housed in sanitary facilities maintained or approved by the U.S. government, and receive "all necessary food, health and medical care and other subsistence living facilities." Despite the contract provisions, however, workers complained that housing, food, and wage standards were frequently disregarded. In the summer of 1943, some Jamaicans employed with small Michigan beet growers were housed in fairground cattle exhibition sheds; in 1944, in Ohio, the men were housed in garages. Those not housed with their employers were placed in government camps called Farm Labor Supply Centers. These facilities were not permanent structures and usually were very basic accommodations, in either Army-issued tents or prefabricated wooden huts. The quantity and quality of the food served in the camps was also a point of great frustration. Because of wartime rationing, certain food items, especially the products Ja-

maican men liked the most—meat, sugar, and rice—were in very short supply. Yet, more than any other issue, dissatisfaction over wages was the most contentious. Jamaican men's contract stated, "there shall be no strikes, lockouts, or stoppages of work during the period of employment," but they frequently organized work stoppages and used other creative tactics to force farmers to improve their wages and comply with contract standards.

On April 28, 1947, Congress terminated the wartime British West Indies Temporary Alien Labor Program, although the program did not officially conclude until December 31, 1947. On January 1, 1948, the wartime program was replaced by a system of individual contracts between American employers and Jamaican men. Employers wanting Jamaican farmworkers could, with authorization from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, recruit within Jamaica or other West Indian islands. The disadvantage of the post-1947 agreements was that each contract was concluded after separate negotiations with individual employers. In 1952 this temporary system received permanent sanction when the Department of Labor, under section H-2A of the new Immigration Nationality Act, authorized American employers to contract with West Indian men for farm work. The H-2A program permitted American farmers to hire foreign workers if they could prove that no domestic workers wanted the jobs, and it gave employers complete discretion in where and how to recruit workers. Since 1952, American employers have recruited in Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Barbados, although Jamaicans have remained the largest group of West Indian farmworkers. Many have continued to pick citrus fruits and cut sugarcane in Florida, while others pick apples in New York and New England. Under the H-2A provisions, problems of housing, food, wages, and general mistreatment of Jamaican farm workers continue to beleaguer the program into the twenty-first century, just as they did during World War II.

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WENDI N. MANUEL-SCOTT (2005)

Farrakhan, Louis

May 17, 1933

Louis Eugene Walcott was born in the Bronx, New York, but was raised in Boston by his West Indian mother. Deeply religious, Walcott faithfully attended the Episcopalian church in his neighborhood and became an altar boy. With the rigorous discipline provided by his mother and his church, he did fairly well academically and graduated with honors from the prestigious Boston English High School, where he also participated on the track team and played the violin in the school orchestra.

In 1953, after two years at the Winston-Salem Teachers College in North Carolina, Walcott dropped out to pursue his favorite avocation of music and made it his first career. An accomplished violinist, pianist, and vocalist, he performed professionally on the Boston nightclub circuit as a singer of calypso and country songs. In 1955, at the age of twenty-two, Malcolm X recruited him for the Nation of Islam. Following its custom, he dropped his surname and took an X, which meant "undetermined." However, it was not until he had met Elijah Muhammad, the supreme leader of the Nation of Islam, on a visit to the Chicago headquarters that Louis X converted and dedicated his life to building the Nation. After Louis X proved himself for ten years, Elijah Muhammad gave him his Muslim name, "Abdul Haleem Farrakhan," in May 1965. As a rising star within the Nation, Farrakhan also wrote the only song, the popular "A White Man's Heaven is a Black Man's Hell," and the only dramatic play, Orgena ("A Negro" spelled backward), endorsed by Muhammad.

After a nine-month apprenticeship with Malcolm X at Temple No. 7 in Harlem, Minister Farrakhan was appointed as the head minister of the Boston Temple No. 11, which Malcolm founded. Later, after Malcolm X had split with the Nation, Farrakhan was awarded Malcolm's Temple No. 7, the most important pastorate in the Nation after the Chicago headquarters. He was also appointed national spokesman or national representative after Malcolm left the Nation in 1964 and began to introduce Elijah Muhammad at Savior Day rallies, a task that had once belonged to Malcolm. Like his predecessor, Farrakhan is a dynamic

and charismatic leader and a powerful speaker with an ability to appeal to masses of black people.

In February 1975, when Elijah Muhammad died, the Nation of Islam experienced its largest schism. Wallace Dean Muhammad, the fifth of Elijah's six sons, was surprisingly chosen as supreme minister by the leadership hierarchy. In April 1975 Wallace, who later took the Muslim title and name of Imam Warith Deen Muhammad, made radical changes in the Nation of Islam, gradually moving the group toward orthodox Sunni Islam. In 1975 Farrakhan left the New York Mosque. Until 1978 Farrakhan, who had expected to be chosen as Elijah's successor, kept silent in public and traveled extensively in Muslim countries, where he found a need to recover the focus upon race and black nationalism that the Nation had emphasized. Other disaffected leaders and followers had already formed splinter Nation of Islam groups—Silas Muhammad in Atlanta, John Muhammad in Detroit, and Caliph in Baltimore. In 1978 Farrakhan formed a new organization, also called the Nation of Islam, resurrecting the teachings, ideology, and organizational structure of Elijah Muhammad, and he began to rebuild his base of followers by making extensive speaking tours in black communities. Farrakhan claimed it was his organization, not that of Wallace Muhammad, that was the legitimate successor to the old Nation of Islam.

In 1979, Farrakhan began printing editions of *The Final Call,* a name he resurrected from early copies of a newspaper that Elijah Muhammad had put out in Chicago in 1934. The "final call" was a call to black people to return to Allah as incarnated in Master Fard Muhammad or Master Fard and witnessed by his apostle Elijah Muhammad. For Farrakhan, the final call has an eschatological dimension; it is the last call, the last chance for black people to achieve their liberation.

Farrakhan became known to the American public through a series of controversies that were stirred when he first supported the Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign. His Fruit of Islam guards provided security for Jackson. After Jackson's offhand, seemingly anti-Semitic remarks about New York City as "Hymietown" became a campaign issue, Farrakhan threatened to ostracize *Washington Post* reporter Milton Coleman, who had released the story in the black community. Farrakhan has also become embroiled in a continuing controversy with the American Jewish community by making anti-Semitic statements. Farrakhan has argued that his statements were misconstrued. Furthermore, he contends that a distorted media focus on this issue has not adequately covered the achievements of his movement.

Farrakhan's Nation of Islam has been successful in getting rid of drug dealers in a number of public housing projects and private apartment buildings; a national private security agency for hire, manned by the Fruit of Islam, has been established. The Nation has been at the forefront of organizing a peace pact between gang members in Los Angeles and several other cities. They have established a clinic for the treatment of AIDS patients in Washington, D.C. A cosmetics company, Clean and Fresh, has marketed its products in the black community. Moreover, they have continued to reach out to reform black people with the Nation's traditional dual emphases: self-identity, to know yourself; and economic independence, to do for yourself. Under Farrakhan's leadership, the Nation has allowed its members to participate in electoral politics and to run for office, actions that were forbidden under Elijah Muhammad. He has also allowed women to become ministers and public leaders in the Nation, which places his group ahead of all the orthodox Muslim groups in giving women equality. Although the core of Farrakhan's Nation of Islam continues to be about twenty thousand members, his influence is much greater, attracting crowds of forty thousand or more in speeches across the country. His group is the fastest growing of the various Muslim movements, largely through the influence of such rap groups as Public Enemy and Prince Akeem. International branches have been formed in Ghana, London, and the Caribbean.

In the United States throughout the 1990s, however, Farrakhan remained an immensely controversial figure. In January 1995 newspapers revealed that Qubilah Shabazz, the daughter of Malcolm X, had plotted with a gunman to assassinate Farrakhan. He responded by expressing sympathy for Shabazz, and he helped persuade federal officials to allow Shabazz to plea-bargain. Later that year, Farrakhan's plans for a Million Man March on Washington drew national attention. In October 1995 he delivered the keynote speech at the march, and he called for black men to repent for their treatment of their wives and to organize in their communities. In March 1996 he drew widespread condemnation following a trip to the Middle East that included stops in Iran, Libya, Syria, and Nigeria, and for his announcement that Libyan dictator Muammar Qadhafi had contributed one million dollars to the Nation of Islam.

In the late 1990s Farrakhan was treated for prostate cancer, a disease that caused the death of his good friend and fellow activist Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) in 1998. Complications with his own treatment with implanted radioactive seeds caused extensive bleeding and resulted in a near death experience for Farrakhan. He was transformed by this experience and began to moderate his views and to move closer to Sunni Islam. Members of the

Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan addresses a crowd of demonstrators, 2002. *Speaking on the issue of reparations for the injustices of slavery, Farrakhan joins in a rally and protest on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.* GETTY IMAGES

Nation of Islam were taught how to do the formal Arabic prayers, prostrating themselves as other Muslims, and to hold the Friday Jum'ah prayer service. They also follow the Islamic lunar calendar for the month of the Ramadan celebration instead of fasting only during the month of December, as Elijah Muhammad taught them in order to counteract the influences of Christmas. Beginning in 2001 Imam Warith Deen Muhammad and Minister Louis Farrakhan have held joint prayer services during the last weekend of February, the traditional time for the Nation's Savior's Day celebration. Although they have developed friendly relationships, they have decided not to merge their respective movements.

See also Fard, Wallace D.; Islam; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Father Divine

c. 1880
September 10, 1965

Father Divine, a minister in New York City's Harlem and other locations, was born George Baker to ex-slaves in Rockville, Maryland. He endured poverty and segregation as a child, and at age twenty he moved to Baltimore, where he taught Sunday school and preached in storefront churches. In 1912 he began an itinerant ministry, focusing on the South. He attracted a small following and, pooling his disciples' earnings, moved north and purchased a home in 1919 in the exclusively white Long Island community of Sayville, New York. He opened his doors to the unemployed and homeless.

By 1931, thousands were flocking to worship services in his home, and his white neighbors grew hostile. In November 1931 they summoned police, who arrested him for disturbing the peace and maintaining a public nuisance. Found guilty, he received the maximum fine and a sentence of one year in jail. Four days later, the sentencing judge died.

The judge's sudden death catapulted Father Divine into the limelight. Some saw it as evidence of his great powers; others viewed it as sinister retribution. Although Father Divine denied responsibility for the death, the incident aroused curiosity, and throughout the 1930s the news media continued to report on his activities.

Father Divine's Peace Mission movement grew, establishing extensions throughout the United States and in major cities abroad. He relocated his headquarters to Harlem, where he guided the movement, conducted worship services, and ran an employment agency. During the Great Depression, the movement opened businesses and sponsored a national network of relief shelters, furnishing thousands of poor people with food, clothes, and jobs.

Father Divine's appeal derived from his unique theology, a mixture of African-American folk religion, Methodism, Catholicism, Pentecostalism, and New Thought, an ideology based on the power of positive thinking. He encouraged followers to believe that he was God and to channel his spirit to generate health, prosperity, and salvation. He demanded they adhere to a strict moral code, abstaining from sexual intercourse and alcohol, and disciples cut family ties and assumed new names. His worship services included a banquet of endless courses, symbolizing his access to abundance. His mind-power theology attracted many, especially those suffering from racism and economic dislocation, giving disciples a sense of control over their destinies in a time filled with chaos and confusion.

His social programs also drew followers. Although rigid rules governed the movement's shelters, they were heavily patronized. An integrationist, Father Divine campaigned for civil rights, attracting both African-American and Euro-American disciples. Challenging American racism, he required followers to live and work in integrated pairs.

With economic recovery in the 1940s, Father Divine's message lost much of its appeal; membership in the movement declined and Peace Missions closed. In 1946 he made headlines with his marriage to a white disciple named Sweet Angel, and he spent his declining years grooming her for leadership. Upon his death in 1965, she assumed control of the movement, contending that Father Divine had not died but had surrendered his body, preferring to exist as a spirit. The movement perseveres with a small number of followers and businesses in the Philadelphia area.

See also Catholicism in the Americas; Folk Religion; Pentecostalism in the United States; Religion

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JILL M. WATTS (1996)

Fauset, Jessie Redmon

April 27, 1884
April 30, 1961

Jessie Redmon Fauset was a writer, a teacher, and the literary editor of the *Crisis,* the official journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Fauset published the early writings of Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes, and Jean Toomer, and she

promoted the work of poets Georgia Douglas Johnson and Anne Spencer. But, although she is more often remembered for her encouragement of other writers, she was herself among the most prolific authors of the Harlem Renaissance. In addition to her poems, reportage, reviews, short stories, and translations that appeared regularly in the *Crisis,* she published four novels in less than ten years.

Born in what is now Lawnside, New Jersey, Fauset grew up in Philadelphia. Her widowed father, a minister, was the primary influence on her childhood. Her outstanding academic record won her admission to Cornell University, where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa; she graduated in 1905. She taught high school French and earned an M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania. W. E. B. Du Bois hired her for the *Crisis* in 1919.

Her contributions to the *Crisis* were numerous and diverse, including biographical sketches of blacks across the diaspora, essays on drama and other cultural subjects, and reports on black women activists and political causes. One of the few women to participate in the 1921 Pan-African Congress, Fauset recorded her vivid impressions of that meeting. Several of her best essays describe her travel to Europe and North Africa during 1925 and 1926. She reviewed and translated works by Francophone writers from Africa and the Caribbean.

Although she subtitled one of them "A Novel without a Moral," all of Fauset's books convey strong messages. *There Is Confusion* (1924) depicts the struggle of an educated, idealistic young woman to achieve her professional goal of becoming a concert singer without compromising her personal and racial pride. Fauset's best novel, *Plum Bun* (1929), uses the subject of "passing" to explore issues of race and gender identity. Its protagonist, another aspiring artist, learns that no success is worth betraying one's selfhood. In the foreword to *The Chinaberry Tree* (1931), Fauset explains that her purpose is to write about the "breathing-spells, in-between spaces where colored men and women work and love and go their ways with no thought of the 'problem'" (Fauset, p. xxxi). Rather than racial differences, Fauset concentrates on things blacks and whites have in common; this emphasis is itself a form of protest. But as her final novel, ironically titled *Comedy: American Style* (1934), demonstrates, she did not ignore the problems of racism and sexism endemic to early twentieth-century American life. In general, however, Fauset's novels present sentimental resolutions to the complex problems they raise.

After resigning from the *Crisis* in 1926, Fauset returned to teaching. In 1929 she married businessman Herbert Harris, and they later moved to Montclair, N.J. She ceased thereafter to play a public role. Yet even after her death, in 1961, her example continued to inspire. Not only had she probably published more than any black American woman before her, her fiction confirmed that not all the drama in African-American life revolved around interracial conflict.

See also Bontemps, Arna; *Crisis, The;* Du Bois, W. E. B.; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Literature; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Pan-Africanism; Toomer, Jean

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CHERYL A. WALL (1996)

February Revolt

In the early months of 1970, thousands of Afro-Trinidadians marched up and down the roads and public spaces of Trinidad and Tobago shouting "Black Power," "Power to the People," and other related slogans. The Black Power movement (or the "Black Power Revolution" as it was termed by some commentators) was part of an international movement of African peoples protesting their continued marginalization—both in countries with white majorities and in those such as Trinidad and Tobago that had black majorities and were led by blacks. In what has been termed the February Revolt, Afro-Trinidadians expressed their profound disapproval with the way resources, material and symbolic, were being allocated in the society. The protests continued and grew larger in March and April before the government eventually declared a state of emergency and jailed the leaders of the demonstrations. Sections of the army also mutinied on April 21, 1970, before surrendering several days later to the government.

In Trinidad and Tobago, young blacks were protesting the fact that, although self-government and political independence had been won from the British in 1962, the engines of the economy (the oil refineries, the banks and insurance companies, and several other critical firms) remained in foreign hands, even though some had been juridically "localized." The protestors also lamented the fact

that the industrialization strategy known as "Operation Jobs" that was being pursued by the ruling People's National Movement (PNM), depended heavily on direct foreign investment, which was capital intensive and did not create the number of jobs that had been promised.

There were also complaints that, political, or "flag," independence notwithstanding, many of the key symbols of the society, and the manner in which power and status were defined and allocated, continued to reflect the old socioeconomic order based on the sugar plantation and foreign-owned oil. A few blacks had been co-opted at the management level but they allegedly remained "Afro-Saxons," a pejorative term used to describe English loyalists in the tropics, also known as "Black Britishers."

The prime minister of the country at the time, Dr. Eric Williams, was a distinguished black scholar who had written the classic book, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), as well as *The Negro in the Caribbean* (1942). Both of these books had led his supporters to regard him as the providential messiah who would lead his people to the promised land. He had also authored several radical pamphlets, such as *Massa Day Done* (1961), in which promises were made to restructure the old colonial order. By 1970, however, this promised social revolution, though underway, was not visible enough to many impatient young blacks, who believed that Williams had either sold out the country or abandoned all that he had once stood for.

In response to the challenge posed by the marchers and a mutinous army, Williams repressed the movement by declaring a state of emergency and arresting many of its leaders. He then proceeded, however, to implement many of the policies that the protesters had demanded. Ironically, the movement provided Williams with the leverage he needed to force the private sector to broaden and deepen local participation in the economy. Williams went on to boast that he was the "biggest black power in the land," and that he supported all the positive things that the movement stood for.

Williams was of the view that his Afrocentric critics were not sufficiently aware of what the PNM had done between 1956 and 1970. As he declared in a nationwide broadcast on March 23, 1970:

> We have consciously sought to promote black economic power. We have . . . created 1,523 black small farmers over the country; we have encouraged small businesses in manufacture and tourism. . . . We have brought free secondary education within the reach of thousands of disadvantaged families who could not dream of it in 1956. . . . Our Public Service . . . is staffed today almost entirely by nationals, mainly black. We have unceasingly sought to control or at least to alleviate the unemployment which we inherited, and which has increased with the tremendous rise in the birth rate. We have created no fewer than 68,200 new jobs between 1956 and 1969.

Williams, however, came out fully in support of the programmatic agenda of Black Power, particularly its demand for economic power and black dignity. He urged the nation to "proceed to work more positively than ever towards the economic and social upliftment of the black disadvantaged groups in our society of both African and Asian origin, as the only way to achieve the genuine national integration to which so many of us are dedicated. If anyone wishes to continue to march and demonstrate, by all means let him do so. . . . But I urge that this should be done without violence."

Also of consequence was the greater willingness on the part of blacks to acknowledge their blackness and to cease "atoning" for being of African provenance. The change in dress and hairstyles (including what the author Vidya Naipaul referred to as "threatening hair") was part of this process, as was the growing tendency to regard native cultural offerings as valid.

The system of social stratification also changed significantly after 1970. In the colonial era, and even in the post-independence period, foreign and local whites were at the top of the social pyramid, the Chinese and mulatto element was in the middle, and blacks and Indians were at the bottom. The caste system had begun to fray at the edges in the 1950s, but the basic outlines of the system had remained. Beginning in 1970, however, the pace of change in the social order accelerated considerably—particularly after 1973, when a dramatic rise in oil prices revived the economy. Revenue from higher oil prices provided the government with the funding to implement some of the changes called for by black radicals.

See also Black Power Movement; Peoples National Movement; Williams, Eric

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SELWYN RYAN (2005)

Federal Writers' Project

The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) was an arm of the New Deal's Works Project Administration (WPA) that gave employment between 1935 and 1939 to some 4,500 American writers, 106 of them (as of 1937) African-American. The great majority of FWP writers were hired to work on the American Guide Series, a collection of state guidebooks describing the distinctive folkways and histories of the country's different regions, both rural and urban.

A number of prominent African-American writers participated in the FWP. The Illinois project hired Margaret Walker, Richard Wright, Willard Motley, Frank Yerby, William Attaway, Fenton Johnson, Arna Bontemps, and Katherine Dunham. The New York projected hired Wright, Claude McKay, Ralph Ellison, Tom Poston, Charles Cumberbatch, Henry Lee Moon, Roi Ottley, Helen Boardman, Ellen Tarry, and Waring Cuney. Zora Neale Hurston briefly directed the Florida project, and Charles S. Johnson contributed to the Tennessee state guide.

Because federal funding was cut off in 1939, after which various FWP projects reverted to individual states, much FWP material never saw publication. But in addition to the sections on Negro history in several state guides, a number of important studies of black culture were generated by FWP writers from FWP-based research. Urban studies include: McKay, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis* (1940); Wright, *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941); Ottley and William Weatherby, *New World A-Comin': Inside Black America* (1943); Ottley, *The Negro in New York: An Informal History* (1967); Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *Anyplace but Here* (1966); St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Negro Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945); Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (1948); and Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (1965).

Rural studies, drawn from the FWP's massive interviewing project of over two thousand ex-slaves from eighteen states, include the North Carolina project's *These Are Our Lives* (1939); the Savannah project's *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (1940); Roscoe Lewis, *The Negro in Virginia* (1940); Benjamin Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (1945); Charles L. Perdue, *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (1976); and George P. Rawick's nineteen-volume *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (1972), subsequently supplemented (1977, 1979) by twenty-two additional volumes.

The materials gathered in the slave narrative collection, while flawed, continue to be widely used in studies of U.S. slavery. Sterling Brown, the FWP's national editor of Negro affairs, encountered resistance from various state project heads who were reluctant to hire black interviewers or to adhere to Brown's goal of eliminating "racial bias . . . [that] does not produce the accurate picture of the Negro in American social history" (Gabbin, 1985, p. 69). But Brown received support from other project directors and managed to insert substantial material about African-American history and culture into many state guides, as well as to foster the ex-slave interviewing project.

Some historians of slavery insist that because most of the FWP interviewers were white, the former slaves engaged in a self-censorship that "lead[s] almost inevitably to a simplistic and distorted view of the plantation as a paternalistic institution where the chief feature of life was mutual love and respect between masters and slaves" (Blassingame, 1975, p. 490). Other historians, however, argue that "a blanket indictment of the interviews is as unjustified as their indiscriminate or uncritical use" and that the interviews constitute "the single most important source of data used to examine the 'peculiar institution' and its collapse" (Yetman, 1984, pp. 189, 209).

In addition to contributing to the state guides and the slave narrative collection, a number of African-American writers wrote and published works of their own during their FWP tenure. Hurston published *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), *Tell My Horse* (1938), and *Moses, Man of the Mountain* (1939); Attaway worked on *Blood on the Forge* (1941); Wright published *Uncle Tom's Children* and wrote *Native Son* (both in 1940); Bontemps published *Drums at Dusk* (1939); and Walker wrote an unpublished novel about Chicago ghetto life, *Goose Island,* as well as an early draft of *Jubilee* (eventually published in 1966).

The FWP experience did not simply provide these writers with financial support but significantly shaped the content and perspective of their writing. The project provided Hurston with recording equipment and transportation, enabling her to deepen her already established interests as a folklorist. Attaway's *Blood on the Forge* and Wright's *Twelve Million Black Voices,* which depict the cultural dislocation of southern sharecroppers in the industrial North, reflect central concerns of the Illinois project. Wright's *Native Son* was profoundly shaped by the FWP-based urban sociology of Cayton and Drake's emerging Chicago School. Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1953), which treats black experience as both distinctly African American and broadly human, reflected the FWP's characteristic in-

sistence that the United States is a harmonious blend of distinct cultural particularities.

The work performed by black writers in the FWP showed the project's preoccupation with the nation's diverse folkways. The FWP's distinct approach to diversity cannot be fully understood, however, apart from the influence of the cultural politics espoused by the left—specifically, the Communist Party of the United States—in the era of the Popular Front (1935–1939). The FWP was not, as was claimed in 1939 by House Un-American Activities Committee head Martin Dies, "doing more to spread Communist propaganda than the Communist Party itself" (Penkower, 1977, p. 195). But a number of FWP writers, black and white, worked in the orbit of the left. The admixture of localism and universalism pervading many works of the FWP was strongly influenced by the cultural left's pluralistic project of seeking the "real America" in "the people."

See also Black Arts Movement; Bontemps, Arna; Brown, Sterling Allen; Cayton, Horace; Communist Party of the United States; Drake, St. Clair; Dunham, Katherine; Ellison, Ralph; Folklore; Great Depression and the New Deal; Harlem Renaissance; Hurston, Zora Neale; Literature of the United States; McKay, Claude; Slave Narratives; Wright, Richard

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BARBARA CLARE FOLEY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Feelings, Thomas

May 19, 1933
August 25, 2003

Born in New York and raised in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, author and illustrator Tom Feelings graduated from the George Westinghouse Vocational School in 1951 and the School of Visual Arts, where he studied cartooning from 1951 to 1953 and illustration from 1957 to 1960. His education was interrupted by four years in the air force, in which Feelings served in the graphic arts division.

In 1958, while still in school, Feelings published a comic strip, "Tommy Traveler in the World of Negro History," in the *New York Age*. The strip, featuring a boy educating himself about black history, was celebratory, pedagogic in intent, and directed largely at children—concerns that dominate all of Feelings's art. Upon graduation, he sought freelance work while occupying himself drawing pictures of black people and places in and around his Brooklyn neighborhood.

In 1960 Feelings joined the African Jazz Art Society, a group of musicians and artists inspired by the teachings of Marcus Garvey. In 1964, unable to establish a freelance career, largely because black illustrators found it difficult to get assignments, Feelings emigrated to Ghana. He worked as an illustrator at the Government Printing House and also did freelance commissions. The Ghana experience changed Feelings's illustrative style: His previous drawings had been somber and mostly monochromatic; his new pictures were colorful and livelier. Following the 1966 coup in Ghana, the press where Feelings worked was closed and he lost his job. He returned briefly to the United States, then headed the children's book project at the Ministry of Education, in Guyana, from 1971 to 1974.

After returning to the United States, Feelings lived mostly in New York and illustrated more than twenty books, winning numerous awards and citations in the process. In 1968 he illustrated Julius Lester's *To Be a Slave*. *Mojo Means One: Swahili Counting Book* (1971) and *Jambo Means Hello: Swahili Alphabet Book* (1974), both works authored by his wife at the time, Muriel Feelings, seek to introduce the young African-American reader to a traditional, simple, communal black America. His 1972 autobiography, *Black Pilgrimage,* looks at what it means to be black and a minority in the United States as compared to being part of a majority in independent Africa.

In 1982 Feelings was awarded a National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) Visual Arts Fellowship. *Now Sheba*

Sings the Song, a series of drawings of black women done over twenty-five years, accompanied by a poem by Maya Angelou, was published in 1987. In 1990 Feelings became the artist-in-residence at the University of South Carolina in Columbia. *Soul Looks Back in Wonder,* his first full-color picture book, along with poems with uplifting messages chosen from some of the best African-American poets, appeared in 1993. Like almost all of Feelings's output, it celebrates the African and African-American experience for the benefit of a young audience. The last book that Feelings both wrote and illustrated, *The Middle Passage: White Ships/Black Cargo* (1995), is considered by many commentators to be his masterpiece. A moving depiction of the journey of enslaved African Americans on slave ships bound for North and Central America, *The Middle Passage* was awarded the Coretta Scott King Book Award for illustration in 1996.

On May 18, 2003, family and friends joined Feelings for his seventieth birthday celebration—the first birthday party he had ever had. Feelings passed away on August 25, 2003, after a bout with cancer, leaving behind a picture of a legacy.

See also Angelou, Maya; Garvey, Marcus; Lester, Julius; Literature in the United States

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QADRI ISMAIL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Feminist Theory and Criticism

While the term *black feminism* originated in the 1970s, the central tenets of black feminist ideology date back to the mid-nineteenth century. Black feminists in both the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries argued that the intersection of race, class, and gender in their lives, commonly referred to as the "double bind," inevitably shape the political and ideological projects led by and for black women. Late-twentieth-century black feminists have expanded the concept of the "double bind" to include other forms of discrimination—such as sexual harassment and homophobia—that impact the daily lives of African-American women. For example, many black feminists have argued that they cannot fight one form of oppression, be it sexism, racism, classism, or homophobia, but must, because of their intersecting sociopolitical identities, challenge all or some combination of these forms of discrimination. Furthermore, black feminists have resisted for generations the separatism of their white feminist counterparts who have not traditionally included racism and classism as part of the women's rights agenda while simultaneously questioning the patriarchal beliefs of their African-American male leaders who often choose to ignore sexism in the fight for racial justice. Additionally, black feminists argue that their quest to eliminate racism and patriarchy must be deeply rooted in and connected to the freedom of all African-American people. As such, this community-centered concept has led to debates among black feminists to forgo the term *black feminist* and replace it with the seemingly more holistic, more multicultural term of *womanist.*

Black feminism has three underlying tenets: first, that black men have often asserted their "rights to be men" by restricting these same rights for black women; second, that black male leaders often consider it inappropriate for black women to playing a leading role in fighting for black freedom and justice; third, that mainstream feminism in the United States, from the suffragists to pro-choice advocates, define feminism by excluding the needs and rights of women of color and poor women. In regards to the first challenge, the emphasis on racial unity has resulted in black women being called "race traitor" when they critique or challenge black male authority. For example, the term "race traitor" was widely applied to black feminists who supported Desiree Washington in the rape trial against Mike Tyson; who criticized Clarence Thomas's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court; or who protested the gender exclusion of the Million Man March. In all three cases black feminists who spoke out against sexism and tried to address the multiple forms of oppression evident in these events were accused of forfeiting their racial identity by blindly following white feminists at the expense of black people. In response to the perennial exclusion of black women from positions of leadership in civil rights and social justice programs, black feminists argue that these values stem from deeply patriarchal and heterosexist attitudes in the African-American community regarding

"appropriate" women's behavior. Black feminists argue that these sexist belief systems within the African-American community unfairly relegate black women to subservient roles within the fight for racial justice. However, while black feminists contend that sexism and homophobia within the black community creates an antiblack feminist bias, they also articulate the third tenet of black feminism, which argues that mainstream feminism primarily addresses the needs of white, middle-class, well-educated women. As a result, black feminists have challenged white feminists to include the voices and experiences of women of color and working-class women as fundamental to the feminist project.

Black feminism can trace the roots of the "double bind" ideology back to the early-nineteenth century. Because most nineteenth-century African-American women were enslaved, free black women joined the abolitionist movement to help manumit their fellow black sisters. In early 1831, Maria Stewart published the essay titled "Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, the Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build" in the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*. This essay was significant not only because it was the first political manifesto written by an African-American woman but also because Stewart revealed that black women faced a unique set of problems in slavery because of their doubly oppressed status as slave and woman. In 1861 Harriet Jacobs, under the pseudonym Linda Brent, published the slave narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl. Incidents* was the first slave narrative to provide a detailed account of the life of a slave woman. In her autobiography Jacobs revealed that she, like most enslaved African-American women and girls, was especially vulnerable to sexual exploitation by her slave master. Moreover, in contrast to Frederick Douglass's 1845 *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave,* Jacobs also recognized that black women were less likely to escape slavery than black men because they were the primary caretakers of their children. As such, enslaved black women had fewer options than black men and substantially fewer rights than white women. Like Jacobs, abolitionist Sojourner Truth focused on black women's rights in her antislavery speeches. Sojourner Truth is best known for her 1851 speech, popularly referred to as "Ain't I a Woman?" that she delivered at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio. In this speech, Sojourner challenged white feminists to expand their definitions of womanhood to include free and enslaved African-American women, while simultaneously critiquing men for refusing to grant all women equal rights. Immediately after the Civil War, Truth continued to politic on behalf of black women, arguing that because black men and women work equally hard, black women and black men should have equal rights and both be guaranteed the right to vote.

By the end of the nineteenth century, black women, like white women, still did not have the right to vote. However, the period 1890 to 1920 is now seen as the "Women's Era" of African-American history because of an increase in activism and political visibility of black women in society. Black women created organizations that demanded women's suffrage and focused on a range of social and political issues that affected black communities. Antilynching activism, brought to national attention by journalist and activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, opposed not only the widespread lynching of black men but also the sexual stereotyping of black women as immoral in contrast to chaste white women, whom lynching supposedly vindicated. In 1892 Anna Julia Cooper wrote the first black feminist book, *A Voice from the South.* Cooper's basic premise was that black women and black men experienced severe oppression during slavery, with the result that neither sex had gained any significant advantage over the other. Consequently, Cooper did not believe that men were innately more suited for racial uplift than black women. In fact, she believed that when black women fought against injustice, they framed race issues around the needs of working-class men, women, and children. This was the message behind one of the most famous passages in *A Voice from the South:* "Only the Black Woman can say 'where and when I enter, in the quiet undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me.'"

In 1896 African-American women founded the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC), in response to a white journalist's insulting letter about African-American women. The NACWC brought together more than one hundred black women's clubs and became the black woman's primary vehicle for race leadership. Clubwomen, who subscribed to the strictest model of "respectability," believed that it was their responsibility to teach poorer African-American women middle-class traits of housecleaning, child care, and etiquette. The national motto, "Lifting as We Climb," addressed concerns of class and social uplift. Leaders in the black women's club movement such as Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Church Terrell, and Anna Julia Cooper, formed the clubs to enact municipal, civic, and educational reform. These activities coalesced with their desire for increased political visibility and the vote. In the end, the "Women's Era" embodied the ideology that the problems of the race revolved around the problems of its women.

Between 1923 and 1926, black women blues singers rose to national prominence. While the African-American

woman activists in the "Women's Era" believed that they should model middle-class attitudes for working-class women, black women blues singers such as Bessie Smith and Gertrude "Ma" Rainey derived their black feminist identity from and within African-American poor and working-class communities. One significant ideological difference between these two strands of black feminism was the treatment of black women's sexuality. For the most part, black feminists of the "Women's Era" addressed issues of black female sexuality by disproving the stereotypes that black women were innately sexually promiscuous and unrespectable. However, in both their song lyrics and public persona, blues women were significantly more explicit about sexual desire. Given the stringent social norms regarding black female sexuality from both within and outside the African-American community, when artists like Gertrude Rainey and Bessie Smith sang about women's sexuality, they put forth a model of black feminism based on an open defiance of patriarchy and male sexual dominance. By embodying the traits of independence, tenacity, and sexuality, blues women redefined the woman's "sphere" of domesticity to include those women who worked on the road traveling and singing.

Black women's participation in the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s was crucial, although few were recognized for their leadership. In fact, frustration with male dominance in the civil rights and black nationalist movements as well as dissatisfaction with the narrowness of white feminists' agendas were among the reasons that black women continued to confront the impact of gender oppression in their own lives. Even though Ella Baker was one of the most significant civil rights leaders, her pivotal leadership and contributions to the civil rights movement were ignored until very recently. In 1956, Baker, along with Stanley Levinson and Bayard Rustin, formed "In Friendship," a fund-raising group that supported southern civil rights organizations that were spawned by the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott. Nonetheless, she often felt that the patriarchal attitudes of the black men in the civil rights movement made it substantially harder for her to ascend to and keep her position of leadership. Although Baker was instrumental in organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other black ministers in 1957, she eventually disagreed with their concept of a strong central leadership. In line with the community-centered approach of black feminist thought, Baker was convinced change must begin at the grassroots level rather than through centralized power. As a result, in 1960 Baker helped organize many of the varied student organizations that had been involved in the early sit-in movement, eventually fostering the creation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). During the early 1960s SNCC became involved in the Freedom Rides, which set out to desegregate buses, and also participated in the voter registration drive, Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were particularly challenging for black women activists who felt alienated by the mainstream feminist movement, civil rights organizations, and the Black Panther Party. As a result, black feminists, much like their early predecessors, realized that they had to create their own organizations and write their own political manifestos in order to challenge the daily discriminations African-American women experienced. On behalf of working- and middle-class black women, in 1973 the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) supported the African-American woman's right to work at a living wage; argued that she must have access to quality education, job training, and health care; and demanded protection for her reproductive rights, specifically her right to refuse sterilization. Similar to the leaders of the black women's club movement, members of the National Welfare Rights Organization (1967) and the NBFO did not differentiate race, class, and gender but instead focused on their intersections, serving the masses of African-American women who were multiply afflicted by American racism and sexism. In 1977 a group of radical black feminists in Boston, who were inspired by the NBFO, created the Combahee River Collective. The Combahee River Collective, named after the Combahee River that Harriet Tubman used to help more than seven hundred slaves escape slavery, issued a position paper that analyzed the intersection of oppression in black women's lives and asserted the legitimacy of feminist organizing by black women. While the "Black Feminist Statement" continued the black feminist tradition of addressing the exclusion of black women from gender-based or race-based political organizations, the document was an even more radical statement of black feminism because it was explicitly socialist, addressed homophobia, and called for sisterhood among black women of various sexual orientations.

Unlike the black feminists of the "Women's Era" who understandably depicted black women as respectable and virtuous, the black feminists of the late 1960s and early 1970s explicitly, quite like the blues women who preceded them, attended issues of black female sexuality. These modern black feminists expanded the definition of black female sexuality to include issues of birth control, forced sterilization, same-sex relationships, autonomous sexual desire, and sexual assault. As such, these black feminists expanded the definition of black women's oppression from the "double bind" to intersectional and multifaceted. Toni Cade Bambara's 1970 edited collection *The Black*

Woman explored these themes even more. Her anthology opened up a dialogue about black female sexuality that later books, most notably Toni Morrison's *Sula* (1974), Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Was Enuf* (1975), Gayl Jones's *Corregidora* (1975), Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (1979), and Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982), explored in-depth. Additionally, the early commitment of black lesbian feminists such as Audre Lorde, Pat Parker, Margaret Sloan, and Barbara Smith were crucial to the foundation of the black feminist movement in the 1970s because they unequivocally argued against the multiple layers of oppression that black women faced both outside of and within the African-American community. Arguing against black nationalist liberation models that African-American families desperately needed to reinstate men as the head, Audre Lorde's classic text, *Sister Outsider,* skillfully illustrates that the intersections of sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia in the lives of black women needed to be challenged in order for all African Americans to be free.

In the 1980s, bell hooks and Alice Walker provided pivotal texts on black feminism. bell hooks's *Ain't I Woman* (1981) provided an extensive historical analysis of how race, gender, and class intersect to shape and to oppress the lives of black women. Like the Combahee River Collective's "Black Feminist Statement," hooks defined black feminism as a survival mechanism that African-American women have and continue to need to use to challenge their multifaceted oppression. In her controversial novel *The Color Purple,* Alice Walker sparked new debates about sexism in the African-American community. While *The Color Purple* explored the negative impact of southern segregation on the lives of African-American families, Walker primarily focused on how African-American women survived and confronted the sexism they experienced within their own families and communities. Like Michelle Wallace and Ntozake Shange, Walker was widely criticized for her portrayal of black men as sexist and abusive toward African-American women. In response, Walker addressed the sexism implicit in these critiques, but also argued that *The Color Purple* explored the variety of relationships—familial, sexual, and platonic—that provided the foundation for contemporary black feminist projects. In Walker's specific case, the woman-centered relationships that she created in *The Color Purple* inspired her coinage of the term "womanist" to describe the black feminist movement. In the introduction to *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens,* Walker noted that a womanist is "a Black feminist or feminist of color. . . . A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. . . . Committed to the survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not separatist, except periodically, for health."

In the 1990s African-American feminists continued to organize and openly challenge sexism and racism on the national scene and within the African-American community. In 1991 a grassroots group called "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves" gathered more than sixteen hundred signatures for a widely circulated ad in response to the hearings to appoint Clarence Thomas as a justice to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1995, amid controversy, black feminists spoke out about the patriarchal assumptions of the male-only Million Man March. While in the twenty-first century, black feminists continue to view sexism and racism as the major challenges that afflict African-American women, twenty-first-century black feminists, or "third wave" black feminists, now confront popular culture, mass media, and globalization in their black feminist projects. Given the severe criticism that hip-hop music and culture is both misogynistic and homophobic, "hip-hop feminism" appears almost oxymoronic. However, as Joan Morgan skillfully reveals in her 1999 book, *When Chickenheads Come Home to Roost: A Hip Hop Feminist Breaks It Down*, while the black feminism of the hip-hop generation is radically different from that of previous generations, the need for black feminism movement is equally as strong. Like its predecessors, hip-hop feminism has a radical critique of how racism and sexism affect the daily lives of black women. However, hip-hop feminists have the privileges of the feminist and civil rights movements while being the "first to have the devastation of AIDS, crack, and Black-on-Black violence" (p. 61). Morgan argues that the result of this paradox of both privilege and despair requires a new type of black feminism, "a feminism committed to 'keeping it real.' We need a voice like our music—one that samples and layers many voices, injects its sensibilities into the old and flips it into something new, provocative, and powerful." In addition to Joan Morgan, filmmaker Aishah Shahidah Simmons (2003) believes that a black feminist movement is needed now more than ever. However, while her definition of black feminism incorporates the central tenets of black feminism, she, like Morgan, grounds her feminism in a critique of popular culture and mass media. She counters the negative depictions of African-American women in music videos, television, and films by implementing her coined term, "Afrolez" which is a "femcentric multimedia arts project committed to using the moving image, the written and spoken word to counteract the negative impact of racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism on the lives of margi-

nalized and disenfranchised people, with a particular emphasis black women and girls."

Black feminism is both an ideological and a political project that challenges the varied forms of oppression that impact African-American women. From the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century, African-American feminists have recognized that their unique place in America society as both "woman" and "black" ensures that they will be doubly afflicted by racism and sexism. However, like any other political movement, black feminists hold on to their central tenets while they adapt their rhetoric and create projects that address the changing sociopolitical situations. From the "double bind" model to the multilayered oppression paradigm, black feminists argue that American democracy can only be realized when the most oppressed and marginalized members of society are free from the burden of oppression.

See also Baker, Ella J.; Bambara, Toni Cade; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Lorde, Audre; National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Truth, Sojourner; Walker, Alice; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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SALAMISHAH MARGARET TILLET (2005)

Festivals, U.S.

From early colonial times to the present day, African Americans have created and observed an impressive calendar of celebratory and commemorative events: jubilees, festivals and anniversaries, "frolics" and seasonal feasts, fairs and markets, parades, and pilgrimages—not to speak of more private or secret ceremonies, such as church meetings and revivals, family reunions, baptisms and funerals, and spiritual cults. These customs have received the casual or sustained attention of travelers, visitors, and local observers. They have been praised or disparaged, extolled as the epitome of a festive spirit that should prevail in any society and as the expression of an enduring, authentic culture, but they have also been dismissed by some as primitive, low-brow manifestations of a subculture; an unsophisticated, burlesque imitation of mainstream life; or, at best, an adaptation or appropriation of Euro-American customs.

This festive mood with which African Americans have been credited has encouraged the persistence of many prejudices and stereotypes fostered by the minstrel tradition, which represented blacks as a happy-go-lucky, careless, lighthearted people, prone to dancing and singing. This inclination for mirth has been interpreted as a sign that the predicament of slaves and their descendants should not be such a burden to the white mind, and that their sufferings and the wrongs committed against them have been exaggerated.

Yet African-American celebrations, with all their unacknowledged complexities of forms and functions, are powerful symbolic acts that express—vehemently and with exuberance—not acquiescence to fate but needs, desires, and utopian will, as well as disenchantment, anger, and rebelliousness. Communal, playful, or carnivalesque in character, they are events through which the community endeavors to build its identity, in self-reflective scrutiny and in constant confrontation with "the black image in the white mind." These feasts not only give the lie to and articulate the pain of certain truths, including the ambivalence of a dream always deferred, they also define unexamined propositions in performances infused with subtle ironies and double entendre.

Coronation Festivals

Among the "hallowdays" observed by northern slaves and free blacks, the coronation festivals, or "negro elections," set the pattern for many civic feasts and festivals. Once a year in colonial New England, slaves were allowed to accompany their masters to election festivities where whites organized the election of their governors. In the 1750s, blacks started to organize their own similar celebrations, in which a leader—preferably African-born and of known royal ancestry, quick-witted, and ready of speech—was elected king or governor, a title that endowed him with authority among both blacks and whites. (The title "king" or "governor" was used by blacks according to each New England colony's specific status: governors were elected in colonies that were relatively autonomous, whereas kings were elected in colonies more closely tied to England.) According to this custom, which endured through the 1850s, bondsmen confronted their African origin—the king was intermediary to the ancestors. Bondsmen also expressed their desire to have their separate institutions and to prove their ability for self-government.

Elections were prepared for by weeks of debates and meetings. A strong political message was conveyed to the community and to white rulers in a spirit that blended parodic intent and high seriousness. By ritually transferring power from the hands of the masters to those of one of their fellows, slaves were paving the way for their emancipation. Election days were perhaps the first freedom celebrations that combined the memory of the freedom and power Africans enjoyed before their capture—with an anticipation of the freedom to come. The official recognition of African royalty and gentility reversed old stereotypes, which associated Africanness with savagery and lack of culture. The king was regarded as a civilized "negro" (the term "black" was not in usage as a noun then), composed and refined. These elections, prompted by the desire to counter forces of fragmentation and to ease conflicts, sought a consensus and struck a note of unity.

Coronation festivals were also indicative of white-black relations. The elected was often the slave of a prominent master, and slaves devised strategies to gain the support of masters to organize their ceremonies. The wealthier the slave owner, the greater the chance of having a grand festival, and, conversely, the greater the display, the stronger the evidence of the master's influence. While these feasts increased antagonism between blacks and poor whites, they offered an occasion to redefine slave-master relations, based on mutual claims and obligations. Negro kings held many roles—as opinion leaders, counselors, justice makers, and mediators who could placate black insurgency or white fearfulness when faced with such a display of autonomy and self-rule.

There were other occasions when blacks gathered around a self-appointed leader, such as Pinkster, another well-known festival. Derived originally from the Dutch Whitsuntide celebration called *pfingster*, which the "Africs" took over in the late eighteenth century, Pinkster reached its peak in the early 1800s in Albany, New York. There, the choice of a hill as the site for the celebration had many symbolic meanings. From the top of this hill, blacks could look down on the world—an interesting reversal of the usual situation, as well as a mock imitation of the hills on which rulers like to set their capitols. Pinkster Hill was close to the place where many executions of blacks (accused in 1793 of having set fire to the city) had taken place. It was also close to a burial ground, a military cemetery, and an all-black cemetery.

Thus, death presided over the festivities, reminding blacks of the limits set on their freedom, of punishments inflicted on black rebels, of the failure to acknowledge or reward the achievements of black soldiers who had participated in the nation's wars, and of the intricate game of integration and segregation. The epitaphs and names inscribed on the graves in the black cemetery emphasized the enduring character of African customs and rites. Cemeteries may have been the ultimate freedom sites, since only in death could blacks reach the absolute freedom they were celebrating.

Coronations and Pinkster exemplify a significant trend in the role granted to feasts: the official recognition of blacks' special gift for creating festive performances—and their capacity for infusing it into other groups (Native Americans, Germans, Dutch, and French attended the Pinkster). Feasts thus offered an arena for interaction and for the dream of a utopian and pluralistic order in a society divided by many social and political conflicts. Feasts were also an ironic comment on a republic that claimed to be dedicated to freedom but could still enslave part of its population, as well as a demonstration of the resilience of victims whose spirits could not be crushed.

Emancipation Celebrations and the Fourth of July

Throughout the postrevolutionary era and in the antebellum years, African Americans evolved a tradition of emancipation celebrations that charted the different stages toward gradual, then complete, liberation. The future that was at stake was not only that of slaves and freed blacks, it was also the destiny of the nation and its aspiring democracy. These yearly occurrences were not marginal to black life; they were a political manifestation of jeremiad

and claim making that was pursued deliberately, was announced and debated in the press, and involved major institutions, societies, and associations (churches, societies for mutual relief, temperance and benevolent societies, freemasons, etc.).

Emancipation celebrations were occasions for public appearances in marches and parades or at universal exhibitions. Many leaders, both religious and political, seized these opportunities to address the world in sermons, speeches, orations, or harangues, developing race pride and race memory. They assessed the contribution of black people in the building of the nation, their progress, their capacity for self-government, and their commitment to liberty as a universal right. These feasts were not merely opportunities to celebrate on a large scale, they also held out a promise to fashion new roles in a better world and to wield new power. In addition, they heralded a season of change, from enslavement and invisibility to liberation and recognition.

Both freedom and power were present in the ceremonies, not as mere allegorical figures but as fully developed ideas whose force needed to be conveyed to large audiences. Images and symbols were evolved and played out—in words, gestures, movements, and visual forms, with much ado and a will to adorn. The talents and gifts of black folks were put to use in a collective effort to stir and arouse consciousness and encourage action.

In the black calendar of feasts, Independence Day was the most controversial and bleakest celebration. The solemnities of the Fourth of July encouraged African Americans to organize their own separate ceremonies and formulate their own interpretation of the meaning of these national commemorations. One is reminded of Frederick Douglass's famous 1852 address, "What Is to the American Slave Your Fourth of July?" Many black leaders urged their members not to observe that unholy day and proclaimed that persecution was not over and final emancipation still out of reach. July 4 thus became a menacing and perilous day, one on which blacks were more tempted to plan insurrection than to celebrate the republic. It was also a day when they were most exposed to violence, riots, arrests, and murder, as in New York in 1834 or New Hampshire in 1835. It is no wonder that they looked for other sites and landmarks to construct an alternative memory.

After 1808, January 1 was adopted as a day of civic celebration, in commemoration of the official end of the slave trade. Yet, as in similar feasts, thanksgiving was tempered by ardent protest, and rejoicing by mourning and memories of the hardships of the Middle Passage. January 1 induced a heightened consciousness of Africa, where the black odyssey had begun. Africa became the central symbol and the subject of heated debate, especially when the colonization movement encouraging free blacks to return to Africa divided the community.

Curiously, January 1 never became a black national holiday. It was celebrated for only eight years in New York, was abandoned in the 1830s in Philadelphia, and only after general emancipation was proclaimed on January 1, 1863, did it assume new significance. The strengthening of the "peculiar institution," the development of the dreaded domestic slave trade, and the illegal perpetuation of both the domestic and the foreign trade, may explain the decline in popularity of this memorial celebration. Blacks in many states chose instead the days when emancipation law was passed into their state constitutions, such as July 14 in Massachusetts. After 1827, New York blacks institutionalized July 5 as their freedom day, setting it apart from the American Fourth of July.

The abolition of slavery in the British West Indies by an act of Parliament on August 1, 1834, brought new hopes, and henceforth this memorable date became a rallying point for all freedom celebrations and for the black abolitionist crusade. State emancipations were indicted for having brought little improvement in the conditions of slaves and free blacks. The rights of blacks were trampled in the North, where racial violence and tensions continued to rise, while in the South slavery was entrenched more solidly than ever.

England and Canada became the symbols of the new celebration—the former was praised for setting an example for the American republic, while the latter was hailed as the land of the free and a refuge for the fugitives. Black orations became more fiery, urging the righting of wrongs and of all past errors. Orations also called for self-reliance, respectability, and exemplary conduct among blacks, for a distrust of whites, and for a stronger solidarity with the newly freed population of the West Indies and between the slaves and free blacks in the United States.

Big Quarterly and Other Local Celebrations

Increasingly, blacks sought sites that would commemorate events or figures more related to the African-American diaspora or to their community and its own distinctive history. Sometimes towns set the calendars—Baltimore for the Haitian Revolution, Cleveland for Nat Turner's Rebellion, and Boston in the late 1850s for Crispus Attucks. In 1814, Wilmington, Delaware, created its own celebration, Big Quarterly, which was observed for many years. Held at the close of the harvest season, it honored the founder of the Union Church of Africa, Peter Spencer.

Similar to religious revivals and patterned after the early meetings of the Quakers, Big Quarterly celebrated the struggles endured by leaders to achieve full ecclesiastical autonomy. This feast can be seen as the prototype of many religious services; it included praying, singing, the clapping of hands and stomping of feet, the beating of drums and tambourines, the playing of guitars, violins, and banjos. There was also a characteristic use of space at such gatherings. The feast began in the church, then moved outside on the church grounds, and it finally moved out to the open—Baltimore's famous French Street, for instance—where, late in the century as the feast grew more popular (in Baltimore attendance reached 10,000 in 1892; 20,000 in 1912), revival preachers urged repentance from sin and wandering minstrel evangelists played spirituals on odd instruments.

It was then also that educated "colored people" criticized the celebrations for giving way to weird cult practices and worldly pleasures, and for being outdated relics of old slavery times. In antebellum days, this religious feast was closer to a freedom celebration. Occurring in a region where slave-catching activities were intense, where slaves—who had to have a pass from the master to attend—were tempted to escape to Philadelphia or to the free states, Big Quarterly became a "big excursion on the Underground Railroad," with the presence among the pilgrims, who became potential fugitives, of both vigilant spies and marshals in addition to helpful railroad conductors.

In Syracuse in 1851 another major festival emerged in protest against the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law and honoring the rescue of a slave named Jerry. Jerry Rescue Day, which established Syracuse as the slaves' City of Refuge, embodied the spirit of defiance and of bold resistance to "iniquitous power" and to an infamous act that prevailed in the prewar years. Significantly, black leaders, rebels, warriors, and fugitives became heroic figures in celebrations and were chosen because they could demonstrate the unending fight against tyranny and for freedom. The oratory became more exhortative, the mood more impatient and indignant.

Freedom celebrations culminated in the early 1860s in Emancipation Jubilees and in the famous "Juneteenth," still observed today in Texas and surrounding states. In Texas, emancipation was announced to slaves eighteen months after its proclamation. This oddity of American history explains why Juneteenth, and not January 1, became a popular celebration in that area.

The Tradition of Celebration

Thus, from Election Day to freedom celebrations, African Americans created a ritual tradition of religious and community life. Momentous appearances in public places became challenges to the established order, calling attention to the danger of overlooking or forgetting iniquities, setbacks, and sufferings, as well as heroic acts. By reiterating a commonality of origin, goals, and strivings, feasts served to correct the inconsistencies of history and to cement a unity that was always in jeopardy.

Feasts also emphasized the necessary solidarity between the enslaved and the free, between African-born and American-born black people. Although most celebrations occurred in the North, they were symbolically and spiritually connected with slaves in the South, and a dense network of interaction was woven between various sites, places, and times. Former celebrations were often referred to and used as examples to follow or improve upon. The feasts themselves became memorable events to be passed on for generations to come and to be recorded in tales, song, and dance and in physical, verbal, kinetic, or musical images. The festive spirit became ingrained in African-American culture as something to celebrate in black speech, where it is inscribed in the literature and the arts that bear incessant testimony to the tradition.

The tradition created by colonial and antebellum celebrations has continued into the twenty-first century, still in anticipation of a freedom and justice that general emancipation failed to accomplish. Numerous associations founded after the Civil War resorted to ceremonial and commemorative rites to continue to enforce the idea of freedom, and they patterned their meetings and conventions on earlier gatherings. Freedom celebrations remained a model for the great marches and demonstrations—the protest against the 1917 riots, the parades of the Garvey movement, or the marches of the civil rights movement. The persistence of the tradition attests to the participation of African Americans in the struggle for democracy and to the crucial significance of these ritual stagings in cultural, intellectual, and political life.

Yet civil celebrations underwent some dramatic changes. More and more they became occasions of popular rejoicings. Boisterous festivity, screened out at first, crept in. Abundance and plentifulness replaced the earlier sobriety. As they grew in scope (the most popular were in urban centers, where the population was largest), they sometimes lost their original meaning and became essentially social occasions for convivial gatherings. It was the orator's and leader's duty and the role of the black press to remind participants of the seriousness of the purpose, and they did so with authority and eloquence. Neverthe-

less, the celebrations sometimes got out of control. With the changes brought by migration and demographic shifts, by the development of the media and of mass culture, and by the impunity of profit-seeking sponsors, some feasts turned into large commercial and popular events and lost their civil and political character, while others continued to meet white opposition and censure.

Rituals played an important role in celebrations and, whatever the occasion, shared certain features. They included the same speeches, addresses, or sermons; parades, marches, or processions; anthems, lyrics, and songs; banquets or picnics; dances and balls. They used all black people's skills—from the oratorical to the culinary, from the gift to adorn to polyrhythmic energy—to create their own modes, styles, and rhythms, always with an unfailing sense of improvisation and performance. And as they drew more people, many folkways, many rites of ordinary life (the habit of swapping songs, of cracking jokes, or "patting juba"), found their way into the ceremonies, blending memories of Africa with New World customs and forms, in a mood that was both solemn and playful, sacred and secular, celebratory and satiric. In many respects also, feasts were a privileged space for the encounters between cultures, favoring reciprocal influences, mergings and combinations, syncretism and creolization.

Carnival

Nowhere is the creolization of cultures more evident than in the Carnival tradition, which emerged in the New World in Brazil, Trinidad, Jamaica, and the other islands. Found in its earlier forms mostly in the South, it continues its modern forms in the great Caribbean festivals of Brooklyn and Toronto. These carnivals, perceived as bacchanalian revelry or weird saturnalia, were often associated with a special season and with rites of renewal, purification, or rebirth. Usually seen as more African—and therefore as more "primitive" and exotic, more tantalizing than the more familiar Anglo-European feasts—they have elicited ambiguous responses, ranging from outright disparagement on moral and aesthetic grounds (indecency and lewdness are judged horrid and hideous) to admiration for the exuberant display of so many skills and talents.

These "festivals of misrule" were often banned or strictly regulated by city ordinances and charged with bringing disturbances and misconduct—boisterous rioting and drunkenness, gambling, and undue license of all sorts. The same criticism, phrased in similar words, was leveled by some members of the black community itself, especially those concerned with respectability and with the dignity of the "race," every time they suspected any feast of yielding too much to the carnivalesque propensity of their people.

Yet the carnivalesque is always present in festive rituals to correct excesses—of piety, fervor, power—and as an instrument of emancipation from any form of authority. In the African-American quest for liberation, it became an essential means of expression, allying humor, wit, parody, and satire. It had ancient roots in African cultures; and in North American society, where the weight of puritanism was strong, where work, industriousness, sobriety, and gravity were highly valued and had become ideological tools to enforce servitude, the Carnival tradition became part of the political culture of the oppressed. Artistically it developed also as a subversive response to the Sambo image that later prevailed in the minstrel tradition. It created, as coronation festivals did, possibilities for the inversion of stereotypes, and it challenged a system of representation that was fraught with ideological misinterpretations. Paradoxically, black carnivalesque performances may have nourished white blackface minstrelsy, providing it with the artistic devices on which it thrived.

JONKONNU. The most notorious manifestations of the tradition are perhaps to be found in the North Carolina JonKonnu (John Canoe) Festival or in the Zulu and Mardi Gras parades of New Orleans. JonKonnu probably originated in Africa on the Guinea coast; was re-created in Jamaica in the late seventeenth century; spread through the Caribbean, where it was widely observed; and was introduced by slaves in the United States in isolated places—on plantations like Somerset Place or in city ports like Wilmington, North Carolina, or Key West, Florida. Meant to honor a Guinean folk hero, the festival became an elaborate satirical feast, ridiculing the white world with unparalleled inventiveness and magnificence.

The festival could last weeks, but it climaxed on Christmas Day and was attended by huge crowds. The procession, which took a ragman and his followers from house to house and through the streets, came to be known as a unique slave performance. "Coonering," as it was called, was characterized most of all by spectacular costumes and by extravagant dance steps to the music of "sinful" tunes. The rags and feathers, the fanciful headdress and masks, the use of ox or goat horns and cow and sheep bells, and the handmade instruments wove a complex web of symbolic structure, ritualization, and code building. The dressing in white skin encouraged slaves to claim certain prerogatives, even to organize revolts. In many feasts an implicit analogy was established between the "beaten" skin of the (often forbidden) drums and that of whipped slaves.

Christmas, the season of merrymaking and mobility that favored big gatherings and intense communication, became a dreaded time for planters who tried to stifle the subversive and rebellious spirit of coonering and to change a disquieting performance into a harmless pageant. Still held today, but now mostly controlled and observed by whites, it has lost part of its magnificence. In its heyday in antebellum America, JonKonnu was an artistic and political response of the slave population to its situation; it echoed in its own mode the freedom celebrations of the North. The lampooning liberty and grotesque parody of southern festivals turned them into arenas in which to voice anger and protest.

THE ZULU PARADE. In New Orleans, when Carnival came into existence in the late 1850s, blacks were not supposed to participate. The Zulu parade, which grew out of black social life, was created by a section of the population concerned about publicly asserting its status. It developed into a wholly separate street event, a parody of the white Krewes. The African Zulu, a new king of misrule, precedes Rex and mocks his regal splendor. The Carnival figures—shrunken heads of jungle beasts, royal prognosticator, or voodoo doctor—the masked or painted faces, and the coconuts emphasize both the African and minstrel motifs. Neither elite nor low-brow, neither genuinely African nor creole, the Zulu parade came under attack as too burlesque. Later, in the 1960s, it was criticized as exemplifying an "Uncle Tom on Wheels" and not fitting the mood of the times.

Yet the Zulu is a complex ritual that brings together several traditions: satire and masking, minstrelsy and vaudeville, brass bands, song, and dance. Another version of the coronation festival, the Zulu fuses elements of the European carnival with African, Caribbean, and Latin American practices. It establishes African Americans' rights to participate in the city's pageant, not as mere onlookers or indispensable entertainers whose various skills as musicians and jugglers had often been used to increase the glamour of white parades, but as creators and full-fledged citizens who could demonstrate both their role in the city's history and their potential role in its future.

INDIAN MASKING. The Mardi Gras Indians, consisting of ritual chiefs, each with a spy, flag boys, and followers, march in mock imitation of the king's court and follow secret routes through the city. They enact their own rituals of violent physical and verbal confrontations between tribes. These wild warriors chant disquieting songs and speak in tongues, accompanied by haunting drumbeats and an array of other percussive sounds as old as ancestral memories (in preference and contrast to the orderly military music of the official bands). They dance weird dance steps (e.g., the famous spy dance) and wear elaborate costumes made of beads, sequins, rhinestones, ribbons, and lace.

The tradition of Indian masking is old—originally found in Brazil, it appeared in the Caribbean in 1847. Meant to celebrate the Indian's fighting spirit and resistance, it also relates to communal rites of ancestral worship and to Dahomean ceremonial dances also found in jazz funerals. It is no accident that Mardi Gras Indians perform in the same area of New Orleans where jazz emerged out of the brass bands of Congo Square dances. Their festival may be a resurgence of the early drum gatherings that started in 1730 near the marshes of Congo Square, a market site where slaves bought merchandise from Native Americans and danced to African beats.

Today, the black Indians also appear on another festive day, March 19, at the intermission of the Lenten season. St. Joseph Day, originally an Italian Catholic feast that stylized altar building, blends the cult of saints (St. Joseph, "Queen Esther") with that of Indian heroes (Black Hawk) as well as that of voodoo spirits. Thus, religious and pagan rites, cult and carnival practices, indoor ceremonies and outdoor parades complement each other, converge, and merge.

Later in the year, Easter Rock, another feast that is still observed in rural Louisiana, celebrates the resurrection and similarly blends pagan and Christian elements. Its hero and emblem is both son and sun. The Son of God's rise from the dead is likened to that of the sun "rocking from the earth." All night long, prayer, "the shout," and dance herald and accompany the rocking of the sun/son.

Although the South has been the cradle of a diverse black carnivalesque tradition, in the prejazz and jazz ages another form of Carnival celebration found its way to the North. The modern West Indian festivals of Brooklyn in New York City and of Toronto, Canada, give further evidence of a process of Caribbeanization that has always been at work and that repeatedly intensified during periods of great migration. The importation of slaves from the Carib Basin, the arrival of many slaves from Santo Domingo after the Haitian Revolution in the early nineteenth century, and the late twentieth-century West Indian migration to the United States have all in various degrees brought many changes to "black" celebrations. They have intensified the creolization that brought together people of African, Hispanic, Indian, and French descent. The recent festivals are also generating a pan–West Indian consciousness that expresses itself artistically through costumes, masks, music, and dance. On a much-contested

terrain, they enact their own rituals of rebellion, resistance and protest, inclusion and exclusion. Chaotic, playful, or violent, Carnival offers a delicate balance between many complementary or contradictory elements.

African-American celebratory performances are special occasions to celebrate freedom; they consist of various cycles of ritualized events that have rich semantic and symbolic meaning, fully a part of African-American and American history and culture. They invite us to reconsider stereotyped representations of "the race" and to revise the assumptions upon which conceptions of important figures, events, and places have themselves become objects of celebration and commemorative fervor. They are potent weapons and arenas through which to voice anger, strivings, and desire. They are efficacious and eloquent tools to educate, exhort, or indict. They are witty parodies and satires that help distance reality and change "mentalities." Crucial agents of change, celebratory performances demonstrate a people's faith in words and ideas, in the force of collective memory and imagination, in the necessity of finding powerful display. These entertaining and instructive ceremonies exhibit a gift for adornment and an inventiveness that emphatically proclaim the triumph of life over all the forces that tend to suppress or subdue "the souls of black folk."

See also Africanisms; Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Emancipation; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Voodoo

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GENEVIÈVE FABRE (1996)

The First Vote. *The cover of* Harper's Weekly, *November 16, 1867, depicts an African-American freedman casting his ballot. Under the Reconstruction Act passed by Congress that year, Southern states were required to extend suffrage to black men. The fifteenth amendment, ratified in 1870, provided a constitutional guarantee for the voting rights off all African Americans, North and South.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides that voting rights shall not be abridged by the federal government or any state "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The amendment reflected the federal government's emergence during Reconstruction as the guarantor of civil rights against state intrusion.

Having granted most southern black men the right to vote, at least temporarily, by the Military Reconstruction

Political poster celebrating the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, 1870. *The amendment provided a constitutional guarantee that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Nevertheless, many state officials circumvented the intent of the legislation by using devices such as literacy tests and poll taxes to prevent black citizens from exercising their right to vote.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

acts of 1867, the Republican majority in Congress wanted to render black suffrage nationwide and permanent. Congressman George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts proposed a constitutional amendment in January 1869. Controversy arose over the wording, with many supporters of civil rights fearing that a vague amendment would permit later disenfranchisement through indirect means.

Other Republicans, however, insisted that northern states be able to restrict suffrage on the basis of literacy and education, often for nativist reasons. In addition, some congressmen feared granting unrestricted authority in this area to the federal government. In response to such concerns, a relatively limited form of the amendment passed Congress in February 1869, over vehement Democratic opposition. It was ratified by the states in March 1870, aided by the presence of Reconstruction governments in most southern states.

A more radical amendment, calling for an end to disenfranchisement based on "race, color, nationality, property, education, or religious beliefs," was rejected, as were feminist calls for women's suffrage. Furthermore, the amendment did not guarantee the right of blacks to hold office.

As proponents of the more radical amendment had feared, southern Democratic state governments did almost eliminate black voting through poll taxes, literacy tests, residency requirements, and similar means. The Fifteenth Amendment, however, did permanently secure voting rights in the northern states, several of which did not permit black voting at the time. The amendment was also of long-term significance in that it declared equal suffrage an

ideal, if not a reality, in the nation's fundamental law. The effort to actually secure black suffrage took more than this amendment. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fought successfully against the many abridgments to black suffrage in the early twentieth century, but it was not until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that the vast majority of eligible southern blacks were registered to vote.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Voting Rights Act of 1965

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Film

This entry consists of three articles. The first article examines the history of African descended peoples in film in Latin America and the Caribbean—with emphasis on Cuba and Brazil—noting similarities and differences with the history of African-American film in the United States. "Film in the United States" covers the history of African-American film through the 1970s. "Film in the United States, Contemporary" is an overview of African-American film in the United States since the mid-1980s.

Film in Latin America and the Caribbean
Darién J. Davis

Film in the United States
Thomas Cripps

Contemporary Film in the United States
Paula J. Massood

Film in Latin America and the Caribbean

Cinema has played an important role in the representation and diffusion of culture throughout the Americas since its arrival at the turn of the nineteenth century. Filmmakers have utilized the silver screen for a variety of purposes, from propaganda to entertainment to raising social consciousness. As in other areas of American life, Africans and their descendants have played significant roles in the development of the cinematic tradition in Latin American and the Caribbean. They have made important contributions as scriptwriters, producers, editors, directors, researchers, and actors despite discriminatory practices that limited their access and opportunities. At the same time, however, weak Latin American and Caribbean economies have provided few opportunities for filmmakers of all ethnicities.

Despite these obstacles, Brazil and Cuba, two countries with significant black populations, have produced scores of feature films that have garnered national and international praise. In addition, experimental and documentary filmmakers in Latin American have made a number of important works that speak to national and local experiences. Unfortunately, even high-quality Latin American and Caribbean films cannot attract the audiences that the highly advertised Hollywood blockbuster films often do. Nor has Latin America or the Caribbean developed internationally influential black directors. This has little to do with talent and much to do with language barriers, access to global communication systems, and limited publicity.

An assessment of film production in three broad geocultural divisions—Brazil; the Caribbean Basin; and Mexico and Spanish South and Central America—will help one understand the varied experience of the people of the African diaspora in film. Shaped by international and national social, political, and aesthetic trends, cinema has nonetheless contributed to pan-African consciousness. Indeed, feature films and documentaries about black culture and history have also played an important role in raising the awareness of the impact of the African diaspora throughout the Americas.

Brazil

Latin America's largest economy and most populous country is also home to the region's largest African-American population (depending on the method of organization of data). Even conservative statistics show more than fifteen million black Brazilians, whose contributions have been more visible in popular culture than in other areas. Their influence in Brazil's film industry began in the early stages with personalities such as director-writer-actor Benjamin de Oliveira. In general, however, Afro-Brazilians constitute a small fraction of the working directors, producers, technical staff, and actors in the country.

Black directors and writers have suffered from limited access to federal, state, and private funds necessary to make films in Brazil. Nevertheless, Brazil has produced several important directors, although none have produced a body of work that allows comparison to North American directors. The Afro-Brazilian writer, producer, and director José Cajado Filho (1912–1966) worked on a number of important films in the late 1940s and early 1950s, although the work of other black directors, such as Odilon López and Waldir Onofre (b. 1934), deal more specifically with racial issues.

Influenced by the theatrical revue and popular music and culture, Brazilian film production began at the turn of the nineteenth century and continued into the 1930s, under the watchful eyes of President Getúlio Vargas. In the 1940s, film entrepreneurs created the Hollywood-like film production companies, Cinédia and Vera Cruz. However, they soon fell into bankruptcy because they lacked the Hollywood distribution apparatus. The 1950s saw the emergence of a new cinema movement, cinema novo, that was interested in film with social relevance at a time when Brazil was experiencing rapid economic expansion under President Juscelino Kubitschek (1955-1960). In search of their national roots, many of the films looked at the ethnic and social groups often denied visibility in the official neocolonial history, including Afro-Brazilians.

In 1969, the state created the first government film agency, EmbraFilme, that was responsible for financing, distributing, and promoting national films throughout the Brazil. In the 1980s, Brazilian film production continued to expand, due in part to its international recognition and the increase in sales receipts. This allowed the government film agency EmbraFilme to expand its operations, a trend that continued until the Collar presidency's budget cuts, which badly hurt film production from 1992-1996. Since then, Brazilian cinema has experienced a renaissance, and Afro-Brazilians are playing an important part in it.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the São Paulo group Dogma Feijoada (Bean Stew Dogma), led by Jeferson De and other black filmmakers, including Noel Carvalho, Billy Castilho, Rogério, Daniel Santiago, and Agenor Alves, aims to create a black cinema that both represents the multiplicity of the black experience and speaks directly to black audiences. Although inspired by the Danish group Dogme 95 and black American directors, Dogme Feijoada is firmly rooted in the Brazilian experience. Jeferson De's *Distraida para a morte* (Distracted to Death, 2001) and Ari Cândido Fernandes's *O Rito de Ismael Ivo* (The Ritual of Ishmael Ivo, 2003) are two of the first films that represent Dogma Feijoada's goals. In addition, a number of documentaries have been made by Afro-Brazilians—from Zózimo Bulbul to Joel Zeto Araújo—on topics from slavery to modern life.

Black actors and actresses have played important roles in both the cinema and in television series and *novelas*, or soap operas. The pioneering work of Benjamin de Oliveira, one of Brazil's first clowns and a silent movie actor, leads the list of talented Afro-Brazilians, which includes the writer and producer Haroldo Costa, veteran actors and actresses such as Léa Garcia, Ruth de Souza, Milton Gonçalves, Zezé Motta, as well as younger artists, such as Lázaro Ramos, Taís Araújo, and the young actors and actresses from the Rio de Janeiro theatrical group Nós do Morro.

Despite the growing opportunities, Brazilian feature films about race and the African diaspora are largely shaped by an eclectic group of white filmmakers, many of whom (Nelson Pereira dos Santos, Carlos "Cacá" Diegues, Hector Babenco, Fernando Meirelles, Helvécio Ratton, and others) have garnered critical acclaim for their work. Major Brazilian films on race and on black Brazilians can be divided into four major categories: (1) slavery; (2) miscegenation and syncretism; (3) popular culture and celebration; and (4) class dynamics and marginality. Some films overlap into various categories.

Few Brazilian films on slavery were made before the 1950s, with the exception of Antônio Marques Filho's 1929 A *Escrava Isaura* (The Slave Isaura), based on Bernardo Guimarães 1875 novel of the same name (and remade in 1949 by Eurides Ramos). A *Escrava Isaura* is emblematic of a host of films that purportedly support black causes, such as abolition, while not necessarily embracing the notion of black liberation and self-sufficiency. To Guimarães and other abolitionists, the case of Isaura is tragic because she is well educated and "looks white," sentiments that allow Brazilians of the time, and consequently the film to sidestep issues of black suffering and liberation.

Some three decades later *Sinhá Moça* (*The Landowner's Daughter,* 1953) and *João Negrinho* (1958) provided viewers with more complex representations of abolition. Based on the nineteenth-century work by Maria Dezonne Pacheco Fernandes, *Sinhá Moça,* directed by Tom Payne and Oswaldo Sampão, is a dramatic period piece about the abolition of slavery, although the film centers on the conflict between a slave-owning father and his abolitionist daughter. At the same time, the film offers complex views and performances by many talented actors, particularly Ruth de Souza (b. 1921), one of the pioneers of the Teatro Experimental do Negro (TEN) founded by Afro-Brazilian activist Abdias do Nascimento. The film also received a number of important national and international awards.

The Afro-Brazilian response to slavery is the focus of three of Cacá Diegues's (b. 1940) films: *Ganga Zumba*

(1964), *Xica da Silva* (1976), and *Quilombo* (1984). A member of the socially committed Cinema Novo movement, Diegues has treated black themes and employed black actors and actresses throughout his career. *Ganga Zumba,* which relies heavily on historical sources as well as myth, lore, and fantasy, recreates the life of Ganga Zumba, a nephew of Zumbi, the famous leader of Palmares, the seventeenth-century escaped-slave community turned republic. The history and dynamics of Palmares is the subject of Diegues's *Quilombo. Xica da Silva,* on the other hand, tells the story of the mulatto slave Xica (played by the black actress Zezé Motta) and her alliance with João Fernandes, a Portuguese diamond official who was sent to Vila Rica (Ouro Preto in the state of Minas Gerais) in the eighteenth century. The film emphasizes the plight of black women held in bondage although it utilizes the stereotype of the sensual black woman in a problematic manner. At the same time the film illustrates the limits of sexual union in achieving social ascent. Also important in this category is Walter Lima Junior's *Chico rei* (Chico the King, 1985). The film chronicles the capture of Galanga, a member of a royal Congo family, his baptism in Brazil as Francisco (Chico), and his eventual liberation and challenge to the colonial government.

While slavery and abolition constitute an important theme in Brazilian historical and cultural studies, many more films have explored issues of miscegenation and syncretism, two forces which many scholars believe have been fundamental to the Brazilian character. At the same time, this reality has often been misused to promote patriotism and deflect attention from social change. Thus, it is not surprising that many Brazilian films treat miscegenation or syncretism as a *de facto* part of the Brazilian cultural landscape, while others focus on the problems and challenges of syncretism and miscegenation more explicitly, as in the case of *Xica* or *A Escrava Isaura*.

The complexities of miscegenation and whitening is highlighted in *Macunaíma,* Joaquim de Pedro Andrade's 1969 satirical adaptation of Mario de Andrade's work of the same name. The film employs satire to provide insight into racial attitudes and the desire of many Brazilians to become white, but it is not as critical as the U.S. film *Imitation of Life* (1934, remade in 1959), whose African-American female protagonist attempts to pass for white.

Rather than focusing explicitly on race, as in the U.S. film *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?*(1967), directed by Stanley Kramer, Brazilian films often present racial intermingling and mixing with class complexities. Films such as Carlos Manga's 1953 *Dupla de Barulho* (A Great Pair), with Grande Otelo and Oscarito, and Waldir Onofre's *As aventuras amorosas de um padeiro* (The Amorous Adventures of a Baker, 1977) lighten interracial tensions with humor. Furthermore, Onofre's film about the adventures of two working-class men and a white woman from the middle class is more about class dynamics in a Rio neighborhood.

Still, as in U.S. movies such as Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever* (1991), and following in the tradition of Diegues' *Xica,* a certain fatalism often dooms interracial relations in Brazilian films, despite historical examples to the contrary. This is the case in Odilon Lopez's *Um e Pouco, Dois e Bom* (One Is Not Enough, Two Is Good, 1971), in the more complex *Tenda dos Milagres* (*Tent of Miracles,* 1977), and in *Na boca do mundo* (*In the Mouth of the World,* 1979). Antonio Pitanga's *In the Mouth of the World* centers on a love triangle among a black worker (Antônio), a white bourgeois woman (Clarisse) with whom he has an affair, and his mulatto girlfriend (Terezinha). Race and class intersect with urban and rural tensions in this film, which ends in the death of the main character and a surprising alliance between Clarisse and Terezinha.

The portrayal of intra-class racism and prejudice is not as pervasive in Brazilian films as they are in American films. Nelson Pereira dos Santos exposes this issue (among many) in *Tenda dos Milagres* through a complex plot that deals with middle-class intermarriage and the obsession of a white professor who tries to hide his African ancestry. Paradoxically, the film also celebrates miscegenation, rather than black rights and liberation, as a solution to racism—an ideology that has its roots in the nineteenth century and that gained an internationally renown spokesmen in Gilberto Freyre and Jorge Amado (the author of the novel on which the film is based). While literature and cinematographic texts have historically focused on alliances of European men and women of color, Carlota Camuarti's 1996 dramatic farce *Carlota Joaquina* departs from this trend in its depiction of Infanta Carlota Joaquina, who is lured by the Brazilian racial mixing experience and takes a black lover.

Religious miscegenation or syncretism is treated in a number of Brazilian films, including *Tenda dos Milagres,* Glauber Rocha's *Barravento* (1962), Anselmo Duarte's *O Pagador de Promesas* (*The Given Word,* 1962), and Nelson Pereira dos Santos' *O Amuleto de Ogum* (*Ogum's Amulet,* 1974). *O Pagador de Promesas* and *Tenda dos Milagres* focus directly on syncretism and illustrate the tensions and prejudice of white society, while *Barravento* examines the Afro-Bahian religion Candomblé on its own terms, although not without exposing the limitations of organized religion. In *O Amuleto de Ogum*, Pereira dos Santos' explores the Afro-Brazilian religion Umbanda, while exposing racism and class prejudice in a small town in the

Northeast. The Brazilian-Nigerian coproduction of *A Deusa Negra* (1978), directed by the Nigerian filmmaker Olá Balogún, provides a rare cross-Atlantic glimpse into the religious and familiar continuity through the Yoruba-based religion Candomblé. *Samba da Criação do Mundo* (*Samba of the Creation of the World,* 1979) attempts to give a Yoruba rendition of the world's creation and Afro-Brazilian religious values, themes covered in a number of documentaries and shorts from Brazil, the United States, and Europe.

African religious practices such as Candomblé and Umbanda have not only had an impact on religion in Brazil but also on other national and local customs from dance and music to dress and food. In the silent film era, Afro-Brazilian musicians such as Pixinguinha, Donga, and others played live music during screenings. Others composed and played in orchestras for the carnival revue films of the 1930s and 1940s and the melodramas and slapstick comedies called *chanchadas* that showcased the talents of Grande Otelo, one of the pioneering Afro-Brazilian performers. Afro-Brazilian musicians have also been at the center of a number of documentaries, such as Leon Hirszman's 1969 *Nelson Caviquinho* and Andrucha Waddington's *Viva São João!* (Long Live St. John!, 2002), which features singer-songwriter Gilberto Gil.

Although filmmakers recognized the contributions (if not central role) of blacks to Brazilian popular music, they were visibly absent from the 1930s carnival films such as *Alô Alô Carnaval* and *Alô Alô Brasil*. This changes somewhat with the making of Luis de Barrow's *Samba em Berlim* (1943), featuring Grande Otelo and Nilo Chagas, and other films such as *Rio Zona Norte* (1957), with Grande Otelo, Angela Maria, and a host of other Afro-Brazilian performers. For its time, the internationally acclaimed French production of Marcel Camus's *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*, 1959), which was based on the Vinicius de Moraes play *Orfeu da ConceIção,* was a rare assembly of talented black actors and performers. Only in 1999 did Carlos Diegues create his own rendition of the play, simply titled *Orfeu,* starring Afro-Brazilian Tony Garrido from the musical group Cidade Negra.

Black poverty and marginality also represent major themes in Brazilian cinema. While music, revelry, and religion constituted important aspects of the realist dramas of Cinema Novo, black discontent and revolt were essential in films such as Nelson Pereira dos Santos's *Rio 40 graus* (1955) and *Rio Zona Norte* (1957) as well as Roberto Farias's 1962 *Assalto ao trem pagador* (Assault on the Pay Train), based on an actual 1960 train robbery. Despite the title, Farias provides an engrossing story about the relationship among the multiracial robbers, interweaving issues of race and class. Tião, one of the black thieves, stands in contrast to Grilo Peru, one of the white robbers, who not only iterates the only explicit racial slur in the film but also is able to spend his money conspicuously without drawing attention to himself. *Assalto ao trem pagador* boasts a talented multiracial cast that brought the film more critical acclaim than others films dealing with the inhabitants of the *favelas* (shantytowns, or slums). Also worthy of mention is Leon Hirszman's *Eles Não Usam Black-Tie* (1981), which deals with labor conflicts in São Paulo. Black characters play principal roles in the film, but race does not necessarily play a factor in the drama.

The twenty-first century has brought a host of impressive films that focus critically on poverty and marginality—and on black responses to them. Helvecio Ratton's *Uma onda no ar* (2002) presents the development and triumph of an alternative radio station (Radio Favela) created by four Afro-Brazilians in the *favelas* of Belo Horizonte in the state of Minas Gerais. Hector Babenco's 2003 production of *Carrindiru*, an epic on the São Paulo prison system of the same name, continues in the tradition of the politically committed movies of Cinema Novo. New directors such as Fernando Meirelles with his two films *Domésticas* (Maids, 2000) and *Cidade de Deus* (City of God, 2002), and the New York–based Brazilian filmmaker Karim Aïnouz's *Madame Satã* (2002), show the influence of Hollywood while appealing to a new generation of Brazilian filmgoers. In the tradition of Brazilian film, race and class are intimately interconnected, but the fact that the main characters in all three films are marginalized black characters indicates the need to explore, as Dogma Feijoada intimates, more diverse experiences of Afro-Brazilians.

Many Brazilian documentary filmmakers have exposed contemporary issues and problems related to the Afro-Brazilian world in ways that feature films have not. Compared to U.S. filmgoers, contemporary Brazilian documentaries have garnered a massive following, thanks, in part, to film festivals in Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, Recife, and Miami that showcase Brazilian feature films and documentaries. The Bank of Brazil Cultural Center's "It's All True" festival and the Moreira Salles Institute's festival, which focus exclusively on documentaries, have been instrumental in providing spaces for this genre.

The black filmmaker Zózimo Bulbul's 150-minute film *Aboilção* (Abolition, 1988), which often meanders, nonetheless represents an important document that registered a personal perspective on the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the abolition of slavery. Sections of the 1992 release of Orson Welles's unfinished *It's All True* (which gave the name to the Bank of Brasil-sponsored festival), deals with black influences in Brazil in

the 1930s. Of the many important documentaries to come out of Brazil at the beginning of the twenty-first century, two deserve special mention. Joel Zito Araujo's *A negacão do Brasil* (Denying Brazil, 2000) examines the struggles of black actors in Brazil, particularly how racial taboos, prejudice, and stereotypes have limited their roles in the television industry. The riveting *Ônibus 174* (2002) explores the tragic life of Sandro do Nascimento, a young black man who hijacked a bus in Rio de Janiero in June 2000. The film's innovative analysis interconnects issues of race, poverty, the media, the state, and police brutality Some of these issues are also present in New York-based filmmaker Tania Cypriano's powerful *Oda Ya! Vida com AIDS* (2001) which focuses on how AIDS has effected the black community, as well as education and the positive celebrations of human sexuality.

The aforementioned feature films and documentaries indicate that Brazilian cinema has experienced important social advancements. Yet, black filmmakers and actors remain underrepresented. This is particularly troubling in films made for television, as Brazilians have more access to this medium than to the cinema. In many ways, however, the diversity of black characters and themes present in Brazilian cinema is richer than in any other American nations.

The Caribbean Basin

Despite their shared history and parallel African influences, the multilingual and politically independent nations of the Caribbean Basin (including the coastal regions of South and Central America) stand in contrast to Portuguese-speaking Brazil, which is unified both politically and linguistically. The population of Brazil is greater than the population of all the nations of the Caribbean Basin combined. Moreover, of all the Caribbean nations, Cuba is the only country that has developed an important film industry, and that only occurred after 1960. The former French, English, and, to a lesser extent, Dutch island colonies—all with black majorities—have nonetheless inspired foreign filmmakers. The islands have provided exotic backdrops to a host of Hollywood films, from *The Satanic Dr. No* (1963) to the cross-diaspora but also exoticizing *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1998), directed by Kevin Rodney Sullivan. Examples that explore the autonomous cultures of the Caribbean include Robert Rossen's *Island in the Sun* (1957); Gillo Pontecorvo's *Burn!* (1969), loosely based on the events of the Haitian Revolution; and a host of indigenous, European, and North American documentaries.

The French and English Caribbean have produced few feature films, although the Jamaican Perry Henzel's 1972 movie *The Harder They Come* helped to bring images of the poor black neighborhoods of Kingston to the silver screen along with the vibrant reggae music that has inspired the world. The French Caribbean has produced a number of important filmmakers including the Haitians Raoul Peck (*Haitian Corner,* 1988; *Lumumba,* 2000), Rassoul Labuchin (*Anita,* 1982), and the prolific Christian Lara from Guadeloupe. The Martinican director Euzhan Palcy's quiet portrayal of poverty and the lack of educational opportunities in a Martinican neighborhood in *Rue Cases Negres* (Sugar Cane Alley, 1983) brought her wide acclaim, ultimately leading to work in Hollywood on *A Dry White Season* (1989), a social drama set in South Africa. Guadeloupe-born Christian Grandman examines relationships among a number of marginalized Caribbean characters in a town outside of Pointe-a-Pitre in his 2000 film *Excluídos (Tètt Grenné).*

Outside of Cuba, the making of feature films in the Spanish Caribbean is rare. Some exceptions include Efraín López Neris's *A Life of Sin* (1993) the story of the Puerto Rican prostitute Isabel la Negra (filmed in English); Leon Ichaso's *Piñero* (2001), the story of the Nuyorican poet Miguel Piñero, featuring black Nuyoricans who knew Piñero; or Angel Muñiz's *Nueba Yol* (1996), which was inspired by the immigrant experience of Dominicans in New York.

Many talented Caribbean actors have also played a vital role in the region's cultural production, but the majority are not known internationally. Those who have been able to cross over to international markets are often limited to specific language markets. This is the case with actors who work on productions directed by filmmakers such as Felix de Rooy from Curaçāo and Pim de la Parra from Suriname (both are based in Holland). English-speaking actors with Caribbean connections, such as Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier, have also had an important impact on films in the United States in a variety of ways, although the same cannot be said of talented Afro–Puerto Ricans, Afro-Dominicans, or Afro-Cubans.

Filmmaking in Cuba

Before 1959, Cuban film production had been irregular and uneven. After the success of the Castro-led revolution, Cuba's film production was aided by the creation of the Cuban Institute for Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC), and the Cuban Broadcasting Institute. Cubans engaged intellectuals throughout Latin America and the Caribbean in forging a new Latin American cinema, inspired by revolutionary ideals. They created what the filmmaker Julio García Espinosa, one of the founders of ICAIC, described as an "imperfect cinema"—which by its nature was supposed to be anti-Hollywood. From the

1960s to the 1980s, the ICAIC produced a steady stream of feature films, documentaries and docudramas as well as animated and more experimental film genres. Afro-Cubans have helped shaped the Cuban film industry, although, as in Brazil, they are not as visible as one might expect.

Directors such as Sergio Giral (b. 1973) and Sara Gomez (1943–1974), two well-known directors from the early era of ICAIC, have been followed by an enthusiastic group of young directors and writers, including Gloria Rolando, Tony Romero, and Rigoberto López. Actors and actresses have been equally important in bringing Cuban stories to the silver screen. Actresses such as Adelá Legrá, Assenech Rodriguez, and Daisy Granados (b. 1942) have played multiple roles in Cuban film since the 1960s. Granados, considered by many to be the grande dame of Cuban cinema, often plays roles in which racial identity is ambiguous or seemingly unimportant, although she also played the mulatta title character in *Cecilia* (1982). Other Afro-Cuban veteran actors include Mario Balmaseda, Miguel Benavides, and Tito Junco. Unfortunately, the Cuban economic crisis precipitated by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 have meant that many young would-be actors and filmmakers have had to abort their careers in film or find work abroad. Moreover, as in Brazil, few black actors have appeared in central roles in nonhistorical feature films.

From the beginning of the revolution, however, Afro-Cubans and themes of the African diaspora have figured prominently in Cuba's film production. One important example is Sabá Cabrera Infante's 1961 short documentary film *P.M.,* which includes scenes from Havana's nightlife. In the film, black Cubans (and some white Cubans) are shown dancing and drinking in a local bar in Havana. The government's censoring of the film marked an important shift in the relationship between intellectuals who had supported the revolution and the Castro government. Although Cuba's film production industry emerged under the watchful eyes of censors bent on promoting revolutionary ideas and themes, many Cuban filmmakers succeeded in bringing their critical vision to the silver screen. Cuban films also promoted Third World solidarity, as in Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's *Cumbite* (1964), based on the Jaques Roumain novel about the life of sugar-cane cutters in Haiti. As in the case of Brazil, four broad categories, with socialist modifications, can help one to understand the filmography of race and Afro-Cubans in Cuba (although all four engage more explicitly with notions of nationhood, or *cubanidad*). These categories in Cuba are: (1) slavery; (2) miscegenation and racial intermingling; (3) music and culture; and (4) race, class, and nationhood.

Slavery lasted longer in Cuba than in any other Spanish colony, making Cuba the most culturally African of the Spanish-speaking nations of the Caribbean Basin. Thus, slavery and abolition figure prominently in the Cuban filmography. Indeed any film that treats the nineteenth century would be remiss without references to slavery. The majority of Cuban films that deal with slavery can be viewed through a Marxist revolutionary lens, with explicit class analysis, while at the same time they reconstruct important Cuban historical realities.

Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's 1977 *La Última Cena* (The Last Supper) deals explicitly with slavery and race relations. Based on an eighteenth-century incident, the film presents the story of a pious and supposedly well-meaning slave owner who decided to treat his slaves better by instructing them in the values of Christianity and by inviting them to participate in the feast of the celebration of Passover. The result is explosive, as the slaves rebel, burning the plantation and attempting to escape.

Afro-Cuban director Sergio Giral began his career with *The Other Francisco* (1975), a film that engages and deconstructs official interpretations of Cuban history. The film reinterprets Anselmo Suarez y Romero's nineteenth-century antislavery Romantic novel *Francisco,* written some twenty years before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). While the novel focuses on Francisco's desperation that eventually leads to suicide, the film emphasizes Francisco's role in fighting the system and attempting to secure his freedom. Giral also directed a number of documentaries and feature films including *Maluala* (1979) and *Maria Antonia (1991),* the latter an innovative reading of the Afro-Cuban goddess of beauty Ochún.

The nineteenth century saw the decline of slavery at a time when most of the Latin American societies were becoming increasingly more mestizo (mixed race). Syncretism and racial intermingling figure prominently in Cuban films, and in many respects represent de facto Cuban culture, making the term "Afro-Cuban" problematic at best. Huberto Solás's *Cecilia* (1982), based on the nineteenth-century novel *Cecilia Valdés* by Cirilo Villaverde, points to the problems of miscegenation in a society dominated by European values and is in many ways similar to *A Escrava Isaura.* Cecilia is part of a third-generation Cuban family that has slowly become more white. In the attempt to escape her black past, Cecilia must ultimately face tragic consequences. Solás' *Miel para Ochún* (Honey for Oshun, 2001) examines the issue of black heritage in a more provocative and politically charged manner. The main character, a white Cuban exile, returns to Cuba to find his mother, whom he barely remembers and whom he believes abandoned him. He not only comes into contact with

Afro-Cuban culture, but he finds that his mother is Afro-Cuban, and thus a part of his lost past. The intertextual dialogue with earlier Cuban films such as *Lucía* (1969), also directed by Solás, and Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's *Memories of Underdevelopment* (1968) cannot be overlooked. Particularly interesting is the choice of the actress Adelá Legrá to portray the Cuban mother in *Honey for Oshún*. Legrá had previously portrayed a peasant woman who becomes a part of revolutionary culture in the epic *Lucía.* In *Honey for Oshun,* Legrá is the character who represents the maternal figure whom the exiled protagonist seeks.

Despite Cuba's Marxist focus on class analysis, and its spurring of official religion, the Afro-Cuban religion Santería has flourished under the revolution and has even been commodified for a growing tourist economy. Cuban films have treated Santería as an integral part of Cuban culture, though often in passing or as a part of the Cuban landscape, as in Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's *Strawberry and Chocolate* (1994). Alea's treatment of race in *Strawberry and Chocolate* and *Memories of Underdevelopment* deserves special mention. On the one hand, blacks and blackness are equated in these films with undesirable Dionysian elements of Cuban culture from which the protagonists of both films wish to distance themselves. On the other hand, black actors in Cuba and throughout Latin American are often limited to roles representing stereotypes, such as the uncontrolled dancers and musicians in the opening scene of *Memories of Underdevelopment* or the *santero* in *Strawberry and Chocolate*.

Other feature films have provided lengthy examinations of African cultural influences. A departure from the political and committed new cinema of Cuba is Manuel Octavio Gómez's eclectic 1982 musical *Patakín*. This film provides a modern reading of two Yoruba deities in conflict: Changó, the god of thunder (represented by a man who lives off of his wife) and Oggún, the deity of war and guardian of arms and metals (represented by a hard-working machinist). Although drawing on popular idioms, the film, which was billed as Cuba's first musical, was more comedy than drama, and was not successful in engaging Cuban audiences.

The films *Miel para Ochún* and *La vida es Silbar* (Life Is to Whistle, 1998) address Afro-Cuban cultural influences and their relationship to larger national issues in a more profound manner. In the former, the search for the character's mother is explicitly and implicitly tied to the search for Oshún, the goddess of sweetness and beauty, at a critical time in Cuba's divided history. In the multilayered *Guantanamera* (1951), Alea integrates Afro-Cuban mythology throughout the narrative to comment critically on the Cuban political situation, death, and, ultimately, life in Cuba at the end of the 1990s—although the major characters are not black.

Afro-Cuban customs and rituals have also been explored in many Cuban documentaries and shorts. Gloria Rolando's *Oggún* (1992), for example, provides viewers with an understanding of the Afro-Cuban god of the same name. Through the multilayered testimony of Lázaro Ross, the lead singer of the Conjunto Folclórico Nacional de Cuba and a devotee of Oggún, Rolando presents viewers with stories that allow them to understand Santería, which remains vital to Cubans both inside and outside of Cuba. The Afro-Cuban filmmaker Rigoberto López's *Yo soy del son a la salsa* explores the development of the musical form *salsa* from its beginnings in Cuba as *son*. Luis Felipe Bernaza's *Hasta la Reina Isabel baila el danzón* (Even Queen Isabel Dances the Danzón, 1991) is a docudrama that combines live interviews with surrealistic recreations, satirizing many popular Cuban beliefs. The director includes scenes from Yoruba ceremonies and an innovative rendition of the Afro-Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén's famous work "Sensemayá." Especially important in helping to raise awareness of many of the forgotten Afro-Cuban musical veterans was Wim Wenders's widely acclaimed 1999 documentary *Buena Vista Social Club*. The film follows the making of a music CD and world tour of American musician Ry Cooder with legendary but forgotten Cuban musicians such as Compay Segundo, Ibrahim Ferrer, and Omara Portuondo. The 1997 CD compiled by Ry Cooder was responsible for reviving the careers of all the musicians involved. The protagonists of the equally moving Danish-Cuban music documentary *Lágrimas Negras* (1997) directed by Sonia Herman Dolz, have not been as commercially successful. Cuba has also produced many documentaries on Afro-Cuban legendary musical figures such as Chano Pozo and Joseito Fernandez. José Sánchez-Montes's endearing documentary *Bola De Nieve* (2003), for example, provides a brief biography of the life of one of Cuba's musical treasures. There are also a handful of documentaries on African-American musicians, including Dizzie Gillespie and Harry Belafonte, who both visited Cuba.

As in Brazil, issues of race and class have been intimately intertwined, although in a way that is more ideologically tied to the discussion of integration, national sovereignty, and revolutionary consciousness. Cuba's first female director, Sarah Gómez Yara (1943–1974), was an Afro-Cuban pioneer who had directed a number of short documentaries before her acclaimed docudrama *De Cierta Manera* (One Way or Another, 1977), which was codirected by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea and Julio García Espinosa. Gómez provides a poignant look at the culture of margin-

ality prior to the Cuban Revolution, as well as the challenges of the revolution and the transition to a socialist society. The film is particularly important because of its focus on the ritual of the male-only Abakuá society, which was regarded by many in the Castro regime as anti-revolutionary.

Following in the footsteps of Gómez, Gloria Rolando's *Roots of My Heart* (2001) deserves particular mention because of its attempt to treat Cuba's race war of 1912. At that time, members of a Cuban black political party, the Independents of Color, clashed with government forces when parties based on color were declared illegal. The result was the massacre of thousands of Afro-Cubans and decades of silence about the event, which made discussions of racial discrimination all but taboo. Rolando was the first filmmaker to break the silence on this watershed event in Cuban history. She constructed the story from the perspective of a contemporary woman in search of answers about her great grandparents. Other historical perspectives can be gleaned from short documentaries (although many were made with few resources).

Si me comprendieras (If You Only Understood, 1998), by Rolando Díaz, is one of the first Cuban films to openly and frankly discuss Cuban racism, emigration, and Cuba's international historical and contemporary presence in missions abroad. The film begins with a Cuban director assembling his cast for a new film project. In search of a black female dancer and singer, he takes to the street with his video camera. The film follows the film crew from behind the camera as they encounter and talk with Cuban women and possible candidates. From this perspective, audiences receive a glimpse into filmmaking in Cuba, as well as perspectives on attitudes towards women and black Cubans.

The Cuban immigrant communities in the United States and the swelling exile communities in the post–1959 era (particularly on the East Coast), have meant that, like Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, Cuban cultural production cannot be limited to the island. This is true of music and literature, but it is also true of film.

Particularly important from the African diaspora perspective is Pam Sporn's modest but revealing documentary *Cuban Roots/Bronx Stories* (2000), which highlights the experience of one black Cuban family while underscoring the diversity in the Cuban exile community. Cuban films in general have revealed a multiplicity of experiences, although the record indicates that, as in Brazil, films in which blacks figure prominently have more often than not dealt with historical themes of slavery and abolition or concentrated on documentaries related to cultural contributions. Complex portrayals where ordinary black Cubans take center stage are rare, although this practice is all too common in other Spanish-speaking countries as well.

Mexico and Spanish South and Central America

Over the last two centuries, Africans and their descendants have had an impact on the Spanish-speaking peoples of South and Central America in a variety of ways. The black population in Mexico and Argentina, although significant as late as the nineteenth century, do not constitute a major visual presence at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Moreover, many Argentines and Mexicans are oblivious to the African influence on their past, although that influence in Buenos Aires and the Mexican states of Vera Cruz, Guerrero, and Oaxaca has been fairly well documented. Maria Luisa Beberg's film *Camila* (1984) provides a brief glimpse at black servitude in the affluent O'Gorman household under the dictator Juan Manuel Rosas (ruled 1835–1852), but Argentine feature films rarely make references to or include Argentine blacks. In general, documentaries have more successfully challenged the national myths of whiteness and the official silence on the subjects of race and the African presence in feature films. *Afroargentines* (2002), by Diego Ceballos and Jorge Fortes, chronicles the marginalization and cultural legacy of blacks in Argentina, for example, while Lorena Fernandez's *Sodad* (2002) focuses on the Cape Verdian community in that country.

In Mexico, the now classic *Angelitos negros,* the 1948 Mexican remake of the Fannie Hurst novel *Imitation of Life* (Hollywood versions were made in 1934 and 1959), deals explicitly with race. In Joselito Rodríguez's Mexican version, the prejudiced main character (played by a blond Ana Luisa de la Fuente), has no idea that her black maid is actually her mother, and when she finds out her attitude towards her changes. Ironically, a Cuban (Rita Montaner) plays the main black character, Ana Luisa's mother. The film dealt with issues that resonated throughout the region and was immensely successful in Mexico and throughout Latin America, though it was not inspired by a Mexican reality. To date Roberto Olivares' 2004 film, *African Blood,* is a rare, albeit short documentary that explores Mexico's African roots in the states of Oaxaca and Guerrero.

Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela have all been influenced by the African diaspora, though rarely has that influence engendered national debates. Moreover, since the early 1990s, economic and civil strife have made film production difficult in all three countries. Carlos Hugo Christensen's earlier *La Balandra Isabel llegó está tarde* (The Yacht Isabel Arrived This Afternoon, 1949) represents an important cinematographic contribution to the filmogra-

phy of the African diaspora. Adapted from the Guillermo Memeses's story of the same name, the film provides a rare portrait of urban Afro-Venzuelan culture narrated from the perspective of a black prostitute. In Colombia, a handful of documentaries have explored the country's African legacy, particularly the *palenques* (escaped slave communities). The 2002 British-Colombian coproduction of *Resistencia: Hip-Hop in Colombia,* directed by Tom Feiling, looks at hip-hop culture in Colombia and the response of various artists to the civil war that has ravaged the country for decades.

In the Andean region, which is without a strong film tradition, documentaries and docudramas such as Carlos Ferrand's docudrama *Cimarrones* (1982) treat the themes of slavery and rebellion. This docudrama looks at slavery and the relationship between Africans and Native Americans under Spanish rule. More recently, the Alberto Durant feature *Coraje* (1998) focuses on the extraordinary figure of María Elena Moyano, an Afro-Peruvian activist from the neighborhood of Villa El Salvador, on the outskirts of Lima. Like the majority of Latin American films with central black characters, *Coraje* is not about blackness, per se, but about Moyano's role as a grassroots activist and community leader caught between the terrorist activities of the Shining Path guerrillas and the inattentive government. The documentary on the renowned singer and activist Susana Baca in the joint Peruvian-Belgian film *Susana Baca: Memoria Viva* (2002) continues the focus on Afro-Peruvian women.

The vibrant and diverse black communities that make up Central and South America face similar infrastructure problems that limit film production. A host of other documentaries about the African experience in the Americas provide glimpses into local enterprise, however. They include small budget productions such as the Rafael Deugenio's sixteen-minute *Candombe* (1993), about the Afro-Uruguayan musical tradition. U.S.-based production companies and joint Latin American–U.S. ventures have added to the growing list of documentaries, including the Empowerment Project's *The Panama Deception* (1992), which features interviews with a number of Afro-Panamanian community leaders and commentators, attesting to the varied and diverse African presence through the Americas. However, much of that influence in Spanish South America and Mexico has yet to be explored on film.

The peoples of the African diaspora have had an impact, directly or indirectly, on every American nation. Government commitment to funding film production has provided the necessary backbone to the Brazilian and Cuban film industries, although foreign and private investment has also been critical. Documentaries, with their lower production costs, have highlighted important issues about the African experience in the Americas. Historical films aside, until recently Latin American filmmakers were not as likely to treat issues of prejudice and racial discrimination as central issues, at least when compared to their North American counterparts. Ironically, this has begun to change at a time when North America has seen a number of black actors play roles that are not racially predetermined and when interracial alliances are becoming more common on the silver screen. The welcome addition of a number of Afro-Latin American filmmakers, actors, and other professionals has benefited the region's film production, as has cross-national collaboration. These two developments will be fundamental to the exploration of black themes and issues in the future.

See also Documentary Film; Film in the United States; Filmmakers in the Caribbean; Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

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DARIÉN J. DAVIS (2005)

Film in the United States

Motion pictures and large numbers of African Americans arrived in American cities simultaneously in the late nineteenth century. Black Americans came to cities in flight from the southern peonage that had replaced the institution of slavery after the Civil War. Their Great Migration in turn coincided with a similar migration from Europe. Movies, in their "primitive" days, when techniques of cutting and editing as a means of conveying a narrative had not yet been perfected, became the first medium of mass

communications for the poor, teeming populations that filled northeastern cities toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Movies had played the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, and in the following year opened at Koster and Bial's music hall in New York. Strikingly, in these early years African Americans often appeared on the screen in unmediated, unedited form and therefore devoid of some of the worst stereotypes with which they had been maligned by decades of southern novels, advertising logos, and popular songs. A shot of, for example, black soldiers watering their horses or dockers coaling a ship appeared on the screen untrammeled by the pejorative images of the past.

These topical vignettes were the result of a rage for news of events in the corners of the world. Thomas Edison filmed life in the Caribbean; others caught black "buffalo soldiers" on their way to the Spanish-American War, tribal ceremonies in Africa, and Theodore Roosevelt on safari.

Gradually after the turn of the century, the medium changed, both technically and economically. As the prospects for a profitable future opened up, producers began to cultivate more sophisticated techniques that allowed them to edit scenes into narratives along the lines set down by novelists and dramatists. The trend pointed toward a future cinema that would play to middle-class rather than poor audiences, in picture palaces rather than storefront nickelodeons, and at length rather than in the brief snippets with which the medium had begun its life.

For African Americans this meant a resumption of many conventions inherited from the nineteenth-century melodramatic, comic, and musical stage. Indeed, in 1903 William S. Porter brought *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the screen, complete with overambitious attempts at spectacle—cakewalks, pursuits across ice floes, and even a race between miniature steamboats. Tom himself was more a figure drawn from the sentimental stage than Harriet Beecher Stowe's staunch hero.

Other restorations of familiar racial material gradually dominated the screen just as the medium began to emerge from a primitive, limited visual rhetoric. In *A Bucket of Cream Ale* (1904), a stock, obstreperous black-faced servant appeared; *The Fights of Nations* (1907) featured a razor fight; and comedies about chicken thieving and life in "coontown" became routine. From 1911 through 1915 movies sentimentalized the Civil War during the five years of its semicentennial. Rarely was there an opportunity for a genuine black portrayal to show through in *A Slave's Devotion* (1913), *Old Mammy's Secret Code* (1913), or *For the Cause of the South* (1914). Typical of the era was D. W. Griffith's *His Trust* (1911) and its sequel, a tale of the Civil War in which a slave is first entrusted with managing his master's estate while the latter is away fighting and then, after the master dies a hero's death, gives his own "savings" toward sending the master's daughter to finishing school so that she may meet and marry someone in her class.

It was at this moment that African Americans took their first steps toward an indigenous cinema. Local black entrepreneurs in Lexington, Kentucky, as early as the first decade of the century booked all-black films in their theaters. By 1912, William Foster in Kansas made *The Railroad Porter* with a black audience as his target. About the same time in Florida, James Weldon Johnson wrote two scripts for a company bent upon making films with an African-American angle.

Unfortunately for small-time entrepreneurs, the economic setting of moviemaking had begun to rationalize into competing oligopolies, even "trusts," in which ever-fewer sellers drove out competition for customers, who gradually included more demanding middle-class, urbane tastemakers. Edison's Motion Picture Patents Trust, for example, formed a pool of patents through which it hoped to control the entire nation's film output by licensing the use of cameras and projectors. In such a richly capitalized economic field, African Americans only a half century removed from slavery had little chance.

The Birth of a Nation

Then in 1915, D. W. Griffith—after years spent learning filmmaking and extending its range into techniques unforeseen in the primitive years—released his Civil War epic *The Birth of a Nation*. An evocative combination of conventional racial attitudes, a celebration of the Civil War and of the forbearance of the white South during Reconstruction, and a genuinely avant-garde piece of filmmaking, *The Birth of a Nation* galvanized African Americans and their white allies into a nationwide protest campaign. At issue were two major factors: first, its depiction of Reconstruction as a tale of black cupidity, corruption, and vindictiveness toward the prostrate white South, and second, the unprecedented nationwide advertising campaign, which further heightened the film's impact. It was this combination that nettled blacks. Most literate Americans believed the account of Reconstruction as portrayed therein, complete with its venal freedmen who did the bidding of scalawags and carpetbaggers (Woodrow Wilson had retold it in his multivolume history of the nation), but the couching of it in a blaring ad campaign and in an emotionally charged movie made the difference.

The NAACP fruitlessly conducted a national campaign against the movie, demanding cuts of scenes that

"slandered" blacks, advocating strict legal codes against maligning races and groups, and instigating a plan to make its own movie, to be titled *Lincoln's Dream*. But despite the protesters' best efforts, by the end of 1915 *The Birth of a Nation* could be seen almost anywhere its makers wished, and *Lincoln's Dream* foundered for want of an "angel."

Nonetheless, the struggle against Griffith's film confirmed a number of African Americans in their embracing of a strategy of making movies alternative to those of the mainstream. Even Booker T. Washington, the famous founder of Tuskegee Institute and a reputed accommodationist in racial matters, took up the idea of making black movies. At first he feared that the makers of *The Birth of a Nation* might profit from the notoriety that would follow from a vigorous black protest, but soon, through his secretary Emmett J. Scott, he committed resources to a film eventually titled *The Birth of a Race*.

The Birth of a Race

Washington and Scott's movie seemed to possess everything: the endorsement of national worthies of the Republican Party; a script that traced the progress of humankind, while allocating a prominent place in it for African Americans; and a panel of rich angels led by Julius Rosenwald, a Sears and Roebuck vice president. But things fell apart. First, Washington died on November 15, 1915. Then, acting on rumors of unscrupulous practices among the project's Chicago fund-raisers, Rosenwald and other prestigious figures withdrew. And finally, with the onset of World War I, the thrust of the already episodic movie veered wildly from a pacifist theme to its ideological opposite—a justification of the American entry into the war. Thus, after almost three years of scrabbling for money, shooting in Tampa, and cutting through the thicket of cross-purposed story lines, the project changed. And yet the completed movie reached a level of accomplishment never previously attained by black moviemakers. They had actually completed a feature-length film, albeit one burdened by seemingly endless title frames that slowed its pace and shouldered aside its African-American premise in favor of militaristic themes.

The Lincoln Company

Moreover, readers of the black press noticed. Indeed, one man in particular, a postman in Omaha named George P. Johnson, saw the film as more than a grand flop. Together with his brother Noble Johnson, a contract player at Universal, he assembled a circle of black investors in Los Angeles into the Lincoln Company. From 1916 to 1922 they turned out an impressive string of films (of which only a fragment survives), all of them celebrations of the black aspiration embedded in one of the company's titles: *The Realization of a Negro's Ambition*.

Indeed, aspiration was emblazoned on the Johnsons' battleflags. It marked or guided everything they made, whether tales of black "buffalo soldiers" fighting Mexican *insurrectes* along the border or go-getters scoring successes in capitalist circles that few blacks would have had access to in the reality of American life. The Johnsons' rivals during the booming 1920s not only followed their example but extended its reach. Among these were the Frederick Douglass Company (with its Republican namesake on its letterhead), Sidney P. Dones's Democracy Company, and regional operations such as Gate City in Kansas, Ker-Mar in Baltimore, and Norman in Jacksonville and later Boley, Oklahoma. In the pages of the African-American press appeared dozens of announcements of additional companies, most of which did not survive long enough to see their first film to the screen.

Some studios, such as Norman, were conduits for the investments of white "angels" or were in fact white firms. Robert Levy's Reol Studio, for example, was a white-owned company that made films from well-known black classics such as Paul Laurence Dunbar's *The Sport of the Gods*. To some extent this rush of activity merely testified to the wealth that had reached even black strata of urban life during the 1920s. But it also suggested the presence of a maturing film culture, drawing in a sector of the black population that was not only well off enough to buy tickets but also literate enough to read the growing amount of advertising copy, reviews, and show-business gossip that had begun to fill the pages of the African-American press.

The Black Audience

In other words, an audience had been formed by the black migrations to the urban centers of America, both North and South. The names of the theaters signaled the identity of the audience. No Bijous, Criterions, or Paramounts there but rather a Douglass or an Attucks to honor famous heroes, a Lenox, Harlem, or Pekin to provide linkages to increasingly well-known centers of black urban culture. This sort of social, institutional, and cultural density suggested the nature of this newly arrived audience: urban, literate, employed, affiliated in a circle of lodges and clubs, and church members. In short, the audience constituted a thin layer of bourgeoisie to whom movies spoke of aspiration, racial pride, and heroism, and cautioned against the evils of drink and sloth—much like a Booker T. Washington commencement address with pictures.

***Advertisement for* The Burden of Race.** *Reol Productions made movies featuring black actors for African-American audiences, including this 1921 film about a young black man who falls in love with a white woman. The success of such commercial ventures is an indication of the size of potential audiences formed by the migration of African Americans to northern cities during the early decades of the twentieth century.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

We can sense these social traits not only from the themes of the movies themselves but also from the critics who wrote about them: D. Ireland Thomas in the *Mississippi Valley,* Lester Walton of the *New York Age,* Theophilus Lewis in several papers in the New York area, Billy Rowe in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* Romeo Daugherty in the *Amsterdam News,* Fay Jackson for Claude A. Barnett's Associated Negro Press service, and other regulars on the Afro-American chain and even smaller papers. Augmenting their own acute criticism that seemed to be maturing toward a genuine African-American posture toward cinema were the syndicated columnists, who wrote gossipy copy for the *Los Angeles Sentinel* and the *California Eagle*—Ruby Berkeley Goodwin, Harry Levette, and Lawrence LaMar.

Micheaux and the Colored Players

Playing to this emerging audience in the 1920s were the elite of "race" film companies, either staunchly black firms such as that of Oscar Micheaux or white firms with a feel for the audience, such as David Starkman's Colored Players in Philadelphia. Micheaux, a peripatetic author who sold his own novels from door to door, entered the movie business in 1919 after a failed negotiation with Lincoln to produce his autobiographical novel *The Homesteader*. For much of the ensuing quarter century and more, he audaciously if not always artfully reached for effects and messages left untouched by his forebears. In his *Body and Soul* (1924) he featured the singer Paul Robeson in his only appearance in a race movie. In *Within Our Gates* (1921) he put his own spin on the infamous Leo Frank murder case in Atlanta. And throughout his career Micheaux played on

themes of racial identity, often hinging his plots upon revelations of mixed parentage.

The Colored Players differed from Micheaux's group in that they not only calculatedly played to urban, eastern audiences but seemed to have a capacity for putting every dollar on the screen, with handsomely—even densely—dressed sets and more polished levels of acting. They did Dunbar's *A Prince of His Race* (1926), a black version of the temperance tract *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* (1926), and an original screenplay entitled *The Scar of Shame* (1927).

More than any other race movie, *The Scar of Shame* addressed the concerns of the urban black middle class. Although it teased around the theme of color-caste snobbery among African Americans, its most compelling argument was a call to rise above the lot that blacks had been given and to strive for "the finer things" despite adversity. But at the same time, as critic Jane Gaines (1987) has argued, their poor circumstances were given them not by a natural order but by a white-dominated system that blacks knew as the real puppeteer working the strings off camera.

Hollywood's Blacks

For its part, Hollywood in the 1920s rarely departed from conventions it had inherited from southern American racial lore. Its high moments included *In Old Kentucky* (1926), in which the black romance was in the hands of the enduring clown Stepin Fetchit. In most movies blacks merely lent an atmosphere to the sets: Sam Baker as a burly seaman in *Old Ironsides,* Carolynne Snowden as an exotic dancer in Erich von Stroheim's Ruritanian romances, and so on. The decade also produced its own obligatory version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

But with the coming of the cultural crisis wrought by the Great Depression of 1929 and after, blacks and whites shared at least fragments of the same depths of despair and were thrust together in the same bread lines and federal programs such as the Works Project Administration (WPA). In Hollywood the result was a run of socially and artistically interesting black roles and even a couple of tolerable all-black homages to the hard life the race lived in the South: *Hallelujah!* and *Hearts in Dixie* (both in 1929).

At the same time, Hollywood had also matured into a corporate system that had rationalized moviemaking into a vertically integrated mode of production, distribution, and exhibition. The result was a manufactured product marked by so many family traits that it could be labeled by some historians "the classic Hollywood movie." Typically, such movies told an uncomplicated tale in which engaging characters embarked on a plot that obliged them to fill some lack, solve a mystery, or complete a quest resulting in a closure that wrapped all the strands into a fulfilling dénouement.

Unavoidably, the African-American roles that filled out these plots owed more to the conventions of the moviemaking system than to the authentic wellsprings of everyday black life. Moreover, supporting this industrial/aesthetic system were the proscriptions set forth by Hollywood's self-censorship system, the Production Code Administration, or "the Hays Office." These dos and don'ts discouraged full black participation in any plot forbidding racial slander or miscegenation, so that almost no African-American "heavy" or villain could appear. Nor could any black person engage in any sort of close relationship other than that of master and servant.

Stepin Fetchit, for example, enjoyed a flourishing career during the Great Depression, but one severely limited in its range. In *The World Moves On* (1934) he had a rare opportunity to play a soldier in the French army, but only as a consequence of following his master into combat; in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934) he joined the rest of the cast in fighting off the effects of the depression but was absent from pivotal scenes that centered on the white principals; and in the middle of the decade he appeared in a brief string of rural fables as a sidekick to Will Rogers's folksy Judge Priest or David Harum. Women had their moments as wise or flippant servants, notably Louise Beavers in *Imitation of Life* (1934) and Hattie McDaniel in *Alice Adams* (1935). Such a role eventually won McDaniel the first Oscar ever won by an African American: her "Mammy" in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Whenever the script called for a character of mixed heritage, such as Tondelayo in *White Cargo* or Zia in *Sundown,* the Hollywood self-censorship system, the Hays Office, pressed the studios toward the cautious choice of casting white actors in the roles.

For African Americans, the combination of an increasingly factorylike Hollywood system and a lingering economic depression provided only scant hope of improved roles. And yet the coming of sound film technology opened a window of opportunity for black performers.

Already, theatrical audiences had been introduced to African-American musical performance in the form of rollicking revues such as the *Blackbirds* series and Marc Connelly's Pulitzer Prize–winning fable *The Green Pastures,* which he had drawn from Roark Bradford's book of tales, *Ole Man Adam and His Chillun*. Fleetingly, two major Hollywood studios—Fox and Metro—had responded with *Hearts in Dixie* and *Hallelujah!* And both the majors and the independents offered hope for an African-American presence in sound films in the form of a rash of short musical films that lasted well past the decade.

***Movie still from* The Call of His People.** *Adapted by Aubrey Bowser from his story* The Man Who Would Be White, *this 1922 Reol Productions film tells the story of a black man who passes for white in order to get ahead in business.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

The most famous of these one- or two-reel gems were Bessie Smith and Jimmy Mordecai's *St. Louis Blues* (1929)—which used not only W. C. Handy's title song but incidental choral arrangements by J. Rosamond Johnson, who, with his brother James Weldon, had written the "Negro National Anthem," "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing"—and Duke Ellington's films *Black and Tan* and *The Symphony in Black* (1929 and 1935, respectively). Throughout the decade and beyond, stars of the jazz scene—Cab Calloway, Louis Armstrong, and the Nicholas Brothers, among others—appeared in these shorts, which culminated with Lena Horne, the duo pianists Albert Ammons and Pete Johnson, and the pianist Teddy Wilson in *Boogie Woogie Dream* (1944). By then such films had attracted the attention of white aesthetes such as the photographer Gjon Mili, who cast Illinois Jacquet, Sid Catlett, Marie Bryant, and others in his *Jammin' the Blues* (1946), which became a *Life* magazine Movie of the Week.

Late Race Movies

As for race-movie makers, the times were harder. Of the African Americans only their doyen, Oscar Micheaux, worked through the entire decade of the 1940s, albeit as a client of white capital sources such as Frank Schiffman, manager of the Apollo Theater. Now and again a newcomer such as William D. Alexander's All America firm or George Randol with his *Dark Manhattan* (1947) entered the field, but race movies too had matured into a system led mainly by white entrepreneurs such as Ted Toddy of Atlanta, Alfred Sack of Dallas, Bert and Jack Goldberg of New York, and Harry and Leo Popkin of Hollywood, whose loose federation was modeled on the classic Hollywood system.

As a result, race movies soon imitated Hollywood genres such as the gangster film and the western. *Paradise in Harlem* (1940), for example, featured a tale of a black gang bent upon taking over Harlem. The community, led

by an actor (Frank Wilson), mounts a jazz version of *Othello* as a fund-raiser, and the play is so compelling that even gangsters are won over by its seductive beat and a black-themed Shakespeare. Westerns—*Two Gun Man from Harlem, Bronze Buckaroo,* and *Harlem Rides the Range*—also borrowed their formulas from Hollywood, particularly their satisfying closures that promised happy lives to the good people of the cast.

The Impact of World War II

No political event affected moviemaking more profoundly than did World War II. Even before the war reached America, Hollywood responded to it by forming an Anti-Nazi League and by cleansing its movies of the worst of racist traits, much as David O. Selznick tried to do when he told his writer to place African Americans "on the right side of the ledger during these Fascist-ridden times" as they began work on *Gone with the Wind*. Indeed, so successful was he that blacks were divided in their response to the Southern epic for which Hattie McDaniel became the first black ever to win an Oscar. In less splashy movies a similar impact of the war was felt. John Huston and Howard Koch included a strong black law student who stands up to a ne'er-do-well daughter of the southern gentry in their movie of Ellen Glasgow's Pulitzer Prize–winning novel in *In This Our Life*. And Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) helped to adapt Walter Wanger's *Sundown* (1941) to fit the changing politics brought on by the war.

The war provided a cultural crisis that weighed upon African Americans in several ways: The Allies' war aims included anticolonialism, the nation needed black soldiers and war workers, and black journalists campaigned to insist on such linkages, as the *Pittsburgh Courier* did in calling for a "Double V," a simultaneous victory over foreign fascism and domestic racism. Together with the NAACP, liberals within the Office of War Information and the Pentagon joined in a campaign to make appropriate movies. Two new trends resulted: government propaganda such as *The Negro Soldier, Wings for This Man,* and *Teamwork,* which asserted a black place in the war effort, and Hollywood films such as *Crash Dive, Sahara, Bataan,* and *Lifeboat,* which often integrated the armed forces before the services themselves acted to do so. Along with federal measures such as a Fair Employment Practices Commission, the movies contributed to a new political culture that reintroduced the issue of racism to the arena of national politics.

After the war filmmakers emerged from their military experience to form a new documentary film culture bent upon making films of liberal advocacy, much as they had done during the war. The NAACP continued to lead this movement by urging wartime agencies to send their surplus films to schools, trade unions, and civil rights groups, constituting audiovisual aids for, as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP said, "educating white people now and in the future." Thus, informational films such as *The Negro Soldier* entered the civilian marketplace of ideas. In the same period a wartime antiracist tract by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish became *The Brotherhood of Man,* an animated cartoon endorsed and distributed by the United Auto Workers. Another film of the era was *The Quiet One,* an account of a black boy of the streets who enters Wiltwyck School, an agency charged with treating such children. The fact that it enjoyed an unprecedented run in urban theaters perhaps contributed to Hollywood's decision to resume attention to the racial issues it had taken up during the war.

By 1949 Hollywood majors and some independent companies that had sprung up following the war produced peacetime versions of the war movies. The results were mixed. Louis DeRochemont's "message movie" *Lost Boundaries* focused on a New England village "black" family that had been passing as white, thereby blunting the main point, racial integration; Stanley Kramer's *Home of the Brave* did somewhat better by introducing a black soldier into an otherwise white platoon; Dore Schary's *Intruder in the Dust* faithfully rendered William Faulkner's book into film, including its portrayal of African Americans as icons of a sad past who could teach white people the lessons of history; Darryl F. Zanuck's *Pinky* provided a closure in which a black nurse learns the value of building specifically black social institutions; and Zanuck's *No Way Out* carried the genre into the 1950s, focusing tightly on a black family and neighborhood and their willingness to defend themselves against the threat of racism.

Postwar Hollywood

Taken as a lot, these message movies perpetuated the integrationist ideology that had emerged from the war and gave Sidney Poitier, James Edwards, Juano Hernandez, and others a foothold in Hollywood. Indeed, if anything, Hollywood only repeated itself in the ensuing decade, hobbling efforts to press on. Poitier, for example, after a few good films in the integrationist vein—*The Blackboard Jungle* (1954), *The Defiant Ones* (1959), and *Lilies of the Field* (1963)—was given few challenging scripts. Typical of the era was Alec Waugh's novel *Island in the Sun,* a book specifically about racial politics in the Caribbean, bought by 20th Century-Fox only to have its most compelling black spokesman written entirely out of the script. Black

women fared little better, mainly because they were assigned only a narrow range of exotic figures, such as Dorothy Dandridge's title role in the all-black *Carmen Jones* (1954).

Not until the era of the civil rights movement—when such events as the Greensboro, North Carolina, student sit-ins of 1960 became daily fare on national television—would Hollywood try to catch up with the pace of events and TV's treatment of them. Even then, the most socially challenging themes were in movies made outside the Hollywood system, on East Coast locations or even in foreign countries. These included Shirley Clarke's harsh film of Harlem's streets *The Cool World* (1964); Gene Persson and Anthony Harvey's London-made film of Amiri Baraka's *Dutchman* (1967); Larry Peerce's cautionary tale about the stresses of interracial marriage, *One Potato Two Potato* (1965); Marcel Camus's Afro-Brazilian movie of the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, *Orfeo Negro* (1960); and Michael Roemer's *Nothing but a Man* (1964), a pastoral film that was named by *Black Creation* magazine as the "greatest" of black movies.

Parallel to the civil rights movement, Hollywood itself experienced key changes in its institutional structure. Its production system became less vertically integrated and more dependent on sound marketing; federal laws began to require the active recruiting of blacks into studio guilds and unions from which they had been excluded by "grandfather clauses"; the old Hays Office censorship gave way to legal challenges and eventually to a liberalized system of ratings; and television assumed the role of seeking the steady audiences that B movies once had done. All these factors would alter the ways Hollywood treated race, but television had a particular impact.

In the 1960s television shows *East Side/West Side, The Store Front Lawyers, Mod Squad,* and *Julia,* social workers, idealistic attorneys, dedicated cops, and self-sacrificing hospital workers struggled on behalf of their clients, often against the social order itself. Television news and documentaries provided a tougher image for Hollywood to strive to emulate. Daily camerawork from southern streets and courtrooms recorded the agony of the region as it resisted African-American challenges to the status quo. The documentaries, whether on commercial or public television, occasionally emerged from black origins, such as William Greave's *Black Journal*. "TV Is Black Man's Ally," said the *Los Angeles Sentinel,* while *Variety* reported a new black stereotype: an "intensely brooding, beautiful black rebel."

"Blaxploitation" Films

Hollywood had little choice but to take the point, particularly since several studios were close to collapse. They stood on the verge of what came to be called the era of blaxploitation films. Black youth flocked to this cycle of jangling, violent, and shrilly political movies. Timidly at first, the majors fell to the task. But first, there were easily digestible crossover movies, such as the pastoral tales *Sounder* and *The Learning Tree* (both 1968), the latter an autobiography by the photographer Gordon Parks Sr. Then came the urban, picaresque heroes most often thought of as "blaxploitation" icons, who combined the cynicism of 1940s film noir style with the kinetic yet cool mode of the black streets. The most famous and probably the highest earner of rentals was Parks's MGM film *Shaft* (1970). The movies that followed, such as Melvin Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), constituted calls for direct and sometimes violent retribution against brutal police and exploitative mobsters.

Other movies in the cycle tried to remake white classics by reinventing them in African-American settings—*Cool Breeze* (from *The Asphalt Jungle*), *Blacula* (*Dracula*), *The Lost Man* (*The Informer*). Some were derived from original material angled toward blacks, such as the cavalry western *Soul Soldier*.

Still another genre—"crossover" movies—sought a wider sector of the market spectrum in the form of material such as biographies of performers—Billie Holiday, Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter)—who had enjoyed followings among whites.

Yet whatever their uneven merits, the blaxploitation movies lost touch with the market. Their place was taken by Chinese martial-art fables, the work of purveyors such as Raymond Chow and Run Run Shaw, featuring impossibly adept warriors whose revenge motifs touched a nerve in the psyches of black urban youth. Soon the domestic makers of blaxploitation movies lost their market entirely so that African Americans reached the screen only as functionaries in conventional Hollywood features—police, physicians, and the like—or in prestigious, even reverent treatments of classics or successes from other media, such as Eli Landau's movie of Kurt Weill and Maxwell Anderson's South African musical *Lost in the Stars,* Charles Fuller's *A Soldier's Story,* and E. L. Doctorow's *Ragtime*.

Black Independent Film

Nonetheless, the era had revealed a previously unmeasured black marketplace that seemed ready for either the raffish or the political. Moreover, the combined impact of a thin wedge of black in the Hollywood guilds, an increase

in African Americans' numbers in the university film schools, and the opening of television as a training ground resulted in a greater number of filmmakers and, eventually, a steady flow of independently made black films. Madeleine Anderson's combination of journalism and advocacy; St. Clair Bourne's access to black institutions, as in *Let the Church Say Amen;* Haile Gerima's syncretism of the pace and rhythms of East African life and the stuff of African-American life, mediated by film school experience, resulting in his *Bush Mama;* and William Miles's classically styled histories such as *Men of Bronze* and *I Remember Harlem* reflected the catholicity of the movement.

In addition to this focused sort of journalism of advocacy, the 1980s also resulted in a black cinema of personal dimensions, represented by Ayoka Chenzira's *A Film for Nappy Headed People,* Charles Burnett's *Killer of Sheep,* Kathleen Collins's *The Cruz Brothers* and *Miss Malloy,* and Warrington Hudlin's *Streetcorner Stories* and *Black at Yale.*

By 1990 one of this generation of filmmakers, Spike Lee, had—most notably because of his flair for self-advertisement and for shrewd dealing with established Hollywood—crossed over into the mainstream system. A product of film school as well as the most famous African-American association of the craft, the Black Filmmakers Foundation, Lee managed to glaze his movies of black life with a certain universalist charm that earned the sort of rentals that kept Hollywood financing coming. Somehow he conveyed the urgency, extremity, and drama of the arcana of black life—courtship, Greek letter societies, neighborhood territoriality, the tensions of interracial marriage—into a crescendo of ringing cashboxes. From *She's Gotta Have It, School Daze, Do the Right Thing,* and *Jungle Fever,* he moved toward being entrusted with a Holy Grail of black filmmakers, a biography of Malcolm X that had been stalled for almost a quarter of a century by fears that its protagonist's memory and mission would be violated if placed in the wrong hands.

More than at any other moment in African-American film history, Lee's access to black life, classical training, black associations, and commercial theaters promised the continued presence and vision of African Americans in cinema rather than a reprise of the peaks and troughs of faddishness that had marked all previous eras of the medium.

The most insidious threat to their work continued to be that which touched everyone in Hollywood, not only the latest generation of African-American moviemakers: the unyielding fact that Hollywood was a system, a way of doing business that obliged newcomers to learn its conventions and the rules of its game. This was how fads and cycles were made: An innovative spin placed upon a familiar genre revivified it, drew new patrons into the theaters, and inspired a round of sequels and imitators that survived until the next cycle drew attention to itself. After all, even the most dedicated outlaws, Oscar Micheaux and Melvin Van Peebles, either borrowed money from the system or used it to distribute their work. Unavoidably their benefactors expected to shape their products to conform to the codes of conduct by which all movies were made.

Spike Lee and his age-cohorts were particularly successful, since many of them had gone to film school where learning the trade meant in many ways learning the Hollywood system. Lee's *Malcolm X* was a case in point. In order to celebrate, render plausible, and retail his hero and his image, Lee was drawn into the dilemma of not only making a Hollywood "bioepic" but also marketing it as if it were a McDonald's hamburger. The result was remarkably faithful to its Hollywood model: Its protagonist is carried along by his own ambition, revealing slightly clayed feet, as though more a charming flaw than a sin, faces implacable adversaries, is misunderstood by his friends and family, undergoes a revelatory conversion experience, is cast out by his coreligionists for having done it, and finally meets a martyr's death and a last-reel apotheosis. This formula, as stylized as a stanza of haiku poetry, in the hands of Lee was transformed into a vehicle for carrying a particularly reverential yet engaging black political idiom to a crossover audience.

Could Lee's successors and age-mates not only endure but also prevail over their medium? Lee himself fretted over their future: "We seem to be in a rut," he told a black film conference at Yale in the spring of 1992. His concern was directed not so much at the Hollywood establishment but rather to the young African-American filmmakers who had followed him to Hollywood: John Singleton, who at age twenty-three had made *Boyz N the Hood;* Matty Rich, who while still a teenager had made *Straight Out of Brooklyn;* and Lee's own cameraman, Ernest Dickerson, who had made *Juice;* each one of them set in a black ghetto, each centered on a protagonist at risk not so much from forces outside his circle but from within, and each marked by a fatalism that precluded tacking on a classic Hollywood happy ending.

Indeed, forces of daunting economic power seemed to hover over the new black filmmakers even as old-line Hollywood producing companies turned out attractive packages in which black themes and characters held a secure place. First, despite various gestures, the studios had hired woefully few black executives so that every project was pitched to persons uncommitted to its integrity. Second, the topmost owners of the system were more remote than ever, as in the case of the Japanese firm Sony, which

owned both Columbia Pictures and Tri-Star. Third, each new film, upon its release, faced a round of rumors of impending violence that would mar its opening. Fourth, some movies drawn from black material seemed lost in the welter of ghetto movies, much as Robert Townsend's chronicle of the careers of a black quintet of pop singers, *The Five Heartbeats,* sank from view without having reached the audience it deserved. Fifth, some black films, such as Julie Dash's *Daughter of the Dust,* a rose-tinted history of an African-American family in the Sea Islands of the Carolina low country, were so unique in texture, pace, and coloring that they were played off as esoteric art rather than popular culture. Sixth, Hollywood itself seemed ever more capable of portraying at least some aspects of black life or at least drawing black experiences into closer encounters with white. John Badham's *The Hard Way* (1992) featured the rapper LL Cool J as an undercover policeman of such depth that the actor felt "honored" to play him. Black critics almost universally admired the quiet depth of Danny Glover's role as a steady, rock-solid tow-truck driver in *Grand Canyon* (1992). And in the work of Eddie Murphy at Paramount (where he sponsored "fellowships" designed to add to the talent pool of minority writers) and in other movies such as *White Men Can't Jump,* the absurdities of race and racism in America were portrayed with arch humor.

At its height during the gestation period of Lee's *Malcolm X,* the trend toward a Hollywood-based African-American cinema seemed problematic and open either to a future of running itself into the ground as the moviemakers of the Super Fly era had done, falling prey to cooptation by the Hollywood system, or constantly searching out new recruits who might be the answer to Susan Lehman's rhetorical query in her piece in *GQ* (February 1991): "Who Will Be the Next Spike Lee?"

Although African Americans have been shut out of many of the major film awards over the years, progress was made in 2001 when Halle Berry and Denzel Washington won Academy Awards for Best Actress and Best Actor respectively. At the 2002 Academy Awards, Sidney Poitier received an Honorary Lifetime Achievement Award.

See also Berry, Halle; Blaxploitation Films; Dash, Julie; Film in Latin America and the Caribbean; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of; Lee, Spike; Micheaux, Oscar; Urban Cinema; Washington, Denzel

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Contemporary Film in the United States

African-American film from the mid-1980s must be seen in the context of blaxploitation film from the 1970s. Blaxploitation was perhaps one of the most famous—and infamous—African-American film movements of the twentieth century. Its narratives of black characters and street culture were tremendously successful with both black and white audiences, from the surprising early achievements of Melvin Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971) to later additions such as *Cleopatra Jones* (directed by Jack Starrett, 1973) and *Foxy Brown* (directed by Jack Hill, 1974). From the very beginnings, however, blaxploitation came under political and industrial attack. For groups such as Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH and the Coalition Against Blaxploitation (CAB), the genre merely continued Hollywood's long history of caricaturing and stereotyping people of African descent. For Hollywood producers, blaxploitation was an easily reproducible formula, and it wasn't long before what was originally an African-American cultural expression of resistance was appropriated by the industry, thus pushing to the margins the black personnel and stories that originally made the genre successful. By the mid-1970s the film industry, bowing to criticism and pursuing other film forms, ceased production of blaxploitation films.

Very little African-American film (made by black personnel, starring black characters, and featuring black subject matter) was produced in the wake of blaxploitation, and the exceptions occurred primarily in the independent sector; for example, the Los Angeles school of filmmakers produced a number of shorts and features from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. In New York William Greaves was producing nonfiction and fiction films such as *Nationtime: Gary* (1973), *From These Roots* (1974), and *Symbiopsychotaxiplasm: Take One* (1971). At the same time, Hollywood was experiencing a transition. Blaxploitation films aided in saving the industry from financial ruin, but by the mid-1970s, the industry had shifted into the production of big-budget blockbuster films. It was argued by industry insiders that films with black characters and stories could not provide significant returns on the large-scale outlay of funds needed to produce blockbusters. In effect, the industry argued that black film was a bad investment.

African-American feature filmmaking languished until the mid-1980s, when a number of young writer-directors began making films that changed the direction of black film (and of Hollywood as a whole) by the end of the decade. Filmmakers such as Spike Lee, Warrington Hudlin, Reginald Hudlin, and Robert Townsend marked a break from previous filmmakers because they were college educated (many from film programs) and highly knowledgeable about both American and international film movements. In this way they were part of a larger phenomenon in American film that included such filmmakers as Martin Scorsese, Frances Ford Coppola, Brian De Palma, Charles Burnett, and Haile Gerima, all of whom were emerging from film school and self-consciously changing American film aesthetics. Filmmakers such as Lee, the Hudlins, and Townsend were also literate in African-American film history, film representation, and politics, and many of their early efforts interrogate and redefine black film representation by offering alternatives to Hollywood treatments of black subject matter. For example, Lee's debut, *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), a low-budget, independent feature, was a meditation on the experiences of an independent, articulate, middle-class black woman in Brooklyn. Warrington Hudlin began as a documentary filmmaker, making *Black at Yale* (1974) and *Street Corner Stories* (1977) before teaming with his brother Reginald to produce *House Party* (1990), a middle-class teen comedy featuring hip-hop stars Kid and Play. Robert Townsend's *Hollywood Shuffle* (1987) offered a satirical (and somewhat autobiographical) examination of Hollywood's demeaning casting practices in its story of a black actor's experiences trying to maintain his dignity while attempting to find acting work. Each filmmaker went on to influence black popular culture in a number of ways: Lee's expanding body of work as a director and producer has changed American and global film aesthetics, along with introducing a variety of African-American talent to Hollywood; Townsend has provided an alternative vision of the middle-class black family for thousands of television audiences; and Warrington Hudlin's work with the Black Filmmaker Foundation (which he established in 1978) helps support emerging filmmakers through the development and distribution of their work.

Spike Lee. *The film director Spike Lee (center) is seen here with actors John Canada Terrell (left) and Redmond Hicks on the set of his 1986 motion picture* She's Gotta Have It. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Perhaps enticed by the success of this first wave of young black filmmakers, and sparked by the critical climate engendered by Lee's *Do the Right Thing* (1989), a controversial film about one day on a block in Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn, Hollywood began to take notice of new black film. This interest was sparked further by the release of Matty Rich's *Straight Out of Brooklyn* (1991), a low-budget coming-of-age story set in the borough's Red Hook neighborhood. Like *Sweetback* twenty years earlier, Rich's film was made with a tiny budget and reaped tremendous returns. Soon, a number of films were released with common characteristics: They were made by mainly young African-American men and they focused on coming-of-age stories set in the inner-city communities of south-central Los Angeles, Brooklyn, and Harlem. Perhaps the best known films of what would eventually be referred to as the "'hood" film, the "gangsta" film, or "New Jack cinema" are John Singleton's *Boyz N the Hood* (1991), an examination of a young man's attempts to define himself and stay alive in an urban environment defined by poverty, criminality, governmental disinterest, and police abuse, and Mario Van Peebles's *New Jack City* (1991), a revisionist gangster film focusing on the rise and fall of a drug lord in Harlem. Singleton's and Van Peebles's films were followed by a number of others with similar stories, self-conscious aesthetics, and performers from rap and hip-hop: for example, Ernest Dickerson's *Juice* (1992), a story of four friends in Harlem; and Allen and Albert Hughes' *Menace II Society* (1993), a caustic and highly reflexive rejoinder to Singleton's earlier film. There were also a few variants of the formula featuring female protagonists, most notably F. Gary Gray's *Set It Off* (1996) and Leslie Harris's *Just Another Girl on the IRT* (1991), a lesser-known independent film that is one of the rare feature-length examinations of the experiences of young women coming of age in urban areas.

The fact that 'hood films were attractive to Hollywood—because of their low budgets, their high returns (through film and video rentals and highly profitable soundtrack sales), and the appearance of diversity they provided an industry under attack by the NAACP—worried many scholars and critics who feared that 'hood films would be appropriated by the industry like blaxploitation films had been before them. Moreover, some argued that the films' explicit violence and depiction of criminalized men with nihilistic streaks and women whose

***Scene from* Boyz N the Hood.** *The actors Nia Long and Cuba Gooding Jr. share an intimate moment in John Singleton's 1991 coming-of-age film set in a Los Angeles ghetto.* COLUMBIA/THE KOBAL COLLECTION

roles were limited to drug addicts and single mothers presented a one-dimensional depiction of the African-American community. Soon the genre began to be criticized in film as well, as in such satires as *CB4* (Tamra Davis, 1993) and *Don't Be a Menace to South Central While Drinking Your Juice in the Hood* (Paris Barclay, 1996), and in Spike Lee's more explicit critiques of rap (particularly gangsta rap) culture in *Clockers* (1995) and *Bamboozled* (2000).

One of the important ways in which 'hood films differed from blaxploitation is that there existed a greater range of African-American filmmakers and films during the 1990s, and this diversity stretched across industrial context and genre. While most of the African-American films associated with this time were produced with Hollywood support, a number of lesser-known filmmakers successfully released films through alternative financing (and sometimes distribution) outlets. Some of the features were made by veteran filmmakers first associated with the Los Angeles school of filmmakers in the late-1960s and the 1970s: Charles Burnett's *To Sleep With Anger* (1991), Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), Haile Gerima's *Sankofa* (1993), and Zeinabu irene Davis's *Compensation* (1999). Independent films were also released by a younger generation of filmmakers, including Wendell B. Harris and Cheryl Dunye, whose visions did not conform to Hollywood's preferred formula for African-American subject matter. Harris's *Chameleon Street* (1991) is based on the true-life experiences of Wendell Douglas Street, a man who impersonated a reporter, a lawyer, and a student in an attempt to find his own identity. The film's self-conscious aesthetics, drawing at once from experimental fiction and documentary realism, garnered critical praise and film-festival accolades upon release. Dunye's *Watermelon Woman* (1996) is likewise a self-conscious examination of gender, sexuality, and history; its mockumentary style notwithstanding, it offers a valuable history lesson about so-called race-film (films made for black audiences and shown in mostly segregated theaters) production companies during the early twentieth century.

The release of feature films by Leslie Harris, Julie Dash, Zeinabu irene Davis, and Cheryl Dunye suggest another characteristic of contemporary African-American film: the emergence of women directors as feature filmmakers. Many of the directors, including those listed above, along with Ayoka Chenzira (*Alma's Rainbow,* 1993), Cauleen Smith (*Drylongso,* 1998), and Bridgett M. Davis (*Naked Acts,* 1999), worked with varying stages of independence, often funding their films through private donations and public grant monies. Other directors chose relationships with Hollywood; for example, Darnell Martin (*I Like It Like That,* 1994), Gina Prince-Bythewood (*Love and Basketball,* 2000), and Kasi Lemmons (*Eve's Bayou,* 1997, and *The Caveman's Valentine,* 2001) made larger-scale films with more recognizable performers such as Omar Epps, Lynn Whitfield, and Samuel L. Jackson. The films may differ in budget and quality, yet they are connected by a concern with placing black female experiences of differing generations, geographies, and historical moments onscreen, thus filling a void in American cinema in existence since the late nineteenth century. The films examine women, history, the family, and issues of representation by almost exclusively focusing on black women, indicating a new direction for black feature filmmaking in a post-'hood film context. (Many of these same filmmakers, including Chenzira, Dash, Davis, Dunye, and Smith, had been exploring these issues in short films prior to the 1990s.)

The diversity of late-twentieth-century African-American film extends from behind the camera to the

Movie still from* Bamboozled, *2000. *Tommy Davidson and Damon Wayans appear in director Spike Lee's film, in which a modern-day minstrel show, complete with blackfaced performers, becomes a hit on television.* NEW LINE/THE KOBAL COLLECTION/LEE, DAVID

types of films being made. Curtailing the fear that 'hood films would become the next blaxploitation, many directors first associated with the 'hood released a variety of works in other genres: For example, Matty Rich made a period piece (*The Inkwell,* 1994); John Singleton made a period piece (*Rosewood,* 1997), a college film (*Higher Learning,* 1995), action films (*Shaft,* 2000, and *2 Fast 2 Furious,* 2003), and a late return to the 'hood film (*Baby Boy,* 2001); Mario Peebles made a western (*Posse,* 1993) and an action film (*Panther,* 1995, among others; and the Hughes brothers have ventured into action films (*Dead Presidents,* 1995) and the horror genre (*From Hell,* 2001). Meanwhile, other young directors defined themselves with films in a variety of genres, such as the film noir (Carl Franklin's *One False Move,* 1992, and *Devil in a Blue Dress,* 1995), the romance (Theodore Witcher's *love jones,* 1997), the romantic comedy (Reginald Hudlin's *Boomerang,* 1992; Rick Famuyiwa's *The Wood,* 1999, and *Brown Sugar,* 2002; and Malcolm D. Lee's *The Best Man,* 2001), the comedy (F. Gary Gray's *Friday,* 1995; Tim Story's *Barbershop,* 2002; and Malcolm D. Lee's *Undercover Brother,* 2002), and the drama (Denzel Washington's *Antwone Fisher,* 2002).

At the end of the twentieth century, and sparked by the success of such filmmakers as the Hudlins, Lee, Townsend, Dash, and Singleton, African-American film extended to a broad range of subjects, with many filmmakers directing films with mixed casts for crossover audiences, thus complicating the already contested borders of black film. Many times, but not always, these so-called crossover films feature African-American performers as leads or as seminal parts of teams; examples include Singleton's *Shaft* and *2 Fast 2 Furious,* Anton Fuqua's *Training Day* (2002), F. Gary Gray's *The Italian Job* (2003), and Cheryl Dunye's *My Baby's Daddy* (2004). Some veteran directors, such as Bill Duke (*The Cemetery Club,* 1992), Lee (*Summer of Sam,* 1999, *25th Hour,* 2002), and the Hugheses (*From Hell*) made films featuring white actors as leads, suggesting the incremental acceptance of black directors within Hollywood's ranks. The rise in the number of African-American directors making films for television networks such as BET, HBO, Showtime, and USA further complicates twenty-first-century definitions of black film. While part of a more general trend in network broadcasting, made-for-TV films offer an impressive array of black talent, including Julie Dash (*Funny Valentines,* 1999, *Love Story,* 2000, *The Rosa Parks Story,* 2002), Charles Burnett (*Nightjohn,* 1996, *The Wedding,* 1998, *Finding Buck McHenry,* 2000), Cheryl Dunye (*Stranger Inside,* 2001), Maya Angelou (*Down in the Delta,* 1998), and Forrest Whitaker (*Strapped,* 1993, *Black Jaq,* 1998). The networks have provided black directors, particularly African-American women, with the chance to continue making films, an opportunity that remains rare in Hollywood where funding for a second film is often impossible to secure.

By the end of the 1990s, contemporary African-American film had moved beyond the boundaries of the 'hood films that were so popular at the beginning of the decade, and even further beyond blaxploitation films from the 1970s. Black film in the twenty-first century is varied, stretching across genre, budget, and format (shorts and features). African-American filmmakers work in Hollywood and in the independent sector, a thriving area, particularly since more affordable formats, such as video and digital video, have enabled many more visual artists to explore the once cost-prohibitive area of filmmaking. What remains to come, however, is the release of a big-budget Hollywood blockbuster featuring African-American characters, stories, and technical personnel; for example, Lee struggled to make *Malcolm X* (1992) on a $20 million budget, while Singleton made *2 Fast 2 Furious,* an action film

with crossover appeal, for $76 million. In this continuing reluctance to invest in African-American film, Hollywood remains politically and ideologically entrenched in the 1970s.

See also Blaxploitation Films; Burnett, Charles; Dash, Julie; Documentary Film; Film in the United States; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of; Lee, Spike; Urban Cinema; Washington, Denzel

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PAULA J. MASSOOD (2005)

Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of

The Los Angeles school of filmmakers, also known as the "LA Rebellion," refers to a group of African-American and African filmmakers who worked under the auspices of the graduate film program in the Theater Arts Department at UCLA from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. Its members included Charles Burnett, Haile Gerima, Billy Woodbury, Alile Sharon Larkin, Ntongela Masilela, Jamaa Fanaka, Larry Clark, Ben Caldwell, Carroll Parrott Blue, Zeinabu irene Davis, and Julie Dash. Members of the LA school were interested in developing a revolutionary African-American film aesthetic that broke with the Hollywood conventions that had distorted black subject matter since the technology's inception. Unlike African-American filmmakers working in Hollywood, many of whom were involved in the production of blaxploitation films, members of the LA school expressed an explicitly political agenda that extended beyond profit and the superficial interrogation of representation; instead, they were concerned with breaking down what they saw as the internal colonization of African Americans, and they saw film as the primary tool to meet their goal. Rather than replicating Hollywood's emphasis on classical realism, often mistaken for or equated with a mimetic reproduction of reality, the LA school formulated a self-conscious, revolutionary cinema, one that, according to Ntongela Masilela, would be "a film form unique to their historical situation and cultural experience, a form that could not be appropriated by Hollywood" (Masilela, 1993, p. 108).

The LA school filmmakers were inspired by a diverse cross-section of political, industrial, and artistic influences: the black arts movement, the Black Panthers, the writings of Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon, the approach to film production and exhibition practiced by early African-American independent filmmaker Oscar Micheaux, and the revolutionary "Third" cinemas emerging from Latin American and African countries, particularly Cuba and Brazil, most of which were in the midst of their own political, social, and aesthetic revolutions. Many of the LA school filmmakers adapted the revolutionary filmmaking techniques and politics of Third Cinema in an attempt to free their audience, according to Clyde Taylor, "from the mental colonization that Hollywood tries to impose on its audiences, black and white" (Taylor, 1985, p. 167). A similar rhetoric was used by Melvin Van Peebles, whose *Sweet Sweetback's Baadassss Song* (1971) was the precursor to many blaxploitation films. Sweetback's mythic qualities, his virility and his agency, were an attempt to

recode Hollywood representations of a disempowered or tamed black masculinity most closely linked with Sidney Poitier and the social protest films from the 1950s and 1960s. Notwithstanding *Sweetback*'s experimental form and empowered protagonist, the film's politics were not a model for the LA school filmmakers because *Sweetback*'s fantasy elements, its hyper-sexualized lead character, and its misogyny, like blaxploitation as a whole, were contrary to their goals. Instead, LA school films focused on "family, women, history, and folklore" within the urban milieu of post–Watts rebellion Los Angeles.

No unifying LA school aesthetic exists, and unlike many Latin American and African film movements from the same time, the filmmakers associated with UCLA did not produce a manifesto outlining their goals or prescribing an overarching film aesthetic. Yet, the LA school filmmakers were united in their self-conscious approach to story and technique. Much of this can be linked to the influences that the filmmakers drew from Latin American films such as Octavio Getino and Fernando E. Solanas's *Hour of the Furnaces* (1968) or Tomás Gutíerrez Alea's *Memories of Underdevelopment* (1968), but it can also be traced to other cinematic sources, such as Soviet cinema from the 1930s, Italian neorealism from the 1940s, and the French New Wave from the 1950s, all of which provided models of reflexive, low-budget fiction filmmaking. Additionally, some LA school filmmakers drew upon contemporary documentary filmmaking practices such as cinema verité and direct cinema, both of which were self-conscious attempts to question the implied truth of the nonfiction form. Burnett, in particular, was influenced by British social documentarians from the 1930s. Early British documentaries by such filmmakers as John Grierson and Basil Wright (on the faculty at UCLA and Burnett's mentor) developed a model of nonfiction film advocacy that focused on the working class and, for the first time in film history, provided its subjects with a voice. These various influences were, according to Paul Willeman, "examples of an artisanal, relatively low-cost cinema working with a mixture of public and private funds, enabling directors to work in a different way and on a different economic scale from that required by Hollywood and its various national-industrial rivals" (Willeman, 1989, p. 5), and they suggested the direction that many LA school filmmakers would choose: the establishment of a low-budget, socially active film movement that engaged with its immediate context in a language drawing upon diasporic conventions of storytelling.

Charles Burnett's *Killer of Sheep* (1977) is a good example of the thematic and stylistic diversity utilized by the LA school. The film focuses on a working-class family in Los Angeles that is struggling to maintain its economic and personal integrity in impoverished conditions. The film's main character, Stan, works during the day at a job in an abattoir that desensitizes him and distances him from his wife and children. The film combines an aesthetics of documentary immediacy—location shooting, moving camera, sync-sound—with more experimental and nonnarrative inserts of Stan's experiences in the slaughterhouse and with local children playing in empty lots and on the streets of Watts (also shot on location). The combination of narrative and nonnarrative sections provide both an urgency and poignancy to Stan's experiences while also suggesting the ways in which the experiential dilemma detailed in the film is much larger than just one person: It is experienced by the entire community.

In the links it makes between Stan's dilemma and the community's situation, *Killer of Sheep* explores themes that were common to many LA school films: the focus on the group over the individual, and the global over the local. One of the many critiques leveled at such blaxploitation films as *Sweetback, Shaft,* and *Superfly* was that the films focused on individual gain over community development and that many valorized individuals (drug dealers, pimps) who were seen as aiding in the destruction of African-American neighborhoods. LA school films redefined blaxploitation's narrative focus on the individual hero: Gerima's *Bush Mama* (1976), for example, extends its examination of African-American urban angst from one family to the experiences faced by impoverished black mothers forced into a debilitating social services system. Woodberry's *Bless Their Little Hearts* (1984) references, as *Killer of Sheep* did, the enervating effects of urban poverty and racism on African-American urban communities through the experiences of one family in Watts. In a different way, Julie Dash's *Illusions* (1984) self-consciously addresses the responsibility shouldered (and often ignored) by filmmakers through the story of an African-American studio executive passing for white during World War II, again suggesting that the individual and the social are intimately linked.

While the LA school shared a common political vision and a similarity in theme, its films were diverse in format and style, ranging from shorts to features and from conventional narratives to experimental fiction and nonfiction works. Gerima's *Bush Mama,* for example, is constructed around an experimental narrative, with Gerima often choosing to evoke certain moods and political positions through juxtaposed images and sounds rather than through expository dialogue. The film creates an audiovisual collage of Watts, encouraging the audience to participate in the life of its main character, Dorothy, as she

experiences the frustrations of single motherhood, reliance on state support, and life in an urban police state. The film, like most of Ethiopian-born Gerima's output, expands its focus from a strictly American context through its references to the independence struggle in Angola at the time, thus suggesting a diasporic link between African-American urban life and subjugated communities on the African continent.

Many LA school filmmakers incorporated their concern with community into their own professional collaborations, thus embodying in person what they attempted to create onscreen. For example, besides writing, directing, and editing *Killer of Sheep,* Burnett wrote Woodberry's *Bless Their Little Hearts,* was the cinematographer for Gerima's *Bush Mama* and Larkin's *A Different Image* (1982), was the camera operator for Larry Clark's *Passing Through* (1977), and served as an additional photographer for Dash's *Illusions*. Moreover, many of the filmmakers collaborated with the same performers: Barbara O. Jones (sometimes credited as Barbara O) appeared in Gerima's *Child of Resistance* (1972) and *Bush Mama* (1976), Dash's *Diary of an African Nun* (1977) and *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), and Davis's *A Powerful Thang* (1991); Cora Lee Day appeared in *Bush Mama, Daughters of the Dust,* and Clark's *Passing Through;* Adisa Anderson in *A Different Image* (as Michael Adisa Anderson) and *Daughters of the Dust;* and Kaycee Moore in *Killer of Sheep, Bless Their Little Hearts,* and *Daughters of the Dust*. Part of this collaboration was due undoubtedly to financial exigency and circumstance, but it is also a clear indication of the support that existed between the filmmakers and other personnel.

Many of the filmmakers associated with the LA school continued to make films in the 1990s, most notably Charles Burnett (*To Sleep with Anger,* 1990), Julie Dash (*Daughters of the Dust,* 1991), Haile Gerima (*Sankofa,* 1993), and Zeinabu irene Davis (*Compensation,* 1999). In these later feature films, the directors developed many of the themes and alternative aesthetics that first concerned the LA school; for example, most of the films continue the focus on family, history, and folklore. The filmmakers continued to work outside of Hollywood, independently funding their films through a combination of public and private sources. Each, excluding Burnett (whose *To Sleep with Anger* was distributed by Samuel Goldwyn), also chose alternative distribution channels to reach diverse and appropriate audiences. Gerima, who self-distributes his films (and others, such as *Killer of Sheep,* from the LA school) through Mypheduh Films, is perhaps the best example of the LA school's continuing industrial and aesthetic legacy: independence and the development of a unique "film form . . . that could not be appropriated by Hollywood" (Masilela, 1993, p. 108).

See also Blaxploitation Films; Burnett, Charles; Dash, Julie; Documentary Film; Film in the United States; Film in the United States, Contemporary; Urban Cinema

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PAULA J. MASSOOD (2005)

Filmmakers in the Caribbean

The first film screenings in the Caribbean were held in 1895, a little more than a year after the emergence of film, and soon led to the development of cinemas throughout the region. Going to the cinema would prove to be a popular local pastime, as films increasingly captured the imagi-

nation of the Caribbean people. Almost all films were made outside the region, but some pioneering film directors lived in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and a few lived in the English-speaking Caribbean. It was only from the 1950s onward that the Caribbean began to produce films on a consistent basis—first documentaries made mainly by government film units and later independently produced feature films.

Cuba

Only a few blacks can be found among the major filmmakers in Cuba, the region's foremost film-producing country. Sara Gómez is important, as she was not only the first black Cuban to direct a feature film but also the first woman. She trained as a musician before joining the Instituto Cubano de Arte e Industria Cinematográficos as an assistant director to Cuban filmmakers Tomás Guitiérrez Alea and Jorge Fraga. Between 1964 and 1974 she directed ten short documentaries before making her first and only feature film, *De Cierta Manera* (1974). This innovative film combined documentary and dramatic sequences, real people and professional actors, to describe the role of African-influenced religions and male chauvinism in postrevolutionary Cuba. Gómez died of asthma while the film was being edited, and it was completed under the supervision of Alea and Julio García Espinosa.

Sergio Giral grew up in New York before returning to Cuba after the revolution. He made the short fictional film *La juala* (1964), the experimental documentary *La muerte de J. J. Jones* (1966) about a North American soldier fighting in Vietnam, and *Qué bueno canta usted* (1973) on the singer Beny Moré. He directed the feature films *El otro Francisco* (1974), *Rancheador* (1976), *Manuela* (1979), *Plácido* (1986), and *Maria Antonia* (1990), which focused on the history and culture of the Afro-Cuban population and the impact of sugar and slavery on the development of Cuban society. Most of these films were adaptations of famous Cuban novels or plays and reflected Giral's interest in exploring the multiple readings of major events in Afro-Cuban history.

Rigoberto López is one of Cuba's foremost documentary directors and has made films in Spain, Africa, and throughout the Caribbean. In Cuba, he worked first as an assistant director to Sergio Giral and Sara Gómez before producing such documentaries as *El mensajero de los dioses* (1989), which focused on santería, and *Yo soy, del son a la salsa* (1996), which illustrated the growth of salsa music. In 2003 he directed his first feature film, *Roble de olor,* exploring the issue of race in a story about the relationship between a German merchant and a freed slave in nineteenth-century Cuba.

Gloria Rolando's documentaries also celebrate the African presence in Cuba. She works almost entirely in video and has produced a number of short films on such topics as the presence of the West Indian community in Cuba in *My Footsteps in Baragua* (1995), santería in *Oggun: An Eternal Presence* (1991), and Carnival with *El alacrán* (2000). She heads an independent filmmaking group, Imágines del Caribe.

Haiti

Haitian cinema has been dominated by the work of Raoul Peck, who, like many other Caribbean filmmakers, operates from outside of the region, where he has access to funding and distribution. Peck grew up in Haiti and the Congo, and his work reflects a commitment to these countries. He directed his first full-length feature, *Haitian Corner,* in 1987, while he was a film student in Berlin. Peck's work has mainly focused on political issues, as can be seen in his feature *L'Homme sur les quais* (1993), about the Duvalier regime as seen through the eyes of a young girl, and two films on the first prime minister of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba: the full-length documentary *Lumumba: La Mort du prophète* in 1991, and the award-winning feature *Lumumba* in 2000.

Elsie Haas has established herself as a leading documentary filmmaker and has directed a number of films that explore Haiti and its culture, especially *Des saints et des anges* (1984), *La Ronde des tap-tap* (1986), and *La Ronde des vodu* (1987).

The Dutch Antilles

Producer/scriptwriter Norman de Palm from Aruba and director/designer Felix de Rooy from Curaçao have produced some of the most important Caribbean films. Their first feature, *Desiree* (1983), was their graduation project from New York University film school, and they went on to found Cosmic Illusions, a film and theater production company based in Amsterdam. Their other two films were shot in Curaçao. *Almacita di desolato* (1986) is a mythical story of Afro-Caribbean folklore and the fight between good and evil, and *Ava and Gabriel* (1990) is a critical depiction of such issues as race, class, religion, and sexuality in the Dutch colony of Curaçao in 1948.

Martinique and Guadeloupe

The French Antilles has produced a number of filmmakers of African descent, with Martiniquans Gabriel Glissant and Jean-Paul Césaire making short films and documentaries in the 1970s, and Guadeloupean Sarah Maldoror, with her feature film *Sambizanga* (1972), best known for her

Film director Euzhan Palcy. *Born on the French West Indian Island of Martinique, Palcy was the first black woman to direct a Hollywood studio film (*A Dry White Season, *1989). Among the most accomplished of Caribbean directors, Palcy lists among her credits a number of films exploring the history and culture of that region.* PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID JAMES. THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

work in Angola. The most prolific filmmaker is Guadeloupe's Christian Lara, whose first feature was *Chap'la* (1977). Other early films include *Mamito* (1980), *Vivre libre ou mourir* (1980), *Adieu foulard* (1981), and *Bitter Sugar* (1997), an innovative treatment of slavery in the Caribbean. However, it is the Martiniquan filmmaker Euzhan Palcy who has made the greatest impact as a director. She received international recognition as the first black woman to direct a Hollywood studio film, *A Dry White Season* (1989), set in apartheid South Africa in 1976, but it was her first film *Rue Cases Nègres* (1983), adapted from Joseph Zobel's novel of postslavery plantation life, that established her as one of the foremost Caribbean directors. *Siméon* (1992), Palcy's other feature film set in Martinique, focuses on the growth of French Caribbean music and features the local group Kassav.

Guy Deslauriers, also from Martinique, has directed films that explore French Antillean history and culture, such as *L'Exil du roi Behanzin* (1995), about the king of Dahomey, who in 1894 was exiled to Martinique after defending his country against the French; *Le passage du milieu* (1999), a impressionistic look at the inhumanities of the slave trade; and *Biguine* (2003), the story of two black musicians in nineteenth-century Martinique.

The English-Speaking Caribbean

The question of who is an Afro-Caribbean filmmaker becomes rather delicate when considering filmmaking in the English-speaking Caribbean. It would be foolhardy not to consider Perry Henzell's pioneering *The Harder They Come* (1972), Jamaica's quintessential Caribbean feature film, because it was made by a white Jamaican. In addition, several of the other Jamaican-made films were made by white outsiders, all working with local crews and striving to give their movies a Caribbean flavor. Similarly, an Indian-born filmmaker, Harbance Kumar, made Trinidad's first two feature films, *The Right and the Wrong*, and *The Caribbean Fox*, both in 1970. And to add even more diversity, American-born Hugh Robertson, who was married to a Trinidadian, made *Bim* in 1974, highlighting the tensions between the African and Indian communities as it portrayed one man's struggle to come to terms with the society that has alienated him.

Jamaica has produced by far the most Caribbean films, thanks in part to its aggressive marketing and to the international appeal and popularity of reggae, the music that seems to drive every one of its films. The flagship *The Harder They Come* started the trend. With singing star Jimmy Cliff in the lead, the film portrayed the life of a budding singer turned criminal as a result of unscrupulous exploitation in the record industry and the drug trade.

Trevor Rhone, who is co-credited for the screenplay of *The Harder They Come*, provided a follow-up of sorts to that film with *Smile Orange* in 1975, based on his original play by the same name. This film did not have the same impact as the first one, but it went a long way toward establishing a body of work that could readily be called Jamaican/Caribbean cinema. The next milestone for an Afro-Jamaican was *Children of Babylon* (1980) by Lennie Little-White. Trained, like Perry Henzell, outside of Jamaica, Little-White is committed to developing an indigenous film industry. His film, ironically, suffered from being too polished, since by then international audiences had come to expect a particular brand of Third World filmmaking.

Trinidad, after the two Harbance Kumar films and *Bim*—a film that Trinidadians readily claimed as their own although it had been made by an African American—did produce some low-budget films by Indo-Trinidad directors Kamalo Deen and Tony Maharaj, and Gerard Jo-

Reggae singer Jimmy Cliff in a scene from* The Harder They Come, *1973. *Cliff starred in Perry Henzell's film about corruption and exploitation in the Jamaican music business.* INTERNATIONAL FILMS/NEW WORLD/THE KOBAL COLLECTION

seph co-produced *Men of Gray II: Flight of the Ibis* in 1996. This graduate school project grew into a full-length martial arts action movie but made little impact in the Caribbean. However, the talented Horace Ové made a significant contribution to the work of diaspora-based filmmakers. Having migrated to England, Ové was keenly interested in the plight of West Indian immigrants there. The problems they faced were highlighted both in his early documentaries and in his feature films *Pressure* (1975) and *Playing Away* (1986). Both these films made use of talented immigrants seeking to make a new home away from the Caribbean. Unfortunately, they were not great successes in the Caribbean.

Filmmaking by Caribbean directors has been problematic at best. Some have made valiant efforts, but after the initial curiosity of seeing a movie made by a local filmmaker, the public shows little interest in keeping the work alive beyond occasional appearances at film festivals. An example of this is *Guttaperc* (1998), directed and produced by Andrew Millington, the first feature-length movie by a Barbados national. It was politely received, but distribution problems led to its disappearing from the local scene and to apparent oblivion.

Filmmaking by Afro-Caribbeans remains largely a labor of love, for the logistical problems are almost overwhelming. Apart from Cuba, which has established a film institute and film school, most of the Caribbean countries are too preoccupied with more pressing economic matters to commit money to the relatively high-cost undertaking of filmmaking. Foundation help is sparse and usually doled out for documentaries. Private industry looks at the poor returns on previous efforts and prefers to err on the side of caution, thus remaining in the shadow of Hollywood productions. Talented filmmakers are now increasingly working in the area of video production, and the work of Banyan Productions and Robert Yao Ramesar in

Trinidad augurs well for the future. Unfortunately, the same spirited nationalism that has doomed attempts at a pan-Caribbean political federation also emerges in matters of art and culture. Films made in Cuba and Martinique are hardly shown in Trinidad; films from the Dutch Antilles are more likely to be shown in Holland than in the Caribbean. Cuba—followed by Jamaica—has staged an annual film festival to showcase new productions. One can only hope that such efforts will eventually spread throughout the entire Caribbean and inspire local filmmakers to produce a body of work that will take its rightful place on the international stage.

See also Film in Latin America and the Caribbean; Palcy, Euzhan; Peck, Raoul

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KEITH Q. WARNER (2005)
BRUCE PADDINGTON (2005)

Fisher, Rudolph

May 9, 1897
December 26, 1934

Rudolph John Chauncey Fisher, a fiction writer, dramatist, and essayist, was born in Washington, D.C., the youngest child of a Baptist minister. He lived briefly in New York City as a small boy but was raised and educated largely in Providence, Rhode Island, where he graduated from Classical High School and Brown University. An undergraduate of many talents, he was chosen by fellow students to be Class Day orator and by the faculty to be commencement speaker. He wrote his first published short story, "The City of Refuge" (1925), in his final year at Howard Medical School, initiating simultaneous vocations in literature and science. When Fisher's internship ended at Freedman's Hospital in Washington, D.C., a National Research Council Fellowship brought him to New York City in 1925 to work in bacteriology with Dr. Frederick P. Gay at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. In the mid-1920s, during Harlem Renaissance, he consolidated his medical and literary careers with scientific articles in the *Journal of Infectious Diseases* and the *Proceedings of the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine* and short stories in the *Atlantic Monthly, Survey Graphic,* and *McClure's* magazine. He married Jane Ryder in 1925, and their son Hugh was born in 1926.

One of the more prolific writers of the Harlem Renaissance, Fisher produced in less than a decade fifteen published and seven unpublished short stories, two novels, half a dozen book reviews, a magazine feature article, and a play—while at the same time maintaining a medical practice, administering a private X-ray laboratory, and chairing the Department of Roentgenology at the International Hospital in Manhattan. Harlem is at the center of his literary work. "I intended to write whatever interests me. But if I should be fortunate enough to be known as Harlem's interpreter," he said in response to a radio interviewer's question on WINS in 1933, "I should be very happy." *The Walls of Jericho* (1928), his first novel, interweaves genre elements of color-conscious 1920s Harlem fiction—such as country-rooted southern migrants, slick Harlemites, and West Indians with their distinctive dialects and repartee; block-busting scenarios; racist uplifters of the race; rival lovers and their Arcadian conflicts; and passing—and brings it all together amid the converging vectors of social and racial distinction at a Harlem ball. His other novel, *The Conjure Man Dies* (1932), is regarded as an early example of a detective novel published in book form by an African-American author.

Fisher's place among the writers of the Harlem Renaissance rests, however, on the excellence of his short fiction. His short stories focus on tensions between West Indians and native-born Americans ("Ringtail"); alienation and reconciliation ("Fire by Night" and "The Backslider"); divisions between youth and age, the modern and the traditional, spirituals and blues ("The Promised Land"); and black consciousness and jazz in a battle of the bands ("Common Meter"). In these stories, he conveys what the scholar and writer Arthur P. Davis called a "fuller" picture of Harlem life viewed with "an understanding and amused eye" (Davis, 1974), and what the writer Sterling Brown termed "a jaunty realism . . . less interested in that 'problem' than in the life and language of Harlem's poolrooms, cafes, and barbershops" (Brown, 1969).

Two short stories in particular, "The City of Refuge" and "Miss Cynthie" (1933)—both anthologized in *The Best American Short Stories*—are Fisher's most highly regarded achievements. "The City of Refuge" concerns the arrival in Harlem of King Solomon Gillis, "a baby jess in from the land o' cotton . . . an' ripe f' the pluckin." Gillis is betrayed by everyone who seems to befriend him, yet when he is arrested by a black policeman, the symbol of Harlem's possibility he saw when he first arrived, Gillis, who "plodded flat-footedly" on "legs never quite straightened," can stand "erect" and "exultant" as he submits to an icon of black authority. In "Miss Cynthie," Fisher's last published work, he matches his undisputed ability to evoke locale and character with what the writer Robert Bone called a newly discovered sense of "how to interiorize his dramatic conflicts, so that his protagonists have the ability to grow" (Bone, 1988). Miss Cynthie struggles to embrace the success of the grandson she hopes is a doctor or at least an undertaker, but who turns out to be a song-and-dance virtuoso.

In 1934, Rudolph Fisher underwent a series of operations for an intestinal disorder—associated by some sources with his early work with X-rays—and he died on December 26 of that year.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Literature of the United States

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JAMES DE JONGH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Fisk Jubilee Singers

The Fisk Jubilee Singers, a student choral group of former slaves at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, was organized in 1867 by George L. White, Fisk's treasurer and vocal-music teacher. After several local appearances, the eleven-member group of men and women traveled north to raise money for the financially beleaguered young school. Barely meeting expenses and suffering prejudice and discrimination, the Singers worked their way through the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Ohio. They began to achieve success with their appearance on November 15, 1871, at Oberlin College at a meeting of the National Council of Congregational Churches, constituents of the American Missionary Association, which had founded Fisk.

The Jubilee Singers' repertory of anthems, operatic excerpts, popular ballads, and temperance songs impressed their audiences, in part with the realization that African Americans could sing European music. The singers received their greatest popular response, however, when they sang spirituals, and it can be said that they introduced a white audience to black music. They made plantation hymns popular and even caused them to be written down and preserved. Endorsed by Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn's Church of the Pilgrims, the singers began winning praise and raising money in Connecticut and Massachusetts, especially with an audience of forty thousand at the World's Peace Jubilee in Boston in 1872. In Washington, D.C., a later Fisk Jubilee Singers group sang for President Ulysses S. Grant.

During a tour of the British Isles, the group sang for Queen Victoria and with the Moody and Sankey evange-

listic campaign. They were popular with Quakers and other former abolitionists, as well as with both the aristocracy (Prime Minister William Gladstone invited them to lunch) and common people (they sang for an audience of six thousand in Charles Spurgeon's London tabernacle). Imitations of this group were legion. In 1875 Fisk graduated its first collegiate class and completed construction of Jubilee Hall, its first permanent building, paid for by the Jubilee Singers' tours. The Jubilee Singers continue to exist today at Fisk University.

See also Fisk University

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DORIS EVANS MCGINTY (1996)

Fisk University

Fisk University is a private, coeducational, independent liberal arts institution in Nashville, Tennessee. It was founded in October 1865 by Erastus Milo Cravath, field secretary for the American Missionary Association (AMA); John Ogden, superintendent of education, Freedmen's Bureau, Tennessee; and the Rev. Edward P. Smith, district secretary, Middle West Department, AMA, at Cincinnati. Cravath and Smith had been sent to Nashville by the AMA to establish an elementary school for freedmen in the area. The two men joined forces with Ogden, who was named principal of the Fisk School, or the Fisk Free Colored School, when it opened on January 1, 1866, in former Union hospital barracks. The buildings and land had been purchased with much financial and moral support from the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Tennessee and Kentucky, Gen. Clinton Bowen Fisk, for whom the school was named. The American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau also helped to fund the school.

Although at first it functioned mainly as an elementary and normal school, Fisk was incorporated as Fisk University on August 22, 1867, following the founders' desires for a "first-class college" to educate black teachers. The college curriculum was organized by Adam K. Spence, a Scottish-born professor of foreign languages who left the University of Michigan in 1870 to replace Ogden as principal. Fisk graduated its first four college students in 1875, awarding them the B.A. degree for successfully completing courses in such liberal arts subjects as classical and foreign languages, mathematics, natural sciences, philosophy, history, and political science. In keeping with Fisk's religious orientation, weekly Bible classes were also required.

Fisk's income derived primarily from sporadic donations, as well as what could be raised from the modest tuition rates. Under Spence's leadership it experienced dire financial problems and often had to delay salary payments to its hardworking and dedicated teaching staff, which was originally composed primarily of white missionaries sent by the AMA. The buildings were deteriorating and in need of repair. George L. White, Fisk's treasurer and self-taught music instructor, set out on October 6, 1871, with a group of nine of his best students for a fund-raising singing tour of the North and East. White named the group the Jubilee Singers. The Jubilee Singers introduced "slave songs" or spirituals to audiences and returned the following year with $20,000 to purchase a forty-acre campus site. Groundbreaking ceremonies were held July 1, 1873, for the erection of Jubilee Hall, now a historic landmark. The Singers remain a Fisk tradition.

In 1875, Erastus Milo Cravath became the first president of Fisk University when the position of principal was eliminated and the AMA gave up direction of the institution, transferring titles and buildings to the Fisk trustees. Spence continued at Fisk as professor of Greek until 1900. He joined other members of Fisk's white faculty in enrolling his own child at the increasingly reputable university.

Under Cravath's presidency Fisk's reputation grew, and as early as 1875 black professors joined the staff. Among the students who came from the North to study at Fisk was W. E. B. Du Bois, one of the university's most famous alumni, who received his B.A. in 1888. When Cravath died in 1900, Fisk had graduated more than four hundred students who spread Fisk's fame across the United States in their careers as lawyers, professors, businessmen, ministers, and editors.

During the presidency of James G. Merrill (1900–1908), Fisk added a summer school for black teachers who wanted to improve their training, as well as many new science courses. When Merrill resigned, Fisk was again experiencing money troubles, since philanthropies at that time were more interested in investing in vocational and industrial schools such as the Tuskegee Institute. Many educators followed the line of reasoning that favored a "practical" education for blacks—training to enter the workforce. But Fisk remained staunchly in favor of offering the best liberal arts education it could to blacks in order to produce leaders for the black community.

Under the administration of George A. Gates, president from 1909 to 1912, Fisk established the social science

department for which it would become well known. It also began to receive considerable donations from such philanthropists as Andrew Carnegie, Julius Rosenwald, and John D. Rockefeller. These donations were largely results of tireless campaigning on behalf of the university by Booker T. Washington, whose wife and son were alumni of Fisk.

The presidency of Fayette Avery McKenzie, who took office after Gates's untimely death, brought with it an expansion of the curriculum and raising of standards, as well as a $2 million endowment campaign. By July 19, 1924, McKenzie was successful in securing half of the endowment. Although the school showed growth, McKenzie's dictatorial administration and strict student discipline led in 1924 and 1925 to one of the first student rebellions on a black college campus. Du Bois fueled the fire of the revolt by speaking out to other alumni against McKenzie. McKenzie was especially resented for his ingratiating behavior toward prominent white citizens of Nashville and his insistence on unobtrusive, passive behavior from the black students even in the face of antiblack violence. McKenzie resigned on April 16, 1925.

Thomas Elsa Jones, a Quaker missionary, became the last white president in 1926. His years are viewed as one of the most productive periods in Fisk history. He eradicated the stricter regulations imposed on students until then. The $2 million endowment was attained. Black faculty increased to more than one half, and the first black dean, Ambrose Caliver, was named when Jones took office. Jones placed emphasis on increasing graduate studies at the university and attracting research-oriented professors. One of these professors was Charles Spurgeon Johnson, who became the head of the department of social science in 1928 and established the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk in 1944, drawing white and black leaders to campus annually for intensive three-week conferences. In 1947 Johnson became Fisk's first black president, replacing Jones, who had resigned to become president of his alma mater, Earlham College. Johnson's administration ended abruptly in 1956 when he died of a heart attack.

During these formative years Fisk garnered a number of historical firsts among black colleges and universities. It was the first black college to gain full accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (1930); to be on the approved list of the Association of American Universities (1933); to establish a university archive (1948); to be approved by the American Association of University Women (1951); to be granted a chapter of the honorary society Phi Beta Kappa (1952); and to be accredited for membership in the National Association of Schools of Music (1954).

The 1960s brought an expansion in educational programs and buildings. A centennial celebration was held in 1966, and James Raymond Lawson, an alumnus and scientist, was inaugurated as president, replacing Stephen Junius Wright, Jr., who had been named president after Johnson's death. Enrollment reached 1,559 in 1972, the largest in the university's history. In 1977 the Department of the Interior designated the campus as a historical site in the National Register of Historical Places by the National Parks Service.

Ironically, in the early 1970s school desegregation had an adverse effect on Fisk's finances, for government funding was cut back and competition for students increased as formerly segregated schools lured potential black applicants. In July 1975 Fisk's financial situation reached a crisis point as 11 percent of full-time faculty and forty staff members were laid off. Those remaining took a 20 percent salary abatement.

With the resignation of Lawson that same year, the school was without a president until 1977, when Walter Jewell Leonard, an attorney, was selected. Inheriting serious financial woes, Leonard's administration was also a target of faculty and student disgruntlement. Student enrollment dropped and a number of faculty resigned.

When a cold homecoming day on November 12, 1983, found dormitories without heat, it became public that the Nashville Gas Company had discontinued service in April because of an overdue bill of $157,000. The financial crisis worsened as the Nashville Electric Service threatened to cut off the university's electricity if $140,000 of their bill was not paid immediately. At the same time the Internal Revenue Service was threatening to put a lien on Fisk's property, since the university owed $500,000 in back payroll taxes. When Leonard suddenly resigned on November 23, 1983, the school, which had been $2.2 million in debt at his inauguration, owed some $2.8 million.

The crisis alarmed the nation, and leaders rallied to "save Fisk." President Ronald Reagan donated $1,000, and the U.S. Secretary of Education, Terrel H. Bell, created a task force from the public and private sectors to review the financial difficulties facing Fisk University. As in 1871 Fisk once again withstood the tide of financial disaster, receiving scores of donations from alumni and friends. Henry Ponder, an economist, took the reins of the beleaguered institution in July 1984 as the tenth president, and set out to pare back to a bare-bones operation.

Despite financial hardships, the university has continued to maintain its position as a flagship among historical black colleges and universities with a tradition of academic excellence. Fisk's $10 million Alfred Stieglitz Collection of Modern Art, presented to the university in 1949 by Georgia O'Keeffe, widow of Stieglitz, as well as its library of valuable research collections and rare books, attracts visi-

A meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) at Fisk University. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

tors from all over the world. Fisk alumni, among some of the most distinguished in the nation, include Du Bois, historian Charles H. Wesley, Congressman William Levi Dawson, and novelist Frank Yerby. Enrollment is in excess of eight hundred students.

In 2004 former U.S. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary was named president of the university, the fifth president in less than ten years.

See also Dillard University; Fisk Jubilee Singers; Howard University; Lincoln University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Tuskegee University

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ANN ALLEN SHOCKLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Fitzgerald, Ella

April 25, 1918
June 15, 1996

In a career lasting half a century, jazz vocalist Ella Fitzgerald's superb pitch and diction, infallible sense of rhythm, and masterful scat singing all became part of the fabric of American music, and she was recognized as one "First Lady of Song." While her background and technique were rooted in jazz, she was always a popular singer, with a soothing yet crystalline sound that brought wide acclaim. Born in Newport News, Virginia, she came north as a child to Yonkers, New York, with her mother. In 1934, on a dare, she entered a Harlem amateur-night contest as a dancer but became immobile with stage fright when called on to perform. Instead, she sang two songs popularized by the Boswell Sisters, "Judy" and "The Object of My Affection," and won first prize.

After she had won several more amateur competitions, an opportunity came in February 1935, when she

appeared at the Apollo and was spotted by Bardu Ali, the master of ceremonies for Chick Webb's band, who persuaded Webb to hire her. Fitzgerald began performing with Webb's band at the Savoy Club and cut her first record, "Love and Kisses," with them in June 1935. Inspired by a nursery rhyme, Fitzgerald cowrote and recorded "A-Tisket, A-Tasket" with Webb's group in 1938; it became one of the most successful records of the swing era and transformed the young singer into a national celebrity.

When Webb died suddenly in 1939, Fitzgerald assumed nominal leadership of his band, which broke up two years later. During the 1940s she gained prominence as a solo performer through hit records that showcased her versatility. Influenced by Dizzy Gillespie and bebop, in 1947 she recorded, "Oh, Lady Be Good" and "How High the Moon," two songs that utilized her scat singing, the wordless vocal improvising that became her signature style. By the early 1950s she had appeared around the world with the star-studded Jazz and the Philharmonic tours organized by Norman Granz, a record producer and impresario who became her manager in 1954. Under his supervision and on his Verve label, she recorded *The Cole Porter Songbook* in 1956, followed by anthologies devoted to George and Ira Gershwin, Duke Ellington, Irving Berlin, and other popular composers. Heavily arranged and cannily designed to promote both songwriter and performer, Fitzgerald's "songbooks" extended her appeal.

By the 1960s Fitzgerald was one of the world's most respected and successful singers. In the following years, she became something of an institution, regularly honored. She was named "Best Female Vocalist" by *Down Beat* magazine several times, and she won more Grammy Awards than any other female jazz singer. Following heart bypass surgery in 1986, she suffered from erratic health, but she intermittently recorded and gave concerts until her death in 1996.

See also Jazz; Jazz Singers; Music

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
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Flake, Floyd H.

January 30, 1945

Minister and former congressman Floyd H. Flake was born in Los Angeles and earned a B.A. degree from Wilberforce University in 1967 and a doctorate from United Theological Seminary in 1995. From 1970 to 1973 Flake was associate dean at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. There he became alarmed by the failure of the recently integrated schools to educate young African Americans. Flake went to Boston University as dean of students, university chaplain, and director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Afro-American Center. In 1976 he took over Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church in Queens, New York.

Flake built up the church and increased its membership. He also involved himself and the church in the community and it became one of the major sources of new housing in the community through projects like the Allen A.M.E./Hall Estates, which in 1996 opened fifty new houses near the church-sponsored senior citizens center. His philosophy is expressed in his book, *The Way of the Bootstrapper: Nine Action Ways for Achieving Your Dreams* (1999).

In 1986, Flake was elected to the House of Representatives and held his seat until he resigned in the middle of 1997, just after he dedicated a $23 million cathedral for his church. Floyd attracted national attention when he threw his support to the Republican-backed school voucher plan in early 1997. He also showed that he was comfortable with the Republican Party's stress on "traditional family values" by opening his pulpit to presidential candidate George W. Bush. In May 2000 he announced that he was taking a position with Edison Schools, Inc., a large for-profit school management company.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Flipper, Henry O.

March 21, 1856
May 3, 1940

The son of Festus and Isabella Flipper, Henry Ossian Flipper, the first African-American graduate of West Point, was born a slave in Thomasville, Georgia. Festus, a shoemaker and carriage trimmer, managed to save enough money to purchase the freedom of his wife and children; in 1865 he brought the family to Atlanta. Henry and his brothers were educated in American Missionary Association schools and attended Atlanta University. In 1873, his first year in the university's collegiate department, Henry applied for and received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. He was not the first African American appointed to West Point: Michael Howard and James Webster Smith entered the academy in 1870, but both were dismissed prior to graduation. Flipper, however, endured four years of ostracism and persecution. On June 15, 1877, he became the first black cadet to earn a commission, graduating fiftieth in his class of seventy-six. In 1878 Flipper published *The Colored Cadet at West Point,* an autobiographical account of his experiences at the academy.

That same year Flipper was assigned to the all-black Tenth Cavalry Regiment and served in Texas and the Indian Territory. In 1881, while serving as post commissary at Fort Davis, Texas, he was brought before a general court-martial and charged by his commanding officer, Col. William R. Shafter, with the embezzlement of $3,791.77 in commissary funds and with "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman." Although he was acquitted of the first charge, the court found him guilty of the second. On June 30, 1882, he was discharged from the army. Flipper claimed he was innocent of any misconduct and believed that his dismissal was motivated by white prejudice.

As a civilian, Flipper worked in Mexico and the American Southwest as a mining engineer and as a special agent of the Department of Justice in the Court of Private Land Claims. He became a recognized authority on Spanish and Mexican land law. While serving as an engineer for the Greene Gold-Silver Company in Chihuahua, Mexico, Flipper befriended Albert B. Fall. In 1919 Fall, then in his second term as a U.S. senator from New Mexico, asked Flipper to come to Washington, D.C., as a translator for the subcommittee on Mexican internal affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Two years later Fall was appointed secretary of the interior in the Harding administration and named Flipper as an assistant. In 1923 Flipper left Washington to work as a consultant for the Pantepec Oil Company in Venezuela. During his seven years there, he published an important translation of that country's mining and land law. In 1930 Flipper retired to Atlanta to live with his brother Joseph, a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He died of a heart attack in 1940.

Flipper spent most of his life trying to clear his name, but despite the many political connections he was able to make in the West and in Washington, D.C., his efforts were in vain. Finally, in 1976 the army granted him a posthumous honorable discharge, and on May 3, 1977, West Point unveiled a bust commemorating its first black graduate. An annual award is given in his name to an outstanding cadet, and a section of the West Point library honors him.

President Clinton granted Flipper a presidential pardon fifty-nine years after his death. The ceremony, although largely symbolic, took place on February 19, 1999. Flipper's descendants attended the ceremony along with military officers. Also in attendance was Gen. Colin L. Powell, retired Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs, who said that he kept a picture of the lieutenant on his desk for inspiration. At the ceremony President Clinton said, "This good man now has completely recovered his good name."

See also Military Experience, African-American

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BENJAMIN K. SCOTT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Folk Arts and Crafts

The folk arts and crafts created by African Americans are, perhaps, the least acknowledged of their cultural traditions. Worldwide recognition of black achievement in music and dance has overshadowed significant accomplishments in the area of material culture, so that while black Americans are seen as gifted performers, they are rarely described as even adequate producers of objects.

Vernacular Traditions

In times past, black artisans were numerous, and they are to be credited with making a wide array of artifacts, particularly in the southern states. It is important to recall that during the preindustrial era, most rural people made things, such as tools, utensils, containers, clothes, food, houses, and toys. Whether as slaves or as free people, blacks created a multitude of necessary, useful, and sometimes beautiful, objects.

The reasons why African Americans would be skilled at making domestic arts and crafts are not hard to fathom. On plantations they often had little choice when they were ordered to learn particular trades by their owners. But more often, because they were provided with so few domestic items, they either had to make most of their furnishings and utensils or do without them. After Emancipation the folk arts and crafts that blacks had developed in the plantation setting continued to prove useful. Reduced to a condition of near servitude by continued racial exploitation and poverty, African-American artisans used their traditional skills to get themselves and their families through tough times, and some still do so today. Folk arts and crafts have always played dual roles in the black community, serving both as a means of making a living and as a means for creative self-expression. While many items of folk art and craft produced by African Americans are indistinguishable in form, technique, and style from works produced by white Americans, there is a stream of African inspiration that runs through traditional black material culture in the South. The most distinctive works of African-American black folk art, in cultural terms, are those that manifest a linkage to African origins. This article surveys selected examples of those works with the strongest African connections.

Basketry

Coiled-grass baskets have been produced in the United States by black artisans for more than three centuries. Once integral items on plantations, particularly along the so-called Rice Coast that once extended from North Carolina to Florida's northern border, the craft is today most publicly on display in and around Charleston, South Carolina, where hundreds of "sewers" work fashioning baskets. Using sweetgrass, rush, pine needles, and strips of leaves from the palmetto tree as their primary materials, they produce a seemingly limitless variety of forms that they sell on street corners, in the central open-air market, and at more than fifty stands along the main highway entering the city.

What one sees here are "show baskets," a subgenre within this tradition that was initiated probably in the mid-nineteenth century. Included under this category are all sorts of decorative containers: flower baskets, serving trays, purses, sewing baskets, casserole holders, umbrella stands, and cake baskets. As is evident from this partial inventory, the show basket is intended to be used in the home where it will be prominently displayed. As these items are made, then, to be fancy, basketmakers explore, at every opportunity, new creative possibilities in form and decoration. A show basket is a highly personalized artwork shaped extensively by individual imagination.

However, as the matriarch basket maker Mary Jane Manigault explains, "All baskets begin as a hot plate," meaning that all works, no matter how imaginative and seemingly without precedent, trace back to a common ancestry rooted in basic forms and techniques. Thus, all coiled baskets start out as a disk form. The oldest African-American coiled baskets were "work baskets." They were made with bundles of stiff rushes and often sewn with strips of oak. With coils generally an inch in diameter, these were tough, durable baskets intended to be used outside, either in the fields or in the farmyard. They are easily distinguishable from the lighter, more delicately formed show baskets. Most work baskets were large, heavy, round containers made to carry produce; they all had flat bottoms and straight walls that flared out slightly from the base. One specialized work basket, the fanner, was a large tray about two feet in diameter, with a low outer rim. Primarily an implement for processing the rice harvest, it was also used as a basic kitchen tool. Rice could not be properly cooked unless it had first been fanned to separate the kernels from the husks.

These baskets were but one element in a set of African practices upon which the production of rice was based. Planters specifically sought out slaves from the rice-growing regions of West and Central Africa, people who came with not only a knowledge of rice cultivation, but also the basic technology for its harvest and preparation as food. While planters were generally wary about allowing

overt African expressions among their slaves, they tolerated this mode of basketry when they realized that it basically enhanced the productivity of their estates.

Unwittingly, then, these planters actually facilitated the maintenance of a decidedly African tradition. While the end of the plantation era was, understandably, accompanied by a decline of the work basket tradition, it did not cause coiled basketry to disappear altogether. These baskets remained a feature of home craft on small black farms in the area, and from 1910 to 1950 there was an attempt at the Penn School on St. Helena Island to revive the practice. While this particular effort ended with disappointing results, the tradition was able to flourish in the Charleston area, where show baskets became exceedingly popular among tourists who assiduously sought them as souvenirs of their visits.

The basket making tradition was necessarily transformed as artisans shifted from a rural to an urban venue, where artisans made baskets more often for sale than for domestic use. Yet venerable traditions were still honored. The sewing baskets and serving trays were old-time baskets, too, even if their origins did not trace all the way back to Africa, as did those of the work baskets. But the entrepreneurial energies that were released in this commercial effort led mainly to freewheeling displays of personal imagination. Soon basketmakers were as proud of new unprecedented forms that they called "own style baskets" as they were of more conventional flower baskets or clothes hampers.

But even within this spirited and open-ended creativity, there are still signs of historical memory. Fanner baskets, for example, can occasionally be found for sale in the Charleston market, albeit as lightweight show-basket facsimiles. But more important, the techniques for coiling and stitching remain unchanged regardless of the type of basket. This continuity of process allows contemporary basket makers to place themselves in the flow of a tradition that traces back through time and space to African roots. The personal satisfaction that these artisans derive from making coiled baskets is amplified by a keen awareness of that history, and as a result they are all the more motivated to preserve this custom.

Boatbuilding

That African-American competence in agriculture was matched by maritime abilities should not be surprising. Most African slaves were captured, after all, from either coastal or riverine environments, and thus they had extensive experience with a variety of small craft. When set to work on plantations, often located near coasts or along prominent rivers, these Africans had ample opportunity to display their navigation skills. Eighteenth-century commentators were quick to acknowledge how adept slaves were in paddling log canoes, which often proved difficult to maneuver in swift currents and to keep upright. In the Charleston area, black watermen working out of hewn dugouts called "pettiaugers" (an Anglicized version of the French *pirogues*) had by 1750 achieved almost complete domination of the local fishing trade. White people depended on black boating skills from Georgia to Maryland, as slaves literally provided the backbone for the local transportation system at a time when there were few roads.

In this context, slaves also built boats, and while their surviving descriptions tend to be somewhat vague with respect to details, it seems that West Indian watercraft, and thus, in some measure, African-derived maritime traditions, provided the basic models. The pettiauger was a well-known Caribbean vessel with a hull consisting of a log dugout extended by the addition of extra planks. Fitted with sails for open-water voyaging, it could also by propelled by teams of oarsmen. Boats of this sort are described repeatedly as the usual type of plantation "barge" used to ferry people, supplies, and produce. A second type of plantation vessel was a canoe hewn from a single log. Derived from either African or Native American precedents, it was less than twenty feet in length and relatively light due to the thinness of the hull. This was an excellent vessel for navigating the shallow marshes and streams surrounding the barrier islands of the South Carolina and Georgia coasts. The plantation mistress Fannie Kemble recorded in 1838 that two slave carpenters on her Butler Island estate had made such a canoe, which they sold for the sum of sixty dollars. A type of multi-log dugout, common to the waters of the Chesapeake Bay, is credited to a slave from York County, Virginia, remembered only as Aaron. In form, this craft—a log canoe with a hull shaped from as many as nine logs—seems related to the West Indian pettiaugers.

In Virginia and Maryland, African Americans were extensively involved in a full range of shipbuilding trades as ship's carpenters, caulkers, sail makers, and blacksmiths. A remarkable account from the *Raleigh Star* in 1811 describes how a brig launched in Alexandria, Virginia, was "drafted by a coloured man belonging to Col. Tayloe and under his superintendence built from her keel to her topmast." Here the design sources were unquestionably Anglo-American, but the fact that a slave was given such broad authority suggests that he was working in a context in which most of the men under his command must have been slaves as well. This event suggests that blacks might have been able to do quite well as shipbuilders had they simply been afforded the chance. But there

were few opportunities because African-American watermen were diverted mainly to fishing and oyster dredging, where they would be employed for their brawn rather than their designing and woodworking skills.

Musical Instrument Making

In the testimony of former slaves there is frequent mention of homemade musical instruments. Litt Young from Mississippi recalled exciting events around 1860, when "Us have small dances Saturday nights and ring plays and fiddle playin' and knockin' bones. There was fiddles made from gourds and banjos from sheep hides." The inventory here of stringed and percussive instruments identifies two of the main classes of musical instruments frequently made by African-American artisans. To Young's short list one can add rattles, gongs, scrapers, fifes, whistles, panpipes, and drums. All of these had verifiable African antecedents—as did many of the songs that were played on them and the dances they were intended to accompany.

Drums, which were so essential to both African musical performance and to religious and healing rituals, were frightening to slave holders, for they realized that these instruments could be used to send private messages that they would not be able to decipher. Laws were passed in South Carolina after the Stono Rebellion of 1739, and later in other colonies, banning the playing of drums expressly to eliminate this means of communication. But such prohibitions were less than effective as deterrents, and well into the nineteenth century, slaves, particularly those who were more recently arrived from Africa, were still making drums. They commonly affixed some type of animal skin with thongs or pegs across the open end of a hollowed log or large gourd. Apparently such drums were made often enough that even as late as the 1930s elderly blacks living in the coastal regions of Georgia could still describe the practice in detail. Even though the custom was fast fading into obscurity by that time, a few of these informants claimed that they had made drums themselves.

The banjo is a very old black folk instrument that continues to enjoy considerable popularity among white aficionados of so-called country music. This is an instrument that, according to no less an authority than Thomas Jefferson, black people "brought hither from Africa." In the earliest examples, the body of the instrument was shaped from a gourd sliced in half lengthwise and then covered with a stretched animal skin. A fretless neck was inserted at one end and four gut strings were run from its top to the base of the gourd. Today's banjos, made in factories, are different in every respect, except that they continue to have membrane-covered drums underneath the strings. Thus, when the instrument is strummed one can still hear the distinctive combination of melodic tone and percussive thrump that was present in the original plantation instruments. The mainstay of African-American folk music through the early twentieth century, when it was largely supplanted by the blues guitar, the banjo is rarely played today by black musicians, and the only reported contemporary makers of banjos with gourd bodies are white.

The experience among fife makers, however, is more positive. In the delta area of northwestern Mississippi, a small number of families continue to play fifes—or, as they might say, "blow canes"—as the entertainment at local picnics and barbecues. These people make their fifes as well. The process seems relatively simple: A foot-long section of bamboo cane is hollowed out and a mouth hole and four finger holes are pierced into it with a red-hot poker. There is considerable difficulty in calculating the correct placement for the holes so that notes of the correct pitch can be played. Considerable experimentation is required, since each piece of cane has a slightly different tonal range. In Mississippi, the fife is played as the lead instrument together with an ensemble of drums; it is a performance that resonates with similar performances among the Akan peoples of Ghana.

Pottery

Slave potters made two very different types of wares. The earliest were earthenware vessels shaped by hand and fired to very low temperatures in open bonfires. These pots, recovered from the sites of many eighteenth-century plantations in South Carolina and Virginia, consisted mainly of small, round-bottomed bowls suitable for eating and drinking and larger round-bottomed cooking vessels. For decades these sorts of vessels were believed to be Native American in origin, and they therefore were labeled as "Colono-Indian wares." Subsequent investigation has shown that, given the sheer quantity of Colono shards at the sites of slave occupation and their relative absence in Indian villages during the same period, there can be no other conclusion than that this type of pottery was being made by slave artisans. Comparisons with African wares lend further support to the claim of slave manufacture, so that some of this eighteenth-century earthenware is now referred to as Afro-Colono pottery.

Many plantation-made bowls have a cross or an "X" scratched into their bases. While the function of these intriguing marks remains open to speculation, these are signs that have mystical associations in Central Africa, where they are used in acts of prayer, particularly in summoning the protective power of ancestral spirits. As scholars have puzzled through the significance of these marks,

they have surmised that the first slaves must have looked to their own inventory of cultural forms when they had to find an adequate way to feed themselves, and they simply turned to a familiar African craft tradition. When slaves next discovered that their owners would not interfere in their efforts, some of these Africans may have gone even further and used their African pots to regenerate their interrupted religious traditions.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the production of earthenware on plantations had ended. By then there were relatively few Africans in the slave population left to carry on the practice. More important, slave owners were now providing more food preparation items, such as cast-iron cooking pots. The first quarter of the nineteenth century also witnessed an upsurge in the production of stoneware pottery, a durable type of ware shaped on a potter's wheel and fired to very high temperatures in a kiln. This type of pottery was produced mainly at small, family-run shops. Occasionally, slaves were employed in these shops, but chiefly as the laborers who cut the firewood or dug and mixed the clay; the more prestigious role of potter or turner was reserved for a white artisan. There was, however, one site where blacks were allowed more extensive participation, and it is there that one can identify a nineteenth-century tradition for African-American pottery.

About 1810, Abner Landrum, a prosperous white man living in the Edgefield District of west-central South Carolina, opened a pottery shop and was soon producing high-quality wares recognized as superior to any in the region. His shop would quickly grow into a booming industrial village, and before long Landrum was selling stock in his operation. His financial success, however, did not go unchallenged. Other entrepreneurs also set up potteries in the area, luring away many of Landrum's skilled artisans. When he solved this crisis by training slaves to make pottery, other pottery shop owners soon followed his example.

Most of these African-American artisans remain unnamed, but various records suggest that about fifty slaves were employed at various shops throughout the Edgefield District. The best known of this group was a man named Dave, who had once belonged to Abner Landrum. Trained first as a typesetter at Landrum's newspaper, Dave continued to display the fact that he was literate on his pots by signing and dating them, and occasionally inscribing them with rhymed couplets. These vessels, unlike most, carry terse captions describing the time of manufacture and their maker's identity. More important, that they publicly carry words at a time when it was illegal for slaves to be literate makes these pots statements of overt resistance. Other slaves, upon seeing Dave's works, were likely to know that one of their own was mocking the white man's law, and they may have derived some measure of inspiration from his audacious example.

Certainly many would have noticed Dave's pots, for he made some of the largest vessels known in Edgefield. The largest one, inscribed "Great and Noble Jar," has a capacity of almost forty-five gallons and stands thirty inches in height. Many of his other pots are in this same size range and are distinctively shaped, with walls that flare boldly from a relatively narrow base to a wide shoulder close to the top of the vessel. While white potters also made large storage jars, none of their works seem as daring. With their widest sections nearer their middles, they appear to squat safely on the floor, while Dave's pots seemingly leap up and threaten to teeter back and forth. The form of Dave's pots thus emphasize the rebelliousness signaled by his inscriptions.

Even though Dave's work is a reflection of commonplace African-American experiences of chattel slavery in the South, his pieces, as objects, are basically expressions of European ceramic traditions. The pot forms for which he is now so famous appear to take their lines ultimately from the bread pots of northeastern England, and his use of pottery wheels, kilns, and glazes are all manifestations of standardized Anglo-American ceramic technology. Yet within the community of black potters in Edgefield, there were opportunities for artisans to revisit ancestral aesthetic forms. In series of small vessels, averaging about five inches in height, slave potters were apparently able to rekindle memories of African sculpture.

Pots decorated with faces are known in every ceramic tradition on the globe, but those attributed to black people in Edgefield have several attributes not seen elsewhere. Their most distinctive feature is the use of a different clay body to mark the eyes and teeth: white porcelain clay contrasts sharply with the dark glaze covering the rest of the stoneware vessel. The riveting gaze and seeming snarl that results from this mode of decoration recalls the mixed-media approach to sculpture found in West and Central Africa, where all sorts of contrasting materials are applied to a wooden form for dramatic effect, particularly in the rendering of eyes and teeth on statues and masks. That a white substance is used in Edgefield is very significant, for the same visual effect might have been achieved by simply coloring the eyes and teeth with a light-colored slip, or liquid clay. That the look of an Edgefield face jug was created by the rather difficult technique of embedding an entirely different clay body into the walls of the pot suggests that both the material and the behavior are charged with important symbolic meanings. In Central Africa, homeland to seventy-five percent of all slaves imported into South

Carolina, white clay has sacred associations with ancestral authority.

Among the Central-African Kongo people, for example, white is the color of the dead, so that white objects are offered to them and effigies of the dead are marked with white eyes. The strong stylistic affinities between Kongo sculpture and Edgefield vessels suggest that the enslaved artisans took advantage of their access to ceramic technology and used it to enhance African-inspired religious ceremonies held on the plantations in the region. These rituals could be carried on without detection because during the antebellum period blacks outnumbered whites in the Edgefield District by more than four to one. The Africanness of slave life in this area was sustained as well by constant illegal smuggling of new African captives into the area; in fact, one of the last known cargoes of slaves to the United States was a group of Kongo captives landed on the Georgia coast, carried up the Savannah River, and sold into Edgefield County in 1858. The face vessels of Edgefield are evidence, then, of how African-American artisans could, when circumstances allowed, counter the assimilationist trajectory of their experiences and use new foreign means to re-establish ties to their African roots.

Woodcarving

The prodigious woodcarving skills of African artisans are widely recognized, and their masks and statues are granted honored places in first-rank museums along with noteworthy masterpieces of Western art. Since these works, so abundant in Africa, seem to be noticeably absent in the United States, assessments of African-American culture often begin by lamenting the loss of these skills. However, this carving tradition, while diminished in scale, is not altogether absent.

African slaves seem to have remembered their traditions for woodcarving. According to an old African-American man from Georgia who was interviewed in the late 1930s for the Georgia Writer's Project: "I remember the African men used to all the time make little clay images. Sometimes they like men, sometimes they like animals. Once they put a spear in his hand and walk around him and he was the chief. . . . Sometimes they try to make the image out of wood." Specific examples also exist. In 1819, in Congo Square in New Orleans, the architect Benjamin Latrobe saw a banjo that had an unmistakable African figure carved at the top of the instrument's neck just above the tuning pegs. A remarkable table was built sometime in the 1850s on a plantation in north-central North Carolina with each of its legs carved into figures highly reminiscent of African figures. A drum now in the collections of the British Museum, but which was collected in 1753 in Virginia, is in every respect an excellent example of an Akan-Ashanti *apentemma* drum. However, since it was carved from a piece of American cedar, it is American rather than African in origin. From this smattering of examples, one can conclude that African proclivities for working creatively in wood did not simply end upon Africans' arrival in the Americas. These skills were carried on when and wherever possible.

Most often, African woodcarving skills were turned in other directions—generally to the production of useful household objects such as bowls, trays, mortars and pestles, and handles for various metal tools. The severely functional nature of these items did not provide much of an opportunity for creative expression, even if the artisan did his work with diligence and commitment. Yet in the carving of wooden canes some degree of African inspiration was seemingly able to re-emerge. Numerous walking sticks carved by African Americans, from the nineteenth century to the present, sometimes bear distinctive marks that may relate to African traditions kept alive mainly among country people. These canes are often decorated with a wide range of media, including brass tacks, colored beads and marbles, aluminum foil, and other shiny materials. In one case from Mississippi, the carver attached a silver thermometer to the handle of a cane that was already elaborately carved with figures of humans and serpents. Yet it was not judged to be complete without the bit of flash that a seemingly incongruous temperature gauge could provide. While this decorative gesture could be nothing more than a whimsical act of personal innovation, the fact that such acts are so commonplace among African-American cane makers in the South implies the presence of a shared style. Certainly one senses in the construct of these decorated canes a parallel to the African use of mixed-media assembly in sculpture.

Closer African affinities are seen in the selection of certain motifs. Reptiles dominate the shafts of most of the walking sticks that have clear attributions to African-American carvers. In addition to snakes (which are common to decorators of canes everywhere), black carvers also render alligators, turtles, and lizards, and as they are often combined with figures of human beings, the contrast may be read as symbolic of supernatural communication. According to widely held African beliefs, reptiles are appropriate symbols of messages between the spirit and human domains because they are creatures able to travel in two realms (e.g., in the water and on the land, or underground and above ground). Just like spiritual messages, they move back and forth between the human environment and another, unseen place. The chief linkage between this symbolism and African-American traditions in woodcarving

Harriet Powers Quilts

Harriet Powers is one of the most well-known quilt makers of the nineteenth century. Powers's quilts are relevant mainly for their bold use of appliqué, for storytelling, and for the extensive care and detail that go into making them. The technique and design indicate an African and African-American influence and sensibility. Telling stories using appliqué designs for visual narratives, for instance, was an artistic practice common in Benin, West Africa.

Typical scenes depicted on the cotton quilts contain celestial phenomena for the most part, as well as biblical imagery. Due to financial difficulty, Powers decided to sell her beloved quilts. In one instance, a person who purchased one of the quilts tells of Powers making repeated visits back to her home just to get another look at her creation almost as if it were one of her children. Only two of the quilts, which Powers stitched, remain well-preserved. One is located at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, while the other is a part of the National Museum of History collection at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

may lie in the fact that throughout the nineteenth century, traditional healers, or "root doctors," are said to have carried carved walking sticks decorated with reptiles as a sign of their authority. Since their cures are likely to have been based on African practices, it follows that the rest of their paraphernalia (which was often as instrumental in affecting a cure as the medicines administered) was also African-derived. Consequently, when an African American carved a snake or an alligator on a walking stick, it may have carried a different meaning and function than a similar animal carved by a white artisan.

Quilting

Quilted bedcovers are objects that are unknown and unnecessary in tropical Africa. However, some West African ceremonial textiles are decorated with colorful appliqué figures, and large pieces of cloth for everyday use are assembled by sewing narrow strips together. Thus, enslaved African women may have been somewhat prepared to make quilts, since they already had the requisite skills needed to piece quilt tops from scraps and remnants. While the actual quilting process was, for the most part, new and different—that is, the binding of two large pieces of cloth together with a layer of batting in between by means of thousands of geometrically patterned stitches—extant quilts alleged to be slave-made show that these women were certainly capable of mastering the task.

Very little about the oldest surviving African-American quilts seems to demonstrate any affinity for African textile traditions. What one mainly sees is the strict guidance of the plantation mistress. However, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Harriet Powers of Athens, Georgia, produced two quilts filled with images that seem to come straight out of Dahomey, a prominent kingdom on the West African coast. While her links to Africa are less than certain—and would have been, at best, indirect—the figures on her two "bible" quilts compare closely with appliqué figures found on sewn narrative textiles of the Fon people. More commonplace and perhaps even more profoundly associated with African textiles are the "strip quilts," which appear with great regularity wherever African Americans make quilts. In this type of bedcover, long, thin strip units are sewn edge-to-edge to form the large square or rectangular quilt top. The "strips" may be single pieces; or they may be assembled from blocks, from thin remnants called "strings," or from assorted remnants. Regardless of the technique, the overall linear composition of the top cannot be missed. Since most contemporary African-American quilters claim that quilts of this type are the oldest pattern they know, there is a good possibility that such quilts were made during slavery. Certainly they resemble in form and technique the strip cloths of West and Central Africa. These textiles are assembled from narrow pieces about five inches wide and eight feet long that are sewn edge-to-edge to create a large rectangular panel. This tradition is seemingly perpetuated in a modified form in the African-American strip quilt.

Even if this mode of quilt assembly proves not to be African in origin, it is certainly a marker of African-American style. While white quilters also make such quilts, they will usually protest that they were a simple type made when they were "just learning" or that they were quilts merely "thrown together" and thus were nothing to be proud of. Black quilters, on the other hand, celebrate strip patterns as among the most significant in their repertories and produce them from childhood to old age. They constantly work at refining the form as they explore the nuances of the genre. These quilters are fully aware of the geometric patterns common in Euro-American quilting,

patterns usually generated from block units, but they prefer to use strips. The strip format is by nature innovative and open-ended, and thus, unlike Euro-American quilt genres, is considerably less bound by formal conventions. There is, then, a sense of design permission about strip quilts, even a sense of liberation. With this mode of quilting, and with other forms of art and craft, African-American folk traditions make vital and enduring contributions to the aesthetic mosaic of the United States.

See also Art; Gardens and Yard Art; Maroon Arts

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JOHN MICHAEL VLACH (1996)
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FOLKLORE

This entry consists of three distinct articles examining folklore, folk heroes, and folk culture in the Americas.

OVERVIEW
John W. Roberts

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN CULTURE HEROES AND CHARACTERS
Dellita Martin-Ogunsola

U.S. FOLK HEROES AND CHARACTERS
LaRose T. Parris

OVERVIEW

African-American folklore is a mode of creative cultural production that manifests itself in expressive forms such as tales, songs, proverbs, greetings, gestures, rhymes, material artifacts, and other created products and performances. Although African-American folklore is most often thought of in terms of these expressive forms, it is in reality a dynamic process of creativity that arises in performative contexts characterized by face-to-face interaction. The performative aspects of this folklore is what distinguishes it from other modes of creative cultural production within an African-American context. In other words, unlike other modes of African-American creative cultural production, such as literary and popular culture, folklore gains its meaning and value as a form of expression within unmediated performances on an ongoing basis in African-American communities.

Although African-American folklore should be conceptualized as a performed medium, it has an important historical dimension as well. That is, its performance even in contemporary settings entails the creative manipulation of historical forms of indefinite temporal origin. As such, it is intricately linked to processes of black culture building in that it has historically served as an important means of communicating shared cultural attitudes, beliefs, and values of and within an ever-changing African community in the United States. As interrelated phenomena, African American folklore creation and culture building are both dynamic creative processes with roots in the diverse African cultures from which contemporary African Americans originated.

Among scholars of African-American folklore, however, the existence of a dynamic relationship between African and African-American processes of folklore creation has historically been controversial. The controversy arose in large part from the intricate link that folklorists envisioned between folklore creation and culture building. Early in the study of African-American culture and folklore, scholars postulated that African people were so traumatized by the process of enslavement that they arrived in the New World culturally bankrupt and, therefore, dependent on Europeans for new cultural capital. In early studies, this view of a lack of African cultural retention contributed to a conception of the products of African-American folklore as mere imitations of European expressive forms. Although this view has been challenged over the years by the discovery of decidedly African cultural forms in the United States, these cultural expressions have been disparaged further by being identified as "Africanisms," isolated cases that somehow survived in the New World despite the trauma of enslavement. "Africanisms," however, represent the most obvious evidence that African culture and cultural forms have had a profound influence on black culture building and folklore creation in the United States (Roberts, 1989, p. 9).

FOLKLORE AND SLAVERY

Historically, the difficulty of appreciating and recognizing the influence of African culture and cultural forms on African-American folklore has been exacerbated by the fact that Africans brought to the United States as slaves did not themselves share a coherent culture. Only recently have scholars begun to realize the irrelevance of this perspective to an understanding of black culture building in African communities throughout the New World. For example, Sidney Mintz and Richard Price have suggested that although Africans enslaved in the New World did not share a common culture or folk tradition upon arrival, they did share "certain common orientations to reality which tended to focus the attention of individuals from West African cultures upon similar kinds of events, even though the ways of handling these events may seem quite diverse in formal terms." While these "common orientations to reality" may not have been sufficient to support the re-creation of African cultural institutions in their pristine form, they could and did serve as a foundation for culture building in a new environment (1972, p.5).

African people who were forcibly unrooted from their homelands and transplanted in America as slaves brought with them cherished memories of their traditional lifestyles and cultural forms that served as the foundations of African-American folk tradition. To understand the dynamic processes that characterized the development over time of an African-American folk tradition, we must recognize that both black culture building and folklore creation have proceeded as recursive rather than linear processes of endlessly devising solutions to both old and new problems of living under ever-changing social, political, and economic conditions. While both culture building and folklore creation are dynamic and creative in that they adapt to social needs and goals, they are also enduring in that they change by building upon previous manifestations of themselves. Cultural transformation is a normative process experienced and carried out by all groups. In the process, the institutional and expressive forms by which a group communicates and upholds the ideals by which it lives are equally subject to transformation.

As James Snead (1984, p. 61) has argued, however, the failure to recognize the dynamic and transformational properties of African cultures in the New World has been influenced historically by the view that African cultures

are static. Only by recognizing that such cultures are and always have been dynamic (i.e., capable of transforming themselves in response to the social needs and goals of African people) is it possible to envision African-American folklore as a continuous process of creativity intricately linked to a historical tradition of black culture building with roots in Africa. During the period of black slavery in the United States, enslaved Africans began the process of building a culture based on their "common orientations to reality." Despite their lack of a sense of shared identity and values upon arrival, the similarity of the conditions and treatment that they faced in the slave system facilitated their ability to envision themselves as a community. To communicate their shared identity and value system, they transformed many of their African cultural forms by focusing on the common elements within them. In the process, their creative efforts as well as the final expressive products they created were greatly influenced by the differences in their situations in the United States from those they had known in Africa. In other words, the transformation of African cultural forms involved a process of creating new forms based on common elements from diverse African cultures and their infusion with insights and meanings relevant to contemporary situations in the United States. That these new forms did not always resemble some African original did not negate the debt they owed to African cultural roots.

The beginnings of an African-American folk tradition can be traced to the slavery period and to the efforts of African people from diverse cultural backgrounds to maintain a sense of continuity with their past. Throughout the period of slavery, scattered references to African-American folklore appeared in written records. Systematic efforts to collect and study such folklore, however, did not begin until the late nineteenth century. The earliest efforts to collect it were carried out primarily by white missionaries who flocked into the South following Emancipation to assist black freedpeople. Although these early efforts were motivated in large part by a desire to use African Americans' creative cultural production to demonstrate their humanity and fitness for freedom, such activities nevertheless preserved for posterity a vast body of African-American oral tradition.

An equally important motive for early collectors of black folklore was the prevalent belief in the late nineteenth century that folklore as a mode of creative cultural production was rapidly disappearing. In the case of African Americans, many envisioned the growing rate of literacy among freedpeople as a sure sign that the African-American folk tradition would soon disappear. Although contemporary folklorists realize the falsity of this perspective, it nevertheless provided a primary impetus for the collection of African-American folklore in the late nineteenth century and influenced a concentration on those forms that had obvious roots in slavery. During this productive period of African-American folklore gathering, collectors focused most of their attention on three forms: spirituals, animal-trickster tales, and folk beliefs.

SPIRITUALS. Spirituals received a great deal of attention, especially from northern missionaries, in the late nineteenth century. The first book-length collection of African-American folklore published was *Slave Songs of the United States,* which primarily contained spirituals. The spiritual song tradition of African Americans developed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the conversion of large numbers of enslaved African Americans to Christianity. Spirituals as a body of songs were developed primarily around the actions of Old Testament figures whose faith in God allowed them to be delivered from bondage and persecution in dramatic ways. The songs followed a pronounced leader/chorus pattern known as call and response, which in performance created a kind of communal dialogue about the power of faith and belief in an omnipotent God. While the songs often portrayed heaven as the ultimate reward of faith in God, their primary focus was on earthly deliverance from bondage and persecution. Through analogy to Old Testament stories of persecution and divine deliverance, the songs constantly reiterated the power of God to deliver the faithful.

Spirituals provided enslaved Africans with an alternative expressive form for communicating their vision of the power of God and the rewards of faith in Christianity to that offered by the slave masters. As enslaved Africans freely and often testified, masters frequently attempted to use slaves' Christian conversion and participation in white religious services to reinforce the masters' view of enslavement. The dominant message that enslaved Africans received from white preachers was, "Servants, obey your masters." In the spirituals, enslaved Africans were able to convey to members of their community a more empowering and liberating vision of God and the Christian religion. Of equal importance, the creation and performance of spirituals allowed them to incorporate more of their African cultural heritage into Christian worship. Despite general prohibitions against unsupervised worship, enslaved Africans created opportunities for separate worship in slave cabins, "hush harbors," and even their own churches, where they created and performed spirituals in a style and manner that incorporated African performance practices. These practices included the development of the "shout," a religious ritual characterized by a counterclockwise shuffling movement reminiscent of African ritual dancing. The

primary purpose of the "shout" was to induce spirit possession, a form of communion with the supernatural valued by many people of African descent.

ANIMAL-TRICKSTER TALES. In the late nineteenth century, the collection of spirituals was rivaled only by the collection of animal-trickster tales. With the publication of Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* in 1881, the collection of animal-trickster tales by various individuals escalated. By the end of the nineteenth century, literally hundreds of these tales had been collected and published. Early collectors of black folktales often expressed amazement over the variety of animal-trickster tales created by enslaved Africans. That tales of the animal trickster would become central in the narrative performances of enslaved Africans is not surprising, however. In the cultures from which enslaved Africans originated, folktales in which clever animals acted as humans to impart important lessons about survival were ubiquitous. Although various animals acted as tricksters in different African traditions, the tales of their exploits showed important similarities throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, even the same plots could be found in the trickster-tale traditions of diverse African groups (Feldmann, 1973, p. 15).

In the United States, the animal trickster was most often represented by Brer Rabbit, although other animals acted as tricksters in some tales. Although a number of trickster tales found in the repertory of enslaved Africans retained plots from African tradition, many transformed the African trickster in ways that reflected the situation of enslavement. The impetus for transforming the African trickster was not only the need to create a single tradition out of many but also the differences in the situations faced by Africans in the New World from those in Africa that had given the exploits of tricksters there meaning and value. In the trickster tales of enslaved Africans, the trickster was an actor particularly adept at obtaining the material means of survival within an atmosphere similar to that in which enslaved Africans lived. Unlike African tricksters, whose behavior was often conceptualized as a response to famine or other conditions in which material shortage existed, the trickster of enslaved African Americans acted in a situation of material plenty.

The primary obstacle to the acquisition of the material means of survival for the trickster of enslaved Africans was the physical power and control wielded by the dupe. This situation reflected the conditions under which enslaved Africans lived, in which the material means of survival were readily available but were denied by the control of the slave masters. In these tales, the trickster was portrayed as developing clever strategies for obtaining material goods, especially food, despite the efforts of his dupes to deny access. As historians of the slave experience have noted, the concern with the acquisition of food was a common one during slavery (Blassingame, 1972, p. 158; Genovese, 1976, pp. 638–639). In tale after tale, Brer Rabbit proved to be a masterful manipulator of his dupes, who appeared most often in the guise of the wolf or the fox. The tales often portrayed situations in which cleverness, verbal dexterity, and native intelligence or wit allowed the trickster to triumph over the dupes. For enslaved Africans, this provided a model of behavior for dealing with the power and control of the slave masters over the material means of survival.

CONJURING. Often reported as case studies, the folk beliefs of enslaved Africans also seemed widespread to collectors in the late nineteenth century. In many ways, the concerns of collectors reflected a stereotypical view of many white Americans that African Americans were inordinately superstitious. The collection of folk beliefs centered primarily around the practice of conjuration. At the core of this practice was the conjurer, a figure transformed by enslaved Africans but based on African religious leaders such as medicine men. While the conjurer in different parts of the South was known by different names, including root doctor, hoodooer, and two-heads, the practice of conjuration was remarkably similar wherever it was found (Bacon and Herron, 1973, pp. 360–361). In most instances, conjurers were believed to be individuals possessed of a special gift to both cause and cure illness. Although the source of the conjurer's powers was usually believed to be mysterious, some believed it came from an evil source, others believed it came from God, and still others believed it could be taught by those possessed of it.

During the period of slavery, conjurers played a prominent role among enslaved Africans, especially as healers. Although most slave masters attempted to provide for the health needs of enslaved Africans, their efforts often fell short. In general, the state of scientific medicine during the period of slavery was so poorly developed that, even under ideal conditions, doctors were ineffective in treating many diseases. The importance of conjurers for enslaved Africans also had to do with beliefs about the causes of illness, beliefs deeply influenced by their African cultural heritage. Like their ancestors, many enslaved Africans continued to believe that illness was caused by the ill will of one individual against another through an act of conjuration. Individuals could induce illness either through their own action or by consulting a conjurer, who could be persuaded to "lay a spell." In these cases, only the power of a conjurer could alleviate the illness.

In their practices, conjurers used both material objects, such as charms and amulets, and verbal incantations in the form of curses and spells. However, theirs was primarily an herbal practice; hence, the common name of root doctor for these practitioners. The frequent use of verbal incantations derived from African beliefs about the power of the spoken word to influence forces in nature for good or ill. Although conjurers have often been associated with unrelieved evil, their role was a culturally sanctioned one. Within the belief and social system that supported the practice of conjuration, social strife, believed to be the dominant cause of illness, was seen as disruptive to the equilibrium and harmony of the community. The conjurer's role was to discover the identity of the individual responsible for the disruption and to restore harmony. For both the social and physical well being of enslaved Africans, the conjurer's abilities in this regard proved beneficial. Not only did the presence of conjurers provide them with a means of tending to their own health needs, it also provided a mechanism for addressing issues of social strife within the group without the intervention of slave masters.

Although spirituals, trickster tales, and folk beliefs were the focus of most early collecting, the folklore of enslaved Africans included more than these genres. Collectors seldom noted other vibrant genres that developed during slavery, including proverbs, courtship rituals, prayers, sermons, and forms of folktale other than trickster narratives. But while there was no concerted effort to collect these genres, examples sometimes found their way into collections. In addition, folklorists and other scholars have begun to utilize various kinds of records, including plantation journals, slave narratives, and diaries of various sorts in an effort to better understand the nature of black vernacular creativity during the slave period (Joyner, 1984; Ferris, 1983). These types of resources have proven particularly useful in the study of black material culture. Because slave masters were generally responsible for the material needs of enslaved Africans, the importance of knowledge possessed by Africans and applied to the production of various material objects has generally been overlooked. However, African skill and knowledge were responsible for the production of many material objects used in everyday life on farms and plantations. It has become evident, for example, that African knowledge and skill in rice cultivation were responsible for the profitable rice industry that thrived along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. In addition, African knowledge of basketry and textiles was responsible for the development of a unique tradition of basketry and quilting that continues to be practiced today (Ferris, 1983, pp. 63–110 and 235–274). Of equal importance, many enslaved Africans who served as blacksmiths, carpenters, cooks, and seamstresses on farms and plantations used African techniques in the production of the material products for which they were responsible.

Post-emancipation Folklore

Despite early predictions of the demise of an African-American folk tradition with the advent of freedom and literacy, African Americans have continued to create and perform various genres of folklore. In many ways, the success of early collectors was a testament to the vibrancy and importance of vernacular creativity among African Americans. Although Emancipation brought about important changes in lifestyle, it did not alter many of the conditions that had made the forms of folklore created by enslaved Africans meaningful. In the post-Emancipation era, the development of the sharecropping system and the imposition of Jim Crow laws created patterns of economic and social oppression similar to those that had existed during slavery. In fact, the similarities in the conditions of freedpeople in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to those endured by enslaved Africans allowed them to simply alter many of the forms they had created during slavery to reflect new realities.

As the conditions that would influence black culture building in the post-Emancipation era became clear, African Americans began the process of both transforming existing forms and creating new ones to communicate their perceptions of the economic, social, and political realties that informed their lives as freedpeople. With the failure of Reconstruction and growing patterns of segregation following Emancipation, African Americans came to realize that conditions imposed on them that inhibited their progress in society had to be addressed differently. In a general sense, the powerful role that the law played in the lives of freedpeople made many of the expressive strategies developed during slavery for dealing with white power and control no longer effective or in the best interest of African Americans. For example, the tales of the animal trickster, which had provided an important model of behavior for dealing with white economic exploitation and social oppression during slavery, gradually lost their effectiveness as the expressive embodiment of a strategy for freedpeople. In some animal-trickster tales collected in the late nineteenth century, contests between the animal trickster and dupe were settled in the courts.

Badmen. Despite the decline of animal-trickster-tale narration, African Americans retained the trickster as a focus for folklore creation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the trickster was transformed into the badman, a character whose primary adversary was the law,

personified by the white policeman or sheriff (Roberts, 1989, pp. 171–220). The emergence of white lawmen as powerful and often brutal defenders of white privilege made it extremely problematic for African Americans to retaliate directly against whites for their exploitation. At the same time, the proliferation of patterns of segregation and economic exploitation and the rise of Jim Crow laws made the black community an arena for the actions of badmen. Therefore, although badmen spent much of their energy attempting to elude the law, they found their dupes in members of the black community. As tricksters, they attempted to dupe members of the black community into participating in illegal activities such as gambling, bootlegging, prostitution, numbers running, and drug dealing. That is, badmen as tricksters sought material gain by outwitting both African Americans and the law. In this sense, the black badmen of the post-Emancipation era faced a double bind not unknown to many African Americans.

Folklore creation surrounding black badmen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected changed conditions faced by African Americans in society. As the law in both its abstract and personified forms became a powerful force in maintaining white privilege, African Americans were forced to turn increasingly to their own communities for solutions to their economic and social oppression. Because the law was often brutal in its treatment of African Americans, they made avoidance of the law a virtue and attempted to keep the law out of their communities. In so doing, they assumed a great deal of responsibility for maintaining harmony and peace among themselves. In economically deprived black communities, however, the means of enhancing one's economic status were extremely limited. The rise of secular entertainment establishments such as jukes and bars served as a focus for many of the activities associated with black badmen. In these establishments, many African Americans found activities by which they had the potential to enhance their economic well being, such as gambling and numbers playing, as well as offering psychological escape in whiskey and drugs from the oppressive conditions of their lives. Despite their illegal nature, these activities posed little danger to the black community as long as individuals who participated in them played by the unwritten rules. However, the consumption of alcohol and the existence of games of chance created an environment in which violence often erupted and the law intervened.

The exploits of black badmen typically unfolded in jukes and bars. The badman emerged in folklore as an individual who, in defense of his trade, committed an act of murder. The badman's exploits were celebrated in legends and ballads, narrative songs that told of their deeds. For example, the notorious gambling badman Stackolee purportedly shot Billy Lyons, who was cheating him in a card game. Duncan shot the white policeman, Brady, to end his bullying of patrons at Duncan's bar. Invariably caught and punished, the badman was treated sympathetically in folklore. The sympathy engendered by the badman derives from the importance to some members of the black community of the activities with which he became associated, as well as the individuals he killed. The badman's victims were usually cheaters or bullies whose actions threatened to bring the power and force of the law down on the community. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many African Americans endured economic conditions that made the activities identified with black badmen important to their material well being. At the same time, they recognized the potential and real consequences of participating in these activities.

In many ways, the focus of folklore creation surrounding black badmen reflects the nature of black folklore since Emancipation. In a profound sense, expressive celebration of the black badman reflected a general pattern of forms that focused on conditions faced by African Americans on a recurrent basis yet suggested that the solutions lie within the black community. The most common types of folktale performed by African Americans since Emancipation attempt to identify the origins of conditions that inhibit black progress in society. These often humorous narratives attempt through suggestion and persuasion to address intragroup attitudes and behaviors perceived as responsible for the conditions faced by African Americans. At the same time, they suggest that when African Americans recognize their own role in maintaining behaviors not in their best interest, they gain the ability and power to change them.

ORIGIN TALES. In many narratives the focus of the tales is on the origins of certain animal characteristics. These tales were developed during slavery and usually involved animals from the trickster cycle. In some instances, the animal trickster is made the dupe. The best known of these tales purport to explain why the rabbit has a short tail or the buzzard a bald head. While these tales often seem to be naive explanations for the physical characteristics of different animals, in reality they impart useful lessons about African-American moral and social values. In most instances, the tales reveal that the acquisition of the physical characteristics came about as a result of obsessive pride and vanity, or a failure to evaluate the motives of one known to be an adversary.

The didactic intent of African-American origin tales is even more evident in those that involve human actors.

Many of these tales, which also originated in slavery, continue to be performed in African-American communities today (Dance, 1978, pp. 7–11). The focus is on the development of certain physical features associated with African Americans as a race. For example, the performer purports to explain why African Americans have big feet or hands, nappy hair, black skin, and so forth. The stories are invariably set at the beginning of time when God, a principal actor in the tales, gave out human traits. African Americans are envisioned as always getting the "worse" characteristics because they arrived late, were playing cards and did not hear God calling them, or were too impatient to wait for God. Despite the humor often evoked in these tales, they speak to African Americans about certain negative patterns of behavior stereotypically associated with the race—laziness, tardiness, impatience, and the like. Rather than being self-deprecating, as some scholars have suggested, these tales attempt in a humorous way to call attention to certain behavioral patterns perceived by some members of the black community as inhibitive to the advancement of African Americans. In addition, they reveal one of the ways in which African Americans have historically attempted to communicate in intragroup contexts the nature and consequences of negative stereotypes of them.

COLORED MAN TALES. Closely associated with tales of origin is a large group of tales that revolves around the character of "Colored Man" (Dorson, 1956, pp. 171–186). These tales often purport to explain the origins of conditions experienced by African Americans in society. From all internal evidence, Colored Man tales are a post-Emancipation invention that thrived in the early and mid-twentieth century. In this group of tales, Colored Man is pitted in a contest with White Man and a member of another racial or cultural group, either Jew or Mexican. In some instances, the three actors are given a task by God, usually involving the selection of packages of different sizes; in others, they are involved in a scheme of their own making. In the former case, Colored Man makes the wrong decision, whether he selects the largest or the smallest package. His choices are most often conceptualized as a result of his greed, his ability to be deceived by appearances of easy gain, his laziness, or even his efforts not to be outsmarted. The tales almost invariably revolve around some stereotype associated with African Americans. By portraying situations in which a generic African American acts out a stereotype, the performers of these tales implicitly call for critical self-examination. On the other hand, by setting these tales at the beginning of time, performers suggest that conditions experienced by African Americans in the present result from systemic sources.

Throughout the twentieth century, African Americans have created and performed folktales that deal realistically with their situation in society. Many function as jokes that revolve around stereotypes. However, these tales function to constantly remind African Americans that one of the most problematic aspects of their existence in American society derives from negative images of them held by other groups. In many of these tales, the African American appears as the dupe of the nonblacks, who use stereotypes to manipulate him into making bad choices. In other tales, African-American performers celebrate certain stereotypical images that seem to allow them to gain an advantage over other groups. This type of narrative usually revolves around sexual stereotypes; blacks triumph over members of other groups because they demonstrate superior sexual prowess or larger sexual organs. In their celebration of an image of self generally evaluated negatively in society, African Americans reveal an interesting ambivalence about such images and possibly a different value orientation.

THE BLUES. Besides narrative, other forms of African-American folklore created since Emancipation reveal an intimate concern with intragroup problems and solutions. Of the genres created and performed by African Americans, the blues is concerned directly with conditions and situations within the black community. As a body of song, the blues touches on various problematic areas of black life like unemployment, homelessness, sharecropping, police brutality, and economic exploitation (Titon, 1977; Keil, 1966; Oliver, 1963). However, it concentrates primarily on the problems of black male/female relationships. Although the blues celebrates the joys of being in a successful relationship, it most often focuses on the problems involved in sustaining one. These problems often revolve around economic issues, especially the inability of black males to provide for the material well being of lover, wife, or family.

In the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, the blues served as an ongoing commentary on conditions faced by many African Americans. As an expressive form, the blues did not often propose solutions to the problems it identified but rather focused on defining the contours of situations shared by large numbers of African Americans. When the blues did offer a solution, it most often proposed mobility: either moving out of a troubled relationship or moving out of town. It might be suggested that the idea of mobility as a solution to problematic situations often found in the blues simply reflected a solution embraced by thousands of African Americans in the early twentieth century. During the heyday of the blues, African Americans witnessed the migra-

tion of thousands from the rural South into urban centers in search of better economic and social conditions.

For many African Americans, the blues reflected much about the nature of black culture building in the early twentieth century. It emerged as the first solo form of musical expression created by African Americans and signaled the growing diversity of the black population. In the midst of the Great Migration and other changes in black life, the blues revealed the difficulty of speaking about a common African-American experience in post-Emancipation America. It envisioned a community beset by various problems of identity, values, and even beliefs arising from mobility as well as economic and social upheaval. Although blues performers spoke from a first-person point of view, their popularity derived from their ability to use personal experience as a metaphor for shared realities. Despite its popularity with a large segment of the black population, however, the blues was not valued by all members of the community. Because of its association with secular entertainment establishments in which drinking alcohol, dancing, gambling, and often violent crimes occurred, as well as to its often sexually explicit lyrics, it was sometimes strongly disparaged by religious and socially conscious members of the black community.

GOSPEL. In the early twentieth century, however, the blues had its expressive and religious counterpart in the emergence of gospel music (Heilbut, 1975; Allen, 1991). The development of modern gospel can be attributed to two interrelated influences, which can be conceptualized as, on the one hand, musical and, on the other, social and religious. Although spirituals continued to be performed well after Emancipation, the message of deliverance from bondage and persecution through analogy to Old Testament figures and events lost much of its meaning for freedpeople. In addition, performance of spirituals in the post-Emancipation era was greatly influenced by efforts of some African-American religious leaders to make black religious practices more closely resemble those of white Americans. As a result, many black churches banned the "shout," an important context for spiritual song performance, and began to encourage the singing of European hymns to the neglect of spirituals. At the same time, the emergence of Europeanized arrangements and performances of spirituals proliferated, especially with touring college choirs such as those organized at Fisk University and Hampton Institute. The success of these choirs, as well as the barbershop-quartet craze of the nineteenth century, influenced the organization of hundreds of black harmonizing quartets that sang primarily arranged spirituals.

While these changes in the religious and musical life of African Americans in the South greatly influenced the attitude toward and performance of spirituals, the Great Migration confronted many African Americans with a new lifestyle and environment that threatened their ability to maintain the spiritual values that many had traditionally associated with black religion. In urban areas, many African Americans embraced not only new social and economic patterns but also modes of worship in churches that did not fulfill social and spiritual needs as southern churches had. In both South and North, many African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries turned to the newly developing Spiritual Church movement and Holiness movement and the storefront churches that arose to house them. In these churches, many African Americans found patterns of worship more conducive to their religious sensibilities, and an emerging musical style that came to be known as gospel. Unlike the spirituals of enslaved Africans, gospel songs tended to emphasize the New Testament message of love and faith in God as the solutions to human problems. As such, gospel relies less on analogy to Old Testament personalities and events and more on the abstract New Testament promise of rest and reward for the faithful.

In an important sense, gospel, like the blues, envisions a diverse black community, whereas spirituals relied on the existence of a coherent community sharing a single condition: slavery. As such, gospel songs tend to abstract the nature of the problems for which Christian faith provides a solution. In essence, the lyrics of gospel songs seldom identify specific conditions but, instead, speak of burdens, trials, and tribulations and offer faith in God as a solution. In this regard, gospel is a genre that gains its meaning in performance. Through performance, its apparent abstract message is concretized in messages delivered as sermons, prayers, and testimonies, which provide numerous illustrations of the situations of which gospel music speaks. Although gospel songs are usually written by individuals and recorded by commercial companies, a development that goes back to the 1920s and 1930s, gospel remains a vernacular form performed in African-American communities in churches and concert halls throughout the United States on a regular basis.

TOASTS. The study of African-American folklore in the twentieth century remains vital. The focus of collection in recent years has turned from the rural South to urban communities in both North and South where viable traditions of African-American oral expressive culture continue to thrive. In the process, folklorists continue to produce important collections of African-American folklore reflective of both historical and contemporary concerns. For example, the toast tradition, which involves the recitation of long narrative poems revolving around the actions of

black badmen, has been collected extensively (Jackson, 1974; Wepman, Newman, and Binderman, 1976). These poems, which have been collected in prisons and on the streets, chronicle the lives of individuals involved in criminal activities and warn of the consequences of their behavior. Although a large number of toast texts have been published, the toast as a genre is not widely known among African Americans. In fact, it seems to be known and performed primarily by individuals who participate in a criminal lifestyle or individuals who have connections with it. While toasts seem to celebrate criminality and the peculiar brand of "badness" associated with it, these poems tend to be highly moralistic and realistic in terms of the consequences of criminal activity. In addition—despite their often offensive language, violent imagery, and seeming disregard for legal and moral authority in the black community and society—toasts give expressive embodiment to behavioral and economic strategies and reflect attitudes embraced by some individuals in African-American communities with regard to drug dealing, prostitution, gambling, and other so-called victimless crimes.

THE DOZENS. Although not primarily or exclusively an urban genre, the dozens became the focus of much study in the latter half of the twentieth century (Abrahams, 1970). The dozens is a generic name for a form of verbal artistry known variously in African-American communities as joning, wolfing, busting, breaking, cracking and snapping, and by a host of other names. Although the art of playing the dozens is generally associated with adolescent males, the practice in different ways is one that knows no age limit or gender. Generally speaking, younger males tend to play more often and to rely more on formulaic rhymes and phrases in their performances. Often discussed as verbal exchanges that disparage the mother through implications of sexual impropriety, playing the dozens just as often involves apparent insults to one's opponent. While playing the dozens has been associated with the acquisition of verbal skill, especially among young African-American males, it also serves as an intragroup mechanism for communicating information with negative import for individuals. Regardless of who plays the dozens or how it is played, the content of the exchanges focuses on behaviors that violate certain norms generally accepted by African Americans, whether they relate to sexual activity, personal habits, physical characteristics, modes of dress, and so forth.

A concern with playing the dozens in recent years has been accompanied by a general focus on other forms of African-American folklore that reveal a rich tradition of verbal play. Forms such as signifying, marking, and loud-talking have been discussed as a reflection of the art of everyday life in African-American communities (Mitchell-Kernan, 1972). The artistry of these forms derives from the ability of individuals to encode messages with serious import in humorous and witty forms. In addition, the rise of rap music, which transforms many African-American expressive forms into a flourishing narrative tradition, reflects the continuing verbal artistry in black communities. Rap, which exists as both a narrative and a musical tradition, reflects a continuing concern in African-American expressive culture with identifying conditions and situations that impact negatively on the black community. Though a diverse group, rap songs frequently point to the need for self-evaluation, criticism, and change in the black community itself without denying the impact of systemic causes for many of the conditions it identifies. The most recent genre of African American folklore to be identified is the urban legend, an amorphous expressive form that is often communicated as a rumor (Turner, 1993). One of the earliest examples of this genre concerns the fast-food franchise known as Churches Fried Chicken. According to the legend/rumor, Churches Fried Chicken, a once highly visible restaurant in African American neighborhoods in the United States, is owned by the Ku Klux Klan. The owners are reported to have injected into its chicken a substance that renders African-American males impotent. While no longer as popular as it once was, the Churches Fried Chicken legend has been found throughout the United States among African Americans. Over time other rumors emerged concerning high profile businesses that cater to or have become popular with African Americans, such as British Knight sports wear, Reebok Sneakers, and several soft drinks. In each case, the businesses have been associated with the Ku Klux Klan which inserts surreptitious messages in their products that identify this organization as owners. Other legend/rumors found among African Americans include an accusation that the CIA is responsible for introducing crack cocaine and other addictive substances into the African American community. In almost all cases, the performers of these narratives cite an authoritative source such as a newspaper or the popular television show *Sixty Minutes* as the source of their information. Although scholars have attempted to verify the accuracy of these accounts, the value of the stories to those who circulate and/or believe them has little to do with their factuality.

These narratives reveal a continuing concern in the African American community with its physical well being and survival. In the most general sense, they exist to remind the community of hidden dangers for African Americans that exist in the society. By associating the danger with the Ku Klux Klan, a racist organization with a history of ill-will and violent intentions toward African Ameri-

cans, performers of such narratives single out an organization with a history of racist actions against the black community. In the minds of many, the Klan continues to be a secret source of evil in the society which it directs toward African Americans. The authority of claims of clandestine activities by this organization is enhanced by naming the media as the source of the story.

African-American folklore reflects many of the ways in which African Americans have historically communicated their attitudes, beliefs, and values in artistic forms in everyday life. Although the roots of the study of this folklore lie in beliefs about its ultimate demise, the African-American tradition of vernacular creativity and performance remains vital. While the genres that constitute the African-American folk tradition are too numerous to be examined in a short discussion, the basic categories of narrative, song, verbal artistry, and material culture suggest the tradition's contours. With African culture and cultural forms providing the tradition-rich source of African-American folklore, it has been endlessly transformed to both aid and reflect black culture building in the United States. On an everyday basis, African-American folklore continues to provide individuals with a rich creative outlet for expression and performance.

See also Africanisms; Blues, The; Dozens, The; Folk Arts and Crafts; Folklore: U.S. Folk Heroes and Characters; Folklore: Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters; Folk Medicine; Folk Music; Folk Religion; Gospel Music; Rap; Spirituals

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Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters

In order to make sense out of a senseless experience, people of African descent who were forcibly transported from the continent to the New World relied very heavily on their memory of various homelands, of their original roots in times and places that, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist except in their collective imagination. As many intellectuals and artists have illustrated, the enslaved Africans clung tenaciously to their ancestral mores both as a political statement, or act of rebellion, and as a psychological necessity. Moreover, they devised ways of camouflaging their expressions of Africanity, often with a thin veneer of European icons, when their captors tried to eradicate their history. In spite of a five-hundred-year transculturation process, African peoples in the New World struggled to maintain their psycho-emotional ties to cultures that were physically beyond their grasp but that were consistently and repeatedly evoked in their oral traditions. Thus, Isidore Okpewho (1999) observes that "in their folklore and their folklife, especially in tales they had learned from parents and other relatives, African-descended Americans found an outlet for reassuring themselves of indigenous values they found lacking in the culture of those who ruled their lives even in freedom" (Okpewho et. al., p. xv). On the other hand, one might very well argue that African-based cultural beliefs and practices were embedded as forms of resistance *because of* the imposition of Western cultures. Thus, Jesús García (2001) cautions against the trivialization of African-derived modes of being by labeling them as "folklore." He comments: "We need to develop a pedagogy of self-perception. . . . To fail to do so is to continue to view ourselves through borrowed eyes. African cultures in the Americas, rather than quaint but superficial folklore, are cultures of resistance based on African philosophical principles that we must rediscover, that persist and reshape themselves as time passes and as changes occur in our communities" (p. 288).

By "cultures of resistance" García means that African-American societies are engaged in "a dynamic process in which their original cultural elements are set in opposition to the pressure of colonial and postcolonial religious and governmental authorities' attempts to 'disappear' them. We deliberately imagine the possibility of cultural exchange in the Americas on an equal plane of mutual respect and tolerance, insisting upon the possibility of a reciprocal process of cultural transformation that guarantees the peaceful coexistence of both colonial European and African cultural traditions in contemporary social contexts." García does not deny the impact of other groups on African-American cultures, for they are often the result of syncretism, or the blending of African and European ways of life with additional influences from a multitude of Native-American/indigenous and Asian ethnicities. In short, African-oriented traditions are replete with imaginary characters, historical personages, and legendary figures that became the culture heroes that have sustained people within the confines of race, class, and gender. Since the number of protagonists in the oral traditions is so large, time and space will permit examination of selected examples of black fictional characters and culture heroes in Latin America and the Caribbean. The discussion will begin with Anancy the Spider as the fictional prototype of the Maroon, or the historical and legendary figure who is elevated to the status of culture hero by virtue of his resistance to dominance and oppression. Then the focus will be on a few renowned leaders such as Zumbi as well as some lesser known figures such as Zeferina.

One of the most absurd consequences of the European encounter with peoples from Africa, Asia, and the Americas was the emphasis on skin color and its accompanying physical features as a sign of culture. The issue of black and white, brown and white, red and white, or yellow and white—in that order—is still current in the twenty-first century, and it does not seem inclined to vanish anytime soon. As far as Latin America and the Caribbean are concerned, the vast majority of the people are of mixed origin in various degrees, which comes from Amerindian, African, Asian, and European components. This phenomenon is called *mestizaje*. However, race is a volatile subject because there is a vehement denial that race counts or that racism exists, even in the face of racial and ethnic awareness movements in communities throughout the Southern Hemisphere. Darien Davis (2000) comments on race in that region:

> Blackness, like any ethnic or racial categorization, is an arbitrary social construct nuanced by geography, language and history. What North Americans call *black* may in Latin America and the Caribbean be translated in a variety of ways, including *negro*, *mulato*, *cafuso*, *moreno*, *trigueño*, *antillano*, *prieto*, Afro–Latin American, creole, light-skinned and so on. Furthermore, social and personal relations, education, economic opportunities and other variables make it possible to change one's racial classification. These distinctions notwithstanding, blackness in Latin America is inextricably connected to the trans-Atlantic

Soucouyant

The figure known as the *Soucouyant* (or *soucougnan/soukounyan*) in much of the Eastern Caribbean and referred to by a variety of other names across the Caribbean as a whole—Fire Hag, Old Heg, Old Hige, Gagé, Volant, Azeman—is usually represented as a woman who sheds her skin at night, stores it in a jar, transforms herself into a ball of fire, and roams around sucking the blood from her sleeping victims, particularly babies. To defeat her, members of the community can throw salt or pepper on themselves and on any expected victims, or on the skin she has abandoned, or they can scatter rice grains or salt on the windows and doors through which she will pass. Her torment from itching or her failure to count every single rice grain will make her vulnerable to capture, at which point she might be beaten, exiled, killed, or boiled alive in a vat of tar.

Like the part-human, part-horse *bête a man ibé* who wanders around screaming at night dragging an iron chain around her waist, and the *Rolling Calf* (also known as *Steel Donkey* or *May Cow*) whose bloodshot eyes and nighttime wanderings indicate the restlessness of an evil person who cannot find peace after death, the *Soucouyant* reflects the richness of the imaginative resources and cultural origins of the Caribbean's oral traditions. The *loup garou*—literally werewolf—of some Francophone-Creole-speaking territories, often depicted as old women who need blood every night in exchange for the devil's powers, seem to be more closely related, for example, to vampires. Besides Europe's vampires, the *obayfo* of the Akan of West Africa, which sheds its skin after turning into a ball of fire, and the *sukunya* and her male counterpart, *sukunyadyo,* of the Fula/Soninke people—witches who eat humans—provide sources that help to explain the *origin* of these figures, but not necessarily their meanings, since the significance of such figures changes over time in every society, in transference from one space to another.

Witches who are gender-neutral, or typical of both genders in West Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are gendered female in many Caribbean tales, according to Giselle Anatol, just as the significance of vampires has altered according to fears about women's sexuality and independence. The moral ambivalence generated by slavery and the slave trade, the ways in which colonial authorities in the region made their own interpretations of the oral narratives they heard and then transcribed into court records or anthropological documents, the impact of Protestantism and Catholicism on the worldview of storytellers: all necessarily produced changes in the moral implications of these figures over time. Just as the connections between the Caribbean water goddess *Mama Dlo* (*Mama Glo*, *River Mumma*, *Water-Mama*, *Fairmaid*) and the West African water deity *Mammywata* might tell us more about the specific

slave trade which brought the majority of blacks to the Americas.

Blackness is not a monolithic entity, for each nation espouses unique values and patterns of classification that determine its own definition of black culture. However, it must be pointed out that changing one's racial category, originally known as "*gracias al sacar*," or "thanks for taking me out of my blackness," constitutes by its very nature an identity crisis because the movement is always "up and away from blackness." No one wishes to change from white, however that is defined, to black. The process of "improving" one's self and/or family by "marrying up" is called *blanqueamiento* (Spanish) or *branqueamento* (Portuguese), and it is embedded in the concept of *Hispanidad* or *Lusofonidad*. While this might bring a degree of tolerance, it does not guarantee unconditional acceptance. The specter of the black ancestor (grandmother) is always lurking in the shadows, and those who would define or redefine themselves as "white" live in constant dread of that skeleton. One must understand these contradictory discourses in Latin America and the Caribbean in order to appreciate fully their oral and written literature. To facilitate the discussion of the fictional characters and culture heroes, this article will proceed in a somewhat chronological order according to the unfolding of historical events in the Caribbean, Mexico, the Andes, Brazil, the Guyanas, Haiti, the Southern Cone, and Central America. Haiti

Soucouyant (continued)

economic and psychological impact of the slave trade on Africa's west coast than her general identification with the Ibo *Uhamiri/Idemili* and Yoruba *Osun* deities, critics caution against romanticizing these figures and the supposedly simple and cohesive oral communities which they are often held to reflect, and against giving them a one-to-one correspondence with "Old World" African, European, or Asian sources.

They point out that the fiction of recent Caribbean women is critical of the ways in which repressive political regimes draw on the moral authority of the folktale by using the *soucouyant* and other figures to terrorize the society or to demonize women who have passed the age of childbearing, and whose autonomy is thus potentially threatening.

The characters who inhabit the oral tales of the region certainly indicate a longstanding tradition of storytelling characterized by interaction between storyteller and audience—"Krik?" "Krak! Monkey break he back on a rotten pomerac!"—as well as by the ironic disavowal of the storyteller: "So me get it, so me gi' it, Jack Mandora, me no choose none." But they also suggest that the interpretive possibilities of these figures remain as rich as the variety of social contexts—theater, art, dance, popular music, religion, politics, fiction, and poetry—that continue to make use of them.

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merits separate treatment because it stands in a class by itself in terms of its cultural resistance to European hegemony.

The Caribbean Basin

Anancy the Spider (also written as Ananci, Ananse, Anansy, Ananncy, or Nancy) is a protagonist of African origin who is very popular in Jamaica and other areas of the Caribbean. Moreover, Mariela Gutiérrez (1999) informs readers that the name "Anancy" is derived from the Ashanti word for "spider" because many Africans transported to Jamaica were of Ashanti origin. According to Benjamín Núñez (1980), the most recurrent Jamaican version of Anancy is a humanized character, a "little-bald-headed man with a falsetto voice and cringing manner . . . who . . . lives by his wits and treats outrageously anyone on whom he can impose his superior cunning" (p. 26). Anancy can also assume other human forms: a famous fiddler, a magician, or a quick-witted son who outsmarts his father. In Haiti Anancy is a spider trickster-hero and a buffoon. Henry Louis Gates (1988) identifies Anancy as one of the many animal characters like B'rer Rabbit in the United States whose African archetype was Eleggua, a capricious deity of the crossroads and guardian of the household. The body of oral tales centered around Anancy's exploits are called Anancy (Nancy) stories, and they have spread all over the Caribbean as highly eclectic tales loved

by adults and children alike. When Anancy is presented as an animal in a fable, the story is connected to its African origins. However, when he is a character in a fairy tale, there is some modifying European influence in play. Nevertheless, in some Anancy tales both traditions are operative. The Anancy stories frequently maintain the traditional device, almost universal in African societies, of interjecting a short song at crucial moments in the narrative.

Dorothy Mosby (2003) informs readers that in the migration of the Ashanti people from Africa (present-day Ghana) to Jamaica, and the relocation of the Jamaican people from that island to the Atlantic Coast of Central America (Costa Rica), Anancy was transformed from a demigod into a symbol of cultural *marronage*. Moreover, this transformation is signified by a change in language. That is, Anancy, or Brother Spider in English, becomes Hermano Araña in Spanish or Bredda Spider in Creole. Like his counterpart B'rer Rabbit in the United States, Anancy is perceived as a small, weak animal that survives by outwitting others—Hermano Tigre (Bredda Tiger), Hermano Tacuma (Bredda Tacuma), Hermano Conejo (Bredda Rabbit), Hermano Mono (Bredda Monkey), Hermano Perro (Bredda Dog), and Hermano Cabra (Bredda Goat). On the other hand, behind Anancy's affable mask and whimsical nature lies a formidable personage who can devastate his enemy. Consequently, the Anancy stories throughout the Caribbean have served multiple functions: as forms of entertainment to revive the human spirit, as learning tools to teach survival skills, as antidotes for feelings of alienation and displacement, as consolation for depression and despair, and as liberating sites of cultural resistance to oppression. The enslaved Africans were steeped in traditions like the Anancy stories and used them as models for real-life encounters.

Ronald Segal observes that the harsh conditions of slavery led to revolts from the moment the Africans set foot on the shores of the Americas. In Hispaniola (Dominican Republic and Haiti) one of the first uprisings occurred on December 27, 1522, when twenty slaves belonging to Diego Columbus (son of the admiral himself) joined with twenty other captives from a neighboring plantation to attack the Spaniards. The Africans took refuge in none other than the mountain retreat of Enrique, an indigenous *cacique* (chief) who had already rebelled against the *encomienda* by conducting his own kind of guerrilla warfare against the Spanish authorities. Although the defiant Africans were hunted down and captured, their message was clear—they would risk everything for freedom. As Spain advanced its empire, there were similar uprisings on other islands and the mainland of South America—in Puerto Rico (1527); in Panama, led by King Bayano (1550s); in Venezuela, led by Andresoto (1730s) and Miguel Luango (1749); and in Cuba, led by José Antonio Aponte (1812). However, one of the most successful instances of cultural resistance in the Americas took place in Mexico at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Mexico

Yanga (Nyanga) is the most famous black leader in Mexican history, but most official history books do not acknowledge him. Perhaps a native of Angola, Yanga maintained that he was a Congolese prince. Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman report that "around the beginning of the seventeenth century the threat of black resistance centered in the eastern region, especially near Veracruz. There an elderly slave named Yanga had held out in the mountains for thirty years" (Meyer and Sherman, p. 216). From that site Yanga and his warriors regularly assaulted travelers on the Mexico City–Veracruz highway, and they raided *haciendas* in the vicinity. The Spaniards undertook a military campaign against Yanga's maroon colony in 1609, and they were met with fierce resistance. However, they finally defeated Yanga's troops in 1611. Yet like Anancy, Yanga managed to persuade Viceroy Luis De Velazco to concede his freedom and that of his people on the condition that the Maroons kept the peace, took no more fugitives, and obeyed Spanish laws. By 1612 Yanga's settlement was relocated to a place called San Lorenzo de los Negros de Córdoba. Today the descendants of the *cimarrones* (Maroons) still live there, albeit in deplorable conditions. In fact, they are Mexico's "forgotten people." Furthermore, there is a museum in the city and state of Jalapa with a statue honoring Yanga along with archival information and illustrations documenting his courageous deeds. Perhaps the modern observer might view Yanga as a "sellout," but considering his options at the time, his negotiations with the Spaniards are to be commended. Besides, many *cimarrones* often ignored the stipulation to turn away other Maroons, so their settlements were often replenished with newcomers. In the course of time, blacks were erased from Mexican history. Thus, the unacknowledged African presence in Mexico, or *la tercera raíz* (the third root), is documented by Marco Polo Hernández-Cuevas in *African Mexicans and the Discourse on Modern Nation* (2004).

The Andes

As early as 1544 *cimarrones* were attacking and robbing farms on the outskirts of Lima and Trujillo, Peru. However, many were subdued and executed but at great cost to

the Spanish officials. Peru was also the site of two significant revolts that involved an alliance of Africans and indigenous people. Near Cuzco in the highland province of Vilcabamba, the Spaniards had enslaved a large workforce to mine the gold deposits. In response to this particularly harsh form of exploitation, the fugitives from Vilcabamba united in 1609 with Aymara-speaking forces under the leadership of the Amerindian Francisco Chichima. This coalition was so formidable that the Spaniards had to rely on the help of "loyal" (pacified) Native-American groups to stamp out the rebellion. A second wave consisting of galley slaves fled from the port city of Callao to the hills above Lima. Moreover, the maroon community they established successfully evaded the authorities until a free mulatto soldier located its hideout and led a detachment of Spanish troops there to capture them. The same kinds of resistance occurred in parts of Bolivia and Ecuador, although historians are still documenting them. In every instance one sees that enslaved peoples realized that they could not engage in open combat with the European colonials because the latter had the advantage of an endless supply of weapons and horses. Consequently, like Anancy the Trickster, the maroon leader had to rely on flight, subterfuge, attack, withdrawal, and, above all, strategy, to engage in guerrilla warfare in territory that was unfamiliar to him. This put the Spanish officials on notice that the cost of empire was much greater than they had anticipated. Even more important, word of successful rebellions, revolts, and uprisings inevitably spread through the oral traditions of the enslaved Africans, thus boosting their morale. Anancy kept hope alive.

Brazil

In his study of the maroon communities known as *quilombos* in Brazil, Gilberto Leal (2001) distinguishes between passive and active forms of resistance. A kind of passive resistance called *banzo* was a lingering melancholia that was tantamount to work slowdown or stoppage, catatonia, playing dumb, or other kinds of physical and psychophysical inactivity. On the other hand, the establishment of a *quilombo* was an act of open rebellion. The most triumphant maroon community in the seventeenth century was the Palmares Republic, a confederation of several *mocambos* (settlements) in the district of Alagoas, in the captaincy of Pernambuco (northeastern Brazil), which lasted from 1605 to 1695. Two of its most renowned leaders came to be known as Ganza Zumba (uncle) and Zumbi (nephew), although it is not clear whether these were proper names or titles. (Segal [1995] asserts that *ganga-zumba* means "supreme chief," like pharaoh, while *zumbi* means "war chief.") The Maroons who lived in the *quilombos* were called *quilombolas*. Jōao Reis (2001) observes that:

> the population of the quilombo initially consisted of formerly enslaved Africans from several ethnic groups from the present-day Angolo-Congo areas. Some of its military and political organizations have been linked to an Imbangala military society called *kilombo*. This institution was probably reinvented, although not entirely reproduced, by the Palmarinos to respond to the military circumstances that they faced in Brazil. It was only after Palmares was established that the word quilombo became synonymous with mocambo, the term most often used until then to describe maroon settlements, as if Palmares had become symbolic of future maroon communities. (p. 302)

One military expedition after another was sent by the Dutch and Portuguese to capture the Palmarinos, but the *quilombolas* successfully resisted the hegemonic forces until internal differences began to divide them.

In 1678 Ganga Zumba signed a treaty with the colonial government in which the Maroons would be guaranteed land and freedom for those born in the *quilombos* in exchange for loyalty to the Portuguese crown and a pledge to turn in all runaways from slavery. Naturally the Portuguese did not honor the treaty and the Maroons quarreled over what should be the proper response to them. It appears that the faction supporting the nephew poisoned his uncle, and Zumbi became the supreme ruler. Under his leadership, Palmares survived assaults from combined European forces for nearly twenty years, and when it was finally subjugated, it was due to betrayal by one of its own. On November 20, 1695, the remaining guerrillas in Zumbi's battalion were captured and killed. It is believed that Zumbi himself committed suicide rather than submit to enslavement.

In the spirit of Zumbi and the Palmarinos, a courageous Yoruba woman by the name of Zeferina headed a maroon settlement formed by other Yoruba people outside the city of Bahia, Brazil. In 1826 Zeferina organized and led an uprising against the plantation masters, but it was quelled by government troops. The insurgents were incarcerated and subsequently executed. Thus, cultural resistance was not the exclusive patrimony of males, and today these figures are heroes who inspire Afro-Brazilians with black awareness to continue the liberation struggle. November 20, 1695, the date of the death of Zumbi/Palmares, has been designated as the National Day of Black Consciousness by Afro-Brazilian civil rights and cul-

tural organizations. Furthermore, in 1995 three significant events occurred in Brazil: "the commemoration of Three Hundred Years of Immortality for Zumbi of Palmares; the Zumbi of Palmares March Against Racism and for Equality and Life; and the selection of 'Zumbi, 300 years of Courage' as the theme of the Bahian carnival" (Leal, p. 299). Anancy the Spider lives on.

The Guyanas

The northern area of *Tierra Firme*, or continental South American, presents an interesting parallel in black cultural resistance to oppression. For one thing, it was the scene of rivalry among various European powers. Sir Walter Raleigh initiated England's interest in the Guyanas in his pursuit of El Dorado, or the legend of the "Gilded One." When he published *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1595), other nations took note and soon began sending expeditions to that region. By 1665 the British, Dutch, and French had founded settlements in Guyana territory, all three claiming the entire area between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers. After skirmishes in Europe and the Americas, the Dutch and English finally came to terms with each other, trading New Amsterdam (New York) and Surinam, respectively. No sooner had the smoke cleared than a slave revolt broke out in 1730, and although the Dutch attempted to crush it, the settlers and Maroons continued to fight each other up to 1749. Circumstances were so bad for the Dutch colonists that they sued the rebels for peace. In 1762 the Dutch recognized two large black communities, the Saramaca and the Ouca, by granting them their freedom. Just as the case of Yanga, the Maroons were given arms and ammunition in exchange for their promise to be loyal allies to the Dutch, to deliver up future runaways, and to keep their "proper distance" from the capital and plantations. By the 1770s the maroon communities had organized themselves into a dozen villages each under a local leader, among whom were Chief Baron, Chief Kofi (Coffi, Cuffee), Chief Atta, and Chief Akkara. As expected, the Maroons of Surinam did not keep their promise to turn away other rebels, so their forces grew and the Dutch went on the offensive. John Stedman, captain of the Scots Brigade in mercenary recruitment, documents the strategies of the Saramaka warriors, as reported by Ronald Segal (1995): "Against the well-armed military forces, they employed their developing skills as guerrilla fighters. They would shoot from behind trees and use spies to track the troops until these were so weakened by disease or vulnerably positioned as to invite attack" (p. 98). In addition, the Maroons would often lure Dutch battalions into the swamps and when the latter were stuck in the mud, take leisurely pot shots at them from the surrounding bushes. Inevitably, human factors such as rivalry, jealousy, and greed divided the rebels, who were finally defeated by 1780. Nevertheless, the Dutch soldiers and colonists suffered great loss of life and property, and many fled the Guyanas for the Netherlands or other parts of the Americas. It was indeed a Pyrrhic victory.

Haiti

Although Haiti is part of the Caribbean Basin, the events that transpired there a century ago merit a distinct treatment. Of all the sites of cultural resistance, Haiti provided the perfect setting for the ultimate experiment—unconditional freedom for enslaved Africans. For one thing, the mistreatment of enslaved Africans in France's prized possession of Saint Domingue was among the worst in the Americas. For another, the mortality rate was astronomical, and slaves had to be replaced so quickly that the process of creolization (acculturation) could not take effect on the replacements. This tragic irony made possible the growth of an active resistance movement on the island.

There is no doubt that men like Toussaint-Louverture, Henri Christophe, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines stand out in their roles as leaders of the Haitian Revolution. However, their contributions are well documented in many sources, especially in C. L. R. James's classic, *The Black Jacobins* (1938). Less prominent is the role of the common people, those who lived and moved along the fringes and in the shadows but who, nevertheless, played significant parts in the liberation of Haiti. One such historical figure is Mackandal (Macandal), who worked in a sugar mill of the Lenormand plantation near the northern city of Le Cap. One day Mackandal's arm got crushed in the sugar press and the overseer had to amputate it. The astute, one-armed worker was then placed in the pasturelands to guard the cattle, but he escaped sometime around 1751 and joined a community of Maroons in the mountains. Mackandal soon became their leader, organized raids on plantations in the vicinity, and gained a reputation for bravery as well as immortality. Like Anancy, Mackandal uses his intelligence to plot his enemy's downfall.

Skilled in herbal medicine, the priest/seer/chieftain arranged for the distribution of poison to his followers on a certain day in 1757. All whites were targets. However, Mackandal's scheme was uncovered and the French authorities were able to ambush him. The official version of Mackandal's destiny is that he was captured in March 1758 and burned at the stake. Conversely, his disciples believed that just as the flames were about to engulf him, their hero broke the chains that bound him and, in a final act of defiance, changed into a mosquito that flew away, but that would return in human form one day. Cuban Alejo Car-

pentier captures the drama of Mackandal's death in *The Kingdom of This World* (1949), a novel about the Haitian Revolution. More germane to this study, the tale of aerial flight evokes the popular belief of enslaved Africans throughout the Americas that upon death their souls would fly back to Guinea (Africa). The flight motif is succinctly projected in *The People Could Fly* (1985), a collection of tales by U.S. writer Virginia Hamilton.

Mackandal's death was only a temporary setback. Bouckman (Boukman) was a second religious figure and political leader who took up the baton of freedom. A fugitive from Jamaica and a priest of Vodun, Bouckman resorted to the strategies of that cult to forge a system of communication for organizing the next phase of the Haitian Revolution, which began on August 14, 1791. Although Bouckman, too, was killed early in the battle, other equally committed individuals and groups continued to fight until they were united under Toussaint-Louverture. The rest is history as Saint Domingue was the first American colony to successfully throw off the yoke of colonialism and slavery from the most powerful European power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—France under the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte. It is fitting that the black rebels chose the indigenous name Haiti, which means "mountain," to designate their new nation and new identity. Not only did the Haitian Revolution shake the foundations of European hegemony, it also set the tone of rebellion for the entire hemisphere. The irony is that the white Creole colonials feared the emancipated slaves more than they yearned for freedom from the metropolises, and this ambivalence delayed their own independence movements, especially in the Caribbean. Haiti was the anathema of the entire hemisphere, for the European settlers could not conceive of sharing freedom, equality, and brotherhood with the enslaved Africans in their respective enclaves. All the strategies of resistance available to the trickster—concoction, dissimulation, stealth, attack, retreat, confrontation, and negotiation—came into play during the Haitian Revolution. Anancy was truly a disturber of the peace.

The Southern Cone

At the southern end of South America lies a conical-shaped area called the Southern Cone, which includes the countries of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay (and sometimes southern Brazil). Moreover, these nations boast of uniqueness based on their "whiteness" in contrast to the rest of the continent. It is appropriate that the "disappearance" of black peoples and cultures in the Southern Cone be addressed just as the "disappeared ones" during the repressive governments of the 1970s and 1980s has been the focus of intense publicity in recent times. While academic opinion varies on Chile, recent studies have brought to light information of the African presence in Argentina. Romero Jorge Rodríguez (2001) informs readers that:

> Beginning in 1538, Buenos Aires was one of the principal ports of entrance for Africans to South America. Buenos Aires also served as a stopover for thousands of Africans en route to the mines and the Casa de la Moneda (the Mint) in Potosí, Bolivia. Many enslaved Africans remained in Argentinean villages and towns along the way. Census figures from the colonial period demonstrate a significant African presence. As early as 1778, one-third of the population of Buenos Aires was of African origin, and according to the 1810 census, in some cities Blacks comprised 60 percent of the population. Thus, the Black population was demographically, hence socially and culturally, significant in Argentina's early history. (p. 316)

What happened to the descendants of all these people? Scholars debate the issue, but the most common reasons given include the end of the legal slave trade in 1813 (although contraband activity continued for a long time); the drafting of enslaved Africans with the promise of freedom, or the forced recruitment of freed Africans to serve in the colonial and national armies; the high mortality rate caused by disease and poverty; and the wave of European immigration that came about as a result of certain practices under the presidencies of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Juan Bautista Alberdi. The last reason is of great concern because Sarmiento and Alberdi engineered a state policy of deliberate extermination of the indigenous and African populations during the 1880s. European immigration was seen by some as a way to erase blackness from Argentina and Latin America, and considered, by these same individuals, as a necessary step on the road to progress and modernization.

A case in point is the story of Falucho, the nickname for a black soldier of the Regiment of the Río de la Plata who was a native of Buenos Aires. Falucho was stationed in the port of Callao, near Lima, Peru, along with other soldiers in combined forces against the Spanish government. After a mutiny on February 7, 1824, royalist troops stormed the rebel barracks and raised the Spanish banner. The Argentine regiment was ordered to mount guard and salute the enemy flag. Instead, the black freedman broke his musket against the flagstaff and was shot to death as he yelled out, "Viva Buenos Aires!" (Núñez, p. 186). More often than not, soldiers like Falucho were sent to the front

lines without the benefit of weapons to defend themselves. Lucía Dominga Molina and Mario Luis López (2001) provide ample statistics on Afro-Argentine soldiers. Rodríguez supplies information on Afro-Bolivians of the Yungas provinces in Bolivia and the Afro-Paraguayans called *Cambá Cuá*, of mixed African and Guaraní heritages. In the face of overwhelming odds, these groups forged viable identities by maintaining elements of African cultures, resisting those aspects of Western cultures they considered harmful and embracing those that were beneficial. Anancy is famous for his adaptability.

Central America

To represent the Afro-Caribbean experience in Central America, it is fitting to end this discussion with a focus on Anancy in Costa Rica, who emerges in the historical and legendary figure of Joe Gordon during the 1930s. There are no official documents attesting to the reality of Joe Gordon, a banana worker who revolted against the exploitation of the United Fruit Enterprise, but that is often the case in African-American history. According to popular legend, Joe Gordon was fired from his job when he let a carload of bananas plunge into a ravine to save a fellow worker. Gordon placed a higher value on human life than on a wagonful of fruit, but the management of the company was incensed over the material loss. After his dismissal, Gordon had plenty of time to think about the implications of his mistreatment and that of people like him. He soon realized that systemic, rather than individual, oppression was the real issue that had to be addressed. Thus, Gordon carefully planned attacks on the banana plantation, raided the company store, and surprised the manager in his residence to take back from the exploiters, redistribute the wealth to the most indigent in their community, and inspire fear in the authorities. In true Robin Hood fashion, this Anancy figure draws a following. Joe Gordon's exploits are extracted from the oral tradition in a poem called "The Outlaw," by Alderman Roden Johnson, a first-generation writer of Jamaican descent in Costa Rica who wrote in English:

He had a grievance that he nursed
Against the bad white man.
He nurtured it until it worsened
And grew clear out of hand.

Thence Joe went on to plunder
The Fruit Company's store,
With skill and without blunder
He would "even the score."
And very many were the poor
Who at morn did arise
To find a fortune at their door
And scarce could believe their eyes.
It was a present from their "Joe"
Left there during the night.
Thus Joe stole from the hated foe
To relieve the oppressed poor's plight. (Cited in Mosby, p. 51)

Eventually Joe Gordon is hunted down, captured, and executed, but in the popular imagination he resurrects himself. He becomes a community legend, a culture hero, and a symbol of resistance to an oppressed people, just as Yanga, Zumbi, Mackandal, Zeferina, and all the others who resisted, struggled, sacrificed, and triumphed, if not in body then certainly in spirit. Fiction writer Quince Duncan metaphorically captures the absurdity/tragicomedy of the African experience in the West in "The Legend of Joe Gordon," which is part of the *Best Short Stories* collection (1995). In concrete historical terms, Anancy's story unfolds in Limón Province, Costa Rica, where the Trickster always manages to overcome or defeat all rivals/enemies except Brother Tacuma (Tucuma). Gutiérrez (1999) proposes that since Anancy represents intelligence and Tucuma justice, the two culture heroes of oral tradition might collaborate in the continuing struggle for liberation. Joe Gordon is the literary manifestation of that union.

In response to García's call for a pedagogy of self-perception, Duncan proffers a model he refers to as *afro-realismo* (Afro-realism) in his approach to the creation and study of Afro–Costa Rican literature and all African-inspired writing in the Americas. Simply stated, Afro-realism functions according to six principles: the restitution of the African and African-American voices based on an Afrocentric terminology; the vindication of the symbolic African memory; the reconstruction of an informed historical memory based on diaspora experiences; the reaffirmation of the concept of ancestral community; the adoption of an intracentric narrative perspective; and the quest and proclamation of a black identity. Paradoxically, Afro-realism can be explored through the use of languages originating in Europe—Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch—because it is informed by an African-derived worldview. The fictional characters and culture heroes of the American diaspora are the seeds and fragments of a reality that must be reconstructed to achieve spiritual and psycho-emotional wholeness. That task is left to the writer.

See also African Diaspora; Christophe, Henri; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Folklore: Overview; Folklore: U.S. Folk Heroes and Characters; Haitian Revolution; Maroon Wars; Toussaint-Louverture

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DELLITA MARTIN-OGUNSOLA (2005)

U.S. Folk Heroes and Characters

Throughout U.S. history, the African-American folk hero has appeared in related incarnations that reflect both the enslaved Africans' cultural heritage and the shifting American sociopolitical landscape that produced them. The cunning animal and slave tricksters, represented by Brer Rabbit and John the slave, the defiant slave ancestors who risked death to flee North, the indomitable Moses figure of Harriet Tubman, the moral hard man John Henry, and the badman Stagolee represent African-American folk heroes whose tales have been passed on through the oral tradition for over six centuries. These folk heroes represent, according to the folklorist John Roberts, historical figures who stand as cornerstones in the foundation of African-American culture: "In this regard, heroic creation is a process very much like culture building—the means by which a group creates and maintains an image of itself to proclaim difference from others by objectifying in its institutions the ideals it claims for itself" (Roberts, 1989, p. 1).

Subversive Heroes

Personified within African-American folk heroes are the cultural ideals that led to their creation. Subversion, confrontation, and resistance against racist oppression are thematically embedded within these tales. These ideals emboldened enslaved Africans in the antebellum South to survive and eventually free themselves from bondage; moreover, the sense of sociocultural distinction provided by folk heroes instilled pride and perseverance among African Americans during the Reconstruction era, when a combination of legislative, economic, and social controls were established to perpetuate a de facto state of slavery following Emancipation. Thus the African-American folk hero emerges as a cultural hero who consistently challenges the forces of racist domination to emerge victorious and who simultaneously recontextualizes American history in a manner that highlights the ingenuity, fortitude, and resilience of the African-American people.

***Brer Rabbit pours scalding water on Brer Wolf, in an illustration from the 1899 edition of* Uncle Remus and his Friends.** *Enslaved Africans in the Americas delighted in the oral tales of the exploits of Brer Rabbit, and the popularity of the rabbit hero in subsequent folktales is a testament to the trickster's African cultural roots and to the enslaved peoples' need for an unlikely hero with which to identify.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

During slavery, animal and slave trickster tales were prevalent. Enslaved Africans embraced the diminutive Brer Rabbit because he continually outsmarted his fiercer animal rivals through his innate intelligence and guile. According to several folklorists, Brer Rabbit should be viewed as an African diasporic folk hero since rabbit and other animal trickster tales may be found on the African continent, in the Caribbean, and in South America. On Brer Rabbit's African roots and subsequent New World incarnations, Jacqueline Shachter Weiss notes:

> In the African folktales, small animals, such as the turtle or praying mantis, were praised for what they did well. Among the Ashanti of West Africa, the hero was the spider, Anansi. . . . Though Anansi is a well-known folk character in Guyana, Jamaica and the Virgin Islands, the rabbit is appreciated more in the Americas. Brer Rabbit is his name in most English-speaking lands. In Venezuela, where he is especially popular today, as well as Colombia and Panama, he is called *Tio Conejo* ("Uncle Rabbit"). In Cuba, he is *Hermano Rabito* ("Brother Rabbit") and in Brazil, *o coelho* ("the rabbit"). (Weiss, 1985, p. 3)

Most folklorists consider Brer Rabbit's trickster-hero ethos of survival integral to the enslaved Africans' self-conceptualization. Robert Hemenway notes, "The point cannot be overemphasized that black people identified with Brer Rabbit. When Brer Rabbit triumphed over a physically superior foe, black people fantasized themselves in an identical situation" (1982, p. 19). Furthermore, through the oral performance of Brer Rabbit tales, enslaved Africans found diversion from the backbreaking labor of slavery and simultaneously created a distinctly African-American cultural tradition that celebrated their identity. As Roger Abrahams comments in the introduction to *Afro-American Folktales*, "Told at night, for entertainment as well as instruction, in the traditional African style. . .these stories. . .provided entertainment by which the community could celebrate its identity as a group" (1985, p. 18).

Enslaved Africans in the United States reveled in the exploits of Brer Rabbit, but it is important to note that these trickster tales diverge greatly from the Indo-European and Euro-American folktale tradition. In considering Brer Rabbit's place within the Western canon of fairytales, Abrahams further advises readers:

> Contrast this with the intent of the usual Indo-European fairytale, where action is initiated by an individual seeking to better herself or himself and advance to the point of happily-ever-aftering. We also fail to find the style of story, so common in Euro-American traditions, that conveys the message that moral violations be punished. The African and Afro-American stories more commonly chronicle how a trickster or a hero uses his wits to get something he wants. (Abrahams, 1985, p. 18)

Brer Rabbit's predominance in the folktales of the Americas is a testament to the trickster's African cultural roots and the enslaved Africans' need for an unlikely hero; this animal trickster's implausible victories seem to have enabled slaves to insert themselves into the trickster tale. From this root, the slave trickster in the person of John was born.

In many of the John-Master tales, John is cast in the role of ego-affirming sidekick. He is forced to reaffirm his owner's precarious sense of superiority while the plot reveals John's innate intelligence. To bolster his owner's insecure sense of self, John must wear the dual mask of ignorance and stupidity to ensure his survival.

Ancestors, Liberators, and Insurrectionists

Unlike the implicitly subversive Brer Rabbit and John-Master tales, histories of slave ancestors, liberators, and insurrectionists were explicit, and they were prevalent in antebellum and postbellum American society. The descendants of slaves kept tales of defiant runaway ancestors alive through the oral tradition and wore their ancestors' rebellion as a badge of pride. In *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* Lawrence Levine relates the experience of folklorist Richard Dorson, who collected tales of runaway slaves from their descendants in Michigan in the twentieth century:

> On my first meeting with E. L. Smith. . .he recited the superhuman adventures of his maternal grandfather, Romey Howard, in escaping from the patterollers and bloodhounds that pursued runaway slaves. . . .Mr. Smith told them for truth, having heard them firsthand from his grandfather, a self-made folk hero, who thwarted and rendered ridiculous the white oppressor. (quoted in Levine, 1977, p. 387)

The descendants of slaves embraced their ancestors as heroes because they risked torture and death to obtain their freedom. Outstanding among the enslaved Africans who cast their lot with flight and rebellion was Harriet Tubman. Known as the Moses of her people, Tubman led enslaved Africans from bondage in the American South to freedom in the North. According to historian Vincent Harding, biblical stories recounting the trials and tribulations of the Israelites were a source of great encouragement, for Tubman, who "grew up on stories of the Hebrew children, sang the songs of impossible hope. . . .She prayed and talked with God and became fully convinced that her God willed her freedom" (quoted in Roberts, 1989, p. 162). In accepting her role as the liberator of her people, Tubman came to see her mission as identical to that of Moses. Her life was significant to the extent that she used it to exercise the will of God, a will that included freedom for her people: "Like Moses, Harriet Tubman risked her own freedom to answer the call of God to lead her people out of slavery" (Roberts, 1989, p. 161). Harriet Tubman's proto-emancipatory legacy has become an integral part of most secondary-school and college curricula, but her contribution also lives on in the African-American oral tradition, in the Negro spiritual of the nineteenth century, and in the rap song of the twentieth century.

According to Eric Sundquist, "Steal Away" is one of the most evocative sorrow songs in the catalogue of Negro spirituals due to its use in the surreptitious planning of slave meetings, resistance, and flight: "'Steal Away,' as countless former slaves recalled the phrase, was a thinly coded song used to announce secret religious service or secular celebration; it could also act as a profession of rebellion, a call used by Nat Turner and Harriet Tubman. . .to organize slave resistance and plans of escape" (1993, p. 511). That this spiritual is still sung today recalls the power and continuity of the African-American oral tradition. It is a tradition that recalls the dualistic nature of the American slave past: a highly oppressive socioeconomic system that simultaneously engendered an irrepressible spirit of resistance within Tubman and other insurrectionists like her.

In the twentieth century, Tubman's historical role has not been lost on younger generations of African-Americans; the socially conscious rappers Nas and Rah Digga keep her memory alive. In the introduction to his 1996 platinum-selling compact disc *It Was Written,* Nas honors Tubman: "Man, damn dis place, damn dese chains. Harriet done gone de night befo', it's time we go. Dis ain't no place for black people; de promised lan' callin'." And in 2000 the rapper Rah Digga explained that she titled her album *Dirty Harriet* to honor Tubman's commitment to freedom and to warn female rappers against exploiting their sexuality in order to be marketable.

The defiance of Tubman and other slave ancestors stands in stark opposition to the white stereotype of the Sambo figure: "The docile, infantile, lazy, irresponsible personality. . .the product of a system of slavery that required absolute conformity" (White, 1985, p. 17).

The Hard Man and the Badman

The survival of enslaved Africans required a degree of conformity that was tested by countless runaways and rebels, but the years following Emancipation provided no relief. On the contrary, Reconstruction perpetuated chattel slavery's theoretical underpinnings of African-American disenfranchisement, oppression, and exploitation. As Jerry Bryant writes, "De facto slavery replaced the 'peculiar institution' in the form of Jim Crow, sharecropping, and a carefully controlled labor market that forced black men and women into the worst and lowest paying jobs" (2003, p. 9).

During the years following Reconstruction, African Americans were not only prevented from exercising the basic rights of citizenship, they were terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan and other bands of marauding whites who in some cases pillaged entire African-American communities. Levine writes, "What were referred to as race riots in the last half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth would be more accurately described as pogroms. Whites attacked, murdered, and pillaged blacks" (1977, p. 439). It was during these tumultuous decades that the African-American folk ballad emerged; this lyrical narrative extolled the virtues of the moral hard man John Henry and the legendary badman Stagolee.

John Henry, the steel-driving man who died proving that his natural might could surpass the manufactured power of the machine (the steam engine), is one of the greatest folk heroes in American history. In *John Henry: Tracking Down a Negro Legend,* Guy Johnson writes, "There is a vivid, fascinating, tragic legend about him which Negro folk have kept alive and have cherished. . .and in doing so they have enriched the cultural life of America" (1969, p. 151). The John Henry legend has indeed deepened the breadth of the American folk tradition, for in the many variants of John Henry lore Americans have, knowingly or unknowingly, embraced a folk hero whose initial declaration of humanity was formed by rejecting the white societal expectation of African-American subservience, even upon pain of death.

> John Henry's first assertion of his manhood and his equality—his single most dominant characteristic. . .comes when he refused to continue picking the white man's cotton. . . .The point made in this episode is that blacks must not allow white intimidation to prevent them from asserting themselves, even when they know there is the risk that they might be killed. (Thomas, 1988, p. 58)

Thus began the career of John Henry, a career built on the consistent expression of both moral and physical intractability in the face of white domination. In several different versions, his famed battle against the steam drill at Big Bend Tunnel spread to every region of the land. According to Daryl Cumber Dance, the numerous variants of the John Henry ballad, work song, and tale provide unique insight into the collective ethos of African Americans.

> A tale's growth and continued existence is contingent upon its acceptance by a larger group. The modifications it undergoes will reflect the soul of the group within which it circulates, so that when a tale can be properly called a folktale—when it exists in variant forms—we should be aware that it is thereby an item of some significance in understanding something about that group. (Dance, 2002, p. xxvii)

Although the widespread circulation of John Henry lore throughout the country seems to attest to the African-American community's admiration for those who openly challenged white intimidation, John Henry's victory over the steam engine also reflects the actual and symbolic triumph of man over machine. His was an impossible feat that held even greater implications for the African-American workingman's place in an increasingly industrialized society. As Nigel Thomas writes, "John Henry's conquest of the white machine could be interpreted as his triumphing over white intelligence and capitalist indifference, a feat all oppressed blacks would want to perform" (Thomas, 1988, p. 57).

Although this analysis of John Henry's import for African Americans seems accurate, Thomas fails to acknowledge that the ubiquity of John Henry lore in America is indicative of the folk hero's legendary status beyond the African-American community. To this day, Henry remains one of the best-known American folk heroes; he is a universal symbol of the intrepid American laborer who strove to maintain his dignity in the face of obsolescence brought on by the industrial age.

From within the same ballad tradition that spawned the lore of John Henry, the steel-driving man, sprang narratives about a different type of intractable African-American man—the *badman*. Perhaps the most famous of these is Stagolee, whose multiple eponyms (comparable to Brer Rabbit's) testify to how deeply his legend has become embedded within the collective African-American consciousness. "Stagolee—a.k.a. Stacker Lee, Staggerlee, Stackalee, Stackolee, Stack-O-Lee, Staggalee, Stack-O, and Stack-Lee is the star of the badmen. The several forms his name takes suggest the numerousness of the versions of his story" (Bryant, 2003, p. 13). In several versions of the Stagolee tale, the hero shoots Billy Lyons, a suspected professional gambler on the grift, after a gambling match in which Lyons wins Stagolee's magic Stetson hat. While Stagolee has clearly committed murder, John Roberts advises readers to note that "in the badman folk heroic tradition, those individuals who served as a focus for folk heroic creation were not the professional criminals, but rather their victims who responded to victimization with violence" (1989, p. 207). Seen in this manner, Roberts argues, Stagolee's act of murder is an act of retaliation against a conman who attempted to dupe him. Viewed in a broader historical context, Stagolee and others in the badman

tradition should be considered outlaw rebels who disregarded the law specifically because it was representative of—and was in most cases equivalent to—the existing white power structure that brutalized and oppressed African Americans in the decades following Emancipation.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African-American folk heroes have embodied the ideals of resistance that enabled African Americans to rebel against slavery and following Emancipation to overcome the slave system's legacy of racist oppression and disenfranchisement. The guile of Brer Rabbit and John, the death-defying bravery of slave ancestors and liberators, the intractability of John Henry, and the iconoclasm of the badman all reflect a collective African-American will to resist racist domination. This collective will is an aspect of the African-American cultural tradition that reflects the indomitable nature of the human spirit. These heroes, both actual and fictitious, personify the struggle for self-definition, self-determination, and self-actualization that lies at the heart of the human condition.

See also Black Arts Movement; Comic Books; Comic Strips; Drama; Folklore: Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters; Folklore: Overview; Literary Magazines; Literature of the United States

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LAROSE T. PARRIS (2005)

Folk Medicine

Folk medicine has been a significant feature of the cultural and social heritage of African Americans since colonial times. Its origins trace back to traditions brought to the New World by slaves. African-based religious and medical customs were often closely intertwined, reflecting an effort to understand relationships between metaphysical and physical phenomena and to apply this knowledge in promoting the health and well-being of an individual or community. "Root doctor" is perhaps the best-known type of folk practitioner. Other types include "witch doctor," "hoodoo doctor," and "voodoo doctor." While the practice of folk medicine involves a complex, eclectic array of belief systems and therapies, the most common ingredient is a combination of incantations (the spiritual element) and herbal concoctions (the physical element).

Prior to Emancipation, planters tolerated and sometimes encouraged folk practice in order to save the expense of hiring white practitioners to treat slaves. Thus, a special class of folk practitioner evolved within the slave community. A number of these practitioners were women, the so-called Negro doctoresses, entrusted with health-care responsibilities ranging from midwifery to minor surgery and the preparation and dispensing of medicines.

After Emancipation, folk practitioners were confronted by two major obstacles. The first concerned developments in modern medicine, particularly the evolving notion of disease as a largely physical process involving specific tissues and organs and distinct from religious or spiritual traditions. Second, mainstream practitioners erected legal, educational, and other hurdles as part of the effort to increase professionalization of the field and to reduce competition from those using alternative approaches. The mainstream medical press highlighted instances of alleged malpractice by "unqualified" folk practitioners. In 1899, for example, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* noted: "A colored 'voodoo doctor' . . . was put on trial for manslaughter during the past week. In a raid of the man's house by the police, there was found a weird

collection of things, including animal remains, herbs, charms, and medicines" (p. 1559).

Despite such pressures, folk practices continued to play a significant role in health care in the twentieth century. Deeply rooted in cultural experience, they provided options for those whose access to health care was otherwise limited. Tensions between folk practitioners and advocates of "community standards" in religious and health practice persist, as in legal actions in Florida, for example, against the Santería cult for violation of animal-sacrifice statutes during the late 1980s and early 1990s. A common thread that links these worlds—the promotion and preservation of health—is often buried under disputes over philosophy and methodology. Nevertheless, connections occur in unexpected ways, especially within the African-American community, where folk traditions run deep. Numa Pompilius Garfield Adams, a graduate of Rush Medical College (1924) and the first African-American dean of the Howard Medical School, always acknowledged the influence of his grandmother, Mrs. Amanda Adams, in his choice of a career. Mrs. Adams, a folk practitioner and midwife in rural Virginia, had introduced him as a child to the therapeutic properties of herbs.

See also Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Voodoo

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KENNETH R. MANNING (1996)

Folk Music

African-American folk music embraces sacred songs known as spirituals and many kinds of secular music, both vocal and instrumental. These include work songs that regulated the rate of work, street cries, field "hollers" that enabled workers to communicate over long distances, lullabies, and various kinds of dance music—all known before the Civil War. The musical elements that characterized African music described by European traders in the early seventeenth century were common in African-American folk music.

Africans did not arrive in the New World culturally naked, despite many statements to that effect. Historians and anthropologists now agree that many elements of African culture converged with surrounding European influences to form a new African-American culture. In their free time, blacks continued to perform the songs and dances they had in Africa. Early contemporary descriptions depicted the same musical elements previously described in Africa: polyrhythms; a strained, rasping vocal quality; variable pitches; singing accompanied by bodily movement in which everyone participated; and the extremely common call-and-response form of singing, in which leader and chorus overlapped. African instruments also came to the New World: drums, banjo, a kind of flute, and the *balafo,* a kind of xylophone. Improvised satiric or derisive singing was used to regulate the rate of work in rowing, grinding grain, and harvesting, in both Africa and the Americas. Strong rhythms were accentuated by stamping, hand-clapping, and other percussive devices. Although European music shared some of these elements, contemporary observers emphasized the exotic qualities, not the similarities that were later cited erroneously as evidence of European origin. Until the invention of sound recording, the only means of preserving music was transcription into a notational system designed for European forms. In the process, many distinctive elements were lost, and what was transcribed looked like European music. Performance style and sound could not be captured, but until the mid-twentieth century, musicians tended to regard transcription as the equivalent of the music as it was performed.

African instruments reached the New World through the practice, common in the slave trade, of providing instruments aboard slave ships to encourage singing and dancing, a recognized means of combating depression, suicide, and revolt. As early as 1693, a slaving captain reported that music and dance provided exercise in a limited space, raising the captives' spirits. Some captains collected African instruments before sailing, thus transmitting African instruments to the New World.

When the Africans landed, concern for the continued health of their new possessions led some plantation owners to make efforts to acclimate them gradually to their new circumstances. Contemporary accounts describe the welcome of the new arrivals by older slaves, who sang and danced with them in a style characterized by Europeans as "exotic" or "barbaric." African instruments were described in the West Indies from the mid-seventeenth cen-

tury, but reports from the mainland came later because of the relatively small number of blacks there until the mid-eighteenth century. As early as February 18, 1755, the *Virginia Gazette* printed an advertisement for a runaway slave who played well on the "Banjar," while Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781) described the "banjar, which they [blacks] brought hither from Africa."

The official report of the Stono, South Carolina, slave revolt of 1739 described "dancing, Singing and beating Drums" as the means used by the rebels to attract more blacks to their ranks. An African drum from Virginia was purchased in 1753 by the British Museum, where it remains today. In many mainland colonies the playing of drums or other loud instruments, being forbidden by law, was surreptitious, but drum-making continued; as late as the 1930s, it was observed in Georgia by Federal Writers' Project interviewers. In place of drums, other percussive devices were used to provide rhythmic support for singing and dancing—stamping, hand-clapping, and the less threatening sound of the banjo.

An African xylophone, the balafo (or barrafou), was reported in Virginia in 1775 by a schoolmaster, John Harrower, in his *Journal*, and in a news item in Purdie's Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* in 1776. Blacks also learned to play European instruments such as the fiddle, the French horn, and the flute. As early as the 1690s, Accomack County records in Virginia reported a court case involving a slave fiddler. During the eighteenth century, reports of blacks fiddling for white dances were common, an indication of the progress of acculturation.

Most of the music blacks played for the dancing of whites consisted of conventional European country dances and minuets, but reports from the eighteenth century also described whites dancing "Negro jigs" as a change from the more formal dances. Published versions of these "jigs" show few African characteristics; how the music sounded in performance is conjectural.

With the beginning of evangelical efforts to convert blacks to Christianity in the mid-eighteenth century, reports of African dancing became less frequent except in New Orleans, where such activities continued into the nineteenth century in a specially designated area called Place Congo.

From a musical point of view, the characteristics of sacred and secular music were similar. In many instances, songs regulating work in the fields or on the water that originally had secular words were adapted to sacred texts when the singers joined churches that proscribed secular songs.

Learning to play European instruments and to sing Protestant hymns was part of a process of acculturation, along with learning the English language and the ways of the white captors. But African ways were not forgotten. Even though new arrivals from Africa virtually stopped in 1808, many old customs persisted in secret, rarely witnessed by the whites who were the primary source of contemporary reports. Political and social pressures also influenced these nineteenth-century accounts, tending to divide them into two patterns: either to describe the singing and dancing as proof that the slaves were happy, or to deny that the slaves had any secular music, depicting them as singing only hymns. Pro-slavery arguments and the minstrel-theater tradition fit into the first pattern, while the abolitionists tended to the latter. Neither pattern conformed fully to reality. Contemporary accounts of slaves singing and dancing demonstrate beyond dispute that increasingly acculturated secular music and dance continued without interruption, despite the undeniable suffering of the slaves.

Songs to regulate the rate of work in Africa were easily adapted to the fields of the New World for planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops, whether they were sugar, rice, indigo, corn, tobacco, or cotton. These songs frequently were a dialogue between a leader and a chorus, although the chorus could play a relatively minor role in providing a rhythmic background. Later, such songs were adapted to the pace of railroad gangs for laying track. This kind of singing was observed in southern prison camps, where isolation and long association led to a higher development of the relation between leader and chorus.

Incredible as it seems, a belief that blacks had no secular music coexisted with the immense popularity of the white minstrel theater, which, initially at least, purported to show plantation life. The early shows were relatively simple, and it is not known how much the early minstrels knew of slavery. Dan Emmett, the reputed composer of "Dixie," had toured the southern states in a circus, but the extent of his contact with blacks is unknown. Little has been written about black secular folk music in the post–Civil War era, but it must have thrived to have produced a generation of talented black performers who themselves played in minstrel shows and popular theater.

Another form of improvised folk music was the Blues. Its origins are obscure, but the blues probably developed among rural blacks during Reconstruction. In contrast to the spiritual, which was usually a group performance with solo and chorus alternating, the blues was a solitary expression of loneliness and misery. It incorporated some elements of the so-called field holler and the gapped scales, blue notes, and syncopation of African music. As improvised utterances, the earliest blues songs were never written down and were lost. By the time blues achieved publi-

cation and recording, it had become to some extent professional.

Collections of black folk songs, as distinct from spirituals, began to be published after World War I. Natalie Curtis Burlin edited the *Hampton Series of Negro Folk Songs* (1918-1919), based on the singing of students at the Hampton Institute. Camille Nickerson of New Orleans specialized in Creole French folk songs. John Wesley Work III produced an important collection, *American Negro Songs and Spirituals,* in 1940. A very different collection was Lawrence Gellert's *Negro Songs of Protest* (1936), described as "the living voice of the otherwise inarticulate resentment against injustice." Initially, such songs were received with suspicion as reflecting an outside political motivation, but the civil rights struggle of the 1960s testified to their legitimacy.

The civil rights movement, beginning with the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in December 1955, produced a group of songs that played a more important role in a political and social movement than any since the antislavery songs of a century earlier. "We Shall Overcome," based at least in part on a spiritual, "No More Auction Block for Me," was only the most famous of the freedom songs that inspired and inspirited a great movement.

In southern Louisiana, French-speaking blacks had made their own music for many years, unnoticed by the world outside. Only in the post–World War II period did the whole country become aware of it, largely through sound recordings. Zydeco, as it is called, has not been published much, for little has been written down, but it has become known through recordings.

No form of popular music in the United States, commercial or noncommercial, has remained uninfluenced by black folk music—its rhythmic drive, syncopated beat, gapped scales, and blue notes. The potency of this influence is now worldwide.

In the era after the Civil War, spirituals became the dominant form of black music in the thinking of the general public, both in Europe and in North America, since many writers denied the existence of black secular folk music. This misconception was due in part to the influence among many blacks of religious sects that denounced secular music and dancing as sinful. The many reports of blacks who refused to participate in dancing or to sing anything but sacred songs persuaded many whites outside the South that blacks had no secular music.

The origins of the spiritual are still uncertain. Conversion of the slaves to Christianity proceeded very slowly in the eighteenth century because of the opposition of some slave owners who worried that baptism might interfere with work or even lead to freedom. Moreover, missionaries were few and plantations far apart. Gradually, ministers took an interest in converting slaves, who learned European psalms and hymns with alacrity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the camp-meeting movement brought whites and blacks together in large, emotional crowds where mutual influence in styles of singing was unavoidable. It is likely that a blending of African performance style with Protestant hymnody grew out of these encounters. The public in the North first became aware of spirituals through the concert tours in the 1870s of the Fisk Jubilee Singers and other groups, such as the Hampton Singers.

Among very pious slaves, the only form of dancing permitted was the "shout," or holy dance, performed after a church service. Witnesses described it as a circle dance in which the legs were not crossed, while the feet edged backward and forward or right and left, without being lifted from the floor. Music was provided by a separate group of singers who "based" the dancing with "shout" songs or "running" spirituals (Epstein 1977, pp. 278-287).

See also Africanisms; Fisk Jubilee Singers; Folk Arts and Crafts; Folklore; Gospel Music; Music in the United States; Spirituals

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Folk Religion

The folk religious traditions of blacks in the United States have roots in a number of sources, but it is their African origins that have left the most indelible and distinctive cultural imprint. Of the 400,000 Africans who were held in bondage on the North American mainland during the slave trade, most if not all were influenced by some indigenous philosophical or sacred system for understanding and interpreting the world. Religion for Africans, however, was more a way of life than a system of creeds and doctrines. The African religious experience allowed for meaningful relations between members of the human community and personal interaction with the world of ancestors, spirits, and divinities, who closely guided mortal existence and provided their adherents with explanations and protections within the realm of earthly affairs. African religions, although differing according to their national origins, provided an overall theological perspective in which spirituality was infused into every aspect of life.

In the colonies, Africans came into contact for the first time with the customs and cultures of white Europeans and Native Americans. Although strange and unfamiliar, the perspectives of these groups did share certain aspects, particularly in the realm of beliefs surrounding the supernatural. Both whites and Indians had worldviews that encompassed mythical perceptions of the universe and powers that pervaded human life and nature. Spiritual beings, holy objects, and the workings of the enchanted world were thought to be powerful and efficacious. Evil and misfortune were perceived as personalized agents of affliction.

Such beliefs were expressed, for the most part, in folklore and legend. Africans themselves had corresponding ideas concerning the supernatural that included sacred entities, charms, and places, although it is difficult to disengage these beliefs from their primary religious framework. We can speculate that from their initial periods of contact, blacks, whites, and Indians exchanged and adopted compatible ideas and visions of the world, each group drawing from the cultures of the others.

It was during the colonial era that enslaved Africans were first exposed to Christian missionary activity, although up to the mid-eighteenth century few blacks were actually converted. Evangelical revivalism, exploding among white Americans in the early national period, had a significant impact on blacks. Adopting their own interpretations and understandings of the message of the Christian faith, black preachers and laypersons developed unique and creative styles of religious devotion. It is here that one of the prominent strands of African-American folk religion developed.

African-American religion, however, was characterized by diversity from the start. Scattered references to the activity of "sorcerers," "doctors," and "conjurers" from the 1700s and early 1800s indicate that black religious beliefs were multifaceted. Traditional African spirituality recognized the roles of individuals who were sacred practitioners, diviners, and healers, dynamic intermediaries between the unseen realm of spirits and the world of the living. Although they had been separated from the structures and institutions of their national homelands, African specialists recreated aspects of their religious identities within New World environments. Adapting their native beliefs and practices to the American context, these early black practitioners formed yet another thread in the evolving tapestry of African-American religion.

By the antebellum era, the second generation of blacks born in the United States had developed an indigenous culture. Although the overseas slave trade was declared illegal by 1808, most black Americans in the mid-nineteenth century had some knowledge of or acquaintance with recently arrived or native-born Africans who recalled the traditions and ways of their homeland. To the American-born slaves, these Africans represented the presence and mystery of a powerful sacred past. While some blacks converted to Christianity and a few adhered to Islam, others maintained the beliefs of their forebears through their observance of modified African ceremonies. Accordingly, the religion of slaves consisted of widely differing innovations of traditions and beliefs.

African-American folk religion thus emerged as a composite creation, drawn from scattered elements of older cultural memories and grafted New World traditions that were later passed on from generation to generation. An "invisible institution," the folk Christianity of the slave quarters developed as a religion of the vernacular. As a community, slaves prayed, sang, "shouted," and preached to one another in the manner and styles reminiscent of their African heritage. The emphasis on the verbal medium in performance generated the distinctive vocal traditions that became characteristic of African-American liturgy, including the inventive oral repertory of chanted sermon and song.

Other traditions made real the power and presence of the supernatural in human life. Belief in a variety of mysterious beings, including hags, witches, and ghosts, suggests that for many African Americans the spiritual world was alive and immediate, active with forces ominous and threatening. Sacred folk beliefs were derived from Old and New World sources: local variations of Haitian-derived

vodun (see Voodoo), the interpretation of signs, the usage of charms, and the mystical knowledge of conjurers, root workers, and *hoodoo* practitioners, who tapped supernatural forces for prediction and protection. Although many of these traditions were deeply embedded in black folklore, they reflected viable perspectives on spirituality, the need for control and explanation that leads to religious thought.

Healing, another prominent dimension of African-American folk religion, was practiced by specialists who combined knowledge of traditional remedies with holistic therapy. As in Africa, the onset of sickness was understood by many blacks to have both physical and spiritual implications. Folk religion undergirded African-American faith in skilled practitioners who were able to counteract ailments with herbal and natural medicines, as well as techniques such as prayer. Folk beliefs also offered a theory or explanation for why such afflictions might occur. For example, illness was often thought to be caused by negative spiritual forces. In the early twentieth century, some of these latter impulses would find their way into sectarian Christianity, within groups such as the Holiness Movement, and Pentecostalism, churches that emphasized faith healing and physical wholeness through spiritual power.

With the drastic demographic shifts and movements in black life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from South to North and from countryside to city, African-American folk religion took on a broader significance. The "old-time" revivalist traditions of worship in the rural churches would no longer be restricted to the South, as thousands of migrants made their way to northern urban areas. Relocating in search of new prospects and new lives, they brought their local traditions and beliefs with them, establishing new religious institutions within storefronts and homes. Many of these transplanted folk churches recalled features of African religion, especially the emphasis on emotional styles of worship, call and response, spirituals, and Holy Ghost spirit possession.

The folk religion of blacks also lived on in noninstitutionalized forms within urban centers. African-American conjurers, healers, and other specialists underwent a metamorphosis, some reemerging as leaders within the so-called cults and sects of the cities, and others setting up within occult shops and botanicas as spiritual advisers. This vast network of urban practitioners attracted devotees from diverse religious backgrounds, including members of the mainstream Christian denominations, who found in these traditions resolution and assistance for day-to-day concerns.

Although black folk religion continues to be varied and eclectic in its manifestations, it demonstrates a common orientation toward spirituality that is dynamic, experimental, and intensely pragmatic. Characterized by pluralism, folk beliefs fulfill diverse needs and functions that cut across doctrinal barriers and creedal differences. They constitute a way of life that is at the heart of the African-American religious experience.

See also Africanisms; Candomblé; Religion; Santería; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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FOOD AND CUISINE

This entry consists of two distinct articles with differing geographic domains.

FOOD AND CUISINE, LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN
Diane M. Spivey

FOOD AND CUISINE, U.S.
Quandra Prettyman

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN FOOD AND CUISINE

The forced migration of Africans to the Americas by way of the slave trade brought culinary artists, expert agriculturalists, and metallurgists, as well as African-derived beliefs regarding the omnipotence of blacksmiths. Trinidad

and Tobago, for example, have yearly feasts to honor the Yoruba deity Ogun, the god of iron and of revolution. Bondsmen and women perceived iron as both the enslaving shackles of Europeans and the African's tool of liberation.

Self-liberation and cultural retention were synonymous with the formation of Maroon societies—known as *quilombos* in Brazil, *palenques* in Colombia and Cuba, and *cumbes* in Venezuela—created by Africans who escaped into forests, hills, and bush areas of the Caribbean and South America. Once isolated, they formed their own communities, where many African culinary and other cultural patterns could be preserved. Maroon communities, however, were not the only societies dominated by African traditions. The continual influx and steady increase of Africans into the Caribbean and South America constantly rejuvenated African cultures, a persistent African cultural input, and a culinary revolution under the influence of Africans that would permeate every aspect of cooking and cuisine in rural and urban areas of every country in the Americas.

The Cuisine of the Caribbean

One region that became home to African cuisine and culture was the Caribbean, including economically and culturally the South American countries of Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Although geographically located in Central America, Belize and Mexico's Cancún and Cozumel are also part of the Caribbean. Mexicans of identifiable African descent are estimated at 120,000 to 300,000 persons, many of whom are farmers clinging to their ancestral roots and who live in Mexican towns such as Cuajiniculapa (formerly called "Little Africa"), located in the southwest corner of the state of Guerrero. Popular African-Mexican foods include *mondongo* (pig intestines), or chitlins in English. Many of these farm communities grow sesame seeds, beans, corn, and hot peppers, and they stew chicken with bananas, prunes, tomatoes, and *chicha* (corn liquor).

Mexico's neighbor, Belize, is home to the Garifuna, the descendants of the Black Caribs, a Maroon society on the island of St. Vincent. Before the Black Caribs' conquest by the British and their subsequent exile in 1797 from St. Vincent to Trujillo, Belize, and Roatan Island, off the coast of Honduras, their fishing and agricultural techniques produced an array of traditional dishes. Still served by the Garifuna are *boiline,* a stew combining fruits and vegetables with fish and dumplings; *hudut* (also known as *fufu* in Africa and Jamaica), small cakes formed from boiled and mashed plantains, then wrapped in banana leaves and steamed or roasted; *tapau,* consisting of fish and green bananas in coconut milk; and various chicken dishes and *bimekakule,* or puddings. The achiote seed is not only the source of red *gusewe* dye, produced by the Garifuna, but is also ground to make achiote paste for *recado,* an ingredient still added to stewed pork dishes. Breads include *areba,* or cassava bread, an important food symbol and indispensable item for the ritual *dugu;* and *bachati,* a fried bread consumed at the morning meal. The Caribbean also provides the Garifuna with lobster and conch, which is turned into ceviche and conch fritters. Seafood is steamed and barbecued, and when stewed with okra, pigeon peas, tomatoes, and hot peppers, it takes on the characteristics of gumbo. When seafood is not on the menu, pickled pig's tail and baking powder "biscuits" are the favorites. Coconut bread made with refined wheat flour and yeast is prominent in everyday meals. Beans and rice are also stewed together with the key flavor ingredient, coconut milk. These dishes are part of the standard repertoire at mealtime and consumed during religions celebrations and feasts for the deceased. The Black Caribs gradually migrated from Roatan along the coastal regions of Central America. As of the late 1990s, nearly 350,000 descendants lived in towns and villages in Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala along a narrow coastal strip facing the Caribbean Sea.

Residents along this strip know that there is no shortage of libations, alcoholic and spirit-free, in the Caribbean's collection. One is ginger beer, made with fresh ginger boiled with cinnamon and cloves, then sweetened. A similar recipe produces mauby, which makes use of mauby bark, or tree bark, and is consumed as part of numerous social rituals. In addition, the tamarind fruit, indigenous to East Africa and grown in many areas of the Caribbean, is offered on many celebratory occasions in the form of the tamarind drink. Puerto Rico's *coquito*, a complex combination of eggs, rum, sweetened condensed milk, coconut, and spices, and Trinidad's peanut punch, which blends peanut butter with vanilla extract, eggs, milk, and rum, are tropical cocktails. For those who claim to drink strictly for medicinal purposes there is ti-punch, Martinique's lime juice and white rum cooler, as well as *muzik di zumbi* (which translates in Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba as "spirit music," a combination of reggae, African rhythms, and South American music), a mango, grenadine, rum, and lime juice concoction served in a sugar-rimmed glass.

These and many other creations accompany Curaçaoan soups containing *kadushi* cactus stem, crushed and ground into pulp. Curaçao's *giambo,* an okra soup, is sometimes presented with *funchi,* or *funche,* a moist cornmeal bread. In Nevis corn is also turned into mealtime sta-

ples along with pigeon peas, yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, bananas, and fruits from citrus trees. Highland garden farming and agriculture in St. Kitts is said to be a throwback to plantation days, when mountain plots were allocated for slave farming. As these plots are still estate owned, many villagers view highland farming with disdain. Private gardens in St. Kitts, however, typically produce pumpkins, potatoes, eggplant, beans, peppers, mangos, bananas, pineapples, coconut, citrus fruit, and breadfruit. Chickens and pigs are commonly kept and turned into such dishes as chicken cooked with pineapple, the sauce thickened with arrowroot, a popular cooking starch known to have medicinal properties and a high-volume export from St. Vincent; and pigs' feet with lime juice and onions. As late as the 1970s, Dieppe Bay, Sandy Point, Old Road Town, and Basseterre were bountiful fishing areas in St. Kitts, as was the Charlestown areas of Nevis.

Seafood dishes, including mussel pie, conch stew, and shark hash, as well as cassava pie, black-eyed peas and rice, and a chicken- and pork-filled baked pastry made from shredded cassava, to name just a few dishes, share the bill of fare during festival cricket in Bermuda. Like Carnival, celebrated in major cities in the Americas, and for which long periods of preparation are the tradition, festival cricket is said to be the time of "eating and drinking everything in Bermuda." High on surrounding hillsides, Rastafarians consume their vegetarian and health food dishes and philosophize about the ostentation and extravagance of the festival while "translat[ing] the festival ambiance into poetry" (Manning, 1998, p. 467).

A poetic culinary metaphor has been used to describe Cuban and Puerto Rican nationalist identity, just as the African dishes gumbo and jambalaya have been used to define many aspects of culture in Louisiana. *Ajiaco,* or *sancocho,* is a stew made up of spices, meats, and tubers from Africa and the Caribbean. Prepared in the Dominican Republic and on all the Spanish-speaking islands, *sancocho* is sometimes prepared with goat's head and salt pork in place of beef and/or chicken with pork. Hot peppers, yams, calalu—a type of spinach used in cooking and a staple West Indian soup throughout the Caribbean—cassava, rum, plantains, and pumpkin are some of the ingredients blended into this savory stew. Throughout Cuba's history the descendants of Africans have maintained distinct culinary traditions by way of soups, stews, and other meat dishes. *Sopa de pollo* (chicken soup) and *picadillo,* or beef simmered with orange annatto oil—a substitute for Africa's orange palm oil—are two such dishes still eaten today. During the era of slavery African domestics enriched the diets of planters in Cuba and became indispensable culinary artisans. Many African cooks in bondage in the French colonized islands were reported to be male; however, in 1859 Cuba, black male cooks were famous as well. Although black Cubans were excluded from baking and pastry-making trades in the 1940s, they nevertheless continued their African tradition of bean cakes, meal dumplings, yam fritters, and tea buns, all of which were side dishes, as well as breads and desserts, baked or fried in hot oil. *Bunuelos de viento* are deep-fried dumplings drizzled with a sweet syrup and served as dessert in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.

Tembleque, made with coconut milk, sugar, and arrowroot or cornstarch for thickening, is a popular coconut custard for African Antilleans in the Puerto Rican coastal towns of Maunabo, Patillas, Arroyo, and Guayama in the southeast. *Tembleque* and *flan de pina,* made with pineapple juice, eggs, rum, and liqueur or sherry, are both custard desserts seen on holiday and party tables in Puerto Rico, along with *lechon asado* (roast pig); *mofongo,* a spicy, garlic-flavored ground plantain side dish; and *chicharrones* (pork cracklings) and *tostones de plantano verde* (deep-fried plantains) for appetizers and snacks.

The Bahamas and Barbados are famous for their breadfruit, *christophene,* and salt fish hors d'oeuvres, as is Jamaica for one of its most famous appetizers/snacks, stamp and go, which is fried codfish fritters. Follow-up courses include mannish water, a traditional Jamaican soup consisting of goat's head and feet, pumpkin and plantain, potatoes, hot peppers, and spinners— which are small dumplings cooked in the hot broth; and fish tea, a seafood stew with a savory broth made from fish heads. Main meals include curried goat and jerk pork and chicken—the jerk process requires marinating meats in spices and hot peppers, then grilling or roasting over a fire made of aromatic leaves and branches. All of these dishes are part of a contemporary repertoire of African creations brought to Jamaican towns and rural areas and to iron-manufacturing communities in the eighteenth century, such as that of John Reeder's Foundry in Morant Bay.

Culinary creations produced in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Haiti were also expressions of African cultural retentions. Haiti, the premier French-colonized island and the jewel of the Caribbean in the eighteenth century, catapulted French culinary society and economy to unparalleled heights by way of its slave labor in the kitchen. However, slave laborers in Saint Domingue (Haiti) and elsewhere were often underfed, and as with a number of slave societies in the Americas, bondsmen and -women had to cultivate a small piece of land for their own dietary upkeep. Although their rations were meager, African cooks in Saint Domingue prepared sumptuous meals for

the planter/owners that remain permanent fixtures in Haiti and France. *Giraumon* soup and *griot* are samples of the fare prepared by Haitian cooks. Pumpkin is referred to as *giraumon* in the former French-colonized islands. In *giraumon* soup, pumpkin is seasoned with nutmeg, spices, and salt beef. *Griot* is a popular fried-pork appetizer/main dish. Other favorites include okra rice and fish (or chicken) braised in coconut milk and peanut sauce.

The Cuisine of South America

A popular Peruvian saying states that *"El que no tiene de inca, tiene de mandinga"* ("whoever does not have Incan ancestry has African ancestry"). The same statement, regarding African ancestry, is true for many of South America's thirteen countries. Black communities emerged in all South American countries as a result of the slave trade, marronage, and immigration. Black populations are said to range from less than 1 percent to as high as 30 percent in Colombia and between 50 and 75 percent in Brazil. Present throughout the societies is the African contribution to cuisine.

One of Africa's culinary legacies in the Santiago, Rancagua, Maule, and Aconcagua regions of Chile is bean soups—and there are numerous versions throughout South America—made with hot peppers, one to three kinds of peas or beans, and tomatoes and onions; *sopa de pescado* (fish soup), made with a hearty fish stock, shellfish, and vegetables; and a version of *humitas* (Chilean tamales), which are fresh corn husks stuffed with grated corn and chopped onions. *Bori-bori,* a seasoned broth with meat and dumplings, became a Paraguayan favorite after the establishment of the settlement of Laurelty, formed in 1820 by fifty African and mulatto followers of Uruguayan patriot José Artigas.

Uruguay's city of Montevideo was the port of entry for Africans in slavery bound for other parts of the region. At the same time, many Brazilian slaves sought freedom through escape to northern and eastern Uruguay and settled into areas such as Salto, Rivera, Artigas, Tacuarembó, and Cerro Largo, regions where the majority of black Uruguayans are found today. A favorite dish is *puchero,* a heavily seasoned poultry and sausage dish, braised with a variety of vegetables and sometimes referred to as *olla podrida,* or "rotten pot," although there is nothing rotten about it. *Yerba mate,* a drink served hot and cold, is made from dried yerba leaves, a shrub of the holly family that grows wild on the upper Paraguay River. *Yerba mate* is caffeine rich and is sometimes consumed in Uruguay, Paraguay, and other countries instead of coffee and tea.

Uruguay's Montevideo and Argentina's Buenos Aires are part of the Rio de la Plata region that received African bondspeople by way of Brazil. Memoirs of life in early nineteenth-century Buenos Aires never failed to mention black street vendors who monopolized the business, hawking all sorts of produce and dairy products, pastries and meat pies (*empanadas*), and a very famous *mazamorra* (corn chowder). One item sold by African street vendors emerged as a pattern of consumption forced on the African-Argentine community because of its poverty. Africans worked at slaughterhouses, salvaging cast-off (tripe, lung, and other organs) and diseased meat from slaughtered animals. *Achuradoras,* as they were called, sold this cast-off meat to blacks and poor whites. African Argentines thus gave Argentina one of its most famous dishes—*chinchulines,* which are braided and grilled intestines, or as southern U.S. blacks call them, chitlins. Such dishes are still served in black Argentine neighborhoods in outlying areas of Barracas, Flores, Floresta, and Boca.

Africans in Peru were frequently seen in the city of Lima and the port of Callao, as both depended largely on black labor for provisions. As in Buenos Aires, Africans worked in Lima's meat market and slaughterhouse, where they processed the meat used aboard navy ships. Male and female, slave and free, were extensively employed in the preparation and sale of preserves and candied fruit, pastries, bread, and hardtack (a saltless, hard biscuit or bread made of flour and water) for sailors. Black female food vendors (*vivenderas*) sold food to the masses, including donuts and confections, cheese, milk, whipped cream, various main dishes, and desserts of African origin, such as *anticucho bereber, sanguito naju del Congo* (a wheat-based dessert), *choncholi* (tripe brochettes), and seasonally, the drinks *chicha de terranova* (corn liquor) and mead, all of which are still consumed today. Black male traveling street sellers (*pregoneros*) also produced and sold food products, especially sweets.

Today the communities and towns of African descendants include Callejón and the *callejones* (barrios), where urban popular culture took root and flourished, Yapatera (Piura), Zaña (Chiclayo) in the northern zone, Aucallama and Cañete on the central coast, and Chincha in the southern zone. These descendants still transmit their values, beliefs, and culture through the variety and flavors imparted to soups and other dishes handed down by African-Peruvian women and men who introduced them into Peru's popular cuisine and helped spread African culinary traditions throughout the country.

An extra helping of African culinary traditions would spread throughout Ecuador in the nineteenth century by way of Jamaicans who migrated into the country as laborers to help build the railway. Today, in Carchi and Imbabura at least 40 percent of the population has full or part

African blood. African Ecuadorians are also concentrated in the southern province of Loja and have been in Esmeraldas, the preeminent center of black settlement, since the sixteenth century. The lush vegetation in Esmeraldas has helped their cultural and culinary survival, allowing them to grow for northern markets and for their own consumption bananas, grapes, watermelon, plantains and citrus fruits, papaya, onions, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, avocados, anise, beans, manioc (cassava), and other crops. Game such as wild peccary (or *tatabro*), paca (or *guagua*), agouti (or *guatin*), wild pig, wild fowl, squirrels, rabbit, iguanas, and tortoises are all made into stews. Shellfish and seafood are obtained by traditional African hunting and fishing methods, and typical meals include fish and potato soup; the national dish, *ceviche de concha,* prepared with raw or cooked mussels, onions, *aji* (hot peppers), and lemon; and fried fish and potato cakes. Dishes with crab and shrimp are considered delicacies. Fruits and cooked root crops are pounded and fried and served with meat or fish; *culada,* a pounded and fried fish and plantain mixture, is served in the morning. Other dishes include *seco de pescado,* or fish with coconut; *sancocho,* a combination of meat, plantains, sweet manioc, and a tuber resembling taro called *rascadera; seco,* or concha with coconut; *locro de yucca,* meat with sweet manioc; and green boiled plantains, known as *pean piado,* which are eaten with most meals in place of bread.

Guarapo, a sugarcane beer; *aguardiente,* a potent liquor served by the shot with green mango or orange slices as a chaser; and *champus,* a cold *chirimoya* fruit drink, are all consumed with and without meals by indigenous and African-descendant populations in Ecuador and Colombia. Colombia has one of the largest black populations in the Spanish-speaking Americas, forming 80 to 90 percent of the population in the Pacific coastal region. The city of Cartagena is still home to the former *palenque* (Maroon) settlement of el Palenque de San Basilio, a village founded by runaway slaves *(palenqueros)* in the seventeenth century, who have developed a so-called Creole language yet managed to preserve many aspects of Angolan (Southwest African) culture. African-Colombian populations can also be found in the areas of Cauca, Valle, Bolívar, Caldas and Chocó. Sophisticated farming systems of forest farming communities, such as the Afro-Baudoseno, grow rice, corn, plantains, and fruit trees on one of the riverbanks while managing pigs on the other. One of their favorite foods is leafcup. Known as *arboloco* in Colombia, it is a sweet root eaten raw after exposure in the sun for several days. Easy to digest, it is used in the diets of invalids. Other favorites include the meat soup *sancocho,* vegetable tamales, corn *empanadas, chuzos* (kebabs), fried fish, *chorizos* (sausages), *arepas de chocolo* (sweet corn cakes), rice and coconut dishes, and *patacones* (sliced plantains).

Preparations such as *quineo k'asurata,* a type of banana, peeled while green, then sun-dried for a few days before eaten boiled; beef, rice, and avocado dishes; and salt fish from Lake Titicaca are favorite meal items of the Yungas populations in Bolivia. The largest concentrations of African Bolivians are in the city of La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, and in the nearby agricultural provinces of Nor and Sud Yungas, on the eastern slopes of the Andes mountain range. The village of Mururata is home to a black population, as is the smaller village of Tocana, in La Paz's Nor Yungas Province. Tocanans cultivate bananas and citrus fruits, coffee beans, and coca, and speak a vocabulary that is a mix of African words, Aymara (the language of the mountain indigenous people), and Spanish. The location of the Yungas, with its semitropical valleys, has made the region an oasis of crop production. The greatest concentration of crops is grown in the Yungas provinces of La Paz and Cochabamba. Bolivians produce a wide range of vegetables, fruits, and other food crops, mostly for local consumption. Principal vegetable crops include kidney beans, green beans, chickpeas, green peas, lettuce, cabbage, tomatoes, carrots, onions, garlic, and chili peppers. One of the oldest cultivated Andean plants, *arracacha* (white carrot), known as *lakachu* in Aymara, is eaten boiled or as an ingredient in soups and stews; it is also roasted and fried in slices, and used as a puree.

Hervido (meat stew), as it is called in Venezuela, is a nourishing meat and vegetable dish enjoyed in many communities and during many religious and secular festivals, such as Los Tambores de Barlovento (Drums of Barlovento), celebrated at the beginning of the rainy season in March near Corpus Christi, in Barlovento, Miranda state. This is the region comprising the towns of Curiepe, Higuerote, Caucagua, Tacarigua, and others with large black populations. The Drums of Barlovento is an African-Caribbean tradition in which drums are the main theme complemented by various other wooden instruments of African origin. As in Ecuador, in addition to African importation for slave labor in agriculture, Venezuela imported blacks from the Caribbean (Trinidad, Aruba, Puerto Rico, and St. Thomas) to work the gold mines of El Callao in the state of Bolívar, in the south of the country, and by 1810 the majority of Venezuelans were of African blood. The descendants of Antillean immigrants still eat their traditional versions of calalu with salted codfish; *tarquery,* a meat and curry recipe from India that is very popular in Trinidad; and gateau, dumplings and *bolos.* They drink *yinya bie* and *mabi,* drinks that originated in Trinidad. African cultural survival can also be seen in Ari-

pao, a community formed by descendants of runaway slaves living on the east bank of Lower Caura River in the northwestern region of Bolívar State. As in Bolivia, *arracacha* is consumed; the leaves are used in the same way as celery in raw or cooked salads. Venezuelans refer to it as "Creole celery."

"Creolization" was evident in the way African linguistic structure and expression influenced the Portuguese language in Brazil, the largest country in South America. However, every segment and enclave of Brazilian society, including its *quilombos* (Maroon communities), were influenced by, or had as its base, African cuisine and culture. "Negroes of the Palm Forests," or Palmares, was one of the most famous *quilombos*. Its residents were settled cultivators, producing maize, fruits, and all sorts of cereal and vegetables crops, which they stored in granaries against harsh weather and attack. They also supplemented their food supply with domesticated animals, fishing, and hunting. But those same customs and practices of African culinary culture that fed and gave security and continuity to the inhabitants of the ten major *quilombos* in Brazil permeated Brazilian cuisine in general. *Feijoada,* a rich combination of beans, blood sausages, and different cuts of pork or beef; *caruru,* prepared with leafy greens and smoked fish and dried shrimp, hot peppers, okra, and peanuts; *acaraje,* a bean flour and dried shrimp fritter; as well as coconut sauces and soups to complement a variety of seafood delicacies are only a few of the African dishes brought to Brazil.

The Cuisine of the Guianas

In Brazil and throughout African America, as Richard Price points out, "[C]ooking and eating were core areas of cultural resistance and persistence, as well as foci of ongoing creativity and dynamism" (1991, p. 107). Much culinary and cultural resistance can still be observed in Suriname, formerly colonized by Holland; French Guiana, an "Overseas Department" of France, and thus considered an integral part of the French nation; and Guyana, formerly colonized by the British. All three countries sit side by side in the northeast corner of South America, bordering northern Brazil. People of African descent residing in Guyana prepare a multitude of fish dishes from bounty available all along the seacoast, such as double-belly basham, eyewater, red snapper, kingfish, patwa rock fish, and many others; as well as from rivers and canals providing shrimp, crab, clam, and mussels. Rice, yams, various tubers, mangos, coconuts, the oil palm, and other fruits are used in such dishes as pumpkin stewed with rice. All kinds of vegetables are sautéed and stewed, or baked with tomatoes, onions, and cinnamon, and remain a part of the vast variety of West African foods and spices imported into Guyana along with the traditions of meat and fish stews and *fufu*. "Bush meats," pork, chicken, mutton, beef, and goat are casseroled, roasted, barbecued, fried, and ground to produce a number of savory dishes, including garlic pork and beef baked with leafy greens and carrots, and various meat loaves.

Wedged between Guyana and Guiana is Suriname, the location of what are believed to be the best preserved African cultural patterns in the Western Hemisphere. Suriname is home to the descendants of the Saramaka (Saramacca, or Saramaccaners), who live along the banks of the Suriname River, and the Djuka Maroons (they prefer the term Aucans or Aucanners), communities formed in the early eighteenth century. Referring to themselves as "river" and "bush" people—there are other "bush" groups, such as the Matuari (or Matawai), Paramacca, and Boni—these Maroon descendants can be found in villages from a few miles south of the Atlantic Ocean down to the Brazilian border.

The ancestors of the Saramaka were agricultural specialists who already had a unique horticultural calendar set up by the mid-eighteenth century. Early Saramakans cultivated the same enormous array of crops their descendants produce today. One such crop is rice. Known as *alesi,* the seventy cultivated varieties comprise much of their current diet, although wild rice is grown today only for use in rituals to honor their eighteenth-century ancestors. Rice processing is carried out using African utensils and methods and the process is nearly identical to that of South Carolina plantation blacks during slavery. A mere sample of the game meat, fish, and birds, preserved primarily by smoking and salting, includes *akusuwe,* a kind of rabbit; *mbata,* a small deer; *malole,* which is armadillo; and *awali,* or opossum, eaten only when nothing else is available to accompany rice. Rounding out their larder is the tree porcupine, known as *adjindja,* in addition to *logoso* (turtle), *akomu* (eel), *peenya* (piranha), and *nyumaa,* or *pataka,* spoken of as "the best fish in the country." *Anamu* (bush hen), *maai* (bush turkey), *gbanini* (eagle), *patupatu* (wild duck), *soosoo* (large parakeet), and *pumba* (blue and red parrot) are also consumed in abundance. Large quantities of meat and fish are shared through family networks, lessening the need for preservation. Preparation of foods includes roasting, frying, boiling, or browning meats first in one or more of five varieties of palm oil, then simmering with vegetables and/or root crops and one or more of ten cultivated varieties of hot peppers. Fifteen varieties of okra are cultivated, along with *mboa* and *bokolele* (*mboa* is amaranth, but both are called wild spinach). *Tonka* (beans), seven varieties of yams, tania, cashews and peanuts, and

wild limes, watermelon, lemons, oranges, and pineapples, and other fruits of African origin are also grown.

Summary

From the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, Africans, as slaves, contributed their labor skills, religion, music, and culinary expertise to create societies and cultures in every country in the Americas. The reinvention of culinary traditions and social patterns based on African heritage demonstrated strong cultural persistence and resistance within plantation, and especially Maroon, communities, which were established wherever slavery existed.

Similarities in African culinary heritage, shared throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, have left enduring legacies. Those legacies are filled with cooking and cuisine strongly reminiscent of, or identical to, those of their African forebears and therefore continue to transmit the values and enrich the culinary experiences of not only Africans in the Americas but most other cultures in the Americas as well. Although these nations have adopted African culinary traditions as their own, in most cases there is little or no recognition of their roots. Too often seen as backward and lacking in value, the African contribution is regularly subjected to racism and societal repression. For Africans and their descendants in the Americas, food and its preparation are deeply infused with social and cultural meaning rooted in African traditions and have always held an intrinsic role in creating, preserving, and transmitting expressions of ethnic cohesion and continuity. It is hoped that there will be an eventual appreciation of African culinary heritage not just in Latin America and the Caribbean but throughout the world.

See also Africanisms; Food and Cuisine, U.S.

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DIANE M. SPIVEY (2005)

U.S. Food and Cuisine

The African-American culinary tradition derives from the foods and methods of preparation of the African continent, the diasporic sojourn of the enslaved peoples in South America and the Caribbean, and the dominance of blacks in the preparation of food in the South for themselves as well as for the planter class. The tradition was sus-

tained and enriched as blacks traveled northward during the Great Migrations. Although corn and corn products, pork and pork products, and greens are dominant, it is a diverse cuisine as reflected in the heavy use of seasonal fruits and vegetables. Notable among cooking techniques were frying in deep fat, stewing diverse chopped ingredients in a single pot, and seasoning with hot peppers. By way of the Caribbean, it included the barbecue. Characteristic dishes include greens boiled with salt pork, deep-fried chicken and beef, and one-pot dishes (e.g., gumbos). During the 1960s and 1970s this traditional cuisine was popularly called "soul food"; as the sine qua non of southern cooking, it is the most universally identified American cuisine.

The First Source: The Old Homeland

The transmigration of plants makes points of origin arguable, but it is generally acknowledged that Africans were responsible for the presence of certain foods (some of which, for example the peanut, had traveled from the New World to the Old World to Africa and back to the New World) in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. Before their arrival in the United States, West Africans, for example, had become familiar with corn, and Africans, particularly from Sierra Leone, were major rice cultivators. Although food historians differ, most include cowpeas (black-eyed peas), okra, peanuts, sesame, watermelon, and yams among the products that came to the United States directly with African slaves through the provisioning of slave ships, through items the slaves transported, or through trade with the West Indies. For some foods, the African origins of American use are evidenced linguistically (e.g., *gumbo* from the Tshiluba *kingombo* and Umbundo *tchingombo*); Americans used the word *pinder* (Congo *mpindo*) in the eighteenth century and the Bantu *goober* in the nineteenth, both as alternatives to the term *peanut.* Some sobriquets point to African sources as well (e.g., *guinea hen*, *guinea corn*, *guinea pepper*).

In addition to certain foods, Africans brought their familiar methods of preparation. To six practices (boiling in water, steaming in leaves, frying in deep oil, toasting beside the fire, roasting in the fire, baking in ashes) identified by anthropologist William Bascom, Jessica Harris adds seven as "emblematic of African-inspired cooking" (1995, p. 21): preparing composed rice dishes, creating various types of fritters, flavoring with smoked ingredients, thickening with okra, thickening with nuts and seeds, seasoning with hot sauces, and using leafy vegetables, such as collards.

The Second Source: Cooking in the American South

The diverse origins of the slave population, the changing historical eras as the South moved from a pioneer society to a plantation one, and variations in the size, location, and tasks of the workforce as well as in the practices of slaveholders make most generalizations arguable. The African-American culinary tradition would develop from what the slaves wrought with their limited resources and from the preparation of food for their owners.

Those resources consisted of such rations (commonly corn and pork products) as were issued by the owners, supplemented by undesirable cast-offs, such as pigs' feet, pigs' tails, hog maw (the stomach), hog jowl, ham hocks, chitterlings, and neck and back bones, and bottom-feeding fish such as catfish. These were augmented, where possible, with food slaves gathered themselves through gardening, fishing, and hunting, particularly such nocturnal animals as the raccoon and the opossum. Some slaves were able to raise chickens, but usually for trade or barter rather than the common table.

Typically the ration resembled that described by former slave Allen Parker (1895): "The common allowance of a slave was four quarts of Indian meal and five pounds of salt pork. Sometimes one quart of molasses, per week, and all the sweet potatoes that they wanted. Whatever else they had, had to be earned by over work, or by selling a part of their allowance." Cooking was done on open fireplaces, as described by Parker: "The cooking utensils were few and all of the simplist [sic] kind. A long handled shallow iron skillet with long legs did duty as a spider in which to fry our salt pork, bacon and other meat, whenever we could get it. It was also sometimes used to bake 'hoe cake' in. These hoe cakes, which formed a large part of the slave's bill of fare, were made of Indian meal, and water with a little salt and sometimes a quantity of pork fat was added."

Neither the deficient food supplies nor the inadequate cooking apparatus limited the repertory of African-American traditional cuisine. As Parker observes, "On some plantations each slave had to do his or her own cooking, but on the others there was a cookhouse called the kitchen where not only food for the master's family was cooked, but also the food of such slaves as did not live in families." A significant part of the African-American culinary tradition would develop from the food slaves prepared for "the master's family"—choice cuts of meat, dairy products, and rich desserts. Out of such kitchens would come the feasts remembered by travelers. Hilliard (1988) reports an 1832 meal at Alston plantation that included turtle soup, a leg of boiled mutton, turtle steaks

and fins, macaroni pie, oysters, boiled ham, venison haunch, roast turkey, bread pudding, jelly ice cream, a pie, bananas, oranges, and apples.

African-American cuisine is enriched by two distinct regional foodways—Gullah, from coastal Georgia and South Carolina, and from Louisiana, Creole. The insularity and concentration of the Gullah/Geechee people in the Sea Islands and Low Country led to the most directly African-influenced foodways in North America; at the other extremity, the more cosmopolitan settlement of Louisiana led to a cuisine that, while abundantly indebted to the African presence, absorbed elements of Spanish and French cooking as well. Significant retentions of African foodways are found among the Gullah, even today, in dishes of indisputable African origins such as Jollof rice, red rice, peanut soup, benne wafers, and the variety of perlou (one-pot rice stews). It differs from inland cooking in the central place of rice, the staple crop nurtured by the slaves, and the availability of various fish and shellfish.

Creole cuisine, with its amalgamation of Native American, French, Spanish, and African foodways, is an integral part of African-American traditional cuisine. As in other parts of the South, Africans brought indigenous foundation foods and methods to Louisiana from both the continent and the Caribbean islands, and African Americans managed the preparation of meals. Out of the one-pot came the signature Creole dishes, jambalaya and gumbo; out of the deep fat came beignets.

From the cauldron of slavery, African Americans merged a survival cuisine and a celebratory one. For the former slaves, freedom did not mean a full table. In the South, it meant sharecropping and peonage, conditions that sustained their poverty and traditional foodways. An 1895–1896 Tuskegee study reveals meals closely resembling Allen Parker's: salt pork cooked in the fireplace, bacon grease mixed with molasses for "sap," and bread made from cornmeal and water cooked on a hoe. North and South, it often meant work as cooks and caterers culminating, ironically, in the iconic image of the black cook (Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben) used by the food industry.

The Third Source: The Tradition Travels to the City

As African Americans moved north, particularly during the second Great Migration, they carried their foodways. Confronted by the absence of places to eat on the road and by northern discrimination, and longing for the food of home, the migrants went into the food business in significant numbers; eating places (simple as chicken shacks and barbecue wagons, fancier as restaurants) and grocery stores in the 1930s were the businesses with the largest group of black entrepreneurs. Upwardly mobile blacks adopted new foodways consistent with higher incomes (more meat, less offal), but everywhere the church supper kept the traditional communal meal alive. At picnics and revivals, one found, and finds, the fried chicken, fried fish, pigs' feet, corn bread, cornmeal dumplings, hominy grits, beans and rice, sweet potatoes, chitterlings, souse, greens with "pot likker," black-eyed peas, fritters, gumbos, macaroni and cheese, rice pudding, and peach cobbler that enslaved African Americans made to the United States' contribution to world cuisine.

Cookbooks reveal three major trends emerging in the 1990s. The first was a deepening awareness of the African sources of African-American foodways explored by Jessica Harris and Joseph Holloway and of the traditional aspects of African-American foodways in the work of Edna Lewis and the Darden sisters. The second focused on nutrition, reducing both the fat and salt content of traditional dishes with, for example, the substitution of smoked turkey for ham hocks and vegetable oils for lard; the rise of the Nation of Islam devalued pork as well. Third, after the long history of slavery where the indispensable black chef was a "cook" and of segregation where the distinguished black caterer and restaurateur was a "cook" came the emergence of African-American celebrity chefs such as Patrick Clark and Joe Randall.

See also Africanisms; Folk Arts and Crafts; Food and Cuisine, Latin American and Caribbean; Gullah

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (2005)

Football

American-style intercollegiate football emerged from the English sport of rugby during the 1870s and 1880s. Almost immediately, African Americans distinguished themselves on college gridirons.

Black Pioneers at Predominantly White Colleges, 1889–1919

William Henry Lewis and William Tecumseh Sherman Jackson were two of the first blacks to play football at a predominantly white college. Both of these Virginians played for Amherst College from 1889 through 1891. Jackson was a running back, while Lewis was a blocker. In 1891 Lewis served as captain of the Amherst squad. After graduation, he attended Harvard Law School, and because of the lax eligibility rules of the time, played two years for Harvard. In 1892 and 1893 Yale coach Walter Camp named Lewis to the Collier's All-American team at the position of center. After his playing days, Lewis became an offensive line coach at Harvard, the first black coach at a predominantly white college. He left football when President William Howard Taft appointed him as U.S. assistant attorney general in 1903.

William Arthur Johnson, George Jewett, and George Flippin were other early black players. Johnson appeared as a running back for MIT in 1890. That same year, Jewett was a running back, punter, and field-goal kicker for the University of Michigan. Flippin, who played running back for the University of Nebraska from 1892 to 1893, was an intense athlete who would not tolerate foul play. The press reported that in one game he "was kicked, slugged, and jumped on, but never knocked out, and gave as good as he received" (Ashe, vol. 1, p. 91). Flippin went on to become a physician. Other African Americans who played in the 1890s included Charles Cook (Cornell), Howard J. Lee (Harvard), George Chadwell (Williams), William Washington (Oberlin), and Alton Washington (Northwestern).

After the turn of the century, numerous blacks played football for northern and midwestern schools. Two of the most talented stars were Edward B. Gray of Amherst and Robert Marshall of the University of Minnesota. A halfback and defensive end, Gray earned selection to Camp's All-American third team in 1906. Marshall was another skillful end and field-goal kicker who played from 1903 to 1906. In 1904 Minnesota defeated Grinnell College 146–0. Marshall scored 72 points in that contest, a record that still stands. He was named to the second All-American team in 1905 and 1906.

As intercollegiate football gained in popularity during World War I, two black players won national acclaim. Frederick Douglass "Fritz" Pollard entered Brown University in 1915. By mid-season, the 5'6" freshman had excelled as a kicker, runner, and defensive back. He helped take his team to the second Rose Bowl game in 1916, a 14–0 loss to Washington State. The following year also proved successful. Pollard starred in games against Rutgers, Harvard, and Yale, scoring two touchdowns in each contest. In naming Pollard to the All-American team in 1916, Walter Camp described him as "the most elusive back of the year, or any year. He is a good sprinter and once loose is a veritable will-o'-the-wisp that no one can lay hands on" (Ashe, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 102–103).

The son of a Presbyterian minister, Paul Robeson of Princeton, New Jersey, enrolled at Rutgers University in 1915 on an academic scholarship. Tall and rugged (6'3", 225 pounds), he played tackle and guard as a freshman and sophomore. In his final two seasons he was switched to end, where he gained All-American honors. Walter Camp described him in 1918 as "the greatest defensive end who ever trod a gridiron" (Chalk, 1975, p. 219). Besides football, Robeson lettered in track, baseball, and basketball. He also excelled academically, earning election to Phi Beta Kappa. Although he was excluded from the college glee club for racial reasons, he was named to Cap and Skull, a senior society composed of four men "who most truly and fully represent the finest ideals and traditions of Rutgers." After graduation, he played professional football to finance his way through Columbia Law School. He also began an acting and singing career that brought him international recognition.

Almost all of the pioneer African-American players experienced both subtle and overt forms of discrimination. Pollard was forced to enroll at several universities before he found one willing to let him play football. Often black players were left off their squads at the request of segregated opponents. And football, a violent game at best, provided ample opportunities for players to vent racial animosities at black players. Paul Robeson, for example, suffered a broken nose and a dislocated shoulder as a result of deliberately brutal tactics by opposing players. Despite the drawbacks, there probably was no venue of major sporting competition of the era that had as few impediments to black participation as major collegiate football.

Pioneers at Black Colleges, 1889–1919

The first football game between black colleges occurred in North Carolina in 1892 when Biddle defeated Livingstone, 4–0. Owing to inadequate funding, it took nearly two decades for most black colleges to establish football programs.

On New Year's Day in 1897, as a forerunner of the bowl games, Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute met in what was billed as a "championship game." But major rivalries eventually developed between Fisk and Meharry in Tennessee, Livingstone and Biddle in North Carolina, Tuskegee and Talladega in Alabama, Atlanta University and Atlanta Baptist (Morehouse), and Virginia Union and Virginia State. By 1912 Howard and Lincoln in Pennsylvania, Hampton in Virginia, and Shaw in North Carolina had organized the Colored (later Central) Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA).

The black press began to select All-American teams in 1911. Two of the players on that first team were Edward B. Gray, a running back from Howard who had played the same position from 1906 to 1908 at Amherst, and Leslie Pollard, older brother of Fritz, who had played halfback for one year at Dartmouth before resuming his career at Lincoln University. Two other standout athletes who played for black colleges were Floyd Wellman "Terrible" Terry of Talladega and Henry E. Barco of Virginia Union.

Pioneers: Black Professionals, 1889–1919

Charles Follis of Wooster, Ohio, is credited with being the first African-American professional football player. He was recruited by the Shelby, Ohio, Athletic Club, where he played professionally from 1902 to 1906. One of his teammates during the first two years was Branch Rickey, who would, as general manager and president of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, desegregate major league baseball by signing Jackie Robinson. A darting halfback, Follis often experienced insults and dirty play. In one game in 1905 the Toledo captain urged fans to refrain from calling Follis a "nigger." By 1906 the abuse had become unendurable and Follis quit the game. He died of pneumonia in 1910, at the age of thirty-one. Three other blacks appeared on professional club rosters prior to 1919. Charles "Doc" Baker ran halfback for the Akron Indians from 1906 to 1908, and again in 1911. Gideon "Charlie" Smith of Hampton Institute appeared as a tackle in one game in 1915 for the Canton Bulldogs. And Henry McDonald, probably the most talented black professional during the early years, played halfback for the Rochester Jeffersons from 1911 to 1917. In one game against Canton in 1917, Earle "Greasy" Neale hurled McDonald out of bounds and snarled, "Black is black and white is white . . . and the two don't mix" (Rathert and Smith, 1984, p. 217). Racial incidents and segregation would become even more severe in the interwar years.

Black Stars at Predominantly White Colleges, 1919–1945

Following World War I a number of blacks gained national celebrity for their football skills. John Shelburne played fullback at Dartmouth from 1919 through 1921. During those same years, Fred "Duke" Slater was a dominant tackle at the University of Iowa. In the early 1920s Charles West and Charles Drew played halfback for Washington and Jefferson (in Washington, Pennsylvania) and Amherst, respectively. West became the second African American to appear in a Rose Bowl game. After their football careers, both men became medical doctors. Drew achieved international acclaim for perfecting the method of preserving blood plasma. Toward the end of the decade, David Myers appeared as a tackle and end for New York University and Ray Kemp played tackle for Duquesne.

Although scores of blacks played football for major colleges, they constantly faced racial prejudice. Some colleges denied blacks dormitory space, thus forcing them to live off campus. Others practiced a quota system by limiting the number of black players on a squad to one or two. Others benched minority athletes when they played segregated southern schools. In 1937 Boston College surrendered to southern custom when it asked Louis Montgomery to sit out the Cotton Bowl game against Clemson. One sportswriter complained that "even Hitler, to give the bum his due, didn't treat Jesse Owens the way the Cotton Bowl folk are treating Lou Montgomery—with the consent of the young Negro's alma mater" (Smith, 1988, p. 270). African Americans also encountered excessive roughness from white players. Jack Trice of Iowa State was deliberately maimed by Minnesota players in 1923 and died of internal bleeding. Finally, minority players were snubbed by white sportswriters. No blacks were named first-team All Americans from 1918 to 1937, including Duke Slater, probably the best tackle of that era.

In the 1930s dozens of black players had outstanding careers. The Big Ten Conference featured a number of gifted running backs, especially Oze Simmons of Iowa and Bernard Jefferson of Northwestern. Talented linemen included William Bell, a guard at Ohio State, and Homer Harris, a tackle at the University of Iowa. Two of the best black athletes at eastern colleges were Wilmeth Sidat-Singh, a rifle-armed quarterback at Syracuse, and Jerome "Brud" Holland, an exceptional end at Cornell. Named first-team All American in 1937 and 1938, Holland was the first black to be so honored since Robeson two decades earlier. In the West Joe Lillard was a punishing running back at Oregon State in 1930 and 1931, and Woodrow "Woody" Strode and Kenny Washington starred for UCLA from 1937 to 1940. Strode was a 220-pound end

Kenny Washington, a teammate of Jackie Robinson on UCLA's football teams of the late 1930s. *Washington preceded Robinson in breaking the color barrier in major professional sports when he played with the NFL's Los Angeles Rams in 1946.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

with sure hands and quickness. Washington, a 195-pound halfback, was one of the nation's premier players. In 1939 he led all college players in total yardage with 1,370 but failed to win first-team All-American honors.

During the war years, there were five exceptional African-American college players. Marion Motley was a bruising 220-pound fullback at the University of Nevada. Two guards, Julius Franks of the University of Michigan and Bill Willis of Ohio State, were named to several All-American teams. And Claude "Buddy" Young was a brilliant running back at the University of Illinois. As a freshman in 1944, the diminutive, speedy halfback tied Harold "Red" Grange's single-season scoring record with thirteen touchdowns. He spent the next year in the armed services but continued his career after the war. Finally, Joe Perry was a standout running back at Compton Junior College in Southern California.

Black College Play, 1919–1945

Although black colleges lacked sufficient funds for equipment and stadiums, football grew in popularity after World War I. Black conferences sprang up throughout the South, but the CIAA, created in 1912, fielded the most talented teams. In the immediate postwar period, Franz Alfred "Jazz" Bird of Lincoln was the dominant player. A small but powerful running back, Bird was nicknamed "the black Red Grange."

Morgan State University was the dominant black college team of the 1930s and early 1940s. Coached by Edward Hurt, Morgan State won seven CIAA titles between 1930 and 1941. Running backs Otis Troupe and Thomas "Tank" Conrad were the star athletes for the Morgan State teams. In the Deep South, Tuskegee Institute overwhelmed its opponents, winning nine Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (SIAC) titles in ten years from 1924 through 1933. Tuskegee's team was led by Benjamin Franklin Stevenson, a skilled running back who played eight seasons from 1924 through 1931. (Eligibility rules were not enforced at the time.) In the more competitive Southwest Athletic Conference (SWAC), Wiley University boasted fullback Elza Odell and halfback Andrew Patterson. Langston College in Oklahoma, which won four championships in the 1930s, featured running back Tim Crisp. The Midwestern Athletic Conference (MWAC), started in 1932, was dominated by Kentucky State, which topped the conference four times in the 1930s. Its key players were ends William Reed and Robert Hardin, running back George "Big Bertha" Edwards, and quarterback Joseph "Tarzan" Kendall. During World War II, fullback John "Big Train" Moody of Morris Brown College and guard Herbert "Lord" Trawik of Kentucky State were consensus picks for the Black All-American team.

Black Professionals, 1919–1945

In 1919 several midwestern clubs organized the American Professional Football Association, the forerunner of the National Football League (NFL) created two years later. The first African Americans to play in the NFL were Robert "Rube" Marshall and Fritz Pollard. Over forty years old, Marshall performed as an end with the Rock Island Independents from 1919 through 1921. Pollard appeared as a running back with the Akron Pros during those same years. Racial incidents were commonplace. Pollard recalled fans at away games taunting him with the song "Bye, Bye, Blackbird." Occasionally, they hurled stones at him. Even at home games, fans sometimes booed him. Besides playing, Pollard served as the first black NFL coach, directing Akron in 1920, Milwaukee in 1922, Hammond in 1923 and 1924, and Akron again in 1925 and 1926. A pioneer, Pollard was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2005. Other blacks who performed in the NFL during the 1920s were Paul Robeson, Jay "Inky" Williams, John Shel-

bourne, James Turner, Edward "Sol" Butler, Dick Hudson, Harold Bradley, and David Myers. Those athletes did not compete without incident. In 1926 the New York Giants refused to take the field until the Canton Bulldogs removed their quarterback, Sol Butler, from the game. Canton obliged. The last three minority athletes to play in the desegregated NFL were Duke Slater, Joe Lillard, and Ray Kemp. An exceptional tackle who often played without a helmet, Slater performed for Milwaukee (1922), Rock Island (1922–1925), and the Chicago Cardinals (1926–1931). Joe Lillard also starred for the Cardinals from 1932 to 1933. He was a skillful punt returner, kicker, and runner, but his contract was not renewed after the 1933 season. Ray Kemp, a tackle with the Pittsburgh Pirates (later renamed the Steelers), met a similar fate.

In 1933 NFL owners established an informal racial ban that lasted until 1946. The reasons for the exclusionary policy are not entirely clear. Probably NFL moguls were attempting to please bigoted fans, players, and owners. In addition, professional football hoped to compete with baseball for fans and adopted that sport's winning formula on racial segregation. Southern-born George Preston Marshall, who owned the Boston franchise, was especially influential in the shaping of NFL policy. A powerful personality with a knack for innovation and organization, Marshall in 1933 spearheaded the reorganization of the NFL into two five-team divisions with a season-ending championship game. Four years later, he moved his Boston team to Washington, D.C., a segregated city. Marshall once vowed that he would never employ minority athletes. Indeed, the Redskins were in fact the last NFL team to desegregate, resisting until 1962.

Other owners implausibly attributed the absence of African-American athletes to the shortage of quality college players. The NFL draft was established in 1935, but owners overlooked such talented stars as Oze Simmons, Brud Holland, Wilmeth Sidat-Singh, Woody Strode, and Kenny Washington. Owners also lamely argued that they purposely did not hire blacks in order to protect them from physical abuse by bigoted white players.

Denied an opportunity in the NFL, blacks formed their own professional teams. The New York Brown Bombers, organized in 1935 by Harlem sports promoter Hershel "Rip" Day, was one of the most talented squads. Taking their nickname from the popular heavyweight fighter Joe Louis, the Brown Bombers recruited Fritz Pollard as coach. Pollard agreed to coach, in part, to showcase minority athletes. He signed Tank Conrad, Joe Lillard, Dave Myers, Otis Troupe, Hallie Harding, and Howard "Dixie" Matthews. The Bombers competed mainly against semipro white teams such as the New Rochelle Bulldogs. Pollard coached the Bombers to three winning seasons, but he resigned in 1937 when the team was denied use of Dyckman Oval Field in the Bronx. The Brown Bombers continued for several more years as a road team and then disappeared.

During the war years blacks played professionally on the West Coast. In 1944 both the American Professional League and the Pacific Coast Professional Football League fielded integrated teams. Kenny Washington starred for the San Francisco Clippers and Ezzrett Anderson for the Los Angeles Mustangs. In the Pacific Coast League Jackie Robinson, who would integrate major league baseball, represented the Los Angeles Bulldogs, and Mel Reid performed for the Oakland Giants. The following year the two leagues merged into the Pacific Coast League. The Hollywood Bears, with Washington, Anderson, and Woody Strode, won the title.

The Postwar Years: Blacks at Predominantly White Colleges

World War II and the cold war proved instrumental in breaking down racial barriers. After all, how could Americans criticize Nazi Germany and then the Soviet Union for racism and totalitarianism when blacks were denied first-class citizenship in the United States? During the 1940s and 1950s blacks worked diligently to topple segregation in all areas, including athletics. In football their efforts met with considerable success.

During the postwar years several minority athletes performed admirably at big-time schools. Buddy Young returned to the University of Illinois and helped lead his team to a Rose Bowl victory over UCLA. Levi Jackson, a fleet running back, became the first African American to play for Yale and was elected team captain for 1949. Wally Triplett and Denny Hoggard became the first blacks to play in the Cotton Bowl when Penn State met Southern Methodist in 1948. And Bob Mann, Len Ford, and Gene Derricotte helped the University of Michigan trounce the University of Southern California in the 1949 Rose Bowl, 49–0.

Blacks continued to make their mark in intercollegiate football in the 1950s. Ollie Matson excelled as a running back at the University of San Francisco from 1949 through 1951. The following year he won two medals in track at the Olympics in Helsinki. Jim Parker was a dominant guard at Ohio State. In 1956 he became the first African American to win the Outland Trophy, awarded to the nation's foremost collegiate lineman. Bobby Mitchell and Lenny Moore starred at halfback for the University of Illinois and Penn State, respectively. Prentiss Gautt took to the gridiron for the University of Oklahoma in 1958, the

first black to perform for a major, predominantly white southern school. And Jim Brown, perhaps the greatest running back in the history of the game, debuted at Syracuse University in 1954. There, Brown lettered in basketball, track, lacrosse, and football and was named All American in the latter two sports. As a senior he rushed for 986 yards, third highest in the nation. In the final regular season game he scored forty-three points on six touchdowns and seven conversions. In the 1957 Cotton Bowl game against Texas Christian University, he scored twenty-one points in a losing cause and was named MVP. Brown would go on to have a spectacular career in the NFL.

Literally and figuratively, African Americans made great strides on the gridiron in the 1950s. Yet barriers continued to exist. Dormitories at many colleges remained off limits. Blacks were denied access to most major colleges in the South. They were virtually excluded from some football positions, especially quarterback. And they were not seriously considered for the Heisman Trophy, an award presented to the best collegiate player.

In the 1960s, a landmark decade in the advancement of civil rights, black gridiron stars abounded. Ernie Davis, Brown's successor at fullback for Syracuse, was an exciting and powerful runner who shattered most of Brown's records. As a sophomore in 1959, Davis averaged seven yards per carry and helped lead Syracuse to its first undefeated season. Ranked first in the nation, Syracuse defeated Texas in the Cotton Bowl and Davis was named MVP. The following year Davis gained 877 yards on 112 carries and scored ten touchdowns. As a senior, he had another outstanding season and became the first African American to win the Heisman Trophy. Tragically, he was diagnosed with leukemia in 1962 and never played professional football. He died at the age of twenty-three.

The 1960s produced a number of sensational black running backs. Leroy Keyes of Purdue and Gale Sayers of Kansas twice earned All-American recognition. Floyd Little and Jim Nance proved worthy successors to Brown and Davis at Syracuse. And Mike Garrett and O. J. Simpson, both of USC, won Heisman awards. The decade's greatest breakaway runner, Simpson rushed for 3,295 yards and twenty-two touchdowns in only twenty-two games. Blacks also excelled as linemen, receivers, and defensive backs. Bobby Bell and Carl Eller both won All-American acclaim as tackles with the University of Minnesota. Bell also captured the Outland Trophy in 1962. Bob Brown of Nebraska and Joe Greene of North Texas State also were All-American tackles. Paul Warfield was a crafty wide receiver for Ohio State. And George Webster of Michigan State twice earned All-American distinction as a defensive back. Also from Michigan State was the feared defensive end Charles "Bubba" Smith, who joined the Baltimore Colts in 1967.

In the 1960s bastions of bigotry collapsed. The last three lily-white college conferences—the Southwest, Southeast, and Atlantic Coast—all desegregated. Blacks, too, put the lie to the stereotype that they lacked the intellectual necessities to perform as quarterbacks. Sandy Stephens was voted an All American at Minnesota, and Marlin Briscoe and Gene Washington called signals at the University of Omaha and Stanford, respectively. Yet the NFL showed little or no interest in Stephens, and the other two were converted to wide receivers.

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, major colleges actively recruited African-American athletes. Considered essential to the success of the football program, blacks at some schools were illegally offered monetary and material inducements. Meager grade-point averages and low graduation rates also brought accusations that universities were exploiting minority athletes. After all, the vast majority of varsity players do not go on to enjoy lucrative professional athletic careers. To blunt the criticism, the NCAA instituted Proposition 48 in 1983. That directive required entering freshman varsity athletes to achieve a combined score of 700 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and to maintain at least a C average.

Blacks have only slowly been hired as collegiate coaches. The first African-American head coach at a major college football program was Dennis Green, who was head coach at Northwestern (1981–1985) and at Stanford (1989–1991) before being named head coach of the Minnesota Vikings in the NFL. By the early 1990s the only African-American coaches at Division 1-A colleges were Ron Cooper at Eastern Michigan University, Ron Dickerson at Temple University, and Jim Caldwell at Wake Forest University. In 1998, Division 1-A schools listed a total of eight black head coaches, an all-time high. Six years later, at the start of the 2004 collegiate season, five black Americans were head coaches at level 1-A, including two (Tyrone Willingham of Notre Dame and Tony Samuel of New Mexico State) who were fired later that year.

Black College Play in the Postwar Era

Although football programs at black colleges continued to be strapped financially, they still produced some superb players and coaches. Eddie Robinson of Grambling, Ed Hurt and Earl Banks of Morgan State, and Jake Gaither of Florida A & M were four of the most successful black college coaches. Each won several conference titles and sent numerous players to the NFL. Morgan State produced three premier NFL players—Roosevelt Brown, a guard

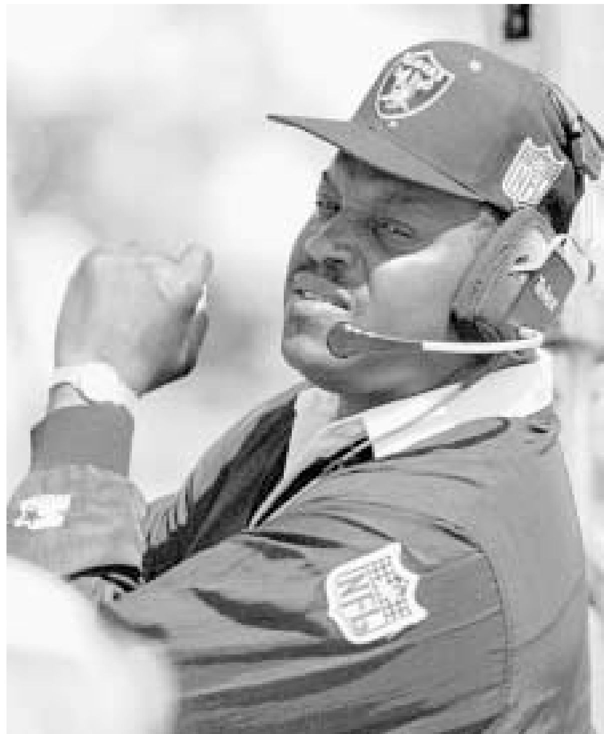
with the New York Giants in the mid-1950s; Leroy Kelly, a running back with the Cleveland Browns in the mid-1960s; and Willie Lanier, a linebacker with the Kansas City Chiefs from 1967 to 1977—among numerous other stars. Florida A & M yielded Willie Gallimore, a running back with the Chicago Bears (1957–1963), and Bob Hayes, a sprinter who played wide receiver for the Dallas Cowboys (1965–1974). Grambling has sent scores of players to the NFL, including quarterback James Harris, running backs Paul Younger and Sammy White, wide receiver Charlie Joiner, defensive tackles Ernest Ladd and Junious "Buck" Buchanan, defensive backs Everson Walls, Roosevelt Taylor, and Willie Brown, and defensive end Willie Davis.

Two of the greatest offensive players in NFL history graduated from black colleges in Mississippi. Former NFL career rushing leader Walter Payton, whose record for total yards rushing was later eclipsed by Emmitt Smith, attended Jackson State before joining the Chicago Bears in 1975, and wide receiver Jerry Rice, the holder of career records for receptions, receiving yards, and touchdown receptions, among many others, graduated from Mississippi Valley State in 1985. Other notable products of black colleges include defensive specialists David "Deacon" Jones and Donnie Schell from South Carolina State, defensive end Elvin Bethea from North Carolina A & T, wide receivers John Stallworth and Harold Jackson of Alabama A & M and Jackson State, respectively, and guard Larry Little of Bethune-Cookman. Prairie View A & M produced safety Ken Houston and wide receiver Otis Taylor. Maryland State delivered defensive back Johnny Sample and two dominant linemen, Roger Brown and Art Shell. Savannah State yielded tight end Shannon Sharpe.

The NFL in the Postwar Years

The democratic idealism of World War II and the emergence of a rival professional league, the All-America Football Conference (AAFC), proved instrumental in the toppling of the racial barrier in 1946. That year the Los Angeles Rams of the NFL hired Kenny Washington and Woody Strode, and the Cleveland Browns of the AAFC signed Marion Motley and Bill Willis. Washington and Strode were beyond their prime, but Motley and Willis were at their peak. They helped lead the Browns to the first of four consecutive league championships. Both athletes were named first-team All-Pros, an honor that became perennial. Both would also be inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame.

The success of the Browns prompted desegregation among other teams, especially in the AAFC, which lasted until 1949. The football New York Yankees signed Buddy Young and the gridiron Brooklyn Dodgers took Elmore



Los Angeles Raiders head coach Art Shell, 1994. *When Shell was named head coach of the Raiders in 1989, he became the first African-American head coach in the National Football League since Fritz Pollard in the 1920s.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Harris of Morgan State. The Los Angeles Dons recruited Len Ford, Ezzrett Anderson, and Bert Piggott. Ford would go on to star as a defensive end for the Cleveland Browns. The San Francisco 49ers, originally an AAFC team, in 1948 signed Joe Perry, who would, in his second season, lead the league in rushing. After the 49ers joined the NFL, he became the first back to amass back-to-back thousand-yard rushing seasons, in 1953 and 1954.

Among NFL teams, only the Rams, the New York Giants, and the Detroit Lions took a chance on African-American athletes in the 1940s. The Lions signed Melvin Grooms and Bob Mann, and the Giants acquired Emlen Tunnell, one of the sport's greatest safeties. In the early 1950s the Giants also obtained Roosevelt Brown, a superior tackle. The Baltimore Colts acquired Buddy Young from the Yankees, and the Chicago Cardinals signed Wally Triplett, Ollie Matson, and Dick "Night Train" Lane. Matson was a crafty runner and dangerous receiver who rushed for 5,173 yards and caught 222 passes in fourteen NFL seasons. He was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1972. Dick Lane, another Hall of Fame inductee, excelled as a cornerback for the Cardinals and Lions. The Washington Redskins, the last NFL team to desegre-

gate in 1962, acquired Bobby Mitchell from the Cleveland Browns for the draft rights to Ernie Davis. Mitchell was a gifted wide receiver and an explosive kick returner. He, too, was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1983.

Jim Brown, Lenny Moore, and John Henry Johnson were all premier running backs in the 1950s and early 1960s. In nine seasons with Cleveland, Brown led the NFL in rushing eight times, amassing 12,312 yards and 126 touchdowns, a career record. He was selected Rookie of the Year in 1957 and MVP in 1958 and 1965. He was also voted to nine All-Pro teams. At 6'2" and 230 pounds, Brown ideally combined power, speed, and endurance. Lenny Moore was the epitome of a runner-receiver. He gained 5,174 yards as a halfback and another 6,039 yards as a receiver. He was named Rookie of the Year in 1956 and helped propel the Baltimore Colts to NFL championships in 1958 and 1959. He was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1975. John Henry Johnson, a powerful running back and ferocious blocker, played for San Francisco, Detroit, and Pittsburgh (1954–1966). In thirteen seasons, he totaled 6,803 yards on 1,571 carries.

The formation of the American Football League (AFL) in 1959 presented opportunities on the new teams for scores of African Americans. Prior to its merger with the NFL, the AFL produced many exciting black players. Carlton "Cookie" Gilchrist of the Buffalo Bills became the league's first thousand-yard rusher in 1962. Other excellent running backs included Abner Haynes of the Dallas Texans, Paul Lowe of Oakland, Jim Nance of Boston, and Mike Garrett of Kansas City. Lionel Taylor of Denver, Art Powell of Oakland, and Otis Taylor of Kansas City were all gifted receivers. Willie Brown and Dave Grayson were prominent defensive backs for Oakland. And three future Hall of Famers all played for Kansas City: Buck Buchanan, Bobby Bell, and Willie Lanier.

Minority athletes also excelled in the NFL during the 1960s. Roosevelt Brown of New York and Jim Parker of Baltimore were frequent All-Pros on the offensive line. The successful Green Bay teams were anchored on defense by Willie Davis at end, Herb Adderly at cornerback, and Willie Wood at safety. Other defensive standouts were Roger Brown and Dick Lane of Detroit, Abe Woodson of San Francisco, Roosevelt "Rosey" Grier of New York and Los Angeles, and Carl Eller and Alan Page of Minnesota.

Gale Sayers of the Chicago Bears was probably the most electrifying offensive star of the 1960s. A graceful back with breakaway speed, he won Rookie of the Year honors in 1965, scoring twenty-two touchdowns. The following year he led the NFL in rushing with 1,231 yards. After leading the league in rushing for a second time in 1969, injuries ended his career. The decade also yielded two superior pass receivers: Paul Warfield and Charlie Taylor. Playing thirteen seasons for Cleveland and Miami, Warfield caught 427 passes for 8,565 yards. Another Hall of Famer, Taylor played his entire thirteen-year career for Washington, totaling 649 passes for 9,140 yards.

The 1970 merger of the AFL and NFL set the stage for the emergence of professional football as America's most popular spectator sport. Since the merger the NFL has been split into two divisions, the National Football Conference (NFC) and the American Football Conference (AFC). During the era of the unified league, African Americans have managed to topple virtually every existing sports barrier. In football they have continued to dominate the skill positions of running back, receiver, and defensive back. In the 1970s Orenthal James "O. J." Simpson became the dominant back. A slashing and darting runner for the Buffalo Bills, Simpson led the AFC in rushing in 1972, 1973, 1975, and 1976. In 1973 he shattered Jim Brown's single-season record by rushing for 2,003 yards. In eleven seasons he rushed for 11,236 yards and caught 232 passes for 2,142 yards. Walter "Sweetness" Payton became the game's most statistically accomplished running back, establishing an NFL record of 16,726 yards during his thirteen seasons with the Chicago Bears. A durable player who missed only four of 194 games, he also established new records for most thousand-yard seasons (10), most hundred-yard games (77), most yards rushing in a single game (275), and finished his career second to Jim Brown for most touchdowns (125).

A number of blacks have gained recognition as receivers. Possessing both blocking and pass-catching ability, Kellen Winslow, Ozzie Newsome, Shannon Sharpe, and John Mackey have served as model tight ends. Mackey was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1991—an honor long overdue and probably denied him earlier because of his union fights against management and the NFL office. Notable wide receivers have included Otis Taylor, Paul Warfield, Harold Jackson, Cliff Branch, Drew Pearson, Mel Gray, Lynn Swann, John Stallworth, Isaac Curtis, James Lofton, Charlie Joiner, Mike Quick, Art Monk, Al Toon, Andre Rison, Andre Reed, John Taylor, Ahmad Rashad, Mark Duper, Mark Clayton, Michael Irvin, Sterling Sharpe, Jerry Rice, and Randy Moss.

Blacks have also distinguished themselves as defensive backs, interior linemen, and linebackers. Art Shell, Gene Upshaw, Bob Brown, Leon Gray, Reggie McKenzie, Anthony Munoz, and Larry Little all have excelled on the offensive line. Little was selected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1993. A frequent All-Pro selection, Dwight Stephenson of the Miami Dolphins became the first outstanding black center in the mid-1980s. Claude Hum-

phrey, Leroy Selmon, Joe Greene, Bruce Smith, Reggie White, and Charlie Johnson have all been standout defensive linemen. Defensive backs include Ronnie Lott, Mel Blount, Lem Barney, Jimmy Johnson, Emmitt Thomas, Donnie Schell, Louis Wright, Mike Haynes, Albert Lewis, Ron Woodson, Deion Sanders, and Charles Woodson. And some of the best linebackers in the game have been minority athletes such as George Webster, David Robinson, Willie Lanier, Robert Brazille, Lawrence Taylor, Mike Singletary, Cornelius Bennett, Seth Joyner, Hugh Green, Andre Tippett, Derrik Thomas, Vincent Brown, Junior Seau, and Rickey Jackson.

Blacks, too, have dispelled the myth that they lack the intellectual gifts to play certain positions, especially quarterback. In 1953 the Chicago Bears signed a black Michigan State signal caller appropriately named Willie Thrower. He appeared in several games but did not distinguish himself and was released at the end of the year. George Taliaferro of Indiana University appeared as a quarterback for Baltimore in 1953, but he also failed to make an impression. Two years later, the Green Bay Packers signed Charlie Brackins from Prairie View A & M, but he was used sparingly. Marlin Briscoe of the University of Omaha quarterbacked several games for the Denver Broncos in 1968 but was released the following year and became a wide receiver for Buffalo. James Harris of Grambling took snaps for Buffalo in 1969 and led the Los Angeles Rams to a division title in 1974. Joe Gilliam played adequately for Pittsburgh in 1974 but lost the job to Terry Bradshaw, who became the offensive leader of the Super Bowl champions.

The performance of Doug Williams for the Washington Redskins in the 1988 Super Bowl against Denver demonstrated that a black possessed the athletic and intellectual necessities to direct an NFL football team. In Super Bowl XXII Williams captured the MVP award by completing 18 of 29 passes for a record 340 yards and four touchdowns.

In 1988 Randall Cunningham demonstrated dazzling running and passing ability and directed the Philadelphia Eagles to their first division title since 1980. Warren Moon, leader of the high-powered "run and shoot" Houston Oiler offense, was one of the most accomplished passers in football. In 1990 his receiving corps of Haywood Jeffries, Drew Hill, Ernest Givens, and Curtis Duncan each caught more than sixty-five passes, an unparalleled gridiron feat. The later successes of quarterbacks Steve McNair, Daunte Culpepper, Michael Vick, and Donovan McNabb has continued to demonstrate the competence and skill of many African Americans in leading their team's offense on the field.

While distinguishing themselves at every playing position and earning salaries commensurate with their performances, blacks remained a novelty in terms of football management positions. For much of the twentieth century, there were no black owners and few African Americans in NFL front office jobs. Minority head coaches were rare, even though by the 1990s 60 percent of the players were black. Art Shell was named head coach of the Los Angeles Raiders in 1989, becoming the first black NFL coach since Fritz Pollard. After the 2003 Super Bowl, the Black Coaches Association was formed to work with the NFL to promote the hiring of minorities in professional football. At that time, the league's only black head coaches were Tony Dungy of the Indianapolis Colts, Herman Edwards of the New York Jets, and Marvin Lewis of the Cincinnati Bengals.

The status of African Americans in football in recent decades has been impressive, though many problems remain. Their entrance into leadership roles has been slow. In the past, high-salaried minority players have been criticized for being aloof. In part, blacks have been reluctant to speak out for fear of alienating the white majority. But highly visible minority athletes are increasingly speaking out on social issues in order to improve the human condition for athletes and nonathletes alike.

See also Robinson, Jackie; Simpson, O. J.; Sports

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Ford, James W.

December 22, 1893
June 21, 1957

James Ford, a Communist Party official, was born in Pratt City, Alabama. He worked on railroads and in steel mills while in high school. In 1913 he entered Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, but before receiving his degree he enlisted in the army and served in France during World War I. Following the war he returned to Fisk and completed his degree in 1920.

Ford then moved to Chicago, where he went to work with the postal service. He joined the Chicago Postal Workers Union and the American Negro Labor Congress, both affiliated with the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), and through these organizations was recruited into the party in 1926. Ford demonstrated considerable bureaucratic skill and political savvy, and he rose rapidly in the party hierarchy. In 1928 he was selected as a delegate to the Congress of the Communist Trade International, or Profintern, held in Moscow. Ford stayed in the Soviet Union for nine months and was elected to the executive committee of the Profintern. In 1930 he moved to Hamburg, Germany, where he cofounded the International Conference of Negro Workers and became the first editor of its *Negro Worker*.

Ford returned to the United States in 1931 and was selected to be the party's leading spokesperson on "the Negro question." Shortly after his return from Europe, Ford was made vice president of the party's League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and in 1932 he became the first black member of the American Politburo. Ford received national attention in 1932 when he was selected as the party's vice presidential candidate, becoming the first African American to appear on the ballot for national executive office. He and his running mate, party chair William Z. Foster, received 102,991 votes.

In 1933 Ford was installed as leader of the party's section in Harlem. Through the 1930s he transformed the Harlem party from a relatively decentralized, iconoclastic communist organization into a model of Stalinist orthodoxy. He quickly undercut the power of several black leaders in Harlem, including such leading black communists of the period as Cyril Briggs, Richard Moore, and Harry Haywood. In particular, Ford set out to rid the Harlem section of black nationalism, which had gained considerable currency among the membership. In his first year in Harlem Ford terminated communist participation in campaigns to boycott those Harlem stores that did not hire African Americans, arguing that such a strategy of local black empowerment would exacerbate divisions between black and white workers. Ford redirected Harlem communists to boycott only institutions with unionized workers whose unions supported the campaign, a strategy that proved successful in desegregating several private businesses and government agencies located in Harlem. Ford was also successful in expanding the Harlem party, which in the first two years of his leadership increased its black membership from 87 to more than 300 and its general membership from 560 to 1,000.

In 1936 Ford helped found the National Negro Congress, a civil rights organization closely aligned with the Communist Party. In that year he was again selected to be the CPUSA's vice presidential candidate, this time as a running mate with new party chair Earl Browder. Ford and Browder ran again in 1940 but received fewer than fifty thousand votes.

During World War II Ford's power within the national party diminished as he was eclipsed by the more dynamic Benjamin J. Davis as the party's leading black spokesperson. Ford was deposed from the National Committee (the renamed Politburo) at the party's congress in 1945 and was selected as chairperson of a newly formed internal security committee, though he remained the leader of the Harlem party.

After World War II Ford languished as an obscure party bureaucrat, escaping the federal prosecution that sent many of the Communist Party's leadership to prison. In the 1950s he served as executive director of the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, a party group set up to support black members convicted under federal antisubversion laws. Ford died in New York in 1957.

See also Briggs, Cyril; Communist Party of the United States; Haywood, Harry; Moore, Richard Benjamin

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Foreman, George

January 22, 1948

Born in Marshall, Texas, boxer, minister, and actor George Edward Foreman grew up in a poor Houston neighborhood, where he dropped out of school in the tenth grade, drifted into petty crime and heavy drinking, and gained a reputation as a mean street fighter. In August 1965 he joined the Job Corps, where Charles "Doc" Broadus introduced him to boxing. At the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, Foreman won the gold medal as a heavyweight. After his victory he waved an American flag in the ring, an action that contrasted dramatically with the behavior of two other black athletes at the games, sprinters John Carlos and Tommie Smith, who had protested racial injustice by raising black-gloved fists during the playing of the national anthem.

Foreman turned professional in 1969. He won his first thirty-seven professional fights, and in Kingston, Jamaica, on January 22, 1973, he knocked out the reigning champion, Joe Frazier, in two rounds to take the title. Foreman successfully defended his championship against Jose "King" Roman and Ken Norton, but on October 30, 1974, he lost it to Muhammad Ali in Kinshasa, Zaire. In that fight, billed as the "Rumble in the Jungle," Ali used an unorthodox "rope-a-dope" strategy, allowing Foreman to tire himself out by throwing most of the punches as Ali leaned back against the ropes and protected his head. By the eighth round, Foreman had tired significantly, and Ali was able to knock him out. Foreman won a number of fights in succeeding years, including a second match with Frazier. But he dropped a twelve-round decision to Jimmy Young in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on March 17, 1977, and retired, disheartened.

After his retirement from boxing, Foreman experienced a religious conversion and became a self-ordained evangelical preacher and pastor of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ in Houston. He also straightened out his personal life, which he described as a "total mess," including four failed marriages and a flamboyant lifestyle. In 1984 he established the George Foreman Youth and Community Center in Aldine, Texas.

In 1987, at the age of thirty-nine and badly overweight (267 pounds, compared to 217½ when he beat Frazier), Foreman returned to the ring in what was originally described as an effort to raise funds for his youth center. Many observers found it difficult to take his comeback seriously, but, after beating twenty-four lesser-known opponents, he gained credibility by making a good showing in a close twelve-round loss to Evander Holyfield on April 19, 1991, in Atlantic City, New Jersey. After winning several more fights, Foreman faced Tommy Morrison in a match for the World Boxing Organization title in Las Vegas, Nevada, on June 7, 1993, but lost in a unanimous twelve-round decision. After that fight Foreman's career record stood at seventy-three wins (including sixty-seven knockouts) and four losses. In a stunning reversal Foreman regained the heavyweight crown in 1994, fully twenty-one years after he first won it.

By that time Foreman had become something of a media celebrity. His easygoing and cheerful attitude, his unique appearance (besides his girth, Foreman's shaved head made him easily recognizable), and his unlikely status as a boxer in his forties made Foreman a favorite with many fans. He appeared on television in advertisements for a number of products, and in the fall of 1993 he briefly had his own television program on ABC, a situation comedy called *George,* in which he played a retired boxer who ran a youth center.

Foreman was stripped of his WBA crown in March 1995 for failing to fight contender Tony Tucker, and he retained his title as IBC champion until June 1995. Following his defeat by Shannon Briggs on November 22, 1997, Foreman dropped out of competition for the heavyweight championship.

In 2003, Foreman was inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame. That same year, he published a book, *George Foreman's Guide to Life,* with coauthor Linda Kulman.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Boxing; Frazier, Joe

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DANIEL SOYE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Forten, James

September 2, 1766
March 15, 1842

The businessman and abolitionist James Forten was born free in Philadelphia in 1766. He attended a Quaker school headed by abolitionist Anthony Benezet. At the age of fourteen he went to sea and became a powder boy on the *Royal Louis,* a colonial privateer under the command of Captain Stephen Decatur, father of the nineteenth-century naval hero of the same name. After one successful sortie against the British, the *Royal Louis* was captured by a group of British ships, and Forten and the rest of the crew were taken prisoner. Had he not befriended the son of the British captain, Forten, like many African Americans in his situation, might have been sent into slavery in the West Indies. Instead the British captain ensured that Forten would be transferred to the *Jersey,* a prison hulk in New York harbor, where many prisoners succumbed to rampant disease; Forten avoided serious illness and after seven months was released.

Shortly after his release, Forten began to work under the tutelage of Robert Bridges, a Philadelphia sail maker. Forten's skill and aptitude guaranteed his success in the industry, and by the age of twenty he was the foreman of Bridges's shop. Upon Bridges's retirement in 1798, Forten became the undisputed master of the shop and developed a reputation for excellent service and innovative sail handling techniques. His business grew; some estimates suggest that he had a fortune of over $100,000 by the early 1830s.

Forten used both his fortune and his fame to forward his agenda for the destruction of slavery. One of the most prominent and vocal Philadelphians on the issue, Forten was a lifelong advocate of immediate abolition. In 1800 he was a petitioner to the U.S. Congress to change the terms of the 1793 Fugitive Slave Law, which permitted suspected runaways to be seized and arrested without a warrant or access to due process. Forten refused to rig sails for ships that had participated in or were suspected of participating in the slave trade. In 1812, along with well-known Philadelphians Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, he helped raise a volunteer regiment of African Americans to help defend Philadelphia were the city to be threatened by the British.

In September 1830 Forten was a participant in the first National Negro Convention in Philadelphia. Its goal was to "consider the plight of the free Negro" and to "plan his social redemption." At the next annual convention, Forten used his influence to oppose funding for the American Colonization Society, which supported black emigration to Liberia; at other times, however, Philadelphia's black elite, including Forten, had advocated emigration to Haiti and Canada.

In 1832 Forten and several other African Americans forwarded another petition to the Pennsylvania legislature asking it not to restrict the immigration of free blacks into the state, nor to begin more rigorous enforcement of the 1793 federal Fugitive Slave Law. Much of their argument was based on two main principles: a moral argument based on the evils of slavery and an economic argument—that free blacks were extremely productive members of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania communities. As one of the organizers of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, Forten provided support, especially economic, to abolitionist activities. Forten's generous support greatly aided the continuing publication of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist *Liberator*. Around 1838 he also went to court in a vain attempt to secure the right to vote.

Forten was a founder and presiding officer of the American Moral Reform Society. The society stressed temperance, peace, and other Garrisonian ideals, which included the full and equal participation of women in antislavery activism and society in general. Forten's reputation for good works was well known: He received an award from the city of Philadelphia for saving at least four, and perhaps as many as twelve, people from drowning in the river near his shop. When he died in 1842, thousands of people, many of whom were white, reportedly attended his funeral.

Even before his death in 1842, the legacy of Forten's deep belief in abolition was carried on by his family. Forten's children, and later his grandchildren, would figure as prominent abolitionists and civil rights activists throughout the nineteenth century. Forten's son James Jr. and his son-in-law Robert Purvis were active in the abolitionist movement from the 1830s onward and often collaborated with the elder Forten in his various activities. All of Forten's daughters were involved in antislavery affairs, and Charlotte Forten Grimké, Forten's granddaughter, became a well-known author, educator, and civil rights activist.

See also Abolition; Grimké, Charlotte L. Forten; *Liberator, The*; Purvis, Robert

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EVAN A. SHORE (1996)
Updated bibliography

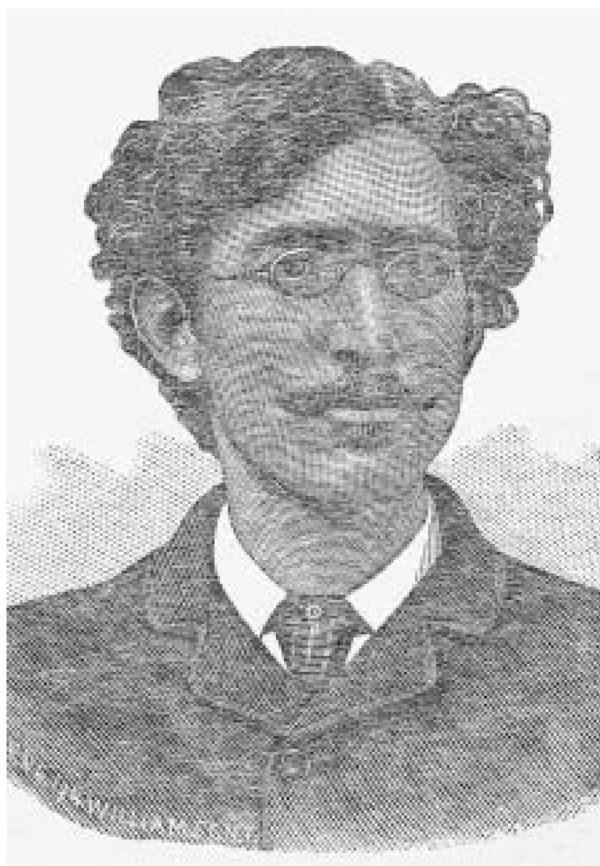
Fortune, T. Thomas

October 3, 1856
June 2, 1928

Timothy Thomas Fortune, a journalist and civil rights activist, was born a slave in Marianna, Florida, to Emanuel and Sarah Jane Fortune. After Emancipation his father, active in Republican politics, was forced by white violence to flee to Jacksonville, where young Fortune became a compositor at a local newspaper. In the winter of 1874, Fortune enrolled at Howard University with less than three years of formal education behind him. However, financial troubles compelled him to drop out, and he began working for a black weekly paper. Fortune married Carrie C. Smiley in the late 1870s and returned to Florida, where he worked on several newspapers. Chafing under southern racism, Fortune gladly moved to New York City in 1881 to accept a position with a white-owned weekly publication.

In New York, Fortune joined with other African Americans who had founded a tabloid called *Rumor* (soon known as the *New York Globe*), and he became managing editor. Fortune set the *Globe*'s militant tone in his editorial advocacy of black civil rights and self-defense; he also shared Henry George's critique of monopoly and endorsed his land distribution program. Moreover, at a time when most black newspapers backed the Republican Party, Fortune favored political independence. He expanded on these radical themes in his book, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South,* published in 1884.

The *Globe* folded in early November 1884. Just two weeks later, however, Fortune was producing the *Freeman* (soon called the *New York Freeman*), a four-page weekly whose circulation stood at five thousand by the end of its first year. In October 1887 Fortune left the *Freeman,* which



Wood engraving of T. Thomas Fortune, c. 1891. *The editor and publisher of the* New York Freeman *(later the* New York Age*), which he founded in 1884, Fortune was the best known and most outspoken black editor of his era, and a key figure in the Afro-American League (AAL), an early and important vehicle for the cause of civil rights.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

became the *New York Age,* and began to court Republican support. (Fortune supported Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland in 1888.) He returned as editor in February 1889, renouncing his past alliance with the Democrats but continuing to criticize the Republicans' inaction on racial issues. He supplemented his income by writing for the *New York Sun,* a leading newspaper.

Fortune was also a key figure in the Afro-American League (AAL), an early and important vehicle for civil rights agitation. In May 1887, Fortune proposed the formation of a nonpartisan organization to challenge lynch law in the South and to demand equal opportunities in voting, education, and public accommodations. He also issued the call for the AAL's first national convention; at the January 1890 meeting, he was elected secretary. The AAL planned to fight Jim Crow through legal means; after

Fortune himself was refused service at a New York hotel bar, the AAL sued the proprietor and won. But without adequate resources to mount regular legal challenges, and lacking support from prominent black Republicans, by 1893 the organization had sunk into decline.

Fortune continued to expose racist abuses, particularly in the South. After Ida B. Wells's Memphis newspaper office was destroyed by a mob, he offered her work on the *Age* and published her stunning exposé of lynching. In 1894 to 1895, Fortune himself toured the South and reported on worsening conditions there. Despite the revival in 1898 of the old AAL as the Afro-American Council (AAC), Fortune had by then grown deeply pessimistic about the possibilities for securing racial justice.

During this period of disaffection, Fortune solidified his relationship with Booker T. Washington. The two had first come into contact in the early 1880s and, despite their differences, Fortune helped launch the accommodationist Washington as a national figure. Fortune not only publicized the Tuskegee Institute in the *Age*, but also employed his literary talents to polish and promote Washington's views; he wrote a long introduction to *Black-Belt Diamonds* (1898), a collection of Washington's speeches, and he edited and revised Washington's *The Future of the American Negro* (1898). Because Fortune's only income came from journalism, the remuneration he received for these efforts, as well as emergency loans from Washington, helped tide him over through hard times.

As Washington rose in national stature, he relied increasingly on Fortune—his closest ally in the North—to advance his political agenda. Fortune, aware that Washington occasionally backed legal challenges to Jim Crow behind the scenes, tried to make Washington's views more palatable to a northern black audience. Fortune served as chair of the executive committee of the National Negro Business League (NNBL), formed by Washington in 1900. As AAC president in the early 1900s, Fortune helped squelch anti-Washington sentiment spearheaded by William Monroe Trotter of the *Boston Guardian*.

One reason for Fortune's efforts on Washington's behalf was that he hoped for a political appointment to resolve his financial difficulties. He did manage, in late 1902, to secure a six-month post as special immigrant agent of the U.S. Treasury Department, investigating racial conditions in Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. Evidence suggests, however, that Washington thwarted Fortune's future aspirations, possibly because he realized a government position would increase Fortune's economic independence.

Fortune's greatest usefulness to Washington had been as an "independent" journalist, and observers had grown

> ***T. Thomas Fortune***
>
> "We know our rights … and have the power to defend them."
>
> JOHN BRACEY, AUGUST MEIER AND ELLIOTT RUDWICK, EDS., *BLACK NATIONALISM IN AMERICA (INDIANAPOLIS: BOBS-MERRILL, 1970)*, P. 212.

skeptical of his independence; as early as 1902 the *Guardian* had written scathingly that "much of the fat that now greases the way for the *Age,* comes out of the Tuskegee larder." Moreover, Fortune continued to take militant political stances that were not in line with Washington's own positions.

In February 1907 Washington secretly acquired direct control of the *Age*, and his heavy-handed management contributed to Fortune's nervous breakdown later that year. Believing he had been called by God to preach to the race, Fortune sold his shares in the *Age* to Fred R. Moore (1857–1943), a Washington loyalist, who claimed a "white friend" had backed the transaction. Unknown to Fortune, it was Washington's money that had clinched the deal.

Fortune left for Chicago and sought unsuccessfully to reestablish himself. With little to lose, he disclosed Washington's financial interest in the *Age* and was lauded by Washington's rivals. But this did nothing to resolve his deepening financial crisis. His marriage had collapsed by 1906; now he lost his home. Suffering from alcoholism and unable to obtain steady work, he scraped by for years on whatever intermittent journalistic employment he could find.

The *Age,* meanwhile, deteriorated dramatically in quality, and Washington lured Fortune back in the fall of 1914. While the compensation was poor and Fortune's editorial independence limited, he remained with the *Age* for three years. Thereafter he worked for papers in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere.

The early 1920s ushered in new political possibilities for African Americans and brought Fortune back from the edge of destitution and despair. In 1923 he became editor of the *Negro World,* the organ of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. While Fortune never embraced the Garvey movement, he had become deeply disillusioned by black people's failure to attain equality and justice by means of the political process. Through his work for the *Negro World,* he was able to regain his self-

respect. In the late 1920s Fortune's colleagues in the National Negro Press Association (over which he himself had presided some thirty years before) lauded him as the "dean" of Negro journalists. He edited the *World* until his death on June 2, 1928, at the home of his son Fred in the Philadelphia area.

Fortune's erratic career has somewhat obscured his own historical importance. Before Booker T. Washington's ascent as a national figure began in 1895, Fortune himself was acknowledged as the major spokesperson for black America. His leadership role in the late nineteenth-century civil rights movement was instrumental in shaping the debate over how African Americans would respond to their legal and social oppression in the decades to come.

See also *Guardian, The*; Emancipation in the United States; Garvey, Marcus; Journalism; *Negro World*; Trotter, William Monroe; Tuskegee University; Universal Negro Improvement Association; Washington, Booker T.; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)

Fourteenth Amendment

Coming approximately ten years after the *Dred Scott* decision had ruled that all slaves and their descendants were not citizens of the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified on July 28, 1868, granted both state and federal citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" (with the notable exception of Native Americans living on reservations). It also pledged that no state shall "abridge the privileges or immunities" of citizens nor "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Along with the Fifteenth Amendment, which sought to extend the franchise to all blacks, the Fourteenth Amendment was drafted by Radical Republican members of Congress, who were uneasy with President Andrew Johnson's lenient policies toward the South in the wake of the Civil War. These Republicans aimed at giving meaning to the freedom that had been legally granted to slaves by the Thirteenth Amendment. In particular, they hoped to invalidate the discriminatory black codes that had been passed by various state legislatures.

Radical Republicans were also concerned that, with the emancipation of slaves, southern representation in Congress would dramatically increase when the former Confederate states reentered the Union—according to Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, only three-fifths of the slave population had previously been counted for purposes of representation. To ensure that newly freed blacks would have a voice in choosing their political leaders, Section 2 of the amendment promised to reduce congressional representation proportionately for each male citizen denied suffrage. (Despite severe restrictions placed on black suffrage, however, this section was never applied.)

Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment excluded former Confederates from holding political office even if they had previously taken an oath to support the U.S. Constitution. This section aimed at keeping former Confederate officers from regaining political office. It had only a temporary effect. Section 4 declared the government of the United States not liable for the Confederate debt.

The intentions of the Radical Republicans were undermined by a series of conservative Supreme Court decisions. In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873), the Court held that state law, rather than federal law, controlled the basic civil liberties of citizens. Further, it interpreted the "privileges and immunities" of citizens in a narrow way, covering such matters as protection on the high seas. The Court also declared that states were not required to enforce the liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. In the 1883 *Civil Rights* cases, the Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment did not ensure citizens equal access to public accommodations, and in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), that racial segregation of railways was not a violation of the amendment's "equal protection" clause.

After World War II, a different interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment evolved from a less conservative Supreme Court. The "equal protection" clause began to be used to fight racial discrimination in such cases as *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), against school segregation, and the *Reapportionment Cases* (1964), against unfairly drawn state legislative districts. Additionally, the Court came to hold a broader interpretation of the civil rights protected under the Fourteenth Amend-

ment. *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) outlawed racially restrictive covenants in housing. *U.S. v. Guest* (1966) applied the Fourteenth Amendment to cover private violence that was racially motivated. Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Court ruled, in a series of cases, that most of the Bill of Rights had to be respected by the states. The liberal Court of the late 1960s and early 1970s found other rights guaranteed by the amendment, such as the right to use birth control devices (*Griswold v. Connecticut,* 1965) and the right to an abortion (*Roe v. Wade,* 1973). The appointees of several conservative Republican presidents from the 1970s and 1980s, however, have interpreted the rights protected under the amendment more narrowly.

It took approximately a century before the federal government was willing to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment as its authors had envisioned. The amendment will no doubt continue to be interpreted in ways that will either broaden or narrow federal protection of civil rights, according to the political climate of the nation and the makeup of the Court.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Fifteenth Amendment; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Thirteenth Amendment

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WALTER FRIEDMAN (1996)

Foxx, Redd

December 9, 1922
October 11, 1991

Comedian Redd Foxx was born John Elroy Sanford in St. Louis, Missouri, the second son of Fred Sanford, an electrician, and Mary Alma Hughes Sanford, a minister. Foxx's father deserted the family when Foxx was four, and Foxx was raised first by his grandmother, and then in Chicago by his mother, who at that time was employed as a domestic.

Foxx quit high school after one year to play in a washtub band with two friends, Lamont Ousley and Steve Trimel. In 1939 they ran away to New York City, called themselves the Bon-Bons, and earned money performing on street corners and in subways. World War II broke up the band, and Foxx, rejected by the military, began to play in a tramp band act at the Apollo Theater with Jimmie Lunceford.

About this time, Foxx adopted his professional name. Called "Red" because of his red hair and light complexion, he added an extra *d* to "Red" and took the name "Foxx" with the term "foxy" (and the baseball player Jimmy Foxx) in mind. He began landing nightclub jobs, where he developed his stand-up routine. After four years of teaming with comedian Slappy White (1947–1951), Foxx worked on the West Coast. In 1956 he recorded the first of what would become more than fifty "party records"—comedy albums specializing in raunchy humor.

Although Foxx had never done any straight acting, he accepted the small role of Uncle Bud in the 1969 film *Cotton Comes to Harlem*. Executives at NBC developed the character into the situation comedy *Sanford and Son* and cast Foxx in the title role of a cantankerous junk dealer who spent more time malingering and badgering his son than working. The program, which premiered in 1972 and ran through 1977, brought Foxx considerable acclaim and popularity. He attempted to recreate his role as Fred Sanford in a series that ran in 1980, but was unable to revive the original program's appeal.

While *Sanford and Son* made Foxx wealthy, in 1983 he filed for bankruptcy protection, citing mounting debts. In 1985 the Internal Revenue Service claimed Foxx owed almost $3 million in taxes, interest, and penalties, and seized many of his possessions, including his home in Las Vegas.

Foxx was working on the set of a new NBC series, *The Royal Family,* when he suffered a heart attack and died in 1991.

See also Apollo Theater; Comedians; Television

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Francisco, Slinger "The Mighty Sparrow"

July 9, 1935

Slinger Francisco, called "The Mighty Sparrow," is an internationally recognized calypsonian, one of the very few known by both his real name and his sobriquet. He has repeatedly filled some of the largest world venues, including New York City's Madison Square Garden. He is an eleven-time Trinidad and Tobago Calypso Monarch and an eight-time Trinidad and Tobago Carnival Road March Competition winner.

Sparrow was born in the small fishing village of Gran Roi, Grenada, in 1935 and migrated with his family to Trinidad when he was one. At the Newtown Boys' School in Port-of-Spain, Sparrow was head choirboy, singing baritone and tenor in Gregorian chants and classic hymns in Latin. At the age of twenty, he ventured into calypso, drawing inspiration from Lord Melody, Lord Invader (the original singer of the famed "Rum and Coca-Cola"), Lord Kitchener, and others. Sparrow taught himself to play the guitar and studied the composition styles of the reigning calypsonians of the 1950s to work out where he wanted the art form to go. Although he has admitted to working with writers and arrangers at times, he has composed a great deal of his own music. In 1954 he first performed his own work at a calypso tent on South Quay, Port-of-Spain, performing "The Parrot and the Monkey" under the sobriquet Little Sparrow. The release of "Jean and Dinah," a song protesting the behavior of the Americans stationed at Trinidad's military bases during World War II, earned him the title Calypso King at the 1956 Dimanche Gras show, the annual exhibition show for calypsonians on the night before the opening of carnival. With this, Sparrow became a star.

Sparrow's contributions to the development of the carnival festivities in Trinidad and Tobago are unprecedented. His 1957 song "Carnival Boycott" protested the Trinidad and Tobago government's failed attempts at promoting calypso and carnival. As a result of the developments set in motion by the song, the Carnival Development Committee was created in 1958, and it has gone on to support Calypsonians, steel bands, *mas* (the actual carnival parade itself, shortened from the word "masquerade"), and other crucial elements of the Trinidad and Tobago carnival. In 1958, for the first time, a calypsonian had a triple win in the Road March Competition: The three most popular songs played in the streets of Trinidad and Tobago during carnival Monday and Tuesday were The Mighty Sparrow's.

In the tradition of calypso, many of The Mighty Sparrow's songs are social commentary, including his 1962 "Federation," which lamented the break-up of the proposed Caribbean Federation. His musical aims have been to amuse, uplift, and poke fun at the people of the Caribbean, and his long career is a testament to his ability to keep his calypsos fresh and relevant.

See also Calypso

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TOMIKO C. BALLANTYNE-NISBETT (2005)

François, Elma

October 14, 1897
April 17, 1944

Elma François was born in Overland, St. Vincent, to Stanley and Estina François. Her early years were shaped by her primary school education and her remarkable awareness of the straitened conditions of life in Kingstown, the capital city, an awareness that François acquired after her family moved there when she was five years old to escape the ravages of volcanic eruptions. Her genuine appreciation and concern for the plight of fellow workers on the cotton estates gave rise to her labor activism and association with labor organizer George McIntosh.

In 1919 at the age of twenty-two, leaving behind a son who would later join her, François was lured to Trinidad by the promise of greater economic opportunities. In the prevailing depression conditions she worked as a domestic and soon joined the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA), known as the Trinidad Labour Party (TLP) after 1934. For François, political activity meant working among people, so her "rap sessions," political speeches, and hunger marches in and around Port of Spain often went beyond the parameters set by the TWA/TLP.

In 1934 François was one of the founders of the National Unemployed Movement (NUM), which trans-

formed itself into the more structured Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (NWCSA) at the end of 1935. This association embraced political, trade union, cooperative, research, educational, and social work activities and was responsible for the formation of three major trade unions in Trinidad and Tobago: the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union (SWWTU), the National Union of Government Workers (NUGW), and the Federated Workers Union, which later joined with the NUGW to form the NUGFW. One member, Dudley Mahon, aptly described François's role in the organization: "We looked up to her for leadership and she was always right. We had a lot of confidence in her." (Reddock, 1988, p.17)

The communist-inspired NWCSA concentrated on the country's poor and working class, organizing domestic servants and women transporting coal on the Port of Spain docks, and by the end of 1936 it was challenging the more mainstream TWA/TLP leader, A. A. Cipriani. The NWCSA highlighted the high cost of living, petitioned against the destruction of small black businesses by the Shop Hours (Opening and Closing) Ordinance, which favored larger enterprises, and led the campaign against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. With T. U. B. Butler, a catalyst of the labor movement, the NWCSA was part of the historic labor disturbances starting June 19, 1937. These led to the arrest of François, Butler, and other NWCSA members, and the Sedition Trials of 1937–1938. François, who undertook her own successful defense, earned the distinction of being the first woman in Trinidad and Tobago's history to be tried for sedition.

François identified June 19, 1937, as the date of the new emancipation of labor, and in 1939 the NWCSA reactivated the celebration of August 1, the first Emancipation Day, at a time when others preferred to forget the slave experience. In 1939, unlike most organizations, François and the NWCSA campaigned against Caribbean workers' participation in World War II, an extremely radical action at that time.

With her untimely death, the NWCSA lost much of its momentum, but her historical significance in the cause of labor and socialism is undisputed. On September 26, 1987 (Republic Day), she was made a National Heroine of Trinidad and Tobago, and she remains the source of much pride in her native St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

See also McIntosh, George; Politics: Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean

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RHODA E. REDDOCK (2005)

Franklin, Aretha

March 25, 1942

Known as "Lady Soul" and "The Queen of Soul," singer Aretha Franklin brought the undiluted power of black gospel singing to American popular music beginning in the late 1960s. Born March 25, 1942, in Memphis, Tennessee, and raised in Detroit, Michigan, she was the fourth of five children of Barbara Siggers Franklin and the well-known gospel preacher and singer, the Rev. C. L. Franklin of Detroit's New Bethel Baptist Church. Her mother, also a gospel singer, left her husband and children in 1948 when Aretha was six, and died shortly thereafter.

Aretha's formative years were spent singing in her father's church choir and traveling with him on the gospel circuit. Numerous jazz and gospel figures visited the Franklin's home, and James Cleveland boarded with the family and worked with Aretha as she practiced playing the piano and singing. Clara Ward sang at an aunt's funeral, and Franklin was so moved she decided to become a professional singer herself. At fourteen she recorded a selection of gospel songs including Thomas A. Dorsey's "Precious Lord, Take My Hand." She became pregnant at fifteen and dropped out of school.

At eighteen Franklin was brought to the attention of John Hammond, the producer at Columbia Records who had "discovered" Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, and other African-American musicians. Hammond praised Franklin's voice as the best he had heard in twenty years. Franklin signed with Columbia and moved to New York but achieved only marginal success as a pop singer because of Columbia's material and arrangements, a confused hodgepodge of jazz, pop, and standards.

Her breakthrough came in 1966 when her Columbia contract expired and she signed with Atlantic Records,

where she was teamed with veteran producer Jerry Wexler. He constructed simple, gospel-influenced arrangements for her, often based on her own piano playing. In these comfortable musical settings her true voice emerged with intensity and emotion. Wexler said, "I took her to church, sat her down at the piano, and let her be herself." Franklin's first record with Wexler was "I Never Loved a Man (The Way I Love You)" in February 1967. It was an immediate success and topped *Billboard*'s charts. Her second hit, "Respect," was sung with such conviction it became a call for black and feminist pride and empowerment.

Often compared to Ray Charles for her fusion of sacred and secular styles, Franklin came to personify African-American "soul" music. She produced a series of top records including "Chain of Fools," "Think," and "Don't Play That Song." She has won fifteen Grammy Awards, three American Music Awards, and a Grammy Living Legend Award. With thirty-five albums, she has had seventeen number one rhythm-and-blues singles, and more million-selling singles than any other woman singer. In 1980 she switched to the Arista label.

Franklin experienced further triumphs in the 1980s. In 1987 she was the first woman inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. In 1988 she won a Grammy for best soul gospel performance. In the 1990s she sang at the 1993 and 1997 inaugurations of President Bill Clinton, and in the mid-1990s she launched her own record label, World Class Records. Two more albums followed—*A Rose Is Still a Rose* in 1998 and *So Damn Happy* in 2003.

Throughout her career, her dominant public voice has been contrasted with her private, even reclusive, personality, although she carefully monitors her career and the music industry. Her personal life has at times been difficult, with her mother's abandonment, her own pregnancy at age fifteen, several unsuccessful marriages, and, particularly, the fact that her father, to whom she was very close, spent five years in a coma from a gunshot wound in 1979 until his death in 1984.

See also Franklin, C. L.; Gospel Music; Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Franklin, C. L.

January 22, 1915
July 27, 1984

Clarence LaVaughn Franklin, father of the singer Aretha Franklin, was the most popular African-American preacher of his generation. Born in Sunflower County, Mississippi, near Indianola, he was raised by his mother, Rachel, and stepfather, Henry Franklin, a sharecropper, near Cleveland, Mississippi. The segregation, discrimination, and material poverty of that time and place made an enduring impression on him, but so did his mother's constant love and support. At about the age of nine, he was converted, joined St. Peter's Rock Baptist Church in Cleveland, and sang in the church choir, eventually becoming a soloist. Inspired by the preaching of Dr. Benjamin J. Perkins, then president of the State Baptist Convention, he felt that God had called him to preach. A dream or vision in which he saw a burning plank confirmed the call; he preached his first sermon at age fifteen or sixteen, was ordained by St. Peter's Rock Church two years later, and began preaching regularly. He left his parents' farm and moved to Cleveland, then to Clarksdale, where he pastored several rural churches and married. He and his wife, Barbara, moved to Greenville, where he attended Greenville Industrial College, a combined seminary and trade school, supporting his new family by preaching. In his early twenties the Franklins moved to Memphis, Tennessee, and for three years he pastored two churches while attending LeMoyne College as a special student, taking courses in literature and social science. His next pastorate was Friendship Baptist Church in Buffalo, New York. Although he liked the congregation, he regretted that Buffalo was outside the mainstream of African-American culture and resolved to look elsewhere. In 1946 he became pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church in Detroit, a position he held until his death.

A handsome man of uncommon intelligence and theological insight, and a brilliant orator with a rich, forceful delivery and masterful powers of organization and concentration, Franklin became a national celebrity as a result of sermon recordings and groundbreaking preaching tours. Joe von Battle, an entrepreneur in the Detroit black community, recorded Franklin's Sunday sermons at New Bethel beginning in the early 1950s, and for the next twenty-five years these were issued on long-playing records, played on black radio programs, and distributed throughout the nation. From about 1953 through the mid-1960s, until his health could no longer stand the strain, he combined time at New Bethel with preaching tours that took

him to almost every city in the United States. The programs began with gospel singing and concluded after he delivered a sermon. Millions of people bought his records and heard him preach at churches, city auditoriums, and stadiums. His sermon recordings were (and still are) used in seminaries, and his influence on other African-American preachers was enormous. It is said that every preacher either tried to imitate him or tried to avoid doing so. New Bethel's membership grew to more than ten thousand, and visitors to Detroit made it a point to hear him preach, swelling the congregation until his sermons had to be broadcast to crowds gathered in the city blocks near the church.

Franklin's sermons were well informed historically and theologically, and he sought to instruct as well as inspire his listeners. He thought about his subjects and planned his sermons in advance, but he delivered them extemporaneously. Always based on a passage from the Bible, each sermon brought biblical characters and theological insights to life in historical and contemporary contexts, with special relevance to African-American experience. A consummate orator, Franklin began his sermons as interactive rhetorical demonstrations, making theological concepts plain and incorporating traditional African-American biblical storytelling and dramatic monologues while members of the congregation responded aloud, punctuating his phrases with encouraging cries. After these expositions, Franklin changed his delivery to "whooping" (intonational or chanted preaching), often carrying on to the climax of a story with shouts and moans amid a poetic eloquence that brought congregations to their feet, shouting, moaning, and dancing in response. His sermons thus combined traditional African-American subjects and techniques with modern theological insight (he left fundamentalism behind in Mississippi) and appealed to people over a broad spectrum of age and experience.

Although best known as a gospel preacher, Franklin participated in the civil rights movement and helped African Americans obtain political office. Many black political figures, including Detroit mayor Coleman Young and Michigan congressman John Conyers, were close to Franklin and campaigned in New Bethel. Against much opposition from the white power structure, Franklin organized the 1963 civil rights march in Detroit, which drew a quarter million people and where the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., first presented his "I Have a Dream" speech. King invited Franklin to preach at the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, where he electrified the assembled crowd.

In the 1970s Franklin ceased his preaching tours and concentrated on his New Bethel ministry. He was shot by robbers in 1979 and remained in a coma until he died in 1984. His most popular recorded sermons were "The Eagle Stirreth Her Nest," "Give Me This Mountain," "Dry Bones in the Valley," and "The Prodigal Son." They rank among the most outstanding documented sermons in the English language.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Franklin, Aretha

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JEFF TODD TITON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Franklin, John Hope

January 2, 1915

Historian and educator John Hope Franklin was born in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, an exclusively African-American town. At an early age he came to be introduced to white custom, law, and justice in the South. His father, a lawyer, was expelled from court by a white judge who told him that no black person could ever practice law in his court. Young Franklin was himself ejected, along with his mother (an elementary school teacher) and sister, from a train because his mother refused to move from the coach designated for whites. After moving to Tulsa in 1926, Franklin attended Booker T. Washington High School and learned the meaning of a "separate but equal" education—inferior facilities and a sharply limited curriculum. His avid interest in music introduced him to the Jim Crow seats in the local concert hall. He went on to receive his B.A. at Fisk University in 1935 and his Ph.D. in history at Harvard University in 1941.

Throughout his career, Franklin combined scholarship with social activism. As student body president at Fisk University, he protested the lynching of a local black man to the mayor, the governor, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Having once been barred from entering the University of Oklahoma to pursue graduate studies, he readily agreed to the request of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that he

be an expert witness for a black student seeking admission to the graduate program in history at the University of Kentucky. At the request of Thurgood Marshall, he served on the research team whose work led to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision outlawing school segregation. In 1965 he joined more than thirty other historians on the civil rights march into Montgomery, Alabama.

Like Carter Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois, Franklin demonstrated to a skeptical or indifferent profession that the history of black Americans was a legitimate field for scholarly research. His first book, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (1943), explored the anomalous position of free blacks in the slave South. *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (1961) was a revisionist treatment of the unique experiment in biracial democratic government in the postwar South, particularly in its depiction of blacks as active participants and leaders, not simply as victims or passive tools of white politicians. In *The Militant South* (1956) and *A Southern Odyssey* (1976), Franklin explored different facets of the southern experience and varieties of southern white expression. His Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities for 1976, "Racial Equality in America," probed that troubled and elusive search. In a turn to biography, his *George Washington Williams* (1985) traced the life of a historian who wrote in the 1880s the first substantial and scholarly history of black Americans. For hundreds of thousands of students, Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom* (first published in 1947) introduced them to African-American history. In *Race and History* (1989) he brought together his most important essays and lectures, including his autobiographical sketch and reflections, "A Life of Learning."

In his books, as in his teaching, Franklin transcends the distinction between African-American and American history. He has underscored the unique quality of the history of African Americans even as he has viewed that history as an intimate part of American history, inseparable from and a central theme in the national experience. Rejecting the need to replace old distortions with new myths and eulogistic sketches of heroes and heroines, he has demonstrated his full appreciation of the complexity and integrity of the American and African-American past.

Franklin's early teaching career included stints at Fisk University, St. Augustine's College, North Carolina Central College, and Howard University. In 1956 he went to Brooklyn College as chairman of the department of history—a department of fifty-two white historians. (The appointment made the front page of the *New York Times;* Franklin's troubled search for housing did not.) In 1964 he joined the history faculty of the University of Chicago, serving as chair from 1967 to 1970 and as the John Matthews Manly Distinguished Service Professor from 1969 to 1982. Moving to Durham, North Carolina, he chose to diversify rather than retire, becoming the James B. Duke Professor of History and professor of legal history in the law school at Duke University.

Franklin has been elected to the presidencies of the American Studies Association, the Southern Historical Association, the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, the Organization of American Historians, and the American Historical Association. More than seventy colleges and universities have awarded him an honorary degree. He has served on numerous national commissions, and in 1980 was a United States delegate to the 21st General Conference of UNESCO. In 1978 the state that initially forced John Hope Franklin to undergo the humiliating rites of racial passage elected him to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. Franklin retired in 1992. In 1995, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom and also received the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP. In 1997 he was called out of retirement to chair President Bill Clinton's Initiative on Race. Conservative critics accused the panel of problack bias on racial issues, and Franklin was criticized for his statement that the period after Emancipation was in many ways worse for black Americans than slavery. Despite the controversy, the commission's final report, issued in September 1998, was almost completely ignored by Congress.

In Franklin's honor, the John Hope Franklin Center for Interdisciplinary and International Studies opened at Duke University in 2000. In 2004 the John Hope Franklin Award was established to point the spotlight on scholars and education activists.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Du Bois, W.E.B.; Fisk University; Howard University; Woodson, Carter G.

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LEON F. LITWACK (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Franks, Gary

1954?

Politician and entrepreneur Gary Franks was the first African-American congressman elected from Connecticut. His father, who had not completed the sixth grade, was determined that his six children would become college graduates, and all did. A Connecticut native, Franks graduated from Yale University in 1975. In the late 1970s, after working as an industrial and labor relations executive in Fairfield County, Connecticut, he opened his own real estate business and became highly successful.

Franks entered local politics as alderman in Waterbury, where he served three terms. He ran unsuccessfully for state alderman in 1986. His earlier success, however, led him to run on the Republican ticket for the U.S. House of Representatives. He won the seat in November 1990, at a time when African-American representation in highly visible positions, such as mayors of major cities or in the U.S. Senate, was slight. Franks platform included advocacy of abortion rights, the death penalty for top drug dealers, and a constitutional amendment to prohibit burning the U.S. flag. Franks also favored cuts in the capital gains tax and opposed increases in federal income taxes.

His victory made him the nation's top-ranking elected black Republican, and he was highly touted by Republicans, who saw him as attractive enough to encourage more minorities to join the Republican Party.

After serving three terms in Congress, Franks was unsuccessful in his bid for reelection in 1996. He was a candidate for election to the U.S. Senate in 1998, but was defeated.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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RAYMOND WINBUSH (2001)

Fraternal Orders

At the height of their popularity between 1870 and 1930, fraternal societies in the United States defined community roles for many middle-class men and women from coast to coast. The groups arose as local chapters of national organizations, forming essential relationships between citizens and their neighbors. While their economic and political power derived mainly from the distribution of membership dues for various charities, such as local lobbying, community insurance, mutual aid, scholarships, or nonalcoholic leisure, the most significant fraternal societies met with pomp and decoration to cement individual identities to the rituals of status associated with male Masonic orders originating in Europe, such as the Freemasons. African-Americans were early and important agents of fraternal orders, though their organized practices were both symbolically similar and socially distinct from the white fraternal orders operating in nearby locations. In any event, American fraternal orders performed ornate ceremonies to embed member identities in mythological narratives about past connections to great leaders, and used racial and gender divisions to maintain the illusion of the group's selectiveness for its members, who desired more social status from their middle-class lives.

Since fraternal orders originated in Europe, the development of the American orders was always rebounding over the Atlantic, especially to England and its colonies. The first black member of any fraternal order was reputedly John Pine (1690–1756), a member the English Freemasons in the Globe Tavern Lodge in Morgate, England. He may have served as a critical precedent for Prince Hall, probably the primary early figure in African-American fraternal history. In 1787 Hall led a group to seek a Masonic charter from England, which was then and remains now the most important fraternal order. The charter issued to him for African Lodge 459 was legitimate and remains a controversial point of origin for a schism within American Masonry. White Massachusetts elites rejected Hall's leadership based on his skin color and applied for a separate charter, and fraternal orders thus developed segregated, with the Prince Hall faction becoming the eponymous Prince Hall Masonry. While contemporary Freemasons now claim to be legally integrated, the separation of fraternal orders explicitly by race was unique to the United States.

The Boston Prince Hall lodge dispersed and mutated for a few decades. By the time its remaining leader, John T. Hilton, organized his own fraternal order in 1847, other Prince Hall lodges had already spread west and south. The Grand Lodge of Ohio alone disseminated the order into

Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama, and Missouri. As the order traveled, its influence grew in new communities. Soon the antebellum period saw the rise of several new African-American fraternal orders. The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows established itself in New York in March 1843, and like the Prince Hall Masons sought its legitimacy abroad from an Odd Fellows lodge in England. By the late 1850s, it had over sixty-one different lodges, and such growth was typical. Other orders grew from charismatic and original leadership: when Moses Dickinson founded the Twelve Knights of Tabor in 1872, he had already operated a secret Knights of Liberty group on the Mississippi River composed of men who aided runaway slaves.

The Civil War and Reconstruction period saw an even more explosive rise in African-American fraternal orders, with African-Americans creating new local organizations or observing white formations and fusing elements of different local cultures. The Colored Knights of Pythias, for instance, began in Washington, D.C., in 1863, and like Prince Hall and Odd Fellows followed the same traditions as similarly named white institutions in the same cities and towns. Some groups, like the Independent Order of Good Templars or Grand United Order of True Reformers, grew from temperance or insurance societies that actually included white members, and then splintered during the onset of Jim Crow. The ex-slave Mary Prout founded another important society from Baltimore, the Independent Order of Saint Luke, in 1867. The Prince Hall lodges and Odd Fellows began their own interdependent female orders during that era, and many others followed.

Throughout the decades leading to the close of the nineteenth century, the fraternal societies recruited members, collected dues, performed rituals and rites, administered regalia, and provided money for burial services. By 1900, membership continued to expand and fraternal treasuries funded independent savings banks and mortgage lending. These orders flourished through the 1920s, and membership in more than one order was common in certain places. The orders built temples, which served as spaces for multiple purposes, whether political, economic, or leisure. Many orders grew politically active. The Order of the Eastern Star, the female component of the Prince Hall Masons, lobbied for antilynching bills in Congress. Despite racist suffrage laws, they exerted pressure on local economies through middle-class purchasing power, and influenced decisions about spending in the regular fraternal publications, where friendly businesses advertised. Regionally, their competition for legitimacy and power in local communities often became protracted legal battles in the public courts.

The Great Depression and World War II sent most orders into bankruptcy, and those that survived grew slowly in the twentieth century. Although academic scholarship largely ignored or forgot fraternal orders until the late twentieth century, Prince Hall Masonry and its sister component, Order of the Eastern Star, boast hundreds of thousands of members in the United States, the Caribbean, the Bahamas, Liberia, and Ontario.

The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem, New York, houses countless African-American fraternal publications, as does the Livingston Masonic Library of Grand Lodge in Manhattan.

See also Hall, Prince; Jim Crow

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JUSTIN ROGERS-COOPER (2005)

Fraternities, U.S.

Black fraternities are Greek-lettered organizations that cater to black populations in colleges across the nation. Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Phi Beta Sigma, Iota Phi Theta, and Omega Psi Phi are all black Greek fraternities with their own distinct social practices, histories, and goals. Although there are many differences between fraternities, they can be thought of collectively as organizations that have historically provided African-American undergraduate and graduate students with a unique social experience. Whether at historically black colleges or universities or predominantly white college campuses, black fraternities can create an environment that nurtures lifelong relationships and a commitment to the black Greek experience.

The founding of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity at Cornell University in 1906 is commonly considered the beginning of black Greek college organizations. However, there is evidence of black Greek-lettered organizations prior to the

Alphas. These other groups have not existed continuously since their founding, nor have they been as successful as the abovementioned fraternities in sustaining their membership. For these reasons, it is acceptable to recognize the beginning of the black Greek experience with Alpha Phi Alpha.

From the beginning, black fraternities have cultivated a certain mystique. Like other social organizations, black fraternities are selective in terms of membership. Once accepted into a fraternity, initiates are treated as members, learning the symbolic meanings behind the fraternity's distinct hand signs, calls, and apparel. Members of Kappa Alpha Psi, for example, are known to carry and perform with canes, and they display the colors red and white. Members of Omega Psi Phi, in contrast, flaunt purple and gold clothing, identify themselves with a distinctive *Que-dog* bark, and recognize Delta Sigma Theta as a sister organization. Members of Phi Beta Sigma present themselves in blue and white and are formally allied with Zeta Phi Beta Sorority. For college-age youth in particular, membership in a fraternity is appealing for primarily social reasons. Along with participation in exclusive social events, membership also means access to extensive alumni contacts and associations with black sororities, often enabling romantic relationships.

The social privileges of membership in a black fraternity continue after graduation. Alumni and graduate chapters are also active and, through the use of alumni membership dues and other contributions, provide services to the community as a whole. For example, the U.S. federal government commissioned Alpha Phi Alpha to oversee the construction of the Martin Luther King Jr. National Memorial in Washington, D.C. After concluding a design competition in September 2000, Alpha Phi Alpha proceeded to spearhead a funding campaign to memorialize the civil rights leader.

Television and films have brought black fraternities national attention. Spike Lee's *School Daze* (1988) and the television programs *A Different World*, *Moesha*, and *The Parkers* have all presented aspects of the black fraternal experience. These fictional accounts also dramatized the procedures surrounding entrance into black Greek organizations. Such practices, commonly known as *pledging*, are one of the predominant characteristics of the black Greek experience.

Historically, pledging is the means by which a fraternity chapter determines who, among a number of interested individuals, will be admitted. Essentially, prospective members must prove their worth over a period of time (from two weeks to a few months) through a series of difficult tasks and rituals. These trials can be mentally challenging, such as researching and reciting obscure historical details about the fraternity. They can also be revolting, such as drinking toilet water, and even physically traumatizing. Physical violence, such as paddle beatings, is a documented aspect of pledging practices.

Following the death of a pledging student at Morehouse College, the leadership of the National Pan-Hellenic Council (comprised of the five abovementioned fraternities as well as the four major black sororities) convened in February 1990 to discuss the ramifications of pledging. They decided to officially adopt the process of *membership intake* to replace pledging as the method of initiating members into a fraternity or sorority. Membership intake sought to eliminate the potential physically abusive nature of pledging, which, in its extreme forms, is also known as *hazing*. However, membership intake did not replace pledging and hazing in any significant way. Interpreted as less demanding than, not equivalent to, pledging, membership intake is frequently understood as a less meaningful rite of passage. Interestingly, prospective initiates protested the official end of pledging, often citing a need for respect as a reason for enduring these hardships.

As fraternities attempted to implement membership-intake guidelines, the practice of pledging went underground, unrecognized officially but still very much a part of the black Greek experience. In 1994 another student died, this time at Missouri State University. In 1999 a student at the University of Louisville successfully sued Omega Psi Phi after voluntarily enduring a beating by some members of the fraternity.

Black fraternities and sororities, nonblack Greek organizations, and college sports teams all confront the issue of hazing with difficulty. Because of this persistent problem, college officials have previously initiated temporary moratoriums on all Greek activity, and considered full-scale bans of black fraternities.

The issue of hazing remains unresolved as black fraternities adapt to an American social terrain drastically different from the social world of 1906. Openly homosexual members, as well as increasing numbers of nonblack members, indicate different directions for black fraternities. As more people identify themselves as members, either as alumni or collegiate Greeks, black fraternities continue to negotiate how to preserve their traditions and prepare for the future.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Education in the United States; Fraternal Orders; Mutual Aid Societies; Sororities, U.S.

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DEREK LEE MCPHATTER (2005)

Frazier, Edward Franklin

September 24, 1894
May 17, 1962

Born in Baltimore in 1894, the year in which W. E. B. Du Bois was working on his doctoral degree at Harvard and 135 blacks were lynched in the South, essayist and activist E. Franklin Frazier was encouraged in his formative years by his parents, especially his working-class father, to seek upward mobility and social justice through education. With a scholarship from Colored High School he went on to Howard University, where he graduated cum laude in 1916 after four years of rigorous education and political activism at the "capstone of Negro education." For the rest of his academic career, he taught primarily in segregated, African-American schools and colleges, first in the South in the 1920s and early 1930s, then for most of his career in Howard's sociology department. Between teaching jobs he received scholarships that enabled him to get a master's degree at Clark University (1920) and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago (1931). Despite his election as the first African-American president of the American Sociological Association (1948) and his recognition by UNESCO in the 1950s as a leading international authority on race relations, Frazier was never offered a regular faculty appointment by a predominantly white university.

With minimal institutional and foundation support, Frazier managed to produce eight books and over one hundred articles. He is best known for his pioneering studies of African-American families, especially *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939/2001), which demonstrated that the internal problems of black families were socially created within and by Western civilization, not by the failure of Africans to live up to American standards. Building upon Du Bois's 1908 essay, "The Negro American Family," Frazier refuted the prevailing social scientific wisdom that, in his words, "most often dealt with the pathological side of [black] family life." In contrast, Frazier's family is a broad spectrum of households, constantly in a process of change and reorganization, sometimes disorganized and demoralized, sometimes tenacious and resourceful. To Frazier the serious problems within African-American families—"the waste of human life . . . delinquency, desertions, and broken homes"—was the result not of cultural backwardness but rather of economic exploitation and the social damage inflicted by racism.

Frazier also made a variety of other important intellectual contributions: as an ethnographer and historian of everyday life in black communities; as a trenchant and subtle critic of the dynamics and etiquette of racism; as an influential consultant to Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944); as the author of the first systematic textbook on *The Negro in the United States* (1949); and as a critic of overly specialized, narrowly conceived studies in the social sciences. Frazier's popular reputation was made by *Black Bourgeoisie* (first published in the United States in 1957), but he explored the controversial relationship between class, politics, and culture all his life, beginning with a polemical essay on "La Bourgeoisie Noire" in 1928 and ending with his scholarly assessment of *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* (1957). In this body of work he challenged monolithic portraits of African-American communities and documented their socioeconomic diversity; in particular, he exposed the collaborative and opportunistic role played by the black middle class in holding back the struggle for social equality and ensuring that "bourgeois ideals are implanted in the Negro's mind." Instead of being "seduced by dreams of final assimilation," Frazier called upon black leaders to envision "a common humanity and a feeling of human solidarity" in which "racial and cultural differentiation without implications of superiority and inferiority will become the basic pattern of a world order."

Frazier was part of a cadre of activists, intellectuals, and artists who after World War I formed the cutting edge of the New Negro movement that irrevocably changed conceptions of race and the politics of race relations. Though a loner who distrusted organizations, Frazier had close and respectful relationships with civil rights leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, and A. Philip Randolph, as well as with scholars such as Ralph Bunche and Abram Harris who tried to bridge the gap between university and community, theory and practice. From his undergraduate days at Howard, when he was a vigorous opponent of U.S. entry into World War I, until his last years, when he welcomed a revitalized civil rights movement, Frazier was a politicized intellectual who believed that "a moral life is a life of activity in society."

See also Black Middle Class; Bunche, Ralph; Du Bois, W.E.B.; Harris, Abram; New Negro; Randolph, A. Philip; Robeson, Paul; Sociology

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ANTHONY M. PLATT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Frazier, Joe

January 12, 1944

Joe Frazier. *Winner of an Olympic Gold Medal in 1964, boxer Frazier gained a fifteen-round unanimous decision victory over Muhammad Ali in the "Fight of the Century" at New York City's Madison Square Garden, 1971.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

"Smokin'" Joe Frazier was the World Heavyweight Boxing champion from 1970 to 1973. Born in Beaufort, South Carolina, Frazier grew up in Philadelphia and began boxing at a Police Athletic League gym. After he won Golden Gloves titles in 1962, 1963, and 1964, as well as a gold medal in the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, Japan, a consortium of investors, incorporated as Cloverlay, Inc., sponsored Frazier's professional career.

Frazier was only 5'11½" tall and 205 pounds, small for a heavyweight. Managed by Yancey Durham, Frazier adopted a crowded and hard-hitting style that compensated for his relative slow-footedness. Beginning with a one-round knockout of Woody Goss in August 1965, Frazier won his first eleven professional bouts by knockout, none of which went beyond six rounds, and he won thirty-one straight fights before George Foreman defeated him in 1973.

After Muhammad Ali gave up his title in 1970, Frazier won the World Heavyweight Championship, defeating Jimmy Ellis in a five-round knockout. Ali, who had been stripped of his title after the U.S. government convicted him of draft evasion (later overturned), also claimed to be the heavyweight champion because he had never retired or been defeated.

On March 8, 1971, in New York City's Madison Square Garden, Frazier defeated Ali after fifteen rounds of such ferocious boxing that both men entered hospitals after its conclusion; they would later fight twice more, both times with great intensity. After the first fight with Ali, Frazier did not fight a title bout again for ten months. He then defended his championship twice, winning both bouts, but on January 22, 1973, George Foreman knocked him out in the second round of a heavyweight title bout.

Having lost his title to Foreman, Frazier again fought Ali in a nontitle bout in New York City on January 28, 1974, and lost in twelve rounds. Frazier had fights with two lesser boxers, both of whom he knocked out, then faced Ali for the heavyweight title on October 1, 1975, in the Philippines. The fight, dubbed by Ali "The Thrilla in Manila," was a hard-fought contest. Ali knocked Frazier out in the fourteenth round.

On June 15, 1976, Frazier followed the Manila bout with a second fight against Foreman, who knocked him out early in the fight. Frazier then retired from the ring. He made a brief appearance playing himself in the movie *Rocky* (1976) and tried unsuccessfully to build a singing career with a group called the Knockouts. In 1981 he attempted a comeback but was defeated by Floyd Cummings. Of his thirty-seven career bouts, Frazier won thirty-two, twenty-seven by knockout. He then managed his

son Marvis's short boxing career. In 1980 Frazier was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame.

Frazier published *Smokin' Joe: The Autobiography of a Heavyweight Champion of the World, Smokin' Joe Frazier,* in 1996.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Boxing; Foreman, George; Robinson, Sugar Ray

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Frederick Douglass' Paper

The abolitionist newspaper *Frederick Douglass' Paper* was founded in December 1847 in Rochester, New York by Frederick Douglass as the *North Star.* Douglass renamed the paper when it merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* of Syracuse, New York, in June 1851. During its thirteen-year history, several black intellectuals collaborated on it with Douglass, including Martin R. Delany, William C. Nell, William J. Watkins, and James McCune Smith. Douglass also received assistance from a British abolitionist, Julia Griffiths, who helped him hone his writing skills and, as the paper's business manager, organized fund-raising fairs and lecture tours in England and the United States. The success of Douglass's newspaper can be attributed in large part to an elaborate network of support. Contributions from British abolitionists encouraged Douglass to start the paper in 1847. Later, women's auxiliaries in several cities organized antislavery fairs and bazaars on his behalf.

Douglass recognized the symbolic as well as practical value of a viable black press in the struggle against slavery. He gave the paper his own name to emphasize to a skeptical public that a former slave could master the editor's craft. His paper followed the eclectic approach of the antebellum reform press, but it was first and foremost an antislavery organ, and it carried the bold imprint of one man's thought. Douglass directed his message beyond the black community to the broader Anglo-American reformist audience. Despite financial difficulties and criticism from white reformers and black leaders, Douglass succeeded in making his weekly publication the most influential black newspaper of the antebellum period.

See also Abolition; Delany, Martin R.; Douglass, Frederick; Nell, William Cooper; *North Star*; Smith, James McCune

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)
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Free Blacks, 1619–1860

In 1860 some half a million free people of African descent resided in the United States. Known alternately as free Negroes, free blacks, free people of color, or simply freepeople (to distinguish them from post–Civil War freedpeople), they composed less than 2 percent of the nation's population and about 9 percent of all black people. Although the free black population grew in the centuries before the universal emancipation that accompanied the Civil War, it generally increased far more slowly than either the white or the slave population, so that it was a shrinking proportion of American society.

But free blacks were important far beyond their numbers. They played a pivotal role in American society during slave times and set precedents for both race relations and relations among black people when slavery ended. Their status and treatment were harbingers of the postemancipation world. Often the laws, attitudes, and institutions that victimized free blacks during the slave years—political proscription, segregation, and various forms of debt peonage—became the dominant modes of racial oppression once slavery ended. Similarly, their years of liberty profoundly influenced the pattern of postemancipation black life. Free people of African descent moved in disproportionate numbers into positions of leadership in black society after emancipation. For example, nearly half of the twenty-two black men who served in Congress between 1869 and 1900 had been free before the Civil War.

Scene depicting the daily activity of free blacks in Brazil. *From Debret, Jean Baptiste. Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Bresil, ou Sejour d'un artiste francais au Bresil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, epoques de l'avenement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'Empire bresilien. Dedie a l'Academie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France. Published 1834–1839.* ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Although free blacks have been described as more black than free, they were not a monolithic group. Their numbers, status, and circumstances changed from time to time and differed from place to place, in some measure based on their origins, their social role, and relations with the dominant Euro-American population, on the one hand, and the enslaved African-American population, on the other.

The Colonial Era

Before the American Revolution, few free blacks could be found in colonial North America. The overwhelming majority of these were light-skinned children of mixed racial unions, freed by birth if their mother was white, as colonial law generally provided that a child's status followed that of its mother. Others were manumitted (i.e., freed) by conscience-stricken white fathers. A 1775 Maryland census, the fullest colonial enumeration of free blacks, counted slightly more than 1,800 free people of African descent, 80 percent of whom were people of mixed racial origins. Like Maryland whites, about half of these free black people were under sixteen years old, and, of these, almost nine in ten were of mixed racial origins. Few black people of unmixed racial parentage enjoyed freedom in colonial Maryland; the free black population was not only light skinned but also getting lighter. Unlike slaveholders in the Caribbean and South America, Maryland slave owners emancipated their sons as well as their daughters with equal—if not greater—facility. The sex ratio, following that of slaves, generally favored males. In addition, about one-sixth of adult free blacks were crippled or elderly persons deemed "past labor," whom heartless slaveholders had discarded when they could no longer wring a profit from them. In all, free black people composed 4 percent of the colony's black population and less than 2 percent of its free population. Almost a century after slavery had been written into law, the vast majority of Maryland black people remained locked in bonded servitude. The routes to freedom were narrow and dismal.

Fragmentary evidence from elsewhere on the North American continent suggests that free black people were rarely a larger proportion of the population than in Maryland. In most places they made up a considerably smaller share of the whole, and in some places they were almost nonexistent.

Although their numbers were universally small, the status of free people of African descent differed from place to place in colonial North America. In Spanish Florida and in French and (after 1763) Spanish Louisiana, black people generally gained their freedom as soldiers and slave catchers in defense of colonies vulnerable to foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. Playing off the weakness of European colonists, free African and Afro-American men gained special standing by taming interlopers, disciplining plantation slaves, and capturing runaways. However grossly discriminated against they were, service in the white man's cause enabled some free black men to inch up the social ladder, taking their families with them.

Spanish authorities first employed black men, many of them runaways from English colonies, in defense of St. Augustine in the late seventeenth century. Eager to keep the English enemy at bay, Spanish officials instructed the fugitives in the Catholic faith, allowed them to be baptized and married within the Church, and then sent them against their former enslavers in raids on the English settlements at Port Royal and Edisto. Black militiamen later fought against the English in the Yamassee War and protected Spanish Florida against retaliatory raids. During the eighteenth century, Spanish officials stationed black militiamen and their families at Gracia Reál de Santa Terésa de Mosé, a fortified settlement north of St. Augustine.

Mosé became the center of free black life in colonial Florida until its destruction in 1740. Thereafter, free blacks were more fully integrated into Spanish life in St. Augustine. They married among themselves, with Native Americans, and with African and Afro-American slaves; worked as craftsmen, sailors, and laborers; purchased property; and enjoyed a degree of prosperity and respectability. The free black settlement at Mosé was rebuilt in the 1750s, and it once again became a center of free black life in colonial Florida until the Spanish evacuated the colony in 1763.

French authorities in Louisiana first enlisted black soldiers in quelling an Afro-Indian revolt in 1730. Thereafter, officials incorporated black men into Louisiana's defense force and called upon them whenever Indian confederations, European colonial rivals, or slave insurrectionists jeopardized the safety of the colony. On each such occasion—whether the Chickasaw war of the 1730s, the Choctaw war of the 1740s, or the threatened English invasion of the 1750s—French officials mobilized black men, free and slave, with slaves offered freedom in exchange for military service. By 1739 at least 270 black men were under arms in Louisiana, of whom some 50 were free.

The black militia played an even larger role in Spanish Louisiana than it had under the French. Spain gained control of the colony in 1763 as part of the settlement of the Seven Years' War. Finding themselves surrounded by hostile French planters, Spanish authorities embraced free people of African descent as an ally against internal as well as external foes. They recommissioned the Louisiana free black militia, adopting the division between *pardo* (light-skinned) and *moreno* (dark-skinned) units present elsewhere in Spanish America. Officials clad the free black militiamen in striking uniforms and granted them *fuero militar* rights, thereby exempting the black militiamen from civil prosecution, certain taxes, and licensing fees—no mean privileges for free black men in a slave society.

The free black militia thrived under the Spanish rule, becoming an integral part of the colony's defense force. When not fighting foreign enemies, free black militiamen were employed to maintain the levees that protected New Orleans and the great riverfront plantations, to fight fires in the city limits, and to hunt fugitive slaves. As the value of the free black militia to Spain increased, so did the size and status of the class from which the militia sprang. In 1803, when the Americans took control over Louisiana, the free black militia numbered over five hundred men.

The central role of free black men in defense of colonial Florida and Louisiana allowed them to enlarge their numbers and improve their place within those colonies. Black militiamen employed their pay and bounties to secure the freedom of their families and a modest place in societies that were otherwise hostile to free people of African descent. From their strategic position they entered the artisan trades, frequently controlling many of the interstitial positions as shopkeepers, tradesmen, and market women—occasionally even as plantation overseers and midwives.

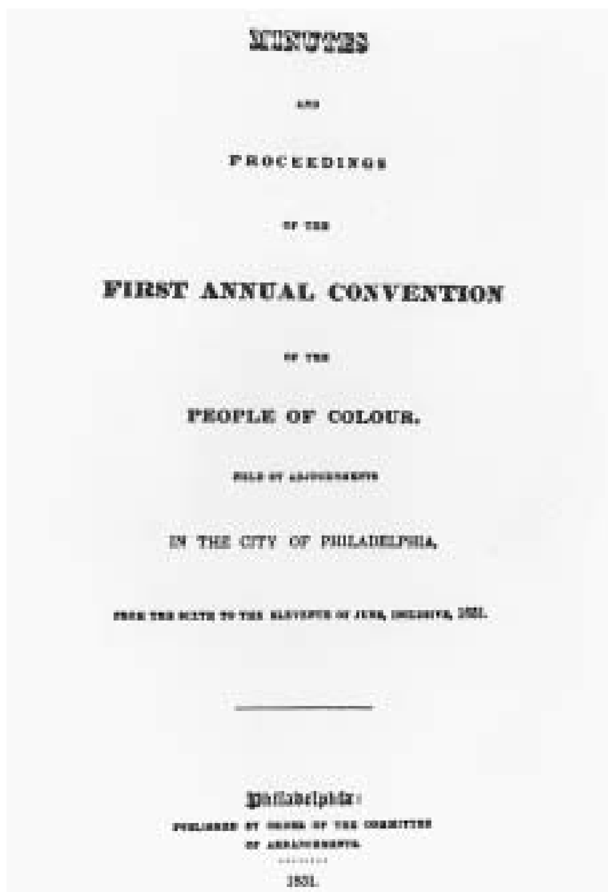
In English seaboard colonies white nonslaveholders served as soldiers and slave catchers and monopolized the middling occupations as artisans, tradesmen, and overseers. Free blacks, as a result, were confined to the most marginal social roles. They had few opportunities to advance themselves, accumulate property, gain respectability, and buy their loved ones out of bondage. Their status fell far below that enjoyed by free blacks in the Gulf region.

The Antebellum Period

The American Revolution transformed the free black population. But because the Revolution took a different course in different places and because of differences within the extant slave and free black populations, the reformation of black life moved in different directions in different parts of the new republic. Post-Revolutionary free black life can best be understood from a regional perspective. During the antebellum years, there were three distinctive groups of free blacks in the United States: one in the northern or free states, a second in the upper South, and a third in the lower South. Each had its own demographic, economic, social, and somatic characteristics. These differences, in turn, bred different relations with whites and slaves and, most important, distinctive modes of social action.

First, the Revolution transformed the North from a slave to a free society, greatly enlarging its free black population. But slavery died hard in the northern states, and the gradualist process by which northern courts and legislatures abolished slavery left some black people in bondage until the eve of the Civil War. Still, post-Revolutionary emancipation ensured that eventually all northern blacks would be free, and by the first decade of the nineteenth century the vast majority had emerged from slavery. To their number were added immigrants from the South, most of them fugitive slaves. In 1860 about a quarter of a million blacks, slightly less than half of the nation's free blacks, lived in the free states.

But universal emancipation in the North did not transform the economic status or social standing of black people—except perhaps for the worse. Before the Revolution, northern slaves had been disproportionately urban in residence, black in color, and unskilled in occupation. Free blacks followed that pattern, becoming in fact more



PROCEEDINGS

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,

Philadelphia:

1831.

Cover page of the summary report for the "First Annual Convention of the People of Colour," 1831. *Convened in Philadelphia at the Wesleyan Church on Lombard Street, the convention was held to organize African-American opposition to slavery, discrimination in the free states, and the colonization movement.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

urban and unskilled during the antebellum years, as they increasingly migrated to cities and found themselves pushed out of artisan trades by European immigrants.

Nevertheless, post-Revolutionary emancipation allowed black people certain rights. Because the abolition of slavery freed northern whites from the fear of slave revolts, they did not look upon every gathering of black people as the beginning of a revolution. They limited the political rights of free blacks, but they allowed them to travel freely, organize their own institutions, publish newspapers, and petition and protest. Black men and women transformed these liberties into a powerful associational and political tradition. African churches, schools, fraternal organizations, and literary societies flourished in the northern states. The African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion denominations and the Prince Hall Masons, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias were among the largest of these, extending their reach to all portions of the North. Every black community also supported a host of locally based institutions and organizations. Members of these institutions, national and local, joined together to hold regional and national conventions that protested discrimination and worked for group improvement. From Richard Allen to Frederick Douglass, the black leaders forged a tradition of protests that demanded full equality.

As in the North, the free black population in the upper South was largely a product of the American Revolution. But in this region, the ideas and events—along with the economic changes—of the Revolutionary era merely loosened the fabric of slavery by increasing manumission, self-purchase, and successful suits for freedom. Slavery survived the challenge of the Revolutionary years, and indeed flourished. Nevertheless, the free black population grew rapidly, so that by 1810 the upper South contained nearly 100,000 free blacks, who composed about 8 percent of the black population in the region and almost 60 percent of all free people of African descent. Thereafter, the tightening noose of slavery slowed the growth of the free black population, and the proportion of free black people residing in the region declined.

The free black population in the upper South was the product of two patterns of manumission. The first and most important occurred on a large scale; it was indiscriminate and rooted in ideological and economic changes of the Revolutionary era. The second, smaller and more selective, originated in personal relations between master and slave. The first wave of manumissions produced a population that, like the slave population, was largely rural and black in color. To the extent, however, that post-Revolutionary emancipation was selective—with masters choosing whom they would free—it produced a free black population that was more skilled and lighter in color than that of the North. In the course of the nineteenth century, manumission became even more selective, so that freepeople of the upper South became increasingly skilled in occupation, urban in residence, and light in skin color. The absence of large-scale European immigration to the slave states and a long-standing reliance on black labor allowed upper South free blacks to enjoy a higher economic standing than those in the free states. In 1860, a quarter to a third of free black men practiced skilled trades in Nashville, Richmond, and other upper South cities.

But if the presence of slavery helped elevate their economic status, it severely limited the freepeople's opportunities for political or communal activism, for southern

whites looked upon free black people as the chief inspiration and instigators of slave unrest. White southerners not only prevented free black people from voting, sitting on juries, and testifying in court but also barred them from traveling without permission and meeting without the supervision of some white notable. These constraints circumscribed political and organizational opportunities. No black newspapers were published and no black conventions met in the South. There were no southern counterparts of Allen or Douglass. Black churches, schools, and fraternal societies were fragile organizations, often forced to meet clandestinely. With limited opportunities for political outlets, free black men and women poured their energies into economic opportunities, and, as tradesmen and artisans, made considerable gains.

This tendency toward economic advancement at the expense of political activism was present in an even more exaggerated form in the lower South, particularly the port cities of Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. These places were largely untouched by the egalitarian thrust of the Revolutionary era. Moreover, when the United States gained control of Louisiana and Florida, American officials decommissioned and dispersed the free black militias, and slaveholder-dominated legislatures subjected the existing free black population to considerable restrictions. The free black population increased slowly in the nineteenth century, its growth the product of natural increase and sexual relations between masters and slaves. Almost all free blacks were drawn from the small group of privileged slaves who had lived in close contact with their owners, connections that often bespoke family ties. As a result, former slaves were overwhelmingly urban and light skinned, a quality that earned them the title "free people of color," or in New Orleans *gens de couleur*. Although comparatively few in number, most were far more skilled than free blacks in the upper South. In some places, such as Charleston and New Orleans, over three-quarters of the free men of color practiced skilled crafts, and they monopolized some trades on the eve of the Civil War. A handful of wealthy free people of color even purchased slaves and moved into the planter class.

As in the upper South, the presence of slavery in the lower South prevented free people of color from translating their higher economic standing into social and political gains. Denied suffrage and proscribed from office, they found a political voice only by acting through white patrons—their manumittors, their customers, and occasionally their fathers. Their own organizations remained private, exclusive, and often shadowy, especially in comparison to the robust public institutions created by free black people in the North. Although some were well traveled and highly educated, as much at home in Paris and Glasgow as in New Orleans and Charleston, they dared not attack slavery or racial inequality publicly. Many feared to identify with slaves in any fashion. Rather, they saw themselves—and increasingly came to be seen by whites—as a third caste, distinct from both free whites and enslaved blacks.

With the general emancipation of 1863, free people of African descent carried their diverse histories into freedom. Although Civil War emancipation liquidated their special status, their collective experience continued to shape American race relations and Afro-American life.

See also Antebellum Convention Movement; Coartación; Emancipation; Fraternal Orders; Freeman, Elizabeth (Mum Bett, Mumbet); Manumission Societies; Migration; Mutual Aid Societies

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IRA BERLIN (1996)
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Freedman's Bank

The short history of the Freedman's Bank, officially titled the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, exemplifies

both the promise and the frustrations of African-American economic development immediately after the Civil War. The Freedman's Bank was incorporated by Congress on March 3, 1865, absorbing the military banks that had been established by the Union army during the Civil War in Norfolk, Virginia, Beaufort, South Carolina, and New Orleans to provide depository services for African-American troops. John W. Alvord, superintendent of schools and finances for the federal Freedmen's Bureau, spearheaded the drive to establish the bank and organized the bank's original founders, a group of white businessmen, philanthropists, and humanitarians.

Created as a missionary endeavor to promote thrift among the freed slaves, the Freedman's Bank was to serve as a mutual savings bank for the benefit of the black community. The first interstate bank established after the charter of the Bank of the United States expired in 1836, the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company was a nonprofit organization. Its original charter made no provisions for loans but stated that it would receive deposits from freedmen and -women, invest them in government securities, and return the profits to the depositors in the form of interest.

Although the bank remained legally a private corporation, its concurrent establishment with the Freedmen's Bureau and the appointment of many Freedmen's Bureau officers as bank trustees misled many African Americans into believing that the federal government had assumed responsibility for the institution's financial solvency. Hoping to attract black support for the bank, the trustees used the bank's advertisements to reinforce the public's belief that the bank had government backing. Principal control of the bank was held by the bank's all-white trustees operating at the national headquarters, located first in New York City and then in Washington, D.C. However, the bank gradually hired local black leaders, usually politicians, ministers, and businessmen, as cashiers and as members of the advisory boards in a further attempt to win the trust of the black community.

Encouraged by the bank's government charter and endorsement by the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, many African Americans deposited funds in the bank. Thirty-four branch offices eventually were established, covering every southern state, as well as Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York City. By 1874, 72,000 depositors had entrusted over $3,000,000 to the bank.

Buoyed by its success and seeking to increase interest payments, the bank's predominantly white board of trustees amended the bank's charter in 1870, allowing the trustees to invest half of its deposits allotted for government securities in speculative stocks and bonds and in real estate. Led by the chairman of the finance committee, Henry Cooke, the bank invested heavily in Washington real estate in the 1870s and made several large, unsecured loans. Among these loans was one for $50,000 to Jay Cooke and Company, run by Henry Cooke's brother and business partner, Jay Cooke, to finance the Northern Pacific Railroad. This loan, along with a number of other unsecured investments, left the bank severely overextended and vulnerable when the banking firm of Jay Cooke and Company failed in 1873. The ensuing national financial panic crippled the bank, forcing it to sacrifice its best securities and borrow at ruinous rates in order to remain solvent.

The 1870 amendment to the bank's charter was intended to increase the profits of the depositors and was restricted principally to the Washington office. This policy ensured that the majority of the bank's investments would go to white business ventures. In addition, the collateral requirements for blacks requesting loans were far more stringent than those for whites. As a result, few blacks were able to borrow from the bank, and very little of its money was invested in the black community. Many blacks were vocal about their dissatisfaction with the bank's limited lending policies and its failure to stimulate black business and economic development, but the trustees did not persuade Congress to amend the charter until June 1874. This amendment would have allowed money to be returned to the branch offices for investment, but its late passage prevented its implementation.

With the onset of the Panic of 1873, most of the bank's white trustees resigned, leaving the bank's black trustees, whose numbers had increased steadily since the original appointments made in 1867, in control of the institution. Among the active black trustees in 1874 were Charles B. Purvis, John Mercer Langston, and A. T. Augusta. Along with the other remaining trustees, they made a desperate effort to save the bank and to restore the confidence of depositors by electing Frederick Douglass as president in 1874. Even his efforts to reorganize the bank, however, could not make up for years of mismanagement and the devastating effects of the national economic crisis. Careless lending, the incompetence of certain bank officials, and poor management proved an insurmountable legacy. The failure of the bank struck a deep blow to African-American economic development after the Civil War.

Despite a good deal of support for a bill introduced into Congress that would have reimbursed the depositors in full with federal funds, the legislation never passed. Only by selling off its assets was the bank able to begin reimbursing its depositors in 1875, offering each 20 percent

of their total deposits. Many of the small depositors, however, could not be located and thus lost everything. By 1883 less than one-quarter of the depositors had received complete reimbursements, which amounted to only 62 percent of their original deposits. The bank's collapse and the government's unwillingness to shoulder responsibility for the depositors' investments left a legacy of suspicion and distrust among the black community. The bank's monetary losses were especially tragic because they represented one of the first attempts of the newly freed slaves to grasp economic security and equal citizenship.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Douglass, Frederick; Economic Condition, U.S.; Langston, John Mercer

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)

Freedmen's Hospital

Originally established in 1862 at Camp Barker, a Washington, D.C., army barracks, to serve displaced former slaves and other Civil War refugees, this medical facility was named Freedmen's Hospital in 1863. Alexander T. Augusta, a black army physician, served as its surgeon-in-chief for a short time, succeeding Dr. Daniel Breed. Augusta was the first of many staff physicians to complain about the substandard physical conditions of the hospital. Freedmen's would continue to struggle to serve its indigent clients in the face of economic hardship and outdated equipment.

In January 1865, Dr. Robert Reyburn assumed the leadership of Freedmen's Hospital. The following year Reyburn was appointed to the medical faculty of the proposed Howard University, establishing the longstanding connection between the two institutions. In 1869 the hospital moved to buildings newly built by the Freedmen's Bureau on the university campus. This relationship kept the hospital alive past 1872, when the Freedmen's Bureau was officially dismantled. However, the staff of the hospital fought to retain their autonomy as the university sought to gain control of the facilities, which served the important function of a teaching hospital for black nursing and medical students.

After the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau, the hospital was placed under the Department of the Interior. In 1873 a black doctor, Dr. Charles B. Purvis, was named surgeon-in-chief. In 1894, Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, the black physician credited with performing the first open-heart surgery, replaced Purvis. In 1897 he was replaced by Dr. Austin M. Curtis, who was succeeded four years later by Dr. William A. Warfield.

In 1892, Congress passed a law requiring the District of Columbia commissioners to contribute half of the hospital's funding and to control financing while the Department of the Interior continued to manage the hospital. This complicated arrangement proved inefficient, and the condition of the hospital worsened under it. In 1903 Congress authorized $350,000 for the construction of a new hospital. Two years later it put the hospital completely under the Department of the Interior, with a new arrangement whereby the hospital would contract in advance for an estimated allotment of patients. The number of patients admitted, however, always exceeded the number allowed for in the contract, and the hospital administrators were forced to run the facility under a financial deficit. On February 26, 1908, the new facilities were occupied. On June 26, 1912, a law was passed allowing the hospital, which until this time had been restricted to treating indigents, to admit paying patients.

In 1936, Dr. T. Edward Jones was named Freedmen's surgeon-in-chief. His successor, in 1944, was Charles Richard Drew. These two leaders had to negotiate the hospital's conflicting purposes of providing medical care to its indigent clients, one third of whom were white, and providing medical training to black students who continued to be denied access to white hospitals. In 1955 a government study deploring the substandard physical conditions recommended that a new hospital be built and turned over to Howard. On September 15, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed a bill officially placing Freedmen's Hospital under Howard University's control and authorizing the construction of a new facility. On March 2, 1975, Howard University Hospital was opened, replacing Freedmen's Hospital.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Drew, Charles Richard; Howard University

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)

Freedom Rides

Initially organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1961, the Freedom Rides were trips made by interracial groups riding throughout the South on buses. Freedom Rides attempted to galvanize the U.S. Justice Department into enforcing federal desegregation laws in interstate travel, especially in bus and train terminals. White riders sat on the back of the bus, and black riders on the front, challenging long-standing southern racist transportation practices. Once at the terminal, white Freedom Riders proceeded to the "black" waiting room, while blacks attempted to use the facilities in the "white" waiting room.

Freedom Rides were a continuation of the student-led sit-in movement that was sparked in February 1, 1960, by four African-American college freshmen in Greensboro, North Carolina. When these students remained at a Woolworth's lunch counter after being refused service, they inspired hundreds of similar nonviolent student demonstrations. Essentially, Freedom Rides took the tradition of sit-ins on the road.

The idea for the 1961 Freedom Rides was conceived by Tom Gaither, a black man, and Gordon Carvey, a white man, who were field secretaries of CORE. In light of the 1960 *Boynton v. Virginia Supreme Court* judgment that banned segregation in bus and train terminals, Gaither and Carvey decided that compliance with the law should be gauged. The two activists were also inspired by the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. Motivated by another Supreme Court ruling, the Journey of Reconciliation was made by an interracial group of sixteen activists that traveled through the South to test *Morgan v. Virginia,* the 1946 federal case that resulted in the legal ban of segregation on interstate buses and trains. In the spirit of the Journey of Reconciliation, CORE began organizing and planning for the first Freedom Rides.

In early 1961, CORE, headed by its director and cofounder, James Farmer (1920–1999), began carefully selecting the thirteen original Freedom Riders. The chosen group comprised seven blacks and six whites, from college students to civil rights veterans, including a Journey of Reconciliation participant, the white activist James Peck. The journey for the riders began on May 4 from Washington D.C. to Atlanta, Georgia, on two buses. The plan was to continue through Alabama, Mississippi, and finally to New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 17 for a desegregation rally.

The first episode of violence occurred in Rock Hill, South Carolina, where twenty-one-year old John Lewis (b. 1940), the future Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) national chairman and U.S. congressman, and Albert Bigelow, an elderly white pacifist, were knocked unconscious by young white men. On May 14, 1961, the Freedom Riders boarded a Greyhound bus and a Trailways bus in Atlanta and headed for Birmingham, Alabama. The Trailways bus met six Ku Klux Klansmen in Anniston, Alabama, who threw the African Americans into seats in the back of the bus and hit two white riders on the head. In Birmingham, the bus encountered about twenty men with pipes who beat the riders when they disembarked.

In Anniston, the Greyhound bus faced two hundred angry whites. The bus retreated, but its tires were slashed. Once the tires blew out, a firebomb was tossed into the bus. The riders managed to escape before the bus went up in flames. The following day, another mob prevented the Freedom Riders from boarding a bus in Birmingham. With the help of John Seigenthaler, Attorney General Robert Kennedy's administrative assistant, the riders took a plane to New Orleans instead. The bus journey was continued under the leadership of SNCC, with the coordination efforts of SNCC members Diane Nash and John Lewis.

The Birmingham police commissioner, "Bull" Connor, used many tactics, including incarceration, to try to stop the students, but to no avail. Finally, the governor of Alabama, John Patterson, very reluctantly promised Robert Kennedy to protect the riders. As the new Freedom Riders left for Montgomery on May 20, 1961, it appeared that Governor Patterson had kept his word. However, by the time the bus arrived in Montgomery, all forms of police protection had disappeared. A mob of over one thousand whites viciously attacked the riders and Seigenthaler.

On May 24, twenty-seven determined Freedom Riders, with the protection of National Guardsmen, headed for Jackson, Mississippi. In Mississippi, they were arrested and jailed for sixty days. A new group of riders came to Jackson, and they were also arrested. Eventually, 328 Freedom Riders were incarcerated in Jackson. As per their philosophy, the riders chose jail over bail.

The Freedom Rides brought international attention to the southern struggle for desegregation, which put pressure on the authorities. Finally, on November 1, 1961, a huge victory for the Freedom Riders and all integrationists was won when the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) made segregated travel facilities illegal.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Farmer, James; Lewis, John; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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JESSICA L. GRAHAM (2001)

Freedom's Journal

Freedom's Journal, founded in March 1827, was the first African-American weekly newspaper. The idea of a black press arose among New York City blacks who sought a public voice to respond to racist commentary in local white newspapers. Samuel E. Cornish (1795–1858), a Presbyterian minister, and John B. Russwurm (1799–1851), a graduate of Bowdoin College, took charge of the enterprise. *Freedom's Journal* followed a format common to antebellum reform newspapers by using current events, anecdotes, and editorials to convey the message of moral reform. The editors also focused on issues of interest to northern free blacks: racial prejudice, slavery, and particularly the threat of colonization (the efforts by the American Colonization Society to expatriate free blacks to Africa).

The newspaper received widespread support from blacks outside New York City. Over two dozen authorized agents, including David Walker in Boston, collected subscriptions and distributed the paper. Within a year, Freedom's Journal reached an audience in eleven northern and southern states, Upper Canada, England, and Haiti.

When Russwurm assumed total control of *Freedom's Journal* in September 1827, he gradually shifted the paper's editorial position on colonization. Few readers knew that he had actually developed an interest in colonization during his college days, and his announced "conversion" to colonization in 1828 severely damaged the paper's credibility and eroded its base of support. In March 1829 the paper ceased publication, and Russwurm departed for the American Colonization Society's settlement in Liberia. Cornish attempted to revive the newspaper in May 1829 as *The Rights of All,* but he succeeded in publishing only six monthly issues.

See also Cornish, Samuel E.; Journalism; Russwurm, John Brown

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Freedom Summer

In the summer of 1964 the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a Mississippi coalition of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), invited northern white college students to spearhead a massive black voter-registration and education campaign aimed at challenging white supremacy in the Deep South. This campaign, which became known as Freedom Summer, was the culmination of COFO's efforts to attack black disfranchisement in Mississippi. COFO had been formed in 1962 in response to the Kennedy administration's offer of tax-exempt status and funding from liberal philanthropies to civil rights organizations that focused their activities on increasing black voter registration. The considerable success of COFO activists in sparking the interest of black Mississippians in voter registration during the summer of 1963 prompted them to propose an entire summer of civil rights activities in 1964 to focus national attention on the disfranchisement of blacks in Mississippi, and to force the federal government to protect the civil rights of African Americans in the South.

The SNCC played the largest role in the project and provided most of its funding. Robert Moses of the SNCC was the guiding force behind the summer project, and the

overwhelming majority of COFO staff workers were SNCC members who were veterans of the long fight for racial equality in Mississippi.

Approximately a thousand northern white college students, committed to social change and imbued with liberal ideals, volunteered to participate in the Freedom Summer campaign. Under the direction of SNCC veterans, these volunteers created community centers that provided basic services such as health care to the black community and initiated voter education activities and literacy classes aimed at encouraging black Mississippians to register to vote. SNCC activists also directly challenged the segregated policies of the all-white Mississippi Democratic Party by supporting the efforts of local black leaders to run their own candidates under the party name Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The MFDP efforts encouraged over seventeen thousand African Americans to vote for the sixty-eight delegates who attended the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in the summer of 1964 and demanded to be seated in replacement of the regular Democratic organization. The MFDP challenge, though unsuccessful, focused national attention on Mississippi and propelled Fanny Lou Hamer, a local activist, into the national spotlight.

Another focus of the Freedom Summer was institutionalized educational inequities in Mississippi. Thirty COFO project sites created "Freedom Schools," administered under the direction of Staughton Lynd, a white Spelman College history professor, to provide an alternative education to empower black children to challenge their oppression. These schools provided students with academic training in remedial topics, as well as in more specialized subjects such as art and French. A key goal of the schools was to develop student leadership and foster activism through discussions about current events, black history, the philosophy behind the civil rights movement, and other cultural activities. Despite the overcrowding and the perennial lack of facilities, over three thousand African-American students attended the Freedom Schools.

Violence framed the context of all COFO activities and created a climate of tension and fear within the organization. White supremacists bombed or burned sixty-seven homes, churches, and black businesses over the course of the summer, and by the end of the project, at least three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman—had been killed by southern whites, four had been critically wounded, eight hundred had been beaten, and over a thousand had been arrested. The reluctance of the state government to prosecute the perpetrators of these acts of violence and the failure of the federal government to intervene to provide protection for civil rights workers left many activists disillusioned about the federal government's ability or desire to ensure racial justice.

An FBI poster seeking information on Andrew Goodman, James Earl Chaney, and Michael Henry Schwerner, civil rights workers who went missing near the town of Philadephia, Mississippi, in 1964. GETTY IMAGES

The impact and legacy of the Freedom Summer stretched far beyond the borders of Mississippi. Many Freedom Summer programs lived on when the project ended and COFO disbanded. Freedom Summer community centers provided a model for federally funded clinics, Head Start programs, and other War on Poverty programs. Freedom Schools served as models for nationwide projects in alternative schooling. The barriers to black voting uncovered and publicized during the summer project provided stark evidence of the need for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which made literacy tests and poll taxes illegal.

The Freedom Summer facilitated the development of a radical new political consciousness among many white volunteers, who found the summer to be a powerful experience of political education and personal discovery. At

least one-third of the volunteers stayed on in Mississippi to continue the struggle for black equality. Many volunteers who returned to the North were disillusioned with the promises of the federal government and became activists in the New Left and the antiwar movement. Mario Savio, a Freedom Summer veteran, emerged in the fall of 1964 as the principal spokesperson of the free speech movement at the University of California at Berkeley, a key event in the emergence of the New Left.

The Freedom Summer experience was also an important catalyst for the women's liberation movement. Group consciousness of gender oppression among white women grew markedly during the summer as male volunteers were assigned more visible organizing tasks. In November 1964, at a SNCC staff meeting in Waveland, Mississippi, Mary King and Casey Hayden, two white staff members, presented an anonymous position paper criticizing the enforced inferiority of women in the Freedom Summer project and their exclusion from the decision-making process. This memo was one of the first discussions of the issues that would form the basis of the emerging women's movement within the New Left.

The experience of the Freedom Summer also radicalized black civil rights workers—though in quite different ways from white radicals. The summer helped steer black radicals in the SNCC away from interracial movements and toward a suspicion of white participation that came to characterize the Black Power movement. Subsequent debates in the civil rights movement about the doctrine of interracialism were fueled by what the Freedom Summer revealed about the successes, and inherent limitations, of interracial civil rights activity. From the inception of the project, some black SNCC activists contested the Freedom Summer's premise that national attention could only be garnered by exposing white people to the violence and brutality that black people faced daily. These blacks were veterans of the long battle with white racists that the SNCC had waged in Mississippi since 1961, were increasingly skeptical of liberal politics, and believed that the presence of white volunteers—who often tended to appropriate leadership roles and interact with black people in a paternalistic manner—would undermine their goal of empowering Mississippi blacks and hamper their efforts to foster and support black-controlled institutions in Mississippi. Tensions and hostility between black and white COFO activists were further inflamed by interracial liaisons that were often premised on the very racial stereotypes and misconceptions that they sought to surmount.

However, the Freedom Summer's most enduring legacy was the change of consciousness it engendered among black Mississippians. The Freedom Summer succeeded in initiating thousands of African Americans into political action, providing thousands of black children with an antiracist education, and creating such black-led institutions as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Fannie Lou Hamer provided a fitting testament to the impact of the Freedom Summer when she stated in 1966, "Before the 1964 summer project there were people that wanted change, but they hadn't dared to come out. After 1964 people began moving. To me it's one of the greatest things that ever happened in Mississippi."

See also Chaney, James Earl; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Moses, Robert Parris; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Freeman, Elizabeth (Mum Bett, Mumbet)

c. 1744
December 28, 1829

As plaintiff in a law suit, Mum Bett, a slave, joined a black laborer named Bront in suing for their freedom in 1781. After winning that case, she adopted the name Elizabeth Freeman. The victory was a significant step in the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, although the final decision by the Massachusetts Supreme Court that the new state constitution prohibited slavery came in another case.

Freeman was born a slave in New York State and in 1758 seems to have passed into the possession of John Ashley of Sheffield, Massachusetts, a judge in the Court of Common Pleas from 1761 to 1781. Freeman never learned

to read or write, but she heard discussions of the Bill of Rights and the Massachusetts constitution, which was adopted in 1780. She considered that the language about all people being created free and equal might well apply to her.

In 1780 Mrs. Ashley became angry and struck at Freeman's sister with a heated shovel; Freeman was burned on the arm when she intervened. Leaving the house, she sued for her freedom in a case heard on August 21, 1781. She won. Her lawyer was Theodore Sedgwick, father of Theodore Sedgwick Jr., a noted abolitionist. Freeman became a servant in the Sedgwick family and followed them to Stockbridge in 1785. When Freeman retired, she had accumulated enough money to buy a small house. She mentions great-grandchildren in the will she signed with a cross on October 18, 1829. She was buried in the Sedgwick family plot in Stockbridge Cemetery.

See also Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Slavery and the Constitution

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)
Updated bibliography

FREEMAN, MORGAN

JUNE 1, 1937

Actor Morgan Freeman was born and raised in rural Greenwood, Mississippi. He first acted in an elementary school production of Little Boy Blue and won a statewide acting competition in junior high school. Upon graduating from high school, Freeman worked as a radar technician in the U.S. Air Force. He moved to California, where he took acting lessons at the Pasadena Playhouse and dancing lessons in San Francisco. In 1964 Freeman moved to New York and danced at the World's Fair. Three years later he made his Off-Broadway debut in *The Nigger Lovers.* His first Broadway appearance was in an all-black production of *Hello, Dolly!* in 1967, and from 1971 until 1976 he portrayed the character Easy Reader on Public Television's *The Electric Company.* He continued to do theater work on and off Broadway and received Obie Awards in 1980 for the title role in *Coriolanus,* and in 1984 for his role as the preacher in *The Gospel at Colonus* (1983). Freeman also won a Drama Desk Award and a Clarence Derwent Award (as a promising newcomer) for his role as a wino in *The Mighty Gents* (1978). He received a third Obie Award for his role as a soft-spoken southern chauffeur for a Mississippi Jewish widow in *Driving Miss Daisy* (1987), which was adapted for the screen in 1989.

Freeman made his film debut in 1980, playing minor roles in *Harry and Son* and *Brubaker.* He also appeared in *Eyewitness* (1981), *Death of a Prophet* (1983), *Teachers* (1984), *Marie* (1985), and *That Was Then, This Is Now* (1985). He gained recognition with his motion picture appearance in *Street Smart* (1987) with Christopher Reeve, for which Freeman received an Oscar nomination. In 1988 he played a reformed drug addict who counsels Michael Keaton in *Clean and Sober.* The following year was a turning point in Freeman's career. In 1989 he had starring roles as the school principal Joe Clark in *Lean on Me,* as the chauffeur in the movie adaptation of *Driving Miss Daisy,* for which he received an Oscar nomination, and as the first black sergeant of a northern black regiment during the Civil War in *Glory.* In 1991, he appeared in *Robin Hood,* and the following year he fulfilled a lifelong ambition to play a cowboy by starring in the Oscar-winning western *Unforgiven* opposite Clint Eastwood. Freeman was also hailed for his performances in *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994), *Outbreak* (1997), *Seven* (1997), *Amistad* (1997), *Kiss the Girls* (1997), *Moll Flanders* (1997), *Deep Impact* (1998), and *Hard Rain* (1998). In the fall of 1993, Freeman made his directorial debut with *Bopha!,* a film set in South Africa and filmed in Zimbabwe, about the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

Into the new century, Freeman has been one of Hollywood's busiest actors, with credits including *Nurse Betty* (2000), *Along Came a Spider* (2001), *The Sum of All Fears* (2002), *Runaway Jury, Antwone Fisher,* and *Dreamcatcher* (all 2003), *The Big Bounce* (2004), and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004), among many others. For his performance in *Million Dollar Baby,* Freeman was honored with an Academy Award for best supporting actor in 2005.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Free Villages

In the early postslavery period after 1838, freedpeople in the Caribbean viewed the acquisition of land as one of the most important badges of freedom. As was the case elsewhere in the Americas, the Caribbean freedpeople's vision of freedom incorporated much more than the mere absence of slavery, for emancipation provided them with an opportunity to exercise control over the rhythms of their own lives. Crucial to this control was establishing residences outside of the plantations, even when economic survival made it necessary to seek employment there. Land availability was a critical determinant to this process, and it was mainly in the eastern province of Santiago de Cuba, where plantations had not yet monopolized the landscape in the 1880s, that the freedpeople of Cuba had the greatest opportunity to access land. Similarly, freedpeople in Guadeloupe had more access to land than in Martinique, where sugar production dominated cultivable land. In the Anglophone (English-speaking) Caribbean, the freedpeople's hunger for land was manifested in the rapid emergence of free villages, particularly in Jamaica and Guyana, but also in Trinidad and the Windward Islands. In these areas they established settlements on their own initiative or with the assistance of various missionary intermediaries, despite various strategies that restricted access to land, such as legislation, the planters' refusal to sell, and prohibitive prices.

In the first decade after 1838, the Jamaican freedpeople constructed a society beyond the boundaries of the plantations in partnership with several groups of white evangelical missionaries, particularly the Baptists, though the Methodists, Moravians, and Presbyterians were also active in assisting freedpeople settlements. The freedpeople contributed their labor and invested their material resources in the establishment of "Christian villages" that revolved around the chapel and the school. Generally, the missionaries viewed the free villages as an immediate refuge from the planters' coercive labor recruitment policies as well as an opportunity to transform the freedpeople's characters and cultures. Reflecting the accepted gender order, the missionaries anticipated that the male villagers would look to the estates for regular employment, albeit on agreed terms, and that the freedwomen would devote their energies mainly to the family and the growth of provisions. The children would attend school. As Catherine Hall has noted, these villages were to be utopias where the missionaries could create "a new moral and material world in which Christianity and freedom reigned" (Catherine Hall, 1992, p. 254) in a new society constructed on the ruins of slavery.

In the early euphoria of the immediate postslavery period after 1838, the freedpeople in Jamaica embraced the missionaries' vision, and through family networks and church linkages freedpeople pooled their financial resources and invested in their own piece of ground. For instance, by 1842 freedmen and freedwomen in the parish of Trelawny spent about twenty thousand pounds sterling (the equivalent of about $100,000 US dollars at that time) in purchasing land and in erecting homes. In the neighboring parish of St. Ann, freedpeople connected with the Baptist church had, by 1841, spent ten thousand pounds on purchasing land, much of which formed new free villages bearing the name of abolitionists, such as Buxton, Clarksonville, Sturge Town, and Wilberforce. Generally, whether with the missionary as intermediary or on their own initiative, freedpeople in Jamaica rapidly bought up small freeholds. Consequently, whereas in 1840 there were 883 freeholds of less than ten acres, by 1845 there were 20,724, and about a third of the former enslaved population had relocated to new settlements. Clearly, the freedpeople's actions based on self-help and community effort reconfigured the Jamaican countryside. Utilizing their skills as agriculturists and artisans, freedpeople expanded internal trading networks and provided the foundation for new interior market towns that flourished around the new settlements. In addition, some of the new villagers gained the political freehold franchise and assisted free blacks, free coloreds (blacks and coloreds who were never enslaved), and Jewish elites in altering the racial and ethnic composition of the island's political institutions by the 1850s.

After 1838, Guyana witnessed the unique development of communal villages as whole plantations were bought by large groups of freedpeople who became joint stockholders of the purchased estate. By 1850, twenty-five plantations, with a total of 9,050 acres, were under new collective ownership in Guyana. Significantly, despite the vast amount of land available in the hinterland at lower prices, the freedpeople generally preferred to remain within the cleared, settled, better-drained, cultivated parts of

the country, where they benefited from the proximity to markets, churches, schools, and the plantations where they supplemented their income. These Guyanese communal free villages breached an aspect of the white power structure, as elements of "cooperative self-government" characterized the villages' administrative arrangements in their infancy. However, the planter legislature reasserted itself after the 1850s by way of legal restrictions of group purchases, and a series of Village Ordinances curbed the early experiments in local government. Further, the communal villager settlements became problematic because of drainage problems and uncertain land tenure arrangements.

Wherever possible, freedpeople constructed new communities and settlements beyond the plantation, knowing that independent landownership underscored their struggle for autonomy of the estates and increased their bargaining power. Additionally, growing and marketing of provisions were well established during slavery and were crucial to the freedpeople's strategies of combining wage labor with family-based independent farming. This enabled women to withdraw from regular estate labor while contributing significantly to family income. Indeed, in the construction of the new communities beyond the plantations, freedpeople drew on their own material, spiritual, and intellectual resources, placing the goals of family and community above the assertion of simple individual autonomy. Finally, the rapid establishment of free villages represented one of the most enduring lessons from the postslavery experience in the Caribbean, for they exhibited the earliest examples of the dynamic possibilities of sustained, self-help projects founded on community action.

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Nationalism and Race in the Caribbean

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SWITHIN WILMOT (2005)

Frente Negra Brasileira

The Frente Negra Brasileira, or Brazilian Black Front, was founded in the city of São Paulo on September 28, 1931. Open to "all productive Black people," its aims were to "foster the political and social unification of the Black People of this Nation . . . and to demand their social and political rights in the Brazilian Community" (*Diario Oficial de São Paulo*, p. 12). To achieve this goal, the Frente Negra outlined three strategies: promoting education and training, providing assistance and legal defense, and operating as a formal political party. Under the leadership of its president and founder Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, the Frente Negra eventually grew to include chapters throughout Brazil, with concentrations in the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul. Membership estimates range as high as several thousand, but the Frente Negra's impact radiated far beyond its card-bearing members. In the six years between its creation and its forced closure in 1937, the Frente Negra Brasileira became the most influential voice of Afro-Brazilian identity and civic aspiration.

The Frente Negra evolved from the experiences of the numerous Afro-Brazilian organizations active in the city of São Paulo since the turn of the twentieth century. The twin engines of coffee exports and industrialization fueled a rapid urban expansion that attracted unprecedented numbers of European immigrants. Also drawn to the city were the descendants of Afro-Brazilian slaves from the surrounding countryside, displaced by European contract laborers as slavery ended. Living alongside the ethnic enclaves of Italians, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, and other Europeans, Afro-Brazilians came to constitute a community of their own, with social clubs sponsoring activities such as dances, athletics, excursions, and newsletters. Opportunities nonetheless remained limited for

Afro-Brazilians. The newsletters became a political forum voicing their shared frustrations, and in 1926 a group of young men founded the Centro Cívico Palmares, the community's first advocacy group. Central to their concerns was the social ideology of race and its material and political concomitants. Veiga and the other founding members were active in all these efforts and brought lessons from their experience into the formation and operations of the Frente Negra.

From the start, the Frente Negra set itself apart from earlier organizations with its emphasis on activism. One of its first actions was to encourage members to integrate public places such as city parks and skating rinks, and the success of these actions garnered both attention and support. It also made the city fulfill its promise to hire black police officers by training candidates in advance to pass the test. It continued to attack the societal constraints of de facto segregation and discrimination by assisting members with housing and employment disputes. At the same time, the Frente dealt with other needs of the black community, such as financial management, job training, and literacy, that were obstacles to their full participation in the economic and political life of the nation. One of the greatest obstacles, however, was an Afro-Brazilian self-identity distorted by internalized racism. By adopting the word *Negra,* the Frente embraced an emerging identity of resistance as *black* people, as opposed to a host of what were considered more polite terms for African descendants. As the Frente Negra cultivated a sense of dignity and entitlement, it simultaneously sought to redefine what was considered a derogatory term associated closely with slavery. It also challenged the contemporary notion that Brazil was a racial democracy, free of racism, an ideology developed in explicit contrast to the blatant anti-black violence in the United States and colonial Africa. The masthead of the Frente Negra's official newspaper carried the reminder in each edition: "Color Prejudice in Brazil, Only We, the Blacks, Can Feel."

The leadership of the Frente Negra consisted of the president and a Grand Council with twenty members. The administration also included a council of branch leaders and departments for public relations and voter registration. The organization simultaneously put great effort into providing services and activities for its members, sponsoring music classes and groups, a theater company, elementary education and literacy training, employment advocacy and training, sewing classes, and numerous committees to organize festivities. Some of its services, like the hair salon and dental clinic, provided much needed on-the-job training. A credit union helped members manage their finances. Among the Frente Negra's most fondly remembered activities were the *domingueiras,* the Sunday meetings that began with stirring speeches about black history and current conditions by some of the city's best orators, segued into classes, lectures, and demonstrations, and continued on for hours with dance parties and performances featuring music, poetry, and theater.

In 1932, the Frente Negra began publishing its newspaper, *A Voz da Raça* (voice of the race). In addition to notices from the organization, the paper published hard news and commentary at the local, national, and even international level. It was widely circulated in the Frente Negra's areas of strongest influence, but copies made their way throughout Brazil. Many writers from earlier black newspapers joined the staff.

Despite its ambitions, the Frente's operations as a formal political entity were limited. It was founded shortly after the overthrow of the republic in 1930, which had brought to power Geúlio Vargas, an ambitious politician who cultivated direct relationships with interest groups. In mobilizing Afro-Brazilians as a political force, the Frente Negra attempted to position itself to win direct concessions from Vargas, a strategy other groups were also developing at the time, including the Catholic Church and new organizations such as the Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women.

Its first foray into electoral politics came in 1933. The Frente Negra had not yet registered as a political party, so its president, Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, ran as an independent candidate for delegate to the upcoming constitutional convention. Although unsuccessful, his campaign generated considerable visibility for the organization. Veiga articulated a political ideology which became associated with the Frente Negra, although it was in many ways highly controversial within the membership and the Afro-Brazilian community as a whole. Veiga endorsed the ethnonationalism espoused by Nazi and Fascist factions within São Paulo's German and Italian immigrant communities. He adapted their motto, "God, Homeland, and Family," for the *Voz da Raça*'s slogan, "God, Homeland, Race, and Family." Yet Veiga called for black rights in the face of perceived preferences given to immigrants and a suspension of immigration in his platform of "Brazil for the Brazilians." In this, Veiga reflected the Frente's strong focus on patriotism and integration, which Veiga articulated as a mandate to "assimilate nationally and racially" (Veiga, *Voz da Raça*). The Frente Negra registered as a political party in 1936 in preparation for elections cancelled by Geúlio Vargas' political coup in 1937. On December 2, 1937, Vargas dissolved all political parties, including the Frente Negra (which had, ironically, supported Vargas). The group renamed itself the Brazilian

Black Union under the leadership of board member Raul Joviano de Amaral, but only continued just long enough to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery on May 13, 1938.

The Frente Negra was not the only political organization of Afro-Brazilians but it was the most influential voice of its day. Its members went on to participate in Afro-Brazilian advocacy groups throughout the twentieth century and left an enduring legacy that placed Afro-Brazilian rights and self-determination on the national political, economic, social, and moral agenda from that point forward.

See also Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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KIM D. BUTLER (2005)

Fuller, Charles

March 5, 1939

The playwright and short-story writer Charles Henry Fuller Jr. was born in Philadelphia to Charles H. Fuller Sr., a printer, and Lillian Anderson Fuller. He attended Villanova College from 1956 to 1958, and he served for four years as an Army petroleum laboratory technician in Japan and Korea. He then returned to Philadelphia, attended La Salle College from 1965 to 1968, and completed his degree.

Although he had been writing since he was a teenager, Fuller began writing in earnest in the 1960s, usually at night while attending school or holding a number of jobs, from bank loan collector to counselor at Temple University to housing inspector for the city of Philadelphia. His early writing was mostly poetry, essays, and stories. Realizing that his stories were composed mostly of dialogue, Fuller turned to playwriting. His first short plays were written for the Afro-American Arts Theatre of Philadelphia, which he cofounded and codirected from 1967 through 1971. In 1970 he moved to New York City and devoted himself to writing full-time.

His first full-length play, *The Village: A Party,* was produced at the McCarter Theater in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1968. The play illustrates the conflicts inherent in a racially integrated community. When the black head of the community, who is married to a white woman, falls in love with a black woman, the other racially mixed couples in the community feel threatened and destroy him.

Other Fuller plays include *In the Deepest Part of Sleep,* which was produced at St. Marks Playhouse in New York in 1974, and *The Brownsville Raid,* also produced in New York, at the Negro Ensemble Company, in 1976. It was based on a 1906 incident involving a black United States Army regiment that was dishonorably discharged for allegedly inciting a riot in Brownsville, Texas.

In 1981 Fuller won an Obie Award and an Audelco Award for *Zooman and the Sign,* a play about inner-city violence in Philadelphia. The play dramatizes the accidental death of a young girl and its effects. In 1982 Fuller became the second black playwright to win a Pulitzer Prize for drama for *A Soldier's Play,* for which he also received a New York Drama Critics Award, an Audelco Award, a Theatre Club Award, and an Outer Circle Award for best off-Broadway play. In *A Soldier's Play,* which centers on the investigation of the murder of a black sergeant at an army base in Louisiana during World War II, Fuller explores racial prejudice by a white southern community as well as self-hatred by black soldiers. The play was adapted for the screen and released as *A Soldier's Story* by Columbia Pictures in 1984.

In 1987, CBS televised Fuller's adaptation of Ernest J. Gaines's novel *A Gathering of Old Men;* in 1988, two related one-act plays, *Sally* and *Prince,* were produced first in Atlanta by the First National Black Arts Festival, and then in New York by the Negro Ensemble Company. The first parts of the *We* series, a projected five- or six-part cycle chronicling the experience of African Americans from the Civil War through the end of the nineteenth century, the plays relate the life of Prince Logan, an educated former slave. In *Sally,* he participates in the rebellion of the country's first all-black Army regiment during the Civil War, when they learn they are to be paid three dollars less per month than white Union soldiers. In *Prince,* former slaves working a plantation discover there is little difference between their condition as free men and women under northern sponsorship and their condition as slaves before the war. They remain victims of economic, politi-

cal, and social exploitation, and realize the promise of freedom had been an illusion. The third and fourth plays in the *We* series, *Jonquil* and *Burner's Frolic,* were produced in 1989–1990 by the Negro Ensemble Company in New York.

Fuller has been a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow (1975), a National Endowment for the Arts Fellow (1976), and a Guggenheim Fellow (1977–1978). In addition to writing plays, Fuller wrote and directed a radio talk show about the black experience for WIP-Radio in Philadelphia (1970–1971). He has also contributed both fiction and nonfiction to such magazines as *Black Dialogue, Liberator,* and *Negro Digest.*

See also Drama; Gaines, Ernest J.; Literature of the United States

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Fuller, Meta Vaux Warrick

June 9, 1877
March 18, 1968

Named for one of her mother's clients (Meta, daughter of Pennsylvania senator Richard Vaux), sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller was born in Philadelphia, the youngest of three children of William and Emma (Jones) Warrick, prosperous hairstylists. She enjoyed a privileged childhood, with dancing and horseback-riding lessons. While attending Philadelphia public schools, Fuller took weekly courses at J. Liberty Tadd, an industrial arts school. At eighteen she won a three-year scholarship to the Pennsylvania Museum and School for Industrial Art. In 1898 she graduated with honors, a prize in metalwork for her *Crucifix of Christ in Anguish,* and a one-year graduate scholarship. The following year she was awarded the Crozer (first) Prize in sculpture for *Procession of the Arts and Crafts,* a terra-cotta bas-relief of thirty-seven medieval costumed figures.

From 1899 to 1903 Fuller studied in Paris, at first privately with Raphael Collin, and then at the Colarossi Academy. Among her supporters in France were expatriate painter Henry O. Tanner and philosopher W. E. B. Du Bois, who encouraged her to depict her racial heritage. Fuller produced clay, painted-plaster, and bronze figurative works based on Egyptian history, Greek myths, French literature, and the Bible.

In 1901, sculptor Auguste Rodin praised Fuller's clay piece *Secret Sorrow* (or *Man Eating His Heart*). With his sponsorship, Fuller began to receive wider notice. Art dealer Samuel Bing exhibited twenty-two of her sculptures at his L'Art Nouveau Gallery in June 1902. *The Wretched,* a bronze group of seven figures suffering physical and mental disabilities (as well as other macabre pieces, such as *Carrying the Dead Body* and *Oedipus,* in the latter of which the figure is blinding himself), earned Fuller the title "delicate sculptor of horrors" from the French press. She later enlarged a plaster model of *The Impenitent Thief,* which she had shown at Bing's gallery. Although she never finished the piece, Rodin saw that it was exhibited at the prestigious Société National des Beaux Arts Salon in April 1903.

Upon her return to Philadelphia, Fuller established a studio on South Camac Street in a flourishing artistic neighborhood. Her sculptures were exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1906, 1908, 1920, and 1928. In 1907 the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition commissioned Fuller to create fifteen tableaux of twenty-four-inch-high plaster figures depicting African-American progress since the Jamestown settlement in 1607. She received a gold medal for *The Warrick Tableaux,* a ten-foot-by-ten-foot diorama.

The artist's career slowed considerably after her marriage in 1909 to the Liberian neurologist Solomon C. Fuller and a fire in 1910 that destroyed the bulk of her work in storage. By 1911 Fuller was the devoted mother of two sons (the last was born in 1916), an active member of Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church, and host to prominent guests who frequently visited the family in the quiet town of Framingham, Massachusetts.

Fuller began to sculpt again in 1913 when Du Bois commissioned a piece for New York State's celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. *The Spirit of Emancipation* represented Humanity weeping for her freed children (a man and woman) as Fate tried to hold them back. Positive public response promoted Fuller to continue working. In 1914 the Boston Public Li-

The Awakening of Ethiopia, ***c. 1914.*** *Considered a powerful symbol of the spirit of the Harlem Renaissance, Fuller's sculpture represents a partially wrapped mummy bound from the waist down but revealing the headdress of an ancient Egyptian queen. As the title reveals, Fuller used the Egyptian motifs to symbolize the African American's awakening and gradual unwrapping of the bandages of an oppressive past.* SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

brary exhibited twenty-two of her recent works. Among the numerous requests and awards that followed from African-American and women's groups were a plaster medallion commissioned by the Framingham Equal Suffrage League (1915); a plaster group, *Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War* (for which she received second prize from the Massachusetts branch of the Women's Peace Party in 1917); and a portrait relief of the NAACP's first president, Moorfield Storey, commissioned by Du Bois in 1922. The same year, the New York Making of America Exposition displayed Fuller's *Ethiopia Awakening,* a one-foot-high bronze sculpture of a woman shedding mummy cloths. This Pan-Africanist work symbolized the strength of womanhood, the emergence of nationhood, and the birth of what Alain Locke would call three years later the "New Negro." One of Fuller's most poignant works, *Mary Turner: A Silent Protest Against Mob Violence* (1919), commemorates both the silent parade of ten thousand black New Yorkers against lynching in 1917 and the lynching of a Georgian woman and her unborn child in 1918. Fuller never finished the piece because she believed northerners would find it too inflammatory and southerners would not accept it. She created numerous other works that depicted symbolic and actual African and African-American culture, including her celebrated *Talking Skull* (1937), based on an African fable. She also produced portrait busts of friends, family members, and African-American abolitionists and other black leaders, such as educator Charlotte Hawkins Brown, composer Samuel Coleridge Taylor, and Menelik II of Abyssinia. The Harmon Foundation exhibited Fuller's work in 1931 and 1933. She later served as a Harmon juror.

Fuller participated in numerous local organizations; she was a member of the Boston Art Club, an honorary member of the Business and Professional Women's Club, chair of the Framingham Women's Club art committee, and the only African-American president of Zonta, a women's service club. Additionally, she designed costumes for theatrical groups and produced "living pictures": re-creations of artistic masterpieces with actors, costumes, sets, and lighting.

In the 1940s Fuller's husband went blind and became increasingly ill. She nursed him until his death in 1953, then contracted tuberculosis herself and stayed at the Middlesex County Sanatorium for two years. She wrote poetry there, too frail to create more than a few small sculptures.

By 1957 Fuller was strong enough to continue her work. She produced models of ten notable African-American women for the Afro-American Women's Council in Washington, D.C. She also created a number of sculptures for her community, including several religious pieces for Saint Andrew's Church, a plaque for the Framingham Union Hospital, and the bronze *Storytime* for the Framingham Public Library. For her achievements, Livingstone College (her husband's alma mater) awarded

her an honorary doctorate of letters in 1962, and Framingham posthumously dedicated a public park in the honor of Meta and Solomon Fuller in 1973. Since then, Fuller's sculptures have been included in numerous exhibitions.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Painting and Sculpture; Tanner, Henry Ossawa

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Gabriel Prosser Conspiracy

Gabriel Prosser worked in secret during 1800 to recruit and organize thousands of enslaved Virginians. He sketched out an elaborate plan to overthrow the slavery regime, and it came within hours of execution. But on the chosen day—Saturday, August 30—a hurricane destroyed bridges and flooded roads. The violent downpour washed out the proposed attack on the state capitol at Richmond, allowed time for word of the plan to leak to white authorities, and foiled what could have become a brilliant move in the dangerous chess game to force an end to slavery.

Gabriel was born into bondage about 1775, around the time that white Virginians declared their political independence. The authorities who executed him said he showed "courage and intellect above his rank in life." As the property of tavern-keeper Thomas Prosser, he worked regularly as a blacksmith in the Richmond area, where, inspired by stories of the recent Haitian Revolution, he framed his desperate plan. Aided by his wife and his brothers Martin and Solomon, he worked to procure weapons and rally recruits (Martin, a preacher, found recruits at funerals and secret religious gatherings, where he employed biblical accounts of the Israelites' escape from Egypt to inspire potential conspirators). According to testimony in subsequent trials, from two to ten thousand African Americans knew of the design and looked to Gabriel as their leader to, in Solomon's words, "conquer the white people and possess ourselves of their property." The insurrectionists intended to spare Methodists, Quakers, and local Frenchmen because of their emancipationist leanings, and they expected poor whites and nearby Catawba Indians to join their cause when it gathered strength.

The plan called for several hundred participants (advised by a veteran from the successful siege at Yorktown) to gather at a spot outside Richmond. Behind a banner invoking the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions with the words Death or Liberty, they would march on the city in three contingents. One group would light fires in the dockside warehouses to divert whites from the heart of the city, while the other two groups would seize the capitol armory and take Governor James Monroe hostage. When the "white people agreed to their freedom," Gabriel "would dine and drink with the merchants of the city," and a white flag would be hoisted above the capitol, calling other blacks in the countryside to join them.

Betrayal by informers presented a huge danger, with so many persons approached about such an overwhelming

plan. When torrential rains forced a last-minute postponement of the march on Richmond, several slaves had already alerted whites to the impending action, and Governor Monroe moved swiftly. The state militia arrested scores of suspects, and several dozen persons were executed. Prosser took refuge on the schooner *Mary,* captained by a sympathetic white Methodist. But in late September he was betrayed by two slave crewmen and captured in Norfolk. After a brief show trial in which the leader remained silent, he was hanged on October 7.

In the aftermath of the foiled insurrection, the Virginia Assembly acted to restrict the movement of all blacks—enslaved and free—and to set up a white public guard in Richmond. Such precautions proved ineffective, however. In 1802, authorities discovered further black plans to fight for freedom in Virginia and North Carolina.

In 1936 the publication of Arna Bontemps's novel *Black Thunder* offered an interesting literary treatment of Prosser's revolt.

See also Christiana Revolt of 1851; Haitian Revolution; Slavery

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PETER H. WOOD (1996)
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Gaines, Ernest J.

January 15, 1933

The oldest son of a large family, Ernest Gaines, a writer, was born on the River Lake Plantation in Point Coupée Parish, Louisiana. His parents separated when he was young, and his father's absence led to a permanent estrangement. More important than his parents in his childhood was a maternal great-aunt who provided love and served as an example of strength and survival under extreme adversity. The older people in the close-knit community of the plantation "quarters" exemplified similar qualities, passing on to the child the rich oral tradition that figures prominently in his fiction.

At the age of fifteen Gaines moved from this familiar environment to Vallejo, California, where he could receive a better education. Lonely in these new surroundings, he spent much of his time in the town's public library and began to write. After high school he spent time in a junior college and the military before matriculating at San Francisco State College. An English major, he continued to write stories and graduated in 1957. Encouraged by his agent, Dorothea Oppenheimer, and (while in the creative writing program at Stanford) by Malcolm Cowley, Gaines committed himself to a literary career. In 1964 he published his first novel, *Catherine Carmier.* His subsequent books are *Of Love and Dust* (1967), *Bloodline* (1968), *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971), *In My Father's House* (1978), and *A Gathering of Old Men* (1983). In a collection of interviews published as *Porch Talk with Ernest Gaines* (1990), he discussed his work in progress, a novel about an uneducated black man on death row and a black teacher in a Louisiana plantation school titled *A Lesson Before Dying* (1993).

In the 1960s and 1970s, except for a year at Denison University, Gaines lived and wrote in San Francisco. Since the early 1980s he has been associated with the University of Southwestern Louisiana, although he has continued to summer in San Francisco.

South Louisiana, the region of Gaines's youth and literary imagination, is beautiful and distinctive with unique cultural, linguistic, and social patterns. Like George Washington Cable and Kate Chopin before him, Gaines has been fascinated by the interplay of caste and class among the ethnic groups of the area: blacks, mixed-race Creoles, Cajuns, white Creoles, and Anglo whites. Once fairly stable as subsistence farmers, blacks and mixed-race Creoles have been dispossessed of the best land or displaced altogether by Cajuns, who are favored by the plantation lords because they are white and use mechanized agricultural methods. Under such socioeconomic conditions, young blacks leave, as Gaines himself did, though they often find themselves drawn back to Louisiana.

Such is the case in *Catherine Carmier.* In this novel the protagonist is the educated and alienated Jackson Bradley, who returns to his native parish to claim the love of the title character, the daughter of a mixed-race Creole whose racial exclusivism, attachment to the land, and semi-incestuous feelings toward her cannot condone such

an alliance. Nor do Jackson's fellow blacks approve. Jackson cannot recapture his love or his homeland because, for all its pastoral charm, the world of his childhood is anachronistic. In *Of Love and Dust* Gaines moves from Arcadian nostalgia to a tragic mode. Marcus Payne, the rebellious protagonist, defies social and racial taboos by making love to the wife of a Cajun plantation overseer, Sidney Bonbon, after being rejected by Bonbon's black mistress. As Marcus and Louise Bonbon prepare to run away together, the Cajun, a grim embodiment of fate, kills him with a scythe.

If *Catherine Carmier* is a failed pastoral and *Of Love and Dust* a tragedy, *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* is a near-epic account of a centenarian whose life has spanned slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the civil rights movement. Her individual story reflects the experience of oppression, resistance, survival, and dignity of an entire people. Although the protagonist of *In My Father's House* is a minister and civil rights leader in Louisiana and his unacknowledged son is an urban militant, this work's central theme is more private than public—the search for a father who has abdicated parental responsibility. In this grim tale, the son commits suicide and the father survives but without dignity. The mood of *A Gathering of Old Men,* on the other hand, is more comic than grim, but the old men who gather with shotguns to protect one of their own from unjust arrest achieve in this act of resistance the dignity that has been missing from their lives. White characters, too, achieve moral growth as social and racial change finally catches up with the bayou country. It is Gaines's most hopeful novel and in some ways his best.

In 1972 Gaines received the Black Academy of Arts and Letters Award. He was given the annual literary award of the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1987. In 2000 he won the National Humanities Medal, the National Governors Association Award for Lifetime Contribution to the Arts, and Writer of the Year honors from the Louisiana Center for the Book.

See also Black Academy of Arts and Letters; Literature of the United States

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KENNETH KINNAMON (1996)
Updatd by publisher 2005

Gairy, Eric

February 18, 1922
August 23, 1997

The trade unionist and politician Eric Matthew Gairy was born in Saint Andrew's Parish, Grenada, in 1922. He served as an acolyte in the local Roman Catholic Church and was educated in the island's public schools. He became chief minister in 1961, premier in 1967, and prime minister of independent Grenada in 1973. Initially a champion of workers' rights, Gairy later became a ruthless dictator whose actions led to a bloodless coup in 1979.

After leaving school, Gairy taught briefly before migrating, sometime between 1941 and 1942, to Trinidad, where he worked for the Americans who were constructing a military base. In 1943 he went to Aruba, where he worked for Lago Oil Company. He also taught at the evening school for workers operated by the Aruba branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Gairy first became involved in trade union activities in Aruba, and it was there that he forged a close friendship with another Grenadian, Gascoigne Blaize, who later became one of his chief lieutenants in Grenada.

Trade Union Activist

When Gairy returned to Grenada in 1948, his blend of charisma and messianic vision allowed him to position himself as the champion of the working class. His successful 1950 defense of peasants evicted by the new proprietor of an estate in the northern portion of the island boosted his popularity among workers and peasants. After registering as a trade union in July, his newly formed Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union (GMMWU) demanded wage increases ranging from twenty percent to fifty percent for laborers on various estates. By January 1951, discontent among other union workers provided him with the opportunity to visit additional estates and recruit more members for his GMMWU. These visits resulted in strikes on some estates, followed by a successful month-long, island-wide strike beginning on February 19, which was a complete victory for the GMMWU.

The strike was not entirely peaceful. Looting and arson were commonplace, and some destruction of livestock and property also occurred. Using the codeword "sky-red" when he wished certain places to be set on fire, Gairy undoubtedly encouraged the violence. On February 21, he organized a massive demonstration that included busloads of people from all parts of the island, and his rhetorical skills inspired the crowd, who nicknamed him

Uncle Gairy. In addition to his following in Grenada, Gairy also received support from political leaders in Trinidad, Jamaica, Antigua, and Saint Kitts. With some six thousand Grenada workers supporting the strike, the island's economy quickly came to a halt. The acting governor eventually ordered the arrest and detention of both Gairy and Gascoigne Blaize. In desperation, the acting governor released Gairy and Blaize from detention after receiving a commitment that he would end the violence.

Political Activities

At the age of barely twenty-nine, Gairy had become the indisputable leader of Grenada's working class, and he soon transformed this popularity into success at the polls. In 1950 he had formed the Grenada People's Party, which eventually became the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP). His personal popularity was evident in 1954, when his party captured all but two of the seats in the general elections. This electoral success continued in subsequent years, with Gairy's party winning six of the eight elections held between 1951 and 1976.

Gairy's charisma and popularity emboldened him to attempt a transformation of Grenada's society, but he soon ran afoul of British-appointed government officials. In 1957 he was accused of campaign irregularities, suspended from the Legislative Council, and prohibited from participating in elections for five years. Citing violations of financial regulations after 1961 (uncovered in the so-called *Squandermania Report*), as well as alleged browbeating of public servants, erosion of morale in the civil service, and illegal use of public money, the British government suspended the island's constitution and removed Gairy from office in 1962.

Power and Opposition

On returning to office as premier in August 1967, Gairy sought to perpetuate his power by victimizing his political opponents through the lawless actions of a special police force that he personally recruited; by giving selective concessions to business people he favored; and by creating a highly centralized bureaucracy in which he was the primary decision maker. By acquiring the property of his political opponents, he promoted his land for the landless program. Various statutory boards were disbanded and replaced with pliant civil servants or party supporters. Charges of misrule by opponents began mounting.

From 1972 onwards, Gairy faced increasing opposition from progressives in the recently formed New Jewel Movement. Through protests and marches, they gained support for their fledgling organization. Government-sponsored beatings, imprisonment, and murders in 1973 resulted in the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the nature of law enforcement on the island. Protestors unsuccessfully sought to delay Gairy's plans for political independence without referendum. Island-wide strikes and protests in late 1973 and early 1974 led to the police killing of a popular businessman and the father of the New Jewel Movement's leader. Independence for Grenada came in 1974 amidst heightened violence and political polarization, and Gairy became prime minister under the new constitution. Knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1977, he used the island's new status to forge alliances to enhance the country's visibility.

Between 1974 and 1979, Gairy used his government majority to make a mockery of parliament by using his majority merely to rubberstamp his agenda without seriously considering the opinions of others. On the rare occasions when the opposition received advance copies of papers that were up for parliamentary discussion, they received them on the very day the items were being introduced. Because the speaker invariably ruled on Gairy's behalf, they were effectively able to silence and frustrate the opposition. It was widely believed that his party's 1978 election victory stemmed from deliberately faulty voting lists and practices. Convinced that he could not be removed by constitutional means, the opposition New Jewel Movement overthrew his government in a bloodless coup on March 13, 1979, while Gairy was in the United States. Although he returned to Grenada in 1983, the GULP won only one seat in the 1984 elections and two in 1990. Gairy died peacefully in Grenada on August 23, 1997.

The architect of the long-overdue social revolution, Gairy had raised the level of political consciousness among Grenada's masses. By positioning himself as their champion against the excesses of the white- and brown-skinned oligarchy, he gave to the black masses considerable self-respect and gained from them a fanatical hero worship. He failed to win over large numbers of the urban middle class, however, and they found a home in Herbert Blaize's Grenada National Party.

See also Blaize, Herbert; International Relations in the Anglophone Caribbean; New Jewel Movement; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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EDWARD L. COX (2005)

Gama, Luiz

June 21, 1830
August 24, 1882

Brazilian abolitionist, republican, freethinker, and poet Luiz Gama was born in the city of Salvador da Bahia. His early life is the subject of some mystery and is likely to remain one, as all accounts of it are based on a single letter containing his own reminiscences. Gama's mother, Luiza Mahin, was an African-born freedwoman who made her living selling foodstuffs in the city market. Gama's father, whose name he declined to reveal, was the dissolute son of a prominent Bahian family. In 1837, when Gama was still a young boy, his mother was forced to flee Bahia, perhaps after being implicated in antislavery plotting. A few years later, in 1840, his father sold him into slavery after squandering his own inheritance.

Following this illegal sale, young Luiz was shipped south to the port of Rio de Janeiro, then to the neighboring province of São Paulo. He was a house slave in the city of São Paulo for nearly eight years, during the last years of which he befriended a boarder in his master's home, a law student who taught him to read.

Gama proved a quick study, using his newly acquired literacy to obtain documentation proving that he had been enslaved illegally and, in 1848, regaining his freedom. In the years that followed, he served in the military, worked as a clerk, and acquired a thorough, if informal, training in the law, eventually establishing his own practice.

Not content with having achieved his own freedom, Gama dedicated himself to the cause of human freedom more broadly, using his legal skills to liberate other enslaved men, women, and children through the courts and otherwise advancing the abolitionist cause as a lecturer, journalist, and fund-raiser. In all, Gama claimed to have assisted in the freeing of more than five hundred slaves.

Gama was not only an abolitionist, he was a republican during a period in which Brazil was ruled by a constitutional monarch, seeing the two struggles as joined and writing of his desire to see his country "without king and without slaves." He is said to have been the first Brazilian to use the phrase "United States of Brazil," and although he was deeply disappointed by the refusal of the rump leadership of the São Paulo Republican Party to take up the cause of immediate abolition, he never broke with the republican movement, as is often claimed.

Gama's abolitionism and republicanism are well known, but a further aspect of his intellectual formation has been overlooked. In matters religious, Gama was a freethinker, taking pride in the fact that his African-born mother had refused to allow him to be baptized as a Catholic. Although his father eventually had him baptized in the Church and he later expressed his belief in certain Christian tenets, Gama eschewed organized religion and expressed an admiration for Ernest Renan's iconoclastic *Life of Jesus*. Not coincidentally, this religious and political nonconformist was among the most prominent freemasons in São Paulo, a position he used to attract further support for the abolitionist cause.

Gama was also a poet, most famous for the doggerel with which he lampooned Brazilian racism, privilege, and hypocrisy. In "Quem sou eu?" ("Who am I?"), the most celebrated of his poems, he mocked the racial pretensions of his countrymen, playing on the nineteenth-century slang term for a male mulatto, *bóde* ("billy-goat"):

Se Negro sou, ou sou bóde
Pouco importa. O que isto póde?
Bódes ha de toda a casta,
Pois que a especie é muito vasta . . .
Ha cinzentos, ha rajados,
Bayos, pampas e malhados
Bódes negros, *bódes brancos,*
E, sejamos todos francos,
Uns plebeus, e outros nobres

[If I am black, or am billy-goat
It matters little. How can it?
There are goats of every caste,
For the species is very vast . . .
There are gray ones, there are spotted,
Chestnut-colored, streaked and mottled
Black goats, *white goats,*
And, let us all be frank,
Some plebian, and others noble]

In a further passage, the "billy-goat" proclaimed of his bleating, bucking countrymen:

Gentes pobres, nobres gentes
Em todos ha *meus parentes.*

[Persons poor, noble persons
Among one and all are *my relations.*]

But as a poet Gama also had a serious side, one clear in his ode to his mother, "Minha mãe" ("My Mother"),

and in love poems like "A captiva" ("The Captive") and "Meus amores" ("My Loves"). These works, with their evocations of African and Afro-Brazilian beauty, were part of a larger effort on Gama's part to valorize blackness at a time in which African contributions to Brazilian society and culture were broadly ignored or denigrated. In his celebration of blackness, Gama was truly ahead of his time, anticipating the black-consciousness movements of the twentieth century.

Gama died in 1882, six years before the emancipation of all of Brazil's remaining slaves. His funeral cortège was among the most impressive that São Paulo had seen, with thousands of mourners accompanying the casket across the city to its final resting place.

Gama was married to Claudina Fortunata Sampaio, who survived him, as did his son—his only child—Benedicto. A collection of Gama's poems, titled *Primeiras trovas burlescas*, was published in two editions in his lifetime (1859, 1861) and in various posthumous editions (1904, 1944, 1954, 1981, 2000).

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Literature; Rebouças, André

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JAMES P. WOODARD (2005)

Gardens and Yard Art

For African Americans, gardens and yards have been bound up with opportunities for stable living conditions, control over personal space, and home ownership amid threats to person and property extending from the seventeenth into the twenty-first centuries. Broadly, yards represent the American dream of independence and self-respect, the biblical notion of freedom to live under one's own vine and fig tree, and the ancestral bequest of roots for the living and their descendants in a home place. Plants, statuary, and artistic creations help to communicate these themes and the unique visions of gardeners and yard makers. Even such ordinary activities as cutting grass and planting flowers can double as community building by showing passersby a home that is secure, successful, and welcoming.

Gardens and Yards

Most Americans use the term *garden* to describe a relatively large area where vegetables or flowers are grown, *bed* for a smaller area of flowers, and *yard* to refer to domestic landscapes that surround residences. African diaspora history and experience also give meanings to these terms. In West and Central Africa, family gardens on lands surrounding a village are major sources of staple foods. People also own rights in individual fruit trees, palms, and herbs scattered through the community and the forest. Prior to European colonization, flowers generally were not grown solely for decoration but rather appreciated in relation to the total potential of the plant to feed, medicate, protect, or harm. Family compounds, often enclosed by a wall or fence, foreshadowed use of the yard in the Americas as an extension of the house, the site of practical activities as well as relaxation. Forest preserves that contained ritual sites, initiation compounds, sacred pools, memorials to ancestors, and important plants also influenced African-American landscape design.

On many North American and Caribbean plantations, the yard was a fenced or walled workspace adjacent to the planter's house. Access to the yard was strictly controlled, but some enslaved Africans and their descendants also had gardens that they tended in their meager spare time, enriching their diets and their pockets with the sale of crops. The forests and swamps beyond the plantation contained dangers but also routes for escape from forced labor.

Wildness and Cultivation, Exuberance and Maturity

On both sides of the Atlantic the complementary relationship between forest and settlement, wildness and cultivation, remains philosophically important, shaping both land and analogies between land use and the human body. Wild places like forests and swamps are associated with unpredictability, exuberance, and a hot emotional climate but are also exceptionally fertile and full of potential for healing and new growth. Cultivated places, like mature people, are orderly, discreet, and cool—in the sense of being emotionally balanced—as well as perfectly groomed. Wildness can burst forth spontaneously in any direction; cultivation channels this energy into mastery of all direc-

tions. Both orientations must be balanced for overall health; thus, both find places in yards, as do towers, posts, whirligigs, wheels, tires, balls, hubcaps, lighthouses, and other adornments that imply heights, depths, and movement through all points of the compass.

Thus, some carefully tended yards also include areas that seem wilder than the other parts, often located in back of the yard or on the far side of the driveway from the house. Traditionally, these are the areas in which memorials to loved ones and past generations are placed. Diverse African peoples, as well as African Americans, associate certain bodies of water, trees, inverted or pierced vessels, and otherworldly colors such as white and silver with ancestors and/or spirits. Items that some might call *yard art* not only decorate but display connections with the past and the staying power of forebears: old wheels, plows, sewing machines, bed heads, iron washing and cooking pots, stones, and even special roots, trees, and flowers like jonquils that return year after year, long after a home has been abandoned.

Trees contribute character to the landscape. The centerpiece of the yard for many southerners is a chinaberry tree that shades a cluster of chairs for work and sociability. Some yards also contain places of meditation beside a tree, carrying on the tradition of religious seekers selecting special trees and thickets for places of prayer. Widespread practices in the African diaspora link trees with individuals. For example, a "name tree" planted just as the morning sun crossed the horizon established the relationship near the time of a person's birth. The growth of the tree paralleled that of the child into maturity, eventually serving as a memorial after the individual's death. Sturdy "family trees" in rural yards symbolize "back home" for relatives spread throughout the country.

Signs of Cultivation: Borders, Surfaces, and Thresholds

A widespread idea in the African diaspora holds that land is not empty space waiting to be claimed but rather must be *made* by eliminating wildness and negativity (thieves, gossip, jealousy, or disease) and must be kept up by treating every surface, plant, and ornament with care.

Surfaces, boundaries, and thresholds are key to these processes. In yards, fields, and burial grounds, earth is a passage, not a plane. Trees, plants, and posts that transect the surface of the yard connect the visible with the unseen. Borders (often of bottles before the mid-twentieth century), fences, and gates segment the land, functioning simultaneously as containers, barriers, decoration, and signs of ownership that mediate movement between inside and outside various areas.

In African-American yards, smooth, regular surfaces like swept sand, packed earth, raked gravel, and clipped grass are not so much blank as neutral (or cool): in a state of readiness and composure achieved against the vicissitudes of traffic and hurry. The surface of the ground is as much a "face" of the yard as is its façade from the street. Whether or not the preference for bare earth originated in Africa, it is widespread there and remained customary in American yards into the 1940s, when grass lawns became more common. A deterrent to insects and other pests, packed earth and raked sand also show that members of the household have paid attention to every square inch of the yard. It is combed and groomed like human hair, an analogy that Maya Angelou and others have drawn. Regular sweeping also obliterates the foot tracks of residents, for as anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston has discussed at length, in conjure, tracks can be picked up and used in rites to harm someone. Together, well-tended surfaces and boundaries contribute to a home that is sealed: impervious to assault, aesthetically pleasing, and functioning smoothly. The concept of sealing the house is virtually Pan-African. In the eighteenth century, the yards of enslaved Virginians in the Carter's Grove Plantation slave quarter used shells to seal the ground. Rather than sweeping the surface of the quarter bare, residents drew on an abundant supply of oyster shells that combined attractive whiteness with good drainage and announced the approach of visitors with loud crunching noises.

Boundaries and borders often have extra physical and visual anchors at the four corners. The corners of the yard as a whole and the beds inside it resonate with the corners of rooms inside the house, as well as with ritual space. The arrangements that mark the entrances to yards vary considerably, also implying the wide range of ways that the people who make them view their neighborhoods and potential visitors. Wrought gates, doors, and window coverings add "prestige and protection," according to an advertisement on WNOO radio in Chattanooga, Tennessee. A spiritual doctor from the 1930s recommended placing a fork by the door or gate to keep thieves away and stop people from gossiping. Traditional protections against conjure include a fork or broomstick over the kitchen door, sprinkling doors and gates with chamber lye and salt, and keeping a yard bird or frizzled chicken. Part of making a yard truly welcoming involves helping others avoid temptation so that visitors come only with good intentions.

Embellishments

Adding something extra, going a step beyond what's expected of an ordinary yard, fits well with an African-American aesthetic that Zora Neale Hurston called "deco-

African-American women sweeping their yards in Belton, South Carolina. *The preference for bare earth and smooth, regular surfaces, carefully tended, was common in Africa and remained customary in the yards of black Americans until the 1940s.* STILL PICTURE BRANCH (NWDNS), NATIONAL ARCHIVES AT COLLEGE PARK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

rating the decorations." This can mean expressing oneself by adding colorful trim, crafting small dramatic scenes with statuary, nurturing flowers that burgeon out of their beds, and a host of other ways of filling the yard with life. As more Americans moved into the cities, rural animals such as geese, deer, squirrels, and rabbits became popular ornaments. Cool, composed religious statues serve as role models and show awareness of blessings bestowed on the household. A secure yard is well looked after, and historically African Americans have had good reasons to be vigilant; thus, eagles can allude not only to patriotism but also to exceptional powers of sight. Indeed, in African-American yards, the eyes of statues almost always gaze at passersby, where they can remind potential transgressors that they have been seen and should behave accordingly.

In sum, African-American yard work is an extraordinarily rich and varied form of expressive culture combining beautification with communication and tradition with innovation.

See also Africanisms; Expressive Culture; Folk Arts and Crafts; Folk Religion

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GREY GUNDAKER (2005)

Garnet, Henry Highland

December 23, 1815
February 12, 1882

Clergyman and abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet was one of the most formidable African-American leaders of the mid-nineteenth century. He was born on a slave plantation in New Market, Maryland, where his grandfather, likely a former Mandingo chief, was a leader of the slave community. At the age of nine he escaped from slavery with his family to New York City, where he was reared in an African-American community committed to evangelical Protestantism, "mental and moral improvement," and the antislavery cause. Young Garnet, whose father was a shoemaker and a leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, received an excellent education for a black youth in Jacksonian America in schools established by abolitionists, black and white. Beginning in 1825 he attended the famous African Free School on Mulberry Street. After several years as a seaman, followed by an apprenticeship to a Quaker farmer on Long Island (whose son became his tutor), Garnet in 1832 entered the Canal Street High School, which was directed by Theodore S. Wright and Peter Williams, Jr., two of the leading black clergymen and abolitionists of the era. Wright, who had been educated at Princeton, became his mentor, and in 1833 Garnet joined Wright's First Colored Presbyterian Church, a church that Garnet himself was later to pastor.

In 1835 Garnet, along with Alexander Crummell and another black youth, matriculated at the newly opened Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire. Not long after their arrival, following a harrowing journey on segregated transportation, a mob of neighboring farmers, angered by the boys' presence and their participation in local abolition meetings, dragged the makeshift school building into a nearby swamp and forced them to leave. The next year Garnet enrolled in Oneida Institute at Whitesboro, New York, from which he graduated in 1839.

Henry Highland Garnet (1815–1882). *One of the foremost African-American leaders of the nineteenth century, Garnett was a fugitive slave who became a prominent abolitionist and clergyman.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

In 1843 Garnet became an ordained minister in the Presbyterian church, although he had already pastored the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church in Troy, New York, since 1840, turning the church into a center of abolitionism and black self-help in the Troy area. He made his church an important station on the Underground Railroad; he set up a grammar school at the church, for education was the key to black progress; he preached temperance because drink undermined black advancement; and he edited two short-lived antislavery newspapers, the *Clarion* (1842) and the *National Watchman* (1847), so that African Americans could have their own voice. He also urged African Americans to leave the cities and pursue the greater independence of farm ownership.

During his Troy years, Garnet became heavily involved in radical antislavery politics. Shortly after joining

in 1841, he became a leader in the newly formed Liberty Party, which pledged to end slavery through participation in the political process, an approach that contrasted with the moral suasionist, antigovernment approach of William Lloyd Garrison and his followers. At the same time, Garnet played a leading role in the struggle—unsuccessful until 1870—to eliminate property restrictions on the black franchise in New York State. In addition to state conventions, Garnet was active in the national Negro conventions movement, designed to establish policies on problems of slavery and race. It was at the Buffalo, New York, meeting in 1843 that he delivered his provocative "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America." In it he urged them to meet their moral obligation to the just God who had created all people in his image by using whatever means the situation dictated to throw off the oppressor's yoke. Garrisonians, led by Frederick Douglass, who interpreted Garnet's remarks as a call for slave rebellion, opposed a resolution authorizing the convention to distribute the speech. After heated debates the resolution was defeated. Garnet reintroduced the speech in the Troy convention in 1847 and shortly afterward published it, together with David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), from which he had drawn some of the ideas contained in the "Address." By 1849 Douglass himself, no longer a Garrisonian, was stating publicly that he welcomed news of a rising of the slaves.

In 1850, following two years of successful mission work in Geneva, New York, Garnet left for England to lecture in the free-produce movement, whose major object was to strike at slavery through the boycott of goods produced by slave labor. Garnet remained in the British Isles until 1853 and then served as a missionary in Jamaica until illness forced his return to the United States in 1856. He then was named pastor at the Shiloh (formerly First Colored) Presbyterian Church in New York City and remained there until 1864, when he was called to the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C.

Garnet's restless search for ways to liberate African Americans from the bonds of slavery and color prejudice took another turn in 1858, when he became president of the newly formed and black-led African Civilization Society (ACS). Its grand design was the development of an "African nationality" through the "selective" emigration of African Americans to the Niger Valley, there to embark upon the civilizing mission of introducing evangelical Protestantism, expanding trade and commerce, and cultivating cotton and other crops that would compete with slave-grown produce to undermine slavery. His incipient Pan-Africanism was enhanced by his early contacts with Africans in New York City and his years in Jamaica, and it is likely that only illness prevented him from shifting his ministry to Africa in 1856, following the example of his longtime friend Alexander Crummell, who had earlier undertaken a mission to Liberia. Although opposed by anticolonizationists such as Frederick Douglass, Garnet eventually won the support of many African nationalists, including Martin Delany, who joined the African Civilization Society in 1861. Even as the ACS gradually turned its missionary impulse toward meeting the relief and educational needs of the freed people during and after the Civil War, Garnet never relinquished his vision of African redemption.

Henry Highland Garnet

"You cannot be more oppressed than you have been—you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. Rather die freemen, than live to be slaves. Remember that you are three millions."

ADDRESS TO THE SLAVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DELIVERED BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COLORED CITIZENS. BUFFALO, NEW YORK, AUGUST 16, 1843. IN *THE BLACK ABOLITIONIST PAPERS*. VOL.3., *THE UNITED STATES, 1830-1846*, EDITED BY C. PETER RIPLEY. CHAPEL HILL: UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS, 1991, 403-412.

Garnet also viewed the Civil War as a grand opportunity for African Americans, who were destined for freedom, to lead in the redemption of the United States. This faith was sorely tested, however, by the New York City Draft Riots in July 1863, which took a heavy toll on black lives and property, endangering Garnet's life and resulting in the sacking of his church. He was a leader in the organized effort to aid victims of the violence. Undeterred, he continued at great personal risk to recruit black volunteers for the Union armies. Soon after he became minister to Washington, D.C.'s Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in 1864, he took up missionary work among the recently freed slaves flocking into the national capital. In February 1865 he was invited to deliver a sermon in the U.S. House of Representatives commemorating passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, the first African American so asked. His message was a call for national atonement: *"Emancipate, enfranchise, educate, and give the blessings of the gospel to every American citizen"* (Garnet's italics).

After the Civil War, those who had long been in the forefront of the liberation struggle were gradually replaced by another generation. Garnet left Washington in 1868 to assume the presidency of Avery College in Pittsburgh; he remained there for a year before returning to Shiloh Presbyterian. His beloved wife, Julia, died in 1871, and in 1878 he married Sarah Thompson, a feminist and educator. During the 1870s he continued to champion civil rights and other reform causes, notably the emancipation of blacks in Cuba. He also grew increasingly disillusioned by the failures of Reconstruction and was especially upset by the government's refusal to distribute land to the freedpeople. And he came to believe that his lifelong efforts in the cause of liberation had gone largely unappreciated by his own people. In 1881, tired, in ill health, and against the advice of friends, he accepted the appointment as American minister to Liberia. He died in Liberia, and as was his wish, he was buried in the soil of Africa.

See also Abolition; African Civilization Society (AfCS); Delany, Martin R.; Douglass, Frederick; Pan-Africanism; Thirteenth Amendment

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OTEY M. SCRUGGS (1996)
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Garrido, Juan

c. 1480
c. 1547

From the onset of the Spanish exploration and invasion of the Americas in the 1490s, Africans were brought across the Atlantic as slaves and servants. Many fought as black conquistadors against native warriors, thereby earning their freedom and a subordinate place in Spanish colonial society. Juan Garrido was one such African.

The details of Garrido's birth, including his original name, are not known, but most likely he was born in West Africa in the early 1480s and sold as a boy to Portuguese slave traders. He was baptized in Lisbon in the 1490s and then moved to Seville, perhaps when he was purchased by a Spaniard named Pedro Garrido. Around 1503 Pedro Garrido brought Juan across the Atlantic to Santo Domingo, on the island of Hispaniola. Juan Garrido later claimed to have arrived in the Americas a free man, but it is probable that he earned his freedom fighting in the conquest of Puerto Rico, where he then settled. Garrido's biography becomes clearer from this point on, for he later summarized it himself in a letter to the King of Spain, in his *probanza de mérito,* or "proof of merit," requesting a royal pension (the letter is preserved in the Archive of the Indies in Seville or AGI). Between 1508 and 1519, Garrido "went to discover and pacify" the Caribbean islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guadalupe, and Dominica, and he participated in the Spanish discovery of Florida (Restall, 2000, p. 171).

In 1519 Garrido joined the expedition led by Hernando Cortés into Mexico, serving "in the conquest and pacification of this New Spain from the time when the Marqués del Valle (Cortés) entered it; and in his company I was present at all the invasions and conquests and pacifications which were carried out, always with the said Marqués, all of which I did at my own expense without being given either salary or *repartimiento de indios* (allotment of tribute-paying natives)" (Restall, 2000, p. 171). Garrido's lack of salary had nothing to do with his origins; the conquistadors, whether African or Spanish, were armed investors, not salaried soldiers, and they fought for the spoils of war. Only the higher-ranking Spaniards were allotted native communities, but Garrido might have hoped for some of the lesser rewards and benefits that he did indeed receive. In the wake of the fall of the Mexica (Aztec) imperial capital of Tenochtitlán in 1521, Garrido settled temporarily on the outskirts of the ruined city, by the Tacuba causeway. Here he built a small chapel commemorating the Spaniards and their allied native warriors who had

died in "La Noche Triste"—the bloody escape from Tenochtitlán in 1520.

It was also at this time that he had "the inspiration to sow maize [i.e., wheat] here in New Spain and to see if it took; I did this and experimented at my own expense" (Restall, 2000, p. 171). Although Cortés and several other Spaniards also took credit for the first planting of wheat on the American mainland, Garrido successfully made it his claim to fame, and he is usually associated with it to this day.

Meanwhile, Garrido continued to participate in the Spanish Conquest, joining the expedition under Antonio de Carvajal to Michoacán and Zacatula from 1523 to 1524. Upon his return to Mexico City, now rising from the ruins of Tenochtitlán, he was made a *portero* (doorkeeper) and a *pregonero* (town crier), both positions typically given to free blacks and mulattoes in colonial Spanish America. For a time he was also guardian of the important Chapultepec aqueduct. Perhaps most significantly, on February 10, 1525, Garrido was granted a house plot within the rebuilt capital, where he settled for his remaining two decades. He remained active, heading a gold-mining expedition to Zacatula in 1528, complete with an African slave gang, and also leading a mine-labor gang of black and native slaves, of whom he was part owner, on the Cortés expedition to Baja California from about 1533 to 1536. But he also enjoyed domestic life, marrying and having three children, before dying in Mexico City around 1547.

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MATTHEW RESTALL (2005)

Garvey, Amy Ashwood

January 18, 1897
May 3, 1969

Pan-Africanist Amy Ashwood was born in Port Antonio, Jamaica. Educated in Panama and Jamaica, she first met Marcus Garvey in 1914 while attending high school in Jamaica. Garvey launched the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) a few days after the two met; Ashwood, considered by some a cofounder of the organization, was at least its second member. An excellent public speaker, she worked actively to establish and promote the incipient movement in Jamaica and served as its executive secretary.

Ashwood left for Panama in 1916 and did not meet Garvey again until 1918, when she came to New York. In the United States, she busied herself with UNIA work: traveling across the country making speeches and recruiting new members, working on its journal, *Negro World,* and helping manage the new Black Star Line Steamship Corporation. In 1919 she is reported to have saved Garvey's life by placing her body between him and a disgruntled former employee who wanted to shoot him and then wrestling the would-be assassin to the ground.

Ashwood married Garvey in New York City at Liberty Hall on December 25, 1919. However, by the middle of the following year, the marriage ended acrimoniously, with accusations of infidelity on both sides. Garvey, in addition, charged Ashwood with misappropriating funds; she countered that the UNIA leader was politically inept. Garvey received a divorce in 1922, which Ashwood later contested, and promptly married his secretary and Ashwood's childhood friend, Amy Jacques.

Following the breakup with Garvey, Ashwood left the UNIA but remained a committed Pan-Africanist all her life, taking Garvey's message to many parts of the world. In 1924 she helped found the Nigerian Progress Union in London. In New York, in 1926, she collaborated with Caribbean musician Sam Manning on the musicals *Brown Sugar, Hey! Hey!,* and *Black Magic,* intended to introduce calypso to Harlem audiences. In 1929 she left with Manning for London, where she lived until 1944.

In London Ashwood's Pan-African activities resulted in friendships with such people as C. L. R. James, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, and Jomo Kenyatta; all of them frequented the West Indian restaurant she ran from 1935 to 1938, which became a famous Pan-Africanist meeting place. In 1935 she was active in organizing pro-

tests against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. In 1945 she chaired the sessions of the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester along with W. E. B. Du Bois.

Ashwood returned to New York briefly in 1944 and campaigned hard on behalf of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who was seeking his first term in the House of Representatives. Ashwood spent the next few years in West Africa. In 1947 she went to Liberia on the invitation of President William Tubman. The two became close friends, and with Tubman's help Ashwood wrote an official history of Liberia, which has never been published. In 1949 she spent some time in Ghana and researched her Ashanti roots.

Ashwood divided the rest of her life between the United States, England, the Caribbean, and West Africa. A lifelong feminist, she paid greater attention to women's issues in the later years of her life. She also continued antiracist agitation in England, forming a chapter of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People in London in 1958.

Ashwood was in England in 1964 when Garvey's body was returned to Jamaica; she participated in the official ceremonies marking the occasion. During these years she also tried, unsuccessfully, to find a publisher for her biography of Garvey and the movement, which is yet to be published. Ashwood died destitute in London.

See also Garvey, Marcus; *Negro World*; Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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KEVIN PARKER (1996)

Garvey, Amy Jacques

December 31, 1896
July 25, 1973

Journalist Amy Jacques Garvey was the second wife of Marcus Mosiah Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). She was born in Kingston, Jamaica, to Charlotte and George Samuel Jacques, who were from the Jamaican middle class. Plagued by ill health, Amy Jacques, in need of a cooler climate, migrated in 1917 to the United States. She became affiliated with the UNIA in 1918 and served as Marcus Garvey's private secretary and office manager at the UNIA headquarters in New York. After Marcus Garvey divorced his first wife, Amy Ashwood Garvey, he married Amy Jacques on July 27, 1922, in Baltimore, Maryland.

During Marcus Garvey's several periods of incarceration for alleged mail fraud (1923–1927), Amy Jacques Garvey assumed an unofficial leadership position, although she was never elected to a UNIA office. She nevertheless functioned as the major spokesperson for the UNIA and was the chief organizer in raising money for Marcus Garvey's defense. In addition, she served as the editor of the woman's page, "Our Women and What They Think," in the *Negro World,* the UNIA's weekly newspaper, published in New York. Her editorials demonstrated her political commitment to the doctrine of Pan-Africanism and also her belief that women should be active within their communities.

After Marcus Garvey's deportation from the United States in 1927, Amy Jacques Garvey packed their belongings and joined him in Jamaica. After Marcus Garvey died on June 19, 1940, in London, Amy Jacques Garvey continued to live in Jamaica and to serve the UNIA, headquartered in Cleveland, Ohio. Her edited books include *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* in two volumes (1923, 1925). Her biographical memoir *Garvey and Garveyism,* published in 1963, helped to stimulate a rebirth of interest in Garveyism. Amy Jacques Garvey was awarded a prestigious Musgrave Medal in 1971 by the Board of Governors at the Institute of Jamaica for her distinguished contributions on the philosophy of Garveyism.

See also Garvey, Marcus; *Negro World*; Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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ULA Y. TAYLOR (1996)
Updated bibliography

Garvey, Marcus

August 7, 1887
June 10, 1940

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was the founder and leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the largest organized mass movement in black history. Hailed in his own time as a redeemer, a "black Moses," Garvey is now best remembered as champion of the back-to-Africa movement that swept the United States in the aftermath of World War I.

From Jamaica to the United States

Garvey was born in Saint Ann's Bay, on the north coast of the island of Jamaica. He left school at fourteen, worked as a printer's apprentice, and subsequently joined the protonationalist National Club, which advocated Jamaican self-rule. He participated in the printers' union strike of 1912, and following its collapse went to Central America, working in various capacities in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Panama. He spent over a year in England during 1913 and 1914, where he teamed up for a time with the pan-Negro journalist and businessman Duse Mohamed Ali, publisher of the influential *African Times and Orient Review.* After a short tour of Europe, he returned to England and lobbied the Colonial Office for assistance to return to Jamaica.

Marcus Garvey (1887–1940). *Born in Jamaica, Garvey was the founder and leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which quickly grew to become the largest mass movement in African American history, and the largest Pan-African movement of all time.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Garvey arrived back in Jamaica on the eve of the outbreak of World War I. He lost little time in organizing the UNIA, which he launched at a public meeting in Kingston on July 20, 1914. Content at first to offer a program of racial accommodation while professing strong patriotic support for British war aims, Garvey was a model colonial. He soon aspired to establish a Tuskegee-type industrial training school in Jamaica. In spring 1916, however, after meeting with little success and feeling shut out from political influence, he moved to the United States—ostensibly at Booker T. Washington's invitation, although he arrived after Washington died.

Garvey's arrival in America coincided with the dawn of the militant New Negro era, the ideological precursor of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Propelled by America's entry into World War I in April 1917, the New Negro movement quickly gathered momentum from the outrage African Americans felt in the aftermath of the infamous East Saint Louis race riot of July 2, 1917. African-American disillusionment with the country's failure to make good on the professed democratic character of American war aims became widespread.

Shortly after his arrival in America, Garvey embarked on a period of extensive travel and lecturing, which provided him with a firsthand sense of conditions in African-American communities. After traveling for a year he settled in Harlem, where he organized the first American branch of the UNIA in May 1917.

Radicalization

With the end of the war, Garvey's politics underwent a radical change. His principal political goal now became the redemption of Africa and its unification into a United States of Africa. To enrich and strengthen his movement, Garvey envisioned a black-owned and -run shipping line to foster economic independence, transport passengers between America, the Caribbean, and Africa, and serve as a symbol of black grandeur and enterprise.

Accordingly, the Black Star Line was launched and incorporated in 1919. The line's flagship, the SS *Yarmouth,* renamed the SS *Frederick Douglass,* made its maiden voyage to the West Indies in November 1919; two other ships were acquired in 1920. The Black Star Line would prove

to be the UNIA's most powerful recruiting and propaganda tool, but it ultimately sank under the accumulated weight of financial inexperience, mismanagement, expensive repairs, Garvey's own ill-advised business decisions, and, ultimately, insufficient capital.

Meanwhile, by 1920 the UNIA had hundreds of divisions and chapters operating worldwide. It hosted elaborate annual conventions at its Liberty Hall headquarters in Harlem and published *Negro World,* its internationally disseminated weekly organ, which was soon banned in many parts of Africa and the Caribbean.

At the first UNIA convention in August 1920, Garvey was elected to the position of provisional president of Africa. To lay the groundwork for launching his program of African redemption, Garvey sought to establish links with Liberia. In 1920 he sent a UNIA official to scout out prospects for a colony in that country. Following the official's report, in the winter of 1921 a group of UNIA technicians was sent to Liberia.

> *Marcus Garvey*
>
> "We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people of the world, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics; we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad."
>
> *DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE WORLD*, DRAFTED AND ADOPTED IN NEW YORK, 1920. PUBLISHED IN GARVEY, AMY JACQUES, ED. *PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY,* NEW YORK, 1974.

Legal and Political Difficulties

Starting in 1921, however, the movement began to unravel under the economic strain of the Black Star Line's collapse, the failure of Garvey's Liberian program, opposition from black critics, defections caused by internal dissension, and official harassment. The most visible expression of the latter was the federal government's indictment of Garvey in early 1922 on charges of mail fraud stemming from Garvey's stock promotion of the Black Star Line, although by the time the indictment was presented the Black Star Line had already suspended all operations.

The pressure of his legal difficulties soon forced Garvey into an ill-advised effort to neutralize white opposition. In June 1922 he met secretly with the acting imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta, Edward Young Clarke. The revelation of Garvey's meeting with the KKK produced a major split within the UNIA, resulting in the ouster of the "American leader," Rev. J. W. H. Eason, at the August 1922 convention. In January 1923 Eason was assassinated in New Orleans, but his accused assailants, who were members of the local UNIA African Legion, were subsequently acquitted. After their acquittal and as part of the defense campaign in preparation for the mail fraud trial, Garvey's second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey (1896–1973), edited and published a small volume of Garvey's sayings and speeches under the title *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (1923).

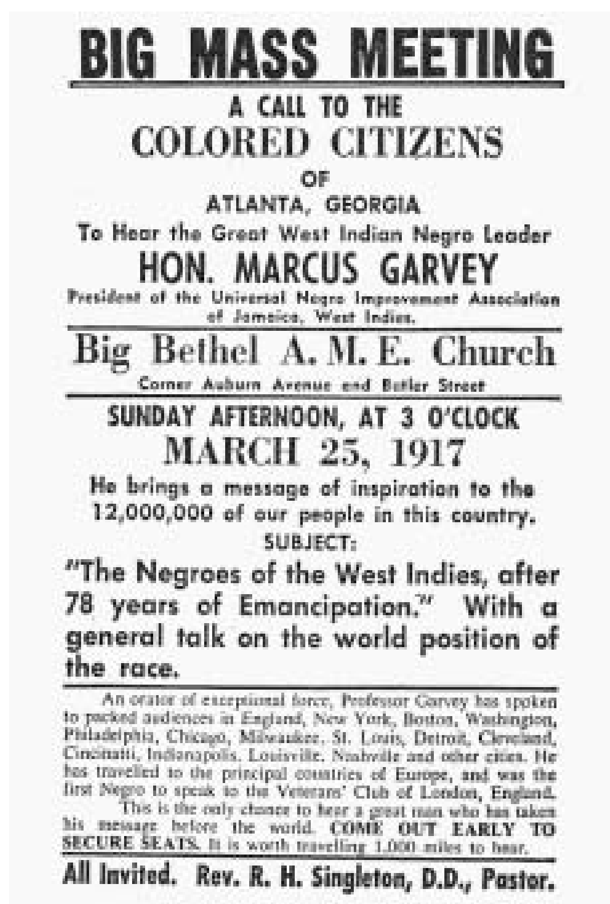
Shortly after his trial began, Garvey unwisely undertook his own legal defense. He was found guilty on a single count of fraud and sentenced to a five-year prison term, although his three Black Star Line codefendants were acquitted. (The year following his conviction, Garvey launched a second shipping line, the Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company, but it too failed.)

Jamaica and London

Thanks to an extensive petition campaign, Garvey's sentence was commuted after he had served thirty-three months in the Atlanta federal penitentiary. Upon his release in November 1927, he was immediately deported to Jamaica and was never allowed to return to the United States. A second and expanded volume of *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* was edited and published by Amy Jacques Garvey in 1925 as part of Garvey's attempt to obtain a pardon.

Back in Jamaica, Garvey soon moved to reconstitute the UNIA under his direct control. This move precipitated a major split between the official New York parent body and the newly created Jamaican body. Although two conventions of the UNIA were held in Jamaica, Garvey was never able to reassert control over the various segments of his movement from his base in Jamaica.

Although he had high hopes of reforming Jamaican politics, Garvey was defeated in his 1930 bid to win a seat on the colonial legislative council. He had to content himself with a seat on the municipal council of Kingston. Disheartened and bankrupt, he abandoned Jamaica and relocated to London in 1935. A short time after he arrived in England, however, fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia, producing a crisis that occasioned a massive upsurge of pro-Ethiopian solidarity throughout the black world, in which movement UNIA divisions and members were at the forefront. Garvey's loud defense of the Ethiopian emperor,



Handbill inviting "colored citizens of Atlanta, Georgia" to hear Marcus Garvey speak, March 25, 1917. *Garvey was known for his fiery oratory as an advocate of black nationalism and the back-to-Africa movement.* © DAVID J. & JANICE L. FRENT COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Haile Selassie, soon changed, which met with scathing public criticism, alienating many of Garvey's followers.

Throughout the thirties Garvey tried to rally his greatly diminished band of supporters through his monthly magazine, *Black Man.* Between 1936 and 1938 he convened a succession of annual meetings and conventions in Toronto, Canada, where he also launched a school of African philosophy as a UNIA training school. He undertook annual speaking tours of the Canadian maritime provinces and the eastern Caribbean.

Legacy

In 1939 Garvey suffered a stroke that left him partly paralyzed. The indignity of reading his own obituary notice precipitated a further stroke that led to his death on June 10, 1940. Although his last years were spent in obscurity, in the decades between the two world wars Garvey's ideology inspired millions of blacks worldwide with the vision of a redeemed and emancipated Africa. The importance of Garvey's political legacy was acknowledged by such African nationalists as Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. In 1964 Garvey was declared Jamaica's first national hero.

Although he failed to realize his immediate objectives, Garvey's message represented a call for liberation from the psychological bondage of racial subordination. Drawing on a gift for spellbinding oratory and spectacle, Garvey melded black aspirations for economic and cultural independence with the traditional American creed of success to create a new and distinctive black gospel of racial pride.

See also Garvey, Amy Ashwood; Garvey, Amy Jacques; *Negro World*; Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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ROBERT A. HILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Garvey Movement

See Garvey, Marcus; Universal Negro Improvement Association

GARY CONVENTION

From March 10 to 12, 1972, eight thousand African Americans from every region of the United States attended the first National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana. Organized largely by Michigan congressman Charles C. Diggs, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, and the writer and activist Amiri Baraka, who chaired the event, the convention sought to unite blacks politically—"unity without uniformity" was the theme—and looked toward the creation of a third political party. Hatcher, who had been elected mayor in 1968, was the keynote speaker. Many delegates had been elected in conventions in their home states. The convention approved a platform that demanded reparations for slavery, proportional congressional representation for blacks, the elimination of capital punishment (which resulted in the execution of a disproportionate number of African Americans), increased federal spending to combat crime and drug trafficking, a reduced military budget, and a guaranteed income of $6,500 (a figure above the then-current poverty level) for a family of four.

After much debate and some walkouts by delegates, the convention also rejected integration as an idea, supporting local control of schools instead, and passed a resolution favoring the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. However, the convention took no position on any of that year's presidential candidates, including black congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, who was then running for the Democratic nomination. Chisholm had been left out of the convention planning, and believing that many black male leaders did not support her, she did not attend the Gary convention. Roy Wilkins and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) denounced the convention as "openly separatist and nationalist." The mainstream media, which had been barred from the event, were also critical.

The National Black Assembly, not a third political party, emerged from the convention. It met in October 1972 and again in March 1973. A second National Black Political Convention was held in 1974 in Little Rock, Arkansas, with follow-up meetings the next year. Thereafter, interest in further conventions petered out.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Diggs, Charles, Jr.; Hatcher, Richard Gordon; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Wilkins, Roy

> "A Black political convention, indeed all truly Black politics, must begin from this truth: The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical, fundamental changes."
>
> FROM THE AGENDA OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION, GARY, INDIANA 1972.

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JEANNE THEOHARIS (1996)

GASKIN, WINIFRED

MAY 10, 1916
MARCH 5, 1977

Winifred Maria Ivy Gaskin was a public servant, journalist, politician, diplomat, and founding member of Guyana's first women's political organization, the Women's Political and Economic Organisation (WPEO). She was born in Buxton, East Coast Demerara, to Stanley and Irene Thierens. Gaskin's education began at St. Anthony's Roman Catholic School, where her father was the headmaster. She won the Buxton Scholarship in 1927, attended St. Joseph's Convent High School in Georgetown, Guyana, obtained a middle school scholarship, and proceeded to Bishop's High School, the premier girls' secondary school. Gaskin was a runner-up for the prestigious British Guiana Scholarship but never attended university. Instead, she pursued a life's work of public service.

Initially, Gaskin, a dark-complexioned working-class woman of African descent, was denied an appointment at Georgetown's General Post Office, then part of the British Colonial Public Service, because of protests by the mostly white colonial workforce. It was only after the intervention of the white headmistress of Bishop's High School, who pointed out Gaskin's academic excellence, that she was hired. In 1939 she married E. Berkeley Gaskin, and the

union produced her only child, Gregory. The union also ended her work at the post office because married women were not eligible for appointment to or to hold postal service positions.

Unarguably, Gaskin's discriminatory treatment helped to influence her in striving to improve women's conditions. In a June 30, 1946, article in the newspaper the *Chronicle,* she encouraged women to improve their conditions by initiating identifiable changes. Less than a month later the WPEO was established, aiming to encourage the political education of women and their participation in national life. It addressed issues relating to day-care facilities for working-class women, housing, price control of food items, better wages, transportation, health care, and education. Gaskin actively participated in public meetings and demonstrations held by the WPEO. She was active in submitting petitions to the local legislature and the British government as part of the WPEO's advocacy for reforms.

Gaskin became a journalist for *The Argosy,* and later subeditor, and editor of *Bookers News,* the organ of Bookers-McConnell Ltd., the largest British plantation, commercial proprietors, and slave owners in British Guiana during colonial times. Gaskin also served as president of the British Guiana Press Association. She was an original member of the Political Affairs Committee, the precursor of the People's Progressive Party (PPP). After a split occurred in the PPP in 1955, Gaskin became a founding member of the People's National Congress (PNC) and rose to the rank of chairman. She was instrumental in forming the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM) of the PNC. Gaskin was a party delegate to the British Guiana Independence Conferences held in London in October 1962 and October 1963.

The PNC and another political party, the United Force, formed a coalition government after the general elections of December 1964. Gaskin was elected to the House of Assembly and became the minister of education and race relations. She introduced policies that provided free education for students from kindergarten to university. In 1968 she became Guyana's first high commissioner to the Commonwealth Caribbean. She was awarded the Order of Distinction of Jamaica for distinguished diplomatic service. For her outstanding public service, Gaskin also received one of the highest Guyanese national honors, the Cacique Crown of Honour of Guyana. In 1976 she returned to Guyana and headed the Foreign Affairs and Economic Section, Ministry of National Development, before she died in 1977. The former president of Guyana, the late Linden Forbes S. Burnham, lauded Gaskin as a pioneer in the women's movement. He emphasized that, at a time when few women dared, she was a politician and socialist whose determination and work made her one of the nation's most distinguished daughters.

See also Journalism; People's National Congress; Politics

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.

September 16, 1950

Teacher, scholar, and writer Henry Louis Gates, Jr., was born in Keyser, West Virginia. He attended Yale and Clare College, Cambridge, where he received a doctorate in literature in 1979. He taught at Yale, Cornell, and Duke before going to Harvard in 1991. Gates came to public attention in 1981 when he received one of the first MacArthur Foundation "genius" grants, and again in 1983, when he published a rediscovered 1859 novel by an African-American woman, *Our Nig,* the first such work of its kind to be found. His major scholarly work, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism* (1998), links literary analysis with black vernacular expression. Critic Ismael Reed called it "the Rosetta Stone of the American multicultural Renaissance."

Gates emerged in the 1990s as a popularizer of black scholarship and a spokesperson on racial issues. His work in establishing and chairing Harvard University's Depart-

ment of African-American Studies helped give the field legitimacy. He has also successfully championed the inclusion of black writers in the American literary cannon, serving as co-editor of *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature* (1996). He is also co-editor of *Africana 2000,* a massive CD-ROM encyclopedia of the African diaspora, as well as its print version, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (1999).

Gates has distinguished himself as an effective fundraiser, a prolific writer and editor of books and articles, a spokesperson for cultural diversity, reparations, and affirmative action, and as the host of a six-part BBC/PBS television series, *Wonders of the African World.*

Gates was the 2002 Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities for the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 2004 he co-edited *African American Lives.*

See also Black Studies; English, African-American; Intellectual Life; Literary Criticism, U.S.

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Smothers, Bonnie. "The Booklist Interview: Henry Louis Gates Jr." *Booklist* 93, no. 12 (February 15, 1997): 972–973.

RICHARD NEWMAN (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gaye, Marvin (Gay, Marvin Pentz)

April 2, 1939
April 1, 1984

Singer and songwriter Marvin Gaye grew up in Washington, D.C., and began his musical career singing in the choir and playing organ in the church where his father, Marvin Gay, Sr., was a Pentecostal minister. In a radical rejection of his father's expectations, the younger Gaye became a secular musician.

Gaye's career as a professional musician began in 1958 when he became friendly with Harvey Fuqua, a record promoter for Chess Records who was impressed with his performance at a local high-school talent contest. After hearing Gaye's 1957 recordings with a group called the Marquees ("Wyatt Earp" and "Hey Little Schoolgirl") on the Columbia rhythm-and-blues label Okeh, Fuqua invited Gaye to Chicago and signed him to the Chess label in 1959. From the beginning of his career Gaye altered his last name, adding an *e* to the end for reasons he never explained.

In 1960 Gaye and Fuqua relocated to Detroit, where Fuqua established contacts with Berry Gordy, founder of the fledgling Motown Records. The next year Gaye and Fuqua married two of Gordy's sisters (Anna and Gwen, respectively), Fuqua joined Motown, and Gaye was signed to the label. Even though Gaye was part of the Gordy family, it was several years before he began recording as a Motown solo artist. From 1960 to 1962 he was a backup singer and session drummer for various Motown performers. In 1962 Motown released his debut solo album, *The Soulful Mood of Marvin Gaye,* a collection of jazz-influenced, middle-of-the-road ballads. It was two years until Gaye had a hit single with "Hitch Hike" (1964). That same year he released "Pride and Joy," which climbed to the top ten on both the pop and the rhythm-and-blues charts.

During his time with Motown, Gaye recorded such hit records as "Ain't That Peculiar" (1965), "It Takes Two" (1967), "Your Precious Love" (1967), "Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing" (1968), "You're All I Need to Get By" (1968), and, most successful of all, "Heard It Through the Grapevine" (1968) and "What's Going On" (1971). As one of Motown's soul-music emissaries, Gaye perfected the style, its ballad idiom, emotional lyrics, and use of gospel techniques in a secular context.

Gaye's most successful album was *What's Going On* (1971), which included three top ten hits ("Inner City Blues," "Mercy Mercy Me," and the title song). As Motown's first "concept album," *What's Going On* was musically diverse and a forum for Gaye to articulate his views on contemporary political issues, with particular attention to pollution in the nuclear age and the challenges facing inner-city blacks.

The year *What's Going On* was released, Gaye received honors from *Billboard* and *Cashbox* magazines as trendsetter and male vocalist of the year, respectively. He also won an Image Award from the NAACP. Motown released his next album, *Let's Get It On,* in 1973, and the title song immediately reached number one on the charts as Gaye's most successful single.

The last ten years of Gaye's life were marked by his divorce from Anna Gordy, marriage to Janis Hunter, relocation to Europe because of tax debts, dismissal from Mo-

town in 1981, and increased dependence on drugs. His long-term feuds with his father and ongoing depression erupted on April 1, 1984, when an argument between the men resulted in Gay shooting and killing his son in Los Angeles. Gaye's father was acquitted because a brain tumor contributed to his irrational and violent behavior.

Gaye's soulful aesthetic, with his light, crooning tenor voice full of emotion, earnestness, and often guttural sensuality, was ideally suited to both his contemplative and ecstatic performance modes. In 1983, the year before his death, Gaye continued to reveal his gifts as a performer, winning two Grammy Awards, for best male vocalist and best instrumental performance, with his gold record "Sexual Healing."

See also Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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MICHAEL D. SCOTT (1996)
Updated bibliography

GAY MEN

The history of African-American gay men is far from a linear progression in status from social pariahs to more or less accepted and acceptable members of both the black and gay communities. Rather, it is a troubling and often painful story of the attempt to find an identity and build a visible community within the white and heterosexual power structures. On the one hand, the post–World War II economic boom and the gains of the civil rights movement have contributed to increased financial stability and social mobility for many black Americans. At the same time, relatively relaxed attitudes toward sex have prevailed in contemporary society. These circumstances have led to a broader range of black gay identity becoming visible and have reduced in some respects the stigma on such activity. However, black gays and lesbians experienced the large increase in poverty, drug addiction, homelessness, and other ills that afflicted other blacks during the 1980s and early 1990s; moreover, they have been plagued by antigay violence and by the epidemic of AIDS.

Although black civil rights leaders and elected officials have sometimes pushed for legal protections for gays and lesbians, homosexuality was not and is not generally accepted in the black community, which shares white society's negative attitudes toward sexual minorities. Various explanations have been propounded for the black community's response to homosexuality. First, the black church, as an important and historically independent institution, has had great prominence in African-American life, and its ministers and clergy have traditionally evinced a patriarchal, homophobic stance. For instance, in 1993 black minister Eugene Lumpkin, a member of San Francisco's Human Rights Commission, referred to homosexuality as an "abomination." (He was forced to resign soon after.) The same year, conservative black ministers in Cincinnati played a crucial role in overturning a local antidiscrimination ordinance covering sexual orientation. At the same time, the black church's music, ritual, and message of love and community have served an important nurturing role for the many gay men who retain a strong bond with their church and community.

Another example of homophobia is the traditional disdain of homosexuals as effeminate. Ironically, large numbers of black men, particularly those in prison, have same-sex contact but remain strongly antihomosexual and refuse to consider themselves gay. Black militant politics has often had a homophobic side, a famous example being Eldridge Cleaver's attack on James Baldwin, and numerous militant cultural figures, such as rap musicians, have included antigay slurs in their work. Many African Americans who tolerate private same-sex conduct oppose public affirmation of homosexuality. They fear it is an embarrassment to the larger black community, which is trying to overcome white stereotyping of black crime, immorality, and sexual excess. A notable example is civil rights activist Bayard Rustin's dismissal from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the early 1960s, due in part to concern over his homosexuality.

Perhaps the most crucial element in the black community's homophobia is the widespread assumption that gayness and gay men are white ("the white man's weakness" as Amiri Baraka termed it in 1970). Since many blacks do not realize that their own friends and relatives may be gay, they have no reason to change their negative

outlook, and they resent the gay movement's appropriation of the civil rights movement's tactics and rhetoric as an attempt to divert attention from the cause of African-American liberation. All too often, white gay activists reinforce this belief by projecting a white image for the gay community and by refusing to incorporate black leadership and culture. In 1993, when the subject of admitting gays and lesbians into the military was being nationally debated, the contributions and the important legal precedent of Sargeant Perry Watkins, an African American who had successfully litigated his discharge on grounds of sexual orientation, were largely ignored by activists and the media. Similarly, the media and public all but ignored the life and tragic death in 1995 of Glenn Burke, an openly gay major league baseball player for the Los Angeles Dodgers and Oakland Athletics.

Some black scholars claim that same-sex desire is the result of the alienating forces of modern life or merely a more or less recent white intrusion into and against "African" values. Nevertheless, while we know little about its early history, same-sex contact by African Americans has existed since at least as far back as 1646, when Jan Creoli, "a Negro" in New Netherland (now New York State) was sentenced to be "choked to death, and then burned to ashes" for a second sodomy offense. Similarly, in 1712, Massachusetts authorities executed "Mingo, alias Coke," the slave of a magistrate, for "forcible buggery" (presumably sodomy). Through the nineteenth century the subject remained almost completely hidden except for what can be gathered from criminal records or the shrill exhortations of elite editors and writers in antebellum black newspapers warning blacks to curb both their sexual appetites and their tendency toward revelry and erotic abandon. In 1892 a report on "perversion" by Dr. Irving Rosse discussed such topics as African Americans arrested for performing oral sex in Washington D.C.'s Lafayette Square (still a popular cruising area in the 1990s) and the rituals of a "band of Negro men of androgynous character." In 1916 Dr. James Kiernan reported on blacks who solicited men in Chicago cafés and performed fellatio and sometimes "pederasty" on them in a "resort" under a popular dime museum.

The Great Migration of the 1910s and 1920s and the consequent urbanization of African Americans led to the creation and expansion of gay spaces—bars, dance clubs (including "drag balls," dances where men dressed as women), bathhouses, and theaters—in the black communities of larger cities. These served as meeting places for black gay men and sometimes for white gay men trying to escape the rigid sexual mores of white society or seeking black male prostitutes. Popular songs such as "Foolish Man Blues" and "Sissy Man Blues" (sung by such singers as Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith, both bisexual women), though disdainful in tone, testified to the existence and attractiveness of homosexuals.

At the same time, black gay men assumed important positions in American cultural and intellectual life, a primacy they have maintained ever since. Cultural movements—notably that brief concatenation of artists and intellectuals known as the Harlem Renaissance—were heavily gay flavored. Socialite hostess A'Lelia Walker surrounded herself with gay men whose work she promoted, and Carl Van Vechten, a gay white man, helped sponsor the movement's artistic products. Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Wallace Thurman, Lawrence Brown, Claude McKay, and Richard Bruce Nugent were gay or bisexual men who were some of the brightest lights of the Harlem Renaissance. Significantly, Nugent published the first explicit piece of black gay literature, "Smoke Lilies and Jade" (1926), a short story published in the short-lived Harlem Renaissance journal *Fire.* Claude McKay's novel *Home to Harlem* (1928) features a scene in a recognizably gay bar.

Despite the high visibility of gay men in black culture, many aspects of gay life itself remained secret, forbidden, and indeed alienating to many black gay men themselves. The idea that black gays actually composed a community that intersected, but was not subsumed in, either the black or gay communities would have seemed altogether odd to earlier generations of black gay intellectuals. James Baldwin, a literary giant of the latter part of the twentieth century whose works included homosexual characters and complex meditations on sexuality and race, commented as late as 1984 in a *Village Voice* interview that he felt uncomfortable with the label "gay" and presumably with the idea of belonging to a (black) gay community. "The word 'gay' has always rubbed me the wrong way. . . . I simply feel it's a world that has very little to do with me, with where I did my growing up. I was never at home in it."

Despite the presence of such openly gay individuals as Baldwin and science fiction writer Samuel Delany during the 1950s and 1960s, the emergence of gay African Americans as a political group did not occur until the late 1960s and 1970s, when the success of the civil rights movement in empowering and enfranchising blacks led other groups to struggle publicly for their liberation. Fittingly, African Americans had a large hand in the Stonewall rebellion, traditionally considered the founding event of the gay liberation movement. In June 1969, the Stonewall Inn, a New York gay bar, was raided by police. Many of the patrons were black, largely drag queens and effeminate gay men. Tired of police harassment, they fought back, throwing bottles and bricks. News of the incident quickly spread

and led to the formation of political groups, notably the short-lived Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Sensitive to the revolutionary nature of the gay struggle, the GLF formed alliances with radical black groups, such as the Black Panther Party. However, as most gay political groups abandoned their radical beginnings and reverted to a predominantly white, middle-class outlook and membership, gay black activists became alienated from and less involved in their activities. Many blacks continue to feel unwelcome in the white gay community. Bars, dance clubs, and other spaces in gay areas sometimes discourage black patronage through discriminatory "carding" and harassment policies.

Split between the black and gay communities, many African-American homosexuals continue to feel obliged to choose. Writers such as Max C. Smith and Julius Johnson have noted the rough division of African-American homosexuals into two groups, "black gays" and "gay blacks." Black gays remain primarily active in the black community and have mostly black male friends and lovers. Many of them remain private about their gayness, and some lead bisexual "front lives." Gay blacks, on the other hand, identify with the gay community. They more frequently date and socialize with whites, and they tend to be more open about their sexuality.

Black gays and lesbians have worked to create a community and to mold a distinctively black gay culture. An important ingredient of the drive has been to construct independent black gay institutions. Black gay men, often in cooperation with black lesbians, have, since the late 1970s, created a number of political, social, and cultural institutions. The founding of the National Coalition of Black Gays (later the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays) in 1979 demonstrated a profound belief in the viability of the black lesbian and gay community. Indeed, the creation of such a national coalition by a handful of Washington, D.C.-based activists showed just how secure some black gays had become in their assumption of black gay cultural and political unity. This initial effort was followed by the founding of black gay organizations throughout the country, including several black gay churches (the Pentecostal Faith Temple of Washington, D.C., among them); a writers collective called Other Countries; music groups, such as the Lavender Light Gospel Choir; and a number of social institutions, including Gay Men of African Descent (New York), Black Gay Men United (Oakland), Adodi, and Unity (both of Philadelphia).

A notable example of organizing within the larger black community was the founding of a gay student group at Howard University, the first of several gay organizations at historically black colleges. Black gay men have also branched out into fighting racism in the gay community through work in such groups as Men of All Colors Together (formerly Black and White Men Together). They have also been active in AIDS education, Philadelphia's Blacks Educating Blacks About Sexual Health Issues (BEBASHI) being a noted example. Bars, bathhouses, and restaurants catering mainly to a black gay clientele have been set up, and black gay men have organized plays, musical performances, and dances (including the drag balls immortalized in white filmmaker Jennie Livingston's 1991 documentary *Paris Is Burning*).

In addition, there has been an explosion since the early 1980s of black gay (and lesbian) literature. Black gay and lesbian literature was regularly collected in special issues of gay and lesbian magazines. Moreover, a number of independent black gay and lesbian publications—namely, *Habari Daftari, Other Countries Journal, Pyramid Review, Blacklight, Blackheart, BLK, Yemonja, Black/Out, Moja: Black and Gay, B,* and *Real Read*—were started with the express purpose of providing an outlet for the broadest possible group of black gay and lesbian writers. Many of the most prominent and successful pieces of black gay literature have been anthologies, beginning with the foundation collections *In the Life* (1986) and *Brother to Brother* (1991), and continuing through the 1990s with *Shade* (1996) and *Fighting Words* (1999). In the early twenty-first century, collections such as *Black Like Us* (2002) and *Freedom in this Village* (2005) continue to survey and catalogue an ever-growing canon of black gay men's writing.

Several black writers have become prominent outside the community. Randall Kenan's *Visitation of Spirits* (1989) and *Let the Dead Bury Their Dead* (1992) and Melvin Dixon's *Vanishing Rooms* (1991) were published by major presses. Essex Hemphill has not only had his 1992 collection *Ceremonies* published by a major press, but he has also achieved renown through his appearance in Marlon Riggs's popular nonfiction films, such as *Tongues Untied* (1991). E. Lynn Harris's stirring novelistic explorations of bisexuality, which he at first sold himself door to door, became a major publishing phenomenon. At the same time, black gay publishing concerns produced more and more literature just as black gay men began to organize new mediums of expression on the Internet. After working in President Bill Clinton's administration during the early 1990s, Keith Boykin started exploring the invisibility of black bisexual and gay life in novels and then nonfiction: he now keeps a regular "blog" detailing his experiences as an urban black gay man. The Internet has provided black gay men a virtual space for promoting events such as film festivals and parades. The Internet also has served as a forum for community and support net-

works and has established an arena for creative and private expressions separate from publishing firms.

Black gay artists and intellectuals have established inroads into areas of expression outside of literature. Alvin Ailey helped revolutionize modern dance with his integration of black folk music and motifs and strong sensual elements, while Bill T. Jones was a pioneer in New Wave—including openly gay—choreography. Films such as Isaac Julien's *Looking for Langston* (1988) and Marlon Riggs's *Anthem* (1994) and *"Non, Je Ne Regrette Rien"* (*No Regret*, 1992) have been enthusiastically received by gay and straight audiences throughout the world. Thomas Allen Harris's two short videos, *Splash* (1991) and *Black Body* (1992), have established a strong black gay presence in video, while his brother Lyle Harris has enriched the field of photography through such works as *Confessions of a Snow Queen*. The San Francisco performance troupe Pomo Afro Homos has offered a powerful testimony on the black gay experience. Performer RuPaul has become a major singer and cultural icon. Jazzman Billy Strayhorn collaborated with Duke Ellington to produce immortal songs. Harvard theologian Peter Gomes has elucidated biblical teachings on sexuality. Actor Howard Rollins, star of such films as *A Soldier's Story* (1984) and the television series *In the Heat of the Night* (1988–1994), was a major sex symbol before disease cut short his career. Producer/director/playwright George C. Wolfe has made major contributions to American theater, including direction of the landmark drama *Angels in America* (1993). In an attempt to focus and unify critical study of these diverse artists and genres, black literary and cultural critics have been brought together at the Los Angeles–based African-American Gay and Lesbian Studies Center, founded by Gil Gerard in 1992.

As the twenty-first century begins, the dilemma facing black gays, particularly black gay artists and intellectuals, is whether they will be able to maintain and develop their autonomous institutions while continuing to push into the mainstream of American political and cultural life. Already very serious questions have been raised about who can and should control the image of the black gay man. For example, black critics bell hooks and Robert Reid-Pharr have questioned the political and cultural imperatives underpinning the representation of black gay men in the film *Paris Is Burning*. Furthermore, black gay men still face explicit harassment and isolation from more visible African-American men, particularly from conservative political and religious leaders and in hip-hop and reggae lyrics. The cultural atmosphere for black gay men remains ambiguous and uncertain, marked on the one hand by huge amounts of gay political and cultural activity along with abundant representations of black gay men in books and online but on the other hand by disproportionate invisibility in other arenas, which makes the persistence of violence, disease, poverty, and despair problematic.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Lesbians; Masculinity

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ROBERT REID-PHARR (1996)
JUSTIN ROGERS-COOPER (2005)

George, David

c. 1743
1810

David George was born a slave in Sussex County, Virginia, around 1743. He died a world away, a free man, in Sierra

Leone, West Africa, not quite seventy years later. Along with David Liele, Andrew Bryan, Jessie Peter, Hannah Williams, and others, George is best known as one of the progenitors of an Afro-Baptist faith developed and articulated across the British Atlantic world by a cadre of black Christians in the aftermath of the American Revolution. For his part, George established and nurtured pioneering Baptist congregations in South Carolina, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone. His missionizing and institution building during the Revolutionary period—when Christianity was of little real consequence to most blacks in British America—foreshadowed the later development of the black church and of black evangelicalism as formidable social and cultural forces in African-American life.

George was born to African parents and spent the first nineteen years of his life as a slave on the Chappell plantation in southeastern Virginia. He ran away from the property before his twentieth birthday, and in an odyssey illustrating many of the complexities of colonial American life and society, he spent the next two or three years trekking farther into the Deep South, straining desperately to stay ahead of a thirty-guinea reward that his former master had offered for his capture and return. During this long flight George worked for a succession of white traders on the Pee Dee and Savannah Rivers, was for a time enslaved by a Creek headman in the Georgia interior, subsequently sojourned among the Natchez Indians, and just as the son of his former master finally tracked him down, arranged to have himself purchased by a frontier merchant, Indian trader, and planter named George Gaulphin.

George eventually settled at Gaulphin's Silver Bluff property in the South Carolina upcountry. There he married, began a family, and moved, as he put it, from having "no serious thoughts" about his soul to distressing constantly over where he might spend eternity. Ultimately, George became one of eight blacks on the Gaulphin property to be baptized, a rite performed by a white preacher who occasionally visited the plantation. Sometime between 1773 and 1775 this band was formed into a congregation and the Silver Bluff Baptist Church became, quite likely, the first black church in North America.

During the American Revolution George and other members of the church sought refuge, and their liberty, behind British lines in and around Savannah, Georgia. As the tide of the war turned against the British, George and others joined successive British evacuations and settled eventually with thousands of other Loyalists, black and white, in Nova Scotia in late 1782. During the next seven years George planted and watered Baptist chapels throughout the British Maritime colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. As did other black immigrants to Nova Scotia, however, George suffered mightily from white violence and discrimination, which joined with a harsh physical environment made life in the Maritimes nearly unbearable. When British philanthropists and the British government—responding to agitation from blacks in Nova Scotia—offered to resettle dissatisfied black Nova Scotians to Sierra Leone, George threw his considerable influence behind the scheme. David George joined a Maritime exodus of more than a thousand blacks and arrived in Sierra Leone in 1792. Except for a subsequent trip to London, George lived the rest of his life in West Africa, continuing the pioneering missionary efforts that had defined his life. During the last years of his life, though, George's close associations with British officialdom in Sierra Leone worked to lessen his influence among the larger black emigrant community who over time came to see the kinds of broken promises and equivocations that had defined their Nova Scotia experience make themselves manifest at Sierra Leone as well.

See also Baptists; Free Blacks, 1619–1860

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ALEXANDER X. BYRD (2005)

Gibson, Althea

August 25, 1927
September 28, 2003

Althea Gibson was the first black tennis player to win the sport's major titles. Born in Silver, South Carolina, to a ga-

rage hand and a housewife, she came to New York City at age three to live with an aunt. The oldest of five children, she was a standout athlete at Public School 136 and began playing paddleball under Police Athletic League auspices on West 143rd Street in Harlem. In 1940 she was introduced to tennis by Fred Johnson, a one-armed instructor, at the courts (now named after him) on 152nd Street. She was an immediate sensation.

Gibson became an honorary member of Harlem's socially prominent Cosmopolitan Tennis Club (now defunct) and won her first tournament—the American Tennis Association (ATA) junior girls title—in 1945. (The ATA is the oldest continuously operated black noncollegiate sports organization in America). Although Gibson lost in the finals of the ATA women's singles in 1946, she attracted the attention of two black physicians: Dr. Hubert Eaton of Wilmington, North Carolina, and Dr. R. Walter Johnson of Lynchburg, Virginia, who tried to advance her career.

In September 1946 Gibson entered high school in Wilmington while living with the Eatons, and she graduated in 1949. She won the ATA women's single title ten years in a row, from 1947 to 1956. As the best black female tennis player ever, she was encouraged to enter U.S. Lawn Tennis Association (the white governing body of tennis) events. Jackie Robinson had just completed his third year in major league baseball, and pressure was being applied on other sports to integrate. Although she was a reluctant crusader, Gibson was finally admitted to play in the USLTA Nationals at Forest Hills, New York, on August 28, 1950.

Alice Marble, the former USLTA singles champion, wrote a letter, published in the July 1950 issue of *American Lawn Tennis* magazine, admonishing the USLTA for its reluctance to admit Gibson when she was clearly more than qualified. Gibson's entry was then accepted at two major events in the summer of 1950 before her Forest Hills debut. She was warmly received at the Nationals, where she lost a two-day, rain-delayed match to the number-two-seeded Louise Brough in the second round.

Gibson's breakthrough heralded more to come. The ATA began a serious junior development program to provide opportunities for promising black children. (Out of that program came Arthur Ashe, who became the first black male winner of the sport's major titles.) Sydney Llewelyn became Gibson's coach, and her rise was meteoric. Her first grand slam title was the French singles in Paris in 1956. Before she turned professional, she added the Wimbledon and the U.S. singles in both 1957 and 1958, and the French women's doubles and the U.S. mixed doubles. She was a Wightman Cup team member in 1957 and 1958. After her Wimbledon victory, she was presented her trophy by Queen Elizabeth II, she danced with the queen's husband, Prince Philip, at the Wimbledon Ball, and New York City accorded her a ticker-tape parade.

The poise she showed at Wimbledon and at other private clubs where USLTA-sanctioned events were played was instilled by Dr. Eaton's wife and by her time spent as an undergraduate at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida. Jake Gaither, FAMU's famed athletic director, helped secure a teaching position for her in physical education at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. In the winter of 1955–56, the State Department asked her to tour Southeast Asia with Ham Richardson, Bob Perry, and Karol Fageros.

In 1957 Gibson won the Babe Didrickson Zaharias Trophy as Female Athlete of the Year, the first black female athlete to win the award. She also began an attempt at a career as a singer, taking voice lessons three times a week. While singing at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for a tribute to famed songwriter W. C. Handy, she landed an appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* in May 1958. Moderately successful as a singer, she considered a professional tour with tennis player Jack Kramer, the American champion of the 1940s. She also became an avid golfer, encouraged by Joe Louis, the former world heavyweight champion, who was a golf enthusiast. Louis had also paid her way to her first Wimbledon championships.

The Ladies Professional Golfers Association (LPGA) was in its infancy and purses were small. But Gibson was a quick learner and was soon nearly a "scratch" player. She received tips from Ann Gregory, who had been the best black female golfer ever. Gibson, a naturally gifted athlete, could handle the pressure of professional sports. But the purses offered on the LPGA tour were too small to maintain her interest.

In 1986 New Jersey governor Tom Kean appointed Gibson to the state's Athletic Commission. She became a sought-after teaching professional at several private clubs in central and northern New Jersey and devoted much of her time to counseling young black players. The first black female athlete to enjoy true international fame, Gibson was elected to the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1971.

In 1997 Gibson was honored with a ceremony at the U.S. Open. At about this time her health was failing and she was living in near poverty because of her medical bills when a group of athletes and coaches staged a benefit that raised $100,000 to help defray her expenses. While her health initially improved somewhat, it gradually deteriorated until her death in 2003. On September 7, 2004 she was honored posthumously at a ceremony at the U.S. Open tennis tournament in New York.

See also Tennis; Williams, Venus and Serena

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ARTHUR R. ASHE JR. (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gibson, Josh

December 21, 1911
January 20, 1947

If any one man personified both the joy of Negro League baseball and the pathos of major league baseball's color line, it was catcher Josh Gibson, black baseball's greatest hitter. Born Joshua Gibson to sharecroppers Mark and Nancy (Woodlock) Gibson in Buena Vista, Georgia, Josh moved to Pittsburgh in 1924 when his father found employment at the Homestead Works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company. On the diamond, the solidly built Gibson astounded fans and players with his feats for two decades, but he never got the chance to play in the major leagues.

As a youth on the north side of Pittsburgh, Gibson attended a vocational school where he prepared for the electrician's trade. But it was on the city's sandlots, playing for the Gimbel Brothers and Westinghouse Airbrake company teams, that he prepped for his life's work. Joining the Pittsburgh Crawfords in 1927 when this team of local youths was still a sandlot club, Gibson soon attracted the attention of Homestead Grays owner Cumberland Posey.

Gibson starred for the Grays in the early 1930s, returning to the Pittsburgh Crawfords for the 1934–1936 campaigns. By then, the Crawfords were owned by numbers baron Gus Greenlee, who remade them into the 1935 Negro National League champions. With future Hall of Famers Gibson, Satchel Paige, Judy Johnson, Oscar Charleston, and "Cool Papa" Bell on the team, the Crawfords were quite possibly the best team ever assembled.

In 1937, after breaking his contract and joining many of his Crawford teammates in the Dominican Republic, Gibson was traded back to the Grays. There, he and Buck Leonard were considered black baseball's equivalent to Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig. The Grays won nine pennants in a row after Gibson returned, a mark equaled only by the Tokyo Giants.

Although a fine defensive catcher, the muscular six-foot one-inch, 215-pound Gibson is remembered best for his legendary swings at the plate. Perhaps the greatest slugger ever, he hit balls out of parks across the United States and the Caribbean basin, where he played each winter between 1933 and 1945. His home runs at Forbes Field and Yankee Stadium are thought to have been the longest hit at each. During his career, Gibson never played for a losing team.

His lifetime .379 batting average in the Negro and Caribbean leagues is the highest of any Negro Leaguer. He won batting championships, most-valuable-player awards, and/or home run titles in the Negro Leagues, Cuba, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. His home run blasts are still recalled throughout these lands.

The second-highest-paid Negro Leaguer, Gibson also was the league's second-best attraction, behind Satchel Paige in both categories. Promoters often advertised for Negro League games by guaranteeing that Gibson would hit a home run. He rarely let them down.

Although fellow Negro Leaguers remember Gibson with fondness and a respect that borders on awe, his personal life was touched by tragedy. His young bride, Helen, died delivering their twin children, Josh Jr. and Helen, in 1930. Gibson himself died in 1947, soon after the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson. He was only thirty-five at the time. In 1972 he joined batterymate Satchel Paige in the Baseball Hall of Fame.

See also Baseball; Paige, Satchel

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ROB RUCK (1996)
Updated bibliography

Gillespie, Dizzy

October 21, 1917
January 6, 1993

John Birks Gillespie, or "Dizzy," as he was later known, was born in Cheraw, South Carolina. He took up the trombone in his early teens and began playing the trumpet shortly thereafter. When he began to play the trumpet, he puffed out his cheeks, a technical mistake that later became his visual trademark. Starting in 1932, Gillespie studied harmony and theory at Laurinburg Institute, in Laurinburg, North Carolina, but in 1935 he broke off studies to move with his family to Philadelphia. The bandleader Frank Fairfax gave Gillespie his first important work, and it was in Fairfax's band that Gillespie earned his nickname, Dizzy, for his clowning onstage and off.

In 1937 Gillespie moved to New York and played for two years with Teddy Hill's band. Through the early 1940s his experience was mostly with big bands, including those of Cab Calloway, Ella Fitzgerald, Benny Carter, Charlie Barnet, Les Hite, Lucky Millinder, Earl Hines, Duke Ellington, and Billy Eckstine. Among his important early recordings were "Pickin' the Cabbage" (1940) with Calloway and "Little John Special" (1942) with Millinder. Gillespie married Lorraine Willis in 1940, and he began leading small ensembles in Philadelphia and New York shortly thereafter. In 1945 he joined with saxophonist Charlie Parker (1920–1955) to lead a bebop ensemble that helped inaugurate the modern jazz era.

Although younger jazz musicians had played in a bebop style in the early 1940s in big bands and in after-hours jam sessions at clubs in Harlem, it was not until Parker and Gillespie's 1945 recordings, including "Dizzy Atmosphere," "Shaw 'Nuff," and "Groovin' High," that the new style's break from swing became clear. Bebop reacted to the sometimes stodgy tempos of the big bands and was instead characterized by adventurous harmonies and knotty, fast lines played in stunning unison by Gillespie and Parker, with solos that emphasized speed, subtlety, and wit.

Gillespie's trumpet style during this time was enormously influential. By the mid-1940s he had broken away from his earlier emulation of Roy Eldridge (1911–1989) and arrived at a style of his own, one which he maintained for the next five decades. He had a crackling tone, and his endless flow of nimble ideas included astonishing runs and leaps into the instrument's highest registers. Although many of Gillespie's tunes were little more than phrases arrived at spontaneously with Parker, Gillespie composed many songs during this time that later became jazz standards, including "A Night in Tunisia" (1942), "Salt Peanuts" (1942), and "Woody 'n' You" (1943). In addition to his virtuosity on trumpet, Gillespie continued to display his masterful sense of humor and instinct for gleeful mischief. Starting in the mid-1940s he affected the role of the jazz intellectual, wearing a beret, horn-rimmed glasses, and a goatee. He popularized bebop slang and served as the hipster patriarch to the white beatniks.

Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993). © WILLIAM COUPON/CORBIS

After his initial successes with Parker in the mid-1940s, Gillespie went on to enormous success as the leader of his own big band, for which he hired Tadd Dameron, George Russell, Gil Fuller, and John Lewis as composers and arrangers. Some of the band's recordings include "Things to Come" (1946), "One Bass Hit" (1946), and "Our Delight" (1946). The band's celebrated appearance at the Salle Pleyel in Paris, France, in 1948, yielded recordings of "'Round about Midnight," "I Can't Get Started," and "Good Bait." This appearance included the Cuban percussionist Chano Pozo, and during this time Gillespie began to explore Afro-Cuban rhythms and melodies. Gillespie's composition "Manteca" (1947) and his performance of George Russell's "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop" (1947) were among the first successful integrations of jazz and Latin music, followed later by his composition "Con Alma" (1957). In the late 1940s and early 1950s Gillespie also continued to work on small-group dates, including reunions with Charlie Parker in 1950, 1951, and 1953 and a return to the Salle Pleyel as a leader in 1953.

Although Gillespie never lost his idiosyncratic charm and sense of humor—after 1953 he played a trumpet with

an upturned bell, supposedly the result of someone having bent the instrument by sitting on it—he outgrew the role of practical joker and instead became a figure of respect and genial authority. He released "Love Me" and "Tin Tin Deo" in 1951 on his own short-lived Dee Gee record label, and he became a featured soloist on many performances by the popular traveling sessions known as Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP). In 1956 Gillespie's integrated band became the first to tour overseas under the sponsorship of the U.S. State Department, and in the following years he took the band on tours to the Middle East, South America, and Europe. In 1959 Gillespie, always an outspoken opponent of segregation, performed at the first integrated concert in a public school in his hometown of Cheraw, South Carolina. The next year he refused to back down when Tulane University in New Orleans threatened to cancel a concert unless he replaced his white pianist with an African American. Gillespie's political activities took another twist in 1964 when he went along with a tongue-in-cheek presidential campaign. During this time Gillespie continued to record, both with small groups (*Swing Low, Sweet Cadillac,* 1967) and with big bands (*Reunion Big Band,* 1968). He also worked extensively in film and television.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Gillespie maintained his busy schedule of touring and recording both in the United States and abroad as a leader of small and large bands and as a guest soloist. He appeared with the Giants of Jazz tour (1971-1972) and recorded with Mary Lou Williams (1971), Machito (1975), Count Basie (1977), Mongo Santamaria (1980), Max Roach (1989), and often with his trumpet protégé, John Faddis (b. 1953). During this time he also appeared on television shows such as *Sesame Street* and *The Cosby Show.* In 1979 he published his autobiography, *To BE or Not to BOP,* in which he explained his longstanding interest in Africa, which influenced his politics, music, and style of dress, and also recounted his involvement in the Bahá'í faith, to which he had converted in the late 1960s.

By the late 1980s Gillespie had long been recognized as one of the founding figures of modern jazz. In 1989 he won the U.S. National Medal of the Arts and was made a French Commandeur d'Ordre des Arts et Lettres. Although his instrumental style was largely fixed by the mid-1940s, he won four Grammy Awards in the 1970s and 1980s, and his career as a trumpeter ranked in influence and popularity with Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and Miles Davis (1926–1991); along with Armstrong he became jazz's unofficial ambassador and personification around the world. Gillespie, who lived in Queens, New York, and then in Camden, New Jersey, continued giving hundreds of concerts each year in dozens of countries until his death at the age of seventy-four.

See also Davis, Miles; Jazz; Parker, Charlie

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Giovanni, Nikki

June 7, 1943

Poet Nikki Giovanni was born Yolanda Cornelia Giovannia in Knoxville, Tennessee. Her father, Jones Giovanni, was a probation officer; her mother, Yolanda Cornelia Watson Giovanni, was a social worker. The Giovannis were a close-knit family, and Nikki felt a special bond with her younger sister, Gary, and her maternal grandmother, Louvenia Terrell Watson. Watson instilled in Giovanni a fierce pride in her African-American heritage.

After graduating from Fisk University in 1967, Giovanni was swept up by the Black Power and black arts movements. Between 1968 and 1970 she published three books of poetry reflecting her preoccupation with revolutionary politics: *Black Judgment* (1968), *Black Feeling, Black Talk* (1970), and *Re: Creation* (1970).

But *Re: Creation* also introduced more personal concerns. In the spring of 1969 Giovanni gave birth to a son, Tom. The experience, she said, caused her to reconsider her priorities. Her work through the middle 1970s concentrated less overtly on politics and confrontation and more on personal issues such as love and loneliness. Yet Giovanni would always deny any real separation between her "personal" and her "political" concerns. During this time she began writing poetry for children. *Spin a Soft Black Song: Poems for Children* appeared in 1971, *Ego-Tripping and Other Poems for Young People* in 1973, and *Vacation Time: Poems for Children* in 1980.

In the 1970s Giovanni expanded her horizons in other ways. Between 1971 and 1978 she made a series of six re-

cords, speaking her poetry to an accompaniment of gospel music (the first in the series, *Truth Is on Its Way,* was the best-selling spoken-word album of 1971). She published essays and two books of conversations with major literary forebears: *A Dialogue: James Baldwin and Nikki Giovanni* (1973) and *A Poetic Equation: Conversations Between Nikki Giovanni and Margaret Walker* (1974). She was also a sought-after reader and lecturer.

Critical reaction to Giovanni's work has often been mixed. While some have praised her work for its vitality and immediacy, some have felt that her early popularity and high degree of visibility worked against her development as a poet. Others have criticized her work as politically naive, uneven, and erratic. Some of these reactions were due in part to Giovanni's very public growing up as a poet and the diversity of her interests. These criticisms have never bothered Giovanni, who believes that life is "inherently incoherent."

Other works of Giovanni's include *My House* (1972), *The Women and the Men* (1972), *Cotton Candy on a Rainy Day* (1978), *Those Who Ride the Night Winds* (1983), a collection of essays titled *Sacred Cows and Other Edibles* (1988), *The Genie in the Jar* (1996), *The Sun Is So Quiet* (1996), *Love Poems* (1997), *Blues: For All the Changes: New Poems* (1999), *Quilting the Black-Eyed Pea: Poems and Not Quite Poems* (2002), and *Girls in the Circle* (2004). In 2002 she won the first Rosa Parks Woman of Courage award.

See also Black Arts Movement; Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Glasspole, Florizel

September 25, 1909
November 25, 2000

Sir Florizel Glasspole enjoyed the distinction of being the second native Governor General of an independent Jamaica. He was born in Kingston, Jamaica's capital city, on September 25, 1909, the elder son of the late Methodist Minister the Rev. Theophilus Glasspole and his wife, Florence. He received his early education at the Buff Bay infant school in the parish of St. Mary and the Central Branch Primary School in Kingston. He received his secondary education at Kingston's prestigious Wolmers High School for Boys. At that time Jamaica was still a British colony and secondary education in the Island was then geared to prepare students for overseas examinations administered by the Universities of Cambridge and London. After completing secondary education, he acquired his tertiary education in Accounts by means of correspondence courses from the Scottish School of Accountancy in Scotland.

In his younger days, Glasspole was at one time Secretary of the Coke Young Men's Club and represented it in many debating contests. He was one of the leading personalities in the National Reform Association (1937) and in the Kingston and St. Andrew Literary and Debating Society. He served on several public boards and committees, including the Wage Board, the Apprenticeship Committee, the Industrial Relations Committee, and the Minimum Wage Boards for the baking, printing, and dry goods trades.

Glasspole was also a member of the Coke Methodist Church, and, in spite of a full public programme, he maintained an interest in sports and gardening and was a keen dog lover. In 1944 he married Ina Josephine Kinlocke. The marriage produced one daughter, Sara Lou.

Before entering the political arena, young Glasspole had a long and distinguished career in the trade union movement where he worked for more than eighteen years beginning with a three year stint as general secretary of the Jamaica United Clerks Association in 1937. He served eight years as general secretary for the Trade Union Advisory Council beginning in 1939. The Water Commission Manual Workers Union named him general secretary in 1941, a position he held concurrent with the presidency of the Jamaica's Printers and Allied Workers Union until 1948. From 1945 until 1955 he held a handful of other presidencies or was general secretary for the following organizations: the Machado Employees Union, Jamaica Trade Union Congress (1947–1952), Mental Hospital Workers Union (1944–1947), Municipal and Parochial General Workers Union (1945–1947), General Hospital and Allied Workers Union (1944–1947), and National Workers Union (1952–1955). Glasspole was also an ex-officio member of the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation from 1944 until 1955, a director of the Institute of Jamaica from 1944 through 1950, and a director of City Printery Ltd from 1944 until 1950.

Taking a job as an accounting clerk at the Serge Island Sugar Estate in St. Thomas in 1930 played a pivotal role in his life. "My heart shuddered with sympathy for the canefield workers," he recalled later. They worked long hours for very low wages. Conditions in the country were poor. The rumblings of social dissent, at first quiet, erupted and became the 1938 riots. The 1930s and 1940s were a turbulent period in Jamaica's history with strikes occurring regularly in the depressed economy, organized by labor and political organizations which were taking root in the Island.

Glasspole was one of the founding members of the People's National Party (PNP) in 1938. And in 1939, he became general secretary of the Trade Union Advisory Council. This was the peak of labor and political unrest in Jamaica with riots occurring in several parishes. In 1946, because of the impressive role Sir Glasspole played in the movement, the British Trade Union Congress assisted him in being awarded a scholarship to study trade unionism at Ruskin College in Oxford, England.

As an important leader in the trade union movement in Kingston, Glasspole was the ideal candidate for the PNP in their bid to win the East Kingston and Port Royal seat in the general elections of 1944. He was one of the only four PNP candidates to win a seat in those elections, which were the first to be held under Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica. Thereafter, he was appointed leader of Opposition Business in the House of Representatives and became secretary of the PNP's Parliamentary Group.

His role took a dramatic turn in 1955 when the PNP won the general elections. At the time he was a vice president of the party. He was also appointed leader of Government Business in the House of Representatives and became secretary of the local executive committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

During a two-year tenure as Minister of Labour, he achieved far-reaching success in reviving the Jamaica Farm Work Programme in the United States.

As a member of the Standing Federation Committee on the West Indian Federation from 1953 through 1958, Glasspole made a valuable contribution to the regional integration movement. He was also a member of the Jamaica House of Representatives Committee, which prepared the Independence Constitution and the delegation which finalized the constitution with the British government in London.

Glasspole served as Minister of Education from 1957 to 1962 and from 1972 to 1973 until he was appointed governor general. Jamaicans looked to education to point the way forward, and Sir Glasspole was called upon to provide the leadership. His tenure as Minister of Education was a time of political and social renaissance, ideas contended, visions of nationhood expanded, and dreams of social equity, upward mobility, and prosperity fulfilled.

The Ministry of Education constructed its headquarters at National Heroes Circle. Children of the "no-moneyed class" were enabled to obtain quality secondary education with the introduction of Common Entrance free places to high school—equivalent to a ticket to social equity and upward mobility. This democratization and expansion of secondary education helped meet the country's growing demand for qualified personnel in every field of activity. Furthermore, the ministry instituted an In-service Teachers Education Thrust (ISTET), which allowed educators to upgrade their qualification while on the job. The College of Arts, Science and Technology (CAST)—now the University of Technology (UTECH)—opened as a multifaceted tertiary institution. Spanish was declared a second official language in Jamaica to help to break down barriers between Jamaica and its Spanish-speaking neighbors.

Meanwhile, Glasspole's social conscience continued to play out as patron of a range of civic organizations, including the Jamaica Red Cross Society, the Scouts Association, the YMCA and the YWCA, the Jamaica Cancer Society, and the United Nations Association of Jamaica. His life work earned him a long and impressive list of national and international awards and honors, culminating in the Order of the Nation, Jamaica's second highest honor (after National Hero). Other awards include the Order of Andres Bello, one of Venezuela's highest, which he received in 1970; the Order of Liberator in 1978, also from Venezuela; and the first honor award from Jamaica's national newspaper, *The Daily Gleaner,* in 1979. In 1981 Glasspole was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II of England, receiving the Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George in a private function at Buckingham Palace. The University of the West Indies bestowed upon him an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1982. The following year he was made the Grand Commander of the Royal Victorian Order by the Queen of England.

Sir Glasspole retired from the office of governor general in 1990 and spent his last days working on his memoirs. He died on November 25, 2000, at the age of 91. As governor general he was a pivotal participant in the country's journey from colonialism, through self-government, and finally to independence.

See also Education in the Caribbean; Farm Worker Program; People's National Party

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E. LEO GUNTER (2005)

Glissant, Edouard

September 21, 1928

Born in Sainte-Marie, Martinique, Edouard Glissant and his contemporary Frantz Fanon are the best known of the generation of writers who came after the founding father of *Négritude,* Aimé Césaire. Like Fanon, Glissant was educated at the Lycée Schoelcher and later left for Paris after participating in Césaire's electoral campaign. Unlike that of many of his contemporaries in the 1950s, Glissant's early poetry was not overtly political but a dense exploration of Caribbean landscape. His first book of essays, *Soleil de la conscience* (*Sun of Consciousness*), in 1956 is essentially a travel book dealing with his relation to France as an insider and an outsider. This "ethnography of the self," as he called it, was written as a series of prose poems and contained the major themes of his later work: the importance of place, the idea of an open insularity, and the fundamentally interconnected nature of all cultures. The theme of individual self-discovery is continued in Glissant's early novels *La Lezarde* (*The Ripening*), which won the Prix Renaudot in 1958, and *Le quatrième siècle* (*The Fourth Century*) in 1965. Both brought him to prominence because of their original evocations of Martinican space and history and their experimental treatment of generic conventions.

Glassant spent nineteen years in Paris, during which he produced a number of essays on the most influential writers of the Americas, Saint-John Perse, Aimé Césaire, William Faulkner, and Alejo Carpentier, which later became the basis for the 1969 book of essays *L'intention poétique* (*The Poetic Intention*). He also became involved in anticolonial politics through the Front Antillo-Guyanais formed with Paul Niger, and he returned to Martinique in 1965 and founded the Institut Martiniquais d'Études. By inviting artists such as Roberto Matta from Chile and Agustín Cárdenas from Cuba and with the publication of the magazine *Acoma,* Glissant tried to counter the rapid Europeanization of Martinique, which had become a French Department in 1946. His bleak view of Martinique's future as a department is recorded in the 1975 novel, significantly titled *Malemort* (*Undead*).

In 1980 Glissant left Martinique to become the editor of the *UNESCO Courier* in Paris. In the following year he published his well-known *Le discours Antillais* (*Caribbean Discourse*) and the novel *La case du commandeur* (*The Driver's Cabin*). In his essays he established himself as the major Caribbean theorist of the post-*Négritude* period, proposing a view of the Caribbean as an exemplary site of creolization that transcended racial and linguistic divisions. He left Paris in 1988 for a teaching position in the United States, and his interrelated novels evolved into narratives of nomadic wanderings and an exploded sense of place in *Mahagony* (1987) and *Tout monde* (1993). Similarly, his later essays, *Poétique de la Relation* (*Poetics of Relating*) in 1990 and *Faulkner, Mississippi* (1996), develop his theories of rhizomatic identity and the Americas as a site of pervasive *métissage,* or intermixing of peoples. Glissant's ideas have spawned a movement of cultural affirmation in Martinique called the *créolité* movement of which Patrick Chamoiseau is the most prominent literary figure.

See also Césaire, Aimé; Chamoiseau, Patrick; Diasporic Cultures in the Americas; Négritude

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J. MICHAEL DASH (2005)

Globetrotters, Harlem

See Harlem Globetrotters

Glover, Danny

July 22, 1947

Born in San Francisco, the son of two postal workers who were both union organizers and members of the NAACP, actor Danny Glover attended San Francisco State University, where he majored in economics. During the 1960s he became a student activist, and he worked as an economic planner for the city after graduation. He began taking acting classes in the 1960s at the Black Actor's Workshop

sponsored by the American Conservatory Theatre in Oakland. In the 1970s he acted with Sam Shepard's Magic Theater, the San Francisco Eureka Theater, and the Los Angeles Theater and made guest appearances on such television series as *Lou Grant, Chiefs,* and *Gimme a Break.*

In 1979 Glover made his New York theater debut in Athol Fugard's *The Blood Knot,* for which he won a Theater World Award. He also played in the 1982 Broadway production of Fugard's *Master Harold . . .and the Boys,* where he was seen by writer and director Robert Benton, who cast him as a sharecropper in the motion picture *Places in the Heart* (1984). Glover also appeared in Fugard's *A Lesson from Aloes* (1986) at the Steppenwolf Theater Company in Chicago.

In 1985 Glover appeared in three films: *Witness, Silverado,* and *The Color Purple,* Steven Spielberg's adaptation of Alice Walker's novel, in which he appeared as the sadistic "Mister," opposite Whoopi Goldberg. In 1987 Glover starred as a Los Angeles detective who is partners with Mel Gibson in *Lethal Weapon.* The action-adventure movie was a major commercial success and led to three sequels.

In 1990 Glover produced and starred in Charles Burnett's *To Sleep with Anger,* a film about middle-class black life in South-Central Los Angeles. The same year he was inducted into the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame and received the Phoenix Award from the Black American Cinema Society. Glover appeared in *Predator 2* (1991) and *The Saint of Fort Washington* (1992), and in 1993, he starred as a police officer in *Bopha!,* a film set in South Africa and filmed in Zimbabwe, about the 1976 Soweto uprisings. In 1994 Glover starred in the popular film *Angels in the Outfield,* and in 1998, he won critical praise for his featured role in *Beloved,* Jonathan Demme's adaptation of Toni Morrison's novel. Later credits include *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), *The Royal Tenenbaums* (2001), and *Saw* (2004). Glover has been the recipient of two NAACP Image Awards, both in 1987, for his performance in *Lethal Weapon* (1987) and in HBO's *Mandela* (1987), for which he also received an ACE Award. In recent years he has attracted controversy for his political activism, speaking out against the death penalty and the U.S.-led war in Iraq.

See also Burnett, Charles; Film in the United States, Contemporary

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Glover, Savion

November 19, 1973

Tap veteran Gregory Hines called Savion Glover "the best tap dancer that ever lived." Born in Newark, New Jersey, Glover grew up in a housing project with his mother. From age two he showed an affinity for rhythm, beating out sounds on pots and pans at will. Yvette Glover enrolled Savion in tap dance at age seven at New York City's Broadway Dance Center. Savion recalls tapping in cowboy boots—the only hard-soled shoes his mother could afford—for seven months before receiving his first pair of tap shoes.

At age twelve Glover secured the lead role in Broadway's *The Tap Dance Kid*. In 1989 he was nominated for his first Tony Award for his performance in *Black and Blue*. In the same year he starred with Gregory Hines and Sammy Davis Jr. in the movie *Tap*. In 1992 he became the youngest recipient of a National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grant for choreography. From 1991 to1994, he starred in the Broadway production of *Jelly's Last Jam* and taught children's tap classes wherever he traveled. From 1991 to 1995 he was a regular guest on *Sesame Street*.

Glover's greatest accomplishment has been his involvement in the original *Bring in 'da Noise, Bring in 'da Funk,* which began late in 1995. The show, a dramatic display of black musical styles including hip-hop and new styles of tap dance, garnered nine Tony nominations in 1996. Serving as the Broadway show's choreographer and star, Glover won one of the show's four awards for Best Choreographer.

In 2004, after three years away from the spotlight, and mourning the death of his friend Gregory Hines, Glover reemerged with a renewed enthusiasm as a dancer, actor, and dance instructor.

See also Davis, Sammy, Jr.; Hines, Gregory; Musical Theater; Tap Dance; Theatrical Dance

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RACHEL ZELLARS (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Goldberg, Whoopi

November 13, 1950

Actress Whoopi Goldberg was born Caryn Johnson in New York City and raised in a housing project by her mother. She received her earliest education at a parish school, the Congregation of Notre Dame. She gained her first stage experience at the Helena Rubinstein Children's Theatre at the Hudson Guild, where she acted in plays from the age of eight to ten.

In the mid-1960s Goldberg dropped out of high school and worked on Broadway as a chorus member in the musicals *Hair, Jesus Christ Superstar,* and *Pippin.* She was married briefly in the early 1970s and had a daughter from the marriage, Alexandrea Martin.

In 1974 Goldberg moved to Los Angeles and has since maintained California residence. She became a founding member of the San Diego Repertory Theatre and later joined Spontaneous Combustion, an improvisation group. It was about this time that she adopted the name Whoopi Goldberg.

In 1981 Goldberg, with David Schein, wrote the extended comedy sketch *The Last Word.* The eclectic ensemble of characters in her sketches includes a self-aborting surfer girl, a panhandling ex-vaudevillian, a junkie, and a Jamaican maid. Goldberg's style, a blend of social commentary, humor, and improvisation, earned her both critical acclaim and a large audience. In 1983 she developed an hour-long piece entitled *The Spook Show,* which played in London and New York to great acclaim. After appearing in Berkeley, California, in a one-woman show called *Moms,* based on the life of comedian Moms Mabley, Goldberg opened on Broadway in 1984 in a new version of her comedy sketches, *Whoopi Goldberg,* produced by Mike Nichols.

The following year Goldberg starred as Celie in Steven Spielberg's film of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple.* She received an Academy Award nomination for her performance, which propelled her into the Hollywood mainstream. She subsequently starred in such films as *Jumping Jack Flash* (1986), *Burglar* (1987), *Fatal Beauty* (1987),

Whoopi Goldberg. *Born Caryn Johnson in 1950 and raised in a New York City housing project, Goldberg has risen to fame as an Oscar and Grammy Award-winning actor and entertainer.* PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS BRANDIS. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

Clara's Heart (1988), and *The Long Walk Home* (1990). She appeared in a continuing role on the television series *Star Trek: The Next Generation* from 1988 through 1993. In 1990 she received an Academy Award for best supporting actress for her role as a psychic in *Ghost.* Goldberg became only the second black woman—the first since Hattie McDaniel in 1939—to win an Oscar in a major category. Subsequently she appeared in *Soapdish* (1991), *Sister Act* (1992), and *Sarafina!* (1992), becoming the first African-American to star in a film shot on location in South Africa.

In 1992 Goldberg cofounded the annual comedy benefit "Comic Relief" on the cable television network Home Box Office to raise money for the homeless. That same year she launched her own syndicated television talk show. In 1993 Goldberg appeared in the films *Sister Act 2* and *Made In America,* a comedy about an interracial relationship. In 1994, Goldberg hosted the Oscar Awards. Her subsequent film appearances include *The Player* (1995), *Boys on the Side* (1996), *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*

(1998), *The Ghosts of Mississippi* (1998), *Girl, Interrupted* (1999), and *Kingdom Come* (2001). In 1997, following a short-lived late-night talk show, *The Whoopi Goldberg Show,* she returned to Broadway in *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum.* In 1998 she revived the television quiz show "Hollywood Squares" as a starring vehicle. Her career in television continued in 2003, when she launched a sitcom titled *Whoopi,* and she returned to the stage once again in 2004, reviving her original one-woman Broadway show with *Whoopi: The 20th Year.*

See also Comedians; Mabley, Jackie "Moms"; McDaniel, Hattie; Film in the United States, Contemporary

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gomes, Peter John

May 22, 1942

Theologian Peter Gomes, whom *Time* magazine called "one of America's great preachers," was born in Boston and grew up in Plymouth, Massachusetts. His father was a Cape Verdean immigrant who labored in the local cranberry bogs, while his mother was a fourth-generation African-American Bostonian, from an affluent family, who had studied music at the New England Conservatory before becoming the first African American to work in Cambridge's city hall. Gomes attended Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, where he received his B.A. in 1965, then attended Harvard University Divinity School. After Gomes earned an S.T.B. degree from Harvard in 1968, he was ordained a minister in the American Baptist Church. He subsequently took a position as professor of history and director of Freshman Studies at the Tuskegee Institute.

In 1970 Gomes accepted the post of assistant minister at Harvard's prestigious Memorial Church and was named professor of Christian morals. Over the following two decades he was a notable figure at Harvard for his dynamic preaching and thoughtful biblical exegesis and for his conservative Republican politics. In 1984 and 1988 Gomes was selected to deliver sermons at the inaugurations of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush.

In 1991, at a rally held in protest of an antigay piece in the conservative Harvard magazine *Peninsula,* Gomes came out as "a Christian who happens as well to be gay." He thereafter became an important figure in the gay rights movement. In 1998, two years after he published a best-selling Bible analysis, *The Good Book,* Gomes announced that Memorial Church would solemnize same-sex unions.

Gomes was named Clergy of the Year in 1998 by *Religion in American Life.* Gomes has spoken and delivered sermons all over the world, has been a guest on numerous television programs, and has been the subject of many magazine articles.

See also Baptists; Gay Men; Lesbians; Theology

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GREG ROBINSON (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gómez, Juan Gualberto

July 12, 1854
March 5, 1933

Juan Gualberto Gómez y Ferrer was born on a Cuban sugar plantation to the slaves Fermín Gómez and Serafina Ferrer. Known throughout his life as a man of letters and a nationalist intellectual par excellence, he argued, perhaps more fervently than any other Cuban nationalist, that the problem of Cuban freedom was as much about the socioeconomic progress and political participation of African-descended Cubans as it was a struggle for sovereignty. Indeed, for many of his peers his pronouncements on race progress undermined the ideal of national racelessness and marked him as a troubling player in the national political arena.

In 1869, at age fifteen, Gómez traveled to Paris in the company of a wealthy Cuban landowner to learn carriage

making, but his obvious scholarly aptitude quickly led to his enrollment at Paris's Munge School of Engineering and the Central School of Arts and Manufacture. For several years Gómez studied assiduously while also witnessing French revolutionary fervor and the devastation of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). In the evenings he mixed with tradesmen at workers' clubs and attended parliamentary and public debates about citizens' rights.

The Pact of Zanjón (1878), which ended Cuba's Ten Years War and brought a partial and unsatisfactory peace to the island, coincided with the return home of a young man of considerable ideological maturity. Gómez's return, in fact, coincided with significant shifts in Cuba's social and political terrain: The Moret law (1870) of gradual abolition had granted slaves only partial emancipation; Cuban political parties had finally emerged (1878), albeit without Cubans' representation at the Spanish *cortes;* and repression by the crown rose even as liberal reforms established freedoms in the press, public assembly, and education. Gómez proved a formidable adversary for the state, founding and editing several publications that opposed colonial rule and supported socioeconomic advancement for the "colored race," until he was deported to Spain from 1880 to 1890 for sedition. Though Gómez organized all classes and colors, he proselytized in particular among black and mulatto artisans, insisting that African-descended Cubans, especially former slaves, would gain full political participation through education and enlightened thinking and behavior. In 1886, despite his exile in Spain, Gómez galvanized hundreds of black and mulatto social club members on the island to form a political bloc known as the Central Directorate of Societies of the Colored Race.

In the decades following the end of colonialism in Cuba in 1898, Gómez received prestigious appointments to Havana's Board of Education and the Cuban Academy of History, and he spearheaded a hearty but unsuccessful protest among fellow constitutional assemblymen to prevent the adoption of the U.S.-authored Platt Amendment in the new Cuban constitution. He also served in national leadership in the house (1914–1916) and senate (1916–1924). Gómez continued to advocate race progress and denounce political corruption in his newspaper, *Patria* (1925–1927), even attacking the despotism of President Gerardo Machado (1925–1933). Until 1932, when Gómez retired in relative poverty near Havana, Cubans from all sectors continued to request his counsel and intervention in employment, social, and political matters. Juan Gualberto Gómez died from pulmonary edema in 1933.

See also Afrocubanismo

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MELINA ANN PAPPADEMOS (2005)

Gordon, George William

c. 1820
October 23, 1865

George William Gordon, the son of Scottish planter Joseph Gordon and a slave woman whose name is unknown, was born into slavery around 1820. Gordon's father kept him nominally in servitude until the general Emancipation Act freed slaves in 1834, encouraging his interest in books and figures and sending him as a teenager to live with James Daly, a businessman in Black River, Jamaica. Gordon mastered commerce, and by 1842 he was a successful merchant and produce dealer in Kingston.

In 1844, Gordon entered public life, winning a seat in the Jamaican Assembly for the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale. Ironically (given his later career) he contested the seat as a defender of the Established Church, against the sustained campaign of the Baptists and other dissenters who advocated its disestablishment. At the same time, Gordon benefited from the support of the planters in the parish where his father, who was also a member of the Assembly, had connections to coffee and sugar properties. Although the younger Gordon strongly supported the planters' immigration proposals in the Assembly, he, given his own slave background and his very close attachment to his mother, strenuously opposed proposals of the 1840s to reintroduce whipping. Further, in 1848 and the following year, Gordon joined other coloureds of the Assembly in their "nationalist" opposition to the planters' reckless retrenchment strategies to effect the restoration of protection for colonial produce. This stance cost Gordon the planters' support, and he declined to seek re-election to the Assembly in 1849.

Gordon returned to the Assembly in 1863 for the parish of St. Thomas in the East, with the solid support of Paul Bogle and other small freeholders. They looked to Gordon as a genuine spokesperson for their interests, and

he launched a broadside against the administration of Governor Edward Eyre and the local Magistrates in the parish who, with Governor Eyre's unqualified support, victimized Gordon in an attempt to silence his strident criticisms of their administration and of the established church.

Nonetheless, Gordon continued to speak out vehemently against injustice and the political elites' disregard and contempt for the peoples' hardships, which were worsened by the dramatic decline in the sugar industry (a primary source of employment) and the ravages of drought and floods that destroyed provision crops. It was clear for all but the blinkered that people were starving and ground down by high taxation on imported food, the supply and cost of which was further affected by the American Civil War.

In 1865, Gordon's speeches in the Assembly and at public meetings focused on the deteriorating social state of the island and the failure of the Assembly and the Governor to address the matter. Against Gordon's passionate protests, legislators instead approved the reintroduction of whipping for predial larceny, at a time when many were starving. Furthermore, when the Crown neglected the peoples' plea for access to tracts of unused crown lands and the local administration cruelly dismissed poverty as the result of laziness, Gordon's speeches at public meetings in various parts of the island pointed to the absence of work, low wages, injustice in the courts, the denial of political rights and the general insensitivity of the political administration. Gordon organized one such meeting in Morant Bay in August 1865, where his political allies, including Paul Bogle, echoed his sentiments and applied them to the corrupt local administration of that parish. Planters in the vestry at Morant Bay had frustrated Gordon's efforts to expose the inadequacy of their poverty relief, and later prevented him from taking up an elected post as churchwarden because he was not a practicing member of the Church of England, even though the small freeholders had elected him. These tensions boiled over into the Paul Bogle-led rebellion in Morant Bay on October 11, 1865, and despite the absence of dispassionate evidence linking Gordon with its planning or execution, Eyre blamed his most determined political detractor's speeches and political associations for inspiring the rebels. Accordingly, Eyre had Gordon arrested in Kingston and transported to Morant Bay, where he was tried under martial law, found guilty of high treason, and was hanged on October 23, 1865.

One hundred years later, in 1965, the Jamaican Government elevated George William Gordon to the status of National Hero for his passionate advocacy for the poor in the immediate post-slavery period of Jamaican history.

See also Bogle, Paul; Morant Bay Rebellion

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SWITHIN WILMOT (2005)

Gordon, Odetta Holmes Felious

See Odetta (Gordon, Odetta Holmes Felious)

Gordy, Berry

November 28, 1929

The music executive Berry Gordy Jr., the third in his family to carry that name, was born in Detroit. He was attracted to music as a child, winning a talent contest with his song "Berry's Boogie." He also took up boxing, often training with his friend Jackie Wilson, who would later become a popular rhythm-and-blues singer. Gordy quit high school to turn professional, but he soon gave up boxing at the urging of his mother. After spending 1951 to 1953 in the army, Gordy married Thelma Louise Coleman and began to work in the Gordy family printing and construction business.

In 1953 Gordy opened a jazz record store in Detroit. However, since rhythm-and-blues records were more in demand, the business closed after only two years. Gordy then began working at a Ford Motor Company assembly line, writing and publishing pop songs on the side, including "Money, That's What I Want" (1959). During this time, Gordy, who had separated from his wife, wrote some of Jackie Wilson's biggest hits, including "Lonely Teardrops" (1958), "That Is Why I Love You So" (1959), and "I'll Be Satisfied" (1959). He also sang with his new wife, Raynoma Liles, whom he married in 1959, on a number

Berry Gordy, founder of Motown Records. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of records by the Detroit singer Marv Johnson. In the late 1950s Gordy met and worked with Smokey Robinson and the Matadors, who at Gordy's suggestion changed their name to the Miracles. Gordy recorded them on their first record, "Got a Job" (1958).

During this period Gordy became increasingly dissatisfied with leasing his recordings to larger record companies, who often would take over distribution. At the urging of Robinson, Gordy borrowed eight-hundred dollars and founded Tamla Records and Gordy Records, the first companies in what would become the Motown empire. He released "Way Over There" (1959) and "Shop Around" (1961) by the Miracles. Gordy began hiring friends and family members to work for him, and he began to attract young unknown singers, including Diana Ross, Marvin Gaye, Mary Wells, and Stevie Wonder. The songwriting team of Eddie Holland, his brother Brian, and Lamont Dozier began to write songs for Gordy, who had formed a base of operations at 2648 Grand Boulevard in Detroit. From that address Gordy also formed the publishing and management companies that would constitute the larger enterprise known more generally as Motown. Over the next ten years, Motown, with Gordy as chief executive and chief shareholder (and often producer and songwriter as well), produced dozens of pop and rhythm-and-blues hits that dominated the new style known as soul music.

In the mid-1960s Gordy began to distance himself from the company's day-to-day music operations, spending more and more time in Los Angeles, where he was growing interested in the film and television industries. He divorced Raynoma in 1964 and married Margaret Norton, whom he also later divorced. (Gordy again married in 1990, but that marriage, to Grace Eton, ended in divorce three years later.)

In the late 1960s, many Motown performers, writers, and producers complained about Gordy's paternalistic and heavy-handed management of their finances. Some of them—including the Jackson Five, Holland-Dozier-Holland, and the Temptations—left the company, claiming that Gordy had misled and mistreated them. By this time he was quite wealthy, living in a Los Angeles mansion that contained a portrait of himself dressed as Napoleon Bonaparte. He resigned as president of the Motown Records subsidiary in 1973 in order to assume the chair of Motown Industries, a new parent corporation. The following year he completed what had been a gradual move of Motown to Los Angeles and produced several successful television specials. His film ventures—including the Diana Ross vehicles *Lady Sings the Blues* (1973), *Mahogany* (1975), and *The Wiz* (1978)—were not as successful.

Despite the departure of its core personnel over the years, the company Gordy presided over in the 1980s remained successful, with more than one-hundred-million dollars in annual sales in 1983, making it the largest black-owned company in the United States. In 1984 Gordy allowed MCA to begin distributing Motown's records, and the company bought Motown in 1988 for sixty-one million dollars. Gordy kept control of Gordy Industries, which ran Motown's music publishing, film, and television subsidiaries. His net worth in 1986, as estimated by *Forbes,* was more than $180 million, making him one of the wealthiest people in the United States at that time. In the late 1980s and the 1990s, Gordy branched out into other fields, including sports management and the ownership and training of racehorses.

Although Gordy, who was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988, began his career as a successful songwriter and producer, his greatest achievement was selling soul music to white pop audiences, thus helping to shape America's youth into a single, huge, multiracial audience. In 2004, Gordy sold the last piece of his Motown legacy: EMI Music Publishing bought the rights to fifteen hundred compositions for eighty million dollars.

See also Jackson Family; Music in the United States; Recording Industry

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gospel Music

The African-American religious music known as gospel, originating in the field hollers, slave songs, spirituals, and Protestant hymns sung on southern plantations, and later at camp meetings and churches, has come to dominate not only music in black churches but singing and instrumental styles across the spectrum of American popular music, including jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and country. Exemplified in songs such as "Take My Hand, Precious Lord" and "Move On Up a Little Higher," gospel music encourages emotional and jubilant improvisation on songs of thanksgiving and praise as well as sorrow and suffering.

Musically, gospel is distinguished by its vocal style, which in both male and female singers is characterized by a strained, full-throated sound, often pushed to guttural shrieks and rasps suited to the extremes of the emotion-laden lyrics. Melodies and harmonies are generally simple, allowing for spontaneity in devising repetitive, expressive fills and riffs. The syncopated rhythms of gospel are typically spare, with heavy, often hand-clapped accents.

The Founding Years

Although the roots of gospel can be traced to Africa and the earliest arrival of Africans in the New World, the main antecedent was the "Dr. Watts" style of singing hymns, named for British poet and hymnist Isaac Watts (1674–1748), who emphasized a call-and-response approach to religious songs, with mournful but powerful rhythms. Thus, in the nineteenth century, African-American hymnody in mainstream denominations did not differ considerably from music performed in white churches. The earliest African-American religious denominations date back to the late eighteenth century, when black congregations split off from white church organizations in Philadelphia. In 1801 the minister Richard Allen, who later founded the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination, published two collections of hymns designed for use in black churches. These collections were the forerunners of similar collections that formed the basis for the music performed in most nineteenth-century black churches, yet they were quite similar to the slow-tempo, restrained white Protestant hymnody. Around the middle of the nineteenth century a new type of music known as "gospel hymns" or "gospel songs" was being composed in a new style, lighter and more songlike than traditional hymnody, written by white composers such as Dwight Moody (1837–1899), Ira Sankey (1840–1908), Philip Paul Bliss (1838–1876), Robert Lowry (1826–1899), and William Batchelder Bradbury (1816–1868).

Another important nineteenth-century influence on gospel music was the idea, increasingly popular at a minority of nineteenth-century black churches, that spiritual progress required a deeper and more directly emotional relationship with God, often through the singing of white "gospel hymns," although gospel as an African-American form would not take that name for decades. These congregations, often led by charismatic ministers, began searching for a religion based on "Holiness or Hell" and were early participants in the Latter Rain movement, which sought to "irrigate the dry bones" of the church. The first congregation known to accept this doctrine, based on the activities of the Day of Pentecost (though, confusingly, this is *not* what is now called Pentecostalism) was the United Holy Church of Concord, South Carolina, which held its first meeting in 1886 and had its first convention in 1894 under the leadership of Brother L. M. Mason (1861–1930). Another early congregation to accept that doctrine and encourage early forms of gospel music was the Church of the Living God, in Wrightsville, Arkansas, under the leadership of William Christian (1856–1928) in 1889.

The Holiness doctrine proved controversial within black churches, as did the music associated with Holiness. In 1895 Charles Harrison Mason and Charles Price Jones were forced from the Baptist church, and together they proceeded to organize the Church of God in Christ in Lexington, Mississippi, where the music was heavily influenced by the performance style at Los Angeles's Azusa Street Revival, a black congregation that marked the beginning of Pentecostalism, under the leadership of William Joseph Seymour. The Azusa Street Revival featured highly charged services involving "speaking in tongues" as a manifestation of the Holy Ghost. Such activities were eventually integrated into the mainstream of black church activity, but around the turn of the century, Holiness-style services, and even the singing of spirituals, were strenuously opposed by conservative black church elders who had fought to "elevate" the musical standards of their con-

American pianist, clergyman, and composer Thomas Andrew Dorsey with his female gospel quartet, Chicago, Illinois, 1934. *Chicago became an important center for gospel music by the 1930s, in part due to the efforts of Dorsey.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

gregations. Jones, for example, was opposed to the Azusa Street style and eventually split from Mason to organize the Church of Christ, Holiness.

Early forms of gospel music such as sung or chanted testimonials and sermons were used to complement prayers in Holiness churches. Drawing on the call-and-response tradition that dated back to slavery times, members of a congregation would take inspiration from a phrase from the sermon or testimony and out of it spontaneously compose a simple melody and text. A chorus of congregants would repeat the original phrase, while the leader interpolated brief extemporized choruses. For example, in Charles Harrison Mason's 1908 "I'm a Soldier," the leader and congregation begin by alternating the following lines: "I'm a soldier/In the army of the Lord/I'm a soldier/In the army." Succeeding choruses differ only in the lead line, with the leader interpolating such phrases as "I'm fighting for my life," "I'm a sanctified soldier," or "I'll live and I'll die," and the congregation repeating "In the army" as a refrain. The length of such songs often stretched to fifteen minutes or more. Along with simple "homemade" harmonies came hand-clapping, foot-stomping, and holy dancing, also known as "shouting."

Holiness, Sanctified, and Pentecostal congregations sprang up rapidly all over the South, particularly in rural, poor communities, starting around the turn of the century, and in less than a decade gospel music, then known as church music, was being sung in Baptist and Methodist congregations as well. During this time the most popular gospel hymns were by a new generation of black composers, including William Henry Sherwood; Jones, who composed "Where Shall I Be?" and "I'm Happy with Jesus Alone"; Mason, who in addition to "I'm a Soldier" wrote "My Soul Loves Jesus" and the chant "Yes, Lord"; and Charles Albert Tindley, who composed "What Are They Doing in Heaven," "Stand by Me," and "I'll Overcome Someday," which was the forerunner of the civil rights anthem "We Shall Overcome." Since at this time there were no publishing houses for black gospel, these composers began to establish their own. They also depended on recordings and traveling preachers to spread their music. Preachers who popularized their own songs included J. C. Burnett ("Drive and Go Forward," 1926), Ford Washington McGhee ("Lion of the Tribe of Judah," 1927), J. M. Gates ("Death's Black Train Is Coming," 1926), and A. W. Nix ("The Black Diamond Express to Hell," 1927).

The Birth of Gospel Music

The 1920s were a crucial time in the development of gospel music. In 1921 the National Baptist Convention, USA, the largest organization of black Christians in the world, not only formally recognized gospel as a legitimate sacred musical form but published a collection of hymns, spirituals, and gospel songs under the title *Gospel Pearls,* edited by Willa A. Townsend (1885–1963). That hymnal contained six songs by Tindley, the first gospel composer successfully to combine the conventions of white evangelical music with the simple, often sentimental melodies of black spirituals. The 1921 convention also marked the emergence of the composer Thomas A. Dorsey (1899–1993), who would go on to become known as the Father of Gospel because of his indefatigable songwriting, publishing, organizing, and teaching. Three years later the National Baptist Convention published the *Baptist Standard Hymnal,* another important step toward bringing gospel into the mainstream of African-American church worship. Other important gospel composers who came to prominence during this time were Lucie Campbell (1885–1963) and William Herbert Brewster (1897–1987).

Despite the publication of these hymnals and the dissemination of individual songs in both print and by record, it was by word of mouth that gospel spread, particu-

larly in working-class communities in the rural South. In Jefferson County, Alabama, workers in coal mines and factories used their lunch hours to organize quartets to sing this new type of religious song. In some respects these groups were inspired by the tradition of the secular Fisk Jubilee and Tuskegee vocal quartets, but the new groups emphasized the powerful emotional experiences of conversion and salvation. One of the first such groups, the Foster Singers, organized in 1916, stressed equality between the vocal parts. However, it was a Foster Singers spinoff group, the Birmingham Jubilee Singers, led by one of the members of the Foster Singers, that inspired gospel quartets that soon started all over the South. The Birmingham Jubilee Singers allowed the bass and tenor more prominence and freedom, raised tempos, and used more adventurous harmonies, including "blue" notes. The vocal quartets organized in this style in the 1920s include the Fairfield Four (1921), which as of 1992 still included one of its original members, the Rev. Samuel McCrary; the Blue Jay Singers (1926); the Harmonizing Four (1927); and the Dixie Hummingbirds (1928). In the 1930s new quartets included the Golden Gate Quartet (1934), which went on to become the most popular group of the 1930s and 1940s, and the Soul Stirrers (1936). The following year, Rebert H. Harris (b. 1916) joined the groups, and over the next fourteen years he became their most famous singer. In 1938 Claude Jeter Harris (b. 1914) organized the Four Harmony Kings, who later changed their name to the Swan Silvertones to acknowledge their sponsorship by a bakery.

By the 1930s gospel music had been firmly planted in northern cities. This was due not only to the Great Migration of rural blacks following World War I but also to the fact that, increasingly, record companies and publishing houses were located in northern cities, and particularly in Chicago, then the focal point for gospel music. Thomas Andrew Dorsey opened his publishing house in 1932, the same year he composed "Take My Hand, Precious Lord" (popularly known as "Precious Lord, Take My Hand"). Through composing, publishing, organizing, and teaching gospel choirs, Dorsey was given the sobriquet Father of Gospel.

Starting in the 1920s, gospel music was taken up by many different types of ensembles in addition to vocal quartets. In urban areas blind singers often came to prominence by performing on street corners and in churches. One of the most important of these was Connie Rosemond, for whom Lucie Campbell composed "Something Within Me." Others were Mamie Forehand and the guitarists and singers Blind Joe Taggard and Blind Willie Johnson. The blind Texan singer Arizona Dranes accompanied herself on piano and is credited with introducing that instrument to recorded gospel music. Among the gospel singers who sang with piano accompaniment as early as the 1920s were Willie Mae Ford Smith, Sallie Martin, Clara Hudmon (1900–1960), Madame Ernestine B. Washington (1914–1983), and guitarist and singer Sister Rosetta Tharpe, the first important performer to find a large audience outside the gospel circuit. Male-accompanied singers included Brother Joe May (1912–1973) and J. Robert Bradley (b. 1921). The greatest of the accompanied singers was Mahalia Jackson, who was born in New Orleans and found her calling in Chicago at age sixteen. Her 1947 recording of "Move On Up a Little Higher," by Herbert Brewster, featuring her soaring contralto, came to define the female gospel style.

In the late 1930s accompanied gospel ensembles consisting of four to six women, four or five men, or a mixed group of four to six singers, became popular. Clara Ward (1924–1973) organized the earliest notable accompanied ensemble, the Ward Singers, in 1934. The year before, Roberta Martin had joined with composer Theodore Frye (1899–1963) to form the Martin-Frye Quartet, later known as the Roberta Martin Singers. Sallie Martin organized the Sallie Martin Singers in 1940. Three years later the Original Gospel Harmonettes were formed, with pianist Evelyn Stark. They later came to prominence when singer Dorothy Love Coates joined the group and introduced "hard" gospel techniques, such as singing beyond her range and straining the voice for dramatic effects. Other accompanied ensembles included the Angelic Gospel Singers and the Davis Sisters, with pianist Curtis Dublin.

During this time vocal quartets and quintets continued to be popular. Archie Brownlee (1925–1960) organized the Five Blind Boys of Mississippi in 1939, the same year that Johnny L. Fields (b. 1927) formed the Five Blind Boys of Alabama, featuring Clarence Fountain (b. 1929). James Woodie Alexander (b. 1916) began leading the Pilgrim Travelers in 1946.

In the years between the wars, women, who from the start had been pillars of African-American religious institutions, became increasingly involved as publishers and organizers. In 1932, Dorsey, Sallie Martin, and Willie Mae Ford Smith formed the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses. Roberta Martin, the composer of "God Is Still on the Throne," opened her own publishing house in 1939. Sallie Martin opened hers along with Kenneth Martin (1917–1989), the composer of "Yes, God Is Real," in 1940.

Gullah Gospel Singers, Beaufort, South Carolina, May 1997. © CATHRINE WESSEL/CORBIS

The Golden Age

By 1945 gospel was becoming recognized not only as a spiritual experience but also as a form of entertainment, and this became known as gospel's golden era. Singers, appearing on stage in attractive uniforms, had established and refined a popular and recognizable vocal sound. Gospel pianists such as Mildred Falls (1915–1975), Herbert Pickard, Mildred Gay, Edgar O'Neal, James Herndon, and James Washington and organists such as Little Lucy Smith, Gerald Spraggins, Louise Overall Weaver, and Herbert "Blind" Francis were working in exciting styles derived from ragtime, barrelhouse, and the blues, with chordal voicing, riffs, and complicated rhythms. Finally a group of composers including Doris Akers (b. 1923), Sammy Lewis, and Lucy Smith could be depended on to come up with fresh material. Just as early gospel composers relied on traveling from church to church to popularize their songs, so too did the first early popular gospel singers find it necessary to go on the road. Sister Rosetta Tharpe performed at nightclubs and dance halls, but far more typical was the experience of Mahalia Jackson, who by 1945 had quit her regular job and joined a growing number of traveling professional gospel singers performing in churches and schools, moving on to auditoriums and stadiums. These singers were able to support themselves, and some, like Jackson, were quite successful, especially in the context of touring companies.

After the war the recording industry and radio played a large part in popularizing gospel. At first, small companies such as King, Atlantic, Vee-Jay, Dot, Nashboro, and Peacock were the most active in seeking out gospel singers. Apollo Records recorded Jackson and Roberta Martin before they moved to larger labels. The Ward Sisters, the Angelic Gospel Singers, and the Davis Sisters first recorded for Gotham Records. The Original Gospel Harmonettes recorded first for RCA Victor. With the proliferation of re-

The Beamon Singers Gospel Choir performs at the presentation of the U.S. Postal Service's newest stamps honoring four of gospel's most innovative female vocalists, August 30, 1998. *The "Gospel Singer" stamps, pictured at the House of Blues musical venue in Cambridge, Massachusetts, feature Mahalia Jackson, Roberta Martin, Clara Ward, and Sister Rosetta Tharpe.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cordings, gospel radio programs became popular. In New York, the gospel disk jockey Joe Bostic was extraordinarily successful, as were Mary Manson in Philadelphia, Irene Joseph Ware in Chicago, Mary Dee in Baltimore, Goldie Thompson in Tampa, and John "Honeyboy" Hardy in New Orleans. Other cities with gospel shows in the postwar years included Atlanta, Los Angeles, Louisville, and Miami.

Among the more prominent performers and leaders who emerged during gospel's postwar golden era were Madame Edna Gallmon Cooke (1918–1967), Julius "June" Cheeks (1928–1981), who joined the Sensationales in 1946, "Professor" Alex Bradford (1927–1978), Robert Anderson (b. 1919), and Albertina Walker (b. 1930), who in 1952 formed the Caravans. Among the members of the Caravans were Shirley Caesar and Inez Andrews (b. 1928), who had a hit record with "Mary, Don't You Weep." Marion Williams left the Ward Singers in 1958 to form the Stars of Faith. Willie Joe Ligon (b. 1942) organized the Mighty Clouds of Joy in 1959. Perhaps the best-known singer to emerge from the golden era was Sam Cooke, who joined the Soul Stirrers in 1950 and revitalized the male gospel quartet movement with his hits "Nearer to Thee" and "Touch the Hem of His Garment" before going on to fame as a popular singer starting in 1956.

The most significant figure from this time was the Rev. James Cleveland, who began singing in Dorsey's children's choir at the age of eight. By the age of sixteen, Cleveland had composed his first hit for the Roberta Martin Singers. He accompanied the Caravans, formed his own group, and in 1963 began recording with the Angelic Choir of Nutley, New Jersey. Cleveland's recordings were so successful that they sparked a new phase in gospel music dominated by gospel choirs. Prominent choirs following Cleveland's lead included those led by Thurston Frazier, Mattie Moss Clark (b. 1928), and Jessy Dixon (b. 1938).

By the end of the 1950s gospel was becoming ubiquitous, not only in black communities but as a part of mainstream American culture. Mahalia Jackson recorded "Come Sunday" as part of Duke Ellington's *Black, Brown and Beige* in 1958 and the next year appeared in the film *Imitation of Life.* Langston Hughes, who in 1956 wrote *Tambourines to Glory: A Play with Spirituals, Jubilees, and Gospel Songs,* wrote the gospel-song play *Black Nativity* in 1961, for a cast that included Marion Williams and Alex Bradford. In 1961 a gospel category was added to the Grammy awards, with Mahalia Jackson the first winner. During the 1960s costumed groups and choirs began to appear on Broadway, at Carnegie Hall, and in Las Vegas, as well as on television shows. In addition to Sam Cooke, many singers trained in the gospel tradition helped popularize gospel-style delivery in popular music. Rhythm-and-blues doo-wop groups from the late 1940s and 1950s, such as the Ravens, the Orioles, and the Drifters, used close harmonies and a high-crooning-male-lead style borrowed from gospel. Singers such as Dinah Washington, Ray Charles, Al Green, Aretha Franklin, James Brown, Little Richard, and Stevie Wonder used gospel techniques to cross over to enormous international popularity on the rock, soul, and rhythm-and-blues charts.

Gospel music was a crucial part of the civil rights movement. There had been a political thrust in sacred black music since the abolitionist hymnody of the nineteenth-century, and in the 1960s musicians such as Mahalia Jackson, Fannie Lou Hamer, Guy Carawan, the Montgomery Trio, the Nashville Quartet, the CORE Freedom Singers, the SNCC Freedom Singers, and Carlton Reese's Gospel Freedom Choir appeared at marches, rallies, and meetings. Gospel musicians had always reworked traditional material at will, and in the 1960s gospel songs and spirituals originally intended for religious purposes were changed to apply to secular struggles. For example, "If You Miss Me from Praying Down Here" became "If

You Miss Me from the Back of the Bus." Other popular songs were "We Shall Overcome," "This Little Light of Mine," "We'll Never Turn Back," "Eyes on the Prize," "Ninety-Nine and a Half Won't Do," "O Freedom," and "Ain't Nobody Gonna Turn Me Around." For many leaders of the civil rights movement, such as Hamer, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, gospel music was an essential part of their organizing work. "Precious Lord" was a favorite of Martin Luther King Jr., so Mahalia Jackson sang it at his funeral.

The Contemporary Sound and Beyond

The next phase in the history of gospel music came in 1969, when Edwin Hawkins released his rendition of "Oh Happy Day," a white nineteenth-century hymn, in which he eschewed the gritty timbres of Cleveland in favor of smooth pop vocals, soul harmonies, and jazz rhythms, including a conga drum. The song, which became the number one song on *Billboard*'s pop chart, represented a fusion of the traditional gospel style of Mahalia Jackson, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, and the Dixie Hummingbirds with elements of jazz, rhythm and blues, and soul. Record producers, inspired by the crossover potential of what became known as contemporary gospel, began encouraging gospel groups toward a more contemporary sound, igniting a long-running controversy within the gospel community.

After Hawkins, one of the principal figures of contemporary gospel throughout the 1970s was the composer and pianist Andraé Crouch, the cousin of critic Stanley Crouch. Also important were Myrna Summers, Danniebell Hall, Douglas Miller, Bebe and Cece Winans, the Clark Sisters, and the ensemble Commissioned. At the same time, gospel came to Broadway again in the widely acclaimed musical *Your Arms Too Short to Box with God* (1976).

In 1983 *The Gospel at Colonus* was a popular stage production in New York, and in the 1980s and 1990s gospel, particularly contemporary, has continued to attract large audiences. The unaccompanied vocal sextet Take 6 combined gospel-style harmonies with mainstream jazz rhythms to achieve huge popular success in the late 1980s. Other popular contemporary singers from this time included Richard Smallwood, who uses classical elements in his songs, Bobby Jones, Keith Pringle, and Daryl Coley. Walter Hawkins (b. 1949), the brother of Edwin Hawkins, combines elements of traditional and contemporary styles, especially on recordings with his wife, Tremaine (b. 1957). The Hawkins style was taken up by the Thompson Community Choir, the Charles Fold Singers, the Barrett Sisters, and the Rev. James Moore, as well as mass choirs in Florida, New Jersey, and Mississippi. The choral ensemble Sounds of Blackness has been popular in recent years, as have contemporary vocal quartets such as the Williams Brothers, the Jackson Southernaires, and the Pilgrim Jubilees. These groups often use synthesizers and drum machines in addition to traditional gospel instruments. Prominent contemporary gospel composers include Elbernita Clark, Jeffrey LeValle, Andrae Woods, and Rance Allen.

Gospel-style singing, at least until the advent of rap music, dominated African-American popular music. One indication of the importance of gospel to the music industry is the fact that as of 1993 six Grammy categories were devoted to gospel music. Gospel, which started out as a marginal, almost blasphemous form of musical worship, now has a central place in African-American church activity. Not only Holiness and Pentecostal churches but Baptist and Methodist denominations have fully accepted gospel music. Its striking emotional power has enabled gospel music to remain a vital part of African-American culture.

In the early 2000s gospel music became a half-billion-dollar-per-year industry and held a 6.7 percent share in the music market. In a 2002 *Ebony* music poll, 21.2 per-

The Stellar Awards

The Stellar Awards, originally called the First Annual Gospel Music Awards, have come a long way from humble beginnings. Gospel music is enjoying mainstream success, in large part because of the award show. In the mid-1980s, when the show premiered, gospel music was so far off the public's radar that the only way the show managed to be televised was by branding it a tribute to Martin Luther King Jr. so as to gain advertising interest. By its twentieth anniversary in 2005, the Stellar Awards had become a yearly landmark event for those who follow gospel music. Some fans, however, are uneasy about the idea of gospel music as entertainment. Others are simply worried that the quality of music will suffer with more mainstream success and commercialization. Still, the awards show is special to gospel music lovers because it honored black music before it was recognized or honored in the mainstream.

cent of the respondents cited gospel music as their favorite, whereas 9.2 percent chose easy listening and 6.5 percent noted hip-hop. Because of gospel music's increasing popularity, retail chain restaurants in the southeast United States began instituting "Gospel Nights" in 2002. The program, which brings live gospel music to food establishments, has been met with increasing enthusiasm from patrons.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Allen, Richard; Caesar, Shirley; Cleveland, James; Fisk Jubilee Singers; Holiness Movement; Music in the United States; Religion; Spirituals

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HORACE CLARENCE BOYER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gossett, Louis, Jr.

May 27, 1936

Actor Louis Gossett Jr. was born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Louis Sr., a porter, and Hattie Gossett, a maid. He was raised in Bath Beach, an ethnically mixed neighborhood of Jewish, Italian, and African-American residents.

In high school Gossett was encouraged by his English teacher to pursue acting. In 1953 he captured a role in the Broadway play *Take a Giant Step* and won the Donaldson Award as best newcomer of the year for his performance. He helped support the family with his earnings from acting, allowing his mother to give up her work as a maid.

From 1956 to 1958 Gossett attended New York University on an athletic and drama scholarship. Though invited to try out for the New York Knicks basketball team, he instead chose to accept the part of George Murchison in the 1959 Broadway premiere of *A Raisin in the Sun,* a role he assumed in the film version in 1961.

Gossett's most important roles include "Fiddler" in the television miniseries *Roots* (1977) and Sergeant Foley in the film *An Officer and a Gentleman* (1982), a part that was not written expressly for a black actor. When he received an Academy Award for best supporting actor for his portrayal of Sergeant Foley, he became only the third black actor ever to be so honored, after Sidney Poitier and Hattie McDaniel.

Gossett has starred in two short-lived television series, *The Powers of Matthew Star* (1982) and *Gidion Oliver* (1989). In the 1980s and early 1990s Gossett played a hard-nosed military officer, modeled on the Sergeant Foley character, in the films *Iron Eagles* (1986), *Iron Eagles II* (1988), and *Aces: Iron Eagles III* (1992). In 1992 Gossett starred as an out-of-shape boxer who revives his career in the film *Diggstown.* He subsequently appeared in the television movies *Captive Heart: The James Mink Story* (1996), *In His Father's Shoes* (1997), *Inside* (1997), and *The Inspectors* (1998). In the new century Gossett continued to be in demand for television movies, with roles in at least ten through 2005, including *The Inspectors II: A Shred of Evidence* (2000), *For Love of Olivia* (2001), *Jasper, Texas* (2003), and *Lackawanna Blues* (2005). He also starred in the television series *Resurrection Blvd.*

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary; McDaniel, Hattie; Poitier, Sidney; Television

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ELIZABETH V. FOLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Goveia, Elsa V.

April 12, 1925
March 18, 1980

Elsa Vesta Goveia, a pioneering historian of Caribbean slave societies, was born in the colony of British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1925, and she died in Jamaica in 1980. Winning the prestigious British Guiana Island Scholarship (the first woman to do so) in 1944 enabled her to study for a degree in history at University College, London. After earning a First Class degree in 1948, she immediately began research for her Ph.D. at the University of London.

In 1950 Goveia was recruited as the first West Indian member of the Department of History at the newly established University College of the West Indies (UCWI; renamed the University of the West Indies [UWI] in 1962) at Mona, Jamaica. Rising steadily up the academic ranks, she was appointed Professor of West Indian History in 1961, becoming the first West Indian professor in the History Department and the first female professor at UCWI/UWI.

Goveia's major achievements involve her contribution to the emerging historiography of the Caribbean and her leading role in introducing and encouraging the teaching of the region's history at the secondary and tertiary levels.

Her most important work, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1965), is a pioneering study of the social history of a group of small sugar islands at the height of the institution of slavery in the Caribbean. She was perhaps the most influential historian of this period to conceptualise "slave society" as consisting of "the whole community based on slavery"—meaning free blacks, free coloreds, and whites as well as the enslaved. Indeed, she was one of the originators of the concept of a "slave society," which has subsequently become a commonplace term of Caribbean (and New World) historiography. Goveia also contributed significantly to the emerging concept of "Creole society" through her careful analysis of the social and cultural interaction of white, black, and mixed-race persons (enslaved and free) in islands dominated by African slavery.

Of importance, too, is her pioneering 1956 study of the major writings on the history of the English-speaking territories from the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. This work can be said to mark the beginning of serious analysis of the region's historiographical tradition.

At UWI, Goveia designed, and taught for many years, the first full-fledged university courses on Caribbean history. A superb teacher, she influenced several generations of students by her erudition, her passionate interest in her subject, and her meticulous scholarship. Nor did she confine her work to academia. With her colleagues, she encouraged and assisted secondary school teachers all over the region to introduce Caribbean history into the curricula. She also played a major role in the establishment or upgrading of archives in the different territories in the 1950s and the 1960s.

Elsa Goveia was clearly the most influential historian of the Caribbean in the period between 1950 and 1980, and she made a major contribution to the emerging historiography and scholarship on New World slave societies. She played a pioneering role in the teaching of the region's history at the multicampus University of the West Indies, which she served for thirty years.

See also Education in the Caribbean; University of the West Indies

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BRIDGET BRERETON (2005)

Grace, Sweet Daddy

January 25, 1881
January 12, 1960

Religious leader Bishop Charles Emmanuel Grace, better known as Sweet Daddy, was born Marceline Manoël de Graça in the Cape Verde Islands of mixed African and Portuguese descent. Around 1908 he immigrated to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he engaged in several occupations, including cranberry picking, before a journey to the Holy Land inspired him to found a church in West Waltham, Massachusetts, around 1919. In religious revivals in Charlotte, North Carolina, in the mid-1920s, Daddy Grace gathered several thousand followers and in 1926 incorporated in the District of Columbia the United House of Prayer for All People of the Church on the Rock of the Apostolic Faith.

A flamboyant and charismatic leader, Grace wore his hair and fingernails long, the latter painted red, white, and blue. He baptized converts with fire hoses and sold his followers specially blessed products, such as soap, coffee, eggs, and ice cream. He specialized in acquiring expensive real estate, particularly mansions and hotels, but he also supported church members with housing, pension funds, and burial plans. At his death in Los Angeles in 1960, there was an estate of some $25 million, but it was unclear what was owned by the church and what was his personal estate. An Internal Revenue Service lien of $6 million in back taxes was settled for $2 million in 1961.

Sweet Daddy never overtly claimed the divinity his followers attributed to him. "I never said I was God," he once noted, "but you cannot prove to me I'm not." At Daddy's death in 1960, Bishop Walter T. McCullogh took over the House of Prayer following a successful lawsuit against rival James Walton.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Protestantism in the Americas

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)

Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose

In 1687 eight men, two women, and a nursing child escaped from Carolina to Spanish St. Augustine and requested baptism into the "True Faith." Florida's governor sheltered the runaways out of Christian obligation and refused to return them when an agent from Carolina came to reclaim them.

The slaves' "telegraph" quickly reported this outcome, and soon other runaways began arriving in St. Augustine. Florida officials repeatedly solicited Spain for guidance, and finally, on November 7, 1693, Charles II issued a royal proclamation "giving liberty to all . . . the men as well as the women . . . so that by their example and by my liberality others will do the same."

Although some later freedom seekers were reenslaved by a governor who tried to appease the Carolinians and avoid war, those not freed persisted in claiming the freedom promised by Spain's king. Led by the Mandinga commander of the black militia, a man baptized as Francisco Menéndez, they repeatedly petitioned the governors and church officials, but to no avail. As war with England threatened, however, Florida's new governor reviewed their petitions and granted all the enslaved runaways unconditional freedom.

In 1738 the newly freed men and women established the town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose about two miles north of St. Augustine. Mose was considered a town of "new Christians," and its residents were the "subjects" of Captain Francisco Menéndez. The founding population of thirty-eight men, "most of them married," suggests a total population of about 100 people. Because so few men came with wives, the remainder had formed unions with local African and Indian women, making Mose a multiethnic and multicultural settlement.

Florida's governor clearly considered the benefits of a northern outpost of ex-slaves carrying Spanish arms. The freedmen also understood their expected role and vowed to be "the most cruel enemies of the English," and to risk their lives and spill their "last drop of blood in defense of the Great crown of Spain and the Holy Faith." Mose was a valuable military resource for the Spaniards but also a continuing provocation to English planters.

In 1739 "Angolan" slaves revolted near Stono, South Carolina, killing more than twenty whites before heading for St. Augustine. The following year General James Oglethorpe of Georgia led a massive invasion of Florida, sup-

ported by Carolina troops and volunteers, allied Indians, black "pioneers," and seven warships of the Royal Navy.

The Mose militia joined Spanish troops and Indian militias in guerrilla operations against the invaders and also in retaking Mose, which had been occupied. Just before daybreak on June 14, 1740, Spanish forces, Indians, and free blacks led by Menéndez launched a surprise attack on Mose. The combined Florida forces killed about seventy-five of the unprepared invaders in bloody hand-to-hand combat. British accounts refer to the event as "Bloody" or "Fatal" Mose, and the Spanish victory there led to Oglethorpe's subsequent withdrawal from Florida.

Mose was badly damaged in the fighting and was not resettled until 1752. It was finally abandoned at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to the British. Menéndez and his "subjects" joined the Spanish exodus to Cuba, where they became homesteaders on the Matanzas frontier.

Mose was the earliest free black town in what became the United States, and it provides an important example of initiative, agency, and empowerment in the colonial history of African Americans. The enslaved Africans who risked their lives to become free and establish Mose also shaped the geopolitics of the southeast and the Caribbean. The Spanish Crown subsequently extended the religious sanctuary policy to other areas around the Caribbean and applied it to the disadvantage of Dutch and French slaveholders, as well as the British. The lives and sacrifices of the people of Mose thus took on a long-term international political significance that they could not have foreseen. The sanctuary policy they helped implement was only abrogated in 1790, under pressure from the new government of the United States.

Kathleen Deagan and a research team from the Florida Museum of Natural History excavated Mose and found artifacts including pottery, pipes, musket balls, and a handmade St. Christopher medal in or around the fort. This material evidence augments English and Spanish documentary sources for Mose's history, including a village census and petitions written and signed by Menéndez. In 1994 the state of Florida purchased the Mose site, and in 1996 it was designated a National Historic Landmark.

See also Black Towns; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Maroon Arts; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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JANE LANDERS (2005)

Grajales Cuello, Mariana

June 12, 1815
November 27, 1893

Mariana Grajales Cuello is a legendary figure in Cuba. She was born a free woman of color in 1815 in the eastern city of Santiago de Cuba, the daughter of émigrés from Santo Domingo, and she died in 1893 in exile in Kingston, Jamaica. She is best known as the "glorious mother of the Maceos," the most famous of whom was her son, General Antonio Maceo (1845–1896), and much of what is known about her is filtered through him. She herself left no written documents, and, in contrast to the voluminous accounts of her son, comparatively little has been written about her. She was, however, an extraordinary woman in her own right.

While free women of color were often stereotypically portrayed in slave times as a buffer group, as moral matriarchal stalwarts of upwardly mobile families, or as sensual and licentious, Grajales refused to compromise herself or her family. She gave up an established position with three small farms and a Santiago de Cuba townhouse not for economic reasons but to fight against slavery and Spanish colonialism and to pursue a vision of a politically and racially free Cuba.

Free people of color were numerically strong in nineteenth-century eastern Cuba, and they were the only racial grouping in which women outnumbered men, as the Hispanic white settler and African slave populations were more predominantly male. In the more racially fluid society of Santiago de Cuba, Grajales's formative years were spent among free people of color of some property. They saw a relative erosion of their position, however, with the rapid expansion of sugar and slavery and a growing "fear of the black" on the part of the white planter class.

In these turbulent times, Grajales brought up thirteen children, four by her first husband Fructuoso Regueiferos, who died in 1840, and nine by Marcos Maceo (1808–1869), with whom she lived beginning in 1843 and whom

she married after the death of his first wife. She and her family were catapulted to the heart of Cuba's late nineteenth-century struggles. It took thirty years of intermittent war (1868–1878, 1879–1880, and 1895–1898) to break the slave regime (emancipation became inevitable in 1886) and achieve independence from Spain (in 1898, though this ushered in the first U.S. military occupation of 1898 to 1902). War broke out in the less wealthy, more creole and free-colored eastern part of the country and culminated in an invasion of the western section, led by Maceo. While dogged by racial fears, the struggle brought together the races, and for many the old regime was as much a social (i.e., racial) as political anathema.

Memoirs and campaign diaries of the first war of Cuban independence (1868–1878) testify to how Grajales (with her daughters Baldomera and Dominga) and Maceo's wife María Cabrales, with whom Grajales maintained a close relationship, ran base camps, tending the wounded and seeing to the provision of food and clothing. When Marcos Maceo died in battle in 1869 and Antonio Maceo was wounded, Grajales sent a younger son off to fight. In 1878, after heading the Baraguá Protest against capitulation to Spain under the Zanjón Truce, Antonio Maceo agreed to leave Cuba with his family only when he had been entrusted by the revolutionary government to muster support for the cause among Cuban communities abroad. The family was given a Spanish amnesty and escort to sail from Santiago to Kingston, Jamaica. From 1878 until his return to Cuba to fight (and die) in the 1895–1898 war, Antonio Maceo was in and out of Jamaica, but Grajales was to remain there, part of a Cuban émigré community organizing for the renewed independence effort. When she died there in 1893, she was buried in St. Andrews Roman Catholic Cemetery. Thirty years later, in 1923, her remains were ceremonially exhumed and returned to Cuba, where they were laid to rest, alongside others of her family, in Santiago's Santa Efigenia Cemetery.

One of several statues to her memory in Cuba was erected in 1937 in the capital city of Havana. It depicts her with her small son, her arm pointing into the distance, and bears the inscription: "To Mariana Grajales, Mother of the Maceos. The people of Cuba." In 1957 she was declared the "official mother of Cuba," though she was portrayed as a Catholic, Marianist mother, and thus was whitened in the process. After the 1959 revolution, she was revered as the defiant and heroic, revolutionary mother-leader, whose loyalty was to causes beyond her own image and those of husband, father, or son. Due recognition was also accorded to her color. For many Afro-Cubans, Grajales symbolizes the spirit power of women of color to lead and commune with the *orishas* (spirits) to redress imbalance through ritual and action. To exhort others to kill and to die for a cause is seen as being within the power and right of a strong nurturer-warrior woman, and such a figure can resonate through history to take on mythical proportions.

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Maceo, Antonio

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JEAN STUBBS (2005)

Grandfather Clause

The grandfather clause was among the legal devices designed by southern legislatures to limit African-American suffrage following Reconstruction. Literacy and property tests were imposed on potential voters, except for those who had been entitled to vote before black enfranchisement as well as their sons and grandsons. The grandfather clause was thus technically an exemption written into laws restricting suffrage but an exemption that allowed virtually all whites to retain the vote and that effectively disfranchised almost all African Americans.

The Mississippi constitution of 1890 represented the first attempt to eliminate black voting, and by World War I almost all the ex–Confederate states had adopted some form of black disfranchisement legislation. These included poll taxes, literacy requirements, property-holding requirements, the white primary, and an array of similar provisions designed to circumvent the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits states from limiting suffrage on the basis of race.

In 1898 Louisiana introduced the first grandfather clause, which stated that "no male person who was on January 1st 1867 or at any date prior thereto entitled to vote . . . and no son or grandson of any such person . . . shall be denied the right to register and vote in this state by reason of his failure to possess the educational or property qualifications." Variants of this approach were the fighting grandfather clause, which exempted descendants of veterans, or Mississippi's "understanding" clause, which exempted those who could verbally interpret the state constitution to the satisfaction of white registration officials.

The grandfather clauses' effects were temporary. Only current white voters were exempted, and all new voters had to meet the literacy test. In practice, literacy tests resulted in a substantial reduction in white as well as black voting, since few whites would publicly proclaim their illiteracy to take the exemption. In 1914 the U.S. Supreme Court found grandfather clauses unconstitutional, and the southern states shifted to other forms of disfranchisement legislation.

See also Black Codes; Jim Crow

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Grandmaster Flash (Saddler, Joseph)

January 1, 1957

Born in Barbados as Joseph Saddler, Grandmaster Flash got his start in the vibrant street-party scene of the Bronx in 1970s New York. A prominent DJ, Flash pioneered a number of record-mixing innovations, including "scratching," "break mixing," "punch phasing," and the "beat box." Flash's mastery of these techniques placed him at the forefront of the rap music scene, which exploded into national popularity in the early 1980s.

Flash's innovations centered around the use of multiple turntables to combine the best parts of songs to create an exciting new combination of beats and melodies. In addition to creating new sounds, Flash added an element of showmanship to his performances, mixing records behind his back and including friends who "shouted out" to excite the audience. These shout outs evolved into complex rhyming lyrics and became a permanent part of Flash's act when he formed Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five. The group's 1981 single, "The Adventures of Grandmaster Flash on the Wheels of Steel," introduced a national audience to the exciting rhythmic montage of sound made possible by Flash's technological innovations. Their 1982 hit, "The Message," won critical acclaim and demonstrated that rap music could tackle the pressing issues of urban poverty and violence. Although the group broke up in 1982, their work remained influential to rap and hip-hop music. Flash remained active in the hip-hop scene and is known for his role as music director on the *Chris Rock Show*. Grandmaster Flash received the Founder's Award at the 2003 Billboard-AURN R&B/Hip-Hop Awards Show.

See also Hip Hop; Rap

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MICHAEL WADE FUQUAY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Gravenberch, Adolf Frederik

February 1, 1811
November 16, 1906

Adolf Frederik Gravenberch was born in Suriname and was originally named simply Adolf Frederik. His parents were slaves, and his master lent him to a plantation physician, A. Steglich, from whom he learned a number of medical skills. He acquired even more medical knowledge when after Steglich's death his master allowed him to work in the hospital directed by Dr. George Cornelis Berch Gra-

venhorst, a leading surgeon and authority on the treatment of leprosy and elephantiasis. Then, in 1847, Gravenhorst helped him buy his freedom and made him an assistant surgeon in the hospital on Gravenstraat. It was in honor of his benefactor that he came to take the name Gravenberch. After Gravenhorst's permanent departure for the Netherlands soon afterwards, Gravenberch set out to pursue a medical career on his own. Toward that end he petitioned King William III for a license to practice medicine, through the colony's governor, O. G. Stuart von Schmidt auf Altenstadt, whom he had met. Despite Gravenberch's lacking the usual formal education and certification by examination, the king responded in 1855 with a royal appointment as a municipal physician in the colony of Suriname. This action was applauded by some, but resented by others, who cited professional standards and his color and slave origins in opposing the appointment.

Gravenberch thereupon set up a hospital in Paramaribo and developed a large practice, including all classes of the urban population, as well as patients drawn from the plantations. He was especially recognized by the black community for providing vital medical advice and treatment, at times free of charge, that they would never otherwise have received because of the prevailing racial attitudes. He also had a successful marriage, with several children, and for a time he prospered financially. He lived in the district of Boven-Commewijne, acquired other buildings in town, and in the late 1850s and early 1860s bought a sugar plantation called La Jaloussie along the Boven-Commewijne River. He also acquired two tracts of forestland, Osembo on the Para River and Libanon on the Saramacca. However, he lost most of his fortune with the fall in sugar prices in the wake of the emancipation of slaves that had occurred in 1863. His financial plight was compounded in 1875, when colonial officials, after having allowed him to extend his practice into the districts, now brought charges against him for crossing the restrictive racial boundaries. With the help of a legal adviser, Colaço Belmonte, he was exonerated, and his request to legally practice in the districts was granted. In 1879 he moved his residence to Paramaribo for the rest of his life. In 1880, thousands of well-wishers joined in the silver jubilee celebration of his career as a physician, and he continued on to celebrate the golden jubilee in 1905.

Gravenberch died in Paramaribo on November 16, 1906, at the age of ninety-five, and he was buried in the Willem Jacobus Rust Cemetery there. Gravenberch's son, Rudolf Johan, also achieved a notable reputation. On March 23, 1908, a petition submitted to Queen Wilhelmina on his behalf requested that he also be licensed to practice medicine. At the time he was an assistant inspector at the slaughterhouse, and for sixteen years he had served as a medic in the military hospital in Paramaribo. He had attended, but not completed, medical school. His petition, initiated by a Surinamer Baptist minister, Carl P. Rier, was launched at a memorial service aimed at keeping alive the humanitarian legacy of his father. While its nearly 3,000 signers eventually included physicians, politicians, clergymen, civil servants, and plantation directors, the petition was not approved. It nevertheless demonstrates that Adolf Frederik Gravenberch's career inspired others to continue the struggle for social justice in Suriname.

See also Free Blacks, 1619-1890

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ALLISON BLAKELY (2005)

Graveyards

See African Burial Ground Project; Cemeteries and Burials

Gray, William H., III

August 20, 1941

Congressman and administrator William Herbert Gray III was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the son of William H. Gray Jr., a minister and president of Florida A&M University, and Hazel Yates, a high school teacher. In 1963 he received a B.A. from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1966 a master of divinity from Drew Theological Seminary in Madison, New Jersey, and a master of theology from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1970. In 1964 he became pastor of Union Baptist Church, in Montclair, New Jersey, where he was active in

helping to initiate low-income housing projects. In 1972, as both his father and grandfather before him, he became pastor of Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia, where he developed a politically active ministry and continued his interest in housing and mortgage issues.

Gray was first elected to Congress from Pennsylvania's Second District as a Democrat in 1978. During his time in Congress, he served on the House Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, and District of Columbia committees. His most important post was chair of the House Budget Committee in 1985, from which he steered the passage of the country's first trillion-dollar budget through controversies and differences between Congress and President Ronald Reagan.

A centrist within the Democratic Party, Gray's primary focus in domestic policy was federal support of black private-sector development. On foreign issues he served as a leading spokesman on U.S. policy toward Africa and was a congressional sponsor of the anti-apartheid movement. Gray sponsored an emergency aid bill for Ethiopia in 1984 and helped secure passage of the Anti-Apartheid acts of 1985 and 1986, overriding presidential vetoes.

Gray's mainstream domestic politics and energetic party politicking helped pave the way for his ascendance to the Democratic leadership. In 1985 he was elected chairman of the Democratic caucus in the House, and in 1989 he became majority whip, the number three leadership position in the House and the highest rank held by an African-American congressman at that time.

In 1991 Gray resigned from Congress to become president of United Negro College Fund (UNCF) in New York City. That year he oversaw the inauguration of the UNCF's Campaign 2000, a drive to raise $250 million by the year 2000. With the support of President George H. W. Bush and a $50 million gift from media magnate Walter Annenberg, the campaign raised $86 million in its first year. In May 1994 Gray was named temporary envoy to Haiti by President Bill Clinton but retained his position at the UNCF.

In 2003, after transforming the UNCF into a powerful philanthropic organization, Gray stepped down as president to spend more time with his family.

See also Politics in the United States; United Negro College Fund

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Great Depression and the New Deal

The Great Depression was a period of enormous economic upheaval that affected the lives of all Americans. Rich and poor alike experienced the hardships of a contracting economy. The political and economic status of African Americans made them particularly vulnerable, and they felt the effects of the Depression earlier than other groups. During the booming 1920s, blacks had made modest gains because there was a need for their labor. These gains were achieved even though the jobs available were, for the most part, unskilled, low-paying positions, jobs that white workers no longer wanted.

Employment among African Americans

According to the 1930 census, 37 percent of working African Americans were employed as agricultural laborers and 29 percent as personal-service and domestic workers. Only 2 percent were classified as professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers, and clergy). Because such a large proportion of black workers were involved in agriculture, the collapse of the cotton industry brought devastating results. As early as 1926, the National Urban League was advising unemployed southern black workers not to come north unless they were certain they had a job. White workers were already displacing black workers in jobs that had traditionally belonged to African Americans.

Unemployment increased rapidly in the early 1930s. It was thought that approximately 15 percent of the workforce was unemployed in 1930, and this percentage increased as the depression lengthened. African-American organizations estimated that the percentage of unemployed black workers was at least twice the rate of the country as a whole. Private social-service agencies, as well as state and local relief organizations, became overwhelmed with requests for help from people seeking work and public assistance. President Herbert Hoover's administration paid little attention to the plight of those in need, however, assuring the country that "prosperity is just around the corner."

Roosevelt and the New Deal

Most of the country regarded Franklin D. Roosevelt's election as president in 1932 with hope and anticipation. He had run on a platform that promised to turn the economy around and put America back to work, and, in fact, Roosevelt moved swiftly to enact legislation that would provide

A young girl looks out from a newspaper-lined window in her log cabin home in Gee's Bend, Alabama, 1937. *The widespread impoverishment caused throughout the United States by the Great Depression of the 1930s brought about a further decline in living standards for many southern blacks.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

quick temporary measures to alleviate the economic distress experienced by the unemployed and to stimulate the private sector of the economy. This legislation seemed, at first, to be promising to the African-American population. Programs in Roosevelt's plan—known as the New Deal—that were of special interest to blacks included the National Recovery Administration (NRA), the Agriculture Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Public Works Administration (PWA), and the Civil Works Administration (CWA)—all federal programs created in 1933. In addition, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided federal funds to the states to enable them to provide relief and work relief to the poor. This was the first federal program to give direct grants to the states; it included incentives that encouraged states to improve public-assistance policies.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the National Youth Administration (NYA) were created in 1935. The WPA provided work relief to those out of work but employable; meanwhile, FERA was phased out, giving the responsibility for providing public assistance back to the states. The NYA provided work relief for young people living at home or attending college.

In addition, significant New Deal reform legislation was enacted during the Great Depression that was of great concern to African Americans. This included the Social Security Act of 1935, a watershed in social-welfare policy, which established old-age and unemployment insurance administered by the federal government and categorical relief programs administered by the states; the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which gave considerable power to organized labor by guaranteeing the right of workers to organize on their own behalf without interference from employers; and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which established a minimum wage and maximum hours of work.

National Industrial Recovery Act

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 was an omnibus act designed to stimulate the private-sector economy, relieve economic distress, and resolve conflicts between labor and management. African Americans believed that the NIRA had the potential to be very helpful. Several black organizations, including the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), tried unsuccessfully to have an antidiscrimination amendment attached to it. The NIRA created the National Recovery Administration (NRA), and one of its immediate tasks was to establish industrial codes with minimum-wage rates and maximum hours of work in all industries, an anti-inflationary measure meant to control a wage-price spiral. The first problem that African Americans encountered in this program was the exclusion of domestic and agricultural workers from coverage. This meant that for two-thirds of the black workforce, there was very little hope of receiving any increase in wages or improvement in working conditions.

Furthermore, during the process of establishing codes, it became apparent that industries were submitting codes that amounted, in effect, to differential wages in occupations with a majority of black workers. The proposed wages for these occupations were 20 percent to 40 percent lower than the wages in occupations whose workers were predominantly white. When Roosevelt issued a blanket "blue eagle" agreement to promote support of the codes, it caused widespread displacement of black workers, especially in the South, where employers refused to pay a minimum wage to them. In order to counteract these policies, the Joint Committee on National Recovery was founded, composed of twenty-two national African-American fraternal, civic, and church groups. The Joint Committee, cochaired by John P. Davis and Robert Weaver (1907–1997), closely monitored the establishment of codes in all industries where there were a substantial number of black workers, and they submitted briefs against a different wage based on geographic areas.

Section 7A of the NIRA gave workers the right to organize and bargain collectively without interference from employers. Organized labor was able to use section 7A to expand its membership and help workers take advantage of collective bargaining, particularly in the coal industry and needle trades. Some African Americans had reservations about this policy, not because they were against the principle of collective bargaining, which they saw as very positive, but because of the policies of local unions that prevented blacks from becoming part of the organized labor movement.

Workplace Discrimination

African-American organizations, especially the National Urban League and the NAACP, pressured the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to abolish segregation and discrimination, but these practices continued. As labor gained more control over jobs in New Deal work programs, more black workers were denied jobs because they were not union members. The Joint Committee, along with National Urban League officials Eugene Kinkle Jones and T. Arnold Hill and NAACP executive secretary Walter White, argued that this was a violation of the NRA codes, but discrimination continued. In 1935, when the Supreme Court ruled that the NRA's regulation of the private sector was unconstitutional, African Americans did not regard this as a significant loss.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) was established to alleviate the problems associated with depressed prices for farm products and mounting crop surpluses. The AAA had a decentralized administration that gave a great deal of power to local areas. In spite of clear federal guidelines as to how benefits were to be allocated between owner and tenant, there were great variations in the treatment of black sharecroppers—people who lived and farmed on land that was owned by another person and shared their earnings, based on acreage and production, with the landowner.

Too frequently, large landowners controlled the AAA benefits (incentives to reduce cotton acreage), and tenant farmers and sharecroppers were not given their fair share. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, an interracial organization, was formed to fight for fair treatment under the AAA and received considerable support from the NAACP. But it was difficult for these organizations to compete with the southern bloc of the Democratic Party in Congress, and little was accomplished. The AAA was replaced by the Soil Conservation Act and the Domestic Allotment Act when, in 1936, the Supreme Court ruled that the AAA's processing tax was unconstitutional.

The Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was one of the most enduring and popular New Deal work-relief programs, lasting until the 1940s. It served three purposes: (1) it provided relief to young men and their families; (2) it removed young people from the private labor market; and (3) it provided basic education and job training. The young men lived in CCC camps run by the War Depart-

Children of sharecropper, Arkansas, 1935. *The Great Depression of the 1930s brought about a further decline in living standards for many southern blacks in the United States. While the average yearly household income in the United States was $1,500 at that time, a study of sharecroppers in four Southern states found their average income to be $294 annually.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ment, and they worked on conservation projects such as reforestation.

African Americans did not have equal access to this program. Although it was federally financed and administered, local social-service staffs selected participants. In some areas, this resulted in the exclusion of African-American youths. Since the camps were administered by the War Department, the segregated policies of the armed forces were often followed. In addition, there was a racial quota that limited the number of black youth according to the proportion of blacks in the population.

Furthermore, the camps did not hire black personnel. Through pressure brought to bear by such African-American organizations as the National Urban League and the NAACP, some of these policies were changed. All-black camps were set up in areas where segregation was the law of the land; in other areas, the camps were integrated. Some black reserve officers were placed at all-black camps. In spite of these changes, local autonomy and quotas continued to limit the participation of African Americans.

The Public Works Administration

The intent of the Public Works Administration in the Department of the Interior was to stimulate industry through the purchase of materials and wage payments. The program was designed to construct large projects such as dams, government buildings, and low-rent housing. It was a federal employment program that paid set wages based on levels of skill and prevailing wages in local areas. Federal administration was more likely to ensure that African-American workers would be treated fairly, but projects were awarded to local contractors, who then negotiated with organized labor for the selection of workers. This resulted in the exclusion of many black workers because local AFL craft unions did not admit blacks, and there was no enforcement against discrimination.

Robert Weaver, special adviser for Negro affairs in the Department of the Interior, proposed a plan to correct this situation based on the percentage of skilled and unskilled African-American workers in each of the cities involved in low-rent-housing construction. Eighteen months after the plan had been implemented, Weaver expressed the belief that it had helped to overcome discrimination against black workers. Unfortunately, the plan was never extended to other PWA projects or other New Deal programs.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was a relief and work-relief program administered by the states through federal grants. Designed as a temporary program to meet emergency needs, it had many attributes that promised to be helpful to African-American workers. It provided jobs with a specific wage rate based on skill; there was no racial quota; it had a white-collar component that provided work for black professionals; it funded self-help projects; and federal regulations attached to the program raised relief standards and discouraged discrimination. FERA also established eligibility with means testing (i.e., one's income had to be below a set amount so that one could quality for benefits), which ensured that those most in need would be given priority.

But there was no rule to enforce nondiscrimination. Since eligibility was established locally, local prejudices prevailed, making it difficult for African Americans to participate. It was therefore easier for them to get relief than to obtain work on FERA projects. FERA's wage rates were established according to geographic zones and were disliked by many employers, who thought the rates increased labor costs. A great deal of pressure to rescind or lower the wage rates came from the southern states, where the rates were above the average wage paid to most black workers in the private sector. African Americans were appalled when this pressure proved effective, arguing that one of the goals of the New Deal was to attain a decent standard of living for all Americans.

The Civil Works Administration

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was a temporary program that was created because the PWA was slow in getting work projects started. Winter was approaching, and many people faced extreme hardship because the CCC, FERA, and the PWA were not meeting the needs of all the unemployed. The CWA had the capacity to provide four million jobs on projects that could be started quickly, were labor-intensive, and required a minimal use of equipment and material. The program had a white-collar component but did not have racial quotas, and although it was not means-tested, it gave preference to those most in need. This initiative appears to have been more helpful to African Americans than other New Deal programs, but it was of short duration. It was created as a temporary measure to help the unemployed survive the winter of 1933, and it was slowly dismantled as the cold weather passed.

The National Youth Administration

The National Youth Administration (NYA) was established in 1935 to help young men and women who were living at home. It helped those young people who were not attending school to receive job training and those in school to continue their education. African-American youth fared fairly well under the NYA, in spite of a great deal of local autonomy in the administration of the programs. This relative success may have been the result of the influence of Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955), the head of the Negro Affairs section of the NYA, who was able to funnel thousands of dollars to black youths.

The Works Progress Administration

New Deal administrators began to fear that FERA was creating a permanent dependent class. There was a general consensus that relief for the able-bodied unemployed should be in the form of work relief. Thus, FERA was dismantled in 1935 and the Works Progress Administration (WPA; later called the Work Projects Administration) was established to serve as a coordinating agency for work-relief programs in the states. Instead, however, it became a giant work-relief program itself, assuming responsibility for providing work to over three and a half million people and emphasizing the desirability of work over relief. Responsibility for providing relief was returned to the states, many of which reverted to "poor-law standards" that had been in place prior to FERA.

After the experiences that African Americans had had with earlier New Deal programs, they regarded the WPA very cautiously. It had attributes that appeared to be helpful, such as federal administration, an emphasis on work, a white-collar component, and set wage rates, and it gave preference to those most in need by establishing eligibility with means testing.

But the WPA also had policies that were disturbing to the black population, including wage rates that were lower than those in the private sector and with geographic differentiations. The states in the Southeast, where the majority of African Americans lived, had the lowest wage rate

African-American sharecropper working with one-horse plow, Georgia, 1937. *Most African Americans became sharecroppers out of necessity, providing their own labor and depending on credit for everything from animals and equipment to food and other necessities. Photograph by Dorothea Lange.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

(sixty-five cents per day for unskilled workers). Although discrimination was forbidden, there was no enforcement mechanism to prevent it. The WPA was a federal program, but most of the projects were developed at the local level and gave a great deal of control to local officials. Organized labor again controlled hiring on many of the projects.

Since the WPA was not allowed to compete with private industry, and because the cost of materials was to be kept to a minimum, many of its jobs were regarded as make-work assignments, and thus of very little value. Harry Hopkins, the administrator of the WPA, was creative in his development of projects and actually accomplished a great deal—the program built or improved hospitals, schools, farm-to-market roads, playgrounds, and landing strips. The white-collar component proved especially beneficial to African-American professionals. Hopkins created the WPA Federal Theatre Project, which presented plays and dances for children and adults, many of whom had never seen a live theatrical production. The WPA Federal Writers' Project resulted in the development of numerous brochures, guides, and other publications, such as the Life in America series, which included ethnic studies such as *The Negro in Virginia.* The Federal Arts Project gave jobs to unemployed artists, who taught at community centers, produced artistic works, and painted murals in government buildings. Many African-American actors, writers, and artists were employed in these WPA projects. Charles White (1918–1979) and Hale Woodruff (1900–1980), for example, were accomplished artists who taught in WPA programs in the South.

As the private sector expanded, WPA policies became more restrictive. Workers could not remain on projects longer than eighteen months. This was especially hard on black workers because the private labor market was not absorbing them as quickly as it was absorbing whites. The WPA was curtailed sharply in 1940, although over eight million people remained unemployed. These individuals were forced to return to relief for help.

The National Urban League and the NAACP thought it imperative for African Americans to be gainfully employed, and they advocated some kind of permanent public-works program to provide jobs for those workers who could not find employment in the private sector. They predicted that a large proportion of African Americans would become permanently dependent on relief without a work program to help them remain employed. They also recognized that the WPA was costly and had its faults, but they thought that it was worth the price in the human dignity and self-respect that regular employment provided.

Social Welfare Legislation

In addition to creating temporary programs to alleviate the economic distress and stimulate the private-sector economy, the New Deal produced some permanent, significant social-welfare legislation. Legislation of the greatest concern to African Americans included the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act, both in 1935, and the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT. The National Labor Relations Act had its beginning with section 7A of the NIRA. When the NRA was ruled unconstitutional, many of the policies in section 7A were transferred to a labor bill that was introduced by Senator Robert Wagner of New York in 1935. African Americans were especially concerned about a clause stating that "the employer and a labor organization may agree that an applicant for employment shall be required to join a labor organization as a condition of employment." They feared that this clause would have very negative consequences for black workers because it seemed to legalize closed shops. If this was to be the law, the African-American population believed it was mandatory to have a mechanism to prevent unions from discriminating against black workers.

T. Arnold Hill, the industrial secretary of the National Urban League, testified against Wagner's labor bill, prefacing his testimony with a statement supporting the labor movement and the concept of collective bargaining. The crux of his testimony was that the league could not support the bill as written because it permitted closed shops, denied black workers the right to engage in strikebreaking in occupations where they were also prohibited from joining the striking union; and failed to protect them from racial discrimination by labor unions.

Wagner was very much aware of the discriminatory practices of organized labor, but he was reluctant to include any kind of antidiscrimination clause in the labor bill because he thought this would jeopardize its passage. In the end, the bill was passed without such a clause. This issue continued to be a major concern among blacks, however, and enforcement against employment discrimination was finally accomplished with Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT. The Social Security Act established federal responsibility for a broad range of social-welfare programs to help individuals meet the loss of earnings or absence of income caused by unemployment, old age, death of a family's wage earner, and other hazards of life. The initial act provided old-age insurance, unemployment compensation, aid to destitute blind and elderly persons, and aid to destitute children in one-parent families. In 1939 the act was amended to include survivors' insurance.

This act was of special importance to President Roosevelt, whose primary concerns were old-age security and unemployment insurance. He insisted on worker contributions, because he thought this would make old-age insurance different from relief and ensure the permanence of these programs. Benefits would be regarded as a right by those who had contributed through the social security payroll tax, and the programs would be viewed as self-supporting. This would make it less likely for Congress, in later years, to dismantle them.

The Social Security Act has had a lasting and profound effect on African Americans because it created a two-tier social-welfare system. The first, and preferred, tier is a system to which workers and/or their employers contribute (old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation). The second tier is a stigmatized system that consists of public-assistance programs (aid to the poor elderly, the blind, and dependent children).

African-American organizations closely monitored the debates leading to the passage of the Social Security Act. The three issues that were of most concern to them were administrative responsibility, coverage, and methods of financing. They preferred federal administration of all programs, universal coverage, and financing by a means other than worker contributions. The original bill covered all workers, but the Treasury Department objected because of the difficulties involved in collecting a payroll tax from agricultural and domestic workers; they were thus

A thirteen-year-old sharecropper plows a field near Americus, Georgia, 1937. *The Great Depression intensified the severe poverty of many rural farmers.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

excluded from coverage under the first tier. This exclusion may have been for political reasons also, since it was anticipated that farmers, especially in the South, would have strong objections to contributing to social insurance benefits for black farm laborers and would fight against passage of the bill.

African Americans testified while the bill was being debated in Congress, advocating the inclusion of domestic and agricultural workers, federal administration of all programs, and financing through general revenues. The exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers under the first tier meant that about two-thirds of the black workforce would not be eligible for old-age insurance or unemployment compensation. Such people would have to rely on public assistance when they were unable to support themselves by working. The act gave the states the administrative responsibility for public-assistance programs under the second tier, something that was especially difficult for the African-American population in the Southeast. Local autonomy meant that many black individuals and families who were eligible for old-age assistance, blind assistance, or aid to dependent children would be denied it by local agencies with discriminatory policies. Many would be forced to work in the cotton fields without the protection of any labor statutes.

African Americans paid very little attention to the public-assistance components of the act. Their main concerns were the programs tied to employment. The NAACP and the National Urban League pointed out that relief rolls were no substitute; relief was a dole that stigmatized and robbed an individual of self-respect and initiative. These organizations continued to try to amend the act to provide coverage for agricultural and domestic workers under the first tier.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT. The Fair Labor Standards Act established a minimum wage and maximum hours of work. As with the NLRA, many aspects of this act

had been part of the code policies under the National Recovery Administration. The African-American population was generally in favor of the bill, although geographic wage differentials were seriously considered and it was quite likely that agricultural and domestic workers would once again be excluded. The National Urban League favored the bill but decided not to support it openly because of the likelihood of a racist backlash. The NAACP attempted to ally with the AFL, hoping that such an alliance would result in the inclusion of agricultural and domestic workers, but the AFL did not join it on this issue.

The bill barely passed because it had no strong backing from any group; indeed, it might never have been reported out of committee if Senator Claude Pepper, who supported it, had not won a senatorial primary in Florida over a congressman who campaigned against the bill. It was then brought to the floor and quickly passed.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was very weak because too many concessions had been given to diverse groups to ensure its passage. This meant that several occupations had been excluded from coverage, including domestic and agricultural workers. It left the differential wage question to the administrator of the law. This eventually resulted in a federal set wage of 25 cents per hour and a maximum workweek of 44 hours; after two years, industry would reach a minimum wage of 40 cents and a 40-hour maximum workweek.

African Americans in the Government

The New Deal administration was the first to include a substantial number of African Americans. Several black leaders served as advisers for Negro affairs in the various cabinet departments—a group frequently referred to as the "black cabinet" or the "black brain trust." Some of the prominent appointees were Robert Weaver, Mary McLeod Bethune, William Hastie, Forrester Washington, Eugene Kinkle Jones, and Robert Vann. Historians are not in agreement regarding the amount of influence this group exercised. Black advisers were able to expand employment opportunities for black professionals in civil-service positions and perhaps, from time to time, focus some attention on civil rights. But for the most part, the black cabinet was not a cohesive group and never made any strong policy statements.

Advisers for Negro affairs were seldom involved in the formulation of policy. However, it is clear that the presence of such advisers was a positive force. Robert Weaver was able to devise policies that helped more black workers gain jobs under the PWA. Mary McLeod Bethune, head of the Negro Affairs section of the NYA, was a highly respected woman who was able to help thousands of black youths take advantage of NYA benefits. In addition, Bethune had a close relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt and explained the needs, concerns, and aspirations of the African-American population to her. Mrs. Roosevelt, as the president's wife, was perceived by the black community as a friend who was willing to intervene and be an advocate for them. She was sympathetic to the plight of African Americans but, like the president, did not believe that the government could eliminate racial obstacles.

African-American Organizations

The leadership that was most helpful to African Americans came from outside the administration, in the form of black organizations such as the National Urban League and the NAACP. These groups attempted to monitor the development of New Deal legislation and programs, to testify in favor of certain policies, to keep the African-American population abreast of New Deal initiatives, and to help them take advantage of the programs. These organizations frequently made attempts to mobilize the African-American population to support or fight against certain legislation. However, they were not very successful in persuading Congress to support policies that would have been more helpful to African Americans. This was largely due to a lack of political power.

The Switch to the Democratic Party

Most African Americans who voted in 1932 were loyal to the Republican Party, the party believed to be responsible for the emancipation of the slaves. By 1936, however, most of the voting black population had switched their loyalties to the Democrats. This switch occurred in spite of the fact that the Democratic Party paid very little attention to the needs of blacks. The party tended to be beholden to its southern bloc, which was adamantly racist and against the federal government's exercising authority in matters traditionally left to the states. This meant, of course, that the southern states would be able to continue their segregation laws and patterns.

Yet New Deal legislation had the potential to provide more for blacks than had any recent Republican administration legislation. It did provide at least a segment of the black population with public-works jobs and with relief. There was an effort in at least some of the New Deal programs to prevent discrimination on the basis of race. More than any previous administration, it appointed African Americans to meaningful positions. These events appear to be a plausible explanation for the switch from the "party of Lincoln" to the Democratic Party.

Even though most African Americans made this switch in 1936, they continued to lack the political clout needed to influence New Deal legislation, mostly because the largest proportion of the black population was in the South and disfranchised. Blacks in the South lived under a repressive political system; fear of lynching made it difficult to mobilize any southern protest movement. Throughout the 1930s, the NAACP strongly advocated legislation that would make lynching a federal crime, but its attempts were never supported by New Deal administrators. Nor did the New Deal support the NAACP's efforts to eliminate the poll tax in southern states, a tax designed to disfranchise the black population.

Throughout the Depression, New Deal legislation had to meet a litmus test that would ensure the support of the southern bloc of the party. This was to the detriment of African-American workers because, too often, legislation was enacted with policies that limited their access to programs and entitlements. In 1940, as the WPA was dismantled, a substantial portion of the black population remained unemployed and on relief, and no significant change had occurred in discriminatory employment practices. Thus, the New Deal did not become the panacea the African-American population had hoped it would.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Federal Writers' Project; Labor and Labor Unions; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Weaver, Robert Clifton; White, Walter Francis; Woodruff, Hale

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DONA COOPER HAMILTON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Great Migration, The

See Migration/Population, U.S.

Green, Al

April 13, 1946

Singer and songwriter Albert Leomes Green was born in Forrest City, Arkansas, where at age nine he began singing in a family gospel quartet called the Green Brothers. For six years the group toured gospel circuits, first in the South and then in the Midwest when the family relocated to Grand Rapids, Michigan, first recording in 1960. Green formed his own pop group, Al Green and the Creations, in 1964 after his father expelled him from the gospel quartet for listening to what he called the "profane music" of singer Jackie Wilson. The group toured for three years before changing their name in 1967 to Al Greene and the Soulmates (the *e* was briefly added to Green's name for commercial reasons). That year Green made his record debut with the single "Back Up Train," which went to number five on the national soul charts in 1968. However, there were no follow-up successes, and Green was plunged back into obscurity, playing small clubs again.

While touring in Midland, Texas, in 1969, Green met Willie Mitchell, vice president of Hi Records in Memphis, Tennessee. Mitchell produced Green's version of "I Can't Get Next to You," which went to number one on the national soul charts in 1971. Continuing to collaborate with Mitchell and drummer Al Jackson, Jr. (of Booker T. and the MGs), Green went on to record a string of million-selling singles and LPs throughout the early 1970s. Combining sensuous, emotive vocals with strings, horns, and hard-driving backbeats, Green helped define the sound of soul music in the 1970s. His hits included "Let's Stay Together" (1971), "Look What You've Done for Me" (1972), "I'm Still in Love with You" (1972), and "You Ought to Be with Me" (1972).

At the height of his career, Green began to reconsider his pop music orientation and shifted back toward gospel music. A turning point was an incident in 1974 in which his girlfriend scalded him with a pot of boiling grits before killing herself with his gun. When Green recovered from his burns, he became a minister, and in 1976 he purchased a church in Memphis and was ordained pastor of the Full Gospel Tabernacle, where he would perform services near-

ly every Sunday. He did not immediately give up pop music, but his attempts to mix gospel themes with secular soul music fared poorly.

In 1979 Green decided to sing only gospel music, and the next year he released his first gospel album, *The Lord Will Make a Way.* In 1982 he costarred in a successful Broadway musical with Patti LaBelle, *Your Arms Too Short to Box with God*. The lines between gospel music and love songs remained somewhat blurred for Green, who in his shows would lose himself in religious ecstasy one moment and toss roses into the audience the next.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, Green continued to record gospel records and pastor the Full Gospel Tabernacle. In 1994 he rerecorded a duet, "(Ain't It Funny) How Time Slips Away," on the compilation disc *Rhythm, Country, and Blues* with country-pop singer Lyle Lovett. In the 1990s fan interest in Green was renewed when one of his songs was featured in the 1994 movie *Pulp Fiction* and he made guest appearances on the popular television show *Ally McBeal.* In 2003 he released the album *I Can't Stop,* and in 2004 he was inducted into both the Gospel Hall of Fame and the Songwriters Hall of Fame.

See also Gospel Music

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JOSEPH E. LOWNDES (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

GREGORY, DICK

OCTOBER 12, 1932

Comedian, activist, and rights advocate Richard Claxton Gregory was born and raised in a St. Louis slum. Abandoned by his father when he was a child, Gregory worked at odd jobs to help support his family. In high school he distinguished himself as a talented runner and demonstrated the quick wit and gift for satire that would ultimately catapult him toward stardom. With the aid of an athletic scholarship, he attended Southern Illinois University at Carbondale (1951–1954 and 1956), where he became a leading track star and began to dream of becoming a comedian.

Drafted into the army in 1954, Gregory returned briefly to Carbondale after completing his term of service in 1956 and then traveled to Chicago to pursue his goal of becoming a comedian. He admired and was influenced by Timmie Rogers, Slappy White, and Nipsey Russell. In the late 1950s Gregory worked in small black clubs like the Esquire Show Lounge, where he met his future wife, Lillian Smith, and struggled to gain popular recognition. His efforts won him a cameo appearance in *Cast the First Stone,* a 1959 ABC television documentary.

Gregory's breakthrough occurred in January 1961, when the Playboy Club in Chicago hired him to replace the unexpectedly ill white comedian "Professor" Irwin Corey. Gregory's bold, ironic, cool, and detached humor completely disarmed and converted his audience, which included many white southern conventioneers. After this success, his contract with the Playboy Club was quickly extended from several weeks to three years. Against the backdrop of the intensifying pace of the civil rights movement Gregory's candid, topical humor signaled a new relationship between African-American comedians and white mainstream audiences. By 1962 he had become a national celebrity and the first black comic superstar in the modern era, opening the doors for countless black comedians. He also became an author, publishing *From the Back of the Bus* (1962) and, with Robert Lipsyte, *Nigger: An Autobiography* (1964).

His celebrity status secured, Gregory emerged as an outspoken political activist during the 1960s. As an avid supporter of the civil rights movement, he participated in voter registration drives throughout the South, marched in countless parades and demonstrations, and was arrested numerous times. He also began to entertain at prisons and for civil rights organizations, using his biting humor as a powerful tool to highlight racism and inequality in the United States. The assassinations of John. F. Kennedy, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others led Gregory to believe in the existence of a large framework of conspiracies to thwart civil rights and liberties in the United States. He took to the lecture circuit, espousing the ideas of Mark Lane, a leading conspiracy theorist.

Gregory found numerous ways to dramatize his chosen causes. He fasted for lengthy periods to demonstrate his commitment to civil rights and to protest the Vietnam War, the abuse of narcotics, and world hunger. In 1967 he campaigned unsuccessfully in a write-in effort to be mayor of Chicago, and in 1968 he was the presidential candidate for the U.S. Freedom and Peace Party, a split-off faction within the Peace and Freedom party, whose candidate for president in 1968 was Eldridge Cleaver. By the late 1960s Gregory was increasingly devoting his attention to

the youth of America, lecturing at hundreds of college campuses each year and making fewer and fewer night club appearances; he released his last comedy album, *Caught in the Act,* in 1973.

During the 1970s Gregory wrote several books, including *No More Lies: The Myth and Reality of American History* (published as by Richard Claxton Gregory with James R. McGraw, 1971); *Code Name Zorro: The Murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (with Mark Lane, 1971); and *Dick Gregory's Political Primer* (1972). After moving with his wife and ten children to a farm in Massachusetts in 1973, he became a well-known advocate of vegetarianism. Often limiting himself to a regimen of fruit and juices, he became a nutritional consultant, often appearing on talk shows in his new role, and wrote (with Alvenia Fulton) *Dick Gregory's Natural Diet for Folks Who Eat, Cookin' with Mother Nature* (1974). He also wrote *Up from Nigger* with James R. McGraw, the second installment of his autobiography (1976).

In 1984 Gregory founded Health Enterprises, Inc., successfully marketing various weight-loss products. Three years later he introduced the Slim-Safe Bahamian Diet, a powdered diet mix that proved extremely popular, and expanded his financial holdings to hotels and other properties. These economic successes were abruptly reversed after the failure of a financing deal and conflicts with his business partners. Gregory was evicted from his Massachusetts home in 1992. In the same year, he returned to his hometown of St. Louis to organize the Campaign for Human Dignity, whose stated purpose was to reclaim predominantly African-American neighborhoods from drug dealers and prostitutes. In October 1993 Gregory was arrested for illegally camping—along with members of his "Dignity Patrol"—in a crime-ridden park in Washington, D.C. In 1993 he also coauthored, with Mark Lane, *Murder in Memphis,* another book about the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In 1995 Gregory staged a hunger strike to protest the Republican welfare reform bills, and in 1998 he joined conservative Republicans to demand an investigation of the "murder" of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. During the mid-1990s, he also returned to performing, notably in a limited run off-Broadway show, *Dick Gregory Live,* in October 1995.

After Gregory achieved the pinnacle of success in the world of stand-up comedy, he made a decision to place his celebrity status in the service of his fierce and uncompromising commitment to human rights. Throughout the various shifts and turns of his career for more than three decades, he has kept faith with those commitments.

As part of his commitment to human rights, Gregory was arrested in July 2004 as he protested outside the Sudanese Embassy in New York. Gregory, along with other well-known activists, was protesting the Sudanese government's support of its militia, who were killing hundreds of black Africans daily.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Comedians

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JAMES A. MILLER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Griggs, Sutton Elbert

1872
January 2, 1933

Novelist and preacher Sutton Elbert Griggs was born in Chatfield, Texas, raised in Dallas, and attended Bishop College in Marshall, Texas. Following the path of his father, the Rev. Allen R. Griggs, he studied for the Baptist ministry at the Richmond Theological Seminary (later part of Virginia Union University) and was ordained in 1893. Griggs's first pastorate was in Berkley, Virginia, and he went on to serve for more than thirty years as a Baptist minister in Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee. In addition to his career as a pastor, he soon established himself as an author of novels, political tracts, and religious pamphlets. In the period following Reconstruction, marked by a fierce resurgence of segregation, disfranchisement, and antiblack violence in the South, Griggs—along with such African-American writers as Charles W. Chesnutt, Paul Laurence Dunbar, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper—responded with positive portrayals of black Americans and demands for civil rights.

Griggs wrote more than thirty books, most of which he published himself and vigorously promoted during

preaching tours of the South, as he describes in *The Story of My Struggles* (1914). His five novels are technically unimpressive, weakened by stilted dialogue, flat characterizations, and sentimental and melodramatic plot lines. Even as flawed polemics, however, they are distinguished by their unprecedented investigation of politically charged themes of African-American life in the South, such as black nationalism, miscegenation, racial violence, and suffrage. Above all else a religious moralist, Griggs was critical of assimilationist projects, calling instead for social equality and black self-sufficiency, but he was equally impatient with radical militancy in the quest for civil rights.

His fiction often centers on such ethical concerns. In *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), Griggs's best-known work and one of the first African-American political novels, the integrationist Belton Piedmont chooses to die rather than support a militaristic plot to seize Texas and Louisiana from the United States as a haven for African Americans. In *Overshadowed* (1901), Astral Herndon, discouraged by the "shadow" of racial prejudice both in the United States and in Africa, chooses exile as a "citizen of the ocean." Dorlan Worthell in *Unfettered* (1902) wins the hand of the beautiful Morlene only by offering a plan for African-American political organization. *The Hindered Hand* (1905) is pessimistic about the possibilities of reforming southern race relations: The Seabright family encounters violent tragedy in striving to "pass" in white society in order to transform white racist opinions, and their one dark-skinned daughter, Tiara, flees to Liberia with her husband, Ensal, who has refused to participate in a "Slavic" conspiracy to destroy the Anglo-Saxons of the United States through germ warfare. While Baug Peppers attempts inconclusively to fight for voting rights for southern blacks before the Supreme Court in *Pointing the Way* (1908), Letitia Gilbreth, who believes that "whitening" the race through assimilation is the only way to effect racial equality, is driven mad when her niece refuses the mulatto Peppers and marries a dark-skinned man.

Similar themes also appear in Griggs's political treatises, most notably *Wisdom's Call* (1909), an eloquent argument for civil rights in the South that comments on lynching, suffrage, and the rights of black women, and *Guide to Racial Greatness; or, The Science of Collective Efficiency* (1923), with a companion volume of biblical verses entitled *Kingdom Builders' Manual* (1924); these together offer a project for the political organization of the African-American southern population, stressing education, religious discipline, employment, and land ownership. At the end of his life, Griggs returned to Texas to assume the position his father had held, the pastorate of the Hopewell Baptist Church in Denison. He soon departed for Houston and, at the time of his death, was attempting to found a national religious and civic institute there.

See also Chesnutt, Charles W.; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins; Literature of the United States

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BRENT EDWARDS (1996)

Grimké, Angelina Weld

February 27, 1880
June 10, 1958

The poet and playwright Angelina Weld Grimké was born in Boston, the daughter of Archibald Grimké and Sarah Stanley Grimké. She attended integrated schools in Hyde Park, Massachusetts, and graduated in 1902 from Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, later part of Wellesley College. Grimké worked as a teacher in Washington, D.C., from that time until her retirement in 1926. In 1930, she moved to Brooklyn, where she lived for the rest of her life.

Grimké's best-known work is a short play entitled *Rachel,* first presented in 1916 and published in book form in 1920. The play portrays a young African-American woman who is filled with despair and, despite her love of children, despondently resolves not to bring any of her own into the world. With its tragic view of race relations, *Rachel* was staged several times by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as a response to D. W. Griffith's racist 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation.*

But Grimké's most influential work was her poetry. Publishing first as a teenager, she initially wrote in the sentimental style of late-nineteenth-century popular poetry. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, she began to display an interest in experimentation, both formal and thematic. She openly took up sexual themes, with a frankness that was not common among African-American poets of her time. Only occasionally addressing racial issues, she nevertheless did so with a militance and

subjectivity that looked toward the Harlem Renaissance. Although she was not to be a major figure in that movement, such work did much to contribute its foundations.

(Angelina Weld Grimké should not be confused with the nineteenth-century abolitionist Angelina Grimké Weld, though they were related. The former's father was the nephew of the latter.)

See also Grimké, Archibald Henry; Harlem Renaissance; Poetry, U.S.

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DICKSON D. BRUCE JR. (1996)

Grimké, Archibald Henry

August 17, 1849
February 25, 1930

The writer and activist Archibald Henry Grimké was born a slave in Charleston, South Carolina. He was the nephew of the noted abolitionists Sarah Grimké and Angelina Grimké Weld. Receiving some education during his childhood, after Emancipation he attended Lincoln University and, supported by his aunts, Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1874. In 1884 he became editor of the *Boston Hub,* a Republican newspaper. In 1886, disillusioned by the growing indifference of Republican Party to the problems of African Americans and by the party's conservative economic program, Grimké switched allegiances. He soon became the most prominent African-American democrat in Massachusetts.

After 1890, Grimké removed himself from politics and, focusing on scholarship, wrote major biographies of William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Sumner. Then, in 1894, he was appointed consul to the Dominican Republic, where he served until 1898.

Upon his return to the United States, Grimké also returned to writing, and he published widely on racial questions. In 1903, he became president of the leading African-American intellectual organization, American Negro Academy, a post he held until 1919. As an activist he was deeply involved in the debate over the leadership of Booker T. Washington, although, despite a general opposite to Washington's views, he was unwilling to commit himself fully to either side.

But his activism became particularly notable when, in 1913, he became president of the District of Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The branch was the organization's largest, representing the NAACP on all issues involving federal legislation and policy. As president, Grimké led its efforts into the 1920s, lobbying Congress and federal agencies to inhibit the segregationist policies of Woodrow Wilson's administration, while fighting against discrimination in the Washington community itself. In 1919, in recognition of these efforts and of his lifetime of service defending the rights of African Americans, he received the Spingarn Medal, the NAACP's highest honor.

See also American Negro Academy (ANA); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Spingarn Medal; Washington, Booker T.

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DICKSON D. BRUCE JR. (1996)

Grimké, Charlotte L. Forten

August 17, 1837
July 22, 1914

Charlotte L. Forten Grimké, an abolitionist, teacher, and writer, was born into one of Philadelphia's leading African-American families. Her grandfather, James Forten, was a well-to-do sail-maker and abolitionist. Her father, Robert Bridges Forten, maintained both the business and the abolitionism.

Charlotte Forten continued her family's traditions. As a teenager, having been sent to Salem, Massachusetts, for her education, she actively joined that community of radical abolitionists identified with William Lloyd Garrison. She also entered enthusiastically into the literary and intel-

Charlotte L. Forten Grimke (1837–1914). PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

lectual life of nearby Boston, and even embarked on a literary career of her own. Some of her earliest poetry was published in antislavery journals during her student years. And she began to keep a diary, published almost a century later, which remains one of the most valuable accounts of that era.

Completing her education, Forten became a teacher, initially in Salem and later in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, she soon began to suffer from ill health, which would plague her for the rest of her life. Nevertheless, while unable to sustain her efforts in the classroom for any length of time, she did continue to write and to engage in antislavery activity. With the outbreak of the Civil War, she put both her convictions and her training to use, joining other abolitionists on the liberated islands off the South Carolina coast to teach and work with the newly emancipated slaves.

On the Sea Islands, she also kept a diary, which was also later published. This second diary, and two essays she wrote at the time for the *Atlantic Monthly,* are among the most vivid accounts of the abolitionist experiment. Like many teachers, Forten felt a cultural distance from the freedpeople but worked with dedication to teach and prove the value of emancipation. After the war, she continued her work for the freedpeople, accepting a position in Massachusetts with the Freedmen's Union Commission.

She also continued her literary efforts, which included a translation of the French novel *Madame Thérèse,* published by Scribner in 1869. In 1872, after a year spent teaching in South Carolina, Forten moved to Washington, D.C., where she worked first as a teacher and then in the Treasury Department. There she met the Reverend Francis Grimké, thirteen years her junior and pastor of the elite Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. They were married at the end of 1878.

The marriage was long and happy, despite the death in infancy of their only child. Apart from a brief residence in Jacksonville, Florida, from 1885 to 1889, the Grimkés lived in Washington, D.C. and made their Washington home a center for the capital's social and intellectual life. Although Charlotte Grimké continued to suffer from poor health, she maintained something of her former activism, serving briefly as a member of the Washington school board and participating in such organizations as the National Association of Colored Women. She did a small amount of writing, although little was published. Finally, after about 1909, her failing health led to her virtual retirement from active life.

See also Abolition; Forten, James; Grimké, Francis James; Gullah; National Association of Colored Women

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DICKSON D. BRUCE JR. (1996)

Grimké, Francis James

October 4, 1850
November 11, 1937

The minister and author Francis James Grimké was born on Caneacres, a rice plantation near Charleston, South Carolina. He was the son of Henry Grimké, a wealthy white lawyer, and his African-American slave Nancy Weston, who also bore the elder Grimké two other sons, Archibald (1849–1930) and John (b. 1853). Henry Grimké died in September 1852, and the mother and children lived for several years in a de facto free status. This ended in 1860 when E. Montague Grimké, the boys' half-brother, to whom ownership had passed, sought to exercise his "property rights." Francis Grimké ran away from home and joined the Confederate Army as an officer's valet. Montague Grimké eventually sold him to another officer, whom Francis Grimké served until Emancipation. In 1866, he began his educational journey at Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), where he came to the notice of his white abolitionist aunts, Angelina Grimké Weld (1805–1879) and Sarah Moore Grimké (1792–1873), who acknowledged his kinship and encouraged his further study, providing moral and material support.

Francis Grimké began the study of law at Lincoln after graduating at the head of his undergraduate class in 1870. He continued to prepare for a legal career, attending Howard University in 1874, but felt called to the ministry and entered Princeton Theological Seminary in 1875. Upon graduation from the seminary in 1878, Grimké began his ministry at the 15th Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., and married Charlotte L. Forten of Philadelphia. In 1880, Theodora Cornelia, their only child, died in infancy. From 1885 to 1889, Grimké served the Laura Street Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville, Florida. He then returned to Washington and remained as pastor at the 15th Street Church until 1928, when he became pastor emeritus.

Grimké's pulpit afforded him access to one of the most accomplished African-American congregations in America; the members expected and received sermons that addressed issues of faith and morals with ethical insight, literary grace, and prophetic zeal. He practiced what he preached, earning himself the sobriquet "Black Puritan." Through printed sermons and articles, Grimké encouraged a national audience to agitate for civil rights "until justice is done." He campaigned against racism in American churches and helped form the Afro-Presbyterian Council to encourage black moral uplift and self-help. He also participated in the creation of organizations such as the American Negro Academy, which nurtured African-American development.

Francis James Grimke (1850–1937). *The son of a white lawyer and an African-American slave, Grimke became an influential minister and civil rights advocate.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

While not normally an activist outside the church, Grimké was an active supporter of Booker T. Washington's self-help efforts. However, in the early years of the twentieth century, he joined the group of African-American "radicals" led by W. E. B. Du Bois. He sided with Du Bois against Washington at the Carnegie Hall Conference (1906), which led to the schism between Washington and the radicals, and he later became a strong and longtime supporter of the NAACP.

In 1923 Grimké aroused a storm of controversy with his Howard University School of Religion convocation address, "What Is the Trouble with Christianity Today?" In

the address he denounced groups such as the YMCA and the "federation of white churches" for their racist practices, and he also challenged the sincerity of the faith of former president Woodrow Wilson. Legislators, led by Representative James Byrnes of South Carolina, protested the address and tried to remove Grimké from Howard's board of trustees by threatening Howard's federal budget appropriation. Grimké retired in 1925 and lived in Washington, D.C., until his death in 1937.

See also American Negro Academy (ANA); Du Bois, W. E. B.; Grimké, Angelina Weld; Grimké, Archibald Henry; Grimké, Charlotte L. Forten; Washington, Booker T.

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HENRY J. FERRY (1996)

Guardian, The

The *Guardian* (1901–1960), an African-American weekly newspaper, served primarily as a forum for its founder and editor, William Monroe Trotter. Self-billed as "America's greatest race journal," it carried the motto "For Every Right with All Thy Might," setting the militant tone for its notorious page 4 editorials on racial issues. While the Guardian attracted a national audience by including social gossip from other major cities, its agenda was explicitly political, emphasizing integration, legal rights, and the importance of strong and persistent agitation. Trotter found it fitting that the *Guardian* came to occupy the very building where William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist paper, the *Liberator,* had been produced.

Born into a wealthy Boston family, the Harvard-educated Trotter abandoned a successful business career, convinced that the pursuit of prosperity by African Americans was "like building a house upon the sands" so long as racial discrimination and persecution persisted. Trotter, with fellow Massachusetts Racial Protective Association member George W. Forbes, launched the *Guardian* on November 9, 1901, in order to aggressively challenge Booker T. Washington's accommodationist model of post-Reconstruction race relations.

Under Trotter's stewardship, the *Guardian*'s reportage featured his bellicose forays into the political arena, most prominently a public confrontation with Washington in 1903, which was dubbed the "Boston Riot." After the fracas, Forbes quit the paper, significantly weakening its literary quality. Soon thereafter, Washington himself launched a secret campaign to undermine Trotter's political legitimacy and the *Guardian* itself. But neither smear tactics nor infiltration of Trotter's circle of activists nor the subsidizing of rival publications succeeded in silencing Washington's nemesis. Even those who disagreed with Trotter's methods, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, nonetheless expressed sympathy with his point of view.

The *Guardian* continued to reflect Trotter's commitment to independent politics, militant integration, and direct action. Presidential endorsements were based on candidates' records on race issues, not on party loyalties. The newspaper gave ample coverage to campaigns Trotter led or supported, including the Niagara Movement, the fight against racial discrimination in the armed forces during World War I, and the public protests against D. W. Griffith's controversial film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). In later years, the *Guardian* defended the Scottsboro Boys and supported New Deal economic policies.

The *Guardian,* said Trotter, was "not a mere money-making business, but a public work for equal rights and freedom." Intent on preserving the *Guardian*'s independence, he refused to sell shares in or incorporate the paper; because he relied on the black community for support, he did not raise the annual subscription rate until 1920. But the *Guardian* was Trotter's sole source of income, and he and his wife, Geraldine, made enormous personal sacrifices to keep the paper afloat, mortgaging and selling off property piece by piece until not even their house remained.

While the *Guardian* bore its founder's personal imprint for many years —both politically and financially—it did survive him. After Trotter's death in 1934, his sister, Maude Trotter Steward, edited the *Guardian* until she died in 1957.

See also *Liberator, The*; Niagara Movement; Scottsboro Case; Trotter, William Monroe; Washington, Booker T.

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TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)
RENEE TURSI (1996)

Guillén, Nicolás

July 10, 1902
July 16, 1989

Nicolás Guillén was Cuba's most important and most popular twentieth century poet and one of Spanish America's most capacious and signally original poetic voices. Born in the eastern provincial city of Camagüey, his poetry's conscientiously Afro-Hispanic character, thematic foci, patterns of stress and inflection—with its distinctively Afro-Hispanic modulations and syncretic quality—became the personification and, as he early on intended, "perhaps the most apt" emblematic sign of his lyric articulation and unwavering defense of a national identity and cultural sensibility at once ethnically creole, distinctively Cuban, and broadly Antillean.

Guillén was a compelling chronicler of his island's historic odyssey under two colonial regimes (Spanish and American). His poetry served as a lyric barometer of his country's general condition, persisting inequities, and determined aspirations to a more racially egalitarian society and an authentically national sovereignty. It also reflected the political, social, and racial dramas unfolding on the wider global stage, apparent in such poems as "Soldiers in Abyssinia" (1935), *Spain: A Poem in Four Agonies and One Hope* (1937), "My Last Name" (1953), "Maus Maus" (1953), the poet's affecting "Elegy to Emmett Till" (1956), "Little Rock" (1957), "The Flowers Grow High" (1963), and "Small Ode to Vietnam" (1966). Guillén's verse deftly combines its author's characteristically elegiac, prophetically epic vision and radical Marxist temper with an appealingly subversive ironic wit and a wily, incisive humor.

Guillén's first published book of poems, *Motivos de son* (1930), revealed an unprecedented realism in the perception of black life in Havana's slums. The collection's socially complex and critically compassionate monologues brought unwonted, strikingly new dimensions to the shades of exoticism more typical of the *negrista* movement then coming into vogue. In the introduction to *Sóngoro cosongo* (1931), he wrote that in Cuba "we all have a touch of the ebony" and that, in consequence, "a Creole poetry . . . would not be truly such were it to ignore the Negro." The major collections which followed—*West Indies, Ltd.* (1934), *Cantos para soldados y sones para turistas* (1937), *El son entero* (1943), his several *Elegías* (1948-58), and *La paloma de vuelo popular* (1958)—gave a sharper quality and pitch to the poet's pioneering of his *son* poem, a "mulatto verse," as Guillén defined it, and the increasingly distressed "voice of rage" which the title poem of *West Indies, Ltd.* announces. Guillén's piercing ironies and "singing plain" censure of the "blood and weeping / [lie] behind easy laughter" take regular aim at all manner of racial and colonial or colonizing presumption. They reveal the ignominy and daily humiliations of a social system wherein "to get enough to eat / you work 'til you're almost dead," and "it's not just bending you're back, / but also bowing your head." There is also an intimation of the coming of the society's revolutionary transformation, wherein all citizens would be treated more humanely.

Guillén greeted the 1959 Cuban Revolution enthusiastically. Its impact, unfolding, achievements, and difficulties immediately became one of his work's central themes. The poems in *El gran Zoo* (1967), *La rueda dentada* (1972), *El diario que a diario* (1972), and *Por el mar de las Antillas anda un barco de papel* (1977) were infused with a new celebratory tone, and the poet's characteristically elegiac mood became both more provocative and playful. The intimate passion and longing poignancies of *En algún sitio de la primavera: elegía* (1986) with its chronicling of love's loss and one's own mortality, likewise gave unaccustomed inflections and resonance to an already varied corpus of poetry of love and romantic yearning.

The communicative efficacy, artistic rigor, innovative virtuosity, and lyric range that, over the course of his long career, epitomized Guillén's Afro-Hispanic poetic synthesis and critical gaze, effectively produced, in one critic's words, "a general poetic revision at the core of modern poetry written in the Spanish language" (González Echevarría, p. 302). Universally regarded as the greatest of the *negrista,* or black theme, poets, he also stands with César Vallejo and Pablo Neruda as one of the three most representatively original Latin American poets of his era. A national icon, he was officially proclaimed Cuba's *Poeta Nacional* in 1961. Elected first president of the Union of Cuban Artists and Writers just two years later, he served in that office until his death in 1989. Selections of his prose and journalistic writings can be found in the three volumes of *Prosa de prisa 1929-1972* (1975–1976) and in *Páginas vueltas* (1982).

See also Literature

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ROBERTO MÁRQUEZ (2005)

Gulf War

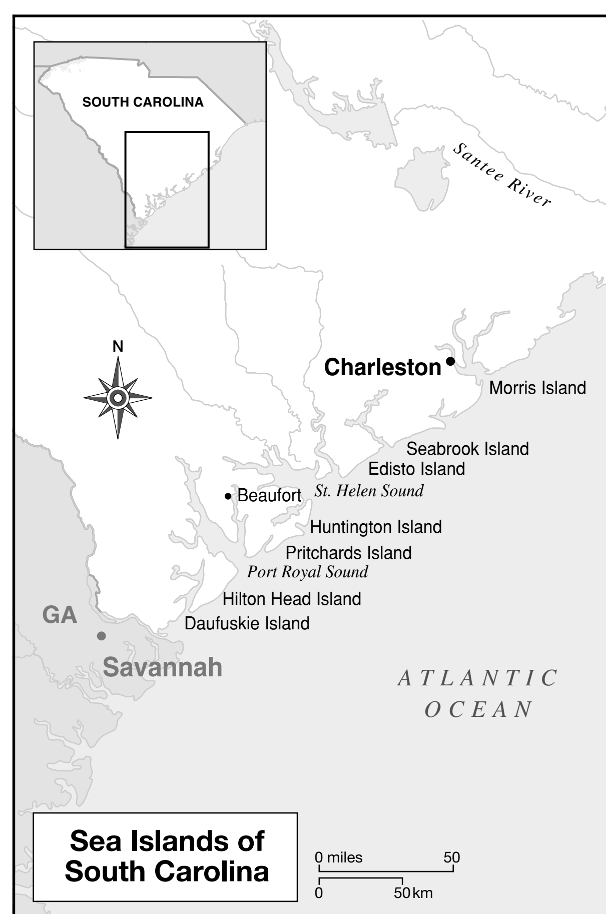
See Military Experience, African-American

Gullah

The Gullah are a community of African Americans who have lived along the Atlantic coastal plain and on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia since the late seventeenth century. Comprised of the descendants of slaves who lived and worked on the Sea Islands, Gullah communities continued to exist into the early twenty-first century, occupying small farming and fishing communities in South Carolina and Georgia. The Gullah are noted for their preservation of African cultural traditions, which was made possible by the community's geographic isolation and its inhabitants' strong community life. They speak an English-based creole language also called Gullah, or among Georgia Sea Islanders called Geechee.

Origins

The etymology of the term *Gullah* is uncertain. Among the most widely accepted theories is that it is a shortened form of *Angola,* a region of coastal central Africa with different boundaries from the contemporary nation-state and former Portuguese colony of the same name. Many of South Carolina's slaves were imported from the older Angola. Equally plausible is the suggestion that the term is a derivation of the West African name *Golas* or *Goulah,* who were a large group of Africans occupying the hinterland of what is present-day Liberia. Large numbers of slaves were brought to South Carolina from both western and central Africa, lending both explanations credibility. The word *Geechee* is believed to have originated from *Gidzi,*



Map of the Sea Islands of South Carolina. *Gullah language and culture, with its roots in the coastal, rice-producing regions of West Africa, flourished in the Sea Islands of South Carolina long after slavery was abolished, partly because access to much of the territory in this swampy, semi-tropical region was by water only until the middle of the twentieth century.* THE GALE GROUP

the name of the language spoken in the Kissy country of present-day Liberia. Whatever the origins of these terms, it is clear that the Gullah community that developed in the Sea Islands embodied a mixture of influences from the coastal regions of West Africa.

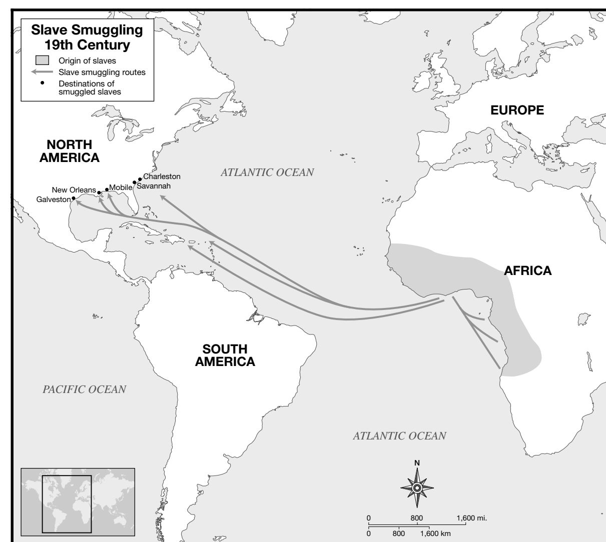
The slave communities of the Sea Islands developed under unique geographic and demographic conditions that permitted them to maintain a degree of cohesion and autonomy denied to slave communities in other regions of the South. A geographical shift in the production of rice within the South Carolina low country during the mid-1700s brought a major shift in population. South Carolina's slave population had been concentrated in the parishes surrounding Charleston, but in the 1750s South Carolina rice planters abandoned the inland swamps for the tidal and river swamps of the coastal mainland. At the same time, new methods in the production of indigo stimulated

settlement of the Sea Islands, where long-staple cotton also began to be produced in the late eighteenth century.

As a result, the coastal regions of South Carolina and the adjacent Sea Islands became the center of the plantation economy, and the demand for slave labor soared. Concurrent with this shift in agricultural production was a change in the African origins of the slaves imported into South Carolina. During the last half of the eighteenth century, imports from the Kongo–Angola region declined, and the majority of slaves introduced into the Sea Islands came from the Windward Coast (present-day Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Gambia) and the Rice Coast (part of present-day Liberia). South Carolina planters apparently preferred slaves from these regions because of the Africans' familiarity with rice and indigo production. These African bondsmen and -women brought with them the labor patterns and technical skills they had used in Africa. Their knowledge of rice planting had a major impact in transforming South Carolina's methods of rice production.

The geographic isolation of the Sea Islands and the frequency of disease in the region's swampy, semitropical climate kept white settlement in the area to a minimum. Meanwhile, a growing demand for slaves and their concentration on tremendous plantations created a black majority in the South Carolina coastal region. In 1770 the population in the South Carolina low country was 78 percent black, and the proportion of blacks along the coast and the Sea Islands probably was even higher.

The relative isolation and numerical strength of the slaves and their freedom from contact with white settlers permitted them to preserve many native African linguistic patterns and cultural traditions. The constant influx of African slaves into the region throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century likewise permitted the Gullah to maintain a vital link to the customs and traditions of West Africa.



Routes and key destinations for slaves smuggled into the United States, 1808–1865. *Although the Atlantic slave trade legally came to an end in 1808, slaves were still brought into major southern port cities directly from West Africa or by way of the Caribbean. In places like the Gullah Sea Islands of South Carolina, newly arriving Africans helped to sustain the influence of African culture on the religions, music, and speech patterns of American blacks.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

The Post-Civil War Era

The end of slavery brought significant changes to the Gullahs' traditional way of life, but the unique geographic and demographic conditions on the Sea Islands ensured that the Gullah community would retain its distinctiveness well beyond the Civil War. Blacks remained a majority in the South Carolina low country. In 1870, the population was 67 percent black; by 1900 it had decreased only marginally.

The Gullahs' experiences during and after the Civil War differed from those of blacks across the South. Although the Port Royal Experiment, established on the Sea Islands during the Union's wartime occupation to provide the Gullah with experience in independent farming, was ultimately a failure, many Gullah in the decades following the Civil War nevertheless were able to become independent farmers.

Due to the declining market for the Sea Islands' long-staple cotton, many white landowners began to desert the area shortly after the war's end. Agricultural production in the low country first suffered from war-related devastation of the land; then, in the early 1900s, competition from rice plantations in the western United States further crippled South Carolina's market position. As whites abandoned their former plantations and blacks took over the land, some cotton production for the market continued, but subsistence farming and fishing dominated the Sea Island economy.

Whites' abandonment of the coastal region and the Sea Islands left the Gullah even more isolated than before. During the first half of the twentieth century, black residents of the Sea Islands, like other African Americans across the South, were denied basic civil rights, but they benefited from their geographic isolation and numerical dominance. Unlike blacks in most other regions of the South, the Gullah were able to maintain cohesive, largely independent communities well into the twentieth century.

Gullah Culture

Most of what we know of the Gullah comes from studies conducted by anthropologists and linguists in the 1930s and 1940s. The Gullah culture described by these observers reflects a blending of various African and American traditions. Gullah handicrafts such as basket weaving and wood carving demonstrate African roots, both in their design and their functionality. Wooden mortars and pestles, rice "fanners," and palm-leaf brooms were introduced into the Sea Islands by the Gullah and were used in ways that reflected African customs. The Gullah, for example, used their palm-leaf brooms to maintain grass-free dirt yards—a tradition they still maintained early in the twenty-first century. The Gullah diet is based on rice and similarly reflects the African origins of the original community. The Gullah make gumbos and stews similar to West African dishes such as jollof and plasas.

The distinctiveness of the Gullah community is perhaps best reflected in its language. Gullah, or Geechee, a predominantly oral language, is the offspring of the West African pidgin English that developed along the African coast during the peak of the slave trade. The pidgin was a merger of English and the native languages spoken on the African coast and served as a means of communication among Africans and British slave traders. Many of the slaves from the coastal regions of West Africa who were brought to South Carolina in the eighteenth century were familiar with pidgin English and used it to communicate with one another in the New World. Over time, the pidgin mixed with the language spoken by the South Carolina planter class and took on new form. Gullah, the creole language that developed, became the dominant and native language of the slave community of the Sea Islands. Like most unwritten creole languages, Gullah rapidly evolved, and by the time it was first seriously studied in the 1930s it undoubtedly had more in common with standard English than with antebellum or eighteenth-century Gullah.

The Gullah language derives most of its vocabulary from English, but it also incorporates a substantial number of African words, especially from the Krio language of present-day Sierra Leone. The Gullah used names, for example, that reflected personal and historical experiences and that carried specific African meanings. Naming practices of the Gullah served, as they do for West Africans, as symbols of power and control over the outside world. The pronunciation of Gullah and its sentence and grammatical structures, moreover, deviate from the rules of standard English, reflecting instead West African patterns. Gullah is spoken with a Caribbean cadence, reflecting the common African background of the Gullah and West Indian slaves.

Gullah, though less widely spoken by the end of the twentieth century, remains prevalent throughout the Sea Islands. Lorenzo Dow Turner, the first linguist to study Gullah speech in the 1940s, found a number of African words and phrases being used among the inhabitants of the Sea Islands in the 1940s. In 1993, William A. Stewart, a linguist at the City University of New York, estimated that 250,000 Sea Islanders still spoke Gullah and at least a tenth of this number spoke no other language. Gullah also has had a significant impact upon the language spoken across the southeastern region of the United States. Such Gullah words as *buckra* (a white person), *goober* (peanut), and *juke* (disorderly) can be found in the vocabulary of black and white southerners.

Other aspects of Gullah language observed by Turner and such scholars as Ambrose E. Gonzales and Guy B. Johnson also exhibit African roots. Gullah proverbs demonstrate an adaptation of the African tradition of speaking in parables, and the oral tradition of storytelling among the Gullah also has been identified with African patterns. Trickster tales such as those about Brer Rabbit, which were popularized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the white folklorist Joel Chandler Harris, are still part of Gullah and Geechee folklore. These tales, often moral in tone and content, are an important form of entertainment.

Religion and Community

Religion played a dominant role within the Gullah slave community and continued to regulate community life into the twentieth century. Church membership predicated membership in the community at large, and one was not considered a member of the plantation community until one had joined the "Praise House." Praise Houses, originally erected by planters in the 1840s as meetinghouses and places of worship for slaves, functioned as town halls among the Gullah well into the late twentieth century, possibly as late as the 1970s. The Praise House essentially took the place of the white-controlled Baptist churches as the slave community's cultural center. Even after blacks assumed control of their churches during and after the Civil war, the Praise House remained the locus of community power.

Everyone in the community was expected to abide by the Praise House customs and regulations, enforced by a Praise House committee, which held them to certain standards of behavior and trust. This method of defining the borders of the community reinforced the Gullahs' close-knit community structure; some argue that it mirrored West African traditions of establishing secret societies.

This utilization of the Praise House to fit the needs of the Gullah community illustrates the adaptive nature of the Gullah's religious practices. Gullah slaves applied a mixture of African customs and beliefs to the Christian principles introduced by their masters, creating a religion that served a vital function within their community. Even as they accepted Christianity, for example, they maintained their belief in witchcraft, called *wudu, wanga, joso*, or *juju,* and continued to consult "root doctors" for protection and for their healing powers.

The Gullahs' physical forms of worship also continued to follow West African patterns. Gullah spirituals, both religious and secular in nature, for example, incorporated a West African pattern of call and response. In addition to being sung in church and at work, these highly emotional spirituals were often used as accompaniments to the Gullah "ring shout," a syncretic religious custom that combined Africanisms with Christian principles. During the ring shout, onlookers sang, clapped, and gesticulated, while others shuffled their heels in a circle. The performance started slowly but gained speed and intensity as it progressed. The ring shout, which had largely disappeared by the late twentieth century, served as a religious expression linked to natural and supernatural forces. While the trancelike atmosphere of the ring shout is believed to be of West African origin, the practice itself and the way it functioned within the community are Gullah creations.

The strength and endurance of the Gullah community and culture is evident in the cultural traditions of the Seminole Blacks, a group strongly tied to the original Sea Island Gullah community. From the late 1700s to the early nineteenth century, Gullah slaves escaped from the rice plantations and built settlements along the remote, wooded Florida frontier. Over time, these maroon communities joined with other escaped slaves and surrounding Native Americans to form a loosely organized tribe with shared customs, food, and clothing. Along with the Native Americans, the escaped slaves were removed from Florida in the nineteenth century and were resettled on reservations in the West. During the late twentieth century, groups of these Seminole Blacks were found throughout the West, especially in Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico. Some of them, who have retained numerous African customs, continue to speak Afro-Seminole, a creole language descended from Gullah.

Loss of Isolation; Loss of Cohesion

While Gullah communities still exist in the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, they have begun to disintegrate in recent decades. The social cohesion of the community was first threatened in the 1920s, when bridges were built between the mainland and the islands. Outmigration from the Sea Islands accelerated during World War II as defense spending created new economic opportunities. During the 1950s and 1960s, outside influence increased as wealthy developers began buying up land at cheap rates and building resorts on Hilton Head and other islands. This development opened some job opportunities for black Sea Islanders, but the openings tended to be in low-paying service jobs with little opportunity for advancement.

Drummers at the Gullah Festival in Beaufort, South Carolina. *The festival, conceived as a way to celebrate and recognize Gullah culture, has been held annually since 1987.* © BOB KRIST/CORBIS

One benefit of this development has been to break down the Gullahs' isolation and to increase their awareness of trends within the larger African-American community. In the 1940s, Esau Jenkins, a native of Johns Island, led a movement to register voters, set up community centers, and provide legal aid to members of the island's African-American community. In an effort to register black voters, Jenkins, with the help of Septima Clark, of Charleston, established the South's first citizenship school on Johns Island in 1957. Jenkins' efforts helped break down the isolation of black Sea Islanders and involved them more directly in the struggle for civil rights among African Americans across the country.

The modernization of the Sea Islands and the Gullahs' subsequent loss of isolation, however, has caused the community to lose some of its cultural distinctiveness and cohesion. From a predominantly black population on Hilton Head in 1950, whites came to outnumber blacks five to one by 1980. Many Gullah traditions, such as the ring shout, have largely disappeared, and many community members criticize the now predominantly white public

schools for deemphasizing the history and culture of the Gullah people. In response to the negative impact of these modernizing changes, efforts have been made to increase public awareness of Gullah traditions and to preserve them.

In 1948, the Penn Center on Saint Helena Island, South Carolina, formerly a school for freed slaves, was converted into a community resource center. It offers programs in academic and cultural enrichment and teaches Gullah to schoolchildren. In 1979, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a professional society of linguists, and the nondenominational Wycliffe Bible Translators undertook projects on Saint Helena Island to translate the Bible into Gullah, to develop a written system for recording Gullah, and to produce teaching aids for use in schools. In 1985 Beaufort, South Carolina, began an annual Gullah Festival to celebrate and bring recognition to the rich Gullah culture.

Increasingly, national attention has been focused on the Sea Islands. In 1989, *In Living Color*, a dance-theater piece about Gullah culture on Johns Island, South Carolina, premiered in New York City at the Triplex Theater. Set in a rural prayer meeting, the piece offers a memoir of life among the Gullah during the late 1980s. *Daughters in the Dust*, a 1992 film about a Gullah family at the turn of the century, perhaps provided the greatest national recognition for the Gullah. Written and directed by Julie Dash, whose father was raised in the Sea Islands, the film's dialogue is primarily in Gullah, with occasional English subtitles.

Such projects have helped increase public awareness of the importance of understanding and preserving Gullah traditions, and in 1994 the children's network Nickelodeon began work on a new animated series called *Gullah Gullah Island*, which focused on a black couple who explored the culture of the Sea Islands. The show ran for three years. Black Sea Islanders hope that these efforts will bring the necessary national recognition to help protect the Gullah community from further cultural erosion.

See also Africanisms; Clark, Septima; Maroon Wars; Slave Trade

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated bibliography

H

Hair and Beauty Culture

This entry has two unique essays about the same topic, differing mainly in their geographical focus.

Hair and Beauty Culture in Brazil
Ângela Figueiredo

Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States
Robyn Spencer

Hair and Beauty Culture in Brazil

Travelers to Brazil were the first to recognize how headgear, hairstyles, makeup, and body tribal marks are used as signifiers of ethnic identity in that nation. However, except for tribal scarifications, which are permanent, such signifiers can easily be modified in different parts of the world where interactions between blacks and whites take place.

Hair and Skin Color as Racial Identifiers

In Brazil, as in any other country of the African diaspora, hair is both an ethnic-identity marker and an indicator of beauty or ugliness. Historically, blacks have been discriminated against both in show business and the world of beauty, two spheres that have been particularly active in the construction of negative stereotypes associated with black phenotypes.

In Brazil, unlike the United States, it is skin colors and hair textures that are mainly used in defining the place individuals occupy in what might be called a racial classification table. For example, the term *morena* refers to a half-caste whose hair is smooth and curled, while *mulato* refers to a half-caste with kinky hair. *Cabo verde* refers to dark-complexioned persons with curled hair, which makes them resemble Indians. Such people are generally considered very beautiful by Brazilian standards. There are, of course, regional variants of this classification scheme.

Comparing the situation in Brazil with that in the United States, where racial classification is defined by lineage, Oracy Nogueira (1985) observed that racial discrimination in Brazil is based more on physical marks—meaning outward marks and appearance—and not on the racial origins of the individuals concerned. In Brazil,

markers of racial identification are constantly used in daily interactions to indicate a person's closeness to or distance from other individuals, as well as similarities or dissimilarities with others.

Seen from this perspective, straightening one's hair in Brazilian society may not only be a beauty exercise, it can also be seen as an attempt to move up the racial classification scale—that is, to become less "black." Given the importance of hair in determining one's place in this racial classification, the black activist movements that rose to prominence in Brazil from the 1970s onward elected to use natural hairstyles as a symbol of racial affirmation.

The posture of the black Brazilian activists during that period was basically antagonistic by its very nature, for it was aimed at destroying the dual image constructed by Western society in which black was always associated with ugliness, stupidity, dirtiness, or other negative qualities. The objective of black activism was therefore to establish a standard that would go contrary to the existing one. So if the rule was to wear smooth, permed, and jerry-curled hair in order to disguise one's ethnic and racial identity, the counter-rule would be to show that one is proud of one's phenotype by not straightening one's hair (Olívia Cunha, 1991).

By proposing racial affirmation through the use of natural hair, black activists did not isolate the hair phenomenon from other elements, such as dress and makeup, that were part of the new aesthetic. However, the perming of hair had been in practice as a symbol of beauty and modernity at least since the late 1920s. Petrônio Domingues (2002) demonstrated this by uncovering newspaper advertisements published by blacks in São Paulo at that time. He also found that this same hair-straightening practice had at one time been condemned among women involved in Candomblé. This means that certain symbols consciously used in a given period to affirm racial identity may once have had other significations within the same society, or other connotations within different societies.

Blacks in the United States have used hair straightening or permanent curls for some time, even though these practices were criticized by important black leaders, including Malcolm X. Black activists in Brazil, however, have never considered such practices as taking away from their blackness.

In Brazil, hair dressing has always been extremely popular in the day-to-day life of black women. Many black women spend a considerable part of their earnings on making their hair "beautiful," and from a very young age, black women are socialized to wear their hair curled and permed. Among adults, some black women treat their hair because they are convinced that it makes them look more beautiful, while others justify the practice with the claim that treated hair is easier to manage in their day-to-day activities.

From the point of view of black activism, as pointed out elsewhere, hair is of utmost importance in Brazil in staking out one's ethnic identity. Many Brazilians claim that, of all the black phenotypes, hair stands out as the one that should be given attention as often as one wishes. They also believe that the method used in treating hair is dependent upon different factors, such as the occasion being prepared for, the cost of treatment, and one's financial situation.

Until the 1970s, options for hair treatment were very limited, with the most common being hair straightening with the aid of a hot comb, the use of henna leaves to color and straighten the hair, and the use of headgear or a turban. It is noteworthy that the head scarves used by women in the early twenty-first century no longer have the elegance of the elaborate headgear documented earlier by various travelers, with such scarves now serving more for concealment of the hair than for aesthetic purposes. The very few chemical products available in the past basically consisted of high soda concentrates, which demanded expertise in their application. They were therefore restricted to use by professional hairdressers, and they had to be purchased at specialized stores. By the 1980s, however, changes in the political situation in Brazil led to the further internationalization of its economy, which opened the way for the exposure of Brazilians to more modern hair products. This led to a wider variety of hair products and hair-treatment options.

Types of Hair Treatments

In trying to identify the diverse types of hair treatment from the 1990s onward, three distinct categories of hairdressing professionals can be recognized: hot-comb specialists, hair-braid specialists, and hairdressers.

The hot-comb specialists employ a hair-straightening comb, a kind of flat iron that, when heated, serves to stretch the hair, thereby making the strands straighten out. The hair then looks as if it had gone through some type of chemical treatment. This kind of hair treatment is usually done in the kitchen of houses, and the customers that undergo such treatment usually come from the immediate vicinity. This hair treatment is the least expensive of the three techniques.

In the 1970s, partly due to the influence of the Black Power movement and the emphasis it placed on hair aesthetics, and partly due to the first black cultural movement in the city of Salvador (capital of the state of Bahia)—

Guided by their instructor, two students braid a young woman's hair in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 2000. *The 1970s marked a revival in the use of braids by black women, partly due to the influence of Ilê Aiyê, the black cultural movement that began in the city of Salvadore in 1974* © RICARDO AZOURY/CORBIS

namely, the Ilê Aiyê—there was a revival of the use of braids by black women. Initially, the use of such braids was restricted to the period of Carnival, but as the years rolled by, the vogue among black women of wearing braids became more constant. In the state of Bahia, the Carnival association Ilê Aiyê plays an important role in the construction of a positive image concerning both the beauty of black women and the general affirmation of black identity. Even though the field has witnessed a boom in recent times, hair-braiding activities have always been a craft practiced mostly by women. Unlike their colleagues who work with the hot-comb, braiding professionals usually have a more expansive clientele, with some coming from outside the immediate vicinity, including white tourists.

The art of hair braiding has always required the use of human or artificial hair attachments, which are meant to add to the volume and length of the hairdo. The laws of supply and demand and the taste of clients has led to widely varying prices, and the process can be expensive. The hair attachments used for such operations originate from diverse sources. Natural human hair generally comes from India, while hair treated with chemicals generally comes from the United States. Synthetic braids are mostly obtained from Taiwan or China. However, the rise in demand for braid attachments has placed Brazil within the network of international braids markets, which is also a reflection of the dynamics of globalization.

One other important issue concerning hairdressing has to do with its naturalness. The quest for naturalness in hair treatments does not in any way signify letting go, in real terms, of products and technologies that modify the hair. Rather, the issue concerns the naturalness of the end result—that is, the appearance. In essence, hair that is considered natural is that which does not betray the treatment it has undergone. Apart from appearance, what distinguishes naturalness from artificiality is whether or not chemical products have been employed. A good example

is the fact that the use of kanekalon hair (a type of synthetic hair used to augment hair volume) makes one's hair less natural than if human hair attachments had been used.

When Soft Sheen, a multinational cosmetic industry, set up shop in Rio de Janeiro in the late 1980s, a range of hair relaxers and permanent afro-wave products were introduced to Brazil. To maintain such hair treatments, however, other products must be used to keep the hair looking wet. Besides being expensive, these products became scarce. This forced manufacturers, cosmetologists, and hairdressers to look for alternative Brazil-made products that are both less expensive and equally effective.

With regards to beauty products in general, the launching of the magazine *Raça Brasil* in September 1996 literally led to the discovery of a new black consumership. According to Roberto Melo, producer of the magazine, "the sales record attained by *Raça Brasil* gave the lie to three existing dogmas in the Brazilian editorial market: (1) that blacks did not have enough purchasing power to indulge in secondary consumer products; (2) that magazines that carry the pictures of blacks on their front covers would not sell; and (3) that black Brazilians are not proud of their racial origins" (*Jornal da Tarde*, October 13, 1996).

The astounding success of *Raça Brasil* (its premier issue sold 300,000 copies) served as a catalyst for the debate on the existence of specific products exclusively for the black consumer. More than anything else, the magazine *Raça Brasil* greatly contributed to the increased visibility of the black middle class by showing how much purchasing power the class controlled (see Fry, 2002).

Following the lead of *Raça Brasil,* other diverse print media have brought to the forefront the emergence of specific products for the black segment of the society. Curiously, even in the early twenty-first century, the discovery of the black consumer has been highly restricted to products meant for the body, such as creams, makeup, and cosmetics, and products for hair conditioning. In 2000 the Brazilian Association of the Personal Hygiene, Perfume, and Cosmetics Industry reported a growth of 60 percent in the market of products for black consumption, while the overall market for beauty and general cosmetic products only increased 11 percent. In early 2002 the daily newspaper *Jornal da Tarde* announced that in the previous year the Brazilian market for shampoo and hair-conditioning products generated R$680 *[reais]* million, while hair relaxers brought in another R$280 million. The production of the pioneering manufacturer Cravo & Canela ("clove and cinnamon"—a popular way to refer to black and brown skin) grew dramatically, from a modest 20,000 units to 200,000 units in eight years.

In previous years, despite the fact that the products were consumed mostly by blacks, the manufacturers were still reluctant to put pictures of black people on their labels. By the late twentieth century, however, virtually all hair-care products available on the market, be they hair conditioners, relaxers, or even shampoos, either had images of black women on the label or the label explicitly stated that the product was made especially for use by black people.

According to the Brazilian press, there is a consensus concerning the greater preference of blacks in general (compared to white people) for the consumption of clothes and other objects connected to body care and physical appearance. The veracity of this alleged preference of black consumers for the acquisition of body-care products notwithstanding, after the launching of *Raça Brazil,* the beauty-products market for black people in Brazil grew as it never had before. Initially, it was the same traditional manufacturers that introduced cosmetic products specifically for black consumers, as was the case with the Davene and O Boticário companies. Later, manufacturers had to adapt their products to the standards of those that had come to be identified with black consumers, as was the case with Shen hair pomades, which are manufactured by Avon. Curiously, only recently did Avon start to openly appeal to black consumers in Brazil.

The emergence of an ethnically segmented market was propelled by the Umidfica manufacturing company, the pioneer in the domain of hair-care products in Bahia. Founded in 1994, Umidfica produces up to fifteen different hair-treatment products, fourteen of which are exclusively for black hair, while only one product is meant for all types of hair. Umidfica's mission has thus been different from that of manufacturers that offer specific products for consumption by blacks, especially as Umidfica originally set out to service the black sector of the economy. Only recently did its management think of diversifying by extending their products to the white sector as well.

The transformation undergone by the cosmetic market for blacks in Brazil has so far yielded two important trade fairs: Cosmoétnica and Étnic. The latter made its debut during the International Fair for Cosmetics and Afro-Ethnic Products in São Paulo in December 1997, while Cosmoétnica came on the scene in December 2000 with its first fair dubbed the International Trade Fair for Black Beauty, also held in São Paulo.

Black hair manipulation in Brazil shows the universal character of the black condition in different parts of the Americas, as well as the specificity of the Brazilian system of race relations, which is based on a color continuum that offers many opportunities for the individual manipulation of physical appearance.

See also Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

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ÂNGELA FIGUEIREDO (2005)

Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States

African-American men and women have often used their hair and faces as sites of artistry and as a means of self-expression. Enslaved Africans brought diverse notions of beauty to North America. In America, African hair and beauty traditions underwent a complex process of cultural continuity, acculturation, and transformation. Although there was much diversity in black skin color and hair texture and curl structure, to whites, black hair type—generally thick, tightly curled hair—rivaled skin color as one of the most distinctive features of Africans. These physical characteristics were perceived as the very antithesis of beauty by many whites who conformed to a European standard of beauty that placed primacy upon white skin and straight hair. For many whites, blacks' social, economic, and political subordination as slaves was justified by physical appearance. The images, drawings, and depictions of slave men's and women's hair that remain in the historical record are often colored by these racist assumptions. Stereotypical caricatures about African Americans that relied on exaggerated depictions of thick black lips, unkempt black hair, and dark black skin—most notably in minstrel shows—pervaded white popular culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Advertisements for runaway slaves, for example, often contained descriptions of black hair characterizing it as "bushy" or "woolly."

Slaves in close contact with whites—northern slaves, urban slaves, and house slaves—were constantly confronted with white beauty aesthetics and at times adopted white beauty practices. Evidence exists, for example, that urban male slaves in New York in the seventeenth century styled their hair to resemble the popular wigs worn at the time by white men. However, the vast majority of African Americans maintained their own conception of hairstyle and adornment. Forced into an unfamiliar environment, slave men and women became innovators, using natural substances such as berries and herbs for hairdressing and skin care. The hair of slave women was often covered and wrapped with rags and other pieces of cloth. Hair braiding, a strong tradition in West Africa, remained common for slave women.

Some slave men and women served as stylists and barbers for other blacks, as well as some whites, during slavery. Northern free black men and women, such as Pierre Dominique Toussaint and the sisters Cecilia, Caroline, and Maritcha Remond Putnam, pioneered in white hair care in the nineteenth century and continued in that role after Emancipation. Barbering, in particular, was an occu-

pation that provided crucial economic support for many black men. In 1885 there were five hundred black barbers—three hundred of whom ran their own shops—in Philadelphia. About 150 or so were able to attract white customers. Barbering was also a preferred occupation for free blacks in the South. Many barbers, including William Johnson of Natchez, Mississippi, made barbering a stepping-stone to later entrepreneurial success. Others, such as Robert Delarge and Joseph Rainey, both Reconstruction congressmen from South Carolina, used barbering to further their political ambitions. The successful early twentieth-century insurance company founders John Merrick and Alonzo Herndon both received their start in business through the ownership of barbershops. These politicians made use of the political contacts they were able to make as barbers for whites to familiarize themselves with white elites.

The solidification of Jim Crow segregation by the turn of the twentieth century resulted in black beauty salons and barbershops losing their white client base. For example, Philadelphia's black population had doubled by the early twentieth century, but the number of barbershops had been reduced to 116. This factor, coupled with rising spending power among a growing black middle class, led to the genesis of a formalized black hair and beauty culture industry offering commercial beauty products and services to the growing market.

After slavery, many black men and women—who equated grooming with respectability and freedom—experimented with a vast array of hairstyles and beauty techniques. Both black-owned and white-owned companies responded to the diverse hair and beauty needs of black consumers. Black entrepreneurs vigorously competed for dominance in the black hair and beauty culture industry. In the early twentieth century, the Overton Hygienic Manufacturing Company, founded in 1898 by entrepreneur Anthony Overton, became successful when it expanded into the cosmetics industry selling "High Brown" facial powder. Annie Turnbo Malone's Poro Company was one of the leading manufacturers of hair-care products for black women. In 1905 Madam C. J. Walker revolutionized the hair and beauty culture industry by creating a treatment for hair loss—a common ailment that plagued black women as a result of poor diet, dandruff, scalp disease, and harsh hair-care treatments. She also pioneered a hair-straightening system for black women's hair called the Walker system, which used a heated metal comb to straighten black women's hair.

European aesthetics pervaded the black community in many ways—from social hierarchies based on skin color to cultural expressions categorizing hair as "good" or "bad" based on its texture—and shaped the context in which African Americans made their hair and beauty choices. There was much debate about hair and beauty within the black community. Black men also had a crucial stake in these debates. Although skin lighteners and hair straighteners found their greatest market among black women, some black men chemically processed their hair to relax the curl structure. Skin care was relatively simple for black men. However, razor-shaving facial hair was often a painful process for black men. The tight curl pattern of their hair resulted in ingrown hairs, informally known as "razor bumps," on the face and neck. This condition was irritated each time the shaving process was repeated. To avoid this, many black men turned to harsh chemical depilatories or chose to wear a beard.

Many in the beauty culture industry argued that the standards of beauty they promoted—lighter skin and straighter hair—were linked to personal success and racial progress and could therefore counter negative stereotypes about black people. Some blacks agreed, arguing that altering the natural state of their hair and skin was a way to challenge the correlation between black hair and unkemptness, poor grooming, or a lack of professionalism in an employment situation. Others saw a direct link between hair straightening and skin-lightening creams and cosmetics—often with names such as "Black-No-More" and "No Kink"—and the acceptance of white standards of beauty and a lack of black self-esteem. Pointing out the often painful and damaging effects of chemicals on black hair, scalp, and skin, these blacks argued that leaving hair in its unprocessed state was a way to embrace their African heritage and challenge white domination by reversing notions of beauty. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey, black activist and advocate of Pan-Africanism, refused to accept advertisements for hair straighteners and skin lighteners in his publication *Negro World*.

Hair straightening, however, cannot simply be equated with the adoption of a European aesthetic and the rejection of African cultural heritage. Many Africans conceptualized their hair as a headdress to be adorned and manipulated as a site of artistic and cultural construction. Through the styling of their straightened hair, African Americans struggled to define a space for themselves within the framework of the dominant aesthetic that could challenge, oppose, and undermine it while reaffirming black cultural values. Although some middle-class blacks wore their straightened hair in styles similar to those popular among middle-class whites, others combined their straightened heads of hair with pomades and hairdressing creams to explore bold, innovative, and creative styling options.

Often, the straightening of hair was a statement of rebellion. Finger waves and pin curls (waves and circular curls sculpted on hair slicked close to the scalp), popular among black women and some men, were emblematic of the Harlem Renaissance period. The process—a style called the "conk," achieved by using a lye-based chemical to straighten black men's hair—was integral to the subculture that formed among many young, black urban males during the 1940s. Although conks were popular among the black middle class, working-class blacks styled their conks with heavy pomade, a center part, and a ducktail, often pairing them with flamboyant zoot suits to articulate an oppositional political and cultural identity that challenged both white and black middle-class sensibilities.

Beauty parlors and barbershops were important within the internal African-American service economy of the middle decades of the twentieth century. In the 1940s black women owned 96.7 percent of black-held beauty shops and 88 percent of related business schools. Black beauticians criticized the racist assumption in the beauty-culture industry that black beauticians could style and care for only black hair and agitated against segregated beauty schools. They fought for equality in training and licensing for black and white beauticians and argued that black beauticians should be held to the same standards as white ones. Beauty trade associations often took public positions on civil rights matters. The National Beauty Culturalists League, founded in 1919, for example, adopted the slogan "Every Beautician a Registered Voter" in the 1950s.

Beauty parlors and barbershops were sites of debates and information sharing, where black people created networks of mutual support that could be used in social fraternization or political organizing. Black politicians, for example, often targeted beauty parlors and barbershops as key community institutions on the campaign trail. Poorer black men and women often opened unlicensed beauty parlors and barbershops in their homes as a vehicle toward economic self-sufficiency. Unable to afford professional beauty schools, these men and women passed on skills of hairstyling and haircutting through apprenticeships. These unlicensed shops were criticized as unprofessional and unqualified by many middle-class shop owners who resented the competition they believed was unfair. Despite these challenges, however, unlicensed shops continued to survive alongside licensed shops as community institutions.

In the 1960s hairstyle took on additional meaning for both blacks and whites who defined hair not only as a badge of self-identity but as an indicator of political consciousness. During the period of militant pride and cultural awareness that characterized the Black Power movement of the mid-1960s, many African Americans began to style their hair in an unprocessed state to symbolize the connection to their African past and challenge white beauty standards. In 1966 Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael militantly asserted, "We have to stop being ashamed of being black. A broad nose, a thick lip and nappy hair is us, and we are going to call that beautiful . . . we are not going to fry our hair anymore." Guided by the slogan "Black is Beautiful," many black men and women abandoned hairstyles that required chemical processing.

The Afro—unprocessed black hair arranged in a circular symmetry around the head—was one of the most popular hairstyles of the mid to late 1960s for both men and women. Afros—also called "naturals"—varied with black hair texture and ranged in height from low, scalp-hugging cuts to styles elaborately shaped and coiffed several inches away from the scalp. Political activist Angela Davis's large Afro was a political statement that symbolized her militancy and her rejection of the conventional cultural practices of mainstream America.

The beauty industry created new products aimed at the maintenance of natural hairstyles and marketed them alongside its more traditional products. In the late 1960s, for example, Johnson Products, the leading black-owned company in the beauty culture industry, introduced a no-lye relaxer (thought to be less damaging to the scalp) to straighten hair, as well as the popular Afro-Sheen line of products aimed at the maintenance of Afros. Advertisements in black magazines such as *Ebony* and *Jet* began to feature darker-skinned models with unprocessed hair and slogans such as "Rows. Fros. Anything Goes." Cornrows—a hairstyle traditionally worn by black girls in which hair is braided in rows along the scalp and often weaved into elaborate designs and decorated with ornaments ranging from beads to cowrie shells to tinfoil—became popular among many black women and some black men. In the early 1970s, for example, Stevie Wonder was one of many musicians who donned intricately styled and adorned braided hairstyles. White actress Bo Derek's cornrows in the 1979 movie *10* caused outrage among many in the black community, who believed that she had appropriated the style devoid of its cultural meaning.

Facial hair was integral to black men's self-presentation in the early 1970s. For some black men, moustaches were more than an aesthetic choice but instead a symbol of virility. Black actor Richard Roundtree's character Shaft—popularized in the blaxploitation film genre of the 1970s—sported a thick moustache that was as integral to his depiction of black male power as his leather jacket and streetwise attitude. Isaac Hayes, who achieved considerable renown as the composer and per-

former of the Academy Award–winning title song from *Shaft* (1971), helped pioneer another popular black male style of the 1970s, the shaved head. Jheri Curls, a chemical process that loosened and lengthened the curl pattern in the hair and required that the hair be constantly saturated by a curl-activating lotion, was popular for both men and women in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During this period, the Afro—especially in its lower-cut form—achieved a more mainstream acceptance.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, a rising cultural-consciousness movement created space for a diversity of natural hairstyles for blacks. Although this movement continued in the tradition of the "Black is Beautiful" movements of the mid-1960s, the popularity and limited mainstream acceptance of unprocessed hairstyles made the former link between hairstyle and political consciousness a hotly debated issue in the black community. There was a rise in popularity and cultural acceptance of dreadlocks—a style common among Jamaican Rastafarians, in which unprocessed hair is sectioned off and long braids of it are allowed to grow together unhampered. These sections "lock" because of black hair's tight curl pattern. Folksinger Tracy Chapman and author Alice Walker are two prominent black women who have embraced this hairstyle.

Hair braiding was increasingly accepted as a skilled art form as braids grew in popularity, diversity of style, and form in the 1980s and 1990s. The use of human or synthetic hair extensions for braiding to augment the length or the width of the individual braids increased in the 1980s. Hair weaves (extensions of synthetic or human hair either sewn or glued on the scalp) were used by some black women to achieve straight-textured, long hair. Others used extensions to add flexibility in the creation of elaborately braided Afrocentric hairstyles and boldly sported styles called "Senegalese twists" or "African goddess braids." Other women chose to wear their hair closely cropped and low to the scalp, unprocessed or slightly relaxed in a process called "texturization."

Hair braiding for African-American men had increased visibility as well. Hip-hop culture of the 1980s and 1990s popularized daring haircuts for young African-American men that ranged from shaved heads—a style long embraced by many older black men as an alternative to thinning hair—to a texturized version of the Afro called the "blow out." Also popular was the fade haircut, in which the sides and back of the hair are cut lower than the top, and the back of the head is used as a palette for everything from intricate designs to commercial symbols or even the wearer's initials. A new generation of stylists specializing in the maintenance of unprocessed black hair and the creation of bold new cuts for men developed alongside traditional salons as the hair and beauty culture industry created new products to meet the needs of these consumers.

These products were increasingly supplied by white-owned companies such as Revlon and Alberto Culver. These white companies—often better financed than their black counterparts and therefore able to offer lower prices—adopted aggressive Afrocentric marketing strategies to attract black consumers. By 1993 fourteen of the nineteen cosmetics companies in the lucrative black hair-care market were white-owned.

Hair and beauty culture remained a creative area for black men and women in the 1990s. Acutely aware that physical appearance has an impact on almost every arena, from social life to employment opportunities, black people have always had to grapple with the broader implications of their hair and beauty culture. In the 1980s and 1990s, an increasing number of black men and women took to the courts to register complaints about discrimination in employment due to hairstyle. Issues of politics, economics, and aesthetics—along with age, regional location, and class—continue to guide the choices black men and women make for their hair and beauty needs. By 2000, a wide range of natural hairstyles—locs, two-strand twists, and Afros—gained increased acceptance by the black mainstream. Pop culture icons, such as singers Lauryn Hill, India Arie, Jill Scott, Alicia Keys, and others, showcased the versatility of black hair's natural textures. Black companies forayed into the natural hair-care market to offer products and services to meet this rising need.

See also Representations of Blackness in the United States

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
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Haitian Creole Language

Haitian Creole, also known as *Kreyòl,* is a member of the French-based creole language groups with a considerable part of its lexicon coming directly from seventeenth-century French. Its grammar differs from French, however, and reflects closely the West African languages, such as Ewe, Fon, Yoruba, and Ibo. *Kreyòl* is similar to the creoles spoken in the French overseas departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as in Dominica, Saint Lucia, and parts of Trinidad. *Kreyòl* also has much in common with the creole spoken in Louisiana and with the popular languages of Mauritius and the Seychelles islands in the Indian Ocean. *Kreyòl* is the native language of about 7.5 million Haitians and is spoken and understood by over one million people outside of Haiti.

Various theories have been advanced to explain the origin of French-based creole language groups. Early theorists claimed that they developed as the result of attempts by African slaves to imitate the language of their French masters. These early theorists also held that the white overseers and the crews of slave ships deliberately used simplified forms of European languages when speaking to a people they believed to be mentally inferior and incapable of learning the "civilized" variety. A second theory suggested that French-based creoles developed in three stages: The African slave attempted to copy the language of the master or foreman; the colonizer simplified his or her language in imitation of the slave; and finally the slave imitated the French speaker's own modification of French. A third theory rejects the idea that French-based creoles developed on the plantations, ascribing their origin to Afro-Portuguese pidgin, the lingua franca spoken by seamen and traders of the seventeenth century. The French sailors later replaced Portuguese words with French words, which were then acquired by the slaves, who further developed the language. Debate continues over the contention that all creole languages developed from an identical pidgin stage called the Afro-Portuguese pidgin, which originated along the western and southern coasts of Africa and became extremely useful from the early fifteenth century to traders from a multitude of nations in the Mediterranean basin.

Most modern linguists agree that Haitian Creole developed as a result of attempts by African slaves to communicate with their masters and with each other. Haitian Creole, or *Kreyòl,* is a language created in the French colony of Saint Domingue as a result of the unequal relations between the mass of slaves drawn from over forty different African ethnic groups and their French masters. Some of the early literary works in Haitian Creole include the well-known poem "*Lisette quitté la plaine*" (Lisette leaves the plain), by Duvivier de La Mahotière, and the Félicite Sonthonax Declaration of 1794, the communiqué of the French envoy sent to reestablish peace in revolutionary Saint Domingue and ordering "*liberté*" for the slaves. On January 1, 1804, Haiti became the only independent nation founded by African ex-slaves; it had a turbulent political history and experienced a long period of isolation from Western colonial powers. Thus the need to forge a national language was tantamount.

The Haitian Constitution of 1987 (Chapter I, Article 5) gave *Kreyòl* an official status, along with French, which had been the sole official language for more than 180 years, since Haiti's independence, although only about fifteen percent of the population can read and write French fluently. The true national language of all Haitians is *Kreyòl,* which is written and read by well over sixty percent of the population, including the minority of bilingual *Kreyòl* and French speakers.

Haitian Creole today exhibits three main dialectical variations: northern, southern, and central. In spite of the presence of these regional variations, however, Haitian Creole presents a high degree of standardization and normalization given that dialectical boundaries are not rigid and Haitians tend to be bidialectal. There is, however, a significant distinction between the *Kreyòl rèk* of the countryside and the somewhat more French sounding *Kreyòl swa* of Port-au-Prince. This variation has had an impact on arguments regarding how Haitian Creole should be spelled. Prior to 1980, two positions dominated the debate over orthography and the use of *Kreyòl* for adult literacy or as a means of instruction in primary schools. One position advocated a phonetic spelling system, which uses the International Phonetic Alphabet and diacritic signs. The other advocated a spelling system as near to French as possible. The proponents of the latter position view *Kreyòl* as a stepping stone to French (a "*passage au Français*"). Following the educational reform of the 1980s, a new spelling system was adopted and used widely. This spelling system corresponds to the speech patterns of Port-au-Prince and its surroundings. It is generally agreed that French and *Kreyòl* are mutually unintelligible. Haitian Creole is a distinct language with a unique morpho-phonological structure; it is not a French dialect.

> "Sèl lang ki simante tout Ayisyen ansanm, se lang kreyòl.… Kreyòl ak fransè se lang ofisyèl Repiblik Dayiti."
>
> "Only one language unites all Haitians—it is the Kreyol language.… Kreyol and French are the official languages of Haiti."
>
> KONSTITISYON REPIBLIK DAYITI (HAITIAN CONSTITUTION), 1987, CH.I, ART.5.

See also Creole Languages of the Americas

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MARC E. PROU (2005)

Haitian Revolution

This entry consists of two distinct articles. The first provides an overview of the Haitian Revolution and the second focuses on the reaction to the revolution in the United States.

OVERVIEW
Laennec Hurbon

AMERICAN REACTION TO THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION
James Alexander Dun

Overview

Haiti is the ancient Taino name for the Caribbean island that was first named St. Domingue by the French after the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick granting Spain the western portion of the island. It was Jean-Jacques Dessalines, commander in chief of the victorious army against the French expeditionary forces (1802–1804), who chose the name of Haiti for St. Domingue. He wanted to consign to oblivion the French colonial domination of the island. The series of events that unfolded in St. Domingue were new and unprecedented, and they constituted, after the French Revolution of 1789 and the American Revolution of 1776, a third revolution that had immense implications for the countries still under the yoke of slavery and colonialism. However, it seems that history books have done everything possible to underestimate and obscure the fact that this transition from St. Domingue to Haiti was indeed an authentic revolution. What did it consist of exactly? What was at stake in the struggle undertaken to reach the creation of an independent nation? What are the explanations for the causes of this independence of 1804? Why can historians and why should historians state that it was about a revolution that had its own specificity, originality, and orientations?

To address these questions, one must first attempt to review the situation in St. Domingue from 1789 to 1804 and the different strategies put in place by the actors.

The General Slave Insurrection of August 1791: Its Factors and Its Stakes

On the eve of 1789, St. Domingue was the most prosperous French colony, furnishing 70 percent of the revenue that France obtained from the totality of its possessions in the New World. One in eight French people lived off St. Domingue, from which fifteen hundred boats departed each year, loaded with 200,000 tons of sugar, coffee, and indigo. From just 1785 to 1789, 150,000 slaves were imported from Africa, with 55,000 slaves imported in one year alone, 1789. This clearly demonstrates that the system of slavery already begun two centuries before on the island was implacable and in full force near the end of the eighteenth century. The slaves numbered approximately 400,000 in contrast to 35,000 whites and 50,000 freed people (mulattos and blacks). One must be careful, however, not to see things in black and white, since among the slaves, there were mulattos, even if they were small in number, and among the freed slaves there were slave owners. Thirteen thousand men served in militias to prevent sabotage on sugar plantations, slave rebellions, and the

running away of slaves. The Black Codes, instituted in 1685 to prevent the crossing of these racial lines, strictly enforced relations among the three large social groups.

News of the storming of the Bastille and the declaration that "all men are born free and equal in rights" created immediate panic among St. Domingue's colonists, especially its merchants and administrators. For them, the best way of safeguarding the institution of slavery was to regain autonomy for St. Domingue, thus ending the practice of trading exclusively with metropolitan France. Above all, they sought to prevent the freed mulattos from exercising their civil rights. In the midst of this maneuvering by the whites (planters, managers, artisans, traders, and civil servants), came the news that on March 8, 1790, a decree issued in France proclaimed the right of all individuals age twenty-five and older to French citizenship. This victory for the free people of color suddenly created a giant rift in the institution of slavery. The white colonists did their best to avoid the implementation of this decree, which could pave the way for demands for freedom by the slaves. Faced with the refusal of the colonial administration to directly implement the decree, one of the mulatto leaders, Vincent Ogé, who had recently spent a year in France and who would thus have been in contact with the Society of the Friends of Blacks, disembarked in the colony with weapons and ammunition to free the enslaved mulattos. But he was captured, tortured, and executed. Some of his companions succeeded in fleeing to the western part of the island.

Would the slaves stand by passively watching as conflict developed between the white colonists and the freed mulattos? Since their arrival in the colony, slaves had been in search of freedom, running away to escape their masters, and they were waiting for a propitious moment to organize a general uprising and put an end to the system of slavery. Vodou was practiced among the slaves: It was an inherited system of belief from Africa integrating the traditions of diverse ethnic groups represented on the colony. In one of their vodou ceremonies, the slaves swore to put an end to slavery. It was during the night of August 22–23, 1791, that a general slave insurrection in the north of the country exploded, with disastrous repercussions: numerous fatalities among the colonists and the torching of 161 sugarcane refineries and 1,200 coffee plantations, with damage estimated at 600 million pounds.

The first accounts of the insurrection emphasized the element of surprise and the influence of exterior forces on the society of St. Domingue; the slaves were never presented as having made the deliberate choice of freedom by and for themselves. The colonists sought to ensure the failure of the insurrection by requesting widespread assistance from abroad. Those who fled after the insurrection and who sought refuge in Philadelphia spread the idea that barbarism was rampant in St. Domingue and that it was essential to avoid the radicalism of emancipation by planning for a gradual abolition. All of the slave powers (Holland, Spain, Portugal, England, and the United States) wanted to ensure that a similar insurrection did not happen in their colonies.

The factors that led to the insurrection have been the object of endless questioning. Certain reports mention the influence of the Society of the Friends of Blacks; others declare that the word "revolution" was already on everyone's lips. The first factor was most certainly the condition of life for the slaves. The text of the royal edicts of 1685, known as the Code Noir, or the slave code, regulated daily life and demanded the absolute obedience of slaves to their masters. Laws were futile in limiting the power of the masters; they did not permit slaves to lodge any complaints against their masters. A number of slaves died of starvation or of the harsh conditions where they worked, on the plantation or in some cases in the household. As for the female slaves, they were routinely raped or in any case lived in constant fear of rape, since by definition to be a slave meant to be the property of one's master. It was under these conditions, and the permanent threat of the whip brandished by the overseer, that the slaves worked. Those who escaped and became fugitives were severely punished and submitted to various tortures (feet chained, mutilations, arms hacked off), and these tortures could lead to the death of the slave with no consequences for the masters. In short, daily life for the slaves was akin to the experience of a concentration camp. One can understand why the occasion for an insurrection was therefore particularly waited for and sought out. Vodou was a religion practiced far from the masters' eyes as a veritable system of mutual recognition that favored the collective conscience and a sense of solidarity. In fact, it was a religious leader, Boukman, who led the insurrection and who had recourse to the blood oath made to the gods to keep the plans completely secret. This pact was a tradition among the Ewe, the Adja, the Mahi, and the Fon of Dahomey (contemporary Benin).

Although Catholic missionaries were used to control the slaves by justifying the institution of slavery itself—all slaves had to be baptized upon the arrival of the Church—there were several priests who sided with the insurgent slaves and who acted on their behalf in negotiations with the colonists. All things considered, vodou and the Catholic Church, as well as the rumors about the rights of man, played a role in serving as a catalyst for the slave insurrection.

But what allowed the insurrection to achieve its full significance was the fighting led by Toussaint-Louverture, former slave and coachman on the Breda plantation in the north. He knew how to ally himself very early on with the leaders of the insurrection and worked to make the suppression of slavery decided by the slaves irreversible by putting into practice the principles of equality and freedom affirmed in the declaration of the rights of man: "Brothers and friends," he said. "I am Toussaint-Louverture, my name is perhaps known among you. I have undertaken to avenge myself. I want freedom and equality to reign in St. Domingue. I will work to realize this. Let us unite, brothers, and join us in fighting for the same cause." (Letter of Toussaint-Louverture, National Library of Paris, cited by James, 1938, p. 109).

Toussaint-Louverture and the Foundations of an Independent Haitian Nation

A review of the essential stages of the politics conducted by Toussaint-Louverture reveals the following: He patiently constructed his own army, allied himself when necessary with Spain, then with England, and imposed himself as the incontestable leader of the various groups and factions struggling in the colony. When the colonists joyously greeted the British from Jamaica who would support the system of slavery shaken by the insurrection, Toussaint chose to fight with the French, and he rejoined their side. He was backed by the new assembly in France, the National Convention, which ratified the abolition of slavery on February 4, 1794, already proclaimed by decree in 1793 by its high commissioner, Sonthonax. Appointed commander in chief of the army in St. Domingue, Toussaint instilled discipline among his troops of fugitive slaves. In 1801 he succeeded in placing the entire colony under his command and triumphantly entered Santo Domingo, capital of the western region of the island no longer under Spain's control, and proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves. Toussaint effectively functioned as if the island were already independent. He reorganized the government administration and the judiciary, abolished useless taxes, created regulations against smuggling, and strove to convince former slaves to return to work. Finally, he took the risk of establishing the Constituent Assembly, therefore laying the foundation for an independent nation. This is the meaning of the 1801 constitution, cornerstone of the nation, even if the texts declare that St. Domingue remained associated with France. One of the founding principles of this constitution was thus articulated: "In this land, slaves cannot exist, slavery is forever abolished."

Toussaint-Louverture, leader of the Haitian Revolution. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

It was the expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802 to reinstate slavery on the island that hastened the brutal rupture with France, for Toussaint-Louverture's plan had been to establish a nation associated with France in a sort of commonwealth before the fact. However, Napoleon would resort to all the schemas and codes of a racist ideology and assemble one of the largest armadas of that epoch (eighty-six battleships and 35,000 soldiers) to regain control of St. Domingue and deport Toussaint-Louverture to France with his generals. The determination of the former slaves and the subordinate officers made the task impossible for the head of the expedition, General Leclerc. With Toussaint arrested and deported to the Fort de Joux in France, the war ran its course. News of the reinstatement of slavery in Guadeloupe, known in St. Domingue thanks to the slaves who accompanied the French troops and who escaped from the warships, had the effect of fomenting insurrection among all of the soldiers and the masses of farmers. Finally, in the course of a victorious battle, the new Haitian flag was raised on May 18, 1803. Jean-Jacques

Dessalines, new chief of the army following the arrest of Toussaint, announced to Thomas Jefferson in the United States that Haiti would be proclaimed independent on January 1, 1804.

The Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution

The events in St. Domingue had an influence that one must learn to decipher, even two hundred years later. In the quest to comprehend the repercussions of the successful slave insurrection of St. Domingue on the slave colonies of the Caribbean, one realizes that this was a revolution that concerned the destiny of all the black communities of the Americas, the African diaspora, and Africa itself.

News of the insurrection of 1791 and Haitian independence reached the slave colonies, unleashing various revolts and insurrections. Even if it had been difficult to assist Guadeloupe and Martinique, one must note that the constitution of 1805 stipulated that all slaves who arrived in Haiti became free and Haitian and that "Haitians will from now on only be known under one designation, Black." On the one hand, Haiti was considered a welcoming nation for all of the fugitive slaves of the Caribbean; on the other, the appellation of black was rehabilitated, an appellation that slavery had transformed into a stigma and a mark of barbarism. One must suppose that a fear of contagion provoked by the Haitian Revolution dominated the minds of colonial administrators in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Dessalines himself believed he had to organize an expedition in February 1805 to Santo Domingo to pursue the occupation that Toussaint had undertaken because the French forces stationed in the east of the island represented a danger to the independence of Haiti. The suppression of slavery in the east had therefore to be consolidated by a Haitian occupation; this was the motive offered by the new Haitian government.

Yet it was Spanish America, above all, that was most directly influenced by the Haitian Revolution in its quest for independence. In 1806 Francisco de Miranda departed from the southern Haitian town of Jacmel with significant aid for Venezuela, where he hoped to foment an insurrection and proclaim independence. At the time, however, he claimed to be mobilizing a nonviolent political movement that would not follow the model of the Haitian Revolution. Later, with Simón Bolívar, he made an appeal to five hundred Haitians and about a thousand slaves to join the Venezuelan army, but the problem of the abolition of black slavery, which was rife in South America, did not appear to be a preoccupation. In 1815 Bolívar again obtained assistance and asylum in Haiti on the southern coast, in the town of Les Cayes. President Alexandre Pétion received him on January 2, 1816, and assured him he would receive support in weapons, soldiers, and money. It was from the port of Les Cayes that Bolívar departed with six hundred refugees to undertake a new stage in the liberation of Spanish America. Pétion, in return, solicited from Bolívar the proclamation of the abolition of slavery in the countries of the continent that were liberated. On June 3, 1816, Bolívar honored the promise made to Pétion and proclaimed the abolition of slavery under the principle of equality among all men.

Research on the repercussions of the Haitian Revolution still needs to be undertaken with greater precision. In fact, Great Britain did not delay in proclaiming the abolition of slavery in its colonies (Barbados, Jamaica, and others) and all participation in the slave trade under punishment of death, by parliamentary decree in 1827. In 1814 Holland prohibited the slave trade. At any rate, the colonists from other countries in the Caribbean were henceforth on the defensive.

In the United States, news of the Haitian antislavery revolution was met with a guarded reception. The American government did not recognize Haiti's independence before 1862, that is, before the end of the Civil War, so that the black slaves of the South would not be tempted into a violent revolution for an immediate abolition of slavery. However, the trade that had flourished under the government of Toussaint-Louverture between 1794 and 1802 was pursued without interruption. The United States understood that the failure of General Leclerc's expedition to St. Domingue would benefit them both in political and economic terms. Bonaparte's ambitions for Louisiana to help realize his dream of a colonial project that would dominate the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico represented an obstacle to American expansionism. This obstacle was soon discarded; with the loss of the colony of St. Domingue, Bonaparte had to renounce Louisiana. On the other hand, among black Americans freed and enslaved, Toussaint-Louverture became a historical figure, and the news of Haitian independence sustained the vision of black self-determination and the possibility of vanquishing racist ideology.

The Haitian Revolution: A Turning Point in the History of Humanity

While it is closely linked to the French Revolution, the Haitian Revolution retains its own specificity. The problem of the application of the principles articulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen arises principally from the notion of "man." The dominant mentality in France and among the majority of the revolu-

tionaries of the eighteenth century led to an understanding of human rights based on parameters from the culture of the West (language, religion, and race). Thus, there was considerable delay in the recognition of blacks as whole human beings to whom one can apply the principles of freedom and equality. There was the problem of anthropology, which seems to be the principal obstacle for the abolition of black slavery, as if blacks were not yet ready to enjoy the rights of humanity. Even so, the insurrection of St. Domingue on August 23 and the success of the Haitian Revolution in 1804 was a magnificent demonstration of just how much the slaves were attached to those very principles of freedom and equality. Abolition was not something that was to be granted by others; the process of emancipation was deliberated and organized by the slaves themselves. This was the first such emancipation to succeed in history, and it attests to the fact that there are no human beings who can be classified as less than human on the basis of a racial hierarchy of cultures. For this reason, the Haitian Revolution had far-reaching consequences for its resolutely antiracist, antislavery, and anticolonialist orientation. It was a watershed in the history of human rights and freedom, and it ushered in a new era. Wherever racial ideology is still rampant, wherever the independence of nations in the region is menaced by superpowers bent on political domination just as in the days of slavery, wherever dictatorship reigns, there the memory of the Haitian Revolution must be revived.

See also Black Codes; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Toussaint-Louverture

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LAENNEC HURBON (2005)
Translated from French by Nadine Pinède

American Reaction to the Haitian Revolution

Americans avidly followed the events that transpired on the French Caribbean island of Saint Domingue between 1789 and 1804—events historians later would collectively demarcate as a "Haitian Revolution." In an age when the movement of information was tied directly to patterns of trade, Saint Domingue's status as a juggernaut among Caribbean sugar-producing islands ensured that numerous American shippers would constantly be doing business on its wharves. Beginning in the years after the American Revolution, news from Saint Domingue moved regularly to ports along the North American littoral as producers, merchants, and consumers evaluated goings-on there for their impact on American markets. The advent of violence did not dampen economic opportunities; contact would continue throughout the 1790s and into the early nineteenth century.

In addition to economic motives, Americans were fixated on events in Saint Domingue because of their implications for political and sociocultural issues at home. Beginning in 1789, the French colony experienced a series of disruptions as various white factions battled over conflicting agendas related to changes brought about by the French Revolution. As events in France unfolded, the island's free colored population (which Americans usually termed "mulatto") attempted to secure the rights and benefits of the newly enlarged French citizenry. Violence erupted in 1790 and 1791 as various groups struggled over the degree of the colony's autonomy, over racial equality,

and even over the propriety of the revolution in France itself. In August 1791 the island's slaves rose in unprecedented numbers in an attempt to vanquish the slave system. As anarchy increased, the British and Spanish invaded the island in 1793, and violence and warfare continued over the rest of the decade. In 1804, after turning away the Spanish, the British, and finally the French national armies, the black and free colored inhabitants of the island declared themselves independent, replacing the region's preeminent slave colony with an independent republic in which citizenship was defined around blackness.

These developments made Saint Domingue, today called Haiti, integral to American discussions about France and its revolution, about the implications of Americans' own recent revolutionary past, about slavery, and about race and citizenship. With important exceptions the general trend of American reactions is one of bifurcation along racial lines. African Americans, free and enslaved, were intimately aware of events on the island and incorporated them into their own struggles for equality and liberty. Free black communities, such as those in Philadelphia and New York City, cautiously made reference to Saint Domingue as a warning to American slaveholders and to the nation at large if the nation continued to flout its egalitarian ideals. In Philadelphia in 1793, for example, African-American leaders Absalom Jones and Richard Allen mentioned Saint Domingue obliquely as a referent in their larger plea for justice. By 1804, however, frustrated black youths marched through Philadelphia's streets chanting, "give them St. Domingo!"

The reactions of American slaves are more difficult to gauge because of the increasingly hysterical tenor of white observations of their behavior in relation to events on Saint Domingue. Especially after the onset in August 1791 of the slave revolts in Saint Domingue, white Americans were prone to see the risk of "the horrors of St. Domingo" in any sort of slave resistance. Rumors of "French negroes" terrified Thomas Jefferson in 1793 and spurred the white citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, to restrict the entry of black mariners into the port. Moreover, fragmentary evidence suggests that there were links between increased American slave rebelliousness and Saint Domingue. A large group of slaves rose in Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, in 1795, shortly after the arrival of white and black refugees from the island, followed by a larger revolt in 1811 in the same area. Rumors of connections between Saint Domingue and slave conspiracies abounded in Virginia toward the end of the 1790s and were a large part of the ways whites understood Gabriel's revolt in Richmond in 1800. Denmark Vesey's rumored plot in Charleston in 1822 centered around the notion that he had been in contact with Haitian leaders.

During the violence and afterwards, events on Saint Domingue served as a counter to white portraits of black subservience and subhumanity. Equally important, Haiti provided useful tactical advantages for African Americans. A number of black sailors and escaped slaves made the island a sanctuary in the nineteenth century. For the greater community of color, the island developed as an emblem of possibility and helped bolster morale and engender action. White fear when exposed to this more abstract sense of black collectivity, however, tended to mask a tentativeness and ambivalence that American people of color may also have had toward Haitian realities. Religious, cultural, and language differences, for example, served to retard the incorporation of slaves and people of color from the island into African-American communities. Ironically, white hysteria may have helped to forge a pan-black consciousness around Haiti where one did not immediately exist.

White hysteria itself, however, merits closer attention. While many white communities, slave holding and otherwise, understood Saint Domingue/Haiti only as an expression of black violence, at various points during the 1790s white reactions contained some ambiguity. Emergent Republicans in the mid-Atlantic and New England states voiced a degree of support for the notion of free colored equality in interpreting the early struggles on the island. More hesitant but still discernable was white support for the French policy of emancipation after 1794. Federalist president John Adams, engaged in the Quasi War with the French Republic later in the decade, supported the separatist inclinations of Haitian leader Toussaint-Louverture. Such reactions, however, had strong political motives; they had as much to do with American ideas about France and the French Revolution as they did with sensibilities about the universality of the rights of man or the injustice of slavery. White antislavery activists experienced a similar two-mindedness. Many seized on the slave violence on the island as proof of slavery's dangers. In a few instances these concerns fueled calls for immediate emancipation, but most often they translated into self-congratulatory sentiments regarding either gradual emancipation in the states north of Maryland or the perceived mildness of slavery in the American South.

In the end, white reactions to the Haitian Revolution demonstrate the fact that unfettered black freedom and citizenship were inconceivable to most white minds in the nineteenth century. As commercial contact between the island nation and the United States dwindled in the antebellum period, Haiti was reduced to a symbol in American minds. Among white commentators, this was made evident in the repeated invocation of "Hayti" as a place of violence and despair. Both Nat Turner's revolt in 1831 and

John Brown's raid of 1859, neither of which had any demonstrable connection to Haiti, were discussed in relation to the island. A similar symbolic use of the Caribbean nation by African Americans is evident in writings such as David Walker's *Appeal* (1829) and in efforts such as those mounted by Prince Saunders to facilitate emigration of free African Americans to Haiti in the 1810s and 1820s. "Hayti," therefore, as a place of anarchy or as a beacon of hope, was imagined by Americans more than it was experienced. As such, exploring its meaning in American minds tells as much about the observers as the observed.

See also Allen, Richard; Haitian Revolution; Jones, Absalom; Nat Turner's Rebellion; Toussaint-Louverture

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JAMES ALEXANDER DUN (2005)

Haley, Alex

August 11, 1921
February 10, 1992

Journalist and novelist Alexander Palmer Haley was born in Ithaca, New York, and raised in Henning, Tennessee. He attended Elizabeth City State Teachers College in North Carolina from 1937 to 1939. At age seventeen he left college and enlisted in the Coast Guard, where he eventually served as editor of the official Coast Guard publication, *The Outpost*. In 1959 he retired as chief journalist, a position that had been expressly created for him.

After leaving the Coast Guard, Haley became a freelance writer, contributing to *Reader's Digest, The New York Times Magazine, Harper's, Atlantic,* and *Playboy* (for which he inaugurated the "Playboy Interview" series). He first received widespread attention for *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965). His collaboration with the black nationalist Malcolm X consisted of a series of extended interviews transcribed by Haley; the result was an autobiography related to Haley that was generally praised for vibrancy and fidelity to its subject. The book quickly achieved international success and was translated into many different languages, selling millions of copies in the United States and abroad. As a result, Haley received honorary doctorates in the early 1970s from Simpson College, Howard University, Williams College, and Capitol University.

Haley is best known, however, for his epic novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976). Based on Haley's family history as told to him by his maternal grandmother, *Roots* traces Haley's lineage to Kunta Kinte, an African youth who was abducted from his homeland and forced into slavery. Combining factual events with fiction, Roots depicts the African-American saga from its beginnings in Africa, through slavery, emancipation, and the continuing struggle for equality. The novel was an immediate best-seller, and two years after its publication had won 271 awards, including a citation from the judges of the 1977 National Book Awards, the NAACP's Spingarn Medal, and a special Pulitzer Prize. Presented as a television miniseries in 1977, Roots brought the African-American story into the homes of millions. The book and the series generated an unprecedented level of awareness of African-American heritage and served as a spur to black pride.

The reception of Haley's book, however, was not devoid of controversy. Two separate suits were brought against Haley for copyright infringement: One was dismissed, but the other, brought by Harold Courlander, was settled after Haley admitted that several passages from Courlander's book *The African* (1968) appeared verbatim in *Roots*. In addition, some reviewers expressed doubts about the reliability of the research that had gone into the book and voiced frustration at the blend of fact and fiction. After Haley's death, more evidence came to light to suggest that he had inflated the factual claims and plagiarized material for *Roots*.

The unparalleled success of *Roots* gave rise to a widespread interest in genealogy as well as to a proliferation of works dealing specifically with the African-American heritage. *Roots: The Next Generation* was produced as a miniseries in 1979. Haley formed the Kinte Corporation in California and became involved in the production of films and records, the first of which was *Alex Haley Speaks,* which included advice on how to research family histories. In 1980 Haley helped produce *Palmerstown U.S.A.*, a television series loosely based on his childhood experiences in the rural South in the 1930s. In the 1980s Haley lectured

widely, made numerous radio and television appearances, and wrote prolifically for popular magazines.

In his last years Haley concentrated on writing a narrative of his paternal ancestry, *Queen: The Story of an American Family*. The book, which Haley intended to be a companion volume to *Roots,* was published and adapted for television the year following his 1992 death in Seattle. Since his death, Haley's reputation, which had suffered in the late 1970s because of the charges of plagiarism, was again attacked, as information came to light that he may have invented parts of his story as presented in *Roots* and presented them as fact.

A subsequent posthumous work, *Mama Flora's Family,* was published and adapted into a television movie in 1998.

See also Literature of the United States; Television

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ALEXIS WALKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hall, Prince

1735?
December 4, 1807

The place and date of civic leader Prince Hall's birth are not known. Recent research has cast doubt on the traditional versions of his early years, which placed his birth in the West Indies. Current evidence indicates that Hall became a member of the School Street Congregational Church of Boston in 1762. In 1770 he was manumitted by William Hall, a Boston craftsman, who probably had owned him since the 1740s. In 1775 Hall petitioned to join Boston's St. John's Lodge of Freemasons and was turned down. Hall and fourteen other free African-American men then sought and received admission to a Masonic lodge affiliated with an Irish regiment in the British army stationed in Boston. Obtaining a permit from the military lodge to participate in some Masonic activities as an independent body, Hall and the others continued as Masons in a limited capacity throughout the Revolutionary War.

Throughout his adult life Hall worked in the Boston area, both as a leather crafter in his shop, the Golden Fleece, and as a caterer. During the Revolutionary War he supplied leather drumheads to the Continental army, and it is also possible that he joined it as a combatant. Discussions of him in the letters of his white and black contemporaries show that they looked upon him as the social and political leader of African Americans in Boston. Thus, in the early years of the war Hall signed petitions to the Continental Congress requesting permission for African Americans to fight in the war. Employing arguments analogous to those used by the revolutionaries to justify their revolt against the British, on January 13, 1777, Hall and others also petitioned the Massachusetts legislature to outlaw slavery.

In 1784 Hall, as master of the provisional African Lodge, applied for a charter from the London Grand Lodge. Although the charter establishing African Lodge 459 was granted in September of that year, Hall did not receive it until April 1787. He then served as its Grand Master until his death at the age of seventy-two. (Several of his annual addresses to the lodge, placing the history of the lodge in the context of Masonic and African history, were published during his lifetime.) In the year after his death, Hall's followers adopted his name for what remains the largest and most highly regarded African-American fraternal order, the Prince Hall Masons.

During Shays's Rebellion in 1786, Hall, acting as a spokesperson for Boston's black community, wrote to assure the Massachusetts state government of his and his fellow Masons' political loyalty and willingness to serve against Shays's followers. However, only months later, Hall formally submitted a suggestion to the legislature that it consider financially assisting blacks who wished to return to Africa and establish an independent state. In both instances the state government declined to act on Hall's petitions.

In his capacity as Grand Master and leader of Boston's African-American community, Hall protested the seizure of three free blacks (one a Mason) in Boston by slave traders, and in February 1788 successfully petitioned the Massachusetts government for their return. In the same document he denounced the slave trade, which contributed significantly to the March 26, 1788, decision banning such trade in Massachusetts. In other letters and petitions to the state government, the politically active Hall demanded full citizenship and the establishment of public schools for blacks. (In 1800 Hall opened in his own home one of the first schools in Boston for free black children.) Hall died in Boston in 1807.

See also Fraternal Orders; Slave Trade

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PETER SCHILLING (1996)

Hamer, Fannie Lou (Townsend, Fannie Lou)

October 6, 1917
March 14, 1977

Civil rights activist Fannie Lou Townsend was born to Ella Bramlett and James Lee Townsend in Montgomery County, Mississippi. Her parents were sharecroppers, and the family moved to Sunflower County, Mississippi, when she was two. Forced to spend most of her childhood and teenage years toiling in cotton fields for white landowners, Townsend was able to complete only six years of schooling. Despite wrenching rural poverty and the harsh economic conditions of the Mississippi Delta, she maintained an enduring optimism. She learned the value of self-respect and outspokenness through her close relationship with her mother. In 1944 she married Perry Hamer, moved with him to Ruleville, and worked as a sharecropper on a plantation owned by W. D. Marlowe.

During her years on the Marlowe plantation, Hamer rose to the position of time- and recordkeeper. In this position she acquired a reputation for a sense of fairness and a willingness to speak to the landowner on behalf of aggrieved sharecroppers. She began to take steps to directly challenge the racial and economic inequality that had so circumscribed her life after meeting civil rights workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1962. In Mississippi SNCC was mounting a massive voter registration and desegregation campaign aimed at empowering African Americans to change their own lives.

Inspired by the organization's commitment to challenging the racial status quo, Hamer and seventeen other black volunteers attempted to register to vote in Indianola, Mississippi, on August 31, 1962, but were unable to pass the necessary literacy test, which was designed to prevent blacks from voting. As a result of this action, she and her family were dismissed from the plantation, she was threatened with physical harm by Ruleville whites, and she was constantly harassed by local police. Eventually, she was forced to flee Ruleville and spent three months in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, before returning in December.

In January 1963 Hamer passed the literacy test and became a registered voter. Despite the persistent hostility of local whites, she continued her commitment to civil rights activities and became an SNCC field secretary. By 1964 Hamer had fully immersed herself in a wide range of local civil rights activities, including SNCC-sponsored voter registration campaigns and clothing- and food-distribution drives. At that time she was a central organizer and vice-chairperson of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a parallel political party formed under the auspices of SNCC in response to black exclusion from the state Democratic Party. Hamer was one of the sixty-eight MFDP delegates elected at a state convention of the party to attend the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in the summer of 1964. At the convention the MFDP delegates demanded to be seated and argued that they were the only legitimate political representatives of the Mississippi Democratic Party because unlike the regular party, which formed and operated at the exclusion of blacks, their party was open to all Mississippians of voting age.

Hamer's televised testimony to the convention on behalf of the MFDP propelled her into the national spotlight. A national audience watched as she described the economic reprisals that faced African Americans who attempted to register to vote and recounted the beating that she and five other activists had received in June 1963 in a Winona County, Mississippi, jail. Hamer's proud and unwavering commitment to American democracy and equality inspired hundreds of Americans to send telegrams supporting the MFDP's challenge to the southern political status quo. Although the MFDP delegates were not seated by the convention, Hamer and the party succeeded in mobilizing a massive black voter turnout and publicizing the racist exclusionary tactics of the state Democratic Party.

By the mid-1960s SNCC had become ideologically divided and Hamer's ties to the organization became more tenuous. However, she continued to focus her political work on black political empowerment and community development. Under her leadership the MFDP continued to challenge the all-white state Democratic Party. In 1964 Hamer unsuccessfully ran for Congress on the MFDP ticket, and one year later she spearheaded an intense lobbying effort to challenge the seating of Mississippi's five con-

gressmen in the House of Representatives. She played an integral role in bringing the Head Start Program for children to Ruleville and organized the Freedom Farm Cooperative for displaced agricultural workers. In 1969 she founded the Freedom Farm Corporation in Sunflower, a cooperative farming and landowning venture to help poor blacks become more self-sufficient. It fed well over five thousand families before collapsing in 1974. Three years later, after over a decade of activism, she died from breast cancer and heart disease.

Fannie Lou Hamer was a symbol of defiance and indomitable black womanhood that inspired many in the civil rights movement. Morehouse College and Howard University, among others, have honored her devotion to African-American civil rights with honorary doctoral degrees. Her words "I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired" bear testament to her lifelong struggle to challenge racial injustice and economic exploitation.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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CHANA KAI LEE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hamilton, William

1773
December 9, 1836

The abolitionist William Hamilton was born in New York sometime in 1773. He was reputed to be the illegitimate son of the American statesman Alexander Hamilton, the nation's first secretary of the treasury, though evidence for the accuracy of this rumor is lacking. He made a living as a carpenter, but he made his name as a powerful orator working to improve the conditions of African Americans. In 1808 he cofounded and became president of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, which provided funds for the widows and children of its members.

One of the country's earliest black abolitionists, Hamilton delivered an antislavery speech, *An Address to the New York African Society for Mutual Relief,* on January 2, 1809. The address was published a week later at his listeners' request. In the speech, Hamilton celebrated the recent ending of the American slave trade and promoted the education of African Americans. He expressed confidence that "soon shall that contumelious assertion of the proud be proved false, to wit, that Africans do not possess minds as ingenious as other men."

In 1820 Hamilton was one of the founding members of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church in New York City. On July 4, 1827, he gave a major oration at the church to commemorate the New York State emancipation statute. While in his earlier speech he insisted on the equality of the races, in this oration he proclaimed the superiority of blacks, noting that "if there is any difference in the species, that difference is in favour of the people of colour." Arguing that no white American could claim superiority to African Americans as long as he continued to hold slaves, Hamilton asked, "Does he act in conformity to true philosophy?"

Having made clear his contempt for the true motives of white men—"authority and gold"—and having accomplished his expressed goal "to unravel this mystery of superiority," Hamilton proceeded to exhort the young men of his audience to further study and education, and to rouse themselves from "frivolity and lethargy." Giving the lie to the supposed lethargy of African Americans, Hamilton was tireless in his endeavors on their behalf. He helped to organize the first annual Convention for the Improvement of Free People of Color held in Philadelphia on September 20, 1830. As president of the fourth annual convention, held in New York in June, 1834, he gave a well-received speech published as Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention, for the Improvement of the Free People of Color. As a member of the Phoenix and Philomathean societies he worked towards improving the education of African Americans.

Strongly opposed to the American Colonization Society, Hamilton was a staunch supporter of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, whom he knew personally. He publicized Garrison's *Liberator,* and helped in the publication of Garrison's *Thoughts on Colonization.* Hamilton died in or near New York City in 1836. His sons, Robert and Thomas, established two newspapers *The People's Press* and *The Anglo-African.*

See also Abolition; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; *Liberator, The*; Slave Narratives; Varick, James

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)

Hammon, Briton

c. 18th century

All that is known about the writer Briton Hammon is gleaned from his publication, *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man,—Servant to General Winslow, of Marshfield, in New England; Who Returned to Boston, after Having Been Absent Almost Thirteen Years* (Boston, 1760).

Hammon was either a servant or a slave of General Winslow of Marshfield, Massachusetts. In 1747 he sailed, with Winslow's consent, from Plymouth, Massachusetts, to the West Indies. He stayed several weeks in Jamaica, was shipwrecked on the coast of Florida, and was captured by Native Americans. He escaped with a Spanish schooner and was imprisoned in a Spanish dungeon in Havana for almost five years because he refused to serve on board a Spanish ship. Hammon then escaped again and went to England; he signed on a ship bound for Boston and found his former master, General Winslow, also on board. Both returned to Marshfield, where Hammon wrote his account of thirteen years of traveling.

Hammon's narrative has long been considered the first prose work by an African-American writer. Some literary historians credit him with writing the first slave narrative. His status is vague. In the title he used the word *servant,* and from his description it is not clear whether he was a privileged slave or a servant in a more modern sense. According to Hammon, he was paid to be a cook and to do other jobs. There is no information about the purposes of his travels. In the preface to his *Narrative,* Hammon explains "To the Reader" that his "capacities and conditions of life are very low" and asks for the reader's understanding.

See also Autobiography, U.S.

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DORIS DZIWAS (1996)

Hammon, Jupiter

1711
c. 1806

Poet and preacher Jupiter Hammon was born on Long Island, New York, and raised in slavery to the Lloyd family. Little is known about his personal circumstances; scholars speculate that he attended school and was permitted access to his master's library. He is known to have purchased a Bible from his master in 1773. A favored slave in the Lloyd household, he worked as a servant, farmhand, and artisan. In early 1761 Hammon published the first poem by a black person to appear in British North America, titled "An Evening Thought. Salvation by Christ with Penitential Cries: Composed by Jupiter Hammon, a Negro belonging to Mr. Lloyd of Queen's Village, on Long Island, the 25th of December, 1760." When British troops invaded Long Island, Hammon fled with the Lloyd family to Hartford, where he remained for the duration of the Revolutionary War. His second extant poem, "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly [sic], Ethiopian Poetess, in Boston, who came from Africa at eight years of age, and soon became acquainted with the gospel of Jesus Christ," was published there in 1778. In 1779 a work called "An Essay on Ten Virgins" was advertised, but no copy of it remains. Hammon's sermon, "A Winter Piece: Being a Serious Exhortation, with a Call to the Unconverted; and a Short Contemplation on the Death of Jesus Christ," to which is appended the seventeen-quatrain verse, "A Poem for Children, with Thoughts on Death," appeared in Hartford in 1782. Hammon returned to Oyster Bay, Long Island, later that year, and a second prose work, "An Evening's Improvement, Shewing the Necessity of Beholding the Lamb of God," which concludes with "A Dialogue, Entitled, the

Kind Master and the Dutiful Servant," was published in 1786. Hammon spoke to members of the African Society in New York on September 24, 1786. The text of that speech, "An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York," was printed in New York early in 1787.

Hammon's poems follow a strict, mechanical rhyme scheme and meter, and, like his sermons, exhort the reader to seek salvation by obeying the will of God. He appears to have extended this notion of Christian piety to his domestic situation and refused to speak out in public against slavery. However, even as he urged African Americans to "obey our masters," he questioned whether slavery was "right, and lawful, in the sight of God." "I do not wish to be free," he said at age seventy-five, "yet I should be glad, if others, especially the young negroes were to be free." The exact date of his death, and the place of his burial, are not known.

See also Poetry, U.S.; Wheatley, Phillis

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)

Hammons, David

1943

Born in Springfield, Illinois, artist David Hammons moved to Los Angeles to study graphic design and fine arts in 1964. He met his most influential teacher, Charles White, at Otis Art Institute, where he studied from 1968 to 1972. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Hammons produced body prints that investigated African-American identity. Recurring motifs included self-portraiture, the American flag, and the spade shape. In the early and mid-1970s Hammons moved into assemblage sculpture, continuing the use of culturally charged symbols for African Americans including spades (shovels), chains, barbecue bones, and African-American hair.

Hammons moved to New York City in 1975. He showed in galleries but also on the streets of Harlem and the East Village. Well-known to the avant-garde art world and in the African-American art community, he took on something of legendary status, amplified by his inaccessibility (he never had a telephone) and his flair for the dramatic. Benchwork works included *Higher Goals* (1983), a series of six-story-tall basketball hoop sculptures with a typically punning title, and *How Do You Like Me Now?,* a controversial portrait of the Rev. Jesse Jackson as a white man with blond hair.

In the early 1990s Hammons reluctantly accepted international recognition with shows at venues such as the Museum of Modern Art (New York) and Documenta (Kassel, Germany) and grants including the MacArthur Award.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary

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TOM FINKELPEARL (1996)

Hampton, Lionel Leo

April 12, 1908
August 31, 2002

Jazz vibraphonist and bandleader Lionel Hampton was born in Louisville, Kentucky, and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, then in Chicago. Most sources list his birth year as 1909; his autobiography, however, states that he was born in 1908. Hampton introduced the vibraphone to jazz and was widely regarded as a virtuoso performer. Like many jazz musicians, he received his first musical experiences in the black church, learning to play drums in his grandmother's Birmingham Holiness congregation. He received his first formal lessons on percussion while in elementary school. Hampton later joined the Chicago Defender Youth Band, directed by Major N. Clark Smith, an influential educator who nurtured many famous jazz musicians, among them Milt Hinton and Nat "King" Cole. By his second year of high school, Hampton was playing drums regularly with local musicians, including Les Hite and Detroit Shannon.

In the mid-1920s Hampton moved to Culver City, California., where he joined Reb's Legion Club Forty-Fives and made some of his first recordings. On the West Coast

he met Gladys Riddle, who later became his wife and business partner until her death in 1971. In 1930 he began a series of recordings with Louis Armstrong and His Sebastian's Cotton Club Orchestra, his first recordings on vibraphone. During this time, he also made appearances in movies with Les Hite (the Columbia film *Depths Below*) and Louis Armstrong (*Pennies from Heaven*).

In the mid-1930s Hampton formed his own group and worked regularly along the West Coast. In 1936 he joined Benny Goodman's Quartet, which included Teddy Wilson, Gene Krupa, and later guitarist Charlie Christian. The series of Goodman engagements (such as the famous 1938 Carnegie Hall concert) and recordings catapulted him to stardom as jazz's most influential vibraphonist. Through Hampton's performances the vibraphone became a jazz instrument of recognition. During this same period he also continued to record as the leader of his own sessions until leaving Goodman in 1940. Hampton performed and recorded continuously with great commercial success for the next forty-five years in the United States and abroad with various groups, one of the jazz world's most popular and highly regarded musicians.

Throughout his long career Hampton recognized and nurtured young talent. A partial list of musicians who have played in his groups over the years reads like a who's who of jazz history: Howard McGhee, Dexter Gordon, Fletcher Henderson, Oscar Peterson, Ben Webster, Coleman Hawkins, Johnny Griffin, Quincy Jones, Benny Carter, Dinah Washington, Betty Carter, Nat "King" Cole, and Joe Williams, among others. Hampton is perhaps best known for his showy, energetic stage presence and his hard-driving swing style, which can be heard in such compositions as "Flying Home," "Stompology," and "Down Home Stomp." Over the years he joined Goodman and Wilson for reunion concerts and remained actively engaged in philanthropic and civic activities.

Hampton suffered personal tragedy when his New York apartment was destroyed by fire in January 1997. However, he continued to perform, and in 1998 he was the star of a gala concert on his ninetieth birthday. After suffering a series of strokes and being in ill health for a number of years, Hampton died at the age of ninety-four in 2002.

See also Armstrong, Louis; Jazz

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GUTHRIE P. RAMSEY JR. (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

HAMPTON INSTITUTE

In 1868 in Hampton, Virginia, Samuel Chapman Armstrong founded Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute as a nondenominational and coeducational school where young African Americans were to be trained as teachers. Armstrong, a white man, was convinced that most freedmen's schools were failures because they did not address blacks' most pressing needs. He believed that the experience of slavery had caused African Americans to degenerate into a morally deficient caste, and he accepted the stereotypical image of the freedman as poor, lazy, insolent, and lawless. To succeed, he argued, educators had to respond to these harsh realities by developing an entirely new approach to education for blacks. In addition to offering academic instruction, schools had to contribute to their pupils' moral development and help them attain material prosperity. Armstrong intended Hampton to be a model school, where generations of black teachers would be indoctrinated with his ideas.

Because Armstrong believed that blacks would continue to serve as the South's laboring class in the foreseeable future, Hampton Institute became the first school for African Americans to adopt a comprehensive system of industrial education. All students were required to labor in the school's farms and trade shops for two full days each week. The stated goal of this manual-education program was not to train skilled craftsmen but to develop "character" and to foster a spirit of self-reliance among the students. Hampton's white teachers reported that the work system helped their pupils to appreciate the dignity of labor and to understand that prosperity could be gained only through hard work.

Students' academic pursuits were closely coordinated with their work in the shops and fields. Hampton's supporters argued that "book learning" was useful to most African Americans only to the extent to which it could make them more productive and prosperous workers. Therefore, the institute's teachers emphasized only the development of "practical" skills such as writing, botany, and simple arithmetic. As a result, by the time students completed the three-year normal program, they had received educations equivalent only to grammar-school programs in the North.

To supplement the institute's academic and industrial work, Armstrong developed a system of social instruction designed to "civilize" the students. Since Hampton was primarily a boarding school, its teachers could control their students' behavior every hour of the day. In their dormitories, students received instruction in Christian morality, personal hygiene, housekeeping, and etiquette.

Students in carpentry shop class at Hampton Institute, c. 1900. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Above all, they learned to emulate the behavior and seek the respect of their white neighbors.

The influence of Armstrong's educational philosophy, known as the Hampton Idea, soon spread throughout the South as Booker T. Washington and hundreds of other graduates applied the lessons they had learned at the institute to their own schools. Substantial financial support from whites in the North enabled Hampton and its imitators to grow rapidly. Many whites found Hampton's pragmatic approach, with its emphasis on manual labor and self-help rather than social and political activism, enormously appealing. The institute offered the hope that the nation's "race problem" could be solved without disrupting the socioeconomic status quo. The General Education Board and other philanthropic foundations used their financial influence to guide Hampton's growth along even more conservative directions, and to encourage other schools to adopt similar curriculums. Their support helped the institute to develop into one of America's largest and wealthiest black schools, and guaranteed that the Hampton Idea would become ascendant in the field of African-American education by the start of the twentieth century.

Hampton Institute has always been criticized by African Americans who believe that it served only to perpetuate their socioeconomic subordination. The school appeared to be training its students to fill precisely the same roles that blacks held under slavery. As the Hampton Idea gained widespread support among whites, it seemed increasingly likely that industrial education would soon be the only form of schooling available to blacks. As a result, criticism of the institute grew sharper, especially among black intellectuals.

In 1903 W. E. B. Du Bois published his first major attack on industrial education, and was soon recognized as the leading critic of the Hampton Idea. While Du Bois and other critics conceded that many African Americans could benefit from "practical" education, they felt that blacks

A mathematics class paces off distances at Hampton Institute, Virginia, c. 1900. *Founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong in 1868, Hampton Institute became the model for industrial education for African Americans throughout the South.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

also needed access to higher education in order to progress. They urged the institute to place greater emphasis on academics and to encourage its students to aspire to something more than life as manual laborers. They complained that in its pursuit of material prosperity and white approval, Hampton too often sacrificed black dignity.

These criticisms had little direct impact on the institute's curriculum until the 1920s. After World War I, many states embarked on crusades of educational reform and began to demand that teachers be better educated. Increasing numbers of Hampton's graduates failed to meet these higher standards. Institute officials first attempted to solve the problem by making only slight modifications to the academic program; eventually, however, they were forced to raise their admissions standards and to offer college-level courses. By 1927 over 40 percent of Hampton students were enrolled in the collegiate program. These students, who were more sympathetic to Du Bois's arguments than their predecessors had been, became increasingly critical of their school.

In 1927 a protest over a relatively minor social issue quickly grew into a general strike. Student leaders demanded that the institute raise the quality of its teaching, abolish key elements of the industrial system, hire more African Americans, and grant students an expanded role in administration. The strike was quickly crushed, but Hampton officials had no alternative but to respond to the students' demands. In 1929 the institute declared that it would no longer accept students who had not already completed high school. The following year, to emphasize its shift from Armstrong's industrial model to a more traditional program of higher education, the school formally changed its name from Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute to Hampton Institute. In 1984 the school—having developed into a prominent liberal-arts and teach-

ers' college with over four thousand students—changed its name to Hampton University.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Education in the United States; Washington, Booker T.

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GREGORY J. MURPHY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hancock, Gordon Blaine

June 23, 1884
July 24, 1970

The sociologist and minister Gordon Hancock was born in rural Ninety-Six, a township in Greenwood County, South Carolina. He was educated in Newberry, a neighboring town, by a private instructor and acquired a teacher's certificate in 1902. In 1904 he matriculated at Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina, receiving a bachelor of arts degree in 1911 and a bachelor of divinity in 1912. Ordained in 1911, he became pastor of Bethlehem Baptist Church in Newberry. He was named principal of Seneca Institute, a coed Baptist boarding school for blacks in Seneca, South Carolina, in 1912. Hancock left South Carolina in 1918 to attend Colgate University in Hamilton, New York. One of only two blacks enrolled in the school, Hancock earned his second B.A. in 1919 and his second B.D. in 1920.

That same year, Hancock entered Harvard as a graduate fellow in sociology and earned a master's degree in 1921. Shortly thereafter, he accepted a professorship at Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia, where he organized one of the first courses on race relations at any black college. In 1925 he accepted the pastorship at Richmond's Moore Street Baptist Church. He also wrote a weekly column for the Associated Negro Press that appeared in 114 black newspapers and preached the merits of interracial cooperation and black self-help.

In 1931 Hancock founded the Torrance School of Race Relations at Virginia Union. During the Depression, he originated the Double Duty Dollar idea, encouraging blacks to patronize black-owned businesses. Disdainful of what he viewed as overambition among blacks, he also promoted a Hold Your Job campaign, emphasizing the importance of maintaining a solid black working class.

Characterized by some as an accommodationist, Hancock looked for support from southern white moderates in trying to end segregation without sacrificing black identity, self-help, and racial solidarity. Hancock believed that blacks should be accorded full equality, and he advocated black economic, cultural, social, and political self-development.

Alarmed by the growing racial tension and aggression in the South during World War II, Hancock convened fifty-two black southern leaders at the Southern Conference on Race Relations in Durham, North Carolina, in October 1942 to propose a "New Charter of Race Relations" for the South. Serving as director of the conference, Hancock helped produce the Durham Manifesto, a statement issued by the conference in December of that year, outlining the leaders' carefully nuanced demands for improvements in the position of African Americans in the South. Following this, the black leaders met with white moderates at a conference in Richmond and, with Hancock again serving as director, agreed to form the Southern Regional Council.

Hancock took a slightly more aggressive approach to racial issues in the years following the Durham conference, questioning the merits of interracial cooperation with southern whites and more openly attacking racial segregation. Hancock's position as a spokesperson for the black community began to fade just as the civil rights movement started to receive national attention. He was named professor emeritus at Virginia Union and retired from there in 1952, removing himself almost entirely from the public spotlight. In 1963, Hancock left his pastorship at Moore Street Baptist Church. He spent his later years collecting black spirituals as well as composing and publishing his own songs (*Two Homeward Songs,* 1965). Hancock died at his home in Richmond, Virginia, in 1970.

See also Durham Manifesto; Sociology

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)

Hancock, Herbie

April 12, 1940

Born and raised in Chicago, jazz pianist and composer Herbert Jeffrey Hancock started formal piano lessons at the age of seven and became a prodigy, performing the first movement of Mozart's D major "Coronation" piano concerto (K. 537) with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra at the age of eleven. He formed his own jazz ensemble at Hyde Park High School, and went on to study engineering while he wrote for the big band at Grinnell College (1956–1960) and attended Roosevelt University (1960).

After graduation, Hancock played as a sideman in Chicago for saxophonist Coleman Hawkins, and in 1961 he was hired by trumpeter Donald Byrd. Hancock also played with saxophonist Phil Woods and bandleader and saxophonist Oliver Nelson, and in 1962 he made his recording debut as a leader on *Takin' Off,* which featured his gospel-tinged "Watermelon Man," a tune later popularized by percussionist Mongo Santamaria.

In 1962 Hancock moved to New York and worked with Eric Dolphy and Clark Terry before joining Miles Davis's quintet in 1963, contributing artfully atonal improvisations and modal compositions to the trumpeter's *My Funny Valentine* (1964), *E.S.P.* (1965), *Miles Smiles* (1966), *Nefertiti* (1967), *In a Silent Way* (1969), and *Big Fun* (1969). During this time Hancock continued recording as a leader on *Empyrean Isles* (containing his "Cantaloupe Island," 1964), *Maiden Voyage* (including "Dolphin Dance," 1965), and *Speak like a Child* (1968).

Introduced to electric instruments during his eight years with Davis's landmark quintet, Hancock formed his own sextet, and from 1971 to 1973 he further explored the assimilation of the rhythms and electric textures of rock and funk with jazz, a style that came to be known as "fusion." In 1973 Hancock released *Headhunters,* an album that gained him a wider audience, and gave him his first hit single, "Chameleon." His subsequent albums, *Thrust* (1974) and *Manchild* (1975), experimented with popular rhythm-and-blues dance idioms and were deplored by many jazz critics. During this time, however, Hancock led a double career as he continued to work in the same hard-bop vein he had pursued with Davis in the 1960s. In 1976 and 1977 he reunited with his former colleagues from Davis's quintet, touring and recording under the name V.S.O.P. In 1983 Hancock released his second hit single, "Rockit," on the rap-influenced *Future Shock* (1983). Hancock has also gained renown as a composer for films, including *Blow Up* (1966), *Death Wish* (1975), *A Soldier's Story* (1984), and *Round Midnight,* for which he won an Academy Award for best score in 1986. In the 1990s he continued to pursue parallel careers with his own electric groups, as well as in mainstream jazz contexts that include solo performances, duos with Chick Corea, a trio with bassist Buster Williams and Al Foster, and with V.S.O.P. In 2004 Hancock won the National Endowment of the Arts Award and received the National Endowment for the Arts Jazz Masters Fellowship, the highest honor bestowed upon jazz musicians.

See also Davis, Miles; Jazz

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SCOTT DEVEAUX (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hansberry, Lorraine

May 19, 1930
January 12, 1965

Playwright Lorraine Hansberry was the youngest child of a nationally prominent African-American family. Houseguests during her childhood included Paul Robeson and Duke Ellington. Hansberry became interested in theater while in high school, and in 1948 she went on to study drama and stage design at the University of Wisconsin. Instead of completing her degree, however, she moved to New York, worked at odd jobs, and wrote. In 1959 her first play, *A Raisin in the Sun,* was produced and was both a critical and commercial success. It broke the record for longest-running play by a black author and won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award. Hansberry was the first African American and the youngest person ever to win that award. The play, based on an incident in the author's own life, tells the story of a black family that attempts to move into a white neighborhood in Chicago. Critics praised Hansberry's ability to deal with a racial issue and at the same time explore the American dream of freedom and the search for a better life. The play was turned into a film in 1961, and then was adapted as a musical, *Raisin,* which won a Tony Award in 1974.

Hansberry's second play, *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window,* focuses on white intellectual political involve-

ment. Less successful than *A Raisin in the Sun,* it closed after a brief run at the time of Hansberry's death from cancer in 1965. After her death, Hansberry's former husband, Robert B. Nemiroff, whom she had married in 1953, edited her writings and plays, and produced two volumes: *To Be Young, Gifted and Black* (1969) and *Les Blancs: The Collected Last Plays of Lorraine Hansberry* (1972). Her unproduced screenplay for *A Raisin in the Sun* was published in 1992. *To Be Young, Gifted and Black* was presented as a play and became the longest-running Off-Broadway play of the 1968–1969 season.

See also Drama

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LILY PHILLIPS (1996)
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Harlem, New York

Harlem, New York, is bounded roughly by 110th Street on the south, 155th Street on the north, Morningside Drive on the west, and Saint Nicholas Avenue and the East River on the east. During the twentieth century Harlem became the most famous African-American community in the United States. Prior to 1900, Harlem had been primarily a white neighborhood. In the 1870s, with the growth of commuter rail service, it evolved from an isolated, impoverished village in the northern reaches of Manhattan into a wealthy residential suburb.

The Creation of a Black Enclave

With the opening of a subway line extending along Lenox Avenue in the early years of the twentieth century, a flurry of real estate speculation contributed to a substantial increase in building. At the time, the population of Harlem was largely English and German, with increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants. By 1904, however, Harlem's economic prosperity and expansion ceased as a result of high rental costs and excessive construction. In that same year, Phillip A. Payton Jr., a black realtor, founded the Afro-American Realty Company with the intention of leasing vacant white-owned buildings and renting them to African Americans. Although the company survived for only four years, due to Payton's unwise investments, it played a pivotal role in opening up Harlem to African Americans.

Coupled with this development, black migration from the South during the early years of the new century dramatically altered Harlem's composition until by 1930 it had become a largely all-black enclave. In 1890 there were approximately 25,000 African Americans in Manhattan. By 1910 that number had more than tripled to 90,000. In the following decade the black population increased to approximately 150,000 and more than doubled by 1930 to over 325,000. In Harlem itself the black population rose from approximately 50,000 in 1914 to about 80,000 in 1920 to about 200,000 by 1930.

Harlem was called a city within a city, because it contained the normal gamut of classes, businesses, and cultural and recreational institutions traditionally identified with urban living. By the 1920s, moreover, Harlem's place in American intellectual and political history had progressed significantly. This transition was fueled on the cultural scene by the literary and artistic activity collectively called the Harlem Renaissance. Emerging after renewed racism and a series of race riots during the Red Summer of 1919 squelched the promise that African Americans would gain racial equality in return for military service in World War I, the Harlem Renaissance reflected the evolution of what was called a New Negro spirit and determination. As Alain Locke, one of its acknowledged leaders, explained, self-respect and self-dependence became characteristics of the New Negro movement, which were exemplified in every facet of cultural, intellectual, and political life.

The African-American Cultural Capital

Represented by poets such as Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen; novelists like Zora Neale Hurston, Jean Toomer, and Jessie Fauset; artists like Aaron Douglas; photographers like James VanDerZee; and social scientists and philosophers like E. Franklin Frazier, Alain Locke, and W. E. B. Du Bois, the Harlem Renaissance was national in scope but came to be identified with the emerging African-American cultural capital, Harlem. The outpouring of literary and artistic production that comprised the Harlem Renaissance also led to a number of social gatherings at which the black intelligentsia mingled and exchanged ideas. Many of the most celebrated of

Lenox Avenue, Harlem, June 14, 1938. *Photographer Berenice Abbott included this image of Lenox Avenue in her collection* Changing New York: Photographs by Berenice Abbott, 1935–1938. PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

these events were held at the home of A'Lelia Walker, daughter of Madame C. J. Walker, who had moved the base of her multimillion-dollar beauty care industry to Harlem in 1913.

Also fostering Harlem's growth in the 1920s were a series of political developments. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League established offices in the area. Moreover, by 1920 two major New York black newspapers, the *New York Age* and the *Amsterdam News,* moved their printing operations and editorial offices to Harlem. Socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen established their offices in Harlem as well and from there they edited and published their newspaper, the *Messenger,* beginning in 1917. Nothing, however, caught the attention of Harlemites as quickly as the 1916 arrival of Marcus Garvey, who established the headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the district. Garvey's emphasis on race pride and the creation of black businesses and factories, and his appeal to the masses, awakened and galvanized the Harlem community.

By 1915 Harlem had become the entertainment capital of black America. Performers gravitated to Harlem and to New York City's entertainment industry. Musicians such as Willie "The Lion" Smith, Fats Waller, and James P. Johnson created a version of early jazz piano known as the Harlem Stride around the time of World War I. After 1920, bandleaders such as Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, and Chick Webb laid the foundation for big-band jazz. (Early in the 1940s, at clubs such as Minton's Playhouse and Monroe's, a revolution would occur in jazz. Individuals such as Thelonious Monk, Charlie Parker, and Dizzy Gillespie moved away from swing, using advanced harmonies and substitute chords, creating bebop jazz.)

Lafayette Theatre in Harlem. CORBIS

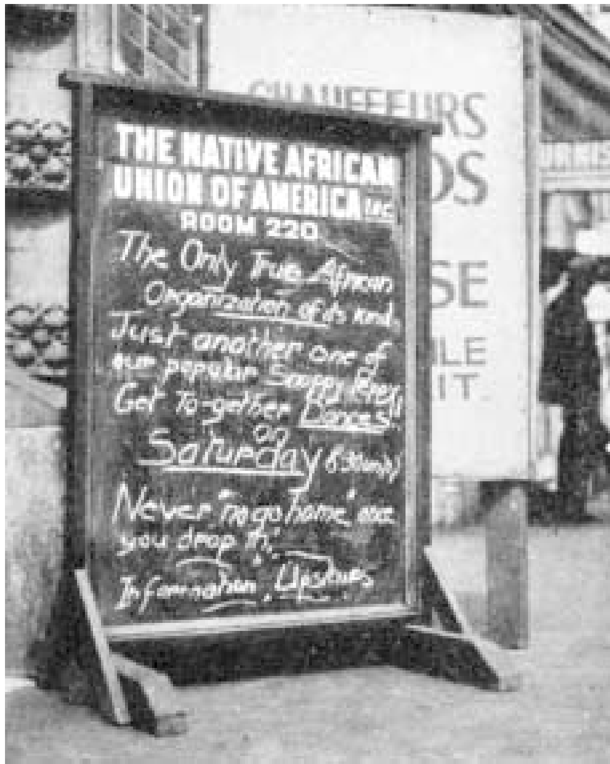
Harlem also became a major center of popular dance. On the stage, Florence Mills was perhaps Harlem's most popular theatrical dancer in the 1920s; 150,000 people turned out for her funeral in 1927. Tap dance flourished in Harlem as well. The roster of well-known performers included the Whitman Sisters, Buck and Bubbles, the Nicholas Brothers, Earl "Snake Hips" Tucker, and Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, who carried the honorary title the Mayor of Harlem.

Harlem's theatrical life was also vibrant. From the early years of the century through the Great Depression, the center of popular entertainment in Harlem was the Lincoln Theater, on 135th Street off Lenox Avenue. After 1934 the Lincoln was superseded by the Apollo Theater. Harlem attracted vaudevillians such as Bert Williams, George W. Walker, Flournoy Miller, and Aubrey Lyles, and a later generation of comedians including Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham and Dusty Fletcher, who popularized the "Open the door, Richard" routine.

After 1917 the Lafayette Theater grew in prominence as a home of serious drama, due to the success of such actors as Paul Robeson, Richard B. Harrison (famous for his role as "De Lawd" in *Green Pastures*), and Abbie Mitchell. Harlem was also a center of nightclubs. The best known included the black-owned Smalls' Paradise, the Cotton Club, and the mobster-connected and racially exclusive Connie's Inn. The best-known dance hall was the Savoy Ballroom, which billed itself as the "Home of Happy Feet" and presented the best in big-band jazz after 1926. Harlem's cultural vitality was celebrated in plays including Wallace Thurman's *Harlem* (1929), Langston Hughes's *Mulatto* (1935), *Little Ham* (1935), and *Don't You Want to be Free?* (1936–1937), and Abram Hill's *On Strivers' Row* (1939). Musical performers celebrated Harlem's social scene through such compositions as "The Joint is Jumping," "Stompin' at the Savoy," "Harlem Airshaft," "Drop Me Off in Harlem," and "Take the *A* Train."

Churches and Politics

As Harlem became a political and cultural center of black America, the community's black churches became more



A "Back to Africa" announcement, Harlem. *Harlem at the time of the great migration was home to many people of the African Diaspora, who had come to the city from the Caribbean, South America, Africa, and the American South. Movements to reclaim their African heritage and bring unity to the disparate groups had great appeal.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

influential as well. Most were Protestant, particularly Baptist and Methodist, and the Abyssinian Baptist Church became the most famous during the interwar period. The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Sr. moved the church from West 40th Street in midtown Manhattan to West 138th Street in Harlem in 1923. He combated prostitution, organized classes in home economics, built a home for the elderly, and organized soup kitchens and employment networks during the Great Depression. He was succeeded as senior pastor in 1937 by his son, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who expanded the scope of the church's community activism. Harlem's scores of storefront churches, many of which proliferated during the interwar period, imitated Abyssinian's community aid efforts on a smaller scale. Harlem's most famous heterodox religious leader of the 1930s, Father Divine, established a series of soup kitchens and stores in the community through his Peace Mission and his Righteous Government political organization.

The 1930s were a period of stagnation and decline in Harlem, as they were throughout the nation. Civil rights protest increased during the decade, and much of it originated in Harlem. In response to white businessmen's unwillingness to hire black workers for white-collar jobs in their Harlem stores, a series of "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" boycott campaigns commenced in 1933 and became an effective method of protesting against racial bigotry throughout the decade. Harlem community leaders such as Adam Clayton Powell Jr. often joined with the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Communist Party, and the Citizens' League for Fair Play (CLFP) in leading these protests. Under the aegis of the Communist Party, major demonstrations were also held on Harlem streets in the early 1930s in support of the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon.

Major-party politics thrived in Harlem as much as radical politics did during the first half of the century. In the 1920s the Republican Party (led in black communities by Charles Anderson) and the Democratic Party (led by Ferdinand Q. Morton under Tammany Hall's United Colored Democracy) competed fiercely for black votes. Within the black community itself, African Americans and Caribbean Americans competed for dominance over the few available instruments of political control. Caribbean Americans were particularly prominent in the struggle to integrate Harlem blacks into the main organization of the Democratic Party; J. Raymond Jones (an immigrant from the Virgin Islands who would ultimately become head of Tammany Hall) led an insurgent group called the New Democrats in this effort during the early 1930s.

Civil disturbances played an important role in Harlem's growing political consciousness. In 1935 a riot, fueled by animosity toward white businesses and the police, left three dead and caused over $200 million in damage. New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia later assigned his Mayor's Commission on Conditions in Harlem (led by E. Franklin Frazier) to study the uprising; the commission revealed a great number of underlying socioeconomic problems that were giving rise to racial animosities. In 1943 Harlem experienced another major race riot, which left five dead. This second riot was fueled by racial discrimination in war-related industries and continuing animosities between white police officers and Harlem's black citizens.

These events helped shape the emerging political career of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who was elected to the New York City Council in 1941 and to the United States Congress in 1944, representing Harlem's newly created Eighteenth District. Powell's intolerance of race discrimination, along with his vocal and flamboyant style, brought national attention to the community, and he remained a symbol of Harlem's strength and reputation until his ex-

pulsion from Congress in 1967. He was reelected by his loyal Harlem constituency in 1968.

Post–World War II Era

By the end of World War II, Harlem experienced another transition. The migration of middle-class blacks to more affluent neighborhoods destabilized the class balance of earlier decades. Many of the remaining businesses were owned not by black residents but by whites who lived far removed from the ghetto. At the same time, most of the literati associated with the Harlem Renaissance had left the district. However, Harlem's literary life was preserved by a number of dedicated authors, including Ralph Ellison (whose 1952 novel, *Invisible Man,* was centered in Harlem) and Harlem native James Baldwin. The Harlem Writers Guild was founded in 1950 by John Oliver Killens, Maya Angelou, John Henrik Clarke, and others, and has for over four decades offered writers in the community a forum for the reading and discussion of their works. Photographers such as Austin Hansen and Gordon Parks Sr. continued to capture and celebrate Harlem's community on film.

For most of those who remained in Harlem after the war, however, a sense of powerlessness set in, exacerbated by poverty and a lack of control over their community. The quality of Harlem housing continued to be an acute problem. Paradoxically, as the quality of Harlem's inadequately heated, rat-infested buildings deteriorated, and as health ordinances related to housing were increasingly ignored, the rents on those units rose. People were evicted for being unable to keep up with their rent, and having no other place to go many either entered community shelters or joined the swelling ranks of the homeless.

Heroin addiction and street crime were increasingly serious problems. The 1950s saw Harlem deteriorate, both spiritually and physically. Dependent on welfare and other social services, many Harlemites longed for a chance to reassert some degree of hegemony over their community.

The 1964 Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited Act (HARYOU) represented an attempt to provide solutions. After an intensive study of the community from political, economic, and social perspectives, HARYOU proposed a combination of social action to reacquire political power and an influx of federal funds to redress the increasing economic privation of the area. From the beginning, however, the project suffered from personnel conflicts among the leadership. Social psychologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, who originally conceived and directed the project, resigned after a struggle with Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Following Clark's tenure, a Powell ally, Livingston Wingate, led the project through a period of intensifying government scrutiny of its finances.

HARYOU was an attempt to increase local control through community action while remaining dependent upon government largess for organizational funding, and it failed. It was also unable to ameliorate the alienation and decline into delinquency that plagued Harlem's youth. Illustrative of its failure was the 1964 riot, ignited like its predecessors by an incident of alleged police brutality, which underscored the troubles that continued to plague the community.

By the late 1960s, Harlem precisely fit the conclusion reached by the 1968 National Commission of Civil Disorders report. It was a ghetto, created, maintained, and condoned by white society. Literary works of the postwar era, from Ann L. Petry's *The Street* (1946) to Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land* (1965), reflected this progressively deteriorating state of affairs as well.

It was in this period of decay that another charismatic organization emerged in the community, the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X, the head of Harlem's mosque, blended the intellectual acumen of the 1920s literati with the political sophistication and charisma of Marcus Garvey. He galvanized the masses and rekindled in them a sense of black pride and self-determination, appealing to their sense of disgruntlement with a message that was far angrier and less conciliatory than that offered by other major civil rights leaders. He was assassinated on February 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom in Upper Manhattan.

Harlem since the 1960s

Harlem since the 1960s has been severely affected by the same external forces that have plagued many other American urban centers. As the U.S. economy underwent a critical transition from a focus heavy manufacturing to a focus on service and information technologies, large-scale industry left urban areas. Large numbers of Harlem residents followed this exodus, settling in suburban areas in Queens, the Bronx, and other boroughs. The resultant unemployment among those who remained further eviscerated Harlem. The community had long since lost its position as the population center of black New York to the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Community vital statistics have been no more encouraging. It was estimated in 1992 that the average African-American male born in Harlem would have a life expectancy of sixty-four years, dying before becoming eligible for most Social Security or retirement benefits.

The Harlem Commonwealth Council, a nonprofit corporation begun in 1967 and founded through the Of-

One of Harlem's main intersections, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, in 1943. *On the left is Blumstein's Department Store, the site of a major "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" protest in 1934. On the right, farther up the block, is the Apollo Theater.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

fice of Economic Opportunity and the private sector, sought to develop Harlem economically and empower its community leaders politically. Yet in its first twenty-five years, bad investments and an uncertain economy have reduced its real estate holdings, and virtually all its large-scale enterprises have gone bankrupt.

In 1989 David N. Dinkins, a product of Harlem's Democratic Clubs, became the first African-American mayor of New York. One of his biggest supporters was Charles Rangel, who in 1970 had succeeded Adam Clayton Powell Jr. as Harlem's congressman. In his four years as mayor, Dinkins sought to reestablish an atmosphere of racial harmony and cooperation to realize his vision of New York City as a "gorgeous mosaic" of diverse ethnicities.

Harlem residents continued their efforts to reassert control over their community in the 1990s, as the Harlem Chamber of Commerce led efforts to revitalize Harlem's businesses and reclaim the community's physical infrastructure (a process sometimes referred to as "ghettocentrism"). A plan to spend over $170 million to build permanent housing for the poor and homeless began early in the decade, and such landmark structures as the Astor Row houses, on 130th Street, were rehabilitated as well. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, on 135th Street, established in 1926 as a branch of the New York Public Library, remained the nation's leading resource of African-American scholarship, as well as the location of academic conferences and meetings of the Harlem Writers Guild. The Studio Museum of Harlem, on 125th Street, was a focus for African-American and Caribbean-American folk art. The Apollo Theater, on 125th Street, was reopened in 1989, and it continued to showcase the current and future leaders of black entertainment. The nearby Hotel Theresa no longer served as a hotel but continued as the Theresa Towers, a modern office center and community landmark.

Throughout Harlem's history there has been a wide gap between the social, intellectual, and artistic accomplishments of the community's elite and the poverty and neglect experienced by its masses. This gap was dramatically demonstrated by debates during the mid-1990s over the use of community development funds to bring large supermarkets to the 125th Street area, a plan that community activists favored as a way to bring lower-cost goods to Harlem but that small shop owners opposed as unfair competition.

Harlem was marked by a series of crises revolving around race and economics in the mid-1990s. In 1994, following complaints by local merchants, police forcibly removed street peddlers selling African artifacts and other wares from 125th Street. In 1995, after the Jewish landlord of a space in a building owned by an African-American church announced plans to terminate the sublease of a popular African-American clothing store, violent protests broke out, and an arsonist shot himself and four others before setting fire to the store. In 1998 national attention was again fixed on Harlem when former Nation of Islam activist Khalid Abdul Muhammad announced plans for a Million Youth March. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani refused a permit on the pretext that the city could not afford police protection. Organizers ultimately won a court order authorizing the march, which drew an estimated 40,000 people. At the same time, however, Harlem continues to maintain, as it has in every decade of its existence, an inner energy and spirit.

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Apollo Theater; Black Middle Class; Dinkins, David; Garvey, Marcus; Great Depression and the New Deal; Harlem Renaissance; Harlem Writers Guild; Jazz; Lincoln Theater; Malcolm X; Migration; Nation of Islam; New Negro; Riots and Popular Protests; Savoy Ballroom; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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MARSHALL HYATT (1996)
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HARLEM GLOBETROTTERS

The Harlem Globetrotters were founded in 1926. At that time Abe Saperstein (1902–1966), an English-born Jewish Chicagoan who had coached semipro basketball in the Chicago area, took over the coaching duties of an African-American team, the Savoy Big Five (formerly Giles Post American Legion). Saperstein decided the team would be more popular with better marketing. To emphasize its racial composition and its barnstorming, he renamed the team the Harlem Globetrotters, although they had no connection to the New York City neighborhood. The newly renamed team debuted on January 7, 1927, in Hinckley, Illinois, wearing read, white, and blue uniforms that Saperstein had sewn in his father's tailor shop. The first starting team consisted of Walter "Toots" Wright, Byron "Fat" Long, Willis "Kid" Oliver, Andy Washington, and Al "Runt" Pullins.

The Globetrotters played the itinerant schedule of barnstorming basketball teams, taking on black and white squads of greatly varying levels of ability, with many memorable games against their archrivals, the New York Rens. Players boosted the team's popularity by clowning—drop-kicking balls, spinning them on fingertips, and bouncing them off teammates' heads. In 1939 the Globetrotters finished third in the *Chicago Herald American*'s World Professional Tournament; in 1940, they became World Champions. In 1943 the team traveled to Mexico City (the first indication that the team would soon justify its "Glo-

betrotter" name) and won the International Cup Tournament. During the mid-1940s, a white player, Bob Karstens, joined the Globetrotters (the team has briefly had two other white players).

After World War II, as professional all-white basketball leagues began slowly integrating, the Globetrotters, led by Marques Haynes, were so popular that rumors spread that Saperstein opposed integration in order to keep control of the market for black players. Meanwhile, they continued to hold their own against white teams in exhibition games. In February 1948 the Globetrotters, following a fifty-two-game winning streak, played George Mikan and the Minneapolis Lakers evenly in two exhibition games in Chicago. The team's skill and popularity belied black exclusion policies.

By 1950 NBA teams had three black players, including ex-Globetrotter Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton. After the integration of professional basketball, the Globetrotters' playing style changed dramatically. Clowning now became predominant. Players such as Reece "Goose" Tatum, Meadowlark Lemon, and Fred "Curly" Neal were hired not only for playing ability but for trick shooting, dribbling, and comedic talent. The Globetrotters, now billed as "The Clown Princes of Basketball," became best known for already familiar routines, such as the pregame "Magic Circle." In this act, players stand in a loose circle and display their skill and deftness with the ball, accompanied by the team's theme song, "Sweet Georgia Brown."

In 1950 the Globetrotters began annual coast-to-coast trips with squads of college All-Americans, which lasted until 1962. The same year, the team began annual European summer tours, playing to enormous crowds. In 1951 they played before seventy-five thousand spectators in Berlin's Olympic Stadium, still one of the largest crowds ever to see a basketball game. During this period, they appeared in two movies, *Go Man Go* (1948) and *The Harlem Globetrotters* (1951). In the early 1950s, after the Globetrotters lost consecutive games to Red Klotz's Philadelphia Spas, Abe Saperstein decided to dispense with playing local teams and to barnstorm with the Spas (later renamed the Washington Generals), who play some 250 games with the Globetrotters each year and serve as straight men for their stunts. The Generals, following an agreement with the Globetrotters, allow several trick-shot baskets per game. The last time the Generals beat their rivals was in 1971. In the 1950s the Globetrotters split into two squads, one of which played on the East Coast while the other focused on the West. In 1958–1959, the same year that Wilt Chamberlain, after the end of his college career, spent playing with the team (often as a seven-foot one-inch guard!), the Globetrotters toured the Soviet Union as goodwill ambassadors. Other famous athletes who played with the team included Bob Gibson and Connie Hawkins. The team has retained its interracial popularity, although during the 1960s some blacks criticized team members for their clownish image, which reinforced racial stereotypes, and the team's silence on civil rights issues.

After Saperstein's death in 1966, the team was sold to three Chicago businessmen for $3.7 million. In 1975 Metromedia purchased the team for $11 million. The Globetrotters remained popular into the 1970s, when they starred in cartoon and live-action TV series, but their popularity declined some years later, especially after stars such as Meadowlark Lemon left the team after contract disputes. In 1985 the first female Globetrotter, Lynette Woodward, was hired. In December 1986 Metromedia sold the team (as part of a package that included the Ice Capades) to International Broadcasting Corp. (IBC) for $30 million. In 1993 IBC entered bankruptcy and Mannie Johnson, a former Globetrotter, bought the team. It was another Globetrotter, Curly Neal, who best captured the team's appeal: "How do I know when we played a good 'game'?" he said. "When I look up at the crowd and I see all those people laughing their heads off. It's a hard world and if we can lighten it up a little, we've done our job."

In 1998 the Globetrotters played their 20,000th game. Globetrotters great Meadowlark Lemon was inducted into the basketball Hall of Fame in 2003.

See also Basketball; Renaissance Big Five (Harlem Rens)

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
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Harlem Renaissance

If the Harlem Renaissance was neither exclusive to Harlem nor a rebirth of anything that had gone before, its efflorescence above New York City's Central Park was characterized by such sustained vitality and variety as to influence by paramountcy and diminish by comparison the similar cultural energies in Boston, Philadelphia, and Washing-

ton, D.C. During its earliest years, beginning about 1917, contemporaries tended to describe the Harlem phenomenon as a manifestation of the New Negro Arts Movement. However, by the time it ended in the winter of 1934–1935—with both a whimper and a bang—the movement was almost universally regarded as indistinguishable from its Harlem incarnation.

As the population of African Americans rapidly urbanized and its literacy rate climbed, Harlem, New York, the "Negro capital of America," rose out of the vast relocation under way from South to North. A combination of causes propelled the Great Black Migration: southern white mob violence, the economics of discrimination, crop failure, the interruption of European immigration after 1914 and a consequent labor vacuum in the North, and the aggressive recruitment of black labor for work at wartime wages by northern industrialists. With the vast welling of black people from Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and elsewhere, their numbers rose from 60,534 in all of New York City in 1910 to a conservative 1923 estimate of the National Urban League (NUL) that placed the number at 183,428, with probably two-thirds in Harlem. Although this section of the city was by no means wholly occupied by people of color—never more than 60 percent during the 1930s—it soon became distinctively black in culture and in the mainstream perception. If the coming of black Harlem was swift, its triumph had been long anticipated by the increasing numbers of African Americans living in midtown Manhattan's teeming Tenderloin and San Juan Hill districts. The Tenderloin (so called from a police captain's gustatory graft), stretching roughly from West Fourteenth to Forty-second streets, had become home to the city's nonwhites during the early nineteenth century, after they forced their way out of the old Five Points area east of today's Foley Square, where City Hall stands.

By the 1890s blacks were battling the Irish for scarce turf north of Fiftieth Street in what came to be called San Juan Hill, in honor of African-American troops in the Spanish-American War. Influx and congestion had, as the African-American newspaper the *New York Age* predicted, great advantages: "Influx of Afro-Americans into New York City from all parts of the South made . . . possible a great number and variety of business enterprises." The example of Lower East Side Jews accumulating money and moving on, in the 1890s, to solid brownstones on wide, shaded streets in Harlem was enviously watched by African Americans. The area had undergone a building boom in anticipation of the extension of the subway, but by the turn of the century many apartment buildings were sparsely occupied. A few white landlords broke ranks around 1905 to rent or sell to African Americans through Philip A. Payton's pioneering Afro-American Realty Company.

Two institutional activities were outstandingly successful in promoting the occupation of Harlem—churches and cabarets. Saint Philip's Episcopal Church sold its West Twenty-fifth Street holdings for $140,000 in 1909 and disposed of its Tenderloin cemetery for $450,000 two years later. The Abyssinian Baptist Church, presided over by the charismatic Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., negotiated a comparable disposal of its property in order to build one of Protestant America's grandest temples on 138th Street. Nightclubs such as Banks's, Barron's, and Edmond's transported music and a nightlife style from the Tenderloin that gave Harlem its signature. Barron's Little Savoy featured "Jelly Roll" Morton, Willie "the Lion" Smith, James P. Johnson, Scott Joplin, and other legends of the era. Barron Wilkins took his club uptown before the country entered the European war.

Precisely why and how the Harlem Renaissance materialized, who molded it and who found it most meaningful, as well as what it symbolized and what it achieved, raise perennial American questions about race relations, class hegemony, cultural assimilation, generational-gender-lifestyle conflicts, and art versus propaganda. Notwithstanding its synoptic significance, the Harlem Renaissance was not, as some students have maintained, all inclusive of the early twentieth-century African-American urban experience. There were important movements, influences, and people who were marginal or irrelevant to it, as well as those alien or opposed. Not everything that happened in Harlem from 1917 to 1934 was a Renaissance happening. The potent mass movement founded and led by the charismatic Marcus Garvey was to the Renaissance what nineteenth-century populism was to progressive reform: a parallel but socially different force, related primarily through dialectical confrontation. Equally different from the institutional ethos and purpose of the Renaissance was the black church. An occasional minister (such as the father of poet Countee Cullen) or exceptional Garveyites (such as Yale-Harvard man William H. Ferris) might move in both worlds, but black evangelism and its cultist manifestations, such as Black Zionism, represented emotional and cultural retrogression in the eyes of the principal actors in the Renaissance. If the leading intellectual of the race, W. E. B. Du Bois, publicly denigrated the personnel and preachings of the black church, his animadversions were merely more forthright than those of other New Negro notables like James Weldon Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, Jessie Redmon Fauset, Alain Locke, and Walter Francis White.

The relationship of music to the Harlem Renaissance was problematic, for reasons exactly analogous to its elitist aversions to Garveyism and evangelism. When Du Bois wrote, a few years after the beginning of the New Negro movement in arts and letters, that "until the art of the black folk compels recognition they will not be rated as human," he, like most of his Renaissance peers, fully intended to exclude the blues of Bessie Smith and the jazz of "King" Oliver. Spirituals sung like lieder by the disciplined Hall Johnson Choir—and, better yet, lieder sung by conservatory-trained Roland Hayes, recipient of the NAACP's prestigious Spingarn Medal—were deemed appropriate musical forms to present to mainstream America. The deans of the Renaissance were entirely content to leave discovery and celebration of Bessie, Clara, Trixie, and various other blues-singing Smiths to white music critic Carl Van Vechten's effusions in *Vanity Fair*. When the visiting film director Sergei Eisenstein enthused about new black musicals, Charles S. Johnson and Alain Locke expressed mild consternation in the Urban League's *Opportunity* magazine. They would have been no less displeased by Maurice Ravel's fascination with musicians in Chicago dives. As board members of the Pace Phonograph Company, Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and others banned "funky" artists from the Black Swan list of recordings, thereby contributing to the demise of the African-American-owned firm. But the wild Broadway success of Miller and Lyles's musical *Shuffle Along* (it helped to popularize the Charleston) or Florence Mills's *Blackbirds* revue flaunted such artistic fastidiousness.

Prominent figures of the Harlem Renaissance, 1924. *From left to right: Langston Hughes, Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Rudolph Fisher, and Hubert T. Delany.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

The very centrality of music in black life, as well as of black musical stereotypes in white minds, caused popular musical forms to impinge inescapably on Renaissance high culture. Eventually, the Renaissance deans made a virtue out of necessity; they applauded the concert-hall ragtime of "Big Jim" Europe and the "educated" jazz of Atlanta University graduate and big-band leader Fletcher Henderson, and they hired a Duke Ellington or a Cab Calloway as drawing cards for fund-raising socials. Still, their relationship to music remained beset by paradox. New York ragtime, with its "Jelly Roll" Morton strides and Joplinesque elegance, had as much in common with Chicago jazz as Mozart with "Fats" Waller. The source of musical authenticity and the reservoir of musical abundance lay in those recently urbanized and economically beleaguered men and women whose chosen recreational environments were raucous, boozy, and lubricious. Yet these were the men and women whose culture and condition made Renaissance drillmasters (themselves only a generation and a modest wage removed) uncomfortable and ashamed, men and women whose musical pedigrees went back from Louis Armstrong and Sidney Bechet through Chicago to New Orleans's Storyville and its colonial-era Place Congo.

The Renaissance relished virtuoso performances by baritone Jules Bledsoe or contralto Marian Anderson, and pined to see the classical works of William Grant Still performed in Aeolian Hall. It took exceeding pride in the classical repertory of the renowned Clef Club Orchestra. On the other hand, even if and when it saw some value in the music nurtured in Prohibition joints and bleary rent parties, the movement found itself pushed aside by white ethnic commercial co-optation and exploitation—by Al Capone and the mob. Thus, what was musically vital was shunned or deplored in the Harlem Renaissance from racial sensitivity; what succeeded with mainstream audiences derived from those same shunned and deplored sources and was invariably hijacked; and what was esteemed as emblematic of racial sophistication was (even when well done) of no interest to whites and of not much more to the majority of blacks. Last, with the notable exception of Paul Robeson, most of the impresarios as well as the featured personalities of the Renaissance were more expert in literary and visual-arts matters than musical.

The purpose of emphasizing such negatives—of stressing whom and what the Harlem Renaissance excluded or undervalued—serves the better to characterize the

essence of a movement that was an elitist response to a rapidly evolving set of social and economic conditions demographically driven by the Great Black Migration beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Harlem Renaissance began "as a somewhat forced phenomenon, a cultural nationalism of the parlor, institutionally encouraged and constrained by the leaders of the civil rights establishment for the paramount purpose of improving 'race relations' in a time of extreme national reaction to an annulment of economic gains won by Afro-Americans during the Great War" (Lewis, 1981). This mobilizing elite emerged from the increasing national cohesion of the African-American bourgeoisie at the turn of the century, and of the migration of many of its most educated and enterprising to the North about a decade in advance of the epic working-class migration out of the South. Du Bois indelibly labeled this racially advantaged minority the "Talented Tenth" in a seminal 1903 essay. He fleshed out the concept biographically that same year in "The Advance Guard of the Race," a piece in *Booklover's Magazine:* "Widely different are these men in origin and method. [Paul Laurence] Dunbar sprang from slave parents and poverty; [Charles Waddell] Chesnutt from free parents and thrift; while [Henry O.] Tanner was a bishop's son."

Students of the African-American bourgeoisie—from Joseph Willson in the mid-nineteenth century through Du Bois, Caroline Bond Day, and E. Franklin Frazier during the first half of the twentieth to Constance Green, August Meier, Carl Degler, Stephen Birmingham, and, most recently, Adele Alexander, Lois Benjamin, and Willard Gatewood—have differed about its defining elements, especially that of pigment. The generalization seems to hold that color was a greater determinant of upper-class status in the post–Civil War South than in the North. The phenotype preferences exercised by slaveholders for house slaves, in combination with the relative advantages enjoyed by illegitimate offspring of slavemasters, gave a decided spin to mulatto professional careers during Reconstruction and well beyond. Success in the North followed more various criteria, of which color was sometimes a factor. By the time of Booker T. Washington's death in 1915, however, a considerable amount of ideological cohesion existed among the African-American leadership classes in such key cities as Atlanta, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and New York. A commitment to college preparation in liberal arts and the classics, in contrast to Washington's emphasis on vocational training, prevailed. Demands for civil and social equality were espoused again after a quietus of some fifteen years.

The once considerable power of the so-called Tuskegee Machine now receded before the force of Du Bois's propaganda, a coordinated civil rights militancy, and rapidly altering industrial and demographic conditions in the nation. The vocational training in crafts such as brickmaking, blacksmithing, carpentry, and sewing prescribed by Tuskegee and Hampton institutes was irrelevant in those parts of the South undergoing industrialization, yet industry in the South was largely proscribed to African Americans who for several decades had been deserting the dead end of sharecropping for the South's towns and cities. The Bookerites' sacrifice of civil rights for economic gain, therefore, lost its appeal not only to educated and enterprising African Americans but to many of those white philanthropists and public figures who had once solemnly commended it. The Talented Tenth formulated and propagated the new ideology being rapidly embraced by the physicians, dentists, educators, preachers, businesspeople, lawyers, and morticians comprising the bulk of the African-American affluent and influential—some ten thousand men and women, out of a total population in 1920 of more than ten million. (In 1917, traditionally cited as the natal year of the Harlem Renaissance, there were 2,132 African Americans in colleges and universities, probably no more than 30 of them attending "white" institutions.)

It was, then, the minuscule vanguard of a minority—0.02 percent of the racial total—that constituted the Talented Tenth that jump-started the New Negro Arts Movement. But what was extraordinary about the Harlem Renaissance was that its promotion and orchestration by the Talented Tenth were the consequence of masterful improvisation rather than of deliberate plan, of artifice imitating likelihood, of aesthetic deadpan disguising a racial blind alley. Between the 1905 "Declaration of Principles" of the Niagara Movement and the appearance in 1919 of Claude McKay's electrifying poem "If We Must Die," the principal agenda of the Talented Tenth called for investigation of and protest against discrimination in virtually every aspect of national life. It lobbied for racially enlightened employment policies in business and industry; the abolition through the courts of peonage, residential segregation ordinances, Jim Crow public transportation, and franchise restrictions; and enactment of federal sanctions against lynching. The vehicles for this agenda, the NAACP and the NUL, exposed, cajoled, and propagandized through their excellent journals, the *Crisis* and *Opportunity,* respectively. The rhetoric of protest was addressed to ballots, courts, legislatures, and the workplace: "We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of . . . the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments," the Niagara Movement had demanded and the NAACP continued to reiterate. Talented Tenth rhetoric was also strongly social-scientific: "We shall try to set down interestingly but without sugar-

coating or generalizations the findings of careful scientific surveys and facts gathered from research," the first *Opportunity* editorial would proclaim in January 1923, echoing the objectives of Du Bois's famous Atlanta University studies.

It is hardly surprising that many African Americans, the great majority of whom lived under the deadening cultural and economic weight of southern apartheid, had modest interest in literature and the arts during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Even outside the underdeveloped South, and irrespective of race, demotic America had scant aptitude for and much suspicion of arts and letters. Culture in early twentieth-century America was paid for by a white minority probably not a great deal larger, by percentage, than the Talented Tenth. For those privileged few African Americans whose education or leisure inspired such tastes, therefore, appealing fiction, poetry, drama, paintings, and sculpture by or about African Americans had become so exiguous as to be practically nonexistent. With the rising hostility and indifference of the mainstream market, African-American discretionary resources were wholly inadequate by themselves to sustain even a handful of novelists, poets, and painters. A tubercular death had silenced poet-novelist Dunbar in 1906, and poor royalties had done the same for novelist Chesnutt after publication the previous year of *The Colonel's Dream*. Between that point and 1922, no more than five African Americans published significant works of fiction and verse. There was *Pointing the Way* in 1908, a flawed, fascinating civil rights novel by the Baptist preacher Sutton Griggs. Three years later, Du Bois's *The Quest of the Silver Fleece,* a sweeping sociological allegory, appeared. The following year came James Weldon Johnson's well-crafted *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man,* but the author felt compelled to disguise his racial identity. A ten-year silence fell afterward, finally to be broken in 1922 by McKay's *Harlem Shadows,* the first book of poetry since Dunbar. In "Art for Nothing," a short, trenchant think piece in the May 1922 *Crisis,* Du Bois lamented the fall into oblivion of sculptors Meta Warwick Fuller and May Howard Jackson, and that of painters William E. Scott and Richard Brown.

Although the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance seems much more sudden and dramatic in retrospect than the historic reality, its institutional elaboration was, in fact, relatively quick. Altogether, it evolved through three stages. The first phase, ending in 1923 with the publication of Jean Toomer's unique prose poem *Cane,* was dominated by white artists and writers—bohemians and revolutionaries—fascinated for a variety of reasons with the life of black people. The second phase, from early 1924 to mid-1926, was presided over by the civil rights establishment of the NUL and the NAACP, a period of interracial collaboration between "Negrotarian" whites and the African-American Talented Tenth. The last phase, from mid-1926 to 1934, was increasingly dominated by African-American artists themselves—the "Niggerati."

When Charles S. Johnson, new editor of *Opportunity,* sent invitations to some dozen African-American poets and writers to attend an event at Manhattan's Civic Club on March 21, 1924, the movement had already shifted into high gear. At Johnson's request, William H. Baldwin III, a white Tuskegee trustee, NUL board member, and heir to a railroad fortune, had persuaded Harper's editor Frederick Lewis Allen to corral a "small but representative group from his field," most of them unknown, to attend the Civic Club affair in celebration of the sudden outpouring of "Negro" writing. "A group of the younger writers, which includes Eric Walrond, Jessie Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Alain Locke, and some others," would be present, Johnson promised each invitee. All told, in addition to the "younger writers," some fifty persons were expected: "Eugene O'Neill, H. L. Mencken, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mary Johnston, Zona Gale, Robert Morss Lovett, Carl Van Doren, Ridgely Torrence, and about twenty more of this type. I think you might find this group interesting enough to draw you away for a few hours from your work on your next book," Johnson wrote the recently published Jean Toomer almost coyly.

Although both Toomer and Langston Hughes were absent in Europe, approximately 110 celebrants and honorees assembled that evening, included among them Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and the young NAACP officer Walter Francis White, whose energies as a literary entrepreneur would soon excel even Charles Johnson's. Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University and the first African-American Rhodes scholar, served as master of ceremonies. Fauset, literary editor of the *Crisis* and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Cornell University, enjoyed the distinction of having written the second fiction (and first novel) of the Renaissance, *There Is Confusion,* just released by Horace Liveright. Liveright, who was present, rose to praise Fauset as well as Toomer, whom he had also published. Speeches followed in rapid succession—Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Fauset. White called attention to the next Renaissance novel: his own, *The Fire in the Flint,* shortly forthcoming from Knopf. Albert Barnes, the crusty Philadelphia pharmaceutical millionaire and art collector, described the decisive impact of African art on modern art. Poets and poems were commended—Hughes, Cullen, Georgia Douglas Johnson of Washington,

D.C., and, finally, Gwendolyn Bennett's stilted yet appropriate "To Usward," punctuating the evening: "We claim no part with racial dearth,/We want to sing the songs of birth!" Charles Johnson wrote the vastly competent Ethel Ray Nance, his future secretary, of his enormous gratification that Paul Kellogg, editor of the influential *Survey Graphic,* had proposed that evening to place a special number of his magazine at the service of "representatives of the group."

Two compelling messages emerged from the Civic Club gathering. Du Bois asserted that the literature of apology and the denial to his generation of its authentic voice were now ending; Van Doren said that African-American artists were developing at a uniquely propitious moment. They were "in a remarkable strategic position with reference to the new literary age which seems to be impending," Van Doren predicted. "What American literature decidedly needs at this moment is color, music, gusto, the free expression of gay or desperate moods. If the Negroes are not in a position to contribute these items," Van Doren could not imagine who else could. It was precisely this "new literary age" that a few Talented Tenth leaders had kept under sharp surveillance and about which they had soon reached a conclusion affecting civil rights strategy. Despite the baleful influence of D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* and the robust persistence of Uncle Tom, "coon," and Noble Savage stereotypes, literary and dramatic presentations of African Americans by whites had begun, arguably, to change somewhat for the better.

The African American had indisputably moved to the center of mainstream imagination with the end of the Great War, a development crucially assisted by chrysalis of the Lost Generation–Greenwich Village bohemia. The first issue of Randolph Bourne's *Seven Arts* (November 1916), featuring, among others of the Lyrical Left, Waldo Frank, James Oppenheim, Paul Rosenfeld, Van Wyck Brooks, and the French intellectual Romain Rolland, incarnated the spirit that informed a generation without ever quite cohering into a doctrine. The inorganic state, the husk of a decaying capitalist order, was breaking down, these young white intellectuals believed. They professed contempt for "the people who actually run things" in America. Waldo Frank, Toomer's bosom friend and literary mentor, foresaw not a bloody social revolution in America but that "out of our terrifying welter or steel and scarlet, a design must come." There was another Village group decidedly more oriented toward politics: the Marxist radicals (John Reed, Floyd Dell, Helen Keller, Max Eastman) associated with *Masses* and its successor magazine, *Liberator,* edited by Max and Crystal Eastman. The inaugural March 1918 issue of *Liberator* announced that it would "fight for the ownership and control of industry by the workers."

Among the Lyrical Left writers gathered around *Broom, S4N,* and *Seven Arts,* and the political radicals associated with *Liberator,* there was a shared reaction against the ruling Anglo-Saxon cultural paradigm. Bourne's concept of a "trans-national" America, democratically respectful of its ethnic, racial, and religious constituents, complemented Du Bois's earlier concept of divided racial identity in *The Souls of Black Folk.* Ready conversance with the essentials of Freud and Marx became the measure of serious conversation in MacDougal Street coffeehouses, Albert Boni's Washington Square Book Shop, or the Hotel Brevoort's restaurant. There Floyd Dell, Robert Minor, Matthew Josephson, Max Eastman, and other *enragés* denounced the social system, the Great War to which it had ineluctably led, and the soul-dead world created in its aftermath, with McKay and Toomer, two of the Renaissance's first stars, participating.

From such conceptions, the Village's discovery of Harlem followed logically and, even more, psychologically. For if the factory, campus, office, and corporation were dehumanizing, stultifying, or predatory, the African American—largely excluded from all of the above—was a perfect symbol of cultural innocence and regeneration. He was perceived as an integral, indispensable part of the hoped-for design, somehow destined to aid in the reclamation of a diseased, desiccated civilization. The writer Malcolm Cowley would recall in *Exile's Return* that "one heard it said that the Negroes had retained a direct virility that the whites had lost through being overeducated." Public annunciation of the rediscovered Negro came in the fall of 1917, with Emily Hapgood's production at the old Garden Street Theatre of three one-act plays by her husband, Ridgely Torrence. *The Rider of Dreams, Simon the Cyrenian,* and *Granny Maumee* were considered daring because the casts were black and the parts were dignified. The drama critic from *Theatre Magazine* enthused of one lead player that "nobody who saw Opal Cooper—and heard him as the dreamer, Madison Sparrow—will ever forget the lift his performance gave." Du Bois commended the playwright by letter, and James Weldon Johnson excitedly wrote his friend, the African-American literary critic Benjamin Brawley, that *The Smart Set*'s George Jean Nathan "spoke most highly about the work of these colored performers."

From this watershed flowed a number of dramatic productions, musicals, and several successful novels by whites, and also, with great significance, *Shuffle Along,* a cathartic musical by the African Americans Aubrey Lyles and Flournoy Miller. Theodore Dreiser grappled with the

***W. E. B. Du Bois (top right) and others working in the offices of the NAACP magazine* The Crisis.** The Crisis, *together with another leading black journal, the National Urban League's* Opportunity, *published the work of Harlem Renaissance writers and artists, and also sponsored literary contests that brought much-needed recognition and rewards to many talented African Americans.* © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

explosive subject of lynching in his 1918 short story "Nigger Jeff." Two years later, the magnetic African-American actor Charles Gilpin energized O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* in the 150-seat theater in a MacDougal Street brownstone taken over by the Provincetown Players. *The Emperor Jones* (revived four years later with Paul Robeson in the lead part) showed civilization's pretensions being moved by forces from the dark subconscious. In 1921 *Shuffle Along* opened at the 63rd Street Theatre, with music, lyrics, choreography, cast, and production uniquely in African-American hands, and composer Eubie Blake's "I'm Just Wild About Harry" and "Love Will Find a Way" entering the list of all-time favorites. Mary Hoyt Wiborg's *Taboo* was also produced in 1921, with Robeson in his theatrical debut. Clement Wood's 1922 sociological novel *Nigger* sympathetically tracked a beleaguered African-American family from slavery through the Great War into urban adversity. T. S. Stribling's *Birthright,* that same year, was remarkable for its effort to portray an African-American male protagonist of superior education (a Harvard-educated physician) martyred for his ideals after returning to the South. "Jean Le Negre," the black character in e. e. cummings' *The Enormous Room,* was another Noble Savage paradigm observed through a Freudian prism.

But Village artists and intellectuals were aware and unhappy that they were theorizing about Afro-America and spinning out African-American fictional characters in a vacuum—that they knew almost nothing firsthand about these subjects. Sherwood Anderson's June 1922 letter to H. L. Mencken spoke for much of the Lost Generation: "Damn it, man, if I could really get inside the niggers and write about them with some intelligence, I'd be willing to be hanged later and perhaps would be." At least the first of Anderson's prayers was answered almost immediately when he chanced to read a Jean Toomer short story in *Double-Dealer* magazine. With the novelist's assistance, Toomer's stories began to appear in the magazines of the Lyrical Left and the Marxists, *Diak, S4N, Broom,* and *Liberator*. Anderson's 1925 novel *Dark Laughter* bore unmistakable signs of indebtedness to Toomer, whose work, Anderson stated, had given him a true insight into the cultural energies that could be harnessed to pull America back from the abyss of fatal materialism. Celebrity in the Village brought Toomer into Waldo Frank's circle, and with it criticism from Toomer about the omission of Afri-

can Americans from Frank's sprawling work *Our America*. After a trip with Toomer to South Carolina in the fall of 1922, Frank published *Holiday* the following year, a somewhat overwrought treatment of the struggle between the races in the South, "each of which . . . needs what the other possesses."

Claude McKay, whose volume of poetry *Harlem Shadows* made him a Village celebrity also (he lived on Gay Street, then entirely inhabited by nonwhites), found his niche among the *Liberator* group, where he soon became coeditor of the magazine with Michael Gold. The Eastmans saw the Jamaican poet as the kind of writer who would deepen the magazine's proletarian voice. McKay increased the circulation of *Liberator* to sixty thousand, published the first poetry of e. e. cummings (over Gold's violent objections), introduced Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and generally treated the readership to experimentation that had little to do with proletarian literature. "It was much easier to talk about real proletarians writing masterpieces than to find such masterpieces," McKay told the Eastmans and the exasperated hard-line Marxist Gold. McKay attempted to bring Harlem to the Village, as the actor Charlie Chaplin discovered when he dropped into the *Liberator* offices one day and found the editor deep in conversation with Hubert Harrison, Harlem's peerless soapbox orator and author of *When Africa Awakes*. Soon all manner of Harlem radicals began meeting at the West Thirteenth Street offices, while the Eastmans fretted about Justice Department surveillance. Richard B. Moore, Cyril Briggs, Otto Huiswood, Grace Campbell, W. A. Domingo, *inter alios,* represented Harlem movements ranging from Garvey's UNIA and Brigg's African Blood Brotherhood to the Communist Party, with Huiswood and Campbell. McKay also attempted to bring the Village to Harlem, in one memorable sortie taking Eastman and another Villager to Ned's, his favorite Harlem cabaret. Ned's, notoriously antiwhite, expelled them.

This was part of the background to the Talented Tenth's abrupt, enthusiastic, and programmatic embrace of the arts after World War I. In 1924, as Charles Johnson was planning his Civic Club evening, extraordinary security precautions were in place around the Broadway theater where *All God's Chillun Got Wings,* O'Neill's drama about miscegenation, starring Paul Robeson, was playing. With white Broadway audiences flocking to O'Neill plays and shrieking with delight at *Liza, Runnin' Wild,* and other imitations of *Shuffle Along,* the two Johnsons, Du Bois, Fauset, White, Locke, and others saw a unique opportunity to tap into the attention span of white America. If they were adroit, African-American civil rights officials and intellectuals believed, they stood a fair chance of reshaping the images and repackaging the messages out of which mainstream racial behavior emerged.

Bohemia and the Lost Generation suggested to the Talented Tenth the new approach to the old problem of race relations, but their shared premise about art and society obscured the diametrically opposite conclusions white and black intellectuals and artists drew from it. Stearns's Lost Generation *révoltés* were lost in the sense that they professed to have no wish to find themselves in a materialistic, Mammon-mad, homogenizing America. Locke's New Negroes very much wanted full acceptance by mainstream America, even if some—Du Bois, McKay, and the future enfant terrible of the Renaissance, Wallace Thurman—might have immediately exercised the privilege of rejecting it. For the whites, art was the means to change society before they would accept it. For the blacks, art was the means to change society in order to be accepted into it.

For this reason, many of the Harlem intellectuals found the white vogue in Afro-Americana troubling, although they usually feigned enthusiasm about the new dramatic and literary themes. Most of them clearly understood that this popularity was due to persistent stereotypes, new Freudian notions about sexual dominion over reason, and the postwar release of collective emotional and moral tensions sweeping Europe and America. Cummings, Dreiser, O'Neill, and Frank may have been well intentioned, but the African-American elite was quietly rather infuriated that Talented Tenth lives were frequently reduced to music, libido, rustic manners, and an incapacity for logic. The consummate satirist of the Renaissance, George Schuyler, denounced the insistent white portrayal of the African American in which "it is only necessary to beat a tom tom or wave a rabbit's foot and he is ready to strip off his Hart, Schaffner & Marx suit, grab a spear and ride off wild-eyed on the back of a crocodile." Despite the insensitivity, burlesquing, and calumny, however, the Talented Tenth convinced itself that the civil rights dividends of such recognition were potentially greater than the liabilities were.

Benjamin Brawley put this potential straightforwardly to James Weldon Johnson: "We have a tremendous opportunity to boost the NAACP, letters, and art, and anything else that calls attention to our development along the higher lines." Brawley knew that he was preaching to the converted. Johnson's preface to his best-selling anthology *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922) proclaimed that nothing could "do more to change the mental attitude and raise his status than a demonstration of intellectual parity by the Negro through his production of literature and art."

Reading Stribling's *Birthright,* an impressed Fauset nevertheless felt that she and her peers could do better. "We reasoned," she recalled later, "'Here is an audience waiting to hear the truth about us. Let us who are better qualified to present that truth than any white writer, try to do so.'" The result was *There Is Confusion,* her novel about genteel life among Philadelphia's aristocrats of color. Walter Francis White, similarly troubled by *Birthright* and other two-dimensional or symbolically gross representations of African-American life, complained loudly to H. L. Mencken, who finally silenced him with the challenge, "Why don't you do the right kind of novel. You could do it, and it would create a sensation." White did. The sensation turned out to be *The Fire in the Flint* (1924), the second novel of the Renaissance, which he wrote in less than a month in a borrowed country house in the Berkshires.

Meanwhile, Langston Hughes, whose genius (like Toomer's) had been immediately recognized by Fauset, published several poems in the *Crisis* that would later appear in his collection The Weary Blues. The euphonious "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (dedicated to Du Bois) ran in the *Crisis* in 1921. With the appearance of McKay's *Harlem Shadows* in 1922 and Toomer's *Cane* in 1923, the officers of the NAACP and the NUL saw how real the possibility of a theory being put into action could be. The young New York University prodigy Countee Cullen, already published in the *Crisis* and *Opportunity,* had his mainstream breakthrough in 1923 in *Harper's* and *Century* magazines. Two years later, Cullen won the prestigious Witter Bynner poetry prize, with Carl Sandburg as one of the three judges. Meanwhile, the *Survey Graphic* project moved apace under the editorship of Locke.

Two conditions made this unprecedented mobilization of talent and group support in the service of a racial arts and letters movement more than a conceit in the minds of its leaders: demography and repression. The Great Black Migration produced the metropolitan dynamism undergirding the Renaissance. The Red Summer of 1919 produced the trauma that led to the cultural sublimation of civil rights. In pressure-cooker fashion, the increase in Harlem's African-American population caused it to pulsate as it pushed its racial boundaries south below 135th Street to Central Park and north beyond 139th ("Strivers' Row"). Despite the real estate success of the firms of Nail and Parker and the competition given by Smalls' Paradise to the Cotton Club and Connie's (both off-limits to African-American patrons), however, this dynamic community was never able to own much of its own real estate, sustain more than a handful of small, marginal merchants, or even control the profits from the illegal policy business perfected by one of its own, the literary Caspar

1925 broadside advertising* Cotton Club on Parade, *featuring Cab Calloway and his orchestra. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Holstein. Still, both the appearance of and prospects for solid, broad-based prosperity belied the inevitable consequences of Harlem's comprador economy. The Negro Capital of the World filled up with successful bootleggers and racketeers, political and religious charlatans, cults of exotic character ("Black Jews"), street-corner pundits and health practitioners (Hubert Harrison, "Black Herman"), beauty culturists and distinguished professionals (Madame C. J. Walker, Louis T. Wright), religious and civil rights notables (Reverends Cullen and Powell, Du Bois, Johnson, White), and hard-pressed, hardworking families determined to make decent lives for their children. Memories of the nightspots in "The Jungle" (133rd Street), of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson demonstrating his footwork on Lenox Avenue, of raucous shows at the Lafayette that gave Florenz Ziegfeld some of his ideas, of the Tree of Hope outside Connie's Inn where musicians gathered as at a

labor exchange, have been vividly set down by Arthur P. Davis, Regina Andrews, Arna Bontemps, and Hughes.

In the first flush of Harlem's realization and of general African-American exuberance, the Red Summer of 1919 had a cruelly decompressing impact on Harlem and Afro-America in general. The adage of peasants in Europe—"City air makes free"—was also true for sharecropping blacks, but not even the cities of the North made them equal or rich, or even physically secure. Charleston, South Carolina, erupted in riot in May, followed by Longview, Texas, and Washington, D.C., in July. Chicago exploded on July 27. Lynchings of returning African-American soldiers and expulsion of African-American workers from unions abounded. In the North, the white working classes struck out against perceived and manipulated threats to job security and unionism from blacks streaming north. In Helena, Arkansas, a pogrom was unleashed against black farmers organizing a cotton cooperative; outside Atlanta the Ku Klux Klan was reconstituted. The message of the white South to African Americans was that the racial status quo ante bellum was on again with a vengeance. Twenty-six race riots in towns, cities, and counties swept across the nation all the way to Nebraska. The "race problem" definitively became an American dilemma and no longer a remote complexity in the exotic South.

The term "New Negro" entered the vocabulary in reaction to the Red Summer, along with McKay's poetic catechism: "Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack/Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!" There was a groundswell of support for Marcus Garvey's UNIA. Until his 1924 imprisonment for mail fraud, the Jamaican immigrant's message of African Zionism, anti-integrationism, working-class assertiveness, and Bookerite business enterprise increasingly threatened the hegemony of the Talented Tenth and its major organizations, the NAACP and NUL, among people of color in America (much of Garvey's support came from West Indians). The UNIA's phenomenal fund-raising success, as well as its portrayal of the civil rights leadership as alienated by class and color from the mass of black people, delivered a jolt to the integrationist elite. "Garvey," wrote Mary White Ovington, one of the NAACP's white founders, "was the first Negro in the United States to capture the imagination of the masses." *The Negro World,* Garvey's multilingual newspaper, circulated throughout Latin America and the African empires of Britain and France. To the established leadership, then, the UNIA was a double threat because of its mass appeal among African Americans and because "respectable" civil rights organizations feared the spillover from the alarm Garveyism caused the white power structure. While Locke wrote in his introductory remarks to the special issue of *Survey Graphic* that "the thinking Negro has shifted a little to the left with the world trend," he clearly had Garveyism in mind when he said of black separatism, "this cannot be—even if it were desirable." Although the movement was its own worst enemy, the Talented Tenth was pleased to help the Justice Department speed its demise.

No less an apostle of high culture than Du Bois, initially a Renaissance enthusiast, vividly expressed the far-fetched nature of the arts movement as early as 1923: "How is it that an organization of this kind [the NAACP] can turn aside to talk about art? After all, what have we who are slaves and black to do with art?" Slavery's legacy of cultural parochialism, the agrarian orientation of most African Americans, systematic underfunding of primary education, the emphasis on vocationalism at the expense of liberal arts in colleges, economic marginality, the extreme insecurity of middle-class status—all strongly militated against the flourishing of African-American artists, poets, and writers. It was the brilliant insight of the men and women of the NAACP and NUL that although the road to the ballot box, the union hall, the decent neighborhood, and the office was blocked, there were two paths that had not been barred, in part because of their very implausibility, as well as their irrelevancy to most Americans: arts and letters. These people saw the small cracks in the wall of racism that could, they anticipated, be widened through the production of exemplary racial images in collaboration with liberal white philanthropy, the robust culture industry located primarily in New York, and artists from white bohemia (like themselves, marginal and in tension with the status quo).

If in retrospect, then, the New Negro Arts Movement has been interpreted as a natural phase in the cultural evolution of another American group—a band in the literary continuum running from New England, Knickerbocker New York, and Hoosier Indiana to the Village's bohemia, East Side Yiddish drama and fiction, and the southern Agrarians—such an interpretation sacrifices causation to appearance. The other group traditions emerged out of the hieratic concerns, genteel leisure, privileged alienation, or transplanted learning of critical masses of independent men and women. The Renaissance represented much less an evolutionary part of a common experience than it did a generation-skipping phenomenon in which a vanguard of the Talented Tenth elite recruited, organized, subsidized, and guided an unevenly endowed cohort of artists and writers to make statements that advanced a certain conception of the race—a cohort of whom most would never have imagined the possibility of artistic and literary careers.

Toomer, McKay, Hughes, and Cullen possessed the rare ability combined with personal eccentricity that defined them as artists; the Renaissance needed not only more like them but a large cast of supporters and extras. American dropouts heading for seminars in garrets and cafés in Paris were invariably white and descended from an older gentry displaced by new moneyed elites. Charles Johnson and his allies were able to make the critical Renaissance mass possible. Johnson assembled files on prospective recruits throughout the country, going so far as to cajole Aaron Douglas and others into coming to Harlem, where a network staffed by his secretary, Ethel Ray Nance, and her friends Regina Anderson and Louella Tucker (assisted by the gifted Trinidadian short story writer Eric Walrond) looked after them until a salary or fellowship was secured. White, the self-important assistant secretary of the NAACP, urged Robeson to abandon law for an acting career, encouraged Nella Larsen to follow his own example as a novelist, and passed the hat for artist Hale Woodruff. Fauset continued to discover and publish short stories and verse, such as those of Wallace Thurman and Arna Bontemps.

Shortly after the Civic Club evening, both the NAACP and the NUL announced the creation of annual awards ceremonies bearing the titles of their respective publications, *Crisis* and *Opportunity*. The award of the first *Opportunity* prizes came in May 1925 in an elaborate ceremony at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant with some three hundred participants. Twenty-four judges in five categories had ruled on the worthiness of entries. Carl Van Doren, Zona Gale, Fannie Hurst, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, and Alain Locke, among others, judged short stories. Witter Bynner, John Farrar, Clement Wood, and James Weldon Johnson read the poetry entries. Eugene O'Neill, Alexander Woollcott, Thomas M. Gregory, and Robert Benchley appraised drama. The judges for essays were Van Wyck Brooks, John Macy, Henry Goodard Leach, and L. Hollingsworth Wood. The awards ceremony was interracial, but white capital and influence were crucial to success, and the white presence in the beginning was pervasive, setting the outer boundaries for what was creatively normative. Money to start the *Crisis* prizes had come from Amy Spingarn, an accomplished artist and poet and the wife of Joel Spingarn, chairman of the NAACP's board of directors. The wife of the influential attorney, Fisk University trustee, and Urban League board chairman L. Hollingsworth Wood had made a similar contribution to initiate the *Opportunity* prizes.

These were the whites Zora Neale Hurston, one of the first *Opportunity* prize winners, memorably dubbed "Negrotarians." These comprised several categories: political Negrotarians such as progressive journalist Ray Stannard Baker and maverick socialist types associated with *Modern Quarterly* (V. F. Calverton, Max Eastman, Lewis Mumford, Scott Nearing); salon Negrotarians such as Robert Chanler, Charles Studin, Carl and Fania (Marinoff) Van Vechten, and Elinor Wylie, for whom the Harlem artists were more exotics than talents; Lost Generation Negrotarians drawn to Harlem on their way to Paris by a need for personal nourishment and confirmation of cultural health, in which their romantic or revolutionary perceptions of African Americans played a key role—Anderson, O'Neill, Georgia O'Keeffe, Zona Gale, Waldo Frank, Louise Bryant, Sinclair Lewis, Hart Crane; commercial Negrotarians such as the Knopfs, the Gershwins, Rowena Jelliffe, Liveright, V. F. Calverton, and music impresario Sol Hurok, who scouted and mined Afro-America like prospectors.

The philanthropic Negrotarians, Protestant and Jewish, encouraged the Renaissance from similar motives of principled religious and social obligation and of class hegemony. Oswald Garrison Villard (grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, heir to a vast railroad fortune, owner of the *New York Evening Post* and the *Nation,* and cofounder of the NAACP), along with foundation controllers William E. Harmon and J. G. Phelps-Stokes, and Mary White Ovington of affluent abolitionist pedigree, looked on the Harlem Renaissance as a movement it was their Christian duty to sanction, as well as an efficacious mode of encouraging social change without risking dangerous tensions. Jewish philanthropy, notably represented by the Altmans, Rosenwalds, Spingarns, Lehmans, and Otto Kahn, had an additional motivation, as did the interest of such scholars as Franz Boas and Melville Herskovits, jurists Louis Brandeis, Louis Marshall, and Arthur Spingarn, and progressive reformers Martha Gruening and Jacob Billikopf. The tremendous increase after 1900 of Jewish immigrants from Slavic Europe had provoked nativist reactions and, with the 1915 lynching of Atlanta businessman Leo Frank, both an increasingly volatile anti-Semitism and an upsurge of Zionism. Redoubled victimization of African Americans, exacerbated by the tremendous outmigration from the South, portended a climate of national intolerance that wealthy, assimilated German-American Jews foresaw as inevitably menacing to all American Jews.

The May 1925 *Opportunity* gala showcased the steadily augmenting talent in the Renaissance—what Hurston pungently characterized as the "Niggerati." Two laureates, Cullen and Hughes, had already won notice beyond Harlem. The latter had engineered his "discovery" as a Washington, D.C., bellhop by placing dinner and three poems on Vachel Lindsay's hotel table. Some prize winners were

Zora Neale Hurston. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

barely to be heard from again: Joseph Cotter, G. D. Lipscomb, Warren MacDonald, Fidelia Ripley. Others, such as John Matheus (first prize in the short story category) and Frank Horne (honorable mention), failed to achieve first-rank standing in the Renaissance. But most of those whose talent had staying power were also introduced that night: E. Franklin Frazier, winning the first prize for an essay on social equality; Sterling Brown, taking second prize for an essay on the singer Roland Hayes; Hurston, awarded second prize for a short story, "Spunk"; and Eric Walrond, third short-story prize for "Voodoo's Revenge." James Weldon Johnson read the poem taking first prize, "The Weary Blues," Hughes's turning-point poem combining the gift of a superior artist and the enduring, music-encased spirit of the black migrant. Comments from Negrotarian judges ranged from O'Neill's advice to "be yourselves" to novelist Edna Worthley Underwood's exultant anticipation of a "new epoch in American letters," and Clement Wood's judgment that the general standard "was higher than such contests usually bring out."

Whatever their criticisms and however dubious their enthusiasms, what mattered as far as Charles Johnson and his collaborators were concerned was success in mobilizing and institutionalizing a racially empowering crusade and cementing an alliance between the wielders of influence and resources in the white and black communities, to which the caliber of literary output was a subordinate, though by no means irrelevant, concern. In the September 1924 issue of *Opportunity* inaugurating the magazine's departure from exclusive social-scientific concerns, Johnson had spelled out clearly the object of the prizes: they were to bring African-American writers "into contact with the general world of letters to which they have been for the most part timid and inarticulate strangers; to stimulate and foster a type of writing by Negroes which shakes itself free of deliberate propaganda and protest." The measures of Johnson's success were the announcement of a second *Opportunity* contest, to be underwritten by Harlem "businessman" (and numbers king) Caspar Holstein; former *Times* music critic Carl Van Vechten's enthusiasm over Hughes, and the subsequent arranging of a contract with Knopf for Hughes's first volume of poetry; and, one week after the awards ceremony, a prediction by the *New York Herald Tribune* that the country was "on the edge, if not already in the midst of, what might not improperly be called a Negro renaissance"—thereby giving the movement its name.

Priming the public for the Fifth Avenue Restaurant occasion, the special edition of *Survey Graphic* edited by Locke, "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro," had reached an unprecedented forty-two thousand readers in March 1925. The ideology of cultural nationalism at the heart of the Renaissance was crisply delineated in Locke's opening essay, "Harlem": "Without pretense to their political significance, Harlem has the same role to play for the New Negro as Dublin has had for the New Ireland or Prague for the New Czechoslovakia." A vast racial formation was under way in the relocation of the peasant masses ("they stir, they move, they are more than physically restless"), the editor announced. "The challenge of the new intellectuals among them is clear enough." The migrating peasants from the South were the soil out of which all success would come, but soil must be tilled, and the Howard University philosopher reserved that task exclusively for the Talented Tenth in liaison with its mainstream analogues—in the "carefully maintained contacts of the enlightened minorities of both race groups." There was little amiss about America that interracial elitism could not set right, Locke and the others believed. Despite historical discrimination and the Red Summer, the Rhodes scholar assured readers that the increasing radicalism among African Americans was superficial. The African American was only a "forced radical," a radical "on race matters, conservative on others." In a surfeit of mainstream reassurance, Locke

concluded, "The Negro mind reaches out as yet to nothing but American events, American ideas." At year's end, Albert and Charles Boni published Locke's *The New Negro,* an expanded and polished edition of the poetry and prose from the *Opportunity* contest and the special *Survey Graphic.*

The course of American letters was unchanged by the offerings in *The New Negro*. Still, the book carried several memorable works, such as the short story "The South Lingers On," by Brown University and Howard Medical School graduate Rudolph Fisher; the acid "White House-(s)" and the euphonic "The Tropics in New York," poems by McKay, now in European self-exile, and several poetic vignettes from Toomer's *Cane*. Hughes's "Jazzonia," previously published in the *Crisis,* was so poignant as to be almost tactile as it described "six long-headed jazzers" playing while a dancing woman "lifts high a dress of silken gold." In "Heritage," a poem previously unpublished, Cullen outdid himself in his grandest (if not his best) effort with its famous refrain, "What is Africa to me." The book carried distinctive silhouette drawings and Egyptian-influenced motifs by Aaron Douglas, whose work was to become the artistic signature of the Renaissance. With thirty-four African-American contributors—four were white—Locke's work included most of the Renaissance regulars. (The notable omissions were Asa Randolph, George Schuyler, and Wallace Thurman.) These were the gifted men and women who were to show by example what the potential of some African Americans could be and who proposed to lead their people into an era of opportunity and justice.

Deeply influenced, as were Du Bois and Fauset, by readings in German political philosophy and European nationalism (especially Herder and Fichte, Palacky and Synge, Herzl and Mazzini), Locke's notion of civil rights advancement was a "cell group" of intellectuals, artists, and writers "acting as the advance guard of the African peoples in their contact with Twentieth century civilization." By virtue of their symbolic achievements and their adroit collaboration with the philanthropic and reform-minded mainstream, their augmenting influence would ameliorate the socioeconomic conditions of their race over time and from the top downward. It was a Talented Tenth conceit, Schuyler snorted in Asa Randolph's *Messenger* magazine, worthy of a "high priest of the intellectual snobbocracy," and he awarded Locke the magazine's "elegantly embossed and beautifully lacquered dill pickle." Yet Locke's approach seemed to work, for although the objective conditions confronting most African Americans in Harlem and elsewhere were deteriorating, optimism remained high. Harlem recoiled from Garveyism and socialism to applaud Phi Beta Kappa poets, university-trained painters, concertizing musicians, and novel-writing officers of civil rights organizations. "Everywhere we heard the sighs of wonder, amazement and sometimes admiration when it was whispered or announced that here was one of the 'New Negroes,'" Bontemps recalled.

By the summer of 1926, Renaissance titles included the novels *Cane, There is Confusion, The Fire in the Flint,* and Walter White's *Flight* (1926), and the volumes of poetry *Harlem Shadows,* Cullen's *Color* (1924), and Hughes's *The Weary Blues* (1926). The second *Opportunity* awards banquet, in April 1926, was another artistic and interracial success. Playwright Joseph Cotter was honored again, as was Hurston for a short story. Bontemps, a California-educated poet struggling in Harlem, won first prize for "Golgotha Is a Mountain," and Dorothy West, a Bostonian aspiring to make a name in fiction, made her debut, as did essayist Arthur Fauset, Jessie's able half-brother. The William E. Harmon Foundation transferred its attention at the beginning of 1926 from student loans and blind children to the Renaissance, announcing seven annual prizes for literature, music, fine arts, industry, science, education, and race relations, with George Edmund Haynes, African-American official in the Federal Council of Churches, and Locke as chief advisers. That same year, the publishers Boni & Liveright offered a $1,000 prize for the "best novel on Negro life" by an African America. Caspar Holstein contributed $1,000 that year to endow *Opportunity* prizes; Van Vechten made a smaller contribution to the same cause. Amy Spingarn provided $600 toward the *Crisis* awards. Otto Kahn underwrote two years in France for the young artist Hale Woodruff. There were the Louis Rodman Wanamaker prizes in music composition.

Both the Garland Fund (American Fund for Public Service) and the NAACP's coveted Spingarn Medal were intended to promote political and social change rather than creativity, but three of eight Spingarn Medals were awarded to artists and writers between 1924 and 1931, and the Garland Fund was similarly responsive. The first of the Guggenheim Fellowships awarded to Renaissance applicants went to Walter White in 1927, to be followed by Eric Walrond, Nella Larsen (Imes), and Zora Neale Hurston. The Talented Tenth's more academically oriented members benefited from the generosity of the new Rosenwald Fund fellowships.

The third *Opportunity* awards dinner was a vintage one for poetry, with entries by Bontemps, Sterling Brown, Hughes, Helene Johnson, and Jonathan H. Brooks. In praising their general high quality, the white literary critic Robert T. Kerlin added the revealing comment that their effect would be "hostile to lynching and to jim-crowing."

Walrond's lush, impressionistic collection of short stories, *Tropic Death,* appeared from Boni & Liveright at the end of 1926, the most probing exploration of the psychology of cultural underdevelopment since Toomer's *Cane*. If *Cane* recaptured in a string of glowing vignettes (most of them about women) the sunset beauty and agony of a preindustrial culture, *Tropic Death* did much the same for the Antilles. Hughes's second volume of poetry, *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927), spiritedly portrayed the city life of ordinary men and women who had traded the hardscrabble of farming for the hardscrabble of domestic work and odd jobs. Hughes scanned the low-down pursuits of "Bad Man," "Ruby Brown," and "Beale Street," and shocked Brawley and other Talented Tenth elders with the bawdy "Red Silk Stockings." "Put on yo' red silk stockings,/Black gal," it began, urging her to show herself to white boys. It ended wickedly with "An' tomorrow's chile'll/Be a high yaller."

A melodrama of Harlem life that had opened in February 1926, *Lulu Belle,* produced by David Belasco, won the distinction for popularizing Harlem with masses of Jazz Age whites. But the part of Lulu Belle was played by Lenore Ulric in blackface. Drama quickened again in the fall of 1927 with Harlemite Frank Wilson (and, for one month, Robeson) in the lead role in Du Bose and Dorothy Heyward's hugely successful play *Porgy*. *Porgy* brought recognition and employment to Rose McClendon, Georgette Harvey, Evelyn Ellis, Jack Carter, Percy Verwayne, and Leigh Whipper. Richard Bruce Nugent, Harlem's most outrageous decadent, and Wallace Thurman, a Utah-born close second, newly arrived from Los Angeles, played members of the population of "Catfish Row." Frank Wilson of *Porgy* fame wrote a play himself, *Meek Mose,* which opened on Broadway in February 1928. Its distinction lay mainly in the employment it gave to Harlem actors and secondarily in an opening-night audience containing Mayor James Walker, Tuskegee principal Robert Russa Moton, Alexander Woollcott, Harry T. Burleigh, Otto Kahn, and the Joel Spingarns. There was a spectacular Carnegie Hall concert in March 1928 by the ninety-voice Hampton Institute Choir, followed shortly by W. C. Handy's Carnegie Hall lecture on the origins and development of African-American music, accompanied by choir and orchestra.

Confidence among African-American leaders in the power of the muses to heal social wrongs was the rule, rather than the exception, by 1927. Every issue of *Opportunity,* the gossipy *Inter-State Tattler* newspaper, and, frequently, even the mass-circulation *Chicago Defender* or the soi-disant socialist *Messenger* trumpeted racial salvation through artistic excellence until the early 1930s. *Harper's* for November 1928 carried James Weldon Johnson's article reviewing the strategies employed in the past for African-American advancement: "religion, education, politics, industrial, ethical, economic, sociological." The executive secretary of the NAACP serenely concluded that "through his artistic efforts the Negro is smashing" racial barriers to his progress "faster than he has ever done through any other method." Charles Johnson, Jessie Fauset, Alain Locke, and Walter White fully agreed. Such was their influence with foundations, publishing houses, the Algonquin Round Table, and various godfathers and godmothers of the Renaissance (such as the mysterious, tyrannical, fabulously wealthy Mrs. Osgood Mason) that McKay, viewing the scene from abroad, spoke derisively of the artistic and literary autocracy of "that NAACP crowd."

A veritable ministry of culture now presided over African America. The ministry mounted a movable feast to which the anointed were invited, sometimes to Walter and Gladys White's apartment at 409 Edgecombe Avenue, where they might share cocktails with Sinclair Lewis or Mencken; often (after 1928) to the famous 136th Street "Dark Tower" salon maintained by beauty-culture heiress A'Lelia Walker, where guests might be Sir Osbert Sitwell, the crown prince of Sweden, or Lady Mountbatten; and very frequently to the West Side apartment of Carl and Fania Van Vechten, to imbibe the host's sidecars and listen to Robeson sing or Jim Johnson recite from "God's Trombones" or George Gershwin play the piano. Meanwhile, Harlem's appeal to white revelers inspired the young physician Rudolph Fisher to write a satiric piece in the August 1927 *American Mercury* called "The Caucasian Storms Harlem."

The third phase of the Harlem Renaissance began even as the second had just gotten under way. The second phase (1924 to mid-1926) was dominated by the officialdom of the two major civil rights organizations, with their ideology of the advancement of African Americans through the creation and mobilization of an artistic-literary movement. Its essence was summed up in blunt declarations by Du Bois that he didn't care "a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda," or in exalted formulations by Locke that the New Negro was "an augury of a new democracy in American culture." The third phase of the Renaissance, from mid-1926 to 1934, was marked by rebellion against the civil rights establishment on the part of many of the artists and writers whom that establishment had promoted. Three publications during 1926 formed a watershed between the genteel and the demotic Renaissance. Hughes's "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," appearing in the June 1926 issue of the *Nation,* served as a manifesto of the breakaway from the arts

and letters party line. Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven,* released by Knopf that August, drove much of literate Afro-America into a dichotomy of approval and apoplexy over "authentic" versus "proper" cultural expression. Wallace Thurman's *Fire!!,* available in November, assembled the rebels for a major assault against the civil rights ministry of culture.

Hughes's turning-point essay had been provoked by Schuyler's *Nation* article "The Negro Art-Hokum," which ridiculed "eager apostles from Greenwich Village, Harlem, and environs" who made claims for a special African-American artistic vision distinctly different from that of white Americans. "The Aframerican is merely a lamp-blacked Anglo-Saxon," Schuyler had sneered. In a famous peroration, Hughes answered that he and his fellow artists intended to express their "individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. . . . If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either." And there was considerable African-American displeasure. Much of the condemnation of the license for expression Hughes, Thurman, Hurston, and other artists arrogated to themselves was generational or puritanical, and usually both. "Vulgarity has been mistaken for art," Brawley spluttered after leafing the pages of *Fire!!* "I have just tossed the first issue of *Fire!!* into the fire," the book review critic for the *Baltimore Afro-American* snapped after reading Richard Bruce Nugent's extravagantly homoerotic short story "Smoke, Lillies and Jade." Du Bois was said to be deeply aggrieved.

But much of the condemnation stemmed from racial sensitivity, from sheer mortification at seeing uneducated, crude, and scrappy black men and women depicted without tinsel or soap. Thurman and associated editors John Davis, Aaron Douglas, Gwendolyn Bennett, Arthur Huff Fauset, Hughes, Hurston, and Nugent took the Renaissance out of the parlor, the editorial office, and the banquet room. *Fire!!* featured African motifs drawn by Douglas and Nordic-featured African Americans with exaggeratedly kinky hair by Nugent, poems to an elevator boy by Hughes, jungle themes by Edward Silvera, short stories about prostitution ("Cordelia the Crude") by Thurman, gender conflict between black men and women at the bottom of the economy ("Sweat") by Hurston, and a burly boxer's hatred of white people ("Wedding Day") by Bennett; and a short play about pigment complexes within the race (*Color Struck*) by Hurston, shifting the focus to Locke's "peasant matrix," to the sorrows and joys of those outside the Talented Tenth. "Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith . . . penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals," Hughes exhorted in "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain."

Van Vechten's influence decidedly complicated the reactions of otherwise worldly critics such as Du Bois, Jessie Fauset, Locke, and Cullen. While his novel's title alone enraged many Harlemites who felt their trust and hospitality betrayed, the deeper objections of the sophisticated to *Nigger Heaven* lay in its message that the Talented Tenth's preoccupation with cultural improvement was a misguided affectation that would cost the race its vitality. It was the "archaic Negroes" who were at ease in their skins and capable of action, Van Vechten's characters demonstrated. Significantly, although Du Bois and Fauset found themselves in the majority among the Renaissance leadership (ordinary Harlemites burned Van Vechten in effigy at 135th Street and Lenox Avenue), Charles Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, Schuyler, White, and Hughes praised the novel's sociological verve and veracity and the service they believed it rendered to race relations.

The younger artists embraced Van Vechten's fiction as a worthy model because of its ribald iconoclasm and its iteration that the future of African-American arts lay in the culture of the working poor, and even of the underclass—in bottom-up drama, fiction, music, poetry, and painting. Regularly convening at the notorious "267 House," Thurman's rent-free apartment on 136th Street (alternately known as "Niggerati Manor"), the group that came to produce *Fire!!* saw art not as politics by other means—civil rights between book covers or from a stage or an easel—but as an expression of the intrinsic conditions most people of African descent were experiencing. They spoke of the need "for a truly Negroid note," for empathy with "those elements within the race which are still too potent for easy assimilation," and they openly mocked the premise of the civil rights establishment that (as a Hughes character says in *The Ways of White Folks*) "art would break down color lines, art would save the race and prevent lynchings! Bunk!" Finally, like creative agents in society from time immemorial, they were impelled to insult their patrons and to defy conventions.

To put the Renaissance back on track, Du Bois sponsored a symposium in late 1926, inviting a wide spectrum of views about the appropriate course the arts should take. His unhappiness was readily apparent, both with the overly literary tendencies of Locke and with the bottom-up school of Hughes and Thurman. The great danger was that politics was dropping out of the Renaissance, that the movement was turning into an evasion, sedulously encouraged by certain whites. "They are whispering, 'Here is a way out. Here is the real solution to the color problem. The recognition accorded Cullen, Hughes, Fauset, White,

and others shows there is no real color line,'" Du Bois charged. He then announced that all *Crisis* literary prizes would henceforth be reserved for works encouraging "general knowledge of banking and insurance in modern life and specific knowledge of what American Negroes are doing in these fields." Neither James Weldon Johnson nor White (soon to be a Guggenheim fellow on leave from the NAACP to write another novel in France) approved of the withdrawal of the *Crisis* from the Renaissance, but they failed to change Du Bois's mind.

White's own effort to sustain the civil-rights-by-copyright strategy was the ambitious novel *Flight,* edited by his friend Sinclair Lewis and released by Knopf in 1926. A tale of near-white African Americans of unusual culture and professional accomplishment who prove their moral superiority to their oppressors, White's novel was considered somewhat flat even by kind critics. Unkind critics, such as Thurman and the young Frank Horne at *Opportunity,* savaged it. The reissue the following year of *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (with Johnson's authorship finally acknowledged) and publication of a volume of Cullen's poetry, *Copper Sun,* continued the tradition of genteel, exemplary letters. In a further effort to restore direction, Du Bois's *Dark Princess* appeared in 1928 from Harcourt, Brace; it was a large, serious novel in which the "problem of the twentieth century" is taken in charge by a Talented Tenth International whose prime mover is a princess from India. But the momentum stayed firmly with the rebels.

Although Thurman's magazine died after one issue, respectable Afro-America was unable to ignore the novel that embodied the values of the Niggerati—the first Renaissance best-seller by a black author: McKay's *Home to Harlem,* released by Harper & Brothers in the spring of 1928. No graduates of Howard or Harvard discourse on literature at the Dark Tower or at Jessie Fauset's in this novel. It has no imitations of Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, or Locke—and no whites at all. Its milieu is wholly plebeian. The protagonist, Jake, is a Lenox Avenue Noble Savage who demonstrates (in marked contrast to the book-reading Ray) the superiority of the Negro mind uncorrupted by European learning. *Home to Harlem* finally shattered the enforced literary code of the civil rights establishment. The *Defender* disliked McKay's novel, and Du Bois, who confessed feeling "distinctly like needing a bath" after reading it, declared that *Home to Harlem* was about the "debauched tenth." Rudolph Fisher's *The Walls of Jericho,* appearing that year from Knopf, was a brilliant, deftly executed satire that upset Du Bois as much as it heartened Thurman. Fisher, a successful Harlem physician with solid Talented Tenth family credentials, satirized the NAACP, the Negrotarians, Harlem high society, and easily recognized Renaissance notables, while entering convincingly into the world of the working classes, organized crime, and romance across social strata.

Charles Johnson, preparing to leave the editorship of *Opportunity* for a professorship in sociology at Fisk University, now encouraged the young rebels. Before departing, he edited an anthology of Renaissance prose and poetry, *Ebony and Topaz,* in late 1927. The movement was over its birth pangs, his preface declared. Sounding the note of Hughes's manifesto, he declared that the period of extreme touchiness was behind. Renaissance artists were "now less self-conscious, less interested in proving that they are just like white people. . . . Relief from the stifling consciousness of being a problem has brought a certain superiority" to the Harlem Renaissance, Johnson asserted. Johnson left for Nashville in March 1928, four years to the month after his first Civic Club invitations.

Meanwhile, McKay's and Fisher's fiction inspired the Niggerati to publish an improved version of *Fire!!* The magazine, *Harlem,* appeared in November 1928. Editor Thurman announced portentously, "The time has now come when the Negro artist can be his true self and pander to the stupidities of no one, either white or black." While Brawley, Du Bois, and Fauset continued to grimace, *Harlem* benefited from significant defections. It won the collaboration of Locke and White; Roy de Coverly, George W. Little, and Schuyler signed on; and Hughes contributed one of his finest short stories, based on his travels down the west coast of Africa—"Luani of the Jungles," a polished genre piece on the seductions of the civilized and the primitive. Once again, Nugent was wicked, but this time more conventionally. The magazine lasted two issues.

The other Renaissance novel that year from Knopf, Nella Larsen's *Quicksand,* achieved the distinction of being praised by Du Bois, Locke, and Hughes. Larsen was born in the Danish Virgin Islands of mixed parentage. Trained in the sciences at Fisk and the University of Copenhagen, she would remain something of a mystery woman, helped in her career by Van Vechten and White but somehow always receding, and finally disappearing altogether from the Harlem scene. *Quicksand* was a triumph of vivid yet economical writing and rich allegory. Its very modern heroine experiences misfortunes and ultimate destruction from causes that are both racial and individual; she is not a tragic mulatto, but a mulatto who is tragic for both sociological and existential reasons. Roark Bradford, in the *Herald Tribune,* thought *Quicksand*'s first half very good, and Du Bois said it was the best fiction since Chesnutt.

There were reviews (*Crisis, New Republic, New York Times*) that were as laudatory about Jessie Fauset's *Plum*

Countee Cullen. THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Bun, also a 1928 release, but they were primarily due to the novel's engrossing reconstruction of rarefied, upper-class African-American life in Philadelphia rather than to special literary merit. If Helga Crane, the protagonist of *Quicksand,* was the Virginia Slim of Renaissance fiction, then Angela Murray (Angele, in her white persona), Fauset's heroine in her second novel, was its Gibson Girl. *Plum Bun* continued the second phase of the Renaissance, as did Cullen's second volume of poetry, *The Black Christ,* published in 1929. Ostensibly about a lynching, the lengthy title poem lost its way in mysticism, paganism, and religious remorse. The volume also lost the sympathies of most reviewers.

Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry,* published by Macaulay in early 1929, although talky and awkward in spots (Thurman had hoped to write the Great African-American Novel), was a breakthrough. The reviewer for the *Chicago Defender* enthused, "Here at last is the book for which I have been waiting, and for which you have been waiting." Hughes praised it as a "gorgeous book," mischievously writing Thurman that it would embarrass those who bestowed the "seal-of-high-and-holy approval of Harmon awards." The ministry of culture found the novel distinctly distasteful: *Opportunity* judged *The Blacker the Berry* to be fatally flawed by "immaturity and gaucherie." For the first time, color prejudice within the race was the central theme of an African-American novel. Emma Lou, its heroine (like the author, very dark and conventionally unattractive), is obsessed with respectability as well as tortured by her pigment. Thurman makes the point on every page that Afro-America's aesthetic and spiritual center resides in the unaffected, unblended, noisome common folk and the liberated, unconventional artists.

With the unprecedented Broadway success of *Harlem,* Thurman's sensationalized romp through the underside of that area, the triumph of Niggerati aesthetics over civil rights arts and letters was impressively confirmed. The able theater critic for the *Messenger,* Theophilus Lewis, rejoiced at the "wholesome swing toward dramatic normalcy." George Jean Nathan lauded Harlem for its "sharp smell of reality." Another equally sharp smell of reality irritated establishment nostrils that same year with the publication of McKay's second novel, *Banjo,* appearing only weeks after *The Blacker the Berry*. "The Negroes are writing against themselves," lamented the reviewer for the *Amsterdam News.* Set among the human flotsam and jetsam of Marseilles and West Africa, McKay's novel again propounded the message that European civilization was inimical to Africans everywhere.

The stock market collapsed, but reverberations from the Harlem Renaissance seemed stronger than ever. Larsen's second novel, *Passing,* appeared. Its theme, like Fauset's, was the burden of mixed racial ancestry. But, although *Passing* was less successful than *Quicksand,* Larsen again evaded the trap of writing another tragic-mulatto novel by opposing the richness of African-American life to the material advantages afforded by the option of "passing." In February 1930, white playwright Marc Connelly's dramatization of Roark Bradford's book of short stories opened on Broadway as *The Green Pastures.* The Hall Johnson Choir sang in it, Richard Harrison played "De Lawd," and scores of Harlemites found parts during 557 performances at the Mansfield Theatre, and then on tour across the country. The demanding young critic and Howard University professor of English Sterling Brown pronounced the play a "miracle." The ministry of culture (increasingly run by White, after James Weldon Johnson followed Charles Johnson to a Fisk professorship) deemed *The Green Pastures* far more significant for civil rights than Thurman's *Harlem* and even than King Vidor's talking film *Hallelujah!* The NAACP's Spingarn Medal for 1930 was presented to Harrison by New York's lieutenant governor, Herbert Lehman.

After *The Green Pastures* came *Not Without Laughter,* Hughes's glowing novel from Knopf. Financed by Charlotte Osgood Mason ("Godmother") and Amy Spingarn, Hughes had resumed his college education at Lincoln University and completed *Not Without Laughter* his senior

year. The beleaguered family at the center of the novel represents Afro-Americans in transition within white America. Hughes's young male protagonist learns that proving his equality means affirming his distinctive racial characteristics. Not only did Locke admire *Not Without Laughter,* the *New Masses* reviewer embraced it as "our novel." The ministry of culture decreed Hughes worthy of the Harmon gold medal for 1930. The year ended with Schuyler's ribald, sprawling satire *Black No More,* an unsparing demolition of every personality and institution in Afro-America. Little wonder that Locke titled his retrospective piece in the February 1931 *Opportunity* "The Year of Grace." Depression notwithstanding, the Renaissance appeared to be more robust than ever.

The first Rosenwald fellowships for African Americans had been secured, largely due to James Weldon Johnson's influence, the previous year. Beginning with Johnson himself in 1930, most of the African Americans who pursued cutting-edge postgraduate studies in the United States over the next fifteen years would be recipients of annual Rosenwald fellowships. Since 1928 the Harmon Foundation, advised by Locke, had mounted an annual traveling exhibition of drawings, paintings, and sculpture by African Americans. The 1930 installment introduced the generally unsuspected talent and genius of Palmer Hayden, William H. Johnson, Archibald Motley, Jr., James A. Porter, and Laura Wheeler Waring in painting. Sargent Johnson, Elizabeth Prophet, and Augusta Savage were the outstanding sculptors of the show. Both Aaron Douglas and Romare Bearden came to feel that the standards of the foundation were somewhat indulgent and therefore injurious to many young artists, which was undoubtedly true. Nevertheless, the Harmon made it possible for African-American artists to find markets previously wholly closed to them. In 1931 more than two hundred works of art formed the Harmon Travelling Exhibition of the Work of Negro Artists, to be seen by more than 150,000 people.

Superficially, Harlem itself appeared to be in fair health well into 1931. James Weldon Johnson's celebration of the community's strengths, *Black Manhattan,* was published near the end of 1930. "Harlem is still in the process of making," the book proclaimed, and the author's confidence in the power of the "recent literary and artistic emergence" to ameliorate race relations was unshaken. In Johnson's Harlem, redcaps and cooks cheered when Renaissance talents won Guggenheim and Rosenwald fellowships; they rushed to newsstands whenever the *American Mercury* or *New Republic* mentioned activities above Central Park. In this Harlem, dramatic productions unfolded weekly at the YMCA; poetry readings were held regularly at Ernestine Rose's 135th Street Public Library (today's Schomburg Center); and people came after work to try out for Du Bois's Krigwa Players in the library's basement. It was the Harlem of amateur historians such as J. A. Rogers, who made extraordinary claims about the achievements of persons of color, and of dogged bibliophiles such as Arthur Schomburg, who documented extraordinary claims. It was much too easy for Talented Tenth notables Johnson, White, and Locke not to notice in the second year of the Great Depression that for the vast majority of the population, Harlem was in the process of unmaking. Still, there was a definite prefiguration of its mortality when A'Lelia Walker suddenly died in August 1931, a doleful occurrence shortly followed by the sale of Villa Lewaro, her Hudson mansion, at public auction.

Meanwhile, the much-decorated Fifteenth Infantry Regiment (the 369th during World War I) took possession of a new headquarters, the largest National Guard armory in the state. The monopoly of white doctors and nurses at Harlem General Hospital had been effectively challenged by the NAACP and the brilliant young surgeon Louis T. Wright. There were two well-equipped private sanitariums in Harlem by the end of the 1920s: the Vincent, financed by numbers king Caspar Holstein, and the Wiley Wilson, equipped with divorce settlement funds by one of A'Lelia Walker's husbands. Rudolph Fisher's X-ray laboratory was one of the most photographed facilities in Harlem.

Decent housing was becoming increasingly scarce for most families; the affluent, however, had access to excellent accommodations. Talented Tenth visitors availed themselves of the Dumas or the Olga, two well-appointed hotels. By the end of 1929 African Americans lived in the 500 block of Edgecombe Avenue, known as "Sugar Hill." The famous "409" overlooking the Polo Grounds was home at one time or another to the Du Boises, the Fishers, and the Whites. Below Sugar Hill was the five-acre, Rockefeller-financed Dunbar Apartments complex, its 511 units fully occupied in mid-1928. The Dunbar eventually became home for the Du Boises, E. Simms Campbell (illustrator and cartoonist), Fletcher Henderson, the A. Philip Randolphs, Leigh Whipper (actor), and, briefly, Paul and Essie Robeson. The complex published its own weekly bulletin, the *Dunbar News,* an even more valuable record of Talented Tenth activities during the Renaissance than the *Inter-State Tattler.*

The 1931 Report on Negro Housing, presented to President Hoover, was a document starkly in contrast to the optimism found in *Black Manhattan*. Nearly 50 percent of Harlem's families would be unemployed by the end of 1932. The syphilis rate was nine times higher than white Manhattan's; the tuberculosis rate was five times

greater; those for pneumonia and typhoid were twice those of whites. Two African-American mothers and two babies died for every white mother and child. Harlem General Hospital, the area's single public facility, served 200,000 people with 273 beds. Twice as much of the income of a Harlem family went for rent as a white family's. Meanwhile, median family income in Harlem dropped 43.6 percent in two years by 1932. The ending of Prohibition would devastate scores of marginal speakeasies, as well as prove fatal to theaters such as the Lafayette. Connie's Inn would eventually migrate downtown. Until then, however, the clubs in "The Jungle," as 133rd Street was called (Bamville, Connor's, the Clam House, the Nest Club), and elsewhere (Pod's and Jerry's, Smalls' Paradise) continued to do a land-office business.

Because economic power was the Achilles' heel of the community, real political power also eluded Harlem. Harlem's Republican congressional candidates made unsuccessful runs in 1924 and 1928. Until the Twenty-first Congressional District was redrawn after the Second World War, African Americans were unable to overcome Irish, Italian, and Jewish voting patterns in order to elect one of their own. In state and city elections, black Harlem fared better. African-American aldermen had served on the city council since 1919; black state assemblymen were first elected in 1917. Republican Party patronage was funneled through the capable but aged Charles W. ("Charlie") Anderson, collector of Internal Revenue for the Third District. Although African Americans voted overwhelmingly for the Republican ticket at the national level, Harlemites readily voted for Democrats in city matters. Democratic patronage for Harlem was handled by Harvard-educated Ferdinand Q. Morton, chairman of the Municipal Civil Service Commission and head of the United Colored Democracy—"Black Tammany." In 1933 Morton would bolt the Democrats to help elect Fusion candidate Fiorello La Guardia mayor. Despite a growing sense of political consciousness, greatly intensified by the exigencies of the depression, Harlem continued to be treated by City Hall and the municipal bureaucracies as though it were a colony.

The thin base of its economy and politics eventually began to undermine the Renaissance. Mainstream sponsorship, direct and indirect, was indispensable to the movement's momentum, and as white foundations, publishers, producers, readers, and audiences found their economic resources drastically curtailed (the reduced value of Sears, Roebuck stock chilled Rosenwald Fund philanthropy), interest in African Americans evaporated. With the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, ending Prohibition, honorary Harlemites such as Van Vechten sobered up and turned to other pursuits. Locke's letters to Charlotte Osgood Mason turned increasingly pessimistic in the winter of 1931. In June 1932 he perked up a bit to praise the choral ballet presented at the Eastman School of Music, *Sahdji,* with music by William Grant Still and scenario by Richard Bruce Nugent, but most of Locke's news was distinctly downbeat. The writing partnership of two of his protégés, Hughes and Hurston, their material needs underwritten in a New Jersey township by "Godmother," collapsed in acrimonious dispute. Each claimed principal authorship of the only dramatic comedy written during the Renaissance, *Mule Bone,* a three-act folk play that went unperformed (as a result of the dispute) until 1991. Locke took the side of Hurston, undermining the affective tie between Godmother and Hughes and essentially ending his relationship with the latter. The part played in this controversy by their brilliant secretary, Louise Thompson, the strong-willed, estranged wife of Wallace Thurman, remains murky, but it seems clear that Thompson's Marxism had a deep influence on Hughes in the aftermath of his painful breakup with Godmother, Locke, and Hurston.

In any case, beginning with "Advertisement for the Waldorf-Astoria," published in the December 1931 *New Masses,* Hughes's poetry became markedly political. "Elderly Race Leaders" and "Goodbye Christ," as well as the play *Scottsboro, Limited,* were irreverent, staccato offerings to the coming triumph of the proletariat. The poet's departure in June 1932 for Moscow, along with Louise Thompson, Mollie Lewis, Henry Moon, Loren Miller, Theodore Poston, and thirteen others, ostensibly to act in a Soviet film about American race relations, *Black and White,* symbolized the shift in patronage and the accompanying politicization of Renaissance artists. If F. Scott Fitzgerald, golden boy of the Lost Generation, could predict that "it may be necessary to work inside the Communist party" to put things right again in America, no one should have been surprised that Cullen and Hughes united in 1932 to endorse the Communist Party candidacy of William Z. Foster and the African American James W. Ford for president and vice-president of the United States, respectively. One Way to Heaven, Cullen's first novel—badly flawed and clearly influenced by *Nigger Heaven*—appeared in 1932, but it seemed already a baroque anachronism with its knife-wielding Lotharios and elaborately educated types. An impatient Du Bois, deeply alienated from the Renaissance, called for a second Amenia Conference to radicalize the ideology and renew the personnel of the organization.

Jessie Fauset remained oblivious to the profound artistic and political changes under way. Her final novel, *Comedy: American Style* (1933), was technically much the same as *Plum Bun*. Once again, her subject was skin pig-

ment and the neuroses of those who had just enough of it to spend their lives obsessed by it. James Weldon Johnson's autobiography, *Along This Way,* was the publishing event of the year, an elegantly written review of his sui generis public career as archetypal Renaissance man in both meanings of the word. McKay's final novel also appeared that year. He worried familiar themes, but *Banana Bottom* represented a philosophical advance over *Home to Harlem* and *Banjo* in its reconciliation through the protagonist, Bita Plant, of the previously destructive tension in McKay's work between the natural and the artificial, soul and civilization.

The publication at the beginning of 1932 of Thurman's last novel, *Infants of the Spring,* had already announced the end of the Harlem Renaissance. The action of the book is in the characters' ideas, in their incessant talk about themselves, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, racism, and the destiny of the race. Its prose is generally disappointing, but the ending is conceptually poignant. Paul Arbian (a stand-in for Richard Bruce Nugent) commits suicide in a full tub of water, which splashes over and obliterates the pages of Arbian's unfinished novel on the bathroom floor. A still legible page, however, contains this paragraph that was in effect an epitaph:

> He had drawn a distorted, inky black skyscraper, modeled after Niggerati Manor, and on which were focused an array of blindingly white beams of light. The foundation of this building was composed of crumbling stone. At first glance it could be ascertained that the skyscraper would soon crumple and fall, leaving the dominating white lights in full possession of the sky.

The literary energies of the Renaissance finally slumped. McKay returned to Harlem in February 1934 after a twelve-year sojourn abroad, but his creative powers were spent. The last novel of the movement, Hurston's beautifully written *Jonah's Gourd Vine,* went on sale in May 1934. Charles Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, and Locke applauded Hurston's allegorical story of her immediate family (especially her father) and the mores of an African-American town in Florida called Eatonville. Fisher and Thurman could have been expected to continue to write, but their fates were sealed by the former's professional carelessness and the latter's neurotic alcoholism. A few days before Christmas 1934, Thurman died, soon after his return from an abortive Hollywood film project. Ignoring his physician's strictures, he hemorrhaged after drinking to excess while hosting a party in the infamous house at 267 West 136th Street. Four days later, Fisher expired from intestinal cancer caused by repeated exposure to his own X-ray equipment. A grieving Locke wrote Charlotte Mason from Howard University, "It is hard to see the collapse of things you have labored to raise on a sound base."

Locke's anthology had been crucial to the formation of the Renaissance. As the movement ran down, another anthology, English heiress Nancy Cunard's *Negro,* far more massive in scope, recharged the Renaissance for a brief period. Enlisting the contributions of most of the principals (though McKay and Walrond refused, and Toomer no longer acknowledged his African-American roots), Cunard captured its essence, in the manner of expert taxidermy.

Arthur Fauset attempted to explain the collapse to Locke and the readers of *Opportunity* at the beginning of 1934. He foresaw "a socio-political-economic setback from which it may take decades to recover." The Renaissance had left the race unprepared, Fauset charged, because of its unrealistic belief "that social and economic recognition will be inevitable when once the race has produced a sufficiently large number of persons who have properly qualified themselves in the arts." James Weldon Johnson's philosophical tour d'horizon appearing that year, *Negro Americans, What Now?,* asked precisely the question of the decade. Most Harlemites were certain that the riot exploding on the evening of March 19, 1935, taking three lives and causing $2 million in property damage, was not an answer. By then, the Works Progress Administration had become the major patron of African-American artists and writers. Writers like William Attaway, Ralph Ellison, Margaret Walker, Richard Wright, and Frank Yerby would emerge under its aegis, as would painters Romare Bearden, Jacob Lawrence, Charles Sebree, Lois Maillou Jones, and Charles White. The Communist Party was another patron, notably for Richard Wright, whose 1937 essay "Blueprint for Negro Writing" would materially contribute to the premise of Hughes's "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain." And for thousands of ordinary Harlemites who had looked to Garvey's UNIA for inspiration, then to the Renaissance, there was now Father Divine and his "heavens."

In the ensuing years much was renounced, more was lost or forgotten; yet the Renaissance, however artificial and overreaching, left a positive mark. Locke's *New Negro* anthology featured thirty of the movement's thirty-five stars. They and a small number of less gifted collaborators generated twenty-six novels, tne volumes of poetry, five Broadway plays, countless essays and short stories, three performed ballets and concerti, and a considerable output of canvas and sculpture. If the achievement was less than the titanic expectations of the ministry of culture, it was an artistic legacy, nevertheless, of and by which a belea-

guered Afro-America could be both proud and sustained. Though more by osmosis than by conscious attention, mainstream America was also richer for the color, emotion, humanity, and cautionary vision produced by Harlem during its Golden Age. "If I had supposed that all Negroes were illiterate brutes, I might be astonished to discover that they can write good third-rate poetry, readable and unreadable magazine fiction," was the flinty judgment of a contemporary white Marxist. That judgment was soon beyond controversy largely because the Harlem Renaissance finally, irrefutably, proved the once-controversial point during slightly more than a single decade.

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Cullen, Countee; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Harlem, New York; Hughes, Langston; Jim Crow; Johnson, James Weldon; Joplin, Scott; National Urban League; Niagara Movement; Spingarn Medal; Universal Negro Improvement Association; White, Walter Francis

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DAVID LEVERING LEWIS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Harlem Rens

See Renaissance Big Five (Harlem Rens)

Harlem Writers Guild

In the late 1940s, a number of talented and ambitious young African Americans were seeking a way to simultaneously express their creativity and promote social change. Two such figures were Rosa Guy (b. 1925/28) and John Oliver Killens (1916–1987), who had studied literature and writing at prominent institutions like New York University, but realized that the mainstream literary world was largely inaccessible to blacks. Consequently, they began meeting with the writers Walter Christmas and John Henrik Clarke (1915–1998) in a Harlem storefront to critique each other's ideas and stories. By the early 1950s this workshop became known as the Harlem Writers Guild. During the guild's early years, meetings were frequently held in Killens's home, as well as at the home of the artist Aaron Douglas. As membership grew, the Guild influenced several generations of African-American writers.

Killens's *Youngblood* (1954) was the first novel published by a guild member. Appearing to critical acclaim at the beginning of the civil rights movement, it told the story of a southern black family struggling for dignity in the early twentieth century. Although Killens was a native of Georgia and a tireless voice protesting racial injustice in the United States, he was also involved in left-wing politics as a young man, and guild participants, many of whom were union organizers or Progressive Party members, were encouraged to think globally. Christmas and Clarke were both contributors to Communist periodicals, while other writers, such as novelists Julian Mayfield (1928–1984) and Paule Marshall (b. 1929), called attention to the lives and struggles of slave descendants in Cuba and the West Indies.

Although its main goals were literary, the guild believed in political action. In 1961, for example, Guy, Marshall, and the poet Maya Angelou staged a sit-in at the United Nations to protest the assassination of the first Congolese premier, Patrice Lumumba. That same year, when the Cuban leader Fidel Castro and the Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev met in Harlem, guild members joined another organization, Fair Play for Cuba, in welcoming them to the African-American capital of the world.

During the 1960s a number of guild members found work as professional writers, journalists, and editors in the publishing industry. As a consequence, the guild, in addition to offering workshops, began sponsoring writers' conferences and book parties. The celebration at the United Nations for Chester Himes's biography *The Quality of*

Hurt drew 700 people, while more than a thousand people attended a 1965 conference, "The Negro Writer's Vision of America," which was cosponsored by the New School for Social Research. This event featured a widely reported debate between Killens and Clarke and two white intellectuals, Herbert Aptheker and Walter Lowenfels, on the proper role of the artist in the fight against racism. The actor and playwright Ossie Davis (1917–2005), a participant at the conference, summed up his viewpoint when he wrote in *Negro Digest* that the black writer "must make of himself a hammer, and against the racially restricted walls of society he must strike, and strike, and strike again, until something is destroyed—either himself—or the prison walls that stifle him!"

In 1970, guild member Louise Meriwether published *Daddy Was a Numbers Runner,* and the next two decades saw the publication of acclaimed books by Grace Edwards-Yearwood, Doris Jean Austin, Arthur Flowers, and Terry McMillan, famed for her popular third novel, *Waiting to Exhale* (1992). Other guild members, such as Guy, Joyce Hansen, Brenda Wilkinson, and Walter Dean Myers, focused on writing literature for children and young adults.

In the early 1990s the guild sponsored several literary celebrations including a centennial salute to Zora Neale Hurston; "The Literary Legacy of Malcolm X," and two tributes to Rosa Guy for her leadership in the organization. Some former guild members also received national attention after the election of Bill Clinton as U.S. president. Maya Angelou was chosen to read her poem "On the Pulse of the Morning" at the 1993 presidential inauguration. In addition, Clinton made it known that his favorite mystery character was Walter Mosley's Easy Rawlings.

In 1991, guild director William H. Banks Jr. began hosting "In Our Own Words" for the MetroMagazine section on WNYE, a television station owned by the New York City Department of Education. This weekly program brought many guild members exposure in six viewing areas in the United States and Canada. Since 1988, writing workshops have met most frequently at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library.

See also Angelou, Maya; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Children's Literature; Davis, Ossie; Harlem Renaissance; Himes, Chester; Killens, John Oliver; Literature in the United States

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SHARON M. HOWARD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins

September 24, 1825
February 20, 1911

One of the most prominent activist women of her time in the areas of abolition, temperance, and women's rights, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper also left an indelible mark on African-American literature. Frances Watkins was born in Baltimore and raised among the city's free black community. She was orphaned at an early age, so her uncle, the Rev. William Watkins, took responsibility for her care and education, enrolling her in his prestigious school for free blacks, the Academy for Negro Youth. Here Watkins received a strict, classical education, studying the Bible, Greek, and Latin. Although she left school while in her early teens to take employment as a domestic, she never ceased her quest for additional education. She remained a voracious reader; her love of books contributed to her beginnings as a writer.

Frances Watkins published her first of several volumes of poetry in 1845. This early work, *Forest Leaves,* has been lost, however. From 1850 until 1852 she taught embroidery and sewing at Union Seminary, an African Methodist Episcopal Church school near Columbus, Ohio. She then moved on to teach in Pennsylvania. Both teaching situations were difficult because the schools were poor and the facilities overtaxed. During this period she was moved by the increasing number of strictures placed on free people of color, especially in her home state of Maryland, a slave state. From this point, she became active in the antislavery movement.

In 1854 Watkins moved to Philadelphia and became associated with an influential circle of black and white abolitionists. Among her friends there were William Still and his daughter Mary, who operated the key Underground Railroad station in the city. The same year another collection of Watkins's verse, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects,* was published. Many of the pieces in this volume dealt with the horrors of slavery. The work received popular acclaim and was republished in numerous revised, enlarged

editions. Watkins also published poems in prominent abolitionist papers such as *Frederick Douglass' Paper* and the *Liberator*. Later would come other collections—*Sketches of Southern Life* (1872), the narrative poem *Moses: A Story of the Nile* (1889), *Atlanta Offering: Poems* (1895), and *Martyr of Alabama and Other Poems* (1895).

With her literary career already on course, Watkins moved to Boston and joined the antislavery lecture circuit, securing a position with the Maine Anti-Slavery Society. She later toured with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Watkins immediately distinguished herself, making a reputation as a forceful and effective speaker, a difficult task for any woman at this time, especially an African American. Public speaking remained an important part of her career for the rest of her life, as she moved from antislavery work to other aspects of reform in the late nineteenth century.

In 1860 Frances Watkins married Fenton Harper and the two settled on a farm near Columbus, Ohio. Their daughter, Mary, was born there. Fenton Harper died four years later, and Frances Harper resumed her public career. With the close of the Civil War, she became increasingly involved in the struggle for suffrage, working with the American Equal Rights Association, the American Woman Suffrage Association, and the National Council of Women. Harper also became an active member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Despite her disagreements with many of the white women in these organizations and the racism she encountered, Harper remained steadfast in her commitment to the battle for women's rights. She refused to sacrifice any aspect of her commitment to African-American rights in seeking the rights of women, however. She was also a key member of the National Federation of Afro-American Women and the National Association of Colored Women.

In addition to the many poems, speeches, and essays she wrote, Harper is probably best known for her novel, *Iola Leroy; or, Shadows Uplifted,* published in 1892. The work tells the story of a young octoroon woman who is sold into slavery when her African-American heritage is revealed. It is a story about the quest for family and for one's people. Through Iola Leroy and the characters around her, Harper addresses the issues of slavery, relations between African Americans and whites, feminist concerns, labor in freedom, and the development of black intellectual communities. In this book, she combined many of her lifelong interests and passions.

Harper's public career ended around the turn of the century. She died in Philadelphia in 1911, leaving an enduring legacy of literary and activist achievement.

See also Abolition; *Frederick Douglass' Paper*; *Liberator, The*; National Association of Colored Women; National Federation of Afro-American Women; Underground Railroad

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Harris, Abram Lincoln, Jr.

January 17, 1899
November 16, 1963

The economist Abram Harris was born in Richmond, Virginia. He left his mark on developments in the areas of economic anthropology, black studies, institutional economics, and the history of economic thought.

A 1922 graduate of Virginia Union University in Richmond, Harris completed his M.A. in economics at the University of Pittsburgh in 1924, and he received his Ph.D. in economics in 1930 from Columbia University. After teaching briefly at West Virginia State University (1924–1925) and working at the Minneapolis Urban League (1925–1926), where he served as research director coordinating a report on the status of black working people in Minnesota's Twin Cities, Harris taught at Howard University from 1927 through 1945. He then went to the University of Chicago, where he taught for the rest of his life. Although his appointment was in the undergraduate college and he never taught graduate courses, any appointment at Chicago was a rarity for a black scholar in the 1940s.

In his early years at Howard, Harris and his colleagues Ralph Bunche (1904–1971) and E. Franklin Frazier (1894–1962) were the leading figures among the young intellectuals who attacked the traditional tactics and outlooks of the older generation of "race men." In 1931 Harris published, in collaboration with the Jewish political scientist Sterling

Spero, his most famous work, *The Black Worker*, which examined race relations in the American labor movement. In 1935, following preliminary discussions at the the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Amenia Conference of 1933, he was the main author of the so-called Harris Report, which urged the NAACP to adopt a more activist protest strategy and a class-based rather than a race-based approach to social change. While the report was not enacted, Harris continued to advocate a multiracial working-class movement as the only real solution to race problems in the United States.

In 1935, Harris and Bunche sponsored a conference at Howard University on the condition of blacks during the Great Depression, out of which came a special issue of the *Journal of Negro Education* (1935). The issue contained an article inspired by Harris, developed further the next year in his publication *The Negro as Capitalist* (1936) in which he argued that black businessmen and black-owned financial institutions were as harmful to the black masses as white capitalists. He claimed that black-owned banks, in particular, subjected the black working class to usurious interest rates, high rates of mortgage loan foreclosures, and an extremely high risk of outright bank failure. He urged the black working class to rely instead upon financial cooperatives of their own making. Futhermore, in light of negligible black ownership of the nation's industrial sector, he viewed notions of the development of "black capitalism" as sheer fantasy. Finally, Harris declared that civil rights efforts by existing black organizations were doomed to inadequacy in light of the fundamental economic disparities between the races.

Into the 1940s, Harris was the intellectual leader of the left-leaning Social Science Division at Howard, which he helped found in 1937. His influence on Bunche was especially pronounced, reflected in numerous papers in which Bunche virtually echoed positions that Harris had taken earlier. Harris's vision of the history of capitalist development and the role of slavery and the slave trade also had a profound effect on Eric Williams's analysis of the origins of the British Industrial Revolution in his classic study *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944).

In 1945 Harris left Howard to accept an appointment at the University of Chicago, where he appeared to undergo an intellectual conversion to anti-Marxism. He had never been naive about his earlier endorsement of radical change, and he had expressed deep concerns about the totalitarian direction of the Soviet Revolution as early as 1925, when he wrote "Black Communists in Dixie" for the Urban League's magazine *Opportunity*.

During Harris's years at Chicago, he became largely silent on the race question. His published research efforts concentrated on the history of economic theory, notably in essays such as "The Social Philosophy of Karl Marx" (1948) and in the volume *Economics and Social Reform* (1958), an exploration of John Stuart Mill's moderate liberalism. Harris also wrote on Mill's views of mid-nineteenth-century British colonial policy, chiefly with regard to India. He had begun to write a reinterpretation of *The Black Worker,* to be called *The Economics and Politics of the American Race Problem*, when he died. In keeping with his later views, his thesis in this work was that blacks had to improve their own skills and "human capital" in order for integration efforts to succeed. He had moved wholly away from a focus on working-class political movements.

Harris had a marked influence on both black radical and neoconservative thought, and his works display one of the most discerning critical voices of the twentieth century.

See also Black Studies; Bunche, Ralph; Howard University; Intellectual Life; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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WILLIAM A. DARITY JR. (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Harris, Barbara Clementine

June 12, 1930

Barbara Harris was the first female bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. She was born in Philadelphia, where her father, Walter Harris, was a steelworker and her mother, Beatrice, was a church organist. A third generation Episcopalian, Harris was very active in the St. Barnabas Episcopal Church. While in high school she played piano for the church school and later started a young adults group.

After graduating from high school, Harris went to work for Joseph V. Baker Associates, a black-owned public relations firm. She also attended and graduated from the Charles Morris Price School of Advertising and Journalism in Philadelphia. In 1968 she went to work for Sun Oil Company and became community relations manager in 1973.

During the 1960s Harris participated in several civil rights events. She was part of the 1965 Freedom March from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, Alabama, with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and was also a member of a church-sponsored team of people who went to Mississippi to register black voters. Harris began attending North Philadelphia Church of the Advocate in 1968. That same year, the Union of Black Clergy was established by a group of black Episcopalian ministers. Harris and several other women lobbied for membership. Eventually, they were admitted and the word *laity* was added to the organization's name. Later it became the Union of Black Episcopalians.

Once the Episcopal Church began to ordain women in 1976, Harris began to study for the ministry. From 1977 to 1979 she took several courses at Villanova University in Philadelphia, and spent three months in informal residency at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She was named deacon in 1979, served as a deacon-in-training in 1979–1980, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1980. She left Sun Oil Co. to pursue her new career full-time.

The first four years of Harris's ministry were spent at St. Augustine-of-Hippo in Norristown, Pennsylvania. She also worked as a chaplain in the Philadelphia County Prison System, an area in which she had already spent many years as a volunteer. In 1984 she became the executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Co. Her writings were critical of church policies, which she believed to be in contrast to social, political, and economic fairness.

In 1988 the Episcopal Church approved the consecration of women as bishops. Harris was elected to become bishop of the Massachusetts diocese in the fall of 1988. Her election was ratified in January 1989 and she was ordained in a ceremony in Boston on February 11, 1989, with over seven thousand in attendance.

As the first female Episcopal bishop, Harris was surrounded by controversy centered on three issues: her gender, her lack of traditional seminary education and training, and her liberal viewpoints. Policies toward women, black Americans, the poor, and other minorities were always at the forefront of Harris's challenges to the church and its doctrines. Harris overcame the objections and focused her attention on her duties as a bishop. She served the diocese of Massachusetts, where she was extremely active in local communities and prison work. Greatly concerned with the prison ministry, she represented the Episcopal Church on the board of the Prisoners Visitation and Support Committee. She continued to speak out about gender discrimination in the church; in 1999 at the Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia, she spoke on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the ordination of the church's first eleven women priests, lambasting male bishops for the lack of support for women priests. In 2003 Harris retired at the age of seventy-two, the mandatory retirement age for bishops in the church.

See also Episcopalians; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Protestantism in the Americas

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DEBI BROOME (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Harris, Patricia Roberts

May 31, 1924
March 23, 1985

Educator, lawyer, and politician Patricia Roberts was born in the blue-collar town of Mattoon, Illinois, where her fa-

ther was a Pullman porter. She attended high school in Chicago and then enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C. She became active in civil rights causes at Howard, participating in one of the nation's first student sit-ins at a segregated Washington cafeteria and by serving as the vice chairman of a student chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

After graduating in 1945, Roberts returned to Chicago, where she briefly attended graduate school at the University of Chicago and worked as program director at the Chicago Young Women's Christian Association. In 1949 she returned to Washington and accepted a position as the assistant director of the American Council on Human Rights. In 1953 she became executive director of Delta Sigma Theta, a black sorority, and two years later, she married Washington lawyer William Beasley Harris.

Patricia Roberts Harris entered George Washington Law School in 1957. Upon graduation in 1960 she accepted a position as an attorney at the U.S. Department of Justice. The following year she joined the Howard University Law School faculty, where she also served as the associate dean of students. In 1963, with the support of the Kennedy administration, Harris was chosen to cochair the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights, a clearinghouse and coordinating committee for a wide range of national women's organizations. She also served on the District of Columbia advisory committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

In 1965 Harris became the first African-American woman to hold an ambassadorship when she was appointed envoy to Luxembourg. She held the post until September 1967, when she rejoined the faculty at Howard University. In 1969 she was appointed dean of Howard Law School, becoming the first black woman to head a law school, but her tenure lasted only thirty days. Caught between disputes with the faculty and the president of the university over student protests, Harris resigned.

Harris then accepted a position with a private law firm—Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman—and also held a number of positions in the Democratic Party during the 1970s, such as the temporary chairmanship of the credentials committee. Harris became the first black woman cabinet member when she was nominated by President Jimmy Carter to head the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1976. She held the job for two years, and in 1979 she became secretary of health, education, and welfare (renamed the Department of Health and Human Services in 1980), serving until 1981.

In 1982 Harris ran for mayor of Washington, D.C. Running against Marion S. Barry in the Democratic primary, she lost a bitter contest in which she was depicted as an elitist who could not identify with the city's poorer blacks. She spent her remaining years as a professor at George Washington National Law Center before her death in 1985.

See also Barry, Marion; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Politics in the United States; United States Commission on Civil Rights

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JAMES BRADLEY (1996)

Harris, Wilson

March 24, 1921

The first recipient of the Guyana Prize for Fiction (1985–1987), Wilson Harris was born in New Amsterdam, a coastal city in the Berbice region of British Guiana (Guyana after 1966). Since 1945 he has published twenty-three novels, two collections of novellas, two volumes of poetry, and several books of essays and interviews.

Harris's writings engage the intellectual and spiritual resources that reside in the depths of what he calls, in his novel *Carnival,* the "universal plague of violence" that exists in the twentieth century (p. 14). His novels dramatize how this legacy of violence can be transformed into powerfully creative energy. For instance, death is not an end for Harris's characters but a necessary "cancellation" of one's "fear of strangeness and catastrophe in a destitute world" (p. 116). Instead of Conradian "horror," Harris's protagonists typically experience spiritual fulfillment and self-knowledge only when they embrace otherness.

Unlike V. S. Naipaul and other Caribbean writers, Harris does not believe in "historylessness" and irreversible cultural destitution. For him the Caribbean's landscape itself *is* history. Harris's fictional landscapes abound with traces and echoes of eclipsed histories—of African slaves, East Indian indentured laborers, and Amerindians—sometimes to the point of sensory overload for some

readers. Harris's early career as a surveyor familiarized him with his native South American landscape. After graduating from Queen's College of the University of Guyana in 1939, he led countless survey expeditions along Guyana's coast and into its interior. These experiences resonate in most of his novels, even in those not specifically set in Guyana. The first and most acclaimed of these novels is *Palace of the Peacock* (1960). Harris wrote *Palace* in 1959, the year he emigrated to the United Kingdom, where he still resides.

Harris's characters, many of whom are fictional personae, are best described as activated archetypes, or "character-masks," as he prefers. Their sense of selfhood is complicated by the fact that, according to Harris, memory is never just individual recollection. Rather, it always includes traces of other, "strange" presences, both dead and alive. When characters embark on their "voyage[s] in the straits of memory" (*Palace,* p. 62), they come to acknowledge their "inner problematic ties" to the rest of the world. Although they inhabit different times and universes, they can encounter each other intuitively and imaginatively through the "world's unconscious," something of a Jungian network. In his *Carnival Trilogy,* for example, Harris's Dantesque characters, led by Virgilian guides from the realm of the dead, move in and out of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, all three of which he conceives as overlapping modes of existence that represent relative states of consciousness and unconsciousness. As their inner spaces of consciousness overlap more and more with the outer realms of the phenomenal world, characters are freed from ingrained patterns of thought and behavior. A character's individual identity eventually gives way to a state of spiritual freedom, or true personhood, through an awareness of "parallel" universes. The joint, multiple conception of authorship that follows from such an awareness is at the heart of Harris's re-visionary strategies.

Harris believes that writers of literature have the moral responsibility to interrogate areas of intellectual and emotional self-deception without resorting to political dogma. Applying this premise has led him to imagine and experiment with alternatives to traditional narrative. His "new density" of language eschews clear political messages and easy access to categories such as otherness and cultural authenticity. Harris's work is a poetics of imaginative cross-cultural reassembly that is also a sustained critique of realist modes of representation, in literature and elsewhere. As early as 1952, in "Form and Realism in the West Indian Artist," Harris insists that realism is central to imperial ideologies and that its literary manifestations constitute a troubling residue of imperialism's cultural politics. This residue significantly includes "protest realism," which Harris deems an ineffective form of intellectual resistance to conceptual and physical violence. Harris's writings on realism and imperialism anticipate major arguments in the work of postcolonial theorists such as of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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VERA M. KUTZINSKI (2005)

Harrison, Hubert Henry

April 27, 1883
December 17, 1927

Hubert Harrison, a self-educated working-class intellectual, writer, orator, editor, and political activist, played sig-

nal roles in what became the largest class-radical movement (socialism) and the largest race-radical movement (the "New Negro"/Garvey movement) in U.S. history. He profoundly influenced a generation of class and race activists including A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, Cyril Briggs, Richard B. Moore, and Marcus Garvey and was described by Randolph as the father of Harlem radicalism. Considered by historian J. A. Rogers to be "perhaps the foremost Afro American intellect of his time" (Rogers, 1972, p. 432), Harrison also edited and reshaped Garvey's *Negro World* into a powerful international political and cultural force that fostered a mass interest in literature and the arts. In addition, he was the nation's first regular black book reviewer (1920–1922) and an important cofounder and developer (with Arthur Schomburg and others) of the Department of Negro Literature and History of the 135th Street Public Library (1925–1927), which subsequently grew into the internationally famous Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Harrison was born in Concordia, St. Croix, Danish West Indies (now the U.S. Virgin Islands) and immigrated to New York in 1900 as a seventeen-year-old orphan. He worked low-paying jobs, attended high school, and participated in black intellectual circles before becoming a postal worker in 1907. During his first decade in New York, the critical thinking Harrison became an agnostic and humanist, studied history, science, freethought, languages, and social and literary criticism, was attracted to the protest philosophy of W. E. B. Du Bois and socialism, and had letters on numerous historical, cultural, and literary subjects published in the *New York Times*. In 1909 he married Irene Louise Horton, and in 1911, after he wrote several letters critical of Booker T. Washington in the New York *Sun,* he was fired by the post office and hired by the Socialist Party.

From 1911 to 1914 Harrison served as the leading black orator, organizer, writer, campaigner, and theoretician in the Socialist Party. His oratory was famous from Wall St. to Madison Square to Harlem, where he developed the soapbox tradition later continued by Owen, Randolph, Garvey, Moore, and Malcolm X. In 1911 he served as an editor of *The Masses,* which subsequently grew into America's foremost left-literary publication. In his theoretical series on "The Negro and Socialism" *(New York Call,* 1911) and on "Socialism and the Negro" *(International Socialist Review,* 1912) he advocated that Socialists champion the cause of the Negro as a revolutionary doctrine, develop a special appeal to Negroes, and affirm the duty of Socialists to oppose race prejudice. He initiated the Colored Socialist Club, a pioneering effort at organizing African Americans, but soon concluded that Socialist Party leaders, like the leaders of organized labor, put the white "race first and class after." Harrison increasingly supported the more egalitarian, direct action-oriented Industrial Workers of the World and spoke at the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike. After Socialist leaders moved to restrict his speaking, he left the Socialist Party, became active in the free speech movement, and developed his own Radical Lecture Forum with talks on subjects as diverse as evolution, birth control, comparative religion, and the racial implications of the Great War. Then, prompted in part by his analysis of how the developing black theater revealed "the social mind of the Negro," he began to concentrate his work in Harlem.

In 1917 Harrison founded the *The Voice* and the Liberty League, the first newspaper and first organization of the militant "New Negro" movement. *The Voice* called for a "race first" approach, full equality and enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, federal antilynching legislation, labor organizing, support of socialist and anti-imperialist causes, and armed self-defense in the face of racist attacks. *The Voice* was soon followed by other New Negro publications including Randolph and Owens's *Messenger* (1917), Garvey's *Negro World* (1918), and Briggs's *Crusader*. The Liberty League's program was aimed at the "common people" and emphasized internationalism, political independence, and class and race consciousness. The league developed the core features (race radicalism, self-reliance, tricolor flag, outdoor and indoor lectures, a newspaper, and protests in terms of democracy) and the core leadership individuals Marcus Garvey used in his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Harrison later claimed that from the Liberty League, "Garvey appropriated every feature that was worthwhile in his movement."

After *The Voice* failed in November 1917, Harrison organized for the American Federation of Labor, rejoined and then left the Socialist Party, and then cochaired the 1918 Colored National Liberty Congress with William Monroe Trotter. The Liberty Congress was the major black protest effort during World War I, and it petitioned both houses of the U.S. Congress for federal antilynching legislation at a time when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) did not advocate such legislation and when Du Bois advocated forgetting "special grievances" and closing ranks behind the government's war effort. Following the failure of a resurrected *Voice* in 1919, Harrison became editor of the *New Negro*, "an organ of the international consciousness of the darker races."

In January 1920 Harrison became principal editor of the *Negro World,* the organ of Garvey's UNIA. He reshaped that paper with the "Poetry for the People," book

review, and "West Indian News Notes" sections that he initiated and with the numerous reviews, editorials, and articles he wrote pertaining to Africa, peoples of African descent, and international affairs. Selections from his writings through the summer of 1920 appear in his two books, *The Negro and the Nation* (1917) and *When Africa Awakes* (1920). By the UNIA's August 1920 convention Harrison was highly critical of Garvey and, though he continued to write for the *Negro World* into 1922, he worked against Garvey while attempting to build a Liberty Party to run black candidates for political office.

Harrison became a U.S. citizen in 1922, and from 1922 to 1926 he was a featured lecturer for the New York City Board of Education's "Trends of the Times" and "Literary Lights of Yesterday and Today" series. He was also active in anticensorship and anti–Ku Klux Klan efforts, worked with the American Negro Labor Congress and the Urban League, wrote widely for the black press and many of the nation's leading periodicals, and promoted the efforts of a number of poets and artists including Claude McKay, Charles Gilpin, Eubie Blake, and Augusta Savage. In 1924 he founded the International Colored Unity League, which stressed the need for black people to develop "race-consciousness," called for broader-based unity of action and cooperative efforts, and advocated a separate state for African Americans. His 1927 effort to develop a new publication, *The Voice of the Negro,* lasted several months. Harrison died in New York City after an appendicitis attack, leaving his wife and five young children virtually penniless.

During the 1910s and 1920s when Harlem became an international center of radical black thought and literary influence, Hubert Harrison was the most class conscious of the race radicals and the most race conscious of the class radicals and an intellectual of seminal influence. The militant "New Negro" movement he founded marked a major shift from the white-patron-based leadership approach of Booker T. Washington and the "Talented Tenth" orientation of W. E. B. Du Bois, it prepared the ground for the Garvey movement, and it was qualitatively different from the more middle-class, more arts-based literary movement associated with the 1925 publication of Alain Locke's *New Negro*. Harrison's emphasis on education of "the common people" was much appreciated in his day, and thousands attended his Harlem funeral.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Intellectual Life; Literary Magazines; New Negro; *Negro World*; Pan-Africanism

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JEFFREY B. PERRY (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Hart Sisters of Antigua

Sisters Elizabeth Hart Thwaites (1772–1833) and Anne Hart Gilbert (1773–1833) were born on Antigua to free colored parents. As educators, abolitionists, and Methodists, both sisters were very engaged with the various representations of blacks and slaves circulating in the West Indies and used their writing to effectively challenge the patriarchal order, which construed blacks, women, and slaves as lowly.

The sisters are commonly understood to be the first female African-Caribbean writers to publish. Anne Hart Gilbert wrote a solicited short history of Antiguan Methodism and completed the biography of her husband, John Gilbert. Elizabeth Hart Thwaites also wrote a solicited history of Antiguan Methodism. In addition she wrote poetry, hymns, and letters, including one that was republished and circulated as an antislavery tract. Elizabeth was more strident about emancipation in her writing than her sister because she had associations with mainstream British pro-emancipation circles.

Both sisters were baptized into the Methodist faith in 1786 as young women. After this point both would become outspoken members of the Methodist community in Antigua. They advocated a kind of Christianity that sought to challenge rather than enforce the status quo. More specifically, both insisted that God's work was not just a male preserve but that women had the right to pursue holy work as well. In advocating the political equality inherent in Christianity, the sisters proposed that through

Methodism and Christianity blacks and slaves were equal to whites. In a certain sense their work can be linked to the upsurge of evangelical women's activism in England, where most women's work was associated with the heart and feeling, or the womanly arts. In emulating their British counterparts, they offered a black Methodist female paradigm.

The sisters were committed to education. They traveled to Montserrat to observe the Lancastrian system of education based on the factory model and drew upon it as they defiantly educated slaves, proposing that slaves were educable and smart. Elizabeth founded a private school in St. John's in 1801. Then in 1809 they opened the first Caribbean Sunday school for boys and girls, without regard for race. Anne Hart held her Sunday school meetings in the dark so people would not feel ashamed of their clothes.

Anne and Elizabeth constructed a new kind of public identity for black women in the Caribbean. In doing so they refuted stereotypes of the depraved or licentious enslaved black woman. Both sisters were committed to helping women and children. They founded a society for orphans and women called the Female Refuge Society in 1816. In particular, Anne condemned prostitution and blamed it on the institution of slavery. Elizabeth argued that by eliminating sexual predation, black women could become socially mobile.

As the first black women to write and agitate against slavery, the sisters transform a reader's sense of the nineteenth century in that they show black women participating in discourses that sought to exclude them. In addition, they also provide evidence of the creolization of religions in the West Indies as they reshaped Methodism to reflect their lives.

See also Education in the Caribbean; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Protestantism in the Americas; Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

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NICOLE N. ALJOE (2005)

Hastie, William Henry

November 17, 1904
April 14, 1976

The lawyer and educator William Henry Hastie was considered one of the best legal minds of the twentieth century. He was once suggested for the presidency of Harvard University and twice considered as a nominee for the U.S. Supreme Court, reflections of the high regard in which he was held.

Hastie was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, where he spent his early years. His father, a clerk in the United States Pension Office, and his mother, a teacher until his birth, offered him early examples of resistance to discrimination. Rather than ride on segregated streetcars, they provided alternative means for young Hastie to go to school, which sometimes meant walking.

In 1916 the family moved to Washington, D.C., which gave Hastie the opportunity to attend Dunbar High School, the best secondary school in the nation for African Americans. There he excelled athletically and academically, graduating as valedictorian of his class in 1921. He went on to Amherst College, where he again established an excellent athletic and academic record. In addition to winning prizes in mathematics and physics, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa as a junior, serving as its president during his senior year. In 1925 he graduated magna cum laude as class valedictorian.

After teaching mathematics and general science for two years at the Bordentown Manual Training School in New Jersey, Hastie pursued legal studies at Harvard Law School, where he distinguished himself as a student. He was named to the editorial board of the *Harvard Law Review,* the second African American to earn that distinction, and was one of its most active editors. Hastie received his LL.B. degree from Harvard in 1930, and he returned there to earn an S.J.D. in 1933.

His academic career closely followed that of his second cousin Charles Hamilton Houston, who had also excelled at Dunbar High, Amherst College, and Harvard Law School. Upon completion of his legal studies, Hastie became a lawyer and went into practice with his father, William, in the Washington, D.C., firm of Houston and Houston. He also became an instructor at Howard University Law School, where Houston was vice dean. Working together, the two men transformed the law school from a night school into a first-class institution. As Robert C. Weaver recalled, "It was during this time that the Hous-

ton-Hastie team became the principal mentors of Thurgood Marshall, as well as symbols for, and teachers of, scores of black lawyers, many of whom played a significant role in Civil Rights litigation" (Weaver, 1976, p. 267).

In 1930, the year that Hastie completed his first law degree, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) decided on its legal strategy for fighting against racism: to attack the "soft underbelly" of segregation, the graduate schools. Hastie, Houston, and Marshall became the principal architects of that strategy. In 1933 Hastie was one of the lawyers who argued the first of these cases, *Hocutt v. University of North Carolina*. Although the case was lost, his performance won him immediate recognition. More important, it laid the groundwork for future cases that would lead to the end of legal segregation in the United States.

As assistant solicitor for the Department of the Interior (1933–1937), Hastie challenged the practice of segregated dining facilities in the department. He also played a role in drafting the Organic Act of 1936, which restructured the governance of the Virgin Islands. In 1937, as a result of his work on the Organic Act, he was appointed federal judge of the U.S. District Court for the Virgin Islands, the first African American to be appointed a federal judge. He left this post in 1939 and returned to Howard Law School as a professor and dean. In 1946 he went back to the Virgin Islands as its first black governor.

In 1940 Hastie was appointed civilian aide to the secretary of war and given the charge of fighting discrimination in the armed services. While he was able to make some progress after a little more than two years, conditions remained intolerable. Hastie decided that he could fight segregation more effectively if he were outside the constraints of an official position, and he resigned in January 1943.

In 1949 Hastie left the position of governor of the Virgin Islands to take a seat as judge on the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, where he established a positive reputation. His cases were never overturned, and they often established precedents that were upheld by the Supreme Court. He served the Third Circuit as chief justice for three years before retiring in 1971 and taking a position as senior judge.

Hastie received over twenty honorary degrees, including two from Amherst College (1940, 1960) and one from Harvard (1975). He was the recipient of the NAACP's Spingarn Medal (1943), the Philadelphia Award (1975), and the Washington Bureau Association's Charles Hamilton Houston Medallion of Merit (1976). He was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1952) and was made a lifetime trustee of Amherst College (1962). His alma maters have also honored him with portraits: One, dedicated in 1973, hangs in the Elihu Root Room of the Harvard Law Library; the other, a gift of the Amherst College class of 1992, hangs in Johnson's Chapel at Amherst.

See also Marshall, Thurgood; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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ROBERT A. BELLINGER (1996)

Hatcher, Richard Gordon

July 10, 1933

Politician Richard Gordon Hatcher was born and raised in Michigan City, Indiana, the son of Carleton and Catherine Hatcher. He received his bachelor of science degree from Indiana University in 1956 and a law degree from Valparaiso University in Indiana in 1959. From 1961 to 1963 he served as a deputy prosecuting attorney in Lake County, which includes the city of Gary, Indiana. In 1963 he became a member of Gary's city council. In 1967, as an independent Democrat, Hatcher defeated both his Republican opponent and the regular Democratic Party machine when he was elected mayor of Gary. With Carl Stokes, who was elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, on the same day, Hatcher became one of the first two African Americans elected mayor of a major city. In all, Hatcher served a five-term, twenty-year tenure in office.

When Hatcher came into office, Gary was suffering from the decline of the local steel industry, which was the core of the town's economy. This decline led to a loss in factory jobs and the exodus of the middle class from the city. These trends caused Gary's total population to decrease from 180,000 in the late 1960s to 116,000 in the late 1980s. During the same period, however, the city's African-American population rose from about 50 percent of the total to more than 80 percent. Hatcher sought to deal with the resulting racial tensions by integrating the police

force and encouraging black businesses, but these efforts often brought him into conflict with white neighborhoods in surrounding suburbs.

Hatcher's leadership role in Gary's black community led him to address racial issues in a national context. In 1969 Hatcher joined a citizens' investigation of violence against the Black Panther Party. In 1972 he presided over the plenary session of the first National Black Political Convention, held in Gary. Although he supported the convention's moves to establish a new black political agenda, distinct from the agendas of the two major parties, he rejected the convention's resolution against busing to achieve integrated schools as well as its attacks on the state of Israel.

Hatcher was a close associate of the Rev. Jesse Jackson. From 1982 to 1984 he was chairman of the National Board of Directors for Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), resigning his chairmanship (but retaining his board membership) to assist Jackson's presidential campaigns. In 1984 he was national chairman of the Jackson for President Committee, and in 1988 he served as national vice chair of the Jackson for President Campaign.

Hatcher lost the Democratic primary for reelection in 1987 to Thomas V. Barnes, an African American who promised new economic initiatives and whose supporters believed that Hatcher was racially divisive. Hatcher saw Barnes elected mayor in November 1987 and failed in his attempt to take the nomination back from Barnes in 1991.

Following his electoral defeat in 1987, Hatcher became president of his own law firm in Gary, known as Hatcher and Associates. Nelson Mandela invited Hatcher to South Africa in 1991 and praised him for helping convince the United States to impose sanctions on the apartheid regime. Hatcher also began work in 1991 on a "black common market" program for the purpose of strengthening and coordinating black businesses nationwide.

Since 1989 Hatcher has worked as an adjunct professor at Indiana University, and continues to work with various political, urban, and civil rights organizations.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Gary Convention; Jackson, Jesse; Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity); Politics in the United States; Stokes, Carl Burton

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

HAYES, ISAAC

AUGUST 20, 1942

Singer, musician, composer, and record producer Isaac Hayes was born in Covington, Tennessee, and attended Memphis public schools. He played saxophone in his high school band, sang in church choirs, and began playing saxophone and piano in local clubs as early as the 1950s, completing his first solo recording in 1962. From 1962 to 1965 he played in the Memphis-area rhythm-and-blues club circuit, including Sir Isaac and the Doo-Dads. He soon formed a songwriting and producing partnership with his friend David Porter. The team worked together for several years at Stax Records in Memphis, establishing the Memphis Sound.

Hayes and Porter together wrote and produced numerous recordings, and Hayes personally worked as arranger, pianist, organist, and producer, with major Stax artists such as Otis Redding and Carla Thomas. Their hit songs of the period 1965–1968 included "Son Man" and "Hold On, I'm Coming," followed by the *Hot Buttered Soul* album, which went platinum in 1969. Perhaps the crowning achievement of this period was Hayes's 1971 score for the film *Shaft,* an instant hit for both the film and the subsequent record releases. *Shaft* earned Hayes an Academy Award, two Grammys, and a Golden Globe award. Next came *Black Moses,* another Grammy winner, in 1972.

Hayes's style blends rhythm and blues with jazz elements, including sampling and a liberal use of synthesizers and overdubbing. He fits his music to his artists (including himself), and the result often crosses over various performing styles, including blues, jazz, and gospel. The movie *Shaft 2000* follows in this vein, and Hayes's artistic efforts continue. In 2004 he won the Trumpet Award and was signed to act in the television series *Stargate SG-1* and in the movie *Hustle and Flow.*

See also Blaxploitation Films; Music in the United States; Recording Industry

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DARIUS L. THIEME (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Haywood, Harry

February 4, 1898
January, 1985

Communist activist and theoretician Harry Haywood was born in South Omaha, Nebraska, the youngest child of former slaves. In 1913 his family moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and in the same year, at the age of fifteen, Haywood dropped out of school and worked at a string of menial jobs, including bootblack, barbershop porter, bellhop, and busboy. In 1914 he moved to Chicago, where he worked as a waiter on the Michigan Central Railroad. During World War I he fought in France with the 370th Infantry. After the war Haywood settled in Chicago, and in 1923 he was recruited into the African Blood Brotherhood, a secret black nationalist organization, and then into the Young Workers League, both associated with the Communist Party (CPUSA). Two years later he became a full-time party organizer and soon came to be a leading proponent of black nationalism and self-determination within the party, seeking to reconcile Marxism-Leninism with what the party called the national-colonial question.

Haywood traveled with a delegation of young black cadres to the Soviet Union in 1926 and studied there until 1930, when he returned to the U.S. While in the Soviet Union, Haywood was strongly influenced by the first generation of anticolonial revolutionaries who were his fellow students, including M. N. Roy of India, Tan Malaka of Indonesia, and the future Vietnamese revolutionary Ho Chi Minh. In 1928 Haywood authored a resolution on what the party called the Negro question, which was presented to the Comintern's Sixth World Congress. Haywood argued for the "national minority status" of the African-American people. He advocated a "national revolutionary" movement for self-determination and an autonomous republic to be established in the "black belt" of the American South. By 1930 Haywood's formulation had become the official position of the party in its attempt to organize African Americans.

Harry Haywood, c. 1950. *Haywood joined the Communist Party during the 1920s, and quickly came to be a leading proponent of black nationalism within the party, contending that blacks in the deep South constituted an oppressed nation, with full rights to self-determination.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

In 1931 Haywood was chosen to head the Communist Party's Negro Department. He helped lead the party's campaign to defend the Scottsboro Boys, eight black teenagers convicted and sentenced to death for allegedly raping two white women in Alabama. In 1934 Haywood was appointed to the politburo of the CPUSA and became national secretary of the party's civil rights organization, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. In 1937 he fought in the Spanish Civil War with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a volunteer force organized by the CPUSA to aid the Spanish Republic against the insurrection by Francisco Franco's fascist armies. In 1938 he was removed from the politburo for alleged mistakes in Spain, but Haywood suspected that this removal was due to his uncompromising support of black nationalism, which was losing favor in the party leadership. During World War II, Haywood served as a seaman in the Merchant Marine and worked as an organizer for the communist-led National Maritime Union from 1943 until the war ended.

> *Harry Haywood*
>
> "The Black Freedom struggle is a revolutionary movement in its own right, directed against the very foundations of U. S. imperialism, with its own dynamic pace and momentum, resulting from the unfinished democratic and land revolutions of the South. It places the Black liberation movement and the class struggle of U. S. workers in their proper relationship as two aspects of the fight against the common enemy—U. S. capitalism. It elevates the Black movement to a position of equality in the battle."
>
> *BLACK BOLSHEVIK: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN AFRO-AMERICAN COMMUNIST* (CHICAGO: LIBERATOR PRESS, 1978), P. 234.

The Communist Party's support of national self-determination in the black belt was officially dropped in 1944 but had been muted since the adoption of the popular front strategy in 1935. Despite this shift in party policy, Haywood continued to vigorously promote his theory that the black population in the United States represented a colonized people who should organize as a nation before being integrated into American society. He argued that self-determination and territorial autonomy were the only mechanisms that would guarantee the security of African Americans. His position finally caused him to be expelled from the party in 1959.

Haywood lived in Mexico City from 1959 to 1963 and thereafter returned to Chicago. In the 1960s Haywood supported various black nationalist movements, such as the Nation of Islam under the leadership of Malcolm X, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Throughout his later years, Haywood remained critical of the integrationist politics of "petit-bourgeois" civil rights leaders such as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. In the 1970s Haywood was a leading figure in a small Maoist organization, the Communist party (Marxist-Leninist), which called for self-determination for African Americans in the Deep South. Haywood attempted to apply Mao Zedong's theories of peasant revolution to African Americans, influencing a number of younger black nationalists, including Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure). His public activities declined in his final years, and he died in Chicago in 1985.

See also African Blood Brotherhood; Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Carmichael, Stokely; Communist Party of the United States; League of Revolutionary Black Workers; Malcolm X; Revolutionary Action Movement

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Headley, George

May 30, 1909
November 30, 1983

The son of migrant workers from Barbados and Jamaica, George Alphonso Headley was born in Colón, Panama. When he was ten, he was taken to Jamaica, where he grew up in the care of his aunt, as his parents migrated to Cuba and then to the United States. Exposed to cricket in Jamaica, he quickly developed a passion for the sport. By age seventeen he was already making his mark in local competitive cricket and was first selected to represent Jamaica in 1928 against a visiting English team led by Lord Tennyson. His innings of 252 runs in the first match announced his arrival to the entire region, and it was utterly surprising that he was not selected for the first West Indies test tour to England that summer. However, he made his test debut on the England tour of the West Indies in 1930. In his very first match he became the first West Indian to score a test century with his innings of 176 runs in Barbados, and then "immortalized" himself by scoring centuries in each innings of the British Guiana test match. His mammoth innings of 223 in the final test in Jamaica was the highest score by any cricketer in the fourth innings of a test match.

His prodigious talent, however, was severely tested when the West Indies toured Australia in 1930–1931. But after initially struggling against the best bowlers in the world, he rose to the challenge to score two centuries in the third and fifth tests. He again distinguished himself on a gruelling tour of England in 1934 with a magnificent 169 not out in the second test, and when England visited in 1935 he crowned his very successful series with 270 not

West Indies cricket player George Headley batting against England in Manchester, 1939. GETTY IMAGES.

out in the final match in Jamaica. His outstanding batting performances were instrumental in helping the West Indies win their first ever test series. If the 1939 tour of England was less successful for the West Indies, Headley once again wrote himself into record books by becoming the first player to score centuries in each innings at Lords, then considered the mecca of world cricket.

The Second World War, however, more or less put an end to Headley's test career. Although he played in three test matches after the war and became the first black man to captain a West Indian test team in the Barbados match against England in 1948, injury and disagreement with the selectors combined to limit his performances. He played his last test match in Jamaica in 1953. But his career statistics speak for themselves. In just twenty-two test matches, he amassed 2,190 runs, including ten centuries, for an average of 60.83.

George Headley was not simply the best West Indian batsman of his generation, earning him the pseudonym "Atlas" for literally carrying the rest of the team on his shoulders, he was revered by the mass of black West Indians who, fondly calling him "Mas George," identified their own struggles for social equality and political self-determination with his performances on the cricket field. The dedication of the largest pavilion at Sabina Park in Jamaica, and the national award of the Order of Jamaica, were therefore fitting tributes to a great West Indian.

See also Sports

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BRIAN L. MOORE (2005)

Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures

The Creole religions of the Caribbean—Haitian Vodou, Cuban Santería, Jamaican Rastafarianism, among others—are wide-ranging spiritual practices whose impact can be felt in virtually every aspect of the cultures of the region, from language and music to healing and the arts. The healing cultures associated with Creole religiosity in the Caribbean evolved out of the fusion of the native healing systems of the indigenous Arawak and Carib peoples of the Antilles and the herbal medicine and folk curative practices brought to the region by African slaves and European colonizers. Together they developed into hybrid and pluralistic magico-religious practices that have maintained a most tenacious hold on the Caribbean cultural imagination. They represent complex systems of physical, spiritual, and cultural healing that allowed conquered Amerindian and enslaved African communities that had already suffered devastating cultural losses to preserve a sense of group and personal identity.

From the early years of European colonization in the Caribbean, Creole healing traditions have relied on a multiplicity of objects—fragments of material culture produced by the clash and fusion of folk art traditions. These objects are credited with the ability to heal diseases of the body and the spirit, as well as with empowering a population suffering from the ills of colonialism and slavery.

These objects, because they function as links between humans and their gods, exemplify the principle of reciprocity that is the foundation of the crucial relationship between humans and the spirit world in Caribbean religiosities. Many of these objects, such as the various representations of spirits (*orishas* in Santería and *lwas* in Vodou) through the imagery of Catholic saints and the sequined flags whose entrance marks the beginning of a Vodou ceremony, have become highly valued items in the international art market, losing in the process their connection to religion and ritual.

The earliest manifestation of the creolized healing arts of the Caribbean is that of *santos,* carved-wood religious figures that have been produced in Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands since the early sixteenth century. These polychrome figurines, roughly eight to twenty inches in height, were introduced by Spanish friars as aids to the conversion of the Arawak (and later the African) population, and soon replaced the traditional Taíno *cemís* as objects of veneration in homes and of magical fertilization in the fields. Like the *santos,* Taíno *cemís* (small triangle-shaped carved figurines fashioned out of stone or wood) had served as conduits for the forces of the spirit world to enter into communion with humans in rituals of fertility, healing, or divination.

Initially carved by Spaniards in a style highly influenced by Romanesque and Gothic art, the *santos* were appropriated and simplified as they were incorporated within Creole religious and healing practices. The *santos* are believed to be imbued with the spirit of the saint, *lwa,* or the *orisha* they represent, which can be invoked to bring about physical healing or spiritual comfort. In isolated rural communities with little or no access to medical care, most people relied on their devotion to these images for protection against disease. For example, a common figure, that of St. Raymond Nonnatus (San Ramón Nonato), a thirteenth-century saint considered the protector of pregnant women and newborn babies, would be placed on the abdomens of women in labor to assure their safety and that of the child. *Santeros,* as the carvers of these images are still known, developed an island-specific iconography that allowed the peasantry to quickly recognize and contextualize the carved images through symbolic forms and attributes. Saint Blaise (San Blás), the fourth-century saint that protects against diseases of the throat, for example, is immediately recognizable for his pastoral staff, red and yellow miter, black cassock with a white alb, and black shoes.

The carved wooden *santos* and other representations of Catholic saints made their way into the altars, rituals, and healing practices of Santería and Vodou through the associations made by slaves between the mythology of the African-derived *orishas* and *lwa* (spirits) and attributes or qualities identified with Catholic saints. On Santería and Vodou altars they joined a variety of objects—sequined flags, bottles, dolls, among others—linked to curative practices. Although African-derived ethnomedical therapeutics in the Caribbean are essentially plant-based and consist of decoctions, infusions, aromatics, and/or baths prescribed to cleanse an evil spell or attract beneficent healing spirits, they are often aided by a variety of forms of folk art.

One of the best known forms of religious art in the Caribbean are the sequined and beaded Vodou flags (*drapo Vodou*) whose ritual entrance into the *ounfò* or temple marks the beginning of the Vodou ceremony. The flags depict specific *lwa,* recreating their dynamic iconography through specific elements and color combinations attributed to the various spirits, sometimes using a printed chromolithograph of the corresponding Catholic saint as the basis of the piece. Their connection to healing practices is both ritualistic and tangible. Their ritual use as devices for saluting the spirits and summoning the spiritual force of the devotees or *serviteurs* opens the path to ceremonies of initiation, possession, and personal and communal healing. They are important elements in a complex summoning of the spirits to join their devotees through the phenomenon of possession, when the voice of the *lwa* can articulate for the devotees present the steps necessary for spiritual and physical healing. Equally important is the close connection between the making of these sacred flags and service to the *lwa,* as many flagmakers attribute the originality of their designs to the inspiration of the gods and propose the labor of creating the intricate patterns as healing work in and of itself in which various members of the community can engage. When done well and in the proper spirit of devotion, flagmaking is work that can be pleasing to the *lwa* and can embody the ideal relationship between the spirit world and human devotees. Flags are also of importance in the Anglophone Caribbean practice of Obeah, although their production is not elaborate and their healing powers limited. An Obeah flag, a diagonal red cross on a black background, may be displayed in some Caribbean gardens as a guarantor of protection from thieves and Obeah spells. The Vodou flags, together with the other objects that crowd the space of the Vodou altar—calabashes for food offerings painted with the *vévé* or secret signs of the *lwa,* sequined bottles offered in honor of the spirits, undecorated libation bottles, among them—represent the creative material culture of Santería and Vodou. Yoruban-inspired beadwork, examples of which we find in beaded bottles or necklaces on Vodou and Santería altars, is never simply decorative but part of a sacred

language where the patterns, colors, and other design elements correspond to specific iconographies and ritual functions.

These objects often share their space with a variety of dolls that range from carefully handcrafted cloth dolls to mass-produced reproductions of "action figures" such as Darth Vader. Whereas the commercially made figures usually represent *lwa* such as Bawon Samdi (Baron Samedi)—the head of the Gede (or Guédé) family of raucous spirits whose activities are confined to the world of the dead, whom they are said to personify—cloth dolls are used chiefly as mediums, as conduits of messages to the spirit world or as repositories of the spirits of ancestors. As in the making of Vodou flags, the making of dolls for healing and ritual purposes is a spiritual process through which the dolls are imbued with the *aché* or *pwén* (power) of the spirits. As such, only those trained in healing practices or working selflessly for the good of others can produce dolls with the proper attributes for helping in the healing process. The process is as intrinsic a sign of devotion as the ritual work in which the objects themselves will be used.

In Santería, as in Vodou, the ancestors play an essential role in healing practices. The spirits of the dead do not comprise a single category, however, but include, in addition to the ritual family ancestors, deceased spirits that form one's "spiritual picture" or spirit field and that appear in dreams or through divination and mediumship. These spirit guides, as represented through dolls, paintings, photographs, lithographs, and statues of saints, can range from deceased members of one's biological family to Gypsies, Indians, and old Congo slaves. Their preparation, as that of the carving of *santos* or the embroidery of a *drapo Vodou,* follows a detailed iconographic pattern in order to imbue the figure with the power of the spirit it represents. The dolls can be consulted for advice and prescriptions for dealing with a variety of physical, spiritual, or psychological maladies. In the Mayombe (Congo-derived) practices of Santería, for example, the *mayombero* will work to transfer the evil that attacks his patient to a doll. The doll is given the sick person's name and is buried in an effort to trick death into believing that the doll is the patient's corpse. In another variation of the use of healing dolls, a doll, properly prepared or baptized, is placed on the bed next to the patient. The doll is later placed in a box and buried, while the patient is cleansed three times with a rooster that is passed over the entire body. The rooster is expected to die after absorbing the patient's illness.

Aspects of African-derived healing practices surface through many other art forms throughout the Caribbean. The work of Cuban artist Wilfredo Lam, for example, has always been understood as incorporating elements of Palo Monte, a Congo-derived Cuban religious tradition that observes a different interaction with the spirits than Yoruba-based religions; focused less on a pantheon of deities, the Reglas Congas emphasize control of the spirits of the dead and healing with the use of charms (*prendas*), formulas, and spells. Healing ceremonies are a frequent topic in Haitian painting, where they appear as colorful, community-based rituals that remind the viewer of the vitality of the Haitian healing arts. Denis Vergin's *Interior Ceremony* (1946), Ernst Prophète's *Chez un Docteur Feuille* (At the Herb Doctor's House, 1973), and Jean Léandre's *Healing Ceremony with Music* (c. 1976) show the range of depictions of healing cultures in Haitian art. Vergin focuses on the moment when the *lwa* has become manifest through the *oungan* or priest and offers a *pakét* (a bundle containing materials that can transmit the power of the spirits) to a pregnant woman. Prophète's work shows the interior of a Dokté Fé or leaf doctor's healing room, which displays the variety of materials and techniques used for healing. Léandre's painting depicts a healing ceremony conducted by a secret society in which animals are being readied for sacrifice as offering to the *lwa* in exchange for a man's health. Haitian paintings of *lwa* believed to have curative powers appear often in home altars and *ounfò*.

Many artists throughout the region have inserted healing themes and imagery in paintings, sculpture, and photography that record the devastating impact of AIDS on the peoples of the Caribbean islands. Although technically not involved with physical healing—this art, particularly notable in Puerto Rico—has focused on chronicling the impact of the illness on the human body and seeks to either channel the rage and impotence of many of its victims or to depict the coming to terms with premature mortality. Puerto Rican photographer Victor Vázquez's work is perhaps the most eloquent example of the haunting quality of AIDS-related art in the Caribbean. His book of photographs, *El reino de la espera* (1991), offers a pictorial narrative of the last months and death of a friend stricken with AIDS. His subsequent work draws on imagery and themes borrowed from the healing practices of Santería, especially through the depiction of *ebbó,* the offerings or sacrifices that are a vehicle for the cleansing and purification that are basic to the healing traditions of the region. Fellow Puerto Rican artist Anaida Hernández's traveling show, *Hasta que la muerte nos separe* (Till Death Do Us Part, 1994), is intended as a healing work to help women face the trauma of domestic violence. Consisting of one hundred square niches filled with photographs, votive candles, flowers, and other objects in altarlike arrangements, each dedicated to a different woman who died as

a result of domestic violence in Puerto Rico between 1990 and 1993, the work means to focus attention on an important social issue while offering a healing tribute to the dead women and their families. The work is one of the most important examples of a vital new subject in the Caribbean healing arts in the twenty-first century.

See also Santería; Voodoo

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LIZABETH PARAVISINI-GEBERT (2005)

Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar)

February 4, 1926
December 12, 1994

John Hearne was born in Montreal, Canada, the son of Maurice Vincent Hearne and Doris Delisser-Hearne. He attended Jamaica College in Kingston, Jamaica, and at the age of seventeen he joined the Royal Air Force as an air gunner, seeing duty between 1943 and 1946. After the war, Hearne studied at Edinburgh University (M.A. in history, 1949), and the University of London (Diploma of Education, 1950). He then joined the growing community of West Indian students in postwar London who would later distinguish themselves in several fields of endeavor. His passion for and skill at writing was soon recognized, and he became one of the young contributors of short stories to Edna Manley's pioneering literary magazine *FOCUS,* which began publication in Kingston during the 1940s. To support his early writing, Hearne taught in various schools in England and Jamaica (where he taught for several years at Calabar High School). In 1956 Hearne married Leeta Hopkinson.

In 1955 Hearne's first full-length novel, the slightly autobiographical *Voices under the Window,* was published in London, eliciting favorable reviews from a wide cross-section of the British press. *Voices* brilliantly illustrates the enduring strengths of Hearne's creative writing—a vivid, elaborate verbal artistry; a tight, economically written plot; strongly drawn characters; highly sophisticated, class-cadenced dialogue; and endless observations on the essentially Caribbean themes of love, violence, politics, social class, color, and race. He won the John Llewellyn Rhys Memorial Prize in 1956, awarded for the best novel by a British Commonwealth author under thirty, and the Musgrave Silver Medal, awarded by the Institute of Jamaica, in 1964. His achievements placed him in the forefront of the Caribbean literary boom of the 1950s and 1960s. *Voices,* set in Jamaica, was quickly succeeded by four additional novels, all closely following the same recipe of *Voices*: *Stranger at the Gate* appeared in 1956; *The Faces of Love* (published in the United States as *The Eye of the Storm*) in 1957; *The Autumn Equinox* in 1959; and *Land of the Living* in 1961. These second four novels are all set on the fictitious Caribbean island of Cayuga, a thinly disguised, imaginative re-creation of Jamaica.

After 1961, Hearne busied himself teaching, working for the government, writing plays and commentaries for radio and television, and producing a regular newspaper column in one of the leading daily papers of Jamaica. His articles appeared in *Public Opinion, News Week, New Statesman, Nation, Pagoda,* and *Spotlight.* Several of his radio plays were aired by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Between 1962 and 1992 Hearne served as director of the Creative Arts Center at the University of the West Indies, and as chair of the Institute of Jamaica. He also taught for short periods at several universities in Canada and the United States.

In 1969 Hearne collaborated with fellow journalist Morris Cargill to write a novel of international intrigue

under the pseudonym John Morris. Set in Jamaica, *Fever Grass* was the first of three such collaborations. Hearne's final novel, *The Sure Salvation,* appeared in 1981. This was a historical novel dealing with slavery and the slave trade, and it revealed much of the creative power that exemplified his earlier novels. Hearne retired from the University of the West Indies in 1992, and he died on December 12, 1994.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT (2005)

Hector, Tim

November 24, 1942
November 12, 2002

Leonard Timoshenko "Tim" Hector was an Antiguan activist and social critic well known throughout the Caribbean for his radical politics and his contributions to Caribbean cricket. He credited his mother, Mabel Hector, and a local educator, Mildred Richards, as being the primary contributors to his personal and intellectual growth. He also identified several important male role models and influences, a list that included many local personalities, his grandfather, and regional contemporaries Walter Rodney, George Lamming, and Cheddi Jagan. Reflecting on his radicalism and socialism, Hector once stated, "I did not become a socialist, but was bred one from age 6, or thereabout" (Hector, 2000–2001, p. 113). Hector's politics were a regional variation on socialism, communism, and Marxism. As a student of C. L. R. James, he advocated greater popular participation and organization for the masses and was increasingly concerned that Caribbean politicians seek political and social alternatives more appropriate for their societies and not continue to mimic the systems of Europe and the United States. While his home environment was crucial in forming his social and intellectual base, it was the social and political ideologies of Trinidadian scholar and political activist C. L. R. James (1901–1989) that influenced Hector's politics.

Born in St. Johns Antigua to a single mother, Hector distinguished himself early as a "bright boy." While his formal colonial education taught him the basics it was the informal education at his home—a place where many local thinkers and educators came to discuss both local and world affairs, where he insisted he was truly educated. As a child he was allowed to listen and even to participate in debates with adults. Hector, a commonwealth scholar, distinguished himself as an extraordinary teacher until 1973, when he was fired from his job as a teacher at a public school, largely because of his political activism against the labour party. He continued to teach after 1973 at a private high school and expanded his political activism and his journalism. Hector had joined other leftists in 1972 to form a radical pan-African group, which they transformed by 1973 into a political party—the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM). The ACLM was committed to African liberation and to forming and maintaining linkages across the African diaspora. In 1972 the first *African Liberation Day* was organized and by 1973 the group was networking with similar organizations throughout the Americas and Africa to orchestrate simultaneous marches throughout the world. The ACLM also established relations with socialist Cuba and Libya, creating a great deal of concern in the Richard Nixon administration in the United States.

The ACLM's biweekly publication, *The Outlet,* played a crucial role in Antiguan politics for some thirty years. Hector's column, *Fan the Flames,* became a regular feature in which he wrote on a range of political and social topics. Several of Hector's articles triggered investigations by the British government, and in the mid-1970s Hector disclosed a scandal involving the Canadian company Space Research Corporation (SRC), which was engaged in the shipment of arms to the apartheid government of South Africa via Antigua.

As a political party from 1972 to 1993 the ACLM never sought to win elections on the island, instead existing for over thirty years as an ideological opposition to the governing party. This was Hector's response to the two-party syndrome and other problems of party politics in the West Indies. This political system had emerged in the Caribbean region, where two political parties dominated the political landscape, fighting each other for control of the government using whatever means necessary, including character assassination and unjust arrest. Until its demise in 1993, the ACLM achieved its aim of constituting a permanent and viable opposition to Antiguan politics. Despite numerous arrests and law suits brought against *The Outlet,* it survived until 2002, almost ten years after the ACLM. Hector's articles, with titles that included "Inde-

pendence: Yes! The Old Mess: No!" and "Cricket Is More than Meets the Eye" reflected the range of his interest in Caribbean societies. In addition to his educational and political contributions, Hector made a contribution to the development of Caribbean culture, in particular to Caribbean cricket and to the survival of steel band, a musical form he described as "the solitary new musical instrument created in the entire 20th century" (Hector, 2000).

See also James, C. L. R.; Journalism; Politics

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CHRISTOLYN A. WILLIAMS (2005)

Height, Dorothy

March 24, 1912

Dorothy Height's career as an activist and reformer has been dedicated to working for African Americans through women's organizations, ranging from girls' clubs and sororities to the YWCA and the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). Height was born in Richmond, Virginia; her family moved to Rankin, Pennsylvania, when she was four. In this mining town she and her family were active in the life of their church and community groups. As a young woman Height participated in local girls' clubs and the YWCA, moving into leadership at a young age. This was the beginning of her successful combination of religious and community work, part of a long African-American tradition.

Height graduated from New York University in 1932. She was able to complete the degree in three years through hard work and the support of an Elks scholarship. During this period she also took on a number of part-time jobs in restaurants, in a factory, in laundries, writing newspaper obituaries, and doing proofreading for Marcus Garvey's newspaper, *Negro World*. She then spent an additional year at the university to earn a master's degree in educational psychology. From there she took a position as assistant director of the Brownsville Community Center in Brooklyn and became involved with the United Christian Youth Movement. She traveled to England and Holland to represent her group at Christian youth conferences in 1937; she was also introduced to Eleanor Roosevelt and helped Roosevelt plan the 1938 World Youth Congress held at Vassar College.

From 1935 until 1937 Height was a caseworker for the New York City Department of Welfare. In the wake of the 1935 Harlem riots, she became the first black personnel supervisor in her department. Seeking a position that would give her a broader range of work experience, she left the Department of Welfare in 1937 to work for the Harlem YWCA as the assistant director of its residence, the Emma Ransom House. In this position Height gained expertise in issues facing many African-American women in domestic labor and learned to administer a community-based organization. She also became involved with the NCNW through her friendship with Mary McLeod Bethune.

In 1939 Height accepted the position of executive secretary of the Phillis Wheatley YWCA in Washington, D.C. She also began to work with the Delta Sigma Theta sorority, encouraging both organizations to improve the lives of working African-American women. Her outstanding efforts led Height to a position with the national board of the YWCA in 1944. She was involved in organizing the YWCA's watershed conference in 1946 at which the organization took a stand for the racial integration of its programs. From 1947 until 1956 she served as president of Delta Sigma Theta, making it an international organization in addition to expanding its work at home.

Height became president of the National Council of Negro Women in 1957. Under her leadership the NCNW, an umbrella group for a wide variety of black women's organizations, became an active participant in the civil rights struggles in the United States. She also involved the YWCA in civil rights issues through her position as secretary of the organization's Department of Racial Justice, a job she assumed in 1963.

Although she was moderate in her approach to the question of civil rights, Height has never ceased her activities in search of equality. Her commitment has been to a struggle carried on through the widest possible range of organizations, and so she has served as a consultant to many private foundations and government agencies. She was a major force in moving the YWCA to be true to its 1946 declaration on interracial work. At the group's 1970 convention, she helped to write a new statement of purpose for the YWCA, declaring its one imperative to be the elimination of racism.

Through Dorothy Height's involvement, the YWCA has taken many steps forward in its attitudes and actions concerning African-American women. The organization's full commitment to integration and parity in its operation owes much to her work. She continues to guide the NCNW, and has made it an important voice in articulat-

ing the needs and aspirations of women of African descent around the world. In 1993 she was awarded the Spingarn Medal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1996, in a break with moderate colleagues, she addressed the Million Man March. In December 1997 Height resigned from the National Council of Negro Women.

In 2003 Height published her memoirs, *Open Wide the Freedom Gate.* In 2004 she received the Congressional Gold Medal and was honored by Barnard College, seventy-five years after being turned away from the college.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Garvey, Marcus; National Council of Negro Women

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hemphill, Essex

April 16, 1957
November 4, 1995

Essex Hemphill was an author, poet, performance artist, and black gay activist who challenged silence, exclusion, and homophobia within black communities and institutions. The eldest of five children, he was born in Chicago and grew up in Washington, D.C. Hemphill fought to create an accessible African-American gay history. In 1978, he founded the *Nethula Journal of Contemporary Literature,* and he ran the journal for several years before becoming increasingly involved in performance poetry. He performed at the Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the 1994 National Black Arts Festival, and at the Whitney Museum. Hemphill self-published three books—*Diamonds in the Kitty* (1982), *Plums* (1983), and *Earth Life* (1985)—and a larger collection, *Conditions* (1986).

His work may be seen in the film *Looking for Langston* and in two docudramas by Marlon Riggs, *Tongues Untied* and *Black Is, Black Ain't.* Hemphill won the National Library Association's New Authors in Poetry Award for *Ceremonies,* published by Penguin in 1992. His radical poems, prose, and expository writing in *Ceremonies* explored African-American urban and gay realities. He also won a Lambda Award for editing the 1991 anthology *Brother to Brother: New Writings by Black Gay Men*—his best-known work. In 1986 he received a fellowship for poetry from the National Endowment for the Arts. Hemphill died from AIDS complications on November 5, 1995.

See also Gay Men; Poetry, U.S.

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)

Hendrix, Jimi

November 27, 1942
September 18, 1970

In a professional career that lasted less than a decade, rock guitarist, singer, and songwriter James Marshall "Jimi" Hendrix created music that would establish him as the most innovative and influential guitarist rock music produced.

Born in Seattle, Washington, Hendrix started to play the guitar at age eleven and was playing with local rock groups as a teenager. He left school at sixteen, and with his father's permission joined the army as a paratrooper a year later. While in the service he met bass player Billy Cox, with whom he would later join forces as a civilian. Hendrix's army career ended when he was injured on a practice jump.

Once out of the army, he hit what was known as the chitlin circuit as a backup guitarist for a host of popular rock and rhythm-and-blues artists including Little Richard, the Isley Brothers, Curtis Knight, Wilson Pickett, Ike and Tina Turner, King Curtis, and James Brown. During this period, which lasted from 1962 to 1964, he began incorporating his trademark crowd-pleasers: playing his guitar with his teeth, behind his back, and between his legs. Early in his career, Hendrix played ambidextrously but he eventually settled on using a right-handed Fender Stratocaster, restrung upside down and played left handed. He manipulated the tone and volume controls (which were

Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970). © HENRY DILTZ/CORBIS

now on top) to make unique effects and sounds. Hendrix's huge hands allowed him a phenomenal reach and range; his ability to play clean leads and distorted rhythm simultaneously remains a musical mystery.

In 1964 Hendrix moved to New York and using the name Jimmy James fronted his own band, called the Blue Flames. In the mid-sixties, at the height of the folk music era, he became known in New York. Holding forth as a solo act at the Cafe Wha?, a basement cafe on MacDougal Street in Greenwich Village, he also found time to play local venues as a sideman with a group called Curtis Knight and the Squires, and in Wilson Pickett's band, where he met the young drummer Buddy Miles. In 1967 Chas Chandler (formerly the bassist of the Animals) convinced Hendrix to return with him to London. On the promise that he would meet Eric Clapton, Hendrix agreed. In England, in just three weeks, the Jimi Hendrix Experience was formed, with Mitch Mitchell on drums and Noel Redding on bass. "Hey Joe," their first single, went all the way to number six on the British charts in 1967, and an appearance on the British television show *Ready, Steady, Go* attracted wide attention when Hendrix played their new single, "Purple Haze."

The same year, Paul McCartney persuaded the Monterey Pop Festival officials to book Hendrix even though his first album had yet to be released. He ended a riveting musical performance by his setting his guitar on fire, transforming himself, at twenty-four, into a rock superstar. Later in 1967 his debut album *Are You Experienced?* was called by *Guitar Players'* Jas Obrecht "the most revolutionary debut album in rock guitar history."

In 1968 he released his second album, *Axis: Bold as Love,* which contained more of his distinctive sounds in such songs as "Little Wing," "If 6 was 9," and "Castles Made of Sand." His third album, a double set titled *Electric Ladyland,* was released just nine months later. Hendrix created a recording studio of the same name in Greenwich Village, a reflection of his belief that he was connected to a female spirit/muse of fire and electricity.

In 1969 Hendrix performed at the Woodstock Festival, the only black performer of his time to penetrate the largely white world of hard and psychedelic rock. He was pressured by black groups to take a more political stance but took no part in formal politics; his political statement was in his music, and his electric version of the "Star-Spangled Banner," which he played at Woodstock, was in itself a political statement.

Later that year Hendrix formed the all-black Band of Gypsys with former army friend Bill Cox on bass and Buddy Miles on drums. Although the group lasted only a few months, a live performance was captured on the album *Band of Gypsys.* Hendrix's management believed it was a mistake for him to forsake his white rock side, and he was pressured to make an adjustment. Hendrix finally settled on Mitch Mitchell on drums with Billy Cox on bass. They performed at the club Isle of Fehmarn in West Germany on September 6, 1970. Twelve days later Hendrix died in London after complications resulting from barbiturate use.

Although Hendrix's period as a headline performer lasted only three years, his influence on popular music has been considerable. In helping to establish the prime role of the electric guitar soloist, he was an inspiration for several generations of heavy metal musicians. His improvisatory style has inspired both jazz musicians and practitioners of avant-garde "new music."

See also Brown, James; Little Richard (Penniman, Richard); Music in the United States

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DAVID HENDERSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Henson, Josiah

June 15, 1789
May 5, 1883

Josiah Henson, an abolitionist clergyman, was born a slave in Charles County, Maryland. He gained a reputation as a diligent worker with a capacity for leadership, and his role as a slave preacher was eventually recognized by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Henson's last owner, Isaac Riley, made him a plantation manager and entrusted him on one occasion with the transportation of eighteen slaves to Kentucky. He remained a loyal slave until he was duped by his master in negotiations to purchase his freedom. In October 1830, he escaped to Canada with his wife, Charlotte, and their four children.

Once in Canada, Henson found work as a farm laborer and slowly established an itinerant ministry. He served as a captain in a company of the Essex Coloured Volunteers during the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. Henson devoted much of his efforts to assisting fugitive slaves. Working as a conductor on the Underground Railroad, he brought fugitives from Kentucky to the Canadian haven. He envisioned racial progress under the protection of British law, and he therefore encouraged black settlement in Canada. With the financial backing of several New England philanthropists, he helped found a manual labor school, the British-American Institute, at the Dawn settlement, near Chatham, Canada West (present-day Ontario). The Dawn school and the settlement's sawmill provided educational and employment opportunities, respectively, for African Americans fleeing southern slavery and northern racial oppression.

Henson toured England in 1849 and 1851, lecturing on slavery, meeting with prominent reformers, and raising funds for the British-American Institute. He presented some of the Dawn settlement's products, including walnut lumber, at the Great Exhibition of 1851. His management of the school and his fund-raising tours in England sparked criticism from some Canadian blacks, and upon his return he became embroiled in a decade-long struggle for control of the British-American Institute property. The school eventually closed in 1868.

Henson's international notoriety increased dramatically with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. In her research for the novel, Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896) interviewed Henson and read his biography, a seventy-six-page pamphlet published in 1849, titled *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself.* Despite some initial equivocations on the part of Henson and Stowe, he became identified in the public mind as the model for the fictional Uncle Tom, and he is best remembered for this connection with Stowe's widely read antislavery novel. Stowe wrote the introduction to his second narrative, *Truth Stranger than Fiction: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life*, in 1858. On his final tour of England, in 1876, he received an audience with Queen Victoria and was celebrated as "Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom."

See also Abolition; Canada, Blacks in; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Literature of the United States; Underground Railroad

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Henson, Matthew A.

August 8, 1866
March 9, 1955

Explorer Matthew Alexander Henson was born in rural Charles County, Maryland, the son of freeborn sharecroppers. At the age of four Henson and his family moved to Washington, D.C. When he was still a young child both of his parents died, and Henson and his siblings were put under the care of an uncle in Washington. At the age of twelve he left school, traveled to Baltimore, and started his career as a seaman when he was hired as a cabin boy on a ship sailing out of the port city. Henson spent the remainder of his adolescence traveling around the world as a merchant sailor and working menial jobs when back on the East Coast.

At the age of twenty, while working as a clerk in a Baltimore hat store, Henson was hired by U.S. Navy Lt. Robert E. Peary to be Peary's personal servant on a survey expedition for the building of a Central American canal. When the expedition returned to the United States in

1888, Henson followed Peary to the League Island Navy Yard, where he worked as a courier.

In 1891 Peary received a commission to explore northern Greenland and again hired Henson as a personal assistant, despite Peary's concern that a "son of the tropics" would not be able to withstand Arctic weather. While surveying Greenland Henson grew close to the native Inuits, learned the Inuit language, became the expedition's most able dogsled driver, and acted as liaison with the Inuits, who were used as guides and porters by the survey team. Henson and Peary returned to the United States in the summer of 1892 and spent a year touring the country presenting lectures and reenactments of their Greenland expedition. On a second exploration of Greenland, from 1893 to 1895, Peary and Henson led an aborted attempt at reaching the North Pole. For the next eleven years, Peary, with Henson as his chief assistant, led five more unsuccessful attempts at the North Pole, each time succumbing to frostbite or Arctic storms.

In July 1908 Peary, Henson, and a crew of twenty-seven aboard a specially made icebreaking ship left New York for a final attempt at the pole. In February 1909, having arrived at Cape Sheridan, between the northern tip of Greenland and the frozen edge of the Arctic Ocean, Peary led a team of twenty-two, with Henson as one of his chief lieutenants, across the polar ice cap. On April 6, 1909, Peary, Henson, and four Eskimos became the first people to reach the North Pole.

Upon returning to the mainland, Peary was confronted with the news that Frederick Cook had claimed to have reached the North Pole one year earlier. Thus began a protracted and bitter public controversy over the veracity of each man's claim. By the end of 1910, however, most scientific societies had rejected Cook's account and accepted Peary's.

Although celebrated by African-American leaders for many years, Henson was largely unrecognized by the white public as the codiscoverer of the North Pole. After the historic expedition of 1909 Henson spent the rest of his working life as a messenger in the U.S. Customs House and in a New York City post office. In his later years he finally won some of the honors he deserved. The Explorers Club made Henson its first African-American member in 1937. In 1944 Congress awarded him a medal for his codiscovery of the North Pole. In 1948 he was given the Gold Medal of the Geographical Society of Chicago. In 1950 he was honored at the Pentagon, and in 1954, a year before his death, he was received at the White House by President Eisenhower. A U.S. postage stamp commemorating his achievement was issued in 1986.

When Henson died in 1955, his wife was unable to afford a burial site and he was buried in a shared grave in Woodlawn Cemetery in New York. In 1988 his remains were moved to Arlington National Cemetery and buried next to those of Peary. In 2001 Henson was posthumously awarded the Hubbard Medal.

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Higginbotham, A. Leon, Jr.

February 25, 1928
December 14, 1998

A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., one of the nation's most prominent African-American judges, was born in Trenton, New Jersey. In 1944, he enrolled at Purdue University but left after the college president informed him that the college would not provide heated dormitories to black students. Higginbotham graduated from Antioch College in 1949. He then attended Yale Law School, graduating with honors in 1952. In 1954, after serving briefly as assistant district attorney in Philadelphia, he helped to found Norris, Green, Harris, and Higginbotham, a Philadelphia law firm. Higginbotham also became active in the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and served as chapter president starting in 1960.

In 1962 Higginbotham was named commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission. Two years later he was appointed to the U.S. District Court by President Lyndon Johnson. He soon became an outstanding member of the court and he distinguished himself by his liberal opinions on abortion and prisoner's rights. In 1977 Higginbotham was elevated to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit by President Jimmy Carter. In 1989, the year after he published *In the Matter of Color,* a study of race and the legal process, he became chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals, the third African American to hold such a position. After retiring from the bench in 1993, he was

named law professor at Harvard University. He also served as counsel to the elite New York law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison. In 1995 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the NAACP's Spingarn Medal. In 1996 he published a second study of race and law, *Shades of Freedom.*

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Politics in the United States

GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Highlander Citizenship School

Myles Horton, the cofounder of the Highlander Folk School, described it as a place where "people can share their experience and learn from each other." This precursor of the Highlander Citizenship School, founded in Grundy County, Tennessee, in 1932 to serve industrial and rural workers in southern Appalachia, quickly became a regional center for worker education and labor organization. The racial dissension in the labor movement soon persuaded Highlander officials that racism was the primary obstacle to securing economic justice in the South. Uniquely situated to respond to racial developments in the 1950s, and anticipating the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education,* Highlander began to focus on desegregating public schools. A series of workshops initiated in 1953 trained an interracial group of civic, labor, and church groups to lead the transition. Out of these workshops was born the Highlander Citizenship School.

Bernice Robinson and Septima Poinsette Clark, the coordinators of the Citizenship Schools, developed their curricula around the lived experiences and specific needs of the students in the communities from which they came. The Citizenship Schools provided instruction in areas ranging from adult literacy to voter registration, local voting requirements, political parties, social security, taxes, the functions of local school boards, and a host of other immediately relevant issues.

Citizenship Schools sprang up throughout the South. Among the hundreds who attended them were Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, Dorothy Cotton, Ruby Doris Smith, and Diane Bevel Nash, all of whom became active in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In May 1961 Tennessee state officials, who for years had harassed Highlander, succeeded in revoking the school's charter and confiscating its property following a ruling by the Tennessee Supreme Court. Highlander transferred its programs to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and, under the direction of Clark and Robinson, continued to thrive. It was later reincorporated as the Highlander Research and Education Center, now located in New Market, Tennessee.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Baker, Ella J.; Clark, Septima; Education in the United States; Labor and Labor Unions; Nash, Diane; Parks, Rosa; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)

Hill, Errol

August 5, 1921
September 15, 2003

Errol Hill was the foremost scholar, historian, and advocate of theater in the Caribbean and African America. These roles were founded on his practical involvement in the theater as actor, director, playwright, and teacher in a career that spanned some six decades and contributed significantly to the growth and appreciation of this art in his native Caribbean.

Born in Trinidad, West Indies, Hill, along with actor Errol John and others, founded the island's first indigenous theater company, the Whitehall Players, in 1947. Graduating from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in 1951, Hill was appointed Extra-Mural Tutor in Drama at the University of the West Indies, where he stimulated and facilitated much of the development of Caribbean theater across the region. Following this assignment, Hill taught at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, for two years before taking up appointments in the United States, where he would settle for the rest of his life. He retired after thirty-five years at Dartmouth College as John D. Willard Professor of Drama and Oratory, Emeritus.

Hill's work and contribution to theater internationally represent the very emergence of the West Indies as a region from colonialism to nationalism and political independence to cultural affirmation on the world stage.

The son of a Methodist minister, Hill benefited from a sound colonial education, which involved an early exposure to the performing arts, one of his schoolmasters being the Trinidad playwright DeWilton Rogers. Theater for Hill, as for the majority of practitioners of the day, meant British theater. In Hill's case, this influence was reinforced by his links with the British Council, where he worked as secretary and whose premises at Whitehall lent its name to the company he formed. But the West Indian masses had emerged in the literature of the region at least a decade before, and as Hill pointed out, "critics called for native plays" (1972, p. 29). Hill responded to this mandate with *Ping Pong* (1950), the first play on the steelband, Trinidad's indigenous musical orchestra, which had emerged in the late 1930s.

Through his appointment in 1953 to the University of the West Indies, itself a symbol and instrument of a nascent nationhood, Hill championed and propagated the idea of an indigenous theater that would crown a federated West Indies. He undertook the herculean task himself, teaching enthusiastically among the countries between British Honduras and British Guiana the skills such an enterprise demanded. The year the political Federation fell apart, Hill wrote *Man Better Man* (1960), a play reflecting the composition and traditions of Trinidadian folk. The play represented the newly independent state at the 1965 Commonwealth Festival in Britain. Other dramas in this period, *Dance Bongo* (1964) and *Whistling Charlie and the Monster* (1964), a political satire, continued to demonstrate the possibilities of an indigenous West Indian theater.

Hill's two-year appointment at the University of Ibadan in 1965 and thereafter in the United States allowed him to consolidate his theories and pursue further research into the history of the largely unrecorded theater of the African diaspora. He wrote extensively on the constituent arts of Trinidad Carnival, authenticating them theatrically and placing them on the agenda for further academic study. This he accomplished most authoritatively in his seminal thesis, *The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate for a National Theatre* (1972).

In this and in his other papers on Caribbean theater, Hill's stand is clear and consistent. He argues that there is a role in the Caribbean for a purposeful and professional theater as an expression of national identity and social cohesion and that Caribbean society is the poorer for not yet possessing it. This theater, he contests, belongs to all people, not just a social elite, and the people regionally should have access to it. Moreover, Caribbean theater must be based on indigenous sources that the people of the region recognize as their own. In fact, the definition of theater in the African experience incorporates a multiplicity of forms quite unlike modern Western theater, and this multiplicity must be reflected on the national stage.

Professor Hill's scholarly, academic, and artistic achievements are recognized in the many prestigious awards he received in America, Europe, and the Caribbean.

See also Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean; University of the West Indies

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RAWLE GIBBONS (2005)

Hill, Ken

1909

1979

Kenneth George Hill started public life in the 1930s as a journalist for Jamaica's largest newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*. This was a time of ferment in Jamaica's nationalist movement, when important trade unions, political parties, and newspapers emerged. Hill played an important role in all of these.

In 1937 Hill founded a mildly nationalist organization, the National Reform Association (NRA). The NRA was a precursor to the early trade unions and most notably to Jamaica's first modern political party, the Peoples National Party (PNP), founded in 1938. Hill was also a vice president of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (led by Alexander Bustamante) but resigned in 1939 to become secretary of the Tramway, Transport, and General Workers Union, affiliated with the Trade Union Council, which was sympathetic to the PNP.

In 1939 Hill joined a Marxist group in the PNP, which became known simply as the left. One member, Richard

Hart, wrote, "Ken Hill, by far the most influential, was more pragmatic and less concerned with political theory than most members of the left. He probably began to consider himself a communist both as a result of the influence of his brother Frank and also his observation of the course of world events" (Hart, 1999, p. 56).

In November 1942 the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Arthur Richards, ordered the detention of Kenneth Hill, his younger brother Frank, Richard Hart, and Arthur Henry (popularly remembered as the Four Hs), whom he regarded as subversives. Richards used his wartime emergency powers to single out Ken Hill as "probably the most dangerous subversive agent in Jamaica" (Hart, 1999, p. 202). Hill became second vice president of the PNP (1947–1952) and the colonial government's fears that the party was being taken over by communists increased. It also feared the influence of the left in the trade union movement and claimed that Ken Hill (among others) was a revolutionary communist, as well as anti-British, anti-American, and racist.

Upon his release from detention in 1943, Hill returned to trade union and political work, becoming president of the Garage, Foundry, and Allied Workers Union and general secretary of the Caterers and Hotel Employees Union. He was a PNP candidate in Jamaica's 1944 general elections, the first in which Jamaicans aged twenty-one and over exercised the right to vote (adult suffrage) after the removal of property, gender, and literacy qualifications. Hill lost to Alexander Bustamante, leader of the opposing Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Hill was a candidate again in the first local government elections under adult suffrage in 1947, again for the PNP, and defeated Rose Agatha Leon. He again won a seat in the 1949 general elections for the PNP and also became mayor of Kingston in 1951.

The PNP, however, had lost both general elections and sought to moderate its image in time for the next general election. The Four Hs were asked to resign in 1952. The PNP also disassociated itself from Hill's radical Trade Union Congress (TUC, formerly the Trade Union Council) to form a more moderate working-class union, the National Workers Union.

The PNP won the general elections in 1955 but Kenneth and Frank Hill ran as members of the National Labour Party (NLP), a party they formed in 1955. It ran four candidates but all lost and the party was dissolved.

Hill became a member of the Bustamante-led JLP after 1955 and was a candidate of the party's federal alliance, the West Indies Democratic Labour Party, for which he won a seat in the federal parliament in 1958 and of which he remained a member until the dissolution of the federation in 1962.

The JLP won Jamaica's elections in 1962 but Hill did not run. However, he remained a trade union activist in the TUC. By the mid-1960s, bridges with the PNP were rebuilt. In 1967 he was appointed by the PNP to the Jamaican Senate, signifying that he had once again become a member of that party. Hill served as senator until 1972, when he retired from public life. His picture is displayed at the headquarters of the PNP as one of the founders of the party.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Jamaica Labour Party; Peoples National Party; West Indies Democratic Labour Party

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ROBERT MAXWELL BUDDAN (2005)

Hilliard, Earl Frederick

April 9, 1942

Congressman and lawyer Earl Hilliard, an activist in the modern civil rights movement in Alabama, was the first African American elected as representative to the U.S. Congress since the Reconstruction. Born in Birmingham to William and Iola Frazier Hilliard, he was educated at Morehouse College (B.A., 1964), Howard University School of Law (J.D., 1967), and Atlanta University School of Business (M.B.A., 1970). Hilliard began his career as a teacher at Miles College (1967–1968) and then was assistant to the president of Alabama State University (1968–1970).

Hilliard's work with voter-registration drives and participation in protest marches during the civil rights era of the 1960s gave him access to many blacks in the area. Elected to the Alabama House of Representatives in 1974, he chaired the first Alabama Black Legislative Caucus. He ran for office again in 1980, winning election to the state senate. Redistricting in Alabama after the 1990 census made possible the new Seventh Congressional District, which encompassed black neighborhoods around Birmingham and Montgomery. In a runoff election in 1992, Hilliard narrowly won a seat in the U.S. Congress.

In Congress Hilliard served on the House Agriculture Committee and the Committee on International Rela-

tions. He was first vice chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and later vice chair of the Progressive Caucus. He aggressively represented the interests of his home state, as demonstrated by the federal transportation grant that he obtained to restore ferry service in the predominantly black town of Gees Bend. He also enabled Alabama to receive three of the federal government's "enterprise zones," which provided tax incentives to promote business in depressed areas.

In 1999 Hilliard was investigated by the House Ethics Committee for possible personal and campaign finance violations. In 2002 he was defeated in the Alabama Democratic runoff race by Arthur Davis.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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RAYMOND WINBUSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hill-Thomas Hearings

In September 1991, U.S. District Judge Clarence Thomas, nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court by President George H. W. Bush, began his confirmation hearing by the Senate Judiciary Committee. On September 27, the committee, tied in its vote on the nomination, sent the nomination to the Senate floor without a recommendation. Despite the committee's failure to issue a recommendation, most commentators believed the Senate would confirm Thomas. On October 6, 1991, National Public Radio and *New York Newsday* ran a story about Anita Faye Hill (b. 1956), a law professor at the University of Oklahoma, who had been a staff attorney under Thomas at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the early 1980s and who had told FBI investigators that Thomas had sexually harassed her during her tenure. The story was based on the leak of a confidential affidavit Hill had provided the committee on September 23. Her story made public, Hill openly repeated her accusations. In a comment later echoed by many women, Hill claimed the all-male Judiciary Committee had been insensitive to the importance of sexual harassment and had not questioned Thomas about it. Meanwhile, Thomas categorically denied any such conduct. On October 8, following a long debate in the Senate, the vote on Thomas's confirmation was delayed. Committee Chair Joseph R. Biden scheduled further hearings in order to provide Hill and Thomas an opportunity to testify publicly on the issue.

On October 11, 1991, before a nationwide television audience, the hearings on Thomas's conduct began. Hill described Thomas's repeated sexual overtures to her, charging that he had boasted of his sexual prowess, frequently used prurient sexual innuendos, and had insisted on describing to her the plots of pornographic movies he had seen. When asked why, if Thomas had harassed her in such a fashion, Hill had accepted a position under him at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, she explained that the harassment had stopped for a period, and she feared she would be unable to find another job without his recommendation.

Thomas's testimony flatly contradicted Hill's. Although Thomas asserted he had not listened to Hill's testimony, which he angrily referred to as lies, he denied any wrongdoing and repeatedly refused to discuss his private life. He denounced the committee's confirmation process as "un-American" and assailed it for staging what he called a "high-tech lynching" of him as an independent conservative black intellectual.

During the following days, as the Senate debated the hearings, Senate Republicans launched a furious assault on Hill's character and truthfulness in order to discredit her. Senators charged her with "fantasizing" about Thomas's interest in her. At the same time, many observers felt the Judiciary Committee had not investigated Thomas's veracity with equal zeal. Nationwide argument, which crossed ideological and gender lines, raged over whether Thomas or Hill was telling the truth, and whether Thomas's alleged sexual harassment was relevant to his confirmation.

Within the black community, debate was particularly pointed, although few, if any, blacks altered their position on Thomas's confirmation as a result of the revelations. Many, perhaps most, blacks saw the affair as an embarrassment, reviving stereotypes of blacks as sexually rapacious, vulgar, and mendacious, and the stigma of black males as rapists. Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson assumed the essential truth of Hill's version, but thought Thomas's conduct was an example of "Rabelaisian humor," a harmless example of "down-home courting." Some suspected conspiracies, as did black conservative Ar-

thur Fletcher, chair of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, who claimed the hearings were a racist plot to pit blacks against each other. Yale law professor Stephen Carter called both parties victims of the confirmation process. Many black men and women considered Hill a traitor to the race for accusing Thomas publicly, and for trying to block a black man's ascension to the Supreme Court. Others defended Hill's courage. Jesse Jackson called her the Rosa Parks of sexual harassment. Toni Morrison asserted that black men such as Thomas wished to rise on the backs of black women, whose needs and feelings were ignored. Countless women, black and white, were inspired by the public discussion of sexual harassment to share their own feelings and stories of harassment.

On October 15, the Senate confirmed Thomas by a vote of fifty-two to forty-eight, the second narrowest winning margin in history. Public opinion polls published at the time showed that the majority of Americans believed Thomas and suspected Hill's allegations. Still, many women were politically energized by the hearings, and many women were elected to public office in 1992 with the support of their campaign contributions and activism. Within a year after the hearings, however, new opinion polls suggested that a majority of Americans now believed Anita Hill had told the truth. By that time, continuing public interest in the affair had been reflected in the publication of several books on the trials, including two notable anthologies of essays written by African Americans.

See also Jackson, Jesse Louis; Morrison, Toni; Politics in the United States; Thomas, Clarence

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Himes, Chester

July 29, 1909
November 12, 1984

The novelist and short-story writer Chester Himes was born in Jefferson City, Missouri. The youngest of three sons, he spent his first fourteen years in the South. His mother, the former Estelle Bomar, was the daughter of former slaves who had achieved considerable success in the construction business. She was educated at a black Presbyterian finishing school in North Carolina and taught music from time to time at African-American colleges and academies. Her husband, Joseph Himes, also born of former slaves, grew up in poverty in North Carolina but acquired a diploma at Claflin College in Orangeburg, South Carolina. A skilled blacksmith and wheelwright, he taught mechanical arts at black institutions in Georgia, Missouri, Mississippi, and Arkansas. Both parents appear as thinly disguised characters whose conflicting social and racial views bewilder the protagonist in Himes's autobiographical novel *The Third Generation* (1954).

In 1923 a freak accident blinded Himes's older brother, causing the family to move from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to St. Louis to seek specialized medical treatment. Two years later they moved to Cleveland, where Chester graduated from East High School in January 1926. Following graduation he worked as a busboy at a Cleveland hotel, where he suffered a traumatic fall that left him with permanent back and shoulder injuries. In September 1926 he enrolled as a liberal arts student at Ohio State University, but he was expelled the following February for failing grades and unseemly behavior. Thereafter he drifted into a life of crime in the black ghettos of Cleveland and Columbus. In December 1927, he was sentenced to serve twenty years in the Ohio State Penitentiary for armed robbery.

While in prison, Himes began a lifelong career writing fiction; his first stories were printed in African-American publications in early 1932. In 1934 he reached a national audience in *Esquire* for "To What Red Hell," describing the 1930 fire that swept through the Ohio penitentiary, killing more than 330 convicts. He was paroled in 1936, and in August 1937 he married Jean Lucinda Johnson, a longtime friend. From 1936 to 1940 he worked mainly at manual jobs and for the Federal Writers' Project, departing for California in the fall of 1940 in hopes of writing for Hollywood. Repeated rejections at the studios, however, led him to seek work at the racially tense California shipyards. These experiences are reflected in several articles he wrote in the 1940s, as well as in two bitter novels, *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (1946) and *Lonely Crusade* (1947). The interethnic, economic, social, and sexual consequences of racism are treated at some length in these books.

From 1945 to 1953 Himes lived mainly in New York and New England; he sailed for France several months after the publication of his prison novel *Cast the First Stone*

(1952). For the rest of his life he lived mainly in France and Spain, making only occasional visits to the United States, and much of his subsequent fiction was published first in France before appearing elsewhere. Among his books written abroad were seven Harlem police thrillers involving the characters Cotton Ed Johnson and Grave Digger Jones; one of these books won a French literary award in 1958. Two incomplete novels, *Plan B*, dealing with a future race war, and *The Lunatic Fringe* have not yet been printed in the United States. Himes's own favorite among his works was *The Primitive* (1955), which depicts an intense, troubled relationship between a black man and a white woman in post-World War II New York. Himes's only published novel with a non-American setting, *A Case of Rape* (1985), focuses on four black men being tried in Paris for the violation and death of a white woman. Because the fictional characters were modeled on well-known African Americans living in Europe, the book caused something of a stir in the expatriate community. Himes's other works written in Europe were *Pinktoes* (1961), an interracial sex comedy about the activities of a celebrated Harlem hostess, and *Run Man Run* (1966), a thriller telling of a black man's flight from a murderous New York policeman. In 1978 Himes obtained a divorce in absentia and married Lesley Packard, an English journalist.

While living in Spain, Himes wrote two volumes of an autobiography, *The Quality of Hurt* (1973) and *My Life of Absurdity* (1976). Toward the end of his life he came to view his writings as being in the absurdist tradition. Racism, he said, made blacks and whites behave absurdly. He envisioned organized violence as the only means of ending racial oppression in America. Because his literary reputation was never as high in the United States as it was in Europe, Himes lived precariously for most of his authorial years, but a resurgence of interest in his writings in the 1970s brought him a measure of financial security. Upon his death in Alicante, Spain, he left a number of unfinished projects.

See also Federal Writers' Project; Literature of the United States

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EDWARD MARGOLIES (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hines, Gregory

February 14, 1946
August 9, 2003

Jazz tap dancer, singer, actor, musician, and creator of improvised tap choreography, Gregory Oliver Hines was born in New York City, the son of Maurice Hines Sr. and Alma Hines. He began dancing at the age of three, turned professional at age five, and for fifteen years performed with his older brother Maurice as The Hines Kids, making nightclub appearances across the country. While the Broadway teacher and choreographer Henry LeTang created the team's first tap dance routines, the brothers learned to dance by watching such great tap masters as Charles "Honi" Coles, Howard "Sandman" Sims, the Nicholas Brothers, and Teddy Hale, wherever and whenever they performed in the same theaters. In 1964 Maurice Sr. joined his sons' act as a drummer, changing the group's name to Hines, Hines, and Dad, and they toured internationally, frequently appearing on *The Tonight Show*. After years of on-the-road travel, the younger Hines became restless and left the group in his early twenties, "retiring" to Venice, California, where he formed the jazz-rock band Severence. He released an album of original songs in 1973.

When he moved back to New York City in the late 1970s, Hines immediately landed a role in *The Last Minstrel Show*. The show closed in Philadelphia but launched him back into performing; just a month later came *Eubie* (1978), a certified Broadway hit that earned him the first of four Tony nominations. *Comin' Uptown* (1980) led to another nomination, and *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981) a third. In 1992 Hines received the Tony Award for Best Actor in a Musical for his riveting portrayal of the jazz man Jelly Roll Morton in George C. Wolfe's production of *Jelly's Last Jam*, sharing a Tony nomination for choreography for that show with Hope Clark and Ted Levy.

Hines made his initial transition from dancer-singer to film actor in Mel Brooks' hilarious *The History of the World, Part I* (1981), playing the role of a Roman slave who in one scene sand-dances in the desert. He followed that in quick succession playing the role of a coroner in *Wolfen,* an allegorical mystery directed by Michael

Wadleigh. In 1984 he starred in Francis Ford Coppola's film *The Cotton Club* (1984), which reunited him with his brother, Maurice. The fierce virtuosity of Hines's tap dancing is seen in the *White Nights* (1985), in which he played an American defector to the Soviet Union opposite Mikhail Baryshnikov. In 1988 Hines starred in a film that combined his penchant for both dance and drama, *Tap*, the first dance musical to merge tap dancing with contemporary rock and funk musical styles; it featured a host of tap legends, including Sandman Sims, Bunny Briggs, Harold Nicholas, and Hines's costar and show business mentor, Sammy Davis Jr.

Hines's extensive and varied film resume includes teaming with Billy Crystal in director Peter Hyam's hit comedy *Running Scared,* and with Willem Dafoe in the Southeast Asia military thriller *Off Limits*. He starred in William Friedkin's dark comedy *Deal of the Century* with Sigourney Weaver and Chevy Chase; Penny Marshall's military comedy *Renaissance Man*, costarring with Danny DeVito; *The Preacher's Wife* with Denzel Washington and Whitney Houston, once again directed by Marshall; *Waiting to Exhale*, with Angela Bassett and Whitney Houston for director Forest Whittaker; and *Good Luck*, with costar Vincent D'Onofrio. In 1994 Hines made his directorial debut in the independent feature *Bleeding Hearts*, a contemporary romantic drama exploring the precarious relationship between a thirty-year-old white male radical and a black female high school student.

Hines's work in television was equally diverse. In 1989 he created and hosted *Tap Dance in America,* a Public Broadcasting Service television special that featured veteran tap dancers, established tap dance companies, and the next generation of tap dancers. The film was nominated for an Emmy Award, as was his performance on *Motown Returns to the Apollo*. Hines made his television series debut in 1998, playing Ben Stevenson, a loving single father hesitantly reentering the dating world on the series *The Gregory Hines Show*. Throughout an amazingly varied career, Hines continued to be a tireless advocate for tap dance in America and in 1988 lobbied successfully for the creation of National Tap Dance Day, now celebrated in forty cities in the United States and in eight other nations.

Like a jazz musician who ornaments a melody with improvisational riffs, Hines improvised within the frame of the dance. His tap "improvography" demanded the percussive phrasing of a composer, the rhythms of a drummer, and the lines of a dancer. While being the inheritor of the tradition of black rhythm tap, he was also a proponent of the new. "He purposely obliterated the tempos," wrote Sally Sommer, "throwing down a cascade of taps like pebbles tossed across the floor. In that moment, he aligned tap with the latest free-form experiments in jazz and new music and postmodern dance."

Hines died in Los Angeles at the age of fifty-seven.

See also Davis, Sammy, Jr.; Glover, Savion; Musical Theater; Tap Dance

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CONSTANCE VALIS HILL (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Hip-Hop

Hip-hop, in its most contemporary and uniform manifestation, emerged in 1973. Though various elements of hip-hop culture—both culturally and aesthetically—are found in African culture, the Harlem Renaissance, and the black arts movement of the 1960s, it was not until 1973 with the legendary DJ Kool Herc's first block party that hip-hop truly began to emerge. Many factors are responsible for the creation and development of hip-hop culture in the South Bronx:

1. American urban planning and later, Reaganomics;
2. the postindustrial urban landscape;
3. the crack epidemic of the 1980s;
4. technological advances, namely sampling and synthesizers; and
5. major cuts in funding for the arts in and around New York City (Rose, 1994).

Today, hip-hop culture and its constituents have crystallized into what Bakari Kitwana (2002) has appropriately labeled the "Hip-Hop Generation."

Hip-hop culture consists of at least seven elements, four primary and three secondary. The original, primary elements of hip-hop culture are DJ-ing (by nontraditional disc jockeys who were the first technicians to isolate and

Hip-hop graffiti mural. *One of the primary elements of hip-hop culture, graffiti (graf) was practiced by visual artists who reclaimed public space by "vandalizing" trains, bridges, and other visible, open canvases.* © HENRY DILTZ/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY CORBIS CORPORATION.

sample the break-beats from popular songs of the 1970s); break dancing (by early dance athletes who borrowed moves from *capoeira,* ballet, and the martial arts, among other dance forms and kinesthetic techniques); graffiti, or graf (practiced by visual artists with no outlets who reclaimed public space by "vandalizing" trains and other visible, public canvases with spray paint); and MC-ing (referring to masters of ceremonies; the earliest rappers were mere background lyricists usually allowed only to give shoutouts to DJs, area crews, and announcements of upcoming hip-hop parties, originally referred to as jams). The second tier of elements developed as the culture grew into a worldwide phenomenon. These elements include fashion and modes of dress, entrepreneurship, and complex systems of knowledge (particularly elaborate language and other semiotic codes).

Each of the four primary elements centers around legendary historical figures within the culture. The figure credited with establishing the culture through a unique utilization of two turntables is DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell). Born in Kingston Jamaica, Kool Herc migrated to the west Bronx in 1967. By the early 1970s Kool Herc (who claims American soul and reggae as his seminal musical influences) had integrated elements of Jamaican yard culture into spontaneous parties (indoor and outdoor) that are now considered the first hip-hop jams. These parties were distinct for a number of reasons:

1. They were cheaper than most disco parties of the time period;
2. Kool Herc isolated and looped break-beats from 1970s soul classics and popular disco tunes in order to make the jam eminently danceable;

Grandmaster Flash, one of the founding fathers of hip-hop. *Born Joseph Saddler in Barbados, West Indies, and raised in the Bronx, Grandmaster Flash was one of rap's earliest technical pioneers. The deejay (DJ) innovative turntable techniques he experimented with in the 1970s have become synonymous with rap and hip-hop artistry.* PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER NOBLE. © S.I.N./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

3. The looped break-beats provided extended opportunities for breakdancers to showcase their amazing acrobatic skills; and
4. MCs became the voice of hip-hop culture through shoutouts and party announcements.

Eventually the role of the MC developed into that of the central entertainer of hip-hop culture: the rapper. The first rap record that achieved mainstream radio attention was titled "Rappers Delight," performed by the Sugar Hill Gang and released by Sylvia Robinson's Sugar Hill Records in 1979. However, some of the lyrics of this historical record were actually written by Grand Master Caz, one of the original rappers from the South Bronx, who performed his raps in and around the same jams initiated by DJ Kool Herc.

There were several crews of young folk who participated in the development of break dancing and graffiti. One of the earliest and now most legendary breaking crews is the Rock Steady Crew. Bronx b-boys (b-boys and b-girls are imbibers of hip-hop culture who creatively participate in two or more primary elements of the culture) Jimmy D. and Jojo established the legendary Rock Steady Crew, joined by Crazy Legs and Lenny Len in 1979.

The earliest documented graf label belongs to Greece-born Demetrius from 183th Street in the Bronx. He made himself famous by tagging Taki 183 throughout the five boroughs of New York City via subway trains. There are several other dates and historical figures of note. In 1974 Afrika Bambaataa transformed one of New York City's largest and most violent gangs into hip-hop culture's first organization, the ZULU Nation. Even today the ZULU Nation is one of the most publicly active, communally oriented organizations in hip-hop. Bambaataa, along with DJ Busy Bee Starski, is credited with coining the term hip-hop (in reference to those original parties/jams) in the same year. In 1975 Grand Wizard Theodore discovered the scratch, a monumental DJ-ing technique by which DJs deliberately rupture a vinyl sound recording to produce the

Rappers engaged in battle, Harlem, New York, 2003. *Featured from left are Hip Hop artists Peanut, Gotti, Trigg, and Little Foo.* © BRENDA ANN KENNEALLY/CORBIS

now legendary scratching sound so often associated with hip-hop DJs and music producers.

From these origins, hip-hop's development can appropriately be broken down into three eras: The Old School Era, Golden Age Era, and the Platinum Present.

The Old School Era, from 1979 to 1987, is when hip-hop culture cultivated itself in and through all of its elements, usually remaining authentic to its countercultural roots in the postindustrial challenges manifested in the urban landscape of the late twentieth century. Artists associated with this era include Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, The Sugarhill Gang, Lady B, Big Daddy Kane, Run DMC, Kurtis Blow, and others.

The Golden Age Era, from 1987 to 1993, marked a time when rap and rappers began to take center stage as the culture splashed onto the mainstream platform of American popular culture. The extraordinary musical production and lyrical content of rap songs artistically eclipsed most of the other primary elements of the culture (break dancing, graf art, and DJ-ing). Eventually the recording industry began contemplating rap music as a potential billion-dollar opportunity. Mass-mediated rap music and hip-hop videos displaced the intimate, insulated urban development of the culture. Artists associated with this era include Run DMC, Boogie Down Productions, Eric B and Rakim, Salt N Pepa, Queen Latifah, De La Soul, A Tribe Called Quest, Public Enemy, NWA, and many others.

The last era is the Platinum Present. From 1994 on, hip-hop culture has enjoyed the best and worst of what mass-mediated popularity and cultural commodification have to offer. The meteoric rise to popular fame of gangsta rap in the early 1990s set the stage for a marked content shift in the lyrical discourse of rap music toward more and more violent depictions of inner-city realities. Millions of magazines and records were sold, but two of hip-hop's most promising artists, Biggie Smalls and Tupac Shakur, were literally gunned down in the crossfire of a media-fueled battle between the so-called East and West Coast constituents of hip-hop culture. With the blueprint of popular success for rappers laid bare, several exceptional artists stepped into the gaping space left in the wake of Biggie and Tupac. This influx of new talent included Nas,

Jay-Z, Master P, DMX, Big Pun, Snoop Doggy Dogg, Eminem, and Outkast.

By the mid-1990s hip-hop culture also emerged as an area of serious study on the university level. Courses on hip-hop culture, history, and aesthetics were offered on college campuses across America. Due largely to student demand and interest, these courses analyzed the origins and significance of hip-hop culture. Currently housed at Harvard University's W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, the Hiphop Archive, founded in 2002 by Marcyliena Morgan, is an example of this important pedagogical development.

See also Music in the United States; Rap

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WILLIAM BOONE (2005)
JAMES PETERSON (2005)

Historians and Historiography, African American

The writing of African-American history began as a quest to understand the status and condition of black people in the United States. The first works on the subject, James W. C. Pennington's *A Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People* (1841) and Robert Benjamin Lewis's *Light and Truth: Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History, Containing the Universal History of the Colored Man and Indian Race, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time* (1836), sought to explain the enslavement of Africans in the western hemisphere. They recounted black achievement in ancient Africa, particularly Egypt and Ethiopia, to justify racial equality. These early black writers, similar to many of the first chroniclers of the United States, searched for the "hidden hand" of God in human affairs. History for them was the revelation of divine providence in the activities of people and nations.

Although African Americans suffered from enslavement, prejudice, and discrimination, Pennington and Lewis considered their status and condition as temporary because of the biblical prophecy that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (*Ps.* 68:31). For many African Americans, including black historians prior to the twentieth century, this prophecy was a promise of divine deliverance from the chains of slavery and the shackles of racial discrimination.

Histories written after Pennington and Lewis, such as William C. Nell's *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), and William Wells Brown's *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863), were intended to convince black and white Americans that African Americans deserved freedom, justice, and equality. If given the opportunity, an idea argued and illustrated in their books, African Americans could excel in all areas of life and contribute to the country's development and progress. They wrote to inspire African Americans to lead exemplary lives and not to provide any excuse for racial prejudice and discrimination.

George Washington Williams, at different times a soldier, pastor, editor, columnist, lawyer, and legislator, was the first black historian to write a systematic study of the African-American past. He bridged the gap between early chroniclers of African-American history and the more scientific writers of the twentieth century. Although Williams employed methods of research similar to professional historians of his day in conducting interviews, examining newspapers, using statistics, and culling archives, he still wrote to discern the plans of God in studying the past. His impressive two-volume work, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* (1883), was flawed by its often literal reproduction of documentation and lack of analysis and interpretation. The publication, however, was a remarkable achievement for its time and earned Williams recognition as a pioneer in modern African-American historiography.

Almost a decade after Williams's pathbreaking work, W. E. B. Du Bois became the first African American to earn a doctorate in history, receiving the degree in 1895 from Harvard University. A year later, his dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870," was the first volume published in the Harvard Historical Studies series. In his now classic *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (1903), Du Bois was one of the first historians to explore the interior lives of African Americans and their distinctive cul-

ture. As was the case with much of his scholarship, Du Bois was ahead of his time. Because of the effort to achieve freedom, justice, and equality, black historians, in the main, paid greater attention to revising the errors, omissions, and distortions of white historians and to glorifying the contributions of African Americans to American life than to identifying and defining a distinctive African-American culture.

Carter G. Woodson was the foremost proponent of the revisionist and contributionist school of African-American historiography. He earned the title "Father of Black History" for institutionalizing the revisionist and contributionist interpretation of the African-American past and for popularizing the study of black history. Woodson was the second African American to earn a doctorate in history, also from Harvard University, in 1912. He organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 to preserve the African-American heritage, promote interracial harmony, and inspire black youth to greater achievement. In 1916 Woodson launched the *Journal of Negro History* to publish scholarship about the African-American past. He established the Associated Publishers in 1921 to publish books of black history and initiated Negro History Week in 1926 (expanded to Black History Month in 1976). To reach a more popular audience, Woodson started the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1937. Until his death in 1950, Woodson and his colleagues in the ASNLH (William M. Brewer, Lorenzo J. Greene, Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, Rayford W. Logan, W. Sherman Savage, Alrutheus A. Taylor, and Charles H. Wesley) virtually dominated the field of African-American history.

Few historians wrote about the black experience before World War II. Gunnar Myrdal's two-volume study *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) and John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (1947) sparked interest in the subject. Myrdal's report for the Carnegie Corporation on black life in the United States was completed with the assistance of several leading black and white scholars. The work was more sociological than historical, as it looked to resolve the problem of race and to avoid racial conflict similar to the riots that broke out in some twenty-five cities and towns after World War I. Franklin's book was an example of meticulous research that demonstrated the central role African Americans played in the development of the United States. These two trailblazing works influenced scholars to take greater note of African-American history for understanding the American past. World War II, in large measure, destroyed the traditional ideology of white supremacy and with it the justification for excluding African Americans from full citizenship as well as from the story of the nation's past.

Although white scholars now paid greater attention to the African-American experience, they used more of a sociological or race relations approach to black history. Many historians, black and white, wrote in the abolitionist tradition of revealing injustices heaped on African Americans. Black people became victims more than shapers of history. The legacy of slavery, for example, supposedly explained all the problems that beset the black population, from underachievement to illegitimacy, family instability, crime, illiteracy, and self-hatred. African Americans allegedly internalized the oppression of slavery and were mired in a culture of poverty.

With the growth of the civil rights and black consciousness movements of the 1950s and 1960s, black historians in particular began to explore African-American resistance and the creation of a viable culture that sustained black people from the brutality of slavery, segregation, and subordination. If ordinary African Americans braved often violent assaults to desegregate buses, lunch counters, drinking fountains, swimming pools, restrooms, and voting booths, then how strong was the legacy of slavery? What were the real historical patterns of black behavior? Earl E. Thorpe, who wrote prolifically about African-American historiography, suggested that "It is because the past is a guide with roads pointing in many directions that each generation and epoch must make its own studies of history" (1957, p. 183). It therefore becomes necessary to go back in time, to understand what some writers referred to as the "Second Reconstruction," and to appreciate the origins of the struggle for civil rights and black power.

By the late 1960s, historians of the African-American experience largely abandoned the sociological or race relations interpretation. They adopted a more anthropological and psychological approach to the African-American past, a concern about black people as agents of history and not as helpless victims. They explored the interior lives of African Americans, their culture, and its antecedents in Africa. Ironically, it was the white anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits who insisted that African Americans had retained elements of African culture, while the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier argued that black people had been stripped of their past and started anew in the United States. The place of Africa loomed larger in the scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s, as historians studied emigration, black nationalism, religion, music, dance, folklore, and the family in the context of African persuasion.

In many respects, Benjamin Quarles, a venerable black historian at Morgan State University, originated the new writing of African-American history with the publica-

tion of *Black Abolitionists* (1969). Quarles wrote that the African American was abolition's "different drummer," a participant in, as well as a symbol of, the movement, and one of its pioneers. John W. Blassingame's *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972) soon followed with an original interpretation of slavery in which the slaves helped define the peculiar institution and possessed some discretion over the shape of their daily lives. The work of Barbara J. Fields, Eugene D. Genovese, Herbert G. Gutman, Vincent Harding, Nathan I. Huggins, Norrece T. Jones, Charles W. Joyner, Wilma King, Lawrence W. Levine, Daniel C. Littlefield, Leslie H. Owens, Albert J. Raboteau, Brenda Stevenson, Sterling Stuckey, Margaret Washington, Thomas L. Webber, and Peter H. Wood has broadened and deepened an understanding of slave life and culture. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974), in particular, influenced the study of the dialectical relationship between slave and master (and by extension blacks and whites) as one governed not by race relations but by reciprocal duties and obligations. This give-and-take in determining the status and condition of African Americans in slavery and freedom has been advanced in the work of Ira Berlin, David W. Blight, Eric Foner, Thomas C. Holt, James O. Horton, Gerald D. Jaynes, Leon F. Litwack, Waldo E. Martin, Nell I. Painter, James L. Roark, Willie Lee Rose, Julie Saville, and Joel Williamson.

The new African-American historiography has been applied to themes of migration, urbanization, the working class, and protest. Historians have examined the causes and consequences of black migration from the rural South to urban areas of the North and South, finding them to be primarily the result of family decisions and kinship networks more than outside forces. They have studied both the physical and the institutional ghetto. Segregation produced the former, while African Americans created the latter to meet their own religious, economic, cultural, political, and social needs. The ghetto of the early twentieth century was not necessarily a slum. It was often a vibrant community in which African Americans carried out their daily lives. Studies of black business development by Raymond Gavins, Alexa B. Henderson, Michael E. Lomax, Juliet E. K. Walker, Walter Weare, and Robert E. Weems Jr. have depicted that vibrancy.

A growing body of research on African Americans and European immigrants suggests that black workers enjoyed some advantages in education, skills, and language facility that eroded over time as immigrants organized labor along ethnic and racial lines. Although the Congress of Industrial Organizations' embrace of black workers during the late 1930s brought some absolute change for African Americans, there was little relative change in comparison with white workers. African Americans, moreover, experienced the Great Depression earlier and suffered longer than any other segment of the population. Historians such as John E. Bodnar, Dennis C. Dickerson, William H. Harris, Earl Lewis, August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, Richard B. Pierce, Christopher Reed, Nikki Taylor, Joe William Trotter Jr., and Lillian Williams have illuminated the fate of the black working class.

Although they have faced great odds in racism, segregation, lynching, disfranchisement, and discrimination, African Americans have been resilient in not succumbing to oppression. As James D. Anderson, Herbert Aptheker, Lerone Bennett Jr., Mary F. Berry, Richard J. M. Blackett, John H. Bracey Jr., John Henrik Clarke, John E. Fleming, V. P. Franklin, Vincent Harding, Robert A. Hill, Jonathan Scott Holloway, August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, Daryl Scott, Donald Spivey, Arvarh Strickland, and Quintard Taylor have shown, the protest tradition among African Americans has endured. One of the strong tenets of recent African-American historiography is that black people retained their integrity as a people despite the potential of slavery and racism to break them. They resisted brutalization, although they could not always avoid brutality. They fashioned a distinctive and viable culture in opposition to oppression. Their culture was rooted in Africa but given form and substance in the United States. Their tradition of resistance and protest burst forth in an unprecedented manner during the modern civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Taylor Branch, Clayborne Carson, William H. Chafe, John Dittmer, David J. Garrow, Vincent Harding, Darlene Clark Hine, Steven F. Lawson, David L. Lewis, Manning Marable, August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, Charles Payne, Linda Reed, Harvard Sitkoff, Patricia Sullivan, Julius Thompson, and Robert Weisbrot have recorded the critical events, organizations, and personalities that constituted the "Second Reconstruction."

A younger generation of historians, such as Scot Brown, Rod Bush, Sundiata Cha-Jua, William Jelani Cobb, Eddie S. Glaude Jr., Winston Grady-Willis, Jeffrey Ogbar, and Komozi Woodward, has emerged during the early twenty-first century to explain the "post–civil rights era," and especially the rise of Black Power and black nationalism. African-American cultural history in the work of Kevin Gaines, Adam Green, Mitch Kachun, Robin D. G. Kelley, Nick Salvatore, William L. Van Deburg, and Craig Werner has taken on greater import to understand the global reach and influence of African-American art, dance, literature, and music.

Although African-American historiography has broken away from explaining the past as divine providence,

revising the errors, omissions, and distortions of racist white writers, celebrating the contributions of famous black men to the growth and development of the United States, depicting the endless horrors of racism and segregation, and analyzing race relations, it has until recently had a blind spot. The new African-American historiography has studied black people as agents rather than as victims of the past but has, for some time, ignored the issue of gender. The work of Elsa Barkley Brown, Bettye Collier-Thomas, Gloria Dickinson, Sheila Flemming, Paula Giddings, Sharon Harley, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Darlene Clark Hine, Tera W. Hunter, Jacqueline Jones, Chana Kai Lee, Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, Barbara Ransby, Jacqueline Rouse, Stephanie Shaw, Ula Y. Taylor, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Deborah Gray White, and Rhonda Y. Williams has brought gender to the forefront of African-American historiography. As a result, fresh insight into the African-American past, the forebearers of black culture, and the builders of black progress has been gained. Gender has begun to take on greater compass than the study of black women as scholars have started to explore masculinity and black sexuality. The writing of African-American history has become more multidimensional as historians probe class, sexuality, color, gender, religion, region, and profession.

Growing immigration to the United States by black people from Africa, the Caribbean, Europe, and Central and South America has raised new questions about African Americans and the African diaspora. This new immigration has reinvigorated African-American culture and enriched the conversation about what it means to be an African American. Ralph Crowder, Thomas J. Davis, George Fredrickson, Michael Gomez, Robin D. G. Kelley, Manning Marable, Tony Martin, Brenda Gayle Plummer, and William R. Scott have expanded the scope of African-American history to embrace what Earl Lewis has referred to as "overlapping diasporas." This broader scope has included studying how the international position of the United States has affected the domestic civil rights movement in the work of Carol Anderson, Thomas Borstelmann, Mary L. Dudziak, and Penny Von Eschen.

Maghan Keita, Wilson J. Moses, and Clarence Walker have explored popular interpretations of African-American history and the concept of Afrocentrism as a challenge to universalism and as a quest for a distinctive black identity emanating from Africa. Given that there is no scientific certainty for the category of race, historians such as Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Thomas C. Holt, Earl Lewis, and David Roediger have confronted the meaning of race as a broad framework that often obscures African-American multidimensionality.

From a field innovated by less than two dozen black historians prior to 1940, African-American historiography has grown to embrace a large corps of black and white scholars who have produced a new and exciting body of scholarship. The writing of African-American history has given voice and agency to a people for too long almost invisible, who were assumed to have no past worthy of study. African-American historiography has not only rescued the thought and action of black people over time and space in the United States, but it has also made the writing of U.S. history impossible without the voice and agency of African Americans.

See also Anthropology and Anthropologists; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Education; Franklin, John Hope; Frazier, Edward Franklin; Pennington, James W. C.; Quarles, Benjamin; Sociology; Woodson, Carter G.

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ROBERT L. HARRIS JR. (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Holder, Geoffrey

August 20, 1930

Born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, dancer, choreographer, and painter Geoffrey Holder was one of four children in a middle-class family. He attended Queens Royal College, a secondary school in Port-of-Spain, and received lessons in painting and dancing from his older brother Boscoe.

When Holder was seven, he debuted with his brother's dance troupe, the Holder Dance Company. When Boscoe moved to London a decade later, Geoffrey Holder took over direction of the company. In 1952 Agnes de Mille saw the group perform on the island of St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands, and invited Holder to audition for impresario Sol Hurok in New York City. Already an accomplished painter, Holder sold twenty of his paintings to pay for passage for the company to New York City in 1954. When Hurok decided not to sponsor a tour for the company, Holder taught classes at the Katherine Dunham School to support himself. His impressive height (six feet six inches) and formal attire at a dance recital attracted the attention of producer Arnold Saint Subber, who arranged for him to play Samedi, a Haitian conjurer, in Harold Arlen's 1954 Broadway musical *House of Flowers*. During the run Holder met fellow dancer Carmen DeLavallade, and the two married in 1955. During 1955 and 1956 Holder was a principal dancer with the Metropolitan Opera Ballet in New York. He also appeared with his troupe, Geoffrey Holder and Company, through 1960. The multitalented Holder continued to paint throughout this time, and in 1957 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in painting.

In 1957 Holder acted in an all-black production of *Waiting for Godot*. Although the show was short-lived, Holder continued to act, and in 1961 he had his first film role in the movie *All Night Long,* a modern retelling of *Othello*. His career as a character actor flourished with appearances in *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex* (1972), *Live and Let Die* (1973), and as Punjab in *Annie* (1982).

Holder has also been an active director. His direction of the Broadway musical *The Wiz,* (1975), an all-black retelling of *The Wizard of Oz,* earned him Tony Awards for best director and best costume design. In 1978 he directed and choreographed the lavish Broadway musical *Timbuktu!* He has choreographed pieces for many companies, including the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, for which he choreographed *Prodigal Prince* (1967), a dance based on the life of a Haitian primitive painter. Dance Theater of Harlem has in its repertory Holder's 1957 piece *Bele,* which like most of his work combines African and European elements.

Holder cowrote (with Tom Harshman) and illustrated the book *Black Gods, Green Islands* (1959), a collection of Caribbean folklore; and *Geoffrey Holder's Caribbean Cookbook* was published in 1973. He also gained widespread recognition in the late 1970s and 1980s for his lively commercials. In 1992 Holder appeared in the film *Boomerang* with Eddie Murphy, and in 1999 he appeared in *Goosed* with Jennifer Tilly. His deep, rich voice—he is perhaps best known to the public for his rolling laugh in a series of 7UP soda commercials—has placed him in demand for voice-overs, including episodes of the television series *Cyberchase* in 2002 and 2003. He resides in New York, where he continues to paint, choreograph, and act.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Ballet; Dunham, Katherine

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ZITA ALLEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Holiday, Billie

April 7, 1915
July 17, 1959

The singer Billie Holiday was born Eleanora Fagan, the daughter of Sadie Fagan and jazz guitarist Clarence Holiday. She was born in Philadelphia and grew up in Baltimore, where she endured a traumatic childhood of poverty and abuse. As a teenager, she changed her name (after screen star Billie Dove) and came to New York, where she began singing in speakeasies, influenced, she said, by Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and Bessie Smith (1894?–1937).

In 1933 she was spotted performing in Harlem by the critic and producer John Hammond, who brought her to Columbia Records, where she recorded classic sessions with such jazz greats as pianist Teddy Wilson (1912–1986) and tenor saxophonist Lester Young (1909–1959), who gave Holiday her nickname, "Lady Day".

Following grueling tours with the big bands of Count Basie and Artie Shaw, Holiday became a solo act in 1938, achieving success with appearances at Cafe Society in Greenwich Village, and with her 1939 recording of the dramatic antilynching song "Strange Fruit." Performing regularly at intimate clubs along New York's Fifty-second Street, she gained a sizable income and a reputation as a peerless singer of torch songs.

A heroin addict, Holiday was arrested for narcotics possession in 1947 and spent ten months in prison. This made it illegal for her to work in New York clubs. Yet despite such hardships and her deteriorating health and voice, she continued to perform and make memorable, and sometimes challenging, recordings on the Decca, Verve, and Columbia labels until her death in 1959.

Although riddled with inaccuracies, Holiday's 1956 autobiography, *Lady Sings the Blues,* remains a fascinating account of her mercurial personality. A 1972 film of the same title, starring pop singer Diana Ross, further distorted Holiday's life, though it also introduced her to a new generation of listeners. Holiday was one of America's finest and most influential jazz singers. Though her voice was light and had a limited range, her phrasing, in the manner of a jazz instrumentalist, places her among the most consummate of jazz musicians. She was distinguished by her impeccable timing, her ability to transform song melodies through improvisation, and her ability to render lyrics with absolute conviction. While she was not a blues singer, her performances were infused with the same stark depth of feeling that characterizes the blues.

See also Jazz; Jazz Singers; Smith, Bessie

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
Updated bibliography

The Church of God, Holiness, in Mexico, Missouri, 1950. *A significant event in African American religious history, the Holiness movement advocated a simple, antiworldly approach to life, as well as adherence to a strict, moralistic code of behavior. Breaking away from the Methodist Church, Holiness movement followers founded their own congregations, primarily "Church of God" denominations, throughout the south.* GEORGE SKADDING/GETTY IMAGES

Holiness Movement

The Holiness movement is a significant religious movement in African-American religious history. The term *Holiness* can be confusing due to the multiplicity of its uses. Many publications use the term somewhat broadly to include Pentecostalism and the Apostolic movement; however, properly used, it specifically describes that distinct Holiness movement that resulted in the founding of the Holiness church denomination.

The Holiness movement in the post–Civil War era was the result of an internal conflict within the Methodist Church. Eschewing the new, less austere standards of the postwar church, followers of the Holiness movement advocated a simple, antiworldly approach to life, as well as adherence to a strict, moralistic code of behavior. The followers of the Holiness movement believed in the theological framework of John Wesley (1703–1791), but they then went a step further in their interpretation of his writings. In addition to the first blessing of conversion—

justification by faith—accepted by most Protestants, adherents of the movement declared that a second experience, or blessing, of complete sanctification was necessary in order to achieve complete emotional peace. The second blessing purified the believer of his inward sin (the result of Adam's original sin), and gave the believer a perfect love toward God and man. A state of earthly holiness (or perfection) was seen as possible to achieve. This experience was attained through devout prayer, meditation, the taking of Holy Communion, and fellowship with other believers. Those who had received the second blessing were characterized by a deep inner feeling of joy and ecstasy, as well as by lives that reflected a moral and spiritual purity.

At first, the Methodist Church leaders welcomed the new movement as one which would instill more pious behavior in its members. By 1894, however, those who had experienced the "second blessing" began to press for changes to church doctrine, literature, and even songs used in worship services. As a result, the followers of the new movement split from Methodism and founded their own churches throughout the South, North, and Midwest. In the early Holiness churches, racial lines were obscured. Many blacks and whites served together as officials, preachers, and church members. However, under pressure to conform to social norms of segregation, divisions along racial lines were well in place by the 1890s.

Black Holiness congregations, often calling themselves the Church of God, sprang up throughout the South after 1890. One of the largest and most influential was the Church of God in Christ, founded by C. H. Mason (1866–1961) and C. P. Jones (1865–1945), which was incorporated in Memphis in 1897. It was the first Holiness church of either race to be legally chartered. Mason and Jones had come out of a Baptist Church background, as had many other black converts to the Holiness movement. Like their counterparts from the Methodist Church, they longed for a purer expression of their faith and a religion that was unfettered by the push toward worldly materialism. Because it was legally chartered, the Church of God in Christ could perform marriage ceremonies and ordinations, and many independent white Holiness ministers were ordained by Jones and Mason. It was also the denomination most receptive to musical experimentation, encouraging the use of instruments, ragtime, jazz, and the blues as a part of worship.

Both the black and white Holiness congregations were split after a black Holiness convert named William J. Seymour (1870–1922) organized a church in Los Angeles in 1906, where he espoused a third blessing—the Baptism of the Holy Ghost—which would be evidenced by the Pentecostal gift of speaking in tongues. Seymour taught that it was only after having received this third blessing that a believer was truly sanctified and perfected. Thousands of Holiness believers were converted to the new Pentecostal church. Pentecostalism has gone on to attract millions of converts, eventually overshadowing its founding Holiness faith.

In 1907 Mason was converted, which resulted in a schism between him and Jones over doctrinal differences. While Mason adhered to the tenet of a required third blessing in order to receive the Holy Spirit, Jones maintained that the gift of the Holy Spirit was given by God at the time of conversion. They split into two churches and Mason's new Church of God in Christ became the largest Pentecostal church in the United States. Jones founded the Church of Christ (Holiness) USA in 1907. By 1984 there were 170 congregations with approximately 10,000 members. One of the offshoot congregations that sprang from the Church of Christ (Holiness) USA is the Churches of God, Holiness. Founded in Atlanta in 1920, by 1967 there were forty-two churches with a reported membership total of about 25,000. There are several other, smaller Holiness churches, as well.

Besides serving as the birthplace of the Pentecostal Church, the Holiness movement was very important and influential in the lives of those who believed in it. The movement was brought north during the Great Migration of the first two decades of the twentieth century and continued to thrive throughout the era of the Great Depression. Simplicity and continuity were stressed over consumption and liberalization of religious standards. The Holiness movement also stressed that anyone, regardless of race or gender, could participate in church hierarchy, including preaching, on an equal basis. The believers of the Holiness movement sought to undo the materialistic and divisive nature of American society by beginning with their own lives and their own hearts.

See also Baptists; Christian Denominations, Independent; Pentecostalism in North America

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DEBI BROOME (1996)
Updated bibliography

Holland, Jerome Heartwell

January 6, 1916
January 13, 1985

The educator and diplomat Jerome Holland was born and raised in Auburn, New York, and in 1935 became the first African American to play football at Cornell University, where he was twice selected as an All American. Holland graduated with honors in 1939 and received a master's degree in sociology two years later. After teaching sociology and physical education at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1950. He served as president of Delaware State College in Dover, Delaware (1953–1959), and of Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia (1960–1970). Holland also authored a number of economic and sociological studies on African Americans, including "Black Opportunity" (1969), a treatise supporting the full integration of African Americans into the mainstream of the American economy.

In 1970 President Richard M. Nixon appointed Holland U.S. ambassador to Sweden, and he served until 1972. He was a board member of nine major United States companies, including the Chrysler Corporation, American Telephone and Telegraph, and General Foods, as well as a member of the board of directors of the National Urban League and the United Negro College Fund. In 1972 Holland became the first African American to sit on the board of directors of the New York Stock Exchange, a position he held until 1980. Holland was inducted into the National Football Foundation's College Hall of Fame in 1965, and in 1985 he posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his contributions in education and public service.

See also National Urban League; United Negro College Fund

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)

Holly, James T.

1829
March 13, 1911

Emigrationist and missionary James Theodore Holly was born to free parents in a free black settlement in Washington, D.C. At fourteen, the family moved to Brooklyn, New York, where Holly learned shoemaking under the direction of his father. In 1848 he began working as a clerk for Lewis Tappan, the renowned abolitionist, who furthered his interest in the antislavery movement.

In 1851, in reaction to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Holly and his wife, Charlotte, moved to Windsor, Canada. He became coeditor of Henry Bibb's newspaper, *The Voice of the Fugitive,* and began to encourage black emigration through his writing. Holly endorsed Bibb's controversial Refugee Home Society, a program designed by Bibb to train and rehabilitate fugitive slaves.

Holly became increasingly involved in the emigration movement. In 1854 the first National Emigration Convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio, where Holly was named a delegate and represented the National Emigration Board as its commissioner; the following year he made his first trip to Haiti. During the 1850s Holly also championed the American Colonization Society in its efforts to remove African Americans from the United States.

Holly was raised a Catholic, but in 1855 he converted from Roman Catholicism, becoming a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The following year he became a priest and moved to New Haven, Connecticut, where he served at St. Luke's Church and continued to promote the idea of emigration to Haiti. During this period he wrote his major work, *Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race for Self-Government and Civilized Progress,* which was

published in 1857. Writing against the grain of American nationalism, Holly called the United States a "bastard democracy," and asserted that emigration to Haiti would provide far more personal liberty and general well-being for black men and women. Emigration would be a grand experiment in progress even in "monarchical" Haiti, Holly contended, and would demonstrate African-American capacities for political and social progress. Ironically, Holly also believed in English cultural supremacy. He was an anglophile who asserted that providence was directing black men and women in the New World in a vanguard struggle for independence and black pride that would promote European cultural ideals. His Christian expansionism and emigration plans were linked to a great respect for the developed arts and sciences of the "Anglo-American race."

In May 1861 Holly left the United States with 110 followers, made up of family and church members, and established a colony in Haiti. Yellow fever and malaria took their toll on the colony, however, and during the first year, the diseases killed his mother, his wife, their two children, and thirty-nine other members of the group. Others returned to the United States, leaving Holly with only a handful of followers. In 1862 Holly returned to the United States seeking financial assistance from the Episcopal Church to establish a mission. His request was granted.

In 1874, at Grace Church in New York City, Holly became the first African American to be consecrated bishop by the Episcopal Church. He served as head of the Orthodox Apostolic Church of Haiti, a church in communion with other Episcopal churches. He published a number of articles in the *AME Church Review* and continued to believe, until his death in 1911, that black Americans should emigrate to Haiti.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Holt, Patricia Louise

See LaBelle, Patti (Holt, Patricia Louise)

Homosexuality

See Gay Men; Lesbians

Hood, James Walker

May 30, 1831
October 30, 1918

The minister James Walker Hood was born in Kennett Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and moved with his family to Wilmington, Delaware, in 1841. His father was a tenant farmer who helped found the local Methodist church. In 1852 Hood moved to New York City and was licensed to preach there in 1856 by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church. In 1857 he moved to New Haven, Connecticut, where he joined the local AMEZ church. Three years later he was ordained a deacon in that denomination and sent as a missionary to Nova Scotia. He returned to the United States in 1863, and served a congregation at Bridgeport, Connecticut. The following year he was sent to North Carolina to minister to freedmen within Union lines. He remained in North Carolina for the rest of his life, working in New Bern, Charlotte, and Fayetteville, where he finally settled.

Hood was a delegate to North Carolina's Constitutional Convention in 1868, and that same year was appointed assistant superintendent of public instruction in North Carolina, a position he held for three years. In 1872 he was ordained a bishop of the AMEZ church. In 1879 he was instrumental in the founding of Zion Wesley Institute (later Livingston College) in Salisbury, North Carolina. He served as chairman of the institute's board of trustees until his retirement in 1916.

Hood traveled to London as a delegate to the interdenominational 1881 Ecumenical Conference, and to Washington as the first black president of the 1891 conference. In 1884 a collection of his sermons appeared under the title *The Negro in the Christian Pulpit*. It was the first publication of its kind by an African-American clergyman. Hood's other published work includes *One Hundred Years*

of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1895) and *The Plan of the Apocalypse* (1900). From 1901 to 1909 Hood was an informal advisor to Theodore Roosevelt. Hood Theological Seminary, established in 1912 at Livingston College, was named in his honor.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

HOODOO

See Voodoo

HOOKER, JOHN LEE

AUGUST 22, 1917
JUNE 21, 2001

Blues singer and guitarist John Lee Hooker learned the guitar from his stepfather and began playing blues in Memphis nightclubs. He moved to Detroit in the 1940s; there he worked in a factory, continued playing in clubs, and began recording for Modern Records in 1948, achieving great success there with "Boogie Chillun." Hooker recorded for different companies under a variety of pseudonyms on some seventy recordings between 1949 and 1953. He began to temper his sound in the 1950s by using a full band to back up his rhythmically driving guitar and deep voice, which yielded the commercially successful "Boom Boom" in 1961. A remake of the song by the Animals in 1964 introduced Hooker to a much broader audience. An active performer through the 1970s and 1980s, he recorded for several labels, and his music was featured in the 1985 film *The Color Purple*. In 1991 Hooker was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

In 1995 Hooker retired from performing on a regular basis. His last release was *Don't Look Back* in 1997, the same year he opened John Lee Hooker's Boom Boom Room, a blues club in San Francisco. In 2000 he received a Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award. He died just five days after his last performance.

Blues legend John Lee Hooker (1917–2001). © NEAL PRESTON/CORBIS

See also Blues, The

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DANIEL THOM (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

HOOKS, BENJAMIN L.

JANUARY 31, 1925

The lawyer, minister, and civic leader Benjamin Lawson Hooks (also known as Benjamin Lawrence Hooks) was

born in Memphis, Tennessee, where he attended public schools. Upon graduation from Booker T. Washington High School, Hooks pursued prelaw studies at Howard University, graduating in 1944. In 1948 he earned a juris doctor degree from De Paul University in Chicago and returned to Memphis to practice law, hoping to help end legal segregation.

In 1961 Hooks was appointed assistant public defender of Shelby County, Tennessee. Four years later, he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the Shelby County Criminal Court (a position to which he was subsequently elected on the Republican ticket), becoming the first black criminal court judge in the state. In addition to practicing law, Hooks was active in the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, serving as one of thirty-three members of the board of directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from its inception in 1957 until 1977. Hooks also cofounded and sat on the board of the Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association from 1955 to 1969. He was ordained a Baptist minister in 1956 and became pastor of the Middle Baptist Church in Memphis, serving the church in that capacity for 45 years. 1972, President Richard M. Nixon nominated Hooks to the Federal Communications Commission, where became the first African American member and actively sought to improve employment and ownership opportunities of African Americans and worked for more positive depictions of blacks in the electronic media.

Hooks became executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1977 at a difficult moment in the organization's history. Since the 1960s, militant organizations had begun to eclipse the prominence of the NAACP, which had come under increasing attack for being too conservative. Viewed by its critics as a stodgy bastion of the middle class, the NAACP suffered a decline in membership and financial contributions. When Hooks replaced Roy Wilkins, who had served as executive director for twenty-two years, the organization was $1 million in debt and controlled by a faction-ridden board of directors.

As executive director, Hooks sought to revitalize the organization's finances and image, becoming more involved in such national issues as the environment, national health insurance, welfare, urban blight, and the criminal justice system. He announced his intention to forge new alliances with corporations, foundations, and businesses, in addition to strengthening the NAACP's traditional alliances with liberals, the government, and labor groups. Hooks led the fight for home rule in Washington, D.C., and was instrumental in securing the passage of important legislation such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill of 1978, which mandated a dramatic lowering of the unemployment rate through the use of federal fiscal and monetary policy. Under his direction the NAACP also encouraged the withdrawal of U.S. businesses from South Africa.

In 1980 Hooks became the first African American to address both the Republican and Democratic national conventions. As executive director, Hooks upheld the NAACP's tradition of focusing on political activity, but he also tried to steer the organization toward helping African Americans on an everyday level through programs such as the Urban Assistance Relief Fund, which he founded in the wake of the 1980 Miami riot. In conjunction with his position at the NAACP, Hooks also served as chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), a coalition of organizations devoted to civil rights issues.

In 1992 Hooks stepped down as executive director of the NAACP amid disputes between his supporters and those of board chairman William F. Gibson over the organization's leadership and direction. Many members expressed the view that the NAACP had continued to lose its effectiveness, although Hooks and his supporters maintained that it had upheld its heritage of civil rights activism. After leaving the NAACP, Hooks continued to serve as chairman of the LCCR until 1994, when he resumed his position as pastor of Middle Street Baptist Church on a full-time basis. In June 1992 Hooks was chosen to serve as the president of the board of directors of the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis.

In 2000 the University of Memphis created the Benjamin Hooks Institute for the study of civil rights. The university also made Hooks' papers available online.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Wilkins, Roy

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hope, John

June 2, 1868
February 20, 1936

The educator and civil rights activist John Hope was born in Augusta, Georgia, to Mary Frances (Fanny) and James Hope. His mother was the daughter of an emancipated slave and his father was a native of Scotland. James Hope bequeathed a substantial estate to his family, but Fanny and her children were deprived of their inheritance.

John Hope completed the eighth grade in 1881; five years later he entered Worcester Academy in Massachusetts, where he graduated with honors in June 1890. That fall, he enrolled at Brown University in Rhode Island on a scholarship. It was at Brown that Hope began to hone his writing and speaking skills and to develop race consciousness. (Although he could pass for white, he always identified himself as black.) He was the orator for his graduating class in 1894. Shortly afterward, he married Lugenia Burns, a Chicago social worker; they later had two sons.

Hope entered the field of education at a time when Booker T. Washington was advocating vocational training for African Americans. Hope rejected that philosophy, insisting that black people must acquire higher learning if they were to make a convincing case for social equality. He turned down an offer to teach at Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Instead, from 1894 to 1898 he taught Greek, Latin, and the natural sciences at Roger Williams College in Nashville, Tennessee. He went on to teach classics at Atlanta Baptist College (which became Morehouse College in 1913). In 1906, Hope became the college's first black president.

Hope's views were shared by W. E. B. Du Bois, with whom Hope nurtured a lifelong friendship. Like Du Bois, Hope was willing to join with others to achieve common objectives. He was the only college president to participate in the Niagara Movement in 1906, and the only one to attend the initial meeting that resulted in the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) three years later.

As president of Atlanta Baptist College, Hope faced obstacles to his goals. Just before school was set to begin in September 1906, an antiblack riot swept through Atlanta; Hope demonstrated his leadership by ensuring that classes went on as scheduled. He was also unable to obtain financial support from some white philanthropists until a colleague approached Booker T. Washington for help. Over the years, however, he proved extraordinarily successful in increasing enrollment, raising money, and attracting leading black scholars. His educational achievements culminated in his 1929 appointment as president of the new Atlanta University, a consortium including Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College. In 1934, Hope convinced W. E. B. Du Bois to head the department of sociology.

Hope did not, however, restrict his activities to the university setting. He traveled to France during World War I, where he insisted that the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) adopt new policies to ensure equitable treatment for black soldiers; this effort initiated a lasting commitment to the YMCA's work. Hope served as president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, and he acted as honorary president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. In addition, he was a member of both the NAACP's advisory board and the Urban League of New York's executive committee. In 1920, he joined the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), a moderate, liberal integrated group of Atlanta civic leaders; he was elected CIC president in 1932.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, through his considerable organizational connections, Hope traveled widely in Europe, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean. His commitment to cooperation across national and racial boundaries reinforced his vision of education as a tool for gaining equality. Hope was a pioneer in developing outstanding graduate and professional programs for black people. At the same time, it was under his tutelage that Atlanta University's faculty offered training to public school teachers and established citizenship schools to encourage voter registration. Hope died in Atlanta in 1936.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Education in the United States; Franklin, John Hope; Hope, Lugenia Burns; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; Washington, Booker T.

Bibliography

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)
TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hope, Lugenia Burns

February 19, 1871
August 14, 1947

Reformer Lugenia Burns Hope was one of the key members of a group of southern African-American activists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Burns came from a line of free black Mississippians on both sides. She grew up in Chicago and was educated in the public schools. She also studied art at the Chicago School of Design and the Chicago Art Institute. As a young woman Burns bore the responsibility of supporting her family when her siblings were out of work. It was during this period that she became involved in reform work as a paid worker. She also became acquainted with the pioneering settlement work of Chicago's Hull House.

In 1897 Lugenia Burns married John Hope, a college professor. Within a year John Hope accepted a teaching position at his alma mater, Atlanta Baptist College (later Morehouse College). In Atlanta Hope blossomed as an activist, focusing on the needs of black children in the city. Her concern with children's issues became sharpened through the birth of the Hopes' two children, Edward and John.

In 1908 Hope was a driving force in the founding of the Neighborhood Union, with which she remained active until 1935. She was active in the work of the YWCA in the South and was a vocal opponent of the segregationist policies of the organization in this period. She was also a prominent member of the National Association of Colored Women, the National Council of Negro Women, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races.

After her husband's death in 1936, Hope moved to New York City, where she continued to be involved in reform organizations. During this period she worked as an assistant to Mary McLeod Bethune, then with the National Youth Administration. Hope was not able to continue with her demanding schedule through the 1940s as her health began to fail. Lugenia Burns Hope, dedicated activist for equality, died in 1947 after a long and influential career.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Hope, John; Morehouse College; National Association of Colored Women; National Council of Negro Women

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hopkins, Pauline Elizabeth

1859
August 13, 1930

Born in Portland, Maine in 1859, writer Pauline Hopkins and her family settled in Boston, Massachusetts. At the age of fifteen, she won a contest with her essay "Evils of Intemperance and Their Remedies." In 1879 she completed her first play, *Slaves' Escape, or The Underground Railroad*. This musical drama was produced the following year by the Hopkins' Colored Troubadours. Hopkins was an actress and singer in the production and became known as "Boston's favorite soprano."

During the early 1890s Hopkins pursued a profession in stenography. She passed the civil service exam and was employed for four years at the Bureau of Statistics, where she worked on the Massachusetts Decennial Census of 1895. In May 1900 Hopkins's literary career was launched with the founding of *The Colored American* magazine by the Colored Cooperative Publishing Company (CCPC). The premiere issue published Hopkins's short story "The Mystery Within Us."

Throughout the life of *The Colored American* (1900–1909), Hopkins had six other short stories featured and three novels serialized. It was during *The Colored American*'s first year of publication that the CCPC also released her first and best remembered novel, *Contending Forces: A Romance Illustrative of Negro Life North and South*. Her writing, reflective of the historical conditions and cultural images of her day, advocated racial justice and the advancement of African-American women.

A frequent contributor to *The Colored American,* Hopkins was employed as an editor. She also helped increase circulation by creating the Colored American League in Boston. Twenty prominent African-American citizens were organized to generate subscriptions and business. During 1904 she raised additional support by lecturing throughout the country. By September she left the magazine, apparently because she was afflicted with neuritis. She continued writing, and her sociocultural survey series, "The Dark Races of the Twentieth Century," was featured in *Voice of the Negro* in 1905.

Hopkins's last published literary work, "Topsy Templeton," appeared in *New Era* magazine in 1916. Returning to stenography, she was employed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology until August 1930. She died on August 13, 1930, when her bandages, worn to relieve her painful illness, accidentally caught fire.

See also Literature in the United States

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JANE SUNG-EE BAI (1996)

Horne, Lena

June 30, 1917

Born in New York, singer and actress Lena Horne accompanied her mother on a tour of the Lafayette Stock Players as a child and appeared in a production of *Madame X* when she was six years old. She received her musical education in the preparatory school of Fort Valley College, Georgia, and in the public schools of Brooklyn. Horne began her career at the age of sixteen as a dancer in the chorus line at the Cotton Club in Harlem. She also became a favorite at Harlem's Apollo Theatre and was among the first African-American entertainers to perform in "high-class" nightclubs. Appearing on stages and ballrooms from the Fairmont in San Francisco to the Empire Room at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, Horne was among the group of black stars—including Sammy Davis, Jr., Eartha Kitt, and Diahann Carroll—who had musicals especially fashioned for them on Broadway.

Horne made her first recording in 1936 with Noble Sissle and recorded extensively as a soloist and with others. She toured widely in the United States and Europe. In 1941 she became the first black performer to sign a contract with a major studio (MGM). Her first film role was in *Panama Hattie* (1942), which led to roles in *Cabin in the Sky* (1942), *Stormy Weather* (1943), *I Dood It* (1943), *Thousands Cheer* (1943), *Broadway Rhythm* (1944), *Two Girls and a Sailor* (1944), *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1945 and 1946, *The Duchess of Idaho* (1950), and *The Wiz* (1978). Horne was blacklisted during the McCarthy era of the early 1950s, when her friendship with Paul Robeson, her interracial marriage, and her interest in African freedom movements made her politically suspect. Her Broadway musicals include *Blackbirds* of 1939, *Jamaica* (1957), and the successful one-woman Broadway show *Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music* (1981). The record album of the latter musical won her a Grammy Award as best female pop vocalist in 1981.

Horne's spectacular beauty and sultry voice helped to make her the first nationally celebrated black female vocalist. Her powerful and expressive voice is perhaps captured best in the title song of *Stormy Weather*. In 1984 she was a recipient of the Kennedy Center honors for lifetime achievement in the arts. She published two autobiographies: *In Person: Lena Horne* (1950) and *Lena* (1965).

Horne remained active through the 1990s, and at the age of eighty declared she had expanded her style to sing jazz. She recorded a best-selling tribute to Billy Strayhorn, *We'll Be Together Again* (1994), a live performance at Carnegie Hall, *An Evening with Lena Horne* (1997), and a jazz album, *Being Myself* (1998).

Horne continued to perform on occasion into the twenty-first century. The first volume of a collection of her music was released in 2004.

See also Apollo Theater; Carroll, Diahann; Cotton Club; Davis, Sammy, Jr.; Kitt, Eartha Mae; Music in the United States; Robeson, Paul

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JAMES E. MUMFORD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Horton, George Moses

c. 1797
c. 1883

The poet George Moses Horton was born a slave on a farm in Northampton County, North Carolina. When he was six years old, his master moved to Chatham County, near the University of North Carolina. At an early age, Horton began to compose poems based on biblical themes. Although Horton taught himself to read, he did not learn to write until he was in his thirties. He probably made his initial contact with university students while peddling produce from his master's farm. Soon he was peddling poems he had dictated—acrostics and love poems, written to order. By paying a regular fee to his master for the privilege, he was, eventually, permitted to work as a janitor at the university.

Horton's reading was augmented by university students, who provided him with books, and he received formal writing instruction from Caroline Lee Hentz, the Massachusetts-born wife of a literature professor and novelist, who was instrumental in his initial publication. Horton sought to purchase his freedom; his two antebellum collections were made specifically, though unsuccessfully, toward that end. With the help of southern friends, *Hope of Liberty* (1829) was published to raise "by subscription, a sum sufficient for his emancipation, upon the condition of his going in the vessel which shall first afterwards sail for Liberia." *Poetical Works of George Moses Horton, the Colored Bard of North Carolina* (1845) was underwritten by the president, faculty, and students of the University of North Carolina. His last and largest collection, *Naked Genius* (1865), was published with the assistance of Captain Will Banks, whom Horton met when he fled to the Union army in Raleigh (April 1865).

Horton is regarded as the first professional black poet in America, and it is certainly the case that he wrote for money. His poetry clearly reveals a conscious craftsmanship. The heavy influence of his early exposure to Wesleyan hymnal stanzas and his fondness for Byron are evident, but Horton's work shows variety in stanzaic structure, tone, and theme. Although his contemporary local reputation rested largely on his love poems, he addressed a wide variety of topics, including religion, nature, death, and poetry. Historical events and figures associated with the Civil War appear in the last volume, as do some rather misogynistic poems, which are generally seen as evidence of an unhappy marriage. Horton's dominant tone is sentimental, plaintive, or pious, but his work exhibits irony, satire, humor, bitterness, and anger as well.

In spite of the circumstances of his publication, which discouraged direct abolitionist poems, some of Horton's most effective poems treat the devastating experience of slavery, especially "On Liberty and Slavery," "Slavery," and "The Slave's Complaint."

Little is known about Horton's later years except that after Emancipation he moved to Philadelphia, where some sources report that he wrote short stories for church magazines and where he is thought to have died.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Poetry, U.S.

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)

Hospitals in the United States, Black

Black hospitals have been of three broad types: segregated, black controlled, and demographically determined. Segregated black hospitals included facilities established by whites to serve blacks exclusively, and they operated predominantly in the South. Black-controlled facilities were founded by black physicians, fraternal organizations, and churches. Changes in population led to the development of demographically determined hospitals. As was the case with Harlem Hospital, they gradually evolved into black institutions because of a rise in black populations surrounding them. Historically black hospitals—the previously segregated and the black-controlled hospitals—are the focus of this article.

Until the advent of the civil rights movement, racial customs and mores severely restricted black access to most hospitals. Hospitals—both in the South and in the North—either denied African Americans admission or accommodated them, almost universally, in segregated wards, often placed in undesirable locations such as unheated attics and damp basements. The desire to provide at least some hospital care for black people prompted the establishment of the earliest segregated black hospitals. Georgia Infirmary, established in Savannah in 1832, was the first such facility. By the end of the nineteenth century,

several others had been founded, including Raleigh, North Carolina's St. Agnes Hospital in 1896 and Atlanta's MacVicar Infirmary in 1900. The motives behind their creation varied. Some white founders expressed a genuine, if paternalistic, interest in supplying health care to black people and offering training opportunities to black health professionals. However, white self-interest was also at work. The germ theory of disease, widely accepted by the end of the nineteenth century, acknowledged that "germs have no color line." Thus the theory mandated attention to the medical problems of African Americans, especially those whose proximity to whites threatened to spread disease.

Following the precedent set by other ethnic groups, African Americans themselves founded hospitals to meet the particular needs of their communities. Provident Hospital, the first black-controlled hospital, opened its doors in 1891. The racially discriminatory policies of Chicago nursing schools provided the primary impetus for the establishment of the institution. In addition, the hospital proved beneficial to black physicians, who were likewise barred from Chicago hospitals. Several other black-controlled hospitals opened during the last decade of the nineteenth century. These included Tuskegee Institute and Nurse Training School at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, in 1892; Provident Hospital at Baltimore, in 1894; and Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School at Philadelphia, in 1895. The establishment of these institutions also represented, in part, the institutionalization of Booker T. Washington's political ideology. These hospitals would advance racial uplift by improving the health status of African Americans and by contributing to the development of a black professional class.

By 1919 approximately 118 segregated and black-controlled hospitals existed, 75 percent of them in the South. Most were small, ill-equipped facilities that lacked clinical training programs. Consequently, they were inadequately prepared to survive sweeping changes in scientific medicine, hospital technology, and hospital standardization that had begun to take place at the turn of the century.

The most crucial issue faced by the historically black hospitals between 1920 and 1945 was whether they could withstand the new developments in medicine. In the early 1920s a group of physicians associated primarily with the National Medical Association (NMA), a black medical society, and the National Hospital Association (NHA), a black hospital organization, launched a reform movement to ensure the survival of at least a few quality black hospitals. The leaders of these organizations feared that the growing importance of accreditation and standardization would lead to the elimination of black hospitals and with it the demise of the black medical profession. For most African-American physicians, black hospitals offered the only places in which they could train and practice.

The NMA and NHA engaged in various activities to improve the quality of black hospitals, including the provision of technical assistance and the publication of educational materials. They also worked to raise funds for black hospitals. But funds were not readily forthcoming. Indeed, the depression forced all hospitals to grapple with the problem of financing. However, three philanthropies, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and the Duke Endowment, responded to the plight of black hospitals and provided crucial financial support.

The activities of the black hospital reformers and the dollars of white philanthropists produced some improvements in black hospitals by World War II. One prominent black physician hailed these changes as the "Negro Hospital Renaissance." This, however, was an overly optimistic assessment. The renaissance was limited to only a few hospitals. In 1923 approximately 200 historically black hospitals operated. Only six provided internships, and not one had a residency program. By 1944 the number of hospitals had decreased to 124. The AMA now approved nine of the facilities for internships and seven for residencies; the American College of Surgeons fully approved twenty-three, an undistinguished record at best. Moreover, the quality of some approved hospitals was suspect. Representatives of the American Medical Association freely admitted that a number of these hospitals would not have been approved except for the need to supply at least some internship opportunities for black physicians. This attitude reflected the then accepted practice of educating and treating black people in separate, and not necessarily equal, facilities.

The growth of the civil rights movement also played a key role in limiting the scope of black hospital reform. In the years after World War II, the energies of black medical organizations, even those that had previously supported separate black hospitals, shifted toward the dismantlement of the "Negro medical ghetto" of which black hospitals were a major component. Their protests between 1945 and 1965 posed new challenges for the historically black hospitals and called into question their very existence.

The NMA and the NAACP led the campaign for medical civil rights. They maintained that a segregated health care system resulted in the delivery of inferior medical care to black Americans. The organizations charged that the poorly financed facilities of the black medical ghetto could not adequately meet the health and professional needs of black people and rejected the establishment of additional

Facility	Beds 1990	Beds 2005	Total* revenues (millions)	Net* income (millions)	Patient* discharges	Founded
Howard University Hospital, Washington, DC	491	**282**	173.7	−149.3	8,155	1862
Richmond (VA) Community Hospital	88	104	84.6	−1.9	3,105	1902
Nashville General Hospital at Meharry, Nashville, TN (formerly George W. Hubbard Hospital)	240	**120**	118.8	−8.2	6,546	1910
Newport News (VA) General Hospital	40	0	—	—	—	1915
Norfolk (VA) Community Hospital	117	**135**	7.8	−2.3	454	1915
L. Richardson Memorial Hospital, Greensboro, NC	59	0	—	—	—	1923
Riverside General Hospital, Houston, TX	86	83	15.3	+1.9	1,031	1925
Southwest Detroit Hospital, Detroit MI	156	0	—	—	—	1974

* CMS-HCRIS, *Hospital Cost Report* (CMS-2552-96)

ones to remedy the problem. Instead, the NMA and the NAACP called for the integration of existing hospitals and the building of interracial hospitals.

Legal action was a key weapon in the battle to desegregate hospitals. Armed with the precedent set by the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* the medical civil rights activists began a judicial assault on hospital segregation. *Simkins v. Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital* proved to be the pivotal case. The 1963 decision found the separate-but-equal clause of the 1946 Hill-Burton Act, which provided federal monies for hospital construction, unconstitutional. The *Simkins* decision represented a significant victory in the battle for hospital integration. It extended the principles of the *Brown* decision to hospitals, including those not publicly owned and operated. Its authority, however, was limited to those hospitals that received Hill-Burton funds. The 1964 federal court decision in *Eaton v. Grubbs* broadened the prohibitions against racial discrimination to include voluntary hospitals that did not receive such funds.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act supplemented these judicial mandates and prohibited racial discrimination in any programs that received federal assistance. The 1965 passage of the Medicare and Medicaid legislation made most hospitals potential recipients of federal funds. Thus, they would be obligated to comply with federal civil rights legislation.

The predominant social role of the historically black hospitals before 1965 had been to provide medical care and professional training for black people within a segregated society. The adoption of integration as a societal goal has had an adverse effect on the institutions. Civil rights legislation increased the access of African Americans to previously white institutions. Consequently, black hospitals faced an ironic dilemma. They now competed with hospitals that had once discriminated against black patients and staff. In the years since the end of legally sanctioned racial segregation, the number of historically black hospitals has sharply declined. In 1944, 124 black hospitals operated. By 1990 the number had decreased to eight, and for several of them the future looks grim.

Desegregation resulted in an exodus of physicians and patients from black hospitals. Where white physicians had once used these facilities to admit and treat their black patients, they abruptly cut their ties. Furthermore, since 1965, black physicians have gained access to the mainstream medical profession and black hospitals have become less crucial to their careers. This loss of physician support contributed to declines in both patient admissions and revenues at many black hospitals. As a result of changing physician referral practices and housing patterns, black hospitals have also lost many of their middle-class patients. They have become facilities that treat, for the most part, poor people who are uninsured or on Medicaid. This pattern of decreased physician support, reduced patient occupancy, and diminished patient revenues forced many black hospitals to close after 1965. It also makes the few surviving institutions highly vulnerable.

The historically black hospitals have had a significant impact on the lives of African Americans. Originally created to provide health care and education within a segregated society, they evolved to become symbols of black pride and achievement. They supplied medical care, provided training opportunities, and contributed to the development of a black professional class. The hospitals were once crucial for the survival of African Americans. They have now become peripheral to the lives of most Americans and are on the brink of extinction.

The push for cost containment and vertical integration in the 1990s saw many firms in the entire health care environment either consolidate or close. The survival of these institutions was even more in question as they faced the same challenges as their counterparts in more traditional institutions. Government reimbursement regulations, improved health care access for more affluent African Americans, and increasing competition from HMOs

(health maintenance organizations) had more adverse affects on the black hospitals. Of the remaining facilities, in 1990, none had positive profit margins and half had deficits in excess of $1.75 million, while the median profit margin for all hospitals in the United States was a positive 2.73 percent, or about $300,000.

The individuals that black hospitals serviced were most in need of care and least likely to be able to pay. These facilities served as the safety net and the primary-care providers for a large population of persons of color, a business condition that created mounting financial instabilities. Many black hospitals, and equally many major general hospitals in urban areas, had to seek bankruptcy protection and were eventually subsumed into the indigent-care mechanisms of the communities they served or purchased by larger health care systems.

As of 2005, five of the eight facilities that remained in 1990 were still operating (this was the number that submitted a required report on their prior year's financial activity to the CMS). There has been significant expansion in some, and three of the five have maintained or acquired affiliation with a medical school. While only one of the five remaining black hospitals turned a profit in fiscal year 2004, the firms did manage to survive the very turbulent health care environment of the 1990s. These institutions are poised to remain viable and effective institutions in the health care continuum well into the twenty-first century.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Freedmen's Hospital; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Nursing

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VANESSA NORTHINGTON GAMBLE (1996)
NORRIS WHITE GUNBY, JR. (2005)

Houston, Charles Hamilton

September 3, 1895
April 22, 1950

Charles Hamilton Houston, a lawyer, was born in the District of Columbia, the son of William L. Houston, a government worker who attended Howard University Law School and became a lawyer, and Mary Hamilton Houston, a teacher who later worked as a hairdresser. He attended Washington's M Street High School and then went to Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1915, then taught English for two years at Howard University. In 1917 Houston joined the army and served as a second lieutenant in a segregated unit of the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I. Following his discharge, he decided on a career in law and entered Harvard Law School. Houston was the first African-American editor of the *Harvard Law Review*. He received an L.L.B. degree cum laude (1922) and an S.J.D. degree (1923). He received the Sheldon Fellowship for further study in civil law at the University of Madrid (1923–1924).

In 1924 Houston was admitted to the Washington, D.C., bar, and he entered law practice with his father at Houston & Houston in Washington, D.C. (later Houston & Hastie, then Houston, Bryant, and Gardner), where he handled domestic relations, negligence, and personal injury cases, as well as criminal law cases involving civil rights matters. He remained with the firm until his death. Throughout his career Houston served on numerous committees and organizations, including the Washington Board of Education, the National Bar Association, the National Lawyers Guild, and the American Council on Race Relations. He also wrote columns on racial and international issues for *The Crisis* and the *Baltimore Afro-American*. In 1932 he was a delegate to the NAACP's second Amenia Conference.

In 1927 and 1928, after receiving a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Houston wrote an important re-

port, "The Negro and His Contact with the Administration of Law." The next year, he was appointed vice dean at Howard University, where he served as professor of law and as head of the law school. He transformed the law program into a full-day curriculum that was approved by both the American Bar Association and the Association of American Law Schools. Houston mentored such students as Thurgood Marshall, William Bryant, and Oliver Hill. Under his direction, Howard Law School became a unique training ground for African-American lawyers to challenge segregation through the legal system.

In 1935 Houston took a leave of absence from Howard to become the first full-time, salaried special counsel of the NAACP. As special counsel Houston argued civil rights cases and traveled to many different areas of the United States, sometimes under trying conditions, in order to defend blacks who stood accused of crimes. He won two important Supreme Court cases, *Hollins v. Oklahoma* (1935) and *Hale v. Kentucky* (1938), which overturned death sentences given by juries from which blacks had been excluded because of their race.

Houston persuaded the joint committee of the NAACP and the philanthropic American Fund for Public Service to support an unrelenting but incremental legal struggle against segregation, with public education as the main area of challenge. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that "separate but equal" segregated facilities were constitutional. Houston realized that a direct assault on the decision would fail, so he designed a strategy of litigation of test cases and a slow build-up of successful precedents based on inequality within segregation. He focused on combating discrimination in graduate education, a less controversial area than discrimination in primary schools, as the first step in his battle in the courts. *University of Maryland v. Murray* was his first victory and an important psychological triumph. The Maryland Supreme Court ordered that Donald Murray, an African American, be admitted to the University of Maryland Law School because there were no law schools for blacks in the state. Two years later, Houston successfully argued *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court ordered that Lloyd Gaines be admitted to the University of Missouri, which had no black graduate school, ruling that granting scholarships for black students to out-of-state schools did not constitute equal admission.

In 1938, suffering from tuberculosis and heart problems, Houston resigned as chief counsel, and two years later he left the NAACP. However, he remained a prime adviser over the next decade through his membership on the NAACP Legal Committee. His position as special counsel was taken over by his former student and deputy Thurgood Marshall, who formed the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (LDF), to continue the struggle Houston had begun. Their endeavor culminated with the famous 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* which overturned school segregation. Houston remained active in the effort. Shortly before his death, he initiated *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954), a school desegregation suit in Washington, D.C., which later became one of the school cases the Supreme Court consolidated with and decided in *Brown*.

In 1940 Houston became general counsel of the International Association of Railway Employees and of the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen. He and his co-counsel investigated complaints of unfair labor practices and litigated grievances. Houston successfully argued two cases, *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad* and *Tunstall v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen,* involving racial discrimination in the selection of bargaining agents under the Railway Labor Act of 1934. Houston also worked as an attorney for hearings of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Appointed to the FEPC in 1944, he dramatically resigned in December 1945 in protest over President Truman's refusal to issue an order banning discrimination by Washington's Capital Transit Authority, and of the committee's imminent demise.

In the late 1940s Houston led a group of civil rights lawyers in bringing suit against housing discrimination. He helped draft the brief for the LDF's Supreme Court case *Shelley v. Kramer* and argued a companion case, *Hurd v. Hodge,* in which the Supreme Court barred enforcement of racially restrictive covenants in leases.

In 1948 Houston suffered a heart attack, and died of a coronary occlusion two years later. He received the NAACP's Spingarn Medal posthumously in 1950. In 1958 Howard University named its new main law school building in his honor.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Marshall, Thurgood; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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GENNA RAE MCNEIL (1996)
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Houston, Whitney

August 9, 1963

Singer, actress, and model Whitney Houston was born in Newark and grew up in East Orange, New Jersey. She comes from a family of performers: Her mother, Cissy Houston, is a long-time gospel performer, and her husband, Bobby Brown, is also a singer. As a child Houston sang in the choir of her church, New Hope Baptist Church, and sang her first solo at the age of twelve. After working briefly as a teen model, she returned to music following her graduation from high school. She performed in minor capacities such as backup singing and advertising, but she did not sign a record contract until 1985. Her first album, *Whitney Houston* (1985), became the best-selling debut album for any solo artist, selling thirteen million copies and winning a Grammy Award and two National Music Awards. Her follow-up albums, *Whitney* (1987) and *I'm Your Baby Tonight* (1990), succeeded in similar fashion.

Houston's fourth album accompanied her acting debut in *The Bodyguard* (1992), in which she performed the Dolly Parton song "I Will Always Love You," the longest running number-one single in history. The film grossed $390 million, the soundtrack sold twenty-four million copies, and Houston's fame was at its peak.

Houston's career slowed down somewhat after that. She continued to appear in occasional acting roles and released only one album, *My Love is Your Love* (1998), in addition to several singles. In late 1999 she became the subject of rampant drug abuse rumors because of her erratic public behavior. Houston adamantly denied the rumors.

The rumors proved correct, however, and Houston was eventually admitted to a Georgia rehabilitation center. During this time her husband, Bobby Brown, was often in trouble with the law (including an assault against Houston). In 2004 Houston announced that her addiction days were in the past. She and Brown were still together and had signed to do a ten-part reality television program.

See also Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Howard, Ethel

See Waters, Ethel

Howard University

In December 1866 a group of Congregationalists in Washington, D.C., proposed establishing the Howard Normal and Theological Institute for the Education of Teachers and Preachers to train ministers and educators for work among newly freed slaves. After receiving some support and funding, Howard University was chartered on March 2, 1867, and given the mission of establishing a university "for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences."

Howard received its name from Gen. Oliver Otis Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau. General Howard, along with several other Civil War generals and U.S. congressmen, was largely responsible for the organization of the university and its campaign to secure an annual appropriation for its maintenance from Congress. Despite substantial federal funding, Howard was governed by a privately selected board of trustees and has always maintained its independent status. In keeping with its religious mission, the board of the university decreed that anyone chosen for any position in the university "be a member of some Evangelical church."

In the first years of Howard University's operation, very few African Americans were involved in its administration or on the board of trustees. The first students enrolled at Howard, four or five young women, were also white; they graduated from the three-year Normal Department in 1870. George B. Vashon, the first black faculty member at Howard, taught in a short-lived evening school in 1867–1868. One of the first black female leaders at Howard was Martha B. Briggs (1873–1879, 1883–1889). At first an instructor in the Normal Department, Briggs would become principal of the department in 1883.

In 1868 the trustees created a Preparatory Department, which served as preparation for entrance into undergraduate course work by ensuring a minimum level of achievement in basic subjects like reading and writing. They also added a collegiate department, which included a four-year curriculum; it would eventually become the mainstay of the university. In its inaugural year, the collegiate department only had one student and two professors. The first three graduates of the department received their degrees in 1872. One of the two blacks in this class, James Monroe Gregory, became a tutor in Latin and math; in 1876 he became a professor of Latin.

Several other departments rounded out the university in its early years. A medical department was established in 1868. Its first graduating class of five, in 1871, included two blacks. The nearby Freedmen's Hospital was invaluable for medical students and doctors who were often unable to secure medical privileges at other institutions. Charles Burleigh Purvis, who worked virtually without compensation for many years as a professor in the medical department, was largely responsible for guiding both the medical school and its students during his long career.

Under the tutelage of Dean John Mercer Langston, a future congressman, the Law Department first enrolled students in the spring of 1869. It graduated its first class of ten in February 1871, including African-American John Cook, a future dean of the law school. An integral part of Howard from its founding, the theology department, opened officially in 1870, never used federal funds; instead, it relied upon contributions from the American Missionary Association, which was associated with the Congregational Church.

The university struggled financially for the first several years. Much of its original funding came from the Freedmen's Bureau, which provided capital for operation as well as money for the purchase of land and the construction of a campus. Before the bureau closed it channeled more than $500,000 to Howard, from 1867 until 1872. After the bureau's demise, the university received no additional federal funds until 1879, when Congress began granting Howard a small appropriation.

Howard University in the 1880s. *Founded in Washington, D.C., in 1867, Howard soon became a center of African-American intellectual life. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the university boasted a faculty that included many of the nation's leading black scholars.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

After several years Howard's operations increased in scope. From 1875 to 1889 more than five hundred students received professional degrees in medicine, law, and theology, and almost three hundred students received certificates from the normal, preparatory, and collegiate departments. The board of trustees also made efforts to expand and increase the African-American representation among its membership. In 1871 they appointed Frederick Douglass to become a trustee; he served until his death in 1895. Several other blacks were named trustees in this period. Booker T. Washington became a trustee in 1907.

By 1900 Howard University had more than seven hundred students. Along with Fisk and Atlanta universities, Howard was one of the most prominent black academic colleges in the country. Under the administration of President Wilbur P. Thirkield (1906–1912), the university began to stress more industrial courses of study and the sciences. Howard established one of the first engineering programs at a predominantly black college; Howard's other science programs were also generally superior. The eminent biologist Ernest E. Just (1907–1941), who taught

at Howard for several decades, helped further develop Howard's reputation in the sciences.

Another leader at Howard—and one of the most important black educators in the early twentieth century—was Kelly Miller. Miller, who served Howard in various capacities from 1890 to 1934, was dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1908 to 1919 and fought for the introduction of courses on African-American life as early as the turn of the century.

The 1920s was a decade of great growth and change. The high school that prepared students for entrance into Howard closed in 1920. Under the administration of President J. Stanley Durkee, the university budget grew from $121,937 in 1920 to $365,000 only five years later. Lucy Slowe Diggs (1922–1937) was the first dean of women at Howard; she helped to transform the role of female university officials to that of active administrators participating in shaping university policy. In 1925 students took part in a weeklong strike for greater student participation in university policy-making and an end to mandatory chapel services. Another focus of student and intellectual agitation was the growing demand for the appointment of a black president to lead Howard. Mordecai W. Johnson, a Baptist minister, became Howard's first African-American president on September 1, 1926; he served until 1960.

In the 1920s and 1930s Howard became a center of African-American intellectual life and attracted a brilliant faculty committed to finding new directions for black America. Many black scholars trained at Ivy League schools and other predominantly white institutions were unable to find employment other than in historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Howard attracted the cream of the crop.

One of the leading figures at Howard in the 1920s was philosopher Alain Locke (1912–1925, 1927–1954), popularizer of the New Negro movement. Several administration officials and faculty members urged the implementation of a curriculum that explicitly acknowledged the cultural accomplishments of African Americans. Kelly Miller had been doing so for years; William Leo Hansberry (1922–1959) became the first African-American scholar to offer comprehensive courses in the civilization and history of Africa in the 1920s.

The 1930s were a period of intellectual accomplishment at Howard, with a faculty that included the leading black scholars in the country. Led by political scientist Ralph J. Bunche (1928–1933), English professors Sterling Brown (1929–1969) and Alphaeus Hunton (1926–1943), sociologist E. Franklin Frazier (1934–1959), and economist Abram Harris, Jr. (1927–1945), the Howard faculty looked for ways to transcend the division between accommodationism and black nationalism. While proud exponents of the distinctiveness of black culture, they often espoused industrial unionism and multiracial working-class harmony, and were sensitive to the internal divisions and class differences within the black community. Historian Rayford Logan (1938–1982), largely responsible for strengthening the history department, wrote the most comprehensive history of Howard from its founding until its centennial. Logan also served the larger cause of African-American studies by producing the ground-breaking *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (1982). The distinguished African-American pianist Hazel Harrison (1936–1955) was one of the leading women faculty members of the period.

Charles H. Houston (1929–1935), who helped to strengthen the curriculum at the law school and became one of the most important civil rights lawyers of the 1930s and 1940s, added to Howard's position as the best black law school in the country at the time. Under Houston's capable guidance, the law school strengthened its curriculum and received accreditation from the American Association of American Law Schools in late 1931. Graduates included Thurgood Marshall (1933), future justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The 1930s were also marked by administrative controversy. President Johnson came under harsh criticism from many who felt that his managerial style was heavy-handed and autocratic. Johnson had removed several administration officials and had fired several university employees. The alumni association criticized Johnson and the board of trustees as well, arguing that the alumni should have more of a voice in choosing trustees and constructing university policy.

Given their reliance on federal funds for operation, Howard officials were often held accountable by members of Congress for perceived ideological aberrations like socialism or communism. In the early 1940s, investigations into the activities of some faculty members, among them Alphaeus Hunton, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) brought unwanted attention to Howard. When another HUAC inquiry occurred in the early 1950s, President Mordecai Johnson did not attempt to derail the various investigations but declared his confidence that the faculty members being investigated would be vindicated; all were. The administration at Howard often urged moderation and discouraged university employees from making overtly political statements.

Several prominent black scholars taught at Howard during the 1940s and 1950s. Margaret Just Butcher, daughter of biologist Ernest Just, taught English at How-

President Lyndon Johnson talks with Patricia R. Harris, Associate Professor of Constitutional Law at Howard University, after attending commencement exercises at the school, June 4, 1965. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

ard from 1945 until 1955; she collaborated with Alaine Locke on *The Negro in American Culture* (1956). Prominent civil rights leader Anna Arnold Hedgeman was dean of women from 1946 until 1948; she would later be instrumental in helping to plan the 1963 March on Washington. Mercer Cook (1927–1936, 1944–1960, 1966–1970), an influential translator of the *Négritude* poets, and the Afrocentrist Cheikh A. Diop, taught in the Department of Romance Languages for several generations.

While the 1950s was a time of relative quiet at Howard, the university experienced intellectual and political turmoil during the 1960s. In 1962 Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson spoke at the commencement; returning to Howard three years later, this time as president, Johnson renewed his pledge to struggle for equal rights for all and outlined the tenets of what would become his plans for the Great Society. Students vocally disrupted a 1967 speech by Gen. Lewis Hershey, director of the Selective Service System. They further disrupted campus operations in 1968 when students all over the country took part in demanding an end to the war in Vietnam. Howard students were also urging the implementation of a more radical curriculum. In 1969 Howard inaugurated its African-American Studies program.

President James M. Nabrit, Jr., one of the attorneys who crafted one of the briefs used to justify the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court to end segregation in the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* led Howard from 1960 until 1969, some of its most turbulent years. Notable faculty members included Patricia Roberts Harris (1961–1963, 1967–1969), who was an attorney, the first African-American woman to become an ambassador, and a professor in the Howard Law School for several years. Her tenure as the first black female dean of the law school, however, lasted only thirty days; outcry over student protests and conflicts with other university administrators compelled her to resign (1969).

In the mid-1980s Howard was one of the first universities in the United States to initiate divestment from South Africa. Republican Party chairman Lee Atwater resigned from the board of trustees in 1989 after protests by hundreds of students. Howard received more unfavorable publicity in early 1994 after the appearance on campus by former Nation of Islam official Khalid Muhammad.

Howard has many notable facilities. The Moorland-Spingarn Center, one of the premier archival resources for studying African-American history and culture, had accumulated over 150,000 books and more than four hundred manuscript collections. The center was a result of the donation of collections from trustee Jesse Moorland in 1914 and NAACP official Arthur Spingarn in 1946; they included "books, pictures, and statuary on the Negro and on slavery." An art gallery includes an extensive African-American collection of painting, sculpture, and art. A university radio and television station sought to bring in revenue and offer a valuable educational service to the larger community of the District of Columbia. The Howard University Press has published more than a hundred works since its inception in 1972. Howard University Hospital, a five-hundred-bed teaching hospital, is responsible for, among other things, pioneering research by the Howard University Cancer Center and the Center for Sickle Cell Disease.

For fiscal year 2001 the operation budget of Howard University was $419 million, and the university employed more than 6,000 people. (In 1975 the budget was about $100 million.) Howard still receives more than 50 percent of its budget from the federal government—about $232 million for 2001. Its enrollment in 1993 stood at almost 12,000 students distributed among various colleges, programs, and institutes. A decade later enrollment stood at about 11,000 students, including 7,000 undergraduates.

The future, however, holds uncertainty for Howard and other HBCUs. Howard has consistently dedicated it-

self to providing an intellectual haven for African Americans denied opportunities elsewhere. In 1963, the board of trustees promised that

> As a matter of history and tradition, Howard University accepts a special responsibility for the education of capable Negro students disadvantaged by the system of racial segregation and discrimination, and it will continue to do so as long as Negroes suffer these disabilities.

As bars against entry of blacks into primarily white universities have disappeared, a crisis has arisen for those schools which historically relied upon having the brightest African-American students and faculty. Partly to address this problem, Howard launched its Howard 2000 reorganization program in the early 1990s. Its goal was to help Howard remain fiscally and academically competitive into the next century.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Bunche, Ralph; Douglass, Frederick; Education in the United States; Fisk University; Freedmen's Hospital; Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt; Just, Ernest; Langston, John Mercer; Locke, Alain Leroy; Logan, Rayford W.; Marshall, Thurgood

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ESME BHAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hoyte, Desmond

March 9, 1929
December 22, 2002

Hugh Desmond Hoyte was born into a family of modest circumstances in Georgetown, British Guiana, and became president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana in 1985. His life reflected the process of social transformation that accompanied the transition of the colony—British Guiana—to an independent state—Guyana—over the course of the twentieth century. Hoyte was both a product of the colonial order and an agent of the new nationalist political order that sought to grapple with the challenges of independence in the late twentieth century.

Education and Early Career

Hoyte attended Saint Barnabas Anglican School and the Progressive High School at a time when the education of children represented a major investment for parents, since public education was not widely available in the colony. He later obtained an external B.A. degree from the University of London and after a stint of teaching in Grenada studied law in London beginning in 1957. He received an LL. B. in London in 1959 and was called to the bar. He returned to Guyana in 1960 to begin practice as a lawyer. In his education and career path, Hoyte was representative of the commitment to education and professional development that marked the generation of Guyanese who emerged as the standard bearers of the nationalist struggle. His erudition and commitment to education were never compromised by his pursuit of a political career.

In 1961 Hoyte joined the legal firm of Clarke and Martin, among whose members were Forbes Burnham, Fred Wills, and Fenton Ramsahoye, who would all go on to prominent political careers in the nationalist era. Forbes Burnham became his professional and political mentor—a relationship that led to Hoyte's eventual ascension to the presidency of Guyana upon the death of Burnham in 1985. Hoyte's legal career lasted until 1968, when he was elected to parliament on the People's National Congress (PNC) slate in the first of a series of fraudulent elections that allowed Burnham to consolidate his power in an independent Guyana.

Hoyte's formal entry into parliament as a result of the 1968 election was preceded by his 1966 appointment to the National Elections Commission, the agency that supervised the disputed elections of 1968. He had also served as a legal advisor to the pro-PNC Guyana Trades Union Congress and as a member of the General Council of the

PNC since 1962. His entry into national politics reflected his close collaboration with Burnham and the grooming process he had undergone as a prelude to his entry into the cabinet as minister of home affairs in 1969, with responsibility for the police and a section of the state security apparatus. Hoyte's portfolio was critical to another major post-independence political transition in 1970, when Guyana became a republic, with an appointed president serving as ceremonial head of state.

A Major Influence

Hoyte served as finance minister from 1970 to 1972; as minister of works and communications from 1972 to 1974; and as minister of economic development from 1974 to 1980. He was also elevated to membership of the central committee of the PNC in 1973. He had emerged as a major figure within the government and ruling party. The 1970s saw another fraudulent election in 1973, and the introduction of a new constitution creating, by way of a rigged 1978 referendum, an executive presidency.

The 1970s also saw a rapprochement between the PNC and the opposition Marxist-Leninist People's Progressive Party (PPP) as the country's political trajectory allowed it to foster closer relations with the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba. Hoyte, as minister of economic development, oversaw the nationalization of the bauxite and sugar industries and the expansion of the public sector. The increasing state control of the economy was driven by a desire to use profits from the export sectors to promote the diversification of the economy as a whole. Unfortunately, this strategy was adopted as the oil shocks of the 1970s wreaked havoc with the global financial and trading systems and undermined the economies of all exporters of primary commodities. This expansion of state control led to the imposition of limits upon freedom of the press and the ruling party's resort to militarization of the state through the creation of the Guyana National Service and the Guyana People's Militia. It also led to capital flight and the migration of skilled Guyanese.

Presidency

Hoyte's increasing influence was evident when he was appointed vice president to Burnham, who became executive president in 1980. Hoyte was named prime minister and first vice president in 1984. A year later Hoyte became president upon Burnham's death. His accession to the presidency in 1985 was the capstone of his political career. In a surprising turnaround and disavowal of his mentor, and despite a flawed election in 1985, Hoyte initiated an era of political reform. Intimately aware of the possibility of state financial collapse due to its debt burden and the crisis of management at all levels of the vastly expanded public sector, Hoyte abandoned Burnham's flirtation with the socialist bloc. He adopted International Monetary Fund advice and a structural adjustment program. He also re-established freedom of the press, encouraged the establishment of the Iwokrama project to support sound environmental management of Guyana's rain forest, and created the Guyana Prize for Literature. The changes he introduced extended to the electoral reforms that led to his ouster in 1992 in an election at which former U.S. President Jimmy Carter was the lead international observer. Hoyte's decision to embark upon the process of reform reversed the course of economic decline that had preceded his assumption of the presidency.

After 1992 Hoyte remained leader of the opposition until his death in 2002, although he lost the general elections of 1992, 1997, and 2001 to the PPP. His death marked the passage of the generation nationalists who led Guyana to independence but whose legacy for the future of the country remains ambiguous.

See also Burnham, Forbes; People's National Congress; Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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CARY FRASER (2005)

Hudson, Hosea

1898
1988

Union leader and communist activist Hosea Hudson was born into an impoverished sharecropping family in Wilkes County in the eastern Georgia black belt. He became a plow hand at ten, which sharply curtailed his schooling. The combination of a boll-weevil infestation and a violent altercation with his brother-in-law prompted Hudson in 1923 to move to Atlanta, where he worked as a common laborer in a railroad roundhouse. A year later he moved to Birmingham, Alabama, and commenced his career as an iron molder.

Although he remained a faithful churchgoer, Hudson harbored persistent doubts about God's goodness and power, given the oppression of African Americans as workers and as Negroes. As a working-class black, however, he lacked a focus for his discontent until the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) began organizing in Birmingham in 1930. In the wake of the conviction of the Scottsboro Boys and the Camp Hill massacre, both in Alabama in 1931, Hudson joined the CPUSA. Within a year he had lost his job at the Stockham foundry. Although he was able to earn irregular wages through odd jobs and iron molding under assumed names, much of the burden of family support in the 1930s fell on his wife, who never forgave him for putting the welfare of the Communist Party before that of his wife and child.

During the Great Depression, Hudson was active with a series of organizations in and around the CPUSA. He helped the Unemployed Councils secure relief payments and fight evictions on behalf of the poor. In his first trip outside the South, he spent ten weeks in New York State at the CPUSA National Training School in 1934, during which he learned to read and write. As a party cadre in Atlanta from 1934 to 1936, he worked with neighborhood organizations and helped investigate the lynching of Lint Shaw. Returning to Birmingham in 1937, he worked on a Works Project Administration project (WPA), served as vice president of the Birmingham and Jefferson County locals of the Workers Alliance, and founded the Right to Vote Club (which earned him a key to the city of Birmingham in 1980 as a pioneer in the struggle for black civil rights).

After the creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Hudson joined the campaign to organize unorganized workers. As the demand for labor during World War II eased his way back into the foundries, he became recording secretary of Steel Local 1489, then organized United Steel Workers Local 2815. He remained president of that local from 1942 to 1947, when he was stripped of leadership and blacklisted for being a communist. He was underground in Atlanta and New York City from 1950 to 1956, during the height of the cold war and McCarthyism. Imbued with a justified sense of the historical importance of his life, Hudson wrote two books on his experiences: *Black Worker in the Deep South* (1972) and *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson* (1979). Active in the Coalition of Black Trades Unionists until his health failed in the mid-1980s, Hudson died in Gainesville, Florida.

See also Communist Party of the United States; Great Depression and the New Deal

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NELL IRVIN PAINTER (1996)

Hughes, Langston

February 1, 1902
May 22, 1967

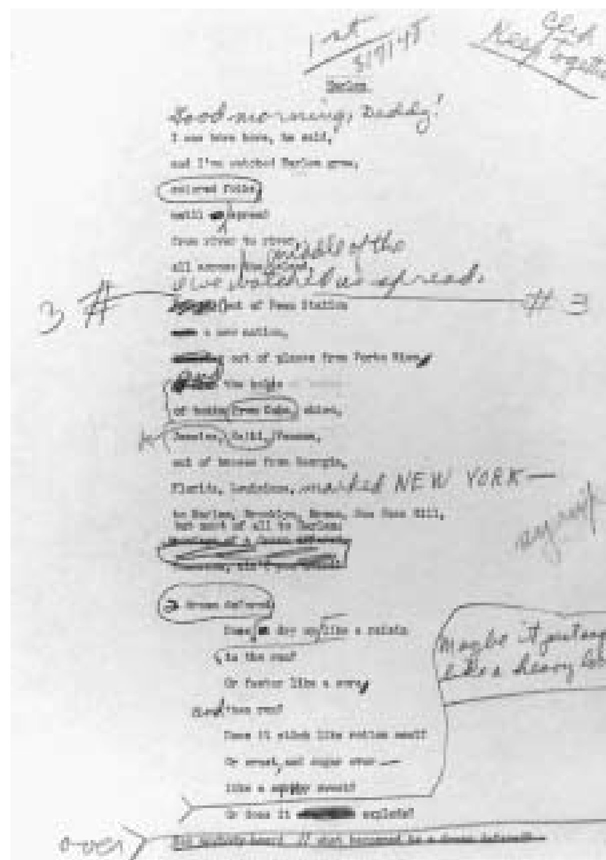
Writer James Langston Hughes was born in Joplin, Missouri, and grew up in Lawrence, Kansas, mainly with his grandmother, Mary Langston, whose first husband had died in John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry and whose second, Hughes's grandfather, had also been a radical abolitionist. Hughes's mother, Carrie Langston Hughes, occasionally wrote poetry and acted; his father, James Nathaniel Hughes, studied law, and then emigrated to Mexico around 1903. After a year (1915–1916) in Lincoln, Illinois, Hughes moved to Cleveland, where he attended high school (1916–1920). He then spent a year with his father in Mexico. In June 1921 he published a poem that was to become celebrated, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," in *The Crisis* magazine. Enrolling at Columbia University in New York in 1921, he withdrew after a year. He traveled down the west coast of Africa as a mess man on a ship (1923), washed dishes in a Paris nightclub (1924), and traveled in Italy and the Mediterranean before returning to spend a year (1925) in Washington, D.C.

Poems in journals such as *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* led to Hughes's recognition as perhaps the most striking new voice in African-American verse. Steeped in black

American culture, his poems revealed his unswerving admiration for blacks, especially the poor. He was particularly inventive in fusing the rhythms of jazz and blues, as well as black speech, with traditional forms of poetry. In 1926 he published his first book of verse, *The Weary Blues,* followed by *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927), which was attacked in the black press for its emphasis on the blues culture. A major essay, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," expressed his determination to make black culture the foundation of his art. In 1926 he enrolled at historically black Lincoln University, and graduated in 1929. With the support of a wealthy but volatile patron, Mrs. Charlotte Osgood Mason (also known as "Godmother"), he wrote his first novel, *Not Without Laughter* (1930). The collapse of this relationship deeply disturbed Hughes, who evidently loved Mrs. Mason but resented her imperious demands on him. After several weeks in Haiti in 1931, he undertook a reading tour to mainly black audiences, starting in the South and ending in the West. He then spent a year (1932–1933) in the Soviet Union, where he wrote several poems influenced by radical socialism, including "Goodbye Christ," about religious hypocrisy. In Carmel, California (1933–1934) he wrote most of the short stories in *The Ways of White Folks* (1934). After a few months in Mexico following the death of his father there, Hughes moved to Oberlin, Ohio.

In New York Hughes's play *Mulatto,* about miscegenation in the South, opened on Broadway in 1935 to hostile reviews but enjoyed a long run. Several other plays by Hughes were produced in the 1930s at the Karamu Playhouse in Cleveland. He spent several months as a war correspondent in Spain during 1937. Returning to New York in 1938, he founded the Harlem Suitcase Theater, which staged his radical drama *Don't You Want to Be Free?* In 1939, desperately needing money, he worked on a Hollywood film, *Way Down South,* which was criticized for its benign depiction of slavery. However, he was able to settle various debts and write an autobiography, *The Big Sea* (1940).

In 1940, when a religious group picketed one of his appearances, Hughes repudiated "Goodbye Christ" and his main ties to the left. In *Shakespeare in Harlem* (1942) he returned to writing poems about blacks and the blues. After two years in California he returned to New York. Late in 1942, in the *Chicago Defender,* he began a weekly newspaper column that ran for more than twenty years. In 1943 he introduced its most popular feature, a character called Jesse B. Semple, or Simple, an urban black Everyman of intense racial consciousness but also with a delightfully offbeat sense of humor. In 1947 his work as lyricist with Kurt Weill and Elmer Rice on the Broadway



Good morning, Daddy!

NEW YORK—

over

Typewritten manuscript of the poem "Good Morning" by Langston Hughes, with his editorial remarks, notations, and corrections. *"Good Morning" was featured in Hughes's collection* Montage of a Dream Deferred *(1951), which captures the mood of an increasingly troubled Harlem.* REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE YALE COLLECTION OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY.AND HAROLD OBER ASSOCIATES INCORPORATED FOR THE ESTATE OF LANGSTON HUGHES.

musical play *Street Scene* enabled him finally to buy a home and settle down in Harlem. Hughes, who never married, lived there with an old family friend, Toy Harper, and her husband, Emerson Harper, a musician.

As a writer, Hughes worked in virtually all genres, though he saw himself mainly as a poet. In *Fields of Wonder* (1947), *One-Way Ticket* (1949), and *Montage of a Dream Deferred* (1951), he used the new bebop jazz rhythms in his poetry to capture the mood of an increasingly troubled Harlem. With Mercer Cook, he translated the novel *Gouverneurs de la rosée* (*Masters of the Dew,* 1947) by Jacques Roumain of Haiti; he also translated poems by Nicolás Guillén of Cuba (*Cuba Libre,* 1948), Federico García Lorca of Spain (1951), and Gabriela Mistral of Chile (*Selected Poems,* 1957). The first of five collections of Simple sketches, *Simple Speaks His Mind,* ap-

peared in 1950, and another collection of short stories, *Laughing to Keep from Crying,* came in 1952. Working first with composer William Grant Still and then with Jan Meyerowitz, Hughes composed opera libretti and other texts to be set to music.

Right-wing groups, which were anticommunist and probably also motivated by racism, steadily attacked Hughes—despite his denials—for his alleged membership in the Communist Party. In 1953, forced to appear before Sen. Joseph McCarthy's investigating committee, he conceded that some of his radical writing had been misguided. Criticized by some socialists, he pressed on with his career and later toured Africa and elsewhere for the State Department. He published about a dozen books for children on a variety of topics, including jazz, Africa, and the Caribbean. With photographer Roy DeCarava he published an acclaimed book of pictures accompanied by a narrative, *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (1955). His second volume of autobiography, *I Wonder as I Wander,* was published in 1956.

Perhaps the most innovative of Hughes's later work came in drama, especially his gospel plays such as *Black Nativity* (1961) and *Jericho-Jim Crow* (1964). He was also an important editor. He published (with Arna Bontemps) *Poetry of the Negro, 1746–1949* (1949), as well as *An African Treasury* (1960), *New Negro Poets: U.S.A.* (1964), and *The Book of Negro Humor* (1966). Hughes was widely recognized as the most representative African-American writer and perhaps the most original of black poets. In 1961 he was admitted to the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He died in New York City.

See also *Chicago Defender*; Harlem Renaissance; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; Decarava, Roy; Lincoln University; Poetry, U.S.; Still, William

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ARNOLD RAMPERSAD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Huie, Albert

December 31, 1920

Albert Huie was born in Falmouth, Trelawny, on the north coast of Jamaica. In 1936, he moved to Kingston, Jamaica's capital, where he decided to pursue a career as an artist. It was an occupational path very few black Jamaicans followed at that time. Young Huie's talents were cultivated by a group of contemporaries who were interested in creating and supporting Jamaica's national art and culture. The Jamaica Arts Society awarded him a scholarship to study watercolor painting at Armenian artist Koren der Harootian's school in Kingston in 1938. Huie subsequently received informal training, including an introduction to linocutting, from a group of artists who gathered at sculptor Edna Manley's residence. In 1944 he left Jamaica to attend art school at the Ontario College of Art and University College of Toronto in Canada. The recipient of a British Council Scholarship three years later, he trained in painting and graphic techniques at Camberwell School of Arts, London. Exhibitions he encountered in London, especially the Van Gogh exhibition at the Tate in 1948, would also inform his work. Huie returned to Jamaica in 1948, where he worked as an artist and art educator at Clarendon College, Wolmers' Boys' School, and Excelsior High School.

The British colony of Jamaica underwent fundamental sociopolitical changes in the late 1930s and 1940s that informed Huie's art, including worker riots, anticolonial protests, union formation, and universal suffrage. Starting in the 1930s, the African diasporic movements of Ethiopianism, Rastafarianism, and Garveyism challenged colonial and imperial power, politically, socially, and culturally, on the island. Although each of these movements was very different, they were united in their critique of colonialism and promotion of the long denigrated African aspects of Jamaican society. Marcus Garvey, in particular, inspired Huie to see black people and their communities as beautiful and representable as the subjects of art. At a time when popular cultural forms caricatured blacks, he used portraiture and oil painting to present a respectable image of black subjects. Moreover, by creating portraits in a post-impressionist style, which frequently concentrated squarely on the face of his sitters, he forced viewers to confront the subjectivity and humanity of his models. Huie also sensitively rendered his sitters' skin color, paying close attention to the reflection and radiation of light on black skin. He made black skin, something long devalued in colonial Jamaica, the very focus of his art. Frequently the subject of praise, his representations of blacks also sparked controversy. Huie scandalized many viewers who attended

the annual All-Island exhibition with his frank portrayal of a black female nude in 1960.

Starting in the 1940s Huie also began to represent black Jamaican religious and secular expressions in the form of linocuts, using a silhouetted style that recalls the work of French artist Henri Matisse. Inspired by the new interest in black Jamaican culture, he published images on a range of subjects, from the African-Jamaican religion *Pocomania* to the jitterbug dance, in the cultural nationalist magazine *Public Opinion.* The periodical issued prints of his work, making them accessible and affordable to a wide audience.

Huie also made a name for himself as a landscape painter. Like his interest in seeing artistic value in black subjects and cultural expressions, Huie was equally devoted to representing the specific color and light of different parts of Jamaica's landscape with accuracy and sensitivity, recording how landscapes changed in appearance at different parts of the day and during different local seasons. Trained in Canada by J. E. H. McDonald and Frank Carmichael, two founding members of the Group of Seven, a "national school" devoted to art inspired by and reflective of Canada, Huie sought to reapply their lessons to his island home. He used the qualities derived from keen observation of Jamaica's unique geography to create his landscape paintings.

Since the late 1930s, Huie has worked prolifically as an artist, exhibiting locally and internationally, winning acclaim at home and abroad. As early as 1939, he won the Bronze Prize for the painting *Counting Lesson* at the New York World's Fair. He was also nationally recognized with a Musgrave Silver Medal in 1958, Gold Musgrave Medal of the Institute of Jamaica in 1974, the Order of Distinction in 1975, and with a retrospective exhibition at the National Gallery of Jamaica in 1979.

See also Art in the Anglophone Caribbean; Painting and Sculpture

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KRISTA A. THOMPSON (2005)

Huiswoud, Otto

October 28, 1893
February 20, 1961

Otto Huiswoud (sometimes spelled Huiswood) was born in 1893 in Suriname, the grandson of a slave. In 1912 he moved to the United States, where he worked as a trader in tropical products and, later, as a printer in Harlem. He then became involved with American socialist and Negro organizations. His earliest known affiliation was with a group surrounding the *Messenger,* a monthly magazine established by A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) and Chandler Owen (1889–1967) and published from 1917 to 1928. While urging American negroes to support the Russian Revolution, this group's leaders rejected the Communists' greater emphasis on class struggle, rather than on racism, in addressing the plight of blacks. Also associated with the *Messenger* were Cyril Briggs and Richard B. Moore, who in 1919 founded a nationalist organization called the African Blood Brotherhood, which Huiswoud also joined briefly. He accompanied its more radical members when they left the *Messenger* group and joined the American Communist Party, which was just taking shape.

Huiswoud is most often mentioned as the first black member of the Communist Party USA. In 1922 he was a member of the American delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern). While there, he was elected an honorary member of the Moscow City Council and had a rare audience with Lenin, who was already mortally ill. Huiswoud was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA, and later to the Executive Committee of Comintern. In 1927 he studied at the Lenin School in Moscow, one of the political institutions founded to train elite communist leaders. Comintern then assigned him as its primary organizer for the Caribbean region. At the meeting of the Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928 he was one of the several black delegates who helped formulate the official policy on nationalism, urging creation of independent black soviet republics in the southern United States and in southern Africa. This policy, called "Self-Determination in the Black Belt," stressed that the "Negro question" had to be viewed as primarily a class question related to colonialism and not as a race question. It was adopted despite having scant support from black delegates. Two years later Huiswoud openly challenged this position in an article titled "World Aspects of the Negro Question," published in the February 1930 issue of *The Communist.*

Another important post with Comintern followed in 1934 when he became the editor of the *Negro Worker,* the

organ of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. In this he succeeded the Trinidadian George Padmore (1902–1957) the founder of the *Negro Worker,* who was expelled from the Communist Party for failing to follow the party line. This monthly had been based in Hamburg, but flight from the Nazis prompted moves to Copenhagen and then Paris from 1936 to 1938. During these years Huiswoud and his British-Guianese wife, H. A. Dumont, traveled through the European cities with uncertainty concerning the welcome they would receive from nervous local authorities. In 1935 they were in the Netherlands, only to move back to New York in 1938, then back to Suriname in 1941, when Huiswoud's health required a warmer climate. Upon his arrival in Paramaribo in January, however, the authorities arrested him without charges and detained him for twenty-two months in an internment camp whose mixed population of Nazis, Jewish refugees, and antifascists reflected the political uncertainty common to a number of European colonies during World War II. After the war, he and his wife moved finally to the Netherlands. There he took a job with PTT, the national communications company, and he was a leader in the Surinamer community, serving for years as president of the nationalistic association *Ons Suriname* (Our Suriname), and collaborating with the two other main like-minded groups, *Wie Eegie Sanie* (Our Own Things) and the *Surinaamse Studenten Vereniging* (The Surinamer Student Union). He died in the Netherlands in 1961.

See also African Blood Brotherhood; Communist Party of the United States; *Messenger, The*

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ALLISON BLAKELY (2005)

Hunter-Gault, Charlayne

February 27, 1942

As the creator and chief of the Harlem bureau of the *New York Times* in the late 1960s, journalist Charlayne Hunter-Gault sought to move media coverage of African Americans away from stereotypes to in-depth, realistic, and accurate stories. Born in Due West, South Carolina, Hunter-Gault became the first black woman admitted to the University of Georgia, graduating in 1963 with a degree in journalism. Her career has included work with *The New Yorker* magazine, NBC News in Washington, D.C., and PBS's *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*. Hunter-Gault has also taught at the Columbia University School of Journalism. Her distinguished career has brought her a number of important honors: She has won two Emmy Awards, for national news and documentary film; was named the Journalist of the Year in 1986 by the National Association of Black Journalists; and was the 1986 recipient of the George Foster Peabody award. In 1992 she published her autobiography, *In My Place*. In 1999, Hunter-Gault became the Johannesburg Bureau Chief for CNN South Africa, where she continues to create award-winning reports about African people, society, culture, and politics.

See also Journalism

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Hunton, William Alphaeus, Jr.

September 18, 1903
January 13, 1970

Political activist and educator William Alphaeus Hunton Jr., was born in Atlanta, Georgia. After the Atlanta race riot of 1906 Hunton's parents, William Hunton Sr., and Addie Waites Hunton, moved the family to Brooklyn, New York. He received his B.A. from Howard University in 1924. Two years later, Hunton graduated from Harvard University with an M.A. in English and accepted a position as an assistant professor in Howard's English department.

Hunton taught at Howard for over fifteen years, earning a Ph.D. from New York University in 1938 in the process. As a member of Howard's faculty, Hunton participated in the general intellectual activism prevalent at Howard during this period. He was a member of the national executive board of the National Negro Congress (NNC) and remained involved even after the moderates left the NNC and the organization was increasingly dominated by the Communist Party. Thereafter, Hunton was closely associated with the public positions of the party. In 1941 the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), a congressional committee investigating supposed subversive behavior, accused Hunton of Communist Party membership. After leaving Howard in 1943, Hunton moved to New York City, got married, and became the director of education for the Council on African Affairs (CAA).

While with the council, Hunton prepared and wrote pamphlets, produced news releases, and lobbied international organizations on African issues. In the late 1940s he was active in lobbying the United Nations to prohibit South Africa from annexing South West Africa (now Namibia); he also protested the visit of South African prime minister Jan Smuts to the United States in 1946. Other South African campaigns included an attempt to improve conditions for black South African mineworkers.

In 1951 Hunton and other leftists formed the Civil Rights Bail Fund, which provided bail for those unwilling to give names to HUAC. After refusing himself to provide the names of contributors to the fund, Hunton was sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court in July 1951. In 1953 the federal government, citing the CAA's aid to the African National Congress and its ongoing ties to the Communist Party, ordered the council to register as a subversive organization. Continued harassment led Hunton to disband the CAA two years later.

Despite the closing of CAA, Hunton remained interested in African affairs, and in 1957 he published *Decision in Africa: Sources of Current Conflict.* Late the following year he attended the All African People's Conference in Ghana and did not return to the United States until August 1959, after extensive tours of Africa, Europe, and his first of many trips to the Soviet Union. In May 1960 Hunton and his wife moved to Conakry, Guinea, where he taught English in a lycée. After less than two years, the Huntons moved to Accra, Ghana, at the behest of W. E. B. Du Bois, who required Hunton's aid with his *Encyclopedia Africana* project. Du Bois died in 1963 before the project was complete. Hunton and his wife were deported after Kwamé Nkrumah's government fell during a military coup in 1966. After briefly returning to the United States, the Huntons settled in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1967. He lived there until his death from cancer in early 1970.

See also Atlanta Riot of 1906; Intellectual Life

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hurston, Zora Neale

January 7, 1891
January 28, 1960

The folklorist Zora Neale Hurston was born in Notasulga, Alabama, and grew up in Eatonville, Florida, the first black incorporated town in America. For reasons that remain unknown, she claimed 1901 as the date of her birth, increasing the mystery and complexity of the woman who in the 1930s produced the single most significant novel on the nature of black female identity in the group's journey from slavery to freedom. Her father, a carpenter and Baptist preacher and a signer of Eatonville's charter, was elected mayor for three terms in succession. Her mother, formerly a country schoolteacher, taught Sunday school but spent most of her time raising her eight children. In Ea-

Zora Neale Hurston. *The novelist and anthropologist is seen here during her period of greatest productivity, the late 1930s and early 1940s, when she wrote* Mules and Men, Their Eyes Were Watching God, *and* Dust Tracks on a Road. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

tonville, unlike in most of the South at the turn of the century, African Americans were not demoralized by the constant bombardment of poverty and racial hatred, and Hurston grew up surrounded by a vibrant and creative secular and religious black culture. There she first learned the dialect, songs, folktales, and superstitions that are at the center of her works. Her stories focus on the lives and relationships among black people within their communities.

Harlem Renaissance

The death of Hurston's mother in 1904 disrupted her economically and emotionally stable home life, and a year later, at fourteen, she left home to take a job as a maid and wardrobe assistant in a traveling Gilbert and Sullivan company. She separated from the company in Baltimore, found other work, and attended high school there. In 1918 she graduated from Morgan Academy, the high school division of Morgan State University, and entered Howard University in Washington, D.C., where she took courses intermittently until 1924. The poet Georgia Douglas Johnson and the philosopher Alain Locke were two of her teachers. Her first story, "John Redding Goes to Sea" (1921), appeared in *Stylus,* Howard's literary magazine.

Hurston arrived in New York in 1925, at the height of the Harlem Renaissance. She soon became an active part of the group of painters, musicians, sculptors, entertainers, and writers who came from across the country to participate in Harlem's unprecedented flowering of black arts. She also studied at Barnard College under anthropologist Franz Boas and graduated with a B.A. in 1928. Between 1929 and 1931, with support from a wealthy white patron, Mrs. Osgood Mason, Hurston returned to the South and began collecting folklore in Florida and Alabama. In 1934 she received a Rosenwald Fellowship and in 1936 and 1937 received Guggenheim Fellowships that enabled her to study folk religions in Haiti and Jamaica. She was a member of the American Folklore Society, the Anthropological Society, the Ethnological Society, the New York Academy of Sciences, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Based on her extensive research, Hurston published *Mules and Men* (1935), the first collection (seventy folktales) of black folklore published by an African American. A second volume, *Tell My Horse* (1938), came out of a two-month stay in Haiti and contains a poetic account of Haitian history, political analyses of contemporary events in the region, and a vivid and exciting section on Vodou as a sophisticated religion of creation and life. Her most academic study, *The Florida Negro* (1938), written for the Florida Federal Workers Project, was never published.

Franz Boas and Mrs. Mason stimulated Hurston's anthropological interests—interests that gave her an analytical perspective on black culture that was unique among black writers of her time—but she was also fully vested in the creative life of the cultural movement around her. Her close friends included Carl Van Vechten, Locke, Langston Hughes, and Wallace Thurman, with whom she coedited and published the only issue of the journal *Fire!!* Appearing in November 1926, its supporters saw it as a forum for young writers who wanted to break with traditional black ideas. Coincidentally, *Fire!!* was destroyed by a fire in Thurman's apartment.

Body of Work

Hurston's first novel, *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934), the story of a Baptist preacher with a personal weakness that leads to his unfortunate end, reveals the lyrical quality of her writing and her mastery of dialect. Her protagonist, modeled on her father, is a gifted poet/philosopher with an en-

> *Zora Neale Hurston*
>
> "What all my work shall be, I don't know either, every hour being a stranger to get as you live it. I want a busy life, a just mind and a timely death."
>
> *DUST TRACKS ON A ROAD: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.* PHILADELPHIA: J.B. LIPPINCOTT, 1942, P. 294.

viable imagination and speech filled with the imagery of black folk culture. He is also a vulnerable person who lacks the self-awareness to comprehend his dilemma.

For its beauty and richness of language, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) is Hurston's art at its best. Her most popular work, it traces the development of its heroine from innocence to the realization that she has the power to control her own life. An acknowledged classic since its recovery in the 1970s, it has been applauded by both black and white women scholars as the first black feminist novel. *Moses, Man of the Mountain* (1939), Hurston's third and most ambitious novel, makes of the biblical Israelite deliverance from Egypt an exploration of the black transition from slavery to freedom. Taking advantage of the pervasiveness of Moses mythology in African and diaspora folklore, Hurston removes Moses from scripture, demystifies him, and relocates him in African-American culture, where he is a conjure man possessed with magical powers and folk wisdom. The novel tells the story of a people struggling to liberate themselves from the heritage of bondage. In *Seraph on the Suwanee* (1948), Hurston's last and least successful work, she turns away from black folk culture to explore the lives of poor white southerners. The story revolves around a husband and wife trapped in conventional sexual roles in a marriage that dooms the wife's search for herself.

Dust Tracks on a Road (1942), Hurston's autobiography, is the most controversial of her books; even some of her staunchest admirers consider it a failure. Critics who complain about this work identify its shortcomings as its lack of self-revelation, the misleading personal information Hurston gives about herself, and the significant roles that whites play in the text. Other critics praise it as Hurston's attempt to invent a narrative self as an alternative to the black identity inherited from the slave narrative tradition. Poised between the black and white worlds, not as victim of either but as participant-observer in both, her narrative self in *Dust Tracks* presents positive and negative qualities from each. From this perspective, *Dust Tracks* is a revisionary text, a revolutionary alternative women's narrative inscribed into the discourse of black autobiography.

Reviews of Hurston's books in her time were mixed. White reviewers, often ignorant of black culture, praised the richness of her language but misunderstood the works and characterized them as simple and unpretentious. Black critics in the 1930s and 1940s, in journals like the *Crisis,* objected most to her focus on positive aspects of black folk life. Their most frequent criticism was the absence of racial terror, exploitation, and misery from her works. Richard Wright expressed anger at the "minstrel image" he claimed Hurston promoted in *Their Eyes Were Watching God.* None of her books sold well while she was alive, and throughout her lifetime she experienced extreme financial stress.

Hurston and her writings disappeared from public view from the late 1940s until the early 1970s. Interest in her revived after writer Alice Walker went to Florida "in search of Zora" in 1973 and reassembled the puzzle of Hurston's later life. Walker discovered that Hurston's final return to the South occurred in the 1950s when, still trying to write, she supported herself with menial jobs. Without resources and suffering from the effects of a stroke, in 1959 she entered a welfare home in Fort Pierce, Florida, where she died in 1960 and was buried in an unmarked grave. On Walker's pilgrimage, she marked a site where Hurston might be buried with a headstone that pays tribute to "a genius of the South." Following her rediscovery, the once-neglected Hurston rose into literary prominence and enjoys wide acclaim as the essential forerunner of black women writers who came after her.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Harlem Renaissance; Literary Magazines; Literature of the United States

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NELLIE Y. MCKAY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Hutson, Jean Blackwell

September 7, 1914
February 4, 1998

Curator and later chief of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library for thirty-two years, Hutson was responsible from 1948 to 1980 for developing the world's largest collection of materials by and about people of African descent. She also publicized the poor physical condition of the building in which Schomburg's rare materials were stored. The result was a new climate-controlled building, quadruple the size of the old, which opened in September 1980.

Jean Blackwell was born in Summerfield, Florida, to Paul and Sarah Blackwell. Her father was a farmer and produce merchant and her mother a teacher. From the age of four she lived in Baltimore, where she graduated from Douglass High School as valedictorian in 1931. After three years at the University of Michigan, she transferred to Barnard College, graduating in 1935. She received a master's degree in library service from Columbia University the following year, and in 1941 a teacher's certificate, also from Columbia. After twelve years of working at various branches of the New York Public Library, Blackwell came to the Schomburg Collection on a six-month assignment in 1948. She was married to Andy Razaf, the song lyricist, from 1939 to 1947, and to John Hutson, a library colleague, from 1952 until his death in 1957. She stayed until 1980, when she was named assistant director of collection management and development for black culture for the research libraries. She retired in February 1984.

Hutson lectured on black history at New York's City College from 1962 to 1971. Invited by Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's president, she was at the University of Ghana from 1964 to 1965 to help build their African collection. She held memberships in the American Library Association, the NAACP, the Urban League, and Delta Sigma Theta sorority. She was a founder and first president of the Harlem Cultural Council. Among many awards, Hutson received an honorary doctorate from King Memorial College in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1977, and was one of the seventy-five women portrayed in the photographic exhibition "I Dream a World" in 1989. She was honored by Barnard College in 1990 and by Columbia University's School of Library Service in 1992. The State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo offers a library residency program named for her. On January 28, 1995, at Hutson's eightieth birthday celebration, the Schomburg Center named the main reading room for her to recognize her contribution.

See also Archival Collections; Schomburg, Arthur

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BETTY KAPLAN GUBERT (1996)
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I

Identity and Race in the United States

Personal identities are created through individuals' interactions with their social and material worlds. This view of identity suggests that individuals neither rely solely on their own resources nor simply succumb to definitions imposed on them by others to make sense of whom they are. Identity, or the processes of defining one's self in a world where others are doing the same, is a complex, interactive dynamic that involves the interplay of psychological (internal) and social (external) forces. In addition, in a world that is characterized by unequal power relationships, the question of identity is an inherently political one. This is especially true in the United States, where questions of identity are thoroughly implicated in America's culture wars and in what it means to be a respectable member of society.

In addition, matters of race have always been central to what it means to be American. That this process is subject to negotiation is perhaps best illustrated in James Baldwin's 1985 essay "The Price of the Ticket." The "ticket," according to Baldwin, is the granting of rights and privileges by which we define what it means to be a citizen of the United States; the "price" is to become "white," a decision that entails sacrificing any cultural markers that designate one as different from the mainstream of society. From this perspective, the question of race and identity in America, on the one hand, is a matter of assimilation. On the other hand, the question of race and identity concerns the possibility of challenging the cost of admission to mainstream society, or altering the terms of what Baldwin calls the "dimwitted ambition [that] has choked many a human being to death here" (1985, p. xx). Whatever the case, the psychological, social, material, and political dimensions that shape race and identity in America are brought into particular relief when viewed through the lens of black history and life in the United States.

Africans in Antebellum America

There is general agreement among historians that approximately ten million African captives were brought to the Americas between the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth century. The first Africans brought to North America were members of agrarian polities of West and West Central Africa. Africans from the more organized states with central governments and armies were also among the initial wave of captives, but, being more elusive, they were captured in fewer numbers. After the legislative end of America's par-

ticipation in the slave trade in 1808, Africans were still illegally brought to the United States until the 1850s. Later captives were largely "unseasoned" Africans who were imported mainly from Central Africa directly to the southern regions of the United States.

Societal perceptions of Africans in America changed during the 1700s from a multiform population of "different" people to a uniform population of "inferior" people. This change was spurred by shifting demographics in the New World and by the desire of the elites to maintain social order in ways that served their interests. Order was established through the creation of a racial social hierarchy that was enacted through interrelated political, economic, and cultural processes. Politically, legislators passed laws that denied black people en masse basic rights and privileges accorded to most white Americans. Economically, black people were denied the right to own property, even to the extent that it meant control over their own bodies. Culturally, governmental, religious, and literary institutions converged to produce widespread imagery that shaped popular views of black people as essentially inferior to white people and as deserving of their political disenfranchisement and economic subordination. These societal views of black people were reinforced during the late nineteenth century as academic disciplines became professionalized and university-trained experts disseminated "scientific" knowledge that only reinforced extant imagery that depicted people of African descent as inferior.

Of course, black people themselves always have had a say about whom they were and forged identities to combat social prescriptions from a myriad of resources they had at their disposal. Some of these resources originated in the autochthonous African cultures from which they were removed and which they offered as the distinctive lore of black culture that was transmitted to each generation of New World Africans. Black people also tapped into the cultures of the Americas, those of European ethnic populations as well as those of indigenous populations, to make sense of who they were. In short, captive Africans forged a range of colonial and antebellum black identities. For example, in a 1792 letter to Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state, the celebrated mathematician Benjamin Banneker wrote, "Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye" (Aptheker, 1990, p. 24). The grandson of a former indentured white female servant and a manumitted slave of African nobility, Banneker chided Jefferson for his failure to extend liberty to the masses of the enslaved Africans in his midst. Or, consider George Bentley. In 1859 a Tennessee newspaper writes that Bentley, a slave, was "black as the ace of spades" and a "preacher in charge" of a large congregation comprised almost exclusively of slaveholders. In contrast to the ideology espoused by Banneker some seven decades earlier, Bentley was an enslaved southern proslavery parson who refused to allow the church he led to purchase him from his master's family.

The elegies of eighteenth-century poet Phillis Wheatley and the slave narratives of captive women such as Harriet Jacobs and Elizabeth Keckley further extend and complicate questions of race and identity among Americans of African descent in colonial and antebellum America. In addition, clandestine antislavery activities among captive and free Africans during the same periods, black religious and social organizations of the late eighteenth century, and the network of African Free Schools of the late-1800s also provided resources for black people to establish a wider range of identities than those imposed on them by the broader society. The means and capacity for black people to speak for themselves notwithstanding, their almost absolute political and economic subordination prior to Emancipation, prevented them from altering their dominant social identities as a uniform class of inferior human beings.

Black Identity and Double Consciousness

The Souls of Black Folk by W. E. B. Du Bois, written at the turn of the twentieth century, remains the most influential work to engage both the dominant scholarship on and popular notions about black identity. Du Bois's notion of black identity is captured in the widely quoted passage from the 1903 classic:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at the self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.
>
> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious humanhood, to merge this double self into a better and truer self. (Du Bois, 1903, p. 3)

In Du Bois's conception of identity, American culture and Negro, or black, culture represent two distinct and irreconcilable spheres of life. This notion is not a novel idea, however. Scholars point to the strong influence of the philosophical ideas of romanticism and of the concepts of early American psychology on Du Bois's formulation of double-consciousness. Scholars such as Hazel Carby also argue that Du Bois's intellectual formulations were restricted by his uncritical commitment to social norms that privileged both the perspectives of white men and the culture of the white upper-middle class. Though such commitments manifested at times in Du Bois's disparaging view of women and black folk culture, the influence of his work on black-identity scholarship in all fields representing the humanities and social sciences is nonetheless remarkable. The Du Boisian conundrum that characterizes what it means to be black in America is evident in diverse contributions, such as Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man* (1952), E. Franklin Frazier's sociology, and Kenneth and Mamie Clark's psychology. Du Bois's notion of double-consciousness also shaped public life, as was evident in the U.S. Supreme Court's consideration of the Clarks' social scientific research in its 1954 landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Of course, Du Bois's conception of identity did not go uncontested by contemporaneous scholars and social movements. For example, social and cultural black nationalist movements from 1900 to 1950, such as the Harlem Renaissance, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the Nation of Islam, complicated popular notions of identity shaped by the influence of Du Bois. In addition, such individuals as anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston and linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner produced scholarship that demonstrated the essential role of distinct black cultures, even those that originated in Africa, in the formation of African-American identity. These and other cultural influences allowed black women, for instance, to carve out the psychic space for what Darlene Clark Hine called the development of a new, but unheralded, collective black women's oppositional consciousness that was appropriate in the era of Jim Crow.

Identity and Black Power

The black social movements of the first half of the twentieth century paved the way for those movements of the 1960s and 1970s that provided an even greater challenge to dominant characterizations of black identity in the United States. Of course, the 1954 Supreme Court ruling was significant along these lines, contributing to the increase in the number of black students at white universities and colleges by the late 1960s. However, black students did not simply gain access to these institutions. Once there, they also challenged normative assumptions about society, including those about race and identity in America. Such a challenge necessarily entailed an examination of what it meant to be white. In his famous 1963 essay "A Talk to Teachers," James Baldwin brought into bold relief the relational character of identity and how the assertion of black identities necessarily called into question the nature of white identities. According to Baldwin, "So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe that I'm a 'nigger' and I *don't*, and the battle's on! Because if I am not what I've been told I am, then it means that *you're* not what *you* thought you were *either!* And that is the crisis" (Baldwin, 1985, p. 329). In ideological terms, students attended more to matters of self-definition and self-determination than to those of integration. The pressures that these students exerted on their institutions eventually resulted in the eruption of black studies programs at predominately white colleges and universities across the country, beginning with San Francisco State University in 1968 and many others, including Harvard, Yale, and Ohio State, in 1969.

Significantly, in the 1970s William E. Cross began to develop his theory of *nigrescence*, or of "becoming black," to explain the development of identity among black college students. This theory, which enjoys great currency among contemporary researchers, educators, and counselors, charts the movement of individuals through five to six stages of ideological metamorphosis. These stages of identity development generally occur across three major levels of awareness or cognitive organization: *pre-encounter, encounter,* and *post-encounter*. During the pre-encounter stage, societal values and conceptions of what it means to be black dominate an individual's sense of self. Movement onto a subsequent level occurs when individuals encounter an event or events that compel them to confront questions of race in society. This stage describes a transitional period in which individuals may reassert their identification with the dominant white culture or resort to uncritically accepting things associated with black culture and repudiating institutions and values associated with the white culture. Some individuals remain in the stages of the encounter level, while others move on to a post-encounter level. Here, individuals come to terms with black culture in ways that do not necessarily entail the rejection of white culture. In addition, persons on the post-encounter level are less reactionary and generally refocus their energy from wanton aggression toward groups and individuals that they perceive to be different to directed anger against racist and oppressive groups and institutions.

Scholars such as Darlene Clark Hine, Paula Giddings, Elizabeth Higginbotham, and others demonstrate in their

respective works that most models of identity produced in the wake of the Black Power movement, such as Cross's, typically equated the experiences of black males with the experiences of black people. They argue that, consequently, these models imposed yet another restrictive social identity on African Americans, especially black women. In contrast to its typical treatment in history, psychology, black cultural studies, and popular culture, identity, according to some writers, is shaped by the "intersecting" or "interlocking" experiences of race, gender, class, and sexuality in the everyday lives of individuals. For instance, the social and material processes that shape the identities of black women are likely to be qualitatively different from those that shape the identities of black men. In addition, the various aspects of one's social location, or "positionality," may contribute to one's identification with ideas, beliefs, goals, attitudes, or opinions shaped by different and, in some instances, even conflicting, ideological systems. For example, it is conceivable that during the high-profile O. J. Simpson trials of the mid-1990s, a black woman could simultaneously identify with the defendant, a black male, based on shared experiences around racial injustice, and empathize with the victim, a white woman, based on shared experiences around domestic violence.

Some writers, such as Higginbotham, point to similar restrictions placed on the identities of black women in women's studies programs that are rooted in the discipline's almost exclusive focus on gender relations as a source of oppression. Other writers, such as Audre Lorde and E. Frances White, point to the heterosexism of dominant notions of black identities and the concomitant erasure of gay and lesbian experiences in the scholarship. Similarly, filmmaker Marlon Riggs confronted the identification of blackness with a hypermasculinity born of the 1960s Black Power movement in *Black Is. . .Black Ain't* (1994). Finally, White critiqued identity models born of these movements and points to respectability—that is, the conventions that regulate sexual norms in Western Europe and the United States—as undermining the capacity of these movements and the scholarly traditions they inform to embrace the full range of identities that constitute black humanity.

Multiracial Identities in the Twenty-First Century

The idea of race and identity in America is further complicated by the fact that nature knows no color lines, which has resulted in the creation of an African-American population whom the award-winning journalist and writer Itabari Njeri calls the "New World Black." Njeri believes that all African Americans with nonblack ancestry, especially white, should own up to and embrace their diverse heritage. In her view, since this implicates the vast majority of black people in the western hemisphere, such a move would normalize what African Americans often construe as exotic within their communities (e.g., offspring of interracial unions) and would put an end to what she calls "the official silence on America's historically miscegenated identity" (1993, p. 38). Certainly, most Americans of African descent recognize their diverse racial lineage, or at least have some sense of the possibility of it. However, at the same time they may be loathe to identify themselves as other than black or African American. That many black people do not socially identify with the multiple aspects of their racial or ethnic heritage may be attributable to any number of reasons. For instance, some argue that to do so is meaningless in a world of fixed categories in which the one-drop rule is in full effect.

As evidence of this, they might point to golfing sensation Eldrick "Tiger" Woods and his run at the 1997 Masters Tournament at Augusta National Golf Club in Augusta, Georgia. During the media fanfare surrounding the event, Woods consistently pointed out to journalists that he was both black and Asian, owing to the respective backgrounds of his father and mother. However, as Woods approached the final rounds en route to a record victory at this major professional golf tournament, the media typically pointed to his significance as the first African American to win such an event and rarely, if ever, acknowledged his Asian ancestry or multiracial heritage. Perhaps the most memorable incident that reified the media's treatment of Woods's race occurred when fellow golfer Fuzzy Zoeller commented on the phenom's impending victory. Addressing the media throng at the end of his own thirty-fourth-place run at the title, Zoeller made the following remarks about the eventual Masters champion: "That little boy is driving well and he's putting well. He's doing everything it takes to win. So, you know what you guys do when he gets in here? You pat him on the back and say congratulations and enjoy it and tell him not to serve fried chicken next year. Got it? Or collard greens or whatever the hell they serve" (Cable Network News, 1997). In addition to pointing to the intransigent nature of race and identity in America, as evident in the accounts of the media's and Zoeller's behavior toward Woods, black individuals might point out that their nonblack ancestors are too remote in their lineage to identify them with any precision. Or, in the event that such ancestors could be identified, with rare exception, the relationships are such as to render them socially and culturally meaningless in contemporary society.

A related matter concerns other black individuals who challenge normative assumptions about race. These

are black persons who are presumptively white; that is, black people who, because of their physical characteristics, are assumed to be white on first meeting them. In such instances, the black self-identities of such individuals may be dramatically inconsistent with the white identities that others, black and nonblack alike, reflexively and inflexibly impose on them. Challenging normative assumptions about race has profound psychological, social, and political implications, as brought into bold relief in James Weldon Johnson's classic *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912), the equally memorable Douglas Sirk film *Imitation of Life* (1959), and the landmark 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling that established as federal policy "separate but equal." Kathe Sandler's film documentary *A Question of Color* (1992) and the autobiographies *Black Notebooks* (1997) by Toi Derricotte and *Life on the Color Line* (1995) by Gregory Williams provide examples of this phenomenon in contemporary American society. That some of the individuals in the aforementioned examples, as well as in society in general, deny their black heritage and "pass" for white highlights the fact that race and identity in America also involve some element of choice. In a related vein, Creoles of Louisiana comprise a mixed-heritage "black" population that challenges normative assumptions about race. Although the use of Creole among African Americans fell from common usage after the Louisiana Purchase (1803), it was revived after the Civil War, when former free blacks sought to distinguish themselves from emancipated slaves, and the term is still used as a marker of racial hybrid identity in contemporary society.

It is clear that the masses of black people have always acknowledged the fluid sexual boundaries that have resulted in a sizable mixed-race population within the race. Since the late 1980s, however, a growing multiracial social movement has become more vocal along these lines and has given voice to the non-Creole black population of mixed racial heritage. Proponents of contemporary multiracial social movements, such as the Association of Multiethnic Americans and the Multiracial Category Movement, advocate on behalf of persons born of interracial unions and those who self-identify as either biracial or multiracial. In addition, they advocate federal recognition of multiracial categories, arguing that the racial and ethnic makeup of the country has changed considerably since 1977 when the United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) authorized Statistical Policy Directive Number 15. Directive 15 established the standards for the four racial categories that have since become commonplace in the United States: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, and White. In addition, the directive established two categories of ethnicity: Hispanic origin and Not of Hispanic origin.

The multiracial social movement was given a boost in 1997 when, following his victory at the Masters Tournament and in the wake of the Fuzzy Zoeller fiasco, Tiger Woods and his father appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. During the taped session, Winfrey asked Woods and his father about their views on the racial significance that the media had attached to the tournament. Woods replied by expressing dismay with the media's insistence on labeling him simply as African American, noting that he was black, Thai, Chinese, white, and American Indian. He also recalled that, as a child, in an effort to capture his rich heritage when identifying himself, he created a new label. Elaborating on this point, Woods stated: "Growing up, I came up with this name. I'm a 'Cablinasian.'" Members and sympathizers of multiracial social movements, including lawmakers, seized on Woods's comments in support of their advocacy to change the 2000 U.S. census to reflect the changing demographics of America. However, some civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, argued that the myriad combinations resulting from the new categories could dilute estimates of historically protected racial populations. Not only would underestimation of these populations result in the loss of their political clout, opponents of changes to the census argued that new formulas could also curtail the enforcement of civil rights laws and the allocation of funding for such governmental programs as health care, education, and public transportation in ways that would disproportionately burden black people, other people of color, and the poor.

In response to growing criticism of its 1977 standards, in 1997 the OMB initiated a review of Directive 15 and in October of that year announced revised measures for collecting federal data on race and ethnicity. The minimum categories for race as of 2005 were: American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Black or African American; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; and White. The 2000 census also included a sixth racial category: Some Other Race. The two minimum categories for ethnicity remained intact: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. Also, instead of allowing a multiracial category, as was originally suggested in public and congressional hearings, the OMB began to allow respondents to select one or more races when they self-identify.

Despite the public rhetoric and legislative activity that contributed to the revision of OMB Directive 15, the multiracial population counted in the 2000 census was relatively small—only 6.8 million people or slightly more than 2 percent of the total population. This group included a considerable number of Latinos; in fact, 2.2 million La-

tinos selected more than one box—nearly one-third of the 6.8 million who selected two or more races. This is not unusual, as "Hispanic" or "Latino" represents an ethnic category on the census and historically those who have identified with this group also have chosen additional categories to qualify their ethnic identities in accordance with their diverse racial identities as Mexican-American, Cuban-American, Dominican, or Puerto Rican, to name several.

Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, matters of race and identity have always been central to what it means to be American. Further, these matters are thoroughly imbricated with psychological, social, and material significance. Given the power dimensions that inhere in the ways identities are created and re-created, these matters have always been contested, with the battle occurring largely on cultural fronts. It is notable, then, that nearly 97 percent of those who checked more than one box in the 2000 census identified themselves at least partially as white, such as white and American Indian, white and Asian, white and black, and white and other. The significance of these choices remains to be seen. However, they do raise important questions about the character that race and identity will assume in twenty-first-century America: Do such decisions augur badly for a nation of Americans still willing to pay the price of the ticket? Or, do they point to democratic possibilities in which difference is embraced as a norm in the new millennium?

See also Afrocentrism; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Folklore, Masculinity; Migration; Race, Scientific Theories of; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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GARRETT ALBERT DUNCAN (2005)

Immigration

See Migration

Indian, American

See Black-Indian Relations

Innis, Roy

June 6, 1934

Civil rights activist Roy Emile Alfredo Innis was born in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, and moved to New York City with his mother in 1946. He served in the army for two years during the Korean War and attended the City College of New York from 1952 to 1956, majoring in

chemistry. He worked as a chemist at Montefiore Hospital in New York City. In 1963, Innis joined the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an interracial civil rights organization committed to nonviolent direct action. In 1964 he became chairman of the chapter's education committee. He advocated community control of public schools as an essential first step toward black self-determination. He was elected chapter chairman the following year and proposed an amendment to the New York State constitution that would provide an independent school board for Harlem. In 1967 he was one of the founders of the Harlem Commonwealth Council, an organization committed to supporting black-owned businesses in Harlem. He served as the organization's first executive director.

Innis became one of the leading advocates of black nationalism and Black Power within CORE, and in 1968 he was elected CORE's national director. He took control of the organization during a period in which its influence and vitality were declining. Under his leadership, which was characterized by tight centralization of organizational activities and vocal advocacy of black capitalism and separatism, CORE's mass base further declined. Despite this fact, Innis remained in the public eye.

Innis popularized his ideas as coeditor of the *Manhattan Tribune*—a weekly newspaper focusing on Harlem and the Upper West Side—which he founded with white journalist William Haddad in 1968. Later that year he promoted a Community Self-Determination bill, which was presented before Congress. He received national attention in 1973 when he debated Nobel Prize–winning physicist William Shockley on the issue of black genetic inferiority on NBC's late-night *Tomorrow Show*.

In 1980, after former CORE members led by James Farmer mounted an unsuccessful effort to wrest control of the organization from Innis, he consolidated his hold over the organization by becoming national chairman. By this time Innis's polemical oratory, his argument that societal racism had largely abated, and his support of Republican candidates placed him in the vanguard of black conservatism. In 1987 he received much notoriety for his support for Bernhard Goetz, a white man who shot black alleged muggers on a New York subway, and his championing of Robert Bork, a controversial U.S. Supreme Court nominee who had opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

Innis entered the political arena in 1986 when he unsuccessfully ran for Congress from Brooklyn as a Democrat. In the 1993 Democratic primary, he unsuccessfully challenged David Dinkins, the first African-American mayor of New York City, and he then became a vocal supporter of Dinkins's Republican challenger, Rudolph Giuliani, who won the election. In 1994 Innis celebrated his twenty-fifth year of leadership of CORE. Innis has remained active, traveling to Nigeria from 1996 to 1998 to monitor elections.

See also Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Dinkins, David; Farmer, James

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Institute of the Black World

A research institute in black studies, located in Atlanta, the Institute of the Black World was originally a project of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change. In 1969 the institute became an independent organization. Committed to scholarly engagement in social and political analysis and advocacy, the institute sought to foster racial equality as well as African-American self-determination and self-understanding. It placed particular emphasis on exploring the role of education in the African-American movement for social change. In the 1990s, under the leadership of historian Vincent Harding, the institute conducted research, trained scholars, organized conferences and lectures, and issued publications, as well as produced radio programs, a taped lecture series, and other audiovisual materials. It also encouraged black artists and developed teaching materials for black children. One of its projects was the Black Policy Studies Center. The institute was located in a house where W. E. B. Du Bois once lived.

See also Black Studies

DANIEL SOYER (1996)

Insurance Companies

Historically, African-American-owned insurance companies have their roots in the numerous fraternal orders and mutual aid societies that existed in the early history of the United States. These societies were formed among free blacks to provide security during times of hardship. African Americans banded together to care for the sick, widowed, and orphaned, and to administer burial rites. In 1780 free blacks formed the African Free Society in Newport, Rhode Island, to care for indigent members of their community. Seven years later Richard Allen and Absalom Jones formed the Free African Society of Philadelphia, which operated under a formal constitution. Members paid one shilling monthly. Mutual aid societies also existed in the South. In 1790 free mulattoes in Charleston, South Carolina, organized the Brown Fellowship Society, which, aside from caring for widows and orphans, maintained a cemetery and credit union.

Often church related, these mutual aid societies were the only place to which blacks could turn for financial protection. Evidence of the need for such security was given by the fact that over a hundred such societies existed in Philadelphia alone in 1849. Premiums ranged from about $.25 to $.35 and benefits from $1.50 to $3 per week for sickness, $10 to $20 for death.

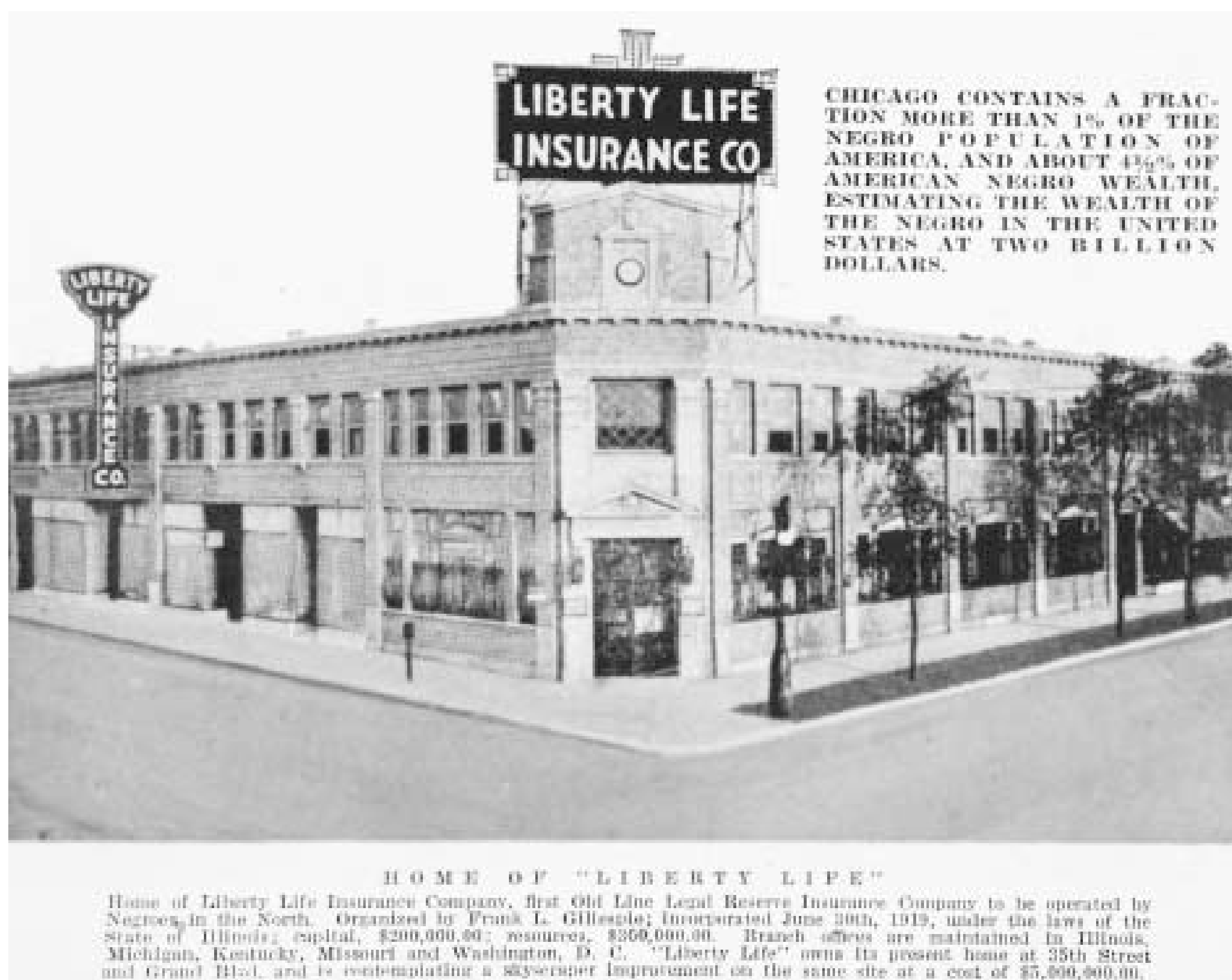
The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the transformation of mutual and fraternal aid societies into modern insurance companies—though fraternal societies such as the Masons, the Knights of Pythias, and the Oddfellows would remain an important source of insurance among the African-American community until the 1930s. One of the most important African-American reformers was William Washington Browne, who in 1881 founded the Grand United Order of the True Reformers in Richmond, Virginia. Browne, a former slave and preacher, formed the True Reformers to promote "happiness, peace, plenty, thrift, and protection." The society became quite popular, reaching a membership in the 1890s of 100,000 people in eighteen states. Browne's reforms included using mortality tables—though based on crude statistics—to set premium rates. Like other successful black entrepreneurs, he used the income from his organization to found other businesses, including a bank, a hotel, a department store, and a newspaper.

A great number of insurance associations founded in the upper South during the late nineteenth century can be traced to former associates and employees of Browne. These include Samuel Wilson Rutherford, who founded the National Benefit Insurance Company of Washington, D.C., in 1898; Booker Lawrence Jordan, who helped to create the Southern Aid Society of Richmond in 1893; and John Merrick, who founded what became the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1898. Newer insurance companies lost the fraternal and ritualistic side of the earlier societies; they were, for the most part, state-chartered insurance corporations.

Another entrepreneur, Thomas Walker, brought similar innovations to mutual aid associations in the lower South. Walker, also a former slave and preacher, organized the Union Central Relief Association of Birmingham in 1894 (it had previously been known as the Afro-American Benevolent Association). Walker tied benefits to premiums and selected policyholders with care; he sent a stream of African-American agents traveling throughout the South to secure insurees.

These enterprises were formed at least in part out of expediency. Many white-owned insurance companies refused to insure blacks, whom they regarded as too high a risk. The reluctance of white companies to insure black lives was based in part on the widespread poverty and the higher mortality rate among blacks. Those that did sell insurance to African Americans usually offered them inferior policies. In 1881 the white-owned Prudential Insurance Company calculated a mortality rate among blacks that was 50 percent higher than that of whites. In turn, it offered policies to blacks that paid only one-third of the benefits whites received for the same premiums. Despite these policies, most black-owned firms had trouble competing with their larger white-owned counterparts, even among black insurees. Calls for support of black-owned businesses had only limited appeal. National white-owned firms appeared to offer a stability and security that black firms could not match. In 1928 the white-owned Metropolitan of New York had twenty times more insurance on African-American lives than the largest black-owned insurance company.

The difficulties of black insurers were magnified by the fact that, due to the relative poverty of their policyholders, they were forced to compete almost exclusively in the field of industrial insurance—a type of insurance in which insurees paid a small weekly premium of only a few cents and received a small return. Industrial insurance had been introduced in the United States by the white-owned firms The Provident and John Hancock in the 1870s. It was popular among working-class people who could not afford large annual premiums for term and whole life insurance; for blacks, industrial insurance was most often purchased to provide money for proper burial ceremonies. Industrial insurance incurred high operating costs, largely because agents had to make weekly trips to the homes of policyholders. This cost was made worse for black agents,



Liberty Life Insurance Building, Chicago, c. 1925. *Founded in 1919 by Frank L. Gillespie, Liberty Life was the first black-owned insurance company in the northern United States.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

who, at the turn of the century, were forced to travel on Jim Crow cars and stay in out-of-the-way, unsanitary hotels.

Industrial insurance also lent itself to fraud and abuse, including especially forfeiture, whereby customers who missed two or more consecutive payments would lose their entire policies. Complaints about the improprieties of insurance companies—both industrial and ordinary—led to a series of investigations throughout the industry. The best known were the 1905 Armstrong investigations, which revealed malpractice, fraud, and mismanagement in the workings of New York State's (and the nation's) largest life insurance companies. The trials led to stricter regulation in many states, such as larger cash reserve requirements, which many black-owned companies found difficult to meet.

Given these new requirements, the higher costs of selling industrial insurance, and the lack of reliable data on black mortality, many black-owned firms were unsuccessful. A small number of black-owned insurance companies founded in the early twentieth century proved more enduring. These included North Carolina Mutual (1898) and Atlanta Life (1905). The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company was founded in Durham, North Carolina, by John Merrick. Its agents worked strictly on commission and sold industrial insurance almost exclusively. It formed offices in surrounding cities—Chapel Hill, Hillsborough, Raleigh, Greensboro—and after five years of business had over 40,000 policyholders. North Carolina Mutual also began the practice of reinsuring financially distressed black-owned societies. This became particularly true when stricter state regulation of mutual-assessment organizations came about in the early twentieth century.

By 1907 it claimed, with some justification, to be the "Greatest Negro Insurance Company in the World."

One reason North Carolina Mutual was able to secure such business was the strength of its agency force. Charles Clinton Spaulding, who would later serve as president of North Carolina Mutual, was made general manager in charge of agents in 1900. He advised the company to publish a monthly newspaper to advertise and motivate agents. He also oversaw devotional meetings at which agents and other employees sang such songs as "Give Me That Good Ol' Mutual Spirit" to the tune of "Give Me That Old-Time Religion." These sales meetings, along with other trappings of modern business culture, straddled the line between the church-bound mutual aid societies of the past and the secularized business practices of the present. Because of its prominence, North Carolina Mutual was important in the black community—even outside of business circles. It established a savings bank and employment bureau, and erected a highly visible headquarters. By 1920 North Carolina Mutual had grown to the extent that it employed 1,100 people.

Another successful black-owned insurance company founded in the early twentieth century was the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, organized by Alonzo Herndon in 1905. Herndon, born in 1858 in Georgia, had spent seven and a half years of his life as a slave. Like North Carolina Mutual's founder, John Merrick, Herndon had made a fortune through the ownership of barbershops. Active in black intellectual movements, Herndon became friends with Booker T. Washington and attended the first Niagara Conference in 1905 under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois. In the company's first year, Atlanta Life secured 6,324 policyholders. Between 1922 and 1924 Atlanta Life entered a half dozen new states, most in the lower South. Although the majority of its business was in industrial insurance, Atlanta Life opened an ordinary department in 1922. That same year, it became the first black company to create an educational department to teach agents salesmanship and the technical aspects of insurance and accounting.

Less successful in the long term than either of these was the Standard Life Insurance Company, founded in 1913 by Herman Perry. Standard Life was the first black company organized for the purpose of selling exclusively ordinary life insurance. It had an explosive beginning, with phenomenal sales that by 1922 had brought the company more than $22 million of insurance in force. Perry, however, expanded the operation to include a number of different businesses, including real estate, printing, pharmaceutical, and construction firms. This expansion proved ruinous to cash reserves, and Perry was forced to sell to the white-owned Southeastern Trust Company in 1924, despite the efforts of several black businessmen to retain ownership within the African-American community.

The migration of blacks to northern cities after World War I brought new opportunities for black-owned insurance companies. Several northern companies were founded: The Supreme Life Insurance Company (1921) and the Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Association (1927) were founded in Chicago; the United Mutual Life Insurance Company (1933) was founded in New York. Some southern-based companies, such as Atlanta Life, began selling policies in the North (in this case, in Ohio, and later, Michigan). In 1938 North Carolina Mutual, for the first time, sent agents north of Baltimore.

Black insurance enterprises suffered greater losses during the depression than did white enterprises, in part because they dealt almost exclusively in industrial insurance. A total of 63 percent of all insurance carried by Negro companies in 1930 was industrial, in contrast to only 17 percent for white companies. Black industrial policyholders generally had very little wealth and were forced to give up policies at the onset of hard times. The major black firms of the 1930s experienced a lapse rate for industrial insurance nearly 350 percent higher than for ordinary insurance. Victory Life and National Benefit Life, which had been founded in 1898 by Samuel Rutherford, both failed, while Supreme Liberty Life switched from ordinary insurance to enter the industrial market. Throughout its relatively brief history as a business, insurance had largely been dominated by men, but women had held high positions in companies, and black-owned insurance companies seemed to offer more opportunities to women than did their white counterparts. In 1912 nearly one-fourth of North Carolina Mutual's agents were women; at the white-owned Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, only one woman was employed as an agent before the mid-1940s. At the start of World War II, as more and more men entered war-related industries or were drafted, opportunities for women agents increased. In Philadelphia, a woman, Essie Thomas, led all other agents in sales for North Carolina Mutual.

With improved prosperity at the end of World War II, black families became better prospects for insurance sales. More and more white-owned firms courted blacks and eliminated or reduced premium differentials. White firms began to hire agents away from black-owned firms to solicit the new black middle class. In 1940 the vast majority of white underwriters still refused to insure blacks at all, and of the fifty-five that did, only five did so at standard rates. By contrast, in 1957, over 100 white companies

competed for black policyholders, often at standard rates. While the overall growth rate of black-owned insurance companies slowed after 1960, there was a corresponding rise in the number of black-owned companies from fifteen in 1930 to forty-six in 1960.

Some black-owned firms, such as North Carolina Mutual, began to lessen their appeals to black solidarity—to the annoyance of black separatists. In the 1960s North Carolina Mutual was allowed to join the American Life Convention and Life Insurance Association. Black-owned companies also began selling other forms of insurance, such as group insurance offered to large employers. Although group insurance was first introduced early in the twentieth century, it did not become popular until the 1930s. The group insurance market proved a difficult one for minority-owned companies to enter. Few, if any, black enterprises employed a hundred or more workers, and white-owned companies were reluctant to sign on with a black-owned company. For this reason, many black-owned insurers had to remain outside the group market until the 1970s, when they were aided by affirmative action laws.

Golden State Mutual of Los Angeles became the second largest black insurance company in the United States, largely due to its success in group sales. Founded in 1925 by William Nickerson, Jr., Norman O. Houston, and George A. Beavers, Jr., Golden State Mutual had remained fairly small for several decades, with operations in only six states. Between 1968 and 1970, its group business grew tremendously, expanding from $59 million to $202 million. North Carolina Mutual also recorded great increases in business due to group insurance; in 1971 it became the first black company with over $1 billion insurance in force.

The 1980s saw difficulties continue for black-owned insurance firms. Reduced federal aid to low-income families (the main policyholders of black insurers) made even industrial policies difficult to afford. Premium receipts dropped 0.92 percent from 1987 to 1988 for the insurance industry as a whole; for black-owned insurance companies, the drop in premium receipts was 7.83 percent. Two strategies for survival emerged among black-owned insurance firms. The first, practiced by North Carolina Mutual and Atlanta Life, was to acquire new insurees through acquisition of smaller black-owned insurance companies. In 1985 Atlanta acquired Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company (founded in 1915 in Louisville, Kentucky), and in 1989 it acquired Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance Company (founded in 1898 in Augusta, Georgia). In all, from 1977 to 1989, eleven black-owned insurance companies were merged or acquired. Golden State Mutual—operating in California, Hawaii, Florida, and Minnesota—followed another strategy. It attempted to sell term, whole life, and universal life to the middle-income market rather than the low-income market, which was the mainstay of Atlanta Life and North Carolina Mutual. Golden State greatly reduced the number of its personnel (from 760 employees in 1984 to 410 in 1988, not including commissioned sales staff), and hired college-educated agents. It also began television advertising campaigns starring football star Herschel Walker.

With the onset of a recession, the early 1990s proved particularly hard for many black-owned insurance companies. At that time twenty-nine black-owned insurance companies were operating in the United States; together, they held $23 billion of insurance in force. The largest were North Carolina Mutual, Atlanta Life Insurance, and Golden State Mutual Insurance. United Mutual Life, the eleventh largest black-owned insurance company in the country, was acquired by the white-owned Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York in 1992. It was the last black-owned insurance company in the Northeast.

See also Allen, Richard; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Economic Condition, U.S.; Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Fraternal Orders; Jim Crow; Jones, Absalom; Mutual Aid Societies; North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; Spaulding, Charles Clinton

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WALTER FRIEDMAN (1996)

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Whether cast as attempts to document African-American mind, worldview, racial philosophies, or cultural mythos, nearly all scholarly studies of black intellectual life have acknowledged—as this article will—the functional importance of formal and informal educational institutions and the central ideological role of the quest for freedom and equality. The diffusion of this latter complex of ideas through African-American communities, its crystallization in folk thought, in religion, in popular culture, and

in social movements, plays as important a role in understanding African-American intellectual life as studying the history of black intellectuals as a social entity; and this article attempts to balance these approaches. It also recognizes that in African-American life and throughout the modern world, intellectuals themselves, as a professional category, employ, with relatively greater frequency and dexterity than most of their peers, symbol systems of broad scope and abstract reference concerning humanity, society, nature, and the cosmos. But because the social history of black Americans has severely restricted their formal practice of intellectual occupations, the performance of these roles has frequently been assumed by individuals practicing nonintellectual occupations. Accordingly, the deeply rooted human need to perceive, experience, and express value and meaning in particular events—through words, colors, shapes, or sounds—has manifested itself in black intellectual life only partially in professional works of science, scholarship, philosophy, theology, law, literature, and the arts. Without implying any absolute separation of literature, music, and the arts from African-American intellectual life, the task of delineating the fuller role of these expressive modes and their individual intellectual expositors will be left to the various specialized articles devoted to them particularly.

Despite contrary misconceptions, African Americans originated in Old World African societies with a wide spectrum of intellectual traditions, literate as well as oral, and in which even the most rudimentary and relatively undifferentiated communities created recognized institutional niches for the intellectual functions that are expressed in art and interpretive speculation. In the large, highly differentiated kingdoms of the Western Sudan and Central Africa, specialized intellectual leaders—ofttimes institutionalized in guilds or professional castes—defined the cosmologies in which the individual and group were conceptually located; they helped to identify and regulate the occurrence of evil; to legitimate the powers and responsibilities of authority; to preserve and explain society's past; to transmit analytical and expressive skills to the young; to guide and critique aesthetic and religious experiences; and to foster the control of nature.

The era of European New World colonization and the accompanying Atlantic slave trade dramatically disrupted the intellectual lives of Africans caught up in it; but throughout the history of the United States, African Americans have created syncretic intellectual lives often at the cutting edge of literary, artistic, and scientific creativity. Slavery notwithstanding, every era has produced individual representatives of what Benjamin Brawley termed "the Negro genius," whose intellectual and moral capacities provided crucial armaments in the ongoing "literature of vindication" that reformers and abolitionists initially mounted to defend African Americans against persisting theories of their innate inferiority. Inevitably, developments in African-American intellectual life have continuously been shaped by the problems and possibilities affecting American intellectual life generally. These have included the modernizing, secularizing forces that have moved the life of the mind in America from a colonial intellectual setting dominated by Christian divines and isolated scientific prodigies to a twentieth-century context variously identified with communities of bohemians, exiles, government-service intellectuals, and university professors. African-American intellectual life has evidenced also the tendency before the mid-twentieth century for intellectuals to believe themselves to be agents of progress, whether in the form of millennialism, republicanism, high culture, or social science methodology. This Enlightenment legacy has persisted in contradistinction to the modern tendency for the earlier progressivist faith to be replaced by doubt, and the formerly unifying vision and influence of American thinkers to be diminished by fragmentation and narrow expertise. Not surprisingly, the phases of African-American intellectual life have been delimited by the shifting conditions and recurring crises in black social history as well as by such larger contrapuntal developments; though manifest social exigencies have lent the progessivist faith and the struggle for a unifying vision more than conventional staying power in the intellectual world of African-American communities.

Colonial and Revolutionary America

During the colonial and Revolutionary era, the circumstances of slavery shaped African-American intellectual life in specific ways. First, slavery rigorously suppressed African culture, its languages and institutions of intellectual discourse, and drove surviving oppositional intellectual forms underground. Second, the repudiation in the American colonies of the Greco-Roman tradition of the erudite slave and the corollary prohibitions against literacy, stultified the development of Western intellectual skills and opportunities for the vast majority of African Americans. Third, strict social control of even quasi-free black intellectuals was attempted through both de jure laws and de facto discrimination. Fourth, as a consequence, an African-American tradition of sacred and secular folk thought in sermons, tales, aphorisms, proverbs, narrative poems, sacred and secular songs, verbal games, and other linguistic forms became the primary matrix for historicizing, interpreting, and speculating about the nature and meaning of society and the cosmos. Toward the end of the colonial

period, however, the emergence of the earliest professional black intellectual voices was fostered by two broad cultural developments in the British colonies—the Great Awakening (approximately 1735–1750) with its unifying religious fervor, millennial progressivism, and missionary appeal to African Americans and Native Americans; and then the revolutionary political ferment that accompanied the spreading Enlightenment doctrine of the Rights of Man: life, liberty, and equality. African Americans quickly grasped the relevance to their own circumstances of the democratic dogma and revolutionist rhetoric that transfixed colonial legislatures and the Continental Congress; and during the War of Independence, while weighing the loyalist appeals and promises of emancipation from British colonial governors, black men and women sponsored petitions to legislatures, court cases for individual freedom, and platform oratory calculated to convert the professed revolutionary faith of rebel American slaveholders into direct challenges to American slavery itself.

During the decades following the War of Independence, the growth of autonomous black churches, schools, and fraternal and burial societies in the free North (Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, especially) and in selected southern cities (New Orleans; Charleston S.C.; and Savannah) created the initial context for formal development of group intellectual life. In early African-American churches a vital intellectual tradition of intense striving for contact with the sacred focused on the mastery, interpretation, and exposition of biblical writings, with a distinctive strain of exegetical "Ethiopianism" apparent as early as the 1780s. Identifying Africans in American bondage with Israel in biblical Exodus became a controlling metaphor in secular as well as sacred African-American literature; and the Ethiopian prophecy of Psalms 68:31—"Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall yet stretch out her hands unto God"—became the dominant sermonic text offered to answer the omnipresent question of theodicy. This problem of explaining the divine purpose of black suffering—while simultaneously separating the slaveholders' religion from "true Christianity"—became the pivotal heuristic of antebellum black religious thought and the foundation of a distinctive African-American theology. Some of the initial virtuoso intellectual action by African Americans arose out of such religious preoccupations or out of conversion experiences fused with the political ferment of revolution: the neoclassicist verse of Phillis Wheatley; the sermons and letters of the Congregationalist minister Lemuel Haynes; the antislavery autobiography of Olaudah Equiano, for example. Prior to the establishment of black secular education, the quest for literacy was fueled by religious impulses and facilitated by free black churches or by the "invisible church" in slave communities. And in New York City between 1787 and 1820, the African Free School, with white missionary support, provided formal education for hundreds of students such as Ira Aldridge, who went on to international fame as a Shakespearean actor.

But Free African societies and fraternal orders like the Prince Hall Masons also provided a counterconventional intellectual matrix—for mastering the secular and sacred freethought traditions of the Radical Enlightenment, in which the proselytizing mythographers of freemasonry and Renaissance hermeticism offered African-American free thinkers secret access to a "perennial philosophy" that hypothesized an unbroken continuity with, and a reverential attitude toward, the esoteric symbol systems and pagan wisdom literatures of ancient North Africa and the Orient. No less significant, the influence of Enlightenment science and technological innovation created a milieu in which perhaps the most variegated black intellectual career of the eighteenth century could evolve—that of Benjamin Banneker, mathematician, naturalist, astronomer, inventor, almanac compiler, surveyor, and essayist.

The Age of Abolition

In the nineteenth century the movement toward autonomous institutions in free black communities, North and South, continued. But the most significant developments for African-American intellectual life were the successive appearances of, first, widespread protest between 1817 and 1830 against the mass black deportation schemes of the American Colonization Society; second, the opening phase of the National Negro Convention Movement, from 1830 to 1840; and third, the emergence of militant black abolitionism, from 1843 to the onset of the Civil War. Alongside the growth of stable, northern free black communities, these developments provided the broadest context to date for the fruition of African-American intellectual skills and activities. Besides spurring the general acquisition of forensic and oratorical prowess, the anticolonization movement helped forge a vital journalistic tradition with the development of the nation's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*—cofounded in 1827 by the college-trained, Jamaica-born John Russwurm, and Samuel cornish, a Presbyterian minister. Anticolonization activities also provided the impetus for the strain of radical political exhortation that erupted in David Walker's insurrectionist Appeal in Four Articles (1829), the nineteenth-century prototype for militant repudiation of white racism and black acquiescence.

The National Negro Convention Movement, which began with six annual aggregations between 1830 and 1835 (all save the fifth in Philadelphia), gave African-

American intellectual life its first major coordinated organizational thrust—by providing linkages between the roughly fifty black antislavery societies then in existence; by creating a rationale for boycotts organized by newly established "Free Produce Societies" against the products of slave labor; and by founding temperance and moral reform societies and African missionary groups. With the revitalization of American abolitionism after the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies in 1833, the ground was laid for a militant black abolition struggle that, beginning with the Negro national convention of 1843, developed increasing intellectual autonomy from the antislavery program of William Lloyd Garrison. Over the next two decades, black abolitionism moved ideologically toward programmatic insurrectionism and nationalist emigrationism, as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 made central in African-American philosophical debate the political issues surrounding the juridical denial of American citizenship rights and nationality to even native-born free black people.

The final three antebellum decades also witnessed an array of organized intellectual activities by newly formed African-American literary societies and lyceums in northern free black communities. The New York Philomathean Society, founded in 1830, the Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons, in 1833, as well as groups in midwestern and border cities, like the Ohio Ladies Education Society, started private libraries and organized debating and elocution contests, poetry readings, and study classes variously devoted to promoting "a proper cultivation for literary pursuits and improvement of the faculties and powers" of the mind. As early as 1832 the African-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston provided a platform for pioneering moral reformer and black feminist lecturer Maria Stewart; and the Benjamin Banneker Society in Philadelphia sponsored regular lecture series on political, scientific, religious, and artistic issues.

These expanding institutional supports for black intellectual life facilitated the careers of the two most extensively educated figures of the antebellum era—Alexander Crummell, Episcopal clergyman and Liberia mission leader; and James McCune Smith, university-trained physician, abolitionist, editor, essayist, and ethnologist—both products of the African Free School and of advanced training outside restrictive American borders. The early pan-African scholarship of St. Thomas-born Edward Wilmot Blyden; the pioneering political essays and fiction of Martin Delany; the voluminous racial uplift, moral reform, and women's rights lectures and belletristic works of Frances Ellen Watkins Harper—all reflect the expanding audiences and material support for African-American intellectual actions and performances that accompanied the broader ferment in American culture during the era of romanticist and transcendentalist ascendancy. No less than their Euro-American counterparts, Jacksonian-era black intellectual leaders espoused a providential view of history that afforded them a special worldwide mission and destiny. Beginning with Robert Benjamin Lewis's *Light and Truth; Collected from the Bible and Ancient and Modern History* (1836, 1844) and James Pennington's *Text Book of the Origin and History of the Colored People* (1841), a tradition evolved of popular messianic historiography by self-trained "scholars without portfolio," many of them Christian ministers, who drew eclectically on sacred and profane sources in ecclesiastical accounts, in the new romantic national histories, and in the archaeological and iconographic data vouchsafed by the rise of modern Egyptology during the early nineteenth century, following the discovery and decipherment of the Rosetta stone.

Although racial codes through the South greatly restricted black intellectual life, in Louisiana the language and intellectual traditions of French culture persisted during the antebellum era, with members of the African-American elite ofttimes acquiring an education in France itself and choosing expatriate status there over caste constraints in America. The career of New Orleans scientist-inventor Norbert Rillieux, whose innovations in chemical engineering revolutionized the international sugar-refining industry, developed in this context, as did the dramaturgy of Victor Séjour, a leading figure in the black Creole literary enclave, *Les Cenelles* (The Hollyberries), which emerged in New Orleans during the 1840s. Although no specifically belletristic literary movement appeared in northern free black communities, literary traditions in poetry, autobiography, and the essay extended back into the eighteenth century; and the final antebellum decade witnessed the publication of the earliest extant African-American novels and stage plays. The northern free black community of New York City served as the site of Thomas Hamilton's pioneering *Anglo-African Magazine* (1859), an outgrowth of the publisher's lifelong ambition to provide an independent voice representing African Americans in "the fourth estate," and a vehicle for skilled historical essays, biographical sketches, fiction, critical reviews, scientific studies, and humor by such eminent antebellum black luminaries as Edward Wilmot Blyden, Martin Delany, Frances Harper, James Theodore Holly, George Vashon, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, and John Mercer Langston.

The most influential product of African-American intellectual life during the era, however, was the twin stream of slave narratives and spiritual autobiographies that apo-

theosized the complementary ideologies of abolition and moral reform through biblical motifs of captivity and providential redemption related compellingly by such figures as William Wells Brown, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Jarena Lee, and Solomon Northrup. In their assault on the legal and historical pretexts for slavery, self-authored slave narratives in particular (as opposed to those transcribed by white amanuenses) cultivated an assertive facticity about the horrors of bondage and a subjective ethos of faith, adaptability, and self-reliance that gave expressive mythic structure to an evolving African-American corporate identity. In the narratives by black abolitionist leaders like Douglass, Samuel Ringgold Ward, and Sojourner Truth, slave autobiographies revealed their close alliance also with oratory as a political instrument and a molder of group consciousness. Evidencing often distinctive uses of the "plain style" or the flamboyant rhetoric of the golden age in American platform oratory, formal public utterances by African Americans during the final antebellum decades lend greater credence to the claims of intellectual historians that the national consciousness was created and stabilized, policies for westward expansion formulated, the rights of women conceived, the slave power consolidated and then broken, all through the egalitarian processes of public address—ceremonial, hortatory, deliberative. Black Americans during the years leading to the Civil War heard, pondered, read aloud, and committed to memory their favorite orators. And passages learned from Wendell Phillips's thousandfold lectures on Toussaint Louverture, from annual West Indian Emancipation Day observances, from Frederick Douglass's Fourth of July oration, and from African School texts of classical rhetoric prepared African Americans intellectually to respond, with arms and labor, when Lincoln finally appealed for their support to help save the Union.

Reconstruction through the 1890s

The Civil War and Emancipation dramatically recast the contours of African-American intellectual life. The decade of Reconstruction optimism focused the thought of black communities largely on the equalitarian possibilities of the franchise, on education, on the acquisition of property and wealth, and on the cultivation of those qualities of character and conduct conducive to "elevating the race" within the body politic. Freedmen's Bureau professional occupations and the emerging constellation of black colleges and universities created new matrices for black intellectual life within corporate intellectual or practical institutions. During the following decade, one index to the shifting intellectual balance appeared with the publication of the *AME Church Review* (1884), which for the next quarter century, under the successive editorships of Benjamin Tucker Tanner, Levi Coppin, and Hightower Kealing, would become the premier magazine published by and for African Americans and would be transformed from a church newspaper to a national scholarly journal of public affairs. It featured biblical criticism and theology, wide-ranging editorial opinions, articles on pan-African history and American civic issues, as well as black poetry and fiction and popular essays, all attuned to "the intellectual growth of our people" and carefully uniting sectarian and increasingly nonsectarian interests in the purpose of giving to the world "the best thoughts of the race, irrespective of religious persuasion or political opinion." Coterminously, a stream of articles and books on biblical interpretation by authors such as the Reverend James Theodore Holly, John Bryan Small, and Sterling Nelson Brown (father to the poet) confronted the hermeneutical practices and canonical assumptions of late nineteenth-century biblical higher criticism with allegorical, christological, typological, and historical challenges to traditionally anti-black exegeses of Jahwist traditions such as the so-called curse of Ham.

While black institutions like churches, fraternal societies, and conventions continued to foster intellectual activities, perhaps a better index of post-Reconstruction developments—and of the secularizing intellectual tendencies in particular—appeared with the formation in 1897 of the first major African-American learned society, the American Negro Academy, in Washington, D.C. It was constituted as "an organization of authors, scholars, artists, and those distinguished in other walks of life, men of African descent, for the promotion of Letters, Science, and Art." The Academy published twenty-two occasional papers over the next quarter century on subjects related to African-American culture, history, religion, civil and social rights. Its all-male membership spanned the fields of intellectual endeavor; and besides its first president, Alexander Crummel, it ultimately included such important intellectual leaders as Francis J. Grimké, a Princeton-trained Presbyterian clergyman; W. E. B. Du Bois, professor of economics and history at Atlanta University; William H. Crogman, professor of classics at Clark University; William S. Scarborough, philologist and classicist at Wilberforce University; John W. Cromwell, lawyer, politician, and newspaper editor; John Hope, president of Morehouse College; Alain Locke, Harvard-trained philosopher, aesthetician, and Rhodes Scholar; Carter Woodson, historian and Howard University dean; and James Weldon Johnson, poet, novelist, songwriter, and civil rights leader. Interrelated developments in institutionalized black intellectual life included the founding of the Atlanta University

Studies of the Negro Problems in 1896, the American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia in 1897, the Negro Society for Historical Research in 1912, and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915. Moreover, these institutions were frequently closely linked to the nationwide orbit of educational and reform activities sponsored by the more than one hundred local black women's clubs that had been founded by leaders such as Mary McLeod Bethune, Lucy Laney, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Ida Wells-Barnett, and Nannie Burroughs and then federated in 1896 as the National Association of Colored Women. Nannie Burroughs, for instance, demonstrated the various intellectual intersections in her subsequent coterminous service as a life member of Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

No less important, the expanding literacy of the black audience during the educational fervor that followed Emancipation generated new opportunities for black intellectual entrepreneurs like the minister-pamphleteer-novelist Sutton Griggs and artist-intellectuals like dramatist-journalist-fictionist Pauline Hopkins. They created intellectual products and performances devoted to racial solidarity and to a widening interracial marketplace of progressivist art and ideas. Following a decade of post-Reconstruction struggle against reaction, in the 1890s a cluster of significant events coalesced that expressed in a variety of intellectual and artistic media the new dynamic of black independence and self-assertion: In 1895, Booker T. Washington galvanized national attention with his Atlanta Exposition speech. In 1895 also, "Harry" Burleigh was assisting Antonín Dvorák with the black folk themes of the *New World Symphony* and at the same time making his entry into the New York concert world. In 1896 Paul Laurence Dunbar emerged as a leading poetic voice; and painter Henry Ossawa Tanner marked the beginning of his first substantial Paris recognition. In the same year a pioneering black musical comedy premiered on Broadway. In 1898 Will Marion Cook introduced "serious syncopated music" with *Clorindy*; and the Anglo-African composer, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, achieved maturity and fame with the first part of his *Hiawatha Trilogy*. And in 1898 and 1899 Charles Chesnutt, the novelist, inaugurated the first fully professional career of a black fiction writer. The appearance in 1903 of W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* became a synthesizing artistic event of this period and one that spurred, perhaps for the first time, an ascendancy to black national leadership on the basis of intellectual performance alone.

The era's famous Washington-Du Bois controversy highlighted not just the partisan intraracial ideological differences over political, educational, and economic strategies but the changing role and increasing prominence of secular intellectuals in black America generally—Washington's rise paralleling the emergence of an anti-intellectual, industrial-minded, managerial Euro-American elite and Du Bois's ascendancy paralleling that of a coterie of Arnoldian "elegant sages" who assumed the roles of national culture critics and prophets. Between African-American and Euro-American intellectuals of either orientation, however, the continuing predominance of conflict rather than the consensus over issues of racial justice also continued to parallel the still entrenched segregation of American intellectual and institutional life; and such conflict expressed itself through the continuing ideological and iconographical war over racial imagery in all the artistic and scholarly media of the period, a pattern that remained essentially unaltered until the intercession of World War I.

Renaissance and War

The emergence after World War I of the first major African-American cultural movement gave evidence of a self-identified intellectual stratum of "New Negroes." It was structured, first, by new sources of financial support and patronage for the performers of intellectual actions. Second, a cadre of secular leaders had developed—university-trained philosophers and social scientists such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, and Charles S. Johnson and activist organizers like Marcus Garvey—who superintended the intellectual performances from bases in corporate intellectual institutions (primarily black colleges and universities) or in practical institutions like the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). These developments were reinforced by the less formal creation of salons like A'Lelia Walker's "Dark Tower," of the "Negro Sanhedrin" at Howard University, and of coteries of artists in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and cities distant from the "Negro Mecca" in Harlem. Third, the movement responded to patterns of rising consumer demand from white and black audiences alike for black intellectual objects and intellectual-practical performances. Fourth, new relationships had emerged between tradition and creativity in the various fields of intellectual action—modernism in the arts, and the rise in academia of the social sciences, the "new history," and new paradigms in physical science.

The increasing urbanization and industrialization of the nation generally, and the country-to-city Great Migration of African Americans in particular, combined with the emergence of popular culture and the new media technologies (radio, cinema, phonograph, graphic arts, etc.) to provide the culturally nationalistic "Black Renaissance," as

Langston Hughes termed it, an unprecedentedly "creativogenic" milieu with specific intellectual characteristics. The growth of mass audiences, and of new technical means for communicating with them, expanded the field of action for black intellectuals. The general reaction against standardization and conformity in American life, and the postwar openness to diverse cultural stimuli, which accompanied the further decline of prewar Victorianism, lowered the barriers to cross-cultural exchange. A modernist "cult of the new," which stressed *becoming* and not just being as a creative value, fostered experimental attitudes and improvisational styles for which jazz became an acknowledged exemplar. The growing shift of moral authority in vernacular culture from religious spirituals and parlor songs to secular blues and cabaret lyrics undergirded a pronounced generational rebellion against conventional sexual attitudes and gender roles in black communities and beyond. The freer access to cultural media for American citizens generally facilitated the emergence of independent African-American motion picture and recording companies. Among the cadre of Black Renaissance intellectuals, the conscious sense of greater freedom, following a legacy of severe oppression and near-absolute exclusion, had created a collective compensatory incentive to creativity. A movement ethos that apotheosized youth, a self-conscious exposure to different and even contrasting cultural stimuli from black immigrants and ideas elsewhere in the African diaspora, and a now-fashionable tolerance for diverging views and intense debate helped make the Black Renaissance manifestly creativogenic, despite its manifold constraints.

A destabilizing facet of African-American intellectual life during the period, however, was the widening gulf between intellectuals and traditional patterns of authority and religious orthodoxy inside and outside black communities. As intellectual historians generally concur, at the end of Reconstruction the lives of most Americans were still dominated by the values of the village, by conventional nineteenth-century beliefs in individualism, laissez-faire, progress, and a divinely ordained social system. But in the closing decades of the century the spread of science and technology, industrialism, urbanization, immigration, and economic depression eroded this worldview. Black intellectuals experienced increasingly the same tension with ecclesiastical and temporal authority that modern intellectuals in general have felt—the intellectual urge to locate and acknowledge an *alternative* authority which is the bearer of the highest good, whether it be science, order, progress, or some other measure, and to resist or condemn *actual* authority as a betrayer of the highest values. Traditions for defining or seeking new "sacred" values that won stronger allegiance among African-American intellectuals included: (1) the tradition of scientism, that of the new social sciences in particular, because of their attention to the race problem and their role in public policy; (2) the romantic tradition, specifically the cults of "Negro genius," of an Herderian apotheosis of "the folk," of countercultural bohemianism and the "hip"; (3) the apocalyptic tradition of revolutionism, millenarianism, and radical Pan-Africanism adapted to the contours of American life; (4) the populist tradition with its themes of the moral and creative superiority of the uneducated and unintellectual and its critique of bourgeois/elite society by its disaffected offspring; (5) the feminist tradition, variously reformist or radical, with its revisionary assault on conventional gender roles and on the hegemony of an ostensibly patriarchal social matrix rooted in female subordination; and (6) the anti-intellectual tradition of order (dissensual political and religious sects built on charismatic models and revitalizationist discipline—Garveyism, Father Divine, and the Nation of Islam), which ofttimes deems pronounced intellectualism to be disruptive.

Among these traditions of alternative authority, scientism, despite the increasing popularization of scientific ideas in the mass media, had acquired the broadest social prestige but the least democratized mechanisms of evaluation and reward. To the extent that its accomplishments were achieved through formal research in laboratory settings by research-degree holders, it retained the most uncertain footing in African-American intellectual life at the same time that it more and more supplanted achievement in the high arts as the greatest potential symbol of group capacities and progress. At the turn of the twentieth century, the most highly honored of all black scientists, the agricultural chemist George Washington Carver (1864–1943), symbolized the ambiguities that the issue of race introduced into scientific culture in America. The tensions between theoretical and applied science contributed to Carver's being derided by partisans of the former as more a concoctionist than a contributor to genuine scientific knowledge. The tensions between science and the Christian faith he espoused as a spur of his Tuskegee research placed him in conflict with the cult of scientific objectivity. And despite the revolutionary impact of that research on peanut and soybean derivatives for the economy of both the nation and the South, to many black proponents of nationalistic racial uplift, his characteristic humility and racial deference made problematic the role of such black scientists in group progress.

At the time, however, Carver's uncertain place in African-American intellectual life mirrored the uncertain place of scientists generally in American culture and progress, as revealed in the apparent "inferiority complex" of

American scientific culture in the international intellectual community at the turn of the century. That sense of national deficiency crystallized in a widely discussed article from the *North American Review* in 1902; this article lamented the inferiority of American scholarship and science relative to the European and noted that none of the great scientific achievements of the preceding century—the theory of evolution, the atomic structure of matter, the principles of electromagnetic induction and electrolytic action, the discovery of microorganisms, and the concept of the conservation of energy—had been the work of Americans, whose successes instead were largely derivative in the major sciences or were located in minor fields such as astronomy, geology, and meteorology.

Perceived deficiencies in the life of the scientific mind—and the manifest need for greater achievement—functioned analogously at the levels of nation and race, then, in the early decades of the twentieth century. Among African Americans, despite the pioneering doctorate degree in physics awarded Edward Bouchet at Yale University in 1876, a total of only thirteen physical or biological science doctorates had been earned prior to 1930. But in the next decade and a half a more than tenfold increase in earned science doctorates occurred, fueled primarily by doctors of medicine, among whom were pioneering research scientists such as Charles Drew (1904–1950; hematology) and Hildrus Poindexter (1901–1987; microbiology). An estimated 850 African Americans earned natural science doctorates by 1972; and at a fairly constant rate approximately one out of every one hundred American science doctorate holders would be African American into the 1990s. But because the social history of African-American scientists confined about 75 percent of them, as late as 1981, to employment at predominantly black institutions of higher learning—with limited laboratory facilities and research support and heavy instructional responsibilities—their primary role in African-American intellectual life has been to teach the sciences at those institutions, where the majority of black science doctorate holders have continued to receive their undergraduate training. Nevertheless, as recipients of scientific awards, as office holders or journal editors in scientific societies, as members of scientific advisory or research grant review committees, and as authors of textbooks, African-American scientists have achieved distinction in fields as diverse as aerospace science (NASA astronauts Drs. Ronald McNair and Mae Jemison, for example), organic chemistry, marine and cell biology. In the mathematical theory of games and statistical decisions, for instance, David H. Blackwell, the first black mathematician elected to the National Academy of Sciences, coauthored a pioneering textbook for the field in 1954, won the Von Neumann theory prize in 1979, and, for work as a Rand Corporation consultant, has been cited as one of the pioneers in the theory of "duels"—a two-person, zero-sum game involving the choice of the moment of time for firing in military conflict.

Besides the prestige and inherent intellectual attractions of the sciences and scientism, these fields, despite the persistence of racial discrimination within the world of professional researchers, offered African-American intellectuals careers in which the links between merit and acclaim were presumably established by "objective" standards of authority with "universal" provenience. The scientific tradition of rejecting tradition if it does not correspond with the "facts of verifiable experience" provided some black intellectuals the kind of "higher" authority that freed them to an increasing extent from the "priest-governed" black communities described by W. E. B. Du Bois. Such an outlook focused necessarily on the *methods* of science; but for natural scientists in particular, it failed to define concrete social objectives and social roles.

African-American intellectuals drawn to the social sciences, by contrast, found the then unquestioned social utility of the new sciences of society a source of continuity with the pre-twentieth-century "gospel" of progress and with associated meliorist, progressivist, or millenialist philosophies of racial uplift. Unlike the natural sciences, the place of the social sciences in African-American intellectual life was firmly established early during the development of black post-Reconstruction practical and educational institutions; and a tradition of prominent African-American achievement in the fields of economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, and psychology developed almost coterminously with the emergence and professionalization of these fields within the modern academy.

During the 1890s the earliest formal departments of sociology appeared in America, as did the first contributions of African Americans to the new discipline—both emerging amid a climate of extreme racism in popular and academic thought. The half century between the appearance in 1899 of W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro* and of St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis* in 1945 has been described as the golden age in the sociology of black America, with a series of path-breaking works by social scientists based at black colleges and universities. Du Bois's classic study of black Philadelphia was both the first scientific study of an African-American community—a precursor of the Atlanta University Publications series he later founded—and the pioneer work of American urban sociology. It spurred similar projects such as *The Negro at Work in New York City: A Study in Economic Progress* (1912), conducted by George Edmund

Haynes, one of the earliest black Ph.D. holders in sociology and an early proponent of black migration research. The period from World War I to the mid–1930s was dominated by the famous University of Chicago school of American sociology; and out of it a group of distinguished black sociologists and anthropologists—Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Bertram Doyle, St. Clair Drake, and Horace Cayton—emerged with major research works on black family sociology, race relations, social stratification, community development, southern plantation systems, migration patterns, and related topics. At Atlanta University, Ira De A. Reid, a specialist on West Indian immigration and rural plantation studies, succeeded Du Bois in conducting studies on urban African-American life and in training new researchers. E. Franklin Frazier, at Howard University (where a sociology department had earlier been established by Kelly Miller) and Charles Johnson at Fisk University commanded, like Reid, the resources necessary to develop strong sociology departments with graduate research programs. But at black institutions without resources for graduate study, strong undergraduate programs were built nonetheless by sociologists such as St. Clair Drake at Roosevelt College, Oliver Cox at Lincoln University, W. S. M. Banks and Earl Pierro at Fort Valley State College, and Mozell Hill at Langston University.

Though sociologists have outnumbered black social scientists in other fields, the middle decades of the twentieth century witnessed an expanding representation of African-American scholars in economics, political science, psychology, and anthropology. During the period from the 1930s to the 1960s economists such as Booker T. McGraw, Frederick Jackson, Rodney G. Higgins, Frank G. Davis, and Winfred Bryson Jr. developed careers as scholars and advisers to service organizations, businesses, and government, while Abram Harris, perhaps the most widely known black economist of the era, combined early service as an Urban League official with an academic career of research scholarship on the labor movement and black business development that culminated in his series of studies on social reform strategies in the economic philosophies of Thorstein Veblen, Werner Sombart, John Commons, Karl Marx, and John Stuart Mill. From the 1960s to the 1990s, as the sphere of black entrepreneurial activities and service opportunities expanded in the wake of the civil rights movement, African-American economists such as Bernard Anderson, Andrew Brimmer, Samuel Myers, Thomas Sowell, Clifton Wharton, and Walter Williams have played increasingly diverse roles in the academy, in private and public foundations, in conservative or liberal "think tanks," in political organizations such as the Congressional Black Caucus, and in a publishing industry eager for certified expertise in "the dismal science."

In economics, as in other social sciences like psychology and anthropology, however, black practitioners faced—with a difference—the dilemma that perplexed all fields of knowledge after the 1920s and 1930s, when scientism's leading edge—physics and mathematics—no longer epitomized the discovery of immutable natural laws but instead struggled with new uncertainties that undermined belief in fixed laws and principles. Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, Werner Heisenberg's "uncertainty principle," Kurt Gödel's demonstration that mathematical theories could not be verified without referring back to their own premises, all marked science, despite its spectacular technical achievements, as in some ways as metaphorical as the arts and incapable of vouchsafing ultimate principles for human action and judgment. Economic models that postulated rational patterns of buying and selling ignored irrational personal motivations such as race prejudice and circumvented central issues such as the effects of racist institutions on individual behavior.

In psychology, psychometric measures, regarded at the turn of the century as empirical propositions of enormous accuracy, had become so interwoven with ideological nativism, elitism, social class bias, and racism that as early as 1927 Horace Mann Bond found it necessary to denounce as "invidious propaganda" the then widespread psychometric "game" of testing black children for standardized notions of intelligence, for "racial temperament," and for dubious "mulatto hypotheses." Between 1920 and 1950 the roughly thirty black doctorate holders in psychology, beginning with Francis Cecil Sumner and his work on the psychoanalytical theories of Sigmund Freud and Alfred Adler, were drawn to a variety of research modes, from G. Henry Alston's experimental neurological examination of the "psychophysics of the spatial conditions for the fusion of warmth and cold into heat" to May Pullins Claytor's construction of questionnaires for detecting symptoms of juvenile delinquency. The training of African-American psychologists during the era was strongly influenced by the urgent social need for black teachers and social service workers. Corresponding tendencies led black colleges and universities to deemphasize the ascendant German-derived laboratory science curriculum in psychology that, at white institutions, subordinated the practical and applied sphere. Throughout this period Howard University's program in psychology, under the leadership of Francis Sumner, was the only black school providing graduate and undergraduate training in laboratory-experimental psychology. In the course of preparing such outstanding scholars as Mamie Clark and Kenneth Clark, it developed a strong curriculum based on the behaviorism of John Watson and the dynamic psychology of Freud and William McDougall. However, in psychology as in the

other social science disciplines, the diminishing likelihood that any one theory could ultimately disprove any other made relatively arbitrary such procedural choices; and the growing uncertainty of the concept of race itself as an operative term made the incursions of relativism even more pronounced.

In stressing the "cultural significance" of psychology—its importance for understanding "literature, religion, philosophy, art, crime, genius, mental derangement, history, biography, and all creations of the human mind"—the Howard program implicitly aligned itself with developing traditions of anthropological and folkloric study in African-American life that embraced the new notions of "cultural relativism" promoted by social scientists such as Franz Boas. Boas believed that "the idea of a 'cultured' individual is merely relative" to the system of meanings in which that individual grows up and lives and that such a belief liberates us from the normative prejudice that Western civilization is absolutely superior to others. After World War I, Boas and his students (who included the writer-folklorist Zora Neale Hurston) rejected genteel Victorian notions of culture that focused exclusively on the highest stratum of artistic expression by educated elites. They adopted instead a presumably detached viewpoint of culture as endemic to all human communities and perhaps better observed in everyday life and common emotions than in superordinate ideals or formalities.

The corresponding emphasis on folklore and folklife reinforced practices of cultural preservation that had become established in African-American intellectual life decades earlier. Groups of black scholars and students had been working actively to document and preserve African-American folk traditions since the 1880s and 1890s, when a black folklore group formed at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va., to collect African-American sacred and secular songs, proverbs, tales, and wisdom lore. In the 1920s and '30s, in conjunction with a burst of interest in American folklore scholarship generally, a group of professionally trained black folklorists emerged who gave new regional and genre focuses to the enterprise. In 1922 Fisk professor Thomas Talley published a large collection of play songs, proverbs, and verbal art in his *Negro Folk Rhymes*; in 1925 an African musicologist and composer from Sierra Leone, Nicholas Ballanta-Taylor, who had come to the Gullah communities of coastal Georgia and the Carolinas to study links between African and African-American music, published his transcriptions of religious songs in *St. Helena Island Spirituals*. Arthur Huff Fauset, who earned a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, specialized in the folk narratives and riddles of the South and the West Indies and in the urban religious cults of Philadelphia. James Mason Brewer, a Texas-based folklorist who studied at Indiana University with folktale specialist Stith Thompson, published a ground-breaking slave tale collection, *Juneteenth*, and subsequent volumes of South Carolina humor, as well as preacher and ghost tales from the Texas Brazos region. And Zora Neale Hurston, trained in Boas's anthropology program at Columbia University, fused her ongoing folklore collecting and research with a developing career as a creative writer that led to a series of works on American hoodoo, Jamaican obeah, Haitian vodoun and to the southern songs, jokes, games, tales, and conjure lore of her classic *Mules and Men* in 1935. In the works of all these scholars the underlying premises of the new cultural relativism provided a scientistic source of authority for the pragmatic labors of documenting and preserving the communal traditions of African-American life.

In analogous ways the practice and study of law and politics in African-American intellectual life responded also to the influence of the new sciences of society. Early black lawyers like George B. Vashon (1824–1878) in pre–Civil War New York and his pupil, Oberlin graduate John Mercer Langston, later the founder of the law school at Howard University, struggled for the rights of African Americans and for recognition as professionals in a nineteenth-century American culture in which the dignity, prosperity, formal cultivation, and pervasive influence of the legal profession were some of its most striking phenomena. Vashon had studied law in an age when jurisprudence, the liberal arts, and the sciences remained parts of a unified higher education, as testified to in his own multifaceted career as lawyer, mathematician, linguist (with fluency in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, French), and author of the masterful epic poem *Vincent Oge,* on the Haitian revolutionary hero. Powerful contrasts were emerging, however, between the scientific worldview affirmed in his *Anglo-African Magazine* essay on "The Successive Advances of Astronomy"—an encomium to the triumph of Laplacean mathematics and Newtonian physics—and the religious folk cosmology of unlettered preacher John Jasper's legendary 1880 sermon "The Sun Do Move," with its fervent experiential rejection of the counterintuitive postulates of Newtonian science. Modern legal science had embraced those postulates in the course of its rise to intellectual dominance; and more than their British or continental European counterparts, American lawyers dominated political life, and to a large extent, business. And as Alexis De Tocqueville had early noted, in America the language and ideas of judicial debate and the spirit of the law penetrated "into the bosom of society."

The pervasive influence of legal ideas and attitudes in American thought, however, was inherently a force for conservatism, a conservatism rooted in the "natural law" philosophy that laws, as in Newtonian science, are to be discovered, not made, that they are patterned in "the nature of things," not on changing human needs. Sanctified in the U.S. Constitution, perhaps no theory of law was better fitted, as Henry Steele Commager noted and as black litigants quickly discovered, to restrict government to negative functions, to put property rights on a par with human rights, to invest the prevailing practices of industrial capitalism with legal sanction, and to provide protection for slavery in the natural law limitations of the due process clause. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott Decision* of 1857, nullifying black citizenship rights, and the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, sanctioning "separate but equal" facilities as amenable to the Fourteenth Amendment, reverberated throughout African-American intellectual life; but through their manifest justice, such decisions helped inculcate a pragmatic tradition of protestant legalism in black thought, which eschewed the cult of veneration for the law that, for many other Americans, "made constitutionalism a religion and the judiciary a religious order surrounded with an aura of piety."

At the turn of the twentieth century, as a conflict developed between fixed, Newtonian concepts of law and dynamic, progressive ideas in politics and science, African Americans, guided by their painful experience of law as a fixed system of predation and social control, aligned themselves understandably with the new "sociological jurisprudence" that Roscoe Pound inaugurated as "a process, an activity, not merely a body of knowledge or a fixed order of construction." In accord with the new jurisprudence, as they established practices in local areas and aided in the development of national organizations of racial uplift such as the NAACP, black lawyers like Frederick McGhee (1861–1912), who was admitted to the bar in Illinois and Minnesota and who helped initiate the Niagara Movement (1905), conceived law more and more as an evolving social science, even as a method of social engineering—one that was required to conform to the whole spectrum of social needs and was dependent on society and capable of improvement. W. Ashbie Hawkins (b. 1862) and Scipio Africanus Jones (1863–1943), counsels in World War I–era NAACP civil rights cases, helped establish patterns of case research grounded no less in social facts than in legal rules. Such patterns were intensified by a subsequent generation of constitutionally trained attorneys led by Charles Hamilton Houston, William Hastie, James Nabrit, Raymond Pace Alexander, and Thurgood Marshall—whose collective work on classic civil rights cases spanned the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, culminating in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), which ended legal segregation.

Houston, who had specialized in the study of constitutional law, absorbed the philosophy of "sociological jurisprudence" at Harvard Law School under Roscoe Pound's deanship; and on later becoming Dean of Law at Howard University, he promoted the philosophy of legal advocacy as a pragmatic tool available to groups unable to achieve their rightful place in society through direct action. Trained at Howard under Houston's mentoring dictum that "a lawyer's either a social engineer or . . . a parasite on society," Thurgood Marshall, whose nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967 marked the high point of African-American achievement in the judiciary, reaffirmed his own integral place in the new jurisprudential tradition by pointedly reminding celebrants of the 1987 bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution that the nation's founding fathers had held "a woefully incomplete conception of the people" and that their vision of the law, as reflected in the Constitution, had only been expanded through unceasing social struggle that had entailed a bloody civil war.

Because the law had retained its Newtonian character longer than any of the social sciences, the intellectual shift among African-American legal minds toward a pragmatic and evolutionary philosophy of the Constitution and the judiciary was part of a late phase in the broad scientistic conversion of American social thought. Since the tradition of moral reform in black political thought had even deeper roots in the Newtonian worldview—faith that the very perfection of liberty and a just social order was possible if human beings were but reasonable enough to affirm those concepts and virtuous enough to conform to them—the rise of a new anti-Newtonian science of politics posed significant problems for African-American intellectuals. The history of abolitionism and moral reform movements had given black communities a rich tradition of extraofficial political practice anchored in ethical appeals to the "Newtonian" political theory—and the accompanying rhetoric of natural law, social compacts, inalienable rights, immutable laws, eternal principles of justice, and so forth—to which the founding fathers had subscribed. But the new science of politics had been jarred into being by the stark disharmony between those eighteenth-century abstractions and the undeniable late nineteenth-century reality of widespread governmental corruption and incompetence amidst profound changes in society, economy, and technology—changes beyond the ken of the founding fathers. Besides the failed logical legerdemain of the Constitution's three-fifths clause on slavery, the dissonance between eighteenth-century political theory and

twentieth-century political reality was nowhere more apparent than in the original failure of the Constitution, and the corollary refusal of the law, to recognize the existence of the country's most important political institution—the political party.

The living realities of party politics—the spoils system, political pluralism, organizational inertia, mass and individual emotionalism or irrationality—therefore dominated the attentions of a statistically minded new political science that its practitioners addressed less to theory of any sort than to "the intimate study of the political process, dealing with interest groups and power relations, with skills and understandings, forms of communications, and personalities." Eschewing progressivist moral reformism as analytically bankrupt, the new science of politics aligned itself with Walter Lippmann's assertion in 1914 that "before you can begin to think about politics at all, you have to abandon the notion that there is a war between good men and bad men . . . [and that] politics is merely a guerilla war between the bribed and the unbribed." No less pertinent to a potential shift in black political strategies, Lippman's concept of the "stereotype" as an adaptive mechanism in mass psychology and public opinion underscored the new scientific orientation away from the Newtonian model of the "rational man" and toward the driven, irrational creature of Freud and the behaviorists.

Between the 1930s and the '60s, as a group of university-trained African-American political scientists emerged, which included Ralph Bunche, G. James Fleming, Robert E. Martin, Erroll Miller, Robert Gill, and Alexander J. Walker, this new orientation to political life became a complicating facet of the ongoing tactical debates in black communities—particularly as it implicated patterns of personal and organizational leadership. The problem of leadership had preoccupied African-American intellectual life from the era of nineteenth-century abolitionism and the National Negro Convention Movement to the Reconstruction era to the turn-of-the-century Washington-Du Bois controversy and the New Negro-Garveyite clashes of the 1920s. Beginning with the Washington-Du Bois controversy, so-called conservative and radical political traditions in African-American life became intensely polarized, though in the later view of scholars such as John Brown Childs, these categories reveal less about the various competing black strategies for social change than does a focus on their underlying materialist or idealist worldviews and related cooperative versus elitist conceptions of political leadership. As became evident in the wave of crusading black political journalism between World Wars I and II, African-American social and intellectual life had been transformed by northern migration and urbanization and by a rapidly diversifying array of organizations and ideologies advocating a wide spectrum of political strategies. Leading the journalistic upsurge was the NAACP magazine *The Crisis*, begun in 1910 under the editorship of W. E. B. Du Bois, through whom black social thinkers "talked to white America as America had never been addressed before." Other new journals and newspapers had expanded the ideological spectrum: the anarchist *Challenge*, edited by William Bridges, a former Black Nationalist Liberty Party member, in 1916; the socialist *Messenger*—the "Only Radical Magazine in America," edited by labor leaders A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, in 1917; Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*, the organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, in 1918; and *Opportunity*, from the Urban League, edited by the sociologist Charles S. Johnson, in 1923.

In this new communicative arena of proliferating print media, a cluster of competing but not mutually exclusive social philosophies in African-American life—several of them with antebellum antecedents—had now acquired formulaic structures and programmatic agendas: (1) liberal integrationism and "cultural pluralism"; (2) conservative bourgeois economic nationalism and black capitalism; (3) Pan-African cultural nationalism; (4) political separatism and emigrationist territorial nationalism; and (5) revolutionary nationalism. Alongside the official leadership of the rising black middle class's civil rights and racial uplift organizations, a popular tradition of millenarian cult heroes, religious revivalists, charismatic revolutionaries, and skilled confidence men had evolved. And parallel to and interpenetrating both of these from below, black folk beliefs, shifting and diversifying with migration, urbanization, and industrialization, articulated a vernacular pantheon of proto-political leadership in tales, toasts, blues, and ballads. Political manifestoes, essays, and fiction by literary intellectuals conversant with social science concepts, such as Richard Wright ("Blueprint for Negro Writers," 1937, and *Native Son*, 1941), Langston Hughes ("The Need for Heroes," 1941), Zora Neale Hurston (*Moses, Man of the Mountain*, 1939), and Ralph Ellison (*Invisible Man*, 1952), meditated metaphorically on the problems of leadership and helped reshape the political imaginations of a growing black audience.

But political scientists like Ralph Bunche, by his own admission, "cultivated a coolness of temper, and an attitude of objectivity" grounded in Darwinian concepts of social evolution, comparative analysis, pragmatism, and emphasis on economic and psychic factors. The first black holder of a political science doctorate, and the founder of Howard University's program in the field, Bunche symbolized a new political role for African-American intellec-

tuals; and starting in 1935 he initiated a probing critique of black organizational leadership and programmatic policies that anatomized their limitations relative to (1) a society that was only "theoretically democratic," to (2) group antagonisms that capitalist economic competition made a "natural phenomenon in a modern industrial society," and to (3) "the stereotyped racial attitudes and beliefs of the masses of the dominant population." Characterizing the entire spectrum of racial advancement organizations—from the NAACP to Garvey's UNIA—as bound to anachronistic assumptions about the nature of the modern world, Bunche's assessment marked a new divide between academic analysts and political practitioners that would become an enduring feature of African-American intellectual life, a divide made clear, for instance, in the contrast between Bunche's *A World View of Race* (1936), a model of economics-based evolutionary pragmatism, and *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (1925), with its Newtonian apotheosis of idealist nationalism and racial purity by the architect of urban black America's first mass movement. Ultimately, Bunche's worldview, elaborated through subsequent fieldwork on colonial policy in Africa, led him to play a pivotal role in the formation of the United Nations (drafting the trusteeship sections of the UN Charter in 1945) and to a Nobel Peace Prize for being the architect of the 1949 Near East accord between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

The urban black world into which Ralph Bunche had been born, and to which Marcus Garvey had immigrated, experienced, during the years their political views were moving toward collision, a flowering of African-American architects on the most literal level. Mass migration had spurred a rising nexus of formal black city-based institutions—businesses, political and educational organizations, churches, fraternal and sororal orders—and with them the New Negro "dream of a Black Metropolis." A paying clientele had evolved for the generation of professionally trained African-American architects who had matriculated at the turn of the twentieth century in the self-help artisan curricula at Tuskegee and Hampton Institute, and later at Howard University. Before these schooled professionals a long history of antebellum slave artisans and free black "master builders" had produced a tradition of vernacular architecture in African-American intellectual life that had left traces of African spatial sense, ornamental motifs, and compositional utility on American buildings as disparate as the 1712 Dutch Jansen House on the Hudson River; various plantation mansions in Old South cities like Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans; or the early nineteenth-century "African House" built in Louisiana for Isle Brevelle, a settlement of free people of color, by Louis Metoyer, a wealthy ex-slave who had studied architecture in Paris.

During the period from 1880 to 1900, as formal schools of architecture were being founded in America and as black institutions emerged in new southern and northern environments, the most significant American architectural achievements were not so much in monumental buildings as in railroads, grain elevators, bridges, powerhouses, dams, factories, and schools, where the focus on function helped American architects minimize the devitalizing influence of aesthetic imitation fostered by successive Eurocentric academic revivals of Greek, Romanesque, and Gothic styles. In 1892 Booker T. Washington recruited Robert R. Taylor, one of the earliest black graduates in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to develop (without formal accreditation at the time) mechanical industries at the school; and the group of architectural students he trained, including John Lankford, Wallace Rayfield, William Pittman, and Vertner Tandy, became leading designers of the new black religious, educational, and commercial architecture. Modernist style was not yet in the ascendancy in the academy or the public sphere; and African-American architects were caught like their professional peers in the prevailing cultural schism that permitted boldly expressive engineering in bridges or commercial buildings while limiting time-honored cultural institutions at the top of the social hierarchy—the church and the college—to conventional colonial, Romanesque, or Gothic molds. Working within these constraints, Lankford became national supervising architect for the AME Church, designing such landmarks as Atlanta's Big Bethel; Rayfield became supervising architect for the AME Zion Church; and Pittman designed the Negro Building for the 1907 Jamestown Tricentennial.

Some African-American architects who had been trained outside the black college orbit, like William Moses and Julian Abele, mastered the design ethos of public sphere architecture and achieved noteworthy successes outside the black institutional milieu. Moses, awarded a degree in architecture from Pennsylvania State in 1924, won, while on the faculty at Hampton Institute, the open competition to design the Virginia Pavillion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, though this winning design was not used once his racial identity was discovered. Abele, a graduate of the Pennsylvania School of Fine Arts and Architecture, turned his flair for the Gothic revival style into a prominent career as chief designer for the large white architectural firm Horace Trumbauer & Associates in Philadelphia, superintending such projects as Philadelphia's Free Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Harvard University's Widener Library, and the designs for Duke University

and the Duke family mansions. Albert Cassell, a 1919 graduate of Cornell University, planned five trade buildings at Tuskegee Institute before assuming leadership of Howard University's Department of Architecture and, deploying a Georgian style, literally transformed the physical appearance of its entire campus.

Perhaps because of the institutional constraints within which most black architects have functioned, and because of the decline of the vernacular tradition, a distinctively African-American philosophy of architecture was slow to evolve, although by 1939 John Louis Wilson, the first black graduate (1928) of Columbia University's school of architecture, hinted at the possibility in his assertion that architecture is a "lithic history of social conditions; [and] the monuments of a race—never the result of chance—survive as indices of the fundamental standards of a people, a locality, and an epoch." During the Harlem Renaissance, as a small black elite gained access to the expressive possibilities of "power architecture," the design choices made in domestic and recreational buildings by figures such as Madame C. J. Walker took on broad symbolic significance. The "cosmopolitan ideal" current among fashionable New Negroes asserted itself in Vertner Tandy's Italianate design for Walker's Irvington-on-the-Hudson palazzo, Villa Lewaro; and a counterpointing "race ideal" manifested itself in the Egyptianizing art deco ornamental motifs created for the flatiron-shaped Walker theater and business center in Indianapolis by the white firm of Rubush & Hunter. In the decades during and after World War II, as black architectural, engineering, and construction firms such as McKissack & McKissack began to win government awards for design contracts, and as educational opportunities in architecture diversified, clusters of black architects and black-owned firms developed in the large urban centers of California, New York, and the District of Columbia, with periodic calls for an African-American style and "soul" in architecture echoing the cycles of cultural consciousness in the nation's increasingly black urban centers.

As secular sources of alternative intellectual authority, all the aforementioned fields of African-American scientistic activity have experienced these cycles of black cultural consciousness in tandem with the shifts in historicism and popular and professional historiography that have figured prominently in black intellectual life during the twentieth century. The nature and intellectual contexts of American history writing in general underwent dramatic changes at the end of the nineteenth century. African-American historians grappled, as did all their peers, both with the growing secularization of ideas that undermined the providential design of older, theologically based romantic historiography and with the rise of scientific methods and standards of research that accompanied the professionalization of history writing in modern universities. Self-trained George Washington Williams, whose *A History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* (1882) constituted the first work of modern historical scholarship by an African American, bridged the old and the new worlds of historiography. His commitment to rigorous citation, to archival research, to cross-checked source materials, and to new primary sources such as newspapers and statistical and oral data placed him in the advance guard of historians. But his political partisanship, his missionary Christianity, and his optimistic faith in the discernability of God's providential design in history set him against the intellectual tendencies that were teaching sociologists, economists, political scientists, and historians alike that they could no longer reveal God's and Newton's laws or construct grand systems. Unlike Harvard-trained W. E. B. Du Bois, whose pioneering monograph, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896), placed its dispassionate faith in "the empirical knowledge which, dispelling ignorance and misapprehension, would guide intelligent social policy," Williams attuned his work less to reasoned pragmatism than to the rhetoric of popular inspiration—"not as a blind panegyrist" to his race, he wrote, but to satisfy with "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," his black readers' "keen sense of intellectual hunger."

Predicated on the need to combat the pejorative Anglo-Western practice that, from David Hume to Arnold Toynbee, denied historical significance to African peoples entirely, both the academic and popular strains of African-American historiography expanded their roles in black intellectual life at the onset of the twentieth century. Such expansion built on the growing black audiences fostered by the rise of public education and mass literacy, by the awakening interest in "race history" encouraged through spreading concepts of nation and nationality, and by the emergence of a group of historical writers based in black colleges and universities or at newspapers and the journals of racial uplift organizations. In Western society generally, the period following World War I saw an explicit ideal of popular history promoted on a mass scale, with an exploding market for sweeping, unflinchingly speculative accounts written in highly dramatic, nontechnical language made evident in the vast sales of H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* (1920), Hendrik Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind* (1921), and Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918–1922). Correspondingly, among nonacademic New Negro historians such as Hubert Harrison, Drusilla Dunjee Houston, J. A. Rogers, and Arthur Schomburg, an inspirational philosophy of race history asserted itself in his-

torical essays and books that were broad in scope and speculative appeal rather than narrowly monographic, that were assertively value-laden and judgmental, and that professed the social utility and moral edification appropriate to black renaissance. Appeals to racial solidarity helped modulate in African-American communities the schism that elsewhere led academic historians to confront the 1920s' and 1930s' vogue of nonprofessional historiography with perjorative contrasts between "popular writing" and "profound systematic treatment." But at mid-century, the contrasts between the works of black academic historians like John Hope Franklin, Benjamin Quarles, and Rayford Logan and those of the "scholars without portfolio" clearly reflected the impact on the former group of the dispassionate ethos and limiting assumptions of authoritative social science methodologies, and the persisting influence on the latter of alternative intellectual authorities mentioned earlier in this article, whose "sacred values" often resided in the romantic, populist, and apocalyptic traditions of "Negro genius," "the folk," and Ethiopianist or Egyptianist revivalism.

In an attempt to characterize the evolution of historical scholarship in postbellum African-American life, John Hope Franklin has proposed the following four-generation typology: (1) a generation of largely nonprofessional historiography beginning with the publication in 1882 of Williams's *History of the Negro Race*, ending around 1909 with Booker T. Washington's *Story of the Negro*, and concerned primarily with explaining the process of adjustment African Americans made to American social conditions; (2) a second generation marked by the publication of Du Bois's *The Negro* in 1915 but dominated from that year forward by the books, organizational entities, periodical enterprises, and scholarly protégés of Carter G. Woodson, who produced a stream of monographs on labor, education, Reconstruction, art, music, and other topics before his death in 1950; (3) a third generation inaugurated by the appearance of Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* in 1935, and impelled by the intellectual impact of the Great Depression and the World War II global crisis, to focus less on black achievements than on race relations and international contexts, authoring an impressive body of work on slavery and urban and intellectual history and closing the 1960s with a significant number of white historians in the field; and finally (4) the largest and best-trained generation, beginning around 1970, approaching comprehensiveness in their range of specializations, passionately revisionist regarding both conventional *and* black historiographical traditions, and buttressed conceptually and institutionally by the black studies movement and the nationwide integration of American colleges and universities.

Focused less on the developing cadre of professional historians and more on the various uses and diversifying clientele of black history, Benjamin Quarles suggests an alternative typology to describe the different publics that, by the 1970s, dictated the content and style of black history writing: (1) the black rank and file; (2) the black revolutionary nationalists; (3) the black academicians; and (4) the white world, lay and scholarly. First in this scheme, black history for the rank and file, was designed to create a sense of pride and personal worth; and it stressed victories and achievements in a "great man/woman" theory of history highlighted by heroic individuals from African antiquity to the present. Conveyed increasingly by such mass media vehicles as television and radio, magazines, newspapers, coloring books, postcards, games, and comic books, it has emphasized optimistic biographical sketches of black leaders in politics, business, athletics, and the lively arts, with special appeals to youth. By contrast, the black history espoused by revolutionary nationalists has constructed a core narrative of contrapuntal white oppression and black rebellion, has been apocalyptic and polemical in temper, and has compounded elements of Marxist, Pan-Africanist, and anticolonialist ideologies in a studiously historicized but partisan call to black liberation and nation building. Characterized more by radical interpretation than by original research, revolutionary nationalist historiography has eschewed the academic cult of objectivity as inherently conservative and typically selected topics of exploration consonant with its political objectives.

One issue in African-American intellectual life that the historiographical presence of black revolutionary nationalism crystallizes is the role of apocalyptic, millenarian, radical communitarian, socialist, Marxist, and neo-Marxist ideas and ideologies generally in the thought of black communities. Although still understudied as a facet of black intellectual life, the utopian antebellum communitarian movements in which American socialism originated—the Shaker villages, the Owenite communes such as New Harmony and Francis Wright's Nashoba, the Fourieristic phalanxes, and the like—ofttimes had black members (like Shaker elder Rebecca Cox Jackson [1795–1871], for example), even if at the margins; and they characteristically proposed a combination of socialist and colonizationist schemes to end slavery and reconstruct society. The Communist Clubs of "scientific" or Marxian socialists took more radical abolitionist stances and as early as the 1850s were inviting African Americans to join as equal members in the "realization and unification of a world republic" that would recognize "no distinction as to nationality or race, caste or status, color or sex."

Equally important, indigenous African-American dreams of independent black communities or of a "black

nation"—to be achieved through internal migration, insurrection, or emigration elsewhere—date back at least to the efforts of Paul Cuffe (1759–1817) to colonize Sierra Leone. In the postbellum era given imaginative expression in narratives such as Sutton Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio* (1899) and organizational form in pre-Garveyite "Back to Africa" schemes such as the Oklahoma exodus of Chief Alfred Sam, they became fused with various strains of programmatic socialism popularized by Edward Bellamy's utopian *Looking Backward* (1888) and *Equality* (1897). Reformist socialism and revolutionary Marxism gained broader appeal in early twentieth-century black communities through the sermons of black socialist preachers such as George Washington Woodbey (b. 1854); through the radical journalism of Cyril Briggs's *The Crusader*, Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen's the *Messenger*; through Hubert Harrison's public oratory, newspaper columns, and Colored Unity League; and through an expanding body of Marxist polemics and historiography written by black members of socialist or communist organizations or by Marxian academics like W. E. B. Du Bois. During the interregnum between the two world wars, the pre-Stalinist "romance of communism," which influenced American liberal intellectuals generally after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, won the allegiance of performing artists such as Paul Robeson and black literary intellectuals such as Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, and Richard Wright. And between 1928 and 1943, grounded in party member Harry Haywood's subcommittee advocacy of a "national revolutionary" movement for black self-determination, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. based its mass appeal to African Americans on the proposal to establish an independent "Black Belt" nation in the South. Though the Stalinist era disillusioned many black radicals, as it did many of their nonblack colleagues, the apocalyptic ideological appeal of revolutionary Marxism has persisted in the post–World War II decades, revitalized in African-American intellectual life by the emergence of anticolonialist African socialism (an eclectic mixture primarily of African traditionalism, classical European Marxism, and Chinese socialism) and the Tanzanian socialism of Julius Nyerere in particular, whose *ujamaa* principles of family-centered communal enterprise and nationalized industries were assimilated into the Kwanza celebrations of contemporary African Americans during the apogee of Black Power–era cultural nationalism. After the founding of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in 1966 by Huey Newton (1942–1989) and Bobby Seale (b. 1936), its paramilitary orchestration of ideas drawn from the Marxist-Leninist corpus, from black nationalist writings, and from anticolonial revolutionary movements in Asia and Africa became the most visible manifestation of black political militancy. Along with the evolving revolutionary nationalism of Malcolm X after his separation from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, and with the cause célèbre of inmate George Jackson and academically trained Angela Davis, the Black Panther phenomenon helped create a mystique of romantic revolutionism in African-American intellectual life that, among college and university students in particular, remained intense into the 1990s.

The intensity of that mystique is one of the forces that has frequently inclined African-American academic historians to differentiate their work conceptually from that of revolutionary nationalists. Black academicians, inclined by professional training to see history less as inspiration or ideological weapon than as a discipline, have been consistently impelled, by the demand for original and controlled research, away from the obvious and well known toward the study of processes more than persons and to the identification and solution of methodological and conceptual problems apparent in the African-American past. Considering emotionally charged, highly provocative discourse to be, by convention, more the province of the poet, the orator, and the charismatic leader than the professional historian, they have characteristically tried to subordinate their private wishes and values to social science imperatives presumed to be often counterintuitive and counterideological; and they have continued to seek, in the terms of their own understandings, "balanced" treatments of the past rather than the selectively self-gratifying or politically efficacious. Among academic historians, as the uses and clientele of African-American history have increasingly involved white and non-African-American communities, lay and academic, the dual objectives of demythologizing the American past and demonstrating the centrality of black Americans in the national experience have been complicated by the broadening conceptual challenges inherent in the newer historiography of social movements, feminism, and American cultural pluralism. One sign of the intellectual maturation of African-American historical studies in the 1980s and '90s has been their growing awareness of, first, the heuristic value of diversified uses and clienteles for history, and, second, the need for cross-fertilizing perspectives, multimedia modes of presentation, and multidisciplinary methods that recognize the changing character of historical evidence and the array of new techniques and technologies available to record the human journey through time and space.

Facing the Twenty-First Century

As suggested earlier, the emergence by the mid-twentieth century of a more stable black middle class fostered the development of an African-American intellectual stratum

with functions analogous to those evident in varying degrees in modern societies around the world. Historian John Hope Franklin, himself a leading figure in the generation of professional black scholars who gained prominence during the first postwar decade, by 1979 could write that the years since 1925 had seen an increase, not only in the number of black artist-intellectuals that was unimaginable a half-century earlier, but also in the styles and forms by which they could communicate. The increasing security, solidarity, and self-esteem of their work as intellectuals during "the most productive period in the history of Afro-American literature and culture" derived in large measure from their status as members of a professional intellectual class based increasingly at large, newly integrated white colleges and universities. And the foci of their intellectual activities, at least five of which seem manifest, increasingly paralleled those of intellectuals elsewhere—at the same time that conscious affirmations of difference figured more centrally in their worldview.

First, growing numbers of black intellectuals devoted themselves to creating and diffusing high culture—or a new synthesis of vernacular and high-culture traditions intended to supplant older artistic forms and mythologies. Creativity and originality in the arts and letters was increasingly perceived to be a primary intellectual obligation; and during the 1960s and '70s a "second Black Renaissance" or "Black Arts Movement"—the "aesthetic sister of the Black Power Movement"—became the focus of a concerted effort to link African-American art and politics to the currents of Pan-African intellectual activism in the Third World. Following the opening of Leroi Jones/Imamu Amiri Baraka's Black Arts Theatre in Newark, N.J., in 1965, shortly after the assassination of Malcolm X, self-proclaimed "New Breed" poets, dramatists, and fiction writers assertively manifested a self-conscious cultural nationalism, influenced partly by the poetics and varying anticolonial philosophies of Francophone black African and Caribbean artist-intellectuals such as Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal and Frantz Fanon of Martinique.

Larry Neal, a coleader of the movement along with Amiri Baraka, described the new attitudes toward tradition as stemming from (1) "the historic struggle to obliterate racism in America"; (2) "the general dilemma of identity which haunts American cultural history"; and (3) "an overall crisis in modern intellectual thought in Western society, where values are being assaulted by a new generation of youth around the world as it searches for new standards and ideals." Blending the aesthetic postulates of Francophone *négritude,* the rhythmic lyricism of contemporary blues-derived "soul" music, and the warrior ethos and scatological invective of urban street gangs, Black Arts intellectuals also developed cross-cultural analogies between their imperatives and those of turn-of-the-century radical Irish Renaissance poets and playwrights who had felt compelled to modulate the influence of English literature on their own works by plunging into Celtic mythology and folklore. Leading figures in the black arts movement, dispersed nationwide in urban artists' collectives that communicated the black arts in new "little magazines" like the *Journal of Black Poetry* and *Black Dialogue*, and through independent publishing houses like Dudley Randall's Broadside Press in Detroit and Don L. Lee/Haki Madhubuti's Third World Press in Chicago, helped sponsor a proliferation of black theaters and bookstores along with a self-consciously performative intellectual style that garnered unprecedentedly large audiences for spoken word recordings like those of The Last Poets and for a new wave of highly stylized urban-based black cinema presented by filmmakers such as Gordon Parks, Melvin Van Peebles, and Gordon Parks Jr.

A second forward-looking focus of African-American intellectual activity developed as global communications and rapid transport intensified the process by which black intellectuals provided national and cross-national models of development for aesthetically sensitive intellectuals all over the world. That process acquired new significance with the expanding power of the international mass media and the emotional appeal of the civil rights and Black Power movements as paradigms for social change among marginalized groups worldwide. A diversifying spectrum of ideologies and cultural modes, associated with groups ranging from the NAACP and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) to the Nation of Islam and the Republic of New Africa, influenced youth and social protest movements in Britain and Eastern Europe; and as far away as India, a politico-artistic resistance movement among dark-skinned "untouchables"—the "Dahlit Panthers"—modeled itself on the feline iconography, Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, and community activism of the Black Panthers.

Third, black intellectuals assumed a programmatic commitment to developing common culture and a tradition of cultural criticism. As early as 1925 Alain Locke had described the New Negro movement as an effort to turn the common problem African Americans faced into a common consciousness and culture. William Stanley Braithwaite, W. E. B. Du Bois, Benjamin Brawley, Sterling Brown, Jessie Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Eric Walrond, among others, helped establish a magazine tradition of critical reviews of literature and the arts during the era; and Theophilus Lewis's columns in the *Messenger* offered pioneering critiques of African-American theater. Maude Cuney-Hare, trained at the New England Conservatory of

Music, founded and directed the Allied Arts Centre in Boston in 1927, dedicating it to "discover and encourage musical, literary, and dramatic talent, and to arouse interest in the artistic capabilities of the Negro child." Superseding James Monroe Trotter's *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1878), her *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936) presented the first comprehensive critical history of the diasporic black creative tradition in a single artistic medium, delineating African music from its earliest phases and explicating the New World influence of African instruments, rhythms, and dances on such forms as the Argentinian tango, the Cuban habañera, and the bamboula of Louisiana (*see* Dance).

Alain Locke's own annual *Opportunity* magazine, defined as "retrospective reviews of the literature of the Negro," from 1928 to midcentury, composed the first sustained attempt at cross-disciplinary, cross-media black cultural criticism—and provided as well an intellectual-history-in-miniature of the era. During these and subsequent decades, the growth of the black population and its dispersion through mass migration and urbanization had created a subsociety too large to be united through kinship connection or firsthand experience. The development of common culture depended increasingly on "reproductive" intellectual institutions such as schools, churches, and newspapers—through which a sense of identity and symbolic group traditions were promoted by African-American teachers, clergy, and journalists. In contrast to the youth-conscious efforts of the New Negro era, during the Great Depression and World War II years a representative group of black intellectuals, including Alain Locke, W. E. B. Du Bois, Ira Reid, Sterling Brown, Ralph Bunche, and Eric Williams, founded an elaborate project of adult education and intergroup relations called the Associates in Negro Folk Education, which, in the course of combatting adult illiteracy, was intended "to bring within the reach of the average reader basic facts and progressive views about Negro life" by publishing a series of "Bronze Booklets" on black fiction, poetry and drama, the visual arts, music, social history, and so forth.

At midcentury, Locke's call for an introspective cultural criticism that would supply the missing "third dimension" of black intellectual life was first met by Margaret Just Butcher's posthumous synthesis, in *The Negro in American Culture* (1956), of Locke's own cumulative explorations of African-American contributions to American music, dance, folklore, poetry, polemics, fiction, drama, painting, sculpture, education, and regional nationalism. However, with the urban rebellions and cultural nationalism of the 1960s and '70s, the ensuing clash of ideas over the concept of racial integration magnified what Harold Cruse called the "crisis of the Negro intellectual"—the problem of forging a cultural philosophy and a sense of tradition upon which a politics of liberation and a systematic criticism of the arts could be erected. The search for an irreducibly "black aesthetic" began in this context as a fragmentary critical movement grounded in separatist polemics and coalesced outside the academy under the black arts leadership of Amiri Baraka, Larry Neal, Hoyt Fuller, Addison Gayle, Don L. Lee, and Ron Karenga. The "black aestheticians" came closest to discovering a viable indigenous sense of cultural tradition in Baraka's theoretical, ethnomusicologically focused social history, *Blues People* (1963), and his cultural essays. But the more comprehensive and systematic achievements in cultural criticism came after the eclipse of the black arts movement, during the late 1970s and '80s, *within* the academy, as a generation of African-American scholars trained in the theoretical postulates and practices of structuralism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, hermeneutics, dialogics, feminism, and neo-Marxist criticism adapted these modes of analysis to African-American cultural texts and contexts. Academy-based critical theorists such as Houston Baker, Barbara Christian, and Henry Louis Gates became leading figures, as did hip-hop theorists and popular culture critics like Greg Tate, Michele Wallace, and Nelson George in avant-garde mass media newspapers and journals.

Besides the aforementioned emphases on creating art, on building cross-cultural alliances, and on developing a common African-American sense of tradition, a fourth intellectual impulse—to effect broad social change—has persisted in African-American intellectual life as a "sacred value." Continuing racial conflict has kept the degree of intellectual consensus in American society within strict limits; and the different social situations of the recipients of high culture, and the extreme discrepancies in educational preparation and receptive capacity, have fostered diverse paths of creativity and impelled a partial rejection of Western civilization's cultural values among African-American intellectuals. In the post–World War II decades, this rejection of prevailing intellectual traditions has included both nihilistic repudiation of popular or high-culture traditions tainted with ideological racism and the observance or development of an alternative stream of tradition, sometimes of suppressed or forgotten traditions of syncretized or authentic African origin. Guided by the philosophical anthropology of works such as Janheinz Jahn's *Muntu: The New African Culture* and Cheikh Anta Diop's *The African Origin of Civilization*, the theory of social change espoused in the mid-1980s by the proponents of Afrocentricity is rooted in ideological advocacy of the original unity of African culture, and in the need for a revitalizing new ethnocultural consciousness among the peo-

ples of the modern African diaspora, as a prerequisite for a unifying politics of liberation. Although the validity of Jahn's and Diop's views have been challenged by other specialists in African studies, and though debate about the "essentialist" postulates and racialist implications of Afrocentricity has intensified among intellectuals inside and outside African-American communities, the growing pervasiveness of the concept and its texts and iconography cannot be dismissed.

Three other recent developments in African-American intellectual life merit attention with respect to concepts of social change—the growth of black liberation theology, the emergence of African-American critical legal theory, and the consolidation of black neoconservative ideology. Regarding the first of these, under the leadership of James Cone, and in dialogue with other theologians such as James De Otis Roberts, Cain Felder, and philosopher Cornel West, black religious thinkers who matured in the Black Power era have moved beyond the black church tradition of Christian ecumenism, espoused by such earlier leaders as Benjamin Mays (1894–1984) and Howard Thurman (1900–1981), and beyond the synthesis with Gandhian nonviolence effected by Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968). As a forerunner to contemporary African-American theologians, Benjamin Mays, a Southern sharecropper's son who rose to become a Baptist minister and president of Morehouse College, devoted part of his early career to scholarship for the Institute of Social and Religious Research and authored books such as *The Negro's Church* (1933) and *The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature* (1938), which provided pioneering descriptions of African-American religious life "as scientifically exact as the nature of the material permits." In addition, as a religious teacher advocating Christian practice in race relations, he became one of the spiritual progenitors of the civil rights movement, urging students such as Andrew Young and Julian Bond into public service and considering "his greatest honor [to be] having taught and inspired Martin Luther King Jr." Howard Thurman, also an ordained Baptist minister, became dean of Rankin Chapel, professor of theology at Howard University, and one of the twelve "Great Preachers" of this century. But his unorthodox "inward journey" in quest of a spiritual liberation beyond race and ethnicity led him to develop a unique mystical ecumenism that drew on spiritual experiences in India (with Mohandas Gandhi), Sri Lanka, and Myanmar as well as on the cosmology of African-American spirituals and on Native American belief systems in his own ancestry. The most prolific of African-American religious writers, Thurman authored a long succession of richly metaphorical meditations on love, temptation, spiritual discipline, creative encounter, and the search for religious common ground, which influenced generations of black seminarians, among them Martin Luther King Jr.

Because King has influenced African-American intellectual life perhaps more than any other religious thinker, it is important to understand his theology of the "beloved community" as a complex fusion of African-American church traditions and advanced formal training in the philosophies of such diverse thinkers as Henry David Thoreau, Mohandas Gandhi, G. W. F. Hegel, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Reinhold Niebuhr. In James Cone's view, King's ministry of social transformation through creative, nonviolent confrontation embodied publicly the central ideas of black religious thought—love, justice, liberation, hope, and redemptive suffering—terms used in common with other Christian communities but given a distinctively black meaning by particular social and political realities. In Cone's own work, however, the preeminence King gave to love in this cluster of mutually dependent values was shifted to the concept of liberation; and in the wake of the Black Power era and under the influence of Malcolm X's nationalist, Islamicist critique of white Christian supremacism, Cone and other black liberation theologians have increasingly turned away from the texts of European Christian theology and toward African-American vernacular religion as a thematic locus. By drawing partly on the work of Latin American theologians of liberation, and by reformulating aspects of the African-American Ethiopianist tradition, they have posited a new Christocentric black theology, centered on a biblical witness of God's commitment to the poor and oppressed, which "places our *past* and *present* actions toward Black liberation in a theological context, seeking to create value-structures according to the God of black freedom." Cultivating a global worldview and sensitivities to other oppressed social groups, black liberation theologians have acknowledged the strengths and the weaknesses of traditional black theology: "For example, Africans showed the lack of knowledge black theologians had about African culture; Latin theologians revealed the lack of class analysis; Asia showed the importance of a knowledge of religions other than Christianity; feminist theology revealed the sexist orientation of black theology; and other minorities in the United States showed the necessity of a coalition in the struggle for justice in the nation and around the globe."

The import acknowledged herein of religions other than Christianity points to a related facet of African-American intellectual life—the long-lived and currently increasing role of non-Christian concepts of liberation, from Islamic, Judaic, Buddhist, Bahai, Rastafarian, traditional African beliefs, and occult traditions, among others. In developing a spectrum of relating thought that, as Cone

recognizes, "is neither exclusively Christian . . . nor primarily African," African Americans have frequently chosen to profess other world religions or various nonconformist and free-thought beliefs ostensibly better suited to liberate them from white Christian nationalism and the maladies of modern living. As early as Edward Wilmot Blyden's *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* in 1887, selected black religious thinkers have lauded the elevating and unifying potential of Islam, the benefits of its world civilization, and its vaunted capacity for incorporating Africans without creating in them a sense of inferiority. The perceived historic continuity with West African Islam has been a contributing factor to its appeal, just as the antecedent historical tradition of Ethiopian "Falashas" has lent Judaism greater appeal to orthodox as well as heterodox African-American converts and believers.

By contrast, the reception of Bahaism, which treats religious truth as relative, not absolute, and as evolving through successive revelations provided by prophets from many different traditions, suggests the intellectual appeal of newer religious worldviews to African-American adherents. A much-persecuted, heretical nineteenth-century Persian offshoot of Islam, the Bahai faith developed a distinctly modern theology rooted in the professedly indivisible oneness of humankind, the necessary accord of religion with science and reason, the absolute equality of men and women, and the abolition of prejudice of all kinds. As it spread to America early in the twentieth century, Bahaism distinguished itself to African Americans by identifying the race problem as a major *spiritual* problem and by openly sponsoring "racial amity" conferences and unification through intermarriage at a time when American Christianity remained thoroughly segregated. The Bahai faith attracted African-American artist-intellectuals as different as the philosopher Alain Locke, the *Chicago Defender* publisher Robert Abbott, the jazz musician "Dizzy" Gillespie, and the poet Robert Hayden, offering a vision of progressive social change through priestless, "democratic theocracy" that by 1983 saw African Americans accounting for more than 30 percent of its U.S. membership.

At some remove from the religious worldview, in the decidedly secular thought of contemporary legal theorists such as Derrick Bell, Patricia Williams, and Stephen Carter, the importance of law as a locus for social change theories has been reemphasized; and the transformative powers *and* limits of the law have been reconceptualized in highly original mixtures of allegory, case law, social history, and autobiographical meditation that defy the positivist conventions of the older sociologist jurisprudence. A recurrent feature of this new legal discourse is a powerful intellectual skepticism that confronts the older African-American tradition of millenarian hope with the specter of racism as "an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society." Among black legal theorists on both the political left and right, the law itself is seen less as an edifice of immutable truths or a blueprint for social engineering than as a chaotic mythological text; and the manifest contradictions of such legal remedies as affirmative action serve to underscore the narrowed possibilities for progressive social change through legal construction. The challenge such a perspective mounts to the activist traditions of African-American intellectual life are multiple, not the least of which is the very definition of the intellectual's proper function. Accordingly, as construed by constitutional lawyer Stephen Carter, "the defining characteristic of the intellectual is not (as some seem to think) a particular level of educational or cultural attainment, and certainly not a political stance," but rather "the drive to learn, to question, to understand, to criticize, not as a means to an end but as an end in itself."

In the wake of the civil rights and Black Power eras, the rise of a cohesive black neoconservative movement has given skeptical, iconoclastic criticism of African-American life high visibility, particularly through the scholarly writings of authors such as economist Thomas Sowell and cultural commentators Stanley Crouch and Shelby Steele. The movement has some historical precedent in early forms of black economic nationalism, capitalist and socialist, that have sought various degrees of economic and social autonomy from the larger society through (1) controlling the black segment of the marketplace through black businesses and "buy black campaigns"; (2) establishing a full-scale black capitalist economy parallel to that of the dominant society; or (3) forming black producer and consumer cooperatives or reviving preindustrial communalism. Such ideas have figured significantly in the outlooks of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, the Nation of Islam, and others; and they defy conventional "conservative" and "radical" categorization. But as early as 1903 sociologist Kelly Miller had highlighted the ideological warfare between black "radicals and conservatives" in order to interpret the Washington–Du Bois controversy over political, economic, and educational strategies for racial uplift. Acknowledging the ambiguities therein, Alain Locke in 1925 described the psychology of the "New Negro" in part by asserting that "for the present the Negro is radical on race matters, conservative on others, a 'forced radical,' a social protestant rather than a genuine radical." And giving these psychopolitical tensions the most emphatic personal configuration, *Pittsburgh Courier* journalist and satirist George Schuyler, having renounced his 1920s allegiances to leftist politics, ultimately embraced autobiographically a reformulated new public

identity as *Black and Conservative* (1966), establishing further precedent for the phenomenon of the 1970s and 1980s that saw growing numbers of African-American intellectuals joining the "neoconservative" flight from liberal-radical social philosophies and public policy.

Because conservatism has typically been identified—often wrongly—with Republican party politics, and because critics have often failed to distinguish properly conservatives from neoconservatives (the distinction is ideological more than chronological), African Americans have often chafed at the latter label. But whatever differentiates them from nominal neoconservatives, the writings of intellectuals like Sowell and Steele do share some pivotal neoconservative stances about social policy: (1) though less likely than conservatives to condemn governmental manipulation of the citizenry as fundamentally immoral regardless of the intended social improvements, they are more likely than liberals to be disillusioned by the failures of public policy and to insist that there is little public policy leverage for changing the relevant human behaviors and conditions of modern life; (2) they tend to agree with neoconservatives that the limitations of our knowledge about the consequence of any given policy, and the basic inefficiency of bureaucratic government in implementing policy, make the liberal agenda indefensible and unachievable.

Largely in accord with these stances, Thomas Sowell has elaborated the black neoconservative position in more than a dozen books that compare the economic performance of ethnic groups around the world and advocate laissez-faire economics, with minimal government regulation, as more amenable to black progress than the bureaucratic manipulations of the liberal welfare state. And in *A Conflict of Visions: Ideological Origins of Political Struggle* (1987), he has attempted to identify two perennial diametrically opposed visions of human nature and society, one "constrained" and the other "unconstrained," as the root of political turmoil in the modern era. The "constrained" vision with which Sowell has allied himself eschews "unconstrained" notions of human rationality and perfectibility for an emphasis on the limitations of human altruism and reason and on the pragmatic necessity for disciplined cultural traditions and a society ordered and stabilized by the free marketplace. Shelby Steele's corollary "new vision of race in America," articulated in *The Content of Our Character* (1990), lacks Sowell's theoretical sweep and supporting data but offers provocative speculations about the tangle of psychopathological guilt, fear, damaged self-esteem, and false ethnic pride that, in his view, has prevented African Americans from taking advantage of real opportunities for success and misdirected their energies away from meaningful social competition and into black nationalist fantasies, chauvinistic educational enterprises, and ineffective affirmative action programs. However controversial, the arguments of Sowell, Steele, and other black neoconservatives have enhanced the sophistication of policy debates in African-American communities; and, capitalizing on the strategic and philosophical quandaries traditional liberal-radical civil rights organizations faced during the Reagan-Bush era, they have forced black thinkers across the political spectrum to consider anew the basic concepts and practical methods of social conservatism and social change.

Perhaps the most far-reaching recent developments in black intellectual life with respect to concepts of social change, however, have come through the flowering and dispersion of black feminist thought in the 1970s and '80s, building on a long tradition of African-American female leadership, creative activity, and political activism. The emergence of a cohesive and consummately skilled group of black female literary artists, in the wake of the black arts and women's liberation movements of the 1960s and '70s, helped galvanize the formation of black women's studies as an autonomous academic discipline in the middle 1970s, epitomized by the appearance in 1982 of Gloria Hull, Patricia Scott, and Barbara Smith's ground-breaking critical anthology *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*. Organized as an interdisciplinary field of theoretical and practical study that is unified by black female perspectives on the conceptual triumvirate of "race, class, and gender," advocates of black women's studies have reconstructed an historical continuity of black feminist expression—from Maria Stewart's 1830s African-American Female Society addresses to Sojourner Truth's famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech in 1851 to the 1890s manifestoes of Anna Julia Cooper and Victoria Earle Matthews; and from Amy Jacques Garvey's mid-1920s nationalist/feminist editorials and the Depression-era fiction and folklore of Zora Neale Hurston to the contemporary "womanist" prose, poetry, and drama of Alice Walker and her peers.

Walker's concept of the "womanist" as one who "acknowledges the particularistic experiences and cultural heritage of black women, resists systems of domination, and insists on the liberty and self-determination of all people" comes close to providing a consensual definition of the range of ideologies and praxis of black women's feminism. But the proliferation of black feminist ideas across the spectrum of lay and professional intellectual activities defies any narrow construction of its purposes and practices; and its versatility and growing popular appeal have become evident in the diverse audiences for such black feminist cultural critics as Hazel Carby, the writer bell

hooks, and Michele Wallace, for popular and academic historians of black female experience such as Paula Giddings and Darlene Clark Hine, for social scientists such as Joyce Ladner, Patricia Hill Collins, and MacArthur prize-winner Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, whose *Balm in Gilead: Journey of a Healer* (1988), an intergenerational biography of her mother, the pioneering child psychiatrist Margaret Lawrence, consummates the formal valorization of black female family traditions.

As a final focus of contemporary practical and theoretical activity, black intellectuals, spurred by an expanding African-American electorate and corollary concentrations of local and national political power, have increasingly found themselves playing explicitly political roles in grassroots and electoral mobilization for city, state, and federal offices, for black third-party conventions, and for presidential campaigns such as those of the Rev. Jesse Jackson in 1984 and 1988 and Gov. Bill Clinton in 1992. However, inasmuch as the political elite needs the approbation and services of intellectuals but remains loath to share the highest authority with them, the separation of black intellectuals from the higher executive and legislative branches of government parallels more starkly the marginal situation of American intellectuals generally as it has evolved from the time of the Jacksonian revolution until the "New Liberalism" of Woodrow Wilson and afterward. Nonetheless, liberal and constitutional politics in modern states have to a large extent been "intellectuals' politics"—that is, politics vaguely impelled by ideals precipitated into programs. Racial exclusion has made even more pronounced for African Americans the intellectuals' major political vocation of enunciating and pursuing the ideal. And as part of the "crisis of the Negro intellectual" articulated by Harold Cruse at the height of the Black Power movement during the late 1960s, the vitiation of this political vocation among black intellectuals has been exacerbated by their problematic sense of continuity with their cultural, creative, and ideological antecedents.

Such a crisis notwithstanding, however, by no means have black intellectuals been uniformly attracted by ideological politics, even those of civil rights and Black Power. Moderation and devotion to the rules of civil polity, quiet and apolitical concentration on specialized intellectual tasks, cynical or antipolitical passivity, and faithful acceptance of, and service to, the existing order are all to be found in substantial proportions among modern black intellectuals, just as among their nonblack peers. Although their work in scientific and scholarly spheres remains subject to much stricter regulation than in the fields of expressive intellectual action, some black intellectuals have influenced realignments of the social structure, within the intellectual subsociety in particular, supplanting the incumbents of leadership roles in professional intellectual associations and garnering previously unattainable allocations of intellectual awards and prizes—one of the most noteworthy being the award of the 1993 Nobel Prize for Literature to novelist Toni Morrison. And new fields of inquiry have been pioneered by black intellectuals such as Harry Edwards in the sociology of sport and the prolific critic Nathan Scott Jr. in religious literary criticism. Nonetheless, in the closing decade of the twentieth century, the long-lived function of black intellectuals in supplying the doctrines and some of the leaders of protest and social change movements remained one of their most widely accepted and effective roles. And from the evidence of the imaginative and theoretical roles played by contemporary writers such as Octavia Butler and Samuel R. Delany in the immensely popular realm of fantasy and science-based "speculative fiction," black intellectuals in the closing years of the second millennium were poised also to help formulate and guide a global society's creative vision of its possible futures.

See also Abolition; Afrocentrism; Anthropology and Anthropologists; Architecture; Art; Black Arts Movement; Black Middle Class; Black Power Movement; Black Studies; Civil War, U.S.; Communist Party of the United States; Dance; Education in the United States; Feminist Theory and Criticism; Film; Folklore; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Great Depression and the New Deal; Harlem Renaissance; Historians and Historiography; Identity and Race in the United States; Journalism; Kwanza; Literature; Masculinity; Mathematicians; Music; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century; New Negro; Pan-Africanism; Political Ideologies; Politics; Race and Science; Religion; Representations of Blackness in the United States; Science; Slavery; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race; Sociology; Spirituality; Woodson, Carter Godwin

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JOHN S. WRIGHT (1996)
Updated bibliography

International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean

The history of the Caribbean is a mosaic of conquests by European powers, starting with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492. However, from the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States gradually assumed a greater influence in the region that fit within the wider context of the growth of colonialism and the increasing struggle among powerful states to secure a dominant position in the global political economy. Given its proximity and regional hegemony, it is the United States

that has been able to influence the agenda of issues that Caribbean nations face, as well as shape the context and contours of decisions made by the various governments. So, in order to understand the nature of Caribbean international relations, one needs to take into consideration the historical, geostrategic, economic, and political power realities of the region.

The geography of the Caribbean combines with a shared history to provide an appearance of a homogenized region, but the reality is that Caribbean states have struggled on similar but separate tracks to find a foreign policy approach. Size, type of government, and at times the role of political and government leaders all figure in the complex dynamics of interactions among various actors, including states, organizations, and individuals at the domestic, regional, and international levels. National differences of wealth, developmental level, and politics have also had a direct bearing on Caribbean foreign policies. Haiti, for example, was the first Caribbean country to become independent (in 1804), but it has been plagued with a legacy of dictatorship. On the other hand, the nations of the English-speaking Caribbean gained independence during the 1960s and have relatively stable variants of the British parliamentary system. Overall, there is a dependence on foreign trade and a reliance on a narrow economic base comprised of agricultural production of cash crops such as sugar and bananas; mining and the manufacturing of oil, bauxite, gold, and apparel; and service industries. This dependency is reflected in a number of ways as the region struggles to break old patterns and seek greater influence in the global arena. The Caribbean has therefore operated under a variety of political and economic constraints that limit what Caribbean governments can accomplish and that reduce their control over events.

Independence and the Cold War Era

In the immediate years after independence, some Caribbean governments sought to develop relations with other developing states outside of the region. Reflecting the ethnic heritage of the people, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana developed ties with India and, along with Jamaica, created diplomatic links with some African countries. Despite the fact that these efforts were well intended, they have been mostly symbolic. The majority of Caribbean states gained independence during the 1960s, a period filled with the tensions and conflicts of East-West rivalry. The Cold War thus set the tone for foreign relations as the countries gained in importance, not because of anything intrinsic to them but because of their links with the wider struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The character of Caribbean relations during the Cold War was defined by security concerns within the framework of the containment of communism, especially after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. The ensuing threat of Cuba as an exporter of revolution—and its growing alliance with the Soviet Union—led to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the resulting policy of political and economic isolation of Cuba. In 1965 the United States engaged in direct military intervention in the Dominican Republic, and by 1983 the anticommunist strategy had intensified under President Ronald Reagan with a military intervention in Grenada. The Reagan administration also launched the Caribbean Basin Initiative as a means of increasing trade and investment, but the initiative rewarded only those countries that implemented free-market economic reforms and served as a manifestation of a growing dependence on the United States.

By the 1970s, the Cold War atmosphere also witnessed the rise of a new set of leaders (such as Michael Manley of Jamaica, Forbes Burnham of Guyana, and Maurice Bishop of Grenada) who sought new solutions for the old problems of colonialism and neocolonialism. Their foreign policies, couched in anti-imperialist rhetoric, coincided with the U.S. strategy of constant opposition to radical regimes in the region. With issues of development a common theme, these leaders turned increasingly to Third World and North-South forums to address issues of development. The Non-Aligned Movement, which first sought to avoid the trappings of the Cold War, embarked on a strategy of maximizing the gains from the bipolar competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. Armed with the solidarity gained from the Non-Aligned Movement, the Caribbean and developing nations in other regions used the Group of 77 in the United Nations to demand a New International Economic Order in a special session of the United Nations in May 1974. This helped to set the economic agenda for over a decade, but it eventually gave way to neoliberal strategies. Their influence was reduced in the multilateral arena, however, with the shift in the North-South dialogue from the political arenas of the United Nations to the financial and trade institutions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Negotiating Capacity, Institutional Relations, and Economic Survival

The international and global agenda for the Caribbean changed rapidly with the beginning of the 1980s. The end of the Cold War and the decline of communism helped to dramatically accelerate powerful trends that required changes in the policies and behaviors of states. Toward the end of the twentieth century, severe financial crises caused

by rising debt, falling exports, and shrinking economies in an increasingly global economy influenced the tone and style of Caribbean foreign policy and relations. These ideological and policy changes have led to a shift toward developing appropriate domestic policies. The bargaining leverage enjoyed in the Cold War era, and the confrontational tactics geared toward international regulation, have given way to market-oriented economic policies and political pluralism as the basis for economic development. Private and commercial entities and multilateral financial institutions such as the IMF have become major actors in the planning and implementation of policy for all the Caribbean states. In addition, globalization, structural adjustment, and reforms have posed a challenge for the small, open economies that are very vulnerable to external shocks.

The preferential arrangements that guaranteed duty-free access to European markets under the ACP (African, Caribbean, and Pacific) Lomé Convention, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and the Caribbean-Canada Trade Agreement (CARIBCAN) are now challenged by new rules enforced by the WTO and created to promote a liberalized global trading regime and facilitate negotiations on trade-related issues. The "banana dispute," in which the United States joined with Mexico and Central American countries to pressure the European Union to liberalize its banana trade with the Caribbean, exemplifies the new realities. This has resulted in increasing competition and marginalization of the Caribbean, especially for the eight small island economies of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. In addition, the United States is the Caribbean's largest trading partner, accounting for most of the imports into the region. Yet the countries all compete to get access to a U.S. market that has become increasingly protectionist. The economies of the Caribbean (except Trinidad and Tobago) have also become dependent on services for export. Tourism constitutes the greater portion of service exports and is very vulnerable to natural disasters, travel patterns of tourists, and competition within and outside of the region.

Given the increasing vulnerability and the failure of reform advocated by the New International Economic Order, Caribbean states have turned to regional and subregional groupings with the hopes of finding their own identity and a basis for common action to take advantage of growing economic interdependence and to address the realities of global competition. The first attempt toward regionalism dates back to 1966 with the formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA). Then, in 1973, the Treaty of Chaguaramas created the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). The treaty was revised in 1992 to facilitate the creation of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME), which includes a common external tariff; functional cooperation in agriculture, energy, transportation, tourism, meteorology, natural disaster, education and law; regional cooperation in infrastructure; and a Caribbean Court of Justice. In an effort toward wider relations in the region, the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) was formed in 1996. Its membership of thirty-six nations includes Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Isthmus states. The CSME is expected to remove barriers to the movement of labor, capital, goods, and services between the signatories of the fifteen member states—the agreement came into effect in January 2005 between Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, with the expectation that the other members would join by the end of the year. However, the region still has to deal with problems of sovereignty and commitments to the integration process.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is another regional/hemispheric vehicle touted as one way in which Caribbean economies would be able to make positive adjustments in an era of globalization. A basic framework is in place, but a number of difficult issues are unresolved. There are different interpretations of whether the FTAA should be a primarily market-access agreement or a broader rules-based pact. Caribbean governments have emphasized the need for fair trade to address the issue of special and differential treatment. Furthermore, since September 11, 2001, security has displaced trade on the U.S. agenda, and the merging of the war on terrorism with the war on drugs has resulted in an emphasis on creating "smart" borders and denying safe havens for terrorists. There are now fears that commitments to hemispheric security will override the importance of economic development of the region.

An Uncertain Future

The parameters of Caribbean international relations have now shifted to the promotion of interests in an environment that is dominated by (and challenged with) concerns of globalization, economic competition, and terrorism. The Caribbean also exists in a world dominated by the most powerful state, which has historically influenced the image and fate of its relations. The pervasive nature of economic crises and increasing constraints on the state have reduced any semblance of autonomy derived from the rights of sovereignty and the ability to formulate independent positions in foreign policy. The future of the Caribbean nations in international politics will greatly depend on the dynamic mix between the demands that external chal-

Fidel Castro, president of Cuba (left), with Keith Mitchell, prime minister of Grenada. *Grenada was the last stop for Castro during a six-day tour of the Caribbean in 1998, fifteen years after U.S. troops invaded the island nation to put down a Marxist coup.* PHOTOGRAPH BY KIMBERLY WHITE. HULTON/ARCHIVE, GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

lenges and internal politics simultaneously place on the governments of the region. As a people, the Caribbean extends beyond its geographical boundaries to the various metropolitan centers of Europe and North America. These overseas aggregations—in the form of a diaspora—are larger than many of the member states in the region. The survival and development of the Caribbean in international affairs may have to rely, in the final analysis, on the creativity of its people both within and beyond the confines of the Caribbean Sea.

See also Bishop, Maurice; Burham, Forbes; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Manley, Michael; Media and Identity in the Caribbean; Natural Resources of the Caribbean

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DORITH GRANT-WISDOM (2005)

Inventions

See Inventors and Inventions; Patents and Inventions

Inventors and Inventions

Historians are just beginning to uncover some of the ways in which African Americans have contributed to the development of American technology. Seventeenth-century African-American inventors left no written records of their own. But many of them were skilled in crafts and created new devices and techniques in the course of their work. Africans brought a store of technological knowledge with them to the Americas. In the West elements of African technology merged with European and Native American technology to create new American traditions in technology. This is particularly evident in the areas of boat building, rice culture, pharmacology, and musical instrument making.

More is known about black inventors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly those who enjoyed some celebrity in their time, such as Norbert Rillieux, a Louisianan who invented the multiple-effect vacuum evaporation system for producing sugar from sugarcane. The Rillieux method revolutionized the sugar industry and came to be the accepted method of sugarcane juice evaporation. Though blacks contributed to the technological development that resulted, there was little public recognition of their achievements.

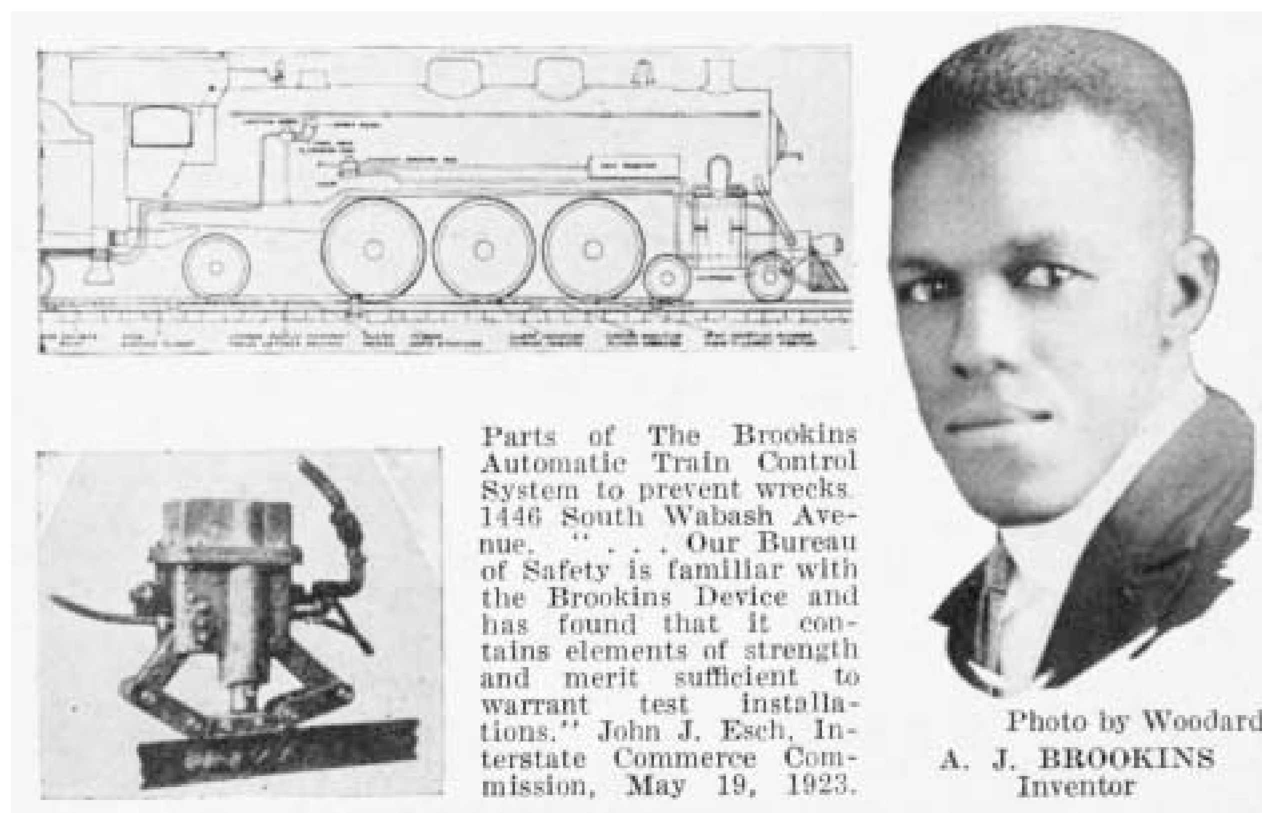
In the North many African-American men turned to the maritime trades for employment, and from these ranks came several outstanding inventors such as James Forten, the wealthy Philadelphia black abolitionist whose fortune was built upon his invention around the turn of the nineteenth century of a sail-handling device, and Lewis Temple, who introduced the toggle harpoon to commercial whaling in Massachusetts in the 1840s.

Craftsmen who invented new devices discovered innovative techniques that improved the quality of their products or reduced the cost of producing them often went into business for themselves instead of hiring themselves out for wages. But these craftsmen-inventors still faced the problems of patenting the invention or protecting it somehow from competitors, financing its production, and marketing it.

Elijah McCoy (1843–1929). *McCoy automated the maintenance of locomotive and stationary engines by inventing a self-lubricating device—a small cup that supplied drops of oil to moving parts while they operated.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The enactment of the U.S. Patent Act in 1790 provided for some documentation of black inventors and their inventions, but this documentation is incomplete. Because the race of the inventor was not generally recorded by the U.S. Patent Office, it is not known for certain how many blacks received patents. Thomas L. Jennings, a New York abolitionist, is the earliest African-American patent holder to have been identified so far. He received a patent for a dry-cleaning process on March 3, 1821. Further research may uncover earlier black patent holders. Slaves were legally prohibited from receiving patents for their inventions, and there are few surviving accounts in which slave inventors are fully identified.

The slave inventor found himself in an unlikely position that must have strained the assumptions of slavery to the utmost. Nothing illustrates the slave inventor's dilemma more clearly than the situation of two such inventors:



A. J. Brookins, inventor of the Brookins Automatic Train Control System, designed to help prevent train wrecks. *The image is from John Taitt's Souvenir of Negro Progress, 1779–1925 (1925).* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

"Ned" and Benjamin Montgomery. They were responsible for the federal government and the Confederate government formally taking up the "problem" of slave inventors.

Ned's owner, O. J. E. Stuart, wrote to the secretary of the interior requesting that he receive a patent for the invention of a cotton scraper that his slave mechanic, Ned, had invented. Although Stuart admitted that the concept for the invention came entirely from Ned, he reminded the secretary that "the master is the owner of the fruits of the labor of the slave both intillectual [sic], and manual." The U.S. attorney general rendered a final opinion on June 10, 1858, "that a machine invented by a slave, though it be new and useful, cannot, in the present state of the law, be patented." The attorney general also prohibited the masters of slaves from receiving patents for their slaves' inventions. The decision not to allow either slaves or their owners to receive patents for slave inventions meant that such inventions could not enjoy any legal protection or any formal recognition. The attorney general's opinion stood until the end of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment. Further mention of Ned is absent from the historical record, and nothing is known of what became of him.

Benjamin Montgomery was also a slave inventor. He was the slave of Joseph Davis (brother of Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederacy). Montgomery served as general manager and mechanic on Davis's plantation in Mississippi. In the late 1850s Montgomery invented a propeller for a river steamboat, specifically designed for the shallow waters around the plantation. Montgomery's biographers write that both Joseph and Jefferson Davis tried to have the propeller patented, but they were prevented from doing so by the attorney general's 1858 decision barring slave inventions from being patented. After he became president of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis oversaw Confederate legislation that allowed a master to receive patents for his slaves' inventions. Many other slaves, lost to history, invented labor-saving devices and innovative techniques.

After the Civil War significant numbers of black inventors began to patent their inventions. The list of inventions patented by blacks reveals what kinds of occupations African Americans held and in which sectors of the labor force they were concentrated. Agricultural implements, devices for easing domestic chores, musical instruments,

Selected Inventions by African Americans

Inventor	*Invention*	*Year*
Ashbourne, A.P.	Biscuit cutter	1875
Bailey, L.C.	Folding bed	1899
Bath, P.E.	cataract Laserphaco	1988
Beard, A.J.	Rotary Engine	1892
Beard, A.J.	Car-coupler	1897
Becket, G.E.	Letter box	1892
Bell, L.	Locomotive smokestack	1871
Benjamin, M.E.	Gong and signal chairs for hotels	1888
Binga, M.W.	Street sprinkling apparatus	1879
Blackburn, A.B.	Railway signal	1888
Blair, Henry	Corn planter	1834
Blair, Henry	Cotton planter	1836
Boone, Sarah	Ironing board	1892
Boykin, Otis	Burglar-proof cash register	1961
Brooks, C.R.	Street-sweeper	1896
Brooks, Phil	Disposable syringe	1974
Brown, Marie	Video home security system	1969
Brown, O.E.	Horseshoe	1892
Burr, J.A.	Lawn mower	1899
Butts, J.W.	Luggage carrier	1899
Carter, W.C.	Umbrella stand	1885
Church, T.S.	Carpet beating machine	1884
Cook, G.	Automatic fishing device	1899
Cooper, J.	Elevator device	1895
Cornwall, P.W.	Draft regulator	1893
Cralle, A.L.	Ice-cream mold	1897
Crum, George	Potato chip	1853
Davis, W.R., Jr.	Library table	1878
Demon, Ronald	©Smart Shoe	1998
Dorticus, C.J.	Machine for embossing photos	1895
Downing, P.B.	Street letter drop mailbox with hinged door	1891
Drew, C.R.	Blood bank	c.1938
Elkins, T.	Refrigerating apparatus	1879
Flemming, F., Jr.	Guitar (variation)	1886

Selected Inventions by African Americans *(continued)*

Inventor	***Invention***	***Year***
Goode, S.S.	Folding cabinet bed	1885
Grant, G.F.	Golf tee	1899
Gregory, J.	Motor	1887
Headen, M.	Foot power hammer	1886
Jackson, B.F.	Gas burner	1899
Johnson, L.G.	©Supersoaker	1988
Joyner, Majorie	Permanent wave machine	1928
Latimer and Nichols	Electric lamp	1881
Marshall, T.J.	fire extinguisher (variation)	1872
McCoy, E.	Lubricator for steam engines	1872
Morgan, Garrett	Gas mask	1914
Morgan, Garrett	Traffic signal	1923
Spears, H.	Portable shield for infantry	1870
Sutton, E.H.	Cotton cultivator	1878
Woods, G.T.	Electromechanical brake	1887
Woods, G.T.	Railway telegraphy	1887
Woods, G.T.	Induction telegraph system	1887
Woods, G.T.	Overhead conducting system for railway	1888
Woods, G.T.	Electromotive railway system	1888
Woods, G.T.	Railway telegraphy	1888

and devices related to the railroad industry were common. These inventions served as a source of financial security, personal pride, achievement, and spiritual "uplift" for African Americans. Much of the struggle for black inventors of that era revolved around the battle to assert themselves upon the national consciousness. On August 10, 1894, on the floor of the House of Representatives, Representative George Washington Murray from South Carolina rose to read the names and inventions of ninety-two black inventors into the *Congressional Record*. Representative Murray hoped that it would serve as a testament to the technological achievement of a people so recently emancipated.

Many African Americans made contributions to the new technologies and industries developed in the nineteenth century. Jan Matzeliger invented a shoe-lasting machine that made the skill of shoe lasting (i.e., shaping) by hand obsolete. Elijah McCoy designed hydrostatic oil lubricators that were adopted by railroad and shipping companies. His standard of quality was so rigorous that the term "the real McCoy" came to be applied to his lubricators and to stand for the highest quality product available. Garrett A. Morgan patented a safety hood (a precursor to the modern gas mask) and an automatic traffic signal. He once donned his safety hood himself to save the lives of men trapped in an underground explosion. Granville T. Woods and Lewis H. Latimer were pioneers in the newly emerging fields of electrical engineering. Woods patented many electrical and railway telegraphy systems; Latimer, with several patents to his credit, was one of the "Edison pioneers," the group of researchers who worked most closely with Thomas A. Edison.

The twentieth century brought many changes to industrial engineering and design. The rise of corporate enterprise led to more centralized research. Many of the most important inventions began to come from teams of researchers employed by large companies. As technology became more complicated, inventors in emerging fields began to have more formal education.

Today, advanced degrees in engineering and the sciences have become prerequisites for doing innovative work in some fields. Despite these changes, important inventions are still being patented by inventors who work alone—individuals who are suddenly struck by a solution to a daily encountered problem, or who laboriously work out a cheaper, quicker, or better means of producing something.

See also Carver, George Washington; Forten, James; Latimer, Lewis Howard; Patents and Inventions; Science

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PORTIA P. JAMES (1996)

Islam

This entry has two unique essays about the same topic, differing mainly in their geographical focus.

ISLAM IN NORTH AMERICA
Lawrence H. Mamiya

ISLAM IN THE CARIBBEAN
Nasser Mustapha

Islam in North America

Originating in the seventh century CE through the revelations, visions, and messages received by the prophet Muhammad in Arabia, Islam spread rapidly throughout North Africa. Black African converts to Islam were called Moors and not only helped conquer southern Spain but also gained a reputation as skilled navigators and sailors. The Moors who accompanied the Spanish explorers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were among the first to introduce the Islamic religion to the Americas. However, the greater impact of Islam in British North America occurred with the arrival of African Muslims (adherents of Islam) from the Islamized parts of West Africa who had been captured in warfare and sold to the European traders of the Atlantic slave trade.

Muslim Slaves in North America

The presence of Muslim slaves has been ignored by most historians, who have tended to focus on the conversion of Africans to Christianity or on the attempts to preserve aspects of traditional African religions. Yet their presence has been attested to by narrative and documentary accounts, some of which were written in Arabic. Yarrow Mamout, Job Ben Solomon, and Lamine Jay arrived in colonial Maryland in the 1730s. Abdul Rahaman, Mohammed Kaba, Bilali, Salih Bilali, and "Benjamin Cochrane" were enslaved in the late eighteenth century. Omar Ibn Said, Kebe, and Abu Bakr were brought to southern plantations in the early 1800s; two others, Mahommah Baquaqua and Mohammed Ali ben Said, came to the United States as freemen about 1850. Abdul Rahaman, a Muslim prince of the Fula people in Timbo, Fouta Djallon, became a slave for close to twenty years in Natchez, Mississippi, before he was freed; he eventually returned to Africa through the aid of abolitionist groups.

Court records in South Carolina described African slaves who prayed to Allah and refused to eat pork. Missionaries in Georgia and South Carolina observed that some Muslim slaves attempted to blend Islam and Christianity by identifying God with Allah and Muhammad with Jesus. A conservative estimate is that close to 30,000 Muslim slaves came from Islamic-dominated ethnic groups such as the Mandingo, Fula, Gambians, Senegambians, Senegalese, Cape Verdians, and Sierra Leoneans in West Africa. Although the African Muslim presence in North America was much larger than previously believed, Islamic influence did not survive the impact of the slave period. Except for the documents left by the Muslims named above, only scattered traces and family memories

of Islam remained among African Americans. In his novel *Roots,* Alex Haley's ancestral Muslim character, Kunta Kinte of the Senegambia, exemplifies these survivals.

Loss and Rediscovery

By the late nineteenth century, black Christian churches had become so dominant in the religious and social life of black communities that only a few African-American leaders who had traveled to Africa knew anything about Islam. Contacts between immigrant Arab groups and African Americans were almost nonexistent at this time. After touring Liberia and South Africa, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal church recognized the "dignity, majesty, and consciousness of worth of Muslims" (Austin, p. 24; Hill and Kilson, p. 63). But it was Edward Wilmot Blyden, the West Indian educator, Christian missionary, and minister for the government of Liberia, who became the most enthusiastic supporter of Islam for African Americans. Blyden, who began teaching Arabic in Liberia in 1867, wrote a book, *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (1888), in which he concluded that Islam had a much better record of racial equality than Christianity did—a conclusion that struck him especially strongly after he compared the racial attitudes of Christian and Muslim missionaries whom he had encountered in Africa. Islam, he felt, could also be a positive force in improving conditions for African Americans in the United States. Although he lectured extensively, Blyden did not become a leader of a social movement that could establish Islam effectively in America. That task awaited the prophets and forceful personalities of the next century.

The massive rural-to-urban migrations by more than four million African Americans during the first decades of the twentieth century provided the conditions for the rise of a number of black militant and separatist movements, including a few that had a tangential relationship to Islam. These proto-Islamic movements combined the religious trappings of Islam—a few rituals, symbols, or items of dress—with a core message of black nationalism.

In 1913 Timothy Drew, a black deliveryman and street-corner preacher from North Carolina, founded the first Moorish Holy Temple of Science in Newark, New Jersey. Rejecting Christianity as the white man's religion, Drew took advantage of widespread discontent among the newly arrived black migrants and rapidly established temples in Detroit, Harlem, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and cities across the South. Calling himself Prophet Noble Drew Ali, he constructed a message aimed at the confusion about names, national origins, and self-identity among black people. He declared that they were not "Negroes" but "Asiatics," or "Moors," or "Moorish Americans" whose true home was Morocco, and that their true religion was Moorish Science, whose doctrines were elaborated in a sixty-page book, written by Ali, called the *Holy Koran* (which should not be confused with the Qur'an of orthodox Islam).

Prophet Ali issued "Nationality and Identification Cards" stamped with the Islamic symbol of the star and crescent. There was a belief that these identity cards would prevent harm from the white man, or European, who was in any case soon to be destroyed, with "Asiatics" then in control. As the movement spread from the East Coast to the Midwest, Ali's followers in Chicago practiced "bumping days," on which aggressive male members would accost whites on the sidewalks and surreptitiously bump them out of the way—a practice that reversed the Jim Crow custom of southern whites forcing blacks off the sidewalks. After numerous complaints to the police, Noble Drew Ali ordered a halt to the disorders and urged his followers to exercise restraint. "Stop flashing your cards before Europeans," he said, "as this only causes confusion. We did not come to cause confusion; our work is to uplift the nation" (Lincoln, p. 54). The headquarters of the movement was moved to Chicago in 1925.

The growth of the Moorish Science movement was accelerated during the post–World War I years by the recruitment of better educated but less dedicated members who quickly assumed leadership positions. These new leaders began to grow rich by exploiting the less educated membership of the movement and selling them herbs, magical charms, potions, and literature. When Ali intervened to prevent further exploitation, he was pushed aside, and this interference eventually led to his mysterious death in 1929. Noble Drew Ali died of a beating; whether it was done by the police when he was in their custody or by dissident members of the movement is not known. After his death, the movement split into numerous smaller factions, with rival leaders claiming to be reincarnations of Noble Drew Ali.

The Moorish Science Temple movement has survived, with active temples in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and a few other cities. In present-day Moorish temples, membership is restricted to "Asiatics," or non-Caucasians, who have rejected their former identities as "colored" or "Negro." The term *el* or *bey* is attached to the name of each member as a sign of his or her Asiatic status and inward transformation. Friday is the Sabbath for the Moors, and they have adopted a mixture of Islamic and Christian rituals in worship. They face Mecca when they pray, three times a day, but they have also incorporated Jesus and the singing of transposed hymns into their services. The Moorish Science Temple movement was the first proto-

Islamic group of African Americans and helped to pave the way for more orthodox Islamic practices and beliefs. Many Moors were among the earliest converts to the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslim movement.

Islamic Missionaries

While the Moors were introducing aspects of Islam to black communities, sometime around 1920 the Ahmadiyyah movement sent missionaries to the United States, who began to proselytize among African Americans. Founded in India in 1889 by Mizra Ghulam Ahmad, a self-proclaimed Madhi, or Muslim messiah, the Ahmadiyyahs were a heterodox sect of Islam that was concerned with interpretations of the Christian gospel, including the Second Coming. The Ahmadiyyahs also emphasized some of the subtle criticisms of Christianity that were found in the Qur'an, such as the view that Jesus did not really die on the cross (Surah 4:157–159).

As an energetic missionary movement, the Ahmadiyyah first sent missionaries to West Africa, then later to the diaspora in the United States. Sheik Deen of the Ahmadiyyah mission was influential in converting Walter Gregg, who became one of the first African-American converts to Islam and changed his name to Wali Akram. After a period of studying the Qur'an and Arabic with the sheik, Akram founded the First Cleveland Mosque in 1933. He taught Islam to several generations of Midwesterners, including many African Americans. He also worked as a missionary in India. Although it was relatively unknown and unnoticed, the Ahmadiyyah mission movement is significant in that it provided one of the first contacts for African Americans with a worldwide sectarian Islamic group, whose traditions were more orthodox than the proto-Islamic black-nationalist movements.

About the same time that the Ahmadiyyah movement began its missionary work in the United States, another small group of orthodox Muslims, led by a West Indian named Sheik Dawud Hamed Faisal, established the Islamic Mission to America in 1923 on State Street in Brooklyn. At the State Street Mosque, Sheik Dawud taught a more authentic version of Islam than the Ahmadiyyahs because he followed the Sunna (practices) of the prophet Muhammad; whereas the Ahmadiyyahs believed in the tradition of the Mahdi, or Islamic messianism, Dawud belonged to the tradition of Sunni orthodoxy. The sheik welcomed black Americans to mingle with immigrant Muslims. He taught Arabic, the Qur'an, the Sunna-Hadith tradition, and *sharia,* or Islamic law, emphasizing the five pillars of Islam: the credo (*shahadah*) of Islam that emphasizes belief in one God and Muhammad as the messenger of Allah; prayer (*salat*) five times a day facing Mecca; charity tax (*zakat*); fasting (*saum*) during the month of Ramadan; and pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) if it is possible. Sheik Dawud's work was concentrated mainly in New York and New England. He became responsible for converting a number of African-American Muslims.

A smaller group and third source of African-American Sunni Muslims was the community in Buffalo, New York, that was taught orthodox Islam and Arabic by an immigrant Muslim, Professor Muhammad EzalDeen, in 1933. EzalDeen formed several organizations, including a national one, Uniting Islamic Societies of America, in the early 1940s.

Orthodox Islam

The work of the Ahmadiyyah movement, Sheik Dawud's Islamic Mission to America and the State Street Mosque, Imam Wali Akram's First Cleveland Mosque, and Professor EzalDeen's Islamic Societies of America was important in establishing a beachhead for a more orthodox and universal Sunni Islam in African-American communities.

During the turmoil of the 1960s, young African Americans traveled abroad and made contact with international Muslim movements such as the Tablighi Jamaat. The Darul Islam movement began in 1968 among dissatisfied African-American members of Sheik Dawud's State Street Mosque in Brooklyn and was led by a charismatic black leader, Imam Yahya Abdul Karim. Sensing the disenchantment with the lack of leadership, organization, and community programs in Sheik Dawud's movement, Imam Karim instituted the Darul Islam, the call to establish the kingdom of Allah. The movement spread to Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. A network of over forty mosques was developed between 1968 and 1982. After a schism in 1982, the Darul Islam movement declined in influence, but it has since been revived under the charismatic leadership of Imam Jamin al-Amin of Atlanta (the former H. Rap Brown of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). Other smaller Sunni organizations also came into existence during the 1960s, such as the Islamic Party and the Mosque of the Islamic Brotherhood. It is ironic, however, that the greatest impact and influence of Islam among black people were exerted by another proto-Islamic movement called the Nation of Islam.

Nation of Islam

In 1930 a mysterious peddler of sundry goods who called himself Wali Fard Muhammad began to spread the word of a new religion, designed for the "Asiatic black man." He soon developed a following of several hundred people and

Joseph X, a member of the Nation of Islam, selling **The Final Call** *on a street in Chicago in 1995.* © RALF-FINN HESTOFT/CORBIS

established Temple No. 1 of the Nation of Islam. Focusing on knowledge of self as the path to individual and collective salvation, Master Fard explained that black people were members of the lost-found tribe of Shabazz and owed no allegiance to a white-dominated country, which had enslaved and continuously persecuted them. When Fard mysteriously disappeared in 1934, his chief lieutenant—the former Robert Poole, now called Elijah Muhammad—led a segment of followers to Chicago, where he established Muhammad's Temple No. 2 as the headquarters for the fledgling movement.

Elijah Muhammad deified Master Fard as Allah, or God incarnated in a black man, and called himself the Prophet or Apostle of Allah, frequently using the title *the honorable* as a designation of his special status. Although the basic credo of the Nation of Islam stood in direct contradiction to the tenets of orthodox Islam, the movement's main interests were to spread the message of black nationalism and to develop a separate black nation. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad emphasized two basic principles: to know oneself (a development of true self-knowledge based on the teachings of the Nation of Islam); and to do for self (an encouragement to become economically independent). He also advocated a strict ascetic lifestyle, which included one meal per day and a ban on tobacco, alcohol, drugs, and pork. From 1934 until his death in 1975, Muhammad and his followers established more than one hundred temples and Clara Muhammad schools, and innumerable grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, and other small businesses. During this period, the Nation of Islam owned farms in several states, a bank, a fleet of trailer trucks for its fish and grocery businesses, and an ultramodern printing plant. Muhammad's empire was estimated to be worth more than eighty million dollars.

Elijah Muhammad's message of a radical black nationalism, which included the belief that whites were devils, was brought to the American public by a charismatic young minister who had converted to the Nation of Islam after his incarceration in a Boston prison in 1946 for armed robbery. Upon his release from prison in 1952 and until his assassination in 1965, Minister Malcolm X, the former Malcolm Little, had an enormous impact on the growth of the movement.

Extremely intelligent and articulate, Malcolm X was an indefatigable proselytizer for the Nation of Islam, founding temples throughout the country and establishing the newspaper *Muhammad Speaks.* For his efforts, he was awarded the prestigious post of minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem and appointed the national representative by Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm X led the Nation of Islam's attack on the word *negro* as a reflection of a slave mentality and successfully laid the ideological basis for the emergence of the black consciousness and Black Power movements of the late 1960s. However, a dispute with Elijah Muhammad about future directions and personal moral conduct led Malcolm X to leave the Nation of Islam in 1964. Louis Farrakhan, another charismatic speaker, took Malcolm's place as the national representative and head minister of Temple No. 7. On a *hajj* to Mecca, Malcolm X became convinced that orthodox Sunni Islam was a solution to the racism and discrimination that plagued American society. On February 21, 1965, the renamed el Hajj Malik el Shabazz was assassinated in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem while delivering a lecture for his newly formed Organization for Afro-American Unity.

Schism and Unity

When Elijah Muhammad died a decade later, in February 1975, the fifth of his six sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad, was chosen as his father's successor as supreme minister of the Nation of Islam. In April 1975, Wallace Muhammad shocked the movement by announcing an end to its racial doctrines and black nationalist teachings. He disbanded the Fruit of Islam and the Muslim Girls Training, the elite internal organizations, and gradually moved his followers

toward orthodox Sunni Islam. His moves led to a number of schisms, which produced several competing black nationalist groups: Louis Farrakhan's resurrected Nation of Islam in Chicago, the largest and best known of the groups; Silas Muhammad's Nation of Islam in Atlanta; and a Nation of Islam led by John Muhammad, brother of Elijah Muhammad, in Detroit.

In the evolution of his movement, Wallace Muhammad took the Muslim title and name Imam Warith Deen Muhammad (in 1991 the spelling of his surname was changed to the British Mohammed). The movement's name and the name of its newspaper also changed several times: from the World Community of Al-Islam in the West (*Bilalian News*) in 1976 to the American Muslim Mission (*American Muslim Mission Journal*) in 1980; then in 1985 Warith Deen Muhammad decentralized the movement into independent *masjids*, which means "place of prayer"(*Muslim Journal*). Farrakhan's Nation of Islam also published its own newspaper, the *Final Call.* With several hundred thousand followers—predominantly African Americans—who identify with his teachings, Mohammed has continued to deepen their knowledge of the Arabic language, the Qur'an, and the Sunna, or practices of the Prophet. Immigrant Muslims from Africa, Pakistan, and Middle Eastern countries also participate in the Friday Jum'ah prayer services.

Although it adheres to the basic tenets of orthodox Sunni Islam, the movement has not yet settled on a particular school of theological thought to follow. Since every significant culture in Islamic history has produced its own school of thought, it is Mohammed's conviction that eventually an American school of Islamic thought will emerge in the United States, comprising the views of African-American and immigrant Muslims. Imam Warith Deen Mohammed has been accepted by the World Muslim Council as a representative of Muslims in the United States and has been given the responsibility of certifying Americans who want to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 2000, Imam Mohammed again dissolved his movement, the Muslim American Society, because he wanted to shake up his followers who were becoming too complacent. However, the major African-American Muslim leaders and their *masjids* have chosen to support Imam Mohammed's Mosque Cares Ministry, so his movement continues to exist but under a different name.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the leaders of the two largest African-American Muslim movements, Imam Warith Deen Mohammed and the Honorable Louis Farrakhan, have made a rapprochement by holding joint prayer services in Chicago during the last weekend of February, the traditional time of the Nation of Islam's Savior's Day celebration. Imam Mohammed has accepted Farrakhan as a true Muslim because he led his movement to hold the formal Friday Jum'ah prayer service and to adhere to other practices of orthodox Islam, such as following the lunar calendar for the Ramadan celebration and reciting the formal prayers in Arabic. Although both leaders are friendly, they have agreed to keep their movements separate rather than merge them.

In its varying forms, Islam has had a much longer history in the United States, particularly among African Americans, than is commonly known. In the last decade of the twentieth century, about one million African Americans belonged to proto-Islamic and orthodox Islamic groups. Islam has become the fourth major religious tradition in American society, alongside Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism. In black communities, Islam has reemerged as the dominant religious alternative to Christianity.

See also Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah (Brown, H. "Rap"); Fard, Wallace D.; Farrakhan, Louis; Islam in the Caribbean; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah; Muslims in the Americas; Nation of Islam; Noble Drew Ali

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Islam in the Caribbean

The experiences of plantation slavery were not conducive to the continuity of most cultural traits brought from Africa. Thus within a few generations, all traces of Islam virtually disappeared in the Caribbean. Historical evidence shows that there were many Muslims among these slaves, mainly from the Mandingo, Hausa, and Fulani peoples. Evidence also shows that there was a latent, suppressed attachment to ancestral religions, including Islam.

In one of the ironies of Caribbean history, many Afro-Caribbean people converted to Islam centuries after all traces of this religion were destroyed by the European cultural dominance faced by their ancestors. This acculturative process took place systematically throughout slavery and may have varied in intensity from one Caribbean country to another as Melville Herskovits observed.

Islam was once more introduced to the Caribbean through the indentured laborers from India from 1845 to 1917. This community was largely concerned with its own survival, had limited contact with the wider society, and thus was not engaged in missionary activity. Nevertheless, a few individuals of African descent converted to Islam as early as 1940. Among these were Pir Robinson and Yusuf Mitchell, who both became leaders in what was perceived at that time as an Indian religion. Robinson was a wealthy businessman from the southern part of the island of Trinidad. He accepted Islam through his own search, eventually became a leader at his mosque, and was known to be engaged in many social welfare activities. Mitchell, a nationally known architect from north Trinidad, became a Muslim in 1950. Being influenced by religious missionaries, Mitchell initially practiced many local traditions. He was a founding member of the Islamic Missionaries Guild (c. 1969) and the Islamic Trust (c. 1975).

A significant influx of African converts began in the early 1970s, spurred by an increased black consciousness among the Afro-Caribbean community. This phenomenon was inspired by events in North America and particularly by the teachings of Malcolm X. While the Nation of Islam did have a small following in Port of Spain, Trinidad, and in other Caribbean territories, the majority of Africans in the Caribbean who accepted Islam joined the orthodox Muslim community. These new Afro-Caribbean Muslims came mainly from grassroots urban communities, and they did not find ready acceptance by the middle-class leadership of the traditional Muslim community. However, among the younger members of the Muslim community, who were generally more fundamentalist in their religious orientation, there was no significant race or class barrier.

Though Afro-Caribbean Muslims were warmly accommodated by the Islamic Missionaries Guild of the Caribbean and South America (with branches in Guyana, Barbados, and Trinidad) and the Islamic Trust of Trinidad and Guyana, as a group they were still uncomfortable with the Indian Muslim community. They were especially concerned with the Indian cultural traditions, which they felt were influenced by Hinduism. In February 1977, Afro-Trinidadian Muslims in Trinidad established their own group under the influence of the Islamic Party of North America. The Jamaat-al-Muslimeen, an Islamic organization with a predominantly Afro-Trinidadian membership, evolved out of this group. In July 1990, led by Yasin Abu Bakr, the group attempted to remove the democratically elected government. They took Prime Minister A. N. R. Robinson and other government ministers hostage, but the coup attempt failed after seven days. Many of the Jamaat's members then left to form the Islamic Resource Society. This group has very cordial relations with the Indian Muslim community and belongs to the United Islamic Organizations, a coordinating body of Muslim groups in Trinidad. Afro-Trinidadian Muslims frequently worship at most of the Indian-dominated mosques in Trinidad and Tobago and in Guyana, but there are a few urban mosques that are predominantly Afro-Trinidadian in their congregation. The other Muslim communities in the Caribbean, with the exception of Barbados, are predominantly Afro-Caribbean in their membership.

Middle Eastern Influence

There were Muslims, Jews, and Christians among the early Syrian and Lebanese immigrants to the Caribbean. These groups came as traders to the Caribbean in the 1930s. Those who remained Muslims often intermingled, and sometimes intermarried, with Indian Muslims. One of the

Yasin Abu Bakr, August 1, 1990. *Abu Bakr rides with fellow prisoners after Trinidadian and Tobagoan forces arrest him in Port-of-Spain following an attempted coup d'etat by his militant Muslim group Jamaat-al-Muslimeen* © LES STONE/CORBIS.

first Muslim missionaries from the Middle East was Abdel Salaam, who came from Egypt around 1966. He taught Arabic at several centers in Trinidad. In the 1970s, nationals from Trinidad, Guyana, and Barbados were awarded scholarships to pursue studies in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Their return provided a new turn of events for the Muslim community in the Caribbean. As might have been expected, their interpretations of Islam did not find favor with the traditional Muslims. They nevertheless found tremendous support from among the youth of the region, who were largely disenchanted with the leadership of traditional Muslims. These new and radical fundamentalist-type approaches, which emphasized a return to the original sources in the practice of Islam, provided an exciting escape from the traditionalism of the mainstream Muslim community.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 further kindled the flames of fundamentalism among Caribbean Muslims. Young Muslims took pride in openly identifying with Islam. It was only around the mid-1970s that Muslim women began wearing the *hijab,* or veil. Prior to this, the *ohrni*, an Indian head covering, was worn by older women only (Niehoff and Niehoff, 1961).

In some Caribbean countries, organizations bringing together different Muslim traditions have been established. These "ecumenical" attempts have achieved some degree of success at the formal level, where groups of different orientations sit together to address the needs of the Muslim community. However, the more traditional Muslims show little inclination to change traditional religious practices.

In countries such as Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Suriname, the major strength of the community lies in its numerous institutions. There are Muslim cooperatives, a credit union, a housing cooperative, several primary and secondary schools, and three religious institutes. The mosques of the region have also served as important institutions over the years. As of 1998, Guyana had 154 mosques; Trinidad and Tobago, 112; Suriname, 100; Jamaica, 6; and Barbados, 4. In addition to serving as places of worship, many mosques serve as both places of worship and educational institutions, known as *maktabs* (literally, a place of writing) or *madrasahs* (literally, a place for studying). Both terms are used to refer to educational institutions. In Guyana, *madrasah* is preferred, while in

Trinidad, *maktab* is preferred. In most of the smaller Muslim communities of the Caribbean, members (largely of Afro-Caribbean descent) formed a regional body, the Association of Islamic Communities of the Caribbean and Latin America (AICCLA), in 1982 to coordinate their activities. They have received some financial and other forms of assistance from outside the Caribbean.

The Muslim community in the Caribbean has successfully struggled to maintain a visible presence in the face of numerous forces that have threatened its very existence. And yet a marked diversity exists within the community, even among those who claim to have the same orientation. There are many variations in the approach to Islam. These are usually based on matters of religious practice and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and not basic beliefs. There is, however, much need for further research on the historical background and unique characteristics of Caribbean Muslims.

See also Islam in North America; Muslims in the Americas; Slave Religions

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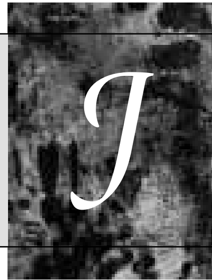
NASSER MUSTAPHA (2005)

Islam, Nation of

See Nation of Islam



Jack and Jill of America

Jack and Jill of America, a nonprofit philanthropic organization, was founded in 1938 in Philadelphia by Marion T. Stubbs Thomas with the primary aim of serving African-American children from the ages of two to nineteen. The group grew out of volunteer community work by African-American women during the Great Depression. Along with several other women of the Philadelphia black elite, Thomas agreed that most of the women who associated socially and professionally had children who did not know one another, so the women sponsored cultural events and created a network for parents and children. In 1939 Jack and Jill of America expanded to New York, and by 1988, its fiftieth anniversary, it had expanded to 187 chapters across the nation.

Through the 1940s and 1950s, Jack and Jill of America raised funds for a variety of charities, including those concerned with children's health. The leaders of Jack and Jill, without representation on the boards of charities that they supported, decided to form their own Jack and Jill of America Foundation. It began in 1968 and is involved in a variety of efforts in areas such as health, education, science, and culture. It works with local chapters of Jack and Jill and other groups in most of the United States and in the District of Columbia.

See also Philanthropy and Foundations

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THOMAS PITONIAK (1996)
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Jackson, George Lester

September 23, 1941
August 21, 1971

Activist George Jackson was born in Chicago and moved to Los Angeles with his family when he was fourteen. One year later he was convicted of attempted robbery and sent to California's Youth Authority Corrections facility in Paso Robles. After his release Jackson was again arrested and convicted for attempted robbery, and at age sixteen he was incarcerated in a California county jail. In 1960 Jackson was accused of stealing $71 from a gas station and received an indeterminate sentence of one year to life. After he served the statutory minimum of one year, his case was reconsidered yearly. Jackson was never granted parole, and he spent the rest of his life in prison.

Jackson was incarcerated in Soledad State Prison in Salinas, California. He was politicized by his experiences in prison and began to study the theories of third-world communists Mao Zedong, Frantz Fanon, and Fidel Castro. He became a strong supporter of communist ideas, viewing capitalism as the source of the oppression of people of color. Jackson soon became a leader in the politicization of black and Chicano prisoners in Soledad Prison. In part as the result of his prison activities, he was placed in solitary confinement for extended periods of time.

On January 16, 1970, in response to the death of three black inmates in Soledad Prison, a white guard—John Mills—was killed. George Jackson, John Clutchette, and Fleeta Drumgo were accused of the murder. All three were regarded as black militants by prison authorities. The extent of their involvement in the murder has never been clarified.

The fate of the "Soledad Brothers" became an international cause célèbre that focused investigative attention and publicity on the treatment of black inmates. Jackson's eloquence and dignity made him a symbol of militant pride and defiance. Massive grassroots rallies and protests popularized the plight of the Soledad Brothers.

The publication in 1970 of *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* greatly contributed to Jackson's visibility. The book traced his personal and political evolution and articulated the fundamental relation he saw between the condition of black people inside prison walls and those outside. Jackson believed that the building of a revolutionary consciousness among imprisoned people was the first step in the overall development of an anticapitalist revolutionary cadre in the United States.

For many of Jackson's supporters in the Black Power movement and the New Left, the guilt or innocence of the Soledad Brothers was not the issue. They perceived the Soledad Brothers as political prisoners who were victims of a conspiracy by prison authorities. Angela Davis, spokesperson for the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, argued that the Soledad Brothers were being persecuted solely because they had helped create an anti-establishment consciousness among black and Chicano inmates.

On August 7, 1970, Jackson's teenage brother, Jonathan, entered the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, held the courtroom at gunpoint, distributed weapons to three prisoners present, and attempted to take the judge, assistant district attorney, and three jurors as hostages to bargain for his brother's freedom. In the ensuing struggle, Jonathan Jackson was killed, along with two of the prisoners and the judge. Angela Davis was accused of providing him with the four weapons and was arrested on October 13, 1971. Davis's trial gained international attention, and after spending sixteen months in jail, she was acquitted in 1972.

During 1970 the Soledad Brothers had been transferred to San Quentin Prison. Jackson was killed by prison guards on August 21, 1971, three days before his case was due to go to trial, The official report said that Jackson was armed; that he had participated in a prison revolt earlier in the day, which had left two white prisoners and three guards dead; and that he was killed in an apparent escape attempt. However, accounts of this incident are conflicting, and many argue that Jackson was set up for assassination and had nothing to do with the earlier melee.

Jackson was eulogized by many in the Black Power movement and the New Left as a martyr and a hero. After his death, *Soledad Brother* was published in England, France, Germany, and Sweden. In March 1972 the remaining two Soledad Brothers were acquitted of the original charges.

See also Black Power Movement; Davis, Angela

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)

Jackson, Janet

May 16, 1966

The last of nine children, Janet Damita Jo Jackson was born in Gary, Indiana; her brothers had already begun performing as The Jackson 5. In 1977 she was cast in the Norman Lear televised sitcom *Good Times.* She moved to *Diff'rent Strokes* in 1981 and *Fame* in 1983. Directed by a father she later called distant and controlling, she recorded two albums, *Janet Jackson* and *Dream Street*, before her graduation from high school in 1984. Although both yielded minor hit singles, neither sold particularly well.

When she turned eighteen, Jackson took more control over her musical direction. Her 1986 album *Control,* made with the writing and producing team of Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis, projected a persona of steely independence against spare, mechanical rhythms. The album sold more than five million copies, and spawned six hit singles. "What Have You Done for Me Lately" reached number one on the *Billboard* Hot 100. In 1989 she released *Rhythm Nation 1814.* The title track's plea for racial unity sits somewhat uneasily over the record's pulsating rhythms and sexual themes, but the album sold over six million copies, won a Grammy Award, and led to a world tour in which Janet showed off her precisely choreographed ensemble dancing. In 1993 she starred in director John Singleton's film *Poetic Justice* and released *janet.*, an album that traded in the independent stance and urban funk of her previous two records for a more relaxed groove and even more explicit sexuality. Another huge hit, with seven million sold, *janet.* also spawned a run of hit singles, including "That's the Way Love Goes," her best-seller.

In 1995 Janet joined her brother Michael on the hit single "Scream," and her hit single "Runaway" in 1996 became her sixteenth gold-certified single, placing her among an exclusive club of female artists. After battling with depression, she released *The Velvet Rope* in 1997. A curious mix of social commentary and raunchy sexuality, *The Velvet Rope* sold only half as many copies as *janet.* A duet with rapper Busta Rhymes landed Jackson back near the top of the charts in 1999. The next year she starred with Eddie Murphy in *Nutty Professor II: The Klumps*; her single from the soundtrack, "Doesn't Really Matter," reached number one. After a bitter divorce, her *All for You,* another frankly sexual album, entered the charts at number one in 2001, yielding two huge singles, "All for You" and "Someone to Call My Lover." After two years of nearly constant touring, Jackson returned to the studio in 2003 to record *Damita Jo*.

A misguided publicity stunt at the halftime show of the 2004 Super Bowl, however, clouded her future. At the end of a duet with singer Justine Timberlake, Jackson's right breast, adorned with a star-shaped nipple medallion, was exposed. A firestorm of controversy erupted, including 200,000 angry complaints to the Federal Communications Commission. Timberlake apologized, denying any foreknowledge of the "wardrobe malfunction." Jackson coyly proclaimed her innocence for several days before acknowledging that she had planned to bare her breast. The stunt did little to help the sales of *Damita Jo,* which sold only half as many copies as Jackson's previous record in its first week and quickly stalled on its way up the charts. Its impact on her career remains uncertain.

See also Jackson Family; Jackson, Michael; Music in the United States

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HARRIS FRIEDBERG (2005)

Jackson, Jesse

October 8, 1941

Minister, politician, and civil rights activist Jesse Louis Jackson was born Jesse Burns in Greenville, South Carolina, to Helen Burns and Noah Robinson, a married man who lived next door. In 1943 his mother married Charles Henry Jackson, who adopted Jesse in 1957. Jesse Jackson has recognized both men as his fathers. In 1959 Jackson graduated from Greenville's Sterling High School. A gifted athlete, he was offered a professional baseball contract; instead, he accepted a scholarship to play football at the University of Illinois, at Champaign-Urbana. When he discovered, however, that African Americans were not allowed to play quarterback, he enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. There, besides being a star athlete, Jackson began his activist career as a participant in the student sit-in movement to integrate Greensboro's public facilities.

Jackson's leadership abilities and charisma earned him a considerable reputation by the time he graduated with a B.S. in sociology in 1964. After graduation he mar-

ried Jacqueline Brown, whom he had met at the sit-in protests. During his senior year he worked briefly with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), quickly being elevated to the position of director of southeastern operations. Jackson then moved north, eschewing law school at Duke University in order to attend the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1964. He was later ordained to the ministry by two renowned figures: gospel music star and pastor Clay Evans and legendary revivalist and pulpit orator C. L. Franklin. Jackson left the seminary in 1965 and returned to the South to become a member of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Jackson initially became acquainted with SCLC during the famous march on Selma, Alabama in 1965. In 1966 King appointed him to head the Chicago branch of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, which was formed in 1962 to force various businesses to employ more African Americans. In 1967, only a year after his first appointment, King made Jackson the national director of Operation Breadbasket. Jackson concentrated on businesses heavily patronized by blacks, including bakeries, milk companies, soft-drink bottlers, and soup companies. He arranged a number of boycotts of businesses refusing to comply with SCLC demands of fair employment practices and successfully negotiated compromises that soon gained national attention.

Jackson was in King's entourage when King was assassinated in Memphis in 1968. After King's death, however, Jackson's relationship with SCLC became increasingly strained over disagreements about his independence and his penchant for taking what was considered to be undue initiative in both public relations and organizational planning. He was also criticized for the direction in which he was leading Operation Breadbasket. Finally, in 1971, Jackson left SCLC and founded Operation PUSH, which he would lead for thirteen years. As head of PUSH, he continued an aggressive program of negotiating black employment agreements with white businesses, as well as promoting black educational excellence and self-esteem.

In 1980 Jackson demanded that an African American step forward as a presidential candidate in the 1984 election. On October 30, 1983, after carefully weighing the chances and need for a candidate, he dramatically announced, on the television program *60 Minutes,* his own candidacy to capture the White House. Many African-American politicians and community leaders, such as Andrew Young, felt that Jackson's candidacy would only divide the Democrats and chose instead to support Walter Mondale, the favorite for the nomination. Jackson, waging a campaign stressing voter registration, carried a hopeful message of empowerment to African Americans, poor people, and other minorities. This constituency of the "voiceless and downtrodden" became the foundation for what Jackson termed a "Rainbow Coalition" of Americans—the poor, struggling farmers, feminists, gays, lesbians, and others who historically, according to Jackson, had lacked representation. Jackson, offering himself as an alternative to the mainstream Democratic Party, called for, among other things, a defense budget freeze, programs to stimulate full employment, self-determination for the Palestinians, and political empowerment of African Americans through voter registration.

Jackson's campaign in 1984 was characterized by dramatic successes and equally serious political gaffes. In late 1983 U.S. military flyer Robert Goodman was shot down over Syrian-held territory in Lebanon while conducting an assault. In a daring political gamble, Jackson made Goodman's release a personal mission, arguing that if the flyer had been white, the U.S. government would have worked more diligently toward his release. Traveling to Syria, Jackson managed to meet with President Hafez al-Assad and Goodman was released shortly afterwards; Jackson gained great political capital by appearing at the flyer's side as he made his way back to the United States.

The 1984 campaign, however, was plagued by political missteps. Jackson's offhand dubbing of New York as "Hymietown" while eating lunch with two reporters cost him much of his potential Jewish support and raised serious questions about his commitment to justice for all Americans. Although Jackson eventually apologized, the characterization continued to haunt him and remains a symbol of strained relations between African Americans and Jews. Another issue galling to many Jews and others was Jackson's relationship with Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan had appeared with Jackson and stumped for him early in the campaign. Jackson, despite advice to the contrary, refused to repudiate Farrakhan; it was only after one speech, in which Farrakhan labeled Judaism a "dirty" religion, that the Jackson campaign issued a statement condemning both the speech and the minister. Another controversy, and a source of special concern to Jews, was Jackson's previous meetings with Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and his advocacy of self-determination for the Palestinians.

Jackson ended his historic first run with an eloquent speech before the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, reminding black America that "our time has come." In a strong showing in a relatively weak primary field, Jackson had garnered almost 3.3 million votes out of the approximately 18 million cast.

Even more impressive than Jackson's first bid for the presidency was his second run in 1988. Jackson espoused

a political vision built upon the themes he first advocated in 1984. His campaign once again touted voter registration drives and the Rainbow Coalition, which by this time had become a structured organization closely overseen by Jackson. His new platform, which included many of the planks from 1984, included the validity of "comparable worth" as a viable means of eradicating pay inequities based on gender, the restoration of a higher maximum tax rate, and the implementation of national health care. Jackson also urged policies to combat "factory flight" in the Sun Belt and to provide aid to farmworkers in their fight to erode the negative effect of corporate agribusiness on family farms. Further, he railed against the exploitative practices of U.S. and transnational corporations, urging the redirection of their profits from various foreign ventures to the development of local economies.

While he failed to secure the Democratic nomination, Jackson finished with a surprisingly large number of convention delegates and a strong finish in the primaries. In thirty-one of thirty-six primaries, Jackson won either first or second place, earning almost seven million votes out of the approximately 23 million cast. In 1988 Jackson won over many of the black leaders who had refused to support him during his first campaign. His performance also indicated a growing national respect for his oratorical skills and his willingness to remain faithful to politically progressive ideals.

In the 1992 presidential campaign, Jackson, who was not a candidate, was critical of Democratic front-runners Bill Clinton and Al Gore and did not endorse them until the final weeks of the campaign. Since his last full-time political campaign in 1988, Jackson has remained highly visible in American public life. He has crusaded for various causes, including the institution of a democratic polity in South Africa, statehood for the District of Columbia, and the banishment of illegal drugs from American society.

Jackson has also been an outspoken critic of professional athletics, arguing that more African Americans need to be involved in the management and ownership of professional sports teams and that discrimination remains a large problem for many black athletes. Further, on the college level, the institution of the NCAA's Proposition 42 and Proposition 48 have earned criticism from Jackson as being discriminatory against young black athletes. Through the medium of a short-lived 1991 television talk show, Jackson sought to widen his audience, addressing pressing concerns faced by African Americans.

Jackson's various crusades against illegal drugs and racism, while often specifically targeted toward black teenagers, have exposed millions of Americans to his message. His powerful oratorical style—pulpit oratory that emphasizes repetition of key phrases like "I am somebody"—often impresses and challenges audiences regardless of their political beliefs. In late 1988 Jackson became president of the National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.; he remains involved in the activities of numerous other organizations.

> *Reverend Jesse Jackson*
>
> "My constituency is the damned, disinherited, disrespected and the despised."
>
> SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SAN FRANCISCO, JULY 17, 1984.

During the early 1990s Jackson remained largely outside the national spotlight. He was disappointed by the failure of his bid to assume leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following the resignation of Rev. Benjamin Chavis. Jackson returned to widespread public prominence in the mid-1990s. In 1996 he supported the successful congressional campaign of his son, Jesse Jackson Jr. In 1998 he became a close adviser to President Bill Clinton following reports of Clinton's extramarital affair. Later that year he announced that he was considering another presidential run in 2000.

Jackson has been the most prominent civil rights leader and African-American national figure since the death of Martin Luther King Jr. The history of national black politics in the 1970s and 1980s was largely his story. He has shown a great ability for making alliances, as well as a talent for defining issues and generating controversy. The essential dilemma of Jackson's career, as with many of his peers, has been the search for a way to advance and further the agenda of the civil rights movement as a national movement at a time when the political temper of the country has been increasingly conservative.

As the new century began, Jesse Jackson continued to be a strong figure in American politics, with his influence spreading across the globe. In 2004 he visited Libya and the Sudan, urging Sudanese leaders to put an end to the civil war that had killed so many people.

See also Chavis, Benjamin Franklin, Jr.; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity); Politics in

the United States; Rainbow Coalition; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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MICHAEL ERIC DYSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jackson, Jimmy Lee

1939
February 26, 1965

The activist Jimmy Lee Jackson was the first black person to die during the violence surrounding the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's (SCLC) 1965 Alabama Project for voting rights. Little is known about his background. He was a twenty-six-year-old woodcutter when, on February 18, 1965, he traveled with his mother and grandfather to Marion, Ala., a small town outside Selma, to participate in a rally and march in support of James Orange, an SCLC leader jailed during a voting rights drive. Shortly after the march began, the marchers were attacked by Alabama state troopers, and Jackson's grandfather was injured during the confrontation. Attempting to help his grandfather and protect his mother, Jackson was shot in the stomach at close range by a state trooper. The wounded Jackson was forced to run a gauntlet of troopers swinging their nightsticks before he was taken to the Negro Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma.

Jackson died of his wounds on February 26. The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. preached at his funeral on March 3 and led a procession of one thousand marchers to Jackson's grave. At the funeral, an activist (accounts differ as to whom) suggested a march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital, to demand an explanation for Jackson's death from Governor George Wallace.

While not widely publicized at the time, Jackson's death galvanized activists to undertake the march from Selma to Montgomery on March 7, 1965. Known as "Bloody Sunday" for the way it was violently broken up by Selma police, the march was a turning point in alerting the national consciousness to the black struggle for equal rights.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)

Jackson, Joseph Harrison

September 11, 1900
August 18, 1990

The minister Joseph H. Jackson was born in Jamestown, Mississippi, and received a B.A. from Jackson College in Jackson, Mississippi and a bachelor of divinity degree from Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. He later received an honorary doctor of divinity degree from Jackson College. From 1922 to 1941, he served as a minister in churches in Mississippi, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania. In 1934 he became corresponding secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) and vice president of the World Baptist Alliance. In 1941 he became pastor of the Olivet Baptist Church in Chicago, perhaps the largest Baptist church in the country.

In 1953 Jackson was elected president of the National Baptist Convention, the country's largest black religious group, with five million members. He campaigned as a reformer, pledging to eliminate presidential self-succession. Ironically, he remained president for twenty-nine years, a tenure marked by controversy over his opposition to civil rights activism and his autocratic leadership.

Although Jackson supported legal efforts in support of civil rights, he strongly believed that blacks should concentrate on "self-development" through advancing economic opportunity, and that civil disobedience would inflame racial differences. In January 1961 he denounced the sit-in movement and referred to the Rev. Dr. Martin Lu-

ther King Jr. as a "hoodlum." In 1963 he denounced the planned March on Washington as "dangerous and unwarranted." Attempting to speak at a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) rally that year, he was booed off the stage. Jackson actively pursued an African uplift program. In 1961 he developed a land investment program through which Baptists used 100,000 acres in Liberia to encourage settlement and raise money for missionaries. For his efforts, Jackson was made a Royal Knight of the Republic of Liberia, and received an honorary degree from Bishop College in Monrovia. He also led the Baptists to create Freedom Farm, a model farming community in Somerville, Tennessee.

Jackson faced several challenges to his leadership of the NBC. In 1957, despite his repeated promises to resign, he had his supporters suspend the convention's rules and was reelected by a voice vote. Angered opponents brought suit against the NBC board, but to no avail.

In 1960, at the NBC convention in Philadelphia, civil rights advocates led by Dr. King supported the Rev. Gardner Taylor for president. When Jackson's supporters attempted to reelect him by a voice vote, pandemonium broke out and Jackson left the hall. Taylor won a roll call vote, and the two factions brought injunctions against each other. Jackson retained the support of the NBC board and retained his presidency. At the 1961 NBC convention in Kansas City, Missouri, Jackson was reelected in a disputed vote that resulted in a riot. Banished from the NBC, King and Taylor formed the Progressive National Baptist Convention, a group committed to social action.

As president of the NBC, Jackson toured widely, visiting Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Russia. In 1962 he attended the Second Vatican Council in Rome and had a private meeting with Pope John XXIII. He wrote several books, including *Stars in the Night* (1950), *The Eternal Flame* (1956), *Many but One: The Ecumenics of Charity* (1964), and *Unholy Shadows and Freedom's Holy Light* (1967), as well as *A Story of Christian Activism: The History of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.* (1980). In 1973 the NBC's library in Chicago was named for him. In 1982 Jackson retired, and in 1989, he established a $100,000 scholarship fund at Howard University.

See also Howard University; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Missionary Movements; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

JACKSON, LILLIE MAE CARROLL

MAY 25, 1889
JULY 6, 1975

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, civil rights leader Lillie Mae Carroll was the daughter of former slave Charles Carroll, who was an eponymous descendant of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1903 the Carrolls bought a house in the prosperous Druid Hill section of Baltimore, where much of that city's black middle class resided. Lillie Mae Carroll graduated from the Colored High and Training School in 1908 and began teaching. She married Kieffer Jackson, a traveling salesman, in 1910, and the two spent the next eight years on the road throughout the South. They returned to Baltimore in 1918 to raise their four children.

Jackson's involvement in civil rights activism began in 1931, when her daughter Juanita returned from college in Pennsylvania and organized the Baltimore Young People's Forum. Lillie Jackson formed an adults' advisory board for the group. They sponsored a successful "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign against businesses that refused to employ African Americans. Shortly thereafter, following a series of lynchings in the area, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) named Jackson to revive the floundering Baltimore branch. She then began a thirty-five-year career with the NAACP that resulted in many landmark civil rights victories. One of the Baltimore branch's first actions was a lawsuit to desegregate the University of Maryland law school, which was argued by Thurgood Marshall in his first case. Under Jackson, the NAACP also brought lawsuits throughout the 1940s and 1950s that resulted in the desegregation of public schools, parks, beaches, and swimming pools.

Under "Fearless Lil," Baltimore NAACP membership saw enormous growth in the 1940s, rising to eighteen thousand in 1946. Jackson organized and was elected president of the Maryland NAACP state conference in 1942. She helped organize demonstrations against police brutality in Annapolis that year. In response, the governor appointed her to the newly formed Interracial Commission,

but she resigned shortly afterward, explaining that the commission was an ineffectual body that censored her opinions. She organized and participated in the Maryland Congress Against Discrimination in Baltimore in 1946. An extensive voter registration drive throughout the 1940s doubled the number of black voters and made registration more accessible. In 1956 Jackson received an honorary doctorate from Morgan State College (now Morgan State University) in Baltimore. During the 1950s she also worked to make Baltimore the first city to comply with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. When the civil rights movement accelerated in the late 1950s, Jackson often contributed her own money to bail out arrested activists when the NAACP's funds were depleted.

Jackson was a devout Christian and a lifelong member of Baltimore's Stark Street United Methodist Church, as well as the first woman to serve on its board of trustees. She believed that the NAACP was "God's workshop" and was instrumental in uniting different congregations and denominations for civil rights activism. After she retired from the NAACP in 1970 at age eighty, she formed Freedom House, a network of inner-city community activists. She died in Baltimore in 1975.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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ALLISON X. MILLER (1996)

Jackson, Luther Porter

1892

April 20, 1950

Luther Porter Jackson, an educator, civic leader, and historian, was born to the former slaves Edward and Delilah Jackson in Lexington, Kentucky, sometime in 1892. He graduated from Chandler Normal School in 1910 and attended Fisk University, where he received his B.A. in 1914 and his M.A. in 1916. Years later, in 1937, he received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago.

Jackson's teaching career began in South Carolina, where he taught at the Voorhees Industrial School from 1915 to 1918. He then taught at the Topeka Industrial Institute until 1920. In 1922 he joined the staff of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute in Petersburg (renamed Virginia State College in 1930), and was named associate professor of history in 1925. In 1929 he was promoted to full professor and chair of the History and Social Science Department, a position he held for the rest of his life.

Jackson became an expert on blacks in Virginia, scrupulously studying courthouse documents. In 1942 he published *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830–1860.* He went on to publish numerous scholarly works, including *Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the Revolutionary War* (1944) and *Negro Office Holders in Virginia, 1860–1895* (1945).

Jackson was a vocal advocate for black suffrage, and beginning in 1942 he published *The Voting Status of Negroes in Virginia,* a pamphlet intended to encourage African Americans to vote. He also founded the Petersburg League of Negro Voters, which later became the Virginia Voters League. In 1947 the Southern Regional Council commissioned Jackson to study black voting in the South, the results of which were published in a pamphlet, *Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940* (1948).

Jackson was very involved with the Petersburg Negro Business Association, which eventually became the Virginia Trade Association. He also was an accomplished musician—he played the cornet—and founded the Petersburg Community Chorus, which he directed in yearly concerts from 1933 to 1941.

Jackson was an active participant in Carter G. Woodson's Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He was also very active in fund-raising for the NAACP. In 1948 his efforts resulted in an award from the Virginia NAACP "for unselfish and devoted services in enhancing the voting status of Negroes." Jackson was a driven man who, in addition to his other activities, served on numerous boards and councils and often worked late into the night. He died of a heart attack in 1950. Luther Jackson High School was dedicated in his memory on April 17, 1955, in Merrifield, Virginia.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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DEBI BROOME (1996)

Jackson, Mahalia

October 26, 1911
January 27, 1972

When sixteen-year-old Mahala Jackson (as she was named at birth) arrived in Chicago in 1927, she had already developed the vocal style that was to win her the title of "world's greatest gospel singer." Though born into an extremely religious New Orleans family, she spent hours listening to the recordings of blues singers Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey and could be found at every parade that passed her neighborhood of Pinching Town in New Orleans.

In later life she would admit that although she was a thoroughgoing Baptist, the Sanctified church next door to her house had had a powerful influence on her singing, for although the members had neither choir nor organ, they sang accompanied by a drum, tambourine, and steel triangle. They clapped and stomped their feet and sang with their whole bodies. She recalled that they had a powerful beat she believed was retained from slavery, and once stated, "I believe blues and jazz and even rock 'n' roll stuff got their beat from the Sanctified church."

Jackson's style was set early on: From Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey she borrowed a deep and dark resonance that complemented her own timbre; from the Baptist church she inherited the moaning and bending of final notes in phrases; and from the Sanctified church she adopted a full-throated tone, delivered with a holy beat. Surprisingly, although gospel in its early stages was being sung in New Orleans, none of her vocal influences came from gospel singers.

Upon arriving in Chicago with her Aunt Hannah, Jackson joined the Johnson Singers, an a cappella quartet. The group quickly established a reputation as one of Chicago's better gospel groups, appearing regularly in concerts and gospel-song plays with Jackson in the lead. In time Mahalia, as she now chose to call herself, became exclusively a soloist. In 1935 Thomas A. Dorsey persuaded her to become his official song demonstrator, a position she held until 1945. Dorsey later stated that Jackson "had a lot of soul in her singing: she meant what she sang."

Although she made her first recordings in 1937 for Decca, it was not until 1946, when she switched to the small Apollo label, that Jackson established a national reputation in the African-American community. Her 1947 recording of "Move On Up a Little Higher" catapulted her to the rank of superstar and won her one of the first two gold records for record sales in gospel music. (Clara Ward won the other.) Accompanied on this recording by her longtime pianist, Mildred Falls, Jackson demonstrated her wide range and ability to improvise on melody and rhythm. As a result of this recording, she became the official soloist for the National Baptist Convention and began touring throughout the United States. She was the first gospel singer to be given a network radio show when, in 1954, CBS signed her for a weekly show on which she was the host and star. In the same year she moved to the Columbia label, becoming a crossover gospel singer through her first recording on that label, "Rusty Old Halo." Several triumphs followed in rapid succession. She appeared on the Ed Sullivan and Dinah Shore television shows, at Carnegie Hall, and in 1958 for the first time at the Newport Jazz Festival. Tours throughout the world began, with Jackson garnering accolades in France, Germany, and Italy.

A crowning achievement of Jackson's was the invitation to sing at one of the inaugural parties of President John F. Kennedy in 1961. In 1963 she was asked to sing just before Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was to deliver his famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the March on Washington. Her rendition of "I've Been Buked and I've Been Scorned" contributed to the success of King's speech. During her career, she appeared in such films as *St. Louis Blues* (1958), *Imitation of Life* (1959) and *Jazz on a Summer's Day* (1958), sang "Precious Lord, Take My Hand" at the funeral of Dr. King, and recorded with Duke Ellington. Toward the end of her life, she suffered from heart trouble but continued to sing until her death in Chicago. Jackson appeared on a United States postage stamp in 1998.

See also Blues, The; Gospel Music

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HORACE CLARENCE BOYER (1996)

Jackson, Maynard Holbrook, Jr.

March 23, 1938
June 23, 2003

Maynard Jackson, a lawyer, businessman, former three-term mayor of Atlanta, and the first African-American mayor of a major southern city, was born in Dallas, Texas. At the age of seven he moved with his family to Atlanta, Georgia, where the elder Jackson served as pastor of Friendship Baptist Church until his death in 1953. As a Ford Foundation Early Admissions scholar, Jackson graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1956 at the age of eighteen with a B.A. in political science and history.

After graduation, Jackson worked for one year in Cleveland, Ohio, as a claims examiner for the Ohio State Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, then as an encyclopedia salesman, and later as assistant district sales manager for the P. F. Collier Company in Buffalo, Boston, and Cleveland. In 1964 he received an LL.B. from North Carolina College at Durham and returned to Atlanta to practice law with the U.S. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), where he handled representation cases and unfair labor practice cases. In 1967 Jackson left the NLRB to work for the Community Legal Services Center of Emory University. Specializing in housing litigation and providing free legal services to the poor in Atlanta's Bedford-Pine neighborhood, he developed a reputation as a civil rights activist.

In 1968, following the deaths of Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert Kennedy, Jackson decided to enter politics and made a bid for a seat in the U.S. Senate against Senator Herman Talmadge, Georgia's longtime senator, who was running unopposed. Appealing to those whom Talmadge had traditionally neglected, namely blacks and white liberals, Jackson lost the election but succeeded in outpolling Talmadge in Atlanta, carrying the city by more than 6,000 votes. Despite Jackson's defeat, this election provided him political exposure and helped him build a base of support among blacks and white liberals, a following that contributed to his later electoral victories. Jackson also developed as a gifted speaker and orator.

In 1969 Jackson ran for vice mayor of Atlanta against Milton Farris, a white alderman, on a coalition campaign that built upon his previous support from black and white liberal voters. In the 1969 campaign both Jackson and the mayoral winner, Sam Massell, received crucial support from the city's growing number of black voters. While Jackson recognized the importance of his support from blacks, he avoided any direct appeals to race consciousness for fear of alienating the city's white voters. Jackson won the election and was sworn in as Atlanta's first black vice mayor in 1970, and in conjunction with this position, as the first black president of the board of aldermen. In the same year, he cofounded the law firm of Jackson, Patterson, and Parks. As vice mayor, Jackson was a strong supporter of grassroots organizations, urging the formation of neighborhood coalitions.

In 1973 Jackson entered the mayoral race against eleven candidates, including incumbent mayor Sam Massell and the powerful black state senator and favorite of the old-guard black leadership, Leroy Johnson. Jackson defeated Massell in the runoff election, in which Massell, a liberal Democrat and traditionally a moderate on racial issues, ran a racially divisive campaign. Jackson, however, continued to build upon the support he had received from blacks and white liberals in earlier elections and campaigned on a people-oriented platform. The major issues he addressed were crime, law enforcement, housing, and a jobs training and placement program. Jackson pledged to end racism in the city's hiring policies but stated his opposition to any program that favored blacks as racially or legally superior.

Jackson was inaugurated as Atlanta's first black mayor in January 1974. At the age of thirty-four, he was also the city's youngest mayor. In his first inaugural address, Jackson proclaimed full citizen participation in his new administration. He served two consecutive terms, holding the office from 1974 to 1982 and serving the maximum number of consecutive terms allowed by the city's charter. During this period, Atlanta transformed itself into a growing international city.

Jackson entered office in 1974 under a new city charter, the first in one hundred years, which replaced the former weak mayor-council form of government with one that gave the mayor increased administrative powers. The charter required all agencies and departments to report to the mayor and abolished the position of vice mayor. The charter also augmented Jackson's power by providing him the opportunity to reorganize the city government.

As mayor, Jackson worked to break down discriminatory barriers in the city's hiring policies and in securing city contracts. He created the city's first minority business program, ensuring opportunities for minorities and women in major city contracts and in administrative posts in the city government while at the same time maintaining links to the city's traditional white business elite. In 1973, prior to Jackson taking office, blacks received less than one percent of city contracts. He insisted on minority participation on a major airport expansion, requiring joint ven-

> *Maynard Jackson*
>
> "We must learn and remember that Atlanta's strength lies not in the power of its government, but in the power of the governed, and they demand the removal of the social cataracts from our governmental eyes."
>
> INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS MAYOR OF ATLANTA, JANUARY 7, 1974.

ture participation with minority firms. By the time Jackson had finished his second term, minorities received over thirty-six percent of city business. Rebuffing white business leaders, Jackson insisted that white firms integrate their boards and management teams. Jackson also opened the lines of communication between his office and Atlanta's neighborhoods, creating a monthly "People's Day," in which he traveled to various neighborhoods to listen to residents' concerns and complaints. Jackson's affirmative action programs were later modeled by cities across the country.

After leaving office, Jackson became a managing partner of Chapman and Cutler, a Chicago-based municipal law firm, building a lucrative bond practice and founding Jackson Securities Inc., an investment banking firm, in 1987. In 1989 Jackson reentered Atlanta politics, winning a landslide election to serve his third term as mayor. During this period he guided the city through the initial steps of preparation for the summer centennial Olympic Games in 1996. At the close of his term at the end of 1993, Jackson decided not to seek reelection despite a seventy percent approval rating and returned to Jackson Securities Inc. as full-time chairman of the board and majority stockholder.

Always restless away from elective office, Jackson in 2001 ran unsuccessfully for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee on a platform to reenergize the grassroots supporters. The *New York Times* endorsed his candidacy. He became the National Development chair of the Democratic Party and chair of the Voting Rights Institute. In spring of 2003 Jackson contemplated but decided against another run for the U.S. Senate from Georgia.

On June 23, 2003, Maynard Jackson died in Washington D.C., of a heart attack after arriving on a plane from Atlanta. The Atlanta City Council later renamed its airport the Hartsfield-Jackson Airport, after Atlanta's two long-sitting mayors.

See also Mayors; Politics in the United States

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DEREK M. ALPHRAN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

JACKSON, MICHAEL

AUGUST 29, 1958

The pop singer, dancer, and cultural icon Michael Jackson had a dominant influence on American popular music from the 1970s through the 1990s. For more than a decade, starting in the late 1970s, Michael Jackson created dance music with an electrifying synthesis of street rhythms and lush arrangements. His music was supported by exquisitely crafted music videos featuring Jackson's eye-popping choreography that virtually defined the emerging form of the music video genre. But Jackson's own demons eventually spurred him to engage in bizarre, and allegedly, criminal behavior that chipped away at his enormous popularity and began to overshadow his signal achievements as a performer.

Jackson began singing with his four brothers in 1963, and he quickly became the lead singer and dancer for the Jackson 5, the last of the great Motown acts (and perhaps its greatest crossover success). Jackson begin to release solo albums in 1971, but his solo career did not take off until he began to work with producer and arranger Quincy

Jones, whom he had met and collaborated with on *The Wiz* (1977), an all-black musical version of *The Wizard of Oz.* Coproducing with Jones, Jackson wrote three of the ten songs on his breakthrough 1979 album, *Off the Wall.* With Jackson resplendent in tuxedo and glowing white socks on the cover, *Off the Wall* proclaimed his emergence as an adult entertainer. Quincy Jones drew on Los Angeles's top pop-funk session players, and he and Jackson assembled an exquisitely crafted amalgam of disco, soul, and pop, putting to rest Jackson's bubblegum image. It yielded four Top Ten singles—including scorching dance cuts like "Don't Stop 'Til You Get Enough," as well as libidinous ballads—and sold eleven million copies. The next year Michael reunited with his brothers on *Triumph*, but by this time it was clear that his superstar status virtually relegated his brothers to a supporting role.

In 1982 Jackson again teamed up with Jones to make *Thriller*, a more rock-oriented album with funkier dance tracks but more soulful ballads. The record yielded seven Top Ten singles, including "Wanna Be Startin' Somethin'"; a duet with Paul McCartney, "The Girl is Mine"; "Beat It"; "Billie Jean"; and the title track, with a campy rap by the actor Vincent Price. Spending over two years on the charts and claiming a record eight Grammy awards, *Thriller* eventually sold more than forty million copies, making it the best-selling album of all time. The music videos for *Thriller* brought an end to MTV's refusal to feature African-American music, and the "Beat It" video brought special acclaim due to its choreographed gang fight, which evoked the production numbers of a Broadway musical scored for rock and roll and was dubbed "Michael's West Side Story."

As a result, Jackson, who had always been a witty and talented stage performer, began to attract attention as a dancer. In a 1983 television special celebrating Motown's twenty-fifth anniversary, Jackson electrified a huge broadcast audience with his rendition of the African-American vernacular dance step known as "the backslide." His version, renamed "the moonwalk," combined the traditional forward-stepping, back-sliding routine with James Brown's signature spins (which he had copied as a child) and the robotic "locking" motions long popular among hip-hop street performers. In 1984 Jackson joined his brothers to record and tour in support of the album *Victory*. In 1985 he coauthored the song "We Are the World" with Lionel Ritchie, and they recorded it with an all-star cast for the album *USA for Africa*, with the proceeds benefiting famine relief. The single and video of the song were a huge success.

Jackson's 1987 album, *Bad*, attempted, but failed, to reproduce the unprecedented success of *Thriller.* On the title track, Jackson toughened the street persona he had often affected, but *Bad* was a slicker record with weaker songs and an increasingly split personality, veering from talking trash on "Bad," "Dirty Diana," and "Smooth Criminal" to soulful introspection on "Man in the Mirror" and "I Just Can't Stop Loving You," a lush duet with the singer Siedah Garrett. Although it yielded five number one singles, *Bad* sold only a fifth as many copies as *Thriller.*

Michael Jackson with Quincy Jones during the 1984 Grammy Awards. *Jackson won six Grammys that year, including Record of the Year ("Beat It") and Album of the Year (Thriller).* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Jackson did not produce a new album until *Dangerous* in 1991. Now widely known as the "King of Pop," he brought in Teddy Riley, a new producer associated with the updated New Jack Swingan amalgam of hip-hop rhythms, samplings, and vocals that emerged in the late-1980s, combining the melodies of soul with funkier street rhythms of rap. Its first single, "Black or White," went to number one, as did the album, but the video, premiering in prime time on network TV, was criticized for its violence and lasciviousness, which clashed with its message of racial harmony.

In the years since the triumph of *Thriller* and Jackson's ascension to the role of "King of Pop," Jackson's many personal quirks have drawn increasing critical attention. Shy and soft-spoken, he has seemed frail in public

appearances. Numerous plastic surgeries and his lightening skin tone led some in the African-American community (and others) to question his racial solidarity; Jackson's claim to suffer from the pigmentation disorder vitiligo did not explain his many trips to plastic surgeons in search of a smaller, more sculpted nose. Labeled "wacko Jacko" by the aggressive British tabloids, Jackson sought refuge from his detractors in the company of celebrities like Elizabeth Taylor and, increasingly, children. In particular, he began to have many children, especially boys, as overnight guests at his fabulous Neverland Valley Ranch, a 2,600-acre pleasure dome northwest of Santa Barbara, California. Named for the magical kingdom in the children's book *Peter Pan,* the estate sports amusement park rides, a petting zoo, its own narrow-gauge railroad, and statues of children.

Rumors and then charges swirled around Jackson's conduct with his young friends.

On September 3, 2004, the television news magazine *Dateline NBC* reported that in 1990 he secretly paid a two million dollar settlement to the son of an employee to avoid an accusation of child molestation. In a press release issued the next day, Jackson acknowledged the payment but denied any wrongdoing. In September, 1993, a thirteen-year-old boy and his father filed a civil suit against Jackson alleging sexual battery, seduction, willful misconduct, emotional distress, fraud, and negligence. In a sworn declaration made in December, 1993, the boy accused Jackson of multiple counts of sexual contact, including open-mouth kissing, fondling, and oral sex. The suit was withdrawn when Jackson paid a total of twenty-five million dollars to the boy and his family. Two marriages, widely rumored to be marriages of convenience, followed the humiliating settlement. In May 1994, Jackson married Lisa Marie Presley, the daughter of Elvis Presley; the marriage ended in divorce in January, 1996. In November 1996, Jackson married Debbie Rowe, an employee of his dermatologist, who was expecting his child at the time. She bore him two children before they were divorced in October 1999.

In 1995 Jackson released a double album, *HIStory*; however, only the second disk, *HIStory Continues*, consisted of new material. Although it contained the scorching dance hit "Scream," recorded with his sister Janet, anti-Semitic slurs in "They Don't Care About Us" led MTV and VH1 to ban the video. The record did not match the success of Jackson's earlier efforts, though it had sold eighteen million copies by 2004. In 2001, Jackson released *Invincible*, an album of all-new material, his first since *Dangerous*. Rumored to be the most expensive album ever made, it sold only two million copies in the United States and spawned only one hit single, "You Rock My World," which cracked the top ten for only one week and received little video airplay. A compilation of hits, *Number Ones*, released in 2003, also included a new single, "One More Chance." Written by R. Kelly, one of the best-selling R&B singer/songwriter/producers of the 1990s, the song reached number one on billboard's R&B/Hip-Hop Singles chart and stayed there for three weeks.

But Jackson's many troubles were coming to a head. In early 2002 Jackson had another son by a surrogate mother. Staying in a hotel in Berlin, Jackson dangled the child over a fourth-floor balcony to show him off to fans, earning widespread condemnation for endangering the child. In 2002 and 2003, Jackson was sued by concert promoters and his own financial advisers. On November 18, 2003, law enforcement agents searched Jackson's Neverland Ranch, and the following day he was charged with multiple counts of felony child molestation involving a thirteen-year-old cancer survivor. Jackson allegedly gave the boy and his brother wine, showed them pornography, and had "substantial sexual contact" with the child. Jackson was arrested, forced to surrender his passport, and released on three million dollars bail. A new ten-count grand jury indictment, unsealed on April 30, 2004, expanded the charges to include allegations of child abduction, false imprisonment, and extortion. Jackson was acquitted of all charges by a California jury in June, 2005.

See also Jackson Family; Jackson, Janet; Jones, Quincy; Music in the United States

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HARRIS FRIEDBERG (2005)

Jackson Family

A dominant influence on American popular music since the 1960s, the Jackson family consists of the nine children of Joseph and Katherine Jackson. The couple's first three sons, Sigmund "Jackie" (May 4, 1951–), Toriano "Tito" (October 15, 1953–), and Jermaine (December 11, 1954–), began singing in 1962; Marlon (March 12, 1957–) and Michael (August 29, 1958–) joined a year later. Their other children, Maureen "Rebbie" (May 29, 1950–), LaToya (May 29, 1956–), Steven "Randy" (October 29, 1962–), and Janet (May 16, 1966–) began entertaining publicly with their siblings in the 1970s. By the 1980s the Jackson family was generating a nonstop stream of recordings, music videos, movies, television shows, and concerts that were hugely popular among both African-American and white audiences. In the 1990s, however, public attention turned to squabbles within the family and the increasingly questionable public behavior of some of the family members.

All of the Jackson children were born and raised in the Midwestern industrial city of Gary, Indiana, where they led a sheltered existence in a working-class neighborhood. The five oldest sons were driven by their father, a steel mill crane operator and one-time rhythm-and-blues guitarist, to practice music three hours a day. They began to perform in local talent contests in 1963 and rapidly advanced to amateur contests in Chicago. In 1967 Michael's lead soprano and irresistible dance moves, borrowed from James Brown, helped the brothers win the famed amateur night contest at Harlem's Apollo Theater. The next year the Jacksons signed with Motown, the black-owned Detroit recording company. Motown's owner, Berry Gordy, took complete control of the group, choosing their songs, managing their performances, and gaining the rights to their name, then The Jackson 5. The group's first singles, including "I Want You Back" (1969) and "ABC" (1970), were popular, layering Michael's vocals over funky, stutter-step bass lines.

In 1970 the family moved to Los Angeles, and in the years that followed, the Jacksons made numerous television appearances. Although their recordings from this time suffered from a sense of forced cuteness, their popularity never flagged, and the brothers began to insist on performing much of the instrumental backing themselves. Their recordings from this time include *Lookin' Through the Windows* (1972) and *Get It Together* (1973). In 1974 the Jacksons broke with the formulaic routine of Motown recordings and produced "Dancing Machine," a frenetic dance hit that presaged the disco era. In 1975 the group broke with Motown and signed with Epic, which offered them five times more in royalties. Because Motown owned the name The Jackson 5, they called themselves The Jacksons. Jermaine, having married Hazel Gordy, the daughter of Motown's founder, remained with Motown to pursue a solo career.

Like Motown, Epic at first refused to let the Jacksons, who had replaced Jermaine with Randy, write or produce their own material. Instead, their densely layered pop hits, bridging the gap between soul and disco, were written by the Philadelphia-based team of Kenny Gamble and Leon Huff. Only in 1977 were they finally allowed to fully control their own recordings. The resulting album, *Destiny,* mixed Michael's gospel-style vocals with disco rhythms and yielded the hit single "Shake Your Body (Down to the Ground)," written by Michael and Randy.

Meanwhile, although Michael was concentrating on his spiraling solo character, he reunited with his brothers in 1980 on *Triumph,* but by this time it was clear that his superstar status virtually relegated his brothers to a backup role. After *Triumph,* the Jacksons brought Michael back in 1984 for the enormously successful *Victory* album and tour. Since then the Jacksons as a group have been less active, concentrating on solo careers, although Jackie, Marlon, Tito, and Randy did record the largely unsuccessful *2300 Jackson Street* (1989).

After Michael, Jermaine Jackson has been the most successful male singer in the family. He released *Jermaine* in 1972 and recorded almost a dozen more solo albums over the next decade. In 1991 he recorded "You Said, You Said" and "Word to the Badd," a scalding attack on Michael. Marlon Jackson's solo album, *Baby Tonight,* was released in 1987. Randy Jackson, badly injured in a 1980 auto accident, recovered in time for the Jacksons' reunion in 1984. He released his first solo album in 1989. In 1997 The Jackson 5 was admitted to the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame.

The Jackson daughters have also had solo careers. The oldest, Rebbie, continued performing after the 1970s but without the popularity of her two younger sisters. LaToya Jackson released four undistinguished solo albums. In 1991 she countered her mother's 1990 memoirs, *The Jacksons: My Family,* by publishing *LaToya: Growing Up in the Jackson Family,* which portrayed a childhood dominated by fear and abuse. Janet has gone on to parlay modest singing abilities with hot choreography and even hotter lyrics into a vastly popular career.

Despite internal family conflicts, the Jacksons remain, collectively and individually, the most prominent and productive family in African-American popular music.

See also Jackson, Janet; Jackson, Michael; Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

The Jackson 5. *Jackson family brothers (from left) Tito, Marlon, Michael, Jackie, and Jermaine perform on* The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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HARRIS FRIEDBERG (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Jacobs, Harriet Ann

1813
March 7, 1897

Harriet Jacobs—slave narrator, reformer, antislavery activist, and Civil War and Reconstruction relief worker—was born a slave in Edenton, North Carolina. Jacobs's major contribution is her narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself* (1861). The most comprehensive antebellum autobiography by an African-American woman, *Incidents* is the first-person account of Jacobs's pseudonymous narrator, who writes of her struggle against sexual oppression and her fight for freedom. After publishing her book, Jacobs devoted her life to providing relief for the black Civil War refugees in Alexandria, Virginia, and Savannah, Georgia.

Writing as "Linda Brent," Jacobs tells the story of her life in the South as a slave and as a fugitive, and of her life as a fugitive slave in the North. Breaking taboos forbidding women to discuss their sexuality, she writes of the abuse she suffered from her licentious master, Dr. James Norcom, whom she calls "Dr. Flint." She confesses that to prevent him from making her his concubine, at sixteen she became sexually involved with a white neighbor. Their alliance produced two children, Joseph (c. 1829–?), whom

she calls "Benny," and Louisa Matilda (1833–1917), called "Ellen." Jacobs describes running away from Norcom in 1835 and the almost seven years she spent in hiding in a tiny crawlspace above a porch in her grandmother's Edenton home.

Jacobs further recounts her 1842 escape to New York City, her reunion with her children, who had been sent north, and her subsequent move to Rochester, where she became part of the circle of abolitionists around Frederick Douglass' newspaper *The North Star*. Condemning the compliance of the North in the slave system, she describes her North Carolina masters' attempts to catch her in New York after passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Jacobs explains that despite her principled decision not to bow to the slave system by being purchased, in 1853 her New York employer, Mrs. Nathaniel Parker Willis (called "Mrs. Bruce") bought her from Norcom's family. Like other slave narrators, she ends her book with her freedom and the freedom of her children.

Most of the extraordinary events that "Linda Brent" narrates have been documented as having occurred in Jacobs's life. In addition, letters that Jacobs wrote while composing her book present an unique glimpse of its inception, composition, and publication and recount her complex relationships with black abolitionists such as William C. Nell and white abolitionists such as Amy Post and Lydia Maria Child. They also form an interesting commentary on Jacobs's northern employer, the litterateur Nathaniel Parker Willis, and on Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of the runaway best-seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* whom Jacobs tried to interest in her narrative.

Although *Incidents* was published anonymously, Jacobs's name was connected with her book from the first; only in the twentieth century were its authorship and its autobiographical status disputed. *Incidents* made Jacobs known to northern abolitionists, and with the outbreak of the Civil War she used this newfound celebrity to establish a new career for herself. Jacobs collected money and supplies for the "contraband"—black refugees crowding behind the lines of the Union army in Washington, D.C., and in occupied Alexandria, Virginia—and returned south.

Supported by Quaker groups and the newly formed New England Freedmen's Aid Society, in 1863 Jacobs and her daughter moved to Alexandria, where they distributed emergency relief supplies, organized primary medical care, and established the Jacobs Free School—a black-led institution providing black teachers for the refugees. In 1865 mother and daughter moved to Savannah, where they continued their relief work. Throughout the war years Harriet and Louisa Jacobs reported on their southern relief efforts in the northern press and in newspapers in England, where Jacobs's book had appeared as *The Deeper Wrong: Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself* (1862). In 1868 they sailed to England and successfully raised money for Savannah's black orphans and aged.

But in the face of the increasing violence in the South, Jacobs and her daughter then retreated to Massachusetts. In Boston they were connected with the newly formed New England Women's Club. Later, in Cambridge, Jacobs ran a boardinghouse for Harvard faculty and students for several years. Harriet and Louisa Jacobs later moved to Washington, D.C., where they established a series of boardinghouses and the daughter was employed at Howard University. In 1896, when the National Association of Colored Women held its organizing meetings in Washington, D.C., Harriet Jacobs was confined to a wheelchair, but it seems likely that Louisa was in attendance. The following spring Harriet Jacobs died at her Washington home. She is buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge.

See also Douglass, Frederick; Howard University; National Association of Colored Women; Nell, William Cooper; Slave Narratives

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JEAN FAGAN YELLIN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Jamaica Labour Party

The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) is one of the two remaining political parties in Jamaica. Its influence upon Jamaica is due primarily to the skillful leadership of William Alexander Clarke, otherwise known as Alexander Bustamante.

Bustamante was born in Blenheim in the parish of Hanover, Jamaica, on February 24, 1884, and migrated to Cuba in 1905 at the age of twenty-one.

After Bustamante returned from Cuba in 1934 he wrote frequent letters to the Jamaican newspapers, most of them focusing on topical issues and demonstrating his concern for the condition of poor black laborers. By 1937 he had developed such a large readership that he could turn most of his attention to traveling and holding small private meetings in response to the incidence of labor riots on the island. At one meeting in Kingston, Bustamante charged that he was attacked because of his support for improvement in the working conditions of the masses. By then his magnetic personality and charisma endeared him to his followers. On May 23, 1938, he addressed a large crowd of striking workers under Queen Victoria's statue in South Parade, Kingston. Security forces moved in to break up the crowd, and Bustamante challenged them to shoot him instead of the workers he led. He and other labor leaders were arrested. His pugnacity, however, cemented his place in their hearts and minds and many became his ardent supporters.

Birth and Development

Bustamante, to be sure, was not the founder of Jamaica's first political party. Dr. Robert Love's People's Convention of 1894 and Marcus Garvey's People's Political Party of 1929 were two of Jamaica's earlier political parties. Both parties had only limited success because their leaders preached a message of black nationalism, which was not appealing to the middle class. In addition, both individuals were staunchly opposed by British colonial officials. The Moyne Report, commissioned by the British government regarding the labor riots of the 1930s, however, advocated sweeping political reforms. As a result, the masses, along with trade unions, could openly participate in the political process. This led to several black intellectuals organizing the first "legitimate" political party, the People's National Party (PNP), on September 18, 1938, led by Norman Manley, one of Jamaica's most eminent barristers. The PNP sought a political union of the middle and lower classes. It relied on the charismatic and influential Bustamante to lead a trade union of workers as an auxiliary organization. By the end of June 1938, Bustamante launched his union, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), from a merger of five others. The growth of the BITU was so rapid that within two months its membership more than doubled.

The colonial authorities in Jamaica realized that Bustamante had become a dangerous political agitator because his trade union activities were unorthodox but very effective. They arrested him a second time and incarcerated him for seventeen months. His release on February 8, 1942, is shrouded in controversy, since some scholars argue that the government released him to form a political party in opposition to the PNP, which had become allegedly prosocialist. On July 8, 1943, Bustamante launched the Jamaica Labour Party.

In Jamaica's first general elections held under universal adult suffrage on December 14, 1944, the JLP defeated the PNP by capturing twenty-three of the thirty-two seats to the PNP's four—independent candidates captured the other five. Bustamante then became Jamaica's first chief minister. The JLP was reelected with a national majority in 1949 but was defeated by the PNP in the elections of 1955 and 1959. The JLP defeated the PNP on the referendum to determine Jamaica's future in the West Indies Federation on September 19, 1961, and in the 1962 general elections, which led Jamaica into political independence. Since postindependence the JLP has only formed the government from 1967 to 1972 and from 1980 to 1988.

Organizational Structure

The highest decision-making body in the JLP is the annual national conference, which is made up of delegates from all over the country. At this conference the leader/president of the party and deputy leaders are chosen and major changes to the party's constitution, policy, and organizational structure are ratified. The next highest body is the Central Executive, which is chaired by the chairman of the JLP and administers the party's affairs during the year, normally meeting quarterly. Elections for other important posts, such as trustees, secretaries, treasurers, and the party's chairman, are done at the Central Executive level. This body has the power to appoint candidates and caretakers for constituencies and parish council divisions, as well as members of subcommittees. It comprises the chairman of the party and all the secretaries, along with the president, deputy leaders, elected parliamentarians, senators, and leaders of the affiliate organizations, such as the BITU, the G2K (the youth arm of the party), and the JLP's National Women's Organization.

The Standing Committee consists of officers of the party and chairmen of national committees. This committee acts for and reports to the Central Executive and meets as required. The Standing Committee, which is chaired by the JLP's chairman, supervises the work of over fifteen national committees. These include Finance, BITU, Disciplinary Organizational Policy, Legal and Constitutional, Public Relations, Property, Equipment, Campaign, Membership, Electoral, Selection, and International Relations. The Area Council leaders, who are the deputy leaders of

Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) supporters rally in support of candidate Edward Seaga, Kingston, Jamaica, 2002. *Seaga, leader of the JLP from 1974 until his retirement in 2005, served as prime minister of Jamaica from 1980 to 1989. The People's National Party, Jamaica's other primary political organization, has held the majority in the Jamaican parliament since that date.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the party, also sit on the Standing Committee. On a micro level, the party is organized into four Area Councils, each of which has its own secretariat and is managed by one of the four deputy leaders of the party. Each Area Council is subdivided into around fifteen constituencies.

Funding

The party is funded predominantly by the business community and through fund-raising activities. Each constituency is expected to raise its own funds through membership fees and other means. Each constituency elects a management team consisting of persons in the following areas: finance, campaign, and public relations. These persons raise the necessary funds to carry out the programs of the constituency and by extension the party.

To ensure that the JLP remains solvent on the macro level it operates a trust company (Greenbelt Trust) through its trustees. The treasurers of the JLP also ensure that income from the trust company and from financial contributions are well spent, since proceeds from the business community and from membership fees are not always consistent.

Foreign Policy

The JLP is primarily a conservative party and not fully a labor party in the traditional sense, as is the British Labour Party. The JLP is thus aligned with other conservative political parties around the world, such as the Republican Party in the United States. It also shares with other conservative governments a faith in a market economy and in small or minimal state ownership. Any government entity that is not most essential for the state to manage has to be privatized, since the JLP views the private sector as the main engine for national development.

As an example of the JLP's conservative links, a German conservative party, the National Democratic Union, funds their political think tank, the Jamaica Institute for Political Education. It is responsible for initiating research and utilizing the services of independent scholars to draft papers in relation to political education, public policy, and changes in social, economic, and political thought.

Regionalism

The conservative politics of the JLP led to its heading the campaign for Jamaica's withdrawal from the West Indies

Federation in 1961. The party advocated independence and an alliance with Western democracies, since it felt that the Federation's leaders were pro-socialism. Currently, the JLP supports a limited Caribbean integration but remains highly critical of an emerging Caribbean Court, which would replace the British Privy Council. It also opposes any attempt to recreate a federation of the islands.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Manley, Norman; Moyne Commission; People's National Party; West Indies Federation

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DAVE ST. A. GOSSE (2005)

Jamaica Progressive League

The Jamaica Progressive League (JPL) of New York, formed in 1936 by a group of Jamaican men and women residing in New York City, set in motion the movement for self-government on the island of Jamaica, which gained its independence from Britain in 1962. The organization survives into the present and owes its longevity in part to its distinctive political relationship to the homeland and to the Jamaican diaspora. One of the first organizational strategies of the New York–based JPL was to establish a political party in Jamaica (the People's National Party, or PNP) devoted to universal suffrage and self-government. In its early history, the PNP served as the JPL's political voice on the island. The New York JPL also formed a branch in Kingston in 1937 and later in other U.S. cities, the Panama Canal Zone, and other key locations where Jamaicans had settled. The JPL functioned as a vehicle through which the Jamaican diaspora could participate in Jamaica's long-term self-determination as well in as its struggle for independence from Britain. Significantly, the league, as its name implies, relied upon the Jamaican associations, community networks, and fundraising skills already established in New York to promote its political agenda. Added to this core political dimension was the league's capacity to also address social welfare concerns, emergency relief, and other needs of Jamaicans at home and in its migrating communities.

Formation

The group of compatriots who met at the headquarters of the Jamaica Benevolent Association on September 1, 1936, to formally organize the Jamaica Progressive League had held several preliminary meetings. They wanted to create a consensus about the league's objective—self-government for Jamaica—and they wanted to identify key individuals to participate in and promote the project. Notably, they met with an organized group of Jamaican women who had just completed several successful fundraising campaigns, with a prominent Jamaican physician, and with an outspoken but moderate Jamaican journalist. The actual leaders of the league were long-time activists committed to socialist politics and well known in the Harlem community. They included Adolphe Roberts, a writer, who became president; W. A. Domingo, an intellectual and importer of Caribbean food products, who became vice president; and Rev. E. Ethelred Brown, a Unitarian pastor of the Harlem Community Church, who became secretary. Other founding members included T. E. Hanson, Dr. Lucien Brown, A. Wendell Malliett, Ivy Essien, James O'Meally, Thomas R. Bowen, (Mrs.) T. D'Aguilar, Agatha Fraser, and Ben and Theophilus Burrell.

The founding members thus comprised a broad coalition of Jamaicans, and this united front reflected the migrant community's response to a series of insurgencies that occurred all over the Caribbean between 1935 and 1938. Anticolonial labor riots erupted in Saint Kitts, Trinidad, British Guiana, Saint Vincent, and Saint Lucia in 1935, and in 1937 and 1938 in Trinidad, Barbados, British Guiana, Saint Lucia, and Jamaica. Demonstrators protested widespread unemployment, poor health and sanitary conditions, low wages, and many other social conditions. The colonial authorities' response was military and punitive, and many workers were killed, wounded, or arrested.

These events created a diaspora-wide response from Harlem to London, helped mobilize pan-Caribbean organizations, and inspired demands for self-government and immediate reform.

In this political climate, the Jamaica Progressive League launched its movement for universal suffrage and self-government. Designing a banner emblematic of the laboring masses and adopting the motto "From the Ground Up," the organization spread its message through mass meetings, pamphleteering, leafleting, and lectures. Among the widely distributed publications were O'Meally's "Why We Demand Self-Government for Jamaica," and the JPL's "Onward Jamaica," published in 1937. E. Ethelred Brown wrote an expose of civil services abuses and in 1938 represented the league before the West Indies Royal Commission, which convened in Jamaica in the wake of the region-wide disturbances. Domingo and Roberts spent six months in Jamaica in 1937 and 1938. Their arrival preceded the widespread labor rebellions that erupted in May 1938 and facilitated the JPL's fundraising in New York for the legal defense of workers arrested during the uprising. They also met with the Jamaican branch of the JPL and acted as advisers to the group that formed the People's National Party, headed by Norman W. Manley. The PNP, with financial backing from the league (E. Ethelred Brown served as its chief fundraiser in New York), began an aggressive campaign for self-government and reform. Amid labor strikes and mass protests, the colonial government made important concessions. The Legislative Council approved league's resolution to reinstate competitive civil service examinations. In 1944, universal adult suffrage, without property qualifications, went into effect, accompanied by a new constitution allowing Jamaicans to elect representatives to a legislative assembly. Jamaica was among the first colonies in the British Empire to win the right to choose its own representatives to a legislative assembly on the basis of universal suffrage.

In New York, the Jamaica Progressive League, guided by the socialist intellectuals Domingo and Brown, worked with other anticolonialists during the 1940s and 1950s. Their activities were deemed "subversive" and were subject to surveillance; many key activists were arrested while traveling in their home countries, were detained in the United States, or were deported. Colonial officials arrested Domingo on his arrival in Jamaica in June of 1941 after FBI agents intercepted letters identifying his work for the PNP. He was detained for twenty months and remained in Jamaica for an additional four years after U.S. officials refused to grant him a visa. The New York JPL rallied to support Domingo's family financially while he took advantage of this period by stepping up his work for the PNP and writing articles for the local press, particularly *Public Opinion,* the main organ of the Jamaica self-government movement. Domingo returned to the United States in 1947 and continued to work for the JPL.

Independence

In the politically charged period just before and just after Jamaica won its independence, membership in the New York Jamaica Progressive League reached its peak. Even Jamaicans who had been skeptical about the movement for self-government rejoiced in their country's independence and joined in the league's celebratory activities. However, the league soon entered a transitional phase. Brown, who died in 1956, and Domingo, who died in 1968, no longer guided the League's politics. The organization's new leadership, drawn from the ranks of the professional and business classes, turned more and more to the "the needs of Jamaicans where they live now." An important example was the league's increased campaign to remove immigration barriers during the 1960s, which was led by its president, Beryl Henry. Before he died, Domingo also worked on this project. To advance the concerns of an expanding immigrant community, Henry cultivated political ties with powerful local, state, and national elected officials in the United States. The league played an active role in the introduction of the 1965 Hart-Celler Bill, which repealed the national origins quota system. Once race-based immigration restrictions were lifted, new waves of migrants arrived from Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean and developing world. This new generation of Jamaican migrants both insured the League's survival and complicated its identity as a political organization.

By the 1960s and 1970s, Jamaicans were more difficult to unite around a single political agenda. Furthermore, the JPL's diverse membership, which now included a new generation of migrants who arrived after 1965, did not all agree with the league's position on the PNP. Although the JPL maintained its official affiliation, its leaders distanced the organization from any single political party.

Perhaps because of its adaptive strategies, the JPL remained a vital organization in the early 1970s. In 1973 the league purchased a twelve-story building in Manhattan, at a cost of $2 million, to serve as its new headquarters, Jamaica House. According to a history of the league, the Workers Bank of Jamaica extended the loan. The building housed numerous JPL services, including its adult education program, which provided opportunities for migrants to acquire high school equivalency certificates, as well as immigration advising services, student advising services, and a free legal clinic. The league sold Jamaica House in

1979 to pay its debts and to free the organization from cumbersome real estate management responsibilities.

Since the 1980s, the New York JPL has struggled to sustain a political and social relationship with recent migrant generations and the organization has experienced decline. The league reached its zenith when its leadership appealed to multiple constituencies and effectively combined its political goals with the immediate social needs of Jamaicans. Still, the Jamaica Progressive League's history provides an unusual opportunity to examine diaspora politics within one organization that links colonial and postcolonial communities among several generations of Jamaican migrants.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Manley, Norman; People's National Party

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IRMA WATKINS-OWENS (2005)

James, A. P. T.

1901

January 5, 1962

Alphonso Philbert Theophilus James was born in Patience Hill, Tobago. He later migrated to Trinidad, where he worked as a laborer with the Brighton Lake Asphalt Company and rose in the ranks to become a foreman, before eventually becoming an independent contractor. He was involved with the Uriah Butler labor movement in the 1930s and was an advocate for labor issues, though he is best known for being the most ardent advocate for political, social, and economic development in Tobago. James was a member of the Trinidad Labour Party, and he won the Tobago seat in the Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago in 1946. His tenure in office lasted until 1961.

James believed that Tobago, though disadvantaged by years of neglect, was an equal partner in the former united colony of Trinidad and Tobago, not a subordinate, dependent adjunct. He demanded that Tobago have separate representation and a separate voice on all issues and in all forums, even in the parliament of the British West Indies Federation. He contended that if Tobago's infrastructure, sea communication, and social services were improved, and if its agricultural, fishing, and tourism resources developed, the island would achieve economic viability and thus free itself from dependence on the Trinidad treasury. Probably the most significant of James's convictions was that Tobago should once again be granted administrative autonomy and become a separate entity, independent of Trinidad. At the end of his career he advocated secession from Trinidad.

His advocacy for Tobago resulted in several victories, including the purchase of two new steamships for the inter-island route in 1960, the construction of the North Coast Road, the appropriation of more money for the improvement of medical service and equipment at the Tobago hospital, and the construction of at least two elementary schools in Tobago. James strongly believed that Tobago could regain economic viability, mainly through the development of its agricultural and fishing industries and by

encouraging tourism. Thus, in 1948, he visited the secretary of state for the colonies and presented a memorandum for the economic and political development of Tobago from the Tobago Citizens Political and Economic Party (TCPEP), which recommended, inter alia, that the Colonial Development Corporation provide fifteen million dollars towards the development of Tobago. James also lobbied for the extension of water distribution and the provision of electricity to Tobago. In 1952, Scarborough, Tobago's capital, was finally electrified.

By 1947 the uneven development in Tobago led James to threaten to work toward the separation of the island from Trinidad. In 1948 James also championed the cause for full responsible government—that all members of the Legislative Council should be elected, and that Tobago should have two seats in the council and representation on the Executive Council and the Estimates Committee, which created the colony's annual budget. James believed that because Tobago was separated from Trinidad by the ocean, Tobagonians knew best what the island needed. Thus, their increased representation in the corridors of power was essential for the progress of the island. Further, James and the TCPEP demanded that a special ministry to handle Tobago affairs be created, and the Ministry of Tobago Affairs was duly established in 1964.

In 1956 the People's National Movement (PNM), led by Eric Williams (1911–1981), came to power. James was optimistic about Williams' "Tobago Development Programme," with its 9.2 million dollars promised for economic development in Tobago. Williams also proposed a Ministry of Tobago Affairs, with a minister who would be a member of the Executive Council. James soon became impatient with the pace of progress in the development program, however, and that and other matters led to strained relations with the PNM. By 1960 James had formed a group called the Tobago Independence Movement (TIM) to explore the possibility of Tobago gaining internal self-government status within the West Indies Federation. The group proposed a referendum on separation from Trinidad. The proposal was condemned by the PNM government, which James charged with having a colonial mentality toward Tobago.

In 1961 James lost his seat in the general elections. One month later, on January 5, 1962, he died of a cerebral hemorrhage and hypertension. To James's credit, Tobago was a better place because of his unrelenting advocacy on its behalf. The political pressure he put on the central government forced Trinidadian officials to abandon the view that Tobago should only be considered a rural backwater with little economic potential, not worthy of much administrative attention and devoid of political consciousness.

See also Peoples National Movement; West Indies Federation; Williams, Eric

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LEARIE B. LUKE (2005)

James, C. L. R.

January 4, 1901
May 31, 1989

The political activist Cyril Lionel Richard James was born in Tunapuna, Trinidad. He attended Queen's Royal College in Trinidad, where he later taught English and history. He started to write fiction while he was teaching. In 1929 his controversial story about women in a slum, "Triumph," appeared in the short-lived magazine *Trinidad,* which James co-edited. In the early 1930s James moved to England, where he supported himself by writing articles on cricket, a sport in which he was skilled. In England he became politically active as an anti-Stalinist Marxist, and joined the Trotskyite faction of the International Labour Party. His first political book, *The Life of Captain Cipriani* (1932), treated questions of colonialism. In it, James called for West Indian independence.

In the mid-1930s James turned his attention to Pan-Africanism, joining forces with the theorist and orator George Padmore (c. 1902–1959). After the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, James became editor of *International African Opinion* and chaired the International Friends of Abyssinia. His Pan-African thought was further developed in his historical work *The Black Jacobins* (1938), in which he analyzed the 1791 Haitian slave revolt led by Toussaint-Louverture (1743–1803) as a model of revolutionary struggle.

James, an internationally known figure, came to the United States on a Trotskyist lecture tour in 1938. He decided to stay and work in America's small anti-Stalinist Marxist circle. While he admired Trotsky, James associated himself with the independent Socialist Worker's Party

(SWP). In 1940, however, he broke with the SWP to join the new Worker's Party. Using the party pseudonym "J. P. Johnson," James formed the Johnson-Forest Tendency with Raya Dunayevskaya. Within the group, he organized sharecroppers and workers and wrote theoretical articles.

During the 1940s James formed his mature ideas. Some he circulated in mimeographed form and in the *New Internationalist* (and published later as *Notes on Dialectics*). Others appear in State Capitalism and World Revolution (1950). James attacked the theory that state property equaled socialism. Refuting the principle of a vanguard party, he warned that bureaucracy, even if communist in name, was an obstacle to change in social relations of production. He argued that people of color were the lever for successful social change, because of their numerical superiority and the communitarian nature of African institutions. James, who considered socialism a vehicle for Pan-Africanism, felt American blacks would serve to unite workers in the West and the Third World.

In 1950 the Johnsonites left the Worker's Party and returned to the Socialist Worker's Party. In 1952 James was labeled an undesirable alien by the U.S. State Department and interned on Ellis Island. In 1953, the same year he published his study of Herman Melville, *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways,* James was expelled from the United States. He returned to Trinidad to become secretary of the Federation Labour party and to work for West Indian independence. His later books include *Modern Politics* (1960) and *Party Politics in the West Indies* (1962). James left Trinidad in 1962 after falling out with the West Indies Federation. He spent his last years in England, where he lectured and wrote historical articles and essays on Caribbean politics and culture.

James died in 1989. In 1984, the C.L.R. James Institute was founded in New York City with his authorization. The institute was still active in the early 2000s, providing information about James and acting as a community library for gatherings and research.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Pan-Africanism; Toussaint-Louverture

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NANCY GAGNIER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

JAMES, DANIEL "CHAPPIE"

FEBRUARY 11, 1920
FEBRUARY 25, 1978

The first black four-star general, Daniel "Chappie" James Jr. joined Tuskegee's pioneer black Army Air Corps unit in 1937. He served in World War II and led a fighter group in Korea, inventing air tactics to support ground forces and receiving the Distinguished Service Medal. In Vietnam he was vice commander of the Eighth Tactical Fighter Wing, earning the Legion of Merit award. National attention accompanied his speeches supporting the war and black soldiers' reasons to fight.

Afterward he commanded Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya, then became Defense Department public affairs officer and a popular speaker. He received his fourth star with command of the crucial North American Air Defense, monitoring possible air and missile attacks.

Skills and overwhelming personality smoothed James's unprecedented ascent. Generally opposed to mass movements to improve blacks' situation, he cited his mother's dictum that personal excellence could overcome all barriers. He applauded peaceful demonstrations, however; indeed, the violence at Selma, Alabama, made him consider resigning. He brushed off personal experiences with racism, although he seldom wore civilian clothes so his uniform might shield him. Blacks sometimes criticized him, but many Americans liked his support of the Vietnam War and his view of race relations that emphasized individualism.

See also Military Experience, African-American; Tuskegee University

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ELIZABETH FORTSON ARROYO (1996)
Updated bibliography

James, Etta

January 5, 1938

Rhythm and blues singer Etta James, born Jamesetta Hawkins in Los Angeles, sang during her childhood in the choir of Saint Paul's Baptist Church. She began to sing professionally at the age of fourteen, when she worked with a rhythm and blues ensemble led by Johnny Otis. Her first recording, "Roll with Me Henry" (1954), was originally banned by radio stations because of its salacious content. However, the record became a hit, and it was rereleased in 1955 under the title "Wallflower."

In the mid- to late 1950s, James was one of the most popular singers in rhythm and blues, trailing only Dinah Washington and Ruth Brown in the number of hit rhythm and blues records she had. Nominally a blues shouter, her gospel-influenced voice was also by turns sweet, pouting, or gruff. Among her hit records, many of which were recorded for Chicago's Chess Records, were "Good Rockin' Daddy" (1955), "W-O-M-A-N" (1955), "How Big a Fool" (1958), "All I Could Do Was Cry" (1960), "Stop the Wedding" (1962), "Pushover" (1963), and "Something's Got a Hold on Me" (1964). James toured with Little Richard, James Brown, Little Willie John, and Johnny "Guitar" Watson.

Heroin addiction forced James to quit recording in the mid- to late 1960s. She eventually entered a rehabilitation program that enabled her to return to the music industry in 1973 with the album *Etta James,* which won a Grammy Award. James then recorded numerous albums, including *Come a Little Closer* (1974), *Etta Is Betta Than Evvah* (1976), *Deep in the Night* (1978), *Blues in the Night with Eddie "Cleanhead" Vinson* (1986), *Seven Year Itch* (1988), and *Stickin' to My Guns* (1990). Nonetheless, her pioneering role as a rhythm and blues singer was often overlooked until the 1990s. In 1990 she won an NAACP Image Award, and in 1993 she was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

In 1998 James published her memoirs, *Rage to Survive: The Etta James Story.* James had suffered from a lifelong weight problem and in recent years was forced to perform in a wheelchair because of her weight. In 2003 she had gastric bypass surgery and lost two hundred pounds, bringing new energy and enthusiasm to her performances. In 2003 she received a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame.

See also Rhythm and Blues

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ROBERT W. STEPHENS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jamison, Judith

May 10, 1943

Born the younger of two children in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, dancer Judith Jamison studied piano and violin as a child. Tall by the age of six, Jamison was enrolled in dance classes by her parents in an effort to complement her exceptional height with grace. She received most of her early dance training in classical ballet with master teachers Marion Cuyjet, Delores Brown, and John Jones at the Judimar School of Dance. Jamison decided on a career in dance only after three semesters of coursework in psychology at Fisk University, and she completed her education at the Philadelphia Dance Academy. In 1964 she was spotted by choreographer Agnes de Mille and invited to appear in de Mille's *The Four Marys* at the New York–based American Ballet Theatre. Jamison moved to New York in 1965 and that same year joined the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater (AAADT).

Jamison performed with AAADT on tours of Europe and Africa in 1966. When financial pressures forced Ailey briefly to disband his company later that year, Jamison joined the Harkness Ballet for several months and then returned to the re-formed AAADT in 1967. She quickly became a principal dancer with that company, dancing a variety of roles that showcased her pliant technique, stunning beauty, and exceptional stature of five feet, ten inches. Jamison excelled as the goddess Erzulie in Geoffrey Holder's *The Prodigal Prince* (1967), as the Mother in a revised version of Ailey's *Knoxville: Summer of 1915* (1968), and as the Sun in the 1968 AAADT revival of Lucas Hoving's *Icarus.* These larger-than-life roles fit neatly with Jamison's regal bearing and highly responsive emotional

center, and critics praised her finely drawn dance interpretations that were imbued with power and grace. Jamison and Ailey's collaboration deepened, and she created a brilliant solo in his *Masekela Language* (1969). Set to music of South African trumpeter Hugh Masekela, Jamison portrayed a frustrated and solitary woman dancing in a seedy saloon. Her electrifying performances of Ailey's fifteen-minute solo *Cry* (1971) propelled her to an international stardom unprecedented among modern dance artists. Dedicated by Ailey "to all black women everywhere—especially our mothers," the three sections of *Cry* successfully captured a broad range of movements, emotions, and images associated with black womanhood as mother, sister, lover, goddess, supplicant, confessor, and dancer.

In 1976 Jamison danced with ballet star Mikhail Baryshnikov in Ailey's *Pas de Duke* set to music by Duke Ellington. This duet emphasized the classical line behind Jamison's compelling modern dance technique and garnered her scores of new fans. Jamison's celebrity advanced, and she appeared as a guest artist with the San Francisco Ballet, the Swedish Royal Ballet, the Cullberg Ballet, and the Vienna State Ballet. In 1977 she created the role of Potiphar's wife in John Neumeier's *Josephslegende* for the Vienna State Opera, and in 1978 she appeared in Maurice Béjart's updated version of *Le Spectre de la Rose* with the Ballet of the Twentieth Century. Several choreographers sought to work with Jamison as a solo artist, and important collaborations included John Parks's *Nubian Lady* (1972), John Butler's *Facets* (1976), and Ulysses Dove's *Inside* (1980).

In 1980 Jamison left the Ailey company to star in the Broadway musical *Sophisticated Ladies,* set to the music of Duke Ellington. She later turned her formidable talent to choreography, where her work has been marked by a detached sensuality and intensive responses to rhythm. Jamison founded her own dance company, the Jamison Project, to explore the opportunities of getting a group of dancers together, for both my choreography [and] to commission works from others. Alvin Ailey's failing health caused Jamison to rejoin the AAADT as artistic associate for the 1988–1989 season. In December 1989 Ailey died, and Jamison was named artistic director of the company. She has continued to choreograph, and her ballets include *Divining* (1984), *Forgotten Time* (1989), *Hymn* (1993), *Double Exposure* (2000), and *Here . . . and Now* (2002), all performed by the AAADT.

Jamison has received numerous awards and honors, including a Presidential Appointment to the National Council of the Arts, the 1972 *Dance Magazine* Award, and the Candace Award from the National Coalition of One Hundred Black Women. Her great skill as an administrator has led the AAADT to the forefront of American dance, operating consistently without a large deficit, and in residence at the largest single facility devoted to dance in the country. Her greatest achievement as a dancer was an inspiring ability to seem supremely human and emotive within an elastic and powerful dance technique.

See also Ailey, Alvin; Ballet; Dove, Ulysses; Ellington, Duke

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)
Updated by author 2005

JAZZ

This entry consists of three distinct but interrelated articles.

OVERVIEW
Leonard Goines

JAZZ IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE
John Gennari

JAZZ SINGERS
Linda Dahl

OVERVIEW

Despite complex origins, the status of jazz as a distinctively African-American music is beyond question. Nonetheless, in its development from folk and popular sources in turn-of-the-twentieth-century America, jazz has transcended boundaries of ethnicity and genre. Played in every country of the globe, it is perhaps twentieth-century America's most influential cultural creation, and its worldwide impact, on both popular and art music, has been enormous. Jazz has proved to be immensely protean and has existed in a number of diverse though related styles, from New Orleans– and Chicago-style Dixieland jazz, big band or swing, bebop, funky cool jazz, hard bop, modal jazz, free jazz, and jazz rock. One reason for the variety in jazz is that

it is basically a way of performing music rather than a particular repertory. It originated in blends of the folk music, popular music, and light classical music being created just prior to 1900, and now embraces a variety of popular musical styles from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa, as well as diverse modern, classical, and avant-garde performance traditions.

Jazz also has an inescapable political thrust. It originated during a time of enormous oppression and violence in the South against African Americans. The early African-American practitioners of jazz found racial discrimination in virtually every aspect of their lives, from segregated dance halls, cafés, and saloons to exploitative record companies. Like blackface minstrelsy, early jazz was popular with whites, in part because it reinforced "darkie" stereotypes of African Americans as happy-go-lucky and irrepressibly rhythmic. Nonetheless, many black jazz musicians used jazz as a vehicle for cultural, artistic, and economic advancement, and were able to shape their own destinies in an often hostile environment. African-American jazz was, from its earliest days, often performed for or by whites, and it was assimilated into the overall fabric of popular music, to the uneasiness of some on both sides of the racial divide. It has continued to mirror and exemplify the complexities and ironies of the changing status of African Americans within the broader culture and polity of the United States.

Early Jazz

Although its origins are obscure, early forms of jazz began to flourish around the turn of the century in cities such as New Orleans, Chicago, and Memphis. The long prehistory of jazz begins with the rhythmic music slaves brought to America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and developed on southern plantations. Since the traditional drums, flutes, and horns of West Africa were largely forbidden, call-and-response singing and chanting, field hollers, foot stomping, and handclapping were common, especially in the context of fieldwork and church worship. Under those restrictions, among the earliest African-American instruments adopted were European string instruments such as the violin and guitar. The African-derived banjo was also a popular instrument. Eventually the publicly performed music that Reconstruction-era city-dwellers made an essential part of urban life demanded brass and woodwind instruments, not only for their volume but also to accompany the Spanish American War–era military marches, popular songs, and light classics that were so popular among all classes and races in the late nineteenth century.

While it is difficult to draw a precise line between jazz and its precursors, its immediate predecessors were two forms of African-American folk and popular music known as blues and ragtime. Ragtime is primarily piano music that integrates complex African-derived rhythmic practices with the harmonies of light classics, parlor music, show tunes, and popular songs. The virtuosic practice of "ragging"—altering rhythms to, in effect, "tease" variety and humor out of formal, strict patterns—was widespread by the 1880s, especially in towns along the Mississippi River like St. Louis and (eventually) New Orleans. Ragtime was also being played before the turn of the century in eastern cities such as New York and Baltimore. The greatest ragtime players, Scott Joplin, Eubie Blake, Tony Jackson, and Jelly Roll Morton, also composed, and sheet music became a central feature of home entertainments among families, black and white, who could afford pianos. Ragtime was also played by instrumental ensembles; the syncopated orchestras led in New York City by James Reese Europe and Will Marion Cook during the first two decades of the century owed much to the precise, contrapuntal style of piano rags. The ragtime-derived piano style proved influential on later jazz styles, especially since many of the best bandleaders of the swing era, including Duke Ellington, Earl "Fatha" Hines, and Count Basie, were heavily influenced by Harlem stride pianists such as James P. Johnson, Fats Waller, Willie "The Lion" Smith, and Luckey Roberts. Also deeply indebted to stride were later pianists such as Teddy Wilson, Art Tatum, and Thelonious Monk.

The blues similarly began along the Mississippi River in the 1880s and 1890s. Among the first published blues, "Memphis Blues" (1912), by W. C. Handy, was broadly derived from black rural folk music. The sexual frankness and suggestiveness, its recognition of suffering and hardship of all kinds, and the slow, insinuating melodies soon had an impact on popular music. The 1920s saw the rise of such blues singers as Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Mamie Smith, but long before that the blues had a palpable influence on the music of early New Orleans jazz.

It was New Orleans that gave its name to the earliest and most enduring form of jazz and bred its first masters. That Buddy Bolden, Bunk Johnson, Kid Ory, Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, Sidney Bechet, and Freddy Keppard all came from New Orleans attests to the extraordinary fertility of musical life in what was then the largest southern city. In New Orleans, blacks, whites, and the culturally distinct light-skinned African Americans known as Creoles supported various kinds of musical ensembles by the mid-nineteenth century. Other influences included traveling cabaret and minstrel shows, funeral, carnival, and pa-

rade bands. A more or less direct African influence on New Orleans was also pervasive, no more so than in Congo Square, a onetime site of slave auctions that later became an important meeting place and open-air music hall for New Orleans blacks.

The various layers of French, Spanish, Haitian, Creole, Indian, and African-American culture in New Orleans created a mixed social environment, and not only in Storyville, the legendary red-light district whose role in the birth of jazz has probably been overemphasized. Nonetheless, it was in Storyville that legalized prostitution encouraged a proliferation of brothels, gambling houses, and saloons where many of the early New Orleans jazz musicians first performed. Though many of the early New Orleans jazz bands and performers, including Sidney Bechet and Jelly Roll Morton, were Creoles, very soon non-Creoles such as King Oliver and Louis Armstrong were integrated into Creole ensembles.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, these diverse musical styles had evolved into the style of music that was almost exclusively associated with New Orleans. Although there are no recordings of jazz from this period, what the music sounded like can be inferred from photographs of the period, later reminiscences, and later recordings. A typical early New Orleans jazz ensemble might include one or more cornets, trombone, clarinet, and a rhythm section of string or brass bass, piano, and guitar or banjo. The cornets, which were eventually replaced by the trumpets, took the melodic lead, while an elaborate countermelody was contributed by the clarinet, and the trombone provided a melodic bass line. The rhythm section filled in the harmonies and provided the beat. The typical repertory of these ensembles consisted largely of blues-based songs.

The two main types of improvisation in early jazz were solo and collective improvisation. Solo improvisation takes place when one musician at a time performs solo. In collective improvisation, which was the key feature of the New Orleans early jazz sound and later Chicago-related Dixieland style, more than one musician improvises simultaneously. This style can be heard in the early recordings of Kid Ory, King Oliver, and Jelly Roll Morton, as well as music made by whites such as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, the Wolverines, and Chicago's Austin High School Gang.

Jazz no doubt existed in some recognizable form from about 1905—the heyday of the legendary and never-recorded New Orleans cornetist Buddy Bolden—but the first recording by a group calling itself a "jazz" band was made in 1917, in New York, by the white, New Orleans–based ensemble the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Though as early as 1913 James Reese Europe had recorded with his black syncopated orchestra, and by the early 1920s Johnny Dunn and Kid Ory had recorded, it was not until 1923 that the first representative and widely influential New Orleans–style jazz recordings by African Americans were made in the Midwest, by King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton.

The movement of the best New Orleans musicians to Chicago is often linked to the closing of Storyville in 1917. Much more important was the Great Migration of southern blacks to northern cities during the World War I years. In Chicago, jazz found a receptive audience, and jazz musicians were able to develop profitable solo careers while enjoying a more hospitable racial climate than in the South.

Big Band Jazz

Jazz underwent significant changes on being transplanted to the North. By the early 1920s, when the New York–based band of Fletcher Henderson made its first recordings, jazz was being presented in a manner akin to the refined dance band orchestras of the time, with larger ensembles of ten pieces or more, working within carefully written arrangements. Whereas the early jazz repertory consisted largely of original blues, in the 1920s jazz musicians began performing waltzes and popular songs. The style of playing changed as well. In place of the thrilling but often unwieldy polyphony of New Orleans jazz came the antiphonal big-band style, in which whole sections traded off unison or close-harmony riffs, often in a call-and-response format with a single soloist. In contrast to the instrumentation of the typical New Orleans early jazz ensemble of three horns and a rhythm section, big bands generally had a brass section consisting of three trumpets and one trombone, and three or four reeds (a variety of saxophones and clarinets). In the 1930s the size of big bands often grew to fifteen or more musicians. Providing the pulse for the swing big bands was a rhythm section, usually containing a piano, string bass and drums, and often an acoustic guitar.

If the big bands regimented and reined in the sounds of New Orleans jazz, it also permitted the emergence of the soloist, particularly on the saxophone and trumpet, probably the most important development of the era. Though featured soloists were not unknown in the New Orleans jazz style, big band jazz arrangements often used themes as mere preludes to extended solo improvisations, with both the rhythm section and the orchestra as a whole often serving as accompanists to whoever was soloing. No figure exemplified this change better than Louis Armstrong. Although bred in New Orleans, his stay in Chicago taught him much about the theatrical possibilities of a

Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, 1946. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS INC. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION

well-constructed solo. During 1924 and 1925 he performed with the Henderson band in New York, where his majestic tone and unfailingly fresh phrasing almost single-handedly turned that ensemble from a straitlaced dance band toward a New Orleans–influenced style that would eventually become known as swing. Armstrong's recordings with his own ensembles in the 1920s feature not only his brilliant trumpet but also his voice. By singing the same way that he played the trumpet, Armstrong became the model for superb jazz phrasing and popularized scat singing—using nonsense syllables instead of words. In the 1930s his recordings of such emerging standards as "Body and Soul" and "Stardust" proved that jazz could redefine pop tunes.

In 1929 Armstrong fronted a big band in New York, a move that signaled the decline of both Chicago and Chicago-style jazz in favor of Harlem as the new capital and swing big bands as the dominant sound. By the mid-1930s Harlem was the undisputed center of the jazz world, and the swing era coincided with the rise of Harlem as the focal point for African-American culture. The largest black community in the world made its home along 125th Street in Manhattan, attending elegant and inexpensive dance palaces and buying recordings also made in New York. However, it would be a mistake to focus exclusively on New York or Chicago. Many of the greatest swing big bands, known as territory bands, came from elsewhere. The Southwest, in particular Kansas City, an important railroad switching station as well as host to an extensive collection of mob-owned after-hours nightclubs, was the most important center for territory bands. In the early 1920s Bennie Moten's group had already inaugurated a Kansas City style, in its mature phase marked by looser, four-to-the-bar rhythms and freer styles of soloing. The pianist in the band, a student of Harlem stride named Count Basie, brought the core of that band to New York in 1936, and brought to prominence a whole new genera-

tion of hard-swinging soloists such as Lester Young, Herschel Evans, and Buck Clayton, as well as vocalist Jimmy Rushing.

The big band era was the only time jazz was truly America's popular music. Starting in the late 1920s, the dance bands of Ellington, Henderson, Basie, Jimmie Lunceford, Andy Kirk, Teddy Hill, Earl "Fatha" Hines, as well as those of Chick Webb, Cab Calloway, and Lionel Hampton, competed with white bands led by Benny Goodman, Paul Whiteman, Tommy Dorsey, and Artie Shaw. The prominence of the soloist during the swing era marks the emergence of celebrity jazz musicians like Louis Armstrong, who became "stars" almost on a par with the most popular white entertainers of the day, such as Bing Crosby, in both white and black communities, in Europe as well as in America. The big band era also marks the emergence of tenor saxophonist stars such as Coleman Hawkins and Ben Webster, as well as vocalists such as Billie Holiday and Ella Fitzgerald.

Jazz in the swing era gave numerous African-American performers a largely unprecedented degree of acceptance, fame, and financial success. Still, these achievements occurred within a society that was uncomfortable at best with both public and private racial interaction in any but the most controlled settings. Although some dance halls and nightclubs were integrated, many others, including the most famous ones, such as the Cotton Club, were not. Musicians often appeared there in less than flattering contexts, and audiences clamored for Duke Ellington's "exotic" side, known as jungle music, and for the comic, minstrel side of performers such as Louis Armstrong and Fats Waller. Through the end of the 1930s almost all jazz bands were segregated, with white bands such as those led by the Dorsey brothers, Paul Whiteman, Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller, Woody Herman, and Artie Shaw making considerably more money than their African-American counterparts.

Goodman's ensemble was the first integrated jazz band. He hired Fletcher Henderson as an arranger and in 1936 hired Teddy Wilson as pianist and Lionel Hampton on vibes for his quartet. Goodman, the most popular bandleader of the late 1930s, played in a style quite similar to the best of the black bands, and was unfairly crowned the "King of Swing" by critics. This raised the ire of many black musicians. Although Armstrong, Ellington, Basie, and Waller became genuine celebrities, the white musicians who played in a "black" style often captured a market unavailable to blacks. This would be a persistent grievance among black jazz musicians.

Bebop

In the early 1940s one of the last major bands from the Southwest to reach prominence in New York was led by Jay McShann, whose band contained the seeds of the next development in jazz (primarily through the innovations of its own saxophonist, Charlie Parker). Although the emergence of the frenetic and rarified style of jazz that became known as "bebop"—so named because of the final, two-note phrase that often ended bebop solos—is frequently seen as a revolt against big band swing, all of the early bebop giants drew upon their experiences playing with swing musicians, often in big bands. Earl Hines, Billy Eckstine, Coleman Hawkins, and Cootie Williams nurtured many beboppers, and one of the first great bebop groups was a big band led by Dizzy Gillespie in 1945 and 1946. After Parker left Jay McShann, he worked with Gillespie in bands led by Hines and Eckstine. Thelonious Monk worked with Cootie Williams, as did Bud Powell.

The very first stirrings of bebop had come in the late 1930s, when drummer Kenny Clarke, who had worked in big bands led by Teddy Hill and Roy Eldridge, began keeping time on the high-hat cymbal rather than on the bass drum, which was reserved for rhythmic accents, a style adopted by young drummers such as Max Roach and Art Blakey. Just as timekeepers were experimenting with the rhythmical palate of the drum kit, so too were soloists extending the limits of the harmonies of standard popular songs and blues, and aspiring to a new and recondite tonal vocabulary. Inspired by the virtuosic playing and harmonic sophistication of pianist Art Tatum and tenor saxophonist Lester Young, in the early 1940s Gillespie and Parker were creating a music for musicians, noted for its complexity, with a whole new, difficult repertory. Trumpeter Fats Navarro, bassist Charles Mingus, and pianists Thelonious Monk and Bud Powell were also prime architects of bebop, as were such white musicians as pianists Lennie Tristano and Al Haig, and alto saxophonist Lee Konitz.

Disgruntled swing musicians complained that bebop was an elitist style that robbed jazz of its place as America's popular music. Certainly, the refusal of bebop musicians to adhere to a four-to-the-bar bass drum rhythm meant that the music was no longer suitable for dancing. As bebop lost its function as dance music, tempos quickened even more, and solos became more rhythmically adventurous. Bebop's quirky, sophisticated compositions and fleet, witty improvisations demanded the serious and more or less undivided attention that concert music requires. Bebop came of age and reached its height of popularity not in "high-toned" Harlem dance halls but in the nightclubs and after-hours clubs of Harlem and 52nd

Street, and often the audience consisted of a small coterie of white and black jazz fans and sympathetic jazz musicians. In retrospect, however, it was not bebop that dealt the deathblow to jazz as a popular music. The big bands were struggling to survive long before the bebop era began, and by the 1950s, not even Count Basie and Duke Ellington's bands could keep up with the dance rhythms of rhythm and blues and early rock and roll.

Just as New Orleans–style jazz established the basic language for what is generally considered "classic jazz," so too did the beboppers define what is still considered modern jazz. Bebop was inherently music for small ensembles, which usually included a rhythm section of piano, bass, and drums, and two or three horns, playing a new repertory of jazz standards often derived from the chord changes of Ray Noble's "Cherokee" or George Gershwin's "I Got Rhythm." In the standard bebop ensemble, after the initial statement of the theme in unison, each soloist was given several choruses to improvise on that theme. The beboppers, ever restless innovators, also experimented with Latin music, string accompaniments, and the sonorities of twentieth-century European concert music.

The latter influenced pianist John Lewis and trumpeter Miles Davis, bebop pioneers who forged a new style known as "cool jazz." In the late 1940s Davis began listening to and playing with white musicians, especially arranger Gil Evans, associated with Claude Thornhill's band. Davis formed an unusual nine-piece band, including "non-jazz" instruments such as tuba and French horn for club and record sessions later known as Cool Jazz. The ensemble's elegant, relaxed rhythms, complex and progressive harmonies, and intimate solo styles proved enormously influential to white musicians such as Gerry Mulligan, Chet Baker, Lennie Tristano, Dave Brubeck, George Shearing, and Stan Getz, as well as to Lewis's Modern Jazz Quartet.

Davis, a prodigious creator of jazz styles, helped launch the other major trend of the 1950s, "hard bop." Inaugurated by "Walkin'" (1954), hard bop was marked by longer, more emotional solos reminiscent of 1930s cutting contests and reaffirmation of the gospel and blues. Charles Mingus, Sonny Rollins, Clifford Brown, Horace Silver, Art Blakey, and Thelonious Monk were all major exponents of hard bop, as were Cannonball Adderley, Eric Dolphy, Mal Waldron, Jackie McLean, and Wes Montgomery later. During the late 1950s Davis led an ensemble that included some of the finest and most influential of all hard bop players, including John Coltrane, Cannonball Adderley, and white pianist Bill Evans. Davis's landmark *Kind of Blue* (1959) introduced a popular and influential style of playing known as modal, in which modes or scales, rather than chord changes, generate improvisation. Davis also never gave up his interest in large-ensemble, arranged music, and he experimented in the late 1950s, collaborating with Gil Evans, with orchestrations derived from modern European concert music. This music, which white composer Gunther Schuller dubbed as "Third Stream," was never popular among jazz audiences, although black jazz composers such as John Lewis and George Russell embraced its concepts.

Bebop, cool jazz, hard bop, Third Stream music, and "soul" or "funk" jazz, pioneered by Horace Silver, dominated jazz in the late 1950s. However, the giants of the previous decades, playing what was to be called "mainstream" jazz, had some of their greatest popular, if not musical, successes. During that decade Louis Armstrong toured regularly in small and large ensembles and had several enormously popular records. Basie organized a new orchestra, and also had several hit records. Ellington, who had triumphantly introduced new extended works annually in the 1940s, continued to compose for his orchestra and also had several hits.

Avant-Garde Jazz

By the early 1960s jazz had reached a crucial turning point. Many of the jazz masters of the swing era, such as Lester Young and Billie Holiday, were dead. Many of the most important musicians, including Charlie Parker, Bud Powell, and Clifford Brown, had died tragically young or had been devastated by heroin addiction, mental illness, or accidents. Musicians had pushed the rhythmic and harmonic conventions that had been established during the swing era to their breaking point. During the 1960s Coltrane, Ornette Coleman, and Cecil Taylor led the way in beginning to abandon the swinging rhythms and melodies of traditional jazz in favor of implied tempos and harmonies, drawing on the largely unexplored reaches of their instruments, often in epic-length solos. By the mid-1960s a whole new generation of avant-garde or free jazz musicians, including Albert Ayler, Archie Shepp, Marion Brown, Bill Dixon, Sun Ra, and Don Cherry, began to abandon even the bedrock jazz convention of theme and improvisation in favor of dissonant collective improvisations related to the energetic polyphony of New Orleans–style jazz. These musicians, inspired by the civil rights movement, also began to address politics, especially race problems and black nationalism, in their music. They were often joined by musicians from the previous generation, such as Max Roach and Charles Mingus. Also in the 1960s, many jazz musicians visited Africa, and some converted to Islam, although some musicians—for example, Sadik Hakim—had converted as early as the 1940s. Many figures

Lifetime Achievement Grammy Awards

Ever since the first jazz Grammy was given to Ella Fitzgerald in 1958, numerous other black jazz musicians have collected Grammy Awards as well. A special category called the Lifetime Achievement Award is reserved for the most influential musicians who have maintained a high standard of quality over a long period of time.

Duke Ellington was the first jazz musician to be recognized with a Lifetime Achievement Award in 1966. Considered by many to be the most prolific composer of the twentieth century, Ellington was an obvious choice. He wrote nearly 2,000 compositions before his death in 1975.

Ella Fitzgerald received hers in 1967. The quintessential female lounge singer, she had an extremely wide vocal range to offset her small voice. This vocal range gave her a gift for mimicry enabling her to imitate jazz instruments and other famous singers.

After his death, Louis Armstrong was honored with a lifetime achievement Grammy in 1972. Most famous for his ability on the cornet and gravelly voice, he is considered the most important improviser in jazz and, like Fitzgerald above, had a keen sense of swing. His sense of humor and positive disposition made him an extremely likable performer.

Billie Holiday was honored in 1987, also after her death, in 1959. Her influence on later female singers is matched only by Fitzgerald. Whereas Fitzgerald was more adept at handling light material, Holiday's signature was slow, melancholic songs of unrequited love. "Gloomy Sunday" (1941), a song about suicide, and "Lover Man" (1944) are her most highly regarded songs.

Charlie Parker received his lifetime achievement award in 1984, also posthumously. An influential improvising soloist on the saxophone, perhaps the most influential, and a central figure of bop in the 1940s, Parker was idolized by his peers. He and Dizzy Gillespie (another lifetime achievement winner in 1989) formed the nucleus of Billy Eckstine's band.

Among the other African-American jazz artists receiving the Lifetime Achievement Award were: Benny Carter (1987), Lena Horne (1989), Art Tatum (1989), Sarah Vaughan (1989), Miles Davis (1990), John Coltrane (1992), Thelonious Monk (1993), and Charles Mingus (1997).

in the black arts movement, such as Amiri Baraka, hailed the extended solos of musicians such as John Coltrane as an authentic African-American art form. Ironically, at the same time, almost any connection to a large black audience in America was sundered.

The "further out" jazz became, the more harshly it was attacked by traditional musicians and listeners alike. In response, by the late 1960s many free jazz musicians were searching for ways to recapture a mass black audience. Once again, it was Miles Davis who led the way. Starting in the late 1960s, Davis began using electric instruments in his bands and incorporating funk, rhythm and blues, and rock rhythms into his albums. Members of Davis's electric ensembles, such as Herbie Hancock, Wayne Shorter, and Chick Corea, later enjoyed tremendous popular success.

If the electric music Davis created, known as "fusion" or "jazz rock," inspired accusations that he was selling out, in the 1970s, the purist mantle would be carried by a group of musicians who had been playing in Chicago since the early 1960s. Striving toward the implicit racial pride and artistic and economic independence preached by Sun Ra, Mingus, and Taylor, the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) was founded in 1965. The AACM, and its offshoot, the St. Louis–based Black Artists Group, have been responsible for many of the most important developments in jazz since the mid-1970s. The Art Ensemble of Chicago, pianist Muhal Richard Abrams, and saxophonist Anthony Braxton and Henry Threadgill have all been important exponents of what they term "creative music," which idiosyncratically and unpredictably draws upon everything from ragtime to free jazz.

Jazz in the 1990s

In the 1980s, the institutionalization of jazz accompanied the more general interest of universities, symphonies, and

museums in many areas of African-American culture. Since the 1970s, many jazz musicians, including Mary Lou Williams, Archie Shepp, Jackie McLean, Bill Dixon, and Anthony Braxton, have held university positions. Although there is a long history of formally trained jazz musicians, from Will Marion Cook to Miles Davis, a large proportion of the best young jazz musicians now come from conservatories. Such training has resulted not only in avant-gardists like Anthony Davis and David Murray, who have a healthy appreciation for the roots of jazz, but bebop-derived traditionalists like Wynton Marsalis, who have brought mainstream jazz to the public prominence it has lacked for forty years. Further, although independent scholars compiled discographies and wrote biographies as early as the 1930s, since the 1980s there has been a burst of institutional scholarly activity, accompanied by the integration of jazz into traditional symphony repertories, as well as the creation of jazz orchestras dedicated to preserving the repertory, and developing new compositions, at the Smithsonian Institution and Lincoln Center. Jazz, as perhaps the greatest of all African-American cultural contributions, always captured the imagination of great African-American writers like Langston Hughes and Ralph Ellison, and it continues to suffuse the work of contemporary writers like Ishmael Reed, Toni Morrison, Albert Murray, and Stanley Crouch.

The Second Century

Jazz has been a pluralistic music since its inception. From the "Spanish tinge" of the New Orleans period to the world music explorations of John Coltrane, Don Cherry, and Collin Walcott, jazz has absorbed anything it needed to extend its boundaries. Latin music, for example, decisively influenced jazz innovators from Jelly Roll Morton to Dizzy Gillespie. Further, by the mid-1960s, Cuban and Brazilian rhythms, scales from India and the near east, along with musical instruments from many areas of the world, were enjoying a significant place in jazz performance. Before the 1970s, jazz history followed a straightforward narrative—constantly gravitating toward the next new thing. Consequently, one was able to match each decade with a dominant style. Suddenly this all changed. Jazz became syncretistic, eclectic, and enormously diverse. In addition, groups like Shakti, the Codono trio, and Oregon emerged with the mission of building bridges between cultures and incorporating elements of ethnic music into their performances. By the end of the 1980s, a search was on for common roots and a universal musical energy.

Technological advances, the burgeoning recording reissue industry, and a plethora of new educational materials had prepared many artists to view the jazz tradition as a whole rather than through the lens of one particular style. Some looked backward to tradition while others looked forward to change. An ever-increasing diversity of styles and tendencies resulted—each marketing to its own specific audience. As jazz approached its second century, a new generation of musicians, including pianist Geri Allen and tenor saxophonist Joshua Redman, continued to improvise on the history of jazz to further address and define issues central to this particular African-American experience.

As the twenty-first century arrived, fusions of jazz with ethnic, popular, and other contemporary musical genres ranged from the jazz flavored offerings of smooth jazz to cutting edge free improvisations on funk and hip hop foundations. By the mid-1990s, for instance, established jazz players such as legendary drummer Max Roach and saxophonist Branford Marsalis, along with saxophonists Steve Coleman and Greg Osby of Brooklyn's M-BASE collective, had experimented with the sounds of funk and hip hop in ambitious but traditionally oriented ways. By the year 2000, trumpeter Dave Douglas, while continuing to be inspired by jazz's historical tradition, had also included Balkan and European folk elements in some of his work. Concurrently, versatile vocalist Cassandra Wilson established herself as an artist of great promise, singing everything from jazz standards and funk to unusual pop.

See also Jazz in African-American Culture; Jazz Singers; Music in the United States

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Jazz in African-American Culture

Jazz was born in the street parades and sporting houses of early twentieth-century New Orleans; nurtured in the rent parties, speakeasies, and dance halls of 1920s and 1930s Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore, and Boston; seasoned in the corner saloons and barber shops of Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles in the 1940s and 1950s; and refined in the concert halls, conservatories, and universities of post–World War II cultural capitals the world over. Jazz was forged in the cauldron of Jim Crow segregation by the descendants of slaves, who transformed antebellum spirituals, work songs, hollers, and ring shouts into the witness-bearing, intensely expressive truthfulness of the blues, as well as the effervescent spirit of ragtime. Marrying these currents of sorrow and joy, oppression and resistance, jazz captured and heralded the struggle for African-American freedom. Jazz's rhythmic finesse, melodic inventiveness, and improvisational energy expressed the dreams and desires of a modernizing people, a people anxious to cast off the chains of slavery and segregation in order to catch the pulse of America's emergence as a twentieth-century beacon of technological and cultural innovation. Jazz was the soundtrack for the Great Migration of African Americans from the rural plantation culture of the Old South to the modern urban culture of the North, Midwest, and West.

As the sound of migration and modernity, jazz was the seed-bed for a new African-American urban vernacular culture of dance, style, and language that became the envy of musicians, artists, writers, intellectuals, and culturally aware ("hip") people everywhere. The African-American jazz musician, John Szwed has written, was "the first truly nonmechanical metaphor for the twentieth-century," successor to the English Gentleman as a globally-emulated model of humanness, grace, and elegance (Szwed, p. 2). African-American jazz pioneers such as Buddy Bolden, Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, Sidney Bechet, Louis Armstrong, Coleman Hawkins, Eubie Blake, Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, Count Basie, Jimmie Lunceford, Mary Lou Williams, and The International Sweethearts of Rhythm struggled to transform an American entertainment business still rooted in traditions of blackface minstrelsy and vaudeville. African-American entertainers were expected to cater to white fantasies of happy-go-lucky black servility as embodied in such minstrel-stage stock characters as Sambo and Mammy. Through the 1920s and into the early 1930s, the so-called "Jazz Age," black jazz musicians worked in venues whose names—Cotton Club, Plantation Club, Kentucky Club, Club Alabama—drew expressly on mythic southern images, recreating for northern white elite audiences ("slummers") a plantation-derived aura of white supremacy. First in the big-band swing movement of the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s, and then in the bebop, cool, and free jazz movements from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, African-American jazz musicians like Ellington, Holiday, Hawkins, Williams, Lester Young, Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Sarah Vaughan, Ornette Coleman, John Coltrane, Cecil Taylor, Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln, and Archie Shepp actively criticized and resisted old-fashioned stereotypes associated with black entertainment, insisting on jazz's status as an art form and projecting themselves as cultural heroes and heroines. Much like W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, James Weldon Johnson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and other African-American political and cultural leaders—but perhaps with even greater influence among the black masses—African-American jazz musicians embodied and proselytized an image of the "New Negro," of urbane, cultured, and savvy black men and women fit to lead not just African America but America itself.

Jazz as Creative Technique and Cultural Equipment

Jazz musicians have become known as the most creative of creative artists, and this has much to do with the boundary-crossing agility and improvisational inventiveness of African-American culture more generally. The best jazz—whether performed by black or non-black musicians—combines a deep immersion in local folk or vernacular idioms (community-based stories and states of feeling communicated through distinctive rhythms of speech, gesture, and performance) with a broad artistic awareness that absorbs ideas and techniques from an array of cultures and experiences. Just as jazz musicians have crossed ethnic social barriers while remaining true to their roots, so jazz music itself has always been engaged in a process of expanding cultural frontiers beyond the limitations of race. Through jazz, African-American culture has effected a New World synthesis of Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and South and North America; it is this synthesis, indeed, that has made jazz the quintessential cultural expression of the modern world. Jazz began as a world music—early New Orleans jazz polyphony and rhythms had more in common with the music of Martinique, Brazil, and Argentina than anything that was heard in the rest of North America in the 1900s and 1910s—and it continued to grow as a world music throughout the twentieth-century. From Jelly Roll Morton's dictum that all jazz must have a "Latin tinge" to the Afro-Latin jazz innovations of Chano Pozo, Tito Puente, Celia Cruz, and Paquito D'Rivera; from Charlie Parker's love for Stravinsky and strings to the Modern Jazz Quarter's use of Baroque fugues and counterpoint; from John Coltrane's absorption of the Indian raga to Duke Ellington's "Far East Suite," jazz has been a primary vehicle by and through which African-American culture has functioned as a—perhaps *the*—world culture.

Anchoring jazz's global reach is a set of characteristics intrinsic to African-American culture and especially informed by jazz's African roots:

DANCE-BEAT ORIENTATION AND RHYTHMIC GROOVE. Most jazz, not just the music played expressly for dancers, is animated by the spirit of the body in motion, harkening back to African performance traditions in which music and dance are inseparable and mutually reinforcing. The swing music of Ellington, Basie, Lunceford, and Chick Webb extended the African ideal of dance as a celebration of life, a source of energy, joy, inspiration, and social community. Bebop and other forms of modern jazz moved the music off the dance floor but retained a strong connection to body language—as expressed, for instance, in Thelonious Monk's idiosyncratic shuffling dances around his piano, or in Cecil Taylor's athletic sweeps and swoons over the keys and into the bowels of his piano. Central to this dance-beat orientation is the jazz musician's keen ability to establish and continually enrich the rhythmic groove—to know where the downbeat is even if it is not stated, to master and manipulate subtle shadings of phrasing and pulse. Whether the rhythmic figures of a jazz piece are complicated or simple, skilled players and listeners learn to lock into a shared sense of group time. Jazz *moves*.

CALL-AND-RESPONSE CONVERSATION. As in an African dance ritual or in an African-American preacher's sermon to the congregation, jazz performance functions as a dialogue among the musicians, as well as between the musicians and the dancing or listening audience. Jazz musicians learn to listen and communicate with each other, deeply attuned to the nuances of time, gesture, attitude, and sound that each player brings to the performance. This spirit of interactive collaboration often makes the instruments of the band sound like so many voices engaged in a conversation–horn sections spraying riffs (short melodic-rhythmic figures) across the bandstand; a pianist "comping" (jazz slang for accompanying) behind a soloist; a drummer "dropping a bomb" (breaking up his steady cymbal rhythm with between-the-beat figures on the snare and bass drum) to kick the band forward; horn players and the drummer "trading fours" or eights (alternating four-bar or eight-bar solos) like sentences building themselves into a paragraph. Jazz *speaks*.

IMPROVISATION WITHIN A COMMUNAL CONTEXT. Centrally important to jazz performance is the improvised solo, the space in the music where the individual musician steps forward into the spotlight to craft a personalized statement out of the basic materials (chord structure, melody, rhythmic pattern) of the song. Jazz improvisation grants freedom to the featured soloist, but requires that soloist to work within the established context of the performance. An improvised solo is a spontaneous composition, an on-the-spot creation. But to succeed—both musically and culturally—the improvised solo must honor and abide by rules and conventions analogous to those of public speech. It must fit itself into the social flow, shaping itself to the distinctive characteristics of each performance situation, answering the particular challenges imposed by fellow musicians and the audience. It must achieve a stamp of individuality, a personal signature, while also enhancing and enriching the social whole. Improvisation is itself a form of call-and-response within the communal rhythmic groove. "True jazz," said Ralph Ellison, "is an art

of individual assertion within and against the group" (O'Meally, 2001, p. 36). Jazz *stylizes.*

CREOLIZATION AND HETEROGENEOUS SOUND. Jazz has inherited from African culture a profoundly pluralistic sensibility, an ability to choose eclectically from a variety of sources, to embrace multiplicity, tension, and even contradiction. This sensibility operates on the social level, with jazz culture's fluid openness and flexibility—the jazz world brings diverse bodies and minds together. It also operates as an aesthetic—the sound of jazz is the sound of high contrast, clashing colors, overlapping layers, timbral variety. Jazz *synthesizes.*

These characteristics inform not just jazz music, but a wide range of African-American expressive culture that in turn has profoundly shaped the broader American culture. When Ralph Ellison asserted that "all American culture is jazz-shaped" (O'Meally, 2001, p. ix), he was thinking about American speech, American humor, American politics (jazz as a model for participatory democracy), American popular culture—movies, cartoons, advertising, and sports (think of Michael Jordan as a master improviser, deepening the rhythmic groove and the high style of a basketball game). Many of the most interesting artists of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries—writers such as Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Frank Marshall Davis, Amiri Baraka, Jayne Cortez, Sonia Sanchez, Elizabeth Alexander, John Edgar Wideman, Yusef Komunyakaa, and Major Jackson; actors such as Marlon Brando, Robert DeNiro, Denzel Washington, and Don Cheadle; comedians such as Jackie "Moms" Mabley, Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham, Lenny Bruce, and Bill Cosby; painters such as Henri Matisse, Romare Bearden, Archibald Motley Jr., and Jean-Michel Basquiat; photographers such as Eugene Smith, Gordon Parks, Roy DeCarava, Gjon Mili, and William Gottlieb; filmmakers such as Oscar Micheaux, Orson Welles, Robert Altman, Martin Scorsese, Woody Allen, and Spike Lee; choreographers such as Alvin Ailey, Judith Jameson, and Arthur Mitchell—have embraced jazz as the cornerstone of the modern cultural imagination, an artistic model for new ways of writing, moving, seeing, and sounding.

Jazz is the story of, the sound of, and the cultural equipment for African-American creative freedom.

See also Jazz; Jazz Singers; Music in the United States

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JOHN GENNARI (2005)

Jazz Singers

In 1928, when Louis Armstrong lifted his trumpet and then set it down to sing on the record "West End Blues," he set a gold standard for jazz vocalists to come. Armstrong had a horn that sang and a voice that sounded like a horn and improvised with both, sailing beyond the words and the melody. Armstrong and other singers in the early twentieth century such as Bessie Smith and Ethel Waters drew their inspiration from African-American musicians who performed field hollers, spirituals, blues, vaudeville and early musical show tunes, marches and pop numbers, as well as European-based classical music. And whatever the source, black singers infused the music with what Armstrong called "singing his soul, with feeling." That was to remain a prized component of good jazz. Black vaudeville shows and dance bands became popular across the land. Radio helped propel a number of black vocalists and orchestras to fame nationwide on the airwaves. Among them were Ivie Anderson with Duke Ellington, Jimmy Rushing with Count Basie, and Pha Terrell with the Clouds of Joy.

By the time World War II ended, America entered an era of shifting expectations and technological advances, including those in jazz. As the swing era withered, bebop, a modern, more complex style of jazz, was featured in many smaller clubs, where people came to listen rather than dance. Among the singers who had come of age during the swing era and became known as great soloists in the postwar years were Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, and Sarah Vaughan. During the 1940s, Holiday, called Lady Day, was the headliner at one of America's first integrated nightclubs, Café Society in New York. Though Lady Day

Jazz singing legend Billie Holiday (1915–1959). © BETTMANN/CORBIS

had a limited vocal range and did not employ scat—wordless vocalizing—in her technique, she was arguably the greatest jazz singer ever, timeless in her exquisite expression of feelings and subtle use of dynamics, color, phrasing, and shading. The rhythmically intrepid Ella Fitzgerald, on the other hand, took scat singing to a pinnacle, as well as serving up shimmering, perfect ballads, as her many songbook recordings of popular composers attest. Another towering talent was Sarah Vaughan, with a gorgeous and unusually supple vocal instrument, dazzling musicians and audiences with her mastery of pitch, color, rhythm, and grasp of bebop harmonies in her scat singing. Immediately following these three greats was Carmen McRae, one of the greatest interpreters of lyrics, with a judicious use of behind-the-beat phrasing and a dramatic gift that spanned icy disdain, tenderness, and fiery passion.

Romantic "black baritones" were numerous among male singers in the 1940s. Billy Eckstine's modern jazz big band showcased his creamy voice and matinee idol looks as he smoothly maneuvered bebop changes. Earl Coleman had a hit with "Dark Shadows," and Johnny Hartman became widely known after an album of ballads with John Coltrane. Joe Williams's highly polished, lithe voice produced a number of hits with Count Basie's band, such as "Every Day I Have the Blues." Williams, who cited wide-ranging influences among black singers, including country blues singers Bill Broonzy and Memphis Slim, big band shouters Joe Turner and Jimmy Rushing, and concert singers Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes, went on to international success as a soloist. However, *the* baritone to emerge in the 1940s was that of an excellent pianist with a limited vocal range and rather raspy quality. But when Nat "King" Cole sang, he communicated great depth, swing, perfect intonation and enunciation, and a natural butterscotch charm. His many hit records, among them "Unforgettable," "It's Only a Paper Moon," "Mona Lisa," and "Nature Boy," made him a household name in the 1950s. As hugely popular as he was, Cole became the first African-American entertainer to get his own television show, but the show folded during that period of growing demand for civil rights in America because he could not secure a national sponsor. His legacy lived on, however: Both his brother Freddie Cole and his daughter Natalie Cole achieved successful singing careers.

Also in the 1950s Dinah Washington, the "Queen of the Blues," sublimely blended bluesy gospel with "worldly" music, as in "What a Difference a Day Makes." Hypertalented, Washington, who could and did sing just about anything, made fine jazz-based recordings in an intimate style, paving the way for many other singers, including Esther Philips, Nancy Wilson, Gloria Lynne, Etta James, Ernestine Anderson, and Dee Dee Bridgewater. Washington's crown, though, went to Aretha Franklin, who, like Washington, made a brilliant crossover from gospel to "worldly" music in 1960, and recorded some jazz-based material. Arguably the greatest crossover talent, however, was Ray Charles, "the Genius." Trained as a pianist, a devotee at first of Nat Cole and soulful singer Charles Brown, Ray Charles made a series of memorable hits from the 1960s on, ranging from jazz standards such as "Georgia," country classics including "You Don't Know Me," gospel-blues rousers such as "What'd I Say," and possibly the best "God Bless America" ever.

Other singers experimented with the angular, jagged complexities of bebop in scat singing. Leo Watson improvised melodies and witty lyrics with the speed of a whirling dervish, while Babs Gonzales, of Three Bips and a Bop, was a vivid presence. It was Eddie Jefferson who first composed lyrics to already existing instrumental solos, but it was King Pleasure who had a jazz hit with Jefferson's lyric to "Moody's Mood for Love." A bit later came Jon Hendricks, who formed the popular vocal trio Lambert, Hendricks & Ross, going on as a soloist to write and perform many vocalized pieces set to jazz players' solos.

When it came to wordless vocalizing, arguably no one was more riveting than Betty Carter. After working with Ray Charles in 196l, Carter raised the bar for innovations

in jazz singing by radically reassembling lyrics of standards through scatting, tonal distortions, wide-ranging tempos, and quick changes, producing unexpected emotional resonance in the process. Such singers as Jeanne Lee ran with the baton in the 1970s, pioneering free jazz techniques by using the syllables of lyrics for freeform scatting. Other black female singers were strikingly dramatic in different ways. Nina Simone included jazz in a wide repertoire that combined raw emotional power with political militancy, as in her composition "Mississippi Goddam." Abbey Lincoln developed into a socially and politically acute commentator in the 1960s, becoming a well-known international presence by the 1990s.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of several standout male vocalists, including Joe Lee Wilson, an ebullient blues and jazz singer, and Leon Thomas, whose huge voice scat yodeling on "The Creator Has a Master Plan" was memorable. Gil Scott-Heron emerged as a jazz-funk poet-visionary, while the superlative soulful pianist and baritone Andy Bey left a spiritual high-water mark on jazz singing, though laboring on in relative obscurity for many years before becoming an international presence by the 1990s.

There were talented singers who achieved a more limited or local recognition, among them the ebullient veteran Dakota Staton and Ethel Ennis on the East Coast and the warmly understated Lorez Alexandria on the West Coast. Alexandria remained in fine voice into the 1990s, while Ennis was content to work in her hometown of Baltimore. Teri Thornton, who had made a few well-received albums in the early 1960s, made a fine comeback album not long before her death in the late 1990s. And Shirley Horn, based in Washington, D.C., eventually achieved international acclaim for her nuanced, subtle, yet insistent swing and appealing romanticism, both as pianist and vocalist.

As the twentieth century segued into the twenty-first, a new crop of vocalists emerged. Paula West spanned jazz and cabaret with an imaginative program. Some singers included an ever-wider range of pop recordings with material drawn from what has become known as *The Great American Songbook,* the jazz canon that comprises compositions by Duke Ellington, Billy Strayhorn, George Gershwin, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and others. Along with selections from the canon, Dianne Reeves included Motown tunes in her performance, while Vanessa Rubin's tastes ranged from established jazz material to soul, Nnenna Freelon recorded an album of Stevie Wonder compositions, and Carla Cook sang bossa nova and bop, funk, gospel, and the 1960s folk-pop hit "Scarborough Fair." Many singers included their own originals, such as the excellent Carmen Lundy.

A Selective Discography

Andy Bey: *Shades of Bey*

Betty Carter: *Inside Betty Carter*

Ray Charles: *The Very Best of Ray Charles*

Nat King Cole: *Cool Cole*

Billy Eckstine: *Verve Jazz Masters 22: Billy Eckstine*

Ella Fitzgerald: *Pure Ella*

Giacamo Gates: *Remembering Eddie Jefferson*

Johnny Hartman: *John Coltrane and Johnny Hartman*

Billie Holiday: *The Billie Holiday Story* (6 volumes)

Lambert, Hendricks and Ross: *Sing a Song of Basie*

Abbey Lincoln: *Straight Ahead*

Kevin Mahogany: *Big Band*

Bobby McFerrin: *Spontaneous Inventions*

Carmen McRae: *Carmen Sings Monk*

Sarah Vaughan: *At Mister Kelly's*

Dinah Washington: *Dinah Jams*

Joe Williams: *Havin' A Good Time*

Cassandra Wilson: *Blue Skies*

Compilation: *Smithsonian Collection: The Jazz Singers 1919-1984*

Among male singers, Kevin Mahogany developed his big, Joe Williamsy baritone in exciting forays into blues, ballads, and standards, while Bobby McFerrin, who had a huge hit with "Don't Worry, Be Happy," took a page from the Leo Watson school of stream-of-consciousness scat singing. Noted for a huge range and an uncanny ability to closely imitate other sounds, including musical instruments and maintain two melodic lines at once, McFerrin went on to record with classical cellist Yo-Yo Ma, as well as jazz with pianist Chick Corea. Another singer, Gia-

Jazz singer Betty Carter performs at the Monterey Jazz Festival. © CRAIG LOVELL/CORBIS

camo Gates, a disciple of the Eddie Jefferson style, was one of the hardest swinging vocalists on the scene.

As the twenty-first century progressed, definitions continued to shift and blur within the capacious category of music called jazz singing. Lizz Wright steered a course between R&B and jazz, Typhanie Monique recorded an evocative version of the 1960s rock group the Doors' "Light My Fire," while the acclaimed contralto Cassandra Wilson was lauded for recording material by legendary bluesman Robert Johnson. Styles of music from around the world continued to weave even more colorful strands into the tapestry of jazz singing. Though no one could predict where jazz singing would evolve, the roots of jazz, however, remained the same: Africa uprooted and transplanted on American soil. African-American jazz singing was, then and now, both a uniquely American art form and a gift given to the world.

See also Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Charles, Ray (Robinson, Ray Charles); Cole, Nat "King"; Coltrane, John; Eckstine, Billy; Fitzgerald, Ella; Holiday, Billie; Jazz in African-American Culture; Jazz: Overview; Lincoln, Abbey; McRae, Carmen; Music in the United States; Vaughan, Sarah; Waters, Ethel

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Cassandra Wilson. *Wilson won the 1997 Grammy Award for Best Jazz Vocal Performance for* New Moon Daughter. © MITCHELL GERBER/CORBIS

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LINDA DAHL (2005)

Jeffers, Audrey

February 12, 1896
June 24, 1968

Born to parents of Trinidad and Tobago's small, black property-owning class, Audrey Layne Jeffers completed her primary and secondary education at Tranquillity Girls' Practising School before proceeding to London in 1913 to complete a diploma in social science at Alexander College, North Finchley. During World War I she served among the West African troops and through the West India Com-

mittee organized a West African Soldiers Fund and Cigarette Fund. After the war she joined the Society of Peoples of African Origin, formed by fellow Trinidadian F. E. M. Hercules.

Upon her return to Trinidad and Tobago in 1920, Jeffers established a school serving black middle-class children, earning a reputation as a teacher of excellence. Deeply affected by the poverty in wider Port of Spain (the capital of Trinidad and Tobago) and influenced by religion and social work—upper- and middle-strata women's only legitimate spheres of public activity—in 1921 she founded Trinidad and Tobago's most important women's organization of the early twentieth century, the Coterie of Social Workers (COSW).

The COSW allowed Jeffers to combine her concern with women, her compassion for the less fortunate, and her ongoing concern with persons of African descent. Coterie membership comprised women of the respectable black and colored communities, who by the mid-1930s were being excluded from careers in teaching and the civil service. The Trinidad and Tobago Education Act of 1934, for example, prohibited married women from permanent employment except in certain circumstances.

Coterie activities included the establishment of the St. Mary's Home for Blind Girls and Women in 1928, the Maud Reeves Hostel for Working Girls in 1935, Anstey House for Respectable Young Ladies, and in the 1940s, Faith House, a rest house and training center for women.

A high point in Jeffers's career came in 1936. In March of that year, she was an honored guest of the Negro Progress Convention in British Guiana, marking the one hundredth anniversary of slave emancipation. She addressed the convention's women's session on the topic "Women and their Responsibility to the Race." In May the Coterie hosted the First Conference of British West Indies and British Guiana Women Social Workers in Port of Spain, the first major women's conference in the English-speaking Caribbean. The conference's recommendations included the introduction of a girl's open scholarship for higher education, the establishment of a women's police force, and increased employment for educated black women.

In October, after a challenge to her eligibility, Jeffers became the first woman elected to the Port of Spain Municipal Council. In 1946 she would become the first woman nominated to the Legislative Council. She also served as honorary counsel for the Republic of Liberia. The COSW submission to the 1938 West India Royal Commission called for the establishment of a girls' college to prepare girls for the Island Scholarship, government provision of clothing to needy children, and equal numbers of women and men on the Board of (Film) Censors. One blot on Jeffers's career was her failure to support universal adult suffrage in 1946.

In 1956, in response to the political federation of the British Caribbean colonies, a Caribbean Women's Association was formed at Jeffers's instigation "to provide the women of the Caribbean with a representative national organization dedicated to the principle that women must play a vital role in the development and life of the Caribbean community" (Henderson, 1973, p. 14). In 1953 Amy Ashwood Garvey hailed Jeffers as "a long-standing feminist and No. 1 social worker in the West Indies" (*Port of Spain Gazette,* May 30). Jeffers received the MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire) in 1929, the OBE (Officer of the Order of the British Empire) in 1959, and Trinidad and Tobago's Chaconia Gold Medal for social service posthumously in 1969.

See also Social Work

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RHODA E. REDDOCK (2005)

Jefferson, Blind Lemon

July 1897
December 1929

Although the circumstances of his birth are obscure, the blues guitarist and singer Blind Lemon Jefferson's birthplace is often given as Couchman, Texas. He is thought to have been born blind, but several of his songs indicate that he lost his sight in childhood. Jefferson learned to play guitar as a teenager, and he was soon performing on the streets of nearby Wortham, as well as at barber shops and parties. He also sang spirituals at the family's church, Shiloh Baptist Church in Kirvin.

Jefferson moved to Dallas in 1912. He weighed almost 250 pounds at the time, and for a brief time earned money as a novelty wrestler in theaters. He met Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter (1885–1949) in Dallas's Deep Ellum neighborhood, and they played and traveled together throughout East Texas until Leadbelly was jailed for murder in 1918. Jefferson also performed for spare change on Dallas streets, at times assisted by T-Bone Walker (1910–1975) and Josh White (1915–1969). He was noted for his ability to hear pennies (and reject them) by the sound they made in his tin cup. In the early 1920s Jefferson married and had a son.

Jefferson's first recordings were spirituals, including "All I Want is That Pure Religion" and "I Want to be Like Jesus in my Heart," made under the name Deacon L. J. Bates. "Long Lonesome Blues" (1926), his first popular success, displayed his clear, high-pitched voice, accentuated by hums and moans. His guitar playing was marked by a subtle, almost contrapuntal use of hammered bass and treble lines. Like many East Texas and Delta bluesmen, Jefferson sang of day-to-day life ("Corinna Blues" [1926], "Jack of Diamonds" [1926], "Rising High Water Blues" [1927], "Piney Woods Money Mama" [1928], "See That My Grave Is Kept Clean" [1928], "Pneumonia Blues" [1929]) as well as travel ("Sunshine Special" [1927], "Rambler Blues" [1927], "Matchbox Blues" [1927]). He sang lyrics filled with sexual innuendo ("That Black Snake Moan" [1926], "Oil Well Blues" [1929], "Baker Shop Blues" [1929]), and many of his songs were about jail ("Blind Lemon's Penitentiary Blues" [1928], "Hangman's Blues" [1928]), although he was never incarcerated. In the late 1920s Jefferson's recordings made him a wealthy, nationally recognized figure. He traveled throughout the South and Midwest, and even kept an apartment in Chicago. However, his popularity lasted only briefly, and by 1929 he was no longer performing and recording as frequently. In December 1929, on a date that has never been verified, Jefferson froze to death in a Chicago blizzard. His body was transported back to Wortham, Texas, after his death, but his grave was poorly marked. In 1967 friends of Jefferson put a marker in the approximate location of his grave, and in 1997 money was raised for a real headstone to be placed in the spot.

See also Blues, The; Leadbelly (Ledbetter, Hudson William)

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jesús, Úrsula de

1604
1666

Úrsula de Jesús, a mystic who spent most of her life in the Convent of Saint Clare in Lima, Peru, gained a reputation for sanctity that only a few achieved during the seventeenth century. Even more unusual is that in 1647 the Catholic confessor of this humble, black religious servant *(donada)* ordered her to record her religious experiences, which she did until several years before her death.

As a young slave, Úrsula and her mother resided with their owner, Gerónima de los Ríos, and in 1617 she entered the Convent of Saint Clare to serve her owner's niece. Founded in 1605, this convent attracted scores of elite women aspiring to become nuns of the black veil (the highest rank) or the more modest white veil. However, the only possibility for women of color to become "nuns" was by taking simple vows of obedience and enclosure as *donadas*, or religious servants, who would then continue to serve individual nuns and perform communal labor.

For twenty-eight years Úrsula was one of hundreds of slaves and servants whose exhausting daily work regime afforded no time to seriously contemplate religious matters. However, according to a religious biography *(vida)* of Úrsula written in 1686, a brush with death in 1642 transformed her life. Úrsula then gained a greater sense of purpose, she beseeched God to instruct her in spiritual matters, and the nuns began referring to her as a "servant of God." By 1645 a nun of the black veil purchased Úrsula's freedom, and she then took her vows as a *donada*.

From 1647 until her death in 1666, Úrsula's spiritual abilities, and particularly her ability to intercede on behalf of souls trapped in purgatory—a punitive domain where Catholics believed sins were purged before the soul entered heaven—continued to grow. Over two decades Úrsula became intimately familiar with the interior worlds of dead souls communicating with her in the belief that her prayers might alleviate their suffering in purgatory. In her diary she recorded the "visits" from priests revealing their sundry peccadilloes, nuns mourning their impudent

conduct, or slaves and servants recounting the excessive work they had endured. For Úrsula, saving souls in purgatory presented an opportunity to perform charitable labor and to gain an authority that, under other circumstances, might evade her.

In fact, after Úrsula had prayed ardently to ensure their safe passage from purgatory, many transfigured souls appeared to thank her before ascending to heaven. Once, in a vision, the slave María Bran appeared to Úrsula dressed in an ecclesiastical garment and wearing a crown of flowers, and assured Úrsula that blacks and *donadas* went to heaven. The fact that a slave would occupy a space in the lofty heights of purgatory—and then enter heaven—reveals Úrsula's (and perhaps, others') conception of purgatory as a space where social justice prevailed.

Near the end of her life Úrsula was told that, because of her efforts to help others, she too would be granted direct and safe passage to heaven. When she died in 1666, the Saint Clare nuns deeply mourned her passing and a number of high secular and ecclesiastical authorities attended her funeral. The nuns commissioned an artist to paint her portrait, and an anonymous friar wrote her *vida,* based largely upon her diary.

Úrsula's text is the only extant seventeenth-century spiritual autobiography written by a woman of color in Latin America. In her fifty-seven-folio diary, she recorded her innermost thoughts, which she wrote or dictated to several scribes in both the first and third person. The text is filled with repetitious narrative, vivid imagery, and above all, incredibly rich dialogues with celestial figures ranging from her guardian angel disguised as a friar, to Christ, Mary, and God.

Although Úrsula never gained the recognition that Saint Rosa of Lima (1586–1617) achieved in seventeenth-century Peru, she served as a model for other humble women to emulate. To this day, the memory of Úrsula lives on among the Saint Clare nuns in Lima, who continue to recount tales of her miracles and the fervent desire of this remarkable mystic to placate others.

See also Catholicism in the Americas; Egipcíaca, Rosa

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NANCY E. VAN DEUSEN (2005)

JET

The magazine *Jet,* founded by John H. Johnson in November 1951, is the leading African-American newsweekly. In 2003 its paid subscriptions were over 912,000 and its weekly readership was estimated at 11 million. Among the publications of the Johnson Publishing Company, it ranks second in circulation to *Ebony,* the popular large-format monthly magazine it was designed to complement.

Jet, whose title carries the connotation both of dark skin color and of speedy airplanes, was meant as a quick, pocket-sized review of black news. Founded on the model of *Life* magazine's unsuccessful pocket-sized feature magazine *Quick, Jet* was originally only 5¾" x 4". Within six issues of its founding, it had a weekly circulation of 300,000. By the 1990s circulation was 900,000 per week, and the magazine had grown to a 7 3/8" x 5¼" format.

By the early 1990s, *Jet* was distributed throughout the United States and in forty foreign countries, including many African nations. Its appeal stems from its coverage of important issues in the African-American community and from its concise style. *Jet*'s articles are meant to cover important issues in readable form, for people who neither have the time nor wish to read deeply on current events but want to stay informed. Its reputation for news and commentary on social events was best expressed by a character in a play by writer Maya Angelou, who claimed, "If it didn't happen in *Jet,* it didn't happen anywhere."

See also Angelou, Maya; *Ebony*; Journalism

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KAREN BENNETT HARMON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jim Crow

As a way of portraying African Americans, *Jim Crow* first appeared in the context of minstrelsy in the early nineteenth century. Thomas "Daddy" Rice, a white minstrel, popularized the term. Using burnt cork to blacken his face, attired in the ill-fitting, tattered garments of a beggar, and grinning broadly, Rice imitated the dancing, singing, and demeanor generally ascribed to Negro character. Calling it "Jump Jim Crow," he based the number on a routine he had seen performed in 1828 by an elderly and crippled Louisville stableman belonging to a Mr. Crow. "Weel about, and turn about / And do jis so; / Eb'ry time I weel about, / I jump Jim Crow." The public responded with enthusiasm to Rice's caricature of black life. By the 1830s minstrelsy had become one of the most popular forms of mass entertainment, *Jim Crow* had entered the American vocabulary, and many whites, north and south, came away from minstrel shows with their distorted images of black life, character, and aspirations reinforced.

Less clear is how a dance created by a black stableman and imitated by a white man for the amusement of white audiences would become synonymous with a system designed by whites to segregate the races. The term *Jim Crow* as applied to separate accommodations for whites and blacks appears to have had its origins not in the South but in Massachusetts before the Civil War. Abolitionist newspapers employed the term in the 1840s to describe separate railroad cars for blacks and whites. Throughout the North, blacks, though legally free, found themselves largely the objects of scorn, ridicule, and discrimination. Most northern whites shared with southern whites the conviction that blacks, as an inferior race, were incapable of assimilation as equals into American society. Racial integrity demanded that blacks, regardless of class, be segregated in public transportation—that they be excluded from the regular cabins and dining rooms on steamboats, compelled to ride on the outside of stagecoaches, and forced to travel in special Jim Crow coaches on the railroads. Only in pre–Civil War New England did blacks manage to integrate transportation facilities, but only after prolonged agitation during which blacks and white abolitionists deliberately violated Jim Crow rules and often had to be dragged from the trains.

Before the Civil War, enslavement determined the status of most black men and women in the South, and there was little need for legal segregation. Several Radical Republican state governments outlawed segregation in their new constitutions during Reconstruction but did not try to force integration on unwilling whites. Custom, habit, and etiquette defined the social relations between the races and enforced separation. The determination of blacks to improve their position revolved largely around efforts to secure accommodations that equaled those provided to whites.

But in the 1890s, even as segregation became less rigid and pervasive in the North, the term *Jim Crow* took on additional force and meaning in the South. It came to represent an expanded apparatus of segregation sanctioned by law. Economic and social changes had multiplied the places and situations in which blacks and whites might come into contact, and whites had become alarmed over a new generation of blacks undisciplined by slavery, unschooled in racial etiquette, less fearful of whites, and more inclined to assert their rights as citizens.

Jim Crow, then, came to the South in an expanded and more rigid form in the 1890s and the early twentieth century in response to white perceptions of a new generation of blacks and to growing doubts that this generation could be trusted to stay in its place without legal force. Some whites, caught up in the age of Progressive reform, preferred to view legal segregation as reform rather than repression, as a way to resolve racial tensions and maintain the peace. For most whites, however, it was nothing less than racial self-preservation, deeply rooted in the white psyche. "If anything would make me kill my children," a white woman told a northern visitor, "it would be the possibility that niggers might sometime eat at the same table and associate with them as equals. That's the way we feel about it, and you might as well root up that big tree in front of the house and stand it the other way up and expect it to grow as to think we can feel any different" (Johnson, 1904, p. 352).

Between 1890 and 1915 the racial creed of the white South manifested itself in the systematic disfranchisement of black men, in rigid patterns of racial segregation, in unprecedented racial violence and brutality, and in the dissemination of racial caricatures that reinforced and comforted whites in their racial beliefs and practices. The white South moved to segregate the races by law in practically every conceivable situation in which they might come into social contact. The signs WHITE ONLY and COLORED would henceforth punctuate the southern scenery: from public transportation to public parks and cemeteries; from the workplace to hospitals, asylums, orphanages, and prisons; from the entrances and exits at theaters, movie houses, and boardinghouses to toilets and water fountains. Oftentimes, Jim Crow demanded exclusion rather than separation, as with municipal libraries and many sports and recreational facilities. Jim Crow legislation tended to be thorough, far-reaching, even imaginative: from separate public school textbooks for black and white children to

A sign points the way to a separate waiting room for blacks at the Illinois Central Railroad in Jackson, Missippi. *The term Jim Crow first appeared in the context of minstrelsy in early nineteenth century America, a popular form of entertainment that fostered a distorted view of blacks. Later, Jim Crow came to be associated with various laws segregating blacks in the South.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

Jim Crow Bibles for black witnesses in court, from separate telephone booths to Jim Crow elevators. New Orleans adopted an ordinance segregating black and white prostitutes.

In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) the U.S. Supreme Court employed the "separate-but-equal" principle to affirm the constitutionality of Jim Crow, confirming what most black southerners already knew from personal experience—that the quality of their life and freedom depended on the whims and will of a majority of whites in their locality or state. The court decision, along with the elaborate structure of Jim Crow, remained in force for more than half a century. In the 1950s and 1960s a new climate of political necessity and a new generation of black Americans helped to restructure race relations. With an emboldened and enlarged civil rights movement in the vanguard, the federal government and the courts struck down the legal barriers of racial segregation and ended Jim Crow. But a far more intractable and elusive kind of racism, reflected in dreary economic statistics and a pervasive poverty, lay beyond the reach of the law and the growing civil rights movement.

See also Abolition; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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LEON F. LITWACK (1996)
Updated bibliography

John Henry

A towering, legendary American working-class folk heroes, John Henry represents not only the nineteenth-century struggle of the human spirit against the coming industrial era but also African-American resistance to white labor domination. It is not clear how the legend represents actual events surrounding the construction of the Big Bend tunnel of the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad in Summers County, West Virginia, in the 1870s. In the legend John Henry, an enormously strong black steel driver, pits himself in a contest against a steam drill intended to replace workers. Wielding only a hammer, John Henry wins by drilling holes along fourteen feet of granite, compared to the machine's nine feet, but the effort kills him.

The story exists in many different musical versions, often with different melodies. The text, which was first printed around the turn of the century, also exists in different versions, but all combine thematic aspects of the African-American work song with the narrative structure of British folk ballads. It is one of the most popular American folk songs and has been recorded hundreds of times, most often by blues singers. The first recording was by country music pioneer Fiddlin' John Carson in 1924. The first recording by black musicians was by the Francis and Sowell duo in 1927. Since then, versions have been released by Leadbelly, Paul Robeson, Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry, Fred McDowell, Memphis Slim, Odetta, Mississippi John Hurt, Big Bill Broonzy, and Harry Belafonte.

See also Folklore; Folk Music

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ANDREW BIENEN (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Caryn

See Goldberg, Whoopi

Johnson, Charles Richard

April 23, 1948

Novelist Charles Johnson was born in Evanston, Illinois, and studied at Southern Illinois University and SUNY at Stony Brook in New York, majoring in philosophy. As he writes in his essay "Where Philosophy and Fiction Meet" (1988), he was inspired by a campus appearance of LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka) to turn toward literary expression (after some work as a cartoonist). His flirtation with cultural nationalism was intense but brief: He came to recognize that its built-in danger "is the very tendency toward the provincialism, separatism, and essentialist modes of thought that characterize the Anglophilia it opposes." If the utopianism and the mix of social hope and colorful individual expression of the 1960s inspired him to become a writer, he was attracted to the tradition of the philosophical novel, which he began to write at the postmodern moment when parody, comedy, and tongue-in-cheek improvisation in the face of disaster came together. He worked under the supervision of novelist John Gardner and remained closely associated with him for many years. Johnson draws freely on Indian and Japanese Buddhist sources, Western philosophy, and literary precursors from Cervantes to slave narratives and from Saint Augustine to Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha*. He has also been deeply influenced by the ways in which the African-American writers W. E. B. Du Bois, Jean Toomer, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison approached fundamental questions of culture and consciousness. Johnson traced their legacy in the essay "Being & Race: Black Writing Since 1970" (1988), a subtly yet firmly argued survey of the contemporary literary scene, for the title of which Martin Heidegger served as an inspiration.

After writing a number of increasingly accomplished short stories that were collected in *The Sorcerer's Appren-*

tice (1986) and publishing a first novel, *Faith and the Good Thing,* in 1974 (several others exist in manuscript but were never published), Johnson achieved an artistic breakthrough with his novel *Oxherding Tale* (1982). A meditation on the representation of the eighth of the "Oxherding Pictures" by Zen artist Kakuan-Shien (in which both the ox and herdsman are gone), the novel also continues the tradition of autobiographical fiction as embodied in James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man. Oxherding Tale* represents the education of Andrew Hawkins, who is raised by a transcendentalist tutor on a southern plantation—a plantation that is visited by Karl Marx in the novel. As Andrew (like Saint Augustine before him) learns to free himself from dualism, another figure, that of the Soulcatcher, grows in importance. Johnson draws the philosophical issues out of love, education, or enslavement. It is a stylistically brilliant novel, both comic and profound, picaresque and self-reflexive. It parodies the eighteenth-century novel and the genre of the slave narrative yet manages to remain faithful to both these inspirations. Johnson received the Governor's Award for Literature from the state of Washington for *Oxherding Tale* in 1983.

Johnson's novel *Middle Passage* (1990) continued the exploration of a nineteenth-century setting for unusual purposes. It is the tale of Rutherford, who eludes collectors of gambling debts and the offer of redemption by marriage in New Orleans when he takes the place of a sailor, only to find himself aboard a slave ship headed for Africa. Johnson manages to revitalize what have become fixtures in imagining the nineteenth century by concerning himself with the human issues he locates in particular spaces. The enslaved Almuseri add some elements of magical realism to the text, which may be the most imaginative modern thematization of the experience that the title refers to, free from the clichéd ways in which this historical period has sometimes been fictionalized. *Middle Passage* was awarded the National Book Award in 1990. Johnson's novel *Dreamer* (1998), an exploration of the mind of Martin Luther King Jr., was not a critical success.

Johnson has continued to publish books, including *Soulcatcher and Other Stories* in 2001, and a book of interviews, *Passing Three Gates* (2004), edited by Jim McWilliams.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Du Bois, W. E. B.; Ellison, Ralph; Literature of the United States; Toomer, Jean; Wright, Richard

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WERNER SOLLORS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Johnson, Charles Spurgeon

July 24, 1893
October 27, 1956

Sociologist and editor Charles Spurgeon Johnson was born in Bristol, Virginia, and was given a classical education by his father, Rev. Charles Henry Johnson, a Baptist minister who had been taught to read English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew by his former slave-master. In 1916 the younger Johnson earned a B.A. from Virginia Union University in Richmond.

In 1917 Johnson moved to Chicago to pursue graduate studies in sociology at the University of Chicago, where he became associated with a group of influential scholars who made up the Chicago School of Sociology, including Robert E. Park and W. I. Thomas. Johnson had a profound regard in particular for Park, his lifelong mentor who specialized in race relations and urban sociology. He received a Ph.B. in 1918, while serving as a director of research and records for the Chicago Urban League, of which Park was the president.

After the race riot of 1919, Johnson was appointed to the interracial Chicago Commission on Race Relations, coauthoring the committee report, "The Negro in Chicago: A Study in Race Relations and a Race Riot" (1922). Written under Park's supervision, this was Johnson's first major research project. It was also one of the first significant sociological studies indicating the persistence of racial segregation and discrimination within northern cities, and it warned that the pervasive barriers to black economic and social equality might provoke additional riots.

In 1921 Johnson moved to New York City to become director of research for the National Urban League. Two years later he founded the league's magazine, *Opportunity:*

A Journal of Negro Life, which he edited from 1923 to 1928. This journal proved to be an important cultural force in the Harlem Renaissance, publishing many of the black poets and writers of the time and organizing literary contests and awards ceremonies to gain recognition for these authors and encourage white publishers to support them. As an editor, Johnson was also concerned with bringing social science research to a black general readership.

The bulk of Johnson's sociological contribution was made from 1927 to 1947, the period during which he served as chairman of the department of social sciences at Fisk University. In various publications, Johnson made a major contribution to the understanding of the South as a region, the economic foundation of race relations, and contemporary debate on racial problems. One of his most important books is *Shadow of the Plantation* (1934), a study of the collapse of southern cotton tenancy, in which he demonstrated that racial discrimination was compounded by the economic exploitation that existed in the South during the Great Depression. Johnson argued that sharecropping created an ongoing economic basis for racial discrimination, and demonstrated how powerful agrarian and industrial interests shaped the "human relations" of race and racism. In *The Negro College Graduate* (1938) he described in great detail how difficult it was for blacks to gain entrance to college and to advance professionally after graduation, and the economic and psychological problems this caused. *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (1941) showed black adolescence to be at once a product of the omnipresent "color system" and of the socialization process as it works out in any complex society with differences among young people in age, sex, class, and urban or rural background.

In 1947 Johnson became the first black president of Fisk University. Over the years, he was a consultant on race relations to presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. In 1930 Johnson was a member of the League of Nations Commission whose mission was to investigate human rights violations in Liberia, and he served on the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1934. From 1936 to 1937 he was a consultant to the U.S. Department of Agriculture on the issue of farm tenancy and in 1946 a U.S. delegate to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Johnson died suddenly in 1956.

See also Harlem Renaissance; National Urban League; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; Sociology

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JO H. KIM (1996)
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Earvin "Magic"

August 14, 1959

Earvin "Magic" Johnson Jr. was born and raised in Lansing, Michigan, where he soon demonstrated an unusual aptitude for basketball. Despite the flair suggested by his nickname (which was given to him in 1974 by Fred Stabley Jr., a reporter for the *Lansing State Journal*), Johnson's playing style was crafted out of devotion to basketball fundamentals and endless hours of practice. After leading his high school team to the state championship in his senior year, Johnson chose to attend college at nearby Michigan State University. He electrified crowds with his dazzling playmaking and the enthusiasm he displayed on the court while leading the Spartans to a national collegiate championship as a sophomore in 1979. At 6'9", he was perhaps the most agile ball handler for anyone of his size in the history of the game, and his combination of height, athletic skills, and passing ability brought a new dimension to the position of guard.

Johnson left Michigan State after his sophomore year, and at the age of twenty he joined the professional ranks, leading the Los Angeles Lakers to the National Basketball Association (NBA) Championship in 1980—a feat they achieved four more times during the decade (in 1982, 1985, 1987, and 1988). Johnson holds the NBA record for assists (9,921) and was named the league's Most Valuable Player three times (1987, 1989, 1990), playoff MVP three times (1980, 1982, 1987), and All-Star Game MVP twice (1990, 1992). His desire to win translated into an unselfish style of play that elevated passing to an art form (his 10,141 career assists ranks him second in NBA history) and stressed teamwork over individual accolades. His cha-

risma and court savvy helped to revive interest in the NBA, while his versatility transformed the game to one dominated by multitalented guards and forwards. Johnson's contributions on the court have been matched by his efforts and leadership away from it: He has worked for numerous charitable organizations and has raised several million dollars for the United Negro College Fund over the course of his career. With an engaging personality and smile, Johnson became one of the most famous and recognizable Americans in the 1980s.

Johnson retired from professional basketball in November 1991 when he revealed that he had tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). Following his announcement Johnson assumed a leadership role once again in working to raise research funds for, and awareness of, the disease. In 1992 he was appointed to the President's National Commission on AIDS, but he resigned soon thereafter when he became disillusioned with the government's efforts on behalf of AIDS research. Johnson kept AIDS in the public eye when he resumed his career shortly after guiding the U.S. basketball team to a gold medal at the 1992 Olympics. He attempted a comeback with the Lakers in the fall of 1992, but after some players in the league expressed reservations about playing with him because of his virus, he retired again. In that same year Johnson authored *What You Can Do to Avoid AIDS,* the net profits from which went to the Magic Johnson Foundation, which Johnson established for prevention, education, research, and care in the battle against AIDS. In mid-season 1995–1996 Johnson rejoined the badly faltering Lakers as a player-coach. He once again retired at the end of the season.

During his retirement Johnson continued his AIDS education efforts, and he encouraged businesses to enter inner-city neighborhoods, notably through his successful Magic Johnson Cineplex movie theater in South Central Los Angeles, opened in 1995. In 1997 he hosted a short-lived late-night talk show.

By 2001 Johnson had expanded his foundation's mission to include business ventures with Starbucks and a series of initiatives to increase minority homeownership, educational opportunities, and computer literacy. Because of the sophisticated drugs available to treat HIV-AIDS in the United States, Johnson is currently living with what many now consider a chronic disease, instead of a terminal condition.

See also AIDS in the Americas; Basketball

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JILL DUPONT (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Johnson, Jack

March 31, 1878
June 10, 1946

The third of six surviving children, boxer Jack Johnson was born John Arthur Johnson in Galveston, Texas, to Henry Johnson, a laborer and ex-slave, and Tiny Johnson. He attended school for about five years, then worked as a stevedore, janitor, and cotton picker. He gained his initial fighting experience in battle royals, brutal competitions in which a group of African-American boys engaged in no-holds-barred brawls, with a few coins going to the last fighter standing. He turned professional in 1897. In his early years Johnson mainly fought other African-American men. His first big win was a sixth-round decision on January 17, 1902, over Frank Childs, one of the best black heavyweights of the day. The six-foot, 200-pound Johnson developed into a powerful defensive boxer who emphasized quickness, rhythm, style, and grace.

In 1903, Johnson defeated Denver Ed Martin in a twenty-round decision, thus capturing the championship of the unofficial Negro heavyweight division, which was created by West Coast sportswriters to compensate for the prohibition on blacks fighting for the real crown. Johnson, who was then the de facto leading heavyweight challenger, sought a contest with champion Jim Jeffries but was rebuffed because of the color line. Racial barriers largely limited Johnson's opponents to black fighters like Joe Jeanette, whom he fought ten times. Johnson's first big fight against a white contender was in 1905, against Marvin Hart, which he lost by the referee's decision, despite having demonstrated his superior talent and ring mastery. Hart became champion three months later, knocking out Jack Root to win Jeffries's vacated title. Johnson's bid to

get a title fight improved in 1906, when he hired Sam Fitzpatrick as his manager. Fitzpatrick knew the major promoters and could arrange fights that Johnson could not when he managed himself. Johnson enhanced his reputation with victories in Australia, a second-round knockout of forty-four-year-old ex-champion Bob Fitzsimmons in Philadelphia, and two wins in England.

In 1908 Canadian Tommy Burns became champion, and Johnson stalked him to Australia, looking for a title bout. Promoter Hugh McIntosh signed Burns to a match in Sydney on December 26 for a $30,000 guarantee with $5,000 for Johnson. Burns was knocked down in the first round by Johnson, who thereafter verbally and physically punished Burns until the police stopped the fight in the fourteenth round. White reaction was extremely negative, with journalists describing Johnson as a "huge primordial ape." A search began for a "white hope" who would regain the title to restore to whites their sense of superiority and to punish Johnson's arrogant public behavior. To many whites Johnson was a "bad nigger" who refused to accept restrictions placed upon him by white society. A proud, willful man, Johnson recklessly violated the taboos against the "proper place" for blacks, most notoriously in his relationships with white women. Although much of the black middle class viewed his lifestyle with some disquiet, he became a great hero to lower-class African Americans through his flouting of conventional social standards and his seeming lack of fear of white disapproval.

Johnson defended his title five times in 1909, most memorably against middleweight champion Stanley Ketchell, a tenacious 160-pound fighter. Johnson toyed with Ketchell for several rounds, rarely attacking. Ketchell struck the champion behind the ear in the twelfth round with a roundhouse right, knocking him to the canvas. An irate Johnson arose, caught the attacking challenger with a right uppercut, and knocked him out. Johnson's only defense in 1910 was against Jim Jeffries, who was encouraged to come out of retirement by an offer of a $101,000 guarantee, split three to one for the winner, plus profits from film rights. When moral reformers refused to allow the match to be held in San Francisco, it was moved to Reno, Nevada. The former champion, well past his prime, was overmatched. Johnson taunted and humiliated him, ending the fight with a fifteenth-round knockout. Fears that a Johnson victory would unleash racial hostilities were quickly realized as gangs of whites randomly attacked blacks in cities across the country. Some states and most cities barred the fight film for fear of further exacerbating racial tensions. Overnight the national press raised an uproar over the "viciousness" of boxing and clamored for its prohibition. Even Theodore Roosevelt, himself an avid boxer, publicly hoped "that this is the last prizefight to take place in the United States." The reaction to Johnson's victory over a white champion proved a significant event in the history of American racism, as white fears of black male sexuality and power were manifested in a wave of repression and violence.

In 1910 Johnson settled in Chicago, where he enjoyed a fast lifestyle; he toured with vaudeville shows, drove racing cars, and in 1912 opened a short-lived nightclub, the Cafe de Champion. Johnson defended his title once during the two years following the Jeffries fight, beating "Fireman" Jim Flynn in nine rounds in a filmed fight in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Subsequently, in response to anti-Johnson and antiboxing sentiment and concern about films showing a black man pummeling a white, the federal government banned the interstate transport of fight films.

In 1911 Johnson married white divorcee Etta Terry Duryea, but their life was turbulent and she committed suicide a year later. Johnson later married two other white women. His well-publicized love life caused much talk of expanding state antimiscegenation statutes. More important, the federal government pursued Johnson for violation of the Mann Act (1910), the so-called "white slavery act," which forbade the transportation of women across state lines for "immoral purposes." The law was seldom enforced, but the federal government chose to prosecute Johnson, even though he was not involved in procuring. Johnson was guilty only of flaunting his relationships with white women. He was convicted and sentenced to one year in the penitentiary but fled the country to Europe through Canada. He spent several troubled years abroad, defending his title twice in Paris and once in Buenos Aires, and struggled to earn a living.

In 1915 a match was arranged with Jess Willard (six feet six inches and 250 pounds) in Havana. By then Johnson was old for a boxer and had not trained adequately for the fight; he tired and was knocked out in the twenty-sixth round. The result was gleefully received in the United States, and thereafter no African American was given a chance to fight for the heavyweight title until Joe Louis. Johnson had hoped to make a deal with the government to reduce his penalty, and four years later he claimed that he threw the fight. Most boxing experts now discount Johnson's claim and believe it was an honest fight. Johnson returned to the United States in 1920 and served a year in Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas. He subsequently fought a few bouts, gave exhibitions, trained and managed fighters, appeared onstage, and lectured. His autobiography, *Jack Johnson: In the Ring and Out,* appeared in 1927; a new edition was published, with additional material, in 1969. Johnson died in 1946 when he drove his car off the road in North Carolina.

Johnson's life was memorialized by Howard Sackler's play *The Great White Hope* (1969), which was made into a motion picture in 1971. Johnson finished with a record of 78 wins (including 45 by knockout), 8 defeats, 12 draws, and 14 no-decisions in 112 bouts. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1954. In 1987 *Ring* magazine rated him the second greatest heavyweight of all time, behind Muhammad Ali.

See also Boxing

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STEVEN A. RIESS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Johnson, James Weldon

June 17, 1871
June 26, 1938

Writer and political leader James William Johnson, who changed his middle name to Weldon in 1913, was born in Jacksonville, Florida. James, Sr., his father, the head-waiter at a local hotel, accumulated substantial real estate holdings and maintained a private library. Helen Dillet Johnson, his mother, a native of Nassau in the Bahamas, was the only African-American woman teaching in Jacksonville's public schools. Through his parents' example, the opportunity to travel, and his reading, Johnson developed the urbanity and the personal magnetism that characterized his later political and literary career.

Johnson graduated in 1894 from Atlanta University, an all-black institution that he credited with instilling in him the importance of striving to better the lives of his people. Returning to Jacksonville, he traveled many different roads to fulfill that sense of racial responsibility. Appointed principal of the largest school for African Americans in Florida, he developed a high-school curriculum. At the same time he founded a short-lived newspaper, the *Daily American* (1895–1896); studied law; passed the bar examination; and wrote lyrics for the music of his brother, J. Rosamond Johnson. In 1900 the brothers collaborated on "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," a song that is regarded as the Negro National Anthem.

Johnson moved to New York in 1902 to work on the vaudeville circuit with his brother and his brother's partner, Robert Cole. Called by one critic the "ebony Offenbachs," the songwriting team of Cole, Johnson, and Johnson was one of the most successful in the country. (The 1902 song "Under the Bamboo Tree" was their greatest success.) The team tried to avoid stereotypical representations of blacks and invest their songs with some dignity and humanity, as well as humor.

While his brother toured with Cole, James Weldon Johnson studied literature at Columbia University and became active in New York City politics. In 1904, in a political association dominated by Booker T. Washington, Johnson became the treasurer of the city's Colored Republican Club. The Republican Party rewarded his service with an appointment to the U.S. Consular Service in 1906. Johnson served first as U.S. consul at Porto Cabello, Venezuela, and then, from 1908 to 1913, in Corinto, Nicaragua.

In Venezuela Johnson completed his first and only novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912). Published anonymously, it was taken by many readers for a true autobiography. That realism marks an important transition from the nineteenth- to the twentieth-century African-American novel. Johnson brought modern literary techniques to his retelling of the popular nineteenth-century "tragic mulatto" theme.

The election of Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, to the presidency blocked Johnson's advancement in the consular service. He returned to New York, where in 1914 he joined the *New York Age* as an editorial writer. While he was associated with the politics of Booker T. Washington, Johnson's instincts were more radical and he gravitated toward the NAACP. In 1916 the NAACP hired him as a field secretary, charged with organizing or reviving local branches. In that post, he greatly expanded and solidified the still-fledgling organization's branch operations and helped to increase its membership, influence, and revenue. He also took an active role organizing protests against racial discrimination, including the racial violence of the "Red Summer" of 1919, a phrase he coined.

James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938). *Johnson, a venerated figure of the Harlem Renaissance, believed that artistic achievement was a key to racial uplift, and urged fellow African American artists to assimilate black folk culture into their work. A successful novelist, poet, educator, lawyer, administrator, and diplomat, Johnson was also a talented songwriter who penned the lyrics to "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" (1900).* CORBIS

Shortly after he joined the staff of the NAACP, Johnson published his first collection of poetry, *Fifty Years and Other Poems* (1917). Like the work of Paul Laurence Dunbar, Johnson's poetry falls into two broad categories: poems in standard English and poems in a conventionalized African-American dialect. Although he used dialect, he also argued that dialect verse possessed a limited range for racial expression. His poems in standard English include some of his most important early contributions to African-American letters. Poems such as "Brothers" and "White Witch" are bitter protests against lynching that anticipate the poetry of Claude McKay in the 1920s and the fiction of Richard Wright in the 1930s and 1940s.

During the 1920s Johnson's political and artistic activities came together. He was appointed secretary of the NAACP's national office in 1920. His tenure brought coherence and consistency to the day-to-day operations of the association and to his general political philosophy. He led the organization in its lobbying for the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and in its role in several legal cases; his report on the conditions of the American occupation of Haiti prompted a Senate investigation. Johnson's leadership helped to establish the association as a major national civil rights organization committed to accomplishing its goals through lobbying for legislation and seeking legal remedies through the courts. In 1927–1928 and again in 1929, he took a leave of absence from the NAACP. During the latter period he helped organize the consortium of Atlanta University and Spelman and Morehouse Colleges.

Also in the 1920s Johnson, with such colleagues at the NAACP as W. E. B. Du Bois, Walter White, and Jessie Fauset, maintained that the promotion of the artistic and literary creativity of African Americans went hand-in-hand with political activism, that the recognition of blacks in the arts broke down racial barriers. Their advocacy of black artists in the pages of *Crisis,* and with white writers, publishers, and critics, established an audience for the flourishing of African-American literature during the Harlem Renaissance. Johnson himself published an anthology of African-American poetry, *The Book of Negro Poetry* (1922, rev. 1931), and he and his brother edited two volumes of *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925 and 1926). In his introductions to these anthologies and in critical essays, he argued for a distinct African-American creative voice that was expressed by both professional artists and the anonymous composers of the spirituals. *Black Manhattan* (1930) was a pioneering "cultural history" that promoted Harlem as the cultural capital of black America.

Johnson was not in the conventional sense either a pious or a religious man, but he consistently drew on African-American religious expressions for poetic inspiration. In such early poems as "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," "O Black and Unknown Bards," and "100 Years," he formulated a secular version of the vision of hope embodied in spirituals and gospel songs. His second volume of poetry, *God's Trombones* (1927), drew on the African-American vernacular sermon. Using the rhythms, syntax, and figurative language of the African-American preacher, Johnson devised a poetic expression that reproduced the richness of African-American language without succumbing to the stereotypes that limited his dialect verse.

In 1930 Johnson resigned as secretary of the NAACP to take up a teaching post at Fisk University and pursue his literary career. His autobiography, *Along This Way,* was published in 1933; his vision of racial politics, *Negro Americans, What Now?,* was published in 1934; and his third major collection of poetry, *Saint Peter Relates an Incident,* was published in 1935. He was killed in an automobile accident.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; McKay, Claude; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Negro National Anthem; Poetry, U.S.; Politics in the United States; Red Summer; Washington, Booker T.; Wright, Richard

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GEORGE P. CUNNINGHAM (1996)
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Joshua

c. 1761–1763
c. 1830s

In the field of American art, one of the most important revelations of the early twenty-first century has been the discovery of documentation for the parentage and race of Joshua Johnson, one of the most important early African-American painters. In contrast to twentieth-century speculation about his life, his parents have now been positively identified, as have certain elements of his professional training.

Johnson was born between 1761 and 1763, son of George Johnson of Baltimore County, Maryland, and an unidentified enslaved woman. In 1764 he was purchased by his father from William Wheeler Sr., a farmer and the presumed owner of his mother. His father apprenticed him to learn the trade of blacksmithing from William Forepaugh of Baltimore. In July 1782, George Johnson recorded that "a certain Mulatto child named Joshua Johnson which I acknowledge to be my son" should be manumitted, given his freedom, "as soon as he shall be out of his said Apprenticeship or arrive at the age of 21 years which shall first happen." It is evident one of these two events had taken place—either Joshua was twenty-one years old, or he had completed his apprenticeship to Forepaugh—on July 15, when his father had his manumission recorded, providing Joshua Johnson his freedom. Although Johnson was trained as a blacksmith, none of his work in this medium has been located. Further, the manner and extent of his training as a painter is not known, though hints of the difficulties he faced are evident in the first of his three known newspaper advertisements, published on December 19, 1798, in the *Baltimore Intelligencer*:

> The subscriber, grateful for the liberal encouragement which an indulgent public have conferred on him, in his first essays, in PORTRAIT PAINTING, returns his sincere acknowledgements. He takes liberty to observe, That by dint of industrious application, he has far improved and matured his talents, that he can insure the most precise and natural likenesses. As a *self-taught genius*, deriving from nature and industry his knowledge of the Art; and having experienced many insuperable obstacles in the pursuit of his studies, it is highly gratifying to him to make assurances of his ability to execute all commands, with an effort, and in a style, which must give satisfaction. He therefore respectfully solicits encouragement. Apply at His house, in the alley leading from Charles to Hanover Street, back of Sear's Tavern. JOSHUA JOHNSTON [Johnson's name is found spelled with and without the "t" in nineteenth-century records].

It is speculated that the earliest dated works by Joshua Johnson were not painted before the mid- to late 1780s, if not the early 1790s, a chronology supported by his advertisement and the life dates of the sitters depicted in many of his earliest paintings. Johnson was to continue his activity as a portrait painter through the early 1820s. Among his finest paintings of family groups are *Mrs. Thomas Everette and Her Children* (1818, oil on canvas, 38 7/8 by 55 3/16 inches, held by the Maryland Historical Society) and *Mrs. Hugh McCurdy and Her Daughters* (1806-1807, oil on canvas, 41 by 34 1/2 inches, held by the Corcoran Gallery of Art). Johnson's best-known portraits of children include *The Westwood Children* (1807); *Portrait of Edward Pennington Rutter and Sarah Ann Rutter* (1804); and *Charles John Stricker Wilmans* (1806-1807, oil on canvas, 41 by 34 1/2 inches, held by the sitters have been identified. One of these, *Portrait of Daniel Coker* (1805–1810, collection of the American Museum in Bath, England), is considered Johnson's most important work, a rendering of the prominent early black Methodist and advocate of African emigration.

Joshua Johnson and his portraits were rediscovered by the art world in the 1930s through the work of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, a doctor and historian/genealogist. By 1939, Dr. Pleasants had located thirteen paintings related

Portrait of Daniel Coker (Joshua Johnson, 1805–1810). *A rendering of the prominent black Methodist and advocate of African emigration, Johnson's portrait of Coker is one of only two Johnson paintings of African-American sitters that have been identified, and is considered the artist's most important work.* © AMERICAN MUSEUM IN BRITAIN, BATH

by style and family traditions. His first article, "Joshua Johnson, the First Black American Painter?" in the *Walpole Society Note Book* ended with a question mark because the evidence did not conclusively identify the painter's race. For decades this question continued to be raised by artists and historians, including the artist Romare Bearden (1911–1988) in his *History of African-American Artists from 1792 to the Present* (1993). Johnson's paintings have been widely collected and exhibited. Noted examples are found in private collections and major museums including the National Gallery of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore Museum, Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Although some descendants of Johnson's portrait subjects have recollected family traditions of a black artist painting their ancestral portrait, there was only one Baltimore city directory entry that identified a race for Johnson, in spite of the same name being listed in nine additional directories. The 1817–1818 edition listed him under "Free Householders of Colour." It appears that different clerks recorded his race according to varying interpretations of his appearance.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Baltimore was home to a community of free blacks as well as aristocratic abolitionists, a situation that appears to have helped Johnson's career as a portrait painter. Johnson's residencies at various locations around the center of Baltimore were often in the same neighborhoods as many of his sitters.

Johnson is presumed to have died sometime after 1824, the last year he is found in Baltimore municipal records. No date of death or burial records have been located for him, although records indicate that his second wife, Clara (or Clarissa), whom he had wed before 1803, probably survived him. Johnson's first marriage—to Sarah, sometime before 1798—resulted in two daughters, both of whom died in childhood, and two sons, who grew up in Baltimore. (The surnames of his wives are unknown.)

Johnson's training as an artist has never been documented, although visual comparisons relate his work to that of members of the Peale family, which was active in the Baltimore region. These include the inventor and museum founder Charles Willson Peale, his sons Rembrandt and Raphaelle, and their cousin Charles Peale Polk. All of these men were painters, and Johnson very likely knew portraits painted by Polk during the late 1780s into the mid 1790s. Johnson and Polk used similar compositional devices and props and were interested in both the physical and psychological relationships between sitters. Thus, although Polk was never Johnson's owner or master, he is related to Johnson stylistically. Polk occasionally depicted women wearing white dresses as well as others in a variety of outfits that included scarves, fichus (light triangular scarves), and other accessories. Research has shown that many of the items included in Polk's portraits related specifically to the sitter, and the same is likely to have been true for their clothing. Johnson's style, from his earliest to his latest works, visually incorporates elements that are likely to be the result of influence of the Peales, specifically Polk.

Johnson's "signature" elements include women and girls wearing white empire dresses; carrying accessories such as strawberries, red shoes, or umbrellas; and usually seated or arranged beside pieces of distinctive Baltimore upholstered furniture. A mother, her daughters, and occasionally her young sons, are captured in a thin silvery atmosphere, linked by their gestures as a family group, and further unified by the repetition of details such as the white dresses.

Interestingly, Johnson often painted portraits of children, many of which survive. These include his signature

Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. James McCormick and Their Children (Joshua Johnson, 1804–1805). *The painting of the McCormicks is considered to be one of Johnson's finest family portraits.* NATIONAL ARCHIVES

style, with such elements as books, fruit, and red shoes. His depictions of children probably indicate an area actively cultivated for his patrons. These works are dynamic and share elements and details of composition. Each places the child in a stage-like environment, often with draperies and patterned stone floors in ambiguous indoor-outdoor settings. Each child appears to have been dressed in his or her best outfit. The attractiveness of these endearing portrayals would have served as a good advertisement of Johnson's abilities and likely brought him additional work.

Part of Johnson's style, thought to be drawn from his training and work as a blacksmith, is a sharp curving linearity. Translations of the curves and turns of ornamental ironwork are suggested by the sinuous lines of the furniture and the rigid columnar quality of the human forms. Further, the light of Baltimore, a seaport undiminished by pollution, must be acknowledged as one possible source for the silvery palette often seen in Johnson's paintings. These elements of palette and form combine with a precision of details, a tautness of line, and a thin application of paint in the areas of the laces and diaphanous fabrics to produce in Johnson's mature works a style that did not merely mimic that of the painters of the Peale family and other Baltimore competitors, but that provided a fashionable and attractive alternative to them.

See also Painting and Sculpture

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LINDA CROCKER SIMMONS (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt

January 12, 1890
September 10, 1976

Born in Paris, Tennessee, Mordecai Johnson, an educator, received his first bachelor of arts degree from Morehouse College in 1911. A second B.A. came from the University of Chicago in 1913, followed by a bachelor of divinity degree from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1916 and graduate degrees from Harvard University, Howard University, and Gammon Theological Seminary. Johnson began his career teaching English at Morehouse College in Atlanta.

After leaving Morehouse, Johnson served as a Baptist minister in New York and in West Virginia, where he organized Charleston's first branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Never one to back down from an injustice, he was merciless in his attacks on what he called the "Jim Crow churches" of America and worked to integrate all denominations. A gifted speaker, Johnson traveled throughout the Southwest with the YMCA, making detailed studies of many black schools and colleges.

In 1926 Johnson was unanimously recommended by Howard University's board of trustees to serve as the school's first African-American president. Three years later he was honored as the fifteenth recipient of the NAACP Spingarn Medal. A fighter for equal rights, Johnson promoted a policy of academic freedom at Howard for both students and faculty. While president, he could be heard quoting the principles of Mohandas K. Gandhi to his students in the 1930s and rallying for African independence in the 1940s. In 1952 Johnson called for a nonviolent solution to the cold war that culminated in a peace mission to Moscow in 1959. On June 30, 1960, he retired as president of Howard. Thirteen years later, the university honored him with a building in his name. Johnson died in 1976 at the age of eighty-six.

See also Education in the United States; Howard University; Spingarn Medal

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MICHAEL A. LORD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Johnson, Noble and George

Little is known about the early lives or later years of Noble Mark Johnson (April 18, 1881–January 9, 1978) and George Perry Johnson (October 29, 1885–October 17, 1977), two brothers who in 1916 founded Lincoln Motion Pictures, the second black American film company. The

brothers were raised in Colorado Springs, Colorado (Noble was born in Missouri, before the family moved to Colorado). Noble Johnson first worked as an actor in Philadelphia, while George attended Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia, before moving to Oklahoma, where he worked at one of the region's early black newspapers in 1906. After moving to Tulsa, he produced the *Tulsa Guide,* another early black regional newspaper, and then became the first black clerk at the Tulsa post office.

At the time that they founded Lincoln Motion Pictures, George Johnson was working as a mailman in Omaha, Nebraska, and his brother was playing bit parts in Universal Studios films. They formed the studio, which was among the earliest Hollywood film companies, in order to avoid the financial domination of whites in the film industry and to protest the racist attitudes embodied in D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Noble ran Lincoln's studio in Los Angeles, while George Johnson continued to work as a postman in Lincoln, Nebraska, directing the company's booking office there.

The company was one of the first independent film companies to make black films with black financing for black audiences, offering black actors and actresses some of the era's few opportunities to play characters other than servile domestics or heartless villains. Lincoln made about one film per year between 1915 and 1922, including *The Realization of a Negro's Ambition* (1916), *The Trooper of Troop K* (1916), and *A Man's Duty* (1921), all of which starred Noble Johnson. Despite large turnouts and excited responses in some cities, the company never gained a big enough audience for its films and lacked a national distribution system. This, combined with a depression that followed World War I, led to the company's failure in 1921.

Even before Lincoln Motion Pictures closed, George Johnson had started an informal news service devoted to black films and filmmakers. Eventually, he moved to Hollywood, changed his name to George Perry, and turned what had been at first a simple collection of newspaper clippings into the Pacific Coast Bureau, which documented production and financial activities and spread gossip about dozens of black film companies. George Johnson gave his archive to the University of California and completed an oral history there before his death in 1977.

After the demise of Lincoln Motion Pictures, Noble Johnson continued to work in film. He acted in many prominent films of the 1920s and 1930s, including *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921), *Ben Hur* (1925), and *King Kong* (1933), but almost always in the "exotic" roles, such as that of the Native American, African, Latino, or Asian "primitive." He also appeared in *Tropic Fury* (1939), *The Desert Song* (1943), and *North of the Great Divide* (1950) before retiring in 1950.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)

JONES, ABSALOM

1746
1818

The minister and community leader Absalom Jones was among the enslaved African Americans who gained their freedom in the era of the American Revolution. He made some of the most important contributions to black community-building at a time when the first urban free-black communities of the United States were taking form. Enslaved from his birth in Sussex County, Delaware, Jones served on the estate of the merchant-planter Benjamin Wynkoop. Taken from the fields into his master's house as a young boy, he gained an opportunity for learning. When his master moved to Philadelphia in 1762, Jones, at age sixteen, worked in his master's store but continued his education in a night school for blacks. In 1770 he married, and through unstinting labor he was able to buy his wife's freedom in about 1778 and his own in 1784.

After gaining his freedom, Jones rapidly became one of the main leaders of the growing free-black community in Philadelphia—the largest urban gathering of emancipated slaves in the post-Revolutionary period. Worshiping at Saint George's Methodist Episcopal Church, Jones soon began to discuss a separate black religious society with other black Methodists such as Richard Allen and William White. From these tentative steps toward community-based institutions came the Free African Society of Philadelphia, probably the first independent black organization in the United States. Although mutual aid was its purported goal, the Free African Society was quasi-religious in character; beyond that, it was an organization where people emerging from the house of bondage could gather strength, develop their own leaders, and explore independent strategies for hammering out a postslavery existence that went beyond formal legal release from thralldom.

Once established, the Free African Society became a vehicle for Jones to establish the African Church of Phila-

Sheet music for "Black Saints," a hymn honoring Absalom Jones. *Written in the 1990s by Harold T. Lewis, the lyrics celebrate Jones's rise from slavery to become priest and principal founder of St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, the first black Episcopal church.* THE CHURCH HYMNAL CORPORATION, 1993. WORDS BY HAROLD T. LEWIS. MUSIC BY JOHN GOSS. WORDS COPYRIGHT © 1992 BY HAROLD T. LEWIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

delphia, the first independent black church in North America. Planned in conjunction with Richard Allen and launched with the assistance of Benjamin Rush and several Philadelphia Quakers, the African Church of Philadelphia was designed as a racially separate, nondenominational, and socially oriented church. But in order to gain state recognition of its corporate status, it affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church of North America and later took the name Saint Thomas's African Episcopal Church. Jones became its minister when it opened in 1794, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1818. For decades, Saint Thomas's was emblematic of the striving for dignity, self-improvement, and autonomy of a generation of African Americans released or self-released from bondage, mostly in the North. In his first sermon at the African Church of Philadelphia, Jones put out the call to his fellow African Americans to "arise out of the dust and shake ourselves, and throw off that servile fear, that the habit of oppression and bondage trained us up in." Jones's church, like many others that emerged in the early nineteenth century, became a center of social and political as well as religious activities, and a fortress from which to struggle against white racial hostility.

From his position as the spiritual leader at Saint Thomas's, Jones became a leading educator and reformer in the black community. Although even-tempered and known for his ability to quiet controversy and reconcile differences, he did not shrink from the work of promoting the rights of African Americans. He coauthored, with Richard Allen, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia, in the Year 1793,* a resounding defense of black contributions in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 (Jones himself assisted Benjamin Rush in ministering to the sick and dying in the ghastly three-month epidemic) and a powerful attack on slavery and white racial hostility. In 1797 he helped organize the first petition of African Americans against slavery, the slave trade, and the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. Three years later he organized another petition to President Jefferson and the Congress deploring slavery and the slave trade. From his pulpit he orated against slavery, and he was responsible in 1808 for informally establishing January 1 (the date on which the slave trade ended) as a day of thanksgiving and celebration, in effect an alternative holiday to the Fourth of July for black Americans.

Typical of black clergymen of the nineteenth century, Jones functioned far beyond his pulpit. Teaching in schools established by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and by his church, he helped train a generation of black youth in Philadelphia. As Grand Master of Philadelphia's Black Masons, one of the founders of the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality (1809), and a founder of the literary Augustine Society (1817), he struggled to advance the self-respect and enhance the skills of the North's largest free African-American community. By the end of Jones's career, Saint Thomas's was beginning to acquire a reputation as the church of the emerging black middle class in Philadelphia. But he would long be remembered for his ministry among the generation emerging from slavery.

See also Allen, Richard; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slavery

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GARY B. NASH (1996)

Jones, Claudia

February 21, 1915
December 25, 1964

Communist Party leader Claudia Jones was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, and moved with her family to Harlem, in New York, in 1924. While Jones was still a teenager, her mother died, which forced Jones to leave school and work in a factory. In the early 1930s she became involved in the campaign to free the nine Scottsboro Boys, a campaign led by the Communist-dominated International Labor Defense, and she was recruited into the Harlem branch of the Young Communist League (YCL). Shortly afterward, Jones became editor of the YCL's *Weekly Review* and the *Spotlight.* In 1940 she was elected chair of the YCL's national council.

During the 1930s and 1940s Jones was active in the party's civil rights campaigns and supported the National Negro Congress, a civil rights organization that increasingly came under the influence of the Communist Party. She was also a leading voice within the party for women's rights and, after World War II, was appointed to the party national executive committee's commission on women, briefly serving as its secretary.

In 1948 Jones and several other party leaders were arrested on charges of sedition and she was nearly deported before a protest campaign compelled the federal government to free her on bail. Two years later Jones was rearrested under the Smith Act, along with fifteen other party leaders, for "teaching and advocating Marxism." In 1951 she was convicted and imprisoned in a federal penitentiary for one year.

In 1955 Jones was deported. She settled in London, where she renewed her work with the Communist Party. During the late 1950s and early 1960s she also served as the editor of the left-wing *West Indian Gazette* and worked for the Caribbean Labour Congress. Jones died in London in 1964.

See also Communist Party of the United States; National Negro Congress; Scottsboro Case

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Jones, Gayl

November 23, 1949

Born in Lexington, Kentucky, novelist, poet, and critic Gayl Jones grew up listening to the African-American oral tradition that is prominent in her narratives. Storytelling, both oral and written, was a part of her family experience. Her grandmother wrote religious dramas, and her mother composed stories to entertain the children. Jones herself began writing fiction when she was seven or eight. She received several prizes for poetry while an English major at Connecticut College. She then studied creative writing at Brown University under William Meredith and Michael Harper. She published her first novel while still a graduate student. She taught creative writing and African-American literature at the University of Michigan until 1983; since then she has lived primarily in Paris and Lexington.

Jones's early novels focus on women driven to or over the edge of madness by the abuses they endure. The originality of her work lies in allowing these women to speak for themselves. *Corregidora* (1975), *Eva's Man* (1976), and the stories in *White Rat* (1977) are narrated by characters whose racial and sexual experiences are rendered in voices that are simultaneously obsessive in their concerns and ordinary in their idiom. Her later narratives are poems that present the history of blacks in the New World, including Brazil. *Song for Anninho* (1981), *The Hermit-Woman* (1983), and *Xarque and Other Poems* (1985) continue the focus on the suffering of black women but without the obsessive voices. Her work of criticism, *Liberating Voices: Oral Tradition in African American Literature* (1991), explores folk traditions in the major writers of poetry and fiction. Two later novels, *The Healing* (1998) and *Mosquito* (1999), move in a more positive direction by depicting strong, articulate women capable of telling their own stories and creating meaningful relationships despite the difficulties of life. These works continue Jones's practice of being highly experimental in the ways these stories are told.

See also Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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KEITH E. BYERMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jones, James Earl

January 17, 1931

James Earl Jones, an actor renowned for his broad, powerful voice and acting range, was born as Todd Jones in Arkabutla, Mississippi, the son of actor Robert Earl Jones. He was raised by his grandparents, who moved to Michigan when Jones was five. Soon afterwards, Jones developed a bad stutter, and remained largely speechless for the following eight years. When he was fourteen, a high school English teacher had him read aloud a poem he had written, and Jones gradually regained the use of his voice. He subsequently starred on the school's debating team. In 1949 Jones entered the University of Michigan as a premedical student, but he soon switched to acting and received his bachelor's degree in 1953. Two years later he moved to New York City and studied at the American Theater Wing. He made his professional debut in 1957.

Jones first became well known in the early 1960s. His first leading role was in Lionel Abel's *The Pretender* in 1960. That same year he became a member of Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival; he remained with the company until 1967, performing on and off Broadway in numerous theatrical productions. He also played several small parts on Broadway. Between 1961 and 1963 he appeared in eighteen different plays off Broadway. His most notable performances came in Shakespeare Festival productions, as well as in an all-black production of Jean Genet's *The Blacks,* in Josh Greenfield's *Clandestine on the Morning Line,* and in Jack Gelber's *The Apple*. In 1962 Jones won an Obie Award for best actor of the season based on his performances in the latter two productions and in Errol John's *Moon on a Rainbow Shawl*. He subsequently won both a Drama Desk Award (1964) and a second Obie (1965) for his performance in the title role of *Othello* at the New York Shakespeare Festival. Jones also made his screen debut at this time, in a small role in Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* (1964).

In 1967 Jones received his first widespread critical and public recognition when he was cast as the boxer Jack Jefferson (a fictionalized version of heavyweight champion Jack Johnson) in a Washington, D.C., production of Howard Sackler's play *The Great White Hope*. In 1968 the play moved to Broadway. The following year, it won a Pulitzer Prize and Jones received a Tony Award. He also starred in the 1970 film based on the play and was nominated that year for an Oscar.

During the 1970s Jones appeared in a variety of stage and screen roles, including such movies as *The Man* (1972), *Claudine* (1974)—for which he was nominated for a Golden Globe Award—*The River Niger* (1975), *The Bingo Long Travelling All-Stars and Motor Kings* (1976), and *A Piece of the Action* (1977); he also provided the voice of Darth Vader in *Star Wars* (1977) and its sequels. On stage, Jones starred in Lorraine Hansberry's *Les Blancs* (1970), in Athol Fugard's *Boesman and Lena* (1970), in an adaptation of John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* (1974), and in various Shakespearean roles.

In 1977 Jones appeared on Broadway in a one-man show in which he portrayed singer/activist Paul Robeson. The show (which opened soon after Robeson's death) was denounced as a distortion of Robeson's life by Paul Robeson, Jr., and was picketed by a committee of black artists and intellectuals who complained that the play had soft-pedaled Robeson's political radicalism. Jones countered that the committee was engaged in censorship. The play's Broadway run and subsequent appearance on public television served to revive public interest in Robeson's life and career.

During the 1980s and 1990s Jones continued to act in various media. On stage, he starred on Broadway in 1981–82 in a highly acclaimed production of *Othello* with Christopher Plummer as Iago and Cecilia Hart (Jones's wife) as Desdemona, in Athol Fugard's *A Lesson from Aloes* (1980) and *Master Harold . . . and the Boys* (1982), and in August Wilson's *Fences,* for which he received a second Tony Award in 1987. He also appeared in more than thirty films during this period, including such movies as *Matewan* (1984), *Soul Man* (1985), *Gardens of Stone* (1985), *Coming to America* (1988), *Field of Dreams* (1989), *The Hunt for Red October* (1990), *Sommersby* (1993), and the animated feature *The Lion King* (1994) as well as *A Family Thing* (1998).

Jones also has had considerable experience in television. He appeared in several episodes of such dramatic se-

ries as *East Side, West Side* in the early 1960s. In 1965 his role on *As the World Turns* made him one of the first African Americans to regularly appear in a daytime drama. In 1973 he hosted the variety series *Black Omnibus*. In 1978 Jones played author Alex Haley in the television miniseries *Roots: The Next Generations*. In the late 1990s and into the 2000s he has made numerous appearances in such popular television shows as *Touched by an Angel, Frasier, Will and Grace,* and *Everwood.* He also has starred in two short-lived dramatic series, *Paris* (1979–80) and *Gabriel's Fire* (1990–1992) for which he won an Emmy in 1990, and has made many television movies, including *The Cay (*1974), *The Atlanta Child Murders* (1984), and *The Vernon Johns Story* (1994). In 1993 Jones published a memoir, *Voices and Silences.*

See also Film in the United States; Johnson, Jack; Robeson, Paul; Television

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jones, LeRoi

See Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi)

Jones, Philip Mallory

1947

Philip Mallory Jones is a media artist whose work explores the significance of the black diaspora experience. His videos make reference to African sensibilities such as the constant flow of life energy, the ageless wisdom of elders, and the permanence of meanings found in artistic forms of expression. These components are used to tell stories centered on space and time. The notion of ancestral memory and the salience of the spiritual world are other themes commonly found in his work. They are also paramount to his central figures, who struggle with the sexual and racial tensions that problematize everyday interactions with others and self.

Jones earned his B.A. from Beloit College and acquired an M.F.A. in creative writing from Cornell University. He has achieved such accolades as the 2002 Batza Chair in Art and Art History at Colgate University. From 1991 to 2000 he was artist-in-residence at the Institute for Studies in the Arts at Arizona State University. In addition, he has taught at several academies, including Howard University. As the former cofounder and director of *Ithaca Video Project* (1971–1984), his contributions to the field of media arts have been twofold: He is an artist and an advocate. Jones's artistic expression incorporates writing, photography, video, filmmaking, and digitized media. Some of his works include: *The Trouble I've Seen* (1976), *Black/White and Married* (1979), *Soldiers of a Recent and Forgotten War* (1981), *Ghosts and Demons* (1987), *Footprints* (1988), *Jembe* (1989), *Paradigm Shift* (1992), *Crossroads* (1993), and three collaborative performance pieces: *Drummin'* (1997), *Mirrors and Smoke* (2000), and the *Vo-Du Macbeth Opera* (2001).

Described as an impressionistic documentary that dismantles prescribed cultural boundaries, one of Jones's most prominent works, a 1994 video titled *First World Order,* shows, "the connections between group creativity and individual emotions and desires" (Powell, p. 181). In an excerpt from this film, an aged Belizean woman states, "I laugh to myself," as she ponders over her relationship with an estranged son. The fractured bond between this mother and child mirrors the disconnect that exists between non-Western cultures of the African diaspora and the rest of the world. Jones uses this metaphor to challenge the commonly held trope that Western society is the "first world order." His work inverts the structure of this global power dynamic by decoding various cultural expressions whose meanings originated outside of Western society. The dispersion of these cultural expressions is visually articulated through the use of freeze frames that slowly move images in and out of spaces to show how they changed over time. This sequencing achieves two things. It reveals how non-Western artistic expressions of the African diaspora were appropriated, and it presents these "third world" cultures as the original "first world order."

As the curator for the annual Ithaca Film Festival, which toured nationally from 1975 to 1984, Jones provided a venue for fellow artists to display their work and find the artistic, moral, and financial support needed to persevere in the independent filmmaking industry. To this end, his campaigning for venues extends beyond the plight for more black visibility and representation. It echoes the necessity for convergence between the display demands of

digital arts and a revamping of traditional structures of exhibition space. His vision to improve spatial barriers, cross-culturally and (inter)nationally, also challenges the propensity for the media to perpetuate historical misrepresentations of black people.

Jones resides in Atlanta, Georgia, where he serves as a consultant to the Center for African American Archival Preservation. He is the artistic director of Alchemy Media and Marketing, Inc., and is working on a book, *Lissen Here!*

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Film in the United States, Contemporary

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SAADIA NICOE LAWTON (2005)

Jones, Quincy

March 14, 1933

The music producer and composer Quincy Delight Jones Jr. was born in Chicago and learned to play the trumpet in the public schools in Seattle, Washington, where his family moved in 1945. Jones sang in church groups from an early age, and he wrote his first composition at the age of sixteen. While in high school he played trumpet in rhythm-and-blues groups with his friend Ray Charles (1930–2004). After graduating from high school, Jones attended Seattle University, after which he enrolled in the Berklee School of Music in Boston. He traveled with Jay McShann's band before being hired by Lionel Hampton (1908–2002) in 1951. Jones toured Europe with Hampton and soloed on the band's recording of his own composition, "Kingfish" (1951).

After leaving Hampton in 1953, Jones, who had an undistinguished solo style on trumpet, turned to studio composing and arranging, working with Ray Anthony, Tommy Dorsey, and Hampton. During the 1950s, Jones also led his own big bands on albums such as *This Is How I Feel About Jazz* (1956). In 1956 Jones helped the trumpet player Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993) organize his first State Department big band. From 1956 to 1960 he worked as the music director for Barclay Records in Paris, where he also studied arranging with the renowned teacher Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979). He also worked with Count Basie, Charles Aznavour, Billy Eckstine, Sarah Vaughan, Dinah Washington, and Horace Silver, and he led a big band for recording sessions such as *The Birth of a Band* (1959). Jones served as music director for Harold Arlen's blues opera *Free and Easy* on its European tour. Back in the United States in the early 1960s, Jones devoted his time to studio work, attaining an almost ubiquitous presence in the Los Angeles and New York music scenes.

Jones began working as a producer at Mercury Records in 1961. After producing Leslie Gore's hit record "It's My Party" (1963), he became Mercury's first African-American vice president in 1964. He increasingly made use of popular dance rhythms and electric instruments. In 1964 he also scored and conducted an album for Frank Sinatra and Count Basie, *It Might As Well Be Swing.* He recorded with his own ensembles, often in a rhythm-and-blues or pop-jazz idiom, on albums such as *The Quintessence* (1961), *Golden Boy* (1964), *Walking in Space* (1969), and *Smackwater Jack* (1971). Jones also branched out into concert music with his *Black Requiem,* a work for orchestra (1971). Jones was the first African-American film composer to be widely accepted in Hollywood, and he scored dozens of films, including *The Pawnbroker* (1963), *Walk, Don't Run* (1966), and *In Cold Blood* (1967).

In 1974, shortly after recording *Body Heat,* Jones suffered a cerebral stroke and underwent brain surgery. After recovering he formed his own record company, Qwest Productions. Throughout the 1970s Jones remained in demand as an arranger and composer. He also wrote or arranged music for television shows (*Ironside, The Bill Cosby Show,* the miniseries *Roots,* and *Sanford and Son*), and for films (*The Wiz,* 1978). During the 1980s Jones expanded his role in the film business. In 1985 he co-produced and wrote the music for the film *The Color Purple* and served as executive music producer for Sidney Poitier's film *Fast Forward* (1985).

Jones's eclectic approach to music, and his ability to combine gritty rhythms with elegant urban textures, is

perhaps best exemplified by his long association with Michael Jackson. Their collaborations on *Off The Wall* (1979) and *Thriller* (1984) resulted in two of the most popular recordings of all time. Jones also produced Jackson's *Bad* (1987). During this time, Jones epitomized the crossover phenomenon by maintaining connections with many types of music. His eclectic 1982 album *The Dude* won a Grammy Award, and in 1983 he conducted a big band as part of a tribute to Miles Davis at Radio City Music Hall. The next year he produced and conducted on Frank Sinatra's recording, *L.A. Is My Lady*. He conceived of USA for Africa, a famine relief organization that produced the album and video *We Are The World* (1985). In 1991 Jones appeared with Davis at one of the trumpeter's last major concerts, in Montreux, Switzerland, a performance that was released on album and video in 1993 as *Miles and Quincy Live at Montreux*. During this time Jones also continued to work with classical music, and in 1992 he released *Handel's Messiah: A Soulful Celebration*.

By 1994, with twenty-two Grammy Awards to his credit, Jones had become the most honored popular musician in the history of the awards. He also wielded enormous artistic and financial power and influence in the entertainment industry and was a masterful discoverer of new talent. In 1990 his album *Back on the Block,* which included Miles Davis and Ella Fitzgerald in addition to younger African-American musicians such as Ice-T and Kool Moe Dee, won six Grammy awards. He continued to expand his activities into the print media, including the magazine *Vibe*, aimed primarily at a youthful African-American readership. He also produced the hit television series *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, which began in 1990. That same year Jones was the subject of a video biography, *Listen Up: The Lives of Quincy Jones*.

Jones won the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award in 1995 and the Henry Mancini and Oscar Micheaux Awards in 1999. In 2001 Jones published *Q: The Autobiography of Quincy Jones*. Celebrities and musicians paid tribute to Jones in October 2004 at the United Negro College Fund's "Evening of Stars," honoring his lifetime achievements and commitment to helping others.

See also Jackson, Michael; Music in the United States; Recording Industry

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jongo

Jongo, also known as *caxambu* or *tambu,* is a dance and musical genre of black communities from southeast Brazil. It originated from the dances performed by slaves who worked at coffee plantations in the Paraíba Valley, between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and also at farms in some areas of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. Jongo is a member of a larger group of Afro-Brazilian dances, such as *batuque, tambor de crioula,* and *zambê,* which feature many elements in common, including the use of fire-tuned drums, the call-and-response form of group singing, the poetical language used in the songs, and the *umbigada,* a distinctive step whereby two dancers hit their bellies. These elements suggest strong ties with the cultural practices of Bantu-speaking peoples of central and southern Africa, especially Congo, Angola, and Mozambique, from where came most of the slaves who worked at the farms in southeast Brazil.

Jongos usually take place during a nightlong party in which several people dance in pairs or in a circle, to the sound of two or more drums, while a soloist sings short phrases answered by the group. The drums, built from hollow tree trunks covered with animal hide in one of the extremities and tuned by the heat of a bonfire, are called *caxambu* or *tambu* (the bigger one) and *candongueiro* (the smaller one). Other instruments can also be used, such as a large and low-pitched friction drum, called *puíta* or *angoma-puíta,* and a rattle made of straw and small beads, called *guaiá*, *inguaiá,* or *angóia*. Jongo songs, also called *pontos,* are sung in Portuguese but may include words of African origin. Often improvised, they are of several types, each one with a particular function: the *pontos de louvação* are used to salute spiritual entities, the owners of the house and the ancestors; the *pontos de visaria* or *bizarria* are sung for fun purposes, to enliven the dancers or as a vehicle for satirical commentaries; the *pontos de demanda*, *porfia,* or *gurumenta* are used by singers who challenge each other with riddles that must be deciphered by the opponent.

On the coffee plantations during the nineteenth century, jongos occupied an intermediate position between

religious ceremony and secular diversion. Performed on weekends or on the eve of holidays, they were often the only form of entertainment available to the slaves, and also the only opportunity to perform forbidden African religious rites, even if disguised as profane dances. The use of African terms, combined with a rich metaphorical language, made jongo songs obscure to the white masters, thus providing a means for the expression of social criticism and cryptic messages from one slave to the others.

Slavery was abolished in 1888, and in the following decades many former slaves and their descendants moved to the cities of southeast Brazil, bringing jongo with them. In Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of the twentieth century, jongos were performed regularly in several *favelas* (shantytowns) such as Salgueiro, Mangueira, and Serrinha. Because many of the founders of the first samba schools from Rio were also *jongueiros*, it is likely that jongo influenced the birth of samba as a modern, urban musical genre. This influence can be noticed, for example, in *partido-alto,* a subgenre of samba in which two or more singers challenge each other by means of improvised verses, and in the *cuíca* friction drum widely used in samba, probably a higher-pitched version of the ancient *puíta*. Though in the twentieth century jongo became essentially a profane diversion, it never lost completely its religious aspects, and is closely related to *umbanda,* a syncretic religion mixing African, Catholic, and spiritist beliefs born in the first decades of the twentieth century. Jongo and umbanda share a common cosmology, and many *jongueiros* are devout *umbandistas*.

Today, jongos continue to be performed by descendants of slaves in a least a dozen communities, in rural settings as well as in the periphery of cities. Since the 1990s jongo has experienced a revival and become more widely known as a hallmark of Afro-Brazilian culture. This was due largely to Darcy Monteiro (1932–2001), also known as Mestre Darcy do Jongo. A professional musician and heir of a traditional family of *jongueiros* from Serrinha, Rio de Janeiro, Mestre Darcy introduced jongo to a larger audience through recordings and concerts.

See also Capoeira; Dance, Diasporic

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GUSTAVO PACHECO (2005)

Joplin, Scott

c. 1867
April 1, 1917

Born in eastern Texas, some 35 miles (56 kilometers) south of present-day Texarkana, to an ex-slave father and a freeborn mother, ragtime composer Joplin rose from humble circumstances to be widely regarded as the "King of Ragtime Composers." The frequently cited birth date of November 24, 1868, is incorrect; census records and his death certificate show that he was born between June 1, 1867, and mid-January, 1868.

In the early years of his career he worked with minstrel companies and vocal quartets, in bands as a cornetist, and as a pianist. His earliest published compositions (1895–1896) were conventional songs and marches. In 1894 he settled in Sedalia, Missouri, where he attended the George R. Smith College. His "Maple Leaf Rag" (1899), which memorializes a black social club in Sedalia, became the most popular piano rag of the era. By 1901 he was famous and moved to St. Louis, where he worked primarily as a composer.

Despite his success in ragtime, he wanted to compose for the theater. In 1903 he formed a company to stage his first opera, *A Guest of Honor* (now lost). He started on a tour through midwestern states in August 1903, but the box office receipts were stolen after an early performance. Out of money, he was unable to pay the troupe's boardinghouse bill and was forced to abandon his property, including the opera score, and he terminated the tour. He returned to St. Louis and resumed composing piano rags. In 1907 he moved to New York, where major music publishers were eager to issue his rags, but he still aspired to be a "serious" composer. In 1911 he completed and self-published his second opera, *Treemonisha*, in which he expressed the view that his race's problems were exacerbated by ignorance and superstition and could be overcome by education. He never succeeded in mounting a full production of this work.

Despite his efforts with larger musical forms, Joplin is today revered for his piano rags, these being the most sophisticated examples of the genre. His published output includes fifty-two piano pieces, of which forty-two are rags

(including seven collaborations with younger colleagues); twelve songs; one instructional piece; and one opera. Several songs, rags, a symphony, and several stage works—his first opera, a musical, and a vaudeville—were never published and are lost.

A Joplin revival began in late 1970 when Nonesuch Records, a classical music label, issued a recording of Joplin rags played by Joshua Rifkin. For the record industry, this recording gave Joplin the status of a classical composer. This status was enhanced a year later when the New York Public Library issued the two-volume *Collected Works of Scott Joplin*. Thereafter, a number of classical concert artists included Joplin's music in their recitals. In 1972 his opera *Treemonisha* received its first full performance, staged in Atlanta in conjunction with an Afro-American Music Workshop at Morehouse College, and in 1975 the opera reached Broadway. (Joplin's orchestration is lost; there have been three modern orchestrations of the work—by T. J. Anderson, William Bolcom, and Gunther Schuller.) In 1974 the award-winning movie *The Sting* used several Joplin rags in its musical score, bringing Joplin to the attention of an even wider public. "The Entertainer" (1902), the film's main theme, became one of the most popular pieces of the mid-1970s. Further recognition of Joplin as an artist came in 1976 with a special Pulitzer Prize and in 1983 with a U.S. postage stamp bearing his image.

See also Opera; Musical Theater; Ragtime

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EDWARD A. BERLIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Jordan, Barbara

February 21, 1936
January 17, 1996

Congresswoman and professor Barbara Charline Jordan was born in Houston, Texas, the daughter of Arlyne Jordan and Benjamin M. Jordan, a Baptist minister. She spent her childhood in Houston and graduated from Texas Southern University in Houston in 1956. After receiving a law degree from Boston University in 1959, she was engaged briefly in private practice in Houston before becoming the administrative assistant for the county judge of Harris County, Texas, a post she held until 1966.

In 1962 and again in 1964, Jordan ran unsuccessfully for the Texas State Senate. In 1966, helped by the marked increase in African-American registered voters, she became the first black since 1883 elected to the Texas State Senate. The following year she became the first woman president of the Texas Senate. That year, redistricting opened a new district in Houston with a black majority. Jordan ran a strong campaign, and in 1972 she was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from the district, becoming the first African-American woman elected to Congress from the South.

Jordan's short career as a high-profile congresswoman took her to a leadership role on the national level. In her first term she received an appointment to the House Judiciary Committee, where she achieved national recognition during the Watergate scandal, when in 1974 she voted for articles of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon. A powerful public speaker, Jordan eloquently conveyed to the country the serious constitutional nature of the charges and the gravity with which the Judiciary Committee was duty-bound to address the issues. "My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total," she declared. "I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution."

Jordan spent six years in Congress, where she spoke out against the Vietnam War and high military expenditures, particularly those earmarked for support of the war. She supported environmental reform as well as measures to aid blacks, the poor, the elderly, and other groups on the margins of society. Jordan was a passionate campaigner for the Equal Rights Amendment and for grassroots citizen political action. Central to all of her concerns was a commitment to realizing the ideals of the Constitution.

Public recognition of her integrity, her legislative ability, and her oratorical excellence came from several quarters. Beginning in 1974 and for ten consecutive years, the *World Almanac* named her one of the twenty-five most influential women in America. *Time* magazine named her one of the Women of the Year in 1976. Her electrifying keynote address at the Democratic National Convention that year helped to solidify her stature as a national figure.

In 1978, feeling she needed a wider forum for her views than her congressional district, Jordan chose not to seek reelection. Returning to her native Texas, she accept-

ed a professorship in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin in 1979, and beginning in 1982 she held the Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in Public Policy. Reflecting her interest in minority rights, in 1985 Jordan was appointed by the secretary-general of the United Nations to serve on an eleven-member commission charged with investigating the role of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia. In 1991 Texas governor Ann Richards appointed her "ethics guru," charged with monitoring ethics in the state's government. In 1992, although confined to a wheelchair by a degenerative disease, Jordan gave a keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention, again displaying the passion, eloquence, and integrity that had first brought her to public attention nearly two decades earlier.

In January 1996, two years after she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Jordan died. Her obituaries explained much that she had kept private during her lifetime, confirming that she had suffered from multiple sclerosis. They named her longtime companion and discussed her lesbianism.

After her death, a terminal at the Austin-Bergstrom International Airport in Austin was dedicated to Jordan, and in 2002 a seven-foot statue of Jordan was placed in the terminal.

See also Politics in the United States

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, June

July 9, 1936
June 14, 2002

Born in Harlem to Jamaican immigrants Granville and Mildred Jordan, writer June Jordan grew up in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, where poverty and racism were rampant. She absorbed quite early, as she records in the introduction to her first collection of essays, *Civil Wars* (1981), her community's belief in the power of the word. In her family, literature was important, so that by age seven she was writing poetry. She attended an exclusive New England white high school and went to Barnard College in 1953, both of which she found alienating experiences.

In college Jordan met Michael Meyer, a student at Columbia, whom she married in 1955. They had a son, Christopher David, in 1958 and were divorced by 1965, experiences she explores in later essays. In the 1960s Jordan, by then a single working mother, actively participated in and wrote about African-American political movements in New York City. Her first book-length publication, *Who Look at Me* (1969); her poems collected in *Some Changes* (1971); and her essays in *Civil Wars* (1995) exemplify her illumination of the political as intimate, the personal as political change, poetry as action—concepts central to all Jordan's work.

Jordan's writing workshop for Brooklyn children in 1965 resulted in the anthology *Voice of the Children* (1970) and anticipated her many books for children: *His Own Where* (1971), written in black English; *Dry Victories* (1972); *Fannie Lou Hamer* (1972); *New Life: New Room* and *Kimako's Story* (1981), while her organizing of poets in the 1960s resulted in the anthology *SoulScript Poetry* (1970). Her collaboration with Buckminster Fuller in 1964 to create an architectural design for Harlem indicates her concern with black urban environments, a theme evident in *His Own Where* and *New Life: New Room*. Jordan's work as an architect won her a Prix de Rome scholarship in 1970, a year she spent in Rome and Greece, geographical points for many poems in *New Days: Poems of Exile & Return* (1974).

Jordan's teaching at City College, New York City, and the State University of New York at Stony Brook were her starting points for theoretical essays on black English, of which she is remembered as a major analyst. Her reflections on her mother's suicide in 1966 were the genesis for black feminist poems such as "Getting Down to Get Over," in *Things That I Do in the Dark: Selected Poems* (1977). In the 1970s Jordan contributed to black feminism with major essays and poems. Her "Poem about My Rights" in *Passion: New Poems, 1977–80,* written while she was a professor at Yale University, also indicated her growing internationalism, as she related the rape of women to the rape of Third World countries by developed nations.

In the 1980s, through poetry in *Living Room* (1985) and *On Call: Political Essays* (1985), as well as *Naming Our Destiny* (1989), Jordan wrote about oppression in South Africa, Lebanon, Palestine, and Nicaragua as she widened her personal vision as an African-American woman to include more of the struggling world. The growth of her international audience was indicated by the translation of her work into many languages (including Arabic and Japanese), by British publications of *Lyrical Campaigns: Poems*

(1985) and *Moving Towards Home: Political Essays* (1989), and by recordings of her poems as sung by Sweet Honey in the Rock.

In 1978 and 1980 Jordan recorded her own poems, and in the 1980s she began writing plays, a genre she called "a living forum." Her play *The Issue* was produced in 1981. Jordan also widened her audience by being a regular columnist for the *Progressive* magazine.

In her writing, Jordan dramatized how life seems to be an increasing revelation of the "intimate face of universal struggle." Jordan began teaching at the University of California at Berkeley in 1986, and she taught there until her death in 2002 from breast cancer, a disease she had been fighting since the 1970s.

See also Poetry, U.S.

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BARBARA T. CHRISTIAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, Michael

February 17, 1963

Widely acknowledged as one of the greatest players in the history of the NBA, Michael Jeffrey Jordan was born in Brooklyn, New York, the fourth of James and Deloris Jordan's five children and the last of their three boys. He grew up in North Carolina, first in rural Wallace and later in Wilmington.

Jordan was released from the Laney High School varsity basketball team in his sophomore year. Even after an impressive junior season, he received only modest attention from major college basketball programs and chose to attend the University of North Carolina.

On March 29, 1982, the nineteen-year-old freshman sank the shot that gave his school a 63–62 victory over Georgetown and its first NCAA men's basketball championship in twenty-five years. Jordan followed that by winning the college Player of the Year award from the *Sporting News* in each of the next two seasons. After announcing that he would enter the NBA draft after his junior season, he capped his amateur career by captaining the U.S. men's basketball team to a gold medal at the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Jordan was the third pick in the 1984 NBA draft, chosen by the woeful Chicago Bulls. The six-foot-six-inch guard immediately set about reversing their fortunes and was named the NBA Rookie of the Year after leading the team in scoring, rebounding, and assists.

After sitting out most of his second season with a broken foot, Jordan put on one of the greatest individual performances in postseason history, scoring 63 points in his first game back, a playoff loss to the Boston Celtics in 1986. The following season he scored 3,041 points—the most ever by a guard—and won the first of his six successive scoring titles, averaging 37.1 points per game. In 1987–1988 he became the first player ever to win the Most Valuable Player and Defensive Player of the Year awards in the same season.

Jordan's brilliance on the basketball court was nearly equaled by his success as a commercial spokesperson. Before his rookie season he signed with the Nike sneaker company to promote a signature shoe—the Air Jordan. The shoe was an instant success, establishing Jordan as a viable spokesperson. The commercials in which he starred with filmmaker Spike Lee helped make him a pop icon as well.

Early in his career, critics suggested that Jordan was not a "team" player. But he and the Bulls shook the one-man-team tag in 1990–1991 by defeating Earvin "Magic" Johnson and the Los Angeles Lakers in five games to win the franchise's first NBA championship. The following season, they defeated the Portland Trailblazers in six games to clinch another title, and in 1993 they again won the championship when they defeated the Phoenix Suns in six games.

Jordan was named the NBA's Most Valuable Player three times between 1988 and 1992. During that period he became the most successfully marketed player in the history of team sports, earning roughly sixteen million dollars in commercial endorsements in 1992 alone from such corporations as Nike, McDonald's, Quaker Oats (Gatorade), and General Mills (Wheaties). Even when controversy surrounded Jordan, as it did during the 1992 Olympic Games when he refused to wear a competing sponsor's uniform, or when he incurred sizable debts gambling on golf and poker, he regularly registered as one of the nation's most admired men and one of young people's most revered role models. Jordan's basketball career came to a sudden halt in October 1993 when he announced his retirement in a

Basketball great Michael Jordan, with Ted Leonsis (l) and Abe Pollin at a press conference in Washington, D.C., January 19, 2000. *Jordan was named President of Basketball Operations for the Washington Wizards by owner Pollin, and joined Leonsis as an investor in the team.* © REUTERS/CORBIS

nationally televised news conference. He said a diminishing love for the game, the pressures of celebrity, and the murder of his father three months earlier contributed to his decision. In February 1994 he signed with the Chicago White Sox of the American League, hoping to work his way up through the White Sox farm system to play Major League Baseball. Unhappy with the progress he was making, Jordan elected to resume his basketball career by returning to the Bulls in 1995.

Jordan quickly proved that he had lost none of his skill. The Bulls finished the season in 1996 with a new NBA won-loss record of 72–10, and went on to win the NBA championship. Jordan won the NBA Most Valuable Payer Award. The same year, Jordan starred in a popular semi-animated movie *Space Jam,* playing opposite Bugs Bunny. Jordan led the Bulls to NBA championships in each of the following two years, and in 1998 won his fifth MVP award. By this time, he was a worldwide celebrity, whose name was known even in countries where basketball is not played. By the end of 1998 Jordan had scored 29,277 points, third on the all-time NBA list, and was first in scoring average with 31.5 points per game. He spoke several times of retiring, but he had not made a definite statement before a player's strike postponed the resumption of NBA play.

On January 13, 1999, Michael Jordan announced his second retirement from basketball. He said on that occasion that he no longer had the desire to play. "Mentally, I'm exhausted," Jordan said. "I know from a career standpoint I've accomplished everything I could as an individual. Right now, I just don't have the mental challenges that I've had in the past to proceed as a basketball player."

His retirement came after leading the Bulls to their sixth championship in eight seasons in June 1998. Jordan left with the highest career scoring average in the NBA's history. But he was unable to stay away from basketball. A year later he became part owner and president of basketball operations for the NBA's Washington Wizards, and in 2001 he returned to the court as a player-owner. He ended his playing days a third and final time at the end of the 2003 season.

See also Basketball; Olympians; Sports

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JIM NAUGHTON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.

August 8, 1935

Born and raised in Atlanta, lawyer and civil rights leader Vernon Eulion Jordan Jr. lived until the age of thirteen in the University Homes Project, the first federally funded housing project in the country. He majored in political science at DePauw University in Indiana. After graduating in 1957 as the only African American in his class, he attended Howard University for his law degree (1960). In 1960 his home state of Georgia admitted him to the bar and he began work as a law clerk in the office of the eminent black civil rights attorney, Donald L. Hollowell. Jordan worked with Hollowell on the landmark 1961 desegregation suit that forced the University of Georgia to admit its first black students. The Georgia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hired Jordan as its field secretary from 1961 to 1963. Beginning in 1965, Jordan headed the Voter Education Project (VEP) of the Southern Regional Council, which succeeded in registering approximately two million black voters.

In 1969 Jordan was appointed a fellow of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's Kennedy School of

Government, and the next year he was named executive director of the United Negro College Fund, where he continued to hone his fund-raising skills. In 1972 he became executive director of the National Urban League. With monies raised from the corporate sector, as well as federal grants, Jordan doubled the size of the league's operating budget and undertook programs in housing, health, education, and job training. He also inaugurated league programs in the areas of energy and the environment. In 1975 Jordan began a policy review journal, *The Urban League Review,* and the next year instituted an annual report, *The State of Black America.*

On May 29, 1980, while returning to his hotel in Fort Wayne, Indiana, following a speech, Jordan was shot in the back by a sniper. He spent more than ninety days in the hospital, but despite his near-fatal wounds, he recovered fully. In August 1982 Joseph Paul Franklin was brought to trial in federal court on charges of violating Jordan's civil rights (Indiana authorities did not file attempted murder charges). Franklin, an avowed racist, had been convicted earlier in 1982 of the murder of two black joggers, a crime for which he was serving four consecutive life sentences. He was nevertheless acquitted of violating Jordan's civil rights.

On December 31, 1981, Jordan resigned his position at the Urban League. While Jordan claimed that he had planned to serve for only ten years, his resignation was widely seen as having been influenced by his attempted assassination. Soon thereafter, he accepted a position as partner in the powerful Washington, D.C., law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld. He also served on a number of corporate and foundation boards throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. His lucrative corporate and lobbying activities have been controversial among civil rights activists, who have accused him of forsaking the black struggle for personal advantage. Jordan's defenders have responded by pointing to his private lobbying of business and government, notably for the 1991 Civil Rights Act. A close adviser of President Bill Clinton, Jordan headed the president-elect's transition team in 1993, though he refused the office of U.S. attorney general.

Over the following years, Jordan was a visible "first friend," golfing and vacationing with the president and functioning as a behind-the-scenes adviser. In March 1998 Jordan testified to a grand jury investigating Clinton's sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky that he had helped find Lewinsky a job and a lawyer.

In 2001 Jordan published his autobiography, *Vernon Can Read!: A Memoir.* In addition, Jordan led the negotiating team for Senator John Kerry in setting up a series of debates with President George W. Bush in the 2004 presidential election campaign.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; United Negro College Fund

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PETER SCHILLING (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Jordon, Edward

December 6, 1800
February 8, 1869

Edward Jordon, a free colored (of mixed African and European ancestry), was born in Jamaica's slave society. His father, also named Edward and colored, came from Barbados, where his progressive views had alienated him from the white planter class. Jordon's mother, Grace, was likely a local free colored.

Edward Jordon belonged to the urban middle group of free colored artisans and professionals, who, although more privileged than the mass of enslaved peoples, were barred from enjoying basic civil rights because of their nonwhite status. Accordingly, they could not vote, give evidence in their own defense, nor hold public offices, and in a society where landed property guaranteed status and privilege, the extent of property they could inherit was restricted.

Jordon grew to manhood during a period of great upheaval in the history of the Americas, as the established order of slavery and colonial domination was being challenged by the Haitian Revolution and the independence struggles in Spanish America. From 1793 to 1830 these developments, as well as the growing abolitionist tide in Britain, had emboldened the Jamaican free coloreds, who determinedly campaigned for the acquisition of the civil liberties enjoyed by whites in the slave society.

After a short period as an apprentice tailor, Jordon worked as a clerk in a Kingston mercantile establishment and joined the free colored campaign for civil rights when he was twenty, but he was dismissed from his job because

of his political sentiments. After a short stint as a liquor retailer, he switched to printing and journalism, and with his close friend and lifetime political ally, Robert Osoborn, Jordon opened a bookstore in Kingston. Further, in 1828 they established the *Watchman and Jamaica Free Press,* a newspaper that vigorously supported the campaign of the free coloreds who were victorious in 1830, and also championed the abolition of slavery that came in 1834.

In the postslavery period, Jordon abandoned his radical profile and transformed the *Watchman* into the more moderate *Morning Journal,* which consistently supported policies for incremental change. In the assembly, where he represented Kingston from 1834 to 1864, Jordon was the leader of the colored professionals who regarded themselves as Creole "nationalists" who opposed the planters' reactionary programs. In 1861 he was the first nonwhite to be elected speaker of the assembly, and in 1854 he was the first colored man to be elected mayor of Kingston. He also held senior administrative positions that previously had been the exclusive preserve of whites. Accordingly, he was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1852, and in 1864 he was appointed receiver general, then island secretary in 1865.

Jordon's career underscored the coloreds' expanding social and political influence. This alarmed the white planter and mercantile classes, and in their hysteria after the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865, they surrendered Jamaica's near two-hundred-year-old representative constitution and embraced the introduction of crown colony government in 1866, thereby snuffing out all elements of elected politics and reintroducing the practice that barred coloreds from holding senior administrative posts.

Edward Jordon died in 1869, disappointed and embittered by this reactionary development in Jamaica's governance structure. In 1875 his statue, commissioned by his admirers to mark his struggles against racial discrimination, was unveiled in Kingston.

See also Free Blacks, 1619-1860; Haitian Revolution; Morant Bay Rebellion

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SWITHIN WILMOT (2005)

Joshua, Ebenezer

May 23, 1908
March 14, 1991

The prominent Caribbean political leader Ebenezer Theodore Joshua was born in Kingstown, the capital city of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. He received an elementary school education, participated in overseas matriculation exercises, and worked as a primary school teacher, then as a lawyer's clerk, before migrating to other parts of the Caribbean. He ended up in Trinidad, where he became enamored of the politics of Tubal Uriah Butler, a charismatic Caribbean leader for whose party Joshua performed creditably in the national elections of 1950.

Returning to Saint Vincent in 1951, Joshua was invited to join the United Workers and Rate Payers Union, which was about to launch a political assault on colonial Saint Vincent using the leverage that adult suffrage offered. He became part of the union's Eighth Army of Liberation, a political party that captured all eight seats in the first elections held under universal adult suffrage in 1951. Joshua won a seat for the North Windward constituency.

Joshua broke away from the Eighth Army in 1952 and formed the People's Political Party (PPP), which included a trade-union wing, the Federated Industrial and Agricultural Workers Union (FIAWU). Using the vehicle of the PPP-FIAWU, Joshua emerged as a powerful figure who bestrode the political stage during a critical time in the development of the country. His contributions to the shaping and molding of modern Saint Vincent and the Grenadines are incalculable. "Papa Josh," as he was known, was active in political service from 1951 to 1979, a period that began with the establishment of adult suffrage and ended with independence.

Joshua's political career can be neatly divided into three periods: 1951 to 1960, 1961 to 1970, and 1971 to 1979. His greatest achievement occurred during the first period, when he lifted the level of political awareness of the person-in-the-street, raising social consciousness to new heights. But when confronted by stark choices, the second phase saw Joshua reneging on his early promise, seeking out the lines of weakest resistance, and setting himself on a course leading to decline, which accelerated in the third period of his career, as the integrity and fortunes of the PPP took a turn for the worst and the leadership finally lost all credibility.

During the 1950s Joshua was in his element. He acted as the tribune of the people, championing their every cause. Living the simplest of lives, he rode his bicycle and,

with his wife Ivy, walked from village to village preaching the gospel of anticolonial politics and spreading the word of militant trade unionism. Joshua held regular Wednesday night meetings in Kingstown, hammering home his message by constant repetition. For their part, the people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines enjoyed Joshua's style, as on their behalf he stood up to the colonial authorities and defiantly twisted the tail of the establishment. Joshua remained in constant touch with the grassroots, taking the pulse of the people and keeping his ear to the ground. One afternoon he would be at Mount Bentick pleading the cause of sugar workers; the next morning he would be at Richmond, "opening" an arrowroot field.

From 1957 to 1961, Joshua concentrated on infrastructural development. A road and school building program, together with the Arnos Vale Airport, bear eloquent testimony to his efforts. After 1960, Joshua denounced socialism and became more business-oriented, self-centered, and even corrupt, as evidenced by the public works scandal, the waiving of ministers' income tax, and the issues surrounding the deep water pier.

The PPP-FIAWU became riddled with internal strife, and Joshua became more conservative and repressive. Among other things, Joshua made a mockery of the affairs of the Kingstown Town Board and resorted to unfair control of the streets in order to hold demonstrations to camouflage from the public his reversal of fortunes. He helped to create an unsavory political climate during the country's approach to independence.

After statehood was achieved in 1979, the PPP's fortunes dipped more sharply as Joshua struggled for political survival. He began to fear the influence of communists, and he cast aspersions on the burgeoning black consciousness movement of the early 1970s. Finally, in desperation, he began to cast about indiscriminately for allies to his cause.

First, in 1972, he joined with James F. Mitchell, who would later organize the New Democratic Party and serve four terms as prime minister, purely as a tactic to buy time and keep the Labour Party at bay. Then, in 1974 Joshua caused consternation among his political associates and panic in his rank-and-file supporters when, without consulting them, he abandoned Mitchell and jettisoned some of his most loyal and devoted followers to enter the PPP into an alliance with the Labour Party, which for the previous twenty-five years he had represented as a malevolent adversary. Three years later, Joshua, who had stood foremost in the vanguard of the movement for self-determination, broke with Labour on the pretext that the country was not yet ready for independence.

In the 1979 elections, held three months after independence was granted, the PPP failed to win a seat, with Joshua himself suffering ignominious defeat in the former PPP bastion of South Central Windward. Six months later, drained and battle-weary, he threw in his political towel.

The story of Joshua represents a classic case of a populist leader whose hold over his people loosened as his charisma waned and his gift of grace wore thin. Joshua left behind few concrete structures, and he did not even leave a functioning political party, for the PPP was but an extension of his own personality and could not survive him.

But for all his weaknesses and shortcomings, Joshua, during the final stage of colonialism, bestirred the ordinary person out of his lethargy, making him alive to his dignity as a worker and assertive of his rights as a person. Joshua, in effect, awoke a slumbering giant who would not go back to sleep. For that, he is assured a place in the pantheon of Vincentian heroes.

See also Butler, Uriah; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

KENNETH JOHN (2005)

JOURNALISM

Faced with the challenge of seeking just treatment in a society that systematically restricted the lives of freepeople as well as slaves, African Americans began publishing their own periodicals long before the Civil War, using their words as weapons in a protracted struggle for equality. The crusading editors of early black newspapers comprised an intellectual vanguard with a five-pronged mission: (1) to define the identity of a people who had been stripped of their own culture in a hostile environment; (2) to create a sense of unity by establishing a network of communication among literate blacks and their white supporters throughout the country; (3) to examine issues from a black perspective; (4) to chronicle black achievements that were ignored by the American mainstream; and (5) to further the cause of black liberation.

These objectives, set forth by the founders of one of the oldest black institutions in the United States, underscored the activities of African-American journalists for nearly 150 years. When blacks began to move into the mainstream during the latter part of the twentieth century, assuming positions on general-circulation newspapers and in the broadcast media, many retained a sense of being linked to a larger racial cause. Often they were torn by conflicting loyalties. Were they blacks first or journalists first? Should they strive for respect in the mainstream by

The New York Age.

Front page of the* New York Age, *Thursday, May 11, 1911. *Founded by T. Thomas Fortune as the* New York Freeman *in 1884, the* Age *was one of the leading black newspapers in New York City during the first half of the twentieth century.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

avoiding stories dealing with black topics, or fill in the gaps of coverage that might be left by white reporters? Should they follow the journalistic rule that calls for objectivity and report even events that might be damaging to blacks, or be mindful of the effects their stories might have on attitudes toward African Americans? It was a measure of social change that no such questions would have entered the minds of their predecessors.

Origins

The first African-American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal,* was founded in New York City on March 16, 1827, in response to the persistent attacks on blacks by a proslavery white paper, the *New York Enquirer*. The purpose of this pioneering publication was to encourage enlightenment and to enable blacks in the various states to exchange ideas. Thus it provided a forum for debate on issues that swirled around the institution of slavery. Among these was the question of whether blacks should strive for full citizenship and assimilation in America—a view favored by most blacks at that time—or whether they should follow a course of separation and opt for resettlement in Africa, a position then held mostly by whites who saw this as a way to rid the country of troublesome free blacks.

The two founding editors of *Freedom's Journal* were educated and accomplished freemen who stood on opposite sides of the colonization question. Samuel E. Cornish, an ordained minister who had organized the first African Presbyterian church in the United States, thought blacks should fight for integration in America, while the Jamaican-born John B. Russwurm, who was the nation's second black college graduate (from Bowdoin College) supported repatriation in a part of West Africa that became Liberia. But they were united in their opposition to slavery and appetite for discussion. They clearly set forth their mission in the first issue of *Freedom's Journal,* stating: "We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. . . . From the press and the pulpit we have suffered much by being incorrectly represented."

Six months later, when their differences over the colonization issue proved insurmountable, Cornish left. Russwurm continued publishing the paper until March 28, 1829. He then settled in Liberia where he remained until his death in 1851, at one time editing a newspaper called *The Liberia Herald*

Two months after Russwurm's departure, Cornish resurrected *Freedom's Journal* on May 29, 1829, changing its name to *The Rights of All* and infusing it with a more militant tone; publication was suspended on October 9 of the same year. Though Cornish was active in the antislavery and black convention movements, he was driven toward journalism. In 1837 he became editor of Philip A. Bell's newspaper, the *Weekly Advocate*. Two months after its debut, the paper was renamed the *Colored American* and was published until 1842. Although the paper was based in New York, there is evidence that a Philadelphia edition also was produced, making it possibly the first African-American publication to serve more than one city with different editions. Scholars of the early black press have noted the quality and originality of the *Colored American,* which was uncompromising in its call for black unity and full citizenship rights for all.

After these first steps had been taken, others began using journalism to establish communication links in a largely illiterate nation and to generate support in the struggle against slavery. While most of these papers were based in New York, the *Alienated American* was launched in Cleveland on April 9, 1853. Martin R. Delany, the first black graduate of Harvard, published his own newspaper, the *Mystery,* in Pittsburgh before he became assistant edi-

tor of Frederick Douglass's *North Star*. Other outstanding early publications were Stephen Myer's *Elevator* (Albany, New York, 1842), Thomas Hamilton's *Anglo-American* (New York, 1843), and William Wells Brown's *Rising Sun* (New York, 1847).

The first black newspaper to be published in the South before the Civil War was the *Daily Creole,* which surfaced in New Orleans in 1856 but bowed to white pressure in assuming an anti-abolitionist stance. It was followed near the end of the Civil War by the *New Orleans Tribune,* which appeared in July 1864 and is considered the first daily black newspaper. Published three times a week in both English and French, it was an official organ of Louisiana's Republican Party, then the nation's progressive political wing. The *Tribune* called for bold measures to redress the grievances of bondage, including universal suffrage and payment of weekly wages to ex-slaves.

Most of these newspapers depended on the personal resources of their publishers along with contributions from white sympathizers to supplement the meager income from subscriptions, but prosperous blacks also lent their support. A notable "angel" of the period was James Forten, a Philadelphia veteran of the American Revolution who had amassed a fortune as a sail manufacturer. Forten was a major backer of William Lloyd Garrison, a white journalist who became one of the leading voices in the abolitionist movement through his newspaper the *Liberator,* first published on January 1, 1831.

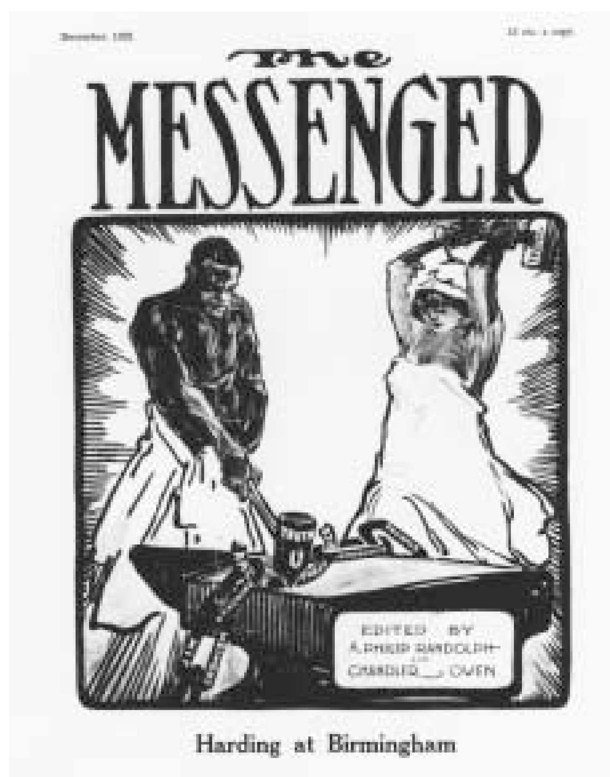
Of the forty or so black newspapers published before the Civil War, the most influential was the *North Star,* founded and edited by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, on November 1, 1847. The name was that of the most brilliant star in the night sky, Polaris, a reference point for escaping slaves as they picked their way northward to freedom. Douglass is an important historical figure, often not regarded primarily as a journalist, but he, like the black leaders who would follow him, knew how to use the press as a weapon. In the prospectus announcing his new publication, he wrote: "The object of the *North Star* will be to attack slavery in all its forms and aspects; advocate Universal Emancipation; exact the standard of public morality; promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the colored people; and to hasten the day of freedom to our three million enslaved fellow countrymen." Thus he defined the thrust of the early black press.

A Period of Transition

The number of black newspapers increased dramatically after the end of the Civil War in 1965, as the newly emancipated struggled to survive with no resources and few guaranteed rights. Publications sprang up in states where none had previously existed. Armistead S. Pride, the leading scholar on the black press, determined in the mid-twentieth century that African Americans had published 575 newspapers or periodicals by 1890, the end of the Reconstruction period. Although most were short-lived and many were religious or political publications rather than regular newspapers, some survived—notably the *Philadelphia Tribune,* which was founded in 1884 and continues to be published. It is considered the oldest continuously published black newspaper in the United States. This period also marks the beginning of the *Afro-American,* which originated as a four-page Baptist Church publication in Baltimore on August 13, 1892. After several metamorphoses, it became the highly respected anchor of a nationally distributed newspaper chain.

This heightened journalistic activity was the result of many factors, among them an increase in literacy and greater mobility on the part of blacks, though their position in society as a whole was hardly satisfactory. When federal troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877 as a matter of political expediency, African Americans were left to the mercy of bitter whites who had fought to deny them freedom. Slavery was replaced by the economic bondage of sharecropping. White dominance was sustained through a system of rigidly enforced segregation and terrorism, including lynching, the random torture and hanging of blacks. When southern blacks fled to northern cities in the first wave of the Great Migration, they found themselves trapped in squalid ghettos with few opportunities for work except in the most menial jobs. For these reasons, the black press was still fueled by the spirit of protest, though that spark often had to be veiled.

The pattern for race relations in America had been set in 1895 when Booker T. Washington, a former slave who had founded Tuskegee Institute, a school providing vocational education for blacks, went before the Cotton States' Exposition in Atlanta and proclaimed that it was folly for blacks to seek equal rights: They should pull themselves up by their own bootstraps and make the best of things as they were, getting along with whites by being patient, hardworking, subservient, and unresentful. In one of the most famous metaphors of American history, Washington raised his hand and declared: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Such rhetoric, calling for a separate but not necessarily equal society, condoned the conservative mood of the era. Ordained by whites to speak for blacks, because of his "Atlanta compromise" Washington came to wield extraordinary power. It extended to the press, as black publishers struggled to keep their papers alive. Most had a small subscription base and



Cover of* The Messenger, *December 1921. *Black labor leader A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) founded this socialist journal with his friend Chandler Owen in 1917.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

advertising was hard to come by. Therefore, they were inordinately dependent on contributions. Washington's critics said that he exercised undue influence over the black press by controlling loans, advertisements, and political subsidies, making certain that his doctrine prevailed.

The journalist most commonly associated with Washington is T. Thomas Fortune, who was editor of he *New York Age* during a period when Washington controlled it financially and used the paper as a conduit for presentation of his views, though Fortune did not share them. Respected as an accomplished writer with a sharp satiric style, Fortune was one of the first of his race to hold an editorial position on a white daily, writing for the *New York Sun* and the *Evening Sun,* leading turn-of-the-century newspapers. Before assuming control of the *Age,* Fortune had published two newspapers of his own, the *Globe* and the *Freeman,* which were considered the best of their type. The *Age* had grown out of a tabloid called the *Rumor,* established in 1890.

Fortune was an activist who thoroughly opposed Washington's willing acquiescence to racism and used the *Age* to promulgate his own ideas. He extolled black pride before the arrival of the twentieth century, urging that the term Afro-American be used instead of "negro," then usually spelled with a lowercase *n.* Disdaining political patronage and declaring himself as independent, he had to get along without the political advertising that was the main source of income for black newspapers. As a result, Fortune had to rely increasingly on contributions from Booker T. Washington, who eventually purchased the *Age.* Obliged to write editorials espousing Washington's views, Fortune responded by presenting his own opinions in opposing editorials in the same edition. Researchers credit Fortune with having written or edited all of Washington's books and many of his speeches, but Washington never acknowledged him. Torn by the compromises he was forced to make, Fortune succumbed to mental illness and poverty during the latter part of his career, but he has been called the dean of black journalism.

A few intrepid journalists refused to accept a state of such uneasy compromise. Ida B. Wells-Barnett transcended gender by risking her life to expose racially motivated crimes. She was a teacher in the rural schools of Mississippi and later Tennessee, when she began writing exposés about injustices in the education system. Turning to journalism on a full-time basis, she became part owner and editor of the *Memphis Free Speech.* In May 1892, when three black Memphis businessmen were lynched after a white mob attacked their grocery store, Wells-Barnett charged in her paper that the murders had been instigated by the white business community and called for a boycott of those white businesses. She also wrote that she had purchased a pistol and would use it to protect herself. While Wells-Barnett was out of town to attend a convention, her newspaper office and the building that housed it were burned down. She relocated to New York, where she continued her crusade in Fortune's *New York Age,* of which she became a part owner. She later published extensive documentation of lynchings in *Redbook* magazine, a leading mainstream publication.

Washington's accommodationist views still prevailed at the arrival of the twentieth century, but a more militant tone was set when William Monroe Trotter founded the *Boston Guardian* in 1901 with George Forbes. Both had graduated from college in 1895, Trotter from Harvard and Forbes from Amherst. Trotter quickly became the main force on the paper. The product of an interracial marriage, he had grown up comfortably in a Boston suburb. At Harvard, he had become the first African American inducted into the honor society Phi Beta Kappa and went on to earn his M.A. degree there in 1896. Unwilling to accept any sort of compromise, he demanded absolute equality for blacks

and used his paper to consolidate the first organized opposition to Washington and his ideas. Trotter joined with another son of Massachusetts, W. E. B. Du Bois—who is considered by many to be the greatest intellectual produced by black America—in laying groundwork for the Niagara Movement, the forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Trotter then disdained the NAACP for being too little, too late, and too white. He carried the fight for black rights to the international arena, going be fore the League of Nations and the World Peace Conference in Paris, to no avail. Disillusioned and ill, Trotter either jumped or fell to his death from the roof of his Boston home in 1934, when he was sixty-two years old. But he had sounded a defiant note that set the tone for further development of the black press throughout the twentieth century.

Early black newspapers bore little resemblance to their modern counterparts. From the beginning, they had not been intended as instruments of mass communication. They were aimed at a small, educated elite and emphasized commentary over news coverage. Editors exchanged copies of their publications by mail and engaged in debates over issues, with the responses appearing in their next editions. It was assumed that subscribers also read white publications and thus were informed on national events. Yet these papers filled a void by interpreting the news from a black perspective and noting developments of particular interest to African Americans, providing information that was not available elsewhere. This included local coverage of religious and social events, still a mainstay of black newspapers.

Growth and Power

The modern black press did not come into being until 1905, when Robert S. Abbott founded the *Chicago Defender,* the first African-American newspaper designed to appeal to the masses and, consequently, the first commercially successful black journalistic enterprise. Although Abbott's sole objective was to improve the plight of blacks in America, he realized that he would have to communicate with the common people if he were to help them. In this respect Abbott followed the imperatives that have shaped daily newspapers since the beginning of the twentieth century. It has been assumed, for the most part, that a publication first must capture the attention of the largest number of potential readers by playing up stories that generate immediate interest. Abbott took particular note of the practices of William Randolph Hearst, who had built the largest journalistic empire of the early twentieth century by engaging in sensationalism to boost sales. But in spite of the screaming red headlines and excited tone that came to mark the *Defender's* style, the paper, at its core, held to the same precepts that have informed black journalism since its inception.

A small, very black man who suffered the indignities imposed on those of his color during a period when dark skin was considered a major social liability even among African Americans, Abbott was a Georgian who settled in Chicago where he decided to publish his own newspaper, although three other black newspapers already were being distributed there. According to Roi Ottley, Abbott's biographer, the publisher started out in a rented room with nothing but a card table, a borrowed chair, and twenty-five cents in capital, intent on producing his newspaper. Abbott, who had a law degree, called it the *Defender* because he intended to fight for the rights of black people. At that time the black population of Chicago was concentrated in so few blocks on the South Side that Abbott could gather the news, sell advertising, and distribute his newspaper on foot by himself. That was a situation he was to change with his paper.

At first Abbott avoided politics and other contentious topics, featuring neighborhood news and personals, but he hit his stride when he began to concentrate on muckraking, publishing exposés of prostitution and other criminal activities in the black community. Adopting the scarlet headlines favored by his white counterparts, Abbott developed a publication so popular that copies were posted in churches and barbershops where blacks congregated, so that the latest stories could be read aloud.

One of the factors that contributed to Abbott's early success was increasing literacy among blacks. By 1910 seven out of ten blacks over the age of ten could read and Chicago's black population had grown to 44,103, though still concentrated in a small area. In 1910, when the *Defender* was in its fifth year, Abbott hired his first paid employee, J. Hockley Smiley, an editor who moved the paper more decidedly toward sensationalism and encouraged the publisher to press for national circulation. White distributors refused to carry black newspapers, but Chicago was a major railroad center, so Smiley suggested that railroad porters and waiters be used to carry bundles of papers to their destinations, smuggling them into the South, where they could be turned over to local black agents. In turn, the railroad workers brought back news, enabling the *Defender* to become the first black publication with a truly national scope. To shore up this thrust, Abbott employed Roscoe Conkling Simmons, a leading narrator, to tour the country, promoting the paper. Since the stance of the *Defender* was militant, with detailed accounts of injustices committed against blacks, participants in this underground distribution system courted danger. Two agents

were killed and others were driven from their homes because of their involvement with the *Defender*. Yet Abbott did not back down, engaging the redoubtable Ida B. Wells-Barnett to report on riots, lynchings, and other racial wrongs.

Abbott found his place in history in 1917, during World War I, when he began to publish front-page stories with blazing headlines urging southern blacks to migrate to the North, where they could escape from the indignities of Dixie and acquire higher-paying jobs in industry. The paper offered group railroad rates to migrants and encouraged them to seek personal advice on how to adjust to the big city by following the *Defender's* regular features. Scholars credit the *Defender* with being a major force in stimulating the tide of northern migration after the war, when blacks realized that the rights U.S. soldiers had fought for abroad were not being extended to them at home. More than 300,000 African Americans migrated to the great industrial cities of the North between 1916 and 1918, with 110,000 moving to Chicago alone, tripling the city's black population.

By 1920, the *Defender* claimed its peak circulation of 283,571, with an additional high pass-along rate. Unlike those struggling earlier black publishers, Abbott became a millionaire, moving into his own fully paid-for half-million-dollar plant on Chicago's South Side. With a broad-based national circulation, the *Defender* offered hope and inspiration to poor southern blacks like the young Johnny Johnson, who read the paper as a youth in his native Arkansas during the early 1930s and son moved north with his family to Chicago, where he would build his own publishing empire. Though the paper eventually declined in popularity, due to its failure to keep up with the growing sophistication of blacks, it is still being published. When Abbott died in 1940, one of his nephews, John H. Sengstacke, assumed leadership. In 1956 he converted the *Defender* into a daily; it appeared four times a week with an additional weekend edition.

While Abbott carved out his empire from Chicago, some resourceful publishers in other parts of the country also built journalistic enterprises that cumulatively developed into one of the most powerful institutions in black America.

At least a dozen black newspapers had come and gone in Pittsburgh by 1910, when the lawyer Robert L. Vann drew up incorporation papers for the *Pittsburgh Courier,* a fledgling publication he edited and eventually came to own. Born impoverished in 1879 in Ahoskie, North Carolina, Vann struggled for years to get an education, finally earning both baccalaureate and law degrees from the Western University of Pennsylvania, later renamed the University of Pittsburgh. A relatively small man, like Abbott, he was encouraged by friends to pass for an East Indian because he had straight hair and keen features, but Vann remained staunchly black. Though the *Courier* managed to survive, it did not gain much momentum until 1914, when Ira F. Lewis joined the staff as a sportswriter. He turned out to be a gifted salesman who built advertising and circulation, going on to become business manager of the paper and transforming it into a national institution.

In its editorial tone, the *Pittsburgh Courier* tended to be somewhat less sensational than the *Defender,* commanding attention with its distinctive peach-colored cover page. In front-page editorials, Vann led his crusades, demanding that the huge industrial firms hire African Americans and criticizing unions for denying blacks membership, while the European immigrants who were surging into the labor market were accepted in both cases. He called for better education and housing for blacks and urged them to boycott movie houses and stores that overcharged them or treated them disrespectfully.

A local publication during its early years, the *Courier* began to make national inroads during the 1920s, when Vann improved its quality by retaining some of the most talented black journalists of the period. George S. Schuyler, a figure of the Harlem Renaissance who was called the black H. L. Mencken because of his bitingly satiric prose, began contributing a weekly column and became the chief editorial writer, a position he held for several decades. Schuyler also toured the nation to produce extensive series on the socioeconomic status of black America.

Vann sent Joel A. Rogers, a self-taught historian, to Europe and Africa, where he documented black contributions to Western civilization. Rogers later produced a column called "Your History" and collaborated with an artist on a weekly illustrated feature that stimulated pride among blacks, who had been denied evidence of prior achievements by their race. When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Rogers became one of the first black war correspondents by covering the conflict from the front. His colorful dispatches captured the attention of African Americans throughout the United States and thus boosted circulation.

Sparkling entertainment and social news were staples, but the *Courier's* forte was its sports coverage. Excellent reportage was provided by W. Rollo Wilson, William G. Nunn Sr., Wendell Smith, and Chester "Ches" Washington, a championship speed typist who went on in the 1970s to become the successful publisher of a chain of newspapers in California. The *Courier* secured its national stature during the 1930s by recognizing the potential of a

young pugilist named Joe Louis and maintaining a virtual monopoly on coverage of his activities until long after Louis had become the most popular heavyweight champion in history. As a result, circulation reached 250,000 by 1937, according to figures of the Audit Bureau of Circulation, making the *Courier* competitive with the *Defender* as the nation's leading black weekly.

It was a role of the nation's top black newspapers to bridge the gap separating artists and intellectuals from the masses. The *Defender* published the early poems of the young Chicagoan Gwendolyn Brooks, who would become the first African American to win a Pulitzer Prize, and employed Willard Motley as a youth editor long before he became a best-selling novelist. The poet and humorist Langston Hughes introduced his character Jesse B. Semple (Simple) in its pages. Similarly, the *Courier* featured commentary and reviews by James Weldon Johnson, while W. E. B. Du Bois wrote a column for the paper after he stepped down as editor of the *Crisis,* the official magazine of the NAACP.

Unlike Abbott, who relished his ties to the man in the street and especially fellow migrants from the South, Vann was an aloof, politically driven man who used his paper to promote his own career as a lawyer and to seek control of black patronage. He is perhaps best known for his defection from the Republican Party, which had claimed the loyalties of black voters since the time of Abraham Lincoln. Democrats were strongly identified with their party's southern segregationist faction. By 1932 the country was in the throes of an economic depression and the yet untried Franklin D. Roosevelt was the Democratic presidential candidate. Vann, who thought that the Republicans had taken the black vote for granted without responding to the needs of that constituency, delivered a speech that projected him to national prominence. Calling for the black vote to remain "liquid" rather than allied to a single party, he said, "I see millions of Negroes turning the picture of Lincoln to the wall." The line became a catchphrase in the successful Democratic campaign to get black votes and win the election.

Vann died in 1940, seven months after Robert S. Abbott. Yet he established so firm a foundation for the *Courier* that it retained its popularity for several more years under the management of Ira Lewis, with the publisher's widow, Jesse L. Vann, at the helm. Under editors P. L. Prattis and William G. Nunn, Sr., the crusades continued, with calls for integration of the armed forces during World War II and a "double V" campaign for victory abroad and against discrimination at home. In 1946 the *Courier* published fourteen editions, including local and national editions with branch offices in twelve cities, and was the most popular black publication even in several cities with their own black newspapers. It attained a circulation of 357,212 in May 1947, a record for audited black newspapers.

Some of the paper's crusades had tangible results. *Courier* sportswriter Wendell Smith, who had been using his column to press for integration of major league baseball since the 1920s, served as the liaison between Jackie Robinson and Branch Rickey, general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, resulting in Robinson's joining that team in 1947.

After the death of Ira Lewis in 1948, the *Courier* lapsed into a general decline because of mismanagement and numerous other factors that affected the black press in the 1950s and 1960s. On the brink of financial collapse in 1965, it was purchased by John Sengstacke, owner of the *Defender* chain. Thus the similar but separate missions of Robert S. Abbott and Robert L.Vann converged in a final irony. Continuing publication as the *New Pittsburgh Courier,* it earned some awards for excellence under its new editor-in-chief, Hazel Garland, whose tenure there dated back to the Golden Age of the 1940s, but the *Courier* had become but a shadow of its old self. Sengstacke Publications, which included the *Courier* and other acquisitions, became the largest African-American newspaper chain in the country.

The third member of what could be called a triumvirate of great black national newspapers was the *Afro-American,* which evolved from its beginnings as a Baltimore church publication to become one of the most widely circulated black newspaper in the South and East, with branch offices in Washington, Philadelphia, Richmond, and Newark, New Jersey. Its founder was John H. Murphy, Sr., a former slave and a whitewasher by trade, who created it by merging his own Sunday school sheet with two similar church publications and going on to expand its coverage to include issues and events of interest to the general black public.

When Murphy died in 1922, his five sons took over the operation, with one of them, Carl Murphy, assuming control. Under his leadership, the *Afro-American* grew into a national publication with multiple editions that emphasized solid reportage and took moderate editorial positions. It became the dominant black publication in the Washington-Baltimore-Richmond triangle, focusing on political matters in a part of the country with a heavy concentration of African Americans. Though firmly patriotic in most of its views, the *Afro,* as it was known, demonstrated courage by standing up for the singer/actor Paul Robeson and the scholar/editor W. E. B. Du Bois when both were accused of being Communists during the McCarthy era. The publisher also ignored official pressure and sent

the journalist William Worthy to Communist China on assignment after the U.S. State Department had denied him a visa. From 1961 through the 1980s the founder's grandson, John Murphy III, played a major role in the paper's fortunes, especially after the death of Carl Murphy in 1967. Over the years, successive generations of Murphys have stepped forward to assume leadership.

While these were the titans in the era of the popular black press, other newspapers distinguished themselves by serving the needs of their own urban communities. The *Amsterdam News* was established in 1909 in New York City when James H. Anderson began publishing a local sheet with $10 and a dream, giving it the name of the street on which he lived. The paper gained prominence and commercial success after 1936, when it was purchased by two Harlem physicians. One of them, C. B. Powell, assumed control and developed the paper to the point where it had a circulation of more than 100,000 after World War II. The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* achieved a high level of respectability after 1910, when P. B. Young, a twenty-six-year-old North Carolinian, purchased its original entity, a fraternal organ, and transformed it into a general circulation black newspaper. Avoiding sensationalism and maintaining a relatively conservative stance, the *Journal and Guide* was singled out for praise by mainstream scholars, who considered it the most objective of black newspapers. Yet it responded readily to the needs of its readers, launching campaigns that resulted in better housing for black residents and pay scales for black teachers that equaled those of whites. W. O. Walker built the *Cleveland Call and Post* into a "bread-and-butter" paper that focused firmly on local news, while the Scott family, beginning in 1932, built the *Atlanta Daily World* into the nation's oldest black daily, one of only three that survived beyond the 1990s. Across the nation, from the early to mid-twentieth century, it was difficult to find a major city that was not served by a black newspaper.

The reasons for their existence were obvious. Until the late 1950s African Americans were almost totally ignored by mainstream publications, and when they did appear, it was as suspected perpetrators of crime. If news of interest to the black population was included at all, it was in tiny, segregated columns dubbed "Negro" or "Afro-American," or some similar name, placed inconspicuously in back pages. Even reportage on African-American sports or entertainment figures was designed to reinforce prevailing stereotypes. Thus the black press served the palpable needs of a neglected and maligned people. Editors of black newspaper said that they hoped to change society to such an extent that they would put themselves out of business. But when this change began to take place, they were not prepared to cope with the consequences.

The Tides of Change

When the struggle for racial equality blossomed into the civil rights movement, beginning with the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955, mainstream publications took steps toward covering events in which African Americans were the major players. As the movement spread from Montgomery to Birmingham to Little Rock and beyond, white newspaper editors began to realize that they were witnessing one of the biggest stories of the century. Furthermore, they were being challenged for the first time by television, a new medium that could provide more immediate coverage, enhanced by dramatic visual images that captured the action as it happened. This was most forcefully demonstrated on August 28, 1963, when television provided extended live coverage of the historic March on Washington and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Since each day brought new developments, most black newspapers, limited to weekly publication, were unable to compete. Furthermore, few of them possessed or were willing to commit the resources that would have enabled them to deploy correspondents to the various hot spots throughout the country. Reporters who worked for the black press during that time recalled their frustration at having to cover the movement by telephone or by rewriting accounts that appeared in the leading white-owned papers.

Although the coverage provided by mainstream print and broadcast media was from a white perspective, inroads were made into a territory that had been the exclusive property of the black press. Yet black journalists rarely were employed by the white media. Even in New York City, the nation's media capital, no African Americans held full-time jobs on white newspapers until Lester A. Walton was hired by the *World* in the 1920s. No further advances were made until 1936 when Ted Poston became a staff reporter for the *New York Post*. He risked his life to cover stories in the South, including the trial in Florida of three young black men who were beaten, with a fourth being killed, for the alleged rape of a white woman, a crime that was never proven. Poston won a George Polk award for his stories on this subject and became a legend in the field, but black journalists were still shunned by daily newspapers. In 1955, a year after the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision, *Ebony* magazine found only thirty-one blacks working on white newspapers throughout the country. Black journalists were so rare in the developing medium of television that they were not even counted before 1962, when Mal Goode, a radio newscaster and former advertising salesman for the *Pittsburgh Courier,* was hired by ABC to become the first network correspondent of his race.

No major changes were to occur until the late 1960s, when the nation's black communities went up in flames, from Watts in Los Angeles to Harlem in New York. The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, better known as the Kerner Commission Report, analyzed the causes of these upheavals. In a section implicating the media, the report said:

> They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the United States. They have not shown understanding or appreciation of—and thus have not communicated—a sense of Negro culture, thought or history.
>
> Equally important, most newspaper articles and most television programming ignored the fact that an appreciable part of their audience was black. The world that television and newspapers offered to their black audience was almost totally white, in both appearance and attitude. As we have said, our evidence shows that the so-called "white press" is at best mistrusted and at worst held in contempt by many black Americans. Far too often, the press acts and talks about Negroes as if Negroes do not read the newspapers or watch television, give birth, marry, die and go to PTA meetings.

The riots, as they were transpiring, had driven home a message to white news managers, who realized that their reporters were ill-equipped to enter the alien world of black neighborhoods and to gain confidence of residents to the point where they might discover what was really going on. As the flames of rage spread from the ghettos to central commercial areas, some realized that the destiny of white America was irrevocably linked to that of black America. As a result, some black reporters were hired literally in the heat of the moment. With the strong indictment of the Kerner Commission finding its mark, black reporters were recruited by the mainstream for the first time, most commonly from the black press. By the mid-1970s nearly a hundred African-American journalists were employed by mainstream publications.

Another response to the report was the development of training programs to increase the limited supply of black journalists. The largest of these was a concentrated summer program established at Columbia University in 1968 through a $250,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. Directed by Fred Friendly, former head of CBS News and a professor at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, the program trained members of various minority groups, then placed from twenty to forty of them each year in both print and broadcast jobs. When one of its black graduates, Michele Clark, died in an airplane crash after working her way up to become co-anchor of the *CBS Morning News,* the minority-training program was renamed in her honor. In 1974, after substantial increases in the number of African Americans earning degrees from journalism schools, including Columbia's, this program was discontinued. The following year it was revived through the efforts of Earl Caldwell, a leading African-American journalist. Relocated to the University of California at Berkeley and operated by the Institute for Journalism Education (IJE), the program to train and place members of minorities on mainstream newspapers continued into the early 1990s. Under the guidance of nationally known African-American journalists, among them Nancy Hicks, Robert Maynard and Dorothy Gilliam, the IJE broadened its scope to focus on programs in editing and management training, facilitating movement of black journalists into the upper echelons of the print media.

All of these changes had a devastating effect on black newspapers. Their circulations plummeted as television and mainstream newspapers encroached on their readership by providing more immediate, though often superficial and insensitive, coverage of major events affecting the African-American community. By 1977 the audited circulation of the *Chicago Defender* had shrunk to 34,000 daily and 38,000 for the weekend edition. The *New Pittsburgh Courier* dipped to 30,000 weekly; the *Baltimore Afro-American* averaged 34,000 for two weekday editions and 18,500 for a weekend national edition. A few publications fared somewhat better, but others teetered on the brink of bankruptcy or had disappeared altogether. While more than 300 black newspapers were being published in the early 1960s, only 170 remained by the late 1980s. Their overall quality also declined as most of the top talent defected to the mainstream, where the rewards included salaries that were several times larger, far better benefits, and greater prestige. Television offered not only large salaries but also high visibility and glamour, a heady kind of stardom. After 1970, few aspiring journalists entered the field with the intention of working for the black press.

Exceptions to this grim pattern were two radical newspapers that surfaced during the 1960s in the furor of the Black Revolution. *Muhammad Speaks,* the official organ of the Nation of Islam, otherwise known as the Black Muslins, stemmed from a column called "Mr. Muhammad Speaks" that the sect's leader, Elijah Muhammad, had written for the *Pittsburgh Courier* during the

1950s. When Christian ministers, valuable links in the black press circulation chain, objected to Muhammad's anti-Christian rhetoric, the column was discontinued. Since Muslim followers had employed aggressive tactics to sell the paper on the streets, they took with them a huge chunk of the *Courier's* circulation. The column resurfaced in the *Amsterdam News* during the 1960s, when Malcolm X was galvanizing the black masses not only in Harlem but also throughout the nation. By the early 1970s the Black Muslims were publishing a popular weekly newspaper of their own called *Muhammad Speaks*. It was produced in Chicago, where Elijah Muhammad lived, by a staff of experienced journalists (who were not necessarily Muslims) working out of a well-equipped plant. Featuring African-American news with a militant slant, along with dogma, and distributed through the same pressurized street-selling techniques, *Muhammad Speaks* achieved an unaudited weekly circulation of 400,000 to 600,000, an all-time record for a black newspaper. (Unaudited means that the Audit Bureau of Circulations has not verified these figures.) Circulation dropped sharply after the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, the death of Elijah Muhammad, which brought on power struggles within the Muslim sect, and a general shift away from overt militancy in the African-American population. However, the paper continued publication under other names, including the *Bilalian News* and later the *Final Call,* into the early twenty-first century. These later publications never approached the success of earlier efforts.

A short-lived but significant polemical newspaper was the *Black Panther,* which achieved an unaudited circulation of 100,000 during the early 1970s, when it was edited by Eldridge Cleaver, author of the autobiographical militant manifesto *Soul on Ice*. Radical in tone, this newspaper attracted an audience in the turbulent antiwar climate of that time by condemning police brutality at home and America's foreign policy abroad, but it ceased publication after the credibility of Panther leaders was broadly questioned.

The sheer volume of news being generated by the movement toward integration and mainstream efforts to recruit African Americans who could cover these events all but obliterated the power previously held by black newspapers. But one genre of black publications flourished. These were the black magazines that had been conceived as commercial enterprises rather than instruments of protest. Thus they were better able to adjust to the demands of an increasingly competitive marketplace.

Black Magazines

Early black newspapers so resembled magazines in tone and content that differentiation between the two often was based on frequency of publication. The first black magazines seem to have been subsidized organs that originated in the black church during the early 1840s. The first general-circulation magazine owned independently by African Americans and directed to them was the *Mirror of Liberty,* published by David Ruggles, a New Yorker who was a key figure in the Underground Railroad. Forwarding the cause of abolition, it was published from 1847 to 1849. Other magazines followed. Frederick Douglass, after publishing a series of newspapers, lent his name to an abolitionist magazine, *Douglass' Monthly*. Aimed primarily at British readers, it was issued from 1860 to 1862. A forerunner of popular modern periodicals was *Alexander's Magazine,* a national publication produced in Boston from 1905 to 1909. It emphasized the positive aspects of African-American life, featuring stories about outstanding individuals with commentary on cultural, educational, and political events.

The first African-American magazine to have a lasting impact was the *Crisis,* which was the brainchild of W. E. B. Du Bois. It first appeared in 1910, a year that resonates with significance because of the number of African-American organizations, institutions, and publications spawned at that time. Du Bois, who was one of the original incorporators of the NAACP, assumed the position of director of publications and research for that organization after several previous excursions into journalism. He used the *Crisis*—which remains the official organ of the NAACP—to criticize national policies that impeded the progress of blacks and to educate African Americans in the techniques of protest. After Du Bois resigned his post in 1934 following squabbles with the NAACP leadership, he launched other magazines, the most notable being *Phylon,* a scholarly journal published by Atlanta University, where he spent portions of his career as a professor and head of the sociology department.

Following Du Bois's inspired lead, the National Urban League published *Opportunity,* a journal that documented the literary and artistic accomplishments of the Harlem Renaissance and lasted until 1949. Another important periodical of the post–World War I period was *The Messenger,* a militantly socialist journal edited by Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, the latter of whom was to become the voice of black labor as head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. All of these publications depended on subsidies.

Commercial black magazines—meaning those that were fully self-sustaining through advertising as well as

subscriptions—did not surface until the 1940s, a period when general-circulation magazines were one of the main forms of home entertainment. The engaging combination of pictures and words had made *Life* a popular chronicler of the American Dream, while *Time* provided snappily written coverage of weekly events and *The Saturday Evening Post* reinforced mainstream values in fiction and nonfiction. The *Reader's Digest* offered extracts from the era's leading publications, such as the Ladies' Home Journal, which catered to the traditional interests of women. Yet African Americans remained invisible in the pages of these magazines, as they had been in mainstream newspapers.

A veritable revolution in black magazines began in 1942 when John H. Johnson began publishing *Negro Digest,* a monthly periodical roughly the size of the *Reader's Digest,* featuring stories about black accomplishments, news items of interest to African Americans, and provocative original articles by prominent whites addressing black issues. He used it as a cornerstone for the development of the most successful black publishing firm in history. Although other quality mass-circulation black magazines originated in the post–World War II period, Johnson outmaneuvered his competition and thus eliminated it by developing brilliant marketing strategies.

Johnson's climb from poverty to riches was a real Horatio Alger story. He was born poor in 1918 in a tiny Arkansas town on the banks of the Mississippi River. His father was killed in a sawmill accident when he was eight and his mother remarried a year later. Since the town offered no opportunities for a black child to be educated beyond the eighth grade, his mother, Gertrude Johnson Williams, moved her family north in 1933 and worked s a domestic to educate her son. When he graduated from Chicago's DuSable High School as the most outstanding student in the class of 1936, he was offered a scholarship to the University of Chicago but opted to attend part-time while working at Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, one of the nation's leading black businesses. One of his tasks was to produce the company's monthly newspaper. Another was to provide digests of news about blacks for the company's president, Harry Pace, who was Johnson's mentor.

When friends relished the nuggets of black-oriented news Johnson shared with them, he conceived the idea of publishing a monthly magazine based on this kind of material. Having no money, he used his mother's new furniture, with her permission, as collateral to borrow $500. With this sum, he paid for the mailing of an introductory subscription letter sent to Supreme's twenty thousand customers in 1942. The resultant magazine, *Negro Digest,* was so popular that Johnson was able to launch another magazine, *Ebony,* in 1945. Stressing the positive aspects of African-American life and using ample pictures to help tell stories, *Ebony* immediately attracted a large, enthusiastic audience.

Along the way, Johnson outstripped his most promising competitor, *Our World,* which was published by John P. Davis, a Harvard Law School graduate. It was launched in 1946, just after *Ebony,* and also was a quality picture magazine printed on slick paper. *Our World* amassed an impressive circulation of 251,599 by 1952, but went bankrupt in 1955 because it could not attract major advertising accounts, the lifeblood of commercial publications. Meanwhile, Johnson used every ounce of ingenuity he could muster to break down the barriers that led white manufacturers to dismiss black magazines as advertising venues. It was essential to his survival and eventually he devised a winning strategy. By Johnson's own admission, he triumphed not so much because he had a better magazine but because he was a more inventive businessman.

Johnson also was adept at changing his tactics as the times demanded. He discontinued *Negro Digest* in 1951 when *Ebony* had usurped its audience, replacing his first publication with *Jet,* a pocket-size weekly newsmagazine that has remained popular over the years. In 1965, when militancy was in vogue, he revived *Negro Digest,* changing its name to *Black World*. Under the editor Hoyt Fuller, it became a prestigious outlet for African-American literature and thought, documenting the developments of what some have called the second black Renaissance. By 1970, when the movement subsided and subscriptions began to fall off, Johnson again discontinued the magazine.

Responding to what he considered to be public taste, Johnson conceived and published an assortment of magazines over the years, among them *Tan Confessions* during the 1950s, which was transformed into *Black Stars* in the 1960s, but more significantly *Ebony Jr.,* an educational magazine for children produced during the late 1960s, *Ebony Africa,* which reflected the African independence movement but was discontinued after a few issues in 1965 when it foundered on differing national, linguistic, and political realities. But over six decades, Johnson has prevailed as the nation's—and world's—leading black publisher, his empire anchored by two stalwarts: *Ebony,* with an audited monthly circulation of 1,707,489 at the end of 2004, and *Jet,* with a weekly circulation of 967,909.

Some criticized Johnson's publications for relying too heavily on entertainment and light features while paying too little attention to major issues. But *Ebony* also had a serious side and provided a nurturing environment for talented black writers. Foremost among these was Lerone Bennett, who joined the staff in 1953. A scholar as well as

a journalist, Bennett produced several series of articles that interpreted and dramatized black history in a literary style accessible to the general reader. Most of these articles evolved into popular books, published by Johnson, becoming a mainstay of black studies programs instituted by American colleges and universities during the 1970s.

The legislative gains of the 1960s led to improvements in the overall educational and economic status of African Americans, providing fertile ground for the cultivation of magazines aimed at newly affluent black consumers. A dozen new magazines surfaced in 1970 alone. Two of them became major publications: *Essence* and *Black Enterprise*.

Courting Black Women

Essence: The Magazine for Today's Black Woman was conceived in New York City in the fall of 1968. Russell Goings, an assistant vice president for Shearson, Hamill & Company and one of the few black executives with a Wall Street investment banking and brokerage firm at that time, put together a list of up-and-coming young African-Americans in the corporate world. He then invited them to a series of meetings where they could put forth ideas for new businesses they might want to start. It was Jonathan Blount, age twenty-two, a salesman for New Jersey Bell Yellow Pages, who came up with the idea for a black women's magazine. The idea had come from his godmother. Goings introduced Blount to other young men who liked the idea and formed a team. (Few women attended those meetings.) As a result, Blount, joined by Ed Lewis, age twenty-eight, a star in the executive training program at First City Bank; Clarence Smith, thirty-five, a top salesman at Prudential Insurance; and Cecil Hollingsworth, twenty-eight, who had started a small printing brokerage firm, developed a proposal for a black women's magazine. They became known as the Hollingsworth group, with Ed Lewis serving as chief executive.

They assumed it would take $1.5 million to start the magazine, but being black and having no experience in publishing made it all but impossible for them to get backing. All four had to quit their jobs to concentrate full-time on the project, but presentations on Wall Street and elsewhere, attracted no backers. Somehow they got by on moderate loans that had to be paid back, leaving them little to work with. Finally, in May 1970, or nearly two years later, *Essence* made its debut on newsstands in 145 cities with a press run of 175,000 copies. The new magazine was chock-full of thoughtful articles on important issues by respected authorities along with a cornucopia of fiction, nonfiction, and essays by leading black writers. It was highlighted throughout by beautiful illustrations under the supervision of photographer Gordon Parks. This approach resonated immediately with the targeted *Essence* audience. However, theirs were not the only opinions that would determine whether the new magazine could survive. White media critics found *Essence* too militant, somehow intimidating. A white writer for *Time* magazine went so far as to state that "After a while, the young, urban, inquisitive and acquisitive Black woman for whom the magazine is intended is going to get tired of being reminded of the longstanding, dehumanizing rape of the Black woman in America." An advertising newsletter menacingly predicted: "Black women's magazines have a shaky future." These comments could drive away advertisers.

Sensing potential problems, the founders dismissed their editor in chief, Ruth N. Ross, a former assistant editor at *Newsweek* who had left her job—a rare one for women of any color in those days—to join their tiny staff. Ross also had come up with the name of *Essence* for the magazine. Originally, the founders had intended to call it *Sapphire*, long a pejorative term for a loud-mouthed black woman. Focus groups of women had voiced their displeasure, but the four young men had found it difficult to come up with a better name. Ross had done so, but her approach was deemed "too black for prime time" after the first issue. Furthermore, her old job at *Newsweek* had closed up after her. But *Essence* thrived. By 1992 *Essence* had an audited circulation of 900,000, and by the end of 2004, it had climbed to 1,063,645, surpassed only by *Ebony*.

Black Enterprise

For more than thirty years, *Black Enterprise* magazine, which was founded in 1970 by Earl G. Graves, a former administrative assistant to Robert F. Kennedy, has informed the public—and particularly African Americans—of improved financial opportunities available to them, thus encouraging greater black participation in the economic mainstream. It celebrates the achievements of black entrepreneurs by presenting documented lists of those who have been most successful. Its annual listing of the one hundred biggest black businesses provides a ready reference for determining the progress of African-American entrepreneurs. This magazine has a clear-cut mission and was nearly two years in the planning, with input from a board of advisors that included Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the Urban League. It is to get African Americans to learn more about money, how to get more of it and how to use it to their own advantage.

Unlike many magazines specializing in financial affairs, *Black Enterprise* takes an upbeat but down-to-earth approach, examining a full range of money matters, from

the issues of corporate America to how families handle their finances. *Black Enterprise's* annual listing of the nation's largest black businesses is a ready reference to the financial health and wealth of black capitalists. Much emphasis is placed on self-improvement and ample coverage is provided of regular people who have developed their own start-ups, even on a small scale. Complex matters are explained in understandable terms highlighted by photos of smiling African Americans who have managed to make money work for them. The formula has worked, for the magazine had attained an audited circulation of 508,489 by 2005.

With the expansion of the black middle class, a variety of new magazines were developed to address specific tastes. By 1990 at least twenty-five black-oriented magazines were being published in the United States. Most of the newcomers did not survive. Some deserved a better chance, most notably *Emerge,* a black newsmagazine launched in 1991 by Wilmer Ames, an African-American editor on the *Newsweek* staff. Uncertain in its thrust early on, *Emerge* acquired firmer footing when most of its stock was purchased by Black Entertainment Television (BET), which Bob Johnson had launched in 1980 in Washington, D.C., as the first black-owned national cable network. This was a mismatch of sorts, for BET featured dance videos and catered to tastes of those favoring urban hip-hop culture, while *Emerge* was a newsmagazine. *Emerge* reached its peak in the mid-to late 1990s when George Curry served as editor, offering fearlessly satiric assessments of politics and public affairs with articles by top black writers working in the mainstream. By 1999 it had a monthly circulation of 160,000, but BET wanted a bigger return for its investment and discontinued publication.

Mainstreaming

The last decades of the twentieth century brought a dramatic shift toward the mainstreaming of African-American journalists. Beginning in the 1970s, general-circulation daily newspapers and television stations recruited black journalists as they never had before. By 1990 nearly four thousand blacks were employed by daily newspapers, with a few establishing national reputations. Foremost among them was Carl T. Rowan, a senior statesman of journalism who had always worked in the mainstream, starting out in 1948 at the *Minneapolis Tribune*. He held high government posts in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, then became a syndicated columnist and television panelist. Rowan conducted a historic televised interview with Justice Thurgood Marshall on his retirement from the U.S. Supreme Court in 1991. William Raspberry of the *Washington Post* also gained broad recognition through his syndicated column. Other columnists who became widely known were Earl Caldwell of the *New York Daily News;* Bob Herbert, who became the first African-American columnist for the *New York Times;* Les Payne of *Newsday;* Dorothy Gilliam of the *Washington Post;* Chuck Stone of the *Philadelphia Daily News;* and Clarence Page of the *Chicago Tribune*.

The Gannett Corporation, which was the nation's largest newspaper chain, publishing eighty-seven dailies throughout the country as well as the national *USA Today,* outstripped others by instituting a strong affirmative action program. Under chairman Allen Neuharth, Gannett enforced strict rules ensuring that minorities were included in coverage and that they were consulted as sources for stories that did not necessarily pertain to race. Through the Gannett chain, Robert Maynard, who had spent ten years at the *Washington Post* as a national correspondent, ombudsman, and editorial writer, became the first publisher of a general-market daily, the *Oakland Tribune,* in 1979. Maynard went on to purchase the paper in 1983, another first. Also under the Gannett system, Pam Johnson, who held a Ph.D. in communications, was named publisher of the *Ithaca Journal* in upstate NewYork in 1981, becoming the first African-American woman to control the affairs of a mainstream daily newspaper.

Television

Similar changes took place in television, though they did not extend to the higher levels of management. The first black journalist on television was Louis Lomax, a newspaperman and college teacher who entered the relatively new medium in 1958 at WNTA-TV in New York. The author of five books, Lomax produced television documentaries before his death in an automobile accident in 1970. Because of the visual nature of television, it often appeared that blacks were making more progress there than in print journalism. Some shifted easily from one medium to the other. In 1963, a year after Mal Goode became the first African-American commentator on network television news, Bill Matney moved from the *Detroit News,* a daily newspaper, to NBC, where he covered the White House for the network from 1970 to 1972. Yet no African American held a major position in television until 1978, when Max Robinson was the first of his race to become a regular co-anchor for a prime-time network television newscast, heading the national desk in Chicago for the *ABC Nightly News*. Robinson left the network five years later after being demoted and died of AIDS in 1988, but he served as a role model for young blacks aspiring to careers in television news. One of the most durable of network TV newscasters was Ed Bradley, who joined CBS as a stringer in the Paris

bureau in 1971, then became a White House correspondent in1976. He later anchored the *CBS Sunday Night News* and later went on to attract a loyal following in his long-term position as one of the chief correspondents for the top-rated *60 Minutes,* a position he still held in 2005. In terms of all-around popularity, the leader was Bryant Gumbel, who shuttled between news and entertainment as host of NBC's *Today* show. Although he had been with the show for fifteen years by 1992, it took him five more years to convince NBC brass to let him take the show to Africa, the only continent other then Antarctica that they had not visited. He was able to do so by compiling a mountain of meticulous research and planning on how it could be done. The weeklong series cost more than $2 million to produce but won an award for Gumbel. His struggle to pull it off highlighted Americans' lack of interest in Africa and its people. An informal survey of network coverage found that Africa got less coverage than California whales trapped in Arctic ice or a virus among North Sea seals.

Progress in television was more uneven for women. Charlayne Hunter-Gault, a former *New Yorker* staffer and *New York Times* reporter, became one of the most visible women journalists on TV in 1978 when she became New York correspondent for the *McNeil-Lehrer Report,* on the Public Broadcast System's nightly news program. During her tenure there, she also became the first African-American woman to anchor a national news program. When Hunter-Gault left PBS to take up residence in South Africa, the public network acquired another heavy hitter. Gwen Ifill, a lawyer and journalist, had been White House correspondent for the *New York Times* before she left in 1994 to join NBC News. After five years at NBC, she was hired by PBS as moderator and managing editor of Washington Week in Review and correspondent for Jim Lehrer's *Nightly NewsHour,* making her the most prominent woman in public television.

Change moved at a slower pace in commercial TV, but by the late 1980s it had become common for local stations to feature black women as anchors, for they were "two-fers," qualifying as diversity hires because of both race and gender. As the twenty-first century settled in, the formula was modified to include Asian and Latino women, sometimes paired with an African-American woman or man as a featured reporter or weather commentator, especially in urban areas. But it was difficult for these women to break into the networks as correspondents. The most successful black woman journalist on television was Carole Simpson, who took a major step in 1989 at ABC, when she became the first African-American woman to anchor an evening newscast on commercial television, appearing on Sunday nights. But these gains were limited. As in print journalism, the real power in broadcasting is held by executive producers and other top managers, who work behind a white curtain where they determine who or what will make it onto the air. In a 1982 survey of the nation's three networks, Michael Massing found that no blacks held high-level management positions. The highest job held by an African American at ABC was an assignment editor on a nightly news show, while at CBS and NBC the top posts were held by bureau chiefs. At all the networks, about 5 percent of the producers and associated producers were black, many in lower-level jobs. The efforts of black reporters were often overshadowed by general policies that resulted in a predominance of negative portrayals of African Americans in the media. While only 15 percent of the poor people in the United States in 1990 were black, newspaper and television coverage, in particular, perpetuated the impression that most criminals, prostitutes, drug addicts, welfare mother, illiterates, and homeless persons were black. On the other hand, hardworking African Americans and those who constituted a large and growing middle class were glossed over. In newspapers, as on television, the problem could be traced to monochromatic leadership. A survey conducted by the American Society of Newspapers in 1985 revealed that almost 95 percent of the journalists on daily newspapers were white and the 92 percent of the nation's newspapers did not have a single minority person in a news executive position. Fifty-four percent of the newspapers had no minority employees at all.

Yet progress was made. A study released in 1999 showed that the percentage of minority television reporters had doubled within that decade. In 1998 they represented 20 percent of those broadcasting as compared to 10 percent in 1991. But there was a disturbing consequence. The increase in black, brown, and tan faces on television has caused many white Americans to believe that all inequities had been corrected. Some even contended that talented whites—and particularly white men—were being denied opportunities they deserved to meet demands for diversity. This led to strained relations in many of the nation's newsrooms.

Leaving the Fold

During the many years when African-American journalists worked almost entirely within the black press, their salaries had not been particularly handsome and the white world had not paid much attention to them, but they commonly had gone about their tasks with a communal spirit, a shared sense of knowing that they were doing something that might make life better for their people. Be-

sides, they could have fun while doing it, for their co-workers as well as the people they usually covered shared a common culture. Of course, there were rivalries at work and some of the same irritations that might be found on any job, but if they got undesirable assignments, were paid less, or passed over for promotions, they could be certain that it was not because of their race. That one factor was a major concern for many African-American journalists who moved into the mainstream. By the early twenty-first century, most black journalists were to be found there.

On a Difficult Course

Life could be uncomfortable at times in the mainstream. Cut off from the fold, fragmented, and dogged by a sense of isolation, these journalists were concerned about their overall ability to effect better and more balanced coverage of African Americans in newsrooms where this might not be a priority. Many were troubled by what they perceived to be an overall assumption of black inferiority and an expectation that their work should emphasize black pathology. Some black journalists were challenged to prove their objectivity, or ability to assume a "white" perspective in their work by digging up dirt about black politicians and leaders, although white reporters were not asked to prove their objectivity. It was assumed. Often black reporters found themselves in a bind, trapped in an uncomfortable place where they would be more likely to achieve success on the job if they wrote negative stories about their own people. This led black people to turn against these journalists, at times venting their rage in public meetings. But one ambitious young journalist rode the matter of black pathology to fame—or infamy.

Janet Cooke, a talented, twenty-five-year-old writer at *The Washington Post* won a Pulitzer Prize in 1980 for her feature story about an eight-year-old boy named Jimmy whose mother's boyfriend regularly injected him with heroin, thus feeding the child's addiction, which the live-in lover had instigated. Cooke said she had witnessed the scene. The story appeared on the front page of the *Post* and was picked up by hundreds of other papers, making Cooke an instant journalistic star. When it was discovered that Cooke had fabricated both Jimmy and the story, she was condemned by the public and had to return the Pulitzer, which was the first won by an individual African-American woman journalist. Cooke's caper led many in the journalistic establishment to question the credibility of African-American journalists as a whole, although white journalists were not regarded similarly when those of their color were revealed to be fabricators.

When a similar incident occurred several years later, some feared that black journalists, as a whole, again would have to bear the burden for the misdeeds of an individual. Jayson Blair, a promising twenty-seven-year-old *New York Times* reporter, had been on the fast track, working as a roving national correspondent, after courting the favor of some of the paper's top figures. But in May 2003, it was revealed that Blair had fabricated much of the material in high-profile stories he had written, some related to moving events taking place on the homefront, in other parts of the nation, during the Iraqi war. He had produced them without leaving his apartment, borrowing material from other publications and creating his own details. His feat, which was examined and analyzed extensively, especially by the *Times,* was a major embarrassment to that institution. Blair would be remembered as a miscreant who not only destroyed his own career, but who also took down the *Times'* editor, Howell Raines, who resigned, and the first African-American managing editor at the *Times,* Gerald Boyd, who also resigned. Though some conservatives dubbed Blair the "poster child for affirmative action," most pundits of the press linked his misdeeds to a culture in some high-pressure journalistic institutions that places such a premium on fame that people will do almost anything to get it.

NABJ

As African-American journalists moved into the mainstream, they took major steps to address their problems. They realized that there could be power in numbers, so they organized. Forty-four African-American newsmen and newswomen founded the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) on December 12, 1975, at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. They came from both black and mainstream firms, from print media (newspapers and magazine) and broadcast (radio and television). Unlike some journalism organizations, NABJ limited membership to professionals involved in gathering and disseminating the news, excluding professors and those in public relations. Chuck Stone, a flamboyant journalistic figure who had been an editor of several black newspapers, was the guiding force behind creation of the NABJ and served as its first president. At the time, he was a columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News.* After two years the organization had a membership of more than a thousand. Its leaders went on to develop a scholarship program for journalism students, to present annual awards to outstanding journalists of the year, and to hold lavish annual conventions in various cities where there were member chapters. These affairs included job fairs, panel discussions, speeches by luminaries, screen debuts, and live performances by musical stars. One of the major accomplishments of NABJ has been to have members of

its board meet with leaders of the three other major organizations of ethnic journalists: the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the Asian American Journalists Association, and the Native American Journalists Association. The objective is to work in consort and thus to prevent negative forces in the mainstream from pitting them against each other. These sessions resulted in joint conventions called UNITY, held in 1994 at the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta. Six years in the making and budgeted at $1,000,000, the event brought together 6,000 members of all four organizations to share their cultures and concerns. UNITY continued to meet at five-year intervals, with conferences in 1999 and 2004.

Clouds on the Horizon

Wayne Dawkins, who documents NABJ's history, noticed something unexpected when he checked their financial records at the end of 1999. Membership in the organization had reached an all-time high of 3,321 in August 1997 but had dropped to 2,456, down 26 percent in only a year and a half. Perhaps it was just a glitch resulting from the high cost of members having to travel to conventions in western cities for two consecutive years, far from the East and Midwest, where most members live. But this drop-off more likely was a manifestation of a trend others have noticed. Numbers of African Americans and other minorities have been leaving journalism almost as fast as other members of their groups have been entering the field. A 1978 survey by the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund concluded that only one in five minorities who earned journalism degrees got jobs. Some get them, but their unemployment rate is three times that of their white peers. A 1985 study by the IJE, a leader in educating and placing minorities in journalism jobs, tracked a group of graduates over ten years and found that 40 percent of them were planning on leaving the field because of a perceived glass ceiling that did not allow them opportunities to grow, to move up. These comments might be considered in the context of a rancorous and heavily-covered trial in 1987 which grew out of a federal discrimination suit filed by four African-American journalists—three men and one woman—against their employer, the New York *Daily News,* at that time, the nation's most widely circulated newspaper. Some in the industry considered it a suit against the whole industry. The issue was not mere employment or even salary, though it was revealed during the investigation related to the suit that blacks and Hispanics were generally paid less than whites in comparable positions, regardless of performance. But the complaint by the *Daily News* employees had more to do with promotion, recognition, and opportunities to distinguish themselves. They prevailed and were given a total of $3.1 million in damages and a promise that the *Daily News* would implement an affirmative action program to increase the number of black reporters. Though some considered this a victory, the plaintiffs were permanently scarred by the experience. Joan Shepard, a forty-five-year-old cultural editor who was the lone woman in the case, was found alone in her home in 1998, dead for an unknown length of time, after struggling to establish her own restaurant newsletter.

A Final Note

Progress toward more integrated media seemed to slow after the end of the twentieth century. A study conducted by the Knight Foundation in 2005 found that 73 percent of the larger American newspapers employed fewer non-whites in that year than they had in some earlier year dating back to 1990. They included some of the most highly respected, among them *The New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Baltimore Sun* and *USA Today.* This finding also coincides with the defection of younger journalists from the field, due to frustration at lack of advancement. But Herbert Lowe, a courts reporter for *Newsday* and president of NABJ confirms this finding, saying that much of it has to do with lack of advancement. But other experienced journalists stress a need for those who are dissatisfied to understand that it's not enough just to do a job and to do it well. They have to learn how to play the game, to politick on their own behalf.

Those who are dissatisfied also might try the Black Press. More than two hundred black community newspapers and two dailies are being published, with some, like the *Sacramento Observer* being robust and respected. Someone concerned about preservation might help to restore a historic institution, *The Chicago Defender,* which celebrated its centennial on May 5, 2005. It has been struggling to survive, with circulation down to 15,000 for four weekday editions and 19,000 for a weekend edition. But Tom Picou, long the key executive of the *Defender* and chair of the corporate concern that now owns the newspaper has announced plans to move into electronic media by presenting podcasts of news and interviews.

However, Black media itself might be forced to undergo some changes. In June 2005 the New York Times Company announced that it intended to publish a newspaper for African Americans in Gainesville, Florida, called the *Gainesville Guardian*. The new paper would result from the conversion of a newspaper the Times Company already owns in that area, *The Gainsville Sun.* A black editor already had been chosen and was participating in the planning. The question raised by African-American publishers was whether a newspaper could be considered

"black" if it was not owned by blacks. Their response was a resounding "no" One publisher called such publications "white papers in blackface," conveying memories of the insults of minstrelsy. Nonetheless a precedent already had been set. On January 4, 2005, Time Inc. had announced that it had agreed to buy the 51 percent of Essence Communications Partners, the publisher of the magazines *Essence* and *Suede,* that it did not already own. A story in the *New York Times* business section noted that in 2000 Time Inc., which is owned by Time Warner, had purchased 49 percent of Essence Communications. Ed Lewis, founder and chief executive of Essence Communications, was quoted as saying that in the four years of partnership with Time Inc. he had come to trust the company and that he believed that its strategic might would help *Essence* and *Suede* reach more readers. *Black Enterprise* immediately shot back with an article potting: "Are Black Women Losing Their Voice?" The debate is likely to ensue.

See also Abbott, Robert Sengstacke; *Anglo-African, The*; *Baltimore Afro-American*; Black Press in Brazil; *Black World/Negro Digest*; *Chicago Defender*; *Christian Recorder*; Cornish, Samuel E.; *Crisis, The*; Delany, Martin R.; *Ebony*; Forten, James; Fortune, T. Thomas; Douglass, Frederick; *Freedom's Journal*; *Guardian, The*; *Jet*; *Liberator, The*; *Messenger, The*; *Negro World*; *North Star*; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; *Phylon*; *Pittsburgh Courier*; Schuyler, George S.; Trotter, William Monroe; Washington, Booker T.; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; *Woman's Era*

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PHYL GARLAND (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Journal of African American History, The

As soon as he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History), the African-American historian Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) hoped to begin publishing a "Quarterly Journal of Negro History." Prior to Woodson's establishment of this publication, white historians controlled the production and distribution of scholarship in black history through the editorial policies they formulated for scholarly journals. In January 1916, just four months after the association was founded, the first issue of the *Journal of Negro History* was published. Several members of Woodson's executive council believed that publishing the journal was too risky, and maintained that he should have obtained greater financial support before launching the new publication. Woodson, however, would not delay publication, for he believed that fund-raising would be easier if potential subscribers and contributors could see the product of his labors. Yet throughout his long career as editor, Woodson had to devote an inordinate amount of his time to fund-raising for the journal, as it was a continual drain on his financial resources. He managed to keep it going and never missed an issue during his thirty-five-year career as editor.

The journal was the centerpiece of Woodson's research program and provided black scholars with an outlet for the publication of their research. Without it, far fewer black scholars would have been able to publish their work. It also served as an outlet for the publication of articles written by white scholars whose interpretations differed from the mainstream of the historical profession.

Through the journal, Woodson promoted black history, combated racist historiography written by white scholars, and provided a vehicle for the publication of articles on the black experience in Africa and the Americas. Woodson formulated an editorial policy that was very inclusive. Topically, the journal provided coverage on all aspects of the black experience: slavery, the slave trade, black culture, the family, religion, the treatment of slaves, resistance to slavery, antislavery and abolitionism, and biographical articles on prominent African Americans. Chronologically, articles covered the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. Interested amateurs, as well as scholars, published important historical articles in the journal, and Woodson took care to keep this balance between contributors. Most of the early contributors were his black colleagues and associates from the Washington, D.C., public schools, Howard University, and the organizations with which he was affiliated. When he lacked enough articles, Woodson may have written articles and signed his friends' names. He also wrote the majority of book reviews in early issues, sometimes leaving them unsigned or using pseudonyms.

The authors who published in the journal were pioneers of interpretation and method in black history. They used many of the techniques that were later adopted by social historians, beginning in the 1960s. Authors pointed to the positive achievements and contributions of African Americans during slavery, emphasized black struggles against slavery, uncovered the rich cultural traditions that blacks maintained in bondage, and challenged the widely held belief in black inferiority. Many scholars published significant articles that interpreted slavery from the slaves' point of view, rather than from the masters' perspective. This interpretation facilitated a shift in historiography in the mainstream of the historical profession, which would begin to adopt this perspective only in the late 1950s. Among the pathbreaking articles published in the journal were those of Herbert Aptheker, Melville Herskovits, Arthur Link, Kenneth Stampp, and, most notably, Richard Hofstader, whose critique of historian U. B. Phillips appeared in 1944. Also notable was black historians' emphasis on black culture created during slavery. While recognizing the harshness of slavery, these scholars argued that blacks had enough autonomy to create distinctive institutions. They also took note of the African background and the influence of African culture on African-American culture.

Among the many black scholars who published in the *Journal of Negro History* in its early years were John Hope Franklin, Lorenzo Johnson Greene, Rayford Logan, Benjamin Quarles, Charles Wesley, and Eric Williams. Woodson also published more articles by and about women than any of the other major historical journals. He highlighted the publication of documentary source materials that he and his associates had uncovered while doing research; by 1925, at least one-quarter of the journal's space was devoted to the publication of transcripts of primary source materials, thereby encouraging their use by scholars who otherwise would not have known about them.

Without Woodson's efforts, contemporary scholars would have fewer resources for studying African-American history. Woodson retired as editor of the journal in 1950. He was succeeded by Rayford W. Logan (1950–1951), William M. Brewer (1951–1970), W. Augustus Low (1970–1974), Lorraine A. Williams (1975–1976), Alton Hornsby Jr. (1976–2003), and V. P. Franklin, who assumed the editorship in 2003. In 2001 the name of the journal was changed to the *Journal of African American History*.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; Woodson, Carter G.

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JACQUELINE GOGGIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Judaism

Estimates of the number of black people in the United States who consider themselves Jews or Hebrews range from 40,000 to 500,000. These people can be divided into three groups: individuals who convert to Judaism and join predominantly white congregations, often as a result of intermarriage, such as Julius Lester and the late Sammy Davis Jr.; African Americans who trace their Jewish heritage back to slavery and who worship in either black or white synagogues; and blacks whose attraction to Judaism is based on a racial identification with the biblical Hebrews.

The third group is by far the largest, but it is made up of many independent denominations that have a wide variety of beliefs and practices. The best known are the Black Jews of Harlem, the Temple Beth-El congregations, the Nation of Yahweh, the Original Hebrew Israelite Nation, the Israeli School of Universal Practical Knowledge, the Church of God, and the Nubian Islamic Hebrews. Reconstructionist Black Jews and Rastafarians are two groups whose relationship to Judaism or Hebrewism is so limited that they are best thought of as movements basically rooted in Christianity that have an affinity to the Old Testament and Jewish symbols.

Each of the major groups is unique and will be discussed separately, although they generally have the following characteristics in common: They believe that the ancient Hebrews were black people, that they are their descendants, and that their immediate ancestors were forcibly converted from Judaism to Christianity during slavery. In addition, they believe that they are not converts to Judaism but have discovered or returned to their true religion. On the other hand, they believe that white Jews are either converts to their way of life, descendants of one of the biblical people who they believe started the white race (Edomites, Canaanites, Japhites, or lepers), or that they are imposters altogether. This is the principal reason that some groups consider the term "Jew" anathema and insist on the biblical terms Hebrew or Israelite, or more commonly, Hebrew Israelite. They believe that the enslavement of and discrimination against African Americans were predicted in the Bible and are therefore a combination of divine punishment upon the children of Israel for their sins and the result of the blatant aggression of white people. Hebrew Israelites are messianic and believe that when the messiah comes, retribution will be handed down upon all sinners—but particularly upon white people for their oppression of people of color. Beyond these similarities—which a few Hebrew Israelites strongly oppose—the groups can differ widely according to the degree to which they follow rabbinic traditions, use Hebrew, conduct services, follow dress codes, and incorporate Christian or Islamic beliefs into their theology.

There have been three main phases in the use of elements of the Jewish religion in African-American worship. From exposure to evangelical Protestantism in the early nineteenth century, many African Americans identified with the enslavement, emancipation, and nation building of the Hebrews as depicted in the Bible. Old Testament imagery was a staple of sermons and spirituals. The best known of the latter is undoubtedly "Go Down, Moses," in which the release of the Hebrews from Egyptian captivity is seen as a sign of the redemption of blacks from slavery. This connection to the Jewish people, often strengthened by connections to Pan-African movements such as the one led by Marcus Garvey, provided the impetus for more formal identification as Jews, often outside of a Christian context, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the 1960s, another period of active black nationalism, there has been renewed identification with elements of the Jewish religion by a number of African-American religious groups. Many of these groups are

quite eclectic in their theology and religious borrowings, and are often hostile to mainstream Judaism.

The Black Jews of Harlem is one of the oldest, largest, and best known Hebrew Israelite groups in the United States. The denomination was founded in New York City by Rabbi Arnold J. Ford (1877–1935) and Rabbi Wentworth Arthur Matthew (1892–1973). Ford was the musical director of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The Black Jews based their nationalism of Ethiopianism on the belief that biblical prophecies about Ethiopia, notably Psalm 68:31 "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands," referred to Ethiopia in connection with the regathering of the Children of Israel as applied specifically to black people. To achieve this Ford tried to create a black Jewish denomination based on beliefs and customs he learned from European Jews. During the early period the group used the term Ethiopian Hebrew rather than Hebrew Israelite. Also, whereas Ford and Matthew emphatically believed that the ancient Hebrews were black, they were less certain about the origins of white Jews and would sometimes refer to them as "our fairer brothers."

In 1923 Ford opened a congregation called Beth B'nai Abraham (House of the Children of Abraham) for black people in Harlem. Rabbi Matthew, who had founded The Commandment Keepers Congregation in Harlem four years earlier, became Ford's student. In 1933 Ford ordained Matthew before leaving for Ethiopia, where he lived the remainder of his life. Matthew quickly instituted the Jewish knowledge he gained from Ford into his services. In the late 1940s he created the Ethiopian Hebrew Rabbinical College in New York City, where he trained and ordained twenty-two other rabbis who carried their blend of black nationalist and orthodox European Judaism to black communities throughout the United States and the Caribbean. By the 1990s, this community was being led by two students of Matthew: Rabbi Levi Ben Levy, who is the chief rabbi of the Israelite Board of Rabbis, and Rabbi Yhoshua Ben Yahonatan, who is the president of the Israelite Council. The rabbis and congregation affiliated with these bodies have limited but cordial relations with mainstream white Jewish congregations in New York. The Black Jews generally conduct their services in both Hebrew and English, observe Jewish holidays such as Hanukkah and Purim, the high holy days, and ceremonies such as Bar and Bat Mitzvah. By the early 1990s, the size of the group was probably less than five thousand, though higher estimates are sometimes given.

The Temple Beth-El congregations, also known as the Church of God and Saints of Christ (CGSC), were founded by William Saunders Crowdy (1847–1908). Crowdy was born a slave and fought in the Civil War. In 1893 he had a prophetic vision on his farm in Guthrie, Oklahoma, that told him to start a new church that had no affiliation with any religious denomination. The specific doctrines of the church evolved over time and were based on Crowdy's revelations, which he called the "Seven Keys." Crowdy taught that black people were part of the "lost tribes of Israel" and that the Hebraic Laws of the Old Testament, such as Passover, were to be obeyed. Unlike the Black Jews of Harlem, Crowdy did not abandon the use of the New Testament or a belief in Jesus Christ, and he continued practices such as baptism and ritual foot washing. In 1896 he founded his first church in Lawrence, Kansas. Two years later the first CGSC general assembly was held. By 1900 the church had five thousand members. After his death in 1908 the church suffered a split. As a whole, the church was at its height in 1936, when there were over 213 tabernacles in the United States. By the 1990s the number of tabernacles had declined to fifty-three with seven branches in South Africa. Over the years the Christian component of the Beth-El tabernacle has diminished and the Jewish elements have been augmented. The Temple's national headquarters is in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and its international headquarters is on a five-hundred-acre farm in Suffolk, Virginia. It has an estimated membership of 38,000.

The Church of God was founded by Prophet F. S. Cherry. The anthropologist Arthur Huff Fauset describes this group in *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (1944). Fauset reports that this group was located at 2132 Nicholas Street in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The church had fewer than three hundred members at its founding in the early twentieth century, and there was no mention of affiliate congregations. All that is known about Prophet Cherry is that he was born in the South and worked as a seaman and on the railroads, which allowed him to travel throughout the United States and to many parts of the world. He was self-educated and taught his followers that they were the original Hebrews. They believed that Jesus was the messiah and used the Old and New Testaments in their services. Hebrew and Yiddish were taught in the church's schools, but white Jews were generally thought to be imposters. Saturday was considered to be the Sabbath Day, but services were also held on Sundays. The group celebrated Passover and did not recognize either Christmas or Easter. The eating of pork was prohibited among members of the group, as was the taking of pictures. Prophet Cherry predicted that the new millennium would take place in the year 2000. Whether the denomination still exists is unknown.

The Nation of Yahweh, also known as the Temple of Love, was founded by Hulon Mitchell (1935–), who calls

himself Yahweh Ben Yahweh ("God the Son of God"). Yahweh Ben Yahweh was raised in a Pentecostal church; in the 1960s he joined the Nation of Islam before leaving it to start his congregation of Hebrew Israelites in the 1970s. Members of this group believe that the black people of America are the "lost sheep of the House of Israel." They teach that white people are "real devils" and will be destroyed when God restores black people to power. Members of this group are encouraged to wear long white robes and they use the Star of David—though they also believe in Jesus. They believe that black people should not participate in political processes and that there is a government-sponsored plan to commit genocide against African people. By the 1990s the Nation of Yahweh had congregations in thirty-five cities in the United States. Its headquarters is in the Miami area, where members own many businesses, housing units, a printing press, a fleet of buses, and a school. The Nation of Yahweh has been indicted on a number of state and federal charges ranging from extortion to child abuse. In 1992 its leader, Yahweh Ben Yahweh, was convicted of murder and racketeering and sentenced to prison. His followers saw the conviction as a case of political oppression, and most have remained loyal to the group.

The Original Hebrew Israelite Nation was founded by Ben Ammi Carter in Chicago during the 1960s. They attempt to follow what they conceive of as an ancient form of Judaism that includes polygamy. They have developed a unique garb that resembles African and Middle Eastern attire, which includes colorful robes and knitted skullcaps, or turbans. Members of this group are strict vegetarians and believe that they are witnessing the "end of the Gentile age," which is taken to mean the end of a period of white rule. This is the only group of Hebrew Israelites that is Zionist and has attempted to immigrate to Israel. In 1969 the first of 1,500 Hebrew Israelites left Liberia, where they had established a temporary settlement, to found a permanent settlement in Dimona, Israel. Since their identity as Jews was questioned by Israeli authorities, they have not been granted Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return, which guarantees citizenship to persons who are regarded as Jews under rabbinic law. However, some members of this group are allowed to work and own businesses in various cities around the country and perform in a popular musical group at Israeli festivals. As a whole, members of this group have very little contact with either Israelis, Arabs, or Ethiopians—though they still have followers in the United States.

The Nubian Islamic Hebrew Mission, also known as the Ansaaru Allah Community, traces its origin to Mohammed Ahmed Ibn Adulla (1845–1885), the leader of a revolt against British occupation of the Sudan in the 1880s. Mohammed Ahmed was hailed by his followers as the Mahdi, the predicted Khaliyfah (successor) to the Prophet Mohammed. In 1993 the group was lead by As Sayyid Al Imaan Isa Al Haadi Al Hadhi, the alleged great-grandson of the founder. The group organized in the United States in the late 1960s. They believe that they are both Hebrew and Muslim because both nationalities trace their lineage to Abraham, who they believe was a black man. They profess to observe all the laws and holidays of the Torah and the Koran—though Arabic and Islamic beliefs seem to be more prominent. The group's emblem is the Star of David and the inverted crescent. Their headquarters is in Brooklyn, New York, and they have followers in many cities throughout the United States. Members of this group do not recognize Orthodox Muslims as true followers of Islam, nor do they recognize white Jews as Hebrews. They repudiate the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, and Wallace D. Mohammed as spreading a false Islam to black people. They teach that Abraham is the father of their nation, Jesus was the Messiah, and Mohammed was the last prophet. Members of this group wear white robes, and many are vendors on the streets of New York, where they sell incense, idols, and books, and recruit new members.

The Israeli School of Universal Practical Knowledge was founded in Harlem during the 1960s and claims to have branches throughout the United States. Two of their leaders are Ta-Har, who describes himself as a high priest, and Peter Sherrod, who runs the school. Like most of the other Black Jewish groups, they believe that black people are the only true Hebrew Israelites. White people are generally thought to be evil according to the teachings of this group. They are a paramilitary organization, and their mostly male followers dress in flamboyant garb that is either African in design or altered military fatigues. Their dress is often adorned with big belt buckles and emblems of different kinds, and they often wear turbans and combat boots. They also carry large staffs or wear swords or daggers. They propagate their message from street corners in New York and by means of a public-access cable TV program called "It's Time to Wake Up," which began in the early 1990s. They teach that the Twelve Tribes of Israel correspond to "Negroes (African Americans), West Indians, Haitians, Dominicans, Panamanians, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, North American Indians, Seminole Indians, Brazilians, Argentineans, and Mexicans." They believe that the scriptures predict a violent confrontation between black and white people in which black people will be victorious, and the ancient nation of Israel will be restored.

Rastafarians are sometimes considered a sect of Hebrew Israelites because they believe that Haile Selassie was

the messiah and a descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They place particular emphasis on the Old Testament laws concerning the Nazzerites, who were not allowed to cut their hair. This practice has developed into the wearing of dreadlocks that have been popularized by reggae musicians since the 1970s. There are also references to the Lion of Judah and the Star of David in their music.

There are a number of other small religious groups not discussed here that have more in common with Pentecostal "holiness" churches or purely political organizations, which make use of some Jewish elements in their worship. However, with many of these other groups, Judaism or Hebraisms are a minor part of their doctrine and ritual.

See also Pan-Africanism; Rastafarianism; Religion

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SHOLOMO BEN LEVY (1996)
Updated Bibliography

Just, Ernest

August 14, 1883
October 27, 1941

Zoologist and educator Ernest Everett Just was born in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of Charles Fraser Just, a carpenter and wharf builder, and his wife, Mary Mathews Cooper Just, a teacher and civic leader. His early education was received at a school run by his mother, the Frederick Deming, Jr. Industrial School. In 1896 he entered the teacher-training program of the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College (South Carolina State College) in Orangeburg, South Carolina. After graduating in 1899 he attended Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire (1900–1903), before proceeding to Dartmouth College. At Dartmouth he majored in biology and minored in Greek and history. He received an A.B., graduating magna cum laude, in 1907.

Essentially, two career options were available to an African American with Just's academic background: teaching in a black institution or preaching in a black church. Just chose the former, beginning his career in the fall of 1907 as an instructor in English and rhetoric at Howard University. In 1909 he taught English and biology, and a year later he assumed a permanent full-time commitment in zoology as part of a general revitalization of the science curriculum at Howard. He also taught physiology in the medical school. A devoted teacher, he served as faculty adviser to a group that was trying to establish a nationwide fraternity of black students. The Alpha chapter of Omega Psi Phi was organized at Howard in 1911, and Just became its first honorary member. In 1912 he married a fellow Howard faculty member, Ethel Highwarden. They had three children—Margaret, Highwarden, and Maribel.

Meanwhile, Just laid plans to pursue scientific research. In 1909 he started studying at the Marine Biological Laboratory (MBL) in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, under the eminent scientist Frank Rattray Lillie, MBL director and head of the zoology department at the University of Chicago. He also served as Lillie's research assistant. Their relationship quickly blossomed into a full and equal scientific collaboration. By the time Just earned a Ph.D. in zoology at the University of Chicago in 1916, he had already coauthored a paper with Lillie and written several on his own.

The two worked on fertilization in marine animals. Just's first paper, "The Relation of the First Cleavage Plane to the Entrance Point of the Sperm," appeared in *Biological Bulletin* in 1912 and was cited frequently as a classic and authoritative study. He went on to champion a theory—the fertilizin theory—first proposed by Lillie, who postulated the existence of a substance called "fertilizin" as the essential biochemical catalyst in the fertilization of the egg by the sperm. In 1915 Just was awarded the NAACP's first Spingarn Medal in recognition of his scientific contributions and "foremost service to his race."

Science was for Just a deeply felt avocation, an activity he looked forward to doing each summer at the MBL as a welcome respite from his heavy teaching and administrative responsibilities at Howard. Under the circumstances his productivity was extraordinary. Within ten years (1919–1928), he published thirty-five articles, mostly relating to his studies on fertilization. Though proud of his

output, he yearned for a position or environment in which he could pursue his research full-time.

In 1928 Just received a substantial grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund that allowed him a change of environment and longer stretches of time for his research. His first excursion, in 1929, took him to Italy, where he worked for seven months at the Stazione Zoologica in Naples. He traveled to Europe ten times over the course of the next decade, staying for periods ranging from three weeks to two years. He worked primarily at the Stazione Zoologica; the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Biologie in Berlin; and the Station Biologique in Roscoff, France.

In Europe Just wrote a book synthesizing many of the scientific theories, philosophical ideas, and experimental results of his career. The book was published under the title *Biology of the Cell Surface* in 1939. Its thesis, that the ectoplasm or cell surface has a fundamental role in development, did not receive much attention at the time but later became a major focus of scientific investigation. Also in 1939 he published a compendium of experimental advice under the title *Basic Methods for Experiments on Eggs of Marine Animals*. In 1940 Just was interned briefly in France following the German invasion and then released to return to America, where he died a year later. Just was featured on a U.S. postage stamp in 1996.

See also Howard University; Science

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KENNETH R. MANNING (1996)

Karenga, Maulana

1941

The activist and educator Ronald McKinley Everett, later known as Maulana Karenga, was born in Parsonburg, Maryland, the youngest of fourteen children of a Baptist minister. He moved to Los Angeles in 1959 and received his B.A. (1963) and M.A. (1964) in political science from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He became active in local civil rights battles and in 1965 he helped rebuild the Watts community following the riots earlier that year. At that time he embraced cultural nationalism and adopted the African name Maulana (master teacher) Karenga (keeper of the tradition). In 1966 Karenga founded US (indicating *us* as opposed to *them*), a small vanguard nationalist organization that maintained that a black cultural renaissance was the first step in the revolutionary struggle for black power.

Karenga was deeply influenced by Pan-Africanists such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, the American W. E. B. Du Bois, the Negritude movement epitomized by Senegal's Leopold Senghor, and the African socialism pioneered by Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. Domestically, Karenga was influenced by the black nationalist tradition epitomized by Marcus Garvey, the Nation of Islam, and especially Malcolm X. To achieve true liberation, Karenga increasingly argued, African Americans needed to embrace a culture that reflected their African heritage. Karenga called this ideology Kawaida. In effect, Kawaida stressed that black liberation could not be achieved unless black people rejected the cultural values of the dominant white society. Under his leadership, US's guiding principle became "back to black." Members wore traditional African garb, promoted the teaching of Swahili, sponsored Afrocentric events, and often attempted to work in coalitions with other black organizations. Although consisting of fewer than one hundred members, US played an important role in promoting and building independent schools, black studies departments, and black student unions.

Karenga believed that African Americans should base their lives on seven African values: *umoja* (unity), *kujichagulia* (self-determination), *ujima* (collective work and responsibility), *ujamaa* (cooperative economics), *nia* (purpose), *kuumba* (creativity), and *imani* (faith). In 1966 he founded the holiday of Kwanza, a seven-day celebration based on these principles. Karenga coplanned and helped to convene Black Power conferences in Washington, D.C. (1966), Newark, New Jersey (1967), and Philadelphia (1968).

His popularity declined, however, in the late 1960s and early 1970s due to internal turmoil within US as well as intense struggles with the Black Panther Party over the control and direction of the West Coast black nationalist movement. The Black Panther Party viewed socioeconomic struggle, not cultural reaffirmation, as the key to black liberation. Confrontations too often escalated into violence because of both groups' reliance on arms. In 1968, following a bitter debate and violent confrontation over the appointment of a director of the Afro-American Studies Center at UCLA, three US members were ultimately convicted of the shooting deaths of two Black Panthers. In 1976, the FBI admitted to abetting the warfare between US and the Black Panther Party in an attempt to undermine both organizations.

In 1971 Karenga was charged with and later convicted of aggravated assault on two female US members. He received an indeterminate sentence of one to ten years. Upon his release from prison in 1975, he embraced socialism and called for black people to struggle against class, as well as racial, oppression. One year later he received a doctorate in leadership and human behavior from U.S. International University in San Diego.

Throughout the 1990s and during the early twenty-first century, Karenga has remained a vocal proponent of Afrocentrism. He served as director of the African-American Cultural Center in Los Angeles as well as chairman of the black studies department at California State University at Long Beach. In 1993 Karenga earned another doctorate, this one in social ethics, from the University of Southern California. He is the author of numerous articles and texts, including *The Quotable Karenga* (1967), *Introduction to Black Studies* (1982*), Kemet, the African World View: Research and Restoration* (1986), and *Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community and Culture* (1998).

See also Afrocentrism; Black Power Movement; Black Studies; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Kawaida; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century; Pan-Africanism

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WALDO E. MARTIN JR. (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Kawaida

The philosophy of the cultural nationalist theory and movement called kawaida (a Swahili word meaning "tradition" or "reason," pronounced *ka-wa-EE-da*) is a synthesis of nationalist, pan-Africanist, and socialist ideologies. It was created and defined by Maulana Karenga during the height of black pride and self-awareness that characterized the Black Power movement in 1966. Karenga believed that black people needed a change of consciousness before they could mount a political struggle to empower themselves. He argued that the reclamation of an African value system based on the *nguzo saba* (seven principles) of *umoja* (unity), *kujichagulia* (self-determination), *ujima* (collective work and responsibility), *ujamaa* (cooperative economics), *nia* (purpose), *kuumba* (creativity), and *imani* (faith) would serve as a catalyst to motivate, intensify, and sustain the black struggle against racism. This value system, which served as the basis of kawaida, would provide the foundation for a new African-American culture defined in terms of mythology (religion); history; social, economic, and political organization; creative production; and ethos.

Kawaida, the guiding philosophy behind Karenga's California-based cultural nationalist organization, called US, was introduced to a wider audience of African Americans at the National Conference on Black Power in Newark, New Jersey, in 1967. Although some African Americans criticized the ideology for not mounting a revolutionary challenge to the economic status quo, the search for connections to an African past and the ideal of unifying the black nation had widespread appeal.

Amiri Baraka, a writer and militant activist, became the chief spokesperson for the ideology in the late 1960s and was key to its popularization. Baraka believed that kawaida could be used to politicize the black masses, and he supported the creation of community theaters and schools that focused on African cultural values. In the late 1960s he became head of the Temple of Kawaida in Newark, New Jersey, which taught African religions, and he played a key role in the creation of Kawaida Towers, a low- and middle-income housing project in Newark, during the early 1970s. Baraka sought to bridge the gaps between culture, politics, and economics, and by 1974 he had reinterpreted kawaida to include a socialist critique of capitalism.

Kawaida's influence in black America continued to grow, and the ideology provided a basis for the development of theories of Afrocentricity in the late 1970s and 1980s. In the late 1980s, the National Association of Kawaida Organizations (NAKO) was founded under Karenga's direction. NAKO sponsors workshops, forums,

and symposia to promote awareness of and appreciation for Africa in the black community. The most influential expression of kawaida is Kwanza, an African-American holiday based on the *nguzo saba,* which Karenga created in 1966.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Power Movement; Karenga, Maulana; Kwanza; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century; Pan-Africanism

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MANSUR M. NURUDDIN (1996)
ROBYN SPENCER (1996)

Keckley, Elizabeth

1818
May 26, 1907

Dressmaker Elizabeth Keckley was born Elizabeth Hobbs, to a slave family in Dinwiddie Court House, Virginia. While in her teens she was sold to a North Carolina slaveowner, and in North Carolina she was raped, probably by her owner, and gave birth to a son. At the age of eighteen she was repurchased, along with her son, by the daughter of her original owner and taken to Saint Louis. There she began her career as a dressmaker, supporting her owners and their five children as well as her own son. In Saint Louis she married James Keckley—a slave who convinced her to marry him by claiming to be free—but soon separated from him.

In 1855 Keckley's dressmaking customers lent her $1,200 to purchase her freedom. She established a successful dressmaking business, and in 1860 she moved first to Baltimore and then to Washington, D.C., where she established herself as one of the capital's elite dressmakers. One of her customers was the wife of Jefferson Davis.

Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of President Abraham Lincoln, became one of Keckley's most loyal customers. Keckley soon made all of the First Lady's clothes, and the two struck up a close friendship. From 1861 to 1865 Keckley worked in the White House as Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker and personal maid.

During the Civil War Keckley became active in the abolitionist movement, helping found an organization of black women to assist former slaves seeking refuge in Washington, D.C. The Contraband Relief Association received a $200 donation from Mary Todd Lincoln, and Keckley successfully solicited several prominent abolitionists for financial support, including Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass.

After the assassination of President Lincoln, Mary Todd Lincoln and Keckley remained close friends until 1868, when Keckley's diaries were published as a book, *Behind the Scenes; or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House.* Mary Todd Lincoln considered the book a betrayal and broke off her relationship with Keckley. Even several noted African Americans criticized Keckley for what they believed to be a dishonorable attack on "the Great Emancipator." Nonetheless, the book has long been considered an invaluable resource for scholars of the Lincoln presidency. It reveals much about the personalities of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, their family life, and their opinions about government officials. The memoir also offers an intimate depiction of Keckley's life in slavery, particularly of the sexual violence she endured as a teenager. Although its accuracy has not been questioned, the book's true authorship has been the subject of considerable debate, since its polished prose seems to be at odds with Keckley's lack of formal education.

Keckley's dressmaking business declined as a result of the controversy surrounding the book. In the 1890s she was briefly a teacher of domestic science, but for most of her later years lived in obscurity, supported by a pension paid to her because her son had been killed fighting for the Union army. Keckley died in 1907 in a Washington rest home she had helped found.

See also Abolition; Douglass, Frederick; Slave Narratives

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Keith, Damon Jerome

July 4, 1922

The federal judge Damon Jerome Keith was born and raised in Detroit, Michigan. He earned an A.B. in 1943 from West Virginia State College, then served as a staff sergeant in the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1946. In 1949 he received an LL.B. from Howard University. He returned to Detroit and from 1951 to 1955 worked as an attorney at the Office of the Friend of the Court. In 1956 he received an LL.M. from Wayne State University. Keith was a founding member of the Detroit law firm of Keith, Conyers, Anderson, Brown, and Whals, where he was a full partner from 1964 to 1967. During his years in private practice, he was active in civil rights work as president of the Detroit Housing Commission (1958–1967), chairman of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission (1964–1967), and in other organizations, as well as being an active member in both the Detroit Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America and the Tabernacle Baptist Church.

In 1967 President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him to the U.S. Federal District Court for Michigan. Among his most important decisions, often referred to by legal scholars as the Keith Decision, was the case of *United States v. U.S. District Court* (1971), in which he ruled that warrantless wiretaps, even those ordered by the president, are unconstitutional.

In 1974 Keith was awarded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s Spingarn Medal. Three years later President Jimmy Carter appointed Keith to the Sixth Circuit, comprising Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Michigan. In 1979, in a widely noticed opinion, Keith, who has a reputation as a liberal Democrat, ruled in favor of the Detroit Police Department's affirmative action hiring program.

Keith has served as the first vice president of the Detroit chapter of the NAACP. In 1987 Chief Justice William Rehnquist appointed Keith national chair of the Judicial Conference Committee on the Bicentennial of the Constitution. In 1993 Wayne State University established, in Keith's honor, the Damon J. Keith Law Collection, the first archival collection devoted entirely to African-American lawyers and judges.

Keith was awarded the Thurgood Marshall Award in 1997 and the Edward J. Devitt Award for Distinguished Service to Justice in 1998. In 2001 an official portrait of Keith was unveiled in the U.S. Courthouse in Detroit. In 2004, at the age of eighty-two, Keith was still serving on the U.S. Court of Appeals.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Spingarn Medal

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"Federal Judge Damon Keith Honored by Michigan Governor for Twenty Years on Bench." *Jet,* December 21, 1987, p. 14.

LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Kennedy, Adrienne

September 13, 1931

The playwright Adrienne Kennedy was born Adrienne Lita Hawkins in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and grew up in Cleveland, Ohio, where she went to public school. She received her Bachelor of Arts in education from Ohio State University in 1952 and shortly thereafter moved to New York City with her husband and child. Over the following ten years, she studied creative writing at various schools, including Columbia University (1954–1956), the New School for Social Research (1957), and the American Theater Wing (1958). The first of Kennedy's plays to be produced, *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1963), was written while she was attending Edward Albee's workshop at the Circle in the Square. *Funnyhouse,* a one-act play about a young mulatto woman's efforts to come to terms with her mixed-race heritage, opened off-Broadway in 1964. Kennedy wrote two other one-act plays, *A Rat's Mass* and *The Owl Answers,* in 1963, and she received the Stanley Drama Award for *Funnyhouse* and *The Owl Answers* that same year. She won an Obie Award for *Funnyhouse* in 1964.

Kennedy, an avant-garde dramatist, has considered the one-act play to be the most congenial form for exploring conflicts of race, gender, and identity. Her plays tend to be surrealistic and symbolic, rather than naturalistic, and she frequently uses masks or divides a single character's story among several characters or actors in order to convey a sense of racial and psychic disorientation. Kenne-

dy's fourth one-act play, *A Lesson in Dead Language,* was written in 1964. The following year, *A Beast's Story* appeared; it was performed in Westport, Connecticut, but did not open off-Broadway until 1969, when it was billed with *The Owl Answers* under the title *Cities in Bezique*.

Between the years 1967 and 1969, Kennedy was awarded a Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship as well as several writing grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. Her first full-length play, *In His Own Write,* an adaptation of John Lennon's stories and poems, was written in 1967 and produced in London by the National Theatre Company. In 1971 Kennedy joined with five other women playwrights in founding the Women's Theater Council, a cooperative designed to promote the works of women playwrights and provide opportunities for women in other aspects of theater. *An Evening with Dead Essex*, her one-act memorial to Mark Essex, a black New Orleans youth who was murdered by the police, was written two years later.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, Kennedy taught creative writing at Yale, Princeton, and Brown universities and received grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Creative Artists Public Service. Her second full-length play, *A Movie Star Has to Star in Black and White,* opened off-off-Broadway in 1976. In 1980, Kennedy was commissioned by the Empire State Youth Theatre Institute in Albany, New York, to write a children's musical, *A Lancashire Lad,* about the boyhood of Charlie Chaplin. That year, she wrote another children's play, *Black Children's Day,* based on the black experience in Rhode Island. In 1981, she was commissioned by the Juilliard School to write a full-length adaptation of the Greek tragedies *Orestes* and *Electra*. The year 1987 marked the appearance of another full-length play, *Diary of Lights,* and the publication of her memoirs, *People Who Led to My Plays*. In 1994, Kennedy was the recipient of the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund's Writer's Award, which she used to establish an arts and culture program for minority children in Cleveland's inner-city schools.

Kennedy was the Playwright-in-Residence for the 1995-1996 season of the Signature Theatre Company in New York City. The season included the world premieres of the plays *June and Jean in Concert* and *Sleep Deprivation Chamber,* the latter written in conjunction with her son Adam. Both plays won the Obie Award for Best New Play. In 2003 Kennedy received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Anisfield-Wolf Book Awards. She is also the recipient of an Academy Award in Literature from the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

See also Drama

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PAMELA WILKINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Kennedy, Imogene Queenie

February 8, 1928
March 10, 1998

Imogene Elizabeth Dixon (known familiarly as B and Beatrice) was born into a peasant family at Dalvey in Saint Thomas Parish, southeastern Jamaica. Her involvement in African culture was influenced by her maternal grandparents, with whom she grew until prepubescence and who were West Central Africans brought to work on sugar estates in the second half of the nineteenth century. Her experience of Kumina derived largely from ceremonies held by a neighbor, "Man" Parker. Her uncle, Clifford Fleming, was an adherent of Flenkey (or Bongo or Convince), a cult of ancestor communication. Kennedy, however, credited her vocation to mystical inspiration that began with her childhood inclination toward solitude and her eventual self-seclusion in the wall-like roots of a silk-cotton tree, believed to house spirits of the dead. Secreted here for twenty-one days, she saw visions of people and heard voices speaking in "the African language," teaching her words and songs. This language was the Kumina ritual code, consisting of Koongo, Mbundu, and Jamaican English words embedded in Jamaican English grammar and denuded Koongo syntax.

Imogene migrated to Two-Mile, off the Spanish Town Road in west Kingston, in the late 1940s. She initially practiced Kumina with Cyrus Wallace, a Kumina leader, but Kennedy's mother was a Revivalist and also associated with several Revival leaders, including Mallica "Kapo" Reynolds, a painter and sculptor of religious themes. Kennedy indicated that Kumina ceremonies occur within Re-

vival when an "African messenger" (spirit) wishes to "complete its journey," just as Revival adherents rock their bodies in spiritual possession during Kumina. She acknowledged manifesting as a "dove" (peacemaker, conciliator) in the Revival mode of worship, and this accounted for her wearing of blue or blue and white and entering a pool of water during some ceremonies.

During the 1950s, Kennedy attracted the attention of Edward Seaga during his anthropological research into Jamaican religions. By 1963, when the first Jamaica Independence Festival was held, Seaga was the minister of development and welfare and he invited Kennedy to perform Kumina drumming, dances, and songs for secular Jamaican audiences. Her brother was the accomplished lead drummer in her "bands" (religious group), which appeared on television and at cultural events in Jamaica, England, the United States, and Germany.

By the 1960s, Imogene was called Queenie, a title indicating her status as leader of a Kumina group, a healer and counselor to a substantial clientele. Queenie was a graceful dancer, inching forward with mincing steps, her arms outspread, sometimes balancing a water-filled glass on her head. She exuded self-possession and authority in her voice and manner, despite her diminutive figure, and led the singing in a strident, rich contralto. Queenie married Clinton Kennedy on January 31, 1963, had one daughter, raised several other children, and moved from Trench Town, her second Kingston home, to Waterloo, in Saint Catherine parish, in 1975. She died in 1998.

Her accessibility to researchers and the use of her spiritual aura for healing rather than monetary reward have sealed her place in twentieth-century Jamaican cultural history. Among the institutions she assisted artistically are the Jamaican Folk Singers, the Jamaica Memory Bank, the National Dance Theatre Company, and the Jamaica Cultural and Development Commission. The government of Jamaica awarded her the Order of Distinction (Officer Class) in 1983 for "services in the development of African heritage."

See also Creole Languages of the Americas; Kumina; Revivalism

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MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS (2005)

Kerner Report

The Kerner Report was the result of a seven-month study by the National Commission on Civil Disorders, set up to pinpoint the cause of racial violence in American cities during the late 1960s. The eleven-member panel was better known as the Kerner Commission, after its chairman, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois.

President Lyndon Johnson appointed the commission on July 28, 1967, in the wake of large-scale urban rioting in the United States between 1965 and 1967, which resulted in several deaths and injuries as well as widespread property damage. The commission was charged with tracing the specific events that led up to the violence, finding general reasons for the worsening racial atmosphere in the country, and suggesting solutions to prevent future disorders.

The Kerner Report was submitted to Johnson in February 1968. It concluded, in part, that the violence had its roots in the frustration and anger of poor urban blacks concerning such problems as high unemployment, discrimination, poor schools and health care, and police bias.

Stating that discrimination and segregation were deeply embedded in American society, the report warned that America was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The report recommended a massive national commitment to sweeping reforms to improve education, housing, employment opportunities, and city services in poor black urban areas.

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called the report "a physician's warning of approaching death, with a prescription for life." The prescription was, however, largely ignored. Many whites thought the report placed too much blame for the riots on societal problems and white racism, and not enough on the lawlessness of black rioters. Johnson accepted the report but did not support its conclusions, and few of the report's recommendations were ever implemented.

See also Red Summer; Riots and Popular Protests

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RENE SKELTON (1996)

Killens, John Oliver

January 14, 1916
October 27, 1987

The novelist John Oliver Killens was born in Macon, Georgia, to Charles Myles Sr. and Willie Lee (Coleman) Killens. He credits his relatives with fostering in him cultural pride and literary values—his father had him read a weekly column by Langston Hughes; his mother, president of the Dunbar Literary Club, introduced him to poetry; and his great-grandmother filled his boyhood with the hardships and tales of slavery. Such early exposure to criticism, art, and folklore is evident in his fiction, which is noted for its accurate depictions of social classes, its engaging narratives, and its successful layering of African-American history, legends, songs, and jokes.

Killens originally planned to be a lawyer. After attending Edward Waters College in Jacksonville, Florida (1934-1935) and Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Georgia (c. 1935-1936), he moved to Washington, D.C., became a staff member of the National Labor Relations Board, and completed his B.A. through evening classes at Howard University. He studied at the Robert Terrel Law School from 1939 until 1942, when he abandoned his pursuit of a degree and joined the army. His second novel, *And Then We Heard the Thunder* (1963), which deals with racism in the military, is based on his service in the South Pacific. It was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

In 1946 Killens returned briefly to his office job at the National Labor Relations Board. In 1947-1948 he organized black and white workers for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and was an active member of the Progressive Party. But he soon became convinced that leading intellectuals, the white working class, and the U.S. government were not truly committed to creating a more inclusive society.

In 1948 Killens moved to New York, where he attended writing classes at Columbia University and New York University and met such influential figures as Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, and W. E. B. Du Bois. While working on his fiction, he wrote regularly for the leftist newspaper *Freedom* (1951–1955). His views at the time, closely aligned with those of the Communist Party, were evident in his 1952 review of Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man*. He attacked the novel as a "decadent mixture . . . a vicious distortion of Negro life." Killens believed that literature should be judged on its potential for improving society: "Art is functional. A Black work of art helps the liberation or hinders it."

Fortunately, Killens had already found some young writers, many with close ties to left-wing or black nationalist organizations, committed to the idea of writing as a vehicle of social protest. With Rosa Guy, John Henrik Clarke, and Walter Christmas, he founded a workshop that became known as the Harlem Writers Guild in the early 1950s.

Killens's *Youngblood* (1954), the first novel published by a guild member, chronicles the struggles of a southern black family in early twentieth-century Georgia. Following the critical praise of this book, Killens toured the country to speak on subjects important to African Americans. In 1955 he went to Alabama to research a screenplay on the Montgomery Bus Boycott and to visit with the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Killens also became close friends with Malcolm X, with whom he founded the Organization for Afro-American Unity in 1964. *Black Man's Burden,* a 1965 collection of political essays, documents his shift from a socialist philosophy to one promoting black nationalism.

Killens's major subject is the violence and racism of American society, and how it hinders black manhood and family. *'Sippi* (1967) is a protest novel about struggle over voting rights in the 1960s. *The Cotillion; or, One Good Bull Is Half the Herd,* published in 1971 and nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, satirizes middle-class African-American values and was the basis for *Cotillion*, a play produced in New York City in 1975. Killens's other plays include *Ballad of the Winter Soldiers* (1964, with Loften Mitchell) and *Lower Than the Angels* (1965). He wrote two screenplays, *Odds Against Tomorrow* (1959, with Nelson Gidding) and *Slaves* (1969, with Herbert J. Biberman and Alida Sherman). He also edited *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey* (1970) and authored two juvenile novels, *Great Gittin' Up Morning: A Biography of Denmark Vesey* (1972) and *A Man Ain't Nothin' but a Man: The Adventures of John Henry* (1975).

Beginning in the mid-1960s, Killens served as a writer-in-residence at a number of institutions, including Fisk

University (1965-1968), Columbia University (1970-1973), Howard University (1971-1972), Bronx Community College (1979-1981), and Medgar Evers College in the City University of New York (1981-1987). He received numerous awards, included a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts (1980) and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Before Columbus Foundation (1986). Until his death, Killens continued to contribute articles to leading magazines such as *Ebony, Black World, The Black Aesthetic,* and *African Forum*. *The Great Black Russian: a Novel on the Life and Times of Alexander Pushkin* was published posthumously in 1988.

See also Clarke, John Henrik; Ellison, Ralph; Harlem Writers Guild; Hughes, Langston; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Literature of the United States; Malcolm X

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DEKKER DARE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Kincaid, Jamaica

May 25, 1949

Born Elaine Potter Richardson in St. Johns, Antigua, author Jamaica Kincaid moved to New York at the age of sixteen, ostensibly to become a nurse. Working first as an au pair and then at other odd jobs, she spent brief periods studying photography at New York's School for Social Research and at Franconia College in New Hampshire. She began her career as a writer by conducting a series of interviews for *Ingénue*. From 1974 to 1976 she contributed vignettes about African-American and Caribbean life to *The New Yorker*. In 1976 she became a staff writer for *The New Yorker,* which two years later published "Girl," her first piece of fiction. Most of Kincaid's fiction has first appeared in the magazine, for which she also began to write a gardening column in 1992.

Jamaica Kincaid. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Kincaid's first volume of stories, *At the Bottom of the River* (1983), has a dreamlike, poetic character. Her early interest in photography, evident in this volume, also undergirds the rest of her work with its emphasis on condensed images. The choice of the short-story form allows her to isolate moments of heightened emotion. Published separately, the stories that make up the novel *Annie John* (1985) string such brief glimpses together to explore a defiant Annie's growing up in Antigua and especially her relationship to her mother. Themes of mother-daughter conflict are central to Kincaid's work and can be extended into metaphorical relations, such as that between the Caribbean island and those who leave it. For those who visit it, *A Small Place* (1988) is an extended essay on contemporary Antigua, an essay directed toward the tourist. Its tone is alternately cynical and wise, its information painful to accept, but its characteristically careful wording entices the reader as much as any poster of island beauty. *Lucy* (1990) combines the vigor of this Antiguan commentary and the embryonic artistic sensibility of *Annie John* into an extended allegory of the colonial relation set in the contemporary period. Lucy Josephine Potter, a young woman from the Caribbean entrusted with caring for four blond children,

brazenly charges through her new world until the blank page confronts her with the fragility of her own identity.

Kincaid's colorful personality and life history, perhaps best exemplified in the selection of her assumed name, propel critical interest in her biography. Like many black writers, especially women, she is burdened both with the expectation that she will represent not merely herself but her community and with the assumption that her stories will be true and factual. The insistent presence of the first person in Kincaid's work is a challenge to that combined requirement. Filtering every perception through an individual, even selfish, lens, her stories are not autobiography; only the depth of feeling is. Kincaid has maintained that she is uninterested in literary realism. Borne by her plain-speaking prose, her audacious girl/woman protagonists gain an audience they might never have gotten in life.

Kincaid lives in Bennington, Vermont, with her husband and children. She has taught creative writing at Bennington College and continues to write, publishing *My Garden Book* in 1999, *Talk Stories* in 2001, *Mr. Potter* in 2002, and *Among Flowers: A Walk in the Himalaya* in 2005.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers, Contemporary; Literature

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GINA DENT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

King, "B. B."

September 16, 1925

Born Riley B. King in Itta Bena, Mississippi, blues singer and guitarist B. B. King grew up on a plantation, working as a farmhand. He sang in choirs at school and church before teaching himself to play the guitar. He moved to Memphis in 1947 and began singing blues in bars. Following a radio appearance with Sonny Boy Williamson (Alex Miller), King began working on Memphis radio station WDIA as "the Pepticon Boy," advertising Pepticon tonic. He later became a disc jockey for WDIA, being billed as "the Blues Boy from Beale Street," gradually becoming "B. B." He began recording in 1949 and had a few local hits. His recording of "Three O'Clock Blues" (1952) was a national hit and allowed him to begin touring the country as a blues singer. By the mid-1960s he had become known as one of the country's greatest blues performers and a leading figure in the urban blues scene, thanks to the praise of many "British invasion" rock musicians, including Eric Clapton and Mick Jagger, who cited his influence. He has continued to record and perform, earning many industry awards, including a Grammy for his 1981 album *There Must Be a Better World Somewhere* and induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1987. In 2004 King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden awarded King with the Polar Music Prize for his contributions to the blues, including a cash prize of over $130,000. King's albums continue to be re-released in the 2000s.

The focus of King's music remains his powerful, commanding voice and guitar playing, through which he maintains an emotional urgency while supporting his performance with a full band. Traditional blues arrangements form the backbone of his songs, featuring prominent call-and-response sequences between the guitar and vocals. His guitar playing is characterized by warm, clear tone and lyrical phrases punctuated by a quick, stinging vibrato.

See also Blues, The

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DANIEL THOM (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Coretta Scott

April 27, 1927

Born in Marion, Alabama, a rural farming community, civil rights activist Coretta Scott attended Lincoln High

Coretta Scott King (seated) is pictured with Rosa Parks, as the two attend the opening of an exhibit of memorabilia of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. at the Schomburg Center, 1986. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

School, a local private school for black students run by the American Missionary Association. After graduating in 1945, she received a scholarship to study music and education at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Trained in voice and piano, she made her concert debut in 1948 in Springfield, Ohio, as a soloist at the Second Baptist Church. Scott officially withdrew from Antioch in 1952 after entering the New England Conservatory of Music in 1951 to continue her music studies.

During her first year at the conservatory, she met the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was a doctoral candidate at Boston University's school of theology. The two were married on June 18, 1953, despite Martin Luther King Sr.'s opposition to the match because of his disapproval of the Scott family's rural background and his hope that his son would marry into one of Atlanta's elite black families. The couple returned to Boston to continue their studies. The following year, Coretta Scott King received a bachelor's degree in music from the New England Conservatory of Music, and in September the two moved to Montgomery, Alabama, despite Coretta King's misgivings about returning to the racial hostility of Alabama.

Although Coretta King aspired to become a professional singer, she devoted most of her time to raising her children and working closely with her husband after he had assumed the presidency of the Montgomery Improvement Association in 1955. She participated in many major events of the civil rights movement along with her husband, both in the United States and overseas, as well as having to endure the hardships resulting from her husband's position, including his frequent arrests and the bombing of their Montgomery home in 1956.

Early in 1960 the King family moved to Atlanta when King became co-pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church with his father. Later that year Coretta King aided in her husband's release from a Georgia prison by appealing to presidential candidate John F. Kennedy to intervene on his behalf. In 1962 she became a voice instructor at Morris Brown College in Atlanta, but she remained primarily involved in sharing the helm of the civil rights struggle with her husband. She led marches, directed fund-raising for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and gave a series of "freedom concerts" that combined singing, lecturing, and poetry reading. A strong proponent of disar-

mament, King served as a delegate to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1962, and in 1966 and 1967 was a cosponsor of the Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. In 1967, after an extended leave of absence, she received her bachelor of arts degree in music and elementary education from Antioch College.

On April 8, 1968, only four days after her husband was assassinated in Memphis, Coretta King substituted for him in a march on behalf of sanitation workers that he had been scheduled to lead. Focusing her energies on preserving her husband's memory and continuing his struggle, Coretta King also took part in the Poor People's Washington Campaign in the nation's capital during June 1968, serving as the keynote speaker at the main rally at the Lincoln Memorial. In 1969 she helped found and served as president of the Atlanta-based Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, a center devoted to teaching young people the importance of nonviolence and to preserving the memory of her husband. In 1969 she also published her autobiography, *My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.,* and in 1971 she received an honorary doctorate in music from the New England Conservatory.

In 1983 Coretta King led the twentieth-anniversary March on Washington and the following year was elected chairperson of the commission to declare King's birthday a national holiday, which was observed for the first time in 1986. She was active in the struggle to end apartheid, touring South Africa and meeting with Winnie Mandela in 1986 and returning there in 1990 to meet the recently released African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Coretta King has received numerous awards for her participation in the struggle for civil rights, including the outstanding citizenship award from the Montgomery Improvement Association in 1959 and the Distinguished Achievement Award from the National Organization of Colored Women's Clubs in 1962. Formerly chief executive officer of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Change, Coretta Scott King continues to press for the worldwide recognition of civil rights and human rights.

In October 2004, legislation was passed in Congress to present Coretta Scott King and Martin Luther King, Jr. (posthumously) with the Congressional Gold Medal.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Poor People's Campaign; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Don

August 20, 1931

Boxing promoter Don King was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio. As a young adult King was involved in organized crime in Cleveland, running an illegal lottery. King also owned a nightclub, and in 1966 he was convicted of manslaughter for killing a former employee during a street fight. After spending four and a half years in an Ohio penitentiary, he was paroled in 1971 and pardoned by the governor of Ohio in 1983.

Soon after his release King began a career as a boxing promoter. By 1972 he was promoting and unofficially managing local fighters, including Earnie Shavers, who went on to become a challenger for the heavyweight championship. In 1973, immediately after George Foreman knocked out Joe Frazier to become heavyweight champion, King talked himself into Foreman's camp and was hired as the new champion's promoter. With his newly established Don King Productions company, King set up Foreman's first defense of the championship, a successful two-round knockout of Ken Norton in Caracas, Venezuela. In 1974 King arranged a match between Foreman and former champion Muhammad Ali in Kinshasa, Zaire. The "Rumble in the Jungle" ended when Foreman was knocked out in the eighth round, but the fight provided Foreman with five million dollars and established King as the sport's most successful promoter.

Based in New York, King went on to promote fights for a number of the greatest boxers of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, including Muhammad Ali, Larry Holmes, Roberto Duran, Mike Tyson, and Julio Cesar Chavez. King copromoted the famous 1975 "Thrilla in Manila" heavyweight championship match between Ali and Frazier. His rise to fame was aided by his flamboyant, often volatile personality and trademark vertical shock of salt-and-pepper hair. In 1984 King branched out from boxing by promoting the multimillion-dollar world tour of the Jack-

sons, the singing group consisting of Michael Jackson and his brothers.

King's business practices have been the focus of significant controversy. In 1984 King and his longtime secretary Constance Harper were indicted by a federal grand jury, but ultimately acquitted, on twenty-three counts of income tax evasion and conspiracy. In the late 1980s he was investigated, but never indicted, by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Attorney General's office for alleged racketeering in the boxing industry.

From the late 1970s through the early 1990s, King held a virtual monopoly on promotions for major boxing matches, and boxing reformers often pointed to his powerful hold over the industry as an example of the sport's corrupt centralization. He was often criticized for acting as de facto manager for many of the boxers whose fights he promoted. (International boxing bylaws prohibit one person serving as a boxer's promoter and manager because of potential conflicts of interest.) In the most famous instance, he came under intense scrutiny for "advising" both Mike Tyson and Buster Douglas, whose 1990 heavyweight championship fight King promoted. King also was accused by many of his former clients of misappropriating funds from boxing matches. In 1993 he proposed his own seven-point plan to reform boxing, including round-by-round displayed scoring, the elimination of draws, and a prohibition on promoters paying the expenses of judges and referees. King's reform plan, while often mocked as hypocritical, was lauded by many in boxing as a constructive proposal.

King was awarded an honorary doctorate from Shaw University in 1998.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Boxing; Foreman, George; Frazier, Joe; Tyson, Mike

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

King, Iris

1911
2000

King was the eldest child of Thomas and Rebecca Ewart and the sister of the dean of West Indian cricket umpires, Tom Ewart. She grew up in Eastern Kingston. She completed her early education at Kingston Technical School in 1933 and shortly thereafter married S. Herman King. While her first career was that of wife and mother to four children, King drifted immediately into Jamaican party politics. She entered the world of local politics in 1938, the year the People's National Party (PNP) was born, and she became an active political campaigner for this party.

Iris King's life and career were centered around her contributions to public life. In 1947 she was elected a councillor of the Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporation (KSAC). When her term as councillor ended in 1950, she enrolled at Roosevelt University in Chicago for a course in public administration. After three years she earned a degree in municipal administration and political science. *The Sunday Gleaner* of December 28, 1958, observed that because of her degree King could be described as the only trained politician in Jamaica.

King returned to Jamaica from Chicago in 1955 in time to become a candidate in the general elections. She ran against the National Labour Party (NLP) candidate Kenneth George Hill and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) candidate Hugh Shearer for the West Kingston seat. King finished a close second to Shearer with 5,246 votes to his 6,383; Hill polled 3,262 votes. Losing the seat to Shearer, King returned to municipal politics, winning back with overwhelming support her seat in the KSAC.

On April 9, 1958, Iris King had the distinction of becoming the first female mayor of the city of Kingston. She was the forty-first person to occupy this chair. Photographs of King from this period show a smiling and well-dressed woman with an expansively warm personality. Newspaper reports consistently remarked on her sincerity and kindness coupled with the toughness required for political life. Just after her election as mayor of Kingston, the April 10, 1958, issue of *The Daily Gleaner* reported: "It was obvious to political observers even from the early days that Iris King would be a force to be reckoned with and that her 'leonine' platform qualities, her kindliness, her toughness and charity, would take her far up the political ladder."

A major reason for the recognition she was given was her work with the underprivileged people of Western

Kingston, where she focused particularly on improving conditions for children. Partly due to this work, she was appointed chair of the Maxfield Park Children's Home, a facility that, as mayor, she both expanded and developed.

After her election as mayor she was invited by the U.S. government to spend two months on a study tour of the United States. The November 2, 1958, issue of Jamaica's *Sunday Gleaner* reported that on October 1, 1958, she was presented with a key to the city of Washington, D.C., by District Commissioner David Karrick during an official ceremony held in her honor.

In 1959 King again entered the election platform as the PNP candidate for the constituency of Kingston West Central against Arthur Smith of the JLP. She won this seat with 7,320 votes against her opponent's 4,894, helping her party to win twenty-nine of the forty-five seats contested that year. She was also named a member of Prime Minister Norman Manley's cabinet. The PNP was defeated in 1962, and King left politics in 1967 and immigrated to the United States, where she obtained employment as a hospital administrator.

Iris King ranks with such pioneer women politicians as Mary Morris Knibb, Rose Leon (the first woman to become a government minister), Edith Dalton James, and Iris Collins-Williams (the first woman elected to the House of Representatives). Although present in political history, the records reveal very little of the contributions of women like King. After her achievements as mayor, parliamentarian, and cabinet member, she faded from the public records and from the memories of many Jamaicans.

See also Dalton-James, Edith; Leon, Rose; Manley, Norman; Morris Knibb, Mary; People's National Party; Politics

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PATRICIA MOHAMMED (2005)

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

January 15, 1929
April 4, 1968

This entry consists of two distinct articles. The first, by Clayborne Carson, deals with King's life and work; the second, by David J. Garrow, evaluates King's legacy and influence on a later generation.

Life
Clayborne Carson

Legacy
David J. Garrow

Life

Martin Luther King Jr. was born in Atlanta as Michael King Jr., the first son of a Baptist minister and the grandson of a Baptist minister. His forebears exemplified the African-American social gospel tradition that would shape his career as a reformer. King's maternal grandfather, the Reverend A. D. Williams, had transformed Ebenezer Baptist Church, a block down the street from his grandson's childhood home, into one of Atlanta's most prominent black churches. In 1906, Williams had joined such figures as Atlanta University scholar W. E. B. Du Bois and African Methodist Episcopal (AME) bishop Henry McNeal Turner to form the Georgia Equal Rights League, an organization that condemned lynching, segregation in public transportation, and the exclusion of black men from juries and state militia. In 1917 Williams helped found the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), later serving as the chapter's president. Williams's subsequent campaign to register and mobilize black voters prodded white leaders to agree to construct new public schools for black children.

After Williams's death in 1931, his son-in-law, Michael King Sr., also combined religious and political leadership. He became president of Atlanta's NAACP, led voter-registration marches during the 1930s, and spearheaded a movement to equalize the salaries of black public school teachers with those of their white counterparts. In 1934, King Sr.—perhaps inspired by a visit to the birthplace of Protestantism in Germany—changed his name (and that of his son) to Martin Luther King.

Despite the younger King's admiration for his father's politically active ministry, he was initially reluctant to ac-

cept his inherited calling. Experiencing religious doubts during his early teenage years, he decided to become a minister only after he came into contact with religious leaders who combined theological sophistication with social gospel advocacy. At Morehouse College, which King attended from 1944 to 1948, the college's president, Benjamin E. Mays, encouraged him to believe that Christianity should become a force for progressive social change. A course on the Bible taught by Morehouse professor George Kelsey exposed King to theological scholarship. After deciding to become a minister, King increased his understanding of liberal Christian thought while attending Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. Compiling an outstanding academic record at Crozer, he deepened his understanding of modern religious scholarship and eventually identified himself with theological personalism. King later wrote that this philosophical position strengthened his belief in a personal God and provided him with a "metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality."

At Boston University, where King began doctoral studies in systematic theology in 1951, his exploration of theological scholarship was combined with extensive interactions with the Boston African-American community. He met regularly with other black students in an informal group called the Dialectical Society. Often invited to give sermons in Boston-area churches, he acquired a reputation as a powerful preacher, drawing ideas from African-American Baptist traditions as well as theological and philosophical writings. While the academic papers he wrote at Boston displayed little originality, King's scholarly training provided him with an exceptional ability to draw upon a wide range of theological and philosophical texts to express his views with force and precision, a talent that would prove useful in his future leadership activities. During his stay in Boston, King also met and began dating Coretta Scott, then a student at the New England Conservatory of Music. On June 18, 1953, the two students were married in Marion, Alabama, where Scott's family lived. During the following academic year, King began work on his dissertation, which was completed during the spring of 1955.

Soon after King accepted his first pastorate at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Ala., he had an unexpected opportunity to utilize the insights he had gained from his childhood experiences and academic training. After the NAACP official Rosa Parks was jailed for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white passenger, King accepted the post of president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was formed to coordinate a boycott of Montgomery's buses. In his role as the primary spokesman of the boycott, King gradually forged a distinctive protest strategy that involved the mobilization of black churches, the utilization of Gandhian methods of nonviolent protest, and skillful appeals for white support.

After the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed Alabama bus segregation laws in late 1956, King quickly rose to national prominence as a result of his leadership role in the boycott. In 1957 he became the founding president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), formed to coordinate civil rights activities throughout the South. The publication of King's *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (1958) further contributed to his rapid emergence as a nationally known civil rights leader. Seeking to forestall the fears of NAACP leaders that his organization might draw away followers and financial support, King acted cautiously during the late 1950s. Instead of immediately seeking to stimulate mass desegregation protests in the South, he stressed the goal of achieving black voting rights when he addressed an audience at the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D.C. During 1959 he increased his understanding of Gandhian ideas during a month-long visit to India as a guest of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Early in 1960, King moved his family—which now included two children, Yolanda Denise (born 1955) and Martin Luther III (born 1957)—to Atlanta in order to be nearer SCLC's headquarters in that city and to become copastor—with his father—of Ebenezer Baptist Church. The Kings' third child, Dexter Scott, was born in 1961; their fourth, Bernice Albertine, was born in 1963.

Soon after King's arrival in Atlanta, the lunch counter sit-in movement, led by students, spread throughout the South and brought into existence a new organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC activists admired King but also pushed him toward greater militancy. In October 1960, his arrest during a student-initiated protest in Atlanta became an issue in the national presidential campaign when the Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy, intervened to secure his release from jail. Kennedy's action contributed to his narrow victory in the November election. During 1961 and 1962, King's differences with SNCC activists widened during a sustained protest movement in Albany, Georgia. King was arrested twice during demonstrations organized by the Albany movement, but when he left jail, and ultimately left Albany, without achieving a victory, his standing among activists declined.

King reasserted his preeminence within the African-American freedom struggle through his leadership of the Birmingham, Alabama, campaign of 1963. Initiated by the

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks to a large gathering of attentive listeners at a rally in Cleveland, Ohio, 1965. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

SCLC in January, the Birmingham demonstrations were the most massive civil rights protests that had occurred up to that time. With the assistance of Fred Shuttlesworth and other local black leaders, and without much competition from SNCC or other civil rights groups, SCLC officials were able to orchestrate the Birmingham protests to achieve maximum national impact. During May, televised pictures of police using dogs and fire hoses against demonstrators aroused a national outcry. This vivid evidence of the obstinacy of Birmingham officials, combined with Alabama overnor George C. Wallace's attempt to block the entry of black students at the University of Alabama, prompted President John F. Kennedy to introduce major new civil rights legislation. King's unique ability to appropriate ideas from the Bible, the Constitution, and other canonical texts manifested itself when he defended the black protests in a widely quoted letter, written while he was jailed in Birmingham.

Text Not Available

King's speech at the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, attended by over 200,000 people, provides another powerful demonstration of his singular ability to draw on widely accepted American ideals in order to promote black objectives. At the end of his prepared remarks,

which announced that African Americans wished to cash the "promissory note" signified in the words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, King began his most quoted oration: "So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream . . . that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." He appropriated the familiar words of the song "My Country 'Tis of Thee" before concluding: "And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last.' "

After the March on Washington, King's fame and popularity were at their height. Named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year at the end of 1963, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1964. The acclaim he received prompted FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to step up his effort to damage King's reputation by leaking information gained through surreptitious means about King's ties with former communists and his extramarital affairs.

King's last successful civil rights campaign was a series of demonstrations in Alabama that were intended to dramatize the denial of black voting rights in the deep South. Demonstrations began in Selma, Alabama, early in 1965 and reached a turning point on March 7, when a group of demonstrators began a march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery. King was in Atlanta when state policemen, carrying out Governor Wallace's order to stop the march, attacked with tear gas and clubs soon after the procession crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge on the outskirts of Selma. The police assault on the marchers quickly increased national support for the voting rights campaign. King arrived in Selma to join several thousand movement sympathizers, black and white. President Lyndon B. Johnson reacted to the Alabama protests by introducing new voting rights legislation, which would become the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Demonstrators were finally able to obtain a court order allowing the march to take place, and on March 25 King addressed the arriving protestors from the steps of the capitol in Montgomery.

After the successful voting rights campaign, King was unable to garner similar support for his effort to confront the problems of northern urban blacks. Early in 1966 he launched a major campaign in Chicago, moving into an apartment in the black ghetto. As he shifted the focus of his activities north, however, he discovered that the tactics used in the South were not as effective elsewhere. He encountered formidable opposition from Mayor Richard Daley, and he was unable to mobilize Chicago's economically and ideologically diverse black populace. He was stoned by angry whites in the suburb of Cicero when he led a march against racial discrimination in housing. Despite numerous well-publicized protests, the Chicago campaign resulted in no significant gains and undermined King's reputation as an effective leader.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., speaking to reporters in 1968. *King, seen here discussing his disenchantment with President Johnson's Vietnam policies, engendered controversy and criticism for speaking out on political issues that were beyond the realm of civil rights for African Americans.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

His status was further damaged when his strategy of nonviolence came under renewed attack from blacks following a major outbreak of urban racial violence in Los Angeles during August 1965. When civil rights activists reacted to the shooting of James Meredith by organizing "March against Fear" through Mississippi, King was forced on the defensive as Stokely Carmichael and other militants put forward the Black Power slogan. Although King refused to condemn the militants who opposed him, he criticized the new slogan as vague and divisive. As his influence among blacks lessened, he also alienated many white moderate supporters by publicly opposing U.S. in-

tervention in the Vietnam War. After he delivered a major antiwar speech at New York's Riverside Church on April 4, 1967, many of the northern newspapers that had once supported his civil rights efforts condemned his attempt to link civil rights to the war issue.

In November 1967, King announced the formation of a Poor People's Campaign designed to prod the nation's leaders to deal with the problem of poverty. Early in 1968, he and other SCLC workers began to recruit poor people and antipoverty activists to come to Washington, D.C., to lobby on behalf of improved antipoverty programs. This effort was in its early stages when King became involved in a sanitation workers' strike in Memphis. On March 28, as he led thousands of sanitation workers and sympathizers on a march through downtown Memphis, violence broke out and black youngsters looted stores. The violent outbreak led to more criticisms of King's entire antipoverty strategy. He returned to Memphis for the last time early in April. Addressing an audience at Bishop Charles H. Mason Temple on April 3, he sought to revive his flagging movement by acknowledging: "We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. . . . And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we, as a people, will get to the promised land."

The following evening, King was assassinated as he stood on a balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis. A white segregationist, James Earl Ray, was later convicted of the crime. The Poor People's Campaign continued for a few months but did not achieve its objectives. King became an increasingly revered figure after his death, however, and many of his critics ultimately acknowledged his considerable accomplishments. In 1969 his widow, Coretta Scott King, established the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, in Atlanta, to carry on his work. In 1986, a national holiday was established to honor King's birth.

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CLAYBORNE CARSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Legacy

The militant political legacy of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is in eclipse, and his historical reputation is frequently distorted by the popular misconception that he was primarily a philosophical "dreamer," rather than a realistic and often courageous dissident. King's true legacy is not the 1963 March on Washington and his grandly optimistic "I Have a Dream" speech; it is instead his 1968 plan for a massively disruptive but resolutely nonviolent "Poor People's Campaign" aimed at the nation's capital, a protest campaign that came to pass only in a muted and disjointed form after his death.

Some of the distortion of King's popular image is a direct result of how disproportionately he is often presented as a gifted and sanguine speechmaker whose life ought to be viewed through the prism of his "dream." King had used the "I Have a Dream" phrase several times before his justly famous oration, but on numerous occasions in later years King invoked the famous phrase only to emphasize how the "dream" he had had in Washington in 1963 had "turned into a nightmare."

Both the dilution of King's legacy and the misrepresentation of his image are also in part due to the stature accorded his birthday, now a national holiday. Making King an object of official celebration has inescapably led to at least some smoothing of edges and tempering of substance that otherwise would irritate and challenge those Americans who are just as eager to endorse "I Have a Dream" as they are to reject any "Poor People's Campaign."

But another facet of King's erroneous present-day image as a milquetoast moderate, particularly among

young people, is directly tied to the greatly increased prominence of Malcolm X. Even before the media boomlet that accompanied Spike Lee's 1992 movie *Malcolm X,* popular appreciation of Malcolm X had expanded well beyond anything that had existed in the first two decades following his 1965 death. Even if young people's substantive understanding of Malcolm X's message is oftentimes faulty or nonexistent, among youthful Americans of all races the rise of Malcolm X has vastly magnified the mistaken stereotype that "Malcolm and Martin" were polar opposites.

Far too many people assume that if Malcolm personified unyielding tenacity and determination, King, as his supposed opposite, was no doubt some sort of vainglorious compromiser who spent more time socializing with the Kennedys than fighting for social change. Hardly anything could be further from the truth, for while Malcolm's courageous self-transformation is deserving of far more serious attention and study than it has yet received, King was as selflessly dedicated and utterly principled a public figure as any other in the United States during the twentieth century.

Perhaps King's most remarkable characteristic was how he became a nationally and then internationally famous figure without ever having any egotistical desire to promote himself onto the public stage (unlike virtually every luminary in contemporary America). Drafted by his colleagues in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 to serve as the principal spokesperson for the black community's boycott of municipal buses, King was far from eager to be any sort of "leader," and only a deeply spiritual sense of obligation convinced him that he could not refuse this call.

King's resolutely selfless orientation gave his leadership both a public integrity and a private humility that are rare, if not wholly unique, in recent U.S. history. Perhaps the greatest irony generated by the hundreds upon hundreds of King's ostensibly private telephone conversations that were preserved for history by the FBI's indecently intrusive electronic surveillance—and released thanks to the Freedom of Information Act—is that one comes away from a review of King's most unguarded moments with a distinctly heightened, rather than diminished, regard for the man. Time and again, those transcripts show King as exceptionally demanding of himself and as an overly harsh judge of his own actions. How many other public figures, lacking only an FBI director like J. Edgar Hoover to preserve their off-the-cuff comments for posterity, could hope to pass such an ultimate test of civic character?

King's remarkable political courage and integrity were just as dramatically visible on the public stage, however, as in his self-critical private conversations. Unlike almost every other public figure in the country, both then and now, King had no interest in assessing which position on which issue would be the most popular or the most remunerative for organizational fund-raising before he decided how and when to speak his mind.

Nowhere was this more starkly apparent than in King's early decision to speak out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam at a time when President Lyndon B. Johnson's war still had the support of most progressive Democrats. Many liberal newspapers—and even several "mainstream" civil rights organizations—harshly attacked King for devoting his attention to an issue that did not fall within the "black" bailiwick, and while in private King was deeply hurt by such criticism, he had decided to confront the Vietnam issue knowing full well that just such a reaction would ensue.

"Leadership" to King did not mean tailoring one's comments to fit the most recent public opinion poll or shifting one's positions to win greater acclaim or support. King realized, too, that real leadership did not simply comprise issuing press releases and staging news conferences, and he was acutely aware that most real "leaders" of the southern civil rights struggle—unheralded people who performed the crucial task of encouraging others to stand up and take an active part in advancing their own lives and communities—got none of the public attention and awards that flowed to King and a very few others.

King understood that in the modern culture of publicity, the recognition of an individual symbolic figure was inevitable and essential to the movement's popular success, but he always sought to emphasize, as in his Nobel Peace Prize lecture, that he accepted such applause and honors only as a "trustee" on behalf of the thousands of unsung people whose contributions and aspirations he sought to represent. King realized, better than many people at the time, and far better than some subsequent disciples, that the real essence of the movement was indeed the local activists in scores of generally unpublicized locales. In private, King could be extremely self-conscious about how he personally deserved only a very modest portion of all the praise and trophies that came his way.

King would very much welcome the newfound appreciation of Malcolm X, but he would likewise be intensely discomfited by a national holiday that in some hands seems to encourage celebration of King's own persona rather than the movement he came to symbolize. King also would rue how the culture of celebrity has become more and more a culture of violence, and how economic inequality in America is even more pronounced in the 1990s than it was at the time of his death in 1968.

King would also rue his legacy being too often shorn of his post-1965 nonviolent radicalism, as well as the cele-

bration of his image by people who proffered no support to him and the movement when he was alive. But King would not worry about any decline in his own reputation or fame, for he would greatly welcome increased credit and appreciation for those whom the media and history habitually overlook. If Martin Luther King Jr.'s individual image continues gradually to recede, King himself would be happy rather than sad, for personal fame and credit were not something that he sought or welcomed either in 1955 or in 1968.

See also Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Coretta Scott; Malcolm X; Mays, Benjamin E.; Meredith, James H.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Parks, Rosa; Poor People's Campaign; Shuttlesworth, Fred L.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Voting Rights Act of 1965

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DAVID J. GARROW (1996)
Updated bibliography

King, Sydney (Kwayana, Eusi)

1925

Sydney King, who changed his name to Eusi Kwayana, was born in Lusignan, in British Guiana, on a sugar estate. From the age of seven he lived in Buxton on the east coast of British Guiana. Buxton was a village that had come into existence after impecunious planters were forced to sell their estates to the ex-slaves, who were known as Creoles and who had deliberately deprived the plantations of their labor power. As a young man Kwayana entered the teaching profession. He later became involved in politics when, in 1949, he and a friend organized the Buxton Ratepayers' Association, which forced village councilors to abandon a plan to grant the planters a ninety-nine-year lease for land to construct a canal that would have competed with the existing railway and thus undermined the village economy. During the late 1940s and 1950s, when teachers were subject to arbitrary dismissal for reasons having nothing to do with competence at the hands of school managers who were mostly religious dignitaries, Kwayana used his reputation as a teacher to spread a clandestine message of political independence, particularly among African Guianese villagers in Buxton.

With these experiences Kwayana's transition to more formal politics, which occurred when he became a member of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC), the immediate precursor of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), the colony's first mass-based political party, was not a problematic one. On becoming a member of the party, which made clear its intention to seek political independence from the British for the colony, Kwayana took an active part in the PPP's efforts, designed to educate and mobilize the masses in furtherance of that aim. However, such was the sociopolitical climate that, being a teacher, much of Kwayana's writing on political issues was done anonymously. Thus, most of the passages from a PAC bulletin that were quoted in the inquiry into the 1948 shooting of five sugar estate workers who were protesting against unpalatable working conditions, and that were attributed to the secretary of the PPP at the time, were in fact written by Kwayana (personal correspondence, October 6, 1989). In addition, in his role as a political independence movement intellectual, and along with Martin Carter, perhaps Guyana's most distinguished poet, who at the time was a civil servant and therefore restricted from participating in political activity, Kwayana addressed political meetings in many parts of the colony far from the gaze of colonial officials and was also responsible for composing the PPP's "battle song."

Kwayana subsequently became assistant secretary of the PPP and was described both by one of his party colleagues as "blindly pro-Moscow" and by the then governor as one of the two "most influential and fanatical members of the PPP" for his purported role in a sugar workers' strike offensive in 1953. He was appointed minister of Communications and Works in the short-lived PPP government of 1953. After the dismissal of the PPP government and the suspension of the constitution in October 1953 by the British, Kwayana was at first restricted to Bux-

ton, and then detained from October 1953 to March 1954 at the U.S. World War II air base at Atkinson Field. Following his release from Atkinson Field, he was restricted to the Buxton-Friendship area and ordered to report to the police station there on a daily basis.

After a split in the leadership of the PPP in 1954 involving East Indian Cheddi Jagan and African Forbes Burnham, Kwayana remained with the Jagan faction. He left the party, though, along with two other influential African Guyanese members, after Jagan reneged on a promise to seek the inclusion of the colony in the West Indian Federation on the grounds that it was not in the interest of the East Indian population. After unsuccessfully contesting a seat during the 1957 general elections as an independent candidate, Kwayana subsequently joined the People's National Congress (PNC), which was headed by Burnham. He also served for a while as the editor of the party's newspaper before incurring the displeasure of top party officials for advocating partition as a way of solving the colony's racial problems.

Apparently convinced that the PPP was abandoning its Marxist/class posture in favor of one based on race, especially as a way of winning elections, Kwayana was instrumental in founding both the African Society for Racial Equality (ASRE) and the African Society for Closer Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA), because "Black people needed organizing." After a brief rapprochement with Burnham and the PNC, during which time he worked with the Guyana Marketing Corporation, he severed permanently his ties with the party and later became an important figure in the Working People's Alliance (WPA) and served in the House of Assembly as a representative of that political party. Following the decline of the WPA after the death of one of its leaders, Dr. Walter Rodney, on June 13, 1980, Kwayana, as a public intellectual who articulates the concerns of a specific social grouping, continued to speak out against violence in Buxton, the village in which he grew up, as well as other pressing social ills.

See also Burnham, Forbes; People's National Congress; Politics and Politicians in Latin America; Rodney, Walter

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE (2005)

Kitt, Eartha Mae

January 26, 1928

Born on a farm in the town of North, South Carolina, singer and actress Eartha Kitt and her sister Pearl were abandoned as small children by their mother. They were raised in a foster family until 1936, when Eartha moved to New York City to live with her aunt.

In New York Kitt attended the Metropolitan High School (which later became the High School of Performing Arts), and at sixteen she met Katherine Dunham, who granted her a scholarship with Dunham's dance troupe. Kitt toured Europe and Mexico with the troupe, developing a sexually provocative stage presence and a throaty, sensual singing style. When the troupe arrived in Paris, Kitt was offered a job singing at a top nightclub. Orson Welles saw her perform and cast her as "Girl Number Three" in his 1951 stage production of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. After touring Germany with the production and a brief singing engagement in Turkey, Kitt returned to New York. She performed at La Vie en Rose and at the Village Vanguard, where Leonard Sillman saw her and decided to cast her in his Broadway show *New Faces of 1952*. Kitt also appeared in the 1954 film version of *New Faces*. In both versions she sang "C'est Si Bon," "Monotonous," and "Uska Dara," which were recorded for her 1955 album *The Bad Eartha*.

Kitt performed from the mid-1950s through the 1960s in theaters, nightclubs, and cabarets in the United States and abroad, honing her reputation as a "sex kitten." Her stage appearances included *Mrs. Patterson* (1954), a musical produced by Sillman, for which she received a Tony Award nomination, and *Shinbone Alley* (1957). Kitt also appeared in the films *St. Louis Blues* (1958), *The Accused* (1957), and *Anna Lucasta* (1959), which earned her an Oscar nomination. During this period she recorded two notable albums, *Bad but Beautiful* in 1961 and *At the Plaza* in 1965. Kitt also made numerous television appearances, including a stint on the 1960s *Batman* series, in which she played Catwoman.

In 1968 Kitt's career took a dramatic turn when she criticized the war in Vietnam at a White House luncheon hosted by the First Lady, Lady Bird Johnson. As a result she lost bookings and was vilified by conservatives and much of the mainstream press and was investigated by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Although Kitt's subsequent appearances in Europe were commonly believed to be the result of her being blacklisted in the United States, in fact she maintained a significant presence in American clubs, film, and

Eartha Mae Kitt. *An accomplished and popular stage, film, and television entertainer, Kitt sparked controversy by speaking out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam at a "Woman Doer's Luncheon" hosted at the White House in 1968.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

television. In 1972 her political reputation took a sharp turn when she performed in South Africa and publicly complimented her white hosts for their hospitality.

In the late 1970s and 1980s Kitt continued her career as a cabaret singer and occasional actor. Her return to Broadway in the 1978 show *Timbuktu* earned her a second Tony nomination. She recorded the album *I Love Men* in 1984 and published two autobiographies during this period, *I'm Still Here* in 1989 and *Confessions of a Sex Kitten* in 1991. Kitt also appeared in a variety of marginal Hollywood films, including *Erik the Viking* in 1989, *Ernest Scared Stupid* in 1991, *Boomerang* in 1992, and *Fatal Instinct* in 1993. A five-compact disc retrospective of her work, entitled *Eartha Quake,* was released in 1993.

Kitt remained active in the decade following the release of her autobiographies and retrospective. In 1996 she portrayed jazz legend Billie Holiday in a one-woman show, *Lady Day at Emerson's Bar and Grill.* In 1998 she portrayed the Wicked Witch in a musical version of *The Wizard of Oz,* and in 2000 she was cast as the Fairy Godmother in a musical version of *Cinderella.* Kitt pursues her hobbies of gardening and needlepoint at her Westchester County, New York, home. Despite her "sex kitten" image, she has never had plastic surgery.

See also Dunham, Katherine; Music in the United States

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Knight, Gladys

May 28, 1944

Gladys Knight, who was born and raised in Atlanta, Georgia, made her public singing debut at the age of four at Mount Mariah Baptist Church, where her parents were members of the choir. By the time she was five, Knight had performed in numerous Atlanta churches and toured through Florida and Alabama with the Morris Brown Choir. At the age of seven she won the Grand Prize on Ted Mack's nationally televised *Original Amateur Hour*.

In 1952 Knight formed a quartet with her brother Merald "Bubba" Williams and cousins William Guest and Edward Patten. The group, named "The Pips" after James "Pip" Woods, another cousin and the group's first manager, quickly established itself in Atlanta nightclubs. By the late 1950s, the group was a popular fixture on the national rhythm-and-blues circuit. The first recording came in 1961, when Vee Jay Records released the single "Every Beat of My Heart," which became a Top-Ten pop and number one rhythm-and-blues (R&B) hit. The following year Fury Records signed the group, changed its name to Gladys Knight and the Pips, and released their Top-Ten R&B single "Letter Full of Tears."

Though well known in R&B circles, Gladys Knight and the Pips did not become a major crossover act until 1965, when they signed with Motown Records and were featured on the label's touring reviews. Their 1967 Motown single, "I Heard It Through the Grapevine," reached number two on the *Billboard* pop chart. The late 1960s

brought the group mass acclaim for its polished, call-and-response singing style and slick, synchronized dance routines. The next big hit came in 1970 with the top-selling single, "You Need Love Like I Do." Six of the group's albums made the R&B charts: *Nitty Gritty* (1970); *Greatest Hits* (1970); *If I Were Your Woman* (1971); *Standing Ovation* (1972); *Neither One of Us* (1972); and *All I Need Is Time* (1972).

In 1972 Gladys Knight and the Pips had another big hit with "Neither One of Us (Wants to Be the First to Say Goodbye)." In 1973 the group switched to the Buddah label for its top forty album, *Imagination,* which included two of the group's most enduring successes, "Midnight Train to Georgia," a number one pop single in 1973, and "I've Got to Use My Imagination." The group won two 1974 Grammy Awards for "Neither One of Us" and "Midnight Train to Georgia."

In the late 1970s the group's popularity began to wane. Legal conflicts with Motown forced Knight to record separately for a brief period in the late 1970s. The group reunited in 1980 and continued touring but was not able to record another chart-topping record until 1988, when "Love Overboard" reached the top twenty on the *Billboard* pop chart. The following year Knight once again left the group, this time voluntarily, to establish a solo career. The following year she released *Good Woman,* a solo LP that was moderately successful on black radio.

In 1993, Knight began appearing in the company of Les Brown, a highly acclaimed speaker best known for his motivational lectures and best-selling book *Living Your Dreams.* The two eventually wed on August 29, 1995, but divorced in 1997. That same year, Knight published her autobiography, *Between Each Line of Pain and Glory: My Life Story.*

After her divorce from Brown, Knight converted to the Mormon religion, engaging actively and visibly in church functions. She also continued to perform on stage and to record. Her collection *At Last* was released in 2001. She produced the album with the assistance of her then sixteen-year-old grandson, Rishawn Newman. The album won a Grammy for Best Traditional R&B Vocal Album in 2001. On April 12 of that year, Knight married William McDowell, a spa manager whom she had met in 1990.

In February 2005, Knight enjoyed a special honor, sharing the Grammy Award for best gospel performance for "Heaven Help Us All" with the late Ray Charles.

See also Music; Rhythm and Blues

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Korean War

See Military Experience, African-American

Kumina

Kumina is a religion centered in Jamaica's southeastern parish, St. Thomas. Its presence was first noted only in the 1950s, but it was likely formulated by West Central African indentured laborers introduced by the British colonial government and British plantation owners between 1845 and 1865. However, its beliefs and rituals are not unrelated to those of Maroons (runaway slaves) in the neighboring parish, Portland, from where migrants settled in northern St. Thomas in the late nineteenth century. During the mid-twentieth century, Kumina spread when its adherents joined population movements into Kingston, the island's capital, and in the second half of the century it moved further westward into St. Catherine Parish.

Kumina is a belief system dedicated to ancestor commemoration. While the human has a spirit that returns at death to its creator, it also has a spirit, *kuyu*, that bridges the grave and the temporal world. This is the spirit with which the believer interacts as a medium and protégé. Within Kumina, no deities are called upon or worshiped, although a divine creator is recognized, named Zaambi, Zaambi Ampungo, Kinzaambi, or anglicized as King Zaambi. This is the creator among many Kongo subgroups of West Central Africa. His element is thunder.

Kumina ceremonies take the form of dancing in a counterclockwise circle around drummers seated on two drums: the *bandu* or *kibandu*, and the *playin' kyas* (cask). The single-headed drums are beaten with the palms, and tonal variation is achieved by imposing and releasing pressure on the drumhead with one heel. The bandu keeps a

2/2 heartthrob, while counterrhythms and rolls are slapped on the cask. Short repetitive songs by the dancers use either the Kongo language or Jamaican Creole English. As the dancing and drumming proceed, participants become possessed by spirits of the departed, persons who had in the near or distant past been community members. Possession behavior involves slumping to the ground, rigidity of features, body tremors or stiffness, and climbing up rafters or trees. Possession, called *mayal*, is interpreted as the return of ancestral spirits to enjoy the life experiences they once knew.

The Kumina ceremony is called a "duty," which translates the Koongo word *kamama*, "to feel obliged to keep a promise or perform a duty." This obligation can result from a dreamed request by an ancestor, or it acknowledges significant rites of passage for an individual either living or dead, such as anniversaries of birth or death, and the "tombing" of graves (their cementing over) a year or two after burial. "Duties" also mark communal anniversaries such as the turn of the year or Emancipation from slavery on August 1, 1838. Ceremonies can also petition help with physical and mental healing, legal matters, and the like. Upright posts in the shed ("bood," or booth) may be wound with ribbons in colors that signify the spiritual mood of the occasion. The head ties and clothes of the principal participants may also bear emblematic colors.

Kumina ceremonies typically start in the early night and last until near dawn. A major recess occurs around midnight when the "table" is "broken." This is a table bearing candles, bread, cakes, and fruits in a borrowing from the Afro-Christian religion Revival; it replicates a communion altar. A reading from the Bible may introduce the bread-breaking segment. The communal meal also includes meat of a goat that had been fed while being led around the circle before being beheaded publicly during the ceremony. Cooked salt-free meat and rice on banana leaves are sacralized by placement in front of the drums and then sited on the ground at the four corners of the premises as offerings to the ancestors. Early in the ceremony the ritual space of the "bood" is demarcated by the "king" or "queen" of the proceedings, who sprays rum libations from the mouth toward its four cardinal points. Kumina's ritual language is an intercalation of Jamaican Creole English and Kongo words and fossilized phrases.

See also Africanisms; Creole Languages of the Americas; Kennedy, Imogene Queenie; Religion; Revivalism

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MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS (2005)

Kwanza

In 1966, at the height of the black self-awareness and pride that characterized the Black Power movement, cultural nationalist Maulana Karenga created the holiday of Kwanza, which means "first fruits" in Swahili. The holiday is derived from the harvest festival of East African agriculturalists. Karenga believed that black people in the diaspora should set aside time to celebrate their African cultural heritage and affirm their commitment to black liberation. His philosophy, called kawaida, formed the ideological basis of Kwanza. The holiday was intended to provide a nonmaterialistic alternative to Christmas and is celebrated from December 26 through January 1. Each day is devoted to one of the seven principles on which kawaida is based: *umoja* (unity), *kujichagulia* (self-determination), *ujima* (collective work and responsibility), *ujamaa* (cooperative economics), *nia* (purpose), *kuumba* (creativity), and *imani* (faith).

The attempt to honor communal heritage through ceremony is central to Kwanza. On each evening of the celebration, family and friends gather to share food and drink. The hosts adorn the table with the various symbols of Kwanza and explain their significance to their guests. First an *mkeka* (straw mat) representing the African-American heritage in traditional African culture is laid down. Upon the mat, a *kinara* (candleholder) is lit with seven candles in memory of African ancestors. Each of the seven candles represents one of the seven values being celebrated. A *kikomba* (cup) is placed on the mat to symbolize the unity of all African peoples, and finally tropical fruits and nuts are laid out to represent the yield of the first harvest.

Although Kwanza was at first limited in practice to cultural nationalists, as more African Americans came to

heightened awareness and appreciation of their African heritage the holiday gained wider and more mainstream acceptance. In the 1990s Kwanza came to be celebrated internationally, but it gained its widest acceptance and popularity among African Americans.

See also African Diaspora; Africanisms; Karenga, Maulana; Kawaida

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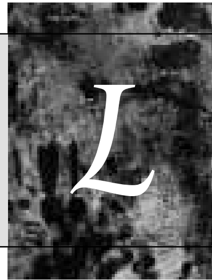

LaBelle, Patti (Holt, Patricia Louise)

October 4, 1944

Born and raised in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, singer Patti LaBelle grew up singing in the choir of the Beaulah Baptist Church. She was sixteen years old when she joined a vocal group called the Ordettes; a year later, LaBelle, Cindy Birdsong (who joined the Supremes as Florence Ballard's replacement in 1967), Nona Hendrix, and Sarah Dash signed on with Newton Records, and named their group the BlueBelles after Newton's subsidiary label, Bluebelle records. After their song "I Sold My Heart to the Junkman" reached the top twenty in 1962, the group was rechristened Patti LaBelle and the BlueBelles.

LaBelle, who is known for her fiery stage presence and outrageous attire—a mixture of leather, feathers, glitter, and enormous fanlike coiffures—received her first big break in 1968, when she and the BlueBelles opened for the Who during their U.S. tour. The following year, she married Armstead Edwards, an educator who enrolled in business courses in order to become her personal manager. In 1971 LaBelle and the BlueBelles became known as simply "LaBelle." Their album *Nightbirds,* with its number one single "Lady Marmalade," made the top ten in 1973. In 1974 LaBelle became the first black band to perform in New York's Metropolitan Opera House; as the lead singer, Patti LaBelle caused a sensation when she began the show by descending from the ceiling, where she hung suspended, to the stage.

LaBelle went solo in 1977 after personal and artistic differences between the singers caused the band's dissolution the previous year. By the end of the 1970s she had recorded two LPs for Epic Records, and she continued to appear live and record albums throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1985 LaBelle appeared in Pennsylvania to perform in the Live Aid Benefit Rock Concert; her album *Burnin'* earned her a Grammy Award for best rhythm-and-blues performance by a female vocalist in 1991. In 1997 she released the album *Flame,* and her album *Live! One Night Only* (1998) garnered her another Grammy. In 2003 she won a Songwriters Hall of Fame Lifetime Achievement Award.

LaBelle is well known for her support of numerous charitable and social organizations, including Big Sisters and the United Negro College Fund, as well as various urban renewal and homelessness projects in Philadelphia, where she lives. In addition to giving concert performances, she costarred with singer Al Green in a revival of

Your Arms Too Short to Box with God on Broadway in 1982, and appeared in the films *A Soldier's Story* and *Beverly Hills Cop,* in her own television special, and in the television series *A Different World* and *Out All Night*.

The co-author of a book of recipes (*LaBelle Cuisine: Recipes to Sing About,* 1999), LaBelle expanded her career once again to launch a clothing line on the Home Shopping Network (HSN) in November 2003. LaBelle, involved in the creative process for that line of women's clothing, took inspiration from her own wardrobe and stage clothes.

LaBelle has not let her other artistic endeavors impede her musical career. She signed with Def Jam Classics to produce another album, *Timeless Journey,* which was released in 2004.

See also Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues; United Negro College Fund

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PAMELA WILKINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Labor and Labor Unions

African-American workers' relationship to the organized labor movement has undergone tremendous, if uneven, shifts since the Civil War. Concentrated in southern agriculture or in unskilled occupations before World War I, most black workers simply did not compete directly with whites in the economic sphere. Trade unions were dominated by white workers, whose skills and racial solidarity often enabled them to bar blacks from membership in their associations and employment in certain sectors of the economy. By World War I, however, the efforts of an ever-growing number of urban industrial black workers to advance economically undermined the success of white labor's exclusionary strategy. With the triumph of industrial unionism represented by the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations during the Great Depression of the 1930s, an important branch of the labor movement committed itself to interracial organizing. The modern American labor movement has both reflected and contributed to the nation's changing race relations. While never free of racial tensions or inequality, and while possessing a wide range of unions with different racial policies, practices, and degrees of commitment to racial equality, the labor movement has served as one more arena of black workers' larger struggle for racial equality in the economy.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the overwhelming number of black workers made their living in southern agriculture as landless sharecroppers and tenant farmers, concentrated at the bottom of the South's economic hierarchy where they exercised little political or economic power. Black agricultural workers launched periodic collective challenges to white planters' authority in the political realm during Reconstruction and the Populist Era in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and in the economic arena in the form of strikes by rural Knights of Labor in the mid-1880s and by various sharecroppers' movements in the 1930s. But their movements and uprisings were quickly crushed. The 1887 strike by some 10,000 Knights of Labor (most of whom were black) working in the Louisiana sugar fields met with fierce state repression, as did the efforts of the black Alabama Share Croppers' Union in the 1930s. Trade unions and other movements found the rural South infertile soil in which to take root and flourish, for many reasons, including the South's racial ideology, black workers' economic weakness arising from their landlessness, the power of the planter class, the commitment of the state to repressing rural labor, and the organized labor movement's lack of interest in agricultural and black workers. The most successful black response to economic and political oppression was short-range mobility within the South and ultimately migration out of the South. Engaged overwhelmingly in rural southern agriculture at the end of the Civil War, African Americans had, by the late twentieth century, become a largely urban people, engaged in manufacturing, transportation, and service trades in the North, South, and West.

Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Trade Unions

Before and after the Civil War, trade unions of white workers in the North and South viewed skilled and unskilled urban black workers as a threat to their own economic security. Skill, independence, manliness, and a sense of racial superiority defined the contours of these skilled whites' beliefs. In white workers' thinking, black

workers (slave or free) might demean a craft by working more cheaply and without regard to union work rules or customs. Accordingly, whites excluded blacks from membership in their organizations, denied blacks access to apprenticeship programs, and occasionally resorted to force to drive blacks out of employment. Immediately after the Civil War, a new, loosely organized, and short-lived national federation of white trade unions, the National Labor Union (1866–1872), eventually admitted black delegates representing black workers to its conventions but went no further. At the same time, most of its constituent members barred blacks from their unions, urging them to organize separately into their own unions. While white workers excluded blacks from white associations, their acceptance, sometimes reluctant, sometimes not, of all-black associations was as far as most white union members were willing to go. The alternative, which was more widely practiced, was white exclusion, nonrecognition, and outright hostility toward blacks. Until the 1930s, exclusion and biracial unionism represented the white labor movement's two dominant tendencies toward African Americans.

In response to their exclusion from white organizations, black workers built upon their communities' larger institutional networks to create all-black unions that championed their members' class and racial interests. Black labor leader Isaac Myers, a Baltimore ship caulker, was a founder of another short-lived association in 1869, the black National Labor Union, which brought together representatives of newly formed black unions, community leaders, and black political (Republican) officials. More enduring, if less recognized, were the dozens of smaller associations that emerged during and after Reconstruction in such southern urban centers as Richmond, Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, and Savannah.

During the 1880s, the Knights of Labor emerged from obscurity to become the nation's most powerful labor federation. The Knights' ideology was cooperative, inclusive, and egalitarian. The organization embraced all wage earners across lines of skill, gender, religion, ethnicity, and race (with the exception of Asian immigrants). Although there are no precise figures, one contemporary estimated that blacks constituted about 10 percent (roughly 60,000) of the Knights' membership in 1886. Yet the formation of Knights' locals largely followed strict racial lines. The Order, particularly in the South, absorbed already existing black and white locals, and new locals formed along racially distinct lines. This biracial character did not prevent black and white delegates from meeting together or formulating joint strategies, but it did perpetuate existing differences and made expressions of solidarity more difficult. By 1886, the Knights' racial policies came under fierce attack from conservative southern editors, politicians, and employers as well as some white Knights. Playing upon white workers' racial fears, employers "race-baited" the Order, which, for many reasons, went into decline in the late 1880s.

The American Federation of Labor (founded in 1881) succeeded the Knights as the nation's dominant labor organization by the early 1890s. In contrast to the inclusiveness of the Knights, the social bases of the AFL rested on white craft workers who sought to protect their skills and jobs from all newcomers. Craft unions were exclusive, barring workers from membership on the basis of their lack of skills, their sex, race, and in some cases ethnicity. The AFL was formally opposed to racial discrimination in its ranks; in 1892, its New Orleans members participated in an (unsuccessful) interracial general strike on behalf of unskilled black and white workers. But by the turn of the century, AFL leaders tolerated widespread discrimination by its constituent members, explaining that the all-important principle of craft autonomy—which granted considerable power to individual unions—made it impossible for them to intervene in member unions' internal affairs. AFL officials adhered to that principle only selectively, however, for on other issues they did sometimes intervene.

The majority of union internationals in the AFL, as well as the independent, powerful railroad brotherhoods, remained all white, and a minority of union internationals admitted blacks into segregated, second-class unions. Several large internationals defied these trends. The International Longshoremen's Association and the United Mine Workers of America, while embracing biracial unions (all-black and all-white locals), espoused somewhat more egalitarian views and policies. The existence of large numbers of black workers, many of whom were organized, compelled white trade unionists in these fields to reach accommodations with African-American workers. That is, these unions' success and very existence required a coming-to-grips with racial divisions; they could little afford to exclude or ignore black workers.

During the Progressive Era, only the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) adopted a principled stand against racial discrimination. Far to the left of the AFL, the IWW advocated the formation of industrial unions (all workers in a factory, regardless of craft, would be members of the same union) and the overthrow of capitalism, championing a working-class solidarity that transcended all lines of division. While it gained adherents among black and white southern timber workers and Philadelphia longshoremen before World War I, the IWW confronted massive government and employer repression and declined rapidly during the war.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, maintaining all-white workplaces sometimes brought white workers into sharp conflict with employers and blacks. Employers used white workers' racial beliefs and practices to their own advantage by turning to black workers to break strikes or otherwise undermine union wages and work rules. Black workers, who were barred from certain sectors of employment and union membership, found strikebreaking to be one method of cracking the economic color line and securing new jobs. In this period, there were dozens of instances of small- and large-scale riots and other violence as whites in all-white unions battled black workers imported by employers to undercut union authority and power.

White workers often coexisted easily or uneasily with black workers in their trades, but upon other occasions they sought to drive blacks completely out of those jobs. For instance, the 1894 and 1895 strikes by white New Orleans dock workers and the 1909 strike by white Georgia railroad firemen each sought as its goal the elimination of black workers. During the World War I era, massive labor shortages in the North contributed to an unprecedented migration of African Americans out of the South. Securing a wide foothold in mass-production industries for the first time, black workers confronted often-hostile whites, especially during the postwar economic downturn. Competition for jobs was only one of the many causes of the race riots that exploded in 1919, and black workers suffered discrimination not only at the hands of unions but by employers as well.

Despite the AFL's racial practices and black leaders' condemnation of those practices, numerous black workers formed all-black unions and joined the federation. Generally representing unskilled workers (in such trades as longshoring and mining), these unions were often smaller and weaker than their white counterparts. Nonetheless, they participated in the labor upheavals of the World War I era. The years 1918 and 1919, for instance, witnessed strikes by black female domestic workers and laundry workers in Mobile and Newport News, black male longshoremen in New Orleans, Galveston, Savannah, and Key West, and black (and white) coal miners in West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Alabama. These strikes failed less because of white workers' opposition (in some cases, whites and blacks struck together) than because of violent opposition by employers and government. Yet the rare union effort to bridge the racial gap in northern industry, such as the wartime drive by Chicago's multiracial and multiethnic packinghouse workers, failed not only because of the employers' hostility; in the Chicago packinghouses, racial and skill divisions proved too deep for organizers to overcome, dooming the unions' efforts.

Immediately after the war, black unionists demanded that the AFL abolish its color line and actively organize black workers. While the AFL passed lofty resolutions, the behavior of its white affiliates changed little, if at all. Although the AFL eventually did offer organizational backing to the largest all-black union in the United States, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founded in 1925 and led by A. Philip Randolph, it did little to challenge the racism of its other railroad unions, which remained virtually lily-white until the 1960s.

African Americans, like their white native-born and immigrant counterparts, were of many minds on the subject of organized labor. Until the mid-twentieth century, most blacks worked in sectors of the economy (agriculture, domestic service, and common labor) that were not conducive to sustaining trade unions, regardless of the race of the labor force. If no one could deny the institutional racism of organized white labor, African Americans disagreed on such issues as the possibilities of positive institutional change, the relationship between black workers and white industrialists, the union movement's tactics, and the like. Conservative leader Booker T. Washington, along with many business-oriented black newspaper editors and clergymen, were extremely harsh in their evaluation of the AFL, counseling black workers to ally with the industrial leaders in the New South and in the North. Some black workers, excluded from white unions and hence certain job categories, reluctantly or enthusiastically became strikebreakers as the only way to gain access to better jobs. Other black leaders were ideologically flexible, praising organized labor when it opened its doors to blacks, condemning it when it kept those doors closed. Black proponents of black union organizing, like miner Richard L. Davis and longshoreman James Porter, worked within their respective union internationals, attempting to enlist black workers in the labor movement's ranks at the same time they sought to modify white labor's racism. Given white workers' often abusive treatment, a relative lack of skills, and economic subordination, a majority of black workers remained outside of the labor movement (as did a majority of white workers). Black workers who joined trade unions did so for many of the same reasons white workers did: to improve wages and working conditions, to eliminate or reduce abuses, to win a degree of job security and control over the conditions of their labor, and to secure a measure of dignity in their work lives. Black trade unions waged a continual struggle to carve out a place for themselves in an often reluctant labor movement dominated by whites. Until the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s, their successes were relatively few and far between.

Industrial Unionism and Unions in Modern America

The formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1935 heralded a gradual transformation in the relationship between organized labor and African-American workers. Breaking away from the AFL, CIO unions advocated industrial unionism and campaigned vigorously to organize basic industry (auto, steel, meat packing, electric, rubber). Committed to organizing all workers, regardless of skill, sex, or race, the CIO both ideologically and practically had to secure the support of black workers, whose presence in basic industry in the North had increased dramatically since the great migration of the World War I era brought hundreds of southern blacks into the northern economy. There was no single CIO perspective or practice on racial issues, for CIO unions' record on racial issues and behavior toward black workers varied by industry and region. During World War II, thousands of white workers (many of whom were themselves newcomers to industry and the labor movement) conducted unofficial, unsanctioned hate strikes against the presence or advancement of black workers in their factories, strikes that were opposed by the federal government and top union leaders. Before and after World War II, left-wing CIO unions maintained the strongest record on civil rights issues and the treatment of black members. Influenced by communist leaders and an active black rank and file, the United Packinghouse Workers, the Farm Equipment Workers, the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and, by the 1950s and 1960s, the Hospital Workers Union stood at the forefront of those in the labor movement advancing a civil rights agenda. The more centrist United Automobile Workers Union, especially in Detroit, worked in close alliance with black political leaders in the 1940s.

Since 1950, the labor movement's record on issues of black equality has remained checkered. Participating in the anticommunism of the post–World War II era, the CIO purged its left wing, firing communist organizers and expelling unions most active in the struggle for racial equality. The CIO's failed Operation Dixie in 1946 and 1947 left organized labor far weaker and economic segregation far stronger in the South. The merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955 sealed the labor movement's primary organizational fault line, but on terms that left substantively untouched much of the racial conservatism of the AFL craft unions. Over the next several decades, black trade unionists founded a number of all-black organizations as well as caucuses within various international unions (affecting unions in steel, the garment trade, the postal service, and education), all of which aimed at advancing African Americans' civil rights by pressuring AFL-CIO officials and employers alike. Since the 1960s, many white AFL unions have continued to discriminate against blacks and have opposed affirmative action strongly, and, in the 1980s, many white unionists participated in the "white backlash" and defected from the Democratic party, becoming "Reagan Democrats" who voted Republican in presidential elections. Yet the united AFL-CIO did create a civil rights department, and some union internationals and locals contributed money and organizers to the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. The percentage of blacks in the AFL-CIO continued to rise, reaching roughly 10 percent of the federation's declining membership by 1970. African Americans in unionized jobs earned about 25 percent more than blacks in nonunionized jobs by 1979. By the 1990s, unions containing a large African-American membership include the United Auto Workers, the Service Employees International Union, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and the Hospital Workers Local 1199. During the 1980s, unions with large numbers of black members were active in supporting South Africa's anti-apartheid movement and in lobbying for progressive legislation in health care; a number of unions endorsed Jesse Jackson's 1988 bid for the presidency.

The late 1990s brought union scandals and controversy. In December 1998 Stanley Hill was pressured by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to take a leave of absence from his longtime position as the executive director of District Council 17. The Manhattan District Attorney was investigating allegations of embezzlement, kickbacks, and vote fraud in District Council 17. Hill announced his retirement eleven weeks later on February 17, 1999. Two of Hill's top aides resigned in December 1998 after admitting that they had taken part in the vote fraud. Although he repeatedly denied any knowledge of the vote rigging, he felt some responsibility for it since some of his key people were involved.

Since the 1960s, deindustrialization and capital flight, the expansion of dead-end and poorly paid jobs in the new "service" economy, an increasingly hostile political environment, and the revival of strong anti-union sentiment in the business community have contributed to the steady and dramatic decline of organized labor. Fighting an uphill battle for its own survival, the labor movement has devoted relatively little attention to making inroads in the economy's fast-growing, low-wage, unskilled sector, which is increasingly dominated by black and other nonwhite workers. Because of its weakness, its narrow vision,

Union appeal for integration, Detroit, 1944. *A truck paneled with signboards arranged to mimic the appearance of a Klansman carries a message sponsored by the San Francisco branch of the NAACP.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and its adherence to traditional strategies centered primarily on member needs, the labor movement has contributed little to addressing the larger issues of economic decline and postindustrial poverty, which have had tremendously negative effects on the African-American urban working class.

The decline in U.S. manufacturing and the continued outsourcing and offshoring of U.S. jobs to foreign countries has hurt all workers, although at 10.5 percent (as of January 2004), black unemployment is more than twice that of whites. According to U.S. Department of Labor statistics, 20.1 percent of wage and salary workers were union workers in 1983; by 2004 that figure was 12.5 percent, though 15.1 percent of overall membership was African American. In 2005 the Detroit-based International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Washington, D.C.–based Service Employees International Union (SEIU) broke away from the AFL-CIO, which comprises some sixty unions. This marked the biggest split among the labor organization's 13 million members since its founding in 1955, although the union of Carpenters and Joiners International and its 300,000 members broke away in 2000. The two dissident unions, representing 3.2 million workers, cited declining U.S. union membership and the future direction of organized labor for their decision. Calling themselves the Change to Win Coalition—which also include the Laborers International of North America; the textile, garment, and hotel employees union UNITE HERE; the United Food and Commercial Workers; and the United Farm Workers—the dissident unions prefer a greater focus on organizing workers and merging smaller unions into larger ones, believing that the AFL-CIO devotes too much of its resources to centralization and political lobbying. The coalition represents mostly lower-wage workers in service industries, which now comprise 76 percent of the job market.

See also Black Power Movement; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Communist Party of the United States; Economic Condition, U.S.;

League of Revolutionary Black Workers; National Negro Labor Council; Negro American Labor Council; Politics in the United States; Randolph, Asa Philip; Riots and Popular Protests; Urban Poverty in the Caribbean

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ERIC ARNESEN (1996)
CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Labov, William

December 4, 1927

Sociolinguist William Labov was born in Rutherford, New Jersey. Perhaps more than any other person, Labov has shaped the foundation of contemporary sociolinguistics. He made seminal contributions to the study of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), albeit within the greater context of his global effort to create an inclusive and comprehensive linguistic science.

Labov's academic training began at Harvard University in 1944, where he majored in English and philosophy. After several unsuccessful attempts at other professions, he settled upon work as an industrial chemist in 1949. The experience of his philosophical, English, and scientific training—combined with the no-nonsense production schedules demanded of successful entrepreneurs—proved to be ideally suited to Labov's emerging fascination with linguistic science.

Labov's 1966 dissertation, "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," written at Columbia University, remains one of the most important and influential linguistic studies ever produced. It gave rise to his abiding concern about how best to advance literacy and educational achievement among black students with sophisticated analyses of their linguistic behavior.

Labov, working in collaboration with Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins, and John Lewis, produced *The Nonstandard English of Black and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City* in 1968. This important study provided the empirical bases for two companion studies that codify Labov's twin tower contributions to racial justice and linguistic science.

Students of AAVE have benefited from "The Logic of Nonstandard English" (1969) and "Contraction, Deletion,

and Inherent Variability of the English Copula" (1969). In the former, Labov dispelled some prevalent myths regarding the logical coherence of AAVE. In the latter, he produced a major quantitative study of copula variation (i.e., variants of "is" and "are") among African Americans, and he did so in ways that were compatible with Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle's 1968 formulations for the sound pattern of English. Labov did more than merely describe AAVE; he did so while advancing a comprehensive linguistic science—that is, an empirical linguistic science that is fully inclusive.

These classical sociolinguistic studies remain the gold standard for excellence in AAVE research. Labov used his AAVE expertise in 1979 during the landmark Black English Trial in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Based on that experience he wrote "Objectivity and Commitment in Linguistic Science" (1982) in which he extols the social and educational virtue of the strategic collaboration between linguists, educators, and attorneys in support of young African-American plaintiffs. In this instance the black plaintiffs won their case by confirming that the defendant school district failed to account for potential linguistic barriers to their academic success and their language education in particular. Shortly thereafter he observed linguistic divergence among blacks and whites (Labov and Harris, 1986), which was a precursor to some of the important contemporary research on hip-hop and its linguistic defiance in the face of mainstream American English.

Labov remains extremely active. "How I Got into Linguistics, and What I Got Out of It" and "Coexistent Systems in African American English" provide greater insight into his professional life and recent contributions to studies of African-American English. Other major works include the two-volume *Principles of Linguistic Change,* the first volume (1994) dealing with internal factors and the second with social factors (2001). Intellectual tributes from his students can be found in the two-volume set *Towards a Social Science of Language: Papers in Honor of William Labov.*

See also Educational Psychology and Psychologists; English, African-American; Psychology and Psychologists: Race Issues; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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JOHN BAUGH (2005)

Lafayette Players

The Lafayette Players was the first enduring African-American stock theater company, and it offered the first opportunity for black actors to appear in nonmusical presentations. The group was formed in 1915 as the Anita Bush Players and presented its first play, *The Girl at the Fort,* on November 19, 1915, at the Lincoln Theatre in Harlem. The group was successful, but a dispute with the Lincoln Theatre management led it to transfer to the Lafayette Theater, where it began to present plays on December 27, 1915. By March of the following year, Bush transferred ownership of the players to the Lafayette Theater management and the group became known as the Lafayette Players.

At the height of the Lafayette Players' success, from 1919 to 1921, four traveling companies used the name and were booked on the circuit controlled by the corporate owner. The Lafayette Players was continuously active until 1923, when film undercut live entertainment. The name *Lafayette Players* was used intermittently by various successor groups until 1928; a group was also active under the name in Los Angeles from 1928 to 1932.

The Lafayette Players presented over 250 productions, mostly of abbreviated Broadway plays or classics; only a handful were what were called race plays. The early production schedule called for a new play every week. The presentations almost always shared the bill with vaudeville acts and movies. The most famous among the early players were Charles Gilpin (1878–1930), who played the lead in Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* on Broadway in 1920, and Clarence Muse (1889–1979), who had a long career in Hollywood.

See also Drama; Lincoln Theatre; Micheaux, Oscar

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Lam, Wifredo

December 8, 1902
September 11, 1982

Cuban painter Wifredo Lam was the first artist of color to make an impact on the international art scene. He was born in Sagua le Grande, Cuba. His father was Chinese, his mother of African and Spanish ancestry. After studying art at the Academia San Alejandro in Havana, he left Cuba in 1923 to study art in Spain, where he lived for fifteen years. During this period he set the foundation for his signature style by experimenting with a variety of academic art and modernist tendencies, inspired in particular by the work of Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. Lam became involved with the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). In 1937 he became ill and was sent to Barcelona to recover, escaping to Paris in 1938 just as the city fell to the Nationalist forces.

In Paris Lam made contact with Picasso, who introduced him to André Breton and the surrealist group. In the context of that movement Lam was able to promote his art internationally. When the German forces advanced on Paris in 1940, Lam began his journey back to Cuba, going first to Marseilles, where in the company of the surrealists he developed a language of hybrid forms that would characterize his unique mature style. He secured passage from Marseilles to Martinique, eventually arriving in Cuba. There, from 1942 to 1945, he created his first masterpieces, most famously *The Jungle* (1942–1943, located in the Museum of Modern Art in New York), which featured a synthesis of Afro-Cuban religious motifs (with references to deities known as o*rishas*), European modernism, and ancient alchemical ideas implanted on human, plant, and animal hybrids. Through Breton, who had gone on to New York, Lam was able to exhibit this work in New York during the 1940s. After World War II Lam reconnected with the European art scene, establishing a studio in Italy where he worked for the final twenty-two years of his career.

This was the period of the extensive internationalization of Lam's reputation in Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, and even Asia. His style continued to evolve, becoming more schematic and more imaginative as he continually invented variations on his repertoire of thematic motifs: bamboo stalks and tobacco leaves, banana and papaya fruit, inverted cup-heads of Elegua (*orisha* of the crossroads), and the ever-present horse-headed woman (*femme cheval*). Lam became a mentor as well as associate of the new generation of artists in movements such as the CoBrA group (referring to Copenhagen, Brussels, and Amsterdam), the Group Phases, and the International Situationists, who represented the evolution of surrealism after World War II. Lam was unwavering in his conviction that his work was an instrument of political, cultural, and personal liberation. His ultimate legacy was that he demonstrated the potential of issues of identity and nationality within modernism, setting the stage for postmodernism. Lam died in Paris in 1982 after suffering a debilitating stroke in 1978 and is buried in Havana, Cuba.

See also Orisha; Painting and Sculpture

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LOWERY STOKES SIMS (2005)

Lamming, George

June 8, 1927

A prominent figure in Caribbean literary history, George Lamming was born in Carrington Village, Barbados. Although overwhelmingly populated by descendants of African slaves brought to the island for plantation labor, Barbados was at the time so self-identified as an anglicized British colony that it was called "Little England." Lamming migrated to London in the great wave of Caribbean migration in the 1950s, but his experiences there as a black man challenged his initial belief that there was limited potential in the Anglophone Caribbean and that a West Indian writer had no choice but to leave for the mother country, England. He returned to Barbados several decades later, where he continues to write, lecture, and travel to various countries. He has published no major fiction after his allegorical novel *Natives of My Person* (1972) but has worked on a dramatic piece on reimagining history in the Americas. Although he began as a short story writer and a poet, Lamming's most important works remain his novels, including *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953), *The Emigrants* (1954), *Of Age and Innocence* (1958), *Season of Adventure* (1960), and *Water with Berries* (1971).

Lamming's entire corpus focuses on various phases of Caribbean colonial history and its aftermath, including what he perceived as the failure of independence movements on the islands. The author himself notes internal connections in theme and substance in his novels, characterizing each of his fictional works as part of a corpus that could be read as one book, although not in chronological order. *In the Castle of My Skin,* published shortly after he migrated to London, is the first in a series that explores the psychological, historical, and political impact of European colonization in the Americas. It became an instant classic and is still the most frequently cited of his novels. It examines the material effects of landlessness and poverty on black villagers in Barbados and the ideological consequences of English colonial education. His second novel, *The Emigrants,* can be read as a sequel to his first, which ends with the betrayal of the labor riots of the 1930s and the departure of the protagonist. *The Emigrants* deals with the mass migration to England and the shocking alienation of the various Caribbean islanders who thought of themselves as British subjects, only to experience racism and hostility from those who saw them as threatening outsiders. *Of Age and Innocence, Season of Adventure,* and *Water with Berries* depict a return to the Caribbean and stress a postcolonial engagement with universal suffrage, independence struggles, and interethnic tensions. The last novel, *Natives of My Person,* moves back in historical time to early European slaving and settlement enterprises on the islands while at the same time suggesting a continued link from that period in history to the later phases of postindependence.

Apart from his fictional work, Lamming is also known for his collection of essays, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960), which discusses many of the ideas also raised in his novels, including the reinterpretation of Caliban, Shakespeare's monstrous character in *The Tempest,* as a revolutionary slave and tragic hero. One of the earliest challenges to the English canon, Lamming's provocative reading of Caliban went on to become a representative symbol of anticolonial resistance in African, Caribbean, and Latin American literatures, indeed for postcolonial theory in general. While much of his work engages in the task of retrieving and reimagining distorted or obscured history in the Americas in order to seek resolutions and chart a new future, its bleak and weighty conclusions do not lend themselves to naively celebratory readings of the end of slavery in the Caribbean.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary)

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SUPRIYA NAIR (2005)

Lampkin, Daisy

March 1884?
March 10, 1965

The date and place of birth of Daisy Elizabeth Adams Lampkin, a civil rights leader, are not certain. Some records list her as being born in March 1884 in the District of Columbia (the stepdaughter of John and Rosa Temple), while others list her as born on August 9, 1888, in Reading, Pennsylvania, to George and Rosa Anne (Proctor) Adams. Records become more reliable for her late adolescent years: She finished high school in Reading, moved to Pittsburgh in 1909, and married William Lampkin in 1912.

Daisy Lampkin met *Pittsburgh Courier* publisher Robert L. Vann in 1913, after she had won a cash prize for selling the most copies of the newspaper; with the prize, she purchased stock in the *Courier* corporation. She continued to invest in the *Courier* corporation until 1929, when she began a lifelong tenure as the corporation's vice president.

In 1915 Lampkin became president of the Negro Women's Franchise League; that year, too, she became involved in the National Suffrage League and the women's division of the Republican Party. In July 1924, as president of the National Negro Republican Convention in Atlantic City, she helped pass a strong resolution against lynching. She also took part that year in a black delegation to the White House, led by James Weldon Johnson, to vindicate black soldiers involved in the Houston riot of 1917. She also became a delegate-at-large to the 1924 Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

In 1929 Walter White, acting executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), had Lampkin appointed regional field secretary for the organization. She used her positions in the NAACP and the powerful *Courier* corporation to attract new funds and members to both organizations. In 1930 her grassroots political influence helped defeat Roscoe McCullough's reelection bid as senator from Ohio. McCullough had supported the nomination of Judge John J. Parker (who had once opposed black suffrage) to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1935 Lampkin was named national field secretary of the NAACP, a post she held until 1947. In this capacity she displayed great skill at raising funds while keeping operating expenses to a minimum. She and White campaigned strongly, although unsuccessfully, for the passage of the 1935 Costigan-Wagner federal antilynching bill. During Franklin Roosevelt's administration, she encouraged blacks to change their voting preferences from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party. However, she supported the Democrats selectively. Under Roosevelt, she supported the party despite the NAACP directives against partisan activity; under Truman, she cited those same directives as a reason to withhold her official support.

Although physical fatigue forced her to resign as national field secretary in 1947, Lampkin continued her fund-raising activities as a member of the NAACP board of directors. She continued to challenge any symbolic or substantive threats to African-American progress, but at the increasing cost of her physical stamina. She supported the Republicans in 1952 when the Democrats ran a segregationist vice presidential candidate, Alabama's John J. Sparkman. She also led a major fund-raising effort for the Delta Sigma Theta sorority's purchase of a $50,000 building that year.

Lampkin remained active in NAACP activities through the early 1960s, receiving the National Council of Negro Women's first Eleanor Roosevelt–Mary McLeod Bethune Award in December 1964. Lampkin died at her home in Pittsburgh in 1965. In 1983 she became the first black woman honored by the state of Pennsylvania with a historical marker, located at the site of her Webster Avenue home. In 1997 she was the recipient of the "Spirit of King" award, which honors civil rights advocates from Pittsburgh who embody the ideals of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

See also Johnson, James Weldon; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Council of Negro Women; *Pittsburgh Courier*

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Langston, John Mercer

December 14, 1829
November 15, 1897

The politician John Mercer Langston was born in Louisa County, Virginia, the youngest of four children born to Ralph Quarles, a white planter, and Quarles's manumitted slave, Lucy Langston. After the death of their parents in 1834, the Langston children were settled in Ohio. John Mercer began his studies in theology in 1844 at Oberlin College, where he received both a bachelor's and a master's degree. He later read law under Philemon Bliss, a judge from Elyria, Ohio, and passed the state bar examination in 1854.

Langston established a successful law practice in Brownhelm, Ohio, and he participated in local politics. His election as town clerk in 1855 made him the first African American elected by popular vote to a public office. Together with his brothers, Gideon Langston and Charles H. Langston, he made the family name synonymous with black abolitionism in Ohio. He participated in a variety of community activities, from organizing antislavery and reform societies to presiding at local and state black conventions. He was involved in the protests against state black laws, and worked with the Ohio branch of the Underground Railroad to assist escaping slaves. Langston's commitment to social reform included women's rights, temperance, and racial progress through self-reliance. He worked to improve black education in Ohio and supported the black press. His correspondence on current issues appeared frequently in *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, and he also contributed some articles to the *Anglo-African Magazine*.

Langston became disheartened by the deterioration in American race relations in the early 1850s. He began advocating black separatism and emigration, but at the 1854 national emigration convention in Cleveland he surprised delegates with a vigorous defense of integration and an optimistic assessment of the prospects for racial progress and equality in the United States. In the late 1850s he grew increasingly militant and predicted that the issue of slavery would lead to a national conflict. He was among several blacks who conspired with John Brown in the plan to incite a slave insurrection, though he declined to participate directly in the Harpers Ferry raid.

During the Civil War, Langston directed his efforts to the Union cause. His work as the chief recruiting agent in the western states helped fill the ranks of the Union Army's black regiments. He also encouraged the charity of the soldiers' aid societies. The black national convention held in Syracuse, New York, selected him as president of the newly founded National Equal Rights League in 1864.

John Mercer Langston (1829–1897). THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Contemporaries described Langston as an intelligent, persuasive orator with an "aristocratic style and a democratic temperament." Given these qualities and an impressive career of public service, he established a national reputation. Beginning in 1867, he toured the South as an inspector for the Freedmen's Bureau. His message to southern blacks emphasized educational opportunity, political equality, and economic justice. He organized the law department at Howard University in 1868 and later became the university's acting president. In 1877 he received an appointment as the American consul general to Haiti. After returning to the United States in 1885, he became president of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute. As the Democratic Party regained control of Virginia, Langston faced a growing challenge to his civic and political leadership, but he remained in the state that he always had considered his home. In 1888 he ran as an independent in a bitterly contested campaign for a seat in the U.S.

House of Representatives. The House adjudicated in Langston's favor in September 1890, and he held his seat until March 1891. Langston surveyed his distinguished public career in an autobiography, *From the Virginia Plantation to the Nation's Capitol* (1894). In 1996, the state of Virginia recognized John Mercer Langston as one of its distinguished native sons with a historic marker in his birthplace of Louisa County.

See also Black Codes; *Frederick Douglass' Paper*; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Howard University; Politics in the United States; Underground Railroad

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

LARSEN, NELLA

APRIL 13, 1891
C. MARCH 30, 1964

Born in Chicago, novelist Nella Larsen was the mixed-race child of immigrant parents. Reared in a visibly "white" family, she was a lonely child whose racial identity separated her from both parents and sibling. She compensated for her difference by becoming an avid reader of novels and travelogues and a keen observer of life around her. Although she later claimed her Danish or her West Indian heritages, she became part of an African-American world when she entered the Fisk University Normal High School. She left after a year without receiving either a diploma or a teaching degree. She moved to New York, where in 1915 she completed nurse's training at the Lincoln Hospital School of Nursing. Her career choice enabled her to become self-supporting, working initially for her alma mater, then briefly for Tuskegee Institute's John Andrew Memorial Hospital and later for New York City's Board of Health.

In 1919 Larsen married a research physicist, Dr. Elmer S. Imes, and became part of the upwardly mobile African-American middle class. Disillusioned with the opportunities for African-American females in nursing, she capitalized on her love of books by working for the New York Public Library, a job that enabled her to enter the New York Public Library School in 1922 and introduced her to the emerging coterie of writers in Harlem. Her first publication, a 1923 book review in the *Messenger,* was the result of her work for the library school.

Throughout the 1920s Larsen was active in the Harlem Renaissance. Two of her early stories, "The Wrong Man" and "Freedom," appeared under a pseudonym in 1926. Shortly thereafter, she published two novels, *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929), which earned her a considerable reputation as a writer of powerful explorations of female psychology and modern consciousness. *Quicksand* follows the exploits of an educated mulatto, Helga Crane, as she searches for self-definition, social recognition, and sexual expression. *Passing* presents two light-skinned women as antagonists and psychological doubles in a drama of racial passing, class and social mobility, and female desire. Larsen received the Harmon Foundation's Bronze Medal for achievement in literature in 1929 and a Guggenheim Fellowship in creative writing in 1930. She spent her fellowship year in Spain and France researching a novel on racial freedom and writing a novel about her husband's infidelity.

Larsen's literary promise, however, did not achieve full maturity. She ceased publishing during the 1930s after several public humiliations undermined her confidence in her ability. She was accused in *Forum* magazine of plagiarizing *Sanctuary* (1930), and she was sensationalized in the African-American press during her divorce proceedings (1933). By the 1940s, after several efforts at collaborative novels had failed, she gave up all efforts to write and returned to the nursing profession. She continued to work as a nurse in New York hospitals until March 1964, when she was found dead in her apartment. Although nearly forgotten as a writer at the time of her death, Larsen has subsequently achieved renewed visibility as a major modern African-American novelist whose complex representations of gender and race intrigue postmodern readers and resist reductive readings.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Literature

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THADIOUS M. DAVIS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Last Poets

The radical writers' and musicians' group called the Last Poets grew out of the black arts movement of the late 1960s, performing and recording politically and rhythmically charged messages that prefigured the rap music of the 1980s and 1990s. The Last Poets were formed at a May 1968 gathering in Harlem's Mount Morris Park to commemorate Malcolm X. The members of that group—Gylan Kain, Abiodun Oyewole, and David Nelson—went on to sell more than 300,000 copies of their first album, *The Last Poets*, which contained such songs as “New York, New York,” “Niggers Are Scared of Revolution,” and “When the Revolution Comes.” These were heated denunciations of racial oppression in the United States set to stripped-down African, Afro-Cuban, and African-American drumming. Nelson soon left the group and was replaced by Felipe Luciano.

The Last Poets appeared in the film *Right On!* (1969) before an ideological disagreement between Oyewole and Kain caused the members to split into two groups. Kain, Luciano, and Nelson continued to work under the name “Last Poets,” as did Oyewole and such new members as Umar Bin Hassan, Suliaman El-Hadi, and Alafia Pudim (later known as Jalaludin Mansur Nuriddin). Albums by the two groups attacked both whites and blacks who compromised on militant positions of black power and social justice, and their comments were often intensified through the use of profanity and offensive language. Despite their initial success, the Last Poets never received a major recording contract and failed to gain a large following. Aside from occasional performances in the United States and Europe, the members of the Last Poets remained cult figures who constantly fought and bickered over the rights to the name.

The rediscovery of the Last Poets by rap musicians in the 1980s helped the members of both ensembles become more active. In 1985, Nuriddin and El-Hadi released *Oh My People,* followed the next year by a book of poems, *Vibes of the Scribes,* and the album *Freedom Express*. In 1990, believing that the success of rap music had paved the way for a comeback, Kain, Nelson, and Oyewole reunited and made a tour of the United States. However, the group failed to recapture its initial popularity. Several albums from Last Poets members, including *Holy Terror* and *Be Bop or Be Dead,* were released in the 1990s. Since then the groups calling themselves the Last Poets (Don Babatunde Eton began playing with Oyewole and Bin Hassan) have continued to perform at concerts, often along with 1970s groups such as the Ohio Players and George Clinton's P-Funk All Stars. The Last Poets' spoken word and drums format continued on the 1994 release *Scatterap/Home*.

See also Black Arts Movement; Dub Poetry Hip-Hop; Poetry, U.S.; Rap

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Latimer, Lewis Howard

September 4, 1848
December 11, 1928

Inventor Lewis Howard Latimer was born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, the son of runaway slaves from Virginia. In his youth Latimer worked at a variety of odd jobs, including selling copies of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator,* sweeping up in his father's barbershop, hanging paper, and waiting tables. In 1863 he joined the Union navy and worked as a cabin boy aboard the *U.S.S. Massasoit.* He served on the James River in Virginia until the end of the war in 1865.

After the war Latimer returned to Boston, where in 1871 he was hired by patent lawyers Crosby and Gould. Although hired as an office boy, he became an expert mechanical drafter. He also tried his hand at inventing, and on February 10, 1874, he patented a pivot bottom for a water closet for railroad cars. The inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell, retained Crosby and Gould to handle his patent application, and Latimer helped sketch the drawings for Bell's 1876 patent.

In 1880 Latimer was hired by inventor Hiram Maxim's United States Electric Lighting Company in

INCANDESCENT
ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

Dr. Lewis Howard Latimer (1848–1928). *Title page of Latimer's book on incandescent electric lighting, including an image of the Edison lamp and socket. A draftsman and engineer, Latimer invented carbon filaments for the Maxim electric incandescent lamp.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Bridgeport, Connecticut. Maxim was a competitor of Thomas A. Edison, who had patented the incandescent light bulb in 1879. In 1881 Latimer and his colleague Joseph V. Nichols shared a patent for an electric lamp. Latimer's most important invention, patented in 1882, was a carbon filament that increased the brightness and longevity of the lightbulb. Because of its decreased costs, the resulting product made electric lighting more accessible. Latimer also invented a locking rack for hats, coats, and umbrellas in 1896.

From 1880 to 1882 Latimer oversaw the establishment of factories for U.S. Electric's production of the filaments and the installation of electric-light systems in New York City and Philadelphia and later in London. After his return from Britain, he worked for firms in the New York area until he joined the Edison Electric Light Company in 1884. (Edison Electric soon bought out other companies to form General Electric.) There he served as an engineer, chief draftsman, and an expert witness for Edison in patent infringement lawsuits. Latimer was author of *Incandescent Electric Lighting* (1896), one of the first textbooks on electric lighting. When General Electric and Westinghouse decided that year to pool patents, they created the Board of Patent Control to monitor patent disputes and appointed Latimer to the board. He used his drafting techniques and knowledge of patent law in this capacity until 1911, when the board was disbanded. He then did patent law consulting with the New York firm of Hammer & Schwarz.

Latimer moved to Flushing, New York, in the late nineteenth century and was active in New York City politics and civil rights issues. In 1902 he circulated a petition to New York City Mayor Seth Low, expressing concern about the lack of African-American representation on the school board. He also taught English and mechanical drawing to immigrants at the Henry Street Settlement in 1906. In 1918 Latimer became a charter member of the Edison Pioneers, an honorary group of scientists who had worked for Thomas Edison's laboratories. Latimer's booklet, *Poems of Love and Life,* was privately published by his friends on his seventy-fifth birthday in 1925. Latimer died in Flushing in 1928. On May 10, 1968, a public school in Brooklyn was named in his honor.

See also Inventors and Inventions; Patents and Inventions

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ALLISON X. MILLER (1996)
KEVIN PARKER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Laveau, Marie

Two women named Marie Laveau, mother and daughter, were key figures in the practice of voodoo in New Orleans from approximately 1830 until the 1880s. The first Marie

Laveau (b. 1783) built a reputation as a powerful leader in the particular form of West African Dahomean religion that developed in New Orleans. There, voodoo practice centered on several Dahomean deities (vodun) and on healing, herbalism, and divination. In the Louisiana context, elements of Roman Catholicism were blended with the Dahomean tradition as well.

The first Marie Laveau oversaw large ritual gatherings in Congo Square and on the banks of Lake Ponchartrain. In her home she also saw clients who came with health problems, domestic difficulties, and other troubles. Clearly, Laveau was successful in her practice, and black and white residents of the city knew of her skills and solicited them. She was also widely known for visiting and caring for death row prisoners.

Around 1875 Marie Laveau's health began to fail, and her daughter (b. 1827) assumed the public role of Marie Laveau. By the time the first Marie died in 1881, the reputation of her daughter had been solidified. The second Marie continued the craft developed by her mother and other practitioners of voodoo, particularly healing, divining, and providing protective charms for white and black clients. By the last decade of the century, Marie Laveau's practice had declined significantly, as other figures assumed prominence in the city.

The legend of Marie Laveau was kept alive by twentieth-century conjurers who claimed to use Laveau techniques, and it is kept alive through the continuing practice of commercialized voodoo in New Orleans. Each year hundreds of curious tourists and followers visit Marie Laveau's grave in New Orleans, where they present offerings to "the Voodoo Queen."

See also Voodoo

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Law and Liberty in England and America

While the concept of freedom has become universal, and basic civil and human rights are considered the minimum standard of existence in society, it was not always so. Law and liberty intersected increasingly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during Britain's domination of the African slave trade, leading to numerous polarities of opinion and raising a host of important questions. For Africans in the Anglo-Atlantic slave societies, liberty was often arbitrated in courts.

The existence, spread, and growing entrenchment of African slavery in the New World in the period of flourishing revolutionary ideologies of liberty constituted a deeply intransigent problem—one that refused to be solved either easily or quickly (because of its deeply profitable nature). Antislavery movements on both sides of the Atlantic stood squarely against proslavery proponents, and the enslaved themselves resisted the institution in countless creative ways. Even after Britain's loss of the American colonies, American law traced its roots to English law; English cases were invoked as legitimate legal precedents. By availing themselves of legal structures on both sides of the Atlantic, the enslaved and their advocates sought and, surprisingly, won relief in the courts.

Beginnings

Political philosophers and legal theorists (such as Grotius, Locke, and Hobbes) initiated discussions about natural law and natural rights—laws and rights inherent in the human condition. The greatest articulation of English law in the eighteenth century was William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* in 1765, contributing an accessibly written, comprehensive view of English common law. In it he commented on natural rights, the rights of persons, and the tendency of the law to favor liberty, additionally insisting that the law of England asserted and preserved the personal liberty of individuals. Furthermore, according to ancient practices, English soil was by definition free soil: A slave or a stranger who set foot on it became, in theory, free. In a sense, the doctrine of English soil at once advanced the cause of liberty and contributed to years of contradictory rulings. It was at the heart of English legal tendencies toward defending personal liberty, yet according to the claims of those in the business of slavery, it threatened personal property.

England

The first recorded English case concerning the status of Africans was *Butts v. Penny* (1677). Although the case had not been brought by the Africans involved, it had at its core a problem that would bedevil the courts well into the nineteenth century: Could the enslaved be considered property or were they legal personalities? While it would have been simpler to have declared the enslaved to be property in *all* cases, ridding the courts of ambiguities, no such uniform declaration ensued. There were English laws in abundance concerning villeins—peasants who comprised a bound labor staple doomed to grime and perpetual poverty. The laws concerning villeins were harsh and restrictive, but villeinage and slavery were not the same. As for English slaves, they were not numerous. English law appeared ill prepared to address the question of enslaved Africans. Judicial rulings from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century concerning African slavery were inconsistent as a result both of the inability to equate African bondage with existing forms of English bondage and of the spread of natural rights ideology. Decisions might easily be in favor of liberty or against it.

Early court cases emphasized the non-Christian status of Africans and simultaneously benefited from circular reasoning. Africans were defined as infidels and customarily purchased or sold as merchandise in America; had Africans been Christians, they could not be bought and sold. Africans, therefore, were property because they were saleable, and were saleable because they were property. For a period of years, then, antislavery proponents routinely encouraged Christian baptism as a way to ensure the freeing of slaves in England. (In some circles baptism was considered effective manumission.) However, the mention of buying and selling in the Americas introduced a key ideological and legal qualifier—one that potentially favored dealers in slaves. Legal counsel for masters, merchants, and planters would typically link slave practices with specific geographic locations where those practices were both customary and sanctioned. In this way they could argue for the lawful continued but limited recognition of slavery even in places where there was no slave law per se. Thus, masters would not necessarily jeopardize their supposed right to a slave when they went to certain places in the English Atlantic.

The signal English case, both in terms of trial length and widespread effect of the ruling, was the 1772 *Somerset* case. Its arguments and decision became central to numerous American cases prior to the Civil War. James Somerset had been brought to England in the late 1760s by his owner, Charles Stuart. Eventually, Somerset ran away, but he was found and placed on board a ship bound for the Caribbean plantation colonies to be resold. His allies challenged his forcible detainment with a writ of habeas corpus, beginning a legal process that continued for many months. Arguments about the nature of slavery, Somerset's contested status relative to the law, the question of detainment under duress, the problem of slavery on English soil and the rights of masters abounded. Reluctant to address directly the fundamental question of slavery, Chief Justice Mansfield rendered a decision that focused on Somerset's wrongful detainment and forcible removal from England despite having committed no crime. In short, Mansfield's decision freed James Somerset, but it did not end slavery in England. What was key, however, was Mansfield's language, broadly condemning slavery by insisting that as an institution slavery was so odious that only positive law (a specific legislative act) could support it. The *Somerset* decision posed a significant threat to slavery by questioning the ways in which custom and practice sanctioned slavery despite the lack of laws specifically enacting slavery's existence. The *Somerset* decision, well known to American legal personnel, would have an ongoing effect in America for years to come.

America

By the end of the eighteenth century, northern states had moved to abolish slavery within their individual borders. Slavery expanded in the South, where a variety of complex laws concerning manumission developed—including, in Virginia, the prohibition of manumission of slaves under or over arbitrarily determined ages. Certain slaves in the 1780s were emancipated as a result of serving in the American War for Independence, although even free African Americans continued to live under social and legal surveillance.

During the early nineteenth century, proslavery ideology consolidated, aided in part by early expressions of North/South polarization as the United States expanded westward with territories applying for statehood. The essential question regarding the admission of territories was this: Would they be slave states or free? This question kept the problem of slavery before the public at a national level, with the tensions playing out in political and legal realms. The existence of geographic areas of freedom so proximate to locales where perpetual bondage held sway contributed to the entrenchment of slavery in the United States, resulting in the increased regulation of fugitive slaves. In addition, slave owners themselves faced a new dilemma: What would happen if they went from their home slavery-sanctioning state to a free state with a slave in tow? Travelers (as slave owners temporarily in free states with their slaves were known) were problematic, for they echoed the

Somerset situation. When a slave owner passed through a free state, was his customary relationship to his slave de facto suspended? Did the relationship persist? Would the relationship be suspended *only* if the enslaved person sought the protection of the local laws? Were states that did not sanction slavery obliged to temporarily admit the presence of that species of bondage into their midst? (This was a question of comity—the courtesy recognition of laws and judicial decisions of one jurisdiction in another jurisdiction.) If so, what constituted "temporary"? One month or three? Six months or a year?

The first major case to address the question concerning the presence of slavery on free soil was *Commonwealth v. Aves* (1836). The *Somerset* decision played a considerable role in the case. An enslaved little girl named Med was brought by her Louisiana mistress, Mrs. Slater, to Boston, Massachusetts. When the child's presence was discovered in the home of Mrs. Slater's father—Thomas Aves, a Boston resident—a writ of habeas corpus was served upon him; Med was being "restrained of her liberty" unlawfully by Aves.

Central to the case were several questions: What was the effect of Louisiana law in Massachusetts? Brought to a free state temporarily, what was the status of a slave in those circumstances? Aves's counsel stressed the preeminence of Louisiana law over local Massachusetts law, for it was under Louisiana law that the child was enslaved; he argued in favor of comity. Arguing against comity, Med's counsel emphasized Massachusetts's long-term commitment to liberty and, following *Somerset*, focused on the undesirability of admitting slavery within specific locales; he insisted that Massachusetts, like England, was a place that favored liberty. The chief justice avoided ruling on the rights of the master but determined that by coming within the limits of Massachusetts, a person was subject to its municipal laws and entitled to the privileges those laws conferred; the little girl won her freedom.

Despite some successes, court rulings throughout the nineteenth century continued on a case-by-case basis. In Connecticut a slave may have successfully obtained freedom (*Jackson v. Bullock,* 1837), while in Mississippi a freed slave's ability to inherit property in a state where she was once a slave would be challenged (*Mitchell v. Wells,* 1859). Enslaved persons who resided for a time in a free locale but returned to the South sometimes sued for their freedom afterwards; prior to the 1840s their liberty was often upheld. However, by the 1850s most southern courts were ill disposed to hold that time spent within geographically free borders transformed a slave into a free person. The legal retrenchment of liberties during the nineteenth century must be viewed in relation to the growing intersectional tensions. Both the infamous 1850 Fugitive Slave Law (upheld by the federal government) and the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act (allowing slavery into places where it had been previously prohibited) demonstrated the degree to which the ubiquitous problem of slavery in the United States lay at the heart of sectional strife. The landmark 1857 Dred Scott decision, in which the Missouri Supreme Court reversed an earlier ruling that Scott had become free while living in a free locale (and maintained his liberty even after reentering a slaveholding state), brought the agitation for liberty through the courts to a nadir. Chief Justice Taney's caustic opinion about the inability of people of African descent to be legal personalities and citizens with basic rights reversed an important jurisprudential tenet as well as decades of legal practice *in favorem libertatis* (in favor of liberty). It would take the courts decades to begin to undo and redress the damage.

See also Abolition; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Slavery and the Constitution

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T. K. HUNTER (2005)

Lawrence, Jacob

September 7, 1917
June 9, 2000

Born in Atlantic City, New Jersey, painter and draftsman Jacob Armstead Lawrence grew up in Harlem during the Great Depression, and his career owes much to that heritage. Soon after the births of his sister, Geraldine, and brother, William, in Pennsylvania, his parents separated. Seeking domestic work, Lawrence's mother brought her three children to Harlem around 1930. She enrolled them

in a day-care program at Utopia House, a settlement house offering children hot lunches and after-school arts-and-crafts activities at nominal cost. The arts program was run by painter Charles Alston, who recognized young Jacob Lawrence's talent and encouraged him.

Lawrence's mother was often on welfare, so Jake, as he was called, took on several jobs as a young teenager to help support the family: He had a paper route, and he worked in a printer's shop and in a laundry. But in the evenings he continued to attend art classes, and he committed himself to painting.

From 1932 to 1937 Lawrence received training in the Harlem Art Workshops, which were supported first by the College Art Association and then by the government under the Federal Art Project of the Works Project Administration. He attended the American Artists School in New York City on scholarship from 1937 to 1939. He was still a student when he had his first one-person exhibition at the Harlem YMCA in February 1938. At twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, he served as an easel painter on "the Project" in Harlem. Swept up in the vigorous social and cultural milieu of the era following the Harlem Renaissance, Lawrence drew upon Harlem scenes and black history for his subjects, portraying the lives and aspirations of African Americans.

By 1936 Lawrence had established work space in the studio of Charles Alston at 306 West 141st Street—the renowned "306" studio that was a gathering place for people in the arts. There Lawrence worked for several years, meeting and learning from such African-American intellectuals as philosopher Alain Locke, writers Langston Hughes and Claude McKay, and painter Aaron Douglas.

Lawrence's first paintings assumed the character of social realism, a popular style of the 1930s. His earliest works date from around 1936 and are typically interior scenes or outdoor views of Harlem activity (e.g., *Street Orator,* 1936; *Interior,* 1937). He was primarily influenced by the other community artists, such as Alston, sculptor Augusta Savage, and sculptor Henry Bannarn, who believed in him and inspired him by their interest in themes of ethnic origin and social injustice.

Lawrence's general awareness of art came from his teachers as well as from books, local exhibitions, and frequent trips to the Metropolitan Museum. When he was a youth, he met painter Gwendolyn Knight, originally from Barbados, and their friendship led to marriage in 1941. Their long relationship was a vital factor in Lawrence's career.

Lawrence's art remained remarkably consistent throughout the decades. His content is presented through either genre (scenes of everyday life) or historical narrative, and always by means of simplified, representational forms. He used water-based media applied in vivid color. Lawrence was an expressionist: He tried to convey the feeling he got from his subject through the use of expressionistic distortion and color choice, and often through cubist treatment of form and space.

The Migration Gained in Momentum ***(Jacob Lawrence, 1940–1941).*** *Lawrence, one of the most acclaimed African American artists of the twentieth century, painted many scenes of black Americans and their sociopolitical struggles. During the period known as the Great Migration, the subject of Lawrence's painting reproduced here, large numbers of blacks moved from the rural South to the urban North.* THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK. GIFT OF MRS. DAVID M. LEVY. PHOTOGRAPH © 2000 THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

A distinctive feature of Lawrence's work is his frequent use of the series format to render narrative content. Stimulated by the Harlem community's interest in the stories of legendary black leaders, he created several historical series about these heroic figures, including *Toussaint L'Ouverture* (1937–1938), *Frederick Douglass* (1938–1939), and *Harriet Tubman* (1939–1940). Some of his fifteen se-

ries are based on nonhistorical themes, such as *Theater* (1951–1952).

Jacob Lawrence received almost overnight acclaim when his *Migration of the Negro* series was shown at New York's prestigious Downtown Gallery in November 1941. With this exhibition, he became the first African-American artist to be represented by a major New York gallery. By the time he was thirty, he had become widely known as the foremost African-American artist in the country. In 1960 the Brooklyn Museum mounted his first retrospective exhibition, and it traveled throughout the country. In 1974 the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York held a major retrospective of Lawrence's work, which toured nationally. In December 1983 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters. His third retrospective exhibition, originated by the Seattle Art Museum in 1986, drew record-breaking crowds when it toured the country. For more than forty years, Lawrence also distinguished himself as a teacher of drawing, painting, and design, first at Black Mountain College, North Carolina, in the summer of 1946, then at schools such as Pratt Institute in Saratoga Springs, New York (1955–1970), Brandeis University (spring 1965), and the New School for Social Research, New York (1966–1969).

During World War II Lawrence served in the U.S. Coast Guard (then part of the Navy), first as a steward's mate and then as a combat artist. On coming out of the service, he received a Guggenheim Fellowship to paint a series about his war experiences (*War,* 1946–1947).

Lawrence and his wife spent eight months in Nigeria in 1964, an experience that resulted in his *Nigerian* series (1964). Also in the 1960s he produced powerfully strident works in response to the civil rights conflicts in America (e.g., *Wounded Man,* 1968). When he was appointed professor of art at the University of Washington in 1971, he and his wife moved to Seattle. He retired from teaching in 1987. After about 1968 Lawrence concentrated on works with a Builders theme that place a symbolic emphasis on humanity's aspirations and constructive potential. In 1979 he created the first of his several murals, *Games,* for the Kingdome Stadium in Seattle. In 1990 he was awarded the National Medal of Arts by President George H. W. Bush. In 1999 he and his wife began plans for an art center in Harlem, but he never saw the plan realized, for he died after a long illness in 2000.

Lawrence's work is full of humor, compassion, and pictorial intensity. His central theme is human struggle. Always a social observer with a critical sensibility, he approached his subjects with a quiet didacticism. Although his work is always emotionally autobiographical, his imagery has universal appeal. Lawrence's greatest contribution to the history of art may be his reassertion of painting's narrative function. In his art's ability to speak to us through time of the often neglected episodes of African-American history and the black experience, Lawrence offers a significant link in the traditions of American history painting, American scene painting, and American figural art.

See also Douglas, Aaron; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Locke, Alain Leroy; McKay, Claude; Painting and Sculpture; Savage, Augusta

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ELLEN HARKINS WHEAT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lawrence, Margaret

August 19, 1914

Physician Margaret Cornelia Morgan was born in New York City because her mother, Mary Elizabeth Morgan, a teacher, had traveled there in search of the better medical care available to black people in the North. Margaret's father, Sandy Alonzo Morgan, was an Episcopal minister, and the family followed him as he answered calls to minister in Portsmouth, Virginia; New Bern, North Carolina; Widewater, Virginia; and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, before settling in Vicksburg, Mississippi, when Margaret was seven. Certain at a young age that she wanted to be a doctor, Morgan persuaded her parents to allow her to live with relatives in New York City to take advantage of the better educational opportunities there. She attended Wadleigh High School for Girls in New York City and en-

tered Cornell University with a full scholarship in 1932. She was the only African-American undergraduate studying there at the time. Barred from the Cornell dormitories because of her race, she boarded as a live-in maid to a white family. Although her grades and entrance examinations were more than satisfactory, Cornell Medical School refused her admission because she was black. She enrolled in Columbia University, where she earned her M.D. in 1940, and served her medical internship and residency at Harlem Hospital. In 1943 she received an M.S. in Public Health from Columbia. That year she moved with her husband, sociologist Charles Radford Lawrence II, and their baby son to Nashville, where she became a professor at Meharry Medical College.

While in Nashville, Lawrence gave birth to two daughters eighteen months apart, created a Well-Baby Clinic in East Nashville, and maintained a private pediatric practice at home. In 1947, the Lawrence family returned to New York, and Lawrence attended Columbia University's Psychiatric Institute. She was the first African-American trainee at the Columbia Psychoanalytic Clinic for Training and Research, from which she received a Certificate in Psychoanalysis in 1951. That year she moved with her family to Rockland County, New York, where she organized the Community Mental Health Center and had a private psychiatric practice. From 1963 until her retirement in 1984, Lawrence served as a child psychiatrist at Harlem Hospital, directing its Developmental Psychiatry Clinic, and an associate clinical professor of psychiatry at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Lawrence, one of the first black women psychiatrists in the nation, published two books on child psychiatry, *The Mental Health Team in Schools* (1971) and *Young Inner City Families* (1975). She was a Julius Rosenwald Fellow (1942–1943) and a National Institute of Mental Health Fellow (1948–1950). In 1991 her pioneering work developing the "ego-strength" of disadvantaged children was recognized as she received the Camille Cosby World of Children Award. In 1988 Lawrence's achievements were celebrated in an award-winning biography, *Balm in Gilead: Journey of a Healer,* written by her daughter, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, a professor of education at Harvard University. In 2003 Lawrence received an honorary doctorate from Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania.

See also Psychology and Psychologists: Race Issues; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Leadbelly (Ledbetter, Hudson William)

January 15, 1888
December 6, 1949

The blues singer and guitarist Hudson "Leadbelly" Ledbetter was born and raised near Mooringsport, Louisiana. His birth date is subject to dispute, however (January 21, 1885, and January 29, 1889, are also often given). Leadbelly, as he was known later in life, was still a child when he began to work in the cotton fields of his sharecropper parents. They later bought land across the border in Leigh, Texas, and "Huddie," as he was called, learned to read and write at a local school. During this time he also began to play the windjammer, a Cajun accordion. He also danced and performed music for pay at parties. Ledbetter learned to play the twelve-string guitar, as well as shoot a revolver, in his early teens, and he began to frequent the red-light district of Fannin Street in Shreveport, Louisiana, where he performed for both black and white audiences.

By the time he left home for good in 1906, Ledbetter had a reputation for hard work, womanizing, violence, and musical talent. In 1908 Ledbetter, who had already fathered two children with Margaret Coleman, married Aletta Henderson and settled down in Harrison County, Texas, where he worked on farms and became a song leader in the local Baptist church. Ledbetter also claimed to have attended Bishop College, in Marshall, Texas, during this time. In 1910 Ledbetter and his family moved to Dallas, and Ledbetter began to frequent the Deep Ellum neighborhood, where he began playing professionally with Blind Lemon Jefferson (1897–1929). The two were inseparable for five years.

In 1915 Ledbetter was jailed and sentenced to a chain gang for possessing a weapon. He escaped, and for several years he lived under the pseudonym Walter Boyd. In 1917 he shot and killed a man in a fight, and the next year he was sentenced to up to thirty years for murder and assault

with intent to kill. He served time at the Shaw State Farm Prison, in Huntsville, Texas, from 1918 to 1925. That year, when Governor Pat Neff visited the prison, Leadbelly made up a song on the spot asking to be released and convinced Neff to set him free. By this time Ledbetter was known as "Leadbelly," a corruption of his last name that also referred to his physical toughness. In the late 1920s Leadbelly supported himself by working as a driver and maintenance worker in Houston and around Shreveport. He also continued to perform professionally. In 1930 he was again jailed, this time for attempted homicide in Mooringsport. He had served three years when the ethnomusicologist John Lomax (1915–2002) came to the notorious Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola to record music by the prisoners. Lomax, impressed by Leadbelly's musicianship, lobbied for his release, which came in 1934. Lomax hired him as a driver and set him on a career as a musician. In 1935 Leadbelly married Martha Promise.

Leadbelly made his first commercial recordings in 1935, performing "C.C. Rider," "Bull Cow," "Roberta Parts I and II," and "New Black Snake Moan." Thereafter, aside from another prison term during 1939 and 1940 for assault, Leadbelly enjoyed enormous success as a professional musician, performing and recording to consistent acclaim. In the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s, he appeared at universities and political rallies on both the East and West coasts, as well as on radio and film, and he was a key element and influence in the growth of American folk and blues music. He became a fixture of the folk music scene in Greenwich Village, near his home on New York's Lower East Side, and was often associated with left-wing politics.

Leadbelly was best known for his songs about prison and rural life in the South. However, his repertory was vast and included blues, children's tunes, cowboy and work songs, ballads, religious songs, and popular songs. Although his audiences were generally white (Leadbelly made only a few recordings for the "race" market of African-American record buyers), he addressed matters of race in songs such as "Scottsboro Boys" (1938) and "Bourgeois Blues" (1938). His powerful voice was capable of considerable sensitivity and nuance, and his twelve-string guitar playing was simple, yet vigorous and percussive. Among his most popular and enduring songs, some of which were recorded by Lomax for the Library of Congress, are "Goodnight Irene" (1934), "The Midnight Special" (1934), "Rock Island Line" (1937), "Good Morning Blues" (1940), and "Take This Hammer" (1940). He recorded in 1940 with the Golden Gate Quartet, a gospel vocal group. From 1941 to 1943 Leadbelly performed regularly on the U.S. Office of War Information's radio programs, and in 1945 he appeared in Pete Seeger's short documentary film *Leadbelly*. He made a trip to Paris shortly before his death in New York City at the age of sixty-one from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (Lou Gehrig's disease). The 1976 film *Leadbelly* was based on his life story. In 1988 Leadbelly was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

See also Jefferson, Blind Lemon

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

League of Revolutionary Black Workers

Growing out of the merger of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and other Revolutionary Union Movement (RUM) organizations, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was formed in the aftermath of a wildcat strike by about four thousand workers at the main Dodge automobile plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, on May 2, 1968. Automobile production had increased during the previous five years, and many young African Americans had been hired. However, almost all black workers were placed under older white men, many of whom expressed racist views. There were struggles about safety rules and promotion of blacks into positions of authority in the workplace and in the United Auto Workers (UAW) union. DRUM, organized barely a year after the massive Detroit riot of 1967, was formed to respond to these problems.

DRUM started a newsletter, *Drum,* organized several rallies and strikes, and led the organization of RUMs at different Detroit factories. In early 1969 DRUM merged

with several auto RUMs in Detroit and Mahwah, New Jersey, including FRUM (Ford), CADRUM (Cadillac), and ELRUM (Chrysler Eldon Avenue Plant), as well as such nonautomotive groups as Birmingham steelworkers, to form the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The league remained a small operation, with never more than a few hundred members. Its leaders combined socialist theory and civil rights organization. In mid-1969, the league associated itself with James Forman, who used funds raised by the Black Economic Development Conference to fund a league staff. Leaders came from the Detroit activist community, notably African-American lawyers Mike Hamlin and Ken Cockrel and revolutionaries General Gordon Baker and John Watson, who had turned the Wayne State University daily *South End* into a radical organ and printed their journal *Inner City Voice* on its presses. They also joined with Forman's publishing house, Black Star Press, to print league pamphlets. Members formed a film collective, which put out a feature-length documentary, *Finally Got the News* (1970).

By 1970, however, the entire movement was disintegrating. The car industry slumped after 1969, and many of the young workers who were core league supporters were laid off. The league became more a discussion group than a union and never devised a consistent program. Its members alienated many black workers with their Marxist rhetoric. In 1970 there was a schism. One faction, mostly plant organizers, tried to solidify unionization efforts and ran union slates in 1970 and 1971 in an unsuccessful attempt to unseat the white UAW leadership. This earned the movement the enmity of union leaders. Meanwhile, the "outside" radicals formed a Black Workers Congress in hopes that the league would be a central unit and sponsor the organization of RUMs on a Maoist model. The league did not affiliate, and the Black Workers Congress was "taken over" by the Stalinist Communist Labor Party. By May 1973 the league and the RUMs were gone; members returned to the UAW or joined more radical organizations. The league did leave a legacy of African-American political awareness, and it increased the number of black foremen and UAW leaders in Detroit.

See also Labor and Labor Unions

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Lee, Don L.

See Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.)

Lee, Spike

March 20, 1957

Filmmaker Shelton Jackson "Spike" Lee was born in Atlanta, Georgia, to William Lee, a jazz musician and composer, and Jacqueline Shelton Lee, a teacher of art and literature. The oldest of five children, Lee grew up in Brooklyn, New York, with brothers David, Chris, and Cinque, and sister Joie. Lee's family environment was imbued with a strong sense of black history. Like his father and grandfather, Lee attended Morehouse College, and graduated with a B.A. in 1979. Upon graduating, Lee enrolled in New York University's Tisch School of the Arts, where he received an M.F.A. in film production in 1983. While at New York University Lee produced several student films: *The Answer* (1980), *Sarah* (1981), and *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop: We Cut Heads* (1982). *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop*, his M.F.A. thesis film, was awarded a Student Academy Award by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in 1982, was broadcast by some public television stations, and received critical notice in *Variety* and the *New York Times*.

Lee has produced over two dozen films. In virtually all of the films he has been director, writer, actor, and producer. Lee's first feature-length film was the highly acclaimed comedy *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), which he shot in twelve days on location in Brooklyn at a cost of $175,000, financed partly by his grandmother. The film eventually grossed $8 million. The action of the film centers on a sexually liberated young black woman who is having affairs simultaneously with three men. Interspersed with these scenes, she and the film's characters debate her conduct from ideological perspectives then current in the black community; such topics as hip-hop, color differences, sexual codes, and interracial relationships are raised. This debate spilled over into the national media. Controversy was to become a hallmark of Lee's work. *She's Gotta Have It* is characterized by disjointed narrative syn-

Film director Spike Lee. PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRYSTYNA CZAJKOWSKY. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION

tax, mock-cinema verité technique, active camera movement, and disregard for autonomy of text. Lee has often employed the same actors and film technicians in many films, giving them a repertory effect.

Lee's second film, *School Daze* (1988), was financed by Columbia Pictures for $6.5 million and grossed more than $15 million. It also dealt with a controversial topic, the conflict at a southern black college between light-skinned students who seek assimilation into mainstream America and dark-skinned students who identify with Africa.

In 1989 Lee produced *Do the Right Thing,* which was set in Brooklyn. The film was produced for $6 million and grossed $30 million. *Do the Right Thing* focused on the relationship between an Italian-American family that operates a pizzeria in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood and the depressed black community that patronizes it. The film chronicles the racial tensions and events over a period of one day, climaxes in a riot in which one black youth is killed, and ends with the complete destruction of the pizzeria.

This highly successful film was followed by *Mo' Better Blues* (1990), the story of the love affairs, personal growth, and development of a jazz musician in New York City. *Jungle Fever* (1991), also set in New York, was Lee's treatment of interracial relationships, centering on an affair between a married black architect and his Italian-American secretary.

Lee's most ambitious film to date has been *Malcolm X,* which was released in November 1992. In this film Lee departed from his earlier technique and employed the traditional style and approach of the Hollywood epic biography. Produced by Warner Brothers, *Malcolm X* was three hours long and cost $34 million, though it had originally been budgeted for $28 million. By the end of 1994 it had grossed $48.1 million. In a highly publicized initiative, Lee raised part of the additional funds needed from black celebrities Bill Cosby, Oprah Winfrey, Earvin "Magic" Johnson, Michael Jordan, Janet Jackson, and Prince, among others. Denzel Washington, who portrayed Malcolm X, was nominated for an Academy Award as best actor. Lee based his film on an original screenplay, written by James Baldwin and Arnold Perl in 1968, that was based on *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* as told to Alex Haley.

In 1994 Lee collaborated with his siblings Joie and Cinque Lee in the production of *Crooklyn,* the story of a large, working-class black family growing up in Brooklyn.

In the following years, he continued to produce idiosyncratic and well-crafted films about the black experience. *Get on the Bus* (1996) celebrated the diversity and ideals of the Million Man March. *Four Girls and a Church* (1997) was a touching documentary about four girls murdered in a church bombing in Birmingham in 1963. *He Got Game* (1998) explored the relationship between a teenage basketball star and his estranged father. Major releases after the turn of the century include *Bamboozled* (2000), *25th Hour* (2002), and *She Hate Me* (2004).

Spike Lee's film career has generated a film company, Forty Acres and a Mule; a chain of retail outlets that sell paraphernalia from his films; and a series of television commercials, ten of them with basketball star Michael Jordan. He also serves as artistic director of the graduate division of the Kanbar Institute of Film and Television at New York University's Tisch School of the Arts.

See also Film; Malcolm X

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ROBERT CHRISMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Leon, Rose

1912
1999

Rose Agatha Leon was Jamaica's first notable female politician, emerging in the formative period of Jamaica's modern political system. She had the distinction of serving in the governments of the two main political parties and of being a founding member of Jamaica's party, legislative, and ministerial systems at both the local and central levels.

Leon was a member of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP, formed in 1943), serving as party chair from 1948 to 1960. In that role, she was among those credited with creating a revised constitution for the party in 1951 and with attempts to reform the party along more democratic lines throughout the 1950s, a role that eventually brought her into serious conflict with the leader, Alexander Bustamante, and cost her membership in the party.

As chairperson of the JLP, Madame Leon, as she was called, was determined to make the party into more than a caucus of candidates approved by the powerful Bustamante, as it was believed to have been, and into one with a broadened organizational structure and a popular base with a branch system. She succeeded in establishing a number of new branches, bringing in thousands of new members and increasing the presence of the middle class in the JLP. The party's central committee was strengthened, a proper party office was acquired, and its executive became more professional. By 1957 the party's newspaper hailed the organizational work as a "revolution."

During this period, Leon also sought elective office. Although she had been unsuccessful as a candidate in Jamaica's first local government elections under adult suffrage (in which Jamaicans aged twenty-one and over exercised the right to vote), which had been held in 1947, she was successful in 1951 and 1956.

Leon was also a founding member of Jamaica's legislature and a successful candidate in Jamaica's second general elections, in 1949. When Jamaica achieved ministerial government in 1953, she was one of the first ministers to serve as minister of health and housing, from 1953 to 1955. Although the JLP lost the 1955 elections, Leon won her seat but she was subsequently unseated for violating an election law.

By the end of the 1950s, Leon had fallen out with Alexander Bustamante, the JLP's dominant personality, over the authoritarian way in which he led the party. After the general election of 1959—which the party lost—Leon continued her earlier efforts to reform the party and substitute collective leadership for Bustamante's personality cult. She sought the post of second deputy leader, but Bustamante accused her and other reformers of trying to usurp his power. Things came to a head at the party's 1960 and 1961conferences. Leon resigned in bitterness in 1961 and her attempt to build collective leadership was defeated.

Leon ran as an independent candidate in Jamaica's 1962 elections but lost. By 1967 she had joined the rival People's National Party (PNP) but failed to win a seat in the general elections that year. She made her way up the party's ranks by winning a seat in local government elections in 1969 and became deputy mayor of Kingston and Saint Andrew (the administrative capital), serving from 1969 to 1971. She won a parliamentary seat for the PNP in 1972 and served as minister of local government from 1972 to 1976. Although she narrowly lost her seat in 1976, she served as special adviser to the minister of social security from 1977 to 1980.

When the government changed, Leon retired from political life. Trained in cosmetic chemistry, she operated a cosmetics business and a travel agency. As a manufacturer of beauty products and partner in the Leon School of Beauty Culture since 1940, she was a member of the Jamaica Manufacturers Association. She was also a member of the Association of Local Government, the Jamaica Federation of Women, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and the National Council for the Aged.

Leon was killed in an attempted robbery at her home in 1999. She was eighty-seven.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Jamaica Labour Party; People's National Party; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

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ROBERT MAXWELL BUDDAN (2005)

Leonard, Sugar Ray

May 17, 1956

Named after the musician Ray Charles, boxer Ray Charles "Sugar Ray" Leonard was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, and spent his childhood in Palmer Park, Maryland, just outside Washington, D.C. Leonard took his nickname from "Sugar Ray" Robinson, the former middleweight champion. By the time he was twenty years old, Leonard had completed one of the most successful amateur boxing careers in modern history. During a tour of Moscow in 1974 with the U.S. National Boxing Team, judges awarded the decision to Leonard's Soviet opponent, who then spontaneously turned around, marched across the canvas, and handed the award to Leonard. Leonard's 145–5 amateur record culminated with his winning the light-welterweight gold medal at the Montreal Olympics in 1976. His lightning-quick punches and charismatic style made Leonard an instant television and crowd favorite.

The following year Leonard turned professional. With Janks Morton as coach and Mike Trainor as promoter, Leonard rose rapidly in the professional ranks by defeating such top-ranked fighters as Rafael Rodriguez, Floyd Mayweather, Armando Muniz, and Adolfo Viruet. In 1979 Leonard won both the North American Boxing Federation and World Boxing Council's (WBC) welterweight championships by knocking out Pete Ranzany and Wilfred Benitez.

Leonard's two most famous fights as a welterweight were in 1980. In June he lost his WBC crown by decision to Roberto Duran in Montreal. In November he won it back in New Orleans, in what came to be called the "*no mas*" (no more) fight, a reference to Duran's cryptic announcement to Leonard when he abruptly quit in the middle of the eighth round for no apparent reason. A year later Leonard took on Tommy Hearns, the undefeated welterweight champion of the World Boxing Association, and knocked him out in fourteen rounds, thereby becoming the undisputed welterweight champion. Leonard was named "Sportsman of the Year" by *Sports Illustrated* in 1981.

After a three-year retirement because of an eye injury sustained in 1984, Leonard returned to the ring in 1987 as a middleweight, dethroning Marvin Hagler as WBC champion in a controversial twelve-round split decision in Las Vegas. The victory over Hagler increased his career earnings to $53 million. In 1988 Leonard knocked out Canadian Don Lalonde, the WBC light heavyweight champion, which earned him both the WBC light-heavyweight and super middleweight titles, making him the first boxer ever to win at least a share of titles in five different weight classes. His thirty-seven professional bouts over fourteen years included thirty-five wins, twenty-five by knockout.

After retiring again in 1991, Leonard worked as a commentator on boxing broadcasts and appeared in several television commercials. He returned to the ring at the age of forty-one in March 1997, but he was pounded by Hector Camacho and retired again following the loss. Leonard was inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame that same year.

In 2001, at the age of 47, Leonard launched Sugar Ray Leonard Boxing, LLC. As chairman of the board, he provided overall leadership and worked with fighters, promoters, television executives, venues, and boxing commissioners to plan boxing events. Leonard dissolved the company in 2004.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Boxing; Foreman, George; Frazier, Joe; Tyson, Mike

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NANCY YOUSEF (1996)
THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights Movement

See Gay Men; Lesbians

Lesbians

The presence of lesbians as a diverse and vibrant segment of the black community is often overlooked or even de-

nied in most literature concerning African Americans. This neglect is rooted historically in the long-standing negative perceptions and hostile treatment of lesbians and gay men within American society as a whole, by blacks as well as whites. The black church has often been hostile to homosexuality, viewing it as a sin or a form of mental illness. Perhaps because of the prominence of the black church, much of the discussion of sexual preference by prominent black leaders has been caustically homophobic. Some elements in the black nationalist movement, in an effort to assert patriarchal social relations and to equate the advancement of black people with the achievement of "black manhood," have issued harsh denunciations of homosexuality. Some black scholars and activists have argued that homosexuality is a manifestation of internalized racism, or have claimed that the identity is exclusively European, reflecting white cultural values. Still others have attacked the lesbian and gay rights movement, fearing that its claims would undercut demands for racial equality and diminish the legitimacy of civil rights activism.

At the same time, some observers have suggested that the black community, historically diverse because of the confines of segregation, may have displayed greater tolerance for homosexuality than society at large. Black lesbian writers and critics, including Ann Shockley, Barbara Smith, and Jewelle Gomez, have pointed to an unspoken acknowledgement of lesbianism in black life, in spite of public disavowal and disdain. Prominent black lesbian activists have connected their efforts to a long tradition of struggle for liberation among African Americans, and some black ministers and civil rights leaders, such as the Reverend Jesse Jackson, have lent wholehearted support to the lesbian and gay movement's quest for equality and justice.

Until recently, lesbians have been marginalized in black discourse and have rarely been viewed outside of stereotypes. However, black lesbians are making themselves more visible and embracing their sexuality as a positive aspect of their identities. At the same time, they are openly challenging widespread prejudices that distort their lives, asserting their contributions to the history of African Americans and continuing to play an integral role in their communities.

The history of lesbians in the United States can best be characterized as an emergence of visibility. Lesbianism has been difficult to document historically, largely because of the silence and hostility surrounding lesbian existence (and women's sexuality more generally). Women who loved women did not always wish to claim an explicitly lesbian identity, nor were they necessarily able to do so. Moreover, disagreement persists over the very definition of lesbian identity. Some argue that only women's sexual and romantic involvement with other women can be properly considered as lesbianism. Others insist that platonic intimacy between close women friends—particularly in historical periods, such as the Victorian era, in which women lacked a language to openly describe these relationships—may have constituted lesbianism as well.

Black women's own lifestyle choices, frequently shaped by their lack of economic options, have also obscured the existence of lesbianism. Many black lesbians—including prominent figures whose histories of involvement with women are well-known, such as blues singer Ma Rainey—were married, perhaps as a means to achieve economic well-being or as a "cover" to thwart suspicions of their same-sex relationships. Others were "passing" women who lived and worked as men for many years precisely in order to attain economic independence, courting and even marrying other women. Some of these women were eventually "discovered." Annie Lee Grant, for example, was exposed as a woman in Mississippi in 1954 after having lived as a man for fifteen years; at the time, she was engaged to another woman. Certainly many others lived out their lives without detection. Nella Larsen's seminal novel *Passing* (1969) treats another dilemma of racial and sexual identity in its implication of a romantic relationship between two black women passing for white.

In many cases, one can only speculate about women whose personal histories are noticeably silent on the subject of their sexuality. Women who were "unconventional" may or may not have been explicitly "lesbian" in the contemporary understanding of the term. For example, Mary Fields, born a slave in Tennessee in the 1830s, dressed as a man and worked as a stagecoach driver and in other traditionally male-dominated employment. Whether or not she was a lesbian is not clear.

With the formation of an organized and self-identified black lesbian community, it is possible to determine more explicitly the nature and meaning of black lesbian existence. For black lesbians, such a form of community has only been traced as far back as the 1920s. That traces emerge in this period is indicative of the transformations black communities underwent as a result of the Great Migration, for the movement of single black women to northern urban centers—particularly Chicago, Detroit, and New York City—forced them to create and sustain support systems for their survival. At the same time, it enabled them to escape the intense scrutiny and regulation to which they were subjected in small southern towns and cities.

These circumstances were particularly conducive and crucial to the development of a black lesbian community,

for the ability to make connections demanded some level of autonomy economically and socially. Thus, in communities such as Harlem, a number of social settings—bars, clubs, "buffet flat" gatherings, and rent parties—were lesbian-oriented. At the same time, some social spaces frequented by straight people also tolerated, if not welcomed, the presence of lesbians and gay men. Black women in Harlem socialized with each other, worked with each other, and even married each other in large public ceremonies, either with one woman "passing" and using a male name, or with a gay male friend acting as a surrogate.

The flourishing of literary and cultural expression in 1920s Harlem also added to the visibility and viability of lesbian life. Many of the literati of the so-called Harlem Renaissance were lesbians, among them poet and playwright Angelina Weld Grimké and writer Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson. Many women blues singers and other entertainers who rose to fame during the same period also participated, often quite openly, in sexual relationships with other women; Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Ethel Waters, Alberta Hunter, and Josephine Baker, among others, all had lesbian relationships at some point in their lives.

These Harlem sophisticates frequented the lavish gatherings hosted by A'Lelia Walker (heiress daughter of washerwoman-turned-millionaire Madame C. J. Walker), who surrounded herself with prominent lesbian and gay artists and performers. And they flocked to the Clam House, a Harlem social club, to see the performances of entertainer Gladys Bentley, a male impersonator who publicly married another woman. (In later years, Bentley underwent hormone treatments, married a man, and renounced her past life.) Some whites also traveled to Harlem to participate in the lesbian and gay scene, participating in what they perceived as a looser and more tolerant atmosphere.

If the personal lives of Harlem's luminaries gave visibility and legitimacy to lesbian existence within their own circles, their influence was extended to the wider community through their work. Black lesbians were portrayed in some Renaissance-era fiction, including Wallace Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry* (1929) and white author Blair Niles's *Strange Brother* (1931). Blues songs also contained lyrics that explicitly recognized and asserted lesbian sexuality, particularly Bessie Jackson's "BD Women's Blues" and Ma Rainey's "Prove It On Me Blues." While lesbian and gay male identity was not always presented in a positive light—often the depiction drew on prevalent stereotypes or reflected ambivalent attitudes within the community—the themes introduced by blueswomen clearly legitimized women's quest for economic and sexual independence from men.

The emergence of visibility was further influenced by the changes wrought by the entry of the United States into World War II in 1941, when women flooded the job market to replace men who went off to war. Despite continuing discrimination against black women, those black women who were able to participate in either civilian or military workplaces attained a greater measure of economic and sexual independence and were able to meet and socialize with each other. Although little scholarly research has been done to illuminate the experience of black lesbians specifically during World War II, given the preponderance of lesbians in the military at that time, it is certain that among the four thousand black women who served in the Women's Army Corps—separated from men and from white women—a good number were probably lesbians.

By the end of the war, lesbians and gay men in general had expanded their social networks. In urban communities such as New York's Greenwich Village and Harlem, black lesbians participated in an active, though clandestine, social milieu (often interracial) that centered around house parties. Bars catered to a lesbian crowd as well, but were often notorious for their discriminatory treatment of black women patrons. Lesbians who were part of the "gay girls" scene have pointed to the significance of these early efforts by lesbians to come together, as friends as well as lovers, across racial lines.

At the same time, some lesbians and gay men began to identify and critique their oppression in a political way. The 1950s was marked by both political and sexual repression, in which a virulent anticommunism was explicitly linked to fears about racial equality and "deviant" sexual behavior. Still, by mid-decade two organizations—the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis—had formed to address the civil rights of gay men and lesbian women, respectively. Although these two groups were an important precursor to the lesbian and gay liberation movement that was forged in the late 1960s, their memberships were small and they zealously protected the confidentiality of those they reached. Their activities touched few blacks, but several anonymous letters to Daughters of Bilitis's publication *The Ladder,* expressing support for the group's efforts, have been traced to playwright Lorraine Hansberry, acclaimed author of *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959).

It was through the civil rights, Black Power, and women's and gay liberation movements of the 1960s that many black lesbians first gained the experience of collective identity and action that was pivotal for the emergence of a politicized and organized black lesbian community. For the most part, the civil rights and Black Power move-

ments posed no fundamental challenge to patriarchal gender relations. While black women played a significant role in the black liberation struggle, both in leadership and at the grassroots level, they often faced sexist discrimination and exclusion from decision-making. Thus, while many black women were empowered by their experience of activism, at the same time they were limited and constrained. Those who hoped to redefine the meaning of liberation in ways that would challenge traditional gender norms were often isolated and attacked as a divisive force detracting from the struggle against racism. Although critical of the black liberation movement, many black women continued to identify with it; thus, activists such as Pauli Murray and Barbara Jordan remained publicly silent about their relationships with women.

By the late 1960s, activist white women were also developing a critique of the oppression and exploitation of women based on their work in civil rights and the New Left, and they were beginning to organize on their own. But white women began to define their struggle as a distinctive women's liberation movement, largely autonomous from other movements in which they had participated. At the same time, they sought unity among women through universalizing women's experiences. However, many black women felt alienated by the affirmation of inclusiveness that did not necessarily speak to their experiences or interests. To the extent that the women's movement began to respond to the racism within its own ranks, it was due to the courageous initiative of black women.

By the early 1970s black women were developing a broader conception of feminism that spoke to their specific concerns and took into account the intersections of race, sex, and class. As black feminist discourse began to take shape, and as a visible gay liberation movement began to emerge, the way was opened for the development of an identifiable and organized black lesbian community.

Black lesbians have become a more visible force in American culture than ever, creating the basis for black lesbian organizing and establishing links with other lesbians of color in the search for common ground. In 1974 black women in Boston formed the Combahee River Collective and issued a classic statement of commitment to struggle against "racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression." Other groups, including Salsa Soul Sisters of New York City and the Sapphire Sapphos of Washington, D.C., have also carried out political and educational work. The National Coalition of Black Gays (now the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays) sponsored the first National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference in 1979; a year later, the first Black Lesbian Conference was held. Black lesbians have also been at the forefront in initiating a number of political and literary publications, including *Azalea, Moja: Black and Gay,* and the *Third World Women's Gay-zette.* The magazines *Venus* and *Women in the Life* appeal to a popular readership for lesbians of African descent.

Also since the 1970s, black lesbians—including Cheryl Clarke, Anita Cornwell, Jewelle Gomez, Gloria Hull, Audre Lorde, Pat Parker, Ann Shockley, Barbara Smith, and many others—have pioneered work in black feminist theory, literary criticism, poetry, and fiction. They have increased the visibility of black lesbians not only through their own public presence but also through their writing, some of which was showcased in several important collections of black women's writing: *Conditions Five: The Black Women's Issue* (1979), *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (1983), and *Afrekete: An Anthology of Black Lesbian Writing* (1995), the latter named for a motif in Lorde's work. Love relationships between women have been depicted in such widely acclaimed works as Gloria Naylor's *Women of Brewster Place* (1982) and Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982). In addition to being depicted in the film adaptations of Naylor's and Walker's novels, black lesbians have independent and mainstream filmmakers like Cheryl Dunye (*The Watermelon Woman*, 1996) and Angela Robinson to represent them behind the camera.

That much of this cultural outpouring both celebrates black lesbian existence and portrays the tragic dimensions of persistent oppression reflects the reality of black lesbians' lives. Visibility can heighten society's level of tolerance, but it often carries an increased threat of violence as well, and "coming out" is not always an option among black lesbians whose survival and livelihood are at stake. Black lesbians are all too aware of forms of repression to which they are disproportionately vulnerable, as demonstrated by the outrage at the state of Oklahoma's execution of Wanda Jean Allen, a disabled black lesbian, in 2001, and the murder of Sakia Gunn, a black lesbian youth, in New Jersey in 2003. Many black lesbians continue to struggle both inside their relationships and within their communities for the right to live and love as they choose.

Increased visibility for black lesbians has illuminated the issues facing women, African Americans, and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered (GLBT) people in America. In major cities across the nation, annual Black GLBT Pride events are an alternative and a complement to gay pride festivals. Women attending these events cite HIV/AIDS, hate-crime violence, and marriage and domestic partnership among their primary political concerns. The devastating effects of AIDS on gays and blacks—and the consequent homophobic response throughout the country—have intensified black lesbians' organizing ef-

forts. Cathy Cohen, author of *The Boundaries of Blackness* (1999), was one of the most prominent voices to address the importance of HIV/AIDS to black Americans of all genders, sexualities, and social classes. With rates of HIV infection among African-American women on the rise, women's advocates have seen the need to organize their own responses to the epidemic while they continue their crucial roles as strong allies and insightful critics for other segments in the communities affected by the epidemic. Along with these serious concerns, women participating in black GLBT events and organizations address their experiences facing job discrimination, finding spirituality, and raising children, challenges that persist for all African Americans. From proud parents and their children to activist elders like Ruth Ellis, who lived to be the oldest lesbian in America, black lesbians have attained visibility and shown themselves to be valuable members of society as a whole. They are not only affirming their lives but also ensuring the recognition they deserve.

See also Gay Men

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ALYCEE JEANNETTE LANE (1996)
ANDRÉ CARRINGTON (2005)

Lester, Julius

January 27, 1939

The son of a Methodist minister, Julius Lester, a writer and professor, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1960 he received his bachelor's degree from Fisk University, and from 1966 to 1968 he was director of the Newport Folk Festival in Newport, Rhode Island. For seven years, from 1968 to 1975, he was the host and producer of a live talk show on WBAI-FM in New York. From 1968 to 1970 Lester was a lecturer at the New School for Social Research in New York City. From 1971 to 1973 he was also host of a live television show, *Free Time,* on WNET-TV in New York. Lester has been a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in the department of Afro-American Studies (1971–1988) and then in the departments of Comparative Literature and Near Eastern and Judaic Studies. From 1982 to 1984 Lester also served at the University of Massachusetts as the acting director and associate director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. In 1985 he was writer-in-residence at Vanderbilt University.

Lester's serious scholarly side is well evidenced in the long introduction he wrote as editor of the two-volume anthology *The Seventh Son: The Thoughts and Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois* (1971). *To Be a Slave* (1969) was nominated for the Newbery Award, and *The Long Journey Home: Stories from Black History* (1972) was a National Book Award finalist. Other works written and edited by Lester, which make clear the diversity of his interests, include (with Pete Seeger) *The 12-String Guitar as Played by*

Leadbelly (1965), *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!* (1968), *Black Folktales* (1969), *Search for the New Land: History as a Subjective Experience* (1969), *Revolutionary Notes* (1969), *The Knee-High Man and Other Tales* (1972), *Two Love Stories* (1972), *Who I Am* (1974), *All Is Well: An Autobiography* (1976), *This Strange New Feeling* (1982), *The Lord Remember Me* (1984), and *Uncle Remus: Tales from the Briar Patch,* 4 vols. (1999).

Lester's early work basically falls into two categories, one encompassing African-American history and the other recreating tales and legends from African-American folklore. In both cases, Lester deals with white oppression and the historical basis for the relationship between the African-American community and the mainstream white community. While his earliest work was sometimes criticized as "antiwhite," Lester was later credited with stressing the broader implications of the civil rights era for all Americans.

Lester has had a long record of being embroiled in controversies and of dramatic turns in his search for moral verities. This is perhaps best exemplified by the events following the publication in 1988 of *Lovesong: Becoming a Jew. Lovesong* is, among other things, Lester's account of how a hesitant early fascination with Judaism in the late 1970s led finally to an official conversion in 1983. In *Lovesong,* however, Lester accuses the late James Baldwin of making anti-Semitic remarks in a 1984 University of Massachusetts class discussion. The accusation led to furious conflicts on the campus and eventually to his estrangement from the University of Massachusetts' department of Afro-American Studies.

Lester has continued to write prolifically, adding especially to his growing list of highly regarded books for children and young adults. Characters featured in these works typically fall into two categories: those drawn from Afro-American folklore and those drawn from black or Judaic history. Recent titles include *John Henry* (1994), *The Man Who Knew Too Much: A Moral Tale from the Baila of Zambia* (1994), *Sam and the Tigers: A New Retelling of Little Black Sambo* (1996), *From Slave Ship to Freedom Road* (1998), *Black Cowboy, Wild Horses: A True Story* (1998), *The Blues Singers: Ten Who Rocked the World* (2001), *The Autobiography of God* (2003), and *Let's Talk about Race* (2003).

See also Baldwin, James; Folk Heroes and Characters, U.S.; Judaism; Literature of the United States

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AMRITJIT SINGH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lewis, Arthur

January 23, 1915
June 15, 1991

Sir Arthur Lewis had a notable career as a public intellectual in the field of development economics, and in the process broke through many of the racial barriers that existed in higher education against persons of African descent. For his contributions to the field of development economics, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1979. In addition to his many academic achievements, he made a mark in public affairs, serving as a frequent consultant to the British Colonial Office during and immediately after World War II. He then became Ghana's first chief economic adviser and, after that, the first vice-chancellor of the University of the West Indies. In recognition of his work as the vice-chancellor, Queen Elizabeth knighted him in 1963. In the academic world, he held chaired professorships in political economy at the University of Manchester and Princeton University.

Born on the island of St. Lucia in the British West Indies, William Arthur Lewis displayed a brilliance in the classroom that enabled him to win a highly competitive and prestigious West Indian government scholarship to pursue undergraduate studies in Britain. He entered the London School of Economics (LSE) in 1933 to work for a B.A. degree in commerce. After achieving first-class honors in the undergraduate program in 1937, he became a Ph.D. candidate at LSE and completed his thesis in 1940. With war preparations drawing many of the regular LSE faculty away from their teaching and advising responsibilities, the school's administration asked Lewis to become an assistant lecturer in 1938, thus making him LSE's first black faculty member.

Lewis taught at the London School of Economics from 1938 to 1948, introducing the school's first course in what was then called colonial economics, a field that soon was referred to as development economics. After being turned down for a chaired professorship at Liverpool University in 1947 on racial grounds and through the intervention of the vice-chancellor of that institution,

Lewis was appointed the Stanley Jevons Professor of Political Economy at the University of Manchester in 1948. Lewis's professorial appointment at Manchester marked the first time that a black person had held a chair in a British university.

Lewis made his most important scholarly contributions to the emerging field of development economics during his Manchester years (1948–1957). His writings were so influential that many of his peers soon began to describe him as the founding figure of the field. They credited his publications with stimulating broad interest in development economics and providing new perspectives for examining the economies of the less developed parts of the world. Unquestionably, his major work, for which he received the Nobel Prize in 1979, was an article published in 1954 in the journal *Manchester Studies* under the title, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour." In this article Lewis outlined the way that the developed world had first begun to achieve rapid economic growth and suggested that this same process could be repeated in the rest of the world. Central to his argument was a belief that in poor countries a sharp division existed between the traditional and modern economic sectors. In poor economies, a traditional sector housed a large workforce, many of whose members made little or no contribution to the output of that sector. In contrast, in the modern sector labor was highly productive. The key to economic success, then, was to stimulate the modern sector, the economic progress of which was likely to be rapid and successful because workers could easily be drawn out of the traditional sector even at relatively low wages and without any loss of output in the traditional sector. The Lewis model, also known as the dual model, became an instant success. Using its guidelines, economic planners all over the world sought to promote industrial development by attracting workers away from the agricultural sector into the modern, industrializing part of the economy.

Lewis followed the publication of this article with an equally well-received overview of development economics, *The Theory of Economic Growth,* also published in 1954 and destined to become the handbook of development economics in this period. In colleges and universities around the world and in ministries of finance and governmental and international planning organizations, these two publications provided the guidelines for promoting economic growth.

Even while Lewis was publishing these and other works, he made his talents available to government agencies. During and after World War II he advised the British Colonial Office about the ways Britain could alter its economic relations with colonial territories in preparation for the day when the British empire would devolve power to nationalist leaders. From 1950 to 1952 he served as a director of the Colonial Development Corporation, a British agency that identified potentially profitable projects in colonial areas in which to invest. He also advised colonial governments moving toward independence. At the request of the Ministry of Finance of the Gold Coast, he conducted an inquiry into the prospects of industrialization in that country and published an influential report on the topic in 1953, *Industrialization and the Gold Coast Economy.* When the Gold Coast became independent in 1957, he became that country's chief economic adviser, serving in that capacity for a little less than two years, during which time he helped to shape Ghana's first Five-Year Development Plan (1959–1963). After leaving Ghana, he became principal of the University College of the West Indies in 1959, and when the University College became a full-fledged independent university in 1961 (the University of the West Indies), he became its first vice-chancellor.

Although Lewis believed in the obligations of an intellectual to be a public servant, he experienced many disappointments in his dealing with government officials. He resigned as the secretary of the British Colonial Office's Colonial Economic Advisory Committee in 1943, protesting that the Colonial Office's vision of economic development was too conventional. The Colonial Office terminated his appointment as a director of the Colonial Development Corporation in 1952, in large part because of Lewis's criticism of Britain's failure to decolonize the white settler territories in British Africa. In Ghana he and the Ghanaian nationalist leader and prime minister, Kwame Nkrumah, did not see eye to eye on development priorities, and he resigned his position in late 1958 before his two-year contract had expired. Finally, he left the vice-chancellorship of the University of the West Indies to take up a professorship of political economy at Princeton University in 1963 because his efforts to promote the political federation of the British West Indies had failed and left him exhausted.

At Princeton University, where he remained until he retired in 1983, Lewis continued his distinguished career as an economist. His most notable publications were *The Evolution of the International Economic Order* (1977) and *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870–1913* (1978). He also took time away from teaching and academic responsibilities to be head of the Caribbean Development Bank from 1970 to 1973. Lewis continued to be an active scholar until his death at the age of seventy-six.

See also Education in the Caribbean; University of the West Indies

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ROBERT L. TIGNOR (2005)

Lewis, Edmonia

c. 1844
c. 1909

Information on the sculptor Edmonia Lewis's life is sparse and difficult to verify. She was often inconsistent in her own accounts of her early days. Born in upstate New York around 1844, the daughter of a Chippewa mother and a black father, Lewis, who was given the Indian name Wildfire, and her older brother, Sunrise, were orphaned when she was five. Raised by maternal aunts, she described her youth as something of an idyll, in which she lived in the wild, fished for food, and made moccasins to sell. She was able, as well, to study at a school near Albany.

With financial help from her brother, Lewis attended Oberlin College, where her studies included drawing and painting. In a dramatic incident, she was accused of the attempted murder, by poisoning, of two classmates who were stricken shortly after enjoying a hot drink she had prepared. While the young women lay ill, Lewis was abducted by a mob and severely beaten. After her recovery and subsequent vindication in the courts, she ended her studies and moved to Boston in order to pursue a career in the arts.

There she found encouragement and support from the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, the writer Lydia Maria Child, the sculptor Edward Brackett, with whom she studied, and a community of friends and patrons of the arts, many of whom were active in the abolitionist movement. Her bust of Robert Gould Shaw (1864), the Boston Brahmin and Civil War hero who died leading black troops into battle, was a great success. Sales of copies of that work enabled her to finance a trip to Europe, where, after traveling in England, France, and Italy, she settled in a studio once occupied by the sculptor Antonio Canova on the Via Della Frezza in Rome.

Studio portrait of sculptor Edmonia Lewis, c. 1870s. *Lewis's neoclassical works, termed ideal because her imagery was often based on narratives from literature, mythology, and the Bible, often centered on abolitionist themes and the precarious social position of newly freed blacks.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

A friend of the sculptors Anne Whitney and Harriet Hosmer and the actress Charlotte Cushman, Lewis was a member of the group of British and American expatriate women artists whom Henry James called the "white, marmorean flock." About Lewis, he wrote: "One of the sisterhood . . . was a Negress, whose color, picturesquely contrasting with that of her plastic material, was the pleading agent of her fame."

James's opinion notwithstanding, Lewis's work was much in demand during the heyday of what were called the literary sculptors. Her studio, listed in the best guidebooks, was a fashionable stop for Americans and others on the grand tour, many of whom ordered busts of family members or of literary and historical figures to adorn their mantels and front parlors.

The first African American to gain an international reputation as a sculptor, Lewis was a prolific artist. The catalog of her work runs to over sixty items, not all of which have been located. Her early work in Boston included portrait medallions and busts of major abolitionists such as John Brown, Maria Weston Chapman, and Garrison. There was also a small statue, now lost, showing the black hero Sgt. William H. Carney holding aloft the flag at the battle of Fort Wagner.

In Rome, she executed such major works as "Forever Free" (1867), a depiction of a slave couple hearing the news of emancipation, and "Hagar" (1868–1875), about which she said, "I have a strong feeling for all women who have struggled and suffered." Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "Song of Hiawatha" had made him a literary folk hero and inspired numerous artists, and Lewis drew on that familiar resource with groups such as "The Marriage of Hiawatha" (1867) and "The Old Arrow-Maker and His Daughter" (1867). These works seemed to patrons all the more authentic coming from the hand of a young woman who was part Indian and was reputed to have grown up in the wild.

Lewis's considerable celebrity reached its height with the unveiling of her "Death of Cleopatra" (1876) at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. That monumental work, a life-sized depiction of Cleopatra on her throne, was praised for the horrifying verisimilitude of the moment when the snake's poison takes hold, and for Lewis's attempt to depict the authentic Egyptian queen from a study of historic coins, medals, and other records.

In the 1880s, as the vogue for late neoclassical sculpture declined, references to Lewis dwindled as well. Although it is known that she was living in Rome as late as 1909, it is not certain where and when she died.

See also Painting and Sculpture

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MARILYN RICHARDSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Lewis, John

February 21, 1940

Civil rights activist and politician John Lewis was born near the town of Troy, in Pike County, Alabama. Lewis grew up on a small farm and was one of ten children in a poor sharecropping family. He had been drawn to the ministry since he was a child, and in fulfillment of his lifelong dream he entered the American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1957. He received his B.A. four years later. As a seminary student, Lewis participated in nonviolence workshops and programs taught by James Lawson—a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a pacifist civil rights organization. Lewis became a field secretary for FOR and attended the Highlander Folk School, an interracial adult education center in Tennessee that was committed to social change, where he was deeply influenced by Septima Clark, the director of education.

Lewis became an active participant in the growing civil rights movement and a member of the Nashville Student Movement. Along with Diane Nash Bevel, James Bevel, and other African-American students, he participated in the Nashville desegregation campaigns of 1960. Lewis was one of the founding members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 and played a leading role in organizing SNCC participation in the Congress of Racial Equality's (CORE) freedom rides. He led freedom rides in South Carolina and Alabama, where he and the other protesters were violently attacked by southern whites.

Lewis rose to a leadership position within SNCC, serving as national chairman from 1963 to 1966. During the 1963 March on Washington, Lewis—representing SNCC—delivered a highly controversial speech that criticized the federal government's consistent failure to protect civil rights workers, condemned the civil rights bill as "too little, too late," and called on African Americans to participate actively in civil rights protests until "the unfinished revolution of 1776 is complete." Although he had acceded to the march organizers' and other participants' request and allowed his speech to be severely edited to tone down its militant rhetoric, it was still considered by most people in attendance to be the most radical speech of the day.

In March 1965 Lewis marched with Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma, Alabama, to agitate for a voting rights act that would safeguard African Americans' access to the franchise. He was one of the many participants severely beaten by state troopers on what became known as Bloody Sunday. By 1966 Lewis's continued advocacy of

nonviolence had made him an anachronism in the increasingly militant SNCC. He resigned from the organization in June of that year, to be succeeded as chairperson by Stokely Carmichael. Lewis continued his civil rights activities as part of the Field Foundation from 1966 to 1967 and worked as director of community organization projects for the Southern Regional Council. In 1970 he was appointed director of the Voter Education Project, which promoted black empowerment through greater participation in electoral politics.

Lewis became more directly involved in the political arena six years later, when President Carter appointed him to serve on the staff of ACTION—a government agency that coordinated volunteer activities. From 1981 to 1986 he served on the Atlanta City Council. In 1986, in a bitter race, he challenged and defeated Julian Bond—another civil rights veteran—for an Atlanta congressional seat. In Congress Lewis became an influential member of the House Ways and Means Committee. He was an advocate of civil rights and was highly praised for his political acumen. In 1998 he was reelected from Georgia's Fifth Congressional District for a seventh term.

In 2004 Lewis was a recipient of the Freedom Award, given by the National Civil Rights Museum.

See also Bevel, James; Carmichael, Stokely; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Clark, Septima; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Nash, Diane; Politics in the United States; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MARSHALL HYATT (1996)
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Liberation Theology

The term *liberation theology* was first used by Latin-American priests and theologians (mainly Catholic) and U.S. African-American clergy and theologians (mainly Protestant) during the latter part of the 1960s. It refers to an interpretation of the Bible and the Christian faith from the standpoint of the poor and their struggles for justice in society. Without knowledge of the political activities and theological reflections of each other, Latin-American priests working among the masses and U.S. African-American ministers working with exploited blacks began to claim that God was involved in the history of oppressed people, empowering them to fight against poverty and racism.

Latin Americans focused their concern primarily on economic exploitation, particularly the great gap between large poor majorities and rich landowners. African Americans focused their concern primarily on racial oppression, the extreme dehumanization of black people arising from 244 years of slavery and more than a hundred years of segregation. Both Latin Americans and U.S. African Americans, however, emphasized that the world should not be the way it is and that it is therefore the task of Christians to change it.

Liberation Theology in Latin America

A key moment in the development of Latin-American liberation theology was a meeting of priests in Chimboté, Peru, in July 1968. A Peruvian priest and theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, made the first statement on liberation theology, delivering a paper entitled "Toward a Theology of Liberation." He outlined the methodology for which liberation theology has become famous. "Theology is a reflection—that is, . . . a second act . . . that comes after action. Theology is not first; the commitment is first." Theology, therefore, does not tell people what to do; rather, it arises out of what they do. For Christians, therefore, the truth of the gospel of Jesus is discovered only in practice.

One month after the Chimboté meeting, the well-known Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops was held at Medellín, Colombia, from August 26 to September 6, 1968. The Medellín conference marked a turning point in the history of the Church in Latin America analogous to the impact of the Second Vatican Council on the Roman Catholic Church worldwide. At Medellín, the Latin American Bishops, with much encouragement from Gutierrez and other theological advisers, "discovered" the world of the poor, the exploited masses who "hunger and thirst after justice." This inspired a continent-wide preferential option for the poor.

While the Medellín conference is often cited as the beginning of liberation theology, Gustavo Gutierrez's *A Theology of Liberation* is regarded as its most influential text.

Published in Spanish in 1971 and translated into English in 1973, the continuing and worldwide influence of this book is the major reason Gutierrez has been called the "father of liberation theology." The book is an extended interpretation of his Chimboté paper on liberation theology. In it, Gutierrez emphasizes that liberation theology is not a reflection on the abstract and timeless truths about God; rather, it is chiefly a new way of doing theology, a "critical reflection on historical praxis." Liberation theology "does not stop with reflecting on the world, but tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed" (Gutierrez, 1973, p.15).

Liberation Theology in the United States

The key moment in the development of black liberation theology was the publication of the Black Power statement in the *New York Times* on July 31, 1966, by an ad hoc committee of radical black clergy who later organized themselves as the National Conference of Black Christians (NCBC). In this statement, they opposed the white church's rejection of Black Power as unchristian and instead expressed their solidarity with the urban black poor in their communities, affirming the need for black self-determination and empowerment. Two years later, responding to the widespread Black Power movement in the black communities throughout the United States, James Cone published an essay titled "Christianity and Black Power." He defined the liberating message of Black Power as the message of Christ. Cone deepened the theological meaning of Black Power in the book *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969). During the same year, using Cone's book as the main source of their deliberations, the Theological Commission of the NCBC issued an official statement on "Black Theology," defining it as a "theology of black liberation." One year later, Cone's *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970) was published, making liberation the organizing principle of his theological perspective.

Like Latin-American liberation theology, black theology also emphasized praxis. It was defined as a specific kind of obedience that organizes itself around a social theory of reality in order to implement in society the freedom inherent in faith. If faith is the belief that God created all for freedom, then praxis is the social theory used to analyze what must be done for the historical realization of freedom. To sing about freedom and to pray for its coming is not enough. Freedom must be actualized in history by oppressed peoples who accept the intellectual challenge to analyze the world for the purpose of changing it.

Liberation Theology in Africa and Asia

Soon after the appearance of liberation theology in Latin America and in African-American communities in the United States, other expressions of it appeared in Africa, in Asia, and among women in all groups. Black and contextual theologies of liberation were created by Christian communities struggling against apartheid in South Africa, with Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak as prominent leaders. African theology appeared in other parts of Africa with an emphasis on indigenization and Africanization. John Mbiti of Kenya and Engelbert Mveng of Cameroon were prominent interpreters. An Asian liberation theology emerged out of Christian communities encountering the overwhelming poverty and the multifaceted religiousness of the continent. Aloysius Pieris of Sri Lanka and Samuel Rayan of India were important representatives.

Liberation Theology Among Women

Responding to their struggles against sexism, women on all continents began to develop theologies of liberation out of their experience. In the United States, Mary Daly and Rosemary Ruether were among the leading voices in initiating the development of feminist theology; Delores Williams and Jacquelyn Grant helped to create a womanist theology out of black women's experience; and Ada Marie Isasi-Diaz made a similar contribution to the development of a feminist theology among Hispanics. Mercy Amba Oduyoye of Ghana, Chung Hyun-Kyung of South Korea, and Elsa Tamez of Mexico reflected on the liberating presence of God in the struggles of third-world women against patriarchal mechanisms of domination in the global context of the church and the society.

The Unity of Third World Theologians

Recognizing the commonality of their concerns, theologians of liberation in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and among U.S. minorities met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in August 1976 and created the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT). Their concern was to break with theological models inherited from the West and to develop a new way of doing theology that would interpret the gospel in a more meaningful way to peoples of the third world and promote their struggles of liberation. In more than twenty-five years of dialogue, visiting each others' places of struggle, liberation theologians have debated one another about the most important starting point for doing Christian theology. Latin Americans have emphasized their struggle to overcome economic struc-

tures of domination, pointing to the wide gap between the rich and poor among nations and within nations and stressing the need for theology to make use of the social sciences in analyzing the world of the poor. Africans have talked about their struggle against "anthropological poverty" and the "despoiling of human beings not only of what they have but of everything that constitutes their essence—their identity, history, language, and dignity" (Mveng, 1983, p. 220). They have also stressed the need to liberate theology from the cultural captivity of the West. Asians have emphasized the need to develop a theological method that combines the analyses of religion, culture, politics, and economics. U.S. minorities, the smallest group in the association, have reminded all of the importance of race analysis in the doing of theology.

In their dialogues, which have often been intense, liberation theologians in EATWOT have learned much from each other. They have published eight volumes, including Sergio Torres and Virginia Fabella (eds.), *The Emergent Gospel: Theology From the Underside of History* (1978); Virginia Fabella and Sergio Torres (eds.), *Irruption of the Third World: Challenge to Theology* (1983); Virginia Fabella and Sergio Torres (eds.), *Doing Theology in a Divided World* (1985); Virginia Fabella and Mercy Amba Oduyoye (eds.), *With Passion and Compassion: Third World Women Doing Theology* (1988); K. C. Abraham (ed.), *Third World Theologies: Commonalities and Divergences* (1990); and K. C. Abraham and Bernadette Mbuy-Beya (eds.), *Spirituality of the Third World* (1994).

All liberation theologians agree that the Christian gospel can best be understood and interpreted in the context of one's participation in the struggles of the poor for justice. Faith is not primarily intellectual assent to truths about God; rather, it is a commitment to God and to human beings, especially the poor. Theology, therefore, is a reflection on the commitment that Christians make in their effort to put into practice the demands of faith.

The contrast between liberation theologies and the dominant theologies of Europe and North America is quite revealing. The identity of the dominant theologies has been strongly influenced by the European Enlightenment and secularism, creating the problem of the unbeliever. The central task of theology, therefore, is to make the Christian faith intelligible in a world that can be explained without God.

The identity of liberation theologies has been defined by oppression—poverty, racism, colonialism, and sexism—creating the problem of the nonperson. In this context, theology asks, what is the relationship between salvation and the struggle for justice in society? Faith demands not only that it be understood, but that salvation be realized in the social, economic, and political lives of people.

Theologies of liberation have also emerged among gays, lesbians, and transsexual people and among other oppressed groups. Liberation theology is not limited to one group or continent but found wherever oppressed people of faith are empowered intellectually to reflect on their fight for freedom.

See also Black Power Movement; Catholicism in the Americas; Protestantism in the Americas

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JAMES H. CONE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

LIBERATOR, THE

The Liberator, an abolitionist newspaper, was begun in 1831 by William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) and Isaac Knapp (1804–1843) in Boston. Garrison used *The Liberator* for over thirty years to voice his scathing indictments of the slave system and of the country that allowed it to flourish. It complemented his work in the New England Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he founded in 1832 and 1833, respectively. From the start, *The Liberator*, which was published weekly, received substantial African-American support. Of its 450 initial subscribers, roughly 400 were black. One was Philadelphian James Forten, who urged Garrison to "plead our cause" and expose "the odious system of slavery." A deeply religious Baptist and pacifist, Garrison aimed at bringing people to the cause of abolition through "moral suasion." He therefore avoided politics and called for immediate,

rather than gradual, abolition. "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD," pledged Garrison in the first issue. In the early years of the paper, this was a radical stance, even among antislavery advocates.

The publication of *The Liberator* brought furious reaction from southern politicians, who passed legislation banning its circulation. Columbia, South Carolina, offered a reward of $5,000 for the arrest and conviction of Garrison or Knapp. In October 1831 the corporation of Georgetown, D.C., forbade any free black to take *The Liberator* out of the post office. Offenders would be punished by fine and imprisonment, and if they did not pay, were to be sold into slavery for four months. Despite its inflammatory appeal, *The Liberator*'s circulation remained relatively small, particularly among the white population. In its fourth year, nearly three-quarters of the two thousand subscribers were African Americans. Knapp, whose contributions to the paper were more in terms of publishing and trying, unsuccessfully, to keep the paper financially afloat, left in 1839. Wanting to try his hand at writing editorials, he published his own abolitionist paper, *Knapp's Liberator,* in January 1842, but this proved unsuccessful.

The Liberator contained some of the most important writings on the abolitionist cause. Aside from Garrison's fiery editorials, it published the writings of John Rankin, Oliver Johnson, Wendell Phillips, and English abolitionist George Thompson. With these writers, *The Liberator* continued its fight: opposing colonization (which Garrison perceived as a plot to strengthen slavery by removing free blacks from the country) and rallying boycotts against the products of slavery. In 1842 Garrison called for a "Repeal of the Union." The U.S. Constitution, he wrote, was "a Convenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell." This quickly became *The Liberator*'s motto. When secession became a reality in 1861, however, it was the slaveholders who wanted to leave the Union. At first, Garrison celebrated their departure. But as the Civil War progressed, he shifted his position and used *The Liberator* to pressure President Abraham Lincoln for abolition. Significantly, the new motto of the paper became, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Garrison cheered the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, writing "Glory Hallelujah!," but he kept working, hoping to secure the freedom of slaves in border states. With the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment, Garrison believed the mission of the paper accomplished. "Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty!" he wrote in one of the last issues. On December 29, 1865, *The Liberator,* the most influential and important abolitionist newspaper, ceased publication.

See also Abolition; Civil War, U.S.; Slavery and the Constitution

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WALTER FRIEDMAN (1996)

Liele, George

c. 1750
1820

Born into slavery in Virginia, George Liele, a Baptist minister, was taken by his owner, Henry Sharp, to Burke County, Georgia, in 1773. Sharp, a Baptist deacon, supported Liele's conversion the following year, and Buckhead Creek Baptist Church certified him to minister to slaves on surrounding plantations. Thus, Liele became one of the first licensed black preachers in North America. He was emancipated on the eve of the American Revolution. When Sharp, a Tory, was killed in the war, his heirs attempted to reenslave Liele, but British officers whom Liele had served protected him. In 1777 Liele gathered at one of the first black Baptist churches in America at Yama Craw, near Savannah. Among those who heard him preach were the influential black Baptists David George and Andrew Bryan.

When the British evacuated Savannah in 1782, Liele indentured himself in exchange for passage to Jamaica. Upon working out his indenture, he was given his free papers in 1784 and began to preach, first in a private home, and then publicly, after obtaining a grant of toleration from the Jamaican Assembly. In Jamaica, Liele faced strong opposition from Anglican authorities. He was tried and acquitted on a charge of sedition, and was also imprisoned for debts he acquired while building a church in Kingston. Nevertheless, his congregation grew. By 1791 Liele estimated that he had baptized four hundred people in Jamaica, including a few whites. In addition to his ministry, Liele established and promoted a free school, and earned his living as a farmer and transporter of goods. A founding father of the African Baptist faith in two countries, he died in Jamaica in 1820.

See also Baptists; Free Blacks, 1619–1860

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BENJAMIN K. SCOTT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lighbourne, Robert

November 29, 1909
December 28, 1995

Industrialist, politician, and administrator Robert Lighbourne was born in Morant Bay, St. Thomas. His father, a politician and a wealthy landowner, sent him to England to further his studies after his high school education at Jamaica College. Robert later became a manufacturer in Birmingham, producing ploughshares for Ferguson tractors, as well as other essential equipment needed for World War II. After hurricane Charlie devastated Jamaica in 1951, Lighbourne's managerial skills in organizing relief for the island attracted the attention of the Jamaican authorities, and he was invited home to assist in the rebuilding of the country. He first assisted at Jamaica Welfare Ltd, a national development project founded in 1943. Lighbourne's first significant impact as an industrialist came in 1951 when he became the first managing director of the newly established Industrial Development Corporation, a position he held until 1955.

The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), the political party in power, capitalized on Lighbourne's reputation by having him run for elective office in his home parish of Western St. Thomas, in the West Indian federal elections of 1958. Lighbourne won his seat but resigned after one year because of his disenchantment with the federation and to prepare for Jamaica's 1959 general elections.

Lighbourne became the first minister of trade and industry in independent Jamaica, serving from 1962 to 1972, where he displayed exceptional managerial skills. His stellar achievement remains the successful negotiation of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement of 1968, which paved the way for preferential treatment of Commonwealth products to Britain. He also initiated scientific research into the extraction of iron ore out of Jamaican red mud and served as chairman of the World Sugar Conference in 1968. In Jamaica he initiated the First Industrial Incentives Act; the Export Industry Encouragement Act and the New Companies Act; the Jamaica Industrial Development Center; the Jamaican Bureau of Standards; and the Industrial Apprentice Scheme, and he positioned Jamaica in joining CARIFTA (Caribbean Free Trade Association). Jamaica also became an independent member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Lighbourne also introduced the Jamaica Industrial Apprentice Scholars Scheme, which from 1963 to 1974 sent over 120 young high school graduates to the United Kingdom to become engineers. In the 1960s he even proposed to OPEC that it should establish a two-tiered price structure, which gave developing countries the benefit of a lower price than that charged to developed countries, since increasing oil prices would damage their fragile economies.

Despite not being chosen as the new leader of the JLP when a vacancy occurred, he nevertheless contested the 1972 general elections and won his constituency of Western St. Thomas for the JLP. He resigned from the JLP not long after but remained an independent member of Jamaica's parliament until 1976. Lighbourne even formed his own political party, the United Party, in 1974, but it dissolved after a year. In July 1990 the Jamaican government appointed Lighbourne as a special envoy with the rank of ambassador in the area of foreign affairs and trade. He died on December 28, 1995, at eighty-six.

See also Jamaica Labour Party; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

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DAVE GOSSE (2005)

Ligon, Glenn

April 20, 1960

Glenn Ligon is an African-American visual artist who uses language to question issues pertaining to race, sexuality,

Portrait of American installation artist Glenn Ligon, 1998. JOHN JONAS GRUEN/GETTY IMAGES

and identity. Born in the Bronx, New York, in 1960, he studied at Wesleyan College, where he received his B.A, and at the Rhode Island School of Design. During the 1980s and 1990s, Ligon was among a cadre of black and Latino artists who began using structuralist and post-structuralist theory to deconstruct commonly held assumptions about race, sexuality, and gender. In many of his works, Ligon focuses specifically on language as an ironically self-sufficient system for negotiating issues concerning identity formation.

Ligon's works frequently appropriate sections from historically significant literature, as well as euphemisms from African-American popular culture and folklore tradition. In this way, Ligon is able to examine the relationship between language and meaning, and to explore the implications of subjectivity and intent. Ligon thus combines speech with conceptualist and minimalist strategies in multimedia prints, paintings, and installations that incorporate language as an important component of his visual art. In 1998 Ligon began his *Stranger in the Village* series of drawings and paintings. In this series which continued until 2004, Ligon often stenciled excerpts of James Baldwin's classic text onto a canvas and then covered the text with multiple layers of coal dust, rendering the author's statement partly illegible. Where Baldwin elaborates on the experience of being an outsider—as the only black man to have visited an isolated Swiss village—Ligon's encrusted paintings intimate a mounting tension synonymous with the author's testimonial. As the artist has commented on the importance of text in his work: "Text demands to be read, and perhaps the withdrawal of the text, the frustration of the ability to decipher it, reflects a certain pessimism on my part about the ability and the desire to communicate. Also, literature has been a treacherous site for black Americans because literary production has been so tied with the project of proving our humanity through the act of writing" (Firstenberg, p. 43).

From 1994 to 1998, Ligon worked on a project titled *Feast of Scraps*, through which he critiqued the notion of identity and sentiment associated with the family photo album by creating such an album filled with vintage gay pornography. The photographs are captioned with statements such as "Mother Knew" and "Brother." By incorporating images with subversive texts, Ligon puts before the viewer a union of identities commonly associated with notions of both morality and immorality—identities that are secretly acknowledged yet excluded from both the verbal discourses and visual artifacts that make up familial identity. Through this process, Ligon also called attention to the irony inherent in the highly selective and exclusionary practices with which people construct and legitimate familial and larger historical narratives. Ligon revisited the family photo album for his web-based project, *Annotations* (2000), a digital twenty-page album that is itself linked to multiple layers of visual information, including photos, hand-written narratives, and audio clips. It was Ligon's intention for this progression to mimic the ways in which memory works, through reminiscence, correlation, and suggestion. Moreover, in *Annotations*, references to race and African-American history are continual subtexts for the work as a whole. Periodically, images containing texts (such as "Harlem is Burning") are juxtaposed with subversive imagery referencing the photographer Edward Steichen's 1955 exhibition and publication, *The Family of Man*.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture

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LERONN BROOKS (2005)

Lincoln, Abbey

August 6, 1930

The actress and jazz singer Abbey Lincoln was born Anne Marie Woolridge in Chicago, Illinois. In high school she toured Michigan with a dance band; in 1951 she moved to California and sang in nightclubs as Gaby Lee. After a club residency in Hawaii (1952–1954), she returned to California and began singing in Hollywood nightclubs. In 1956 she made her recording debut with Benny Carter's orchestra and changed her name to Abbey Lincoln. During the 1950s and 1960s, she sang with the jazz group led by Max Roach (to whom she was married until 1971) and helped popularize his "Freedom Now Suite" (1960), one of the musical hallmarks of the civil rights movement.

During the 1970s Lincoln toured Europe, Asia, and Africa as a soloist. As an actress she appeared in *Nothing but a Man* (1964), which won the top film award at the First World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal. She also made appearances in Jean Genet's play *The Blacks* and was a member of the road company of the musical *Jamaica.* Lincoln was also active in television and radio. In 1975 she adopted the name Aminata Moseka and in her lyrics expressed political positions devoted to the advancement of the culture and arts of African Americans. In 1991, in a comeback as a jazz diva, she recorded the album *You Gotta Pay the Band,* for which she penned five of the songs. Critics considered it one of the best examples of her work.

Lincoln enjoyed a prolific output through the 1990s, creating a large, distinctive catalog of new material on Verve Records. Beginning with *The World Is Falling Down* and ending with *Over the Years*, an album that serves as a summation of her long and varied career, Lincoln released seven albums for the Verve label between 1990 and 2000. She presented a stunning three-night retrospective of her career at New York's Jazz at the Lincoln Center in March of 2002.

See also Jazz; Roach, Max

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JAMES E. MUMFORD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lincoln Theatre

Located on 135th Street just off Lenox Avenue in New York City, the Lincoln Theatre was Harlem's premier center of popular entertainment from the turn of the century until the Great Depression. Its predecessor was the Nickelette, a storefront nickelodeon presenting fifteen-minute segments of live entertainment on a makeshift stage. One early performer, around 1903, was Baby Florence, the child singer and dancer who grew up to be Florence Mills, the Broadway and London star. The Nickelette was purchased in 1909 by Maria C. Downs, who doubled the seating to three hundred and named the theater after Abraham Lincoln. Harlem was becoming increasingly black, but most theaters segregated or refused admission to African Americans. Downs turned the Lincoln into a headquarters for black shows and audiences, a policy so successful that she constructed the building with a seating capacity of 850 in 1915.

Although the theater placed some emphasis on serious drama—with the Anita Bush Stock Company, for example, before it moved to the rival Lafayette—the Lincoln during the 1910s and 1920s became the focal point for down-home, even raucous, vernacular entertainment that particularly appealed to recent working-class immigrants from the South. As the New York showcase of the Theatre Owners Booking Association (TOBA), it drew all the big names of black vaudeville: Bessie Smith, Bert Williams, Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters, and Butterbeans and Susie. The Lincoln was the only place in New York where Ma Rainey ever sang. Mamie Smith was appearing there in Perry Bradford's *Maid of Harlem* when she made the first commercial recording of vocal blues by a black singer.

Because it housed a live orchestra, the Lincoln also became a venue for jazz musicians. Don Redman performed there in 1923 with Billy Paige's Broadway Syncopators. Lucille Hegamin and her Sunny Land Cotton Pickers featured a young Russell Procope on clarinet in 1926, the same year Fletcher Henderson with his Roseland Orchestra played there. Perhaps the name most closely identified with the Lincoln was the composer and stride pianist Thomas "Fats" Waller, who imitated the theater's piano and organ player while still a child and was hired for twen-

ty-three dollars a week in 1919 to replace her; he was then fifteen years old. When he failed to find financial backing to produce his opera *Treemonisha,* Scott Joplin paid for a single performance at the Lincoln. Unable to afford an orchestra, he provided the only accompaniment himself on the piano.

A steady stream of white show-business writers and composers, including George Gershwin and Irving Berlin, joined the black audiences at the Lincoln, not only to be entertained but to find new ideas and new tunes. More than one melody, dance step, or comedy routine that originated with a black vaudeville act wound up in a white Broadway musical. The Lincoln did not survive the economic disaster of the Great Depression and the changing tastes of the Harlem community, where more sophisticated people began to refer to it as "the Temple of Ignorance." Downs sold the theater in 1929 to Frank Shiffman, who turned it into a movie house. Later, a renovated Lincoln Theatre housed the Metropolitan AME Church.

See also Blues, The; Harlem, New York; Jazz

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)

Lincoln University

Lincoln University is located in southern Chester County, four miles north of Oxford, Pennsylvania. Founded in 1854, the university is the oldest extant black institution of higher learning in the United States. The university was founded by John Miller Dickey, a white senior pastor of the Oxford Presbyterian Church. Before founding Lincoln University, Dickey had shown concern for the welfare of African Americans. In 1850 he contributed decisively to the liberation of two sisters, Rachel and Elizabeth Parker, who had been kidnapped in Oxford for sale into slavery. Dickey also supported the American Colonization Society and felt that emancipated Africans should return to the African continent as missionaries. In 1852 Dickey made unsuccessful attempts to place James Ralston Amos, an African American and the treasurer of the fund for "Negro Church" building established by Richard Allen in 1794, into Princeton University Seminary and also at a religious academy managed by the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia. Frustrated by a failed effort to secure admission for a "colored" student in a "white" institution, Dickey sought a solution in establishing an institution for "colored" men.

The institution Dickey established was originally chartered by the state of Pennsylvania as Ashmun Institute, named in honor of Jehudi Ashmun, the first governor of Liberia. After the Civil War and in recognition of the role that President Abraham Lincoln played in the emancipation of the enslaved, Ashmun Institute was renamed Lincoln University. The educational curriculum was originally conceived to include not only all aspects of liberal arts but also law, medicine, and theology. Financial problems and declining enrollment, however, necessitated the closing of the seminary as well as the schools of law and medicine. The university's charters of 1854 and 1866 restricted admission to male students. However, in 1953 the university amended its charter to permit coeducation. In 1972 Lincoln University became a state-related institution within Pennsylvania's Commonwealth System of Higher Education and was placed on the same basis for state aid as Temple University and the University of Pittsburgh as well as Pennsylvania State University.

Lincoln University has played a vital role in the training of leaders, not only among African Americans but also among Africans. In the first hundred years of its existence, Lincoln University graduated twenty percent of the African-American doctors and more than ten percent of the African-American attorneys in the United States. In the words of Dr. Niara Sudarkasa, the eleventh president of Lincoln University, "Lincoln University's alumni roster reads like a section of Who's Who of the Twentieth Century." Its distinguished alumni include Thurgood Marshall, who not only argued successfully the historic school desegregation case before the Supreme Court in 1954 but also became the first African-American appointed to the Supreme Court, and the poet Langston Hughes, who was in Lincoln University's class of 1929. Two former heads of state in Africa were educated at Lincoln University: Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first prime minister, graduated in 1939, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's first president, was in Lincoln University's class of 1930. Lincoln's alumni have been presidents of thirty-six colleges and universities.

Lincoln's positive impact has particularly been felt in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, where many of its graduates have distinguished themselves as educators, physicians, judges, lawyers, and scientists. Lincoln's graduates include Harry W. Bass, Pennsylvania's first African-American legislator; Robert N. C. Nix, the state's first African-American congressman; Herbert Millen, the state's first African-American judge; and Roy C. Nichols, the first African-American bishop of the United Methodist Church.

Lincoln University has continued the tradition of educating students from Africa who return to their continent to assume leadership positions. Namibia's first independence government cabinet had at least six Lincoln University graduates. This impressive record of Lincoln's national and international alumni in various fields of human endeavor testifies to the value of a preparation solidly rooted in an education for freedom.

Since the 1960s Lincoln University has intensified its tradition of international involvement. In 1961 the U.S. State Department sponsored the African Languages and Area Studies Program at the university. From 1963 to 1971 the United States Peace Corps Training Program prepared volunteers on Lincoln University's campus and sent them to Africa and the Caribbean. Sudarkasa, an internationally recognized anthropologist and the first African-American female to be appointed as Lincoln's president, highlighted the international focus of Lincoln University. Under her leadership Lincoln established the Center for Public Policy and Diplomacy, the Center for the Study of Critical Languages, and the Center for the Comparative Study of the Humanities. These centers have become focal points for international studies at the university. Also, in addition to the European languages that are traditionally taught in colleges, Lincoln also teaches Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Arabic languages.

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, a graduate of Lincoln University, was the institution's first African-American president. He served from 1945 to 1957. Dr. Bond was succeeded by Dr. Marvin Wachman, who was white. After Dr. Wachman, the succeeding presidents—Dr. Herman Branson (1970–1985), Dr. Sudarkasa (1987–1998), and Dr. Ivory V. Nelson (1999–)—have been black.

Lincoln University's student population traditionally numbered about fourteen hundred, but by 2005 the number had risen to about two thousand. Students are recruited from various social, economic, and national backgrounds. The university has continued to expand the physical facilities on its 350 acres of land.

See also Bethune-Cookman College; Dillard University; Fisk University; Howard University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Tuskegee University; Wilberforce University

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LEVI A. NWACHUKU (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lisboa, Antônio Francisco

c. 1738
November 18, 1814

Born in Vila Rica (now Ouro Prêto), Minas Gerias, Brazil, Antônio Francisco Lisboa, the illegitimate son of Manuel Francisco Lisboa, a Portuguese architect and master carpenter, and his African slave Isabel, was an architect, sculptor, and wood carver. Lisboa is considered the most notable artist of the colonial period in Brazil. His biography has often been mythologized in twentieth-century Brazilian history and used to solidify an artistic national heritage. Between 1796 and 1804, working primarily in wood and soapstone, the mulatto artist created an extraordinary number of baroque sculptures. Lisboa apprenticed in the workshops of his father, his uncle Antonio Francisco Pombal, and the draftsman João Gomes Batista of the Lisbon Mint. All of these European artists resided in the prosperous Captaincy of Minas Gerais in the early eighteenth century, at the height of the Brazilian gold boom. Master Lisboa never left Brazil and, according to documentary sources, only made one trip to Rio de Janeiro to resolve a paternity suit. His relative isolation makes it all the more extraordinary that he adapted refined German and French rococo forms and styles in his sculptural and decorative works. His knowledge of European styles probably came from theoretical architectural treatises and ornamental engravings. Southern Germanic religious prints, particularly those by the Augsburg-based Klauber brothers, influenced Lisboa's artistic oeuvre.

At a young age, Lisboa became one of the most respected artists of the Captaincy, producing his first works in wood and stone at fourteen, and working until his death. His fame only increased with the onset of an unidentifiable disease (possibly leprosy, syphilis, or viral influenza) around the age of forty. In response to his condition, which led to the progressive deformation of his

Basilica do Bom Jesus de Matozinhos, Congonhas do Campo, Brazil. *Antônio Francisco Lisboa, dubbed O Aleijadinho ("the little cripple"), created the sculptures decorating the basilica with tools strapped to his wrists, as he suffered from the effects of a progressively debilitating disease that affected the use of his limbs and hands.* © JACK FIELDS/CORBIS

limbs, he was nicknamed O Aleijadinho ("the little cripple"). The disease caused him intense suffering, although he was able to keep the use of his thumbs and index fingers, essential for the more precise movements of sculpting. Nonetheless, Lisboa had an extremely prolific career and produced the majority of his documented work after the onset of the disease.

The vast majority of Lisboa's architectural and sculptural works are located in the Minas Gerais cities of Ouro Prêto, São João del Rei, Sabará and Cogonhas do Campo. Many of his statues are now in Brazilian museums (São Paulo, Museu de Arte Sacra; Ouro Prêto, Museu de Inconfidência) and religious centers, as well as in private collections.

Lisboa received most of his commissions in the 1770s, immediately before the onset of his disease. His first large-scale work in soapstone was for the portal of the Church of Carmo of Sabará in 1770. In the 1780s he completed the internal ornamentation for the church. The Church of St. Francis of Assisi in Ouro Prêto, another important commission, most thoroughly embodies Lisboa's architectural and ornamentational concepts. His highly original architectural design combines a Portuguese mannerist rectangular church with a curvilinear plan after Francesco Borromini. The prestige and success of this project led to many more architectural commissions.

Lisboa's most important sculptural legacy lies in the pilgrimage church of Bom Jesus de Matozinhos, Congonhas do Campo. Aleijadinho and his assistants sculpted a total of sixty-six life-size figures of Christ's Passion (1796–1799). These sculptures stand in six chapels forming the *Via Sacra,* or Way of the Cross, ending on a sacred hill. At the top of the hill lie twelve life-size soapstone sculptures of the Old Testament prophets (1800–1805). The ensemble of statues is emotionally evocative in the tradition of medieval religious drama, allowing worshipers to participate in the staging of sacred theater as they climb the stairway and view the sculptures from varying angles.

Called "the new Praxiteles" by his fellow artists, Lisboa died in Vila Rica at the age of seventy-six, having never accumulated great wealth or social prestige.

See also Painting and Sculpture

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AMY J. BUONO (2005)

Literacy Education

Literacy is a process by which one expands one's knowledge of reading and writing in order to develop one's thinking and learning for the purpose of understanding oneself and the world. This process is fundamental to achieving competence in every educational subject. Since literacy is a necessary foundation for educational achievement and it has not always been legal for black people to be literate in the Americas, an understanding of historical approaches to literacy education for black children can elucidate larger relationships between individuals, communities, and the world. In an effort to ensure children's success and ability to be self-determined in a largely literate society, approaches to literacy education have included multilingual, multicultural, and multimedia resources.

The institution of slavery and subsequent racialization that situated Africans in America in isolated speech communities contributed to the development of what is now termed African American English (AAE). Many scholars have noted the effects of slavery on literacy education; they have also noted the effects that isolation had on language acquisition and development (Baugh, 1999; Morgan, 2002; Rickford and Rickford, 2000; Smitherman, 2000). Just as efforts were made to categorize enslaved Africans as inferior to European settlers, similar campaigns were also made to stigmatize the language of African Americans. The outcome of these subjugation strategies contributes to negative language attitudes concerning AAE today. Negative language attitudes can be a barrier to literacy education because literacy draws upon the linguistic and cultural knowledge of language learners as they create and interpret texts. In response, various researchers have empirically countered trends to designate AAE (and the related inferences regarding the cognitive abilities of African Americans) as different and somehow deficient compared to a European-centered norm. Moreover, educators have combated such educational practices by incorporating culturally and linguistically relevant curricula.

Enslaved Africans developed strategies to acquire and maintain literacy. Despite legislation forbidding literacy, some enslaved Africans were nevertheless literate in various languages, such as Arabic, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. After Emancipation and the passing of amendments that secured citizenship rights, examples of literacy education in schools began to emerge. Efforts such as the use of spirituals and other cultural materials to facilitate multiple literacies of black youth are evident throughout the era of segregation (Yasin, 1999). As integration policies began to be enforced, the number of black schoolteachers declined, as did linguistically and culturally relevant literacy education. During the 1970s, with civil rights legislation and the advent of the Black Power movement, there were increased efforts to include alienated African-American learners from language study. Civil rights legislation, Title VI in particular, protected students against discrimination and also served as the basis for cases (e.g., *Lau v. Nichols*) that protected the rights of other language minorities in the United States. Ensuring equitable education for African-American children did not end with legal and policy changes. The Black Power movement revolutionized societal values and perspectives regarding African culture, language, and history. Such attitude shifts were reflected in curricula that were intended to support African-American youth. Theories of how to best make curricula culturally and linguistically relevant flourished.

SESD Approaches to Literacy

One of the most noted programmatic changes in literacy education resulted in readers for Standard English as a Second Dialect (SESD). These programs approached the literacy of African-American children much like English as a Second Language (ESL) programs approach nonnative English speakers: They introduced standard English (SE) grammatical structures while attempting to respect students' home dialects/languages. SESD programs were launched in urban areas around the United States, such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Detroit, as well as in rural areas where large numbers of African-American children were schooled (e.g., north and central Florida). Similar programs were initiated in urban areas throughout the Caribbean as well. According to Marcyliena Morgan, in Chicago and Florida, for example, the curriculum of SESD programs included (a) culturally relevant material such as "dialect stories and folk tales . . . , (b) grammatical exercises that reviewed AAE exclusively, (c) grammatical exercises that tested General English (GE) exclusively, and (d) contrastive exercises that included both forms" (Morgan, 2002, p. 141). Morgan criticizes SESD programs for not adequately informing students' parents about the functions of dialect readers and how

they are used to teach standard literacy. Such priming was necessary given the nation's history of stigmatizing African-American language varieties. This lack of collaboration with community constituents eventually led to the decline of the SESD, although numerous studies attested to their success. Morgan observes that "these readers were an innovation that actually contradicted everything that the community—and most Americans—expected to happen in a classroom. No one had been socialized around dialect readers and with the notion that a quality education included them—especially when integrated educational institutions had worked so hard to exclude black children culturally" (2002, p. 141).

Despite initial community rejection, programs that are philosophically similar to the SESD programs emerged. The unified school districts of Ann Arbor, Los Angeles, and Oakland are noted for implementing such literacy programs (e.g., the Language Development Program for African American Students in Los Angeles). Though these programs received negative and ill-informed media coverage, they were praised by many professionals for being linguistically sound, and these programs are considered a legal right by various organizations ranging from the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The social uproar that followed the Oakland Resolution, which is popularly referred to as the "Ebonics debate," is instructive for understanding pervasive stereotypes and prejudice regarding the languages and cultures of African Americans. It is also indicative of how negative language attitudes can continue to affect literacy strategies via the "miseducation" of the masses through the media. Experts have responded by educating both the public and policymakers about the utility of AAE for literacy education.

Marcyliena Morgan (2002) and John Rickford (2000) outline these histories in detail by explaining—case by case—how knowledge of AAE can positively and empirically increase the literacies of black children. However, because literacy involves knowledge of culture and language, multilingual, AAE-informed educational programs are not the only ones designed to facilitate literacy among black children. Recently, literacy efforts that include multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and even popular cultural approaches that use hip-hop have emerged.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is a process of school reform that ensures equitable education for all students by embracing diversity and affirming pluralism in pedagogical practice. Some scholars posit that critical pedagogy is an underlying philosophy of multicultural education, but various scholars define the concept differently (Bank and Banks, p. 48). Most agree that the goal of multicultural education is social change. James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks (2004, p. 20) describe the five dimensions of multicultural education as content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy was introduced by Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo (1987) in their seminal work regarding literacy as empowerment for oppressed peoples. Henry Giroux developed the concept of critical pedagogy into a field of literacy research that has important implications concerning the education of black children. Giroux writes that "pedagogy in the critical sense illuminates the relationship among knowledge, authority and power. . . . [It is] about the knowledge and practices that teachers, cultural workers, and students might engage in together" (p. 30). This perspective corresponds to the goals of literacy education explained above. Teaching children to use reading and writing in an effort to expand how they make sense of their worlds entails criticism (assessing the strengths and weaknesses) of current knowledge production, authority, and power relations.

If Giroux is correct, then perhaps the future of literacy education lies in strategies that encompass aspects of youth culture, such as popular culture and hip-hop in particular, in order to further make literacy education appealing and relevant to youths' lived experiences. Indeed, teachers can design curricula utilizing hip-hop to facilitate youth-centered discussions about literacy (Morgan, 2001; Smitherman, 2000; Yasin, 1999). Educational scholars have noted this utility as they have researched teachers who guide students through identification of specific literary terms and grammatical concepts by studying hip-hop lyrics as texts or as bases for lessons on intertextuality (e.g., Ladson-Billings, pp. 82–84; Mahiri, pp. 111–117; Yasin, pp. 213–217). The educators featured in these studies often use hip-hop as an exercise in "translation" and as a supplement to using AAE-informed literacy approaches in the classroom. Therefore, these contemporary strategies combine and build upon the approaches to literacy education highlighted above in the SESD programs, multicultural education and critical pedagogy.

Given the myriad approaches to literacy education for black children, one might hope that their implementation will eventually erase negative language attitudes that impede educational achievement and community success.

Just as the enslaved Africans innovated in their efforts to ensure literacy—even when it was illegal—educators and other experts concerned with the literacy of black children will probably continue to innovate as they strive to improve community conditions and bridge educational achievement disparities.

See also Education in the United States; English, African-American

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DAWN-ELISSA T. I. FISCHER (2005)

Cover of the* Messenger, *November, 1923. *During its early years the editorial policy of the* Messenger *was one of militant socialism, but by 1923 the journal was taking a more favorable view of the accomplishments of the black middle class.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Literary Criticism, U.S.

This entry consists of two distinct articles. The first by David Lionel Smith provides an overview of Literary Criticism in an African-American context from its beginning to the mid-1990s. The second article by Shelly Eversley offers an update on changes in the field in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.

Literary Criticism
David Lionel Smith

Scholarship in the Twenty-First Century
Shelly Eversley

Overview

In his *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Thomas Jefferson, to illustrate his assertions of Negro inferiority, remarked, "Religion indeed has produced a Phyllis Whately [sic; reference is to Phillis Wheatley], but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are

below the dignity of criticism" (p. 189). Jefferson's attitude of dismissal extended equally to the writers Jupiter Hammon and Ignatius Sancho and to every other black person. Though his discussion of Wheatley's work falls short, by his own admission, of literary criticism, it initiates a tradition of disparagement in which European-American critics use ideology as a grounds for judging African-American writing inferior. Not surprisingly, the work of African-American critics has often been conceived, at least implicitly, in response to such critical chauvinism.

African-American literary criticism should be understood to comprise several interlocking categories of writing: criticism of works by African Americans, criticism by African Americans, and criticism of African-American works by African-American critics. Furthermore, criticism includes literary biography, literary history, literary theory, and cultural theory as well as analyses of specific literary works. Thus African-American literary criticism is a broadly defined genre, and because the racial category "black" or "African American" has always been heavily laden with social values, literary criticism has been one of the realms in which questions of racial values and racial identity have always been articulated and contested.

The explicitly Euro-chauvinist tradition that uses literary criticism as a pretext for assertions of white supremacy and black inferiority, initiated by Jefferson and perpetuated through the late twentieth century, has its vigorously antagonistic counterpart in the tradition that commits itself to demonstrating through criticism the distinctiveness and integrity of African-American artists and culture. Despite their sharp disagreements, these two traditions hold in common the premise that the race of the author should be a major consideration for the critic. This presumption, needless to say, has not generally been inflicted upon European-American authors, and such differential treatment has provoked anger or anxiety in many black writers. Ironically, this passion or its absence has manifested itself in writers' works and has in turn shaped the critical responses to their works. Such are the literary burdens of race.

In one sense, Jefferson's overtly dismissive comments are anomalous to the critical tradition. If work is "below the dignity of criticism," why would a critic lower himself to it? More typically, racial chauvinism has been expressed in the form of condescending praise. For example, in 1926, just as the Harlem Renaissance was beginning, John Nelson published *The Negro Character in American Literature,* the first full-length study of this subject. Nelson took particular delight in the comic and sentimental portraits of black people in works by turn-of-the-century writers such as Thomas Nelson Page, Irwin Russell, and Joel Chandler Harris:

> [the Negro's] irresistible gaiety, his gift for dance and song, his spontaneity and childish delight in gay colors and all forms of display, his love of high-sounding words, his fondness for chicken and watermelon, his gullibility, his excuse-making powers, his whimsicality, his illogicalness and superstition, his droll philosophy, his genial shiftlessness and laziness, his "superb capacity for laughter" — these traits were appreciated as never before, were revalued and pronounced delightful.

In other words, Nelson loved minstrelsy. Nelson' comments are noteworthy because they both reflect the attitudes of many critics and indicate implicitly the kind of portrayals of black people that critics found acceptable, even in works by black writers: colorful and comical.

The impatience of such critics with black writers who rendered more serious or realistic depictions of African-American life is articulated by David Littlejohn in *Black on White: A Critical Survey of Writing by American Negroes* (1966):

> A white reader is saddened, then burdened, then numbed by the deadly sameness, the bleak wooden round of ugly emotions and situations; the same frustrated dreams, the same issues and charges and formulas and events repeated over and over, in book after book . . .the responding spirit is dulled, finally, bored by the iteration of hopelessness, the sordid limitation of the soul in the tight closet of the black imagination.

By contrast, Littlejohn praises Gwendolyn Brooks because she is "far more a poet than a Negro." The implication, clearly, is that "Negro" and "poet" are somehow antithetical. Such remarks illustrate the continuity of racially dismissive and condescending attitudes in American literary criticism over a span of two centuries. African-American writers and critics have produced their work fully cognizant that many highly educated white Americans continue to espouse such views.

Not surprisingly, then, the most conspicuous African-American critical tradition has been polemical. This polemical tradition has been primarily concerned to use literary criticism as a means of addressing social issues, not as a form of aesthetic engagement. In the nineteenth century, African-American criticism belonged almost exclusively to this genre; but there was relatively little of it, since the quantity of African-American literature was small and was primarily limited to the black periodical press. Not until after the turn of the century did the social and economic conditions exist to support a class of black profes-

sional critics. Thus the criticism published during the nineteenth century was generally the work of activists who published work in various genres. Frederick Douglass, for example, sometimes commented on books, but he was not a literary critic. Similarly, characters in the fiction of Frances E. W. Harper and Pauline Hopkins sometimes discuss books, but this is not what we mean by literary criticism, either.

Kelly Miller, a professor and administrator at Howard University, published fine, erudite, vigorously argued, and elegantly balanced essays on a broad range of topics. His collection *Race Adjustments* (1908) includes essays on Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* and *Walt Whitman.* The essay on The Leopard's Spots, a novel that sold over a million copies, challenges the racist views and historical accuracy of Dixon's narrative about Reconstruction. Furthermore, Miller contests Dixon's bigoted and inaccurate depiction of African Americans and racial politics at the turn of the century. In this essay, the critic appears in the guise of racial spokesman and defender. By contrast, "What Walt Whitman Means to the Negro" allows Miller to display his literary erudition and sensibility as well as to make a social point. He celebrates Whitman's work because of its democratic inclusiveness, such that "all are welcome; none are denied, shunned, avoided, ridiculed, or made to feel ashamed" (p. 204). Furthermore, he asserts:

> Whitman has a special meaning to the Negro, not only because of his literary portrayal; he has lessons also. He inculcates the lesson of ennobling self-esteem. He teaches the Negro that "there is no sweeter fat than sticks to his own bones." He urges him to accept nothing that "insults his own soul" (p. 208).

These comments reflected Miller's own grounding in a late nineteenth-century culture in which moral issues were a paramount concern for literary critics.

That same predisposition is conspicuous in the literary criticism of the most influential African-American literary critic of Miller's generation: W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois is not generally regarded as a literary critic, but in judging intellectuals trained in the late nineteenth century, disciplinary categories of the late twentieth century can be misleading. Like Kelly Miller and Charles Waddell Chesnutt, Du Bois was a "man of letters." He published distinguished writing in virtually every genre. As editor of *The Crisis* for twenty-five years, he was easily the most widely read African-American writer of the early twentieth century. In his articles, columns, and commentaries, Du Bois addressed virtually every issue, event, and publication of relevance to African Americans.

It was not merely the quantity of his output nor the size of his audience, however, that made Du Bois so influential. Rather, Du Bois's accomplishments as a scholar and activist, his incomparable erudition, his elegant writing style and refined literary sensibility, and his intense passion for truth, justice, and beauty all combined to make him authoritative and compelling. Thus his judgments about particular artists or works carried extraordinary weight. Du Bois used his enormous prestige to endorse and publicize the works of black writers, including Harlem Renaissance figures such as Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, and Jessie Fauset.

The essay that best represents Du Bois as a visionary and inspirational critic is his "Criteria of Negro Art" (1926). In it he reiterates his belief, earlier expressed in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), that black people have a special calling to revive in a debased, materialist nation an appreciation for beauty and higher values:

> Who shall let this world be beautiful? Who shall restore to men the glory of sunsets and the peace of quiet sleep? We black folk may help for we have within us as a race new stirrings; stirrings of the beginning of a new appreciation of joy, a new desire to create, of a new will to be; as though in this morning of group life we had awakened from some sleep that at once dimly mourns the past and dreams a splendid future. . . .

After declaring the unity of beauty with truth and justice, Du Bois concludes with a prophecy: "The ultimate art coming from black folk is going to be just as beautiful, and beautiful largely in the same ways, as the art that comes from white folk, or yellow, or red; but the point today is that until the art of the black folk compells recognition they will not be rated as human." For Du Bois, then, the creation of black art and the struggle for social justice were inseparable, and by implication, artists should be understood as warriors in this struggle, not deserters from it. This formulation encourages young artists to pursue their own aesthetic visions and offers them protection against charges of irrelevance or frivolity, such as political pragmatists have often advanced against art. While Du Bois did not hesitate to criticize particular works bluntly and even harshly, his broader critical impact was as a champion of literary art. As a critic, he exerted a major influence on artists of the Harlem Renaissance; and as a model of intellectual activism, he influenced the radical critics of the 1930s and 1960s.

Though Du Bois was the preeminent African-American critic and intellectual life of the Harlem Renais-

sance decade (the 1920s), several other notable critics of African-American writing emerged during that period. James Weldon Johnson deserves to be remembered alongside Du Bois as a truly exemplary figure who exerted influence in several fields. He was a poet, novelist, essayist, songwriter, civil rights leader, and diplomat, and though he is not usually described as a literary critic, his preface to the first edition of *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1921) is one of the seminal essays on African-American poetry.

Johnson's preface serves a number of purposes at once. It identifies the major styles and tendencies of African-American artistic expression and assesses the relationship of black culture to the broader American and international cultures. It considers the relationship between vernacular culture and fine art traditions and does so with a refreshingly uncondescending appreciation of black popular arts such as the blues and the cakewalk. And not least, it provides a concise historical overview of African-American poetry from Jupiter Hammon and Phillis Wheatley to Langston Hughes and other poets born about the turn of the century. In effect, the essay sets a broad context with its detailed discussions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poets and other aesthetic forms, though the anthology actually begins with Paul Laurence Dunbar. In its time *The Book of American Negro Poetry* was important for introducing many poets who were unfamiliar to the reading public. Its preface endures, however, as one of the best and most insightful discussions of the African-American poetic tradition.

Another distinguished and influential critic of the 1920s was Alain Leroy Locke, a philosopher, essayist, editor, art collector, critic, and the first African-American Rhodes scholar. Like Du Bois, Locke was a man of broad interests and influence. He is most commonly remembered as the editor of the *New Negro* (1925), a volume that announced and sought to define the cultural explosion known subsequently as the Harlem Renaissance. At the time it was more often called "the New Negro Movement," and Alain Locke was regarded as its midwife and intellectual leader.

Locke's literary essays of the 1920s reflect a fundamental conflict between two antagonistic intellectual tendencies. On the one hand, Locke was deeply committed to empirical social science and to an understanding of race in social and cultural terms. This tendency is expressed in his introductory essay, "The New Negro," when he argues that the Negro Renaissance should be understood in relation to recent migration from the rural South, the black response to urban social conditions, and a political consciousness developed from struggles over race, labor, economics, and related issues. In this sense, he argues, developments in Harlem should be understood in the context of national and international developments, and Harlem would become a "race capital" because "Harlem has the same role to play for the New Negro as Dublin has had for the New Ireland or Prague for the New Czechoslovakia" (p. 7).

On the other hand, Locke's thinking also reveals a strain of romantic primitivism, a tendency that some scholars attribute to his close association with the white philanthropist and Negrophile Charlotte Osgood Mason. "Godmother," as she insisted she be called, believed that white civilization was decadent and doomed unless it could be infused with the vitality inherent in "primitive" cultures, such as black and Native American. Thus she undertook to subsidize African-American artists, and with Locke as her talent scout, she became a patroness to Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Aaron Douglas, and others. Locke, himself, received considerable largesse from Godmother, enabling him to travel to Europe annually and helping him to acquire what developed into a major collection of African art. "Negro Youth Speaks," Locke's introduction to the literature section of the volume, argues:

> Art cannot disdain the gift of a natural irony, of a transfiguring imagination, of rhapsodic Biblical speech, of dynamic musical swing, of cosmic emotion such as only the gifted pagans knew, of a return to nature, not by way of the forced and worn formula of Romanticism, but through the closeness of an imagination that has never broken kinship with nature (p. 52).

Since Locke published this primitivist manifesto in 1925 and did not meet Mrs. Mason until 1926, perhaps their relationship would be more aptly described as a confluence of like minds. Mrs. Mason doubtless encouraged this aspect of Locke's thinking, but she did not initiate it.

By the late 1930s Locke repudiated primitivism, returning to an emphasis on social experience as the basis of black cultural expression. Locke might be more aptly described as a cultural critic than as a literary critic, strictly speaking. Nevertheless, his literary influence was substantial because of his essays, anthologies, correspondence, social activity, and his role as a procurer of patronage. In addition to *The New Negro,* he also published *Plays of Negro Life* (1927), coedited with T. Montgomery Gregory.

Another influential anthologist of this period was William Stanley Braithwaite. Unlike Locke, Braithwaite was himself a creative writer—a poet—and his purview was not exclusively or even primarily African American.

Raised by very fair-skinned parents who encouraged young William not to associate with black people, Braithwaite eventually developed into a poet whose work betrayed virtually no evidence of his African-American background. He developed a substantial reputation as an essayist and reviewer for leading literary magazines such as *Atlantic Monthly, North American Review,* and *Scribner's.* His greatest fame and influence, however, accrued from his several poetry anthologies, such as *The Book of Elizabethan Verse,* and the series of annual compilations that he edited from 1913 to 1929, called *Anthology of Magazine Verse.* In this editorial capacity, he helped to bring national attention to such younger writers as Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters, and Vachel Lindsay. Though he was celebrated by African-Americans—for example, he won the Spingarn Medal in 1918—many of his readers were unaware that he was black. Braithwaite was unique in enjoying a successful literary career in which his race was neither a stigma nor a premise of his professional identity.

During the 1920s the first serious histories of black literature began to appear. Foremost among them was Benjamin Brawley's *The Negro Genius* (1937), originally published in 1918 as *The Negro in Literature and Art.* Benjamin Griffith Brawley was a professor of literature with degrees from Chicago and Harvard, who spent the bulk of his teaching career at Shaw University and Howard. He published textbooks on English literature and a biography of Paul Laurence Dunbar, but *The Negro Genius* was his most enduring work. As its original title suggests, *The Negro Genius* was actually a history of African Americans in all of the arts: literature, drama, visual arts, and music. Brawley's objective was to trace the various manifestations of African-American creative talent, and his book is virtually an encyclopedia of black artists, offering brief introductory essays on each, in chronological order.

The Negro Genius has embedded within it a kind of racial theory, distinguishing between the inherent gifts of "people of mixed blood" and "blacks":

> People of mixed blood have given us the college presidents, the administrators, the Government employees; but the blacks are the singers and seers. Black slaves gave us the spirituals; modern composers of a lighter hue transcribe them. . . . In other words, the mixed element in the race may represent the Negro's talent, but it is upon the black element that he must rely for his genius (pp. 8-9).

"Negro genius" is, according to Brawley, "lyrical, imaginative, subjective." Though Brawley makes such claims in a spirit of race pride, vindicating dark-skinned people, racial theory cuts in both directions. If the aesthetic is black, the scientific must be white. If genius is racial, the lack of genius must also be racial. Brawley's larger intention is to celebrate African-American achievement; but framing the argument in racial terms simply perpetuates the basis for invidious hierarchies, which has always been the primary function of racial ideology. As a critical premise this notion is also flawed, because it encourages the critic to appreciate the lyricism of black artists but not their formal designs. It stereotypes black artists even as it celebrates them. Nevertheless, *The Negro Genius* did a valuable service by providing a broad, concise, and readily accessible account of African-American artistic achievement.

Another notable work of this period was *The Negro Author and His Development* (1930) by Vernon Loggins, which unlike Brawley's work focused exclusively on black literature. The most sophisticated history of African-American literature published during this era, however, was *To Make a Poet Black* (1939) by J. Saunders Redding. Indeed, no book is more deserving to be regarded as the classic African-American literary history. Redding's book is distinguished by its literary style, its conceptual design, its high aesthetic standards, and its vigorous critical argument. Unlike Brawley, who was constrained by the essentially apologetic conception of *The Negro Genius* to praise the authors he discussed in order to persuade a doubting audience that black people are capable of creating serious art, Redding defined for himself a critical agenda, committed to analyzing and evaluating the work of black writers.

Redding begins with an acknowledgment of the conflicting social imperatives that have bedeviled black writers, the sharply opposed expectations of black and white audiences. As a consequence of this conflict, Redding argues, "Negro writers have been obliged to have two faces." These two impulses Redding defines as, first, the aesthetic quest for honest, well-crafted self-expression, and second, the political quest to contribute to the advancement of one's oppressed race. In Redding's own concise description, "these two necessities can be traced with varying degrees of clarity—now one and now the other predominant—like threads through the whole cloth" (p. 3). This describes aptly a trait that has characterized African-American writing throughout its history, and accordingly it provides a set of terms that Redding can use cogently and consistently to analyze texts from Jupiter Hammon to Sterling Brown.

While he addresses the writers' work with a sympathetic understanding of their circumstances and an appreciation of their particular talents and achievements, Redding never relinquishes his commitment to the primacy of

aesthetic concerns. For him this means that literature should be not just skillfully wrought but also honest, passionate, and purposeful. Thus, while he acknowledges Phillis Wheatly as a talented and important poet, he deplores her glib religiosity, her acceptance of slavery, and her failure to identify with the plights of other slaves as attitudes that undermine her art:

> It is this negative, bloodless, unracial quality in Phillis Wheatley that makes her seem superficial, especially to members of her own race. Hers is a spirit-denying-the-flesh attitude that somehow cannot seem altogether real as the essential quality and core of one whose life should have made her sensitive to the very things she denies. In this sense none of her poetry is real (p. 11).

For similar reasons, he criticizes the work of William Stanley Braithwaite, dismissing it as "the most outstanding example of perverted energy that the period from 1903 to 1917 produced" (p. 89). Braithwaite's work, he argues, "is pretty and skillful poetry, but it is not poetry afire with the compelling necessity for expression. No passion (even slightly remembered in tranquility) of pain or joy, no spring of pure personal knowledge or conviction justifies it" (p. 91). For Redding, neither deficient literary technique nor deficient moral fervor is acceptable, and both of these poets lack the latter.

In the early fiction of Charles Chesnutt, Redding finds work that meets his high standards. He declares: "His early career was a great artistic success, for he did the one thing needful to the American Negro writer: He worked dangerous, habit-ridden material with passive calm and fearlessness. . . . He exposed the Negro to critical analysis" (p. 76). The terms that he uses to convey praise reflect Redding's insistence on originality, honesty, and cogency. The poems and prefaces of James Weldon Johnson, especially in *God's Trombones,* also embody for Redding the mature achievement of African-American writing:

> Aside from the beauty of the poems, the essay which prefaces them is of the first importance for it definitely hails back from the urban and sophisticated to the earthy exuberance of the Negro's kinship with the earth, the fields, the suns and rains of the South. Discarding the "mutilations of dialect," Mr. Johnson yet retains the speech forms, the idea patterns, and the rich racial flavor (p. 121).

Revealingly, Redding places Johnson out of chronological sequence at the end of the book, just before Sterling Brown and Zora Neale Hurston. These writers represent for him the most promising achievements of African-American writing. *To Make a Poet Black* is a monumental work of African-American literary criticism because it is the first book-length history of African-American literature that breaks entirely with the tradition of racial apologetics, devoting itself instead to a sustained examination of how social pressures, cultural traditions, and personal sensibility interact in the making of African-American literary art.

Sterling A. Brown was a major poet of his generation and a major critic as well. *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937) and *Negro Poetry and Drama* (1937) are exhaustive works on their respective topics. Brown's critical approach is primarily that of descriptive bibliography. His books are immensely useful, but they provide concise summaries or assessments rather than detailed discussions of individual works. A major concern of both books is "to show how attitudes to Negro life have developed in American thinking" (*Negro Poetry,* p. 2). Thus Brown surveys both black and white writers, assessing how African Americans have been depicted in literary works. Unlike Redding, he does not emphasize aesthetic evaluation. Nevertheless, these are works of formidable scholarship, and they have remained important to students of race in American literature, though they are not so pertinent to theoretical or evaluative concerns as *To Make a Poet Black.*

In 1939 the College Language Association (CLA) was formed to provide a professional outlet for African-American literary scholars, who were in effect excluded from the Modern Language Association (MLA). Like the MLA, the CLA held annual meetings and published a journal, which for many years was the primary outlet for scholarship by black critics. The formation of the CLA was an important event, since it marked the emergence of African-American literary scholars as a professional class. Two of the most prominent of the black academic critics during this period were Nick Aaron Ford (1904–1982), author of *The Contemporary Negro Novel* (1936), and Hugh Gloster (1911–), who wrote *Negro Voices in American Fiction* (1948). Blyden Jackson (1910–) is also a member of this generation, but he did not publish his most important book, the first volume of a general history of African-American writing, until 1989, after his retirement. *A History of Afro-American Literature: The Long Beginning, 1746-1895* is a monumental achievement. A model of thorough and detailed scholarship, it supersedes all other histories of African-American literature and establishes Jackson as a preeminent scholar in the field at a time when others of his generation are regarded as forebears, not contemporaries. Jackson's lengthy bibliographical essay alone, which encompasses the entire fields of historical and literary scholarship on African Americans from the beginnings

to the 1980s, makes his book an indispensable reference work.

These scholars of the 1930s and 1940s taught in black colleges, and the heavy course loads in those institutions limited their opportunities for research and writing. Thus, with a few exceptions, the literary scholars of this generation exerted their influence primarily through their articles, professional associations, and teaching, not through books. Ironically, however, most black colleges did not offer courses on black literature. (Sterling Brown at Howard was a pioneering exception.) English professors were expected to do research and writing on "canonical" (i.e., white) authors; and this remained the case even through the 1960s. The work of a few outstanding critics notwithstanding, then, the volume of criticism on African-American writers remained limited. Only in the 1980s, with the full integration of American universities, the gradual development of African-American literature courses as regular components in English department curricula, and the erosion of racist and elitist attitudes within the academy did it become possible for a generation of scholars to turn their full attention to the study of African-American literature.

Meanwhile, during the next two decades, the most important works of African-American criticism were written by literary artists, such as Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and Ralph Ellison; and their most famous literary essays were polemical pieces that echoed the larger debate between Marxists and liberals over the value and function of art. For instance, Richard Wright's essay "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937), rejecting black nationalist attitudes and most previous black literature, declares a Marxist agenda for African-American fiction. By the time he wrote "How Bigger Was Born" (1940), his meditation on *Native Son,* Wright's thinking had begun to manifest existentialist ideas that would dominate his work of the late forties and fifties. Wright's most sustained treatment of black writers, and one of his finest critical essays, is "The Literature of the Negro in the United States," which was published in a French periodical and later included in his book *White Man, Listen!* (1957). In any case, the unprecedented success of *Native Son* made Wright the preeminent African-American literary figure of the 1940s. His forthright identification with the Left seemed to convey an imperative for all black writers.

Not surprisingly, some writers took exception. James Baldwin's essays "Everybody's Protest Novel" (1949) and "Many Thousands Gone" (1951) reject the entire tradition of protest fiction, from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to *Native Son.* In Baldwin's view, protest fiction dehumanizes characters by subsuming individual psychology and experience to sociological generalizations. Baldwin argues instead for fiction that foregrounds the individual perspective. One may debate how accurately Baldwin describes Wright and other protest writers, but clearly these two essays anticipate the character of Baldwin's own fiction and essays.

Ralph Ellison also distanced himself from Wright, but he did so by asserting his own alternative, humanist vision rather than by attacking Wright. Ellison's most famous skirmish was an exchange with the leftist critic Irving Howe, whose "Black Boys and Native Sons" (1963) chided with Baldwin, Ellison, and others for deviating from the activist model of Wright's fiction. Ellison's two-installment rejoinder, combined in his collection *Shadow and Act* into a single essay called "The World and the Jug," is a devastating deflation of Howe's argument. Ellison's importance as a critic, however, transcends such debates. With a few exceptions, Ellison's essays are not concerned with African-American literature but rather with issues of literary art more broadly framed. He does, however, give detailed attention to African-American music and comic traditions. As a theorist of the relationship between vernacular culture and high art, Ellison has been among our most sophisticated thinkers. Essays such as "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke" and "The Little Man at Chehaw Station" are classic inquiries into African-American sensibility and the nature of American culture. The work collected in *Shadow and Act* and *Going to the Territory* demonstrates that Ellison was unsurpassed as a literary essayist.

The prominence of Baldwin and Ellison notwithstanding, the 1950s and early 1960s was a relatively moribund period in the history of African-American literary criticism. Though many talented black critics were active during this period, surprisingly little was published on African-American literature. One exceptional critic whose work, ironically, corresponds to this quiescent period is Nathan A. Scott Jr. (1925–). A brilliant and prolific critic with degrees in both divinity and literature, Scott used his books to explore the manifestations of moral, psychological, and existential conflicts in modern literature. His works include *Rehearsals of Discomposure: Alienation and Reconciliation in Modern Literature* (1952); *The Tragic Vision and the Christian Faith* (1957); and *Negative Capability: Studies in the New Literature and the Religious Situation* (1969). Scott taught at Howard from 1948 to 1955, at the University of Chicago for twenty years, and subsequently at the University of Virginia. Though he published a splendid essay on Richard Wright, "The Dark and Haunted Tower of Richard Wright" (1964), Scott, arguably the most acclaimed and distinguished African-American literary critic of his generation, seldom turned his attention to black writers.

Several other critics of this generation were instrumental in moving the study of black literature from black colleges, where heavy teaching and administrative demands made the completion of book projects very difficult, to the major and predominantly white research universities. That group includes Richard Barksdale (University of Illinois), George Kent (University of Chicago), Charles T. Davis (Yale), and Darwin T. Turner (University of Iowa). Though all of these critics published important essays, they were most influential as teachers, mentors, and professional colleagues—daunting scholarly models who set very high standards and proposed collective agendas for the future study of African-American literature. All of them published books after they moved to the universities, but Kent, Davis, and Turner all died prematurely, leaving major scholarly manuscripts unfinished. Nevertheless, the scholars who established black literary studies in the universities in the 1970s laid the basis for the blossoming of that field in the late 1980s and 1990s.

Mainstream academic critics, however, were not the only important critics of African-American literature during that period, and they were certainly not the most conspicuous. During the late 1960s a school of black nationalist criticism developed, and it was for a time predominant in setting the canon and shaping critical attitudes. The most influential critics of this group included Hoyt Fuller, the editor of *Negro Digest*: creative writers such as Amiri Baraka, Carolyn Rodgers, Haki Madhubuti, and Larry Neal; and academics such as Addison Gayle and Stephen Henderson. These black aesthetic critics shared a belief that literature and criticism should be socially relevant, providing a critique of racist white society and advancing the struggle for black consciousness, black solidarity, and black liberation. They favored writing that addressed political and racial issues and preferred polemics to introspection, collectivity to subjectivity, and didacticism to humor.

The critics of this movement exercised their influence through conventional publications, but because of the vogue for public meetings during this era of heightened political passions, lectures and conferences were frequent and heavily attended. Thus the oral presentation of literary arguments acquired a special importance during the black arts movement. The social and political conditions created a large and avid audience for books on black topics, and this resulted in a proliferation of anthologies, new works, and reissues. Anthologies such as *Black Fire* by Amiri Baraka and Larry Neal, *Black Expression and The Black Aesthetic* by Addison Gayle, and *Understanding the New Black Poetry* by Stephen Henderson were very influential in shaping critical opinion. Furthermore, literary criticism and literary polemics were prominent features of important intellectual journals such as *Negro Digest/Black World* and *The Black Scholar* as well as literary magazines such as *Cricket* and *The Journal of Black Poetry.* Suddenly African-American literary critics had more outlets and a broader audience than had ever existed before.

Even serious scholarly books began to be directed toward a general audience. George Kent's *Blackness and the Adventure of Western Culture* (1972), a collection of essays on twentieth-century black writers, was published by Third World Press in Chicago as the first book of literary scholarship to be issued by a black publisher. Full-scale literary histories such as Addison Gayle's *The Way of the New World* (1975) and Eugene B. Redmond's *Drumvoices: The Mission of Afro-American Poetry* (1976) were published by major publishing houses and issued in mass market paperback editions. The black arts movement made literary criticism a popular genre.

At the same time, the black arts movement provoked opposition among academic critics that was soon to repudiate black aesthetic criteria as the basis of critical discourse. Black arts critics succeeded in articulating critical principles that were appropriate to the concerns of a black nationalist politics, but unfortunately these principles, seeking to incorporate only those works that seemed properly "black," defined a very narrow literary canon that excluded most extant African-American writing. Black arts critics were especially concerned with the relationship between vernacular culture and literary expression. Ironically, this had been the predominant preoccupation of the African-American critical tradition, most of which the black arts critics rejected. Despite their dismissive attitude toward their critical forebears, the black arts critics were not able to develop a black aesthetic theory that could respond adequately to the complexities of sophisticated literary texts. Consequently, critics who wished to take seriously the black literary tradition were obliged to move beyond the narrow limits imposed by black arts theory.

This process of critical rebellion was marked by several publications of the late 1970s, most notably, the anthology of *Chant of Saints* (1979), edited by Michael S. Harper and Robert B. Stepto, and *Afro-American Literature: The Reconstruction of Instruction* (1979), edited by Dexter Fisher and Robert B. Stepto. The latter was especially important. It developed from a two-week seminar on African-American literature sponsored by the Modern Language Association in 1977, and like the seminar, it was intended to reappropriate and reformulate the teaching and scholarship in the field. The volume features essays by Stepto, Melvin Dixon, Henry Louis Gates Jr., Sherley Anne Williams, Robert Hemenway, and Robert G. O'Meally, all of

whom would gain recognition in the 1980s as major critics of African-American literature. This book, which includes designs for courses and recommends areas for future inquiry, represents the successful coup that displaced black nationalist hegemony over African-American literary studies. By focusing attention on questions of narrative structure, generic convention, literary form, and rhetorical design, Reconstruction redirected black literary critics into the academic mainstream.

The book was also notable because it represented the emergence of Henry Louis Gates Jr., whose three essays in this collection brought him national prominence within the profession. Gates was the most conspicuous and arguably the most influential African-American literary critic of the 1980s and early 1990s. His most important work of criticism was *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (1988), a synthetic work that used ethnolinguistic scholarship, folklore studies, and literary theory to explore "the relation of the black vernacular tradition to the Afro-American literary tradition. The book attempts to identify a theory of criticism that is inscribed within the black vernacular tradition and that in turn informs the shape of the Afro-American literary tradition" (p. xix). Gates argues that the signifying monkey derives from the messenger and trickster figure Esu-Elegbara (Legba) of the Yoruba tradition and manifests itself in literature as "Signifyin(g)," which represents "moments of self-reflexiveness" (p. xxi). Gates identifies this self-reflexiveness in the "intertexuality" through which black texts speak to and signify upon each other. Ironically, though Gates explicitly rejects the black arts critics, his endeavor to derive from African-American culture a theory of black literature represents the most thorough, scholarly, and intellectually compelling realization of what the black arts critics attempted and failed to achieve.

Despite the singularity and importance of *The Signifying Monkey,* Gates has exerted his greatest influence through his extensive editorial work and his vast energies as a publicist and entrepreneur for African-American literary studies. His compilations of literary criticism, such as *Black Literature and Literary Theory* (1984), and "The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers," of which he is general editor, have shaped the work of a generation of graduate students.

While Gates was clearly the most influential African-American literary critic in the final two decades of the twentieth century, the books published by Houston A. Baker Jr. constitute the most sustained, wide-ranging, and detailed inquiry into African-American literature by any critic. In a series of books beginning with *Long Black Song* (1972), Baker has addressed nearly all of the major African-American texts, authors, and literary movements, as well as the most compelling issues associated with the study of African-American writing and culture. Furthermore, Baker has been an assiduous student of literary theory, and each of his books has reflected his careful engagement with current and emerging forms of theory or interpretive method, seeking always to examine the pertinence of such academic trends to the study of black expressive culture. Baker's distinctive combination of vernacular culture and high theory in the reading of black texts is most compellingly demonstrated in *The Journey Back* (1980) and *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature* (1984).

Beginning his career during the era of the black arts critics, Baker shared many of their basic concerns and priorities; yet his work always displayed a scholarly thoroughness and theoretical sophistication that distinguished it from that group. Baker's work represents both the continuity of African-American critical traditions and the integration of black critics into the professional discourse of European-American criticism. Baker's unique position within the academy was aptly acknowledged when in 1992 he became the first African-American president of the Modern Language Association.

Though literary theory was the preeminent concern of academic critics from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, distinguished work continued to be done in literary history and literary biography. Two of the most significant scholarly events of this period were the publications of two exemplary biographies: Robert Hemenway's *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (1977) and Arnold Rampersad's two volume biography *A Life of Langston Hughes* (1986 and 1988). Also during these years the number of black Ph.D.s increased dramatically, and correspondingly. African-American literary scholars found employment at virtually all of the major colleges and universities. Given the emphasis on scholarly publication as a necessity of professional survival, it was inevitable that the quality and quantity of publications by black critics would also increase dramatically. Thus the critics who have published excellent work in this field since 1980 are far too numerous to enumerate. Two journals were the primary venues for black literary scholarship during these years: *African-American Review* (originally called *Negro American Literature Forum* and subsequently *Black American Literature Forum*) and *Callaloo.* Furthermore, the study of black writers became surprisingly fashionable during the early 1990s, and for the first time, journals on American literature began to publish work on black literature with some frequency.

The most significant and pervasive new direction of African-American literary studies from the mid-1980s to

the mid-1990s was the entry of large numbers of black women into the profession and the proliferation of work on black women writers. During the 1970s a small group of black women began to acquire national reputations as literary scholars, notably Barbara Christian, Thadious Davis, Trudier Harris, Nellie McKay, Hortense Spillers, Eleanor Taylor, and Kenny Williams. By the mid-1990s the black women entering the profession outnumbered the black men substantially. Black women writers such as Harriet Jacobs, Frances E. W. Harper. Zora Neale Hurston, Alice Walker, and Toni Morrison, too long undervalued, began to acquire a secure place in American literature syllabi and in the pages of scholarly journals.

The creative capacity of African-Americans is no longer open to dispute, nor is it necessary to justify the study of African-American texts. Thus African-American literary criticism has at last escaped the onus of racial apologetics. In general, black critics remain deeply interested in the relationship between social experience—whether this means racial and gender identity or cultural knowledge and conditioning—and literary expression. This will likely remain the case as long as black critics experience social pressures that distinguish them from their white counterparts. Nevertheless, as awareness increases of various possibilities of African-American racial experience, critical judgments regarding the relationship between race and writing will doubtless become more and more vexed.

See also Baldwin, James; Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement; *Black World/Negro Digest*; Braithwaite, William Stanley; Brawley, Benjamin Griffith; Brown, Sterling Allen; *The Crisis;* Du Bois, W. E. B.; Ellison, Ralph; Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.; Harlem Renaissance; Johnson, James Weldon; Literature of the United States; Locke, Alain Leroy; Neal, Larry; *New Negro;* Redding, Jay Saunders; Wright, Richard

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DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Scholarship in the Twenty-First Century

Literary criticism in the early twenty-first century accepts and interrogates historical and political influences on Afri-

can-American literature. This willingness to read literature within specific cultural contexts has led to the emergence of literary cultural studies. Thus African-American literary criticism has developed even more sophisticated, interdisciplinary approaches to literature by welcoming new ways to explore and critique gender, sexuality, class, nation, and culture within the entire history of African-American literature.

Cultural and historical approaches to literary criticism have reevaluated claims that, for instance, do not recognize the impact of Frederick Douglass on American and African-American letters. While past critics generally understood Douglass primarily as a political activist, newer critics are rereading Douglass as a crucial figure in the American Renaissance of the nineteenth century and as a major influence in African-American letters. Saidiya V. Hartman's *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (1997) and Fred Moten's *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (2003) consciously accept intersections of politics and aesthetics as they also position Douglass at the very beginning of their inquiries. Like many of their peers, Hartman and Moten use interdisciplinarity to produce an African-American literary criticism within and beyond the color-line. Even as they position black American literature at the center of their investigations, they also use critical tools such as Marxist theory, psychoanalysis, visual theory, and the law to interrogate and extend the limits of African-American literary criticism.

In her book *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (2000), Siobhan B. Somerville argues that race and sexuality are related categories, both crucially dependent on the color-line. Her readings of novels by Pauline Hopkins, James Weldon Johnson, and Jean Toomer mark an important development in African-American literary criticism in which race, sexuality, and gender together are necessary concerns. Besides Somerville's views, Robert F. Reid-Pharr's *Conjugal Union: The Body, the House, and the Black American* (1999) explores antebellum African-American literature through lenses of race, sexuality, gender, and class. Feminist literary critics have helped to open these new ways of thinking through gender, sexuality, and class. Carla Peterson, Valerie Smith, Hortense J. Spillers, Claudia Tate, and Cheryl A. Wall are some of the most influential scholars of the 1980s and 1990s. Their work continues to shape the most recent developments in African-American literary criticism.

The question of subjectivity as a political and aesthetic concern has influenced recent developments. Since the publication of Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), literary criticism has even more carefully explored the internationalisms of African-American authors. Brent Hayes Edwards's *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (2003) and Michelle M. Wright's *Becoming Black: Creating Identity in the African Diaspora* (2004), for example, have theorized Black American subjectivity and Black American literature within the transnational context of an African diaspora. These internationalist perspectives within African-American literary criticism have helped reshape discussions of the Harlem Renaissance, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Richard Wright even as they recover black women intellectuals and authors who have always been a forceful presence in the making of African-American literature.

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SHELLY EVERSLEY (2005)

Literary Magazines

Literary magazines and journals have occupied a position of great importance in the development of African-American literature. Since their appearance in the nineteenth century, such magazines have served as outlets for writers who would otherwise have had few opportunities to publish their work. They have been important forums for discussion of the literary aesthetics of black literature and catalysts of change in black culture and politics. The

influence of black literary journals is especially notable given their small numbers and the difficult conditions in which they were generally produced. With scarce financial support and limited readership, most black literary journals rarely survived long enough to publish more than a few issues. Magazines and journals that concentrated on literary work while maintaining a more general focus on society and politics occasionally offered more stable platforms for literary publication, but literature was often the first thing to be eliminated from such publications during times of financial distress.

Another important factor in the difficulty of sustaining African-American literary magazines has been the often factional and highly politicized nature of black intellectual and literary debate. Politics has always been integral to African-American literature. Many of the most important literary magazines were considered by their creators to be primarily political publications; their contents often contained much that would not conventionally be considered literature, in the sense of poetry, drama, and narrative fiction. The abolitionist journalism of the early nineteenth century, the political editorials of W. E. B. Du Bois, and the ongoing debates over the proper role of the arts in black culture have all made significant contributions to black literature and provide important examples of the varied and often apparently extraliterary writing that has appeared in black literary magazines. One theme that frequently recurs in the history of black literary magazines is the ongoing debate over the relationship between literary aesthetics and cultural politics, a debate that often led to attempts to avoid or transcend the apparent dichotomy between "art as propaganda" and "art for art's sake." More important, it can be seen as a sustained effort to develop a literature that can bridge the gap between the two.

The earliest African-American journals were published in the northern centers of the free black population in the 1820s. Avowedly abolitionist and opposed to racial discrimination, they established the foundation on which later black protest journalism was built. The first black periodical was *Freedom's Journal* (1827), followed by the *National Reformer* (1833), the *Mirror of Liberty* (1837), an early incarnation of the *Colored American Magazine* (1837–1841), and *Douglass' Monthly* (1858–1861). These early journals had a strong political focus and usually served as mouthpieces for their publishers. A notable exception to this practice was the *Anglo-African* magazine (1859–1862). The *Anglo-African* and the associated *Weekly Anglo-African* newspaper (1859–1865) were more diversified in approach, and their inclusion of contending political perspectives and literary efforts made them the most influential African-American journals of their day. The *Anglo-African* magazine was also the first African-American journal to include substantial works of literary prose, initiating the early development of a black literary aesthetic. Because of the difficulty African Americans encountered in finding publishing opportunities, these magazines afforded one of the only venues for black authors. Martin Delany's novel *Blake; or, The Huts of America,* for example, was serialized in the *Anglo-African* magazine in 1859–1860 but was not published in book form until 1970. Other notable contributors to *Anglo-African* magazine included Frederick Douglass, John Langston, Daniel Payne, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and William Wells Brown.

After the Civil War and the failure of radical Reconstruction, the optimism of the abolitionists was eroded. Although African-American newspapers flourished during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, literary magazines virtually vanished during this period. As the century approached its close, Booker T. Washington emerged as the pre-eminent leader of African Americans. He made substantial efforts to gain control of the African-American journals and thus to eliminate opposition within the African-American community to his accommodationist position. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Washington's views were endorsed by most of the notable journals of the time, including *Southern Workmen* (1872–1910), *Colored Citizen* (1900), *Age* (1900), and most notably, *Colored American* magazine (1900–1909). *Colored American,* edited in its opening years by Pauline Hopkins, was the first significant African-American literary journal of the twentieth century, publishing the works of such notable writers as William Stanley Braithwaite, Benjamin Brawley, James Corrothers, Angelina Weld Grimké, and Paul Laurence Dunbar. Until 1904, when Washington succeeded in having Hopkins dismissed from her post, its varied contents—politics, business, religion, history, and fiction—reflected strong opposition to his views.

Despite Washington's takeover of *Colored American,* the opposition was at this time gaining strength under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois. A number of new journals reflecting Du Bois's ideas were established, the most important of which were *Voice of the Negro* (1904–1907), *Moon Illustrated Weekly* (1905–1906), and *Horizon* (1907–1910). *Voice of the Negro,* edited by J. Max Barber, was the first African-American magazine edited in the South, and *Moon* and *Horizon* were Du Bois's first journalistic platforms. While none of these journals was able to survive for long (because opposition to Washington virtually eliminated any possibility of substantial financial support), they served an important role in developing a radical aesthetic of explicit and energetic political protest.

All the journals, whether influenced by Washington or Du Bois, included literary pieces in addition to social

Cover of **Opportunity** *magazine, June 1925. Published by the National Urban League,* Opportunity *provided African Americans a stable venue for literary work and critical discussion.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and political commentary, and debate over the appropriate aesthetic for African-American literature intensified in this decade. Hopkins and Du Bois, recalling the energetic protest journalism of the abolitionists, attempted to develop a direct and audacious style of writing that would reinforce the radically confrontational political themes of their literary work. After 1904, however, the pro-Washington magazines, such as *Alexander's* and *Colored American,* generally avoided such provocative positions, placing less emphasis on explicitly political themes and favoring instead light poetry and popular fiction written with conventional restraint and intended to provide entertainment or to describe some exemplary achievement.

By the time of Washington's death in 1915 the sort of conventional literature favored by those magazines under his influence was rapidly losing ground to the energetically and provocatively modern style fostered by Du Bois and such journals as *The Crisis* (1910–) and *Opportunity* (1923–1949), published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, respectively. These journals, financially supported by social and political organizations involved in race relations, provided for the first time not only a stable forum for black literary work and critical discussion, but also a substantial, national black readership. As a result of this support and wide exposure, a remarkable number of young writers, including Arna Bontemps, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and Claude McKay, gained national recognition. This new generation of writers moved beyond traditional concerns with countering white prejudices and opposing related political views to address themselves to issues of African-American self-definition.

Over the next two decades, black literature experienced an unprecedented degree of aesthetic experimentation and development as African-American writers turned their attention to articulating the identity of the "New Negro," the term chosen by Alain Locke as the title of his landmark 1925 anthology of the period's poetry and prose. As Locke observed in 1928, "Yesterday it was the rhetorical flush of partisanship, challenged and on the defensive. . . . Nothing is more of a spiritual gain in the life of the Negro than the quieter assumption of his group identity and heritage; and contemporary Negro poetry registers this incalculable artistic and social gain" (Locke, 1928, p. 11). The organizational journals and a host of little literary magazines were the primary vehicles for this development and the ensuing controversy.

The first, and in many ways the most influential, of the organizational journals was *The Crisis.* Du Bois's sponsorship of young writers and his own development of an energetic, modern style of writing made him the most important figure in the early growth of the modern black literary aesthetic that would reach maturity in the Harlem Renaissance. Along with Jessie Fauset, the literary editor of *The Crisis* from 1919 to 1926, Du Bois provided critical early support and exposure for the unprecedented numbers of young, educated black writers. The quick national success of *The Crisis* was encouraging, and its example was followed by the launching of *Stylus* (1916–1941) and *New Era* (1916), both smaller literary magazines. *Stylus* was established at Howard University by Locke and Montgomery Gregory, and *New Era* was a short-lived attempt by Pauline Hopkins to revive the early form of *Colored American* magazine.

Despite Du Bois's central role in the early development of the Harlem Renaissance, his increasingly emphatic insistence that literature concern itself with political and moral issues had distanced him from many of the younger generation by the mid-1920s. As Du Bois lost influence,

dominance of the expanding literary scene shifted to Charles Spurgeon Johnson, the editor of *Opportunity* from 1923 to 1928. Unlike Du Bois and, to some extent, Fauset, Charles Johnson did not insist that literary aesthetics be tied to the political and moral values of the prosperous, educated, black middle class—those Du Bois called the "Talented Tenth." Instead, he asserted that self-expression and artistic freedom were the paramount concerns for the new literature, and *Opportunity*'s support of more radical young writers of the time marked the maturation of the Harlem Renaissance.

The more general cultural vitality of the Harlem Renaissance brought further attention to black literary development through a number of special issues of essentially white periodicals, including *Palms* (1926), *Carolina* magazine (1927–1929), and *Survey Graphic* (1925), much of which was reprinted in Locke's anthology *The New Negro* (1925).

With the success of the organizational magazines and the attention garnered by the special numbers of white periodicals, the African-American literary community had become optimistic enough to launch a number of independent little literary magazines. *New Era* and *Stylus* were followed in the mid-1920s by numerous other independent journals, including *Harlem* (1926) and the more conservative *Black Opals* (1927–1928) and *Saturday Evening Quill* (1926–1930). However, in many ways the most notable of the little magazines of this era was *Fire!!* (1926), the first exclusively literary, independent black magazine. Edited by Wallace Thurman, the first and only issue of *Fire!!* caused substantial controversy upon publication because of its energetically antipuritanical position. Rather than presenting conventional portraits of exemplary, middle-class African Americans, the magazine attempted to put forward a new radical aesthetic that concerned itself with many of the aspects of African-American life considered to be disreputable, such as prostitution and homosexuality.

The radical themes of *Fire!!* were more than a simply aesthetic rejection of the practices of the Talented Tenth. The focus on lower-class black life also reflected the growing influence of socialist political theory among the black writers of the 1920s. In 1926 Thurman had served a brief term as editor of the era's third influential organizational journal, the *Messenger* (1917–1928), which had begun as a radical socialist magazine and eventually became allied with the mainstream labor movement (In 1925 it became the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.) Despite its early rejection of the importance of black literary efforts, the *Messenger* became a significant supporter of many of the more radical Harlem Renaissance writers after it came under the editorial control of George Schuyler and Theophilus Lewis in 1923. With the exception of Thurman's brief stint as editor, Schuyler and Lewis maintained control of the magazine until its demise five years later, and under their leadership the *Messenger* provided support for literature that reflected the growing interest in the life of the black lower class.

The literary renaissance of the 1920s turned out to be unexpectedly short-lived. With the onset of the next decade, economic hardship made financial survival difficult for journals, and their numbers decreased sharply. While *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* were able to survive, both experienced such financial difficulties that they sharply curtailed their support of literature. The depressed economic situation also had its impact on literary aesthetics; both the primarily middle-class aesthetic of the organizational journals and the radical aesthetic style of some of the little magazines seemed increasingly out of touch with the problems of the Great Depression. The radical writers' focus on the life of the lower classes, however, now came to the fore as the foundation for much of the black literature of the 1930s. In *Challenge* (1934–1937), edited by Dorothy West, and *New Challenge* (1937), edited by West, Marion Minus, and Richard Wright, a new generation of black writers (including Wright and Ralph Ellison) developed a literary aesthetic that linked radical socialism to folklore and to the experience of the working class. While such work foregrounded politics to a degree that had not been seen since the early writing of Du Bois and Pauline Hopkins, the socialist orientation of the new literature focused on class tensions as much as it did on race.

With the onset of World War II, the political position of most African-American journals shifted to liberal anti-communism, and the journals focused their attentions on the legal struggle to achieve integration, an emphasis that would remain dominant throughout the 1940s and most of the 1950s. At the same time, many black authors found it increasingly easy to publish in mainstream literary journals. For instance, James Baldwin's famous attack on Richard Wright and the black protest tradition, "Many Thousands Gone" (1949), appeared not in an African-American literary magazine but in *Partisan Review.* The diversity and unity of human experience became the primary thematic concerns, and notions of an independent or oppositional black literary aesthetic were minimized. Many mainstream publications were opened to black writers for the first time, although such interest was limited to formulaic entertainment pieces. Only two small journals, *Negro Quarterly* (1942–1944) and *Negro Story* (1944–1946), existed during the war, and *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* continued to serve as important outlets for serious literary work.

However, both experienced further financial strain and erosion of circulation during wartime, and neither journal was able to maintain a significant role in literary development after the war. *Opportunity* had reached particularly desperate straits, and it ceased publication in 1949. *Phylon* (1940–), a journal published by Atlanta University and started by W. E. B. Du Bois, took over the position left open by *Crisis* and *Opportunity* in the late 1940s and maintained its influence through the next decade.

The era's aesthetic trend toward the white mainstream was not conducive to independent little black magazines, and their scarcity during this period eventually became a cause for concern among black writers. By the end of the 1940s, the predominant aesthetic emphasis on the universality of human experience began to be perceived by some as a potentially negative influence on African-American culture, drawing it into the mainstream while diluting its identity. *Harlem Quarterly* (1949–1950) and *Voices* (1950) were short-lived efforts to counteract this trend; they attempted to answer the need for a journal of black fiction about African-American life in particular. *Free Lance* (1953–1976) and *Yugen* (1958–1963), the earliest platforms for LeRoi Jones (later known as Imamu Amiri Baraka), addressed the same problem in the next decade, though neither of these journals was exclusively concerned with African-American interests and literature.

By the middle of the 1960s, the black arts movement and black political militance created a climate in which the rejection of Western cultural norms and values in favor of an independent African-American cultural identity became the basis for a new black literature. The return to a literary aesthetic of opposition and protest was carried out through a new renaissance of independent small journals, including the *Liberator* (1961–1971), *Soulbook* (1964–1976), *Black Dialogue* (1964–1970), the *Journal of Black Poetry* (1966–1973), and the more moderate *Umbra* (1963–1975). *Negro Digest* (1942–1970) also lent support to this perspective after a shift in its editorial position in the middle of the decade. The aesthetic position that developed in the small journals of this decade was part of the larger attempt by the black arts movement to disengage African-American artistic culture from the Western tradition and to form a new black cultural consciousness. Fundamentally political, the black aesthetic combined language and form indigenous to the African-American experience with revolutionary, nationalistic political critique.

The black arts movement peaked at the end of the 1960s, just as *Negro Digest* adopted its new title, *Black World* (1970–1976). The decline of the movement, and of the Black Power movement in general, was gradual and not immediately noticeable. In the early years of the 1970s, a number of new magazines and journals were established as part of the movement, including *Nommo* (1969–1970), *Black Creation* (1970–1975), *Black Review* (1971–1972), *Kitaba Cha Jua* (1974–1976), and *First World* (1977–1980). However, as the general political climate cooled and the movement splintered and slowed, financial support for such journals became scarce. Few survived.

By the middle of the 1970s, the pendulum had swung away from radical oppositional politics, and the new emphasis became the necessity of establishing a strong and consistent critical and theoretical base for a separate black literary aesthetic. A number of university publications, such as *Hambone* (1974–), *Callaloo* (1976–), and *Black American Literature Forum* (1967, 1976–), played a central role in the development of this new aesthetic, providing academic critics (such as Henry Louis Gates and Houston Baker) with an unprecedented degree of influence in the African-American literary community. Other literary magazines and journals that contributed to this development include *Obsidian/Obsidian II/Obsidian III* (1975–), *Y'Bird* (1977–1978), *Quilt* (1980–1984), *Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women* (1984–), *Catalyst* (1986–), *Shooting Star Review* (1986–), and *Konch* (1990).

At the same time that more recent literary journals have reflected an increasingly academic orientation, they have also displayed a significant shift toward greater diversity of focus and opinion. Unlike the literary debates of earlier periods, that of the 1980s and early 1990s did not reveal any particular dominant concern, but rather began to confront the internal heterogeneity of the African-American literary community. This heterogeneity accounts in part for the relatively large number of literary journalssince the 1960s.

While established literary journals such as *Callaloo* continued to hold a dominant position in the late 1990s and into the new century, the expansion of the Internet has provided new outlets for African-American poets and fiction writers, allowing publishers to disseminate the work of both new and established writers at a far lower cost. The Cave Canem organization, which is "committed to the discussion and cultivation of new voices in African American poetry," was formed in 1996, and many members of its "faculty" edit Web publications such as *Ambulant.* FYAH!!, dedicated to a "new generation of Black wordsmiths," is an online magazine that publishes the work of such poets as India Savage Anderson, who has also published in the quarterly e-magazine *Mosaic,* founded in 1998. *Mosaic* has become a leading publisher of new and established African-American and other writers, including Staceyann Chin, Colson Whitehead, Major Jackson, Willie

Perdomo, Colin Channer, Roger Bonair-Agard, Sonia Sanchez, bell hooks, and Haki Madhubuti. Another online project that has provided a forum for new writers is *Voices from the Gap: Women Artists and Writers of Color,* published at the University of Minnesota. Online publications such as *VelvetIllusion* reflect a more internationalist perspective, featuring the work not only of African Americans but also of people of color throughout the world.

Another development, one that reflects the growing reach of a distinctly African-American literature, is the prominence of publications that not only review the work of African-American writers but that themselves publish some of that work. One of the most widely read is the *African American Review,* published since 1967 at St. Louis University (the journal was originally titled *Negro American Literature Forum;* In 1976 it became the *Black American Literature Forum;* and it took on the current title in 1992). The *African American Review* is the official publication of the Division on Black American Literature and Culture of the Modern Language Association. It has published work by such writers as Houston A. Baker, Jr., Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Trudier Harris, Arnold Rampersad, Hortense Spillers, Amiri Baraka, Gwendolyn Brooks, Rita Dove, Charles Johnson, Toni Morrison, and Ishmael Reed. A more recent review is *Black Issues Book Review,* published since 1999. The success of these mainstream publications help firmly entrench African-American voices in the contemporary literary landscape.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement; *Black World/Negro Digest*; *Crisis, The*; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Fauset, Jessie Redmon; Harlem Renaissance; Hopkins, Pauline Elizabeth; Johnson, Charles Spurgeon; *Liberator, The*; *Messenger, The*; New Negro; *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; *Phylon*; Schuyler, George S.; Thurman, Wallace; Washington, Booker T.

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MATTHEW BUCKLEY (1996)
MICHAEL O'NEAL (2005)

Literature

This entry consists of seven articles examining literature from several distinct geographic perspectives.

LITERATURE OF FRENCH GUIANA
Karen Smyley Wallace

LITERATURE OF HAITI
J. Michael Dash

LITERATURE OF MARTINIQUE AND GUADELOUPE
H. Adlai Murdoch

LITERATURE OF SURINAME
Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger

LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN
Faith Smith

LITERATURE OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES
Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger

LITERATURE OF THE UNITED STATES
Arnold Rampersad
Stefanie Dunning

Literature of French Guiana

French Guiana is France's oldest overseas possession (dating from the seventeenth century). Along with Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Reunion, it has been a department of France since 1946. Yet, unlike these other French overseas departments, it is the only French territory on the American mainland. French Guiana (approximately 35,000 square miles), is located in the equatorial forest zone of South America. The country is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, to the east and the south by Brazil, and to the west by Suriname. Because of its complex and treacherous geography, it was particularly well suited to function as a penal colony, which it was from 1852 until 1938. This part of French Guiana's history was dramatically depicted in Henri Charrière's l969 novel, *Papillon,* and in the 1973 movie of the same name.

Although the country is small, the literary landscape of French Guiana is broad and mirrors faithfully the complexities of its diverse population, which comprises persons of mixed white, Amerindian, and African descent (Creoles), as well as descendants of Arawak and Carib Indians. From this perspective, there is not one literature, but several literary components that make up this vast body of works. Under this umbrella are pieces written in French by writers who reside in France, works in French by writers who reside in Guiana, works written in Creole, and, to some extent, works emerging from the *Bushinenge* and *Amerindian* communities found along the border of Suriname. It is not surprising then, that conflicts about identity—including color, class, language, and ethnicity—appear frequently as themes within the literature. Their objective is to carve out a more accurate definition of the Guianese self—what is referred to as their *guyanité*. While debate continues around this critical issue, most contemporary scholars from that region tend to agree that a writer's ability to express the Guianese experience is more important than the geographical community from which he or she emerges.

Among French Guiana's many writers, Alfred Parépou (author of the first novel in Creole, *Atipa* [1885]) is less well known outside of the country, though his contribution to this body of literature is considerable. By writing exclusively in Creole, he was able to accurately portray daily life in the Guianese community and vividly capture the spirit of its inhabitants. René Maran (winner of the 1921 Prix Goncourt for his novel *Batouala)* is more familiar to readers outside of French Guiana. Although he was born in Martinique (in 1887) to Guianese parents and lived most of his life in France (he died in Paris in 1960), Maran is still acclaimed as one of French Guiana's most notable writers. His pioneering novel, *Batouala,* which unapologetically portrayed the realities of the colonial system in French West Africa, remains a classic. The reader's attention is artfully turned away from the European colonizer, and the story is told instead through the eyes of the indigenous people of Oubangui-Chari. By bringing them to center stage, he brought meaning to their customs, traditions, and values. It is because of his innovative approach that René Maran is considered to be one of the important precursors of the *Négritude* movement.

Perhaps the most memorable of writers from French Guiana is Léon-Gontran Damas (1912–1978), who, along with Aimé Césaire (Martinique) and Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal), was one of the principal founders of the *Négritude* movement. Damas was a native of the capital city, Cayenne. After the death of his mother, in 1913, he was raised by his aunt, the formidable *Man Gabi,* whose penchant for strict adherence to the codes of bourgeois behavior were vividly brought to life in the poem "Hoquet." Damas continued his secondary studies in Martinique, at the renowned Lycée Schoelcher, where he first met Aimé Césaire. He then went on to continue his studies in Paris, where he became inspired by the liberated thinking current among young African and Caribbean students. Together with Césaire and Senghor, he helped to establish the journal *L'Etudiant noir* (1934), an important vehicle for the articulation of these new thoughts. In 1937 Damas published a collection of poems titled *Pigments,* which both symbolized and launched the *Négritude* movement. His literary portfolio includes essays, such as *Retour de Guyane* (l938); poetic collections, such as *Veillées noires* (1942), *Graffiti* (1953), and *Black Label* (1956); and an anthology of works by poets from the French colonies (1957).

Damas was both inspired and intrigued by the racial problems in America. In his poetry, he showed a particular ability to comprehend the pain and suffering caused by racial prejudice, Jim Crow, and lynching, as well as to communicate the essence of the blues and jazz. His memorable syncopated style captures the frustrations of the blacks of the period as they sought to exist within white societies. Many of his poems are dedicated to black American artists, writers, and musicians such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Richard Wright, Louis Armstrong, and others. Eventually, Damas settled in the United States, where he lectured and taught at many universities. He was eventually named Distinguished Professor of African Literature at Howard University, in Washington. D.C., a position he held until his death in 1978.

Another of French Guiana's giants was Bertène Juminer (1927–2003), who was acclaimed for his novel *Les bâtards* (1961), which describes the psychological struggle of an Antillean who leaves home to study in metropolitan France, and who later returns to Guiana and attempts to readjust to that society. Juminer is also noted for his contributions as an academic and a physician, and as a man of conviction who fought tirelessly for the betterment of Guiana and the French West Indies.

French Guiana's contemporary literary landscape continues to expand and includes the poet and dramatist Elie Stephenson (*Où se trouvent les orangers*, 2000), and the poet and novelist Serge Patient (*Le Nègre du Gouverneur,* 2001).

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Creole Languages of the Americas; Literature of Martinique and Guadeloupe; Literature of Suriname; Négritude

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KAREN SMYLEY WALLACE (2005)

Literature of Haiti

Created out of a revolutionary war that drove the French out of colonial St. Domingue in 1804, Haitian literature has been inspired as much by the need to affirm the uniqueness of the Haitian nation as by its redemptive mission in a world dominated by colonialism and slavery. The nationalist impulse in early Haitian verse is enhanced by the Romantic movement's insistence on the poet's national genius as well as the influence of the natural environment over individual sensibility. This need to express a particularly Haitian worldview in literature is elaborated during the twenty-three years of Jean-Pierre Boyer's presidency and given its most articulate expression in the verse of Oswald Durand, whose *Rires et Pleurs* (Laughter and tears; 1896) is a celebration of Haitian flora and fauna. He is the first writer to successfully experiment with the use of Creole, especially in the poem "Choucoune," which was eventually put to music. This trend also paves the way for the emergence of Haitian prose writing at the turn of the century. Haiti's early novels are either political satires or sympathetic depictions of peasant life. The conventions of realism are apparent in the novels by Frédéric Marcelin, Justin Lhérisson, and Antoine Innocent published at the turn of the century. The end of the nineteenth century also saw a backlash against what was considered an overly parochial approach to literary creativity. The group of poets associated with the journal *La ronde* (1898–1902) fiercely criticized narrow nationalism and regionalism in Haitian writing and advocated a more cosmopolitan and eclectic approach to literature.

Early Haitian literature was also postcolonial in the sense that it called into question the racial and cultural values and beliefs on which the colonial system was based. Haitian writers were, therefore, also acutely aware of the dangers of celebrating Haitian exceptionalism, given the degree of international ostracism suffered by the new state. Henry Christophe's secretary, Le Baron de Vastey, published one of the first critiques of European colonization in his essay *Le système colonial dévoile* (The colonial system unmasked; 1814). A keen awareness of the fetishizing of race and nation in the colonial system led later essayists to abandon the rhetoric of racial and cultural difference for arguments that favor a nonessentializing universalism. The essayist Anténor Firmin's *De l'égalité des races humaines* (The equality of the human races; 1885) is a two-volume response to the ideas of racial difference and racial perfectibility put forward by Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau in Paris. His *Lettres de St. Thomas* (1910), published in exile, argued against xenophobia in Haitian politics and the need to create an "Antillean Confederation" in order to ensure national survival.

Chronic instability at the beginning of the twentieth century and the spread of U.S. imperialism in the northern Caribbean led to Haiti being occupied by U.S. Marines from 1915 to 1934. The neocolonial nature of the occupation had the effect of uniting Haitians, who had been divided by class and color, around the ideals of race and nation. A young radical group of writers began to dominate intellectual life from the 1920s. They were much involved in street protests, militant journalism, and the cultural nationalism expressed in the journals *La nouvelle ronde* (1925), *La trouee* (1927), and *La revue indigene* (1927–1928). The poetry published in these journals ranged from the fashionably bohemian poems of Émile Roumer and Carl Brouard to more socially conscious writing from Jacques Roumain. Roumain introduced and translated the writers of the Harlem Renaissance and contemporary Latin America and founded the Haitian Communist Party in 1934. The ideas of the anthropologist Jean Price-Mars, who spoke of the need to recognize peasant culture and to reform the Haitian elite, was a shaping force at the time.

Roumain's conception of peasant resistance in the context of international proletarian revolt would leave an indelible mark on succeeding generations of writers. His two best-known posthumously published works, *Bois d'ébène* (Ebony wood; 1945) and *Gouverneurs de la rosée* (Masters of the dew; 1944) exemplify this insertion of the Haitian peasantry in the context of a global modernity. Roumain, who founded the Bureau d'Ethnologie in 1941, is well known for the successful use of a Creole-inflected French in the latter novel to approximate the authentic voice of the peasantry, but he also introduces into their culture Spanish words that introduce concepts of worker solidarity and labor revolt.

At the end of World War II Haiti experienced a period of intellectual effervescence with the visits of Aimé Césaire, Nicolás Guillén, Alejo Carpentier, and André Breton. The outburst of literary and political radicalism at this rivaled that of the American occupation. The pro-American mulatto president at the time was overthrown in protests led by student activists of the journal *La ruche*. Jacques Stephen Alexis and René Depestre, two of the

leading student activists, were influenced by Roumain's Marxism as well as surrealist ideas. Alexis came to prominence in the 1956 Congress of Black and African Writers in Paris when he challenged the monolithic racial theories of Négritude with his essay on "marvellous realism," which promoted a more hemispheric definition of Haitian culture. Depestre challenged Aimé Césaire by advocating the ideas of Louis Aragon in defining a national poetics in Haiti. Both writers would run foul of the regime of *noiriste* intellectual François Duvalier, who came to power in 1957.

Alexis's novels, produced between 1955 and his death in 1961 at the hands of Duvalier's Macoutes, used a combination of socialist realism and fantasy to depict the lives of the Haitian working class. His sweeping, largely historically based fiction tried to cover all of Haiti's changing society. The question of regional identity is raised in Alexis's last novel, *L'espace d'un cillement* (The flicker of an eyelid; 1959), in which the protagonists are Cuban and the action takes place in a brothel on the outskirts of Port au Prince that is frequented by American marines. Alexis's oeuvre marks fiction created during the Duvalier years. The novelist, dramatist, and painter Franck Étienne's best-known work is the Creole novel *Dezafi* (1975), which describes the horrors of a zombified Haiti under Duvalier. His novels borrow Alexis's use of fantasy and advocate experimentation with form, which Étienne called a *spiraliste* poetics. Pierre Clitandre's *Cathédrale du mois d'août* (Cathedral of the August heat; 1982) is also a successful depiction of the urban poor's world of magic, misery, and desperate optimism.

Duvalierism also created an exodus of Haitian intellectuals, and beginning in the 1970s there has been an increasing Haitian diaspora in cities such as Montreal, Miami, and New York. Explicit anti-Duvalierist protest writing flourished in exile in a way it could not among writers who remained in Haiti. One of the major anti-Duvalier texts was actually written in Haiti, but it led to the exile of its author. Marie Chauvet's *Amour colère folie* (Love anger madness; 1968) brilliantly evoked not only the nightmare of state brutality but the complacency of the elite as well as the impotence of writers and intellectuals under Duvalier. Strident protest fiction was produced by Depestre, Étienne, and Anthony Phelps. The Duvalier dynasty proved to be very resistant to change, and Haitian writing in the diaspora became less centered on political protest and more focused on the experience of cultural displacement and the redefinition of Haitian identity. Even though there were attempts in the novels of Jean Métellus, Depestre, and the Creole poetry of Félix Morisseau-Leroy to return nostalgically to the native land, a younger generation of writers explored the freedoms and influences of being Haitian writers in the United States and Canada.

Two 1985 novels by Jean-Claude Charles and Dany Laferrière were the first to evoke Haiti's new transnational preoccupations. *Manhattan Blues* and *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (How to make love to a Negro without getting tired) ushered in a new kind literature that is as much autobiographical fiction as travel writing. In Canada the novels *Passages* (1991) and *Les urnes scelles* (The sealed urns; 1995) by the late Émile Ollivier treat the difficulty of return and the hybridized space of the Haitian diaspora. This diaspora has also produced a number of major writers in English, many of whom are women. The most outstanding of these is Edwidge Danticat, whose successful first novel, *Breath Eyes Memory* (1994), deals with a young Haitian woman's personal experience of the clash of modernity and tradition. Her later works took on larger political themes. *The Farming of Bones* (1998) deals with the massacre of Haitian cane cutters in the Dominican Republic in 1937, *The Dew Breaker* (2004) with the difficulty of facing the ghosts of the Duvalierist past for those Haitians who have grown up outside of Haiti.

See also Canadian Writers in French; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Creole Languages of the Americas; Danticat, Edwidge; Négritude; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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J. MICHAEL DASH (2005)

Literature of Martinique and Guadeloupe

The award of the *Prix Goncourt*, France's foremost literary prize, to Patrick Chamoiseau of Martinique in 1992 for his

novel *Texaco* highlighted the increase in literary output and artistic visibility that had characterized work from the region since the 1970s. Paradoxically, it also tended to highlight the geopolitical ambivalence of the status as French Overseas Department imposed on these territories in 1946, which arguably has provided the region some of its recent impetus toward asserting a nonmetropolitan identity. Given this legal limbo, these islands are neither independent nations nor territories fully integrated into the French mainland. However, after their colonization by France in 1635, documented literary output in these islands dates back at least to the mid-eighteenth century, and until the early twentieth century much of this production was the work of metropolitan settlers. This shift in discursive emphasis will prove the central point in this analysis.

Colonialism and Emancipation

The period that followed the European arrival was characterized by a preoccupation with colonization and settlement in order to enhance profit margins from agriculture. As virtual corollaries to this process, the indigenous Carib and Arawak Indian populations succumbed to overwork and Western disease and disappeared within a century of colonization and were replaced by African slave labor on a massive scale. In time they would be followed by other arrivals, including East Asian, Chinese, and Syro-Lebanese. Literature during this period consisted largely of European travel writing and a relative absence of a colonized voice. Even though the first generation of Creoles had already appeared, most literary endeavors of the period were the work of Europeans, written for metropolitan consumption. Indeed, whites virtually monopolized writing from these territories for centuries, especially since most slave laws forbade teaching slaves to read or write. Catholic priest Père Labat's 1742 work, *Nouveau voyage aux isles d'Amérique* (New voyage to the American islands), falls into this category. An exception that proves the rule is the "Speech made by a Black at Guardaloupe" (1709), a critique that provides an opening onto the world of the slave more than a century before emancipation in 1848. The harrowing picture it provided of the contemporary treatment of slaves became grist for the mill of antislavery discourse.

An exception to this pattern would be *Les Bambous: Fables de La Fontaine travesties en patois martiniquais* (Bamboo: La Fontaine's fables rendered in Martinican Creole), published in 1846 by François Achille Marbot. *Les Bambous* was the work of an indigenous author and a groundbreaking text in terms of its valorization and transcription of the Creole language that had been formed on the plantation through the exchanges both between the varied African ethnic groups and between these groups and their owners. Its scope, however, was limited because it was a translation of a classic metropolitan text, breaking down relatively few barriers as a result. In general, the midcentury era became marked by strong tendencies toward literary mimetism, encouraging island poets (in large part members of the planter class) to imitate the styles and themes of their more established metropolitan counterparts. This so-called "*doudouiste*" period produced such notables as Daniel Thaly (1879–1950) and Victor Duquesnay (1870–1920), whose works took the soaring flights of metropolitan romantic fancy as their models, praising the incomparable delights of the island's flora and fauna, its light and shadow. The result was an ongoing dichotomy between a vibrant lived Creole culture and its exclusion from modes of expression in local arts and letters, the result of a virtual monopoly of contemporary poesis by colonial barriers of race and class.

Négritude, Antillanité, Créolité

The twentieth century saw the emergence of the white Guadeloupean Saint-John Perse as a major poet, and his collection *Anabase* (1924) would eventually help to secure him the Nobel Prize for literature. Indeed, French Caribbean writing, such as it was, had become associated almost exclusively with whites. However, the postwar period of the 1920s and 1930s saw a marked shift in emphasis with regard to both writer and theme. A literary and cultural upheaval was produced by the launching in Paris of the *Négritude* movement, led by Martinique's Aimé Césaire and Senegal's Léopold Sédar Senghor, itself partly inspired by the publication in 1928 of the folklore collection *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (Thus spoke the uncle) by Haiti's Dr. Jean Price-Mars. The appearance in 1939 of Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (Notebook of a return to the homeland) cleared the way for indigenous black Caribbean writers to finally express their Francophone identity. But given the *Négritude* movement's unfortunate construction in terms of a common or shared black essence, the better to contest long-standing claims of French universalism, it would ultimately be charged with ignoring the West Indian specificities of the French Overseas Departments.

The context provided by the Algerian war of independence during the 1950s, and its attendant corollaries of decolonization, brought the revolutionary writings of Martinique's Frantz Fanon to worldwide prominence. But the ambiguities of distance and domination brought about by French Caribbean departmentalization in 1946 would, over time, highlight the islands' lived dichotomies of Ca-

ribbean particularism and French universalism that even Césaire's rewriting of regional revolutionary history in the Haitian-themed *La tragédie du Roi Christophe* (The tragedy of King Christophe) could not completely eradicate. The burgeoning *antillanité,* or Caribbeanness, movement was, in a sense, born of these very contradictions and omissions. Meanwhile, the appearance of such works as Simone Schwarz-Bart's landmark novel *Pluie et vent sur Télumée Miracle* (The bridge of beyond) and her outstanding play *Ton beau capitaine* (Your handsome captain), Myriam Warner-Vieyra's *Juletane*, and Daniel Maximin's *L'isolé soleil* (Lone sun), all of Guadeloupe, and *L'autre qui danse* (The other who dances) by Martinique's Suzanne Dracius-Pinalie in the 1970s and 1980s, continued to demonstrate the dynamism and inventiveness of French Caribbean literary production.

Edouard Glissant's theory of *antillanité,* first propounded in his *Discours antillais* (Caribbean discourse) in 1981, draws on the common Caribbean experience of uprooting, transformation, and cultural exchange to posit a principle of creativity grounded in the composite, where fragmentation and pluralism enable a new geopolitical vision for French Caribbean identity. Meanwhile, the writings of Guadeloupe's Maryse Condé, the prolific author of over a dozen novels, including *En attendant le bonheur* (Heremakhonon), *Moi, Tituba, sorcière noire de Salem* (I, Tituba, black witch of Salem), and *Traversée de la mangrove* (Crossing the mangrove), insisted on the centrality of women to the literary and cultural Caribbean canon. In addition, Xavier Orville's novels of the same period inscribed themes of poverty and social injustice within a framework of folk history to invoke issues of identity and collective memory within a Martinican framework.

The extent to which Glissant's articulation of *antillanité* provided a basis for Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant to construct their *Eloge de la créolité* (In praise of Creoleness) in 1989 is well known. In theoretical terms, however, the rather programmatic folkloric framework embraced by *créolité* makes it much more contested than its precursor. More artistically than geopolitically focused, it takes the compound ethnic, linguistic, and cultural structures undergirding the Creole language as the enabling metaphor for a broad-based aesthetic framework, valorizing the creative expression of diversity in the Caribbean Creole mosaic over the exclusionary oneness implicit in Western universalism. From a linguistic perspective, Jean Bernabé's pioneering work on the grammatical structures of French Creole has led both to its rehabilitation as a *langue véhiculaire* and to its increased acceptance in both the literary and the pedagogical domains.

Finally, it should be noted that whereas male writers certainly have dominated the literary output of these islands over time, this pattern has been overturned with the relative ascendancy of female writers since the early 1980s. Geopolitical perspectives can also be somewhat divergent, as very generally Guadeloupeans are seen as hewing to a more autonomous mind-set than their Martinican counterparts. Taken together, these authors trace the trajectory of tensions and hierarchies that frame the task of defining an indigenous yet hybrid French Caribbean identity; despite daunting geopolitical odds, their evolving vision of regional realities has helped create a permanent place in the pantheon of letters for the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Caribbean Theater, Anglophone; Césaire, Aimé; Chamoiseau, Patrick; Condé, Maryse; Creole Languages of the Americas; Glissant, Edouard; Literature of Haiti; Négritude; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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H. ADLAI MURDOCH (2005)

Literature of Suriname

Suriname, located on the north Atlantic coast of South America, is the country in which Maroon experiences have been most visible throughout history. The Maroons are descendants of former slaves who escaped from their plantations and reconstructed their African cultural heritage in the rain forest. They have also at times engaged in armed resistance against the military forces of the various governments of the nation.

This heroic history is rarely addressed in literary works by contemporary writers of Maroon descent, such as Doris Vrede, André Pakosie, and Julian With. These writers publish their work in Dutch and deal with contemporary issues of injustice, discrimination, and the dramatic changes occurring in their village communities.

The first Maroon author, Johannes King (1830–1899), wrote in Sranan, the main Creole language of Suriname. He was an autodidact and a member of the Moravian Church. The Moravian Mission always promoted the use of Sranan and was instrumental in its development as a literary language. The schoolmaster "Papa" Koenders, who published the magazine *Foetoeboi* in the 1940s, belonged to the Moravian Church, as did Sophie Redmond (1907–1955), a medical doctor and an author of theater texts. The country's most important poet, Trefossa (1916–1975), was also a Moravian. Jan Voorhoeve (1923–1983), a well-known linguist, was sent by the Moravians to study Sranan culture in postwar Paramaribo. Voorhoeve found a tabooed but flourishing tradition in which storytelling was considered to be a serious specialization, and the songs, dances, and musical performances were extremely rich with reminiscences of the times of slavery. Sranan was identified with strategies of resistance and survival, and it became the political language for the nationalist politicians before independence in 1975. Eddy Bruma, a lawyer and politician, has composed theater pieces and poems about the Maroon heroes.

Sranan serves as a connection to the African-American past in Suriname, and important poets such as Johanna Schouten-Elsenhout (1910–1992) and Michaël Slory (b. 1935) have helped maintain that connection. Nonetheless, the first critical approach to Surinamese history told from the slave's point of view was written in Dutch: In 1934, Anton de Kom (1898–1945) published *We Slaves from Surinam*, which was censored by the Dutch authorities.

In his early novels, Albert Helman (1903–1996) addressed the cruelties and injustice of slavery in plantation society in the seventeenth century. The writer Dobru (1935–1983), meanwhile, created humorous but critical narrative sketches about the everyday life of the poor in Paramaribo. Dobru also was a poet, and his poem "Wan bon" (One tree) is considered a second national anthem in Suriname.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Sranan and Surinamese Dutch were explicitly forbidden in the educational system of Suriname. Edgar Cairo (1948–2000) felt this to be such a painful experience that he struggled against its humiliating effects in his critical essays, poems, and narratives. Although Cairo wrote in Dutch (he lived most of his life in Holland), his native Sranan tongue strongly influences his syntax and grammar. In fact, many Surinamese writers have published their work in the Netherlands since the 1970s. Poetry, theater, novels, radio plays, and short stories are all represented. Clark Accord was particularly successful with his 1999 novel *De koningin van Paramaribo: kroniek van Maxi Linder* (The queen of Paramaribo: Chronicle of Maxi Linder), a tale about a famous prostitute. His work was immediately adapted to theater. Ellen Ombre (b. 1948) describes her experience of blackness from a female perspective, intertwined with the contemporary history of Africa. Her first novel, *Een negerjood in moederland* (A Negro Jew in the mother country), was published in 2004. Cynthia McLeod (b. 1936) has authored several historical novels. She discovered that the richest woman of Paramaribo in the eighteenth century was black, and she published her extensive archival research on this woman, Elisabeth Samson (1715–1771), whose parents were both slaves. McLeod also wrote a novel based on her own life, *De vrije negerin Elisabeth. Gevangene van kleur* (The free Negro woman Elisabeth. Prisoner of color; 2000). Astrid Roemer's characters, in contrast, are pure fiction, though clearly recognizable as Surinamese. Roemer (b. 1947) has written an impressive trilogy about life in Paramaribo in the second half of the past century. The trilogy comprises *Gewaagd leven* (Life at risk; 1996), *Lijken op liefde* (Looking like love; 1997), and *Was getekend* (Signed; 1998). Authors such as Ombre and Roemer do not identify themselves as Dutch or European, and they do not seem to find meaning in, or draw inspira-

tion from, European literature. However, one of the most innovative poets writing in Dutch, Hans Faverey (1933–1990), a black Surinamese, seemed to consider his work a part of Dutch literature.

Finally, Surinamese literature shares features with literature from the rest of the black diaspora. Critics have drawn connections, for example, between African-American women writers in the United States and women writers in Suriname. Furthermore, Surinamese literature has shared with Brazilian and Angolan literature an interest in analyzing the attitudes of that economically well-off sector of the population in each of these societies known as Creoles—particularly their attitudes towards slavery and the slave trade. Unlike Angolan and Brazilian writers, however, Surinamese literature also focuses on the Maroons and on their dynamic interplay with other ethnic groups in Surinam's extraordinarily rich social landscape.

See also Literature of Guyane; Literature of the Netherlands Antilles; Maroon Arts

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INEKE PHAF-RHEINBERGER (2005)

Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

"Two sterling works are the most a young country like this can be expected to produce in a limited number of years, and—to tell the whole truth—they are all the public, in its present state, can put up with." This sentiment, from a June 1871 *Trinidad Chronicle* editorial, notes that only infrequently did the "tender stem of Creole Literature, languishing in an as yet wild and barren soil," produce "something ripe and substantial" rather than "watery, sour, or husky fruit"—not an atypical sentiment for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglophone Caribbean. The lament of the absence of anything but a small, insufficiently literate or "cultured" reading public, and the lack of writers able to or interested in rendering a "Creole" reality, usefully flags issues of inadequacy, authenticity, and taste that have continued to resonate in discussions of the region's writers.

A relatively small percentage of competent and interested readers must be put, first, in the context of a relatively small population across the region, and then also in the context of an interest in books for the purpose of commerce or of gaining accreditation—the surest way to stifle pleasurable reading—as well as a deep suspicion of "political" or "ideological" sentiments. But the notion that "literariness" and pleasurable, leisured reading ought somehow to be cleanly separated from the taint of politics, examinations, or the market has haunted literary aesthetes in the region and across the globe, and it is precisely around definitions of "culture" that commentators within and outside the region have deemed the Caribbean a "wild and barren soil."

The extraordinarily rich cultural production of the mass of Caribbean people has been disparaged as "noise" in letters to the editor from the nineteenth century until today. It has also been disparaged in punitive legal codes, not least of all because the language of this "noise" has mainly been in the Creole languages of the region. A restrictive definition of *literacy* cannot accommodate the Caribbean's keen interpretation of signs, dreams, graffiti, West African masquerade, the King James Bible, the Rastafarian *Promise Key*, political and religious utopias, imperial edicts and wars, seditious broadsides, L. W. de Laurence's books of magic, Marcus Garvey's newspaper *Negro World,* Haile Selassie's speeches, missionary hymns, the Ramayana, Congolese Nsibidi script, "high canonical" and "trash" literary publications, current news from across the globe, and the absorption of all of this and more into the rhythms of daily life in societies that have never had the luxury of pretending that they are closed. To the consternation of those who condemn this "noise," the achievement of producing two Nobel laureates of literature—Derek Walcott from Saint Lucia in 1992 and V. S. Naipaul from Trinidad in 2004—has to be qualified by the fact that the region's popular musicians are much better known and more often cited around the world.

Yet, if it is true that narrow definitions of culture, literature, and society have ensured that the creativity of the lower echelons of Caribbean society has been scorned (Cooper, 1993), it has also meant that a lettered elite, anxious about its distance from this stratum of society and

recognizing in its "noise" the key to challenging metropolitan definitions of the region's people as debased and inhuman, has focused on it intensely in its fiction and poetry—some have even called the focus voyeuristic (Hodge, 1972). Thus, for some critics, poetic personae and fictional characters and narrators who use Creole speech, for instance, are genuinely "Creole," Caribbean, or politically engaged, and those who do not are inauthentic. Is Jamaican-born poet Claude McKay's *Constab Ballads* (1912) more authentic for being written in Jamaican Creole than his sonnets, or, for that matter, than the poetry of his compatriots: Philip Sherlock celebrating blackness and nationalism in the 1950s in iambic pentameter ("Across the sand I saw a black man stride / To fetch his fishing gear and broken things"), or the coolly ironic poetry of Edward Baugh, Mervyn Morris, Velma Pollard, and Dennis Scott in the 1970s and 1980s?

Jamaican author Louise "Miss Lou" Bennett was honored in 2003 in national ceremonies in Jamaica that were attended by a middle class that had criticized her for using Creole in the public domain decades earlier. This only means that the boundaries of acceptability have shifted to include her and not others. But it is also surely just as wrong to assume that anything uttered in Creole is inherently oppositional or progressive. Countries and territories such as Saint Lucia and Curaçao (Netherlands Antilles) have long led the way in using Creole languages for a range of purposes. Perhaps it is less useful to make unequivocal judgments about authenticity than to recognize the enormous diversity of voices and perspectives in the literature of the region, and to note the particular stakes for each critic in the assessment of this diversity.

What counted as "substantial Creole Literature" for the 1871 editor quoted above—"two sterling works" published shortly before by Antoine Léotaud on the birds of Trinidad and John Jacob Thomas on Trinidad's Creole language—suggests some characteristics of the region's literary history. Both Léotaud, who was white, and Thomas, who was black, were delineating a "Creole" Trinidadian landscape. This is a reminder that white, functionally-white, Indo-Caribbean, and other writers not usually classified as black have contributed powerful interpretations of Caribbean life and the impact of the Afro-Caribbean presence in particular: such writers include H. G. De Lisser, Samuel Selvon, Jean Rhys, V. S. Naipaul, Robert Antoni, Sharlow, Lawrence Scott, Ian Macdonald, and Anthony Winkler, to name a few.

Léotaud's and Thomas's texts posed a Francophone challenge to the Anglophone hegemony of British rule, but Thomas also sought to insert dark-skinned, working-class Trinidadians who spoke little else beside Creole into Trinidad's cultural matrix as legitimate culture-bearers rather than uncivilized tabulae rasae fit only for labor. This vindication of people of African descent in Trinidad led Thomas to publish *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (1889), which refuted the racism of Victorian historian James Anthony Froude's *English in the West Indies, or, The Bow of Ulysses* (1888). Thomas's book was similar to Haitian writer Joseph-Anténor Firmin's *De l'égalité des races humaines* (Equality of the human races; 1885), which challenged Count Arthur Gobineau's theories of racial inequality. It also resembled the two-volume *Glimpses of the Ages or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, So-Called, Discussed in the Light of Science and History* (1905/1908) by Jamaican-born Theophilus Scholes. Their desire to challenge metropolitan perspectives—"writing back to empire"—has been a key trope in much of the region's fiction and poetry.

Firmin, who wanted the French language to have the same nationalistic and cultural significance as the Spanish language did for Latin Americans, would not have agreed with Thomas's championing of Creole. On the other hand, dictionaries and grammars are written by scholarly elites for consumption by other elites, and Thomas was as committed to speaking on behalf of working-class Trinidadians as any of his counterparts. As "one of Her Majesty's Ethiopic subjects," he affirmed the validity of the Caribbean in the context of British colonialism. If those who traveled to England in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were more ambivalent, London was still viewed as the inevitable place to be consecrated as a serious writer. As critics have pointed out, authenticating the novel or poem as truly "West Indian" as opposed to "British," and ensuring that Caribbean male writers would be equal to or better than the English writers against whom they were often measured, frequently involved the use of male characters and poetic personae who would keep metropolitan and local women in line, and also respect but ultimately contain the energies of the unlettered working class, and so usher the nascent nation into being (Edmondson, 1999).

A critical factor in the experience and delineation of a regional "West Indian" sensibility was the *Caribbean Voices* radio program broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation from 1945 to 1958. Founded by Jamaican poet Una Marson, prospective writers were inspired to produce their own work after hearing on the radio the poetry of Eric Roach from Trinidad and Tobago; or the Saint Vincentians Danny Williams, Owen Campbell, and Shake Keane; or the performance of Walcott's play *Henri Christophe* (1950) on Sunday afternoons. The output of literature by Caribbean writers during this period and into the 1960s is phenomenal, and includes the work of, among

many others, C. L. R. James, George Lamming, Edgar Mittelholzer, Garth St. Omer, Vic Reid, Neville Dawes, Namba Roy, Sylvia Wynter, and Orlando Patterson. They published their work abroad, or in journals across the region (such as *Kyk-Over-al* in Guyana, *Bim* in Barbados, *Beacon* in Trinidad, *Focus* in Jamaica), or in newspapers such as Trinidad's *Guardian*. They also joined members of various literary and debating societies, poetry leagues, and artists' collectives, were galvanized by the labor strikes of the 1930s and calls for federation and independence, and became inspired to explore the region's history of enslavement and revolution.

At the same time, writers such as Rosa Guy, who helped found the Harlem Writers Guild, Claude McKay, Eric Walrond, Jamaica Kincaid, and Michelle Cliff migrated to the United States rather than to Europe. In one sense, the presence of so many Caribbean writers today in that location has diminished the impact of London, but in another sense it signals the shift in the center of gravity from one English-speaking empire to another. In addition, immigrants to England or their children—including Linton Kwesi Johnson, Caryl Phillips, Andrea Levy, Fred D'Aguiar, and Zadie Smith—are winning accolades for rewriting an England that is fully theirs, just as Olive Senior, Austin Clarke, M. Nourbese Philip, and Ramabai Espinet are rewriting both the Canada to which they have relocated and the Caribbean.

Because writers across the French-, English-, and Spanish-speaking Caribbean have had such an enormous impact on theorizations of anticolonial and postcolonial politics and poetics, and have been affirmed as "the best writers in English today," it is often the case that their specific Caribbean contexts are minimized or ignored. For some, this underlines the importance of analyzing writers in terms of their respective nations. And certainly it is hard to imagine the explorations of the interior by Jan Carew and Wilson Harris, or the critiques of political authoritarianism by Martin Carter in the 1960s and 1970s and Oonya Kempadoo more recently, as other than Guyanese, or the explorations of calypso and Carnival in the fiction of C. L. R. James, Earl Lovelace, and Marion Patrick Jones as other than Trinidadian. Studies like those by Selwyn Cudjoe (2003) and Barbara Lalla (1996) take up this national perspective, but even Lalla explores the significance of the outcast and homelessness in Jamaican literature as "a national fiction within the Caribbean aesthetic."

Any purely national focus is always in tension with other perspectives. *New World Quarterly, Savacou*, *Trinidad and Tobago Review* (formerly *Tapia*), the *Journal of West Indian Literature, Small Axe,* and *Anthurium* and other journals have had a regional focus, as did the London-based Caribbean Artists Movement of the 1960s. In addition, the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and other institutions have fostered this regional consciousness. Not just Europe and the United States, but the migration of people in the English-speaking Caribbean to Panama and Cuba has affected the outlook of the region's writers, as has the continuing impact of the Cuban and Grenadian revolutions. If the annual Commonwealth Writers' Prize is one way for Caribbean writers to receive recognition, so is Cuba's Casa de las Américas award.

Africa and the African diaspora constitute another focus, and the novels of writers such as Paule Marshall and Erna Brodber use this prism to explore the impact of culture and nation on the Caribbean psyche. Vic Reid's 1958 novel *The Leopard* is set in Kenya, and both Neville Dawes and Kamau Brathwaite lived in West Africa. More than physical location, however, there is a continuing discussion about Africa's impact on Caribbean aesthetics, and as more and more empirical research emerges, the parameters of these debates will shift accordingly (Warner-Lewis, 2002).

Regardless of their linguistic origin and place of residence within or outside of the region, women writers across the Caribbean are being read and analyzed as a constituency. From that perspective, Kempadoo, for instance, critiques the nation in the specific register of the sexual violence done to women's and children's bodies (Francis, 2004). Other writers, such as Patricia Powell, question the ways in which the postcolonial nation polices the sexual identities of its citizens.

Today, debates about what constitutes "good" and "bad" literature continue with the publication of Caribbean urban and historical romance novels and thrillers, as well as the recovery and re-publication of forgotten nineteenth-century novels. As metropolitan literati applaud the region's writers, younger writers chafe at the old-fashioned preoccupations of their predecessors. It is possible to see older writers and younger writers, such as novelist Garfield Ellis and spoken-word artists Staceyann Chin and Roger Bonair-Agard, performing together at such events as the annual Calabash Literary Festival in Jamaica, organized by novelist Colin Channer and playwright, poet, and critic Kwame Dawes.

If some commentators still worry about "watery, sour, or husky fruit," they do so in a context in which the meanings of *Caribbean*, *English-speaking*, and *literature* are heatedly and eagerly debated.

See also Bennett, Louise; Brathwaite, Edward Kamau; Brodber, Erna; Canadian Writers in English; Carew, Jan; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary);

Caribbean Theater, Anglophone; Clarke, Austin; Creole Languages of the Americas; Dub Poetry; Harris, Wilson; Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar); James, C. L. R.; Kincaid, Jamaica; Lamming, George; Lovelace, Earl; Mais, Roger; Marson, Una; Prince, Mary; Seacole, Mary; Sherlock, Philip; Slave Narratives of the Caribbean and Latin America; Walcott, Derek Alton; Williams, Francis; Wynter, Sylvia

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FAITH LOIS SMITH (2005)

Literature of the Netherlands Antilles

Papiamentu is the native language of the populations of Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba, while Dutch is the overall language for justice, administration, and education. This language division plays an important role. Papiamentu is an exploratory laboratory for linguistic research on Creole languages. Its oral literature is full of regional traditions, such as the Anancy stories, also found in other Caribbean countries and performed with music and dance. The artist and writer Ellis Juliana is especially relevant in this respect. He even writes haikus in Papiamentu, giving expression to the unlimited possibilities of its poetical potential. He also worked as a collector of the oral history heritage.

Literature in Curaçao began to be written in Spanish around 1900. Neither black experience nor Papiamentu culture were central to this literature. By the time that Cola Debrot published his short novel *Mijn zuster de negerin* (My Sister the Negro) in 1935 in Dutch, this prejudice had come under attack. Debrot claimed that the African-American population belonged to the same Dutch-speaking family. But only when literature in Papiamentu became a real issue did the relationship with the cultural background of slavery and Africa start to be addressed explicitly. Frank Martinus Arion wrote a classical novel on this theme, *Doubleplay: The History of an Amazing World Record* (1998). The book contains an important reference to 1795, when Tula and Carpata led an armed revolt against slavery. They had contacts with the French islands and the Papiamentu speakers in Coro, the coastal city of Venezuela, where a similar revolt was undertaken in that same year.

Latin America, however, is no role model for the black experience in the Netherlands Antilles. Pierre Lauffer makes it clear in *Patria* (1944), one of the first published poetry volumes in Papiamentu, that Curaçao was his homeland. In 1957 Frank Martinus Arion introduced *Négritude* into Dutch-Antillean literature. His epic poem *Stemmen uit Afrika* (1957) echoes black voices in the forest, through which white tourists are passing. Although Arion writes in Dutch, he has other work published in Papiamentu. He also cofounded the first primary school in Papiamentu, the Kolegio Erasmo, in 1987, with a strong program on African-American heritage. In addition, Arion is an outspoken defender of Papiamentu's Portuguese origins, thus documenting intimate connections with Lusophone Africa.

The coexistence of Papiamentu with Dutch literature became reality after May 30, 1969, the historical date of the radical workers' protests. They accused the authorities

of having discriminated against the cultural heritage of the islanders. Writers immediately took up this point. When writing in Dutch, like Arion, they emphasize the exquisite African-American details of the Papiamentu culture. And when writing in Papiamentu, authors display its rich variety for the creation of different images and word combinations. This is the subject in the novel *De langste maand* (1994) by Diana Lebacs. She views the island's culture through the eyes of a white Dutch camera team and elaborates the subsequent chain of misunderstandings.

Whereas Bonaire joins Curaçao in emphasizing the African-American heritage, Aruban authors are not particularly eager to consider this tradition. The relationship is more explicitly dealt with in St. Maarten, where the House of Nehesi regularly publishes works about black issues. The people of St. Maarten speak English, and this explains why the Nehesi editing house seeks to forge more connections with the English-speaking countries in the Caribbean than with their counterparts in the Leeward Islands. The Barbados-born Kamau Brathwaite and George Lamming are some of the authors in their publication program. The most outstanding writer and personality is the poet, journalist, and editor Lasana M. Sekou. He constantly deals with politics and migration and defines his own literary work as the search for liberation. Some of his publications are *Born Here* (1986), *Love Songs Make You Cry* (1989), and *Quimbé—Poetics of Sound* (1991).

See also Brathwaite, Edward Kamau; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Creole Languages of the Americas; Lamming, George; Literature of Suriname

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INEKE PHAF-RHEINBERGER (2005)

Literature of the United States

African-American literature, like African-American culture in general, was born out of the harsh realities of black life in North America. Although the African presence in the Americas preceded both slavery and its predecessor, indentured service (which began for blacks in North America with the landing of nineteen Africans from a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619), blacks lived virtually from the start under severe pressures that tended to erode their African identity, although many important features of African culture and personality unquestionably persisted. These pressures also prevented the easy acquisition by blacks of the more complex aspects of European civilization. Except in rare circumstances, literacy among blacks was discouraged or forbidden on pain of punishment by the law courts, by slave owners, or by vigilante force. On the other hand, because the determination of blacks to become free and to acquire power (essentially one and the same idea) is as old as their presence in North America, the ability to read and write became quickly established as essential to the political and economic future of the group.

The earliest black writing reveals a combination of factors and influences that set African-American literature on its way. The desire for freedom and power was shaped at the start by religious rather than secular rhetoric, so that the Bible was the most important text in founding the new literature. Gradually, religious arguments and images gave way in the nineteenth century to political and social protest that eschewed appeals to scriptural authority. As blacks, increasingly estranged from their African cultural identities, sought to understand and represent themselves in the New World, they drew more and more on the wide range of European literatures to find the models and characters they would adapt to tell their own stories. Rich forms of culture developed in folktales and other works of the imagination, as well as in music, dance, and the other arts. A major aspect of African-American literature, broadly defined, is the persisting influence of oral traditions rooted in the African cultural heritage; these traditions have probably affected virtually all significant artistic meditations by African Americans on their social and political realities and aspirations.

The first significant black American writing emerged toward the end of the eighteenth century with the poet Phillis Wheatley. Born in Africa but reared as a slave in Boston, Wheatley was anomalous in that she was encouraged by her white owners not only to read and write but also to compose literature. Like the other black poet of

note writing about the same time, Jupiter Hammon, Wheatley was strongly influenced by Methodism. Unlike Hammon, however, she responded to secular themes as, for example, in celebrating George Washington and the American struggle for independence. Her volume *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London, 1773) was the first book published by a black American and only the second volume of poetry published by any American woman.

One consequence of the religious emphasis in early black American writing was a tendency to deny, in the face of God's omnipotence, the authenticity of the individual self and the importance of earthly freedom and economic power. In autobiography, the first literary assertion of the emerging African-American identity came in the eighteenth century from a writer ultimately committed to religion—Olaudah Equiano, born in Africa and sold into slavery in the West Indies, North America, and Great Britain. His volume *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (London, 1789) became the model for what would emerge as the most important single kind of African-American writing: the slave narrative.

Also in the eighteenth century appeared the first of another significant strain—the essay devoted primarily to the exposition of the wrongs visited on blacks in the New World and to the demand for an end to slavery and racial discrimination. In 1791, the gifted astronomer and almanac maker Benjamin Banneker addressed an elegant letter of protest to Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state and later president of the United States. Banneker appealed to Jefferson, as a man of genius who had opposed slavery (even as he continued to own slaves) and as a signer of the Declaration of Independence, to acknowledge the claims of blacks to equal status with white Americans.

Although the United States formally abolished the importation of slaves in 1807, the first half of the nineteenth century paradoxically saw the deepening of the hold of slavery on American life, primarily because the invention of the cotton gin revived slavery as an economic force in the South. In response, African-American writers increasingly made the quest for social justice their principal theme. In 1829, George Moses Horton of North Carolina, who enjoyed unusual freedom for a slave, became the first black American to protest against slavery in verse when he published his volume *The Hope of Liberty*. Far more significant, however, was David Walker's Appeal, in *Four Articles* (1829), in which he aggressively expounded arguments against slavery and racism and attacked white claims to civilization even as that civilization upheld slavery. Walker's writing may have encouraged the most famous of all slave insurrections, led by Nat Turner in Virginia the following year, when some sixty whites were killed.

The founding by the white radical William Lloyd Garrison of the antislavery newspaper the *Liberator* in 1831 helped to galvanize abolitionism as a force among both whites and blacks. In particular, abolitionism stimulated the growth in popularity of slave narratives. A major early example was *A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper* (1837), but the most powerful and effective was undoubtedly *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), which enjoyed international success and made Frederick Douglass a leader in the antislavery crusade. One New England observer, Ephraim Peabody, hailed the narratives as representing a "new department" in literature; another, Theodore Parker, declared that they were the only native American form of writing and that "all the original romance of Americans is in them, not in the white man's novel." Slave narratives were certainly a major source of material and inspiration for the white writer Harriet Beecher Stowe when she published, in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, her epochal novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). This novel, which offered the most expansive treatment of black character and culture seen to that point in American literature, would itself have a profound effect on black writing.

One autobiography largely ignored in its time, but later hailed as a major work, was Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), published under the pseudonym Linda Brent. In its concern for the fate of black women during and after slavery, and its emphasis on personal relationships rather than on the acquisition of power, *Incidents in the Life* anticipated many of the concerns that would distinguish the subsequent writing of African-American women. The publication of a previously undiscovered manuscript by Henry Louis Gates in 2002, *The Bondwoman's Narrative, by Hannah Crafts, a Fugitive Slave,* changed the terrain of early African-American literature. Characterized by Gates as a novel rather than a slave narrative, this work is now understood to be the first novel written by an African-American woman. Like Jacobs's narrative, *The Bondswoman's Narrative* relies upon the conventions of sentimentality and the themes of religion so prevalent in nineteenth-century writing.

Other important writers of the antebellum period who sounded notes of protest against social injustice were escaped slaves such as William Wells Brown and Henry Highland Garnet, as well as the freeborn John Brown Russwurm (from Jamaica, West Indies) and Martin R. Delany. Of these writers, the most versatile was certainly Brown, who published as a poet, fugitive slave narrator,

essayist, travel writer, dramatist, historian, and novelist. Responding to the implicit challenge of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Brown published the first novel by an African American, *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (London, 1853), in which he drew on the rumor of a long-standing affair between Thomas Jefferson and a slave. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Clotel* helped to establish the main features of the black novel in the nineteenth century. These include an emphasis on the question of social justice for African Americans, on light-skinned heroes and heroines, and on plots marked by melodrama and sentimentality rather than realism.

Almost as versatile as Brown, and in some respects the representative African-American writer of the second half of the nineteenth century, was the social reformer Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. As with the vast majority of black writers before and after the Civil War and the heyday of the abolitionist movement, Harper maintained her career by printing and distributing her own texts, almost entirely without the opportunities and rewards that came from white publishers. Her major source of her fame was her poetry, although she depended technically on the lead of traditional American poets of the age, such as Longfellow and Whittier. Antislavery sentiment formed the core of her first book, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (1854), which went through almost two dozen editions in twenty years. Harper also published the first short story by an African American, "The Two Offers," in 1859; the biblical narrative *Moses, a Story of the Nile* (1869); and a novel about an octoroon heroine, *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted* (1892). Although Harper's limitations as a novelist are clear, *Iola Leroy* raises significant questions about the place of women in African-American culture.

While opposition to slavery was an enormous stimulus to African-American writing of the time, the Civil War itself went largely unreflected in black poetry, fiction, or drama. William Wells Brown published *The Negro in the American Rebellion: His Heroism and His Fidelity* (1867), and a generation later the historian George Washington Williams offered his *History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion* (1888). In some respects, however, the most powerful document to emerge from that watershed event in African-American history is the *Journal of Charlotte Forten* (1854–1892) (published in abridged form in 1953) by Charlotte Forten Grimké. The journal records events in Forten's life from her school days in Salem, Massachusetts (she was born in Philadelphia, the granddaughter of a wealthy black sail-maker active in the abolitionist cause), through her two years as a volunteer teacher in the Sea Islands off South Carolina during the war. Also illuminating is the autobiography of Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes; or Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House* (1868), which culminates in an account of her service as a seamstress to Mary Todd Lincoln, when Keckley strove to use her insider's position to assist other blacks and the war effort in general.

Although it is possible to see black literature of the 1850s as constituting a flowering or even a renaissance of writing, the two decades after the Civil War saw no rich development of the field. Reconstruction was a period of promise but also of disillusionment for blacks. It was followed by a dramatic worsening in their social, economic, and political status, culminating in the U.S. Supreme Court decisions *Williams v. Mississippi* (1895) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). These and other decisions effectively nullified the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which gave black freedmen the right to vote. Soon, black Americans had also essentially lost the right to associate freely with whites in virtually the entire public sphere.

The rise of segregation and of vigilante repression after Reconstruction diminished, but did not destroy, black American literature. With the rise of black newspapers and journals (as exemplified at the turn of the century by *The Voice of the Negro* and *The Colored American*), formed in response to the barriers to integration, there was another upsurge in literary creativity. In 1884, the poet Albery A. Whitman published probably his finest work, *Rape of Florida,* a long narrative poem in Spenserian stanzas that showed off his considerable lyrical gift. In 1899, Sutton Griggs published *Imperium in Imperio,* the first of five privately printed novels that gave expression to Griggs's startlingly nationalistic ideas about the future of black America. Another important figure was Pauline Hopkins, who served as editor of *The Colored American.* However, the major new talents of the age were the fiction writer Charles W. Chesnutt and the poet and novelist Paul Laurence Dunbar.

Between 1887 and 1900, Chesnutt kept his racial identity a secret from his readers while he built his reputation as a gifted writer of poems, articles, and short stories in magazines (including the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly*) and newspapers that served mainly whites. Several of his short stories, including "The Goophered Grapevine," drew on the black folklore of the antebellum South, which Chesnutt treated with imagination and sympathy but also with a shrewd awareness of the harsh realities of slavery. In 1900 came the first of his three novels, *The House Behind the Cedars,* followed by *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) and *The Colonel's Dream* (1905). Folklore dominated his collection of stories *The Conjure Woman* (1899), but Chesnutt also boldly explored in realist fashion the ra-

cial tensions of his day, as in his use of the infamous Wilmington, North Carolina, riot of 1898 in *The Marrow of Tradition.*

Dunbar, on the other hand, published from the start as an African-American writer. Starting out with the collection *Majors and Minors* (1895), he achieved national fame as a poet—the first black American to do so—with his volume *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1896). This volume sported a glowing introduction by William Dean Howells, the distinguished white novelist, critic, and editor. In 1899 came another collection, *Lyrics from the Hearthside.* Drawing on the stereotypes of black life formed by the black minstrel tradition, as well as on the so-called plantation tradition, which sought to glorify the antebellum culture of the South, Dunbar was an acknowledged master of dialect verse. Such poems found a ready audience among whites and, perhaps more uneasily, among blacks. Unwittingly, Howells had pointed to the essential lack of authenticity of black dialect verse. He praised Dunbar for writing poetry that explored the range of African-American character, which Howells saw as being "between appetite and emotion, with certain lifts far beyond and above it." Eventually Dunbar regretted Howells's endorsement. In his brief poem "The Poet," he seemed to deplore the fact that for all his valiant attempts to compose dignified poems in standard English, the world had "turned to praise / A jingle in a broken tongue."

Nevertheless, dialect poems became a staple of black literature, especially in the hands of writers such as John Wesley Holloway and James D. Corrothers; Dunbar's verse, in both dialect and standard English, became enshrined within African-American culture as beloved recitation pieces. He also published four volumes of short stories and four novels, few of which are memorable. Genial collections of stories such as *Folks from Dixie* (1898) and *In Old Plantation Days* mainly gave comfort to those Americans who would remember the "good old days" of slavery. His novels, too, were rather weakly constructed—except for the last, *The Sport of the Gods* (1902). Here Dunbar, emphasizing black characters in his novels for the first time, helped to break new ground in black fiction by dwelling on the subject of urban blight in the North.

Dunbar was admired and imitated by many black poets of the age, but his misgivings about dialect verse came to be widely shared. One of his most gifted admirers, James Weldon Johnson, himself later an influential poet, anthologist, novelist, and autobiographer, credited a reading of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* around 1900 with alerting him to the limitations of dialect verse. However, by far the most influential publication for the future of African-American literature to appear in Dunbar's day was W. E. B. Du Bois's epochal *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). With essays on black history and culture, as well as a short story and a prose elegy on the death of his young son, Du Bois virtually revolutionized Afro-American self-portrayal in literature.

Du Bois directly challenged the most popular recent book by a black American, Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901). Washington's story tells of his rise from slavery to his acknowledged position as a powerful black American (he was the major consultant on black public opinion for most of the leading whites of his day). The autobiography comforted whites, especially white southerners, by urging blacks to concede the right to vote and to associate freely with whites. Criticizing Washington, *The Souls of Black Folk* offered a far more complex definition of black American history, culture, and character. In elegant prose, it fused a denunciation of slavery and racism with equally detailed descriptions of the heroism of blacks in facing the vicissitudes of American life. The most striking passage of Du Bois's book was probably his identification of an essential "double consciousness" in the African American—"an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

Along with his other books of history, sociology, biography, and fiction between 1897 and 1920, Du Bois's work as editor of *The Crisis* (founded in 1910), the official magazine of the newly formed NAACP, unquestionably helped to pave the way for the flowering of African-American writing in the 1920s. Influenced by *The Souls of Black Folk,* James Weldon Johnson explored the question of "double consciousness" in his novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912), which has been described as the first significantly psychological novel in African-American fiction. He also published an influential volume of verse, *Fifty Years and Other Poems* (1917, celebrating the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1913), and an even more significant anthology, *Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), which included dialect verse but consciously set new standards for younger writers. Another important anticipatory figure was the poet Fenton Johnson of Chicago, with his modernist compositions that deplored the pieties and hypocrisy of western civilization. The Jamaican-born Claude McKay, in a body of poetry highlighted by his *Spring in New Hampshire* (1920) and *Harlem Shadows* (1922), combined conventional lyricism with racial assertiveness. His best-known poem, the 1919 sonnet "If We Must Die," was widely read by blacks as a brave call to strike back at white brutality, especially at the bloody antiblack riots that year in Chicago and elsewhere.

Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923), an avant-garde pastiche of fiction, poetry, and drama, captivated the younger writers and intellectuals with its intensely lyrical dramatization of the psychology of blacks at a major turning point in their American history.

The Crisis, the *Messenger* (founded in 1917 by the socialists A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen), and *Opportunity* (founded in 1923 by Charles S. Johnson for the National Urban League) consciously sought to stimulate literature as an adjunct to a more aggressive political and cultural sense among blacks. Marcus Garvey's *Negro World,* with its "back-to-Africa" slogan, also added to the sense of excitement among black Americans at the coming of a new day, especially with the mass migration to the North from the segregated South. In some respects, the culmination of these efforts was Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925). A revised version of a special Harlem number of the national magazine *Survey Graphic* (March 1925), this collection of essays, verse, and fiction by a variety of writers announced the arrival of a new generation and a new spirit within black America.

Among writers born in the twentieth century, the poets Countee Cullen, starting with *Color* (1925), and Langston Hughes, with *The Weary Blues* (1926) and *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927), set new standards in verse. Cullen offered highly polished poems that combined his reverence for traditional forms (he was influenced by the English poets John Keats and A. E. Housman, in particular) with his deep resentment of racism. Less reverential about literary tradition, and guided by the American examples of Whitman and Carl Sandburg, Hughes experimented with fusions of traditional verse and blues and jazz forms native to black culture. Also during what is often called the Harlem Renaissance (although the literary movement was certainly felt elsewhere) came the work of poets such as Georgia Douglas Johnson, Anne Spencer, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Arna Bontemps, as well as Sterling A. Brown, who also rooted his poetry in the lives of the southern black folk and in the blues idiom. Several of these writers were reticent about race as a subject in verse, let alone forms influenced by blues and jazz. For the others, however, the new spirit was perhaps captured best by Hughes in his essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (*Nation,* 1926). Dismissing the reservations of both blacks and whites, Hughes declared that "we younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. . . .We know we are beautiful. And ugly too."

Later in the 1920s and in the early 1930s, fiction supplanted poetry as the most powerful genre among black writers. In 1924, Jessie Fauset, the literary editor of *The Crisis* and ultimately the most prolific black novelist of the period, published her first book, *There Is Confusion,* set in the refined, educated black middle class from which she had come. The same year also saw Walter White's *The Fire in Flint,* on the subject of lynching. In 1928, Claude McKay published *Home to Harlem,* which antagonized some older blacks by emphasizing what they saw as hedonism. Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929) sensitively treated the consciousness of African-American women teased and taxed by conflicts about color, class, and gender. Du Bois's *Dark Princess* (1928) sought to examine some of the global political implications of contemporary black culture. Wallace Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry* (1929) probed color consciousness within the black world, and in *Infants of the Spring* (1932) he satirized aspects of the new movement. Langston Hughes's *Not without Laughter* (1930) told of a young black boy growing up with his grandmother and her daughters in the Midwest. Other noteworthy novels include Bontemps's *God Sends Sunday* (1931), George Schuyler's *Black No More* (1931), and Cullen's *One Way to Heaven* (1932).

A major feature of the New York flowering had been the close dependence of the younger black writers on personal relationships with whites—not only editors but wealthy patrons. If the role of white patronage in the movement would remain a much-debated matter, the financial collapse of Wall Street in 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression certainly helped to end the renaissance. Many black writers, like their white counterparts, began to find radical socialism and the Communist Party appealing. Setting aside the blues, Langston Hughes, who lived in the Soviet Union for a year (1932–1933), wrote a series of propaganda poems for the radical cause; and even Countee Cullen found the Communist Party attractive.

On the other hand, probably the greatest single work of this decade—Zora Neale Hurston's second novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937)—went against the grain of radical socialism or the overt assertion of racial pride. A lover of black folk culture as well as a trained ethnographer, Hurston set in the rural South her highly poetic story of a black woman's search for an independent sense of identity and self-fulfillment; the narrative abounds in examples of folk sayings, humor, and wisdom. Ignored in its day, her novel would eventually be hailed as a masterpiece.

In poetry, both Margaret Walker's *For My People* (1942) and Melvin B. Tolson's *Rendezvous with America* (1944) reflected the radical populism and socialist influence of the 1930s, when both began to write seriously. Again, however, the outstanding work came in fiction. In Chicago, Richard Wright, not long from Mississippi and

Tennessee, had started out as a propaganda poet for the Communist Party, then turned to fiction. In 1938, his first collection of short stories, *Uncle Tom's Children,* set in the South, showed great promise that was realized two years later, when *Native Son* appeared. A Book-of-the-Month Club main selection, the novel became a national bestseller (the first by an African-American writer). *Native Son* was unprecedented in American literature. Its bleak picture of black life in an urban setting—Chicago—and the brutishness and violence of its central character, Bigger Thomas, who kills two young women, drew on extreme realism and naturalism to express Wright's sense of a crisis in American—and African-American—culture. His brilliant autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), also a bestseller, set his individual determination to be an artist against the backdrop of almost unrelieved hostility from both whites and blacks in the South; it confirmed Wright's status as the most renowned black American writer.

In 1947, Wright emigrated with his family to Paris, where he lived until his death in 1960. *Native Son,* however, with its emphasis on black fear, rage, and violence in an urban, northern setting, left its mark on the next generation of African-American novelists. William Attaway's *Blood on the Forge* (1941), Chester Himes's *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (1945), Anne Petry's *The Street* (1946), and Willard Motley's *Knock on Any Door* (1947) all showed Wright's influence. On the other hand, the most successful (at least in terms of book sales) of African-American writers, the novelist Frank Yerby, also started his career in the 1940s, but on a completely different footing. Eschewing black culture and the idea of racial protest as sources of inspiration, Yerby established his reputation mainly with romances of the South, starting with his enormously popular *The Foxes of Harrow* (1946).

In a sense, Wright and his admirers, on the one hand, and Yerby, on the other, were enacting the latest stage of the essential political and aesthetic debate among African-American intellectuals, which pitted the merits of racial awareness and protest against the allure of integration within white America as the major goal. Yerby represented one extreme response to this question; the career of the gifted poet Gwendolyn Brooks illustrated a more moderate position. She won the Pulitzer Prize in 1950 for her volume *Annie Allen* (1949), which appeared to confirm not only the unprecedented degree of acceptability of black literature by whites but also Brooks's wisdom and insight in mixing, as she did, "high" or learned modernist technique with a commitment to African-American subject matter. Her first volume, *A Street in Bronzeville* (1945), in which she drew on the same Chicago setting on which *Native Son* is based, exemplifies this strategy.

In fiction, an even more acclaimed fusion of modernism and black material came with Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man* (1952), which won the prestigious National Book Award for fiction. Ellison had attended Tuskegee Institute for two years. There he had been drawn to modernist literature, especially as epitomized by T. S. Eliot's epochal poem *The Waste Land* and James Joyce's *Ulysses.* In New York, he had become friends with Richard Wright. In the following years, Ellison schooled himself in virtually all aspects of modernist literary criticism and technique, including advanced uses of folk material, and deepened his understanding of his relationship to the mainstream American literary tradition going back to Emerson, Melville, and Whitman. In *Invisible Man,* his unnamed hero struggles with fundamental questions of identity as a naive young black man making his way in the American world. At times baffled and confused, hurt and alienated, Ellison's hero nevertheless is sustained by a recognizably American vivaciousness and optimism. This last quality perhaps accounted in part for the success of the book among many white critics, as well as with many blacks, when it appeared.

Another pivotal figure in the late 1940s and the early 1950s was James Baldwin, who more clearly than Brooks or Ellison defined himself in opposition to earlier writers, and in particular to the master figure of Wright. Deploring what he saw as the commitment of black writing to forms of protest, Baldwin attacked *Native Son* in the celebrated essay "Everybody's Protest Novel" (*Partisan Review,* 1949), which is ostensibly concerned mainly with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* According to Baldwin, both novels dehumanize their black characters; art must rise, he argued, above questions of race and politics if it is to be successful. In his own first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), set almost entirely within a black American community, a troubled adolescent struggles against a repressive background of storefront Pentecostal religion to assert himself in the face of his brutal, insensitive father and passive, victimized mother. Baldwin's second novel, *Giovanni's Room* (1956), on the individual's search for identity in the face of homophobia, included no black characters at all.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* appeared to signal the end of segregation across the United States. Instead, it set in motion sharpening conflicts over the standing questions concerning race, identity, and art as the civil rights movement carried the struggle to the strongholds of segregation in the South. These conflicts in the 1950s and the early 1960s (in the era before the distinctive rise of Black Power as a philosophy, with its attendant black arts movement) certainly

stimulated the growth of African-American literature. Some older black writers, such as Hughes, Wright, Tolson, and Brooks, published effectively in this period. Hughes brought out five collections of stories based on his popular character "Simple," drawn from his columns in the weekly *Chicago Defender,* as well as several other books, including his second volume of autobiography, *I Wonder as I Wander* (1956). Ellison's collection of essays, *Shadow and Act* (1964), on the interplay between race and culture, consolidated his reputation as a leading intellectual. Baldwin became celebrated as an essayist with dazzling collections such as *Notes of a Native Son* (1956) and *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961). His novel *Another Country* (1962), with its exploration of the themes of miscegenation and bisexuality among blacks and whites, was a bestseller. In focusing primarily on whites, however, *Another Country* perhaps epitomized the integrationist impulse that was soon to pass from African-American writing.

In the theater, Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959) dramatized in timely fashion the conflicts of integration within a black family rising in the world. This play became the longest-running drama by an African American in the history of Broadway, as well as an acclaimed motion picture. When Hansberry won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award, she became the first black American and the youngest woman to do so. Other playwrights of the 1950s included the indefatigable Langston Hughes, who broke ground with gospel plays such as *Black Nativity* and *Jericho-Jim Crow,* as well as younger writers such as Alice Childress (*Mojo, a Black Love Story,* 1971), William Branch (*In Splendid Error,* 1953), Loften Mitchell (*A Land beyond the River,* 1957), and the actor-dramatist Ossie Davis, whose *Purlie Victorious* (1961) was a solid commercial success.

Although the civil rights struggle was being waged mainly in the South, a major disquieting voice boldly challenging racism in the United States was that of Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X,* cowritten with Alex Haley and published in the year of Malcolm's assassination (1965), was hailed almost at once as a classic work that combined spiritual autobiography with racial and political polemic. The work tells of Malcolm's rise from a life of crime and sin to deliverance through his conversion to the Nation of Islam, then his repudiation of that sect in favor of a more inclusive vision of world and racial unity. Malcolm's work appeared to stimulate a series of highly significant autobiographies that demonstrated once again the centrality of this genre to black culture. Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land* (1965) is an often harrowing account of its author's determination to climb from a life of juvenile delinquency in Harlem. Anne Moody's autobiography, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1969), chronicles her troubled evolution from a small-town southern girlhood into a life as a militant worker in the tumultuous civil rights movement; it illuminates both her individual growth and some of the weaknesses of the movement as it affected many idealistic young blacks. Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970) is a lyrical but also realistic autobiography of a woman whose indomitable human spirit triumphs over adversity, including her rape as a child.

Although Malcolm X's *Autobiography* appeared finally to repudiate racial separation, it had a major impact on the separatist ideal that informed the next major stage in the evolution of African-American culture. In 1965, in a break with the integrationist ideal of all the major civil rights organizations, younger black leaders began to rally around the cry of Black Power. In this move, they were supported brilliantly by certain writers and artists. In 1964, LeRoi Jones, soon to be known as Amiri Baraka, had staged *Dutchman* and *The Slave,* two plays that anticipated this turnabout. A graduate of Howard University, Jones had begun his career as a bohemian poet in Greenwich Village, where he had edited the magazine *Yugen* and helped to edit *The Floating Bear* and *Kulchur*. All of these journals featured the work of avant-garde poets, almost all of them white. Exploring the sensibility of a bohemian poet, his first volume of verse, *Preface to a Twenty-Volume Suicide Note* (1961), touched only lightly on the theme of race. *Dutchman* and *The Slave,* however, laid bare Jones's deepening hatred of white culture and of African-American artists and intellectuals who resisted the evidence of white villainy. He soon left Greenwich Village for Harlem, where he founded the Black Arts Repertory Theatre School, which barred whites. Jones transformed himself into an ultraradical black artist, an extreme cultural nationalist whose art would be determined almost entirely by the conflicts of race and by the connection between blacks and Africa.

Vividly expounded by Baraka and by other theorists (several of them poets) such as Ron Karenga and Larry Neal, radical cultural nationalism became the dominant aesthetic among younger blacks. Baraka's collection of new poems, *Black Magic* (1969), defined the artistic temper of the movement. These and other poems of the age voiced their radical opinions in blunt, often profane and even obscene language inspired by an easy familiarity with black street idioms and jazz rhythms, conveyed through typographic and other stylistic innovations. A spurning of all persons and things white and a romantic questing for kinship with Africa—the proclaimed fountainhead of all genuine spirituality—characterized the writing of these

cultural nationalists. Addison Gayle Jr.'s *The Black Aesthetic* (1971), an edited collection of essays on literature and the other arts by black writers, gave another name and another degree of focus to the movement, even though several of the essays did not readily endorse the new radical nationalist position. Undoubtedly the most respected journal sympathetic to the new movement, imaginatively edited by Hoyt Fuller, was the monthly *Black World* (formerly called *Negro Digest,* and published by the parent company of *Ebony* magazine).

Baraka's attempt to form a theater committed to the politically purposeful expression of African-American values encouraged black playwrights to be bolder than ever. However, the existence Off-Broadway of the Negro Ensemble Company, led by Douglas Turner Ward, with a vision often in conflict with Baraka's, ensured variety among the writers. The result was probably the most prolific period in the history of African-American theater. Baldwin's *Blues for Mister Charlie* (1964) and *The Amen Corner* (staged on Broadway in 1965) reflected the new militancy and cynicism of black artists as they viewed the American landscape. Hansberry's *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window* (first staged in 1964) explored the minds and reactions of white liberals in contemporary New York. Adrienne Kennedy's *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1964-1969) revealed her interest in expressionism and violence as she pursued questions of identity and personality. Charles Gordone's realist *No Place to Be Somebody* (1969) won a Pulitzer Prize for drama, the first by a black American. Other playwrights included Ted Shine, Douglas Turner Ward, Ed Bullins, Philip Hayes Dean, Ron Milner, and Richard Wesley. Lonne Elder III wrote the acclaimed *Ceremonies in Dark Old Men* (1969), and Charles Fuller later enjoyed a commercial hit with *A Soldier's Play* (1981) about blacks in the military. In 1975, Ntozake Shange's brilliant staging of her "choreopoem" *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf* captivated audiences as it anticipated a theme of rising importance, the feminist revaluation by women of their role in American and African-American culture.

In spite of successes on stage and in fiction, poetry became the most popular genre of the new black writers of the late 1960s. One encouraging development was the rise of small black-owned publishing houses, especially Dudley Randall's Broadside Press and Naomi Long Madgett's Lotus Press, which brought out the work of several poets in cheap editions that reached a wide audience among blacks. In this way, Sonia Sanchez, Nikki Giovanni, Don L. Lee (later known as Haki Madhubuti), Mari Evans, Lucille Clifton, Jayne Cortez, Etheridge Knight, Conrad Kent Rivers, Samuel Allen, June Jordan, Carolyn Rodgers, Ted Joans, Audre Lorde, and other writers acquired relatively large followings. Indeed, the relationship of poets to the black population in general had virtually no counterpart in the white world, where poetry had long passed almost entirely into the hands of academics. Among black poets less committed to populist and nationalist expression, the most outstanding were probably Jay Wright and Robert Hayden. Hayden's first volume had appeared in 1940; his *Selected Poems* (1966) showed his commitment to an allusive poetry of reflection and painstaking art, even as he probed subjects as disparate as the African slave trade, the Holocaust, and the landscapes of Mexico. Somewhere between the populist poets and the gravely meditative Hayden was Michael S. Harper, in whose several books of verse, such as *Dear John, Dear Coltrane* (1970) and *Nightmare Becomes Responsibility* (1975), one finds a lively interest in contemporary black culture, including jazz, as well as a deeply humane cosmopolitanism in the face of personal tragedy and the brutalities of racism.

With the exception of the work of a few poets, however, fiction by black writers exhibited a more sophisticated impulse than did poetry. Novelists such as Ishmael Reed and William Melvin Kelley broke relatively new ground in black fiction with work that often satirized whites and their culture, aspirations, and pretensions. Reed's *Yellow Back Radio Broke-Down* (1969) and *Mumbo Jumbo* (1972) are rich in diverse forms of parody, as are Kelley's *dem* (1967) and *Dunfords Travels Everywheres* (1970). Novelists such as William Demby, Jane Phillips, Charlene H. Polite, and Clarence Major also represented the commitment to narrative experimentalism that coexisted, sometimes uneasily, with the realist tradition in black American literature. More traditional in technique but equally rooted in an affection for black American culture is the fiction of Ernest Gaines, notably *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971).

John A. Williams, with ten novels (as well as other books) published so far, was the most prolific black novelist of the era. Emphasizing the travails of blacks in white America but often with reference to international conspiracy, espionage, and genocide, his books include *The Man Who Cried I Am* (1967), *Sons of Darkness, Sons of Light* (1969), and *!Click Song* (1982). Another major figure, but one with different concerns, was Paule Marshall, whose publishing career spanned more than three decades. Born in Brooklyn but keenly aware of her Caribbean ancestry, she has explored her experience between these worlds in *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959), *The Chosen Place, the Timeless People* (1969), and *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983). The poet Margaret Walker's historical novel *Jubilee* (1966) was probably the single most popular work of

fiction published by a black woman in the 1960s. Other fiction writers of the age include John Oliver Killens, Al Young, and Cecil Brown. Gayl Jones's novel *Corregidora* (1975) was praised for its lyrical examination of sexual fear and rage, and Toni Cade Bambara's collection of stories *Gorilla, My Love* (1972) richly reflected the wide range of personalities and styles within black America. Writers who established themselves as urban realists included Nathan Heard, Robert D. Pharr, Louise Meriwether, and George Cain.

By the late 1970s, the high point of the Black Power, black arts, and black aesthetic movements had clearly passed. However, all had left an indelible mark on the consciousness of the African-American writer. Virtually no significant black writer in any major form now defined him- or herself without explicit, extensive reference in some form to race and the history of race relations in the United States. On the other hand, gender began to rival race as a rallying point for an increasing number of women writers, most of whom addressed their concern for the black woman as a figure doubly imperiled on the American scene. Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and, to a lesser extent, Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* became recognized as fountainhead texts for black women, who were finally seen as having their own distinct line within the greater tradition of American writing.

The most influential black feminist fiction writer of this period was Alice Walker, who gained critical attention with her poetry and with her novels *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* (1970) and *Meridian* (1976). However, *The Color Purple* (1981), with its exploration of the role of incest, male brutality against women, black "womanist" feeling (Walker's chosen term, in contrast to "feminist"), and lesbianism as a liberating force, against a backdrop covering both the United States and Africa, became an international success. The novel, which won Walker the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, appealed to black and white women alike, as well as to many men, although its critical portraiture of black men led some to see it as divisive. Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), the interrelated stories of seven black women living in a decaying urban housing project, was also hailed as a striking work of fiction; her *Linden Hills* (1985) and *Mama Day* (1988) brought her further recognition. Audre Lorde also contributed to black feminist literature, and expanded her considerable reputation as a poet with her autobiography, or "biomythography," *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982), which dealt frankly with her commitment to lesbianism as well as to black culture. With poetry, literary criticism, and her widely admired historical novel *Dessa Rose* (1986), Sherley Anne Williams established herself as a versatile literary artist. Earlier fiction writers, such as Toni Cade Bambara and Paule Marshall, also published with distinction in a new climate of interest in women's writing. Bambara's *The Salt Eaters* (1980) and *Marshall's Daughters* (1991) found receptive audiences.

The most critically acclaimed black American writer of the 1980s, however, was Toni Morrison. Without being drawn personally into the increasingly acrimonious debate over feminism, she nevertheless produced perhaps the most accomplished body of fiction yet produced by an African-American woman. Starting with *The Bluest Eye* (1970), then with *Sula* (1973), *Song of Solomon* (1977), *Tar Baby* (1981), and—garnering enormous praise—*Beloved* (1987), Morrison's works consistently find their emotional and artistic center in the consciousness of black women. *Beloved,* based on an incident in the nineteenth century in which a black mother killed her child rather than allow her to grow up as a slave, won Morrison the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1988. Her sixth novel, *Jazz,* appeared in 1992. In 1993 Morrison became the first black woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

In some respects, the existence of a chasm between black female and male novelists was more illusion than reality. Certainly they were all participants in a maturing of the African-American tradition in fiction, marked by versatility and range, in the 1980s. In science fiction, for example, Samuel R. Delany, Octavia Butler, and Steven Barnes produced notable work, as did Virginia Hamilton in the area of children's literature. David Bradley in the vivid historical novel *The Chaneysville Incident* (1981), and John Edgar Wideman in a succession of novels and stories set in the black Homewood section of Pittsburgh where he grew up, rivaled the women novelists in critical acclaim. Charles Johnson's novels *Oxherding Tale* (1982) and *Middle Passage* (1990; winner of the National Book Award) exuberantly challenged the more restrictive forms of cultural nationalism. Without didacticism, and with comic brilliance, Johnson's work reflects his abiding interests in Hindu and Buddhist religious and philosophical forms as well as in the full American literary tradition, including the slave narrative and the works of mid-nineteenth-century American writers.

The shift away from fundamental black cultural nationalism to more complex forms of expression was strongly reflected in the waning popularity of poetry. Most of the black-owned presses either went out of business or were forced by a worsening economic climate to cut back severely on their lists. The work of the most acclaimed new poet of the 1980s, Rita Dove, showed virtually no debt to the cultural-nationalist poets of the previous generation.

While Dove's verse indicated her interest in and even commitment to the exploration of aspects of black culture, it also indicated a conscious desire to explore more cosmopolitan themes; from the start, her art acknowledged formalist standards and her sense of kinship with the broad tradition of American and European poetry. In 1987, she won the Pulitzer Prize for poetry (the first African American to do so since Gwendolyn Brooks in 1950) with *Thomas and Beulah,* a volume that drew much of its inspiration from her family history in Ohio. She was named U.S. poet laureate in 1993. This shift from black cultural nationalism was also evident in some of the most important works such as Colson Whitehead's novel *The Intuitionist* (1999). It is often compared in style and theme to Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man.* Undoubtedly indebted to the gains made by the prominence of black feminist writers like Morrison and Walker, Whitehead's novel features a female protagonist whose experiences as an elevator inspector force her to confront the realities of racism, sexism, and classism. Edward P. Jones's novel *The Known World,* which won the Pulitzer Prize in 2004, also defies the cultural binarism of nationalism by demonstrating the inextricable connections between black and white people during slavery.

Sealing the wide prestige enjoyed by African-American writers late in the twentieth century, a major playwright appeared in the 1980s to match the recognition gained by writers such as Morrison and Walker. August Wilson, with *Fences* (1986), *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* (1988), *The Piano Lesson* (Pulitzer Prize, 1990), and *Two Trains Running* (1992), was hailed for the power and richness of his dramas of black life. George C. Wolfe, especially with *The Colored Museum and Jelly's Last Jam* (1992), also enjoyed significant critical success as a dramatist. Suzan-Lori Parks emerged in the 1990s as a major voice in theater with the staging of her plays *The America Play* and *Venus*. Her 2002 play *Topdog/Underdog,* about the difficulties of being African American and about family life, won her the 2002 Pulitzer Prize in drama.

By the last decade of the twentieth century, the study of African-American literature had become established across the United States as an important part of the curriculum in English departments and programs of African-American studies. This place had been created in part by the merit of the literature, but more clearly in response to demands by black students starting in the 1960s. Still later, the prestige of black literature was reinforced in the academic community through widespread acceptance of the idea that race, class, and gender played a far greater role in the production of culture than had been acknowledged. The academic study and criticism of African-American writing also flourished. In addition to the work of anthologists, who had helped to popularize black writers since the 1920s, certain essays and books had helped to chart the way for later critics. Notable among these had been the work of the poet-scholar Sterling Brown in the 1920s and 1930s, especially his groundbreaking analysis of the stereotypes of black character in American literature. More comprehensively, a white scholar, Vernon Loggins, had brought out a study of remarkable astuteness and sympathy, *The Negro Author: His Development in America to 1900* (1931).

In 1939, J. Saunders Redding, himself a novelist and autobiographer of note, published a landmark critical study, *To Make a Poet Black;* with Arthur P. Davis, he also edited *Cavalcade,* one of the more important of African-American anthologies. Later, Robert Bone's *The Negro Novel in America* (1958; revised edition, 1965) laid the foundation for the future study of African-American fiction. In the 1960s and 1970s academics such as Darwin Turner, Addison Gayle Jr., Houston A. Baker Jr., Mary Helen Washington, George Kent, Stephen Henderson, and Richard Barksdale led the reevaluation of black American literature in the context of the more radical nationalist movement. In biography, the French scholar Michel Fabre and Robert Hemenway contributed outstanding studies of Richard Wright and Zora Neale Hurston, respectively. Another French scholar, Jean Wagner, published the most ambitious study of black verse, *Black Poets of the United States* (1973). Still later, other academics such as Barbara Christian, Hortense Spillers, Frances Smith Foster, Donald Gibson, Thadious Davis, Trudier Harris, Robert B. Stepto, Robert G. O'Meally, Richard Yarborough, Deborah McDowell, Hazel V. Carby, William L. Andrews, Nellie Y. McKay, Gloria Hull, and Henry Louis Gates Jr. provided an often rich and imaginative counterpart in criticism and scholarship to the achievement of African-American creative writers of the past and present. Gates's *The Signifying Monkey* (1988), which explores the relationship between the African and African-American vernacular traditions and literature, became perhaps the most frequently cited text in African-American literary criticism. The turn toward poststructuralism in the work of many of the aforementioned scholars enabled the rise of cultural studies to predominate in important literary criticism of the 1990s and early 2000s. The work of Robert Reid-Pharr, Philip Brian Harper, Marlon B. Ross, Jennifer DeVere Brody, Wahneema Lubiano, and Sharon Holland represent examinations into black culture that rely upon complex theoretical paradigms to interpret African-American literature and culture. The analysis of black culture in the work of these critics increasingly considers not only questions of race, gender, and class but also of sexuality. In 1991,

Houston A. Baker Jr. became the first African American to serve as president of the Modern Language Association, the most important organization of scholars and critics of literature and language in the United States.

See also Angelou, Maya; Baldwin, James; Bambara, Toni Cade; Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Bontemps, Arna; Brooks, Gwendolyn; Chesnutt, Charles W.; Cullen, Countee; Dialect Poetry; Drama; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Ellison, Ralph; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Hurston, Zora Neale; Johnson, James Weldon; Locke, Alain Leroy; Morrison, Toni; Slave Narratives; Toomer, Jean; Walker, Alice; Wheatley, Phillis; Wright, Richard

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ARNOLD RAMPERSAD (1996)
STEFANIE DUNNING (2005)

Little Richard (Penniman, Richard)

December 25, 1935

Born to a devout Seventh-Day Adventist family, Richard Penniman, best known as Little Richard, began singing and playing piano in the church. He left home at thirteen to start a musical career. In 1951 he made some recordings with various jump-blues bands but with little success. Shortly thereafter, however, he began recording for Specialty Records, where he was to have six hits, beginning with "Tutti Frutti" (1954), that outlined the style that became rock and roll. In 1957 he left his music career behind and enrolled at Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama, following an "apocalyptic vision." He received a B.A. and became a minister in the Seventh-Day Adventist church. Inspired by the "British invasion," he returned to rock and roll in 1964, but he was unable to recapture his early success. During the 1970s he brought his flamboyant act to the Las Vegas showroom circuit, billing himself as the "bronze Liberace." Little Richard returned to the church in the early 1980s, but his influence on rock and roll was not forgotten. In 1986 he was among the first artists in-

ducted into the newly established Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, an honor that helped restore his celebrity status in the late 1980s. He has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and his hometown of Macon, Georgia, has named a boulevard in his honor. In 2003, Little Richard was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame. The following year, his album *Get Down with It: The Okeh Sessions* was released.

Little Richard's style—defined by his Specialty recordings—featured frenetic, shrieking vocals, suggestive lyrics, and boogie-woogie-style piano performed at a remarkably fast tempo. His flamboyant stage persona and extravagant costumes also became a significant part of his act.

See also Music in the United States

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DANIEL THOM (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

L. L. Cool J (Smith, James Todd)

January 14, 1968

Musician, actor, and writer L(adies) L(ove) Cool J(ames) is the largest selling rap musician to date, with more than twenty million albums sold worldwide. Born in St. Albans, Queens, New York, and raised by his grandparents, he began rapping at age nine. On his thirteenth birthday, he received DJ equipment as a gift from his grandfather. Cool J arrived on the music scene in 1985 with his first hit record, "I Can't Live Without My Radio." "Rock the Bells" soon followed, and in 1986, he achieved his first million-selling album, *Radio*.

In 1987 his second album, *Bigger and Deffer,* contained the first rap ballad, "I Need Love." *Walking with a Panther* (1989) met with negative critical response but still sold more than five hundred thousand copies. The follow-up, *Mama Said Knock You Out* (1990), won a Grammy Award for best rap solo performance, remaining on the *Billboard* charts for over a year and selling more than one million units. *14 Shots to the Dome* (1993) became another platinum album for the artist, and he won his second Grammy for best rap solo performance for his single, "Hey Lover."

L. L. Cool J released three more successful albums in the mid-1990s: *Mr. Smith,* 1995; *All World,* 1996; and *Phenomenon,* 1997. *Phenomenon* was followed by a three-year break from the recording studio while the rapper focused on his film acting career. During this time he appeared in the films *Halloween: H20* (1998), *Deep Blue Sea* (1999), *Any Given Sunday* (1999), *In Too Deep* (1999), and *Charlie's Angels* (2000). Returning to the studio while continuing to act, Cool J released the album *G.O.A.T. Featuring James T. Smith: The Greatest Hits of All Time* in 2000. *G.O.A.T.* quickly climbed to the top of the music charts. Cool J returned to the screen with the films *Kingdom Come* (2001), *Roller Ball* (2002), *Deliver Us from Eva* (2003), *S.W.A.T.* (2003), and *Mindhunters* (2004), among others.

Continuing to juggle his careers in music and in film, Cool J released the collection *10* in 2002. A single from this album, "Luv U Better," became one of his biggest hits. Cool J re-signed his contract with Def Jam in 2003, continuing his relationship of more than two decades with the groundbreaking label.

Cool J's accomplishments include fifteen New York Music Awards, ten Soul Train Awards, and a *Billboard* Music Award. In 1998, he published an autobiography, *I Make My Own Rules.*

See also Hip Hop; Music in the United States; Rap

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Alain Locke (1885–1954). Locke was considered a brilliant scholar whose activities provided depth and coherence to the study of black culture. His highly regarded anthology The New Negro, *a collection of poems, stories, essays, and pictures of African and African-American art, gave Locke the role of primary interpreter of the New Negro movement.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Locke, Alain Leroy

September 13, 1885
June 9, 1954

Best known for his literary promotion of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, philosopher Alain Locke was a leading spokesman for African-American humanist values during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Born into what he called the "smug gentility" and "frantic respectability" of Philadelphia's black middle class, Locke found himself propelled toward a "mandatory" professional career that led to his becoming the first African-American Rhodes scholar, a Howard University professor for over forty years, a self-confessed "philosophical midwife" to a generation of black artists and writers between the world wars, and the author of a multifaceted array of books, essays, and reviews.

Locke was descended from formally educated free black ancestors on both maternal and paternal sides. Mary and Pliny Locke provided their only child with an extraordinarily cultivated environment, partly to provide "compensatory satisfactions" for the permanently limiting effects imposed by a childhood bout with rheumatic fever. His mother's attraction to the ideas of Felix Adler brought about Locke's entry into one of the early Ethical Culture schools; his early study of the piano and violin complemented the brilliant scholarship that won him entry to Harvard College in 1904 and a magna cum laude citation and election to Phi Beta Kappa upon graduation three years later.

Locke's undergraduate years, during Harvard's "golden age of philosophy," culminated with his being selected a Rhodes scholar from Pennsylvania (the only African American so honored during his lifetime) and studying philosophy, Greek, and humane letters at Oxford and Berlin from 1907 to 1911. There Locke developed his lasting "modernist" interests in the creative and performing arts, and close relationships with African and West Indian students that gave him an international perspective on racial issues. Locke's singular distinction as a black Rhodes scholar kept a national focus on his progress when he returned to the United States in 1912 to begin his long professional career at Howard University. His novitiate there as a teacher of English and philosophy was coupled with an early dedication to fostering Howard's development as an "incubator of Negro intellectuals" and as a center for research on worldwide racial and cultural contacts and colonialism. He managed simultaneously to complete a philosophy dissertation in the field of axiology on "The Problem of Classification in Theory of Value," which brought him a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1918. In 1924 he spent a sabbatical year in Egypt collaborating with the French Oriental Archeological Society for the opening at Luxor of the tomb of Tutankhamen.

On his return in 1925, Locke encountered the cycle of student protests then convulsing African-American colleges and universities, including Hampton, Fisk, and Lincoln, as well as Howard. Subsequently dismissed from Howard because of his allegiances with the protestors, he took advantage of the three-year hiatus in his Howard career to assume a leadership role in the emerging Harlem Renaissance by first editing the March 1925 special "Harlem number" of *Survey Graphic* magazine. Its immediate success led him to expand it into book form later that year in the stunning anthology *The New Negro*, which—with its cornucopia of literature, the arts, and social commentary—gave coherent shape to the New Negro movement and gave Locke the role of a primary interpreter.

More than just an interpreter, mediator, or "liaison officer" of the New Negro movement, however, Locke became its leading theoretician and strategist. Over the fol-

lowing fifteen years, and from a staggering diversity of sources in traditional and contemporary philosophy, literature, art, religion, and social thought, he synthesized an optimistic, idealistic cultural credo, a "New Negro formulation" of racial values and imperatives that he insisted was neither a formula nor a program but that confronted the paradoxes of African-American culture, charting what he thought was a unifying strategy for achieving freedom in art and in American life.

Locke's formulation was rooted, like the complex and sometimes competing ideological stances of W. E. B. Du Bois, in the drive to apply the methods of philosophy to the problems of race. It fused Locke's increasingly sophisticated "cultural racialism" with the new cultural pluralism advocated by Jewish-American philosopher Horace Kallen (a colleague during Locke's Harvard and Oxford years) and by Anglo-American literary radicals such as Randolph Bourne and V. F. Calverton. Locke adapted Van Wyck Brooks's and H. L. Mencken's genteel critical revolt against Puritanism and Philistinism to analogous problems facing the emergent but precarious African-American elite; and he incorporated into his outlook the Whitmanesque folk ideology of the 1930s and 1940s "new regionalism." Finally, Locke's credo attempted to turn the primitivist fascination with the art and culture of Africa to aesthetic and political advantage by discovering in it a "useable past" or "ancestral legacy" that was both classical and modern, and by urging an African-American cultural mission "apropos of Africa" that would combine the strengths of both Garveyism and Du Bois's Pan-African congresses.

In the course of doing so, Alain Locke became a leading American collector and critic of African art, clarifying both its dramatic influence on modernist aesthetics in the West and its import as "perhaps the ultimate key for the interpretation of the African mind." In conjunction with the Harmon Foundation, he organized a series of African-American art exhibitions; in conjunction with Montgomery Gregory and Marie Moore-Forrest, he played a pioneering role in the developing national black theater movement by promoting the Howard University Players and by coediting with Gregory the 1927 watershed volume *Plays of Negro Life: A Source-Book of Native American Drama*. From the late 1920s to mid-century, Locke published annual *Opportunity* magazine reviews of scholarship and creative expression that constitute in microcosm an intellectual history of the New Negro era.

With the onset of the worldwide depression in 1929 and the end of the 1920s "vogue for things Negro," Locke viewed the New Negro movement to be shifting, in lockstep, from a "Renaissance" phase to a "Reformation." His commitment to adult-education programs led him to publish, for the Associates in Negro Folk Education, *The Negro and His Music* and *Negro Art: Past and Present* in 1936 and a lavish art-history volume, *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artists and the Negro Theme in Art*, in 1940. A return to formal work in philosophy found him producing a series of essays in the 1930s and 1940s on cultural pluralism. Moreover, he revived his early interest in the scientific study of global race relations by coediting with Bernhard Stern *When Peoples Meet: A Study in Race and Culture Contacts* (1942). During a year as an exchange professor in Haiti, Locke had begun a potential magnum opus on the cultural contributions of African Americans, which occupied the last decade of his life, when his preeminence as a scholar and the lessening of segregation in American higher education kept him in demand as a visiting professor and lecturer within the United States and abroad. The effects of his lifelong heart ailments led to Locke's death in 1954. His uncompleted opus, *The Negro in American Culture,* was completed and published posthumously by Margaret Just Butcher, daughter of a Howard colleague.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Harlem Renaissance; Howard University; New Negro

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JOHN S. WRIGHT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Logan, Rayford W.

January 7, 1897
November 4, 1982

The historian Rayford Whittingham Logan, the son of Arthur C. and Martha Logan, was born and raised in Washington, D.C. Although his family was poor, it had social status and connections owing to Arthur's position as butler to the Republican senator from Connecticut. Logan was educated at the prestigious but segregated M Street (later Dunbar) High School, whose faculty included Carter G. Woodson and Jessie Fauset, and whose alumni included Charles Houston, William Hastie, and Charles Drew; his secondary education was conscious preparation not only for college but also for race leadership. He attended Williams College (graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1917) and then joined the army, rose to lieutenant, and was injured in combat.

World War I was a turning point for Logan. Like most African Americans, he had expected that participation in the conflict would lead to full citizenship rights. But the extreme racism of army life angered him. After the armistice he demobilized in France, remaining there for five years. Because he avoided white American tourists, he experienced the freedom of a society that appeared to harbor little animus toward people of color. While an expatriate, he began a lifelong association with W. E. B. Du Bois and became a leading advocate of Pan-Africanism, helping to articulate a program for racial equality in the United States and the protection and development of Africans.

In 1924 Logan returned to the United States with a desire to pursue an academic career and merge it with civil rights activism. While working toward an M.A. at Williams (1927) and a Ph.D. from Harvard (1936), Logan taught at Virginia Union University (1925–1930), where he was the first to introduce courses on imperialism and black history, and at Atlanta University (1933–1938). Both were elite, historically black colleges. He also spent two years as Woodson's assistant at the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History). Along with Du Bois, Woodson was a seminal influence on Logan's scholarship. In the 1930s he worked closely with Du Bois on the *Encyclopedia of the Negro* project. In 1938 he moved to Howard University, where he remained until he retired in 1974. Logan developed a strong scholarly and political interest in Haiti and the European powers' administration of their African colonies. His dissertation on Haiti and the United States broke new scholarly ground on the issue of race and diplomacy. He witnessed firsthand the 1934 end of the American occupation of the island republic, and in 1941 the Haitian government awarded him the Order of Honor and Merit with the rank of commander for his scholarship and advocacy. In the same year his study *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776–1891* was published. His articles on colonial abuses in Africa and the African Diaspora appeared in the *Journal of Negro History,* the *Journal of Negro Education,* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

The thrust of Logan's scholarship and activism was to promote the dignity and equality of black people around the world and to expose the racial hypocrisy of American democracy. He organized voter registration drives in Richmond and Atlanta in the 1920s and 1930s, campaigned against the segregated military in the 1940s, and was a leader in A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement (participating in the final negotiations that led to Executive Order 8802, which prohibited discrimination in the Defense Department and established the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), a condition set by leaders of the movement to call off the march). In 1944 he edited *What the Negro Wants,* a collection of essays by fourteen prominent African Americans that helped to put squarely before a national, interracial audience the demand for a total end to segregation. He championed, in close association with Du Bois, the cause of African and Third World decolonization in the post-World War II era; between 1948 and 1950 he was the principal adviser on international affairs for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). His most renowned work, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877–1901* (1954), established an analytical framework that historians continue to find useful. Logan spent his last decade compiling and editing, with Michael R. Winston, the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (1982), an important reference work that was inspired by Du Bois's unfinished *Encyclopedia of the Negro*.

An intellectual of considerable talent, Logan also hoped to be a major civil rights figure. But in part because of his abrasive personality and aversion to accepting the organizational discipline of others, and in part because his views were at times more strident than those of the main-

stream advancement organizations, he could more often be found on the margins, in the role of the prophet who received little recognition. This conundrum allowed Logan the luxury of being an incisive critic but prevented him from consistently implementing his often farsighted plans and from accumulating the recognition he felt he deserved from both African Americans and white Americans. Nevertheless, he was awarded the Spingarn Medal by the NAACP in 1980. He died in Washington, D.C., in 1982.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Haitian Revolution; Howard University; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Pan-Africanism; Randolph, Asa Philip; Spingarn Medal; Woodson, Carter G.

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KENNETH ROBERT JANKEN (1996)

Longbridge-Bustamante, Gladys

March 8, 1912

Through her work for the betterment of the working class and of children, and through her association and partnership with one of Jamaica's leading politicians, Sir Alexander Bustamante, Lady Gladys Bustamante contributed a great deal to the building of independent Jamaica. She has been acclaimed as a woman of quiet strength and courage, of dedication and loyalty, qualities she has demonstrated in her faithful service to her employer and husband throughout his struggle for workers' rights and self-government, and in her persistence in the face of adversity.

Lady Bustamante was born Gladys Maud Longbridge in Ashton, Westmoreland, the child of James Longbridge and Rebecca Blackwood-Longbridge. Her grandparents raised her from an early age, as her mother had migrated to Cuba and her father worked as an overseer in the parish of St. Mary. She attended primary school in Ashton until she was fifteen, and later she attended the now defunct Tutorial Secondary and Commercial College in Kingston. She studied accounting, shorthand, typewriting, music, and Spanish. She was raised as a Moravian, but she later became a Roman Catholic.

Lady Bustamante began her working life in 1928 as a pupil teacher in her old school in Ashton, before going to Kingston to further her education there. She worked for a brief time in Montego Bay in 1934 before returning to Kingston, where she was temporarily employed at the Arlington House Hotel and Restaurant as a typist, clerk, and cashier. In 1936, at the age of twenty-four, she accepted a job in Bustamante's Loan and Securities Company. She served as Alexander Bustamante's secretary for twenty-seven years both in his business and in his later work in trade unionism and politics. She served in that capacity until he became the first prime minister of independent Jamaica in 1962, the same year that she became his wife (he was seventy-eight years old at the time).

It was in Montego Bay that Lady Bustamante became aware of the sharp class and race divide in Jamaica, and her work at the hotel had allowed her to overhear discussions of many of the leading players in the evolving movement toward self-government. This exposure informed her interest in changing the circumstances of the working class, but it was her engagement as Bustamante's secretary that catapulted her into nation building. Just a few years after she entered his employ, in 1938, the workers' riots in Jamaica pushed her employer into trade unionism and politics and placed her in the path of greatness. She was unsuccessful, however, in her one attempt to be elected to political office. While she did not serve in the nation's parliament, she was very much in the forefront of the birth of the nation, for she was actively involved in the initiating of the activities that would lead to independence. Following independence, she continued to use her position as the wife of the prime minister to great influence. For example, she was instrumental in the changing of the regulation that prevented women from working after marriage.

Lady Bustamante adopted her husband's interest in trade unionism and politics, making his life's work hers. She is reported to have challenged the police in defense of Bustamante during the 1938 uprising, and she was actually placed on the list for those to be sent to a detention camp. She was beside him throughout his fight with the Colonial Office for equity in the workplace, adult suffrage, and the achievement of nationhood. Her position not only allowed her to gain invaluable knowledge, but she was also able to help him in processing the information he received and in deciding on the best course of action. She refused to be an office-based secretary and accompanied him on his visits with workers and to meetings. She mingled with

crowds and received first-hand knowledge of the people's plight and of their responses to Bustamante's speeches. This must have stood him in good stead in his political life, and he often credited her with his success.

Her exposure to the world of the working class made her into a trade union advocate. This, and her frequent travels into rural Jamaica with Sir Alexander as he laid the foundations for the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), made her eminently suitable to serve as a trustee, and as treasurer, of the BITU. She also led the BITU while Bustamante, then her employer, was in detention. She also served in the upper echelons of the JLP (founded in 1943). She was a member of the executive committee and a trustee of the party's Old Age Pension Committee, before becoming a life member in 1977.

Lady Bustamante's awareness of the needs of the poor and destitute led her into social work. She has served as patron of the Bustamante Hospital for Children for several years. She has not only worked for the betterment of the families of port workers, she has sought to uplift the communities in the sugar belt and worked to improve the care of children of destitute parents. While she has no children of her own, she has acted as godmother for some fifty-three children. Her treats (parties) for children and the indigent during the holiday season are well known.

Lady Bustamante has received renown both as wife of a former prime minister and national hero of Jamaica and in her own right as humanitarian and social worker. Her work has been recognized both inside and outside of Jamaica. In 1979 she received the nation of Jamaica's fourth highest honor, the Order of Jamaica (OJ), only the second woman to do so. Her other honors include the Harmony in the Homes Movement Model Family Trophy for widows (1985), awarded to her because of her exemplary family life. She also received the Golden Orchid Award from the government of Venezuela. Appreciation has been shown by the Lion Club of Kingston (1968), Committee for Christian Education of New York and Jamaica, the New York Freedom League (1984), and Young Jamaica. In addition, a hybrid bougainvillea was named for her—the Lady Bustamante is strawberry red in color. In more recent years she has served as patron of the Women Trade Fair and Exhibition. She lives in her home, Belencita, in Irish Town in the St. Andrew Hills.

See also Bustamante, Alexander

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ALERIC J. JOSEPHS (2005)

Lorde, Audre

February 18, 1934
November 17, 1992

The poet, novelist, and teacher Audre Geraldine Lorde was born in Harlem to West Indian parents. She described herself as "a black lesbian feminist mother lover poet." The exploration of pain, rage, and love in personal and political realms pervades her writing. Perhaps because Lorde did not speak until she was nearly five years old and also suffered from impaired vision, her passions were equally divided between a love of words and imagery and a devotion to speaking the truth, no matter how painful. Her objective, she stated, was to empower and encourage toward speech and action those in society who are often silenced and disfranchised.

Lorde published her first poem while in high school, in *Seventeen* magazine. She studied for a year (1954) at the National University of Mexico, before returning to the United States to earn a bachelor of arts degree in literature and philosophy from Hunter College in 1959. She went on to receive a master's degree from the Columbia School of Library Science in 1960. During this time she married attorney Edward Ashley Rollins and had two children, Elizabeth and Jonathan. Lorde and Rollins divorced in 1970. Juggling her roles as black woman, lesbian, mother, and poet, she was actively involved in causes for social justice. Throughout this period she was a member of the Harlem Writers Guild.

An important juncture in Lorde's life occurred in 1968, when she published her first collection of poetry, *The First Cities,* and also received a National Endowment for the Arts Residency Grant, which took her to Tougaloo College in Mississippi. This appointment represented the beginning of Lorde's career as a full-time writer and teach-

er. Returning to New York, she continued to teach and publish. In 1973, her third book, *From a Land Where Other People Live,* was nominated for the National Book Award for Poetry. It was praised for its attention to racial oppression and injustice around the world. She spent ten years on the faculty of John Jay College of Criminal Justice and then became professor of English at her alma mater, Hunter College, in 1980. She wrote three more books of poetry before the appearance of *The Black Unicorn* (1978), for which she received the widest acclaim and recognition. It fuses themes of motherhood and feminism while placing African spiritual awakening and black pride at its center.

Lorde's devotion to honesty and outspokenness is evident in the works she produced in the 1980s. She published her first nonpoetry work, *The Cancer Journals* (1980), so she could share the experience of her cancer diagnosis, partial mastectomy, and apparent triumph over the disease with as wide an audience as possible. *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982) was enthusiastically received as her first prose fiction work. Self-described as a "biomythography," it is considered a lyrical and evocative autobiographical novel. She was a founding member of both Women of Color Press and Sisters in Support of Sisters in South Africa.

Sister Outsider (1984), a collection of speeches and essays spanning the years 1976 to 1984, details Lorde's evolution as a black feminist thinker and writer. In 1986, she returned to poetry with *Our Dead behind Us.* Another work, *Burst of Light* (1988), which won an American Book Award, chronicles the spread of Lorde's cancer to her liver, and presents a less hopeful vision of the future than *The Cancer Journals*. Lorde's poetry appeared regularly in magazines and journals and has been widely anthologized. In 1991 she became the poet laureate of New York State. She died in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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NICOLE R. KING (1996)
Updated bibliography

LOUIS, JOE

MAY 13, 1914
APRIL 12, 1981

Boxer Joe Louis Barrow was born to a sharecropping couple in Chambers County, Alabama, the seventh of eight children. Louis's father, Munroe Barrow, was placed in a mental institution when Louis was two, apparently unable to cope with the strain of the dirt-farming life. (It has been suggested by a few observers that Louis's mental and emotional problems in later life may have resulted from congenital causes rather than blows in the prize ring.) Louis's father died in Searcy State Hospital for the Colored Insane nearly twenty years later, never having learned that his son had become a famous athlete.

Lillie Barrow, Louis's mother, remarried a widower with a large family of his own named Pat Brooks, who, in 1920, moved the family to Mt. Sinai, Alabama. In 1926 Brooks migrated north to Detroit to work for the Ford Motor Company. The family, like many other African-American families of this period of the Great Migration, followed suit soon after, settling in Detroit's burgeoning black ghetto.

At the time of the move to Detroit, Louis was twelve years old. He was big for his age, but because of his inadequate education in the South and his lack of interest in and affinity for school, he was placed in a lower grade than his age would have dictated. Consequently, he continued to be an indifferent student and eventually went to work when his stepfather was laid off by Ford at the beginning of the depression.

Like many poor, unskilled, undereducated, ethnic urban boys of the period, Louis drifted into boxing largely as an opportunity to make money and to release his aggression in an organized, socially acceptable way. Although his stepfather was opposed to his entry into athletics, his mother supported and encouraged him.

Competing as a light heavyweight, Louis started his amateur career in 1932 but lost badly in his first fight and did not return to the ring until the following year. Following this brief hiatus, however, Louis quickly rose to prominence in boxing and African-American or "race" circles.

By 1933 he compiled an amateur record of fifty wins, forty-three by knockout, and only four losses. In 1934, shortly after winning the light heavyweight championship of the Amateur Athletic Union, Louis turned professional and moved up to the heavyweight division. His managers were two black numbers runners, John Roxborough and Julian Black. Louis's trainer was a white man, the former lightweight fighter Jack Blackburn.

Thanks to generous coverage by the black press, Louis was already a familiar figure in the black neighborhoods of northern cities by 1934. At a time when color bars prohibited blacks from competing with whites in every major professional sport other than boxing, Louis became a symbol of black aspirations in white America. Through the prime of his career, Louis's fights were major social events for African Americans, and spontaneous celebrations would erupt in urban ghettos after his victories.

At the start of his professional career, Louis faced a number of obstacles in trying to win the heavyweight title. First, under a "gentlemen's agreement," no black fighter had been permitted to fight for that title since Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion. Johnson lost the title in Havana, Cuba, to Jess Willard in 1915. Second, Louis had an entirely black support and management team, making it difficult for him to break into boxing's big market in New York City and to get a crack at the name fighters against whom he had to compete if he were to make a name for himself.

Louis's managers overcame the first problem by making sure that Louis did not in any way act like or remind his white audience or white sportswriters of Johnson, who scandalized white public opinion with his marriages to white women and other breaches of prevailing racial mores. Louis was not permitted to be seen in the company of white women, never gloated over his opponents, was quiet and respectful, and generally was made to project an image of cleanliness and high moral character. The second problem was solved when Mike Jacobs, a fight promoter in New York City, decided to take on Madison Square Garden's monopoly on boxing with his 20th Century Sporting Club and formed a partnership with Louis's managers to promote him with the intention of guiding him to the championship.

Louis, 6'1", with a fighting weight around two hundred pounds, soon amassed a glittering record. Starting in his first professional bout, a first-round knockout of Jack Kracken on July 4, 1934, to his winning the heavyweight title in an eighth-round knockout of Jim Braddock on June 22, 1937, Louis recorded thirty wins, twenty-five by knockout, and one loss. The most memorable of his fights during this period included the easy knockouts of former heavyweight champions Max Baer and Primo Carnera in 1935. Louis's one loss during this period was critically important in his career and in American cultural history. On June 19, 1936, the German Max Schmeling knocked out Louis, then a world-class challenger for the heavyweight crown, in twelve rounds, giving the highly touted black fighter his first severe beating as a professional. This loss greatly reduced Louis's standing with white sportswriters, who had previously built him up almost to the point of invincibility. (The writers had given him a string of alliterative nicknames, including the "Tan Tornado" and the "Dark Destroyer," but it was the "Brown Bomber" that stuck.) However, Louis's loss was also a watershed as it marked a slow change on the part of white sportswriters, who began to stop patronizing him and slowly grew to treat him more fully as a human being.

The loss also set up a rematch with Schmeling on June 22, 1938, after Louis had become champion by defeating Braddock the previous year. The second bout with Schmeling was to become one of the most important fights in American history. It was not Louis's first fight with political overtones. He had fought the Italian heavyweight Primo Carnera (beating him easily) as Italy was beginning its invasion of Ethiopia, and both fighters became emblems of their respective ethnicities; Louis, oddly enough, became both a nationalistic hero for blacks while being a kind of crossover hero for non-Italian, antifascist whites. By 1938 Hitler was rapidly taking over Europe and Nazism had clearly become a threat to both the United States and the world generally. Schmeling was seen as the symbol of Nazism, an identification against which he did not fight very hard. Indeed, Schmeling seemed eager to exploit the racial overtones of the fight as a way of getting a psychological edge on Louis. Louis became an emblem not simply of black America, but also, like Jesse Owens in Berlin a few years earlier, of antitotalitarian America itself, of its ideology of opportunity and freedom. Perhaps in some sense no one could better bear the burden of America's utopian vision of itself as an egalitarian paradise than a champion black prizefighter, combining both the myths of class mobility with racial uplift. Under the scrutiny of both their countries and most of the rest of the world, Louis knocked out Schmeling in two minutes of the first round.

Following the second Schmeling bout, Louis embarked on a remarkable string of title defenses, winning seventeen fights over four years, fifteen by knockout. Because of the general lack of talent in the heavyweight division at the time and the ease of Louis's victories, his opponents were popularly referred to as "The Bum of the Month Club." The only serious challenge came from Billy Conn in 1941, who outboxed the champion for twelve

A war poster depicting boxer Joe Louis, who was drafted for the U.S. military in 1942. *Attending a fundraising dinner for the Navy Relief Society early that same year, Louis uttered the phrase captured in this poster, the last few words of which became a rallying cry across America during World War II.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

rounds before succumbing to Louis's knockout punch in the thirteenth.

During World War II, Louis in some ways matured deeply as a man and came into his own as an American icon and hero. When the war began, he was twenty-seven and at his prime as a fighter. When it ended, he was thirty-one, beginning to slip as a champion athlete, and, probably, he was not as interested in boxing as he had been. However, he had become something of an elder statesman among blacks who were also prominent in popular culture. Younger black athletes such as Jackie Robinson and Sugar Ray Robinson looked up to and respected him. Both men had served in the segregated armed forces with him, and he helped them bear with dignity the hostilities and humiliations that were often visited upon them as black soldiers. Louis became self-consciously political at that time; he campaigned for Republican presidential candidate Wendell Wilkie in 1940.

Louis was drafted January 12, 1942, but remained active as a boxer, continuing to fight professionally during the war. He contributed his earnings to both the Army and the Navy Relief Funds. While this was a wise move politically, it was disastrous for Louis financially. (In fact, even before he joined the service, he contributed the purse from his Buddy Baer fight on January 9, 1942, to the Navy Relief Fund.)

"We're going to do our part, and we will win," Louis intoned at a Navy Relief Society dinner on March 10, 1942, "because we are on God's side." This moment, perhaps more than any other in Louis's career, signaled the complete transformation of the image of the man in the mind of the white public. Louis had risen from the sullen, uneasy "colored boy" from black Detroit who was considered in 1935 the wunderkind of boxing, to become in seven years the mature, patriotic American who could speak both to and for his country. Louis could now not simply address his audience but command it. He could, as one pundit put it, "name the war." Louis's phrase, "We're on God's side," became one of the most famous phrases in American oratory during the Second World War. Ironically, however, Louis had misremembered his lines. He was supposed to say the more commonplace, "God's on our side," yet it is this cunning combination of the inadvertent and the opportunistic, the serendipitous and the intentional, that marks Louis's career in its later phase.

After the war, Louis's abilities as a fighter diminished as his earnings evaporated in a mist of high living and alleged tax evasion. After winning a rematch against Jersey Joe Walcott on June 25, 1948—only the second black fighter against whom Louis defended his title, indicating how much of a presence white fighters were in the sport well into the twentieth century—on the heels of winning an earlier controversial match on December 5, 1947, that most observers felt he had lost, Louis retired from the ring in 1949. At that time he made a deal with the unsavory Jim Norris and the International Boxing Club, which resulted in the removal of an old, sick Mike Jacobs from the professional boxing scene. Louis's deal with Norris created an entity called Joe Louis Enterprises that would sign up all the leading contenders for the heavyweight championship and have them exclusively promoted by Norris's International Boxing Club. Louis received $150,000 and became a stockholder in the IBC. He was paid $15,000 annually to promote boxing generally and the IBC bout specifically. In effect, Louis sold his title to a gangster-controlled outfit that wanted and eventually obtained for a period in the 1950s virtual control over both the management and promotion of all notable professional fighters in the United States. By 1950, however, an aged Louis, reflexes shot and

legs gimpy, was forced back into the ring because of money problems. He lost to Ezzard Charles in a fifteen-round decision on September 27. On October 26, 1951, his career ended for good when he was knocked out in eight rounds by the up-and-coming Rocky Marciano.

In sixty-six professional bouts, Louis lost only three times (twice in the last two years of his career) and knocked out forty-nine of his opponents. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1954.

After his career, Louis, like many famous athletes who followed him, lived off of his reputation. He certainly never considered the idea of returning to the ordinary work world he left in the early 1930s when he became a fighter. He was hounded by the Internal Revenue Service for back taxes, began taking drugs, particularly cocaine, suffered a number of nervous breakdowns, and seemed often at loose ends, despite a third marriage to a woman of considerable maturity and substance, Martha Jefferson. Eventually, in part as a result of his second marriage (his second wife, Marva Trotter, was a lawyer for Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa), Louis wound up working in Las Vegas as a casino greeter, playing golf with high-rolling customers and serving as a companion for men who remembered him in his glory years.

On April 12, 1981, the day after he attended a heavyweight championship match between Larry Holmes and Trevor Berbick, Louis collapsed at his home in Las Vegas and died of a massive heart attack. He was, without question, one of the most popular sports figures of the twentieth century. In 1993 Louis appeared on a U.S. postage stamp.

See also Boxing; Charles, Ezzard; Owens, Jesse; Robinson, Jackie; Robinson, Sugar Ray; Walcott, Jersey Joe

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GERALD EARLY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Lovelace, Earl

July 13, 1935

The writer Earl Lovelace was born in Toco, Trinidad, in 1935 and grew up in Tobago. He was educated in Tobago, Trinidad, and the United States, and in 1964 he won the British Petroleum Independence Literary Award with the manuscript of *While Gods Are Falling* (1965). That impressive debut was followed by the publication of *The Schoolmaster* (1968), *The Dragon Can't Dance* (1979), *The Wine of Astonishment* (1982), *Jestina's Calypso and Other Plays* (1984), *A Brief Conversion and Other Stories* (1988), and *Crawfie the Crapaud* (a children's story, 1997). *Salt*, a novel that dazzles with its humanistic and multicultural ethos, was published in 1996 and went on to win the prestigious Commonwealth Writers Prize in 1997. *Growing in the Dark: Selected Essays* (edited and introduced by Funso Aiyejina) was published in 2003. These essays, which span 1967 to 2002, confirm Lovelace as one of the most consistent and perceptive organic and original thinkers, writers, and aesthetes from the Caribbean region.

Lovelace has the distinction of being one of the few West Indian writers of his generation to live and write out of the region at a time when metropolitan exile was the more lucrative option. In his journey from being a new writer in 1964 to becoming a nationally and internationally celebrated writer, Lovelace has worked as a forest ranger, agricultural assistant, proofreader, journalist, resident playwright and director of grassroots theatre groups, and university lecturer. He has always been an avid reader of books and an astute student of people, and these interests have served his commitment to writing about Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean.

Lovelace's work celebrates people's desire to belong, their need to claim and understand their landscape and history, and the impulse to recognize the human dignity inherent in both, in spite of whatever human failings may exist. He has championed the language and culture of the folk, whom he envisions as the most instinctive and versatile culture bearers and culture creators in the region. His persistence in his commitment to his craft is matched by a compassion in the presentation of his characters and their struggle for self-apprehension and self-realization.

Lovelace's compassion is born out of his self-identification with the people among whom he lived and worked, men and women who demonstrated their love of life and an awareness that each person must be responsible for the world he or she lives in, a philosophy that has directed his abiding desire to create fictions in which the multiplicity of voices and perspectives of a multicultural society are properly ventilated.

In recognition of his contribution to literature and culture, Lovelace has won several awards over the years, including the Pegasus Literary Award for his outstanding contribution to the Arts in Trinidad and Tobago (1966), a Guggenheim Fellowship (1980), Trinidad and Tobago's Chaconia (Gold) Medal (1988), and the University of the West Indies' Honorary Doctor of Letters (2002).

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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FUNSO AIYEJINA (2005)

Lowery, Joseph E.

October 6, 1924

Born and raised in Huntsville, Alabama, Joseph Echols Lowery, who served as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), attended Knoxville College in Tennessee from 1939 to 1941. In the 1940s he studied theology at Paine Theological Seminary in Augusta, Georgia, and was ordained a minister by the United Methodist Church. From 1952 to 1961 he served as pastor of the Warren Street Methodist Church in Mobile, Alabama, where he developed a politically active ministry and helped sponsor lower- and middle-class housing developments for African Americans. In January 1957 Lowery was invited by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth to become a founding member of the SCLC.

Lowery remained one of the SCLC's central leaders through the heyday of the civil rights movement. He first gained national attention, however, in 1962 when the city commissioners of Montgomery, Alabama, successfully sued Lowery, three other SCLC leaders, and the *New York Times* for libel over the organization's advertisement in the newspaper attacking the racist policies of the Montgomery city government. The case, *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964), became a landmark in libel jurisprudence when the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Alabama court's decision in favor of the plaintiffs. Lowery served as a chief organizer of the pivotal desegregation campaigns in Birmingham in 1963 and Selma in 1965. In 1965 he moved to Birmingham to become pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church and assumed a leadership position in the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a civil rights organization allied with the SCLC.

In 1968 Lowery moved to Atlanta, where he became pastor of Central United Methodist Church and emerged as the leader of the moderate faction within the SCLC. In 1977 he wrested control from the militant wing, led by Hosea Williams, and was elected president of the organization in 1977. As president he was accused by the Williams faction of transforming the SCLC into a "middle-class clique of blacks," yet under Lowery's leadership the organization underwent a period of revitalized activism.

In 1978 and 1979 Lowery led a protest of a Mississippi energy company for buying coal from South Africa and directed a support march for the "Wilmington Ten," a group of civil rights activists who had been jailed for alleged conspiracy to murder white segregationists. During this time the SCLC also led a support march for Tommie Lee Hines, a mentally retarded black youth who the orga-

nization believed was wrongly convicted of raping a white woman in Decatur, Alabama. During the march for Hines, members of the Ku Klux Klan opened fire on the marchers, injuring four and barely missing Lowery and his wife. In 1979 Lowery was severely criticized by American Jewish organizations after he led a delegation of African-American clergy to Lebanon, where they met with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat and called for the establishment of a Palestinian homeland, reduction of U.S. aid to Israel, and PLO recognition of Israel as a nation.

In the 1980s Lowery continued to broaden the SCLC's activities beyond traditional civil rights issues. He oversaw the organization's involvement with Haitian refugees seeking political asylum in the United States, protested U.S. policy in Central America, supported the anti-apartheid movement, and reinitiated the Operation Breadbasket economic program, which raised money for black-owned enterprises. Through the decade the group also conducted Crusade for the Ballot, a program that significantly increased the black vote in the South through increased voter registrations. In 1986 Lowery transferred to the Cascade United Methodist Church, where he finished his career as a minister.

In the early 1990s the SCLC under Lowery's leadership continued to serve as a national coordinating agency for local civil rights organizations and conducted a national "Stop the Killing" campaign to protest gang violence. Lowery retired from the ministry in 1992 but nevertheless continued to serve as president of the SCLC until his retirement in July 1997. He remained active in community affairs, notably as a member of the board of MARTA, Atlanta's transit system.

Lowery has been the recipient of numerous honors. He was named one of the nation's greatest black preachers by *Ebony* magazine, and the Joseph E. Lowery Institute for Justice and Human Rights was established at Clark Atlanta University.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Shuttlesworth, Fred L.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Williams, Hosea Lorenzo

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Lowndes County Freedom Organization

In the early spring of 1965, in Lowndes County, Alabama, the black activist Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998) and other members of the civil rights organization called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) created the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO). Lowndes County, a rural farming area just south of Montgomery, at that time had a population of fifteen thousand, of which over 70 percent were black. However, white supremacy was the cornerstone of law and society, historically enforced by violence and open intimidation. The black population was poor and politically voiceless. As a result of the violent intimidation, none of the blacks in the county was registered to vote in elections, thus maintaining the white dominance.

SNCC had devoted considerable energy to registering blacks to vote in the Deep South from 1961 to 1965. In 1964, SNCC created the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to represent black voters in the Democratic Party. However, the MFDP failed to gain acceptance at the 1964 Democratic National Convention held in Atlantic City, New Jersey. In reaction to the racism dominant in the Alabama Democratic Party, Carmichael decided the time was right to counter the political domination and create an independent black political party. He believed the drive for racial integration was just another form of white supremacy. Carmichael argued that blacks should speak for themselves, using their own words and ideas, and gain independence in their own communities.

An unusual Alabama state law provided that any group of citizens who nominated candidates for county offices and won at least 20 percent of the vote could be formally recognized as a county political party. Carmichael and SNCC began organizing in several counties, including the mostly black Lowndes County. On May 3, 1965, five new county freedom organizations met to nominate candidates for the offices of sheriff and tax assessor, and for school boards.

The LCFO adopted the image of a black panther, in contrast to the Alabama Democratic Party's white rooster symbol. The panther symbolized power, dignity, and determination. The determination was soon evident: at a May 8 local election, nine hundred of almost two thousand registered black voters in Lowndes County voted, despite risking their personal safety. In recognition of the risk involved, the LCFO's saying at the time was "Vote the panther, then go home." The LCFO was successful in electing some black officials.

The LCFO was a landmark organization not only for transforming the goals of civil rights advocates from integration to liberation, but also for introducing the black panther image, which was later adopted by the militant Black Panther organization in Oakland, California. The LCFO represented the growing differences within the civil rights movement over desired goals and how to achieve them. The peaceful civil-disobedience tactics of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were increasingly challenged by the more confrontational strategies of SNCC. The SCLC urged blacks in Lowndes County to remain in the Democratic Party and fight for change within the organization. Instead, independent black political activity developed.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Carmichael, Stokely; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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RICHARD C. HANES (1996)

Lucy Foster, Autherine

October 15, 1929

Student civil rights activist Autherine Lucy was born in Shiloh, Alabama. She attended public schools there and in Linden, Alabama, before attending Selma University and Miles College in Birmingham, from which she graduated in 1952. In September of that year, she and a friend, Pollie Myers, a civil rights activist with the NAACP, applied to the University of Alabama. Lucy later said that she wanted a second undergraduate degree, not for political reasons but to get the best possible education in the state. Although the women were accepted, their admittance was rescinded when the authorities discovered they were not white.

Backed by the NAACP, Lucy and Myers charged the University of Alabama with racial discrimination in a court case that took almost three years to resolve. While waiting, Lucy worked as an English teacher in Carthage, Mississippi, and as a secretary at an insurance company. In July 1955, in the wake of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education,* the University of Alabama was ordered by a federal district court to admit Myers and Lucy.

On January 30, 1956, the university admitted Lucy but rejected Myers on the grounds that a child she had conceived before marriage made her an unsuitable student. Lucy registered on February 3, becoming the first African American to be accepted as a student at the 136-year-old University of Alabama.

The university's decision was met with resistance by many students, Tuscaloosa citizens, and the Ku Klux Klan. Crosses were burned nightly on the campus grounds, and mobs rioted at the university in what was, to date, the most violent post-*Brown* anti-integration demonstration. On the third day of classes, after white student mobs pelted Lucy with rotten produce and threatened to kill her, she was suspended from school on the grounds that her own safety and that of other students required it. The NAACP filed suit protesting this, and the federal courts ordered that Lucy be reinstated after the university had taken adequate measures to protect her. However, on that same day, February 29, Lucy was expelled from the University of Alabama on the grounds that she had maligned its officials by taking them to court. The NAACP, feeling that further legal action was pointless, did not contest this decision. Lucy, tired and scared, acquiesced.

In April 1956, in Dallas, Lucy married Hugh Foster, a divinity student (and later a minister) whom she had met

at Miles College. For some months afterward she was a civil rights advocate, making speeches at NAACP meetings around the country. But by the end of the year, her active involvement in the civil rights movement had ceased.

For the next seventeen years, Lucy and her family lived in various cities in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Her notoriety made it difficult at first for her to find employment as a teacher. The Fosters moved back to Alabama in 1974, and Lucy obtained a position in the Birmingham school system.

In April 1988 Autherine Lucy's expulsion was annulled by the University of Alabama. She enrolled in the graduate program in education the following year and received an M.A. degree in May 1992. In the course of the commencement ceremonies, the University of Alabama named an endowed fellowship in her honor.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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QADRI ISMAIL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Luperón, Gregorio

September 8, 1839
May 21, 1897

Gregorio Luperón was an Afro-Dominican soldier and politician who was acclaimed as a national hero during the War of Restoration (1861–1865) against Spain.

Born in 1839 in Puerto Plata, the young Luperón sold goods from the store run by his mother, Nicolasa, an English-speaking immigrant. His industry impressed a local timber merchant, who made him overseer when he was only fourteen. Largely self-taught, Luperón availed himself of his employer's library.

In March 1861, almost two decades after its foundation, the Dominican Republic was annexed by Spain, its former colonial ruler. While some members of the elite supported this move, it launched a series of rebellions. Luperón, then aged twenty-two, was jailed following a fight with an annexationist. He escaped and fled to Haiti and the United States. He returned to the island to take part in an unsuccessful uprising in 1863. Later, during the siege of Santiago, Luperón's bravery, charisma, and oratory caught the attention of his superiors, and he was made a general.

When a provisional government was set up, Luperón became supreme chief of operations. During the War of Restoration, in which many Dominicans of African descent participated, Luperón's strategic and leadership abilities came to the fore. With fewer men, arms, and supplies than the Spaniards, he resorted to guerrilla tactics. These unorthodox methods led his superiors to relieve him of his command.

The war ended in 1865 when the Spaniards withdrew, and Luperón accepted the vice presidency of a provisional government. When General Buenaventura Báez was restored to power in October, Luperón declared his opposition and was expelled from the country.

After a successful uprising against Báez, the country was ruled by a triumvirate of military leaders, of whom Luperón was the most prominent. A government was elected but it was overthrown in 1868, and Báez was reinstated. He soon began to advocate the country's annexation by the United States.

Luperón went abroad to organize against Báez. He helped Ulises Espaillat win the 1876 election and accepted the post of war and navy minister. A series of rebellions in the south forced Espaillat's resignation, and Báez returned to power. Luperón went into exile again.

Luperón returned after Báez went into exile in 1878 and headed a provisional government. Its fourteen months of progressive rule were followed by a period of political unrest. Luperón supported Ulises Heureaux, his former lieutenant and an Afro-Dominican war hero, in the 1886 elections. However, it soon became clear that Heureaux was a brutal dictator. Dominican liberals rallied round Luperón, who stood against Heureaux in the 1888 elections. Realizing that the elections would be rigged, Luperón withdrew his candidacy and fled to Puerto Rico. He unsuccessfully attempted to launch a campaign against Heureaux. While in exile in Saint Thomas he became seriously ill. A contrite Heureaux visited his former mentor and commanding officer and persuaded him to return home. He died in Puerto Plata on May 21, 1897.

Luperón wrote a number of pamphlets and articles. His *Notas autobiográficas y apuntes históricos sobre la República Dominicana desde la Restauración a nuestros días* (1895–1896) is a three-volume work about his life and the period of the restoration.

See also Maroon Societies in the Caribbean; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

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CHRISTINE AYORINDE (2005)

Lynch, John Roy

1847

November 2, 1939

Politician and lawyer John Roy Lynch was born a slave on a Louisiana plantation, later moved to Mississippi with his mother, and became free when Union forces occupied Natchez in 1863. At the end of the Civil War he was the proprietor of a thriving photographic business while attending evening classes. In 1867 he became active in politics, joining a Republican club in Natchez and supporting the new state constitution. In 1869 he was elected to the lower house of the Mississippi legislature, where he made a quite favorable impression; three years later his colleagues elevated him to the position of speaker. In 1873 he ran for Congress and won.

As one of the vigorous supporters of the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, Lynch became widely known. Reelected in 1874, he was defeated in 1876. After successfully contesting the election in 1880, he returned to Congress but was defeated once more in 1882. In 1884 he delivered the keynote address at the Republican National Convention, the first African American to be so honored. Subsequently he managed his Mississippi plantation, served as fourth auditor of the Treasury, was paymaster of volunteers in the Spanish-American War, and practiced law in Mississippi, Washington, D.C., and Chicago. In 1913 he published *The Facts of Reconstruction* to refute the claims of so-called scientific historians of Reconstruction. Lynch died in his Chicago home and was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.

See also Politics in the United States

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JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN (1996)

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Before I received your letter today I had been in to the President, talking to him about your letter enclosing that of the Attorney General. I told him that it seemed rather terrible that one could get nothing done and that I did not blame you in the least for feeling there was no interest in this very serious question. I asked him if there were any possibility of getting even one step taken, and he said the difficulty is that it is unconstitutional apparently for the Federal Government to step in in the lynching situation. The Government has only been allowed to do anything about kidnapping because of its interstate aspect, and even that has not as yet been appealed so they are not sure that it will be declared constitutional.

The President feels that lynching is a question of education in the states, rallying good citizens, and creating public opinion so that the localities themselves will wipe it out. However, if it were done by a Northerner, it will have an antagonistic effect. I will talk to him again about the Van Nuys resolution and will try to talk also to Senator Byrnes and get his point of view. I am deeply troubled about the whole situation as it seems to be a terrible thing to stand by and let it continue and feel that one cannot speak out as to his feeling. I think your next step would be to talk to the more prominent members of the Senate.

Very sincerely yours,

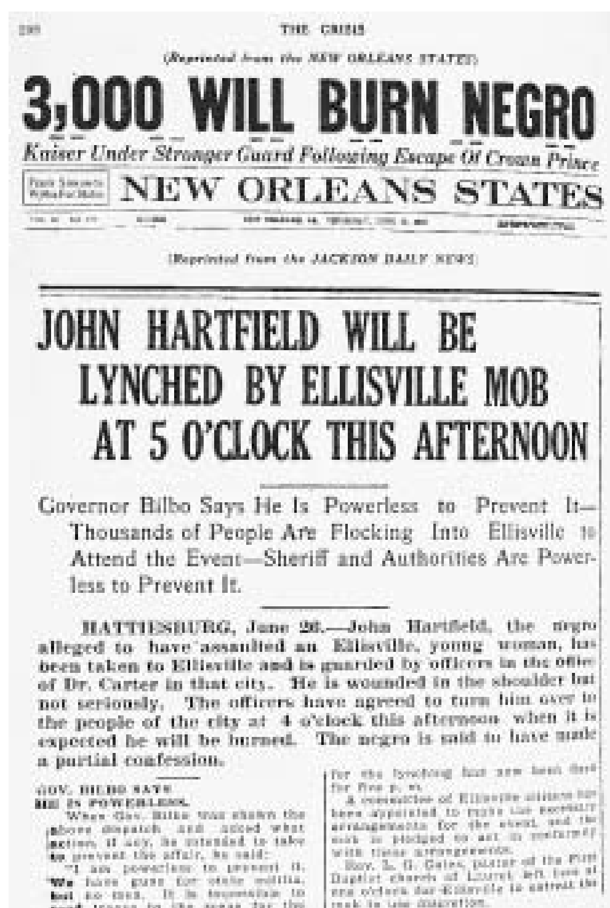
Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to NAACP executive secretary Walter White, March 19, 1936. *The First Lady's letter outlines her efforts in lobbying for federal action against lynchings.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Lynching

Although rooted in an older and broader tradition of vigilantism, the term *lynching* is primarily associated with the killing of African Americans by white mobs in the period from the Civil War to the middle of the twentieth century. By most accounts, the practice originated on the Revolutionary War frontier when Colonel Charles Lynch and other prominent citizens of Bedford County, Virginia, organized informally to apprehend and punish Tories and other lawless elements throughout the community.

Lynching in Antebellum America

"Lynch law" subsequently spread to other parts of the country, but it became especially prevalent in less-settled frontier areas with poorly developed legal institutions. Initially, lynch mobs punished alleged lawbreakers and enforced community mores through whippings, tarring and feathering, and, on occasion, extralegal executions by hanging or shooting. Victims were mostly white and



THE CRISIS

(Reprinted from the NEW ORLEANS STATES)

3,000 WILL BURN NEGRO

Kaiser Under Stronger Guard Following Escape Of Crown Prince

NEW ORLEANS STATES

[Reprinted from the JACKSON DAILY NEWS]

JOHN HARTFIELD WILL BE LYNCHED BY ELLISVILLE MOB AT 5 O'CLOCK THIS AFTERNOON

Governor Bilbo Says He Is Powerless to Prevent It—Thousands of People Are Flocking Into Ellisville to Attend the Event—Sheriff and Authorities Are Powerless to Prevent It.

HATTIESBURG, June 26.—John Hartfield, the negro alleged to have assaulted an Ellisville young woman, has been taken to Ellisville and is guarded by officers in the office of Dr. Carter in that city. He is wounded in the shoulder but not seriously. The officers have agreed to turn him over to the people of the city at 4 o'clock this afternoon when it is expected he will be burned. The negro is said to have made a partial confession.

The Crisis, August, 1919. *Lynching announcements from the New Orleans States and the Jackson Daily News are reprinted in the NAACP journal.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ranged from outlaws and horse thieves in frontier areas to Catholics, immigrants, and abolitionists in northern cities.

Blacks were by no means immune to mob action and sometimes received harsher treatment than white victims, but lynching had not yet attained its special association with race. Even under slavery, the lynching of blacks was relatively infrequent. The economic self-interest and paternalistic attitudes of masters, combined with a rigid system of slave control, normally militated against widespread mob violence against slaves, although in the aftermath of slave rebellions, mobs sought out and ruthlessly punished suspected conspirators.

Lynching after the Civil War

After the Civil War, lynching spread rapidly and became a systematic feature of the southern system of white supremacy. Mob-inflicted deaths increased during Reconstruction as southern whites resorted to violence to restore white control over ex-slaves. The practice reached epidemic proportions in the late 1880s and 1890s, averaging more than 150 incidents per year in the latter decade, and began to decline after the turn of the century.

Overall, between 1882, when the *Chicago Tribune* began recording lynchings, and 1968, an estimated 4,742 persons died at the hands of lynch mobs. Although whites continued to be victimized on occasion, African-American men and women accounted for the overwhelming majority (some 72 percent) of known lynchings after 1882. By the 1920s, 90 percent of all victims were black, and 95 percent of all lynchings occurred in southern states.

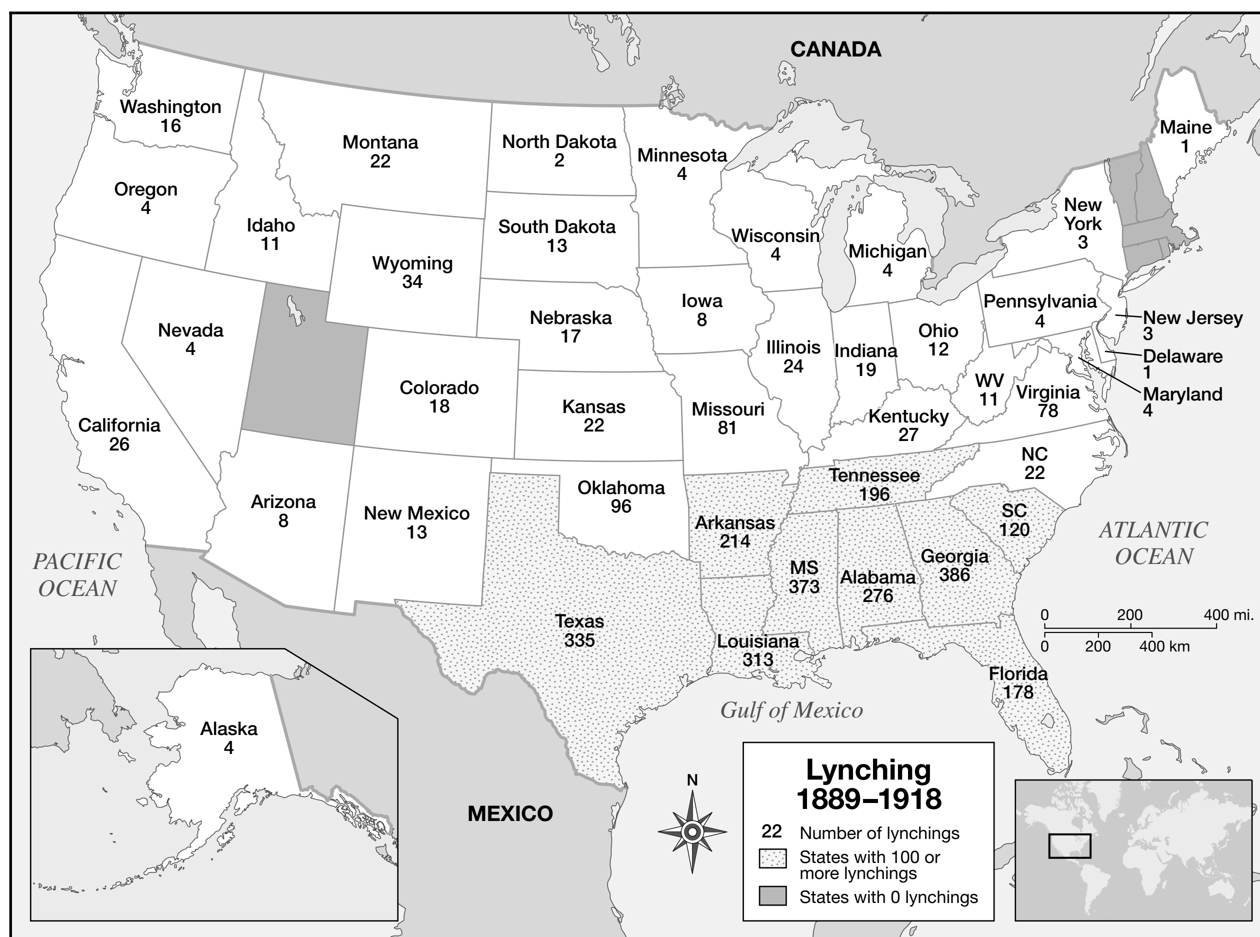
Southern whites justified lynching as a necessary response to black crime and an inefficient legal system, but virtually any perceived transgression of the racial boundaries or threat to the system of white supremacy could provoke mob action. The alleged offenses of lynching victims ranged from such actual crimes as murder, assault, theft, arson, and rape to such trivial breaches of the informal etiquette of race as "disrespect" toward whites and failing to give way to whites on the sidewalks.

The most frequent justification, however, was the charge of rape or sexual assault of white women by black men. Although fewer than 26 percent of all lynchings involved even the allegation of sexual assault, the mythology of rape and images of the "black beast" despoiling white womanhood dominated the southern rationale for lynching by the 1890s and inflamed mobs to ever-increasing brutality.

The Nature of Lynchings

Lynchings took various forms, ranging from hangings and shootings administered by small groups of men in secret, to posses meting out summary justice at the conclusion of a manhunt, to large public spectacles with broad community participation. The classic public lynchings for which the South became so notorious always involved torture and mutilation and ended in death for the victim, either by hanging, or, increasingly, by being burned alive. The lynching ritual characteristically included prior notice of the event, the selection of a symbolically significant location, and the gathering of a large crowd of onlookers, including women and children.

Mobs typically sought to elicit confessions from their victims and frequently allowed them to pray before the final act of the drama. Lynchers often left the bullet-ridden bodies of hanging victims on public display as a warning to other potential transgressors. In both hangings and



Map of the United States, showing the number of lynchings by state over a thirty-year period beginning in 1918. *About 75 percent of the 3200 blacks who were lynched during these years were killed in the nine southern states that are partially shaded.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

burnings, mobs tortured, mutilated, castrated (in the case of males), and even dismembered their victims. The victim of the alleged crime or a victim's close relative often played a prominent role in the ritual. A particularly gruesome feature of lynchings was the taking of souvenirs in the form of body pieces, bone fragments salvaged from the ashes, or photographs.

The social composition of southern mobs remains obscure. Some have argued that lynch mobs were composed primarily of lower-class whites, but most scholars agree that the upper class and community leaders at the very least condoned the mob's actions and not uncommonly were themselves participants. Police were rarely effective in preventing lynchings, even when they tried, and mob members were almost never identified and prosecuted. Authorities typically attributed lynchings to "persons unknown."

The Social Forces behind Lynching

Lynching was ultimately a product of racism and the caste system it sustained, but social, economic, and political conditions shaped the rhythms and geographical distribution of the practice. Early twentieth-century investigators linked lynchings to such factors as rural isolation, poorly developed legal institutions, broad economic fluctuations, the price of cotton, the ratio of blacks to whites in the population, the structure of county government, revivalism, and the seasonality of southern crops. In his classic study *The Tragedy of Lynching* (1933), Arthur Raper concluded that lynchings were most likely to occur in the poorest, most sparsely populated southern counties, and especially in recently settled ones where blacks constituted less than 25 percent of the population.

Extending these earlier findings, modern social scientists have viewed lynching variously as a form of "scape-

A banner announcing a lynching flies from a window of the NAACP headquarters in New York City, 1936. *Since the organization's founding in 1909, the NAACP drew attention to every one of the thousands of lynchings occurring in the United States between that year and the late 1930s.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

goating" in which white aggression and frustration was displaced onto blacks during periods of economic decline, either as a consequence of direct economic competition between whites and blacks or as a manifestation of repressive justice in response to a "boundary crisis" precipitated by Populist Party efforts to unite lower-class whites and blacks in the 1890s.

While acknowledging some connection between lynching and populism, historians generally attribute the sudden emergence of lynching as a prominent feature of race relations in the 1880s and 1890s to broader and more complex forces. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall has argued that in addition to being a form of "repressive justice" designed to preserve the caste system, lynching served to dramatize "hierarchical power relationships based on gender and race" (Hall, 1979, p. 156). It reinforced racial boundaries for black men and helped maintain caste solidarity for whites generally, but it also reinforced notions of female vulnerability and subordination in a patriarchal society. Joel Williamson (1984) also stressed the association between lynching and sex roles, but he attributed the growth

A 1934 crime conference sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution failed to address lynching in its program, sparking a silent protest outside DAR Memorial Hall in Washington, D.C. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of lynching in the late nineteenth century to the convergence of a radical strain of racism, deep-seated economic trouble, and white male anxiety over the perceived erosion of their ability to provide materially for their women and families. The pathological obsession with the black rapist, and the firestorm of lynchings it produced in the 1890s, thus constituted a kind of "psychic compensation" for male feelings of inadequacy (Williamson, 1984, p. 115). Edward L. Ayers traces the epidemic of lynchings to a "widespread and multifaceted crisis" rooted in the economic depression of the 1890s. That depression contributed to the growth of crime and vagrancy, particularly among blacks, thereby feeding the submerged fears and anxieties of southern whites (Ayers, 1984, pp. 250–253).

Lynching in the Twentieth Century

The number of lynchings declined gradually in the first three decades of the twentieth century, dropped dramatically after the early 1930s, but continued sporadically well into the 1950s. The emergence of vocal opposition to lynching, both inside and outside the South, contributed to its demise, as did fundamental changes in southern society and in race relations. Some blacks, and a few white liberals, spoke out against the horrors of lynching in the late nineteenth century, most notably Ida B. Wells (1862–1931), a black woman activist from Memphis who sought to mobilize public opinion against mob violence through newspaper editorials and lectures. After 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, and others, investigated and publicized lynchings, pressured political leaders to speak out, and lobbied for antilynching legislation. Some states passed laws against lynching, but they were largely ineffective. Despite decades of effort, and near success in 1922, 1937, and 1940, no federal antilynching legislation was ever enacted. Within the South, opposition to lynching centered on two interracial organizations: the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, founded by Jessie Daniel Ames in 1930.

The modernization of southern society and the institutionalization of other forms of repression also hastened the decline of lynching. New roads, electricity, telephones, automobiles, and other social changes transformed the most isolated and lynching-prone areas of the South. Business leaders worked to change the violent image of the region in an effort to encourage investment and economic

development. And law enforcement officials became more effective in preventing lynchings. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, furthermore, the emergence of alternative forms of racial control—segregation, disfranchisement, and tenant farming—made lynching less essential to the preservation of white supremacy.

There is also evidence that the decline of lynching was accompanied by an increase in "legal" executions of blacks in the South, often with the mere formality of a trial, and that other forms of violence against blacks increased as the incidence of lynching waned in the twentieth century. African Americans would continue to be killed in the name of white supremacy, particularly at the height of the civil rights movement, but lynching, in the classic sense of the earlier era, appears to have ended with the murder of Emmett Till in 1955 and of Mack Charles Parker in 1959.

In 2005 Senators Mary Landrieu of Louisiana and George Allen from Virginia raised a proposal to apologize for the Senate's failure to pass antilynching legislation. The nonbinding proposal, formally apologizing to victims of lynching and their families, was passed in the U.S. Senate without objection in June 2005.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Till, Emmett

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Colin A. Palmer, Editor in Chief

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Mabley, Jackie "Moms"

March 19, 1897
May 23, 1975

The comedienne Jackie "Moms" Mabley was born Loretta Mary Aiken in Brevard, North Carolina; she was one of twelve children of mixed African-American, Cherokee, and Irish ancestry. During childhood and adolescence, she spent time in Anacostia (in Washington, D.C.) and Cleveland, Ohio. Mabley—who borrowed her name from Jack Mabley, an early boyfriend—began performing as a teenager, when she joined the black vaudeville circuit as a comedienne, singer, and dancer, appearing with such well-known performers as Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham, Cootie Williams, Peg Leg Bates, and Bill "Bojangles" Robinson. In the mid-1920s, she was brought to New York by the dance team of Butterbeans and Suzie. After making her debut at Connie's Inn, Mabley became a favorite at Harlem's Cotton Club and at the Club Harlem in Atlantic City, where she played with Louis Armstrong, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, and Count Basie, among others. It was during this time that she began cultivating the frumpily dressed, granny-like stage personality for which she became famous. Trundling onto stage in a tacky housedress with a frilly nightcap, sagging stockings, and outsized shoes, "Moms"—as she was later known—would begin her ad-lib stand-up comedy routine, consisting of bawdy jokes ("The only thing an old man can do for me is bring a message from a young one") and songs, belted out in a gravelly "bullfrog" voice.

Mabley appeared in small parts in two motion pictures, *Jazz Heaven* (also distributed as *Boarding House Blues,* 1929) and *Emperor Jones* (1933), and collaborated with Zora Neale Hurston in the Broadway play *Fast and Furious: A Colored Revue in 37 Scenes* (1931) before she started performing regularly at the Apollo Theater in Harlem. By the time she made the film *Killer Diller* (1948), she had cultivated a considerable following among black audiences, as well as among fellow performers; it was not until 1960, however, when she cut her first album for Chess Records, that she became known to white audiences. *Moms Mabley at the U.N.,* which sold over a million copies, was followed by several others, including *Moms Mabley at the Geneva Conference, Moms Mabley—The Funniest Woman in the World, Moms Live at Sing Sing,* and *Now Hear This.* In 1962 Mabley performed at Carnegie Hall in a program featuring Cannonball Adderley and Nancy Wilson. She made her television debut five years later in an all-black comedy special, *A Time for Laughter,* produced by Harry

Belafonte. Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, she was featured in frequent guest spots on television comedy and variety shows hosted by Merv Griffin, the Smothers Brothers, Mike Douglas, Bill Cosby, Flip Wilson, and others. In 1974 Mabley played the leading role in the comedy *Amazing Grace*, a successful feature film about a black woman's efforts to reform a corrupt black politician. She died of a heart attack the following year.

See also Apollo Theater; Armstrong, Louis; Basie, William James "Count"; Belafonte, Harry; Calloway, Cab; Cosby, Bill; Cotton Club; Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"; Hurston, Zora Neale; Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"

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Maceo, Antonio

June 14, 1845
December 7, 1896

The most celebrated leader of the Cuban Independence Wars of the late nineteenth century, Antonio Maceo—known as the "Bronze Titan"—is also the most recognizable Cuban of African descent of the period. His military exploits during the wars for independence against Spain (1868–1898) and his unyielding commitment to abolishing slavery and colonialism made him a national hero and a beloved international figure, particular among people of African descent.

Maceo was born free in Santiago de Cuba, the child of Marcos Maceo, a Venezuelan man of color, and Mariana Grajales, a free woman of color who was the daughter of Dominican immigrants. He was born during the height of plantation slavery in Cuba and raised in a colonial slave society, but he lived in the eastern part of the island, where slavery was less entrenched than in the more prosperous western provinces, where slave labor on sugar plantations produced enormous wealth for the local planter elite. Even though free people of color had more autonomy in the east, they still occupied a subordinate position. The slave plantation system helped maintain the Spanish colonial presence in Cuba long after the collapse of the Spanish empire in the mainland Americas.

On October 10, 1868, a group of Creole planters in the eastern part of the island staged an armed insurrection against Spanish colonial rule. The movement was led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a disgruntled sugar planter and slave owner who was disenchanted with the Spanish colonial system. Céspedes freed his slaves on the condition that they fight for the insurgent forces. Maceo joined both slaves and free persons of color in answering the call. Maceo quickly distinguished himself as a skilled soldier. However, the presence of Maceo and other Afro-Cuban insurgents caused persistent anxiety within the nationalist ranks. The predominantly white leadership was constantly fearful that Maceo would lead a "race war" against the whites, a fear that the Spanish colonial government exploited to its full advantage. These tensions within the insurgent ranks continued to plague the Cuban separatist movement—as did the white separatists' refusal to invade the western region, which was heavily populated by slaves—and they contributed to the movement's destruction. Eventually the vast majority of insurgents surrendered to the Spanish commander Arsenio Martínez Campos and signed the Treaty of Zanjón in 1878.

It was at this moment that Antonio Maceo distinguished himself. On March 15, 1878, Maceo staged the dramatic Protest of Baraguá, in which he and a small group of separatists declared to Martínez Campos that they would continue to fight for independence because the two-fold objective, abolition and independence, had not been achieved. Maceo and his supporters continued the fighting sporadically over the next couple of weeks before he was forced to flee into exile.

After nearly two decades in exile, Maceo joined with José Martí and Máximo Gómez to lead another military struggle against Spain in February 1895. This time, the movement was more successful because the rebels took the war into the heart of Cuba's sugar zones, the western provinces, and it was Antonio Maceo who led the epic western invasion. Maceo's heroic battles against the Spanish forces helped attract thousands of Cubans of African descent into the insurgent ranks, turning the war into a potentially radical social revolution. However, in 1896 Maceo was killed in a Spanish ambush. Although the struggle for independence continued, Maceo's death was a major blow to the separatist cause, and particularly to Cubans of African descent.

Cuban 5-peso note, featuring an image of Antonio Maceo, a hero of the Cuban wars for independence against Spain (1868–1898). TNA ASSOCIATES

Maceo's fame grew in the years after his death. He became a symbol of black rebellion equal to the Haitian revolutionary leader Toussaint-Louverture. Like all icons, he is subject to multiple uses. In the years after the Cuban republic was established, Maceo became part of the nation's pantheon of founding fathers. Cuban politicians often used Maceo as a symbol of racial equality. In more recent years, the Cuban government headed by Fidel Castro has cited Maceo's Protest at Baraguá as a metaphor of Cuba's struggle for sovereignty in the face of hostility from the United States. To this day, he remains a source of inspiration.

See also Moncada, Guillermo

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FRANK GURIDY (2005)

Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria

June 21, 1839
September 29, 1908

The Brazilian writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis is considered by many to be the greatest Latin American literary figure of the nineteenth century. He was born on Quinta do Livramento, a semirural property in the environs of Rio de Janeiro. His paternal grandparents were freed slaves. His baptism certificate lists his mother as a Portuguese native from the Azores and his father as a *pardo* (a free man of dark skin). They were dependents of the Portuguese widow of a noted military figure and imperial senator, who is listed as Machado's godmother. They lived on the wealthy woman's estate under her protection, in exchange for their services. Machado's younger sister died at age four, and his mother passed away when he was nine years old. His father married a woman of mixed ancestry six years later. However, by his late teens Machado had also lost his father.

Machado de Assis had little formal education, but he was aggressively self-taught: he spoke French and studied German and Greek. His frequent allusions to biblical and classical literature and to the great writers of Europe illustrate an unusual breadth of reading. In his youth he took jobs in the printing trade and began to frequent the book-

stores where Rio's most important intellectuals could be found. His first pieces of poetry were published in small local magazines when he was only fifteen. By the age of twenty-one he was making his living as a journalist. Thereafter, Machado's trajectory is one of unbroken ascendancy. He published in all the major genres, achieving particular distinction with the novel (he wrote nine in all) and the short story (more than 200, collected or uncollected). Perhaps the ultimate ratification of his prestige was his election as the first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1897.

Machado also held a series of bureaucratic appointments with the Brazilian government. These positions, normally rather undemanding of time and creativity, were intended as rewards and guarantees of financial stability for the country's most talented intellectuals. In 1869 Machado married a Portuguese woman, Carolina de Novais. This marriage has been celebrated for their devotion to each other, partly because of a now-famous sonnet Machado wrote after her death in 1904. The author struggled with epilepsy for most of his life, and contemporaries reported that he had a problem with stuttering. The fact that the marriage was childless may have been an additional disappointment.

Machado enjoyed an overwhelmingly positive critical reception; only after the proclamation of the republic of Brazil in 1889 does one begin to find notable detractors. Most of these critics attacked what they perceived as a lack of engagement with liberal causes. It is likely that Machado, while sympathetic to these causes, felt hampered by loyalty to the Emperor Dom Pedro II, whose government was his generous employer. Brazil's monarchy was closely tied to the proslavery landholding class, and Machado did not write overtly in favor of abolition. However, as a government official he fastidiously administered laws regarding freeborn children of slaves, usually acting against the interests of the landholders.

Machado de Assis's best work eschews the literary movements of his time. His most virtuosic novel, *Memórias póstumous de Brás Cubas* (*Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas*), appeared in serial installments in 1880, and was published in book form in 1881. Essentially, it is the self-justifying autobiography of a man of privilege who wasted his life. Taking the form of a posthumously written memoir (rather than a posthumously published one), it defies realism in its very inception. His most profound novel is *Dom Casmurro* (the best translations preserve the original title, which approximately means "Lord Taciturn"), published in 1899. Here, with a tone that mixes nostalgia with bitterness, a highly problematic narrator tells why he thinks his wife (and former childhood sweetheart) betrayed him with his best friend. The novel is a monument of ambiguity, whose questions seem urgent but whose solutions are perhaps impossible.

Like many other mulatto writers in Brazil, Machado did not seem to identify himself as an Afro-Brazilian. There are, in fact, only a few moments in all of his writing when Machado deals directly with racial issues. A selection of these may illustrate the author's general practice of positing interesting problems, rather than engaging in facile judgments of characters or groups. *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* presents a slave who suffers abuse from the protagonist. Later, after this slave has earned his freedom, he is found to have bought and abused his own slave. In the short story "O caso da vara" (translated as "The rod of justice"), an adolescent boy who is being forced to study for the priesthood escapes from the seminary to an influential woman's home, where he pleads for her to be his advocate. In order to gain her support, however, he must act as the woman's accomplice in beating a young black girl. "Pai contra mãe" (a short story translated as "Father versus mother") depicts a hunter of escaped slaves who captures a pregnant young woman and returns her to her master, despite her pleas for her freedom in the name of her unborn child. He must deliver her because he desperately needs the money to avoid giving his own newborn child up for adoption.

Nearly a century after his death, Machado de Assis attracts more critical attention than any other Brazilian writer, both in terms of sheer volume of scholarship and in terms of international impact. He has proved to be a writer's writer, judging by appreciative statements from the likes of Salman Rushdie, John Barth, Susan Sontag, and Carlos Fuentes. Outside of Brazil, his works have never sold as well as those of his compatriot, Jorge Amado, but they have remained in print through several editions. Two collections of short stories and all but one of his novels have been translated into English.

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PAUL B. DIXON (2005)

Mackey, William Wellington

May 28, 1937

Playwright William Wellington Mackey was born in Miami, Florida, and attended Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. After graduating in 1958, he returned to Miami, where he worked as a high school teacher. In 1964 he earned a master's degree in recreational and drama therapy from the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Shortly afterward, while working as a recreational therapist at Colorado State Hospital in Pueblo, he completed his first two plays, *Behold! Cometh the Vanderkellans* (1965) and *Requiem for Brother X* (1966). The first examines the effects of the rising black consciousness of the late 1950s on a privileged, upper-middle-class black family. The second explores how the lives of a black family living in the ghetto are shaped—and warped—by external factors. Mackey depicts the families of Brother X as trapped in the ghetto and conspicuously forgotten by affluent blacks. The use of the family play, a familiar American dramatic convention, to reveal and critique the aspirations, as well as the pretensions and hypocrisies of black family life, is characteristic of all Mackey's plays.

Shortly after his first two plays were produced in Denver, Mackey moved to Chicago and later to New York, where a number of his plays have been produced on Off-Broadway. Mackey's other plays include *Family Meeting* (1972), *Billy Noname* (1970, a musical), and *Love Me, Love Me Daddy, or I Swear I'm Gonna Kill You* (1982).

See also Drama

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco)

February 25, 1900
April 14, 1976

João Francisco dos Santos, popularly known as Madame Satã (Madame Satan), was a streetwise rogue figure and longtime resident of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He projected the virile masculinity of a Brazilian *malandro* (bohemian, scoundrel, or hustler) and at the same time was a self-avowed homosexual. In the early 1970s Madame Satã became a symbol of a bygone era of bohemian Rio. He has been the subject of books and movies, including a feature-length, internationally released film, *Madame Satã* (2002), directed by Karim Aïnouz.

Santos was born in the town of Glória do Goitá in the hinterlands of the northeastern state of Pernambuco, Brazil, one of seventeen sisters and brothers. His mother, a descendent of slaves, came from a humble family. His father, the result of a sexual union between a former slave and a son of the local landed elite, died when he was seven. The next year, with seventeen mouths to feed, his mother swapped her young child to a horse trader in exchange for a mare. Within six months he had managed to escape from this harsh apprenticeship by running away with a woman who offered him work as a helper in a boardinghouse in Rio de Janeiro, at the time the nation's capital.

At age thirteen, Santos left the boardinghouse to live on the streets and sleep on the steps of the tenement houses in the Lapa neighborhood of downtown Rio de Janeiro, at the time the center of a bustling nightlife of clubs, prostitution, and gambling. For six years he worked at odd jobs in and around the neighborhood. In his memoirs Madame Satã remembered that he began sexual relations with other boys during this period. At age eighteen he was hired as a waiter at a brothel. Madames commonly employed young homosexuals as waiters, cooks, housekeepers, and even as part-time prostitutes if a client so desired.

During this period Santos assumed the public persona of a slick, well-dressed, and virile *malandro.* In 1928 he landed a small part in a musical review in which he sang and danced, wearing a red dress with his long hair falling down over his shoulders. His artistic career, however, was aborted when he was convicted of killing a security guard who had allegedly called him a faggot.

In 1938 some of his friends convinced him to enter a costume contest during a Carnival ball. Santos created

a sequined-decorated outfit inspired after a bat from the northeast of Brazil, and won first prize. Several weeks later he was arrested with several other homosexuals while strolling through a park in downtown Rio de Janeiro. When the booking officer at the police station asked those detained to identify themselves, including their nicknames, Santos offered the appellation Madame Satã in reference to a recently released American film with the Brazilian title, *Madame Satã.* The name stuck.

Madame Satã projected multiple, apparently contradictory images. He identified himself as a *malandro* who was willing to fight and even kill to defend his honor. Yet in Brazil until the 1980s, popular notions associated homosexuality with effeminacy and passivity. Satã, therefore, became an anomaly. Satã was proud of his ability to wield a knife and win a fight, two marks of a *malandro*'s bravery and virility. Yet he openly admitted that he liked to be sexually penetrated, a desire that was socially stigmatized and the antithesis of the manliness of a piercing knife blade. While the popular respect usually afforded a *malandro* was linked to his potency, masculinity, and his willingness to die for his honor, Madame Satã simply contradicted the stereotype. He was aware of the anxiety his persona provoked, especially among the men who picked fights with him.

The myths surrounding Madame Satã's prowess and bravery grew with time and even followed him into prison, where he served multiple sentences for robbery, larceny, assault and battery, and murder. He retained widespread respect even though he was considered a "faggot." In the early 1970s he was rediscovered by journalists from the middle-class underground, and the satirical weekly *O Pasquim* ran a feature interview with him, depicting Madame Satã as the last surviving bohemian from the 1930s. He died a pauper in 1976 and was buried in the trademark attire of a *malandro*—a white suit, a stylish Panama hat, and a red rose.

See also Masculinity; Music, Religion and Crime in Early-Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro

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JAMES N. GREEN (2005)

Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.)

February 23, 1942

Born Don L. Lee in Little Rock, Arkansas, poet and essayist Haki Madhubuti was raised in Detroit, Michigan. His father deserted the family when Madhubuti was very young, and his mother died when he was sixteen. An unstable family life created hardship and forced Madhubuti to seek employment and overall self-reliance at an early age. Of the place of poetry in his childhood, Madhubuti commented that "poetry in my home was almost as strange as money."

In the late 1950s Madhubuti attended a vocational high school in Chicago. He joined the U.S. Army for three years beginning in 1960. From 1963 to 1967, while an apprentice curator at the DuSable Museum of African History, Madhubuti held jobs as a clerk in department stores and at the U.S. post office. During these years he also worked toward his associate degree at Chicago City College. Two decades later he received a master of fine arts from the University of Iowa.

With the publication of *Think Black!* (1967), *Black Pride* (1968), and *Don't Cry, Scream* (1969), Madhubuti quickly established himself as a leading poetic voice among his generation of black artists in America. His poetry generated critical acclaim, particularly among African-American commentators associated with the maturing Black Arts movement of the 1960s and early 1970s (the first major black artistic movement since the Harlem Renaissance).

His early literary criticism, including in *Dynamite Voices* (1971), was one of the first overviews of the new black poetry of the 1960s. In this volume Madhubuti insists on the essential connection between the African-American experience and black art and concludes with a call to black nation building. In his own poetry Madhubuti makes extensive use of black cultural forms, such as street talk and jazz music. His poetry also draws its inspiration from the work of Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), the most influential black arts practitioner of the 1960s.

Judging simply by sales within the black community, no black poet in the black arts movement was more popular than Madhubuti. In the last few years of the 1960s, for instance, Madhubuti's slim paperbound books of poetry—each issued by the black publishing house Broadside Press—sold a remarkable one hundred thousand copies each without the benefit of a national distributor. His popularity and artistic promise made him a frequent writer-

in-residence during this period at American universities such as Cornell and Howard.

In 1973 the poet rejected his "slave name" by changing it from Don L. Lee to the Swahili name Haki R. Madhubuti (which means "precise justice"). In the same year he published two collections, *From Plan to Planet* and *Book of Life*. These volumes of essays and poetry illustrate his commitment to black cultural nationalism, a philosophy that combines political activism with cultural preservation in the drive toward racial awareness and black unity.

Although his artistic production declined during the mid- to late 1970s, the publication of another volume of essays and poetry, *Earthquakes and Sun Rise Missions* (1984), renewed Madhubuti's advocacy of black nationalism. The poet's most recent collection, *Killing Memory, Seeking Ancestors* (1987), speaks to the reader who loves and understands black vernacular.

Like his literary compatriots in the black arts movement, Madhubuti attempts to create an artistic form and content that best represents the black community, speaks to their needs, and promotes cultural institutions that serve the coming of the black nation. He eschews Western notions of individualism in favor of collective self-sufficiency among blacks within the United States and throughout the world.

In 1978, when the author published *Enemies: The Clash of the Races*—a scathing critique of racism within white left as well as right political circles—Madhubuti was (what he calls) "whitelisted" and, as a result, lost anticipated income. Such experiences reinforced his commitment to black self-reliance. As founding editor of Third World Press and a founding member of the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC) Writers Workshop (which includes black literary figures such as Gwendolyn Brooks and Carolyn Rodgers), Madhubuti continues to be active in Chicago-based organizations. He is also cofounder and director of the Institute of Positive Education in Chicago, an organization committed to black nation building through independent black institutions in areas such as education and publishing.

In 1990 Madhubuti published *Black Men: Obsolete, Single, Dangerous? The Afrikan American Family in Transition,* which addressed issues raised by the author's grassroots activism over the previous quarter century. Essays in this collection speak specifically to black men, offering analyses and guidance on topics ranging from fatherhood to AIDS. The first printing of the book (7,500 copies) sold out within a month and reconfirmed Madhubuti's popularity within a sizable portion of the black literary community in America and elsewhere.

Madhubuti teaches at Chicago State University. He published *Tough Notes: A Healing Call for Creating Exceptional Black Men* in 2002, and *Run Toward Fear* in 2004.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement; Brooks, Gwendolyn Elizabeth; Literary Criticism, U.S.; Poetry, U.S.

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JEFFREY LOUIS DECKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Mais, Roger

August 11, 1905
June 15, 1955

One of seven children, Roger Mais was born in Kingston but grew up in the mountains of Jamaica on a coffee farm. Here he learned to love nature and the life of rural folk. His parents, Eustace and Anna Mais, occupied a clearly marked niche in Jamaican society of those times. Below the plantocracy in landed wealth, above many wealthier farmers by virtue of education and refinement, the light-skinned Maises—a druggist and schoolteacher respectively—brought up their children in devout knowledge of Christian liturgy and hymns, with the King James Bible as the basis of belief. At home and in school, Mais read the classics of English literature. Equally, Mais learned the Creole language, rituals, songs, tales, and proverbs of the Afro-Jamaican peasantry. In this isolated world, the two Jamaicas—African and British—coexisted naturally in the mind of a child such as Roger. Nothing in his life or work

suggests that Mais ever saw himself as the "divided child" of Derek Walcott's colonial world. Division exists, but at the heart of his political doctrine lies a unifying mystical vision of the oneness of all humanity (D'Costa, 1978).

Mais's multi-faceted mind led him first through poetry, playwriting, and journalism into the political fray of the Caribbean nationalist politics of the 1930s and 1940s. His passion for social justice led him into the formation of Jamaica's political parties. A Fabian socialist, he joined the People's National Party under Norman W. Manley, and saw Alexander Bustamante, Manley's cousin and one-time ally, as a traitor to socialist ideals. One significant newspaper article stands out in this period: Mais's "Now We Know" (1944). This denunciation of Winston Churchill's vow to maintain colonial rule after the end of the war earned Mais a six-month prison sentence for sedition. When Mais mailed several copies of the article overseas to friends and foreign newspapers, the letters fell into the hands of the postal censors and formed the grounds for his arrest and imprisonment.

From these experiences came material that fired his landmark novels, *The Hills Were Joyful Together* (1953), and *Brother Man* (1954). These depictions of Jamaica's urban poor broke like thunder on the educated classes. While earlier writers had depicted the lives of Jamaica's poor, no one had ever used the novel so ruthlessly to exhibit and analyze the emotional and social pathologies of the urban underclass. No novel had chosen its central, Christlike martyr hero from the despised Rastafarians. In Mais's third and last novel, *Black Lightning* (1955), he takes the reader on a tragic journey into the center of a Jamaican artist's sensibility. Mais's significance as writer and activist are well presented in Daphne Morris's 1986 study of his work.

Written in the last eight years of Mais's life, his three novels represent his most creative period. At this time his friendships with other rising Jamaican and Caribbean writers flourished: he spent two years (1952–1954) in England and France with novelist John Hearne, returning to Jamaica only when his health became seriously impaired.

Fifty years after his death, Roger Mais challenges the postcolonial world to examine progress toward social justice. Mais's passion for national self-determination upheld the rights of all individuals and groups to discover their true natures, exploring their roles in history while creating a social contract open and beneficial to all. His journalism, playwriting, poetry, painting, and even his ventures into farming burn with a single purpose: to urge the dysfunctional colonial world of his lifetime to look at itself, unsparingly, and to use this examination as a first step toward social and political health.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Manley, Norman; People's National Party

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JEAN D'COSTA (2005)

Makandal, François

c. 1715?
January 17, 1758

After being captured and convicted of leading a small group of notorious poisoners, François Makandal was publicly executed by burning on January 17, 1758, in Cap Français, Saint Domingue (modern Haiti). There is no consensus as to the exact nature of his activities, but a majority of scholars regard Makandal as the leader of a large Maroon, or fugitive slave, conspiracy who conducted a lengthy, but ultimately unsuccessful, poisoning campaign to overthrow the French planters in the North province of the colony. Others—notably David Geggus and Pierre Pluchon—argue that the contemporary records indicate Makandal's role was significantly different in breadth and scope than is commonly believed. They contend that there was neither a large conspiracy nor an overall political element to the poisonings, but rather a concerted effort that reflected personal motivations. Both interpretations are plausible, but there is certainly much that will remain conjectural due to the limitations and discrepancies of the source material.

Born in Africa—most likely the West Central region of Kongo-Angola—François Makandal is thought to have been enslaved and brought to Saint Domingue as a youth, but relatively little is known about his early years. He was a slave on the LeNormand de Mézy plantation near Limbé, close to present-day Cap Haïtien, Haiti. While the exact details of his escape are not known, his motivations for *maronnage* have variously been attributed to either a work accident or a dispute with his master over a beautiful female slave. In the former, his hand was apparently crushed in the machinery of a cane mill—necessitating amputation—after which he was put in charge of tending live-

stock, a situation he easily escaped from. In the latter scenario, rather than submit to the whip, he chose to defy his master and flee the plantation. Subsequently, he became a Maroon, a status he maintained for somewhere between ten and eighteen years.

He has variously been portrayed as a Muslim fluent in Arabic, or as being a Vodou high priest—otherwise known as a *houngan*. But perhaps he would be more appropriately described as a *bókó*, or sorcerer. He has been celebrated for his intelligence, rhetorical ability, sexual prowess, and organizational skill, as well as his stature as a religious cult leader. But, as Geggus has argued, he was not referred to as a Maroon leader until twenty years after his death.

There is little doubt that the scale of the poisonings prior to his execution—perhaps as many as six-thousand fatalities—inspired fear and terror, not only in the white population but also among the slaves and free people of color. But the fact that the largest number of victims came from the ranks of the slaves and free blacks has led some scholars to categorize this poisoning campaign separately from other instances of Maroon resistance.

The source of his knowledge with herbal poisons is not clear, though the sheer length of his time as a maroon may be sufficient to explain it; that he possessed great skill as a poisoner is certain. He is also said to have maintained an "open school" for those wishing to learn his techniques. Before his capture he likely had three or four close associates with whom he created and distributed the poison. They were thought to be in the process of planning to poison the water source for Cap Français, when Makandal was captured—allegedly after being betrayed by a fellow slave.

His public execution galvanized an already fearsome reputation and contributed to his legendary status. While being burnt at the stake he is said to have broken free and fallen out of the fire. Although quickly retied and put back in the blaze to expire, Makandal's adherents saw the event as proof of his supernatural powers. In the popular imagination he is understood to have transformed himself into a mosquito—sometimes reported as a fly—thus fulfilling his own prophecy that he could not be killed.

Makandal's position in the national pantheon of Haitian heroes would seem to be secure, particularly since he is so often portrayed as the revolutionary forerunner to Boukman Dutty, a leader in the first weeks of the 1791 slave insurrection. Within the modern lexicon of the Haitian language, the word *makandal* retains a number of significant meanings relating to magic, secret societies, and amulets. While it is believed that his execution resulted in this cultural-linguistic legacy, there seems to be compelling evidence that the word—most likely Kikongo—predates him and was already a part of the vernacular. Regardless, his name was—and still is—associated with poison, Vodou, slave resistance, and *marronage*.

See also Haitian Revolution; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean; Voodoo

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THORALD M. BURNHAM (2005)

Malcolm X

May 19, 1925
February 21, 1965

Nationalist leader Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little and also known by his religious name, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabbazz, was the national representative of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, a prominent black nationalist, and the founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He was born in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, J. Early Little, was a Georgia-born Baptist preacher and an organizer for Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. His mother, M. Louise Norton, also a Garveyite, was from Grenada. After J. Early Little was murdered, Malcolm's mother broke under the emotional and economic strain, and the children became wards of the state. Malcolm's delinquent behavior landed him in a detention home in Mason, Michigan.

Malcolm journeyed to Boston and then to New York, where, as "Detroit Red," he became involved in a life of crime—numbers, peddling dope, con games of many kinds, and thievery of all sorts, including armed robbery. A few months before his twenty-first birthday, Malcolm was sentenced to a Massachusetts prison for burglary. While he was in prison, his life was transformed when he discovered, through the influence of an inmate, the liberating value of education and, through his family, the empowering religious/cultural message of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam. Both gave him what he did not have: self-respect as a black person.

Malcolm X addressing the crowd at a rally, 1963. *A fiery orator and controversial black nationalist, Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965. In the decades since, many commentators have begun to reevaluate the extent of his vast influence on the political and social thinking of African Americans.* UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Malcolm was released from prison in 1952, but not before he had honed his reading and debating skills. He soon became a minister in the Nation of Islam and its most effective recruiter and apologist, speaking against black self-hate and on behalf of black self-esteem. In June 1954 Elijah Muhammad appointed him minister of Temple Number 7 in Harlem. In the temple and from the platform on street corner rallies, Malcolm told Harlemites, "We are black first and everything else second." Initially his black nationalist message was unpopular in the African-American community. The media, both white and black, portrayed him as a teacher of hate and a promoter of violence. It was an age of integration, and love and nonviolence were advocated as the only way to achieve it.

Malcolm did not share the optimism of the civil rights movement and found himself speaking to unsympathetic audiences. "If you are afraid to tell truth," he told his audience, "why, you don't deserve freedom." Malcolm relished the odds against him; he saw his task as waking up "dead Negroes" by revealing the truth about America and about themselves.

The enormity of this challenge motivated Malcolm to attack the philosophy of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement head-on. He rejected integration: "An integrated cup of coffee is insufficient pay for 400 years of slave labor." He denounced nonviolence as "the philosophy of a fool": "There is no philosophy more befitting to the white man's tactics for keeping his foot on the black man's neck." He ridiculed King's 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech: "While King was having a dream, the rest of us Negroes are having a nightmare." He also rejected King's command to love the enemy: "It is not possible to love a man whose chief purpose in life is to humiliate you and still be considered a normal human being." To blacks who accused Malcolm of teaching hate, he retorted: "It is the man who has made a slave out of you who is teaching hate."

As long as Malcolm stayed in the Black Muslim movement, he was not free to speak his own mind. He had to represent the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammad, who was the sole and absolute authority in the Nation of Islam. When Malcolm disobeyed Muhammad in December 1963

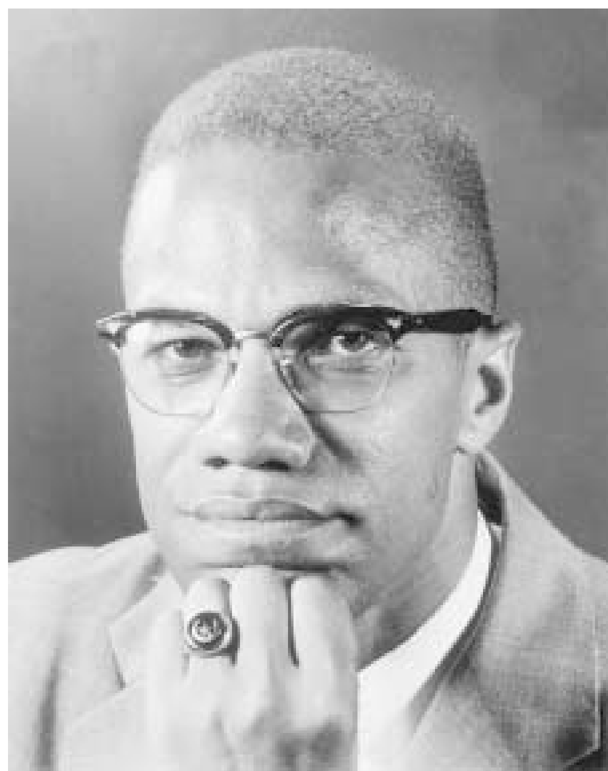
and described President John F. Kennedy's assassination as an instance of "chickens coming home to roost," Muhammad rebuked him and used the incident as an opportunity to silence his star pupil. Malcolm realized that more was involved in his silence than what he had said about the assassination. Jealousy and envy in Muhammad's family circle were the primary reasons for his silence and why it would never be lifted.

Malcolm reluctantly declared his independence in March 1964. His break with the Black Muslims represented another important turning point in his life. No longer bound by Muhammad's religious strictures, he was free to develop his own philosophy of the black freedom struggle.

Malcolm had already begun to show independent thinking in his "Message to the Grass Roots" speech, given in Detroit three weeks before his silence. In that speech he endorsed black nationalism as his political philosophy, thereby separating himself not only from the civil rights movement but, more importantly, from Muhammad, who had defined the Nation as strictly religious and apolitical. Malcolm contrasted "the black revolution" with "the Negro revolution." The black revolution, he said, is international in scope, and it is "bloody" and "hostile" and "knows no compromise." But the so-called "Negro revolution," the civil rights movement, was not even a revolution, according to Malcolm, who mocked it: "The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated public park, a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks on the toilet."

After his break Malcolm developed his cultural and political philosophy of black nationalism in "The Ballot or the Bullet." Before audiences in New York, Cleveland, and Detroit, he urged blacks to acquire their constitutional right to vote and move toward King and the civil rights movement. Later he became more explicit: "Dr. King wants the same thing I want—freedom." Malcolm went to Selma, Alabama, while King was in jail in support of King's efforts to secure voting rights. Malcolm wanted to join the civil rights movement in order to expand it into a human rights movement, thereby internationalizing the black freedom struggle, making it more radical and more militant.

During his period of independence, which lasted for approximately one year before he was assassinated, nothing influenced Malcolm more than his travel abroad. His pilgrimage to Mecca transformed his theology. Malcolm became a Sunni Muslim, acquired the religious name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabbazz, and concluded that "Orthodox Islam" was incompatible with the racist teachings of Elijah Muhammad. The sight of "people of all races, colors, from all over the world coming together as one" had a profound effect upon him. "Brotherhood," and not racism, was seen as the essence of Islam.



Malcolm X (1925–1965). AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

> *Malcolm X*
>
> "Freedom is essential to life itself. Freedom is essential to the development of the human being. If we don't have freedom we can never expect justice and equality."
>
> *MUHAMMAD SPEAKS*, SEPTEMBER 1960

Malcolm's experiences in Africa also transformed his political philosophy. He discovered the limitations of skin-nationalism, since he met whites who were creative participants in liberation struggles in African countries. In his travels abroad he focused on explaining the black struggle for justice in the United States and linking it with other liberation struggles throughout the world. "Our problem is your problem," he told African heads of state: "It is not

a Negro problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem; a problem of humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights but a problem of human rights."

When Malcolm returned to the United States, he told blacks: "You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi, if you don't know what is going on in the Congo. They are both the same. The same interests are at stake." He founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity, patterned after the Organization of African Unity, to implement his ideas. He was hopeful of influencing African leaders "to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights."

Malcolm X was not successful. On February 21, 1965, he was shot down by assassins as he spoke at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. He was thirty-nine years old.

No one made a greater impact upon the cultural consciousness of the African-American community during the second half of the twentieth century than Malcolm X. More than anyone else, he revolutionized the black mind, transforming some self-effacing colored people into proud blacks and self-confident African Americans. In the wake of the civil rights movement, and to some extent as a consequence of Malcolm X's appeal, some preachers and religious scholars created a black theology and proclaimed God as liberator and Jesus Christ as black. College students demanded and got courses and departments in black studies. Artists created a new black aesthetic and proclaimed, "Black is beautiful."

No area of the African-American community escaped Malcolm's influence. Some mainstream black leaders who first dismissed him as a rabble-rouser embraced his cultural philosophy following his death. Malcolm's most far-reaching influence, however, was among the masses of African Americans in the ghettos of American cities. Malcolm loved black people deeply and taught them much about themselves. Before Malcolm, many blacks did not want to have anything to do with Africa. But he reminded them that "you can't hate the roots of the tree and not hate the tree; you can't hate your origin and not end up hating yourself; you can't hate Africa and not hate yourself."

Malcolm X was a cultural revolutionary. Poet Maya Angelou called him a "charismatic speaker who could play an audience as great musicians play instruments." Disciple Peter Bailey said he was a "master teacher." Writer Alfred Duckett called him "our sage and our saint." In his eulogy, actor Ossie Davis bestowed upon Malcolm the title "our shining black prince." Malcolm can be best understood as a cultural prophet of blackness. African Americans who are proud to be black should thank Malcolm X. Few have played as central a role as he in making it possible for African Americans to claim their African heritage.

The meaning of Malcolm X grows deeper as people of color continue to study his life and thought. The recent "gift" of a trove of his speeches, photographs, letters, and journals to the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem (2002) promises to yield new insights into his growth and development as a thinker and leader. These important documents will eventually be made available for scholarly assessment.

Earlier in 1999, a previously unknown collection of Malcolm X's letters, school notebooks, and photographs was deposited at Emory University's Woodruff Library in Atlanta, Georgia. They date from 1941 to 1955. They show Malcolm as an articulate and eloquent writer, even as a teenager, and seriously interested in writing a book. This contrasts sharply with his portrayal of himself as ignorant in his *Autobiography*.

With the passage of time, Malcolm's image has soared. In 1965 he was widely rejected as a fiery demagogue, but today his image adorns a U.S. postage stamp. Indeed, he is regarded by many as an important African-American leader alongside of Martin Luther King Jr.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Garvey, Marcus; Muhammad, Elijah; Nation of Islam; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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JAMES H. CONE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Malê Rebellion

On the night of January 24 to 25, 1835, African-born slaves and freedpeople in the northeastern Brazilian city

of Salvador da Bahia carried out a rebellion intended to liberate themselves from slavery and create an Islamic homeland. The revolt of the Malês, a nineteenth-century Brazilian term for Muslims, involved an estimated six hundred Yoruba and Hausa from present-day Nigeria. After hours of armed battle for control of the city, military and police forces defeated the rebels and left some seventy Africans dead. Though short-lived, the 1835 rebellion stands as one of the most significant urban slave revolts in the Americas.

Background

The Malê Rebellion was one of a series of slave uprisings between 1807 and 1835 in the province of Bahia. Historians attribute this insurrectionist wave to an influx in slave imports from the Bight of Benin that brought a heavy concentration of Hausa and Yoruba, also known as Nagô, to Bahia within a few decades. Foes in Africa, the two groups overcame religious and ethnic differences to form alliances that would ultimately prove dangerous for masters. Most of these rebellions erupted in the Recôncavo, the fertile sugar area surrounding the Bay of All Saints and home to Brazil's wealthiest slave owners. The 1835 revolt differed from previous uprisings in that rebels from both the city and countryside worked to coordinate their resistance.

The structure of Brazil's urban slave system provided opportunities for conspirators to plan their attack. For urban slavery to function, slaves required a degree of autonomy to move through city streets. Many Hausa and Yoruba worked as *ganhadores*, slaves-for-hire who sold their labor on the streets of Salvador. Some maintained their own residences and saw their masters only weekly, while others turned over their wages each evening. *Ganhadores* hauled goods to and from the port or carried sedan chairs that Bahians hailed like cabs. Others worked as tailors, masons, or carpenters. The Hausa freedman Caetano Ribeiro traveled to the city to sell tobacco and other goods he purchased in the Recôncavo. Trial records indicate that female street vendors also took part in the conspiracy. The Muslim cleric Dandará, who earned his living trading tobacco at the local market, was one of several holy men involved in the movement. Through instruction in the Qur'an, clerics won converts to Islam and persuaded followers to join the movement. Slaves and freedpeople thus planned their movement in the midst of Bahia's thriving urban slave system.

The Uprising

The Muslim conspirators planned their attack to coordinate with the celebration of Our Lady of Bonfim, a Catholic holiday commemorated at a church located eight miles from the city center. The rebellion also corresponded with the end of the Muslim holiday Ramadan. The rebellion was set to begin on January 25 at 5:00AM, an hour when Africans fetched water at public fountains. Their plans, however, were betrayed. Two African freedwomen, Guilhermina Rosa de Souza and Sabina da Cruz, wife of a Nagô leader, pieced together details of the conspiracy. On the night of January 24 Guilhermina told a white neighbor about the rebels' plans. Upon learning of the plot, Provincial President Francisco de Souza Martins ordered police forces to search the homes of Africans whom Sabina da Cruz had identified as central to the conspiracy. Within two hours, forces led by police chief Francisco Gonçalves Martins entered into battle with African rebels in the streets of the upper city, amid the government buildings, theater, and churches frequented by the white slaveholding elite. For several hours the Muslim rebels engaged in armed resistance in a determined effort to overturn Bahia's white slaveholding society and replace it with an Islamic homeland. At approximately 3:00AM on January 25, Gonçalves Martins's forces met the African rebels in what would be the final battle of the uprising—in Agua de Meninos, located north of Salvador's central port along the Bay of All Saints. Some two hundred Africans fought in this last battle for control of the city, but it was Bahia's police forces that emerged victorious after killing nineteen Africans and wounding another thirteen. During the entire revolt, over seventy Africans lost their lives.

Repression

The Malê insurgents killed nine white and mixed-race Bahians, but the panic that gripped the city far exceeded those casualties. Rumors of continued insurrection circulated for weeks. Terrified, some white families left their homes to sleep offshore in canoes. Provincial President Martins dispatched military and police authorities to route out possible conspirators. In the two days following the insurrection, police arrested at least forty-five slaves and fifty freedpeople. Raids continued for months; hundreds of Africans eventually found themselves in police custody. Trials resulted in harsh punishment: death, imprisonment, flogging, and deportation. The sentences handed down conformed to masters' property interests. Slaves did not face prison terms but were instead subjected to forced labor and flogging, ensuring that owners did not lose the monetary value slave labor provided. Freedmen, on the other hand, found themselves sentenced to prison terms and, more commonly, deportation to the African coast. Floggings ranged from fifty to twelve hundred lashes. The court sentenced Pácifico Lucitan to one thousand lashes,

despite the fact he had been in jail when the rebellion began. Among those sentenced to death were Belchoir and Gaspar da Silva Cunha, who had hosted meetings where conspirators planned their attack.

In the months following the trials, many masters sold Nagô slaves out of the province—even if there was no evidence they had been involved in the conspiracy—rather than run the risk of future violence. National lawmakers responded to the Malês' revolt by passing an exceptional death penalty law that mandated death without ordinary recourse to appeal for any slave who killed or seriously injured his master, the overseer, or a member of either's family. Widespread repression of African cultural and religious expression and tightened restrictions on urban slaves ensured that the 1835 rebellion would be Bahia's last major slave insurrection.

See also Muslims in the Americas; Palmares

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ALEXANDRA K. BROWN (2005)

Manley, Edna

March 1, 1900
1987

Edna Manley was born to Harvey Swithenbank and Martha Elliot Shearer. Her father, a Wesleyan priest from Yorkshire in England, met Martha, who was a Jamaican of mixed descent, while he was on a tour of duty in Jamaica. They were married in Jamaica in 1895. Edna, the fifth of nine children, was born in England, where the family had moved after the birth of the first two children.

After leaving high school, Edna studied art at a number of English art institutions, including the prestigious St. Martin's School of Art in London. She also studied privately with Maurice Harding, the animal sculptor. In 1921 she married her cousin, Norman Manley, a Jamaican of mixed parentage and a Rhodes scholar studying law at Oxford University. After the birth of their first child, Douglas, they returned in 1922 to Jamaica, where a second son, Michael, was born in 1924.

Initially, Manley exhibited her London-made sculptures, but her work quickly evolved into personal observations of Jamaican life. Despite her European training and background, she immediately identified with the Jamaican environment and made conscious efforts to incorporate Negro-influenced forms into her work. Her first Jamaican masterpiece, *The Beadseller,* was produced in 1922. When she began making such sculptures as *Negro Aroused* (1935), *Market Woman* (1936), and *Young Negro* (1936) and exhibiting them locally, she created her own brand of European modernism, a brand of vorticism, but she infused it with a definite Caribbean take and subject matter. Vorticism was a branch futurism, headlined by British artist Wyndham Lewis, a movement that incorporated dynamism and significant form in the art of sculpture. By the 1930s Manley was concentrating on exhibiting and devoting her energies fully to Jamaica, although she still maintained connections with the London group, some of whom were members of the Bloomsbury Group.

Until the 1930s there had been little interest in contemporary art in Jamaica. Manley belonged to a group of middle-class revolutionaries who openly criticized the policies and practices of the Institute of Jamaica. Founded in 1879, the institute was mandated to "encourage the pursuit of literature, science and art in Jamaica." Despite the zeal of its librarian/curator Frank Cundall and board chair in H. G. De Lisser, the institute promoted the culture of Jamaica, thought to have no culture of its own, as part of the British Empire, privileging works by famous British artists, photographers, and printmakers. Manley and the group of middle-class revolutionaries, including Basil Parkes, S. R. Braithewaite, Douglas Judah, N. N. Nethersole, W. E. Foster-Davies, and Norman Manley, forced a resolution in 1936 to create changes in the institute's programs, among these the Junior Centre catering to the artistic needs of Jamaica's youth and the establishment of the Jamaica School of Art and Craft.

By 1940 the School of Visual Arts began as a workshop and ran for ten years, offering free art classes at the Junior Centre of the Institute of Jamaica. Jamaican youth aged eight to eighteen, such as Ralph Campbell, Albert Huie, David Pottinger, Henry Daley, Lloyd Van Patterson, and Vernal Reuben, began receiving their earliest instruction there. Petrine Archer Straw commented that there was a sympathy of vision and shared interest between tutors in painting Jamaican folk and lifestyles. Manley encouraged a movement away from the "anaemic and imitative" earlier work and introduced postimpressionism.

In the present postcolonial discourses, Edna Manley's artistic legacy in Jamaica is being recast, contextualizing her origins and class position. Because of her efforts, however, a contemporary Jamaican art movement provides a dialogue with itself, a history of artistic production, and an institution that she helped to build, using the influence of her position as the prime minister's wife. In 1995 the Cultural Training Centre of Jamaica was renamed the Edna Manley College for the Visual and Performing Arts. Her sculptural pieces, such as *Prophet* (1935), *Diggers* (1936), *Pocomania* (1936), and *Prayer* (1937), are treasured as Jamaican classics in its National Gallery and other collections. *Angel* (1970), in the Kingston Parish Church, is one of the best known of her later works.

After Norman Manley died in 1969, Edna Manley continued her prolific production of sculpture, modeled works in other media, and painting, leaving other insightful observations on her experience of Jamaica, including *Ghetto Mother* (1981) and *Birth* (1986). She died early in 1987. Her life with Norman, spiritual father of Jamaica's national movement toward independence, was mirrored in her role as image maker demonstrating Jamaica's independence struggle and unique voice.

See also Art in the Anglophone Caribbean; Manley, Norman

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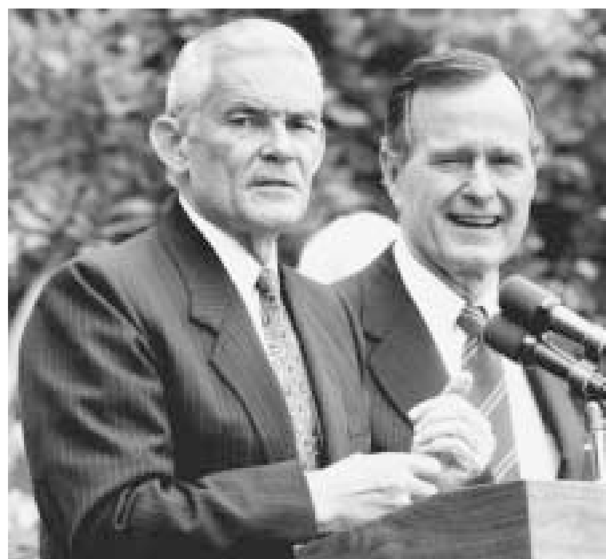
PATRICIA MOHAMMED (2005)

MANLEY, MICHAEL

DECEMBER 10, 1924
MARCH 6, 1997

Michael Norman Manley was born in suburban Kingston, Jamaica, the son of very accomplished parents. His father, Norman Washington Manley (1893–1969), was a brilliant lawyer, Rhodes scholar, phenomenal all-round schoolboy athlete, and decorated World War I veteran who later founded a national social welfare commission, led the successful campaigns for universal suffrage and independence, and was posthumously declared a National Hero of Jamaica. His mother, Edna Manley, née Swithenbank (1900–1987), was an outstanding sculptor and a facilitator and patron of Jamaican arts. Their son grew up under his mother's wings in the enriching environment and milieu of Drumblair, his parents' suburban manor, a Mecca for aspiring young writers and painters, as well as for the legal luminaries, trade unionists, and fledgling politicians who benefited from his father's counsel.



Former Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley (left) with former U.S. president George H. W. Bush in Washington, D.C., 1990. *Manley, son of People's National Party founder Norman Manley, became Jamaica's fourth prime minister in 1972. He served the nation in that capacity until 1980 and again from 1989 until his retirement in 1992.* AFP/GETTY IMAGES

EDUCATION

Michael Manley was the first school captain of his preparatory school, and he received his secondary education at the prestigious Jamaica College, where he captained the swimming team to victory in the annual schools championships in 1942. From an early age, Manley took a keen interest in Jamaica's nascent political movement as the democratic socialist People's National Party (PNP), then the only broad-based political organization in Jamaica, was launched in 1938, with his father presiding over the drafting of its constitution and being elected its first president.

While awaiting external examination results at Jamaica College, Michael Manley became involved in a bitter conflict over students' rights with two young Englishmen, one a teacher and the other the headmaster. Refusing to apologize for his utterances, Manley, then a boarding student, packed his bags and left, thereby unwittingly precipitating a two-week students' strike.

Enrolled at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, in 1943, he joined the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II, attaining the rank of pilot officer. After the war, he entered the London School of Economics, where he was tutored by the distinguished democratic socialist theoretician Professor Harold Laski. Manley earned a bachelor's degree in economics and government. He also completed a year's postgraduate study on contemporary political developments in the Caribbean.

Manley was a founding executive of the West Indian Students' Union. He was always in the vanguard of the union's negotiations with the British Colonial Office. He was one of the principal organizers of a strike against the living conditions endured by many Caribbean students in London. He also became a member of the Caribbean Labour Congress. Manley campaigned against racial discrimination in London and supported the movement for a West Indies Federation and political independence for the Anglophone Caribbean.

Manley worked for a year (1950–1951) as a journalist with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), then returned to Jamaica in December 1951 as associate editor of the socialist weekly newspaper *Public Opinion.* He was elected to the National Executive Council of the PNP in September 1952. Several powerful members of the PNP were expelled on the grounds that they were more Marxist than democratic socialist, and the leftist-controlled Trade Union Congress was disaffiliated from the party. To fill the void, the PNP leadership swiftly established a more compatible trade union, the National Workers Union (NWU), in 1953.

Trade Union Career

Manley became the sugar supervisor of the new National Workers Union in 1953. In 1955 he was elected island supervisor and first vice president of the NWU. He founded the Caribbean Mine and Metal Workers Federation in 1961 and served as its president for thirteen years.

A legendary trade unionist who brought unprecedented creativity and energy to his work, Manley earned great benefits for NWU-member workers and won acceptance for fundamental principles affecting employer-employee relationships. In 1953 the NWU won recognition of the principle that wages in the bauxite/alumina industry should be based on the companies' ability to pay rather than on parity with other wages. The result was a 300-percent increase in bauxite/alumina workers' wages. In 1962 Manley proved that Jamaica's sugar industry had made $4 million in unreported profits, and he forced a $2.5 million wage increase.

In 1964 Manley led one of the longest strikes in Jamaica's history, following the dismissal of two journalists at the state-owned Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation. Contending that the dismissals were arbitrary and unjust, Manley, a handsome six-footer, fearless warrior, and spellbinding orator, now enjoying the status of senator, led a civil-disobedience campaign that resonated throughout Jamaica. When he lay down on Kingston's streets to paralyze peak-hour traffic, he was joined by masses of Jamaicans of all classes, including some of his critics and supporters of the government who were perceived as the instigators of the dismissals. The authorities teargassed demonstrators and refused to negotiate. Manley called a nationwide strike. The government promptly established a Commission of Inquiry, which subsequently ruled in Manley's favor.

Entry into Politics

Manley entered representational politics in the 1967 general election, winning the Central Kingston constituency. After his father's retirement, he comfortably won the contest for party leadership. He was consequently appointed opposition leader in the Jamaica Parliament.

Manley zeroed in on the failings of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) administration, which had held the reins since independence in 1962. He inveighed against social injustice and inequality, which, he claimed, pervaded Jamaica. While acknowledging significant economic growth in the decade under the JLP government (1962–1972), Manley contended that the benefits were restricted to a small minority. Too many in the society faced "the blank wall of poverty," he asserted, and he attacked the human-rights record of the administration. Manley advocated a deepening of democracy, donned casual bush-jacket suits, and mobilized reggae artists to write and perform songs that carried his message—Power for the People. Manley's populism and charisma yielded thirty-seven of the fifty-three seats in the House of Representatives in the election held on leap-year day 1972. He was sworn in two days later as Jamaica's fourth prime minister.

Prime Minister Manley

Michael Manley and his government embarked on the most profound and wide-ranging program of social and

economic reform in Jamaica's history. Among other legislative measures, they established a national minimum wage, maternity leave with pay, gender equity in pay scales, the right of workers to join trade unions, a land-reform program, a national literacy program, free education to the tertiary level, a law that ended discrimination against children born out of wedlock, and a National Housing Trust that received funds from universal payroll deductions and dispensed benefits by lottery to contributors in need of housing. An inequitable Masters and Servants Act was repealed, as were laws permitting arbitrary arrest and detention of persons on flimsy grounds of suspicion. The government vigorously promoted education, cooperative development, child welfare, community health, women's rights, worker participation, and self-reliance at national and community levels. In promoting self-reliance, Manley often led communities in manual work to provide themselves with social facilities and amenities.

Following the breakdown of negotiations with U.S. multinational corporations for a more equitable share of the proceeds of Jamaican bauxite (aluminum ore), the Manley government imposed a bauxite production levy, which set alarm bells ringing not only among overseas investors but also within the Jamaican business sector.

There was apprehension too when the PNP in November 1974 reaffirmed its democratic socialist philosophy, first adopted in 1940. Although the blueprint included a mixed economy, with a clearly defined role for the private sector, some feared that the government's stated intention to control public utilities and other strategically sensitive entities signaled an encroachment of state capitalism into what was previously regarded as private-sector territory.

Despite a concerted attempt at public education to promote the democratic socialist model nationwide, within Manley's party itself there was a broad spectrum of political ideology ranging from slightly left of center to near-Marxist. Jamaican and foreign investors were rattled by the rhetoric of some of the more radical socialists. Manley's democratic instincts and reflexes would not allow him to silence his left-wingers as some critics urged, which was itself regarded as further evidence of impending communism.

World Statesman

Confusion multiplied as Manley made his mark internationally. Attending the Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Algiers in September 1973, Manley accepted a ride in neighbor Fidel Castro's aircraft. At the conference, he repeated a truism that Che Guevara brought to attention at a Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) conference in Rome in 1964—that the terms of trade were hopelessly skewed against primary-producing third-world countries of the south and in favor of the industrialized countries of the north, and that it required more and more sugar exports to finance the purchase of a single imported tractor. Manley often repeated this theme and called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in which, among other things, prices of primary products and manufactured goods would be indexed against each other. His was a highly respected voice, especially in such bodies as the Commonwealth of Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77, the Socialist International, and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries. In addition, Manley was a vice president and later honorary president (1992–1997) of the Socialist International and also chair of its Economic Committee.

Manley developed a close bond with the social democrats of northern Europe—especially Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli—whose brand of socialism was in line with the PNP's. Manley had no difficulty, however, finding common cause with more radical socialists like Cuba's Fidel Castro, whose intellect, humanity, and principled activism he admired. Manley and Castro shared the view that justice must be universal, whether in terms of domestic or international economic relations or the power equations between races.

When in December 1975 U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned Manley not to support Cuba's presence in Angola to defend that country against apartheid South Africa's incursion, Manley declined to commit Jamaica to opposing Cuba's defense of Angola or to neutrality, despite hints that noncompliance would jeopardize urgently needed financial aid. Jamaica, in concert with all of Africa, voted at the United Nations in favor of the Cuban presence in Angola. As a result, the proposed U.S. financial assistance did not materialize, and the number of operatives of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Kingston was promptly doubled.

Manley achieved considerable success in international politics, notably in negotiations leading to Zimbabwe's independence and in bringing pressure on the apartheid system through the isolation of South Africa. However, the domestic and foreign coalition against his government was overwhelming. Investment dried up. Bauxite production declined. Hotels in the vital tourism sector closed their doors. To keep the economy and vital industries alive, Jamaica's cash-strapped government bought hotels and other businesses, further fuelling fears of a communist design. The government, finding the conditionalities of the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) more and more unacceptable, decided to end its borrowing relationship with the fund and seek an alternative path. Manley turned to the oil-producing Middle Eastern states, whose mobilization of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had enriched them, partly at the expense of non-oil-producing countries like Jamaica. However, the Middle Eastern countries were more interested in investing in the developed North.

Manley's call for an NIEO was tempered by his belief in self-reliance. He became an apostle of "south-south cooperation," citing as an example the possibilities of establishing aluminum smelters and extrusion industries by marrying Jamaican bauxite with the energy derived from oil or natural gas produced by another third-world nation.

Manley was one of six hemispheric heads of government who advised Panamanian President Omar Torrijos in his successful negotiation with the United States of a new treaty to govern the ownership and use of the Panama Canal. He was a principal proponent of a Law of the Sea to provide that the world's ocean resources are harnessed as the common heritage of all humankind. His efforts contributed to the adoption of the Law of the Sea Convention and the location of the International Seabed Authority in Kingston, Jamaica.

With the flight of capital and curtailment of investment, economic conditions in Jamaica deteriorated in the 1970s. Amid accusations of destabilization by the CIA, the IMF, foreign investors, the U.S. media, and elements of the domestic business sector and the opposition JLP, politically motivated violence escalated, exacerbating an already problematic situation. Violent crimes became rampant. In June 1976 Manley declared a state of emergency during which there was some curtailment of civil liberties, including the detention of scores of alleged troublemakers. Relative calm returned during the state of emergency. Manley called a general election in December 1976 in which the PNP won forty-seven seats in the sixty-member House of Representatives. Manley's detractors subsequently contended that the state of emergency, which lasted for a year, was designed to entrench his government.

Electoral Defeat and Return to Power

Economic conditions continued worsening after the 1976 general election. So also did politically motivated violence. Manley called a general election in October 1980, at which his party was routed, winning only nine of the sixty seats in the House of Representatives.

Within two years, the impeccably accurate Carl Stone polling organization showed Manley's PNP with a comfortable lead over the JLP. However, the assassination in 1983 of Maurice Bishop, Grenada's revolutionary prime minister, and the subsequent involvement of the Jamaican army in the United States–led invasion of Grenada, was followed by a dramatic reversal in the opinion polls. Jamaica's JLP prime minister, Edward Seaga, called a snap general election for October 1983. Claiming that voter registration was overdue and that a high proportion of voters would be disfranchised, Manley led a PNP boycott of the election. The JLP won all sixty seats in the House of Representatives. The PNP waged its opposition through "people's forums" all over Jamaica.

In February 1989 Manley was swept back into power by forty-five seats to the JLP's fifteen. However, there was a sea change in his economic policy. Manley admitted that his government of the 1970s had moved too fast in attempting to cure Jamaica's social ills, and that despite a number of effective programs aimed at social and human development, the economy had contracted, resulting in hardship for many Jamaicans. Manley also admitted to the failure of his 1970s government's attempt to unite third-world countries into what he referred to as a trade union of the poor of the world. Manley acknowledged that first-world countries followed their own agenda in the face of new technologies that led to the increasing globalization of the world economy. His prescription for dealing with this new reality was liberalization of the economy and privatization of government assets. Manley argued that new-style democratic socialism would build participatory democracy on the foundation of social justice and broad ownership of the means of production. He believed that socialism had to adapt to changing times but must maintain its commitment to empowerment. After putting the new policy into effect, Manley retired in March 1992 due to ill health.

Manley subsequently worked as a consultant, journalist, coffee farmer, award-winning horticulturist, and distinguished visiting professor at six universities. He died of prostate cancer on March 6, 1997, and was buried in Jamaica's National Heroes Park in Kingston. He was survived by his wife, Glynne, whom he married in 1992, and five children by previous marriages—Rachel, Joseph, Sarah, Natasha, and David.

Michael Manley received numerous international honors and awards, mainly for his contributions toward the struggle against South African apartheid, the advocacy of the NIEO, and the deepening of democracy in Jamaica and the Caribbean. Among his honors was a United Nations gold medal and the World Peace Council's Joliot Curie Peace Award. He was the author of seven books on politics, economics, international relations, and the sport of cricket.

See also Manley, Norman; People's National Party

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LOUIS MARRIOTT (2005)

Manley, Norman

July 4, 1893
September 2, 1969

Norman Washington Manley stood in the forefront of modern Jamaican public life from the late 1930s until his death in the late 1960s. He advocated the cause of workers, founded the People's National Party (PNP), and planned and guided the transfer of power from colonial rule. He prepared his compatriots for independence, which came in 1962, and left a legacy of faith and confidence that allowed the people of Jamaica to be the architects of their destiny. After almost five centuries of colonial rule, three of these under slavery, this was no small accomplishment.

Manley laid foundations for Jamaica's two-party system, and with it an enduring form of democratic governance. He taught the Jamaican people the sanctity of the rule of law and imbued them with a will to freedom via self-government and nationhood. In addition, he left them with an understanding of the interdependence of politics and labor, of immigration and race, and taught the significance of intellect and imagination, of formal knowledge and artistic culture, to the shaping of a people emerging out of slavery and still struggling against colonialism. In his final public address, in 1969, he charged his Jamaicans to meet the challenge of "reconstructing the social and economic life of Jamaica," a charge that was to take on enduring relevance in the decades that followed, particularly with the hegemonic presence of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and globalization.

Norman Manley, prime minister of Jamaica, pictured at the Jamaica High Commission in London, 1960. *A former Rhodes Scholar who studied law at Oxford University, Manley founded the People's National Party in Jamaica, helping to lay the foundation for a democratic two-party political system in that nation.* VAL WILMER/GETTY IMAGES

Manley was born in rural Jamaica, the son of a produce dealer who was "the illegitimate son of a woman of the people" and a mother who was a postmistress (postal clerk) and an "almost pure white woman" (a "quadroon" in the color-coded hierarchy of postslavery Jamaican society). He had two sisters and a brother. During his primary and secondary schooling he developed into a brilliant, hardworking, argumentative, articulate, and intellectually curious young man, with (in his own words) "an unquenchable belief in excellence." He was "almost wholly unconscious of my country and its problems. . . . colour meant little to me. I did not, could not, allow it to be an obsession since I was totally without any idea of 'white superiority.' It was not so much arrogance but a highly developed critical faculty. The only superiority I accepted was the superiority of excellence and I suppose I knew

what I was good at but found it easy to recognise and respect quality even when I knew I could not equal it."

This spirit and intelligence, as well as his prowess as a schoolboy athlete, helped to earn him a Rhodes Scholarship in 1914 to study law at Oxford. This was to lead to an illustrious legal career in his native Jamaica, as well as in the British West Indies, where his peers soon recognized in him "a lawyer learned in the law, a man honest in his presentation of a case and an effective but eminently courteous cross-examiner." His learning and versatility were epitomized in the 1951 Vicks trademark case, when the British Lord Chancellor described his submissions as "the best argument I have ever heard in a trade mark case."

In 1914, before joining his two sisters and brother in London, where they were already studying, Manley went to visit with a maternal aunt in Penzance. She had been married to a Methodist parson from Yorkshire, who had spent almost five years in Jamaica but had since died, leaving her with nine children. There he met Edna Swithenbank, his cousin and future wife. He described her as "a little girl of 14, a strange, shy and highly individualistic person, quite unlike the rest of her family and unlike anybody I had ever known."

His studies at Jesus College, Oxford, were interrupted by war service from 1915 until 1919. He enlisted as a private in the Royal Field Artillery, refusing to be made an officer and fighting instead with the rank and file of "cockneys with a view of life all their own." To these men, he was to become something of a referee and sage. Three years of active service on the Western Front (including the battles of Somme and Ypres) brought him both sorrow (his brother was killed in action) and glory (he was decorated with a Military Medal for bravery in action).

Manley resumed studies at Oxford in 1919, and he was called to the bar on April 20, 1921. That same year he married Edna, who was to become a well-known sculptor. He then spent some time in the London chambers of S. C. N. Goodman, followed a number of famous advocates "all over the Court," and "learnt not only technique but style; and I learnt that to watch a man in action—good, bad, or indifferent—was the quickest and surest way to learn what to do and what not to do and how to do it." He returned to Jamaica in August 1922, "with a clear sum of £50, a wife, a baby and a profession." He was to develop a legendary expertise in the practice of his profession, rising to prominence as an advocate and acknowledged leader of the bar in Jamaica and the British West Indies. Manley's legal career was, however, to be subordinated, at great personal sacrifice (according to his colleague Vivian Blake), "to the major effort of his life, securing the independence of Jamaica and earning for him[self] the popular title *Father of the Nation.*" Indeed, Norman Washington Manley is clearly the foremost architect of modern Jamaica.

None of his accomplishments, as Norman Manley so well knew, were achievable without the establishment of appropriate and serviceable institutional frameworks to facilitate and foster the growth and development of individuals in communities. Such communities, he felt, had to be informed by a civic responsibility that would render citizens proud to be citizens, so that they would be imbued with the knowledge and understanding not only of the rights of individuals, but also of their obligations as part of a community, society, or nation.

As is evident in his numerous speeches and informal utterances, Manley possessed a deep understanding of the need to shape institutions that could cradle, nurture, and finally develop a vision of freedom, self-reliance, self-worth, and opportunity for all Jamaicans. It is no surprise, then, that he provided a transformational leadership (which included the enduring idea of being part of a wider Caribbean) that put into place the relevant institutions that could serve as an infrastructure for shaping a new society. That society, he believed, would in time liberate itself from what he said was the sort of "dependency which allowed no definite economy of our own, with no control over our own markets, no representatives of an authoritative character that can speak for ourselves and our own interest in the councils and debates that will take place" in the world at large.

Between 1955 and 1962, when the People's National Party held power, Manley (first as chief minister and then as premier), gave priority to agriculture, education, and industrialization. Thousand of small farmers received subsidies, and new markets were opened. The democratization of the once elitist system of secondary education was begun, along with an increase in scholarships. Primary schools were built; public library facilities were extended to all parishes; and the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation was established. A stadium was built to help foster sports, and the Scientific Research Council was established.

Manley was also the first political leader in the English-speaking Caribbean to give arts and culture a portfolio. He wanted to reverse the systemic denigration of African culture and the force of the Eurocentrism that had frustrated native expressions and threatened the quest for cultural certitude among the majority. As far back as 1939, Manley is recorded as saying "The immediate past has attempted to destroy the influence of the glory that is Africa, it has attempted to make us condemn and mistrust the vitality, vigour, the rhythmic emotionalism that we get from our African ancestors. It has flung us into conflict with the

English traditions of the public schools and even worse it has imposed on us the Greek ideal of balanced beauty." Interestingly, this speech came in the wake of his wife's prophetic and iconic piece of sculpture titled *Negro Aroused*.

Other transformational institutions were also established. The Agricultural Development Corporation and the Industrial Development Corporation were a part of Manley's vision, and they survive in one form or another to this day. So were the financial institutions, including the Bank of Jamaica, which were conceived by Noel Nethersole, Norman Manley's trusted chief lieutenant. A legislative program produced the Beach Control Act, the Facilities for Titles Act, the Land Bonds Act, the Land Development Duty Act, the Jamaica Standards Act, and the Watersheds Protection Act. Manley's empowerment of Parliament as the forum of the people's accredited representatives and as a major instrument of democratic discourse and of intellectual vigor was one of his great achievements. The Farm Development Program and the Jamaica Youth Corps, which both addressed the needs of rural and urban youth, made it possible for unemployed young men and women to realize their potential and become active citizens of their country.

Manley's institutional devising went beyond the outward signs of formal physical structures into the inward grace of human development. The neglect of this aspect of good governance since his death has presented a challenge as his successors to return to the blueprint he prepared for a self-respecting nation and a regenerative society, which he envisaged his country had to become in order to cope with the turbulent changes of an unpredictable world.

Manley's vision can be seen in Jamaica Welfare Limited, a community development modality for social and individual human development, established in 1937. The people, "the mass of the population," were a priority for Manley, and all institutional frameworks were intended to foster their retreat from the marginalization of the colonial era. Jamaica Welfare was to be nonpartisan, people-centered, and national. Unfortunately, Manley felt he had to resign his chairmanship of this institution when the People's National Party—itself transformed by the early 1940s from a movement into a full-blown political party—demanded his full attention. He was therefore disappointed greatly when, after 1962, Jamaica Welfare was replaced by a new community development program named the "Hundred Village Scheme," which he felt betrayed the principles on which the institution was founded.

If Jamaica Welfare Limited (later the Social Welfare Commission, and still later the Social Development Commission) demonstrated an institutional breakthrough towards the creative shaping of a new Jamaica, so did the founding and development of the People's National Party (PNP). Envisioned as an instrument of organized politics, political continuity, and democratic governance, this institution has stayed its course, if only because it was firmly rooted in some of the finest attributes the Jamaican people have shown themselves to possess. The PNP was a genuinely new beginning for Jamaica, and it has served as a model for similar political organizations, both at home and in the wider Caribbean. The party itself, thanks to its articulated mission statements, the vision of its founding leader, and the rationality of its internal organization, has survived the vicissitudes of being both in power and out of power (as the "Opposition").

The remarkable thing about the institutions Norman Manley helped to found was that they were neither monuments to self nor cold edifices of steel and mortar parading in high-rise splendor. Rather, they were created on the organic idea of the ultimate "independence of a self-governing Jamaica, which to him meant the liberation of the Jamaican people from centuries of psychological and structural bondage, the non-negotiable claim to human dignity and self-respect, self-definition as (full-fledged) members of the human race, and the attainment of power which comes to a people only on the conviction that they are the creators of their own destiny."

Paradoxically, Manley's efforts to have the British West Indies integrate into a federation failed after a short trial run from 1958 to 1961, when he was forced to call a referendum that resulted in the rejection of the short-lived West Indies Federation. "The people have spoken" was his immediate response of respectful concurrence, as it always was on his losing subsequent national elections. Nonetheless, Jamaica achieved independence in 1962, ending 307 years of British colonial rule. And Manley's vision of an integrated region, with a common history and contemporary problems, was to find a continuing manifestation in what is now the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM).

Manley gave to Jamaica and the wider Caribbean (itself a part of the African diaspora), the full power and force of a giant intellect and the sense and sensibility of a fertile creative imagination. His personal courage and profound decency transcended narrow partisan politics, though he admitted to having a quick "flaming temper" which took him "half a lifetime to learn to control . . . with its place . . . taken by a sort of arrogant indifference which was constantly mistaken for the real me." He nonetheless remains a role model for all leaders of African ancestry in the Americas, if only because of his single-mindedness and

dedication, his financial disinterestedness in the pursuit of public duties, and his personal integrity. His remarkable intellectual powers and gift of advocacy underlay his total commitment to the betterment of the material and spiritual welfare of the people of Jamaica. It is small wonder, then, that the government and people of his country bestowed on him the rare honor of "National Hero" soon after his death.

See also Manley, Michael; People's National Party

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REX M. NETTLEFORD (2005)

Manning, Patrick

August 17, 1946

Patrick Mervyn Augustus Manning, the third child and only son of Elaine and Arnold Manning, was born in Trinidad. His father, an early member of the Peoples National Movement (PNM), worked diligently for the party in the San Fernando East Constituency, and his home virtually became its office. Consequently, from his early childhood Patrick became acquainted with many politicians, such as Nicholas Simonette, C. L. R. James, De Wilton Rogers, and Andrew Carr, who visited his parents' home to discuss party matters.

Patrick attended the San Fernando government primary school, from which he won a scholarship to Presentation College in San Fernando. There, he earned a Cambridge School Certificate, Grade 1. He went on to study for the Higher School Certificate examination, gaining passes in pure mathematics, applied mathematics, and physics. His ambition was to study engineering in the United States. This goal was dashed when he failed to win a scholarship from an American university. He received one from Texaco Trinidad Inc., however, to study geology at the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica. On campus, Manning met other Caribbean leaders, including Percival J. Patterson, future Jamaican prime minister, and Edwin Carrington, who would become the secretary of the Caribbean Community Market (CARICOM). The first indication that he had political aspirations was his decision to contest the election for the chairmanship of his undergraduate residence hall. His slogan was "PUT A MANNING." His colleagues did not. After graduation Manning returned to Trinidad to work for the Texaco Oil Company as a geologist.

The rise of the Black Power movement at the end of the 1960s forced the PNM to make adjustments to its representation in the House of Representatives. The PNM accepted the resignation of Gerard Montano, a white man, founding member of the party, and the representative for San Fernando East since 1956. After several interviews Manning was selected as the new candidate for the constituency. The opposition did not contest the elections in 1970 because of its "no-vote campaign." Thus, the thirty-five PNM candidates, including Manning, were elected by acclaim. Since then, Manning has had an uninterrupted career in national politics in Trinidad and Tobago. He held several ministerial positions during the Eric Williams years. He was parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Works, Transport, and Communications (1976–1978), minister for the public service in the Ministry of Finance, and minister of information in the Office of the Prime Minister. Manning also acted as minister of labor, social security, and cooperatives; external affairs; national security; and agriculture, lands, and fisheries. His most prestigious duty during his apprenticeship was representing the prime minister at the Zimbabwean independence celebrations in 1980.

One of Manning's most delicate assignments came when he was appointed as the minister in charge of Tobago affairs in the Prime Minister's Office when the Ministry of Tobago Affairs was disbanded in 1976. Tobagonians voted the PNM members out of office in the 1976 elections. In spite of his long career as a representative during Williams's tenure in office, Manning was never a member of the cabinet (his earlier positions were not cabinet-level ones). His first full ministerial office was his appointment

to the Energy and Natural Resources portfolio during George Chambers's government (1981–1986). Manning served in this capacity until 1986, when the PNM was soundly defeated thirty-three to three by the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), led by A. N. R. Robinson. Manning was one of the three PNM incumbents who held their seats. President Ellis Clarke then appointed him leader of the opposition. He held this office until 1990, when Basdeo Panday formed the United National Congress (UNC) and was appointed opposition leader.

Manning led the PNM's return to power in 1991, becoming the fourth prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago. He continued in this position until he called a hasty election in 1995 and lost the government to Panday's UNC. Both parties won seventeen seats, and President A.N.R. Robinson reportedly swung the two NAR seats in Tobago to the UNC. Manning remained in opposition until 2001, when another deadlocked result created a constitutional crisis. President Robinson appointed Manning prime minister, and in the following year he won the 2002 election, thus remaining the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago. In the 2003 county council elections, Manning scored his most impressive political victory over the UNC. This achievement indicated that he had made inroads, even if only temporarily, into UNC strongholds.

See also Black Power Movement; Chambers, George; Clarke, Ellis; Peoples National Movement; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean; Robinson, A. N. R.; Williams, Eric

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SELWYN H. H. CARRINGTON (2005)

Manumission Societies

The manumission societies of the first half of the century after American independence were eventually eclipsed by the more radical antislavery organizations of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. While the manumission societies looked to a day when the slave system would be uprooted and destroyed, they, unlike the "immediatists" in the camp of William Lloyd Garrison, were prepared to see emancipation proceed gradually. The rhetoric was also strikingly different. The later generation of abolitionists would denounce slave owners as "man-stealers" and "woman-whippers," while the earlier generation saw them not as moral degenerates but as misguided individuals who needed to be shown the error of their ways.

There was also the issue of who should participate in the work of emancipation. The manumission societies were exclusively male and exclusively white. There was none of the involvement of white women and African Americans that would characterize Garrisonian abolition and outrage its opponents. And yet, despite the differences, the older organizations prepared the way for their more outspoken successors, while the "gradualist" impulse was not entirely absent from the later phase of the antislavery struggle.

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society was a Quaker monopoly when it was established in 1775. It initially focused on rescuing free people unlawfully held as slaves. Moribund during the Revolutionary War, it was revived in 1784 by individuals from various religious denominations. In the interval Pennsylvania had enacted a gradual-abolition law, and monitoring its enforcement became a major part of the society's work. Other states and cities followed the lead of Pennsylvania. From 1784 to 1791 manumission societies were established in every state except the Carolinas and Georgia, and by 1814 societies could be found as far west as Tennessee and Kentucky.

The socioeconomic status of the abolitionists varied from region to region. In the North, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Rush joined the antislavery ranks. In contrast, the Kentucky Abolition Society was composed of men in "low or . . . middling circumstances" (Berlin, p. 28). The Maryland Abolition Society was made up of local merchants and skilled craftsmen—those least likely to use slaves or to lose money and prestige if slavery were abolished.

Policy on admitting slaveholders to membership varied. The Pennsylvania and Providence, Rhode Island, societies excluded them altogether. The Maryland society made them eligible for some offices. The Alexandria, Virginia, society admitted them, as did the New York Manumission Society. Indeed, as Shane White (1991) points out, some New Yorkers acquired slaves after joining. White contends that for some years the emphasis of the New Yorkers was not so much on challenging slavery as on removing the worst abuses in the slave system. They

saw themselves as humane masters who were reacting against what they regarded as appalling acts of cruelty perpetrated by southern and Caribbean slave owners, and occasionally by those in their own state.

As the character of the membership varied, so did the goals of the individual societies. On some things they were agreed. The foreign slave trade must be outlawed; abusive treatment of slaves should be punished; where they had been enacted, manumission laws should be enforced. In New York, New Jersey, and the upper South, where gradual-emancipation laws had not been passed, the societies attempted to exert pressure on lawmakers. There were some notable successes, although it is debatable how much was due to the humanitarian impulse. In the upper South, economic dislocation after the Revolutionary War had brought changes in labor requirements and patterns of agricultural production. In 1782 Virginia legislators repealed the ban on private manumissions, and Maryland and Delaware quickly followed suit.

The manumission societies made efforts to address the plight of free people of color, since there was general agreement that their freedom must be safeguarded. Free blacks were offered advice about their conduct and encouraged to use their influence with slave kinfolk and friends to urge them to endure patiently. There was also practical assistance. The Pennsylvania and New York societies sponsored schools that trained a generation of African-American community leaders. The Pennsylvanians in particular developed a number of economic initiatives: would-be entrepreneurs received assistance, employment offices were established, and prosperous African Americans and sympathetic whites were encouraged to hire black indentured servants.

In 1791 there was a concerted effort by nine manumission societies to petition Congress to limit the foreign slave trade. When that effort failed, the New York society proposed the formation of a national convention to coordinate future action. In 1794 a convention was held in Philadelphia to organize the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race.

Conventions were annual until 1806, after which they became less frequent. At each meeting, member societies presented reports on their progress. Representatives from more distant societies were often unable to attend, but they submitted reports. There were contacts with foreign organizations, such as the London-based African Institution and Les Amis des Noirs in Paris. Delegates occasionally heard from influential African Americans, such as James Forten. As for policy decisions, in 1818 Forten denounced the work of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in an address to the convention. In 1821 the convention expressed its disapproval of the Liberian scheme, but in 1829, after many individual societies had already endorsed the ACS, the convention announced its approval of voluntary emigration.

Gradually the power and influence of the manumission societies declined. For more than two decades, the abolitionist impulse remained strong in the upper South. In 1827, for instance, the American Convention reported that while the free states had twenty-four societies, the slave states had 130. Many factors led to the demise of abolition societies in the region, including slave rebellions and the spread of the plantation economy south and west, which meant a lively market for "surplus" slaves.

In the North the crisis surrounding the Missouri Compromise took a toll. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, for instance, suffered a wave of resignations in the early 1820s. As for the American Convention, it met for the last time in 1832 and was formally dissolved in 1838, by which time it had been supplanted by a new and, in many respects, more radical antislavery movement.

See also Abolition; Slavery

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JULIE WINCH (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Manzano, Juan Francisco

c. 1797
1853

Born during a sugar boom that was transforming Cuba into the world's most valuable slave-based colony, Juan Francisco Manzano became not only a celebrated poet but also the author of the only autobiography ever written by a Latin American slave that was published before Emancipation. He learned to read and write while serving as a domestic slave in the urban households of the island's titled nobility. He published his first verses, *Poesías líricas,* in 1821. His talents attracted the attention of Domingo del Monte, the island's most influential intellectual, and in 1836, after hearing Manzano recite "Mis treinta años," a touching personal sonnet, del Monte and members of his literary circle raised a sum equivalent to $800 to purchase Manzano's freedom from María de la Luz de Zayas.

Encouraged by del Monte, Manzano had begun writing his autobiography the previous year. Only the first of two parts of the completed manuscript has survived. In 1839 del Monte handed an edited, fifty-two-page Spanish version of part one to Richard Robert Madden, a visiting British official and abolitionist, who seized on Manzano's words to promote the international antislavery crusade. In Britain, Madden translated the manuscript along with samples of Manzano's poetry for publication. He introduced Manzano's story in 1840 as "the most perfect picture of Cuban slavery that ever has been given to the world." Madden depicted a humble, unambiguous slave suffering unremitting humiliation and debasement by whites, although, in truth, he simplified Manzano's more complicated portrayal of himself and his insular world by omitting and reordering passages in the Spanish manuscript. Not until 1937, after Cuba's national library purchased a manuscript copy of part one of the autobiography once owned by del Monte, was a Spanish edition of the manuscript published for the first time.

Manzano speaks of the "vicissitudes" of life, as his fortunes swing between masters and mistresses of different temperament. The Marquesa de Jústiz de Santa Ana (Beatriz de Jústiz y Zayas) doted on Manzano in his early youth as if he were her own child. His subsequent mistress, the Marquesa de Prado-Ameno (María de la Concepción Aparicio del Manzano y Jústiz), capriciously brutalized him. For various missteps, Manzano suffered lashings, beatings, head shavings, imprisonment in stocks or makeshift jails, and transportation to the countryside for a stretch of hard time on a sugar plantation. He expressed ambivalent feelings for those above and below him in Cuba's graduated color hierarchy. He practiced Catholicism, and although he tended to identify with white culture, he remained lovingly attached to his mixed-race family members, from whom he was often distanced. While receiving punishment in the countryside, Manzano felt abandoned, like "a mulatto among blacks." He married twice, first to a woman of darker skin (Marcelina Campos). His second marriage in 1835 to a free woman of color (María del Rosario) provoked dissent from her kin who complained that Manzano's slave status and darker phenotype made him unworthy.

Anticipating that one day he would obtain his "natural right" to freedom, Manzano consciously developed the skills of an artist, tailor, chef, and artisan. Creating poetry helped ease the burdens of a delicate, intellectual man, and in his artistic endeavors, he acquired a substantial measure of self-redemption from the social death of slavery. Indeed, he ends part one of the manuscript in rebellion against his abusive treatment, fleeing to Havana on a stolen mount. In 1844 Spanish officials arrested Manzano along with thousands of other persons of color on suspicion of involvement in the alleged revolutionary Conspiracy of La Escalera. He remained in jail for about a year, a repressive experience that appears to have silenced his creative voice.

See also Autobiography, U.S.; Literature

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ROBERT L. PAQUETTE (2005)

Marley, Bob

February 6, 1945
May 11, 1981

Robert (Bob) Nesta Marley was born under British colonialism in the parish of St. Ann's. In the 1950s he moved to the capital city of Kingston, where he resided in the

working-class community of Trench Town, a cauldron of black redemptive ideas and practices, and the home of extraordinarily talented musicians. Marley and the musicians Neville O'Riley Livingston (Bunny Wailer), Peter McIntosh (Peter Tosh), and Junior Braithwaite, along with two female singers (Beverley Kelso and Cherry Smith) formed The Wailing Rudeboys, the forerunner of Bob Marley and the Wailers. Marley was particularly influenced by African-American rhythm and blues (R&B) vocal groups and by the culturally transgressive behavior of the Jamaican urban "Rudebwoys." By the 1960s in Jamaican popular musical culture, African-American R&B began to give way to ska, a musical form composed of jazz references and R&B lead singers' riffs, though the driving beat was faster and drew from the indigenous Jamaican mento musical tradition.

Marley's early musical and cultural influences were many. In the American state of Delaware, where he briefly lived, the civil rights movement and the musical talents of Curtis Mayfield and the Impression influenced him. In 1966, when he returned to Trench Town, Marley developed a relationship with a central figure of the Rastafari movement, Mortimer Planno. By then Rastafari had become the most important intellectual and musical influence on popular Jamaican music, and ska had changed into reggae. Marley's music represented one of reggae's most subtle and radical voices. For Marley, reggae was "the people's music . . . it was music about ourselves and history . . . things that they would never teach you in school" (Marr, 2000). In Jamaica, Marley became an important voice, and he deployed music as a form of social commentary and criticism against Jamaican postcolonial society. Using the philosophy of Rastafari, Marley composed music that carved out his place as a major figure in international black popular culture, and in world culture in general. He regarded himself as a revolutionary who used music as a weapon: "mi is a revolutionary that tek no bribe and fight single hand with music" (Marr, 2000).

Although credited with placing reggae as a distinct international musical form in twentieth-century popular culture, Marley's genius was that of a songwriter. Using the musical vocabulary of reggae, Marley's lyrics were derived from three sources: Jamaican proverbs, Rastafari philosophy, and an interpretation of the Bible. In black popular and intellectual traditions, he stands as a prophetic figure writing and singing about the experiences of black modernity—especially slavery, displacement, exile, colonialism, the meaning of Africa to the New World black population, and redemption. His enduring popularity resides in the fact that his musical vision represents a search for the meaning of freedom. As he sang in "Redemption Song": "Won't you help to sing these songs of freedom." Bob Marley died from cancer on May 11, 1981.

See also Rastafarianism; Reggae

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RastaMan Vibration. London: Island, 1976.
Exodus. London: Island, 1977.
Kaya. London: Island, 1978.
Survival. London: Island, 1979.
Uprising. London: Island, 1980.
Confrontation. London: Island, 1983.
Songs of Freedom. London, Island, 1992

ANTHONY BOGUES (2005)

Maroon Arts

Throughout the Americas, from Brazil to the United States, there were Africans who escaped from slavery, banded together, and forged a new life beyond the reach of their former "masters." These people, and their present-day descendants, are known as Maroons. In many instances their communities were destroyed by colonial armies, but in others their long wars of liberation were finally successful, and they won their freedom (and territorial integrity) well before the general emancipation of slaves.

Among the numerous societies that have survived and retained a distinctive identity as Maroons (e.g., in Jamaica, Colombia, Brazil, Belize, Mexico, and the United States),

those that were formed in the Dutch colony of Suriname, on the northeast shoulder of South America, have long been recognized as the largest and most culturally distinctive. Their population today is roughly 120,000. The six groups of Suriname Maroons (one of which crossed into neighboring French Guiana at the end of the eighteenth century), each with its own political leadership, share their history of rebellion and the main lines of their way of life in villages along the rivers of the rain forest, though they also differ culturally in many ways. The Saramaka and Matawai people of central Suriname speak variants of a language known to linguists as Saramaccan, while the Ndyuka, Paramaka, and Aluku people of eastern Suriname and western French Guiana speak a different language known as Ndyuka (closely related to the language of the smallest Suriname Maroon group, the Kwinti, the farthest to the west). The staple food of the eastern Maroons is cassava, and that of the central Maroons is rice. Musical forms, tale-telling genres, religious cults, patterns of wage labor, the division of labor by gender, and other aspects of life also vary significantly, especially between the central and eastern groups.

These Maroons (once known as "Bush Negroes") have a long-standing reputation as accomplished artists. Until recently this meant woodcarving, which is done by men, but the women's arts of patchwork, embroidery, and calabash carving are now recognized as well. As with other aspects of their cultures, the arts of the Maroons of central Suriname and those to the east display marked differences.

Saramaka openwork door, carved about 1930 by Heintje Schmidt. *From Sally Price and Richard Price,* Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora, *Beacon Press, 1999.* COPYRIGHT © 1999 BY SALLY PRICE AND RICHARD PRICE

Woodcarving

Maroon men have always carved a variety of objects needed for life in the rain forest, many of which they embellish and present as gifts to wives and lovers. The list is long: houses, canoes and paddles, stools, storage cabinets, trays, peanut-grinding boards, kitchen utensils, laundry beaters, combs, mortars and pestles, drums, and more. In the past they also created ingenious African-style door locks; today, the repertoire continues to expand—in the form of elaborately carved planks used for the back seats of motorcycles, for example. Central Maroons often embellish their carvings with decorative tacks, inlays of different woods, and *pyrogravure*. Eastern Maroons have developed a very different style that combines woodcarving with colorful designs executed with commercial paints.

In addition to producing carvings for use in the villages of the interior, some men (mainly Saramakas) have, since at least the early twentieth century, been making objects for tourists, selling them at roadside stands or, through middlemen, to souvenir stores in the coastal cities. Today, as Maroons adopt an increasingly Westernized lifestyle, a few young artists (especially Alukus and Ndyukas in French Guiana) are becoming full-time professionals— painting on canvas, exhibiting their work in museums, and selling to an international market. These artists have endorsed a long-standing staple of received wisdom about Maroon art: the idea that it centers on "readable" motifs with symbolic meanings, thus turning a Western stereotype of "primitive art" into a lucrative interpretive discourse.

Early writing on Maroon woodcarving described it as an original African art form, and visitors to Maroon villages were quick to imagine direct formal continuities with the arts of Africa. Today, however, it is known that African influences in Maroon art are subtle underpinnings to a dynamic and constantly evolving art history; specific forms and decorative styles are more marked by change and innovation than by rigid fidelity to an African past. Long-term research by the French geographer Jean Hurault has documented four distinct styles of woodcarving through time among the Aluku Maroons, and parallel work among

the Saramaka has also produced a definitive sequence of styles. In both cases, the earliest evidence of a woodcarving tradition among Maroons dates back only to about the mid-nineteenth century, when the relatively crude beginnings were made with tools that are still in use: knives, chisels, and compasses.

A quick summary of Saramaka woodcarving styles will illustrate the nature of change, conceptualized by Maroon woodcarvers as a march of progress—something along the lines of (as one elderly man explained it) the changes between automobiles of the 1920s and those of the late twentieth century. Carving during the second half of the nineteenth century, generally known to Saramakas as "owls' eyes" and "jaguars' eyes," consisted of crudely pierced circular and semicircular holes, crescent-shaped incisions, a small number of motifs in bas-relief, and limited use of decorative texturing. The next style—"monkey-tail" carving, which came into vogue in the early twentieth century—represented considerable technical refinement, with scrolls and spirals dominating the complex designs and the use of decorative tacks (purchased in coastal towns) expanding significantly. A third style—"wood-within-wood"—centered on sinuous patterns of interwoven bas-relief bands, combined with greater amounts of textural detail and a gradually diminishing use of tacks. Men carved wood-within-wood designs for much of the twentieth century, and they are still producing them, sometimes in conscious imitation of earlier designs, which they carefully copy from illustrations in books on Maroon art. Around the 1960s a fourth style, more angular than sinuous, was developed, as carvers began downplaying the prominence of bas-relief, increasing the role of incised lines (either running along the center of interwoven bands or creating nestled forms of concentric shapes), and allowing crosshatching and other texturing patterns to overtake piercing and tacks in importance.

Textile Arts

Maroon clothing has, from the first, been sewn from commercial-trade cotton rather than locally woven fabric. The cloth was first obtained via raids on the plantations during the wars of liberation. Following the eighteenth-century peace treaties, it was received as part of the tribute paid to the Maroons by the colonists. After the general emancipation of slaves in the colony, when Maroon men began conducting wage-labor trips to the coast, often for several years at a stretch, their earnings provided the cash to stock up on cloth, tools, kitchenware, kerosene, salt, and a variety of manufactured necessities (which today include outboard motors, tape recorders, and chain saws) for life back in the villages.

A Saramaka comb, collected in the late 1920s. *From Sally Price and Richard Price,* Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora, *Beacon Press, 1999.* COPYRIGHT © 1999 BY SALLY PRICE AND RICHARD PRICE

In Maroon villages, the basic items of dress are breech cloths for men and boys, wrap-skirts for women, and pubic aprons for teenage girls, supplemented by varying amounts of ritual jewelry, such as protective armbands and necklaces. In the early years, clothing for the upper body was minimal, but, over time, shoulder capes became more and more standard for men. Women used some of the imported cotton for their own wrap-skirts, which they simply hemmed on the edges and secured at the waist with a sash or kerchief. During the second half of the nineteenth century, they began to embellish the men's monochrome or subtly striped capes with curvilinear embroidery designs, sometimes supplemented with patchwork or appliqué. The contours were first sketched out with a piece of charcoal, and then executed in thread that had been laboriously extracted from lengths of cloth. The dominant colors were red, white, and black.

With the passage of time, patchwork and appliqué spread onto the whole garment, and in the early twentieth century capes were being sewn in vibrant compositions made up of monochrome fabric (still predominately in red, white, and black) cut into small rectangles and triangles and sewn into strips, which were then joined together to form the whole. Later, when coastal stores began stocking colorfully striped cloth, women used it for their own unembellished skirts, turning the leftover edge trimmings into a new art of narrow-strip patchwork, mainly for men's capes; this style has reminded many observers of West African kente cloth, even though it was invented many generations after the Maroons' last contact with Africa.

Cross-stitch embroidery, introduced by missionaries, was the rage for much of the second half of the twentieth century, but it in no way signaled the end of internal change in Maroon textile arts. New forms, such as elaborate yarn crochet-work and sinuous designs in reverse-appliqué, marked the 1990s, and a decade later men's capes were being made with an innovative double-layer technique never seen before.

Calabash Carving

The Maroon art of carving bowls from the fruit of the calabash tree has, over time, moved from men's hands to those of women, and from the exterior surface of the fruit to the interior surface of the shell that remains once the fruit's pulp has been removed. Nineteenth-century calabashes were often made into covered containers for storing rice and other foodstuffs, and these *apaki*, which displayed geometric designs incised and textured with men's woodcarving tools such as compasses and chisels, continued to be made throughout the twentieth century. Fairly early on, however, women began experimenting with the unused interiors of the bowls, making crude scratchings on them with pieces of broken glass. Their technical mastery of this recycled tool quickly evolved, producing a new, aesthetically organic art totally unlike the men's rigidly geometric style. The designs of Eastern Maroon women center on convex forms defined by scraped-away borders, and those of central Maroon women on concave shapes defined by internal scraping. Some calabash carvings can be read in terms of either their convex or their concave forms, suggesting the possibility of a common beginning for the art of the two regions, followed by a gradual divergence in the definition of figure and ground. Calabashes carved by women provide a range of objects, from spoons and ladles to bowls for rinsing rice and drinking water. The most elegantly carved are served to groups of men who eat together, providing both drinking cups and bowls for washing hands at the end of the meal.

Performance Arts

Maroons' appreciation of novelty and innovative ideas, which runs through the entire history of their visual arts, characterizes the verbal and performative arts as well. Speech itself is a creative domain, as cohorts of young men communicate among themselves in play languages they have invented, as older folks hone the fine art of speaking in esoteric proverbs, as women assign fanciful names to new cloth patterns from the coast, and as everyone enjoys mimicry, ellipsis, and witty manipulations of normal speech. Popular songs (whether, for example, in the form of Saramaka *seketi,* Aluku *awawa,* or Ndyuka *aleke)* are created spontaneously, and change as rapidly as popular music in the United States.

Large-scale communal events, especially certain stages of the long and complex process that ushers a deceased person into the realm of the ancestors, provide an occasion for the performance of secular song and dance, a range of drumming traditions (including appropriate phrases on the *apinti, or* "talking drum"), and tales that weave back and forth from teller and listeners, with the narration punctuated by song and dance. Different classes of deities (warrior gods, forest spirits, snake-gods, and more) also participate, manifesting themselves through spirit possession. Special ritual singing is performed, and the ancestors are addressed through prayer. Culinary delicacies are provided for the whole crowd, and apart from close family members, who wear the drab garments of mourning, participants dress in the latest fashions. Romantic encounters are an expected part of the festivities. A large, joyful multimedia celebration stands as the community's ultimate honor to a departed brother or sister.

A Saramaka round-top stool, carved 1997 by Menie Betian. *From Sally Price and Richard Price,* Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora, *Beacon Press, 1999.* COPYRIGHT © 1999 BY SALLY PRICE AND RICHARD PRICE

Life Beyond the Rain Forest

During the final decades of the twentieth century, political events in Suriname and French Guiana brought dramatic changes to the Maroons. Suriname moved away from its ties to Europe by becoming an independent republic, and French Guiana moved closer to Europe through rapid development in connection with the establishment of the Guiana Space Center, from which the European Space Agency launches satellites, in 1968. A six-year civil war in Suriname, and the consequent exodus of thousands of Maroons to French Guiana, produced further upheavals. The territorial sovereignty, political independence, cultural integrity, and economic opportunities of Maroons, not to mention basic issues of health and personal dignity, have fallen victim to these developments.

Adaptations in the artistic life of Maroons have been just one aspect of the larger adjustments being made. Woodcarving has taken a turn toward commercialization, and the previously unchallenged assumption that every man would be able to carve everything from combs to canoes is on the way out. Women have, by force of necessity, become increasingly independent, supporting themselves in coastal settings through the sale of their art or through jobs as domestics. More generally, the market in Maroon art, formerly a male domain, has come to include women's work as well, with the formation of cooperatives promoting the sale of embroidered hammocks, appliquéd beach-chair seats, carved calabashes, and more. And significant numbers of Maroons now live in Europe (especially the Netherlands), where they hold jobs, for example as schoolteachers or nurses.

Does this mean that aesthetic creativity, verbal play, richly elaborated oratory, the role of the ancestors, and a sense of community are things of a traditional past? No, at least not for a long time to come. The cultural life of Maroons has always displayed (indeed, thrived on) resilience and adaptability. From apartment blocks in Rotterdam to thatch-roofed houses on the upper Suriname River, Maroons are confronting the ever-increasing threats to their cultural life with the same strong sense of identity that allowed their early ancestors to carve out their independence against overwhelming odds.

See also Art; Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Maroon Wars; Performance Art; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

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SALLY PRICE (2005)

Maroon Societies in the Caribbean

The term *marronage*—derived from the Spanish word *cimarron,* originally applied to escaped cattle living in the wild—came to refer exclusively to the phenomenon of persons running away to escape from the bonds of enslavement, which was almost universal wherever plantation slavery existed in the Americas. From the early days of slavery, French commentators distinguished between *petit marronage*, a short-term and temporary running away of small numbers of slaves, and the far more serious *grand marronage*, involving large, self-sustaining, and often long-lasting African-American communities that were adept in guerrilla tactics of self-defense and even threatened the safety of the colonial plantation regimes.

Maroon Societies

It was almost axiomatic that *grand marronage* occurred whenever and wherever there was a sufficient number of willing and capable escapees and suitable refuges, and it succeeded for long periods when such persons and locations fulfilled certain basic criteria. Runaway communities established themselves in areas of forest, swamp, or mountains, which provided ample concealment and were easily defended in guerrilla warfare. These locales also provided adequate sustenance, in the way of wild fauna and flora, the running of semi-wild stock, and forms of shifting (though far from casual) cultivation. Generically referred to as Maroon settlements in the anglophone literature, such communities were variously known in different parts of Latin America as *palenques, quilombos, cumbes, mocambos, mambises* or *ladeiras.* All, however, exhibited essential similarities.

Leadership, community organization, and demographic factors were as vital as ingenuity, determination, and hardihood in keeping these settlements going. In the earliest years, and in areas where Amerindians were leading the struggle against European colonial incursions, African runaways often pooled resources and skills with the pre-Columbian natives, gradually miscegenating, and even becoming dominant, among such obdurate and effective resisters as the "Black Caribs" (Garifuna) of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Honduras; the Afro-Indians of the "Miskito Shore" of Central America; and the Seminoles of early-nineteenth-century Florida. Just as often, though, Amerindians did not mix with African-American Maroons, and at times they even allied themselves with the colonial regimes as runaway slave catchers. Accordingly, the majority of successful Maroon communities (most famously, the long-lived *quilombo* of Palmares in Portuguese Brazil and the Djuka and Saramaka of Dutch Suriname) as far as possible retained the lineaments of a transplanted African culture, including their language, customs, beliefs, material crafts, and foodways, as well as fighting modes and, where and when it was preferable, opportunistic diplomacy.

Given the calculated policy of the colonial regimes to mix African slaves as far as possible, the Africanness of Maroon communities was more generic than specific to any one area of origin. Large concerted groups of runaways were rarely of the same African ethnicity, and they were in the process of forging an Afro-Creole identity that, especially as time went on, owed as much to the plantations from which they had escaped and the American mainland or Caribbean environment in which they now lived. For example, they usually employed a creolized version of the language of the dominant colonial power as a *lingua franca*, and they showed great flexibility in adapting to American cultivation methods and cultigens. However, the leadership of runaways, warriors, and nascent Maroon polities did tend to devolve on to individuals who came from, or borrowed the characteristics, of the most stalwart and obdurate of African peoples. Most notable of these were the Akan speakers of the Ashanti region of modern Ghana—usually called Coromantees—who had a long and distinguished reputation as warriors, were adept at subsistence in the forest, and had legendary skills in the arts of guerrilla warfare, including concealment, camouflage, rapid movement, long-distance communication (by drum, conch shell, and the cowhorn *abeng*), and the expert use of firearms.

No such community, however, could sustain itself in a posture of perpetual war, and the relationship between all Maroon groups and the dominant plantation regimes

***Fugitive slaves, known as maroons, gather around a campfire by a river bank.** The image is from* Harper's Weekly, *c. 1860.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

was necessarily closer and more symbiotic than some commentators have been willing to acknowledge. Few, if any, Maroon communities were totally sundered from the colonial plantation economy and society. Though slave families often ran away together, the majority of slave runaways were mature males. To sustain Maroon communities over a long period, it was, of course, vital to achieve a viable demographic balance, and slave plantations were a necessary source of nubile females and children, as well as mature male warrior recruits.

Plantations and colonial towns were also the necessary sources of those commodities which the Maroons could not, easily or at all, produce or manufacture for themselves, such as stock animals and other foodstuffs, salt, cloth, needles, tools, metals and (most vital and dangerous of all) firearms and gunpowder. These were often captured, looted, or rustled, but to a remarkable degree they were also obtained through trade. In any case, quite apart from the geographical limits imposed on Maroon communities situated on islands, it was inevitable that the majority of Maroon and colonial communities were located within easy reach of each other, with plantation provision grounds on the margins of estates and the marketplaces of colonial seaside towns becoming complex meeting grounds and crossing points—constituting what has been termed a "semi-permeable membrane" in the structure of colonial slave societies. In the Caribbean, a remarkable number of disaffected slaves "ran away" by sea, and Maroon communities often demonstrated great ingenuity and skill in moving and communicating between islands and the mainland by canoe—making a hitherto under-studied category of "maritime Maroons."

Even more complicating were the formal or informal diplomatic arrangements that Maroons and colonists forged, either from necessity or through mutual convenience. Colonial regimes attempted to extirpate Maroons

wherever they could, and Maroon communities were often prepared to fight to the death rather than surrender. But in cases so numerous as almost to constitute a rule, the sides were persuaded by stalemated or unsustainable fighting to negotiate treaties of accommodation. Typically, Maroon communities that were already recognized polities under acknowledged leaders were granted lands, limited rights of self-government, minimal oversight, and permission to trade—in return for promises of peace and help in the return of further runaways, and in the event of foreign attacks.

Such treaties, however superficially generous their wording, were predictably slanted in favor of the imperial regimes that wrote them, and they were notoriously reversible once the balance of power shifted once again. The Maroon communities—like those of Jamaica, which retained their political and cultural (if not economic) autonomy through the prolonged turmoil of the Age of Revolution, slave emancipation, and plantation decline into the era of political independence—are therefore magnificent manifestations of the will and ability of oppressed peoples to resist the dominant tides of history, to make a life of their own, and to endure.

The Jamaican Maroons

Of the dozens of Maroon communities, containing thousands of individuals and lasting hundreds of years (notably in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, the Guianas, and the islands of the Greater Antilles), and the almost innumerable lesser examples of *grand marronage* occurring on the margins of plantation economies throughout colonial America, those of Jamaica are probably the best known and the most quintessential. They exhibit and illustrate virtually all the general features and phases of Maroon history and society already mentioned, and they extend over the five hundred years from the coming of the first European colonists up to modern times, long after colonial independence.

Jamaica is not a huge island (some 140 miles east to west and 45 miles at most from north to south) but its topography and climate made it almost ideal as a Maroon habitat. Though its well-watered plains and interior valleys are extremely fertile and suitable for plantations, especially those growing sugar, its predominantly limestone geology provided rocky and forested refuges on the very margins of the cultivable land. Even more important than this general feature, Jamaica also possessed two major areas of awesome impenetrability; the vertiginous Blue Mountains (peaking at 7,400 feet) in the windward Northeast, and the 500 square miles of confusingly jumbled "Cockpit Country," stretching over much of the central and northwestern sections of the island. Though the one was as isolated and easily defensible as the other, it was not just the differences in these two habitats, but the difficulties of access to and communication between them, that made for subtle variations between the Jamaican Windward and Leeward Maroons, as well as the small but significant differences in their histories.

The history of Jamaican Maroons dates back to the takeover and minimal exploitation of the island by the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century, but it was substantially shaped by the English conquest of Jamaica in 1655 and the subsequent development of slave plantations. There were troublesome *palenques* in the Jamaican backwoods throughout the Spanish period, and the last settlements of the Amerindian aboriginals probably survived in the Blue Mountains at least until 1600. In 1655 the Spanish authorities positively encouraged their black slaves and mulatto freedmen to take to the woods to share the resistance to the English invasion. But the most notable *palenquero*, Juan de Bolas (alias Juan Lubolo), whose "polink" was on the southern slope of Lluidas Vale in the center of the island, set a local precedent by siding with the invaders in return for a title for himself and virtual autonomy for his followers. De Bolas assisted in the final defeat and expulsion of the Spaniards in 1660, but was himself ambushed and killed by the unyielding "Varmahaly Negroes" led by his rival Juan de Serras in 1663.

Because of de Bolas's evident affinity for Jamaica and his accommodationist tactics the novelist Victor Stafford Reid characterized him as the first authentic Jamaican in 1976. However, de Bolas has, perhaps understandably, never been accorded the official modern title of Jamaican Hero. More fortunate have been the less equivocal leaders of the subsequent resistance to the spread of the colonial slave plantation economy—the Coromantees Nanny, Cuffee (Kofi) and Quao (Kwahu) of the Windward Maroons, and Cudjoe (Kojo) and his brothers Accompong and Johnny of the Leeward Maroons—Of these, the almost legendary Nanny is the sole woman elected to the official pantheon of Jamaican National Heroes.

The spread of the Jamaican plantation economy was slowed both by the topography and the difficulties of preventing the necessary slave laborers from escaping and defending themselves in the interior fastnesses. Over more than a half century, the Jamaican Maroons were steadily reinforced by runaways, including some entire plantation slave populations rebelling and fleeing together, such as those of Lobby's Estate (1673), Guanaboa Vale (1685), Sutton's (1690) and Down's Estate (1725). By the 1720s the Maroons came to be numbered in their thousands rather than hundreds. In the East, a fairly loose confedera-

cy of Maroon bands entrenched themselves on the almost unassailable northern slopes of the Blue Mountains, centered on the fortified "town" named for Nanny (alias Grandy Nanni), to whom tradition accords the combined roles of a Coromantee warrior queen and priestess. Even more formidable was the force of Ashanti-style warriors forged by the autocratic Cudjoe (son of the leader of the Sutton's revolt of 1690), whose two townships on the western edge of the Cockpit Country (named for Cudjoe and his brother Accompong) were backed by the secret recesses of Petty River Bottom deep in the Cockpits themselves.

During the lull in international fighting sometimes called the era of Walpole's Peace, the British plantocratic regime and imperial authorities determined in the 1730s to implement the forward policy against the Jamaican Maroons that constituted the First Maroon War. Nanny Town was captured with great difficulty and destroyed in 1734, but its inhabitants simply dispersed, while the resistance led by Quao and Cudjoe proved even more stubborn and successful. So effective were Maroon tactics and marksmanship (along with the other hazards of fighting in the bush) that it was said that the casualties among the white regular soldiers and militiamen outnumbered those of the Maroons by ten to one, with an almost unimaginable ratio of five soldiers killed for every one wounded.

By 1739, both sides had had enough of the fighting. Urged on by the imperial authorities, the colonial government sued for peace, though craftily skewing the written terms to their longer-term advantage. On March 1, 1739, in one of the most momentous if controversial episodes in Jamaican history, after ten days of polite but cautious negotiations, "Captain" Cudjoe signed a fifteen-clause treaty with the representatives of the colonial regime. A general amnesty was declared, even for those who had fled to Cudjoe in the previous two years, and, with some exaggeration, Cudjoe's community was promised a state of "perfect liberty and freedom." Cudjoe's followers were granted the freehold of 1,500 acres surrounding their main settlement (renamed Trelawny Town after the colonial governor), with the right to run stock and grow all but plantation crops and trade them in the colonial markets. To facilitate communications, the Maroons agreed to cut and maintain roadways into their territory. Cudjoe and his successors were accorded the status of magistrate (to judge all but capital cases), but they were to be monitored by two white superintendants, one resident in Trelawny Town, the other in Accompong Town. Most important of all, Cudjoe's people pledged not to harbor, and to return, all future runaways, to serve on the colonial side in the event of any slave insurrection or foreign invasion, and to parade once a year before the colonial governor.

Though Cudjoe's Treaty established a pattern based on the colonial regime's principle of dividing the opposition, it specifically applied only to Cudjoe's people, rather than to the Jamaican Maroons as a whole. Four months later, a similar (though slightly tougher) treaty was signed with Quao. No formal treaty was made with Nanny and her faithful adherents. Instead, in 1740 Nanny and her immediate followers were given a freehold grant of 500 acres at New Nanny Town (later renamed Moore Town after another governor), worded exactly as if Nanny had been a normal colonial immigrant with her household—with the sole exception of a rider that Nanny, her people, and heirs "shall upon any insurrection mutiny rebellion or invasion which may happen in our island during her residence on the same be ready to serve us . . . in arms upon Command of our Governor or Commander in Chief" (Jamaica Archives, Patents 1741, quoted in Craton, p. 94). Not surprisingly, this arrangement has been open to countervailing interpretations; on the one side it has been seen as a recognition of success and a charter of independence, and on the other as a signal of willing integration into the colonial system. The truth surely lies somewhere in the middle: a mutual agreement to seek peaceful coexistence and even cooperation in an area of Jamaica more suited to a peasant lifestyle than to slave plantations.

Despite plantocratic unease at times of internal and external threat, the Jamaican Maroons remained remarkably faithful to the terms of their treaties. Cudjoe proved a particularly trustworthy (and picturesque) character in western Jamaica, promoted to the title of colonel for his contribution to the suppression of the Coromantee uprising of 1742 and providing invaluable help in defeating the widespread rebellion led by Tacky in 1760. Edward Long gave a famous account of the annual display of acrobatic martial tactics and marksmanship by the Maroons before Governor Lyttelton in Spanish Town in 1764, though it may have seemed as much a warning as a reassurance to some spectators. As late as the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865, the descendants of Nanny called the Hayfield Maroons disappointed the rebels and sided with the authorities, actually tracking down the rebel leader Paul Bogle and handing him over to the regime for execution.

However, the Jamaican authorities demonstrated much less fidelity to the letter and spirit of the Maroon treaties than did the Maroons, most notoriously provoking the limited conflict in western Jamaica in 1795-1796 referred to as the Second Maroon War. The general cause was the competition between the western planters and the expanding population of Maroons unrealistically constrained by the original grant of 1,500 acres of indifferent

land. But the situation was exacerbated by the plantocratic regime's paranoid response to the threat of revolutionary infection from the events in the Americas, Haiti, and France, and by its determination to take advantage of the division and perceived weakness of the Leeward Maroons following the death of Cudjoe and his brothers.

A first crisis occurred in 1776, when almost all the slaves in Hanover parish plotted to rebel, seizing the opportunity of the military distractions in North America, and it was rumored (by rebels and regime alike) that they were to be aided by the Trelawny Town Maroons. This panic passed and the plot was savagely repressed. However, mutual distrust and tension gradually increased over the following two decades. This reached a critical level early in 1795, when several Maroons were imprisoned and flogged (ignominiously by slaves) on the orders of the civil authorities in Montego Bay and a newly appointed superintendent—replacing one more popular and diplomatic—was driven by force from Trelawny Town. This occurred at the same time that the government was receiving word that French agents were infiltrating Jamaica to stir up a Maroon revolution in conjunction with the Haitian slaves. The choleric and militaristic Governor Lord Balcarres decided on a draconian policy, declaring martial law, recalling troops from Haiti, and clapping in irons six Leeward Maroon leaders on their way to Spanish Town to lodge complaints.

The Trelawny Maroons, chiefly under the resolute leadership of Leonard Parkinson, demonstrated that they had not lost all of their traditional guerrilla skills. They might well have prevailed had they been able to raise up the rest of the Maroons (even those of Accompong Town sided with the government), and had the regime not brought in expert slave-hunters and a hundred fierce hunting dogs from Cuba. Even then, the military commander in the field, Major General George Walpole, was so impressed by Maroon successes that he was prepared to offer terms similar to those negotiated with Cudjoe in 1739. Balcarres and the Jamaican legislators, however, decided otherwise. Parkinson and more than 500 Trelawny Maroons, over Walpole's disgusted objections, were tricked into deportation, first to Nova Scotia and then, four years later, to Sierra Leone—where, along with shiploads of "black loyalists" from the American War of Independence, they formed part of Sierra Leone's ultimately ill-starred "Creole" elite. Thus ended the armed resistance of the Jamaican Maroons to British imperialism, but not the proud, if controversial, history of the distinctive Jamaican Maroon communities.

Jamaican Maroons Today

Those regarding themselves as true Maroons living in Jamaica at the beginning of the twenty-first century are said to total 5,000, (out of a resident Jamaican population of some 2.5 million), with perhaps twice as many relatives and descendants widely dispersed abroad, mainly in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Those Maroons still living in Jamaica remain concentrated in four scattered small villages: the Windward descendants of Nanny and Quao live mainly in three of these villages, in Moore Town and Charles Town in Portland parish and Scott's Hall in St. Mary's; while the genetic and spiritual descendants of Cudjoe and his brothers live at Accompong, in the parish of St. Elizabeth (Trelawny Town having been destroyed during the Second Maroon War). Each settlement claims a large degree of autonomy from the rest of Jamaica, including their own distinctive flag, the custom of electing their own "Colonel" and council for five year terms, the right to legislate and police themselves, and freedom from most forms of Jamaican taxation.

But the status of the Maroon villages as political and cultural enclaves within Jamaica faces ever increasing obstacles, the chief of which are the difficulties of sustaining economic self-sufficiency and an acceptable level of material well-being in a country that, though poor and overcrowded, has aspirations towards modernization. Maroons, whose settlements are at least as materially deprived as the majority of Jamaican interior villages, are attracted by the marginally better facilities and opportunities available in Jamaican towns and cities, and by the even greater promise of life in developed economies abroad.

The Jamaican Maroons have always expressed a fierce pride in having escaped from the bonds of slavery, in never having been defeated in warfare against the forces of imperialism, and in retaining strong (if creolized) vestiges of their original Afro-Caribbean culture. However, the long-term survival of Jamaican Maroon identity is seemingly more assured by at least three more or less extraneous factors. The first is the perhaps surprising, though convenient, tendency of Jamaicans as a whole (overwhelmingly the descendants of slaves) to forget that Maroon survival and autonomy were largely bought at the price of cooperation with and accommodation to the colonial regime, and to co-opt the Maroons' history as a symbol of a more general drive towards political and spiritual independence by Jamaica and Jamaicans at large. Added to this are the ever widening interest of outsiders in the Maroons and their traditional lifeways as cultural phenomena, as well as the exploitation of this heritage by the Jamaican government through tourism.

All in all, there has been a steadily escalating interest in the Jamaican Maroons among foreign visitors, as well as other Jamaicans, since the 1960s. Put most broadly, this has resulted from the confluence of a novel academic concern for the history and anthropology of resistance, and from a hunger on the part of people emerging from colonialism to recover (even to reinvent) the lives, lifestyles, and achievements of the pioneers in the struggle to avoid cultural submergence, to win freedom, and to help shape an authentic national identity. One early manifestation of this trend was the establishment of the permanent Sam Streete Maroon Museum at Moore Town in the 1960s; another is the collections of audio and visual material begun by Kenneth M. Bilby in the late 1970s. Even more important have been the comparative studies, symposia and displays sponsored by the Smithsonian Museum, the Library of Congress, and UNESCO, with the eager cooperation of the Institute of Jamaica and the Jamaican Ministries of Education and Tourism. An outstanding example of this development was the publication in July 2004 by the Smithsonian of a fascinating audiovisual presentation, hosted by the Institute of Jamaica under the title "The Musical Heritage of the Moore Town Maroons: An International Masterpiece."

Most dynamic of all, however, has been the hugely expanding popularity of the annual Cudjoe Day (or Treaty Day) celebrations held at Accompong on the weekend nearest to January 6, and the parallel but distinct Quao Day (or Kwahu Day) celebrations hosted by the Windward Maroons each year around June 23. In January 2003, no less than 25,000 persons (the great majority of them Jamaicans) were said to have ventured to remote Accompong Village (population 500) for the annual weekend celebrations. In June of the same year, the Quao Day festivities at Charles Town (more accessible than either Moore Town or Accompong to the Jamaican capital) were distinguished by the participation of thirty delegates from the Kwahu-Ashanti region of Ghana, along with a number of visitors from the Ghanaian community in the United States.

As described by its promoters in their publicity for the event, the 2003 Charles Town occasion was planned to include an interesting cultural melange of generically Afro-Jamaican as well as purely Maroon elements: "The Quao Day celebrations this year will begin at sundown on Friday, June 20 and culminate at midnight on June 23, Quao Day. . . . The festivities will involve drumming, dancing, arts and crafts, culinary exhibitions (featuring Jamaican culinary queen Ma Mable from the Charles Town Maroons), story telling, symposiums on Maroon medicine and use of herbs, sports, nature tours, and the display of rituals and artifacts from the Maroon communities of Charles Town, Moore Town and Scotts Hall and the smaller Maroon communities in Portland, St. Mary, St. Catherine and St. Thomas. The Saturday night will feature a live concert with invited performers Michael Rose, former lead singer of Black Uhuru, Abijah, Sister Carol, Carl Dawkins, the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari and L'cadco Dance Company" (none of the latter specifically Maroons).

At the equally successful Charles Town festivities in June 2004—which included presentations by Carey and Beverly Robinson, two of the leading popular historians of the Maroons; Barry Chevannes, head of the Department of Social Studies at the University of the West Indies; the Rastafarian poet Mutubaru; and Ted Emmanuel, "a well known herbalist"—the Jamaican prime minister P.J. Patterson gave a careful and politic summary of the way that the Maroon experience had been incorporated into (not to say appropriated by) the history and culture of Jamaica as a whole. "The history of the Maroons in Jamaica is a significant feature of our heritage and the spirit of these ancestors is evident in many aspects of our daily lives," he declared. "It is fitting therefore that we recognize their contribution to the early development of Jamaica and shows evidence for the rich legacy that they bequeathed to us in dance, music, cuisine, craft and many other areas of natural life."

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Maroon Arts; Nanny of the Maroons; Palenque San Basilio; Palmares; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean; San Lorenzo de los Negros

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MICHAEL CRATON (2005)

Marrant, John

June 15?, 1755
c. 1791

What little is known about the writer John Marrant's life comes mainly from his publications. Born to free black parents in New York, he was four years old when his father died. His mother moved with her four children to the South. There they lived in Saint Augustine, Florida; Georgia; and Charleston, South Carolina, where Marrant went to school. He became interested in music and was influenced by Rev. George Whitefield, the English preacher of the Great Awakening. For some time Marrant lived among the Cherokee Indians, and he learned their language and converted some to Christianity. During the Revolutionary War, he served in the British Royal Navy, spending almost seven years at sea.

After his discharge, Marrant resided for a while in London, sponsored by the Countess of Huntington. She persuaded him to go as a Methodist missionary to Nova Scotia, where he preached in and around Halifax for nearly four years. In 1784 he joined the Masons under Prince Hall and by 1789 had become chaplain of the African Lodge in Boston. Marrant's *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black, (Now going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia) Born in New-York, in North-America. Taken down from his own Relation, Arranged, Corrected, and Published, by the Rev. Mr. Aldridge* (London, 1785) is one of the earliest African-American narratives, and one of the most popular of the eighteenth century. Editor-librarian Dorothy Porter lists nineteen different printed versions of the *Narrative,* the latest published in 1835.

Marrant's *A Journal of the Rev. Marrant, from August the 18th, 1785, to the 16th of March 1790. To which are added Two Sermons* (London, 1790) is a reflection of his preaching and missionary experiences in Nova Scotia. A third publication, *A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789. Being the Festival of St. John the Baptist, At the Request of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master Prince Hall and the Rest of the Brethren of the African Lodge of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in Boston* (Boston, 1789), is significant because of Marrant's interpretation of the Bible and his short note indicating that both speaker and audience were black. Arthur A. Schomburg, who reprinted the Masonic sermon, considered Marrant among the first African-American ministers in North America as well as among the first to bring the Christian religion to the Native Americans.

See also Slave Narratives

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DORIS DZIWAS (1996)

Marsalis, Wynton

October 18, 1961

Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, jazz trumpeter and composer Wynton Marsalis grew up in a musical family. His father, Ellis (pianist), and brothers, Branford (tenor and soprano saxophonist), Delfeayo (trombonist), and Jason (drummer), are themselves well-known jazz artists. From an early age he studied privately and played in a children's marching band directed by the eminent New Orleans musician/scholar Danny Barker. As a youngster Marsalis made notable contributions in both classical and jazz genres. He performed at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, and at the age of fourteen he performed Haydn's Trumpet Concerto in E-flat with the New Orleans Philharmonic Orchestra. He attended the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood and enrolled at Juilliard in 1980. While a student at Juilliard, he joined Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers (1980) and toured in a quartet with former Miles Davis personnel Herbie Hancock, Ron Carter, and Tony Williams. He recorded his first album as a leader, *Wynton Marsalis,* in 1981.

After leaving Blakey in 1982, Marsalis formed his first group, a quintet that included several young and extreme-

ly talented musicians—his brother Branford (tenor saxophone), Kenny Kirkland (piano), Charles Fambrough (bass), and Jeff Watts (drums). In addition to performing with his own group, Marsalis replaced Freddie Hubbard for the V.S.O.P. II tour (1983). In 1984 he became the first musician to win Grammy Awards for both jazz (*Think of One,* 1982) and classical (Haydn, Hummel, and Leopold Mozart trumpet concertos, 1984) recordings. Since the late 1980s, Marsalis has concentrated on jazz performance with a group consisting of Wes Anderson and Todd Williams (saxophones), Reginald Veal (bass), Wycliffe Gordon (trombone), Herlin Riley (drums), and Eric Reed (piano). Marsalis has won critical acclaim for his virtuosic technique, musical sensitivity, and gift for improvisation. He has become an articulate spokesperson for the preservation of "mainstream" jazz (a style rooted in bop and hard bop) through his performances and writings, and, beginning in 1991, as artistic director of the classical jazz program at Lincoln Center in New York.

During the 1990s Marsalis built the jazz program into the most prestigious center for jazz in the United States, although he faced frequent complaints that he concentrated on playing the music of a small canon of jazz greats and ignored the contributions of white jazz musicians. Marsalis also composed several pieces, including *In My Father's House* (1995) and *Blood on the Fields* (1996), for which he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1997, as well as several adaptations of the music of his hero Duke Ellington, including *Harlem* (1999). In 2001 the secretary-general of the United Nations named Marsalis one of nine peace messengers who would publicize the work of the United Nations at performances and public appearances. In 2003 he was named musician of the year by the Musical America International Directory of the Performing Arts.

See also Blakey, Art (Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn); Davis, Miles; Hancock, Herbie; Jazz

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EDDIE S. MEADOWS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Marshall, Kerry James

October 17, 1955

Kerry James Marshall is an African-American artist who utilizes established compositional devises to explore the differing cultural perceptions of race and aesthetics. Marshall was born in Birmingham, Alabama, during the civil rights movement, and he was raised in Los Angeles during the subsequent Black Power movement. At that time, artistic collaboratives, such as the Chicago-based AfriCobra (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists), encouraged artists of African decent, including Marshall, to thwart negative stereotypes and caricatures of African-Americans by producing more radically conscious and affirmative race-centered art forms.

After completing his studies with the artist Charles White at Otis Art Institute in 1978, Marshall briefly gave up drawing and painting to begin work on a series of collages. In these, for the first time, he used black backgrounds as a way to resist narrative imagery, endeavoring to produce sharp contrasts between various foreground and background elements. From this point on the color black would become a major symbolic and compositional element in his work.

In 1980 Marshall once again took up figurative painting. In the painting *A Portrait of the Artist as a Shadow of Himself* (1980), the artist reintroduced the idea of narration into his compositions while continuing to make use of the color black as a defining figurative element and a predominant motif for his subjects. During the following decade, Marshall began to see black as not only serving a race-affirming function, but a rhetorical one as well; the color was at the center of a conceptual strategy that signified the affirming beauty of both the color and, by extension, the people too often associated with the derogatory connotations of darkness. As the artist has stated, "the reason why I painted them as black as they are was so that they would operate [as] rhetorical figures. They are literally and rhetorically black in the same way that we describe ourselves as black people in America; we use that extreme position to designate ourselves in contrast to a white power structure of the country or the white mainstream" (Rowell, p. 265).

Marshall's large allegorical paintings address the complexity of African-American life with an authority grounded in the artist's mastery of the medium. He is especially concerned with the knowledge of how representation is essentially linked to specific cultural, social, and historical

Many Mansions (Kerry James Marshall, 1994). REPRODUCTION, THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO. COURTESY OF JACK SHAINMAN GALLERY, NEW YORK.

experiences. Thus, Marshall's paintings employ an ever-widening range of historical references from the Western art canon, as well as those particular to African-American culture. The artist's complex conceptual and contextual trajectories, therefore, tend toward the necessarily unpredictable, layering diverse meanings as a way to expose important implications for the historical moments he links together and consequently redefines for his audience.

Marshall is equally concerned with the intersections between tradition, influence, and individuality, as well as the strategic use of culture- and class-specific symbolism therein. For example, in the *Garden Project* (1994–1995) and *Souvenir* series (1997–1998), Marshall pays homage to both the pictorial innovations occurring during the history of modern painting as well as the stayed perseverance and diversity within African-American communities. For his efforts, Marshall received a prestigious MacArthur Fellowship in 1997. In other projects such as *Laid to Rest* (1998), *RYTHM MASTR* (1999), and the exhibition *One True Thing: Meditations on Black Aesthetics* (2003), Marshall's artistic scope has continued to broaden, encompassing painting as well as photography, video, illustration, and sculpture.

See also Painting and Sculpture

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LERONN BROOKS (2005)

Marshall, Paule

April 9, 1929

Novelist Paule Marshall was born Valenza Pauline Burke in Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of Samuel and Ada (Clement) Burke, who had emigrated from Barbados shortly after World War I. Marshall lived in a richly ethnic "Bajan" neighborhood in Brooklyn and visited Barbados for the first time when she was nine years old. At twenty-one she married Kenneth Marshall, whom she divorced in 1963. She graduated from Brooklyn College, *cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa, in 1953. While attending New York's Hunter College in the mid-1950s, she began her first novel, *Brown Girl, Brownstones.* Its publication in 1959 was followed by a Guggenheim Fellowship (1960). Later awards include the Rosenthal Award of the National Institute for Arts and Letters (1962) for *Soul Clap Hands and Sing,* a Ford Foundation grant (1964–1965), a National Endowment for the Arts grant (1967–1968), the American Book Award of the Before Columbus Foundation for *Praisesong for the Widow* (1984), and a MacArthur Foundation Award (1992).

During the 1950s Marshall was a staff writer for a small magazine, *Our World,* which sent her on assignments to Brazil and the Caribbean. Since the publication of *Brown Girl, Brownstones,* she has been a full-time writer and a part-time teacher. She has taught African-American literature and creative writing at Yale, Columbia, Iowa, and Virginia Commonwealth universities. Since 1996 she has held the Helen Gould Sheppard Chair of Literature and Culture at New York University.

Marshall's writing explores the interaction between the materialist and individualist values of white America and the spiritual and communal values of the African diaspora. With the exception of *Soul Clap Hands and Sing* (1961), a collection of four long stories about aging men, Marshall's work is focused on African-American and Caribbean women. Each of her novels presents a black woman in search of an identity that is threatened or compromised by modern society. Marshall's narratives locate that search within black communities that are still connected to ancient spiritual traditions, sharpening the contrast between Americanized Africans and various diasporic modes of Africanizing the New World.

In her essays and interviews Marshall explained the influence of the Bajan community of her childhood on her work. Listening to the "poets in the kitchen," as she called her mother's women friends and neighbors in a 1983 *New York Times Book Review* essay, she learned the basic skills that characterize her writing—trenchant imagery and idiom, relentless character analysis, and a strong sense of ritual. Her development of her poetic relationship to the community of storytelling Bajan women has made her an intensely ethnic writer, one whose themes and manner measure the difference between the homeland of the West Indies and Africa and the new land of the United States.

Marshall's fiction explores the divided immigrant or colonized self. In *Brown Girl, Brownstones,* the protagonist Selina Boyce is an adolescent girl torn between the assimilationist materialism of her mother, Silla, and the dreamy resistance to Americanization of her father, Deighton. As she matures Selina learns from both the Bajan community and the world at large how to be her own woman. Each of the four stories in *Soul Clap Hands and Sing* explores a man in old age who reaches out toward a woman in the hope of transforming a failed and empty life. The stories contrast men defeated by materialism, colonialism, and internal compromise with young women full of vitality and hope. Like the men in numerous stories by Henry James, Marshall's old men cannot connect, and the young women serve as the painful instruments of their self-realization.

Marshall's second novel, *The Chosen Place, The Timeless People* (1969), is her largest literary conception. The central figure is Merle Kinbona, a middle-aged West Indian woman educated in Britain and psychologically divided in a number of ways. The struggle to resolve the divided self is fully elaborated, here again seen as inextricably related to a community and its history. The rituals of recovery are more broadly drawn here, for they are more self-consciously communal in nature. Merle wants to be a leader in the development of her community, but she is almost literally catatonic with impotence until she comes to terms with her personal past and its relationship to the colonial order that is her communal past. As Merle is both the product and emblem of her divided community, her self-healing and newly found clarity of purpose prefigure the possibilities for the community as well.

Marshall's third novel, *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983), presents a middle-class black American woman who, like the old men of the four long stories, realizes the depth of her spiritual emptiness. Unlike the old men, Avatara is able, through dream and ritual, to recover her spiri-

tual past. *Daughters* (1991) is the complex story of how Ursa McKenzie, the only child of a Caribbean politician father and an African-American mother, comes to grips with her ambivalent feelings about her father's emotional domination. Ursa's liberation involves every aspect of her life—her past in her island homeland, her professional life in New York City, her love life and friendships, and her understanding of political and economic relations between the United States and the island nations of the Caribbean.

After the broad canvas of *Daughters*, in *The Fisher King* (2000) Marshall produced a novel as compressed as a short story. The narrative focuses on Sonny, the Paris-born eight-year-old grandson of a famous African-American jazz pianist, who is brought home to Brooklyn by Hattie, his dead grandfather's childhood friend, manager, and lover, to visit his two great-grandmothers, one as yet unreconciled to the elder Sonny's choice of jazz over European classical music and the other still furious at his decision to flee to Europe with her daughter, young Sonny's grandmother. The boy's visits with his aged grandmothers and his great uncle and his family in the Brooklyn community of African Americans and West Indian immigrants subtly suggest movement from wounded anger and alienation toward reconciliation.

In all her works Marshall develops a rich psychological analysis, making use of powerful scenes of confrontation, revelation, and self-realization. Her style, while essentially realistic, is always capable of expressionist and surrealist scenes and descriptions, which are seamlessly integrated in the fabric of the narrative. Marshall's originality—her prototypical black feminism, her exploration of "the international theme" arising from the African diaspora, and her control of a wide range of narrative techniques—places her in the first rank of twentieth- and twenty-first-century African-American writers.

See also Literature of the United States

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JOSEPH T. SKERRETT JR. (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Marshall, Thurgood

July 2, 1908
January 24, 1993

Thurgood Marshall, a civil rights lawyer and associate justice of U. S. Supreme Court, distinguished himself as a jurist in a wide array of settings. As the leading attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1938 to 1961, he pioneered the role of professional civil rights advocate. As the principal architect of the legal attack against de jure racial segregation, Marshall oversaw the most successful campaign of social reform litigation in American history. As a judge on the United States Court of Appeals, solicitor general of the United States, and associate justice of the Supreme Court, he amassed a remarkable record as a public servant. Given the influence of his achievements over a long span of time, one can reasonably argue that Thurgood Marshall may have been the outstanding attorney of twentieth-century America.

Marshall was born in Baltimore, Maryland, where his father was a steward at an exclusive all-white boat club, and his mother was an elementary school teacher. He attended public schools in Baltimore before proceeding to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where he shared classes with, among others, Cabell "Cab" Calloway, the entertainer; Kwame Nkrumah, who became president of Ghana; and Nnamdi Azikiwe, who became president of Nigeria. After graduating, he was excluded from the University of Maryland School of Law because of racial segregation. Marshall attended the Howard University School of Law, where he fell under the tutelage of Charles Hamilton Houston. Houston elevated academic standards at Howard, turning it into a veritable hothouse of legal education and training many of those who would later play important roles in the campaign against racial discrimination. Marshall graduated in 1933, first in his class.

After engaging in a general law practice briefly, Marshall was persuaded by Houston to pursue a career working as an attorney on behalf of the NAACP. Initially he

worked as Houston's deputy, but in 1939 he took over from his mentor as the NAACP's special counsel. In that position Marshall confronted an extraordinary array of legal problems that took him from local courthouses, where he served as a trial attorney, to the Supreme Court of the United States, where he developed his skills as an appellate advocate. Over a span of two decades, he argued thirty-two cases before the Supreme Court, winning twenty-nine of them. He convinced the Court to invalidate practices that excluded blacks from primary elections (*Smith v. Allwright,* 1944), to prohibit segregation in interstate transportation (*Morgan v. Virginia,* 1946), to nullify convictions obtained from juries from which African Americans had been barred on the basis of their race (*Patton v. Mississippi,* 1947), and to prohibit state courts from enforcing racially restrictive real estate covenants (*Shelley v. Kraemer,* 1948).

Marshall's greatest triumphs arose, however, in the context of struggles against racial discrimination in public education. In 1950, in *Sweatt v. Painter,* he successfully argued that a state could not fulfill its federal constitutional obligation by hurriedly constructing a "Negro" law school that was inferior in tangible and intangible ways to the state's "white" law school. That same year he successfully argued in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* that a state university violated the federal constitution by admitting an African-American student and then confining that student, on the basis of his race, to a specified seat in classrooms and a specified table in the school cafeteria. In 1954, in *Brown v. Board of Education,* Marshall culminated his campaign by convincing the Court to rule that racial segregation is invidious racial discrimination and thus invalid under the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution.

In 1961, over the objections of white supremacist southern politicians, President John F. Kennedy nominated Marshall to a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in New York. Later, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Marshall to two positions that had never previously been occupied by an African American. In 1965 President Johnson appointed Marshall as solicitor general, and in 1967 he nominated him to a seat on the Supreme Court.

Throughout his twenty-four years on the Court, Marshall was the most insistently liberal of the justices, a stance that often drove him into dissent. His judgments gave broad scope to individual liberties (except in cases involving asserted claims to rights of property). Typically he supported claims of freedom of expression over competing concerns and scrutinized skeptically the claims of law enforcement officers in cases implicating federal constitutional provisions that limit the police powers of government. In the context of civil liberties, the most controversial positions that Marshall took involved rights over reproductive capacities and the death penalty. He viewed as unconstitutional laws that prohibit women from exercising considerable discretion over the choice to continue a pregnancy or to terminate it through abortion. Marshall also viewed as unconstitutional all laws permitting the imposition of capital punishment.

The other side of Marshall's jurisprudential liberalism was manifested by an approach to statutory and constitutional interpretation that generally advanced egalitarian policies. His judgments displayed an unstinting solicitude for the rights of labor, the interests of women, the struggles of oppressed minorities, and the condition of the poor. One particularly memorable expression of Marshall's empathy for the indigent is his dissent in *United States v. Kras* (1973), a case in which the Court held that a federal statute did not violate the Constitution by requiring a $50 fee of persons seeking the protection of bankruptcy. Objecting to the Court's assumption that, with a little self-discipline, the petitioner could readily accumulate the required fee, Marshall wrote that

> It may be easy for some people to think that weekly savings of less than $2 are no burden. But no one who has had close contact with poor people can fail to understand how close to the margin of survival many of them are. . . . It is perfectly proper for judges to disagree about what the Constitution requires. But it is disgraceful for an interpretation of the Constitution to be premised upon unfounded assumptions about how people live.

Marshall retired from the Court in 1991, precipitating the most contentious confirmation battle in the nation's history when President George Bush nominated as Marshall's successor Clarence Thomas, an ultraconservative African-American jurist.

After his death, Marshall's extraordinary contributions to American life were memorialized in an outpouring of popular grief and adulation greater than that expressed for any previous justice. Marshall has been the object of some controversy since his death. Immediately after his death, a public debate opened over Marshall's instructions regarding his confidential Supreme Court papers. Ultimately, the Library of Congress opened them to public access without restriction. In 1996 newly uncovered documents demonstrated that Marshall had passed secret information to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover during his years at the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People. These developments have not detracted from Marshall's heroic position in American history, in tribute to which he was honored by the erection of a statue in his native Baltimore in 1995.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas;* Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Fourteenth Amendment; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Sweatt v. Painter*

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RANDALL KENNEDY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Marson, Una

February 6, 1905
May 6, 1965

The Afro-Jamaican woman Una Marson was born in 1905 to a Baptist minister and his wife in rural Jamaica. She was one of the most important contributors to Anglophone Caribbean literature in the first half of the twentieth century. Her literary output includes four books of poetry and at least three plays, including *At What a Price?* (1932), the first play with a black cast and director produced in London's West End, and her last play, *Pocomania,* which was heralded by Joan Grant as the "birth of Jamaican national drama" in 1938. Marson played a decisive role in the establishment of Jamaican national literature. As the editor of *Cosmopolitan* from 1928 to 1931 she promoted local writers such as Archie Lindo, and she led various organizations to promote Jamaican literature, including the Readers and Writers Club (1937) and the Pioneer Press (1949). During the Second World War, Marson helped institutionalize Caribbean culture and literature through the BBC program *Caribbean Voices* (1943–1958). This program may have been Marson's most significant contribution as it provided a broad range of writers—including the West Indian novelist George Lamming (b. 1927) and the Trinidadian writer V. S. Naipaul ((b. 1932)—their first large audience and financial support.

Marson saw establishing a Jamaican national literature as part of a larger political goal to promote the status of the people of Africa and its diaspora. She began her career in social and political work with the Jamaican Salvation Army and YMCA after graduating from Hampton High School in 1922. She was one of the founding members of the Jamaica Stenographers Association in 1928 and editor of its monthly journal, *The Cosmopolitan.* She also founded the Jamaican Save the Children Fund (1938). Marson continued her political and social activism in London, where she lived from 1932 to 1936 and from 1938 to 1946. In 1933 and 1934, she worked for the League of Coloured Peoples, and in 1935 and 1936 she served as secretary for the Abyssinian Minister in London and for Haile Selassie when he Addressed the League of Nations. Marson also became a prominent speaker for women's organizations in England, focusing on the need to improve the economic and social status of women in the Caribbean and Africa. She continued her social and political work until her death in 1965.

Despite her importance to the development of Anglophone Caribbean literature, Marson's contribution has only come to light since the mid-1980s, when feminist scholars began to study her life and work. Her writings remain largely out of print and inaccessible. Her obscurity results in part from the incompatibility of Marson's feminism with the male-dominated discourses of Pan-Africanism and Jamaican nationalism. Marson's obscurity may also be a result of her historical position as a transitional figure. Her political and aesthetic vision emerged in the 1920s, a time when leading intellectuals believed that Jamaica would progress to modernity through respectability and loyalty to the British Empire. She matured during the 1930s and 1940s, when labor rebellions and political nationalism transformed the Anglophone Caribbean, leading to the anticolonial politics and literature of the 1950s.

Feminist scholars have sought to reestablish Marson's critical reputation by emphasizing her critique of Jamaica's middle-class patriarchy. For example, her parodic poems in *Tropic Reveries* (1930) question the necessity of marriage, while *At What a Price?* employs a marriage plot to assert women's right to sexual experience and social standing. Her later work combines her feminist concerns with her growing investment in Pan-African politics and African diaspora aesthetics. Marson's third collection of poetry, *The Moth and the Star* (1937), echoes the work of the Harlem Renaissance poet Langston Hughes in its use

of vernacular language and working-class personae, foreshadowing much Caribbean writing of the 1950s. However, unlike many writers of the 1950s, Marson focused on the implications of nationalism for women. In so doing, she revealed that Jamaican nationalism excluded both the working classes and middle-class women from the freedom and status it promised.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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LEAH READE ROSENBERG (2005)

Martin, John Sella

September 1832
August 1876

The minister and lecturer John Sella Martin was born a slave in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1832. The child of a mulatto slave and her owner's nephew, he was sold with his mother to people in Columbia, Georgia, and he remained a slave until his escape on a Mississippi riverboat in December 1855.

In January 1856, Martin arrived in Chicago where he associated with abolitionists and began his long career of oratory. His friend Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), in particular, was known to have admired his oratorical skills. In the latter part of 1856, he moved to Detroit, where he studied for the Baptist ministry. In 1857 he was ordained to preach and received the pastorate at Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo, New York. In 1859 he moved to Boston and substituted for the vacationing preacher of Tremont Temple, drawing large, approving crowds. He then spent eight months as pastor of the Baptist Church in Lawrence, Massachusetts, which had a large white congregation, before accepting the pulpit of the Joy Street Church, one of the oldest black Baptist churches in Boston. During this same year, Martin published a poem, "The Sentinel of Freedom," in *Anglo-African Magazine.*

In August 1861, Martin made the first of several trips to England on a speaking tour sponsored by Massachusetts governor John Andrew to gain support for the Union during the Civil War. He returned to the United States in February 1862. On the occasion of Abraham Lincoln's signing of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, he addressed a famous meeting at Tremont Temple, as did Frederick Douglass. Later that month, Martin returned to Europe to preach in London at the behest of the industrialist Harper Twelvetrees. In April 1864, having journeyed back from England, he began to preach at Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York. The following April he returned to Great Britain in a fund-raising capacity for the American Missionary Association (AMA). As a delegate of the AMA, he delivered an address to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference on August 27, 1867.

One year later, Martin accepted the pastorate of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. He attended the formation meeting of the Colored National Labor Union (CNLU) in Washington, D.C., in December 1869, was appointed to its executive board, and was named editor of the CNLU's short-lived official organ, *The New Era.* When the publication foundered shortly afterward, he moved to New Orleans, where he was involved in local politics and earned his living as a lecturer. In 1875 he was a founding member and president of the New Orleans Atheneum Club and a member of the Louisiana Progressive Club. He died in Louisiana in 1876.

See also Abolition; Baptists; Douglass, Frederick; Emancipation in the United States

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)

Masculinity

Any discussion of African-descended men as a group must first acknowledge their multifarious differences rooted in particular histories, nationalities, religions, languages, cultures, sexualities, and socioeconomic classes. Nonetheless, due to a larger shared history entangled in European imperial conquest, chattel enslavement, and colonialism, diasporan men can instructively be understood as possessing, if not an identical, at least a similar relation to maleness.

Slavery, Insurgency, and the Origins of Black Male Subjectivity

The origins of the notion that some men are naturally superior to others remain obscure, but it probably can be traced to the earliest hunter-gatherer societies. Even though many ancient practices of masculine aggression and domination arose from and contributed to tribal, clan, and ethnic rivalries, they were not structured on modern notions of racial difference. In Europe during the Middle Ages, the devil, demons, and saints' executioners were sometimes imaged as dark-faced men. Highly allegorical and fantastic in nature, these emblems conflated the color black—symbolizing melancholy, death, sin, and the unknown—with a general notion of ethnic difference, as the executioners of Christ were sometimes represented as monstrous dark men or black Jews. At the same time, the other most prominent artistic image of black maleness in the medieval era was a redemptive figure, the black Magi, one of the three Wise Men who brought gifts to the Christ child. Clearly, the concept of black maleness was a malleable abstraction based in religious allegory, limited geographic knowledge (terra incognita), and ethnocentric fears and fantasies. By the twelfth century, Europeans had already begun to establish rudimentary notions of ethnicized manhood in terms of what Felipe Fernández-Armesto calls "Europe's 'internal' primitives: the peripheral, pastoral, bog or mountain folk, like the Basques, Welsh, Irish, Slavs and pagan Scandinavians" (1987, p. 225).

Although the interaction and intermixing between Europeans and Africans is a long, complicated affair dating to prehistory, the racial construct of masculinity emerges most markedly in response to European exploration, the succeeding colonization of native peoples, and particularly the rise of the transatlantic African slave trade. European literature of this era of exploration and colonization provides evidence of how the discourse on darker-skinned men as a "race" apart was still unsettled, if formative. The most celebrated representation of such a figure, William Shakespeare's tragic eponymous hero of *Othello* (1604), images the Moor not only as a great military leader but also as a gentleman of the highest character. While Othello seems to belong to the noble "race" of aristocrats born to rule, some characters use color epithets to attack him, and the play flirts with references to his African features marking him as racially alien, ignoble, inferior, and bestial. Eighty years later, in *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave, a True History* (1688), Aphra Behn absorbed, and helped to disseminate, a racial ideology that gendered black male identity as a Noble Savage. Behn constructed Oroonoko from a combination of long-established Oriental myth and newly emerging racial consensus about African-descended men, whose increasing association with the debased condition of chattel signals their deficit as both less than human and also less than manly. Othello and Oroonoko embody the binaristic representation of black manliness that dominated the discourse for centuries: on the one hand, the black man represents a naturally virile, seductively commanding, savage presence eliciting desire and fear; on the other, he is projected as a servile, childlike, desexualized presence eliciting pity and contempt.

"Am I not a Man and a Brother?" *The most prolific image of black maleness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the medallion pictured here served usefully in the abolitionist cause, but did nothing to enhance the image of black masculinity.* PHOTOGRAPH BY KARI SHUDA. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, visual representations of dark-skinned men in European art turned repeatedly to the image of a boyish page standing at service to Europeans. As we can see in William Hogarth's satire on English gluttony and excess, the dark skin of this figure betokens his servile nature, which in turn confirms the white patriarch's civilized refinement, mercantile accumulation, and natural right to rule—all lampooned by Hogarth. The most prolific image of black maleness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also used a servile pose ironically to proselytize on behalf of slave abolition. Entitled "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" this medallion figures the black male slave manacled and kneeling in a pleading position. Despite the beneficent abolitionist intention, the emblems of this medallion partake in a global visual grammar of black male dependence, implying that only Europeans, particularly

white men, can answer the question of the Negro's relation to the brotherhood of man, for only they have the power to bring an end to slavery.

During the Enlightenment, the racial concept of masculinity intensified with the development of scientific classification systems in natural history. Paradoxically, the same men who articulated the Enlightenment principles of natural rights, individual worth, universal reason, and manhood equality simultaneously erected a rationale for racial difference based in gender disparity. Enlightenment thinkers like Charles de Secondat-Baron de Montesquieu, John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel theorized the natural right to property, progeny, and shared political power as the foundation of white male freedom and subjectivity. In his 1830s lectures on history, Hegel makes this logic absolute by suggesting that Africans exist totally outside of world history, and thus outside of the natural progress toward self-conscious human (i.e., masculine) mastery, subjectivity, and freedom brought about by world-historical great (white) men.

Against the dominant image of natural slavishness, black men—captive and free—were storming the world stage performing virile feats from which these Enlightenment thinkers wanted to exclude them—perhaps out of a subliminal reaction to the rising tide of African men boldly displaying their mettle in Europe and America. They manned the ships that bridged the Atlantic, fought alongside European men in international wars, led slave insurrections that rattled the white masters with constant fright, and governed free Maroon societies in open defiance of armed militias across the Americas. They also infiltrated European societies through public enactments of critical self-reflection, literary and artistic accomplishment, political protest, and sometimes interracial marriage.

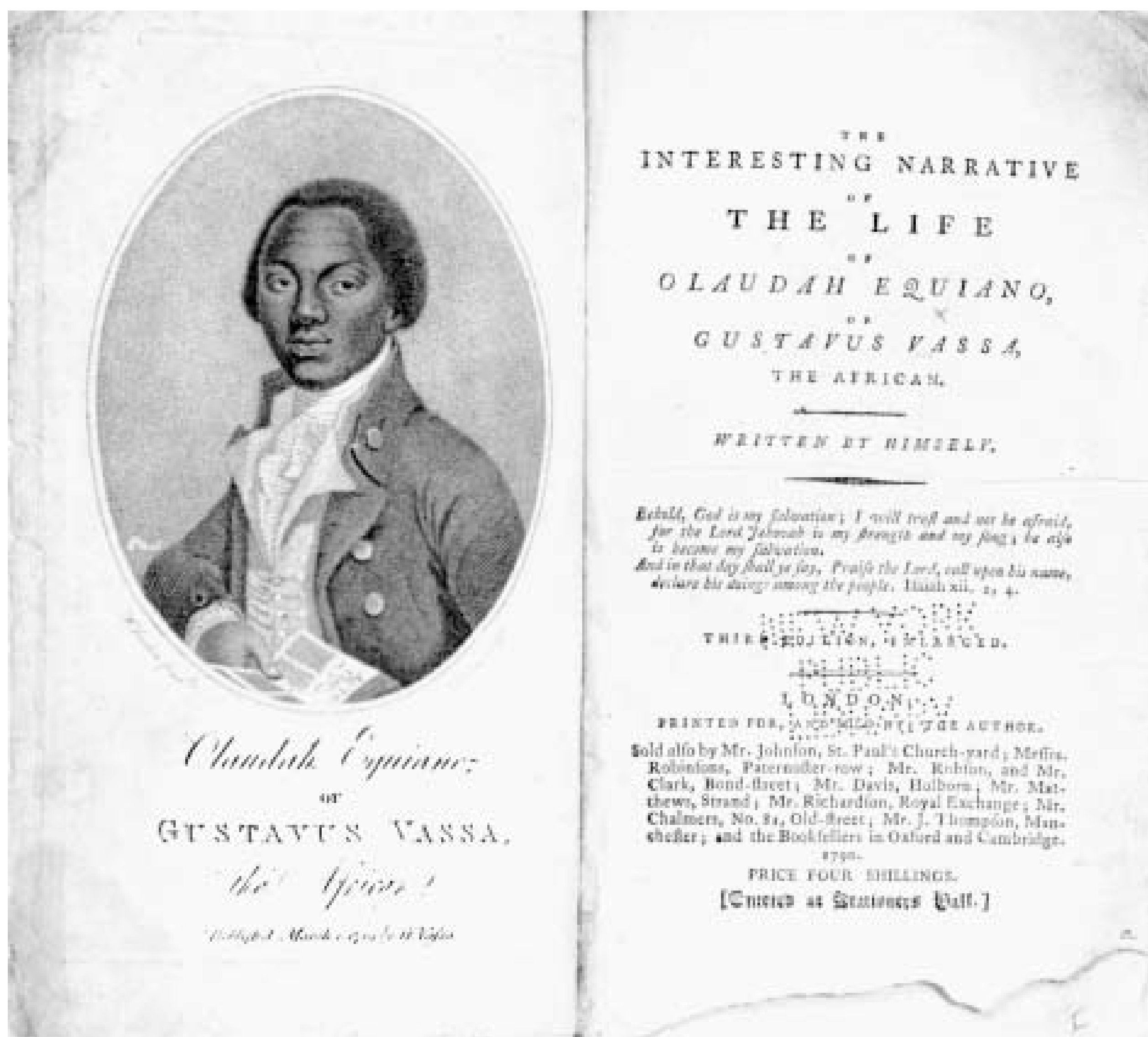
As black men began to tell their stories in slave narratives, they sometimes pleaded for mercy, but they also more assertively demanded their right to ownership of their own persons, manhood emancipation, and political equality. Some, like the autobiographer Olaudah Equiano (1750–1797), used the tactic of adopting—almost mimetically—the clothes, manners, poses, habits, and values of European gentlemen as a way of exposing the arbitrary logic of racial classification and the hypocrisy of Christian morals, universal reason, and equal rights. Through his famous *Interesting Narrative*, and the portrait that fronts it, he presents the image of a regular gentleman, educated, worldly, Christianized, disciplined, and enterprising. Other Negro men followed his example, using literacy, free African heritage, or a public display of their own manly bodies and alert minds to carve out spaces of manly subjectivity in an environment hostile to their humanity and, particularly, their assertion of being free men. Among the most notable of these men were Francis Williams of Jamaica, Frederick Douglass of the United States, Juan Francisco Manzano of Cuba, and Ottobah Cugoano of Grenada.

Rebellious slaves and freed men constantly troubled the profit-making engines of slave ships, plantations, and great houses. Kidnapped Africans sometimes fought back under alien conditions that cut them off from the resources of their native lands, as in the celebrated case of Sengbe (or Cinque), who in 1839 led a rebellion aboard a slave ship. When Nathaniel Jocelyn painted his portrait for posterity, the artist imagined him in the Oroonoko tradition of the Noble Savage. At other times, New World Africans were motivated to insurgency by a combination of factors related to masculine enactments of belligerent self-defense, religious prophecy, and revolutionary consciousness, partly inspired by the American and French Revolutions.

After the success of the Haitian Revolution, led by Toussaint-Louverture, revolutionary violence was buttressed by a vision of black republican nationalism. As Toussaint was lauded by European intellectuals and artists as a sort of black George Washington, black revolutionaries took him as a model of violently sacrificial determination, an image enhanced by his martyrdom in a French prison. In the United States, organizers of slave rebellions and conspiracies, such as Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, and Nat Turner, rallied their troops using the Haitian example. Abolitionist propagandists like David Walker and Martin Robison Delany forged a Pan-African-American consciousness in which colored men, aided by women, would rise to arms in a systematic revolution across the Americas. As men of African descent revised, subverted, and rejected the dominant discourse of black male savagery, servility, and commodification in multiple ways, they staked their claim to manhood emancipation, as well as to the "free" subjectivity endowed by this masculine claim.

Race Men, New Negroes, and Emancipated Citizenry

From England in 1772 to Brazil in 1888, nations gradually outlawed slavery. If, on the one hand, emancipation meant freedom from forced labor for males and females, for men of color it also possessed a double connotation, suggesting the ongoing struggle for those rights and privileges granted to white men upon reaching the age of adult emancipation. Although frequently working with women of color to extend political, property, and civil rights to all humans, many black men also concentrated on forging a culture of emancipated manliness. They formed fraternal lodges, se-


Olaudah Equiano
or
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
the African.

THE
INTERESTING NARRATIVE
OF
THE LIFE
OF
OLAUDAH EQUIANO,
OR
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
THE AFRICAN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.
And in that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people. Isaiah xii. 2, 4.

THIRD EDITION, ENLARGED.

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Title page and frontispiece for the autobiography of Olaudah Equiano (b. 1745). *Through his famous autobiography* Interesting Narrative *and the portrait that accompanied it, the former slave Equiano presented himself as a regular gentleman, educated, worldly, Christianized, disciplined, and enterprising.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

cret societies, and other organizations devoted to tutoring men for civic responsibility. They forged political organizations and movements to agitate for full citizenship or national independence. They formed labor unions, self-help enterprises, business cooperatives, and other agencies devoted to industrial and economic uplift. And with interested whites and black women, they formed religious, cultural, and educational institutions, most frequently headed by males. Out of this maelstrom of masculine tutelage, they shaped notions of the "manhood of the race"—the idea that black men had an obligation to head the racial family, to defend women and children, to modernize themselves in industry and commerce, and to lead the struggle for full inclusion in the patrimony of their respective nations (Carby, 1998; Wallace, 2002; Ross, 2004).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the question arose of how to fit colored men, whether former slave or colonial subject, for a useful position in the industrial economy—that is, how to train them for industry while forestalling their demands for political equality, economic parity, and national independence. Booker T. Washington promulgated the notion of the "accommodating" Negro leader. Honing his public image with careful detail, as in the photograph of him surveying the Tus-

***Joseph Cinque.** Nathaniel Jocelyn's portrait of Cinque depicts the leader of the 1839 revolt aboard the slave ship* Amistad *in the guise of the "Noble Savage."* FROM AN ILLUSTRATION IN "THE AMISTAD SLAVE REVOLT AND AMERICAN ABOLITION," BY KAREN ZEINERT. LINNET BOOKS, 1997. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

kegee grounds on his horse, Washington fostered a political and media machine that, on the one hand, calmed fears of black unrest, migration, and insurgency, while, on the other, popularized the notion that a black man could legitimately lead the Negro race by emulating the self-made myth of white male mentors. Washington's model of industrial education and accommodating black male leadership spread to the West Indies, Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

The reaction to Washington was intensely ambivalent, frequently colored by the idea that he was unmanning the race and stalling its progress. Conflicting strategies for racial modernization and renewal were brought to the fore through a figure often labeled the "New Negro." One of Washington's most influential foes, W. E. B. Du Bois, for instance, charged in his early writings that Negroes would remain a "bastard" race until exceptional, confident, uncompromising black men trained themselves to join with the best men of the white race to lift up the masses. Inspired by Washington's notion of economic self-help, the Jamaican Marcus Garvey developed an international male-headed organization focused on the display of militant blackness, military order, and pride in African heritage. The gallant uniformed black horsemen of the cavalry unit of Garvey's Universal African Legions powerfully communicated the heroic nature of their nationalizing endeavor.

Other New Negro agendas encouraged the cultivation of "race men" in diverse ways. Leading race men often concentrated their efforts on molding an urbane, cosmopolitan race consciousness, one that wavered between political agitation and avant-garde aestheticism, between European mastery and Pan-African separatism, and between elite literariness and black folk identity. This versatile program of race renewal, called the New Negro Renaissance, or *Négritude* among Francophone-African and Caribbean advocates, positioned men like James Weldon Johnson and Alain Locke of the United States, Arturo Schomburg and Jesús Colón of Puerto Rico, Eric Williams and George Padmore of Trinidad, Claude McKay of Jamaica, Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal, Aimé Césaire of Martinique, and Léon Damas of Guiana in highly visible positions of cultural influence in metropolitan capitals like New York City, Paris, and London.

The demand for political rights and cultural renewal was intimately connected to black men's struggle for economic autonomy in labor systems that prevented the traditional role of family provider and head of house. Due to the legacy of chattel enslavement, a general perception of black male workers tended to view them as lagging in agrarian and personal service sectors. In his pivotal portrayal of black manhood cast from Freudian, sociological, and Marxist theory, Richard Wright constructs the mentality of *Native Son*'s Bigger Thomas by playing on this perception of black men's working-class unconsciousness. In other works, Wright and other black male writers spotlighted the revolutionary potential of the emerging black working class. Similarly, the psychiatrist and cultural theorist Frantz Fanon used his own experience of anticolonial struggle in Martinique, France, and Algeria to develop complex psychoanalytic theories of racialized gender dynamics, suggesting the need to overcome a black male mentality deformed and paralyzed by racial-colonial oppression through the process of psychologically transformative revolutionary action. As blacks became increasingly attracted to political radicalism and the labor movement, particularly in the 1930s, the radical black laborer and union man became an explosive figure of social change. Black men flocked to new unions, many organized by a new generation of working-class-identified black male leaders, such as Tubal Uriah Butler in Trinidad, Nor-

***Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute.** Washington established a carefully honed image of accommodating black male leadership, urging industrial education and promoting the idea of the "self-made man" in an effort to calm fears of black unrest.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

man Manley and William Alexander Bustamante in Jamaica, and A. Phillip Randolph and Angelo Herndon in the United States. Labor organizing set the stage for mass anticolonial and other forms of political protest in unprecedented numbers.

In the middle years of the twentieth century, black men argued the benefits of a militantly violent masculine upheaval versus a more pacific tactic of manhood reform through peaceful mass resistance. After Mahatma Gandhi used nonviolent resistance to wrest India from the British Empire, black men were attracted to the image of the singular colored man of great moral courage leading (literally or symbolically) a disciplined phalanx of followers against the mighty armed empire. Revising this strategy to combat white supremacy in the United States, the mass movements identified with Martin Luther King Jr. constructed a black male leadership with arms linked in the front line of progress but taking the high moral ground through disciplined nonviolence. As famous photographs from the Memphis sanitation workers' strike indicate, this stance was intended to communicate not only the arrival of full citizenship but also the claim of uncompromising manhood identity. Answering across the ages the abolitionist "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" medallion, each of the demonstrators carried a sign with the simple slogan, "I Am a Man"—as if the assertion of manhood itself could alter the oppressive reality of economic deprivation and social marginality.

Civil rights marchers wear "I am a Man" placards, flanked by National Guardsmen brandishing bayonets on one side and by tanks on the other, Memphis, Tennessee, 1968. *Occasioned by a sanitation workers strike, the group's march through downtown Memphis was its third in as many days. Answering the question posed on the famous abolitionist medallion ("Am I not a man and a brother?"), the demonstrator's asserted their manhood with the simple slogan pictured here.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

All across Africa, the West Indies, and North America, a more belligerent face was also being placed on the anticolonial movements for national independence. Black nationalist ideology appealed directly to the fierce black man as guerilla warrior, committed to the blood brotherhood of violent self-defense. Eschewing Gandhi and King, many black male youths adopted as their heroes such national liberation fighters as the Mau Mau (the secret brotherhood of armed resistance initiated by the Gikuyu in Kenya), Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, and Fidel Castro of Cuba. Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and other black nationalists and liberationists in the United States figured the imperialist West as a white man mired in the decadence of an overly affluent consumer civilization. This was an effeminate figure, and thus vulnerable to a robust vanguard of black male liberators.

Black Manhood in Crisis?

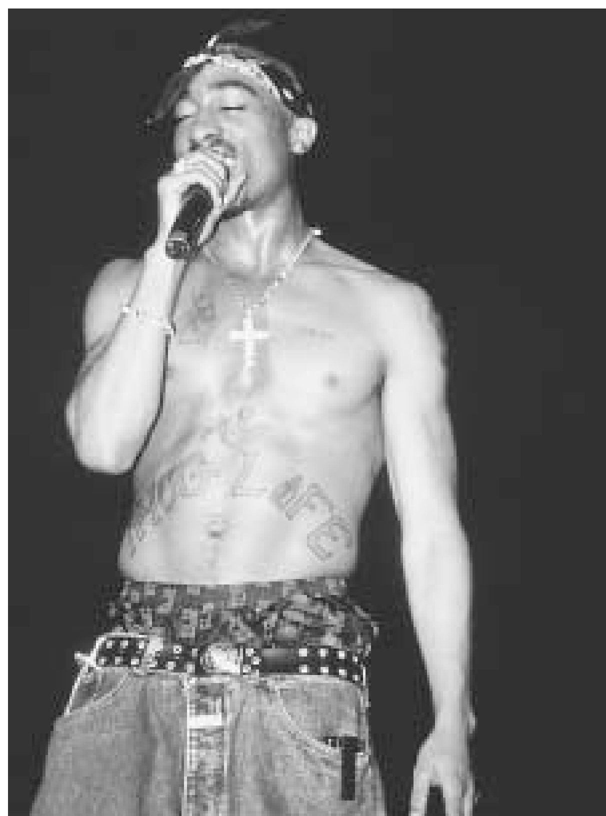
In the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, the faces and bodies of black men proliferated in a mass media driven by the consumption of the new, the shocking, and the taboo. On the one hand, the media offered up myriad model black men, a revision of Washington's good clean Negro. At first, this concentrated on men who broke color barriers in sports, the military, politics, literature, popular music, and entertainment. As long as the black men breaking these barriers were represented as Good Negroes who dutifully demonstrated their competence in an alliance with white society, the threat of new interracial interactions could be minimized. Along with King, Sidney Poitier best embodied this impulse, as he rose to global celebrity through movies that repeatedly plotted the theme of an incorruptible black manhood eager to aid

and save whiteness from itself. From Joe Louis to Lenox Lewis in boxing, from Goose Tatum to Michael Jordan in basketball, from Garry Sobers to Brian Lara in cricket, and countless others in various sports, the black male athlete became so visible as to cause some white men to rehash the mythology of black biological difference, this time as natural physical superiority, a notion already embedded in the slave owners' argument that only Africans could withstand hard labor in the tropics.

The black superstar's hypervisibility in mass media seemed to contradict a growing sense of alarm over the future of ordinary black men. A common worry at the turn of the twenty-first century focused on the concept of black male crisis in various guises. In the United States, persistently low educational levels, high unemployment, high incarceration rates, female-headed families, drug addiction, gang crime and homicide, suicide, AIDS, and other social problems caused some to declare black men an "endangered species." Similarly, in the Caribbean and Africa, where the AIDS epidemic was devastating populations, black men were often scapegoated as promiscuous carriers whose traditional sexual customs threatened to depopulate whole nations—a literalization of the backward African. The media focused attention on corrupt, murderous African and Caribbean heads of state—constantly raising the specter of a black manhood incapable of managing its national household after winning emancipation.

If the quotidian experience of black male identity remained largely inaudible and off-screen, scandalous controversies over black men's integrity, sexuality, and criminality were spotlighted in a variety of venues, giving rise to a whole subfield of sociological discourse trained on understanding black male deviance. The public image of black men, however, was not only proliferating, it was also splintering in response to larger social and sexual movements. As black gay men took a page from black feminists, they began to demand a visible place in black communities—challenging black homophobia and coaxing an enlarged sense of brotherly bonding across sexual orientation (Beam, 1986; Hemphill, 1991).

Ironically, the postmodern culture of hip-hop often turned these anxieties over black male identity into profitable commodities. Hyping the world's fascination with black male danger and trouble, many hip-hop artists exorcised these demons by performing them on stage and screen, and they sometimes converted the performance of menacing danger into an actual living out of it. Intensifying the phenomenon of hypervisibility, hip-hoppers like Tupac Shakur bared their hardened bodies to a seduced public, who in turn consumed those bodies as an authentic embodiment of black male jeopardy—a belated historical repetition of those former slaves who bared their striped backs as proof of the horrors of slavery. Covered with hip-hop hieroglyphics and haunted by the specter of a predictable early death by homicide, Tupac, inverting the formula of the Good Negro, marked his own price into his flesh: the deadly cost of becoming a black man.



Tupac Shakur. PHOTOGRAPH BY RAYMOND BOYD. © RAYMOND BOYD/MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/VENICE, CA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

See also African Diaspora; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Feminist Theory and Criticism; Identity and Race in the United States

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MARLON B. ROSS (2005)

Mathematicians

Mathematics was the first scientific field in which African Americans made significant contributions. In the late eighteenth century, Benjamin Banneker applied his knowledge of mathematics in the fields of surveying, clock-making, and astronomy. His calculations of the positions of celestial bodies, published in a series of almanacs between 1792 and 1797, were noted for their accuracy. A free black, Banneker was a counterexample to the widely held belief that blacks lacked reasoning and other intellectual abilities. Although many slaves used such skills as part of their daily routine, their work generally went unrecognized.

Mathematics provided a basis for the work of Edward Bouchet, the first black to be awarded a Ph.D. at an American university. Bouchet earned a doctorate in physics at Yale University in 1876 with a dissertation entitled "Measuring Refractive Indices." The first African American to earn a Ph.D. in pure mathematics was Elbert Frank Cox, at Cornell University in 1925. Cox's work on polynomial solutions, differential equations, and interpolation theory was highly regarded. He taught at Shaw University, West Virginia State College, and Howard University.

Before World War II, at least five other African Americans earned Ph.D.'s in mathematics. Dudley Weldon Woodard took his degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1928; William Waldron Schieffelin Claytor, University of Pennsylvania, 1933; Walter Richard Talbot, University of Pittsburgh, 1934; Reuben Roosevelt McDaniel, Cornell University, 1938; and Joseph Alphonso Pierce, University of Michigan, 1938. Like Cox, they taught principally at black colleges and universities. In 1949 Evelyn Boyd (she later took the married names Granville and Collins) and Marjorie Lee Browne became the first African-American women to earn doctorates in mathematics, from Yale University and the University of Michigan, respectively. Browne taught at North Carolina Central University. In addition to teaching, Boyd's career included a period (1963–1967) as research specialist in celestial mechanics and orbit computation with the Apollo Project. J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr., worked on the Manhattan Project (1944–1946) after earning a Ph.D. in mathematics at the University of Chicago in 1942. David Harold Blackwell, who was awarded a Ph.D. at the University of Illinois in 1941, became internationally known for his work in statistics and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1965.

Although few in number, black mathematicians were in the vanguard of the struggle against racial discrimination in science. Their efforts to participate in the field—at meetings of professional associations, for example—prompted changes in institutional policy and shifts in attitude and outlook within the scientific community during the 1950s. While some associations had admitted members regardless of race prior to that period, meetings were still convened in cities where African Americans experienced difficulty with accommodations and access to social events. In 1951 Evelyn Boyd and other members of the mathematics department at Fisk University helped motivate the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America to adopt guidelines prohibiting the use of segregated sites and facilities for meetings.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964, graduate departments in mathematics at white universities became more open to admitting African Americans. The numbers, however, have remained small. During the 1980s and 1990s less than 2 percent of all Ph.D.'s in mathematics were awarded to African Americans. By 2003 that number had risen to just over 3 percent. In the 1990s William Massey of Bell Laboratories (now Lucent Technologies) took the first steps toward the formation of the Conference for African-American Researchers in the Mathematical Sciences (CAARMS), which holds annual meetings at major universities.

See also Banneker, Benjamin

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KENNETH R. MANNING (1996)
JESSICA HORNIK-EVANS (2005)

Mathias, John Royce

See Mathis, Johnny (Mathias, John Royce)

Mathis, Johnny (Mathias, John Royce)

September 30, 1935

Born John Royce Mathias in San Francisco in 1935, singer Johnny Mathis took an early interest in sports, and it was as an outstanding high jumper that he gained recognition at San Francisco State College. During that time he also began singing in a jazz sextet. In 1955 he sang in nightclubs in San Francisco and New York, where his smooth, mellow ballad style led to his first recording, "Wonderful, Wonderful" (1956), which was a huge hit. In 1957 he recorded two more million-selling records, "Chances Are" and "It's Not for Me to Say," as well as the popular "Twelfth of Never." In 1958 his album *Johnny Mathis's Greatest Hits* sold more than two million copies and remained on the charts for almost ten years. During this time, Mathis also appeared in two films, *Lizzie* (1957) and *A Certain Smile* (1958).

With a style derived more from popular crooning traditions than jazz or blues, Mathis was one of the great crossover singers of the 1950s and 1960s, extremely popular with both white and black audiences. In the 1960s and 1970s he toured widely and recorded prolifically ("Too Much, Too Little, Too Late," with Deniece Williams, 1978; "Friends in Love," with Dionne Warwick, 1982). Mathis has maintained his popularity with numerous successful recordings, concert tours, and radio and television appearances. In 1993 he released a compilation album, *A Personal Collection,* featuring a duet with Barbra Streisand, and made a triumphant appearance at Carnegie Hall. In 1998 he appeared on the A&E cable network's *Live by Request.* In 2005 Columbia Records released *Isn't It Romantic: The Standards Album,* a new album of Mathis standards produced from recording sessions directed by Grammy winner Jorge Calandrelli.

See also Music in the United States

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JAMES E. MUMFORD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Mayfield, Julian

June 6, 1928
October 20, 1984

Actor, writer, and activist Julian Hudson Mayfield was born in Greer, South Carolina, and grew up in Washington, D.C. After graduating from Dunbar High School, he entered the army and served briefly in the Pacific theater before receiving a medical discharge. Mayfield then enrolled at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania but gave up his studies to move to New York City in 1949.

In New York Mayfield held many jobs to make ends meet—from washing dishes to writing for the leftist black newspaper *Freedom*. At the newspaper he met Paul Robeson, Lorraine Hansberry, Langston Hughes, and other black leftists—meetings that deeply influenced his intellectual formation. Mayfield soon became an actor, debuting on Broadway as Absalom, the juvenile lead in *Lost in the Stars* (1949), Kurt Weill's adaptation of Alan Paton's novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948). In 1952 Mayfield coproduced Ossie Davis's first play, *Alice in Wonder*. While in New York he became a member of the Harlem Writers Guild, a cooperative enterprise in which members critiqued each other's work.

In 1954 Mayfield married Ana Livia Cordero, and the couple moved to Puerto Rico. Mayfield helped establish the first English-language radio station on the island and, in 1956, founded the *Puerto Rico World Journal,* a magazine about international affairs. While in Puerto Rico he wrote his first novel, *The Hit* (1957), based on *417,* a one-act play he had written earlier about the numbers game in Harlem. *The Long Night* (1958) also centered on the numbers game but presented a much bleaker, less romantic view of Harlem than its predecessor.

By the time his third novel, *The Grand Parade* (1961), was published, Mayfield—who had met Malcolm X and W. E. B. Du Bois—had become a radical black nationalist. This was reflected in the novel, which focused on efforts to integrate a school in a "nowhere" city situated between the northern and southern United States. The novel's vision was deeply pessimistic and expressed his advocacy of "Blackist Marxism."

In 1960 Mayfield visited Cuba after Fidel Castro's revolution in the company of Le Roi Jones, Robert Williams, and others. In this period, he published many magazine articles on African-American affairs and was active in black nationalist circles. In 1961, after Williams was accused of kidnapping a white couple, Mayfield, who was with Williams at the time, was wanted for questioning by the FBI. Mayfield fled to Canada, then England, before arriving in Ghana in 1962.

In Ghana Mayfield served as a speechwriter and aide to President Kwame Nkrumah and founded and edited *African Review*. In keeping with his internationalism, Mayfield edited *The World Without the Bomb* (1963), the report of a conference on disarmament held in Ghana and attended mostly by third-world scientists. He was in Spain in 1966 when Nkrumah was overthrown in a coup. Mayfield moved to England for a while, then returned to the United States in 1968.

In 1968 Mayfield was given a fellowship at New York University. Two years later he became the first Distinguished W. E. B. Du Bois Fellow at Cornell University. That same year he edited *Ten Times Black,* a collection of stories by younger African-American authors. During this time he cowrote the screenplay for *Uptight* (1968), about life inside a black nationalist organization, in which he played the lead; this was his much acclaimed film debut. Mayfield also wrote the screenplays for *The Hitch* (1969), *Children of Anger* (1971), and, with Woodie King, *The Long Night* (1976).

In 1971 Mayfield moved to Guyana in South America as an adviser to the minister of information and later functioned as an assistant to Prime Minister Forbes Burnham. Mayfield returned to the United States in 1974 and taught for two years at the University of Maryland in College Park. He later served as a senior Fulbright-Hays Fellow, teaching in Europe and Tunisia. In 1977 he relocated to the University of Maryland, and the next year he accepted an appointment as writer-in-residence at Howard University, a position he maintained until his death of a heart ailment in Takoma Park, Maryland, in 1984.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Burnham, Forbes; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Harlem Writers Guild

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PETER SCHILLING (1996)

Mayors

The area in which African Americans made the greatest political gains during the late twentieth century was in city government. By 1990 most of the large cities in the United States, including four of the top five, had elected African-American mayors. This political shift took place with astounding swiftness. Although a few black mayors were elected in small southern towns during Reconstruction, and numerous all-black towns during the Jim Crow era had black chief executives, the first African-American mayors of large cities were elected only in 1967, with the elections of Carl Stokes in Cleveland, Ohio, and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. That same year, Walter Washington was appointed mayor of Washington, D.C., although he was not elected to that office until 1974.

The institution of black political control in the urban areas of the United States at the end of the twentieth and into the beginning of the twenty-first centuries was the product of several factors, including the shifting racial demography of cities. As the industrial sector of the American economy declined, unemployment as well as taxes in-

creased while city services declined. As a result, many affluent city residents, overwhelmingly white, moved from cities to adjacent suburbs, and black-majority or near-majority populations were created within city limits.

The other important factors were the civil rights and Black Power movements of the 1960s. The effects were most evident in the South, where movement efforts inspired passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other measures that ensured full political participation and provided federal protection to blacks attempting to exercise their right to vote. However, even in the areas of the country where blacks were able to vote throughout the twentieth century, the civil rights movement provided an inspiring ideology and model for black political action. Many of the black activists who went south returned as cadres and organizers responsible for voter registration and the formation of alliances. The Black Power movement, with its emphasis on black control of black areas, also proved influential. The urban riots and rebellions of the 1960s, which publicized black powerlessness and at the same time hastened white outmigration, accelerated the election of African-American mayors.

Another factor that shaped the early black urban governments was the federal government. Federal civil rights legislation and affirmative-action programs improved the political and economic status of black communities. In addition, Great Society antipoverty programs provided black communities with sources of organization and patronage outside the control of white-dominated urban political machines and stimulated black interest in electoral politics.

African-American mayors can be divided into two main types: those from black-majority or near-majority cities (including virtually all southern cities with black mayors) and those with predominantly white electorates. The first wave of mayors, with the exception of Carl Stokes, came from black-majority industrial cities in the North and Midwest that had previously been the site of riots and other racial tensions. Elected with the help of black communities and movement organizations, they generally had little or no white voting support. Richard Hatcher (1933–), the first of these mayors, was elected mayor in the declining steel town of Gary, Indiana, where blacks represented just over 50 percent of the population. Another notable figure, Coleman Young (1918–1997), of Detroit, a former United Auto Workers activist, was elected in 1973.

One model of this type of mayor is Kenneth Gibson (1932–) of Newark, New Jersey, who was elected in 1970. Newark's industrial core and population had declined through the postwar period and by the late 1960s had a black-majority population. The city's notoriously corrupt machine-dominated government had traditionally excluded blacks. In 1967, one year after Gibson, a city councilman, ran unsuccessfully for mayor, a major racial uprising in the city occurred. In 1969 Newark's mayor, Hugh Addonizio, was convicted on federal corruption charges and removed from office. Meanwhile, black militants led by writer Amiri Baraka organized a coalition of African-American and Puerto Rican voters and selected Gibson as a consensus candidate. In 1970, with the help of heavy black voter-registration efforts and bloc voting, Gibson was narrowly elected. Once in office, Gibson reached out to the white business community to counteract economic decline and attempted to assure a black majority on the city school board. He drew heavy criticism from black radicals over his perceived inattention to black community problems and from whites over municipal corruption, but he remained a popular figure and was reelected for several terms before being defeated by another African American.

Coleman A. Young. *Young was Detroit's first black mayor and the city's longest-serving chief executive, holding the office from 1974 to 1994.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Gibson's experience in office typifies the problems of mayors of black-majority cities. Black mayors come to office amid high expectations of policy reforms in the police department, school board, and welfare agency. However, administrative change is difficult and hard to finance, particularly in declining "rust belt" cities with straitened bud-

gets. Mayoral power over city agencies is often limited, and the health of city economies depends on relations among mayors, white-dominated business interests, and state and federal government officials. However, despite some disappointments, African-American mayors of black cities tend to be reelected for several terms, and then are usually followed by other African Americans.

African-American mayors of southern cities—such as Willie Herenton of Memphis, elected in 1992; Bernard Kincaid of Birmingham, elected in 1999; and C. Ray Nagin of New Orleans, elected in 2002—have also come from black-majority or near-majority cities. Little Rock, Arkansas, was the only predominantly white southern city of any size to elect black mayors during the 1970s and 1980s. However, they have differed in a few respects from their northern counterparts. First, not surprisingly, given the electoral history of the South, these candidates had little or no prior experience in electoral politics. Also, while some came from declining "New South" industrial cities, the southern mayors tended to inherit more viable city economies. Thus, although these mayors were elected by a united black vote, they have often run as moderates, hoping to cement links with white business interests. Also, southern black mayors, particularly in Atlanta, have developed affirmative-action programs and provided assistance that has helped expand and solidify the black middle class in their cities.

The other major type of black mayor has been the "crossover" mayor: chief executives elected with significant white support, usually in cities without dominant black populations. The best-known members of this group include Carl Stokes of Cleveland, elected in 1967; Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, elected in 1973; Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, elected in 1983; Harold Washington of Chicago, elected in 1983; David Dinkins of New York City, elected in 1989; and John Street of Philadelphia, elected in 1999. To this list might be added Sidney Barthelemy of New Orleans, who, in 1986, was elected mayor of a black-majority city over another African-American candidate. While Barthelemy's opponent gained a majority of the black vote, Barthelemy won with a small black vote and a solid white vote.

The "crossover" mayors form a diverse group. Many of these mayors, of whom Dinkins is the most celebrated example, came to office in cities torn by racial tension, campaigned as peacemakers, and convinced white voters that a black mayor could more effectively "control" crime and urban rebellions. Through personal charisma and skill in reaching out to diverse minority and interest groups (Latinos, Jews, gays and lesbians, labor unions, women's groups, etc.), these candidates were able to forge successful coalitions.

Tom Bradley, former mayor of Los Angeles. *Bradley was the first African American mayor of Los Angeles, where he served an unprecedented five terms in a city where African Americans constituted only a minority of the electorate.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

By the early 1990s black mayoral politics had entered a new stage of development. Black mayors were being elected to office in greater numbers of cities. Among them were several black women, representing both major cities (Sharon Sayles Belton of Minneapolis, elected in 1994; Sharon Pratt Dixon of Washington, D.C., elected in 1990; and Shirley Franklin of Atlanta, elected in 2002) and smaller cities (Carrie Perry of Hartford, Connecticut, elected in 1987; Jessie Rattley of Newport News, Virginia, elected in 1986; Lottie Shackleford of Little Rock, Arkansas, elected in 1987; and Brenda Lawrence, of Southfield, Michigan, elected in 2001).

Furthermore, in the 1990s greater numbers of African Americans were coming to office in cities in which African Americans represented only a small percentage of the population. For example, Norman Rice of Seattle, elected in 1990, and Sharon Sayles Belton of Minneapolis presided in cities where blacks were, respectively, some 10 percent

and 13 percent of the population. In 2000 Michael B. Coleman was elected mayor of Columbus, Ohio, where blacks are about a quarter of the population. Previously (with the exception of Tom Bradley of Los Angeles), only a few cities without significant black populations, such as Boulder, Colorado; Spokane, Washingon; and Santa Monica, California—university towns and other areas that tend to vote liberal—had had black mayors.

In some cases black mayors in nonblack-majority cities were succeeded by other African Americans, but in many cities black electoral power was not fully expressed until the late twentieth or early twenty-first century. For example, it was not until 1999 that Macon, Georgia, elected its first black mayor. Jackson, Mississippi, and Savannah, Georgia, despite their black majorities, did not have black chief executives until 1997 and 2003, respectively. Moreover, most black mayors in racially mixed cities were elected by very narrow margins; their victories consisted of overwhelming percentages of the black vote along with a split white vote. For example, in his successful mayoral bid in 1983, Harold Washington won 51 percent of the vote, gaining 99 percent of the black vote, 60 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 19 percent of the white vote. Similarly, David Dinkins won the 1989 election by 47,080 votes, the closest election in city history, with 92 percent of the black vote, 65 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 27 percent of the white vote. Their electoral majorities remained vulnerable, and many of these mayors were defeated following small shifts in voter support in subsequent elections, while increasing racial polarization in large nonblack-majority cities made the election of future black mayors extremely difficult. By 1993 white mayors had succeeded blacks in the nation's four largest cities—New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Philadelphia. That year, following a shift of fewer than 100,000 votes, New York Mayor David Dinkins lost a close mayoral race, becoming the first big-city black mayor to fail to be reelected. The negative trend continued in the mid-1990s.

Although in 1995 Lee Brown became the first black mayor of Houston, and Ron Kirk became Dallas's first African-American mayor, the heavily black city of Gary, Indiana, elected a white mayor that year, and white mayors took power following the departure of black mayors in Seattle in 1998 and Oakland in 1999. In 1999 Philadelphia again elected a black mayor, John Street; in 2005 Street was the nation's only black mayor of a city with a population of more than a million. Despite setbacks, the office of mayor continues to be a main focus of black political aspiration, and African Americans have established themselves as solid, responsible chief executives in cities in every part of the country.

See also Bradley, Tom; Dinkins, David; Hatcher, Richard Gordon; Politics in the United States; Stokes, Carl Burton; Voting Rights Act of 1965; Washington, Harold; Young, Coleman

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
JESSICA HORNIK-EVANS (2005)

Mays, Benjamin E.

August 1, 1894
March 28, 1984

The educator and clergyman Benjamin Elijah Mays was born in Ninety-Six, South Carolina, the eighth and youngest child of Hezekiah and Louvenia Carter Mays. His father supported the family as a sharecropper. A year at Virginia Union University in Richmond preceded Mays's matriculation at Bates College in Maine, from which he graduated with honors in 1920. At the divinity school of the University of Chicago, he earned an M.A. degree in 1925. Ten years later, while engaged in teaching, social work, and educational administration, Mays received a Ph.D. from the same divinity school.

Mays lived in Tampa, Florida, in the early 1920s, where he was active in social work in the Tampa Urban League, exposing police brutality and attacking discrimination in public places. However, higher education soon became his principal vocation. Teaching stints at Morehouse College in Atlanta and South Carolina State College in Orangeburg between 1921 and 1926 put Mays in the classroom as an instructor in mathematics, psychology, religious education, and English.

In 1934, with his Ph.D. nearly finished, Mays went to Howard University in Washington, D.C., as dean of the

school of religion. He served for six years, and during that time graduate enrollment increased, the quality of the faculty improved, and the school's library was substantially augmented. During his tenure the seminary gained accreditation from the American Association of Theological Schools.

Mays's administrative successes at Howard University convinced the trustees of Morehouse College to elect him as the new president of their institution in 1940. He served until 1967. During his tenure, the percentage of faculty with Ph.D.s increased from 8.7 percent to 54 percent, and the physical plant and campus underwent numerous improvements. One of Mays's protégés at Morehouse was Martin Luther King Jr., who attended the college from 1944—when he entered as a fifteen-year-old—through 1948. Mays, both by example and personal influence, helped persuade the young King to seek a career in the ministry. Mays remained a friend of King's throughout his career, urging him to persevere in the Montgomery bus boycott. In 1965 Mays was instrumental in King's election to the Morehouse board of trustees.

In addition to his activities in higher education, Mays remained involved in religious affairs. Although he was active as a pastor for only a few years in the early 1920s, he became a familiar presence in the affairs of the National Baptist Convention and in several ecumenical organizations. In 1944 he became vice president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, a national organization of mainline Protestant denominations. In 1948 Mays helped organize the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam, Holland, where he successfully pushed for a resolution to acknowledge racism as a divisive force among Christians. When a delegate from the Dutch Reformed Church proposed that an all-white delegation from the WCC investigate apartheid in South Africa, Mays argued convincingly for an interracial team.

Mays was a distinguished scholar of the black church and black religion. In 1930 the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City asked Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, a minister in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, to survey black churches in twelve cities and four rural areas. In their study, *The Negro's Church* (1933), they argued that black churches represented "the failure of American Christianity." They found that there was an oversupply of black churches, that too many churches had untrained clergy, and that they carried too much indebtedness. These shortcomings deprived the members and the communities they served of adequate programs to deal with the broad range of social and economic ills they faced. Nonetheless, Mays and Nicholson praised the autonomy of black churches and their promotion of education, economic development, and leadership opportunities for African Americans.

In 1938 Mays produced a second important volume, *The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature,* a study of how blacks conceptualized God and related the deity to their temporal circumstances. Mays argued that many blacks believed God to be intimately involved in and mindful of their condition as an oppressed group. Even those who doubted or rejected either the notion of God or the social dimension of the deity, Mays argued, were still influenced by their understanding of the social purpose of God. In later years Mays wrote an autobiography, *Born to Rebel* (1971), which was published in an abridged version in 1981 as *Lord, the People Have Driven Me On.*

After his retirement in 1967, Mays won election to the Atlanta Board of Education in 1969. He became president of that body in 1970.

Mays married twice. His first wife, Ellen Harvin Mays, died in 1923. His second wife, whom he married in 1926, was Sadie Gray Mays. She died on October 11, 1969. In 1982 Mays was awarded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s Spingarn Medal. Mays died in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1984.

See also Howard University; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Morehouse College; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; National Urban League; Spingarn Medal

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DENNIS C. DICKERSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Mays, Willie

May 6, 1931

The son of steel-mill worker Willie Howard Mays and Ann Mays, baseball player Willie Howard Mays Jr. was born in Westfield, Alabama. After his parents divorced soon after his birth, Mays was raised by an aunt in Fairfield, Alabama. At Fairfield Industrial High School he starred in basketball, football, and baseball.

At the age of seventeen Mays began his professional career, joining the Birmingham Black Barons of the Negro National League. During three seasons with the Black Barons, he played 130 games in the outfield and compiled a batting average of .263. In 1950 he started the season with the Black Barons, but he was soon signed by the New York Giants. He played on the Giants' minor league teams until early in the 1951 season, when he joined the major league club. Mays was voted the National League Rookie of the Year and acquired the nickname "the 'Say Hey' kid" when he forgot a teammate's name in 1951 and used the phrase.

In 1952 and 1953 Mays served in the U. S. Army, but he returned to baseball in 1954 to play one of his best seasons ever. He led the National League with a .345 batting average and had 41 home runs and 110 runs batted in, leading the Giants to the 1954 National League pennant and world championship. In the first game of the World Series with the Cleveland Indians at the Polo Grounds in New York City, Mays made one of the most famous catches in baseball history: With his back to home plate, he ran down Vic Wertz's 440-foot drive to center field, wheeled around, and fired a perfect throw to the infield, thus preventing the Indians from scoring. Mays was named the National League's Most Valuable Player for 1954. He won the award a second time in 1965.

Mays is often considered the most complete ballplayer of the postwar era, if not of all time. He excelled in every aspect of the game. He hit over .300 in ten seasons, and totaled 660 home runs. He was one of the game's great base runners and a superlative fielder. (His fielding earned him twelve consecutive Gold Gloves from 1957 to 1968.) Mays played in every All-Star game from 1954 to 1973 and in four World Series (in 1951 and 1954 with the New York Giants; in 1962 with the San Francisco Giants; and in 1973 with the New York Mets).

Because of his formidable abilities, and because of racism, Mays was also the target of an inordinate number of "bean balls"—pitches thrown at the batter's head. However, Mays was one of the first black superstars to receive widespread adulation from white fans. In the 1960s he was among the many black athletes who were criticized for not publicly supporting the civil rights movement. As on most controversial issues, Mays projected a naive innocence when confronted about his political silence. "I don't picket in the streets of Birmingham," he said. "I'm not mad at the people who do. Maybe they shouldn't be mad at the people who don't."

Mays played with the Giants (the team moved to San Francisco in 1958) until 1972, when he was traded to the New York Mets. The following year he retired as a player but was retained by the Mets as a part-time coach. He was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1979. Three months later, he was ordered by Major League Baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn to choose between his job with the Mets and fulfilling a public relations contract with the Bally's Casino Hotel. Mays, along with Mickey Mantle, chose the latter and was banned from any affiliation with professional baseball. In 1985 the new commissioner, Peter Ueberroth, lifted the ban.

In 2000 a statue of Mays was unveiled at Pacific Bell Park, the new home of the San Francisco Giants.

See also Baseball

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

McBurnie, Beryl

November 2, 1913
March 30, 2000

Beryl Eugenia McBurnie, a pioneer of Trinidad and Tobago's folk dance scene, was born in Trinidad. A child with a natural aptitude for dance who converted her parents' backyard into a theater, McBurnie resented the British colonial school system that promoted "foreign" culture, as opposed to her indigenous heritage. Native mores and influences were deemed substandard at best, and were scorned at worst.

In the early 1940s, during a stint at New York's Columbia University studying cultural anthropology with

Melville Herskovitz, McBurnie refined her dance techniques with Martha Graham, all the while continuing to build a name for herself in her native country. She collaborated with several ardent Pan-Caribbeanists there. Eric Williams, a scholar and the first prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, and C. L. R. James, a noted Marxist intellectual, persuaded her to apply her talent to the cause of West Indian unity and independence. Local folklorists Carlton Comma and Andrew Carr saw in her career the artistic expression of the political and social upheavals that followed the nation's demand for self-determination, as well as the intellectual research ability that characterized her efforts to broaden the scope of Trinidad and Tobago's cultural life.

Encouraged to study Caribbean folk heritage and influences, McBurnie visited South America in the mid-1940s and it was in Cayenne that she discovered the model for the theater she subsequently established in Trinidad and Tobago. The 1948 opening of the Little Carib Theatre was a triumph. Paul Robeson, the American baritone and Pan-Africanist, attended, as did Eric Williams, who said that the Little Carib is, in the broadest sense a political event, in that it is West Indian and rooted in the West Indian people and environment. "I never felt as proud of the West Indies or as optimistic of their future as I did last night" (Williams, 1948).

At various times in the 1950 to 1952 period, McBurnie toured England, Europe, and North Africa herself, seeking cultural ties with the West Indies and the necessary funding for her brainchild, which never received the requisite governmental support. Yet her troupe did not lack acclaim—in Puerto Rico in August 1952, in Jamaica at the country's tercentenary celebrations in 1955, and in Canada at the 1958 Stratford Shakespeare Festival. The troupe later performed for Britain's Queen Elizabeth II in 1966.

Beryl McBurnie single-handedly bucked the colonial artistic system. Through meticulous research, she rescued Trinidad and Tobago's rich and forgotten heritage, recalling its French, African, and Venezuelan roots in both music and dance, yet always portraying that which was common to her country. For her efforts, she was awarded the Order of the British Empire in 1959, Trinidad and Tobago's Humming Bird Gold Medal in 1969, and her country's highest honor, The Trinity Cross, in 1989. Through her art, Beryl McBurnie raised the political consciousness of a people. A precursor of the freedom of spirit that crystallized in Trinidad and Tobago's independence from Britain in 1962, she gave meaning to the preservationist's mantra: if we fail to pay attention to the roadmarks of the past, the present begins to lose its points of reference.

See also Dance, Diasporic; James, C. L. R.; Williams, Eric

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ERICA WILLIAMS CONNELL (2005)

McDaniel, Hattie

June 10, 1895
October 26, 1952

Singer and actress Hattie McDaniel was born in Wichita, Kansas. Her father, Henry McDaniel, was a Baptist preacher and an entertainer, and her mother, Susan (Holbert) McDaniel, was a choir singer. McDaniel was one of thirteen children. Soon after her birth the family moved to Colorado, and in 1901 they settled in Denver. In 1910, at the age of fifteen, she was awarded a gold medal by the Women's Christian Temperance Union for excellence in "the dramatic art" for her recital of "Convict Joe," which reportedly "moved the house to tears." On the strength of this success, McDaniel persuaded her family to allow her to leave school and join her brothers in her father's newly formed traveling company, the Henry McDaniel Minstrel Show. Over the next decade she traveled and performed on the West Coast, mostly with her father's company, and she began at this time to develop her abilities as a songwriter and singer.

Around 1920 McDaniel came to the notice of George Morrison, one of Denver's notable popular musicians. Taken on as a singer with Morrison's orchestra, McDaniel became increasingly well known throughout the West Coast vaudeville circuit. She also appeared with the orchestra on Denver radio during this time, and she is reputed to be the first black woman soloist to sing on the radio. In 1929 she secured a place with a traveling production of *Show Boat*, but the stock market crash of October 1929 eliminated the show's financing.

After the crash, McDaniel moved to Milwaukee, where she worked in the coatroom of the Club Madrid

and eventually got an opportunity to perform. Encouraged by her success, she moved to Hollywood in 1931 and soon began working regularly in radio and film. Over the next two decades she appeared in more than three hundred films, though mostly in minor, uncredited roles. Her debut was in *The Golden West* (1932). The first film for which she received screen credit was *Blonde Venus* (1932), in which she played the affectionate, loyal, but willful domestic, a type character that was virtually the only role available at the time to large black women in Hollywood. Over the course of the next two decades McDaniel successfully established herself in this role, gaining substantial, credited parts in over fifty films, including *Alice Adams* (1935), *The Mad Miss Manton* (1935), *Show Boat* (1936, with Paul Robeson), *Affectionately Yours* (1941), *Since You Went Away* (1944), and Walt Disney's animated *Song of the South* (1946).

McDaniel's career reached its high point in 1939 when she won an Academy Award, the first ever given to a black performer, for her portrayal of Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. Praised by some and maligned by others for the image she portrayed, McDaniel in her Oscar acceptance speech (said to have been written by her studio) announced that she hoped always to be a credit to her race and to her industry. Despite Hollywood's evident self-satisfaction with this award, it is important to note that McDaniel (along with the other black cast members) had been excluded from the Atlanta premiere of the film and that her portrait was removed from the promotional programs that the studio distributed in the South.

McDaniel continued to play similar roles throughout the 1940s despite increased criticism from the NAACP, which felt that McDaniel and the other black actors who played servile stereotypes were helping to perpetuate them. In 1947, after the controversy with the NAACP had passed, McDaniel signed her first contract for the radio show *Beulah,* in which she once again played a southern maid. In the contract McDaniel insisted that she would not use dialect, and she demanded the right to alter any script that did not meet her approval. Both of her demands were met.

McDaniel died in Los Angeles in 1952 after completing the first six episodes of the television version of *Beulah*.

See also Film in the United States

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MATTHEW BUCKLEY (1996)

McDaniel, Otha Elias

See Diddley, Bo (McDaniel, Otha Elias)

McHenry, Donald F.

October 13, 1936

Born in St. Louis, United Nations (UN) ambassador Donald F. McHenry grew up in an impoverished neighborhood in East St. Louis, Illinois, and graduated from Illinois State University in 1957. He received his master's degree from Southern Illinois University in 1959 and then became an English instructor at Howard University. After studying international relations at Georgetown University, he joined the Department of State as a foreign affairs officer in the Dependent Areas Section, Office of UN Political Affairs (1963–1966). He briefly served as assistant to the secretary of state, and from 1968 to 1969 he acted as special assistant to the counselor of the Department of State.

The Brookings Institute invited McHenry to be guest scholar (1971–1973), during which time he also was a lecturer at Georgetown University. He then was director of humanitarian policy studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1973–1977) and lectured at American University in 1975.

President Jimmy Carter named McHenry deputy representative in the UN Security Council. He and his friend, UN Ambassador Andrew Young, established a good relationship and complemented each other at the UN. From 1978 to 1979 McHenry worked with Angola to strengthen its relationship with the United States and brought an end to negotiations on a UN plan for Namibia independence. McHenry was chief U.S. negotiator for other UN plans involving South Africa.

After Young resigned under pressure on August 15, 1979, McHenry was sworn in the following month as U.S. permanent representative to the UN and ambassador and U.S. deputy representative to the UN Security Council, remaining in that office until January 20, 1981. Since that time, McHenry has served on the board of directors of several prominent corporations, including Coca-Cola, AT&T, International Paper, and Fleet National Bank, and has held a number of board and trustee positions in non-profit organizations and foundations. He is a Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and

principal owner and president of the IRC Group, an international consulting firm based in Washington, D.C.

See also Politics in the United States

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JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

McIntosh, George

March 6, 1886
November 1, 1963

George Augustus McIntosh can arguably be described as the most outstanding political leader in St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the first fifty years of the twentieth century. Born in 1886, he was the son of a Scottish father, Donald McIntosh, and a Vincentian mother who worked as a cook. His was a pharmacist by profession, beginning at the age of seventeen as a trainee at the Kingstown General Hospital. McIntosh is best known, however, as a political and labor leader.

George McIntosh, or "Dada," as he was called, first entered the political arena when he became one of the founders of the St. Vincent Representative Government Association, an organization that struggled for the reintroduction of elected representation in the legislature and politics of the country. As a pharmacist, he was consulted on a regular basis by the poorer classes of the community. His establishment of a pharmacy near the Kingstown market meant that on Saturdays, after selling their goods at the market, the peasantry and working people would patronize his store, which was not limited to pharmaceutical products. It was this relationship that brought him into prominence at the time of the riots in 1935, when he was arrested on the belief that he was the mastermind behind the riots.

Because of his relationship with the country's working people, they consulted him at the time of the riots and sought his help in intervening with the governor to plead for improvements in their dire social and economic situation. After his case was dismissed at the preliminary trial, McIntosh sought to capture the energies and hopes of the working people through the formation of the St. Vincent Workingmen's Cooperative Association, a movement that was part union and part political party.

Despite the fact that the majority of his supporters could not meet the franchise requirements, McIntosh's association held the majority of seats in parliament in 1937 and did so until the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1951. McIntosh took issues related to the working people to parliament at a time when even as leader of his party he had virtually no power under the crown colony system of government. He was, however, able to highlight their problems and had their support as an extraparliamentary force. McIntosh stressed issues centered on land settlement for the working people and was instrumental in forcing the government to extend land settlement through the 1945 Land Settlement Scheme. He also took up the struggle of the Spiritual Baptists, then called Shakers, a religion that was banned in 1912. He constantly raised the issue in parliament and set the stage for the eventual repeal of the law in 1965. McIntosh also served in the Kingstown Town Board from 1924 to the time of his death, acting as chair on numerous occasions. He was in the forefront of efforts to form a political union of English-speaking Caribbean colonies and of the integration of the regional labor movement.

McIntosh kept a portrait of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in his shop, wore a red tie, and held—on at least one occasion—a dinner in honor of the Russian Revolution. He was in the forefront of radical and progressive politics but was "no Leninist insurrectionist" according to Gordon Lewis. McIntosh died in 1963, still holding a seat on the Kingstown Town Board.

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ADRIAN FRASER (2005)

McKay, Claude

September 15, 1889
May 22, 1948

The poet and novelist Festus Claudius "Claude" McKay was the child of independent small farmers. In 1912 he published two volumes of Jamaican dialect poetry, *Songs of Jamaica* and *Constab Ballads*. They reflect the British imperial influences of his youth and reveal that the rebellion that characterized McKay's American poetry lay in both his Jamaican experience and his later experience of white racism in the United States. His Jamaican poetry also contains early versions of his pastoral longing for childhood innocence and his primal faith in the self-sufficiency and enduring virtues of the rural black community of his childhood and youth.

McKay left Jamaica in 1912 to study agriculture at Tuskegee Institute and Kansas State University, but in 1914 he moved to New York City, where he began again to write poetry. In 1919, he became a regular contributor to the revolutionary literary monthly the *Liberator,* and he achieved fame among black Americans for his sonnet "If We Must Die," which exhorted African Americans to fight bravely against the violence directed against them in the reactionary aftermath of World War I. Although expressed in traditional sonnet form, McKay's post–World War I poetry heralded modern black expressions of anger, alienation, and rebellion, and he quickly became a disturbing, seminal voice in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. His collected American poetry includes *Spring in New Hampshire and Other Poems* (1920) and *Harlem Shadows* (1922).

The years between 1919 and 1922 marked the height of McKay's political radicalism. In 1922 he journeyed to Moscow, where he attended the Fourth Congress of the Third Communist International, but his independence and his criticisms of American and British Communists led to his abandonment of communism. In the 1930s he became a vocal critic of international communism because of its antidemocratic dominance by the Soviet Union.

From 1923 until 1934, McKay lived in western Europe and Tangiers. While abroad, he published three novels—*Home to Harlem* (1928), *Banjo* (1929), and *Banana Bottom* (1933)—plus one collection of short stories, *Gingertown* (1932). In his novels, McKay rebelled against the genteel traditions of older black writers, and he offended leaders of black protest by writing, in *Home to Harlem* and *Banjo,* of essentially leaderless rural black migrants and their predicaments in the modern, mechanistic, urban West. Both are picaresque novels that celebrate the natural resilience and ingenuity of "primitive" black heroes. To McKay's critics, his characters were irresponsible degenerates, not exemplary models of racial wisdom, and he was accused of pandering to the worst white stereotypes of African Americans.

In *Gingertown* and *Banana Bottom*, McKay retreated to the Jamaica of his childhood to recapture a lost pastoral world of blacks governed by their own rural community values. Although critics still debate the merits of McKay's fiction, it provided encouragement to younger black writers. *Banjo,* in particular, by stressing that blacks should build upon their own cultural values, influenced the founding generation of the Francophone *Négritude* movement.

In 1934, the Great Depression forced McKay back to the United States, and for the rest of his life he wrote primarily as a journalist critical of international communism, middle-class black integrationism, and white American racial and political hypocrisy. In his essays he continued to champion working-class African Americans, whom he believed understood better than their leaders the necessity of community development. He published a memoir, *A Long Way from Home* (1937), and a collection of essays, *Harlem, Negro Metropolis* (1940), based largely on materials about Harlem folk life he collected as a member of New York City's Federal Writers Project. In 1944—ill, broke, and intellectually isolated—he joined the Roman Catholic Church, and he spent the last years of his life in Chicago working for the Catholic Youth Organization.

Although he is best known as a poet and novelist of the Harlem Renaissance, McKay's social criticism in the 1930s and 1940s was not negligible, though it was controversial, and it has since remained hard to grasp because he was neither a black nationalist, an internationalist, nor a traditional integrationist. He instead believed deeply that blacks, in their various American ethnicities, had much to contribute as ethnic groups and as a race to the collective American life, and that in the future a recognition, acceptance, and celebration of differences between peoples—and not simply individual integration—would best strengthen and bring together the American populace.

See also *Liberator, The*; Harlem Renaissance; Poetry, U.S.; Négritude

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WAYNE F. COOPER (1996)

McKinney, Cynthia Ann

March 15, 1955

U.S. Congresswoman Cynthia Ann McKinney was born in Atlanta, Georgia. She was educated at the University of Southern California, where she earned a bachelor's degree in 1978, and at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University.

Following graduation from college, McKinney was exposed to the painful sting of racism. On a trip with her father to Alabama to protest the conviction of Tommy Lee Hines, a retarded black man accused of a sexual attack on a white woman, Ku Klux Klan members threatened her. The National Guard settled the disturbance at the event. She decided then that she would enter politics.

McKinney was a fellow (studying diplomacy) at Spelman College in 1984. From 1988 to 1992 she taught at Clark Atlanta University and Agnes Scott College. Her career in politics began in 1988, when she was elected as an at-large member to the Georgia State House of Representatives. Her father, Billy McKinney, was already a member of the legislature and the two became the only father-daughter team in a state legislature. McKinney was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1992 where she quickly made a reputation as an outspoken, liberal crusader for the poor and rural citizens of her state. She gained notoriety with vehement arguments against Republicans on such issues as abortion.

McKinney's congressional district was redrawn prior to the 1996 election after being ruled unconstitutional, eliminating the black voter majority McKinney had enjoyed in her previous election wins. An overwhelmingly negative campaign between McKinney and her white Republican opponent followed, but McKinney won reelection for a third term, proving that a black liberal candidate could win in a white majority district.

In 2002 Democrat Denise Majette beat McKinney in her bid for reelection. McKinney had angered many with her comments that President George W. Bush knew beforehand about the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and profited from them. In 2004 McKinney ran for her old seat in Congress and won handily over her Republican opponent.

See also Politics in the United States

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RAYMOND WINBUSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

McKissick, Floyd B.

March 9, 1922
April 28, 1991

Civil rights activist Floyd McKissick was born in Asheville, North Carolina. His father, Ernest Boyce McKissick, worked as a bellhop and was committed to providing his son with educational opportunities to ensure him a better economic future. After serving in the army during World War II, McKissick attended Morehouse College and graduated from North Carolina College (now North Carolina Central University) with a bachelor of arts degree in 1951. He became the first African-American student to attend the University of North Carolina Law School at Chapel Hill after NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall successfully filed suit on his behalf. Subsequently, McKissick challenged segregation laws by filing suits to gain admission for his five children into all-white schools.

McKissick had taken part in civil rights activism that was spreading throughout the South as early as 1947 when he challenged segregated interstate travel laws by participating in the Journey of Reconciliation sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a pacifist organization committed to integration. In 1960 McKissick established a legal practice in Durham, North Carolina, and became a key legal adviser for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)—an interracial civil rights organization that grew out of FOR. McKissick served as legal adviser for CORE and often defended CORE activists who had been arrested for civil disobedience. He played a central role in organizing the Durham chapter of CORE and was appointed head of the chapter in 1962.

As time progressed, McKissick and other black activists in CORE, who had faced unyielding southern white violence and become increasingly disillusioned with white liberalism, began to question the integrationist goals of the movement. McKissick's disillusionment was fueled by the harassment that his children had faced in the "integrated" school setting that he had fought so hard to place them

in. Influenced by the rising tide of black nationalism that characterized the Black Power movement, he led the call for black economic empowerment and black control over black institutions within CORE. By 1966, when he replaced James Farmer as national director, McKissick had become a militant advocate of Black Power and steered CORE toward black economic development and a repudiation of interracialism. Two years later, he was replaced as national director by Roy Innis.

After leaving CORE, McKissick established his own consulting firm, Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, to promote his philosophy of black capitalism. In 1969 he authored *Three-Fifths of a Man,* a book that suggested a combination of nationalist strategies and government assistance for African Americans economically. He led a Ford Foundation project to help African Americans attain positions of responsibility in the cities where they were approaching a majority of the population. In culmination of these efforts, McKissick founded the "Soul City" Corporation in Warren County, North Carolina (an area just south of the Virginia border), in 1974. His aim was to create a community in which African Americans would have political and economic control that could serve as a prototype for the creation of other black-controlled cities and, eventually, states. However, outside funding was cut and the city was not able to attract enough business to become self-sufficient. By June 1980 all of the corporation's property and assets—except eighty-eight acres of the project that contained the headquarters—were taken over by the federal government.

McKissick remained active in public life. He began a successful law firm, McKissick and McKissick (with his son Floyd McKissick Jr.) in Durham, served as pastor of Soul City's First Baptist Church, and in 1990 was appointed district court judge for North Carolina's ninth district by Governor Jim Martin. The following year, McKissick, who had been suffering from lung cancer, died in his Soul City home.

See also Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Farmer, James; Marshall, Thurgood; Morehouse College

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)

McMillan, Terry

October 18, 1951

The eldest of five children, novelist and short story writer Terry McMillan was born in Point Huron, Michigan, where she spent much of her adolescence in a household headed by her mother. At seventeen, she left Point Huron for Los Angeles, and in 1978 received a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of California at Berkeley. While she was at Berkeley, author and teacher Ishmael Reed persuaded her to pursue a career in writing. She left California to pursue a master's degree in film at Columbia University, but she left there in 1979, still several credits short of the degree, to join the Harlem Writers Guild.

The first story McMillan read aloud to the guild became the opening chapter of her first novel, *Mama* (1987), which thrust her into prominence. A semi-autobiographical work, *Mama* earned critical praise for its depiction of one woman's struggle to provide for her family during the 1960s and 1970s. The success of the novel is largely due to its realistic, gritty portrayal of Mildred's attempts to cope with the care of five children single-handedly at the age of twenty-seven. McMillan established her reputation further in the genre of the popular novel through her second novel, *Disappearing Acts* (1989). In *Disappearing Acts,* McMillan continues to present strong African-American characters in a New York City setting. The work is a love story that manages to address numerous issues facing many urban African-American communities. The love story of Zora and Franklin becomes a vehicle for an exploration of the complex issues of class and culture that affect relationships between black professionals and working-class partners.

McMillan's third novel, *Waiting to Exhale* (1992), became a best seller within the first week of its release. Although this novel deals with many African-American themes, McMillan's treatment of male-female relationships in a gripping narrative ensures a wide readership. The novel centers on the friendships among four African-American women in Phoenix, Arizona, and how each of them looks for and hides from love. McMillan's tough, sexy style clearly has a wide appeal; the paperback rights for *Waiting to Exhale* were auctioned in the sixth week of its hardcover publication for $2.64 million.

McMillan's next book, *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1996) also quickly became a best seller. The work deals with the revitalization of a black woman through her affair with a young West Indian man she meets while on vacation. During the 1990s both *Waiting to Exhale* and *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* were turned into hit mov-

ies, whose success at the box office demonstrated both strong appeal to black (especially female) viewers and a sizable crossover to white audiences. The acclaim received by these film adaptations not only fueled McMillan's sales and popularity but also provided vital employment opportunities for African-American casts and directors.

Nevertheless, the commercial success of *Waiting to Exhale* and *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* confirmed for some critics the belief that McMillan is more a writer of potboilers than she is a serious novelist. But McMillan hoped her success would open doors for other African-American writers. To that end, in 1991 she also edited *Breaking Ice: An Anthology of Contemporary African-American Fiction,* which includes short stories and book excerpts by fifty-seven African-American writers, ranging from well-known to new voices.

A Day Late and a Dollar Short, another best seller from McMillan that published in 2001, employs six first-person voices to explore the dynamics of one family as the beloved matriarch lies dying in the hospital. McMillan did not shy away from portraying the most devastating aspects of modern life in the novel, tackling infidelity, drug and alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, and sibling rivalry, while allowing her characters to defend—and condemn—themselves through their own commentary. The characteristic emphasis on relationships in the novel underscores a recurring theme of the author's work.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Harlem Writers Guild; Reed, Ishmael

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AMRITJIT SINGH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

McRae, Carmen

April 8, 1922
November 10, 1994

Born in New York City, jazz singer Carmen McRae studied piano as a child and won an Apollo Theater amateur night contest as a pianist-singer. She began her singing career with Benny Carter's orchestra in 1944. In 1948 she began performing regularly in Chicago, where she lived for nearly four years before returning to New York. By 1952 she was the intermission pianist at Minton's in Harlem, a birthplace of bebop. Married briefly to bop drummer Kenny Clarke, she made her first records under the name Carmen Clarke. Influenced by both Billie Holiday (1915–1959) and Sarah Vaughan (1924–1990), she was named Best New Female Singer by *Down Beat* magazine in 1954, after which she signed a recording contract with Decca Records, for whom she recorded until 1959. Following a move to Los Angeles in the 1960s, McRae made recordings for a number of different labels, including Columbia, Mainstream, Atlantic, Concord, and Novus.

McRae also had an active presence on the international jazz scene, appearing regularly at clubs and festivals until May 1991, when she withdrew from public performance because of failing health. She is one of the important singers who integrated bebop into her vocal style, combining bop phrasing and inflection with sensitivity for the lyrics and dynamics of her material. Among her notable recordings are collections of songs associated with other jazz greats, including Billie Holiday (released in 1962), Nat "King" Cole (1984), Thelonious Monk (1991), and Sarah Vaughan (1991). She died at her home in Beverly Hills California, after suffering a stroke.

See also Holiday, Billie; Jazz Singers; Vaughan, Sarah

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Media and Identity in the Caribbean

On any given day in every Caribbean country, with the exception of Cuba, the majority of citizens get their news and information about what is happening in the world from one of six primary sources: CNN, ABC, CBS, Fox News, NBC, or BBC. However, this plurality does not rep-

resent an equal diversity of views. Operating as businesses that provide eyes and ears to global advertisers, these six news organizations offer essentially two perspectives to viewers: a British and an American, and "embedded" perspectives in the case of war reporting from Iraq. And what regularly constitutes newsworthy information and makes the headlines depends, for example, on whether or not a famous entertainer is on trial for child molestation or the life support system is withdrawn from a fifteen yearlong comatose individual.

This one-dimensional and lowest-common-denominator perspective on news—dubbed infotainment—is bred by the dominance of entertainment as the ubiquitous form of information globally. In style and format, if not in content, local Caribbean television news replicates the American model. The assumption is that audiences have limited appetites and equally limited attention spans for any information that may force them to think. One result is that local news, especially in the broadcast media, thrives on the violent and the bizarre, paying very little attention to matters of greater relevance and significance to the people of the region. A cursory reading of select regional newspapers in early 2005, for example, showed that coverage of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) was virtually nonexistent even though the CSME has widespread economic, political, and social implications for the region's people.

Over ninety percent of all non-news content originates from U.S. distributors and is relayed via local cable operators. Throughout the Caribbean, popular channels include HBO, TNT, TBS, Cinemax, ESPN, the Disney Channel, Nickelodeon, Showtime, MTV, Fox Sports, A&E, Lifetime, and BET. As a result, even though it is played in few Caribbean countries (notably Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico), baseball may be as popular in the region as cricket, which, for historical reasons, is considered the regional sport of the English-speaking Caribbean. And basketball is more popular than baseball across the region.

Operating on significantly lower budgets and with far smaller audiences, local program producers also tend to mimic the styles and formats of their U.S counterparts. Soap operas in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, for example, are patterned on such shows as *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *The Young and the Restless,* both of which have had their loyal viewers across the region. However, the high production costs of such local programs for regional and extraregional consumption make them economically uncompetitive and hence, rare.

Globalization by Happenstance?

When in the late 1970s U.S. domestic satellites were first used to distribute television programs across the continental United States, the signal overspill from these satellites was easily accessed in the region via parabolic dish receivers. Among other things, this led to the emergence of unregulated cable television services in most Caribbean countries provided by local entrepreneurs who saw an opportunity to satisfy the demand for multiple channels by those who could not afford to own their own dish receivers. The launch in 1986 by Westar of its V1-S C-band satellite covered the entire Caribbean and Central America, including as well Venezuela, Colombia, Guyana, and Suriname on the South American mainland. Suddenly, television viewers in the entire region had access to multiple broadcast channels where before, especially in the English-speaking Caribbean, they were limited to programs usually provided by a single government-owned channel. Free access to a cornucopia of television images in color by audiences then became the norm throughout the region.

This was to change with the introduction of the Caribbean Basin Recovery Act (The Caribbean Basin Initiative, or CBI) in 1983 by the Reagan administration. The emerging contours of the nascent global media industry dominated by a handful of largely North American media conglomerates had become evident. So too had the convergence of computer, satellite, and audiovisual technologies made possible by the digitalization of information. The resulting commodification of information led to creation of a hospitable market environment for the new global media industry in the interests of content creators and distributors. The CBI therefore mandated that beneficiary countries of the region meet certain conditions. One of these was structural adjustment of their economies, which, among other things, required them to divest and privatize government-owned enterprises, liberalize and deregulate their economies, and conform to the rules and regulations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and subsequently the World Trade Organization. Significantly, the CBI bill singled out broadcasting for special treatment, explicitly stating that "the President shall not designate a country a beneficiary country if a government-owned entity in such a country engages in the broadcast of copyrighted material, including films or television material belonging to the United States copyright owners without their express consent."

Full liberalization of the regional media soon followed, with all governments granting multiple broadcast licenses to commercial operators. As a result, with the sole exception of Cuba, all countries of the Caribbean are now served by a multiplicity of predominantly privately owned

commercial media including radio, television, and cable services. In this constellation Barbados is an unusual case because the government broadcaster also has a monopoly on cable television. At the other extreme, the governments of Jamaica and Belize divested and privatized their national broadcast services—in the case of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, after thirty-seven years of broadcasting. Public service broadcasting patterned on the BBC model that had been accepted as the norm from the inception of broadcasting in the Anglophone Caribbean from the mid-1930s up until the early 1980s is today nonexistent in these two countries. Where government broadcasters still exist elsewhere, they operate on the margins of the media marketplace as conduits for government information.

In short, the worldwide ascendancy of neoliberal political ideology and technological convergence have resulted in the global media industry being dominated by an oligopoly of vertically and horizontally integrated media conglomerates including TimeWarner, Disney, Bertelsmann, News Corporation, Samsung, and Sony. These global media giants are the primary content providers for the Caribbean's television and cable industries with local video productions operating on the fringes of the industry. Proximity to North America, a shared common language, and heavy reliance on tourism as a major foreign exchange earner make the Anglophone Caribbean countries virtual appendages of the United States.

Radio Broadcasting

For the majority of Caribbean citizens, radio remains the most accessible and ubiquitous medium. Its mobility, immediacy, low cost, and the fact that it does not require literacy in a region where literacy levels remain relatively low are its inherent strengths. It is not surprising, then, that in the Caribbean, radio is the medium through which popular culture is given greatest exposure and that media liberalization policies have led to market segmentation by owners seeking niches and greater market share, resulting in a wider choice of content for listeners.

In keeping with global trends, the pattern of media conglomeration is also discernible in the region. In Jamaica the RJR Group owns four radio stations, one television station, and a jointly owned London-based weekly newspaper. Starcom Network in Barbados owns four radio channels, and in Trinidad and Tobago CCN owns a major national daily newspaper and a national television channel.

The diversity of programming on radio, though predominantly music oriented, provides exposure for local musicians in a variety of genres. Predictably, in Jamaica, where radio helped to foster the emergence of reggae—the national music—there is an all-reggae station, and most of the other fourteen stations also playing some reggae; in Trinidad and Tobago, where fifty percent of the population is of (East) Indian heritage, there are stations specializing in all-Indian music as well as stations specializing in indigenous calypso and soca music. Sports programming also has widespread popularity on regional radio stations, with international cricket being broadcast regularly across the region.

Talk radio, hugely popular in Jamaica since the mid-1970s, remains a staple of programming in that country, with even greater audience participation in light of the prevalence of cellular telephones. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce in Jamaica estimates ownership at two million mobile phones in a population of 2.6 million. Elsewhere there is at least one popular talk radio program in virtually every English-speaking country. Given the mountainous topography of most Caribbean countries, prior to the advent of mobile phones, access to call-in radio programs was primarily limited to urbanites. Although there remain pockets of exclusion in some countries, contemporary technologies have made for greater accessibility and inclusiveness with much wider national participation across the region. Streaming of programming on the Internet by some of the larger radio stations also makes local programs accessible to the Caribbean diaspora globally, and it is not unusual to have Caribbean citizens in New York City, London, and Toronto participating in local discussion and call-in programs via the Internet.

The relative diversity of radio programs notwithstanding, market and business considerations limit the production of local/national and regional news to a handful of larger radio stations in the Caribbean. The main source of regional news from a Caribbean perspective is the Caribbean Media Corporation (CMC)—an alliance of the defunct Caribbean News Agency and the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU), which supplies news to subscriber newspapers and to radio and television stations regionally. However, the perceived high cost of CMC news limits carriage to the larger and better-endowed broadcasters. That these also happen to be the more popular local stations, however, mitigates the relative paucity of regionally generated broadcast news in domestic markets. The BBC, employing Caribbean personnel, also provides a free daily half hour Caribbean news and sports magazine program that is carried by many radio stations. In Jamaica, Radio Mona, owned by the University of the West Indies, provides Jamaican listeners with news from a variety of perspectives by carrying the weekday services of U.S. Na-

tional Public Radio (NPR), Radio France International, the BBC, as well as Radio Canada International.

The Press and Press Freedom

Freedom of the press is highly valued, if not always practiced, in all Caribbean countries and is enshrined in the constitutions of some. However, readers have access to daily newspapers only in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana, and the Bahamas. Everywhere, though, weekly and community papers catering to special and parochial interests are widely available.

The *Daily Gleaner* of Jamaica, founded in 1834 and continuously published since, is the oldest English-language paper in the Western Hemisphere, with an international reputation as a newspaper of record. Like its daily counterparts elsewhere, with the exception of Guyana, it is privately owned and considered to be mildly conservative editorially. Favoring the business class and business interests, national dailies nevertheless have a reputation for providing wide coverage of national issues and providing a broad spectrum of political views from columnists of varying ideological hues. Heavy reliance is placed on both the Associated Press and Reuters news agencies as sources of international news, with some regional news provided by the CMC. The major dailies also have online editions that are available globally.

Conclusion

Since the mid-1980s, the Caribbean has been exposed to the full range of visual media content emanating from the United States via satellite. Its media-rich environment—television, cable, radio, the press, and more recently the Internet—is supported by neoliberal government media policies that extol the virtues of the free market. In this environment citizens have differential access to a variety of media depending on their levels of income and literacy as well as their interests. While virtually all international news via television is provided by and from the perspective of American and British networks, radio, which is accessible to all, provides culturally relevant programming to the region's citizens. Radio is inclusive and acts as a conduit for the expression of popular culture.

See also Filmmakers in the Caribbean

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AGGREY BROWN (2005)

Medical Associations

Professional organizations of physicians—whose goals are to promote the science and art of medicine and to improve the public health—serve as major components of the health-care infrastructure in the United States. Medical associations have as their mission the establishment and maintenance of a scientifically rigorous, occupationally specific, professional educational training and standards; defining medical ethical codes of practice and behavior; and establishing internal mechanisms for evaluating, disciplining, and sanctioning physicians on technical and ethical grounds. This professional authority is grounded in a culture-based belief in science and medicine and the general acceptance of medical progress as a perceived public good. In the United States the influence of the medical association grew tremendously after the nineteenth century. Organized medicine gained the authority to write most of the nation's public-health and medical-licensing laws; to control its medical-education system; to guide its local, regional, and national health policy; and to influence public attitudes about health.

The country's health system is burdened with a history of racial and medical-social problems. Examples include an increasing health-system apartheid based on race and class and the unequal state of the nation's medical associations. The American Medical Association (AMA) is the better-known medical professional association. It is influential, wealthy, and largely white and represents the

country's traditional health interests. Since its founding in 1847, it has become the anchor and focal point of American organized medicine. African-American physicians and patients, and other medically poor and disadvantaged groups, are represented by the lesser-known, largely minority National Medical Association (NMA), which was founded in 1895. These two medical associations' policies, ideologies, and perspectives are startlingly different.

The Western medical profession originated from Egyptian, Sub-Saharan African, and Mesopotamian roots. Early unsuccessful attempts to establish medicine as a profession were based on an increasingly specialized body of knowledge, spiritual authority related to medicine's early ties with religious and priestly functions, and the taking of an oath. During the Renaissance the European medical profession became a highly prestigious, university-affiliated "calling," which gained formal professional recognition by the sixteenth century. The first professional associations began in Italy in the Middle Ages, and memberships were built around the faculties of early medical schools. As this practice spread northward, the English physician Thomas Linacre obtained what may have been the first official charter for a medical association. At his request King Henry VIII of England granted a charter for the College of Physicians in 1518. Other European nations followed this precedent.

In comparison, American medicine gained professional status, authority, and prestige only in the nineteenth century. The low status of the medical professional was demonstrated by the late formation of stable, functional professional associations and the absence of medical-licensing laws until the late nineteenth century. Despite the emergence of a few well-trained black physicians before the Civil War, such as James McCune Smith, John Sweat Rock, and Martin Robison Delany, the professional exclusion of African Americans was a routine aspect of American medical subculture.

After the institutionalization of the Atlantic slave trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the participation of blacks as health caregivers in Western-oriented slave-based cultures was restricted to the functions of traditional healers, root doctors, and granny midwives. They worked in an inferior, slave-based health subsystem that matured in the New World. African-American attainment of formal Western medical education in this era was virtually unknown. After the Civil War, the country's medical profession helped strengthen a dual and unequal health system. The inferior lower tier was reserved for blacks and the poor; the compelling health needs of the newly freed slaves, and their already poor and deteriorating health status, were virtually ignored by the profession. White medical associations and their infrastructure continued to exclude African Americans from training and participation in the medical profession. These policies generated an African-American health crisis after the Civil War. The alarming black death rates and the health outcomes that resulted led to emergency passage of legislation enacting the Freedmen's Bureau health programs and the opening of race-, gender-, and class-neutral medical schools. The first of the sixteen multiracial medical schools in America was at Howard University in Washington, D.C. (founded in 1868), and the second was Meharry Medical College of Nashville, Tennessee (founded in 1876). The subsequent development of a cadre of black health professionals, including physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, and allied health professionals, had salutary effects on the health status of African Americans and increased their access to high-quality health and hospital care. The African-American health professionals produced by the black schools functioned as the sole professionally trained advocates for black health progress; started sorely needed black hospital, clinic, and health-professional-training movements; organized medical associations; and offered the African-American community access to the most up-to-date medical care.

Beginning in the 1870s black physicians began efforts to correct the AMA's exclusionary and discriminatory racial policies. Howard University's racially integrated medical school faculty struggled unsuccessfully to desegregate the AMA at local levels, through litigation and pressure from the U.S. Congress, in a campaign lasting several years. These actions pressured white organized medicine to declare racial segregation as its official national policy by 1872. In frustration, black physicians, dentists, and pharmacists established more than fifty local, state, and regional black medical associations organized around the NMA by the 1920s. The NMA is now a multicomponent national organization representing approximately fifteen thousand physicians. The earliest desegregated medical professional associations were the National Medical Society of the District of Columbia (1870), the Academy of Medicine (1872), and the State Colored Medical Association in Nashville, Tennessee (1880). African-American health-professions associations became permanent fixtures with the founding of the Medical Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia in 1884, the Lone Star State Medical Association in Galveston, Texas, in 1886, and the NMA in Atlanta, on November 18, 1895.

The Civil War dramatically exposed the inadequacies of America's medical-education system. Therefore, a great deal of pressure was generated within the white medical profession and by the AMA for medical-education reform.

This reform era, lasting from the late nineteenth century through the 1920s, focused on rigorous scientific standards and technology, bedside clinical training, higher entry requirements, and the limitation of physician supply.

The AMA and the corporate-based educational infrastructure closed six of the eight extant black health-professions schools between 1910 and 1923 and underfunded the remainder. This resulted from an educational reform movement led by Abraham Flexner, an educational consultant hired by the Carnegie Foundation and the AMA to coordinate an upgrading of the nation's medical schools, based on European models. Throughout the "Flexner era," the NMA fought vigorously, but unsuccessfully, to improve and maintain existing entry points for African Americans into the health professions. Flexner reform adversely impacted black health status and outcomes, cut African-American access to basic services, and decreased black representation in the health professions. Though Meharry and Howard were forced to serve as virtually the sole sources of black health-care personnel from 1910 to 1970 on shoestring financing, they were also excluded from the stewardship white medical schools were obtaining over America's government and city hospitals and clinics. Control of these institutions provided clinical training bases critical to the new accreditation processes and requirements. Yet the racially segregated health system supported the survival of the remaining black health-professions schools. The NMA was crucial in maintaining the accreditation and financing of these schools and allied hospitals and health facilities. Despite vigorous campaigns by the NMA, black representation in the medical profession in America has remained tenuous, ranging between 2 percent and 3 percent of physicians since the turn of the twentieth century.

From its beginnings the NMA was forced to function as a civil rights organization. It has worked in concert with the NAACP, the National Urban League, and many other black civil rights and service organizations to further the cause of African-American health concerns. This was a natural development, since African Americans are the only racial or ethnic group forced to view health care as a civil rights issue. On several levels the NMA's policies represent a positive response to the AMA's traditional policies of racial segregation, massively funded campaigns against progressive health-care legislation, health discrimination based on race and class, and insensitivity to the health status, needs, and concerns of the nation's African-American, poor, and other underserved patient populations. The NMA has been singular at both the community and national levels in supporting progressive health-care legislation—from before the Wagner Plan in the 1930s through Medicare and Medicaid in 1965 to a fair national health plan in the 1990s. The NMA continues its history-based struggle to end race and class discrimination in the health system, to form a socially responsible covenant between the medical profession and American society, and to obtain justice and equity in health care for African Americans.

See also Professional Organizations

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MICHAEL BYRD (1996)

Meek, Carrie

April 29, 1926

The granddaughter of a slave and the daughter of a sharecropper and a domestic, educator and U.S. Congresswoman Carrie Pittman Meek was born in Tallahassee, Florida. She graduated from Florida A & M University with a B.S. degree in 1946. In 1948 she received her M.S. degree from

the University of Michigan and later studied at Florida Atlantic University.

Meek began a teaching career at Bethune-Cookman College from 1949 to 1958. She moved to Florida A & M University for the next three years (1958–1961). She was women's basketball coach at both institutions. After teaching at Miami-Dade Community College from 1961 to 1968, she moved into administrative posts as associate to the president (1968–1979) and as special assistant to the vice president beginning in 1982.

In the 1960s and 1970s Meek became acquainted with the inequity in federally funded programs for blacks in Dade County and concluded that only the government could correct the problem. In 1979, she ran in a special election to fill the former seat of Dade County's state representative Gwen Cherry, killed in an automobile accident. Meek won, and was reelected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1980. Meek was so popular in her senatorial district that she decided to run for Congress in 1992, representing the 17th District, and won by a staggering margin. A sixty-seven-year-old grandmother, she became the first African-American woman since Reconstruction to be elected to Congress from Florida. Her record in Congress was impressive; she served on the House Appropriations Committee, drafted a bill to ease restrictions on Haitian refugees, and advised President Bill Clinton as he worked to reduce the budget deficit without cutting social welfare programs.

Meek retired in 2002 after a ten-year career in Congress. Her son, Kendrick, was elected to take her place.

See also Politics in the United States

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RAYMOND WINBUSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Meredith, James H.

June 25, 1933

Born in Kosciusko, Mississippi, civil rights activist James Howard Meredith became the central figure in two major events of the civil rights movement. He had studied at Jackson State University in Jackson, Mississippi, when in September 1962 he sought to enroll in the University of Mississippi to complete his bachelor's degree. The state university system was segregated, and although a court order confirmed Meredith's right to enter the school, Mississippi governor Ross Barnett led the opposition and personally stood in the doorway of the registrar's office to block Meredith's enrollment. In response, the Kennedy administration dispatched federal marshals to escort Meredith to classes. To quell the subsequent rioting, U.S. troops policed the campus, where they remained until Meredith graduated in 1963.

During the next year, Meredith studied at Ibadan University in Nigeria, and on his return to the United States he began taking courses for a law degree at Columbia University. In the summer of 1966 Meredith announced he would set out on a sixteen-day "walk against fear," which would take him from Memphis to the Mississippi state capital in Jackson. He sought both to spur African-American voter registration for the upcoming primary election and to show that blacks could overcome the white violence that had so long stifled aspirations.

On the second day of the hike, an assailant shot Meredith with two shotgun blasts. His wounds were not serious, but the attack sparked great outrage, and the major civil rights organizations carried on a march to Jackson from the place where Meredith had been shot. This procession was marked by Stokely Carmichael's call for black power and a resulting rift between the moderate and militant wings of the movement. Meredith left the hospital after several days and was able to join the marchers before they reached Jackson.

Later in 1966 Meredith published *Three Years in Mississippi* and lectured on racial justice. Returning to law school, Meredith received his degree from Columbia University in 1968. That same year he ran unsuccessfully for Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s Harlem seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, then returned to Mississippi, where he became involved in several business ventures. In 1984 and 1985 he taught a course on blacks and the law at the University of Mississippi. From 1989 to 1991 Meredith worked for North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, an arch-conservative, as domestic policy adviser.

In 1995 Meredith published *Mississippi: A Volume of Eleven Books.* Meredith's papers are collected at the University of Mississippi.

See also Carmichael, Stokely; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Voting Rights Act of 1965

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Messenger, The

The Messenger was founded by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, both active in New York City's radical and socialist circles. Hired in 1917 to edit the *Hotel Messenger* for the Headwaiters and Sidewaiters Society of Greater New York, the pair was fired after eight months on the job for exposing exploitative treatment of common waiters and pantry workers by the more established union members themselves. With initial support from the Socialist Party and Socialist-led unions, they launched the independent *Messenger*.

The Messenger alarmed the white and black establishments by both advocating socialism and heralding the advent of the "New Crowd Negro," who promised an aggressive challenge both to post-Reconstruction "reactionaries" such as Booker T. Washington and to mainstream civil rights leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois. The self-styled "Only Radical Negro Magazine in America" opposed World War I, championed the Russian Revolution of 1917, hailed the radical interracial organizing of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and advocated armed self-defense by black people against racist attacks.

In 1919, during the rising wave of racial disturbances and labor unrest, *The Messenger* was caught in the sweep of federal repression that followed. Of all the black publications investigated by the Justice Department for "radicalism and sedition," it was *The Messenger* that Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer termed "the most able and the most dangerous." Its second-class mailing permit, revoked by the U.S. Post Office in 1918 after publication of an article entitled "Pro Germanism Among Negroes," was not restored until 1921.

With the weakening of both the socialist movement and the IWW in the early 1920s, the word "Radical" disappeared from *The Messenger*'s masthead. The magazine sought to preserve its influence in the black community by campaigning actively against Marcus Garvey and promoting the independent organization of black workers. Owen left the magazine in 1923, and Randolph, though technically still at the helm, turned his attention to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), which he hoped to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

With Owen's departure and Randolph's union activities, effective editorial control was shifted to George Schuyler and Theophilis Lewis. Under their tutelage, *The Messenger*'s political and economic radicalism gave way to celebrations of black entrepreneurs and appeals to the mainstream (and racially exclusionary) labor movement. In addition to a "Business and Industry" page, the magazine began to feature society items, sports news, and articles directed at women and children. In 1925, when *The Messenger* became the official organ of the Brotherhood, it also began to carry union-related news and commentary.

Schuyler and Lewis left another indelible mark on the magazine. While *The Messenger* had published socialist-oriented literary contributions in the past by figures such as Claude McKay, it had not explicitly allied itself with the Harlem Renaissance. Now, it became more directly concerned with black arts and culture, including theater, and solicited the work of leading luminaries, among them Langston Hughes and Georgia Douglas Johnson. This approach gained even greater currency when Wallace Thurman filled in briefly for Schuyler in 1926. By late 1927 *The Messenger*'s motto had become "The New Opinion of the New Negro."

Still, *The Messenger,* as a union publication, continued to reach an audience comprising largely black trade unionists. It folded in 1928 when Randolph determined the BSCP could no longer afford the drain on its limited resources.

See also Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Du Bois, W.E.B.; Garvey, Marcus; Labor and Labor Unions; McKay, Claude; Owen, Chandler; Randolph, Asa Philip; Schuyler, George S.; Thurman, Wallace; Washington, Booker T.

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RENEE TURSI (1996)
TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)

Metcalfe, Ralph

May 30, 1910
October 10, 1978

The athlete and congressman Ralph Horace Metcalfe was born in Atlanta, Georgia, but moved to Chicago at an early age. While an undergraduate at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Metcalfe was the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) champion in the 100 yards and 220 yards three years in a row (1932–1934). During the same period, he won the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) championship in the 100 meters (1932–1934) and 200 meters (1932–1936). He also won the silver medal in the 100 meters at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles, running in the same official time (10.3) as the winner (officials declared Metcalfe second after a lengthy study of a film showing the finish), and the bronze medal in the 200 meters. Although he was the dominant sprinter in the world during the early 1930s and set or tied the world records in the 40 yards, 60 yards, 60 meters, 100 yards, 100 meters, 220 yards, and the 200 meters, he again finished second in the 100 meters at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, this time behind Jesse Owens. Metcalfe won an Olympic gold medal as a member of the 1936 U.S. 4- by 100-meter relay team.

In 1936 Metcalfe retired from sprinting and graduated from Marquette. While teaching political science and coaching the track team at Xavier University in New Orleans from 1936 to 1942, he also completed work for an M.A. in political science from the University of Southern California (1939). He joined the army in 1942, and after the war returned to Chicago to become the director of the Department of Civil Rights for the Chicago Commission on Human Rights (1945). From 1949 to 1952 he was the Illinois athletic commissioner, the first African American to hold this position. He became active in Democratic politics in Chicago and was the Democratic Party committeeman for the 3rd Ward of Chicago (1952–1972), and later alderman (1955–1969). In 1970 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. As a congressman, Metcalfe worked to make more home and business loans available to minority communities. He served on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee as well as the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, where as chair of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal he supported the 1978 treaty turning control of the canal over to Panama.

During his long political career in Chicago, Metcalfe became a political insider and a part of Mayor Richard Daley's political machine. But in 1972 he broke with Daley, challenging him on the issue of police brutality toward blacks. Daley ran a candidate against Metcalfe in the Democratic primary, but with the assistance of the Congressional Black Caucus Metcalfe defeated Daley's candidate. He was in his fourth term as a congressman and was running unopposed for a fifth when he died of a heart attack in 1978.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States; Sports

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PETER SCHILLING (1996)

Mfume, Kweisi

October 24, 1948

Civil rights leader, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and former U.S. congressman Kweisi Mfume was born Frizzell Gray in Maryland, the eldest of four children, and grew up in a poor community just outside of Baltimore. His mother, Mary Willis, worked on an assembly line for an airplane parts manufacturer. His stepfather, Clifton Gray, abandoned the family when Mfume was twelve years old. Four years later, his mother was diagnosed with cancer. Devastated by his mother's death, Mfume dropped out of high school and began working odd jobs to make ends meet while he and his three sisters lived with relatives. Mfume found that he could make much more money hustling on the streets than working for wages shining shoes or pushing bread through a slicer.

By the age of twenty-two, Mfume's life seemed to have completely spun out of control; he had five children with four different women, gang life was becoming deadly, and a number of his closest friends had been killed in Viet-

Kweisi Mfume. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

nam. Mfume resolved to turn his life around. He began taking night GED courses for his high school equivalency degree and then enrolled at Baltimore Community College. Mfume developed a keen interest in politics in the early 1970s while working as a disc jockey at local radio stations. During this time, he changed his name from Frizzell "Pee Wee" Gray to Kweisi Mfume (a West African Igbo name roughly translating as "conquering son of kings").

In 1976 Mfume graduated magna cum laude with a degree in urban planning from Morgan State University. Two years later, he parlayed his growing fame as a talk-radio provocateur to win a seat as a maverick Democratic Party member on the Baltimore City Council. Mfume served two terms on the city council and then went on to graduate school at Johns Hopkins University, where he received an M.A. in political science. In 1986 he won the seat of the Seventh Congressional District vacated by his political mentor, Parren J. Mitchell. Mfume went on to serve five terms in U.S. Congress, rising to the position of chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mfume's campaign to end apartheid in South Africa earned him the friendship of Nelson Mandela in the early 1990s. However, while he supported democracy abroad, Mfume remained more committed to the preservation of the Democratic Party than the expansion of independent electoral options for African Americans. During the 1990s he joined other black elected officials in limiting the growth of a multiracial political movement that attempted to challenge the control of the electoral process by both major parties. In 1996 Mfume left Congress to lead the NAACP, where he pursued corporate donations to retire the organization's debt. Mfume resigned from his post as president of the NAACP in 2004.

The recipient of seven honorary doctoral degrees, Mfume serves on the board of trustees at Johns Hopkins University and the Enterprise Foundation. His autobiography, *No Free Ride: From The Mean Streets to the Mainstream,* details his life.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congressional Black Caucus; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Politics in the United States

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OMAR H. ALI (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Michaux, Elder

November 7, 1884
October 2, 1968

The religious leader and radio evangelist Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux was born in Newport News, Virginia, one of thirteen children. During his youth he worked in the family seafood business, peddling fish to soldiers on the wharves. It was there he learned, as he would later say, "the power of persuasion."

As a young adult, Michaux maintained a successful wholesale food business and remained uninterested in a religious career until 1917, when his wife, a devout Baptist, convinced him to finance the building of a branch of the Church of Christ (Holiness) in Hopewell, Virginia. Soon Michaux was called to the pulpit by his wife and friends, who were impressed with his rhetorical skills, and he be-

came the church's permanent pastor. When the end of World War I depopulated Hopewell, Michaux's fledgling church was forced to close, and in late 1919 he moved back to Newport News to organize a church under his own denomination, the Church of God.

Michaux's services were notable for being attended by significant numbers of white people. In 1924 Michaux even traveled to Baltimore to preach to an all-white congregation dominated by members of the Ku Klux Klan. He was arrested in 1926 after he held racially integrated services to challenge Virginia's laws banning interracial religious gatherings. Michaux appeared in court as his own counsel. Citing the Bible as his defense, he declared, "the sacred word of the Supreme Being makes no reference to class, division or race." He was fined but continued to hold integrated services despite repeated harassment by the police and townspeople.

In 1928 Michaux moved to Washington, D.C., "to save souls on a larger scale." There he established a branch of the Church of God and in 1929 began his first radio broadcasts from local station WJSV. By 1933 Michaux was broadcast nationally by CBS. Known as the "Happy Am I" evangelist, Michaux used his radio pulpit to support numerous causes, among them President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. Along with his political pronouncements, Michaux developed a social dimension to his ministry and, through the Church of God, provided shelter and food to destitute persons in Washington during the Great Depression.

In the 1930s Michaux also gained fame by holding mass baptisms, first in the Potomac River and after 1938 at Griffith Stadium. In the ballpark, home to the Washington Senators baseball team, Michaux baptized hundreds at a time in a large tank filled with water allegedly drawn from the river Jordan. The mass baptisms were accompanied by fireworks and colorful pageantry, including floats, marching bands, and elaborate enactments of the second coming of Christ. Michaux's mass baptisms continued into the 1960s, when they were moved to other large outdoor venues. A reporter for the *Washington Post* noted, "Michaux made headlines for many feats, but the 'Happy Am I' preacher probably will be remembered longest for his ball park meetings, religious extravaganzas that qualify him as a great showman."

In addition to his religious and political work, Michaux developed Mayfair Mansions, one of the largest privately owned housing projects for African Americans, which opened in Washington, D.C., in 1946. In the 1950s Michaux's popularity among African Americans waned when he broke with the Democratic Party to endorse President Dwight D. Eisenhower. At the end of his career Michaux became embroiled in controversies over his and the church's finances, which were both heavily invested in real estate. Many members of his congregation accused Michaux of hiding church financial information and of secretly transferring assets to his personal accounts. Despite the dark clouds over his final years, Michaux's Church of God has remained after his death as a monument to his successful and flamboyant career.

See also Great Depression and the New Deal; Holiness Movement; Protestantism in the Americas

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Micheaux, Oscar

January 2, 1884
March 25, 1951

The novelist and filmmaker Oscar Micheaux was born in Metropolis, Illinois, one of thirteen children of former slaves Swan and Bell Micheaux. The early events of his life are not clear and must be gleaned from several fictionalized versions he published. He evidently worked as a Pullman porter, acquiring enough capital to buy two 160-acre tracts of land in South Dakota, where he homesteaded. Micheaux's homesteading experiences were the basis of his first novel, *The Conquest: The Story of a Negro Pioneer* (1913). In order to publicize the book, Micheaux established the Western Book Supply Company and toured the Midwest. He sold most of the books, and stock in his first company, to white farmers, although his later ventures were financed by African-American entrepreneurs. From his bookselling experiences, he wrote a second novel, *The Forged Note: A Romance of the Darker Races* (1915). Micheaux's third novel, *The Homesteader* (1917), attracted the attention of George P. Johnson, who, with his Hollywood actor brother Noble, owned the Lincoln Film Company, with offices in Los Angeles and Omaha. The Johnson brothers were part of the first wave of African-American independent filmmakers to take up the challenge to D. W. Griffith's white supremacist version of American History, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), and produce their own sto-

ries of African-American life. Fascinated by the new medium, Micheaux offered to sell the Johnson Brothers film rights to his novel, on the condition that he direct the motion picture version. When they refused, Micheaux decided to produce and direct the film himself, financing it through what became the Micheaux Book and Film Company, with offices located in New York, Chicago, and Sioux City, Iowa.

The film version of Micheaux's third novel, *The Homesteader* (released in 1918), was the first of about fifty films he directed. He distributed the films himself, carrying the prints from town to town, often for one-night stands. His films played mostly in white-owned (but often black-managed) black theaters both in the North and the South. He even had some luck convincing southern white cinema owners to let him show his films at all-black matinees and interracial midnight shows in white theaters. While the black press at the time sometimes criticized Micheaux for projecting a rich black fantasy world and ignoring ghetto problems, he dealt frankly with such social themes as interracial relationships, "passing," intraracial as well as interracial prejudice, and the intimidation of African Americans by the Ku Klux Klan.

Micheaux's second film, *Within Our Gates* (1919), contains a disturbing sequence representing a white lynch mob hanging an innocent black man and his wife. When Micheaux tried to exhibit the film in Chicago, less than a year after a major race riot in that city, both black and white groups urged city authorities to ban the film. Micheaux's response to such censorship was to cut and re-edit his films as he traveled from town to town. Showman and entrepreneur that he was, he would promote a film that had been banned in one town by indicating in the next town that it contained "censored" footage. Produced on a shoestring, his films earned him just enough money to continue his filmmaking.

Some twelve of Micheaux's films are extant, and they give an idea, though incomplete, of his style. His interior scenes are often dimly lit, but his location scenes of urban streets are usually crisp and clear, providing a documentary-like glimpse of the period. He seldom had money for more than one take, with the result that the actors' mistakes sometimes became part of the final film. However, Micheaux had a genius for negotiating around tight budgets, improvising with limited resources, and synchronizing production with distribution. In the early 1920s, in order to purchase the rights to African-American author Charles Waddell Chesnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), he offered the author shares in his film company.

To create appeal for his films, Micheaux features some of the most talented African-American actors of his time, including Andrew Bishop, Lawrence-Chenault, A. B. Comithiere, Lawrence Criner, Shingzie Howard, and Evelyn Preer, many of whom were associated with the Lafayette Players stock company. The actor and singer Paul Robeson (1898–1976) made his first motion picture appearance in Micheaux's *Body and Soul* (1924), in a dual role as both a venal preacher and his virtuous brother. Micheaux returned often to the theme of the hypocritical preacher, a portrait inspired by the betrayal of his father-in-law, a Chicago minister. Of the actors whom Micheaux made celebrities in the black community, the most notable was Lorenzo Tucker, a handsome, light-skinned actor dubbed "the colored Valentino." Micheaux's films also featured cabaret scenes, chorus line dancers, and, after the coming of sound, jazz musicians and comedians.

Although his company went bankrupt in 1928, Micheaux managed to survive the early years of the Depression, continuing to produce silent films. Although *Daughter of the Congo* (1930) featured some songs and a musical score, *The Exile* (1931) was thought to be the first African-American-produced all-talking picture. Micheaux went on to make a number of sound films, but many moments in these films were technically compromised because his technicians could not surmount the challenges produced by the new sound-recording technology. In the late 1930s, after the brief notoriety of *God's Stepchildren* (1937), Micheaux's film activities began to wind down and he returned to writing novels. He published *The Wind from Nowhere* (1941), a reworking of *The Homesteader,* and three other novels during the next five years. In 1948 he produced a large-budget version of *The Wind from Nowhere,* titled *The Betrayal* and billed as the first African-American motion picture to play in major white theaters. However, the film received unfavorable reviews in the press, including the *New York Times.* At a time of his decline in popularity as both novelist and filmmaker, Micheaux died during a promotional tour in 1951 in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Micheaux's work was first rediscovered by film scholars in the early 1970s. However, these critics still disdained the wooden acting and unmatched shots in his films, and they decried what they thought to be the escapist nature of his stories. More recent critics, however, have hailed Micheaux as a maverick stylist who understood, but was not bound by, classical Hollywood cutting style; who used precious footage economically; who was adept in his use of the flashback device; and whose "rough draft" films were vaguely avant-garde. However, Micheaux is not recognized for his "protest" films and his use of social types to oppose caricature rather than to reinforce stereotype.

Thus, though largely ignored during his lifetime, Micheaux began to receive recognition in the later twentieth

century. The Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame inaugurated an annual Oscar Micheaux Award in 1974. In 1985, the Directors' Guild posthumously presented Micheaux with a special Golden Jubilee Award, and in 1987 he received a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. The recent discovery of prints of two silent Micheaux films, *Within Our Gates* (1919) and *Symbol of the Unconquered* (1920), in archives in Spain and Belgium, respectively, has increased the interest in his work.

See also Chesnutt, Charles W.; Film; Robeson, Paul

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JANE GAINES (1996)
CHARLENE REGESTER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Midwifery

The evocation of the word *midwifery* calls up two images. The first is a medically trained nurse who specializes in obstetrics and gynecology and is licensed to attend childbirths in the hospital and, less frequently, in freestanding birthing centers or the homes of clients. The second and older image is the tradition of social childbirth, in which women gave birth at home in the presence of other women and with the guidance of a skilled folk practitioner. Due to a number of economic, cultural, and political factors, social childbirth declined in significance for native-born northern white women relatively early. By the late 1760s, they had already begun to rely on male physicians to deliver their children. Traditional midwifery, however, continued to flourish among European immigrants who settled in the cities along the northeastern seaboard from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century.

In the South, the midwifery tradition has been for the most part an African-American one, with the midwife mediating the reproductive experiences of both black and white women, especially in the region's rural communities, from the early seventeenth to the closing decades of the twentieth century. By the 1940s, social childbirth had been largely replaced by scientific childbirth in the hospital, but a few surviving traditional African-American midwives continued to offer their services in the late 1980s, as reported by Debra Susie (1988) in Florida and by Linda Holmes (1986) and Annie Logan (1989) in Alabama.

Throughout the slaveholding South, African-American midwives had the responsibility for managing pregnancy and childbirth. Often, these women were slaves practicing not only on the plantations where they resided, but also attending births on neighboring plantations, for which their owners collected a fee. In the rural areas of the South, slave midwives also delivered the children of white women. Powerful in their knowledge of the physiological, medicinal, and spiritual aspects of childbirth, slave midwives inhabited an intensely ambiguous role. They wielded an expertise that allowed them to compete successfully with "scientifically" trained white male physicians of the period while they remained classified as property, rarely receiving remuneration, and subject to sanctions should the infant or mother die. Given the close association of childbirth with other aspects of bodily functioning, slave midwives were also generally recognized as healers, and they attended the sick as part of their practice. The medical historian Todd Savitt notes that free black women also marketed their skills as birth attendants to a white clientele, while at the same time offering their services to neighbors and kin in their own communities (Savitt, 1978, p. 182).

In the African-American community, across historical periods, women who became midwives did so either through apprenticeship to another midwife (often a family member), or through the experience of having given birth themselves. Whatever the practical route of transmission, the emphasis in the articulation of an identity as a midwife was on the spiritual nature of the practice. Women were said to be "called" to become midwives in the same manner that a person is called to religious ministry; the decision was not under the control of the individual practitioner. So too were prayer and divine guidance crucial to

the midwife's success in delivering babies and nurturing the mother back to health.

Childbirth, in this framework, did not end with the physical emergence of the infant. The midwife was also responsible for postpartum care, ensuring that both mother and child—spiritually as well as physically vulnerable—were protected from harm. Though the length of time varied, new mothers were expected to refrain from normal activities, avoid eating certain foods, and keep close to home for up to a month after birth, under the guidance of their midwives.

The dual nature of midwifery as skilled craft and as spiritual service to others was intrinsic to its emergence during the slave period, and it continued as an essential feature through the end of the twentieth century. It is important to recognize, then, that African-American midwives historically viewed themselves as socially embedded in the cultural and religious belief systems of their own communities, as well as having control of a set of skills that allowed them a measure of independence and authority in the broader society.

See also Nursing

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GERTRUDE J. FRASER (1996)

MIGRATION

This entry consists of two distinct articles with differing geographic domains.

MIGRATION IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA
Michael A. Gomez

U.S. MIGRATION/POPULATION
Joe W. Trotter, Jr.

MIGRATION IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Migration, both voluntary and involuntary, is clearly the means through which people of African descent have been dispersed throughout the world. In addition to developments outside of the continent, there have been major redistributions of populations within Africa itself. To briefly consider the latter, the idea of African communities in physical transition runs contrary to popular notions of a continent in which human habitation has been static and uninterrupted for millennia. However, the African landscape has witnessed tremendous change over long periods of time.

MIGRATION IN ANTIQUITY

A brief consideration of ancient Africa reminds one that the African diaspora did not begin with the transatlantic slave trade. Rather, the dissemination of African ideas and persons began long before, when ideas were arguably more significant than the number of people dispersed. For example, Egypt was a major civilization between 3100 and 332 BCE. Its relations with Nubia (or Kush) to the south (what is now southern Egypt and northern Sudan) were important, as Nubia was a source of gold and other precious materials, as well as soldiers and laborers, and was a political force alternating as enemy and ally. This was an important disapora of Africans into an African land that was the center of the Near Eastern world, at a time of African preeminence rather than weakness.

Africans also moved outside of the continent during antiquity. The Mediterranean world came to know Africans from a number of locations, especially Egypt and Nubia, and in varying capacities. But they also came from North Africa (from what is now Libya, west to Morocco), the southern fringes of the Sahara desert, and West Africa proper. Nubians were a part of the Egyptian occupation of Cyprus under Amasis (570–526 BCE), and a large number of Nubians fought under Xerxes of Persia in 480 to 479 BCE. Carthage, founded no earlier than 750 BCE, was served by a number of sub-Saharan Africans in the military. The Punic Wars (264–241, 218–201, 149–146 BCE) also saw Africans employed in the invasion of Italy.

Africans enslaved in the Greco-Roman world were but a small fraction of the total number of slaves in these territories and only a portion of the overall African population in southern Europe. Africans in Rome worked as musicians, actors, jugglers, gladiators, wrestlers, boxers, religious specialists, and day laborers. Some became famous, such as the black athlete Olympius. Africans also

served in the Roman armies, as was the case with the elite Moorish cavalry from northwest Africa. Black soldiers even served in the Roman army as far north as Britain.

Africans in Islamic Lands and India

The slave trades were a major form of migration for Africans, the consideration of which begins with the Islamic lands. While many sub-Saharan Africans would convert to Islam and live as free persons in Islamic lands, many others entered as slaves. Muslim societies used slaves from all over the reachable world—Europeans were just as eligible as Africans, and Slavic and Caucasian populations were the largest source of slaves for the Islamic world well into the eighteenth century, especially in the Ottoman Empire.

Regarding Africa, tentative estimates for the trans-Saharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades are in the range of twelve million individuals from 650 CE to the end of the sixteenth century, and another four million from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. In other words, as many or more captive Africans may have been exported through these trades as were shipped across the Atlantic, although the latter took place within a much more compressed period (the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries). Such estimates are imprecise, but the number of enslaved Africans in the Islamic world was clearly significant.

The trans-Saharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades were primarily transactions in females and children. Young girls and women were used as domestics and concubines, and often as both, as the male slaveholder enjoyed the right of sexual access. In contrast to the Americas, the children of a slaveholder and a concubine were granted the status of the father and became free. Enslaved Africans were also used in the military, and slave armies were in a number of places in the Islamic world by the ninth century, although most military slaves were non-African. African boys were used as eunuchs, and males were also employed as laborers in large agricultural ventures and mining operations.

In addition to the central Islamic lands, Africans also migrated and made contributions to Iberia (Spain and Portugal), the site of a remarkable Muslim civilization from 711 to 1492. When Muslim forces crossed Gibraltar into Iberia in 711, it was a combined army of Berbers, sub-Saharan Africans, and Arabs. The Almoravids, mostly Berbers with some West African soldiers (slave and free), seized control of al-Andalus (Iberia) by the end of the eleventh century. A single African power would control much of North Africa and Iberia for the next three hundred years.

Africans also went to India. Research on this migration is in its infancy, complicated by an ancient society in which the four major castes (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra) are hierarchically arranged in a manner corresponding with color *(varna)*. The lowest, servile caste, the Sudra, is characterized in the ancient Vedic literature as "black" and "dark-complexioned," but as there are many dark-skinned populations throughout the world, locating Sudra origins in Africa is difficult.

Africans traveled to India prior to the rise of Islam in the seventh century, but their presence is better documented with that religion's movement into the subcontinent (as early as 711). Free Africans (as well as non-Africans) operated in Muslim-ruled India as merchants, seafarers, clerics, bodyguards, and even bureaucrats, and enslaved African women and men served as concubines and soldiers. Called *Habshis* and *Sidis*, Africans settled in a variety of locales. Enclaves of Sidis can presently be found in such places as Gujarat (western India), Habshiguda in Hyderabad (central India) and Janjira Island (south of Bombay). There were also a number of African Muslim rulers during the time of the Mughals (1526–1739), and there were at least several Habshi rulers in the breakaway province of Bengal (eastern India) and in the Deccan.

The fate of all these African slaves in the Islamic world is by no means obvious, especially since descent through the free male line obscures, if not erases, African maternal ancestry. In Morocco the plight of sub-Saharan blacks is clearer, as the descendants of slaves, the *ḥaraṭīn* (called *bella* further east), were in servile subjection to Arabic- and Berber-speaking masters. The free descendants of the *ḥaraṭīn* were also second-class citizens through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. They were heavily dependent upon patron families. One famous community of blacks in Morocco is the Gnawa, noted for their distinct musical traditions. In Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, the descendants of sub-Saharan and North Africans practice Islam along with *bori,* a mix of spirits—infants, nature gods, spirits of deceased Muslim leaders, Muslim *jinn* (spirits), and so on—who cause illness and are appeased through offerings, sacrifice, and dance possession.

In India and Pakistan, the descendants of the Habshis and Sidis no longer speak African languages, but their worship, music, and dance are suffused with African content. In addition to those of clear African descent, there are vast millions descended from intermarriages between Africans and Dalits (formerly called "untouchables") or Sudras.

The Transatlantic Migration in Chains

The use of African slaves to cultivate sugarcane did not begin in the Americas, but in the Mediterranean and on such West African coastal islands as Madeira, São Tomé, and Principe, beginning in the early fifteenth century. Columbus's 1492 voyage to the "Indies," therefore, set into motion a process that, among other things, transferred a system of slavery from the Old World to the New World. The introduction of diseases (e.g., smallpox, measles, influenza, diphtheria, whooping cough, chicken pox, typhoid, trichinosis) previously unknown in the Americas further stimulated the trafficking in Africans, as it resulted in the "Great Dying" of indigenous peoples who had no immunity to these diseases. Not all Africans entering the New World in the sixteenth century were enslaved, however, and some free Africans took part in the military conquest alongside white conquistadors.

But slavery accounts for the overwhelming majority of those Africans making the involuntary transatlantic migration. The export figure remains a matter of debate, but it would appear that approximately 11.9 million Africans were exported from Africa, out of which 9.6 to 10.8 million arrived alive, translating into a loss during the Middle Passage of about 10 to 20 percent. Some 64.9 percent of the total were males, and 27.9 percent were children. The transatlantic slave trade spanned four hundred years, from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The apex of the trade, between 1700 and 1810, saw approximately 6.5 million Africans shipped out of the continent. Some 60 percent of all Africans imported into the Americas made the fateful voyage between 1721 and 1820, while 80 percent were transported between 1701 and 1850. In comparison with the trade in Africans through the Sahara, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, the bulk of the Atlantic trade took less than one-tenth of the time.

Many European nations were involved in the slave trade, and of all the voyages for which there is data between 1662 and 1867, nearly 90 percent of captive Africans wound up in Brazil and the Caribbean; indeed, Brazil alone imported 40 percent of the total trade. That part of the Caribbean in which the English and French languages became dominant received 37 percent of the trade, in more or less equal proportions. Spanish-claimed islands accounted for 10 percent of the Africans, after which North America took in 7 percent or less.

Nearly 85 percent of those exported through the transatlantic trade came from one of only four regions in Africa: West Central Africa (36.5%), the Bight of Benin (20%), the Bight of Biafra (16.6%), and the Gold Coast (11%). Slavers (slave ships) often took on their full complement of captives in single regions of supply, and Africans emanating from the same regions tended to be transported to the same New World destinations. Captives from West Central Africa made up the majority of those who came to Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti) and South America, accounting for an astounding 73 percent of the Africans imported into Brazil. The Bight of Benin, in turn, contributed disproportionately to Bahia (northeastern Brazil) and the Francophone Caribbean outside of Saint Domingue; six out of every ten from the Bight of Benin went to Bahia, while two out of every ten arrived in francophone areas. The Bight of Biafra constituted the major source for the British Leeward Islands and Jamaica, while the Gold Coast supplied 37 percent of those who landed in Jamaica, and this area was clearly the leading supplier to Barbados, the Guyanas, and Suriname. Sierra Leone (a region that includes the Windward Coast) provided 6.53 percent of the total export figure, followed by Southeast Africa and Senegambia at 5.14 percent and 4.3 percent, respectively. In addition, transshipments between New World destinations could be substantial.

The transatlantic slave trade qualifies as a quintessential moment of transfiguration. With millions forcibly removed from family and friends and deposited in lands both foreign and hostile, it cannot be compared with the millions of Europeans who voluntarily crossed the Atlantic, a journey that, for all of their troubles, was their collective choice.

Migrations Under Slavery

During slavery, movement of Africans and their descendants between territories in the Americas was common and significant. Small parcels of enslaved persons were regularly brought from the English-speaking Caribbean to such northern mainland ports as New York City throughout the eighteenth century (especially the first half of the century). The Haitian Revolution of 1791 to 1804 saw planters flee the island with their slaves in every direction, including to Cuba, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Trinidad. Within territories, economic developments often led to the expansion of slavery. In Brazil, for example, the majority of Africans were brought to such northeastern captaincies (provinces) as Bahia and Pernambuco from the sixteenth century through the seventeenth. From the late seventeenth century through the mid-eighteenth century, however, gold and diamond mining redirected as many as two-thirds of all Africans to Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and Goiás. Cotton and coffee became significant crops in the nineteenth century, resulting in the growth of African slavery in central and southern Brazil, particularly Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo. Similarly, slavery's

expansion in what became the United States saw black migration from the Upper to the Lower South, coupled with a steady encroachment westward to and beyond the Mississippi Valley.

There were also migrations back to Africa during slavery. Beginning in 1787, Jamaican Maroons (escaped slaves) and blacks who had fought for the British during the American War of Independence embarked from Canada, where they had taken refuge, for the British settlement of Sierra Leone. These initial groups would be later joined by captives taken from slavers bound for the Americas, the result of the British effort to interdict the transatlantic trade. Sierra Leone would receive thousands of such recaptives, reaching a peak in the 1840s. In the United States, repatriation became an organized, state-sanctioned enterprise beginning in 1817 with the founding of the American Colonization Society, which in turn began a colony in 1822 in what would become Monrovia, Liberia. All told, not more than 15,000 blacks participated in the return, a number augmented by the resettlement of recaptives similarly liberated from slavers by the American navy.

In contrast to state-supported efforts, some Africans and their descendants financed their own repatriation. In North America, the African-American merchant Paul Cuffe (1757–1817), the son of a former slave, personally carried thirty-eight individuals back to Africa in 1815. Fraternal organizations in Cuba and Brazil pooled their resources and helped support the return of many of their members. The returnees would be called *amaros* and *saros* in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, respectively.

The United States's prohibition of the transatlantic slave trade would take effect in 1808, but it took the whole of the nineteenth century for slavery itself to be outlawed throughout the Americas.

Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Developments

Tremendous disappointment followed the end of slavery throughout the Americas. The realities of debt peonage, rural wage labor, peasant impoverishment, and either wide-ranging, systematic, state-backed terrorism or a heavy-handed colonialism meant that, whether on an island or the mainland, most people were trapped in economic and political oppression.

Changes in the international economy and two world wars created cracks in this prisonlike environment through the demand for labor. Conditions were so desperate that many left family and friends. The Caribbean emerged as the quintessential region of migratory activity. Divided into several phases, the first of the region's major redistributions took place between 1835 and 1885, when activity centered on the islands themselves. Persons from economically depressed areas, such as Barbados, sought opportunities elsewhere, especially in Trinidad and Tobago and British Guyana. About 19,000 left the eastern Caribbean for Trinidad and British Guyana between 1835 and 1846; from 1850 to 1921, some 50,000 emigrated to Trinidad, Tobago, and British Guyana from Barbados alone. Destinations during this initial phase were not limited to the islands, as 7,000 from Dominica, for example, left for the goldfields of Venezuela.

Such a considerable flight of labor caused concern within the sugar industry, resulting in government recruitment of workers from outside the Caribbean. In response, labor was drawn from two sources. The first were "post-emancipation Africans," persons seized from slave ships and taken to Sierra Leona and Saint Helena in West Africa. Some 36,120 were subsequently spread throughout the British-held Caribbean between 1839 and 1867, where their arrival also reinvigorated cultural ties to Africa. The second source was Asia, principally the Indian subcontinent (but also China). Between 1838 and 1917, approximately 500,000 indentured laborers were imported from Asia to such places as Jamaica, Trinidad, Grenada, Martinique, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent.

A second migratory phase originating within the Caribbean between the 1880s and the 1920s was both intra-Caribbean as well as an out-migration. Destinations included Panama, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and the United States, as well as other Central American sites. It was construction of the Panama Canal that laid the foundation for this important phase.

By the time the canal was completed in 1914, thousands of workers from the Caribbean, many from Barbados, had labored on the canal. The United Fruit Company then transported thousands of the laborers to its banana and sugar plantations and railroads in Costa Rica, Honduras, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. Cuba alone took in 400,000 Jamaicans and Haitians between 1913 and 1928, and, as is true of Panama, a significant community of their descendants remain in Cuba.

The United States became a destination for others. By 1930, over 130,000 had arrived in U.S. urban areas, including Miami and other Floridian cities, but their major port of call was New York City, where some 40,000 took up residence in Harlem between 1900 and 1930, providing a substantial proportion of the professional and entrepreneurial classes. Most were from the English-speaking islands, but they also came from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic.

Map of the United States, showing primary migration routes and the major northern and western cities to which African Americans moved during the first three decades of the twentieth century. *From the southeast, the majority of departing blacks traveled to cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. From the middle south, blacks departed for midwestern cities like Chicago and Cincinnati. From the southwest, most journeyed to the Pacific Coast, especially Los Angeles. More than one million blacks left the South during these years.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Postwar Developments

Emigration from the Caribbean, where the rise of agribusiness resulted in the collapse of plantation agriculture and rising unemployment, continued after World War II. Haitians went to the sugar fields of the Dominican Republic; both Haitians and Dominicans came to Florida along with others from the Caribbean and Central America; and Puerto Ricans and Dominicans undertook major migrations to New York City. Those from the English- and French-speaking islands also relocated to the cities of Britain and France, and they would find their way to Canada in a movement that became much more significant in the 1950s and 1960s.

In North America, the Great Migration between 1916 and 1930 witnessed more than one million blacks leave the South for the North, with over 400,000 boarding trains between 1916 and 1918. This was an intense period of relocation, propelled by such factors as economic despair (related to the ravages of the boll weevil) and white racism in the South. The latter element had become particularly pernicious, as more than 3,600 people were lynched between 1884 and 1914, with the vast majority of victims being black southerners. Those moving north were also motivated by the high demand for labor in the North, occasioned by global war and the precipitous decline in foreign immigration from Europe (from 1.2 million in 1914 to 110,000 by 1918). World War II had a similar effect, and in the 1940s an additional 1.6 million black southerners are estimated to have left for the North and the West, especially the Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland areas), a figure that does not include movement to the South Atlantic region and the Gulf Coast, where many found jobs in defense-related industries. Such migratory activity continued in the 1950s and 1960s, when 2.9 million are estimated

The Great Migration. *A Negro Family arrives in Chicago from the rural South. The image is from* The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot *(1922).* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

to have left the South. The movement north would transform the majority of African Americans into urban dwellers, and by 1950 some 52 percent of African Americans were living in cities and large towns (a figure that would increase to 81 percent by 1980).

Paralleling the economic experiences of those in North America and the Caribbean were people of African descent in Brazil. In the sugar-producing northeast, black Brazilians remained as wage laborers and tenants on the plantations, but in the coffee region of the southeast there was considerable migration to the rapidly developing cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. There, they ran into the issue of *embranquecimento,* or "whitening," an effort to increase European immigration and thereby achieve "civilized" status as a nation. In response to this policy, some 90,000 Europeans immigrants, called *colonos,* arrived in Brazil between 1886 and 1889.

From the mid-1960s onward, many of the Caribbean colonies achieved independent status, paralleling events in Africa and Asia, but agribusiness maintained pressure on the unemployed to emigrate. In addition to New York, Toronto, Paris, and London, such emigrants journeyed to rural areas as well. Haitians and Dominicans followed the earlier pattern of migrating to the United States and Canada, where they were joined by American southerners and Central Americans in picking fruit and vegetable harvests and working as domestics. Migrant workers often did not come to stay, but rather to save enough money to create better conditions for themselves and their families back home. Whether temporary or permanent, some 300,000

people per year were leaving the Caribbean by the early 1960s.

As for Europe, two principal sites for the African diaspora have been Britain and France. Enslaved Africans arrived in England in the sixteenth century, and by the late eighteenth century there were as many as ten thousand enslaved blacks in the country, mostly in London, Bristol, and Liverpool, a major port in the slave trade. Black seamen had also become fixtures in the various ports, where they played leading roles in labor struggles. Early twentieth-century England boasted a small black community numbering in the thousands, but subsequent immigration of colonial subjects from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in response to the labor and soldiering needs of two world wars significantly augmented their numbers. Caribbean labor continued to arrive in the 1950s to assist in the rebuilding of Britain's postwar economy, but a growing black presence had the effect of increasing white resentment, xenophobia, and violence.

Developments in France were analogous. The conflict with Algeria has profoundly impacted race relations in France, and the experience of the North African immigrant, originally recruited to fill labor needs, has been the most critical of all. Anti–North African sentiment in France was inflamed not only by the end of the Second World War and the reclamation of jobs by white Frenchmen, but by the Algerian Revolution. Islam is an important dynamic, as North Africans are highly integrated into the Muslim world. North and West Africans are the principal targets of France's xenophobia.

Since the Second World War, African and African-descended populations have achieved appreciable numerical levels throughout Europe. Italy, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany (via American troops) all have recognizable populations of African descendants. Even Russia has a black history—Soviet Russia was a magnet for African university students and visiting black intellectuals. Since the 1980s, efforts to enter Europe have included illegal immigration from sub-Saharan Africa (an often perilous and deadly undertaking). Exploitation of young girls and women via prostitution has also been part of the phenomenon. In all cases, immigrants and their descendants wrestle with the meaning of their identities, maintaining, in many instances, ties to Africa or the Caribbean, while agitating for full acceptance and equal citizenship in their adopted European homes.

See also African Diaspora; Economic Condition, U.S.; Slave Trade; Slavery

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MICHAEL A. GOMEZ (2005)

U.S. Migration/ Population

Migration has been a persistent theme throughout African-American history. Africans entered the New World as slaves, unlike European immigrants and their Asian counterparts. With the advent of the Civil War and Emancipation, black population movement took on a voluntary character and slowly converged with that of other groups. Nonetheless, only with the coming of World War I and its aftermath did blacks make a fundamental break with the land and move into cities in growing numbers. The Great Migration of the early twentieth century foreshadowed the transformation of African Americans from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban population. It reflected their quest for freedom, jobs, and social justice; the rise of new classes and social relations within the African-American community; and the emergence of new patterns of race, class, and ethnic relations in American society as a whole.

From the colonial period through the antebellum era, Africans and their American descendants experienced forced migration from one agricultural region to another. One and a half million blacks reached the United States via the international slave trade, primarily from the west coast of Africa. Through natural increase, their numbers rose to an estimated four million by 1860. By 1750, there were more than 144,000 blacks in the tobacco-growing states of Maryland and Virginia, representing the highest concentration of slaves in the country. In the wake of the American Revolution, however, slaves experienced a dramatic relocation from the tobacco region of the Upper South to the emerging cotton-growing areas of the Deep South. The tobacco country slowly declined in fertility during the late eighteenth century, and planters first transported or sold their slaves to the neighboring states of Kentucky and Tennessee. After the close of the international slave trade to the United States in 1808, this movement accelerated. Between 1810 and 1820, an estimated 137,000 slaves left the Chesapeake Bay region and North Carolina for the cotton-growing states of the Deep South, particularly Alabama and Mississippi.

Some slaves entered the Deep South with their masters, but growing numbers came via the domestic slave trade. Whether they traveled by water or by land, they moved to their new homes in handcuffs and chains. As one ex-slave recalled, "We were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain about a foot long uniting the handcuffs and their wearers." Contemporary travelers frequently commented on the sight of migrating slaves. In 1834, for example, an English traveler reported on his trip from Virginia to Alabama: "In the early grey of the morning, we came up with a singular spectacle, the most striking one of the kind I have ever witnessed. It was a camp of Negro slave-drivers, just packing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night in chains in the woods; these they were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River."

Although Africans, and increasingly African Americans, were the victims of coerced migrations during this period, they were by no means passive. Slaves acted in their own behalf by running away, planning rebellions, and deepening their efforts to build a viable slave community. According to one historian, the transition from an African to a predominantly American-born slave-labor force facilitated the emergence of new forms of rebellion and demands for liberation in the new republic. As slaves learned the language, gained familiarity with the terrain, and built linkages to slaves on other plantations, they increased their efforts to resist bondage. Newspaper advertisements for runaways increased as planters and slave traders mediated the transfer of slaves from the tobacco-growing regions to the "cotton kingdom." Advertisements for runaways not only reflected the slaves' resistance, but also the harsh conditions they faced: "Bill is a large fellow, very black, shows the whites of his eyes more than usual, has a scar on his right cheek bone, several on his breast, one on his arm, occasioned by the bite of a dog, his back very badly scarred with the whip."

The Civil War and Reconstruction radically transformed the context of black migration. Black population movement accelerated, spurred by the presence of federal troops, the ending of chattel slavery, the enactment of full

Distribution of African Americans. *A map from* The Great South *(1874), by Edward King, shows that the distribution of the black population had not changed dramatically by 1874, even though free blacks and runaways from the South created small black communities in northern cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

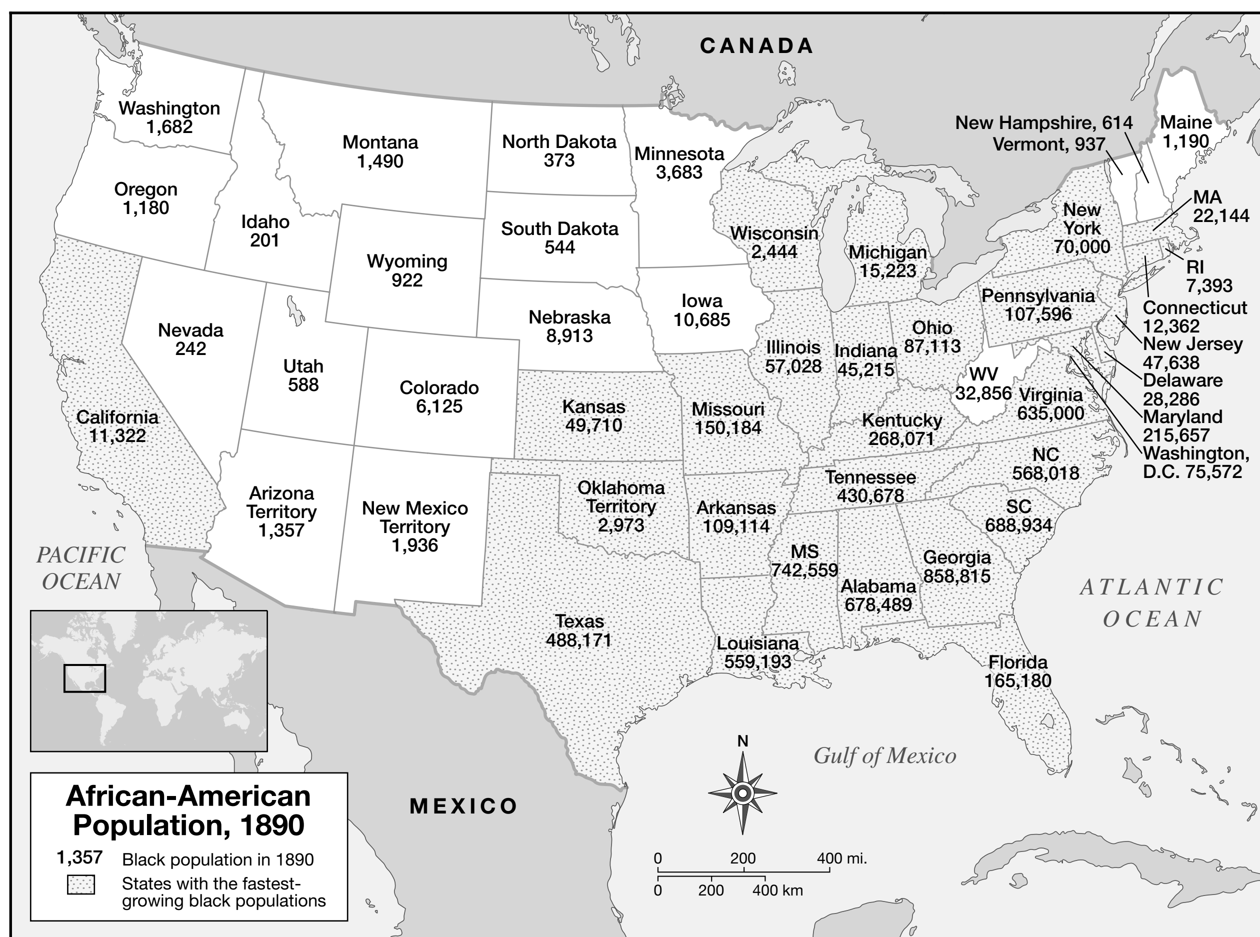
citizenship legislation, and rising white hostility. In the first years following Emancipation, one Florida planter informed his cousin in North Carolina, "The negroes don't seem to feel free unless they leave their old homes . . . just to make it sure they can go when and where they choose." A South Carolina family offered to pay its cook double the amount that she would receive in another village, but the woman insisted, "No, Miss, I must go. . . . If I stay here I'll never know I am free."

When the promise of freedom faded during the late 1870s, the Exodus of 1879 symbolized the new mobility of the black population. Within a few months, some six thousand blacks left their homes in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas for a new life in Kansas. As one black contemporary stated, "There are no words which can fully express or explain the real condition of my people throughout the south, nor how deeply and keenly they feel the necessity of fleeing from the wrath and long pent-up hatred of their old masters which they feel assured will ere long burst loose like the pent-up-fires of a volcano and crush them if they remain here many years longer." Still, the Exodus was a rural-to-rural migration, with blacks moving to Kansas when an earlier Tennessee option proved fruitless. African Americans expected to resettle on available farmland and continue their familiar, but hopefully freer, rural way of life.

Despite the predominance of rural-to-rural migration, the migration of blacks to American cities had deep antebellum roots. Boston launched its career as a slaveholding city as early as 1638, when the Salem ship *Desire* returned from the West Indies with a cargo of "salt, cotton, tobacco, and Negroes." Slavery in New York City, beginning under Dutch control in 1626, entered an era of unprecedented growth under the British in 1664. In Philadelphia in 1684, within three years after the first Quakers settled in Pennsylvania, the first fifty Africans arrived. The number of slaves in the seaports of the Northeast rose from negligible numbers during the seventeenth century to sizable proportions by the mid-eighteenth century, when there were over 1,500 in Boston, over 1,400 in Philadelphia, and over 2,000 in New York. Southern cities such as New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Baltimore, Louisville, Savannah, and Richmond also had sizable antebellum black populations.

Black migration to American cities escalated during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction, blacks increasingly moved into rural industrial settings such as the coalfields of Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Others gained increasing access to nonagricultural jobs as lumber and railroad hands in the expanding industrial order. Still, as late as 1910, nearly 90 percent of the nation's black population lived in the South, and fewer than 22 percent of southern blacks lived in cities.

After World War I, blacks made a fundamental break with their southern rural heritage and moved into cities in growing numbers. An estimated 700,000 to one million blacks left the South between 1917 and 1920. Another 800,000 to one million left during the 1920s. Whereas the prewar migrants moved to southern cities such as Norfolk, Louisville, Birmingham, and Atlanta (and to a few northern cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York), blacks now moved throughout the urban North and West. Beginning with relatively small numbers on the eve of World War I, the black urban population in the Midwest and Great Lakes region increased even more dramatically than that of the Northeast. Detroit's black population increased by 611 percent during the war years and by nearly 200 percent during the 1920s, rising from fewer than 6,000 to over 120,000. Cleveland's black population rose from fewer than 8,500 to nearly 72,000. In St. Louis, the increase was from under 45,000 in 1910 to nearly 94,000 in 1930.



Map of the United States, showing the population of African Americans by state, 1890. *Following the collapse of Reconstruction in the 1870s, many blacks began leaving the South for western states and northern and midwestern cities, increasing the African American population in these areas dramatically by the turn of the century.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

In the urban West, the black population increased most dramatically in Los Angeles, growing from 7,600 in 1910 to nearly 40,000 in 1930. Nonetheless, as in the prewar era, New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia continued to absorb disproportionately large numbers of black newcomers. Between 1910 and 1930, Chicago's black population increased more than fivefold, from 44,000 to 234,000; New York's more than tripled, from about 100,000 to 328,000; and Philadelphia's grew from 84,500 to an estimated 220,600.

Upper South and border states remained important sources of black migrants during World War I and the 1920s, but Deep South states increased their importance. Blacks born in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana now dominated the migration stream to Illinois and Chicago, for example, making up over 60 percent of the black population increase in that area between 1910 and 1920. African Americans from the Upper South predominated in New York City more so than in Chicago, but blacks from South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida came in growing numbers. In the rapidly industrializing cities of Cleveland and Detroit, the ratio of black men to black women escalated from just a few more men than women in 1910 to between 120 and 140 men to every 100 women during the war years. In Milwaukee, where the ratio of men to women was 95 to 100 in 1910, the ratio reversed itself, and the number of men versus women increased between 1910 and 1920. Finally, in the northeastern cities of New York and Philadelphia, where women significantly outnumbered men before the war, the ratio evened out.

A variety of factors underlay black population movement. African Americans sought an alternative to sharecropping, disfranchisement, and racial injustice in the South. In 1917 the *AME Review* articulated the forces that propelled blacks outward from the South: "Neither character, the accumulation of property, the fostering of the Church, the schools and a better and higher standard of

An alley on the Lower West Side of New York City. *The photograph, from* The Negro in the Cities of New York *(1905), gives a hint of the crowded conditions in which many poor migrants lived in American's northern cities of the early twentieth century.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the home" had made a difference in the status of black Southerners. "Confidence in the sense of justice, humanity and fair play of the white South is gone," the paper concluded. One migrant articulated the same mood in verse: "An' let one race have all de South—Where color lines are drawn—For 'Hagar's child' done [stem] de tide—Farewell—we're good and gone."

African Americans were also attracted by the lure of opportunities in the North. The labor demands of northern industries, immigration-restriction legislation, and greater access to the rights of citizens (including the franchise) all encouraged the movement of blacks into northern cities. Wages in northern industries usually ranged from $3 to $5 per eight-hour day, compared with as little as 75 cents to $1 per day in southern agriculture and with no more than $2.50 for a nine-hour day in southern industries. Moreover, between 1915 and 1925, the average wages of domestics in some northern cities doubled. Northern cities also promised access to better health care. The nonwhite infant-mortality rate dropped in New York City from 176 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1917 to 105 in 1930; in Boston, from 167 to 90; and in Philadelphia, from 193 to 100. Between 1911 and 1926, according to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the incidence of tuberculosis among the nation's blacks declined by 44 percent for black males and 43 percent for black females. New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago showed similar patterns of decline.

With better social conditions, higher wages, and the franchise, it is no wonder that African Americans viewed the Great Migration to northern cities in glowing terms, with references to "the Promised Land," the "flight out of Egypt," and "going into Canaan." One black man wrote back to his southern home, "The (Col.) men are making good. [The job] never pays less than $3.00 per day for (10) hours." In her letter home, a black woman related, "I am well and thankful to say I am doing well . . . I work in Swifts Packing Company." "Up here," another migrant said, "our people are in a different light." Over and over again, African Americans confirmed that: "Up here, a man can be a man." As one southern black man wrote home from the North, "I should have been here twenty years ago . . . I just begin to feel like a man . . . My children are going to the same school with the whites and I don't have to humble to no one. I have registered. Will vote in the next election and there isn't any yes Sir or no Sir. It's all yes and no, Sam and Bill."

The Great Migration was by no means a simple move from southern agriculture to northern cities. It had specific regional and subregional components. More blacks migrated to southern cities between 1900 and 1920 than to northern ones. Moreover, African Americans frequently made up from 25 percent to 50 percent of the total population in southern cities, compared with little more than 10 percent in northern cities. Before moving to Philadelphia, Boston, or New York, for example, rural migrants first moved to cities such as New Orleans, Jacksonville, Savannah, Memphis, Charleston, and Birmingham. The Jefferson County cities of Birmingham and Bessemer, with extensive rail connections, served as the major distribution points for blacks going north from Alabama. The Southern, the Louisville and Nashville, the Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco, and the Illinois Central railroads all traveled northward from Birmingham and Bessemer. In Georgia, cities such as Columbus, Americus, and Albany served as distribution points for blacks leaving from west-

ern Georgia and eastern Alabama, while Valdosta, Waycross, Brunswick, and Savannah were distribution centers for those leaving the depressed agricultural counties of southern and southeastern Georgia. To blacks moving north from Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, Chicago was the logical destination, whereas cities in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England attracted blacks from Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia.

Upon the arrival of blacks in northern cities, their population movement usually developed secondary streams. As one contemporary observer noted, "All of the arrivals here [Chicago] did not stay. . . . They were only temporary guests awaiting the opportunity to proceed further and settle in surrounding cities and towns. With Chicago as a center there are within a radius of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles a number of smaller industrial centers. . . . A great many of the migrants who came to Chicago found employment in these satellite places." In Philadelphia, black migration also "broke bulk" and radiated outward to Lancaster, York, Altoona, and Harrisburg in central Pennsylvania, as well as to Wilmington, Delaware.

Southern blacks helped to organize their own movement into the urban North. They developed an extensive communications network, which included railroad employees, who traveled back and forth between northern and southern cities; northern black weeklies such as the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier;* and an expanding chain of kin and friends. Using their networks of families and friends, African Americans learned about transportation, jobs, and housing in an area before going there. As one contemporary observer noted, "The chief stimuli was discussion. . . . The talk in the barber shops and grocery stores . . . soon began to take the form of reasons for leaving." Also fueling the migration process were the letters, money, and testimonies of migrants who returned to visit. One South Carolina migrant to Pittsburgh recalled, "I was plowing in the field and it was real hot. And I stayed with some of the boys who would leave home and [come] back . . . and would have money, and they had clothes. I didn't have that. We all grew up together. And I said, 'Well, as long as I stay here I'm going to get nowhere.' And I tied that mule to a tree and caught a train."

Other migrants formed migration clubs, pooled their resources, and moved in groups. Black women, deeply enmeshed in black kin and friendship networks, played a conspicuous role in helping to organize the black migration. As recent scholarship suggests, women were the "primary kinkeepers." Moreover, they often had their own gender-specific reasons for leaving the rural South. African-American women resented stereotyped images of the black mammy, who presumably placed loyalty to white families above attachment to her own. Black women's migration reinforced the notion that lifting the race and improving the image of black women were compatible goals.

Black migration was fundamentally a movement of workers, and as blacks moved into northern cities in growing numbers, a black industrial working class emerged. Southern black sharecroppers, farm laborers, sawmill hands, dock workers, and railroad hands all moved into new positions in the urban economy. Labor agents helped to recruit black workers for jobs in meatpacking, auto, steel, and other mass-production industries. As suggested above, however, these labor agents were soon supplanted by the expansion of black familial and communal networks. Employers attested: "After the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North." Further, "Every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group."

Wartime labor demands undermined the color barrier in basic industries. In Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Milwaukee, the percentage of black men employed in industrial jobs increased from an estimated 10 to 20 percent of the black labor force in 1910 to about 60 or 70 percent in 1920 and 1930. An official of Cleveland's National Malleable Casting Company exclaimed: "We have [black] molders, core makers, chippers, fitters, locomotive crane operators, melting furnace operators, general foremen, foremen, assistant foremen, clerks, timekeepers[;] in fact, there is no work in our shop that they cannot do and do well, if properly supervised." In the Pittsburgh district, the number of black steelworkers rose from less than 800 on the eve of World War I to nearly 17,000 by 1923. In Detroit, the Ford Motor Company outdistanced other automakers in the employment of African Americans, with the number of black employees rising from fewer than 100 in 1916 to nearly 10,000 in 1926. Black women also entered industrial jobs, although their gains were far less than those of black men. In Chicago the number of black women in manufacturing trades increased from fewer than 1,000 in 1910 to over 3,000 in 1920. Industrial jobs now employed 15 percent of the black female labor force, compared with less than 7 percent in 1910. Buffalo and Pittsburgh offered neither black nor white women substantial industrial opportunities, but the war nonetheless increased their numbers in manufacturing. In Harlem, black women gained increasing employment in the garment industry and in commercial laundries. Still, few

A large and well-dressed crowd of travelers, mostly African Americans, c. 1910. *Of the period known as the Great Migration, James Weldon Johnson wrote: "Migrants came north in thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands—from the docks of Norfolk, Savannah, Jacksonville, Tampa, Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston: from the cotton fields of Mississippi, and the coal mines and steel mills of Alabama and Tennessee; from workshops and wash-tubs and brickyards and kitchens they came."* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

black women entered the major factories of the industrial North. Moreover, despite black men's increasing participation in the new industrial sectors, most moved into jobs at the bottom rung of the industrial ladder.

If African Americans helped to shape their own movement into cities, they also played a role in shaping their experiences within the labor force. In order to change the terms on which they labored, they frequently moved from job to job seeking higher wages and better working conditions. In Milwaukee, at one very disagreeable tannery plant, a black worker related, "I worked there one night and I quit." During the war years, the steel mills of western Pennsylvania frequently experienced a 300 percent turnover rate among black workers. In 1923, for instance, the A. M. Byers iron mill in Pittsburgh employed 1,408 African Americans in order to maintain a work force of 228. At the same time, some African Americans served as strikebreakers; they expressed bitter resentment over the discriminatory practices of white workers, who frequently referred to blacks as a "scab race" and justified their exclusionary policies. Black workers also organized independent all-black unions such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. When whites occasionally lowered racial barriers, others joined white unions such as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. During the 1930s, the Congress of Industrial Organizations built upon these traditions of collective action among black workers.

Closely intertwined with the increasing urbanization of the black population was the rise of the ghetto. As the black urban population increased, residential segregation increased in all major cities. The index of dissimilarity (a statistical device for measuring the extent of residential segregation) rose from 66.8 to 85.2 percent in Chicago;

A group of migrants journeying from Florida to New Jersey. *Thousands of African Americans left the South during the decade of the Great Depression.* COURTESY OF THE FDR LIBRARY

60.6 to 85.0 percent in Cleveland; 64.1 to 77.9 percent in Boston; and 46.0 to 63.0 percent in Philadelphia. The increasing segregation of blacks in the city not only reflected their precarious position in the urban economy, but also the intensification of racial restrictions in the urban housing market. In cities with large black populations, like New York and Chicago, the World War I migration intensified a process that was already well under way. Harlem—planned as an exclusive, stable, upper- and upper-middle-class white community—represented a desirable location to the city's expanding black population.

Although an economic depression undercut the flow of whites into Harlem, white residents resisted black occupancy. Between 1910 and 1915, the Harlem Property Owners' Improvement Corporation waged a vigorous fight to keep blacks out. It launched a restrictive covenant campaign and informed black realtors that houses in the area were not available to black buyers. Although the movement failed to keep Harlem white, discriminatory prices, along with the dearth of necessary repairs, undermined housing quality during the 1920s.

In Chicago and elsewhere, both North and South, blacks faced similar restrictions in the housing market. When legal tactics failed, whites resorted to violence. Race violence erupted in Chicago, East St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia during the era of the Great Migration. Race riots not only helped to reinforce residential segregation in northern cities, they highlighted the growing nationalization of the "race question" in American society.

African Americans developed cross-class alliances and fought racial discrimination in the housing, institutional, and political life of the cities. The black migration reinforced a long tradition of black urban institution-building activities. As early as the 1790s, blacks launched the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Philadelphia, followed closely by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion

(AMEZ) Church in New York, and the Baptist Church in both cities. In 1886, African Americans formed the National Baptist Convention and spearheaded the formation of new churches.

Along with churches, blacks soon formed a variety of mutual aid societies and fraternal orders, including the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Independent Order of St. Luke. The National Association of Colored Women, formed in 1895, emphasized service to the community. Mobilizing under its credo "Lifting as We Climb," the association organized, administered, and supported a variety of social-welfare activities, including homes for the aged, young women, and children; relief funds for the unemployed; and legal aid to combat injustice before the law. Under the impact of World War I and its aftermath, new expressions of black consciousness (as reflected in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance) and the growing participation of blacks in northern politics demonstrated solidarity across class and status lines.

The alliance between black workers and black elites was by no means unproblematic. As the new black middle class expanded during the 1920s, for example, it slowly moved into better housing vacated by whites, leaving the black poor concentrated in certain sections. In his studies of Chicago and New York, the sociologist E. Franklin Frazier demonstrated the increasing division of the black urban community along socioeconomic lines. While each city contained significant areas of interclass mixing, poverty increasingly characterized specific sections of the ghetto.

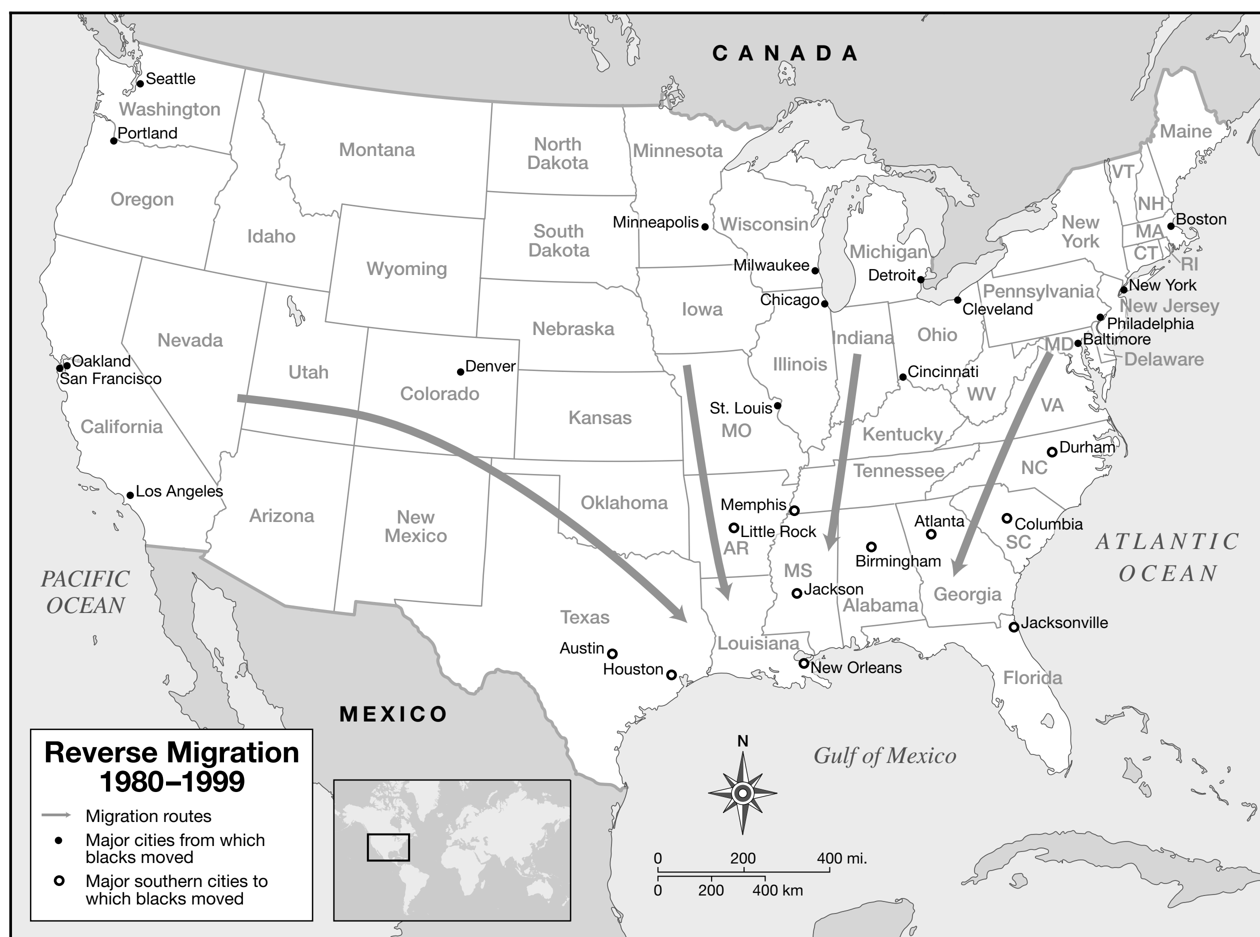
Moreover, the rise of working-class-oriented organizations such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association created substantial conflicts between black workers and established middle-class leadership. Emphasizing "race first," black pride, and solidarity with Africa, the Garvey movement struck a responsive chord among large numbers of black workers. Its Jamaican-born leader, Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), frequently exclaimed, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association . . . believes that the Negro race is as good as any other race, and therefore should be as proud of itself as others are. . . . It believes in the spiritual Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." As one migrant stated, "We will make a great mistake if we step out of the path of the Universal Negro Improvement Association." While race-conscious black business and professional people endorsed aspects of Garvey's ideas, they feared his growing appeal and often complained that his message appealed primarily to the "ignorant class" of newcomers from the South.

Despite conflicts between black workers and middle-class black leaders, African Americans continued to forge cross-class alliances. In 1914 Oscar DePriest defeated his white opponents to become Chicago's first black alderman. In 1928 DePriest also symbolized the growing shift of black electoral power from the South to northern urban centers when he gained the Republican Party's endorsement and won a seat in the U.S. Congress, serving the First Congressional District of Illinois. When blacks sought a similar goal in New York, they failed because skillful gerrymandering had split the black vote between the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Assembly districts. In 1944, when the boundaries were redrawn, blacks elected the black minister Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., to the House of Representatives. Harlem thus became the second northern congressional district to send a black to Congress. By then, African Americans had realigned their party affiliation from Republican to Democrat and had become an indispensable element in the New Deal coalition.

Although black electoral politics reflected the growing segregation of the urban environment, black elites retained a core of white allies. African Americans had cultivated a small number of white friends and launched the interracial National Urban League in 1911 and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. During the 1930s and 1940s, this inter- and intraracial unity gained even greater expression with the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, New Deal social-welfare programs, and the March on Washington movement. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in 1941, calling for an end to racial barriers in defense industries, African Americans achieved a major victory against racial exploitation.

As the nation entered the years after World War II, a variety of forces again transformed the context of black migration. The technological revolution in southern agriculture, the emergence of the welfare state, and the militant civil rights and Black Power movements all helped to complete the long-run transformation of blacks from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban people. The African-American population increased from thirteen million in 1940 to over twenty-two million in 1970. The proportion of blacks living in cities rose to over 80 percent, 10 percent higher than the population at large. Beginning as the most rural of Americans, blacks had become the most urbanized.

The Great Migration helped to transform both black and white America. It elevated the issues of race and southern black culture from regional to national phenomena. It was often a volatile process, involving both intra- and interracial conflicts. Distributed almost equally among regions, by the late 1970s the black urban migration had run its familiar twentieth-century course. Increases in black urban population were now primarily the



Map of the United States showing primary migration routes of African Americans moving from the North and West to the South, and the major southern cities to which many blacks relocated during the last two decades of the twentieth century. MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

product of births over deaths rather than interregional movements. Moreover, southern-born blacks from the North and West returned home in rising numbers. During the 1980s, the proportion of African Americans living in the South increased, after declining for more than a century. At the same time, black migration to American suburbs escalated. While the outcome of this new migration is yet to be determined, the suburban migrants are faring better than their inner-city counterparts. The returning migrants are also much better off than those who left, and they envision a "New South," one that is much different from the one their forebears abandoned.

See also *Chicago Defender*; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Civil War, U.S.; DePriest, Oscar Stanton; Emancipation in the United States; Garvey, Marcus; Harlem, New York; National Urban League; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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Military Experience, African-American

African-American military history is inextricably linked with the struggle of black people for social and political equality in the United States. Since the Civil War, African Americans have seen participation in the armed forces as a vehicle for the establishment of true democracy. America's legacy of racial discrimination has likewise shaped the nature of black military service and the opportunities afforded to African Americans to fight on the nation's behalf. Black soldiers have thus symbolized both the denial and promise of equal citizenship in the United States.

In 1866, the U.S. Congress reduced the size of the regular army and reorganized the approximately 12,500 African-American soldiers of the former Union army into the 9th and 10th Cavalry and 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry regiments. The four infantry regiments were later combined to form the 24th and 25th Infantries. Throughout the late 1870s and the 1880s, black soldiers of the regular army were stationed in the American West and served in the Dakota, Platte, and Missouri military departments. Labeled "buffalo soldiers" by the Plains Indians, black soldiers fought in the so-called Indian Wars to make the frontier secure for continued settlement.

The Spanish-American War coincided with the erosion of African-American citizenship rights. The explosion of the battleship USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, with twenty-six African Americans among the casualties, created an opportunity for African Americans to determine if patriotic service would transform white racial attitudes and loosen the grip of systemic discrimination and violence. While questioning the imperialist aims of the United States, African Americans identified racially with the Cubans, who were struggling for independence from Spain, and supported the use of black soldiers in the war. African Americans responded to the call for volunteers by President McKinley by forming National Guard militias in Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, Kansas, Indiana, North Carolina, and Virginia, although the short duration of the war prevented their incorporation into the regular army. The War Department ordered the 28,000 black soldiers to Florida for embarkation, where they endured virulent racial abuse from southern whites. The black army regiments, in only three days of fighting at El Caney, Las Guásimas, and San Juan Hill, performed extremely well. On June 23, the 10th Cavalry rescued Theodore Roosevelt's famed "Rough Riders" 1st Volunteer Cavalry Regiment from severe casualties at Las Guásimas, the first battle of the war. Black soldiers later fought in the Philippines to quell the anti-American insurgency led by Emilio Aguinaldo (1869–1964). The guerilla warfare here was much more vicious than the fighting in Cuba had been, as was American racism. The United States racialized Filipinos in their efforts to undermine the insurgency and in the process tested the loyalties of black soldiers.

Following the Spanish-American War the black army regiments were transferred to duty in Texas along the United States–Mexico border. Racial tensions with white Texans ran high, culminating in an incident at Brownsville, Texas. After shots rang out on the night of August 13, 1906, local whites accused black soldiers of the 25th Infantry's 1st Battalion of killing one man and wounding several others. Although they steadfastly denied involvement in the shooting, President Theodore Roosevelt gave dishonorable discharges to 167 soldiers without a public hearing. Brownsville further fueled the perception among whites, particularly in the South, of black soldiers as a source of violent racial unrest.

African American soldiers of the Army's 368th infantry, c. 1910. *Prior to World War I, African Americans were joining the military in increasing numbers. By the start of that war, there were 23,000 black soldiers serving in the various branches of the military; by the end, more than 400,000 had served in the military in some capacity.* CORBIS

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Woodrow Wilson's pronouncement that the United States would fight to make the world "safe for democracy" spurred African-American hopes that the conflict would lead to a social and political transformation of American society on a par with Reconstruction following the Civil War. African Americans quickly appropriated Wilson's rhetoric of freedom and democracy to connect military service to demands for civil rights. However, instead of offering hope, the war exacerbated social relations and heightened racial tensions. The prospect of black soldiers stationed in the South aroused opposition and anxiety about their potential negative influence. White fears came to fruition in Houston, Texas, where the 3rd Battalion of the 24th Infantry was stationed at nearby Camp Logan. On the night of August 23, 1917, after enduring persistent racial abuse and fueled by rumors that Houston police had killed Corporal Charles Baltimore, over one hundred armed soldiers marched to the city and killed fifteen whites, including five policemen. Following a summary court-martial, the military hastily executed thirteen soldiers without due process, while forty-one others received sentences of life imprisonment.

The events in Houston served as an omen of the broader treatment of black soldiers in the United States military, which replicated the racial customs of civilian life in the wartime army. The War Department, in response to pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), created a segregated training camp for black officer candidates at Des Moines, Iowa. Of the initial 1,250 candidates, 639 received officer commissions, although none higher than the rank of captain. The military made a concerted effort to undermine the opportunities for black officers to excel, most notably evidenced in the forced retirement of Colonel Charles Young (1864–1922), at the time the highest-ranking African American in uniform. Approximately 387,000 African Americans served in the United States army during the war. The majority of black soldiers toiled

in stevedore and other service units both in France and the United States. Of the 200,000 black soldiers who served overseas, approximately 40,000 were combat soldiers in the 92nd and 93rd Divisions. Soldiers in the 92nd Division, which comprised drafted black men, waged a constant battle against the racism of white officers throughout the duration of their service, and military effectiveness suffered as a result. The 93rd Division, comprising mostly national guardsmen, served with the French military. They received more equitable treatment from the French and fought with distinction. The 369th Infantry from New York performed exceptionally well and earned international acclaim for its regimental band, led by Lieutenant James Reese Europe (1881–1919).

World War II yet again tested the loyalties and patriotism of African Americans. African Americans were less idealistic than previously, however, as the United States readied itself for war. The unfulfilled hopes of World War I caused black social leaders to accompany support for the war with explicit demands for African-American civil rights, as captured in the "Double V" slogan popularized by the *Pittsburgh Courier* and symbolizing the dual defeat of fascism and American racism. Asa Phillip Randolph (1889–1979), head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized the March on Washington movement, intended to pressure President Franklin Roosevelt to end discrimination in wartime contracting. On June 25, 1941, one week before the march, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, banning racial discrimination in defense industries, and created the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The order was largely symbolic, however, as little enforcement occurred.

Roughly one million African Americans served in the various branches of the armed forces during World War II, nearly half engaged in overseas duty. Many facets of the military did not change from World War I. African Americans represented only five of the military's five thousand officers at the beginning of the war. Benjamin O. Davis Sr. (1877–1970) was the only black general. Although the Selective Service Act of 1940 forbade racial discrimination, local draft boards initially turned away African-American volunteers and later routinely denied exemption claims when manpower was needed. African Americans continued to serve in segregated units, as military officials continued to question the fighting capabilities of black soldiers. The War Department reactivated the all-black 92nd and 93rd Divisions established during the First World War and combined the 9th and 10th Cavalry to form the 2nd Cavalry Division. The 93rd Division served in the Pacific theater, along with the 24th and 25th Infantries, but saw little combat. The 2nd Cavalry Division served in North

A 1943 poster for war bonds, featuring one of the Tuskegee Airmen. *The success of the Tuskegee Airmen of the 99th Pursuit Squadron dispelled the myth that African Americans could not become effective aviators.* NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Africa. The 92nd Division served in the Italian campaign, but, after performing poorly in their first combat action, racist military officials derided the division for the remainder of the war. On the home front, black soldiers were subjected to dangerous work conditions. In July 1944, 258 black sailors stationed at Port Chicago refused to work following two explosions. Forty-four men who refused to return to work were court-martialed and received sentences of eight to fifteen years hard labor and dishonorable discharges.

Military necessity ushered in new opportunities for African Americans during the war. These opportunities tested traditional institutional prejudices. Officer training camps allowed African-Americans to enlist and by the end of the war over seven thousand black men received commissions. African Americans distinguished themselves in

various combat units, most notably the 761st Tank Battalion. The War Department authorized the creation of the 99th Pursuit Squadron of the United States Air Force, stationed at Tuskegee, Alabama. The "Tuskegee Airmen" of the 99th, which later became part of the 332nd Fighter Group, dispelled the myth that African Americans could not become effective aviators. On April 7, 1942 the U.S. Navy announced that African Americans could enlist in positions other than mess attendants. Although the navy's legacy of racial discrimination deterred enlistment, by the end of the war 150,000 African Americans served. One ship, the *Mason*, had a majority black crew. The war also created increased opportunities for African-American women, who served in the Women's Army Corps (WACs) and as WAVES (Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service) in the Navy.

Despite these gains, southern whites greeted returning black soldiers with violence reminiscent of the First World War. The federal government, however, took decisive action to institutionalize the racial progress made within the military during the war. On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which immediately outlawed racial segregation in the United States armed forces. The executive order was seen as a turning point in the fight for African-American racial equality and equal citizenship.

Against the backdrop of Cold War politics, Korea represented the first test of the United States military's commitment to racial desegregation. In 1950, American military forces were hastily assembled to stop the North Korean advance into South Korea, and, as a result, integration was far from complete. The 24th Infantry, stationed in Japan prior to deployment to Korea, remained completely segregated and suffered from a lack of preparation and poor leadership. In addition, resistance by General Douglas MacArthur and other white officers slowed the pace of integration. Nevertheless, several regiments began to integrate their ranks based on manpower necessity and reported improved military effectiveness. MacArthur's predecessor, General Matthew Ridgeway, actively enforced Truman's executive order, resulting in 90 percent of the black soldiers in Korea serving in integrated units by the time of the cease-fire of July 27, 1953. By the end of the war, 220,000 black soldiers served in the army, 13 percent of total American forces.

The modern civil rights movement spurred the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations' commitment to enforcing integration of the armed forces. At the beginning of American involvement in Vietnam, the army touted itself as the most racially democratic institution in the United States. Military service in Vietnam initially went hand in hand with the expansion of African-American civil rights, for the armed forces provided opportunities unavailable to African Americans in civilian life. Many black men volunteered for combat units, and blacks reenlisted at a higher rate than whites. However, as the war dragged on and black casualties mounted, African Americans became increasingly critical of the war and their participation in it. By 1968 the war had reshaped the tenor of the civil rights movement, as Black Power coincided with the antiwar movement to fuel increased pessimism regarding the high cost of American citizenship.

Approximately 275,000 African Americans served in Vietnam, and race remained a persistent feature of the military experience of black soldiers, just as it did in civilian life. The racial composition of the military reflected the social and economic disparities African Americans faced in civilian life. The draft targeted poor and working-class Americans—groups in which black people were heavily represented—while upper- and middle-class whites obtained deferments or served in National Guard units. Sixty-four percent of eligible African Americans were drafted in 1967, as opposed to 31 percent of whites. In 1966, faced with troops shortages, the War Department established Project 100,000, which enlisted men previously declared ineligible because of low intelligence scores. Project 100,000 indirectly targeted African Americans, and between October 1966 and June 1969, 40 percent of the 246,000 men inducted through the program were black. Higher numbers of African Americans on the front lines led to disproportionate casualty rates. Between 1965 and 1967, African Americans represented 20 percent of battlefield casualties, though pressure to remove black soldiers from the front lines resulted in their casualty rate dropping to 13 percent for the entire war. Despite racial inequities, African Americans served valiantly, receiving 20 of the 237 Congressional Medals of Honor awarded during the war.

In the years following Vietnam, the military transformed itself into an exclusively volunteer army in order to avoid the problem of low morale associated with conscription. During the late 1970s and 1980s, the armed forces continued to offer African Americans employment, educational opportunities, and an escape from the postindustrial ravages of inner-city life. Thus, by the time of the 1991 Gulf War, the face of the military had become increasingly black. African Americans made up nearly 25 percent of the army during Operation Desert Storm, and General Colin Powell, an African-American and chair of the Joint-Chiefs of Staff, was arguably the most recognizable face of the war. Concerns regarding the overrepresentation of African Americans in the armed forces have

persisted into the twenty-first century. In January 2003, as the United States again prepared for war against Iraq, Congressman Charles Rangel of New York introduced legislation to reinstitute the draft in order to rectify racial and class inequities within the military. Thus, African-American military service remains tied to the dilemma of true racial equality.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Davis, Benjamin O., Jr.; Europe, James Reese; Randolph, Asa Philip

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CHAD WILLIAMS (2005)

Million Man March

In early 1995 Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam proposed a Million Man March on Washington, D.C., for that fall. The organizers described the march as an opportunity for black men to take responsibility for their lives and communities, and to demonstrate repentance for their mistreatment of black women. In addition, the march was designed to unite blacks and point up the lack of national action against racial inequality.

Even as march organizers, most notably ousted National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) head Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Muhammad, began an extensive publicity campaign, many whites and African Americans spoke out against the march. The feminist scholar Angela Davis and the black leader Amiri Baraka led the criticism of the exclusion of black women, and journalist Carl Rowan and scholar Roger Wilkins denounced the whole idea as racially discriminatory. Many blacks who supported the idealistic goals of the march refused to participate because of its association with Farrakhan and his nationalist, anti-Semitic message, although many blacks who disagreed with Farrakhan's views nonetheless participated in the gathering.

On October 16, 1995, the march gathered at the Lincoln Memorial, site of the 1963 March on Washington. Organizers claimed a million blacks participated, although the Park Service counted 400,000. Numerous speakers, including Dorothy Height and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, addressed the crowd. Farrakhan delivered the climactic address, reminding the marchers, "We are in progress toward a more perfect union." The march stimulated black voter registration and political activism, but its long-term impact is unclear.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Chavis, Benjamin Franklin, Jr.; Davis, Angela; Farrakhan, Louis; Height,

The Million Man March, October 16, 1995. *Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, conceived this "day of atonement and reconciliation" for African-American men.* © JAMES LEYNSE/CORBIS

Dorothy; Jackson, Jesse; Nation of Islam; Rowan, Carl T.

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
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Mingus, Charles

April 22, 1922
January 5, 1979

Born in Nogales, Arizona, jazz musicians Charles Mingus straddled the bebop and free jazz eras. Although he became a virtuoso bassist early in his career, his main contribution to jazz was as a composer and bandleader. For over thirty years Mingus created a body of compositions matched in quality and variety only by Duke Ellington and Thelonious Monk, and ranging from somber but gritty tributes to Lester Young, Charlie Parker, and Eric Dolphy to roaring evocations of African-American gospel prayer meetings. Taking a cue from Ellington, Mingus generally wrote music for particular individuals in his superb ensembles, and such compositions were developed or "workshopped" through in-concert rehearsals rather than from fixed and polished scores prior to performance and recording. Mingus's mercurial personality thrived in these improvisational settings, but this process often made for chaos and disaster as well. He was notorious for berating audiences and musicians from the bandstand, even firing and rehiring band members during the course of performances. However, the workshops also achieved a spontaneity and musical passion unmatched in the history of jazz, as Mingus conducted and shouted instructions and comments from the piano or bass, at times in a wheelchair at the end of his life, even improvising speeches on civil rights.

Charles Mingus Jr. grew up in the Watts section of Los Angeles, and in his youth studied trombone and cello before switching at age sixteen to the bass. He studied with Britt Woodman, Red Callender, Lloyd Reese, and Herman Rheinschagen, and began performing professionally while still a teenager. He played in the rhythm sections of the bands of Lee Young (1940), Louis Armstrong (1941–1943), Barney Bigard (1942), and Lionel Hampton (1947–1948). He made his first recordings with Hampton in 1947, a session that included Mingus's first recorded composition, "Mingus Fingers." Mingus played in Red Norvo's trio from 1950 to 1951, quitting in anger after Mingus, who was not a member of the local musicians' union, was replaced by a white bassist for a television performance. Mingus settled in New York in 1951 and played stints with Duke Ellington, Billy Taylor, Stan Getz, and Art Tatum. His most important work in his early period was a single concert he organized and recorded for his own record label, Debut Records, at Toronto's Massey Hall in May 1953, featuring pianist Bud Powell, drummer Max Roach, and the reunited team of Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie—the definitive bebop quintet.

Mingus formed his own music workshop in 1955 in order to develop compositions for a core of performers, and it is from this point that his mature style dates. He had played in the cooperative Jazz Composers' Workshop from 1953 to 1955, but it was as the tempestuous leader of his own group that he created his most famous works, which in concerts often became long, brooding performances, building to aggressive, even savage climaxes. His compositions used folk elements such as blues shouts, field hollers, call and response, and gospel-style improvised accompanying riffs. In this middle period, which lasted from 1955 to 1966, Mingus employed a number of notable musicians, including saxophonists Eric Dolphy, Rahsaan Roland Kirk, Jackie McLean, Booker Ervin, John Handy, Clifford Jordan, and Charles McPherson; drummer Dannie Richmond; pianists Mal Waldron and Jaki Byard; trombonist Jimmy Knepper; and trumpeter Ted Curson. He produced numerous albums that are considered classics, including *Tijuana Moods* (1957), *Mingus Ah-Um* (1959), the orchestral *Pre-Bird* (1960), *Mingus Oh Yeah* (1961), *Town Hall Concerts* (1962, 1964), and *Mingus Mingus Mingus* (1963), and notable compositions such as "Love Chant" (1955), "Foggy Day" (1955), "Percussion Discussion" (1955), "Pithecanthropus Erectus" (1956), "Reincarnation of a Lovebird" (1957), "Haitian Fight Song" (1957), and "The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady" (1963).

Politics also began to enter Mingus's music in the 1950s, and the two eventually became inseparable, with Mingus issuing explicit musical attacks against segregation and racism. "Meditations on Integration" (1964) was written in response to the segregation and mistreatment of black prisoners in the American South and recorded live at the Monterey Jazz Festival, while "Fables of Faubus" (1959) protested Orval Faubus, the segregationist governor of Arkansas. Mingus's activism also extended to attempts at having jazz musicians wrest control of their careers out of the hands of club owners and recording executives. He twice organized his own record companies, Debut Records in 1952 and Charles Mingus Records in 1963. In 1960 he helped lead a musical revolt against the staid Newport Jazz Festival, and along with Ornette Coleman, Coleman Hawkins, and Max Roach, he formed a group known as the Newport Rebels, which held a counterfestival.

In his peak years Mingus often performed in settings outside the workshops. In 1958 he led a quintet accompanying Langston Hughes reciting his poetry on *The Weary Blues of Langston Hughes*. Further, though he gained fame early as a bassist in the tradition of Jimmy Blanton and Oscar Pettiford, he also on occasion hired a bassist and performed at the piano, and he released *Mingus Plays Piano* in 1963. In 1962 he recorded *Money Jungle,* a trio album with Duke Ellington and Max Roach.

In 1966 Mingus stopped performing, largely as a result of the psychological problems that had always plagued him. In 1969 financial problems forced him out of retirement, and despite his deteriorating physical condition due to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, a progressive degenerative disease of the nervous system (also known as Lou Gehrig's disease), he experienced a new burst of creativity in the 1970s. He published his picaresque, fictionalized autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog,* and was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1971. He thereafter worked regularly, recording *Mingus Moves* (1973), until 1977, when he fell ill after recording *Three or Four Shades of Blue*. He released his last albums, *Me, Myself an Eye* and *Something like a Bird,* in 1978. His last appearance on record was on *Mingus,* an album by the singer Joni Mitchell, in 1978. He died in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

See also Armstrong, Louis; Coleman, Ornette; Ellington, Duke; Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Monk, Thelonious Sphere; Parker, Charlie

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EDDIE S. MEADOWS (1996)

Minstrels/ Minstrelsy

The minstrel show was the first uniquely American form of stage entertainment. Begun by white performers using black makeup and dialect to portray African Americans, the minstrel show was a popular sensation in the 1840s. It dominated American show business until the 1890s, and had profound and enduring impacts on show business, racial stereotypes, and African Americans in the performing arts.

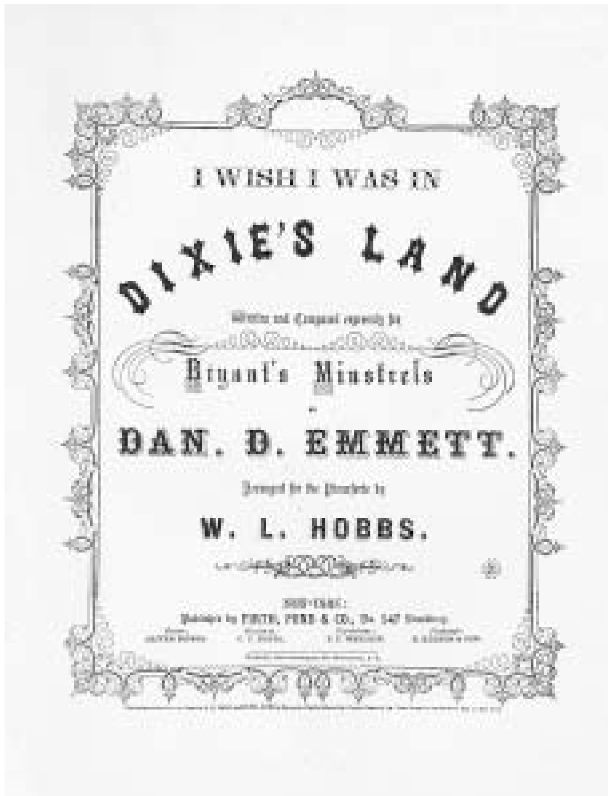
White men in blackface had portrayed black people almost since the first contact of the races. But in the 1820s—when American show business was in its infancy, and audiences demanded stage shows about American, not European, characters and themes—some white performers began to specialize in blackfaced acts they called "Ethiopian Delineation." In 1828 in Louisville, Kentucky, one of these "Delineators," Thomas D. Rice, saw a crippled African-American stablehand named Jim Crow doing an unusual song and dance. Rice bought the man's clothes, learned the routine, and became a stage star with his "Jump Jim Crow" act. After that, blackfaced whites became more and more popular on America's stages.

In 1843 in New York City, four of these blackfaced entertainers, calling themselves the Virginia Minstrels, staged the first full evening of what they billed as "the oddities, peculiarities, eccentricities, and comicalities of that Sable Genus of Humanity." The Virginia Minstrels were a great hit. Within a year, the minstrel show became a separate entertainment form that audiences loved. Although it was centered in the big cities of the North, it was performed almost everywhere, from frontier camps to the White House. In fact, when Commodore Perry's fleet entered Japan in 1853-1854, the sailors put on a blackfaced minstrel show for the Japanese. Minstrel shows had three distinct parts. The first opened with a rousing group song and dance. Then the minstrels sat in a semicircle facing the audience. The dignified man in the middle, the interlocutor, used a commanding voice and precise, pompous language as the master of ceremonies. Flanking him, holding instruments such as banjos and fiddles, were entertainers who performed the musical numbers, most notably the songs of Stephen Foster. In his string of minstrel hits, including "Old Folks at Home," "Oh Susanna," "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Old Black Joe," Foster was a pioneer of a new eclectic American popular music, blending European parlor music he heard at home, frontier music he heard in Cincinnati theaters, and African-American music he heard in a servant's church. On the ends of the semicircle sat the most popular minstrels, the comedians, "Mr. Tambo" and "Mr. Bones," who were named after their instruments, the tambourine and the rhythm clacker bones (various performers assumed these two roles). Wearing flashy clothes and exaggerated black makeup, and speaking in heavy dialects laden with humorous malapropisms, the endmen traded puns, riddles, and jokes with the interlocutor (sitting between them). This new fast-paced verbal humor later matured in vaudeville and radio. The first part ended with an upbeat song and dance.

The second part, the olio, was essentially a variety show with performers coming on stage one at a time to do their specialties, everything from acrobatics to animal acts. Again, this was a forerunner of vaudeville—and of radio and television variety shows.

The third part, a one-act production with costumes, props, and a set, was at times a parody of a popular play or a current event. But in the early years, it was usually a happy plantation scene with dances, banjo playing, sentimentalism, slapstick, and songs such as "Dixie," a minstrel hit first introduced in New York City. These productions, mixing music, comedy, and dance, provided the seeds for the later development of the musical comedy.

Minstrelsy was not just precedent-setting entertainment. It was entertainment in blackface. It was about race and slavery, and it was born when those issues threatened to plunge America into civil war. During that period of rising tensions, northern whites, with little knowledge of African Americans, packed into theaters to watch white men in blackface act out images of slavery and black people that the white public wanted to see. From its inception, in every part of the show, minstrelsy used makeup, props, gestures, and descriptions to create grotesque physical caricatures of African Americans—including big mouths and lips, pop eyes, huge feet, woolly hair, and literally black skin. Minstrels also evolved sharp contrasts between African Americans in the North and in the South. In the show's first part, some of the olio, and the nonplantation farces, northern minstrel blacks were either lazy, ignorant good-for-nothings or flashy, preening dandies. Southern minstrel blacks, in first-part songs and plantation finales,



Sheet music for "I Wish I Was in Dixie's Land" (1859), by Daniel Decatur Emmett. *The song, an immediate hit, premiered on Broadway in 1859 at a performance of Bryant's Minstrels, for whom Emmett played violin.*

were happy, frolicking "darkies" or nostalgic "old uncles" and loving "mammies" devoted to their kind, doting masters and mistresses. In the 1850s, as political conflicts grew, minstrelsy often portrayed unhappy plantation runaways who longed to be back in the land of cotton. It even converted the powerful antislavery messages of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into closing plantation farces of "Happy Uncle Tom."

Minstrelsy never pretended to be anything but escapist entertainment, but its racial caricatures and stereotypes allowed its huge northern white audiences to believe that African Americans were inferior people who did not belong in the North and were happy and secure only on southern plantations. So there was no need for a civil war over slavery or for acceptance of African Americans as equals. Even after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, minstrelsy continued these stereotypes, as if to support the racial caste system that replaced slavery and kept African Americans "in their place" in the South.

After the Civil War, for the first time, a large number of African Americans themselves became minstrels. Realizing that the popularity of blackfaced whites gave them a unique wedge into show business, early African-American minstrels emphasized their race. They billed themselves as "genuine," "bona fide" "colored" people who were untrained ex-slaves recreating their lives on the plantation. Except for the endmen, they rarely wore blackface. Northern white audiences were astonished by the variety of African Americans' skin colors and delighted by their shows. Although African-American minstrels did modify and diversify their material in subtle ways, the bulk of their shows reproduced and, in effect, added credibility to ingrained minstrel stereotypes. African-American minstrel troupes were so popular that they performed all over the United States, in Europe, and in the South Pacific, and they forced white minstrels to cut back their plantation material to avoid the new competition. One "Minstrel Wanted" ad in 1883 even warned, "Non-colored performers need not apply."

By the 1880s, as a result of minstrelsy, African Americans were established in all phases of show business as performers, composers, managers, and owners, though the most successful troupes were owned by whites. But the successes of African-American minstrels came at great expense. Personally, they faced discrimination daily. Professionally, they did not get the credit they deserved as performing artists because of their image as untrained, natural entertainers. Creatively, they had to stay within restrictive roles. Racially, they appeared to confirm negative stereotypes of African Americans. But, for decades, there were no other real choices for blacks in show business. For instance, Sam Lucas, a top minstrel composer and star by 1873, repeatedly tried to break free of minstrelsy. In 1875 he costarred in *Out of Bondage,* a serious musical drama about blacks' progress from slavery to the "attainment of education and refinement," and in 1878, he was the first of his race to star in a serious production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a role long considered too difficult for an African American. But each time, he had to return to minstrelsy to make a living. Still, he and the other pioneers laid the foundation for future generations.

Although minstrelsy as an entertainment institution was originally created and shaped by white performers playing to white audiences, African-American culture was part of its appeal from the beginning. Some blackfaced stars, like Thomas D. Rice, admitted copying their acts directly from individual African Americans. More often, touring white minstrels bragged in general of learning new material and performance styles from black people, and there is considerable evidence in early minstrelsy that they did. Commentator Hans Nathan has identified African-derived syncopated rhythms in early banjo tunes that were the forerunners of ragtime and jazz. Robert C. Toll has

Poster for a minstrel show, c. 1900. *The first uniquely American form of stage entertainment, minstrelsy dominated show business in the United States during the nineteenth century.* CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

found characteristically African-American folklore and humor in the early shows. But minstrelsy's biggest debts to African-American culture were in dance. In fact, the only African-American star in early minstrelsy was the dancer William Henry "Juba" Lane. Before emigrating to England in 1848, he repeatedly outdanced whites with "the manner in which he beats time with his feet." Virtually the father of American tap dance, Lane was, according to dance historian Marian Hannah Winter, the "most influential single performer of nineteenth century American dance." Most African-American influence on minstrel dance was less direct but no less real, as Marshall Stearns and Jean Stearns have demonstrated, with everything from the "buck and wing" to the "soft shoe."

When a number of black people became minstrels, they brought a new infusion of African-American culture. For the first time, spirituals were part of minstrelsy. Black composers drew on traditional culture, as black dancers did with African-American steps and styles. Comedians, such as Billy Kersands, used the double-edged wit and guile of black folk to get the African Americans seated in segregated sections to laugh with them at the same time that whites laughed at them.

Since these examples have to be gleaned from the few studies of sparse nineteenth-century sources, they are probably the tip of the iceberg. Still, they do indicate that minstrelsy was the first example of the enormous influence that African-American culture would have on the performing arts in America. It was also the first example of white Americans exploiting and profiting from the creativity of African Americans.

By the 1890s, as public interest shifted from plantations and ex-slaves to big cities and new European immigrants, minstrelsy's national popularity faded, though it survived in some areas for a long time. For white minstrels, the blackface that was once such an asset became a handicap, limiting their ability to compete with vaudeville — which could make race just one part of its shows — and with nonracial musicals. Ultimately, the blackfaced dialect act moved into vaudeville, musicals, movies, and radio. For African Americans, though minstrelsy remained a limited possibility, more promising opportunities opened up in musicals, popular music, and vaudeville. But the struggles against bias, restrictions, and discrimination had only begun. Long after minstrelsy was gone, its negative stereotypes and caricatures of African Americans remained deeply embedded in American show business and popular culture.

See also Jim Crow; Musical Theater; Walker, George; Williams, Bert

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ROBERT C. TOLL (1996)

Missionary Movements

Missionary movements among African-American Christians in the United States can be characterized in a number of ways. First, the distinction should be made between domestic or home missions and overseas or foreign missions. Second, the missionary efforts of African Americans may be categorized based upon the activities of historically black denominations and agencies, or those of predominantly white groups, or some means of cooperation or joint endeavors between the two.

Third, mission movements are characterized by two dimensions, spiritual and temporal. The spiritual dimension refers to the efforts of Christians to convert others to the faith: preaching, religious instruction, and the construction of houses of worship. The temporal includes the educational, medical, and other humanitarian interests that cover the concerns of the body and not simply the soul. On a practical level it is often impossible to distinguish neatly between the domestic and the overseas, the various means of evangelizing, and the spiritual and the temporal. They are all often intimately related and interwoven, both organizationally and theologically.

The black missionary tradition derives from eighteenth-century evangelicalism. It was the evangelical type of Christianity that appealed to most blacks, whites, and Native Americans in the United States in that period. At the core of this religious approach was the conviction that God deals directly with the individual and that it was the sacred duty of every faithful Christian to share the faith with others. For black Christians and those whites committed to black and African evangelization, a scripture verse, Psalm 68:31, applied specifically to racial evangelization and uplift. According to the King James translation, princes were to come from Egypt, and Ethiopia was to extend hands to God. Egypt and Ethiopia together represented the totality of the African race, and this verse was understood to predict that the black race should and must be evangelized, as a result of which temporal progress would occur.

As the United States moved further from its Revolutionary era, the early antislavery ardor of many evangelical churches among Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others declined. This reduction of active religious opposition to slavery was also occasioned in part by the fact that white evangelicals in the South increasingly became slaveholders and slave traders. In addition, the 1780s and 1790s witnessed a greater willingness on the part of white Christians to apply even stricter discriminatory measures against their black counterparts within the churches.

On the one hand, these antiblack developments led to the rise of independent black congregations and denominations. On the other hand, the rise in proslavery and discriminatory attitudes led some whites and blacks to conclude that African-American Christians would fare better on the mother continent, where they could, more successfully than whites, effect spiritual and temporal progress among their African kinfolk.

When black Christians began to secede from white-controlled congregations and denominations in the latter part of the 1700s, they sought greater freedom in worship and church leadership. They wanted to influence in a more organized manner the lives of fellow blacks, whom they considered to have been overlooked by white-controlled Christian bodies. Richard Allen, one of the founders of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination, cited the need at an early point in his ministry for more evangelical attention to African Americans.

During the Second Great Awakening (1790–1825), many black congregations saw the same need. Thus, one of the first steps these new congregations and denominations took was the organization of outreach agencies for domestic and foreign missions. Through their church disciplines, religious publications, active involvement in antislavery activities, and establishment of schools and institutes, these black Christians often made it clear that they associated spiritual salvation with temporal betterment and physical freedom.

"Black Harry" Hosier. *A powerful nineteenth century preacher, Hosier was also a frequent evangelistic companion of the famous white Methodist preacher and bishop Francis Asbury.* DREW UNIVERSITY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

It would be a mistake, however, to view black evangelistic enterprises as confined solely to ministry within the race. It is true that Christianity in the United States spread more intraracially than interracially, but the latter was quite substantial and commonplace. Henry Evans, an eighteenth-century black Methodist minister, established the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Fayetteville, North Carolina, area with his influential preaching and pastoral efforts. At one point his church's black members were crowded out by whites, who, after initial opposition, responded in great numbers to his ministry. "Black Harry" Hosier, esteemed for his powerful preaching, was a frequent evangelistic companion of the famous white Methodist preacher and bishop Francis Asbury. He was highly regarded by Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, Thomas Coke, and other eminent American Methodists.

The missionary labors of John Stewart indicate the profound impact that individual black Christians had upon white-controlled denominational and missionary endeavors. Stewart's missionary activities to the Wyandotte Indians in Ohio demonstrated not only the biracial but the multiracial character of American religious history. In addition, the racially mixed, but white-controlled, Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1820, inspired by the work of Stewart, for the first time set up a separate denominational agency for missions. Blacks of other denominations also participated in ministry on an interracial or multiracial basis, including the Baptists William Lemon, Josiah Bishop, and "Uncle Jack."

In addition to denominational and local outreach efforts, Christianity spread during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through "camp meeting" revivalistic gatherings, to which people came from miles around to hear the preaching and exhortations of ministers of various denominations and races and both genders. The autobiographical accounts of nineteenth-century black female ministers such as Zilpha Elaw and Jarena Lee demonstrate the interracial character of many of these camp meetings, the powerful roles often played by women and blacks in them, and the crucial significance of itinerant preaching by black men and women.

By and large, the independent black denominations and associations were confined to northern, free states and territories prior to the 1860s because of the antipathy of the southern slave system to independent black enterprises. With the advent of the Civil War, this situation changed profoundly. Many northern missionaries went south to do missionary work among the freedpeople. These missionaries included both clergy and laypeople, blacks and whites, males and females, and individuals and agencies representing practically all of the major denominations, black and white.

Included among these northern missionaries and church organizers were black Christians such as Rev. James Walker Hood of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ), who organized and built a host of churches in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina during and following the Civil War. Charlotte L. Forten, a prominent laywoman in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, left a moving and insightful account of her life, *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten,* which includes descriptions of her years of missionary service and teaching during the Civil War among freedpeople of the Port Royal, South Carolina, area.

It would be misleading, however, to leave the impression that all missionary work among freedpeople was conducted by northern Christians. Though pre–Civil War enslaved black Christians did not enjoy the advantages of independent organized groups, they nevertheless played the greatest roles in spreading the faith within their own communities. By and large, blacks who were enslaved received religious teaching from other blacks, clergy and laity—not from white plantation preachers, as is often assumed. Similarly, southern black Christians, such as Rev. Joseph C. Price, who founded Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina, continued to play a major role in missionary outreach after the Civil War. These activities

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries established or helped establish a host of churches, schools and colleges, hospitals and medical clinics, banks and insurance companies, farm cooperatives, newspapers, and social agencies dedicated to the uplift of the disadvantaged.

In foreign missions the greatest expenditures of time, resources, and personnel of the black churches were in Canada, the Caribbean, and Africa. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number of blacks fleeing southern slavery and northern discrimination migrated to Canada. They sometimes took their churches with them, and sometimes they were followed by churches of various denominations, especially Baptists and Methodists. There was also a conscious expansion of Christianity by black North Americans into the Caribbean and South America during the nineteenth century, especially prior to the Civil War. Sometimes this extension was carried on by black denominations and associations. At other times, black missionaries representing predominantly white denominations, such as the Episcopalian James Theodore Holly, ventured to countries such as Haiti to establish Protestantism there.

The loyalties of some black Christians and/or their slaveholders to the British during the Revolutionary War had forced some of them to retire or be transported to either the British-controlled Caribbean or portions of Canada. George Liele, a Georgia Baptist, ventured to Jamaica and there established the first Baptist church on the island. David George, another Georgia Baptist, traveled to Nova Scotia, ministered there for a number of years, and then journeyed with a group of Afro-Canadians to the British colony for repatriated enslaved persons in West Africa, Sierra Leone. There he helped found the first Baptist church on the continent. Black Baptist denominational historians have traditionally accorded these persons the distinction of being the first two black American missionaries.

In many ways the African missions movement represented the most dramatic and sustained efforts of black Americans to evangelize other lands. All major denominations of black Christians—Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostalists—participated in missionizing the continent, especially in its western and southern regions. The Presbyterian William Henry Sheppard, a missionary to the Congo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, represented two other types of black missionaries: those who ventured to other portions of Africa and those supported by predominantly white denominations. African missions among black Christians may be divided into three major periods: the colonization phase, from the latter part of the eighteenth century to the American Civil War; the independent organizational phase, from the Civil War to World War I; and the phase since World War I.

Prior to the Civil War a great deal of African missionary outreach by black Christians was carried out in conjunction with movements to establish free blacks on the continent of Africa; thus, most of the evangelization efforts were concentrated in Liberia or nearby regions. Shortly after the formation of the predominantly white General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination of the United States for Foreign Missions (or Triennial Convention) in 1814, a white Baptist deacon in Richmond, Virginia, William Crane, along with two black ministers, Lott Carey and Collin Teague, established the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society for the express purpose of sending the gospel to Africa. The efforts of the society coincided with the foreign-missions interest of the Triennial Convention and the rising colonization movement to repatriate free blacks to Africa. This was symbolized and represented by the founding of the American Colonization Society in 1816–1817. William W. Colley, Teague, and their families relocated in Liberia as a result of their own fund-raising activities and in cooperation with the Triennial Convention and the American Colonization Society. A similar scenario occurred with Rev. Daniel Coker of the AME Church. He ventured to Sierra Leone in 1820 as a colonist supported by the American Colonization Society. But while there he also received support from the AME Church in the United States and established mission stations on behalf of the denomination.

With the conclusion of the Civil War, black Christians were free (and usually encouraged by many of their white counterparts) to pursue independent ecclesiastical arrangements. Interwoven with this ecclesiastical independence was the continuing conviction that American black Christians had a providential role to lift Africa from religious "paganism" and cultural "barbarism." Thus, state, regional, and national black Baptist groups and the two major black Methodist groups began to establish institutional apparatuses that would be devoted wholly to, or focused heavily upon, African missions (e.g., Virginia Baptist State Convention, Baptist Foreign Mission Convention, Women's Home and Foreign Mission Society of the AMEZ Church). This second phase of African missions was sometimes related to, but usually not as directly dependent upon, the principle of black migration or colonization as the first period. William W. Colley, John and Lucy Coles, Emma B. DeLaney, and most other missionaries did not venture to Africa with the intention of renouncing American citizenship or encouraging others to do so. They were more strictly missionaries, not colonists.

In addition, African missions geographically broadened during this period. The first phase tended to focus upon West Africa, especially Liberia. The independent or-

ganizational phase continued that focus but also expanded to central and southern Africa. Though Henry McNeal Turner, an AME bishop, at the turn of the century renounced his American citizenship and called for some form of limited emigration to Africa, his focus on missionary work in southern Africa transcended his politics and helped to commit the denomination to intense involvement in that region. Emma B. DeLaney, a Florida Baptist, was a missionary in both southern and western Africa during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Her missionary activities indicate the presence of women on the mission fields, sometimes as partners with their husbands and sometimes, as with Delaney, as unmarried missionaries and evangelistic pioneers.

The Azusa Street Revival (1906–1909), which originated among black worshipers in Los Angeles, California, was the major impetus for the rise of most modern denominations of Pentecostalism. Blacks, whites, and others came from throughout the United States, around the world, and all walks of life to receive Pentecostal blessings in a crusade led by the black preacher William J. Seymour. Both in the domestic sphere and overseas, the Pentecostal movement gave rise to a host of missionary endeavors. The revival, therefore, played a great role in extending Christianity to Africa as well as other lands. It was the activities of this second period that most clearly established the foundation of African missions for black Christians.

The third phase, from the time of World War I, has been characterized by an expansion upon the earlier foundation, continued interaction between many black and continental African Christians, and a slow but steady recognition of greater participation of Africans in the denominational apparatuses of the American-based churches. The urgency for evangelism and sense of racial solidarity and commitment that characterized the former periods have significantly subsided from the African-American churches' missions programs, especially since World War II. To the extent that this is the case, it is partly related to the greater role continental Africans have played in both politics and religion, and increased opportunities for black American involvement in domestic matters.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Baptists; Carey, Lott; Christian Denominations, Independent; Liele, George; National Black Evangelical Association; Religion

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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN (1996)

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a predominantly African-American party that existed from 1964 through the early 1970s, was one of America's most significant third political parties. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) did not establish the MFDP to permanently replace the regular Mississippi Democratic Party. On the contrary, SNCC intended the MFDP to be an alternative that would allow black and white Mississippians to be in a party that shared the same views as the national organization.

The MFDP contested the right of the regular Mississippi Democratic Party to represent the state's black voting-age population at the 1964 and 1968 conventions of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). They did this because the state Democratic Party and state election officials had deprived most blacks of the opportunity to take part in state politics, and because the regular Mississippi Democratic Party opposed the civil rights positions of the national party. At the state Democratic Convention of July 1964, delegates passed a resolution calling for the immediate repeal of the recently passed Civil Rights Act of 1964. Furthermore, the party repudiated the Democratic presidential and vice presidential candidates, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, urging white citizens of the state to vote for the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater. The MFDP supported the national Democratic Party's positions and nominee.

Aaron Henry, leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), 1964. *Henry argues for seats at the Democratic National Convention for his delegation from Mississippi at a meeting of the credentials committee in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The MFDP contested the right of the state's regular Democratic Party to represent its black voting-age population at the 1964 and 1968 conventions, because the state's regular Democratic party opposed the civil rights positions of the national party.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Initially, black Mississippians organized the MFDP in part to take the place of the regular state party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention if the state party walked out over the issue of civil rights. But, in addition to being a party waiting in the wings, the MFDP registered black voters by the tens of thousands. Thus, it succeeded in empowering blacks in Mississippi politics for the first time since the end of the nineteenth century, despite white harassment. It emphasized political education to help black Mississippians learn about the political process, so as to make informed choices once they exercised their right of franchise in earnest.

The idea for the formation of the MFDP developed shortly after the end of SNCC's "Freedom Vote" campaign to protest the 1963 Mississippi gubernatorial election. Responding to the success of that campaign, Robert Moses of SNCC proposed that blacks participate in mock state elections to vote for "Freedom candidates." To create national attention, the Freedom Summer campaign used white northern college students to help SNCC conduct a mock protest vote by registering thousands of blacks to express their outrage with the wholesale disfranchisement of blacks in Mississippi. Realizing the futility of registering thousands of blacks without challenging the discriminatory practices of the state Democratic Party, in April 1964 SNCC founded the MFDP to run candidates in Mississippi and to contest the loyalty of the Mississippi Democrats to the national party. SNCC took these measures to expose the fact that few blacks could take part in precinct meetings of the regular state party. In the few cases where party officials permitted blacks access to meetings, they denied blacks the right to speak or vote. After experiencing similar treatment at county conventions and the state convention, MFDP members conducted their own precinct meetings and held their own state convention in June 1964 to select delegates to the DNC Convention in Atlantic City who would support the national ticket.

Members of the MFDP went to Atlantic City believing that their planned contest of the seats assigned to the state party had a reasonable chance of success. In reality, the MFDP leadership received an education on how politics at the national level operated. While a number of MFDP delegates sincerely believed that moral persuasion would lead the DNC to refuse the regular state party the state's allotment of seats, President Johnson had his own agenda. Johnson, running without opposition for the nomination for president, wanted a smooth convention. He feared a southern walkout if the DNC seated the MFDP. Johnson ordered the FBI to wiretap the MFDP office, as well as the hotel rooms of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Bayard Rustin. Johnson knew the positions of civil rights groups and key leaders throughout the convention. He also threatened the patronage of those who might have been inclined to support the MFDP. In addition, he coerced Walter Reuther, the head of the United Auto Workers union, to threaten to cut off financial support to SNCC and the MFDP in Mississippi if the challenge was not withdrawn.

This threat did not alter the determination of the protestors. Before a televised hearing of the Credentials Committee, the deeply affecting testimony of Fannie Lou Hamer led Johnson to stage a news conference in an effort to stop public opinion from mounting to the point that he had to give seats to the MFDP. Johnson forced Hubert Humphrey to try to convince the challengers not to go forward. This was a test of Humphrey's personal loyalty, and Johnson told him the vice presidential position on the ticket depended on how he handled the controversy. Humphrey offered the MFDP two seats representing the state of Mississippi, and the rest of the MFDP delegation were to be "honored guests" at the convention. The MFDP refused this offer, demanding at least the seats proportionate to the state's blacks of voting age. Unwilling to compromise, the challengers got no seats, but they did manage to obtain the credentials of sympathetic delegates from states that disapproved of the regular Mississippi delegation. Several members of the MFDP staged a sit-in demonstration on the convention floor, but security guards quickly removed the protestors.

MFDP members left the convention embittered by their experience. Feeling betrayed by the actions of northern liberals and civil rights moderates such as King and Rustin who had supported the compromise option proposed by Humphrey, the MFDP and SNCC became more militant after the convention. The DNC did unseat the regular Mississippi Democrats in 1968 (as promised at the 1964 convention) when the state party persisted in denying access to blacks. As a consequence of this action, the Mississippi Democratic Party ended the discriminatory practices and customs it had used to exclude blacks from meaningful participation in party affairs.

See also Freedom Summer; Hamer, Fannie Lou (Townsend, Fannie Lou); Moses, Robert Parris; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MICHAEL A. COOKE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Mitchell, Arthur

March 27, 1934

Born in New York City, the oldest son of five children, dancer and choreographer Arthur Adams Mitchell Jr. began tap-dance lessons at the age of ten, sang in the Police Athletic League Glee Club, and attended the High School of Performing Arts, where he progressed quickly through a modern dance major. He began his professional career while still a senior in high school when he appeared in the 1952 Paris revival of Virgil Thomson and Gertrude Stein's opera *Four Saints in Three Acts.* Upon graduation from high school he was the first male to receive the school's prestigious Dance Award.

Mitchell was accepted as a scholarship student at the School of American Ballet in 1952. Determined to overcome a late start in classical ballet technique, he also studied with ballet master Karel Shook at the Studio of Dance Arts in New York. His vibrant, agile performance style made him highly sought by contemporary modern dance choreographers; and during this period he performed with the Donald McKayle Company, Sophie Maslow and the New Dance Group, Louis Johnson, and Anna Sokolow. In 1955, after only three years of concentrated ballet study,

Mitchell joined the John Butler Company for a brief European tour. He returned to New York to join the New York City Ballet (NYCB) in November 1955.

Within his first week with NYCB, Mitchell danced a featured role in George Balanchine's *Western Symphony*. He became the first African-American principal dancer permanently associated with that company but asked that there be no publicity about breaking a color barrier. In 1957 Balanchine created the centerpiece pas de deux of *Agon* for Mitchell and ballerina Diana Adams. Performances of this technically demanding, modernist work gained Mitchell international recognition as a principal dancer imbued with supple control and precise partnering skills. Mitchell stayed with the NYCB for fifteen years, dancing a range of leading roles that included spare, sensual works (Jerome Robbins's *Afternoon of a Faun*), neoclassic works (Balanchine's *Four Temperaments*), and pure classical ballets (Balanchine's *Allegro Brillante*). In 1962 Mitchell created the role of Puck in Balanchine's version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* winning critical and audience praise for his dramatic abilities and charismatic warmth.

Mitchell also performed in the Broadway productions of *House of Flowers* (1954), *Shinbone Alley* (1957), and Noel Coward's *Sweet Potato* (1968). He choreographed for Eartha Kitt at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1957 and appeared at the 1960 and 1961 Festival of Two Worlds in Spoleto, Italy. He danced as a guest artist with the Metropolitan Opera (1962), the Munich Ballet Festival (1963), the Stuttgart Opera Ballet (1963), and the National Ballet of Canada (1964). In 1967, at the invitation of the U.S. government, he helped organize the National Ballet Company of Brazil.

Well aware of his role as a trailblazer, Mitchell encouraged others to follow his example of excellence in classical ballet. He taught at the Katherine Dunham School, the Karel Shook Studio, and the Harlem School of the Arts, as well as the Jones-Hayward School in Washington, D.C. In 1968 Mitchell and Shook reacted to the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., by forming the school that became the Dance Theatre of Harlem (DTH), although Mitchell "never actually started out to have a company. I wanted to start a school to get kids off the streets. But I couldn't tell the young people in the school to be the best they could when they had no place to go." DTH was cofounded in February 1969 by Mitchell and Shook to "prove that there is no difference, except color, between a black ballet dancer and a white ballet dancer."

Mitchell has received numerous honors and awards, including the 1975 Capezio Dance Award, the New York Public Library "Lion of the Performing Arts" Award for outstanding contributions to the performing arts, the NAACP's Image Award of Fame, and numerous honorary doctorates, including ones from Harvard, Princeton, and Williams College. In 1993 he was honored by David Dinkins, mayor of New York City, with a Handel Medallion Award and by President Bill Clinton at the Kennedy Center Honors for lifetime contribution to American culture. In June 1994 he was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship. In 1998 Mitchell choreographed *South African Suite* in collaboration with two South African dancers. In 1999 he was inducted into the Hall of Fame at the National Museum of Dance in Saratoga Springs, New York.

See also Ballet; Dance Theater of Harlem; Dinkins, David; Kitt, Eartha Mae

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THOMAS F. DEFRANTZ (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Mitchell, Arthur Wergs

December 22, 1883
May 9, 1968

The politician Arthur Wergs Mitchell was born in Chambers County, Alabama. He left home at age fourteen and walked to Tuskegee Institute, where he obtained work as an office assistant for Booker T. Washington (1856–1915). He eventually entered Tuskegee as a student.

Mitchell taught in rural schools in Georgia and Alabama, and he founded the Armstrong Agricultural School

in West Butler, Alabama, where he served as president for ten years. Mitchell continued his education at Columbia University and Harvard University School of Law, but he never completed the requirements for a law degree. However, he was able to earn admission to the Washington, D.C., bar in 1927, and he subsequently began to purchase tracts of real estate in the nation's capital. In 1928 Mitchell moved to Chicago, opened a law practice, and became involved with local Republican Party politics.

Mitchell changed his political affiliation to the Democratic Party when, in the wake of the Great Depression, the Democrats adopted a more activist position toward aiding the unemployed than did the Republicans. In 1934 Mitchell ran for the Democratic nomination for Congress from the First District of Chicago. He lost the nomination contest to Harry Baker, but when Baker died before the general election, Mitchell was selected to run for the seat in his stead. Identifying his candidacy with the New Deal, Mitchell defeated the black Republican Oscar DePriest (1871–1951) in the 1934 general election and, in doing so, became the first black Democrat elected to the House of Representatives. Mitchell began the first of his four terms in the House of Representatives in January 1935.

As a congressman, Mitchell supported President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and sided with the president during such controversial administration battles as the 1937 "court-packing plan" debate. Mitchell, by inclination something of a temporizer, was perhaps ill suited for his role as the sole African-American congressman, and he was often criticized for being insufficiently stalwart in his commitment to civil rights. Mitchell introduced an antilynching bill in Congress in 1935 that was attacked by Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for being toothless. Mitchell garnered similar criticism when he was slow to condemn Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, and for his support for the U.S. Supreme Court nomination of Alabama senator Hugo L. Black, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. (Despite the misgivings of many African-American leaders, Black was confirmed and proved to be a strong supporter of civil rights decisions during more than thirty years on the Court.)

Perhaps Mitchell's most significant civil rights battle occurred outside of the halls of Congress. In 1937, while riding on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad in a first-class carriage, Mitchell was obliged to leave the first-class car when the train reached Arkansas. Mitchell filed suit against the railroad with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which dismissed the complaint. Mitchell then brought a civil suit against the railroad, which eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court—with Mitchell himself arguing his case before the high court. In 1941, the Supreme Court ruled in *Mitchell v. United States* that segregated coach laws for interstate travel were illegal. The decision, however, was largely ignored.

Mitchell left Congress after his fourth term and moved to Pittsburgh, Virginia. For the next twenty-five years, he lived as a farmer and real-estate investor. He occasionally served as an unofficial adviser to the War and Defense departments and became involved in local political campaigns. Mitchell was also active in the Southern Regional Council, a moderate interracial organization that was dedicated to reform of discriminatory racial legislation. Mitchell died in his Pittsburgh, Virginia, home on May 9, 1968.

See also DePriest, Oscar Stanton; Politics in the United States; Washington, Booker T.

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KAREN E. REARDON (1996)
DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated bibliography

Mitchell, Clarence, Jr.

March 8, 1911
March 18, 1984

The lawyer and lobbyist Clarence Maurice Mitchell Jr. was born in Baltimore, Maryland, the son of Clarence Maurice Mitchell Sr., a chef in a fancy Annapolis restaurant, and Elsie Davis Mitchell. He attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where he received an A.B. degree in 1932. The following year he joined the *Baltimore Afro-American* as a reporter and columnist, covering the trials of the Scottsboro Boys and reporting on racial violence in Princess Anne County, Maryland. In 1934 he ran unsuccessfully for the Maryland House of Delegates on the Socialist Party ticket. In 1937 he spent a year doing graduate work at the Atlanta School of Social Work, briefly became Maryland

Clarence Mitchell. *The chief lobbyist for the NAACP and president of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Mitchell played a key role in the passage of civil rights legislation from the 1950s through the 1970s.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

state director of the Negro National Youth Administration, and married activist Juanita Jackson. The couple had four children, two of whom were later elected to local office in Baltimore.

In 1938 Mitchell was named executive secretary of the National Urban League branch in Saint Paul, Minnesota, where he established his expertise in labor questions. In 1942 he became assistant director of Negro Manpower Service in the War Manpower Commission, and at the same time served on the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). The next year, he joined the FEPC full time and became associate director of its Division of Field Operation. He supervised antidiscrimination efforts until the committee was disbanded in 1946.

In 1946 Mitchell joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as labor secretary in the organization's Washington bureau, where he cemented ties with organized labor and lobbied for civil rights legislation. Mitchell organized the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and pushed for enforcement of executive orders banning discrimination. In 1949 he blocked the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization from locating at the University of Maryland because of the university's discriminatory practices. The following year he became head of the Washington bureau of the NAACP.

In November 1949 Mitchell called a National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization Conference in order to form a broad-based interracial pressure group for equality that would be built on the nucleus of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. In January 1950 delegates from sixty organizations met and formed a steering committee, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Mitchell was appointed legislative chairman and served in that role for the next twenty-eight years. As the chief civil rights lobbyist on Capitol Hill, Mitchell was such a ubiquitous figure in Congress that he was often known as the hundred-and-first senator. A courteous, gentle man, he formed alliances with both Democrats (notably Senator and later President Lyndon B. Johnson) and Republicans (such as Senator Everett Dirksen). In 1957 Mitchell marshaled support for a civil rights bill, the first since Reconstruction. He aided the passage of the Civil Rights Acts in 1960, 1964, and 1968, as well as the 1965 Voting Rights Act and its extension in 1975.

Mitchell was known for his devotion to legal processes. He once explained that "when you have a law, you have an instrument that will work for you permanently," whereas private agreements were more ephemeral. He was also willing to protest personally against discrimination. In 1956 he became nationally known when he was arrested in Florence, Alabama, for using a whites-only door to the railroad station, an incident that became a cause célèbre. In 1958 he entered the University of Maryland's evening law school, obtaining his law degree in 1962. In 1968 Mitchell opposed the efforts of civil rights supporters to procure an executive order banning housing discrimination and pushed President Lyndon Johnson to recommend congressional legislation. For his success in bringing about the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which provided legal protection against discrimination in rental housing, the NAACP awarded him the Spingarn Medal in 1969.

In 1975 Mitchell was named a member of the United States delegation at the United Nations by President Gerald Ford. After his retirement in 1978 Mitchell served as a consultant and operated a law practice. In 1980 President Jimmy Carter awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He died in Washington, D.C., in 1984. The following year the Baltimore city courthouse was named in his honor.

See also Baltimore Afro-American; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Spingarn Medal; Voting Rights Act of 1965

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Mitchell, Parren J.

April 29, 1922

Parren James Mitchell was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and became a member of Congress in 1970. From 1942 to 1946 he served as an army infantry officer and in 1950 he earned a bachelor's degree from Morgan State College. After suing the University of Maryland for admission to their school of graduate studies, he became the first black student to complete the program, earning a master's degree in sociology in 1952. After teaching for two years at Morgan State College, he worked for local government and community programs in such positions as probation officer, executive secretary to a commission overseeing enforcement of the new state law on public accommodations, and executive secretary of an antipoverty program. In 1968 he returned to teach at Morgan State.

Mitchell ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for the Seventh Congressional District seat in 1968, but in 1970 he secured the nomination and won the election, becoming Maryland's first African-American congressman and the first elected since 1895 south of the Mason-Dixon line. He served in Congress until he retired in 1987.

In Congress, Mitchell was chair of the Small Business Committee and also held other committee assignments; he was whip-at-large and chair of the Congressional Black Caucus. He was much concerned about empowering minority businesses. In 1976, for example, he secured a 10 percent set-aside in federal grants to local governing bodies for minority contractors. He also won an increase in the 1978 Small Business Administration budget. His interest in supporting minority economic development led him to found the Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund (MBELDEF) after he left Congress.

See also Politics in the United States

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (1996)
Update bibliography

Modern Jazz Quartet

Comprising vibraharpist Milt Jackson, pianist-composer John Lewis, bassist Percy Heath, and drummer Connie Kay, the Modern Jazz Quartet (MJQ) epitomizes the style that came to be known as "cool jazz." Although grounded in the fiery bebop style of the late 1940s, its repertory is characterized by elegant ensemble precision, a restrained emotional atmosphere (aided by the relatively cool timbres of the vibraharp and piano), and a self-conscious attempt to bring compositional techniques derived from European art music into a working relationship with jazz improvisation.

Jackson and Lewis were originally members of Dizzy Gillespie's big band and occasionally performed as a quartet in the late 1940s with Kenny Clarke on drums and Ray Brown on bass. The Modern Jazz Quartet proper made its recording debut in 1952 for the Prestige label. Wearing tuxedos on stage, members of the MJQ brought jazz to audiences accustomed to European chamber music. Such early Lewis compositions as "Vendome" (1952) and "Concorde" (1955) attracted attention for their use of fugal textures, while later projects such as *The Comedy* (1962) made more ambitious use of a modern compositional idiom derived in part from contemporary European "classical" music and were associated with the Third Stream movement.

The music of the MJQ has nevertheless remained firmly rooted in African-American culture, through the soulful improvising of Jackson and a continuous exploration of the blues—for example, the album *Blues at Carnegie Hall,* 1966. In 1974 the group disbanded, only to reform for tours and recordings in 1981.

See also Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Lewis, John

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SCOTT DEVEAUX (1996)

Moncada, Guillermo

June 25, 1840
April 1895

Guillermo Moncada, also known as Guillermón, was a high-ranking black officer in the revolutionary forces during Cuba's three wars of independence against Spain (1868–1878, 1879–1880, 1895–1898), struggles in which the issues of slavery and racial equality figured prominently. He was born in the city of Santiago de Cuba to a free woman of color, and as a youth he trained as a carpenter. Oral tradition holds that even before the start of the struggle for independence, Moncada had made manifest his antipathy to colonial rule during the city's annual carnival festivities, as he belonged to a carnival group that celebrated the efforts of Maroons to free plantation slaves in the area.

Moncada joined the armed independence movement in November 1868, approximately one month after the start of the conflict. By January 1870 he held the rank of captain. When a majority of Cuban insurgents accepted the Treaty of Zanjón in 1878, Moncada was among a dissident group of rebels, led by the mulatto general Antonio Maceo (1845–1896), who repudiated the treaty, arguing that they would not surrender until the rebel demands for the abolition of slavery and the independence of the island were met. The colonial state, however, granted only moderate political reforms and enacted only a limited abolition, freeing only those slaves who had served in either the rebel or colonial army during the conflict.

During the second war of independence—the *Guerra Chiquita,* or Little War—Moncada came to hold one of the highest-ranking positions among the rebel forces active on the island. However, the previous ten years of war and Spain's concession of political reforms led many Cubans to reject this second call to arms. In addition, important white leaders of the first insurgency were still in exile as part of the settlement from the first war. But if white support seemed weaker than in the Ten Years' War, this new effort was immediately embraced by slaves, who had seen their companions who had fled to join the first insurgency freed, and by free people of color. The high proportion of black supporters led colonial officials and their Cuban allies to denounce the movement as a race war aimed at establishing a black republic. As one of the principle leaders of the military effort, Moncada became a target of racist rumor and denunciation. He was accused of violating white women and holding them in harems; and he was said to have proclaimed himself emperor. Moncada himself denied the rumors, countering that the war was a struggle "for liberty, our rights, and, in a word, for the independence of our beloved country." He was among the last rebel leaders to surrender in June 1880, when he headed a force of 370 followers, the vast majority of whom were people of color, including 168 runaway slaves.

In the long interregnum between the end of hostilities in 1880 and the start of the third full-fledged rebellion against Spain in 1895, Moncada spent some time in prison, where he contracted tuberculosis. When the war began in February 1895, he took the rank of major general as head of the army in southern Oriente. However, he died of tuberculosis while leading his troops in April 1895.

To this day, Moncada is considered a major military figure in the struggle for Cuban independence. In 1953, when Fidel Castro launched his offensive against Fulgencio Batista, he did so by attacking the Cuban army at the largest military installation outside Havana, the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba, named in honor of the black general.

See also Maceo, Antonio

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ADA FERRER (2005)

Thelonious Monk. Pictured here during a performance at the Newport Jazz Festival, wearing his trademark hat, Monk was one of the twentieth century's most accomplished jazz composers and improvisers. © TED WILLIAMS/CORBIS

Monk, Thelonious Sphere

October 10, 1917
February 17, 1982

Jazz pianist and composer Thelonious Monk was born in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, but moved with his family to New York at age four and grew up in the San Juan Hill district of Manhattan. He began a career as a professional pianist in the mid-1930s, playing at house rent parties and touring for two years as the accompanist to a female evangelist. By 1940 he was a member of the house rhythm section at Minton's Playhouse, a nightclub in Harlem well known among musicians for its nightly jam sessions. Surviving live recordings from this period document a piano style firmly rooted in the stride-piano tradition, as well as a penchant for unusual reharmonizations of standard songs.

Monk had already written several of his best-known compositions by this period: "Epistrophy" and " 'Round Midnight" were performed and recorded by the Cootie Williams big band as early as 1944, while "Hackensack" (under the name "Rifftide") was recorded in Monk's professional recording debut with the Coleman Hawkins Quartet in the same year. With their astringent and highly original approach to harmony, these compositions attracted the attention of the most adventurous jazz musicians and placed Monk at the center of the emergent bebop movement during World War II.

Although well known within the inner circle of bebop musicians, Monk did not come to more general attention until later in the 1940s. Beginning in 1947 he made a series of recordings for the Blue Note label, documenting a wide range of his compositions. These recordings, which include "Criss Cross," "Ruby, My Dear," and "Straight, No Chaser," feature him as both improviser and composer.

While Monk was admired as a composer, his unusual approach to the piano keyboard, lacking the overt virtuosity of such bebop pianists as Bud Powell and bristling with dissonant combinations that could easily be misinterpreted as "wrong notes," led many to dismiss him initially as a pianist. An incident in 1951 in which he was accused of drug possession led to the loss of his cabaret card, precluding further performances in New York City until 1957. But he continued to record for the Prestige label, including the famous "Bags Groove" session with Miles Davis in 1954, and he began making a series of recordings for Riverside, including *Brilliant Corners* (1956).

An extended residency at the Five Spot, a New York nightclub, in the summer of 1957 with John Coltrane finally drew attention to Monk as one of the most important figures in modern jazz. From the late 1950s through the 1960s, Monk worked primarily with his quartet, featuring tenor saxophonist Charlie Rouse, touring both in this country and abroad and recording prolifically for Columbia. Increasingly, he turned to the solo piano, recording idiosyncratic performances not only of his own compositions but also of such decades-old popular songs as "Just a Gigolo." The feature-length film *Straight, No Chaser* (1988; directed by Charlotte Zwerin) documents Monk's music and life in the late 1960s. After 1971 he virtually retired from public life. But his reputation continued to grow as a younger generation of musicians discovered his compositions and responded to the challenge of improvising within their distinctive melodic and harmonic framework.

See also Coltrane, John; Jazz

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SCOTT DEVEAUX (1996)
Updated bibliography

Montejo, Esteban

December 26, 1860
February 10, 1973

Esteban Montejo was born into slavery on a plantation in the Las Villas region of Cuba (now the province of Sancti Spíritus). Montejo quickly realized the limitations of his status and opted for the perilous existence of a *cimarrón,* or runaway slave. Nearly a century later, in 1963, at the age of 103, Montejo narrated his life story to Cuban anthropologist Miguel Barnet. Barnet published the interview in 1966 as *Biografía de un cimarrón (Biography of a Runaway Slave).* Ever since, Montejo's account has served as one of the few narratives of nineteenth-century Cuba told from the perspective of a former slave. Montejo describes a salient moment in Cuban history, the transition from slavery to wage labor. His story also illustrates the complexities and nuances of a young Afro-Cuban coming of age during Cuba's wars for independence. At the start of the first revolutionary war, in 1868, Montejo was eight. Consequently, the thirty years of fighting, which finally ended with independence from Spain in 1898, shaped and influenced how Montejo envisioned both the Cuban nation and himself.

Slavery separated Montejo from his biological parents at an early age, and he was left to grow up without any immediate family on the Flor de Sagua plantation. His first job was as a mule driver; he began working in the cooling room of a sugar mill when he was about ten. Within a couple of years, he attempted to escape but was captured and forced to wear shackles on his feet as punishment. Montejo's desire for freedom outgrew his fears of being caught, however, and he ran away again a few years later. He succeeded in remaining free, albeit in hiding, until Spain abolished slavery in 1886. Emancipation allowed Montejo to renounce his life as a *cimarrón,* yet he quickly learned that little had changed. As a cane cutter on various sugar plantations after emancipation, Montejo experienced the limited options available to newly freed people of African descent. Trained for little more than harvesting cane, many former slaves continued to live and labor under the same harsh conditions as they had before abolition.

Montejo served in the revolutionary forces during the Cuban wars for independence. He enlisted with a regiment in the eastern region of the island in 1895, at the age of thirty-five. He fought under the leadership of two prominent Afro-Cuban generals, Antonio Maceo and Quintín Banderas, in the battle of Mal Tiempo, and noted the large number of blacks involved in the rebellion. For Montejo, Afro-Cuban participation in the war demonstrated a sincere investment in the nation and justified Afro-Cubans' demands for equal rights. However, when Montejo arrived in Havana shortly after the fighting ended, he discovered that some white Cubans wanted to deny the role blacks had played on the battlefield in order to limit Afro-Cuban influence in the new government. Disappointed with the outcome of the war and with only one peso in his pocket, Montejo returned to Las Villas. For the remainder of his life, he supported himself by working as a wage laborer at various odd jobs, including positions at a sugar mill, as an auctioneer, and as a night watchman. When Barnet interviewed Montejo in 1963, he lived in a nursing home, where he died in 1973 at the age of 113.

See also Afrocubanismo; Maceo, Antonio

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DEVYN M. SPENCE (2005)

Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott

The Montgomery Bus Boycott began on December 5, 1955, as an effort by black residents to protest the trial that day in the Montgomery Recorder's Court of Rosa McCauley Parks. She had been arrested on December 1 for violating the city's ordinance requiring racial segregation of seating on buses. The boycott had initially been intended to last only for the single day of the trial, but local black support of the strike proved so great that, at a meeting that afternoon, black community leaders decided to continue the boycott until city and bus company authorities met black demands for (1) the adoption by the bus company

Rosa Parks with Rev. E. D. Nixon (to her left), March 1956. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

in Montgomery of the pattern of seating segregation used by the same company in Mobile; (2) the hiring of black bus drivers on predominantly black routes; and (3) greater courtesy by drivers toward passengers. The leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to run the extended boycott. At a mass meeting that evening, several thousand blacks ratified these decisions.

The Mobile plan sought by the boycott differed from the Montgomery pattern in that passengers, once seated, could not be unseated by drivers. In Mobile, blacks seated from the back and whites from the front, but after the bus was full, the racial division could be adjusted only when riders disembarked. On Montgomery's buses, the front ten seats were irrevocably reserved for whites, whether or not there were any whites aboard, and the rear ten seats were in theory similarly reserved for blacks. The racial designation of the middle sixteen seats, however, was adjusted by the drivers to accord with the changing racial composition of the ridership as the bus proceeded along its route. In Rosa Parks's case, when she had taken her seat, it had been in the black section of the bus. Two blocks farther on, all the white seats and the white standing room were taken, but some standing room remained in the rear. The bus driver, J. Fred Blake, then ordered the row of seats in which Parks was sitting cleared to make room for boarding whites. Three blacks complied, but Mrs. Parks refused and was arrested. She was fined fourteen dollars.

Black Montgomerians had long been dissatisfied with the form of bus segregation used in their city. It had originally been adopted for streetcars in August 1900, and had provoked a boycott that had lasted for almost two years. In October 1952 a delegation from the black Women's Political Council had urged the city commission to permit the use of the Mobile seating plan. In a special election in the fall of 1953, a racial liberal with strong black support, Dave Birmingham, was elected to the three-member city commission. Following his inauguration, blacks again pressed the seating proposal at meetings in December 1953 and March 1954, though to no avail. In May 1954, the president of the Women's Political Council, Jo Ann G. Robinson, a professor of English at Alabama State College for Negroes, wrote to the mayor to warn that blacks might launch a boycott if white authorities continued to be adamant. During the municipal election in the spring of 1955, black leaders held a candidates' forum at which they posed questions about issues of interest to the black community. At the head of the list was the adoption of the Mobile seating pattern.

On March 2, only weeks before the election, a black teenager, Claudette Colvin, was arrested for violation of the bus segregation ordinance. Following this incident, representatives of the city and the bus company promised black negotiators that a seating policy more favorable to African Americans would be adopted. However, Dave Birmingham, the racially liberal city commissioner elected in 1953, had integrated the city police force in 1954. As a result of hostility to this action and other similar ones, he was defeated for reelection in 1955 by an outspoken segregationist, Clyde Sellers. The other commissioners at once became less accommodating. By the time that Rosa Parks was arrested in December, the discussions had come to a standstill. Mrs. Parks, the secretary of the Montgomery branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), shared with other black leaders the frustration that grew out of the negotiations with municipal authorities. This frustration produced her refusal to vacate her seat.

From the city jail, Parks telephoned Edgar D. Nixon, a Pullman porter who was a former president of the Montgomery NAACP branch. After Nixon had posted bail for Parks, he called other prominent blacks to propose the one-day boycott. The response was generally positive. At Jo Ann Robinson's suggestion, the Women's Political Council immediately began distributing leaflets urging the action. It was then endorsed by the city's black ministers and other leaders at a meeting at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. The result was almost universal black participation.

At the December 5 meeting, when it was decided to continue the boycott and to form the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was chosen as the MIA's president, principally because, as a young man who had lived in the city

only fifteen months, he was not as yet involved in the bitter rivalry for leadership of the black community between Nixon and Rufus A. Lewis, a funeral director. Nixon was elected the MIA's treasurer, and Lewis was appointed to organize car pools to transport blacks to their jobs without having to use buses. The Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy was named to head the committee designated to reopen negotiations with the city and the bus company.

Initially, the renewed negotiations seemed promising. Mayor William A. Gayle asked a committee of white community leaders to meet with the MIA's delegates. But by January 1956, these discussions had reached a stalemate. The MIA's attorney, Fred D. Gray, urged that the MIA abandon its request for the Mobile plan in favor of filing a federal court lawsuit seeking to declare unconstitutional all forms of seating segregation. The MIA's executive board resisted this proposal until January 30, when Martin Luther King's home was bombed. On the next day, the executive board voted to authorize the suit, which was filed as *Browder v. Gayle* on February 1.

Meanwhile, similar strains were at work in the white community. A group of moderate businessmen, the Men of Montgomery, was attempting to mediate between the MIA and the city commission. But segregationists were pressing authorities to seek the indictment of the boycott's leaders in state court for violating the Alabama Anti-Boycott Act of 1921, which made it a misdemeanor to conspire to hinder any person from carrying on a lawful business. On February 20, an MIA mass meeting rejected the compromise proposals of the Men of Montgomery, and on February 21, the county grand jury returned indictments of eighty-nine blacks, twenty-four of whom were ministers, under the Anti-Boycott Act.

Martin Luther King, the first to be brought to trial, was convicted by Judge Eugene Carter at the end of March and was fined $500. King appealed, and the remainder of the prosecutions were suspended while the appellate courts considered his case. On May 11, a three-judge federal court heard *Browder v. Gayle* and on June 5, in an opinion by Circuit Judge Richard Rives, it ruled two to one that any law requiring racially segregated seating on buses violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment. The city appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Both segregation and the boycott continued while the appeal was pending.

Throughout the thirteen months of negotiations and legal maneuvers, the boycott was sustained by mass meetings and its car-pool operation. The weekly mass meetings, rotated among the city's black churches, continually reinforced the high level of emotional commitment to the movement among the black population. The car pool, modeled on one used during a brief bus boycott in Baton Rouge in 1953, initially consisted of private cars whose owners volunteered to participate. But as contributions flowed in from sympathetic northerners, the MIA eventually purchased a fleet of station wagons, assigned ownership of them to the various black churches, hired drivers, and established regular routes. Rufus Lewis administered the car pool until May 1956, when he was succeeded by the Rev. B. J. Simms.

White authorities eventually realized that the MIA's ability to perpetuate the boycott depended on its successful organization of the car pool. In November the city sued in state court for an injunction to forbid the car-pool operation on the ground that it was infringing on the bus company's exclusive franchise. On November 13, Judge Eugene Carter granted the injunction, and the car pool ceased operation the next day. But on that same day, the U.S. Supreme Court summarily affirmed the previous ruling of the lower federal court that bus segregation was unconstitutional. The city petitioned the Supreme Court for rehearing, and a final order was delayed until December 20. On December 21, 1956, the buses were integrated and the boycott ended.

The city was at once plunged into violence. Snipers fired into the buses, with one of the shots shattering the leg of a pregnant black passenger, Rosa Jordan. The city commission ordered the suspension of night bus service. On January 10, 1957, four black churches and the homes of the Reverend Ralph Abernathy and of the MIA's only white board member, the Reverend Robert Graetz, were bombed and heavily damaged. All bus service was then suspended. On January 27, a home near that of Martin Luther King was bombed and destroyed, and a bomb at King's own home was defused. On January 30, Montgomery police arrested seven bombers, all of whom were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The arrests ended the violence, and in March full bus service resumed. However, the first two of the bombers to come to trial were acquitted in May 1957, despite their confessions and the irrefutable evidence against them. Meanwhile, in April, the Alabama Court of Appeals had affirmed on technical grounds King's conviction under the Anti-Boycott Act. Because it was now clear that the other bombing prosecutions would be unsuccessful, and because the boycott had ended in any case, prosecutors in November agreed to dismiss all the remaining bombing and anti-boycott-law indictments in return for King's payment of his $500 fine.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott marked the beginning of the civil rights movement's direct action phase, and it made Martin Luther King Jr. a national figure. Although

the integration of the buses was actually produced by the federal court injunction rather than by the boycott, it was the boycott that began the process of moving the civil rights movement out of the courtroom by demonstrating that ordinary African Americans possessed the power to control their own destiny.

See also Abernathy, Ralph David; Jim Crow; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery Improvement Association; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Nixon, Edgar Daniel; Parks, Rosa; Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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J. MILLS THORNTON III (1996)
Updated bibliography

Montgomery Improvement Association

The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 5, 1955, to direct the black boycott of the city's bus system. Black leaders had called a one-day boycott for December 5, to protest the trial of Mrs. Rosa L. Parks, who had been arrested for violating the city ordinance requiring buses to maintain racially segregated seating. This boycott had proven so successful that on the afternoon of December 5, at a meeting of the community's black leaders at the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, those present decided to extend the boycott until the city and the bus company agreed to adopt the bus segregation pattern used in Mobile, Alabama, which did not require the unseating of passengers who were already seated. The leaders decided to create a new organization to run the boycott, and at the suggestion of the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy (1926–1990), they named it the Montgomery Improvement Association. Rufus A. Lewis, a local funeral director, then nominated his pastor, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., as the association's president. The twenty-six-year-old King was taken by surprise at this unexpected designation, but he accepted it. That night, at a mass meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church attended by some five thousand people, black Montgomerians ratified these actions.

Perhaps the MIA's most important achievement during the course of the boycott was the organization of an efficient car-pool operation to replace the buses. Without this operation to get the mass of black participants to and from work, the boycott would soon have begun to weaken, and it was the ability of blacks to create and administer such an operation that most confounded the expectations of their white segregationist opponents. Rufus Lewis ran the car pool during the first six months of the boycott, and he was succeeded in May 1956 by the Reverend B. J. Simms. Almost equally as important as the car pool were the MIA's weekly mass meetings. These meetings, held in rotation at each of the city's principal black churches, were an effective means of maintaining the enthusiasm and commitment of the boycott's participants.

The MIA was governed by a self-constituted board of directors, consisting primarily of the leaders who had attended the December 5 organizational meeting. When a vacancy occurred, the remaining members selected a person to fill it. The only white member was the Reverend Robert Graetz, a Lutheran pastor of an all-black congregation. The board proved extremely reluctant to move beyond the initial black demand for a more acceptable pattern of seating segregation. Throughout the boycott's first two months, board members refused to permit the association's attorney, Fred D. Gray, to file suit in federal court seeking a declaration that seating segregation ordinances were unconstitutional. Only when the Martin Luther King's home was bombed on January 30, 1956, was the board pushed into authorizing the suit. The resultant case, *Browder v. Gayle,* produced the U.S. Supreme Court's holding that bus segregation laws violated the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment, and thus led to a successful conclusion of the boycott on December 21, 1956.

The association continued to exist after the boycott. It became one of the founding organizations of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957, conducted a largely ineffective voter registration drive in Montgomery, sought unsuccessfully to create a credit union for blacks, and in 1958 sponsored the filing of a suit to integrate the city's parks and playgrounds, a suit that only resulted in the city's closure of all of them. The MIA threatened a suit to integrate Montgomery's schools, but the suit was never filed. King moved to Atlanta in 1960, and Abernathy followed him there in 1961. After this, the association became less and less active. Its last important achievement came in the spring of 1962, when, under the leadership of the Reverend Solomon S. Seay Sr., it managed to persuade the bus company to hire blacks as bus drivers, an action that had been one of the original demands of the boycott. Seay was succeeded by the Reverend Jesse Douglas, and Douglas by Mrs. Johnnie Carr. By the last decades of the twentieth century, however, the MIA had ceased to play any active role in the life of the community.

See also Abernathy, Ralph David; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Parks, Rosa; Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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J. MILLS THORNTON III (1996)

MOODY, ANNE

SEPTEMBER 15, 1940

Born near Centreville, Mississippi, to poor sharecroppers, civil rights activist and writer Anne Moody attended segregated schools in the area and worked as a domestic and at other jobs. She went to Natchez Junior College on a basketball scholarship in 1959 and to Tougaloo College in Jackson, receiving her B.S. in 1964.

While in college, Moody became involved in the civil rights movement and was jailed several times. In 1963 she and two other blacks were among the first sit-in demonstrators at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi. Moody was a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organizer from 1961 to 1963 and a fund-raiser in 1964. From 1964 to 1965 she served as the civil rights project coordinator for Cornell University. Complaining that the civil rights campaign had become "narrowly nationalistic," she shortly thereafter left it, moved to New York, and began to pursue a writing career.

Moody's best known work is her autobiography, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968). It chronicles her growing up in poverty, her struggles to get an education, southern white racism, and the early battles of the civil rights movement. This compelling and moving book is among the best accounts of the southern black experience; it received many prizes, including the Best Book of the Year Award (1969) from the National Library Association.

In 1975 Moody published *Mr. Death,* four somber short stories for children that had been completed in 1972. She continued to write but has published little after that.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

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QADRI ISMAIL (1996)
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MOODY, HAROLD ARUNDEL

OCTOBER 8, 1882
APRIL 24, 1947

Dr. Harold Arundel Moody was born in Kingston, Jamaica, but he lived most of his adult life in England, involved in the struggle for the rights of people of color around the world. His early life was centered in Kingston, where his father was a retail chemist. Moody worked in his father's

pharmaceutical business while still a student at Wolmer's School, where he obtained his secondary education with a distinction in mathematics. After graduating, Moody opened a short-lived private school and also taught at his alma mater. In 1904 he had accumulated enough money to pursue medical studies in England, at King's College, University of London.

At King's College Hospital, Moody earned several academic honors and awards, and by 1910 he had become a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and the London Royal College of Physicians. In 1919 he received his Doctor of Medicine degree. He also pursued postgraduate work in ophthalmic medicine at the Royal Eye Hospital, London. However, although he was a qualified and distinguished medical school graduate, he encountered blatant racism in his attempt to obtain an appointment.

First, his own college hospital refused him a position. An appointment at another London hospital was withdrawn because the matron of the institution would not allow "a coloured doctor" to work there. However, Moody found employment as a medical superintendent at the Marylebone Medical Mission. On May 10, 1913, he married Olive Mabel Tranter, a nurse. The union resulted in six children, two of whom, Christina and Harold Jr., also became medical practitioners. The senior Moody established a private medical practice in Peckham, southeast London, in 1913, and he continued in that location for thirty-five years.

While in Jamaica, Moody was a Congregationalist and continued as a member of that denomination in the United Kingdom. He also forged close ties with the Church Missionary Society (CMS), becoming a board member in 1912 and its chair in 1921. He was a member of the Christian Endeavour Union and became its president by 1931, and in 1943 he was named chair of the London Missionary Society (LMS), with which he had had a long association. His ecumenical connections afforded him lifelong support in his quest to improve the lives of people of African ancestry.

Moody's ties with these organizations also provided him with a platform from which to argue for the rights of people of color. His residence in Peckham soon became a well-known place for recently arrived West Indian students and others in England to visit and seek guidance and assistance. He soon envisioned an organization that would represent the interest of colored people in the United Kingdom.

The help to launch such an organization materialized in March, 1931, when Dr. Charles Wesley, the chair of the history department at Howard University in Washington, D.C., arrived in England. Using the YMCA at Tottenham Court Road, London, as a forum, Wesley and Moody held meetings and organized the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP), following the structure of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), of which Wesley was a member. The LCP would provide Moody with a venue "to promote and protect the social, educational, economical, and political interests of its members . . . and the welfare of coloured people" worldwide.

At first, the LCP's membership consisted mainly of students of color from the British colonies, especially the Caribbean and East and West Africa. Whites who were attached to religious institutions and retired colonial civil servants, as well as persons from India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), also participated in the activities of the LCP. In fact, the LCP was a multiracial organization led by people of color. Other African Americans involved with the LCP included St. Clair Drake, Paul Robeson, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Other members of the LCP include C. L. R. James, the noted author from Trinidad and Tobago; Sir Learie Constantine, the famous Trinidadian cricketer and jurist; the Grenadian Sir David Pitt; and Sir Arthur Lewis, a Nobel Laureate from Saint Lucian.

The *Keys*, the journal of the organization, began publication in 1933, the same year the first annual conference of the LCP was held. Branches of the LCP were organized in areas of the British Empire, such as Sierra Leone. In British Guiana (later known as Guyana), a branch was formed by Dulcina Ross-Armstrong, who had worked with Dr. Moody in London.

As president of the LCP, Moody engaged in a number of racially and politically sensitive matters, not only in the United Kingdom but also abroad. He used various protest methods and sent deputations to the governments of the countries concerned. Among the issues he was concerned with were the trial of the "Scottsboro Boys" in the United States and the plan to incorporate Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland into South Africa. (This latter plan did not occur, and the three countries remained under British control). Although Moody returned to Jamaica on only three occasions—in 1912, 1919, and during 1946 and 1947—he took active interests in Caribbean affairs. In 1937, economic, social, and political unrest swept through the entire Caribbean region, and several West Indian leaders were incarcerated by the colonial authorities. Moody and the LCP sent deputations to the Colonial Office, a move that led to the Moyne Royal Commission. Eventually, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 was passed, providing financial resources for social and economic changes in the Caribbean.

Italy's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 and the issue of classifying colonial seamen as aliens to preclude them

from employment in Cardiff, Wales, engaged his attention. Moody lobbied the Unemployment Branch of the Board of Trade and the National Seamen's Union to intervene on the seamen's behalf. He also solicited the help of the member of parliament for Cardiff South and the home secretary to get the Aliens Registration Act rescinded. In other issues concerning racial discrimination, Moody contacted a wide range of entities, including government, private, commercial, and other businesses, as well as hotel and boarding house proprietors on behalf of people of African descent.

In the 1940s Moody and the LCP played a significant role in the Colonial Office's efforts to open hostels in the United Kingdom for use by residents of the British Empire. In addition to his contributions in helping to counter racial prejudice against people of color he also promoted matters in their interests. By March 1944, he envisioned the establishment of a LCP Cultural Center aimed at providing accommodation and assistance for new arrivals from British colonies, "to adjust . . . to a new environment by means of social and cultural amenities . . . and to make known the achievements of coloured peoples in the fields of science, art, music, and letters." Moody embarked on fund-raising efforts to establish the center. He visited the Caribbean and the United States during 1946 and 1947, but ill health thwarted his efforts. Dr. Moody died on April 24, 1947, soon after returning to Great Britain.

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Moore, Archie

December 13, 1913 (or 1916)
December 9, 1998

The boxing champion Archibald Lee "Archie" Moore, nicknamed "The Mongoose," was one of America's greatest and most colorful fighters. The year and place of his birth are uncertain. He was born Archibald Lee Wright on either December 13, 1913, in Benoit, Mississippi, or on that same date in 1916 in Collinsville, Illinois. Moore's father, Tommy Wright, was a day laborer, and his mother, Lorena Wright, was a housewife. Following his parents separation, Moore was raised by an uncle and aunt, Cleveland and Willie Moore, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Moore's early years were difficult ones. He never liked school and sometimes found himself in trouble. He spent twenty-two months in Missouri's Booneville Reformatory for stealing coins from a streetcar motorman. Fortunately, Moore eventually channeled his aggression into the ring, carving out a boxing career that would last thirty years. He made his professional debut in 1935, knocking out Piano Man Jones in a bout organized by Moore's fellow Civilian Conservation Corps workers from St. Louis. Following his bout against Jones, Moore spent years traveling the country fighting anyone who would enter the ring with him. He had a terribly difficult time, however, in securing a championship fight. The ineptitude of his managers, combined with racial discrimination and the refusal of the best boxers to fight him, forced Moore to wait a long time before engaging in a title bout. Finally, in 1952, he got his chance, and he took advantage of it by beating Joey Maxim for the light heavyweight championship. He successfully defended the championship against Harold Johnson in 1954 and Bobo Olson in 1955. In that same year, Moore fought for the heavyweight championship against Rocky Marciano. Although performing admirably, Moore lost to Marciano, the great undefeated heavyweight champion putting him to the canvas four times before knocking him out in the ninth round.

In 1956 Moore fought again for the heavyweight championship against Floyd Patterson. At Chicago Stadium, Moore was knocked out by the much younger Patterson in the fifth round. Moore never fought again for the heavyweight championship, but he did capture four more light heavyweight titles. He defeated Tony Anthony in 1957, the French-Canadian Yvon "The Fighting Fisherman" Durelle in 1958 and 1959, and Italy's Giulio Rinaldi in 1961. Perhaps the most memorable of these four title fights was Moore's bout against Durelle in 1958. He was knocked down three times in the first round and once in

the fifth round by Durelle, but somehow managed to recover and knocked out the very tough French-Canadian fighter in the eleventh round. As a result, he was named Fighter of the Year by *Ring* magazine.

In 1962 Moore was stripped of his light heavyweight championship because of his refusal to engage in more title defenses. But he did continue to fight. Not long after being stripped of his light heavyweight championship, Moore fought the young Cassius Clay in Los Angeles. Either in his late forties or early fifties at the time of the fight, Moore lost to the future heavyweight champion in a fourth round knockout. In 1963 Moore defeated Mike DiBiase before retiring from the ring. His final career numbers included 228 bouts, a record 140 knockouts, 53 wins by decisions, and 24 losses. Following his retirement, Moore pursued a career in show business, served as a trainer and boxing manager, and worked with inner-city youth through his ABC ("Any Boy Can") program. Among his many honors was election to *Ring* magazine's Boxing Hall of Fame in 1966 and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990. He died at a hospice in San Diego following a long illness.

See also Boxing

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DAVID K. WIGGINS (2005)

Moore, Audley "Queen Mother"

July 27, 1898
May 7, 1997

Queen Mother Moore's long career in service to African Americans provides an example of a consummate community organizer and activist. Born and raised in Louisiana, Moore became a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and a follower of Marcus Garvey in 1919. Through Garvey she was first exposed to African history. Moore and her family moved to Harlem along with the flood of southern migrants during the 1920s. Here she founded the Harriet Tubman Association to assist black women workers. Moore also used the Communist Party as a vehicle for achieving her aims. Impressed with its work on the Scottsboro case, she used the information and skills she acquired through the party to address the needs of the Harlem community by organizing rent strikes, fighting evictions, and taking other actions. Eventually, the racism she encountered in the party moved Moore to resign.

The major theme of Moore's career was developing a Pan-African consciousness. From Garvey through involvement with the National Council of Negro Women to Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, Moore emphasized a knowledge of and pride in African history and its African-American connections. She brought this to the fore in her campaign for reparations, begun in 1955, as she did in founding other institutions in the black community. Among these were the World Federation of African People and a tribute to her sister in the Eloise Moore College of African Studies in Mount Addis Ababa, New York. She was also one of the founders of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of North and South America, of which she was an archabbess. Moore received the title Queen Mother of the Ashanti people when in Ghana on one of her many trips to Africa.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Malcolm X; National Council of Negro Women; Reparations; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)

Moore, Richard Benjamin

August 9, 1893
August 18, 1978

The civil rights activist Richard Benjamin Moore was born in Hastings, Christ Church, Barbados. He left school at the

age of eleven to work as a clerk in a department store. He emigrated to New York on July 4, 1909, and worked as an office boy and elevator operator, and then at a silk manufacturing firm, where he received regular promotions until he became head of the stock department. The racism he encountered in the United States prompted Moore to a life of activism. In 1911 he served as president of the Ideal Tennis Club, which built Harlem's first tennis courts. In 1915 he founded and was treasurer of the Pioneer Cooperative Society, a grocery store featuring southern and West Indian products. A self-educated bibliophile, he began to amass an impressive book collection and formed the People's Educational Forum (later the Harlem Educational Forum), where he organized debates and lectures.

In 1918 Moore became a member of 21st Assembly District Branch of the Socialist Party. Around this time he also joined the American Blood Brotherhood (ABB), a secret organization formed in response to race riots for the purpose of the "liberation of people of African descent all over the world." In 1920 Moore was cofounder and contributing editor of *The Emancipator,* of which ten issues were produced.

In 1921 Moore left the Socialist Party, disenchanted with its lack of concern for African Americans, and subsequently joined the Communist Party (the actual date of membership is uncertain). Moore was elected to the general executive board and council of directors of the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) at its founding meeting on October 25–31, 1925, and he was a contributing editor to the ANLC's *The Negro Champion*. When Moore was fired from the silk manufacturing firm in 1926, he was put on the ANLC payroll as a paid organizer. In 1927, representing the ANLC at the International Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism and for National Independence in Brussels, Belgium, he drafted the *Common Resolution on the Negro Question,* which was unanimously adopted. In August of that year he attended the Fourth Pan-African Congress held in New York. In January 1928, as an employee of the ANLC, he organized and was president of The Harlem Tenants League. By 1931 Moore was vice president of the International Labor Defense (ILD), where he struggled during the 1930s on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys, organizing mass demonstrations, preparing press releases, and making use of his brilliant gift for oratory in speeches delivered across the nation.

In February 1940, Moore founded the Pathway Press and the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League, and he republished *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1892), which had been out of print for forty years. Moore had been motivated by his reading of this work during his early years in New York. In 1942 he opened the Frederick Douglass Book Center at 141 West 125th Street, a bookshop and meeting place specializing in African, Afro-American, and Caribbean history and literature. The center remained a Harlem landmark until it was razed in 1968.

After his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1942, Moore shifted his attention to agitating for Caribbean independence. June 1940 marked the foundation of the West Indies National Emergency Committee (later the West Indies National Council [WINC]) of which he was vice president. He drafted "The Declaration of the Rights of the Caribbean Peoples to Self-Determination and Self-Government," which he submitted to the Pan-American Foreign Ministers' Conference held at Havana, Cuba, in July 1940. In 1945 Moore was a delegate of the West Indies National Council to the United Nations conference in San Francisco. He was, at the time, secretary of the United Caribbean American Council, founded in 1949.

In the 1960s Moore founded the Committee to Present the Truth About the Name Negro. In 1960 he published *The Name "Negro"—Its Origin and Evil Use* as a part of his campaign to promote the adoption of "Afro-American" as the preferred designation of black people. He was instrumental in convincing the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to change its name to the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History in 1972 (the organization is now called the Association for the Study of African American Life and History).

In 1966 Moore was invited by the government of Barbados to witness the Barbadian independence celebration. Although he continued to have his primary residence in the New York City area, he spent increasing amounts of time in the land of his birth. Moore died in Barbados in 1978; his extensive book collection is housed there at the University of the West Indies.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Communist Party of the United States; Douglass, Frederick; Pan-Africanism; Scottsboro Case

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)

George W. Gordon, c. 1860s. *A Jamaican national hero, Gordon's expulsion from the local vestry played a role in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Morant Bay Rebellion

The Morant Bay Rebellion broke out in southeastern Jamaica on October 11, 1865, when several hundred black people marched into the town of Morant Bay, the capital of the predominantly sugar-growing parish of St. Thomas in the East. They raided the police station and stole the weapons stored there, and then confronted the volunteer militia that had been called up to protect the meeting of the vestry, the political body that administered the parish. Fighting soon broke out, and by the end of the day the crowd had killed eighteen people and wounded thirty-one others. In addition, seven members of the crowd died. In the days following the outbreak, bands of people in different parts of the parish killed two planters and threatened the lives of many others. The disturbances spread across the parish of St. Thomas in the East, from its western border with St. David to its northern boundary with Portland.

The response of the Jamaican authorities was swift and brutal. Making use of British troops, Jamaican forces, and a group of Maroons (runaway slaves) who had been formed into an irregular but effective army of the colony, the government forcefully put down the rebellion. In the process, nearly five hundred people were killed and hundreds of others seriously wounded. The nature of the suppression led to demands in England for an official inquiry, and a royal commission subsequently took evidence in Jamaica on the disturbances. Its conclusions were critical of the governor, Edward John Eyre, and of the severe repression in the wake of the rebellion. As a result, the governor was dismissed, the political constitution of the colony was transformed, and its two-hundred-year-old assembly was abolished. Direct rule from London—known as Crown Colony government—was established in its place.

In the months following the outbreak, and in the period since, there has been considerable debate about the origin and nature of the disturbances. The governor and nearly all the whites and browns (or coloreds, meaning those of mixed racial ancestry) in the colony believed that the island was faced with a rebellion at the time. They saw it as part of an island-wide conspiracy to put blacks in power. This was not a surprising view in light of the Haitian revolution at the end of the eighteenth century and the massive 1831 slave revolt in Jamaica. Equally important, Jamaican society was demographically skewed: the overwhelming proportion of the population was black, while whites and people of mixed race formed only a small segment of the population. For the whites and browns of Jamaica, the governor's actions in putting down the rebellion had saved the colony for Britain and preserved them from annihilation.

At the same time, there was a different perspective of the outbreak, especially in Britain. The outbreak was perceived by some as a spontaneous disturbance, a riot that did not warrant the repression that followed in its wake. John Stuart Mill (one of the leading liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century) and others formed the Jamaica Committee, hoping to bring the governor to trial in England and thereby establish the limits of imperial authority.

The evidence suggests that the outbreak was indeed a rebellion, since it was characterized by advance planning and by a degree of organization. The leader of the rebellion was Paul Bogle, a small landowner living in Stony Gut, a mountainous village about four miles inland from Morant Bay. Bogle, along with other associates, organized secret meetings in advance of the outbreak. At these meetings, oaths were taken and volunteers enlisted in expectation of a violent confrontation at Morant Bay. The meetings were often held in native Baptist chapels or meeting houses; this was important because the native Baptists provided a religious and political counterweight to the prevailing white norms of the colonial society.

Bogle was careful to take into account the forces that would be arrayed against him, and he attempted to win over the Jamaican Maroons. Moreover, Bogle's men were carefully drilled—when they marched into the town of Morant Bay to confront the vestry, their first target was the police station and the weaponry stored there.

It is significant that the rebellion took place in St. Thomas in the East. One of the parish's representatives to the House of Assembly was George William Gordon (1820–1865), a colored man who had clashed with the local vestry and was ultimately ejected from it in 1864. Gordon had also grown increasingly close to the native Baptists in St. Thomas in the East and to Paul Bogle, a deacon of the church. In fact, Bogle served as Gordon's political agent in St. Thomas in the East. This identification with the native Baptists marked Gordon as a religious and political radical, but he was also a very popular figure in the parish. His expulsion from the vestry led to a bitter court case, which was scheduled for a further hearing when the Morant Bay Rebellion broke out.

This was not the only grievance of the people in St. Thomas in the East. Their stipendiary magistrate, T. Witter Jackson, was also a highly respected figure. As a neutral magistrate appointed by the Crown, Jackson, who was colored, was perceived as an impartial magistrate and very different from the planter-dominated magistracy. Yet a month before the outbreak of the rebellion, parish officials engineered Jackson's transfer out of St. Thomas in the East.

There were also other problems which created bitter feelings among the populace of the parish. Many people in the parish believed that it was impossible to obtain justice in the local courts. Since almost the entire magistracy was dominated by planters, it was often the case that employers were judging the cases of their employees. High court fees also made it very difficult for laborers and small settlers to pursue cases in court. One of the grievances of the crowd at Morant Bay, and in the rebellion generally, was the lack of justice in the parish. For example, when asked the reason for the rebellion the day after the events at Morant Bay, one of the members of the crowd at Bath claimed it had broken out "because the poor black had no justice in St. Thomas in the East . . . there was no other way to get satisfaction in St. Thomas in the East, only what they had done" (Heuman, p. 268).

For the blacks in the parish, there was at least one other alternative that some of them had tried. In several parts of the parish, blacks had organized their own courts. These "people's courts" were held in districts not far from Morant Bay, and offenses were punished by fines and by flogging. Such alternative courts seem to have existed in other parts of the island as well, providing further evidence of the dissatisfaction of the people with the administration of justice.

Another source of difficulty for the people of St. Thomas in the East was the issue of wages, particularly the low wages provided on the sugar estates of the parish. There were also serious complaints about the irregularity of payment for work on the estates. A missionary reported that his parishioners believed that they were "not paid regularly on some of the estates, that their money was docked, [and] their tasks were heavy" (Heuman, p. 268). Two of the prominent figures killed at Morant Bay, Custos Ketelhodt and Rev. Herschell, had experienced problems with their laborers over this issue. At Ketelhodt's estate in the parish, there were complaints about low pay for the workers. Many of the people who worked on the estate came from Stony Gut and the surrounding villages. Given the lack of redress in the courts, the concern about wages figured prominently among the grievances of the crowd at Morant Bay.

In addition to these issues, there was also the problem of land. More specifically, there was a belief that the provision grounds away from the estates (the land that peasants and laborers used to grow their own crops) belonged to the people and not to the estates. The people's view was that they should have this land without paying rent. It is likely that Augustus Hire, one of the planters killed in the days following the outbreak at Morant Bay, was a target of the crowd because of his stance on this issue.

These problems over land, justice, and wages need to be seen in light of the wider problems affecting Jamaica as a whole, as well as the specific history of the colony. A significant aspect of Jamaica's history has been the large number of rebellions and conspiracies, especially during the slave period. The most important of these occurred in 1831 and was instrumental in the emancipation of the slaves. Slaves in the 1831 rebellion made use of the structure of the missionary churches and chapels to organize the outbreak.

After the abolition of slavery, the tradition of protest persisted. Riots continued in the post-emancipation period (including in 1848, for example) because of a rumor that slavery was to be reimposed. The Morant Bay Rebellion can therefore be seen in the context of a long history of protest in Jamaica.

The economic problems that afflicted Jamaica during this period, especially in the 1860s, also contributed to the rebellion. Sugar was the economic mainstay of the island's economy, but it underwent a steep decline in the decades after emancipation. Partly because of the loss of a protected market in Britain in the 1840s, and partly because of

the relatively high cost of producing sugar in Jamaica, many estates failed. By 1865, at least half of the sugar plantations that had operated in the 1830s no longer existed.

In the 1860s, Jamaica's economic situation worsened considerably. The American Civil War had the effect of dramatically increasing prices for imported goods, including foodstuffs, and a series of prolonged droughts devastated the peasants' provision grounds, further adding to the cost of food. The output of sugar was also reduced, and work on the dwindling number of estates became harder to find.

Jamaica's problems in 1865 were highlighted by a letter from Edward Underhill, the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the letter, Underhill complained about the dire situation in Jamaica, pointing especially to the starving condition of the peasantry. For Underhill, there was no doubt about "the extreme poverty of the people," which was evidenced "by the ragged and even naked condition of vast numbers of them." The Colonial Office forwarded Underhill's letter to Jamaica, where it was widely circulated, and meetings were held all over the island in the spring and summer of 1865 to discuss the letter. These meetings were heavily attended by blacks, and therefore often dominated by members of the opposition to the local administration. Dissidents such as George William Gordon traveled from parish to parish, speaking at these gatherings and highlighting the oppression of the population. Some of the language he was reported to have used worried the authorities. In one parish, Gordon was alleged to have encouraged the people to follow the example of Haiti—in effect, to institute their own Haitian Revolution.

In St. Thomas in the East, Paul Bogle and other leaders of the rebellion were organizing meetings at which people expressed their grievances, especially over the issues of land, justice, and wages. At these meetings, oaths were administered to willing adherents. Those who refused to swear the oath were not allowed into the meetings. These oaths were similar to the cries of the mob at Morant Bay and elsewhere: "Color for color; skin for skin; cleave to the black." There was a clear antiwhite and antibrown feeling among the crowd at Morant Bay, although the people agreed to save any black or brown person who joined them. There were also many subsequent reports of men engaging in military drills and preparing for "war."

Faced with an unyielding government and ruling class, Bogle and his allies saw no solution to their grievances. They were concerned about the lack of justice in the parish and the problem of access to land and to work. They were supported by an African-oriented religion, and they believed they had allies in Britain and in Kingston, and the atmosphere was rife with arguments about white oppression of the blacks. Fearful that they might even be re-enslaved, the people marched into Morant Bay.

See also Bogle, Paul; Gordon, George William; Haitian Revolution; Maroon Wars

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GAD HEUMAN (2005)

Moravian Church

The Moravian Church was one of the first churches in America to admit African Americans—both slave and free—to membership. Originally part of the Protestant Reformation, the church became increasingly active as a missionary church among non-Christians outside Europe, and its members arrived among West Indian slaves early in the 1730s. Moravians came to America in 1735 to escape persecution and to work among Native Americans and African-American slaves. After settling briefly in Georgia, they moved to Pennsylvania, establishing the community of Bethlehem in 1741. In 1753 they settled in central North Carolina, near what later became Salem and then Winston-Salem. Although nineteenth-century congregations emerged in the Ohio Valley, the upper Midwest, and the Southeast, Bethlehem and Winston-Salem still contain the largest Moravian communities in the United States.

Eighteenth-century Moravians counted all races among "the Children of God," but they also practiced chattel slavery. Moravian missionaries welcomed slaves as potential converts while reminding them to accept their

divinely ordained servitude. The church also bought slaves to profit from their labor while bringing them the gospel. Conversion was difficult for blacks, though, because they had to adopt the same dress, behavior, music, and family patterns as whites. A handful of slaves living in or near Bethlehem or Salem did join the church, however, in the decades before the American Revolution. These early converts still suffered some cruelties of slavery, fear of sale and the absence of surnames, for example, but they also enjoyed some aspects of racial equality. Black Moravians often worked and lived in the same quarters and conditions as white Moravians. Blacks sat with whites in the meeting house, participated in church synods, were buried in racially integrated cemeteries, and even participated in ceremonies such as foot-washing and the kiss of peace that involved direct physical contact with white members.

After the American Revolution, Pennsylvania enacted a gradual emancipation law in 1780, and the black population of Bethlehem decreased. In North Carolina, at the same time, slavery continued to expand, and in and around Salem, the number of black Moravians continued to rise. But white Moravians in North Carolina grew more restrictive toward slaves and free blacks. Also, younger Moravians began to demand that the church separate black and white members, excluding blacks from foot-washing, from the kiss of peace, from the cemetery, and finally from the meeting house itself. In 1822 a segregated Moravian Church established a separate congregation, with a white minister, for its black members.

In the years between their expulsion from white services and their emancipation from slavery, black Moravians maintained their own religious community around Salem. They had a separate meeting house, cemetery, and, briefly, a school. It was hardly an independent community, though; the minister and teachers were white, and both services and lessons followed white models and emphasized white values. As a result, many slaves and free blacks around Salem ignored it, preferring instead to attend Methodist services or sermons preached by nondenominational black preachers. This trend continued after Emancipation.

Yet the black Moravian community survived. Early in the twentieth century it finally gained a formal designation, Saint Philip's Moravian Church, and in 1966 it received its first black minister. In 2000 Saint Philip's was one of the South's oldest black churches in continuous operation and served a small but proud congregation.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Protestantism in the Americas

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DANIEL B. THORP (1996)
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Morehouse College

In 1867 the Augusta Baptist Seminary was established in Augusta, Georgia, with the aid of the Washington, D.C.–based National Theological Institute. The seminary soon became affiliated with the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), which provided financial and moral support to the fledgling venture. The first class of thirty-seven men and women took courses in the Springfield Baptist Church; the class had three female missionary teachers.

In 1871 Joseph T. Robert became the first president of the institution. After seven years of pressure to move the seminary to Atlanta, the ABHMS purchased land, and the seminary moved in 1879. It was rechristened the Atlanta Baptist Seminary. Accompanying the move was an increased determination to improve the quality of education at the seminary. Within three years, the all-male institution opened a collegiate department; students could enroll in either a four-year scientific course or a six-year classical course.

By the end of the nineteenth century, school officials sought to amend the charter, changing the name of the school to Atlanta Baptist College in 1897. Nine years later, John Hope became the first African-American president; he would lead the college until 1931. Hope oversaw the rapid expansion of the institution and was largely responsible for its excellent reputation both in the region and the country. In 1913 the name of the college was again changed to honor longtime ABHMS stalwart Henry Lyman Morehouse. The newly renamed Morehouse College had about sixty students in the collegiate program in 1915.

Morehouse offered an education weighted heavily toward both spiritual and academic advancement. Teachers such as Morehouse alumnus Benjamin Brawley, who

taught there in 1902–1910 and 1912–1920, provided intellectual stimulation and served as role models for the student body. During John Hope's tenure, the "Morehouse man" began to symbolize an honest, intelligent African-American male who could succeed at anything. Partially as a result of the spread of this image, the school was criticized for catering primarily to the black elite and restricting its educational efforts to the Talented Tenth.

Morehouse College, Spelman College, and Atlanta University merged some of their operations in 1929 to streamline administrative functions and pacify philanthropists who believed the merger would simplify donations to any of the participants. Academic resources were pooled. Atlanta became solely a university for graduate study; Spelman catered to undergraduate women, and Morehouse to undergraduate men. Students could take courses at the affiliated schools. Classroom space and some faculty responsibilities were also shared.

While the affiliation maintained each school's financial and administrative autonomy, the Great Depression caused Morehouse significant difficulty. John Hope's successor, Samuel Archer, turned over much of Morehouse's financial and budgetary control to Atlanta University, leaving Morehouse with almost no decision-making power.

Students and faculty at Morehouse chafed under the new arrangements. When Benjamin Elijah Mays became president of Morehouse in 1940, he made the reempowerment of Morehouse a priority. Mays was responsible for drastically increasing the college's endowment, wresting financial control from Atlanta University, and instituting an aggressive program of construction and expansion. He was also leading Morehouse when the 1957 creation of Atlanta University Center further consolidated operations between the original three participants and the new additions of Morris Brown College, Gammon Theological Seminary, and Clark University.

Morehouse was ahead of some of its contemporaries by instituting a non-Western studies program in the early 1960s. Students at Morehouse were also active participants in the civil rights movement. The most notable Morehouse alumnus undoubtedly was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a 1948 graduate. Julian Bond, a student at Morehouse in the early 1960s, left school to be a full-time activist with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Mays retired in 1967, passing the torch to Hugh Gloster, who led Morehouse for the next twenty years. Gloster attempted to expand the endowment, which was always a critical issue at Morehouse. The late 1970s saw the establishment of the Morehouse School of Medicine (1978), originally a two-year institution providing a grounding in primary-care and preventive medicine to students who would then continue at four-year institutions. In 1981 the medical school, which remained autonomous from the college, switched to a four-year curriculum; its finances were bolstered by millions of dollars in donations from governmental and private donations.

Leroy Keith Jr. became president of Morehouse in 1987. He faced many of the same problems as his predecessors had. Budget difficulties, the endowment, and other issues remained pressing crises. Other events, like fatalities caused by fraternity hazing, brought unwanted attention to the college and threatened to tarnish the image of the three thousand "Morehouse men" enrolled there. In September 1994 Keith resigned under pressure after a financial audit revealed that he might have received more than $200,000 in unapproved benefits. Despite these setbacks, Morehouse remained one of the most prestigious of historically black colleges, committed to academic excellence and the distinctive educational needs of African Americans.

In June 1995 Dr. Walter Massey became the president of Morehouse. During his tenure the college has worked to improve its infrastructure and academic programs. The following year the college inaugurated a capital campaign, The Campaign for a New Century, to raise more than $100 million. As of 2004, Morehouse had raised more than $80 million toward that goal. That same year, Oprah Winfrey announced a second gift of $5 million to the college, bringing to $12 million the total amount of money pledged by her to Morehouse over time.

See also Brawley, Benjamin Griffith; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Great Depression and the New Deal; Hope, John; Mays, Benjamin E.; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Morejón, Nancy

1944

Afro-Cuban poet Nancy Morejón belongs to the second generation of writers who emerged after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Her poetry, which was mainly apolitical in the 1960s, began to address social and political issues more formally in the 1970s and early 1980s, as the Cuban Revolution and its official ideology made their imprint on her representation of the Cuban experience. Criticism of local reality, which is the hallmark of much Caribbean and Latin American literature, is noticeably absent in Morejón's work. This is a reflection of the officially promoted view of the Revolution as the solution for social ills. Race and gender are also treated in a manner that is consistent with the Revolution's concept of a united Cuban nation and in particular with the socialist view of the ideal society as one in which distinctions of race, class, and gender disappear. While Morejón's treatment of racial issues in general may be described as indirect, a distinct race consciousness is nevertheless evident in poems that memorialize black family members or are dedicated to other individuals of African descent. Morejón also weaves African motifs subtly into her poetic discourse, through symbolic use of figures in the pantheon of African deities and the incorporation of Afro-Cuban folk beliefs.

Among her best-known poems are those that are feminist in orientation, featuring real-life black women in diverse private and public roles. These include her mother, aunt, and grandmother and symbolic female subjects such as the Afro-Cuban protagonist of "Mujer negra" (Black Woman) and the black slave woman of "Amo a mi amo" (I love my master). Although feminism, like black consciousness, does not control her poetic voice, Morejón's feminist sensitivity is expressed in oblique ways, for example, in her creation of female figures as agents and makers of history and not as victims.

Every area of experience—from family life to historical moments in national life, as well as international events—is the subject matter of her poetry. The patriotism evident in her celebration of love for Havana in her early poetry widens into a nationalism expressed in direct and indirect ways in her later works. She finds poetic inspiration as easily in the historical achievements of the Revolution as in popular Cuban dance music. Events in contemporary Caribbean history, such as the 1983 invasion of Grenada by the United States and slavery as lived experience, also form part of Morejón's thematic repertoire. Like many postcolonial writers, her poetry is impelled by the desire to subvert or rewrite the dominant versions of history. Morejón's singular accomplishment is her creation of a body of poetry through which she speaks for the Cuban Revolution without falling into naked propagandizing. Her desire to speak with a communal voice has not caused a silencing of her personal voice. A lyrical current flows through much of her work, linking successive collections in which ideologically charged poems often appear side by side with poems that evoke sentimental moments from her personal life or reflect her deep engagement with others.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean

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CLAUDETTE WILLIAMS (2005)

Morganfield, McKinley

See Muddy Waters (Morganfield, McKinley)

Morris, Stevland

See Wonder, Stevie (Morris, Stevland)

Morris Knibb, Mary

1886
1964

Mary Lenora Morris Knibb was one of the pioneering and vocal women of pre-independent Jamaica who challenged the race and gender status quo. She was in the forefront of social and political activism in the 1930s and the 1940s and the first woman to contest electoral politics in Jamaica.

Born in Newmarket, St. Elizabeth, she married Zechariah Knibb, a sanitary foreman. She was a Moravian, and her commitment to the church was evident to the time of

her death, when she left her legacy to the church. As a Moravian she was well placed to the education she needed to qualify her for entry into Shortwood Teachers College. She was already a teacher at the age of twenty-one years. She taught at Saint Georges School from 1907 to 1917 and at the Wesley School from 1917 to 1928. Her pioneering spirit led her in 1928 to establish her own school, the Morris-Knibb Preparatory School, which she operated out of her own home in Woodford Park, St Andrew.

As a social and political activist in Jamaica, Morris Knibb organized, with Amy Bailey, the Women's Liberal Club in 1936 with the aim of training young women. The Women's Liberal Club was only one of the social and charitable organizations with which she was associated. She founded the Shortwood Old Girls' Association, was a member of the Women Teachers' Association, and served as vice president of the Jamaica Federation of Women. She was also associated with the Jamaica Save the Children Fund.

Much of Morris Knibb's work was devoted to the elevation of women and their children. The Women's Liberal Club provided the support she need to successfully agitate for women's entry into the public arena. Through the Women's Liberal Club, she sought to change the condition of lower-class young women by offering training in homemaking skills. She looked after the interest of middle-class women by encouraging the Women Teachers' Federation within the Jamaica Union of Teachers (JUT).

Because of her work among middle- and lower-class women and her association with other women in other service organizations, Knibb was aware of the class and race differences among women in Jamaica, and this awareness sometimes brought her in conflict with middle-class women over their attitude to black women. She was especially prepared, therefore, to give informed testimony to the Moyne Commission of 1938–1939. Her social awareness, interest in the well-being of women, and social activism qualified her for entry into the political arena. In 1939 she was elected to the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC), and by 1944 she had graduated to being the representative for East St. Andrew in the Jamaica Legislative Council. She ran as an independent candidate who was nominated by the club she had helped to form.

See also Education; Politics

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ALERIC J. JOSEPHS (2005)

Morrison, Toni

February 18, 1931

By the 1980s Toni Morrison was considered by the literary world to be a major American novelist. In 1992—five years after she received the Pulitzer Prize for *Beloved* and the year of publication both for her sixth novel, *Jazz,* and for a series of lectures on American literature, *Playing in the Dark*—Morrison was being referred to internationally as one of the greatest American writers of all time. In 1993 she became the first black woman in history to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The road to prominence began with Morrison's birth into a family she describes as a group of storytellers. Born Chloe Anthony Wofford in Lorain, Ohio, she was the second of four children of George Wofford (a steel-mill welder, car washer, and construction and shipyard worker) and Ramah Willis Wofford (who worked at home and sang in church).

Her grandparents came to the North from Alabama to escape poverty and racism. Her father's and mother's experiences with and responses to racial violence and economic inequality, as well as what Morrison learned about living in an economically cooperative neighborhood, influenced the political edge of her art. Her early understanding of the "recognized and verifiable principles of Black art," principles she heard demonstrated in her family's stories and saw demonstrated in the art and play of black people around her, also had its effect. Morrison's ability to manipulate the linguistic qualities of both black art and conventional literary form manifests itself in a prose that some critics have described as lyrical and vernacular at the same time.

After earning a B.A. from Howard University in 1953, Morrison moved to Cornell University for graduate work in English and received an M.A. in 1955. She taught at Texas Southern University from 1955 to 1957 and then at Howard University until 1964, where she met and married Harold Morrison, a Jamaican architect, and gave birth to two sons. Those were years that Morrison described as a period of almost complete powerlessness, when she wrote quietly and participated in a writers' workshop, creating the story that would become *The Bluest Eye.*

Toni Morrison. *Considered one of America's best novelists, Morrison received the Pulitzer Prize in 1988 for her fifth novel,* Beloved. © KATE KUNZ

In 1964 Morrison divorced her husband and moved to Syracuse, New York, where she began work for Random House. She later moved to a senior editor's position at the Random House headquarters in New York City—continuing to teach, along the way, at various universities. Since 1988 she has been Robert F. Goheen Professor of the Humanities at Princeton University.

Morrison's first novel, *The Bluest Eye* (1970), is a text that combines formal "play" between literary aesthetics and pastoral imagery with criticism of the effects of racialized personal aesthetics. *Sula* (1973) takes the pattern of the heroic quest and the artist-outsider theme and disrupts both in a novel that juxtaposes those figurations with societal gender restrictions amid the historical constraint of racism. *Song of Solomon* (1977), *Tar Baby* (1981), and *Beloved* (1987) are engagements with the relation to history of culturally specific political dynamics, aesthetics, and ritualized cultural practices.

Song of Solomon sets group history within the parameters of a family romance; *Tar Baby* interweaves the effects of colonialism and multiple family interrelationships that are stand-ins for history with surreal descriptions of landscape; and *Beloved* negotiates narrative battles over story and history produced as a result of the imagination's inability to make sense of slavery. In *Jazz,* Morrison continued her engagement with the problems and productiveness of individual storytelling's relation to larger, public history.

The lectures published as *Playing in the Dark* continue Morrison's interest in history and narrative. The collection abstracts her ongoing dialogue with literary criticism and history around manifestations of race and racism as narrative forms themselves produced by (and producers of) the social effects of racism in the larger public imagination.

Morrison's work sets its own unique imprimatur on that public imagination as much as it does on the literary world. A consensus has emerged that articulates the importance of Morrison to the world of letters and demonstrates the permeability of the boundary between specific cultural production—the cultural production that comes out of living as part of the African-American group—and the realm of cultural production that critics perceive as having crossed boundaries between groups and nation-states.

Morrison's ability to cross the boundaries as cultural commentator is reflected in *Race-ing Justice and Engendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality,* a collection of essays about the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and the accusations of sexual harassment brought against him by law professor Anita Hill. The essays in the collection were written by scholars from various fields, then edited and introduced by Morrison. At the same time, she wrote poetry and lyrics for the song cycles "Dare Degga" and "Honey and Rue."

Morrison's reputation was confirmed in 1998 by the critical success of her novel *Paradise*. That year, with aid from entertainer Oprah Winfrey, her work also reached a new, wider public. After an endorsement from Winfrey's "Oprah's Book Club," sales of *Paradise* climbed into best-seller range. The same year, Winfrey produced and starred in a film adaptation of Morrison's novel *Beloved*.

Morrison's eighth novel, *Love,* was published in 2003 to high praise from critics. The following year, she also released a book for young people telling the story of school integration.

See also Literary Criticism, U.S.; Literature

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WAHNEEMA LUBIANO (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Mortality and Morbidity

This entry consists of two distinct articles examining mortality and morbidity among African Americans from differing geographic perspectives.

Mortality and Morbidity in Latin America and the Caribbean
Carolina Giraldo
Keith Wailoo

Mortality and Morbidity in the United States
Willie J. Pearson, Jr.
Norris White Gunby, Jr.

Mortality and Morbidity in Latin America and the Caribbean

Over the past five centuries, mortality and morbidity changes among the people of Afro-Latin America have been closely related to living conditions during the enslavement of Afro-Latin populations, and to their evolving socioeconomic situations after emancipation. High mortality during the slave period was related to many factors, including the length of time of the transatlantic journey and the diseases encountered during the journey; grueling labor conditions; poor housing and nutrition; and waves of epidemic disease that compromised people's health throughout the region. Of the estimated twelve million Africans transported by slave ships to the Americas between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, an estimated 1.5 million died in transit (approximately 12.5 percent per journey, although the mortality rate decreased from 40 percent in the sixteenth century to 5 to 10 percent in the nineteenth century). Transit within the colonies and into new disease environments brought further health risks.

Many enslaved Afro-Latin Americans came to reside in the tropical lowlands of Central and South America and on Caribbean islands. They labored on plantations, in ports, and along rivers where mosquito-related diseases, such as malaria and yellow fever, were prominent. It is frequently argued that Africans were more resistant to smallpox and malaria than Native Americans and Spaniards, but these and other infectious diseases were nonetheless among the leading causes of death among Afro-Latin Americans from the sixteenth century through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Afro-Latin Americans also died from yellow fever, typhoid, syphilis, measles, tuberculosis, and pneumonia. Throughout the colonial period, such epidemic outbreaks were frequent although localized; they could occasionally lead to the virtual extinction of entire communities.

Child mortality in such diverse contexts remained severe, particularly for populations of African descent. In the early nineteenth century, for example, Trinidad's slave infant mortality rate was 365 for every 1,000 live births. While it is certain that malnutrition accounted for heavy infant mortality, the exact toll on slave children remains uncertain. In some haciendas in Peru, for example, as many as 45 percent of black children never reached the age of twenty-two. Life expectancy at birth for enslaved peoples in Brazil was twenty-seven years in 1872.

Throughout the nineteenth century, a variety of factors—intense military conflicts and regional wars, trends in urbanization—altered mortality and morbidity patterns for Afro-Latin Americans. The promise of manumission brought many Afro-Latin Americans into the ranks of the patriot and royalist armies in the Spanish American wars, where soldiers fought under poor hygienic conditions, in inhospitable terrain, and where death tolls were high. With nineteenth-century urbanization, new epidemic diseases (cholera and tuberculosis most notoriously) emerged in high-poverty urban areas, resulting in disproportionately heavy mortality among enslaved and freed people who migrated to the cities. In Havana, Cuba, for example, a cholera epidemic in 1835 took the lives of 18,500 black men and women (a death rate 3.5 times higher than whites).

Despite the mortality threats posed by slavery, labor, urbanization, and epidemic disease, between 1700 and the mid-nineteenth century, Afro-Latin Americans witnessed a constant decrease in mortality. Whether the abolition of slavery had any large impact on morbidity and mortality trends remains a topic of debate.

In the twentieth century, high mortality rates associated with epidemics and endemic diseases persisted. The industrial nations of Europe and North America witnessed an "epidemiological transition" from the late nineteenth to the early- to mid-twentieth centuries—a decreasing death toll due to infectious disease and a rising toll due to degenerative and chronic diseases. Such a transition did not define the Central and South American disease experience, however. Where people in the industrial world experienced sharp declines in infant mortality and significant extensions in life expectancy, throughout Latin America this transition began to occur only after World War II. These trends were advanced, in no small part, by the spread of modern health institutions, by improvements in sanitation and hygiene, and by better access to health care for the general population.

Since the mid-twentieth century, Afro-Latin American morbidity and mortality have been linked to differential access to health care, the availability of proper nutrition, and poor hygienic conditions. These factors continue to put the Afro-Latin American populations (from Colombia to the Caribbean, from Haiti to Brazil) at a disadvantage when compared to the nonblack populations in these countries. Although there are differences between nations, the historical pattern of health inequality persists. In Brazil, for example, between 1960 and 1980 Afro-Brazilians could expect to live (on average) seven fewer years than the white population. In the Pacific region of Colombia the infant mortality rate was 191 per 1,000 births in 1993, a rate that surpassed the national average for every year since the 1960s.

Historically and in recent years, Afro-Latin American's mortality and morbidity experience has varied according to the wealth of the country. At one end of the spectrum today, Afro-Uruguayans (a group with good access to health services and making up 6 percent of the nation's population) experience respiratory diseases, asthma, high blood pressure, and diabetes (among the elderly) as their most prominent health problems. At the other end of the spectrum is Haiti, a country experiencing extreme poverty (and where 95 percent of the population claims African descent), which has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world (95.23 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2001). Haiti's maternal mortality also remains remarkably high at 523 deaths per 100,000 live births. In 2000, life expectancy was forty-two years for Haitian women and forty-three for Haitian men.

The cases of Uruguay and Haiti exemplify the diverse epidemiological challenges faced by Afro-Latin Americans at the turn of the twenty-first century. Many nations of the region today, however, echo both situations. In Honduras, 72 percent of children show signs of malnutrition. In Ecuador, according to UNICEF, the predominant diseases among the black population of the Esmeraldas region are a combination of infectious diseases and chronic degenerative maladies, including malaria, uterine cancer, hypertension, vertigo, sexually transmitted diseases, respiratory problems (from pollution), malnutrition, anemia, cholera, dengue, and typhoid. Throughout the region, the socioeconomic situation of the Afro-Latino populations make them vulnerable to new infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and to sexually transmitted diseases. In Brazil and other nations of the region, the incidence of HIV has increased dramatically since the mid-1990s, especially among women. In Haiti, AIDS has become the leading cause of death, followed by tuberculosis, typhoid fever, malaria, and diarrhea.

See also AIDS in the Americas; Race and Science

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CAROLINA GIRALDO (2005)
KEITH WAILOO (2005)

Mortality and Morbidity in the United States

In the United States, African Americans, in comparison with whites, suffer enormous disadvantages in health status. In general, African Americans are at greater health risks throughout their life span. Because of this inequality, they do not live as long as whites.

Infant Mortality

Over the past decades, infant mortality declined rapidly in the United States. Despite these declines, the United States still ranks twentieth worldwide in infant mortality. The rate varies considerably by race in the United States. For example, despite the improvements that have been made, in 2002 an African-American child was about 2.5 times as likely as a white child to die within the first year of life. Between 1960 and 2002 the infant-mortality rate for whites declined from 22.9 per 1,000 live births to 5.8 per 1,000 live births, whereas the African-American infant-mortality rate dropped from 44.3 per 1,000 to 14.4 per 1,000 live births. In some cities with large African-American populations, such as Washington, D.C., and Detroit, the infant-mortality rate of African-American babies exceeds that of some developing countries of Central America. In 2002, if the African-American and white infant mortality rates were equal, approximately 5,100 additional African-American babies would have survived.

In the United States the two leading causes of infant mortality are birth defects (19.2 percent) and length of gestation/low birth weight/fetal malnutrition (16.8 percent). While birth defects are the leading cause, it is developmental disabilities that result from low birth weights that appear to differentiate more greatly along racial lines. For example, African-American infants are 1.95 times as likely as white infants to be low weight (5.5 pounds or less). To a large extent these racial disparities may be explained by the vestiges of poverty, including poor or no prenatal care, poor nutrition, and lack of information about health care during pregnancy.

Typically, maternal mortality is defined as the number of deaths to women per 100,000 live births due to complications of pregnancy or childbirth or within ninety days postpartum. The disparities between African-American and white maternal-mortality rates actually exceed the infant-mortality rate differences. Despite overall reductions in maternal-mortality rates for both races, African-American mothers continue to experience a mortality rate that is greater than five times that of whites. In 2002, for example, the maternal-mortality rate for African Americans was 24.9, compared with only 4.8 for whites. There is considerable evidence that many of these deaths could have been prevented through early and adequate prenatal care.

Life Expectancy

In 1960 white Americans could expect to live about 69.1 years, while African Americans and other races could expect to live roughly 8.3 years less. By 2002 the life expectancy of white and African Americans had climbed to 77.7 and 72.3 years, respectively, a difference of 5.4 years. Throughout this forty-two-year period, the gap between white and African-American life expectancy continued to decline, yet the persistence of this difference is still disturbing to health officials. Much of the variability in life expectancy is due to the continuing and alarmingly high death rates of young African-American males. In 2002 the life expectancy of African-American males was 6.8 years less than that of African-American females, and where the cause of death was homicide, the rate for African-American males was 38.4 per 100,000 while it was only 6.1 for everyone else. The death rate for African-American females aged fifteen to twenty-four is 54.4 per 100,000, while the rate for African-American males is 172.6; black males in this age cohort are three times more likely to die due to preventable risk factors.

Leading Causes of Death

Heart disease and stroke account for 35.5 percent of all excess deaths for African Americans under age seventy. (*Excess deaths* refers to the differential between the actual deaths and the number that would have occurred had African Americans and whites had the same death rates for each cohort and both sexes.) In 2002 there was a higher prevalence among African Americans than whites for cancer of the esophagus, larynx, lung, stomach, cervix, and pancreas. Generally, African-American women are 28 percent less likely than white women, and African-American men are 20 percent more likely than white men, to have cancer.

African Americans have lower five-year survival rates for all of the major cancer categories tracked by the National Cancer Institute, with the highest differentials in survival in uterine, bladder, and malignant neoplasms of the larynx.

Other Diseases

The rate of blindness and visual impairment among African Americans is nearly twice that of whites. Among white and African Americans between the ages of forty and seventy-nine, African Americans have a higher rate of visual impairment. While African Americans represent approximately 12 percent of the population, they are overrepresented with 18 percent of the cases of blindness and visual impairment.

A goal of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is to eliminate childhood lead poisoning in the country by 2010. The percentage of persons with elevated blood lead levels is 5.3 for African Americans and only 1.5 for white Americans. This disparity represents a 350 percent higher rate of lead poisoning in African Americans. Lead poisoning has been associated with a number of social problems, including higher school dropout rates, higher incidence of reading disabilities, and lower performance and achievement in school.

In 2002 African Americans were diagnosed with end stage renal disease (ESRD) at a rate 3.9 times that of white Americans, and approximately 33 percent of the kidney failure incidence among African Americans can be attributed to hypertension. Additionally, African Americans were four times more likely to have ESRD as a result of diabetes than white Americans. Of the Americans in dialysis, 19.9 percent are African American. However, for those who receive transplants within three years of their initial diagnosis, the percentage for white Americans is 26.2 percent and only 11.6 percent for African Americans. These disparities could be greatly reduced by eliminating existing cultural barriers in organ donations and by aggressive action to find suitable matches between donors and recipients.

In 1981 acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) first received national media attention. The disease was widely regarded to be a gay disease, mostly affecting white males. During much of the 1980s the African-American community was reluctant to acknowledge the problem among its citizens. Some scholars attributed this denial to the strong cultural taboo against homosexuality. As the disease spread to other segments of the population, African Americans could no longer deny the problem. According to reports published in 1989 by the Federal Centers for Disease Control, African Americans were twice as likely as whites to contract AIDS. The reports concluded that more than half of all women afflicted with the disease in this country are African Americans; about 70 percent of babies born with the AIDS virus are African Americans, as are nearly one-fourth of all males with the disease. Unfortunately, these statistics have gotten progressively worse. In 2003 the AIDS rate for every 100,000 African-American males was eight times that of white males; for African-American females, the rate was twenty-two times that of white females. This differential rate in females also translates into a fifteen-fold difference in AIDS in African-American children compared to white children. The incidence of AIDS in the African-American community is attributable, in large measure, to the higher rate of intravenous drug use, in which drug users frequently exchange dirty needles. This practice of sharing needles is further complicated when the intravenous drug users engage in sexual practices that put themselves, their partners, and unborn children at risk.

See also AIDS in the Americas; Race and Science

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WILLIE J. PEARSON, JR. (1996)
NORRIS WHITE GUNBY, JR. (2005)

Moseley-Braun, Carol

August 16, 1947

Carol Moseley, a U.S. Senator, was born and raised in Chicago, the daughter of a Chicago police officer. She was educated at public schools in Chicago and the University of Illinois at Chicago, and received a law degree from the University of Chicago in 1972. Although now divorced, she has used her married name throughout her public career but hyphenated it after joining the Senate.

Moseley-Braun worked for three years as a prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's office in Chicago. For her work there she won the U.S. Attorney General's Special Achievement Award. She began her career in politics in 1978, when she successfully campaigned for a seat in the Illinois House of Representatives. While in the Illinois House she was an advocate for public education funding, particularly for schools in Chicago. She also sponsored a number of bills banning discrimination in housing and private clubs. After two terms Moseley-Braun became the first woman and first African American to be elected assistant majority leader in the Illinois legislature.

In 1987 Moseley-Braun again set a precedent by becoming the first woman and first African American to hold executive office in Cook County government when she was elected to the office of Cook County Recorder of Deeds. She held the office through 1992, when she waged a campaign for the U.S. Senate. When she defeated two-term incumbent Alan Dixon and wealthy Chicago attorney Al Hofeld in the Democratic primary, Moseley-Braun became the first black woman nominated for the Senate by a major party in American history. She then went on to defeat Republican nominee Rich Williamson in a close general election, becoming the first black woman to hold a seat in the U.S. Senate.

During her first year in the Senate Moseley-Braun sponsored several pieces of civil rights legislation, including the Gender Equity in Education Act and the 1993 Violence Against Women Act, and reintroduced the Equal Rights Amendment. She became unpopular following revelations of her personal use of campaign funds and as a result of her public support for Sami Abocha's dictatorial regime in Nigeria, where she visited in 1996. Following an acrimonious campaign, she was narrowly defeated for reelection in 1998.

Moseley-Braun accepted an appointment by the Clinton administration to become an ambassador to New Zealand and Samoa in 1999. She returned to the United States in 2001 and accepted a position as a visiting distinguished professor and scholar in residence at Morris Brown College. After a year there, she moved on to teach business law at DePaul University's College of Commerce. In 2003 Moseley-Braun added her name to the list of Democratic challengers for the party's 2004 presidential nomination. After a poor showing, she dropped out of the race in January 2004 and supported the candidacy of Vermont governor Howard Dean.

See also Politics and Political Parties, U.S.

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
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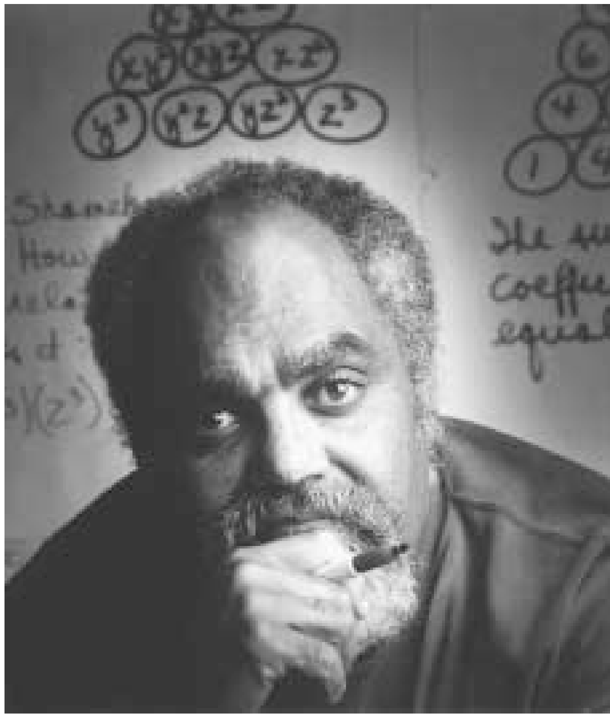
Moses, Robert Parris

January 23, 1935

Civil rights activist and educator Bob Moses was born in New York City and raised in Harlem. He graduated from Hamilton College in 1956 and began graduate work in philosophy at Harvard University, receiving his master's degree one year later. Forced by his mother's death to leave school, Moses taught mathematics at a private school in New York City. He became active in the civil rights movement in 1959, when he worked with Bayard Rustin, a prominent Southern Christian Leadership Conference activist, on organizing a youth march for integrated schools. A meeting with civil rights activist Ella Baker inspired Moses to immerse himself in the civil rights movement that was sweeping the South. In 1960 he joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and became the fledgling organization's first full-time voter registration worker in the Deep South.



Robert Parris Moses. *Through his work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Moses helped to elevate the struggle for civil rights in 1960s Mississippi from lunch-counter sit-ins to aggressive campaigns to educate and register black voters.* PHOTOGRAPH BY RON CEASAR. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Moses, who often worked alone and faced many dangerous situations, was arrested and jailed numerous times. In McComb, Mississippi, he spearheaded black voter registration drives and organized Freedom Schools. He grew to play a more central role in SNCC, and in 1962 he became the strategic coordinator and project director of the Congress of Federated Organizations (COFO), a statewide coalition of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1963, COFO, with Moses as its guiding force, launched a successful mock gubernatorial election campaign, called the Freedom Ballot, in which black voters were allowed to vote for candidates of their choosing for the first time. Its success led Moses to champion an entire summer of voter registration and educational activities to challenge racism and segregation in 1964, called Freedom Summer, to capture national attention and force federal intervention in Mississippi.

During Freedom Summer, Moses played an integral role in organizing and advising the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, an alternative third party challenging the legitimacy of Mississippi's all-white Democratic Party delegation at the Democratic national convention in Atlantic City. After the 1964 summer project came to an end, SNCC erupted in factionalism. Moses's staunch belief in the Christian idea of a beloved community, nonhierarchical leadership, grassroots struggle, local initiative, and pacifism made him the leading ideologue in the early years of SNCC. Finding himself unwillingly drawn into the factional struggle, Moses left the organization and ended all involvement in civil rights activities. Later that year he adopted Parris—his middle name—as his new last name, to elude his growing celebrity.

A conscientious objector to the Vietnam War, Moses fled to Canada to avoid the draft in 1966. Two years later he traveled with his family to Tanzania, where he taught mathematics. In 1976 Moses returned to the United States and resumed his graduate studies at Harvard University. Supplementing his children's math education at home, however, led him away from the pursuit of a doctorate and back into the classroom. In 1980 he founded the Algebra Project, using money received from a MacArthur Foundation Genius Award, to help underprivileged children get an early grounding in mathematics to better their job opportunities in the future.

Moses viewed the Algebra Project—whose classes were directly modeled on Freedom Schools and citizenship schools of the early 1960s—as a continuation of his civil rights work. He oversaw all teacher training to ensure that they emphasized student empowerment, rather than dependence on the teachers. Creating a five-step process to help children translate their concrete experiences into complex mathematical concepts, Moses pioneered innovative methods designed to help children become independent thinkers. After demonstrating success by raising students' standardized test scores in Massachusetts public schools, the project branched out to schools in Chicago, Milwaukee, Oakland, and Los Angeles, and Moses was once again propelled into the public eye. In 1992, in what he saw as a spiritual homecoming, Moses returned to the same areas of Mississippi where he had registered African-American voters three decades earlier, and launched the Delta Algebra Project to help ensure a brighter future for children of that impoverished region.

Moses has been the recipient of numerous awards, including a 1997 Essence Award, a 1997 Peace Award from the War Resisters League, and a 1999 Heinz Award in the Human Condition.

See also Baker, Ella J.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Freedom Summer; Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rustin, Bayard; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MARSHALL HYATT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Motley, Archibald John, Jr.

1891
January 19, 1991

The painter Archibald John Motley Jr. was born in New Orleans. In 1894, he and his family, who were Roman Catholic and of Creole ancestry, settled on Chicago's South Side. Motley graduated from Englewood High School in 1914, receiving his initial art training there, and then began four years of study at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, from which he graduated in 1918.

During his study at the School of the Art Institute, Motley executed highly accomplished figure studies. In their subdued coloring, careful attention to modeling, and slightly broken brushwork, these works reflect the academic nature of the training he received at that institution. In the late 1910s and 1920s, as racial barriers thwarted his ambition to be a professional portraitist, Motley hired models and asked family members to pose for him. His sensitive, highly naturalistic portraits show his strong feeling for composition and color.

The young painter was honored in a commercially successful one-man exhibition of his work at New York City's New Gallery in 1928, and he spent the following year in Paris on a Guggenheim Fellowship. For this show Motley painted several imaginative depictions of African ethnic myths. Following the exhibition, he visited family members in rural Arkansas, where he created portraits and genre scenes, as well as landscapes of the region.

During his stay in Paris in 1929–1930, Motley portrayed the streets and cabarets of the French capital. In *Blues,* perhaps his best-known painting, he captured the vibrant and energetic mood of nightlife among Paris's African community.

After finding little outlet for his ambitions as a portraitist, Motley turned his talents to the subject of everyday life in Chicago's Black Belt. Deeply influenced by the syncopated rhythms, vibrant colors, and dissonant and melodic harmonies of jazz, his paintings evoke the streets, bars, dance halls, and outdoor gathering spots of Chicago's Bronzeville during its heyday of the 1920s and 1930s. He treated these subjects in a broad, simplified abstract style distinct from that of his portraits. Motley's Bronzeville views are informed by a modernist aesthetic.

A figure in Chicago's creative renaissance known as the New Negro movement and a participant in such mainstream artistic endeavors as the WPA Federal Arts Project, Motley applied a modernist sense of color and composition to images whose subjects and spirit drew on his ethnic roots. Between 1938 and 1941, he joined numerous other Illinois artists as an employee of the federally sponsored arts projects of the Depression era. For institutions in Chicago and other parts of the state he painted easel pictures and murals, the latter often on historical or allegorical themes.

Motley visited Mexico several times in the 1950s, where he joined his nephew, the writer Willard Motley, and a host of expatriate artists. His Mexican work ranges from brightly colored, small-scale landscapes to large, mural-like works that were influenced in style and subject by the social realism of modern Mexican art.

At the end of his career, Motley experimented in several new directions. In his long lifetime he produced a relatively small number of works, of which the most important, *The First One Hundred Years,* is his only painting with an overt political message. Today Motley is recognized as one of the founding figures of twentieth-century African-American art.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary

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JONTYLE THERESA ROBINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Motley, Constance Baker

September 14, 1921

Constance Baker Motley was the first African-American woman to be elected to the New York State Senate, the first woman to be elected Manhattan borough president, and the first black woman to be appointed a federal judge. She was born in New Haven, Connecticut, to immigrants from the Caribbean island of Nevis. She graduated from high school with honors in 1939 but could not afford college. Impressed by her participation in a public discussion and by her high school record, Clarence Blakeslee, a local white businessman, offered to pay her college expenses.

Motley enrolled at Fisk University in February 1941, transferred to New York University, and received a bachelor's degree in economics in October 1943. She enrolled at Columbia Law School in February 1944 and graduated in 1946. In 1945, during her final year at Columbia, she began to work part-time as a law clerk for Thurgood Marshall at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund and continued there full-time after graduation, eventually becoming one of its associate counsels. Because Marshall's staff was small and there was little work being done in civil rights, Motley had the unusual opportunity to try major cases before circuit courts of appeal and the United States Supreme Court. From 1949 to 1964, she tried cases, primarily involving desegregation, in eleven southern states and the District of Columbia, including cases that desegregated the University of Mississippi (*Meredith v. Fair,* 1962) and the University of Georgia (*Homes v. Danner,* 1961). She helped write the briefs for the landmark desegregation case *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and won nine of the ten cases she argued before the Supreme Court.

She left the NAACP in 1964 to run for the New York State Senate, to which she was elected in February 1964, becoming only the second woman elected to that body. She left the Senate in February 1965, when she was elected Manhattan borough president, becoming only the third black to hold this office. On January 25, 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1963–69) appointed her to the bench of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. She was confirmed in August 1966, becoming both the first black and the first woman to be a federal judge in that district. On June 1, 1982, she became the chief judge of her court, serving in this position until October 1, 1986, when she became a senior judge. Her memoir, *Equal Justice Under Law: An Autobiography,* was published in 1998. Five years later, Motley was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, she was an active member of the Just The Beginning Foundation, an organization that commemorates and documents African-American lawyers and judges.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Marshall, Thurgood; Politics and Political Parties, U.S.

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Moton, Robert Russa

August 26, 1867
May 31, 1940

Born in Amelia County, Virginia, and raised in Prince Edward County, Virginia, Robert Russa Moton, an educator, was educated by the daughter of his parents' plantation master. He entered Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, in 1885, but three years later he interrupted his work to study law and teach. Moton received a license to practice law in 1888, then returned to Hampton. He studied and drilled in the student cadet corps, reaching the rank of assistant commandant. After graduation in 1890 he was named commandant of the corps and given the rank of "major," the title he would use for the rest of his life. He was the school disciplinarian, assigned to check on students' rooms and work. He had faculty and administrative responsibilities and was a liaison between the white faculty and the black student body.

During his later years at Hampton Moton also became a protégé and lieutenant of Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama. He became active in Washington's National Negro Business League and accompanied Washington on speaking and fund-raising tours. Moton echoed Washington's views, emphasizing the need for self-improvement, thrift, and industrial education. In 1909 he helped the Tuskegee leader preview and comment on a draft of President Taft's inaugural address. In the early 1910s, after the creation of the NAACP, he tried to restrain its members from attacking accommodationist ideas. In 1915 he founded the Virginia Cooperative Association, a farmer's aid organization, which he hoped would be the basis of a nationwide movement.

In 1915, following the death of Booker T. Washington, Moton was chosen to succeed him as principal of Tuskegee Institute. Moton was never the charismatic figure Washington was, and he let Washington's political machine dissolve, but he continued Washington's work and racial leadership role. He lectured and wrote pieces extolling the Tuskegee philosophy and became chair of the National Negro Business League in 1919. He also became active in forming government commissions, which he thought a better avenue than civil rights legislation for resolving racial conflict. During World War I, Moton spoke at Liberty Bond rallies and tried to drum up support for the war effort. In 1918, after a spate of lynchings in the South, he helped form the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which thereafter annually published lynching statistics. Moton retained a measure of Washington's control over federal political patronage to African Americans and advised government on racial policies. In 1918, after he privately warned President Woodrow Wilson of the growth of black unrest in America, Wilson sent him to France in order to speak to black soldiers and make a report on their treatment. He reported on his experiences in his autobiography, *Finding a Way Out* (1920).

During the 1920s Moton restructured Tuskegee, adding an accredited junior college program and planning a four-year curriculum. The school offered its first B.S. degree program in 1926. A skilled fund-raiser, Moton tripled Tuskegee's endowment. His concern for white donors' sensibilities caused him to crack down on black self-assertion and dissent at Tuskegee. However, he was willing to defend what he considered African Americans' best interests. He lobbied successfully for the creation of a black Veterans Administration hospital at Tuskegee Institute, to be staffed by African-American doctors and nurses. The Ku Klux Klan threatened violence unless he installed white medical staff, and a hundred Klansmen marched on Tuskegee. Moton barricaded the campus and called on alumni to help defend the institute. His actions won him widespread applause among blacks, including W. E. B. Du Bois, a frequent ideological adversary. Moton's general philosophy was expressed in his book *What the Negro Thinks* (1929). Moton forthrightly demanded an end to legislated racial inequality. However, he accepted segregation and called for compromise and black patience and work rather than activism to achieve civil rights aims.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Moton undertook public duties. He devised and lobbied for government assistance with National Negro Health Week. He succeeded Booker T. Washington on the board of trustees for Fisk University. In 1924 he founded and became president of the National Negro Finance Corporation in Durham, North Carolina. In 1927 he headed a committee of African Americans involved with the Hoover presidential commission on the Mississippi Flood Disaster. He served on President Herbert Hoover's National Advisory Committee on Education and recommended federal funding to reduce racial inequality in education. He also served on a commission on education in Liberia and wrote a strong report on educational inequities in Haiti. For his work Moton received the Harmon Award in Race Relations in 1930 and the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1932. Moton retired from Tuskegee in 1935 and died five years later at his home in Capahosic, Virginia, where the Robert R. Moton Foundation was later established in his memory to aid black scholars.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Hampton Institute; Lynching; Spingarn Medal; Tuskegee University

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Mound Bayou, Mississippi

Considered by many to be the first all-African-American town in the South, Mound Bayou, Mississippi, was founded in 1888 by Isaiah T. Montgomery and Benjamin Green. The two cousins created what they believed to be a haven for African Americans who sought self-determination; the community also served as a capital venture intended to improve the fortunes of the Montgomery family.

The idea for Mound Bayou was conceived in the 1880s after the Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad (L.N.O. & T.) began developing a railroad line stretching from Memphis, Tennessee, to Vicksburg, Mississippi. Railroad officials believed that few whites would settle along the swampy land where the potential for disease was high; they thought, however, that African Americans were racially suited to the climate and could flourish under such conditions. As a result, the company set aside tracts of wilderness along the route for sale. Mound Bayou was forged from an 840-acre section of wetland, including two merging bayous and a number of Native American burial mounds, which lay on both sides of the tracks that ran through Bolivar County, Mississippi.

The first settlers cleared land, planted crops, and opened their own businesses. Through mass advertising campaigns, which encouraged black settlers to form an all-black community, and with the support of national figures such as Booker T. Washington, Mound Bayou thrived and grew to become one of the Mississippi Delta's most successful towns. It also had the distinction of being the largest African-American city in the nation. At its peak in 1907, Mound Bayou was home to more than eight hundred families, with a total of approximately four thousand residents.

In an era of sharecropping and peonage for much of Mississippi's black population, inhabitants of Mound Bayou—mostly doctors, lawyers, and small farmers—had a standard of living that exceeded most black, and some white, communities. It was a close-knit town that brought local issues before town meetings and sought the approval of its citizens before embarking upon new projects. Residents, citing a negligible crime rate, boasted of having torn down the local jail. They attributed this fortune to community spirit.

Community spirit aside, much of Mound Bayou's good fortune came from outside sources. Booker T. Washington was a vocal supporter of Mound Bayou in the early twentieth century; through Washington's intercession with financiers around the country, Charles Banks (1873–1923), a leading developer in Mound Bayou at the time, was able to float several ambitious projects, including a cottonseed oil mill and the Bank of Mound Bayou. The oil mill, whose stock was bolstered by contributions from such outside investors as white philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, was initially capitalized at $100,000; it promised to be the industrial centerpiece of the small town.

By 1914, however, economic problems plagued Mound Bayou. The falling price of cotton and a lack of capital forced many residents to depend upon credit extended by white merchants from other communities. As economic conditions worsened, it became more and more difficult for local farmers to get the credit they needed for planting. The much heralded oil mill, opened in dramatic fashion by Booker T. Washington in November 1912, never actually went into production under the supervision of African Americans; its owners and shareholders were forced to cede control of the mill to B. B. Harvey of Memphis, an unscrupulous white businessman, while the bank failed in the fall of 1914 amid allegations of mismanagement. As the price of cotton rose during World War I, the corresponding drop in prices after the war brought little relief to the residents. Hundreds fled north as part of the first great migration during the war in search of better economic opportunities. Fewer than nine hundred residents remained by 1930.

Mound Bayou remained troubled during the 1930s and 1940s. A fire decimated most of the business district in 1941. In the same year, one observer noted that Mound Bayou was "mostly a town of old folks an' folks getting old." By World War II prosperity and pride had been replaced by poverty and disillusionment.

After World War II general prosperity nationwide brought a limited degree of revitalization to Mound Bayou. In the 1960s some black nationalists brought Mound Bayou back to the spotlight by endorsing the desirability of all-black towns. In 1966 the Tufts University Department of Community Medicine, funded by a grant from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, established an outpatient health center in Mound Bayou. Although there was some population increase, the number of inhabitants never again reached its 1907 peak. The 1970 census showed a population of slightly more than two thousand.

The 1970s witnessed an economic upsurge. Under the administration of Mayor Earl Lucas, who was elected in 1969, Mound Bayou attracted outside support for various projects. Tufts University continued to channel funds from the federal government into the local clinic and hospital. Although the funds were now granted by the Depart-

Booker T. Washington speaks to a crowd at the dedication of a cotton seed mill in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, c. 1912. *With the support of national figures like Washington, Mound Bayou grew to a city of some four thousand residents early in the twentieth century, becoming the largest African-American city in the U.S. during that period.* © CORBIS

ment of Health and Human Services (HHS), Tufts was charged with the administration of the clinic, which served the four surrounding counties. The clinic merged with the Mound Bayou Community Hospital in 1978. The two facilities were responsible for 450 jobs and served as the bulwark of the local economy. In 1977 Mound Bayou also received $4.9 million in public works funds from the U.S. Economic Development Agency; the grant was almost half of the $10 million appropriation for the entire state. In the same year, civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer, who spent her last years in Mound Bayou, died at the local hospital.

Unfortunately, by the beginning of the 1980s, the town had once again fallen on hard times. Economic cutbacks under the Reagan administration eliminated the jobs of some townspeople; at one point more than half of the residents of the town relied on either federal or state assistance for support. In 1982 a Memphis radio station raised $120,000 from the black community in one week to help diminish Mound Bayou's $209,000 debt. While this measure showed the overall support for the town, the 1990 census only registered 2,200 residents; more than one quarter of the town's population left Mound Bayou during the 1980s.

In the 1990s various other crises affected Mound Bayou. While Mayor Earl Lucas had been partly responsible for attracting funding for the hospital and federal grants, his administration left office after twenty-four years in 1993 with a municipal debt of more than $500,000. Although Lucas had been defeated in a 1989 election, due to a lawsuit alleging election improprieties in 1989, no new mayor was allowed to take office in Mound Bayou until Nerissa Norman became its first female mayor in a court-ordered special election in June 1993. Norman pledged to try to curtail municipal spending and attempted to reduce some of the small town's debt.

See also Black Towns; Migration

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JOEL N. ROSEN (1996)
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Movimento Negro Unificado

The Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU, or Unified Black Movement), widely considered the most influential black organization in Brazil in the second half of the twentieth century, was founded in São Paulo in 1978 as the Movimento Unificado Contra Discriminacao Racial (United Movement Against Racial Discrimination, or MUCDR). It arose from a collection of black organizations that had been meeting for two years with similar groups from Rio de Janeiro, with the intention of forming a national black movement. Two events in São Paulo acted as catalysts: the killing of a black worker, Robson Silveira de Luz, by the police; and the race-based expulsion of four black boys from a volleyball team.

The new organization was founded on June 18, 1978, to protest those acts and to start a national black movement. Its first act was a demonstration on the steps of the Municipal Theater in São Paulo on July 7th, 1978. At the time, Brazil was under a military dictatorship. However, while Brazil's vast African-descended population was virtually excluded from any arena of leadership and was mired in poverty and illiteracy, the regime portrayed the country as a racial democracy. The impetus for starting a black movement came from intellectuals, students, and trade union members intent on correcting this distortion of reality.

Approximately 2,000 people attended the July 7 demonstration, an unprecedented occurrence during the dictatorship. On July 23, the organization changed its name to the Movimento Negro Unificado Contra Discriminacao Racial (United Black Movement Against Racial Discrimination, or MNUCRD). At the first National Congress in Rio de Janeiro, in December 1979, the name was shortened to the Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement). The organization adopted two national campaigns: one named Jobs for Blacks, and one calling for an end to police violence.

Because race is ambiguous in Brazil (with Brazilians generally focusing on color, rather than race), a chief responsibility of the MNU was to develop and popularize a useful definition of blackness. The standard chosen was appearance: namely, skin color, facial appearance, and hair. At the end of the congress, the MNU stopped being a national black movement and became the only national black organization. It established structures, procedures, officers, and membership categories. Despite its name, the MNU was not all-encompassing. It did not unite black organizations, nor was it a movement. It was, explicitly, an organization *within* a movement.

The MNU adopted ambitious national and international agendas. Domestically, within four years the organization established chapters in nine states. The MNU worked with other black and progressive organizations, attacking the myth of racial democracy and calling for the establishment of a true racial democracy. A black vision of politics for Brazil was thus established. The MNU castigated police violence, the oppression of black women, and the marginalization of gays. The organization proposed November 20 as the National Day of Black Consciousness, in memory of Zumbi, the legendary leader of the *quilombo* (Maroon society), Palmares. The MNU also supported the ancestral rights of contemporary *quilombo* residents. A quarterly newspaper was established, at first entitled *Nego*, and after 1989 called the *MNU Jornal.*

Internationally, MNU members participated in progressive conferences on apartheid, women's rights, and black rights. They presented research papers on Afro-Brazilians at academic conferences, trying to set the record straight about race in Brazil. Through the mid-1990s, the MNU set the tone for Brazilian militant black organizations. While recognizing the importance of culture, it stressed the significance of politics, for its strength was political education. Publications and numerous activities, such as demonstrations, lobbying, public forums, public celebrations, electoral politics, and legal action, were used to inform the population. The MNU endorsed political candidates and sponsored its own. MNU members have been elected to the National Congress, state legislatures, and city councils. Most MNU members elected to office have been members of the Workers' Party, though the MNU has no affiliation with any political party and its members belong to many parties.

In 1995 the MNU was the primary organizer of the March for Zumbi, a protest against Brazilian racism and a celebration of the 300-year anniversary of Zumbi's

death. At least 40,000 activists arrived in the nation's capital of Brasília for the march on November 20. It was the largest national black demonstration ever held in Brazil.

The MNU fell on hard times during the late 1990s, mainly due to Brazil's financial troubles; internal disputes; and the development of other black organizations, notably domestic nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). National congresses became infrequent, and the *MNU Journal* was published irregularly. Although the MNU continued, it lacked its earlier vigor. In 2000 the MNU, along with the whole Brazilian Black Movement, was reinvigorated by prospects for the third United Nations World Conference against Racism, scheduled to be held in Durban, South Africa, during August and September of 2001. The MNU adopted an aggressive organizing strategy, joined other black organizations to develop a national black agenda, and sent a substantial delegation to Durban. By the time of the 2002 World Social Forum, held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, the MNU was the principal black organizational participant. Internally, it had adopted the practice of democratic centralism, a program calling for reparations for African-descended peoples globally, and the goal of a socialist Brazil.

The MNU has been an articulate voice in the struggle to destroy prevailing Brazilian racial myths and to create new understandings. The organization has never achieved a mass base, however, but has always been comprised primarily of students, intellectuals, trade union members, and other activists. Nonetheless, it was the most consistent, and perhaps the most effective, voice in changing Brazil's public discourse on race during the last quarter of the twentieth century, and it has continued its work at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

See also Frente Negra Brasileira

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DAVID L. COVIN (2005)

Moyne Commission

By the time of the Great Depression, which was particularly devastating for the plantation/mineral economies of the British Caribbean, the British government had established a tradition of appointing special committees or commissions to investigate the causes of crises that periodically occurred in different parts of the British Empire. Such crises were generally economic or political, and depending on the perceived gravity of the situation, the investigating team would carry the special seal of British authority by being designated a Royal Commission.

Such was the situation in the British Caribbean in the 1930s, which led to the appointment in late 1938 of a ten-member Royal Commission of Enquiry chaired by Lord Moyne. Moyne was the former Walter Guinness, who had had a distinguished record as a British member of Parliament from 1907 to 1931 and subsequently served as chairman of a number of committees or commissions appointed by the British government. The other members of the Royal Commission were each chosen for his or her expertise, deemed relevant to the commission's investigation, in such fields as tropical disease, social work, trade union activity, colonial administration, economics, tropical agriculture, banking, and politics.

Labor Unrest

At the time of the commission's appointment, the British Caribbean from Belize to Barbados was being overtaken by a wave of labor unrest, beginning as " hunger marches" of the unemployed in the early 1930s and then developing in the later 1930s into strikes on plantations and mineral zones, accompanied by some violence and fatalities. The most threatening of these strikes were those that developed in the oilfields of Trinidad in June 1937 and spread quickly to sugar and cocoa plantations. In the same year, the normally tranquil Barbados experienced labor unrest on its sugar plantations, and the following year the strike movement spread to Jamaica. Such labor unrest was not confined to the British Caribbean colonies in the 1930s but engulfed American-administered Puerto Rico as well as politically independent Mexico and Venezuela. This was clear evidence that the root causes of the unrest were systemic, that is, a product of the crisis in the global capitalist system. This system was even more severe on the colonial and neocolonial economies of the Caribbean, which remained dependent on a very narrow base of raw material exports to meet the requirements of growing populations for the basic necessities of life, not to mention an improved standard of living.

The commission was given the broad mandate to "investigate social and economic conditions in Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Windward Islands, and matters connected therewith, and to make recommendations" (Cmd 6607, p. xiii). It was understood that the commission's mandate included the consideration of constitutional problems insofar as they might be relevant to social and economic problems.

Moyne Commission's Recommendations

Appointed by royal warrant on August 5, 1938, the commission arrived on November 1, 1938, in the Caribbean, where it spent approximately five months, with some members even visiting Puerto Rico and the French islands, presumably with a view to comparing general conditions there with those in the British Caribbean.

By the time the commission's report was submitted on December 21, 1939, the European phase of World War II had broken out. The British government decided to release only a summary of the commission's recommendations during the war, the full report being officially withheld until July 1945. Among the recommendations was the establishment of an imperial financial grant, known as the West Indian Welfare Fund, amounting to one million pounds sterling per annum over a twenty-year period to assist in development and social welfare programs. This was a relatively paltry sum for the whole of the British West Indies. Nevertheless, the publication of this recommendation was intended to have propaganda value by convincing the British Caribbean peoples that even though it was engaged in war, the British government was taking its responsibility as trustee for its Caribbean colonies seriously and it expected His Majesty's Caribbean subjects to remain loyal to Great Britain in its hour of need. Even so, popular Caribbean opinion was not impressed. Most trenchant perhaps was the comment of the Trinidad labor leader and lawyer Adrian Cola Rienzi, who pointedly observed that Great Britain was spending six million pounds sterling per day on war but "could only afford one million pounds sterling a year for twenty years to remedy the disgraceful and shocking conditions which exist in the colonies and for which she, as Trustee, must be held accountable" (Singh, 1994, p. 190).

The full report of the commission, when it was eventually released in 1945, was quite comprehensive, covering almost every aspect of the economic, social, and political conditions in the British Caribbean. Yet, as the report itself confessed, most of these conditions had been known and deplored for many years, being the subject of numerous inquiries, both local and imperial. Nor did the report go much beyond what previous reports had recommended, except in the proposal for the West Indian Welfare Fund, to be administered by a new brace of colonial officials. The commission, like its predecessors, saw little economic prospect for most of the islands except as plantation colonies, with a greater degree of peasant agriculture and, where possible, some agroprocessing industries. Politically, it was prepared to concede constitutional reform but not political independence for the islands either as individual units or collectively as a federation. Indeed, it argued that "the claim for independence is irreconcilable with that control which, though not necessarily in its present form, must continue to be exercised, in the interests of the home taxpayer, over the finances of the colonies receiving substantial financial assistance from funds provided by Parliament" (Cmd 6607, p. 374). The commission was, therefore, not prepared to dispense with executive control by colonial governors over local legislative councils. Even though it was receptive to the popular Caribbean demand for a widening of the elective franchise, it looked forward to co-opting leading elected members of reformed legislative councils into the governor's executive council and select committees. In short, political change would be more in form than in substance.

It is hardly any wonder that once the recommendations became known, political and labor leaders in the British Caribbean became more convinced than ever that only political independence would enable their countries to achieve significant economic and social change.

See also International Relations in the Anglophone Caribbean; Urban Poverty in the Caribbean

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KELVIN SINGH (2005)

Muddy Waters (Morganfield, McKinley)

April 4, 1915
April 30, 1983

The blues singer and guitarist McKinley Morganfield, commonly known as Muddy Waters, grew up in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and took up the harmonica at age seven. He switched to the guitar at seventeen and soon began playing at local gatherings. He recorded both as a soloist and with a string band in 1941-1942 for a Library of Congress field-recording project. After moving to Chicago in 1943, he began playing the electric guitar, and by 1947 he was recording for the Aristocrat label (later Chess Records) under the name Muddy Waters. He began performing with a band that featured the harmonica player Little Walter; their recording "Louisiana Blues," made late in 1950, became a nationwide hit, entering the rhythm-and-blues Top Ten. The band, which also included Otis Spencer (pianist) and Jimmy Rogers (guitar), had many Top Ten hits in the 1950s, including "I'm Your Hoochie Coochie Man" (1953) and "I'm Ready" (1954). Muddy Waters continued to tour throughout the United States and Europe in the 1960s and received much acclaim as a primary influence on many "British Invasion" musicians. He remained active as a performer for the rest of his life, winning Grammy awards for several later recordings. He was inducted posthumously into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1987.

Muddy Waters retained a style that evoked the sound of the Delta blues. His Library of Congress recordings illustrate the influence of Son House through their searing slide guitar playing, which he maintained throughout his band recordings in the 1950s. In contrast to the smoother Chicago blues of Big Bill Broonzy (1893–1958), Muddy Waters brought a tough, aggressive edge to the urban blues, making him a seminal figure in the development of the style and establishing him among the most important post–World War II blues singers.

See also Blues, The

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October 10, 1897
February 25, 1975

The religious leader Elijah Muhammad was born Robert Elijah Poole in Sandersville, Georgia. He was one of thirteen children of an itinerant Baptist preacher and sharecropper. In 1919 he married Clara Evans and they joined the black migration to Detroit, where he worked in the auto plants. In 1931 he met Master Wallace Fard (or Wali Farad), founder of the Nation of Islam, who eventually chose this devoted disciple as his chief aide. Fard named him "Minister of Islam," dropped his slave name, Poole, and restored his true Muslim name, Muhammad. As the movement grew, a Temple of Islam was established in a Detroit storefront. It is estimated that Fard had close to 8,000 members in the Nation of Islam, consisting of poor black migrants and some former members from Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple.

After Fard mysteriously disappeared in 1934, the Nation of Islam was divided by internal schisms. Elijah Muhammad led a major faction to Chicago, where he established Temple of Islam No. 2 as the main headquarters for the Nation. He also instituted the worship of Master Fard as Allah and himself as the Messenger of Allah and head of the Nation of Islam, always addressed with the title "the Honourable." Muhammad built on the teachings of Fard and combined aspects of Islam and Christianity with the black nationalism of Marcus Garvey into a "proto-Islam," an unorthodox Islam with a strong racial slant. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's message of racial separation focused on the recognition of true black identity and stressed economic independence. "Knowledge of self" and "do for self" were the rallying cries. The economic ethic of the Black Muslims has been described as a kind of black puritanism, consisting of hard work, frugality, the avoidance of debt, self-improvement, and a conservative lifestyle. Muhammad's followers sold the Nation's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks,* and established their own

educational system of Clara Muhammad schools and small businesses such as bakeries, grocery stores, and outlets selling fish and bean pies. More than one hundred temples were founded. The disciples also followed strict dietary rules outlined in Muhammad's book *How to Eat to Live,* which enjoined one meal per day and complete abstention from pork, drugs, tobacco, and alcohol. The Nation itself owned farms in several states, a bank, trailer trucks for its fish and grocery businesses, an ultramodern printing press, and other assets.

Muhammad's ministers of Islam found the prisons and the streets of the ghetto a fertile recruiting ground. His message of self-reclamation and black manifest destiny struck a responsive chord in the thousands of black men and women whose hope and self-respect had been all but defeated by racial abuse and denigration. As a consequence of where they recruited and the militancy of their beliefs, the Black Muslims have attracted many more young black males than any other black movement.

Muhammad had an uncanny sense of the vulnerabilities of the black psyche during the social transitions brought on by two world wars; his *Message to the Black Man in America* diagnosed the problem as a confusion of identity and self-hatred caused by white racism. The cure he prescribed was radical surgery through the formation of a separate black nation. Muhammad's 120 "degrees," or lessons, and the major doctrines and beliefs of the Nation of Islam all elaborated on aspects of this central message. The white man is a "devil by nature," absolutely unredeemable and incapable of caring about or respecting anyone who is not white. He is the historic, persistent source of harm and injury to black people. The Nation of Islam's central theological myth tells of Yakub, a black mad scientist who rebelled against Allah by creating the white race, a weak, hybrid people who were permitted temporary dominance of the world. Whites achieved their power and position through devious means and "tricknology." But, according to the Black Muslim apocalyptic view, there will come a time in the not-too-distant future when the forces of good and the forces of evil—that is to say, blacks versus whites—will clash in a "Battle of Armageddon," and the blacks will emerge victorious to recreate their original hegemony under Allah throughout the world.

After spending four years in a federal prison for encouraging draft refusal during World War II, Elijah Muhammad was assisted by his chief protégé, Minister Malcolm X, in building the movement and encouraging its rapid spread in the 1950s and 1960s. During its peak years, the Nation of Islam had more than half a million devoted followers (while influencing millions more) and accumulated an economic empire worth an estimated $80 million. Besides his residence in Chicago, Muhammad also lived in a mansion outside of Phoenix, Arizona, since the climate helped to reduce his respiratory problems. He had eight children with his wife, Sister Clara Muhammad, but also fathered a number of illegitimate children with his secretaries, a circumstance that was one of the reasons for Malcolm X's final break with the Nation of Islam in 1964.

With only a third-grade education, Elijah Muhammad was the leader of the most enduring black militant movement in the United States. He died in Chicago and was succeeded by one of his six sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad. After his death, Muhammad's estate and the property of the Nation were involved in several lawsuits over the question of support for his illegitimate children.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Malcolm X; Nation of Islam; Noble Drew Ali; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA (1996)

Mulzac, Hugh

March 26, 1886
January 31, 1971

Hugh Mulzac, a seaman, was born on March 26, 1886, on Union Island, one of the small islands of the multistate of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. After completing secondary education in the capital town, Kingstown, he was lured to the sea. This was not surprising since in the small islands of the Grenadines the sea was always a central part of one's childhood consciousness. Moreover his father had moved from cotton planting to a preoccupation with the shipbuilding and whaling business. He began by sailing the islands of the eastern Caribbean in a ship captained by his brother before deciding to volunteer as a seaman on a ship commanded by a Norwegian, the son of a missionary.

Thus began a career that found him working on a variety of ships in England and Europe before moving to

America in 1911. He worked his way through the ranks while at the same time educating himself at the Swansea Nautical School in Wales, and later obtained a master's license in the United States with a perfect score. Mulzac held two diplomas and master's papers for some twenty years before he was given his own ship and gained the distinction of being the first black person to command an American merchant ship. That ship was the *Booker T. Washington,* named after the famous black American who founded the Tuskegee Institute. The launching of the *Booker T.* was a much celebrated occasion that highlighted a performance by the famous black contralto, Marion Anderson.

Mulzac's achievement came after a long struggle against racial discrimination. Despite his qualifications and experience, for a long period of time he was only able to receive work as a steward and chief cook. When given command of the *Booker T. Washington* in 1942, the intention was to put him in charge of what would have been a Jim Crow ship. He refused and demanded an integrated crew, which he finally got. Under Mulzac the *Booker T. Washington* became a model ship with union meetings, educational activities, and fund-raising for a variety of causes being held on board.

Despite his war service, Mulzac was blacklisted during the McCarthy era for his membership in a number of organizations, among them the Council for West Indian Federation. He was called before a House Committee and questioned about his political beliefs and associations. He had been involved with Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and actually commanded the *Yarmouth,* one of the ships in Garvey's Black Star Line until the collapse of that enterprise. He involved himself in other Pan-African movements and tried unsuccessfully for political office at the borough level as a member of the American Labour Party.

After retirement from active service in the Merchant Marine and still subjected to racism, he returned to St. Vincent. He died during a brief visit to the United States at age eighty-four. Hugh Mulzac is one of a select group slated for National Hero status in the country of his birth. He has so far had one of the country's Coast Guard ships, the *Hugh Mulzac,* named after him.

See also Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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ADRIAN FRASER (2005)

Mum Bett, Mumbet

See Freeman, Elizabeth (Mum Bett, Mumbet)

Muralists

A culturally hybrid art form, the African-American mural is deeply rooted in ancient and modern African cultures; it also draws from both traditional and modernist Euro-American aesthetic and sociopolitical values. Inspired as much by social and economic conditions as by artistic vision, the African-American mural has reflected historical developments in American life and also helped effect social change. In black communities and on historically black college campuses across the United States, the African-American mural is an ongoing source of cultural pride. Because murals have been among the works most often selected by textbook editors to illustrate African-American achievement in the visual arts, murals by such artists as Aaron Douglas, Hale Woodruff, and Charles White are among the most widely reproduced and readily recognized examples of African-American art.

While confronting the artist with numerous technical challenges, the mural form nonetheless enables him or her to reach countless individuals who may not visit museums or galleries. As a large-scale work of public art, the mural addresses great numbers of viewers from all walks of life. Its large size and usual placement in public spaces make it an especially forceful and effective communication medium. This essential democratic nature makes the mural ideal for celebrating the historical, mythic, and symbolic aspects of African-American life and culture.

Broadly speaking, a mural is a large-scale work of art specifically designed to fill and complement an interior or exterior architectural space—a wall, ceiling, or floor. Not all murals are painted; bas- (low) relief murals may be carved from a flat wood or stone surface, creating a design that is raised in low relief from the background. Other materials may also be used. Glazed tiles, enameled steel panels, terrazzo, and other durable materials can make even exterior murals relatively permanent.

The mural's flat surface and spatial amplitude are especially well suited to telling a story, recounting a historic

event, or celebrating the heroism and achievements of historical figures. Because its story or message is expressed through visual images rather than words, the mural enables an artist to communicate with viewers regardless of their language or literacy. A relatively permanent, site-specific work, a mural seldom changes owners and frequently remains in perpetuity under the custodianship of a public institution where it is preserved and presented as a cultural treasure.

The African-American Muralist

African-American muralists are neither an identifiable group nor a school of artists; their common features include only their ethnicity and their occasional production of murals. All have worked primarily in other media. Because they have pursued different visions and styles in different eras and at different stages of their careers, they cannot easily be categorized or characterized. While many have worked primarily with black subjects and themes and addressed their work primarily to minority audiences, others have chosen to work with cross-cultural subjects and themes, creating works for broader audiences. Some identify themselves as "black artists," others as "artists who happen also to be black." Recognizing this multiplicity of aims, audiences, and self-identifications is central to understanding and appreciating African-American artists, for no single characterization adequately encompasses the rich diversity of subjects, themes, and styles with which they have worked.

Because the mural gives powerful voice to an artist's narrative, historical, and sometimes propagandistic or didactic impulses, artists sometimes choose this form when they wish to make an especially important and lasting statement. Socially conscious artists sometimes employ the mural to offer both aesthetic and intellectual nourishment to ordinary citizens who often assume that art is inaccessible or irrelevant to their lives.

From Africa to the Americas

Since the dawn of civilization in the great river valleys of Africa, visual artists have recorded, recounted, celebrated, and preserved human history, achievements, and cultural values by decorating their homes, tombs, and public buildings with figurative and symbolic representations of heroic events and everyday life. Throughout Africa, ancient and modern peoples have created murals using whatever materials were available to them. Ancient Egyptian artisans painted elaborate scenes on plastered or stuccoed interior walls and carved detailed bas-relief scenes on stone panels to decorate exterior walls. Today, women of the Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa continue ancient traditions, covering the mud plaster exterior walls of their homes with painted, incised, and inlaid designs combining centuries-old patterns and symbols with images drawn from modern life. Whether the sophisticated products of highly skilled artists or the humble, individual expressions of housewives preserving the vernacular ancestral arts, African murals demonstrate a timeless impulse to decorate architectural surfaces with scenes, images, and symbols depicting a people's history, values, and aesthetic visions.

In Europe the mural experienced its apex with the fresco painting of the Italian Renaissance. Although mural painting never died out completely in the West, it fell generally out of favor until Diego Rivera (1886–1957), José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949), and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896–1974) revived the mural form in Mexico during the late 1920s and 1930s. A flurry of mural painting in the United States soon followed. The Mexican muralists' methods and motives proved a pivotal influence on African-American artists during the 1930s. Observing how these masters of politically and socially charged public art effectively employed the mural form to educate and raise the nationalistic consciousness of a largely illiterate and disunited people in Mexico, leading black American artists recognized the mural's great potential for raising racial consciousness and validating racial identity among black Americans. The influence of the Mexican muralists is readily evident in the murals of Charles Alston, Aaron Douglas, Vertis Hayes, Charles White, Hale Woodruff, and many others.

Materials and Methods

African-American muralists work with both traditional and new materials and methods. Murals painted on plaster are called frescoes. To paint a fresco, artists first render the design in a small-scale drawing called a cartoon. Then they enlarge the design and transfers its basic outlines to the prepared surface. The painting may be done with the help of one or more skilled assistants. In the case of a buon (true) fresco, a smooth final layer of lime plaster (the intonaco) must be applied to the surface a small section at a time to ensure that it is still wet when painted. The artist must work quickly and cannot go back and make revisions. Fresco secco is more commonly used today. Less difficult but also less permanent, it is made by applying water-based paint to dry plaster.

Many murals today are painted in an artist's studio on large canvas panels, tailored to the exact dimensions and shapes of the architectural spaces they are to occupy. When completed, the canvas panels are assembled and in-

Landscape Mural, ***Robert S. Duncanson, oil on plaster, 1850–1852.*** *Duncanson, a traditionalist painter best known for his classical-romantic landscape studies, painted a series of eight landscape frescoes for the foyer of a former Cincinnati mansion, now the Taft Museum.* BEQUEST OF CHARLES PHELPS AND ANNA SINTON TAFT, TAFT MUSEUM OF ART, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

stalled under the artist's supervision in the spaces for which they were created, perhaps under the arc formed by a vaulted ceiling or on the wall of a multiple-storied atrium or stairwell.

History of the African-American Mural

The history of the African-American mural reflects the rough outlines of the development of African-American art. Its story is largely confined to the twentieth century and rooted in the institutions of the black community. The wide diversity among the murals black American artists have created over more than a century's time reflects broad developments in African-American art as well as the individual visions of the artists.

THE TRADITIONALISTS. Because opportunities for training and patronage were limited for African-American artists prior to the 1930s, few are known to have created murals before the revival brought on by the Mexican muralists. The finest example from the nineteenth century is Robert Scott Duncanson. Duncanson was a traditionalist painter best known for his classical-romantic landscape studies. From 1848 to 1850 he painted a series of eight landscape frescoes for the foyer of a former Cincinnati mansion, now the Taft Museum.

Although William Édouard Scott's career bridged the romantic and modern eras, he remained a traditionalist painter long after his younger colleagues had embraced African art, European modernism, and New Negro themes. In 1913 Scott painted two murals for public schools in Indianapolis, each depicting childhood themes and featuring black subjects. In 1933 he completed two murals for the Harlem YMCA in New York City.

THE NEW NEGRO RENAISSANCE. The New Negro Renaissance of the late 1920s and 1930s was a watershed for African-American visual arts. Modernist aesthetic theories and styles joined forces with the ideas of the New Negro Movement, creating a fresh and vital artistic vision. By nurturing a community of race-conscious black artists and intellectuals, by providing new sources of training and patronage, and by establishing alternative means for validating the achievements of black artists within the institutions of the African-American community, the Harlem Renaissance set the intellectual and aesthetic stage for the flurry of mural painting activity in the 1930s.

Pioneering black modernist and New Negro artist Aaron Douglas was the first African-American artist successfully to combine African imagery and sensibilities with European modernist styles, creating a culturally hybrid African-American art. He was also the most prolific African-American muralist. Early in his career, Douglas painted murals for Harlem cabarets. *Club Ebony* (1927) and *Club Harlem* (1928) are long gone; with them disappeared Douglas's exotic Africanesque scenes fusing jungle drums, rhythms, and dances with the music and dance of Jazz Age Harlem.

As the cultural renaissance of the 1920s flowed seamlessly into the 1930s, Douglas undertook a number of important mural projects, perfecting his original and distinctive style. In these monumental works he documented with heroic grandeur and mystical wonder his people's journey from ancient Africa to modern urban America, celebrating their aspirations and achievements. Douglas's mural style is distinguished by hard-edge, larger-than-life figures dominating flat, geometrically segmented grounds. His most significant murals include an extensive series of frescoes for Fisk University's Cravath Library (1930), nightclub murals for Chicago's Sherman Hotel (1930), a panel commemorating Harriet Tubman for Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina (1931), a fresco for

Aaron Douglas (1899–1979). *One of the most significant African-American muralists of the twentieth century, Douglas began his career as an illustrator in Harlem, providing sketches and other images for the journals* Crisis *and* Opportunity *during the 1920s and 1930s.* GIBBS MUSEUM OF ART/CAA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Harlem's 135th Street YMCA (1933), a series of four canvas panels for the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library (1934), and a series of four murals for the Texas Centennial Exposition (1936).

Although they did not turn to mural painting until well into the 1930s, several other important artists are also identified with this earliest generation of race-conscious black American artists. Although only a few years older than their students, this so-called "Harlem Renaissance generation" mentored younger artists whose careers began in the 1930s. Both generations were prolific producers of murals during the latter part of that decade.

Hale Woodruff's powerful 1939 series of three mural panels commemorating the centennial of the Amistad slave mutiny and trial stands among the finest examples of the African-American mural. It is owned by Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama. Charles Alston's interest in the healing arts of ancient magic and modern medicine resulted in an important and compelling pair of canvas panels for Harlem Hospital (1936–1937). In 1938 sculptor Richmond Barthé created a monumental pair of bas-relief marble panels for the exterior facade of the Harlem River Housing Project in New York City. Archibald Motley was the premiere black Chicago painter of his era. He created a number of murals for schools and public buildings, including *United States Mail* (1937), a vivid stagecoach scene for the Wood River, Illinois, Post Office. On the West Coast, sculptor Sargent Johnson also produced several murals during the 1930s.

THE 1930S. New Negro artists' thinking about art and society was further refined by the new ideas of a new decade. The strong leftist sympathies that swept through American artistic and intellectual circles in the 1930s joined forces with the "cultural democracy" aims of New Deal art programs, creating a compelling ideological base for a socially conscious, nonelitist "people's art." Many black muralists joined the radical left. For radicalized New Negro artists, cultural democracy meant employing their art to engender racial unity and pride. By using public art to teach the black masses about their rich history and cultural heritage, artists helped to raise black consciousness, setting the stage for the civil rights movement a generation later.

Increased patronage in the late 1930s further stimulated mural production among African-American artists. New Deal art programs provided unprecedented government patronage. The U.S. Treasury Department's Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) (1933–1934), Section of Painting and Sculpture (1934–1942), and Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) (1935–1936); the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) programs administered through the states (1933–1935); and the Federal Arts Project (FAP) of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) (1935–1942) hired artists to decorate public buildings across America. Although these programs professed a commitment to nondiscrimination, they hired few black artists until after the Harlem Artists Guild began lobbying federal agency officials for more jobs. Guild members included Charles Alston, Selma Day (active 1933–1951), Aaron Douglas, Vertis Hayes (1911–), Elba Lightfoot (1910–), Sara Murrell (active 1936–1939), and Georgette Seabrooke Powell, all of whom secured employment on federal mural projects. The guild's efforts significantly increased the number of black artists hired by New Deal agencies nationwide and helped to place a few black artists in supervisory positions. More than a hundred African-American artists were employed on New York City's WPA/FAP. Although black women artists benefited in significant numbers, sexism usually relegated them to jobs teaching art rather than producing it. This may in part explain the relative dearth of black women muralists, for many of their male counterparts were initiated into the mural medium through their work on New Deal mural projects.

THE INTERIM YEARS. While the period spanning the first great black cultural awakening of the 1920s and 1930s and

the black arts movement of the late 1960s and 1970s saw significantly less activity in African-American mural production, it nonetheless yielded some outstanding murals by well-established black artists. The loss of federal patronage was a significant factor in the decline in the number of mural commissions.

During these relatively lean years for black artists, much of their patronage came from within the black community. Blacks commissioned murals for their homes, businesses, and community gathering places. Aaron Douglas painted murals for two private residences in Wilmington, Delaware. Charles Alston and Hale Woodruff were commissioned in 1948 by the Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company to paint a pair of mural panels documenting the contributions of black people in settling and building the state of California. In 1953 a Houston minister commissioned John T. Biggers to paint *The Contribution of Negro Women to American Life and Education* for the Blue Triangle Branch of the Houston YWCA.

America's historically black colleges and universities played a central and ongoing patronage role during these years. In 1943 Charles White completed Hampton University's *The Contribution of the Negro to American Democracy,* a kaleidoscopic "visual textbook" surveying the faces and figures of more than twenty great African-American men and women. His mentorship had a lasting effect on Hampton undergraduates who watched him as he painted; Persis Jennings (active c. 1942–1944) subsequently painted murals at Fort Eustis, Virginia (1942) and the East End Baptist Church in Suffolk, Virginia (c. 1942–1944). Hale Woodruff's *Art of the Negro,* a series of six panels completed in 1950 for the Arnett Library at Atlanta University, is an outstanding example from this period.

For decades, white philanthropies—whose patronage and interest had been carefully cultivated in the 1920s and 1930s by intermediary patrons like W. E. B. Du Bois and Charles S. Johnson—continued to award fellowships to black artists. Yet their support dwindled after the 1930s. The Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago and the Carnegie Foundation of New York provided a good deal of support for black artists but funded very few mural projects after their interests shifted to the education and training of artists.

THE BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT. The black arts movement of the late 1960s and 1970s marked the second major cultural awakening in black America. Led by young artists radicalized by the Black Power movement, the black arts movement earned the support of some elder black artists but created sharp tensions among others. It helped to revitalize a languishing African-American art and stimulated a resurgent interest in mural painting.

The African-American mural moved out of doors and into the streets of America's urban ghettoes in the late 1960s, when radicalized artists recognized and seized upon the public mural's communication potential. In cities across the country, militant black artists organized massive-scale, collaborative mural projects in an effort to create a "people's art." Submerging the artists' individual identities and voices in a collective, revolutionary chorus, they brought art into neighborhoods where social and economic conditions attested to the oppression and exploitation these artists reviled. Covering entire exterior walls of inner-city buildings with boldly colorful, naive images of black pride, black power, African heritage, and African-American heroes and heroines, they raised race consciousness and fostered pride and dignity among America's dispossessed minorities.

Best known of these outdoor murals is Chicago's *Wall of Respect* (1967). Created by AfriCobra (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists) leader and Howard University art professor Jeff Donaldson (1932–) and other members of the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC), this work spawned hundreds of similar outdoor murals in cities all across the United States. Conceived and executed as vehicles for community involvement, these projects brought skilled, socially committed artists together with young people who learned to reclaim their cultural heritage as they painted its imagery on neighborhood walls.

Even after the black arts movement declined, the painting of murals on neighborhood walls continued. In the 1990s inner-city walls were dotted with portraits of black heroes, tributes to slain rap singers, and slogans. This rich vernacular tradition in turn influenced artistic professionals. A notable example was Jean-Michael Basquiat, the wunderkind of the 1980s, who used a colorful palette and action-packed composition in a notable mural on New York's East Village.

THE RECENT PAST. The mural is not a static art form; its evolution in black America reflects a changing American society over time, as well as the artists' changing relationship with that society. In recent decades established and respected African-American artists have won prestigious mural commissions both in and outside the black community. Two of the most prominent artists are Romare Bearden and Jacob Lawrence. Both only undertook mural commissions in their mature years after establishing their reputations in other media.

The pioneering and best-known collagist of his time, Bearden was nearly sixty when he created *The Block* (1971), a six-panel collage depicting life in the buildings

of a block-long stretch of a busy Harlem street. A tape recording of street sounds is part of the mural's installation. His 1983 mosaic, *Baltimore Uproar,* marks the subway station near Billie Holiday's birthplace in Baltimore. In 1984 Bearden completed *Pittsburgh Recollections,* a ceramic tile mosaic mural depicting that city's black history and installed in an underground subway station.

Jacob Lawrence, who for decades had expressed his narrative impulses through extensive series of small images collectively recounting long, heroic stories drawn from dramatic episodes in African-American history, was in his sixties before he began combining multiple images into murals. In 1979, he completed *Games,* a ten-panel sports mural for Seattle's Kingdome Stadium. In 1985 Lawrence completed *Theater* for the University of Washington.

Contemporary ideas, materials, and styles have continued to keep African-American murals vital, fresh, and dynamic. Lawrence's *Exploration* (1980) is a thematically and visually connected series of twelve enamels on steel panels. A fresh and vital exploration of the interrelationships among the academic disciplines, the mural was installed in Howard University's Blackburn University Center in 1980. In *Origins* Lawrence used the same materials for a visual exploration of Harlem history and life. This work was installed near *Exploration* in 1984.

One of the most unusual and moving murals of recent years is Houston Conwill's 1990 floor mural, *Rivers,* inspired by Langston Hughes's poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers." Installed in the lobby outside the Langston Hughes Auditorium at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black History of the New York Public Library, Conwill's terrazzo "cosmogram" celebrates the spread of African culture throughout the world. The mural also covers the tomb in which the poet's ashes were interred in 1990.

One of the students who had watched Charles White paint his fresco at Hampton in 1942 and 1943 was John T. Biggers. Nearly four decades later, Biggers returned to his alma mater to paint two panels flanking the five-story atrium of the university's new Harvey Library. *House of the Turtle* and *Tree House* were completed in 1992. Their mystical, mythic figures, symbolic images, and repetitive geometric patterns express a cosmology that spiritually and functionally interconnects their human figures, the natural world, and the built environment.

See also *Amistad* Mutiny; Bearden, Romare; Black Arts Movement; Douglas, Aaron; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Harlem Renaissance; Holiday, Billie; Johnson, Charles Spurgeon; Lawrence, Jacob; New Negro; Painting and Sculpture; Tubman, Harriet; Woodruff, Hale

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LINDA NIEMAN (1996)

Murphy, Eddie

April 3, 1961

Actor and comedian Eddie Murphy was born in Brooklyn, New York. His father was a New York policeman and amateur comedian, and his mother a phone operator. Murphy's father was killed on duty when his son was three years old; his mother remarried, and the family moved from Brooklyn, when Murphy was nine, to the Long Island, New York, town of Roosevelt.

Murphy's talent at "ranking," a version of the "dozens" (a traditional street pastime of trading witty insults), earned him a position as a host of an after-school talent show at a local hangout, the Roosevelt Youth Center. After the favorable response he received from his Al Green impression, Murphy became a stand-up comedian, and soon was making $25 and $50 a week performing at Long Island nightclubs. In 1979, when he was just out of high school, he appeared at the Comic Strip in Manhattan, which led to a successful audition for the television show *Saturday Night Live.*

Murphy emerged as a success on *Saturday Night Live* through his satirical impressions of such well-known African Americans as Bill Cosby, Stevie Wonder, and Muhammad Ali. Among his most famous characters were "Mister

Robinson," a mean-spirited inner-city version of the children's television host Mister Rogers; a grown-up "Buckwheat" from "The Little Rascals"; "Velvet Jones," a book-writing, irreverent pimp; and "Tyrone Green," an illiterate convict poet.

In 1982 Murphy recorded an album of live stand-up material, earning him a gold record and a Grammy nomination. In the same year he costarred in his first motion picture, the highly successful *48 Hours,* playing a fast-talking convict who is released for two days to help track down a criminal. Murphy reached the height of his popularity in the 1980s with the films *Trading Places* (1983), *Beverly Hills Cop* (1985), *The Golden Child* (1986), *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987), and *Raw* (1987), a highly successful though controversial, full-length concert film. In 1988 he played multiple roles in *Coming to America,* and in 1989 he wrote, directed, and starred in *Harlem Nights*; he also made his recording debut with the album *So Happy*. In 1992 Murphy starred in two more films, *Boomerang* and *The Distinguished Gentleman,* though their box office success was only moderate.

Following a stream of largely unsuccessful films, including *Vampire in Brooklyn* (1995), Murphy's career was revitalized in 1996 by *The Nutty Professor,* a remake of the Jerry Lewis classic that was successful enough to prompt a sequel, *Nutty Professor II: The Klumps* (2000), also starring Murphy. In 1998 the actor starred in another popular remake, *Dr. Dolittle,* which was also followed by a sequel, and in the same year his voice was featured in the animated film *Mulan*. In another animated offering, Murphy was heard in the voice of a donkey in the hit movie *Shrek (2001),* a popular and critical success that led to the sequel *Shrek 2* in 2004. In 2003 Murphy starred in the Walt Disney film *The Haunted Mansion.*

Murphy started his own company, Eddie Murphy Enterprises, Ltd., in 1986, which, in a special agreement with CBS, has produced series, pilots, and specials for network television.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Comedians; Cosby, Bill; Wonder, Stevie (Morris, Stevland)

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Pauli Murray (1910–1985). *A lifelong civil rights advocate, Murray served as a lawyer, educator, deputy attorney general, and ordained minister. Often the first African-American woman to fill the many positions she occupied, Murray worked tirelessly to destroy the legal and political obstacles created by racism and racial discrimination and fought the stereotypes that limited the lives of women—especially African-American women—in equally damaging ways.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Murray, Pauli

November 20, 1910
July 1, 1985

During the course of a remarkably diverse life, lawyer, poet, and minister Pauli Murray was a pioneer among African Americans and women in a number of fields. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland. Her postsecondary education spanned six decades, beginning at Hunter College (B.A., 1933); continuing at Howard University Law School (LL.B., 1944); the University of California, Berkeley (LL.M., 1945), and Yale Law School, where in 1965 she became the first African American to receive the degree of doctor of juridical science. Her education culminated in 1976 at General Theological Seminary in New York, where, as the only African-American female enrolled, she received the master of divinity degree.

When not pursuing her studies, Murray maintained several distinct careers. She served as deputy attorney general of California, becoming, in January 1946, the first African American to hold that position. During the 1967–1968 school year, she was vice president of Benedict Col-

lege. From 1968 to 1973 she was professor of American studies at Brandeis University; in 1972 she was named Louis Stulberg Professor of Law and Politics at Brandeis. From 1977 until her retirement from public life in 1984, she was an Episcopal priest in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore.

Murray's published writings include *States' Laws on Race and Color* (1951), which Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993) referred to as the bible for lawyers fighting segregation laws; *Dark Testament and Other Poems* (1970), a collection of poetry; and her autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage* (published posthumously in 1987, it received both the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award and the Christopher Award).

Murray's achievements and honors also included being named Woman of the Year in 1946 by the National Council of Negro Women and in 1947 by *Mademoiselle* magazine; serving as one of the thirty-two founders of the National Organization for Women in 1966; receiving the Eleanor Roosevelt Award from the Professional Women's Caucus in 1971; and, on January 8, 1977, becoming the first African-American woman ordained as a priest in the Episcopal church. On July 1, 1985, Pauli Murray died of cancer in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

See also Marshall, Thurgood

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated bibliography

MUSEUMS

The spirit of innovation, survival, and black creative expression has been preserved for more than a century through a range of research libraries, archives, and museums. Devoted to the black experience in the Americas and throughout the globe, these institutions document the history of struggle and achievement that are the hallmarks of African-American life and culture. Since the founding of the College Museum at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, in 1868, material culture—household artifacts, photographs, diaries and letters, and other memorabilia, as well as sculpture, paintings, and more contemporary media such as films and videos—has been vigorously collected and interpreted to enhance public awareness and appreciation. Today, this tradition of cultural presentation is maintained by nearly 140 institutions and galleries throughout the United States.

Hampton's College Museum (now Hampton University Museum) was truly a pioneer in this effort. Established to enrich vocational and academic instruction and to provide the broader community with otherwise unavailable cultural experiences, the museum was the brainchild of Colonel Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Today, the Hampton University Museum is noted for its important collection of African artworks, acquired by a black nineteenth-century missionary to Africa. Its holdings also include significant works of African-American and Native American artists (the latter group a reflection of the student body at the time of the museum's establishment) and a major bequest from the Harmon Foundation, which sponsored a prestigious national competition for African-American artists from 1926 until 1933.

Black cultural preservation was also advanced through the formation of literary societies and church archives. Beginning with the Bethel Literary and Historical Association (founded circa 1880) and the Negro Historical Society (1887), and, following the turn of the century, the Negro Society for Historical Research, these organizations were, in many ways, precursors to African-American museums.

Early research collections were often formed from materials lovingly accumulated by race-conscious bibliographies and lay historians. Such was the case for Howard University's Library of Negro Life in Washington, D.C., which received a 1,600-volume library from former abolitionist Lewis Tappan in 1873 and a gift of 3,000 books and historical ephemera from Reverend Jesse Moorland in 1914. The collection was augmented in 1946 by a donation of the considerable library of famed civil rights attorney Arthur Spingarn, becoming in the process the Moorland-Spingarn Library (now the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center). In New York, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, a black Puerto Rican immigrant, responded to a teacher's comment that "the Negro has no history" by exhaustively seeking information on Africans and their descendants throughout the world. He began seriously collecting in 1910 and rapidly developed diverse holdings of manuscripts, rare books, pamphlets, sheet music, and artworks.

By 1926, the magnitude of the Schomburg Collection led to its purchase by the Carnegie Foundation for the Harlem branch of the New York Public Library. Today, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture is considered the foremost research facility of its kind in the world, with holdings in excess of five million items detailing the histories of blacks in Africa, the Americas, and elsewhere.

With the racial pride and interest in Africa that emerged in the 1920s, the campuses of historically black colleges and universities aimed to enhance teaching generally for the black academic community and to make works of art available to the general public. Howard University began the trend in 1928, soon followed by Fisk (Nashville), Lincoln (Pennsylvania), Tuskegee (Alabama), Morgan State (Baltimore), and Talladega (Florida) universities, among others. The galleries at these schools provided one of the few sources for exhibition and criticism for a generation of black artists and performed a major service to contemporary African-American art history by preserving a body of artwork and related historical documents that might otherwise have been dispersed, lost, or destroyed. The significant outpouring of black creative expression that resulted from the Harlem Renaissance, and, later, the large number of works commissioned through the Federal Arts Project of the Works Project Administration (WPA) during the Depression era, make up the primary holdings of many of these institutions.

Assisted by the WPA in the 1940s, organizations such as the Uptown Art Center in New York (founded in sculptor Augusta Savage's garage studio), Cleveland's Karamu House, and Chicago's South Side Community Art Center provided free art instruction for local residents and aspiring artists and in many ways performed museum-like functions. Major artists, including Charles White, Archibald Motley, Romare Bearden, and Jacob Lawrence, received early training through these centers. In a similar fashion, the Barnett-Aden Gallery in Washington, D.C., which opened in 1940, provided a focal point for artistic activity in that city by mounting numerous exhibitions of black artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in addition to hosting public lectures and gallery talks.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s created a new black cultural renaissance. The museums established during this period moved awareness of African-American history to a new plateau. In their expression of a black perspective and through their efforts to preserve black history, these institutions sought to use their collections to motivate African Americans to "define themselves, their future and their understanding of their past" (Harding, 1967, p. 40). This came at a time when information about black achievements was generally excluded from common history texts and from other museums. Black history was seen, says Vincent Harding, "as a weapon for the Civil Rights Movement." Responding to the void of available information, the San Francisco African American Historical and Cultural Society was founded in 1955, soon followed by the DuSable Museum of African American History (originally the Ebony Museum) in 1961 in Chicago and the Afro-American Museum of Detroit in 1965.

During this period, a unique effort involving students, scouts, local scholars, and government agencies in an urban-archaeology project in Brooklyn, New York, uncovered a black settlement dating back to the nineteenth century, which led to the formation of the Society for the Preservation of Historic Weeksville. Today it continues its archaeological research on a forgotten early black community. The efforts of the Museum of Afro-American History in Boston during this period were instrumental in the preservation of the oldest existing black church building, the African Meeting House. The restored building serves as the centerpiece of the fourteen-site Black Heritage Trail, which explores Boston's rich nineteenth-century African-American community. Also in Boston, the Museum of the National Center of Afro-American Artists was created to provide a leading showcase for artists of the African diaspora.

The Smithsonian Institution created the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum (now the Anacostia Museum and Center for African American History and Culture) in 1967 in Washington, D.C., as a "storefront" model for museum outreach. Its goal was to "enliven the community and enlighten the people it serves" (American Association of Museums, 1972, p. 6). Such an outreach was invaluable in the wake of the civil unrest that followed the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s April 1968 assassination. Although the Smithsonian Institution provided funding support and technical expertise, exhibition planning, public programs, and overall administration were determined by the surrounding community. As a result, exhibition themes addressed community issues and urban problems as much as historical events. Other mainstream museums, often in response to confrontations with angry artists, were forced to reevaluate their relationships with urban communities and initiated outreach programs. Thus, the Junior Council of the Museum of Modern Art in New York played an important role in the creation of the Studio Museum of Harlem (1968), now the nation's foremost showcase for African-American artists. The Brooklyn Museum replicated the Smithsonian's effort by establishing an outreach center known as the New Muse.

The most noteworthy points of contention between mainstream museums and African-American artists and museum professionals regarded the exclusion of African-American artists in museum exhibitions. Two exhibitions in New York forced the issue of institutional discrimination: the Whitney Museum of American Art's "The 1930's: Painting and Sculpture in America" (1968) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's "Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900–1968" (1969).

With the Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s, African-American museums were founded with increasing frequency with the view that such institutions fostered "a way of empowerment" and a method of moving black history to a new plateau of public awareness. To provide space for these expressions and to serve greatly heightened interest, museums were formed throughout the country. The Afro-American Historical Society in New Haven, Connecticut, was founded as a research library with an estimated 250,000 volumes; and in Providence, the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society instituted pioneering techniques to involve black audiences in the actual collection and cataloging of artifacts. The Black Archives of Mid-America, based in both Kansas and Missouri, collects black cultural information from the midwestern region. To preserve the experience of blacks in the West, the Black America West Museum and Heritage Center in Denver was established. The United States bicentennial led to the creation of Philadelphia's Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum and led the way for tapping municipal, state, and federal support for African-American museums.

Between 1975 and 1990, black museums were formed in California, Texas, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Colorado, Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia, including new institutions devoted to the civil rights movement. In 1991 the National Civil Rights Museum opened in Memphis at the site of the Lorraine Motel where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in 1968. In addition, nearly twenty museums dedicated to exploring the history of African Americans and the African diaspora were founded in the 1990s in such states as Iowa, Louisiana, California, Washington, Florida, Maryland, and Indiana. Struggling with limited economic and human resources, these institutions nonetheless serve the broadest possible mandate—cultural, educative, political, social, and civic. Their tradition of service forges a vital historical link between past and future.

In 2003 President George W. Bush signed legislation to establish the National Museum of African American History and Culture. Slated to open in 2012, this museum will gain national prominence on the mall in Washington, D.C., as part of the Smithsonian Institution. The symbolism of the prestigious location has already fulfilled the dreams of many African Americans who have sought the national recognition of African-American contributions through an institution in the nation's capital.

See also Archival Collections; Art Collections; Historians/Historiography; Music Museums and Historical Sites; Schomburg, Arthur

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AMINA DICKERSON (1996)
BRIDGET R. COOKS (2005)

Music

This entry consists of three distinct articles examining music in African-American culture in Latin America, in the United States, and an essay on the intersection of music, religion, and crime in early-twentieth-century Brazil, with a specific concentration on Rio de Janeiro.

MUSIC IN LATIN AMERICA
James Peterson
Marcela Poveda

Music in the United States
Portia K. Maultsby

Music, Religion, and Perceptions of Crime in Early Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro
Marc Adam Hertzman

Music in Latin America

Nicolas Slonimsky, the author of *Music of Latin America* (1945), the first comprehensive account of Latin American music published in the United States, divides the developments of the music in this region (Latin America) into four periods: (1) Pre-Columbian, (2) Early Centuries of the Conquest, (3) Formation of National Cultures, and (4) Modern. The Pre-Columbian Cultures period includes all of the musical cultures that existed prior to Columbus's forays into the "New World." This period features "primitive musical instincts expressed in singing and rhythmic stamping" (Slonimsky, p. 71) and a variety of *sui generis* musical instruments—such as drums made from hollow tree trunks and animal skins, and gourds fashioned into shakers by placing dried seeds inside. The Early Centuries of the Conquest period covers the years from 1492 to 1750. It is marked by the influx of nonaboriginal cultures and music to the region, including the church music of Jesuits and the "infusion of African rhythms consequent upon the importation of Negro slaves" (Slonimsky, p. 71). The Formation of National Cultures period (1750–1900) is marked by the region's sense of nationalism, especially as it is manifest in the creation of national anthems following the wars of independence. Finally, what Slonimsky calls the Modern Era of Latin American Music (1900–1950) includes two signal paradigmatic shifts in the musical cultures of Latin America. The first of these was the "[e]mergence of native creative composers who combine[d] in their music a deep racial and national consciousness with modern technique" (Slonimsky, p. 72). The second shift reflected European and North American acceptance of Latin America "into the commonwealth of universal musical culture on equal terms with the great schools of composition" (Slonimsky, p. 72).

Slonimksy's work clearly reflects certain racial and cultural biases inherent in music scholarship. The purpose of this essay, however, is not to produce a critical analysis of the historiography of Latin American musical scholarship; nor is it to rehearse the comprehensive work of scholars such as Nicolas Slonimsky (1945), Gerard Behague (1979) and John Schechter (1999). Instead, the models established by these scholars will be used to focus on the historical contributions and influences of African peoples on the music of Latin America. The most significant contributions relate to African continuity and influences on the music, and the postmodern contribution to the development of hip-hop culture in particular Latin American countries. This hip-hop era in Latin American music began in the 1980s.

Latin America consists of more than twenty republics, not all of which contain significant African populations. These twenty republics are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. However, only the following countries warrant consideration for the African influences on their respective music and cultures: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Because of their cultural and geographic relation to the Atlantic Ocean and the African slave trade, these nations have engendered more pronounced musical influences from various African cultures. For an important theoretical reference, consider the impressive cultural studies work of sociologist Paul Gilroy in his seminal text *The Black Atlantic* (1993), in which he employs the symbols of slave ships crossing the Atlantic as key cultural indicators of the reciprocal influences of African cultures on the new world, and vice-versa.

For example, Argentina does not boast a large population of African descendants. However "African rhythms have profoundly affected Argentine popular music" (Slonimsky, p. 77). This influence is most evident in the milonga tango, which features a swing-oriented rhythm that derives from African percussive expressions. In fact, the most popular folk music, driven by the figure of the *gaucho*, a minstrel figure who traveled and performed songs of the poor folk, was crystallized through its thematic connection to the plight of African slaves. These subtle influences derive from the eastern seaboard of the country, and even now they cannot be pinpointed beyond the very general assessment made here. The foremost scholar on these matters, John Charles Chasteen, has conducted extensive research into the African origins of the tango. Through various articles and books, Chasteen has explored the origins of tango in Afro-Argentinean communities, concluding that most of the tango's aboriginal developments are lost in its more current identification with upper-class ballroom dancing in Argentina and abroad. In terms of musical prominence, Argentina is most widely known for the tango, which is only occasionally connected to the African rhythms referenced by Slonimsky.

There are, however, demonstrable themes that manifest themselves in most, if not all Latin American music. These thematic consistencies include and incorporate the African cultural presence in Latin American music. According to John Schechter, a music scholar at the University of California, Santa Cruz, there are four of these themes: nostalgia, descriptive balladry, commentary on current events, and communication with the supernatural. Nostalgic themes focus on migration, notions of the Latin American homeland, pastoral reflections on nature and Latin American landscapes, and various other regional contemplations—including the attributes and characteristics of women in particular locales, as well as the specific musical instruments that derive form regional developments in the musical cultures. Themes centered on descriptive balladry tend toward narratives that detail the experiences of local figures, historical events, and cultural myths, including the oral transmission of indigenous Native American histories. Romantic and Christian themes find their expressions in this thematic musical form as well. Commentary on current events is as pervasive a theme in Latin American music as any of the other three. These "musical-political expressions" address the myriad instances of colonialism, cultural hegemony, and postcolonial residue, especially in those Latin American regions plagued most by sociopolitical oppression. It should come as little surprise that many of these oppressed regions (ghettos, barrios, etc.) are also populated by Latin Americans of African descent. Finally, themes of supernatural communication are present in Latin American music as well. These communicative themes should not be readily considered religious, however, since they encompass all manner of engagement with the dead, spirits, ancestors, and divine entities. In these thematic musical expressions reside the artistic outlets of shaman, ancestral conduits, and those who are periodically possessed by spirits.

The simplest way, then, to proceed is through brief explications of African-influenced musical traditions in each of the Latin American countries. Nearly all Latin American countries bear some cultural connection to the content of Africa. Those highlighted here reflect the most significant connections through traditions, religions, populations, and common experiences.

Brazil

Brazil is the largest country in Latin America. It borders all South American countries except for Chile and Ecuador, has the largest population, and also has the largest population of African-descended peoples: Brazilians of African descent make up approximately half of the country's population. These factors make Brazil an important indicator for the developments and influences of African culture in Latin American music. Since Brazil was the forced destination of the largest percentage of African slaves, African influences are prevalent in religion, food, and, of course, music.

A woman dances Candombé during the Llamadas Parade in Montevideo, Uruguay, 2004. © ANDRES STAPFF/REUTERS/CORBIS

For all of the African cultural influences in Brazil, notions of race and identifications with blackness are complex and rare. Census data from 1991 suggests that only about 5 percent of the Brazilian population identify themselves as being black (Neate, p. 207). This suggests that the majority population of Brazil is white, with mulattos being a close second. However, the concept of blackness represents an extremely negative ethnic identification in Brazil, and the racial culture there is based upon class, nuanced color consciousness, and the inevitability of a racially intermixed population.

That being said, there are many manifestations of Afro-Brazilian attributes in Brazilian music. In the state of Bahia, the city of Salvador is the center of the rich religious traditions of Candomblé. Directly descended from the West African Yoruba religion, the various groups of people who practice Candomblé engage in various African beliefs and rituals, particularly through music and spirit possession. These rituals are driven and enacted through Candomblé drum ensembles. The ensembles have a musico-spiritual leader, the álabe, whose knowledge of musical rifts and percussive patterns is extensive. Additional drummers follow his lead on various-sized atabaque drums. "The music of candomblé, especially the drumming, serves not only as a crucial element of the candomble rituals themselves, but is also important symbolically as a cultural focus of African values" (Crook, p. 223).

As socioeconomic conditions for black Brazilians deteriorated in urban enclaves such as Rio de Janeiro and

São Paulo during the twentieth century, ideological battles developed over music, especially forms like samba that represented Eurocentric colonization of Afro-Brazilian forms. This is ironic, since samba "can be considered as the first decisive step toward musical nationalism in Brazil" in the nineteenth century (Behague, p. 32). But in its developments over time, samba came to be associated with Eurocentric cultural appropriation (as did tango and even American jazz). In attempts to reclaim or re-establish the music, "Afro-Bloc" organizations became prominent in the 1970s during Carnival celebrations. These Afro Blocs celebrated the African roots of Brazilian culture and, in response to white domination, eventually turned to African-American musical forms (first funk and soul, and more recently, hip-hop) for cultural redemption.

Colombia

The music of Colombia exemplifies a mixture of African, native, and European (especially Spanish) influences. Cumbia, Colombia's national musical form, originally arose on the Atlantic coast and is a mixture of African music (brought by slaves) and Spanish influences. After slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century, Africans, Indians, and other ethnic groups mixed more frequently, helping cumbia to evolve into more intricate styles like bambuco, vallenato, and porro. While early cumbia bands used only percussion and vocals, more modern forms include trumpets, saxophones, keyboards, and trombones.

African influences are also significantly apparent in cumbia dancing. Some believe it is a direct export from Guinea, which has a popular "cumbe" dance. Others claim the dance tells the story of an African man courting a native woman, even acknowledging that the shuffling footwork may be a depiction of African slaves trying to dance while bound by iron chains around their ankles.

It is important to note that some Colombian cities—such as Cartagena, which has a large seaport on the north coast, and Providencia Island—have large African communities descended from slaves, and cultural mixing is not frequent in these areas. As a result, the music of these areas has changed little since being imported from various cultures of Africa, particularly West Africa. Cartagena, for example, is well known for its champeta music, which has very strong soukous influences. Soukous came from Zaire and the Congo in the early twentieth century, and like cumbia it was originally performed with strings and a percussive instrument (i.e., a guitar and bottle).

Today, champeta is an Afro-Colombian musical style also known as champeta criolla (or creole); it is a hybrid of Colombian rhythms like soukous, juju, and rumba and Caribbean rhythms such as soca, calypso, reggae and compás. Modern influences on the evolvement of champeta can be traced back to Caribbean music festivals of the past and to the manual distribution of soukous albums from sailors coming in to Cartagena from Africa in the 1960s. Recordings by Nigeria's Prince Nico Mbarga and the Oriental Brothers infiltrated the Colombian coast, and local Colombian DJs played original African hits and combined them with champetas at parties. Radio stations also picked up the trend.

During the Colombian hippie movement of the 1970s, champeta artists were becoming well known for their unique style. Examples include Wganda Kenya and La Verdad Orchestra. Despite the spread of champeta as a musical phenomenon, it was not accepted by the social elite of Cartagena until much later. In fact, the origins of the word *champeta* can be traced to critics of the movement connecting it to its lower-class origins and reasoning that the name derived from brawls that were started in parties with knives known as "champetas." A more accurate, interpretation is that it derives from a creole language in which *champeteaux* means something characteristic of the people, making champeta "a music of the people."

Cuba

Throughout history, the music of Cuba has had such an impact on various countries and cultures that the task of trying to summarize even its African-influenced elements in this tiny space is difficult. Cuban music contributed to the developments of salsa, tango (of Argentina), West African Afrobeat, and jazz in the United States. Like the Brazilian developments detailed above, the Yoruba religion Santería, and all of its attendant musical traditions, infiltrated Cuban culture, including its music. Considering the fact that mambo, rumba, and the conga all developed out of Afro-Cuban musical traditions, Cuba is a veritable mecca of African-influenced musical culture in Latin America. Cuban musical innovations originated in the sociological interplay between African slaves and Spanish people who worked on sugar plantations and smaller tobacco farms. Like most African-influenced aspects of Latin American music, percussive elements formulate the foundation of the musical innovations. Thus, the clave, bongos, congas, and the bata drums are each central components to particular forms of Afro-Cuban music. In Cuba, slaves preserved various elements of their African heritage in cabildos (venues where Africans fellowshipped and socialized). Through these insulated social experiences, various forms of Afro-Cuban music developed.

One of the oldest and maybe the most important of these developments was that of *son* music. *Son* music is defined by its anticipated bass lines and its canny synthesis

of African rhythms and Spanish guitar rifts. *Son* developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and influenced most forms of Cuban music that developed after it. Although *son* music's content originally centered on romance and nationalism, it eventually began to take more sociopolitical issues as its theme.

Two of the more popular cabildos, Lucumi and Kongo, were responsible for music developments that led directly to the advent of rumba. The Lucumi cabildo became widely known for its use of bata drums, while the Kongo engendered similar notoriety for its use of yuka drums. Yuka drum music developed into rumba. Rumba bands traditionally used claves, palitos and one of the most ubiquitous elements of African influences on world culture: the call and response vocals. Despite mainstream perceptions of rumba as static ballroom music, its origins are improvisational and generally less formal. Still, it is internationally popular.

Through the 1920s and 1930s, rumba and son music enjoyed international popularity. Unfortunately, commercial success tended to dilute the cultural traditions of the music. In the 1940s one of the most revered and well-known soneros in Cuba, Arsenio Rodriquez, helped to recalibrate son music with its African rhythmic roots. Cuban music of the 1960s and 1970s, much like its United States musical counterparts, tended toward the intermingling of genres. This musical sense of the intermezzo facilitated the further popularization of Cuban music and contributed to the cultural space where modern salsa was born out of Arsenio Rodriguez's revitalized son style and various other Latin musical forms (the mambo and rumba). At the end of the twentieth century, timba—a lively, postmodern, dance-oriented music—and reggaeton—a mixture of hip-hop and reggae—captured the attention of Cuban youth along with other Latin musical strains.

Mexico

Mexican music is a hybrid of influences from African, European, Spanish, indigenous, and other Latin American musical forms. Considering three centuries of Spanish rule—and about 300,000 African slaves inhabiting various Mexican states—these influences were inevitable. Despite being separated geographically from Mexico by Central America, Colombia has also had a great influence on Mexican music. Colombian cumbia, with its complex rhythms and African influence became immensely popular in Mexico during the 1980s, becoming the dominant genre of that decade until the emergence of banda in the 1990s.

Mexico is mostly known, however, for its mariachi music which originated in the state of Jalisco as early as 1852. The musical form continued to evolve into the end of the nineteenth century, becoming a mixture of Spanish, European, and indigenous influence. African influences can be seen in the rhythmic pattern and syncopated styling known as *son*. Variations of the *son* (related to but not to be confused with Afro-Cuban *son* music) developed in other areas of Mexico, such as Veracruz (on the Gulf of Mexico), and is called *son jarocho* or *son veracruzano*. The music is characterized by the use of a harp instead of guitars as the primary instrument.

Venezuela

Though Venezuela is largely known for its salsa and merengue, African influences exist in Venezuelan folk music, which includes African-derived percussion with multiple rhythms like sangeo, fulia, and parranda. The Spanish contribution can be seen in the gaita rhythm. Gaita is the Spanish and Portuguese name for a bagpipe used in Galicia, Asturias, and northern Portugal.

Uruguay

As with all countries in Latin America, Uruguayan music has various influences. While there are Spanish influences in Uruguay's milonga, a Spanish guitar and song form, African influence can be seen in the Afro-Uruguayan percussion-based form of candombe, which is based on Bantu African drumming with some European and tango influences. It is also related to other musical forms of African origin, such as the Cuban son and tumba and the maracatu of Brazil. While candombe was used during ceremonial processions for the kings of Congo, it was also used during the time of African slavery in South America, when it was seen as a threat to the elites, who sought to ban the music and its dance in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This proved slightly difficult due to its mass appeal and the nature of how it is performed and danced. Typically, candombe is performed by a cuerda, or a group of fifty to one hundred drummers who use a variety of barrel-shaped drums called tambores, which vary according to their size and function. Tambores are made of wood and animal skin and are played with one stick and one hand, with the aide of a shoulder strap called a tali.

Today, candombe is still very much present in Uruguay, with about ninety cuerdas (candombe performance groups) in existence. Some groups perform regularly on Sunday nights in the streets of Montevideo, while a number of groups perform en masse during holidays, including January 6, December 25, and January 1. All cuerdas perform and compete annually during Uruguay's Carnival parade, called "llamadas" (calls), which takes place during the Carnival season.

Panama

Panama's national identity has evolved immensely since gaining its independence from Colombia in 1903. Though it is mostly inhabited by mestizos, or people of mixed African, European, and indigenous descent, a small minority of Africans remain in the Azuero region, located in the west of Panama.

Afro-Latin songs accompanied by dance and storytelling continue to exist in Panama. A dance called the tamborito, derived from the tambora drum, is danced by groups of men and women who sing, clap their hands, and stomp their feet. The women play "hard to get" and playfully whirl away when the men attempt to face them directly. The congo, a similar dance performed by the black communities of the eastern coast of Panama, uses upright drums. The instruments used in Panamanian music include drums of various sizes, a heavy brass bowl that gives a sharp metallic ring when struck, a five-stringed guitar, and a three-stringed violin. Typically, guitar derivatives are examples of Spanish influence, while drums are examples of African influence.

Due to major Colombian historical influence, the musical forms of salsa and cumbia top the charts more frequently than Panama's own popular music. Known for its distinctive vocal style, Panama's pop music is believed to have derived from Sevillians (people from the southern Spanish city of Sevilla) of African descent that arrived in the sixteenth century.

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is mostly known for its merengue music, though bachata is also popular. Both forms were initially associated with lower social classes, but they are now enjoyed by people from all classes and backgrounds. Bachata, meaning "a rowdy or lower-class party," is derived from bolero, a Cuban genre, and is largely recognized by its guitar-based ensembles. Some experts have theorized that the dance form of bachata also resembles slaves attempting to dance while shackled to one another.

Although the word *merengue* literally means "whipped egg whites and sugar," it also is used to describe the music and dance form that has become an integral part of Dominican culture. Typically, it is a combination of guiro or maracas percussion sections, the guyano or tambora drum (also used in Panama), wild accordions or saxophones, as well as a box bass. The guiro and the tambora drum were brought to the island by West African slaves.

The exact origins of merengue are still disputed today, though influences are apparent and obvious. Geographically, many have pointed to its neighbor Haiti as influencing the creation of merengue. As the only two countries on the island of Hispaniola, perpetually intertwined cultures and various influences are only natural. Some say merengue may be related to the Hatian *mereng,* which is similar in sound but dominated by guitars rather than accordions. Others claim it is a mixture of the Spanish *decimal* and African *plena* music, whose beats and rhythms are derived from the African conga drum. Historically, plena also evolved into a traditional form of Puerto Rican music with African, indigenous (Taino), and Spanish influences. "Dominican social dance as a whole, past and present, integrates European-derived fashion, introduced through the social clubs of the urban elite, with African-influenced music and dance, of rural origin" (Davis, 1996).

Dancing to merengue in Las Terrenas, Dominican Republic. *Featuring a combination of guiro or maracas percussion sections, the guyano or tambora drum, wild accordions or saxophones as well as a box base, merengue is a form of music and dance that has become an integral part of Dominican culture.* © CATHERINE KARNOW/CORBIS

Some Dominican dances have strong Haitian and Caribbean influences, while some evolved from foreign military occupation forces. The "pambiche" form of merengue, for example, is supposedly an imitation of American soldiers attempting to dance the merengue during the U.S. occupation in the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1922. Afro-Caribbean urban dances of the nineteenth century also popular in the Dominican Republic included the Cuba's danzon son and bolero, as well as the Puerto Rican danza. Lastly, strong African influences can be seen in other traditions, such as salve, a type of singing used in ceremonies, parties, and pilgrimages dedicated to saints. Salve singing is a call-and-response form and is accompanied by African instruments such as panderos and atabales. Call and response (between musical instruments) is a West African tradition that involves the succession of two distinct phrases played by two different musicians.

The pattern has evolved over the centuries into various forms of cultural expression, including public gatherings, religious ceremonies, children's rhymes, and African-American music such as gospel, the blues, rhythm-and-blues, jazz, and, more recently, hip-hop.

Hip-Hop Culture in Latin America

As in the United States, hip-hop in Latin America originated as a form of expression for youth who wished to speak out against historical oppressions that took place in their native country and communities.

COLOMBIA. While showing a Colombian influence musically—with smooth blends of Latin melodies and salsa cadences mixed into hip-hop breaks—lyrically, the songs deal with issues of social injustices and reflect on Colombia's five hundred years of imperialism, in which its people have been massacred, enslaved, forced to migrate, and during which the country itself was robbed of its natural resources. Resistance to these injustices began centuries ago, with African natives creating "palenques," or free and independent towns, in order to defend their territories. Insurgent movements, social uprisings, and coup d'etats continued to plague Colombia, resulting in today's war between Colombia's government and armed antigovernment groups such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).

Colombian rap groups such as Cescru Enlace, Zona Marginal, and La Etnia frequently cover political issues such as Colombia's drug-fueled guerilla war, which continues to claim the lives of innocent victims, and the fleeing of Colombian refugees who fear for their lives in the midst of their country's civil conflicts.

Though rap is not considered part of the mainstream music scene in Colombia, it has grown immensely among Colombian youth in major cities like Bogotá and Cali, as well as in areas like Aguablanca (located on the outskirts of Cali). Typically, Colombian hip-hop artists make their own CD's and sell them in local record stores or in the streets. This "underground movement" has spread quickly and acquired enough popularity to gain the interest of larger record labels, who are becoming more interested in making hip-hop a part of the larger music establishment. There are, however, concerns regarding the political and controversial issues covered in a large portion of these records, making it more difficult to push Colombian hip-hop above its underground status.

Others who see the need to spread consciousness about these issues however, find ways to give Colombian hip-hop the exposure they feel it deserves. In Colombia's capital, Bogotá, a rap festival was organized by local groups, while a hip-hop cultural center was created by a group of rappers in Bogotá's colonial center, offering classes in graffiti art, break dancing, and music mixing.

ARGENTINA. Hip-hop in Argentina has existed since the 1980s in certain areas of Buenos Aires, where artists like Frost, Mike Dee, and Jazzy Mel were popular. Much like historical trading and influential migrations of the past, hip-hop songs infiltrated into Argentine culture through cassettes brought into the country by tourists, while hip-hop videos ultimately gained copious rotations on television and radio. By the mid-1990s a group called the "Argentine Union of Hip-Hop" (known today as "The Union.") was created, and artists and groups like Tombs, $$uper-a, AMC, and Race became popular.

MEXICO. Mexican rap can be traced to the early 1990s and a dance-pop act named Calo, which was made up of one MC (master of ceremonies) and four dancers. Their music was composed of singing over popular synthesized dance music and initiated an underground movement that spread throughout Mexico. Some of the influences on Mexican rap include Kid Frost from East Los Angeles, California; The Mexakinz from Long Beach, California; Cypress Hill from South Central, Los Angeles; and Delinquent Habits from Los Angeles. Groups like Control Machete and Molotov emerged in the mid 1990s as a result of these American-based groups. Though they achieved commercial success by blending their rap style with Mexican country music and traditional Latin riffs, hip-hop in Mexico remains undiscovered by the mainstream. Radio exposure is limited, and it is an underground movement in working-class neighborhoods, or "barrios," where artists burn their own CDs and have small labels reproduce them for sale to a loyal audience. As in the early years of hip-hop in the United States and Colombia, Mexican rappers focus on the inequalities that plague their country, including seventy years with the same political party in power (until the 2000 elections) and the Spanish conquests that historically enhanced racial conflicts. More modern problems include drug-trafficking gangs, poverty, and police corruption. Unknown artists have even renamed their Mexican rap "rapza," which is a combination of the words *rap* and *raza*, meaning "race" in Spanish.

CUBA. The history of hip-hop in Cuba is similar to the history of hip-hop in other countries. Its evolution, however, has been vastly different. Cuban audiences first heard and saw hip-hop in the 1980s through radio and television broadcasts from Miami, Florida. Though originally audi-

ences focused on break dancing, the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had been a huge supporter of the Cuban economy, brought about a period of frustration in which Cuban youth were looking for ways to express themselves. Due to the sensitive relations between the United States and Cuba, hip-hop was initially seen as a vulgar, explicit, violent, and improper cultural invasion from the United States. With the help of a progressive hip-hop movement begun by Nehanda Abiodun, a U.S. Black Liberation Army activist in political exile in Cuba, Cuban hip-hop began to evolve into a personal art about Cuba and its unique culture, government, and way of life.

Since then, hip-hop has been embraced in Cuba, and there is an annual hip-hop festival in the Havana district of Alamar. According to Ariel Fernández of Asociacion Hermanos Saíz (AHS), one of the cosponsoring organizations for the festival, Cuban hip-hop is a revolution within a revolution. Musically, Cuban rap incorporates instruments like batas (tall drums), the guitar bass, live drums and congas. With an estimated two hundred hip-hop groups in Havana, and about three hundred throughout the island (as of 2002), Cuban hip-hop shows no signs of slowing down. Groups like "Amenaza" (the Threat) and "Primera Base" (First Base) formed in the mid-1990s, followed by "Instinto" (Instinct), Cuba's first female rap group, and more modern groups like "Anonimo Consejo" (Anonymous Advice), "Bajo Mundo" (Under World), and "Freehole Negro" (Freehole Black).

Cuban rap is a complicated phenomenon, however, as it is accepted under Fidel Castro's maxim "within the revolution, everything," and it is not seen as a threat as long as it is not viewed to be counter-revolutionary. Inevitably, this is difficult to guarantee, considering the opinionated nature of hip-hop in general and the tendency for rappers to speak out against the norm, whatever it may be. Though Fidel Castro himself is reportedly impressed by hip-hop, the boundaries of acceptable hip-hop in Cuba are still sensitive and subject to various opinions and definitions.

BRAZIL. Hip-hop was introduced in Brazil in the 1980's, and it has developed into what is now called "Hippy Hoppy." Brazil has managed to embrace and develop all elements of hip-hop in its own way, having representation in international DJ and break-dancing competitions, as well as hosting the first world show of graffiti in the city of Santo Andre during the Summer of 2003. In fact, rap in Brazil has developed to the point of having seven different styles, including gospel, gangster, futuristic, underground, and rock fusion. Some even claim American rap is hardly listened to anymore.

The origins of hip-hop in Brazil, however, are similar to those in the United States, Colombia, and Mexico. Marginalized youth with limited access to employment and education used, and continue to use, hip-hop as an outlet and a way to criticize the social and economic injustices around them, such as the drug-infested Brazilian shantytowns, or favelas, which are poverty-stricken ghettos with high levels of crime and violence.

Hip-hop has also been used in Brazil to educate its population regarding the ideas of revolution, democracy and the country's history, including various Afro-Brazilian leaders and Brazil's struggle to end its military dictatorship. Today, many have continued the sociopolitical progression of Brazilian hip-hop and the construction of a new Brazil, with hip-hop–focused community projects and centers that are dedicated to educating and helping local Brazilian youth.

Musically, Brazilian hip-hop is as diverse as its culture, combining hip-hop beats and samba rhythms with instruments like the bossa nova guitar. Older rap groups and artists like MVBill (Mensagerio de Verdad) and Racionais (the Rationals) publicly and aggressively address social injustices using Brazilian percussion and hip-hop beats, while more modern groups like Somos Nós A Justica use funky piano riffs and a care-free style of experimentation.

See also Candomblé; Dance, Diasporic; Folk Music; Hip-Hop; Music; Rap; Slavery

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JAMES PETERSON (2005)
MARCELA POVEDA (2005)

Music in the United States

The African-American music tradition comprises many different genres and forms, including spirituals, work songs, blues, gospel music, jazz, and popular music. Each genre includes a complex of subdivisions and is associated with a specific cultural function, social context, and historical period. Despite these distinguishing factors, the various genres exist as part of a musical continuum of African origin. The secular and sacred forms share musical features, demonstrating that the two spheres are complementary rather than oppositional.

The web of African-American musical genres is a product of interactions between people of African descent and various environmental forces in North America. The African-American music tradition documents the ways African Americans reconciled their dual national identity and forged a meaningful life in a foreign environment, first as slaves and later as second-class citizens.

African Culture in America

When Africans arrived as slaves in America, they brought a culture endowed with many traditions foreign to their European captors. Their rituals for worshiping African gods and celebrating ancestors, death, and holidays, for example, displayed features uncommon to Western culture. Most noticeable among African practices was the prominent tie of music and movement. The description of a ritual for a dying woman, recorded by the daughter of a Virginia planter in her *Plantation Reminiscences* (n.d.), illustrates the centrality of these cultural expressions and the preservation of African traditions in slave culture:

> Several days before her death . . . [h]er room was crowded with Negroes who had come to perform their religious rites around the death bed. Joining hands they performed a savage dance, shouting wildly around her bed. Although [Aunt Fanny was] an intelligent woman, she seemed to cling to the superstitions of her race.
>
> After the savage dance and rites were over . . . I went, and said to her: ". . . we are afraid the noise [singing] and dancing have made you worse."
>
> Speaking feebly, she replied: "Honey, that kind of religion suits us black folks better than your kind. What suits Mars Charles' mind, don't suit mine." (Epstein 1977, p. 130)

Slaveholders and missionaries assumed that exposure to Euro-American cultural traditions would encourage slaves to abandon their African way of life. For some slaves, particularly those who were in constant contact with whites through work and leisure activities, such was the case. The majority of slaves, however, systematically resisted cultural imprisonment by reinterpreting European traditions through an African lens. A description of the slaves' celebration of Pinkster Day, a holiday of Dutch origin, illustrates how the event was transformed into an African-style festival characterized by dancing, drumming, and singing. Dr. James Eights, an observer of this celebration in the late 1700s, noted that the principal instrument accompanying the dancing was an eel-pot drum. This kettle-shaped drum consisted of a wide, single head covered with sheepskin. Over the rhythms the drummer repeated "hi-a-bomba, bomba, bomba."

> These vocal sounds were readily taken up and as oft repeated by the female portion of the spectators not otherwise engaged in the exercises of the scene, accompanied by the beating of time with their ungloved hands, in strict accordance with the eel-pot melody.
>
> Merrily now the dance moved on, and briskly twirled the lads and lasses over the well trampled green sward; loud and more quickly swelled the sounds of music to the ear, as the excited movements increased in energy and action. (Eights [1867], reprinted in Southern 1983, pp. 45–46)

The physical detachment of African Americans from Africa and the widespread disappearance of many original African musical artifacts did not prevent Africans and their descendants from creating, interpreting, and experiencing music from an African perspective. Relegated to the status of slaves in America, Africans continued to per-

form songs of the past. They also created new musical forms and reinterpreted those of European cultures using the vocabulary, idiom, and aesthetic principles of African traditions. The earliest indigenous musical form created within the American context was known as the *Negro spiritual*.

The Evolution of Negro Spirituals

The original form of the Negro spiritual emerged at the turn of the nineteenth century. Later known as the *folk spiritual*, it was a form of expression that arose within a religious context and through black people's resistance to cultural subjugation by the larger society. When missionaries introduced blacks to Christianity in systematic fashion (c. 1740s), slaves brought relevance to the instruction by reinterpreting Protestant ideals through an African prism. Negro spirituals, therefore, symbolize a unique religious expression, a black cultural identity and worldview that is illustrated in the religious and secular meanings that spirituals often held—a feature often referred to as *double entendre*.

Many texts found in Negro spirituals compare the slave's worldly oppression to the persecution and suffering of Jesus Christ. Others protest their bondage, as in the familiar lines "Befor' I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave, and go home to my Lord and be free." A large body of spiritual texts is laced with coded language that can be interpreted accurately only through an evaluation of the performance context. For example, a spiritual such as the one cited below could have been sung by slaves to organize clandestine meetings and plan escapes:

If you want to find Jesus, go in the wilderness,
Mournin' brudder,
You want to find Jesus, go into the wilderness,
I wait upon de Lord, I wait upon de Lord,
I wait upon de Lord, my God, Who take away de sin of de world.

The text of this song provided instructions for slaves to escape from bondage: "Jesus" was the word for "freedom"; "wilderness" identified the meeting place; "de Lord" referred to the person who would lead slaves through the Underground Railroad or a secret route into the North (the land of freedom). This and other coded texts were incomprehensible to missionaries, planters, and other whites, who interpreted them as "meaningless and disjointed affirmations."

The folk spiritual tradition draws from two basic sources: African-derived songs and the Protestant repertory of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. Missionaries introduced blacks to Protestant traditions through Christian instruction, anticipating that these songs would replace those of African origin, which they referred to as "extravagant and nonsensical chants, and catches" (Epstein 1977, pp. 61–98). When slaves and free blacks worshiped with whites, they were expected to adhere to prescribed Euro-American norms. Therefore, blacks did not develop a distinct body of religious music until they gained religious autonomy.

When blacks were permitted to lead their own religious services, many transformed the worship into an African-inspired ritual of which singing was an integral part. The Reverend Robert Mallard described the character of this ritual, which he observed in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1859:

> I stood at the door and looked in—and such confusion of sights and sounds! . . . Some were standing, others sitting, others moving from one seat to another, several exhorting along the aisles. The whole congregation kept up one monotonous strain, interrupted by various sounds: groans and screams and clapping of hands. One woman especially under the influence of the excitement went across the church in a quick succession of leaps: now [on] her knees . . . then up again; now with her arms about some brother or sister, and again tossing them wildly in the air and clapping her hands together and accompanying the whole by a series of short, sharp shrieks. (Myers 1972, pp. 482–483)

During these rituals slaves not only sang their own African-derived songs but reinterpreted European psalms and hymns as well.

An English musician, whose tour of the United States from 1833 to 1841 included a visit to a black church in Vicksburg, Virginia, described how slaves altered the original character of a psalm:

> When the minister gave out his own version of the Psalm, the choir commenced singing so rapidly that the original tune absolutely ceased to exist—in fact, the fine old psalm tune became thoroughly transformed into a kind of negro melody; and so sudden was the transformation, by accelerating the time. (Russell 1895, pp. 84–85)

In 1853 the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted encountered a similar situation, witnessing a hymn change into a "confused wild kind of chant" (Olmsted 1904). The original tunes became unrecognizable because blacks altered the structure, melody, rhythm, and tempo in accordance with African aesthetic principles.

The clergy objected not only to such altered renditions of Protestant songs but also to songs created independently. John Watson, a white Methodist minister, referred to the latter as "short scraps of disjointed affirmations, pledges or prayers, lengthened out with long repetitive choruses." The rhythmic bodily movements that accompanied the singing caused even more concern among the clergy:

> With every word so sung, they have a sinking of one or other leg of the body alternately, producing an audible sound of the feet at every step. . . .If some in the meantime sit, they strike the sounds alternately on each thigh. What in the name of religion, can countenance or tolerate such gross perversions of true religion! (Watson [1819] in Southern 1983, p. 63)

As they had long done in African traditions, audible physical gestures provided the rhythmic foundation for singing.

The slaves' interpretation of standard Christian doctrine and musical practice demonstrated their refusal to abandon their cultural values for those of their masters and the missionaries. Undergirding the slaves' independent worship services were African values that emphasized group participation and free expression. These principles govern the features of the folk spiritual tradition: (1) communal composition; (2) call-response; (3) repetitive choruses; (4) improvised melodies and texts; (5) extensive melodic ornamentation (slurs, bends, shouts, moans, groans, cries); (6) heterophonic (individually varied) group singing; (7) complex rhythmic structures; and (8) the integration of song and bodily movement.

The call-response structure promotes both individual expression and group participation. The soloist, who presents the call, is free to improvise on the melody and text; the congregation provides a fixed response. Repetitive chorus lines also encourage group participation. Melodic ornamentation enables singers to embellish and thus intensify performances. Clapped and stamped rhythmic patterns create layered metrical structures as a foundation for gestures and dance movements.

Folk spirituals were also commonplace among many free blacks who attended independent African-American churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These blacks expressed their racial pride by consciously rejecting control and cultural domination by the affiliated white church. Richard Allen, founder of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Philadelphia in 1794, was the first African-American minister of an independent black church to alter the cultural style of Protestant worship so that it would have greater appeal for his black congregation.

Recognizing the importance of music, Allen chose to compile his own hymnal rather than use the standard one for Methodist worship (which contained no music). The second edition of this hymnal, *A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns Selected from Various Authors, by Richard Allen, Minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1801), contains some of Allen's original song texts, as well as other hymns favored by his congregation. To some of these hymns Allen added refrain lines and choruses to the typical stanza or verse form to ensure full congregational participation in the singing. Allen's congregation performed these songs in the style of folk spirituals, which generated much criticism from white Methodist ministers. Despite such objections, other AME churches adopted the musical practices established at Bethel.

In the 1840s, Daniel A. Payne, an AME minister who later became a bishop, campaigned to change the church's folk-style character. A former Presbyterian pastor educated in a white Lutheran seminary, Payne subscribed to the Euro-American view of the "right, fit, and proper way of serving God" (Payne [1888] in Southern 1983, p. 69). Therefore, he restructured the AME service to conform to the doctrines, literature, and musical practices of white elite churches. Payne introduced Western choral literature performed by a trained choir and instrumental music played by an organist. These forms replaced the congregational singing of folk spirituals, which Payne labeled "cornfield ditties." While some independent urban black churches adopted Payne's initiatives, discontented members left to join other churches or establish their own. However, the majority of the AME churches, especially those in the South, denounced Payne's "improvements" and continued their folk-style worship.

Payne and his black counterparts affiliated with other AME and with Episcopalian, Lutheran, and Presbyterian churches, represented an emerging black educated elite that demonstrated little if any tolerance for religious practices contrary to Euro-American Christian ideals of "reverence" and "refinement." Their training in white seminaries shaped their perspective on an "appropriate" style of worship. In the Protestant Episcopal Church, for example, a southern white member noted that these black leaders "were accustomed to use no other worship than the regular course prescribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*, for the day. Hymns, or Psalms out of the same book were sung, and printed sermon read. . . . No extemporary address, exhortation, or prayer, was permitted, or used" (Epstein 1977, p. 196). Seminary-trained black ministers rejected traditional practices of black folk churches because they did not conform to aesthetic principles associated with written traditions. Sermons read from the written

script, musical performances that strictly adhered to the printed score, and the notion of reserved behavior marked those religious practices considered most characteristic and appropriate within Euro-American liturgical worship.

In contrast, practices associated with the black folk church epitomize an oral tradition. Improvised sermons, prayers, testimonies, and singing, together with demonstrative behavior, preserve the African values of spontaneity and communal interaction.

Secular Music in the Slave Community

The core secular genres among African-American slaves were work songs, field calls and street cries, social and game songs, and dance music. Work songs accompanied all forms of labor, providing encouragement and strength and relieving boredom. The texts, improvised by field workers, stevedores, dockworkers, weavers, boat rowers, and others, frequently reflected the type of work performed. In sociopolitical terms, work songs provided an outlet for protest and criticism while the song rhythms coordinated the efforts of workers and regulated the rate of labor. Performances of work songs exhibit call-response and repetitive chorus structures; melodic, textual, and timbral variation; heterophonic vocal textures; and percussive delivery.

Field calls (rural) and street cries (urban) were used by workers for personal communication. Field calls enabled workers to maintain contact with one another from a distance, make their presence known (e.g., the water boy), attract attention, or communicate a mood. Street vendors used special cries to advertise their products. Both field calls and street cries consisted of short, improvised phrases performed in a free and highly individual style. These features contrast with the call-response and the repetitive choruses that characterize work songs.

Game songs accompanied children's activities, facilitating play and the development of motor and social skills. Song texts provided instructions for playing games, as well as a vehicle for the expression of children's fantasies and worldview. Game songs embody all of the aesthetic features associated with folk spirituals, including group interaction, clapping, and stamping.

Slaves spent much of their leisure time singing and dancing. Accounts of these activities and holiday celebrations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicate that a variety of African instruments—drums, xylophones, calabashes, horns, banjos, musical bows, tambourines, triangles, and jawbones—were played in a distinctly African style and accompanied dancing.

Beginning in the 1740s, however, as a consequence of slave revolts, many colonies passed legislation that prohibited the playing of African drums and horns. Such legislation did not restrict the musical and dance activities of slaves. Over time, as traditional African instruments disappeared, blacks found functional substitutes for some of these instruments and constructed modified versions of others. Wooden boxes, stamping, and clapping replaced drums; spoons, washboards, and washtubs substituted for rattles, scrapers, and other percussion instruments; panpipes, fifes, and jugs substituted for flutes and other wind instruments; and the diddly bow and washtub bass were adapted versions of the musical bow. Using these instruments, slaves created new forms of dance accompaniment that later became a part of the blues tradition.

Slaves also adopted European instruments, which they learned to play as early as the 1690s. The fiddle and fife were popular among slaves, and they played them in conjunction with African instruments. By the nineteenth century, the fiddle and banjo (a derivation from the African lute) had become the most common instruments to accompany dancing. Combining African-derived instruments with European instruments, African Americans created an original form of improvised and rhythmically complex dance music that would give birth to ragtime and jazz in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively.

The Reconstruction Era

The end of the Civil War in 1865 symbolically marked the freedom of slaves. The social upheaval and political maneuvering that followed the war, however, restricted the freedmen's integration into mainstream society. While some ex-slaves had access to the new educational institutions established for blacks, the vast majority had few if any options for social advancement and economic stability.

In the Reconstruction South, many African-Americans remained effectively enslaved because of an emergent system called *sharecropping*. This system, defined by an inequitable economic arrangement between landlords (former slaveholders) and sharecroppers (freed blacks), kept blacks in debt and subjugated them to southern whites. Most sharecroppers lived in the same shacks on the same farms and plantations that they had as slaves. For nearly a century this arrangement isolated most African Americans from mainstream society, restricted their mobility, and limited their economic empowerment. African Americans survived this oppressive environment by preserving fundamental values of the past, as they had

University Singers of New Orleans, c. 1880. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

done as slaves. These values manifested themselves in new forms of musical expression.

Arranged Spirituals

The evolution of new and diverse musical forms during the post–Civil War years paralleled the divergent lifestyles among African Americans. While the social and economic conditions of many ex-slaves remained virtually unchanged, the establishment of black colleges that had begun in 1856 (Wilberforce University in Wilberforce, Ohio) provided some with opportunities for social and economic advancement. Within this context, black students adopted various Euro-American cultural models dictated by the established Eurocentric college curricula.

At Fisk University, founded in 1866 in Nashville, Tennessee, the white treasurer, George White, organized the Fisk Jubilee Singers to raise money for the school. The Jubilee Singers initially performed both the standard European repertory and arranged Negro spirituals. Responding to the preferences of white audiences, White centered the group's performances around spirituals. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were the first to popularize the choral arrangement of spirituals. Their successful concerts, presented throughout the nation and world beginning in 1871, inspired the subsequent formation of similar groups at Hampton Institute in Virginia and at other black colleges.

George White, influenced by his musical background, arranged the folk spiritual in a European concert form and insisted on a performance style that appealed to the aesthetics and preferences of white audiences. In doing so, according to John Work, he "eliminated every element that detracted from the pure emotion of the song. . . .Finish, precision and sincerity were demanded by this leader. Mr. White strove for an art presentation" (Work 1940, p. 15).

White's "art presentation" of spirituals required strict conformity to the written tradition. In his arrangements, four-part harmony replaced heterophonic singing, and strict adherence to the printed score eliminated melodic and textual improvisation and the clapping and stamping accompaniment. Despite the removal of elements associated with the oral tradition, evidence of the folk spiritual tradition remained in call-response, syncopation,

polyrhythms, melodic and textual repetition, and linguistic dialect.

The legacy of the Fisk Jubilee Singers continued in the 1920s when Hall Johnson and Eva Jessye formed professional choirs specializing in this idiom. Both choirs gave concerts in major halls and on radio, and appeared in theatrical and film productions.

During the second decade of the twentieth century, another concert version of the folk spiritual appeared. This form transformed the folk spiritual into an art song for solo voice. Conservatory-trained singer-composer Harry T. Burleigh provided the model, arranging "Deep River" (1916) for voice and piano. Burleigh's arrangement brought publication to this musical form, which eventually became a standard part of the repertory of African-American concert singers. Influenced by Burleigh, performers such as Roland Hayes, Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, and Dorothy Maynor concluded their solo concerts with arranged solo spirituals, as black college choirs continue to do even today. William Warfield, McHenry Boatwright, Camilla Williams, Willis Patterson, Rawn Spearman, Jessye Norman, Leontyne Price, Grace Bumbry, Shirley Verrett, George Shirley, Simon Estes, Martina Arroyo, and Kathleen Battle are among those who followed this tradition in the post–World War II years.

The Use of Folk Idioms in Concert Music of African-American Composers

During the first decade of the twentieth century, a core group of black composers sought to create a school of composition using African and African-derived vernacular forms. Harry T. Burleigh, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Will Marion Cook, R. Nathaniel Dett, Clarence Cameron White, and the brothers John Rosamond Johnson and James Weldon Johnson were among the first composers to arrange and/or write choral and small instrumental works inspired by folk spirituals, blues, ragtime, and other vernacular forms for the concert stage. They pioneered a nationalist school of composition that preserved the spirit and musical features of black folk idioms. In *Six Plantation Melodies for Violin and Piano* (1901) and *Jubilee Songs of the United States of America* (1916, a collection of spirituals arranged for solo voice and piano accompaniment), for example, Burleigh sought to maintain the racial flavor of the original folk melody. To achieve this, Eileen Southern noted, Burleigh's piano accompaniments "rarely overpower the simple melodies but rather set and sustain a dominant emotional mood throughout the song" (Southern 1983, p. 268).

Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (born in England of African and British ancestry) also made every effort to preserve the integrity of original folk melodies in his compositions. Inspired by the appearance of the Fisk Jubilee Singers in London, Coleridge-Taylor arranged traditional African and African-American folk melodies in a piece for piano, *Twenty-four Negro Melodies*, Op. 59 (1904). Coleridge-Taylor's notes on this work emphasized that he employed original melodies without the "idea of 'improving' the original material any more than Brahms' Variations on the Haydn Theme 'improved' that" (reprint of liner notes to *Twenty-four Negro Melodies*, recorded by Francis Walker).

Sharing Coleridge-Taylor's perspective, other nationalist composers used vernacular materials with the intent of maintaining their original character. Dett's *In the Bottoms* (1913), a suite for piano, employs various dance rhythms associated with African-American folk culture. Its opening "Prelude" mimics the texture and rhythms of a syncopated banjo, and the last piece, "Dance (Juba)," captures the complex rhythms of *pattin' juba*. Pattin' juba was a popular self-accompanying dance common among slaves that involved singing and stamping while alternately clapping the hands and striking each shoulder and thigh.

Dett's use of black folk rhythms, melodies, textures, and timbres demonstrates one way in which nationalist composers preserved the integrity of the folk idiom. Their efforts to create a distinct racial artistic identity using European models were advanced by African-American creative artists and intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s in what became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

Throughout the Harlem Renaissance, African-American intellectuals and university-trained writers, musicians, and visual artists discussed ways to liberate themselves from the restrictions of European cultural expression. As a group they pioneered the concept of the New Negro—one who claimed an identity founded on self-respect, self-dependence, racial pride, and racial solidarity. The New Negro's ultimate concern, according to William Grant Still, was "the development of our racial culture and . . . its integration into American culture" (Still [n.d.] in Haas 1972, p. 129). Both intellectuals and creative artists agreed that this goal could be achieved by incorporating African-American folk materials into European concert and literary forms. They disagreed, however, on the appropriate presentation of these materials.

Whereas the pioneer nationalists shared the belief that the original character of folk idioms should be preserved, the Harlem Renaissance group expressed the need to adapt or "elevate" these idioms to the level of "high art" (Locke 1925, p. 28; Locke 1936, pp. 21–23; Still [n.d.] in Haas 1972, p. 134). The issues appear to have concerned

A postcard celebrates the Washington Trio as "Masters of Melody." *Originally published in* Progress and Achievements of the Colored People *(1917), by Joseph R. Gay and Kelly Miller.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the degree to which the folk idiom could be altered through thematic development without losing its authentic character, the use of arrangements that supported rather than diluted the spirit of the folk form, and the preservation of the folk quality without restricting the creative impulses of composers (Burleigh [1924], quoted in Southern 1983, p. 268; Locke 1925, pp. 207–208). Composers of the Harlem Renaissance, including William Grant Still, William Dawson, and Howard Swanson, employed various approaches in establishing racial identity in their music. Some utilized authentic folk melodies; others composed thematic material in the spirit and with the flavor of vernacular idioms; and still others worked to capture the ambience of the folk environment.

William Grant Still, known as the dean of African-American composers, wrote many works using a broad range of African, American-African, and Caribbean folk material. In the first movement of his well-known *Afro-American Symphony* (1930), for example, Still juxtaposes original blues and spiritual melodies; in the third movement he introduces the banjo, the most familiar of all African instruments in the New World. In *Levee Land* (1925), a work for orchestra and soloist, he experiments with jazz elements. *Sahdji* (1930), a ballet for orchestra and chorus, and *Mota* (1951), an opera, dramatize African life. The opera *Troubled Island* (1941) captures the spirit of Haitian culture.

William Dawson, using a slightly different approach, juxtaposed existing folk and folk-inspired themes in his *Negro Folk Symphony* (1934). The Harlem Renaissance composers also established racial identities in their vocal and choral works by employing texts by such African-American writers as Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and Arna Bontemps. Hughes, for example, wrote the poems for Howard Swanson's "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (1942) and "Lady's Boogie" (1947) and the libretto for Still's *Troubled Island*.

Despite the efforts of these conservatory-trained musicians to preserve the integrity of folk expressions, their music had limited appeal outside middle-class audiences. Even within this group, some expressed concern about over-elaboration and the tendency to place too much em-

phasis on formal European conventions. Anthropologist-folklorist Zora Neale Hurston vehemently objected to concert presentations of Negro spirituals. She argued that the aesthetic ideas of oral traditions that allow for spontaneous, improvisatory, and interactive expression could not be captured in the written score or reproduced by trained musicians (Hurston 1976, pp. 344–345).

The wider African-American folk community shared Hurston's views, objecting that the new modes of presentation were too "pretty" (Work 1949, pp. 136–137). The community simply did not share the aesthetic ideals of the black elite. Even though many composers attempted to preserve vocabulary, form, structure, rhythms, textures, tonal qualities, and aesthetic devices of folk forms, the printed score changed the character of the original style. Because of this, most of the African-American folk community was unable to relate to the aesthetic qualities associated with concert presentations of folk idioms.

Ragtime

Ragtime refers to both a style of performance and a musical genre characterized by a syncopated, or "ragged," melody played over a quarter- or eighth-note bass pattern. The ragtime style evolved out of syncopated banjo melodies in the 1880s and was popularized in African-American communities by itinerant pianists and brass bands. The pianists, who played in honky-tonks, saloons, and brothels, improvised on folk and popular tunes, transforming them into contemporary African-American dance music. In a similar fashion, black brass bands "ragged" the melodies of traditional marches, hymns, spirituals, and folk and popular songs during funeral processions, parades, and other celebrations, changing the character of these melodies.

By the late 1890s, ragtime had come to identify a body of composed syncopated piano and vocal music published for mass consumption. As such, its improvisatory character and syncopated embellishments became formalized and simplified in written form. The availability of ragtime as sheet music resulted in the ragtime explosion of the first two decades of the twentieth century. Ragtime's syncopated rhythms quickly became popular among amateur and professional pianists. Responding to the demand for this music, publishers flooded the market with ragtime arrangements of popular and folk tunes, marches, and European classical songs for dance orchestras and marching and concert bands and vocal versions for singers. African-American ragtime composers include Thomas Turpin, Scott Joplin, Jelly Roll Morton, Eubie Blake, and Artie Matthews.

The vocal counterparts of instrumental ragtime were labeled *coon songs*. Popularized by minstrel performers in the late 1800s, coon songs became mainstays in vaudeville and Broadway productions in the 1900s. Coon songs are distinguished from other vocal genres of twentieth-century popular music by the use of black dialect and often denigrating lyrics. Between 1900 and 1920, vocal and instrumental ragtime dominated musical performances in theaters, saloons, ballrooms, and the homes of the white middle class, giving a degree of respectability to a form once associated with brothels and minstrel shows.

Blues

The blues evolved from work songs and field calls during the 1880s in response to the inhumane treatment and second-class citizenship that had defined black life in America for seven decades. The blues share the aesthetic qualities of folk spirituals, and like spirituals they attempt to make sense of and give meaning to life. Two historic rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1883 and 1896, created the social and political environment from which the blues sprang. The first declared the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional, and the second upheld the "separate but equal" policy related to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) court case, which sanctioned segregation or Jim Crow as the law of the land. These decisions resulted in discriminatory state laws, violent activities of the Ku Klux Klan, unfair treatment by landlords and employers, and political powerlessness. In effect, the Supreme Court rulings eliminated any hope for social equality and community empowerment and forced African Americans to struggle just to survive. Music, especially the blues, proved to be an important tool for enduring an oppressive existence.

Blues performers, like black preachers, served as spokespersons and community counselors; their messages addressed the social realities of daily life. As entertainers, blues musicians provided a temporary escape from daily oppression by performing for barbecues, house parties, social clubs, and informal gatherings in juke joints and bars.

The blues became a way of life, as illustrated by the various blues styles—rural (folk), vaudeville (classic), urban, and boogie-woogie (instrumental). The earliest blues form, known as *rural* or *folk blues*, is the product of the segregated rural South. Performed primarily by men, the texts address economic hardships, sharecropping experiences, unjust imprisonment, broken relationships, travels, and opposition to the Jim Crow system. Folk blues is performed as vocal and instrumental music and consists of a series of verses that vary in structure (usually eight to sixteen bars and two to five lines of text) and length.

Chord structures often center around the tonic and sometimes the subdominant or dominant chords. Acoustic instruments, including the guitar, harmonica, banjo, mandolin, fiddle, diddly bow, kazoo, jug, fife and drum, washboard, and washtub bass, provide the accompaniment. The instruments, functioning as accompaniment and as a substitute for singers, often double and respond to the vocal melody. Prominent rural blues musicians include Robert Johnson, Charley Patton, Son House, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Blind Boy Fuller, Sonny Terry, Brownie McGhee, Blind Blake, and Gus Cannon.

BOOGIE-WOOGIE. Boogie-woogie is a piano form of the blues that evolved between the late 1890s and the early 1900s in barrelhouses (also known as juke joints) in logging, sawmill, turpentine, levee, and railroad camps throughout the South. Barrelhouses, which served as social centers for migrant workers living in these camps, consisted of a room with a piano, dance area, and bar. Itinerant boogie-woogie pianists traveled the barrelhouse circuit providing the entertainment—music for dancing.

Early boogie-woogie styles incorporated the chord structures, bass patterns, form, and tonality of the folk blues and the melodic and rhythmic properties of ragtime. Boogie-woogie pianists adapted these elements to reflect the dance function of the music, as well as their own percussive and regional improvisatory style. The various regional styles emphasized a heavy and rhythmic eight-note triadic bass line (1-3-5-6-1 or flatted 7) over which flowed syncopated melodic phrases.

Boogie-woogie pianists were among the southern migrants who moved to Chicago after World War I. High rents and low wages forced Chicago's South Side residents to raise money to pay rent. To do so, they hosted rent parties that featured boogie-woogie pianists. This music was so popular among Chicago's southern migrants that it also provided the entertainment on excursion trains that transported blacks to the South on holidays. The trains, called honky-tonks, were converted baggage cars that contained a bar and a dance floor. Boogie-woogie remained the music associated with the lower social strata of black society until the 1930s, when the style entered the repertory of jazz bands and was featured in a concert at New York's Carnegie Hall. By the 1940s, boogie-woogie had become the new craze in American jazz and popular music, which brought respectability to the form. Pioneering boogie-woogie pianists include Charles "Cow Cow" Davenport, Clarence "Pine Top" Smith, Little Brother Montgomery, Clarence Lofton, Roosevelt Sykes, Jimmy Blythe, Jimmy Yancey, Meade "Lux" Lewis, and Albert Ammons.

VAUDEVILLE BLUES. At the turn of the century, a new blues style, which provided the transition from a folk to a commercial style, evolved within the context of traveling minstrel, carnival, and vaudeville shows. Known as vaudeville or classic blues, it showcased black female singers. Most of these women had grown up in the South, and they escaped their impoverished environments by becoming professional entertainers. Relocating in cities, they created widespread awareness of the blues tradition, appearing in cabarets, dance halls, off-Broadway productions, and on records.

Vaudeville blues was the first black music style recorded by a black performer and accompanied by black musicians. The popularity of the song "Crazy Blues," composed by the professional songwriter Perry Bradford and sung by Mamie Smith in 1920, resulted in the recording of many types of black music written and performed by black musicians.

The vaudeville blues tradition is distinguished from rural blues by instrumentation, musical form, harmonic structure, and performance style. Vaudeville singers were accompanied by blues-ragtime-jazz pianists or a New Orleans–style jazz band. As a commercial form the blues structure became standardized through the use of a twelve-bar, three-line (AAB) verse or stanza structure, the tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic progression, and the blues tonality of the flatted third and seventh degrees.

As in rural blues, textual themes varied and included economic hardship, relationships, imprisonment, travels, urban experiences, and southern nostalgia. Many singers, including Ma Rainey, Ida Cox, Victoria Spivey, Alberta Hunter, and Bessie Smith, wrote their own blues songs, bringing a feminist perspective to many topics common to the blues tradition. Other songs were drawn from the folk blues and composed by professional black male songwriters.

The Great Depression led to a decline in the recording of black music during the 1930s. The demand for the blues, nevertheless, continued to grow. The World War II migration of rural southern blacks to urban centers engendered a consumer market for black music that surpassed the previous decades. Urban blues was one of the most popular black music forms to emerge during the 1940s.

URBAN BLUES. Urban blues shares the musical features (form, structure, tonality, and textual themes) of vaudeville blues. Musically it is more akin to the rural tradition, from which it is distinguished by a more developed instrumental style and influences from jazz and popular music.

Urban blues evolved in cities where southern black migrants struggled to cope with daily life. City life proved

harsher than anticipated; the expectation of social and racial equality quickly abated in the face of covert discriminatory practices. Yet blacks adjusted by adapting southern traditions to the demands of city living. The blues played a pivotal role in this process.

In bars, lounges, and clubs where African Americans gathered to socialize, rural blues performers Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, Sonny Boy Williamson, and Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins, among others, provided the entertainment. The noise level of these venues, combined with surrounding street and factory sounds, forced these musicians to amplify their voices and instruments. The density and intensity of these gatherings soon demanded that blues musicians expand their instrumentation to include a drummer and electric bass guitar and, in some cases, horns. Over these amplified instruments, blues singers shouted and moaned about city life—the good times, the bad times, and the lonely times. Performers who brought inspiration to inner-city dwellers included T-Bone Walker, B. B. King, Bobby "Blue" Bland, Elmore James, Homesick James, Junior Wells, Buddy Guy, Otis Span, Willie Dixon, and Ko Ko Taylor.

Jazz

Jazz, an ensemble-based instrumental music, is a twentieth-century form. Like the blues, it comprises many styles, each one associated with a specific historical period, social context, and cultural function. While the various styles may be distinguished by certain musical features and instrumentation, they share certain African-American aesthetic properties, which link them as a whole and to the larger body of African-American music.

Early jazz styles evolved around the turn of the century out of the syncopated brass-band tradition. Brass bands borrowed ragtime's syncopated rhythmic style to create an ensemble-based dance music employing conventions of the oral tradition. The bands led by Joe "King" Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Kid Ory, and Bunk Johnson popularized this tradition, providing collectively improvised versions of marches, hymns, folk tunes, popular melodies, and original compositions. They performed in black entertainment venues throughout the urban South, at funerals, and at community social gatherings. Later known as New Orleans jazz, this style featured a small ensemble consisting of cornet, trombone, clarinet, banjo, tuba, and drums.

Many New Orleans musicians and those from other areas migrated to Chicago, Kansas City, or New York during the World War I era. In these cities social dancing had become popular, and the number of nightclubs, cabarets, and ballrooms increased dramatically. In this context and by the 1930s, a distinctive style of instrumental dance music labeled *jazz* had evolved out of the New Orleans tradition. This new jazz style, in which improvisation remained a salient feature, differed from the New Orleans tradition in composition, instrumentation, repertory, and musical structure. The number of musicians increased from six or seven to twelve to sixteen; the instrumentation consisted of trumpets, trombones, saxophones, piano, string bass, and drums; the repertory included complex rhythmic arrangements of popular songs, blues, and original compositions; and the musical structure, which featured soloists, took on a more formal yet flexible quality. Prominent bands of this era (labeled *big bands* in the late 1920s and *swing bands* in the mid-1930s) included those of Bennie Moten, Count Basie, Fletcher Henderson, Jimmie Lunceford, Duke Ellington, Andy Kirk, Chick Webb, Cab Calloway, Coleman Hawkins, Earl "Fatha" Hines, and Lionel Hampton.

The World War II era engendered yet another change in the jazz tradition. During the war years, the musical tastes and social patterns of many Americans began to change. After the war, small clubs replaced ballrooms as centers for musical activity, and experimental jazz combos (rhythm section, trumpet, saxophone, and trombone) came into vogue. Over the next six decades, these combos created new and diverse styles of improvised music that were known as bebop, hard bop, cool jazz, soul jazz, jazz fusion, modern jazz, and new jazz swing. Each of these styles introduced new musical concepts to the jazz tradition.

Bebop (1940s), hard bop (1950s), cool jazz (1950s), and modern jazz (1960s) musicians experimented with timbre and texture and expanded harmonic language, melodic and rhythmic structures, and tempos beyond the parameters associated with big bands. Musicians of these styles altered and extended traditional chord structures, introduced unconventional chord sequences, and employed abstract, nonvocal melodies and unpredictable rhythmic patterns. In the process, they transformed jazz from dance music to music for listening. Bebop's major innovators were Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonius Monk, Kenny Clarke, and Max Roach. Hard bop's pioneers included Clifford Brown, Lee Morgan, Sonny Rollins, John Coltrane, J. J. Johnson, Horace Silver, Cannonball Adderley, Wes Montgomery, and Kenny Burrell. Cool jazz is associated with Miles Davis and the Modern Jazz Quartet, among others. Modern jazz (also known as avant-garde or free jazz) innovators include Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp, Sun Ra, and the Art Ensemble of Chicago.

Some musicians rooted in the bebop or hard bop style experimented with various non-Western musical tradi-

tions. John Coltrane, Alice Coltrane, McCoy Tyner, and Ralph MacDonald, for example, drew inspiration from the music of India, Japan, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Some performers even employed instruments from these countries. While many musicians expanded on bebop's musical foundation during the 1950s and 1960s, others evolved jazz styles that differed conceptually from this tradition.

Retaining the sensibilities and improvisatory style of the jazz tradition, soul jazz (1960s), jazz fusion (1970s), and new jazz swing (1990s) musicians turned to popular idioms (soul music, funk, and rap) for creative inspiration. Fusing the musical language, stylings, rhythms, and synthesized instruments of various popular forms with the harmonic vocabulary of jazz, they not only brought a new sound to the jazz tradition but recaptured jazz's original dance function as well.

Ramsey Lewis, Les McCann, Cannonball Adderley, Jimmy Smith, and Richard "Groove" Holmes are among musicians who popularized the soul jazz style; Herbie Hancock (who introduced the synthesizer to jazz), George Duke, George Benson, Noel Pointer, and Hubert Laws forged the jazz fusion concept.

In the 1990s such jazz musicians as Greg Osby, Miles Davis, Roy Ayers, Donald Byrd, Lonnie Liston Smith, Courtney Pine, and Branford Marsalis teamed up with rap (also known as hip-hop) artists to produce a new sound called *new jazz swing*. This style fuses rap's lyrics, hip-hop rhythms, scratching (sounds produced with the needle by rotating a record backward and forward), rhythm-and-blues and funk samples (phrases extracted from prerecorded songs), and multilayered textures with the improvisational character and vocabulary of jazz. The musical borrowings across genres gave birth not only to new jazz forms but also to a new body of religious music labeled *gospel*.

Gospel

Gospel is a twentieth-century form of sacred music developed by African-Americans within an urban context. As described by ethnomusicologist Mellonee Burnim, gospel functions multidimensionally, holding historical, religious, cultural, and social significance among African Americans (Burnim 1988, pp. 112–120). As an urban response to the sociocultural climate that supported racial oppression, gospel provides a spiritual perspective on the secular events that negatively impacted the lives of African Americans. As such, it expresses the changing ideas and ideals held by blacks in their attempt to establish a meaningful life in an urban environment.

The gospel tradition relies on three primary sources for its repertory: (1) spontaneous creations by church congregations in the oral tradition; (2) original composition by individuals; and (3) rearrangements of hymns, spirituals, blues, and popular idioms. Given these distinct musical sources, gospel music utilizes many structural forms, including call-response, verse-chorus, blues, and theme and variation. Gospel performances, which are highly improvisatory, are accompanied by a variety of instruments, particularly piano, Hammond organ, bass, tambourine, and drums.

GOSPEL AS ORAL COMPOSITION. Gospel music, as an oral form of religious expression, has its roots in Pentecostalism, established in the late 1800s. The Pentecostal church, a by-product of the post–Civil War Holiness movement, became a refuge for many African Americans from lower socioeconomic strata who sought spiritual uplift and deliverance from hardship and struggle. The worship style of the Pentecostal church appealed to these and other African Americans because it retained the improvisatory preaching style, spontaneous testimonies, prayer, and music traditions of the past. Pentecostal congregations brought an urban flavor to these expressions, especially the folk spiritual tradition, which they transformed into an urban folk gospel style.

The feature that distinguishes folk gospel from folk spirituals is the addition of accompanying instruments, including tambourines, washboards, triangles, guitars, pianos, horns, and drums. Pentecostal ministers sanctioned the use of these instruments, citing *Psalm* 150, which encouraged the use of trumpets, harps, lyres, tambourines, strings, flutes, and cymbals to praise the Lord. Blues, ragtime, and jazz performers were among those who responded to this invitation, bringing their instruments and secular style of performance into the Pentecostal church.

Congregational singing accompanied by instruments increased the intensity and spontaneity of urban black folk services. The bluesy guitar lines, ragtime and boogie-woogie rhythms, horn riffs, and polyrhythmic drum patterns brought a contemporary sound to old traditions.

GOSPEL AS WRITTEN COMPOSITION. Gospel music as written composition emerged as a distinct genre in independent black churches in the 1930s. The prototype, known as a *gospel hymn*, was developed during the first two decades of the twentieth century by the Philadelphia Methodist minister Charles A. Tindley. Tindley grew up in rural Maryland, where he attended a folk-style rural church. Influenced by this experience, his ministry catered to the spiritual, cultural, and social needs of black people.

Tindley gave special attention to the poor, who flocked to his church in large numbers, as did people of all classes and races. His socioeconomically and culturally diverse congregation responded positively to his style of worship, which intertwined the liturgical and cultural practices of the Pentecostal, Baptist, and Methodist churches. These services "embraced both the order and selections of well-loved 'high' church literature and the practice, richness, intensity, and spontaneity found in the most traditionally based Black form of worship. These were hymns, anthems, prayers, and creeds. There were 'amens' and hand-claps and shouts of 'Thank you Jesus' and a spirit that ran throughout the service" (Reagon 1992, p. 39).

The music, woven into every component of worship, was as diverse as the liturgy. The choir performed George Frideric Handel's *Messiah* (1742) at Christmas and the music of other Western classical composers and the African-American tradition during Sunday morning service. At evening testimonials the congregation sang spirituals, lined hymns, and other songs from the oral tradition.

The church's musical repertory also included Tindley's original compositions, which he wrote specifically for his congregation and as an extension of his sermons. His song texts related the scriptures to everyday life experiences. A recurring theme in Tindley's songs and sermons, according to cultural historian Bernice Johnson Reagon, "is the belief that true change or release from worldly bondage can be attained only through struggle" (1992, p. 45).

The theme of deliverance through struggle is one feature that distinguishes Tindley's gospel hymns from the hymns of white songwriters, whose texts focus on conversion, salvation, and heaven. Other distinguishing elements are the construction of melodies in a fashion that allows for improvisation and interpolation and the use of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic components of the black folk tradition. Among Tindley's well-known songs are "Some Day," published in 1901, and "Stand By Me," "The Storm Is Passing Over, Hallelujah," and "By and By," all published in 1905. These and other compositions, which are included in hymnbooks of all denominations, have become part of the black oral tradition. They are sung in a variety of styles by congregations, gospel soloists, duos, quartets, and numerous traditional and contemporary ensembles and choirs.

Tindley's compositions had a profound impact on Thomas A. Dorsey, a Baptist, who evolved Tindley's gospel-hymn model into an original gospel song. Dorsey, a former blues and ragtime performer, brought a different kind of song structure, melody, harmony, rhythm, and energy to the black sacred tradition. Dorsey was known as the "Father of Gospel," and his compositions fuse blues-style melodies with blues and ragtime rhythms. His texts are testimonies about the power of Jesus Christ, which provides spiritually inspired yet earthly solutions to daily struggles. Among Dorsey's well-known compositions are "Take My Hand, Precious Lord" (1932), "There'll Be Peace in the Valley for Me" (1938), "Hide Me in Thy Bosom" (1939), "God is Good to Me" (1943), and "Old Ship of Zion" (1950).

Despite the "good news" about Jesus Christ of which gospel music speaks, most ministers of independent black churches rejected Dorsey's songs because of their "secular" beat and musical style and because they did not conform to the established religious musical conventions. He therefore used unorthodox strategies to introduce them to church congregations. Throughout the 1930s Dorsey, along with Sallie Martin, Mahalia Jackson, and Willie Mae Ford Smith, sang his songs on the sidewalks outside churches, at church conventions, and at the gospel music convention, the National Convention of Choirs and Choruses, that Dorsey founded with Sallie Martin, Willie Mae Ford Smith, Theodore Fry, and Magnolia Lewis Butts in 1932.

Also during the 1930s, many established jubilee quartets added Dorsey's songs and those of such composers as Lucie Campbell, William Herbert Brewster, Roberta Martin, and Kenneth Morris, among others, to their traditional repertory of Negro spirituals. By the 1940s, several newly formed semiprofessional and professional gospel quartets, female and mixed groups, and local choirs specialized in gospel music. In the 1950s, as a result of the proliferation of gospel church choirs, gospel music became the standard repertory in many independent black church choirs.

Performers that brought widespread public notice to the gospel-music tradition of Dorsey and his contemporaries include the gospel quartets Fairfield Four, Famous Blue Jay Singers, Golden Gate Quartet, Soul Stirrers, Highway Q.C.'s, Dixie Hummingbirds, Swan Silvertones, and the Blind Boys; the gospel groups of Roberta Martin, Sally Ward, Clara Ward, and the Barrett Sisters; and the soloists Mahalia Jackson, Sallie Martin, Willie Mae Ford Smith, Marion Williams, Bessie Griffin, Albertina Walker, Alex Bradford, James Cleveland, and Shirley Caesar. Gospel quartets performed a cappella or with guitar accompaniment, and gospel groups and soloists performed with piano and Hammond organ.

The gospel songs of Dorsey and other songwriters were disseminated in printed form. The musical score, however, provides only the text and a skeletal outline of the basic melody and harmonies. Vocalists and instru-

mentalists bring their own interpretations to these songs, employing the aesthetic conventions of the oral tradition. Thus, gospel music represents both a style of performance and a body of original composition. This style of performance is manifested in the gospel arrangement of the white hymn "Oh, Happy Day," which transformed the traditional style of Thomas Dorsey into a contemporary sound.

CONTEMPORARY GOSPEL. When Edwin Hawkins, a Pentecostal, recorded his version of the hymn "Oh, Happy Day" in 1969, he ushered in a new era of gospel music—an era that coincided with the changed social climate engendered by the civil rights movement. Hawkins and his contemporaries evolved the gospel sound by blending traditional elements with those of contemporary popular, jazz, blues, folk, and classical music. "Oh, Happy Day," for example, is laced with elements of soul music, particularly its danceable beat. This song attracted the attention of top-forty and soul-music programmers, who added it to their play list. The popularity of "Oh, Happy Day" within and outside the religious community inspired other gospel performers to exploit Hawkins's model. Since the recording of "Oh, Happy Day," the musical boundaries have expanded and this song now falls under the category of traditional gospel.

In the 1970s Andrae Crouch experimented with every black secular form, employing melodies, harmonies, rhythms, and instrumentation from ragtime, jazz, blues, and funk; Rance Allen borrowed rhythms and instrumentation from the rhythm-and-blues and soul-music traditions; and Vernard Johnson elevated the saxophone to the status of a solo gospel instrument. Contemporary gospel songwriters-performers also introduced new textual themes to the tradition. While retaining the established theme of salvation in some compositions, they do not mention God or Jesus directly in others. Instead, themes of peace, compassion, and universal love inspired by the civil rights movement and the spiritually based teachings of Martin Luther King Jr. prevail. These themes and the musical innovations, which demonstrate the affinity between gospel and popular forms, led to debates regarding appropriate sacred musical expression.

Perhaps the most controversial practice of the 1970s and 1980s was the recording of popular songs as gospel. James Cleveland, for example, recorded a gospel version of George Benson's "Everything Must Change"; the Twenty-First Century Singers presented a rendition of Melba Moore's "Lean on Me" as "Lean on Him"; and Shirley Caesar and the Thompson Community Singers recorded Curtis Mayfield's "People Get Ready," a song inspired by Mayfield's religious beliefs. The only significant change made to the original songs was the substitution of "Jesus" for "baby," "my woman," and "my man."

In the 1980s gospel and classical performers joined forces to record a historic album, *Edwin Hawkins Live* (1981), with the Oakland Symphony Orchestra. The fusion of classical elements with gospel has its origins in the style of the Roberta Martin Singers. During the 1940s, Roberta Martin, a songwriter and classically trained pianist, incorporated scales and arpeggios in the piano accompaniment and operatic vocal stylings from the classical tradition in the group's performances. During the 1970s and 1980s, Pearl Williams-Jones and Richard Smallwood, who also were trained classical pianists, maintained Martin's tradition of fusing classical with gospel piano techniques in gospel music.

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, gospel performers continued to borrow the language, instrumentation, and technology (synthesizers, drum machines, and sound effects) of popular idioms. At the same time, performers of popular music turned to the gospel tradition for inspiration, as they had done for the previous four decades, employing gospel vocal stylings, harmonies, and rhythms and recording gospel songs under the label of soul. The Clark Sisters, Vanessa Bell Armstrong, Tramaine Hawkins, Walter Hawkins, Commissioned, Bebe and CeCe Winans, Take 6, Nu Colors, Sounds of Blackness, Daryl Coley, Keith Pringle, John P. Kee, Little Saints in Praise, Kinnection, and Kirk Franklin (gospel rap) are among those performers who created new gospel styles by stretching traditional musical parameters.

Civil Rights Freedom Songs

Civil rights freedom songs are the products of the 1950s and 1960s civil rights and Black Power movements, respectively. In the mid-1950s, African Americans from the South mounted a series of grassroots activities to protest their social status as second-class citizens. These activities, which gained widespread momentum and attracted national attention in the 1960s, evolved into the civil rights and Black Power movements. Music was integral to both and served a multitude of functions. It galvanized African Americans into political action; provided them with strength and courage; united protesters as a cohesive group; and supplied a creative medium for mass communication.

Freedom songs draw from many sources and traditions, including folk and arranged spirituals; unaccompanied congregational hymn singing; folk ballads; gospel quartets, groups, and choirs; rhythm and blues and soul music; and original creations. Protesters reinterpreted the

musical repertory of African Americans, communicating their determination to effect social and political change. The singing captured the energy and spirit of the movement. The power of the songs, according to Bernice Johnson Reagon, "came from the linking of traditional oral expression to the everyday experiences of the movement" (1987 p. 106). Well-known freedom songs include "We Shall Overcome," "Come Bah Yah," "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around," "99½ Won't Do," and "Get Your Rights, Jack."

Rhythm and Blues

During the World War II era, urban areas throughout the country became centers for the evolution of a distinct body of African-American popular music. Labeled *rhythm and blues*, this music consisted of many regional styles, reflecting the migration patterns of African Americans and the musical background of performers. In Los Angeles, for example, former swing band and blues musicians formed five- to eight-member combos (bass and rhythm guitar, drums, piano, saxophone, trumpet, and trombone) and created a distinctive rhythm-and-blues style. A hybrid dance style, it fused the twelve-bar blues and boogie-woogie bass line with the repetitive melodic riffs and drum patterns of the swing bands of the Southwest and the West (specifically Kansas City). This tradition also featured instrumental saxophone solos and the vocals of "moaning" and "shouting" blues singers. This style is illustrated in the recordings of Louis Jordan, Joe Liggins, Roy Milton, Johnny Otis, and Big Jay McNeely, among others. The West Coast sound also resonated in the instrumentals of musicians recording in the Midwest and on the East Coast, including Wild Bill Moore, Harold Singer, Sonny Thompson, and Paul Williams.

Paralleling the emergence of rhythm-and-blues combos in Los Angeles in the 1940s was a style known as *club blues* and *cocktail music* in African-American and white clubs, respectively. Associated with the King Cole Trio, this music was performed primarily in lounges and small, intimate clubs as background or listening music. It featured a self-accompanying jazz or blues-oriented pianist-vocalist augmented by guitar and bass performing in a subdued or tempered style, in contrast to the high-energy sounds of the rhythm-and-blues dance combos. Popularizers of club blues include Cecil Gant, Charles Brown and the Three Blazers, Roy Brown, Amos Milburn, and Ray Charles.

In New Orleans, a younger generation of performers such as Fats Domino, Little Richard, Lloyd Price, and Shirley & Lee evolved the 1940s rhythm-and-blues combo style into a contemporary youthful expression. This form of musical expression fuses elements from gospel music with the blues, Latin traditions, and the innovations of musicians, which are summarized as gospel-derived vocal stylings, repeated triplet and rolling-octave piano blues figures, a Cuban-derived rumba bass pattern, and an underlying fast sixteenth-note cymbal pattern accented on beats two and four on the snare drum. Little Richard created this drum pattern, which became known as the *rock 'n' roll* beat. By the mid-1950s, New Orleans rhythm and blues had inspired related yet personalized combo styles, including the Atlantic Sound (Atlantic Records), popularized by Ruth Brown and La Vern Baker, the rock 'n' roll style of guitarists Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley, and the up-tempo vocal group styles of the Cadillacs, El Dorados, Flamingos, and Coasters.

The vocal harmony group tradition was the most popular rhythm-and-blues form among teenagers, especially those living in urban centers. In the densely populated cities on the East Coast, in Chicago, and in Detroit, teenagers formed a cappella groups, performing for school dances and other social activities. Rehearsing on street corners, apartment stoops, and in school yards, parks, and subway trains, they evolved a type of group harmony that echoed the harmonies of jubilee and gospel quartets and gospel groups. Among the first groups of this tradition in the early 1950s were the Orioles, Spaniels, and the Five Keys, who specialized in ballads that appealed to the romantic fantasies of teenagers.

By the mid-1950s, vocal harmony groups had transformed the smooth and romantic delivery of ballads into a rhythmic performance style labeled *doo-wop*. This concept featured a rhythmic deliverance of the phrase "doo-doo-doo-wop" or "doo-doo-doo-doo" sung by bass singers, which provided movement for a cappella vocal groups. First popularized by the Spaniels in the early 1950s, the rhythmic doo-wop phrases eventually replaced the sustained "oohs and ahs" background vocals of the early vocal harmony groups. This vocal group style is associated with the Moonglows, Monotones, Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers, Five Satins, Channels, Charts, Heartbeats, Chantels, and Crests, among others.

Overlapping the doo-wop vocal group style was a pop-oriented sound that featured orchestral arrangements, gospel-pop-flavored vocal stylings, sing-along (as opposed to call-response) phrases known as *hook lines,* and Latin-derived rhythms. This style, associated with the Platters and the post-1956 Drifters, provided the framework for musical arrangements and hook lines that undergird the mid- to late 1960s vocal group sound of Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, the Supremes, Four Tops, Temptations, Dells, and Impressions.

By the late 1960s, the rhythm-and-blues tradition had begun exhibiting new sounds that reflected the discontentment of many African Americans engaged in the struggle for social and racial equality. The pop-oriented vocal stylings of the Drifters, the cha-cha beat of some rhythm-and-blues singers, and the youthful sound and teen lyrics of Motown's groups gave way to a more spirited type of music labeled *soul*.

SOUL MUSIC. Soul, distinguished by its roots in black gospel music and socially conscious messages, is associated with the 1960s era of Black Power—a movement led by college-age students who rejected the integrationist philosophy of the 1950s civil rights leaders. The ideology of Black Power promoted nationalist concepts of racial pride, racial unity, self-empowerment, self-control, and self-identification. As a concept, soul became associated with an attitude, a behavior, symbols, institutions, and cultural products that were distinctively black and reflected the values and worldview of people of African descent.

Many black musicians supported the Black Power movement, promoting the nationalist ideology and galvanizing African Americans into social and political action. They identified with their African heritage, wearing African-derived fashions and hairstyles; their song lyrics advocated national black unity, activism, and self-pride; and their musical style captured the energy, convictions, and optimism of African Americans during a period of social change.

Soul music embodies the vocal and piano stylings, call-response, polyrhythmic structures, and aesthetic conventions of gospel music. This style is represented in the recordings "Soul Finger" (1967) by the Bar-Kays; "Soul Man" (1967) by Sam and Dave; "Respect" (1967) by Aretha Franklin; "We're a Winner" (1967) and "This Is My Country" (1968) by the Impressions; "Say It Loud, I'm Black and Proud" (1968) and "I Don't Want Nobody to Give Me Nothing" (1969) by James Brown; "Freedom" (1970) by the Isley Brothers; "Respect Yourself" (1971) by the Staple Singers; "Give More Power to the People" (1971) by the Chi-Lites; and "Back Stabbers" (1972) by the O'Jays, among others.

The optimism that had prevailed during the 1960s began to fade among a large segment of the African-American community in the early 1970s. New opportunities for social and economic advancement engendered by the pressures of the civil rights and Black Power movements resulted in opposition from mainstream society. Resistance to affirmative-action programs, school desegregation, busing, open housing, and other federal policies designed to integrate African Americans fully into the mainstream hindered their progress toward social, economic, and racial equality. The lyrics of Marvin Gaye's "What's Going On" (1971) and "Inner City Blues" (1971); James Brown's "Down and Out in New York City" (1973) and "Funky President" (1974); and the O'Jays' "Survival" (1975) express mixed feelings about social change. Reflecting the disappointments and the continued struggle toward racial equality, new forms of popular expressions labeled *funk*, *disco*, and *rap* evolved out of the soul style in the 1970s.

FUNK MUSIC. Funk describes a form of dance music rooted in the rhythm-and-blues and soul music traditions of James Brown and Sly Stone. Funk is characterized by group singing, complex polyrhythmic structures, percussive instrumental and vocal timbres, a riffing horn section, and lyrics that encourage "partying" or "having a good time." The primary function of funk was to provide temporary respite from the uncertainties and pressures of daily life. In live performances and on studio recordings, funk musicians created an ambience, a party atmosphere, that encouraged black people to express themselves freely and without the restrictions or cultural compromises often experienced in integrated settings.

The therapeutic potential of funk is reflected in key recurring phrases: "have a good time," "let yourself go," "give up the funk," and "it ain't nothing but a party." Among the pioneering funk performers were Sly and the Family Stone, Kool and the Gang, Ohio Players, Graham Central Station, Bar-Kays, and Parliament/Funkadelic.

George Clinton, founder of Parliament, Funkadelic, and other funk groups extended the definition of *funk* beyond a musical style to embrace a philosophy, attitude, and culture. Known as *P-funk* (pure funk), this philosophy is manifested in the creation of an imaginary planet— the planet of funk. On this planet blacks acquire new values, a worldview, and a lifestyle free of earthly social and cultural restrictions. Clinton's P-funk songs combined the party theme with social commentary in a comic style. This theme and the philosophy of P-funk prevail in Parliament's "Chocolate City" (1975); "P. Funk (Wants to Get Funked Up)" (1975); "Prelude" (1976); "Dr. Funkenstein" (1976); "Bop Gun (Endangered Species)" (1977); and "Funkentelechy" (1977). Musically, the P-funk style advances the concepts of Sly Stone, who achieved mood and textural variety through the use of electronic distorting devices and synthesizers.

By the late 1970s, advancements in musical technology and the emergence of disco as a distinct electro-pop style influenced the reconfiguration and shifts in the musical direction of many funk bands. To remain competitive

against the disco craze, some funk bands, such as Heatwave and Con Funk Shun, incorporated disco elements in their music, replacing horn players with synthesizers and juxtaposing disco rhythms in the funk groove. Others, including the Bar-Kays, Lakeside, Gap Band, Cameo, Rick James, and Instant Funk, combined synthesizers with the traditional funk instrumentation in ways that preserved the aesthetic of the earlier funk styles. Taking a different approach, Zapp and Roger from Dayton, Ohio, used advanced technologies to create an electro-based Dayton funk sound centering on the vocoder (an electronic and distorting talk box); a heavy, synthesized bottom; and distorted instrumental timbres.

At the same time, rap music deejay Afrika Bambaataa and the Soul Sonic Force developed their own brand of electro-funk based on the innovations of European proto-techno group Kraftwerk. Borrowing and reworking a musical phrase from Kraftwerk's "Planet Rock" (1982), Bambaataa used programmable synthesizers, drum machines, and other electronic equipment to produced a danceable space-oriented techno-funk style characterized by a series of varying sound effects. Other groups such as the Planet Patrol ("Play at Your Own Risk," 1982), and the Jonzun Crew ("Space Is the Place," 1982) popularized this style.

GO-GO. Go-go, a derivative funk style, evolved in Washington, D.C.'s inner-city neighborhoods during the mid-1970s. It is distinguished from traditional funk styles in that it is a performance-oriented music and not easily replicated in the studio. Live and continuous audience participation is essential to go-go performances. The audience and performers spontaneously create and exchange phrases in an antiphonal style. Songs are extended and different songs are connected through the use of percussion instruments, resulting into a twenty- to ninety-minute performance. Go-go pioneer Chuck Brown popularized this style, which highlights horns and percussion, in his hits "Bustin' Loose" (1978) and "We Need Some Money" (1985). Film director Spike Lee brought national notoriety to the idiom when he featured E.U. (Experience Unlimited) performing "Da' Butt" in his film *School Daze* (1988). Other go-go groups include Trouble Funk, Rare Essence, Little Benny and the Masters, Slim, and Redds and the Boys.

Disco

Disco is a term first used to identify dance music played in discotheques during the 1970s. The majority of these recordings were black music, as evidenced by the first "Top 50 Disco Hits" chart that appeared in 1974 in *Billboard* (a music industry publication). With few exceptions, the songs that comprise this chart were soul, Latin soul, funk, and the new sounds from Philadelphia International Records (known as the "Sound of Philadelphia" or the "Philly Sound," the latter created by the songwriter-producers Kenny Gamble, Leon Huff, and songwriter-arranger-producer Thom Bell).

By the late 1970s, *disco* referred to a new body of extended-play dance music (i.e., remixes of songs that exceeded the standard three-minute recording) distinguished by orchestral-styled arrangements and synthesized sound effects anchored around a distinctive drum pattern known as the *disco beat*. This style, defined as the "Philly Sound," has its origins in the drum beats and arrangements that combine melodic strings with percussively played horn lines over a four-to-the-bar bass drum pattern subdivided by beats of the high-hat cymbal (and variations of this pattern). The groups MFSB ("TSOP," 1973; "Love Is the Message," 1974) and Harold Melvin and the Blue Notes ("Bad Luck," 1975) and the singer Thelma Houston ("Don't Leave Me This Way," 1976) propelled this sound into the mainstream, and disco became a worldwide musical phenomenon.

Both American and European disco producers appropriated the Philly Sound, especially the drum pattern, to create various disco styles. These include the orchestral-style arrangements of Gloria Gaynor ("Never Can Say Good-bye," 1974; "I Will Survive," 1978) and Salsoul Orchestra ("Tangerine," 1975); the Euro-disco styles of the Ritchie Family ("Brazil," 1975; "The Best Disco in Town," 1976), Donna Summer ("Love to Love You, Baby," 1975), the Trammps ("That's Where the Happy People Go," 1976), and the Village People ("San Francisco," 1977; "Macho Man," 1978); the Latin-soul styles of Carl Douglas ("Doctor's Orders," 1974), and Van McCoy ("The Hustle," 1974; "The Disco Kid," 1975); and the funk-based disco of Silver Convention ("Fly, Robin, Fly," 1975), B. T. Express ("B. T. Express," 1974), Taste of Honey ("Boogie Oogie Oogie," 1978), and Chic ("Good Times," 1979).

After the release of the disco film *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), disco crossed over from a primarily black and gay audience into the mainstream. The popularity of the film's sound track resulted in the disco craze. Record companies flooded the market with recordings that reduced earlier innovative disco sounds to a formula—the disco beat, synthesized sound effects, and repetitious vocal refrain lines. By the early 1980s, disco had lost its originality and soon faded from the musical landscape.

Filling the void for original dance music, black deejay Frankie Knuckles evolved a disco-derivative style known as *house music* in the mid-1980s in Chicago. His creations incorporated gospel-style vocals over a repetitive bass line

and drum pattern programmed on synthesizers and drum machines. Similar to disco and funk, the lyrics of house encourage dancers to have a good time. House performers include Marshall Jefferson ("Move Your Body [The House Music Anthem]," 1986), Exit ("Let's Work It Out," 1987), Fast Eddie ("Yo Yo Get Funky," 1988), Inner City ("Big Fun," 1988), and Technotronic ("Pump Up the Jam," 1989; "Move This," 1989).

Rap and Hip-Hop Music

Rap music has its origins in hip-hop culture, which emerged in African-American, Afro-Caribbean, and Latino communities of the Bronx and spread to other sections of New York City in the early 1970s. Encompassing four performance expressions—graffiti or aerosol art, b-boying/girling (break dancing), DJ-ing, and MC-ing (rapping)—hip-hop became popular throughout the city through its association with gang culture. The rise in unemployment, the lack of educational opportunities, and the decline of federally funded job training and social programs contributed to increased poverty, community decay, and the proliferation of drugs during the years following the civil rights protest activities of the 1960s. Between the late 1960s and the early 1970s, gang violence escalated to new levels throughout New York City. Searching for alternative and nonviolent forms of competitive gang warfare, ex-gang members turned to hip-hop culture. Beginning in 1974, hip-hop became the vehicle through which gang members elevated their social status and developed a sense of pride, displaying their verbal, dance, and technological skills. By the mid-1970s, hip-hop culture had begun to dominate the expressions of all inner-city youth, and in 1979 the first commercial recordings of rap music appeared on vinyl. Since the 1990s, the term *hop-hop* is often synonymous with rap music or rhythm-and-blues–rap fusion. This reference to hip-hop places less emphasis on the original four cultural components—graffiti, b-boying/girling, DJ-ing, and MC-ing.

Rap/hip-hop music can be defined as rhymed poetry recited in rhythm over musical tracks. It draws from the cultural and verbal traditions of the African diaspora. The verbal component is rooted in the African-derived oral traditions of storytelling, toasting (narrative poems that sometimes bestow praises), boasting (self-aggrandizement), and signifying or "playing the dozens" (the competitive exchange of insults). The performance style of rappers employs rhymes, rhythmic speech patterns, and the rhetorical approach of the 1950s African-American deejays who talked, or "rapped," over music. These deejays inspired the sound and verbal innovations of Jamaican mobile disk jockeys, whose large and powerful sound systems (consisting of turntables, speakers, amplifiers, and a microphone) were central to the development of rap as a musical genre. As performers for outdoor parties (known as *blues dances*) in Jamaica, deejays competed for audiences through their display of skills in sequencing records (including rhythm and blues), manipulating volume, and complimenting the dancers through their toasts. To focus more on the technical aspects of the performance, these deejays hired assistants to verbally interact with the crowd. These assistants later became known as MCs (from "master of ceremonies"). After deejays from the Caribbean migrated to the Bronx, they eventually joined forces with African-American rappers, and collectively they created rap music as a distinctive genre.

Rap (or hip-hop) music consists of several subgenres and stylistic subcategories, including *party rap*, *hardcore rap* (conscious, nationalist, message, or Afro-centric rap; gangsta or reality rap; and X-rated rap), *pop rap* (novelty or humorous rap), and *commercial rap* (rap ballad and rhythm-and-blues rap). The first commercial rap recording, "Rapper's Delight" by the Sugarhill Gang, released in 1979, established party rap as the model for early rap recordings. This rap style exploited the art of boasting and often featured a group of rappers (known as a *posse* or *crew*). While bragging about their verbal facility and ability to "rock the house," they identified their physical attributes, material possessions, and other personal characteristics. Rappers competed with each other within and across individual groups. Popularizers of the party-rap style include Sequence ("Funk You Up," 1979), Curtis Blow ("The Breaks," 1980), Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five ("Freedom," 1980; "Birthday Party," 1981), Funky Four Plus One ("Rapping and Rocking the House," 1980), Lady B. ("To the Beat [Y'all]," 1980), Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five and Furious Five Meets the Sugarhill Gang ("Showdown," 1981).

In the mid-1980s a new generation of rappers from the inner cities and suburbs broadened the scope of rap. While "rockin' the house," boasting, and signifyin', these rappers introduced new lyric themes and musical styles to the tradition. Some told humorous stories and tall tales, and others recounted adolescent pranks, fantasies, and romantic encounters. In 1984 UTFO ("Roxanne Roxanne"), Roxanne Shante ("Roxanne's Revenge"), and the Real Roxanne ("The Real Roxanne") popularized verbal dueling, or "signifyin'," between genders. In "La Di Da Di" (1985), Doug E. Fresh incorporated rhythmic vocal effects in a concept known as the *human beat box*, which became the trademark of the comic group the Fat Boys ("Jail House Rap," 1984; "The Fat Boys Are Back," 1985). The humorous style of the Fat Boys established the model for

what became known as *pop rap*. DJ Jazzy Jeff and the Fresh Prince brought notoriety to this style through their parodies of the suburban black middle class as illustrated in "Girls Ain't Nothing but Trouble" (1986) and "Parents Just Don't Understand" (1988), as did De La Soul in "Potholes in My Lawn" (1989), "Plug Tunin'" (1989), and "Me Myself and I" (1989). LL Cool J introduced the rap ballad in "I Need Love" (1987), which brought a softer edge and a romantic dimension to hip-hip music. MC Hammer brought a rhythm-and-blues flavor to rap by borrowing songs from the rhythm-and-blues tradition as his soundtrack (*Please Hammer, Don't Hurt 'Em,* 1990). Queen Latifah, the Real Roxanne, and Positive K introduced a feminist perspective in "Ladies First" (1989), "Respect" (1988), and "I Got a Man" (1992), respectively.

In the late 1980s rap became a public forum for social and political commentary as well as the expression of inner-city rage and X-rated behavior. Throughout this decade, inner-city communities continued to deteriorate. A recession (1980–1982), ongoing fiscal conservatism, the continuing rise in unemployment due to deindustrialization, and the absence of a black middle class resulted in the expansion of the "urban underclass" and the relocation of wealthier African-Americans to the suburbs. These changing economic and social conditions led to a proliferation of drugs and related violence and chaos in inner-city communities. Such conditions inspired a new rap form characterized by an aggressive tone and graphic descriptions of the social ills and harshness of inner-city life. Labeled *hardcore*, this rap form constitutes three stylistic categories: conscious, nationalist, or message rap; gangsta or reality rap; and X-rated rap.

The first hip-hop recordings that exposed the economic woes, social ills, and deteriorating conditions of inner cities were by East Coast rappers, including Curtis Blow's "Hard Times" (1980), Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" (1982) and "New York, New York" (1983), and Grandmaster Flash and Melle Mel's "White Lines (Don't Do It)" (1983). In the late 1980s, politically oriented rappers began expounding on these themes, condemning social injustices, drugs, police brutality, violence, and black-on-black crime. As a solution to these social ills, they promoted the 1960s Black Nationalist agenda advanced by the Nation of Islam and the Five Percent Nation, who advocated political confrontation and identification with an African heritage. Innovators and popularizers of conscious rap include Public Enemy ("It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back," 1988; "Fear of a Black Planet," 1989–1990); Jungle Brothers ("Straight Out of the Jungle," 1988; "Done by the Forces of Nature," 1989); Boogie Down Productions ("By All Means Necessary," 1988; "Ghetto Music: The Blueprint of Hip Hop," 1989); Paris ("The Devil Made Me Do It," 1989–1990); X-Clan ("To the East, Blackwards," 1990); Brand Nubian ("One for All," 1990; "In God We Trust," 1992), and Sister Souljah ("360 Degrees of Power," 1992).

The political voices of nationalist rappers overlapped with the harsh and violent messages and aggressive style of another group of hardcore rappers primarily from the West Coast. Labeled *gangsta rap* (by the media) and *reality rap* (by the rappers themselves), performers of this rap style described the chaos and the rough and seedy side of inner-city life using graphic language laced with expletives. Although their tales of violence and sexual exploits exposed aspects of life in inner-city communities, they often exploited and dramatized these experiences by glorifying drugs, violence, criminal acts, and misogynistic behavior. Such rappers include N.W.A. ("Straight Outta Compton," 1988; "Niggaz 4 Life," 1991); Eazy-E ("Eazy-Duz-It," 1988); Ice Cube ("Amerikkka's Most Wanted," 1990); Dr. Dre ("The Chronic," 1992); and Snoop Doggy Dogg ("Doggystyle," 1993). Early representation of this subgenre can also be found on the East Coast (Slick Rick, "Children's Story," 1988), in the South (2 Live Crew, "As Nasty As They Wanna Be," 1989), and in the Southwest (Geto Boys, "The Geto Boys," 1989; "Uncut Dope," 1992).

In the early 1990s the gangsta style of West Coast rappers (Los Angeles, Oakland, Compton, and Long Beach) had begun supplanting the nationalist message of East Coast rappers (New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia) in national popularity and in record sales. This shift in the regional preference for rap music fuelled verbal battles that came to be known as the East Coast–West Coast feud. The East Coast rappers publicly condemned the West Coast rappers as being fake and "studio gangsters" (i.e., creating a fictional gangster lifestyle). In response, West Coast rappers vilified their East Coast counterparts, accusing them of being "soft" and disrespecting the West Coast contributions to hip-hop. These differences in perspectives and the "authentic" representation of black people in hip-hop underscore the issues that fueled the East-West feud. Public Enemy's "I Don't Wanna Be Called Yo Nigga" (1991), for example, confronts the disrespectful overuse of the term *nigga* in "Niggas 4 Life" (1991) by N.W.A. (for Niggas With Attitude). In response, in "Endangered Species (Tales from the Darkside)" (1990), N.W.A.'s Ice Cube accused Public Enemy and other conscious rappers of focusing too much on Africa and nationalist issues rather than the struggles of the black poor in America. This feud moved to personal levels with the release of "Fuck Compton" (1991) by the Bronx rapper Tim Dog, to which Compton rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg responded on Dr.

Dre's single "Fuck Wit Dre Day (and Everybody's Celebratin')" (1992), which implied that Tim Dog engaged in homosexual acts—a major insult in hip-hop culture.

By the mid-1990s, the earlier preference for message-oriented hardcore rap on the East Coast gave way to the gangsta style and the notoriety of rappers Wu-Tang Clan from Staten Island, Junior M.A.F.I.A. from Brooklyn, and Notorious B.I.G. (a.k.a. Biggie Smalls) from Brooklyn, among others. The level of competition escalated the East/West rivalry to new heights (spurred on by the hip-hop media) and culminated in the deaths of Oakland rapper Tupac Shakur in 1996 and Notorious B.I.G. in 1997. While leaving a New York City recording studio in 1994, Shakur was shot five times, and he publicly blamed Notorious B.I.G. and producer Sean "Puffy" Combs of arranging his attempted murder. After a year of verbal exchanges via the media and public events, Shakur insulted Notorious B.I.G. in the song "Hit 'Em Up" (1995) by bragging about a supposed sexual encounter between Shakur and Smalls's wife, vocalist Faith Evans. Smalls responded on Jay-Z's "Brooklyn's Finest" (1996), with threats to engage in violent mob-style retaliation.

Despite the messages of violence and the tendency of some gangsta rappers to devalue human life, many expressed their commitment to improving the conditions of inner-city communities, and they frequently denounced behavior that had a negative impact on African Americans. Ice T ("I'm Your Pusher" and "High Rollers," 1988), for example, condemned drugs and criminal activity. N.W.A. ("F___ Tha Police," 1988) and Ice T ("Cop Killer," 1992) spoke out against police brutality. Other rappers addressed a broader array of social issues, ranging from the plight of unwed mothers to that of the homeless and those on welfare. Such socially conscious performers included Tupac Shakur ("Keep Ya Head Up," 1993), Arrested Development ("Mama's Always on Stage" and "Mr. Wendall," 1992), Queen Latifah ("The Evil That Men Do," 1989), Common ("Book of Life," 1994), Roots ("What They Do," 1996), and Kanye West ("All Falls Down," 2004).

Hardcore hip-hop is distinguished from the other styles by an aggressive, polytextured, and polysonic aesthetic produced electronically and digitally. Often referred to as *noise*, this aesthetic draws, combines, and remixes samples from many sound sources—street noises (sirens, gunshots, babies crying, screams, etc.), political speeches of African-American leaders, TV commercials, and so on—into a sound collage. This collage captures the ethos, chaos, tensions, anger, despair, and the sometimes violent nature of inner-city life, thus supporting the harsh lyrics and assertive delivery style of hardcore rappers. Hardcore hip-hop contrasts the less dense and more melodic rhythm-and-blues/funk-derived aesthetic associated with the 1970s party-style music produced by live studio musicians. Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five and Afrika Bambaata and the Soul Sonic Force provide the sonic transition from the party to the hardcore hip-hop aesthetic. In "The Adventures of Grandmaster Flash on the Wheels of Steel" (1981) and "The Message" (1982), deejay Grandmaster Flash incorporates the street-styled production techniques of hip-hop deejays in studio recordings. Drawing and reassembling (remixing) short excerpts from several recordings (rather than different sections of the same record) to which he added scratching sounds, Grandmaster Flash created a new musical track best described as a sound collage. Further experimentations of Grandmaster Flash resulted in the use of programmed electronic instruments (synthesizers and the beat box) in conjunction with live musicians.

Deejay Afrika Bambaata in "Planet Rock" (1982) further facilitated the transition from live musical production to music generated by electronic and digital instruments, a feature that distinguishes party from hardcore rap. "Planet Rock," based on a short melodic phrase from "Trans-Europe Express" by the proto-techno group Kraftwerk, was produced electronically, with programmed percussion and keyboard instruments. Afrika Bambaata's next recording, "Looking for the Perfect Beat" (1983), featured samples as substitutes for programmed synthesizers. A year later, Run-D.M.C. fused rock with rap in "Rock Box" (1984), a technique the group used again in "King of Rock" (1985) and "Walk This Way" (1986). Run-D.M.C.'s collaboration with rock guitarist Eddie Martinez and the rock group Aerosmith gave a hard, raw edge to the hip-hop aesthetic. Public Enemy added multiple layers of sampled raw sounds and textures to this aesthetic framework, which become the group's signature sound as well as the reference for defining hardcore hip-hop.

Since the mid-1990s, innovative hip-hop productions have moved beyond the East Coast and West Coast to what became known as the "The Dirty South." Representative performers included OutKast and Goodie MoB from Atlanta, Master P. from New Orleans, and Geto Boys and Scareface from Houston. Innovative hip-hop was also being produced in the Midwest by Bone Thugs-N-Harmony from Cleveland, Common from Chicago, Eminem and Royce the 5'9" from Detroit, and Nelly from Saint Louis. Although these performers have unique local identities, they cross stylistic boundaries, fusing and reformulating concepts from earlier hip-hop traditions.

New Jack Swing

By the late 1980s, new black popular styles were being created by independent producers, including Teddy Riley, Dallas Austin, and the teams of James "Jimmy Jam" Harris and Terry Lewis and Antonio "L. A." Reid and Kenneth "Babyface" Edmonds. One style that evolved from the innovations of these producers, and was imitated by others, was labeled *new jack swing*. The style, pioneered by Teddy Riley, represents postmodern soul; it is defined by its sparse instrumentation and a marked underlying drum pattern blended with or sometimes above the tempered vocals. Variations of this pattern incorporate a snare drum emphasis on the second and fourth beats, giving the sound a 1970s syncopated swing associated with James Brown and Earth, Wind, and Fire. The rhythms and production techniques of new jack swing became the beat and mix of the late 1980s and 1990s. It can be heard in Guy's "Groove Me" (1988), "You Can Call Me Crazy" (1988), and "Don't Clap . . . Just Dance" (1988); Heavy D. and The Boyz' "We Got Our Own Thang" (1989); Keith Sweat's "Make You Sweat" (1990); Hi Five's "I Just Can't Handle It" (1990); the gospel group Winans' "A Friend" (1990); and Michael Jackson's "Remember the Time" (1992), among others.

Future trends in black popular music will be pioneered by individuals and groups who continue to cross traditional genres and borrow from existing styles to create music that expresses the changing ideas and ideals of the African-American community.

See also Ballet; Blues, The; Dorsey, Thomas A.; Fisk Jubilee Singers; Gospel Music; Hip-Hop; Jazz; Music Collections, Black; Ragtime; Rap; Rhythm and Blues; Spirituals; Still, William Grant

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Music, Religion, and Perceptions of Crime in Early Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro

In 1908 the well-known senator Pinheiro Machado held a party at his house in Rio de Janeiro. For musical entertainment, he contracted several musicians, among them the young João Guedes, better known as João da Baiana. Guedes did not arrive at the party, and when Pinheiro Machado inquired of his whereabouts, he was informed that days earlier the police had stopped Guedes, harassed him, and confiscated his tambourine. With no musical instrument, Guedes had little reason to show up at the party and thus stayed away. Angered by the story, Machado took matters into his own hands, asking Guedes to meet him at the Senate. When Guedes arrived, he found an order for a new tambourine to be made bearing an inscription of admiration signed by the famous senator. This encounter was probably not the only one between João da Baiana and Machado. In interviews decades later, João da Baiana would recall the presence of Machado and other well-known public figures at the musical gatherings organized by his mother, Tia Perciliana. Rumors about politicians and public figures attending *batuques* (drum parties), *samba* circles, and religious gatherings organized by blacks circulated widely in early twentieth-century Rio, but such meetings were also subject to police repression. The story of João da Baiana and Pinheiro Machado, and the larger trends of society elites attending the same gatherings that

also suffered police attacks, demonstrate the often contradictory reactions to African-influenced music and religious practices in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro. This entry explores those reactions first with a brief historical overview of racial ideology and police postures toward music and popular celebrations, and then by focusing on the following contexts and figures: dance and Carnival clubs, *capoeira*, the popular Festa da Penha celebration, and *samba* music's iconic *malandro* figures.

Historical Overview

The era in which the João da Baiana–Pinheiro Machado encounter took place was one of great transition in Brazil. As the nation felt its way through dramatic institutional change, African-descendent Brazilians forged new spaces in society, while also encountering new obstacles. The abolition of slavery (1888) and the transfer from monarchical to republican government (1889) created new opportunities, as well as new challenges. This was the same period in which neighboring Latin American countries were developing racial philosophies that trumpeted unique *mestizaje* races, those derived through mixture but dominated by purportedly white and European characteristics at the expense of supposedly weaker and dying or extinct indigenous and African elements. But in Brazil, where nonwhite peoples represented approximately 60 percent of the population from the 1870s to the 1890s, forgetting or hiding those peoples was not a viable option. Instead, elites imagined a process of gradual whitening, or *embranquecimento*, while also recognizing and sometimes embracing African influences.

For musicians, this recognition meant growing acceptance tempered by marginalization and sometimes repression. As the story of João da Baiana and Pinheiro Machado suggests, popular musicians were invited into the homes of elites and also harassed on the street. On the one hand, musicians saw their music celebrated as "pure" and "authentic" representations of their nation and its African heritage. On the other hand, they suffered repression and faced moralists who looked down on their music. There still exists little research about the extent and nature of that repression, and it is possible that some stories about police attacking musicians have been exaggerated over the years. However, there exists enough evidence in oral traditions and in studies about the police to show that musicians did in fact suffer at the hands of authorities.

After gaining independence from Portugal in 1822—a process that produced not a republican state but instead a politically autonomous, Brazilian-run monarchy—authorities in Rio retained some of the same characteristics of their predecessors, including a concern for public order and the regulation and registration of public festivals and celebrations. The postindependence police force was intent on transforming Rio into an internationally respected and European-style capital, and as part of that project, the police cast a vigilant eye on slave and free-black gatherings. Police prohibited processions by religious slave brotherhoods and often broke up *batuques* and other popular musical gatherings frequented by slaves. Viewed by authorities to be as low as crustaceans, those attending *batuques* suffered cruelly, and police raids came to be known infamously as "shrimp dinners" for the brutal beatings leveled by the police, which often produced flayed pink flesh.

The police mission was a general attempt to maintain order and prevent the noise, consumption of alcohol, general disorder, and danger that officials considered part and parcel of public gatherings. That mission also had clear designs on maintaining both race- and class-based hierarchies. While the control of public celebrations and the often harsh treatment of *batuques* and other musical gatherings can be understood as parts of larger projects to maintain order and control the general population, those larger projects cannot be divorced from the desire and intention to whiten, "civilize," and Europeanize Brazil. Targeting black gatherings continued after slavery ended. Fears of paganism, disorder, and social and racial "degeneration" often marked public discussions of African-Brazilian religions and popular music, even as both also became part of movements to recognize and valorize black Brazil. The 1890 Penal Code made no explicit reference to music, but that did not stop police from harassing musicians, nor did it prevent certain sectors of society from associating popular music with criminal behavior. The code was more explicit about religion, criminalizing spirit possession, magic, and herbal healing. Among other things, those laws resulted in debates about which kind of African-influenced religious practices were acceptable. While the Penal Code left unanswered questions about the legality of certain practices, society's perceptions could be just as ambiguous, as popular gatherings and African-Brazilian music and religion were seen by some as representations of a deep and unique past and by others as examples of savagery.

Clubs, *Capoeiristas*, and the Festa da Penha

The tension between repressing and valorizing African-Brazilian culture is evident in the policing of dance and Carnival clubs during the early twentieth century. These clubs and societies—which varied in size as well as in the

social composition of their membership—offered members a place to dance and socialize, as well as the opportunity to parade and party during Carnival. They also often served as a lightning rod for critiques about the immorality and even danger of popular dancing and music. Required to register with the police both to parade during Carnival and to function during the year, the clubs provided an opportunity for the police to control, or at least keep an eye on, popular gatherings. The press often replicated the police's association of music and dancing with disorder. Stories about fights and trouble at the clubs frequently appeared in newspapers. But neither the police nor journalists viewed all associations as the same. While clubs existed throughout the city and included members of varying socioeconomic backgrounds, it was Rio's *suburbios* and *morros* ("outskirts" and "hills," respectively, both known as homes to poor, predominately black communities) that were most often associated with crime and disorder.

Music, crime, and religion converged in *capoeira*, a practice that was part martial art, part dance, developed in Africa as well as by slaves in Brazil. Fixtures at public celebrations throughout the nineteenth century, groups and gangs of *capoeiristas* were remembered by end-of-the-century writers both for the fear they inspired with knives and aggressive behavior and for the music and noise they created with drums, tambourines, and song. While often associated with violence, disorder, and music, *capoeiristas* shared a somewhat paradoxical relationship with city authorities. Though they often clashed with police, on other occasions *capoeiristas* were hired by politicians to intimidate and control voters. *Capoeiristas* also found spaces for demonstrating their abilities in public, performing at religious celebrations or parading at the front of military processions to the delight and fascination of onlookers.

While *capoeira* inspired curiosity as well as fear, it was the latter that dominated most interactions with the police. The 1890 Penal Code outlawed the practice, though most crackdowns took place before a law was on the books. During the nineteenth century, those crackdowns often occurred during Rio de Janeiro's most popular festivals, especially those around Christmas and Carnival. The high incidence of *capoeira* arrests during such festivals; the popular association made between *capoeiristas,* disorder, and music; and *capoeira*'s African and slavery roots indicate how crime, religion, and music often intersected in popular perceptions of Rio de Janeiro's African-descendant residents. That *capoeiristas* were also hired by politicians and found acceptable spaces in public celebrations indicates the tension that marked many of those perceptions.

Like *capoeira,* popular religious festivals themselves were subject to repression while also providing unique spaces of acceptance for otherwise stigmatized practices. One such festival was the Festa da Penha, an annual celebration held at the famous Santuário de Nossa Senhora da Penha, which sits atop a well-known elevated rock point in Rio de Janeiro. While diverse groups frequented Penha, the African-Brazilian presence was especially influential. *Capoeiristas* circulated and performed, and visitors enjoyed African-influenced foods, prepared by *tias,* female African-Brazilian community and spiritual leaders who exercised important roles in the festival's organization and execution. (Such *tias* as João da Baiana's mother Perciliana also hosted private get-togethers like those that Pinheiro Machado attended and that proved crucial to the development of Brazilian popular music.)

The Festa da Penha also served as a place for musicians to play and publicize their work, and friends and families gathered in *samba* and *batuque* circles to enjoy early forms of music that would rise to national prominence in the 1920s and 1930s. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, just before *samba* became a unified and widely popular genre, and before the music market exploded in Brazil, the Festa da Penha served as an informal but crucial launching pad for musicians. Falling four to five months before the start of pre-Lenten festivities, Penha served as an unofficial commencement to the lucrative Carnival season. Musicians would often debut their songs at Penha, seizing the opportunity to make their work known and to position themselves for popularity and success during Carnival.

At Penha celebrations, the lines between sacred and profane, black and white, rich and poor, and order and disorder often blurred. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, crowds often included black, white, and mixed-race revelers, coming from varying socioeconomic backgrounds. Well-to-do families, along with those from Rio de Janeiro's lower class *suburbios,* enjoyed picnics, food and drink stands, and the music that marked the festivities.

Heterogeneity and mixture, however, did not mean an absence of attempts to isolate and reprimand unwanted groups and behaviors. On various occasions tambourines and guitars were prohibited from the festival, robbing musicians of their valuable stage and denying partygoers a main attraction. Indeed, João da Baiana was purportedly on his way to a Penha celebration when the police grabbed his instrument. Local newspapers often commented on the police's ability to control the festivities, sometimes critiquing authorities for not doing enough, other times applauding forceful police actions.

Malandros

Crime and music merged in the *malandro,* flashy street hustlers, similar in appearance to early twentieth-century zoot-suiters in the United States. As in the cases of dance and Carnival clubs, *capoeiristas*, and Festa da Penha revelers, society both shunned and embraced *malandros*. Though research tracing the origins of the *malandro* is scarce, most observers agree that the figure became a popular icon in the 1920s and 1930s, largely as a result of Brazil's increasing interest in *samba* music. Glorified for their success with women, for resisting authority, and for their ability to make money without working, *malandros* walked the thin lines between the acceptable flaunting of legal and moral codes and the ire of authorities and social commentators who guarded those lines. As such, Brazilian society and its burgeoning music market offered both lucrative opportunities and restrictive limits to musicians who presented themselves as *malandros* or otherwise celebrated *malandragem* (the many *malandro* traits and activities, such as womanizing and trickery). Censorship of *malandro* images and references during the early 1940s was sandwiched between periods in which such musicians as Wilson Batista, Moreira da Silva, and Geraldo Pereira gained fame and money as *malandro sambistas*. Some musicians were arrested for petty crime or involvement with illegal gambling, or under vaguely defined antivagrancy codes. Descriptions of run-ins with the authorities often made their way into song lyrics, and *malandragem* became synonymous not just with womanizing, cleverness, and irreverence but also criminality. The *malandro* also found a religious manifestation in the divine being Zé Pelintra, an *exu* responsible for communications between humans and *orixás* (African-Brazilian deities). Visual depictions of Zé Pelintra represent a composite image of snappily dressed *malandros* from the early twentieth century, complete with white linen suit, white shoes, red tie, matching handkerchief, and Panama hat. To this day, one can find cigarettes, roses, liquor, and even cooked steaks on street corners in Rio, left by those asking Zé Pelintra for help and protection.

Conclusion

African-influenced cultural practices met with contradictory responses in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro. On the one hand, African-Brazilian music and religion found new spaces and new levels of acceptance in society. On the other hand, police maintained vigilant watch over those who danced at clubs or in the streets during Carnival or who gathered at religious festivals like the Festa da Penha. *Capoeiristas* drew the ire of authorities, but also led processions and influenced elections. *Malandros* alternately cashed in on and were reprimanded for extolling the virtues of womanizing, resisting authority, and avoiding work. In each case, it is possible to glimpse the larger tensions felt in Brazil during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries between embracing and rejecting African influences.

See also Capoeira; Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco); Music; Samba; Tia Ciata

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MARC ADAM HERTZMAN (2005)

Musical Instruments

Many of the most popular musical instruments in American music derive from African Americans, who used traditional African instruments and developed new ones ac-

A jug band performs during a wedding in Palm Beach, Florida, 1948. *The washtub bass, likely originating from an African instrument called the earthbow or mosquito drum, played a central role in folk blues and jug bands. The instrument was created by stringing a rope from the bottom of an inverted metal washtub to the end of a stick.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

cording not only to musical needs, but to the natural and manufactured materials at hand and the legal restrictions placed on them by slave owners regarding the making of music. The prominence of stringed instruments in early African-American music was no doubt due to plantation prohibitions on drum and wind instruments, which slave-masters believed would be used for long-distance and mass communication among slaves.

Stringed Instruments

Although the banjo, the earliest and most important African-American instrument, is today used almost exclusively in white music, the instrument derives from the West African "banja," or "banza," which was brought to the New World by slaves. References to a gourd covered with sheepskin and strung with four strings along an attached stick occur in accounts of the Americas as early as 1678. Both fretless and fretted banjos were used by African-American musicians, and open tunings were common. Slaves also pioneered most of the techniques that became standard on the modern instrument, including the various kinds of strumming and plucking heard in twentieth-century bluegrass and country music. Although informal banjo playing was a central feature of African-American domestic life in the eighteenth century, it was through nineteenth-century minstrel shows that the instrument was first widely noticed among whites. The banjo was used by white musicians before the Civil War and was being commercially produced using a wood frame (Contrary to some accounts, the now-standard fifth string was a feature of the banjo before the white minstrel musician Joel Walker Sweeney [1810–1860] helped popularize the instrument). Soon, the banjo was considered as much a parlor instrument among white families as a staple of rural black music. Among the best early recordings of black banjo

music are “Long Gone Lost John” (1928) by Papa Charlie Jackson (1890–1950), and “Money Never Runs Out” (1930) by Gus Cannon (1883–1979), who recorded under the name Banjo Joe. Early jazz bands also used the banjo extensively, most notably Johnny St. Cyr (1890–1966), a sideman with Louis Armstrong and Jelly Roll Morton in the 1920s. After the late 1920s, however, the guitar supplanted the banjo as a rhythm instrument. After that time the banjo became the almost exclusive province of white country, bluegrass, and folk music, although some black folk musicians, including Elizabeth Cotten (1895–1987), continued to play the banjo.

African Americans also developed many types of single-string instruments. The diddley bow was a type of simple guitar popular among black musicians in the South well into the twentieth century. Elias McDaniel’s prowess on the instrument as a child was so great that he was known by the name Bo Diddley (1928–1955) well before he gained fame as a blues musician in the 1950s. The blues guitarist and singer Elmore James (1918–1963) learned music on a jitterbug, a variant of the diddley bow that is strung between two nails along a wall. The washtub bass, or gutbucket, played a central role in folk blues and jug bands (the word “gutbucket” has also come to mean a crude, raucous, earthy style of jazz or blues). This instrument was created by stringing a rope from the bottom of an inverted metal washtub to the end of a stick, the other end of which stands on the tub. Plucked much in the manner of the modern jazz bass, the washtub bass is still in use today in informal street ensembles. It probably originated from an African instrument called the earthbow, or mosquito drum, in which resonating material was stretched over a hole in the ground. The practice of using a hard object to create glissandos on the guitar is of unclear origin—certainly the “Hawaiian” style of picking with the right hand while using a slide with the left, introduced in the late nineteenth century, was influential—but African-American musicians were the first to master the use of broken-off bottlenecks, knives, and medicine bottles for this purpose, now typical of blues guitar playing.

Wind Instruments

Numerous types of flutes, pipes, and fifes were brought by African slaves to the New World, and despite being outlawed in slave states, these wind instruments played a central part in the development of African-American music. Wooden or metal fifes, similar to European transverse flutes, were used in ubiquitous fife and drum bands as early as the eighteenth century. The kazoo, a small cylinder with a resonating membrane set into motion by humming or singing, was also probably of African-American origin—although it bears similarities to European musical devices—and became a popular folk instrument among whites and blacks after being manufactured commercially starting around 1850.

Perhaps the most distinctive African-American wind instrument is the quills. These pan pipes were traditionally made from cane, reed, or willow stalks cut from riverbanks, but their name suggests that at one time they may have been made with feathers. After being cut down to a length of approximately one foot, a hole was bored through the center, and finger and mouth holes were also created. Among the earliest and most representative of the quill recordings are “Arkansas” (1927) by Henry Thomas (1874–1930), and “Quill Blues” (1927) by Big Boy Clarence.

The domestic earthen jug, which produces a sound when blown across its mouth, was another wind instrument popular among African Americans, and it gave its name to an independent genre of music in the late nineteenth century. Throughout the South, and well into the twentieth century, jug bands—consisting of a jug, fiddle and bass, kazoo or harmonica, and often a washboard scraped and played as a percussion instrument—performed folk-blues music often suited for dancing. Early examples of jug bands include the Memphis Jug Band, the Dixieland Jug Blowers, who recorded “Skip Skat Doodle Do” in 1926, and Gus Cannon’s Jug Stompers, who recorded “K.C. Moan” in 1929.

Percussion Instruments

Many African-American percussion instruments were developed from common household or agricultural materials that lent themselves to use as knockers, rattles, and scrapers. Clapping together small sections of dried bone or wood was a long-standing feature of European folk music by the time the slave trade began, but playing “the bones” was elevated to a virtuosic state by black minstrels in nineteenth-century America. In fact, the player of the bones was such an important part of African-American culture that the role was immortalized alongside the tambourine player in minstrel shows as the characters of Tambo and Bones. The practice of striking and shaking the weathered jawbone of a donkey or horse probably derives from African slaves—although visual images and literary references to jawbone percussion are also found in medieval and Renaissance Europe—and was a conspicuous aspect of both white and black minstrel shows early in the nineteenth century.

Although the playing of drums was proscribed on most plantations, the striking of skin stretched on a sturdy frame remained a part of black musical life. The marching

bands that were so popular in the nineteenth century, at both parades and military functions, were driven by drummers using a variety of instruments, from huge bass drums to smaller snare drums.

Although the origin of the snare drum is not clear, the use of bamboo or feathers stretched across a drumhead to give an impure, buzzing tone is a characteristic of many African instruments. The tuned or talking drums of Africa also had their counterparts in America, as African-American musicians played peg drums, which used posts on the side of the frames to tighten or loosen the skin head, and therefore raise or lower the pitch of the drum.

The decline of marching music in favor of the dance music played at nightclubs where musicians remained stationary made possible the trap drum set, whose combination of bass drum, snare, tom-tom, and cymbals was developed by popular dance drummers and early jazz musicians such as Baby Dodds (1898–1959) and Zutty Singleton (1898–1975). In the 1940s, Cuban musicians such as Chano Pozo (1915–1948) brought Latin-style drums and drumming to jazz. The Afro-Cuban tradition, which used congas and bongos played with the hands, as opposed to drumsticks, was directly linked to West African religious practices that had been carried over and sustained in Cuba.

The marimba is sometimes called an Amerindian creation, but some scholars believe that this melodic percussion instrument, with its parallel wooden blocks gathered together and struck with a mallet, was brought to the Americas by African slaves. Its use is documented in Virginia as early as 1775.

European Instruments

In addition to using instruments of African origin, or creating ones, African Americans have also approached traditional European instruments from such a new perspective that instruments such as the saxophone, violin, harmonica, and piano were transformed into virtually new instruments. Perhaps the best such example is the double bass, which in the European tradition was almost always bowed, forming the harmonic underpinning of the orchestra. In the 1920s, African Americans began to use the bass as a timekeeper, making the pizzicato, or plucked technique, its main feature in jazz and jug bands. Among the finest early recorded example of jazz bass playing is the performance by John Lindsay (1894–1950) on Jelly Roll Morton's "Black Bottom Stomp" (1926). A slightly different example of the metamorphosis of a purely European instrument is the plunger-muted trumpet. In the European tradition, trumpeters used mutes to muffle their sounds. In the 1920s, African-American jazz trumpeters such as Joe "King" Oliver (1885–1938), Bubber Miley (1903–1932), and, later, Cootie Williams (1910–1985), adapted rubber toilet plungers as mutes that, when manipulated in front of the bell of the horn, could create a whole new range of growls and speech-like sounds, a practice that was also extended to the trombone in the playing of Joe "Tricky Sam" Nanton (1904–1946).

Newer Instruments

The development of African-American instruments has continued into the twenty-first century. The Chicago musicians' collective known as the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) integrated the use of unusual tools and household items into its percussion array. One AACM member, Henry Threadgill (b. 1944), invented a percussion instrument made of automobile hubcaps. In more recent years, African-American disc jockeys have developed the technique of "scratching"—manually moving records backwards and forwards on turntables to create melodic rhythms. Digital electronics have allowed African-American musicians to develop "sampling," in which fragments of older recordings by various musicians are integrated into new musical works. These modern techniques demonstrate how the response by African Americans to both musical and material imperatives continues to inspire the development of new African-American musical instruments.

See also Armstrong, Louis; Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians; Diddley, Bo (McDaniel, Otha Elias); Minstrels/Minstrelsy

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Musical Theater

Musical theater—formal, staged entertainments combining songs, skits, instrumental interludes, and dances—was relatively uncommon in America before the middle of the eighteenth century. It is very likely that slave musicians occasionally took part in the earliest colonial-period musical theatricals, called *ballad operas*, at least in the orchestra pit, because many slaves were known to be musically accomplished. Less than fully developed theatrical shows that involved satirical skits by slaves about white masters are recorded in the late eighteenth century. These skits, related to African storytelling traditions, were the seeds from which black American theatricality sprang. "Negro songs" or "Negro jigs" are also recorded in the shows of this period, suggesting the impact of an unnotated tradition of black music-making on the musical theater song repertory.

Up to the Civil War

The 1821 opening of the African Grove theater near lower Broadway in New York inaugurated the staging of plays with music "agreeable to Ladies and Gentlemen of Colour" (Southern, 1983, p. 119). Led by playwright Henry Brown, the African Grove players produced Shakespeare's *Hamlet, Othello,* and *Richard III* (including inserted songs), popular potpourris such as *Tom and Jerry; or Life in London,* and the pantomime *Obi; or, Three Finger'd Jack.* James Hewlett was the company's principal singer and actor. Ira Aldridge, who later made his career in Europe, sang at the Grove. Despite the theater's popularity, it was plagued by hooligans and closed in 1829.

Various musical shows were produced with black performers periodically in Philadelphia and New Orleans, although very little information survives about these shows. New Orleans could command orchestral forces (as opposed to the modest pit band of violin, clarinet, and double bass at the African Grove) for theatricals, and it engaged black players in the 1840s. In the 1850s and 1860s, African-American actors became traveling entertainers or joined minstrel shows.

The Late Nineteenth Century

The Hyers Sisters touring company, founded in 1876, became the first established African-American musical comedy troupe. Managed by Sam Hyers, the company featured his two daughters, Emma Louise and Anna Madah, and a string of male comedy singer/actors: Fred Lyon, Sam Lucas, Billy Kersands, Wallace King, and John and Alexander Luca. The Hyers began as a concert-giving group but moved on to fully staged musical plays that often dealt with racial themes: *Out of Bondage* (1876); *Urlina, or The African Princess* (1879); *Peculiar Sam; or, The Underground Railroad* (1879); and *Plum Pudding* (1887). The music they presented included jubilee songs, spirituals, operatic excerpts, and new popular songs and dances.

By the 1890s, a few specific plays regularly toured and featured parts for black singers, usually in the guise of plantation slaves. Bucolic scenes or other scenarios in the cotton field, on the levee, or in a camp meeting were meant to evoke an idyllic antebellum South. Turner Dazey's *In Old Kentucky* (1892) and *The South Before the War* (1893) included black singers and dancers, as did the most famous of all shows of this type, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel). The huge number and variety of staged versions of this powerful work made it a unique dramatic vehicle in American culture. Many African-American jubilee singing groups, typically male quartets, took part in the play, although early performances rarely used black actors. It served the careers of solo banjo virtuoso Horace Weston in 1877 and vaudevillian Sam Lucas, who played the role of Uncle Tom in the 1880s.

At least half a dozen all-black companies, as well as some integrated ones, appeared before the end of the century. Black choral singers and supernumeraries, including children, brought literally hundreds of people to the stage in productions in the 1880s and 1890s. Other festivals featuring black vaudeville acts, musical specialties, and historical tableaux, with titles like *Black America* (1895) and *Darkest America* (1897), were well-attended showcases but did not present complete plays.

The most widely acclaimed operatic singer of the period to become involved with traveling musical theatrical companies was Sissieretta Jones, known as the Black Patti (after the renowned soprano Adelina Patti). In 1896 she formed the Black Patti Troubadours and remained an important presence on the road for two decades, eventually mounting full-fledged musical comedies.

White burlesque entrepreneur Sam T. Jack formed the Creole Company in 1890 to do the skit *The Beauty of the Nile; or, Doomed by Fire,* using the novelty of black women in a minstrel line that emphasized glittery, revealing costumes and diverse musical acts. John Isham, Jack's advance man, developed his own potpourri shows presented by mixed male and female companies known as the Octoroons (1895), one of which toured in Europe. All of Isham's shows exploited the popularity of exotic costumes, operatic excerpts, musical specialties, spectacular scenery, and attractive women, while avoiding farcical minstrel show caricatures.

The First Black Musicals and the Growth of Black Vaudeville, 1897–1920

Within this world of extravagant eclecticism, full-length musical comedies—plays in which songs were frequent and newly composed, if not integral—became more and more common. The first musical written by and for African Americans, Bob Cole and Billy Johnson's *A Trip to Coontown* (1897), was built up from Cole's songs and vaudeville turns with the Black Patti Troubadours (Cole had also managed her show in its first season) and other elements: a trio from Verdi's opera *Attila,* Sousa's new march "The Stars and Stripes Forever," a tune by Cole that was later adapted to become Yale University's fight song "Boola Boola," energetic dancing, topical humor, and social commentary. The show eschewed the Old South nostalgia typical of the earlier touring shows. Minstrel tunes were replaced by snappy up-tempo, occasionally syncopated songs written by various composers.

At the same time, cakewalk dancers/comedians Bert Williams and George Walker, in the course of several productions from 1898 to 1908, expanded their routines to even more ambitious dimensions, with elaborate plots and often African settings: *The Policy Players* (1899); *The Sons of Ham* (1900); *In Dahomey* (1902); *Abyssinia* (1905); and *Bandanna Land* (1907). Will Marion Cook, classical violinist and European-trained composer, wrote most of the music for these landmark shows in a unique syncopated style. Cook's sensational Broadway debut—his musical skit "Clorindy" was produced at the Casino Theatre Roof Garden in 1898—established him as a leading figure, along with its dancing star, Ernest Hogan.

In 1899 Bob Cole formed a partnership with the brothers J. Rosamond Johnson and James Weldon Johnson. This young trio wrote songs for many shows and performers, black and white, to great success, and later composed comic operettas for all-black casts entitled *The Shoo-Fly Regiment* (1906) and *The Red Moon* (1908); they also starred in the shows themselves. Black, white, and mixed audiences found these many early twentieth-century efforts attractive, but any hope for sustained development was dashed by the premature deaths of the leaders, Ernest Hogan, George Walker, and Bob Cole, around 1910 and the unremitting financial burden of mounting and touring with a large cast. Racism and professional jealousies among competing companies also limited the success of these shows.

Black-owned theaters rapidly increased in number in the early twentieth century, providing sites for a wide variety of musical-theater activities. Following the opening of the Pekin Theatre in Chicago in 1905, many black-owned

***Sheet music for Bert Williams's theme song for the Williams and Walker musical* In Dahomey.** *The musical enjoyed a command performance at Buckingham Palace after a successful turn-of-the-century run in New York.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

or black-managed houses were built. By 1920 some 300 theaters around the country were serving black patrons (approximately one-third of these were black-run). This in turn led to the formation of resident stock companies that provided a regular menu of musical plays and developed loyal audiences. Many short-lived shows of the 1920s and 1930s filled the Lafayette, Lincoln, and Alhambra theaters in Harlem, the Howard in Washington, D.C., the Regal in Baltimore, Maryland, the Monogram in Chicago, the 81 in Atlanta, Georgia, and the Booker T. Washington in Saint Louis, Missouri, among others.

A few large companies continued to tour—J. Leubrie Hill's Darktown Follies (from 1911 to 1916) and the various Smart Set shows run by S. H. Dudley, H. Tutt, and S. T. Whitney—but many acts appeared in vaudeville as well. By 1920 the Theatre Owners' Booking Association (TOBA) was formed to facilitate the booking of black acts into theaters that served black audiences exclusively. The TOBA circuit of theaters eventually embraced houses all over the South and survived until the Great Depression.

J. Rosamond Johnson. *In the first decade of the twentieth century, Johnson joined forces with his brother James Weldon Johnson and Bob Cole to create all-black comic operettas.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Vaudeville acts and musicals of the first decades of the twentieth century served as apprenticeships for many young ragtime pianists and composers who wanted to break into the business. J. Tim Brymn, James Vaughan, Charles "Luckey" Roberts, James Price Johnson, and Will Vodery played, wrote songs for, and directed forgotten shows with titles like *George Washington Bullion Abroad* (1915) and *Baby Blues* (1919) before going on to arrange, perform, and write for military bands, Broadway shows, and films.

Shuffle Along and its Successors, 1921–1939

Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle's 1921 *Shuffle Along* kicked off a major revival of black musical comedies in New York. Light, fast-moving, and filled with catchy melodies, it captured crowds for over 500 Broadway performances and spent two years on the road. Its lead comedians, still in blackface, were Aubrey Lyles and Flournoy Miller, who wrote the book, developing material they had been using for years. Many cast members later found individual stardom: Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, Adelaide Hall, Hall Johnson, Paul Robeson, William Grant Still, Ethel Waters, and Caterina Yarboro.

The upsurge in black shows in the wake of *Shuffle Along* has not been equaled since. Their number paralleled the high-water mark of new productions of all kinds on Broadway in the late 1920s. Many were close imitations of *Shuffle Along,* but a few broke new ground with respect to both characters and music: *Put and Take* (1921); *Liza* (1922); *Strut Miss Lizzie* (1922); *Plantation Days* (1923); *Runnin' Wild* (1923); *Bottomland* (1927); *Africana* (1927); *Rang Tang* (1927); and five shows produced by Lew Leslie called *Blackbirds* (*of 1926, 1928, 1930, 1933,* and *1939*).

Hot Chocolates (1929), by Andy Razaf and Fats Waller, epitomized the successful post–*Shuffle Along* show of the late 1920s: a revue (i.e., a string of topical acts and songs rather than a plotted story show) filled with new dance steps—the Black Bottom, the Lindy, the Shimmy, and the Charleston all appeared in these shows—with an attractive chorus line, blues songs, and repartee closer to the real speech of Harlem than to either the pseudo-dialect of minstrelsy or the clean, cute shows of white Broadway. James P. Johnson, Tom Lemonier, Donald Heyward, Maceo Pinkard, Joe Jordan, Henry Creamer, Ford Dabney, and Perry Bradford emerged as songwriters with these shows.

The spirituals arranged by Hall Johnson and sung by his choir helped to make *The Green Pastures* the hit play of 1930. Weaving humor and gentleness together to create a naive picture of a black heaven, the superb cast was well received. Ironically, its very success led to bookings in exclusionary theaters where no blacks were admitted to the auditorium. Both this show and its successor, *Run Little Chillun* (1933), helped to ensure the continued employment of black players and singers during the general decline of the 1930s.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) Negro Theatre Project (1935–1939) brought African Americans into all aspects of theater production, and a few musicals were performed: *Did Adam Sin?* (1936), using African-American folklore themes and music; *Theodore Brown's Natural Man* (1937), a retelling of the John Henry legend; *Swing It* (1937), by Cecil Mack (a.k.a. R. Cecil McPherson); and *Swing Mikado* (1939), a jazz transformation of Gilbert and Sullivan.

Developments Since World War II

The only major shows featuring black stars in the 1940s were *Cabin in the Sky* (1940) with Ethel Waters and *St.*

Louis Woman (1946) with Pearl Bailey and the Nicolas Brothers. Otherwise, opportunities for blacks in the New York musical theater scene through the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were few. A desire to eliminate stereotyped roles for black actors and the problem of dealing with serious race-related social issues in the normally lighthearted style of musicals resulted in the temporary elimination of nearly all black participation. No all-black-cast shows were staged in the early 1950s, nor were more than a handful of African Americans employed on- or offstage during this period. A small group of shows with integrated casts or a single black star did well at the box office, notably *Jamaica* (1957) with Lena Horne and *Golden Boy* (1964) with Sammy Davis Jr.

In the wake of the civil rights movement, African Americans returned to Broadway and touring companies via the revival of older black musical styles and the folk songs that had always found an audience. The plays of Langston Hughes with various musical collaborators, *Simply Heavenly* (1957), *Black Nativity* (1961), *Tambourines to Glory* (1963), and *The Prodigal Son* (1965), embraced black culture and ignored the politics of integration. Vinnette Carroll adapted James Weldon Johnson's verse sermons for *Trumpets of the Lord* (1963). Gospel songs, spirituals, and folk songs also infused *A Hand Is at the Gate* (1966), *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope* (1972), and *Your Arms Too Short to Box with God* (1976).

More direct social criticism was offered in the calypso musical *Ballad for Bimshire* (1963) and in Melvin Van Peebles's angry and challenging plays *Ain't Supposed to Die a Natural Death* (1971) and *Don't Play Us Cheap* (1972). Blues, jazz, and the special styles of famous artists in earlier eras of black music added a nostalgic aura to the shows of the rest of the 1970s and 1980s: *Me and Bessie* (1975), *One Mo' Time* (1979), *Eubie* (1979), *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981), *Blues in the Night* (1982), *Dreamgirls* (1982), *Williams and Walker* (1986), and *Black and Blue* (1989).

The same decades saw the successful conversion of straight plays by black playwrights (Ossie Davis, Lorraine Hansberry, and James Baldwin) into musicals: *Purlie* (1970), *Raisin* (1973), *The Amen Corner* (1983), as well as the improbable remake of *Sophocles* into the fervid gospel-music show *The Gospel at Colonus* (1988). A uniquely whimsical and tuneful adaptation of L. Frank Baum's *Wizard of Oz,* with music by Charles Smalls, became *The Wiz* (1975, revived in 1984), and black-cast versions of the white shows *Hello Dolly* (1963 and 1975) and *Guys and Dolls* (1976) and self-conscious historical song summaries like *Bubbling Brown Sugar* (1976) and *Black Broadway* (1980) also appeared. As in the 1930s, the revue format succeeded best with audiences and critics. *Ain't Misbehavin',* using the tunes of Fats Waller, won the Tony Award for Best Musical in 1978.

Gregory (r) and Maurice Hines dance in the Broadway musical* Sophisticated Ladies, *1982. © BETTMAN/CORBIS

Approaching the Millennium: 1980–2000

American musical theater was transformed fundamentally in the wake of the civil rights and women's movements and the decline in government arts funding between 1975 and 2000. Racial, ethnic, and gender images onstage came under closer scrutiny, and producers began to recognize that casting practices should more fully reflect America's diverse social fabric. It was not lost on administrators and marketing directors that increased inclusiveness helped attract a larger paying audience.

As nondiscriminatory hiring and color-blind casting became fashionable in mainline white theaters, black directors, such as Idris Ackamoor, Rhodessa Jones and her brother Bill T. Jones, George C. Wolf (*Bring in da Noise, Bring in da Funk,* 1995), and Donald Byrd, found opportunities to advance new theatrical concepts of dance, dialogue, and song that challenged basic genre boundaries and mooted to some degree issues of racial integration within older forms.

Major shifts in taste shaped the kind of productions that arose. Caribbean- and African-inspired themes found audiences. Lynn Ahrens and Stephen Flaherty created *Once on This Island* (1990) with Trinidadian motifs. *Sarafina!* (1987), *Song of Jacob Zulu* (1993), *Umbatha: The Zulu Macbeth* (1997), and *Kat and the Kings* (1999) all took South Africa during the apartheid era for their setting. The standard musical fare changed also as Tin Pan Alley's popular songs were replaced by gospel tunes, rap, and digitally

Actors Gregory Hines, Tonya Pilkins, and Keith David are pictured at the 1992 opening night party for the Broadway musical Jelly's Last Jam, *based on the life of the pianist and composer Jelly Roll Morton.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

generated dance music. Old-style musical comedies, revues, and operettas virtually disappeared, to be replaced by solo performance pieces, historical medleys, experimental plays with incidental music, song-and-dance shows, and revivals of old hits. Earthy, assertive rappers and break dancers emerged from the South Bronx and spread across the country in this period to challenge and rejuvenate basic components within musical theater.

Shows high on energy, retrospection, and creative movement, but less apt to be driven by a powerful book, remained the norm. *Jelly's Last Jam* (1992), featuring dancing sensation Gregory Hines, and the one-man show created by Vernel Bagneris, *Jelly Roll!* (1994), both treated the near-legendary figure of jazz history, Jelly Roll Morton. The former was hailed by *Variety* as "original, outrageous, and exuberant" and received eleven Tony Award nominations.

Individual African-American stars shone in a variety of productions: Brian Stokes Mitchell in the musical version of Doctorow's novel *Ragtime* (1997); Audra McDonald also in *Ragtime* and as the central figure in *Marie Christine* (1999), a remarkable representation of the Medea myth set in New Orleans in 1894; and soprano Heather Headley in the Elton John/Tim Rice recreation of *Aida* (2000).

By 2000, Broadway itself had become only one of many places in which to find validation for original productions. The steady decline of New York City as an affordable workshop site for new ideas combined with steep cutbacks in federal and state patronage of the performing arts to affect developments everywhere. Other media, such as MTV and the movies, opened remunerative pathways for emerging artists, and live theater found increasingly that it needed to market itself through videos and CDs.

See also Lincoln Theatre; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Opera; Ragtime; Spirituals; Theatrical Dance

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Updated by author 2005

Music Collections, Black

Black music—that is, music composed or performed by people of African descent—is basic to the study of African-American history and culture, and to an understanding of American culture in general. Libraries collect it in all formats and genres, from scores and sheet music of classical compositions for study and performance to recordings of the latest popular music. Black music collections are found in institutions of all sorts, including major research collections, nationally recognized collections devoted to black culture, special-collections departments of college and university libraries, historical societies and museums, music libraries, and public library collections. All have a role in the documentation and study of black music.

Specialized collections exist to preserve the various black music styles, including popular music, blues, and jazz, and to collect the works of black composers. Library collections also document the contributions of African-American performers in broader genres, such as opera and musical theater, and the work of African-American music educators and organizations. Black music collections can be used by researchers not only to study and perform the music itself, but to gain insight into historical and social processes, and to document the broader cultural contributions of African Americans.

Serious documentation of blacks in musical culture began early in the twentieth century with the establishment of library collections devoted to black history. Important special collections have been maintained by the historically black educational institutions, with the holdings of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, in Washington, D.C., founded in 1914, particularly outstanding. The Schomburg Center for Black History and Culture of the New York Public Library, containing one of the largest black collections, was established in 1926. Another respected research collection, the Amistad Research Center, established at Fisk University in Nashville in 1966, is now located at Tulane University in New Orleans. These three repositories, which cover the broad spectrum of black history and culture, have devoted serious efforts to collecting music materials.

The first publicly accessible collection devoted exclusively to black music and blacks in the performing arts was the E. Azalia Hackley Collection of the Detroit Public Library, founded in 1943. Collections focusing on jazz include the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, founded in 1952, and the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University, founded in 1958. A serious effort to collect and preserve scores by black composers began at the Music Library of Indiana University at Bloomington in 1970. The Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College in Chicago, founded in 1983, opened its Library and Archives in 1992.

National agencies, such as the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., are also important resources, as are general performing-arts collections, such as the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center. Popular-music collections such as those at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Bowling Green State University in Ohio, and Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro are general in scope but do justice to the importance of black popular styles. Specialist repositories, such as the University of Mississippi Blues Archive, the Archive of African American Music and Culture at Indiana University, and various ethnomusicology archives, devote themselves to preserving oral and recorded traditions. The collections of these repositories will be discussed later in greater detail.

Any attempt to describe black music collections in the United States is obsolete almost before it is completed, because collections are constantly growing and backlogs being cataloged, bringing newly processed materials to the attention of scholars. Many libraries now catalog their holdings on national library databases, such as the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) and the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN), making information available to any researcher who has access to these networks.

Repositories often make their catalogs and finding aids accessible through the Internet as well. The catalogs of some of the major libraries, including the Schomburg and Moorland-Spingarn collections, were published in book form before the library community came to rely on

the national online networks. A catalog of the Hackley Collection was published in 1979, and guides to other individual collections have also been published.

Archives often supplement their standard cataloging with online databases. For example, the CBMR Library Database at the Center for Black Music Research in Chicago indexes music, books, dissertations, and vertical-file materials in the CBMR Library and Archives. The Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University has an online database that allows searching of its archival collections, sheet music, song books, and trade catalogs.

Black music is a broad field encompassing many material types, genres, and possible research approaches. In addition to art music in many compositional styles, there are the various genres in the vernacular tradition, including spirituals, jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, gospel, and a number of current popular styles. Music collections tend to concentrate on sheet music and scores, and on recordings in numerous formats, but they also collect ephemera, photographs, periodicals, and other unique documents, including letters, diaries, and music manuscripts, when they exist. Such written documents may be scarce, partly because musicians are often too busy to keep them, and sometimes because the musicians find written means of expression uncongenial. In some cases, especially when the music is itself orally transmitted (blues) or dependent on improvisation for musical effect (jazz, some forms of gospel), libraries may turn to oral history, which ensures the survival of important information while freeing informants from the necessity of creating a written document.

Knowledge of black music is absolutely essential to the study of American popular music. Many general popular-music collections therefore collect black music as part of their larger holdings. Sheet music was the only format for music, popular or otherwise, before the advent of recording technology in the late nineteenth century, and collections of early sheet music tend to make few distinctions between popular and art genres. Such collections include the J. Francis Driscoll Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Corning Sheet Music Collection of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and the Lester S. Levy Collection at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library at John Hopkins University. All have substantial holdings of minstrel songs and of nineteenth-century music by black composers or on black topics.

The Sam De Vincent Collection of Illustrated Sheet Music at the Archives Center of the Smithsonian Institution has a large component of black music. There are also sizable collections of popular sheet music at the Archive of Popular American Music at UCLA, and at the Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University. Sheet music of minstrel songs, ragtime, and similar music, including songs by black composers, is highly collectible, and in recent years collectors have donated or sold their holdings to libraries in increasing numbers. Libraries now possessing such collections include the Special Collections Division of the Michigan State University Libraries in East Lansing and the music libraries of the University of Michigan and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The American Music Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts has an extensive collection of piano ragtime compositions, and the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library has a collection of minstrel songs and songsters (collections of song lyrics). The Music Division of the Library of Congress retains sheet music deposited for copyright registration.

In addition to the collections named above, two major research repositories, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, have comprehensive collections of sheet music, popular and otherwise, by black composers. Many items in their collections are extremely rare. The Gershwin Memorial Collection at Fisk University contains photographs and other materials about black composers, as well as music. The Hackley Collection at the Detroit Public Library has an impressive sheet-music component. The NCNB Black Musical Heritage Collection in the Special Collections Department of the University of South Florida Library in Tampa contains five thousand pieces of sheet music, much of it popular.

Some repositories have scanned sheet music collections and made them available online. Such collections include Duke University's Historic American Sheet Music website (http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/sheetmusic/), "Music For the Nation," a part of the American Memory project of the Library of Congress (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/smhtml) and the African American Sheet Music collection of the John Hay Library at Brown University (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award97/rpbhtml/). Not only do online collections make the music instantly available for study and performance, they also provide images of sheet music covers, which are an excellent resource for social historians.

Recordings

Recordings are the primary source for the study of popular music during the twentieth century. One of the premier collections of popular-music recordings in the United States is in the Music Library and Sound Archives at Bowling Green State University in Bowling Green, Ohio. A collection of sound recordings numbering nearly six hundred

thousand is supported by a research collection of printed materials, periodicals, and ephemera. The Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State and the Archive of Popular American Music at UCLA both have extensive collections of sound recordings. Finally, the Library of Congress has a department devoted to recordings as part of its Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division. Again, these collections are general in scope but contain numerous recordings of black music and black performers. The Center for Black Music Research has collections of commercial recordings covering various genres. Especially important is the Fred Crane Collection, composed of cylinders and discs of black performers and their imitators who recorded before 1920.

Popular Music

Libraries have only begun to collect documentary materials relating to contemporary popular musicians. Indiana University's Archives of African American Music and Culture is a major repository. Collections donated by publicist Karen Shearer and author Phyl Garland contain files on numerous popular musicians, and collections of research materials from Charles Sykes and Nelson George document Motown. Interviews received from author Michael Lydon concern the life and music of soul musician Ray Charles. Oral history interviews with musicians and record producers film *Record Row: Cradle of Rhythm & Blues* are also in the collection. Collections on black radio, from the likes of Jack "The Rapper" Gibson and bandleader Johnny Otis are a major strength of the archives. The Amistad Research Center has a small collection relating to the rhythm-and-blues singer James Brown (b. 1933), and the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri–St. Louis has a similar one devoted to the rock-and-roll pioneer Chuck Berry (b. 1926). A collection received from Sue Cassidy Clark at the Center for Black Music Research contains photographs, research files, and recorded interviews with musicians from the early 1970s. The music library at Bowling Green State University collects popular fan magazines and ephemeral publications. The Chicago Public Library's Music Information Center and the Center for Black Music Research keep vertical files on contemporary performers.

Folk Music

Ethnomusicology collections can be useful to researchers in African-American music, because these sources include noncommercial field recordings of traditional music from America and other parts of the world. Study of recordings of African, Afro-Caribbean, and South American music can provide insights into the development of African-American musical forms. African-American folk music, work songs, ballads, dance music, games, and sermons, along with well-known forms such as spirituals and folk blues, must be studied to obtain insights into both popular and classical compositions.

An extensive collection of field recordings of traditional African-American performers can be found at the Archive of Folk Culture at the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress. Since its founding in 1928, a succession of folklorists—including Robert Winslow Gordon, John and Alan Lomax, Herbert Halpert, Zora Neale Hurston, and Laura Bolton—working directly for the archive or for other government agencies have recorded and documented American folk music and culture. Numerous other scholars have contributed additional collections. Among the many African-American musicians who are represented in the collections are Jelly Roll Morton, James P. Johnson, Albert Ammons, Meade "Lux" Lewis and Pete Johnson, Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter), and bluesmen Son House, John Hurt, and Muddy Waters. In addition to field recordings, the Archive of Folk Culture collects books, published sound recordings, manuscripts, photographs, and moving-image materials. It publishes an excellent series of commercial recordings based on its holdings, as well as a useful series of bibliographies and finding aids.

The Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University in Bloomington has field collections of traditional music, spirituals, blues, gospel music, and sermons and tales collected by Natalie Curtis Burlin, Harold Courlander, Richard Dorson, John Hasse, Guy B. Johnson, and John, Alan, and Elizabeth Lomax, among others. It also holds numerous African collections and about forty thousand commercial recordings of blues, jazz, and other musical styles. Two other archives with holdings of commercial as well as field recordings are the Ethnomusicology Archive at UCLA and the Ethnomusicology Archives at the University of Washington, in Seattle, which has few American collections but over fifty collections of field recordings from sub-Saharan Africa. The archive of Folkways Records, a company that specializes in commercially issued field recordings, many of them African-American, is at the Smithsonian Institution.

Ethnographic films are another important source of information on traditional music. The Motion Picture Division of the Library of Congress and the Human Studies Film Archives at the Smithsonian Institution have African-American materials, both commercial films and field recordings. The Center for Southern Folklore in Memphis distributes several films on southern folk music and blues,

and also holds the Gail Mooney collection of photographs and footage of Delta Bluesmen, and the Rev. W. O. Taylor collection of photographs and film footage of religious events, including one hundred 78-rpm acetate recordings of religious music.

Repositories that specialize in traditional music may concentrate on a specific region. The Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture in Charleston, South Carolina, focuses on the Gullah culture of the Sea Islands. In its holdings are field recordings made in the Sea Islands by Lorenzo Dow Turner and recordings of the Moving Star Hall Singers. The Southern Folklife Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill holds both commercial and field recordings of black music in a general collection devoted to southern traditional music. For example, the field recordings of the activist folk musicians Guy and Candie Carawan include recordings of religious music from the Sea Islands, music of the civil rights movement, and gospel music performances. The collection is particularly strong in early blues and gospel and in string-band music, a still-neglected area of study. An interesting component is a group of forty-six wax cylinders recorded on South Carolina's Saint Helena Island in 1928 by folklorist Guy B. Johnson.

Blues Collections

Blues is the popular-music form closest to traditional music. The University of Mississippi Blues Archive has not only over twenty thousand sound recordings of blues and related genres, but also the files of *Living Blues* magazine, the business papers of Trumpet Records, and jazz and gospel session books of Savoy Records, plus collections relating to performers as diverse as B. B. King (b. 1925) and Gertrude "Ma" Rainey (1886–1939). Two major blues collectors have donated collections: Sheldon Harris donated the research files from his book *The Blues Who's Who* along with periodicals and other historical materials. Gayle Dean Wardlow's collection includes oral histories conducted in the 1960s with several traditional musicians. Other oral-history holdings include interviews made for *Living Blues,* collections contributed by several blues journalists, and the archive's own oral-history project, carried out with north Mississippi musicians. The Victoria Spivey (1906–1976) papers at the Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University document her career as head of her own blues record company. The Chicago Blues Archives at the Music Information Center of the Chicago Public Library has recordings and files on blues musicians, a collection concerning Delmark Records, and a collection of recordings and papers devoted to the annual Chicago Blues Festival, at which many contemporary musicians have performed.

Blues oral-history projects of note include the Bull City Blues oral histories and performances at the North Carolina Division of Archives and History in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the Robert Neff and Anthony Connor Blues Collection of interviews with blues musicians, housed at the Yale University School of Music's Oral History, American Music Project. The History of the Oakland Blues, an ongoing project initiated at the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, aims at documenting the blues in Oakland, California.

Gospel Music Collections

There are no repositories devoted exclusively to traditional black religious music or gospel music. The archives of the black colleges that first brought spirituals to a broader public after the Civil War have documented their performing groups: Fisk University has collections relating to the Fisk Jubilee Singers, and the Hampton University Archives has papers of the Hampton Singers, plus field recordings and papers of folklorist Natalie Curtis Burlin. The Adam Knight Spence and John Wesley Work (1873–1925) collection at the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History of the Atlanta-Fulton Public Library also contains information about the Fisk Jubilee Singers. A collection devoted to the Wings Over Jordan Choir, including the personal papers of the choir's founder, Rev. Glynn T. Settle, can be found at the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center in Wilberforce, Ohio.

The Southern Folklife Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, has papers, recordings, and sheet music from the Gospel Light Music Store of Philadelphia. Included are original acetate recordings of local gospel groups from the 1950s. The Vivian G. Harsh Collection of the Chicago Public Library has the papers of the Chicago gospel pioneer Lucy Smith, including a sizable collection of gospel sheet music. A small but significant collection concerning the recording career of gospel pioneer Arizona Dranes is at Indiana University's Archives of African American Music and Culture, which also has a collection relating to television producer Bobby Jones and a collection of commercial gospel videos from producer Debbie May, while ethnomusicologist Mellonee Burnim has donated audio and video field recordings of concerts, worship services and interviews documenting gospel music. A research collection an African American religious music compiled by the scholar and performer Bernice

Johnson Reagon is in the Archives Center at the Smithsonian.

Gospel sheet music can be found in the holdings of the Schomburg Center, the Center for Black Music Research, and the Library of Congress. Over fifteen hundred pieces of gospel music published by the Martin and Morris Publishing Company of Chicago are in the Chicago Public Library's Music Information Center, while the business records of Martin and Morris, plus sheet music as well, are in the Archives Center at the Smithsonian. The Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University collects gospel songbooks and commercial and field recordings, with a specialty in black shape-note singing and gospel quartets, notably the Fairfield Four and the Four Eagles. The Music Information Center of the Chicago Public Library has videotapes of one hundred programs of the television series *Jubilee Showcase* (1963–1984), on which most major gospel artists performed. Despite efforts in the last few years, gospel music remains the most underdocumented genre of black music. Major collections are held by private collectors, or by the musicians themselves and their families; very few are accessible in libraries.

Jazz

The situation is much different with jazz. Not only do several specialist repositories and collections exist, but major figures have archives devoted solely to them. For example, papers, business records, photographs, manuscripts, and recordings of Duke Ellington are in the Duke Ellington Collection, housed in the Archives Center of the Smithsonian Institution. Queens College, in New York, holds the Louis Armstrong Archive. Such collections give important figures the emphasis they deserve.

The Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University collects jazz materials in all formats comprehensively. The institute holds the world's most extensive collection of jazz periodicals and maintains a Jazz Oral History Project and a collection of transcriptions of big-band arrangements. Important individuals whose papers are in the Institute's collections include musicians Mary Lou Williams (1910–1981) and James P. Johnson (1894–1955), and jazz historian Leonard Feather.

The William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University focuses on New Orleans jazz, with fifty thousand recordings, sheet music, vertical files, and manuscripts. Other New Orleans collections include the New Orleans Jazz Club Collection at the Louisiana State Museum, comprising recordings, sheet music, photographs, and ephemera; and the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Foundation Oral History Project, which is housed at the Amistad Research Center and includes interviews with forty-nine New Orleans musicians. The Historic New Orleans Collection houses the collection of the jazz collector and historian William Russell, which includes interviews, photographs, and research materials.

Other cities important in the development of jazz have collections devoted to them. The Jazzmen Project at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection consists of recorded interviews and performances of Saint Louis musicians. Microfilmed scrapbooks of riverboat musicians Eddie Johnson and Elijah Shaw are also available. The Marr Sound Archives of the Miller Nichols Library at the University of Missouri–Kansas City documents Kansas City jazz, and also houses the more general Frank Driggs Jazz Oral History Collection. The Jazz Institute of Chicago has placed its collection at the Chicago Jazz Archive at the University of Chicago. It contains recordings, oral histories, and collections devoted to Chicago musicians. The Chicago Jazz Archive also houses the collection of the jazz collector, producer, and scholar, John Steiner, which includes the business records of Paramount Records. Jazz in New York City is documented in the Otto Hess collection of photographs of jazz events from the 1940s and 1950s (held by the American Music Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts), and by the papers of the New York Jazz Museum at the Schomburg Center. On the West Coast, the Central Avenue Sounds Oral History Project of the UCLA Oral History Program documents Los Angeles's Central Avenue from the 1920s through the 1950s. Notable informants include Art Farmer, Frank Morgan, Buddy Collette, and Melba Liston.

The Amistad Research Center also has papers of the jazz arranger Fletcher Henderson (1897–1952). Henderson's arrangements for Benny Goodman can be found in the American Music Collection of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, which also houses scores of the arranger Sy Oliver (1910–1988). Scores and lead sheets of the trombonist, composer, and arranger, Melba Liston (1926–1999) are at the Center for Black Music Research.

Jazz recordings can also be found in the Maxwell O. Reade Collection in the African-American Music Collection at the University of Michigan, and at the Center for Black Music Research. The Valburn Ellington Collection at the Library of Congress contains ten thousand Duke Ellington recordings, including nearly every commercial recording and hundreds of noncommercial recordings. Another major collection of the recordings of Duke Ellington, numbering over eight hundred commercial recordings and eighty-eight tape recordings (some of them unique), is held by the University of North Texas Music Library.

The Boston University's Mugar Memorial Library specializes in collecting the papers of popular performers.

Its jazz-related holdings include collections devoted to Cab Calloway and Ella Fitzgerald. The papers of W. C. Handy, Don Redman, Ronald L. Carter, and Mabel Mercer are at the Schomburg Center. The W. C. Handy Museum in Handy's hometown of Florence, Alabama, also has archival materials.

Oral-History Interviews

A relatively new development is the videotaped oral-history interview. The Nathaniel C. Standifer Video Archive of Oral History in the African-American Music Collection at the University of Michigan has over one hundred interviews with major figures, including a number of jazz musicians and classical performers and composers. The Schomburg Center also has a videotaping program aimed at recording musical events and interviews with individuals.

Musical Theater

Library collections pertaining to classically trained African-American composers and performers are diverse and sometimes scattered. Before the mid-twentieth century, racial discrimination shunted aspiring black performers and composers into vaudeville and musical theater. As in the case of popular music, materials from the early years of black theater can be found in general theater collections, including the Harvard Theatre Collection, the Theatre Arts Library at the University of Texas at Austin, and the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center. The Channing Pollock Theater Collection at Howard University and the Countee Cullen Memorial Collection at Atlanta University Center's Robert W. Woodruff Library specialize in African-American contributions in theater and the performing arts.

Other theater-oriented collections include the *Porgy and Bess* collection at the African American Music Collection, University of Michigan, which includes files on the original production. Materials on other productions of *Porgy and Bess* are in the Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute at Ohio State University in Columbus. The Schomburg Center has the papers of theatrical composer Luther Henderson (1919–2003) and actor-songwriter Emmett "Babe" Wallace. The George Peabody Collection at Hampton University consists of four scrapbooks on black music and musicians dating from 1824 to 1921. Scrapbooks of vocalist Sissieretta Jones (1968–1933) are at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. The Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore has an archive devoted to composer and performer Eubie Blake (1883–1983).

Educators and Organizations

The papers of educators and organizations are of great importance, especially for the time when discrimination prohibited black performers and composers from full participation in mainstream organizations. The papers of George Washington Glover (1873–1986) at the Schomburg Center contain extensive information on the National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM). The Amistad Research Center has the records of two branches of NANM, the Chicago Music Association and the B-Sharp Music Club of New Orleans. Records of NANM and of the Chicago Music Association are also included in the Theodore Charles Stone papers at the Center for Black Music Research, which also houses a separate NANM collection and records of the R. Nathaniel Dett Club, another Chicago-based NANM branch. The Schomburg Center has papers of the educator and composer Blanche K. Thomas and the educator Isabelle Taliaferro Spiller (1888–1974). Additional Spiller materials are at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, which also has papers of Gregoria Fraser Goins (1883–1964), prominent in several musical organizations in Washington, D.C., and records of the Washington Conservatory of Music. The papers of the National Opera Association are at the Library of Congress, and the papers of Opera/South, an African-American opera company that premiered eight operas by black composers, including William Grant Still and Ulysses Kay, are in the Henry T. Sampson Library at Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi. The Center for Black Music Research has the records of the Society of Black Composers, a group active in New York in the the early 1970s.

Classical Music

When it comes to archival collections of classical composers and performers, the major research collections have extensive holdings. The Music Division of the Library of Congress has correspondence and manuscripts of several black composers and performers. Outstanding examples include two manuscripts of William Grant Still's (1895–1978) *Afro-American Symphony* (1930) and manuscripts of several early works by Ulysses Kay (1917–1995). An in-house card file compiled by Walter E. Whittlesey, a library staff member, covers from around 1900 through the 1930s and serves as an adjunct to the library's catalogs and copyright records. Researchers have found it extremely useful as a guide to information about otherwise obscure individuals.

The Schomburg Center has the records of the Symphony of the New World, and of Mary Cardwell Dawson (1894–1962), founder of the National Negro Opera Com-

pany (1941), plus the papers of the composers Edward Boatner (1898–1981) and Clarence Cameron White (1880–1960). Classical performers documented at the Schomburg Center include Marion Cumbo, Lawrence Brown, Melville Charlton, and Philippa Duke Schuyler.

The Amistad Research Center has also documented African-American performers and composers. The papers of the composer Howard Swanson (1907–1978) are primarily music manuscripts; there are also collections relating to the composers Roger Dickerson (b. 1934) and Hale Smith (b. 1925). Collections pertaining to performers include papers of Carol Brice, Camilla Williams, Mattiwilda Dobbs, William Warfield, and Jessie Covington Dent.

Collections dealing with individual performers are also scattered in other repositories. At least three have collections on the actor and singer Paul Robeson (1898–1976): The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center has the bulk of Robeson's papers, but there are also collections of Robeson materials at the Schomburg Center and at the Charles L. Blockson Collection at Temple University in Philadelphia. The Hackley Collection received the papers of the tenor Roland Hayes (1887–1977) in 1989. The Marian Anderson (1897–1993) papers are in the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The Center for Black Music Research has a collection on the operatic baritone Ben Holt (1955–1990), and the Wendell G. Wright Collection, which includes recordings of a long-running concert series that featured many prominent performers. Hampton University Archives has a collection relating to the soprano Dorothy Maynor (1910–1996). Scrapbooks and papers of the singer Todd Duncan (1903–1998) are in the African American Music Collection at the University of Michigan. The papers of the pianist and author Maude Cuney Hare (1874–1936) are at the Atlanta University Center's Robert W. Woodruff Library. They also contain biographical information on other African-American composers and musicians.

Documenting the early years of African-American composition can be problematic, because so few materials have survived the passage of time. Fortunately, some manuscript materials from the nineteenth century have survived. These include a manuscript music book and sheet music of black bandleader and composer Francis Johnson (1792–1844), at the Library Company of Philadelphia, and a Johnson holograph manuscript at the Library of Congress.

Ragtime collections appear to consist mainly of sheet music and recordings, including piano rolls made by the composers. James Scott (1885–1938), Scott Joplin (1868–1917), and John William "Blind" Boone (1864–1927) are documented in the ragtime collection at State Fair Community College in Sedalia, Missouri. The State Historical Society of Missouri also has collections relating to Boone and Joplin. A Joplin collection at Fisk University contains correspondence about the composer by his wife and others. The Scott Joplin House State Historic Site in St. Louis has piano rolls that were recorded by Joplin.

Papers and manuscripts of individual composers are to be found in numerous repositories. Papers of H. T. Burleigh (1866–1949) can be found at the Erie County Historical Society in Erie, Pennsylvania, and at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in Harrisburg. Three repositories have papers of R. Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943), including the Archives at Hampton University, with which he was associated for many years; the University Archives and Historical Collections at Michigan State University; and the Local History Department of the Niagara Falls Public Library, in Niagara Falls, New York. Papers and manuscripts of John Wesley Work III (1901–1967) are at Fisk University, which also has papers of composers Julia Perry (1924–1979) and Arthur Cunningham (1928–1997). The papers of J. Rosamond Johnson (1873–1954) are in the Music Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Manuscripts and published arrangements by N. Clark Smith (1877–1935) are in the Miller Nichols Library of the University of Missouri in Kansas City. Papers and scores of William Levi Dawson are in Special Collections and Archives at the Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, and music manuscripts of the singer and composer Julius (Jules) Bledsoe (1898–1943) are in the Texas Collection at Baylor University. The music manuscripts of Edmund Thornton Jenkins (1894–1926), unlocated for years, are now at the Center for Black Music Research.

The Special Collections Department of the University of Arkansas Libraries has the papers of two major twentieth-century composers, Florence Price (1887–1953) and William Grant Still (1895–1978). Still materials can also be found in the Special Collections Library at Duke University. The Center for Black Music Research has papers of the composers James Furman (1937–1989), Lee V. Cloud (1950–1995), Talib Rasul Hakim (1940–1988), Irene Britton Smith (1907–1999), Richard C. Moffat (1927–1983), William Banfield (b. 1961), and Leslie Adams (b. 1932). Composers represented in the Center's extensive collections of scores include David Baker, Ed Bland, Glenn Burleigh, Wallace Cheatham, Mark Fax, Wendell Logan, Joyce Solomon Moorman, Jeffrey Mumford, Robert Owens, Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson, Daniel Roumain, Gregory Walker, and Michael Woods. The Eva Jessye Collection is a major component of the African-American Music Collection at the University of Michigan,

and Jessye (1895–1992) materials can also be found at the Amistad Research Center of Tulane University. The Special Collections Department at Pittsburg State University in Pittsburg, Kansas, has a sizable amount of Jessye's correspondence and manuscripts, as well as photographs, interviews, and recordings of her folk oratorio *Paradise Lost and Regained*.

Mention should also be made of other personal collections of great research value. The James Weldon Johnson Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale covers black music extensively, and it contains holograph scores by several African-American composers. The American Music Research Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder, has music by black women composers collected and donated by Helen Walker-Hill, a prominent scholar and bibliographer in the field. Walker-Hill's research papers on black women composers, along with duplicate scores, are at the Center for Black Music Research. The Center also has the papers and research materials of three pioneering scholars of black music: Dena J. Epstein (b. 1916), Dominique-René de Lerma (b. 1928) and Eileen Southern (1920–2002).

Archival collections documenting composers perform two functions: They provide materials for the study of an individual's life and times, as well as for the study of his or her music, including analysis of the compositional process. They point to obstacles and triumphs, and to the uniqueness of the African-American contribution to American music. The names of many libraries and of many individuals have been mentioned above, attesting to the preservation of African-American music materials in publicly accessible repositories. The tragedy—for the study of black music and American music, and for recognition of the importance of the African-American heritage—is in the names that are missing: names of important composers whose works are scattered or destroyed, or are still inaccessible in private hands; and names of performers who never made recordings or whose scrapbooks and letters are missing or destroyed, whose contributions therefore will never be completely recognized.

See also Archival Collections; Blues, The; Fisk University; Folk Music; Gospel Music; Howard University; Jazz; Music in the United States; Music Museums and Historical Sites; National Association of Negro Musicians; Opera; Schomburg, Arthur

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Updated bibliography

Muslims in the Americas

Approximately twenty percent of Africans brought to the Americas between the 1500s and 1900 CE were Muslims. By the fifteenth century, Muslims, almost constantly at war with Christians across the Mediterranean Sea since Islam had begun to spread across North Africa around 660 CE, had traveled to well below the Sahara Desert. Arabs and Berbers came first as commercial and religious agents, mixed with locals in the eleventh century, and by the late eighteenth century their black progeny and followers had become jihadists and nation builders. Since then, Muslim spheres of influence, control, and struggle have enlarged to cover much of West Africa. Their extensive trading and educational networks, demonstrating and teaching Muslim principles and practices—incorporating some indigenous ways—necessarily adjusted to or conflicted with local non-Muslim powers such as the Bambara, Ashanti, Dahomeyans, and Yorubans. These conflicts involved slave trading of one another and people caught in the middle. Multi-ethnic Muslim-led nations, opposed to slavery of their own people, including self-asserting theocracies, rose and fell as they worked out their changing political, economic, and religious relations with rival Muslims as well

as non-Muslim peoples. These struggles led to four centuries of the capture and sale of non-Muslims by Muslims, and more to the point, of enemy Muslims by Muslims and of Muslims by non-Muslims to European and American purchasers in trading posts along the Atlantic Coast and along the banks of a few rivers.

Like many non-Muslim captives who were not peasant Africans but from wealthy, powerful trading or ruling families and potent age-group brotherhoods accustomed to being leaders in social, political, religious, military, or agricultural matters, many Muslims embodied senses of spiritual selves, dignity, and pride that gave problems to their purchasers. Unlike non-Muslims, however, Muslims stood out because of their insistence on covering their bodies, on avoiding alcohol and pork, on praying to one god, on appearing to look down on both white and black non-Muslims—and when discovered—on writing and reading Arabic. Such attributes inspired both respect and apprehension and some exploration and exploitation of their grave, even haughty manners, mix of acceptance of their fate and demands on their purchasers, antipathy to field labor, recognizable management skills, and aptness as personal servants. The extent of their influence is only recently being calculated, but to those who recorded contacts with them in the era of the Atlantic slave trade, many African Muslims were impressive people.

African Muslims came from below the Sahara Desert between Lake Chad and the continent's closest point to the New World. They were Kanuri, Hausa, Songhai, Kassonke, Manding, Serahules, Fulas, Wolofs; few were Moors or Arabs. At least two hundred are known by references, names, short notices, longer accounts by others, or from their own writings. Some thirty manuscripts in Arabic written in the Americas and at least as many translations or as-told-to stories in European languages provide even more information. Many are assertions of the writer's faith, of recognition of African teachers and texts in Arabic or local languages using phonetic Arabic letters, or letters urging fellow Muslims to uphold or to fight for their faith.

A few of these documents written in North America (elaborated on below) tell about lives and educations in Africa, about capture, marches to the sea, the bitter Middle Passage, and adjustments to and by purchasers, missionaries, and amanuenses. Many are informative and corrective relative to the careless ignorance of nearly all non-Africans about their homelands and histories. These are often the only firsthand accounts by African-born individuals on relevant transatlantic conditions, events, and attitudes upon which historians and litterateurs—until very recently—have provided only surmises and generalizations. Lamine Kebe, freed after thirty years of slavery in Georgia, put this succinctly in 1835: "There are good men in America, but all are ignorant of Africa" (Dwight, 1864). The most important accounts are by Job Ben Solomon from Senegal (1734), Ibrahima Abd al-Rahman from Guinea (1828), Umar ibn Said from Senegal (1831), Abu Bakr es-Siddiq from Ghana (1835), Salih Bilali from Mali (1843), Mahommah Baquaqua from Benin (1854), and Mohammed or Nicholas Said from Chad (1867, 1882).

Further individualizing and authentication may be found in nine surviving portraits: two of Job Ben Solomon, enslaved in Maryland and freed in 1733; two (including a marvelous 1819 painting by Charles Willson Peale) of Yarrow Mamout, probably also from Senegal, slave and self-purchased freeman in the District of Columbia; two engravings of Mahommah Baquaqua, enslaved in Brazil, freed and educated in New York, part author of his *Biography;* an 1856 drawing of Osman, a Maroon in North Carolina; an 1828 etching from a Henry Inman crayon portrait of Abd al-Rahman, enslaved for forty years in Mississippi before being freed at the age of sixty-five and undertaking a partially successful campaign extending from Natchez to Boston to buy his children before his return to Africa; a daguerreotype of Umar ibn Said, taken shortly before his death in 1864 to accompany his several manuscripts in Arabic produced in North Carolina; and an 1863 ambrotype *carte de visite* of Nicholas Said in the Union Army uniform of the 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiment.

Though uniquely legislated against in Spanish regulations, and despite leading the first slave revolt (Hispaniola in 1522) and numerous others in the Americas, Muslims accompanied the first discoverers and conquistadores from Columbus on. Some were apparently selected, probably after a pretense of conversion, for various purposes, including personal servanthood in the New World. Hundreds, perhaps only recently Islamized, and thousands of their children fit into the new scheme, but there were those who resisted Christian slavery in various ways. There were antislavery and anti-Catholic/anti-Christian renegades and preachers, some of whom, called "Mandingas" were suspected of being "sorcerers" who made and sold Muslim amulets or gris-gris across Latin America. Theirs was a popular but clandestine operation in the punishing mining and agricultural slave regime imposed by Christians. Some preaching came with the amulets, but this had to be carefully done. Lope de la Pena was imprisoned in Peru for preaching Islam in 1560. Similar punishments were imposed everywhere in following years.

Many ran away; some formed their own self-reliant, self-help communities in the hinterlands. In the 1750s Haitian Maroons under Macandal (after whom illness-

preventing and death-defying amulets were named), a Muslim who offered a remarkably extensive revolutionary plan, preceded several other Muslim-influenced revolts, including those that militarily ousted the French in 1804. Early in the 1800s Muslims revolted in Brazil; their most widespread and well-thought-out slave revolt, involving at least a thousand Muslims and allies in Bahia, occurred in 1835 (see Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*, 1993). After it was put down, many Muslims were executed, but others were exported or paid their own way back to African ports between the Gold Coast and Nigeria. This repatriation continued until late in the nineteenth century. Many of these returnees founded trade relations across the Atlantic Ocean extending familiar African commercial routes intercontinentally to before unimagined and only recently investigated lengths. Latin American Catholicism, and African syncretic religions surviving today such as Candomblé, vodou, and Santería, display Muslim elements. Indeed, Fredrika Bremer, a respected Swedish journalist, thought in the early 1850s that Muslims were the main teachers and preachers outside Havana in Cuba. Gilberto Freyre wrote that Brazilians had insufficiently noted the influence of African Muslims in their national dress, language, religion, diet, sexual mores, self-help organizations, rebellious ways, and continued relations with Africa (Freyre, 1956). The same could be said for many of the surrounding South American and Caribbean countries.

Outlines of some of these individual African Muslims more particularly illustrate what may be learned from them about their homelands and lives. Macandal, Job, Mohammad Kaba from Guinea, Muhammad (Jonas) Bath, probably from Guinea, Anna Moosa from Mali, Abu Bakr es Siddiq from Ghana, Abd al-Rahman, Umar ibn Said, Kebe from Guinea, Bilali Muhammad from Guinea, Mahommah Baquaqua from Benin, and Nicholas Said from Chad were from prominent clerical, mercantile, military, or educational families. Job was a trader and religious leader, Al-Rahman a cavalry officer, Kebe and Umar teachers. All were husbands and fathers before their capture. Job, Macandal, al-Rahman, Kebe, Bilali, Charno, Umar, Abu Bakr es Siddiq, "William Rainsford," "Charles Larten," a "Moorish" slave on the Mississippi River, "Capt. Anderson's slave," Salih Bilali, and others noticed above learned to read in Arabic in Africa. All but the last wrote Arabic—and often their own languages using Arabic characters. Manuscripts from Job, Muhammad Kaba, Capt. Anderson's slave, al-Rahmann, rebels in Brazil, Bath, Abu Bakr, Bilali, Charno, Umar, and Sana Sy in Panama are extant. Many others are reported. London used phonetic Arabic characters to write black English in antebellum Florida. Abu Bakr kept Jamaican plantation records in similar style. Job, Umar, Mahommah, Salih Bilali, Abu Bakr, Anna Moosa, and a Muslim from Charles Ball's slave narrative told of captures in Africa. Abd al-Rahman, Umar, and Kebe were taken in battle, the others kidnapped. Job, Abd al-Rahman, Mahommah, and Kebe told their stories to amanuenses. Abu Bakr followed his own autobiography in Arabic with an extended travelogue describing his family's trading posts from the Atlantic Ocean on the Gambia River to Katsina in northern Nigeria and from Timbuktu to the Gulf of Guinea (1835). They wrote of marches to the sea and of their sea voyages.

Job, Abd al-Rahman, and Umar ran away from their first masters, as did others, but the majority had no place or allies to go to. Sambo and Osman in North Carolina were more successful in swamplands. Job and Jay were returned to Africa after fewer than five years of slavery because Job impressed the gentlemen and intelligentsia of 1730s England with his dignity, intelligence, and spirituality. Abd al-Rahman and Kebe were returned after thirty-some years of slavery in Mississippi and Georgia, respectively. Mohammed from Antigua was freed because of his evident religiosity, and Abu Bakr was freed because of his exemplary service. The latter became a guide for an unsuccessful English exploratory expedition toward Timbuktu. But Bath, imam of the Mandingo Society of Trinidad, was not able via prayers and petitions to the king of England to gain African repatriation. Muhammad Kaba's letters on maintaining the faith while under great pressure to convert in Jamaica have only recently come to light (Addoun and Lovejoy, 2004).

Abd al-Rahman, Bilali, and Salih Bilali took American wives and became parents here; Yarrow Mamout, Kebe, and Umar apparently chose not to do so. Abd al-Rahman, Abu Bakr, S'Quash, King, Bilali, and Salih Bilali became trusted slave managers.

All of those named above remained true to their Muslim faith, with the possible exceptions of London, Umar, and Mahommah. London transcribed the Gospel of John; Umar was regularly mentioned in North Carolina papers because he was willingly baptized and wrote the Lord's Prayer and Christian avowals in Arabic. None of his available eleven manuscripts, however, are without Quranic elements, including the *Bismillah,* which precedes all Muslim endeavors. His last pastor, probably correctly, expressed some doubt on the totality of his conversion. Mahommah proposed a return to Africa to preach Christianity, but his 1854 biography-autobiography emphasizes his desire to go home. Abd al-Rahman and Kebe made similar promises but both reverted upon their landing in Africa. Abd al-Rahman declared that Christianity was a "good law" but not followed in America. Once a captive joined the religion of his master in Africa, he was freed.

That had not happened to him under Christians. The "Moor" on the Mississippi was even more critical as he proudly claimed that Americans were not as polite, hospitable, comfortable, or learned as his people.

More impressively, Jonas Bath helped create a Muslim society in Trinidad; Brazilian Muslims had their own organizations, and Bilali and Salih Bilali each created Muslim communities on Sapelo and St. Simon's Islands in Georgia. The last two leaders, their praying on beads and rugs, their relatives with Muslim names and practices, were recalled as late as the 1940s. Bilali's thirteen-page "book" in Arabic attempted to codify basic requirements for Muslims. The church on Sapelo retains important Muslim aspects today (Bailey, 2000). Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* and Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* both refer to Bilali.

Sources of information had been widely scattered. Mentions of African Muslims in Latin America were scarce, as were mentions of Muslims in Iberian history until very recently. Inclusions in North American histories have been only slightly better. The most often noticed were Job, who was treated so well by the British; Abd al-Rahman, because he was thought to be a prince; and Umar, the devoutly wished-for (by Christians) convert. Often they were called Moors, de-Africanized, despite contrary portraits and descriptions. In the U.S. antebellum era, only one New York ethnologist (Theodore Dwight Jr.) sought to collect Arabic manuscripts and paid serious attention to Kebe's knowledge of education in Africa. Only one geographer, Frenchman George Renouard, drew from an African (Abu Bakr) in the New World information about a wide sphere of West Africa largely unknown elsewhere. Only one southern linguist, William B. Hodgson, attempted to gather African Arabic writings. Only one abolitionist, Irishman Richard R. Madden, became sincerely involved in finding out what he could about African Muslims in Jamaica. Only one southern newspaperman, Cyrus Griffin, and later, a few missionaries and Colonization Society people made notes about Abd al-Rahman's Africa, hoping to convert him into a Moor and a Christian. No westerners asked them to tell about their experiences in slavery in the New World.

Literary references are also rare. Herman Melville stripped Islam from the historical black rebels he fictionalized in *Benito Cereno*. Harriet Beecher Stowe made her hero in *Dred* a Mandingo but not a Muslim. Joel Chandler Harris made his hero Aaron, based upon white and black Christian-denouncing Bilali, into an Arab who denigrated black people. Mark Twain opined in his sketch of Abd al-Rahman that his subject was a cannibal. It was not until 1976, with Alex Haley's novel *Roots,* that African Muslims began to be fairly included in the New World's story.

See also Islam

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ALLAN D. AUSTIN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Mutual Aid Societies

"Badly off, and in want, indeed!" exclaims the black Philadelphian Charles Ellis in Frank J. Webb's 1857 novel *The Garies and Their Friends.* "We not only support our own poor, but assist the whites to support theirs!" Such a sentiment was echoed in the nineteenth-century black press, which repeatedly cited statistics demonstrating that taxes paid by African Americans consistently exceeded public assistance awarded "their" poor. Because popular representation often figured freed blacks as an indigent burden on the government, black communities took great pride in their self-reliance. By 1857, this had been primarily accomplished through the establishment of mutual aid societies, which organized the free black populations in cities from Newport, Rhode Island, to New Orleans, Louisiana. Such groups promoted African-American political interests by supporting each other financially while constructing a sense of kinship. Through monthly membership

dues, mutual aid societies dispensed sick benefits and funeral benefits while also serving as a network for jobs; because the earliest groups were organized by men, most also provided support for the widows and orphans of their members. However, women soon established both auxiliaries to existing societies and societies of their own, and by the twentieth century women surpassed men in membership.

It has generally been accepted that the first of these societies was the Free African Society of Philadelphia. Originally envisioned as a religious society by the ex-slaves Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, the Free African Society quickly developed into a nondenominational organization that provided sick benefits to its members, maintained marriage records, and established the first African-American cemetery. After the withdrawal of Allen, the group also established the first African-American church in Philadelphia. Despite the significance of the Free African Society, its founding date is debated. Though an article in *The Colored American* on August 19, 1837, reports that "fifty-five" mutual aid societies had incorporated in Philadelphia by that year, most official documentation has yet to be uncovered and what scholars do know has primarily been gleaned from references to such groups in the press. Thus, while many date the formation of the Free African Society at 1787, others, such as Leonard P. Curry, place its establishment in 1778, a date confirmed by an article in the *Christian Recorder* from April 3, 1884. Similarly, though it has been suggested that such associations had been instituted in Newport as early as 1770, documentation of that city's Free African Union Society is scarce until 1780.

The inspiration for such societies has also been debated. While some believe that black mutual aid societies were modeled on white benevolent societies, others argue that they find their roots in the West African concept of Sou-Sou. Taken from the Yoruba word *esusu*, the Sou-Sou is a cooperative arrangement that, in addition to providing for sick members, often served as a bank (banks modeled on the Sou-Sou, such as the Woman's Responsive Sou-Sou Bank of Trinidad, still exist in Africa and the Caribbean today). An Afro-Cuban mutual aid society, the still-extant Martí-Maceo Society of Florida, may provide a clue in this debate. In nineteenth-century Cuba, free blacks established *cabildos*, or mutual aid societies that prioritized traditional African religious customs. These groups eventually evolved into *sociedades mutuo socorro y recreo* (society of mutual help and recreation), which focused more on economic independence and education as Afro-Cubans sought equality within the larger Cuban society. This evolution led to the formation of the Martí-Maceo Society in the United States in 1900; similar processes of cultural negotiation probably prompted the first African-American mutual aid societies as well.

While mutual aid societies were the result of material necessity, they also responded to a desire to shape a distinctly African-American identity. The Free African Society was established as a reaction to what its founders called "the irreligious and uncivilized state" in which their neighbors lived. Well into the twentieth century, mutual aid societies stressed the virtue and the civic duty of their members. If these societies scrutinized the behavior of their members, it was due to an awareness of being scrutinized from without. Thus, mutual aid societies became an exercise in self-representation. During Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic in 1793, for example, Jones and Allen proposed that serving as nurses and gravediggers would demonstrate black moral superiority, while other mutual aid societies argued that education would prove black equality, and they organized schools to this end. The seeming ubiquity with which such groups paraded through the streets suggests that members believed their visibility would counter negative characterizations; this was self-conscious self-representation at its most literal. Noticed they were, though not always positively, as an article from *The Colored American* from April 29, 1837, revealed when it charged the *New York Times* with willfully misrepresenting an anniversary celebration of the Clarkson Benevolent Society as a mob protesting the trial of a fugitive slave.

But the white press was not the only opponent of mutual aid societies. Fearing the interaction between slaves and free blacks, Maryland passed a law in 1842 that charged membership in mutual aid societies as a felony, and Charleston's Free Dark Men of Color were shut down by whites fearful of slave insurrections in the 1820s. It is no surprise that antebellum whites found black mutual aid societies threatening, as many societies were active in abolition efforts. As the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth, mutual aid societies broadened their political scope. The Colored Knights of Pythias were some of the most ardent members of the Florida movement to regain blacks' right to vote after World War I. Female mutual aid societies fought for women's rights and suffrage. Others lobbied for antilynching legislation. With increased membership, mutual aid societies could also fund larger ventures. The United Order of True Reformers encouraged black entrepreneurship through the institution of the True Reformers' Savings Bank of Richmond, Virginia, while also establishing a hotel, newspaper, and home for the elderly. Other mutual aid societies funded hospitals. And the death benefits so important to early groups eventually grew into life insurance companies, such as the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, which still exists today.

Despite the fact that mutual aid societies played a significant role in African-American life for well over 150 years, few organizations still exist today. Some scholars claim that new forms of entertainment diminished the demand for such organizations, while others point to commercial insurance companies. The Great Depression irreparably weakened mutual aid societies, as it left many members unable to pay dues. Historian David Beito locates the demise of these societies in the modern welfare state, claiming that government-sponsored worker's compensation and widow's benefits left mutual aid societies obsolete. "Universal" as Beito claims these benefits were, however, the Social Security Act Amendment of 1935 effectively excluded many African Americans by denying coverage to personal servants, domestics, and casual and agricultural workers.

Regardless, such legislation did anticipate the eventual dissolution of mutual aid societies. Their legacy, however, can be found in the civil rights movement and even in organizations that exist in the twenty-first century, from 100 Black Men of America, which seeks to dispel negative representations of the black man in society through community service, to the Cultural Wellness Center of Minneapolis, which provides culturally sensitive medical care to African-American patients. The history of African-American mutual aid societies should serve as a source of empowerment and pride. Yet one need be cautious in wishing for their return, as they represent the dire necessity left by a state that refused to fulfill its responsibilities toward all of its citizens equally, a process still evolving today.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Fraternal Orders; Fraternities, U.S.; Sororities, U.S.

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ROBINA KHALID (2005)

Myal

Myal was an African-Jamaican form of divination and a ritual dance by which spirit mediums drew on the power of ancestors to heal and to alleviate misfortune ascribed to the jealousy, greed, and enmity of others. Obeah, another type of divination, inspired terror during periods of insecurity when people believed that evil Obeah specialists endangered them. To counteract the danger, they called on Myal mediums.

Even before leaving Africa as slaves, Africans associated malevolent sorcery with enslavement, devising fantastic symbolic tales and rumors about slave trafficking and slavery that acted as a critique of African and European slavers and slave owners. These tales described slave dealers and owners as cannibals or vampires who consumed African flesh and blood and processed them into a variety of European or American goods—cheeses, red wines, and gunpowder—desired by continental Africans. Slaves took these beliefs to Jamaica.

In the 1760s, a time of slave revolts, Jamaican planter Edward Long described the founding of a new society, open to all, that he called Myal. Its initiation ritual, the drinking of water mixed with calalu, preceded energetic dancing that produced a condition resembling death. Another mixture revived the subject. Myal initiation supposedly made slaves invulnerable to death from white men's bullets. Creole slaves, who feared African sorcery more than European bullets, pinned their hopes on Christian baptism's power of protection. Baptism by immersion as practiced by John the Baptist infused a new spirit, the Holy Spirit, in the baptized and eventually became the initiation rite of choice for many. Both ceremonies, however, were rituals of death and rebirth.

The Myal Society described by Long appears to have been the progenitor of sugar estate–based Myal bands whose activities gained notoriety after slave emancipation (1838). By then, they combined African problem-solving with Jamaican Native Baptist practices; their ranks included archangels, angels, and ministering angelics who recruited converts, excavated buried charms, and caught stolen shadows or second souls.

In 1841 Myal spirit mediums began a revitalization movement catalyzed by unexplained deaths and job competition. They responded to invitations to expose plantation residents suspected of selfish behavior, using physical force to compel public confessions. Myal members stopped working and would not resume, saying they had to clear the land for Jesus, who was returning soon to set the world right. In a show of independence they de-

nounced the authorities, seized missionary meeting-houses, condemned missionaries for incorrect baptizing, and issued new revelations.

By November 1842 official suppression drove the movement underground. A larger revival occurred in 1860, conferring the name *Revivalist* on religious sects that now proliferated and in which the Myal spirit persisted as the Holy Spirit. Jamaican conceptions of evil, its sources in black and white cupidity, and how it may be overcome flow through Myal, Native Baptist, Revivalist, Rastafarian, and even Marcus Garvey's discourse. In the twentieth century Myal practices survived with a few Christian accretions in St. Elizabeth and Manchester parishes, where the Myal dance was known as *gombay* (drum) play. An elaboration, known as *Jonkonnu*, led by a Myal man wearing a large house headdress representing the plantation great house, was held at Christmastime. In Portland and St. Thomas parishes, Maroons and Central African descendants were familiar with gombay play and intense Myal possession. "When we got myal," a Central African Kumina queen told Monica Schuler in 1971, "we can find a thing bury [that is, an Obeah charm] but when we normal, we can't do these things" (Schuler, 1980).

See also Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas; Divination and Spirit Possession in the Americas; Obeah; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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MONICA SCHULER (2005)

Myers, Isaac

January 13, 1835
January 26, 1891

Born free in Baltimore, labor leader Isaac Myers was the son of poor workers. He attended Rev. John Fortie's day school and at sixteen was apprenticed to James Jackson, a well-known African-American caulker in Baltimore's shipyards. By the time the Civil War broke out, Myers had become an independent caulker.

In October 1865 white caulkers angered by black competition went on strike, demanding that black workers be excluded from waterfront work. Police joined in, and African Americans were driven from the shipyards. The unemployed black caulkers and waterfront men held a meeting. Myers suggested they form their own union, buy up a shipyard and railway line, and run their own business cooperatively. Baltimore blacks responded to Myers's pleas for help by investing $10,000. Myers borrowed an additional $30,000 from a ship captain and set up a shipyard and railway. The cooperative, called the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock, opened in February 1866 and paid its three hundred workers an average of three dollars per day. Myers also organized the Colored Caulkers' Trades Union and was named its first president. He expanded his union role to political activism, calling for civil rights and black suffrage.

The shipyard was successful almost immediately, and Myers and his partners were able to pay off their original debts within five years. The cooperative's influence and example assured that white Baltimore workers did not exclude blacks from other fields. Soon it began hiring white workers, and Myers worked closely with the white caulkers' union. From his collaboration he dreamed of interracial activism on a large scale. In 1868 he was one of nine blacks invited to attend the convention of the National Labor Union (NLU), the largest white labor organization, in Philadelphia. Myers underlined the importance of interracial collaboration and asserted that blacks would be happy to work with whites for common goals. His efforts met with white indifference, but he invited white delegates to a National Labor Convention that December in Washington, D.C. At the convention, the (black) National Labor Union was born. Myers helped write the union's constitution and served as its president. He spent the next several months on a speaking tour, attempting unsuccessfully to draw support for the union. Myers reminded his audiences that labor could succeed only if both races united. That August he attended another NLU convention, but white and black delegates divided over blacks' support of

the Republican Party. The black NLU remained small and financially strapped. It dissolved before the end of 1871, and Myers left the labor movement.

In later life Myers became a detective in the Post Office Department, opened an unsuccessful coal yard, and became a U.S. tax collector. He headed several black business organizations in Baltimore and was active in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, spending fifteen years as superintendent of Baltimore's Bethel AME School and writing an unpublished sacred drama. A grand master of Maryland's black Masons, he edited an issue of *Mason's Digest*. He died in Baltimore in 1891 after a paralytic stroke.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Free Blacks, 1619–1860

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

NAACP

See National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Created by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1940 as a tax-exempt fund for litigation and education, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF), based in New York, has been the central organization for African-American civil rights advances through the legal system. While the LDF, popularly known as the "Inc. Fund," had from the beginning a board of directors and a separate fund-raising apparatus from those of the NAACP, it was planned as an integrated component of the larger organization, designed to carry out Charles H. Houston's plan for a legal assault on segregation in public education. The LDF's leadership was represented on the NAACP board and helped design organizational strategy. The LDF was set up with a loose administrative structure, with a director-counsel as the chief officer. The first LDF director-counsel, former NAACP counsel Thurgood Marshall, hired a staff of five lawyers.

During the 1940s and 1950s such lawyers as Robert Carter, Franklin Williams, and Constance Baker Motley joined the staff. Marshall made the LDF the main locus of civil rights law, and the LDF litigated a variety of landmark civil rights cases before the Supreme Court. In 1944 the LDF successfully argued in *Smith v. Allwright* that primaries that legally excluded blacks were unconstitutional. In 1946 *Morgan v. The Commonwealth of Virginia* outlawed segregation on interstate bus lines. In 1948 the LDF brought *Shelley v. Kramer* to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court ruled that racially restrictive housing covenants that prohibited sales of homes to blacks were unenforceable.

However, much of the LDF's work was done not at the Supreme Court but in small southern towns, fighting lawsuits or defending arrested blacks under adverse and dangerous conditions. LDF lawyers, forced to work on a shoestring budget, received death threats and ran from lynch mobs. While they frequently lost cases, their presence helped assure fair trials. In 1950 the Supreme Court ruling in *Shepard and Irvin v. Florida* helped establish the now-familiar doctrine that defendants must be tried in a venue free of prejudice against them.

Education cases were the centerpiece of LDF legal efforts. Following the NAACP's successful strategy in *Mississippi ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), the LDF attacked discrimination in graduate education. Beginning in 1946 the LDF brought a series of cases before the Supreme Court, culminating in *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (1948), *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950), and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). In the latter, the Court ruled that segregated facilities led to discrimination, though the case did not directly challenge the principle of "separate but equal" in primary education. LDF lawyers also brought suit to eliminate pay differentials between white and black teachers, in part to demonstrate the enormous expense of a dual school system. By 1951 the LDF, preparing for a direct challenge to segregation, was working on twenty elementary and high school cases and a dozen higher-education cases. The LDF's efforts were crowned with success in 1954 with the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* argued by Thurgood Marshall.

By 1954, however, personal differences among staff members and disagreements over organizational mission led to a total split with the NAACP. The NAACP considered the LDF a vehicle for arguing civil rights cases. LDF leaders considered achieving educational equality their prime responsibility. The LDF and the NAACP formally parted in 1956, establishing separate boards of directors.

After the implementation ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education,* which ordered desegregation "with all deliberate speed," was announced in 1955, the LDF began designing desegregation plans and fighting court cases to force compliance, notably *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), in which the Court mandated the integration of Arkansas's Little Rock Central High School. LDF lawyers continued to work to combat segregation in other fields. In 1956 the LDF began a central involvement in the civil rights movement when it won *Gayle v. Browder,* the case of the Montgomery bus boycott led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

At the same time, southerners determined to keep the LDF from operating. Legislatures charged that the LDF created cases in which it had no legitimate interest or standing. The Supreme Court finally ruled in 1963 that LDF litigation was constitutionally protected. By 1965 LDF lawyers had taken school cases as they had arisen in every southern state. Eventually, in *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (1964), the Court renounced "all deliberate speed," and in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968) ordered immediate and total desegregation.

In 1961 Thurgood Marshall was appointed a federal judge by President John F. Kennedy and left the LDF. Jack Greenberg, his white assistant, who had come to the LDF in 1949, succeeded him as the new director-counsel, a position he would hold for the next twenty-three years. During the 1960s the LDF continued as an active force in the civil rights movement, defending sit-in protesters in cases such as *Boynton v. Virginia* (1961) and *Shuttlesworth v. Alabama* (1964), as well as defending Freedom Riders and providing bail funds for the many activists who were arrested during the struggle.

The Black Power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s brought about tensions within the LDF over its white leadership and its refusal to defend black radicals except in those few cases where civil rights issues were involved, such as exorbitant bail fees for incarcerated Black Panther Party members. In 1970 several LDF lawyers pressed the organization to take up the defense of black radical Angela Davis after she was implicated in a courthouse shootout, but the LDF board of directors and Director-Counsel Greenberg vetoed the idea. The same year, when Julian Bond was refused his seat in the Georgia legislature because he opposed the Vietnam War, the LDF refused his case on the grounds that a white antiwar legislator would have suffered the same fate.

In recent decades the LDF has concentrated on other pressing civil rights areas. In *Griggs v. Duke Power* (1971), the LDF persuaded the Supreme Court to strike down discriminatory educational or testing requirements irrelevant to job performance. The LDF then argued numerous affirmative action cases based on *Griggs* in the following years. The most important of these was *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1979), in which the LDF worked largely successfully in opposing Allan Bakke's "reverse discrimination" suit.

Capital punishment was a particular focus of LDF's efforts. In preparation for the Supreme Court case *Maxwell v. Bishop* (1970), which involved an Arkansas African American convicted of the rape of a white woman, the LDF organized a study that showed that 89 percent of defendants around the country given the death penalty for rape between 1930 and 1962 were black, and demonstrated patterns of racial discrimination in death sentences given for rape in Arkansas between 1945 and 1965. While the Court declined to rule on the LDF's statistics, Jack Greenberg continued to lead the campaign against the death penalty, which achieved temporary victory in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972). Capital punishment was reinstated in 1976, but the death penalty in cases of rape, a special concern of blacks, was declared unconstitutional in *Coker v. Georgia* (1977). The LDF continued to appeal death penalty sentences for African Americans. In the early 1980s it commissioned the so-called Baldus Study, a mam-

Roy Wilkins (l) and Thurgood Marshall, director and special counsel for the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, flank Autherine Lucy at a press conference at NAACP headquarters in New York City, March 2, 1956. *After months of litigation, Lucy became the first African-American admitted to the University of Alabama. She was soon suspended from classes, however, when officials claimed they could not ensure her safety.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

moth study of the influence of race on death penalty sentencing, following which lawyers argued *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987). However, the Supreme Court refused to rule solely on the basis of this statistical evidence that the death penalty was arbitrary or racially discriminatory.

In 1984 Julius LeVonne Chambers took over as director-counsel and continued to concentrate on litigation in the areas of poverty law, education, fair housing, capital punishment, fair employment, environmental justice, and voting rights. A housing discrimination suit the LDF brought in the San Fernando Valley in 1992 was settled for $300,000, one of the largest awards ever granted victims of racial bias in housing.

In 1992 Chambers resigned and was replaced by Elaine Ruth Jones. Jones had previously been head of the LDF's regional office in Washington, D.C., where she had helped draft and implement civil rights legislation, notably the Civil Rights Restoration Act (1988), the 1988 Fair Housing Act, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. Jones redirected LDF's focus toward cases of environmental and health care discrimination. Environmental activism covers suits to ensure equal treatment of blacks victimized by toxic wastes and cases enforcing federal laws mandating free lead-poisoning exams for poor children. Examples of health care cases include a suit filed in Contra Costa, California, charging with violation of civil rights statutes officials who built a county hospital largely inaccessible to the district's African-American population.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the LDF continued its involvement in poverty law, voting rights, criminal justice, and education, which remained an especially active arena centering on widely contested issues including public school vouchers, federal funding, and affirmative action. In 2005, LDF Director-Counsel and President Theodore M. Shaw sent a letter to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights criticizing the Commission's pro-

posal for a comprehensive review of public primary and secondary school desegregation decrees and court orders, noting that such a review would not help to reverse the perception of a trend toward racial resegregation in the United States.

Since 1964, the LDF has also provided scholarship programs to aid African-American law students.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Bond, Julian; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Houston, Charles Hamilton; Marshall, Thurgood; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Motley, Constance Baker; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Sweatt v. Painter*

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Nabrit, James Madison

September 4, 1900
December 27, 1997

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, lawyer and educator James Madison Nabrit was the son of the Rev. J. M. and Gertrude Nabrit. In 1919 he received his high school diploma from Morehouse College, and four years later graduated from Morehouse with a B.A. degree. Although he left school in 1925 to teach political science and coach football at Leland College, Nabrit received a J.D. degree from Northwestern University Law School in 1927. While at Northwestern, he was an honor student and was elected to the Order of the Coif, the highest legal scholarship fraternity. After law school, he served as a dean at Arkansas State College for two years.

In 1930 Nabrit moved to Houston, Texas, where he practiced law. In his six years in Houston, he became involved in civil rights law. He participated in over twenty-five such cases, most of which were concerned with voting rights. In 1936 he began his twenty-four-year career at Howard University as an associate professor of law. While at Howard, he developed a syllabus that collected more than two thousand civil rights cases. He organized the first course in civil rights taught at a law school in the United States. In 1954 Nabrit served as the legal adviser to the governor of the Virgin Islands. He joined in the NAACP's legal assault on segregation, and he wrote one of the briefs opposing Jim Crow schools in the cases that led to the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation decision in 1954. In 1960 Nabrit was named President of Howard University, where he served for nine stormy years. Ironically, given his longtime fight for civil rights, he was assailed by militant students in the late 1960s as an Uncle Tom. In 1981 he received an honorary degree from Howard University.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)

Names and Naming, African

Africans arriving in the American colonies and later the United States continued to give their children African names well into the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries African-American slaves retained Africanisms in their naming practices. The highest percentage of African names was found among male slaves in the eighteenth century, when the majority of the black population was still unacculturated. During the colonial period the practice of naming children after the days of the week, the months, and the seasons was retained. Such names as January, April, May, June, September, November, March, August, Christmas, and Midday were popular. Numerous examples exist of Akan day names (sometimes

modified or anglicized): Cudjoe (Monday), Cubbenah (Tuesday), Quao (Wednesday), Quaco (Thursday), Cuffe (Friday), Quamin (Saturday), and Quashee (Sunday). Many took on varied forms. Quao became Quaro and later Jacco, Jack, and Jackson. Other African names common in the eighteenth century were Sambo, Mongo, and Juba.

Name Changes

In western and central Africa names are given at stages in an individual's life, and—as happens among all people for whom magic is important—the identification of a name with the personality of its bearer is held to be so complete that the person's real name (usually the one given at birth) must be kept secret lest it be used by someone working magic against the person. That is why among Africans a person's name may change with time, a new designation being assumed on the occasion of some striking occurrence in life. When one of the rites marking a new stage in the person's development occurs, a name change also occurs to note the event.

Likewise, African Americans changed their names to correspond to major life changes. Take the case of Frederick Douglass, for example. His original last name, Bailey, had an African origin. He was descended from Belali Mohomet, a Mande-speaking slave from Timbo, Futa Jallon. (Bailey is a common African-American surname along the Atlantic coast. In Talbot County, Maryland, the records list no white Baileys from whom the slave name Bailey could have been taken.) Belali was owned by Richard Skinner, a wealthy tobacco planter near the Miles River. Belali's granddaughter Betsy belonged to Skinner's granddaughter Ann Catherine. Frederick Bailey was born in 1817.

Soon after escaping slavery, Bailey changed his name to Douglass. In similar fashion, Sojourner Truth was known as Isabella Baumfree until she had a dream that told her about her new name and mission. Malcolm Little, at different stages of his life, was variously known as Malcolm X, Homeboy, Detroit Red, Big Red, Satan, and el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.

Multiple Names

Almost every black person is known by two names: a given name and a name used only within the family circle. Lorenzo Dow Turner (1895–1972), a leading scholar of African retentions in American English, found a dual naming system among the Gullahs in the Sea Islands of South Carolina. This system (which still exists) involves an English (American) name given at birth and a more intimate name—sometimes called a "basket name" or a "day name"—used exclusively by the family and community. Slaveholders recognized this dual naming practice among enslaved Africans in the eighteenth century. In advertisements of runaways, owners always included "proper" (given) names and "country" names, which were the African names.

Among enslaved Africans the use of nicknames was also widespread. Pie Ya, Puddin'-tame, Frog, Tennie C., Monkey, Mush, Cooter, John de Baptist, Fat-Man, Preacher, Jack Rabbit, Sixty, Pop Corn, Old Gold, Dootes, Angle-Eye, Bad Luck, Sky-up-de-Greek, Cracker, Jabbo, Cat-Fish, Bear, Tip, Odessa, Pig Lasses, Rattler, Pearly, Luck, Buffalo, Old Blue, Red Fox, and Coon are some of the most common.

Gullah Names

A few examples of Gullah basket names that are unchanged from their African roots are Ndomba, Mviluki, Sungila, Kamba, Anyika, and Sebe. Ndomba is the name given to a breech-delivered Gullah child whose hand protrudes first at birth. It means "I am begging (with outstretched hand)." Mviluki means "a penitent." Its Luba source word is *mvuluki,* "one who doesn't forget his sins." The basket name Sungila means "to save, help, deliver," while Kamba, a very common Luba name, comes from *munkamba,* meaning "ancestor." Anyika, a Gullah name meaning "she is beautiful," is related to a Luba word meaning "to praise the beauty of." Sebe, a Gullah name meaning "a leather ornament," comes from the Luba word for hide or leather, *tshisebe.* Others—Tulu ("sleep"), Tuma ("send"), Pita ("pass by"), Mesu ("eyes"), Kudima ("to work or hoe"), and Kudiya ("to eat")—are all Gullah day names, exactly the same in Gullah and Luba.

In the Sea Islands children sometimes have not only given names and basket names but also community names. The community gives the child a name that characterizes the individual, such as Smart Child or Shanty ("showoff"). This practice parallels Bantu naming practices in Zaire. The name of Georgetown University's former basketball center Dikambe Mutombo (he is from Zaire) illustrates this point. His full name is Dikamba Mutombo Mpolondo Munkamba Diken Jean-Jean Jacque wa Mutombo. In order, these names are his uncle's name, his family surname, his grandfather's name, his village nickname, his name given at birth, and his hometown village, wa Mutombo (which means "from the village of Mutombo").

Other creolized Gullah nicknames typical of Bantu naming practices are names of animals or fish: De Dog, Doggie, Kitty, Fish, Yellowtail Croker, Frog, Spider, Boy,

Gal, Jumper, Tooti, Crocki, Don, Cuffy, Akebee, Dr. Buzzer, and Dr. Eagle.

In Gullah naming practices, as in African naming practices, children are named after parents because it is believed that the parent spirit resides in the children. The same name might appear in several generations of a family. In the Sea Islands the name Litia appeared in four generations of female children.

African Revival

By the time of the Civil War and the emancipation of four million African-American slaves, African personal names had almost completely disappeared. It was not until the 1920s, when the early black Islamic revivalist Noble Drew Ali began to use Arabic and Islamic names, that the practice was revived. These practices were followed by Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. They used African and Arabic words and names to instill in their followers a sense of racial pride.

By the 1960s and 1970s African names had gained respectability in the wake of the civil rights, African independence, and Black Power movements. Movements such as Kawaida of Maulana Karenga stressed the use of Swahili and Yoruba names. African names such as Dashanaba, Tameka, Kwame, and Maat again became common.

African names have come full circle. Their use reflects many changes in attitude, from strong African identification to nationalism, from integration and assimilation back to cultural identification.

See also Africanisms; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Douglass, Frederick; Gullah; Karenga, Maulana; Kawaida; Malcolm X; Truth, Sojourner; Turner, Lorenzo Dow

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JOSEPH E. HOLLOWAY (1996)

Names Controversy

Naming has played an important role in developing a sense of group identity among African Americans. Black leaders have frequently argued that the names borne by African Americans influence their self-esteem and help determine their place in American life. The black journalist T. Thomas Fortune counseled in 1906 that "until we get this racial designation properly fixed in the language and literature of the country we shall be kicked and cuffed and sneered at" (Berry and Blassingame, 1982, p. 389). But what African Americans should collectively be called has often engendered controversy among the race's foremost voices.

Africans brought to the North American continent as slaves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belonged to particular nations or ethnic groups (e.g., Ibo, Yoruba, Mandingo, Bakongo). But such diverse allegiances were difficult to maintain in the complex world of plantation slavery, and a new "African" identity emerged. Blacks consistently referred to themselves as Africans throughout the colonial period, and as communities of free blacks emerged in the decades following the American Revolution, they placed the prefix "African" before the names of nearly all of their churches, schools, lodges, and social organizations.

Only in a few cities such as Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans did free men and women of mixed African and European (and sometimes Native American) ancestry reject identification with their darker brothers and sisters and encourage the development of a tripartite racial system. They often preferred to be called "brown" or "creole."

After 1816, the rise of a white-led colonization movement bent on carrying African Americans back to the African continent caused a major shift in how free blacks referred to the race. Fearful that continuing to call themselves "African" would merely encourage the colonizationists, growing numbers of blacks avoided the term. Most opted for the safer appellation "colored." A few ultra-integrationists, such as Philadelphian William Whipper, urged that all racial designations be abandoned. He convinced the 1835 black national convention to pass a resolution exhorting African Americans to abandon the

word "colored" and to remove "African" from the names of their institutions. Yet by the 1830s, "colored" was widely used throughout the North, a fact symbolized by the title of the leading black journal of the era, the *Colored American*. Between 1827 and 1899, 34 percent of all black newspapers and magazines containing a racial designation in their title bore the name "colored."

"Negro," a term derived from the Portuguese word for black, vied for primacy with "colored" after the Civil War. Blacks increasingly viewed the latter name as offensive, even though many whites continued to use it as a racial designation. After 1900, "Negro" gained broad acceptance among both races. As more and more blacks adopted the term, black leaders began to attack whites for spelling the word with a diminutive "n." Contending that whites spelled all other proper nouns with capital letters, they charged that their failure to capitalize "Negro" was a deliberate effort to label blacks as inferior. With the support of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and a majority of black leaders, the capital "N" campaign convinced the federal government and most editors, even in the southern press, to adhere to the rule by 1950.

"Negro" was never a term of universal approbation. The Reverend J. C. Embry of Philadelphia argued in 1892 that slaveholders had invented the word to stigmatize blacks. Observing that "Negro" lacked a geographic locus and failed to recognize blacks' African past, Embry and Fortune led a campaign to adopt the name "Afro-American." From the late 1880s through the first decade of the twentieth century, "Afro-American" competed with "Negro" as a popular racial designation.

Some ordinary blacks simply opposed the term "Negro" because it was easily corrupted into derisive expressions such as "nigger" and "nigra." There was a steady increase in opposition to the name after 1920. One of the most intense and influential attacks came from the pen of Richard B. Moore, an African-American activist of West Indian descent. His pamphlet "The Name 'Negro': Its Origin and Evil Use" (1960) summarized objections to the term and contended that the term itself—"because of its slave origin, its consequent degradation, and its still prevalent connection in the minds of people generally with prejudice, vileness, inferiority, and hostility"—was a major factor in keeping the race in a subordinate state.

In the midst of the turbulent battles of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, many African Americans abandoned the term "Negro"—what Moore called "the oppressors' vicious smear name." The Nation of Islam (especially Malcolm X), Black Power advocates, and other black cultural nationalists renewed the assault on the term, linking it almost irrevocably in the minds of many young blacks with slavery and Uncle Tomism. "Black" quickly became the most popular racial identifier, in large part because it stood in symbolic opposition to white dominance—the enemy of Black Power. African Americans spoke proudly of being "black" and infused the term into their rhetoric, writing, and organizational names. Convinced anew of the value of recognizing their African heritage, black cultural nationalists also revived use of the term "Afro-American".

In 1988 the civil rights leader Jesse Jackson reopened the debate over racial nomenclature when he announced that blacks should begin to refer to themselves as "African Americans." Criticizing the term "black" for its singular reference to skin color, he maintained that the name offered African Americans no connection to their land of origin or their cultural heritage. During a conference after a gathering of African-American leaders in December 1988, Jackson said, "Just as we were called colored, but were not that, and then Negro, but not that, to be called black is just as baseless. . . . To be called African Americans has cultural integrity. It puts us in our proper historical context." The new terminology achieved rapid acceptance, first among activists and academics, then within the broader black population. By the late 1990s it had become the preferred self-designation for one out of three Americans of African descent.

The names controversy has been a source of continuing conflict among black leaders since the early nineteenth century. Yet in each era, a few have questioned the value of this debate to the advancement of the race. Some have labeled it a distraction and a waste of time, energy, and resources. Others have viewed it as a reflection of African-American powerlessness. Writing in *The Content of Our Character* (1990), Shelby Steele observed that "this self-conscious reaching for pride through nomenclature suggests nothing so much as a despair over the possibility of gaining the less conspicuous pride that follows real advancement" (p. 47).

See also Black Power Movement; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Fortune, T. Thomas; Identity and Race in the Americas; Malcolm X; Moore, Richard Benjamin; Nation of Islam; Washington, Booker T.

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ROY E. FINKENBINE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Nanny of the Maroons

c. 1700
c. 1750

Nanny, a national heroine of Jamaica, was the leader of the Windward Maroons, ex-slaves living in interior communities in the eastern or windward area of Jamaica during colonial times. As such, her history is integrated with that of the Maroons, warriors fundamental to the history of resistance in the Caribbean. Next to the Guianas, Jamaica had the largest Maroon community in the British-colonized Caribbean, with Portland, St. Thomas-in-the-East, St. Mary, Trelawny, and St. Elizabeth being the parishes with the largest centers of Maroon settlement. *Marronage,* derived from *Maroons*, signifies flight to the forest or mountains (or by sea to other territories) and the formation of Maroon communities. The height of marronage activity came after 1655, when the English captured Jamaica from the Spaniards. Between 1655 and 1739, when the first Maroon War ended, Maroon Towns had been established firmly at Accompong (St. Elizabeth), Trelawny Town (the Leeward Maroons in the Cockpit country), Scott's Hall (St. Mary), and at Crawford Town, Nanny Town, and Moore Town in the Blue Mountain range of eastern Jamaica (the Windward Maroons).

Nanny has emerged as the most important female figure in the history of the liberation struggles in Jamaica. Her name (properly *Nanani*) was derived from the Akan (Ghanaian) word meaning "ancestress" and "mother," and this establishes her ethnic origin. It is widely believed that she was born in Africa in the late seventeenth century and was transported to Jamaica with captives via the transatlantic trade. There are differing views about whether or not she arrived in Jamaica as an enslaved woman or as a free black woman with enslaved people of her own. Some say she was married to Cudjoe, a Maroon leader, others to a man named Adou. Nanny's exploits in eastern Jamaica in the eighteenth century are both real and legendary, although, as a historical figure, she has more visibility than the majority of black women in pre-emancipation Jamaica. For some, she exists as a shadowy, mythical figure with supernatural powers; an Obeah woman (meaning she would have been a practitioner of the religious belief of African origin involving folk magic practiced in some parts of the Caribbean) whose pumpkin seeds, after only a few days of being planted, sprouted miraculously to feed her starving people, and whom bullets from British muskets could not harm, for she had the power to catch them in a certain part of her anatomy (following that genre of writing that represents female resisters as unsexed amazons).

But Maroon historiography details her real existence and contribution to Jamaican resistance history. She is credited, both in the oral and written history, with employing guerilla tactics—especially between 1724 and 1739—to help her people to defeat the British, uniting the Maroon communities in Jamaica, and negotiating land for her people as part of the 1739 treaty with the British. Her original base, Nanny Town, was destroyed by the British in 1734. Moore Town (or New Nanny Town) then became the primary town of the Windward Maroons. As a military leader, her historical presence predictably diminished in the post-treaty period. She is believed to have died around 1750.

See also Folklore: Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters; Maroon Wars; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean; Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean

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VERENE A. SHEPHERD (2005)

Narratives, Slave

See Slave Narratives

Nascimento, Abdias do

March 14, 1914

Abdias do Nascimento, who celebrated his ninetieth birthday on March 14, 2004, is considered one of the most important activists in the fight against racism in Brazil and in the Americas. Born in the city of Franca, in the interior of the state of São Paulo, he migrated to the city of São Paulo at the beginning of the 1930s and immediately began to participate in events organized by the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front), an activist group founded in 1931. In the same decade, he became an activist in the Integralist Party (a nationalist party accused of fascism, but which attracted thousands of black people and maintained an ideological dispute with the Communist Party). In his role as an Integralist, he worked together with Sebastião Rodrigues Alves, another black activist. At the beginning of the 1940s, after a long journey to the interior of Brazil and to part of Latin America, Nascimento created the Teatro Experimental do Negro (Experimental Black Theater) in 1944. An artistic, political, and cultural movement, the theater brought together important intellectuals and black artists on the Afro-Brazilian scene, people like Agnaldo Camargo, Edison Carneiro, Ironides Rodrigues, Ruth de Souza, Léa Garcia, and the sociologist Alberto Guerreiro Ramos. The artistic and political articulation of Nascimento's performances constantly denounced racism while offering debates and solutions.

During this period, Nascimento organized, with various other leaders, the Convenção Nacional do Negro (National Negro Convention), which took place in São Paulo in 1945, and in Rio de Janeiro the following year. He also played an important role in the work of the Brazilian Constituent Assembly of 1946, offering critiques and proposing methods to eradicate racism. In 1950 he convened the Congresso do Negro Brasileiro (Black Brazilian Congress) in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Persecuted by the military dictatorship that began in 1964, Nascimento decided to leave Brazil in 1968, a move that began his long history of international activity. Beyond participating in important congresses and meetings with black leaders in the Americas and Africa, he was active in various universities. He was the founding chair in African Culture in the New World at the Puerto Rican Studies and Research Center, State University of New York at Buffalo, where he worked as a lecturer at this university until 1981. He also lectured in the School of Dramatic Arts at Yale University and as a visiting professor at Temple University and at the University of Ifé, in Nigeria.

Since the 1940s, Nascimento has published various works (some of them translated), some of which he reedited for the collection *O Brasil na mira do Pan-Africanismo* (2002). In addition to being an author, poet, and playwright, Nascimento developed an international career as a plastic artist.

Nascimento participated in the Sixth Pan-African Congress held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1974. He participated in and helped organize the first Congress of Black Culture in the Americas, which took place in 1977 in Columbia, as well as the two succeeding congresses, the second in 1980 in Panama and the third in 1982 in Brazil.

After returning to Brazil in the 1980s, Nascimento resumed his political activism, serving as a federal deputy (1983–1986) and senator (1991, 1997–1999). In his parliamentary role, he emphasized legal projects for affirmative action and the fight against racial discrimination. Moreover, in 1992 he directed the office of the Secretary for the Defense and Promotion of Afro-Brazilian Populations, and in 1999 he directed the office of the Secretary of Human Rights and Citizenship, both in the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Nascimento received the title of Doutor Honoris Causa from the State University of Rio de Janeiro (1990) and from the Federal University of Bahia (2000). In 2004 he was awarded the UNESCO Toussaint Louverture Prize for his work against racism.

See also Frente Negra Brasileira; Politics; Racial Democracy in Brazil

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FLÁVIO GOMES (2005)

Nascimento, Edson Arantes do

See Pelé (Nascimento, Edson Arantes do)

Nash, Diane

May 15, 1938

Civil rights activist Diane Bevel Nash was born in Chicago. She was raised in a middle-class Roman Catholic household and attended Howard University in Washington, D.C. In 1959 she transferred to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, majoring in English. In Nashville she was confronted by rigid racial segregation for the first time in her life, and later that year she joined with other students from local colleges to organize protests against racism and segregation. She also began to attend nonviolence workshops led by James Lawson, a student of Mahatma Gandhi's theories of nonviolent resistance. Skeptical at first, Nash found the concept of moral resistance highly compatible with her strong religious beliefs and came to embrace nonviolence as a way of life.

Nash was elected chairperson of the Student Central Committee and was one of the key participants in sit-ins in local department stores in Nashville that began in February 1960. Nash's picture was printed in the local newspaper and she was often quoted as the spokesperson for the emerging student movement. She gained more celebrity when she confronted Nashville's mayor, Ben West, during a protest demonstration and forced him to admit that he felt local lunch counters should be desegregated.

In April 1960 Nash was one of the founding members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Raleigh, North Carolina. In February 1961 she and a group of ten other students were arrested in Rock Hill, South Carolina, for civil rights activities and refused the opportunity for bail. Their actions dramatized racial injustice, popularized the plight of African Americans in the South, and set a precedent of "jail, no bail" that was followed by many other activists during the civil rights movement.

In May 1961 SNCC activists recommenced Freedom Rides, after the violent southern white response to the initial Freedom Rides led the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to discontinue them. Leaving Fisk to devote herself full-time to the movement, Nash played a pivotal role as coordinator of the SNCC Freedom Rides, serving as liaison with governmental officials and the press. Later that year she was appointed head of direct action in SNCC, married James Bevel, a fellow civil rights activist, and moved to Jackson, Mississippi, where she continued her commitment to social activism. (She adopted her husband's last name as her middle name.) In August 1962 Nash and Bevel moved to Georgia and both became involved in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The couple proved to be a highly effective organizing team and played an integral role in organizing many SCLC campaigns including the 1964–1965 Selma voting rights campaign. In 1965 they were awarded the Rosa Parks Award from SCLC for their commitment to achieving social justice through nonviolent direct action.

Diane Nash's prominent role in the student sit-in movement made her one of the few well-known female activists of the civil rights movement. She has maintained an unwavering commitment to black empowerment and over the years has broadened the scope of her activism to include antiwar protest and issues of economic injustice. Now divorced, Nash has remained politically active in the 1980s and 1990s, living and teaching in Chicago, doing tenant organizing and advocating housing reform. In 2004 she and other sit-in leaders were invited back to Nashville for the dedication of the Civil Rights Room at the new Nashville Public Library.

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Nash, William Beverly

c. 1822
January 19, 1888

Virginia-born slave and later politician William Nash, commonly known as Beverly, was brought at age thirteen to Columbia, South Carolina. Little is known of his early life except that before the Civil War he worked at Hunt's Hotel in Columbia and apparently held many jobs there, including work as a bootblack, porter, and waiter. At the hotel he learned to read; through his master, local politician W. C. Preston, and the clientele of the hotel, he was exposed to politics. In addition, it is possible that Nash may have been able to earn enough from tips or from doing extra work for money to buy his freedom. In his hotel work Nash acquired a veneer of gentility and social grace that would be advantageous in his political career.

During Reconstruction Nash was a grocer and became active in the Republican Party. In 1865 he represented Columbia in the South Carolina all-black convention convened to overturn the repressive black codes. He gained statewide prominence in 1866 when he criticized the Freedmen's Bureau's policy toward inland South Carolina and its alleged favoritism of the coastal regions. In 1867 he gained his first official political appointment when he was named a magistrate for Columbia. Nash was also a delegate to the National Freedmen's Convention in 1867 in Washington, D.C., where he campaigned for a universal male suffrage plan without property or literacy qualifications. In 1868 he was elected to the state senate. To achieve a more equitable land distribution, he proposed that large plantations be taxed heavily, which would force landowners to sell property in parcels, thereby creating small farms that blacks and poor whites could afford. He also favored a law mandating schooling for all children. Essentially moderate in his policies, Nash opposed confiscation of the land of former Confederates, arguing that that power did not belong to the state.

Even though he was a Republican, Nash socialized and conducted business deals with prominent South Carolinians, many of them white Democrats. He made wide use of his contacts both in honorable and questionable transactions. In 1869 he and an associate bribed the land commissioner to resign so that an African American could take his post. Three years later, when railroad barons proposed that the state purchase a half-completed railroad, Nash accepted a $5,000 bribe in return for an affirmative vote in the South Carolina Senate. The following year, Nash and two friends bought a brickyard and Nash persuaded the state senate to buy bricks from the yard for a new penitentiary. In 1877, as Reconstruction was ending and southern blacks were forced from positions of power, insurgent white Democrats threatened to expose his role in government graft. Nash resigned his position, paying back the money he had misappropriated. He continued his business, particularly real estate, but never again held public office. He died in Columbia in 1888.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Politics in the United States

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

National Afro-American League/Afro-American Council

In 1887 *New York Age* editor T. Thomas Fortune wrote editorials calling for the formation of a National Afro-American League. He planned for the league to seek the elimination of disfranchisement, lynching, segregation on railroads and in public accommodations, and abuse of black prisoners. Although Fortune aimed most of his attacks at the segregated South, he also addressed discrimination in the North. He helped establish local league branches in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and California.

The first convention of the league as a national organization, consisting of local branches from the South as

well as the North, took place in Chicago in 1890. The convention, which consisted entirely of African-American delegates, adopted a constitution pledging to fight racial injustice by influencing popular opinion through the press and by obtaining favorable decisions from the courts. Although Fortune was temporary chairman of the convention, the delegates did not elect him president, in part because Fortune's distrust of political activity angered some delegates to the convention. Instead, the delegates chose North Carolina educator and clergyman Joseph C. Price as president and made Fortune the league's secretary.

The league was short-lived, however, because of the inability of local branches to support themselves financially. The second convention in Knoxville in 1891 attracted far fewer delegates than the first. Although this convention elevated Fortune to the presidency, he did not have the funds to pursue a test case against railroad segregation as he had planned. By 1893 Fortune was forced to admit the bankruptcy and imminent dissolution of the league.

Yet the persistence of lynching and disenfranchisement throughout the late 1890s gave impetus to a drive to restore the league. Fortune and Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church revived the organization as the Afro-American Council on September 15, 1898, in Rochester, New York. At the time of its founding the council was the largest organization of national African-American leaders in the nation. At the council's second meeting in December 1898, Bishop Walters became the council's first president, Fortune the first chairman. Walters attacked Booker T. Washington's accommodationist approach to race relations, while Fortune attacked President William McKinley for failing to publicly oppose racial violence. Despite Walters's attacks, Washington, who was extremely influential in the council, was able to have most of the important positions filled with his loyal followers. Fortune depended on Washington for political favors and the financing of the *New York Age*.

Washington did not openly oppose the council when it condemned segregation and lynching, and he joined the council in supporting President Theodore Roosevelt for being receptive to African-American concerns. Yet Washington did oppose other council proposals made under Walters's leadership; among these was an 1898 council motion that called for states that disfranchised blacks to have their congressional representation curtailed. Washington made efforts to have Walters replaced by Fortune as council president, and achieved this in 1902.

Fortune resigned from the council in 1904 in order to give more time and financial support to the *New York Age*. The council declined briefly as a result of Fortune's departure, but the next year Bishop Walters, with some support from Washington, revitalized the council as its new president. However, by 1907 Walters began to associate with members of W. E. B. Du Bois's Niagara Movement, and Washington withdrew his influence and support from the council. In 1908 Walters officially joined the Niagara Movement, and in 1909 he joined the fledgling National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). With Washington's abandonment of the council, the nervous collapse of Fortune in 1907, and the emerging alliance of Walters with Du Bois, the council became moribund by 1908.

See also Fortune, T. Thomas; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; Washington, Booker T.

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Since its organization in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has been the premier civil rights organization in the United States. It has been in the forefront of numerous successful campaigns on behalf of African-American rights, from the effort to suppress lynching to the long struggle to overturn legal segregation and the still-ongoing effort to secure the implementation of racial justice. The growth and evolution of the NAACP mirrors the growth of African-American political power and the vigorous debates this process engendered.

Founding and Early Days

The NAACP owes its origins to the coalescence of two political movements of the early twentieth century. The early years of the century saw the emergence of a group of black intellectuals opposed to the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington. While William Monroe Trotter was the first important figure to break with Washington, he was temperamentally unsuited to the uniting of political forces, and it was W. E. B. Du Bois who soon came to be the most prominent black figure among the anti-Bookerites, as Washington's opponents were called. At the same time there was a revival of political agitation by a small group of white "neo-abolitionists," many of them descended from those who had led the antebellum fight against slavery and who were increasingly distressed by the deterioration in the legal rights and social status of African Americans.

The Niagara Movement, formed by Du Bois, Trotter, and twenty-eight other African-American men at a conference on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls in August 1905, was the organized expression of anti-Bookerite sentiment. The movement was forthright in its opposition to Washingtonian accommodationism and in its commitment to civil equality. At a 1906 meeting of the organization at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the site of John Brown's Raid, the organization declared:

> We shall not be satisfied with less than full manhood rights . . . We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American — political, civil, and social — and until we get these rights, we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us.

Despite its oratory, the Niagara Movement was loosely organized and poorly funded and was largely ineffective as a national civil rights organization during its brief history. Weakened by internal controversy and hounded by members of Washington's extensive and effective network in the black community (the "Tuskegee Machine"), the Niagara Movement's existence was tentative and brief. After its dissolution, many of its active members joined the NAACP.

The catalyst for the founding of the NAACP was a violent race riot in 1908 in Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln's hometown. William English Walling (1877–1936), a white socialist and labor activist, graphically described the violence he had witnessed in an article in *The Independent*. Walling invoked the spirit of Lincoln and the abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy in a call for citizens to come to the assistance of blacks and to fight for racial equality.

Walling's article was read by Mary White Ovington (1865–1951), a white journalist and social worker from a well-to-do abolitionist family who worked and lived in a black tenement in New York, doing research for her landmark sociological work *Half a Man: The Status of the Negro in New York* (1911). She responded to his plea and invited Dr. Henry Moskowitz (1879-1936), a labor reformer and social worker among New York immigrants, to join her in meeting with Walling in his New York apartment to discuss the "Negro Question." The three were the principal founders of the NAACP. Two other members of the core group were Charles Edward Russell (1860-1941), another socialist whose father had been the abolitionist editor of a small newspaper in Iowa, and Oswald Garrison Villard (1872–1949), grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and publisher of the liberal *New York Evening Post* journal and later the *Nation*.

Ovington also invited two prominent black New York clergymen, Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, a former president of the National Afro-American Council, and the Rev. William Henry Brooks, minister of Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, to join the continuing discussions. The expanded group agreed to issue a call on February 12, 1909, for a conference in New York.

Written by Villard, the call reflected the Niagara Movement's platform and emphasized protection of the civil and political rights of African Americans guaranteed under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Of the sixty people signing the call, seven were black: Professor William L. Bulkley, a New York school principal; Du Bois; the Rev. Francis J. Grimké of Washington, D.C.; Mary Church Terrell of Washington, D.C.; Dr. J. Milton Waldron of Washington, D.C.; Bishop Walters; and Ida B. Wells-Barnett.

The founders' overriding concern was guaranteeing true equality to all citizens. They demanded all rights "which underlie our American institutions and are guaranteed by our Constitution"—legal, educational, and political—as well as an end to all forms of segregation and intimidation. The organization was founded as a small elite group that would rely primarily on agitation and legal battles rather than mass action against racial discrimination.

As a result of the call, the National Negro Conference met at the Charity Organization Hall in New York City on May 31 and June 1, 1909. The conference created the National Negro Committee (also known as the Committee of Forty on Permanent Organization and initially known as the National Committee for the Advancement of the Negro) to develop plans for an effective organization. The

committee's plans were implemented a year later at a second meeting in New York, when the organization's permanent name was adopted. The organization chose to include the phrase "colored people" in its title to emphasize the broad and anti-imperialist concerns of its founders, and not to limit the scope of the organization to the United States. The NAACP's structure and mission inspired the formation of several other civil rights groups, such as South Africa's African National Congress, formed in 1912.

The NAACP's organizers created a formal institutional structure headed by an executive committee composed largely of members of the Committee of Forty. While Du Bois and a handful of other black men, largely moderates, were included, black women—notably Ida B. Wells-Barnett—were excluded from the committee. Kathryn Johnson served as field secretary from 1910 through 1916 (on a volunteer basis for the first four years), becoming the first of many black women to serve in that position; but black women were not offered leadership roles in the NAACP for several decades. Moorfield Storey (1845–1929), a former secretary to antislavery senator Charles Sumner, and one of the country's foremost constitutional lawyers, was named the organization's president. In addition to Storey and Du Bois, the only black and only salaried staffer, its first officers were Walling, chairman; John E. Milholland, treasurer; Villard, assistant treasurer; and Ovington, secretary. In addition to their official positions, Villard and Ovington were the principal organizers, providing direction and ideas. Francis Blascoer served as national secretary (becoming the second salaried staffer) from February 1910 to March 1911, when Ovington resumed the position pro bono for a year. May Childs Nerney took over the position in 1912.

Soon after the 1910 conference, the NAACP established an office at 20 Vesey St. in New York City (it moved to its longtime home of 70 Fifth Ave. a few years later). In its first year, it launched programs to increase job opportunities for blacks, and to obtain greater protection for them in the South by crusading against lynching and other forms of violence.

The organization's most important act that year was hiring Du Bois as director of publications and research. Du Bois's visionary ideas and militant program were his primary contributions to the NAACP. His hiring signaled the final demise of the Niagara Movement; while Du Bois brought its central vision to the new organization, the NAACP had better funding and a much more well-defined structure and program than the Niagara Movement.

In November 1910, Du Bois launched *The Crisis* as the NAACP's official organ. *The Crisis* soon became the principal philosophical instrument of the black freedom struggle. From an initial publication of 1,000 copies in November 1910, the magazine's circulation increased to 100,000 a month in 1918. In its pages, Du Bois exposed and protested the scourge of racial oppression in order to educate both his black and white audiences on the nature of the struggle and to instill pride in his people. *The Crisis* was not only known for political articles; in its pages Du Bois introduced works by African-American writers, poets, and artists.

Following the report of a Committee on Program headed by Villard, the NAACP was incorporated in New York on June 20, 1911. The organizers invested overall control in a board of directors, which replaced the executive committee. Moorfield Storey remained as president, while Villard succeeded Walling as chairman of the board of directors. The chairman of the board, rather than the president, was designated the most powerful officer in the organization, because Storey had a highly successful practice in Boston and was unable to devote much attention to the NAACP.

The executive committee centralized control of the organization in a national body, to which memberships belonged; it decentralized other significant aspects of the organization's work through local groups called vigilance committees, which became its branches. To ensure that the movement spread as quickly as possible, the committee authorized mass meetings in Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo.

The first local NAACP branch was organized in New York in January 1911. Joel E. Spingarn, former chair of the department of comparative literature at Columbia University, became the branch's first president. His brother Arthur, a lawyer, also became active in the branch. The following year, branches were created in Boston, Baltimore, Detroit, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Quincy, Illinois. In 1913, other branch offices were created in Chicago, Kansas City, Tacoma, Washington, and Washington, D.C. Membership in the organization was contingent upon acceptance of NAACP philosophy and programs.

While the local branches were largely staffed by African Americans, the national NAACP was a largely white group during its early days. Whites had the financial resources to devote themselves to NAACP work; throughout the NAACP's early days, all of the board members contributed a considerable amount of time to the organization. Arthur Spingarn, for example, estimated that he devoted "half and probably more" of his time to the NAACP. Also, whites had the education, the administrative experience, and the access to money that were required to build the organization. For example, Villard initially provided office space for the NAACP in his *New York Post* building. He

also gave his personal funds to save the infant organization from imminent collapse. Joel Spingarn paid for his own travel from city to city, soliciting memberships and funds during what were called the New Abolition tours. While he did not make sizable personal contributions to the organization until 1919, Spingarn's knowledge of the management of stocks and bonds also enabled him to direct the organization's financial policies. Furthermore, he donated funds to establish the annual Spingarn Medal, first awarded in 1915, which rapidly became the most prestigious African-American award.

Despite essential contributions of white activists, blacks were increasingly uneasy about white control of an organization that was meant for African Americans. Those differences had surfaced at the founding conference, when Ida B. Wells-Barnett openly expressed concern over the leading roles that whites were playing in the movement. She and William Monroe Trotter shied away from involvement in the new organization because of its domination by whites. Black resentment about white control was manifested in the frequent clashes between Du Bois and Villard, two prickly and irreconcilable personalities.

Du Bois especially resented the intrusion of whites into the editorial affairs of *The Crisis*, which he maintained as an independent, self-supporting magazine. While it remained part of the NAACP, it had its own staff of eight to ten people (led by business manager Augustus Dill, one of the NAACP's few black staff members). Many whites, including Villard, felt that *The Crisis* did not report NAACP news sufficiently. They maintained that Du Bois's often acerbic denunciations of whites were inflammatory and said his editorial style was propagandistic and unbalanced, since he refused to cover negative topics, such as black crime.

In 1914, following clashes with Du Bois, Villard resigned as chairman of the board, and Joel Spingarn succeeded him. Even after Villard's departure, the issue of white control continued, and it caused considerable conflict between Du Bois and Spingarn, his long-time friend. Though, as Du Bois admitted, his haughty personality contributed to the problem, he also interpreted his role within a racial context and felt that he could not accept even the appearance of inferiority or subservience to whites without betraying the race ideals for which he stood. Spingarn felt strongly that Du Bois devoted too much time to lecturing and writing at the expense of association work, but he and Ovington sided with Du Bois in board matters. After Ovington, a long-time ally and supporter, became NAACP chair in 1919, she too became a severe critic of Du Bois's refusal to follow board policy, though she accepted his independence in management of *The Crisis*.

The problem of white domination led to frank discussion about whether whites should continue in top-level positions in the NAACP. While Du Bois challenged any sign of black subordination, he feared that whites would refuse to aid a black-dominated organization and that it would compromise the NAACP's integrationist program. Spingarn and Ovington both acknowledged the difficulties inherent in white leadership, but felt it was a necessary evil until blacks had sufficient resources to run organizations without assistance.

In 1916 Mae Nerney resigned her post as secretary. She recommended that the board choose a black person to succeed her, but the board chose a white man, Roy Nash. It could not, however, escape the pressure to hire another black executive, so it chose James Weldon Johnson, a writer for the *New York Age* and a highly respected man of letters, as field secretary later that year.

Several events in the NAACP's first years combined to define and unite the fledgling organization. The first was the NAACP's ten-year protest campaign for the withdrawal of the film *The Birth of a Nation*, beginning in 1915. The film, directed by D. W. Griffith, featured racist portrayals of blacks. The NAACP charged that the film "assassinated" the character of black Americans and undermined the very basis of the struggle for racial equality. The organization arranged pickets of movie theaters and lobbied local governments to ban showings of the film. The NAACP branches succeeded in leading thousands of blacks in protests and forced the withdrawal of the film from several cities and states. The struggle provided important evidence that African Americans would display opposition to racist images and actions.

Upon the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915, the NAACP reached another turning point. With the end of effective opposition by those who preferred accommodation with the South's Jim Crow policies, *The Crisis*, under Du Bois's leadership, became the leading principal instrument of black opinion. As leadership passed from Washington to the militant "race men" of the North, the NAACP fully established itself as the primary black organization. Consolidating the NAACP's power, in 1916 Du Bois initiated a conference of black leaders, including Washington's men, and their friends. This was the first Amenia conference, which was held at Joel Spingarn's Troutbeck estate at Amenia, north of New York City. The fifty or so participants adopted resolutions that were aimed at breaching the division between the Washington group and the NAACP. The conference participants endorsed all forms of education for African Americans — not just the type of industrial schooling that Washington had advocated; recognized complete political freedom as

essential for the development of blacks; agreed that organization and a practical working understanding among race leaders was necessary for development; urged that old controversies, suspicions, and factional alignments be eliminated; and suggested that there was a special need for understanding between leaders in the South and in the North. Du Bois reiterated the African-American demand for full equality and political power.

World War I and related events combined to set the NAACP on its primary mission, a two-pronged legal and political course against racial violence. During the war, Du Bois instituted a controversial policy of black support for American military efforts, with the goal of greater recognition for civil rights afterward. However, the migration of southern blacks to northern urban areas during and after the war led to racial tension, and the clash between increasingly assertive blacks, and whites who refused to countenance changes in the racial status quo, led to violent riots, particularly during the postwar Red Summer of 1919.

Security of person was the most pressing problem that blacks faced, since the taking of a person's life by mob action violated the most basic constitutional right. At first, the NAACP's primary strategy against lynching involved a publicity campaign backed by pamphlets, in-depth studies, and other educational activities to mobilize public support for ending the crime. From its earliest years, the NAACP devoted most of its resources to seeking an end to lynchings and other forms of mob violence; the organization's protest campaign after a lynching in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, in 1911 resulted in its first substantial publicity. In 1917 it led the celebrated silent protest parade of 15,000 people through Harlem with muffled drums to protest the violent riots that year against blacks in East St. Louis, Illinois, and discrimination in general.

The strengthening of the branch structure heightened NAACP influence. As field secretary, James Weldon Johnson was charged with organizing branches, which carried out most of the organization's protest activity. Johnson's most immediate challenge was to increase significantly the number of NAACP branches in the South, a mission that exposed him to the dangers of Jim Crow in the region. Johnson began by organizing a branch in Richmond, Virginia, in 1917. Initially, his progress was slow, but by the end of 1919, the NAACP had 310 branches, including 31 in the South. The Atlanta branch, founded in late 1916, had become one of the organization's strongest, with a membership of more than 1,000. The NAACP's total membership jumped from 9,282 in 1917 to 91,203 in 1919.

In 1921 Johnson became NAACP secretary, establishing the permanent line of blacks to hold the position. Johnson's assumption of this power reflected the clearer administrative lines that were developing within the NAACP, and signaled the rising influence of paid African-American staff members within the organization. Johnson's predecessor, John Shillady, hired in 1918, had served as the first professional secretary. Shillady assumed responsibility for fund-raising, coordinating the branches, and developing the strategy for implementing the organization's programs. Johnson worked even harder to further the organization's goals. The NAACP strengthened its executive staff in 1922 when it hired Herbert J. Seligman as its first full-time director of publicity. Johnson was succeeded as field secretary by Dr. William A. Pickens, who later served as director of branches until 1942.

The "New Negro" Era

Despite its promising beginnings, by 1919 it was clear that the NAACP's reliance on agitation and education had proved largely ineffective against racial violence. The most promising avenue of redress was by political challenge. Walter White, a young insurance salesman from Atlanta whom Johnson met during an organizing trip, and who joined the national staff in 1918, was named assistant secretary with responsibility for investigating lynchings. White's effectiveness with this mission—in part because as a very light-skinned African American he could blend into white mobs—won him national respect.

In 1919, the NAACP published its report *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918.* The book provided documentation for the campaign against the crime that White was leading. A resurgence of violence helped the NAACP to get the Republican party during the 1920 campaign to urge Congress "to consider the most effective means to end lynching." Two years later, through Johnson's extraordinary effort, the House passed an antilynching bill introduced by Congressman L. C. Dyer of Missouri, but Southerners in the Senate killed the Dyer Bill with a filibuster.

Even though Congress failed to pass antilynching legislation during the Coolidge and Hoover administrations, the Republican party's repeated pledge in 1924 to seek such a law was a strong indication that the NAACP's political emphasis held considerable promise. During the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt the NAACP continued pressing for the passage of antilynching laws in Congress. Two more bills were introduced in this period, but one died in the House of Representatives and the other in the Senate. Congress never passed an antilynching law, but the NAACP eventually helped end the crime through publicity.

Led by Du Bois, the NAACP continued to extend its influence abroad. In 1919, with NAACP support, Du Bois organized the first of a series of Pan-African Congresses in Paris, as the most effective means for demanding the removal of colonial shackles in Africa, India, the West Indies, and all other such territories. The following year, the NAACP expanded its international program by sending Johnson to Haiti to investigate the U.S. occupation of the country. After spending six weeks there, Johnson conducted an extensive campaign in the United States to get both the president and Congress to take action to protect the sovereignty of Haiti and the rights of its citizens. Although his effort was not immediately fruitful, Johnson brought to national attention the occupation and the discriminatory treatment of persons of African descent by American troops in Haiti.

Despite its preeminent position in the black community, the NAACP was not without its critics during the 1920s. Proponents of radical protest, such as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen of the journal *The Messenger* criticized the NAACP for excessive emphasis on legalism, claiming the organization should support self-defense efforts against racial violence. Furthermore, the NAACP engaged in a strong rivalry with Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association. Garvey scorned the NAACP's interracial, integrationist philosophy and its predominantly light-skinned, middle-class black leadership. The NAACP, meanwhile, opposed Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement as chauvinist and overly visionary and because it rejected integration and espoused separatism. Du Bois called Garvey "the most dangerous man in America," while Robert Bagnall, the NAACP's director of branches, said that Garvey was "insane" and collaborated with United States government officials in their successful attempt to deport Garvey.

Under James Weldon Johnson's leadership, the NAACP became a recognized power in the United States during the 1920s. In 1930 Johnson, who had taken a year's leave of absence to devote his time to creative writing, retired from the NAACP, and Walter White was appointed secretary. White, in turn, hired Roy Wilkins, a former managing editor of the *Kansas City Call*, as his assistant.

The NAACP began the 1930s with 325 branches, which were located in every state of the Union except Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Idaho, and North Dakota. The association's branch work was now directed by two field secretaries, Dr. William Pickens and Daisy E. Lampkin. The branches served as information bureaus for the national office and stimulated the cultural life of African Americans. In addition to the field staff, the national officers visited them regularly, led conferences, did intense organizational work, and solicited financial support as well as regular and life memberships. The broad organizational independence of the branches enabled them to put together actions, such as mass demonstrations, that differed strongly from national office policy.

The NAACP's influence was demonstrated by Walter White's successful campaign in 1930 to defeat President Herbert Hoover's nomination of Judge John J. Parker to the U.S. Supreme Court. Parker was from North Carolina and had previously, as a gubernatorial candidate, spoken against black suffrage. While he had opposition from labor unions and other groups, the NAACP was effective in forming coalitions and lobbying senators against Parker's confirmation. Parker's defeat, after a close vote, was a dramatic accomplishment for the NAACP, and widespread denunciation of the organization by white Southerners after the battle reinforced its stature as a formidable political force.

The NAACP Legal Campaign

Well before it had launched its political efforts, the NAACP had begun using the courts to improve the status of blacks. The scarcity of good black lawyers during the organization's early years made it crucial for whites to dedicate their services to the organization. The NAACP engaged lawyers to conduct its legal work as the need arose and when funds permitted. Because of this inability to fund a legal program, Arthur Spingarn and his law partner Charles H. Studin, along with Moorfield Storey, volunteered their legal services. Arthur Spingarn assumed leadership of this program in 1929.

The NAACP's first significant court action was the legal struggle to save the life of Pink Franklin, an illiterate farmhand in South Carolina, which led the NAACP to establish a legal redress department in 1910. Franklin had been sentenced to death for killing a law officer attempting to arrest him for leaving his employer after he had received advances on his wages. This case was noteworthy because it forced the U.S. Supreme Court, which for some time had been evading all questions relating to the citizenship rights of African Americans, to rule on whether serfdom could be legally established in the country. While the Court affirmed the decision of the lower courts, the NAACP got the South Carolina governor to commute Franklin's sentence to life imprisonment.

An important victory came in 1915, when Storey wrote an amicus curiae brief of the NAACP in *Guinn v. United States*, challenging the constitutionality of the Oklahoma "grandfather clause." The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the clause violated the Fifteenth Amendment,

giving the NAACP its first legal victory and incentive to seek further redress of civil rights cases.

Through the early part of the century, the NAACP won other significant cases. In 1917 the NAACP struck a strong, though not final, blow against residential segregation when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Buchanan v. Warley* that the Louisville, Kentucky, residential segregation ordinance was unconstitutional. The case resulted in the striking down of mandatory housing segregation in Norfolk, Baltimore, St. Louis, and other cities. In 1919, the NAACP conducted an investigation of the convictions of twelve black Elaine, Arkansas, farmers arrested during a riot in 1919 and sentenced to death, and took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court threw out the convictions in *Moore v. Dempsey* (1923), ruling that the trial had been dominated by a mob atmosphere. In 1935, in the Court's ruling in *Hollins v. Oklahoma*, the NAACP won the reversal of two death penalty convictions due to racial discrimination in jury selection.

Aside from opposition to lynching, the NAACP's primary fight in the 1920s continued to be against racial injustices in the courts, and it handled hundreds of civil rights cases. It considered its task of educating the public, both white and black, about racial wrongs to be an even greater challenge than resolving specific problems. Thus, it had two criteria for accepting a case: first, whether it involved discrimination and injustice based on race or color; second, whether it would establish a precedent for protecting the rights of African Americans as a group. The case of Dr. Ossian Sweet of Detroit met those criteria. In 1925, Sweet moved his family into a house he had purchased in a middle-class white neighborhood. The house was surrounded by a white mob. Sweet shot at the mob in self-defense, and killed one of its members. The NAACP hired Clarence Darrow, the greatest trial lawyer of the day, and he successfully defended Sweet.

One notable area of NAACP interest was the "White Primary," which effectively disfranchised southern blacks. In 1927, the Supreme Court declared in a unanimous decision in *Nixon v. Herndon* that a Texas state primary law that excluded blacks from voting was unconstitutional. Soon afterward, a special session of the Texas legislature passed a new statute authorizing the Democratic state committee to make its own decisions on the eligibility of voters in party primaries. The NAACP appealed, and in 1932 the Supreme Court ruled in *Nixon v. Condon* that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade such distinctions. (Despite NAACP efforts, however, in 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Grovey v. Townshend* that a party was a private body and could exclude blacks from primary elections; the white primary was finally struck down in 1944.)

Such victories led the NAACP to declare after 1932 that "for the present, the avenue of affirmation and defense of the Negro's fundamental rights in America lies through the courts." Those, of course, were the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts, which the NAACP regarded as bulwarks in this struggle, because at that level "the atmosphere of sectional prejudice is notably absent." Its legal victories, it concluded, were "clear-cut" and "matters of prominent record."

In 1929, Arthur Spingarn organized the NAACP legal committee, and served as its chair until 1939, when he succeeded his deceased brother Joel as president of the NAACP. The first members of the legal committee included the distinguished labor lawyer Clarence Darrow, Harvard law professor and future U.S. Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter; liberal Michigan governor and future U.S. Supreme Court justice Frank Murphy; and American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Arthur Garfield Hays.

Darrow and Hays represented the NAACP in the Sweet case, as well as the Scottsboro case, which involved nine young black men who were convicted of raping two white women on a train passing through Scottsboro, Alabama, in 1931. Eight of the Scottsboro defendants were sentenced to death. The NAACP, which lacked a regular legal department, was unable to move quickly into action, and the International Labor Defense, closely allied with the Communist Party, took control of the case. In 1933 the NAACP, spurred by black community criticism of its inaction on the famous case, formed the Scottsboro Defense Committee in an uneasy alliance with the International Labor Defense. After a series of protracted legal battles, the defendants' lives were saved. (The ILD abandoned the case after it lost publicity value. On November 29, 1976, the NAACP finally won freedom for Clarence Norris, the last of the Scottsboro nine, when the Alabama Board for Pardons and Paroles pardoned him.)

The NAACP in the Depression

The frustrations of the Scottsboro case were the beginning of a contentious and difficult period for the NAACP. The collapse of the national economy in 1929 brought disproportionate hardship to African Americans. Many blacks hailed the New Deal's programs for economic recovery in the hope that minimum wage, maximum working hours, and other such reforms would benefit blacks. However, early New Deal programs were unable to alter the low social and economic status of the African-American masses; in some cases these worsened their situation. Bitterly disappointed, many intellectuals were attracted by Marxism and other radical philosophies. The communist party and allied groups such as the League of Struggle for Negro

Rights presented themselves in black areas as rivals to the NAACP, whose reformist stance they sought to discredit as inadequate for addressing the economic injustice African Americans were suffering.

Similarly, the Great Depression brought sharp criticisms of the NAACP by a generation of younger intellectuals, and pressure on the organization to make radical shifts in its strategies and programs to meet the needs of impoverished blacks. One of the severest critics was Ralph Bunche, a political scientist at Howard University. Bunche maintained that the NAACP's program of political and civil liberties was doomed to failure unless there was an improvement in the economic condition of the black masses. Bunche was also uncomfortable with having whites in policy-making positions in the NAACP, maintaining that its interracial structure was "an undoubted source of organizational weakness." He felt that the "white sympathizers were in the main either cautious liberals or mawkish, missionary-minded sentimentalists on the race question."

Another important critic was Dr. Abram L. Harris, a Howard University economics professor and member of the NAACP board of directors. Harris insisted that the NAACP launch a more vigorous attack on fundamental economic problems and that the masses of African Americans organized in the local branches play a more significant role in the organization's work. He and Bunche advocated efforts by the NAACP to reach out to white labor unions and secure greater union affiliation for black workers.

The organization did respond to economic discrimination during the early 1930s. For example, in 1931, Helen Boardman, a white NAACP investigator, reported that the 30,000 blacks on the War Department's Mississippi Flood Control project were receiving 10 cents an hour for an 84-hour week. In 1933, Roy Wilkins and George S. Schuyler, a former Socialist and writer for the *Messenger*, disguised themselves as laborers in order to investigate the deplorable, peonage-like conditions under which blacks on the project were working. White officials discovered their identities, and both men barely escaped with their lives. The Wilkins and Schuyler investigations enabled the NAACP to get the Secretary of War to quadruple the hourly pay for unskilled laborers and shorten their work week to thirty hours.

Nevertheless, while the NAACP leaders did not share Bunche's view of the futility of legal efforts, some staffers, notably Du Bois, felt that the NAACP lacked a clear sense of direction. The criticisms convinced younger staffers such as Wilkins that "among the liberals and radicals, both Negro and white, the impression prevails that the Association is weak because it has no economic program and no economic philosophy."

In the face of the criticisms, in August 1933 the NAACP held a Second Amenia Conference. This time whites were barred from the assemblage on Joel Spingarn's estate. Among the delegates were several young leaders who would later achieve distinction. Notable were Bunche and Harris; sociologists E. Franklin Frazier and Ira De A. Reid; attorney Louis Redding; Sterling A. Brown, a literary critic and poet; and Juanita Jackson, who with her mother Lillie Mae Jackson in 1935 would begin leading the NAACP struggle to desegregate their home state of Maryland. The major emphasis at the conference was on economics and the need for power among blacks that could make the government more responsive to the demands of their community. The participants were upset by the national NAACP's reluctance to launch a mass movement, in contrast to the efforts of branches such as Baltimore.

There was general agreement on the need for the NAACP to develop the type of comprehensive economic program that the Amenia Conference delegates demanded. Not everyone within the organization, however, subscribed to the young activists' focus on race pride; neither did they initially support their call for greater solidarity between the black and white working class. Walter White, for one, had grave reservations about moving toward a more "mass-oriented" program and felt that many of his colleagues were being "stampeded by temporary or emotional situations and conditions." Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the conference and significant prodding by Joel Spingarn, the NAACP created a Committee on Future Plan and Program in 1935 to consider the concerns raised by the Amenia Conference. The members of the committee were Harris, chairman; Rachel Davis Du Bois; Dr. Louis T. Wright; James Weldon Johnson; Sterling Brown; and Mary White Ovington, who had resigned from the board in 1931 following disagreements with White. The committee reinforced the priority of economic concerns and urged solidarity between black and white workers. It forced the organization to declare that its interests were "inextricably intertwined with those of white workers." The importance of this emphasis was realized with the subsequent creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which, unlike the American Federation of Labor (AFL), opened its ranks to black workers, and which was closely allied with the NAACP.

White made some modifications in the NAACP's programs to accommodate the economic concerns and activism of the young militants in the late 1930s. For example, the NAACP was one of the twenty-four civil rights and religious organizations supporting the Joint Committee on

National Recovery, a Washington-based economic lobbying and information group founded by Robert C. Weaver and John P. Davis in 1935. Also, the NAACP negotiated with leaders of the CIO on behalf of black automobile workers in Detroit. However, White redoubled the organization's efforts in its traditional areas of education, agitation, and court litigation. More than ever, court action defined the NAACP's identity, while direct action was left to small groups such as the National Negro Congress and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942.

As disquieting as most of the criticisms from young radicals were for White, none created anything as near a schism as those offered by Du Bois. He too had grown impatient with the pace of the NAACP's achievements. Openly challenging White and the NAACP, he shifted from his long-held position of urging integration, because that was not achieving racial equality fast enough, and promoted independent black economic development. (One possible factor in Du Bois's 180-degree shift in position from emphasis on integration to tactical segregation was his deep, personal differences with White). Du Bois's stand made his departure from *The Crisis* and the NAACP board inevitable, and he resigned in 1934. Wilkins, in addition to being in charge of the organization's administration, succeeded him as editor of *The Crisis*.

Another significant development was the revamping of the NAACP hierarchy. More and more, the paid staff exercised control of the organization. In effect, White made the executive secretary the association's chief executive officer as well as its chief spokesperson. White was able to effect such changes because the bulk of the organization's strength and finances now came from its vastly expanded branch structure. Despite the severe hardships of the Depression, the branches in 1936 contributed $26,288 toward the total income of $47,724. Most of the remaining income came from contributions, as well as a life membership program that was created in 1927. This pattern of support had been established from around 1920. Between that year and 1931, the NAACP raised $545,407 in general funds, of which $374,896 came from the branches.

The board, as a result, underwent a shift in direction. In 1934, Dr. Louis T. Wright, a physician and Fellow in the American College of Surgeons, was elected as the first in the permanent line of blacks to be chair of the NAACP board. As Charles Hamilton Houston, who was chair of the board revision committee explained, among other things, the changes made the board more representative of the organization's membership. Previously, he said, board meetings were "in substance executive committee meetings." He added, "I favor calling a spade by its name. The board meetings would deal with policies rather than details." While whites remained on the board in diminishing numbers, by mid-1936 the NAACP's organizational revolution was so stark that the NAACP no longer depended on whites for administrative expertise or for the bulk of its fiscal support. Mary White Ovington complained that the board of directors had adopted "the rubber stamp attitude" in sanctioning the staff's actions. She was especially unhappy with Walter White, whom she lamented was virtually "the dictator" of the organization. She complained that the board's discussions had little effect on its actual programs and policies.

Throughout the late 1930s, much of the NAACP's activism was organized by individual branches. For example, in Baltimore, Boston, and elsewhere, NAACP Youth Council leaders formed "don't-buy-where-you-can't-work" boycotts and pickets to protest job discrimination in stores located in black communities. In New Orleans, the NAACP paid residents' poll taxes to fight voting restrictions. In Kansas City, an NAACP-led protest campaign desegregated municipal golf courses. In New York, NAACP officials joined a committee to improve conditions in Harlem after a riot broke out in 1935.

The national NAACP also engaged in several campaigns during the 1930s, lobbying Congress for antilynching legislation and struggling against discrimination in New Deal programs. One important NAACP action was its protest against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The organization collected donations for war relief, sent official protests to the League of Nations and U.S. State Department, and lobbied against pro-Italian amendments in the 1935 Neutrality Act. Another important struggle dealt with media stereotypes. NAACP representatives met with newspaper editors to persuade them to offer positive coverage of African Americans and to cease the practice of discussing the race of alleged criminals. The NAACP also launched a campaign to end stereotypes in Hollywood films and radio programs, notably the popular radio series *Amos 'n' Andy*, which the organization claimed presented demeaning stereotypes of blacks. NAACP lobbying helped secure the signing of black performers such as Lena Horne to film studio contracts.

The Legal Assault on Segregation

To end its dependence on volunteer lawyers, which had proved a large handicap in the Scottsboro case, as well as to wage an all-out fight against segregation, the NAACP in 1935 created its legal department. The creation of the NAACP legal department resulted from a comprehensive study of the association's legal program that Nathan Ross Margold, a white public service lawyer in New York, conducted in 1930 under a grant from the American Fund for

Paul Robeson joins NAACP picket line, Baltimore, Maryland. *Acclaimed actor and singer Robeson participates in an NAACP protest in front of Ford's Theatre, objecting to the theatre's policy of racial segregation. Pictured (left to right) are: Ada Jenkins, Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson (Robeson's accompanist), Dr. J. E. T. Camper, Paul Kaufman, Rhoda Peasom, and Dan Atwood.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Public Service (later the Garland Fund). Margold suggested that the NAACP "strike directly at the most prolific sources of discrimination" by boldly challenging "the constitutional validity of segregation if and when accompanied irremediably by discrimination." He recommended, furthermore, that the NAACP focus on the glaring disparities between white and black schools.

The NAACP hired Charles H. Houston, the highly respected dean of Howard University School of Law, as its first special counsel. Walter White was responsible for bringing Houston into the NAACP. White had become very impressed with Houston's brilliant defense in 1932 of George Crawford, an African American who was accused of murdering two white women in Virginia. Although a jury convicted Crawford and he was sentenced to life in prison, Houston saved him from the death penalty.

Houston diverged from the Margold report by attacking the unequal financial support of black schools in the South. His strategy was to force the states either to strengthen black institutions or to abandon them because it was too expensive to maintain the avowed "separate but equal" practice. In order to accumulate evidence of unequal funding, Houston and his protegé, Thurgood Marshall, toured the South, investigating conditions. Houston also laid the foundations of the NAACP's successful strate-

gy of sociological jurisprudence in the subsequent direct attack on segregation.

Houston's first line of attack was graduate and professional schools. He successfully tested this strategy in the Maryland Supreme Court case *Murray v. Maryland* in 1935, the first of a series of challenges that would lead to the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. Houston left the NAACP in 1938 to return to private law practice in Washington, and was succeeded by Marshall, a graduate of Howard University Law School who had been working with the Baltimore NAACP branch.

Continuing to attack racial inequalities in education, the NAACP filed its first teacher's discrimination pay case in behalf of William Gibbs against the Montgomery County Board of Education in Maryland. The county was paying Gibbs $612 a year, whereas a white school principal with comparable qualifications was receiving $1,475. In 1938 the court ordered the county to equalize teachers' salaries, setting a precedent for similar NAACP challenges in other parts of the country. The same year, the NAACP won in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said in the Supreme Court's majority opinion that Missouri's offer of tuition aid to Lloyd Gaines to attend an out-of-state university law school did not constitute equal treatment under the Constitution. In 1939, William H. Hastie, a black scholar and federal judge, succeeded Arthur Spingarn as chair of the NAACP Legal Committee. Soon after, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund was incorporated to receive tax deductible contributions for those areas of the NAACP's work that met the Internal Revenue Service's guidelines. The LDF, dubbed the "Inc. Fund" and headed by Thurgood Marshall, was tied to the parent NAACP by interlocking boards.

As in the earlier years, the NAACP's cases covered four major areas: disfranchisement, segregation ordinances, restrictive covenants and due process, and equal protection for blacks accused of crimes. Among the fundamental victories won before the Supreme Court were *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), in which the all-white Texas Democratic primary was declared unconstitutional; *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), in which it was declared that state laws requiring segregated travel could not be enforced in interstate travel; and *Shelley v. Kraemer* and *McGhee v. Sipes* (1948), in which it was declared that restrictive housing covenants could not be legally enforced. (Two other cases, *Hurd v. Hodge* and *Urciolo v. Hodge*, were argued with the Kraemer and McGhee cases.)

World War II and Postwar Periods

The NAACP's legal campaign during the 1940s was reinforced by its efforts at education and lobbying. During World War II, the NAACP made an enormous effort to secure equal treatment for blacks in the military and in war industries. For example, NAACP officials lobbied successfully for a Navy officer training program for African Americans, and investigated reports of discrimination against black GIs; Walter White personally conducted investigations of discrimination complaints in the European and Pacific theaters. White also championed A. Philip Randolph's 1941 March on Washington movement and was an adviser in the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). In 1942, NAACP investigators reported on living and working conditions in overcrowded cities, although they were largely ignored. After rioting broke out in Detroit and New York's Harlem in 1943, the NAACP backed interracial committee efforts. In 1944, the NAACP organized a Wartime Conference, in which it recorded its "special stake in the abolition of imperialism," due to the preponderance of people of color in colonized nations. With the aid of such staffers as Ella Baker, director of branches from 1943 through 1946, the NAACP grew from 355 branches and 50,556 members in 1940 to 1,073 branches and some 450,000 members by 1946.

After the end of the war, the NAACP redoubled its efforts to pass antilynching legislation. In the face of rising racial violence, such as an antiblack riot in Columbia, Tennessee, the NAACP called for federal civil rights protection. In 1946, Walter White organized a National Emergency Committee against Mob Violence, and met with President Harry Truman to demand action. In 1947, the NAACP provided financial and logistical support for CORE's Journey of Reconciliation, a series of interracial bus rides to challenge discrimination in interstate travel. Clarence Mitchell Jr., director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, led the fight for a permanent FEPC, which was realized in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

An important factor in NAACP progress was the unprecedented support for civil rights shown by President Harry Truman. In fall 1946, in response to demands from the NAACP for presidential leadership on civil rights, Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights and made Walter White a key adviser to it. The committee's 1947 Report To Secure These Rights further sharpened the focus of the struggle to destroy segregation and grant full equality to African Americans. It closely followed NAACP recommendations for government action against segregation. In 1947 Truman became the first pres-

ident to attend an NAACP convention when he addressed the organization's thirty-eighth annual convention in Washington.

In 1948, following NAACP pressure, President Truman issued an executive order barring segregation in the armed forces. The NAACP fought over the next years to implement the mandate. This fight was led by Thurgood Marshall, who conducted studies on the progress of military integration during the Korean War; and by Clarence Mitchell, who led the struggle in Washington to get President Eisenhower and the Defense Department to end all forms of segregation at military establishments in the United States and elsewhere.

During the late 1940s, the NAACP considerably strengthened its antidiscrimination programs and strategies. But with the rise of the Cold War and concerns over communism, the NAACP feared that it, too, would become a target for red baiting. To preserve its integrity, the NAACP adopted a strict anticommunist membership policy and avoided any association with the Communist Party. The NAACP, furthermore, strongly opposed loyalty probes among government workers, fully realized that such investigations would make African Americans scapegoats purely on the basis of race. The organization scored a significant victory in this struggle when Frank Barnes, president of the NAACP's Santa Monica branch, was reinstated in his post office job as a result of the NAACP's intensive campaign to clear his name of charges of disloyalty to the United States.

At the same time, the NAACP directed worldwide attention to the problem of colonialism by sending Walter White and W. E. B. Du Bois as its representatives in 1945 to the founding United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco. In 1947 Du Bois dramatically reinforced the NAACP's anticolonial program by presenting to the UN "An Appeal to the World," a 155-page petition composed of five chapters that linked the plight of Africans and other subjects of colonial imperialism with that of African Americans in the United States. The drafting committee of the UN Human Rights Commission debated the petition for two days at a meeting in Geneva.

In 1948 the NAACP continued to express its views on human rights, genocide, and colonialism at the Paris session of the UN General Assembly. That year, the NAACP welcomed the General Assembly's adoption of a Declaration of Human Rights and a Genocide Convention, and regretted that the colonial issue was not promptly settled. The NAACP won considerable support from other nongovernmental agencies for its demand that all colonial territories be placed under UN trusteeship and administered in a manner that would encourage development of indigenous populations. It strongly opposed attempts to return Somaliland and Eritrea, former colonies in Africa, to Italy or to turn them over to any other nation for administration.

Despite Du Bois's continuing contributions to the NAACP in raising world concern over the plight of the darker races in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, strong differences in 1948, caused by his inability to work with Walter White and resulting refusal to follow the organization's administrative procedures, led the NAACP board of directors to refuse to renew his contract. Thus, even though upon Du Bois's return in 1944 as director of special research he remained the symbol of NAACP history, he again left the organization in 1948.

In 1949, Roy Wilkins wrote an editorial in *The Crisis* strongly attacking black activist Paul Robeson, who was accused of pro-Soviet sentiments. In 1950, the NAACP organized a National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington to demand passage of civil rights laws. Led by Roy Wilkins, a group of 4,000 delegates representing 100 organizations met with Truman to enlist his support for the struggle in Congress. The mobilization, culminating a decade of NAACP efforts to get Congress to pass fair employment practice and other civil rights laws, signaled the birth of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR).

The core of the NAACP's struggle for the passage of antiviolence and other civil rights laws was waged through its Washington bureau, which was created in 1942, as well as its branches. In addition to being executive secretary, Walter White served as the bureau's first director from its creation until 1950, when he relinquished the position to Clarence Mitchell, who also served as legislative chair of the LCCR. Mitchell's function in developing the organization's political strategy and legislative program was similar to Thurgood Marshall's in the legal area. Both men served in positions that were a notch under the executive secretary.

The most important element in the civil rights struggle, nevertheless, was the NAACP's branches, which provided essential grassroots support and lobbying clout. In 1951, the association had 1,253 branches, youth councils, and college chapters, and a membership of 210,000 which for the first time since 1947 represented an encouraging increase. An indication of the NAACP's strength was that in 1950, for the first time in its history, it held its annual conference in the Deep South in Atlanta. There, 7,500 blacks and whites packed the municipal auditorium to hear Nobel Peace Prize laureate Ralph Bunche, the NAACP's onetime critic. Bunche, by then an NAACP

NAACP headquarters, Detroit, Michigan, c. 1950s. © CORBIS

board member, assailed the "tyranny of the segregation laws of the South" and the failure of Congress to pass civil rights legislation.

Since Southerners in Congress continued to block passage of civil rights laws, the best promise of success lay with the courts, as the NAACP had determined earlier. In 1950, the Supreme Court took decisive steps in two cases brought by the NAACP toward ending the "separate but equal" doctrine. In the first case, *Sweatt v. Painter*, the Court ruled that the separate black law school the state of Texas had established to accommodate Heman Sweatt was not and could not be equal to that provided for white students at the University of Texas. In the second case, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma*, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the University of Oklahoma could not segregate G. W. McLaurin within its graduate school once he had been admitted.

Encouraged by the decisions in *Sweatt v. Painter* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma*, the NAACP in 1951 launched a well-planned "Equality Under Law" campaign to overturn racial separation at its roots — in elementary and secondary schools. This drive was launched with the filing of lawsuits against school districts in Atlanta; Clarendon County, South Carolina; Topeka, Kansas; and Wilmington, Delaware.

In 1953, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, the newly elected chair of the NAACP board of directors, launched a "Fight for Freedom Fund" campaign and a goal of "Free by '63." This slogan was designed to mobilize all of the organization's resources for what the NAACP saw as the final phase of the struggle to eliminate all state-imposed discrimination in celebration of the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Reinforcing the climate of great anticipation within the civil rights community, President Eisenhower on May 10 addressed the NAACP's "Freedom

Fulfillment" conference in Washington. He pledged that wherever the federal authority extended he would do his utmost to bring about racial equality. With help from the fund-raising campaign, the NAACP's membership grew to 240,000 by 1954.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down its landmark ruling in the four school desegregation cases that the NAACP had initiated, plus another case challenging segregation in the District of Columbia. Reasserting the full meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court declared in *Brown v. Board of Education* that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Shortly thereafter, the NAACP won another historic victory, when the Department of Defense reported that as of August 31, 1954, there were "no longer any all-Negro units in the services."

Implementing *Brown*

Less than a year after he had led the celebrations of the school desegregation case victory, Walter White died. He had developed the organization that James Weldon Johnson had passed on to him into the most powerful vehicle of its kind for achieving racial equality. *Brown v. Board of Education* was his crowning achievement as much as it was Thurgood Marshall's. However, in his last years, White was an increasingly embattled figure. His flamboyant style and overinvolvement in outside activities had made him many enemies on the NAACP board, and many African Americans angrily criticized his marriage to a white woman in 1949. That year White took a leave of absence and, upon his return in 1950, the board sharply restricted his policy-making power.

White left a staff of experienced professionals in their prime of productivity; in addition to Wilkins, White had hired Clarence Mitchell as labor secretary, Gloster B. Current as director of branches in 1946, and Henry Lee Moon, a former newspaper reporter, as director of public relations in 1948.

Roy Wilkins, who was elected in April 1955 to succeed White as NAACP executive director, faced enormous challenges. Wilkins's first problem was pressing for the enforcement of the *Brown* decision and for passage of FEPC and other civil rights laws. NAACP lawyers participated in the formation of desegregation plans and monitored compliance with *Brown*. In 1956, under NAACP sponsorship, Autherine Lucy, an African American, won a court ruling admitting her to the University of Alabama. University officials expelled her, however, on the pretext of preventing violence. The NAACP also made its struggle for passage of civil rights laws in Congress a top priority.

At the same time, the organization was forced to expend effort combatting the onslaught that the South had unleashed on the organization. The NAACP's trail-blazing victories in the courts, especially the *Brown* decision, made it a main target of the South's campaign of "massive resistance."

The resurgent Ku Klux Klan figured strongly in the backlash of white violence, but it was not the only threat the NAACP faced from the South. Less than two months after the *Brown* decision was handed down, political leaders, businessmen, and the professional elite organized the White Citizens' Council in Mississippi. Overnight, councils sprang up in other states. Regarded as "manicured kluxism," the White Citizens' Councils used economic and political pressure to prevent implementation of the *Brown* decision. In March 1956, nearly all of the southerners in Congress showed their defiance of *Brown* by signing the "Southern Manifesto," which called the Supreme Court decision "illegal."

Prior to this period, Southerners had targeted individual blacks through lynchings and other forms of violence in their campaign of terror. Now the NAACP was attacked by these groups. On Christmas night of 1951, the home of Harry T. Moore, the NAACP's field secretary in Mims, Florida, was bombed. Moore died in the blast and his wife died a few days later from injuries she received that night. In 1955, NAACP officials the Rev. George W. Lee and Lamar Smith of Belzoni, Mississippi were shot to death, and Gus Courts, president of the Belzoni NAACP branch, was shot, wounded, and later forced to abandon his store and flee to Chicago.

The NAACP charged that racial violence was a manifestation of the broader pattern of opposition to civil rights and demanded that the Justice Department protect blacks in the state and elsewhere in the South. The Justice Department, however, responded that it lacked authority to prosecute suspected murderers and civil rights violaters in what it claimed were state jurisdictions.

Despite the violence, the NAACP continued to grow. The number of branches in Mississippi increased from ten to twenty-one during 1955, while membership jumped 100 percent. The NAACP took several steps to aid local blacks. In December, the NAACP board of directors voted to deposit $20,000 in the Tri-State Bank in Memphis in order to increase the bank's reserves and enable it to make more loans to embattled blacks. The board called for an investigation of the operation in Mississippi of the federal "surplus commodities" program, which provided food to the destitute, to see if it discriminated against blacks. National NAACP officials also pushed for a meeting with the Mississippi Power and Light Company to inquire about

cutoffs of power to businessmen active with the NAACP and overcharges for restoration.

In 1956, Louisiana led the South in a more deliberate assault on the NAACP when its attorney general demanded that the association's branches file their membership lists with the state. Because the NAACP refused to do so, the attorney general obtained an injunction barring the organization from operating in Louisiana. Alabama, Texas, and Georgia followed with similar punitive actions. In 1958, the Supreme Court (in *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson*) overturned Alabama's fine of $100,000 against the NAACP because it refused to disclose the names and addresses of its members. But the Court then did not lift the injunction that barred the NAACP from operating in Alabama. Furthermore, the supreme courts in Arkansas and Florida held that the High Court's ruling did not affect those states. Not until June 1, 1964, after four appeals, would the U.S. Supreme Court rule unanimously that the NAACP had a right to register in Alabama as a foreign corporation. The ruling, in effect, overturned similar bans against the NAACP in other southern states and paved the way for it to resume operations in Alabama on October 29.

On January 14, 1963, for the Supreme Court in another significant case (*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Button*) also overturned Virginia's antibarratry law, which was enacted in 1956, prohibiting the NAACP from sponsoring, financing, or providing legal counsel in suits challenging the validity of the state's segregation and other anti-civil rights laws.

One consequence of the southern crusade against the NAACP following the *Brown* decision was the splitting off of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a process that began in 1956 and ended in 1961. The split was caused by threats from the Southerners to rescind the LDF's tax-exempt status, and by personal differences within the NAACP. The LDF made the battle in the courts for school desegregation its main project, while the parent NAACP continued its strategy of legal and political action in numerous forms. Robert Carter, who was on the LDF's staff, was chosen as the NAACP's general counsel and he began setting up a new legal department. Carter led the NAACP's battle against the state injunctions.

The South's response to desegregation made the NAACP intensify its call for President Eisenhower to enforce *Brown*, and to provide the leadership which it regarded as essential for defeating the South's steadfast resistance to the passage of civil rights laws in Congress. NAACP leaders argued that the President's prestige could overwhelm the Southerners' use of committee chairmanships and the filibuster rule in the Senate to bottle up civil rights legislation. Eisenhower, a state's rights advocate, nevertheless supported the NAACP's demand that there should be no discrimination in federally funded programs and in the armed forces; but he was opposed to federal action to enforce *Brown*.

In 1956, responding to the NAACP's demands, election-year domestic considerations, and international pressure, Eisenhower called for civil rights legislation in his State of the Union address. The administration's package became the basis of debate in the bill H.R. 627. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson of Texas, who believed that passage of some civil rights legislation was inevitable, began maneuvering to shape a compromise on the bill that would blunt its strongest provisions and break the southern filibuster. The civil rights forces were therefore left with what was essentially a weak voting rights law. Still, the 1957 Civil Rights Act created a division of civil rights in the Justice Department and a bipartisan Civil Rights Commission. Furthermore, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first such bill passed by Congress in eighty-two years, broke the psychological barrier to civil rights measures, making it easier for future efforts to succeed.

The encouraging breakthrough of the passage of the Civil Rights Act was somewhat overshadowed that September by the Little Rock crisis, in which Governor Orval Faubus used the Arkansas National Guard to block implementation of a federal court desegregation order at Central High School. To uphold the Constitution and end rioting, President Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard and ordered 1,000 members of the 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock. His action enabled nine black children (the "Little Rock Nine") to attend the school.

The Civil Rights Movement

The NAACP launched its "Golden Anniversary" celebrations on February 12, 1959, with services at the Community Church of New York City. One of the most promising indications of the organization's future strength was the presence of 624 youths among the 2,000 delegates who packed the New York Coliseum during the annual convention, which concluded with a rally at the Polo Grounds. In December, the NAACP held its third annual Freedom Fund dinner in New York, where it honored Marian Anderson, the celebrated concert singer, and Gardner Cowles, publisher of *Look* magazine. The celebrations revealed the broad acceptance of the NAACP as an institution. However, its mastery was to be challenged in the 1960s by a new generation of more militant activists.

The first sign of the tensions the NAACP would face came in 1955 and 1956, when blacks in Alabama, led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., organized the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to lead the boycott against segregated city buses. Although the movement was sparked by NAACP legal victories against segregation and the principal leaders of the boycott were also local NAACP leaders, the strategy of nonviolent demonstrations that they adopted was a substantial departure from the association's well-defined legal and political program. Similarly, while NAACP lawyers successfully argued the U.S. Supreme Court case *Gayle v. Browder* (1956), which handed victory to the boycotters, the MIA displayed impatience with the NAACP's carefully structured programs and centralized direction.

Inspired by the tactics of nonviolent protest, NAACP Youth Council chapters in Wichita, Kansas, and Oklahoma City further successfully tested a new confrontation strategy in 1958 by staging "sit-downs" at lunch counters to protest segregation. The protests led to the desegregation of 60 or more lunch counters. In 1959, the NAACP chapter at Washington University in St. Louis conducted sit-ins to end segregation at local lunch counters. The same year, the NAACP hired former CORE activist James Farmer as program director, but he was unable to move the association toward support for mass demonstrations, and he returned to CORE as executive director after less than two years.

As important as the Youth Council demonstrations were, however, they did not capture national media attention because they were not conducted in parts of the United States where racial tensions were highest. On February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College sat at a segregated store lunch counter in Greensboro and refused to leave until they were served. Two of the students, Ezell Blair and Joseph McNeil, were former officers of the NAACP's college chapter. The NAACP was heavily involved — the sit-in was conducted in consultation with Dr. George Simpkins, president of the Greensboro NAACP branch, and Ralph Jones, president of the branch's executive committee. The Greensboro actions set the stage for the sit-in movement, which spread like brush fire through the South.

The NAACP declared that it was proud that many of its youth members, from Virginia to Texas, were participating in the sit-ins. NAACP branch officials, notably Mississippi field secretary Medgar Evers, coordinated protest campaigns. Nevertheless, the students' confrontations with Jim Crow was an expression of impatience with the NAACP's carefully executed legal and political programs. There was a dramatic clash of strategies, with the NAACP adhering firmly to its philosophy of change through court action and legislation, while King and the students marched under the banner of nonviolent direct action and local change. (The problems of strategy and organizational discipline merged as early as 1959, when Roy Wilkins suspended Robert Williams, president of the NAACP's Monroe, North Carolina, branch, for advocating that the NAACP meet "violence with violence.") Despite the ideological clash and the intense competition for financial contributions, media attention, and historical recognition, the young activists' strategy complemented the NAACP's. The NAACP provided large sums for bail money and legal support for the demonstrators and joined more militant movement groups in local alliances, such as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), which sponsored voter registration and other activities in Mississippi.

Despite the media attention that the demonstrations in the South drew, by 1962 the NAACP's 388,347 members in 46 states and the District of Columbia helped it to remain the leader in civil rights. That growth was especially significant, given that repeated court injunctions, state administrative regulations, punitive legislation, and other intimidating actions prevented many people from working with the NAACP in the South. The restrictions on the NAACP opened a window of opportunity for action by groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC; organized with the aid of NAACP veteran Ella Baker), as well as NAACP spinoffs such as the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

Meanwhile, the NAACP's board was undergoing a change. Robert C. Weaver, an economist and national housing expert, was elected chair in 1960. Weaver resigned in 1961 when President John F. Kennedy appointed him administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Financing Administration. He was succeeded by Bishop Stephen Gil Spottswood of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

The NAACP's most outstanding contribution to the civil rights movement continued to be its legal and lobbying efforts. In 1958, the NAACP forced the University of Florida to desegregate. A similar lawsuit was pending against the University of Georgia when it desegregated in 1961. In 1962, the NAACP led the battle to desegregate the University of Mississippi. The effort was directed by Constance Baker Motley of the LDF staff. Nevertheless, the fact that the parent NAACP featured the struggle in its 1962 annual report showed the extent to which the battle to enroll James H. Meredith in the university was also its own. After Mississippi governor Ross Barnett defied a federal court order, President Kennedy was forced to send in fed-

eral troops to quell a riot and assure Meredith's admittance.

The NAACP used the President's pleas for compliance, as well as the South's brutal opposition to the nonviolent demonstrations, to reinforce its struggle in Washington for passage of a meaningful civil rights law. Following the breakthrough in 1957, the NAACP had gotten Congress to pass the 1960 Civil Rights Act. That, however, was only a weak voting rights amendment to the 1957 act. Kennedy, insisting that comprehensive civil rights legislation would not pass, refused to send any to Congress. In February 1963, Kennedy submitted a weak civil rights bill. Mobilizing a historic coalition through the LCCR, the NAACP began an all-out struggle for passage of the bill as well as the strengthening of its provisions. NAACP pickets in Lawrence, Kansas, New York City, Newark, and Philadelphia helped highlight the struggle for such provisions as a national fair employment practice law.

Events in 1963 reshaped the civil rights bill and the struggle. The demonstrations in Birmingham that King led during the spring provoked national outrage. On June 11th, in response to the demonstrations, President Kennedy delivered a televised civil rights address. The following night, Medgar Evers was assassinated in Jackson, Mississippi. On June 19, the day Evers was buried at Arlington Cemetery, Kennedy sent Congress a revised civil rights bill that was much stronger than the one he had submitted in February.

The climactic event of 1963 was the March On Washington for Jobs and Freedom (MOW). A. Philip Randolph had initiated the call for a march in January. The NAACP, nevertheless, led in organizing it and saw to it that the march, held on August 28 at the Lincoln Memorial, broadened its focus to include the legislative struggle. From a strategic point of view, Clarence Mitchell and the NAACP Washington bureau regarded the legislative conference it held with NAACP branch leaders earlier in August as more meaningful to the struggle in Congress than the MOW had been. Both, nevertheless, served the intended purpose.

Following the assassination of President Kennedy in November 1963, Lyndon Johnson vowed to ensure passage of his predecessor's civil rights bill and provided the leadership that the NAACP had demanded from the executive branch. In the final, crucial phase of the struggle in the Senate, Johnson orchestrated the coordinated leadership of Majority Leader Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Minority Leader Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.). Debate on the 1964 civil rights bill, H.R. 7152, began in earnest on March 10 and lasted until June 10, when the civil rights forces were finally able to break the filibuster.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was an immense victory for the NAACP. Following its passage, the NAACP began work on legislation to protect the right to vote. Following the Selma-to-Montgomery march, led by King, to protest the continuing disfranchisement of blacks in the South, the national climate was favorable to such a bill, and the NAACP was again left to direct the struggle in Congress for passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This struggle was much less dramatic than that of 1964, perhaps because many expected its passage. Even so, as in 1957, the NAACP was hard-pressed to ward off attempts to weaken the bill. Its success in this battle was evident by the strong law that Congress passed.

Following passage of the civil rights laws, the NAACP switched its attention to enforcement, particularly in the areas of public school desegregation, employment, and housing. It also sought and won passage of strengthening provisions, such as amendments to the equal employment opportunity title of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It won the first extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in 1970 with a provision extending protection for the right to vote, as well as subsequent ones. The programs remained centered in large part on the activities of the branches and its labor, education, and housing departments.

Despite the NAACP's crucial contribution to legislation which ended state-sponsored racial discrimination, the organization, with its interracial structure and integrationist philosophy, was scorned by increasing numbers of young blacks during the late 1960s as old-fashioned and overly cautious. The cycle of urban racial violence during the 1960s displayed the limits of the NAACP's program in appealing to frustrated urban blacks. President Johnson appointed Roy Wilkins a member of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and the commission's well-known 1968 report reflected fully the NAACP's concerns.

Despite the radical criticism of the NAACP's program, the vitality of the organization's legal strategy was manifest by its success in passing legislation despite the embittered climate for black rights. While the NAACP shared credit with the other civil rights organizations for passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, there can be no doubt about its central role in 1968, when the Fair Housing Act was passed. Fearing the failure of a legislative struggle for fair housing legislation, many black leaders asked President Johnson to issue instead a comprehensive executive order barring discrimination in government-sponsored housing programs and federally insured mortgages. Johnson, however, did not want to deal with the problem piecemeal, and the NAACP supported him. The wisdom of that decision was evident on April 11, when President Johnson signed the 1968 Fair Housing Act, although its final version was somewhat

weaker than the NAACP had originally intended. The final days of this struggle were overshadowed by the assassination of Dr. King in Memphis on April 4. The following day, at a meeting of civil rights leaders at the White House, the NAACP agreed to a suggestion that Congress be urged to pass the fair housing bill as a tribute to the slain leader.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the NAACP faced new and sometimes more difficult challenges than in the past. These problems now resulted from systemic or endemic discrimination, which were more difficult to identify than state-imposed segregation and required the development of new strategies to correct. One of the organization's most important functions became the designing and implementing of affirmative action and minority hiring programs with government and private business. This struggle was led by Nathaniel R. Jones, who replaced Robert Carter as the NAACP's general counsel in 1969. (Jones served in this position for ten years, before leaving to become a judge on the United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, in Cincinnati.) The NAACP brought suits or sent amicus curiae briefs in many notable affirmative action cases during the 1960s and 1970s. For example, in 1969 the NAACP brought *Head v. Timken Roller Bearing Co., of Columbus, Ohio*, a landmark antidiscrimination lawsuit. In 1976, it won a consent decree, with a settlement by which twenty-five black workers were awarded back pay and won expanded promotional opportunities into previously all-white craft jobs. As a result of another lawsuit, filed against the Indiana State Police Department, twenty black troopers were hired, bringing the number on the thousand-man force to twenty-three.

Another aspect of the NAACP's legal struggle was the campaign against the death penalty. This struggle was led primarily by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which monitored death penalty cases and compiled statistics demonstrating racial disproportions in death penalty sentencing outcomes. As a result, in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972), the U.S. Supreme Court temporarily struck down the death penalty.

Among the NAACP's other achievements was a continuation of the thirty-eight-year-old struggle to defeat unfavorable nominees to the Supreme Court. The NAACP scored a double victory against the nomination in 1969 of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth of South Carolina and in 1970 of Judge G. Harrold Carswell of Florida as Supreme Court justices. The NAACP opposed them because of their records on racial issues. The NAACP would continue to be influential in the confirmation process — for example, in 1987 the organization led the successful opposition to the Supreme Court appointment of Robert Bork and in 1990 helped defeat the confirmation of William Lucas, an African-American conservative, as assistant attorney for civil rights.

Still another focus of NAACP efforts was its ongoing campaign against media stereotypes. NAACP pressure had succeeded in removing *Amos 'n' Andy* from network first-run television in the early 1950s; in the 1960s, NAACP pressure was partly responsible for the creation of the TV series *Julia*, the first series with a positive African-American leading character. In the 1980s, the NAACP organized protests of Steven Spielberg's film *The Color Purple* owing to its white director and negative portrayal of black men.

The Search for New Direction

By the mid-1970s, the NAACP once again was forced into a period of transition. Henry Lee Moon retired in 1974. In 1976 Roy Wilkins retired as NAACP executive director. He had devoted forty-five years to the struggle and fulfilled most of his goals. In 1978 Clarence Mitchell also retired. Meanwhile, as a sign of the growing influence of women in the organization and the civil rights movement, in 1975 Margaret Bush Wilson, a St. Louis lawyer, was elected to chair the NAACP board of directors. Twenty years later, Myrlie Evers, the widow of Medgar Evers, was elected as its chair, and Hazel Dukes was named president of the powerful New York state chapter.

Along with the problems connected with the change in administration, the NAACP faced grave financial problems and some opposition to its program among blacks, who continued to criticize the NAACP as irrelevant to black needs. This opposition was an important challenge facing Benjamin L. Hooks, a minister, lawyer, and member of the Federal Communications Commission, when he became executive director of the association in January 1977. Hooks assumed command of the NAACP at a time when it was not only struggling to devise an effective strategy for new civil rights challenges but battling for its very existence.

In 1976, two adverse judgments in lawsuits against the NAACP in Mississippi had presented it with the worst crisis in its lifetime: A court awarded Robert Moody, a state highway patrolman, $250,000 as a result of a lawsuit charging libel and slander that he had filed against the NAACP. Local NAACP officials and its state field director had charged Moody with police brutality because he had allegedly beaten a black man while arresting him on a reckless driving charge. To protect its assets, the NAACP had to borrow money to post the required $262,000 bond, though it eventually won reversal of the judgment in appeals.

Then, the Hinds County chancery court in Jackson, Mississippi, handed down a $1.25 million judgment against the NAACP as a result of a lawsuit that local businessmen had filed against the organization following a boycott of their stores. Under Mississippi law, in order to forestall the seizure of its assets pending an appeal, the NAACP had to post a cash bond amounting to 125 percent of the judgment, which was $1,563,374. The U.S. Supreme Court reversed the judgment in 1982. However, the experience was sobering.

The NAACP was disconcerted by the Supreme Court ruling in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* in 1978. The Court ruled five to four that Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act barred a university medical school's special admissions program for blacks and ordered a white applicant's admission. Although another bare majority ruled that race was a constitutionally valid criterion for admission programs, the Court had increased the difficulty of developing specific programs to meet constitutional tests.

The election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, at a time when the NAACP was still groping for effective programs to meet new challenges, was an even more ominous development. The Reagan administration all but destroyed the effectiveness of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, and the Equal Employment Commission. In 1984, Benjamin Hooks led a 125,000-person March on Washington to protest the "legal lynching" of civil rights by the Reagan administration.

Questions concerning Hooks's leadership gained national attention in 1983 when Board Chair Margaret Wilson unilaterally suspended him. Outraged that Wilson had reprimanded Hooks without its approval, the board replaced her with Kelly Alexander Sr., a North Carolina mortician. Following Alexander's death in 1986, the board elected Dr. William F. Gibson, a South Carolina dentist, as chairman. In order to oust Gibson, who was bitterly criticized for his leadership of the NAACP, Myrlie Evers led one of the fiercest internal battles in the organization's history.

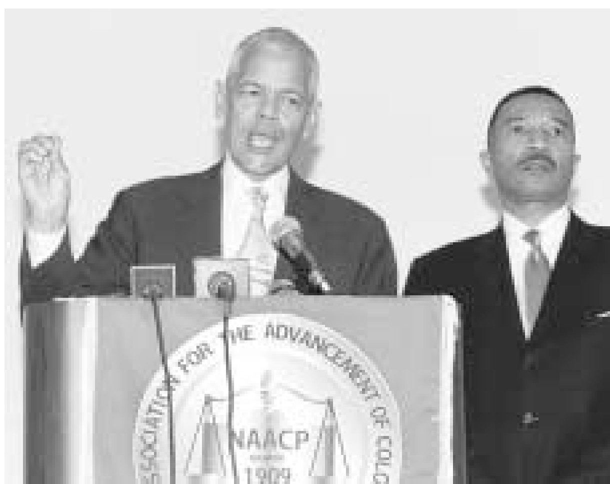
Despite those setbacks, Hooks led the NAACP in winning several promising agreements from corporations, such as $1 billion from the American Gas Association, to provide jobs and other economic opportunities for blacks under a fair share program he inaugurated. In 1986, Hooks relocated the NAACP's national headquarters to Baltimore. Among his other accomplishments was the ACT-SO (Afro-Academic Cultural Technological Scientific Olympics) program he created to promote academic experience among minority youth through local, regional, and national competition. His goal was to seek proficiency in all academic areas, but with a special emphasis in the arts and humanities and the applied, technical, and social sciences. Hooks also continued the NAACP's political action programs with a special emphasis on voter registration.

In April 1993, Hooks retired as NAACP executive director. The board of directors had considerable difficulty deciding on a successor. Candidates included the Rev. Jesse Jackson. The board finally selected the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., an official of the United Church of Christ in Cleveland, who had once served more than four years in prison after being wrongly convicted on charges of conspiracy and arson for setting fire to a grocery store in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1972. Chavis, much younger than his predecessor, was chosen in an attempt to revitalize the NAACP by attracting new sources of funding and reaching out to young African Americans. Chavis also called for the NAACP to expand its efforts to serve other minority interests.

Chavis's short tenure proved extremely controversial. In accord with his policy of attracting young African Americans, he shifted NAACP policy in a nationalistic direction and embraced black separatists, whom the NAACP had previously denounced. Chavis succeeded in increasing youth interest in the NAACP and was praised for his meetings with gang leaders, but he was widely criticized for inviting black radicals such as Nation of Islam chair Louis Farrakhan to a black leadership conference, and for refusing to disassociate himself from the Nation's anti-Semitic policies. The NAACP's membership dropped significantly as a result.

Chavis also met with opposition to his administrative policies. NAACP board members were angered by his unauthorized policy statements, such as his approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Furthermore, Chavis was blamed for running up the organization's deficit, already swelled by declining memberships, to $1.2 million through staff salary increases. When in the summer of 1994 it was disclosed that Chavis had used organization money in an out-of-court settlement of a sexual harassment suit filed by a female staffer, there began to be calls for his resignation. On August 20, 1994, in a meeting of the board of directors, Chavis was removed as executive director.

The schism over Chavis's policies provided a forum for fundamental disagreements between blacks over the role of civil rights organizations. With full legal equality substantially achieved, the NAACP continued to face questions regarding the best use of its leadership and the appropriate strategy to employ in attacking the problems of African Americans.



NAACP Chairman Julian Bond (l) and CEO Kweisi Mfume, 2002. © REUTERS/CORBIS

The NAACP spent most of the following years attempting to assess its role. In February 1995, NAACP Board Chair William Gibson was forced to resign, and Myrlie Evers-Williams, widow of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, was named to the position. Under Evers-Williams's supervision, the organization restructured its finances and reaffirmed its intergrationist mission. In December 1995, Representative Kweisi Mfume announced that he would leave Congress to take over the daily operation of the NAACP. Under Mfume's leadership, the organization erased its fiscal deficit and renewed its activism on many fronts, including human rights, environmental racism, and justice for African Americans. In February 1998, Evers-Williams resigned and civil rights veteran Julian Bond became chair of the board. Bond spoke forcefully of the need for the NAACP to renew its focus on encouraging blacks to gain power through voting, and the NAACP took credit for the increase in the black vote in the 1998 congressional elections.

Bond has continued as chair of the NAACP into the twenty-first century, although the organization has once again come under attack, this time for remarks made by Bond during his keynote address at the NAACP's July 11, 2004 convention in Philadelphia in which he criticized both political parties and also challenged President George W. Bush's policies on the war in Iraq, civil liberties, the economy, and education. This has led to an investigation by the IRS into a possible violation of the NAACP's tax-exempt status, which bars nonpartisan, nonprofit groups from improper political bias and campaign intervention. If the government rules that the NAACP is too partisan to be considered a legitimate nonprofit, the IRS could then revoke the group's tax-exempt status.

The NAACP underwent another change in leadership with the resignation of President and CEO Kweisi Mfume in January 2005. Mfume cited a desire to spend more time with his family as his reason for stepping down. He later announced his intention to run for the U.S. Senate (for Maryland) in 2006. During his nine-year tenure, Mfume succeeded in retiring the organization's debt and put a focus on increasing the participation of a younger generation of African Americans, including increasing the number of NAACP college campus branches to more than 140. However, his detractors point out that he did little to draw attention to health, education, and criminal justice issues in the black community. Membership is also stagnant at an estimated 500,000, although the NAACP is working to increase its overall membership by 20 percent in the coming years. Dennis Courtland Hayes served as General Counsel in charge of the NAACP's legal program to eliminate racial discrimination and was the interim President and CEO until June 2005. While the NAACP's focus remains on civil rights enforcement, voter and economic empowerment, educational excellence, and youth recruitment, members also hope that new leadership with come up with a clear and inclusive message for the black community and promote grassroot efforts that will connect both locally and nationally. In June 2005 Bruce S. Gordon was named as the new president and CEO of the NAACP.

See also Bagnall, Robert; Bunche, Ralph; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); *Crisis, The*; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Great Depression and the New Deal; Johnson, James Weldon; Lynching; *Messenger, The*; National Negro Congress; Niagara Movement; Politics in the United States; Randolph, Asa Philip; Riots and Popular Protests; Scottsboro Case; Socialism; Spingarn Medal; Trotter, William Monroe; Universal Negro Improvement Association; Washington, Booker T.; White, Walter Francis; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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DENTON L. WATSON (1996)
CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

National Association of Colored Women

Predating the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was the first national black organization in the United States and has proved to be one of the longest lasting. Founded in 1896, NACW's roots lay in decades of local political activity by African-American women. This activity often took the form of women's clubs and was the result of heightened racism, a need for social services within the black community, and the exclusionary policies of many white-run organizations.

The local clubs and reform efforts of black women in churches, mutual aid societies, and literary clubs were part of a larger reform effort during the late nineteenth century. Little state assistance was available for the needy. Clubwomen provided aid to the aged, young, and other dependents, strengthened racial solidarity, and developed leadership. These local efforts, which were usually short-lived and unconnected, became the basis of a national coalition.

A series of events facilitated the emergence of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1895 a national convention of black women was called to respond to a racist letter sent by James Jacks, a southern journalist, to a British reformer. Jacks wrote that blacks lacked morality and that black women were prostitutes, natural liars, and thieves. Because of the local clubs and women's magazines that were in existence, in particular *The Woman's Era,* a national black women's journal, African-American women were able to respond quickly and effectively to the slanderous letter.

The 1895 convention led to the formation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women. Shortly thereafter the National League of Colored Women broke from the federation because of differences about how to deal with segregation at the Atlanta Exposition. But because of concerns about the lack of unity, the two organizations merged in 1896 to form the National Association of Colored Women. Committed to social reform and racial betterment, the NACW achieved its greatest growth from the 1890s to the 1920s. Shortly after it was founded, the NACW had five thousand members. Twenty years later, it had fifty thousand members in twenty-eight federations and over a thousand clubs. By 1924 it had reached 100,000 members.

The NACW was involved in a variety of projects to address problems of health, housing, education, and working conditions and to create a social space for black women. It was the primary organization through which African-American women channeled their reform efforts. Embodied in their slogan "Lifting as we Climb" was a commitment not only to improve their own situation but to aid the less fortunate. They built schools, ran orphanages, founded homes for the aged, set up kindergarten programs, and formed agencies in New York and Philadelphia to help female migrants from the South find jobs and affordable housing. Black women who formed the backbone of the NACW were primarily middle class and often professional women involved in teaching or other social service occupations. Their local activities were the seeds for multiservice centers that combined the many goals of the NACW reform efforts. They provided material assistance through day care, health services, and job training to help women secure jobs.

While the movement comprised many local groups with differing philosophies, the national agenda was dominated by women less interested in confrontation than in accommodation. In the early years the NACW journal, *National Notes,* was printed at Tuskegee Institute under the direction of Margaret Murray Washington. The first president of the NACW, Mary Church Terrell, was also a supporter of Booker T. Washington and accommodationist policies. At the request of organizers in Chicago, Terrell chose not to invite outspoken anti-accommodationist Ida B. Wells-Barnett to the first NACW meeting.

The political orientation of women in the NACW was also evident in the programs and policies of the organization. Black clubwomen adhered to middle-class values of self-improvement and moral purity. As Terrell expressed in 1902, "Self-preservation demands that [black women] go among the lowly, illiterate, and even vicious, to whom they are bound by ties of race and sex . . . to reclaim them." They taught thrift through penny-saving societies and supported the temperance movement. Some of their old-age homes accepted only the respectable poor and elderly, not those who were indigent because of what the NACW considered laziness or immorality. They conducted classes in domestic service and child rearing to teach the poor proper health and hygiene, how to maintain a household, and techniques to raise their children. They maintained that women could play an important role in reforming society by using their virtuous qualities and superior moral sensibilities to create a safe and comfortable home. Women in the NACW wanted to instill racial pride in African Americans and counter negative images of black women. They believed their commitment to racial solidar-

First Congress of Negro Women, 1895. *The convention pictured here led to the formation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women and a splinter group, the National League of Colored Women. The two organizations merged in 1896 to form the National Association of Colored Women.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ity and helping the poorest African Americans would improve the position of the entire race.

Although immersed in social reform and racial uplift efforts, the NACW also took strong stands against the roots of racial injustice. In the early years black clubwomen opposed segregation and the brutal convict-lease system. *National Notes* became a tool to discuss ideas and disseminate information. By 1910 they had expanded their goals to include the women's suffrage amendment and the federal antilynching bill and had also come to believe that to effect change, more than simply exposure of the brutalities that African Americans faced was necessary. After the Red Summer of 1919, the NACW, under the leadership of Mary Talbert, joined the crusade against lynching and mobilized black women, raised money, and educated the public. While never a militant organization, the NACW made verbal protests against racial injustice and advocated boycotts of segregated facilities. It was successful in creating a national political voice for African-American women. As the organization expanded its agenda, its overwhelming influence by northeastern urban women was tempered by greater involvement of women from the South.

During the Great Depression, the stature and importance of the NACW began to decline, and for a time the organization met only periodically. Many of the welfare and social services NACW provided were available through better-funded local, state, and private agencies created expressly for this purpose. In addition, obvious dire need for direct material assistance during the 1930s made the self-help and moral uplift ideology of the NACW somewhat anachronistic. These issues, coupled with a declining membership and financial insecurity, made the NACW a less effective organization.

In 1935 Mary McLeod Bethune, who served as president of NACW from 1924 to 1928, formed the National Council of Negro Women, which acted as an umbrella for black women's organizations. This led to a redefinition of NACW, which was no longer the only national black women's organization. In 1957 NACW changed its name to the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC). In the early 1990s the NACWC had close to forty thousand members in fifteen hundred local clubs. Today it is primarily involved in educational, social service, and fund-raising activities. The NACWC sponsors forums on HIV infection, provides college scholarships for young black women, and raises money for children's hos-

pitals. Despite the ebbs and flows in its work, the NACWC has admirably endured over a century of service and commitment to African-American women.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Council of Negro Women; Red Summer; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

National Association of Negro Musicians

The National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) was established in Chicago on July 29, 1919. The foundation was laid for this event nearly three months earlier in Washington, D.C., at a meeting inspired by an idea first voiced in 1906 by Harriet G. Marshall, founder of the Washington Conservatory of Music and School of Expression. Designated as the Temporary Organization of Musicians and Artists, the Washington meeting was held under the leadership of public school teacher Henry L. Grant. Officers were elected and a July meeting in Chicago with other interested musicians was planned. These officers—Henry L. Grant (Washington, D.C.), president; Nora D. Holt (Chicago), vice president; Alice Carter Simmons (Tuskegee, Alabama), secretary; Fred ("Deacon") Johnson (New York)—were installed at the Chicago meeting, which was the first NANM convention.

Parallel efforts by other nationally recognized musicians were associated with NANM's founding, including attempts by composers Clarence Cameron White in 1916 and R. Nathaniel Dett in 1918, to initiate a national meeting and vigorous promotion of the idea by music critic Holt in *Chicago Defender* newspaper columns.

NANM's purpose as stated by Holt (1974, pp. 234–235) was that of "furthering and coordinating the musical forces of the Negro race for the promotion of economic, educational, and fraternal betterment." To that end NANM sponsored young music students in recital, gave scholarships, attempted to gather information regarding the employment status of the black music teacher, encouraged performance of works by black composers, and promoted concerts by its members. The membership, composed mainly of public-school and private-studio music teachers, representatives from conservatories, concert artists, and students, participated in the local branches of their home cities and also enjoyed much-needed opportunities for fellowship in the annual conventions held in a different city each year.

The annual conventions offered an abundance of music, including performances by eminent musicians, workshops, lectures, and clinics as well as unusual events, such as the presentation of *Aida* by the National Negro Opera Company in 1941 at Pittsburgh in a fully staged production prior to the official opening of the company, and the presentation of Scott Joplin's opera *Treemonisha* in 1979 at St. Louis under the direction of Kenneth Billups, choral director and college and public-school music teacher.

Scholarship winners frequently achieved national and international prominence as did Marian Anderson, the first scholarship recipient (1921), composer and pianist Margaret Bonds, composer Julia Perry, mezzo-soprano Grace Bumbry, conductor James Frazier, and concert pianists Leon Bates and Awadagin Pratt.

While NANM at first promoted classical music and musicians almost exclusively, the focus broadened around 1940 to include gospel, jazz, and the blues. NANM honored established musicians in various areas of performance such as Harriet Gibbs Marshall, R. Augustus Lawson (pianist), Lulu V. Childers (founder, School of Music at Howard University), Thomas Dorsey (gospel music composer and performer), Duke Ellington (jazz musician), and Jessye Norman (soprano). The organization was the first of its kind in the United States and continues to function in the twenty-first century.

See also Joplin, Scott; Music in the United States; Professional Organizations

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DORIS EVANS MCGINTY (1996)
Updated bibliography

National Bankers Association

The National Bankers Association (NBA) was created in 1927 in response to discriminatory practices of the American Bankers Association (ABA), which would not accept African Americans into membership. In 1926 R. R. Wright of Citizens Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia and C. C. Spaulding of Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, met with representatives of nineteen black-owned and -operated banks and savings-and-loan institutions. The group met at Pythias Hall in Philadelphia and discussed the need to form an organization to serve the common needs of black bankers.

In 1927 the group met in Durham to form the National Negro Bankers Association. The principal purposes of the NBA were to develop programs designed to strengthen the existing member banks, increase their number, and increase their economic impact on their communities. Over the years, the NBA has become more aligned with the "mainstream" banking system, including the change to its current name in 1948. Beginning in the 1960s NBA member banks were encouraged to become ABA members as well.

During this period the NBA also began to consult with various local, state, and federal officials. They sought financial assistance because of their relatively weak position in the banking world, and in 1968 the NBA was awarded a grant from the Economic Development Administration. Despite its financial difficulties, the NBA has continued to survive and to maintain its commitment to aid in the expansion of capital and management resources in the African-American community, as well as to provide assistance to other minority and women-owned financial institutions.

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)

National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., founded on September 24, 1895, constitutes the largest body of organized African-American Christians in the world. With over 7.5 million members, this influential body's roots go deep into the early religious and cooperative efforts of free blacks and slaves in antebellum America.

As early as 1834, African Americans in Ohio organized the Providence Baptist Association to strengthen the work of local Baptist churches. The formation of this association established a trend for other local churches, resulting in the organization of other associations, state conventions, regional conventions, and national bodies. The first significant trend toward a national body was the organization in 1894 of the Tripartite Union, consisting of the New England Baptist Foreign Missionary Convention, the African Foreign Mission Convention, and the Foreign Mission Convention of America. Although this Tripartite Union attempt failed by 1895, the spirit of national cooperation eventually prevailed.

In 1895, Reverends S. E. Griggs, L. M. Luke, and A. W. Pegues, former leaders of the Tripartite Union movement, led another attempt at national unity among African-American Baptists. They successfully encouraged the Foreign Mission Convention, the National Baptist Educational Convention, and the American National Baptist Convention to merge into the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.

The purpose of the newly formed national convention was multipartite. The former work of the National Baptist Educational Convention was increased through the new convention's aggressive involvement in the education of the race. Local churches were encouraged to increase their support of secondary schools and colleges throughout the southern region of the United States. Internationally, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. advanced foreign missionary projects in Africa, Central America, and the West Indies. Schools, churches, and medical institutions were expanded in various mission stations on these foreign fields. A large number of the leaders among Africans on the developing continent, as well as Africans of the diaspora, were trained by these institutions.

In order to facilitate practical operations in the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., the leadership was careful to develop comprehensive plans for a viable structure. The basic strategy was to organize the work of the conven-

tion through specialized boards. The leadership organized a Foreign Mission Board, Home Mission Board, Educational Board, Baptist Young People's Union, and Publishing Board. These were designed to carry out the mandates of the convention as articulated by Reverend Elias Camp Morris, the organization's first president. The pattern of specialized boards was continued by the subsequent leadership of the convention, but it proved problematic in practice.

Problem areas developed within two of the strongest boards, Foreign Mission and Publishing. By 1897 there was enough internal disturbance in the convention to threaten the unity of the denomination. When the annual session was convened at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Boston, a group of ministers of national prominence led a debate over several key emotion-laden issues, namely: (1) the advisability of moving the Foreign Mission Board from Richmond to Louisville; (2) the use of American Baptist literature and cooperation with white Baptists in general; and (3) a greater emphasis on foreign missions as a primary policy of the convention. The leadership was not able to resolve these points, especially the last. Consequently, several clergymen from Virginia and North Carolina who were in favor of stronger foreign missions issued a call to like-minded ministers to meet at Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., on December 11, 1897, for the purpose of developing a new convention strategy. Out of this movement emerged the Lott Carey Baptist Home and Foreign Mission Convention, specializing in foreign missions.

The second problem area was the Publishing Board. The National Baptist Publishing Board, under the leadership of Reverends Henry Allen Boyd and C. H. Clark, was given the exclusive right to publish all church and Sunday-school literature for local Baptist churches. With a significant increase in its financial holdings, the National Baptist Publishing Board tended to act independently of the general leadership of the convention. This resulted in a split within the leadership and the formation of the National Baptist Convention of America in 1915.

The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., emerged from these splits, however, as the majority convention among African-American Baptists. Its scheme of organizational structure through major boards remained intact. Morris, the national president, was careful to require responsibility and accountability from the specialized boards' leadership. This policy facilitated unity within the convention until the middle of the twentieth century.

In 1956, a serious debate erupted over the question of tenure. Reverend Joseph H. Jackson, president of the convention, had risen to a position of such power and prestige that a majority of the convention's leaders and delegates desired the continuation of his leadership beyond the tenure limits of the constitution. Tensions increased, resulting in a strong challenge to Jackson's leadership by a group favoring the election of Reverend Gardner C. Taylor of Brooklyn to the presidency. The 1961 presidential election became a crisis that resulted in a civil court battle between Jackson and "the Taylor team." Jackson's position was confirmed by the court.

The Jackson victory did not calm the troubled waters, however. On September 11, 1961, a national call was issued for the organization of the Progressive National Baptist Convention. The rationale for creating a new convention was a protest against Jackson's policy of "gradualism" in civil rights issues, as well as a demonstration of support for Taylor's election bid for the presidency. Moreover, the new convention rallied to give stronger support to the civil rights movement under the leadership of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The National Baptist Convention remained the largest convention of African-American Baptists. But the advance of the civil rights movement and the growth in power and influence of Martin Luther King Jr. seriously challenged the moral and racial leadership of the majority convention. This trend continued until King's assassination and the rise of the Reverend T. J. Jemison to the presidency of the convention. The new president, a veteran civil rights leader, made efforts to restore the convention to its previous leadership role.

In 1994, Dr. Henry Lyons was elected president of the convention. In 1999, however, Lyons was convicted of racketeering and stealing more than $4 million from the convention. In September of that year, the Reverend William Shaw succeeded Lyons as president.

See also Baptists; Griggs, Sutton Elbert; Jackson, Joseph Harrison; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Primitive Baptists

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LEROY FITTS (1996)
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National Black Evangelical Association

Founded in 1963 as the National Negro Evangelical Association, the National Black Evangelical Association (NBEA) functions as an umbrella association of individuals, organizations, and churches. A theologically conservative organization, the NBEA is of the same theological genus as the larger, modern, white American fundamentalist movement. This modern American fundamentalist movement had its beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the fundamentalist-versus-modernist religious controversy. The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), founded in 1942 as an outgrowth of this controversy, brought together evangelicals from a variety of theological positions, including fundamentalist, dispensational, Calvinist, Reformed, covenantal, Pentecostal, and charismatic. These all hold in common the belief in the historic "fundamentals" of the Protestant tradition: the Reformation and Arminian doctrine of complete reliability and final authority of the Bible in matters of faith and practice; the real, historical character of God's saving work recorded in Scripture; personal eternal salvation only through belief in Jesus Christ; evidence of a spiritually transformed life; and the importance of sharing this belief and experience with others through evangelism and mission works.

In the early twentieth century, a distinct group of Christians within the African-American community aligned themselves with the fundamentalist movement and developed separately from traditional African-American churches. Traditional African-American churches, some of whose history dated back to the seventeenth century, emphasized moral and social reform in the areas of personal piety, slavery, and discrimination. They generally saw themselves as "Bible believers." Black fundamentalists, on the other hand, placed more emphasis on conservative, propositional, and doctrinal aspects of faith. The black fundamentalists charged that African-American churches were one of two types: poor congregations, who were "otherworldly" and emotionally focused in worship; or middle-class congregations, who were theological liberals and embraced modern science. This history caused some strains between these two movements. Some black evangelicals characterized the historic black church as "apostate and un-Biblical," and some in mainline black churches labeled black evangelicals as doctrinaire and schismatic "fanatics." This history led to the presence of African Americans in white fundamentalist and evangelical bible schools and seminaries in the late 1940s and 1950s. Black alumni from these institutions helped to develop the NBEA.

At the time of its founding, the NBEA did not view itself as racially separatist but as an association focused on developing African-American leadership to minister with clear evangelical emphasis to the black community. During this early stage many black evangelicals were also frustrated with the white evangelical movement. This tension focused on what blacks perceived as white evangelicals' indifference to and lack of sympathy for the evangelistic needs of the African-American community. This frustration eventually led some black evangelicals to charge their white counterparts with a spiritual "benign neglect." Eventually the charge of neglect evolved into a stronger allegation of racism. From the beginning its social-action commission raised social issues within the NBEA, yet major social concerns were not in the forefront of its work. Instead the NBEA concentrated on strategies for effectively communicating its particular brand of evangelicalism within the African-American community.

Like all social movements, black evangelicalism has not always been unified in its efforts. The movement could not avoid confronting the civil rights and Black Power movements and their attendant black theology movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The challenges of these new movements, with their emphasis on social justice and self-determination, created anxiety, ambivalence, and dissension within the black evangelical movement. These rifts became evident in several of the annual NBEA conventions.

The civil rights movement forced black evangelicals, in several NBEA conferences between 1968 and 1970, to look at the issues of social justice and racial discrimination and their relationship to presenting the gospel. The conservatives in the movement felt that their first priority was the promulgation of personal salvation rather than attacking social injustice. If society were to be changed, it would be through the changing of human hearts rather than through altering the individual person's social condition. The activists within the black evangelical movement argued that social action and the verbal proclamation of the gospel were equal tasks in evangelical missions. The whole truth of the gospel could be received only when the social concerns of the individual were met.

The Black Power movement challenged the black evangelical movement with issues of self-determination. This was reflected in several NBEA conferences from 1970 through 1975. Activist black evangelicals, drawing from Black Power advocates, believed that white evangelicals

were too paternalistic in their support and that blacks were too dependent upon whites. The activists argued that African Americans should develop institutions and support within their own communities. They were not completely opposed to white support, however. Whites could contribute to the cause but without any conditions attached. The conservative wing countered that this stance smacked of divisiveness within the body of Christ. They argued for a more conciliatory role with their white evangelical counterparts, emphasizing Christian reconciliation. This debate forced the movement to look anew at its historical links to the black church as a source of strength and self-determination. These discussions led to another major debate within the black evangelical movement revolving around the role of black theology and African-American culture in the movement as interpretative tools.

Black theology as a movement and the challenge of African-American history and culture were the catalysts of a major debate within the black evangelical movement. This rift surfaced in several of the NBEA conferences in the late 1970s. Some within the black evangelical movement, such as William Bentley and Columbus Salley, closely followed the writings of black theologians. They disagreed with some black theologians' liberal assumptions regarding biblical authority. Yet these activist black evangelicals agreed with black theologians' interpretative critique of both the liberal and conservative European and white American theologians' claim of universality and, therefore, repudiated the appropriateness and normativeness of white theology in all situations. To these black critics, all theology was culturally bound and, therefore, culturally specific. Theology, then, had to be culturally relevant, and this was especially so for the African-American community. The conservatives countered that what was at stake in the activists' critique of conservative white theology was the very essence of the theological foundation of this movement. They felt that the use of black theology, with its liberal theological foundation, compromised too much. It contradicted the very basis of their faith. The conservatives also feared that the activists placed too much emphasis on the importance of black culture at the expense of the gospel message.

These issues drove the NBEA to examine the historic role of the black church as an institution and its relationship to social issues. This was evident in the 1990 convention in which the delegates discussed the viability of dropping the term *evangelical* because it conjured images of political conservatism, which, some felt, further alienated the movement from the historic African-American church.

The NBEA's numerical strength is unknown, but its leadership estimates its mailing list at five thousand, with a larger black-evangelical constituency of between thirty thousand and forty thousand. Its annual convention draws several hundred participants, and smaller numbers participate in the meetings sponsored by local chapters. The NBEA has been an arena in which the differing factions of the black evangelical movement have been able to dialog, to discuss disagreements, and to reach compromise. It has been a delicate balancing act over the years. It remains to be seen whether the movement, and especially the NBEA as an organization, can continue to hold its various camps under its umbrella and simultaneously continue to stretch the canvas to include and win favor with the historic black church community as well.

See also Theology, Black

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ALBERT G. MILLER (1996)

National Black Political Convention of 1972

See Gary Convention

National Council of Negro Women

The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) has been among the most influential African-American women's organizations of the twentieth century, particularly under the guidance of its founder, Mary McLeod Bethune, and its later president Dorothy Height. Bethune seized on the idea of an umbrella organization to bring together the skills and experience of black women in a variety of organizations. This national council would provide leadership and guidance to make African-American women's voices heard in every arena of social and political life. When Bethune began to pursue this goal in 1929, she met with some resistance from the leadership of other national organizations, particularly the National Association of Colored Women. But she was successful in convincing the skeptics that a National Council of Negro Women would respect the achievements and strengths of other groups and streamline the cooperative operations of black women's organizations rather than supersede existing groups.

The NCNW was founded in New York City on December 5, 1935, after five years of planning. The true signs of Bethune's diplomatic ability were the presence at the founding meeting of representatives of twenty-nine organizations and the election of such important figures as Mary Church Terrell and Charlotte Hawkins Brown to leadership positions. Bethune was elected president by a unanimous vote. The effectiveness of the council and its leadership was immediately apparent. One of its areas of greatest success was labor issues. With Bethune's influence in the federal government, the NCNW, in conjunction with other organizations, pressed for federal jobs for African Americans and was one of the forces behind the founding of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Under Bethune's leadership the NCNW also established an important journal, the *Aframerican Woman's Journal,* which in 1949 became *Women United*. The council expressed an interest in international affairs, supporting the founding of the United Nations. From its founding, the United Nations has had an NCNW official observer at its proceedings.

Bethune retired from the presidency of the NCNW in 1949 and was succeeded by Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, the grandniece of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and former NCNW treasurer. During Ferebee's tenure, the council continued to press the issues with which it had always been concerned—civil rights, education, jobs, and health care, among others. However, the organization experienced a crisis as it moved beyond merely defining goals and issues toward providing more tangible services to its constituency. This issue carried over to the term of its third president, Vivian Carter Mason, elected in 1953. During her four years in office, Mason employed administrative skills to improve the operation of the national headquarters and to forge closer ties between the local and national councils. Under Mason the NCNW continued to develop as a force in the struggle for civil rights. Just as Bethune led the organization to fight for the integration of the military, Mason fought for swift implementation of school desegregation.

In 1957 the NCNW elected Dorothy I. Height to be the organization's fourth president. Height came to her work at the council with experience on the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association, eight years as president of Delta Sigma Theta, and involvement in a host of organizations and institutions. Height set out to place the NCNW on firm financial ground through gaining tax-exempt status (accomplished in 1966) and through grants from foundations. She was successful in garnering support from the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to expand the scope of the NCNW's work.

Among Height's other major accomplishments as president was the construction of the Bethune Memorial Statue, unveiled in Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., in 1974. The memorial pays tribute to the contributions of an extraordinary woman. The NCNW continued its commitment to preserve the history of black women through the founding of the National Archives for Black Women's History. Although the council desired such an institution from its founding, the archives did not become a reality until 1979. This collection preserves the papers of the NCNW, the National Committee on Household Employment, and the National Association of Fashion and Accessory Designers. The personal papers of a number of women are also housed there. Through this collection and through conferences sponsored by the archives, the NCNW has become an important force in preserving the records and achievements of black women in the twentieth century.

The list of organizations affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women is long and varied, reflecting the council's commitment to building bridges to create a united voice for black women. Affiliated groups include ten national sororities, the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., the Auxiliary of the National Medical Association, women's missionary societies of the National Baptist Convention and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Trade

Union Women of African Heritage. The NCNW has also developed an international component to its work. In addition to maintaining a presence at the United Nations, it has worked with women in Africa (in Togo and Senegal, for example) and other areas of the diaspora, such as Cuba.

The NCNW has been successful in creating a national organization through which African-American women can address the issues facing them and their families. It has enabled black women from a variety of backgrounds to design and implement programs and develop themselves as community leaders. The longevity and effectiveness of the council are the result of the willingness of its leadership to change and to shape programs and methods to the emerging needs of African-American communities.

See also Brown, Charlotte Hawkins; National Association of Colored Women; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)

National Federation of Afro-American Women

Established in 1895 in Boston, the National Federation of Afro-American Women (NFAAW) was one of the first organizations created to represent African-American women on a national scale. Founded during the First National Conference of Colored Women of America, its mandate was to improve the image of black women by uplifting the race through middle-class domestic values. During its one year of existence, the federation included 104 delegates representing fifty-four women's clubs from fourteen states.

Several events crystallized the need for black women's groups to join together as a national entity in the early 1890s. The Women's Pavilion at the Columbian Exposition (1893) denied the participation of black women's organizations. The incident galvanized black women's groups in Washington D.C., New York, Boston, and Chicago and showed them they could no longer afford to limit their activism to the local arena.

The final catalyst toward unification was a letter written by James Jacks, president of the Missouri Press Association, to Florence Balgarnie, secretary of England's Anti-Lynching Society, in which Jacks attacked black women, claiming they were immoral, sexually promiscuous, and likely to be liars and thieves. Balgarnie sent the letter to Joseph Ruffin, founder of Boston's Women's Era Club, and Ruffin had it published in their journal, *Women's Era*. Women from all over the country met at the First National Conference of Colored Women of America in Boston (1895) to discuss the letter and other issues facing women, such as education, employment, and child rearing. While they stressed that white women could join their organization, they were less eager to admit lower-class blacks and centered their agenda around middle-class concerns.

At the close of the conference, the women voted to create a new, permanent national organization called the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which would try to change the image of the black woman, raise the moral standard of the lower class, and cultivate black middle-class women's domestic skills.

The National Federation of Afro-American Women coexisted with another organization, the National League of Colored Women, but both groups became convinced that to be effective they needed to come together in one organization. In 1896 the National Association of Colored Women was organized in an attempt to overcome the factionalism that had limited black women's political effectiveness throughout the 1890s. The merger spelled the dissolution of the National Federation of Afro-American Women after one year of existence.

See also Black Women's Club Movement

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MARIAN AGUIAR (1996)

National Hospital Association

The National Hospital Association (NHA) was established in August 1923 by the National Medical Association at its annual meeting in St. Louis. The parent body founded this new auxiliary organization to coordinate and guide its efforts in African-American hospital reform. The NHA's specific goals included the standardization of black hospitals and of the curricula at black nurse-training schools, the establishment of additional black hospitals, and the provision of more internships for black physicians.

African-American medical leaders' concerns that the growing importance of hospital standardization and accreditation would lead to the elimination of black hospitals prompted their establishment of the NHA. They recognized that many black hospitals were inferior institutions that were ineligible for approval by certifying agencies. But these facilities were critical to the careers of African-American physicians and, in many locations, to the lives of black patients. The NHA sought to improve black hospitals by attempting to ensure proper standards of education and efficiency in them. Therefore, one of its first actions was to issue in 1925 a set of minimum standards for its member hospitals. These standards included criteria on hospital supervision, record keeping, and the operation of nurse-training schools. Compared to the guidelines of the larger and more influential American College of Surgeons, these were rudimentary. Nonetheless, the NHA hoped that its efforts would forestall the closure of African-American hospitals and demonstrate to white physicians that their black colleagues could keep abreast of changes in medical and hospital practice.

Other activities of the NHA included the provision of technical assistance to hospitals, the sponsorship of professional conferences, and the publication of literature promoting proper hospital administration. The association also lobbied major health-care organizations such as the American Medical Association, the American College of Surgeons, and the American Hospital Association, urging them to take on a role in the improvement of black hospitals.

The NHA was a short-lived organization with limited effectiveness. It never had a full-time administrator or a permanent office. During its first ten years Knoxville physician H. M. Green served as its president while maintaining a busy medical practice. The NHA ran entirely on modest membership fees and often operated at a deficit. It never received financial or programmatic support from foundations or other health-care organizations. It lacked the financial and political muscle to implement and enforce its policies and failed to convince many black physicians of the importance of its goals. By the early 1940s the NHA had disbanded.

Despite these limitations the NHA played a significant role in African-American medical history. It provided black physicians and nurses with opportunities to learn about and discuss trends in hospital care. And it helped the National Medical Association to publicize and articulate the plight of black physicians, their patients, and their hospitals at a time when few outlets for voicing such concerns existed.

See also Nursing

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VANESSA NORTHINGTON GAMBLE (1996)

Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century

There have been numerous efforts to define *black nationalism,* a term that suggests some form of militancy that is somehow different from sit-ins or marches. Some associate the phrase with violence, while others equate black nationalism with some form of separatism, or simply as a counter to integration. One need only take a quick glance at a few anthologies about black nationalism to notice that a number of political projects and personalities with varying aims and ends are described as examples of black nationalism. But how does one go about identifying these as nationalistic? On what basis can one single out the essential features that specify black nationalism?

One possible point of departure can be found in Jeffrey Stout's claim that black nationalism "put the discourses of race and nation together, by projecting an imagined community—a people—for whom blackness serves as emblem" (Stout, 2002. p. 242). This view assumes

there is something all black people share as black people—and that is readily recognizable by others. But there are any number of ways to think about this basic assumption.

Black nationalism, for example, is sometimes taken to mean a biological basis of national belonging. Here, the word *nation* points to a common biological or ontological essence among black people. Often drawing an analogy with a biological organism, this view sees *nation* as the essential unit in which the black individual's nature is fully realized. Another view holds that the character of a nation is environmentally determined: that there is something about one's place of origin that determines the essential features of the nation. Still, others invoke the phrase to talk of a community of shared ends or aspirations. These ends may vary. Some may seek recognition as a sovereign political unit among the community of nations. Others may simply hold self-determination as the desired end and expect to control the resources of their community or, perhaps, to return to a place of origin. Any number of these views overlap. They range from a kind of piety—a recognition of the sources upon which the existence of black people depends—to a way of imagining a future, something towards which black people aspire. And any of these views of black nationalism can be thought of in economic, political, or cultural terms.

The endless variations on the basic themes of black nationalism make it difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly what black nationalism is, though this is not necessarily a bad thing. Too often, scholarly efforts to use a set criterion to distinguish black nationalism from other political ideologies fall into rather ahistorical accounts of messy politics. If the term is to be helpful at all, one must go instead to the thicket of historical description; and the criterion is whether or not the term *black nationalism* "aids us in finding our way around the discursive terrain we occupy, which is partly a matter of knowing how to cope with the ambiguities one is likely to encounter there" (Stout, 2002. p. 242). In other words, one can always set aside the question of whether black nationalism has been correctly defined, and ask instead whether the varied practices singled out by the term are worth debate and investigation.

The practices singled out by nineteenth-century variants of black nationalism are, for the most part, rooted in a profound skepticism about the possibility of blacks flourishing in the United States. Already the victims of brutal social dislocation because of the transatlantic slave trade, African Americans, slave and free, witnessed the founding of a nation based on democratic principles and undemocratic practices, on an idea of freedom and the reality of a lack of freedom. John Adams's remarks during the struggle for independence best captures this basic contradiction at the heart of America's beginnings. "We won't be their [Britain's] negroes. Providence never designed us for negroes. I know, if it had it would have given us black hides and thick lips . . . which it hasn't done, and therefore never intended us for slaves" (Roediger, 1991, p. 28). Adams's understanding of freedom and his articulation of it as a basis for rebellion was predicated on an intimate knowledge of the lack of freedom represented by colonial slavery. For him and many others, African Americans were radically different, and the egalitarian principles of the American Revolution could not wipe those differences away. Alexis de Tocqueville recognized this as well. He wrote in *Democracy in America (1835-1840)*:

> The modern slave differs from his master not only in lacking freedom but also in his origins. You can make the Negro free, but you cannot prevent him facing the European as a stranger. That is not all; this man born in degradation, this stranger brought by slavery into our midst, is hardly recognized as sharing the common features of humanity. His face appears to us hideous, his intelligence limited, and his tastes low; we almost take him for something being intermediate between beast and man. (Tocqueville, 1969, pp. 341–342)

Tocqueville believed that slavery was the most formidable evil threatening the nation's future. And, in the end, doubting that black folk could ever experience the equality so critical to American democracy (they were unassimilable), he concluded that violent conflict between American blacks and whites in the South was "more or less distant but inevitable." The contradiction at the heart of this fragile experiment in democracy, as well as the persistent threat of arbitrary racial violence, led many African Americans to believe that America could never truly be home. Indeed, the precariousness of their conditions of living and the discourses of white supremacy that justified those conditions warranted a preoccupation with protection from racial violence, a demand for the recognition of African-American humanity, and a practical need for association among similarly situated selves.

Protection, Recognition, and Association

A preoccupation with protection, recognition, and association constituted the basis of the rudimentary commitments informing many of the practices labeled as black nationalism in the nineteenth century. Collective humiliation, which the philosopher Isaiah Berlin clearly

saw as the constitutive element of nationalisms generally, was the main impetus for African-American uses of the language of nationhood in the nineteenth century. This humiliation yielded a response—like the bent twig of the poet Friedrich von Schiller's (1759–1805) theory—of lashing back and a refusal to accept such conditions of living. As the fiery antebellum minister David Walker (c. 1785–1830) wrote in his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829): "There is an unconquerable disposition in the breasts of the blacks which, when it is fully awakened and put in motion will be subdued, only with the destruction of the animal existence. Get the blacks started, and if you do not have a gang of tigers and lions to deal with, I am a deceiver of the blacks and of the whites." This response involved solidaristic efforts among African Americans—that is, forms of active association predicated on common suffering and aimed at alleviating an oppressive situation. Of course, racial solidarity was thought of in a number of ways during the nineteenth century, ranging from a sense of collective purpose derived from the context of slavery and the reality of racial violence to claims of an essential racial self based in biology. In any case, the point to be made is that a concept of nation or peoplehood (conceived of in a number of different ways) informed much of African-American politics throughout the nineteenth century.

Invocations of peoplehood during this period involved varied appeals to solidarity based in what can be called a Black Christian imagination (i.e., a set of religious meanings specific to African-American life emerging out of the slave quarters and the condition of second-class citizenship). These appeals, often involving claims about civilization and moral respectability, ranged from calls for emigration from individuals, such as the shipowner Paul Cuffe (1759–1817) and the sail manufacturer James Forten (1766–1842), who advocated a back-to-Africa movement, to the formation of independent black churches by figures such as Richard Allen (1760–1831), the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and James Varick (1750–1827) and Abraham Thompson, founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. To be sure, many African Americans found in the Christian gospel not only resources to imagine themselves as individually saved, but also ways to imagine themselves as collectively saved. African Americans often read the story of Hebrew bondage in Egypt and God's eventual deliverance of his chosen people as if they were the main characters: America was Egypt; they were the Israelites. In addition, many invoked *Psalms* 68:31—"Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God"—as evidence of the inevitable liberation and flourishing of African-descended peoples. Such uses signaled a conception of African-American collective identity. By appropriating the Bible, African-American Christians gave voice to their own sense of peoplehood and secured for themselves a common destiny and history as they elevated their experiences to biblical drama. This black Christian imagination influenced much of African-American life in the nineteenth century and produced manifold meanings about the conditions of African-American living, which became paradigmatic for the construction of black identity and politics.

African-American politics have seemingly been forever stamped with this Christian imprimatur, and black religious vocabularies informed black nationalism throughout the nineteenth century. However, what was distinctive about its use during the early nineteenth century was that racial solidarity and ideas of racial obligation were not based on some specious notion of race. That is to say, figures like David Walker, the enigmatic Robert Young (author of *The Ethiopian Manifesto* [1829]), the newspaper editor Samuel Cornish (1795–1858), and Bishop Richard Allen did not invoke a form of racial solidarity based in what the historian Wilson Moses describes as "a belief in consanguinity, a commitment to the conservation of racial or genetic purity, a myth of commonality and purity of blood" (Moses, 1996, pp. 4–5). Nor did these figures, and many like them, invoke the idea of solidarity in the name of forming a distinctive territorial unit based on such notions. Instead, the battle was engaged on the basis of common suffering and involved a set of responses on the part of a people acting for themselves to alleviate their condition.

Certainly, the period between the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the end of the nineteenth century involved competing conceptions of racial solidarity and nation. The convulsions of the nineteenth century fundamentally transformed how individuals and groups understood themselves. The rising influence of science and the new technologies it created, the impact of large-scale industry, the rise of new states, and the waning authority of Christianity all contributed to a different sort of preoccupation with the search for origins. The meanings of words like *race* and *nation* shifted, and those shifts settled into common sense. Supported by the rising authority of science, race came to signify not only a common descent but also a way of marking, in nature, radical Otherness. Uses of *nation* assumed the importance of language, ethnicity, and territory in defining the boundaries of "the people" to extend beyond earlier uses. The focus was now on a set of common interests rather than a set of opposing interests.

African Americans were certainly not exempt from all of this. To be sure, the context of African-American living

remained precarious. The Fugitive Slave Act, the failed promises of Reconstruction, and the sedimentation of Jim Crow reinforced the belief among many African Americans that America was not home and that liberty was the sole possession of white individuals. The desire for protection, recognition, and association remained and grew stronger in light of the repressive realities of the period. But the articulation of solidaristic efforts to resist such conditions drew on conceptions of race and nation that reflected the shifts mentioned earlier. Figures like Martin Delaney, Edward Blyden, Alexander Crummell, Bishop Henry McNeil Turner, W. E. B. Du Bois, and, eventually, Marcus Garvey sought to create political units reflective of a people bound to one another not only because of their common condition but also because of their race. Biology now mattered.

This is not to suggest that the older forms of thinking about racial solidarity fell away. Those ideas stood alongside the new ones and often commingled with them in what sometimes seemed a muddled and confused politics. Perhaps this is the source of much of the conceptual confusion in the study of nineteenth-century black nationalism. However, by turning one's attention to the actual practices singled out by the phrase, one sees African Americans groping for protection from arbitrary racial violence, demanding recognition of their humanity in the face of state-sanctioned apartheid, and finding comfort and solace among those similarly situated. All in the search, perhaps, for a place they could truly call home.

See also Afrocentrism; Allen, Richard; Black Power Movement; Blyden, Edward Wilmot; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Cornish, Samuel E.; Crummell, Alexander; Cuffe, Paul; Delany, Martin R.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Forten, James; Garvey, Marcus; Labor and Labor Unions; Turner, Henry McNeal; Varick, James; Walker, David

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EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR. (2005)

National League for the Protection of Colored Women

Founded by Frances Kellor and S. W. Layten in 1906, the National League for the Protection of Colored Women concerned itself with the predicament of women in domestic labor in northern cities. Job opportunities for African-American women in the cities were severely restricted; nearly 90 percent were employed in households as domestic servants. Wages were low and unregulated, and the hours were extremely long for women who worked as live-in domestics. Layten, a black Baptist activist, and Kellor, a white reformer, joined black and white women in New York to study these conditions and to try to change them. In addition to its base in New York, chapters of the league were active in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Chicago.

A major focus of the league's work was the migration of southern African Americans to northern cities in search of a better life. Whereas the numbers migrating at the turn of the century were fewer than would come later, the predicament of young women was a matter of great concern for workers in the league. Many women arrived knowing no one, with little money, and with no arrangements for lodging. The league feared that these women might fall into dangerous situations, especially associations with houses of prostitution. Additional difficulties were presented by labor agents working in the South to encourage

migration. Often, anxious migrants were tricked into signing contracts that left them little of their wages at the end of the month.

In order to deal with these issues, the league distributed information among southern black women about the realities of life in the North and warning of unscrupulous labor agents. In addition, it sent out its own people to meet new arrivals at train stations and ports to guide them to safe places to lodge. The league worked in conjunction with existing black women's shelters and created an effective network to deal with these problems. In 1911 the league became one of the founding organizations under the umbrella of the National Urban League.

See also National Urban League

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)

National Negro Congress

The National Negro Congress (NNC) emerged from the Howard University Conference on the status of the Negro held in May 1935 in Washington, D.C. The organization formally got under way in 1936, held meetings at irregular intervals, and was composed predominantly of organizations and individuals active in the African-American community. For Ralph Bunche and others, the National Negro Congress held the promise of an interclass alliance including labor, clerics, entrepreneurs, elected officials, and others. The NNC's mission included protest against Jim Crow and organizing for the social, political, and economic advancement of African Americans.

Sponsors of the NNC included Charles H. Houston of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Alain Locke and Ralph Bunche of Howard University, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, John P. Davis of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (who served as the organization's first president), and James Ford of the Communist Party.

The participation of the Communist Party caused controversy. From the beginning, the party played a prominent role within the NNC and grew after the 1937 convention. Its point of view was that the NNC was a united front of African Americans, meaning that despite class and ideological differences blacks should unite for common goals. However, by 1938 some noncommunists, such as Bunche, were troubled by the Communist Party's influence and left the NNC.

Critics of the NNC, ultimately including Randolph, were of the opinion that the organization was a front for the party and that it refused to take positions at variance with those of the Communists. These criticisms became sharper after the Nazi-Soviet Pact was concluded in August 1939, which led to the German invasion of Poland and the onset of World War II.

Many Communists were hesitant to criticize the pact, and NNC critics (for example, Randolph) began to drift away from the organization. Those who refused to leave the NNC felt that disputes over the pact were examples of the kind of ideological differences that should be submerged in the interest of a united front for the betterment of African Americans.

Despite these internecine conflicts, during its brief history the NNC rivaled the NAACP as a tribune for African Americans. It had fifty branch councils in nineteen states, published a number of communications organs, and sponsored numerous conferences.

In Harlem, where the NNC was particularly strong, it enjoyed the participation of the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and the Harvard-educated Communist lawyer Benjamin J. Davis, and it spearheaded campaigns to secure jobs for blacks in mass transit. Across the nation the NNC could be found boycotting department stores that engaged in racial discrimination, protesting police brutality, and demanding federal antilynching legislation and investigation of the Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion. The NNC vigorously protested the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and they perceived as laggard the policies of the U.S. State Department in opposing this action.

In a number of communities, the NNC worked closely with NAACP branches, affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. After the United States entered World War II in 1941, this kind of collaboration increased. Since the United States was allied with the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1945, the role of Communists within the NNC was not seen by many noncommunists as a bar to cooperation and the NNC experienced some growth during this period after the difficulties of 1939.

Between 1942 and 1945 the NNC played a leading role in the formation of the Negro Labor Victory Committee (NLVC), which in Harlem and elsewhere mobilized African Americans against fascism abroad and Jim Crow at home.

Nevertheless, neither the NNC nor the NLVC was able to survive the end of the war and the onset of the Cold War and Red Scare. By 1946 it was common for the NNC to be referred to as a communist front and a tool of Moscow. The transformation of the Soviet Union from an ally to an enemy of the United States was a leading factor in this changed perception, and in the NNC's eventual demise. Between 1946 and 1947 the NNC was subsumed by the Civil Rights Congress, another organization closely related to the Communist Party but one whose mission, fighting political and racist repression, was broader and less exclusively focused on African-American affairs.

See also Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Bunche, Ralph; Civil Rights Congress; Communist Party of the United States; Ford, James W.; Jim Crow; Locke, Alain Leroy; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Randolph, Asa Philip

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GERALD HORNE (1996)

National Negro Labor Council

The National Negro Labor Council (NNLC) was established in 1951 to promote the cause of African-American workers. Although beleaguered and ultimately extinguished by the repressive political environment of the 1950s, the organization contested economic discrimination in a variety of settings and thus helped to keep alive the battle for civil rights in the realm of labor.

During the New Deal and World War II, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), along with such allies as the National Negro Congress, the March on Washington Movement, and at times, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had done much to transform organized labor from a bastion of Jim Crow into a leading agent of civil rights struggle. Mass campaigns for racial equality at work and in unions, together with the wartime mobilization, advanced the position of African Americans in the workplace and spawned a new generation of black union leadership. After the war, however, the outlook for black workers turned increasingly dismal. Peacetime reconversion, spreading mechanization, and a hardening of workplace discrimination conspired to squeeze large numbers of African Americans out of industry, even as thousands of displaced black farmers were moving from the rural South into the industrial North. Meanwhile, the conservative climate of the emerging cold war era dampened the CIO's commitment to civil rights organizing; indeed, the expulsion from its ranks of communist-oriented unions in the late 1940s banished significant strongholds of black membership, along with many of the CIO's most energetic exponents of racial justice.

In June 1950 over nine hundred labor activists, predominantly black, gathered in Chicago at a National Labor Conference for Negro Rights. During the following year twenty-three Negro Labor Councils (NLCs) were established in key industrial centers around the country. In October 1951 representatives from these councils met in Cincinnati to form the National Negro Labor Council. In a founding Statement of Principles, the NNLC pledged to "work unitedly with the trade unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade union movement." While it focused on equal economic opportunity, the NNLC advocated all measures essential to "full citizenship," including an end to police brutality and mob violence, the right to vote and hold public office, and the abolition of segregation in housing and in other public facilities.

The NNLC drew much of its leadership and active followers either from the unions recently expelled from the CIO—including the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers; the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers; the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; the International Fur and Leather Workers; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—or from the left-wing bastions of mainstream unions, such as the United Packinghouse Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the United Auto Workers. (Detroit's vast UAW Local 600, a center of militant black leadership, made up a particularly vital base of

Delegates to the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council, Chicago, Illinois, 1953. *Detroit's vast UAW Local 600, a center of militant black leadership, made up a particularly vital base of support, with William R. Hood, recording secretary for Local 600, serving as president of the national organization, and Coleman A. Young, organizer for Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Detroit, serving as executive secretary.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the support). In cities such as San Francisco, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and Louisville, NLCs cultivated allies within the African-American community, as well as among sympathetic whites. William R. Hood, recording secretary of UAW Local 600, served as president of the national organization. Coleman A. Young, then organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Detroit, served as executive secretary. World-renowned singer, actor, and civil rights leader Paul Robeson was an active supporter.

Over the first half of the 1950s, the NNLC initiated or rallied behind a series of public campaigns around the country. Local NLCs confronted racial barriers to hiring or advancement at a number of enterprises, including the Ford Motor Company, the Statler and Sherry Netherland hotels (New York), Sears-Roebuck (Cleveland, San Francisco), General Electric (Louisville), the U.S. Bureau of Engraving (Washington, D.C.), the Detroit Tigers, Drexel National Bank (Chicago), and American Airlines. Through petitions and write-in drives, picket lines and local publications, visiting committees and job-training programs, the NNLC helped to open up employment for African-American men and women as streetcar motormen and conductors, hotel workers, truck drivers, clerks and salespeople, and bank officials, and in previously unobtainable levels of skilled industrial work. The NNLC called on unions to demand the inclusion of a model "Fair Employment Practices" clause in labor contracts and to bring African Americans into leadership positions. The NNLC also mobilized support for strikes in which black workers

figured prominently, including those at International Harvester in Chicago (1952) and among sugarcane workers in Louisiana (1953).

The NNLC encountered a formidable array of obstacles. Employers remained widely resistant to the call for nonracial hiring; the airline industry, for example, continued to deny blacks access to skilled jobs, as did virtually all employers around the South targeted by the NNLC. Most of the labor establishment, for its part, turned a cold shoulder to the NNLC. CIO leaders such as Walter Reuther and James B. Carey regularly condemned it as an agent of communism, while many AFL unions remained openly opposed to organizing black workers on an equal basis, if at all. Much of the African-American community remained aloof from the NNLC, or openly condemned it, because of its "communist" associations. The NAACP and the National Urban League were particularly vocal in their denunciations. Finally, government repression took its toll. The NNLC was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Subversive Activities Control Board to answer charges that it was a "Communist-Front organization." In 1956, faced with insurmountable legal expenses, the NNLC leadership voted to disband the organization.

Historical assessments of the NNLC have diverged sharply, reflecting, often extending, the heated debates of contemporaries. Anticommunist scholars have tended flatly to characterize it as a "front" organization, a creation of the Communist Party lacking authentic roots in the black community (Record, 1964). Historians sympathetic to the Communist Party, on the other hand, have stressed the self-directed enterprise of black labor activists as the driving force behind the NNLC and de-emphasized the role of the party (Foner, 1974). In the 1980s and early 1990s historians began to paint a more nuanced and varied picture of the relationship between African-American workers and the Communist Party (Korstad and Lichtenstein, 1988; Kelley, 1990). But many of the campaigns in which the NNLC played a role still await in-depth scholarly attention. Such research is likely to bring to light an organization closely linked but not reducible to the Communist Party—an expression at once of the party's rhetorical and tactical approach and of the genuine initiative of black workers, both in and out of the party.

However portrayed, the NNLC left a mixed legacy. Its influence and impact, although in some instances dramatic, were ultimately limited, and racial discrimination at the workplace and in unions remained pervasive at the time of its demise. A new civil rights movement was then in the making, but its center of gravity would materialize in the black church and independent protest organizations.

See also Labor and Labor Unions

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DANIEL LETWIN (1996)

National Urban League

Founded in New York City in 1911 through the consolidation of the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes in New York (1906), the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (1906), and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (1910), the National Urban League quickly established itself as the principal organization then dealing with the economic and social problems of blacks in American cities.

The league divided with its contemporary, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the work of the emerging struggle for racial advancement. Securing the legal rights of black Americans was the principal business of the NAACP; promoting economic opportunity and social welfare was the responsibility of the Urban League.

Committed to improving employment opportunities for blacks, the Urban League placed workers in the private sector, attacked the color line in organized labor, and sponsored programs of vocational guidance and job training. While it first concentrated on changing discriminatory employment practices in the private sector, it became involved increasingly over time in trying to influence the

development of public policy. During the Great Depression, it lobbied for the inclusion of blacks in federal relief and recovery programs; in the 1940s, it pressed for an end to discrimination in defense industries and for the desegregation of the armed forces.

In the 1950s the league still measured its accomplishments in terms of pilot placements of blacks in jobs previously closed to them because of race. In the 1960s, with the passage of civil rights legislation and the pressures of urban violence, the climate changed. Now the league reported tens of thousands of placements annually in new or upgraded jobs. It sponsored an array of new projects to improve employment opportunities: a national skills bank, for example, which matched blacks who had marketable skills with positions that utilized their talents, and an on-the-job-training program that placed unskilled workers in training slots in private industry. In the 1970s and 1980s, the league pioneered a range of other employment programs providing skills training, apprenticeships, and job placements.

The league grounded its work in social welfare in scientific investigations of conditions among urban blacks that provided the basis for practical reform. Its studies—some published independently, some reported in the league's magazine, *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life* (1923–1949)—contributed importantly to the development of a body of reliable literature on aspects of black urban life and helped to shape public and private policy with respect to race.

The Urban League pioneered professional social service training for blacks. The agency encouraged black colleges to incorporate instruction in economics, sociology, and urban problems in their curricula, and it cooperated in establishing the first training center for black social workers. An Urban League fellowship program enabled promising blacks to pursue advanced studies at designated schools of social work while gaining some practical experience at the Urban League or similar agencies. The result was a corps of professional black social workers, whom the league placed in a wide range of social service agencies.

The Urban League adapted for blacks the welfare services already offered to whites by settlement houses, charitable agencies, and immigrant aid societies. Working principally through a network of local affiliates, the league counseled blacks new to the cities on behavior, dress, sanitation, health, and homemaking, and sponsored community centers, clinics, kindergartens and day nurseries, and summer camps. League staff members engaged in casework to deal with individual problems, including juvenile delinquency, truancy, and marital adjustment.

In the 1960s the Urban League supplemented its traditional social service approach with a more activist commitment to civil rights. It embraced direct action and community organization, sponsored leadership development and voter education and registration projects, helped organize the March on Washington of 1963 and the Poor People's Washington Campaign of 1968, called for a domestic Marshall Plan, and began to concentrate on building economic and political power in inner cities. The agency's services reflected a combination of new activism and the traditional Urban League concerns: assistance to black veterans, campaigns for open housing, consumer protection, efforts to find adoptive families for hard-to-place black children, as well as tutoring programs for ghetto youngsters, and street academies to prepare high school dropouts to go to college.

In the 1970s the league became a major subcontractor for government employment and social welfare programs and worked increasingly closely with Congress, the executive departments, and the regulatory agencies as an advocate of the interests of black Americans. It significantly expanded its research capacity, with a range of new monographs and special studies, a policy research journal, *The Urban League Review* (1975–), and a widely publicized annual report, *The State of Black America* (1976–). In the 1980s, as federal social programs were cut back, the organization looked increasingly to black self-help, seeking to mobilize the institutions of the black community to address some of the most persistent problems of the ghetto—the crisis in the public schools and the high incidence of teenage pregnancy, single female-headed households, and crime.

Guided in its earliest years by George Edmund Haynes, a sociologist who was the first black to earn a Ph.D. from Columbia University, in 1917 the National Urban League came under the direction of his assistant, Eugene Kinckle Jones, a former high school teacher who also held an advanced degree in sociology. Jones was succeeded as executive secretary in 1941 by Lester B. Granger, a social worker who had been secretary of the league's Workers' Bureau. Granger stepped down in 1961, turning the league's leadership over to Whitney M. Young Jr., dean of the Atlanta School of Social Work, who served until his death in 1971. Vernon E. Jordan, a lawyer then serving as executive director of the United Negro College Fund, was named president of the National Urban League in 1972. Jordan was succeeded in 1982 by John E. Jacob, also a social worker, who had spent his professional career in a number of Urban League posts, including that of executive vice president of the national organization.

During the 1990s, under the administration of Hugh Price, the league regained some of its former importance, and became a leading clearinghouse and lobbying group

in the struggle to reduce racial disparities in education. Price's principal goals were to strengthen the organization's commitment to education and youth development, individual and community-wide economic empowerment, affirmative action, and inclusiveness. Before the end of his tenure in 2003, he established the league's Institute of Opportunity and Equality and the Campaign for African American Achievement. Price's successor, former New Orleans mayor Marc H. Morial, in his first year as president of the Urban League secured over ten million dollars in funding to support affiliate programs and created the Legislative Policy Conference, called "NUL on the Hill," referring to Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. Morial also created a multimillion-dollar equity fund for new minority-owned businesses through a tax-credit program.

See also *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); United Negro College Fund

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NANCY J. WEISS (1996)
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National Welfare Rights Organization

The National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) was a militant organization of poor women on welfare that mobilized in the 1960s and early 1970s to lobby for changes in welfare policy, press for increased aid to recipients, and demand more humane treatment by government caseworkers. It was founded in spring 1966 by middle-class activists and women on welfare who had been organizing since the early 1960s. The organization was overwhelmingly African American, and membership was limited to welfare recipients, most of whom received Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The NWRO grew rapidly, more than doubling from 10,000 in 1968 to 22,000 in 1969. Actual participation in the movement was much higher, perhaps reaching 100,000 at its peak in 1969. The NWRO supported, coordinated, and directed efforts of local groups in places such as Los Angeles, Newark, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Des Moines, with the largest chapter in New York City.

The welfare rights movement was an important example of the changing nature of political struggle in the 1960s. After years of intense protest around desegregation and voting rights, many civil rights leaders became disillusioned with a strategy that did not address the immediate needs of most members of the African-American community. They increasingly came to the conclusion that civil rights without economic justice was a hollow victory. In its early years the NWRO got widespread support from liberal churches, civil rights organizations, and government antipoverty programs that were part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program.

Welfare leaders of the NWRO sought to address problems of urban poverty by targeting the welfare system. They fought to get an adequate monthly grant, decent day care, and practical job-training programs. They believed the state had a responsibility to provide for all of its citizens in need. One of their central demands was a guaranteed annual income, which they believed the federal government should provide for every American. They opposed "morality" investigations by government caseworkers, which they found degrading, and affirmed the legitimacy of female-headed households. The NWRO believed that AFDC recipients should have access to decent-paying jobs but also supported the right of these mothers to stay home and care for their children.

The primary strategy for the welfare rights movement was to apply for "special grants" for clothing and household items to which welfare recipients were entitled. Anywhere from thirty to three hundred women would go to a welfare office together and demand money immediately for such things as school clothing and new furniture. If welfare officials refused their request, they would hold a sit-in or another form of protest until their demands were met. By inundating welfare offices with such requests, activists hoped to put pressure on the system and effect more fundamental changes to improve the lives of recipients. In the early years this strategy was very successful and was the key way in which leaders built up the membership of their

organization. The NWRO also developed alliances with other political groups, publicized their grievances, and held mass rallies and marches.

For the women on welfare, their goals became twofold: to pose direct and militant challenges to the state and to create an organization of poor women that was truly led by poor women. Women organizers on welfare, such as Johnnie Tillmon in Watts, Los Angeles, and Beulah Sanders in New York City, made up the National Coordinating Committee and were invested with formal decision-making authority. However, much of the day-to-day running of the organization was in the hands of the executive director and the mostly white, male, middle-class staff. George Wiley, an African-American chemistry professor and former associate director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), was elected executive director of NWRO in 1966 and remained in that position until 1973. Wiley and his staff raised money, planned conferences and meetings, and set short-term goals. However, tension developed within the NWRO as the women struggled to define their goals, outline their strategy, and assert their autonomy.

By the early 1970s the NWRO was in trouble. As the demands for special grants led to fewer material gains because of changes in state and city policy, membership began to decline. In addition, mainstream and liberal support waned as an antiwelfare backlash swept the nation and popular support for sweeping reforms diminished. This contributed to the decline of the NWRO. In 1972 the NWRO was $150,000 in debt. The following year the resignation of the organization's primary fund-raiser, George Wiley, did little to resolve the financial difficulties of the organization. In 1975 NWRO was forced to file for bankruptcy, and it ceased operations shortly thereafter.

Although often defined as a movement of poor people, the welfare rights movement was also a movement of black women. They saw their struggle as one in which race, class, and gender were inextricably tied together. They fought for the right of economic security, challenged the popular assumption that families headed by black women were dysfunctional, and identified their movement as part of the larger struggle for black liberation. In so doing, they laid the groundwork for future grassroots struggles by poor black women.

See also Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
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Nation of Islam

In the midsummer of 1930, a friendly but mysterious peddler appeared among rural southern immigrants in a black ghetto of Detroit called "Paradise Valley," selling raincoats, silks, and other sundries but also giving advice to the poor residents about their health and spiritual development. He told them about their "true religion," not Christianity but the "religion of the Black Men" of Asia and Africa. Using both the Bible and the Qur'an in his messages, he taught at first in the private homes of his followers, then rented a hall that was called the Temple of Islam.

This mysterious stranger often referred to himself as Mr. Farrad Mohammed, or sometimes as Mr. Wali Farrad, W. D. Fard, or Professor Ford. Master Fard, as he came to be called, taught his followers about a period of temporary domination and persecution by white "blue-eyed devils," who had achieved their power by brutality, murder, and trickery. But as a prerequisite for black liberation, he stressed the importance of attaining "knowledge of self." He told his followers that they were not Americans and therefore owed no allegiance to the American flag. He wrote two manuals for the movement—*The Secret Ritual of the Nation of Islam,* which is transmitted orally to members, and *Teaching for the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way,* which is written in symbolic language and requires special interpretation. Fard established several organizations: the University of Islam, to propagate his teachings; the Muslim Girls Training, to teach female members home economics and how to be a proper Muslim woman; and the Fruit of Islam, consisting of selected male members, to provide security for Muslim leaders and to enforce the disciplinary rules.

One of the earliest officers of the movement and Fard's most trusted lieutenant was Robert Poole, alias Elijah Poole, who was given the Muslim name Elijah Muhammad (Perry, 1991, p. 143). The son of a rural Baptist minister and sharecropper from Sandersville, Georgia, Poole had immigrated with his family to Detroit in 1923; he and several of his brothers joined the Nation of Islam in 1931. Although he had only a third-grade education,

During a Nation of Islam convention, a Black Muslim displays a newspaper featuring a picture of Elijah Muhammad. *The newspaper's headline, "A Savior is Born," refers to the anniversary of the birth of the group's founder, Wallace Fard Muhammad.* BETTMANN/CORBIS

Elijah Muhammad's shrewd native intelligence and hard work enabled him to rise through the ranks rapidly, and he was chosen by Fard as the chief minister of Islam to preside over the daily affairs of the organization. Fard's mysterious disappearance in 1934 led to an internal struggle for the leadership of the Nation of Islam. As a result of this strife, Muhammad eventually moved his family and close followers, settling on the south side of Chicago in 1936. There they established Temple of Islam No. 2, which eventually became the national headquarters of the movement.

Throughout the 1940s, Muhammad reshaped the Nation and gave it his own imprimatur. He firmly established the doctrine that Master Fard was "Allah," and that God is a black man, proclaiming that he, the "Honorable" Elijah Muhammad, knew Allah personally and was anointed his "Messenger." Prior to 1961, members of the Nation of Islam were called "Voodoo People" or "People of the Temple"; Professor C. Eric Lincoln's study *The Black Muslims in America* (1961) established the usage of the phrase "Black Muslims" in referring to the Nation of Islam. Under Muhammad's guidance, the Nation developed a two-pronged attack on the problems of the black masses: the development of economic independence and the recovery of an acceptable identity. "Do for Self" became the rallying cry of the movement, which encouraged economic self-reliance for individuals and the black community. The economic ethic of the Black Muslims was a kind of black Puritanism—hard work, frugality, and the avoidance of debt, self-improvement, and a conservative lifestyle.

During the forty-one-year period of his leadership, Muhammad and his followers established more than one hundred temples nationwide and innumerable grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, and other small businesses. The Nation of Islam also became famous for the foods—bean pies and whiting—it peddled in black communities to improve the nutrition and physical health of African Americans. It strictly forbade alcohol, drugs, pork, and an unhealthy diet. Elijah Muhammad was prescient in his advice on nutrition: "You are what you eat," he often said. In his *Message to the Black Man in America* (1965), Muhammad diagnosed the vulnerabilities of the black psyche as stemming from a confusion of identity and self-hatred caused by white racism; the cure he prescribed was radical surgery, the formation of a separate black nation.

Muhammad's 120 "degrees," or lessons, and the major doctrines and beliefs of the Nation of Islam elaborated on aspects of this central message. The white man is a "devil by nature," unable to respect anyone who is not white and the historical and persistent source of harm and injury to black people. The central theological myth of the Nation tells of Yakub, a black mad scientist who rebelled against Allah by creating the white race, a weak hybrid people who were permitted temporary dominance of the world. But according to the apocalyptic beliefs of the Black Muslims, there will be a clash between the forces of good (blacks) and the forces of evil (whites) in the not-too-distant future, an Armageddon from which black people will emerge victorious and re-create their original hegemony under Allah throughout the world.

All these myths and doctrines have functioned as a theodicy for the Black Muslims, as an explanation and rationalization for the pain and suffering inflicted on black people in America. For example, Malcolm Little described the powerful, jarring impact that the revelation of religious truth had on him in the Norfolk State Prison in Massachusetts after his brother Reginald told him, "The white man

Map of the United States showing the sites of Nation of Islam mosques and centers of historical importance in the twentieth century. *The Black Muslims were founded by W. D. Fard in Detroit c. 1930. Elijah (Poole) Muhammad led the organization for more than four decades, using many of the methods of Marcus Garvey to blend Islam with black nationalism, attracting large numbers of followers.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

is the Devil." The doctrines of the Nation transformed the chaos of the world behind prison bars into a cosmos, an ordered reality. Malcolm finally had an explanation for the extreme poverty and tragedies his family suffered, and for all the years he had spent hustling and pimping on the streets of Roxbury and Harlem as "Detroit Red." The conversion and total transformation of Malcolm Little into Malcolm X in prison in 1947 is a story of the effectiveness of Elijah Muhammad's message, one that was repeated thousands of times during the period of Muhammad's leadership. Dropping one's surname and taking on an X, standard practice in the movement, was an outward symbol of inward changes: it meant ex-Christian, ex-Negro, ex-slave.

The years between Malcolm's release from prison and his assassination, 1952 to 1965, mark the period of the greatest growth and influence of the Nation of Islam. After meeting Elijah Muhammad in 1952, Malcolm began organizing Muslim temples in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and in the South and on the West Coast as well. He founded the Nation's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks,* in the basement of his home and initiated the practice of requiring every male Muslim to sell an assigned quota of newspapers on the street as a recruiting and fund-raising device. He rose rapidly through the ranks to become minister of Boston Temple No. 11 and was later rewarded with the post of minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem, the largest and most prestigious of the temples after the Chicago headquarters. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad recognized his organizational talents, enormous charismatic appeal, and forensic abilities by naming Malcolm national representative of the Nation of Islam, second in rank to the Messenger himself. Under his lieutenancy, the Nation achieved a membership estimated at 500,000. But as in

Nation of Islam mosque, Chicago, Illinois. © DANIEL LAINÉ/CORBIS

other movements of this kind, the numbers involved were quite fluid and the Nation's influence, refracted through the public charisma of Malcolm X, greatly exceeded its actual numbers.

Malcolm's keen intellect, incisive wit, and ardent radicalism made him a formidable critic of American society, including the civil rights movement. As a favorite media personality, he challenged the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s central notions of "integration" and "nonviolence." Malcolm felt that what was at stake, at a deeper level than the civil right to sit in a restaurant or even to vote, was the integrity of black selfhood and its independence. His biting critique of the "so-called Negro" and his emphasis on the recovery of black self-identity and independence provided the intellectual foundations for the American Black Power movement and black-consciousness movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. In contrast to King's nonviolence, Malcolm urged his followers to defend themselves "by any means necessary." He articulated the pent-up frustration, bitterness, and rage felt by the dispossessed black masses, the "grass roots."

As the result of a dispute on political philosophy and morality with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam in March 1964 in order to form his own organizations, the Muslim Mosque Inc. and the Organization for Afro-American Unity. He took the Muslim name el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz after converting to orthodox Sunni Islam and participating in the hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Malcolm was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while he was delivering a lecture at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem.

From 1965 until Elijah Muhammad's death in February 1975, the Nation of Islam prospered economically, but its membership never surged again. Minister Louis X of Boston, also called Louis Abdul Farrakhan, replaced Malcolm as the national representative and the head minister of Temple No. 7 in New York. During this period, the Nation acquired an ultramodern printing press, cattle farms in Georgia and Alabama, and a bank in Chicago. After a bout of illness, Muhammad died in Chicago, and one of his six sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad (later Imam Warith Deen Mohammed), was named supreme minister of the Nation of Islam. However, two months later Wallace shocked his followers and the world by declaring that whites were no longer viewed as devils and they could join the movement. He began to make radical changes in the

doctrines and the structure of the Nation, moving it in the direction of orthodox Sunni Islam.

The changes introduced by Imam Warith Deen Mohammed led to a splintering of the movement, especially among the hard-core black-nationalist followers. In 1978, Louis Farrakhan led a schismatic group that succeeded in resurrecting the old Nation of Islam. Farrakhan's Nation, which is also based in Chicago, retains the black-nationalist and separatist beliefs and doctrines that were central to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad. Farrakhan displays much of the charisma and forensic candor of Malcolm X, and his message of black nationalism is again directed to those mired in the underclass, as well as to disillusioned intellectuals, via the Nation's *Final Call* newspaper and popular rap-music groups such as Public Enemy. During the mid-1990s, Minister Farrakhan sought to broaden the appeal of the Nation of Islam and improve the organization's shaky finances. In 1995, Farrakhan organized the Million Man March. Farrakhan's leadership and his keynote address at the March brought him new legitimacy as a black leader. Shortly afterward, he was forced to discipline and later dismiss a chief assistant, Minister Khallid Muhammad, after Muhammad gave a series of excessive nationalist and anti-Semitic speeches at Howard University. In 1996, Farrakhan announced that the Nation of Islam would receive a one million dollar contribution from Libyan president Moammar Khaddafi. During this period, the Nation of Islam gained some notable new members, including boxer Mike Tyson and ousted NAACP leader Rev. Benjamin Chavis (who officially converted to Islam in 1997).

During his struggle with prostate cancer in the late 1990s, Farrakhan claimed that he had a "near death experience," which led him to draw closer spiritually to orthodox Sunni Islam. He directed that members of the Nation should learn how to do the formal prostration and ritual prayers in Arabic. He also instituted the traditional Islamic Friday afternoon Ju'mah prayer service in all of the Nation's mosques. Members of the Nation were also instructed to follow the lunar calendar for their Ramadan fasting period instead of performing the fast during the month of December as a counter to the Christmas celebration in the wider society as taught by Elijah Muhammad. At the Savior's Day meetings in Chicago in 2000 and 2001, Minister Farrakhan and Imam Warith Deen Mohammed held joint Friday Ju'mah prayer services together with their followers. Imam Mohammed called Farrakhan a "true Muslim" because of the adoption of the Friday services. While both leaders have reconciled their differences from the past, they intend to keep their movements separate. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Million Man March, Farrakhan is inviting African-American men, women, and children to Washington, D.C., in October 2005.

However, despite the Nation of Islam's nationwide visibility and the continuing popularity of its nationalist message in inner-city communities, its membership has remained small. Through more than sixty years, the Nation of Islam in its various forms has become the longest lasting and most enduring of the black militant and separatist movements that have appeared in the history of black people in the United States. Besides its crucial role in the development of the black-consciousness movement, the Nation is important for having introduced Islam as a fourth major religious tradition in American society, alongside Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism.

See also Islam; Malcolm X; Muhammad, Elijah

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LAWRENCE H. MAMIYA (1996)
CHARLES ERIC LINCOLN (1996)
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NATIVE AMERICANS

See Black-Indian Relations

Nat Turner's Rebellion

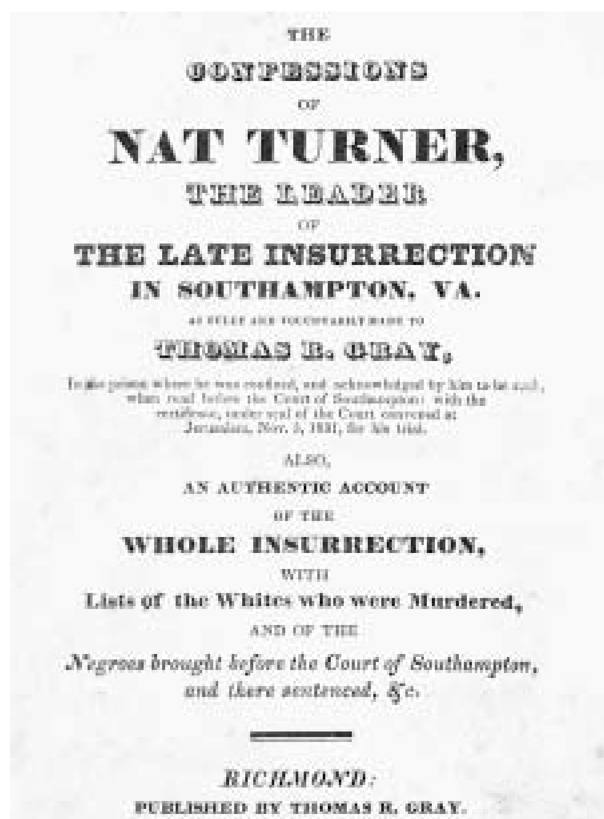
Nat Turner (October 2, 1800–November 11, 1831) led the most significant slave revolt in U.S. history. Undertaken in 1831 in Virginia, Turner's Rebellion claimed more lives than any similar uprising. It had repercussions throughout the South, redrawing the lines of the American debate over slavery in ways that led toward all-out civil war within a generation. Indeed, some suggest that it represented the first major battle of the long war to end slavery.

In 1831 Virginia's Southampton County, bordering on North Carolina, contained roughly 6,500 whites and 9,500 blacks. Almost all of the latter, whether young or old, lived in perpetual bondage, including Nat Turner, a slave of Joseph Travis. Turner had been born in Southampton on October 2, 1800, only five days before the execution of black revolutionary Gabriel Prosser in Richmond, and as a boy he must have heard stories of Prosser's intended insurrection. Tradition suggests his mother was born and raised in Africa. She told her son at an early age that, on the basis of his quick intelligence and the distinctive lumps on his head, he seemed "intended for some great purpose."

Turner learned to read as a small boy, and he built a strong and composite faith from listening to the African beliefs retained within his family and the Christian values of his first master, Benjamin Turner. Confident from childhood that he had a special role to play, Nat Turner found outward confirmations for his messianic thoughts and eventually determined that his personal calling coincided with the most pressing public issue of the day—the termination of racial enslavement.

Most of what is known about the man is drawn from his *Confessions,* a remarkable autobiographical statement taken down by a young lawyer named Thomas Ruffin Gray during the rebel's final days in jail. While one can question the validity of Turner's recollections and the motivations of the disillusioned and desperate Gray (who rapidly published his lurid transcript at a profit), the confession has an underlying ring of truth and represents one of the most extraordinary firsthand texts in American history.

According to this account, Turner experienced a powerful vision in 1825 in which he "saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams." Three years later another vision told him to prepare to slay his "enemies with their own weapons." But it was not until February 1831 that a solar eclipse



THE

CONFESSIONS

OF

NAT TURNER,

THE LEADER

OF

THE LATE INSURRECTION

IN SOUTHAMPTON, VA.

AS FULLY AND VOLUNTARILY MADE TO

THOMAS R. GRAY,

[illegible]

ALSO,

AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF THE

WHOLE INSURRECTION,

WITH

Lists of the Whites who were Murdered,

AND OF THE

Negroes brought before the Court of Southampton, and there sentenced, &c.

RICHMOND:

PUBLISHED BY THOMAS R. GRAY.

Cover of Nat Turner's Confessions. *After leading a slave revolt in Southampton, Virginia, in 1831, Turner explained his motivations and dictated his version of the events to the young lawyer Thomas Ruffin Gray before his execution.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Nat Turner

"And my father and mother strengthened me…saying in my presence, I was intended for some great purpose, which they had always thought from certain marks on my head and breast."

THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER, THE LEADER OF THE LATE INSURRECTION IN SOUTHAMPTON, VIRGINIA. BALTIMORE: T.R. GRAY, 1831.

signaled to Turner that he must begin. He laid plans with others to act on the holiday of July 4, but when he fell ill, the date was allowed to pass. Then, on August 13 he awoke to find the sun a dim reflection of itself, changing from one hazy color to another. Taking this as another sign, he

brought together a handful of collaborators on Sunday, August 21, and told them of his plan for a terrorist attack.

His intention, Turner explained, was to move through the countryside from household to household, killing whites regardless of age or sex. He hoped that this brutal show of force would be so swift as to prevent any warning and so compelling as to convince others to join in the cause. Having rallied supporters and gathered up more horses and weapons, they could march on Jerusalem, the county seat, and take the arsenal, which would give them a substantial beachhead of resistance. From there the rebellion could spread, aided by a network of enslaved black Christians and perhaps by divine intervention as well. Turner made clear, according to the *Richmond Enquirer,* that "indiscriminate slaughter was not their intention after they obtained a foothold, and was resorted to in the first instance to strike terror and alarm. Women and children would afterwards have been spared, and men too who ceased to resist."

Shortly after midnight Turner and five others launched their violent offensive, attacking the home of Turner's master and killing the Travis household, then proceeding on to other farmsteads to wreak similar vengeance. As their ranks grew, the band became more disorderly and the element of surprise was lost, but the first militiamen who offered resistance on Monday afternoon beat a hasty retreat. By Monday night as many as sixty or seventy African Americans had joined the cause, and on Tuesday morning Turner's army set out for Jerusalem. Behind them at least fifty-seven whites of all ages had been killed in a stretch of twenty miles.

When some rebels stopped at James Parker's farm, within three miles of Jerusalem, to win recruits and refresh themselves, the pause proved fatal, for the local militia had regrouped. They managed to attack and disperse the insurgents, who were off guard and poorly armed. Although Turner attempted to rally his followers, he never regained the initiative, and on Tuesday white reinforcements launched a harsh and indiscriminate counteroffensive that took well over a hundred lives. One cavalry company slaughtered forty blacks in two days, mounting more than a dozen severed heads atop poles as public warnings. Turner, his force destroyed, eluded authorities for six weeks, during which time another black preacher known as David attempted to ignite an uprising in North Carolina, fueling white fears of widespread rebellion. After an enormous manhunt, authorities captured Turner in a swamp on October 30 and hanged him publicly twelve days later.

Turner's unprecedented insurgency had a complex impact. It forced Virginia's legislature to consider openly, if briefly, the prospect of gradual emancipation. It also attracted proslavery whites to the colonization movement, since many saw African resettlement as a way to remove dangerous bondsmen and reduce the free black community. For black and white abolitionists in the North, Turner's Rebellion reinforced the idea, later espoused by John Brown, that enslaved southerners were willing and able to engage in armed revolt if only weapons and outside support could be arranged. Among churchgoing slaveholders the uprising prompted tighter restrictions on black preaching and greater caution regarding slave access to the gospel. Among African Americans Turner became and has remained both a martyr and a folk hero never to be forgotten. As recently as 1969 one black Southampton resident could recall what his mother had learned in her childhood: that Nat Turner "was a man of war, and for legal rights, and for freedom."

See also *Amistad* Mutiny; Christiana Revolt of 1851; Demerara Revolt; Gabriel Prosser Conspiracy; Stono Rebellion; Tailor's Revolt

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PETER H. WOOD (1996)

NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE CARIBBEAN

The character, extent, and availability of the Caribbean's natural resources are heavily influenced by the region's social and political characteristics, which result from historical relationships of the Caribbean with other, more powerful areas of the world. Those who study resources often emphasize that a region's natural resource characteristics are usually more human-influenced or socially produced

than they are God-given, and it is difficult to think of another world region where this point is more applicable than it is for the Caribbean.

Geography and Geology

The Caribbean's most fundamental resources—its geographical and geophysical locations—explain much about the region. Its subtropical latitudes place it within the tradewinds that arrive continuously from the east, after traversing the Atlantic Ocean. Christopher Columbus and subsequent European seafarers rode these easterly winds to the Caribbean on sailing vessels before the advent of steam power. After the earliest European colonization, the region's aboriginal peoples, the Caribs and Arawaks, were eliminated by overwork, coercion, and disease. European sailing vessels brought African slaves, again via the trade winds, to replace the declining native labor force. In subsequent decades, slave-produced agricultural staples were transported to Europe via the westerly wind belt located farther north. Thus, the Caribbean region represented one corner of the infamous "triangle trade" of colonial days: European manufactures sent to West and West Central Africa, slaves shipped west to the Caribbean, and agricultural goods sent northeast back to Europe.

The Caribbean's location within the western hemisphere also helps in understanding much about the region. Some suggest that the Caribbean is the "Mediterranean" of the Americas because it separates two continental landmasses. In the early twenty-first century, the region's strategic position between the producing area (northwestern South America) and the principal consuming area (the United States) for much of the hemisphere's narcotics makes the Caribbean an important part of illegal drug smuggling. The Caribbean's middling geographical position in the western hemisphere—off the southeastern coast of the United States—has led others to refer to the region as an "American lake," in part because the islands have been routinely subject to gunboat diplomacy, especially since the United States became a global power at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the late twentieth century, the proximity of the United States allowed the Caribbean's island states and territories to develop two of the region's natural attributes, its warm year-round temperatures and its scenic beauty, into the region's most important economic resource. Early in the twenty-first century, especially in the northern hemisphere's winter months, Caribbean tourism overshadows all other sectors of local economies. The combination of warm temperatures and abundant sunshine, together with the Caribbean's geographic hallmark of insularity, or "islandness," helps to explain the presence of the beach resorts, cruise destinations, and vacation possibilities for which the region has become well known.

The Caribbean's white sand beaches, relentlessly portrayed in North American television commercials in the winter months, are not the only scenic attractions. Especially in the small islands of the eastern Caribbean, volcanic peaks covered with tropical foliage soar above the sea-level landscapes (to over 5,000 feet on the island of Dominica), providing breathtaking vistas. Yet the entire region's seismic instability results in frequent earthquake tremors and, worse, occasionally catastrophic volcanic eruptions, which have punctuated the region's human history. The most famous eruption in Caribbean history, the explosion of Mount Pelée on French Martinique in 1902, dominated newspaper headlines throughout the world and influenced the United States to build a canal in Panama rather than in Nicaragua, which is supposedly more volcano-prone. Nearly a century later, in 1997, tiny Montserrat in the northeastern Caribbean suffered an eruption that buried its capital town in lava and igneous sand and sent two-thirds of its human population elsewhere. Given these geophysical characteristics, the ultimate resource in the small islands of the eastern Caribbean—the land that underpins human habitats—can by no means be taken for granted.

Climate, Soils, and Erosion

Caribbean peoples are understandably wary of the region's climatic characteristics (though the same climate provides the basis for "sun and fun" tourist brochures). This is because every late summer and autumn seasonal hurricanes enter the region from the Atlantic, following paths that are generally southeast to northwest but whose specific trajectories vary from one season to the next, adding to the uncertainty and precariousness of living in the region.

Yet hurricanes have only slightly diminished the region's agricultural importance, especially in the past. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Caribbean dominated the world in producing cane sugar, creating massive wealth for European colonial powers. Tropical agronomists have since determined that the Caribbean's subtropical climate, especially its rainfall characteristics, is ideal for a high sucrose content in sugarcane. Accordingly, cane sugar, although it is fading from the region early in the twenty-first century, has traditionally been cultivated in a wide variety of Caribbean soils.

The Caribbean's many soil types are related in part to differing kinds of bedrock. The dark-red clays of central and western Cuba, the most fertile soils of the region, are limestone-based, as are the soils of Puerto Rico and Hispaniola (the large island with the Dominican Republic on

Cocoa beans drying in large wooden trays on the Dougaldstone Estate, Grenada. *Cocoa is one of the primary crops harvested for export in Grenada and in many other island nations of the Caribbean.* © ABBIE ENOCK. TRAVEL INK/CORBIS.

the east and Haiti on the west). Both ashen soils and clays in the eastern Caribbean are related to the volcanic material underpinning these islands. The low, coralline islands far to the east—Antigua, the eastern half of French Guadeloupe, and Barbados—are uplifted oceanic deposits.

Yet bedrock, vegetation, climate, and slopes explain only part of Caribbean soil conditions. Just as important is the history of colonial exploitation. Beginning in the 1600s, Europeans directed massive deforestation of the accessible portions of most of the islands. This clearing left the insular soils unprotected from periodic drought and pounding rainfall. The crop usually taking the place of natural forests, sugarcane (a giant type of grass) tended to anchor the soil. But as sugarcane historically gave way to clean-row crop tillage and livestock herding, especially in the late twentieth century, massive soil erosion began to occur throughout the region.

The transformation of the natural forest cover to cultivated landscapes and barren hillsides has unfolded in different ways and at different rates throughout the Caribbean. Nowhere have the results been as tragic as in Haiti. As the French colony of Saint Domingue, Haiti was perhaps the world's most valuable colonial prize because of its sugar. After its slaves threw off French rule in 1803, Haiti was denied regular contact with other countries, and its population took up mainly subsistence agriculture. Since then, the need for Haitians to feed themselves has led to massive soil exhaustion and deforestation. Early in the twenty-first century, the country's nearly seven million human inhabitants eke out malnourished existences on a mountainous, degraded habitat, the most dismal human ecological plight in the western hemisphere.

The unhappy legacy of the Caribbean's agricultural history is paralleled at the start of the twenty-first century by a tourist industry that often despoils local environments. Walls and jetties designed to preserve Puerto Rican beaches have instead caused beach erosion. Stone embankments *(pedraplenes)* in northern Cuba that lead tourists to offshore cays have ruined habitats for fish, fowl, and flamingos. The demand for more electricity in Barbados has raised ocean temperatures near the island's power plant with negative biological effects. Tourism's effects have been worst on the very small islands; between 1970 and 2000, tiny Saint Martin changed from a quiet, semiarid island getaway to a jumble of franchise signs, chain-link

Harvesting sugarcane in St. Joseph's Parish, Barbados. *The Caribbean's subtropical climate, especially its rainfall characteristics, is ideal for a high sucrose content in sugarcane.* © JONATHAN BLAIR/CORBIS

fences, and rusting automobile hulls. The giant tourist ships bringing visitors and hard currency to the region in the early twenty-first century also deposit litter and trash receptacles directly into Caribbean ocean waters. Calls for a more environmentally friendly ecotourism are heard throughout the region, yet this activity is practiced seriously only in Belize, in the far western Caribbean.

Fishing, Forests, and Fauna

The tropical waters and varying depths of the Caribbean support a variety of fish. A 1996 Puerto Rican fishing census enumerated two thousand full-time and part-time fishermen, most of whom fished at different locations at different times of the year, and who therefore used different types of equipment depending on the season. In villages near deep-water zones, fishermen commonly seek tunas, mackerel, and dolphins. Rough waters all around Puerto Rico in the late summer and fall usually limit fishing to destinations closer to shore.

Despite constraints to developing large-scale fishing industries in the Caribbean, offshore fishing on every island provides limited, although locally important, sources of food. Yet these activities are highly seasonal and cannot sustain local human populations throughout the year. Barbados's flying-fish season, which lasts from December to July, sees its highest catches in March and April and provides an important food source for locals and tourists alike. In Grenada and Saint Vincent, local fishermen often focus their activities on the blackfish or pilot whale, with their greatest successes coming in September. Yet other kinds of fishing there in the late summer months are often reduced because of the low-salinity water that comes north from the mouth of Venezuela's Orinoco River.

Similar to the region's terrestrial resources, the Caribbean's marine resources are adversely influenced by industrial pollution and a historical legacy of overdevelopment. Trinidadian fishermen, in an early twenty-first-century survey, all blamed the industrialization of western Trinidad and its associated pollution for reduced fish populations in the Gulf of Paria. A similar study of the estimated 30,000 subsistence fishermen of Haiti suggested that fishing there was hampered because of depleted and degraded marine habitats. These human-created problems are made all the worse for Caribbean fishing activities by storm de-

struction. Between 1979 and 1999, nine hurricanes or tropical depressions hit Dominica, damaging fishing vessels, equipment, landing sites, and shore facilities.

Hurricanes also influence the region's forests. Long-term studies of Puerto Rican woodlands have identified mountain "storm forests," floral assemblages that lack the usual species diversity, giant trees, and multiple leaf canopies found elsewhere in the tropics. In September 1989, Hurricane Hugo devastated Puerto Rico's El Yunque National Forest, the only tropical forest in the U.S. National Park system. Occasional near-total hurricane destruction of insular forests in the small islands of the eastern Caribbean occurs all the way south to Grenada.

Yet centuries of vegetation clearance and associated human devastation, not the forces of nature, have reduced the region's forests to tiny upland patches, and complete removal has occurred on some of the smallest islands. Wood products and lumber used for Caribbean building are nearly all imported, and local sawmills are practically unknown today. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Cuba and the Dominican Republic are the only countries claiming any significant forest covers. The most dismal deforestation example is Haiti. The country's original forest cover is gone, yet 50,000 rural Haitians produce charcoal from what wood they can glean, an activity that intensified after the local pig eradication (decreed by U.S. health authorities, who feared the spread of swine disease to North America) in the early 1980s.

In attempting to establish wood sources and to protect local water supplies, the reforestation of Caribbean landscapes was recommended as early as the nineteenth century. In the middle of the twentieth century, several places, including Guadeloupe and Trinidad, attempted the planting of mahogany; insect infestation and lack of knowledge led to disappointing results in both places, however. For decades, the potential success of reforestation attempts everywhere in the region has been thwarted by the large livestock populations. Goats, sheep, and cattle browse over denuded landscapes everywhere in the region, especially in the small, drought-prone islands. In addition, local herdsmen often (stealthily) cut down the small trees in reforestation plots to feed their animals.

Except for a few birds and reptiles, the animals native to the region prior to the coming of Europeans have been extinguished. Accordingly, the Caribbean's "wild animals" actually have been imported in relatively recent times. The mongoose, introduced to Trinidad from India in 1870, menaces chickens and house pets everywhere in the eastern Caribbean. The West African vervet monkeys on Saint Kitts and Barbados are said to have come on eighteenth-century slave vessels. A few untamed horses in the mountains of the Dominican Republic may descend from early Spanish stock. Limited numbers of manatees still live in the shallow waters surrounding the Greater Antilles, although they have not been sighted in the eastern Caribbean since the 1700s.

Minerals

Dutch interest in southern Caribbean salt production began about 1600, and in the early twenty-first century the Dutch-affiliated island of Bonaire, just north of Venezuela, continues to produce table and industrial salts from saline ponds. Yet the important mineral activity for which the Netherlands Antilles were well known in the twentieth century was the processing of Venezuelan oil at the refineries of Aruba and Curaçao. Although the crude petroleum refined there is not, strictly speaking, a Caribbean resource, the refineries at these tiny islands attracted thousands of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, beginning in the 1920s, who then took home the industrial and labor organizing skills they learned in the Dutch islands.

The main oil-producing country in the Caribbean is Trinidad and Tobago, which accounted for 125,000 barrels of crude oil per day in 2001. Pitch and tar from southern Trinidad were used on local roads by the end of the nineteenth century, and local oil production began in the early twentieth century. High oil prices in the 1970s inspired Trinidad and Tobago to embark on a massive industrialization scheme in southern Trinidad, an enterprise curtailed a decade later because of falling oil prices. Cuba produced 50,000 barrels of oil per day in 2001; Barbados, 1,000 per day. Most Caribbean islands import petroleum products, usually from the several oil refineries located in the region.

Jamaica became an important producer of bauxite (aluminum ore) and its dehydrated variant, alumina, in the mid-twentieth century, after the discovery of bauxite deposits there in 1942. Prices boomed into the 1960s, and the ore was exported to North America and Europe, where it was refined into metallic aluminum. In the 1970s, however, Jamaica attempted to raise bauxite prices, and hostile reactions elsewhere led to a downturn in production. By the early 1990s, Jamaican bauxite production had dropped severely, but resuscitation efforts thereafter led to some success. In 2001, despite several work stoppages and labor problems, Jamaica was still recognized as a world leader in bauxite and alumina (3.5 million tons in 2001).

In 2002, Cuba was the world's sixth leading producer of nickel. In that year it possessed an estimated 30 percent of the world's nickel reserves and exported US$600 million worth of nickel and cobalt, more than the value of the island's sugar crop. But the U.S. trade embargo against

Cuba prohibited American imports of Cuban nickel, so nearly all the ore was marketed in Europe. Further development of Cuba's nickel mining industry has involved joint financial and planning ventures involving companies from nations such as Canada and Australia and Cuba's state-owned nickel mining company, Cubaniquel. Most other countries are wary of Cuban politics, however. Typical of Caribbean resource development for centuries, the full development of Cuba's nickel potential depends far more upon global politics than it does upon natural conditions.

See also Agricultural Policy in the Caribbean; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Tourism in the Caribbean

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BONHAM C. RICHARDSON (2005)

Naylor, Gloria

January 25, 1950

Gloria Naylor, a writer, was born in New York City to Roosevelt and Alberta Naylor. After traveling through New York, Florida, and North Carolina as a missionary for Jehovah's Witnesses (1968–1975), she returned to New York, where she worked as a telephone operator at various hotels while she attended Brooklyn College (B.A., 1981). She received an M.A. in Afro-American Studies from Yale University in 1983.

Naylor's first published work, *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), won the American Book Award for best first novel in 1983. Dealing with the lives of seven black women who live on one ghetto street, the novel conveys the oppression and spiritual strength that African-American women share. At the same time, by exploring the characters' differences, it emphasizes the variety of their experience. Naylor wrote a television screenplay adaptation of the novel, which starred Oprah Winfrey and appeared on *American Playhouse* in 1984. Her next novel, *Linden Hills* (1985), is concerned with the spiritual decay of a group of black Americans who live in an affluent community, having forsaken their heritage in favor of material gain. *Mama Day,* published in 1988, tells of an elderly lady with magical powers. The best-selling *Bailey's Cafe* (1992) takes place in a 1940s American diner where neighborhood prostitutes congregate. Naylor wrote a play based on the novel, which was produced and performed by the Hartford Stage Company in 1994. She also wrote the screenplay for the PBS presentation *In Our Own Words* (1985).

Naylor has said that she writes because her perspective, that of the black American woman, has been underrepresented in American literature. Her goal is to present the diversity of the black experience. Although she reworks traditional Western sources in her novels, borrowing the structure of Dante's *Inferno* for *Linden Hills* and elements of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* for *Mama Day,* Naylor utilizes black vernacular and other aspects of her own heritage in her writing.

Naylor's 1998 novel, *The Men of Brewster Place,* returns readers to the setting of her first story, this time to

relate the stories of the men in the lives of the original characters. Naylor said this fifth novel was inspired by the Million Man March in Washington, D.C., which took place in the fall of 1995, as well as by the death of her father. Both events helped the author to reassess certain ideas she held about men and their roles in the lives of African-American women.

Naylor has taught at George Washington University, New York University, Princeton, Cornell, and Boston University. She has received a National Endowment for the Arts Fellowship (1985), the Distinguished Writer Award from the Mid-Atlantic Writers Association (1983), the Candace Award from the National Coalition of 100 Black Women (1986), and a Guggenheim Fellowship (1988). She was awarded a President's Medal from Brooklyn College in 1993, and an honorary doctorate of letters from Sacred Heart University in 1994.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers, Contemporary; Literature of the United States

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LILY PHILLIPS (1996)
LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Neal, Larry

September 5, 1937
January 6, 1981

The writer Larry Neal, one of the most prominent figures of the black arts movement of the 1960s and 1970s, was born in Atlanta, graduated from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in 1961, and received an M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963. He soon became one of the most prominent of the African-American writers that emerged in the early 1960s championing the search for a distinctive African-American aesthetic. His early articles, including "The Negro in the Theatre" (1964) and "Cultural Front" (1965), were among the earliest to assert that separate cultural forms are necessary in the development of black artists in a racist society.

Neal developed his perspective on black art in the influential anthology *Black Fire* (1968), coedited with Amiri Baraka, and the essay "The Black Arts Movement" (1968), which helped give a name and direction to the nascent artistic trend. Neal argued that the purpose of black arts was to effect a "radical reordering of the Western cultural aesthetic" in part through a purging of the external European and white American cultural influences from black artistic expression. His critical thinking was further developed in books such as *Black Boogaloo: Notes on Black Liberation* (1969), *Trippin' a Need for Change* (1969, coauthored with Amiri Baraka and journalist A. B. Spellman), and *Hoodoo Hollerin Bebop Ghosts* (1971). Neal also authored plays (*The Glorious Monster in the Bell of the Horn*, 1976), screenplays (*Holler S.O.S.*, 1971; *Moving on Up,* 1973), and television scripts (*Lenox Avenue Sunday*, 1966; *Deep River,* 1967).

Neal was an instructor at the City College of New York from 1968 to 1969, and he subsequently taught at Wesleyan University (1969–1970) and Yale University (1970–1975). By the mid-1970s he was reconsidering his view of black culture. In "The Black Contribution to American Letters" (1976), he argued that while all African-American writers and literature must in some sense be political, it was important to separate the public persona of black writers from their specific private experiences, which are often wider and more inclusive than the polemical rejection of nonblack influences that characterized the black arts movement. Neal's later works include the play *In an Upstate Motel,* which premiered in New York in 1981. He died of a heart attack in Hamilton, New York, in 1981.

See also Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Black Arts Movement

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REGINALD MARTIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Négritude

It was in Aimé Césaire's revolutionary surrealist poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (*Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*), published in 1939, that the term *négritude* first appeared in print. It had been invented by Césaire, Senegalese poet Léopold Sédar Senghor tells us, perhaps as early as 1932. The term did not come into literary and cultural history until the publication in 1948 of Senghor's *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache* (Anthology of New Black and Malagasy Poetry), whose preface, "Orphée noir" (Black Orpheus), had been written by Jean-Paul Sartre. In addition to Senghor (future president of Senegal) and Aimé Césaire (future representative of Martinique to the French Assembly), the poets of the anthology were Léon Damas of Guyana; Gilbert Gratiant and Étienne Léro of Martinique; Guy Tirolien and Paul Niger of Guadeloupe; Léon Laleau, Jacques Roumain, Jean-François Brière, and René Belance of Haiti; Birago Diop and David Diop of Senegal; Jean-Joseph Rabéarivelo, Jacques Rabémananjara, and Flavien Ranarivo of Madagascar. Each of these poets had, in his particular fashion, "returned to the source," composed poems out of the matrix of African culture and experience.

The poems in the anthology varied greatly, from Birago Diop's "Souffles" (Breaths), a haunting tribute to African beliefs that predate the colonial era ("The dead are not dead / Hear the voice of the fire / Hear the voice of the water / Listen to the wind / To the sighing bush / It is the breathing of the ancestors. . .") to a fragment of Césaire's majestic *Cahier*, which is a meditation—confessional and epic, philosophical and historical, somber and affirming—on the modern black experiences of enslavement and domination, dispossession and alienation:

my negritude is not a stone, its deafness hurled against the clamor of the day
my negritude is not a leukoma of dead liquid over the earth's dead eye
my negritude is neither a tower nor cathedral
it takes root in the red flesh of the soil
it takes root in the ardent flesh of the sky
it breaks through the opaque prostration with its upright patience

(Trans. Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith. *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*. Wesleyan, Conn., 2001, p. 35)

Négritude gathered to itself many poems with diverse themes and varied tones: Praise poems to the beauty of the black woman imagined as symbol of Africa, a lost paradise and homeland; poems inspired by or in homage to jazz, drum, or oral traditions; poems of social and political critique focusing on assimilation and betrayal, and the alienated world of the Creole bourgeoisie; exhortations to solidarity and struggle; edenic reminiscences of the black world before slavery and colonialism, and utopic visions of the black world after racist domination.

Similar concerns and patterns were echoed in a number of West African novels, such as the nostalgic *L'Enfant noir* (*The Dark Child,* 1954) by Guinean Camara Laye and *L'Aventure ambiguë* (*Ambiguous Adventure*, 1960) by Senegalese Cheikh Hamidou Kane, in which the young hero, Samba Diallo, is trapped between the values of feudal Africa and Islam, on the one hand, and the West, on the other.

Négritude was thus diverse phenomenon, but it has been associated chiefly with Senghor, its principal promoter, who defined it as the "totality of values of black African culture." It was at once a racial essence, common to all Africans and their descendants, wherever they are found, and a conscious choice to embrace the "condition" of being black in a world of white domination. In classic Senghorian négritude, the affirmation of African identity is complemented by faith in the virtue of cultural mixing (*métissage*) and an aspiration toward a universal civilization or humanism:

Let us answer "present" at the rebirth of the World
As white flour cannot rise without the leaven.
Who else will teach *rhythm* to the world
Deadened by machines and cannons?
Who will sound the *shout of joy* at daybreak to wake orphans and the dead?
Tell me, who will give back the *memory of life* to the man of gutted hopes?
They call us men of cotton, coffee, oil.
They call us men of death.
But we are men of *dance*, whose feet get stronger
As we pound upon firm ground.

(From "Prayer to the Masks." In *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry,* trans. Melvin Dixon, 1991, p. 13.)

It was in Paris in the 1930s, in a climate of modernism, jazz, African primitivism, and surrealism that the idea of négritude arose. West Indian and African students had come to the capital to complete their education. They had attended French colonial schools whose objective, in keeping with the values of the Enlightenment and the French

Revolution, was to make of them "black Frenchmen." The effect of this policy of "assimilation" was that these subjects or citizens of France had learned to reject their African cultures of origin and to emulate the culture of the French. Yet, these students now felt the pull of both cultures—or, as W. E. B. Du Bois had written three decades earlier, a double consciousness—and they sought the intellectual means to rehabilitate African civilization(s).

Critical to this emergent black cultural consciousness were Paulette and Jane Nardal of Martinique. The Nardal sisters were students at the Sorbonne in the 1920s, and their home became a meeting place for young black intellectuals and writers from Africa and the Americas. Among the American visitors to the Nardal home and to that of their cousin, Louis Achille Jr., were Alain Locke, the editor of *The New Negro* (1925), and Mercer Cook, a professor of French at Howard University. In 1931 and 1932, Paulette Nardal and Dr. Léo Sajous, a Haitian, published a bilingual journal, the *Revue du monde noir (Review of the Black World)*, which featured translations of Harlem Renaissance poets from the United States and which set forth forceful arguments and appeals for racial pride and solidarity across national and continental boundaries. A remarkable contribution to the *Revue* was Paulette Nardal's article, "Awakening of Race Consciousness" in which this new international racial and cultural vision is tied to a growing feminist consciousness. (See Chapter 3 of Edwards.) In its brief existence the journal exposed the African and Caribbean students in Paris to facets of black life in the United States and to the poetry of Langston Hughes and Claude McKay. Soon thereafter, Césaire and Senghor were reciting poems by these and other black American writers, among them Jean Toomer, Sterling Brown, and Countee Cullen. Senghor read articles by W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson in *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* respectively. The example of these black American brothers, these "new Negroes," was crucial in spurring on Senghor and Césaire, as had been the intellectual courage of René Maran (*Batouala,* 1921) and Jean Price-Mars (*Ainsi parla l'oncle* [Thus Spoke the Uncle], 1928), and the work of European anthropologists and ethnographers Maurice Delafosse, Leo Frobenius, and Robert Delavignette, who demonstrated that precolonial African civilizations were not devoid of "culture."

A flurry of attacks against négritude began after the publication of the *Anthologie*. They were directed especially against Senghor and the proposition that "emotion is Negro as reason is Greek." Above all, the idea of a "Negro soul"—collectivist, rhythmic, spiritual, one with nature—made it all too easy to ignore the intellectual acumen and achievements of black people. The assertion of a transcendent racial identity was seen likewise as an essentialist mystification that disregarded critical factors of *difference* among blacks such as nationality, modes of economic life, history, and language. The emphasis on racial and cultural identity had also overshadowed a more political anti-colonialism, dating from the 1920s and 1930s. And since négritude was a response to the psychological turmoil of a French-educated elite, it was deemed irrelevant to the vast majority of people in French West Africa and to Africans governed under the British policy of "indirect rule." One French critic also observed that négritude merely corresponded to one strain of Western humanism that privileged the intuitive and the irrational. (See chapters 22 and 23 of Hymans, 1971, for a discussion of négritude's early detractors.) Sustained critiques have been made by Stanislas Adotevi in *Négritude et négrologues* (1972) and Marcien Towa in *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Négritude ou servitude?* (1971). (See also chapter 2 of Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House,* 1992.) In fiction, Yambo Ouologuem's *Devoir de violence* (*Bound to Violence*; 1968) denounced romanticized notions of pre-colonial Africa, and Mariama Bâ's *Un chant écarlate* (*Scarlet Song;* 1981) revealed the masculinist bias of négritude. In the French-speaking Caribbean, the emphasis on racial and cultural ties to Africa of the more political Césairian négritude has given way to an assertion of a distinct Caribbean identity (*antillanité*) and creoleness (*créolité*). (See Edouard Glissant, "L'avenir antillais," *Le Discours antillais* ["Towards Caribbeanness," excerpted in *Caribbean Discourse,* 1989] and Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant, *Eloge de la créolité/In Praise of Creoleness,* 1990.)

Yet African writers and intellectuals acknowledge the critical role of négritude as a cultural and aesthetic philosophy that sought to affirm the humanity of those whose humanity had been denied by Europe on the basis of race. On American shores, Samuel W. Allen published "Black Orpheus," a translation of Sartre's preface, and an anthology of African writers, illustrated by Romare Bearden. Mercer Cook also taught, published, and lectured on African and West Indian writers. Langston Hughes, too, published several anthologies of African writing. That new renaissance of cultural nationalism, the black arts movement of the 1960s, was an American version of négritude: The same themes resonated in the works of writers such as Don Lee, Larry Neal, Sonia Sanchez, and Paul Carter Harrison (*The Drama of Nommo*, 1972). Moreover, the elaboration of black or African-inspired theoretical models for African-American literature by Houston Baker (*Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*, 1984) and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (*The Signifying Monkey*, 1988) can be seen as another avatar of the aesthetic ideology at the heart of négritude.

See also Césaire, Aimé; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Ethnic Origins; Hughes, Langston; McKay, Claude; Neal, Larry; Sanchez, Sonia; Woodson, Carter Godwin

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EILEEN JULIEN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Negro American Labor Council

Shortly after the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) refused to adopt internal desegregation measures at its 1959 convention, seventy-five black trade union officials, led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO, formed the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) as a vehicle through which to pressure the labor federation to act against segregated and discriminatory unions. At its founding convention in 1960, the all-black NALC called for the elimination of Jim Crow union locals, racist bars to union leadership, and discriminatory job-training programs. Randolph, who was elected president by the delegates, dominated the council for most of its brief life. By the end of its first year the NALC had enlisted ten thousand members nationally, with its largest chapter in Detroit.

In 1961 the NALC presented to the AFL-CIO Executive Council specific charges of discriminatory practices in affiliated unions along with the recommendation that such practices be rooted out and, as a final resort, unions refusing to comply be expelled from the federation. The Executive Council rejected the proposals, labeled the NALC "separatist," and officially censured Randolph, charging the longtime labor and civil rights leader as the cause of the black rank and file's discontent with AFL-CIO leadership.

The second NALC convention, held in Chicago in the fall of 1961, featured lengthy and vigorous denunciations of the AFL-CIO Executive Council for its response to the NALC's proposal in particular, and for the failure of organized labor historically to combat racist practices and extend class solidarity to black workers.

By the time of the second convention, the NALC's membership had fallen to a little more than four thousand, largely as a result of a lack of funds to wage a sustained organizing campaign. Moreover, a number of members notified the NALC that they were not allowed to organize on behalf of the council while holding official union positions. However, as a result of the pressure brought to bear by the NALC, the 1961 AFL-CIO convention adopted an unprecedented civil rights program that Randolph called the best antidiscrimination measure ever taken up by organized labor. The AFL-CIO's civil rights resolution instituted grievance procedures and called for affiliated unions to voluntarily eliminate segregated locals and discriminatory practices. The NALC criticized the resolution for its reliance on voluntary compliance yet considered the AFL-CIO's measure an important, if insufficient, victory. One of the greater tangible achievements of the NALC was the election of an African American, Nelson Edwards, to the executive board of the United Auto Workers, for which the Detroit chapter had lobbied since its founding.

Shortly after the 1961 NALC convention, Randolph renewed his call from 1941 for a massive march on Washington to demand jobs and civil rights, partly as a way to satisfy militant black nationalists in the council. The NALC became one of the primary mobilizing organizations for the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Although it was unable to win the official endorsement of the AFL-CIO, it was instrumental in gaining the support of various major unions for the demonstration. The NALC continued through the early 1960s as the leading liaison between the civil rights movement and organized labor.

At its fourth annual convention in 1964 the NALC adopted a resolution calling for a national one-day general strike on August 28, the anniversary of the March on Washington, if the pending civil rights bill was not passed by that time. The resolution became moot when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law shortly after the NALC convention.

In 1966 Randolph resigned as president of the council and Cleveland Robinson, vice president of the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers Union (District 65) and a longtime ally of Randolph, was elected to succeed him. The name of the organization was soon thereafter changed to the National Afro-American Labor Council, which was supplanted as the leading advocate of equality within the labor movement by the more moderate A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded by Randolph in 1964. Through the 1960s the institute also recruited black workers into the civil rights movement, assisted voter-registration drives in the South, and successfully lobbied the AFL-CIO leadership to support African-American political causes.

See also Labor and Labor Unions

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Negro Digest

See *Black World/Negro Digest*

Negro Elections Day

Negro Elections Day, a ceremony among African-American slaves in New England, is of disputed origin. Known also as Negro Governor's Day and by several other names, Negro Elections Day is a celebration that entailed costumes, feasting, and the election of a "governor" among certain slave populations. More of a symbolic position than anything else, an elected "governor" had no real legislative or political power.

In some cases contests of cleverness and strength were designed as a means of picking a winner, who would then become governor; in other cases personal character, morality, intelligence, and wisdom were prerequisites for appointment to governor. In a few cases the appointed governor was a descendent of African royalty or had actually been a prince or king prior to capture by slave traders.

Negro Elections Day generally fell on one of the days granted to slaves for rest and recreation. On this day slave men and women dressed in fancy garb or costume, played music, and paraded through the streets on foot or on horseback, accompanying their elected governor. The governor usually wore military dress or emblems (such as a crown) of royalty. The parade was usually followed by a dinner and dance.

Some eighteenth-century writers speculate that the election of governors was a vestige of the ceremonies accompanying the election of a king or chief that had taken place in Africa. Other writers suggest that enslaved Africans, now politically powerless, were imitating the election process that they had witnessed in the company of their white masters. However, the fact that Negro Elections Day is documented as having grown less political and more ceremonial over the years (when fewer Africans with a knowledge of original customs were being imported), combined with the fact that similar celebrations took place among slave populations in the Caribbean and Latin America, seems to buttress the belief that the practice originated in Africa.

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PETRA E. LEWIS (1996)

Negro History Week

See Black History Month/Negro History Week

Negro National Anthem

"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," with words by James Weldon Johnson and music by J. Rosamond Johnson, became known as the "Negro National Anthem" or "Negro National Hymn." James Weldon Johnson wrote this three-stanza hymn for a celebration of Lincoln's birthday at the

Colored High School in Jacksonville, Florida. The school choir first performed the song on February 12, 1900. During the next twenty-five years, African Americans began to perform the hymn at churches, schools, and other large gatherings.

James Weldon Johnson did not write the song as an expression of African-American solidarity, but in 1926 he acknowledged that "the song not only epitomizes the history of the race, and its present condition, but voices their hope for the future." Some writers have objected to calling "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" a "national" hymn; however, the song is still performed as the unofficial anthem of African Americans.

See also Johnson, James Weldon

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"Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing." *Crisis* 32 (September 1926): 234–236.

WILLIE STRONG (1996)

NEGRO SANHEDRIN

The Negro Sanhedrin was a short-lived organization established in 1924 with the purpose, according to its founder, Kelly Miller (1863–1939), of fostering cooperation and coordination between black organizations and forming one unified voice for black America. Miller perceived that black organizations often duplicated each others' efforts or worked at cross-purposes, offering the nation neither a clear picture of the problems of African Americans nor a single agenda for action.

Actually, Miller envisioned several organizations formed along the lines of the ancient Hebrew Sanhedrins: a greater Sanhedrin, which would function nationally to coordinate black political and social policy and be composed of representatives from the leading national black organizations, and lesser Sanhedrins, operating at the local level. Miller took care to distinguish the Sanhedrin, which would concern itself with "the immediate problems of the Negro in the United States," from W. E. B. Du Bois's Pan-African Conferences, which explored the conditions of blacks worldwide, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, which sought the emigration of American blacks to Africa.

Miller, a leading essayist, sociologist, and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Howard University, used his influence among black moderates to attract representatives from sixty-three national black organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Equal Rights League, the Race Congress, the International Uplift League, and the Friends of Negro Freedom, to an initial meeting in Chicago the week of February 11, 1924. Miller also invited several leading citizens unaffiliated with black organizations. In all, 300 delegates attended. The main address was delivered by the mayor of Chicago, William E. Dever.

In the course of their week-long meeting, the delegates identified seven problems of black American life which required interracial cooperation to resolve: the need to improve public health among black Americans; the necessity for equal schools; the end of the exploitation of black labor; the protection of the black franchise; equal rights for women; strengthening the right of protest and public utterance; and the improvement of interracial relations.

The delegates also recommended several points of internal policy aimed at the internal improvement of the black community: the need to build a strong, independent business community; the creation of black fraternal and charitable organizations; the maintenance of a "less partisan" and "more dignified" black press; the establishment of relationships with blacks around the world; the encouragement and support of black youth; and the study and promotion of African and black American culture. Miller, who referred to the Negro Sanhedrin as "an influence rather than an organization," envisioned biennial meetings on the national level, but the Negro Sanhedrin never met again.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Pan-Africanism; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)

NEGROS BRUJOS

Negros brujos, or black witches or sorcerers, refers to African-descended practitioners of a range of African-derived

rituals that included healing, casting spells, and offering spiritual guidance. In early twentieth-century Cuba, "*negros brujos*" acquired meaning as a catch-all term for practitioners of African-derived religions that attracted both legal suppression and scientific curiosity when black "witchcraft" became associated with the murders of Cuban children.

The popular image of the *negro brujo* solidified during the nineteenth century, as the arrival of increasing numbers of slaves led colonial officials to categorize the diverse African populations. In defining the *brujo,* they attributed to some African-descended individuals a capacity to use magic, plants, and animals to heal physical and spiritual maladies. At times, their supposed abilities to withstand or deflect the violence of white superiors and others seemed to have endowed them with powers that concerned nervous social observers. Their status as practitioners frequently offered opportunities for upward mobility both within the religion and within the communities in which they lived. While *brujos* sometimes practiced their magic within the confines of *cabildos,* the social organizations comprising free and enslaved members of African nations, pressure from the colonial government in the 1880s moved many *cabildos* to distance themselves from their African origins and to embrace a new identity as government-sponsored *sociedades.* This measure had the effect of distancing *brujos,* their sorcery, and their dancing and drumming rituals from the renovated institutions.

In the early years of the Cuban republic, images of *brujería* acquired more negative associations, linking African-derived religious practices with cannibalism and the murder of white children, usually girls, to collect their blood for rituals. The government of the republic mounted an aggressive campaign against *brujería* and *ñañiguismo* (referring to a network of secret societies) beginning in 1902. While the Spanish colonial government had not legally targeted *brujería,* the 1901 Cuban constitution allowed *brujos* to be prosecuted under laws governing public health and free association. At the very moment when a newly independent Cuban nation promoted a race-transcendent version of modern citizenship, government officials and local police sought to eradicate *brujería* practices that some Cubans identified as African in origin and primitive in content. A series of murders and trials that received extensive media coverage publicized and transformed the *negro brujo* from a social curiosity into a political menace.

In 1904 a child named Celia was the victim of an attempted rape and murder, and another named Zoila was kidnapped, murdered, and had her heart removed. The murders of these two children in and around Havana received widespread press coverage and led to the arrest of fourteen African-descended Cubans for their alleged involvement in the crimes. Several executions ensued, and correlations between the murders and *brujería* proliferated, despite a lack of clear evidence. The houses of Lucumí and Palo Monte priests were subjected to police searches similar to those directed against the Abakuá-associated *ñañigo* societies. Raids and mass arrests followed a series of child murders in the 1900s and 1910s throughout the island and were sometimes accompanied by mob violence and lynching. Urban police were quick to link Afro-Cuban religious groups with black political unrest, especially during and after the 1912 government suppression of the Partido Independiente de Color.

The campaign against the *negros brujos* found its intellectual backing in the writings of Fernando Ortiz, a young lawyer steeped in the new disciplinary practices of anthropology and criminology and who would become the island's most visible intellectual in the first half of the twentieth century. In *Los negros brujos* (1906), Ortiz historicized the *brujo* as one of the many black social types that inhabited colonial Cuban cities, especially in the neighborhoods outside the city walls. The *brujo* coexisted with the *negro curro,* or street gypsy, and the *ñañigo* to create an underworld rich in complexity but prone to crime and degeneracy. Rather than executing *brujos* for their alleged (and usually unproven) responsibility for the child murders, Ortiz preferred to keep the *brujos* alive for the progressive project of social analysis, so that their African wizardry could be more clearly defined and their "born criminal" nature could be understood. Although the campaigns of the 1900s netted a relatively small number of *brujería* convictions, they had the more lasting legacy of stigmatizing African-derived religious practices for at least two decades and fixing them as the object of scientific knowledge and state surveillance.

Popular anxieties about African-derived "witchcraft" practices were not isolated to Cuba. Public campaigns mobilized in Haiti in the early twentieth century against Vodou, and the Myal movement in Jamaica, directed against practitioners of Obeah, drew criticism—but little state intervention—as a black religious movement in general and for disrupting plantation work routines specifically. The increased migration of Haitian and Jamaican laborers to Cuba between 1910 and 1920 amplified Cuban suppression of *negros brujos*, as suspicions of Vodou and Myal witchcraft followed the arrival of new African-descended migrants and blurred distinctions with Cuban *brujería*. In Brazil, just two years after the abolition of slavery, the new republican Brazilian government criminalized witchcraft in 1890. Novelists, medical professionals,

and social scientists alike amalgamated African-derived magic and religious healing practices, Candomblé cults, folk medicine, and sometimes spiritist practices into a derogatory image of witchcraft in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In doing so, they bolstered the state's efforts to enforce the 1890 ordinance, although commentators reflected and perhaps encouraged popular assumptions that patron-client relations existed between elites and the sorcerers, or *feiticeiros,* who sometimes evaded persecution under the witchcraft law. Without discounting the presence of African-derived religious practice in the Americas, the *negros brujos* scare reveals more about the racial (and racist) anxieties of postemancipation societies and state preoccupations with alternate forms of popular authority than it does about witchcraft itself.

See also Abakuá; Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas; Myal; Obeah; Partido Independiente de Color

DAVID SARTORIUS (2005)

Negro String Quartet

Founded by Felix Weir and active from 1920 to 1933, the Negro String Quartet performed in the musical programs of many churches and community organizations in Harlem and at Columbia University. Its members were Weir and Arthur Boyd, first and second violins respectively; Hall Johnson, viola; and Marion Cumbo, cello. They performed both European chamber music and the music of African-American composers, including Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and Clarence Cameron White. Johnson, who later formed his own choir and arranged many African-American spirituals, also composed and arranged music for the quartet. The Negro String Quartet was the musical descendant of the American String Quartet, also founded by Weir, which included Joseph Lymos, Hall Johnson, and Leonard Jeter. Despite its brief tenure (1914–1919), its members bequeathed a distinguished reputation to the Negro String Quartet: Johnson and Jeter were members of the original pit orchestra of the Broadway musical *Shuffle Along* (together with Eubie Blake and William Grant Still). Jeter performed the Schumann Cello Concerto with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1914 and was one of Marion Cumbo's cello teachers.

The Negro String Quartet's most significant performance was on November 28, 1925, at Carnegie Hall, when it accompanied Roland Hayes singing spirituals arranged by Hall Johnson for tenor, piano, and string quartet. Of that performance, the *New York Times* music critic Olin Downes wrote, "The performance had the profound and mystical feeling that the slave songs possess—a spirituality and pathos given them in fact as well as in name. Thus the final group was not merely an expected item of an entertainment, but rather the contribution of musicians and artists together in the presence of a common ideal of beauty."

See also Blake, Eubie; Still, William Grant

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TIMOTHY W. HOLLEY (1996)

Negro World

The *Negro World* (1918–1933) was the organ of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the most massive African-American and Pan-African movement of all time. Garvey's was a black nationalist movement organized around the principles of race first, self-reliance, and nationhood. At its height in the mid-1920s, the UNIA comprised millions of members and close supporters spread over more than forty countries in the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Australia. The *Negro World* was a faithful reflexion of all the UNIA stood for. It educated African people everywhere on the need for self-determination and racial uplift. With its international reach, it became a major recruiting tool for the organization. Like the larger movement, however, the *Negro World* was viewed with hostility and suspicion by European and other governments.

The *Negro World* began publication in 1918 in Harlem, New York, about two years after Garvey arrived in the United States from his native Jamaica. Garvey had founded the UNIA in Jamaica in 1914, and he conceived the idea of a major publication before leaving for the United States. He brought considerable experience in journal-

ism and printing to the paper. While still a teenager, he had been a foreman printer in Jamaica, and he had published papers in Costa Rica and Panama. He had worked on possibly two papers in Jamaica and for the important *Africa Times and Orient Review* in London in 1913. The earliest issues of the paper were edited by Garvey and slipped free under people's doors in Harlem. Garvey's responsibilities in building the UNIA did not permit him to do the hands-on day-to-day work of running the paper for very long. Though he remained managing editor, he quickly initiated the paper's policy of employing some of the best editorial brains in African America. Among these were Hubert H. Harrison (1883–1927), one of Harlem's most respected intellectuals; W. A. Domingo, a Socialist and sometime publisher of his own *Emancipator;* the veteran journalist John E. Bruce (known in the newspaper world as "Bruce Grit"); William H. Ferris (1874–1941), an author and graduate of Yale and Harvard; T. Thomas Fortune (1856–1928), the "dean" of African-American journalists; and the second Mrs. Garvey, Amy Jacques Garvey (1885–1973).

Among the regular columnists, contributors, and book reviewers were important personalities in Pan-African history. These included Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950), the "father of African-American history"; the popular historian J. A. Rogers (1880–1966); and Duse Mohamed Ali (1866–1945), the editor of the London-based *Africa Times and Orient Review.*

The paper was forceful in tone. "Negroes get ready," it proclaimed from the masthead of early editions. Garvey himself wrote a bold-typed, front page editorial for each issue. This formed the text for weekly meetings of the UNIA all over the world. Coverage of Pan-African and anticolonial news was very broad. Sections of the paper were for a time published in French and Spanish. Articles were well written and sober; there was none of the sensationalism and frivolity of the popular press. Garvey credited himself with having raised the quality of African-American journalism.

Despite its overwhelmingly political orientation, the paper also acted as a literary journal. Poems from contributors around the world appeared every week for several years. The paper boasted African America's first regular book review section. Short stories, plays, and literary and cultural criticism appeared regularly. Major Harlem Renaissance figures such as Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) and Eric Walrond (1898–1966) published in the *Negro World*.

At the same time, the paper did not neglect its role as organ of a great movement. Proceedings of public meetings and conferences filled many pages. Weekly reports of branch meetings were faithfully recorded. Among the authors of such organizational business was Louise Little, the mother of Malcolm X.

The *Negro World*'s circulation is said to have reached 200,000 in the 1920s, making it one of the largest newspapers in African America. It was undoubtedly also the most widely circulated African newspaper internationally. People coming into contact with the paper's message in places as far apart as Dominica and Nigeria were impelled to become Garveyites, sometimes founding their own local branches of the UNIA in the process. Official circulation efforts were supplemented by itinerant seamen who, sometimes acting entirely on their own, took the paper around the world.

The United States, as well as European and other governments, waged a protracted struggle to destroy the paper. Within a year of its appearance in 1919, it was already banned in some British Caribbean territories, Trinidad and British Guiana among them. An African in Southern Rhodesia was sentenced to life in prison (the sentence later rescinded after representations to the British parliament) for importing a few copies.

The *Negro World* survived Garvey's deportation from the United States in 1927 and subsequent schisms in the UNIA, and the paper remained loyal to him until its demise in 1933. Garvey published two newspapers in Jamaica, and a magazine in Jamaica and England, after his deportation from the United States. The UNIA also briefly supplemented the weekly *Negro World* with a *Daily Negro Times* in the early 1920s. However, none of Garvey's other journalistic endeavors ever matched the power and influence of the *Negro World*. With its combination of wide circulation, international outreach, excellence of editorship, and worldwide influence, the *Negro World* may have been the best African-American newspaper of all time.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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TONY MARTIN (2005)

Nell, William Cooper

December 20, 1816
May 25, 1874

The historian and abolitionist William Cooper Nell was born in Boston and graduated with honors from the city's African school. However, despite his achievements, Nell was excluded because of color from citywide ceremonies honoring outstanding scholars. That incident inspired him to lead a campaign to integrate Boston schools during the 1840s and early 1850s. He also championed equal access to railroads, theaters, and militia service. Nell joined the rising antislavery movement in 1831 and became one of the closest and most loyal African-American associates of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In later years Nell supported himself through work as a legal copyist.

In the early 1840s, Nell began a lengthy affiliation with Garrison's *Liberator,* writing articles, supervising the paper's Negro Employment Office, corresponding with other abolitionists, and representing Garrison at various antislavery functions. Nell moved to Rochester at the end of the 1840s, where he became the publisher of Frederick Douglass's newspaper, the *North Star* (1847). By 1850 he had returned to Boston, where he ran unsuccessfully for the Massachusetts Legislature on the Free Soil Party ticket He also worked on the Underground Railroad at this time. When conflict arose between Douglass and Garrison after 1851, Nell eventually sided with Garrison, although his own political posture was probably somewhere in the middle.

Nell believed that African-American history could be a useful tool in stimulating racial pride and advancing the struggle against slavery and racial prejudice. He wrote two pioneering historical works, the pamphlet *The Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812* (1851), and the book *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855). His careful scholarship and innovative use of oral sources contributed in important ways to the developments of African-American historiography. Beginning in 1858, to protest the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, Nell began organizing annual Crispus Attucks Day celebrations in Boston to commemorate African-American contributions to the American Revolution and to justify black claims to full citizenship. In 1861 he was appointed a postal clerk in Boston, becoming probably the first African American named to a position in a federal agency. He held this post until his death, from "paralysis of the brain," in 1874.

See also *Dred Scott v. Sandford*; *Liberator, The*; Douglass, Frederick; Underground Railroad

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ROY E. FINKENBINE (1996)
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Nelson, Prince Rogers

See Prince (Nelson, Prince Rogers)

Nethersole, Noel Newton

November 2, 1903
March 17, 1959

A financial expert and political economist, Noel Newton Nethersole was minister of finance and the first full pre-independence minister of Jamaica from 1955 until his death. However, this role, while arguably his most important in Jamaica's history, occurred fairly late in his life. Prior to holding this ministerial position, Nethersole had

been a Rhodes scholar (1922) and a lawyer. He was admitted as a solicitor for Jamaica's Supreme Court in 1931. Nethersole excelled at cricket and was captain of the Jamaica cricket team between 1932 and 1939. He also served on the Jamaica Cricket Board for twenty years and was a member of the West Indian Cricket board for sixteen years. In addition, Nethersole served as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Kingston and Saint Andrew Corporation. He also served as a foundation member and first vice-president of the People's National Party (PNP), one of Jamaica's two major political parties.

As minister of finance, Nethersole has been credited with modernizing the ministry and its subsidiaries. In 1957 Nethersole created the Investment Division of the ministry, which managed the movement of capital in and out of the country. Nethersole also made history by leading Jamaica in the arduous task of raising a loan of 12.5 million U.S. dollars on the New York money market. Jamaica became the first colonial country to place such a loan in the international money market. The loan resulted in more capital being made available for public services in Jamaica, and in the country becoming less dependent on Britain. It also set the stage for the meaningful economic independence of the country. As impressive as this feat was, Nethersole's major goal was to create a central bank of Jamaica, an ambition that came to fruition shortly after his death. The street on which the Bank of Jamaica is located was officially named Nethersole Place in 1975 in honor of its founding father. Nethersole also worked on the financial aspects of the short-lived Federation of the West Indies.

Aside from his ministerial responsibilities, Nethersole, along with Ken Hill, headed the National Reform Association beginning in 1937. This organization paved the way for the PNP. In addition, Nethersole served as president of the Trade Union Council and headed the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) when its leader, Alexander Bustamante, was detained for seventeen months during World War II. Bustamante was placed in detention in 1940 for inciting three major strikes in less than one year, which was an alleged violation of the Defense of the Realm Act. Nethersole was also chosen as the first president of the National Workers Union, and he became a member of parliament after the 1949 general election, paving the way for his revolutionary accomplishments in the finance ministry.

Despite his achievements, Nethersole was often criticized in the media for handling the country's overseas economic negotiations in secret. He was also chairman of the investigating committee within the PNP that was responsible for ejecting Ken Hill, Frank Hill, Arthur Henry, and Richard Hart from the party because of their "leftist" views. However, Nethersole's popularity in the cricket arena and as a financial genius far outweighed what were perceived as his shortcomings. His insight, foresight, and hard work not only set the stage for the development of the Bank of Jamaica but were instrumental in carving a path toward the country's economic independence.

See also People's National Party; Politics and Politicians in the Caribbean

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DALEA M. BEAN (2005)

Nettleford, Rex

February 3, 1933

Rex Nettleford is one of the most esteemed and versatile intellectuals in the Caribbean. Born in the rural town of Falmouth, Jamaica, he attended Cornwall College in Montego Bay and gained a B.A. degree in history at the University College of the West Indies (London University). He stayed on for a year as resident tutor in the extramural department before winning a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University, where he was a postgraduate in politics at Oriel College in 1957 and received an M.Phil. He returned to Jamaica, holding various university posts in extramural (later continuing) studies at what became the independent University of the West Indies in 1962. He was appointed director of the School of Continuing Studies in 1971, professor of continuing studies in 1976, pro vice chancellor (Outreach and Institutional Relations) from 1988 to 1996, deputy vice chancellor from 1996 to 1998, and vice chancellor in 1998. He became editor of the *Caribbean Quarterly,* the first journal dedicated to the study of the culture of the Caribbean, in 1967. He has lectured and toured throughout the world with UNESCO, the Organization of American States (OAS), and other agencies in London and Canada.

Nettleford has had a multifaceted career not only as an academic but also as an artist. In 1962 he cofounded

with Eddy Thomas the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica. He became the artistic director of the company the following year and principal choreographer. He has also engaged in civic activities both at home and abroad, principally in education and the arts. He founded the Trade Union Education Institute, which attempted to bridge the gulf between classes and to encourage exchanges between scholars and laborers, and he headed the National Council on Education. He has also served in Jamaica as chairman of the Workforce Development Commission, director of the National Commercial Bank, director of the Norman Manley Awards and Memorial Foundation, and cultural advisor to the Government of Jamaica.

He has participated in many capacities in international organizations: the founding governor of the Canadian-based International Development Research Council (IDRC); the international trustee of the AFS Intercultural based in the United States; chairman of the Commonwealth Arts Organization; chairman of London's Commonwealth Arts Organization; member of the executive board of UNESCO; and chairman of the International Council on the University Adult Education. He has acted as a consultant on cultural development to UNESCO and the OAS. He serves as a board member of the Gemini News Agency; rapporteur of the International Scientific Committee of UNESCO's Slave Route Project as well as regional coordinator for the Caribbean; a member of Caricom Cultural Foundation; and a founding member and trustee of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes.

Nettleford's writings reflect the diversity of his interests. His many books include *Mirror, Mirror: Race, Identity, and Protest in Jamaica* (1970), *Manley and the New Jamaica* (1971), *Caribbean Cultural Identity* (1978), *Dance Jamaica: Cultural Definition and Artistic Discovery* (1985), and *Inward Stretch, Outward Reach: A Voice from the Caribbean* (1995). He has also coauthored, with Maria La Yacona, *Roots and Rhythms: Jamaica's National Dance Theatre* (1969), with Slim Aarons and Arnold Newman, *Rose Hall, Jamaica: Story of a People, a Legend, and a Legacy* (1973), with Philip Sherlock, *The University of the West Indies: A Caribbean Response to the Challenge of Change* (1987), and, with M. G. Smith and Roy Augier, *The Rastafarians in Kingston, Jamaica* (1960). He edited *Jamaica in Independence; The Early Years* (1988); he coedited, with Norman Manley, *Norman Washington Manley and the New Jamaica; Selected speeches and Writings, 1938-1968* (1971); he coedited, with Vera Hyatt, *Jamaica in Independence: The Early Years* (1991) and *Race, Discourse and the Origins of the Americas*, a publication for the Smithsonian (1995). He is also the author of major national reports on cultural policy, worker participation, reform of government structure in Jamaica, and national symbols and national observances.

Nettleford has received numerous honors including the Order of Merit (OM) from Jamaica in 1975; the Gold Musgrave Medal from the Institute of Jamaica; the Living Legend Award from the Black Arts Festival, Atlanta, Georgia; and the Pelican Award from the University of the West Indies Guild of Graduates. In 1991, he became one of only four people in over a hundred years to be named a fellow of the Institute of Jamaica; in 1994 he received the Zora Neale Hurston/Paul Robeson Award for Outstanding Scholarly Achievements from the National Council for Black Studies in the United States. He was received the Pinnacle Award from the National Coalition on Caribbean Affairs (NCOCA) and the Second Annual Honor Award from the Jamaican-American Chamber of Commerce in 1999. He has been awarded honorary doctorates and degrees on both sides of the Atlantic, including a D. Litt from St. John's University in 1994; an LHD from the University of Hartford and a Presidential Medal from Brooklyn College in 1995; an LHD from City University of New York and John Jay College in 1996; a D. Litt. from the University of Connecticut and an LLD from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1997; an LLD by Queens University (Canada) in 1999; an LHD by Emory University and D.Litt. from Grand Valley State University and Sheffield University (England) in 2000; an LLD from the University of Toronto (Canada) in 2001; a DCL from Oxford University (England), an honor shared by only two other West Indians, Eric Williams and Sir Shridath Ramphal, in 2003; a D.Litt. from the University of Technology (Jamaica) in 2004; and a DFA from the State University of New York, Brockport in 2005. In 2003, the Rhodes Trust of Oxford University established the Rex Nettleford Prize in Cultural Studies and the Government of Jamaica made him an ambassador-at-large in 2004. He was made an honorary fellow of Oriel College, Oxford University, in 1998; a distinguished fellow in the UWI School of Graduate Studies; and an honorary (life) fellow of the Center for Caribbean Thought. In 2004 he was made an Officer of the Ordre des Arts et Lettres by the French government and received the Pablo Neruda Centenary Medal from the Government of Chile.

The principal focus of Nettleford's wide-ranging interests and writings is the identity and culture of the peoples of the postindependence Caribbean. He anticipated the development of modern cultural studies with his interdisciplinary approach to understanding how the dynamic process of creolization melded a people who were part African, part European, part Asian, part Native American

but totally Caribbean. He was a pioneer in attempting to rediscover the African elements of the Jamaican identity and to give it expression in his National Dance Theatre Company. He was sympathetic in his treatment of the Rastafarians at a time when they were often treated as pariahs in the Caribbean. However, Nettleford was never wholly Afrocentric, because he was always too committed to inclusiveness and to recognizing the rich elements that made up the Caribbean. He is essentially antiparochial in his efforts to traverse different academic disciplines, different classes, different races, and different nations.

See also Augier, Roy; Dance, Diasporic; Manley, Norman; Sherlock, Philip

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ANDREW JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY (2005)

New Deal, The

See Great Depression and the New Deal

New Jewel Movement

Early in the morning of October 25, 1983, an invasion force numbering more then six thousand U.S. infantry and marines attacked by sea and air the tiny spice island of Grenada, southernmost of the Windward Islands in the Eastern Caribbean. After five days of unexpected resistance from Grenada's People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), the United States, backed by some Caribbean states but opposed by the great majority in the United Nations, finally asserted control.

The immediate prelude to these momentous events was an extraordinary meeting in September of the Central Committee (CC) of Grenada's ruling party, the Marxist-Leninist New Jewel Movement (NJM). After four and a half years of revolutionary rule, beginning with the armed seizure of power from autocratic Prime Minister Eric Gairy in March 1979, the majority of the CC assessed that the regime was in a state of crisis. Earlier that year, on March 10, U.S. president Ronald Reagan in a national broadcast had declared Grenada, with its close ties to Cuba, a threat to U.S. security. Following this broadcast, there were large, coordinated naval maneuvers in the Atlantic and Caribbean. An invasion of Grenada seemed imminent, and yet many CC members averred that from the perspective of military preparedness and national morale, the country was at its lowest point since 1979. The position eventually endorsed by all was that weak leadership had been the cause of the flagging support.

Divisions began to emerge, however, when suggestions as to the way out of the crisis were proposed. Liam James, member of the inner Political Bureau and chief of security, argued that while Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had the charismatic qualities to inspire people, he lacked a "Leninist level of organization and discipline," as well as great ideological clarity. The answer, James proposed, was a model of "joint leadership," merging Bishop's strengths with those of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Bernard Coard, generally perceived as the most ideologically developed of the top leaders. After much debate, in which Bishop, among others, expressed reservations, the proposal was carried forward to a full party gathering on September 25. Here, differences seemed to have been overcome and the meeting ended in apparent unity. The following day Bishop left on a scheduled trip to Eastern Europe, returning via Cuba on October 8. By then everything had changed. He announced that he wanted the joint leadership matter reopened for debate. Battle lines were now drawn. Some party leaders began to see his request as an unacceptable volte-face on a collective decision. For his part, Bishop began to believe that there was a conspiracy afoot.

Rumors were rife. One in particular, suggesting that Coard and his Jamaican wife, Phyllis, were planning to kill the prime minister, led to a clash between a pro-Bishop militia contingent and a unit of the regular army. When an investigation into the source was held, Bishop's number two security officer said that the rumor came from the prime minister himself. Bishop, refusing to respond to the accusation, was placed, precipitously, under house arrest.

Almost immediately, popular demonstrations began, from a people who were entirely unaware of the previous secretive, inner-party decisions and who were outraged at the detention of their popular leader. On October 19 a large demonstration freed Bishop from his home, and he, along with his closest associates, marched to the main military camp at nearby Fort Rupert and overwhelmed its guards.

In the subsequent attempt by the army to recapture the fort, there was a shootout with fatalities both on the

side of the encroaching military and the newly armed pro-Bishop supporters. The PRA contingent was eventually victorious; Bishop and his closest allies were held unarmed, then shortly thereafter executed.

The killing of Bishop undermined any remaining popular support for the revolutionary process. The expected U.S. invasion came six days later. There was resistance, but most of the country was still paralyzed and in shock, with many expressing great antipathy toward those in the NJM whom they held responsible for murdering Bishop.

The NJM had been formed only a decade before in 1973. A direct product of the effervescent Caribbean Black Power movement, it emerged from the unification of two trends—the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (Jewel), headed by Unison Whiteman, and the Movement for the Assemblies of the People (MAP), headed by Maurice Bishop. MAP was one of a few Caribbean organizations inspired by the ideas of the Trinidadian Marxist C. L. R. James.

The NJM was launched during a profound political crisis. In 1972 Eric Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) won what many considered to be a fraudulent general election. Immediately after, he declared without prior consultation that he would lead Grenada to independence from Great Britain. Many people opposed independence under Gairy, fearing that his arbitrary and often brutal rule would worsen. Large, anti-independence demonstrations escalated into a nationwide lockdown in December 1973, when Gairy's paramilitary force—the "Mongoose Gang"—beat up Bishop and other NJM leaders as they mobilized support.

Gairy managed to ride out the general strike and declared independence, effectively defeating the opposing coalition. Out of this failure, NJM leaders, influenced by Coard, decided to transform the party from a popular, if inchoate, mass movement into a vanguard party based on Leninist principles of selective membership and "democratic centralism." Vanguardism seemed at first to serve the movement well. In 1976, as part of a broad-based alliance, the NJM contested general elections. Gairy won, though many considered it another rigged exercise. The NJM, however, emerged as the largest opposition party, and Bishop became the constitutional leader of the opposition.

In early 1979, when it was alleged that Gairy was planning to arrest and massacre NJM leaders, the party had already trained a military force and was able to respond with the seizure of power on March 13. This power was consolidated when large numbers of people came out in the streets in support of the revolution.

NJM rule combined some distinct successes with a few ultimately fatal weaknesses. NJM's economic policies, predicated on Keynesian notions of infrastructural development, led to growth and significantly reduced levels of unemployment. The structural features of the economy, however, rooted in an agrarian-based, export dependent monoculture, remained largely unchanged. The political strategy showed some innovation, as in the national budget debate, which sought to creatively involve the entire populace in a discussion of the annual budget. The broader policy on political freedoms was, however, seriously flawed, including the failure to consider multiparty elections and the detention of large numbers of opposition figures on the sometimes unsubstantiated basis that they were "counterrevolutionary."

The single most important political failure, however, was the dogmatic application of vanguardism after the seizure of power. Leninism had been a useful tool for insurrection, but turned out later to be a millstone around the party's neck. The unswerving implementation of a policy of secrecy, elitism, and exclusionism served to alienate the NJM from its support base, laying the basis for the crisis of mid-1983 and the fatal joint leadership proposal, which, in turn, led to the tragedy of October.

See also Bishop, Maurice; Gairy, Eric

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BRIAN MEEKS (2005)

New Media and Digital Culture

Throughout the 1990s the terms *new media* and *digital culture* were commonly used phrases to describe several technological, social, and political developments during the period. A major consumer change during this decade was the growth in technologies available to individual consumers, the personal computer being the most influential and common of them all. The popularity of the personal computer as a consumer item in households was partly a result of the growth of the Internet beginning in the early 1990s. While the Internet was praised as a technological revolution at the end of the millennium, its origins can be dated back to the Cold War era. As tensions escalated between the United States and the former USSR after World War II, the U.S. Department of Defense put a great deal of effort into creating a communications network that would outlive a possible nuclear war. In the 1960s this research became known as the Advanced Research Projects Agency. Over the next several years the developing network of linked computers became useful for educational institutions but maintained its strong connection to military explorations. Yet the growing technology did not serve the commercial function that would define it by the 1990s. Continued technological developments and the growth of the computer workstation in the 1980s provided an environment for the Internet to become more sophisticated and influential. Many date the Internet revolution, as it became known to the general public, to 1994.

Part of the impact of the Internet is its reliance on innovations in digital technology. Digital technology is different from previous analog technology in how information is processed, stored, and displayed. Digital technology processes information as binary code, that is, zeros and ones. The information can be recalled at any point and reproduced in identical replicas. With analog technology, information is carried through varying frequency to carrier waves. Reproductions through analog technology degrade with each generation of copying. This is why a second-generation videotape is of lower quality than a first-generation tape. Thus, the digital technology's breakthrough is in recording, reproducing, and disseminating identical information to limitless numbers of people.

By the late 1990s the promises of the Internet and digital technology had reached a global scale. In fact, the world was often referred to as a global village where human communication between people in the remotest parts of the planet could happen with ease. Advertisements from technology companies, such as IBM, Sun Microsystems, Compaq, and Microsoft, showed a multiracial, harmonious world brought together by advances in technology. This period is known as the *digital boom*. A large number of what were known as start-up high technologies developed in a short period of time. Many employees involved in these companies became extremely rich during the late 1990s, but a large percentage lost their wealth when the digital economy collapsed at the turn of the millennium. For the most part blacks and Latinos did not benefit financially from this economic trend, as their numbers were extremely low on the payroll of high-technology companies.

The Digital Divide

The term *digital divide* became an increasingly popular way to refer to the disparity between technology haves and have-nots. The origin of the term is debated but can be traced back to journalist Amy Harmon in 1996, then writing for the *Los Angeles Times,* and to U.S. president Bill Clinton's administration's technology initiatives during the same period. *Digital divide* refers loosely to the imbalances between those who have access and know-how and those who lack technological resources, specifically people from developing nations and rural communities and lower-income blacks and Latinos in the United States. While this period saw an astronomical growth in the number of homes that had personal computers, blacks and Latinos lagged behind whites and Asians in such purchases. Often, schools in poor communities were not equipped with the new technologies used in richer school districts. In other words, many minority communities lacked access to technology and, more importantly, technological literacy. For the most part, black Americans' participation in technology consumption and Internet usage was the standard for measuring the digital divide in the United States.

Social policy and local community attempts to counter this technological imbalance included creating computer centers in low-income neighborhoods and initiatives to equip poor schools with new computers. Several Web sites by nonprofit groups and collaborations between businesses and communities addressed more sustainable approaches to bridging technological gaps.

Yet critics of the digital divide have challenged the framework of the digital divide as too simplistic by focusing on access alone. Several writers and scholars, including Anna Everett, Lisa Nakamura, and Alondra Nelson, have offered more complex analyses of race and new technology issues. Instead of just focusing on the issue of access, these scholars analyze the formation of racial communities on the Internet and how issues of race are addressed through digital practices. Scholar and curator Erika Dalya Muhammad began to write about and curate black new media artists in the late 1990s. She was one of the organizers of the first Race in Digital Space Conference sponsored by the University of Southern California and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2001. These conferences brought together scholars, journalists, artists, and business professionals to consider the myriad of social implications of new technologies and race.

New Media and Digital Art

In addition to social policy and community activism, the field of art has been an important site for countering the digital divide. During the 1990s, artists, art critics, and art historians began to refer to a range of experimental art based in recent technological innovations as *new media art*. The term expressed a level of discontent with previous labels used to describe arts that relied heavily in form and content on technology, including *media art, multimedia art,* and *interactive media art*. At the same time, because technology is always evolving—that is, new technologies are always emerging—*new media* does not adequately describe the multifaceted works that challenged traditional notions of art disciplines. What it does describe is the influence of the Internet on art making, the use of modern technologies in the art-making process and for presentation, and the close relationships between art and science.

Individual artists and collectives used technology as medium for artistic production and as a tool to criticize some of the negative effects of the digital revolution, especially the reproduction of racial imbalances. Others, such as Cinque Hicks with his multimedia project *We Are All Global Nomads* (2003), use digital technology to explore the forms of human communication facilitated by new technology and to envision future possibilities in which technology is used to counter racism and other forms of discrimination. Many of these artists question how identity is formed and the uses of the social implications of technology.

Some key figures include Fatimah Tuggar, Leah Gilliam, Roshini Kempadoo, Keith Piper, Roy LaGrone, and Mendi and Keith Obadike. Tuggar, Kempadoo, and Gilliam appropriate both archival imagery and mass media to create new narratives about identity, history, and race. In Gilliam's installation *Agenda for a Landscape* (2002) at the New Museum for Contemporary Art, the media artist considers the social, technological, and representational implications of space exploration, specifically the space robot named Sojourner Truth used by NASA to explore Mars. Important online art projects by black visual and media artists include artist Fatimah Tuggar's *Changing Space* (2002) for the Art Production Fund and Charles Nelson's *Charles Nelson Project* (2001). Black British artist Keith Piper's multimedia installation, interactive Web site, and CD-ROM, *Relocating the Remains/Excavating the Site* (1997), is a sophisticated artistic exploration of the history of the black Atlantic. Artist Damali Ayo has combined art making with activism through her project, www.rent-a-negro.com, a satire on the commodification of black culture and the rampant consumerism promoted by the Internet by the turn of the millennium. Such exhibitions as *Digital Africa* (2003) at the Electronic Arts Intermix in New York offer venues for black diasporic media artists to present their works.

Important predecessors for these artists are video artists and media activists of the 1970s and 1980s. In the mid-1960s portable recording equipment became available because of the advent of the Sony Portapak. Through this first-generation portable video camera, individuals and groups previously excluded from media production gained access to the means of creating visual media. Artists, collectives, and activists began to use video technology to produce *alternative media,* that is, programs that would not be broadcast on television or in cinemas. Many of these projects challenged the large broadcast systems and mainstream American politics. Key figures in this movement include such collectives as the Downtown Community Television and the People's Communication Network in New York and the documentary work of William Greaves and St. Claire Bourne. With regard to the medium of video art, works by Adrian Piper, such as her video installation *Cornered* (1989), and photographic works by Lorna Simpson and Carrie Mae Weems influenced these practices.

Besides photography, video, and other image-based media, music and sound recording have been greatly impacted by digital technology. Digital recording devices and

software make it easier for artists to have access to high-quality sound recording, and CD burners allow artists to master and copy their own music for distribution. Just as important, the Internet became a site for artists without recording contracts to build an audience by sharing their music online. Many musical artists began sharing their music free of charge or for a small fee through Internet downloads. Yet in the late 1990s large recording companies became concerned about the availability of copyrighted music on the Internet. The companies filed lawsuits against such companies as Napster that made it easy for consumers to download music despite copyright protection. On another front, digital sound art grew in popularity. Sound art is influenced by the hip-hop movement and club culture. Key black sound artists include Paul Miller (aka DJ Spooky That Subliminal Kid), Pamela Z, and artist and scholar Beth Coleman (aka DJ Singe).

Black Digital Culture

The growth in black-oriented Web sites is an important development of the Internet culture. The Internet has become an essential tool for scholars and students of African-American studies. One important site, launched in 1999, is Africana.com, spearheaded by Professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. of Harvard University. Africana.com is an online encyclopedia of African-American history and culture with a wealth of articles and accessible archival materials, such as footage of speeches by Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Other vital black online communities include blackplanet.com, with over five million members, and blackvoices.com; Web forums such as askblack.com; and black search engines such as blackwebportal.com and everythingblack.com. Groups such as the Association of African American Web Developers have been active in increasing black professional presence on the Internet. Companies and organizations such as Black Entertainment Television and the Black Women's Health Network have used their Web sites for educational and social campaigns targeted at black communities.

One of the most significant influences that digital culture and new media have had on black communities throughout the world is in the formation of *digital diasporas*. The notion of digital diaspora has emerged as the Internet gets used to form communities among people of similar heritage, geography, race, and ethnicity located throughout the world. Several active online communities have emerged among blacks from all walks of life, including a wide range of chat rooms, from those dedicated to African nationals residing in different parts of the world to those specifically for blacks interested in science fiction. One example is Afrofuturism, a site founded by scholar Alondra Nelson, as an online community of black diasporic artists, technology experts, scholars, and individuals interested in futurist themes in black culture and the possibilities of technology to impact culture and society. In terms of social policy, a partnership of nongovernmental organizations through the United Nations called the Digital Diaspora Network-Africa promotes access to technological resources, professional skills, and education in the African diaspora. In essence, the concept of the black diaspora continues to strengthen through the notion of the digital diaspora.

See also Digital Culture

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NICOLE R. FLEETWOOD (2005)

New Negro

The term *New Negro* was often used by whites in the colonial period to designate newly enslaved Africans. Ironically, that same term began to be used at the end of the nineteenth century to measure and represent the distance that African Americans had come from the institution of slavery. Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, articles and books discussing the New Negro were commonplace. African-American leaders, journalists, artists, and some white Americans used the phrase to refer to a general sense of racial renewal among blacks that was characterized by a spirit of racial pride, cultural and eco-

nomic self-assertion, and political militancy. William Pickens, for example, proclaimed the transformation of the "patient, unquestioning devoted semi-slave" into "the self-conscious, aspiring, proud young man" (Pickens, 1916, p. 236). While the notion of a New Negro was variously defined, it typically referred to the passing of an "old Negro," the "Uncle Tom" of racial stereotypes, and the emergence of an educated, politically and culturally aware generation of blacks.

A New Negro for a New Century (1900), a volume of historical and social essays, with chapters by Booker T. Washington and other prominent blacks, was one of the earliest of several books that sought to define the new racial personality. In subsequent decades many African Americans referred to Washington's political leadership and educational philosophy as symbolic of an accommodation that marked the "old Negro"; yet Washington's chapter, "Afro-American Education," stressed the role of education, "the grand army of school children" (p. 84), in remaking African-American consciousness. Fannie B. Williams's "Club Movement Among Colored Women in America" drew attention to the role of African-American women in the development of the "womanhood of a great nation and a great civilization," and she praised their organizations as the "beginning of self-respect and the respect" for the race (p. 404).

During the 1920s the idea of the New Negro became an important symbol of racial progress, and different political groups vied with each other over who more properly represented the new racial consciousness. Most agreed that impact of black military service during World War I, the migration of blacks to the North, and the example of blacks fighting against racial violence during the race riots of 1919 provided clear evidence of a reinvigorated African-American sense of self. Political organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey each felt that it represented an unquenchable political and racial militancy. The group of socialist and political radicals including A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, who were identified with the monthly journal *Messenger* and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, consistently argued that they represented the political ideas as the ideal of the New Negro.

In 1925 Alain L. Locke, a philosophy professor at Howard University and a leading promoter of black writers and artists, published an anthology *The New Negro, An Interpretation*. That volume proposed African-American creative artists as contenders with political spokesmen for the title of New Negro. The anthology contained contributions from such leading political leaders as W. E. B. Du Bois, Jessie Fauset, James Weldon Johnson, and Walter White of the NAACP, and Charles H. Johnson of the National Urban League, yet Locke's essays, "Enter the New Negro" and "Negro Youth Speaks," focused exclusively on a group of young writers and artists: "Youth speaks and the voice of the New Negro is heard" (Locke, 1925, p. 47). Locke offered the drawings, poetry, and prose of Aaron Douglas, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Claude McKay, and Jean Toomer, artists who drew inspiration from the vernacular—blues, jazz, spirituals, and the folktale—as the voice of a vibrant "new psychology" (p. 3). Locke's anthology, and the subsequent work of the young artists included in it, tied the notion of the New Negro to the work of African-American artists and firmly bound the image of the New Negro to the artistic products of the Harlem Renaissance.

After the 1920s the expression New Negro passed out of fashion, largely because the spirit that it referred to was taken for granted. Subsequent generations of scholars, however, still debate which of the various political and artistic philosophies best represented the ideal of the New Negro.

See also Identity and Race in the United States

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GEORGE P. CUNNINGHAM (1996)
Updated bibliography

NEWTON, HUEY P.

FEBRUARY 17, 1942
AUGUST 22, 1989

Political activist Huey Newton was born in Monroe, Louisiana, the youngest of seven siblings. When he was young his family moved to Oakland, California, were he attended Merritt College and participated in the groundswell of political activity erupting on college campuses nationwide.

He joined the increasing number of blacks who questioned the ability of the civil rights movement to deal with the problems of housing, unemployment, poverty, and police brutality that plagued urban African Americans.

In college Newton and his friend Bobby Seale were active in the effort to diversify the curriculum at Merritt, as well as in lobbying for more black instructors. Newton joined the Afro-American Association but soon became a vocal critic of the organization's advocacy of capitalism. Instead, he sought inspiration from Robert Williams, a former head of the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP, who advocated guerilla warfare, and from third-world revolutionaries such as Cuba's Fidel Castro, China's Mao Zedong, and Algeria's Frantz Fanon. Newton believed that blacks were an oppressed colony being exploited economically and disfranchised politically within U.S. borders and argued that blacks should launch a liberation movement for self-empowerment.

In 1966 Newton and Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP). Newton took on the title of minister of defense and acted as leader of the organization. Among the points raised in their initial program was the right to bear arms to defend their community from police repression.

In November 1966 Newton and Seale, armed with shotguns—which were legal at the time as long as they were not concealed—instituted "justice patrols" to monitor the actions of the police and inform blacks of their rights when stopped by the police. The police responded with resentment and harassment. On October 28, 1967, in culmination of a year of hostile and antagonistic relations between the Panthers and the police, Newton was arrested and charged in the shooting of one police officer and the murder of another. Reports of this incident are unclear and conflicting. Newton claimed to be unconscious after being shot by one of the policemen.

Newton's arrest heightened awareness of police brutality in the black community. While in prison Newton was considered a political prisoner; rallies and speeches focused attention on his plight. His trial became a cause célèbre, and "Free Huey" became a slogan that galvanized thousands of people on the New Left. Massive rallies and demonstrations at the courthouse demanding his release were organized by BPP members.

Newton remained active in prison, issuing speeches and directives. He was convicted in September 1968 of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to two to fifteen years in prison. His conviction was overturned by the court of appeals because of procedural errors during his first trial. Newton, after being released from prison, tried to revive the BPP. However, during the early 1970s the BPP had declined due to legal problems, internal tensions, and a factional split among BPP members on the East and West Coasts. This division was fostered by the disinformation campaign launched by the FBI, which created a climate of distrust and suspicion within the BPP. Many on the East Coast believed the ideology of Eldridge Cleaver, who had become the public spokesperson for the BPP during Newton's incarceration and who advocated politically motivated armed actions. Newton articulated the feelings of many on the West Coast by arguing that the BPP, by

Huey P. Newton, co-founder (with Bobby Seale) of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS, INC. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

becoming too militant, had moved onto a plane with which average blacks could no longer identify. He wanted to focus more on community programs and political education. Newton ordered a series of purges, which debilitated the organization further.

Although Newton remained publicly identified with the BPP, many people no longer looked to him as leader. Increasingly isolated, he cultivated a small band of supporters. In 1974 Newton was accused of murdering a woman. The circumstances of this incident remain unclear. Newton fled to Cuba, feeling that he would not get a fair trial in the United States. In 1977 he returned to the United States to resume leadership of the weakened and splintering party. In his absence Elaine Brown had assumed leadership of the organization and taken it in new directions. Newton's role in the organization continued to diminish. He was retried in the 1967 killing of the policeman and convicted, but that conviction was later overturned. He also faced trial for the murder of the woman, but the charge was dropped after two hung juries.

In 1980 Newton received a Ph.D. from the University of California. His thesis was "War Against the Panthers—A Study of Repression in America." While Newton remained politically active, his visibility as a public figure was waning. He was arrested in 1985 for embezzling funds from a nutritional program he headed. Three years later, he was convicted of possessing firearms. Increasingly addicted to drugs and involved in the drug trade, he was killed in a drug-related incident on the streets of Oakland in 1989.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Cleaver, Eldridge; Seale, Bobby

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Newton, James

May 1, 1953

The flutist, composer, and bandleader James Newton Jr. was born in Los Angeles and began his musical career in high school as an electric bass guitarist performing rhythm and blues. In 1971 he switched to saxophones and flute and began to explore jazz with the saxophonists Arthur Blythe and David Murray, the clarinetist John Carter, and the trumpeter Bobby Bradford. He studied flute with Buddy Collette and earned a B.A. in music from California State University, Los Angeles, before moving to New York in early 1978. Focusing exclusively on the flute, he performed and recorded with Murray and Blythe and formed a group with the pianist and composer Anthony Davis. By 1979 Newton had achieved international critical acclaim for his performances and recordings, which featured his distinctive full-bodied tone and exploitation of timbral shadings in the flute's higher registers.

Developing flute vocalization techniques pioneered by Yusef Lateef and Rahsaan Roland Kirk and incorporating Japanese *shakuhachi* techniques into his otherwise classical vocabulary, Newton has expanded the technical and timbral possibilities of the Western orchestral flute, and he is recognized as one of the leading innovators on the instrument. He has also broken new ground as a composer, again drawing on a range of influences that includes the black Baptist church, Duke Ellington, Charles Mingus, traditional and contemporary Asian repertory, and twentieth-century French and Viennese composers. In addition to his works for large and small jazz ensembles, other compositions include *Ninety-first Psalm* (1985) for soprano, piano, and chamber orchestra; *The King's Way* (1988) for chamber orchestra; and *The Line of Immortality* (1992) for chamber ensemble and jazz quartet. Newton's achievements as flutist, composer, and arranger in the jazz idiom are heard to best advantage on the recordings *Axum* (1982), *Luella* (1984), *African Flower* (1985), and *If Love* (1989).

In 1994 Newton and the pianist and composer Jon Jang went to South Africa, where they gave workshops in Soweto. The two have collaborated on a number of works, including *When Sorrow Turns to Joy: Songlines—The Spiritual Tributary of Paul Robeson and Mei Lanfang* (2000). This ambitious stage work is scored for two voices, flute, piano, and traditional Chinese string instruments and percussion, and it has a libretto by the poet Genny Lim. In 2001 Newton collaborated on a ballet, *Cross Roads*, which was choreographed by Donald McKayle and performed by the Limón Dance Company. A Guggenheim Fellowship

recipient, Newton is professor of music at California State University, Los Angeles, and music director of the Luckman Jazz Orchestra.

See also Jazz

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ANTHONY BROWN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

New York African Burial Ground Project

See African Burial Ground Project

Niagara Movement

The Niagara Movement, which was organized in 1905, was the first significant organized black protest campaign in the twentieth century. The movement represented the attempt of a small but articulate group of radicals to challenge the then-dominant accommodationist ideas of Booker T. Washington.

The Niagara Movement developed after failed attempts at reconciling the two factions in African-American political life: the accommodationists, led by Washington, and the more militant faction, led by W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter. A closed-door meeting of representatives of the two groups at Carnegie Hall in New York City in 1904 led to an organization, the Committee of Twelve for the Advancement of the Interests of the Negro Race, but the committee fell apart due to the belief of Du Bois and Trotter that Washington was controlling the organization.

In February 1905 Du Bois and Trotter devised a plan for a "strategy board" that would fight for civil rights and serve as a counterpoint to Washington's ideas. Since they knew Washington was most popular among whites, they resolved to form an all-black organization. Along with two allies, F. L. McGhee and C. E. Bentley, they scheduled a meeting for that summer in western New York, to which they invited fifty-nine businessmen and professionals who were known to be anti-Washingtonites.

In mid-July 1905 Du Bois went to Buffalo. He had difficulty arranging hotel reservations, so he crossed to the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. Fearing reprisals by Washington, who had sent spies to Buffalo, the radicals kept their conference secret. On July 11–14, 1905, twenty-nine men met and formed a group they called the Niagara Movement, both for the conference location and for the "mighty current" of protest they wished to unleash. Du Bois was named general secretary, and the group split into various committees, of which the most important was Trotter's Press and Public Opinion Committee. The founders agreed to divide the work among state chapters, which would "cooperate with congressmen and legislators to secure just legislation for the colored people," and pursue educational and informational programs. Movement members would meet annually.

The Niagara Movement's "Declaration of Principles," drafted by Du Bois and Trotter and adopted at the close of the conference, was a powerful and clear statement of the rights of African Americans: "We believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights." The declaration went on to urge African Americans to protest the curtailment of civil rights, the denial of equal economic opportunity, and denial of education; and the authors decried unhealthy living conditions, discrimination in the military, discrimination in the justice system, Jim Crow railroad cars, and other injustices. "Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently," they stated. "Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started."

At the end of its first year, the organization had only 170 members and was poorly funded. Nevertheless, the Niagarites pursued their activities, distributing pamphlets, lobbying against Jim Crow, and sending a circular protest letter to President Theodore Roosevelt after the Brownsville Incident in 1906. That summer the movement had its second annual conference, at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. This was an open meeting, and the conference speeches and the tribute to John Brown aroused much publicity.

The Niagara Movement, despite its impressive start, did not enjoy a long life. There was from the start determined opposition by Booker T. Washington—he prevented sympathetic white newspapers, and even many black ones, from printing the declaration—which dissuaded many blacks from joining or contributing funds. The loose organization, with only token communication between state chapters, and the radical nature for the time of such forthright protest also contributed to the movement's decline. Not long after the Harpers Ferry conference, factional struggles broke out between Du Bois and Trotter, as well as disagreements over the role of women in the movement. By the end of the summer of 1907 Trotter had been replaced as head of the Press Committee, and his supporters grew disenchanted with the movement. Du Bois tried to keep it going, guiding the movement through annual conferences in 1908 and 1909, after which it largely ceased to exist.

Even in its decline, however, the movement left a lasting legacy. In 1908 Du Bois invited Mary White Ovington, a settlement worker and socialist, to be the movement's first white member; by 1910 he had turned to the search for white allies by joining the newly organized NAACP. Despite its predominantly white leadership and centralized structure, the NAACP was really the successor to the Niagara Movement, whose remaining members Du Bois urged to join the NAACP. (However, William Monroe Trotter and his faction of the Niagara Movement never affiliated with the new organization.) The NAACP inherited many of the goals and tactics of the Niagara Movement, including the cultivation of a black elite that would defend the rights of African Americans through protest and lobbying against oppression and the publicizing of injustice.

See also Washington, Booker T.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Nixon, Edgar Daniel

July 12, 1899
February 25, 1987

The civil rights leader Edgar Daniel Nixon was born in Robinson Springs, near Montgomery, Alabama, the son of Wesley and Susan (Chappell) Nixon. Wesley Nixon was a tenant farmer and, in later years, a Primitive Baptist preacher. Susan Nixon died when her son was nine, and the boy was reared in Montgomery by his paternal aunt, Winnie Bates, a laundress. He received only the most rudimentary education and at thirteen began full-time work, initially in a meatpacking plant, then on construction crews, and in 1918 as a baggage handler at Montgomery's railway station. Thanks to friendships that he made in this job, he managed in 1923 to obtain employment as a Pullman car porter, a position that he held until his retirement in 1964.

Exposed by his work to the world beyond Montgomery, Nixon grew increasingly hostile to racial segregation. He became an enthusiastic proponent of A. Philip Randolph's (1889–1979) efforts in the late 1920s and early 1930s to unionize the Pullman porters, and in 1938 he accepted the presidency of the new union's Montgomery local. In 1943 he organized the Alabama Voters League to press for the registration of Montgomery's blacks as voters, and though the campaign provoked a vigorous white counterattack, Nixon himself achieved registration in 1945.

Montgomery's black community was sharply divided between the middle-class professionals who resided near the campus of Alabama State College for Negroes and the working-class blacks who lived in the city's western neighborhoods. When the Montgomery branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), dominated by the Alabama State College professionals, failed to support Nixon's voter registration drive actively, Nixon began organizing the poorer blacks of western Montgomery in an effort to take over the branch. In a series of acrimonious campaigns, he was defeated for branch president in 1944, elected in 1945, and re-elected in 1946.

In 1947 Nixon was elected the NAACP's state president, defeating the incumbent, the Birmingham newspaper editor Emory O. Jackson. But national NAACP officials, hostile to his lack of education, arranged in 1949 for his defeat for re-election to the state post, and in 1950 he also was ousted from the leadership of the Montgomery branch. In 1952, however, he won election as president of the Montgomery chapter of the Progressive Democratic

Association, the voice of Alabama's black Democrats. And in 1954 he created a great stir in the city by becoming a candidate to represent his precinct on the county Democratic Executive Committee. Although his bid was unsuccessful, he was the first black to seek public office in Montgomery in the twentieth century.

During his years with the NAACP, Nixon had become a close friend of Rosa L. Parks (b. 1913), the branch secretary. When Parks was arrested on December 1, 1955, for a violation of the city's bus segregation ordinance, she called Nixon for assistance. After he bailed her out of jail, Nixon began calling other black leaders to suggest a boycott of the buses on the day of Parks's trial, December 5, to show support for her. The idea, which black leaders had frequently discussed in the past, was greeted enthusiastically by many. The black Women's Political Council began circulating leaflets urging the action, and black ministers supported it from their pulpits. The boycott on December 5 proved so successful that black leaders decided to extend it until the city and the bus company agreed to adopt a pattern of bus segregation that would not require the unseating of passengers who were already seated. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to run the boycott, and Nixon was chosen the organization's treasurer.

Nixon, however, became increasingly unhappy with the association's president, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He associated King with the Alabama State College professionals, and he felt that King's growing fame was depriving the mass of poorer blacks whom Nixon represented, and Nixon himself, of the credit for the boycott's success. After King moved to Atlanta in 1960, and the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy followed him there in 1961, Nixon engaged in a lengthy struggle with Rufus A. Lewis, the most prominent figure among his rivals in the middle-class Alabama State College community, for leadership of Montgomery's blacks. The struggle culminated in the 1968 U.S. presidential election, when Nixon and Lewis served on alternative slates of presidential electors, both of which were pledged to Democratic candidate Hubert H. Humphrey. The Lewis slate of electors defeated Nixon's slate handily in Montgomery. Nixon thereafter slipped into an embittered obscurity. He accepted a job organizing recreational activities for young people in one of the city's poorest public-housing projects, a position that he held until just before his death in 1987.

See also Abernathy, Ralph David; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Parks, Rosa

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J. MILLS THORNTON III (1996)

Noble Drew Ali

January 8, 1886
July 20, 1929

Religious leader Timothy Drew, more commonly known as the Noble Drew Ali, was born in Simpsonbuck County, North Carolina. It is not clear when Ali migrated north or when he came into contact with Eastern philosophy. Although he received no formal education, Ali developed an appreciation for Asian religions. Deeply moved by their racial inclusivity, particularly that of Islam, he saw an opportunity for African Americans to be influenced by its thinking. In 1913, at the age of twenty-seven, he established the first Moorish Science Temple of America in Newark, New Jersey.

Central to Ali's philosophy was the importance of racial identity. In his opinion, the lot of the blacks in America was the result of their inaccurate knowledge of themselves. Moreover, once blacks gained a proper understanding of who they were, he believed both salvation and victory over their oppressors would be obtainable. He thus urged his followers no longer to recognize the racial designations given them by Europeans and to call themselves Moors, Moorish-Americans, or Asiatics. Ali also published and distributed the Holy Koran of the Moorish Holy Temple of Science, which served as a catechism for temple members.

By the mid-1920s, the movement had spread throughout the United States and temples had been established in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. Headquarters for the temple were eventually relocated to Chicago, which proved to be both Ali's crowning achievement and his dethroning miscalculation. Since the Moorish Science phenomenon had grown beyond one person's control, he decided to appoint several educated black men to leadership positions within the organization. Shortly after the appointments, however, it became clear to Ali that his understudies were situating themselves to seize control of the movement.

After learning that some of the leaders had become rich by exploiting the rank-and-file membership, Ali re-

buked them and called for an end to the corruption. Nevertheless, tension within the group continued to rise until one of Ali's opponents was killed. Even though he was not in Chicago at the time of the murder, Ali was arrested for the crime upon his arrival in the city. In 1929, while waiting to be tried, he was mysteriously killed, apparently beaten to death either by members loyal to his opposition or by the police.

See also Islam

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QUINTON H. DIXIE (1996)

Norman, Jessye

September 15, 1945

Born in Augusta, Georgia, opera singer Jessye Norman was a soprano of promise from an early age. At sixteen she entered the Marian Anderson competitions, and although she did not win, she auditioned at Howard University with Carolyn Grant. Her acceptance was delayed until she completed high school. She followed her undergraduate training at Howard, earning a bachelor's degree in music in 1967, with summer study at the Peabody Conservatory under Alice Duschak before enrolling at the University of Michigan for study with Elizabeth Mannion and Pierre Bernac.

A travel grant allowed Norman to enter the International Music Competition in Munich in 1968, where she won first place with performances of Dido's *Lament* (Henry Purcell) and "Voi lo sapete" from Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. She was immediately engaged for her operatic debut as Elisabeth in Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* by the Deutsche Oper (1969), with which she later appeared in Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* and *Don Carlo,* Meyerbeer's *L'africaine,* and as the Countess in Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*. In 1972 she sang Aida at La Scala and Cassandre in Covent Garden's production of Berlioz' *Les Troyens,* making her recital debuts in London and New York the next year.

Norman's American stage debut came on November 22, 1982, when she appeared as both Jocasta in *Oedipus Rex* (Stravinsky) and Dido in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* with the Opera Company of Philadelphia. The following year, she made her debut with the Metropolitan Opera as Cassandre in Berlioz' *Les Troyens,* subsequently offering a performance as Didon in the same opera, as well as the Prima Donna and Ariadne in *Ariadne auf Naxos* (Richard Strauss).

As recitalist, guest orchestral soloist, presenter of master classes, and recording artist, Norman was acknowledged as a musician of the highest rank. She was heard in nearly every major American city by 1990 and appeared frequently in telecasts starting in 1979 when she gave a concert version of the first act of Wagner's *Die Walküre* with the Boston Symphony Orchestra conducted by Seiji Ozawa.

Norman has excelled in French and German repertories, stylistically and linguistically, while remaining faithful to her roots in the spiritual. With a voice ranging from a dark mezzo-soprano to a dramatic soprano, she has not hesitated to reintroduce works outside of the mainstream repertory (e.g., Gluck and Haydn operas), or to perform songs of the musical theater. She has appeared on numerous recordings, including Beethoven's *Fidelio,* Berlioz' *Mort de Cléopatre,* Bizet's *Carmen,* Gluck's *Alceste,* Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde,* Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann,* Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas,* Schoenberg's *Gurre-Lieder,* Strauss's *Four Last Songs* and *Ariadne auf Naxos,* Verdi's *Aida,* Wagner's *Lohengrin* and *Die Walküre,* and Weber's *Euryanthe*. Other notable recordings include *Spirituals, Spirituals in Concert* (with Kathleen Battle), and *Jessye Norman at Notre-Dame*.

Norman became the youngest recipient of the United States Kennedy Center Honors in 1997. In her hometown of Augusta, the amphitheatre and plaza overlooking the Savannah River have been named after her.

See also Anderson, Marian; Opera

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Acclaimed soprano opera singer Jessye Norman in Paris, 1986. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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DOMINIQUE-RENÉ DE LERMA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company

Founded by seven black men who each pledged fifty dollars, the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association (renamed the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1919) opened in Durham, North Carolina, on April 1, 1899, to provide insurance for black families. The Mutual sold primarily industrial insurance, which was obtained for as little as three cents a week by industrial laborers and which paid out correspondingly small amounts for sickness and death claims. In the summer of 1900 the Mutual went into debt, the income from its policies unable to pay for the claims on them, and all its founding members except the president, John Merrick, a successful businessman, and Aaron Moore, a physician who became secretary, withdrew. Merrick and Moore loaned personal funds to the Mutual to prevent it from going defunct and promoted Charles Clinton Spaulding to general manager.

By the end of 1902, after Merrick and Moore had loaned the Mutual an additional $600, its profits were finally greater than its losses, and by 1906 it had quadrupled its number of policyholders, its growth corresponding first to expansion within North Carolina, then expansion to South Carolina and the reinsurance of smaller black insurers who could not meet state regulations, which at that time were being strengthened. In 1913 the Mutual demonstrated its strength by raising $100,000 to meet a higher state deposit requirement. During World War I the Mutual's life insurance in force grew from $5,000,000 to $26,000,000 because a dramatic increase in cotton prices brought greater prosperity to southern blacks.

Embodying Booker T. Washington's popular philosophy that blacks would overcome prejudice with economic development, the Mutual drew attention to itself and to Durham because the growth of its assets enabled it to launch numerous subordinate institutions, such as the

Merrick-Moore-Spaulding Land Company (1907), a real estate company; Mechanics and Farmers Bank (1908, with a branch in Raleigh, 1922); Banker's Fire, a fire insurance company (1920); Mutual Building & Loan Association (1921); the National Negro Finance Corporation (1924); and the Mortgage Company of Durham (1929)—in effect bringing economic development to the black community of Durham by itself.

In 1926, after territorial expansion that followed the black migration north and that also included southwestern states, Spaulding, now president, a position he would retain until his death in 1952, realized that the income from expansion did not compensate for the operating costs and had the Mutual retrench, not to expand again until 1938. This retrenchment, along with its conservative investments in real estate, government bonds, and especially mortgage loans, protected the Mutual during the Great Depression. At $39,000,000 just before the stock market crash of 1929, the Mutual's life insurance in force never fell below $33,000,000 during the Depression.

The Mutual's prosperity during World War II, when its insurance in force increased from $51,000,000 to over $100,000,000, enabled it to offer its policyholders dividends for the first time and to compete with the mainstream companies that now insured blacks at standard rates.

The promotion of racial solidarity during the 1960s brought blacks back to the Mutual from white insurers. The urban riots of the late 1960s put pressure on white corporations to invest in black communities, and corporations such as General Motors, IBM, Chrysler, Procter and Gamble, Sun Oil, and Atlantic Richfield did so by buying more than $400,000,000 in insurance contracts between 1969 and 1971 from the Mutual, making it the first black company to pass the billion-dollar mark.

The Mutual's tenfold growth in insurance in force from the early 1970s to the early 1990s enabled it to maintain its status as the nation's largest black insurance company. To stimulate growth, the Mutual gradually began to phase out its industrial insurance and replace it with ordinary life insurance, and, through its subsidiary, NCM Capital, to enter the pension and corporate-fund management business.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Spaulding, Charles Clinton; Washington, Booker T.

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)

Northrup, Solomon

c. 1808
1863

Solomon Northrup, the author of a slave narrative, was born free on a farm in Minerva, New York. His father was a former Rhode Island slave who had been freed in his owner's will. Northrup spent the first half of his life on the family farm, farming and working as a violinist and laborer in the Minerva area. At the age of thirty-three or so, a series of bizarre events pulled him into slavery.

In 1841 Northrup was approached by two strangers, who asked him to play in the band with their traveling circus. After catching up with the circus, Northrup was drugged, beaten, and sold to slave traders. He was then shipped to New Orleans, where he was purchased by a planter in the Red River region of Louisiana. He spent the next twelve years as a slave under several owners in the region.

In 1852 Northrup met Samuel Bass, an itinerant Canadian carpenter, and the two plotted to arrange Northrup's freedom. Bass sent a letter to two white businessmen in Saratoga who had been acquaintances of Northrup. The letter eventually reached Henry Northrup, the former owner of Northrup's father, who traveled to Louisiana and made legal arrangements to free Northrup. Northrup finally returned to his family in Glens Falls, New York, in January 1853.

Spurred on by the success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Northrup immediately set out to write the narrative of his enslavement. He enlisted the help of David Wilson, a local writer, and the two finished the book within three months. *Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northrup* was published in the summer of 1853 and became an immediate success. It sold more than thirty thousand copies over the next ten years and was reprinted several times in the nineteenth century after Northrup's death.

Since its publication Northrup's narrative has served as an important resource for scholars of slavery. Like many other slave narratives, *Twelve Years a Slave* discusses in detail the ways in which slaves presented a servile facade to

their owners while practicing subtle acts of subversion and resistance. In recent years Northrup's recollections have been cited as refutation of the slave's image as a passive, ingratiating figure.

The publication of *Twelve Years a Slave* resulted in yet another set of bizarre circumstances that led to the capture of Northrup's kidnappers. In 1854 the book caused one of its readers to recall meeting the two men and Northrup shortly after the abduction. Northrup met with the reader and confirmed the recollection, and shortly thereafter the two suspected kidnappers were arrested and charged by New York authorities. Although they were widely assumed to be guilty, the two suspects were released on legal technicalities.

Northrup was paid $3,000 by the original publisher of his narrative. He used that money to purchase a house in Glens Falls, where he lived in relative obscurity and practiced carpentry for the last ten years of his life. The circumstances of his death are uncertain, but the name on the deed to his house was changed to his wife's name in 1863.

See also Slave Narratives

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

NORTH STAR

Frederick Douglass began publication of *North Star,* a four-page weekly newspaper, in Rochester, New York, on December 3, 1847. This was the third antislavery paper at the time; the others were William Lloyd Garrison's the *Liberator* (Boston) and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York City). Douglass's paper differed from the others in that it focused not only at abolition, but also promoted women's rights and suffrage. Martin Delany was listed as coeditor until July of the following year and remained a regular contributor; other black correspondents for the paper included James McCune Smith, William J. Wilson, Samuel Ringgold Ward, and William Wells Brown. William C. Nell worked as printer for the paper, and his name was listed on the masthead until June 23, 1848.

By the middle of 1849, *North Star* had four thousand subscribers, but finances remained a problem and depended on contributions and fund-raising projects. By 1851, Douglass had aligned himself with the Liberty Party and became an advocate of political action as the means of abolishing slavery. This led to a break with Garrison and Nell, who were steadfast in advocating moral persuasion as the only proper course of action. In 1851, Douglass merged *North Star* with *Liberty Party Paper* as *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* subsidized by Gerrit Smith, a wealthy white abolitionist. *Frederick Douglass' Paper* ceased publication in July 1860.

North Star not only furnished an outlet for the views of Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists, but its headquarters in Rochester were an important way station on the Underground Railroad, offering assistance to more than four hundred individuals.

See also Abolition; Douglass, Frederick; *Liberator, The*; Underground Railroad

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

NORTON, ELEANOR HOLMES

JUNE 13, 1937

Born in Washington, D.C., civil rights leader Eleanor Holmes graduated from Antioch College in 1960, received an M.A. in American history from Yale University in 1963, and received a law degree from Yale in 1965. Norton was a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a participant in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. In 1965 she joined the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), where she served as a civil rights lawyer for five years. In 1967 she married Edward Norton,

Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton with Joseph Lieberman during the 2000 Democratic National Covention in Los Angeles. PHOTOGRAPH BY BOB GALBRAITH. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

also a lawyer. The couple, who were separated in 1992, had two children. In 1968 Eleanor Holmes Norton gained attention for her active defense of freedom of speech when she represented segregationist presidential candidate George Wallace in his struggle to obtain permission from the city of New York for a rally at Shea Stadium. Keenly interested in fighting both race and gender discrimination, Norton published an article on black women in the well-known anthology *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (1970). "If women were suddenly to achieve equality with men tomorrow," she wrote, "black women would continue to carry the entire array of utterly oppressive handicaps associated with race. . . . Yet black women cannot—must not—avoid the truth about their special subservience. They are women with all that that implies."

In 1970 Norton was appointed chair of the New York City Commission on Human Rights by Mayor John Lindsay. Her achievement in detailing and correcting discriminatory practices led to a position as cohost of a weekly local television program on civil rights. In 1973 Norton helped organize the National Conference of Black Feminists, and in 1975 she cowrote *Sex Discrimination and the Law: Cases and Remedies,* a law textbook dealing with legal remedies to gender inequality.

In 1977 President Jimmy Carter appointed Norton as chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, a post she held until 1981. Charged with investigating complaints of discrimination, Norton was a visible and respected force within the administration. In 1982 she accepted a post as professor of labor law at Georgetown University. Throughout the 1980s she was also a regular media commentator on civil rights and affirmative action issues.

In 1990 Norton announced her candidacy for the position of District of Columbia delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. Despite the revelation during the campaign that she owed back taxes, she was elected to Congress, beginning the first of eight consecutive terms of service through 2005. Norton soon won praise even from her opponents for her involvement in community affairs as well as for her work in assuring Washington's fiscal viability and cutting the District's budget. She also lobbied in Congress for District statehood. In 1992, Norton won attention for her offer to escort women seeking abortion information at clinics past anti-abortion picketers, and later for her denunciation of the verdict in the Rodney King trial, which she contended was as shameful as the actual beating of King. The House vote in 1993 to give delegates limited voting privileges on the floor allowed Norton to become the first District representative to vote in Congress. In recognition of her prestige, President Bill Clinton agreed that as chair of the District of Columbia Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education, Norton would be responsible for the nomination of candidates for local U.S. attorney and federal judgeships, the first elected District of Columbia official to be privileged.

Yale Law School awarded Norton its Citation of Merit as an Outstanding Alumna of Yale Law School, and Yale Graduate School has awarded her the Yale Wilbur Cross Medal as an Outstanding Alumna of the Graduate School, the highest awards conferred by each on alumnae. Norton has also received more than 50 honorary degrees.

See also Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Politics; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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EVAN A. SHORE (1996)
GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Nubin, Rosetta

See Tharpe, "Sister"

Numbers Games

Numbers games were a pervasive form of gambling in African-American urban communities from around the turn of the twentieth century until the late 1970s, when state lotteries and other forms of legalized gambling were instituted. Until that time, the local numbers runner was a familiar figure in black neighborhoods throughout the United States, especially in Harlem, and daily street life was often organized around placing bets and collecting winnings.

There are accounts of numbers games, also known as policy gambling, in New York's white and black communities well before the Civil War, but it was not until decades later that numbers games gained real popularity among African Americans. Extremely high rates of participation made policy gambling a central economic feature of African-American urban life, with small businesses such as bars, hairdressers, and candy stores serving as collection points, or "drops."

In the nineteenth century, winning numbers were chosen from a lottery or roulette wheel. By the 1920s, rather than using lotteries, the results of which could be easily manipulated, bankers drew the winning result from the last three digits of the total volume of the daily New York Stock Exchange trades. Although odds varied from place to place, even within New York City, players attempting to match the winning numbers faced odds of one thousand to one. Those odds could be enhanced by "combinating," or betting on several groupings of the same numbers. Winners stood to gain returns of five hundred to one or even greater on a bet of as little as five or ten cents, but that return represented only a small percentage of the total bettings. Winners traditionally paid ten percent of their winnings to the runner, who was responsible for taking bets and making payments. The runner was often a charismatic fixture in the neighborhood, and a prodigious mathematician. The most famous runner in the heyday of Harlem's 1920s numbers racket was "Walking Jack" (the nickname of Alec Jackson), who was capable of retaining hundreds of numerical combinations in his memory daily. A similar figure, but from a later period, was evoked by Malcolm X in his autobiography's presentation of West Indian Archie.

For approximately every one hundred runners there was one collector, who organized the day-to-day workings of the operation, and who, together with the runner, took up to twenty-five percent of total bets as a salary. The collector was also responsible for bribing police and vice squads. At the top of the organization was the "wheel" or banker, of whom there were dozens in Harlem in the 1920s. The bankers were millionaires who controlled huge sums of money and lived legendarily lavish lifestyles financed by a percentage of total winnings as high as thirty-six percent. The most famous policy banker of the 1920s was Casper Holstein (1877–1944), a West Indian-born former porter who ruled his gambling empire from Harlem's Turf Club. Holstein had a reputation as a powerful tycoon during the Harlem Renaissance. Considered one of the most important black philanthropists of the 1920s, Holstein sponsored writing prizes for *Opportunity* magazine and donated money to build Harlem's first Elks Lodge. He later became increasingly involved in West Indian nationalist movements and had all but left numbers by the time of his death in 1944. Another important banker was Madame Stephanie St. Clair, who in the 1920s and 1930s openly boasted of her status as "Harlem's Policy Queen."

New York's numbers games were traditionally the biggest such enterprise in the country (Brooklyn had its own set of winning numbers), but African-American communities in many cities—including Buffalo, New York; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Paterson, New Jersey—supported policy gambling. Chicago's numbers industry was started by "Policy Sam" Young before the turn of the century, and by 1930 there were 350,000 bets per day being given to "policy kings" like John "Mushmouth" Johnson and Dan Johnson. The twelve million dollar-per-year industry controlled black votes in Chicago, and contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars per year to the campaigns of Mayor William Hale "Big Bill" Thompson, who in return only minimally enforced gambling laws.

There were many ways for bettors to choose numbers, but one of the most common demonstrates how closely numbers gambling was intertwined with African-American urban culture. Numbers were often chosen with the aid of "dream books," which assigned numerical figures to powerful words or to the appearance of certain themes in a dream. When the beloved comedienne Moms Mabley died in 1975, many gamblers bet and won with 769, the dream book number for death. In addition to dream books, many gamblers used birthdays, anniversaries, or other significant dates to select numbers. In 1969, when Willie Mays hit his 599th home run, huge numbers of gamblers bet the next day on the number 600—unsuccessfully, as it turned out.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, two forces combined to create changes in the policy gambling industry in

New York. First, the Manhattan District Attorney's office made a concerted effort to shut down the numbers racket in Harlem, a move that was only partially successful due to the police cooperation that had made widespread policy gambling possible in the first place. Second, white gangsters (Dutch Schultz in particular), who had previously concentrated on prohibition liquor activity, saw the huge profits of numbers games and started to enter the business. Although Schultz's career in numbers was brief, control of the industry did change hands. From the 1940s until well into the 1960s, numbers games were dominated by white organized crime figures.

Despite the fact that policy gambling was no longer a locally controlled business, numbers thrived in Harlem. Reliable statistics are difficult to find, but by the 1960s it was estimated that the New York numbers games employed thousands of people in a six hundred million dollar-per-year industry, representing as much as sixty percent of Harlem's total economic life. The importance of policy gambling in African-American urban life up to the present is validated by the portrayal of numbers runners and policy bankers in the works of writers such as Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, and Malcolm X.

Although groups like the Forty Thieves, and figures such as Ellsworth Raymond "Bumpy" Johnson (the inspiration for the movie *Shaft* [1971]), had remained active in policy gambling under the domination of Jewish and Italian organized crime figures, it was only during the 1960s that blacks began to reassert their presence in the industry. This sometimes meant demonstrating their power by becoming involved in politics. In the 1964 presidential election, for example, some runners were instructed to offer a one-dollar free play to Harlemites who promised to register and vote against Barry Goldwater. By this time there had been many changes in the way numbers games ran. Average bets had increased to fifty cents or one dollar, and the corresponding payoffs were much higher. Also, the winning number was now determined not by the New York Stock Exchange volume, but by the last three digits of the total amount of money bet (the pari-mutuel "handle") at the local harness racing track.

In 1980, attempts by New York and many other states to pre-empt numbers games with institutionalized legalized lotteries led to public demonstrations in Harlem. The state prevailed, however, and these lotteries, combined with the opening of Off-Track Betting offices and the enforcement of laws that made the taking of more than five hundred numbers bets a felony, weakened the popularity of "Harlem's favorite indoor sport." Nonetheless, policy gambling continued to be a prominent feature of urban life, though increasingly run by Latinos.

Numbers games have been attacked as a means of exploiting poor blacks. Indeed, policy gambling has undoubtedly had an adverse net financial affect on African Americans and their communities, with masses of working-class or chronically unemployed people regularly wasting a significant portion of their income. However, arguments have also been made, particularly when policy gambling was being threatened by lotteries starting in the 1970s, that numbers games at least kept money in African-American neighborhoods and financed small black businesses, or even occasionally saved them from bankruptcy. These factors, as well as the traditional thrill of gambling, have kept numbers gambling alive, with law enforcement officials in New York, Atlanta, St. Louis, Detroit, and Baltimore regularly closing down operations.

See also Harlem, New York; Mabley, Jackie "Moms"; Malcolm X

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Nursing

This entry has two unique essays on the topic of nursing, differing mainly in their geographical focus.

Nursing in the Caribbean
Glenn O. Phillips

Nursing in the United States
Samuel Roberts

Nursing in the Caribbean

Centuries before the arrival of Europeans, the practice of nursing care existed in the Caribbean. Amerindians were the earliest practitioners, using a variety of primitive methods to care for their seriously ill. The arrival of Europeans in the late fifteenth century brought a wider range of nursing challenges and new methods. However, few advances were made because the causes for the growing number of mostly tropical diseases remained unknown to health-care providers. The use of rational methods to alleviate these illnesses remained unknown. Similar to other parts of the world, early nursing care in the Caribbean remained in the hands of practitioners who addressed symptoms rather than the causes of illness.

The early Caribbean nursing care providers were dedicated, but mostly untrained, females who offered mostly a small measure of personal comfort and emotional support for patients. Nursing care was provided in homes, in privately operated sick houses, and later in modest hospitals provided by slave owners and colonial governments. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, nursing care in the Caribbean experienced gradual and significant changes, primarily through trial and error. New and bolder approaches to treating many tropical illnesses led to modest medical care discoveries and improvements. Nurse began to be trained and registered, and they were paid a wage and placed under the supervision of a regional medical officer. This practice was adopted in most British West Indian colonies and was supported by the most progressive members of these colonies' medical professionals.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the nursing profession in the Caribbean benefited from the introduction of effective diagnoses and treatments of tropical and other diseases. During the 1950s, nursing care in the Caribbean made significant strides, and it emerged as one of the most progressive and innovative health-care and clinical-care systems in the nonindustrial areas of the world. These nursing advancements came as the result of introducing a series of carefully planned long- and short-term health-care measures and procedures. The coordination of local, regional, and international governmental and nongovernmental healthcare planners, educators, and administrators, along with the commitment of most Caribbean governments, is responsible for the high quality of nursing care available in the region during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Caribbean Nursing During and After Slavery

Nursing-care practices in the Caribbean slowly shifted from being provided by family members in the sixteenth century to untrained providers of bed care and then to the more informed nursing care practitioners of the nineteenth century. Still, informal providers, sometimes referred to as "bush doctors" and "African healers," continued to use techniques that were practiced in Africa to care for many of the illnesses and diseases that frequently ravaged the Caribbean population, including malaria, yellow dengue, scarlet fever, smallpox, cholera, and typhoid. These conditions were frequently fatal or required long-term nursing care. Among the leading causes of these ailments were various demographic, cultural, and socioeconomic factors, with poor nutrition often playing a role.

During slavery, most slave owners provided some measure of health- and nursing- care assistance even for their slaves. Nevertheless, a number of studies have shown that broad segments of the Caribbean population experienced poor health during this period. After emancipation, most former slave owners felt no obligation to continue to provide the medical services granted during slavery. Studies show that the overall health of the majority of the Caribbean population deteriorated even further at this time because the colonial governments had no interest in providing health-care services. Privately operated sick houses were neglected and were in many cases abandoned. Additionally, little thought was given to preventive health care. Nursing in the Caribbean made little headway during this period because the conditions that led to serious illness existed throughout the society.

Nineteenth-Century Caribbean Nurses

Beginning in the 1850s, some of the more progressive Caribbean communities encouraged their local governments to support the creation of public dispensaries and public hospitals that employed an increased number of nursing-care providers. The introduction of a series of quarantine procedures also helped to improve nursing care. In some Caribbean countries, the establishment of ladies associations operated by upper-class women led to the creation of public hospitals. In addition, an increasing number of well-to-do Afro-Caribbean women operated lodging houses that served as nursing homes and private hospitals.

Two of the best-known pioneering figures in Caribbean nursing worked in Jamaica. These enterprising women were Cubah Cornwallis and Mary Seacole (1805–1881). Cornwallis operated a nursing home near Port Royal, and

her most famous patient was the heir to the British throne (later King William IV), who became ill when visiting Jamaica as a midshipman. Cornwallis was later rewarded for her kindness to the Prince when Queen Adelaide, wife of King William, sent her an expensive gown in appreciation for her services. Mary Seacole operated a guesthouse and a private hospital in Kingston, and she won wide recognition for the manner in which she saved the lives of many during the cholera epidemic of 1850 to 1851, which killed between 40,000 to 50,000 persons in the Caribbean. When news of the Crimean War reached her in Jamaica, Seacole sought, but was denied, permission by the British to nurse the injured troops back to health. Using private funds, she traveled to the area of the conflict and nursed wounded British, French, and Turkish soldiers. For her heroic efforts, she was awarded the Crimean Medal, the French Legion of Honor, and a Turkish medal. Seacole wrote about her nursing adventures in *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*, published in 1857.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, many within the European-trained medical profession began to push for additional improvements in nursing care. Colonial governments around the Caribbean opened publicly operated general hospitals and sick houses, and they employed nursing-care providers to meet the needs of the seriously ill. Stricter health quarantine regulations were also introduced, and boards of health were established to oversee the early government-operated general hospitals, maternity hospitals, leper houses, and lunatic asylums. Many of the newly created hospitals in the British West Indies were initially funded from the Slave Compensation Fund, and operated on very limited budgets. (The Slave Compensation Fund had been set up by the British Parliament under the British Emancipation Act of 1833. The fund comprised a grant of twenty million pounds to be distributed to slave owners for the loss of their slave property.) The general day-to-day nursing-care operations in these early hospitals were under the direction of a European-trained nurse, called a *matron*, who supervised the nursing staff and trained them in bedside procedures and in the rudiments of nursing care.

Early Twentieth-Century Nursing

By the turn of the twentieth century, the overall focus on health care in the Caribbean had led to a gradual improvement in overall health, particularly due to new medical discoveries in the treatment and prevention of various diseases. In addition, many colonial governments began to employ better-trained medical personnel. The creation of additional district hospitals and maternity hospital wards led to the increased training of nurses, including training in midwifery.

In some areas of the Caribbean, the latest American nursing techniques and methods were also introduced. An American-trained Barbadian Adventist physician, Charles J. B. Cave (1879–1939), a graduate of the American Medical Missionary College in Battle Creek, Michigan, and later of the Medical School at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, operated a sanitarium and training school for Barbadian women in home nursing, including midwifery and first-aid classes, until his death in 1939. Cave was trained by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, one of the foremost American advocates for improved nursing care. Many of Cave's nursing-class graduates were later employed at private and government nursing facilities in Barbados.

Across the region, Caribbean nurses worked under colonial labor policies that restricted women in the workplace. According to one scholar, "Women's labor outside the home was accepted as expedient in certain circumstances but restricted the occupations" (Reddock, 1994, p. 62). Nursing, teaching, and limited civil-service positions provided the majority of work for women outside of the home. As in other occupations where women were employed, the leading nursing positions were filled by the wives and daughters of the white upper classes and, to a lesser degree, by relatives of the colored middle class and the business class. The wages paid to nurses remained the lowest paid to government employees, as was also the case for the majority of single women employed by the governments of the Caribbean. These low wages often forced women to resign or get married. In addition, general working conditions remained substandard. Nurses worked an average of sixty-seven hours per week, and in many areas it was compulsory for nurses to reside in the hospital. One researcher observed that nurses virtually spent their lives in the hospital. While nurses received free board and lodging, most were forced to live in "open dormitories" that allowed little privacy. Meals were often badly prepared, and the nurses often went without staples such as fruits and vegetables.

Two of the most successful Caribbean nurses during the mid–twentieth century were Nita Barrow (1916–1995) and Ena Walters of Barbados. Both received their early education at St. Michael's Girls School near Bridgetown, and they completed their first nursing-care training at the Barbados General Hospital. After further overseas training, both returned to the Caribbean and became influential leaders in the nursing profession. Barrow became a nursing instructor in public health in Jamaica, a sister tutor, the first West Indian matron of the University College Hospital, and principal nursing officer in Jamaica. In 1959

she became the first Barbadian to be appointed matron of the Barbados General Hospital, and she served in that position for twenty-six years. Both nursing administrators brought revolutionary changes in nursing education, practice, and patient care to the English-speaking Caribbean. Walters would be selected as the first chairperson of the Caribbean Regional Nursing Body, and she held that position for three consecutive terms.

Caribbean Nursing Since the 1950s

The nursing profession in the Caribbean made significant strides during the 1950s. Specific standards for the training, certification, and registration of nurses were established throughout the region, and the first conference of nursing administrators in the Caribbean was held in Barbados in 1951. The group saw the need to continue to work together and created the Regional Nursing Body. The organization dealt with the collective nursing issues that regional members faced. These visionary nursing administrators wished to significantly elevate both the Caribbean nursing profession and the region's health-care systems. Among the most pressing issues addressed were related recruitment, training, specialization, working conditions, the exchange of staff and the interchange of technical opinion and information. The member states were part of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The Caribbean Regional Nursing Body continues to conduct annual conferences, and in conjunction with the Caribbean Nursing Association it dedicated and promoted May 2003 to August 2004 as "The Year of the Caribbean Nurse." The coordinators collaborated with the national nursing associations in the Dutch-, French-, English- and Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean to broaden public awareness of the important role of the nursing profession. The groups' planning committee also organized a yearlong program of activities. Among the most outstanding achievements of this enterprise were efforts to promote the role and advancements of Caribbean nursing care to the public. The theme of the well-publicized celebration was "Nurses: Lighting the Way to Professional Excellence." These activities were meant to increase awareness among the Caribbean public of the nursing profession, and to assist with the recruitment and retention of nurses working in the Caribbean. The thirty-first annual general meeting of the Regional Nursing Body was held in late May 2004 in Paramaribo, Suriname. Over the years, the Caribbean nurses' organizations have worked closely with the Pan American Health Organization in efforts to broaden their impact on the Caribbean community.

See also Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Mortality and Morbidity in Latin America and the Caribbean; Nursing in the United States

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GLENN O. PHILLIPS (2005)

Nursing in the United States

This history of black professional nursing in the United States is part of the history of women's roles in black community health activism. The period from 1890 to 1910 was marked by local efforts to establish black hospitals (many of which also had schools of nursing), which collectively may be termed a social movement in that they: (1) had strong extra-professional (lay) support mobilized through already existing networks; (2) were tied to the community's other social and political concerns; and (3) exhibited similar leadership structures. With funds from John D. Rockefeller in 1886, Atlanta Baptist Seminary (later renamed Spelman College) opened the first African-American nursing school. Initially not affiliated with any hospital, it offered a two-year course of study leading to a diploma in nursing, and by the turn of the century it

African-American "Black Cross Nurses" march in Harlem at the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) parade, 1922. *During the First World War, the American Red Cross refused to accept more than a handful of applications from black nurses.* © UNDERWOOD AND UNDERWOOD/CORBIS

boasted a comparatively large hospital with thirty-one beds. In the main, however, local movements to establish black hospitals and nursing schools were almost entirely internal to black communities, with black male physicians heading the efforts, though much of the leadership in fund-raising, advertisement, and community awareness fell to black women members of sororities, clubs, and church boards. The notable exception was the Phillis Wheatley Sanitarium and Training School for Nurses, established in 1896 by the women of the Wheatley Club of New Orleans, Louisiana, and later renamed the Flint-Goodridge Hospital School of Nursing. Because most municipalities refused to partially fund black hospitals, as they did white hospitals, community support was a continuing need.

Aside from the few who rose to the ranks of physician, educator, or professional social worker, the overwhelming majority of black women of any educational level found their occupational choices before the Second World War largely limited to domestic service or agriculture. Unfortunately, as one historian has observed, white professional nursing in the first half of the twentieth century may be characterized as exhibiting "no sorority of consciousness across the color line" (Hine, 1989, p. 98). Black nursing schools therefore sought to produce nurses who, in their training, were distinguished from domestic workers and equal to white professionals (even while overemphasizing Victorian gender conventions by barring married women and requiring applicants to provide letters attesting to moral standing). The nation's first black hospital, Chicago's Provident Hospital and Nurses Training School (1891), emerged in response to the rejection of Emma Reynolds from all of the city's white nursing schools.

Roughly a dozen nursing programs followed in short order, including those at Dixie Hospital Training School

Emma Reynolds and Provident Hospital

In 1889 Emma Reynolds, a young woman who aspired to be a nurse, was denied admission by each of Chicago's nursing schools because she was black. Her brother Louis Reynolds, a pastor of St. Stephen's African Methodist Episcopal Church and prominent member of the black community, turned to Daniel Hale Williams for help. A respected black surgeon, Williams tried to use his influence to get Emma into the white nursing schools, but was unsuccessful. The men decided to coordinate their efforts and create a nursing school for black women.

In 1890 Williams gathered a group of black ministers, physicians, and businessmen to pitch the idea of founding an interracial hospital and nursing school in Chicago. Winning their support, he and Louis Reynolds began the project. Prominent whites in the community, acknowledging the benefit of having medical treatment available to their black employees, also contributed to the project.

The project seemed destined for success when the Armour Meat Packing Company donated the down payment for a house. The three-story brick house became Provident Hospital and Nurses Training School in 1891. The generosity of the community's residents was a critical factor in sustaining the facility as, at the time, a hospital responsive to the black community did not generate enough income to support itself. Emma Reynolds was one of the school's first three graduates in 1894.

(1891, in Hampton, Virginia); Tuskegee Institute's John A. Andrew Hospital (1892); Provident Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland (1894); Freedmen's Hospital and Nursing School in Washington, D.C. (1894, affiliated with Howard University); the Hospital and Training School for Nurses in Charleston, South Carolina (1894); New York City's Lincoln School for Nurses (1896); St. Agnes Hospital and Nurse Training School in Raleigh, North Carolina (1896); Hubbard Hospital and School of Nursing (1900, within Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee); Lincoln Hospital (1901, in Durham, North Carolina); and the Mercy Hospital School of Nursing (1907, in Philadelphia). By 1920 there were thirty-six nursing schools for blacks nationwide, and by 1928 the aforementioned institutions had produced more than 80 percent of the roughly 2,800 black graduate nurses in practice. Black hospitals and nursing schools were typically small and underfunded, but within medical Jim Crow they were vital as centers of treatment, health promotion (headquartering the National Negro Health Week Movement, begun in 1915 at Tuskegee Institute), education, and intellectual exchange. Their graduates certainly encountered the color line. Mary Eliza Mahoney, the first black woman in the United States to receive a nursing degree (in 1879, from Boston's New England Hospital for Women and Children), spent most of her career in private duty, perhaps illustrating the extent to which even well-qualified black nurses were barred from hospital service. As it was in the American Medical Association, the color bar in the American Nurses Association (ANA; founded in 1896 as the Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada; it was renamed in 1911) operated with the requirement that membership be attained through state affiliates, many of which, especially in the South, were exclusively white.

In response to Jim Crow nursing, Martha Minerva Franklin (an 1897 graduate of Philadelphia's Woman's Hospital Training School for Nurses) and others organized the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN) in 1908. Even at its peak, the NACGN was never able to organize all black nurses (it had only 125 members in 1912; 500 in 1920; 175 in 1933; and 947 in 1949), but the early years of organization were followed, after 1933, by ones of renewed activism. In 1934, the nursing leader Estelle Massey Riddle (1901–1981), the first black person to obtain a masters of arts degree in nursing (from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1931), was elected president of NACGN. She hired the association's first paid executive director, Mabel Doyle Keaton Staupers (1890–1989), a 1917 graduate (with honors) of Freedman's Hospital School of Nursing in Washington, D.C., and, in 1920, of Philadelphia's preeminent tuberculosis research facility, the Henry Phipps Institute. In New York, Keaton had been instrumental in the organization of Harlem's first inpatient tuberculosis treatment facility for blacks (the Booker T. Washington Sanatorium), serving as superintendent between 1920 and 1922. Until 1934 she was the nurse-executive of the Harlem Committee of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association.

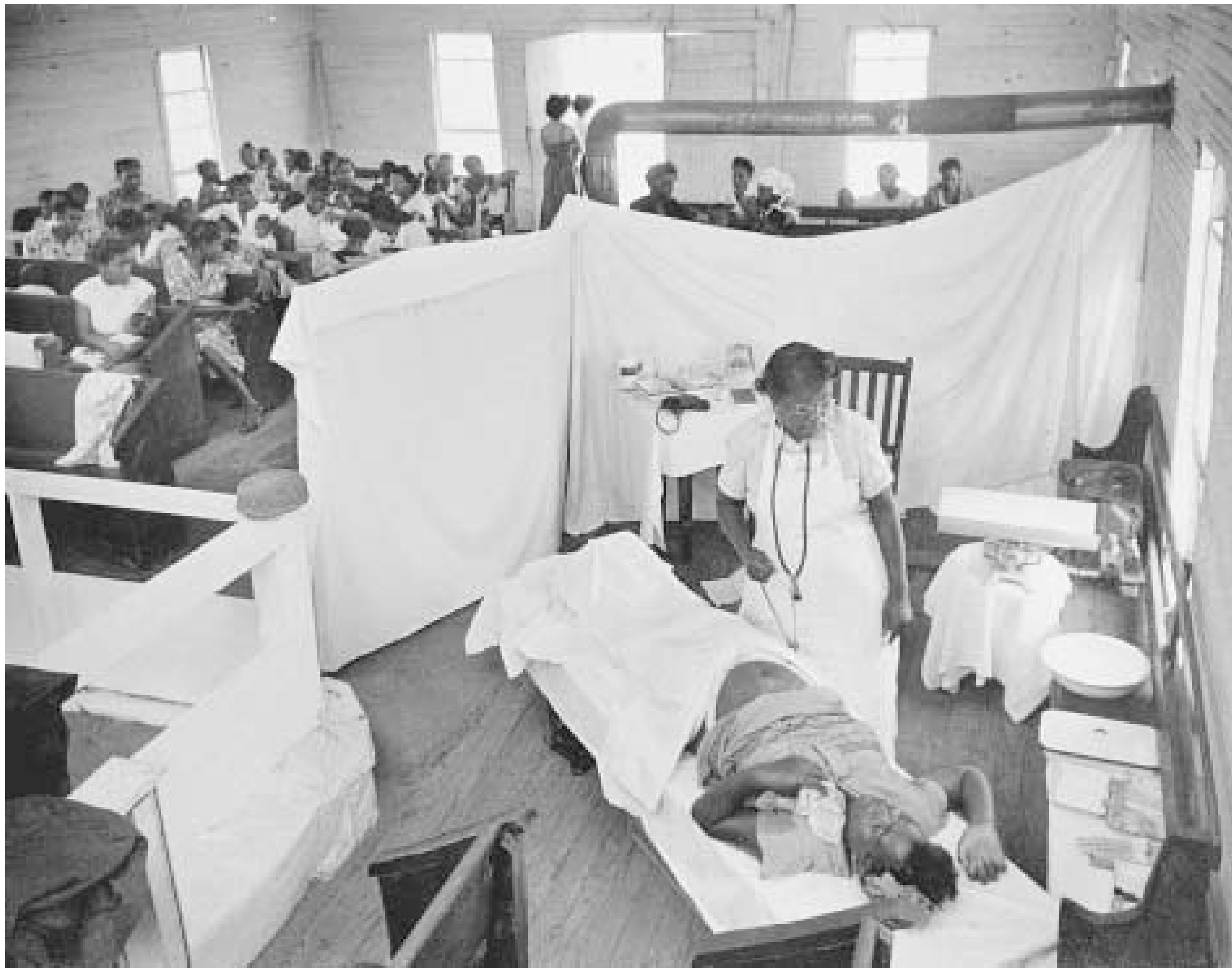
Both Riddle and Keaton had worked in black-white cooperative circles, illustrating the role of white philanthropy in the NACGN's efforts. After the 1915 to 1920 pe-

riod of social unrest (the "Red Summer" of 1919 was particularly bloody in its antiblack and antiradical state and mob violence), an era with a focus on "race relations" dawned. The new era emphasized cooperation between black professionals and their more enlightened white counterparts and wealthy white benefactors, in an effort to curtail further uprisings through moderate reforms in education, labor, social services, and health care. Nationally, the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board, and especially the Julius Rosenwald Fund (which, between 1929 and 1942, allocated $1.7 million for such efforts, including the support of no fewer than seventeen black hospital and nursing school projects), were among the most prominent funders of black health and educational work. On the local level, too, lesser industrialists (such as the racially paternalistic Duke family in North Carolina, or Philadelphia's Henry Phipps, who sponsored the formal training of black pioneer public health nurses and antituberculosis work among blacks and whites in Baltimore and Philadelphia) also provided support, and in many cases had laid the groundwork before World War I. The role of white philanthropy can be overstated, however. When in 1925 the Rockefeller Foundation hired English-born academic nurse Ethel Johns to conduct a survey of black nursing and nursing education in the United States, the resulting indictment of institutional racism and official neglect was so precise and unequivocal that the Rockefeller Foundation refused to release her report or implement her recommendations, fearing reprisal from the ANA and the National League of Nursing Education (NLNE). White philanthropists' gradualist strategy instead consisted of the offer to states and municipalities of matching funds for black education, and of the underwriting of numerous research and career development projects. Cumulatively, these efforts had the effect of helping to produce a cadre of black health-care and social-science leaders whose expertise would be integral to many of the New Deal's social programs as they affected blacks. Direct support proved integral to the NACGN's success in integrating the ANA in 1950.

The Depression and war years were pivotal. Excluded from better-paying jobs and most labor unions, blacks were economically the most vulnerable after 1929. Although known to blacks for decades, the health effects of racism (including intractably high rates of tuberculosis and infant and maternal mortality) were now inescapably apparent to the national government. At the same time, as Staupers and Riddle agitated for the lowering of color restriction within nursing, hardship had reduced the number of black nursing schools to twenty-seven by 1941, and to only twenty in 1944. Aside from these, fewer than thirty nursing schools accepted African Americans. The state nursing associations of some sixteen southern states and Washington, D.C., remained color exclusive, while many of the northern associations, too, were unsupportive (prompting black registered nurses in 1932 to found the Chi Eta Phi Sorority). President Franklin Roosevelt's always shifting and often tenuous New Deal coalition, however, included many black national and local leaders who found positions from which they could influence national policy. Both Riddle and Staupers held positions in the National Nursing Council for National Defense (established in July 1940), and Staupers served in the Federal Security Agency's subcommittee on Negro health. Though born of wartime need for nurses and for black political support, such appointments would have been unimaginable during the First World War, when the American Red Cross refused to accept more than a handful of applications from black nurses. On the advent of the 1943 passage of the Bolton Bill, creating the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps (within the U.S. Public Health Service), NACGN leaders Staupers, Riddle, and others successfully pressed Congress for an antidiscrimination amendment. Under the Bolton Act, the USPHS provided funds to 1,225 schools, including the major black institutions. Just as important, some white institutions discarded their color-exclusion policies in order to qualify for Bolton funds. By 1945, black students in nursing programs numbered roughly 2,600 (an increase of 135 percent over 1939), and the number of black or mixed-enrollment nursing schools had increased from twenty-nine in 1941 to forty-nine in 1945 (the same year in which the NACGN successfully pressed the Army and Navy to abandon color exclusion in the armed forces). The election of Riddle (then a member of the faculty of New York University) to the ANA's Board of Directors in 1948 signaled the end of the association's Jim Crow policy (in 1950). Less than a year after this occurred, the NACGN voted to disband.

The Postwar Era

"Soap operas and scholars," one historian has noted, "seem to agree that hospital workers are doctors and nurses" (Sacks, 1988, p. 2). However, due to various federal and state hospital construction initiatives, the emergence of market-oriented or hybrid health-insurance plans (Blue Cross and Blue Shield in the 1930s, then Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s, and managed care systems in the 1970s), and the concomitant rising demand for hospital services, hospitals arose within an expanding postwar health-care network as complex institutions characterized by bureaucracies, specialized wards, intricate payment plans, large-scale research divisions, and hierarchically segmented workforces in which the role of the registered



Nurse-midwife Maude Callen at work, South Carolina, 1951. *Life Magazine published a twelve-page photodocumentary on the nurse's work in the impoverished black South, generating thousands of dollars in contributions toward a clinic that Callen worked at until her retirement in 1971.* W. EUGENE SMITH/GETTY IMAGES

nurse shifted to that of supervisory position over nonprofessional nursing personnel who performed tasks once performed by nurses. By 1970, thirty-seven cents of every dollar expended on health provision went to hospitals, the largest sector of an increasingly corporatized industry.

Federal, state, and privately funded "manpower development" strategies after the late 1940s brought about a greater range of training programs designed to meet the growing need for health provision personnel. Short-duration courses and community college and baccalaureate programs in nursing gradually replaced diploma-granting schools as the greatest sources of credentialing. Hierarchies in education, prestige, and wages emerged in which blacks and Hispanics were found largely in the ranks of licensed practical nurses (LPNs), licensed vocational nurses (LVNs), and nurses assistants, while nursing's aristocracy—registered nurses (RNs)—added people of color to their numbers, but not nearly at the same rate as did the lower grades. During the decades of professionalization, between 1900 and 1940, the proportion of registered nurses among all nursing personnel increased from 11 percent to 73 percent, but postwar segmentation left RNs as only 44 percent of all nursing workers in 1980. Meanwhile the role of the nursing assistant, the lowest grade (and with the highest nonwhite representation), had expanded the most rapidly between 1940 and 1980, from 9 percent to 41 percent of all nursing personnel.

Postwar segmentation produced a downward pressure on the income of lower-grade workers in voluntary (nonprofit) hospitals. Because of the exempting provisions of the Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act of 1947, these workers remained largely nonunion or only nominally organized. As a result, the disproportionately black and Hispanic staff in hospital food, janitorial, cleri-

cal, nurses aide, and vocational and practical nursing divisions—in comparison to other service sector employees—earned less, worked more, and (ironically) enjoyed fewer health benefits. Whereas the NACGN's struggle had been largely professional, black healthcare workers' struggles in the postwar decades were closely allied with the civil rights movement, whose roots could be found in the black labor struggles of A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, black unionists in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and the wartime movement to support the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). In those cities where Local Hospital Workers' Union Local 1199 (based in New York City) publicly interpreted the labor struggle as a civil rights struggle, it realized the most success throughout the 1960s and 1970s. With some success, black women with grassroots experience in the civil rights movement mobilized workers at Duke Medical Center in Durham, North Carolina, in the 1970s. Inspired by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), twenty black nurses aides in 1966 successfully struck the Lincoln Nursing Home in Baltimore, Maryland, forming (with support from the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]) the Maryland Freedom Union. Also in Baltimore, Local 1199, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) supported the demands of black workers at Johns Hopkins University Hospital for better wages, reasonable work hours, workplace respect, career development opportunities, and the integration of Hopkins Nursing School. At the same time, the civil rights movement spawned the Medical Committee on Human Rights (MCHR, the medical wing of SNCC's 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project), the Student Health Organization (SHO) and several other black, brown, and white New Left student health profession and community health action groups that arose to bring issues of medical neglect and health worker compensation to the fore. Finally, feeling that the desegregated ANA had remained negligent of black community health issues, in December 1971 eighteen members formed the National Black Nurses Association (NBNA), which in 2005 had 150,000 members in seventy-nine chapters (Chi Eta Phi Nursing Sorority, Incorporated, maintains 8,000 members).

At the time of the 2000 census, 93.1 percent of the more than 2 million registered nurses were women; about 12 percent (333,368) of all RNs were of ethnic minorities, including non-Hispanic African-Americans (133,041), Asians (93,415), Hispanic/Latino (54,861), and Native Americans/Alaskan Natives (13,040). Although this is nearly triple the number of nurses estimated to be of these categories in 1980 (when minorities were roughly 7 percent of RNs), much of the growth came after 1996 and may be artificial, traceable to the federal government's provision of "multiple race" categories in census data collection in the late 1990s. Black women remain underrepresented among professional nurses outside of cities with large black populations, and they remain overrepresented among LVNs, LPNs, nurses aides, and lower-grade hospital workers.

See also Black Hospitals in the U.S.; Nursing in the Caribbean

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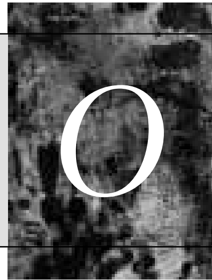

OBAC Writers' Workshop

The Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC) was founded in Chicago in 1967, and its writers' workshop survived longer than any other literary group of the black arts movement. Originally conceived by a small group of intellectuals that included Hoyt Fuller, the editor of *Negro Digest,* the poet Conrad Kent Rivers, and Gerald McWorter (Abdul Alkalimat), its purpose was to nurture artists and, in keeping with the general agenda of the black arts movement, to develop close ties between artists and the black community in a collective endeavor to revolutionize black culture and black consciousness. The acronym OBAC, pronounced "oh-bah-see," echoes the Yoruba word *oba,* which refers to royalty and leadership.

Like many other black arts organizations, OBAC was predicated on a conception that artists have a special role to play as leaders of a cultural revolution. Accordingly, the original vision of OBAC was broad, comprising three separate "workshops"—writers, visual artists, and community relations—but not overlapping the work of groups such as the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM), founded in 1965, and nascent theater groups such as the KUUMBA Workshop, which formed shortly after OBAC. The visual arts workshop, led by Jeff Donaldson, soon evolved into an independent group, AfriCobra (1968), and the community workshop disbanded. Within a couple of years OBAC became exclusively a writers' workshop, and continued to thrive in that form until 1992.

Several of the position papers issued by OBAC during its early days have been collected in *Nommo: A Literary Legacy of Black Chicago* (1987), an anthology celebrating the first two decades of the workshop. While these manifestos stated OBAC's objectives clearly, the group's structure and activities equally revealed its fundamental values. Foremost among the tenets in OBAC's statement of purpose were:

1. the establishment of a black aesthetic;
2. the encouragement of the highest quality of literary expression;
3. the identification of critical standards for black writing; and
4. the development of black critics.

Other objectives included fostering a spirit of cooperation among writers, issuing publications, and conducting readings and forums for the public. To achieve these goals,

OBAC remained an independent, community-based organization, free of institutional affiliations. OBAC published a newsletter, *Cumbaya,* and a magazine, *Nommo*. In addition to sponsoring traditional readings and forums, OBAC conducted readings in public places such as bus stops and taverns. At weekly meetings members and visitors read their works and received criticism from members of the group.

Among its alumni OBAC boasts many well-known writers. Poets include Haki Madhubuti (Don L. Lee), Johari Amini, Carolyn Rodgers, Sterling Plumpp, and D. L. Crockett-Smith. Fiction writers include Cecil Brown and Sam Greenlee. Some, such as Angela Jackson and Sandra Jackson-Opoku, have published fine work in several genres. Regardless of individual differences, OBAC writers held in common a commitment to produce work that in some sense derived from and spoke to the black community. OBAC's emphasis on public readings reflected that commitment, producing a group of writers who are skilled and charismatic readers of their own work. The workshop embodied the vision of literary activity that at once expressed and enlivened the culture of the black community.

See also Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians; Black Arts Movement; Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.); Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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DAVID LIONEL SMITH (1996)
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Obeah

A highly charged and ambiguous term, *Obeah* (sometimes spelled *obia*) refers to various forms of spiritual power. Occurring primarily in the Anglophone Caribbean (and in Suriname, which began as an English colony), it is one of the most widespread words of African origin to be found in the region. Like *vodou* (or *voodoo*) in the Francophone Caribbean, its varying meanings, its shifting significance, and its differing valuation over time mirror unresolved tensions between colonialist and indigenist (or other anticolonialist) viewpoints. As part of this ongoing dialectic, definitions and understandings of the term continue to carry a strong moral charge, either negative or positive, depending on such variables as the ethnic background and social class of the user and the context of usage.

Attempts to find an origin for the word have themselves formed part of this dialectic. Reflecting a common bias, etymologists have generally accepted that Obeah is a kind of evil magic or witchcraft, leading them to search for phonologically similar terms with negative meanings in various African languages. The most widely accepted derivation, from Asante Twi *obayi,* referring to the antisocial use of spiritual power to harm or kill, has in turn shaped the understandings of scholars and others who have written about Obeah. On the basis of this questionable etymology, some have jumped to the conclusion that it represents the remnant of a particular form of witchcraft or sorcery brought to the Caribbean by Akan-speaking people from the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana). However, others have argued that the term might just as easily be traced to similar sounding words from other West African languages, some of which—such as the Igbo term *abia/obia* (and its cognates in a number of neighboring languages such as Ibibio or Efik)—have entirely positive meanings revolving around healing, protection, and other socially sanctioned uses of esoteric knowledge and spiritual power (Handler and Bilby, 2001, pp. 90–92).

The earliest known occurrences of the term in writing, from Barbados, date from the early 1700s. By the late eighteenth century, the word had also begun to appear frequently in writings from Jamaica and other British Caribbean colonies. It is apparent from these early sources that during the slavery era Obeah often referred to divination, healing (frequently using herbs), and spiritual protection of various kinds, although it could also have fearful connotations, sometimes being associated with accusations of sorcery. It was not long before whites began to realize that belief in Obeah could be brought into the service of slave rebellions. One result was the rapid introduction of anti-Obeah legislation in Jamaica and a number of other colonies.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, as the influence of Christian missionaries grew, depictions of Obeah became increasingly one-sided and negative. Obeah was now often reduced by writers to a virulent form of witchcraft or sorcery with a single purpose: to harm or destroy its "victims." Such hegemonic ideas

formed part of the more general denigration and stigmatization by colonial authorities (and the educational and religious institutions aligned with them) of cultural expressions identified with the black population, especially practices and beliefs understood to be of African origin. But because Obeah practitioners were in direct competition with the purveyors of hegemonic interpretations of Christianity that provided ideological support for the colonial project, they were singled out for attack and bore the brunt of a particularly fervent and sustained campaign of demonization. As a result, as Melville and Frances Herskovits state in *Rebel Destiny* (1934), "no word of African origin which has survived in the New World has taken on such grim meaning as has the word *obia* in many of the islands of the Caribbean" (p. 307).

In stark contrast to the negative characterizations of Obeah typifying the literature on the West Indies are the views of *obia* held by Maroons in Suriname and French Guiana—peoples such as the Saramaka, Ndyuka, or Aluku, whose ancestors escaped from coastal plantations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and created their own autonomous societies in the interior forest. Drawing on African backgrounds, initial plantation experiences, and creolizing cultures similar to those of the enslaved in other parts of the Caribbean colonized by the English, these Maroon peoples were able to fashion and maintain alternative Afro-creole cultures beyond the reach of the European colonial powers that were attempting to establish and enforce cultural hegemony throughout the Americas. As a result, more than two centuries later, theirs remain, in a sense, the least "colonized" cultures in all of Afro-America.

All Guianese Maroons agree on the fundamental meanings of the term *obia*—meanings that are overwhelmingly positive. Among the Aluku (Boni) Maroons, for instance, the primary senses of the term are as follows:

1. medicine (herbal and other), remedy, or healing power;
2. any object, or "charm," invested with healing or protective power;
3. an instrument used for divination;
4. a god, spirit, or human ghost;
5. a positive spiritual force that pervades the universe.

Obia, in all of these senses, plays an indispensable part in everyday Aluku life, and has purely positive associations; it is readily and openly discussed and used in both private and public contexts, including major religious ceremonies, and carries no social stigma whatsoever. By the same token, the term has no connotations of witchcraft. Thus, among the Aluku (and other Guianese Maroons), to accuse someone of employing *obia* would be absurd, for it makes no sense to accuse someone of something that is seen as having essentially benevolent uses. Interestingly enough, rather than *obia,* the word the Aluku use to refer to antisocial witchcraft or sorcery (analogous to what is denoted by the Akan term *obayi*) is *wisi,* which is derived not from an African language, but from the English word *witch* (Hurault, 1961, pp. 238–246; Bilby, 1990, pp. 200–203).

More than seventy years ago, fresh from his fieldwork among the Saramaka, Melville Herskovits noted this discrepancy between Guianese Maroon and broader West Indian notions of Obeah. In his 1930 review of Martha Beckwith's classic ethnography of rural Jamaican life, *Black Roadways* (1929), Herskovits points out that, "in the literature on the West Indies, 'obeah' is synonymous with evil magic, and Miss Beckwith tacitly accepts this interpretation. On the basis of the Suriname data, to say nothing of some of Miss Beckwith's own statements, this interpretation does not stand. If we take the case among the Bush-Negroes [Surinamese Maroons] . . . we find that obia is a healing principle" (p. 337). Although Herskovits never explored the larger implications of this insight, his assertion that the negative interpretation of Obeah widely found in West Indian literature "does not stand" when compared with Surinamese Maroon conceptions—or even when held up against the understandings of some of Beckwith's Jamaican informants—is borne out by much of what has been written on the subject both before and since, especially if one reads between the lines.

Almost all written accounts, even the most negative, hint at native understandings of Obeah considerably more complex than the stereotypical imagery that reduces it to a form of sorcery or evil magic motivated by "bad mind" and jealousy. A careful re-examination of written references to Obeah in various parts of the Caribbean, from the earliest descriptions to those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, reveals that most of those who have consulted Obeah practitioners have actually done so for protection and help with illness or other personal problems, or more generally to bring good fortune, rather than to wreak vengeance on enemies or inflict disease and misfortune upon innocent victims. Like fears and accusations of witchcraft in other parts of the world, anxieties regarding the working of malicious Obeah in the Caribbean likely have more to do with interpersonal tensions and mechanisms of social control in particular communities—in this case filtered through the prism of hegemonic colonial ideologies—than with the actual practice of Obeah. Those few ethnographers who have worked with self-defined

Obeah practitioners and their clients in places such as Jamaica and the Leeward Islands find little if any evidence of sorcery as a modus operandi; on the contrary, their reports tend to emphasize the therapeutic nature of the services performed by such spiritual workers for their "patients."

Over the last few decades, as part of the decolonization process in the newly independent states of the Caribbean, there has been a trend toward increasing tolerance of Obeah in at least some parts of the region. In the 1970s, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana attempted to rehabilitate Obeah as a legitimate aspect of African religiosity that had been misrepresented and suppressed by the European colonizers. However, because it was associated with an oppressive, dictatorial regime, Burnham's recasting of Obeah in positive terms, like François Duvalier's reclamation of Vodou in Haiti, did little to further the cause of those who wished to remove the stigma long attached to African forms of spirituality in the Caribbean. In more recent years, colonial laws against Obeah have periodically been challenged elsewhere in the region, and in some cases repealed. In Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, for instance, Obeah is no longer a legal offense; in other countries, such as Jamaica, anti-Obeah statutes remain on the books.

Whatever its legal status, Obeah everywhere (except among Guianese Maroons) continues to be widely characterized and stigmatized as a "fraudulent superstition," and it is still viewed by many as a shameful reminder of a supposedly "dark" African past, although it also has its defenders. Though in the minority, these dissenters continue to speak out against the ongoing representation of Obeah as harmful "witchcraft," seeing this negative imagery as a damaging legacy of colonialism. As a legitimate, primarily positive expression of African spirituality, they argue, Obeah deserves the same legal guarantees of protection from persecution afforded other forms of religious expression.

Without doubt, Obeah continues to play an important role in the lives of many in the Caribbean. A kind of flash point capable of bringing to the surface deep cultural contradictions bred by centuries of colonial domination, it continues to fascinate scholars and creative writers, who recognize in it an important dimension of the human condition in this part of the world.

See also Candomblé; Santería

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Oblate Sisters of Providence

The Oblate Sisters of Providence, an order of black nuns, pioneered in the area of black Catholic education in America. The order was founded in Baltimore in 1828 by a group of free women of color who had fled the turmoil of slave insurrections on the French island colony of San Domingo. Elizabeth Lange, one of the order's founding members, had already been involved in educating black children in Baltimore when she was approached by a local priest with the idea of founding a "religious society of virgins and widows of color." Three other Haitian women joined Lange in the formation of the community, and the four took their vows as sisters on July 2, 1829. Lange served as the order's first mother superior. The Oblates' chapel, built in 1836, became an important center for worship among black Catholics in Baltimore. There, members of the black Catholic community could be baptized, married, confirmed, and buried.

Although tuition and boarding fees were charged at St. Frances Academy, the Oblates' school, the sisters made a regular practice of caring for and educating homeless and orphaned children. Non-Catholic children were also accepted as students. The Oblates taught both academic and trade subjects. Despite frequent difficulties, the Oblates were ever expanding. Their own numbers grew and the order drew African-American women in addition to

women from San Domingo. The order of the Oblate Sisters of Providence is still in existence, and members of the order are at the forefront of leadership of black nuns in America. St. Frances Academy, the original school, continues to operate as well.

See also Catholicism in the Americas

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)

Odetta (Gordon, Odetta Holmes Felious)

December 31, 1930

Born in Birmingham, Alabama, folk singer Odetta—as she is invariably known—grew up in Los Angeles, where her family moved when she was six. By the age of thirteen she was studying piano and singing. She also taught herself to play the guitar. She studied classical music and musical theater at Los Angeles City College and performed in a 1949 production of *Finian's Rainbow* in San Francisco. In the early 1950s Odetta, with her rich contralto voice, emerged as an important figure on the San Francisco and New York folk music scenes. With the encouragement of Harry Belafonte and Pete Seeger, she began performing and recording more widely, presenting an eclectic repertory of spirituals, slave songs, prison and work songs, folk ballads, Caribbean songs, and blues (*My Eyes Have Seen,* 1959; *Sometimes I Feel Like Cryin',* 1962). She also appeared in the film *Sanctuary* (1961).

In the early 1960s Odetta began to address political and social issues. She became an important advocate for civil rights and took part in the historic 1963 civil rights march in Washington, D.C. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s she continued to perform internationally and to record music (*Odetta Sings the Blues,* 1967). In 1974 she appeared in the television film *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. A 1986 concert marking forty years of her life as a performer was released as a live recording (*Movin' It On,* 1987).

Odetta has received acclaim throughout the world as one of the central figures of modern folk music. In 1998 she released a CD, *To Ella,* a tribute to her late friend Ella Fitzgerald. The following year, Odetta recorded *Blues Everywhere I Go.* With the release of *Looking for a Home* in 2001, Odetta returned to her roots to pay homage to a prominent influence, Leadbelly.

See also Belafonte, Harry ; Blues, The; Folk Music

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ROSITA M. SANDS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Ogbu, John

1939
August 20, 2003

John Uzo Ogbu, educational anthropologist, was born in the small village of Umudomi in the Onicha Government Area of Nigeria. Ogbu's scholarly career, spent entirely at the University of California at Berkeley, spanned over thirty years. He devoted most of his work to minority education and is best known for his research on black student achievement. His highly controversial work is as widely praised as it is criticized. For instance, Ogbu was the recipient of some of the most prestigious awards in education and anthropology and was named one of the four most influential figures in the history of North American education (Berube, 2000). Yet his work has frequently been criticized for downplaying the extent to which racism exists in school and society and for ignoring research that calls into question some of his basic conclusions.

Ogbu's main contribution is his application of cultural-ecological theory to explain why some minority groups are successful in school and why others are not. He is especially noted for theorizing that African Americans develop an oppositional cultural identity, or a sense of identity in opposition to white Americans, because of the injustices they encounter in society. In addition, he posits, African Americans develop an oppositional frame of reference, or

a set of protective strategies to maintain their identities—and their distance from the dominant white culture. These identities, according to Ogbu, orient black students to view school success, for instance, as "acting white" and as affronts to their identities. Ogbu surmises that black children learn these attitudes and responses at an early age from their families and others in black communities with whom they form fictive kinships. For this reason, Ogbu often foreground cultural factors and gave only scant attention to system factors to explain black academic underperformance.

Ogbu conducted comparative studies in socially stratified societies in other parts of the world as well, including Israel, Japan, New Zealand, and Great Britain, and demonstrated that similar disparities existed in their schools. Other researchers have also confirmed the usefulness of Ogbu's theories in their research. Critics, however, fault several aspects of Ogbu's work, not the least significant being that he gave little attention to studies that show that black students enjoy widespread academic success, even under the most dire circumstances.

The passionate responses to Ogbu's work over the years speak both to its significance and to the scholar's own convictions. And, regardless of the merits of the praise or criticism of his work, Ogbu undeniably has left an indelible mark on the field of urban education as scholars in diverse disciplines continue to build on and critique his work.

See also Anthropology and Anthropologists; Education in the United States

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garrett albert duncan (2005)

O'Leary, Hazel Rollins

May 17, 1937

Fisk University President Hazel Rollins O'Leary, a former corporate executive and U.S. Secretary of Energy, was born and raised in the seaport city of Newport News, Virginia. She graduated from Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1959 and earned a law degree from Rutgers in 1966. In New Jersey she began a career in law enforcement, serving as an assistant state attorney general and later as an Essex County prosecutor. In the early 1970s O'Leary moved to Washington, D.C., and became a partner at the accounting firm of Coopers and Lybrand. She later joined the Federal Energy Administration during the Ford presidency. She served in President Jimmy Carter's Energy Department as head of the Economic Regulatory Administration. While there, Rollins befriended John F. O'Leary, the deputy energy secretary. The couple married in 1980 and formed an energy consulting firm, O'Leary Associates. After John O'Leary died in 1987, Hazel O'Leary closed the consulting firm.

In 1989 O'Leary was named executive vice president for corporate affairs at the Minneapolis-based Northern States Power Company, one of the largest gas and electric utilities in the Midwest. She was in charge of environmental affairs, public relations, and lobbying. As an energy policy maker O'Leary advocated decreased dependence on oil and coal, promoted fuel conservation, and helped develop a program at Northern States Power to generate electricity with windmills. She was also a proponent of nuclear power, and her goals included the creation of safe storage methods for nuclear waste.

The policy of Northern States Power regarding the storage of nuclear waste earned O'Leary some criticism from environmental groups. In 1990 Northern States sought to build nuclear storage facilities at Prairie Island, Minnesota, next to the Mdewakanton Sioux Indian Reservation. After the Sioux protested, a judge prohibited an expansion of the nuclear waste site. O'Leary then drafted a compromise with regulators that permitted Northern States to open the storage facility on a reduced scale. Her background in energy regulation and her commitment to conservation attracted the attention of President Bill Clinton, who in 1993 offered O'Leary the post of secretary of energy. When confirmed, O'Leary became the first woman ever to hold that post.

O'Leary's tenure as energy secretary was troubled. Critics charged that she had sold access to her office by

forcing companies to contribute to her favorite charity. Following her resignation on January 20, 1997, a special prosecutor was appointed to investigate the allegations. Shortly afterward, O'Leary again made headlines when she admitted in a deposition that watchdogs who made complaints in nuclear facilities were routinely harassed.

In 2000, African-American investment banking firm Blaylock & Partners of New York appointed O'Leary chief operating officer. She remained with the firm until 2002, while continuing to serve on the boards of various commercial and nonprofit organizations. O'Leary was named President of Fisk University in 2004.

See also Politics in the United States

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JAMES BRADLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

OLYMPIANS

The modern Olympic Games have a history of over one hundred years. At an international sports conference held at the Sorbonne in Paris in late June 1894, a plan was advanced to reestablish in modern times a great sports festival, one that had been a major dimension of ancient Greek culture for more than a thousand years—the Olympic Games. An International Olympic Committee (IOC) was founded and two years later, in the spring of 1896, the first edition of the modern Olympics was organized in the host city of Athens, Greece. Following the plan of their *rénovateur*, the French Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the Olympics occurred every four years afterwards, except on the occasion of their interruption by the two World Wars. It was Coubertin's plan for the Olympics to be ambulatory, that is, to be hosted by major cities on all the globe's continents, those being, in somewhat peculiar European understanding, Europe, Asia, the Americas (North, Central, and South), Africa, and Australasia/Oceania. In this respect, Coubertin's goal has yet to be fully realized. An Olympic Games somewhere in Africa continues to be elusive, delaying the perspective of universal internationalism.

Though the summer Olympics have persisted since 1896, the winter Olympics date only to 1924, when their first edition was organized high in the French Alps in the village of Chamonix. The winter Olympics, too, moved around the world to various winter resort sites located largely in European countries, as well as in North America (the United States and Canada) and Asia (Japan). Climate and topography, of course, are major factors against Olympic Winter Games ever being staged in Africa, Australasia/Oceania, and most parts of Asia and South America. By 1994 both the summer and winter games had grown so astronomically in terms of the number of different sports, masses of competing athletes, an astoundingly immense cadre of judges and officials, necessary administrative functionaries, and media types from every corner of the world that organizing both games in the same year proved an almost impossible burden. Thus, the formula for presenting the winter games was changed so that they are now presented in even-numbered years between the quadrennial celebration of the summer games.

The original organizers of the modern Olympic Games envisioned a festival of sport as an expression of peace, brotherhood, and the advancement of physical culture among all peoples of the world, irrespective of ethnicity, religious attitude, or station in life. Be that as it may, the social and cultural context of many of the world's countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ensured that the only athletes who entered the competitions were those who had the time and financial circumstance to devote toward training for achievement at a high performance level. For the most part, this situation tended to exclude blacks the world over. In other words, it became a question of opportunity.

Though opportunity for athletic achievement was devastatingly limited for Africans and African-descended peoples in the Americas, a large portion of whom lived and labored in the depths of economic distress in countries under the colonial rule of European powers, it was somewhat better for African-descended people residing in the United States. That is the major reason why the annals of black athletic achievement in early Olympic history were dominated by African Americans.

The first instances of African and African-descended people's participation in the sporting venues of the great international Olympic festival occurred in the third edition of the modern games, those celebrated for the first time outside Europe—in Saint Louis, Missouri. There, in the sweltering summer of 1904 amidst the grandeur and hoopla of the Saint Louis World's Fair, four black athletes competed: an American, a Cuban, and two South Africans. The African American was George C. Poage (l880–1962) of La Crosse, Wisconsin, who competed in four events, the 60- and 400-meter sprints, and the 200- and

Jesse Owens. *Called "the world's fastest human," Owens provided a memorable response to Adolf Hitler's racist ideology with four gold medals at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.* UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

400-meter hurdles (he placed third in both of the latter). The Cuban was Felix Carbajal, an enigmatic figure who trained for his long-distance races by running the length of Cuba and who financed his trip to Saint Louis by performing "sponsorship" exhibitions in the town squares of Cuban hamlets. Running in cut-off long trousers, he competed in the marathon, finishing a creditable fourth, which might have been a better performance had he not stopped along the route to eat green apples plucked from a tree, the results of which gave him stomach cramps. Two black South African Tswana tribesmen, masquerading as Zulu warriors in the Saint Louis Fair's Boer War battle reenactment exhibition, also competed in the Olympic marathon. Len Tua and Jan Mashiani, former Boer War dispatch runners proclaimed to be "the fleetest in the service," finished in ninth and twelfth place, respectively.

In 1908 the Olympic Games were celebrated in London, England. It was at that Olympic festival that the first black athlete to win a gold medal, in this case an American, became a matter of record. He was John Baxter Taylor (1882–1908), a University of Pennsylvania graduate. Taylor won his gold medal by running the third leg of the U.S. team's winning effort in the 1600-meter relay. African-American athletes did not compete again at the Olympics until 1924 in Paris. There, before the gaze of Pierre de Coubertin in his final appearance at the great festival that he had been primarily responsible for establishing, three black athletes competed in the colors of the United States. University of Michigan student William DeHart Hubbard became the first black athlete in Olympic history to win an individual gold medal. Hubbard won the long jump with a leap of 24.5 feet (about 7.47 meters), while African-American teammate Edward Gourdin won the silver medal. Earl Johnson, the third member of the black American contingent, won a bronze medal in the 10,000-meter cross-country race. Johnson's performance also ensured a

silver medal for the Americans in the now-discontinued cross-country relay.

It would be eight years before African-American athletes once again ascended the victory podium at the Olympic Games, and the occasion began a remarkable record in Olympic history of black athletes the world over achieving gold medal results in track and field events. In 1932 at Los Angeles, Detroit's bespectacled Eddie Tolan (1908–1967) won gold in the 100 meters, earning him the distinction "world's fastest human." His teammate, Ralph Metcalfe, won the silver medal. Tolan also won the 200 meters; Metcalfe earned the bronze. After competing in the 1928 games in Amsterdam and placing seventh in the long jump, the University of Iowa's Edward Gordon won the gold medal in the long jump at Los Angeles by leaping a trifle beyond 25 feet (7.6 meters). It should not be lost to posterity that the African-Canadian Phil Edwards won bronze medals in the 800 meters in both the 1932 Los Angeles and 1936 Berlin Olympic festivals.

The most historically enduring episode of black Olympic achievement occurred in Berlin in 1936, at the so-called Nazi Olympics. They were the last Olympic Games celebrated before the outbreak of World War II. Though Jews were the chief victims of Nazi efforts to exclude "inferior races" from competing in "Hitler's Games," "negroes" came in for their share of derision. But, America's "Black Auxiliaries," a term coined by Joseph Goebbels's propaganda machine, performed so brilliantly that one of them, Jesse Owens, became the bona fide hero of the games, not only to all Americans, but to folks across the world, including many Germans of non-Nazi persuasion. Owens won four gold medals for first place finishes in the 100- and 200-meter dashes, the long jump, and the 400-meter relay. And Owens was not the entire story. Of ten American black athletes competing in track and field in Berlin, nine won medals, and their total medal count of eight gold, three silver, and two bronze outscored every national team present at the games. In fact, they outscored the medal total of their fifty-six white track and field teammates. The names John Woodruff (800 meters), Archie Williams (400 meters), Cornelius Johnson (high jump), and Ralph Metcalfe (400-meter relay), joined the name Jesse Owens etched into the Berlin stadium's gold medal victory scrolls.

Two black American women made the 1936 Olympic team and competed in Berlin. Though neither placed in their event (low hurdles), Louise Stokes and Anne Pickett became trailblazers for black women competing in future Olympic Games.

Following the conclusion of World War II, the Olympics resumed in London in 1948. These games proved to be a watershed Olympics for African-American participation and achievement. Historically black colleges, such as Tuskegee Institute and Tennessee State University, along with such organizations as the New York Mercury Club, promoted black women's competition in the 1930s. The fruits of such programs resulted in a dozen African-American women competing in track and field events in the 1948 games. Among them, Albany State College's Alice Coachman became the first female African American to win an Olympic gold medal when she won the high jump with an Olympic record of 5 feet 6 inches (about 1.68 meters). In fact, Coachman was the only woman on the American team to win a gold medal.

African-American men achieved an avalanche of gold at the London games. Baldwin-Wallace College's Harrison "Bones" Dillard, acknowledged as the world's best hurdler, failed to make the American team in the high hurdles when he inexplicably knocked over every hurdle and finished last in the qualifying event at the Olympic trials. He did, however, earn a place on the American team in the 100-meter dash and the 400-meter relay. In the 100-meter final, Dillard overtook fellow African American Barney Ewell to win in the record time of 10.3 seconds. African-Trinidadian Lloyd LaBeach finished third; Dillard, Ewell, and fellow African American Lorenzo Wright teamed with Mel Patton to win the 400-meter relay. Mal Whitfield, a black Army Air Force sergeant, won gold in the 800 meters in 1 minute 49.2 seconds, and Willie Steele leaped 25 feet 8 inches (about 7.8 meters) to win the long jump. In other sports Don Barksdale, UCLA's black basketball star, led the U.S. team to the gold medal in Olympic history's second basketball tournament, the inaugural occasion having resulted in an American gold medal in 1936. John Davis, a world-class weight lifter won the heavyweight gold medal by lifting a record total of 997.5 pounds (452.46 kilograms) in his three lifts (press, snatch, and the clean and jerk). In effect, the 1948 London games signaled to the world that African-American athletes, both men and women, would play prominent roles in Olympic achievement in the future.

For well over half a century, black athletes participating in the Olympics represented countries on the continent that Europeans refer to as "the Americas." This was particularly true, but certainly not exclusively, with reference to black athletes from the United States. Following World War II, however, from the disintegration of European colonial empires in Africa, particularly those located in sub-Saharan regions, newly independent countries arose, each embracing largely black populations filled with national pride and eagerness to join the modern world in a number of ways, including international sports. Partici-

The Jamaican bobsled team. *From left, Wayne Thomas, Nelson Stoke, Winston Watt, and pilot Dudley Stokes practice at a training facility in Riesa, Germany, prior to the 1998 winter Olympics at Nagano, Japan.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

pation in the Olympic Games was a natural extension of such aspirations. Starting in 1960 and continuing into the twenty-first century, African athletes have made their mark in those Olympic track events normally classified as "distance running." This history commenced with Ethiopian Abebe Bikila's marathon victories at Rome in 1960 and Tokyo in 1964, and Kenyan Kip Keino's sensational 1,500 meters upset of America's Jim Ryun at Mexico City in 1968. Keeping pace with them in the 1950s and 1960s in Olympic sprint and field events, as well as in boxing and basketball, were scores of African-American gold medalists, among the most notable of which were: boxer Floyd Patterson (Helsinki, 1952); hurdler Lee Calhoun, decathlete Milt Campbell, and basketball players Bill Russell and K. C. Jones (Melbourne, 1956); sprinter Wilma Rudolph, decathlete Rafer Johnson, and basketball player Oscar Robertson (Rome, 1960); sprinters Bob Hayes and Wyomia Tyus, boxers Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) and Joe Frazier, and basketball player Walt Hazzard (Tokyo, 1964); and world-record-setting long jumper Bob Beamon, sprinters James Hines, Tommie Smith, and Lee Evans, and boxer George Foreman (Mexico City, 1968).

The post–World War II fracture of European colonial empires in Africa also played a role in the ultimate exclusion from the modern Olympic Movement of South Africa, a country that, until the 1990s, practiced apartheid. Though black South African individuals were allowed to indulge in sports in a segregated context, South Africa's Olympic teams were reserved for whites. This, of course, flew in the face of the IOC's *Olympic Charter* dictum, which maintained that no athlete be denied Olympic Games participation "on the grounds of race, religion, politics, or otherwise." There were many in the world, especially other African countries and the Soviet Union,

along with marginalized racial groups in Western industrial nations, particularly African Americans in the United States, who rose to argue against South Africa remaining in the Olympic movement. African countries registered their protest by threatening to boycott the 1964 and 1968 games if South Africa was allowed to participate on the basis of its all-white team. As a result of such pressure, South Africa's 1964 Olympic Games invitation was withdrawn by its Tokyo hosts, as was its invitation to the 1968 Mexico City games. Finally, in 1970 South Africa was dismissed from its membership in the modern Olympic movement.

At the 1968 Mexico City games black athletes from the United States (Tommie Smith, Jon Carlos, Vince Matthews, Lawrence James, Ron Freeman, and Lee Evans), collectively galvanized by African-American activist Harry Edwards, registered their personal protests against the social, civil, and economic injustices experienced by blacks living in America by invoking personal demonstrations of disgust at Olympic ceremonies held commensurate with their medal awards. In that regard, one of the most enduring Olympic portraits in history is that of Tommie Smith and Jon Carlos standing on the victory podium with heads bowed and black-gloved fists held defiantly aloft.

In the face of severe global economic sanctions against South Africa for its continuance of apartheid, the Dutch-Boer political power that held it firmly in place finally crumbled in the early 1990s, leading to dissolution of the world-condemned phenomenon and an installation of Nelson Mandela as president of a new South Africa. Very rapidly, sports in growing context became "non-racial," leading to an integrated South African team in time for the Barcelona Olympics in 1992. Before that, in the 1970s and 1980s, increasing numbers of black participants in the Olympic Games occurred, reaching its all-time high in 1984, at which time the U.S. team listed twenty-one African-American female competitors, a number eclipsed almost twofold by their male counterparts. Noteworthy between 1972 and 1990 were the contributions made to American Olympic teams by African-American gold medal athletes, especially in track and field and boxing: Ray Seales for boxing and Rodney Milburn in hurdles (Munich, 1972); Edwin Moses for intermediate hurdles and "Sugar" Ray Leonard and Leon Spinks for boxing (Montreal, 1976); Carl Lewis in the 100-, 200-, and 400-meter races and the long jump and Tyrell Biggs for boxing (Los Angeles, 1984); Andrew Maynard for boxing, Florence Griffith Joyner in 100- and 200-meter races and the 400-meter relay, and Jackie Joyner Kersee in the heptathlon (Seoul, 1988).

Black athletic success during the period was not limited to U.S. citizens. Outstanding was African-Cuban Alberto Juantarena who won both the 400 and 800 meters in 1976 at Montreal, and African-Canadian Ben Johnson who won the 100 meters in 1988 at Seoul and set a new world record of 9.73 seconds to become the "world's fastest human," only to have his title stripped after testing positive for performance-enhancing drugs. In the 1970s and beyond, many athletes, black and white alike, questioned each other on the pharmaceutical issue. African-Canadian Donovan Bailey won the 100 meters in 1996 at Atlanta to partially vindicate old training comrade Ben Johnson, by then thoroughly disgraced. Finally, Cuban heavyweight boxing dominance, exhibited by three successive gold medals won by Teofilo Stevenson (1984, 1988, 1992), stands unparalleled in the annals of Olympic pugilism.

The first century of Olympic history closed with an indelible record of achievement by black athletes from the Americas. As the Olympics entered their second century of history, the results in 2000 at Sydney and 2004 at Athens confirmed what the second half of the twentieth century had demonstrated: black athletes from African countries, from the Americas, and expatriates from Africa residing in European countries would dominate gold medal performances in track and field events, basketball, and boxing. Evident, too, was the fact that in some Olympic events not traditionally within the province of black athletic expertise—judo, wrestling, and gymnastics, for instance, and even winter sports such as bobsledding—participation by black athletes was becoming more and more common.

See also Basketball; Boxing; Owens, Jesse; Sports

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ROBERT K. BARNEY (2005)

Opera

Since its inception in early seventeenth-century Florence, Italy, opera has been the dominant form of staged musical storytelling in the European musical tradition. During the last two centuries of its evolution, African Americans and persons of African descent have played an important role in its development as an art form.

African settings and characters were often included in the plots of early opera. Indeed, the first important opera, Claudio Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607), included a female Moor in the finale. Cleopatra was a common role in early opera, most notably in George Frideric Handel's *Giulio Cesare* (1724), as was the Carthaginian princess Dido in Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), in numerous settings of *Didone Abbandonata* (as in Tommaso Albinoni's of 1725), and in later opera such as Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens* (1858). Other operas from the standard repertory with an African setting or characters include Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1791), Gioacchino Rossini's *L'Italiana in Algeri* (1813), Giacomo Meyerbeer's *L'africaine* (1865), and Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* (1865) and *Otello* (1889).

African Americans have been active in opera as performers and singers since the early nineteenth century. In nineteenth-century America the boundaries between high and low musical cultures were not as rigid as they would later become. Like many of their contemporaries, black and white, trained singers often performed in minstrel and vaudeville shows, as well as in the concert hall or opera house. One of the first prominent African-American operatic singers was Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield. Born a slave in Mississippi but raised free in Philadelphia, Greenfield was known as "the Black Swan" and performed with a troupe of African-American opera singers in the United States, Canada, and England throughout the 1850s and 1860s. In 1854 Greenfield sang with tenor Thomas J. Bowes (1836–c. 1885), whom critics called "the American Mario" or "the colored Mario," after Italian opera star Conte di Candia Mario. Bowers, possibly the greatest American male singer of the period, chose "Mario" as his preferred stage name and refused to sing to segregated audiences or in concert halls from which African Americans were barred. Opera selections were also included in the program of the multitalented Luca family, a father and four sons who performed as vocalists, pianists, and violinists. After the deaths of the father, Alexander C. Luca, and one brother, tenor Simeon G. Luca, the three remaining brothers joined with the Hutchinsons, a famous abolitionist singing family, for a concert tour of the Midwest that advertised a program of "Humor, Sentiment, and Opera!" In the late 1860s and 1870s, the two Hyers sisters, Anna

Celebrated mezzo-soprano opera singer Denyce Graves as Dalila in the production of Camille Saint-Saëns's* Samson et Dalila, *Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, 2005. © JACK VARTOOGIAN/FRONTROWPHOTOS

Madah and Emma Louise, achieved renown for concerts featuring scenes from such operas as Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and *La Traviata,* and Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Another prominent singer, soprano Marie Selika Smith (c. 1849–1937), who named herself Selika after the African princess in *L'africaine,* performed in the United States and Germany during the 1870s and 1880s. One of the most important performers of this period was Sissieretta Joyner Jones, known as "the Black Patti"—after the great soprano Adelina Patti—whose celebrity was established in 1892 when she was asked to give a recital at the White House for President Benjamin Harrison. In 1896 Jones formed her own troupe, the Black Patti Troubadors, which featured her in operatic excerpts.

African Americans were barred from performing in major opera houses in the United States. As a result, many well-qualified singers either pursued careers in Europe or confined their performances to recitals and the concert stage. Newspapers and magazines from the late nineteenth century stated that black artists were frequently exploited by their white managers, who garnered their financial support from both the white and black communities. Generally, African-American singers could count on two or three years of concertizing before white audiences ceased to find them novel or exotic, which forced them to turn to studio teaching as a means of making a living. There were two notable exceptions to this rule: Jones, "the Black Patti," who, in founding her own troupe, extended her singing career by fifteen years; and Nellie Brown Mitchell (1845–1924), who debuted in New York and Boston in the 1870s and, after becoming the leading soprano for James Bergen's Star Concert Company, created the Nellie Brown Mitchell Concert Company in Boston in 1886. One of Mitchell's unusual achievements was her staging of a juvenile operetta called *Laila, the Fairy Queen,* with an ensemble of fifty African-American girls ages five to fifteen, at a Boston musical festival in 1876. Mitchell's concert company lasted approximately ten years, after which Mitchell turned to private teaching in the mid-1890s.

The first known African-American opera company was the Colored American Opera Company of Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., which staged Julius Eichberg's *Doctor of Alcantara* for enthusiastic audiences in both cities in 1873 and returned in 1879 with performances of Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore.* Twelve years later Theodore Drury (1867–c. 1943), a highly trained tenor and impresario, founded his own company. Drury began by presenting operatic selections and expanded the company's repertory to include full operas at the turn of the century. From 1900 to 1910, as well as sporadically into the 1930s, the Theodore Drury Opera Company appeared in New York, Boston, Providence, and Philadelphia. Works performed included Georges Bizet's *Carmen,* Charles Gounod's *Faust,* Verdi's *Aida,* Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana,* and Ruggiero Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci.* The productions were advertised as social affairs attended by prominent social figures and concluded with supper and dancing to Walter F. Craig's orchestra.

One unique contribution that African-American singers made to vocal literature was the development of the concert spiritual, a fusion of melodies derived from African-American religious chanting with the harmonies of the European art song. For many African-American vocalists, the first exposure to classical singing occurred in church or while listening to a recital of sacred music and spirituals. Because they were not allowed on the opera stage, many classically trained African-American singers became primarily known as recitalists, and their reperto-

Opera Supporter

Mary Cardwell Dawson (February 14, 1894–March 19, 1962) was a teacher of voice, a pianist, and the founder and director of the National Negro Opera Company. She grew up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, her family having moved there from Meridian, North Carolina, early in her life. Her musical training included study at the New England Conservatory, in Boston, and at the Chicago Musical College. She taught voice, at first in a private studio and later at the Cardwell School of Music, which she established in Pittsburgh in 1927. In the 1930s, she toured as director of the Cardwell Dawson Choir, a prize-winning organization that made appearances at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago and at the New York World's Fair. Dawson served as president of the National Association of Negro Musicians from 1939 to 1941.

After presenting *Aida* at a National Association of Negro Musicians convention in the summer of 1941, Dawson officially launched her National Negro Opera Company at Pittsburgh in the following October with a production of the same opera. The star was La Julia Rhea, one of many black singers who found with this company an otherwise unavailable opportunity to sing opera in the United States. Other cast members were Minto Cato, Carol Brice, Robert McFerrin, and Lillian Evanti. During its twenty-one years, the company had a difficult existence financially, but it mounted productions in Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The Washington production of *La Traviata* starring Lillian Evanti drew audiences totaling more than thirty thousand and was favorably reviewed. Dawson spent her final years in Washington, D.C.

DORIS EVANS MCGINTY

ries frequently included spirituals as well as European art songs and arias. One of the first recitalists to come to prominence in the twentieth century was the tenor Roland Hayes. Among those who followed in his path was contralto Marian Anderson. Initially barred from the operatic stage in the United States, Anderson became a peerless recitalist with a wide repertory of arias, songs, and spirituals. The most dramatic moment in her career occurred in 1939, when, after being barred from performing in a Washington, D.C., concert hall, Anderson gave an outdoor recital—introduced by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes—on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Nevertheless, major opera houses remained inaccessible to African Americans for another fifteen years. Other prominent African-American recitalists of the middle decades of this century included sopranos Inez Matthews (1917–1950), Ellabelle Davis (1907–1960), and Dorothy Maynor. Catherine Yarborough (1903–1986) appeared in the United States only in musical comedy but sang the role of Aida in Europe, where she was known as Caterina Jarboro. In the next generation, leading singers included Muriel Rahn (1911–1961), Carol Brice (1918–1985), and contralto Louise Parker (1926–1986), a favorite of both Leopold Stokowski and Paul Hindemith.

Outside the concert hall, African-American singers were often confined to operatic roles in works that had all-black casts such as Virgil Thomson's *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1933) and George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (1935) or "ebony" versions of *Carmen* and other opera classics. Bass Paul Robeson and baritones Jules Bledsoe and William Warfield (1920–), each used the character of Joe in Jerome Kern's *Show Boat* (1927) to launch their careers. Todd Duncan and Donnie Ray Albert (1950–) also began by singing the role of Porgy in the Gershwin opera. Other singers, such as Lawrence Winters (1915–1965) and Charles Holland (1910–1987), the first black principal to sing at the Paris Opera (he debuted there in *Aida* in 1954), performed extensively in Europe.

Although some major companies, such as the New York City Opera, cast African Americans as early as the 1940s, the Metropolitan Opera in New York City did not drop its color line until 1955, when Marian Anderson sang Ulrica (traditionally a dark-skinned role) in Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera*. Louis Gruenberg's *Emperor Jones,* which calls for a character of African descent in the title role, had premiered at the Met in 1933; at the time, white baritone Lawrence Tibbett was cast over Paul Robeson, who was an obvious candidate for the part. Anderson's debut at the Met was soon followed by the appearances of baritone Robert McFerrin Sr., and coloratura soprano Mattiwilda Dobbs. In 1954 Dobbs, who had been signed two years earlier by La Scala in Milan, Italy, performed in Richard Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos* at New York's Town Hall before making her debut at the San Francisco Opera in 1955 and at the Met in 1956, where she sang Gilda in Verdi's *Rigoletto*. In 1958 soprano Gloria Davy (1936–) became the first African American to sing the role of Aida at the Met.

The engagement of African-American operatic singers without any limitation to a select number of traditionally dark-skinned roles did not fully occur with major opera companies before the 1960s. The career of Mississippi-born Leontyne Price marks the acceptance of the African-American diva by the operatic establishment in the United States. In 1955 Price's televised performance of the title role in Giacomo Puccini's *Tosca* caused a sensation; she debuted at the Met six years later, after having established a successful career in Europe. In 1966, Price opened the new Metropolitan Opera House at New York's Lincoln Center in a role especially written for her in the world premiere of Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*. (The production was choreographed by Alvin Ailey.) From 1955 to 1965 ten African-American singers debuted at the Met: Price, Anderson, McFerrin, Davy, Dobbs, Grace Bumbry (1937–), George Shirley (1934–), Martina Arroyo (1939–), Felicia Weathers, and Reri Grist (1932–), who had appeared in the original cast of Leonard Bernstein's *West Side Story* in 1957. Other black singers who came to prominence in the 1950s and 1960s were Margaret Tynes (1929–), Betty Allen (1930–), Hilda Harris (1936–), Gwendolyn Killebrew (1942–), Esther Hinds (1943–), Faye Robinson (1943–), and Shirley Verrett.

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed the recognition of numerous African-American divas, among them Carmen Balthrop (1948–), Barbara Hendricks (1938–), Leona Mitchell (1949–), Roberta Alexander (1949–), and Harolyn Blackwell. The two most prominent African-American women singing in opera in the 1980s and early 1990s were soprano Kathleen Battle and dramatic soprano Jessye Norman. Battle, who rose to fame after starring in a 1975 production of Scott Joplin's *Treemonisha* on Broadway, debuted at the Met as the Shepherd in Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* in 1978; Norman sang in the major opera houses of Europe throughout the 1970s before her first appearance at the Met in Berlioz' *Les Troyens* in 1983. In 1991 the two singers performed together in a well-received concert of spirituals at New York City's Carnegie Hall.

African American mezzo-soprano Denyce Graves (1964–) has also been hailed as one of opera's most electrifying performers. Best known for sultry stage performances including the title role in Bizet's *Carmen,* with which she established her name, and Camille Saint-Saëns'

Samson et Dalila, Graves enjoyed a meteoric rise in the 1990s.

Throughout the history of opera in the United States, male African-American singers have not enjoyed the same success as their female counterparts. Many believe that this can be attributed to a reluctance to have black male singers in mixed-race casting. Among those who have been active in opera since the 1970s are Seth McCoy (1928–), Andrew Frierson (1927–), and McHenry Boatwright (1928–1994). Musical theater has been the dominant genre for Rawn Spearman (1924–), while Thomas Carey (1931–) and Eugene Holmes (1934–) were primarily active in Europe. Bass-baritone Simon Estes, the first black male singer to star in the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth, Germany, also made his name in Europe in the 1970s before debuting at the Met in 1981. Two singers whose promising careers were cut short, respectively by cancer and AIDS, were baritones Ben Holt (1955–1989) and Bruce Hubbard (1952–1991). Among the leading singers of the current generation are Kevin Short (1960–), Antonio Green (1966–), and Vinson Cole (1950–).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, African Americans had also begun to compose opera, although the lack of financial support frequently made it impossible for their works to be staged. The first significant African-American composer was Harry Lawrence Freeman, who wrote fourteen grand-style operas including *The Octoroon* (1904), *Voodoo* (1911), and the early jazz opera *The Flapper* (1929). In addition to being one of the first African Americans to conduct a symphony orchestra in a rendering of his own work—*O Sing a New Song,* presented in Minnesota in 1907—Freeman founded the Freeman School of Music in 1911, the Freeman School of Grand Opera in 1923, and the Negro Opera Company in 1920. Among Freeman's contemporaries was Clarence Cameron White, whose opera *Ouanga,* set in Haiti in the early 1800s, was first presented in a concert version in New York City at the New School for Social Research in 1941. The opera was not staged until 1959, when it was performed at the Central High School Auditorium in South Bend, Indiana. Subsequently, it had a successful run with the Dra-Mu Opera Company in Philadelphia. Ragtime composer Scott Joplin never saw a performance of his three-act opera *Treemonisha* (1911) in his lifetime, although his first opera, *A Guest of Honor,* was staged in St. Louis in 1903 (its score is now lost). One of the most respected and prolific composers of the mid-twentieth century was William Grant Still, who collaborated with his wife, librettist Verna Arvey, and whose works include *Troubled Island* (1938)—which takes as its subject the Haitian revolt at the turn of the nineteenth century—*Blue Steel* (1935), *A Bayou Legend* (1941), *A Southern Interlude* (1942), and *Highway No. 1, USA* (1963). Ulysses Simpson Kay (1917–) came to prominence in the late 1950s with *The Juggler of Our Lady* (1956), which was followed by such works as *The Capitoline Venus* (1971), *Jubilee* (1976), and *Frederick Douglass* (1986). In recent years two major operas have been composed by Anthony Davis, the founder of the instrumental group Episteme. Davis's *X (The Life and Times of Malcolm X)* (libretto by Thulani Davis) premiered at the New York City Opera in 1986; *Under the Double Moon,* with a libretto by Deborah Atherton, premiered at the Opera Theatre in St. Louis in 1989. In 1992 Davis's *Tania,* about the kidnapping and subsequent exploits of newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst, was premiered in Philadelphia by the American Music Theater Festival.

The development of African-American operatic talent has been furthered by the establishment of educational programs and opera companies for aspiring singers. Fisk University, Hampton University, Morgan State University, Virginia State University, and Wilberforce College, all traditionally black schools, have produced major operatic talent. By the mid-twentieth century, several African-American opera companies emerged, including the Imperial Opera Company (1930), the National Negro Opera Company (1941), the Dra-Mu Opera Company (1945), and the Harlem Opera Company (c. 1950). The 1970s witnessed a flourishing of African-American productions with the establishment of two major companies, Opera/South (1970) and the National Ebony Opera (1974), founded specifically to create professional opportunities for African-American performers, writers, conductors, and technicians. In addition to European grand opera, Opera/South has produced such works as William Grant Still's *Highway No. 1, USA* and *A Bayou Legend* (which, though written in 1941, had its world premiere in 1974), and Ulysses Kay's *Jubilee* and *The Juggler of Our Lady*.

As opera has become more accessible to African-American artists, major opera houses have produced new works and also revived lost or neglected works by African-American composers. Leroy Jenkins's *The Mother of Three Sons* premiered at the New York City Opera in 1991. In 1993, Duke Ellington's (1899–1974) unfinished opera, *Queenie Pie,* was performed for the first time at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. The Lyric Opera of Chicago and the American Music Theater Festival in Philadelphia have jointly commissioned a new opera by Anthony Davis, *Amistad,* telling the story of the 1839 capture of the eponymous slave ship and the liberation of its captors. *Amistad* was premiered during the 1997–1998 season. African-American singers are widely recognized both for their artistic excellence and popular appeal. However, male per-

formers continue to claim that they are not cast as readily as women in European opera. African-American composers continue to encounter resistance to works about African-American subjects. "The opera world is looking for fresh blood," observed librettist Thulani Davis. "Does a black composer have the same shot? I hope the answer is yes."

Jessye Norman became the youngest recipient of the United States Kennedy Center Honors in 1997. Willie Anthony Waters became the first African American to serve as an artistic director of a major opera company when he took over the Connecticut Opera Association in 1999.

See also Anderson, Marian; Price, Mary Violet Leontyne; Robeson, Paul

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DOMINIQUE-RENÉ DE LERMA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Operation Desert Storm

See Military Experience, African-American

Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity)

Founded in late 1971 by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Chicago-based Operation PUSH has always advocated a program demanding greater support of black-owned or -operated businesses and strongly encouraging corporations to hire more minority employees. With Jackson as its charismatic leader, Operation PUSH organized boycotts of companies unwilling to make agreements requiring increased minority hiring; combining his oratorical skills and national influence, Jackson was capable of effectively threatening the business of recalcitrant corporations. Originally called People United to Save Humanity, Operation PUSH grew out of, and originally had an agenda very similar to, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket, which Jackson headed until 1971.

One of its initiatives, PUSH for Excellence, or PUSH/EXCEL, was another plan inspired by Jackson to empower African Americans, this time through education. In the later 1970s PUSH/EXCEL received much national attention and substantial amounts of federal and private aid to establish programs to help minority schoolchildren. Several years later, auditors' reports concluded that the organization lacked concrete goals and an effective administrative structure. While it was scaled down considerably, PUSH/EXCEL continued to attempt to make schooling for black children a more enriching experience.

When Jackson left Operation PUSH in 1983 to lead his presidential campaign, the organization foundered. By the end of the 1980s it was financially insecure after a poorly supported boycott of the sporting goods company Nike left it deeply in debt. In early 1991 PUSH was forced to lay off temporarily all twelve of its salaried workers. After a plea from Jackson, prominent African Americans, black businesses, and community groups cooperated to raise the funds necessary to return Operation PUSH to a more sound financial footing.

Although he no longer held an official leadership position, Jackson remained a spokesman and adviser for Operation PUSH. In 1991 he announced a political agenda for Operation PUSH that was similar to the campaigns of the early 1980s but that incorporated pressing new concerns, such as the AIDS crisis and the problem of Haitian refugees. Operation PUSH continued to be a vocal advocate of black enterprise and entrepreneurs and continued to urge African-American youths to stay in school and not to use drugs or alcohol. In 1993 Jackson announced an Operation PUSH campaign to "save the children" of Chicago. This was part of a larger effort on the part of progressive black organizations to curb urban violence and increase opportunities for African-American children. Other initiatives forwarded by PUSH in the 1990s included cultural sensitivity training for police officers and proposals that youthful first-time criminal offenders be counseled by local ministers.

In 1996 Operation PUSH merged with the National Rainbow Coalition and is now known as the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. The new organization's mandate remains similar to that of the original Operation PUSH; among other things it seeks social and economic justice and empowerment, advocates increased voter registration, and attempts to influence international trade and foreign policy. The Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. remains the group's president.

See also Jackson, Jesse; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated bibliography

OPPORTUNITY: JOURNAL OF NEGRO LIFE

Opportunity was the official organ of the National Urban League; the first issue appeared in January 1923. Under the editorship of sociologist Charles Spurgeon Johnson, the journal tried to approach African-American life though a self-consciously "scientific" point of view, in contrast to the supposedly subjective emphasis of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People journal *Crisis* and its editor, W. E. B. Du Bois.

Opportunity's circulation grew from four thousand in 1923 to eleven thousand in 1927. Despite its supposed concentration on sociology, during the 1920s the magazine played an important role in encouraging young writers and artists of the Harlem Renaissance. It sponsored yearly literary contests and award dinners at which writers such as Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen met contacts who would eventually publish their work. Among early contributors to *Opportunity* were James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Angelina Weld Grimké, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Sterling Brown.

The era of optimism and creative ferment at *Opportunity* subsided somewhat with the departure of Johnson in 1929. He was succeeded by Elmer A. Carter, who published much poetry and fiction but emphasized the original vision of *Opportunity* as a sociological journal. The 1930s saw dissent on the editorial board concerning the role of the magazine. The declining circulation worried some, who argued that *Opportunity* should be a popular magazine. Others thought that it should serve mainly as the house organ of the National Urban League. The board never decided on a single policy, so *Opportunity* served a variety of purposes throughout the 1930s, printing news, economic and social criticism, poetry, short stories, and articles about the Urban League. Literary criticism flourished in regular contributions by Alain Locke and Sterling Brown. Carter even attempted in 1931 to revive the literary contests, which had ended in 1928. But the Great Depression strained *Opportunity*'s ability to publish, as private donations shriveled up and as individual subscriptions were harder to sell.

The 1940s were no easier, as wartime rationing limited paper and printing supplies. In an April 1942 editorial, Carter described the journal's dire financial straits and appealed for additional funds from its readers. Carter resigned later that year and was replaced by Madeline Aldridge. *Opportunity* began publishing on a quarterly basis in January 1943. Its content and style did not change significantly but did focus on African Americans' perceptions of the war. Despite the financial difficulties the journal faced, it remained an important forum for wartime discussions of racial equality and freedom and emerged as a champion of integration. After World War II *Opportunity* published fewer literary pieces, as the rise of periodicals dedicated to black artistic advancement provided another "proving ground" for young talent. Dutton Ferguson assumed editorship in 1947. *Opportunity,* however, had seen its best days. Its last issue appeared in 1949.

See also *Crisis, The*; Harlem Renaissance; Johnson, Charles Spurgeon; National Urban League; Sociology

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ELIZABETH MUTHER (1996)

Organization of Black American Culture

See OBAC Writers' Workshop

Origins of African Americans

See Ethnic Origins

Orisha

African traditional religions became the foundation of new religions created out of the experience of Africans in the Americas. Variously called Vodou (Haiti), Santería (Cuba), Candomblé (Brazil), and Orisha (Trinidad), these religions developed in response to the physical, social, and spiritual oppression of slavery and its aftermath. They are as much systems of resistance, retention, and creative adaptation as they are religions. Their persistence and progress into the twenty-first century represent an account of the irrepressible will of the human spirit in the story of Africans in the diaspora.

The term *orisha* refers to the deities of the Yoruba pantheon. According to Bolaji Idowu (1994), the word is a composite of two ideas: *ori,* "head," and *se,* "source," suggesting the relationship between the deities and God Almighty, Olodumare, from whence they came. The strength of this Yoruba foundation/tradition among the religions of the Americas is the result in part of: (1) the numerical concentration of Yorubas in the countries mentioned; (2) their relatively late arrival (end of the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries) to the Americas; and (3) the sophisticated and resilient structure of their religious beliefs.

Religion became the source and symbol of political resistance—as the Haitian Revolution proved—as well as cultural consolidation among Africans. They were united not only by the servitude of color but also by a common cosmology. During and after slavery, Christian churches demonized African theology, and the colonial state criminalized its practices. Throughout the Americas laws could be found banning or proscribing the use of the African drum, a central medium in Orisha worship.

What had evolved by the end of the nineteenth century, however, was an amalgam of beliefs which, though rooted in Yoruba cosmology, were uniquely adapted to the social ecology of the Americas:

1. Rather than forsake their ancestral belief system, Africans throughout the Americas used the Christian customs to which they were exposed to conceal and complement their own traditions. Through such means, Orisha integrated and reconciled what Christians would regard as conflicting theologies.
2. Unlike Africa, where shrines, even entire villages, are devoted to one *orisha,* in Trinidad any number of *orisha* are represented in a single shrine and invited to participate in the annual *ebo,* or feast held in their honor. In this way, all the ancestral deities and even new ones are recognized.
3. All shrines are in private yards in Trinidad, the majority being owned and led by women, although men continue to administer key ritual functions. Women were usually the more stable partner in the black community, with some acquiring property through their own enterprise after Emancipation.

The more recent history of the Orisha faith in Trinidad has signaled social growth and progress resulting from certain decisive events. The turning point was the Black Power movement of the early 1970s when young, educated, mainly Afro-Trinidadians demonstrated their frustration with the colonial arrangements they had inherited. Some turned—or returned—to their ancestral traditions to satisfy both spiritual and political needs. This African consciousness was given considerable boost by the 1988 state visit of the Ooni of Ife, spiritual head of the Yoruba/Orisha community. The legacy of this visit was the appointment of a head of the local Orisha community and the creation of a Council of Elders. The coming to power of the United National Congress, a Hindu-based party, in 1997 effectively challenged the Christian hegemony that had prevailed in multiethnic Trinidad since colonial days. The Orisha faith received official recognition with the legalization of Orisha marriages and a grant of lands for the development of African religious organizations.

Increasing contacts with Africa and across the diaspora have brought changes to the practice and personality of the religion as well. Prominent artists and middle-class persons have either joined or openly associated themselves with Orisha. Younger practitioners incorporate the Ifa system of divination, offer prayers in the Yoruba language, and celebrate ancestral festivals at this new threshold of the Americas where gods are shedding their masks.

See also Candomblé; Santería; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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RAWLE GIBBONS (2005)

Owen, Chandler

April 5, 1889
1967

Political journalist Chandler Owen was born in Warrenton, North Carolina, and graduated from Virginia Union University in Richmond in 1913. He pursued graduate work at the New York School of Philanthropy and at Columbia University as a National Urban League fellow. Owen severed ties with the league after he met A. Philip Randolph and in 1916 joined the Socialist Party. In November 1917 Owen and Randolph began publishing *The Messenger,* an independent monthly with a Socialist Party orientation; in early issues, they framed pacifist objections to World War I, supported armed defense against mob violence directed at African Americans, promoted radical industrial unionism, and voiced support for the social goals of the Russian Revolution. Owen and Randolph served brief jail sentences for their radicalism, and the authorities ransacked *The Messenger*'s offices several times in the early 1920s.

In the early 1920s Owen had become disillusioned with radical politics and was especially embittered when socialist garment workers' unions denied membership to his brother. In 1923 he left *The Messenger* to become managing editor of Anthony Overton's *Chicago Bee,* a liberal African-American newspaper, but he maintained ties with Randolph and used the *Bee* to muster support for Randolph's campaign to unionize the Pullman car porters.

During the 1930s and World War II Owen continued to move to the right and was active in the Republican Party. He served as a speechwriter and publicity chairman of the Negro division for Wendell Willkie's 1940 presidential campaign. During this period Owen also wrote about black anti-Semitism for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Despite his private reservations about the Roosevelt administration, he served as a consultant on race relations for the Office of War Information (he wrote the office's pamphlet *Negroes and the War* [1942], a tabloid-size publication that praised the New Deal) and projected worse treatment for blacks if Hitler were to win.

In his later life Owen continued to serve as a speechwriter and political consultant for major Republican presidential candidates, including Thomas Dewey in 1948 and Dwight Eisenhower in 1952.

See also *Messenger, The;* Randolph, A. Philip

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ELIZABETH MUTHER (1996)

Owens, Dana Elaine

See Queen Latifah (Owens, Dana Elaine)

Owens, Jesse

September 12, 1913
March 31, 1980

Born in 1913, the tenth surviving child of sharecroppers Henry and Emma Owens, in Oakville, Alabama, James Cleveland "Jesse" Owens moved with his family to Cleveland, Ohio, for better economic and educational opportunities in the early 1920s. His athletic ability was first noticed by a junior high school teacher of physical education, Charles Riley, who coached him to break several interscholastic records and even to make a bold but futile attempt to win a place on the U.S. Olympic team. In 1933 Owens matriculated at Ohio State University on a work-study arrangement and immediately began setting Big Ten records. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 25, 1935, he set new world records in the 220-yard sprint, the 220-yard hurdles, and the long jump and tied the world record in the 100-yard dash.

Jesse Owens, winnning one of the 200-meter heats at the Olympic games in Berlin. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In the racially segregated sports world of 1936, Owens and boxer Joe Louis (1914–1981) were the most visible African-American athletes. In late June, however, Louis lost to German boxer Max Schmeling (1905–), making Owens's Olympic feats all the more dramatic. At Berlin in early August 1936, he stole the Olympic show with gold-medal, record-setting performances in the 100 meters, 200 meters, long jump, and relays. All this occurred against a backdrop of Nazi pageantry and German dictator Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) daily presence and in an international scene of tension and fear. Out of that dramatic moment came one of the most enduring of all sports myths: Hitler's supposed "snub" in refusing to shake Owens's hand after the victories. (Morally satisfying but untrue, the yarn was largely created by American sportswriters. The truth is that by the time Owens won his first gold medal, Hitler was no longer personally congratulating any medal winners.)

Business and entertainment offers flooded Owens's way in the wake of the Berlin games, but he quickly found most of them were bogus. Republican presidential candidate Alf Landon paid him to stump for black votes in the autumn of 1936. After that futile effort, Owens bounced from one demeaning and low-paying job to another, including races against horses. He went bankrupt in a dry-cleaning business. By 1940, with a wife and three daughters to support (he had married Ruth Solomon in 1935), Owens returned to Ohio State to complete the degree he had abandoned in 1936. However, his grades were too low and his educational background too thin for him to graduate. For most of World War II (1939–45), Owens supervised the black labor force at Ford Motor Company in Detroit.

In the era of the cold war, Owens became a fervent American patriot, hailing the United States as the land of opportunity. Working out of Chicago, he frequently addressed interracial school and civic groups, linking patriotism and athletics. In 1955 the U.S. State Department sent him to conduct athletic clinics, make speeches, and grant interviews as a means of winning friends for America in India, Malaya, and the Philippines.

In 1956 President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) sent him to the Melbourne Olympics as one of the president's personal goodwill ambassadors. Refusing to join the civil rights movement, Owens became so politically conservative that angry young blacks denounced him as an "Uncle Tom" on the occasion of the

famous Black Power salutes by Olympic athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos at Mexico City in 1968. Before he died of lung cancer in 1980, however, Owens received two of the nation's highest awards: the Medal of Freedom Award in 1976, for his "inspirational" life, and the Living Legends Award in 1979, for his "dedicated but modest" example of greatness.

See also Louis, Joe; Olympians; Sports

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WILLIAM J. BAKER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Padmore, George

c. 1902
September 23, 1959

The political activist and journalist Malcolm Nurse adopted the name George Padmore in 1927. He was born in rural Arouca, Trinidad, in the British West Indies. However, his childhood and teenage years were spent in a middle-class suburb in the island's capital, Port of Spain. At the age of nineteen he briefly served as a reporter for the *Trinidad Guardian,* a daily newspaper. Due to frequent arguments with the newspaper's editor, Padmore resigned and in 1924 departed for the United States.

A desire to pursue a career in medicine and later law led him to Fisk University, New York University, and Howard University. While working among blacks in Harlem, Padmore edited a newspaper, the *Negro Champion* (later known as the *Liberator*). He joined the Communist Party in 1927 and began contributing articles to the *Daily Worker* in New York. He also worked with the Communist Party's American Negro Labor Congress.

In 1929 Padmore went to Moscow and lectured on the trade union activities of blacks in the United States. Soon he was appointed head of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUC-NW), an arm of the Red International of Labour Unions, or Profintern. In June 1930 the ITUC-NW began publishing the widely read *Negro Worker,* which Padmore edited. The ITUC-NW was a vibrant group and in July 1930 organized an international conference of Negro workers in Germany.

Padmore's role as a voice for the oppressed and exploited working class was evident in numerous books and pamphlets, including *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers, How Britain Rules Africa,* and *Africa and World Peace.*

Padmore began to display a phenomenal organizational ability after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. He assisted fellow Trinidadian C. L. R James in forming the International African Friends of Ethiopia. In March 1937 Padmore transformed this anti-imperialist group into the International African Service Bureau (IASB) and served as its chair.

By 1944 the IASB had been dissolved and Padmore, along with other Pan-Africanists, formed the Pan-African Federation (PAF) in England. In 1945 Padmore was the mastermind of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England.

Although Padmore was a staunch Pan-Africanist, his work incorporated other ethnic groups. By 1946 he was instrumental in establishing the London-based Asiatic Af-

rican Unity Committee, comprising Indians and Africans with the intention of building a united front against imperialism. He had a close fraternal relationship with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India.

In 1945 Padmore met Kwame Nkrumah (then a student from Ghana) in London. Nkrumah assisted in the Pan-African Conference in 1945 and served as the regional secretary of the PAF. Nkrumah never forgot Padmore's friendship and commitment to African unity, and in 1957, when he had become the prime minister of Ghana, he appointed Padmore his political advisor.

At the time of his death, the indefatigable Padmore had sown the seeds of anticolonialism and laid the foundation of an indestructible anti-imperialist movement that resulted in many British colonies gaining political independence.

See also Communist Party of the United States; James, C. L. R.; Journalism; Pan-Africanism; Politics in the United States

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JEROME TEELUCKSINGH (2005)

Paige, Satchel

July 7, 1906
June 8, 1982

By far the best known of those who played baseball in the relative obscurity of the Negro Leagues, pitcher and coach Satchel Paige became a legendary figure from Canada to the Caribbean basin. Born in a shotgun house (a railroad flat) in Mobile, Alabama, to John Paige, a gardener, and Lulu Paige, a washerwoman, he combined athletic prowess and exceptional durability with a flair for showmanship. In 1971 the Baseball Hall of Fame made Paige—Negro League ball incarnate—its first-ever selection from the (by then defunct) institution.

Leroy Robert Paige gained his nickname as a boy by carrying satchels from the Mobile train station. Sent to the Mount Meigs, Alabama, reform school at age twelve for stealing a few toy rings from a store, he developed as a pitcher during his five years there. After joining the semipro Mobile Tigers in 1924, he pitched for a number of Negro League, white independent, and Caribbean teams until he joined the Cleveland Indians as a forty-two-year-old rookie in 1948. The first African-American pitcher in the American League, Paige achieved a 6–1 record that helped the Indians to the league pennant. His first three starts drew over 200,000 fans.

But it was in the Negro Leagues and Caribbean winter ball that Paige attained his status as independent baseball's premier attraction. During the 1920s and 1930s he starred for the Birmingham Black Barons and the Pittsburgh Crawfords, where he teamed up with catcher Josh Gibson to form what was possibly baseball's greatest all-time battery. From 1939 to 1947 Paige anchored the strong Kansas Monarchs staff, winning three of the Monarchs' four victories over the Homestead Grays in the 1942 Negro League World Series. Developing a reputation as a contract jumper, he led Ciudad Trujillo to the 1937 summer championship of the Dominican Republic and later pitched in Mexico, Cuba, and Venezuela.

Playing before an estimated 10 million fans in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean, the "have arm—will pitch" Paige, according to his own estimates, threw fifty-five no-hitters and won over 2,000 of the 2,500 games in which he pitched.

The six-foot, three-and-a-half-inch, 180-pound Paige dazzled fans with his overpowering fastball (called the "bee ball"—you could hear it buzz, but you couldn't see it), his hesitation pitch, and unerring control. Stories of him intentionally walking the bases full of barnstorming white all-stars, telling his fielders to sit down, and then striking out the side became part of a shared black mythology. "I just could pitch!" he said in 1981. "The Master just gave me an arm. . . . You couldn't hardly beat me. . . . I wouldn't get tired 'cause I practiced every day. I had the suit on every day, pretty near 365 days out of the year."

Probably the most widely seen player ever (in person), Paige was a regular at the East-West Classic (the Negro League all-star game), and also appeared on the 1952 American League all-star squad. His 28 wins and 31 losses, 476 innings pitched, 3.29 earned run average in the majors represented only the penultimate chapter of a professional pitching career that spanned five decades.

Paige ended his working life as he began it, on the bus of a barnstorming black club, appearing for the Indianapolis Clowns in 1967. In 1971, after the Hall of Fame belatedly began to induct Negro Leaguers, he led the way. As his Pittsburgh Crawfords teammate Jimmie Crutchfield

Leroy "Satchel" Paige. *Pictured here playing for the Miami Marlins of the Negro Leagues, Paige joined major league baseball's Cleveland Indians as a 42-year-old rookie in 1948. He was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1971.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

put it, when Paige appeared on the field "it was like the sun coming out from behind a cloud."

See also Baseball; Gibson, Josh

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ROB RUCK (1996)
Updated bibliography

Painter, Nell Irvin

August 2, 1942

The daughter of Frank Edward and Dona McGruder Donato Irvin, historian Nell Irvin Painter was born in Houston, Texas, but grew up in Oakland, California. She attended the University of California at Berkeley, including a year of study at the University of Bordeaux, France, where she discovered a love of history that influenced her approach to her major in anthropology. After graduation in 1964 she joined her parents in the Ghana of Kwame Nkrumah. In Ghana she taught French at the Ghana Institute of Languages and began graduate study at the University of Ghana's Institute of African Studies. Painter remained in Ghana for two years, leaving after a coup d'état deposed Nkrumah. She returned to graduate study and completed a master's degree in African history at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1967.

Painter completed her Ph.D. in U.S. history at Harvard University in 1974. Alfred A. Knopf published her dissertation under the title *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* in January 1977 (copyrighted 1976). She was promoted to a tenured associate professorship in history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1977. Two years later Harvard University Press published her biography of Hosea Hudson, *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson: His Life as a Negro Communist in the South.* In 1980 Painter joined the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill as a full professor of history. In 1986 W. W. Norton published her first general history of the United States, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919.* These three books represent her writing as a social/labor historian. In 1988 Painter became a professor of history at Princeton University. She remained at Princeton until her retirement in 2005, becoming the Edwards Professor of American History in 1992 and serving as director of the Program in African-American Studies from 1997 to 2000.

In the mid-1980s Painter undertook a self-education in women's history, feminist theory, and psychology, which resulted in her essays on several women, including the plantation mistress Gertrude Thomas (1990); a biogra-

phy, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (1996); and Penguin Classic editions of the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (1998) and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (2000). In 2002 the University of North Carolina Press published her collected essays as *Southern History Across the Color Line*.

Painter's later books represent a break from southern history. *Creating Black Americans* (2005) presents the history of African Americans from 1619 to the present, illustrated by the work of black artists. In 2005 Painter was also working on books concerning what Americans and Europeans have said about white identity, and concepts of beauty as related to sex appeal and prestige.

Throughout her academic career Painter gained several honors. As an undergraduate she was on the dean's list and in Mortar Board. As a graduate student, she received the Coretta Scott King Award of the American Association of University Women and a Ford Foundation Fellowship for the writing of a dissertation in minority studies. As an assistant professor, she was a fellow of the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History and the Radcliffe/Bunting Institute. As an associate professor, Painter was a fellow at the National Humanities Center and a Guggenheim Fellow. As a full professor, she was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and of the National Endowment for the Humanities. In addition to several other fellowships, she has received honorary doctorates from such institutions as Wesleyan University, Dartmouth College, the State University of New York at New Paltz, and Yale University. Radcliffe College and the University of California at Berkeley have honored her as a distinguished alumna. She has served the learned societies of the historical profession in several capacities, including as national director of the Association of Black Women Historians, president of the Southern Historical Association, and president of the Organization of American Historians.

See also Biography, U.S.; Historians/Historiography

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CRYSTAL N. FEIMSTER (2005)

Painting and Sculpture

From the time of their first arrival in the New World, Africans were involved in a wide range of artistic endeavors. Much of the early art of African Americans was considered folk art and was connected to routines of life and work. Many Africans were highly skilled artisans who played a central role in the construction of cities and towns in early America. Their artistic expression often displayed a distinctive African sensibility that reflected traditional African practices such as the decoration of gravesites, basketry, pottery, ironwork, and quilt-making.

African-American participation in European modalities of fine artwork was slower to develop. This was due to the resistance of Europeans to the conventions of African art forms, and to the deliberate exclusion of blacks from access to the training and clients needed for successful careers as artists within the mainstream of Euro-American traditions. Despite these handicaps, the achievements of African Americans in painting and sculpture are rich and distinguished. Their history comprises determined individuals who, in addition to the usual struggles of artists to make a livelihood, had to overcome the additional burdens of discrimination and racist assumptions about the artistic abilities of persons of African descent. Black female artists had an additional burden, for they had to contend with gender bias as well.

Persons of African descent began to create Euro-American artworks at the behest of their masters or white patrons, or to prove their artistic abilities in the face of opposition to their participation in the marketplace. This process began early in America's development. By 1724 the Boston print shop of Thomas Fleet had two slave artisans, Pompey and Cesar Fleet, who made woodcuts to accompany broadside pamphlets and small books. Most of the black artisans in eighteenth-century America were anonymous. Primarily located in cities, both free blacks and slaves worked as carriage painters, silversmiths, goldsmiths, seamstresses, tailors, hairdressers, watchmakers, and makers of powderhorns, among other crafts. References to them are scarce and primarily glimpsed in newspaper advertisements for their services or in notices for runaway slaves.

Those painters whose names were recorded include Neptune Thurston, an eighteenth-century Rhode Island slave whose artistic prowess, according to a nineteenth-century tradition, was an early inspiration for the renowned artist Gilbert Stuart. Scipio Moorhead, a Boston slave, almost certainly painted a portrait of the poet Phillis

***William H. Johnson (1901–1970),* Self-Portrait.** *Pictured here is one of many self-portraits painted by Johnson in his career, which was cut short by mental illness.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Wheatley that served as the basis for the frontispiece to the 1773 London edition of her works. Wheatley returned the favor in her poem "To S. M. a Young African Painter, on Seeing his Works," the first recorded critical evaluation of an African-American artist:

> To show the lab'ring bosom's deep intent,
> And thought in living characters to paint,
> When first thy pencil did those beauties give,
> And breathing figures learnt from thee to live,
>
> How did those prospects give my soul delight,
> A new creation rushing on my sight?

Nineteenth-Century Art

Most of the work of nineteenth-century African-American artists is reflective of European and American conventions of technique and subject matter. The lack of a self-conscious "black aesthetic" in nineteenth-century African-American art has bothered some later critics, such as Alain Locke (1886–1954), who view this period as one of relatively little importance. But this perspective slights the achievements of these artists and overlooks the efforts they made and the indignities they withstood to be accepted by their peers.

Many of these early black artists were limners—often self-taught, itinerant portrait painters. One of the first was Joshua Johnson (c. 1763–c. 1824) of Baltimore. His origins, parentage, and other pertinent information about his life are vague, given the absence of written documents.

In a December 19, 1798, advertisement in the *Baltimore Intelligencer,* Joshua Johnson posted an announcement wherein he described himself as a "self-taught genius" who had overcome "many insuperable obstacles" in his efforts to become an artist. This is a subtle reference to his African-American background and the difficulties of being an artist in nineteenth-century America.

Johnson's style indicates that he came under the influence of the prominent painters Charles Wilson Peale and his nephew Charles Polk Peale. Johnson's paintings of Maryland's elite were distinguished by an individual sense of character and sharp attention to detail. Critics have described Johnson as the "brass tack artist" because of his repetitive use of the same sofa, studded with brass upholstery tacks, in many of the depictions of his subjects. Johnson painted few black subjects, though he has been identified as the painter of the matched portraits of Daniel Coker and Abner Coker, two early ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.

The painter, lithographer, and daguerreotypist Jules Lion (1810–1866) was born in France and later settled in New Orleans—he was listed as a painter and lithographer in the 1838 city directory. An advertisement lists Lion as a daguerreotypist in 1840 and credits him with the introduction of this medium to New Orleans. Although there are no extant examples of his painting, he is known to have exhibited successfully at the Exposition of Paris in 1833, cofounded an art school in New Orleans in 1841, and taught drawing at the College of Louisiana. Lion typifies many early African-American artists who worked in diverse genres and media. He remained active in the New Orleans area, traveling back to France periodically until his death in 1866.

Robert Scott Duncanson (1821–1872) was hailed at the height of his career as the "best landscape painter in the West" by eastern critics. Born in Seneca County in upstate New York, Duncanson was raised in Monroe, Michigan, located at the western tip of Lake Erie, and by the early 1840s had moved to Cincinnati. His landscapes, such as *Blue Hole, Little Moon River* (1851) and *The Land of the Lotus Eaters* (c. 1861), are excellent examples of the luminous Hudson River School landscape style.

Duncanson's commissions included photographs, portraits, still lifes, and landscapes, and in the Belmont

House in Cincinnati (now the Taft Museum) he executed the first murals by a black artist. In the early 1850s he collaborated with the African-American daguerreotypist James Presley Ball in an enormous rolling panorama (over half a mile of canvas) that depicted in its unfolding the history of African Americans in the United States.

Duncanson was light-skinned, and this helped to give him access to white artistic circles, though the snubs he did receive, such as his failure to be elected to the National Academy of Design in New York, left him greatly disturbed. His physical and mental health deteriorated toward the end of his life. He made a distinctive contribution to the tradition of American landscape painting by becoming the first African-American artist to appropriate the landscape as a symbolic vehicle to express his own sense of creativity, freedom, and identity.

Boston, a major center for black cultural life in the nineteenth century, was the home of four artists of significance: William Simpson, Nelson Primus, Edward Bannister, and Edmonia Lewis. William Simpson (1818–1872) was listed in the Boston directories of 1860 and 1866. Critics of the period recall his strong talents as a portrait painter and his skill as a draftsman of exceptional ability. William Wells Brown, who escaped from slavery and became a noted writer and historian, recalled that Simpson began as a youth by "drawing instead of following his class work," and he later studied with Matthew Wilson (in 1854). Little is known about Simpson's career, and few works are extant.

Nelson Primus (1843–1916), born in Hartford, Connecticut, moved to Boston in 1864. He started out as a carriage painter in about 1858, and then began a professional career as a portrait painter. In 1859 he won a medal for drawing at the State Agricultural Society Fair. While he received high praise in Boston, his career was only partially successful in the East, and he later moved to San Francisco, where he continued to paint.

Edward Mitchell Bannister (1828–1901) was a prolific landscape painter and portraitist in late-nineteenth-century New England. Born in New Brunswick, Canada, to a father from Barbados and a local woman, he grew up with an early appreciation of the arts, encouraged by his mother. In 1850 he moved to Boston, where he worked as a hairdresser. As an artist he was largely self-taught, and by 1860 he had acquired a considerable local reputation. During the Civil War, Bannister was a leader in the effort to obtain equal pay for black soldiers, and he painted a portrait, not extant, of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, commander of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.

Bannister's painting *Under the Oaks* (now lost) won first place at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. African-American newspapers and periodicals such as the *AME Church Review* proudly took note of Bannister's accomplishment. His work, influenced by the English landscape artist John Constable and the French Barbizon School, often featured seascapes and textured studies of clouds and trees. In 1870 Bannister moved to Providence, Rhode Island, where was accepted by his white peers (an unusual occurrence for a black professional of his era), and became a cofounder of the socially prestigious Providence Art Club. Following his death in 1901, the club hosted a memorial exhibition of more than one hundred of his works, a testament to his contribution to the American landscape tradition and to the high admiration of his fellow artists, patrons, and admirers.

The most prominent black sculptor of the nineteenth century was the remarkable Edmonia Lewis (c. 1845–1911?). The specifics of her biography remain unclear. Lewis was born in upstate New York to an African-American father and a mother of mixed Chippewa and African-American descent. Orphaned at an early age, "Wildfire" (her Indian name) was raised in Canada West (now Ontario) among the Chippewa. She attended Oberlin College, but she found herself embroiled in unseemly and unfounded accusations of poisoning two of her classmates and was obliged to leave in 1863. She moved to Boston, but the traumatic impact of the charges, which almost certainly had a racial basis, left Lewis distrustful and fostered an already strong sense of independence and self-sufficiency.

The city directory of Boston lists Lewis as a sculptor for the years of 1864 and 1865. Boston's active black and abolitionist community provided Lewis with numerous commissions to create portrait busts of leading abolitionist figures. In 1866, with the money earned from sales of a plaster bust of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and the encouragement of the sculptor Harriet Homser, she moved to Rome. She was befriended there by a large community of American artists (including several women) and started carving in marble. *Forever Free* (1867–1868), probably her best-known work, is a commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation. Although her work was deeply shaped by Greco-Roman neoclassical tradition, she was equally committed to portraying both African-American and Native-American heritages. After the 1880s she became less active and gradually lost contacts with America. Little is known about the last thirty years of her life, but it is believed that she was living in Rome as late as 1909.

Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859–1937) was the leading African-American painter of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he was encouraged in his artistic ambitions at an early age by

a supportive and relatively well-off family (his father was an AME bishop) and the intellectual community of Philadelphia. He was one of the first black artists to study at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, studying with the artist Thomas Eakins in 1880 and 1881, but he withdrew after a racial incident. In 1891 he sailed for Europe, traveling to Italy and settling in Paris, where he experienced freedoms unknown to African Americans in the United States. He would remain in Paris for the rest of his life, making periodic trips home.

While in France, Tanner executed two genre paintings, *The Banjo Lesson* (1898) and *The Thankful Poor* (1893–1894), both displaying the influence of Eakins. These works represented Tanner's most realistic depictions of contemporary African-American life. For the remainder of his career he concentrated on visionary religious paintings, such as *Daniel in the Lion's Den* (1895) and *The Raising of Lazarus* (1896), a prizewinner at the Paris Salon of 1897. Tanner's achievements and personal encouragement would be an inspiration for several generations of African-American artists. Two painters who became pupils of Tanner were William Harper and William Edouard Scott. Harper was a landscapist in the tradition of the Barbizon painters, and he had admirable technical skill. Scott's landscapes displayed the influence of Tanner's use of light, and he later became known for his paintings of Haitian life.

The two leading black sculptors at the end of the century were Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller (1877–1968) and May Howard Jackson (1877–1931). Meta Vaux Warwick married the pioneer African-American neurologist Solomon Carter Fuller. She was born in Philadelphia, and at an early age became curious about art through her older sister, an art student. Throughout her early education, her talent and interest in art blossomed. She won a scholarship to the Pennsylvania School of Industrial Art and won a prize for Process of the Arts and Crafts (1897), a massive bas-relief composition of thirty-seven figures. After graduation, she continued her studies in 1899, attending lectures at the Colarossi Academy in Paris and later working with the renowned modernist sculptor Auguste Rodin. She was among the earliest American artists to be influenced by African sculpture and folklore, which is evident in such works as *Spirit of Emancipation* (c. 1918), *Ethiopia Awakening* (1914/1921), and *The Talking Skull* (1937). Her early works had a power and fierceness that many critics of that era found frightening. After her marriage, the birth of her sons, and a devastating fire in 1910 that destroyed much of her early work, she stopped sculpting for a period of years and created stage designs for theater groups in the community. When she resumed her career, her sculpture was more technically and conceptually mature, largely consisting of themes centered on African-American culture, history, and identity.

May (or Mae) Howard Jackson was educated at J. Liberty Todd's Art School in Philadelphia and won a scholarship to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in that city. Jackson was primarily a sculptor of portrait busts and portrait groups, such as *Mother and Child* (1929) and *Head of a Negro Child* (1929). In many of her works she went beyond her classical training to depict the distinct uniqueness of African-American physiognomy. Jackson had a studio in Washington, D.C., and exhibited professionally at the National Academy of Design and the Corcoran Gallery of Art. She won a prize from the Harmon Foundation in 1928. However, the general indifference of the public, despite many critical plaudits from intellectuals such as Alain Locke and W. E. B. Du Bois, filled her life with frustration, anger, and isolation.

Charles Ethan Porter (1847–1923) was a painter of still lifes and landscapes. Born in Connecticut, he attended the National Academy of Design and later traveled to Paris to study, evidently through the generosity of Mark Twain. Porter established a studio in Rockville, Connecticut, in 1884. He specialized in still lifes with elaborate floral arrangements and fruit displays, painting primarily for local white patrons. He exhibited intermittently at the National Academy of Design of New York and the American Society of Painters in Watercolor. In 1910 he became a charter member of the Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts, his only known professional association.

Laura Wheeler Waring (1887–1948), like Charles Ethan Porter, was a native of Connecticut. Born in Hartford, she studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris. In 1914 she won a Cresson Foreign Traveling Scholarship, which enabled her to travel to Europe and North Africa. Her interest in portraiture of African Americans of both humble and distinguished origins won high praise, and her painting *Anna Derry Washington* (c. 1930s) received the Harmon Foundation gold medal in 1927. Her portraits of women are powerful, dignified, intense images of poised strength. After she settled in Philadelphia, her paintings of leading African-American figures, including Marian Anderson, George Washington Carver, and James Weldon Johnson, were exhibited widely. Many of her paintings were commissioned by the Harmon Foundation. A memorial exhibition of these works was displayed at Howard University in 1949.

Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement

The celebrated March 1925 issue of *Survey Graphic,* reprinted under the title *The New Negro* (1925), heralded the arrival of the movement known as the Harlem Renaissance. It established Alain Locke, a Philadelphia-born philosopher and Howard University professor, as the movement's mentor and intellectual leader. Locke became the first significant critic, curator, and historian of African-American art, and he was the author of path-breaking books, including *Negro Art: Past and Present* (1936) and *The Negro in Art* (1940). Locke urged African-American artists to look to their African ancestral legacy and incorporate the aesthetic traditions of Africa into their work to create a "racially expressive art." Locke initiated the call for African Americans to be not merely imitative of dominant European and American styles, but to develop their own self-conscious aesthetic.

The burgeoning of publications during the Harlem Renaissance provided a crucial forum for young black artists to showcase and experiment with images reflective of a cultural identity specific to African Americans. Among those active in the production of illustrations, caricatures, graphic design for book and magazine covers, and genre drawings were Aaron Douglas, Gwendolyn Bennett, Bruce Nugent, Charles Alston, Romare Bearden, E. Sims Campbell, Laura Wheeling Waring, and Lois Mailou Jones. These artists were well respected among their peers, even if at times the "new" imagery of the New Negro provoked resistance and disdain from the older, more conservative, generation of blacks.

Another crucial figure who encouraged visual arts during the Harlem Renaissance was a white real-estate developer and philanthropist, William E. Harmon (1862–1928), who founded the Harmon Foundation in 1922. The foundation, which sponsored the Harmon Awards for Distinguished Achievements among Negroes in Fine Arts, created exhibitions that toured the United States through the 1930s. These exhibitions, many supervised by his long-time assistants Mary Beattie Brady and Evelyn Brown Younger, provided an opportunity and showcase for black artists to gain national and international recognition that otherwise would not have been available to them.

Aaron Douglas (1899–1979) was probably the best-known artist to emerge from the Harlem Renaissance. Born and educated in Kansas, he is noted for his murals, paintings, book designs, and periodical illustrations. After teaching in Kansas high schools, he moved to New York in 1924, where he began studies with Winold Reiss, a German painter with an acute interest in American Indians and African Americans.

Douglas soon became a popular and prolific illustrator for periodicals such as *The Crisis, Opportunity, Theatre Arts Monthly, Sun, Boston Transcript, American Mercury, Vanity Fair, Fire!!*, and the special March 1925 issue of *Survey Graphic*. Douglas created images inspired by traditional Egyptian forms and stylized Art Deco elements. The striking mural series Aspects of Negro Life (1933–1934) at the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York Public Library (now the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture) is among his most compelling artistic achievements.

Palmer Hayden (1890–1973) was born in Widewater, Virginia, where he was educated in rural schools. Inspired by his brother, he began to draw at the age of four. He was primarily a self-taught painter, though he intermittently took courses and studied with various artists. In 1927 he entered the Harmon Foundation competition, won first prize (and $400), and traveled abroad to study and exhibit in Paris.

Hayden's early works were figurative and landscape compositions. Early narrative paintings such as *Midsummer Night in Harlem* (1936) and *The Janitor Who Paints* (1936) are stylized reflections of the stark realities faced by African Americans in general and African-American artists in particular. His most famous work is probably the John Henry series (1944–1947), twelve paintings depicting events from the folk legend.

The aesthetics and creativity of the Harlem Renaissance were not limited to New York City, but flourished in places such as Cleveland, San Francisco, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Chicago. Many of the artists who migrated to New York came from small towns in the South. These communities provided environments that gave artists a continuously rich supply of cultural material. William Henry Johnson (1901–1970) came from such a town—Florence, South Carolina. Johnson arrived in New York in 1918 and worked at odd jobs, sending money home to his family and saving the rest to enroll in art school. In 1921 he enrolled in the National Academy of Design. With the support of his teacher and painter, Charles Hawthorne, he left for Paris in 1926. He won the Harmon Foundation gold prize for painting in 1929. He lived for most of the 1930s in Denmark, returning to the United States shortly before the outbreak of World War II. In 1939 he changed his style from one heavily influenced by postimpressionism and expressionism to flat, bright, expressively colored, essential forms that appeared "naive." Johnson felt that these works portrayed a more modernist interpretation of the African-American experience. Compositions such as *Jesus and Three Marys* (1939), *Going to Church* (1940–1941), and his Folk Family series

recall his cultural roots and his quest to understand African aesthetics and symbolism. He suffered severe mental deterioration in 1945 and was institutionalized for the remainder of his life.

Archibald J. Motley (1891–1981), born in New Orleans and raised in Chicago, painted numerous portraits of family, friends, and models. In 1928 he entered the Harmon Foundation competition and won the gold medal for *Octoroon Girl* (1925); many of Motley's works display an interest in the varieties of African-American skin color. Though his best-known work is probably *Mending Socks* (1924), a sensitive depiction of his grandmother, he also created works on the blues and jazz scene in Chicago, such as *Blues* (1929) and *The Liar* (1934). Many of Motley's paintings portray the social life of blacks and reveal an urban lifestyle that was a new experience to the recently arrived blacks who migrated from the South for better opportunities.

Sargent Johnson (1887–1967) was born in Boston. His father was of Swedish ancestry; his mother was Cherokee and African American. Early in his youth, Johnson was orphaned and sent to live for a while with his maternal aunt, the sculptor May Howard Jackson. In 1915 he moved to San Francisco and set up a studio in his backyard, after studying at the A. W. Best School of Art and the California School of Fine Art. Johnson was talented in a wide range of media—worked in wood, terra cotta, plaster, copper, cast stone, mosaic, ceramic clay, and polychrome porcelain on steel. He was also adept at lithographs, etching, and drawing. Remaining in the Bay Area for the duration of his life, he exhibited regularly with the Harmon Foundation and won awards in 1927 and 1928.

Even though Johnson lived far from Harlem, he was greatly influenced by the call of the New Negro movement to employ the aesthetics of traditional African arts as well as Mexican and Native American art forms. His sculpture captured an elegant linearism and a simple and direct approach to form derived from the study of African masks and Mexican folk art. During the 1930s he became active in the Works Progress Administration (WPA; later called the Work Projects Administration) as an artist, later becoming unit supervisor in the Bay Area, the highest post in the WPA held by a black artist. Some of his most important pieces are *Sammy* (1927), his copper mask series (c. 1930–1935), and *Forever Free* (1933).

Richmond Barthé (1901–1989) was the Harmon Foundation's most celebrated and widely exhibited sculptor. His figurative style was most popular from the 1920s through the 1940s. Early in his career his work was bought by the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Born in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, he arrived in Chicago in 1924 and entered the School of the Art Institute of Chicago to study painting. He produced his first sculpture three years later. His early works helped him win a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship to study in New York.

Barthé worked in clay, plaster, and bronze, and his technical and conceptual skill in the execution of the figure and portrait bust was highly regarded. During the 1930s he worked for the WPA, creating bas-relief murals. Much of his inspiration, especially in his later years, came from the world of theater, dance, and sports. The power of movement and the effort to capture kinetic motion in a sculptural form greatly fascinated him. He is known for such compositions as *Feral Benga* (1935), *The Negro Looks Ahead* (1937), and *Mother and Son* (1938).

The life of sculptor Nancy Elizabeth Prophet (1890–1960) was marked by abject poverty, remarkable skill, and a tenacious will to establish herself as an artist in spite of the harsh realities of race and gender bias. Born in Providence, Rhode Island, she was encouraged to become a teacher or a nurse, but she wanted to become an artist. She enrolled in the Rhode Island School of Design in 1918, and in 1922 she studied at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. She continued to live, work, and exhibit in France until 1932. She had the support and admiration of W. E. B. Du Bois and Henry Tanner, who helped her exhibit with the Harmon Foundation in 1930, the same year her wood carving *Congalaise* was purchased by the Whitney Museum of American Art. Prophet worked in marble, alabaster, granite, plaster, clay, bronze, and wood. Her portrait busts were intense, powerful technical executions that abstracted the human character to reveal the psychological and physiological qualities of her subjects.

In 1932 Prophet returned to America to teach at Spelman College with Hale Woodruff. The position gave her little time to sculpt, and she left after 1945. Thereafter, she lived in poverty and obscurity in Providence, and much of her later work is either incomplete, lost, or was destroyed by her own hand.

Lois Mailou Jones (1905–1998) had an exceptional career filled with success, achievement, and productivity. She was born in Boston, educated in local schools, and supported by her parents in her decision to become an artist. She attended classes at the Boston Museum School of Fine Arts, and in 1930 she was invited to teach design and watercolor at Howard University. In 1931 she won an honorable mention at the annual Harmon Foundation exhibition for her drawing *Negro Youth* (1929). After 1937 Jones studied in Paris and Africa, and she lived for a while in Haiti. Jones's work includes portraits, landscapes, abstractions, and textile designs, all highlighting her facility

Lois Mailou Jones (1905–1998). *A versatile artist, Jones worked in various media, including painting, drawing, watercolor, and stage and costume design.* SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

with color, texture, and design, She worked in such diverse media as painting, drawing, watercolor, and stage and costume design.

James Lesesne Wells (1902–1993) was the acknowledged "dean of Negro printmakers." Born in Atlanta and educated in Jacksonville, Florida, he later studied at the National Academy of Design, and at Teachers College of Columbia University. In 1930 he won the gold medal from the Harmon Foundation for the painting *The Flight into Egypt* (1929). However, he later largely abandoned painting for printmaking, and won a Harmon Foundation award for a woodcut, *Escape of Spies from Canaan* (1932). He was proficient in a variety of techniques, including intaglio, wood, and linoleum blocks, as well as painting and drawing. His works concentrated on biblical and religious subjects and were greatly influenced by African sculptural forms, as well as the Renaissance master woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer and those of twentieth-century German expressionists. In 1926 he joined the faculty of Howard University, and he continued to produce prints of great quality and complexity for the remainder of his career.

James Porter (1905–1970), born in Baltimore, was educated at Howard University and later became head of its art department. He was a painter of traditional portraits and won prizes in the Harmon Foundation exhibitions of 1929 and 1933. He authored the first seminal history of African-American art, *Modern Negro Art* (1943). He traveled widely studying, painting, lecturing, writing, exhibiting his work, and providing a critical foundation as the first major African-American art historian.

Hale Woodruff (1900–1980) was the founder of the Atlanta School of Art. He was educated at the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, the Académie Scandinave, and the Académie Moderne in Paris, where he lived for several years. He won a bronze medal in the Harmon Foundation competition of 1926. After his return from Europe in 1931, he started to teach at Atlanta University, where he established a successful art program. His first paintings were landscapes and figure studies. In 1934 he studied mural painting with the Mexican painter Diego Rivera and became increasingly interested in social realism. From 1938 to 1939, under the auspices of the WPA, he created the famed Amistad Mutiny mural series at Talladega College, Alabama, detailing the events surrounding the 1841 shipboard slave mutiny and its aftermath. He helped establish a major competition and collection of art at Atlanta University to encourage young artists, and in 1963 he was a cofounder of the artists' group Spiral. In 1946 he joined the faculty of New York University, where he remained until his retirement. In the later years of his career his canvases were greatly influenced by abstract expressionism and traditional African art.

Edwin Harleston was a portrait painter who had an uncanny ability to capture the character and personality of his subjects, imbuing them with great humanity. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, he studied at the Avery Institute, Atlanta University, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts school (from 1905–1913), and the Art Institute of Chicago (in 1925). He also assisted Aaron Douglas with the murals at Fisk University. Before his death he won Harmon Foundation awards in 1925 and 1931, the first one for a portrait of his wife.

John Wesley Hardrick (1891–1968) was a landscape and portrait painter who received minimal attention during his lifetime. Born in Indianapolis, he was educated at the John Herron Art Institute in his hometown and remained in the Indianapolis area throughout his life. He exhibited at the Harmon exhibitions and won a bronze medal in 1927. Hardrick created several murals for churches and high schools during his career.

Malvin Gray Johnson (1896–1934), born in Greensboro, North Carolina, did not live long enough to realize the full potential of the psychological intensity of his early portraits. Educated at the National Academy of Design, his work shows a great interest in African-American subject

matter. He was also inspired by his interest in postimpressionism, which he expressed in a radically distinctive style. In 1929 Johnson won a first prize in the Harmon Foundation exhibition.

Black Art and the New Deal

By 1934, during the Great Depression, between eleven million and fifteen million people were out of work. Approximately ten thousand of these jobless citizens were artists, both black and white, who were in desperate need of support. In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Its purpose was to create all kinds of jobs at every level of the skill ladder, preserving professional and technical skills while helping individuals retain their self-respect. Artists in the program were paid $15 to $90 a month for a variety of assignments. The program was essentially terminated by 1939. In some areas, bowing to local custom, the WPA programs were segregated, though in other places they were integrated. In many places, most notably in Harlem, there were separate programs for African-American artists. The WPA gave many artists a sense of collective purpose and provided them with the resources to develop their talent for the first time in American history.

One of the leading figures in Harlem's artistic circles in the 1930s was the sculptor Augusta Savage (1892–1962). One of thirteen children, she came to New York from Cove Springs, Florida, in 1921 to study in the free art program at Cooper Union. She overcame numerous obstacles in her life, becoming an artist and an activist dedicated to the recognition of black artists. Her best work displays extraordinary power, energy, and technical prowess.

In 1929, after sculpting *Gamin,* a head of a Harlem youth, she won the first of two Rosenwald Fellowships that allowed her to study in Paris, to work at the studio of Elizabeth Prophet, and to study at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière for three years. She won citations at the Salon d'Automme and the Salon Printemps and a medallion at the Colonial Exposition of the French government. In 1932, upon her return from Europe, she opened the Savage Studio of Arts and Crafts in Harlem on 143rd Street. Many young artists, such as Norman Lewis, William Artis, Ernest Crichlow, Elba Lightfoot, Morgan and Marvin Smith, Jacob Lawrence, and Gwendolyn Knight, came to study with her. Among her many contributions to the arts was her role in establishing the Harlem Community Art Center in 1937. She created a large plaster sculpture, *Lift Every Voice and Sing* (also known as *The Harp*), for the 1939 New York World's Fair, although there were no funds to preserve the sixteen-foot-tall piece, and it was destroyed after the exhibition. After World War II she moved to upstate New York, her active artistic involvement greatly diminished, and she drifted into obscurity.

As the WPA projects began to expand, the Harlem Artist Guild was formed in 1935 to address issues of equality and representation of black artists on WPA projects. Aaron Douglas was the first director of the guild, and Augusta Savage followed as director the next year. By 1936 Savage was an assistant supervisor for the WPA Federal Arts Project. At about this time, Charles Alston, who created important works as a muralist, realist painter, and illustrator, established a studio at 306 West 141st Street; "306" soon became the social and intellectual center of the Harlem arts community. Without the assistance of the guild, Charles Alston and Vertis Hayes may have never completed their murals for Harlem Hospital. Georgette Seabrooke Powell, a young New York artist trained at Cooper Union, contributed less controversial murals to that site, as did Elba Lightfoot. Powell also painted murals for Queens General Hospital.

The largest and most influential school to play a critical role in this area was the Harlem Community Art Center. It began as an outgrowth of the Uptown Art Laboratory, another project of Augusta Savage. In 1937 Gwendolyn Bennett replaced Savage as its director. The center served up to four thousand students a month and became a model for other WPA art centers. It is the longest-active art center still in operation from this period.

Selma Hortense Burke (1900–1995), a young sculptor who migrated from North Carolina, studied in New York, Paris, and London and later taught at the Harlem Community Art Center. Burke created works in stone, wood, and metal that were imbued with clarity of line, mass, and strength of spiritual character. Toward the end of World War II, she won a competition to execute a bronze plaque of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and he sat for her several times. Most experts believe that, uncredited, Burke's design was used for the relief of Roosevelt on the face of the dime.

A number of African-American artists came to prominence during the 1930s. Ernest Crichlow (b. 1914), a resident of Brooklyn, became a teacher at the Harlem Community Art Center. Like Charles Alston, Crichlow created compositions influenced by social realism, often commenting on the conditions and culture of the African-American community. Gwendolyn Knight (b. 1913) was a quiet young painter who moved to New York from Barbados. She was active at "306" and the Harlem Community Art Center, and she later married the artist Jacob Lawrence. Richard Lindsey (b. 1904) was a native of North Carolina and came to New York to study at the National Academy of Design. He was active in the exhibitions of the

Harmon Foundation and at the Harlem Community Art Center, where he also worked. Lindsey was a painter and printmaker, but very little of his work has survived.

Chicago also produced a number of prominent artists during the 1930s. Rex Gorleigh (1902–1987), born in Wynne, Pennsylvania, was another painter who taught at the Harlem Community Art Center. Educated at the Art Students League and the University of Chicago, he later studied in France, worked at the WPA in Greensboro, North Carolina, and later became director of Chicago's South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC), which had opened in 1940. Despite its relatively short existence, the SSCAC had a number of distinguished artists, including Gorleigh, Charles White, Margaret Burroughs, Eldzier Corter, Gordon Parks, Archibald Motley, and Charles Sebree.

Charles White (1918–1979) established the medium of drawing in charcoal, ink, pencil, and collage as a means to depict figurative representation with intense drama. These idealized portraits and studies often had historical subjects as their focus. White continued using this style throughout his life, though he became less iconographic and more individualized in his portrayals in his later years. He was active in the WPA as well as the SSCAC.

Margaret Burroughs (b. 1917) was educated at the Art Institute of Chicago, was a versatile artist in painting, printmaking, and sculpture, and was a significant figure in Chicago area arts education. Eldzier Cortor (b. 1916) was primarily drawn to depictions of African-American women, reflecting their alienation from society and their introspection in positional studies using bedrooms and mirrors as stages. Charles Sebree (1914–1985) was a sensitive portraitist who evoked the spiritual character of the New Negro.

Another Chicago artist was Ellis Wilson (1899–1977). A Kentucky native, Wilson came to study at the Art Institute of Chicago. He was active in the Harmon Foundation exhibitions, the Savage Studio, and the Federal Arts Project. His mature style is based on strong color and flat figures that document the black working-class community.

Allan Rohan Crite (b. 1910) was born in Plainfield, New Jersey, and moved to Boston to study art. He was one of the few African-American artists to be hired for the WPA Federal Arts Project in Boston. Many of Crite's early works were paintings of street scenes and portraits. The balance of his career has been spent developing complex narratives of religious and spiritual themes.

One of the most active centers for African-American art in the 1930s and 1940s was Cleveland's Karamu Playhouse, founded in 1915. Karamu Playhouse was an interracial settlement house designed to address the cultural needs of the urban poor. By the time of the Great Depression it was recognized for its theater group. It was not until funding came from the WPA that it established a strong visual arts program.

Hughie Lee-Smith (1915–1999) studied at the Cleveland Institute of Arts and became part of the Ohio Federal Arts Project. His painted imagery is figurative and realistic, with metaphysical references to surreal or romanticized landscapes. Lee-Smith was active in numerous portrait commissions and was greatly respected for his technical skill in oil, watercolor, prints, and drawing. A significant part of his career was spent teaching at the Arts Students League in New York in addition to painting and exhibiting widely.

Elton Fax (1909–1993), born in Baltimore, moved to New York and worked with Augusta Savage and the Harlem Community Art Center. Later he became active in the Maryland Federal Arts Project. He was a versatile painter, printmaker, illustrator, and educator, and he was the author of several books on the lives of black artists. Fax played an important role in the development of regional art programs from Baltimore to New York.

Self-Taught Artists

One of the most important forms of African-American artistic expression in the twentieth century has been by so-called folk, or self-taught, artists. These artists developed significant artistic styles in spite of the fact that they had no formal academic training. The work often appears naive or child-like in its artistic conventions. Many self-taught artists took up art as an avocation later in their lives, after their retirement, a religious call, or a critical change in lifestyle or career. They have made important contributions to the development of modernism from the African-American perspective.

Clementine Hunter (1886?–1988) was born on Hidden Hill Plantation in Louisiana and worked as a sharecropper. Late in life, Hunter began to paint at the encouragement of one of her guests. She had a prolific career in exhibiting and painting canvases that recalled, with deep reverence, her memories of life in Louisiana.

Horace Pippin (1888–1946), born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, began to paint later in life, despite an injury to his painting arm during World War I. He started painting by using a hot iron poker to burn the image on a piece of wood. Pippin then slowly painted in the details with numerous layers of oil paint. Many of his intensely detailed paintings deal with his haunted memories of the war. His work also includes visions of childhood experiences (including his version of southern black rural life, a reality

he never experienced), landscapes, interiors, and his visions of a utopian and peaceful world. During his last years, Pippin's subtle and profoundly moving art achieved great acclaim. He was an ordinary man with an extraordinary sensibility for observing the world around him.

Minnie Evans (1892–1987), born in Pender County, North Carolina, created compositions inspired by visions and dreams after Good Friday in 1935, when a voice directed her to "draw or die." Her imagery consists of a fusion of bright colors with figurative and abstract human and plant forms. She worked in watercolor, crayon, graphite, oil, acrylic ink, collage, enamel, and tempera.

Sister Gertrude Morgan (1900–1980), who lived most of her life in New Orleans, was adept in a wide range of artistic expression. She was not only a gifted painter, but a singer and preacher as well. After she was "called" to a missionary vocation, she used her artistic abilities to spread the word of God. Believing herself to be the bride of Jesus Christ, her paintings had large areas of white—a color of holiness—which were filled with painted images of redemption, revelation, and red- and black-haired angels.

There have also been a number of important African-American self-taught sculptors. William Edmondson (c. 1882–1951), born in Davidson County, Tennessee, near Nashville, spent his working career on the railroad and later at a woman's hospital. Upon retirement he began to carve, believing he had been directed to do so by a command from God. He collected old limestone curbstone, and made grave markers for people in the community who had minimal funds to lay a headstone. As his skill increased, he produced images with great spirituality, humanity, and power. Religious figures, birds, ordinary and heroic individuals, and what he called "critters and varmits [sic]" were his favorite subjects. In 1937 he became the first African-American artist to be given a one-person show by the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

Elijah Pierce (1892–1984) was a barber, preacher, and wood carver. He was born in Baldwyn, Mississippi, and lived most of his life in Columbus, Ohio. Morality, ethics, and the stories of the Bible inspired many of the wooden panels he carved and painted, using bright colors to energize the message of his pictorial sermons.

Perhaps the most remarkable African-American sculptor was James Hampton, who migrated from Elloree, South Carolina, to Washington, D.C., where he worked as a janitor. A loner, he created *The Throne of the Third Heaven of the Nations' Millennium General Assembly* (c. 1950–1964), which was not known until it was found in a garage long after his death. It consists of more than 185 objects—mostly old furniture, light bulbs, and other household objects—covered with silver and gold foil, aluminum, and ornately decorated. The heavy use of metallic paper is a symbolic reference to heavenly or celestial light and inspired by Kongo traditions from central Africa. The work was inspired by biblical themes, notably from the *Book of Revelations,* and defines a sacred spiritual place.

Postwar Modernism

The dominant African-American aesthetic sensibility during the 1930s was social realism. One reason for this was the desire of most African-American artists to convey political themes in a realistic form that was programmatically consistent with the aesthetic that was typical for most WPA projects. Although figurative painting continued to predominate in the postwar period, African-American artistic expression became more diverse and responded to the proliferation of modernist styles, with many artists experimenting with the possibilities of abstraction and expressionism.

The African-American artist to be affected most directly by abstract expressionism was Norman Lewis (1909–1979). A native New Yorker, Lewis trained with a variety of artists, including Augusta Savage. In the 1930s he painted a number of narrative paintings in the social-realist mode, demonstrating his strong sympathies for the unemployed and homeless. In the later 1930s and 1940s, he experimented with the cubist simplification of form, and he tried to convey visually the innovations of bebop jazz, which led to an abstract style by the late 1940s. Some critics complained that he was turning his back on figurative depictions of African Americans, though his work continued to conceptually comment on the civil rights movement and other important social issues. Although Lewis was among the earliest American artists to take up the cause of pure abstraction, until recently his name had been conspicuously left out of the canon of abstract expressionist innovators.

Jacob Lawrence (1917–2000) was a painter and printmaker who began his career in the mid-1930s. He quickly established himself as an important modernist and developed a style based on expressive flat forms and direct color. He was greatly influenced by Augusta Savage, Charles Alston, and Henry Bannern during the time he spent working at the Harlem Community Art Center. His primary subject matter was African-American life and history told in a narrative format, in such works as *The Migration of the Negro* (1940–1941), a series of sixty panels representing a visual history of the Great Migration, the early-twentieth-century movement of blacks from the South to the urban North. Other important works include the Toussaint-Louverture series (1938), consisting of

forty-one paintings; the thirty works in the Harlem series (1942–1943); and other connected thematic treatments of John Brown, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, African-American workers, and the theme of freedom in American history. Jacob Lawrence was the first modernist painter of critical significance to emerge from the New Negro movement and be included in the mainstream art world.

Beauford Delaney (1901–1979) came to New York in the 1920s from Knoxville, Tennessee. A sensitive portraitist, in the 1930s he experimented with brightly colored abstractions, and his subsequent portraits are highly expressionistic, dense compositions of color and form. After World War II he lived in Paris. His brother Joseph Delaney (1904–1991) was a figurative painter who was greatly influenced by the social realist painters and sought to create expressive, atmospheric compositions that reflected stresses in the life of residents in large urban areas such as New York. Thomas Sills (b. 1914), a laborer turned painter, moved to New York City from North Carolina. He is known for his "brushless" canvases with abstracted forms and bright colors, and was active from the 1950s through the early 1970s.

One of the most important African-American abstractionists was Alma Thomas (1891–1978), who studied at Howard University in the 1920s before beginning a long career teaching in the Washington, D.C., public school system. In 1943 she cofounded the first integrated gallery in Washington, D.C., the Barnett-Aden Gallery. Her own work was fairly conventional until the early 1950s, when she began to produce the colorful and lyrical abstract canvases for which she is best known.

Elizabeth Catlett (b. 1915?), a native of Washington, D.C., studied at Howard University and later with Grant Wood at the University of Iowa. She is a sculptor of immense power, versatility, and technical skill. Her media include printmaking, wood, stone, plaster, clay, and bronze. Motherhood, women, and the struggle of oppressed people have been the central themes of her compositions throughout her life. Mexican themes became important in her art after her marriage to Mexican artist Francisco Mora and her expatriation to his country.

Like Catlett and Beauford Delaney, a number of important African-American artists expatriated themselves after World War II. Ronald Joseph (1910–1992) moved to Europe in the 1940s, primarily living in Brussels. An abstractionist from the late 1930s, his restrained compositions received little recognition in the United States, and for many decades he had little contact with American artists, though he was making a comeback at the time of his sudden death in 1992.

Herbert Gentry (b. 1921) moved to Paris after World War II and studied at the Grande Chaumière. Linear movement and biomorphic form have been among his major concerns. Though primarily abstractions, a number of his canvases have featured representations of masks. In 1960 he settled in Stockholm, Sweden.

Ed Clark (b. 1926) moved to Paris in 1952; his paintings were often abstractions of the human figure. Other expatriates include Lawrence Potter (1924–1966), primarily a color field abstractionist, and Walter Williams (b. 1920), whose work often imaginatively evokes African-American childhood themes and narratives.

The Civil Rights Movement and the Visual Arts

The civil rights movement of the 1960s was a turning point for black art and culture. A number of important artworks were directly inspired by the movement, such as Norman Lewis's *Processional* (1964), Jacob Lawrence's *The Ordeal of Mary* (1963), and Elizabeth Catlett's *Homage to My Young Black Sisters* (1968) and *Malcolm X Speaks for Us* (1969). In 1963, Romare Bearden contacted Norman Lewis and Hale Woodruff and formed Spiral, a group of twelve African-American artists committed to supporting the civil rights movement and furthering its connection to African-American art. They held their first group show in 1964. The group had largely disbanded by 1965, however, though their impact as a politically conscious African-American artist collective outlived the short duration of the group.

One of the central figures in Spiral, Romare Bearden (1911–1988) was in his own right one of the most significant African-American artists of the postwar period. Born in Charlotte, North Carolina, he was raised in Harlem and was a lifelong New Yorker. Spiral had a major impact on his art, which subsequently concentrated on painted, mixed-media collages that depict the African-American experience with a strong emphasis on spirituality and jazz idioms. Bearden was also an important writer on African-American art. His written works include the posthumous *History of African-American Artists* (1993), cowritten with Harry Henderson.

Benny Andrews (b. 1930) is an activist and an expressive figurative painter who has also worked in collage, using modeling paste and acrylic. Motivated by the belief that black artists should express themselves on a wide range of issues, he was active in teaching in prisons in Queens, New York, and he cofounded the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition (BECC) in 1969. John Biggers (1924–2001), who was raised in North Carolina and taught for many decades at Texas Southern University,

was a figurative artist in the tradition of Charles White. He was profoundly influenced by numerous visits to Africa. His drawings, paintings, and murals were some of his most distinguished contributions to the field.

By the late 1960s, the black arts movement had evolved a more socially conscious African-American art that was community-based, militant, and African-centered in its politics. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Chicago-based AfriCobra (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists) started painting community murals on the walls of vacant buildings, including the *Wall of Respect* (1968) in a black Chicago neighborhood. Nelson Stevens, one of the founders of AfriCobra, painted in "Kool-Aid" colors and produced prints that contained nationalistic positive images of black males and females, as well as heroic icons such as Malcolm X.

Vincent Smith (1929–2003) was influenced by the black arts movement, avant-garde jazz and blues of the 1960s, and African art. Many of his oil paintings are mixed-media explorations of the black experience. His etchings and monoprints are eloquent narratives on the distinctive nuances of African-American life. Faith Ringgold (b. 1930), in contrast, executed huge reconfigured paintings of the American flag. She is an outspoken feminist and activist who has used her art to redefine the role of women. Over time, her paintings evolved into painted story quilts, telling complex narratives in a geometric format.

Other strategies for confronting viewers with unsettling observations on the nature of the relation between blacks and American society include those explored by Barkley Hendricks (b. 1940), who has painted larger-than-life-sized portraits of African Americans against stark ominous white backgrounds. Betye Saar (b. 1926) uses mixed media, found objects, and advertising images, as in her *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima* (1972). Mel Edwards uses found or discarded metal objects, such as parts of machines and tools, to create metaphors of the exploited classes within American society, as in his Lynch Fragment series, a lifelong, continuous series of explorations made from recycled metal machine parts.

Bob Thompson (1937-1966) worked in flat, brightly colored figures, creating compositions that echo the work of European masters, including Nicolas Poussin and the Fauves. His work has a strong symbolic component, but his development was cut short by his untimely death. Emilio Cruz (b. 1938), once a studio mate of Thompson's, has similar artistic concerns. Cruz has been concerned throughout his career with symbolism, spirituality, and the condition of humankind. The mood, tempo, and improvisational structure of jazz have been integral to his creative process.

The sculptor Selma Burke (1900–1995) in her studio, working with a model. *An accomplished artist, Burke received commissions for portraits of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune, Martin Luther King Jr., Duke Ellington, and a number of other luminaries.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Contemporary African-American Art

The diversity in medium, style, and philosophy within African-American art has burgeoned since the 1970s. In part, this reflects better opportunities for professional education and training, more international travel—especially to the continent of Africa, the ancestral homeland. With growing public prominence and a strong sense of self-confidence, black artists have realized their role in the world at large. Thematic issues of race, sexuality, class, and gender—combined with the freedom to experiment with materials, techniques, and styles—have increased the range of possibilities of artistic expression.

Among the most important African-American abstractionists has been William T. Williams (b. 1942). He works in large-scale abstractions characterized by the use of geometry, color, and complex surface textures, creating subtle moods and atmospheres as he responds to the aesthetic impulses of his environment. Al Loving (b. 1935) also works in an abstract idiom. Spatial relationships,

color, and illusion dominate his large acrylic canvases and small watercolor collages. His forms appear suspended in space, amplifying the sense of illusion.

Other abstract artists include Jack Whitten (b. 1939), who explores surface textures and organic structures that resemble intensely magnified sections of human skin or the tile mosaics of ancient floor patterns. Whitten is also interested in human efforts to decorate and ornament the skin, as in the African practice of scarification. Oliver Jackson (b. 1935), a California painter, explores the power and energy of nature. His paintings reduce humanity to a subordinate element within the grand scale of his oversized acrylics. Jackson is also a sculptor whose wood creations reveal the power, energy, and strength of his vision. Raymond Saunders (1934) has developed a very personal style in which the environment around him is reflected in large studies, articulated with iconographic symbols and markings embedded in the surface of the picture plane. Saunders uses painting as a vehicle to communicate with the community by creating a visual dialogue of ideas, images, and symbolic metaphors.

Sam Gilliam (b. 1933) exhibited unorthodox canvases in the 1972 Venice Biennale, which broke his connection to "easel" art. The huge canvases (over 100 feet long) were painted on the studio floor by pouring buckets of paint on the surface and moving the pigment across the canvas with brooms. Later he extended this process by cutting and repasting sections of these canvases, configuring them into large shaped paintings, juxtaposing bright color, texture, and form. In other commission projects he would wrap entire buildings or drape interior spaces with his creations. Gilliam has been fascinated with the properties of paint, light, colors, and texture, and their relationship to architecture and space.

Another contemporary style was exemplified in the work of the highly publicized and controversial work of Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960–1988). Although often dismissed as a mere graffiti artist, he expanded and redefined the nature of abstract expressionist painting through the use of popular heroes and symbolic metaphors in his works. Basquiat reorganized the nature of the picture plane by using popular imagery and mixed media on grand-scale surfaces to make biting commentaries on society. He was especially concerned with the politics of African-American art within the larger society. His early stardom, friendships with Pop artists Andy Warhol and Keith Haring, and the media attention he garnered (as well as his early death) have to some extent obscured his true worth. Basquiat's work was far ahead of his time and extends the range of expression for abstract American art traditions.

Robert Colescott's (b. 1925) signature style of figurative paintings is intended to place African Americans within the canons of Western art traditions. In the Knowledge Is the Key to the Past series (1970s), Colescott recreates famous historical compositions by European artists and replaces the subjects with black characters. The results are satirical indictments of Western society that disturb both white and black viewers. Bold color and complex compositions combined with the gesturally painted figures amplify the importance of the issues involved. His sociopolitical commentaries, with their deft skewering of stereotypes, have often provoked controversy, negative reactions, and great debate about the relevance of art history and the dominance of Western mainstream attitudes of inclusion and exclusion.

A number of modern artists have integrated African philosophical systems with conceptual art. Howardena Pindell (b. 1943) is a multi-talented artist and writer who works in a broad range of media, including painting, prints, video, performance art, and installations. Her works are provocative and have often been compared to those of Colescott for their political stance. David Hammons (1943), like Pindell, has embraced controversy through his creations, made from materials such as hairballs, wine bottles, greasy paper bags, bottle caps, snowballs, coal, chicken wings, and barbecued ribs. Hammons treats even the most conflicted and challenging aspects of the black experience with a sense of reverence and deep spirituality. Houston Conwill's (b. 1947) inventiveness creates sculpture, installations, and performance art that recall the time, place, and memory of African and African-American cultural rituals of the past. He has been preoccupied with defining the nature of sacred space in the African-American community and has executed numerous public commissions throughout the United States.

Richard Hunt (b. 1935) and Martin Puryear (b. 1941) are two of the most distinguished contemporary African-American sculptors. Both work in distinct styles. Hunt works in metal, usually steel, creating works that are derived from plant and animal forms. The metal is shaped to convey figuratively expressive forms of plants and insects. Puryear creates objects whose forms are inspired by architectural structures and functional objects essential to the lives of African-, Asian-, and Native-American peoples. His materials include wood, metal, fiber, stone, and wax. The expanded scale of the objects often sets up a psychological juxtaposition that challenges the notion of the function and role of the objects as art.

During the 1970s and the 1980s, sculptural traditions began to expand in the direction of environmental and installation art. One of the most important and successful

artists in this stylistic genre was Fred Wilson (b. 1954). Wilson began as a mixed–media artist, using a wide variety of found objects to construct sculptural forms that had strong political commentary targeting America's inherent attitudes towards people of color. In 1994 he was commissioned to execute a unique installation at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, Maryland, using the artifacts of that institution. "Mining the Museum" was a groundbreaking exhibition that redefined how museums could effectively use the objects and artifacts to educate the public about culture, history, and aesthetics. Wilson was invited to museums all over the world and throughout the United States to teach curators his theories of exhibition artistry. In 1999, he won the highly prestigious MacArthur Foundation Fellowship (often called the "genius grant").

Kerry James Marshall (b. 1955) has continued in this tradition by focusing his work on the social, civil, and popular culture of the African-American experience. Marshall's work concentrates on larger-than-life paintings, but he has expanded this type of work to include sculpture, installation art, photography, comic books, and video. In 1992, he was a recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship for his work examining and critiquing black history and identity.

Renee Stout (b. 1958), like Wilson and Marshall, works in a mixed media, installation tradition that explores the spiritual relationships within the African-American experience. Her work is very personal in the creation of boxes and spaces that reflect and use material culture to illuminate the extraordinary narrative within the lives of ordinary people of color.

Increasingly, African-American artists have become bold and confrontational in their aesthetic response to continual resistance of opportunity for all Americans. Kara Walker (b. 1969) has been most effective and intense in her approach to imaging the aesthetic issues of America. Using the eighteenth-century tradition of black cutout silhouettes, Walker creates fantastical narratives of black women, children, and men in various states of abuse, often explicit sexually, to draw direct attention to the hidden and covert practices of a culture whose history and attitudes were built on slavery. Kara Walker's work is often so startling in its detail of abuse that she forces the viewer to respond by having a conversation or reaction to the conditions of her artistic and intellectual crusade to attack racism and sexism. In 1997 she became the youngest recipient of the MacArthur Fellowship.

The proliferation of contemporary African-American art in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries represents the culmination of the work of many generations of creative black painters and sculptors. African-American artists first had to struggle simply to gain access to the world of fine art, and once the barriers began to open, they were faced with the equally important task of finding their own distinctive voice—and that of demanding that it be heard and given respect. Amid the turbulence of the contemporary artistic scene, few groups have been as important as African-American artists in directing the attention of artists to issues such as race, gender, identity, culture, politics, and a critical self-examination of the operations of the art world itself. At the same time, one cannot pigeonhole African-American art into one type of expression; black artists have created and are creating works in styles and forms ranging from quiet intellectual contemplation to works of militant engagement. The accomplishments of African-American art are testament to the creative expectations of black artists, as they meld the complexities of their African and multiethnic American heritages and the innovations and challenges of the electronic digital age with their personal visions. These achievements will continue to endure and lead to new forms of visual expressiveness.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Bannister, Edward Mitchell; Basquiat, Jean-Michel; Black Arts Movement; Burroughs, Margaret Taylor; Catlett, Elizabeth; Delaney, Joseph; Douglas, Aaron; Fuller, Meta Vaux Warrick; Hammons, David; Harlem Renaissance; Johnson, Joshua; Lawrence, Jacob; Lewis, Edmonia; Ligon, Glenn; Locke, Alain Leroy; Marshall, Kerry James; Modernism and Primitivism; Motley, Archibald John, Jr.; Parks, Gordon; Puryear, Martin; Savage, Augusta; Stout, Reneé; Tanner, Henry Ossawa; Walker, Kara; Wheatley, Phillis; Woodruff, Hale

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LESLIE KING HAMMOND (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Palcy, Euzhan

January 13, 1958

Born and raised in Martinique, the film director and producer Euzhan Palcy began her career as a child singer and songwriter. The commercial success of her first album led the teenager to her own weekly poetry show on television. In 1974, she wrote, directed, and performed in the first West Indian television production ever mounted in the French colony. *The Messenger* (La Messagère), released in 1975, focused on the relationship between a young girl and her grandmother. "It was the first time that the people of Martinique saw themselves on television speaking French and Creole and being themselves," recalled Palcy (Welbon, 1998).

Euzhan Palcy moved to Paris in 1975 to pursue her childhood dream of becoming a film director. She earned a master's degree in French literature, a master's degree in theater, and a D.E.A. in art and archeology from the Sorbonne. She also earned a film degree from the renowned Louis Lumière School of Cinema, where she focused on cinematography.

In 1983, with the help of her "French godfather," the director François Truffaut, and a grant from the French government, Palcy adapted the 1974 novel *La Rue Cases Nègres* by Martinique author Josef Zobel into her first feature film, *Sugar Cane Alley (Rue Cases Nègres)*. The coming-of-age story garnered over seventeen international film awards, including the Silver Lion and Best Lead Actress awards at the Venice Film Festival and the César Award for Best First Feature Film from the French Film Academy (Académie des Arts et Techniques du Cinema).

Sugar Cane Alley was an international box office success. In Martinique it even outgrossed Steven Spielberg's *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial*, the Hollywood blockbuster of that year.

Palcy is also the first woman of African descent to direct a feature film produced by a major Hollywood studio—her film *A Dry White Season* was released by MGM in 1989. The actor Marlon Brando felt that the anti-apartheid drama was so important that he ended a nine-year period of seclusion and volunteered to play a part in the film, for which he received an Academy Award nomination.

Palcy has directed a number of other projects, including the feature film *Simeon* (1992), the three-part documentary series *Aimé Césaire: A Voice for History* (1995), the Wonderful World of Disney television movie *The Ruby Bridges Story* (1997), and the Showtime cable television movie *The Killing Yard* (2001).

Palcy continues to be acknowledged for her contributions to media dialogues regarding social, political, and cultural issues. In 1994 Palcy was given the title Chevalier dans l'Ordre National du Mérite (Knight in the National Order of Merit) from the president of France, François Mitterand. In 1997 a movie theater in Amiens, France, was named Cinema Euzhan Palcy, and, in 2000, Martinique's first high school dedicated to the study of film was named after her. Palcy was also awarded the Sojourner Truth Award at the 2001 Cannes Film Festival. Today, she continues to develop, produce, and direct television and film projects in the United States and Europe.

See also Film; Filmmakers in the Caribbean

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YVONNE WELBON (2005)

Palenque San Basilio

The free-black community of Palenque San Basilio is the most renowned runaway slave community in Colombian history; however, many aspects of the origins and nature of the town remain unclear. Situated in the mountains of the Sierra del María about seventy kilometers from Cartagena de Indias, in the municipality of Mahates, Palenque San Basilio stands as a testimony to the resistance of enslaved Africans and their descendants and to their insistence that they could be loyal citizens ready to contribute to the shaping of Colombia's society.

Palenques and *Cimarrones*

Enslaved Africans accompanied the early European conquerors in the Americas, and from the outset individuals struggled for their freedom through flight. They sought to establish themselves in inhospitable areas of northern South America whose difficulty of access offered natural protection from their persecutors. The word *palenque* is derived from the wooden palisades they built as a defensive measure around the fugitive communities. The palenques were typically agricultural communities that sought self-sufficiency; however, they were also defensive centers surrounded by high wooden palisades, defensive ditches, and sharpened wooden stakes to entrap the unwary attacker.

During the early colonial period, groups of runaways were usually led by escaped Africans. These leaders sometimes called themselves kings, referring to an African nobility or aristocracy and thus drawing legitimacy from their social standing in Africa. For example, Domingo Biohó, the self-styled *rey de arcabuco,* or king of the swamps, was also known as the king of La Matuna, the palenque he led. However, historians suggest that it was unlikely that members of royal families in Africa would have been sold into transatlantic slavery, and these references to African nobility may have been devices adopted by powerful military leaders to enhance their standing before their communities. Still, it is also recognized that many enslaved Africans were captured during military excursions and thus most of them had military experience that served them well in their attempts to defend themselves once they were able to escape their enslavement in America. As the colonial period wore on, though, the leadership of these communities changed. Later leaders were far more likely to be enslaved *criollos,* or people of African descent born in the Americas, and they typically called themselves captains or governors rather than kings.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, runaway slaves became the bane of colonial governors, espe-

cially around Cartagena de Indias, the most important port of entry for enslaved Africans arriving into Hispanic South America. These runaways escaped from mines, from haciendas, and from towns, and regrouped to form defensive communities. From their fortified camps, they sallied forth to rustle cattle, steal indigenous and other women and children, and rob travelers, terrifying the European populations of the area. The relative strength or weakness of the Spaniards and their allies shaped their response to the *cimarrones* (runaway slaves). At times the Spanish aggressively sought to destroy the palenques, whereas at other moments they were forced to negotiate uneasy truces with them. An example of this at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the community led by Benkos (Domingo) Biohó. The name *Biohó* probably comes from a region of Guinea-Bissau in West Africa. Some historians suggest that Domingo Biohó was a member of an African royal family from Guinea who in 1599, together with his wife and several other enslaved companions, escaped his Spanish owner, Juan Gómez, and eventually formed the palenque La Matuna. Successive governors of Cartagena sought to deal with the challenge of the palenque until finally in 1612 a negotiated settlement was achieved through which the fugitive slaves were recognized as free and granted privileges by the Spanish crown. The former slaves promised to return any new escapees, and they were given free passage to enter and leave the city of Cartagena; Biohó himself was granted the privilege of dressing as a Spaniard. However, in 1619 he was challenged by the guards as he sought to enter the city; violence resulted, and he was quickly tried and hung. Domingo Biohó's legacy lived on through the colonial period as the image of the rebel fugitive slave leader took hold. His name became synonymous with that of the strong African leader. Between 1600 and 1790 historical references can be found to the hanging of several individuals such as Domingo Bioo, Domingo Biho, and Dominguillo Bioho, testimony to the power of this indomitable rebel leader's legend. It was within this historical trajectory that other groups of runaways created communities such as Palenque San Basilio at various moments during the colonial period.

Palenque San Basilio

Palenque San Basilio was created by fugitives who regrouped after escaping from the destruction of other palenques, such as Tabacal, Matudere, and Arenal, at the end of the seventeenth century. The first documentary references to San Basilio date from 1713, when a group of *cimarrones* came to an agreement with the bishop of Cartagena, Fray Antonio Mariá Casiani. Although it is tempting to associate Palenque San Basilio with Domingo Biohó's La Matuna, the historical documentation suggests only that San Basilio was created by fugitive slaves and that the Spanish were never able to reconquer them. In order to win the fugitives over to Christianity in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Casiani, with the governor's consent, granted San Basilio's residents a general pardon with the understanding that the former slaves would not harbor future runaways. Nicolás de Santa Rosa was the captain of the community and he reached an agreement with the bishop after the prelate arrived in the palenque. They built a church and a baptismal font, and the bishop said mass and christened the town San Basilio Magno, since he was a member of the order of Saint Basil. He appointed a parish priest and put the church under the care of Saint Michael the archangel. He then took a census, counting some 234 souls in the town. He read the terms of the agreement before the congregated community, and everyone accepted it and confirmed Nicolás de Santa Rosa as their leader. The town's official posts were filled and it was agreed that the community would elect its own leader and that no whites would be admitted to the palenque except for the priest. From that moment, the settlement reappeared intermittently in historical documents so that in 1772, for example, San Basilio was described as a *población de negros,* or a black community, created by runaway slaves.

The isolation of Palenque San Basilio allowed particular cultural forms to develop or to be maintained within the community. For example, the people of the town traditionally have not mixed with other populations and even today speak their own particular language, Palenquero, which is recognized as a derivative of a Bantu-based language with much vocabulary of Kikongo origin. Linguists argue that the origins of Palenquero can be traced to West Central Africa, the region from which enslaved people known as Congos and Angolas came. The existence of its own language has enabled Palenque San Basilio to preserve its social cohesion and the unique identity of its residents.

Until the end of the nineteenth century *palenqueros* (residents of Palenque San Basilio) were extremely isolated from the rest of Colombian society, with a closed agricultural economy that shaped the community's material life. They grew rice, corn, yucca, *plátano* (plantains), *ñame* (yams), and peanuts, and they raised cattle. Only with the cultivation of sugarcane in the early twentieth century did San Basilio begin to integrate into Colombian national life. Contemporary Palenque San Basilio consists of the town and the surrounding mountains, where cattle graze and the crops are grown. The women of the palenque have usually had the most contact with the outside world, since

they sell their products in the city while the men take care of the cattle and prepare the ground for crops of yucca and *ñame.*

Social Structure

The basic social category in San Basilio is the *cuagro,* an age group with both male and female members. Compounds consisting of several households are divided at their fundamental level into these *cuagros.* Some anthropologists suggest that it is through this social grouping that work is organized and that rituals such as weddings and deaths are enacted. Because of the historical context in which palenques developed—a state of perpetual guerrilla warfare—the ideal of fighting and aggressive struggle has also become an integral part of San Basilio's culture and can be seen in the number of successful world-class boxers who have come from the town.

In contemporary Colombia, Palenque San Basilio stands as the symbol of the autonomy of black communities. Nonetheless, changes in the twentieth century have altered San Basilio's internal political and social structures. Community issues were traditionally discussed in meetings of the townspeople under the direction of a committee led by a respected elder through a consultative approach, but this hierarchy has been broken by the intrusion of foreign political forms. This loss of autonomy has not been purely negative. For example, Article 70, added in 1993 to the 1991 Colombian Constitution, formally recognized Afro-Colombian ethnicity and the right of black communities to claim title to land they have traditionally worked; however, in practice this continues to be a highly charged political and economic issue and has led to violence.

See also Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

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RENÉE SOULODRE-LA FRANCE (2005)

Palmares

Beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, there were reports of the formation of communities of escaped slaves in Brazil. These communities of fugitives were known as *quilombos* or *mocambos.* In the majority of the Bantu languages of Central and West Central Africa, the word *quilombo* means "encampment." In West Central Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the word *kilombo* also referred to the initiation rituals of the military societies of the Imbangala people (also known as the Jagas). The Imbangala were Kimbundu-speaking people of northeastern Angola. Their expansion into the interior of Angola, the land of the Umbundu, began in the sixteenth century, and, in accordance with their political, social, and military strategy, they followed the practice of incorporating the inhabitants of the conquered regions into their group through the use of rituals.

There were other historical processes surrounding the quilombos. Whereas there has not been much systematic academic research in this area, it has been suggested that the existence of a slave culture and the re-creation of many significant elements of the kilombo ritual among the captives of Brazil served to aid the slaves in establishing quilombos. They reorganized themselves into communities of Africans from diverse regions, including Brazilian-born *crioulos.* It is possible to establish connections between the significance of kilombo in Central Africa and the establishment of quilombos in Brazil. These connections were important for their symbolic significance and for the redevelopment of certain African cultural and ritual aspects within the Brazilian slave experience.

Palmares

The first reports of Palmares—one of the most important communities of fugitive Africans in the Americas—surfaced during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Located in Alagoas, in the old captaincy (or province) of Pernambuco, the quilombo of Palmares was established in the heart of the Portuguese colonial empire. The mountains of the area were considered an ideal location for captives to take refuge, and thousands of Africans and their descendants constructed numerous communities in this area. In fact, Palmares wasn't just one quilombo; the community was a collection of numerous, perhaps dozens, of quilombos, joined together for purposes of defense and survival. Surrounded by largely inaccessible mountains and forests, the inhabitants of Palmares could count on considerable natural protection. Because of its flora and fauna, this location also guaranteed good hunting and fishing opportunities, as well as an abundance of fruits, roots, and plants. In this way, the people of the quilombo, well hidden in the forest's interior, could guarantee their survival. This ecological environment was thus fundamental for the residents of Palmares. They had the ability to understand and manage the geography, topography, plants, and animals of these forests. In a hostile area—one not always similar to their African regions of origin—they were capable of establishing dominion over nature, transforming it from an adversary into an ally.

Even as Palmares was being born, the first inhabitants of Palmares were being reborn, for they were creating a new world—an African world reinvented in Brazil by fugitive blacks. The residents of the quilombo—Brazilian-born slaves and Africans of diverse ethnic identities—forged a world in which they could live in freedom. They re-created their cultures and organized themselves militarily in order to fight invaders, and they established economic practices in order to guarantee survival for themselves. It was the development of this original social system that concerned and frightened the landowners and Portuguese authorities.

The Economics of Palmares

Palmares's economic production was not solely for the subsistence of its large population. The surpluses the Palmarinos created presented opportunities for commerce with tavern owners and the residents of nearby areas. They traded manioc (cassava) flour, palm wine, butter, and other products in exchange for firearms, gunpowder, textiles, salt, and tools. This commerce between the quilombos of Palmares, the inhabitants of small settlements, and tavern owners of the captaincy worried the authorities. These groups had formed a clandestine mercantile network that was not just useful economically; it also created a sense of solidarity among the people of Palmares. However, many of the inhabitants of these areas were accused of giving protection to the Palmarinos. It was said that many of the expeditions against the quilombos failed due to the information passed along by their trading partners. There are even reports that many traders, peddlers, and tavern owners frequented the quilombos in Palmares, looking to establish direct commercial relations with the inhabitants.

Apart from this, constant attacks greatly frightened the populations closest to Palmares. The people of the quilombo did not do this just to obtain the products they needed, but also to intimidate and punish those who promoted punitive expeditions against them (principally the large landholders). The Palmarinos also collected tribute—in provisions, money, and arms—from the inhabitants of villages and towns. Those who would not collaborate could see their property sacked, their cane fields and plantations burnt, and their slaves kidnapped. This was the response the Palmarinos gave to those who would enslave other blacks and contribute to their destruction.

The Culture of the Quilombos

Initially, the quilombos were formed by Africans of diverse ethnicities and different languages. The culture of Palmares, then, was formed out of a combination of these various cultures. Africans from the Bantu ethnic-linguistic group, originally from the west-central areas of Africa (Congo and Angola) predominated. Despite this, the African culture of the Palmarinos was remade into something new. The religious practices forged in these quilombos had as many traces of magic and rituals of various parts of Africa as of indigenous religions and the popular Catholicism learned in the slave quarters. Indeed, some of these Africans had already come into contact with Christianity in Africa itself, dating from the beginning of the European occupation in the middle of the fifteenth century. Punitive expeditions sent by the authorities found chapels and sanctuaries in Palmares. Included within these places of worship were images of Catholic saints. This religious syncretism of the Palmarinos demonstrated the ways in which people developed their own culture in the quilombos. It was not just that their African past was re-created; the quilombo residents—not just Africans, but also Afro-Brazilians and those born free in the forests—reinvented a new Africa in Brazil. They worshiped both African gods and Catholic saints, and they created new symbols of religious significance. In a general sense—just as in Africa—they perceived their gods as harnessers of the forces of na-

ture. Thus, plants, fire, and water could have the same spiritual power as Christian images and symbols.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the population of Palmares had already reached more than 20,000 people. (Some chroniclers of the era, no doubt exaggerating, spoke of 30,000 residents.) Among those residing in these mountains were blacks, people of mixed heritage, and even some Indians and whites who were hiding out from the colonial authorities. Palmares was divided into numerous smaller quilombos all along the Serra da Barriga. The most important ones were named for their chiefs and commanders. The primary quilombo, known by the name Macaco (Monkey), was the political and administrative center, functioning as the capital of Palmares. It was also the most populous, with thousands of houses, and the home of Ganga Zumba, one of the principal leaders of Palmares.

The sparseness of the population distribution within this immense forest allowed for some natural protection, making it possible to devise an intelligent military defense strategy. When one quilombo was attacked, the Palmarinos would take refuge in others. That way, it was impossible to attack all of them simultaneously. Aside from the primary quilombos, there were dozens of others scattered further away. Many of these simply served as military camps or trading outposts. Other quilombos like Palmares also existed in the captaincies of Paraiba and Rio Grande do Norte. Even though this dispersion of quilombos into an extensive geographic area had occurred, there was unity and communication among them. Their economic practices proved to be complementary—while one quilombo could produce almond butter, another made palm wine. Central power remained in the hands of Ganga Zumba, even though some others had a degree of military and economic autonomy. The socioeconomic structure of Palmares was strongly oriented toward its political-military organization, particularly when attacks against the quilombos were intensified in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Conflicts with Colonial Authorities

The Palmarinos resisted innumerable punitive expeditions sent by the Portuguese and Dutch (during their occupation of the Northeast in the middle of the seventeenth century), as well as expeditions sent by local ranchers, who always felt a deep antipathy toward them. The Palmarinos—led by Ganga Zumba and later Zumbi—had a complex economic, military, and political organization. Portuguese colonial authorities, who encountered numerous difficulties in their attempts to destroy so many quilombos, began proposing peace treaties, looking to recognize the autonomy of the quilombos under the Crown, freedom for the blacks born in Palmares, and a return of all other fugitives. While an agreement was initially accepted in 1678, it was later rejected by the quilombos and sabotaged by the ranchers and businessmen who were interested in the lands occupied by the quilombos. Nevertheless, Palmares was essentially destroyed in 1695 by a large force of *bandeirantes* (mercenary fighters), who brought in cannons to destroy the fortifications the people of the quilombos had constructed.

The colonial forces combed the mountains in search of Zumbi. More than just destroying Palmares, his capture was considered of fundamental importance for the colonial authorities. The well-protected leader of Palmares was eventually betrayed; he was found and assassinated on November 20, 1695. Despite Zumbi's death, the authorities knew that the fight against the quilombos of Palmares was not over. There still remained thousands of people within the quilombos of the Alagoas mountains, and other quilombos in nearby captaincies still existed. Thus, the attacks against Palmares continued. In 1696 the quilombo of Quissama was attacked. The gradual occupation of the Pernambucan mountains was pushing the quilombo residents into other regions.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, Palmares continued to tax the efforts of the colonial authorities. In 1703 Camoanga, the new leader of Palmares, was killed during an attack, and repressive forces remained quartered in the region until at least 1725. Even though some quilombos still populated the region, they were much more widely dispersed at this time, because they had been pushed away from the interior. Many groups from the quilombos migrated to the captaincy of Paraiba, where they established new mocambos. Thus, though they were not totally destroyed, the unity of the quilombos in the manner of Palmares would never be realized again.

Beyond Palmares and its tradition of freedom, which spanned from the end of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth, other traditions surfaced in different contexts within colonial Brazil that caused the metropolitan and colonial authorities a great amount of fear. Many large quilombos arose in the Captaincies of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso in the eighteenth century, and others surfaced in diverse colonial and frontier regions into the nineteenth century.

After the abolition of slavery in Brazil, Palmares and Zumbi were transformed into symbols of political militancy. The year 1995 marked the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the death of Zumbi. November 20, the date of his death, is a holiday in many Brazilian cities, and it is regarded as an important date in the black com-

munity. The black movements of the 1970s turned the day into the National Day of Black Consciousness. There is also a monument in homage to Zumbi in the Serra da Barriga.

In addition, many academics, social movements, and state, municipal, and federal authorities have made efforts to recognize the quilombo communities that remain in Brazil. With the right to agrarian land title officially recognized in the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, hundreds of rural black communities scattered all over Brazil are fighting for land and citizenship. They are, in essence, attempting to reclaim diverse and complex historical processes in the formation of a black rural society, encompassing the period from slavery to post-emancipation.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Coartación; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

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FLÁVIO GOMES (2005)

Pan-Africanism

In its most general sense the term *Pan-Africanism* refers to a movement that seeks to unite and promote the welfare of all people identified with, or claiming membership in, the African or black race. Pan-Africanism is based on the idea of overcoming vast differences in language, ethnicity, religion, and geographical origin. Despite these divisions a degree of cultural unity has to some extent already been achieved among the African population of the United States because of forced interethnic mingling without regard to cultural or regional background during the slavery experience. Slavery forged African Americans into a truly Pan-African people who came to share a belief in a common destiny, deriving from the historic humiliations of slavery, colonialism, and racism. On a more positive note, Pan-Africanists also insist on recognizing the historic importance of contributions that Africa and the black race have made to civilization and human progress since the dawn of history.

Pan-Africanism assumes that the political unification of Africa will contribute to the welfare of all black people of African descent, whether or not they actually live in Africa. The African-American scholar W. E. B. Du Bois defined Pan-Africanism as "the idea of one Africa uniting the thought and ideals of all peoples of the dark continent," but observed that the idea had stemmed "naturally from the West Indies and the United States." Pan-African and black nationalist sentiments in the United States and in the Caribbean have provided much of the ideology for nationalist and decolonization movements on the African continent.

During the period 1957–1974 most of the colonial powers withdrew, at least formally, from their African colonies. Since then, political Pan-Africanism has focused on removing the vestiges of colonialism, particularly in South Africa, and on promoting economic and political unity among African nations. The institution that presently seeks to accomplish geopolitical unification of the continent is the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963. In the United States the best-known African-American support organization is TransAfrica, founded in 1977.

Documents illustrating the history of Pan-Africanism began to appear during the late eighteenth century. Of sig-

nal importance was *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (1787). Equiano's tract, published in England, has been identified by historian Imanuel Geiss (1974) as "proto-Pan-Africanism," but it lacked the militant self-assertiveness that is associated with the modern movement. Equiano, who had been enslaved as a child and traveled as a cabin boy to the New World, believed for a time that the African condition could be improved by resettling Christianized Africans from Europe and the Americas in Africa. Although he came to abandon that plan, he remained committed to the destruction of African slavery through the agencies of Christian missionary activity, free trade, and the establishment of an African nationality.

In 1787 British reformers began a campaign to resettle England's so-called black poor in the West African colony of Sierra Leone. Abolitionists saw themselves as creating a center for missionary activity and African redemption from the slave trade. Their efforts were supported by a small cadre of proto-Pan-Africanists, but Equiano eventually came to oppose African resettlement.

The diversity of the peoples who settled Sierra Leone illustrated the complexities of Pan-African identity. The first settlers were a mixed group, including African-American loyalists who had been evacuated with the British after the American Revolution and runaway slaves from the West Indies. A second group of immigrants came from Canada—ex-slaves who had fought on the British side in the American War for Independence and then temporarily settled in Nova Scotia. A third element also came from Nova Scotia but ultimately derived from a group known as Maroons, escaped slaves who had formed independent colonies in the mountains of Jamaica. These Maroons, after staging an unsuccessful revolt in 1795, were deported first to Nova Scotia and then to Sierra Leone. A fourth group were the so-called recaptives, persons of various African ethnicities deposited in Sierra Leone over the years after being recaptured from slave traders by the British fleet.

Black Americans showed an immediate interest in Sierra Leone. A group of settlers arrived from the United States in 1816, transported by Capt. Paul Cuffe, a man of mixed African and American Indian ancestry. Along with James Forten, a black sailmaker of Philadelphia, Cuffe hoped to develop Christianity, commerce, and civilization in Africa and to further thwart the slave trade while providing a homeland for African Americans. This emigrationist variety of American Pan-Africanism was undermined in 1817, however, with the formation of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States, usually called the American Colonization Society (ACS). Because the ACS included a number of prominent slaveholders in its leadership and expressly denied any sympathy for abolition, the black American population was generally hostile to it. With the death of Cuffe, Forten became silent on the subjects of black nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

African Americans who supported the movement, as did Peter Williams Sr. and John Russwurm, were subjected to considerable public scorn. In the early nineteenth century, black Americans went through one of their periodic frenzies of name changing in an attempt to affirm their American loyalties. At this point even some of the more militant nationalist and Pan-Africanist organizations began to prefer the designation "Colored" over "African." Notable exceptions were the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ).

The ideologies of black nationalism and Pan-Africanism evolved in the climate of the American and French revolutions, which gave currency to ideas of republican government and inspired certain classes of Africans to think of creating an African nation-state. One should not, however, assume that Pan-Africanism was simply an imitation of European or United States' ideology. It arose simultaneously with the European nationalisms and was a cognate rather than a derivative. C. L. R. James viewed the Haitian slave revolt (1791–1803) as the decisive event in the history of Pan-Africanism. Du Bois observed that the Haitian revolt led to the Louisiana Purchase and thus had a direct effect on white Americans' conceptions of nationalism and Manifest Destiny. It can be argued that Pan-Africanism and black nationalism in the Haitian republic were historically intertwined with the growth of the American nation and its conception of Manifest Destiny.

The Haitian revolt provided the impetus for the abortive revolution of the Jamaican Maroons in 1795. It also inspired early Pan-Africanism in the United States. Prince Hall, the Masonic lodge master from Massachusetts and sometime advocate of emigration, expressed his admiration of "our African brethren . . . in the French West Indies." There is no way of determining the extent to which Pan-Africanism touched the imaginations of the slave population of the United States, but there is some evidence that they were influenced by it. Herbert Aptheker has speculatively linked the slave conspiracy of Gabriel Prosser to the revolution in Haiti. The conspiracy of Denmark Vesey was said to have been inspired by the Haitian revolt, and Vesey was reputed to have dreamed of a black supernation uniting the southern states to the Caribbean.

Pan-African sentiments were strong among the African-American population of the early republic. The so-

called Free African Societies of New York, Boston, and Rhode Island often expressed their identity with other Africans on both sides of the Atlantic. Early black newspapers revealed an interest in the history of Africa and the destiny of the African race. Overt identification with African affairs became unfashionable, however, when in 1816 the American Colonization Society was founded for the purpose of resettling the so-called free people of color in the colony of Liberia. David Walker published an incendiary *Appeal Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World* in 1829, in which he denounced Liberian colonization. Another early pamphleteer was Maria Stewart, who, although she referred to herself as an African, was equally hostile to the colonization movement. So too was Richard Allen, an organizer of the AME church, who believed in the unity of African peoples and a special God-given mission for them but steadfastly opposed any talk of Liberian colonization.

Peter Williams Sr., an Episcopal priest in New York, took a more tolerant view of African colonization. He eulogized Paul Cuffe, memorializing his voyages to Africa, and he remained friendly with John Russwurm, even after the latter was burned in effigy by anti-emigration activists. Classical black nationalism became practically indistinguishable from Pan-Africanism in the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1862 the quest for a national homeland represented a desire to create, in Henry Highland Garnet's words, "a grand center of Negro Nationality." Although Martin Delany and a number of other black nationalists focused on Cuba and South America as possible sites for this "grand center," most black nationalists were inevitably drawn to Africa as the logical focus for a scheme of universal Negro improvement. Alexander Crummell, a protégé of Peter Williams, made his peace with the American Colonization Society and settled his hopes on Liberia. The entire generation of classical black nationalists, like the hero of Martin Delany's novel *Blake* (1859), believed in a commonality of interests among all African people, whether in Africa, the Caribbean, Europe, or North America.

At the time of the American Civil War, the Constitution of the African Civilization Society (1861) represented the Pan-African agenda in terms of "the civilization and Christianization of Africa, and of the descendants of African ancestors in any portion of the earth, wherever dispersed. Also the introduction of lawful commerce and trade into Africa." It also stated a commitment to "Self-Reliance and Self-Government, on the principle of an African Nationality, the African race being the ruling element of the nation, controlling and directing their own affairs."

The heavy emphasis on Christianity and civilization among nineteenth-century Pan-Africanists was among its more notable features. The cultural nationalism in the 1850s was universalist in its concepts and did not seek to promote an alternative to European or American definitions of culture. Even when celebrating the history of Africa's past attainments, nineteenth-century Pan-Africanists ironically betrayed an attachment to European definitions of progress and civilization. The early Pan-Africanists' appreciation for the African past was usually limited to a fascination with Egyptian grandeur and its Ethiopian roots.

Nonetheless, Pan-Africanism, in its attraction to Egyptian origins of civilization, initiated the movement known in the late twentieth century as Afrocentrism. William Wells Brown and other nineteenth-century African Americans celebrated the accomplishments of the ancient Egyptians and made high claims for the potential of native Africans untouched by European decadence. This fascination with Egypt appeared even in the writings of Frederick Douglass, who normally disparaged the idea of racial pride. Edward Wilmot Blyden, a West Indian migrant to Liberia who is often called the father of modern Pan-Africanism, claimed ancient Egypt as his ancestral heritage. In recent years the "Egyptocentric" approach to African history, championed by the Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop, has been immensely popular among some factions of American Pan-Africanists.

Blyden, like many later Pan-Africanists, was increasingly interested in contemporary African cultures and folklore. He was well known in the United States, where he traveled and lectured extensively. Blyden advocated the study of West African languages and cultures in the African schools and universities and insisted that pristine African societies were culturally and morally superior to those of primeval Europe. The Sierra Leone physician Africanus Horton likewise defended traditional African cultures. Toward the end of the century younger scholars, like J. E. Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast and the American W. E. B. Du Bois, also celebrated Egypt, Ethiopia, and Meroë (in the Sudan) as black sources of world civilization. At the same time, they followed in the tradition of Blyden by encouraging a respect for traditional African village life as manifested in the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa.

In 1885 Otto von Bismarck convened the so-called Berlin Conference at which the European powers partitioned the continent of Africa, and the Congo was consigned to the "protectorship" of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. While the partition awakened mixed emotions among many black Americans, Blyden, Crummell and the African-American historian George Washington Williams hoped, at first, that the Belgian model would provide a

workable plan for attacking the slave trade and promoting "the three Cs." By 1890, however, Williams had denounced Leopold for his brutal exploitation of the Congo. Byden, the Pan-Africanist par excellence, continued to praise Leopold as late as 1895. Crummell supported European colonialism until his death in 1898 because of his belief that the British would hinder the spread of Islam and suppress the Arab slave trade in the Sudan. Nonetheless, Africans and black Americans were becoming increasingly disillusioned with European colonialism. Booker T. Washington, for example, spoke out against British imperialism and became active in the Congo Reform Association. Washington also encouraged African missionary activities, industrial education, and colonial reform, while his political machine contributed to a series of conferences on Africa. Washington worked behind the scenes to organize a missionary conference at the Atlanta Exhibition in 1895, where participants included Alexander Crummell and the AME bishop, Henry McNeal Turner.

Black missionary activity in Africa gave rise to a religious manifestation of Pan-Africanism called Ethiopianism. The movement derived its name from its adherents' obsession with the cryptic biblical prophecy, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (Psalms 68:31). Crummell, Blyden, and other Christian preachers had long employed the allusion in their sermons, but the Ethiopian movement was an independent movement of the African masses and a departure from traditional Christianity. It was what some scholars have referred to as a revitalization movement in that it revived Christian teaching by adapting it to the indigenous cultures. It often preserved elements of ancestral religions and carried with it a strong antiwhite feeling. The new militancy is often attributed to the inspiration of Bishop Turner, who visited South Africa in 1898, preaching religious independence and establishing the AME Church there. In short order, however, the zeal of South African Christians exceeded Turner's expectations, as Africans declared their independence not only from the white churches but also from the African-American-dominated AMEs. Thereafter, a much larger independent church movement came into being, revealing attitudes that were both nationalistic and Pan-Africanistic.

St. Clair Drake and George Shepperson have described the political aspect of Ethiopianism as an element of Pan-African consciousness, spreading rapidly northward and eastward and becoming more strident in its attacks on colonialism. In Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, John Chilembwe led a premature revolt in 1914, which has been attributed to the influences of Chilembwe's studies in the United States and his exposure to Ethiopianism after his return to Africa. Later in the century, in Kenya in the 1950s, the Mau Mau movement had ties to the Ethiopian millennialism that Jomo Kenyatta called "The New Religion in East Africa." It was from the Ethiopian movement that the slogan "Africa for the Africans" began to take on radical political implications. Ethiopianism is important as at least one of the sources of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica.

Edwin S. Redkey has detected grassroots Pan-Africanism in the movement that established all-black towns in Oklahoma during the 1890s. Rev. Orishatukeh Faduma, a Yoruba man from Barbados, became a missionary in Oklahoma, where he recruited for Chief Alfred C. Sam's back-to-Africa movement. J. Ayodele Langley has shown that Sam, a Twi speaker from the Gold Coast, eventually received the moral support of Casely Hayford, despite the latter's original skepticism. William H. Ferris, John E. Bruce, and Du Bois, all protégés of Alexander Crummell, had been connected with Faduma through their association with the American Negro Academy. The academy also included among its honorary members Duse Muhammad Ali, the London-based Sudanese nationalist who was editor of the *African Times* and *Orient Review*.

Ferris and Bruce, although well acquainted with the failure of Chief Sam's back-to-Africa movement, nevertheless became supporters of Marcus Garvey's similar repatriation effort after World War I. Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association revealed in its very name the traditional concern of Pan-Africanism. Garvey was less successful as a repatriationist than some of his predecessors, but he did a great deal to generate mass enthusiasm for African nationalism and the Pan-African movement. Garvey was an inspiration to a generation of African political leaders, and his name became a household word in small towns throughout the black world. After Garvey's death, his second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, remained an important figure in the movement.

Garvey did much to popularize the idea of African independence, and he was unexcelled in his celebration of Africa's ancient glories. William H. Ferris, John E. Bruce, Carter G. Woodson, Arthur Schomburg, and J. A. Rogers contributed to Marcus Garvey's newspaper, *Negro World*, and did much to popularize the notion that black peoples of the upper Nile were the unrivalled progenitors of world civilization. Pan-Africanist cultural expressions in the tradition of Blyden were certainly more obvious among Garveyites than among those intellectuals who disassociated themselves from the Garvey movement.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidad barrister, and Bishop Alexander Walters of the AME Zion Church, convened the London Conference, widely regard-

ed as the first international meeting to apply the term Pan-African to its program. W. E. B. Du Bois, although he played an important role in the London Conference, never referred to it as the first Pan-African Congress, reserving that distinction for the meeting that he called in Paris in 1919 at the time of the Paris Peace Conference following World War I. The convention brought together fifty-seven delegates from Africa, the West Indies, and United States, but American participation was limited because of the refusal of the U.S. government to grant passports. Ida B. Wells, who was accredited as a representative of Garvey's UNIA, was thus unable to attend, and William Monroe Trotter was forced to pose as a ship's cook in order to get to Paris. Du Bois was assisted in setting up the Congress by his connections to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the influence of the Senegalese deputy, Blaise Diagne. Du Bois insisted that the Congress had influenced the peace conference to establish a Mandates Commission for administration of the former German colonies. Du Bois worked with the Pan-African Congress at its subsequent meetings of 1921, 1923, and 1927.

During the 1920s a cultural development known as the New Negro Movement, centered in such urban centers as Harlem, Washington, D.C., and Chicago, contributed to the development of cultural Pan-Africanism. The movement found expression in the literary Garveyism of Ferris, Bruce, and Rogers, but the term came to be associated with the publication of Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925). The so-called Harlem Renaissance, an offshoot of this New Negro Movement, was much indebted to cultural developments in Europe and the United States after World War I, including "primitivism," cultural relativism, and the Freudian revolution in sexual values. In the view of Sterling Brown and Arthur P. Davis, this fostered a "phony exotic primitive" stereotype and "grafted primitivism on decadence." Sentimental Pan-Africanism, as expressed in the sensual imagery of Countee Cullen's poem "Heritage," appealed to wealthy whites and influential white intellectuals but avoided Pan-Africanism as a political ideology. Although Locke included an article on Pan-Africanism by Du Bois in *The New Negro,* he dismissed Garveyism. The works of Charles T. Davis, Tony Martin, and David Levering Lewis are essential correctives to the view of the Harlem Renaissance that emphasizes bohemian aestheticism to the neglect of political Pan-Africanism and the Garvey movement.

During the 1930s Pan-African cultural nationalism came to be identified with the *Négritude* movement, defined by francophone black intellectuals René Maran, Leopold Sédar Senghor, and Aimé Césaire. *Négritude* emphasized such mythic traits of the African personality as sensuality, emotional sensitivity, and the purported softness of the black man. Cheikh Anta Diop (1978) has lamented the relationship of *Négritude* to the primitive stereotype and has opined that "the Negritude movement accepted this so-called inferiority and boldly assumed it in full view of the world." Indeed, many African and African-American intellectuals did celebrate African "primitivism." Nineteenth-century black intellectuals had shown little interest in the culture of the masses, aside from the occasional militant Christianity expressed in the Negro spirituals. Twentieth-century intellectuals celebrated black American folk culture for its "pagan," pre-Christian elements and its Pan-African cultural connections.

Data collected by Leo Frobenius, the German scholar, interpreted in the light of social science, heightened the interest of Du Bois, Césaire, and Senghor in the cultures of precolonial, sub-Saharan Africa. This led black American intellectuals to a reappraisal of their folk heritage and its African roots. The development of anthropology, with its doctrine of cultural relativism and its ties to scientific relativism, made possible an increased respect for "primitive" cultures. The concepts of Franz Boas and Melville Herskovits contributed to the metaphysical foundations of a new African cultural nationalism that merged modernism with primitivism. Fashionable modern artists, such as Picasso and Modigliani, demonstrated their discontent with the conventional norms of European cultural expression by borrowing from African graphic modes. The increasing respectability of jazz, after its celebration by European and American audiences, was another factor in the transformation of Pan-African cultural nationalism.

In 1939 the Council on African Affairs was organized by Paul Robeson and Max Yergan, with Ralph Bunche and the novelist René Maran on the board of management. The council was promoted by numerous prominent black individuals and organizations throughout the 1940s but came under attack during the Red Scare of the 1950s. Meanwhile the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, U.K., in 1945. Du Bois was accorded a place of honor in Manchester, although Pan-African leadership by this time had passed from African-American to African leadership, represented by Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikewe, and Jomo Kenyatta. Older West Africans, such as Ras T. Makonnen and George Padmore, continued to play significant roles. Padmore, a Trinidadian who had participated in the Manchester Conference, gained considerable influence with Nkrumah, who as president of Ghana (the former Gold Coast), hosted a conference in the Ghanaian capital of Accra in 1958. Shirley Graham, the only American officially in attendance, read an address by her husband, Du Bois, who was hospitalized in Moscow.

Since formation of the Organization of African Unity, black Americans have supported the Pan-African movement from a distance. The major emphasis in recent years has been on the struggle against apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. The efforts of African Americans in support of the South African struggle have been moderately successful. Black Americans have been unable to exert much influence over American foreign policy regarding Western and Central Africa, regions of the continent that have experienced much economic hardship and domestic unrest. The hopes of Garvey and Du Bois for an economically prosperous Africa have not yet been realized despite the attainment of political independence.

See also Abolition; African Civilization Society (AfCS); Afrocentrism; Anthropology and Anthropologists; Council on African Affairs; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Equiano, Olaudah; Gabriel Prosser Conspiracy; Garvey, Marcus; Haitian Revolution; Maroon Wars; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteeth Century; Négritude; New Negro; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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WILSON J. MOSES (1996)

Pan-African Orthodox Church (the Shrine of the Black Madonna)

The Pan-African Orthodox Church, which is more commonly known as the Shrine of the Black Madonna, was established in Detroit, Michigan, on March 26, 1967, by the Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ. While this is the recognized date for its inception, the church actually began with a remnant of several earlier congregations. It has now grown from one congregation into a denomination.

A longtime resident of Detroit, Cleage returned home in 1951 after a rocky but productive pastorate in Springfield, Massachusetts, to assume ministerial duties at St. Mark's Presbyterian Mission. St. Mark's was a middle-class black congregation, and although the Cleage family had long been a part of the city's black elite, Cleage was greatly disturbed by the privilege and complacency of his parishioners. Finally, in March 1953 Cleage led "a group of dissidents" out of St. Mark's, charging that the overly pious Sunday morning Christianity at the church had become intolerable.

A week later Cleage and his followers established the Central Congregational Church. For most of the next decade he and his church enjoyed a respectful honeymoon. However, problems at Central began to surface in 1964, when Cleage was informed that several members of his parish were pleased with neither his preaching nor his politics. Over the years following the exodus from St. Mark's, Cleage became increasingly involved with radical political organizations, and shortly after his appearance in November 1963 at the National Negro Grassroots Leadership Conference, tension between black nationalist and moderate members of Central came to a head.

Although the conference was held at King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit, many of Central's parishioners did not agree with the choice of Malcolm X (a man they saw as advocating violence as a means of change) as a keynote speaker. Moreover, they felt the integral role Cleage played in organizing the meeting would somehow taint the reputation of Central. And following a May 1964 *Illustrated News* reprint of Cleage's black nationalist platform, unhappy members of Central appealed to the Detroit Metropolitan Association of the United Church of Christ for intervention.

In a special hearing of the association's church and ministry committee, a request on behalf of the dissidents

(who remained anonymous, supposedly for their protection) was made that association funds for Central Church be withdrawn until Cleage's ministry was brought in line with the mission of the United Church of Christ. Indirectly, the committee was interested in finding out two things: first, whether Cleage was indeed a black nationalist; and second, if so, whether his black nationalism was Christian. Cleage refused to cooperate on the grounds that no one in his congregation had ever approached him with a complaint, and because the names of the petitioners were withheld, suggesting that the association itself might be behind the inquiry. In any event, he believed the association had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of an autonomous congregation.

In the end Cleage and those parishioners loyal to him won both the battle and the war when those opposed to the church's black nationalist leanings withdrew their membership from Central. Three years later, on March 26, 1967, Easter Sunday, a large painting of a black Virgin Mary was unveiled at the church. Subsequently, the name of the congregation was changed to the Shrine of the Black Madonna, and in 1971 the Black Christian Nationalist Movement was officially inaugurated.

Initially, Cleage envisioned the movement as an ecumenical endeavor, with each participating congregation maintaining membership in its respective denomination. To some extent, this is the case. The "Mother Shrine" in Detroit has maintained its affiliation with the United Church of Christ. The Pan-African Orthodox Church, whose name is intentionally related to the African Orthodox Church of Bishop George Alexander McGuire, has four congregations, a farm, and a publishing house.

See also African Orthodox Church

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QUINTON H. DIXIE (1996)

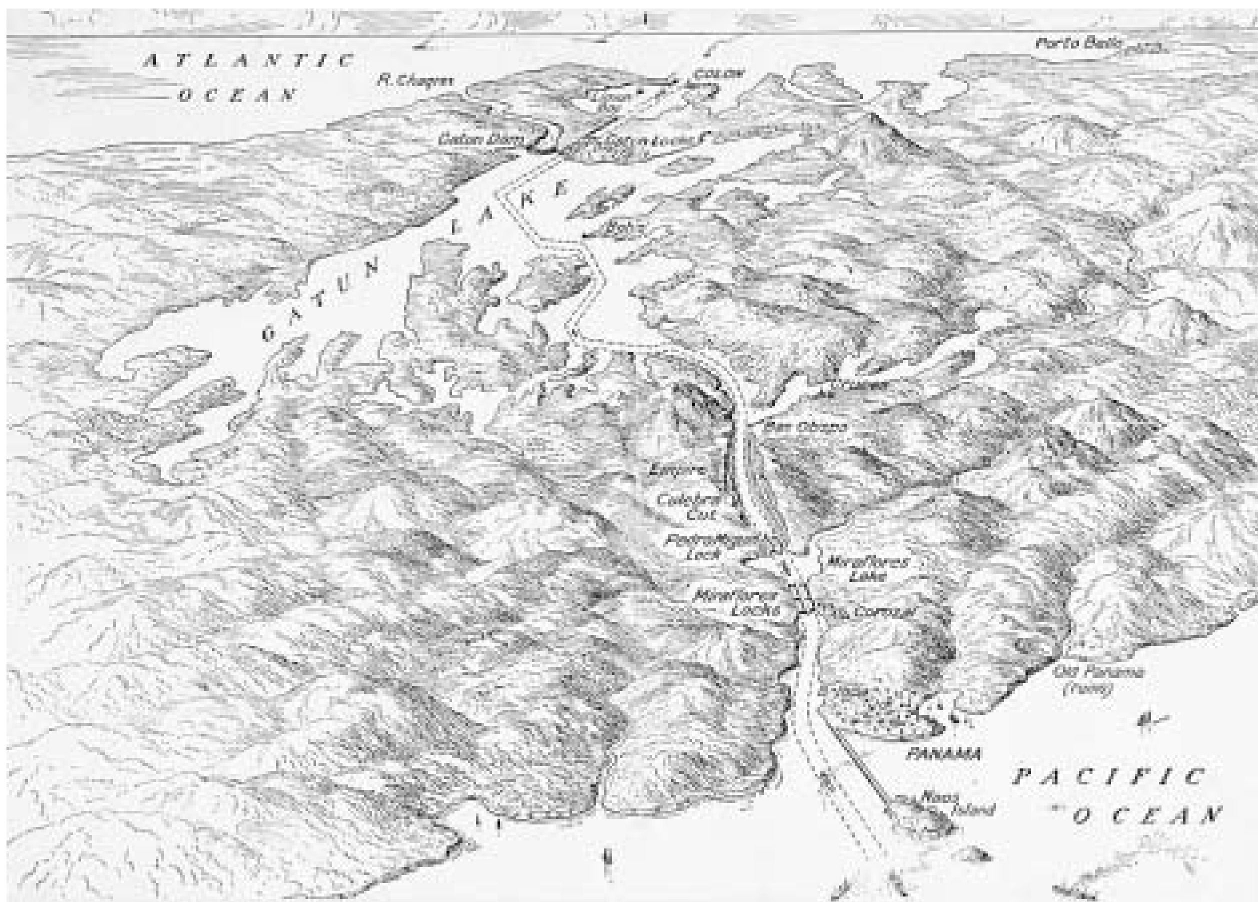
Panama Canal

On August 15, 1914, the Panama Canal opened its doors to world commerce, significantly reducing the distance between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and making it possible for the United States to emerge as a regional and world power. While volumes have been written in praise of the French and the Americans who designed and financed the building of the canal, much less recognition has been awarded to the tens of thousands of West Indians who sacrificed life and limb from the 1880s through 1914 to build the Panama Canal. Neither the United States nor the Republic of Panama has built a significant monument in recognition of the importance of black West Indian labor to the building of the waterway.

However, the story of West Indians and the Panama Canal has been told by several prominent authors. The migration of West Indians to Panama between the years 1850 and 1914 is superbly narrated by Velma Newton of the University of the West Indies in *The Silver Men* (1984), while Gerstle Mack, David McCullough, George Westerman, and Michael Conniff provide, in separate volumes, valuable information and analysis on the social and economic conditions they faced. In the late 1970s, the Panamanian-born Roman Foster wrote, directed, and produced *Diggers*, a documentary that speaks eloquently of the cultural life and legacy of West Indians on the isthmus.

Who were these West Indian canal workers? What was life like for them during the construction period, which lasted from 1904 to 1914? What has been their contribution and legacy? According to George Westerman, 45,107 contract laborers were hired to work on the Panama Canal during this period, and 31,071 of these workers immigrated to Panama from the West Indies, the vast majority from Barbados. This figure does not include the many thousands that came to the isthmus during this period without a prior contract, but who nevertheless found work upon arrival. These contract workers, classified as "unskilled," were placed on the "Silver Roll," meaning they were paid in local currency. They were supervised by white Americans (far fewer in number), who were on the "Gold Roll" (they were paid in U.S. dollars). President Theodore Roosevelt sanctioned this arrangement while recognizing the centrality of black Canal workers. For example, in November 1906, on his way home from Panama aboard the *Louisiana*, he wrote in a letter to his son: "with intense energy men and machines do their task, the white men supervising matters and handling the machines, while the tens of thousands of black men do the rough manual labor where it is not worthwhile to have machines do it." (McCullough, 1977, p. 498). Hence, in what Raymond Davis calls a "split labor market," cheap black labor from the West Indies significantly lowered building costs while increasing the physical and psychological toll paid by these black workers.

Afraid of dying from malaria or yellow fever, whites abandoned the isthmus in droves. Union leaders in the



Topographical map of Panama Canal, detailing the area of Gatun Lake and the various locks along the canal, 1914. *The vast majority of laborers contracted for the ambitious and very dangerous project were black immigrants from the Caribbean, who endured unhealthy conditions, unequal pay, and segregated facilities during a construction period lasting more than ten years.* GETTY IMAGES

United States were "opposed (to) any wholesale shipment of men to 'that deathtrap' and particularly after an inspection team from Japan . . . reported the Isthmus was unsafe to risk the lives of their men" (McCullough, 1977, p. 473). Such work was therefore left to blacks recruited from the West Indies, who were thought to be suited by nature and habit to withstand the punishing isthmian climate.

In spite of Panama's reputation as a "pest hole," thousands of West Indian youth continued to arrive there to work under dangerous and segregated conditions. Their personal histories reveal the enormity of their sacrifices and the nature of their class exploitation and racial oppression. In 1963 the Isthmian Historical Society held an essay competition designed to elicit the personal stories of those who had worked on the Panama Canal prior to 1913. Albert Peters of the Bahamas, the winner of the competition, described the nature of life and work during the construction period.

Peters was born in the Bahamas on February 10, 1885, and like many other Caribbean youngsters affected by economic hardship and eager for adventure, he left for Panama in 1906 at the heights of the canal construction. His parents were against the idea, for they knew of the ravages of yellow fever and malaria in Panama. Peters, like tens of thousands of Caribbean youngsters, disregarded the admonition of parents and friends and sought work and adventure as a "digger" of the Panama Canal. What Peters and the tens of thousands like him found in Panama during the first years of the 1900s, however, was drenching rain, mudslides, yellow fever, malaria, typhoid, bad food, repressive labor conditions, and low pay.

Peters "arrived in Colon 31 August 1906, at twenty-one years of age. [I] was surprised at board walks for streets. My nice clothes and shoes that I brought was not for down here in the heavy rain and mud. I sold my clothes and black derby, took the money and bought high top boots and blue dungaree suits then I started on the job. The pay was fifty cents a day or two balboas. I got malaria after a month" (Foster, 1985). His first time in the hospital, which he says was high on a hill, the man next to him

Three Jamaican men work with a compressed-air drill at Panama. *The photograph is from Willis J. Abbott's* Panama and the Canal in Picture and Prose, *1913.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

died. After five days on quinine, he was back to work. But, in "fifteen days I was back in there again for eight days this time. The latter part of November I left Tabernilla for Colon, got a job feeding mules. Got Malaria in Colon too and went to the hospital with a fever 104" (Foster, 1985).

The majority of the diggers who participated in the Isthmian Historical Society competition listed malaria and yellow fever as major threats to life during the construction period. Working conditions, especially during the first years, were especially hard, as the men cleared forests and fumigated against yellow fever and malaria carrying mosquitoes, built or refurbished housing for the laborers, dynamited the earth, and endured police repression (especially those who were charged with vagrancy).

Despite dangerous and unhealthy working conditions, unequal pay, no sick leave or pension, and separate and unequal facilities, West Indian canal workers were central to the building and maintenance of the Panama Canal and to the modernization of Panama. Their story deserves a more prominent part in the histories of the Panama Canal and the Republic of Panama.

See also Colón Man

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GEORGE PRIESTLEY (2005)

Parker, Charlie

August 29, 1920
March 23, 1955

Jazz alto saxophonist Charlie Parker, often known as "Bird" or "Yardbird," was the primary architect of the style of jazz called bebop, which revolutionized jazz, taking it from dance music to a black musical aesthetic and art form. He accomplished this as performer, composer, and theorist.

Charles Christopher Parker was born in Kansas City, Missouri. When he was eleven, his mother bought him an alto saxophone. By the time he was fifteen he had become a professional musician, leaving school at the same time. At first his playing was ridiculed, but after he spent some time at a retreat in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri, his technique grew immensely, and during the next couple of years he played in and around the Kansas City area. During this period he learned his craft mainly by sitting in and playing in bands, where he absorbed all he could about music.

In 1939 Parker made his first visit to New York. He stayed about a year, playing mostly in jam sessions. After that he began playing in the band of Jay McShann, touring

in the Southwest, Midwest, and East. It was with this band that Parker made his first recording, in Dallas in 1941. At the end of 1942 he joined the Earl Hines orchestra, which featured trumpeter "Dizzy" Gillespie. Bird and Dizzy began an informal partnership that launched the beginning of bebop. A strike by the American Federation of Musicians made it impossible to make records for several years, and the early period of bebop's development is largely undocumented. In 1944 Parker, along with Gillespie and other modern players, joined the Billy Eckstine band. This band was one of the first to introduce the innovations being developed in the music, and it provided a platform for Parker's new improvisations.

In 1945 Parker began to record extensively with small groups that included Gillespie. His playing became more familiar to a larger audience and to other musicians, even though critics harshly criticized the new music. At the end of 1945 he took a quintet to California for what turned out to be an ill-fated trip. Audiences and musicians in the West were not familiar with bebop innovations, and Parker's addiction to heroin and alcohol finally forced him into the Camarillo State Hospital. He stayed there during the second half of 1946 and was released in January 1947. He did make several important recordings for the Dial record company before and after his stay at the hospital.

Parker returned to New York in April 1947 and formed a quintet featuring his protégé Miles Davis on trumpet, Duke Jordan on piano, Tommy Potter on bass, and Max Roach on drums. Between 1947 and 1951 Parker left a permanent imprint on jazz. With the quintet he recorded some of his most innovative compositions: "Now's the Time," "Koko," "Anthropology," "Ornithology," "Scrapple from the Apple," "Yardbird Suite," "Moose the Mooche," "Billie's Bounce," "Confirmation," and others. In addition to playing in his own quintet, Parker worked in a variety of other musical groups, including Afro-Cuban bands and a string chorus, which he led during 1950. He was featured soloist in the Jazz at the Philharmonic series, produced by Norman Granz. Parker's main venue continued to be his quintet, which changed members several times but still was vital. Within his quintet he worked in nightclubs, recording studios, and radio broadcasts, and made his first trip to Europe in 1949, returning there the next year for an extensive stay in Sweden, where he worked with Swedish musicians.

Parker's lifestyle continued to create problems for himself and his family. In 1951 he lost his cabaret card in New York because of his constant confrontations with narcotics police. This kept him from playing in New York clubs for over two years. His alcohol and drug use precipitated a downward financial spiral from which he never recovered. In 1953 he presented a landmark concert in Toronto with Gillespie, Bud Powell on piano, Charles Mingus on bass, and Max Roach on drums. The concert was at Massey Hall and featured many of the pieces Bird and Dizzy had created during the 1940s: "Night in Tunisia," "Hot House," "Wee," and others. This was Parker's last great musical statement. After the Toronto concert his physical and mental health deteriorated to the point where he attempted suicide several times, finally committing himself to Bellevue Hospital in New York. His last public performance was in early March 1955 at Birdland, the New York City club named after him. On March 23 he died of heart seizure in the New York apartment of his friend Baroness Pannonica de Koenigswarter.

Parker's contributions to jazz are extensive. He took saxophone playing to a level never reached before and in so doing led the way for others, not only saxophonists but all instrumentalists. He was able to weld prodigious skill with poetic content, and he left hours and hours of recordings of wondrous improvisations. Parker's playing struck fear in the hearts of many musicians and made some put down their instruments. John Coltrane, the gifted performer of the 1950s and 1960s, moved from alto to tenor saxophone because he felt that Parker had played all that was going to be played on the alto. Parker frequently composed using the harmonic structures of established melodies as the basis of his works. He did not invent this technique but used it more than anyone else before or since. In his improvisations he used all the intervals of the scales. In his harmonic structures he consistently used chords made up of eleventh and thirteenth intervals in order to take harmony out of the diatonic system and into chromaticism. Parker was clearly one of America's most innovative and prolific artists. In 2004, Parker was inducted into the inaugural class of Lincoln Center's Ertegun Jazz Hall of Fame.

See also Jazz

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WILLIAM S. COLE (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Parks, Gordon

November 30, 1912

A true Renaissance man, *Life* magazine photographer Gordon Parks Sr. has achieved international recognition in a wide variety of other fields including filmmaking, letters, and music. He has also pioneered as the first mainstream African-American photojournalist and as the first African American to direct a major Hollywood film.

Gordon Parks Sr. was born in Fort Scott, Kansas, the youngest in a farming family of fifteen children. His mother's death when Parks was sixteen, along with his aged father's rapidly failing ability to manage a household, led to the family's break-up, and Parks moved north to live with a married sister in Minneapolis. Unwelcome in his brother-in-law's home, the teenager was soon on his own, struggling to attend high school and support himself.

The Great Depression ended his formal education, but Parks seized every opportunity to learn by reading and attending closely to the talented individuals he encountered in his various jobs. As a teenager and later as a young husband and father, he worked as a bellhop, musician, semipro basketball player, and member of the Civilian Conservation Corps, primarily in the Midwest but also for a brief time in Harlem, New York. Relative security came with a position as a railroad dining car waiter. All the while Parks wrote, composed, and read, absorbing on his own what he had been unable to study in school.

The picture magazines of the day—*Vogue, Harper's Bazaar,* and especially the brand-new *Life* magazine (first issued in November 1936)—caught Parks's imagination. A newsreel cameraman's in-person presentation of his latest battle-action footage in a Chicago movie theater inspired Parks to take up photography himself, and in 1937 he acquired his first camera. Largely self-taught, he took his earliest photographs with only a few pointers from the camera salesman. Quickly mastering technique, he intuitively found the subjects most meaningful to him. The same local Minneapolis camera store soon gave him his first exhibition.

A successful fashion assignment for a stylish Minneapolis department store caught the attention of Marva (Mrs. Joe) Louis, who encouraged Parks to establish himself in Chicago. His fashion background served him well there (as it would later throughout his years at *Life*) photographing Gold Coast socialites. In his spare time, he documented the grim poverty of the city's South Side, the fast-growing Chicago enclave of African Americans displaced from the rural South who came north for jobs in the heavy industries surrounding the Great Lakes.

Gordon Parks's photograph of a woman and her dog looking out a Harlem window, May 1943. © CORBIS

This socially conscious camera work won for the young photographer, now responsible for a growing family of his own, the very first Julius Rosenwald Fellowship in photography. The 1942–1943 stipend enabled Parks to work with photographic mentor Roy Stryker in Washington, D.C., at the Farm Security Administration. This was the closing years of the influential New Deal agency that had undertaken a pioneering photo documentation of depression conditions in urban and rural America.

Parks continued with Stryker until 1947, first as a correspondent for the Office of War Information, and later at the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, photographing the face of America for the company's public relations campaign. In the brief months before he began to work for *Life* magazine in 1948, Parks photographed for *Vogue* and *Glamour* and also authored two books on photographic technique: *Flash Photography* (1947) and *Camera Portraits: The Techniques and Principles of Documentary Portraiture* (1948).

Early in his more than two decades at *Life,* Parks spent two influential years assigned to the magazine's Paris office, where he covered fashion, the arts, celebrities, and political figures. The experience was seminal, providing a rich window on the diversity of contemporary creative expression as well as an opportunity for international recog-

Gordon Parks with his photograph* Ethel Shariff in Chicago *(1957). An award-winning photographer and an accomplished composer, writer, and film director, Parks was the first African American staff photographer at* Life *magazine, and was also the first African American to write, direct, and produce a film for a major motion picture company. © DOUGLAS KIRKLAND/CORBIS

nition. Moreover, like other African Americans, he found the European experience, with its relative lack of racial barriers, especially liberating.

Back in the United States during the 1950s and early 1960s, Parks executed hundreds of photographic assignments for *Life* that reflect the magazine's far-ranging coverage: popular culture, high fashion, arts, entertainment, sports, national events, and the personalities of business, labor, and politics. Parks's direct, realistic style of photographing life in America and abroad won him international renown as the first African-American photojournalist.

Parks's longest assignment began in 1961, when he traveled to Brazil to photograph the slums of Rio de Janeiro. His story of Flavio da Silvia, a poverty-stricken Brazilian boy whom Parks found dying of asthma, attracted international attention that resulted in Flavio and his family receiving gifts, medical treatment, and, finally, a new home. At the same time, with the emerging civil rights movement, Parks undertook a new role at *Life:* interpreting the activities and personalities of the movement, in words as well as pictures, from a personal perspective. His 1971 anthology *Born Black* is a collection of these essays and images.

A gifted storyteller, Parks began his chronological autobiographical book cycle in 1963 with *The Learning Tree,* a well-received novel that drew on the author's own childhood experiences and memories. This was followed in 1966 by *A Choice of Weapons,* a powerful first-person narrative that recounted the events and influences that enabled Parks to overcome societal prejudice and personal hardship. It is the most insightful of the series, illuminating the development of a sensitive and self-confident young man as he grows into what he will become, an artist of universal conscience and compassion.

Parks also gained distinction as a poet, composer, and filmmaker, becoming in 1969 the first African American

to direct a major Hollywood film. He also produced and wrote the script for *The Learning Tree* and directed a number of other films, including the highly popular *Shaft* (1971), *Leadbelly* (1976), and *The Odyssey of Solomon Northup* (1984), about a free black sold into slavery. In addition, Parks has completed the music for a ballet about the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and has worked on a novel based on the life of J. M. W. Turner, the nineteenth-century English landscape painter. In 1998 he published *Half Past Autumn: A Retrospective.*

Parks is the recipient of numerous professional awards, organization citations, and honorary degrees, among them Photographer of the Year from the American Society of Magazine Photographers (1960), the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP (1972), and the National Medal of Arts from President Ronald Reagan. In 2002 he received the Jackie Robinson Foundation Lifetime Achievement Award and was inducted into the International Photography Hall of Fame and Museum. The first Gordon Parks Celebration of Culture and Diversity, a four-day event, took place in Parks's hometown of Fort Scott, Kansas, in October 2004.

Parks's greatest satisfaction and motivation is expressed in his prologue to *Moments Without Proper Names,* one of his three books of poems accompanied by his photographs:

> I hope always to feel the responsibility to communicate the plight of others less fortunate than myself, to show the abused and those who administer the abuses, to point up the pain of the underprivileged as well as the pleasures of the privileged—somehow to evoke the same response from a housewife in Harlem as I would from a seamstress in Paris or a butcher in Vladivostok.
>
> In helping one another we can ultimately save ourselves. We must give up silent watching and put our commitments into practice.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Film in the United States; Photography, U.S.

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JULIA VAN HAAFTEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Parks, Rosa

February 4, 1913

Civil rights leader Rosa Louise McCauley was born in Tuskegee, Alabama. She lived with relatives in Montgomery, where she finished high school in 1933 and attended Alabama State College. She met her husband, Raymond Parks, a barber, and they married in 1932. Rosa Parks worked as a clerk, an insurance salesperson, and a tailor's assistant at a department store. She was also employed at the time as a part-time seamstress by Virginia and Clifford Durr, two white residents of Montgomery who were staunch supporters of the black freedom struggle.

Parks had been active in civil rights work since the 1930s. She and her husband supported the Scottsboro defendants, a notorious case in which nine young black men were convicted in 1931 on questionable evidence of raping two white women. In 1943 Parks became one of the first women to join the Montgomery NAACP. She worked as a youth adviser, served as secretary for the local group from 1943 to 1956, and helped operate the joint office of the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In addition, she worked with the Montgomery Voters League to increase black voter registration. During the summer of 1955, with the encouragement of the Durrs, Parks accepted a scholarship for a workshop for community leaders on school integration at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. It was an important experience for Parks, not only for the practical skills of organizing and mobilizing she learned but because the racial harmony she experienced there nurtured and sustained her activism.

Popularly known as the mother of the civil rights movement, Parks is best known for her refusal to give up her seat for a white man on a segregated bus in Montgomery on December 1, 1955, an incident that sparked the Montgomery bus boycott. Contrary to popular belief, Parks was not simply a tired woman who wanted to rest her feet, unaware of the chain of events she was about to trigger. As she wrote in *Rosa Parks: My Story* (1992), "the only tired I was, was tired of giving in." Parks was a veteran of civil rights activity and was aware of efforts by the Women's Political Council and the local NAACP to find an incident with which they could address segregation in Montgomery.

Parks was actively involved in sustaining the boycott and for a time served on the executive committee of the Montgomery Improvement Association, an organization created to direct the boycott. The intransigence of the city council was met by conviction and fortitude on the part of African Americans. For over a year, black people in Montgomery carpooled, took taxis, and walked to work. The result was a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that segregation on city buses was unconstitutional.

As a result of her involvement in the bus boycott, Parks lost her job at the department store in Montgomery. In 1957 she and her husband moved to Detroit, where she worked as a seamstress for eight years before becoming administrative assistant for Congressman John Conyers, a position she held until 1988. After she moved to Detroit, Parks continued to be active in the civil rights movement and joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). She participated in numerous marches and rallies, including the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery.

In the mid-1980s Parks supported the Free South Africa movement and walked the picket lines in Washington, D.C., with other anti-apartheid activists. She has made countless public appearances, speaking out on political issues as well as giving oral history lessons about the civil rights movement. In 1987, ten years after the death of her husband, she cofounded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development in Detroit, a center committed to career training for black youth. The institute, a dream of hers, was created to address the dropout rate of black youth.

Parks, an international symbol of African-American strength, has been given numerous awards and distinctions, including ten honorary degrees. In 1979 she was awarded the NAACP's prestigious Spingarn Medal. In 1980 she was chosen by *Ebony* readers as the living black woman who had done the most to advance the cause of black America. In the same year she was awarded the Martin Luther King Jr. Nonviolent Peace Prize by the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change. In addition, the SCLC has honored her by sponsoring the annual Rosa Parks Freedom award.

During the 1990s Parks assumed an increasing role as African-American elder statesperson. She wrote three books, including an autobiography and a book of letters that were written to her from children around the world. In 1996, though confined to a wheelchair, she spoke at the Million Man March. In July 1999 the U.S. Congress awarded Parks the Congressional Gold Medal of Honor, the nation's highest civilian award. Parks's legacy lives on in Troy State University in Montgomery, Alabama, where a library and museum were dedicated in her name in 2000. One year later the Rosa Parks Initiative began in Detroit, with a goal to build an $8 million monument, complete with one million roses and an interactive history of the civil rights movement, in Detroit's Belle Isle Park.

In 1999 Parks initiated a lawsuit against hip-hop duo Outkast. After first being dismissed by a federal judge, an appeals court allowed Parks to proceed with the lawsuit, in which she claimed that Outkast used her name without permission on a 1998 track. Former Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer was appointed by a federal judge to serve as a temporary, independent guardian for Parks in 2004, to ensure that Parks, suffering from dementia, was fairly represented in such matters of litigation.

See also Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Parks, Suzan-Lori

May 10, 1963

Playwright Suzan-Lori Parks was born in Fort Knox, Kentucky, the daughter of a U.S. Army officer. She moved around the United States with her family and completed high school in Germany. She then attended Mt. Holyoke College, graduating in 1985, and continued her education at the Drama Studio in London. There she studied acting in preparation for a career as a playwright.

Several of Parks's plays have been produced, most notably at BACA Downtown, an offshoot of the Brooklyn

Arts Council. In 1989 her *Imperceptible Mutabilities in the Third Kingdom* was produced there to favorable reviews. In 1989 BACA produced *The Death of the Last Black Man in the Whole Entire World,* which was also performed as part of the Yale Winterfest in 1992. In 1991 Parks completed a thirty-minute film, *Anemone Me,* with collaborator Bruce Hainley. The same year, her play *Devotees in the Garden of Love* was produced by the Actors Theater of Louisville, Kentucky. In 1992 she was commissioned to write two plays, *Venus,* for the Women's Project of New York, and *The America Play,* for the Theatre for a New Audience, also in New York. Parks's first Broadway play, *Topdog/Underdog,* which won a Pulitzer Prize for Drama, premiered in 2001. Two years later, Parks published her first novel, *Getting Mother's Body.* In 2005, she cowrote the screenplay for Oprah Winfrey's television film *Their Eyes Were Watching God,* an adaptation of the novel by Zora Neale Hurston.

In 1991 and 1992 Parks was a writer-in-residence at The New School in New York. She has been a guest lecturer in dramatic writing at New York University, Yale University, the University of Michigan, and the Pratt Institute. She has received numerous grants and awards, including an Obie Award in 1990 for *Imperceptible Mutabilities,* National Endowment for the Arts grants in 1990 and 1991, and a Rockefeller Foundation grant in 1990. In 1996 she won a second Obie for *Venus,* and in 2001 she won a MacArthur Foundation "Genius" grant.

In her plays and scripts Parks is concerned with poetic voice as well as with the representation of the African-American experience. Her evocative, dreamlike style has its roots in Gertrude Stein's investigations into language as well as poet Adrienne Kennedy's poetic, nonnarrative dramas.

See also Drama

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ELIZABETH V. FOLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Parsons, Lucy

1853
March 7, 1942

Little is known about the early life of the anarchist labor organizer Lucy Parsons. She claimed to have been born the daughter of a Mexican woman, Marie del Gather, and a Creek Indian, John Waller. Orphaned at age three, she said, she was then raised on a ranch in Johnson County, Texas, by her maternal uncle. However, later research has pointed to the likelihood that she was of at least partial African-American descent and born a slave in Texas. In about 1870 she met Albert Parsons, a former Confederate soldier turned Radical Republican, and she married him in 1871 or 1872.

Forced to flee Texas because of their mixed marriage, the couple settled in Chicago in 1873 and became heavily involved in the revolutionary elements of the labor movement. In 1877, Lucy Parsons took on the financial responsibility of her household by opening up a dress shop after her husband was blacklisted from the printing trade. In 1878 she began writing articles for the *Socialist* about the homeless and unemployed, Civil War veterans, and working women. She also gave birth to two children within the next few years. Known for being a powerful writer and speaker, Lucy Parsons played a crucial role in the workers' movement in Chicago. In 1883 she helped found the International Working People's Association (IWPA), an anarchist-influenced labor organization that promoted revolutionary direct action toward a stateless and cooperative society and insisted on equality for people of color and women. Parsons became a frequent contributor of the IWPA weekly newspaper, the *Alarm,* in 1884. Her most famous article was "To Tramps," which encouraged workers and the unemployed to rise up in direct acts of violence against the rich.

Although primarily a labor activist, Parsons was also a staunch advocate of the rights of African Americans. She wrote numerous articles and pamphlets condemning racist attacks and killings, one of her most significant pieces being "The Negro: Let Him Leave Politics to the Politician and Prayer to the Preacher." Published in the *Alarm* on April 3, 1886, the article was a response to the lynching of thirteen African Americans in Carrollton, Mississippi. In it, she wrote that blacks were victimized only because they were poor and that racism would inevitably disappear with the destruction of capitalism.

In 1886 Parsons and the IWPA worked with the other industrial trade unions for a general strike in Chicago in support of the eight-hour work day. The strike began on

the first of May and involved almost 80,000 workers. Five days later, at a rally at Haymarket Square in support of the strike, a bomb was hurled at police officers after they attacked the demonstration. Police blamed the IWPA and began rounding up anarchist leaders, including Albert Parsons. Lucy Parsons took the lead in organizing their defense, and after they had all been convicted of murder, she traveled the country speaking on behalf of their innocence and raising money for their appeals, facing repeated arrests herself. In November of that year, her husband was hanged along with three other Haymarket defendants.

After her husband's death, Parsons continued revolutionary activism on behalf of workers, political prisoners, people of color, the homeless, and women. In 1892 she published the short-lived *Freedom's Journal,* which attacked lynchings and black peonage. In 1905, she participated in the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World, an anarcho-syndicalist trade union. Also in that year, she published a paper called the *Liberator*. In 1927, she was made a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense, a Communist-led organization that defended labor activists and African Americans who had been unjustly accused, such as the "Scottsboro Nine" and Angelo Herndon. After working with the Communist Party for a number of years, she finally joined the party in 1939, despairing of the advances of both capitalism and fascism on the world stage and unconvinced of the anarchists' ability to effectively confront them. After almost fifty years of continual activism, Parsons died in a fire in her Chicago home in 1942. Viewed as a threat to the political order even in death, her personal papers and books were seized by the police from the gutted house.

See also *Freedom's Journal*; Labor and Labor Unions

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JOSEPH W. LOWNDES (1996)

Partido Independiente de Color

The Cuban political party Partido Independiente de Color (PIC) was the first and, for many years, the only race-based party in Latin America and the Caribbean. Its brief and controversial existence ended in violence. Organized initially on August 7, 1908, it was banned in 1910 but resurfaced in an armed uprising in 1912, when government forces responded with swift and definitive repressive measures. Its founding members were mostly veterans of Cuba's Wars of Independence (1868–1898) and former members of the Liberal Party. Upon attaining independence in 1902, Cuba had adopted a new constitution that granted universal manhood suffrage and formal political equality to former slaves and their descendants. However, many men, especially veterans, were frustrated by exclusions from some of the state's most lucrative patronage networks. Whereas some blacks and mulattoes did experience greater political inclusion and access to jobs in the first years of the republic, progress was not fast enough for others, who made a number of demands on the state. Out of this dissatisfaction a number of groups emerged to press for greater racial equality in job distribution. One of the first was the Comité de Acción de Veteranos y Sociedades de la Raza de Color (Committee of Veterans and Associations of the Race of Color) in 1902. Although this committee dissolved shortly after its foundation, its goals would be pursued by the founders of the PIC in 1908.

The leaders of the party, Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonnet, sought to organize and mobilize Cubans of color with calls for the government to deliver on its promise of racial equality. Both were veterans of the Wars of Independence and relatively experienced politicians. Estenoz worked as a mason and was president of the masons' guild, as well as an active participant in Liberal Party politics between 1904 and 1908. Ivonnet, a descendant of Haitian immigrants who had established themselves as landowners in the eastern province of Oriente, had been active in both the Conservative and Moderate parties before founding the PIC.

Scholars disagree regarding the extent of support and the social composition of followers of the PIC. One school claims that the party appealed to blacks and mulattoes of all social classes, but an opposing school argues for a narrower constituency limited to urban inhabitants or war veterans with aspirations to jobs in the bureaucracy. The latter view holds that rural people were more concerned

about wages and working conditions—concerns they shared with working-class whites—than about access to government patronage.

Whether or not it enjoyed widespread support, the party experienced difficulties soon after it was established. Participation in electoral politics proved disappointing. PIC candidates for Congress in Havana and Las Villas in the 1908 election received a very small percentage of the vote. In 1910 liberal senator Martín Morúa Delgado dealt the party a blow by calling its constitutionality into question, based as it was on racial distinctions that had been presumably eliminated by the adoption of egalitarian legislation. Party cohesion suffered a greater setback after an extensive round of arrests sent many members to jail. This provoked a split within the party as members disagreed over tactics and objectives.

On May 20, 1912, Estenoz and Ivonnet, demanding reinstatement as a legitimate party, mobilized an armed uprising in several parts of the island, principally in the provinces of Oriente and Santa Clara. Initially cautious official reaction gave way to overt repression by the middle of June. Yet repression varied from region to region. In Oriente, many died. Whereas historians disagree as to the numbers, most agree that at least three thousand alleged participants, including Estenoz and Ivonnet, were killed by government troops and vigilante groups. In regions surrounding the city of Cienfuegos, however, repression was tempered by participants' roles in patronage networks. There the police, who had achieved a delicate coexistence with some of the local leaders of the uprising, arrested and quickly released many rebels, allowing the leaders to elude capture.

This episode has a paradoxical legacy. It exacerbated divisions among Cubans of color: Whereas some defended the PIC, others defended its goals but criticized its violent strategies. If the party itself did not sustain a great deal of political support, it launched an uprising that seemed dangerous enough to justify massive repression. Appeals for racial equality that emerged soon afterward were cast in very different terms. Rather than calling for the formation of a political party, activists for racial equity in the post-1912 era sought greater inclusion in unions, formed voluntary associations, and participated in public debates about culture, citizenship, and social and economic justice.

See also Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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ALEJANDRA BRONFMAN (2005)

Passing

The word *passing,* an Americanism not listed in the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary,* refers to a crossing of a line that divides social groups. Everett Stonequist cites a great variety of cases, including Jews passing as Gentiles, Polish immigrants preferring to be German, Italians pretending to be Jews, the Japanese Eta concealing their group identity to avoid discrimination, the Anglo-Indians passing as British, and the Cape Coloured as well as mixed bloods in the West Indies and Latin America moving into white groups. One could add many other cases, such as whites and blacks passing as Mexicans, or Chinese Americans passing as Japanese. There was some passing from white to black in the United States, for example, by musicians.

Passing is used most frequently, however, as if it were short for "passing for white," in the sense of crossing over the color line in the United States from the black to the white side. Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer (1944) see in passing "an attempt on the parts of Negroes to enter into the white community in a fashion which would otherwise be forbidden because of racial barriers." Ratna Roy (1973) defines passing as "assimilating into white society by concealing one's antecedents."

Racial passing is a phenomenon of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. It thrived in a modern social system in which, as a primary condition, social and geographic mobility prevailed, especially in en-

vironments such as large cities that provided anonymity to individuals. A second constitutive feature for passing was a widely shared social-belief system, according to which certain descent characteristics, even invisible ones, were viewed as more deeply defining than physical appearance, individual volition, and self-description, or than social acceptance and economic success.

A child whose ancestors come from groups X and Y could theoretically live as an X, a Y, or an XY. In the United States, for example, the child of Irish and Italian parents may be Irish, Italian, Irish-Italian, "simply American," or become, as by marriage, a member of another ethnic group. Yet some types of ancestry (often those associated in the United States with the term "race" rather than "ethnicity") deny a descendant the legitimate possibility of choosing certain forms of identification (including even X-ness, the identity of one parent, of three grandparents, or of fifteen out of sixteen ancestors) because the identity of the remaining other part of the ancestry (Y-ness) is considered so dominant that the individual is believed to be "really" a Y. The description of Roxy in Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) gives full expression to this paradoxical racial identification: "To all intents and purposes Roxy was as white as anybody, but the one-sixteenth of her which was black out-voted the other fifteen parts and made her a negro. She was a slave, and salable as such." William Javier Nelson called the United States a "hypodescent" society in which children of a higher-caste and a lower-caste parent are assigned the lower-parent status, a procedure deriving from slavery. It is quite possible that the first printed instances of the expression "passing for white" appeared in runaway slave bills. In hypodescent societies X-ness is seen not as an "ethnic option" (Mary Waters's useful term; 1990) for XY, nor as a legitimate parental legacy, but only as a "disguise." Hence XY is considered a Y who is "passing for" but "not really" an X.

This "fiction of law and custom" (Twain) may seem odd in a social system that cherishes social mobility and espouses the right of individuals to make themselves anew by changing name, place, and fortune, and that has produced famous parvenus and confidence men. In Gustave de Beaumont's novel *Marie* (1835), one of the first works of fiction to thematize racial passing, the narrator Ludovic makes this point explicitly:

> A Massachusetts bankrupt can find honor and fortune in Louisiana, where there is no inquiry into the ruin he experienced elsewhere. A New Yorker, bored by the ties of a first marriage, can desert his wife on the left bank of the Hudson and go take another on the right bank, in New Jersey, where he lives in undisturbed bigamy. . . . There is but one crime from which the guilty can nowhere escape punishment and infamy: it is that of belonging to a family reputed to be colored. The color may be blotted out; the stain remains. It seems that people find it out even when it is invisible; there is no refuge secret enough, no retreat obscure enough, to hide it.

The coexistence of the cult of the social upstart and the condemnation of the racial passer constitutes the parameters in which the phenomenon of passing took place. In the era of passing, the notion also found support that no one could "always tell" Ys by certain ineffaceable characteristics and visible signs such as their eyes or fingernails or the babies they might generate even generations later. Because this is, however, not really true, passing highlights an area of social ambiguity and insecurity. Stories of passing may appeal to modern readers' fascination with the undecidable or offer the assurance of some firmness in at least one individual identity (that based on racial ancestry) in a world of fluidity.

This makes tales of passing allegories of modernization that may appeal to people as they move toward more general identifications and experience anxieties about giving up old homes and families. In a generally mobile society, the world of passing suggests, despite its first appearance, an unchangeable hold of origin and community. One may thus say that "passing" is a misnomer because it is used only to apply to cases of people who are not presumed to be able to pass legitimately from one class to another but who are believed to remain identified by a part of their ancestry throughout their lives. Ironically, the language speaks only of those persons as passing who, it is believed, cannot really pass.

The experience of passing can be differentiated in various ways. The person who passes voluntarily may be doing it for a variety of motives that push him out of one group and pull him into another one: the possibility of economic advancement and benefits (opportunism); interracial courtship and marriage (love); escape from slavery, proscriptions, and discrimination (political reasons); and for many other motives such as for curiosity, for kicks (an "occasional thrill"), for the love of deception, for revenge, and for investigative purposes (most famously by Walter Francis White). A person may also pass inadvertently when being mistaken for white and failing to protest; and involuntarily, be it because the individual may be too young to decide for himself (as in Frank J. Webb's *The Garies and Their Friends*) or because it is arranged for him by others without his knowledge (like Tristan in Lydia Marie Child's *A Romance of the Republic*).

Walter Francis White (1893–1955). *For over twenty years, White served as secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His light complexion, blue eyes, and fair hair allowed him to pass for white on many occasions, a circumstance he reflects on in his autobiography* A Man Called White. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Passing may be undertaken full-time, twenty-four hours a day, or it may be "part-time" (Joel Williamson) or "segmental" (Wirth), for job purposes on a certain time segment on a daily basis or for avoiding segregation in transportation, entertainment, restaurants, and hotels. It may be permanent, at least by intention, for the duration of an individual's life; or it may be full-time but temporary or sporadic (for a shorter or longer period of a person's life, for one purpose or scheme, such as escaping from slavery, finding a job, completing a program of education, or simply while waiting for an advantageous moment to "come out"). This sporadic form of passing is sometimes associated with sexual cross-dressing and transvestitism: In William Wells Brown's *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (1853) or William and Ellen Craft's *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (1860), for example, runaway slave women dress up as white men.

Passing may be arranged by a secretive individual alone; revealed to some confidants, friends, siblings, or family members; or it may be done in the open, forcing others to pretend that they do not know. According to Edward Byron Reuter (1931), "much 'Passing' is more a matter of acceptance or indifference than of actual and successful concealment." It may be planned by others; it may even "be unknown to the person who is passing," for example, in stories of orphans, foundlings, or switched babies (Wirth and Goldhamer, 1944). It may be done collectively by several family members (*A Romance of the Republic*), siblings (Charles Chesnutt's *The House behind the Cedars*), or friends, a couple, a whole family (Edith Pope's *Colcorton*), a town, or other large groups (George Schuyler's *Black No More*).

Passing may be experienced as a source of conflict or not. Fear and "constant anxiety," according to an anonymous author in *Century,* of discovery may so much intensify the stress, which the person who passes experiences, that giving up the subterfuge may come as a relief. "It is a great risk, and they live in almost daily fear of exposure" ("The Adventures of a Near-White").

Wirth and Goldhamer (1944) write:

> For even though a person could not be identified by means of any physical marks as having Negro ancestry, there is always the possibility that someone who knew him as a Negro may discover his present mode of existence, or the possibility that he may have to account for his family and his early life. Even where the chance of such discovery is slight, there may be such constant anxiety and daily fear that the individual prefers to remain within the Negro community.

And Mary Helen Washington (1987) makes similar observations about Nella Larsen's treatment of the theme of passing:

> The woman who passes is required to deny everything about her past: her girlhood, her family, places with memories, folk customs, folk rhymes, her language, the entire long line of people who have gone before her. She lives in terror of discovery—what if she has a child with a dark complexion, what if she runs into an old school friend, how does she listen placidly to racial slurs? And more, where does the woman who passes find the equanimity to live by the privileged status that is based on the oppression of her own people?

Washington also stresses that the word *passing* may "connote death—in the black community dying is often referred to as 'passing.'"

Some who pass may feel like cowards, traitors, or losers: For example, at the end of James Weldon Johnson's

The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man the narrator feels that he has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Some may also simply miss the familiar world of their pasts, their friends, and families. They may feel obliged to deny their closest relatives and friends: Thus, in the presence of her white male companion, Angela has to pretend not to recognize her own sister Virginia in Jessie Fauset's *Plum Bun* (1929); and the subject of Langston Hughes's "Passing" (1934) cannot speak to his mother in the street. An elaborate passing scenario is developed by the writer Garvin Wales in Hamilton Basso's novel *The View from Pompey's Head* (1954): To keep his racial background a secret, Wales has to hide his own mother, and his agent sends her checks for her whole life. Because of this family-disrupting aspect of passing—fully exploited by melodramatic films like *Imitation of Life*—family loyalty and race solidarity may be jointly invoked in an argument against passing.

Yet passing does not always have to be as conflictual as is often assumed. Wirth and Goldhamer stress that the people who tell their stories are more likely to be the ones who suffered from the experience: "The successful and well-adjusted person who passes is not likely to be heard from." Passing may even lead the individual who succeeds in it to a feeling of elation and exultation, an experience of succeeding as a trickster-hero who crosses a significant boundary and sees the world anew. Passing may thus lead to the higher insights of rising above and looking through the "veil" of the color line, to an experience of revelation, to seeing while not being seen—learning about the freemasonry of whiteness; surreptitiously joining an enemy camp—like a spy, a Trojan horse, a living reminder of the absurdity of racial divisions. People who cross the line in this sense, "by reason of their fair skins, are able to gain information about what white people are doing and thinking that would surprise many of them. Often have I gone into the South in my capacity of newspaper correspondent, and as a white man secured vast quantities of information on the race and other questions," writes the anonymous author of "White, but Black" in the 1924–1925 *Century* magazine. In William Henry's novel *Out of Wedlock* (1931), Mary Tanner devises a scheme for her children to pass and marry leading whites in order to undermine racial prejudice.

For reasons such as these, passing was often perceived as a threat by whites. Elmer A. Carter (1926) describes the 1924 Virginia Act to Preserve Racial Integrity as an effort "to stem the tide of pseudo Caucasians who are storming the Anglo-Saxton ramparts." The act included a provision that made it a "felony to make a willfully false statement as to color," and Walter White reports that in 1926 he was threatened by the sheriff of a southern town with an indictment for passing for white. Blacks may react protectively toward the person who passes (Shiny in *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*), may be indifferent, or may be "ever the quickest to reveal the identity of those who seek to 'pass'" (*Century*).

The presence of people who are "neither black nor white and yet both" undermines the seeming certainty of the most important American racial boundary, and characters who threaten such boundaries may, like Joe Christmas in William Faulkner's *Light in August* (1932), be turned into sacrificial scapegoats. African-American writers such as Langston Hughes, George Schuyler, and Walter Francis White have explored the comic potential in passing and have used it to criticize white and black hypocrisy.

How widespread a phenomenon was passing? Since quantitative data do not exist, writers have offered dramatically heterogeneous estimates. Many African Americans have reported that they personally knew friends or relatives who were passing. In 1931 Caleb Johnson reported the Harlem assumption that more than ten thousand "have 'passed,' and are now accepted as white in their new relations, many of them married to white folks, all unsuspected." Jessie Fauset stated in an interview with the *Pittsburgh Courier* that about twenty thousand blacks were passing in New York alone. An unsigned editorial by the sociologist Charles S. Johnson in *Opportunity* (1925), titled "The Vanishing Mulatto," alerted readers to a possible interpretation of the U.S. Census statistics of 1900, 1910, and 1920. According to those figures 2,050,686 Negroes were classified as mulattoes in 1910, but only 1,660,554 in 1920. Some mulattoes, the editorial concedes, were undoubtedly recounted as blacks, but others must also have faded "into the great white multitude." Drawing on Hornell Hart, Johnson further notes a possible increase of 162,500 native whites from 1900 to 1910 and a corresponding disappearance from the black group of 355,000. E. W. Eckard (1936) assumed more modestly that there were nationally 2,600 cases per year from 1920 to 1940, but T. T. McKinney, as cited by Joseph R. Washington Jr. (1970), believed in 1937 that the figure was 10,000 per year; Walter Francis White (1947) claimed that every year "approximately twelve thousand white-skinned Negroes disappear." According to Herbert Asbury (1946), approximately thirty thousand African Americans were passing each year so that "more than 2,000,000 persons with colored blood have crossed the line since the end of the Civil War." Factoring in possible descendants of people who passed, he goes on to report the "conservative" estimate "that there are at least between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons in the United States, supposed to be white, who actually possess Negro blood." About 10 percent of the

346 families Caroline Bond Day (1932) studied had members who passed, but Gunnar Myrdal (1944), drawing on a manuscript of Wirth and Goldhamer's study, pointed out that her group was not intended to be a representative sample. Edward Reuter (1931) concluded that the "actual number of persons who have left the race and been accepted as white is of course wholly impossible to determine. There is a tendency to grossly exaggerate the number." Passing was undoubtedly significant locally. The Seventh Ward in New Orleans, for example, was known as the Can't Tell Ward (Peretti, 1992), and in the 1920s a theater in Washington hired "a black doorman to spot and bounce intruders whose racial origins were undetectable to whites" (Green, 1967).

Uncertainty has not kept writers from advancing speculations not only about the general figures but also about age and sex distribution among the population of people who pass. For example, Earnest Hooton expressed his belief that it is the younger rather than the older ones who pass (Wirth and Goldhamer); and according to Charles S. Johnson's "Vanishing Mulatto" (1925), while there were "1,018 black males per 1,000 females," there were "only 886 mulatto males per 1,000 females"—permitting the conclusion that men "travel more and are not so dependent as women on family connections." This sex-ratio approach suggested that men were more likely to pass than women, an assumption shared explicitly by Edward Byron Reuter (1931). Although fictional literature often presented men as more successful at passing than women (e.g., John as opposed to Rena in Chesnutt's *The House behind the Cedars;* or Johnson's ex-colored man as opposed to the heroines of Larsen's and Fauset's novels), there exists no evidence to support the belief that men have passed at a greater rate than women. Wirth and Herbert write that "the sex ratio can give no indication of what the total amount of passing is unless one were to assume that females do not pass." Caleb Johnson (1931) assumed the opposite, with little evidence:

> While there are no statistics to support the conclusion, there is strong reason for the belief that many more women than men cross the color line from Negro to white. This is partly due to the fact that sexual attraction is stronger between the light male and the darker female than in the opposite direction. It is a matter commented on by numerous scientific observers, who agree that the male Negro almost universally prefers a woman of his own color or darker, while the primitive sex-appeal of the octoroon girl is highly potent with the average young white male. Moreover, the social act of "passing" is easier for the girl than for the man.

Joseph Washington (1970) rightly reminds readers that "the knowledge of the sex distribution of blacks who passed was even less adequate than the knowledge of the color distribution."

Although now relegated to a footnote in cultural history, the phenomenon of passing "unleashed tremendous anxiety and fascination among whites" (Washington, 1970) and, from the 1850s to the 1930s, was "the favorite theme in Negro fiction" (Reuter, 1918). Passing was swept aside in social history by the civil rights movement and in literature by the Richard Wright school. As Nathan Huggins (1995) put it, "Passing is passé." A generation later, the time may be ripe for case studies of known individuals who passed, for example, the Trinity College–trained Theophilius John Minton Syphax, who, for forty-five years, was the white Wall Street lawyer T. John McKee until he revealed his true identity shortly before his death in 1948 (Burly, 1951); or the Columbia graduate William E. Jackson, who disclosed his racial background when he married the white woman Helen Burns in New York in 1925. At the same time, a full-fledged cultural investigation could be conducted of the period in which passing created much fascination for both black and white Americans.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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WERNER SOLLORS (1996)

Patents and Inventions

The U.S. Constitution (article 1, section 8) empowers Congress "to promote the progress of science . . . by securing to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." The first U.S. Patent Act, passed in 1790, had two basic purposes: to protect inventors from unauthorized use of their work and to provide the public with increased access to information about useful inventions.

Although free blacks were legally entitled to hold patents prior to the Civil War, few actually received them. The first African American known to have received a patent was Thomas L. Jennings, for a dry-cleaning process (March 3, 1821). Following him was Henry Blair, who patented a corn-seed planter in 1834 and a cottonseed planter in 1836. In 1843 Norbert Rillieux patented a refining process that revolutionized the sugar industry.

Blacks were hindered, however, from participating fully in the system. They did not have routine access to apprenticeships in the white-dominated crafts and trades and, therefore, to the kind of training and experience that would have helped nurture their inventive skills. As a result, black inventors had to rely almost entirely on their own initiative. Furthermore, their products tended to evolve out of occupations that had been predetermined as acceptable for blacks—for example, domestic service, carpentry, and agriculture. Within these constraints, a few African Americans developed successful, important inventions. Some, such as Jennings, achieved wealth and social visibility, which they subsequently used as leverage in campaigns aimed at improving the lot of black Americans.

Slaves were not entitled to hold patents, yet some developed creative implements and techniques that enhanced the efficiency of their masters' businesses. Slave craftsmen emerged as a small, elite group distinct from field laborers and domestic servants. Because of their legal standing, the question arose as to who (if anyone) was entitled to ownership of their inventions. In 1857 one Mississippi slave owner claimed the rights to his slave's invention, a cotton scraper regarded as an innovative laborsaving device. The federal government denied this claim, reinforcing the prohibition on ownership by slaves but also declining to grant slave owners the privilege of "owning" the fruits of a slave's inventive genius. In response the Confederate Patent Act asserted the ownership rights to slave owners in such cases. It was no mere coincidence that Joseph Davis, the brother of Confederate president Jefferson Davis, had earlier been denied a patent on a steamboat propeller invented by his slave, Benjamin Montgomery.

After the Civil War no one was excluded from taking out a patent on grounds of race or legal status. The result was a dramatic increase in the number of patents awarded to blacks. On August 10, 1894, the names and inventions of ninety-two blacks were read into the *Congressional Record*. By 1900 blacks had been awarded over four hundred patents. Among them was A. P. Ashbourne for processes relating to food preparation. In 1872 Elijah McCoy received the first of many patents on automatic engine lubrication, processes critical to the railroad and shipping industries. Jan Matzeliger received a patent (March 20, 1883) for his invention of a shoe-lasting machine, followed by four others also relating to the technology of shoemaking. In the mid-1920s, after decades of innovative work in botany and agriculture at Tuskegee Institute, George Washington Carver took out patents for a cosmetic and for pigment-producing processes. Such inventions reflected the ongoing concentration of blacks in service and manual-labor occupations—a pattern influenced not just by social tradition but also by the emphasis that black leaders such as Booker T. Washington placed on industrial and technical education as the most promising path of opportunity for African Americans.

This path was consistent with the pressures of American urbanization. By the turn of the twentieth century, as blacks migrated to the cities, many had entered technical occupations in government and industry. Andrew F. Hilyer, an attorney in Washington, D.C., patented a room humidifier in 1890; Robert Pelham, a newspaper publisher in Detroit, patented a tabulating machine in 1905 and an adding machine in 1913; Garrett Morgan of Cleveland patented a gas mask in 1914 and an automatic traffic signal in 1923. Granville Woods and Lewis Latimer contributed to the emergence of electricity as an energy replacement for gas. Woods, known as the "black Edison," patented a telegraph transmitter in 1884 and, subsequently, devices to facilitate railway electrification. In 1881 Latimer patented a method for producing carbon filaments and became part of the research team of the Edison Electric Light Company.

Access to a career as an inventor became more difficult as the growing complexity of technology changed the character of innovation and discovery. In the twentieth century the solitary, self-motivated inventor was replaced by teams of salaried researchers, often with advanced degrees, working in large companies or government-sponsored laboratories. Few blacks qualified for such positions, and those who did often faced discrimination by prospective employers. This sheds light on why the participation of blacks in patenting and invention is proportionately lower today than it was a hundred years ago.

See also Inventors and Inventions

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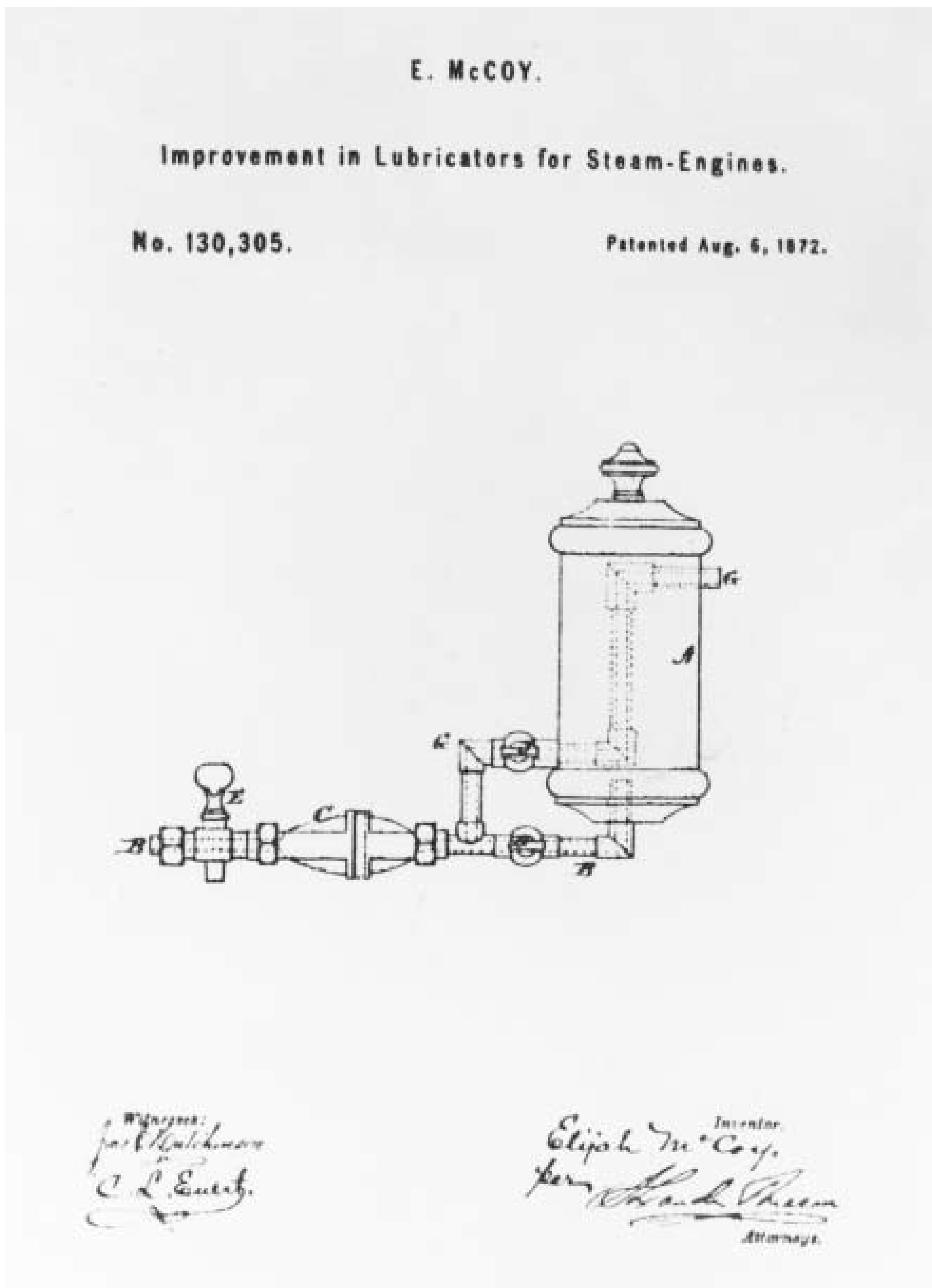

African American inventor Elijah McCoy's patent no. 130,305, introducing an improvement in lubricators for steam engines, 1872. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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PHILIP N. ALEXANDER (1996)
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Patterson, Floyd

January 4, 1935

The second youngest heavyweight champion in boxing history, Floyd Patterson was born in 1935 in Waco, North Carolina, one of eleven children of Thomas and Anabelle Patterson, and grew up in the slums of Brooklyn. A wayward youth, he attended Wiltwyck School, a correctional institute (1945–1947), where he learned to read and box. He was taken up by Cus D'Amato, who observed his quick hands and punching power. He twice won the Golden Gloves and took the gold medal in the middleweight division at the 1952 Olympics. He then turned pro and quickly became a contender for the heavyweight crown vacated by Rocky Marciano. On November 30, 1956, he KO'd forty-three-year-old light-heavyweight champion Archie Moore for the title.

Patterson seemed too gentle a person for his chosen career; once he helped retrieve an opponent's mouthpiece. After attaining the title, he defeated four nondescript challengers until matched with Ingemar Johansson on June 26, 1959. Patterson was knocked down seven times in the third round and lost in an upset. He went into seclusion, returning to the ring one year later to knock out Johansson in the fifth, becoming the first heavyweight titlist to regain the crown. On September 25, 1962, he fought the awesome Sonny Liston, who knocked out Patterson in the first round, a defeat that caused him to sneak out of Chicago in disguise. Their rematch in 1963 ended with the same result. Patterson retired in 1972, finishing with a record of 55–8–1.

Patterson has served as head of the New York State Athletic Commission and in 1985 was appointed director of Off-Track Betting. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1977 and the Olympic Hall of Fame in 1987. Patterson resigned from the New York State Athletic Commission in April 1998.

See also Boxing; Moore, Archie

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STEVEN A. RIESS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Patterson, Percival James "P. J."

April 10, 1935

Percival James "P. J." Patterson, the prime minister of Jamaica, was born in Dias, Hanover, Jamaica. He was educated at Calabar High School in Kingston; graduated from the University of the West Indies, where he earned a B.A. in English, in 1958; and received his law degree from the London School of Economics in 1963. Patterson was admitted to the Jamaican bar later that year. He began his political career in 1958 when he joined the People's National Party (PNP) as a political organizer.

Between 1963 and 1972, Patterson established a private legal practice, though he remained active in national politics. In 1964 he was elected to the PNP's National Executive Committee, and in 1969 won election to the Jamaican House of Representatives. In February 1969, at age thirty-three, he was elected vice president of the PNP, the youngest person ever elected to that post.

The Turbulent 1970s

Patterson gained prominence as a political organizer in the 1970s. Most notably, he directed the PNP's pathbreaking 1972 electoral campaign that rallied marginalized and disenfranchised groups, particularly youths and the urban unemployed, to join a coalition with disaffected workers, peasants, and the middle class.

These alienated groups were impatient with the authoritarian politics of the incumbent Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). They were also fed up with the JLP's insensitivity to Afro-Jamaicans' desire for cultural respect and dissatisfied with the party's inability to realize the desire of ordinary people for a better life. By mobilizing these disaffected constituencies and commingling PNP populist rhetoric with radical themes in popular music and culture, the PNP swept to power in a landslide under the leadership of Michael Manley (1924–1997) in February 1972. Patterson's implementation of the party's electoral strategy identified him as an unparalleled political organizer and his success earned him a place in Manley's cabinet as minister of industry, foreign trade, and tourism.

The turbulent 1970s would test Patterson's mettle. The decade saw Jamaica turn politically leftward under the PNP's socialist banner at the very moment that the shock of the OPEC oil price hikes and the destabilizing run-up in world oil prices hit the island. As the domestic economic crisis worsened, Patterson introduced several initiatives. He shielded consumers from predatory pricing, established a consumer affairs unit to stop hoarding, spurred job growth, and encouraged import substitution by initiating agro-industrial projects for processing local produce.

Patterson was also a major actor in regional and international economic organizations. In 1974 he helped establish the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), and he was a leading negotiator and spokesman for less-developed countries on trade issues. He was also an architect of the Lomé Convention, a special trade agreement between the European community and a group of African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries to promote sustained development in ACP states. This agreement was signed in February 1975 as part of the North-South dialogue between rich and poor countries. In this exchange, poor countries campaigned for reforms in international trade that would benefit them. As Jamaica's minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade, ministerial chair of the Group of 77 (a United Nations coalition of developing countries), and president of the Council of Ministers of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States, Patterson was a significant contributor to the North-South dialogue.

Notwithstanding these efforts to promote a new international economic order and self-reliance at home, the PNP was defeated at the polls in 1980. Out of power, Patterson returned to practicing law. In 1981 he became a founding partner of the law firm Rattray, Patterson, Rattray, and three years later he was appointed a Queen's Counsel in recognition of excellence in the practice of the law.

The Call to Leadership

With Manley at the helm, a chastened PNP was returned to power in 1989. The party's success resulted from its decision to jettison political radicalism and embrace free-market policies, and its promise to deliver economic gains for the poor. In 1992, however, an ailing Michael Manley retired from politics. Patterson, who had been deputy prime minister since 1978, was elected party president and sworn in as prime minister in March 1992.

Patterson's rise to power was a momentous event. Except for former prime minister Hugh Lawson Shearer (1923–2004), who was the first Afro-Jamaican prime minister, all previous prime ministers were of mixed racial stock. Shearer was not of mixed race, though he was brown-skinned. Patterson was Jamaica's first dark-skinned prime minister, and after Shearer only the second Afro-Jamaican to hold that office. The symbolic value of this achievement was not lost on the black-skinned Afro-Jamaican majority. More important, the 1990s had ushered in an era of great change, both domestically and internationally. This great transition—marked by the collapse of communism, the demand for democracy by restive civil societies, and the triumph of free-market capitalism—was especially challenging for poor countries and their leaders.

In Jamaica, growing poverty, economic hardship, and the triumph of market values were eroding traditional social norms and values. These were replaced by greed, selfishness, and a get-rich-quick mentality. In the absence of restraining civic norms and effective public institutions, the results were high rates of criminal violence, persistent social unrest, and government corruption.

Nonetheless, a vocal media, an invigorated public opinion, and newly emergent reform organizations countered these negative trends by demanding effective governance, insisting on probity in public life and calling for a return to democratic values. Patterson thus became prime minister at a critical juncture, when creative vision and strong leadership were called for.

How well did Patterson respond to these challenges and to the call for leadership? First, he confounded his detractors by scoring three consecutive electoral victories—in 1993, 1997, and 2002. In the country's postcolonial history, no leader had ever won three consecutive terms of office. Second, Patterson made key changes in both public policy and the political culture. In a world where national development and economic growth were increasingly dependent on new technologies of communication and on the modernization of national infrastructures, Jamaica made a quantum leap in both areas. By democratizing citizens' access to cell phones, cable broadcasts, and the Internet, the PNP satisfied their desire for leisure and luxury goods, and the party put in place new technologies that would positively influence the quantity and speed of economic transactions. The same could be said of the economic value associated with the PNP's massive expenditures on roads, bridges, highways, and electrical grids. In sum, by introducing new technologies and modernizing the island's infrastructure, the Patterson administration increased Jamaica's ability to compete in the new global environment.

Finally, by governing with a pragmatic, consultative, and nonauthoritarian style, Patterson broke with the worn-out populist style of Jamaican leaders. Though criti-

cized by detractors for being boring and uncharismatic, Patterson's style has been viewed by many to be well-suited to the new period of ideological demobilization and pragmatic policy making.

Falling Short: Crises and Transitional Leadership

Despite these achievements in guiding Jamaica through a rapidly changing world and lowering the temperature of partisan politics, Patterson failed to inspire public confidence. Paradoxically, he could get the people's votes but not their enthusiasm. Moreover, though he regularly proclaimed his commitment to building civic values, scandals and disclosures of corruption in his administration only reinforced public cynicism. Thus, though Jamaicans were hungry for bold leadership and yearning for an inspired vision of a positive future, not many besides the most partisan looked to Patterson as their unerring guide.

Indeed, Patterson's inability to stem the violent crime that claimed hundreds of lives every year, his stunning ineffectiveness in reining in a security force inured to extrajudicial killing as a crime-fighting strategy, and his inability to give the inner-city poor hope have threatened to nullify his achievements.

Hence, despite innovations in infrastructural modernization and the adoption of a democratic style of political leadership, these flourishes seemed meager to a public demanding more. In fact, Patterson's seeming unwillingness to make tough decisions, his insensitivity to human-rights concerns, and his temporizing in the face of increasing crime and social discontent only encouraged critics in their view that he was not the man for the times. That assessment may not be too far from the truth, for Patterson can be viewed as the embodiment of the struggling transitional figure caught in the tide of great historical change. He is therefore likely to be judged an enigmatic, foundering figure, whose leadership proved inadequate at a major turning point in Jamaica's political history.

See also Jamaica Labour Party; Manley, Michael; People's National Party

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OBIKA GRAY (2005)

Patterson, William

August 27, 1891
March 5, 1980

Lawyer and activist William Patterson was born in San Francisco, California. When he was young, his father left the family to become a missionary while his mother worked as a domestic to raise their children. Patterson took jobs as a sea porter, a dishwasher, and an elevator operator, among other things, to help support his family and put himself through school. In 1911 he graduated from Tamalpais High School and entered the University of California at Berkeley to study engineering. He attended on and off for several years before deciding to go to the Hastings College of Law in San Francisco, where he earned his J.D. in 1919.

While in college, Patterson became politically active, combating racism and urging African Americans not to fight in World War I, which he felt was a "white man's war." After considering going to Liberia, he instead chose to move to New York City, where he opened a law firm with two friends in 1923. In New York in the midst of the Harlem Renaissance he was exposed to left-wing ideas and met such influential black activists as Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois. During this period he actively supported the International Labor Defense protests on behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian anarchists whose radical political views and status as immigrants contributed heavily to their conviction and subsequent execution in 1927 for the murder of a paymaster.

As a result of his political activity, Patterson came to the conclusion that economic exploitation and the capitalist system lay at the root of black oppression. In 1927 he joined the Communist Party, U.S.A. and went to the Soviet Union for three years to study at the University of the Toiling People of the Far East in Moscow. There he found a society he thought was free of racial, class, and religious prejudice. Patterson returned to the United States in 1930 and two years later was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and ran for mayor of New York on the Communist Party ticket. From 1932 until 1946 he served as executive director of the International Labor Defense (ILD), a radical legal-action group strongly influenced by the Communist Party. As head of the ILD in the 1930s, Patterson helped coordinate the legal strategy and political protests on behalf of the Scottsboro defendants, nine young African-American men falsely accused of raping two white women. (All but the youngest were sentenced to death.)

In 1938 Patterson moved to Chicago and two years later married Louise Thompson, with whom he had three

children. While there, Patterson organized Chicago's South Side and wrote for and edited various communist newspapers, including the *Daily Record* and the *Daily Worker*. From 1946 to 1956 he served as executive director of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization often aligned with the Communist Party that defended the civil rights and liberties of African Americans and radical political activists. In 1951 he and Paul Robeson presented a petition to the United Nations charging the United States with genocide by "deliberately inflicting on [African Americans] conditions of life calculated to bring about [their] physical destruction" through executions, lynchings, and systematic terrorism. In the same year he edited a book, *We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People*. Because of his involvement in the Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party, Patterson was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950 and found in contempt four years later for refusing to answer questions. He spent three months in prison before the decision was reversed upon appeal.

Patterson's political activity declined in the later years of his life, but he still firmly believed in a society free of racism and poverty. In 1971 he published his autobiography, *The Man Who Cried Genocide,* and in 1978 he was awarded the Paul Robeson Memorial Medal by the Academy of Arts in East Germany. Although he died in 1980 after a prolonged illness, a foundation that bears his name carries on his commitment to social justice by awarding grants to supporters of the "people's struggle."

See also Civil Rights Congress; Communist Party of the United States; Labor and Labor Unions

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

Payne, Daniel Alexander

February 24, 1811
November 2, 1893

Daniel Alexander Payne was the principal figure in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period one historian termed "the era of Bishop Daniel Payne." Payne was born in Charleston, South Carolina, to free black parents who provided for his early education. He established his own school in 1828 but was forced to close it when the South Carolina legislature prohibited the teaching of blacks.

Leaving Charleston in 1835, he studied for two years at the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, but left because of failing eyesight. He obtained a license to preach and in 1839 became the first African-American clergyman ordained by the Franckean Evangelical Lutheran Synod. He opened a coeducational school in Philadelphia in 1840 and soon became involved in the antislavery movement.

Although Payne briefly served a white Presbyterian congregation in Troy, New York, he was never given charge of a Lutheran parish, so in 1841 he associated with the AME Church. He hesitated to join the denomination because many members opposed an educated clergy. Payne's preference for formal, liturgical worship and learned ministers contrasted with the emotional, spontaneous style of many of the denomination's pastors and congregations. But his untiring efforts to standardize AME worship, improve religious education, and preserve a record of the denomination's history eventually earned the respect of church leaders. Elected a bishop in 1852, he shaped the character and policies of the denomination over the next four decades. Under his leadership, the AME Church expanded its home and foreign missions, reorganized its publication program, and established hundreds of congregations among the recently emancipated slaves, a major factor in the denomination's rapid growth after the Civil War.

A noted educator, author, and theologian, Payne was named president in 1863 of Wilberforce University, the first black-controlled college in the United States. He made the institution solvent, attracted capable students and faculty, and enhanced its reputation. Although he left the presidency of Wilberforce in 1876, he remained active in its administration until his death.

Payne wrote numerous poems, essays, speeches, and sermons for the African-American press. His autobio-

graphical *Recollections of Seventy Years* (1888) and *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1891) are important contributions to African-American literature and valuable sources for nineteenth-century African-American history. He was a conspicuous figure in the World Parliament of Religions at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893).

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Autobiography, U.S.; Wilberforce University

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ROY E. FINKENBINE (1996)

Peck, Raoul

1953

Raoul Peck was born in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in 1953. At age eight, he and his parents fled the François Duvalier dictatorship, migrating to the Republic of the Congo in Africa. After secondary school in France, Peck studied industrial engineering in Berlin and in 1982 moved to New York City, where he worked as a taxi driver while waiting for a job at the United Nations. When this fell through, he returned to Berlin to study film at the German Film and Television Academy. While still a student, he produced a number of short films before directing his first full-length feature, *Haitian Corner* (1987). Filmed in Brooklyn for $150,000, it examines a Haitian immigrant's desire for vengeance when he thinks he recognizes one of his Tonton Macoute torturers from his time in prison in Haiti. Peck then worked as a film lecturer before directing the full-length documentary *Lumumba: La mort du prophète* in 1991. This intensely personal and poetic film focused on the life and eventual tragedy of Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first prime minister. Peck's second feature film, *L'Homme sur les quais* (1993), is set in Haiti and is the story of a young girl who witnesses the effect of the Duvalier regime's terror on her family. Haiti is also the subject of Peck's documentaries *Désounen: Dialogue with Death* (1994) and *Haiti: Silence of the Dogs* (1994).

In 1996 Peck established the Foundation Forum Eldorado, dedicated to the promotion of cultural development in Haiti and the Caribbean. He served as minister of culture in Haiti but left after eighteen months, disillusioned with the presidency of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. After writing a book on this experience, he resumed his career as a filmmaker. He directed the video documentary *Chère Catherine* (1997) and the full-length feature *Corps plongés* (1998) before returning to the story of Lumumba with his award-winning feature film *Lumumba* (2000).

Lumumba achieved significant popular and critical acclaim. Made on a modest budget of $4 million, it received wide international distribution. This success marked an important milestone in Peck's career, ensuring his recognition as a major black independent filmmaker from the African diaspora. His subsequent work focuses on social and political issues of the developing world: His documentary *Profit and Nothing But* (2001) criticizes the politics of globalization, and the feature-length HBO film *Sometimes in April* (2005) looks at genocide in Rwanda.

Peck has won numerous awards, including the 2001 Paul Robeson Prize at the Pan-African Film and Television Festival in Ouaguadougou, West Africa, and best film at the Los Angeles Pan African Film Festival (2001) for *Lumumba.* He is the president of the Caribbean Federation of Film and Video and a member of the French Association of Independent Filmmakers, Auteurs, Realisateurs, et Producteurs (ARP).

See also Documentary Film; Duvalier, François; Film in Latin America and the Caribbean

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KEITH Q. WARNER (2005)
BRUCE PADDINGTON (2005)

Pelé (Edson Arantes do Nascimento)

October 23, 1940

Pelé, born Edson Arantes do Nascimento in the town of Tres Coragões in Minas Gerais, Brazil, is widely regarded as the greatest soccer player in the history of the game. Affectionately called "the black pearl" or simply "the king," Pelé rose from a life of bitter third-world poverty to become an international celebrity and one of the most committed, accomplished, and respected athletes of all time. For not only did Pelé revolutionize and popularize the

Pelé dribbles the ball during an exhibition game in Los Angeles. *The Brazilian soccer great led his national team to three World Cup championships, in 1958, 1962, and 1970.* AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

game of soccer; he also used his fame to heighten public awareness of poverty, improve the working conditions of Brazilian soccer players, and spread the message of equality through soccer.

Born to João Ramos do Nascimento, a professional soccer player, and Dona Celeste, Pelé, initially harbored dreams of becoming an aviator. Emulating his father and teammates from the Bauru Athletic Club (BAC), Pelé began playing soccer at the age of eight with neighborhood boys in his hometown of Bauru. Pelé and his friends relished in their own amateur matches played with a makeshift ball, fashioned from stuffing a large sock full of newspaper as neither Pelé nor his teammates could afford to buy a soccer ball. Like other children among Brazil's working class, Pelé sought employment. He supplemented his father's meager soccer earnings by alternately working as a shoe-shine boy and as a meat pie vendor. Although poverty informed much of Pelé's daily existence in Bauru, he was not numbed by it; rather, poverty gave Pelé keen insight into the human condition: "Poverty is a curse that depresses the mind, drains the spirit and poisons life. . . Poverty . . . is being robbed of self-respect and self reliance. Poverty is fear. Not fear of death, which though inevitable is reasonable; it is fear of life" (Fish, pp. 14–15). It would be this realistic, yet compassionate sensibility that would form Pelé's later political and humanitarian work.

In 1955, at the age of fifteen, after winning the BAC Junior Victory Cup, Pelé was recruited by the local soccer club Santos, a testimony to his prodigious talent. In 1958, at the age of seventeen, Pelé was selected to the Brazilian national team to compete in the World Cup tournament in Sweden. Scoring a memorable goal in the final game against Sweden, Pelé's World Cup debut was stunning. Pelé had little time to revel in Brazil's victory, for the following year he began serving his one-year mandatory military duty. In 1960 he returned to Santos, and the team toured throughout Europe, playing against soccer clubs in Denmark, Italy, and Portugal.

While Brazil emerged victorious once again in the 1962 World Cup tournament, Pelé was sidelined by a nagging groin injury and forced to watch his team compete from the bench. The highly anticipated 1966 World Cup finals proved to be both disheartening and demoralizing for Pelé and the Brazilian team, as Brazil failed to emerge from the group stages.

In 1967 Pelé's Santos team went on a tour of Africa that, for Pelé, was a life-changing experience:

> It was with very strong and strange emotions that I first saw Africa. . . . It was a completely different experience from seeing the cities of Europe. . . . Everywhere I went I was looked upon and treated as a god, almost certainly because I represented to the blacks in those countries what a black man could accomplish in a country where there was little racial prejudice. (Fish, p. 203)

So greatly was Pelé revered by Africans that when he played an exhibition game in Nigeria that year, the country's civil war ground to a halt, a formerly warring nation now rapt at the sight of Pelé on the soccer field. As Pelé stated: "To these people, who had little possibility of ever escaping the crushing poverty in which they found themselves, I somehow represented a ray of hope"(Fish, p. 203).

Though Pelé generally maintained that Brazilian society was free of the kind of racism that crippled American society, in his autobiography he recalls the tragic tale of his first love, a young Portuguese girl. As school let out, then twelve-year-old Pelé watched in horror as the girl's father accosted and spanked her in front of Pelé and all of their classmates for simply sharing an innocent friendship with the young Pelé who, immobilized by humiliation, endured the man's racist verbal abuse as well (Fish, pp. 103–104). Pelé also cites the media frenzy surrounding his 1965 marriage to Rosemeri Cholbyas, evidence of Bra-

Pelé. *Considered by many the greatest soccer player of all time, Pelé greets the public at a Spanish League football match between Real Madrid and Zaragoza at Santiago Bernabeu stadium in Madrid, Spain, 2005.* AFP/GETTY IMAGES

zil's racial prejudice, for the press made much of their interracial union.

In 1969, during the Santos match against Vasco da Gama, Pelé scored his historic one-thousandth goal, which he dedicated to Brazil's young, poor street children, weeping as he entreated the public to "Remember the children, remember the poor children" (Harris, p. 75). At this point in his career, Pelé was already an international superstar, yet, his humility, compassion, and conscience enabled him to continually relate to those suffering the crushing effects of poverty.

Pelé and the Brazilian team were eager to redeem themselves in the 1970 World Cup tournament. The Brazilian team emerged victorious, going undefeated throughout the tournament, culminating in a finals victory over Italy in which Pelé scored one goal and assisted on two others. In 1970 Pelé also began planning his retirement from international football. On July 18, 1971, Pelé played his final game with the Brazilian national team in the famed Maracana stadium, against Yugoslavia. The match was an emotional one, with the crowd, over 180,000 strong, chanting: "Fica! Fica!" meaning "Stay! Stay!" Brazilian fans were not the only ones to express their sadness at Pelé's impending departure; dignitaries and heads of state such as President Richard Nixon and England's Queen Elizabeth also bid Pelé farewell.

In 1972, Santos experienced several changes in management, among them the firing of Pelé's mentor, Professor Mazzei. Pelé's contract with Santos expired that same year and, as part of his renegotiations, he agreed to play one of his two remaining years for free, his salary to be donated to charity. It was also during this time that Pelé and his Santos teammates met with the Brazilian president to discuss the need for a national soccer players' union. The following year, on May 25, 1973, Pelé played his final game with Santos.

The 1970s continued with Pelé signing lucrative contracts with Pepsi to conduct soccer clinics in 150 countries, and with the New York Cosmos soccer team. While Pelé was not eager to immigrate to the United States and join a failing team, bad business investments and the threat of bankruptcy forced him to sign with the Cosmos. According to Pelé, his work in the Pepsi-Cola-sponsored clinics, which took him to countries in Asia and Africa, was a tre-

mendously gratifying experience that strengthened his own belief in the potential for unity across racial lines:

> My trips for Pepsi-Cola . . . put me in direct contact with children of all races and colors in all countries. It constantly reminded me of a truth I had always known—there are no differences between children . . . it was our hope that the children would learn to understand the only differences between football players was in their skills, not in the color of their skin or the slope of their eyes. (Fish, p. 296)

Armed with his belief in soccer's potential to unify people of all races, Pelé stipulated that the Cosmos' parent company—Warner Communications—sponsor a soccer school for the impoverished children of Santos, Brazil. As for Pelé's contribution to the Cosmos, it was as stunning as his 1958 World Cup debut. Pelé improved the team's record and more than doubled average attendance, from eight thousand to twenty thousand a game. At the close of his career with the Cosmos, Pelé's farewell game was played against his beloved Santos; he played the first half with the Cosmos and the second with Santos, his second and final farewell to his "beautiful game."

The 1980s and 1990s found Pelé receiving several honors and translating his soccer fame into a career in public service and politics. He was named "Footballer of the Century" by the members of the Football Writers' Association of London in 1983. In 1994 he was appointed Brazil's minister of sport for four years. During his tenure with the Brazilian government, he tirelessly advocated on behalf of Brazilian soccer players, culminating in the passage of the so-called Pelé Law, which provides regulations for the sport in the interests of professional athletes. In 1998 the Queen of England bestowed an honorary knighthood upon Pelé. In 1999 he was honored at the World Sports Awards of the Century and named Footballer of the Millennium, and in 2000 The International Football Association (FIFA) honored him with the Player of the Century award.

See also Soccer

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LAROSE PARRIS (2005)

Penniman, Richard

See Little Richard (Penniman, Richard)

Pennington, James W. C.

January 1807
October 22, 1870

Born James Pembroke, a slave in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, minister and abolitionist James Pennington early on became an expert blacksmith and carpenter and taught himself to read, write, and do figures. In 1827 he escaped via the Underground Railroad and was hidden by a Quaker couple in Petersburg, Pennsylvania, for whom he briefly worked. Around 1830 he traveled to the Brooklyn area (Kings County, New York), taking the name James William Charles Pennington. While there Pennington worked as a coachman and gained fame in the black community for his forthright opposition to the American Colonization Society. In the year 1831–1832 he was elected a delegate to the Negro Convention in Philadelphia. In the meantime, he began teaching, and after deciding to become a minister, he taught himself Greek and Latin. Yale College Divinity School, which barred blacks, allowed Pennington to listen to lectures. In 1840 he was hired as pastor of the Talcott Colored Congregational Church in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1848 he was hired by the First Colored (later Shiloh) Presbyterian Church in New York City. He returned to Hartford in 1856.

Pennington did not confine himself to ministerial duties. He took on the position of teacher at Hartford's Free African School. In 1841 he wrote for school use *A Textbook of the Origin and History of Colored People,* one of the earliest African-American history books. Pennington glorified blacks' African heritage and denounced negative racial stereotypes. He was also the first black member of the previously all-white Hartford Central Association of Congregational Ministers. In 1841 he formed and became leader of the Union Missionary Society, a forerunner of the American Missionary Association.

Pennington's chief fame, however, was as an abolitionist. In 1843 he attended the World's Antislavery Con-

vention in London and subsequently toured Paris and Brussels, giving antislavery speeches and sermons. In 1849 he wrote his autobiography, *The Fugitive Black Smith,* which achieved a major success. Having revealed his identity, Pennington feared recapture, and in 1849 he accepted an invitation to England, where he attended the World Peace Conference and gave antislavery lectures under the auspices of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society. He was lionized in England and Europe and raised a great deal of money for African missions and abolitionism. In 1849, "in trust" for other black Americans, Pennington was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Heidelberg in the German States. After the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850, he visited the island of Jamaica. Despite his continuing opposition to African colonization, he recommended black settlement in Jamaica. British friends eventually bought his freedom, and he returned to America in 1853.

Pennington's later years were plagued by troubles. He was accused by opponents (mainly anticlerical Garrisonians) of misusing the funds he had raised for his freedom. In 1853 he was criticized for joining a Presbyterian association that included slaveholders. Like most black ministers, he was poorly paid and faced financial problems. His reputation was finally destroyed when his alcoholism was revealed. In 1858 Pennington left Hartford and served six different congregations in the North and postbellum South over the next twelve years. A trip abroad in 1861 was financially unsuccessful, and while in England, he was briefly imprisoned for stealing a book. Shortly after taking a teaching post in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1870 he became sick and died.

See also Abolition; Autobiography, U.S.; Slave Narratives; Underground Railroad

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Pentecostalism

This entry has two unique essays about the same topic, differing mainly in their geographical focus.

PENTECOSTALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
Carmelo Álvarez

PENTECOSTALISM IN NORTH AMERICA
David D. Daniels III

Pentecostalism in Latin America and the Caribbean

The Pentecostal movement in Latin America and the Caribbean is part of the great missionary effort that followed the missionary movement among mainline denominations in Europe, Canada, and the United States in the nineteenth century. Three models of Pentecostal missions are predominant in the region in the twentieth century: classical Pentecostalism, indigenous (Creole, *criollo*), and divine healing (Neopentecostalism).

Classical Pentecostalism came from the United States and Europe and brought its own missionary methods. It is economically and structurally dependent on foreign mission boards, and although the pastorate is indigenous, its education and training are clearly based on foreign models.

Indigenous Pentecostalism grew out of the local mainline Protestant churches. With strong roots in popular Catholic culture, it is economically and structurally independent of all foreign missions and has an indigenous pastorate.

Divine healing (Neopentecostal) churches, emphasizing exorcism and prosperity, are the offspring of dissident movements within the churches. Modeled on messianic patterns, they have an entrepreneurial structure, dependent on the charismatic hero-impresario leader.

Classical Pentecostalism

The major missionary efforts of Pentecostalism in Latin America and the Caribbean have been sponsored by four North American churches: the Assemblies of God, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), and the Foursquare Gospel Church.

Founded in the United States as a fraternity of churches in 1914 at the Old Grand Opera House in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Assemblies of God from the very beginning tended toward a Presbyterian form of government, with a general council as a governing board. The emphasis on the restoration principle of apostolic faith and practice, missionary zeal, and a cooperative effort in

the missionary field gave the Assemblies of God its initial impulse and worldwide strategy. As these churches became more centralized and structured, they made Springfield, Missouri, the venue for their headquarters.

Assemblies of God churches were established in each one of the Latin American and Caribbean countries. The Assemblies of God came to Jamaica in 1937 and made an impact on this country, but it was the Canadian branch of the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, that spread over the Caribbean region, planting churches in many countries and receiving many influences from the spiritual and revival forces coming from the nineteenth-century revivals in Jamaica. Today, the Assemblies of God is the largest Pentecostal denomination in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The extensive presence of the Assemblies of God has been supported by the programs and publications of the Gospel Publishing House, the major publishing house for Pentecostal literature in Latin America and the Caribbean to this day, and by the *Pentecostal Evangel,* a missionary magazine. Besides Bible institutes, private elementary and high schools, and some universities, the Assemblies of God churches also sponsor radio programs, magazines in Spanish and Portuguese, and social services such as day-care centers for the elderly and children.

The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) was initially part of the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century. In 1907 this church began missionary work in the English-speaking Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago). By 1910 missionaries had started work in Panama and afterwards in other countries: Costa Rica (1935), Mexico (1946), Peru (1962), Puerto Rico (1966), and Brazil (1970).

Founded as the "Christian Union," another offspring of the Holiness movement, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), embraced the Pentecostal movement with intense missionary fervor. The first missionaries left the United States in 1910 for the Bahamas. Later, they established themselves from Mexico (1932) through all Central American and South American countries over the next three decades. Today, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), is recognized as a Pentecostal church that combines an evangelistic fervor with a solid intellectual commitment. There are several seminaries and colleges in South America and the Caribbean that offer university-level education in theology and other fields.

The Foursquare Gospel Church originated in Oakland, California, in 1921, sparked by a fiery and charismatic leader. This church derives its name form the four-faced figures from the Bible (*Ezekiel* 1) that its founder, Aimee Semple McPherson, interpreted as Christological figures: Christ saves, baptizes, heals, and will return. The missionary work of this church began in Panama (1928) and is established in most South American countries, including Jamaica and Haiti in the Caribbean. The Foursquare Gospel Church has active women's and youth organizations, including the ordination of women. It places particular emphasis on theological education.

Indigenous Pentecostalism

The better-known revivals in the region include the Valparaiso movement in Chile (1907–1910) led by Willis C. Hoover, a Methodist missionary from the United States. All-night vigils, Bible studies, and prayer groups energized a movement that would soon reach to the capital city of Santiago. Soon the movement provoked a schism, as congregations in Valparaiso and Santiago left the denomination to form the Methodist Pentecostal Church. In the following decades the Pentecostal movement in Chile sustained growth, suffered schisms, and formed new Pentecostal churches.

With Hoover at the helm, the revival spread throughout Chile at a dizzying pace. Hoover mobilized believers for street evangelism, organizing them into squads of militants who shared songs, Bible readings, open-air preaching, and personal testimony. The purpose of these efforts was to animate the poor and marginalized with a simple but demanding faith.

A similar movement, which began in Brazil in 1909, became known as the Great Revival. Three foreigners were the protagonists. Luigi Francescon, an Italian immigrant to the United States, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit at the mission of William D. Durham, Pentecostal pastor in Chicago. Wanting to preach to his own people about his new experience in the spirit, Francescon founded churches among Italian immigrants in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and California. In 1909 Francescon felt a call from the Holy Spirit to work among Italian immigrants in South America. He started work in Argentina first among Italian immigrants and later moved to São Paulo, Brazil.

Francescon organized congregations of Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, where he fostered social work between the immigrants and established the Christian Congregation of Brazil. He adapted Presbyterian ecclesial structures and developed a national church in Brazil that today is one of the largest Pentecostal churches in the country. The church continues to emphasize both the spiritual and social dimensions of the gospel, developing self-support programs for their members, including cooperatives.

The other foreigners were Gunnar Vingren and Daniel Berg, Swedish immigrants with a Baptist background, who met Charles Durham in Chicago, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and went to the northern part of Brazil. They initially made contacts with Baptist churches in that region and finally established their own movement that later became affiliated with the Assemblies of God in Brazil. Despite the foreign roots of their founders, these Pentecostal churches became autonomous and autochthonous, in a self-support, self-governing model of mission.

Two Caribbean churches are good examples of indigenous Pentecostal churches. The first is the Pentecostal Church of God of Puerto Rico, founded by Juan L. Lugo. He was an immigrant worker in Hawaii and received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. He returned to Puerto Rico in 1916 to establish the Pentecostal Church of God of Puerto Rico, the second largest Pentecostal church in the island. This church has established missionary work and organized churches in more than forty-seven countries in the world, including Latin America and the Caribbean. Lugo also emphasized the self-support, self-governing principle. Lugo founded congregations among Hispanics in California and New York.

Another important church in the Caribbean is the Evangelical Pentecostal Church of Cuba, founded by Francisco Rodríguez from Puerto Rico, Ana Sanders from Canada, and Harriet May Kelty of the United States in 1933. These missionaries were sent by the Assemblies of God to establish the Evangelical Pentecostal Church of Cuba. In 1956 a group of Evangelical Pentecostal Church members formed the Pentecostal Christian Church of Cuba. Two Afro-Cuban pastors, Avelino González and Francisco Martínez, became the leaders of this church and led the denomination during the initial years of the Cuban Revolution, transforming its ministry and presence into an ecumenical and preferential option for the poor. Today, the Pentecostal Christian Church of Cuba participates actively in the Cuban Council of Churches, Caribbean Conference of Churches, and Latin American Council of Churches, and has had an ecumenical partnership with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in the United States and Canada since 1976. It is the second largest Pentecostal Church in Cuba and it continues to grow primarily among the Afro-Cuban population in the eastern part of Cuba.

Divine Healing (Neopentecostalism)

A new offshoot of Pentecostalism concerned with divine healing has more recently emerged in the religious supermarket. This kind of Pentecostalism has become an alternative to indigenous Pentecostal churches. Exorcism and prosperity are its central elements. Energetic, charismatic leaders exhort huge gatherings and provide continuous worship services in old cinemas and auditoriums, open buildings in which the public meetings are conceived more as public spectacles than as community life and traditional worship. The hymns, sermons, and exhortations are a kind of therapy for the suffering masses. When the leader comes onstage, enough enthusiasm has already been created to generate an almost hysterical explosion of emotion in the congregation. Observers have noted that the flexible bond that results from these shared emotions demands little personal commitment and is a welcome alternative to the pain, needs, and conflicts that participants must confront daily. Faced with daily crises, people prefer a moment of ecstasy with this vibrant and untamed Jesus to the silence and existential vacuum of daily life.

From a doctrinal point of view, prosperity Pentecostals use the Bible as a fetish and a source of magical phrases as they perform exorcisms and divine healings. Rarely is the Bible actually studied, since the central acts of faith are healing and liberation. It is a Pentecostalism that emphasizes exorcism; the pastor becomes a moral agent who brings prosperity and stability. These pastors enjoy messianic authority that extends to the economic realm. This kind of Pentecostalism offers economic benefits to the pastors, incorporating them into the religious marketplace and converting the church into a commercial venture. Evangelists of this kind in Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela are known to own large properties in England, the United States, and Europe.

The Pentecostal movement that started as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Topeka (1901) and Azusa Street in Los Angeles (1906) became a global missionary movement that spread to all continents. The movement in Latin America and the Caribbean began as a foreign missionary enterprise, but it soon transformed into an indigenous, autonomous movement of independent and national churches. Today the movement is also expressed by divine healing churches led by a messianic-hero figure in which exorcism and prosperity theology dominate. These Neopentecostal churches, like the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in Brazil, are organized as religious transnational enterprises.

All three predominant models of Pentecostal mission in Latin America and the Caribbean have tried to respond to the cry of the oppressed and the poor sectors of society. In their attempts they also accompanied immigrants from Europe to Latin America (Italians in South America) and displaced persons in a diaspora that spanned from the Caribbean to other countries in Latin America and Hawaii. Today, new waves of migrants from the Caribbean, primarily Afro-Caribbean persons to Great Britain, are estab-

lishing a new kind of Pentecostal movement in the European diaspora.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Holiness Movement; Protestantism in the Americas; Religion

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CARMELO ÁLVAREZ (2005)

Pentecostalism in North America

Among scholars of Pentecostalism there are two schools of thought as to the emergence of this religious phenomenon. The first school, identified with Vinson Synan, William Menzies, and James Goff, argues that Charles Parham (1873–1929) was the founder of the Pentecostal movement and that it began in Kansas in 1901. The competing school, which includes Walter Hollenweger, James Tinney, J. Douglas Nelson, Cecil R. Robeck, and Edith Blumhofer, argues that the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles from 1906 to 1913 was the true beginning and William J. Seymour the pivotal person.

The second school focuses on Azusa Street and Seymour because they were the originating center of Pentecostalism throughout the United States and in Scandinavia, Great Britain, Brazil, Egypt, and India, where it spread. The revival defined Pentecostalism, shaped its interracial relations, and gave it its multicultural character. The first school designates Parham because he was the first proponent to link glossolalia with the biblical Pentecost event recounted in several chapters in the biblical book Acts of the Apostles and to define this experience as the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

In 1901 Charles Parham operated the Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas. A major religious experience for him was the baptism of the Holy Spirit as described in Acts of the Apostles, chapter 2. The Holiness Movement during the 1800s identified this experience as sanctification. The Wesleyan wing of the Holiness Movement defined the experience in terms of cleansing, while the Calvinist or Reformed wing saw it as empowerment for Christian living. Both positions understood the experience as subsequent to justification. The Reformed advocates described sanctification as a progressive process, while the Wesleyan advocates described it as an instantaneous event.

In the late 1890s Parham joined those who sought to categorize discrete experience beyond justification and sanctification. In January 1901 Parham identified glossolalia with the third experience and linked this experience instead of sanctification with Acts 2. He began preaching this new doctrine within Holiness circles in the Midwest.

In 1905 William J. Seymour, who was black, enrolled in Parham's school in Houston despite the white man Parham's enforcement of segregation laws that prevented Seymour from sitting with the white students. While Seymour adopted the new doctrine, he failed at the time to have the actual experience himself. In 1906 he carried the new doctrine to California in response to an invitation to become pastor of a small black Holiness congregation in Los Angeles headed by Julia Hutchins. Hutchins and the other members established a congregation of Evening Light Saints after withdrawing from the Second Baptist Church, which had refused to embrace their Holiness message. Hutchins, however, rejected Seymour's addition to Holiness teaching and barred him from the pulpit. Edward Lee and, later, Richard Asberry invited Seymour to resume preaching at their homes.

After Seymour and others began speaking in tongues, they outgrew the "house church," and Seymour secured larger facilities at 312 Azusa Street, the former sanctuary of First African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). Seymour's revival on Azusa Street attracted the attention first of local whites and blacks, especially those involved in the Holiness community. But soon participants from the Holiness Movement across the United States converged by the thousands on Azusa Street to observe events, examine the new doctrine, and experience glossolalia. Within twelve months the Azusa Street Mission spawned an international movement and began a journal, *Apostolic Faith.* From 1906 to 1908, *Apostolic Faith,* the Azusa Street Mission, and Seymour held the loosely bound movement together and provided it with a center and leadership.

Like its Holiness counterpart, Pentecostalism was basically local and regional and headed by both blacks and whites, as well as both women and men. In many places local and regional movements took over entire Holiness congregations and institutions. African-American Holi-

ness leaders who embraced Pentecostalism along with all or some of their associated congregations included W. H. Fulford (d. 1916), William Fuller (1875–1958), Charles Harrison Mason (1866–1961), and Magdalena Tate (1871–1930).

Early Pentecostalism emerged as a strongly interracial movement and struggled with its interracial identity at a time when American society was segregated. Frank Bartleman, a white Azusa Street participant and reporter, stated that at the revival "the color line was washed away in the blood [of Jesus Christ]." While Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Holiness people lived in racially segregated congregations, associations, and denominational structures, the black and white Pentecostals pastored and preached to and fellowshipped and worshipped with each other between 1906 and 1914, and many joined the predominantly black Pentecostal-Holiness group, the Church of God in Christ. The Pentecostal leadership was strongly anti–Ku Klux Klan and was often the target of Klan terrorism because of their interracial sympathies.

But racism came to counter the interracial nature of early Pentecostalism. Parham exhibited racist behavior and a patronizing attitude toward his black counterparts, especially Seymour; in 1908 blacks withdrew from the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church (later called Pentecostal Holiness Church); in 1913 another black group withdrew from the Pentecostal Holiness Church; in 1914 a white group withdrew from the Church of God in Christ; and in 1924 a white group withdrew from the half-black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, which was led by a black minister, Garfield Thomas Haywood.

While segregation among Pentecostals came to follow the pattern of American Christianity after the Civil War, there were exceptions. Blacks and whites continued to struggle together to structure their interracial relationships during the height of segregation in the United States. In 1924 the Church of God in Christ adopted the Methodist model of establishing a minority transgeographical conference, specifically a white conference to unite the white congregations across the United States that belonged to the predominantly black denomination. In 1907 and 1931 several different groups of blacks and whites entered and withdrew from the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

Theologically, Pentecostalism split early into two camps over the doctrine of God: Trinitarian and Oneness. The Oneness doctrine, as opposed to the classic Christian doctrine of the Trinity, claimed that Jesus was the name of God and that God expressed Godself in the form of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit but was not three persons in one. The Trinitarians confessed the traditional Christian doctrine of the Trinity and rejected the Oneness interpretation. While the existing black Pentecostal denominations, such as the Church of God in Christ, United Holy Church, and Church of the Living God, remained Trinitarian, many independent black Pentecostal congregations in the Midwest, especially those associated with Haywood, rejected Trinitarianism. Oneness denominations identified themselves as Apostolic churches.

Haywood and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World are the parents of most black Apostolic denominations in the United States. Significant leaders of the movement included Robert C. Lawson (1881–1961), who organized the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith in 1919; Sherrod C. Johnson (1897–1961), who organized the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith in 1930; and Smallwood Williams, who organized Bible Way Churches of Our Lord Jesus Christ Worldwide in 1957.

While Pentecostal denominations opened more forms of ministry to women than other Protestant denominations, only a few granted women equality with men. Among black Pentecostals, full male-female equality existed only in denominations founded by black women. Magdalena Tate's denomination, the oldest Pentecostal denomination founded by a black woman, was among the Holiness groups that joined Pentecostalism after their establishment. During 1903 she founded in Tennessee the Church of Living God, Pillar and Ground of the Truth. The other major grouping of Pentecostal denominations founded by black women withdrew from the United Holy Church of America, which ordained women to the ministry but denied them the bishopric. In 1924 Ida Robinson founded the Mt. Sinai Holy Church to rectify this inequality. In 1944 Beulah Counts (d. 1968), an associate of Robinson, organized the Greater Mt. Zion Pentecostal Church of America.

Crossing Trinitarian and Apostolic divisions is a stream within Pentecostalism called the deliverance movement. The deliverance movement grew out of the white healing movement of the 1940s associated with William Branham that produced Oral Roberts, Gordon Lindsay, and A. A. Allen. The deliverance movement among black Pentecostals is related to Arturo Skinner (1924–1975), who expanded the traditional black Pentecostal emphasis on healing to include exorcisms and heightened the accent on the miraculous. In 1956 he established the Deliverance Evangelistic Centers, with headquarters in Newark, New Jersey. Deliverance ministries emerged in traditional Pentecostal congregations such as Faith Temple Church of God in Christ under Harry Willis Goldsberry (1895–1986) in Chicago. In urban centers there emerged new independent congregations that competed with traditional black

Pentecostals; Benjamin Smith (b. 1926), who founded the Deliverance Evangelistic Center in Philadelphia in 1960, and Richard Hinton, who founded Monument of Faith Evangelistic Center in Chicago in 1963, were two of the best-known leaders of these congregations.

Although Pentecostals are stereotyped as otherworldly, studies have shown a social activist stream within black Pentecostalism. A number of black Pentecostal denominations and leaders joined the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches and participated in the marches for black employment during the 1930s. Robert C. Lawson cooperated with Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and other leading Harlem ministers in campaigns for black employment. J. O. Patterson (1912–1990) of the Church of God in Christ and other ministers participated in local civil rights campaigns in Memphis, Tennessee, and other southern cities and towns in the late 1950s. Smallwood Williams led the legal battle against segregated public schools during the 1950s in Washington, D.C. Arthur Brazier (b. 1921), Louis Henry Ford (b. 1914), and other Pentecostal clergy were active in the civil rights movement in Chicago and other northern cities in the 1960s.

Studies of the black Pentecostal leadership note the occurrence of a cadre of black Pentecostals who identify with twentieth-century theological liberalism. Relations between liberal Protestantism and black Pentecostalism occur on a number of levels. A significant number of Pentecostals are graduates of liberal seminaries, some as early as the 1940s. They are graduates of schools such as Temple University, Oberlin, Union Theological Seminary (New York City), Duke, Emory, and McCormick. And the first accredited Pentecostal—and only African-American—seminary, Charles Harrison Mason Theological Seminary, is a member of Interdenominational Theological Center (ITC), a consortium of African-American seminaries affiliated with mainline denominations. The Church of God in Christ, the sponsor of Mason Seminary at ITC, embraces theological liberalism from a black perspective in the preparation of an educated clergy. A number of black Pentecostal leaders are also involved in the ecumenical movement that liberal Protestantism embraces: Herbert Daughtry (b. 1931) participates in some World Council of Churches programs, and Ithiel Clemmons (b. 1921) participates in regional and local ecumenical councils.

Black Pentecostalism also includes leaders who identify with evangelicalism. Black Pentecostals associated with the evangelical movement are often graduates of evangelical seminaries such as Fuller, Gordon-Conwell, and Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Leaders such as William Bentley (b. 1926) and George McKinney (b. 1932) are active members of the National Association of Evangelicals along with the National Black Association of Evangelicals.

During the 1970s black Pentecostalism intersected with the "Word of Faith" movement spurred by Kenneth Hagin and his message of healing, prosperity, and positive confession. Fredrick Price (b. 1932) emerged as the Word of Faith leader among black Christians after establishing Crenshaw Christian Center of Los Angeles in 1973.

During the 1970s Pentecostalism influenced the historic black denominations, especially the AME Church. Neo-Pentecostal ministers occupied some major AME pulpits. The focal point for the movement during the early 1970s was St. Paul AME Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, under the pastorate of John Bryant (b. 1948). During the period, college campuses became centers for the growth of Pentecostalism among black students, particularly through the college gospel choir movement.

Black Pentecostals have been leaders within the black religious music movement since the early 1900s. Black Pentecostalism became the carrier of black religious folk music, noted for its call-and-response, improvisation, polyrhythms, and diatonic harmonies. By the 1920s Arizona Juanita Dranes (b. 1905) and Sallie Sanders were popular gospel singers. Dranes and Sanders began the tradition of the Baptist and Pentecostal leadership of the gospel music movement. By the 1980s black Pentecostals such as Andraé Crouch, Edwin Hawkins, Walter Hawkins, Shirley Caesar, the Clark Sisters, and the Wynans dominated the gospel music movement.

From its beginning at the Azusa Street Revival in 1906, black Pentecostalism has grown to become the second-largest religious movement among African Americans and one of the fastest-growing religious movements in the United States and around the globe, especially in the Third World.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Holiness Movement; Protestantism in the Americas; Religion

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Updated bibliography

People's National Congress

The origins of the People's National Congress (PNC), the political party founded in October 1957 by Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, the first executive president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, was the 1955 fracture of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), of which Burnham had been a founding leader with Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan. Among the founding members of the PNC were such African-Guyanese women as Winifred Gaskin. Gaskin had been a founding member and one-time president of the first women's political organization in the country, the Women's Political and Economic Organisation (WPEO), formed in 1946. Other women who participated included Jane Phillips-Gay, Jessica (Jesse) Burnham, and Margaret Ackman, and men included Claude Merriman, Andrew Jackson, H. M. E. Cholmondeley, Albert Ogle, Hamilton Green, Dr. J. P. Latchmansingh, Jai Narine Singh, Flavio Da Silva, Eugene Correia, Stanley Hugh, and Clinton Wong. Although the PNC became known as the political party of the African Guyanese because of the mass support of members of that group, effort was always made to include all racial groups in its rank and file.

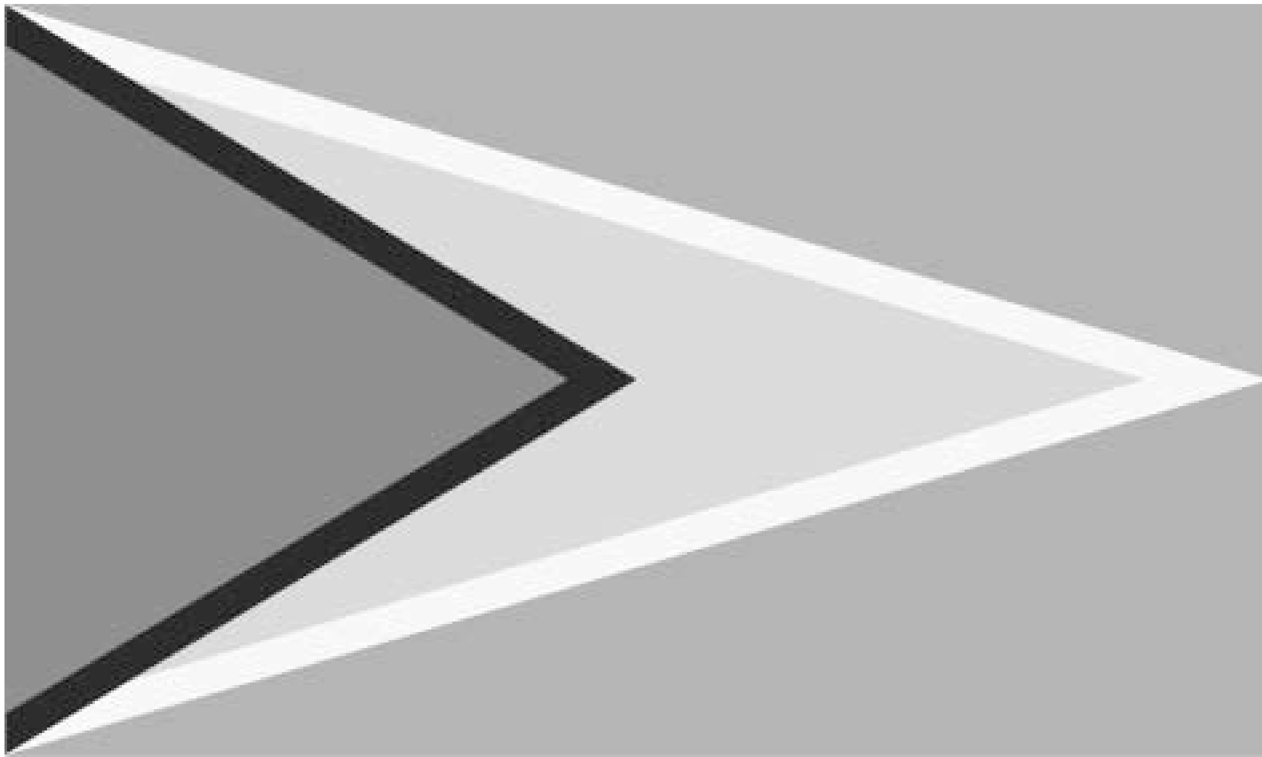
The first annual congress of the party was held in Georgetown on October 5–7, 1957. At the congress the name of the party was changed from the PPP (the party of the Burnhamites) to the People's National Congress. The *New Nation* was adopted as the official name of the party's organ, changing it from the *PPP Thunder*. The three sessions of the congress focused on problems facing the colony's youth, women's role in politics, and the party's business affairs with the PNC's Young Socialist Movement (YSM) and the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM) as important participants. To distinguish the ideologies, political philosophies, and direction of the PNC from the Marxist-Leninist leanings of the Jagan-led PPP, the new party defined itself as socialist and embraced the struggle for independence, nationalism, and racial integration. Socialism meant a society organized to produce for use rather than profit. Nationalism signified the struggle for independence from Great Britain and the power to control the country's affairs. Initially, the party operated in Georgetown out of the legal chambers of its leader, Burnham, but the first official headquarters of the PNC, Congress Place, was located on King Street. Next, it moved to Carmichael and Newmarket Streets, then to 227 Camp Street. The current headquarters of the PNC is in Sophia, Greater Georgetown.

In 1958 John P. Carter's United Democratic Party (UDP) joined the PNC, with Carter becoming the first vice chair, the number three position after Burnham, and J. P. Latchmansingh becoming chair. The executive committee of the PNC comprised eighteen members, nine each from the PNC itself and the former UDP. A general council of thirty members was established. At its annual delegates conference in 1961 the party was reorganized to include an executive committee of ten member and a general council of twenty-four. Burnham remained the leader of a party committed to all the people of the country under the slogan "One People, One Nation, One Destiny." This slogan became the national motto of independent Guyana.

The PNC was the main opposition party in the legislature until the general elections of December 1964. Following that election, the PNC won enough seats to lead a coalition government with Peter D'Aguiar's United Force (UF). The PNC-UF coalition gained 53 percent electoral votes, which translated into twenty-nine seats in the fifty-three-seat House of Assembly. The PPP became the opposition in the legislature with twenty-four seats. The forming of the coalition government ended the riots, killings, and destruction of property that had occurred during the previous three years.

The policies and programs of the PNC-UF-led government included the attainment of independence from Great Britain, the pursuit of racial harmony, and the equality of all citizens. Steps were taken to include Amerindian or indigenous citizens into full national participation to enable them to share in the benefits and responsibilities of the country. Soon after taking office and for some time thereafter, the coalition government discussed the possibility of a consultative democracy in Guyana with various groups, including the Maha Sabha (Hindu), the United Sadir Islamic Anjuman, the African Society of Cultural Relations with Independent Africa, and the Chinese Association, as well as with the Anglican archbishop of the West Indies, the Roman Catholic bishop of Georgetown, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Methodist Body, the Congregational Conference, and other religious and cultural organizations. The coalition government envisioned that engaging diverse groups would promote harmony and that these groups would advise the government when matters likely to affect any section of the population arose.

Under the PNC-UF coalition government from 1965 to 1967, initiatives to launch a three-state Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) with Antigua and Barbados developed into the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), with most Caribbean countries as members. With independence in 1966, Guyana became a member of the United Nations and subsequently the first



The Golden Arrowhead, Guyana's national flag. illustration by the flag institute. flag images © epsflag.com 1998

Caribbean state to be elected to the Security Council. After the PNC won an outright victory in the general election in December 1968 and became the sole party in power, it pursued its commitment to regional integration and unity. By August 1973, when CARICOM became fully operational, its headquarters was located in Georgetown. In 1972 Guyana hosted the first Festival of Arts (CARIFESTA), and seventeen countries participated. Regional integration remained a key feature of the PNC-led government's external policy. The government also played a significant role in promoting economic self-reliance for developing countries. Guyana initiated the meeting of economists from those countries in August 1972 in Georgetown to draft a program for economic cooperation among developing countries.

The country's government, led by the PNC, believed in territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The neighboring countries Suriname and Venezuela had long claimed significant portions of Guyana, and their illegal incursions into the country began to be met with resistance. In December 1967 Suriname invaded and occupied an area of Guyana called the New River Triangle. On August 19, 1969, the Guyana Defense Force, established by the PNC regime, routed the invaders and secured the entire disputed area as Guyana's sovereign territory.

By the 1970s, the PNC adopted the doctrine of Paramountcy of the Party, or the Declaration of Sophia, which enunciated that all organs of the state were agencies of the PNC and subject to its control. During that same decade PNC politicians supported a policy of nationalizing resources for the benefit of the Guyanese people. The National Development Program focused on promoting an economic revolution, national reconstruction, and encouraging a cooperative way of life. The Guyana National Service Secretariat (GNS) was established in 1973. It combined paramilitary, educational, and development activities for youths and students. Although the GNS aimed at interior settlement, development of the country, and national unity, the agenda also served to reduce criminal activities of Guyanese youths. In 1976 the PNC government took over all the schools in the country and promised free education from kindergarten to university.

In Guyana, the first half of the 1970s was relatively prosperous economically, with prices of the country's main exports increasing on the international market. The PNC-led government took control of foreign trade with the establishment of the External Trade Bureau. Important government bureaucracies like the National Insurance Scheme provided pensions and other benefits for many. Political and administrative plans included a "feed, clothe, and house the nation" program (FCH), aiming to

satisfy the basic needs of the people, to create employment opportunities, to generate self-reliance, to reorient consumption patterns in favor of locally produced products, and to reorganize foreign trade. Remarkable developments of the infrastructure of the country, including improvements to the pure water supply and health care services, were obvious. National development included a remigration scheme that encouraged skilled Guyanese living overseas to return home and to contribute to nation building. By 1976, however, oil price increases by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and decreased revenues from two of the country's major exports, bauxite and sugar, adversely affected Guyana's national development.

As the 1970s drew to a close, the challenges that the PNC-led government faced increased, partly due to a policy of nationalizing foreign companies that produced the major export earners of the country, bauxite (1971, 1974, and 1975) and sugar (1976). In November 1978 the Jonestown tragedy, when an American group in Guyana's interior committed mass suicide, added fuel to the fires of opposition forces. As the 1980s unfolded, the untimely and still unsolved tragic death of historian and political activist Dr. Walter A. Rodney, along with pressing economic issues, presaged the demise of the PNC-led government of Guyana. Unwittingly, this government, in its haste to dismantle economic relations with traditional trading partners and to initiate new relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union, North Korea, and other Soviet-bloc countries, found itself needing to govern with excessive authoritarianism.

In the 1980s the PNC-led government addressed the deteriorating social and economic situation by establishing the Social Impact Amelioration Programme (SIMAP), following the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). SIMAP was meant to assist those most affected by the economic downturn. The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union, the United Nations Development Program, and other donors provided SIMAP with financial assistance.

Following President Burnham's death in 1985, the new PNC leader, Hugh Desmond Hoyte, Queen's (Senior) Counsel (1929–2002), became the country's second executive president, a position he held until the PNC lost the elections held on October 5, 1992, to a coalition of the PPP and other political parties. On assuming office President Hoyte embarked on a course of privatization. From 1986 the government sought foreign investment in the country's economy. Hoyte marketed Guyana abroad, endeavoring to normalize and to improve relations with Western nations. As head of the PNC-led government, he promoted economic growth and prosperity in the country. Interestingly, Hoyte, a lawyer like Burnham, also died in office, paving the way for the third leader of the PNC, now called the People's National Congress Reform (PNCR), in 2003: Robert Corbin, a lawyer like his forerunners, Burnham and Hoyte.

See also Burnham, Forbes

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

Peoples National Movement

The Peoples National Movement (PNM) was launched as a political party on January 26, 1956. Nine months after its formation, the party won the general elections and formed the government of Trinidad and Tobago. In con-

Dr. Eric Williams (1911–1981). *The founder of the socialist Peoples National Movement (PNM), Williams became the first prime minister of the independent Trinidad and Tobago in 1962. Also a respected historian, he taught at Howard University in Washington, D.C. and published several highly regarded studies on the history of the Caribbean before returning to his native Trinidad in 1955.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sequence, its founder and leader, Dr. Eric Eustace Williams, an Oxford scholar and former professor of political science at Howard University who had relinquished his position as deputy chair of the Caribbean Research Council of the Caribbean Commission, became the first chief minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

From its formation the PNM demonstrated a preoccupation with policies reflecting its background and the intellectual orientation of its political leader. The party had emerged out of the Teachers' Educational and Cultural Association (TECA), formed during the 1940s and made up largely of educated, middle-class, Afro-descended professionals in search of political power. Inspired by the scholarly writings and incisive discourses of Williams, TECA members gravitated toward him and by 1955 had established the People's Education Group (PEG) and the People's Education Movement (PEM) as platforms for his lectures and political agitation.

Williams had been very critical of the nature of colonial education in the British West Indies. Once in office, the PNM preoccupied itself with the political education of its membership and, at the national level, with policies for the development of primary, secondary and vocational, and later tertiary education of the masses.

The party also addressed issues of constitutional reform, taking to the colonial authorities a fight begun by members of the TECA/PEG for the introduction of a bicameral legislature. The PNM viewed the crown colony government in Trinidad and Tobago as unacceptable, for the governor continued to preside over the legislature, and the chief minister was limited in his power over the executive. By 1959 the party was able to persuade the colonial

authorities to put in place a system that replaced the office of chief minister with that of premier, and the executive council with a cabinet under his control. Strenuous agitation by the party in the colonial legislature kept constitutional issues in constant focus. This, together with skilful diplomatic relations with the colonial office and, later, tactfully soliciting the collaboration of the main opposition party, enabled the PNM to secure full internal self-government for Trinidad and Tobago with the attainment of independence in 1962. Thereafter, the PNM pursued full sovereignty, taking the country to republican status in 1976.

Another early policy orientation was aimed at the development of the country through proper economic planning. The PNM introduced three five-year development programs, the first two of which saw the implementation between 1958 and 1968 of initiatives to promote development of the infrastructure, municipalities and communities, fisheries, forestry, tourism, public utilities, and the service sector. An important aspect involved policies for expansion and diversification of the agricultural sector, including the sugar industry, which many scholars viewed, notwithstanding, as the dominant factor in the development of the Caribbean political economy and the many ills it had inherited. The emphasis was on increasing productivity in all areas, with the object of protecting jobs and improving working conditions and the lot of small farmers.

Other development initiatives were intended to incorporate heavy and modern industrialization in the petroleum sector to maximize exploration of the country's hydrocarbon reserves. Efforts were also made to develop non-oil manufactures. Williams was deeply inspired by Arthur Lewis's model of "industrialization by invitation," and from early on the PNM administration sought to attract investment by offering generous tax concessions to foreign concerns for the creation of pioneer industries and the development of existing ones. From the late 1970s development initiatives were dominated by efforts to diversify the energy sector by developing downstream industries, including natural gas, urea, methanol, and iron and steel, but with a much greater degree of national ownership. These initiatives laid the foundation for development of the modern industrial economy of Trinidad and Tobago.

Economic development was always perceived in terms of the redistribution of income with adequate concern for the common person. Such a policy was articulated in the People's Charter of 1956, which, presented at the party's first annual convention, enunciated the fundamental principles and ideals that were to guide the development of the party and nation. The charter committed the party to a comprehensive social security program for the general welfare of all the people of Trinidad and Tobago, setting the basis for the development of greater equity in the society.

On the eve of independence, Williams advised the nation that division of the races was a policy of colonialism and that integration of the races must be the policy of independence. In consequence, the government pursued a policy of multiracial solidarity, and policies were designed for increasing access for all in the society. The full realization of these ideals remained a challenge, however, because of the deep-seated polarization and division that had resulted from the plural nature of the society.

From inception, and despite the breakup of the Federation of the West Indies in 1961, the PNM pursued regional unity as critical to the individual and collective development of countries in the English-speaking Caribbean and to the progressive use of the broad cultural heritage and indigenous art forms of its population.

The PNM was the first of the political organizations to preoccupy itself with the development of party politics in the colony and present a national and international perspective that sought to embrace the myriad classes, races, and interest groups in Trinidad and Tobago. It remains that country's longest surviving political party and, by virtue of the policies pursued from its inception regarding education, political reforms, economic development, race relations, and regional cooperation, can be considered as the architect of independent Trinidad and Tobago.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Williams, Eric

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MICHEAL F. TOUSSAINT (2005)

People's National Party

The People's National Party (PNP) is one of the two leading political parties in Jamaica and one of the most impor-

tant in the African diaspora. It was founded on September 18, 1938, one year before the beginning of World War II, and first came to political power in 1955 while Jamaica was still a British colony.

The PNP was one of the many political parties that arose in the first half of the twentieth century in those nations struggling for independence from British colonial rule. It was strongly influenced by the earlier ideological struggles of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), the anticolonial struggles in Africa, and the struggles of the Indian National Congress. More than any other political party in Jamaica's history, the PNP championed the goal of democratic elections under universal adult suffrage and political independence for Jamaica as the basic preconditions for the emancipation of the people, who are overwhelmingly of African descent.

The PNP was formed primarily by leaders of the black and brown Jamaican middle classes; lawyers, doctors, teachers, and journalists were heavily represented at its launching. Chief among these was Norman Washington Manley (1893–1969), the leading lawyer in the country at that time and the party president from its inception in 1938 until his death in 1969. He was succeeded as president of the PNP by his son, Michael Norman Manley (1924–1997).

In May 1938 the Jamaican people spontaneously rose up in revolt against the harsh economic conditions of the Great Depression. The mass of people could not vote, and their dissatisfaction had been expressed through anticolonial pressure groups and organizations. The 1938 upheaval transformed the political environment, however, and the same groups who had been involved in earlier civic efforts moved into the political arena and launched the People's National Party.

The Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) was formed out of the general strike, the burning of sugar estates, and spontaneous island-wide demonstrations that took place in the 1938 revolt. Initially, it was loosely affiliated with the PNP, which provided its mass base and played the leading political role. As a political party based in the urban and rural middle classes, the PNP began with weak popular support. Nonetheless, the radical intelligentsia in the PNP developed a strongly anticolonial political program.

By 1943 it was clear that the British, weakened by the fight against the Nazis, would concede universal adult suffrage to the Jamaican people and hold general elections. In anticipation of this, the BITU, which had been in a loose relationship with the PNP, broke with that party and formed the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). As a result, the PNP lost a substantial part of its mass base. In 1944 the first general elections under British rule were held, and the PNP was soundly defeated by the JLP.

After this defeat, the PNP developed into a mass party with its own affiliated trade union—first the Trades Union Congress, and later its successor, the National Workers Union. Unlike the BITU, these organizations primarily unionized workers in manufacturing, mining, tourism, and public sectors. This combination of the middle classes, businesspeople, the working class, and poor people has been a characteristic feature of the PNP (and of many other nationalist parties formed during the colonial period). The result has been that the PNP contains ideological tendencies ranging from the moderate right to the far left. This has sometimes led to sharp interparty disputes and divisions.

The most tumultuous of these disputes occurred in 1952, when the "Four Hs"—Ken Hill, Frank Hill, Richard Hart, and Arthur Henry—were expelled from the party on the grounds that they represented a communist tendency. After this split the PNP leaned more to the moderate right in its political platform. It won the general elections for the first time in 1955, and Norman Manley became the chief minister, as distinct from prime minister—a title reserved for the chief executive of politically independent countries. The PNP then began to implement a vigorous program of reform.

Reforms implemented between 1955 and 1962 in education, housing, land distribution, industrialization, social development, and public-policy management were fundamental in shaping modern Jamaican society. Access to high school and university education was expanded, a strong civil service developed, and a sense of national cultural identity was encouraged. In addition, efforts at regional political unity with other English-speaking Caribbean countries were pursued in the form of a political federation. These reforms benefited primarily the Jamaican middle and business classes, which expanded and consolidated themselves during this period. The mass of the people remained in poverty, with income distribution becoming worse. An important debate, led by leading members of the JLP, about the growing gap between the "haves and the have-nots" began to take place. Additionally, political federation with other Caribbean countries was unpopular with the mass of people. The result was that the PNP was defeated in national elections in 1962. Thus, Jamaica was led into political independence in 1962 not by the party that had championed it, but by the more conservative Jamaica Labour Party.

In 1969 Norman Manley died and was succeeded as president of the PNP by his son, Michael Manley. In general elections in 1972 the PNP was returned to power. Mi-

Children gather around Norman W. Manley (1893–1969), founder of the People's National Party, as he makes his way to the cathedral for Jamaica's Independence Day celebrations, August 6, 1962. GETTY IMAGES

chael Manley became the first prime minister from the PNP. The Jamaican people, although experiencing substantial economic growth under the preceding Jamaica Labour Party government, felt that inequalities in society had been intensified and that black Jamaicans and black Jamaican culture were insufficiently recognized and respected. This was a period of global radicalization, including the Cuban revolution in 1959 and other revolutionary struggles in Latin America, a further round of struggles for independence in Africa, and the civil rights, Black Power, and antiwar movements in the United States. The radical tendencies in the PNP were also revived, and the period of democratic socialism (1972–1980), led by Michael Manley, developed.

The democratic socialist period was marked by reforms in the field of education and housing. As a result of the policy of free education, many people from the poorer strata of Jamaican society gained access to secondary education for the first time. Large working-class housing programs were begun, and legislation improving the status of women and children was enacted (the status of illegitimacy, which established legal disabilities in inheritance and other family rights for children born out of wedlock, and which had greatly disadvantaged the overwhelming majority of children, was abolished). Black Jamaican culture was promoted and Jamaica became a strong voice in the international arena supporting African liberation movements and a new international economic order that would benefit developing countries.

The PNP government under Michael Manley was less successful in its economic reforms, however. The measures instituted to tax the transnational corporations that controlled bauxite mining in Jamaica led to disinvestment and an eventual fall in revenue. The huge expenditure on social welfare programs created large budget deficits, devaluations, and, eventually, structural adjustments recom-

mended by the International Monetary Fund. Manley's radical international stance—including close relations with Cuba and the Non-Aligned Movement—alienated the government of the United States. The upshot of the economic and political crisis at the end of 1980 was that the PNP under Michael Manley was defeated in a national election characterized by violence.

In 1989 the PNP, still under the leadership of Michael Manley, was returned to power. By then it had shifted from its far-left position to a platform consistent with neoliberal globalization. Following this policy line, a period of rapid deregulation of the economy ensued. This led to unprecedented inflation (90 percent in 1991) and frequent devaluations. In March 1992 Michael Manley resigned because of poor health and was succeeded as prime minister by an eminent black lawyer, P. J. Patterson (b. 1935).

Patterson, who remained prime minister of Jamaica in 2005, continued this same policy line. Because of the weak competitive base of Jamaica, the rapid opening to the global economy was accompanied by a regime of high interest rates as a means of curbing inflation, raising funds to finance the budget, and stabilizing the currency. A long recession (1991–2002) ensued, which led to a major banking crisis from which the country began to recover only in 2005.

These austerity programs have meant a huge increase in both domestic and foreign debt, significant reductions in social expenditures, and an intensification of income inequalities. This has substantially reduced the political support of the Jamaican people for the PNP. Nevertheless, because of its deep social roots, especially in the black middle and working classes (as well as the divisions in the opposition Jamaican Labour Party), the PNP won an unprecedented four consecutive terms in the general elections held during this period of serious hardship—the longest continuous period in Jamaican political history that one party has been in power. It will remain in power at least until the next general elections are held in 2007.

See also Manley, Michael; Manley, Norman; Patterson, Percival James "P. J."; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean

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DON ROBOTHAM (2005)

People United to Serve Humanity

See Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity)

Performance Art

Performance Art is a quintessential catch-all phrase. With definitions as simplistic as that offered by W. W. Norton's *Glossary Online*—"Multimedia art form involving visual as well as dramatic and musical elements"—to the slightly more nuanced, if not infuriating, "live art by artists. [S]ince each performer makes his or her own definition in the very process and manner of execution" (1988, p. 9) provided by art historian RoseLee Goldberg, that which definitively separates performance art from either theater, or dance, or even body performance, for video recording remains deliciously elusive. Such is the nature of a "form" that struggles against formula, launches tirades against discipline, and hurls insult at tradition.

In the twenty-first century, when one hears the term *performance art,* it is usually in reference to modes of performance that evolved in lower Manhattan and industrial Los Angeles during the 1970s, known at the time as the highly controversial "conceptual art." Art colleges such as the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts) near Los Angeles and Cooper Union in Manhattan had begun to engage the political and social movements of the time in their course offerings. They sought to invest art and the practice of art with the timeliness of its moment of production. An example of this is the Feminist Arts program founded in part by Judy Chicago at CalArts, as well as the happenings launched in the loft district of lower Manhattan by art students like Adrian Piper.

In addition to the urgency of progressive social movements and anti–Vietnam War activism, the major urban centers of the United States were beginning to experience

industrial flight, leaving behind entire manufacturing districts of architectural promise. Empty factories, sometimes still retaining the mechanized detritus of their former occupants, offered artists a cheap and communal place to live and work and show their work outside of the traditional gallery system of exhibition. Squatting itself became an art practice, as well as a political statement; an instance of disturbing the "naturalness" of art-making as always genteel, sophisticated, and most importantly, buffered and bracketed from the struggles of everyday living through an exclusive (and therefore highly limited) system of patronage and consumption. These were patronless artists, for a time, courtless jesters, clanless tribes, turning out their living spaces for communal experiences of the absurd, the sublime, the disturbing, the disjointed, which was always already the everyday experience of the object of capital: the worker, the citizen. These spaces were never located in "safe" areas of the city, and the circle of participants seemed limited to fellow rebellious students and radicals. Something had to be done—in a more visible space. What is an artist without an audience?

In this climate, conceptual artists took to the street, like their activist comrades and foes, bringing art to the people, taking the scale of art objects from the grand and elusive into the common and banal. Showing up was half the point of the "piece." Doing dances in metered parking places (Susan Rose), or giving calling cards to white racists who assumed themselves to be in the company of other white people of like mind (Adrian Piper), unmarked the boundary between make-believe, where it was thought that art with a capital *A* resided, and the public sphere, a highly contested site of negotiations and exchanges among people of differing ancestry, cultural practices, religious beliefs, and social classes. No longer solely relegated to the gallery, nor charged with only showing the audience beauty, the urban art (graffiti should also be considered part of this movement, albeit the "street" coming into the "gallery," or rendering the sidewalk experience as a gallery) movements of conceptual art, happenings, and ritual/puppet theater, in collapsing production with existing, experience with consumption, created a confrontational climate with the shadow side of everyday social interactions, considered at the time by dominant white structures of power as mere "decorum."

Deemed too political, too disturbing, too ugly, too pedestrian, or too pornographic, conceptual art was anti-art; it was an experience rather than an object that the art lover would take home at the end of the evening. Yet, performance art has become acceptable. Perhaps Andy Warhol and his art of the commercial icon (like the rows and rows of Marilyn Monroe's face or Campbell's Soup® cans) marked the shift of "uptown coming downtown," as they would say in New York. There arrived the moment when the trace of performance—the objects created to facilitate the activity, whatever it was—began to accumulate value, much as any piece in a gallery or museum. The collectors called themselves *hipsters*. The archivists in the group became authoritarians as well as historians on the fragments (as did RoseLee Goldberg with her book, *Performance Art* [1988]). The patrons returned. Definitions (much like this one) began to proliferate, artists began to mature or die trying not to, the ephemeral quality of the work became its own undoing—there needed to be a record in order to prove one's presence as an artist.

Performance art returned to the gallery, and one could argue that the 1980s real-estate boom in urban centers helped to push artists back into the arms of the patrons. It was safer to reside in the bosom of the patron than risk the demolition crews and eviction notices. Stability of the live/work environment took precedence, and was codified in numerous city building codes. Codification is another word for relegation, especially when spatial usage agreements are involved. For those female and colored bodies who were not as enticing an investment, public art funds and private small philanthropic institutions once again institutionalized the nonwhite male body, creating funding sources and opportunities for performance in the public sector. Zoning laws, application forms, performance permits, and tax codes made the production of performance art just another public object, sufficiently contained and controlled, though such laws ostensibly provided for its continued existence, its institutionalization. Finally back in the schools, in the galleries, and in the museums, performance art is now understood by audiences of art, again with a capital *A*, as an art form, just not one that can be pinned down. Arguably, this is why those who regularly attend "manifestations," "interventions," "installations," "showings," "happenings," "gatherings," "incidents," "ciphers," "jams," and "performances" go in the first place.

False Starts

This amorphous form is typically traced back through time to beginnings in high European art. Interestingly, artists performing as opposed to creating art objects was a revolt against high-bourgeois norms and ideals. The Parisian futurism of 1903 to 1912 (the movements' "Manifesto" was published in *Le Figaro* on February 20, 1909) set up a template that subsequent "styles" of antiestablishment art were to utilize and rework over the span of the twentieth century. Initially a group of artists producing art events together, futurism spread throughout European art

salons. Plastic, visual, and literary artists thrust themselves into performance as a way to have a more immediate connection with their audience, to enjoy their work, and to make of life an artwork, thereby guaranteeing that living itself was artistry. Moreover, the futurist artists believed that art, like life, should have no logical, determined pattern, nor should its objects speak beyond their users.

Similar in structure to so-called "primitive" cultural practices at the time, a succession of early twentieth-century performance art collectives—futurism, cubism, dadaism, and surrealism—were in deep conversation with the shifting world around them, especially the rapid colonization of the continent of Africa by European powers (German chancellor Otto von Bismarck's now infamous meeting to partition the continent of Africa began in November 1884). With that in mind, the reader of this entry may step into an "othered" history and definition of *performance art*, one that does not always trace itself through Paris, nor even call itself "performance art" most of the time.

Sculptures, Colonialism, and Interrupted Rites

It should not come as a surprise, though it still shocks, that cubism (1907–1914), dadaism (1916 in Germany, 1920–1924 in Paris), and surrealism (1925–1938) had their birthing through Parisian contacts with *objets d'art* of conquered African city-states and colonial subjects seeking education in the metropole (centers of imperial power). Gold amulets and exquisitely carved wooden furniture from the Ghanaian Federation, bronze castings with jeweled inlays and ivory sculptures from the Yoruba sixteen-state federation, wood sculptures and otherworldly instruments from the Songhai empire labeled as *fétiches* (or in English, *fetishes*) and deemed naive, these *objets d'arts* flooded into Europe as war booty between roughly 1870 and 1914 (though the flow is still a major problem in contemporary developing Africa). These objects were not "art objects" in a hard and fast sense; they were spirit houses divorced from their performative moment. But their effects were not entirely lost in translation. European artists saw and experienced in the sculptures, dance wands, cloth, and power amulets a presence of the flesh and an adoration of the *concept* that they felt had become foreign to a rapidly industrializing Europe.

They moved their art back to the streets, the parlors, the night clubs, the dance halls, the parks, the stairwells of subways and waterways—art in Europe returned to the scale of the human, to following footprints along the sidewalk, meandering to no particular point at no particular rate, in marked contrast to the insistence of an ever-industrializing cityscape for synchronization and amelioration of difference, space, and memory. These pieces were confrontations meant to provoke the audience, to challenge their sense of self and social order. Frequently very elaborate productions that used minimal, common, street-gutter language, these precursors to late twentieth-century performance art strove for disarray, an anarchy without a subsequent new order. This art had political yet antirepublican ideals and goals. Eventually surrealism would connect in meaningful ways with actual Africans and other black French colonial subjects between 1932 and 1936 through the poetry and manifestations of Aimé Césaire (the Martinican poet, playwright, and politician), Léopold Senghor (the first president of liberated Senegal), and Léon Gontran Damas (the French Guyanese poet and member of the National Assembly). These three men, surrounded by a bevy of black thinkers, writers, poets, dancers, actors, and singers from around the African diaspora, birthed the cultural and political movement known as *Négritude*, which, though Parisian, sought to create a Pan-Africanism through artistic and cultural practices.

One must now reconsider the famous picture of futurist Guillaume Apollinaire's studio filled with African "art."

How Did It Get Black? Or, Enter the Moor

Throughout the transatlantic slave trade, performance practices mobilized specific types of tools for both Africans and Europeans seeking a way to comprehend this monumental human tragedy. Dances, songs, street/spontaneous theater set pieces, masquerades, costumes, and even specific types of culinary events that are now lumped under the category of "traditional folk expressions" (or if not so sophisticated, "that ole timey Negro stuff") had their beginnings as "artful performance," back in their day. Such festivals as John Canoe, Bumba Meu boi (The master's bull is mine), and Crop Over, all "folk manifestations" from the nineteenth century, had elements that could be identified as constituting a performance art practice.

Body-based, these performance styles use the flesh of the performer as stage, device, backdrop, setting, time period, and "soundtrack." Multi- or crossmodal techniques as varied as music, dance, sculpture, live painting (on any surface, with any colorant), theater, ritual and/or spell casting are employed freely, without regard to training or discipline. The story line is disjunctive, if there is one at all, jumping through time, stopping time flow for emphasis of the idea over the continued, unbroken narrative arc. The time it takes to execute the piece, its duration, also becomes a performer and is manipulated, usually against the

narrative arc; this is known as time-based art. Such works are participatory, engaging the audience as source material or requiring the audience to "complete" the piece as they see fit either mentally or by becoming a player/maker in the piece. By its very construction, the piece is unstable, incomplete, a deconstructive act, and therefore productive of discourse/dialogue/new clarity about old, murky ideas. The piece is repeatable but not reproducible, uniquely performed every time but still recognized as itself, though sometimes confused for real life activity rather than a performance as it blurs social domains. It dissimulates in order to draw out "truths," utilizing trickster characters, set pieces, and phrases.

Invoking godspace through creating a physicalized reality, the act denies any truths other than the physical body's functions, which can be inferred by witnesses as proof for the need for divine intervention; or proof of the absence of a divine spirit, hence the futility or absurdity of human social networks; or conversely, proof of the inherent divinity of humanity itself. So the question for this definition that wants to remain undefined is: When is a black person not in the midst of a performance art piece?

This, though rather flippant, can be distilled as the baseline concept with which most artists of African descent who work in time-based mediums delight in destabilizing, shouting out loud, writing about, reading random lists to passersby, leaving trails and clues on canvases, marking up otherwise excellent records to make one listen more carefully to the distortion. Black performance art is a slave narrative that requires no witness: it finds the audience, flat on its feet, and forces them to recognize their participation in the event—staged or otherwise.

Genres and Modes

From a more traditional vantage point, performance art can be broken into genres, reflecting the artist's original training, if any. Adrian Piper, William Pope.L, and Robbie McCauley could be characterized as conceptual artists, since they all use "classic" modes of performance art engagement. Yet, Piper is trained as a visual artist, Pope.L as a visual artist who performs, and McCauley as a theater artist who specializes in the monologue. Bill T. Jones, Rhodessa Jones, Joanna Haigood, Bebe Miller, Blondell Cummings, Alonzo King, and Jawole Willa Jo Zollar were all trained as dancers in "high Western Art Aesthetic" traditions, but broke with or metamorphosed their training by taking strategic positions with regard to their art. Haigood and King could be said to perform only as dancers, since text is often missing from their work, yet they restructure dance technique itself—Haigood brought in aerialism and site-specific work, while King layers traditional African diaspora body positions over *toes en pointe*. Bill T. Jones, Rhodessa Jones, Zollar, Cummings, and Miller continue to work between dance theater with large companies or as solo performers in work that registers as performance art.

Anna Deavere Smith's work is often categorized as performance art, but others argue that she is a thespian, a very gifted one who can hold upwards of thirty-five characters per performance. The work of Damali Ayo, Navin June Norling, and Kara Walker, though based in the plastic and visual arts, also seeps out into performance and digital realms, especially the work of Ayo. Using literature, musical composition, dance, and classic conceptual art modes, Keith + Mendi Obadike have mutated into "net artists," using the World Wide Web as staging device, tool, and technique. Philip Mallory Jones's multichannel video installations are based in his training as a film student but also his contact with conceptual artists and traditional "folk" performers of the African diaspora.

What coheres these artists is perhaps merely approach and the audience's perception of their skin color as a resonator or amplifier of the performance. They manipulate stereotypes as a character and utilize humor in their text or scenario and set it against bathos in gesture, frequently through the use of their own personal narratives, somewhat analogous to slave narratives. Their subject matter and presentational format uses political and confrontational material, especially around race and gender, with an almost deathly serious approach to texts that seem hyperreal, speculative, or ridiculous.

Categorizing artist by genre distorts the true quality of their work, which is a multimodal approach to a series of questions or assumptions. Moreover, when viewed through the lens of genre, there are very few performance artists of African descent, yet a great deal of African diaspora performance exists in forms that defy westernized classification systems. Even those artists that seem to fit neatly into the flow of art history, frequently fall out or suffer extreme professional consequences because of the blackness of their skin or their art's content. By working through periods, perhaps one can establish the particularities of performance art by tracing social forces and political change in black American life.

Time Signatures

Since performance art is itself concerned with "what happens when," more so than "who did what," suppose that, following art texts like Robert Hughes' *The Shock of the New* and Goldberg's *Performance Art*, among others, a series of periods were created to name chunks of time that have performances comprised of similar components, ad-

Artist and educator William Pope.L crawls as part of an exhibit at the Maine College of Art's Institute of Contemporary Art in 2002. *The museum's retrospective* eRacism *highlighted 25 years of Pope.L's performance and visual artistry.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

dressing similar issues, in recognizable ways, by clusters of people, many of whom would have worked together literally, or at least been aware of one another's body of work.

For example, it has been argued in the edited volume *Black Theatre* (2002) that the experience and response to enslavement should be considered types of theater, if not performance art. Saidiya Hartman, in *Scenes of Subjection* (1997), eloquently argues for the ways in which both European enslavers and African slaves created nuanced meanings and justifications for the brutal exchanges and reductions of human beings into monetized objects. Thus, one could start the timeline on the sea, *Trans-Atlantic Trials and Tribulations* (roughly 1500–1865), where slaves partook in "dancing" for exercise aboard slave ships, singing songs for sustenance, or "choosing" the life of a slaving sailor in order to escape chattel slavery itself.

Once on land, where Hartman's book does the bulk of its exquisite analysis, one enters the era of *Plantation Puttin Ons* (1575–1880), which includes pretending to dance while practicing to fight, as well as pretending to worship baby Jesus while keeping various *lwa*, orishas, *nkisi*, and even Qur'anic phrases up and ready so as not to pretend to be free. The performances from this era cannot actually be labeled "African American," because the system of slavery was a global one, with Africans often landing in various ports in the Caribbean first, where they were trained, or at least put through a dehumanizing and rigorous tests of wills and work in the hopes of increasing the value of their labor, or cutting the loss of their voyage-weakened body. The dates, therefore, include all plantation societies in the New World.

Once in the new land, primarily West Africans had to negotiate the new languages of the Europeans, as well as account for their new status as "nigger," no longer beholden to ethnic and socioreligious groups. A new social ordering was forged, often through interpolating the myths and rituals of each groups' deities and ancestors. The nineteenth century witnessed the height of these new social formations, many of which birthed new performance practices cherished by whites and noninitiated blacks alike. *Conjurations* (1745–1935) encompasses such practices as John Canoe, the lantern dance, second line Carnival groups, roots working (a combination of biochemical knowledge with esoteric text, utterances, gestures, and chants meant to heal or do harm to another individual), Moko Jumbi (stilt-walking), spirituals/blues, just-so tales, Brer Rabbit and Aunt Nancy, and pretending to only read so as to serve God better, though actually using the Bible as a divination device. It is important to note that many of the spiritual aspects of these performances were not necessarily documented, so that the practices themselves became part of the folklore of slavery, rather than the active performance of "slipping the yoke."

Shifting more to the British territories that came to call themselves the United States, the liberation of Africans after the attempted eradication of Native Americans, and the splitting of the Union, one could talk about the era of *Emancipation* (1865–1877), which includes Reconstruction and land grant schooling meant to train free blacks, primarily to be laboring, agrarian "citizens." Emancipation Day parades, black family reunions, founder's days, and Juneteenth all began in this moment, even under the specter of the white supremacist performance art known as Jim Crow. This was literally a caricature of a black dandy popular in black face presentations that ridiculed the rapid successes of the free black population while waxing rhapsodic and nostalgic about the subjugated, agrarian black body and its "folk" practices. *Minstrelsy*, as this form was called, which began around 1825 and became an international sensation, ironically had very little room for actual black performers.

The minstrelsy form included usually no less than four male performers who sang, danced, and acted as though a "nigger." Jim Crow, which was also a popular dance-based set piece, was first documented on stage in

1828, performed by the comedian Thomas D. Rice. Interestingly, when blacks began to enter vaudeville, then silent films, they were required to "blacken up" and act like a "nigger," Bert Williams being one of the more famous black thespians who attempted to bring a bit of humanity to these performances. Mammy, Sambo, Coon, and Pickaninny are standard characters of this format, each with its own specific repertoire of set pieces, gestures, dances, and songs. As minstrelsy was widely performed as late as 1950 in the United States, and those characters continue to ghost through filmic representations of black people produced by Hollywood in particular, and finally, since they turn up as sites of investigation in contemporary black performance art, the age of the minstrel is still ongoing.

Seeking to document, perform, and archive actual black performance practice, the age of the *Harlem Renaissance/WPA Project* (1920–1935) includes such gifted writers-researchers-performers as Zora Neale Hurston, Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, Langston Hughes, and Josephine Baker, though they all worked under white patronage or federal funding. As lynching became a common performance practice of white supremacy, as the urgency to establish black autonomous practices grew, and as artists could no longer expect patronage for potentially racially explosive art, the era of *Un-hand Me* (1943–1964) took shape through the work of performers like Paul Robeson, Nina Simone, and Dick Gregory, and the New Negro Theater Troupe. In the everyday practices of black people, campaigns like the "Double V" project launched in Pittsburgh included signifying through hairstyle and clothing the desire for a United States win in World War II and then an end of racial segregation at home upon the return of the victorious black soldiers. This was not to be.

The civil rights movement focused the energies of several local campaigns to end segregation and what had become known as Jim Crow laws. Eventually, the nonviolent protests of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and other groups came to a shocking halt upon the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., one of the leaders of the movement, in 1968. In response, a new style of protest erupted, one that did not consider violence to be out of the question, but one that needed to stir the new Negro into a black consciousness. The *Black Arts Movement* (1965–1975) created performances based on the essential differences of black people versus white people, whatever those happened to have been at the time. Artists and organizations like Amiri Baraka, the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM), Sun Ra, the African Commune of Bad Revolutionary Artists (Afri-COBRA), and La MaMa (Ellen Stewart) took the maligned minstrel characters and began to give them voices that spoke of things other than watermelon, shoe shines, alligators, and corn pone.

Characterized by Marxist analysis of the black condition, performances of the Black Arts Movement were also in conversation with worldwide liberation struggles in African colonies. Marred by repressive, violent, and extreme state response, especially by the FBI's COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program), the Black Arts Movement appeared to dissipate, but it could be argued that it shifted focus from the materialist to the spiritualist analysis of the black condition.

The *Rootswork and Motherships* period (1977–1988) includes artists who continued to labor under the idea of an art for and by the people, but who also found themselves dealing with black cultural productions that seemed to penetrate white culture through market practices, known as concerts. Ed Bullins (playwright), Jayne Cortez (poet), George Clinton and Funkadelic (musicians), the LA Rebellion (filmmakers), Bucket Dance Theater, Dance Theater of Harlem, Hattie Gossett (poet), Ntozake Shange (playwright, poet, and dancer), Jawole Willa Jo Zollar (dancer), Robbie McCauley (monologist), and Carroll Parrott Blue (filmmaker) all labored in this era to create a decidedly black aesthetic. They sought an aesthetic that did not cleave to artistic divisions like dance, music, film, theater, or literature, for though they have been identified above by their primary modality, since they worked through their themes in ritualistic style, their shows included various techniques of performance, what is often called "spectacle" by dominant society, not necessarily art.

In a similar vein, when what later became known as hip-hop hit the cultural scene, the artists working in the *Rap and Rhetoric* era (1978–1993), made use of multimodal performance practices, interpolating one type of artistic production with another, including machinists techniques for bending equipment to new uses. Afrika Bambaataa, DJ Kool Herc, Jean-Michel Basquiat, Fab 5 Freddy, Marley Mal, Salt-n-Pepa, Queen Latifah, X-Clan, Public Enemy, Rennie Harris Pure Movement, Jungle Brothers, and Boogie Down Productions all produced work that was marketed primarily as sound recordings (or evidence of its existence as in Rennie Harris), but the recordings are actually archival moments of a vast, site-specific work. Rap also "played" with the concept of distribution as performance, using techniques that today would be considered viral, to promote not the recording label (since they were self-produced), but rather the artist or "crew" responsible for the work, and hence, specific locales. Often considered the "CNN of the 'hood," rap began "reporting" on the myriad failings of civil society with re-

gard to primarily race and class, telling stories of addiction and epidemics, to name a few.

Afflictions, Epidemics, Endgames (1982–1997) was a period characterized by the influx and traffic of crack cocaine, the surge of AIDS, the proliferation of restrictive local ordinances and laws about public space and drug trafficking, yuppies, savings and loan scandals, and degenerative discourse about "decorum." Artists and organizations working to expand the boundaries of blackness beyond masculinist discourses of nation included Bill T. Jones, Blondell Cummings, Rhodessa Jones, Whoopi Goldberg, the Poetry for the People project at the University of California–Berkeley under June Jordan, Pomo Afro Homos, Alonzo King's Lines Ballet, Anna Deveare Smith, Grace Jones, Junebug Theater, the Urban Bush Women, and Portia Cobb. These artists struggled to interrogate the social moment and its salience for black people, albeit from a far more complicated stance.

These complications—of gender identity, of class and caste, of urbanism or ruralism—have always been part and parcel of the articulation of a unified blackness, but frequently to the disregard of those people who did not easily conform to a blackness defined by black male coolness and radical separatism from other cultures. Drawn into a seeming battle with itself, blackness has been revealed as a particularly fractured, even fictitious creation. Identity politics in the *Postblack and Digital Frontierism* era (1998 to the early twenty-first century) manifests a profound shift in discourse as some artists began to articulate their identity as multiple and hybrid, and not necessarily in struggle with whiteness at all. Interpolated or implicated in the terrain of market capitalism in the twenty-first century, postblack artists work in off-limit terrains, questioning the relegation of blackness to specific iterations like the documentary, the realist novel, the modern jazz dance concert, or collectible music recordings. Afrofuturists, including DJ Spooky, and artists like Kara Walker, Damali Ayo, Joanna Haigood, Susan Smith-Pinelo, Carroll Parrott Blue, Kalamu ya Salaam, Keith + Mendi Obadike, Tara Hargest, and William Pope.L, can be located in this site of performance making, though it would be erroneous to assume that they consider themselves no longer black.

Out of Bounds and Temporal Lobes

This approach does not necessarily give greater clarity, since one period does not relinquish control so easily over the next, as is frequently the case with neat timelines. Many players in one era resurface in another, making their mark through reworked material and new foci of performance. The suggested periods, indeed the entire thrust of this definition, is further thwarted by the existence of a number of black artists who did and still do ascribe to the norms and strategies of the European aesthetic. In particular, Adrian Piper was at the forefront of the conceptual art scene in 1970s New York and considers herself, first and foremost, an artist. That her work is primarily about being a black woman who does not appear like one is irrelevant to the process of her work, but central to its success as art. Her blackness is not definitive for her; rather, it is a moment of confrontation with the racist subconscious of the white patrons at the happenings, interventions, and installations that she has produced from 1971 to 2003.

A few of the suggested time periods are grouped to show a rerouting of historical trajectories, to superimpose African art-making practices as the progenitors of a black art aesthetic, displacing Europe altogether. The black arts movement, particularly the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians, sought out African rituals, but in its waning period, which could be called *Rootsworks and Motherships*, indigenous forms of African-descended cultural practices began to take precedence over "pure" African ones. Instead of "happenings," a passerby may have enjoyed a "ritual" or "conjuration." They would have needed to "vibe" with the multidimensionalists (a term used by AACM member Maia to describe her ability to work across several artistic disciplines at once) rather than "participate." By the late 1980s, it was clear that purity or authenticity could not be the focus of a truly vibrant art form and actually served as breaking points for many flourishing groups. But this is to be expected of body-based temporal art endeavors: beyond the written word, keeping the story straight past five years or more is a gargantuan task when one considers that most of these performers have yet to be adequately documented. Who was where, with whom, and when are the questions that practitioners, critics, aficionados, and scholars alike face as they attempt to describe that which was created to exist beyond description, to defy commoditization, and to destroy spatial constructs called "boundaries," "territories," and "states."

A strictly "African-American" performance art is in the end an improbable proposition, because perhaps more so than in any other field, performance art, conjurations, and multidimensionalism are distinctively black productions that are transcultural, Pan-African, and global in scope.

See also Dance, Diasporic; Drama; Experimental Theater; Jones, Bill T.; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Piper, Adrian; Smith, Anna Deavere

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ANNA BEATRICE SCOTT (2005)

Perry, Lincoln

See Stepin Fetchit (Perry, Lincoln)

Philanthropy and Foundations

The beginnings of organized African-American philanthropy can be traced to the early black churches, mutual aid societies, and fraternal organizations among free blacks in the late eighteenth century. The introduction of black self-help organizations resulted from the social and economic inequalities faced by free blacks in northern cities when the state provided little or no social welfare assistance. This spontaneous social organization reflected African-Americans' distinctive culture. Robert Harris (1979), a scholar of early black self-help organizations, stated, "The benevolent societies combined African heritage with American conditions to transform an amorphous free black population into a distinct free black community. . . . In the final analysis, the early black benevolent society functioned as the wellspring for Afro-American institutional life."

The first known black American mutual aid organization was the African Union Society of Newport, Rhode Island, founded in 1780. The society was primarily concerned with the moral rectitude of free blacks and provided material assistance by recording births, deaths, and marriages and by seeking to apprentice black youths in useful trades. Another of the earliest mutual aid organizations, African Lodge No. 459 (later renamed the Prince Hall Grand Masons), was founded in Boston in 1787 in Prince Hall and was the first black Freemasonic society. The lodge provided members with protection against re-enslavement due to delinquent debts and provided the poor with food and other provisions. The Free African Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1787 to provide material aid to free blacks and support to religious institutions.

In the first half of the nineteenth century black churches and mutual aid organizations were active in the abolitionist movement, including the Underground Railroad, by raising money, donating goods and services, and volunteering their time on behalf of escaping slaves. Through collective action, groups such as the International Order of Twelve Knights, the Daughters of Tabor, and the Knights of Liberty, all founded in the 1850s, were responsible for liberating and sheltering thousands of slaves through the Underground Railroad. Collectively, these organizations used the financial and volunteer contributions of black Americans to provide other black Americans with social services that they could not obtain through government or from most white charitable organizations, though some white philanthropies, such as the various state abolition societies, were important sources of financial and moral support for African Americans. Further, since the leaders of these organizations, in particular black ministers, received financial support directly from the black community, they could speak freely about the community's aspirations for equal rights without fear of financial repercussions from those who disagreed with their positions.

In most of the South before Emancipation there existed a de facto ban on black mutual aid societies, and Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina legally prohibited such organizations. Despite the hostility, southern free blacks successfully maintained benevolent societies. Among such groups were the Resolute Beneficial Society of Washington, D.C., established in 1818; the Burying Ground Society and the Beneficial Society of Richmond, Virginia, both formed in 1815; and the Brown Fellowship Society (1790), Christian Benevolent Society (1839), Humane Brotherhood (1843), and Unity and Friendship Society (1844), all of Charleston, South Carolina.

Before the Civil War most black philanthropy was concentrated at the local level. In 1835 there were forty black mutual aid organizations in Baltimore and eighty in Philadelphia. In the latter city in 1848 almost half of the adult free black population was affiliated with African-American philanthropic societies.

Some of the early black benevolent societies included both men and women in the same organization. The African Benevolent Society of Newport, Rhode Island, founded in 1808, accepted free blacks without regard to gender, as did the African Marine Fund of New York City. In general, women belonged only to organizations that stressed education, but were not ordinarily members of other types of benevolent societies. There were, however, female auxiliaries for most of the groups, and black women played a key role in literary associations.

Notwithstanding the separate and unequal living conditions that characterized the lives of black and white Americans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is important to note that many black organizations also provided the larger white society with services and other assistance during times of emergency. For example, during the great plague that struck Philadelphia in 1793, the Free African Society provided the entire city with extensive nursing and burial services.

Following the Civil War, there was a national concern to establish programs that would enable the freed slaves, many of whom could not read or write, to become self-sufficient. The Freedmen's Bureau, officially known as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, was formed by Congress in 1865, and along with nearly a hundred independent volunteer freedmen's aid societies, sought to provide assistance to both ex-slaves and impoverished whites. During the bureau's seven-year tenure, it established more than four thousand schools and forty hospitals, as well as distributed free food.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, philanthropists from the North played a crucial role in disbursing aid to African Americans in the South. Notwithstanding the combined efforts of the bureau and the freedmen societies, when Julius Rosenwald started his eponymous fund in 1917, there was not a single standard public eighth grade or high school in the South for black children. From 1913 to 1932 Rosenwald helped establish 5,357 public schools in fifteen southern states. A key feature of this effort was that in each case, the local black community contributed to the building of the schools by donating both money and labor. In later years the Rosenwald Fund would support fellowships for black schoolteachers, black hospitals, and efforts to improve black-white relations.

By far the most influential foundation in shaping black educational opportunities was the General Education Board (GEB), founded by John D. Rockefeller in 1902. The GEB was involved in all aspects of black education during the early to mid-1900s, including encouraging consolidation of one-room schools, training teachers, and providing transportation for students in rural areas. From 1902 to 1960 the GEB distributed $62.5 million in support of black education. In addition to the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board, other, smaller philanthropic institutions that were active in promoting educational opportunities for black Americans include the Peabody Fund, the Slater Fund, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

The Peabody Fund, established in 1867, was intended to popularize the idea of universal education as a means of integrating ex-slaves and poor whites into the emerging bourgeois southern order. The organizers of the fund were concerned about the dangers of an unruly, uneducated class of paupers in a society lacking a significant public welfare structure. The Peabody Fund gave considerable material aid to southern schools until 1910, when it was merged into the Slater Fund, which had pursued a similar program of educational promotion since its founding in 1882.

The Slater Fund particularly applauded and assisted the work of black educators such as Booker T. Washington, who accepted the racial status quo in the South and insisted that the primary means of black advancement was through the acquisition of industrial skills. From 1891 to 1911 the Slater Fund supported a few model industrial schools such as Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) and Washington's Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University), eventually giving these two schools half of its annual appropriations. After 1911 the fund pursued its interest in manual training by preparing black teachers in county training schools; it helped build 384 such schools in the South over the next two decades. In 1937 the Slater Fund merged with the Jeanes Fund and the Virginia Randolph Fund to form the Atlanta-based Southern Education Fund, which still exists.

Another important source of philanthropy for black education, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was founded in 1911 to administer a bequest from Caroline Phelps Stokes to increase educational opportunities for black Americans, Native Americans, and poor whites. The fund made several small grants to black educational institutions from its founding until the 1940s, when its emphasis shifted to supporting historically black colleges through the Cooperative College Development Program. Through this program the fund dispensed more than $6 million to black colleges and helped establish the United Negro College Fund in 1943, a joint fund-raising effort by over thirty historically black colleges and universities.

As the role of foundations in African-American education grew, at least two issues arose. First, what was the appropriate type of education for black Americans? Most foundations began their efforts by supporting industrial education to provide training for specific, often rural, trade skills rather than a liberal arts education in the humanities or sciences. With these interests in mind, foundations provided support for Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, among others. (The Rosenwald Fund was largely an exception to this.) Second, throughout the Jim Crow era, foundations generally accepted the idea of separate schools for black Americans. To be sure, funding for integrated education in the early twentieth-century South was a near impossibility. As a result, foundations sought to develop and strengthen separate black educational institutions rather than encourage integrated institutions. An additional problem was the attempt of the foundations to placate the white South, and the conviction of many foundation leaders that academic education for African Americans was pointless. For example, in 1899, a trustee of the GEB was quoted as stating, "The Negro should not be educated out of his environment. Industrial work is his salvation. . . . Except in the rarest of instances, I am bitterly opposed to the so-called higher education of Negroes." Many foundations relied on their experiences in helping to shape black education in the United States as a guide for developing similar educational programs in Africa.

By the 1930s many of the remaining foundations were paying greater attention to academic instruction. In addition, several foundations supported comprehensive studies of the adverse socioeconomic conditions and legal barriers confronting African Americans. For example, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund financed *The Negro in American Civilization* (1930), the Phelps-Stokes Fund supported a never-completed encyclopedia project on black Americans (1930s and 1940s), and the Julius Rosenwald Fund provided support for *Alien Americans: A Study of Race Relations* (1936). The most influential study of black America in the middle decades of the century, *An American Dilemma* (1944), by the Swedish-born scholar Gunnar Myrdal, was supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The report concluded that the American dilemma was the inconsistency between the stated belief in equality and social justice for all and the documented legal barriers that prevented black Americans from fully participating in American society.

The strategies employed by foundations to promote black-white relations have changed markedly over time. Concerned that black Americans be sufficiently moral and upstanding, foundations in the early twentieth century supported the Negro Boy Scouts, the National Negro Business League, and, later, the National Urban League. However, beginning at the end of World War I, as foundations began to recognize black Americans' long-standing desire for equality and began to fear that continued denial of their aspirations might encourage them to become communists, foundations became more interested in supporting black and white cooperation. In 1919 the Rosenwald Fund helped to create the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) to bring together black and white community leaders throughout the South. The fund also provided support for the American Council on Race Relations and the Southern Regional Council, the successor to the CIC.

Notwithstanding the agendas of white philanthropic institutions, African Americans established and supported their own evolving needs and aspirations. Black fraternal orders that emerged close to the turn of the twentieth century have over time adapted to modern needs. One such organization, the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles Mystic Shrine, Inc., was founded in 1893. With 47,000 members in the 1990s, this organization runs programs to address delinquency and drug abuse, and supports medical research on health problems of special concern to blacks. Another, the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, was founded in 1898, and claimed 450,000 members. It supports a variety of causes, including scholarships, for which it raises a million dollars annually. Despite such activities, however, many fraternal orders have experienced dramatic declines in membership. Since the end of World War II, one alternative source of black philanthropy has been the growing ranks of collegiate associations. The eight largest black fraternities and sororities have a combined membership of well over 650,000. In terms of direct material aid, the black church has been the most enduring source of black self-help. Perhaps the best-known example of church welfare was the "Peace Mission" in New York's Harlem, operated during the Great Depression, by Father Divine. Father Divine op-

erated grocery stores nationwide, fed the hungry full meals for ten cents apiece at his own restaurants, and published and distributed newspapers and magazines for which his followers often volunteered to work. He was also known for the free meals he provided the hungry on Sundays.

As the civil rights movement came of age in the 1950s and 1960s, black Americans mobilized their collective financial and volunteer resources, along with those of their supporters, to challenge and eventually overturn laws that sanctioned keeping black and white Americans separate but equal. The black church, with its independent leaders, as exemplified by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and T. J. Jemison, harnessed and directed a national effort involving several hundred thousand children, women, and men to volunteer in marches, sit-ins, and demonstrations. Moreover, the nonprofit civil rights organizations that gained new prominence during this time, for example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), have been replicated by other groups concerned with ensuring equality for women and Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans, as well as gays and lesbians.

White foundations not only provided some support for many of the civil rights organizations but also began to fund projects aimed at directly promoting black socioeconomic advancement through education and redistributive social programs. In particular, the Rockefeller and Ford foundations were at the forefront of these efforts. The Rockefeller Foundation launched its equal opportunity program, which primarily focused on supporting integrated higher education. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, grants were awarded to predominantly white colleges located throughout the United States to recruit minority students.

Stating that full equality for black Americans was the most urgent concern challenging the country, the Ford Foundation launched an unprecedented effort to improve the socioeconomic and political conditions of the urban poor, among whom black Americans were disproportionately represented. From 1960 to 1970 the Ford Foundation awarded more than $25 million for its Great Cities School Improvement project, which focused on assisting major urban school districts to become more responsive to the needs of black children with rural backgrounds, and the Gray Areas project, which focused on the health, housing, welfare, and employment needs of residents in urban cities. The Gray Areas project served as the model for several of the education and training provisions that were later authorized in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Ford also established major programs to support civil rights organizations, voter education, black colleges, and community economic development.

The Ford Foundation's activism was not without repercussions. For example, in 1967 a Ford-supported demonstration project in New York to encourage local community control of public school districts led to school strikes as the local councils, teachers' unions, and school board struggled for control of the public school system. Similarly, when Carl Stokes was elected as the first black mayor of Cleveland, many charged that the election outcome had been influenced by Ford-sponsored voter education programs. The concern that foundations had undue influence in public matters led in part to the Tax Reform Act of 1969, which placed new restrictions on foundation activities in several areas, including voter registration.

Before the 1970s few black Americans were on the boards or professional staffs of foundations. However, as a consequence of the civil rights movement, black Americans are now represented, albeit in small numbers, at every level within foundations and are key decision makers in determining how limited philanthropic resources will be allocated to address unlimited needs. For example, Franklin A. Thomas, a black American, was named president of the Ford Foundation, the largest foundation in the United States, in 1979. As a result of these developments, the black community has both a continuing tradition of philanthropy and self-help within its own community and has started a new chapter as individual black Americans begin to help shape the funding priorities of older philanthropic institutions in helping everyone.

In the 1970s black Americans began to develop new types of charitable organizations to confront both old and new problems. Despite significant socioeconomic progress among black Americans, a significant proportion continued to require a broad range of social services. In addition, the increased support of black charitable organizations by government agencies and foundations led some to question whether these organizations could be as independent to advocate on behalf of black Americans' interests as the black church had in the past.

Recognizing the need to develop new ways to provide an independent, black-controlled funding source to support black-run social protest and social service organizations, a number of black fund-raising organizations emerged in various cities across the United States to raise money from African Americans to support black organizations. In 1972 a number of these groups formed the National Black United Fund (NBUF). NBUF's mission was to develop a fund-raising mechanism that would allow

them to raise money primarily from African Americans throughout a particular city and distribute that money to black organizations.

For many years, one national charitable organization, the United Way, had sole access to the federal government's work-site charitable payroll deduction campaigns. Through these campaigns, federal workers agreed to contribute a given amount of money from each paycheck to charity. In the early 1980s NBUF won a series of Supreme Court cases that challenged United Way's monopoly to access the federal government's work-site charitable payroll deduction campaigns and was allowed to participate in these campaigns. Later, NBUF began to gain access to the campaigns of private employers.

NBUF's success has enabled a wide range of women, minorities, and special interest groups to develop identical organizations to raise money for their causes. Further, the development of black charitable organizations has resulted in greater responsiveness to the black community from all charitable organizations seeking contributions from black Americans.

Established in 1999, the National Center for Black Philanthropy's goal is to promote and strengthen the participation of African Americans in all aspects of philanthropy, educate the public about black philanthropy, and document the contributions of black philanthropy to American society. The organization holds national and regional conferences involving philanthropists, scholars, foundation executives, and fund-raisers.

Perhaps the most interesting new development is the establishment of foundations by African Americans. For example, the Jackie Robinson Foundation, named after the man who broke the color barrier of organized baseball in 1947, focuses on supporting educational programs for youth. More than two hundred years after blacks had to rely on pooling their modest contributions to develop a different form of philanthropy, a growing number of black Americans have amassed enough wealth to create their own foundations and to underwrite major charitable activities. For example, businessman Reginald Lewis made a contribution of $2 million to Howard University and $3 million to Harvard University, among many other contributions. Entertainer Bill Cosby and his wife Camille made a historic gift of $20 million to Spelman College as one of their many charitable contributions.

Two other extraordinary gifts suggest that black philanthropy is on the cusp of a new renaissance. In 1995, at the age of eighty-seven, Oseola McCarty donated $150,000 to the University of Southern Mississippi for a scholarship program with a preference for deserving African-American students. What made this gift so remarkable is that McCarty saved the money from her lifelong job washing and ironing clothes. Alphonse Fletcher, Jr., a thirty-eight-year-old Wall Street money manager, made headlines when he pledged $50 million in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*. At age twenty-eight, he previously made a gift of $4.5 million to Harvard University, his alma mater.

The efforts of African Americans to help themselves have been advanced or hindered by the funding priorities of wealthy white philanthropists and foundations. Of the thousands of foundations that have been created in the United States, only a few have had a sustained interest in social justice and equality for black Americans. Like the evolution of black philanthropy, white foundations have awarded or declined support for projects based, in part, on the social norms and values that were accepted at a given time.

A new development has been the interest of some foundations—Charles Stewart Mott, Ford, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Carnegie Mellon, and W. K. Kellogg—in championing the importance of supporting ethnic- and gender-based philanthropy, including black philanthropy.

The diverse mix of approaches that African Americans have developed indicates that black philanthropy will remain an important vehicle through which the community will continue to help itself and others. America's changing demographics and unprecedented intergenerational wealth transfer, conservatively estimated at $41 trillion, will only magnify black philanthropy's importance.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Father Divine; Hall, Prince; Hampton Institute; Mutual Aid Societies; Tuskegee University; Underground Railroad; United Negro College Fund

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EMMETT D. CARSON (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Phillips, Caryl

March 13, 1958

A cursory glance at Caryl Phillips's biography suffices to understand why such notions as "home," belonging, and unbelonging are central to his writing. Phillips was born in St. Kitts, in the eastern Caribbean, to parents with roots in Africa but also in Madeira and India. When he was only twelve weeks old, his family moved to Leeds, in northern England, and his childhood was spent in mostly white, working-class areas, where he and his three younger brothers were often the only black children. In 1979 Phillips graduated from Oxford—yet another facet to an already complex background—and almost immediately afterwards he started on a successful, peripatetic writing and academic career that has taken him all over the world, including a position as a professor of English at Yale University. Though based in New York City, he still frequently goes to St. Kitts and to England—particularly London—two islands that remain essential pieces in his identity puzzle.

Phillips's work is, like his life, marked by complexity and plurality. If Phillips is now mainly known for his wide-ranging essays and above all for his award-winning novels, it is worth noting that his first published books were plays, *Strange Fruit* (1981), *Where There Is Darkness* (1982), and *The Shelter* (1984), which concentrate on issues of race, class, and gender, and, like all dramatic writing, give pride of place to individual experiences and voices. These indeed remain major preoccupations in Phillips's novels, though always set against a well-researched historical and social background that has been either neglected or misrepresented in traditional historiography. Whereas his first novel, *The Final Passage* (1985), focuses on individuals who were part of the Caribbean exodus to Britain in the 1950s, his second work of fiction, *A State of Independence* (1986), explores the plight of a returnee who decides to go back to his native West Indies after living in England for some twenty years.

Slavery is another major historical episode that Phillips revisits almost obsessively in his next three works of fiction because he regards "the peculiar institution" as a founding event of modern societies both in Europe and the New World, explaining at once their heterogeneous population but also their inherent racism and their exclusion of the other, whether black, female, or Jewish. This is perhaps best suggested in *Higher Ground* (1989), his third novel, which puts side by side the story of an eighteenth-century African interpreter who assists the slave traders in their gruesome transactions, the prison narrative of a young African American in the 1960s, and the sad tale of a young Jewish woman whose exile in postwar London leaves her mentally vulnerable. His fourth work of fiction, *Cambridge* (1991), mostly set in the nineteenth-century Caribbean, takes a closer look at the ironies of plantation societies from the contrasted yet intertwined points of view of a white female planter and a black male slave, while his next novel, *Crossing the River* (1993), explores the history of the African diaspora through the stories of three African children sold into slavery by their father in the eighteenth century. While dispersed in time and space, Nash, Martha, and Travis are nonetheless bound by the love of their guilty father, who eventually regards Travis's wife, a white Englishwoman, as one of his own diasporic children.

A similar gesture of inclusion can be found in *The Nature of Blood* (1997), a novel in which Phillips brings together the African and Jewish diasporas, juxtaposing the exclusion suffered by Jews in fifteenth-century Venice and during the Holocaust with the narratives of an Othello-like figure and a black Jew in contemporary Israel. Clearly, Phillips's repeated and formally daring exploration of an often forgotten past is not gratuitous. Not only is it meant to trigger reflection on human nature, on man's divisive instinct as well as on his need for company, but it also compellingly demonstrates the crucial role played by the past in shaping the present, which is likewise the message of *A Distant Shore* (2003), in spite of its contemporary

setting. This subtle novel, which earned Phillips many awards, follows Dorothy, a newly retired English teacher, and Solomon, an African refugee, whose paths cross in an England refusing to come to terms with its changing humanscape. Phillips's novel *Dancing in the Dark* (2005) focuses on an actual figure of the African diaspora, Caribbean-born Broadway entertainer Bert Williams, who lived at the turn of the twentieth century. Though not a slave himself, Bert is victim of "performative bondage." Like many other Phillipsian characters, he bears the burden of the slavery past.

Many of the issues tackled in Phillips's fiction are present in his nonfiction, which can be regarded as a political blueprint for his creative imagination. Phillips is the author of three book-length essays, often with an autobiographical slant: *The European Tribe* (1987), *The Atlantic Sound* (2000), and *A New World Order* (2001). While the first one views Europe through the eyes of the young writer who is both of and not of the Old Continent, the other two dwell, like his novels, on the suffering but also the human richness that goes into the making of the transatlantic identity.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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BÉNÉDICTE LEDENT (2005)

Phillips-Gay, Jane

November 2, 1913
February 21, 1994

Jane Phillips-Gay, Order of Roraima (OR), was one of the first African-Guyanese women to enter the British Guiana legislature. Phillips-Gay was also a trade unionist and an ordained Baptist minister. She attended Georgetown's St. Ambrose Primary, Brickdam Roman Catholic, Christ Church Anglican, and the Collegiate School from 1918 to 1930. She married Ivan Gay on December 30, 1942.

Phillips-Gay became involved in trade union activities in the 1940s and was closely associated with Dr. Joseph Prayag Lachmansingh, a champion of sugar workers in their struggles against colonial planters and officials. In 1946 the Guiana Industrial Workers Union (GIWU) was formed, and two years later, in 1948, Phillips-Gay became the assistant general secretary. She was actively involved in the strike of 1948, now commemorated as Enmore Martyrs' Day for the sugar workers who were killed for their protest actions. One year later, in 1949, she rose to the rank of secretary of the union. Trade union activism enabled her to become popular among sugar workers and proved valuable to her career as a politician.

Phillips-Gay was a member of the first women's political organization in British Guiana, the Women's Political and Economic Organization (WPEO), formed in 1946. The organization was active in the struggle for equal opportunities for women and for their employment. As a member of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), formed in 1947 by Forbes Burnham and Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan, she contested the colony's 1953 general elections. Although along with two other women, Jessica Burnham and Janet Jagan, Phillips-Gay was successful in her electoral bid, the PPP did not appoint any of the women to ministerial positions. By the time of the general elections in 1957, the PPP had split, and Phillips-Gay, as a member of what became known as the People's National Congress (PNC), founded by Burnham, unsuccessfully contested the East Demerara electoral seat. On October 5, 1957, Phillips-Gay became a founding member of the Women's Auxiliary of the PNC. In both the 1961 and 1964 general elections, she was an unsuccessful candidate for the legislature.

In addition to her involvement with the struggles of sugar workers and women, Phillips-Gay was also concerned with the conditions of children and worked on behalf of the unemployed and the underpaid. In her capacity as chairperson of the Women's Auxiliary, her contributions to public service included organizing social and cultural events for inmates of the Palms, a government-run home for aged and indigent persons. She was awarded the national honor, Order of Roraima.

See also People's National Congress; Politics: Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean

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BARBARA P. JOSIAH (2005)

PHOTOGRAPHY

This entry has two unique essays about the same topic, differing mainly in their geographical focus.

DIASPORIC PHOTOGRAPHY
Isolde Brielmaier

PHOTOGRAPHY, U.S.
Deborah Willis

DIASPORIC PHOTOGRAPHY

Not long after its invention in 1840, photography was taken up by practitioners throughout the African diaspora. From Africa to Cuba, in Europe and the United States, photographers of African backgrounds used the camera to document their surroundings both for official purposes and to create personalized portraits and artistic works. African diasporic photography, therefore, has an extensive history and forms an important and rich tradition within the practice of photography in general.

AFRICAN PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

One of the first photographers in West Africa was actually an African-American. Augustus Washington (1820/21–1875) was said to have worked in both the United States and Liberia. In 1857, the *New Era,* a newspaper in Sierra Leone, announced his arrival as a daguerreotypist new to Freetown, the capital. By the 1880s the Freetown newspapers were filled with advertisements for studio equipment and photographic supplies and services, as well as requests for photographers.

Alphonso Lisk-Carew (1887–1969) was another early photographer of the African Diaspora. Lisk-Carew was a Creole man who began his work in Sierra Leone in 1905. He established one of the most successful studios in Freetown and, together with the assistance of his younger brother Arthur, tailored his services to both the city's Creole and European communities. Lisk-Carew created a range of images in Freetown, including portraits of the city's established and more notable members of society. These images were often reminiscent of Victorian portraits from Europe, with their subjects appearing in stiff, frontal poses and pictured neatly positioned and seated in outdoor settings such as porches and gardens. Lisk-Carew also took photographs at ceremonies and events and during his travels into the interior of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Many of these photographs were featured in picture postcards that were created for colonial markets and the tourist trade in Africa. Other early photographers of African backgrounds who worked in Africa include Gerhardt L. Lutterodt, who worked in Ghana; N. Walwin Holm (b. 1865), who founded a studio in Accra, Ghana in 1882; and George S.A. da Costa, who was born in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1853 and became a well-known professional photographers in that city in 1895.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY AFRICAN PHOTOGRAPHERS

By the early 1900s, many African photographers had established studios in cities throughout the continent. Unlike the early practitioners who preceded them, these photographers catered almost exclusively to local African customers. Meïssa Gaye (1892–1982) was a Guinean portrait photographer active in Dakar and St. Louis, Senegal. In 1945, Gaye opened and operated the Tropical Photo Studio in St. Louis. Salla Casset (1910–1974) was also a popular portrait photographer in Dakar during the 1940s and 1950s.

In Bamako, Mali, Seydou Keïta (1923–2001) operated a highly successful photography studio from approximately 1949 up until he retired in 1977. Keïta won renown for his elaborate portraits, which featured his fashionable patrons seated before richly patterned textiles that framed the images and toned down the sense of three-dimensional space behind the sitter. Patrons worked together with Keïta to create portraits that best reflected how they saw themselves. Accordingly, they often appeared holding or leaning on props—such as a car, a musical instrument, or a sewing machine—alluding to a certain profession or signaling a desire to attain a specific status. Keïta's portraits were often viewed and appreciated by his patrons within their homes. The Malian photographer Malick Sidibé (b. 1936) established Studio Malick in 1962. Many of his photographs focus on the young people of Bamako. Throughout his career, Sidibé attended social gatherings such as parties, weddings, and dances, taking photographs of peo-

Malian Men with Musical Instruments. ***Photograph by Seydou Keïta.*** © CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN ART COLLECTION LIMITED/CORBIS

ple participating in a variety of leisure activities in public spaces.

In the eastern region of the African continent, photographers of South Asian descent—who were by this time second- and third-generation Kenyans and Tanzanians—had also established studios. One of these photographers, Narayandas Vithaldas Parekh, operated the popular Parekh Studio in Mombasa, Kenya, from the late 1940s up until 1982. Parekh worked with African clients from a range of ethnic and social backgrounds to create portraits that incorporate elements of Hinduism, international fashion, European photo manual techniques, and the lighting and poses of Indian film.

During the 1950s and 1960s, photography also played a critical role in journalism in Africa. Both before and after many countries had attained independence, staff writers and photographers at various newspapers in cities such as Nairobi, Lagos, and particularly Johannesburg, began to use photography as a way of documenting rapidly changing cultural and political situations. In the 1950s, black photojournalists in South Africa such as Robert "Bob" Gosani (1934–1972) and Peter Magubane (b. 1932) gained greater access to photography. These photographers were integral in documenting daily life and events in South Africa for local newspapers and popular publications such as the black urban magazine, *Drum*. They produced extensive visual accounts of South Africa's changing political climate and the country's long fight against apartheid.

Photography Throughout the African Diaspora

Across the Atlantic Ocean in Brazil and Cuba—countries with sizeable African populations—the practice of photography developed along its own trajectory. In late-nineteenth-century Brazil, most of the early photographers (and the viewers of photography) were of European origin. Individual and group portraits of wealthy European residents were common at this time. However, by the early 1900s, with growing urbanization and a developing middle class in Brazilian cities such as São Paulo, the audience for photography broadened. A range of illustrated magazines, such as *Revista da Semana* (1900) and *Illustração Brasileira* (1901), began to feature photographs. Over a decade later, in the 1920s, the photo club movement began in Rio with a growing and largely middle-class membership of amateur photographers. By the 1940s this movement had spread to São Paulo. In the early 1950s, Brazil also saw the rise of photojournalism, particularly as the photography magazine *O Cruzeiro* (launched in 1928) experienced tremendous growth, reaching a circulation of over 700,000 by the end of the decade. Over the next several decades, from the 1960s to the 1980s, the profile of photography and photographers became more visible with the emergence of several additional publications and public exhibitions. The interest of art museums, scholars, and critics also turned to photography, including the first inclusion of Brazilian photography in the International Biennale of São Paulo.

While many of the recognized practitioners of Brazilian photography were still of European origin and middle-class backgrounds, by the 1970s the subject matter of photographic images began to diversify. In 1978, in Bahia (a northern state of Brazil with the country's largest population of African descent), a photographer named Artistides Alves presented the exhibition *Fotobahia,* which eventually led to the informal establishment of Grupo de Fotógrafos da Bahia. This organization was established to present the work of contemporary photographers and provide opportunities for emerging photographers in the region. One of their strategies was to mount exhibitions on the beaches and streets. After gaining official recognition from the Cultural Foundation of the State of Bahia, the group elected Maria Sampaio and Célia Aguiar as its coordinators and changed its name to Nucleus of Photography in 1987. Working to train young photographers and provide technical support and exhibition venues, Nucleus of Photography tried to open up the arena of photography for wider

participation by diverse peoples by gaining access to what had previously been more elite and widely inaccessible institutions.

Since the 1990s, greater attention has been allotted to Brazilian photographers from African backgrounds. One such important photographer is Bauer Sá (b. 1950) who has explored the relationship of black people in his native Salvador, Brazil, to African-based religions of the region. Other Afro-Brazilian photographers receiving international attention include Walter Firmo (b. 1937); Denise Camargo (b. 1964), editor-in-chief of the photography magazine *Iris,* and Carla Osório (b. 1972), whose exhibition *Black People in Espirito Santo* garnered critical acclaim during the first National Black Arts Festival in 1995.

Photographers of the African diaspora in Europe, the Caribbean, and the United States continue to use traditional photographic conventions while also experimenting with other approaches in order to produce more artistic works. Many of these photographers have found themselves uprooted. They have migrated, been displaced, were born overseas, or have chosen to train and work outside of their native countries, and they have often looked to photography as a creative means to address, question, and explore issues of identity, self-definition, and memory. David Damoison (b. 1963), whose mother is French and whose father is from Martinique, has focused his photographic work on documenting black life throughout the Caribbean. The Afro-Cuban photographer René Peña Gonzales (b. 1957) has spent his career creating surrealistic images of daily scenes in his native Cuba. The Jamaican photographer Rose-Ann Marie Bailey (b. 1971) has drawn upon her intense interest in light and texture to create photographs that explore the culture and history of her people.

From the 1990s onward, photography of the African diaspora has received widespread attention within both institutional and commercial contexts in the United States and Europe. Since the first image by Seydou Keïta was displayed in 1990 at New York's Museum for African Art (attributed to an "unknown photographer"), interest in photography by African peoples and people of African descent has increased steadily. In 1995 and 1996, the Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor mounted *In/Sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present* at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York City—the first exhibition ever of African photographers in the United States. Several related exhibitions followed, including a solo show of portrait photographs by Seydou Keïta at the National Museum of African Art in Washington D.C. In 1991 the Paris-based organization Éditions Revue Noire began producing literature on African and African diasporic photography. The organization continues to serve as an invaluable archive and resource of images, original documents, and other important information on the topic. University scholars and museum curators have also begun to generate more in-depth research on individual photographers.

Contemporary Photographers

Since the mid-1990s, galleries throughout Europe and the United States have also displayed the work of African photographers within a commercial context. Gallery exhibitions include the presentation of works by Keïta and Sidibé of Mali, Zwelethu Mthethwa (b. 1965) of South Africa, and Samuel Fosso (b. 1962) of the Central African Republic. Prominent photographers of the diaspora who have received critical attention since 1990 also include the Nigerian Rotimi Fani-Kayodé (1955–1989) who worked in London and was one of the founding members of Autograph, the Association of Black English Photographers, as well as several Brazilian photographers, including Charles Silva Duarte (b. 1965) and Eustáquio Neves (b. 1955). The public attention received by these artists has been central in bringing about a greater awareness of the important and varied tradition of photography as it is practiced throughout the African diaspora.

See also African Diaspora; Photography, U.S.

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ISOLDE BRIELMAIER (2005)

Photography, U.S.

African Americans shaped the practice of photography from its origin in 1840 and have participated in its history as practitioners and subjects. The larger American public was fascinated with the daguerreotype as soon as Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851) publicized the process in France in 1839. The French inventor Nicéphore Niépce (1765–1833) produced the earliest extant photographic image made by a camera obscura in 1827. After the death of Niépce, Daguerre successfully fixed an image and in January 1839 announced to the Paris press his discovery, which he named the *daguerreotype*. Six months after the public announcement of the process in Paris, Jules Lion, a free man of color, a lithographer, and portrait painter, exhibited the first successful daguerreotypes in New Orleans.

The African-American public was enthusiastic about Daguerre's process of making likenesses (which we now call photographs). These were numerous free black men and women who established themselves as daguerreans, photographers, inventors, artists, and artisans who had gained local and national recognition in their respective cities. Portraits of prominent and lesser-known African Americans were produced regularly in galleries and studios throughout the country. The portraits of well-known African Americans soon became popular, and the practice of private photography—the photographing of individuals for personal collections and albums—became more and more the artistic method for creating a likeness. Most of the photographs taken at this time were not intended for publication or public presentation, but noted citizens and other families from all walks of life thought it important to have their likenesses preserved for posterity.

During most of photography's early history, images produced by African-American photographers presented idealized glimpses of family members in romanticized or dramatic settings. Photographers such as C. M. Battey and James VanDerZee sought to integrate elements of romanticism and classicism, as did the painters of the previous centuries. Most photographs taken in the early years were made to commemorate a special occasion in the sitter's life—such as marriage, birth, graduation, confirmation, and anniversaries—or the achievement of a particular social or political success.

One of the earliest known photographical studies in America of African-American physiognomy was conducted in 1850 by Harvard scientist Louis Agassiz and J. T. Zealy, a white daguerreotypist in Columbia, South Carolina. The latter was hired to take a series of portraits of African-born slaves on nearby plantations. The daguerreotypes were anatomical studies of the faces and the nude upper bodies of African men and women. The photographs were to give visual evidence of the "natural difference in size of limbs, heads, and configurations of muscles," thereby establishing a theory that blacks were different and inferior. Much of the work of nineteenth-century black photographers was in sharp contrast to these scientific and stereotypical images.

The first publicized exhibition of a work by a black photographer was held on March 15, 1840, in the Hall of the St. Charles Museum in the city of New Orleans. The exhibition, reported to have drawn a large crowd, was organized and sponsored by the artist Jules Lion. In 1854 Glenalvin Goodridge, a black photographer from York, Pennsylvania, won the prize for "best ambrotypes" (a process using a wet plate) at the York County fair. Other black photographers who won distinction in the nineteenth century at exhibitions and expositions include James Presley Ball, who exhibited his daguerreotypes in 1855 at the Ohio Mechanics Annual Exhibition, and Harry Shepherd, who won the first prize at the 1891 Minnesota State fair and later exhibited photographs of the Tuskegee Institute (now University) at the Paris Exposition in 1900. In 1895 Daniel Freeman, known as the first black photographer in Washington, D.C., exhibited his works in the Negro Building at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition.

Between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the twentieth century, numerous itinerant photographers flourished in the North. But even earlier several African-American photographers were able to open their own studios. In the 1840s and 1850s James Ball and Augustus Washington (1820–?) operated galleries in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Hartford, Connecticut; Jules Lion had his own studio in New Orleans. (Ball and Washington were active abolitionists who often used their photographic skills to expose the inhumane institution of slavery and promote the abolitionist movement.) Harry Shepherd opened his first portrait gallery in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1887, where he employed eight attendants. He advertised that "his patrons are among all classes—from the millionaires to day wage workers." Shepherd was one of the few African-American members of the National Photographers Association of America.

Fanny J. Thompson, a musician and composer living in Memphis, Tennessee, in the 1880s, studied photography and was one of the first to record African-American women working in the field. The Goodridge brothers—Glenalvin, Wallace, and William—began their careers in York, Pennsylvania, in the 1850s before settling in East Saginaw, Michigan, in 1866. They opened their first studio the following year. In 1884 they were commissioned by the

U.S. Department of Forestry to photograph views of the Saginaw Valley woodlands.

At the turn of the century photography expanded in a variety of ways. Newspapers, journals, and books published photographic images. Courses in photography were offered in schools and colleges, and correspondence courses were also available. C. M. Battey, an accomplished portraitist and fine-art photographer, was a noted educator in photography. Battey founded the Photography Division at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1916. In 1917 *Crisis* magazine highlighted Battey in the "Men of the Month" column as "one of the few colored photographers who has gained real artistic success." Battey did the most extensive portrait series of African-American leaders produced in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. His photographic portraits of John Mercer Langston, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Paul Laurence Dunbar were sold nationally and were reproduced on postcards and posters.

From 1900 to 1919 African-American photographers flourished in larger cities, producing images of both rural and urban experiences. They included Arthur Bedou (1882–1966) of New Orleans; King Daniel Ganaway (1883–?) of Chicago, who in 1918 received first prize in the John Wanamaker Annual Exhibition of photographers; and Arthur Laidler Macbeth (1864–?) of Charlestown, South Carolina, Baltimore, and Norfolk. Macbeth won many awards and citations for his photographs and was among the pioneers in motion pictures. He invented "Macbeth's Daylight Projecting Screen" for showing stereopticon and moving pictures in the daytime.

In 1911 Addison Scurlock, who was Howard University's official photographer, opened a studio in Washington, D.C., which he operated with his wife and sons, Robert and George, until 1964; after that time his sons continued to operate the studio. In New York City James VanDerZee, undoubtedly the best known of black studio photographers, began capturing the spirit and life of New York's Harlem in the 1920s and continued to do so for more than fifty years.

During the period of the Harlem Renaissance through the Great Depression and the New Deal, photographers began to exhibit their work widely in their communities. In the 1920s young black photographers who viewed themselves as artists moved to the larger cities in search of education, patronage, and support for their art. Harlem was a cultural mecca for many of these photographers. In 1921 the New York Public Library's 135th Street branch in Manhattan (now known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture) organized its first exhibition of work by black artists, titled "The Negro Artists." Two photographers, C. M. Battey and Lucy Calloway of New York, displayed six photographs in this exhibition of over sixty-five works of art. The Harmon Foundation was one of the first philanthropic organizations to give attention, cash awards, and exhibition opportunities to black photographers. These awards came to be known as the William E. Harmon Awards for Distinguished Achievement Among Negroes. In 1930 a special prize of $50 for photographic work was added in the name of the Commission on Race Relations.

A year earlier, James Latimer Allen (1907–1977) exhibited his portraits of African-American men, women, and children in a Harmon Foundation exhibition. Allen also photographed such writers of the period as Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Claude

African American Photographers Guild

Designed to celebrate those contributions made by African Americans in the field of photography, the African American Photographers Guild (AAPG) is also devoted to providing an environment for African Americans wishing to learn about photography. Levels of expertise of the members vary; some are established professionals, while others are intrigued by, or just discovering, the craft. The program is mainly committed to fostering excellence in photography and documenting the culture and experience of African Americans. Work by professional African-American photographers and photo hobbyists are promoted through sponsored exhibitions and publications.

AAPG also helps emphasize the historical significance of African Americans in the field of photography and informs the public of how valuable and creative a medium of expression it can be. On its Web site (www.aapguild.org) are listings of African-American photographers from the 1840s to the present, an instructional site for the amateur and professional photographer, discussion and mailing lists, and chat rooms. The AAPG is open to all commercial, freelance, and newspaper photographers.

McKay. Other photographers active between 1920 and 1940 included several students of C. M. Battey, among them Elise Forrest Harleston (1891–1970) of Charleston, South Carolina, and P. H. Polk (1898–1985) of Tuskegee, Alabama. Harleston opened a photography studio with her painter husband, Edwin Harleston, after studying with Battey in 1922. Polk opened his first studio at Tuskegee in 1927. The following year he was appointed to the faculty of Tuskegee Institute's photography department, photographed prominent visitors such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Paul Robeson, and made extensive portraits of scientist-inventor George Washington Carver. Richard S. Roberts (1881–1936) of Columbia, South Carolina, began studying photography through correspondence courses and specialist journals, and opened his studio in the early 1920s. According to Roberts's advertisements, his studio took superior photographs by day or night. Twin brothers Morgan (1910–1993) and Marvin Smith (1910–) were prolific photographers in Harlem in the 1930s and early 1940s. They photographed members of the community, as well as political rallies, bread lines during the Great Depression, families, and "Lindy Hoppers" in the Savoy Ballroom.

During the Depression, numerous images were taken of the lives of African Americans. The Resettlement Administration, later known as the Farm Security Administration (FSA), was created in 1935 as an independent coordinating agency; it inherited rural relief activities and land-use administration from the Department of the Interior, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. From 1935 to 1943 the FSA photography project generated 270,000 images of rural, urban, and industrial America. Many of the heavily documented activities of the FSA were of black migrant workers in the South. In 1937 Gordon Parks Sr. decided that he wanted to be a photographer after viewing the work of the Farm Security Administration photographers. He was hired by the FSA in 1941, and during World War II he worked as an Office of War Information correspondent. After the war he was a photographer for Standard Oil Company. In 1949 he became the first African-American photographer to work on the staff of *Life* magazine.

Roy DeCarava is the forerunner of contemporary urban photography. He studied art at Cooper Union in New York City, the Works Progress Administration's Harlem Art Center, and the George Washington Carver Art School. In 1955 DeCarava collaborated with Langston Hughes in producing a book titled *The Sweet Flypaper of Life,* which depicted the life of a black family in Harlem. In 1952 DeCarava became one of the first black photographers to receive a Guggenheim Fellowship. In 1954 he founded a photography gallery that became one of the first galleries in the United States devoted to the exhibition and sale of photography as a fine art. DeCarava founded the Kamoinge Workshop for black photographers in 1963.

From the 1930s through the 1960s photographers began working as photojournalists for local newspapers and national magazines marketed to African-American audiences, including *Our World, Ebony, Jet, Sepia,* and *Flash,* among others. Only a few African-American photojournalists, most notably Gordon Parks Sr., Richard Saunders, Bert Miles, and Roy DeCarava, were employed for the larger picture magazines such as *Life, Look, Time, Newsweek,* and *Sports Illustrated*. Most of them learned photography while in the military and studied photography in schools of journalism.

This period also encompassed the beginning of reportage and the documentation of public pageantry and events. In the 1930s smaller handheld cameras and faster films aided photographers in expressing their frustration and discontent with social and political conditions within their communities. The civil rights movement was well documented by photographers such as Moneta Sleet Jr. (New York and Chicago), Jack T. Franklin (Philadelphia), Charles "Teenie" Harris (Pittsburgh), Howard Morehead (Los Angeles), Bertrand Miles (New York), Austin Hansen (New York), and U.S. Information Service Agency photographers Richard Saunders and Griffith Davis.

From 1935 to the early 1990s musical pioneers were the frequent subjects of Chuck Stewart (1927–), Milt Hinton, Roy DeCarava, and Bert Andrews (1931–1993), who photographed performing artists in the studio, onstage, and in nightclubs. Hinton received his first camera in 1935 while he was playing in Cab Calloway's band. As a jazz bassist and photographer, Hinton photographed his musician friends and colleagues. In 1950 Chuck Stewart, who studied photography at Ohio University, began photographing jazz musicians and vocalists onstage and in his studio in New York City. His photographs were used for album covers, publicity stills, and illustrations for books and articles of jazz. Stewart photographed virtually every well-known musician and vocalist from 1950 to 1990; his coverage includes blues, bebop, fusion, salsa, and popular music. Bert Andrews photographed black theatrical productions on and off Broadway from the early 1960s through the early 1990s. Among the production companies whose plays he photographed are the Negro Ensemble Company, the New Federal Theatre, and the Frank Silvera Writers' Workshop.

During the active years of the civil rights and Black Power movements—the early 1960s through the 1970s—a

significant number of socially committed men and women became photographers, documenting the struggles, achievements, and tragedies of the freedom movement. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) photographers Doug Harris, Elaine Tomlin, and Bob Fletcher were in the forefront in documenting the voter registration drives in the South; Robert Sengstacke, Howard Bingham, Jeffrey Scales, and Brent Jones photographed the activities of the Black Panther Party and desegregation rallies in the North and on the West Coast. From 1969 to 1986 six African-American photographers received the coveted Pulitzer Prize in photography. The first was Moneta Sleet Jr. in 1969 for his photograph of Coretta Scott King and her daughter at the funeral of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Following in subsequent years were Ovie Carter (1975) for international reporting for his photographs of famine in Africa and India; Matthew Lewis (1975) for his portrait studies of Washingtonians; John White (1982) for work published in the *Chicago Sun-Times;* Michel Du Cille (1985) for the photographs of the Colombian earthquake; and Ozier Muhammad (1985) for international reporting for the photographic essay "Africa: The Desperate Continent."

In the 1970s universities and art colleges began to offer undergraduate and graduate degrees in photography, and African-American photographers began studying photography and creating works for exhibition purposes. Others studied in community centers and workshops. The symbolic and expressive images of the works produced in the 1980s and 1990s offer sociological and psychological insights into the past, as well as examinations of contemporary social themes, such as racism, unemployment, child and sexual abuse, and death and dying. Most of these works are informed by personal experiences. Significant contributors to the development of this genre are Albert Chong, Hank Sloane Thomas, Roland Freeman, Todd Gray, Chester Higgins, Lynn Marshall-Linnemeier, Deborah Jack, Jeffrey Scales, Coreen Simpson, Lorna Simpson, Elisabeth Sunday, Christian Walker, Carrie Mae Weems, Carla Williams, and Pat Ward Williams.

Many of the photographers working in the early twenty-first century explore social issues that reflect or respond to politics, culture, family, and collective history. The issues addressed in contemporary photography create a revised interpretation of the visual experience through digital technology, using genres including portraiture, landscape, and documentary photography.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Parks, Gordon; Photography, Diasporic; VanDerZee, James

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DEBORAH WILLIS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

PHYLON

Phylon was a quarterly journal founded by W. E. B. DuBois, edited by him from 1940 to 1944, and published under the auspices of Atlanta University. The journal was designed to replace the school's earlier publications, which had initiated a more scientific approach to the study of race. Even though other institutions had used this approach and some scholars were adapting their works to it, it was still necessary to revisit and revise what had and was taking place relative to race in academia. The focus was to be cultural and historical rather than biological and psychological. The original editorial board and contributing editors included Ira DeAugustine Reid, William Stanley Braithwaite, Mercer Cook, Horace M. Bond, and Rayford W. Logan. While the articles were to be devoted to the social sciences, there were works by and about individuals and topics germane to the humanities. Literary issues were addressed by such critics as Arthur P. Davis, Nick Aaron Ford, and Hugh Gloster, and original poetry and fiction also were published, including work by authors such as Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen. The journal ceased publication in 1988.

Freedom's Odyssey: African American History Essays from Phylon (1999), edited by Alexa B. Henderson and Janis Sumler-Edmond, contains twenty-nine scholarly essays on African-American history that appeared in the journal. The topics include slave revolts, abolitionism, desegregation, and the civil rights movement.

See also Journalism; Literary Magazines; Quarles, Benjamin

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HELEN R. HOUSTON (2001)

Pinchback, P. B. S.

May 10, 1837
December 21, 1921

Born free in Macon, Georgia, Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, a politician, was the son of William Pinchback, a white planter, and Eliza Steward, his emancipated slave, who was of mixed blood. Along with his brothers and sisters, Pinchback was taken to Cincinnati to escape enslavement by his white relatives at his father's death. Denied any share of his father's estate, Pinchback went to work as a steward on a Mississippi riverboat. In 1862, during the early stages of the Civil War, he volunteered for the Union army in New Orleans and was assigned to recruit for the Corps d'Afrique and a cavalry company, where he protested the unequal treatment of African-American troops.

Pinchback played an important role in establishing the Republican Party in Louisiana following the war and was elected to the state's 1867 Constitutional Convention. He was president of the state senate in 1871 and served as lieutenant governor at the death of Oscar J. Dunn. He became acting governor during the impeachment of Governor Henry Clay Warmoth. Pinchback was an advocate of universal suffrage, civil rights, the legal suppression of discrimination, and tax-supported education. He moved away from the Radical Republicans in 1871 and supported the reelection of Ulysses S. Grant.

There was backing for Pinchback's own nomination for governor in 1872, but he withdrew in favor of W. P. Kellogg. Elected congressman-at-large, he also served as governor again and was then elected to the U.S. Senate. He was unseated when the election was contested, however. Under Governor F. T. Nicholls, Pinchback was appointed to the State Board of Education, where he was instrumental in founding Southern University. He became surveyor of customs at the port of New Orleans. Pinchback was a keen businessman, dealing in cotton, and a founder of the Mississippi River Packet Company. He was admitted to the bar in 1886.

Pinchback moved to New York City, then to Washington, D.C., in 1897, where he resumed his political career, supporting Booker T. Washington, and became a leader of the city's light-skinned social elite. He married Nina Hawthorne; they were the parents of six children. One grandson was Jean Toomer, the Harlem Renaissance novelist. Pinchback died in 1921 and was buried in New Orleans.

See also Politics in the United States

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MICHEL FABRE (1996)

Pindling, Lynden Oscar

March 22, 1930
August 26, 2000

Sir Lynden Oscar Pindling was hailed as a national hero in his native Bahamas and called the "Father of the Nation" by the former prime minister (1992–2002) Hubert Ingraham. Pindling was a "consummate politician" and leader, and he did more than anyone else to shape Bahamian society in the late twentieth century. He led the fight for black majority rule, served as the country's first prime minister, and was the "architect of Independence for the Commonwealth of The Bahamas" (Craton, 2002).

Pindling was in born in Over-The-Hill (the black section of the city), Nassau, the only child of Arnold F. Pindling, a former police officer and businessman who migrated from Jamaica to the Bahamas in 1923, and Viola Pindling (née Bain), who hailed from Acklins Island in the southern Bahamas. Lynden Pindling obtained his degree at the University of London and attended Inns of Courts at Middle Temple, where he successfully qualified as a lawyer, completing the LL.B. in August 1952. He was called to the bar of the Middle Temple in February 1953.

Pindling then returned to Nassau. He was called to the Bahamas bar in late 1953, and then he joined the recently established Progressive Liberal Party (PLP). Pindling and five other successful PLP candidates were elected to the House of Assembly in June 1956. H. M. Taylor, the chairman of the PLP, failed to retain his seat, however, and Pindling was elected as parliamentary leader of the PLP. This was the beginning of the PLP's eleven-year struggle for majority rule, and the first step in Pindling's rise to leadership of the party. By 1963 he was both the party's leader in Parliament and chairman of the PLP.

Pindling and the PLP supported the January 1958 general strike led by Randol Fawkes, the Bahamas Federation of Labour, Clifford Darling, and the Bahamas Taxi Cab Union. In fact, Pindling and the PLP pushed for constitutional reform. Although no structural changes were made in the constitution immediately following the strike, important electoral changes were instituted, including the widening of the franchise, abolition of the company vote (which had allowed persons holding companies to vote on every company), and reduction of the plural vote (which had allowed one person to vote in every constituency where he held land), all of which helped to democratize the election process. The Bay Street politicians, comprised of merchant-class whites, including Roland Symonette and Stafford Sands, were still firmly in control, however, and won a resounding victory in 1962.

April 27, 1965, became known as "Black Tuesday" in the Bahamas. On that day, Pindling threw the speaker's mace, the symbol of parliamentary power, out of the House of Assembly as a protest against the Constituencies Commission report and a *Wall Street Journal* article of October 5, 1966, that was unfavorable to the Bahamian government. The Commission's report allocated the constituencies (seats) in New Providence and the Out Islands to the advantage of the governing party, the United Bahamian Party (UBP), and Pindling opposed what he saw as an unfair advantage for the UBP. The general election that followed in 1967 ended in a tie, but Labour Party leader Randol Fawkes sided with the PLP, and independent Alvin Braynen agreed to become speaker. Pindling thus formed the first PLP government bringing majority rule. He became *premier* of the Bahamas, a designation changed to *prime minister* following constitutional reform in 1969. He then led the PLP to victory in six successive general elections (1967, 1968, 1972, 1977, 1982, and 1987) and went on to serve as a member of Parliament for forty-one years and as prime minister for twenty-five years. When the PLP was defeated in the election of 1992, he was the longest-serving elected head of government in the British Commonwealth.

The Bahamas under Pindling and the PLP was transformed peacefully from a racially and economically oppressive colony into a modern, prosperous, independent, and stable nation. Under his administration, the Bahamas gained its independence on July 10, 1973, in what Dame Doris Johnson (1972) deemed "The Quiet Revolution." The government extended educational opportunities to all Bahamians through the building of primary and secondary schools, the provision of thousands of scholarships for education, both at home and abroad, and the establishment of the College of The Bahamas, thus laying the foundation for the rise of a newly educated and professional class inclusive of black Bahamians, who had previously been mostly deprived of the right to vote and the right to education and economic opportunities taken for granted by the white elite. The PLP government also established the Industrial Training Centre (now called the Bahamas Technical and Vocational Institute) and The Bahamas Tourism Centre. Low-cost housing was expanded and numerous new subdivisions were developed to accommodate the new middle class. Electrification was provided to most islands of the Bahamas, as were telecommunications. For example, the use of radio was expanded and national television introduced. The financial services industries also grew tremendously during this period.

In addition, public health measures were introduced. The supply of potable water and sewage waste disposal was greatly improved. Health care was improved and extended through the establishment of new clinics in many islands, and doctors were posted to the major population centers. National insurance to assist the unemployed, ill, and disabled was introduced in 1974. In addition, security was enhanced through the formation of the Royal Bahamas Defence Force and the strengthening of the Royal Bahamas Police Force. The islands of the Bahamas were more closely linked through the establishment of Bahamasair, and the tourism industry expanded to welcome more than three million visitors a year.

Shortly after independence, Pindling and the PLP sought and obtained membership in the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Caribbean Community, and the Commonwealth of Nations. The Bahamas later joined other international organizations, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Pindling will be remembered internationally as the chairman of the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Nassau in 1985, and as the chairman of the Commonwealth Conference on South Africa. In the latter capacity, he was instrumental in "setting the stage for the release of Nelson Mandela from his long captivity" (*Official Programme*, 2000).

Despite being diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1996, Pindling led the PLP into the 1997 general election, which the governing Free National Movement (FNM) won by a landslide. After a forty-one-year career in the House of Assembly, Sir Lynden Pindling (he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1983) resigned on July 7, 1997, after giving an eloquent speech in which he stated, "I am done now . . . I have reached the end of my political journey. I have run my course. I did my best." Upon his death, Pindling was survived by four children, five grandchildren, and Marguerite, his wife of forty years.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Urban Poverty in the Caribbean

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D. GAIL SAUNDERS (2005)

Piper, Adrian

September 20, 1948

Adrian Margaret Smith Piper was born the only child of Daniel Robert Piper and Olive Xavier Smith Piper in Harlem, New York. She trained at the School of Visual Arts in New York and earned a doctorate from Harvard in 1967. Through work as a philosopher and conceptual artist, Piper creates provocative works of art that challenge stereotypes of racial and gender identity. Piper began making conceptual art in the mid-1960s while completing her graduate studies in philosophy and intensely studying Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason.* Kant's writings inspired Piper to investigate her own experiences of racial discrimination. For a conceptual artist such as Piper, the act of thinking about a preferred set of questions can constitute a large portion of the creative work. Conceptual art may take the form of writing, performance, collage, installation, or other objects. It might also be objectless, existing as a performance or conversation taking place solely inside the head of the artist. Piper's artwork takes many forms, including journal writing, drawings, collage, video art, photography, and performance.

While Piper's artwork is indebted to her studies in philosophy, it is also deeply informed by her own experiences. As a light-skinned African-American woman with access to cultural institutions of white privilege, Piper often is mistaken for a white person without intending to "pass" herself off that way. This experience of being misread, primarily by white people, has afforded her the opportunity to witness racism from an "inside" perspective. On several occasions she has found herself privy to comments that evidence fears or biases toward African Americans by educated and politically savvy whites who would not express such ideas in mixed company. When Piper announces, or "outs," her identity as black, she is both confronting these expressions of racism and revealing that such biases persist, even in the most enlightened communities. Her perceived cultural ambiguity has invited hostility from a number of people who feel deceived because of their inability to perceive the variances and nuances of African-American female identity. Piper's artwork exposes the illogic inherent in distinct racial categories, where one's color is used as an objective signifier of status or culture.

Piper's style of confrontation, whether in her artwork or critical writings, is sharply courteous. By using this tactic of extreme politeness, Piper has said that she hopes to force those who refuse to acknowledge their own racism to note the "wrongness" of their own behavior. She has also said her artwork helps her to use her own negative experiences constructively and to avoid feeling trapped and powerless in the wake of other people's professed expectations.

Piper's artwork observes, questions, and reveals the phenomenon of racial inequality as a way to seek further enlightenment about the nature of humanity. It attempts to reveal that one's bias against, discrimination toward, and fear of African Americans is a result of an illogical and emotional weakness of character by subjecting it to interrogations of critical thinking and logic.

See also Performance Art

The Chicago offices of the* Pittsburgh Courier *in 1941. *Founded in 1910, the newspaper had a national circulation and a wide readership throughout black America.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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WENDY S. WALTERS (2005)

Pittsburgh Courier

The *Pittsburgh Courier* was for several decades among the most influential African-American newspapers in the United States. Founded in January 1910 by Edwin Nathaniel Harleston, a security guard with an interest in literary endeavors, the weekly publication was nurtured into prominence under the guidance of Robert L. Vann. An attorney and acquaintance of Harleston's, Vann was asked to handle the fledgling newspaper's incorporation procedures and to solicit financial investors. By the autumn of 1910, however, Harleston had resigned from the ownership group and Vann was named editor. Vann accepted $100 a year in *Courier* stock shares as compensation, and by 1926 he was the majority stockholder.

When the *Courier*'s first issue was published, the black population in Pittsburgh was approximately twenty-five thousand, but only one of the city's six newspapers carried any news concerning the African-American community. That paper, the *Pittsburgh Press,* carried black-oriented items in a segregated section titled "Afro-American News," but its content was generally of sensational crime and other lurid aspects of black life. Under Vann's leadership the *Courier* flourished, reaching a circulation of fifty-five thousand in the early 1920s. This was accomplished by a number of adept strategies that included hiring well-known journalist George Schuyler in 1925 to write his "View and Reviews" column.

That same year Vann sponsored Schuyler on a nine-month tour of the South to write a series of on-the-road observations. This strategy allowed the *Courier* to build a national circulation among African-American readers, particularly in southern cities with large black populations. At the same time, Vann was increasing the paper's

national advertising, hiring additional professional staff, and focusing on national stories.

As the *Courier* broadened its national coverage, its attention to local events weakened. Still, by the end of the 1920s H. L. Mencken observed that the *Courier* was the "best colored newspaper published." A significant operational decision was the construction of the *Courier*'s own printing and production plant in 1929. During the Great Depression the *Courier* was able to keep and conserve its revenues because it maintained its own production facility.

It was also during the 1930s that the *Courier* undertook one of its first major campaigns as a national opinion leader for African Americans. At issue was the enormously popular radio program "Amos 'n' Andy." The *Courier* attacked the racial stereotypes presented in the program and in 1930 and 1931 launched a drive to obtain one million signatures on a petition to remove it from the air. Although the effort fell some 400,000 signatures short of its goal, the *Courier* firmly established its place as a national forum for African-American expression.

During the 1930s *Courier* readers could faithfully follow the exploits of heavyweight champion Joe Louis, and the paper's increase in circulation coincided with Louis's reign. Journalists such as P. L. Prattis, William G. Nunn, and sportswriter Chester Washington joined the staff, and the paper launched various crusades against Jim Crow discrimination and for civil rights.

Vann died in 1940, and his wife Jessie Ellen (Matthews) Vann succeeded him as publisher. By May 1947 the *Courier* attained a circulation high of 357,212 readers nationally. It championed the causes of racial equality in the U.S. armed forces and covered black military achievements in World War II. Although it also covered the black baseball circuit, emphasizing the Homestead Grays over the major league locals, the Pittsburgh Pirates, the *Courier* fought vigorously for the integration of major league baseball.

During the 1950s and 1960s the *Courier* experienced steady declines in circulation, and in 1966 it was purchased by the Sengstacke Group, which continued the weekly as the *New Pittsburgh Courier*.

See also *Baltimore Afro-American*; *Black World/Negro Digest*; *Chicago Defender*; *Guardian, The*; *Liberator, The*; *North Star*; Journalism; Schuyler, George S.

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CLINT C. WILSON II (1996)

Plessy v. Ferguson

In *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 163 U.S. 537 (1896), the Supreme Court upheld an 1890 Louisiana statute that required railroads to provide separate but equal accommodations for blacks and whites and forbade persons from riding in cars not assigned to their race. It gave constitutional sanction to virtually all forms of racial segregation in the United States until after World War II.

Plessy arose as part of a careful strategy to test the legality of the new Louisiana law. In September 1891, elite "persons of color" in New Orleans formed the Citizens Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law. They raised three thousand dollars for the costs of a test case. Albion Tourgee, the nation's leading white advocate of black rights, agreed to take the case without fee. Tourgee, a former judge, was a nationally prominent writer most noted for his novel about Reconstruction, *A Fool's Errand.*

In June 1892, Homer A. Plessy purchased a first-class ticket on the East Louisiana Railroad, sat in the "white" car, and was promptly arrested and arraigned before Judge John H. Ferguson. Plessy then sued to prevent Ferguson from conducting any further proceedings against him. Eventually his challenge reached the United States Supreme Court.

Before the Supreme Court, Tourgee argued that segregation violated the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition of involuntary servitude and denied blacks equal protection of the law, which was guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. These amendments, along with the Declaration of Independence, Tourgee asserted, gave Americans affirmative rights against invidious discrimination. He asserted that the Fourteenth Amendment gave constitutional life to the Declaration of Independence, "which is not a fable as some of our modern theorists would have us believe, but [is] the all-embracing formula of personal rights on which our government is based." Joining Tourgee in these arguments was Samuel F. Phillips, a former solicitor general of the United States, who in 1883 had unsuccessfully argued the civil rights cases.

The Court rejected Tourgee's arguments by a vote of seven to one. In his majority opinion, Justice Henry Billings Brown conceded that the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted "to enforce the absolute equality of the two

races before the law," but asserted that the amendment "could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races." Ignoring the reality of the emerging Jim Crow South, the Court denied that "the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." Brown believed that segregation was not discriminatory because whites were also segregated from blacks. Thus, if segregation created a perception of inferiority "it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it." Reflecting the accepted social science and popular prejudices of his age, Brown argued:

> Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

Thus, as long as segregated facilities were "equal," they were permissible. Segregation had now received the sanction and blessing of the Supreme Court.

In a bitter, lone dissent, Justice John Marshall Harlan, a former slave owner, acknowledged that the "white race" was "the dominant race in this country." But, as Harlan read the Constitution, there was in the eye of the law no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens and no caste. The Constitution was color-blind, and neither knew nor tolerated classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens were equal before the law and the humblest the peer of the most powerful. The law regarded "man as man" and took no account of surroundings or color when civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land were involved. Harlan protested that the Court's decision would "stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens" and "encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments to the Constitution." In prophetic language, he asserted, "The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done." Harlan argued that the Louisiana law was "inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black" and "hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States."

More than five decades would pass before the Supreme Court recognized the fundamental truth of Harlan's dissent. Meanwhile, the South built a social and legal system rooted in racial segregation. In January 1897, Homer Plessy pled guilty to attempting to board a "white" railroad car and paid a twenty-five-dollar fine.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; Jim Crow; Thirteenth Amendment

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PAUL FINKELMAN (1996)
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Poetry, U.S.

African-American poetry is the first formal literature created by Africans and their descendants in the New World. It is a body of literature that emerged out of the largest forced migration in human history, the subsequent enslavement of those migrants, and the racial circumscription encountered by their descendants. Black verse has therefore embodied and emphasized concerns at once aesthetic, spiritual, and, necessarily, political. Gwendolyn Brooks's striking metaphor, which imagines the poetry of the oppressed as "pretty flowers under blood," makes this point explicit. Many poets posit America as a location of exile and alienation, yet it is the only home most black Americans have ever known. Contemporary African-American verse echoes the more than two hundred years

of black poetry that preceded it, finding its animating principle in the exploration of what the critic George Kent termed "exile rhythms," as they continue to reverberate in black life. Consequently, the quests for home and freedom—in all of their philosophical, spiritual, and physical dimensions—are a continuing preoccupation for black poets.

Some of the primary responses to this predicament of exile and lingering discrimination can been found in black vernacular, or oral folk culture—that is, in the lyrics and music of ring shouts, field hollers, work songs, spirituals, blues, and jazz. With their emphases on transcendence, perseverance, improvisation, and humor, these forms provide the aesthetic, philosophical, and epistemological foundations on which much black poetry rests. Black folk poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries combined African polyrhythmic structures, West African-based African-American "call and response" patterns, and European forms and language to create a New World literature. While the lyrics and structures of these forms constitute one line of development, the eighteenth century also witnessed the birth of a written African-American poetry. This poetry, primarily modeled on European and Euro-American source material, developed under the gaze of white slave masters, editors, and publishers. Not surprisingly, these poetries are very different. Yet, despite the surface differences between the oral and written black traditions in poetry, especially prior to the twentieth century, there is a sameness in the desires they articulate. In the later nineteenth century, some poets working in the more formal literary tradition attempted to infuse their work with African-American oral culture—a practice that was increasingly employed during the Harlem Renaissance, and that continues today.

A "Difficult Miracle": Black Poetry of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The dynamic tension between the ideal of freedom and the reality of enslavement or oppression has informed African-American poetry from its inception. The written tradition of black poetry emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century, in an Anglo-American world wrestling with the potent ideas of liberty and self-determination—an intellectual set of concerns bequeathed by the European Enlightenment but given political import in the context of British colonial rule and the revolutionary responses it spawned. The evangelical Great Awakening, an influential eighteenth-century Methodist revivalist movement noted for its emotional fervor, emphasized human equality through Christian salvation. This emphasis on equality "at the foot of the Cross" resonated with African Americans and had a profound influence on early African-American verse.

The prelude to the written tradition of African-American verse occurred in 1746, the year of one of the first documented lynchings, in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Lucy Terry (1730–1821), then an enslaved African sixteen-year-old, wrote "Bars Fight," inaugurating the African-American literary tradition with the composition of a ballad of twenty-six lines that commemorated a Native American ambush of white settlers. Acknowledging the literary and extraliterary challenges confronting the creation of black verse, the poet June Jordon (b. 1936) has labeled African-American poetry, especially its beginnings, nothing short of a "difficult miracle."

It was indeed miraculous that Africans, despite the fierce assaults on their humanity and identity during the Middle Passage and slavery, would enter the continuum that is Western poetic discourse while still in bondage. It may have been especially difficult for African-American poets contemplating an almost 3,000-year-old tradition in poetry that marked, for Europeans and Euro-Americans, the highest level of human artistic achievement. Jupiter Hammon (1711–1806), a slave to three generations of a wealthy New York family and the first published African-American writer, produced an eighty-eight line broadside titled *An Evening Thought, Salvation, by Christ, with Penetential* (sic) *Cries* in 1760. This poem's significance rests not in its aesthetic qualities, but in its use of the weight and authority of Christian discourse to make an argument for black (spiritual) equality and (transhistorical) liberation, a rhetorical method that would be repeated throughout the African-American verse tradition.

The African-American written tradition truly begins with the Gambian-born Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753–1784), who was the first black person—and the second woman—to publish a book in British North America. Wheatley wrote in daring and direct opposition to the racial hierarchy of eighteenth-century Europe and America, which associated blackness with mental and cultural inferiority. Her *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773) reveals a poet politically engaged, spiritually devoted, and artistically ambitious. Wheatley's neoclassicism, her expressed desire to write a song in the "bolder notes" of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, and her incorporation of a capacious and radically inclusive Christianity were all marshaled to articulate her central concern, the theme of liberation.

During the nineteenth century, over one hundred and thirty black poets would respond to Wheatley's call for a poetry at once political and beautiful. George Moses Hor-

ton (1797?–1883?) was the first black southerner to publish a book. This iconoclast published three volumes of poetry: *The Hope of Liberty* (1829), *The Poetical Works of George M. Horton, the Colored Bard of North Carolina* (1845), and *Naked Genius* (1865), published shortly after his emancipation. Horton's poetry stands alone in the nineteenth century in its unique examination of the slave's psyche, love, marriage, financial hardship, and death. His life spanned most of the tumultuous nineteenth century, an era that encompassed slavery, Emancipation, Reconstruction, and the post-Reconstruction period (or "nadir"), a period of extreme political, social, and economic subjugation, and systematic violence. Ann Plato, most likely a free black citizen of Hartford, Connecticut, wrote *Essays: Including Biographies and Miscellaneous Pieces of Prose and Poetry* (1841), which included twenty poems in the neoclassical style favored by Wheatley. James Monroe Whitfield (1822–1871) wrote "America" (1853), declaring, "America, it is to thee, / Thou boasted land of liberty,— / It is to thee I raise my song, / Thou land of blood and crime and wrong."

A year later, the writer-activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911) published *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (1854), a book of poems and essays with a title revealing a recursion to Wheatley, a clear indication that black writers were fully aware of their own burgeoning literary tradition. Harper—born free like Whitfield, but in the slave South—published other collections, including *Moses, a Story of the Nile* (1869), an almost 700-line blank-verse epic retelling of the *Book of Exodus,* and *Sketches of a Southern Life* (1872), a significant contribution to American and black poetry due to the realistic manner in which it rendered the dignity, knowledge, humor, and speech of African Americans in the South. Alberry Allson Whitman (1851–1901), born a slave in Kentucky, wrote technically complex, heroic, and romantic poetry in order to contribute to racial advancement and to challenge himself artistically. He authored the expansive *Leelah Mislead* (1873), *Not a Man Yet a Man* (1877), and *The Rape of Florida* (1884), among other epics. In addition to Whitman and Harper, some other extended verse writers were Elymas Payson Rogers, George Boyer Vashon, James Madison Bell, and Francis A. Boyd. Although many black writers crafted historical, weighty poems, others, especially after the Civil War, turned inward to explore more emotional, subjective concerns. These poems were transgressive in that they made black speaking, thinking, and feeling their primary focus. Ann Plato, George Moses Horton, and later, T. Thomas Fortune, Eloise Bibb Thompson, and Henrietta Cordelia Ray were among those who adopted this style.

Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906), the northern-born son of southern slaves, was the most significant poet of the nineteenth century. In his eleven volumes of poetry, starting with *Oak and Ivy* (1893), *Majors and Minors* (1895), and *Lyrics of a Lowly Life* (1896), Dunbar's formal versatility was as evident as his cross-racial popularity was immense. Dunbar wrote in both standard English and in black vernacular, or dialect, a dichotomy that would influence his popularity and critical reception. Some critics and many readers praised the authenticity and artistry of his dialect verse, noticing Dunbar's ability to mask the exile rhythms, communal healing, and thematics of liberation in his poems. Daniel Webster Davis and James Edwin Campbell also wrote dialect poems. Fenton Johnson was a transitional figure who fashioned poetry reminiscent of Dunbar in its lyricism and use of black speech. The tone of despair in his last volume, *Songs of the Soil* (1916), encapsulated the mood of the nadir period and the tone of Euro-American modernism.

The Harlem Renaissance: 1919–1940

The Harlem Renaissance, sometimes called the New Negro Renaissance or New Negro movement, was an artistic flowering that peaked in the 1920s but began to wane during the Great Depression. The Great Migration (the movement of blacks from the American South to the North during the early twentieth century), the smaller migration to New York City from the Caribbean, the return of black soldiers from World War I, and the rise of a new, more militant black leadership who responded to the brutality of the post-Reconstruction nadir were some of the factors contributing to its emergence. With these changes came a corresponding shift in African-American racial pride and self-assertion, as well as a surge in artistic energy. Alain Locke (1886–1954), a professor of philosophy at Howard University, captured this new, more assertive and defiant attitude in *The New Negro* (1925), an anthology of essays, fiction, poetry, and artwork. Poetry was one of the more prominent means of literary expression in the period, and poets were given monetary awards and the chance to publish by the journals *The Crisis* and *Opportunity,* sponsored by the NAACP and the National Urban League, respectively. The black poetry anthologies that appeared between 1922 and 1941, such as James Weldon Johnson's *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922) and Countee Cullen's *Caroling Dusk* (1927), were also important publishing venues.

During this era, artists and critics continued grappling with black representation in art, artistic freedom, art as propaganda, white patronage, and the proper use of folk material. Claude McKay (1890–1948), a pioneer of the

Harlem Renaissance, foregrounded the contributions of Anglo-Caribbean immigrants who helped nourish the literary, cultural, and political environment of the Harlem Renaissance. McKay's *Harlem Shadows* (1922), which included the still popular "If We Must Die," yoked traditional poetic forms, especially the sonnet, to a critique of racial and economic oppression and exploitation. Jean Toomer's (1894–1967) modernist-inspired *Cane* (1923), a generically restless long poem that was a swan song for the South left in the wake of the Great Migration, was also influential to black poets. In *Color* (1925), which includes the poem "Heritage," the erudite Countee Cullen (1903–1946) asked the question that many African-American artists in the Harlem Renaissance and after would repeatedly consider: "What is Africa to me?" Langston Hughes (1902–1967), the prolific Afro-modernist and self-proclaimed folk poet, embraced vernacular material with his wedding of jazz and blues forms to traditional verse. Hughes published his signature poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (1921), in *The Crisis,* and later authored the collections *The Weary Blues* (1926) and *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927). James Weldon Johnson's free-verse *God's Trombones, Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927) is a masterwork of the era; with its poetic articulation of black sermonic tradition it complements the strand of religiously influenced poetry from the eighteenth century to the present. In *Southern Road* (1932), Sterling Brown (1901–1989) used language that foreshadowed the subtitle of Stephen Henderson's important *Understanding the New Black Poetry: Black Speech and Music as Poetic References* (1972), creating poems that explore the rhythms of black American life. One of Brown's most enduring legacies is in his uniting of the blues and ballad forms, as in "Ma Rainy," which portrays its eponymous subject.

The blues not only served as a structuring form and verse referent for poets of the Harlem Renaissance, but, as critic Hazel Carby has suggested, the blues lyrics performed by Ma Rainy (1886–1939) and Bessie Smith (1895?–1937), to cite just two examples, were a significant oral poetry. For many women poets in the literary arena, however, black female representation and voice was a complex undertaking within the confines of the "Cult of True Womanhood," the ubiquitous ideology that venerated female domesticity, piety, and sexual purity. Often living outside of Harlem and saddled with traditional domestic responsibilities and gender discrimination—within and outside of the publishing world—women poets experienced specific challenges. The writer and poet Akasha Gloria Hull and others have pointed out that many women established informal and formal multigenerational networks in their cities and expressed political and romantic desire within the more conventional lyric genre, as was the case with Alice Dunbar-Nelson (1975–1935), Angelina Weld Grimké (1880–1958), and Georgia Douglas Johnson (1880–1966). Johnson authored four books of verse, including *The Heart of a Woman* (1918) and *Bronze* (1922). Other poets, such as Anne Spencer, Gwendolyn Bennett, Mae Cowdery, Helene Johnson, Gladys Mae Casely Hayford (Aquah Laluah), and the Ethel Trew Dunlap, offered the Renaissance a dazzling array of unique poetry ranging from lesbian and Pan-African verse to poetry that explored gender and racial equality.

Poetry of the Mid-Twentieth-Century Freedom Movement: 1940–1960

The 1940s and 1950s were decades of economic expansion, cultural conformity, and ideological consensus resulting from World War II and its aftermath, which served as a unifying force and manufacturing juggernaut. African Americans might also characterize this era as a moment of increased political rebellion and agitation with its sit-ins, boycotts, and mass demonstrations against injustice. Many black poets during this period embraced the new formalism (a return to more traditional European forms and metrics) and the dense and highly allusive high modernism of the academy. Others opted for a more radical experimentation with language, as a reading of the magazines *Free Lance* and *Yugen* will attest. The writer Aldon L. Nielsen calls the tradition of experimental black poetry a "continuum within a tradition of fracture," with black poets locating this experimental impulse in black vernacular forms as well as Euro-American innovation. Russell Atkins, Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), Bob Kaufman, Oliver Pitcher, Harold Carrington, Stephen Jonas, Ted Joans, and Tom Postell were just a few of the writers pushing the boundaries of referential language. Some of these poets made use of unique typography and oral performance in an attempt to approach the sublimity of jazz.

During the World War II period, Gwendolyn Brooks (1917–2000), Melvin B. Tolson (1898–1966), Robert Hayden (1913–1980), and Margaret Walker (1915–1998) became prominent literary figures, wining prestigious academic, national, and international recognition for their work, while Langston Hughes continued to write poetry. His bebop-influenced *Montage of a Dream Deferred* (1951) is a long poetic exploration of the desire for home and equality in America—the exile rhythms—that would serve as a primary concern for the major black poets of the era. Margaret Walker's collection *For My People* (1942), written in free verse, folk ballad, and sonnet form, has been compared to a sermon because of its imaginative interweaving of history, biblical imagery, and African-

American folk elements. Black history and folklore also serve as source material for some of the multitextured and technically masterful poems of Robert Hayden. His "Middle Passage" (1945) remains an extraordinary testament to a prolific forty-year writing career that produced many fine volumes, *The Lion and the Archer* (1948) and *A Ballad of Remembrance* (1962) among them.

American modernism was also energized through the dense, compressed, and allusive poetry of Melvin B. Tolson, who first gained national recognition for his frequently anthologized "Dark Symphony" (1939). Tolson's *Libretto for the Republic of Liberia* (1953) is a sweeping, dense, long poem written to celebrate Liberia's centennial. His epic *Harlem Gallery: Book I, The Curator* (1965) is a singular achievement in black poetry in its importation of high modernist technique and black vernacular forms. One of the most significant, influential, and gifted voices of this era (and beyond) belonged to Gwendolyn Brooks, who wrote more than twenty poetry volumes. The first African American to win a Pulitzer Prize—for *Annie Allen* (1949)—Brooks's poetry wrests the ordinary lives of black folk from its moorings in transparent language and vivifies its everyday heroism through a brilliant use of polished technique and explosive metaphor. Samuel W. Allen (Paul Vesey), Owen Dodson, Margaret Esse Danner, Raymond Patterson, and Ray Durem were also important poets of the era.

The Black Arts Movement: Early 1960s–Early 1970s

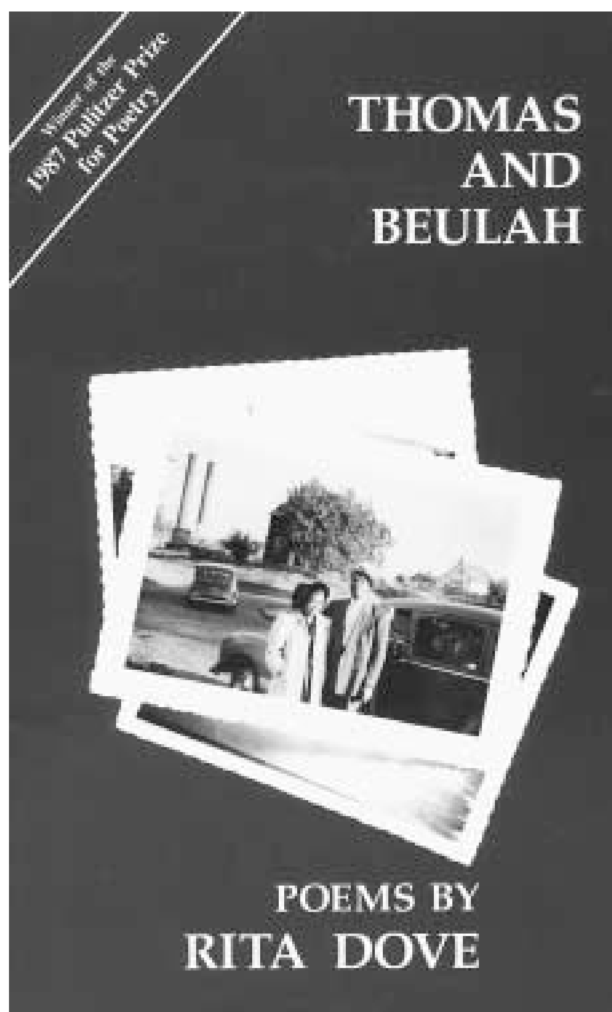
The 1960s witnessed a proliferation of black art. Mirroring the late nineteenth century and the 1920s, energized writers responded to social and economic injustice, and the seemingly endless attacks on African-American humanity, most recently evidenced in the brutal assaults on freedom-movement participants and the assassinations of Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, and Martin Luther King. The black arts movement, the cultural arm of the Black Power political movement, called for a politically engaged, revolutionary art. Its precursor texts came from poets as diverse as A. B. Spellman, Dasein poets such as Percy Johnston, and poets from the Umbra Workshop (established in New York in 1962) such as Lorenzo Thomas, Askia M. Touré, and Norman H. Pritchard, as well as from Hughes, Brooks, Tolson, and Sterling Brown. Black arts poetry, then, reflected its roots in the continuum of black avant-garde experimentalism, vernacular expression, and the enduring legacy of socially committed verse inaugurated during the eighteenth century. Baraka and Larry Neal's *Black Fire* (1968), Clarence Major's *The New Black Poetry* (1969), Addison Gayle's essay collection *The Black Aesthetic* (1971), and Stephen Henderson's *Understanding the New Black Poetry,* were some of the anthologies that established a canon of black arts verse. These texts disseminated an ideological and aesthetic framework for understanding this new black "collective" art. Amiri Baraka (b. 1934), the most prominent poet of this era, produced *Black Magic: Collected Poetry 1961–1967* (1969), among other works.

The verse in these collections are frequently didactic, ritualistic, irreverent, and, like the black experimental culture from which it was in dialogue, many of these poems attempt to approximate jazz improvisation. Baraka's programmatic "Black Art" demands a poetry as palpable as "teeth or trees or lemons." His transformation to black cultural nationalist from Beat writer was at least as stunning as the shift of his fellow poet Gwendolyn Brooks, whose black arts–inspired long poem *In the Mecca* (1968) explored the dynamics of gender, race, and poverty in Chicago. Nikki Giovanni's *Black Feeling, Black Talk* (1968) and *Black Judgement* (1969) presented a bifurcated lyric and political voice; Sonia Sanchez became the blues woman of the movement with her frank discussions of black female sexuality and interpersonal relations in *Homecoming* (1969); while Haki Madhubuti's *Don't Cry, Scream* (1969) called for political action instead of the resignation he found in the blues. Quincy Troupe, Etheridge Knight, Carolyn M. Rogers, Jayne Cortez, and Mari Evans represent the diversity of voices that contributed to this movement.

The formal and thematic range of the poetic voices during the black arts movement, along with government attacks on Black Power, ultimately contributed to its rupture. Important volumes such as Jay Wright's *The Homecoming Singer* (1971), Audre Lorde's *The First Cities* (1968), and Lucille Clifton's *Good Times* (1969) are just a few of the texts that benefited from the new black aesthetic even as they pointed in new directions. These works and others illustrate how black arts engendered, above all else, an explosion of black poetries with radically different approaches to language, genre, history, and the representation of blackness. The title poem of Audre Lorde's magnificent volume *Coal* (1976) foregrounded these myriad possibilities of expression, including the articulation of feminist and lesbian identity, when it pondered "Is the total black, being spoke / From the earth's inside / There are many kinds of open."

Poetry Since 1970

It is impossible to name all of the poets who made significant contributions to black poetry during the previously discussed periods of literary history. The contemporary era only expands this difficulty, for there has been such a



Cover of Rita Dove's **Thomas and Beulah,** *winner of the 1987 Pulitzer Prize for Poetry.* CARNEGIE-MELON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1986. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

proliferation of black verse since the 1970s that only a small sample of poets can be recognized here. Contemporary African-American poetry can best be characterized by its embrace of the full weight of its literary tradition, including its origins in African forms and Euro-American verse traditions. Its formal and thematic range has produced many poets of distinction, from the experimentalist poetics of Harryette Mullen, Will Alexander, Ed Roberson, and Erica Hunt to the dramatic monologues of Ai. Rita Dove's (b. 1952) traditional sonnet sequences and "elliptical" narrative verse, as seen in her Pulitzer Prize–winning *Thomas and Beulah* (1986), stands firmly on terrain established by Gwendolyn Brooks and Melvin Tolson. The expansive desires of Wheatley have found contemporary expression in significant long poems by Jay Wright, N. J. Loftis, Derek Walcott, Amiri Baraka, Gayle Jones, Brenda Marie Osbey, and Julia Fields among many others. For other poets, the lyric impulse continues, as illustrated in the work of June Jordon, Audre Lorde, Toi Derricotte, and Essex Hemphill, and in the incomparable poetry of Yusef Komunyakaa (b. 1947), whose jazz-and-blues saturated *Neon Vernacular: New & Selected Poems 1977–1989* (1994) also received a Pulitzer Prize. The influence of black music is also evident in the poetry of Michael S. Harper, Al Young, Sherley Ann Williams, Nathaniel Mackey, and Paul Beatty, to cite only a small number of poets who highlight the blues, jazz, or hip-hop in their work. Contemporary African-American poetry, grounded in black vernacular and American poetry traditions, continues to produce remarkable poems that explore the exile rhythms in black life, while also contributing some of the most exciting, challenging, and engaging texts in American poetry.

See also Autobiography, U.S.; Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi); Biography, U.S.; Black Arts Movement; Brooks, Gwendolyn Elizabeth; Cullen, Countee; Drama; Dunbar, Paul Laurence; Hammon, Jupiter; Horton, George Moses; Hughes, Langston; Literary Criticism, U.S.; Literary Magazines, U.S.; Literature; Locke, Alain Leroy; Lorde, Audre Geraldine; McKay, Claude; Novels, U.S.; Toomer, Jean; Wheatley, Phillis

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KEISHA BOWMAN (2005)

Poitier, Sidney

February 20, 1927

The actor, director, and filmmaker Sidney Poitier was born in Miami and reared on Cat Island in the Bahamas. The youngest of eight children, he was forced to leave school at fifteen in order to work on his parents' tomato farm. He then moved to Miami to live with his married brother Cyril. Shortly thereafter, Poitier left for New York City, enlisted in the U.S. Army, and served as a physiotherapist until World War II ended in 1945. Upon his return to New York, he supported himself with a series of menial jobs while studying to become an actor. After an unsuccessful audition, he spent six months trying to rid himself of his West Indian accent and eventually became a member of the American Negro Theatre, for which he often played leading roles. He also won minor parts in the Broadway productions of *Lysistrata* (1946) and *Anna Lucasta* (1948), before trying his hand at film. In 1950 he married Juanita Hardy, a dancer, with whom he had three children; Poitier and Hardy were eventually divorced.

Poitier's big break came when he was cast as a young doctor in Twentieth Century Fox's "racial problem" film *No Way Out* (1950). Leading roles followed in such films as *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951), *Go Man Go* (1954), *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), *Band of Angels, Edge of the City,* and *Something of Value* (the last three all released in 1957). With his performance as an escaped convict in *The Defiant Ones* (1958), Poitier became the first African American to be nominated for an Oscar in the best actor category; he also won the New York Film Critics and Berlin Film Festival awards for best actor. The next year, Poitier took on the title role in Otto Preminger's motion picture version of *Porgy and Bess* (1959), for which he also won critical acclaim.

***Sidney Poitier with Lilia Skala in a scene from the 1963 film* Lilies of the Field.** *For his performance, Poitier became the first African American to win an Academy Award in the category of best actor.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS, INC. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION

As an actor, Poitier became known for sensitive, versatile, and eloquent interpretations and powerful on-camera presence, as well as for his good looks. He was one of the first African Americans to become a major Hollywood star, and during the 1960s he played leading roles in many influential and controversial films. After originating the role of Walter Lee Younger on Broadway in Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), Poitier was featured in such diverse films as *Paris Blue* (1960), *Pressure Point* (1961), *A Patch of Blue* (1965), *The Bedford Incident* (1965), *Duel at Diablo* (1966), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* (1967), *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), and *To Sir, with Love* (1967). In 1963 he became the first African American to win an Academy Award for best actor (for his performance in *Lilies of the Field*).

The late 1960s proved a transitional period for Poitier, who was accused of portraying unrealistic "noble Negro" or "ebony saint" characters by the militant black community. He confessed to feeling himself caught between the demands of white and black audiences. He attempted to diversify his roles by taking on such films as *They Call Me Mr. Tibbs!* (1970), *A Warm December* (1973), and *The Wilby Conspiracy* (1975), and by applying his talents to directing. In 1968, Poitier joined with Paul Newman, Steve McQueen, Dustin Hoffman, and Barbra Streisand to form First Artists, an independent production company. The popular Western *Buck and the Preacher* (1972) marked his debut as both director and star; *A Warm December* (1974), the hit comedy *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974), *Let's Do It Again* (1975), and *A Piece of the Action* (1977) all featured him in this dual role. In 1975

he was elected to the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame, and his film *Let's Do It Again* earned him the NAACP Image Award in 1976. That year, Poitier married the actress Joanna Shimkus, with whom he had two children.

His first autobiography, *This Life,* was published in 1980. Twenty years after this memoir, Poitier reopened the door on his life with *The Measure of a Man: A Spiritual Autobiography* (2000), a book describing his early childhood in the Bahamas and exploring the history of some of his greatest roles.

Over the next decade, Poitier concentrated on directing such works as *Stir Crazy* (1980), *Hanky Panky* (1982), *Fast Forward* (1985), and *Ghost Dad* (1990). In 1982 he became the recipient of the Cecil B. DeMille Golden Globe Award and the Los Angeles Urban League Whitney M. Young Award. Poitier returned to acting in 1988 for starring roles in *Shoot to Kill* and *Little Nikita,* both of which were released that year. He has continued to act in films and a number of made-for-television movies since then, appearing in *Separate but Equal* (1991), *Sneakers* (1992), *Children of the Dust* (1995), *The Jackal* (1997), and other films.

In addition to creative filmmaking, Poitier has produced a record album called *Sidney Poitier Reads the Poetry of the Black Man,* and he has narrated two documentaries on Paul Robeson: *A Tribute to the Artist* (1979) and *Man of Conscience* (1986). In recognition of his artistic and humanitarian accomplishments, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II, and the NAACP honored him with its first Thurgood Marshall Lifetime Achievement Award in 1993. In 2000, Sidney Poitier won the NAACP Image Award for outstanding actor in a television movie for *The Simple Life of Noah Dearborn,* as well as a Life Achievement Award from the Screen Actors Guild. At the 2002 Academy Awards, Poitier won the Honorary Lifetime Achievement Award.

See also American Negro Theatre; Film

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ED GUERRERO (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Political Ideologies

Black political ideologies are sets of beliefs, values, and ideas that assist people in understanding the complicated world of politics. These ideologies work as shortcuts that help individuals determine what it means to be black in the American political system; identify the relative political significance of race compared to such other personal characteristics as gender and class; determine the extent to which blacks should solve their own problems or look to the system for assistance; and determine the required degree of tactical separation from whites necessary for successful advancement of group interests. Ideology lets black people answer the political questions of who or what is the enemy, who are friends, what is America like, what is the nature of whites, and what strategies with regard to whites are necessary or desirable. Among the most important political ideologies in African-American intellectual history are black nationalism, liberal integrationism, feminism, and conservatism. These ideologies motivate social movements, inspire academic works, and structure individual beliefs.

Black Nationalism

Black nationalism is a political worldview that insists on some form of cultural, social, economic, and political autonomy for African Americans. Some nationalist thinkers articulate an international agenda and press for the goal of a separate black state. Other nationalists look toward racial self-determination within America. Scholars have identified at least five manifestations of black nationalism: cultural nationalism, educational nationalism, religious nationalism, community nationalism, and revolutionary nationalism. Each of these nationalisms emphasizes the immutable and unique relevance of race, perceives whites as actively resistant to black equality, articulates a language of self-determination and racial pride, and insists on African-American self-reliance through the creation of separate institutions such as schools, churches, political parties, and businesses.

Modern black nationalism is rooted in the social and political movements of Marcus Garvey in the early twentieth century and in the Black Power movement of the mid-twentieth century. Marcus Garvey promoted nationalism through the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which was the largest mass-based movement of African Americans in the twentieth century. Garveyism identified the international and historical bases of black subjugation and declared the right and necessity of black separation from oppressive polities by developing separate

political representation, cultural icons, and economic institutions. In the 1960s black nationalists from organizations such as the Black Panthers advocated the development of distinct and black-controlled centers of politics, economics, and culture as the central strategy for addressing black inequality. Some scholars suggest that black nationalism is the most prevalent political ideology among masses of African Americans today. Nationalism is apparent in the artistic, religious, and political choices of many ordinary African Americans that reflect a preference for supporting autonomous black institutions.

Liberal Integrationism

Liberal integrationism is the most widely recognizable alternative to nationalism. Liberal integrationists want a society in which African Americans enjoy the political, economic, and social freedoms and rights of other citizens. Integrationist thought accepts that liberal democratic tenets of representative democracy, liberalism, and capitalism are the most appropriate ways to order society, but they argue that the current American system only works for privileged members of society. Integrationism is an ideology that seeks to access that privilege for African Americans by pursuing a strategy that effectively argues that the interests of the larger society are intimately bound up with the destinies of African Americans.

Liberal integrationism is closely aligned with the liberal tradition in American political thought, but has a greater emphasis on equality, collective rather than individual rights, and a reliance on a strong central government. This ideology emphasizes not only equality of opportunity but also equality of outcome. Electoral participation, federal litigation, pressure for government-based economic redevelopment, and support for race-targeted government programs are the hallmarks of liberal integrationist strategy. These policies and strategies seek to bring people together across racial lines to jointly pursue common political goals.

The contemporary civil rights movement was largely initiated within a liberal integrationist framework. This movement cited the historic, categorical exclusion of blacks, and therefore argued that redress could only come through similarly collective-oriented strategies and policies. Liberal integrationism is an ideological tradition that encompasses aspects of the political philosophy of Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King Jr., Ralph Bunche, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Today, many black elected officials from the Democratic Party and leaders of civil rights organizations such as Jesse Jackson, Maxine Waters, and Kweisi Mfume continue to work for black equality within the liberal integrationist tradition.

Black Conservatism

Black conservatism locates the source of black inequality in the behavioral or attitudinal pathologies of African Americans and stresses the significance of moral and personal rather than racial characteristics to explain unequal life circumstances. Conservatives stress self-reliance, hope for a colorless society, and shun government assistance. Core concepts of black conservatism include an appeal to self-help, an attack on the state as an overly intrusive institution, and a belief that the free market is nondiscriminatory. It stresses that political strategies are inferior to strategies of economic development and rejects policy strategies that diminish the honor of African Americans by allowing a perception of undeserved benefits for blacks. Black conservatism is rooted in a history of racial uplift, a belief that African Americans must fortify their moral and economic strength in order to compete in the American meritocracy.

Twentieth-century black conservatism is grounded in the work of Booker T. Washington. His accomodationist philosophy found institutional expression in the Tuskegee method of industrial education designed to instill a work ethic and manual skills in post-Reconstruction blacks with the promise of making African Americans profitable and pliable members of society. His work planted the ideological roots of the emphases on thrift, industriousness, and moral character. Many conservatives are willing to acknowledge that there is a history of racial discrimination in the United States, but most argue that the external factors of black inequality have been largely addressed and that in contemporary America, black pathology is the true perpetrator of inequality. Because of this they are often maligned as "Uncle Toms," but like adherents to other black ideologies, not all conservatives agree with one another. Some point to the continuing legacy of racism operating in the lives of African Americans, while others argue that even historical racism is not a significant explanatory variable in black life chances. In the contemporary era such black Republicans and conservative media personalities as Clarence Thomas, Armstrong Williams, Alan Keyes, and Colin Powell continue the black conservative tradition.

Black Feminism

Black feminism focuses on the intersection between race, gender, class, and sexuality and seeks gender equality within the African-American community as well as racial equality within the American state. Feminism both stakes out a new intellectual ground and maps a unique political strategy through a diverse set of ideas that are variously

attentive to issues of class, religion, private/public dichotomies, interracial alliances, and sexual identity. Many black feminists prefer to use the term *Womanism* to distinguish that black feminism is not simply an articulation of white feminist thought by black women. Womanism emphasizes that black women make unique contributions to the understanding of relations of power, domination, and resistance. Central tenets of this ideology include a blurring of identity politics, an unwillingness to ignore either race or sex in pursuit of political goals, an insistence on insurgent political action aimed at liberation of broad categories of people, and a centering of often-ignored persons within political movements.

Black feminism emerges from the experiences of African-American women in the middle of the twentieth century who were engaged in social and political action. These black women confronted patriarchal domination by men in the black liberation movement and the paternalist racism in the women's movement. These black women activists often found that their political agenda was sacrificed on the altar of unity, so they articulated a new agenda that made the issues of black women equally important as the issues of black men. This ideology derives from an attempt to address real material circumstances and to create a way to understand how race, gender, class, and sexuality intersect in black people's lives to create unique forms of political, economic, and social oppression.

Writers like Michelle Wallace, bell hooks, and Alice Walker are among the best known black feminists. Their work tells the stories of black women, which often include the challenges that black women face within African-American communities. Their work also analyzes how those experiences reveal the failures of the American democratic promise. Black feminism has also had an important influence on legal theory through such authors as Kimberle Crenshaw and on black religious thought through such scholars as Katie Cannon and Jacquelyn Grant. These writers have shaped new directions in their fields of inquiry by showing how black women's experiences do not fit neatly within existing frameworks of knowledge.

Conclusion

These traditions within black thought are common ways that African Americans organize political ideas. Most individuals have worldviews that are some combination of elements from multiple political perspectives. These ideologies allow African Americans to understand persistent social and economic inequality, to identify the significance of race in that inequality, to determine the role of whites in perpetuating or eliminating that inequality, and to devise strategies for overcoming that inequality.

See also Politics; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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MELISSA V. HARRIS-LACEWELL (2005)

Politics

This entry consists of two distinct articles examining African-American political experience in Latin America and in the United States.

Politics and Politicians in Latin America
Ollie A. Johnson III

Politics in the United States
Hanes Walton Jr.
Mervyn Dymally

Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean
Dessima M. Williams

Politics and Politicians in Latin America

The black political experience is complex and diverse. The Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonial rulers and their

descendants enslaved and exploited Africans and their descendants for four centuries. The exact nature of the black experience varied greatly according to numerous factors, including colonial power, political system, economy, culture, leadership, and the size and concentration of the black population. In general, Afro–Latin Americans have struggled to resist, survive, and overcome the brutal conditions into which they were placed.

Some blacks have created majority or all-black associations, organizations, and political parties to articulate their demands and defend their interests. Other blacks have worked across racial lines through armed groups, social movements, labor unions, professional associations, and political parties to achieve their goals. Africans and their descendants in the Americas have had diverse opinions on the relative importance of racial identity and on the best strategies to improve black living conditions. These inevitable differences remain vivid given the large number of Afro–Latin Americans and the negative consequences of centuries of white dominance.

Slavery

Most of the Africans captured in West and Central Africa for shipment to the Americas never completed the journey. Many Africans died before arrival in the New World as a result of the horrific conditions of the African slave trade. At the same time, about ten to twelve million Africans survived the deadly transatlantic Middle Passage.

Blacks have been involved in politics in Latin America since they arrived in significant numbers as servants and slaves in the 1500s. The early African presence was concentrated in the Caribbean and Mexico. Eventually, Brazil received the largest number of Africans. Wherever they were, the black masses were enslaved from the 1500s to the 1800s. Slavery in agriculture, mining, and domestic service comprised Africans' brutal reality in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas. From the 1500s to the 1700s, Africans outnumbered Spanish and Portuguese immigrants and represented the largest demographic group. During this period, indigenous people experienced a dramatic population decline throughout the Americas because of colonial European violence and diseases.

Today there are black people in every country in Latin America. Although they represent one third of Latin America's population, they are not distributed evenly throughout the region. In the Caribbean, African descendants are the largest percentage of the national populations. The South American countries of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Uruguay have very small black populations. In Central America and Mexico, the African-descendant communities are small and concentrated on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. There are some majority black communities on the Pacific coast of Colombia and Ecuador. In absolute numbers, Brazil and Colombia have the largest black populations in South America.

The 1500s, 1600s, and 1700s represented a holocaust of death, enslavement, and subordination of the African and indigenous populations by the Spanish and Portuguese colonial forces. Some Africans escaped their oppression and created maroon societies or runaway communities called *quilombos* in Brazil and palenques in areas colonized by the Spanish. The earliest black political leaders in the Americas were the rulers of these communities such as Gaspar Yanga in Mexico, Benkos Bioho in Colombia, and Zumbi dos Palmares in Brazil. However, most Africans lived and died under slavery. Black women were often raped and abused sexually by their white masters and overseers, thereby creating the initial and ultimately large mulatto population.

Developments during the 1800s brought opportunities for change, and the African-descendant population took advantage. Blacks in Haiti defeated French colonialism and abolished racial slavery with a revolution (1791–1804) that provoked fear among white elites in the United States, Spanish America, and Brazil. Independence struggles against Spain also created opportunities for Afro–Latin Americans to not only take up arms for national sovereignty but also against slavery. In Mexico, Vicente Guerrero, of African and indigenous ancestry, helped lead the military struggle for independence and became Mexico's president in 1829. Generals Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín led the independence struggle in South America and included mulattos and blacks among their followers and supporters. Independence and abolitionist movements, as well as ongoing slave escapes and revolts, led to the abolition of slavery during the course of the century.

Postslavery Trends

Slavery ended last in Puerto Rico (1873), Cuba (1886), and Brazil (1888). In these countries and others, blacks did not enjoy the full benefits of freedom because the ruling white authorities were not committed to assisting the newly freed population with better education, housing, and employment options. The late 1800s and early 1900s were years of extreme white racism throughout the Americas. Afro–Latin Americans often lived in slavelike conditions for decades after formal abolition. Many white elites were ashamed of their dark multiracial societies and actively recruited and subsidized European immigration. This whitening signaled a percentage decline of Latin America's black population.

By 1900 sovereignty in Cuba and Puerto Rico was thwarted by U.S. occupation. Cuba witnessed the efforts of independence leaders José Martí and Afro-Cuban Antonio Maceo distorted by various U.S. interventions and support for corrupt national leaders. Despite formal independence in 1902, some Afro-Cuban independence fighters such as Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet remained unsatisfied with low Afro-Cuban political representation, jobs, and veterans benefits. Estenoz and others formed the Independent Party of Color (Partido Independiente de Color, or PIC) in 1907, the first black political party in the Americas. Frustrated with their marginalization and the eventual banning of their party, PIC leaders mobilized their supporters and called for armed rebellion. The Cuban government's response was unexpected. In 1912 the government killed the PIC's leadership and led a massacre of thousands of blacks. The killings had a chilling effect on independent Afro-Cuban political organizing for decades.

Under even greater repressive occupation than Cuba, Puerto Rico's independence movement declined because of external and internal forces. Pedro Albizu Campos, a Puerto Rican of African ancestry, was one of the most articulate and dynamic leaders for independence from the 1920s until his death in 1965. A graduate of Harvard Law School, Albizu Campos was familiar with American culture and politics. He returned to Puerto Rico in the 1920s, joined the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, and dedicated his life to working for independence from the United States. Because of his effectiveness, Albizu Campos was imprisoned by U.S. authorities in 1936 and spent more than twenty years incarcerated in the United States and Puerto Rico.

In the 1930s there were two attempts to organize black political parties as a way to mobilize the black population and maximize its influence within the political arena. In Brazil, the Brazilian Black Front (Frente Negra Brasileira) was founded in the city of São Paulo in 1931. The Front's leaders such as Jose Correa Leite, Gervasio de Morães, Raul Amaral, and Arlindo and Isaltino Veiga dos Santos, protested desperate living conditions and racial discrimination and encouraged Afro-Brazilians to participate in politics. Expanding to different states throughout the country and enjoying increased popularity, the leadership transformed the Front into a political party. The "New State" dictatorship of President Getulio Vargas banned all political parties from 1937 to 1945. The Front never recovered.

In 1936 in Uruguay, black activists founded the Black Autochthonous Party (Partido Autoctono Negro, or PAN) to improve educational opportunities, fight racial discrimination, and support Afro-Uruguayan political participation. The party's founders were Elemo Cabral, Ventura Barrios, Pilar Barrios, and Salvador Betervide. Like the Brazilian Black Front, the PAN promoted black unity rather than racial separation. Both groups wanted to racially integrate their country's government by increasing black political representation. Although unsuccessful in getting blacks elected to public office, the Front and PAN expressed deep concerns about the political, social, and economic situation of blacks in their respective countries. The PAN fragmented and declined by the early 1940s.

One of the first successful black Latin American politicians of the twentieth century was Colombia's Diego Luis Córdoba. First elected to Congress in 1933, Córdoba held a series of distinguished elected and appointed positions until his death in 1964. A member of the left wing of the Liberal Party, Córdoba defended the poor and working classes and denounced racial discrimination against blacks. He successfully supported the legislation that passed in 1947 creating the new department (equivalent to a U.S. state) of Choco, a majority black area on Colombia's North Pacific coast. Initially elected to Congress as a deputy from the department of Antioquia, Córdoba later represented Choco as a senator from 1947 until 1964.

Contemporary Black Politics: 1960s–Present

In the 1960s and 1970s most Latin American countries experienced some type of authoritarian rule. The dictatorships routinely violated the rights and liberties of the people and often cancelled or manipulated elections. Many governments were actively hostile to explicit political organizing by blacks. Governments generally accused black activists of being racist, threatening to divide the country, and creating problems where they did not exist. However, because of poverty, racial inequality, racial discrimination against blacks, inspiring examples of black activism in the United States, African nations, and the English-speaking Caribbean, and their own traditions of political struggle, Afro–Latin Americans continued probing for ways to exert political power. Since the 1980s most Latin American countries have made the transition to civilian rule, and this process has increased black opportunities for partisan electoral competition and popular participation.

BRAZIL. Brazil has the largest population of African ancestry in the Western Hemisphere. Afro-Brazilian politics were reinvigorated with the emergence of new black movement organizations in the late 1970s. These groups protested racial discrimination and violence against blacks and criticized the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964–

1985). Since 1970, black activists and intellectuals have been fighting to improve the oppressive conditions under which the vast majority of Afro-Brazilians live. Groups such as the Unified Black Movement (Movimento Negro Unificado, or MNU), the Black Cultures Research Institute (Instituto de Pesquisas das Culturas Negras, or IPCN), and Geledes—the Black Women's Institute (Instituto da Mulher Negra, Geledes) have been leaders in challenging the racial status quo in Brazil.

Many black politicians have also worked to change government inaction against racism and racial inequality. Activists-turned-politicians such as Abdias do Nascimento and Benedita da Silva took the arguments of the black movement into the Brazilian Congress. During the 1980s and 1990s black elected officials worked within the national Chamber of Deputies and Federal Senate to condemn the Brazilian "myth of racial democracy" as a smoke screen preventing government recognition of pervasive racial discrimination against blacks. One of the problems Nascimento and da Silva faced was the underrepresentation of blacks in Congress. In a country in which Afro-Brazilians officially represent almost fifty percent of the population, they made up less than five percent of Congress. Overcoming great obstacles, Nascimento, da Silva, and other progressive politicians and black movement activists persuaded political parties and the government to address the issue of race.

In Latin America, Brazil has experienced the most extensive range of state action. Nationally, the Brazilian government in 1988 created the Palmares Foundation (Fundação Cultural Palmares) whose purpose is to work with educational, governmental, and private institutions and the public to increase awareness of Afro-Brazilian contributions to Brazilian society and culture. The foundation publishes materials by and about Afro-Brazilians and sponsors educational forums. Moreover, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's administration (1995–2003) welcomed and encouraged political debate and discussion regarding public policies to improve the situation of blacks.

By the end of the Cardoso administration, the national government and some state governments began passing controversial affirmative action legislation. Several states, including the large state of Rio de Janeiro, have adopted racial quotas for public university admissions. At the state and local levels in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul, government agencies such as the Council for Participation and Development of the Black Community (Conselho de Participação e Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra) and the Special Office for Afro-Brazilian Affairs (Secretária pela Promoção e Defesa Afro-Brasileira) were created to assist blacks.

The administration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2007) has also addressed racial issues in innovative ways. Strongly influenced by the Workers Party's black activists and elected officials, the government created the Special Office for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Secretária Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, or SEPPIR) on March 21, 2003. The head of the Special Office is Matilde Ribeiro, a black activist who has been given cabinet minister status to recognize the government's commitment to pursuing pro-racial equality policies. Her efforts are based on "Brasil Sem Racismo" (Brazil Without Racism), a twenty-page document outlining the Lula presidential campaign's pledge to work toward eliminating discrimination, prejudice, and racism. The Lula administration has given greater visibility to its pro-black initiatives than any previous presidential administration. In a related and unprecedented move, President Lula appointed three additional Afro-Brazilians, Marina Silva (Environment), Gilberto Gil (Culture), and Benedita da Silva (Social Welfare), to cabinet minister positions.

ECUADOR. In contrast to Brazil, Latin America's largest and most populous nation with 180 million citizens, Ecuador is geographically small and has a population of thirteen million. Afro-Ecuadorians are often neglected when national governments develop their policy priorities. During the 1980s and 1990s, leftist lawyer Jaime Hurtado Gonzalez, leader of the Democratic Popular Movement (Movimiento Popular Democratico, or MPD), was the most visible Afro-Ecuadorian politician. Hurtado served as national representative in Congress from 1979 to 1984 and was later a presidential candidate. He and an aide were assassinated on February 17, 1999, in the capital of Quito near the national Congress. Hurtado did not attempt to organize the Afro-Ecuadorian community around issues of racial empowerment or political advancement. He consistently emphasized exclusion and exploitation based on class. Hurtado's political party is influential in the majority black province of Esmeraldas. Rafael Erazo, an activist and member of the MPD from Esmeraldas, is a first term member (2003–2007) of Congress and Ecuador's only black provincial deputy.

CUBA. Cuba is a unique case for examining the role of blacks in Latin American politics. The Cuban Revolution of 1959 brought Fidel Castro to power, where he remains more than four decades later. This Caribbean socialist revolution succeeded in transforming the country's political institutions and culture. Cubans worked hard to create an egalitarian society with an emphasis on free education and health care. The revolution has survived despite the sustained hostility of the U.S. government and the Cuban

exile community concentrated in southern Florida. As the poorest segment of the country, blacks participated in and benefited from the revolutionary government's policies.

Under the revolution, Afro-Cubans have improved their levels of educational attainment and health care access while expanding political participation with increased government positions. Afro-Cubans have been government ministers, ambassadors, and members of parliament. The Cuban government is ruled by one political party, the Communist Party. Some blacks such as Esteban Lazo Hernandez and Pedro Saez Montejo have risen to positions of national leadership within the Communist Party.

At the same time, the official ban on political opposition outlaws independent black political organizing. Afro-Cubans cannot create groups to protest racial discrimination and pursue their race-specific political interests. This prohibition became a volatile issue in the 1990s during the Cuban economic crisis. The disappearance of Eastern European socialist regimes and the Soviet Union devastated the Cuban economy. The Cuban government responded by opening the economy to foreign investment, promoting tourism, and allowing Cubans to open small businesses. Afro-Cubans experienced a new racism as they were denied equal opportunities to work in the revitalized tourist industry. They protested their treatment and forced President Castro to acknowledge their concerns. As the economic situation remains difficult, resulting in increased prostitution and other crimes, racial inequality has reemerged as a significant issue.

Peña Gomez, leader of the leftist Dominican Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, or PRD), campaigning during presidential elections in 1996. *Gomez, formerly mayor of the capital city Santo Domingo, ran unsuccessfully for president three times.* © C. DOUCE/E. ALONSO/CORBIS SYGMA.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. Sharing the island of Hispaniola with Haiti, the Dominican Republic has developed a strong racist ideology, *antihaitianismo* (anti-Haitianism). Rooted in the white supremacy of Spanish colonialism and the Haitian occupation of the country from 1822 to 1844, the ideology holds that Dominicans are different from and better than Haitians. By exaggerating and idealizing the Hispanic and Catholic heritage of Dominicans and demonizing the African and vodou characteristics of Haitian culture, this ideology has penetrated significant sectors of Dominican culture, society, and politics. Reinforced through various political and military conflicts between Haiti and the Dominican Republic over the years, *antihaitianismo* has evolved into an elite control mechanism that allows Dominican leaders to divert attention away from serious domestic problems by blaming them fully or partially on Haitians. Thus, Dominican poverty, political instability, economic crises, corruption, and other major issues have been frequently blamed on Haitians.

One of the glaring ironies of the popularity and usefulness of *antihaitianismo* is that many Dominicans are black and some proponents of *antihaitianismo* are black Dominicans who de-emphasize their African heritage and lighten themselves culturally by claiming nonblack ancestors and describing themselves as Indian. Blas Jiménez, the Afro-Dominican scholar, writer, and poet, has led the fight against this ideology and called on Dominicans to embrace their black identity and respect their Haitian brothers and sisters. The most successful Afro-Dominican politician was Peña Gomez, former mayor of the capital, Santo Domingo, and leader of the leftist Dominican Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, or PRD). A strong opponent of American intervention in the country, Gomez ran unsuccessfully three times for president. He likely was denied election in 1994 through electoral fraud. Throughout his career and especially during his presidential campaigns, Peña Gomez was subjected to racist, anti-Haitian advertising that criticized his dark complexion, religious beliefs, humble origins, and even ac-

cused him of being Haitian. Throughout his political career, Pena Gomez refused to publicly confront and denounce the white racism of *antihaitianismo*. Following in the footsteps of Peña Gomez, Afro-Dominican entertainer Johnny Ventura was elected mayor of Santo Domingo, the country's largest city. Many Dominican politicians are mulattos, but few celebrate the country's African heritage and criticize the widespread white racist stereotypes of Haitians and Afro-Dominicans.

COLOMBIA. Since the 1960s, armed insurgents have been active in Colombia. This ongoing state of civil war as well as the country's central role in the international drug trade has contributed to widespread violence. A majority of Afro-Colombians are poor and especially vulnerable to the armed conflict in various parts of the country. Although traditional black communities are located on the Pacific and Atlantic coastal regions, blacks have migrated to other regions, including the capital of Bogotá, to seek better employment opportunities and to avoid the violence.

The national government has rarely conducted a racial census. As a result, there is uncertainty regarding the most accurate figure for the black population. Many Afro-Colombian scholars and activists argue that minimally between twenty-five and thirty-five percent of the national population is Afro-Colombian. There are black mayors and local elected officials in the historic Afro-Colombian regions, but blacks remain underrepresented politically at the national level. In the 1990s and in more recent years, Juan de Dios Mosquera, leader of the black human rights group Cimarron, has been one of the most visible and articulate activists demanding greater black representation in Congress and public policies to improve Afro-Colombian educational, employment, housing, and health care opportunities. High-profile black activists and politicians include Senator Piedad de Córdoba, former Choco senator Daniel Palacios, and former representatives Augustin Valencia and Zulia Mena.

The Colombian constitution of 1991 defined the nation as pluri-ethnic and multicultural in recognition of the important, but neglected, roles of indigenous and black groups in the country's development. Two years later, Law 70 was passed recognizing the Afro-Colombian population as an ethnic group with certain territorial, economic, political, and cultural rights. In 1994 the Office of Black Community Affairs (Dirección de Asuntos para las Comunidades Negras) was formed within the Interior Ministry to develop public policies to assist black communities in attaining their full constitutional rights. Despite these achievements, black community leaders like Carlos Rosero of the Black Communities Process (Proceso de Comunidades Negras, or PCN) argue that the government has not done enough to implement Law 70 and other policies to improve Afro-Colombian living standards.

LATIN AMERICA. Black political leaders and organizations are gaining visibility in Latin America. They are being elected to office in greater numbers, rising in the ranks of political parties and labor unions, and participating more in public debates. Nonetheless, they have fewer resources than other groups and are thus at a distinct disadvantage in their political struggles. This resource deficit and ongoing political struggles have prompted some Afro-Latin American activists to internationalize their struggle by establishing relationships with each other and taking their concerns to major international financial and governmental institutions around the world.

Many Afro-Latin Americans are protesting, organizing, and fighting. Although these efforts are rarely front-page news, they illustrate that important segments of the black population refuse to be ignored and refuse to be quiet. Afro–Costa Rican leader Epsy Campbell, in her capacity as an elected official (deputy) and as a leader of the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latin American Women's Network (La Red de Mujeres Afrocaribeñas y Afrolatinoamericanas), has emphasized that the issue of gender and sexism must be raised by black politicians and political organizations. The network has worked since the early 1990s to give black women a mechanism to organize against racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression. The ongoing activities of Epsy Campbell and black women activists throughout Latin America demonstrate that they are challenging male chauvinism in black communities.

Blacks are underrepresented in national legislatures as well as state assemblies and city councils. As a result, some black politicians and activists who have supported race-specific government initiatives have built alliances and coalitions with nonblacks to achieve their goals. Black leaders have attempted to convince nonblack members of political parties, legislatures, and government bureaucracies of the necessity for state action to combat racial discrimination, poverty, and racial inequality.

Black legislators from Latin America organized two unprecedented meetings creating the foundation for new Afro-Latin American activism. On November 21–23, 2003, in Brasília, Brazil, and May 19–21, 2004, in Bogotá, Colombia, black elected officials from Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, and Honduras met to examine the situation of Afro-descendants in the Americas. The deputies, representatives, and senators agreed that black people in different Latin American countries often face similar hardships. These leaders have

decided to meet again and discuss how they as elected officials can best work to improve the living conditions of their people.

See also Albizu Campos, Pedro; Anti-Colonial Movements; Anti-Haitianism; Coartación; da Silva, Benedita; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Frente Negra Brasileira; Maroon Societies in the Caribbean; Movimento Negro Unificado; Nascimento, Abdias do; Palmares; Racial Democracy in Brazil

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OLLIE A. JOHNSON III (2005)

Politics in the United States

African-American politics has a long, complex, and frequently painful history in the United States. By definition slaves were noncitizens, outside of the political process. Yet slaves contrived in various ways to fashion a political role for themselves. In New England African Americans elected black governors and kings during Negro Election Day festivals that combined voting with parades, food, and entertainment. During the colonial period, free blacks tried to enter the political process whenever possible, but were unable to exercise significant influence on the political system. In the half century following the end of the American Revolution, free black voting was largely restricted, but through petitions, community organizations, emigrationist activities, newspapers, and eventually the Antebellum Convention Movement, free blacks expressed themselves politically.

Beginning in the 1830s, at the same time that the Abolition movement offered blacks a voice within a national reform movement, blacks themselves set up numerous committees and organizations to struggle for suffrage, civil rights, and education. Nevertheless, the political status of African Americans remained uncertain, and it eroded during the late 1840s and 1850s as a result of growing white racism, immigrant labor competition, Fugitive Slave Laws, and other factors. Many African Americans became convinced that freedom in the United States was unattainable, and turned their attention to colonization schemes in Africa, Canada, Haiti, and other places.

The outbreak of the Civil War galvanized blacks, who saw the war as a struggle for their liberation. Throughout the first two years of the war, African-American leaders such as Frederick Douglass campaigned for blacks to be armed and devoted their attention to securing aid for freemen who escaped behind Union lines, as well as civil rights and suffrage for the free black community. By 1862 blacks were permitted to enlist in the Union army. Thousands joined, recognizing the importance of the struggle, and black leaders served as recruiting agents.

For a brief period during Reconstruction, fortified by constitutional amendments guaranteeing equal citizenship and suffrage and white northern efforts to ensure southern compliance, black males for the first time participated fully in the electoral system. Black elected officials, sponsored by southern Republican parties in exchange for black voting support, appeared on the national scene, and black state legislators and convention delegates made decisive contributions to the political culture of their states. Meanwhile, there was widespread black involvement in

municipal politics in the South's few cities of importance. Richmond, Virginia, had thirty-three black city council members between 1871 and 1896, while in the deep South, leaders such as William Finch of Atlanta and Holland Thompson of Montgomery, Alabama, were elected to positions on city councils. In 1873 Mifflin Gibbs was elected a municipal judge in Little Rock, Arkansas. Many smaller towns elected black mayors. Between 1870 and 1900 twenty African Americans were elected to the House of Representatives, and two served in the Senate.

White Southerners never really accepted blacks as equal members of the body politic, however, and following the withdrawal of northern pressure—both military and political—from the South during the mid-1870s, the scope of black public participation narrowed. Black officeholding all but disappeared, and black voting power was vitiated by voting fraud, intimidation of voters, and electoral devices such as redistricting. As early as 1878 the city of Atlanta changed from ward elections to at-large voting to dilute the black vote. Other cities soon followed suit. Even where black suffrage was unfettered, the dissolution of southern Republicanism left blacks no effective weapon against Democratic regimes other than through alliance with third parties such as the Populists, who were ambivalent about black support.

In the upper South, black Republicans continued to be elected in small numbers. George White, an African American, represented North Carolina in Congress from 1897 to 1901, while blacks such as Richmond's John Mitchell Jr. served on city councils in Virginia during the 1890s. Violence and legislative action against black voting during the 1890s cut off even these avenues of influence.

Meanwhile, the political influence of blacks in the urban North also diminished. In the immediate postbellum period, some blacks were elected to office. In 1866, with the aid of white voters, state representatives Charles L. Mitchell and Edward G. Walker of Boston became the first blacks elected to office from a large urban area. In 1876 George L. Ruffin was elected to Boston's Common Council, and in 1883 he became the first African American appointed to the Massachusetts judiciary. In most cities, however, the percentage of African Americans in the population remained too small for blacks to play a significant role, and as immigrant-backed machines hostile to blacks took control of city governments, black voting power diminished. Moreover, city governments were often dependent on state legislatures, which controlled budgets and selected police chiefs and other officials. These outside bodies could act to curtail or eliminate black voting strength. (Similarly, in 1871 the U.S. Congress stripped Washington, D.C., whose population was one-third black, of its elected government.) Even after many cities obtained "home rule" at the end of the century, Progressive elites instituted at-large voting and granted power to unelected city commissions and civil service workers to curb the power of blacks and ethnic whites.

Through most of the late nineteenth century, the Republican Party maintained its alliance with both southern and northern black populations through government appointments and support for education. Many black voters and party leaders measured party support not through its defense of civil rights but by the amount of political patronage granted the black community. Still, as early as the 1870s many blacks grew dissatisfied with shrinking party patronage and the party's inaction over violations of black rights, and distanced themselves from the Republicans. Beginning in the 1880s some blacks flirted with joining the Democrats. However, neither party was willing to risk alienating white voters or grant more than token assistance in exchange for the black vote. Others joined third parties or attempted to build up separate black institutions but were unable to mount effective challenges to prevailing political trends.

By 1900 virtually all southern blacks were disfranchised, while their counterparts in the North were unable to exert significant influence. A few political clubs, such as New York's United Colored Democracy, were formed, but they were merely satellite party groups, given minor patronage positions in exchange for promoting white candidates. Black political power remained largely dormant for a generation, except for the influence black strongmen such as Charles Anderson in New York City, Robert Church Jr., in Memphis, and, above all, Booker T. Washington wielded over Republican Party patronage. The ratification in 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women of all races the right to vote, had little discernible impact on black political strength. In the first years after the turn of the century, former border states such as Maryland were the only places with significant African-American influence on municipal government. For example, in 1890 Harry Sythe Cummings became the first of several blacks over the following years to sit on the Baltimore City Council.

The Great Migration of southern blacks to northern and Midwestern cities during the late 1910s and 1920s brought in its wake large numbers of new voters. The voting power of the increased population was strengthened by the increasing ghettoization and residential concentration of African Americans. Their votes were organized in exchange for patronage by ward leaders selected by urban machines, such as New York's J. Raymond Jones and Chicago's William Dawson. In many places, city council and

other municipal elected offices remained largely powerless, and ward committee positions were the most powerful city jobs most blacks held. In a few areas, blacks became a large enough segment of the population to elect black officials. In 1915, after the creation of a largely black district in Chicago, Republican Oscar DePriest won election to the city's Board of Alderman. In 1919 Charles Roberts was elected to New York City's Aldermanic Board. Similarly, Frank Hall was elected to the Cincinnati City Council in 1931. The growing strength of black organizations was evidenced by DePriest's election in 1928 as the first northern black congressman. As important, the migration and the Great Depression helped foster increasing black community militancy, and civil rights joined patronage as a primary concern of African-American voters.

During the 1930s, as a result of aid from New Deal social programs, urban machine involvement, and labor union activism, the majority of black voters were drawn into the Democratic Party coalition. Meanwhile, black Democratic elected officials, beginning with Arthur Mitchell in 1934, entered Congress as well as state legislatures and municipal bodies. While the Democrats did not commit to civil rights action or provide aid proportionate to the level of black support, they made symbolic gestures toward the black community and instituted several relatively race-neutral government programs. While blacks backed Democratic candidates, many remained registered Republicans. A small number of blacks supported minor parties, notably the Communist Party, whose advocacy of civil rights and interracialism won it the support or approval of many African Americans.

In the years after World War II, black political activity increased. The war brought renewed migration to the North of southern blacks, who swelled urban voting blocs. The migration made possible the election of larger numbers of black officials such as Harlem, New York, minister Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who in 1941 became the first African-American member of the New York City Council, and who three years later was elected to Congress.

At the same time, civil rights became a national issue. In 1948 the adoption of a strong civil rights platform at the Democratic National Convention prompted a walkout by some white Southerners. Democratic presidential candidate Harry Truman was elected nevertheless, and his victory helped demonstrate the electoral clout of urban African Americans. Gradually, over the following years, northern Democrats championed that party's transition to a strongly pro-black position.

Postwar black population growth in the urban North continued to be heavy, and its effects were heightened by declining white populations, as whites migrated to nearby suburbs. In 1953 New York State assemblyman Hulan Jack was elected to the powerful position of Manhattan borough president. Soon after, Newark and Detroit, two cities with heavy concentrations of black residents, gained their first black city councilmen.

In 1944 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the "white primary," a leading method by which southern blacks were deprived of the ballot. The decision increased both southern black voter registration and pressure for suffrage rights. Beginning with the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party in 1944, blacks formed satellite political organizations to encourage voter registration and unity. The migration of rural blacks to southern industrial centers also accelerated during the 1950s, and all the deep South states had majority urban populations by 1960. The large potential vote the migrants made up was partially unleashed by registration efforts and the reduction of barriers to registration. A few blacks even won election to office. In 1948 Oliver Hill became Richmond's first black city councilman in a half century, and in 1957 Hattie Mae White was elected to Houston's school board.

To neutralize the power of the black vote, both white Southerners and their northern counterparts adopted various electoral stratagems: At-large elections were instituted for political offices; runoff elections assured a solid white bloc vote against black candidates; cities annexed adjacent white suburbs to dilute the percentage of blacks in the city; black areas were divided or merged with nearby white areas to prevent the formation of black majority districts (Tuskegee, Alabama, gerrymandered its black voters out of the city, a move struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1960 in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*).

The civil rights movement of the 1960s made possible the return of blacks as full-fledged actors on the national political scene. Not only did the movement's demonstrations bring black concerns temporarily to the top of the American political agenda, but also grassroots lobbying and voter registration efforts, through such organizations as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the National Democratic Party of Alabama gave masses of previously disfranchised southern blacks a channel for political self-expression. The culmination of the nonviolent movement's triumphs was the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which banned most of the measures used to curb black voting. The black vote unleashed by the act, and its subsequent extensions and amendments, completely transformed the southern political landscape and made possible the election of large numbers of black officials. By 1970 black city councilmen and state representatives had been elected in several southern states, and in 1972 Andrew Young of Georgia and Barbara Jordan of Texas became the first

southern blacks elected to Congress in the twentieth century. Meanwhile, throughout the country, the conjunction of white urban depopulation and the growing power of black political organizations brought about an explosion of black mayors in large cities (beginning with Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio, and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, in 1967), members of Congress (including Edward Brooke, who in 1966 became the first African American elected to the U.S. Senate by popular vote). However, legal challenges to existing electoral districts and systems were unavailing, and many states, both in and outside of the South, continued to practice both "massive resistance" and more subtle forms of subterfuge to thwart black electoral progress. As a result, change was continually retarded.

Despite the unprecedented political and electoral strides made by African Americans, the future of black politics remained uncertain. An African-American political class, made up of elected officials and black political leaders such as Jesse Jackson, has grown up during the years since 1965. Through such forums and networks as the Congressional Black Caucus, formed in 1971, its members have succeeded in articulating black concerns within mainstream political channels and in obtaining a certain share of national political influence (in part a result of the disproportionately high seniority rate of blacks in Congress). However, entrenched racism and the poor socioeconomic status of African Americans remain obstacles to full integration of the community into the nation's body politic. Even as blacks such as former governor L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia demonstrate crossover electoral appeal, black frustration with mainstream party policies that appear to downplay their needs has resulted in chronic low voter turnout and has led some frustrated activists to turn from mainstream political parties toward independent black institutions.

Antebellum Politics

African-American involvement in American politics began in the period from 1619 through 1865. During much of that time, the historical record of African-American political involvement is thin. Nevertheless, there is much to indicate that African-American political activity, both as part of the larger American body politic and as African Americans' organizing institutions that mirrored and challenged their white counterparts, often was an offshoot of African values and customs.

COLONIAL ERA. African-American politics began in the seventeenth century, and political participation grew during the eighteenth. The most direct actors were free African Americans. Two categories of political participation were available to them during this era: pressure and electoral politics. As an example of the former category, in New Netherlands (later New York) in 1661, free blacks petitioned the director-general and lords councilor of the colony to mandate that their adopted children be recognized as free. The petition was granted. In 1726 a free black petitioned the chief justice of the General Court in North Carolina, asking the colonial judiciary to uphold his free status and voluntary choice of association. The court denied this request. In 1769 a group of free blacks in Virginia successfully petitioned the House of Burgesses to have their families exempted from taxation.

As for electoral participation, the small free black population was allowed to participate in certain places. In the thirteen colonies, prior to the Revolution, there was sporadic voting by free blacks. Only four southern colonies explicitly denied free blacks the vote, and even in these colonies it is not improbable that here and there people willingly acquiesced in the casting of an occasional ballot by a black man or a mulatto. The earliest record of such black voting came from South Carolina, where the 1701 and 1703 gubernatorial elections were marked by widespread complaints over free black votes.

The legal flexibility that made free black voting possible resulted from the fact that there were free blacks at that time, and their existence went all but unnoticed. The vast majority of African Americans during the colonial era were slaves, who could not legally vote or engage in formal political activities. Some slaves may have been allowed to vote in close elections by their plantation masters. Historical research has uncovered such practices in Rapide Parish—dubbed "the ten-mile district"—in Louisiana, and these practices continued from the early nineteenth century until the eve of the Civil War. Manipulated as this voting was, it did develop a group of individuals who were at least socialized into the evolving political process.

The slaves' exclusion from electoral participation did not mean that they were entirely cut off from political expression. Such expression can, of course, be found—indirectly—in the acts of slaves who resisted punishments, escaped, purchased their freedom, or revolted, or who destroyed the property of the masters. This behavior, motivated by ingrained concepts of freedom and liberty fueled by memories of one's own or one's forebears' liberty in an African past, as well as responding to an immediate situation of oppression, contained a clear political message.

Moreover, slaves played an active role in the political culture in some areas of Colonial and early national New England through the celebration of Negro Election Day as part of the Colonial election day festivities. The ceremoni-

al election of black "governors" and "kings" began in the mid-eighteenth century in ports and administrative centers with large slave populations. The earliest evidence of the ceremony is from Salem, Massachusetts, in 1741; Newport, Rhode Island, in 1756, and Hartford Connecticut, from sometime before 1766. It quickly spread throughout New England and adjacent areas such as Albany, New York, with black leaders' "jurisdictions" shrinking to the county or town level as more towns participated. Although this was only ceremonial voting, it was an exercise that probably helped to develop black political leadership and promoted the organization of the slave community. At least it represented the demand by African Americans to participate in the public life of the larger society, as filtered through their own appreciation of African political traditions. In some areas, such as New Hampshire, black community members even formed "slave courts" that regulated the conduct of slaves and punished offenses.

The Colonial political system did shape the fledgling efforts of African Americans to participate in the political process. For example, whether the election was for "governor" or "king" seems to have depended on the type of colony in which the election was held: Blacks in charter colonies, which elected their own governors, had black "governors," while those in royal colonies, whose governors were appointed by the king of England, selected "kings." Similarly, there were rude party divisions of blacks into "Tories" and "Whigs" (based on masters' political leanings). The institutions African Americans built covertly expressed their struggle against political powerlessness and satirized the white institutions that surrounded and excluded them.

The immediate context of the white election day ritual, however, was not the only operative variable in the establishment of Negro Election Day. There was also the influence of African background and heritage. The religious-political Adae ceremony of the Ashanti provides an illustration of a similar custom. Other customs—the coronation ritual of the Maradi, and the harvest festival of the Jukun-speaking peoples—similarly illustrate those ceremonial traditions. Indeed, peoples of African heritage in Brazil, Martinique, Cuba, and other areas of the New World engaged in similar election proceedings. Descriptions of the ritual in Newport clearly indicate African features such as songs, dances, drums, and games. Also, the ritual took place, as in Africa, in a large open space under a tree. After the 1820s, with the emancipation of most northern blacks, Negro Election Day ceremonies declined, and were largely replaced with carefully staged parades that commemorated the end of local slavery. Unlike the election day ceremonies, the emancipation parades often had an explicitly oppositional political component.

REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA. When the First Continental Congress met in September 1774, African Americans' political participation, save for events such as slave revolts, had not really arrived at the stage of coherent collective action. The rare political actions of blacks were still individual, and they lacked a strong sense of community and racial consciousness. However, by the time that revolutionary America had transformed itself into an independent nation and developed a federal system, African-American politics had begun to evolve beyond the strictly individual stage, to achieve some collective bases of action.

The revolutionary struggle that led to the creation of the United States of America had a profound effect on African-American ideology and political activities. Blacks, conscious of the irony of white colonists campaigning for "liberty" while denying it to their slaves, made use of revolutionary rhetoric and the wartime needs of the country to carve out a political space for themselves. Between 1773 and 1774 African Americans in Massachusetts presented five collective antislavery petitions to the General Court, Massachusetts's governing body. One of the early petitioners, from 1773, challenged the legislators, "We expect great things from men who have made such a noble stand against the designs of their fellow-men to enslave them." Scores of other petitions protesting slavery and discrimination were presented to the legislatures of the newly independent states in the following years.

When war broke out, many free African Americans joined the fledgling American army, recognizing that military service was a traditional mark of citizenship. Partly for the same reason, white authorities soon attempted to bar blacks from military service. Once white opposition to arming slaves, at least in the northern states, melted away under pressure of military necessity, blacks enlisted in disproportionate numbers in the Continental Army. Meanwhile, slaves in Virginia, promised freedom by royal governor Lord Dunmore if they fought on the side of England, rushed in large numbers to his offshore base.

Revolution in America did little to improve the political participation of African Americans. Four of the new state constitutions denied free blacks the right to vote; five more states would eventually deny it, and only four would never deny it. Thus only four of the thirteen original colonies—plus Vermont, admitted to the Union in 1791—permitted African Americans to vote. In all of these four states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York—the Negro Election Day celebrations continued to be observed regularly, though New York imposed a discriminatory property requirement for black voters in 1821. In Connecticut, which denied African-

American suffrage in 1818, the blacks' last "governor" held office shortly before the Civil War.

Nevertheless, the petitions and military service did exert an influence on the new governments in the years after the war's end. State legislatures in the North passed gradual abolition statutes, and even southern states passed laws simplifying manumission. Many veterans were freed, and some were franchised. Wentworth Cheswell of New Hampshire, probably the first person of African descent elected to office in North America, served as a justice of the peace as early as 1768, and was town selectman for New Market, New Hampshire, several times after 1780. In 1806 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the state senate. In 1831 Alexander Twilight of Vermont became the first African American elected to a state legislature.

Most of the states abolished the slave trade within their borders, although the U.S. Constitution delayed federal action until 1808. Meanwhile, African Americans and white antislavery allies appealed to the judiciary, bringing a handful of test cases challenging slavery in state courts. In 1783 Quock Walker brought a freedom suit in Massachusetts. Judge Richard Cushing ruled slavery incompatible with the state's constitution, resulting in the effective end of slavery in Massachusetts. By 1800 a number of northern states had passed emancipation statutes.

The development of two opposing national political parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans (later the Democratic Party), increased black political involvement. To the extent that blacks participated in campaign and electoral politics, they overwhelmingly supported the Federalists, led in part by such antislavery figures as Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, over Thomas Jefferson and the Democrats, who were identified with slavery and southern interests. The Federalist Party sought the support of black leaders such as New York City's Joseph Sidney and Philadelphia's Absalom Jones, and in 1809 established a black political club, the Washington Benevolent Society, which maintained active branches in Boston and New York City. Black voting played a notable role in the Federalists' narrow victory in New York in 1813.

With the changing structure of government and electoral context came a change in political protest behavior. Not only did African Americans send their petitions and memorials to various state executives and legislatures, but by 1797 they were also sending petitions to the Congress of the United States. On January 23, 1797, four African Americans living in Philadelphia petitioned Congress though Representative John Swanwick of Pennsylvania for a redress of their grievances, which were related to a North Carolina law of 1788 that provided for the capture and reselling of illegally manumitted slaves. Seven days after the petition arrived, Congress debated whether to accept or reject "a petition from fugitive slaves." By a vote of 50–33, Congress rejected the petition. This initial petition was soon followed by another, which arrived in "the second day of the new century," in 1800. Absalom Jones had his representative, Robert Waln of Pennsylvania, present a petition to Congress to demand the banning of the slave trade and the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act. However, Congress voted 85–1 not to consider the petition.

Thus, in this early national period, when African-American political participation was still closely circumscribed by denials of the right to vote, to serve on juries, to hold office, and to bring a legal suit against a white person, black political participation showed signs of expanding and extending itself into new directions. Not only did African Americans show increasing inclination to exert pressure and redirect their focus, they now began to take on a collective impulse. The influence of the African heritage and background was a strong spur to organization, in the form of mutual aid and fraternal organizations, educational societies, and black religious organizations, which grew up in African-American communities and served as the centers of collective effort and activism. For example, in Rhode Island, on November 10, 1780, free blacks established the African Union Society; in Massachusetts they formed The Sons of Africans Society in 1808. New York saw an African Society in 1809; Pittsburgh, an African Education Society in 1832; Boston, an African Lodge in 1787; and New York City, an African Marine Foundation in 1810. That these groups bore African names was no mere accident of simple naming. In the extant constitutions, preambles, laws, minutes, proceedings, resolutions, and reports of these African organizations, a budding "race consciousness" and sense of racial solidarity is openly expressed. Out of this sense of race-based community came the collective action that marked antebellum black pressure politics.

"Africa" did not simply provide the internal cohesion for these interest/pressure groups; it would also become a symbol of freedom and liberty. With the beginning of the emigration and colonization efforts, the influence of Africa directly reentered the contextual political realities of African Americans. The initial pioneering effort of Paul Cuffe, who personally returned thirty-eight free Negroes to Sierra Leone in 1815, was institutionalized (though substantially changed) in December 1816, when the American Colonization Society (ACS) was formed. Five years later, the society established the colony of Liberia. Although the two efforts had outwardly similar objectives, Cuffe sought Africa as a place of freedom and liberty. On the other

hand, the motives of the society were at best mixed and questionable, since the society wished to send free blacks to Africa in part to eliminate what they saw as the anomalous position of the free black in the North. The implication that free blacks have no role to play in American society soon came under attack by African Americans, who saw the ACS as racist, and this served to catalyze their subsequent organizing efforts.

Finally, the late 1820s saw the beginning of African-American newspapers, which provided a forum for spokespersons who would take up the struggle on behalf of their "colored fellow citizens." (Freedom's Journal, founded in New York City in 1827, was the earliest.) The numerous efforts of such individuals and papers heralded not only a rising sense of solidarity and community but also vindicated the acts of pressure and protest in the revolutionary and the early national period that seemed, at first blush, so futile.

Thus elements of the African background provided the underpinning for fledgling African-American pressure group activity in the new nation by 1830. The first Negro convention was held on September 20, 1830, in Philadelphia, with delegates from seven states. Another convention met the next year, and black conventions subsequently were organized four times during the 1830s, three times in the 1840s, and twice in the 1850s. At the 1864 national convention in Syracuse, New York, the movement reorganized itself into the National Equal Rights League. The national convention movement directed, albeit in a rather unstable way, a mass self-help movement of the churches, mutual aid societies, and fraternal organizations, and took these efforts into the political area. With the emergence of such mass political action in both the electoral and protest areas, African-American politics had come of age.

The national organization, where possible, set up state and local affiliates. Some state and local auxiliaries pursued policies and directions independent of those of the national organization. When they were meeting and functioning properly, the national, state, and local bodies issued resolutions, petitions, prayers, and memorials addressed to state legislatures and to Congress. While their chief interest was the antislavery struggle, the conventions acted on other issues as well. Political rights such as suffrage, jury service, and repeal of discriminatory legislation were major concerns. Despite their support of abolitionist groups, the convention members also chided the American Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833, for its unwillingness to champion "social equality."

Temperance, education, and moral reform stood high on the agenda of many Negro conventions and allied groups throughout the era. Equally important was the fight for women's equality and voting rights. As early as Maria Stewart in the 1830s, African-American women played prominent roles in black politics. Just as many white feminists became politically committed through abolitionist activities, so black leaders from Sojourner Truth to Frederick Douglass attended feminist conferences and pressed for the end of gender discrimination.

The convention movement was supplemented by countless local political committees and pressure groups that campaigned for civil rights and educational opportunity. Black groups formed in the early 1830s, such as the Phoenix Society in New York City and the American Moral Reform Society, based in Philadelphia, added civil rights petitioning to their temperance and educational efforts. Meanwhile, African Americans in New York City and Philadelphia organized committees to protest denials of equal suffrage and to stimulate black political involvement. African Americans in Boston successfully lobbied to overturn a state law forbidding racial intermarriage, and organized protests that desegregated most of the state's railroads. In 1855 the Legal Rights Association sued in a New York City court protesting segregated streetcars and won a judgment. In 1849 Benjamin Roberts pursued a test case challenging segregated schools in Boston to the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Although he lost, the state legislature integrated the schools in 1855.

ABOLITIONIST AMERICA. In December 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society, the first national abolitionist organization, was founded in Philadelphia. This marked the awakening of abolition as a full-fledged sociopolitical movement, and it catapulted blacks into the center of the political system. The electoral efforts of most free blacks in this era were focused on their work for and participation in a host of antislavery third parties. They attended their conventions and served as low-level officers at the conventions, especially as secretaries. They succeeded in having resolutions and platforms adopted that called for equality. They campaigned for the standard-bearers of these parties. Where they could, they voted for these candidates. And in several states in the expanding new nation, these antislavery parties sought to have the state extend suffrage to free blacks, but to no avail.

When the first antislavery party, the Liberty Party, was formed on April 1, 1840, at Albany, New York, it announced that its goal was "the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from Slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights, among men, in every state where the party exists or may exist." The Liberty Party's leaders reached out to free blacks, and shortly after the founding of the party, influential black leaders began

to associate with it, attending party conventions and providing what limited electoral support they could muster. In return, the Liberty Party welcomed black supporters into party councils and leadership positions.

The brightest spot in the party's history was the election of John M. Langston on the party's ticket to a township clerk position in Ohio in 1855. Langston's nomination for office was the first ever given an African American by a political party. Despite this achievement, the Liberty Party was unable to compete with subsequent abolitionist parties. Its numbers declined through the 1850s, and it dissolved in 1860.

African Americans also became involved in the Free Soil Party. At its founding convention in Buffalo, New York, on August 9, 1848, the party adopted a platform calling for the exclusion of slavery from the District of Columbia and the territories of the United States, though it conceded the legality of slavery in existing states. While the party called for jury trials for captured fugitive slaves, it made no commitment to expanding black equality, and many of its leaders opposed black suffrage. Free blacks participated in the convention, and later in the campaign, despite the party's limited positions on equality and the liberation of slaves. Although unsuccessful in its initial presidential bid, the party tried again in 1852. This time the national nominating convention adopted a resolution favoring black suffrage, and elected Frederick Douglass secretary of the convention. Despite the work of Douglass and other free blacks, the party polled fewer votes than it had in 1848, and dissolved after the election.

There were other antislavery parties in which African Americans participated. Frederick Douglass attended the convention of the new National Liberty Party in Buffalo, New York, on June 14–15, 1848. The party's poor performance in the 1848 presidential election—which may have been the consequence of its stiff competition from the Liberty Party and the Free Soil Party—led to its collapse soon afterward. Another party, the Political Abolition Party, took up the struggle in 1856. It had an even more dismal showing than expected; it collected only 484 votes for its presidential candidate. It did not again contest a presidential election.

The antislavery parties were never large organizations, although they helped swing the balance in several elections. Their failure during the 1850s was largely the result of the entry of the Republican Party into the political fray. The Republicans captured the political imagination of many free blacks, and a significant degree of their support. In 1860 the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, won the presidency, with the overwhelming support of free blacks and attentive slaves.

EMIGRATIONIST POLITICS Beginning in the 1840s, the African heritage began to influence African-American political participation and action in a new and more direct way, through the doctrine of African-American political nationalism. The historians John Bracey Jr., August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick describe the dynamics of this era:

> In the 1840s a number of converging developments turned Negro ideologies in more nationalist directions: the essential failure of the antislavery movement to liberate the slaves; the evidences of racism among many white abolitionists . . . increasing trends toward disfranchisement and segregation in public accommodations in many of the northeastern states, combined with the continuing pattern of discrimination in the Old Northwest that made the black man's condition there similar to that in the South; and the growing hopelessness of the economic situation. . . .

One result of the growing estrangement of African Americans from the mainstream of American politics was the national convention movement's increasing withdrawal from interracial groups and endorsement of independent black political organizations. Of course, this trend did not contradict its members' goal of equality in the United States. While blacks were nationalistic about their color, and were determined to build separate black institutions, their nationalism did not preempt their demands for inclusion as Americans. Black institutions were created as a halfway measure, as a means to the end of integration.

The events of the 1850s aggravated the obstacles confronting African Americans. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made life unsafe and dangerous for large numbers of free blacks, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act threatened to extend slavery into new territories. Finally, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the 1857 Dred Scott Decision, that blacks had no rights as United States citizens and that a state could not forbid slavery, was responsible for convincing large numbers of black activists of the necessity for radical action. A few supported the idea of a violent overturning of the slave system, and threw their support to the white abolitionist John Brown, who planned a slave insurrection. At the same time, a number of African Americans mounted emigration and colonization efforts. Some emigrationists favored mass emigration to Africa. For them, Africa would be the place to create a great nation, a place where freedom and liberty would prevail and a place where an African nation might arise that would eventually rival that of America. Larger numbers moved to the relatively safe haven of Canada. Others favored Haiti, Central

America, or other places. National emigration conventions were held in 1854, 1856, and 1858.

On the eve of the Civil War, the essential features of African-American political culture had taken form and had started to mature. The dual influences of America and Africa had converged in the era of abolitionism and black nationalism to shape a political culture that had one message: In a society where racism is a permanent feature, equality and liberty for African Americans could not be left solely to the efforts of whites; instead, in a time of political and democratic restriction, a special role had to be played by African Americans themselves.

Reconstruction to the Present

During the Reconstruction era, stretching from 1865 through 1877, the nature of African-American politics was radically transformed. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, gave African-American men the right to vote. Before the Civil War only a segment of the African-American community in the North was allowed to participate in politics; during the Reconstruction era, the entire community was permitted to participate. The results were striking, electing twenty African-American congressmen, two senators, a governor, six lieutenant governors, numerous local officials, state legislators, and delegates to state constitutional conventions. In addition to the figures who served in official positions, Reconstruction also energized large elements of the African-American community in political struggles. However, the gains achieved during Reconstruction were largely overturned in the years after the political compromise of 1877, when federal troops were withdrawn from the southern states, where most African Americans lived.

By the turn of the century, most southern states had adopted poll taxes, literacy tests, and other measures that disfranchised the vast majority of their black populations. Segregation was rigidly imposed on African Americans, whose hard-won citizenship rights were largely ignored. Even in the northern states, where African Americans retained voting rights, de facto housing and employment discrimination eroded the dream of equality. From the 57th until the 70th congresses there were no African Americans in the House or the Senate, and few local or state officials. In the face of such burdens, blacks organized what political protests they could.

The political struggle of African Americans from the end of Reconstruction to at least the 1960s, and in many ways to the present, has been focused on one goal: to reshape the political landscape so that the political and economic liberties of African Americans would be restored. When this goal was unworkable through major party politics, some blacks turned in independent, and sometimes separatist, directions. As early as the 1880s, many blacks, particularly in the North, grew dissatisfied with the Republican Party, which refused to act effectively against deteriorating race relations or to offer the black electorate patronage commensurate with its voting support. Black activists such as T. Thomas Fortune and Peter H. Clark urged African Americans to be politically independent and either explore the possibility of supporting the Democratic Party or establish an independent political party. Neither party was generally prepared to offer significant rewards. The resulting frustration led some African Americans to eschew major party politics altogether.

THIRD-PARTY POLITICS. Beginning in the 1870s, many black voters supported factions and splinter groups of the Republicans such as the National Republicans and the Greenback Party, as well as statewide organizations such as Virginia's Readjusters. These groups generally opposed the tight-money, probusiness slant of the mainstream Republicans. While they supported racially liberal platforms and welcomed black electoral support, most of these groups were not interested in campaigning for black interests or soliciting black participation in party activities.

The first national third party that blacks supported was the Prohibition Party, whose presidential campaigns attracted a solid core of black voters through the mid-twentieth century. The Prohibition Party did not target civil rights issues, but their radical reform message encompassed black interests. Temperance had long been a concern of black leaders in an attempt to raise the moral image and economic standing of African Americans. The elite nature of the party, particularly in the South, offered blacks with middle-class aspirations a measure of status, and the movement's strong Christian ideology contributed to general ideals of racial harmony and fairness. During the 1884 and 1888 campaigns, Prohibitionists realized that blacks represented swing votes on temperance measures, so the party reached out to them, sponsoring interracial rallies with black speakers and inviting African Americans to join organizing committees and convention delegations. For example, the African Methodist Episcopal bishop Henry McNeal Turner spoke for Prohibition Party candidates and was a delegate to the party's 1888 national convention. Philadelphia had a strong black Prohibitionist party in the late nineteenth century, at times supported by such stalwarts of black Philadelphia life as AME bishop Benjamin Tanner and physician Nathan Mossell. Also, the Prohibition Party generally opposed urban Democratic machines dominated by white ethnics, who were traditional antagonists of the black community. During the twentieth century, as the party grew more racially restric-

tive and black elites found other political channels, support for the Prohibitionists waned.

The Populist Party, the political arm of an agrarian movement of the 1890s, revolved around a platform of democratic reform, debt relief, and monetary expansion that appealed to southern and Midwestern black farmers who supported party candidates for president and for state offices. Prominent southern blacks such as former Georgia state legislator Anthony Wilson supported the party. Many Populists, such as Tom Watson of Georgia, called for interracial economic unity and took radical positions in support of the legal rights of African Americans. Populists helped elect black officials, such as North Carolina congressman George White in 1896. Populist representatives often voted funds for black education. However many white Populists were ambivalent about black participation and voting support, fearing white racist backlash, and were cautious about challenging discrimination. With the help of voting fraud and manipulation in Black Belt areas, southern Democrats beat back Populist challenges during the 1890s. Some Populist leaders, such as the South Carolina senator "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, had rarely disguised their racial demagoguery. Others, such as Georgia's Tom Walton, underwent a notorious transformation, from supporting interracial cooperation during the heyday of the Populist era to becoming a virulent racist and defender of lynching. Black populists also despaired of joint black-white efforts. John B. Payner, a Texas Populist who was one of the party's leading orators, became an embittered supporter of separate black institutions, acknowledging that the price for their survival was a subservient relation to white authorities.

As a result of their own entrenched racism, many Populists responded by supporting black disfranchisement campaigns. Despite the reversal of southern Populist leaders on black issues, small numbers of blacks continued to support the declining party during its presidential campaigns of 1900, 1904, and 1908.

During most of the twentieth century, when the vast majority of blacks in the South were unable to vote, the center of black voting strength and political influence shifted to the urban North. The record of black activity in third parties during the first half of the twentieth century reveals a strong tie between black political participation and the politics of economic protest. A few blacks offered support for candidates running on economic reform platforms, including the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party in 1912 and the Progressive Party in 1924, despite the refusal of party leaders to seat black delegates or to reach out to black voters. However, in 1948 Henry Wallace, running for president on the Progressive Party ticket, campaigned strongly for black votes. Wallace made civil rights a centerpiece of his platform and organized integrated tours of the South. However, while he was supported by such black leaders as Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois, a strong Democratic Party platform on civil rights sharply reduced Wallace's appeal.

Throughout this period, the Communist, Socialist, and other workers' parties repeatedly sought and gained black support for their ideologies and platforms. In the late nineteenth century a number of African-American leaders, such as Peter H. Clark of Cincinnati and T. Thomas Fortune, expressed sympathy with socialist ideas. The Socialist Party, founded in 1901, gained few black converts in its first two decades, though W. E. B. Du Bois expressed strong sympathy with socialism as early as 1907 and briefly joined the party in 1912. It vigorously denounced the exploitation of workers, but subordinated race to class in its policies, refusing to recognize the special problems facing African Americans. Many of its leaders held racist views, and while the party platform opposed disfranchisement and leaders such as Eugene V. Debs publicly opposed racial discrimination, the Socialists offered no special support for black interests. After World War I, the party's platform became more inclusive. Larger numbers of blacks, inspired by African-American Socialist orators such as A. Philip Randolph, H. H. Harrison, Cyril V. Briggs, Richard Moore, Chandler Owen, and Frank Crosswaith, moved to support party candidates.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A., formed in 1921, shared the class-based approach of the Socialists. By the end of the 1920s, in accordance with Moscow's ideological support of non-Western nationalism, the party developed a platform calling for worker unity in the North and African-American "self-determination" in the southern Black Belt. While black party membership was always low, the Communists attempted to exert a disproportionate influence on black life. Unlike the Socialists, the Communists'—especially in the South—actively shifting position on the Nazi-Soviet alliance destroyed its southern base. The decline of the Communist and Socialist parties after 1950 was accompanied by the formation of several minor Marxist political parties, notably the Trotskyist-influenced Socialist Workers' Party, beginning in the 1950s. Probably the most influential African-American Trotskyist was the West Indian historian and theorist C. L. R. James, who lived in the United States from 1938 until his expulsion in 1953. Tiny parties such as the Workers' World Party drew black support during the 1980s. These parties actively sought a black constituency through powerful denunciations of racism and integrated leadership but were unable, due in part to lack of money for broad-based

campaigns, to draw more than a small percentage of the black vote.

Beginning in the 1960s, various New Left and other radical parties without large black constituencies sponsored black candidates for political office. For example, in 1968 during the height of the antiwar movement, Dick Gregory, an African American, ran for president on the Freedom and Peace Party's ticket. In 1992 Leonora B. Fulani, running as the presidential candidate of the New Alliance Party, became the first black minor party presidential candidate to qualify for federal matching campaign funds.

SEPARATIST PARTIES. The antimainstream impulse developed largely as a consequence of the political discrimination that the white majority in various states has used to block the entrance of blacks into mainstream political parties. An equally significant development, however, is the appearance and growth of independent black political parties and factions throughout the twentieth century. The southern states, particularly Mississippi, provided the most promising conditions for these independent parties. Yet the appearance of national black separatist parties in 1904, 1963, and 1992 indicates that the impulse was not limited to the South.

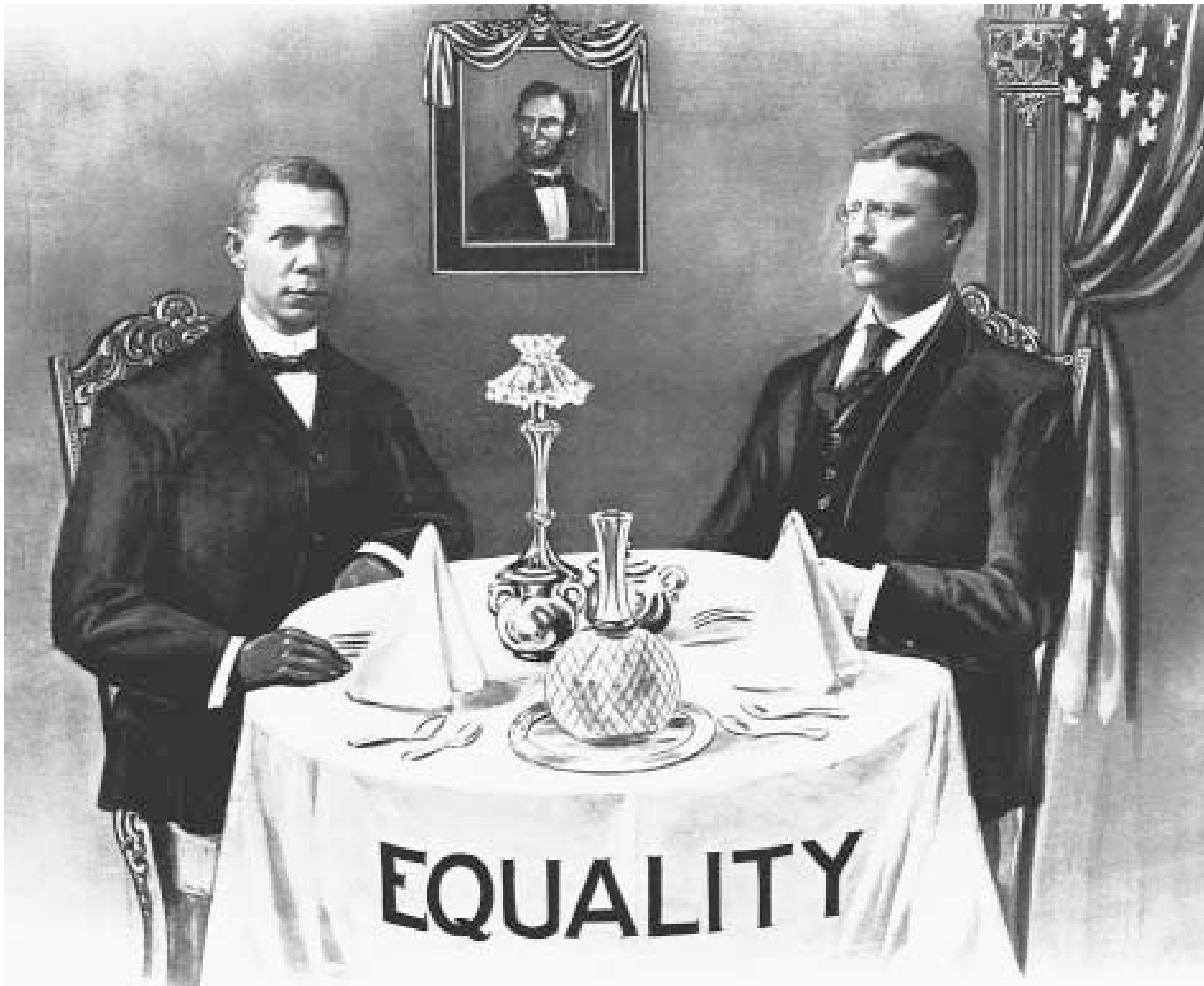
The first black party was the Negro Protective Party, formed in Ohio in 1897, but this was not a truly independent organization. Taking advantage of black discontent over Republican inattention to black needs, the Ohio Democratic Party financed a small group of black Democrats and independents, who formed a party and ran a slate of candidates for governor and other state offices on a platform of civil rights and control of white mobs. Many "party" candidates were paid off by Republicans to withdraw their candidacies so as not to cut into the black Republican vote. The party's gubernatorial candidate, Sam J. Lewis, received only 477 votes, and the few remaining candidates for other posts did even worse.

The first nationally based black political party was the National Liberty Party, which grew out of local Civil and Personal Liberty leagues. On July 5, 1904, a convention of the leagues was organized in St. Louis, Missouri, and was attended by delegations from thirty-six states. Iowa editor George Edwin Taylor was chosen as the party's presidential candidate. The party gained only a few votes, and it disappeared after the election.

Although two independent black presidential candidates ran in Alabama on the ticket of the Afro-American Party in 1960, the next serious attempt to build a nationwide black party came with the formation of the Freedom Now Party. Organized by African-American lawyer Conrad Lynn as a national party at a convention in Washington, D.C., during the famous March for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, it ran candidates in elections in New York, California, and Connecticut. When these candidates did poorly in November elections, it switched strategy to concentrate its efforts exclusively on Michigan. In 1964 the party ran a slate of thirty-nine candidates for statewide offices in that state, hoping to demonstrate its electoral strength and to educate black voters. All the candidates were overwhelmingly defeated, however, and the party dissolved soon after the election.

In the years after 1964, black activists tried on numerous occasions to establish national black parties, but without success. In 1968 the Peace and Freedom Party (not to be confused with the aforementioned Freedom and Peace Party) was created. Run by an alliance of white leftists and members of the Black Panther Party, the party selected Eldridge Cleaver as its presidential candidate. It was on the ballot in some five states, and Cleaver received almost 37,000 votes. However, the alliance disintegrated soon after the election, although some candidates ran on the Peace and Freedom ticket in California elections in 1970. In 1976 the National Black Political Assembly, an outgrowth of the 1972 National Black Convention, formed the National Black Independent Political Party. Plagued by poor funding and bad management, it succeeded neither in persuading well-known black elected officials to run for president, nor in gaining sufficient signatures to place the party slate on the ballot in any state. In 1980 the National Black Independent Political Party held a founding convention to form a nucleus of support for a 1984 campaign but was unable to overcome internal debate, and its platform was overshadowed by Jesse Jackson's independent candidacy for the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party. In 1992, after Jackson declined to seek the Democratic Party nomination, Ron Daniels, former chair of the National Black Political Assembly, ran for president on the Campaign for a New Tomorrow ticket, but had difficulty getting his name on the ballot in many states and finished poorly.

Satellite political organizations have proven more successful in achieving African-American political aims. While black-supported and -run, these groups have organized themselves within existing party structures. During the end of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, this independent spirit expressed itself in the form of numerous "Black and Tan" factions in Republican parties of southern states such as Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Black delegates to state conventions, opposed by "lily-white" delegations, would try to gain their groups a fair share of patronage and political influence. If defeated at the state level, they would form their



Booker T. Washington with Theodore Roosevelt. *Roosevelt was among the party presidential candidates of his era who would recognize black delegates at conventions, but once nominated refused to award them their share of the political spoil.* © CORBIS

own slate of delegates and candidates for local office, and appeal to the national conventions for recognition. Often, deals would be struck. Occasionally, as in Louisiana and Mississippi in the 1920s, the Black and Tan faction would win clear control of patronage.

Most factions dissolved by the turn of the twentieth century, however, as increasing numbers of blacks were disfranchised or left the Republicans and as the party courted white southern support. Sometimes party presidential candidates such as Theodore Roosevelt would recognize the black delegates, but once nominated refuse to award them a share of the spoils. In 1920 the Texas Black and Tans, tired of this strategy, ran their own candidates for the position of Republican presidential electors, receiving some 27,000 votes. In Virginia during the early 1920s a "lily-black" party ran newspaper editor John R. Mitchell for governor. The Tennessee and Texas Black and Tans disappeared in the early 1930s, as patronage and national party support was withdrawn.

During the 1930s southern blacks turned to the Democratic Party. However, excluded by white-dominated state parties, they began building shadow parties. The first example of this was the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party. Formed at a convention in Columbia in May 1944, the party worked in support of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic candidacy while evading the state's white primary. Its representatives attended the national convention in an unsuccessful attempt to unseat the regular state delegation, and sponsored a black candidate for U.S. senator, who won some 4,500 votes in the election. While the party continued after the election, it reformed as a political caucus, working in voter registration and un-

successfully challenging the regular state delegation at the 1948 and 1956 conventions before being absorbed completely into the state party. (In 1970 South Carolina blacks, dissatisfied with the fused party, formed the short-lived United Citizens' Party.)

Two notable examples of satellite parties are the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA). The MFDP, created in 1964, was formed as part of an effort by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other civil rights groups to dramatize the state's denial of voting rights to blacks and involve long-disfranchised Mississippi African Americans in the political process. The MFDP sponsored candidates for office in the Mississippi Democratic Party primary and sent a delegation to the 1964 Democratic national convention, urging without success that their delegation be seated in place of the white-only regular state delegation. In 1968, however, the MFDP (reorganized as the Loyal Democratic Party of Mississippi) succeeded in unseating the Mississippi delegation. While the party continued to operate into the 1970s, it was unable to elect large numbers of candidates to state or local office and eventually became part of the state Democratic Party, without a distinct status. The NDPA, one of a number of black political organizations in Alabama during the 1960s, was organized in 1968 to remedy the failure of the Alabama Democratic Party to open its organization to African Americans. In that year, the NDPA, inspired by the success of the MFDP, successfully fought to obtain recognition as the official state delegation at the Democratic national convention. While its platform and activity pushed the regular party into a more progressive racial posture, the NDPA was also unable to survive the 1970s as an independent black political organization.

The push to form separatist and independent parties suggests that African Americans had never completely forgotten or abandoned their African heritage. Although African Americans often supported the major parties, they shared the frustration that drove others to form separatist groups in search of access to political power. Even if it remained a minor channel of blacks' political activity, the independent impulse showed a stubborn ability to survive. Despite the failure of third-party and independent candidates to win election to state and national offices, their campaigns provided an opportunity for black candidates to be included in the political process during a time when African Americans were underrepresented in the mainstream political parties.

THE DUAL IMPULSES IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLITICS. The impulses motivating African-American politics may be illuminated by the remarks of Samuel DuBois Cook, who wrote, "Black political parties are, after all, expressions of radically abnormal conditions and consequences—basic defects in the political system. They have had a special mission—correction of those fundamental differences" (Cook 1972). He continued, "Black political parties fostered the notion and ideal of self-help, self-propulsion, group consciousness and solidarity, and political sensitivity, awareness and appreciation."

Harold Cruse offered these thoughts on African-American political parties as a means to achieve liberation:

> The politics of ethnicity is more exactly the "politics of plurality." The demise of the civil rights era, beginning with 1980, points to political organization as the only alternative. Political organization also permits a renewed opportunity to make up for longstanding organizational deficiencies that have hampered black progress in economic, cultural, educational, and other social fields.

Cruse asserted that the "only option left" is to "organize an independent black party." Moreover, he argued, the ultimate aim of this black party would not be solely for the "expedient purposes of electoral politics." As he sees it, the African-American political party should not simply be an electoral political entity, but among other things a cultural political entity—that is, concerned with preserving those crucial values emanating from what we have here called the background impulses, such as self-help, self-propulsion, group consciousness, self-determination, and self-liberation.

Which of the two motors driving African-American politics—the mainstream or the separatist independent—will come to dominate the political lives of America's black men and black women remains to be seen. Clearly, the second impulse will continue as long as there is political discrimination and racism in the American political system. The separatist impulse, moreover, gives African-American politics much of its unique flavor and may prove to be the most enduring cultural legacy of African-American political activism.

BLACK CANDIDATES IN NATIONAL AND STATE ELECTIONS. African-American activists in both major parties have run for their party's nomination for president. Candidates such as Shirley Chisholm in 1972, Jesse Jackson in 1984 and 1988, Carol Moseley-Braun in 2004, and Reverend Al Sharpton in 2004 for the Democrats and Alan Keyes for the Republicans in 1996 and 2000, hoped to influence their parties on issues significant to the African-

Jesse Jackson announcing his candidacy for president of the United States, 1987. UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

American community. Below the presidential level, particularly at the senatorial and gubernatorial levels, this same phenomenon has signaled that community leaders and activists have changed their tactics and strategies in order to advance their agenda among party elites and leading candidates.

During the twentieth century, independent black political movements provided African Americans with their best opportunities to compete in the general election for seats in the U.S. Senate. Of the twenty African-American candidates for the U.S. Senate in general elections between 1920 and 1990, seventeen ran on third-party or African-American party tickets. Republican Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, who served in the Senate from 1967 to 1979, was the first African-American senator elected by popular vote. Since 1990, however, more African-American candidates for the U.S. Senate have been Democrats, including Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois, who in 1992 became the first female African American elected to the U.S. Senate. Among unsuccessful African-American candidates for the U.S. Senate in the early twenty-first century were Ronald Kirk (Democrat of Texas) in 2002 and Denise Majette (Democrat of Georgia) in 2004. As of 2005, Barack Obama (Democrat of Illinois) was the only African American serving in the U.S. Senate.

Historically, the vast majority of African-American gubernatorial candidates were sponsored on either third-party or African-American party tickets, mostly the latter. The first such African-American gubernatorial candidate was Sam J. Lewis in Ohio in the 1897 state election; he ran as the candidate of the Negro Protective Party. Through 1990, L. Douglas Wilder, Mervyn Dymally, and George Brown were the only African Americans to have received a major party nomination for governor or lieutenant governor and survive until the general election. In 1989 Wilder, a Democrat of Virginia, became the first African American to be elected governor of a U.S. state. By the early 2000s, although no African Americans held gubernatorial offices, several had been elected as lieutenant gover-

nors, including Joe Rogers of Colorado, Michael Steele of Maryland, and Jennette Bradley of Ohio, all Republicans.

At the local level, African-American mayoral candidates prior to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ran on small African-American or third-party tickets. As the black percentage of the population of major cities increased, more black mayors were elected. Similarly, in legislative districts with predominantly black populations it became relatively easy to elect black candidates. For example, seventy-one African Americans were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives between 1865 and 1992, all on major party tickets.

CHANGING STRATEGIES IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLITICS. In the past, the efforts of African-American activists were primarily centered on increasing the number of African-American elected officials at the city, county, and congressional levels in the major parties. They also made challenges at the national party conventions, particularly at the Democratic conventions to further effect change. In addition, symbolic protest efforts have taken place via third and minor parties as well as with black parties and several notable independent candidacies. Initiated with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and reinforced by subsequent renewals, there has been a steady progression of new faces, new firsts, and new levels of achievement. Many of these activists have been motivated by conservative efforts to undermine the civil rights achievements of the 1960s and 1970s.

In the mid twentieth century this activism was directed toward creating a political majority in one of the mainstream parties and then forcing the parties to take a leading role in ending segregation and white supremacy. With Democratic leadership and Republican cooperation these efforts were directly responsible for the three major civil rights acts of the 1960s. Following these achievements, activists turned their attention to the implementation, support, and protection of these acts. However, the conservative revolution that began in the 1980s attacked affirmative action, one of the tools of the civil rights movement. In addition, African-American conservatives and their allies in the Republican Party sought rollbacks to entitlement programs, economic assistance packages, and federal aid to cities. In this way many individual and group gains were lost.

In the forty years since the adoption of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, community activists and civil rights leaders have recognized that achieving equal rights was only the beginning. Community economic needs and employment opportunities still required additional efforts. The civil rights revolution had occurred during a period of deindustrialization in the United States, when many low-wage jobs were being automated or exported, and labor unions were losing their bargaining power. Increasing the number of elected officials alone could not reverse the economic decline of many urban areas. At the same time the Democratic Party was shifting its emphasis from a platform focused on the needs of low-income Americans to improving conditions for the middle class. The impact of these shifts was felt and seen everywhere. As the Democratic Party moved to a centrist position, some activists focused their efforts on gaining more powerful national offices, and many community leaders and local officials sought higher offices to effect change in their communities. These efforts have proven difficult given the candidate-centered nature of the political process and the loss of political parties' control over candidate selection. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the national media have provided opportunities for high-profile activists to initiate campaigns outside traditional party channels. Because of this, ambitious African-American leaders have put themselves forward as candidates for national offices.

At the presidential level, African-American politicians have focused more on bringing issues to the forefront of debate and less on capturing the nomination. One way of doing this is to make a significant showing in the party's presidential primaries and then bargaining with the final party nominee to secure personal power and priority for crucial issues. In this way Jackson was able to advance his campaign manager, Ron Brown, toward the chairmanship of the DNC after his 1988 showing, and Sharpton achieved similar influence in 2004.

With its emphasis on small government, fiscal conservatism, and traditional social values, the Republican Party attracted few African-American partisans during the mid-to-late twentieth century. During the 1990s and 2000s, African-American senatorial and presidential candidates within the Republican Party sought to attract African-American voters as well as to build a base among the white conservative electorate in the country. Alan Keyes in presidential and senate campaigns proved only a minor success in this area. The highest-ranking African American in the party, Representative J. C. Watts of Oklahoma, was the lone African-American Republican in Congress when he retired in 2002, amid rumors that he was frustrated by his inability to achieve a meaningful leadership position within the party despite his accomplishments in Congress and his national publicity efforts supporting Republican policy positions. A few Republican Party activists, however, like Ward Connerly have been quite successful in assisting conservative Republicans at the state level to roll back af-

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell at a conference with President George W. Bush and U.S. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice. *Rice was appointed Secretary of State when Powell resigned in 2005, becoming the first black woman to hold the post of America's top diplomat.* PHOTOGRAPH BY J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE. AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

firmative action programs. Others like Armstrong Williams have supported Republican media elites in reducing government intervention and federal assistance. They have also acted as a counterweight to the protests and criticisms of civil rights community activists. This is where these activists have given the party its most success.

Overall, African-American voters in 2005 continued to support the Democratic Party in large numbers, and the majority of African-American politicians were Democrats. With the departure of Watts from Congress, the Republican Party had no African-American representatives and few in top party leadership positions, although both Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice were recognized as potential candidates for the presidency. During the 2004 elections African-American Republican candidates for state and national offices attempted to build a base in the community and to recruit more members to the party. In addition, the Republican National Committee was anticipating several high-profile campaigns in 2006, including the candidacy of Reverend Keith Butler for Senate in Michigan and former professional football star Lynn Swann's run for the governor's office in Pennsylvania. In response to such challenges, Democratic leaders recognized that the loyalty of black voters could not be taken for granted and that greater efforts were needed to sustain the party's dominance among African Americans.

Among the biggest items on the political agenda for 2005 and the following year's mid-term elections is the campaign to renew the Voting Rights Act, key elements of which are due to expire in 2007. The politics of renewal is in full swing, even as the African-American community and its allies celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Act.

See also Abolition; Affirmative Action; Chisholm, Shirley; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Civil War; Communist Party of the United States; Congressional Black Caucus; Fifteenth Amendment; Free Blacks; Jackson, Jesse;

James, C. L. R.; Mayors; Reconstruction; Turner, Henry McNeal

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Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean

Politics in the Latin American and Caribbean region owes as much to women, whether they are revolutionary or reform-minded, as it does to their male counterparts. Women have been successful in a range of political activities: rebellion against slavery, attainment of voting rights, and national independence. The growth of trade unionism and party politics, including Communist Party formation and development, has also relied on women's political participation and overall leadership. Street protests, public education, and advocacy as responses to the injustices of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century globalization

have often been advanced by working-class women and female policy analysts in Latin America and the Caribbean. Importantly, where governments have engaged with liberalization and the Washington consensus, women have also helped to clarify, amplify, and modify policy choices.

Women's many contributions to Caribbean and Latin American politics date back at least to the eighteenth century, when brown women and black women dared to do as much as men so they could be participant-subjects and not mere observers in a public sphere controlled by the legitimacy of Europeans, whiteness, male dominance, and upper-class status. All across the Americas, the early and continuing advent of women in the political arena would change the presumption that public political intercourse was and remains bounded by gender exclusions of female actors and the values associated with them.

Seen from the point of view of all who contest and hold office, it appears that politics are a man's world. Though attitudes are changing, studies show, for example, that both women and men believe that men are emotionally better suited for politics than women. Other studies show that women are generally more likely to vote for a man than for a woman. Gender biases against women have contributed to women's limited public-sphere roles, and such exclusions have added to their political invisibility. More, for example, is recorded about male Carib or Kalinago warriors than about females who played equally pivotal roles in the development of today's Caribbean. This is not to deny that women themselves have shied away from politics for a variety of reasons, including the fact that in its public culture and representation, politics carries an unhealthy masculinist identity, largely anathema to the values of cooperation and justice which themselves are ascribed more to women than to men.

Undeniably, if societies are to be democratic and progress, women's equitable and meaningful participation is mandatory. Only a few women served as parliamentarians in the West Indies Federation (1958–1962), a political and administrative grouping of English-speaking colonies. In 1995 the United Nations recommended that at least 30 percent of all decision-making bodies be female, especially parliaments, cabinets, and other political and policy-level structures. According to a survey conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in early 2005, parliaments across the Latin American and Caribbean region were about 19 percent female; the upper houses included only about 19.5 percent women and lower houses about 18.8 percent. These figures represent improvements from 1997. Moreover, the 2005 ratio of women to men in Caribbean and Latin American parliaments is better than in many other parts of the developing world: Sub-Saharan African parliaments, for example, are only about 10 to 15 percent female, while the governments of Arab states are only about 3 to 8 percent female. Worldwide, woman made up about 12 to 16 percent of parliamentarians in 2005. All, however, are still far from the fifty/fifty democratic ideal.

Forbears

Women's participation in Latin American and Caribbean politics included running away to become maroons or bush-based freedom fighters before emancipation. Cubah, a Jamaican slave revered as an African Queen Mother, is recorded as committed to fighting the white slavery establishment in the 1680s (Mathurin, 1975, p. 21). Nanny, a celebrated and "remarkable Ashanti chieftainess," is perhaps the best known of the eighteenth-century figures. For a half century until her death in the 1750s, Nanny combined the private role of wife with the public roles of priestess, community organizer, military strategist, guerilla leader, wartime negotiator, and peacetime political leader (Mathurin, pp. 35–37). She was so politically successful that a village for free people was named Nanny Town in her honor. Nanny laid a foundation for the role of black women's resistance to injustice, and it is said that "of all the black resistance leaders of her time Nanny was foremost among those who resolved never to come to terms with the English [colonial presence in Jamaica]" (Mathurin, p. 37).

Nanny was not the only woman who dared to confront the militarism and injustice of colonialism. Gammay of Grenada was as fierce a freedom fighter against slavery in the 1790s as was her better-known male contemporary, Julien Fedon. Their joint leadership gave birth to the first successful rebellion against British slavery in Grenada (1795–1796). So strategic was Gammay's political-military advisory role to Fedon that it is said he was unable to launch his revolt until Gammay, his principal field lieutenant, operating as a vendor in the only market allowed at the time in Grenville, had canvassed supporters and gathered enough intelligence to guide the operations. Gammay's invisibility in recorded history may well be explained by her gender and social status: as a slave woman, she would be seen only as a market vendor and not as a complex political analyst shielded by a vendor's identity; as a full-blooded African female, she would not be recognized in the way that the schooled, French-mulatto Fedon was. This would have been true for innumerable women, accounting in part for their absence in recorded history.

Where Nanny would lay the foundation for the model of the daring, lone woman leader, Gammay set the stage for the more traditional, gendered division of labor between women and men in today's political life: women

perform the behind-the-scenes analysis and mobilization, and men undertake the role of public leader—commander, spokesperson, and titleholder. That partnership has become the model for how women and men share political leadership. However, by the end of the twentieth century, unequal and stereotypical male-female power sharing would begin to unravel as women ascended, on their own, to significant places in government and other leadership positions. Both models of women's engagement in politics continue today.

Roots from the Nineteenth Century

The participation of the region's women in contemporary public political life evolved from diverse historical backgrounds. For the majority of political women, activism arose from more traditional roles of mothering and caregiving in household, village, and community. Cleaning the church, washing and ironing the robes of the priests and the ceremonial clothes of male religious leaders, taking care of the sick, elderly, and homebound in the community—these activities were a continuation of what women did in their homes. Thus, one model of the political engagement of women was politics as the art of mothering (caregiving, nurturing, negotiating difference). For some observers this also explains the agenda that many women bring to political leadership in national government—motherhood in and as policy formulation, and thus a focus on issues such as child welfare, health care, and social security protections for the vulnerable. The politics of mothering took radical form in the 1970s in such groups as the Argentinean Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, mothers and grandmothers mobilized to petition the state for answers to the disappearances of their children and grandchildren. In Catholic Latin America, the model is Mary, the mother of Jesus, who is held up as an icon of humility, submission, and sacrifice for others. Thus *marianismo* (subservient female culture and behavior) characterizes the political culture of many ordinary Latin American women.

For others, such as Haitian women, experiences as resistance leaders in the fight against slavery and for independence in the late 1970s inform current struggles for survival and justice. Such Haitian groups as Kay Fanm (Women Stand Strong) are made up of activist feminists who are engaging in antidictatorship and anti-imperialist organizing among women. These groups draw inspiration from the lives of such Haitian women as Poto Mitans, that is, women as the main supporting beams of home, church, and community going as far back as the slavery period.

For still others, experiences as subjugated black females continue to inform political engagement and nonengagement. In the post-emancipation Anglophone Caribbean, women's early public roles were very much in the social sphere. They formed mothers' unions in Christian churches, friendship groups in secular society, and savings or *susu* collectives for financial viability in the economic sector. They were also leaders in such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Soroptimists, and other women's clubs. Women who come into politics from social work and social activism seem to carry with them experiences of being negotiators and bridge builders, and they are attentive to people's needs. Coming into the political sphere from these civil society groups, they also seem to have gained, prior to coming into office, self-confidence that allows them to be flexible, risk-taking, and politically generous. Finally, they often have developed the formal and informal support networks that are so useful when they enter politics.

Large numbers of women have also entered politics directly, through the struggle for political rights and freedoms and the attainment of power through electoral office. Mary Eugenia Charles, who served as prime minister of Dominica from 1980 to 1995, began her political career fighting for the right to political expression. Janet Jagan, president of Guyana from 1997 to 1999, was a founding member and political activist in the People's Progressive Party, one of Guyana's foremost socialist parties. Thus, women in Latin America and the Caribbean have taken various paths into national political life.

Twentieth Century

Cuban women became the first women in the region to gain the right to vote in 1934. Today adult suffrage is enjoyed by almost all in the region, with the important exception of indigenous women in many countries. Women have gone further and played their role in the revolutionary seizure of power. Celia Sánchez fought Cuban dictatorship from the mountains to bring about the 1959 Cuban revolution. Grenada's Jacqueline Creft, Scotilda Noel, Claudette Pitt, and Murie François joined the revolutionary New Jewel Movement and helped support both women and revolutionary Grenada. For three decades, Guatemala's Rigoberta Menchú, the 1992 Noble Peace Prize laureate, followed the political tradition of resistance to the injustice of dictatorship and championed human rights, especially those of indigenous Central Americans.

Caribbean women have also filled the ambassadorship ranks. A leading pioneer was the Dominican Republic's Minerva Bernardino, representative to the United Nations for twenty-one years (1950–1971); she later represented her country in various European capitals. Chile's Ana Figuero Gajardo was a delegate to the UN Se-

curity Council in 1952, a very rare achievement for a woman, even today. Jamaican scholar Lucille Mathurin Mair became one of the Caribbean's most accomplished diplomats, serving as Jamaica's ambassador to Cuba, the United States, and Canada. She also served as assistant secretary-general for the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–1985). Nora Astorga Gadia was revolutionary Nicaragua's UN ambassador in the 1980s, and she went on to become her country's deputy minister of foreign affairs before her untimely death in 1988. Mexico's Rosario Green served for a short period as UN deputy assistant secretary-general.

Ruth Nita Barrow, who served as governor-general of Barbados, was that country's representative to the United Nations from 1986 to 1990, emerging from leadership posts in the World Council of Churches, the YWCA, and the global anti-apartheid movement. This route through the social-service and social-justice sector remains typical of the women who reach top political posts. Nita is held up as one of the region's most successful women in politics—in the nongovernmental world, as well as with the state. Nita followed Nanny's model of standing largely on her own power base and not that of others, even though her brother, Errol Barrow, was prime minister of Barbados and would have contributed to her political ascendancy. Former dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of the West Indies, Marjorie R. Thorpe served as Trinidad and Tobago's permanent representative to the United Nations from 1988 until 1992. Female diplomats from Belize, Jamaica, and the Bahamas have followed at the United Nations, including Grenada's Ruth Rouse, who began serving as her country's UN ambassador in 2004.

Women as National Political Leaders

Among the first women to hold high public office in Latin America in the early twentieth century was Eva Duarte de Perón, second wife of Juan Perón, president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955 and 1973 to 1974; both were left-wing populist leaders with a large working-class following. Never elected to office and reviled by Argentinean elites, Eva Perón was adored by poor and ordinary people who saw her exercise of political citizenry to be a great achievement for the excluded, the poor, the rural poor, and of course, women. Evita, as she was affectionately referred to by the Argentinean masses, made her mark in politics by taking up the needs of the social class from which she emerged, the poor and downtrodden. As the wife of a powerful president, the female Perón's vantage point in the public arena was that of proximity to power, if not elected power itself. She performed as a politician with unparalleled success for a decade before her premature death at age thirty-three.

Eva Perón was among the first of "first ladies" to transform that office into an active political staging post to benefit her husband and herself. This is yet another way in which women have been political actors. In the Anglophone Caribbean, political strategist, journalist, and effective social activist Beverly Anderson Manley occupied the post of first lady from 1972 until her divorce in the 1980s. She helped her husband, Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley, raise the profile of Jamaica in regional, third world, and global politics. Beverly Manley also raised the visibility of Jamaican women as political players by being an active spokesperson rather than a demure wife and first lady. In Costa Rica, Margarita, and in Peru, Fujimura both attempted runs as president while being first ladies.

Argentina gave the world the first elected female president: Maria Estella Martínez Cartas de Perón, who was elected in July 1974 and was removed in a coup in March 1976. (The first woman elected to the office of head of government was Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon [Sri Lanka] in 1960. She was followed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India in January of 1966.) Maria Perón's electoral achievement was followed by that of the interim executive president of Bolivia, Lydia Gueiler Tejada, who served for nine months between November 1979 and July 1980. Haiti's Ertha Pascal Trouillot, a supreme court judge, served as president from March 1990 to February 1991, a postdictatorship period in Haiti.

Latin America's longest-serving female president was Nicaragua's Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, a devout Catholic, *marianismo*, and political centrist who served as president from 1990 to 1997. Widow to a newspaper publisher with presidential ambitions, Chamorro was recruited to head a warring political opposition to a revolutionary government. In December 1997 Guyana, an Afro-Indian country, elected its first woman president: Janet Rosenberg Jagan, a United States–born white Jewish activist whose husband, Cheddi Jagan, had also been president. She served two years before an early resignation for health reasons in July 1999. Mireya Moscoso Rodríguez was elected and served as executive president of Panama in September 1999. She served until September 2004. Like Chamorro and Jagan, Rodríguez was a widow of a former president. Though few in number, and often criticized by feminists, these women have helped to erase female invisibility in Caribbean and Latin American politics.

One of the first women in the region to serve as head of state, and the first woman governor in the British Commonwealth, was Hilda Louisa Gibbs Bynoe, a Grenadian medical doctor appointed to be governor of nonindepen-

dent Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique in 1968. She resigned during a popular uprising over dictatorship and independence in 1974. As a powerful and accomplished black woman, Bynoe captured the attention of women across the region. In 2005, women are governor generals in the Bahamas, St. Lucia and Canada.

Jamaica's Portia Simpson, who grew up in her country's lower socioeconomic strata, is one of Jamaica's most admired national politicians. Simpson's career has been a long ascendancy within the party system, amid debates about whether or not a woman can lead a dynamic—some would say turbulent—Jamaica.

In trade union activism, from Bolivia to Trinidad, from Mexico to Barbados, women have made their mark—one example from the mid-twentieth century is Elma François of Trinidad and Tobago. In addition, Guatemala's Rigoberta Menchú has helped women across the region in the politics of human rights and peace.

In the diaspora, black Caribbean women have been political pioneers. United States congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, daughter of a Barbadian mother and a Guyanese father, became the first black woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. She was also the first black person to make a serious run for the presidency of the United States. Representative Chisholm was tireless in her efforts to promote racial justice via the political rights of ordinary black men and women in inner-city New York. Audre Lorde, a feminist activist born of Grenadian parents in Brooklyn, would mirror Shirley Chisholm's influence within nongovernmental, academic, and lesbian organizing circles.

Transformational Women Leaders

Grenadian-born scholar Peggy Antrobus has both written about and at times exemplified what a transformational woman leader is and can achieve. Typically, she has argued, such women leaders arise from the nongovernmental sector, where there is more room for creativity in the use of power as something more than the exercise of control by and for small and often elite groups. For example, in Guyana, Viola Burnham, Andaiye, Jocelyn Dow, and many other women working in nongovernmental organizations have been effective in spearheading sustainable development, as well as promoting the rights of racial groups and indigenous people. Thus, for every woman or cluster of women in high office of state politics, there are comparable groups of highly skilled and dedicated women who are building the politics of transformation, most often in nongovernmental women's groups.

Conclusion

If women in Latin America and the Caribbean are to make a mark on and in politics, it will not be because of mere access to high office. That has already been achieved. Evidence suggests that effectiveness in carrying out a given political agenda requires political access in large numbers—a critical mass—and that has been in development for some time. The important mark is for women in the Caribbean, Latin America, and worldwide to be able to change the public agenda of civil society and of the state in relation to contemporary critical issues, such as ending poverty, addressing environmental dangers, and eliminating moral and ethical injustices caused in no small measure by the global, preponderantly masculinist culture in which women actively participate. Exercising leadership within that environment has all too often meant conforming, which has further meant ignoring the real needs of women, men, and society in the interest of a stifling agenda.

The challenge now for women in Latin America and the Caribbean is to transform the sphere of politics into a more user-friendly and empowering arena for those occupying that space, as well as for those who depend on politics—that is, the global citizenry. It is the politics of transformation, and not just entry and accommodation, to which women must now address themselves. In a postcolonial Latin America and Caribbean, politics must become an ethical, connective tool for management and change. The question is whether women can effect such a shift while working inside the arena of traditional party politics that lead to the holding of office. Perhaps they can work more effectively outside traditional political structures to help create an alternative system to deal with the agenda of people-centered development and democracy.

Much depends on the commitment of the state to change, which would include promoting gender justice and encouraging the appropriate culture to support it. Black women and brown women in the postcolonial American hemisphere are actively pursuing both paths to effective participation in politics—as lone heroines and as behind-the-scenes supporters of other political women and men. Altogether, the presumption of politics as the work of men crumbles even as women resocialize and empower themselves.

See also Barrow, Nita; Charles, Eugenia; Chisholm, Shirley; Da Silva, Benedita; Lorde, Audre; Politics and Politicians in Latin America; Politics in the United States; Simpson-Miller, Portia

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DESSIMA M. WILLIAMS (2005)

Poor, Salem

c. 1758
?

Revolutionary War soldier Salem Poor was born free in Massachusetts, probably in 1758. We know little about his early life, except that he married young. In 1775 he left his wife to enlist in the Massachusetts Militia. Following the outbreak of war at Lexington and Concord, he joined the Patriot forces in Boston. On June 17, 1775, Poor served at the Battle of Bunker Hill (actually fought on Breed's Hill), helping to repulse several British charges. Some later accounts have credited him with the killing of British Lt. Col. James Abercrombie.

So exceptional was Poor's bravery that on December 5, 1775, fourteen Massachusetts officers signed a petition to the General Court, the colony's legislature, which stated, "A Negro Man Called Salem Poor . . . in the late Battle of Charleston, behaved like an Experienced Officer, as Well as an Excellent Soldier, to Set Forth Particulars of his Conduct Would Be tedious, Wee Would Only begg leave to say in the person of this Sd. Negro Centers a Brave & gallant Soldier." The petition suggested the Continental Congress offer Poor "The Reward due to so great and Distinguisht a Caracter." There is no record of any reward actually given to Poor.

In June 1775 Gen. George Washington barred black soldiers from military service but permitted those already serving, such as Poor, to finish their tours of duty. At the end of 1775 Washington reversed his order. Poor reenlisted and served at least through 1776, seeing action at the Battle of White Plains and retreating to the winter camp at Valley Forge. Nothing is known of his later life. African-American historians have often pointed to Poor's heroism as an example of the African-American contribution to the nation's founding. Poor appeared on a U.S. commemorative postage stamp in 1975.

See also Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Military Experience, African-American

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Poor People's Campaign

The Poor People's Campaign, also known as the Poor People's Washington Campaign, was conceived in 1967 by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) activists as a means of extending the civil rights agenda to include broad-based demands for economic justice. In the context of massive unrest in urban black communities, King and his colleagues felt that constitutional rights were inadequate to alleviate the crushing poverty and exploitation still faced by the majority of African Americans. At the same time, with the strategy of peaceful protest fast losing ground among the urban poor, they were eager to conduct a campaign that would reassert the legitimacy of a nonviolent approach to social change. In a mood of deep pessimism, the Poor People's Campaign was born.

Initially, the campaign's primary goal was to achieve federal legislation that would ensure full employment, establish a guaranteed income, and promote construction of low-income housing. To that end, organizers intended to bring thousands of poor people from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds to Washington, D.C., where they would conduct massive civil disobedience demonstrations and disrupt the city until the government acceded to their demands. The campaign would dramatize the urgency of poor people's plight through mass demonstrations and the erection of a tent city within plain sight of the federal government. The campaign, declared King, would highlight the need for a "new turn toward greater economic justice"

in a society more concerned with property and profits than with people.

The campaign was set to begin on April 22, 1968. Although the planning stage had been marked by sharp dissension within SCLC's ranks about the wisdom and feasibility of such an effort, King had insisted on pushing ahead with the project, but he interrupted final preparations in order to travel to Memphis, Tennessee, to support striking sanitation workers. After his assassination there on April 4, the SCLC, now under the untested leadership of the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, decided to press forward with the campaign as a fitting tribute to King's memory.

The first group of travelers to Washington, D.C., arrived on April 28; they were later joined by caravans from Tennessee, New Mexico, Chicago, the Mississippi Delta, and elsewhere. With a permit to house 3,000 people on a fifteen-acre strip of land in West Potomac Park, the construction of Resurrection City began on May 13; its population peaked at 2,500 in late May. From there, organizers led daily sojourns to federal agencies, presenting demands that outlined a predominantly economic agenda.

The highlight of the campaign was Solidarity Day, which drew a crowd of between 50,000 and 100,000 (according to press and police estimates) to the Lincoln Memorial on June 19 for music and speakers, including Coretta Scott King. Rev. Abernathy, in his speech, underscored the need for economic justice and an end to racism. Although he acknowledged that his effort did not match King's, Abernathy believed he had solidified his own position at SCLC's helm and that the campaign had successfully brought together the nation's poor and galvanized grassroots efforts to eradicate poverty.

From the start, however, the campaign was plagued by crises—timing problems, lack of coordination, inadequate resources, poor leadership, the absence of a clearly focused program, and interethnic frictions. Demonstrations at government agencies were spottily attended, and they failed to produce the mass arrests organizers had hoped would mobilize the community and lead to nationwide boycotts. Resurrection City was afflicted by heavy rains that lasted throughout most of the campaign, and it was not the model of nonviolence and interracial harmony that King had envisioned; by June 6 only three hundred residents remained. In addition, internal disputes over direction and goals divided action-oriented militants from more cautious figures such as Bayard Rustin, who opposed the use of civil disobedience.

At the same time, campaigners faced growing hostility from local and national government leaders. Before the Poor People's Campaign had even begun, it had been roundly criticized by President Lyndon B. Johnson and by moderate civil rights leaders such as NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins. Southern congressional leaders had sought to prevent the mass mobilization from taking place, and local media had stirred fears of insurrection if large numbers of poor descended on the city. Black mayor Walter Washington arranged for police training in riot control before the marchers arrived. As the campaign continued through June, the patience of those in power wore increasingly thin; the Justice Department refused a second extension of Resurrection City's permit, and police not only began to respond violently to demonstrators, they launched an unprovoked tear-gas attack on the encampment itself.

On June 19, Rev. Abernathy declared, "Today, Solidarity Day, is not the end of the Poor People's Campaign. In fact, today is really only our beginning." But just five days later, as hundreds of protestors were being arrested at the Capitol grounds, the tent city was surrounded by more than fifteen hundred police, who evacuated and sealed off the camp. Organizers and participants straggled home to continue the struggle. The campaign had not achieved its goals, and its failure helped bring to a close the civil rights era in which Martin Luther King Jr. had been so instrumental.

See also King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rustin, Bayard; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Wilkins, Roy

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MARSHALL HYATT (1996)
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Popular Culture

Black popular culture is the individual and collective expression of identity that reflects the social, historical, and

cultural politics surrounding the black presence in the Americas. The black body is a site for modern consumer culture industries such as fashion, music, film, and advertising. Within a media-driven contemporary society, blacks use the body, self-adornment, movement, language, and music to construct and locate themselves socially and culturally in society (Gray, 1995). Black cultural production occurs in a myriad of institutions and spaces including churches, urban and rural neighborhoods, colleges and universities, and social and civic organizations. One of the spaces in which black cultural production is exercised is aggrieved communities that exist on the margins of society because of racist social, economic, and legislative policies that are the result of dominant and pervasive ideologies articulated by the ruling class. Colonial and imperialist encounters such as the transatlantic slave trade, Jim Crow, apartheid, and racist and sexist policies imposed by government institutions created deplorable socioeconomic conditions for people of African descent worldwide. Within these highly contested spaces emerges the cultural production of blackness through cultural signifiers, practices, and consciousness.

By recognizing the convergence of history, culture, and power, blacks divert power away from mainstream culture toward a culture in touch with their present conditions tied to common traditions in an effort to build an uncommon and distinctive future. Blacks have used organic and technological means to present their experiences and aspirations to the larger world (Lipsitz, 1990). They merge the oldest African-American oral and folk traditions with new technology in order to create a visual and aural presence in society. The struggle that ensues over power and meaning establishes a space for black cultural expression. An example of this occurrence is black youth style.

The representation of black youth styles, expressed through the body, language, hair, music, and fashion, occurs in relation to African-American cultural traditions. In *The Black Atlantic,* Paul Gilroy (1994) discusses blackness as a socially situated production that is constantly invented and reinvented from tradition. Black cultural expressive forms are not fixed, essential, or unchanging. Traditions are structured differently, appropriated, modified, and transformed within specific historical, social, and cultural conditions. This is the condition of the "changing same," a condition that must be constantly situated and theorized and not assumed in the manner of either essentialism or radical social construction (Gray, 1995). As is the case with black youth culture, the construction and reorganization of black youth style is imbued with struggles over power and access.

When located within institutionally structured settings like visual media, black popular culture is largely represented as fear and menace by dominant media institutions invested in the circulation of pop cultural iconography and images that are palatable to the ruling class. A broader representation of black cultural production can be found in alternative and independent media spaces and reflect social and historical movements. For example, in the 1970s, the Los Angeles School of Black Filmmakers (1974–1978) contributed a variety of films that offered critical perspectives on black life and a myriad of representations of black figures and characters. Founders of this movement included Julie Dash, Haile Gerima, Charles Burnett, Billy Woodberry, Ben Caldwell, and Jamaa Fanaka. The Los Angeles School of Black Filmmakers consisted of African-American and African students studying at the University of California at Los Angeles whose films were the direct result of the cultural expression of the civil rights, Black Power, and black arts movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In the many media representations of success and achievement, blacks appeared as objects rather than as the subjects of their own construction. Black cultural producers like the members of the Los Angeles School of Black Filmmakers created alternative images that reaffirmed black cultural expression and challenged dominant constructions of blackness found in black popular culture, like those found in blaxploitation films which were at their peak during this time. Black youth cultural production is also a space where blacks create identities and cultural expressions.

Symbols of black youth culture travel to the commercial mainstream through advertising, film, and television. They labor discursively in several directions at the same time. As consumers and producers of media images, black youth, in the manner of organic intellectuals, seem to understand implicitly and negotiate effectively the dual nature of representations. W. E. B. Du Bois's theory of double consciousness resonates with contemporary blacks because of the need to exist in two worlds that are largely separate and unequal for survival. Black youth culture and style collide with American and European commercial culture (magazines, music videos, television, advertising), transporting them into a "media hyperspace where they are magnified into a spectacle of hyperblackness" (Gray, 1995). Marketing professionals actively shape the meanings of the category of "the black consumer" for the public at large; promote powerful normative models of collective identity that equate social membership with conspicuous consumption; and believe that African Americans use consumption to defy racism and share collective identities most valued in American society. Black cultural production can typify and resist this assumption simultaneously.

A contemporary example of this can be found in hip-hop culture.

Hip-hop culture arose out of the malaise of a postwar society destroyed largely by the effects of racist and sexist socioeconomic policies. An example of this is the systematic use of highways and freeways to literally destroy once thriving communities, resulting in the loss of a solid financial base because of white flight. The demarcation of deteriorating tenements as "affordable" housing, colloquially known as the "slums" or "projects," and the introduction and infiltration of crack cocaine into black and brown communities created the socioeconomic conditions out of which hip-hop culture was born in large urban centers. Hip-hop culture was a blend of African-American, West Indian, African, and Latino cultural expressions.

It emerged not only to offer a different sense of blackness but also to alter many of the ways that society understands the function of blackness, especially as it exists in contemporary popular culture (Boyd, 1997, p. xxi). Hip-hop culture did not come about in a vacuum. It is reflective of the cultural production of blackness that has occurred continuously in a postwar society and falls squarely into a long history of black popular cultural production.

There are many traditional and contemporary examples of black popular culture, including blues, jazz, reggae, Gandy dancers, rap, turntablism, break dancing, art, fashion, advertising, stepping, sports, cheers, double-dutch, poetry, and literature. However, the unifying principle of black pop cultural production is the coalescence of African peoples in the global struggle for equality and freedom through expression.

See also Blaxploitation Films; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of; Hip Hop

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NSENGA K. BURTON (2005)

Port Royal Experiment

The Port Royal Experiment has often been called a rehearsal for Reconstruction. It was designed to discover whether African Americans liberated from their slavemasters could work as free laborers. On November 7, 1861, planters on the South Carolina Sea Islands fled the Union's naval forces, leaving their enslaved laborers on the land. Military forces led by Lieut. Gen. William W. Reynolds occupied and looted the islands. William W. Pierce, a civilian attorney from Boston, was assigned to scout the land and direct efforts on behalf of the "contrabands" of war now under their control. He went north and in Boston and New York joined with abolitionists and reformers such as Edward Philbrick to form an educational association named Gideon's Band. Shortly thereafter, missionary teachers arrived to assist the newly independent blacks.

Missionaries from Gideon's Band, later assisted by the American Missionary Association, opened schools in the face of military hostility and racism. Within a short time, conflict emerged over the use of the land. Northern officials wanted to grow cotton to ease the wartime shortage. The former slaves, however, were used to laboring for others and interpreted "free labor" to mean independence. Like many whites, they preferred subsistence farming to wage labor on cash crops as part of large work groups. Eventually, the military coerced many blacks into growing

cotton on abandoned plantations. Pierce, a free labor advocate, ordered blacks to grow cotton on the abandoned plantations. The federal government provided supplies and meager salaries for the freed people. At the same time, cotton agents and soldiers lined their pockets with commissions and profits on the cotton.

On July 7, 1862, Congress passed a bill that effectively displaced the absentee white landowners, and in March 1863 their abandoned properties were divided into lots and sold. Although 2,000 acres were bought by groups of blacks, who pooled their wages, most of the lands were bought by military officers and speculators. A consortium of abolitionists headed by Philbrick and Edward Atkinson, a Boston textile manufacturer, bought eleven plantations. They wished not only to profit, but to prove the superiority of black wage work. Philbrick opened plantation stores and stocked fine goods, hoping to create a desire for cash among African-American farmers.

In January 1865, Gen. William T. Sherman awarded all unclaimed land to the freedmen. Several months later, however, President Andrew Johnson allowed planters to reclaim land not already sold to investors. In early 1866 freedmen who refused to sign lease agreements with white owners were forced off the land by the military. Some left; others contracted to work for planters. A few did manage to retain title to lands.

Despite the small and isolated nature of Port Royal, the experiment aroused great attention in antislavery circles. The failure of the experiment, as far as black uplift was concerned, presaged the later collapse of Reconstruction. Differences between northern free labor ideology and black desire for autonomy would again appear, and the fragility of black independence in the face of white opposition would once again be demonstrated.

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ELIZABETH FORTSON ARROYO (1996)

Powell, Colin

April 5, 1937

Born and raised in New York City, army officer, chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of State Colin Luther Powell grew up in a close-knit family of Jamaican immigrants in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx. After attending public schools, Powell graduated from the City College of New York (CCNY) in 1958. Although his grades were mediocre, he discovered an affinity for the military. Participating in CCNY's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program, he finished as a cadet colonel, the highest rank attainable. He received his commission as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army after completing college.

Powell served for two years in West Germany and two years in Massachusetts, where he met his wife, Alma. In 1962, already a captain, Powell received orders to report to Vietnam. He was one of the second wave of more than 15,000 military advisors sent by the United States to Vietnam, and he served with a South Vietnamese Army unit for most of his tenure. During his first tour of duty, from 1962 to 1963, Powell won the Purple Heart after being wounded by a Vietcong booby trap near the Laotian border.

After returning to the United States, Powell spent almost four years at Fort Benning in Georgia, serving as, among other things, an instructor at Fort Benning's Army Infantry School. In 1967, now a major, he attended an officers' training course at the United States Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, finishing second in a class of more than twelve hundred. In the summer of 1968 the army sent Powell back to Vietnam. On his second tour, Powell served primarily as a liaison to Gen. Charles Gettys of the Americal Division and received the Soldier's Medal for his role in rescuing injured soldiers, including General Gettys, from a downed helicopter.

Powell returned to the United States in mid-1969 and began moving between military field postings and political appointments, a process that would become characteristic of his career. In 1971, after working in the Pentagon for the assistant vice chief of the army, he earned an M.B.A. from George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Shortly thereafter, the Nixon administration accepted Powell as a White House Fellow; he worked at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), then headed by Caspar Weinberger. In 1973, after a year at OMB, Powell received command of an infantry battalion in South Korea; his mission was to raise morale and restore order in a unit plagued by drug abuse and racial problems. He then attended a nine-month course at the National War College and received a promotion to full colonel in February 1976, taking command of the 2nd Brigade, 101st Airborne Division, located at Fort Campbell, Kentucky.

In 1979 Powell was an aide to Secretary of Energy Charles Duncan during the crisis of the nuclear accident

Colin Powell. PHOTOGRAPH BY GREG GIBSON. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania and the oil shortage caused by the overthrow of the shah of Iran. In June of that year, while working at the Department of Energy (DOE), he became a brigadier general. Powell returned to the field from 1981 until 1983, serving as assistant division commander of the Fourth Infantry (mechanized) in Colorado and then as the deputy commanding general of an army research facility at Fort Leavenworth. In mid-1983, he became military assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. In 1986 Powell, by then a lieutenant general, returned to the field as the commander of V Corps, a unit of 75,000 troops in West Germany. The following year, in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal, he returned to serve as President Ronald Reagan's national security advisor. During the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union, Powell was heralded as being a major factor in their success.

In July 1989 President George H. Bush nominated Powell, a newly promoted four-star general, to be the first black chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the highest military position in the armed forces. As chair, Powell was responsible for overseeing Operation Desert Storm, the 1991 international response to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Through his commanding and reassuring television presence during the successful Persian Gulf War, Powell became one of the most popular figures in the Bush administration. Reappointed chair in 1991, he was the recipient of various military decorations as well as a Presidential Medal of Freedom from Bush. In the same year the NAACP gave Powell the Spingarn Medal, its highest award for African-American achievement.

When Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992, he and Powell had differences over Clinton's plan to substantially reduce the defense budget. Powell also disagreed with Clinton's proposal to end the ban on homosexuals in the military and was instrumental in limiting the scope of that change to a controversial "Don't Ask Don't Tell" policy. Powell retired from the army in September 1993 at the end of his second term as chair of the Joint Chiefs. Upon his departure, President Clinton awarded Powell his second Presidential Medal of Freedom. After leaving government, Powell, by now one of the most admired Americans, continued his public activities. In October 1994 he traveled to Haiti as part of an American diplomatic mis-

sion, and he succeeded in brokering a deal with members of the ruling junta that enabled the country to return to constitutional rule without bloodshed.

Powell's reputation for honesty and moderation led to a widespread Powell-for-president boom. By mid-1995, national polls showed Powell leading all candidates in a presidential campaign, although he had not expressed views on domestic issues or even identified which political party he favored. His celebrity increased following publication of his best-selling memoir, *My American Journey* (1995). For several months Powell weighed a presidential run; he announced publicly that he was a Republican, but that he favored affirmative action. However, in December 1995 he stated that he did not have the "fire in his belly" to become president, and he withdrew from consideration. He remained in touch with Republicans leaders, and he made a popular speech at the Republican convention. In later years he toured the country as a much-sought-after inspirational speaker and advisor. In April 1997 Powell founded America's Promise, a private foundation to aid disadvantaged youth.

In 2001 Powell reentered government, this time as a diplomat rather than a soldier. As President George W. Bush's secretary of state, Powell immediately faced an array of challenges. Despite the administration's campaign promises to limit foreign entanglements, it soon proved impossible in the wake of nuclear controversy in North Korea, the ongoing Palestinian/Israeli conflict in the Middle East, the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent response of the United States, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq. Powell became the government official who most often had to explain American foreign policy, both to the United Nations and to other governments, in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States.

Powell's role as spokesperson for the administration became more difficult as official policy seemed to diverge from that suggested by his own experience and opinions; he felt that a military campaign against Iraq required not only victory but also a lengthy commitment to the reconstruction and maintenance of Iraq. Many analysts suggested that Powell's influence on foreign policy matters in the Bush administration paled in comparison to that of Vice President Dick Cheney, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Despite speculations about internal dissention, Powell continued to faithfully advance the administration's policy agenda. In early February 2003 he presented the United Nations Security Council with the case for military action against Iraq. Presenting supposed evidence based on U.S. and other intelligence sources, Powell diagrammed what he called "a deliberate campaign" by Iraq to mislead UN weapons inspectors and to hide existing stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons as well as the means to produce more of both. This assertion has been one of the most questionable claims made by the Bush administration. American military forces in Iraq in 2003 and 2004 failed to discover most of the weapons that Saddam Hussein's government allegedly possessed. The absence of credible ties between Saddam Hussein's regime and the Al Qaeda operatives linked to September 11 damaged the legitimacy and approval ratings of both Powell and the administration more broadly. Despite that, throughout much of 2003, Powell consistently maintained higher approval ratings than any of the other major administration officials, including the president.

Shortly after the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom, conservative former speaker of the house Newt Gingrich blasted the State Department for its handling of the effort to create the desired international coalition for the military offensive against Iraq. Calling the State Department a "broken instrument," Gingrich recommended congressional hearings as well as White House initiatives to overhaul Powell's domain. While the administration offered a defense of the department's record, Powell's aides defended the secretary more passionately, saying that he stood "in the way of reckless foreign policy." That defense ironically used phrasing reminiscent of Bush's Democratic opponents, who often later accused the administration of having a "reckless" foreign policy. Somewhat confounding those who anticipated that Powell would wilt in the face of internal divisions within the administration as well as pressure from those who opposed the war in Iraq, he continued to serve the Bush administration as secretary of state with grace, loyalty, and resolve until his resignation in January 2005.

See also Military Experience, African-American; Politics in the United States.

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Powers, Harriet

October 29, 1847
January 1, 1910

Harriet Powers was born in slavery in Georgia. Powers's husband, Armstead, was also enslaved. After the Civil War, they farmed land around the town of Athens in the northeastern section of the state, while Powers also managed the household. Historians believe that they had eight children, from their oldest daughter Amanda to their youngest son Marshall. By the mid-1890s they had fallen upon hard financial times, and Powers sustained their farm after Armstead left her and the children had grown and moved away. Powers never learned to read and write, but she survived by taking in sewing, selling quilts, and mortgaging property to acquire equipment and personal possessions and to liquidate debts.

Only two of Powers's story quilts are known to have been preserved. One is owned by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C., and the other by Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. They are unique and distinctive examples of both the African continuities and American influences that informed the culture of southern slaves and their descendants. In the tradition of other West and Central African household objects, such as stools, doors, and bowls, for example, the quilts are meant for daily use as well as the soul's contemplation. (According to Maude Southwell Wahlman, Powers alternatively may have intended them to serve as "adult baptismal robes" [1993, p. 73].) Scholars have suggested that Powers's appliquéd figures, which were very popular among black women seamstresses from the Revolutionary War era through Reconstruction, originated across the Atlantic in the appliquéd flags, banners, and other textiles crafted by guilds of Fon men from Dahomey (present-day Benin). Appliqué is the technique of sewing shapes onto cloth surfaces, and while many of Powers's designs, which were applied with the assistance of a sewing machine, reference biblical stories, they also appear in the work of Fon craftsmen to symbolize individual West African gods.

Powers combines Christian motifs such as the cross, the all-seeing, all-knowing eye of God, and the dove (representing the Holy Spirit) with images that researchers have traced to a Kongo cosmogram known as the four moments or stations of the sun, which symbolizes creation and the continuity of life: birth, life, death, and rebirth. The only known surviving photograph of Powers depicts the quilter wearing an apron appliquéd with such trademark symbols.

Powers's quilts are visual equivalents of the West African griot, who memorized historical events and myths and recited them for entertainment and illumination at community gatherings. They relay stories of secular legends and figures, or occurrences from oral tradition and personal experience, in addition to parables and tales from the "Good Book" featuring familiar characters: Adam, Eve, Job, Jonah, Satan, and Jesus, for example. One of Powers's pictorial quilts, containing eleven scenes, was displayed at the 1886 Cotton Fair in Athens, Georgia. It merged African, Christian, and Masonic symbols to tell such biblical stories as the temptation of Adam and Eve by Satan in the garden of Eden, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise, Abraham and Isaac, Noah and the ark, Jacob's dream of angels ascending a ladder to heavenly glory, John's baptism of Jesus, and Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. Powers did not intend to sell this quilt and rebuffed offers to purchase it when approached by a white art teacher from Athens named "Jennie" (Oneita Virginia) Smith. Several years later, however, desperate for money, Powers reestablished contact with Smith and reluctantly sold her creation for five dollars. However, Smith recorded and preserved an invaluable commentary on the quilt's sources and symbolism, as told to her by Powers. Even after the quilt had changed ownership, Powers lovingly revisited it several times.

In the post-Reconstruction South, annual fairs flaunted the agricultural might of the state, attested to the region's gradual postwar recovery, memorialized the Confederate dead and surviving widows and veterans, and became standard-bearers of the economic and cultural attractions of individual cities and counties. They included exhibits of black Americans' domestic and manual accomplishments, often offering them—food, sewing, carvings, for instance—for sale. By the late nineteenth century, southern black communities were organizing separate buildings or pavilions at these fairs to house their cultural and material productions. With the collapse of the Reconstruction in 1877, the commitment of the southern black leadership to "uplift" the race educationally, economically, domestically, and politically intensified. Anticipating the rise in lynching and racial and sexual violence that would mount as the century drew to a close, African Americans seized upon expositions to demonstrate their people's ethos of hard work, religious piety, and creativity to those white southerners threatened by the economic competition and social parity that might follow the former slaves' hard-won liberation.

These demonstrations of mechanical, artistic, and intellectual achievements proved globally effective. For example, the scholar W. E. B. Du Bois traveled to Paris to launch an exhibit of books, photographs, and other objects produced by southern blacks at the 1900 World's

Fair. Similarly, Smith had intended to display Powers's quilt in the Negro Building of the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, where Booker T. Washington famously admonished his fellow descendants of slaves to "cast down your bucket where you are."

Perhaps because of Smith's patronage, Atlanta University acquired a second story quilt from Powers for presentation to Reverend Charles Cuthbert Hall, a longtime trustee. Containing fifteen sections, it was exhibited in the Negro Pavilion of the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Exposition in Nashville. It combines Powers's Bible scenes, intermingling African and Christian motifs, with panels commemorating meteorological and astronomical events that she had heard from old-timers. These include Black Friday (May 19, 1780), when serial forest fires darkened skies on the eastern seaboard; and Georgia's infamous cold snap of February 10, 1895, during which beasts, fowl, and human beings froze and died in the uncommonly frigid weather and extremely heavy snow. Two meteor showers—the Leonid meteor storm that occurred from November 12 to 14, 1833, and several consecutive nights of fireballs and falling stars during mid-August 1846—are additional events "recorded" by Powers's quilt and corroborated by scientific accounts. By referencing temporal events alongside stories of the sacred and ineffable, Powers affirms the cornerstone religious ideas, cherished by blacks since enslavement, underscoring that God mediates in humanity's worldly affairs, and that possessing faith in a higher power means demonstrating it through earthly deeds, rather than dedicating one's energies merely to anticipating a pleasant heavenly reward.

Powers spent the latter years of life in penury, surviving by selling land and animals to meet debts. County records indicate that she died possessing a mere seventy dollars. Yet, according to quilter Kyra E. Hicks, Powers has earned posthumous recognition as the symbolic foremother of African-American women quilters (2003, pp. 217, 228). Twentieth-century black women artists such as Faith Ringgold and Deborah Willis can trace their penchant for telling stories derived from personal and oral sources to Powers, and to those anonymous slave seamstresses who informed Powers's art. Although the Georgia-born Alice Walker's short story "Everyday Use" (1973) and essay "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens" (1983) do not specifically focus on Powers, they offer a compelling theory of the former slave woman's quilt-making. In both pieces, Walker's themes are that women's everyday work—quilting, cooking, gardening, sewing—knits together and inspires black families and communities, and that the speech, culture, and folkways of rural black American women who quilt, cook, garden, and sew merit serious consideration as art. Like the photographer and former slave Robert E. Williams (1833?–1917), who lived in nearby Augusta, Powers produced a body of work that documents the imagination and creativity of those considered most marginal and inconsequential in postbellum American society.

Powers's quilts are central to the study of African-American vernacular art. They confirm the conclusions of researchers, including Robert Farris Thompson and Michael A. Gomez, that the slaves retained a significant amount of cultural memory through the Middle Passage and subsequent centuries of servitude. Like the *sankofa* of Ghana, a symbolic bird whose head has turned to scrutinize what is behind it, while its feet face forward, Powers's quilts look backward to an African past and forward to a future where African and American religion and design commingle to create a new art.

See also Folk Arts and Crafts; Folk Religion; Textiles, Diasporic

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BARBARA MCCASKILL (2005)

Presbyterians

The African-American constituency of the Presbyterian Church dates from the 1730s, when the Reverend Samuel Davies began to evangelize slaves of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian immigrants in the Valley of Virginia. Davies reported instructing and baptizing 150 slaves in 1757. Unlike the Baptists and Methodists, American Presbyterians failed to attract large numbers of blacks in either the South or the North. At the end of the nineteenth century there were

fewer than 30,000 African Americans in the northern and southern Presbyterian churches combined. These two major branches of Presbyterianism had split in 1861 over the Civil War, but they finally closed ranks in 1983. The black minority has grown slowly. By 1990 it was reported that only 2.47 percent, or 64,841 of the almost three-million-member reunited Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (PCUSA) were African Americans.

Reputedly, Presbyterian slaves were well instructed in the rudiments of Christianity. Many were taught to read and recite the creed and passages of the Bible by their owners. The emphasis of Puritan Presbyterians on a trained clergy and a literate laity had the effect of exposing black Presbyterians to pious learning as indispensable for Christian discipleship. The Presbyterians, however, were slow to oppose slavery. The issue was first raised in 1774 at a meeting of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, but no action was taken. In 1787 the synod approved the ultimate goal of abolition; however, successive deliverances of the General Assembly induced the practice of Presbyterians to condemn slavery in principle while warning local judicatories not to interfere with the civil order.

The first black Presbyterian preacher was John Chavis, who was born in Granville County, North Carolina, in 1763. From 1801 to 1808 he served as a missionary to slaves in Virginia and opened a school that was patronized by many leading white families. The first African-American pastor was John Gloucester, who was manumitted by Gideon Blackburn, a Tennessee missionary, to preach the gospel. In 1807 Gloucester was permitted by the Presbytery of Philadelphia to organize the First African Presbyterian Church, which competed with Richard Allen's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church for members from the burgeoning black community of South Philadelphia. Gloucester's three sons entered the Presbyterian ministry. Jeremiah organized the Second African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia in 1824, James organized Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn in 1847, and Stephen served the Lombard Central Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Among the earliest black congregations in the North were Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City (organized in 1822 as First Colored Presbyterian Church) and Washington Street in Reading, Pennsylvania (1823). The first black Presbyterian congregation in the South was Beaufort-Salem Presbyterian Church, organized in Sheldon, North Carolina in 1828. The Ladson Presbyterian Church of Columbia, South Carolina (1828), was first governed by white elders and named after the white minister who was its first pastor. The slaves of the members of the First Presbyterian Church of Macon, Georgia, organized the Washington Avenue Church of that city in 1838.

After the Civil War, blacks spurned the southern branch of the church, the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS), and rallied to the northern PCUSA missionaries following the Union armies. Many became members of the northern church. Fewer than 4,000 blacks remained in the southern church, which tried to organize them into an independent Afro-American Presbyterian Church in 1874. That effort was abandoned in 1916 because of poor support from whites. During Reconstruction the northern church launched a mission to attract and minister to the recently freed people. By 1882 its Board of Missions for Freedmen sponsored two universities, Lincoln University, near Oxford, Pennsylvania, and Biddle University (later Johnson C. Smith) in Charlotte, North Carolina, as well as two colleges, five boarding schools, and 138 parochial schools. Following the Presbyterian tradition of educational excellence, these institutions made a signal contribution far beyond the ranks of the black constituency. Until the church's Board of National Missions phased it out in the twentieth century, this remarkable educational system enrolled 19,166 students and 494 teachers. At its peak the board supervised 438 churches and missions, 388 schools, 272 ministers, and 27,916 communicants.

Black Presbyterians caucused for greater recognition and freedom as early as 1859, when their ministers began meeting with black Congregational clergy in Philadelphia. Prior to the Civil War, Samuel Cornish, Theodore Wright, Henry Highland Garnet, and J. W. C. Pennington, all Presbyterian clergy, were leading black abolitionists. Lucy Craft Laney, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister and born a slave, founded the Haines Normal Institute in Augusta, Georgia, in 1867. In 1891 Daniel J. Sanders became the first black president of J. C. Smith University. Blacks in the northern church became more assertive, establishing the Afro-American Presbyterian Council in 1894. The purpose was to create more fellowship among themselves in an overwhelming white church, and to gain greater influence in the boards and agencies of the denomination. At the turn of the century, outspoken black pastors like Francis J. Grimké of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., and Matthew Anderson of Berean in Philadelphia consistently fought racism in the church and the proposed mergers of the northern church with the PCUS and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, both with lingering Confederate allegiances.

Pressure from the African-American constituency moved the northern church to begin elevating blacks to key positions. In 1938 Albert B. McCoy became the first black executive of the Unit of Work for Colored People. Charles W. Talley was appointed field representative of the

Atlantic Synod in 1945. During this period, George Lake Imes became the field representative for Negro Work in the North and West. He was followed by Robert Pierre Johnson, who served as associate stated clerk of the General Assembly in 1972. Jesse Belmont Barber, Frank T. Wilson, Emily V. Gibbes, Elo Henderson, Mildred Atris, Rachel Adams, and Bryant George were among the black men and women who served in prominent executive positions after World War II.

Lawrence W. Bottoms was an executive of the PCUS prior to his election in 1974 as its first black moderator. The PCUS began to respond to civil rights agitation after 1969. Under Bottoms's leadership in new church development in black communities, and with the rising militancy of a newly formed Black Leadership Caucus, African-American membership in the southern church doubled to about 8,000 before the 1983 merger with the United Presbyterian Church (which was formed by the union of PCUSA and the United Presbyterian Church of North America in 1958).

Northern black Presbyterians figured prominently in the civil rights program of the National Council of Churches during the 1960s. The Afro-American Presbyterian Council of 1894 went through several reincarnations and finally developed into the Concerned Presbyterians in 1963 and Black Presbyterians United in 1968. The former caucus, with white allies, enabled the election of the controversial pastor of St. Augustine Presbyterian Church in the Bronx, Edler G. Hawkins, as the first black moderator of the United Presbyterian Church in 1964. This group was also a major factor in the creation of the Commission on Religion and Race, which steered the church through the 1960s and played a leading role in the Black Manifesto call for slavery reparations in 1969 and the Angela Davis crisis of 1971. Gayraud S. Wilmore, a professor at the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, J. Metz Rollins, a pastor and civil rights activist in Tallahassee, and Robert Stone, a New York City pastor, were chosen to head this unprecedented commitment of the church to the struggle led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Since the union, Asian, Hispanic, and Native-American minorities have played a larger role in the church's program in racial and intercultural affairs. African Americans, however, came together across regional lines in 1983 to form a National Black Presbyterian Caucus, which continues to monitor church policy and practice in the field of racial and ethnic relations.

See also Allen, Richard; Baptists; Cornish, Samuel E.; Garnet, Henry Highland; Pennington, James W. C.; Protestantism in the Americas; Religion; Wright, Theodore Sedgwick

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GAYRAUD S. WILMORE (1996)
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PRICE, GEORGE

JANUARY 15, 1919

George Cadle Price, a politician, was born in Belize of mixed African, European, and Mayan ancestry. He was educated at St. John's College, Belize's most prestigious secondary school, and at St. Augustine Seminary in Mississippi. Deciding against taking holy orders, he returned to Belize and in 1942 became the secretary of a wealthy merchant-politician. Price was a member of the Christian Social Action Group, formed by graduates of St. John's College, which from 1945 promoted Catholic ideals of social justice. He topped the polls in the Belize City Council election in 1947, and he rapidly became Belize's most distinguished politician.

When the British government devalued the colony's currency in 1949, Price helped form a protest committee. This group became the core of the People's United Party (PUP), which worked with the General Workers' Union to develop an anticolonial movement. On April 28, 1954, when the first election was held with universal adult suffrage, the PUP won two thirds of the vote and eight of the nine elected seats in the new Legislative Assembly. Price consolidated his leadership of the party in 1956 and, on the basis of its opposition to colonialism and with support from all the ethnic groups in the country, it won all the seats in 1957.

The British government distrusted Price, but in the 1961 elections the PUP won all eighteen seats, and after a new constitution granted internal self-government in 1964, Price became premier. The state, under Price's leadership, assumed an active role in developing the economy, and a new capital, Belmopan, was built inland. The PUP won every national election in 1965, 1969, 1974, and 1979, but because Guatemala claimed the territory, indepen-

dence was delayed until September 21, 1981, when Price became the prime minister.

In 1984, after an economic crisis, the PUP was defeated by the United Democratic Party (UDP), but Price remained his party's leader. After the 1989 election, when the PUP won 50.3 percent of the vote and fifteen of the twenty-eight seats in the House of Representatives, Price again became prime minister. Guatemala's government recognized Belize's independence in 1991, but in 1993 the Guatemalan president was overthrown. Growing anxieties about Belize's security and the presence of thousands of Central American immigrants resulted in the closest of general elections on June 30, 1993. The PUP won more votes, but the UDP, which won sixteen of the twenty-nine seats, formed a new government. In October 1996 Price resigned as his party's leader but he retained his seat in his Belize City constituency in the 1998 and 2003 elections, which were won decisively by the PUP.

Price was awarded the Order of CARICOM by that Caribbean organization in 2001, and on September 19, 2004, when he was still a member of the government as senior minister with responsibility for disaster preparedness and management, he received Belize's highest honor, the Order of National Hero. This distinguished and long-serving statesman was honored for his dedication to his country, his integrity and modesty, and his unpretentious lifestyle.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); International Relations in the Anglophone Caribbean

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O. NIGEL BOLLAND (2005)

Price, Mary Violet Leontyne

February 10, 1927

Born in Laurel, Mississippi, the soprano Leontyne Price came to be regarded as a prima donna *assoluta* during her exceptionally long operatic career (1952–1985).

Leontyne Price, in costume for* Antony and Cleopatra *at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, 1966. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Price's parents had been involved in the musical life of Laurel and provided her with piano lessons from the age of four. Soon thereafter she joined her mother in the church choir and, after attending a recital by Marian Anderson in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1936, she resolved on a career in music. At that time African-American women could aspire in music only for roles in education, and it was with that major in mind that Price enrolled at Central State College in Ohio. Before she graduated in 1949, however, her vocal talent was manifest and she was encouraged to enter the Juilliard School of Music, where she studied with Florence Kimball. As Mistress Ford in a school production of Verdi's *Falstaff,* she attracted the attention of American composer Virgil Thomson, who enlisted her for the role of Cecilia in a 1952 revival of his *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934), a work calling for an all-black cast, thus initiating her professional career and terminating her formal study.

Following this production in New York and performances at the Paris International Arts Festival, Price was engaged for the role of Bess in George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess,* with which she toured in Berlin, Paris, and Vienna into 1954. In November of that year, she made her New York debut at Town Hall. The following February she appeared in the title role of Puccini's *Tosca* on television, later adding Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *Don Giovanni,* and Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmélites* to her NBC telecasts. In 1956 she sang the role of Cleopatra in Handel's *Giulio Cesare.*

It was in the Poulenc opera as Madame Lidoine that Price made her debut with the San Francisco Opera in

1957, following this with the leading soprano roles with that company in Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and debuts that year at the Arena di Verona, Covent Garden, and the Vienna Staatsoper (*Aida*). Her debut with the Lyric Opera of Chicago was as Liù in Puccini's *Turandot* (1959).

The Metropolitan Opera had only begun adding black singers to its roster in 1955 with Marian Anderson and Robert McFerrin, followed by the debuts of African-American artists Mattiwilda Dobbs (1956), Gloria Davy (1958), and Martina Arroyo (1959). Actually, Price had already appeared in the Metropolitan Opera Jamboree, a fund-raising broadcast from the Manhattan Ritz Theater, April 6, 1953, when she performed "Summertime" from *Porgy and Bess,* but her formal debut was as Leonora in Verdi's *Il Trovatore* on January 27, 1961, when she won an unprecedented forty-two-minute ovation, fully justifying her selection as the leading lady to open the next Met season (as Puccini's Minnie in *La Fanciulla del West*) and that of the next year (repeating her 1957 Vienna role of Aida, in which she was heard each season for the following five years). During the last six years of the "old Met," she particularly excelled in the Italian repertory (as Liù in Puccini's *Turandot,* Cio-Cio-San in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly,* and Elvira in Verdi's *Ernani,* which she had sung for Herbert von Karajan at the 1962 Salzburg Festival).

The new home of the Metropolitan Opera at Lincoln Center was inaugurated in 1966 with a new opera by Samuel Barber, *Antony and Cleopatra,* written specifically for Price. When she concluded her career in opera performances on January 3, 1985, with *Aida* at the Metropolitan Opera, she had proved her interpretive leadership in the Italian repertories of Verdi and Puccini, but she had expanded the previously practiced limits to move far past any stereotypes, excelling in German, Spanish, French, and Slavic works, as well as in spirituals and other American literature. Her principal opera roles, in addition to those mentioned, were the Prima Donna and Ariadne (*Ariadne auf Naxos*), Amelia (*Un Ballo in Maschera*), Fiordiligi (*Così fan tutte*), Donna Anna (*Don Giovanni*), Tatiana (*Eugene Onegin*), Minnie (*La Fanciulla del West*), Leonora (*La Forza del Destino*), Manon (*Manon Lescaut*), and the title role in *Tosca*.

Price's recorded legacy is extensive. In addition to many of the operatic roles in which she appeared onstage—Bizet's *Carmen,* Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte,* Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and *Tosca,* Verdi's *Aida, Un Ballo in Maschera, Ernani, La Forza del Destino,* and *Il Trovatore*—she has recorded Samuel Barber's *Hermit Songs* and music of Fauré, Poulenc, Wolf, and R. Strauss, as well as Verdi's *Requiem* and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. She has also recorded excerpts from *Porgy and Bess* (with her then-husband William Warfield), an album of popular songs with André Previn (*Right as Rain*), and *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,* a collection of fourteen spirituals. In 1992 RCA reissued on compact disc forty-seven arias by Price under the title *Leontyne Price: The Prima Donna Collection,* arias that had been recorded from 1965 to 1979.

See also Anderson, Marian

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DOMINIQUE-RENÉ DE LERMA (1996)

Pride, Charley Frank

March 18, 1938

The country singer and guitarist Charley Pride was born in Sledge, Mississippi. Though he grew up steeped in the African-American Mississippi Delta blues culture he encountered on his parents' sharecropper farm, as a child he gravitated toward the country music that was largely favored by whites. He taught himself guitar by the age of fourteen, but by his late teens he was concentrating on becoming a professional baseball player. Aside from a two-year stint in the U.S. Army, Pride played for Negro American League teams in Detroit, Memphis, and Birmingham from 1955 to 1959. Starting in 1960 he worked off-season as a tin smelter in Great Falls, Montana, and during the season played for the Class C Pioneer League team there, occasionally singing for the fans between innings. He also sang occasionally in nightclubs, where country music producers from Nashville heard him. After a brief time in the major leagues with the Los Angeles Angels in 1961, he returned to Montana. A final, unsuccessful tryout for the New York Mets in 1963 convinced Pride to give up base-

ball. On the trip back to Montana, he stopped off in Nashville, where his velvety baritone quickly earned him a reputation in the local country music scene.

From the mid-1960s on, Pride's love songs, starting with "Atlantic Coastal Line" (1965) and "Snakes Crawl at Night" (1965), were among the most popular recordings in country music, and Pride quickly became the first African-American star in country music since DeFord Bailey (1899–1982) more than three decades earlier. However, the all-white country music industry at first proved wary of an African-American star and took advantage of Pride's "white" sound, hiding the fact of his race. His first recordings were released without the usual publicity photos, while some country disc jockeys who knew Pride's race boycotted his music. Nonetheless, country music fans embraced Pride from the start, and he had numerous hit singles, including the Grammy Award–nominated "Just Between You and Me" (1966), "All I Have to Offer You Is Me" (1969), "Is Anybody Going to San Antone?" (1970), "Kiss an Angel Good Morning" (1973), "My Eyes Can Only See as Far as You" (1976), and "You're My Jamaica" (1979). Pride won the Country Music Association's Entertainer of the Year award in 1971, and that year he also won two Grammy Awards, for best sacred album (*Did You Think to Pray?*) and best gospel performance ("Let Me Live"). During this time he also toured extensively and became one of the few African Americans to perform at Nashville's Grand Ole Opry.

Pride's success continued unabated through the 1980s, with hit recordings including "Honky Tonk Blues" (1980), "I'm Missin' Mississippi" (1984), and "Amy's Eyes" (1989). Since then, he has also pursued a career in business; he owns three radio stations and a cattle ranch in Dallas and is a majority shareholder of First Texas Bank in Dallas, where he lives. Pride was married in 1956; he and his wife, Rozene, have three children.

In 1999 Pride was honored with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and in 2000 he was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame.

See also Music in the United States

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Primitive Baptists

The "Primitive" or "Antimission" Baptists (also known as "Old School," "Old Line," "Hardshell," "Square Toed," or "Old" Baptists) separated from mainstream Baptists in the early nineteenth century, in opposition to Baptist participation in the emerging evangelical Protestant culture. Primitive Baptists, who considered themselves descended from the original "primitive" Church, objected to missionary activities they believed were inconsistent with a Calvinist belief in predestination. They also opposed national organizations that threatened local church autonomy, as well as a centralized, paid "hireling" clergy. They denounced ministerial education, Bible and tract societies, and Sunday schools as innovations and "human institutions" contrary to the Bible and historic Baptist principles. Their opponents charged them with retreat from Christian responsibility in the world, and with a morbid inward-turning faith.

The split among Baptists involved African Americans as well, although few joined the Primitive party. For example, the Huntsville (Alabama) African Baptist Church (today the St. Bartley Primitive Baptist Church), the historic center for black Primitive Baptists, was established with seventy-six members in 1820. Following its pastor, the Reverend William Harris, a free black, it entered the white Flint River Baptist Association the following year. When division came in the late 1820s, the church joined the Primitive faction. Forced out of the white association after the Civil War, the Huntsville church joined with other black Primitive Baptists to form the Indian Creek Primitive Baptist Association in northern Alabama. In 1895, this association had some two thousand members.

Around 1906 there was a movement among black Primitive Baptists for a national convention. This led to an organizational meeting in Huntsville, Alabama, the following year called by Elders Clarence Francis Sams of Florida, James H. Carey of North Carolina, and George S. Crawford of Florida. Eighty-eight elders from seven southern states attended and organized the National Primitive Baptist Convention of the United States of America, headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida. The convention, still the major Primitive Baptist body, had some six hundred churches and 250,000 members in the early 1990s. Evident by the existence of a national organization—albeit a loose organization without centralized authority—National Primitive Baptists tend to be less theologically rigid than their white counterparts. They remain committed to sixteen articles of faith, including the doctrine of divine election and visible sainthood, baptism by immersion, and foot washing as a form of religious observance.

However, the National Primitive Baptists do not impose a common confession on associations and individual congregations, resulting in some variation in belief, especially concerning social action. Despite their ideological opposition to political action and other "worldly activities," the churches do serve as community centers, and churches do supply funds to needy members. In 1967 the convention even considered a proposal to establish foreign missions, though it ultimately rejected the idea.

See also Baptists

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TIMOTHY E. FULOP (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Prince, Lucy Terry

c. 1730
August 21, 1821

The history of African-American poetry begins in 1746 with Lucy Terry Prince, who at the age of sixteen wrote a vivid poem in rhyming couplets describing a victorious Native American raid in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Prince's poem is the most complete contemporary account of the murder of two white families who resided in a section of town called the Bars. "Bars Fight, August 28, 1746" became part of Deerfield's oral tradition, remaining unpublished until 1855, when it appeared in a volume of local history. The poem may also have been sung as a ballad.

Prince was known in her community as a storyteller, and her home became a meeting place where people came to hear her orations. Prince's New England community also remembered her for two outstanding uses of oratorical skills. In one, she spoke for three hours before the Board of Trustees of Williams College in an ultimately unsuccessful plea for one of her sons to gain admission to the school. In the other, she defended herself before the U.S. Supreme Court in a land-claims case against a neighbor. Prince won the case and earned high praise from Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase.

Lucy Terry was born in Africa and brought to New England as an infant slave. In 1756 she married Abijah Prince, a manumitted slave who then purchased his wife's freedom. The couple moved to Vermont, where Abijah had been given land, and their son, Cesar (one of six children), served in the American Revolution.

See also Poetry, U.S.

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MARTHA E. HODES (1996)

Prince, Mary

c.1788
?

Born a slave in Brackish Pond, Bermuda, Mary Prince wrote the first full-length narrative by a female slave, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself,* which was published in England in 1831. In this often harrowing narrative, Prince documents her experiences under slavery, offering a glimpse of the diversity of slave experience within the "Black Atlantic." Detailing the physical and often psychological abuse she was forced to suffer at the hands of a series of cruel slave owners, Prince describes the trauma of being sold at a slave market, flogged while naked, raking salt for ten years in the harsh marshes of the Turks Islands, and being forced to bathe her slave master.

In 1828 Prince's owners, the Woods, agreed to take her with them to England. This was a potentially risky enterprise, as slavery had been considered abolished in England since 1772 when Lord Mansfield passed judgment in the habeas corpus trial of *James Somerset the Black vs. Charles Stewart.* Mansfield found not only that slaves who came to England on their own or with their masters could not be forced to return to slavery but also that since slavery did not exist as a legal institution within the borders of Great Britain, "slaves" there were to be considered free people. While in London, the Woods' continued and increased abuse of Mary culminated in her decision to walk away from the enslaved life. Because her husband was still in Antigua, Prince desired to return to him there but wanted to do so as a freewoman. With the aid of the Anti-

Slavery Society, she sued the Woods, claiming that since they had violated the Amelioration Act of 1823, which legally prohibited excessive cruelty by slave owners, she should be completely manumitted. As a means to document evidence of their cruelty, Prince dictated the details of her life, which were transcribed by Susanna Strickland, an aspiring poet, and edited by Thomas Pringle, a writer and the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. Because the narrative provided a female slave's perspective, it became immensely popular and went through three editions in quick succession. Hoping to hinder public acceptance of the narrative, writer James MacQueen, in an article for *Blackwood's Magazine,* accused Pringle and Prince of fabricating the narrative to spread lies and abolitionist propaganda. Pringle sued MacQueen for libel, and although judgment was found in his and Prince's favor, the damages MacQueen paid were a paltry three pounds sterling. This ideological triumph would be short-lived, however, because the court decided against Prince in her suit for freedom, claiming she had exaggerated her abuse by the Woods.

Other than the trial summaries in *The Times* and attendance at Susanna Strickland's wedding to Captain Moody, further written documentation of Prince is limited to a brief mention in Strickland's 1851 short story, "Rachel Wilde, or, Trifles from the Burthen of Life," in which the main character, loosely based on Strickland, admits that she knows that "Mary P.'s" narrative is not false because she took it down herself.

Prince's narrative is different from the traditional model of U.S. slave narratives in a number of ways. In addition to providing crucial evidence for understanding the diversity of global slavery, as well as the specifics of slavery in the British West Indies, the narrative documents the victimization of slave women by male and female slave owners, slave participation in the British West Indian judicial system and in the local economy as entrepreneurs, and the influence of the nonconformist religions in providing a venue to assert slave subjectivity. Her narrative and life offer testimony to her courage and determination to be seen and treated as a human being.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean

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NICOLE N. ALJOE (2005)

Prince (Nelson, Prince Rogers)

c. June 7, 1958

Singer and composer Prince Rogers Nelson, who goes by the name Prince, is reluctant to divulge information about his early years. He was born to two jazz musicians in an interracial marriage and raised in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He began playing music at a very young age, alternating among piano, keyboards, guitar, and drums. He formed his own band, Grand Central, while still in junior high school. Prince made his first demonstration record in 1976, playing all the parts himself. In 1978, after his manager subtracted several years from Prince's age and heralded him as "a new Stevie Wonder," Prince signed a contract with Warner Brothers and made *For You.* That album combined several African-American musical styles, taking the heavy bass of funk and mixing it with the dance beat of disco, while providing an overall feeling of rock in both arrangement and content. His second album, *Prince* (1979), was a great commercial success, producing the hit single "I Wanna Be Your Lover."

Prince, who adopted a visually androgynous persona in photos, public appearances, and performances, first received notoriety for sexually explicit lyrics on his third album, *Dirty Mind* (1980), which included songs about incest, oral sex, and a ménage-à-trois. His breakthrough album, *1999* (1982), included the hit songs "1999" and "Little Red Corvette," both of which featured a vocal style ranging from reedy falsetto to muscular baritone.

In 1984 Prince produced, wrote, scored, and starred in the film *Purple Rain,* whose soundtrack sold more than seventeen million copies and won an Oscar for best original music score, in addition to three Grammy Awards and three American Music Awards. After this, Prince continued to pursue film projects. His film *Under the Cherry*

Moon (1987) failed to achieve wide popularity, but his soundtrack for *Batman* reached the top of the popular album charts in 1989. His film *Graffiti Bridge* (1992) achieved only moderate success.

Since 1987 Prince has recorded his own albums and produced music by others in his Paisley Park Studios, a Minneapolis production facility built with the assistance of Warner Brothers. In 1987 he also released *Sign o' the Times,* which combined the rhythms of funk with gospel and pop styles, but it failed to muster significant appeal. In 1992 he released an album whose title was a symbolic visual representation that he thereafter officially adopted as his unpronounceable name. The Artist Formerly Known as Prince, as he came to be called, spent several years in a contract dispute with Warner Brothers. His last album with them, *Chaos and Disorder,* was released in 1996. Sales of his albums dwindled during the 1990s. In 1997 he released a triple CD, *Emancipation,* the first in his new deal with EMI. He reassumed the name Prince in 2000.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Prince worked with many prominent figures in popular music, including Chaka Khan, Sheena Easton, Stephanie Mills, the Bangles, Stevie Nicks, Sheila E., Patti LaBelle, and M. C. Hammer. He also collaborated with the gospel singer Mavis Staples, and worked several times with the jazz trumpeter Miles Davis.

In 2004 Prince was inducted in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. That same year, his album *Musicology* was released by Columbia Records, and the artist embarked on a sold-out musical tour. Prince was awarded Grammy Awards in 2005 for best male R&B vocal performance for "Call My Name," and best traditional R&B vocal performance for "Musicology." In addition, the NAACP honored Prince with its Vanguard Award for work that "increases understanding and awareness of racial and social issues," and an Image Award for best album for *Musicology.*

See also Music in the United States

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DAVID HENDERSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Printmaking

Historically, printmaking has fallen into the category of graphic arts, and includes relief printing, engraving, etching, aquatint, silkscreen printing, and lithography. Although the African forebears of African Americans had their own traditions of printed and/or multiple arts (as seen in the relief and resist textile-printing techniques of numerous West African peoples), there is no evidence that these printing traditions survived in the Americas. Therefore, a discussion of African Americans in the graphic arts rightfully belongs within the larger historical picture of printmaking in America.

Occasional African-American graphic artists emerged from the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. Possibly the earliest known black American printmaker—and the most obscure—was Scipio Moorhead. Moorhead's talents were praised by a fellow black Bostonian, the famous Senegalese-born poet Phillis Wheatley, in her poem "To S.M., a Young African Painter, on Seeing His Work." A copperplate engraving of the poet, which appeared as the frontispiece to the 1773 London edition of her volume of poetry, has been attributed to Moorhead.

Moorhead, like many of the African-American artists who came after him, learned to paint and/or make prints through an apprenticeship with a sympathetic white artisan. Numerous black artists during the antebellum period, such as Robert M. Douglass Jr. and Patrick Reason, trained with artisans and cultivated clients from the growing ranks of northern white abolitionists. Reason's skillfully realized 1848 copper engraving of the runaway slave and antislavery lecturer Henry Bibb demonstrates that these black artists were capable of both mastering the intricacies of the various graphic arts techniques and making their work a part of the abolitionist movement.

In contrast to those antebellum black artists whose careers were linked with the struggle for black emancipation, many nineteenth-century artists of color avoided social issues altogether, choosing instead to do common portraiture, picturesque landscapes, and other forms of nonracial art. For example, Jules Lion in New Orleans and James P. Ball in Cincinnati both headed thriving lithography businesses that catered to largely white clienteles. After the Civil War and continuing into the first decade of the twentieth century, African-American lithographer Grafton Tyler Brown produced numerous stock certificates, street maps, and landscapes, mostly of California, the Pacific Northwest, and the Nevada territories.

Henry Ossawa Tanner and his student William Edouard Scott, although known primarily as painters, were the

first African-American graphic artists to move beyond commercial work and create fine art prints. Working through the first two decades of the twentieth century, Tanner and Scott borrowed art techniques learned from the French impressionists and applied these to their respective etchings and lithographs of landscapes, marine settings, and occasional portraits and genre scenes. Etchers William McKnight Farrow, Allan Randall Freelon, and Albert Alexander Smith, though active at the height of the Harlem Renaissance and the Great Depression, also subscribed to this belated/modified form of visual modernism.

Two graphic artists who, during the period of the Harlem Renaissance, broke away from European-American artistic conventions and embraced more avant-garde, African design sensibilities were Aaron Douglas and James Lesesne Wells. Douglas's bold, angular renderings of African Americans, as seen in his series of relief prints illustrating the Eugene O'Neill play *The Emperor Jones* (1926), recalled the highly stylized and distorted representations of human anatomy found in traditional African sculpture. Similar approaches to the human figure and to two-dimensional design appeared in Wells's graphic works, such as his relief print *African Fantasy* (1929).

With the onset of the Great Depression, Douglas and Wells continued their experiments in design and form, but their innovations were tempered by the social and economic realities of the times. Consequently, these graphic artists and others turned toward an art of social realism, an approach that placed humanity, social concerns, and the environment at the center of artistic matters.

A more socially engaged art scene in America, with the graphic arts playing a major role in this ideological shift, was further encouraged by the creation of the Works Progress Administration/Federal Arts Projects, or the WPA/FAP, in 1935. This government program, apart from helping to put Americans back to work, provided support for the creation of art in public places, the implementation of scholarly inventories of American design, the development of community art centers, and the establishment of artists' workshops. Significant numbers of African-American artists participated in WPA/FAP graphic workshops in Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, D.C. A few of these black printmakers—such as the Philadelphia-based Dox Thrash, who helped develop a new printmaking process—were considered major figures in their respective art communities, regardless of race.

From the end of World War II to the historic signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, African-American art and culture underwent numerous shifts and emphases, which are reflected in the graphic arts of those transitional years. Toward the end of the 1940s, visual commentaries on the racial inequities in America were present in the prints of several black artists, most notably Elizabeth Catlett in works such as her relief print *I Have Special Reservations* (1946). Concurrent with these images of black protest were the more idealistic and uplifting representations of an artist such as Charles White, whose relief print *Exodus #1* (1949) focuses on black aspirations and Afro-America's sense of racial pride.

By the 1950s and early 1960s many African-American graphic artists worked with themes and stylistic approaches that differed radically from the political and/or culture-specific works of Catlett and White. Etcher/engraver Norma Morgan and relief printmaker Walter Williams, though two very different artists, developed essentially nonracial formulas for their work. Williams subscribed to a figurative expressionist sensibility, as seen in his relief print *Fighting Cock* (1957), while Morgan's copper engraving *David in the Wilderness* (1956) illustrates her adherence to a romantic realist agenda.

Beginning in the late 1960s the rumblings of the civil rights movement and the strong identification with an African heritage propelled many African-American artists to revisit social themes and ethnic styles that had been pioneered by Catlett and Wells. The results were works that spoke to the issue of black solidarity, such as the silkscreen *Unite* (1970) by Chicago artist Barbara Jones-Hogu, and works that recalled African colors and imagery, such as the relief print *Jungle Rhythms #2* (1968) by New York artist Ademola Olugebefola.

This atmosphere of a heightened racial consciousness ushered in an abundance of work from about 1968 to 1976 that reflected African-American sensibilities, most often in the form of a race-specific figurative art. This new black imagery among artists, coinciding with a newfound enthusiasm within the greater art world for the art of the print, resulted in many different examples of African-American graphic art. Among the many artists who produced important graphic works during this period were Samella Lewis, Ruth Waddy, Lev Mills, and Leon Hicks. *Injustice Case* (1970), a relief "body" print by David Hammons, and *The Get-A-Way* (1976), a lithograph by Margo Humphrey (b. 1942), show the wide range of approaches to the figure, as well as to issues of culture, that African-American graphic artists grappled with during the 1970s. Nonfigurative art was explored in depth during this period as well, as seen in the abstract prints of etcher and lithographer John E. Dowell Jr.

The 1970s and 1980s, like the Depression years, were a period in which graphic workshops among black artists

proliferated. Apart from the important printmakers and printmaking activities based within college and university art departments (such as the printmaking department at Howard University, headed by etcher Winston Kennedy [b. 1944]), several African-American-managed graphic arts workshops produced major works. These include Workshop, Inc., in Washington, D.C., founded by silkscreen artist Lou Stovall; WD Graphic Workshop, also in Washington, founded by etcher Percy Martin; Brandywine Graphic Workshop in Philadelphia, founded by lithographer Allan Edmunds Jr.; and the Printmaking Workshop in New York, founded by master printmaker Robert Blackburn. Major African-American artists known primarily as painters and sculptors, such as Romare Bearden, Jacob Lawrence, Betye Saar, Sam Gilliam, Richard Hunt, and Mel Edwards, have all produced prints under the supervision of these workshop founder/directors. Since the 1980s these workshops and others have provided many African-American artists with the opportunity to explore new graphic-arts techniques, as well as traditional printmaking media, in service to contemporary issues and ideas in the visual arts.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Folk Arts and Crafts; Harlem Renaissance

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RICHARD J. POWELL (1996)

Proctor, Henry Hugh

December 8, 1868
May 12, 1933

The clergyman and civil rights activist Henry Hugh Proctor was born near Fayetteville, Tennessee, to former slaves Richard and Hannah (Murray) Proctor. After attending public school in Fayetteville, he became a teacher in Pea Ridge, Tennessee, and then teacher and principal of the Fayetteville public school. He attended Central Tennessee College in Nashville from 1884 to 1885 and then studied at Fisk University, where he became friendly with W. E. B. Du Bois (1869–1963), a fellow student, and finally received his B.A. in 1891. In 1894 Proctor graduated from Yale Divinity School and was ordained a Congregational minister. He became pastor of the elite First Congregational Church in Atlanta, Georgia, a black church built and funded by the American Missionary Association (AMA), whose congregation formed, in one commentator's words, the "black Atlantan social register." He served there until 1920.

In 1903 Proctor cofounded and became first president of the National Convention of Congregational Workers Among Colored People, which was designed to make Southern black Congregational churches self-sufficient, as well as to improve theology departments and promote black hiring in AMA colleges. In 1904 the National Council of Churches named him to the largely symbolic post of assistant moderator. That same year, he obtained his Doctor of Divinity Degree from Atlanta's Clark University.

In 1906, in the aftermath of the notorious riot in Atlanta, Proctor joined with white attorney Charles T. Hopkins to form the Interracial Committee of Atlanta, which was mildly successful in reducing racial tension. The two men recruited forty blacks and whites to draw up plans for reducing racial tensions. Proctor decried the lack of recreational facilities for black youth, and he made the First Congregational Church into an institutional church, providing sports, schools, and employment counseling, as well as a kindergarten, library, girl's home, and model kitchen. Proctor designed an auditorium that seated one thousand, and in 1910 he organized the Atlanta Colored Music Festival. He regarded the spiritual as a powerful weapon of black pride. His pastoral service and musical work were so popular that the membership of the First Congregational rose from one hundred in 1900 to one thousand when he left in 1920.

Proctor was an expert orator, best known for his speech "The Burden of the Negro," which he delivered hundreds of times. In it, Proctor preached self-help and discipline. He counseled elite blacks to devote themselves to aiding the black masses while retaining their "social reserve" against interclass mixing. Proctor was influenced by Du Bois and Booker T. Washington (1856–1915), both of whom were his personal friends. Although conservative on many political issues, he fought black disenfranchisement

and supported civil rights efforts. He also wrote religious articles and two books, *Sermons in Melody* (1916) and *Between Black and White* (1925).

In 1919 Proctor spoke to African-American troops in Europe. When he returned to the United States the following year, he assumed the pastorate of the Nazarene Congregational Church in Brooklyn, and in 1926 he became moderator of the New York City Congregational Church Association, an organization of black clergymen. Proctor died in New York.

See also Atlanta Riot of 1906; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Washington, Booker T.

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SABRINA FUCHS (1996)

Professional Organizations

Professional associations regulate entry into their respective professions, set standards for their practice, provide training and forums for the exchange of information among members, and serve as formal and informal networks through which members advance their careers. Until the middle of the twentieth century, most major American professional associations excluded African Americans from membership. Blacks responded by organizing their own societies. Even after they achieved equality in the general associations, African-American professionals maintained separate organizations to address their special needs in the often overwhelmingly white professions.

The first African-American professional associations were established on a local level in the late nineteenth century. Excluded from the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, black doctors founded the National Medical Society in 1870. Physicians in other cities and states organized similar societies in the next two decades. In 1895 African-American physicians formed the National Medical Association (NMA), the first national black professional society. (The American Medical Association [AMA], the country's largest and most prestigious medical society, officially adopted a color bar in 1872.) At first, the NMA included related medical professions in addition to physicians, but these soon began to establish their own organizations. The National Dental Association arose in 1897, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses in 1908, and the National Pharmaceutical Association in 1933.

The National Negro Business League (NNBL) was founded in 1900 by Booker T. Washington. While primarily an organization of businesspeople, it also included special sections for lawyers, pharmacists, morticians, real-estate brokers, and bankers. In 1909, the lawyers' section became the National Negro Bar Association and remained affiliated with the NNBL until 1925. Reconstituted as an independent organization in that year, the National Bar Association (NBA) also forged links among the many local black legal societies, the first of which, the Colored Bar Association of Mississippi, was founded in 1891. The NBA regularly took a strong stand on civil rights issues and emphasized the need for African-American lawyers especially in light of the important role they could play in the struggle for equal rights.

By the late 1940s color barriers in the larger American professional associations were beginning to fall. In 1943 the American Bar Association adopted a resolution stating that membership was "not dependent upon race, creed, or color." Others followed suit. When blacks were admitted to the American Nurses Association in 1948, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses dissolved. In 1948 E. Franklin Frazier became the first African American to head a predominantly white professional association when he was elected president of the American Sociological Association. Only in the 1970s did several others achieve similar positions. A major milestone was reached in 1994, when Lonnie Bristow was elected to the presidency of the venerable, powerful AMA.

Nevertheless, progress in integrating the mainstream professional associations was slow. Many local societies remained segregated through the 1960s, and because some of the national organizations required members to belong to the local groups, this remained an effective bar to participation by blacks, especially in the South. Moreover, many black professionals in the late 1960s and early 1970s believed that the general organizations did not serve them adequately. Members of some professions formed caucuses within the general professional associations to press them to take stronger stands against discrimination and white cultural biases, recruit more minority practitioners,

and find ways to better serve the African-American community as a whole. In many cases, these caucuses evolved into independent national organizations, joining the older associations such as the NBA and the NMA in serving the growing number of African-American professionals in the 1980s and 1990s.

See also Frazier, Edward Franklin

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DANIEL SOYER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Protestantism in the Americas

European Protestants had continuous contact with Africans in the Americas from at least the docking of the first slave-trading ship in Virginia in 1619. In the seventeenth century, English and Dutch Protestants settled most of the eastern seaboard of North America. During the same period, they and Danish Protestants established their rule or cultural influence over Jamaica, Barbados, the Virgin Islands, and other smaller islands in the West Indies, Suriname and Guiana in South America, and Belize and the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua in Central America. African slaves were brought to all of these locations.

However, sustained religious interactions had to wait for nearly a century after 1619. There was substantial resistance among the European Protestants to proselytizing the slaves for a variety of reasons, including fear of both lost productivity and the encouragement of a pride that would make slaves "ungovernable." Many English feared that Christianizing the slaves would make them automatically eligible for freedom, a notion that had vague precedents in medieval law, with some court cases in its favor in the seventeenth century. However, from the 1660s onward, the combined actions of several English colonial legislatures and instructions by the Bishop of London made it clearer that a slave's religious affiliation would not necessitate manumission.

One of the first advocates for proselytizing the slaves was George Fox, the founder of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), who visited Barbados, Jamaica, and England's North American colonies between 1671 and 1673. Fox advocated inclusion of slaves in religious services (or "meetings for worship," as the Quakers termed them), and strongly denied allegations that Quakers were encouraging slaves to rebel. One of his traveling companions, William Edmondson, was one of the first Europeans to denounce slavery, calling it "an aggravation, and an oppression upon the mind" in a subsequent visit to Barbados in 1676. However, the exhortations of Fox and Edmundson had little immediate effect, inasmuch as Quakers were then being sporadically but severely repressed in both Barbados and England.

The first organized missionary efforts by the Anglican Church toward Africans in the Americas were the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). In Barbados, the SPG became the owner of two sugar-growing estates as a result of Christopher Codrington's will in 1710, and the society appointed a series of chaplains and catechists to the slaves on those plantations, though little was achieved over the next century. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the SPG also appointed ministers to African slaves in such far-flung locations as New York, South Carolina, and Saint Kitts. Their proselytizing work was slow going, however, in part because the SPG ministers insisted on slaves learning an extensive catechism before being baptized. SPG missionaries worked for humane treatment of the slaves, but they did not openly advocate manumissions.

The revivals of the mid-eighteenth century led to the first large-scale conversions of blacks in the western hemisphere. The first of the evangelical groups to be active in this endeavor was the Moravian Brethren, a church that amalgamated pietist and Anabaptist influences. The Brethren's missionary work among slaves began in 1732 in the Danish Virgin Islands, and was then extended to Berbice (later British Guiana), Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, and North Carolina. Methodists began their evangelism in North America and the West Indies in the 1760s, establishing biracial congregations that were, in places such as South Carolina and Antigua, overwhelmingly composed of blacks. Baptist evangelical work commenced at about the same time, with Separate Baptists (seceding from Congregationalists) bearing the brunt of the work during the First Great Awakening (c.1730–c.1770). The evangelicals' emphasis on religion of the heart, rather than mastery of a catechism, and their openness to emotional expression in worship facilitated the participation of blacks.

Also in the mid-eighteenth century, the Quakers in North America became the first Christian group to adopt

a strong antislavery stance. In part, they grounded their opposition in the Golden Rule, but, as pacifists, they also noted that many slaves were taken captive during wars, and they felt that they could not be complicit with the ill-gotten fruits of warfare. Anthony Benezet, a Quaker schoolteacher in Philadelphia, corresponded widely and converted others such as the Methodist John Wesley to the antislavery cause. Many evangelicals, especially Moravians and Methodists, were affected by the Quaker position against slavery. In general, while evangelical Protestantism was attractive to many blacks because of its strong egalitarian tendencies, economic necessity and the racism of their white American converts eventually forced each of the evangelical sects to abandon or to curtail their antislavery message in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Independent black churches developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in both North America and the Caribbean, due to the pressures of their white racist co-religionists, and also because of the desire of many black Christians for cultural autonomy—in Daniel Coker's echo of a verse from Isaiah, to be able to "sit down under our own vine to worship and none shall make us afraid." The tiny Silver Bluff Baptist Church, an independent black Baptist church founded in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, on the eve of the American Revolution, had a worldwide effect on black Protestantism. One of its members, David George, went on to found black Baptist churches in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone. George Liele, who had founded the Silver Bluff Baptist Church, evacuated with British loyalists at the end of the Revolution, and moved to Jamaica, where he founded a Baptist Church in Kingston. There he met and converted Moses Baker, another American émigré, who proceeded to found a Baptist church in the parish of Saint James in western Jamaica, sponsored by a Quaker planter, Isaac Lascelles Winn. Another convert of Liele's, Andrew Bryan, pastored the First African Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia. Among Methodists, Peter Spencer's African Union Church in Wilmington, Delaware, provided the core for a new black denomination in 1813, and Richard Allen's Bethel African Methodist Church was instrumental in forming the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1816. Other independent black denominations followed in North America, including the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church (1822), the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church (1870), and the National Baptist Convention (1895).

In the early nineteenth century, black church leaders throughout the hemisphere took a variety of stances on slavery. Many, like Richard Allen, openly opposed slavery, as Allen showed in a 1795 tract, while others soft-pedaled any opposition—as did Andrew Bryan, who owned slaves himself and counseled slaves in his congregation to obey their masters. George Liele assured Jamaican planters that slaves attending his church would not be permitted to plan revolts there, but an 1807 Jamaican law still shut down independent black Baptist congregations such as Liele's. Differences in the political climate between Allen's Pennsylvania, with its heavy Quaker influence, and Bryan's Georgia undoubtedly affected the two men's stances.

In most areas where slavery was legal, a clandestine black church grew up entirely outside of any white control, an "invisible institution" little understood by otherwise well-informed contemporaries. African spiritual practices, including such traditions as vodou and myalism (a spiritual healing practice), blended strongly with Christianity in these clandestine churches. In the southern United States, this was often referred to as "brush arbor" religion; in Jamaica, the Native Baptists fit this description well, and they grew substantially after the repressive 1807 law.

Advocacy of antislavery in Georgia and other slave territories undoubtedly meant rebellion, a reality grasped by the African Methodist Denmark Vesey, who staged an abortive revolt in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, and the Baptist lay preacher Nat Turner, who led a revolt in 1831 in Southampton, Virginia. One of the most massive slave revolts in the hemisphere took place in Jamaica over a two-week period beginning in Christmas, 1831. As many as twenty thousand slaves were involved and massive property damage was inflicted on white planters. Jamaicans were not unfamiliar with slave revolts—they recalled a revolt of similar size, for example, coordinated by a spiritual leader recently imported from the Gold Coast in 1760—but one distinguishing feature of the 1831 revolt was the prominent leadership of black Christians, most notably Sam Sharpe, a lay leader in the Missionary Baptist Church and a "Daddy" among the Native Baptists. Sharpe conceded that, as a slave, he had been relatively well treated, but he defiantly stated that he would rather die than remain a slave. The revolt was so permeated by Baptist influence that it has often been called the "Baptist War." It coincided with a concerted campaign by evangelical Christians in Great Britain to abolish slavery in the West Indies, as black Jamaicans were immensely frustrated with the various maneuvers undertaken by Jamaican planters to stave off emancipation. The Jamaican planters were ultimately unsuccessful, as the British Parliament enacted a law abolishing slavery in the West Indies to take partial effect on August 1, 1834, and full effect four years later.

Some black North American clergy played prominent roles in the abolitionist movement in the United States.

Jermain Loguen, an AMEZ minister in Syracuse, New York, was an activist who opposed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and he played a key role in the 1851 rescue of Jerry Henry, a fugitive slave who had been jailed by federal marshals who intended to return him to slavery. Loguen and his associates spirited Henry to freedom in Canada across Lake Ontario. Thomas Henry, an AME minister, was a correspondent of John Brown and may well have known of his plans for the ill-fated insurrection at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. Many black clergy chose not to play leading roles in the abolitionist movement, favoring community-building work instead. AME minister Richard Robinson articulated this position when he asserted that it was useless for black ministers to flaunt outspokenly radical antislavery stands, because it would only make them more of a target: "Every colored man is an abolitionist, and slaveholders know it." When the Emancipation Proclamation permitted the enlistment of black soldiers in 1863, however, black ministers such as Henry McNeal Turner played an active role in obtaining recruits for the United States colored regiments. At least twelve black ministers, including Turner, also served as military chaplains during the Civil War.

After Emancipation (Canada and British West Indies, 1834; Danish West Indies, 1848; United States, 1865), it was unclear throughout the hemisphere how much the dominant political forces would permit freedom to be combined with empowerment of the freed persons. In both the United States and the Caribbean, the immediate post-Emancipation period was one of intense educational efforts among the freed men and women, with such efforts slackening off within a decade or two, as philanthropic zeal lessened among those whites who had adopted education of blacks as a cause. The American Missionary Association in the United States, funded mainly by Congregationalists, was responsible for the founding of such schools as Atlanta, Dillard, Hampton, Fisk, and Howard Universities. With little resources, predominantly black denominations in the United States were responsible for the founding of their own colleges and universities, including Wilberforce (AME), Morris Brown (AME), Livingstone (AMEZ), Lane (CME), and Paine (CME). Most of these institutions of higher education were located in the southern states, the main exception being Wilberforce in southwestern Ohio.

Throughout the hemisphere, the freedom delivered by Emancipation often did not include meaningful economic options, with landlessness, racist coercion, and unjust legal systems trapping many former slaves in sharecropping or peonage arrangements that were almost indistinguishable from slavery. In Jamaica, such conditions helped to bring about the Morant Bay Rebellion of October 1865. Similar to the Baptist War of 1831, the leader, Paul Bogle, and many other of the rebels were Native Baptists, and the conspirators met in Native Baptist chapels. Hundreds of blacks were hanged in the aftermath of the revolt, including Bogle and his co-conspirator, George William Gordon. The 1865 rebellion and its draconian suppression resulted in the dismissal of Jamaica's governor, Edward J. Eyre, and the imposition of Crown Colony government.

After Emancipation, there was often an informal merging of the black churches founded by the missionaries and those black churches that could be characterized as "Independent" or "Native" in origin. This resulted in a large increase in membership in these denominations, but also in an increase of social-class and regional tensions within those same denominations. The AME Church, for example, had about 20,000 members in 1858, growing to 452,725 in 1896, an increase of over twenty times. A significant transformation in the American black churches occurred after 1915, when, in response to significant continuing human rights abuses, greater economic opportunities, and boosterism by African-American newspapers in northern states, many African Americans left the South to make their homes in northern cities. Black denominations struggled to meet the new demand by the often poorer migrants. The AME Church also opened missions in the West Indies and British Guiana, although their failure to supply consistent episcopal oversight stymied their growth in that region, at least until 1972, when Frederick Talbot, a native of Guyana (formerly British Guiana), assumed the episcopal duties in that region.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and African Communities League, founded by Marcus Garvey, an immigrant from Jamaica to Harlem, New York, in 1914, stimulated pride in blackness and in Africa. Garvey promoted a black nationalism that would encompass the mother continent and the entire black diaspora, and he formed the Black Star steamship line in order to further these aims. In doing so, he built upon the black nationalism of several notable nineteenth-century black clergy, such as Alexander Crummell (Episcopal), Edward Blyden (Presbyterian), and Henry McNeal Turner (AME). Problems with the seaworthiness of the vessels and with Garvey's economic management prevented the UNIA from any sizeable involvement in trade or emigration, and, in any event, the administration of President Calvin Coolidge obtained the conviction of Garvey on mail fraud and deported him to Jamaica in 1927, after he had served two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary. But the black nationalism of Garvey was an enduring legacy to African Ameri-

cans in this hemisphere, including black Protestants. Some of the new religious movements that claimed inspiration from Garvey, including the Black Jews, the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation of Islam, and Rastafarianism, had an authentic claim to the rebellious traditions of the Native and Independent Churches while their connections to Protestantism per se was tenuous or idiosyncratic at best.

The Los Angeles revival of 1906, presided over by a Louisiana-born African American minister, William Joseph Seymour (1870–1922), inaugurated the era of Pentecostalism, a brand of Protestantism that advertised its adherence to the "full gospel," which included a Spirit Baptism manifested by speaking in tongues, and also in faith healing. In the remainder of the twentieth century, this interracial religious movement spread far and wide, reaching parts of the Americas that had previously been primarily Catholic. Other Protestant new religious movements also proselytized aggressively and successfully in the Caribbean and Latin America. Seventh-day Adventists had notable successes in the Caribbean. A 1978 revelation by the patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) that black men could at last be admitted to the priesthood was reportedly facilitated by the dawning realization on the church hierarchy that the prospects for its missions in predominantly black and racially mixed Brazil was dependent on its ridding itself of obvious signs of any antiblack bigotry.

In the eighteenth century, the established church (the Anglican Church through much of the Protestant Americas) was the church of the wealthy and powerful, while the churches that derived from the dissenting churches in England, such as the Baptists and Methodists, were often composed mostly of "plain folk" and slaves. Among the predominantly white churches, there has been much social mobility in the membership of this latter class of churches, as Methodists and Baptists have made substantial inroads into the middle and upper classes. Among black Protestants, there have always been some congregations that have heavily represented the black middle class, and there have always been the aspiration and accompanying practices to enable social mobility through economic mutual aid, teaching middle-class life habits, and engaging in social action to oppose white racism. Since Emancipation, some black laity and clergy have criticized the financial demands of churches for high-ticket items—such as building programs and (sometimes) ministers' salaries—as imposing an excessive drag on the economic advancement of members of their congregations. While black clergy have often strongly asserted the effectiveness of their church work in this regard, it must also be conceded that there have been times and places in the Americas (such as the late-nineteenth-century United States) where racist opposition was strong enough to retard much social mobility among black Protestants.

Role of Gender in Congregations and Leadership

African women often served in positions of religious leadership, filling such roles as diviners and mediums. This tradition of female religious leadership survived the Middle Passage. In the western hemisphere, the strong support given by Quakers, and later more equivocal support by Methodists, for women's ministry did not go unnoticed by black women. One such female minister, "Old Elizabeth" (c.1765–1866), clearly influenced by both Quakers and Methodists, carried her ministry from Michigan to Virginia in the early to mid-nineteenth century. She, Jarena Lee, and Zilpha Elaw recorded narratives of their ministry or dictated them to others. None of the preaching women in the early nineteenth century were ordained. All of these women experienced great opposition from men who were against women's ministry on various grounds, including citing scriptural injunctions. Elizabeth's reply was typical: She had not been ordained by men, but "if the Lord had ordained me, I needed nothing better."

Some black women have started their own religious communities or denominations as a result of the resistance they have experienced from men, from nonblacks, or from both. One example is Rebecca Cox Jackson, a Philadelphia woman who grew up in the AME Church and had a call to the ministry and to celibacy. Leaving her husband, she traveled to Albany to join the Shakers, eventually returning to Philadelphia and founding a Shaker religious community composed mostly of black women.

In most Protestant congregations, women have composed a substantial majority, and predominantly black denominations were no exception. In virtually all of these congregations, there has been substantial female leadership. One role that has been particularly significant in many black congregations is that of "church mother." These are often elderly and spiritually mature women, who frequently have an important if informal role in church governance. A church mother might be a wife or widow of a preacher or bishop, but this is not always the case. Many church mothers are also exhorters, who traditionally delivered their spiritual messages from the floor of the church, not from the pulpit (which was understood to be man's space).

Eventually, many Protestant denominations began to ordain women. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, a white female Congregationalist, was the first woman to be ordained in 1853. Sarah Ann Hughes was ordained as a dea-

con in the AME Church in 1885, but her ordination was removed two years later. However, the AMEZ Church ordained two women, Julia A. J. Foote and Mary J. Small—in 1894 and 1895, respectively—, and these ordinations stood. During the early twentieth century, many women served as pastors in black denominations, although generally without formal ordination. In 1948, the AME Church ordained Rebecca Glover as an assistant pastor, and eight years later, the same denomination gave full ordination rights to women. The first African-American woman elected to the episcopacy was Leontine T. C. Kelly, in the Methodist Church, in 1984. Four years later, Barbara Harris, an African American woman, became the first female bishop in the Episcopal Church, and in 2000, Vashti McKenzie, became the first female bishop in the AME Church.

Black Baptist churches do not have denomination-wide policies on women's ordination. However, women have often served in very powerful leadership roles in the black Baptist churches. One example is Nannie Helen Burroughs, a notable educator and church leader in the National Baptist Convention. In 1900, she helped to organize the Woman's Auxiliary Convention of the National Baptist Convention, and she served as either secretary or president of the Women's Convention until her death in 1961.

Protestantism and the State

While each of the British colonies inherited the Anglican establishment, the Anglican Church was rendered weak and ineffectual by the remote supervision of its branches in the colonies through the Bishop of London. In the colonies that became the United States, the fear of imposition of a bishop in the western hemisphere helped to fuel rebellion and, ultimately, the disestablishment of all of the colonial church establishments, whether Anglican, Congregationalist, or Dutch Reformed. Instead of "church" and "sect," the United States pioneered the formal equality in the eyes of the law of all religious bodies as "denominations." The principle enshrined in the First Amendment of religious liberty, however, was not automatically seen to apply to African Americans. Rather, they won their religious liberty piecemeal. One landmark decision was rendered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1816, a decision which supported Richard Allen and the African Methodists in Philadelphia in their resistance to attempts by white Methodists to rule them against their will. This decision enabled Allen to call the first General Conference of the AME Church. In the wake of this decision, a tenuous religious freedom for African Americans spread throughout most of the northern states and, even more tenuously, through parts of the Upper South. Meanwhile, any antislavery religious sentiment in the South was ruthlessly suppressed, and independent black churches were often regarded as deeply suspect, especially in the wake of the 1822 Vesey plot and Turner's 1831 revolt.

The Thirteenth (1865) and Fourteenth (1868) Amendments more solidly cemented religious liberty for African Americans throughout the United States. In effect, the right of African Americans to form not only congregations but also denominations became universally conceded. Despite some church burnings, the black churches proved to be a bulwark for the defense of African Americans throughout the long nadir of Jim Crow, disfranchisement, and lynchings. Black churches assumed a variety of political and social functions in addition to their spiritual activities, so much so that they were sometimes called a "nation within a nation." In contemporary times, many American politicians, even presidential candidates, have sought African-American votes by attending black churches, and the economic liberalism and social conservatism of many African Americans has often created a perception of a "swing vote" to which politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties can successfully appeal.

In Canada and the British West Indies, the delineation between the "Church" (i.e., Anglicanism) and the dissenting sects was more pervasive and long standing. Still, the remoteness of the Anglican establishment was not remedied in the West Indies until 1824, when the first resident bishop was appointed to the Caribbean. In the first third of the nineteenth century, the Anglican ministers were widely seen as promoting the interests of the planter class, while the dissenters (especially the Baptists), through their fearless use of social critique, were seen as encouraging change and rebellion, implicitly if not explicitly. This bifurcation began to break down somewhat in the later nineteenth century. The Anglican Church in the West Indies was disestablished and disendowed around 1870, and indigenous leadership of that church was especially encouraged after that date. In the predominantly Catholic areas of the Americas, Protestants have always been seen as a dissenting force, although, evangelical Protestants have sometimes ascended to the leadership roles in government, sometimes with the complicity of the American military (General Efrain Rios Montt served as president of Guatemala from 1982 to 1983, for example, though his rule was, in fact, more of a dictatorship).

Protestantism, Human Rights, and Liberation Theology

White and black Protestants have often disagreed, within and across racial lines, on human rights issues. In the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many white Protestants retreated in their commitment to human rights for African Americans. For example, the Congregationalist minister Henry Ward Beecher preached strong antislavery sermons in the 1850s, though he roundly disparaged as worthless anyone or anything deriving from Africa in the 1880s. By the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan had made substantial inroads among white Protestants, even in some northern states, such as Indiana. At this time, there were some black conservatives, such as Booker T. Washington, who, in public if not in private, defended the view that African Americans should concern themselves mainly with economic progress, which would cause white Americans to respect their human rights.

On the other hand, many black Protestants, and a small minority of white Protestants, were strongly committed to the support of human rights for African Americans throughout this period. Some, such as AMEZ bishop Alexander Walters and AME minister (later bishop) Reverdy Ransom, were strong supporters of the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Although the NAACP was avowedly secular, it developed strong connections with black churches throughout the United States. Ransom and the Baptist minister George Woodbey were outspoken advocates of socialism, with its view of collective ownership of the means of production. When a newly formed ecumenical organization, the Federal Council of Churches (ancestor of the National Council of Churches), refused to advocate for antilynching laws in the U.S. Congress, Ransom and other black clergy formed the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in 1934. The Washington, D.C.–based FCNC was dedicated mostly to lobbying Congress, but it prepared the way for other organizations of black clergy and laity who were prepared to mobilize in a more extensive way. The most notable of these later organizations was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded in 1957 by the Baptist minister Martin Luther King Jr. and others.

The FCNC and SCLC were increasingly dedicated toward racial integration as the preferred alternative to the degradation of Jim Crow and racial bigotry. In so doing, they were joined during the 1950s and 1960s by the National Council of Churches, an ecumenical organization of mostly white Protestants. The National Council of Churches and SCLC, together with the NAACP and some labor unions, were the major forces behind the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But some black Protestants, influenced by the advocacy of Black Muslim minister Malcolm X and others, as well as the memory of Marcus Garvey, preferred a more racially separatist, or black nationalist, approach toward building an American community that more fully respected human rights. The Black Power movement, as this tendency became known, was also a major force behind a fuller recovery and celebration of African-American culture and history, which in the early 1960s was still being almost entirely overlooked in mainstream American culture.

The black liberation theology and Caribbean liberation theology movements that emerged in the aftermath of the 1960s were influenced strongly both by the civil rights and Black Power movements, the thought of Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. Many of the black nationalist elements of these new theologies were of Caribbean origin, especially the influence of the Rastafarians, who saw the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie as the second coming of Christ, and who developed a sophisticated critique of African-American Christian culture and Biblical interpretation in favor of a more Afrocentric approach. These liberation theology movements, led by James H. Cone and others, posited that God was on the side of the oppressed. Jesus was celebrated as the "Black Messiah,"or at least as nonwhite, and hence an implicit source of critique of the European and white American varieties of oppression over the previous centuries. Like both King and Malcolm X, black liberation theologians called for a form of black Christianity that was fully engaged in combating social and economic problems in the black community, and while unsparing in their critique of white racism, these theologians also drew on the black nationalist exhortation to self-reliance. Later versions of liberation theology by William R. Jones, Anthony Pinn, and others have highlighted issues of theodicy, as well as advocating more humanist versions of liberation theology, as compared to the more orthodox Christian versions that prevailed in the early 1970s. While black churches have made effective and selective use of some of these forms of liberation theology, this form of theological discourse has flourished far more on college and university campuses than in many local grassroots Protestant congregations.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; African Union Methodism; Allen, Richard; Baptists; Black Power Movement; Blyden, Edward Wilmot; Burroughs, Nannie Helen; Coker, Daniel; Crummell, Alexander; Garvey, Marcus; Harris, Barbara Clementine; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Liberation Theology; Liele, George; Malcolm X; Morant Bay Rebellion; Moravian Church; Nat Turner's Rebellion; Nation of Islam; Rastafarianism; Sharpe, Samuel; Social Gospel; Theology, Black; Turner, Henry McNeal

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STEPHEN W. ANGELL (2005)

Pryor, Richard

December 1, 1940

Born in Peoria, Illinois, comedian Richard Franklin Lenox Thomas Pryor overcame a troubled life in an extended family headed by his grandmother, Marie Carter, to become a preeminent comedian, film star, screenwriter, producer, and director, beginning in the early 1960s.

During Pryor's boyhood, Peoria was like the Deep South. Segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, and places of public accommodation were deeply embedded in southern Illinois. Forty percent of the black population of Peoria was unemployed, while 32 percent worked for the Works Project Administration (WPA). Odd jobs supported the rest, including the Pryor family, which ran small carting firms, pool halls, and, Pryor claimed, houses of prostitution. Peoria remained segregated for a time even after the 1954 Supreme Court decision that forbade it.

Richard Pryor performing stand-up comedy, 1982. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

At age eleven, Pryor, the son of Gertrude Thomas and Leroy "Buck" Carter Pryor, and, he once said, the seventh of twelve "Pryor kids," began acting at the Carver Community Center under the guidance of the drama teacher, Juliette Whittaker. Over the years she became the recipient of some of Pryor's performing awards; he also contributed to the private school she later founded, the Learning Tree.

After dropping out of school, Pryor joined the army in 1958, where his life was no less troublesome. After military service, he worked for his father's carting firm and the Caterpillar factory in Peoria. He also haunted the local clubs and watched television for the appearances of African-American entertainers such as Sammy Davis Jr. and Bill Cosby, personalities he wanted to emulate and eventually replace.

Within a few years Pryor was playing small clubs in East St. Louis, Chicago, Windsor (Canada), Buffalo, Youngstown, and Cleveland. Much of his comic material was drawn from his army service and the early Cosby comedy routines. By 1964 he had attracted enough attention

to be booked for his first national television appearance, on Rudy Vallee's *Broadway Tonight* show. Three years later, after stops on the Ed Sullivan, Merv Griffin, and Johnny Carson shows, Pryor appeared in the film *The Busy Body* with Sid Caesar and other comedians—the first of more than forty films he acted in, wrote, produced, and/or directed into the early 1990s. His first major role was in *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), with Diana Ross, in which Pryor played a character called Piano Man.

The Richard Pryor Show ran briefly on NBC-TV for part of 1977. It was innovative and conveyed a wide range of both comedy and tenderness, but it was too daring for the executives of NBC. Amid legal wrangling, the show went off the air and, typically, Pryor laid the blame on NBC. In 1984 he played himself as a boy in *Pryor's Place,* a children's show that aired on Saturday mornings. It too was short-lived, this time without recrimination.

From 1970 through 1979, Pryor starred or costarred in twenty-one films. He contributed to the script of *Blazing Saddles* (1973), and in the same year wrote for and appeared on *The Flip Wilson Show* and was a cowriter for Lily Tomlin's television specials, for which he won Emmy Awards in 1973 and 1974. He continued to perform in clubs and theaters around the country; these performances provided material for his two *Richard Pryor Live in Concert* films (both in 1979). The recordings of his performances earned him three Grammy Awards: *That Nigger's Crazy,* 1974; *Is It Something I Said?,* 1975; and *Bicentennial Nigger,* 1976. *That Nigger's Crazy* also became a certified gold and platinum album.

In 1980 he produced his first film, *Bustin' Loose,* starring himself and Cicely Tyson. Two years later he produced and wrote *Richard Pryor: Live on the Sunset Strip*. *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling*, which Pryor produced, directed, and helped write, was based upon his near-fatal self-immolation that occurred when he was freebasing cocaine in 1980. In 1986 Pryor, who had also survived two heart attacks, discovered that he had multiple sclerosis, but he continued to perform onstage.

Pryor was known as a "crossover" star, one who appealed to both black and white moviegoers. This label resulted from the "buddy" films he made with Gene Wilder—*Silver Streak* (1976), *Stir Crazy* (1980), and *See No Evil, Hear No Evil* (1989)—although he had starred with white actors in sixteen other movies. Few of Pryor's films during the 1980s were memorable, not even the concert film *Richard Pryor: Here and Now* (1983), although *Brewster's Millions* (1985) and *Harlem Nights* (1989) attracted loyal audiences. But *Richard Pryor: Live on the Sunset Strip* most typified his pungent, raunchy comedy that echoed the African-American man in the street, which was precisely what made Pryor the great comedian he was.

When he was at his peak, few comedians could match Pryor's popularity. Most contemporary comedy is said to be "post-Pryor" because of the standards he set. His life was his act, but he shaped his personal experiences into rollicking comedy. His major themes were racism in its several forms and the battle of the sexes. Usually, the women bested the men. His topics were current and to the point, and his favorite character was an old, foul-mouthed, wise black man named Mudbone from Mississippi.

Richard Pryor became the first recipient of the Kennedy Center's Mark Twain prize for humor on October 20, 1998. Because of ill health, Pryor was not able to get out of his chair, but in his official response he wrote, "It is nice to be regarded on a par with a great white man—now that's funny! Seriously though, two things people throughout history have had in common are hatred and humor. I am proud that, like Mark Twain, I have been able to use humor to lessen people's hatred."

In August 2004 the first Richard Pryor Ethnic Comedy Award was given at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in Scotland.

See also Comedians; Cosby, Bill; Davis, Sammy, Jr.

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JOHN A. WILLIAMS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Purvis, Robert

August 4, 1810
April 19, 1898

Abolitionist and political leader Robert Purvis was born in Charleston, South Carolina, the second of three sons of William Purvis, a British cotton merchant, and Harriet Judah, a free woman of color. Although both his parents owned slaves, Robert credited his father with instilling in him a deep hatred of the "peculiar institution."

In 1819 William Purvis sent his family to Philadelphia, intending eventually to settle with them in England.

The children were enrolled in the Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Clarkson School, and Robert later attended Amherst Academy in Massachusetts, a preparatory school affiliated with nearby Amherst College. In 1826 William Purvis died, leaving the bulk of his fortune—some $200,000—to his sons. When the eldest son died without issue, his brothers received his share. A shrewd businessman, Robert Purvis put his legacy to good use, investing in bank stock and real estate.

Light-skinned and wealthy, Purvis rejected suggestions that he relocate and "pass." In 1831 he married Harriet Forten, the daughter of African-American businessman and abolitionist James Forten. With his Forten in-laws he threw himself into the antislavery struggle. A tireless member of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, he sheltered runaways and conveyed them to the next "safe house" in his carriage. With William Lloyd Garrison, he was a founding member of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, and in 1834 he crossed the Atlantic to meet leaders of the British antislavery movement. With his father-in-law, he helped steer white abolitionists, among them Garrison and Arthur Tappan, away from African colonization and toward a sweeping program designed to achieve racial equality. Purvis also had a profound influence on his young niece, educator and social reformer Charlotte Forten, who spent much of her early life in the Purvis household.

For two decades the Purvises lived in an elegant home in Philadelphia, where they entertained abolitionists from the United States and Europe. In 1842, with racial violence escalating, they moved to an estate in Byberry, some twelve miles outside Philadelphia.

Purvis welcomed the outbreak of the Civil War, demanding that President Abraham Lincoln make emancipation his goal. With the end of the war came an invitation to head the Freedmen's Bureau. However, Purvis declined the offer, fearing that this was a ploy by President Andrew Johnson to keep the support of African-American voters even as he set about destroying the bureau.

Initially a staunch Republican, Purvis became disheartened as the party retreated from the principles it espoused during Reconstruction. In the Philadelphia mayoral race of 1874, his endorsement of the Democratic candidate was denounced by other African-American leaders. He was also criticized for his stance on the Fifteenth Amendment, which was ratified in 1870. A lifelong champion of women's rights, Purvis contended that African-American men should not be enfranchised unless women received the vote.

In the last two decades of his life Purvis assumed the role of an elder statesman. Never afraid to speak up, he took both major parties to task for, as he saw it, abandoning the struggle for racial justice. Robert Purvis died in Philadelphia at the age of eighty-seven, survived by his second wife and four of his eight children.

See also Abolition; Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

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JULIE WINCH (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Puryear, Martin

May 23, 1941

The oldest of seven children, sculptor Martin Puryear attended both elementary and secondary school in Washington, D.C. His father, Reginald, worked as a postal service employee, and his mother, Martina, taught elementary school. He developed strong interests in biology and art and aspired to be a wildlife illustrator. Always interested in working with his hands, Puryear as a young man made numerous objects, including guitars, chairs, and canoes.

Puryear entered Catholic University in Washington in 1959. Although initially a biology major, he shifted in his junior year to the study of painting and sculpture. Following graduation in 1963, Puryear entered the Peace Corps and served for two years in Sierra Leone, where he taught English, French, art, and biology. In addition to his teaching, he studied the craftsmen of West Africa, particularly the carpenters, from whom he learned a wide variety of traditional techniques. In 1966 he moved to Stockholm, where he enrolled at the Swedish Royal Academy. In addition to his formal studies in printmaking, Puryear pursued an interest in Scandinavian woodworking and began to work independently, making wood sculptures in the studios of the academy. He traveled widely during his two years in Stockholm, visiting the Soviet Union and Western Europe, as well as the region of Lapland in northern Scandinavia.

In 1968 Puryear returned to the United States, and the following year he entered Yale University to study

sculpture at the graduate level. In addition to his exposure to the part- and full-time faculty (including James Rosati, Robert Morris, Richard Serra, and Salvatore Scarpitta) at Yale, Puryear visited New York often, familiarizing himself with recent developments in contemporary art. Following receipt of his master of fine arts degree in 1971, he taught at Fisk University in Nashville for two years. His first important sculptures were made in the early 1970s, and these were shown in a solo exhibition held in 1973 at the Henri Gallery in Washington and at Fisk.

In 1973 Puryear left Fisk and established a studio in Brooklyn. The following year he accepted a teaching position at the University of Maryland, and he commuted between New York and College Park, Maryland, from 1974 to 1978. It was during this period that his work became known to a larger audience. In 1977 the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., organized the first museum exhibition of his work; this show included *Cedar Lodge* (1977), a large, quasi-architectural sculpture, as well as *Some Tales* (1977), a wall-mounted sculpture consisting of six linear wooden elements. In the same year, Puryear created *Box and Pole for Art Park* in Lewiston, New York. For this first outdoor commission, the sculptor constructed a wooden box made of milled wood with dovetailed corners, and a hundred-foot-tall pole, thereby contrasting the concentrated strength of the former with the upward, seemingly infinite reach of the latter.

If 1977 found Puryear being accorded increasing attention in the art world, it was also a time of great loss. On February 1, 1977, his apartment and studio—including virtually all of the sculptor's work to date—were lost in a fire. The following year he left the East Coast to accept a teaching position at the University of Illinois, Chicago; he lived in Chicago until 1991. During this period, Puryear achieved ever-increasing recognition and was included in numerous important group exhibitions (including the Whitney Biennial in 1979, 1981, and 1989; the Museum of Modern Art's International Survey of Recent Painting and Sculpture in 1984; and the Walker Art Center's Sculpture Inside Outside in 1988). In 1989 he was selected as the sole American representative to exhibit in the twentieth São Paulo Bienal in Brazil, and he received the grand prize for his installation of eight works. The same year, he received a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship. In the fall of 1991 a large retrospective of Puryear's work opened at the Art Institute of Chicago. This exhibition of some forty sculptures toured to the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.; the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles; and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

During the 1980s Puryear's work grew to full maturity. He pursued a number of different sculptural directions

Alien Huddle, ***a red cedar and pine sculpture by Martin Puryear.*** REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MARTIN PURYEAR

simultaneously, including approximately forty wall-mounted sculptures, many in the form of nearly circular "rings"; increasingly large-scale, three-dimensional sculptures, most made principally of wood but often incorporating new materials such as wire mesh and tar; and, finally, several outdoor commissions, some of which were sited permanently.

Puryear concentrated on the "ring" sculptures between 1978 and 1985. Constructed primarily of thin wood strips laminated in place and often painted, the "rings" were the sculptor's most refined work to date. Around 1984 they evolved into larger, more imposing wall-mounted works that grew increasingly independent of the supporting wall. A sculpture such as *Greed's Trophy* (1984), in the collection of New York's Museum of Modern Art, suggests an enormous hunting trap, its wire-mesh shape projecting nearly five feet from the wall. At this time Puryear also began to apply tar to his wire-mesh surfaces—in a work such as *Sanctum* (1985), in the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art. This new element grants the undulating surface of the sculpture a sense of spatial enclosure as well as a tremendous physical presence. Since the mid-1980s, Puryear's sculpture has grown in new directions, as the artist has pressed the boundaries of abstraction to include allusions to living forms as well

as objects. Puryear worked with distinction and great range in public, completing *Bodark Arc* (1982), commissioned for the Nathan Manilow Sculpture Park, south of Chicago, and *Ampersand* (1987–1988), commissioned for the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden. Throughout his work, Puryear has demonstrated a remarkable ability to create sculpture with multiple references, in which viewers discover images, memories, and allusions through their experience of the works.

In the first years of the twenty-first century, Puryear branched out into new projects, including a set of woodblock illustrations for a new edition of the classic Jean Toomer novel *Cane* (2000) and a growing series of commissions for large pieces of public art.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture

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COLIN A. PALMER
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Colin A. Palmer, Editor in Chief

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Quarles, Benjamin

January 28, 1904
November 16, 1996

The historian Benjamin Quarles was born in Boston, Massachusetts. The son of a subway porter, Benjamin Quarles entered college at the age of twenty-three and received degrees from Shaw University (B.A., 1931) in North Carolina, and the University of Wisconsin (M.A., 1933; Ph.D., 1940). He taught at Shaw, served as dean at Dillard University in New Orleans, and chaired the history department at Morgan State University in Baltimore.

Quarles began his scholarly career at a time when racist assumptions hampered research and writing on African-American history. White historians questioned whether blacks could write history objectively, and they believed that African-American history lacked sufficient primary sources for serious research and writing. Quarles proved both notions were false. Building on the pioneering research of Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950) and other black historians of the previous generation, Quarles confirmed the existence of a rich documentary record of African-American life and culture. His early writings demonstrated both his careful research and his ability to present a balanced historical narrative. His essays in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1945 and 1959 were the first from a black historian to appear in a major historical journal.

Quarles's first scholarly article, "The Breach Between Douglass and Garrison," appeared in the *Journal of Negro History* in 1938 and revealed his interest in race relations. Many of his subsequent studies explored the way in which blacks and whites have helped shape each other's identity on individual and collective levels. In *Lincoln and the Negro* (1962) and *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown* (1974), Quarles investigated the relationship between blacks and two notable whites in American history. He focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly the collective contribution of African Americans in two dramatic events, in *The Negro in the Civil War* (1953) and *The Negro in the American Revolution* (1961). In *Black Abolitionists* (1969), he highlighted the participation of blacks in the nation's most important social reform movement.

Quarles shared with his contemporary John Hope Franklin (b. 1915) an optimistic appraisal of racial progress in American history. He brought his scholarship to the classroom through two textbooks, *The Negro in the Making of America* (1964) and *The Negro American: A*

Documentary History (1967, written with Leslie H. Fishel Jr.), and he has advanced African-American history as a contributing editor of *Phylon* and as associate editor of the *Journal of Negro History*. On February 6, 1997, Morgan State University honored his legacy with a special event called the Memorial Convocation Celebrating the Life and Legacy of Benjamin Quarles.

See also Franklin, John Hope; Historians/Historiography

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Queen Latifah (Owens, Dana Elaine)

March 18, 1970

Born in East Orange, New Jersey, singer and actress Queen Latifah may be the most influential female MC to date. She chose her name—an Arabic word meaning "sensitive and delicate"—at age eight. As a teenager, she beatboxed as part of the female group Ladies Fresh. In 1988 she released "Wrath of my Madness," a song touting her strength and ability as an able MC. Her first album, *All Hail the Queen,* was released in 1989. Her second single, "Ladies First," received national attention for its assertive, woman-centered verses, and her Afrocentric image-filled video exposed her to MTV's wide range of viewers. In 1991 she released *Nature of a Sista* and left Tommy Boy Records to join Motown.

In 1993 Queen Latifah found her greatest success to date with *Black Reign* and won a Grammy for Best Rap Solo for "U.N.I.T.Y." The album, dedicated to her late brother, murdered during a car-jacking, achieved gold status and helped secure her acting career. In the same year, she began her role as the straightforward yet humorous "Kadijah" on the FOX network sitcom *Living Single*. In 1997 she received the Entertainer of the Year Soul Train Lady of Soul award. In 1998 she costarred in the movies *Sphere* with Dustin Hoffman and Samuel Jackson, *Living Out Loud,* and *The Bone Collector* with Denzel Washington. She also released her fourth album, *Order in the Court*. In 1999—with the prompting of Rosie O'Donnell—she began hosting her own talk show. She also released her autobiography, *Ladies First: Revelations of a Strong Woman*.

Queen Latifah was nominated for a Golden Globe award and an Academy Award in 2003 for her role in the film *Chicago.* She has won or has been nominated for many other awards for her roles in *Chicago* and another blockbuster, *Bringing Down the House,* later starring in the films *Taxi* (2004) and *Beauty Shop* (2005). Latifah was honored as the Harvard Foundation's Artist of the Year in 2003.

See also Music in the United States; Rap

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RACHEL ZELLARS (2001)
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Querino, Manuel

July 28, 1851
February 14, 1923

Manuel Raimundo Querino was a teacher, an artist, an abolitionist, a labor activist, and a historian. He was the first Afro-Brazilian to offer his perspective on Brazilian history and the first Brazilian to publish a detailed analysis of Afro-Brazilian contributions to Brazilian history, culture, and development. During a period of national redefinition, Querino boldly wrote, "In truth, it was the black who developed Brazil" (Querino, 1978).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Brazil was characterized by its system of slavery and its status as a Portuguese empire. Unlike most blacks at the time, Querino was born free. Born in Santo Amaro, Bahia, Querino was sent to live in the state capital, Salvador, after a cholera epidemic claimed the lives of his parents. There

he learned to read and write. At the age of seventeen, he joined the army and fought against Paraguay in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870). He returned to Salvador in 1871 and became heavily involved in several political activities, including working as an advocate for the laboring classes. In 1875 he organized the Bahian Workers Society League and published articles in labor newspapers protesting low wages and political corruption. In 1878 he joined the Republican Club of Bahia and became an avid supporter of republicanism. He also fought for the abolition of slavery, calling for complete freedom for all slaves. He was a member of the Bahian Liberation Society, but he believed that total liberation for blacks in Brazil could only be achieved through education.

At the age of thirty, Querino attended the Academia de Belas Artes in Salvador, Bahia, where he studied architecture and design. He later became a teacher of design at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios and the Colégio dos Orfãos de São Joaquim. He was eventually hired as a designer for the provincial directory of public works. The year 1888 marked the end of slavery as a legal institution in Brazil, and 1889 marked the creation of the Republic of the United States of Brazil. During this time, Querino was elected to the city council, and in 1896 he became an official of the Secretariat of Agriculture. He later became a founder of the Geographical and Historical Institute of Bahia.

During the early twentieth century, Brazil was redefining itself, and this included changing its reputation abroad. Most pressing was the question of race. The new Brazilian government began a campaign for "whitening" its population through the encouragement of European migration. Querino challenged this campaign by writing about the significant role Afro-Brazilians played in Brazil's history. Querino felt that the government resources that were being used to attract Europeans to Brazil could better be used to educate former slaves. Historians writing during this time emphasized Portuguese contributions to Brazilian development with little mention of the history of Afro-Brazilians. Querino dedicated himself to balancing this disproportionate emphasis. He challenged Brazilians, both black and white, to acknowledge the substantial involvement Afro-Brazilians had in the modernization of Brazil.

Querino's professional history, political activities, and ideological views resulted in a series of published works about Afro-Brazilians. In 1909 Querino published *Artistas Bahianas* and *As artes da Bahia,* both on Bahian culture and art. Several collections of Querino's essays were published after his death in 1923. *A arte culinaria na Bahia* was published in 1951, *Costumes Africanos no Brasil* in 1938, and *A raça Africana* in 1955. Querino also wrote on other subjects including Capoeira. Most noted by historians is *O colono prêto como fator da civilização Brasileira,* later translated into English as *The African Contribution to Brazilian Civilization.* In this essay, Querino argues that Africans came to Brazil not just as slaves but as skilled colonists whose abilities enabled the Portuguese to survive in unfamiliar and hostile territory. He writes of the relationship between blacks and whites during colonization as the beginning of a history of interdependence in which black labor sustained the economic and cultural growth of the new republic. To Querino, there would be no Brazil without its black citizens.

Querino wrote that, "History and all its justice has to respect and praise the valuable services which the black has given to this nation for more than three centuries" (Querino, 1978). While he wrote of the horrors of slavery and the continual resistance of slaves, he was the first historian to portray slaves as colonists and collaborators with Portuguese colonizers. As a result of this work, the lives, culture, and thoughts of Afro-Brazilians became a field of academic study and a celebrated element of Brazilian history. Yet, in spite of his many accomplishments, Querino died in poverty.

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Historians/Historiography

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JILLEAN MCCOMMONS (2005)

Race, Scientific Theories of

Although physical differences among peoples had been recognized by the ancients, those differences were invariably interpreted as local, not global. It was not until the late seventeenth century that European scholars began seeing physical variation in terms of continents, in other words, contrasting "the African" with "the European." This was doubtless connected to the political economy of the age, involving the slave trade and long sea voyages; when long voyages were taken over land, the peoples could be seen to intergrade into one another. By the early nineteenth century, race and subspecies had been roughly synonymized, and became the framework for any scientific study of the human species. Scientific racism and the marshaling of empirical data to support theories of racial inferiority/superiority intensified during the early 1800s after the expansion of knowledge within the biological sciences enhanced the professional status of science in Europe and America. By the late eighteenth century, however, Enlightenment philosophers had already laid a foundation for later typologists with a series of natural history treatises that classified "races" according to environmental and geographic conditions.

David Hume's *Of National Characters* (1748) and Baron Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1748) both explained how local climatic factors had produced the human "varieties" that Europeans encountered during imperialist voyages. The influential classification system of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, with its five continental types—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malayan—would, at century's end, provide an important typological framework for empiricists who increasingly assigned race significance as a static, natural entity.

Scientific theories of race in Europe and America during the first half of the nineteenth century were directly linked to speculations on the role of evolution in the development of plant and animal diversity. Monogenists asserted that all human races could be traced to the traditional biblical story of Adam and Eve, but that a process of "degeneration" left each distinct type at various stages of mental, moral, and physical development. Polygenists, on the other hand, maintained that God created an Adam and Eve for each racial group and that immutable biological differences among races belonging to individual species resulted from these separate acts of creation.

Polygenism was popular in the South because it seemed to provide a scientific rationalization for the practice of slavery in the United States and imperialist expan-

sionism abroad. One northern adherent was Louis Agassiz, a Harvard naturalist, whose lectures during the 1840s reinforced societal fears about the alleged deleterious evolutionary effects of miscegenation, or race mixing, between blacks and whites. Abolitionists, on the other hand, tended to gravitate to monogenism, which emphasized the genealogical unity of all peoples.

Samuel George Morton, in *Crania Americana* (1839), measured the skull volume of representatives of different races and assembled a scale of development that demonstrated the superiority of Europeans. Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, two indefatigable champions of polygenism, built on Morton's work. Their most famous publication, *Types of Mankind* (1854), declared that zoological investigations proved that races constituted "permanent" types, and ranked them in a predictable fashion.

The intellectual revolution brought on by Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) had little effect upon scientific racism. By the early nineteenth century, pre-Darwinian scholars were making associations between non-Europeans and the apes, although not acknowledging actual biological connections between the human species and the ape species. Cuvier's famous dissection of the "Hottentot Venus" (a southern African Khoe woman called Sarah Baartman, displayed in Europe in the early 1800s alive and after her death, and ultimately repatriated to South Africa in 2002) emphasized her apelike qualities, although Cuvier was no evolutionist. The first generation of post-Darwinian biologists, such as Thomas Huxley in England and Ernst Haeckel in Germany, were faced with the absence of fossil materials connecting the human species to the apes. Their response was to link Europeans to the apes through the nonwhite races, capitalizing on the preexisting creationist imagery.

Among racial typologists, the cephalic index developed by Anders Retzius (a measure of skull shape), and the facial angle developed by Petrus Camper (a measure of the profile), supplied important statistical dimensions for craniometric studies into the twentieth century. They commonly were invoked to reinforce the animality of non-Europeans. Many physical anthropologists inferred as well that high mortality rates among late nineteenth-century black Americans forecast imminent "extinction," and that mental and physical distinctions (rather than the economic and political disfranchisement that characterized the experience of blacks in post-Reconstruction America) explained the high disease rates.

Darwin's work also became a catalyst of hereditary and genetic explanations of racial distinctions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when eugenicists launched aggressive campaigns for human action to transform the evolutionary process with social policies designed to promote good "breeding" among the better "stocks." Charles B. Davenport pioneered the study of human genetics in the United States at the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York. The American Eugenics Society was founded in the 1920s as a mainstream scientific organization to promote the sterilization of "feebleminded" people and to restrict the immigration of poor Italians and Jews, entering America in large numbers and living in urban slums. Davenport's friend, a New York lawyer named Madison Grant, articulated these arguments in his 1916 best seller, *The Passing of the Great Race*, which was lauded in the journal *Science* and admired by politicians as diverse as Theodore Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler.

During the first half of the twentieth century, significant challenges to biological and genetic characterizations of race stressed the importance of environmental and cultural factors in human behavior. Franz Boas and other reform-minded anthropologists criticized earlier scientific research and pointed to overlapping physical variation, while social scientists, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, and reformers, such as Anna Julia Cooper, provided stark analyses of the persistent socioeconomic conditions that maintained racial disparities in health, education, and general economic status. By the mid-twentieth century, a coalition of cultural and physical anthropologists, empirical sociologists, and geneticists would also advance the biological data from population genetics that affirmed overlapping genetic variation to undermine static portraits of race and intelligence depicted in many IQ studies.

The most powerful statement rejecting the biological model of race was articulated in the UNESCO Statement on Race in 1950, drafted principally by the anthropologist Ashley Montagu, and subsequently revised following a rightwing backlash. The "new physical anthropology" articulated by Sherwood Washburn in the 1950s would focus on local populations rather than on artificial aggregates, on adaptation rather than on classification, on evolutionary dynamics rather than on static typologies, and on the diverse ways of being human rather than on the parochial ranking of human groups.

There was, however, an inevitable reaction against these new scientific sensibilities. Physical anthropologist Carleton Coon's *The Origin of Races* (1962) was widely brandished against the civil rights movement by segregationists for its assertion that blacks had evolved 200,000 years after whites. Psychologist Arthur Jensen (1969) asserted that intelligence was a largely innate property, gauged accurately by IQ tests, and that the average differences between black and white populations in America

were caused by innate differences in intellectual capacity. This was reiterated a generation later by psychologist Richard Herrnstein and political theorist Charles Murray in their 1994 best seller, *The Bell Curve*.

During the public uproar over *The Bell Curve*, it emerged that a New York–based foundation, the Pioneer Fund, had been clandestinely funding scientific racism for decades. One of its largest beneficiaries, and later its president, was Canadian psychologist J. Philippe Rushton, whose theory is that evolution has produced a racial spectrum with law-abiding, intelligent, and undersexualized Asians at one end, and their African antitheses at the other. The interesting historical note is that in this scheme Europeans fall in the middle, having apparently been leapfrogged by Asians.

The lesson to be drawn is that in a society in which science confers legitimacy upon ideas, there is always strong pressure to package political ideologies in the science of the day. This is no less true in the modern United States than it was in Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany. The American eugenics movement achieved two notable successes: the Johnson Immigration Bill (restricting immigration in 1924) and the Supreme Court's decision in *Buck v. Bell* (1926, allowing states to sterilize citizens against their will, on the basis of poor genes). Even after the eugenics movement had begun to fade in the United States, the Tuskegee Study on the Effects of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male (1932–1972) showed that American science is indeed susceptible to popular prejudices about the unequal value of human lives. It need hardly be pointed out that where political inequality is pervasive, it is expedient to explain the inequality as an outgrowth of natural differences, rather than as the historical products of human agency and human evil.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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GERARD FERGESON (1996)
JONATHAN MARKS (2005)

Race and Education in Brazil

At the end of the twentieth century, Brazilian universities, both public and private, began to implement affirmative action and quota programs to promote the more equitable inclusion of Afro-Brazilians in higher education. For the country with the largest population of African descent outside of Nigeria, this development was a stunning turnaround from a century in which, despite glaring racial inequalities, much of the public and in many cases even the state proclaimed that Brazil was a racial democracy—a racially mixed paradise free from intolerance and discrimination. What is all the more notable is that these new policies do not respond to a perceived social need to compensate for errors in the past. Instead, these policies are based on a growing perception that racial inequality is an ongoing facet of Brazilian society, reproduced by cultural values, economic factors, and the functioning of public and private institutions. The relationship between

Student Gilmara Braga is photographed as a candidate for the University of Brasilia's black quota program, 2004. *The university was the first in Brazil to introduce quotas to promote the more equitable inclusion of Afro-Brazilians in higher education.* © JAMIL BITTAR/REUTERS/CORBIS

race and education is central to this emerging national debate on discrimination and its remedies in Brazil, and analysis of the history of race and education sheds light on the mechanisms that have sustained and reproduced racial inequality in this society so central to the African diaspora.

Historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1992) offers a way of thinking about the role of race in American society that helps understand the relationship between race and education in Brazil. Higginbotham suggests that race functions as a "metanarrative"—that once race enters as a factor into a society, cultural values, social policies, and political discourse are all shaped by race (p. 252). Until 1888 Brazil was the largest slave-holding society in the Americas, receiving nearly half of all the slaves brought from Africa. As in other slave-holding societies, Brazilian masters contrived to withhold literacy from their slaves, and across the country, until the end of slavery, local legislation was repeatedly passed to prevent the education of slave children. But the institution of slavery influenced Brazilian society in a number of indirect ways as well. It propelled Brazilian elites to remain closely identified with Europe both through economic ties and through cultural and social values. These ties were so intense that from the colonial period through the end of the nineteenth century, these elites endeavored to educate their sons and daughters in Europe. While Brazil's monarchs established law, medical, engineering, and military academies at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first full university was not founded until 1922.

Through the nineteenth century, education at all levels remained almost exclusively the province of those who could provide for themselves, so only a few Brazilian cities offered even limited public instruction. Catholic institutions provided much of the education available until the twentieth century, both for Brazil's small, predominantly white elite and for a small number of free blacks, mulattoes and lower-class whites who received instruction in religious charities. Those few free people of color who received a full elementary education or all or part of a secondary education—almost always at the hands of religious institutions—became a part of a small educated semi-elite and occupied such positions as teachers, clerks, or accountants. Others received a vocational apprenticeship and worked in vocational trades. Until the turn of the twentieth century, Brazilian education mirrored the social hierarchies framed by the slave regime. In the absence of a

large, lower-class free white population, the large immigrant waves of the turn of the twentieth century also created some interstitial opportunities for those few free people of color who were able to attain an education, even if only at the primary level.

The rise of public education in Brazil in the first decades of the twentieth century had everything to do with racial thought. It emerged from the racial thinking of elite, typically white Brazilians who envisioned transforming a nation they increasingly perceived as backward. These Brazilians, drawn from the ranks of doctors, social scientists, and other educated professionals, were modernists and progressives who envisioned remaking Brazil through vigorous action by the state. For these self-styled "educational pioneers," education could be the means of effecting a particular type of social transformation. They began to revise a long-held view adopted from international intellectual currents of the late nineteenth century that held that black and racially mixed peoples were racially inferior. Instead, they promoted a view gaining international currency that rejected scientific racism and instead viewed what they called "degeneracy" as a condition associated with race but tied to environment.

This public education combined vocational training to support industrialization, a nationalist curriculum designed to "Brazilianize" the population, and a host of psychological, anthropological, sociological, medical, and hygienic measures intended to build a future "Brazilian race" freed from perceived degeneracy (Dávila, 2003). These measures were inspired by eugenics—a movement within the human sciences that envisioned "improving racial stock" either by preventing the reproduction of perceived degenerates, as occurred in involuntary sterilization programs in the United States and Nazi Germany, or by seeking to increase the "robustness" of individuals with the hope this would be transmitted to their progeny. The educational model created by this movement was a paradoxical experience. On the one hand, this logic served to make education increasingly available to all Brazilians, and disproportionately extended opportunities to those of African descent who had been so systematically excluded in the past. It came with varying degrees of health care, assistance with meals, and dental service. On the other hand, this educational model relied on testing and tracking students based on their perceived potential—a standard that was applied through a reading of health, hygiene, and psychological adaptation to learning. This mentality carried over to the curriculum, which emphasized Afro-Brazilian passivity in the face of slavery and reproduced pejorative stereotypes. One of the leading high-school history texts of the mid-century, for instance, listed Afro-Brazilian contributions to Brazilian society as: "Superstition, love for music and dance, a certain 'creole negligence,' heroic resignation in the face of misery, a fatalistic and lighthearted attitude in regards to work" (Serrano, p. 164).

The results of this model, developed and implemented between the world wars, was a form of de facto racial segregation. This segregation was based on the classification of students of color as medically, psychologically, and sociologically problematic. At the same time, the number of teachers of color declined as the profile of new teachers changed. Whereas some Afro-Brazilians gained teaching positions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries based on their education, new standards of professionalization and the entrance of affluent white women into the workforce diminished the space for Afro-Brazilians to gain the training that would net them teaching jobs. The outcome of decades of institution building in public education in the first half of the twentieth century in Brazil was a network of school systems that reached increasing numbers of Brazilians, including Brazilians of color. Paradoxically, it was an educational system that reproduced prevailing beliefs about the cultural and social inferiority of Brazilians of color and did so within an environment that conceded or withheld opportunities based on socially constructed conceptions of merit. Perversely, as educators increasingly relied on social-scientific and medical measures to define students, it became easier to imagine that race was not an explicit factor shaping educational opportunity. In other words, the sublimated role of race in public education, as in other facets of Brazilian society, made it easier to assert that race was not a factor in Brazilian social inequality—that Brazil was, indeed, a racial democracy.

During the second half of the twentieth century, education in Brazil underwent another transformation that again held considerable significance for the nation's race relations. Increasingly, affluent and predominantly white parents withdrew their children from public schools and used their purchasing power to secure private education. The upper- and middle-class disengagement from public primary and secondary schools stigmatized these educational spaces, which became synonymous with the education of the poor and nonwhites. Under these conditions, support for public education waned and resources were drained. In yet another paradox, the decline of public education involved a decline in teacher wages, which propelled affluent women out of the profession and reopened its doors to teachers of color, though under increasingly precarious and less prestigious conditions.

This Brazilian experience with regard to race and education is paralleled by that of other societies in the Americas. National identity myths celebrate race mixture in so-

cieties as diverse as Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. This belief in a national ethos of race mixture softening social lines belies a long and lingering history of exclusion and inequality. Yet, in Brazil, a movement for racial equality that organized in the opposition to that country's military dictatorship (1964–1985) gained ground in both local and national government during the process of redemocratization, which it used to advocate for compensatory action by the state as well as to promote racial solidarity among Afro-Brazilians, movements that have begun to redraw the relationship between race and education.

See also Education in the Caribbean; Education in the United States; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Identity and Race in the United States; Race, Scientific Theories of

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JERRY DÁVILA (2005)

Race and Science

Throughout American history, scientific thinkers have offered varied explanations for the visible, or phenotypic, differences between the peoples of the world, commonly referred to as races or racial groups. Although the concept of race did not originate as a scientific idea—its use is most likely traced back to descriptions of the breeding of domestic animals—science has often been turned to for biological justifications of racial types, as well as a scientific vocabulary for describing beliefs about the relationship between race and physical, social, and intellectual traits. At various times in American history racial science has sought to justify slavery, define the capacity for citizenship of nonwhites, and make claims about the intellectual and physical inferiority of African Americans and other groups.

Racial science is not solely an American phenomenon. After all, scientific racism's intellectual pedigree can be traced to European thinkers such as the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus and other Enlightenment-era scientists including the Frenchmen Louis LeClerc (the Comte de Buffon) and the German Johann Blumenbach. In the *Systema Naturae* (1735), Linnaeus, the founder of modern scientific taxonomy, divided the human species into four groups: *Americanus, Asiaticus, Africanus,* and *Europeaeus,* to which he assigned physical, social, and behavioral characteristics. In his taxonomy, for example, *Africanus* were described derisively as "black, phlegmatic . . . nose flat; lips tumid; women without shame . . . crafty, indolent, negligent . . . governed by caprice," whereas *Europeaeus* were described sympathetically as "white, sanguine, muscular . . . eyes blue, gentle . . . inventive . . . governed by laws."

Since the early days of the Republic, American racial scientists have proffered their views, developing uniquely American perspectives on race and science. Just ten years after he asserted that "all men are created equal" in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States and one of its early racial scientists, wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia* that the difference between the races "is fixed in nature" and hypothesized that blacks were "originally a distinct race."

The nineteenth century was especially fertile for racial scientists as America debated the future of racial slavery. Americans such as Samuel Morton, a Philadelphia physician, and Josiah Nott, a Mobile, Alabama, physician, contributed to the early development of racial science, their theories offering a variety of explanations for the nature of white racial superiority. Morton, founder of the American School of Anthropology, popularized the theory of polygeny, the idea that a hierarchy of human races had separate creations. Morton was also known for a body of work that linked cranial capacity to race and intelligence, which suggested Africans had the lowest cranial capacity and hence the lowest intelligence. These studies were the empirical foundation of polygeny and focused the attention of racial scientists on the relationship between race and intelligence, an emphasis that continues today. Toward the end of the twentieth century, evolutionary biologist Steven Jay Gould discovered that Morton, hailed in his time as "the objectivist of his age," based his conclusions on racial difference on fundamentally flawed data. Gould concluded that Morton's a priori beliefs about race influenced his methods and conclusions.

In the twentieth century, explanations for difference shifted from linking race to measurable human traits such as skin color and cranial capacity to linking racial characteristics directly to genetics, a shift that was driven in large part by the emergence of the fields of eugenics and genetics. Eugenics correlated certain negative and deviant social

behaviors with particular ethnic and racial populations and claimed these behaviors to be hereditary and genetic. Eugenic teaching on heredity suggested that race and racial differences in social and intellectual traits were unalterable through education, change in environment or climate, or the eradication of racism itself. For example, the eugenicist Charles Davenport's *Race Crossing in Jamaica* sought to prove the genetic basis for mental differences between whites and blacks, while eugenicists Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson, in their influential textbook *Applied Eugenics,* sought to justify segregation by arguing that African-American physical, emotional, and mental inferiority prevented blacks from becoming part of modern civilization.

Response to the speculations of racial scientists played an important part in the development of antiracist thought. In the late 1820s abolitionist and political essayist David Walker challenged the underpinnings of Jefferson's racial science in *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*. In the early part of the twentieth century Kelly Miller, dean at Howard University, and W. E. B. Du Bois, founder of the NAACP and editor of *The Crisis,* were among those who offered stinging critiques of racial science. In the 1920s Du Bois even debated the notorious eugenicist Lothrop Stoddard on this subject. The work of many anthropologists and biologists during the first half of the twentieth century also rebutted racial scientific thought. For example, the work of anthropologist Franz Boas, who dedicated his career to antiracism, showed that skull shape varied within human populations and that cranium size even varied within an individual's lifetime. In a later study of American immigrants, Boas also discovered that changes in environment could influence skull shape and size. These studies helped to illustrate the dynamic nature of human populations and also discredited notions of cranial differences between racial groups.

The intellectual and theoretical discussions about race, science, and medicine have had, since the days of slavery, real and sometimes horrific consequences for African Americans. In the nineteenth-century American South, slaves were sometimes used against their will in the course of scientific and medical experimentation. Less than a year into his presidency, Thomas Jefferson used two hundred slaves to test whether Edward Jenner's cowpox vaccine protected against smallpox. The vaccinations were successful and contributed to the acceptance of cowpox vaccination in Virginia and across the United States. Georgia physician Thomas Hamilton used a slave to carry out a brutal experiment testing remedies for heatstroke. The goal of his experiment was to find ways to help slaves withstand work during hot days. Finally, Alabama surgeon J. Marion Sims, considered to be a pioneer of gynecological medicine, used slave women to perfect a procedure to repair vesicovaginal fistulas. His test subjects underwent repeated operations without anesthesia until the procedure was perfected.

The belief by many racial scientists in the biological inferiority of African Americans, and the association of such diseases as tuberculosis and syphilis with African Americans, led to predictions that the race would eventually die out. The consequences of being viewed by the scientific and medical establishments as either constitutionally weaker or more vulnerable to a variety of ailments led to both stigmatization and poor medical treatment, and also a subsequent distrust by many African Americans of the medical and scientific community. Syphilis rates among African Americans were, for example, often ascribed to biological factors or the inherent moral inferiority of blacks rather than to social conditions or the nature of *Treponema pallidum,* the pathogen that causes syphilis.

The most notorious example of the intersection between race, science, and medicine is the Tuskegee study, conducted in Macon County, Alabama, by the U.S. Public Health Service from 1932 to 1972. The study examined the effects of late-stage untreated syphilis on 399 generally poor and illiterate African-American men who were recruited into the study with incentives that included burial costs and free medical care. When the study was exposed in 1972, it was discovered that study participants were never told the nature of their condition, that there was no formal protocol for the experiments, and that the men were not offered treatment for their condition, even after penicillin was found to be effective in the 1940s. The Tuskegee study is an unfortunate reminder of the damage theories of racial inferiority can wreak—damage to the individuals and their families who suffered as study subjects, damage to the integrity of the scientific and medical communities, and damage to the trust that is necessary between patient and doctors, or in this case, between the African-American community and the medical establishment. In the 1970s the moral outrage at the treatment of the Tuskegee study participants triggered the development of government-mandated protections for human subjects in scientific and medical research.

In the second half of the twentieth century, natural and social scientists, including anthropologist Ashley Montagu, psychologist Kenneth Clark, and biologist Richard Lewontin, challenged scientific notions of race. For example, Lewontin's studies in the 1970s showed that more genetic diversity exists within named racial groups than between them. In the early twenty-first century, the results of the Human Genome Project confirmed the belief that

human genetic diversity and human differences cannot be accounted for by the concept of race. Yet, despite the data and the rebukes, science continues to be used to buttress and rationalize America's view of race and American racism.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment; Walker, David

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MICHAEL YUDELL (2005)

Racial Democracy in Brazil

The term *racial democracy* refers to a certain pattern of race relations in Brazil. Specifically, it suggests that Brazilian race relations have developed in a tolerant and conflict-free manner, in contrast to the presumed hostile form of race relations that evolved in the United States. The concept of racial democracy had at one point received such widespread acceptance that it was regarded as an essential component of Brazilian national identity. Brazilians distinguished themselves as unique for having achieved a level of racial tolerance that few other societies had attained.

The origin of the term racial democracy remains unclear. António Sérgio Guimarães, a professor at the University of São Paulo, suggests that its usage goes back to the 1940s, when the Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos and the French sociologist Roger Bastide employed the term to link this pattern of race relations to Brazil's postwar democracy, which began to emerge at the end of the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1937–1945). However, the concept is more generally associated with the work of Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), who proposed the idea in the 1930s in a daring departure from the scientific racist thinking that had prevailed within Brazilian intellectual circles since the beginning of the twentieth century. Freyre stood the scientific racist thinking of the day on its head by arguing that Brazil's pervasive mixing of the races was not a factor in Brazil's failure to develop, but instead was testament to the achievements of a Brazilian civilization that had encouraged a pattern of tolerant race relations that was unique in the world. Freyre urged Brazilians to take pride in this, as well as in the displays of Afro-Brazilian culture that were prevalent throughout Brazil.

International factors contributed to the widespread acceptance of the notion of racial democracy, including the events surrounding the defeat of Nazism in Europe. Revelations of the racial horrors perpetrated by the Nazi regime stimulated the search for situations where, contrary to the European experience, race relations seemed to have evolved in a benign way. Brazil appeared to provide such a situation of racial tolerance. This was the motivation behind a United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) initiative in the 1950s to commission systematic studies of Brazilian race relations. However, UNESCO-sponsored research in Northern Brazil, led by anthropologist Charles Wagley, found patterns of discrimination that were attributed to the class position of Afro-Brazilians. UNESCO researchers in the South, in São Paulo specifically, led by Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes, unearthed systematic patterns of racial discrimination that called into question the validity of the notion of racial democracy.

While the notion of racial democracy assumed importance in both scholarly analysis and popular discussions for several decades, its credibility has since declined as the result of criticism from both black activists and from within academic circles. The activist critics emerged as early as the 1920s and 1930s when a black press developed in the City of São Paulo with the aim of calling attention to practices of racial discrimination. In addition, a protest movement known as the Black Brazilian Front (1931–1937) emerged and raised challenges to the ideal of a conflict-free pattern of Brazilian race relations. Subsequently, in the 1940s, Abdias Nascimento (b. 1914) founder of the Black Experimental Theatre, continued to provide organized expressions that ran contrary to the idea of racial democracy. In more recent times, the Black Unified Movement, created in 1978, has served as one of the principal activist vehicles for contesting the idea of racial democracy. In addition, a number of Black nongovernmental organizations have worked to bring to light racial issues that have been ignored in public discourse because of the widespread belief that a presumed racial democracy made such issues immaterial in the Brazilian context.

Alongside the activists' challenge to the idea of racial democracy, there has emerged a body of literature that has reinforced the findings uncovered by Bastide and Fernandes in the 1950s. Included in this literature are works by Carlos Hasenbalg, António Sérgio Guimarães, Nelson do Vale Silva, Lilia Monitz Schwarcz, and the scholars associated with the Centro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos of the Cándido Mendes University in Rio de Janeiro. North American scholars also have made a contribution to the rethinking of the notion of racial democracy. Among them are Michael Hanchard, Kim Butler, Edward Telles, Melissa Nobles, George Reid Andrews, Anthony Marx, Robin Sheriff, and Anani Dzidzienyo (of Ghana).

One strong indication of the abandonment of the idea of racial democracy is the set of laws and policies implemented to address the issue of racial discrimination in Brazil. One of these is Brazil's antidiscrimination law of 1989, known as the Caó Law, which defines racial discrimination as a felony crime and which imposes stiff prison penalties on those found guilty of discrimination. Also, a number of public universities have implemented policies of affirmative action in student admissions on the grounds of redressing the low numbers of Afro-Brazilians in higher education.

Despite the erosion of adherence to the notion of racial democracy, it still occasions disputes about the genuine nature of Brazilian race relations. Social scientists such as Peter Fry and Livio Sansone have argued that Brazilian race relations, even acknowledging patterns of racial discrimination, still do not reach the level of hostility seen in the United States.

See also Black Press in Brazil; Movimento Negro Unificado; Nascimento, Abdias

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MICHAEL MITCHELL (2005)

Radio

African-American radio can be divided into three general periods of historical development: blackface radio (1920–1941), black-appeal radio (1942–1969), and black-controlled radio (1970 to the present). Blackface radio was characterized by the appropriation of African-American music and humor by white entertainers, who performed their secondhand imitations for a predominantly white listening audience. During this period, black people were essentially outside of the commercial broadcasting loop; they were marginal as both radio entertainers and consumers. In the era of black-appeal radio, African Americans entered into the industry as entertainers and consumers, but the ownership and management of the stations targeting the black radio market remained mostly in the hands of white businessmen. This situation constrained the development of independent black radio operations, while the radio industry in general prospered from it. During the most recent period, African Americans have striven to own and operate their own radio stations, both commercial and public. In addition, they have established black-controlled radio networks and trade organizations.

However, the percentage of African-American-owned stations still lags far behind the percentage of black listeners.

The appropriation of black song, dance, and humor by white entertainers who blackened their faces with charcoal goes back to the early days of slavery. The resulting radical stereotypes were embedded in the blackface minstrel tradition, which dominated American popular entertainment in the antebellum period, and remained resilient enough in the postbellum years to reappear in film and radio in the early decades of the twentieth century. Popular black music styles like blues and jazz were first performed on the radio by such white performers as Sophie Tucker, the first singer to popularize W. C. Handy's "Saint Louis Blues," and Paul Whiteman, the so-called king of jazz in the 1920s. A parallel trend developed with respect to black humor with the emergence of *Amos 'n' Andy* (starring Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll) as radio's most popular comedy series.

Indeed, *Amos 'n' Andy* was radio's first mass phenomenon: a supershow that attracted 53 percent of the national audience, or 40 million listeners, during its peak years on the NBC network in the early 1930s. In addition, the series provoked the black community's first national radio controversy. Robert Abbot, editor of the *Chicago Defender,* defended Gosden and Correll's caricatures of black urban life as inoffensive and even humane. Robert Vann, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* countered by criticizing the series as racist in its portrayal of African Americans. He also launched a petition campaign to have the program taken off the air that amassed 740,000 signatures—but to no avail, for the Federal Radio Commission ignored it. Meanwhile, *Amos 'n' Andy* dominated black comedy on radio throughout its heyday as the "national pastime" in the 1930s. In addition to Gosden and Correll, the other major blackface radio entertainers of the era included George Mack and Charles Moran, known as the Two Black Crows on the CBS network, as well as Marlin Hunt, who created and portrayed the radio maid Beulah on the series of the same name.

During the period when blackface comedy performed by whites dominated the portrayal of African Americans over the airways, its audience was mostly white; fewer than one in ten black households owned a radio receiver. There were black entertainers and actors who managed to get hired by the radio industry in the pre–World War II era, and for the most part they were restricted to playing stereotyped roles. The renowned black comedian Bert Williams was the first important black performer to be linked to commercial broadcasting, in the 1920s; he was featured on a New York station doing the same routines he popularized while performing in blackface on the Broadway stage. During the Great Depression, as if to add insult to injury, a number of black actors and actresses who auditioned for radio parts were told that they needed to be coached in the art of black dialect by white coaches if they wanted the jobs. This perverse chain of events happened to at least three African-American performers: Lillian Randolph (*Lulu and Leander Show*), Johnny Lee (*Slick and Slim Show*), and Wonderful Smith (*Red Skelton Show*). The most famous black comic to appear regularly on network radio in the 1930s was Eddie Anderson, who played the role of the butler and chauffeur Rochester on the *Jack Benny Show*. Anderson was often criticized in the black press for playing a stereotypical "faithful servant" role, even as he was being praised for his economic success and celebrity.

After blackface comedy, the African-American dance music called jazz was the next most popular expression of black culture broadcast over the airways in the 1920s and 1930s. As was the case with humor, the major radio jazz bands were made up of white musicians, and were directed by white bandleaders such as Paul Whiteman, B. A. Rolfe, and Ben Bernie. The first black musicians to be broadcast with some regularity on network radio were New York bandleaders Duke Ellington and Noble Sissle. A number of influential white radio producers such as Frank and Ann Hummert, the king and queen of network soap operas, began to routinely include black doctors, teachers, and soldiers in their scripts. In addition, the federal government produced its own radio series, entitled *Freedom's People,* to dramatize the participation of African Americans in past wars, and it recruited Paul Robeson as a national and then international radio spokesman for the U.S. war effort. But at the end of the war, the government withdrew from the domestic broadcasting sphere, allowing the logic of the marketplace to reassert itself. Then with the advent of the new television networks, and their subsequent domination of the national broadcasting market, radio was forced to turn to local markets in order to survive as a commercial enterprise. Inadvertently, this led to the discovery of a "new Negro market" in regions where African Americans' numbers could no longer be ignored by broadcasters. This was especially the case in large urban centers, where nine out of ten black families owned radios by the late 1940s. The result of this convergence of economic necessity and a mushrooming listening audience was the emergence of black-appeal radio stations and the rise of the African-American disc jockey—two interrelated developments that transformed the landscape of commercial radio in the postwar era.

A few black DJs were playing records over the airways in the 1930s; they worked through a brokerage system that

charged them an hourly fee for airtime. The disc jockeys, in turn, solicited advertising aimed at the local black community and broadcast it in conjunction with recorded "race" music. Jack L. Cooper pioneered this approach in Chicago on his radio show *The All Negro Hour,* which first aired on WSBC in 1929. At first, he developed a live variety show with local black talent, but within two years he had switched to recorded music in order to cut costs. He played jazz discs, hosted a popular "missing persons" show, pitched ads, made community-service announcements, and also developed a series of weekend religious programs. This format was successful enough to make him into a millionaire; by the end of the 1930s, he had a stable of African-American DJs working for him on a series of black-appeal programs broadcast on two stations. In the 1940s Cooper was challenged as Chicago's premier black disc jockey by Al Benson, who also built up a small radio empire on local outlets with his own style of black-appeal programming. Cooper targeted the middle-class African-American audience; he played the popular big-band jazz recordings of the day and prided himself in speaking proper English over the air. Benson played the down-home blues of the era and spoke in the vernacular of the new ghetto populace, most of whom were working-class southern migrants. A new era of black radio was at hand.

By the end of the 1940s there was a growing number of aspiring DJs in urban black communities ready to take advantage of the new "Negro-appeal" formats springing up on stations throughout the country. In Memphis, Nat D. Williams was responsible for broadcasting the first African-American radio show there, on WDIA in 1948; he also created the station's new black-appeal format and launched the careers of numerous first-generation African-American DJs over WDIA's airways. Two of the most important were Maurice "Hot Rod" Hulbert, who moved on to become the dean of black disc jockeys in Baltimore, on WBEE; and Martha Jean "the Queen" Stienburg, who later became the most popular black DJ in Detroit, on WCHB. In 1950, WERD, in Atlanta, became the first African-American-owned radio station in the country when it was purchased by J. B. Blayton, Jr. He appointed his son as station manager and then hired Jack "the Rapper" Gibson as program director. Other black-appeal stations that came into prominence during the early 1950s included WEDR in Birmingham, Alabama; WOOK in Washington, D.C.; WCIN in Cincinnati; WABQ in Cleveland; KXLW in St. Louis; and KCKA in Kansas City, which became the second African-American-owned radio outlet in the nation in 1952. By 1956 more than four hundred radio stations in the United States were broadcasting black-appeal programming. Each of these operations showcased its own homegrown African-American disc jockeys, who were the centerpiece of the on-air sound.

The powerful presence and influence of the African-American DJs on the airways in urban America in the 1950s stemmed from two sources. On the one hand, they were the supreme arbiters of black musical tastes; they could make or break a new record release, depending on how much they played and promoted it. On the other hand, the black disc jockeys were also the new electronic griots of the black oral tradition, posturing as social rappers and cultural rebels. As such, they collectively constituted a social grapevine that was integral not just to the promotion of rhythm and blues but also to the empowerment of the growing civil rights movement in the South. Such black-appeal radio stations as WERD in Atlanta and WDIA in Memphis, as well as Al Benson's shows in Chicago, played a vital role in informing people about the early civil rights struggles. In a speech to black broadcasters late in his life, civil rights leader the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., paid special tribute to disc jockeys Tall Paul White (WEDR, Birmingham), Purvis Spann (WVON, Chicago), and Georgie Woods (WHAT, Philadelphia) for their important contributions to the civil rights efforts in their respective cities.

During the 1950s African-American radio DJs also had a profound effect on commercial radio in general. Some stations—such as WLAC in Nashville, a high-powered AM outlet heard at night throughout the South—devoted a hefty amount of their evening schedules to rhythm-and-blues records. In addition, the white disc jockeys at WLAC (John R., Gene Noble, Hoss Allen, and Wolfman Jack) adopted the on-air styles, and even dialect, of the black DJs. Many of their listeners, both black and white, thought that WLAC's disc jockeys were African Americans. This was also the case on WJMR in New Orleans, where the white DJs who hosted the popular *Poppa Stoppa Show* were actually trained to speak in black dialect by the creator of the show, an African-American college professor named Vernon Winslow. Other white DJs who became popular by emulating the broadcast styles of their black counterparts included Dewey Phillips in Memphis; Zenas "Daddy" Sears in Atlanta; Phil Mckernan in Oakland, California; George "Hound Dog" Lorenz in Buffalo, New York; and Allen Freed in Cleveland. Freed moved on to become New York City's most famous rock-and-roll disc jockey before his fall from grace as the result of payola scandals in the early 1960s.

Payola, the exchange of money for record airplay, was a common practice throughout the radio industry. It was an easy way for disc jockeys to supplement the low wages they were paid by their employers. Hence, many well-

known black DJs were adversely affected by the payola exposés. Some lost their jobs when their names were linked to the ongoing investigations, and an unfortunate few were even the targets of income-tax-evasion indictments. The industry's solution to the payola problem was the creation of the "top forty" radio format, which in effect gave management complete control over the playlists of records to be aired on their stations. Formerly, the playlists had been determined by the individual DJs. This change led to the demise of both the white rock-and-roll disc jockeys and the black "personality" DJs associated with rhythm and blues, and then "soul" music. Black-appeal stations were centralized even further by the emergence of five soul radio chains in the 1960s, all of which were white-owned and -managed. By the end of the decade, these corporations controlled a total of twenty stations in key urban markets with large African-American populations, including New York, Chicago, Memphis, and Washington, D.C. The chain operations not only established standardized top-forty soul formats at their respective outlets, thus limiting the independence of the black DJs they employed, but they also eliminated most of the local African-American news and public-affairs offerings on the stations.

In spite of the trend toward top-forty soul formats, a number of black personality DJs managed to survive and even prosper in the 1960s. The most important were Sid McCoy (WGES, WCFL), Purvis Spann (WVON), and Herb Kent (WVON) in Chicago; LeBaron Taylor and Georgie Woods (both WDAS) in Philadelphia; Eddie O'Jay in Cleveland (WABQ) and Buffalo (WUFO); Skipper Lee Frazier (KCOH) in Houston; the Magnificent Montegue (KGFJ) in Los Angeles; and Sly Stone (KSOL) in San Francisco. LeBaron Taylor and Sly Stone went on to successful careers in the music industry—Taylor as a CBS record executive and Stone as a pioneering pop musician. The Magnificent Montegue's familiar invocation, "Burn, baby, burn," used to introduce the "hot" records he featured on his show, inadvertently became the unofficial battle cry of the 1967 Watts rebellion. The new mood of black militancy sweeping the nation also found its way into the ranks of the African-American DJs, especially among the younger generation just entering the radio industry. Two of the more influential members of this "new breed," as they came to be known, were Del Shields (WLIB) in New York and Roland Young (KSAN, KMPX) in San Francisco. Both men independently pioneered innovative black music formats, mixing together jazz, soul, and salsa recordings.

The 1970s ushered in the current era of black-owned and -controlled radio operations, both stations and networks. In 1970, of the more than 300 black-formatted stations, only sixteen were owned by African Americans. During the next decade, the number of black-owned stations rose to 88, while the number of formatted stations surpassed 450. Some of the more prominent African Americans who became radio station owners during this era included entertainers James Brown and Stevie Wonder, Chicago publisher John Johnson, and New York City politician Percy Sutton. In particular, Sutton's Harlem-based Inner City Broadcasting (WLIB-AM, WBLS-FM) has been the national trendsetter in a black-owned and -operated radio from the early 1970s to the present. In 1977 African-American broadcasters organized their own trade organization, the National Association of Black-Owned Broadcasters. By 1990 there were 206 black-owned radio stations—138 AM and 68 FM—in the country.

It was also during the 1970s that two successful black radio networks were launched: the Mutual Black Network, founded in 1972, which became the Sheridan Broadcasting Network in 1979; and the National Black Network, started in 1973. Both of these operations provide news, talk shows, public affairs, and cultural features to their affiliate stations throughout the nation. In the 1980s the Sheridan network had more than one hundred affiliates and 6.2 million weekly listeners; in addition to news and public affairs, it offered a wide range of sports programming, including live broadcasts of black college football and basketball games. The National network averaged close to one hundred affiliates and four million weekly listeners in the 1980s; its most popular programs, in addition to its news reports, were journalist Roy Woods's *One Man's Opinion* and Bob Law's *Night Talk*. In 1991 Sheridan Broadcasting Corporation purchased National Black Network to form the American Urban Radio Network (AURN). As of 2005 AURN is the only African-American-owned network radio company in the United States, broadcasting three hundred weekly news, entertainment, sports, and information programs to more than 475 radio stations that reach some twenty-five million listeners nationwide.

Two major formats have dominated black-owned commercial radio in the 1970s and 1980s—"talk" and "urban contemporary." Talk radio formats emerged on African-American AM stations in the early 1970s; in essence they featured news, public affairs, and live listener call-in shows. By this time, the FM stations dominated the broadcasting of recorded music because of their superior reproduction of high-fidelity and stereo signals. The AM stations were left with talk by default. Inner City Broadcasting initiated the move toward talk radio formats among African-American stations when it turned WLIG-

AM, which it purchased in New York City in 1972, into "your total news and information station" that same year. The logic of the commercial radio market encouraged many of the other black AM operations, such as WOL-AM in Washington, D.C., to follow suit. Likewise, Inner City Broadcasting also pioneered the urban contemporary format on WBLS-FM during this same period. Much of the credit for the new format is given to Frankie Crocker, who was the station's program director at the time. To build up WBLS's ratings in the most competitive radio market in the country, Crocker scuttled the station's established jazz programming in favor of a crossover format featuring black music currently on the pop charts along with popular white artists with a black sound. The idea was to appeal to an upscale black and white audience. The formula worked to perfection; WBLS became the top station in the New York market, and scores of other stations around the country switched to the new urban contemporary format. One example was WHUR-FM, owned by Howard University in Washington, D.C. The station's original jazz and black-community-affairs format was sacked in favor of the urban contemporary approach in the mid-1970s. The new format allowed WHUR to become one of the top-rated stations in the Washington market. In the process, it gave birth to an innovative new nighttime urban contemporary style called "quiet storm," after the Smokey Robinson song of the same name. The architect of this novel format was Melvin Lindsey, a former Howard student and WHUR intern. In 1980 WOL-AM in Washington, D.C., was purchased by Catherine and Dewey Hughes. Catherine Hughes later bought out her now ex-husband's interest, and WOL-AM was the start of Radio One, Inc., the seventh-largest radio broadcasting company (as of 2003) to target African-American and urban listeners. Radio One owns and/or operates sixty-nine radio stations in twenty-two urban markets.

The 1970s and 1980s also marked the entrance of African Americans into the public broadcasting sphere. By 1990 thirty-two public FM stations were owned and operated by black colleges around the country, and another twelve were controlled by black community boards of directors. These stations are not subject to the pervasive ratings pressures of commercial radio, giving them more leeway in programming news, public affairs, talk, and unusual cultural features. Many of these stations—such as WCLK-FM, owned by Clarke College in Atlanta; WSHA-FM, owned by Shaw College in Raleigh, North Carolina; and WVAS-FM, from Alabama State University in Montgomery—have adopted the jazz formats abandoned by African-American-owned commercial FM stations. Others, such as WPFW-FM in Washington, D.C. (the number one black public radio outlet in the country), have developed a more ambitious "world rhythms" format embracing the many musics of the African diaspora. In general, the growth of black public radio has expanded the variety and diversity of African-American programming found on the airways, while also increasing the numbers of African Americans working in radio.

However, since the passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, independent black radio stations have struggled to survive. The Telecom Act has allowed conglomerates in a single market to have radio holdings that receive up to 40 percent of the market's advertising revenue and has eliminated the forty-station nationwide ownership limit; broadcasters may purchase up to eight radio stations in large markets and five in small markets. This has led to a consolidation in which conglomerates, with greater financial resources, have benefited while black-owned stations with less capital have gone up for sale. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, from 1995 to 1996 the number of black-owned FM stations dropped from 86 to 64 and AM radio stations from 109 to 101; in 1997 there were 169 minority-owned broadcasters but by 2001 the number was 149. The largest black-controlled radio broadcaster (and seventh-largest in the country), Radio One, owns 69 radio stations; in contrast, Clear Channel, the largest U.S. radio broadcaster, owned 1,200 stations as of 2003—76 of which targeted black and urban audiences. Single-station owners are going the way of the dodo, but various entrepreneurs are acquiring their own, albeit small, clusters of stations to maintain a presence within the industry by offering grassroots community appeal and diversity of programming—and marketing that programming to more than the African-American market in order to survive and grow.

See also Jazz; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Rhythm and Blues; Robeson, Paul; Walker, George; Williams, Bert

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WILLIAM BARLOW (1996)
CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Ragtime

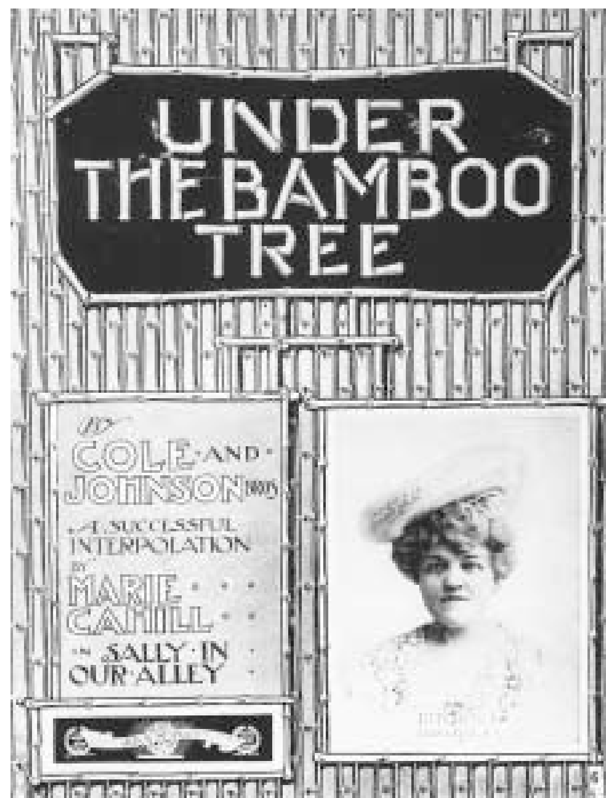
Ragtime was the first music of African-American origin to play a significant role in American popular culture. It had both vocal and instrumental forms, flourished from the mid-1890s until the late 1910s, and had important exponents among both black and white composers.

In the public mind during the late nineteenth century, syncopated rhythm was a major element of black music. Such rhythms were used to caricature black music and were widely heard in minstrel shows that toured the nation, bringing an incipient ragtime to the public consciousness.

The term "rag" was used before the full term "ragtime." Black newspapers in Kansas from 1891 to 1893 refer to "rags" as social dance events. Anecdotes place ragtime music in Chicago during the 1893 World's Fair, though the first documented use of the term "rag" in a musical sense appears in the black *Leavenworth Herald* of December 8, 1894. Possibly the first music publication to refer to "rag" as a style is Ernest Hogan's song "All Coons Look Alike to Me" (copyright August 3, 1896), which includes a syncopated "Choice Chorus, with Negro 'Rag,' Accompaniment." The full term "rag time" (later "rag-time" and "ragtime") may be found first in the *Brooklyn Eagle* of September 6, 1896, in a report of pianist Ben Harney playing "what may be called rag time airs."

Vocal Ragtime

Most early ragtime songs were known as "coon songs," "coon" being a then–widely used, contemptuous term for blacks. These songs typically had lyrics in stereotypical black dialect and played upon such negative themes as



Cover of sheet music for **Under the Bamboo Tree,** ***with music and lyrics by Bob Cole, J. Rosamond Johnson, and James Weldon Johnson, 1902.*** MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

black men being shiftless, lazy, thieving, gambling, and violent and of black women being mercenary and sexually promiscuous. A typical song lyric would be "I don't like no cheap man / Dat spends his money on de 'stallment plan." (Bert Williams and George Walker, 1897). Adding to the songs' negative impressions were sheet music covers that usually portrayed African Americans in grotesquely exaggerated caricatures. With the relatively insensitive ethnic climate of the time, there was little protest from the black community, and black artists—including such sophisticated individuals as composer Will Marion Cook and poet-lyricist Paul Laurence Dunbar—contributed to the genre.

Not all early ragtime songs were abusive, even though they retained racial stereotypes. Among those whose popularity outlived the ragtime years was Joseph E. Howard and Ida Emerson's "Hello! Ma Baby" (1899), which celebrates courtship over the telephone. "Bob" Cole and J. Rosamond Johnson, black artists who were sensitive to the stigma of demeaning lyrics, wrote their enormously suc-

Sheet music covers of ragtime compositions by Scott Joplin and Tom Turpin. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

cessful "Under the Bamboo Tree" (1902) to demonstrate that a racial song could express tasteful and universally appreciated sentiments.

Around 1905, the ragtime song began to lose its overtly racial quality, and the category came to include any popular song of a strongly rhythmic character. Typical examples were "Some of These Days" (1910) and "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee" (1913). Irving Berlin's hit song "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911), which was regarded by many as the high point of ragtime, retains only slight racial suggestions in its lyrics, and these are not derogatory.

Instrumental Ragtime and Dance

Ragtime developed both as a solo-piano vehicle and as an ensemble style for virtually all instrumental groupings. Ensemble ragtime was played by marching and concert bands; by dance orchestras; and in such diverse combinations as xylophone-marimba duos and trios, piano-violin duos, and mandolin-banjo groupings. Solo-piano ragtime was heard on the vaudeville stage, in saloons and brothels, in the home parlor, and on the mechanical player piano.

Ragtime was closely associated with dance. In the early days, the two-step was most common, along with such variants as the slow-drag. The cakewalk remained popular throughout the ragtime years but was a specialty dance reserved mostly for exhibitions and contests. In the 1910s many new dances joined the ragtime category, including the one-step; the fox-trot; the turkey trot; the grizzly bear; and such waltz variants as the Boston, the hesitation, and the half-and-half. The tango and the maxixe, though Latin-American rather than ragtime dances, were performed to syncopated music and became part of the ragtime scene in the mid-1910s.

Piano Ragtime

Ragtime was published primarily for the piano and contributed significantly to the development of American popular music and jazz piano. Piano ragtime, like the ragtime song, flourished as published sheet music, but it also existed as an improvised art, giving it a direct link to early jazz. However, since improvised ragtime was not preserved on sound recordings, there exists little detailed knowledge of it.

The defining elements of ragtime were established by 1896 with the printed piano parts in ragtime music publications. Of primary importance was the syncopation, for it was from this uneven, ragged, rhythmic effect that the term "ragtime" was derived. As applied to piano music, syncopation typically appeared as a right-hand pattern played against an even, metric bass. Around 1906 a new pattern known as secondary ragtime gained acceptance. This is not true syncopation, but the shifting accents within a three-note pattern create a polyrhythmic effect that was successfully integrated with the other ragtime gestures. After 1911, dotted rhythms made inroads into ragtime, further diluting the distinctiveness of the early ragtime syncopations.

The form into which ragtime was cast, though not a defining element, was consistent. The form followed that

of the march and consisted of a succession of sixteen-measure thematic sections, each section being evenly divided into four phrases. Typically the two opening thematic sections were in the tonic key and were followed by one or two sections (known as the "trio") in the subdominant key. (As an example of the key relationships, if the tonic key were C, the subdominant key would be F.) Diagrammatically, with each section depicted with an uppercase letter, the form with repeats might appear as AA BB A CC or AA BB CC DD. To these patterns might be added four-measure introductions to A and to C and interludes between repeats of C or between C and D. Though these patterns were typical, they were not invariable; many rags used different numbers of sections and different key relationships.

Blues, another style that emerged from the African-American community, had some influence on the rags of a few composers, particularly in the use of so-called blue notes. What in later years was to become known as the classic twelve-bar blues form made its earliest appearances in piano rags. The first known example was in "One O' Them Things?" (James Chapman and Leroy Smith, 1904), in which a twelve-bar blues replaces the usual sixteen-bar A section. Both the form and the term appear in a New Orleans ragtime publication of 1908, A. Maggio's "I Got the Blues." The first blues to achieve popularity was W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues" (1912), which combines twelve-bar blues and sixteen-bar ragtime sections and was subtitled "A Southern Rag." Throughout the rest of the ragtime era, the term "blues" was applied indiscriminately to many rags.

Though instrumental ragtime lacked the precise verbal communication of ragtime song lyrics, early published rags still conveyed a racial connotation with cover pictures that caricatured blacks, frequently in an offensive manner. As with the songs, piano ragtime's gradual acceptance as American music rather than as an exclusively racial expression was accompanied by the reduction of offensive racial depictions.

The Composers and Performers

The first ragtime performer to acquire fame was vaudeville pianist, singer, and composer Ben Harney, who appeared in New York in 1896 with "plantation negro imitations." Though he was known as "the first white man to play ragtime," his racial origins remain uncertain.

The publication of piano ragtime began in 1897 with "Mississippi Rag," by white bandmaster William Krell. Several months later, Tom Turpin, with his "Harlem Rag," became the first black composer to have a piano rag published. Turpin, a St. Louis saloon keeper, was an important figure in the development of ragtime in that city and reportedly had composed this piece as early as 1892. The most prominent ragtime success of 1897 was Kerry Mills's "At a Georgia Campmeeting," known in both song and instrumental versions and recorded by the Sousa Band, among others.

Scott Joplin, composer of "The Maple Leaf Rag." FISK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Piano ragtime quickly caught on, and from 1897 to 1899 more than 150 piano rags were published, the most important and influential being Scott Joplin's "Maple Leaf Rag" (1899). Joplin was a composer with serious aspirations, and his frequent publisher John Stark adopted the term "classic ragtime" to describe the music of Joplin and others he published. These included black Missourians James Scott, Arthur Marshall, Louis Chauvin, and Artie Matthews, and such white composers as J. Russel Robinson, Paul Pratt, and Joseph Lamb. Though virtually all classic rags are superior examples of the genre, the term did not embrace any single style. Nor were classic rags the best known. More popular were the easier and more accessible rags of such composers as Ted Snyder, Charles Johnson, Percy Wenrich, and George Botsford.

New York City, with its flourishing entertainment centers and music publishing industry (Tin Pan Alley), naturally attracted many ragtimers. Because of the competition and high musical standards in the city, some of the more adept ragtime pianists developed a virtuosic style known as "stride." Among the leaders of this style were

Eubie Blake, James P. Johnson, and Luckey Roberts. These musicians—along with such figures as Joe Jordan, Will Marion Cook, Bob Cole, and J. Rosamond Johnson—also became involved in black musical theater, which made extensive use of ragtime.

Bandleader James Reese Europe disliked the term "ragtime" but became one of the most influential musicians on the late ragtime scene in New York. In 1910 he formed the Clef Club, an organization that functioned both as a union and booking agency for New York's black musicians. As music director for the popular white dance team of Irene and Vernon Castle, beginning in 1914, Europe created a demand both for black music and for black dance-band musicians.

Many who were admired during the ragtime years left little or no record of their music. Among these were "One-Leg" Willie Joseph, Abba Labba (Richard McLean), and "Jack the Bear" (John Wilson). "Jelly Roll" Morton was active from the early ragtime years but did most of his publishing and recording in the 1920s and 1930s. Tony Jackson was widely praised as a performer and composer but is remembered today primarily for his song "Pretty Baby." Though black women were active as performers and composers, they are now mostly forgotten because they did not record and few published. Thus, the history of ragtime is slanted in favor of those who left a documented record.

Reaction to Ragtime

Within the context of the genteel parlor music of the 1890s, ragtime was shockingly new. Nothing like it had ever been heard. For some, ragtime became America's statement of musical independence from Europe; it was hailed as a new expression, reflecting the nation's exuberance and restlessness. American youth, regardless of race, embraced the music as its own.

Inevitably, opposition to ragtime emerged. One sector of opposition was generational—the ever-present syndrome of the older generations rejecting the music of the younger. There was also opposition from musical elitists, those who objected to a musical form that lacked a proper pedigree and feared it would drive out "good music." Some denied that ragtime was at all innovative; they argued that the ragtime rhythms had been used by the European "old masters" and in various European folk music. Then there were the blatant racists, who rejected the idea that an American music could have black origins and denied that African Americans were capable of creating anything original. Most of all, they feared that white youth was being "infected" by this developing black music.

Certain parts of African-American society also objected to ragtime. Church groups, noting that ragtime was played in saloons and brothels and used for dancing, concluded that the music contributed to sinfulness. Blacks striving for middle-class respectability were also wary of ragtime because of its lower-class associations. *The Negro Music Journal* (1902–1903), which encouraged blacks to cultivate tastes for classical music, denounced ragtime and denied that it was an African-American expression.

Despite such opposition, ragtime thrived and evolved. During the mid- to late 1910s jazz emerged as an offshoot of ragtime. At first there was little distinction between the two, but by the end of World War I (1914–18) jazz had replaced ragtime as the most important vernacular music in America.

See also Blues, The; Jazz; Joplin Scott; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Music in the United States

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EDWARD A. BERLIN (1996)
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Jesse Jackson during his 1984 presidential campaign. *Jackson founded the Rainbow Coalition in 1984. Two years later, the organization merged with PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity), which Jackson had founded in the early 1970s.* UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition is the result of the merger of two organizations founded by the Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr.: Operation PUSH, founded in 1971, and the National Rainbow Coalition, founded in 1984. The two organizations merged in September 1996 in order to maximize financial, staff, and leadership resources.

Operation PUSH

The idea for the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition lies originally with another program—Operation Breadbasket. Founded by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1962, Operation Breadbasket worked to improve the economic status of African Americans by boycotting businesses that did not employ or buy products made by blacks. In 1966 Jackson became the director of the Chicago campaign; besides using economic boycotts, Jackson also advocated support for African-American banks as a route to economic opportunity. Both boycotts and economic empowerment would become familiar issues within the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. Jackson was appointed the National Director of Operation Breadbasket in 1967, but the program was losing momentum by 1971 when Jackson left the SCLC to found Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity, later changed to People United to Serve Humanity) in Chicago. The mission of the self-help group, which Jackson served as president of operations, was to obtain economic power to enhance the living conditions of working and poor African Americans through the use of corporate economic boycotts as a way to obtain more jobs and business opportunities. Among the corporate targets were Coca-Cola, Burger King, Kentucky Fried

Chicken, Adolph Coors, Montgomery Ward, and Nike. Besides economic opportunities, Jackson was also interested in social issues such as housing, welfare, politics, education, and youth affairs.

In 1985, with $6 million in government funding from the National Institute of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Jackson turned his attention to problems in public education through an affiliate group called PUSH for Excellence (PUSH-EXCEL) with its emphasis on upgrading the quality of education nationwide, urging teens to stay in school, and building self-esteem among the young. During Jackson's presidential bids in 1984 and 1988, Operation PUSH also sponsored numerous voter registration drives. However, the group came under scrutiny with allegations of fiscal mismanagement that led to federal audits and civil claims.

The Rainbow Coalition

During his address at the 1984 Democratic Convention, which was held in San Francisco, Jackson used a rainbow as a metaphor for the nation and its ethnic and racial diversity—"red, yellow, brown, black, and white. . . . The white, the Hispanic, the black, the Arab, the Jew, the woman, the Native American, the small farmer, the businessperson, the environmentalist, the peace activist, the young, the old, the lesbian, the gay, and the disabled make up the American quilt." The Rainbow Coalition was founded as a national social justice organization based in Washington, D.C., that was devoted to political empowerment, education, and changing public policy. The coalition allowed for third-party views in a two-party political system and lobbied for a more active role for African Americans and others marginalized by society. The Rainbow Coalition also lobbied for more of the national budget going toward domestic programs and health care and for a focus on international peace building. However, Jackson's public stance of defiance through various presidential administrations has been thought to hinder his ability to be an effective political insider.

Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

The merged Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, with its national headquarters located in Chicago, is a multiracial, multi-issue membership organization whose stated mission is "uniting people of diverse ethnic, religious, economic, and political backgrounds to make America's promise of 'liberty and justice for all' a reality." The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition has a broad range of issues and goals, including voter registration and civic education; political empowerment; assisting in the election of local, state, and federal officials; election law reform; mediating labor disputes; challenging broadcast station licenses to ensure equal employment opportunities in the media; including more minorities in all areas of the entertainment industry; fairness in the media, sports, and criminal justice system; jobs and economic empowerment; employee rights and livable wages; educational access; fair and decent housing; negotiating with major corporations to obtain minority-owned franchises and other business opportunities; affirmative action and equal rights; a voice in trade and foreign policy; gender equality; and environmental justice. Jackson regards the current stage in the struggle for equality as economic empowerment and access to capital, industry, and technology.

Among the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's programs is the International Trade Bureau, which has been in existence for over thirty years and is intended to bring parity within the business community for minority and women-owned businesses by strengthening business contacts and opportunities. It provides technical assistance through workshops, training, presentations, and business counseling. The Wall Street Project, which began in 1998, is aimed at increasing minority involvement in business and investment in inner cities through hiring and promoting more minorities, naming more minorities to corporate boards, and awarding more contracts to minority businesses. In 1999 a financial ministry called 1,000 Churches Connected was begun to bring the message of economic responsibility to families. The program connects twenty religious organizations in the top fifty minority markets to use the pulpit, Sunday school classes, and church-sponsored seminars to teach financial stewardship, equal economic opportunity, and shared economic security. The Push for Life HIV & AIDS Initiative began in March 2000 to prevent disease and create healthy African-American and Latino communities. According to the RPC's Web site, African Americans account for 52 percent and Hispanics account for 18 percent of total HIV infections. The initiative has developed a political platform to assist the HIV/AIDS community in the eradication of HIV through increased funding and creation of a public awareness campaign regarding education, prevention, care, and treatment. Another goal is to create an international adoption program intended to link African-American churches with orphanages in South Africa. The RPC also maintains a Prison Outpost Project that provides information and programs to prisoners and to the larger community as well as offering worship and other spiritual services.

At the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's 2002 annual convention, Jackson announced that his successor would be the Rev. James Meeks, the pastor of Chicago's Salem Bap-

tist Church, who began working with the RPC's leadership in the mid-1990s. However, Jackson said he had no timetable to step down from the organization but merely wanted to plan for the long-term success and leadership of the coalition.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Jackson, Jesse

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Raines, Franklin D.

January 14, 1949

One of seven children, public official and investment banker Franklin D. Raines grew up in Seattle, Washington. His working-class family had been a recipient of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or welfare. He received his B.A. degree from Harvard College in 1971 and his J.D. degree from Harvard University Law School in 1976. He also attended Magdalen College at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar.

From 1977 to 1979 Raines was an associate director for economics and government with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and assistant director of the White House Domestic Policy Staff, handling such issues as welfare reform, food stamps, and social security. He then was a general partner with the international investment banking firm, Lazard Freres & Company from 1979 to 1991.

From 1991 to 1996 Raines was vice chair of the Federal National Mortgage Association, better known as Fannie Mae, which provides financial assistance for lower-income Americans who are in the market for a home. It is also the world's largest nonbank financial service and the largest financier of home mortgages in the country. Raines then joined President Bill Clinton's cabinet from April 1996 to May 1998, where he was director of the Office of Management and Budget—the first director in a generation to balance the federal budget. He resigned to join the private sector and became chair and chief executive officer of the Washington, D.C.–based Fannie Mae Corporation on January 1, 1999, becoming the first African American CEO of a major *Fortune* 500 company.

Raines's memberships have included the board of directors of Pfizer Inc., America Online, Inc., the Boeing Company, and chair of the Visiting Committee of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. He has served also as president of the Board of Overseers of Harvard.

In 2004 Raines resigned his executive office at Fannie Mae following a ruling by the Securities and Exchange Commission that the corporation had been using improper accounting procedures.

See also Politics in the United States

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RAYMOND WINBUSH (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Rainey, Ma

April 26, 1886
December 22, 1939

One of the most beloved blues and vaudeville singers of the first three decades in the twentieth century, Gertrude Pridgett "Ma" Rainey, the "Mother of the Blues," was born Gertrude Pridgett in Columbus, Georgia. Rainey was the second of five children born to Thomas and Ella Pridgett. She performed in a local show, "A Bunch of Blackberries," at fourteen and married a tent showman, Will Rainey, when she was eighteen. They performed together for several years as a comedy song-and-dance act, billed as the "Assassinators of the Blues," with the Rabbit Foot Minstrels.

Supposedly, Rainey coined the term "blues" after she began singing the mournful songs that she had heard sung by a young woman along the tent show's route. Rainey left her husband after twelve years but continued to follow the TOBA (Theater Owners Booking Association) circuit as a solo act because she was so popular with country folk, white and black. She sang with jug bands as well as small jazz bands, which included at times Tommy Ladnier, Joe Smith, and Coleman Hawkins. She was a seasoned performer who sang about the worries and tribulations of country folk in the traditional style of the rural South. Her subject matter was earthy, her renditions were often comedic, yet she did not resort to trivia.

Rainey's first recording, "Moonshine Blues," was produced by Paramount Records in 1923. She recorded a total of ninety-three songs, which included traditional country and folk blues, vaudeville songs, and popular songs. Rainey wrote many of her songs, addressing topics as diverse as homosexuality, prostitution, jail, and the impact of the boll weevil on cotton crops. Although she was overshadowed by her younger counterpart, Bessie Smith (1894?–1937), Rainey had a loyal following until her last days on the tent show circuit in the 1930s. She handled her business affairs well and retired to her native city of Columbus, Georgia, where she opened her own theater. She died there on December 22, 1939.

See also Blues, The; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Smith, Bessie

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DAPHNE DUVAL HARRISON (1996)

Randolph, Asa Philip

April 15, 1889
May 16, 1979

The labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph was the younger son of James William Randolph, a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born in Crescent City, Florida, and raised in Jacksonville. In 1911, after graduating from the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, the twenty-two-year-old Randolph migrated to New York City and settled in Harlem, then in an early stage of its development as the "Negro capital of the world." While working at odd jobs to support himself, he attended the City College of New York (CCNY, adjoining Harlem), where he took courses in history, philosophy, economics, and political science. During his enrollment at CCNY, he also became active in the Socialist Party, whose leader, Eugene Debs, was one of his political heroes.

The Harlem Radicals

Between 1914 and the early 1920s, Randolph belonged to a group of young African-American militants in New York, called the Harlem radicals, who regarded themselves as the New Negro political avant-garde in American life. Some of them, including Randolph, combined race radicalism with socialism. Others, such as Marcus Garvey, who arrived in Harlem in 1916, emphasized a black nationalism that was oriented toward Africa—they were averse to movements that advocated social reform or racial integration within the mainstream of American society. But all Harlem radicals defied the established African-American leadership, even though it included so distinguished a member as W. E. B. Du Bois.

To race radicalism and socialism, Randolph soon added an interest in trade unionism, which was to form a basic part of his approach to the struggle for black progress. In 1917, he and his closest socialist comrade in Harlem, Chandler Owen, founded and began coediting *The Messenger,* a monthly journal that carried the subtitle "The Only Radical Magazine Published by Negroes." *The Messenger* campaigned against lynching in the South; opposed America's participation in World War I; counseled African Americans to resist the military draft; proposed an economic solution to the "Negro problem"; and urged blacks to ally themselves with the socialist and trade-union movements. For its irreverent editorial stands, *The Messenger* came under the close surveillance of the federal government. In 1918 Postmaster General Albert Burleson revoked the magazine's second-class mailing privileges, and in 1919 a Justice Department report ordered by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer described *The Messenger* as "by long odds the most able and most dangerous of the Negro publications."

In 1917 Randolph also helped organize the Socialist Party's first black political club in New York, located in Harlem's Twenty-first Assembly District. In 1920, the party recognized his growing importance as a spokesperson by naming him its candidate for New York State comptroller, one of the highest positions for which a black socialist had run. He lost the election but polled an impressive 202,361 votes, about a thousand fewer than Eu-

Civil rights activist and labor leader A. Philip Randolph (center) speaking to President Lyndon B. Johnson. *Johnson awarded Randolph the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, in 1964.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

gene Debs polled in New York State that year as the Socialist Party's candidate for president.

In the early 1920s, Randolph began dissolving his formal ties to the party when it became clear to him that the black masses were not as responsive to the socialist message as he had hoped. This was partly because of their traditional distrust for ideologies they deemed to be un-American; partly because black nationalism was, emotionally and psychologically, more appealing to them; and partly because the Socialist Party failed to address the special problems of black exclusion from the trade-union movement. But despite his retirement from formal party activities, Randolph continued to consider himself a democratic socialist.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

In 1925 a delegation of Pullman porters approached him with a request that he organize their work force into a legitimate labor union, independent of employer participation and influence. Randolph undertook the task—a decision that launched his career as a national leader in the fields of labor and civil rights. But establishing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was a far more difficult task than he had anticipated. The Pullman Company had crushed a number of earlier efforts to organize its porters, and for the next twelve years it remained contemptuous of Randolph's. Not until 1937, after Congress had passed enabling labor legislation, did the Pullman executives recognize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as a certified bargaining agent.

This victory gained the brotherhood full membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). It also gave Randolph—as the brotherhood's chief delegate to annual AFL conventions—an opportunity to answer intellectuals in Harlem who criticized him for urging blacks to ally themselves with the trade-union movement. The black intelligentsia generally regarded the AFL as a racist institu-

tion, most of whose craft unions barred nonwhite membership. How, then (his critics argued), could Randolph call on blacks to invest their economic aspirations in organized labor? Randolph maintained that trade unionism was the main engine of economic advancement for the working class, the class to which a majority of the black population belonged. He believed that achieving the political rights for which all blacks were struggling would be meaningless without comparable economic gains.

Throughout his tenure as a delegate to the annual conventions of organized labor (in 1955 he became a vice president of the merged American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations—the AFL-CIO), Randolph campaigned relentlessly against unions that excluded black workers. When he retired as a vice president in 1968, the AFL-CIO had become the most integrated public institution in American life, although pockets of resistance remained. Randolph was not the sole instrument of that revolution, but he was its opening wedge, and much of the change was due to his unyielding agitation.

A. Philip Randolph

"As to the compositions of our movement. Our policy is that it be all-Negro, and pro-Negro but not anti-white, or anti-Semitic or anti-labor or anti-Catholic. The reason for this policy is that all oppressed people must assume the responsibility and take the initiative to free themselves."

KEYNOTE ADDRESS TO THE POLICY CONFERENCE OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, MEETING IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN, SEPTEMBER 26, 1942. REPRINTED IN JOHN BRACEY, AUGUST MEIER, AND ELLIOTT RUDWICK, EDS. *BLACK NATIONALISM IN AMERICA*. INDIANAPOLIS: BOBBS-MERILL, 1970, P. 391.

Civil Rights Leadership

The brotherhood's victory in 1937 also inaugurated Randolph's career as a national civil rights leader; he emerged from the struggle with Pullman as one of the more respected figures in black America. In 1937 the recently formed National Negro Congress (NNC), recognizing Randolph's potential as a mass leader, invited him to be its president. Randolph saw the NNC as a potential mass movement, and he accepted. But he resigned the NNC's presidency in 1940, when he discovered that much of the organization had come under communist control. He was a resolute anticommunist for the rest of his life. He wrote to a colleague in 1959, "They [communists] are not only undemocratic but anti-democratic. They are opposed to our concept of the dignity of the human personality, the heritage of the Judeo-Christian philosophy, and hence they represent a totalitarian system in which civil liberties cannot live."

Randolph's withdrawal from the NNC freed him to organize, early in 1941, the March on Washington Movement, based on the Gandhian method of nonviolent direct action. It achieved its first major victory in June 1941. Faced with Randolph's threat to lead a massive invasion of the nation's capital, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order banning the exclusion of blacks from employment in defense plants—the federal government's earliest commitment to the policy of fair employment. That breakthrough brought Randolph to the forefront of black mass leadership, making him "the towering civil rights figure of the period," according to James Farmer, one of his younger admirers. The March on Washington Movement disintegrated by the end of the 1940s, but by then Randolph had secured another historic executive order—this one from President Harry S. Truman, in 1948, outlawing segregation in the armed services. Scholars were to see his movement as one of the most remarkable in American history. Aspects of its influence went into the formation of Farmer's Congress of Racial Equality (CORE; 1942) and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1957), both of which helped lead the great nonviolent protest movement of the 1960s.

Randolph was the elder statesman of that movement, a unifying center of the civil rights coalition that composed it. His collaboration with its various leaders culminated in the 1963 March on Washington, the largest demonstration for racial redress in the nation's history. Randolph had conceived that event, and it is appropriate that he should have called it a March for Jobs and Freedom; it represented his two-pronged approach, political and economic, to the black struggle.

After 1963, Randolph the architect of black mass pressure on the federal government faded gradually from the scene. In 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. He spent the remaining years of his active life chiefly as a vice president of the AFL-CIO. He died in 1979, at the age of ninety.

See also Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey,

Marcus; Labor and Labor Unions; *Messenger, The*; National Negro Congress; New Negro; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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JERVIS ANDERSON (1996)
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Rangel, Charles Bernard

June 11, 1930

Politician Charles Rangel was born and raised in Harlem. His parents separated when he was a small child, and he lived with his mother and grandfather. He dropped out of high school in his junior year and worked at odd jobs until 1948, when he enlisted in the army. He was deployed to South Korea, where he was stationed for four years and served in the Korean War, earning a Bronze Star Medal of Valor and a Purple Heart.

After the war Rangel returned to high school in New York and received his diploma in 1953. He then entered the New York University School of Commerce, earning a B.S. in 1957. He went on to St. John's University Law School, where he obtained his J.D. in 1960. After law school he worked as an attorney and provided legal assistance to civil rights activists. In 1961 he was appointed an assistant United States attorney in the Southern District of New York. He resigned from this position after one year and worked as legal counsel to the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board, as legal assistant to Judge James L. Watson, as an associate counsel to the speaker of the New York State Assembly, and as general counsel to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. In the winter of 1963–1964 Rangel and his friend Percy Sutton founded the John F. Kennedy Democratic Club in Harlem, later renamed the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Democratic Club.

Rangel began his career in politics in 1966, when he was elected to represent central Harlem in the New York State Assembly. He served two two-year terms as a leading liberal in the legislature, supporting the legalization of abortion, opposing stiffer penalties on prostitution, and endorsing antiwar protests.

Rangel moved into national politics in 1970, when he narrowly defeated the longtime incumbent congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who had represented Harlem since 1945. Once in office Rangel immediately established as his top priority the elimination of the drug trade. He called for the elimination of foreign aid to Turkey for its cultivation of opium poppies and opposed New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay's plan to issue maintenance doses of heroin to addicts.

In the 1970s Rangel took a leading position as a congressional dove. He consistently voted to reduce the military budget, opposed the development of the B-1 bomber and nuclear aircraft carriers, and vigorously criticized the war in Southeast Asia. Rangel's liberalism extended to domestic issues as well. He voted for busing to desegregate schools, federal assistance for abortions, the creation of a consumer protection agency, and the implementation of automobile pollution controls.

Rangel gained national exposure in 1974 as a member of the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment hearings for President Nixon. That year he was also elected chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, a position he held through 1975. In 1975 Rangel became the first African American appointed to the House Ways and Means Committee. He obtained the chairmanship of the influential health subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee in 1979. In 1980 he became a member of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, and in 1983 he was made a deputy whip by Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill and appointed chair of the Select Committee on Narcotics.

Through the 1980s Rangel served as the chief congressional gadfly on drug issues and repeatedly chastised the Reagan and Bush administrations for their "turtlelike speed" in addressing the narcotics crisis. In 1989, as chair of the House Narcotics Task Force, Rangel led a congressional delegation to the Caribbean and Mexico to help coordinate the international crackdown on drugs. In later years he served as a leading voice against the movement to legalize narcotics. In 1994 Rangel was challenged in the Democratic primary by Adam Clayton Powell IV, the son of the man he had unseated, but he emerged victorious.

Called "Mr. Harlem," Rangel has been elected to serve seventeen consecutive terms in Congress through 2005.

He is the ranking member of the House Committee on Ways and Means, chair of the board of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and dean of the New York State Congressional Delegation. Rangel is also credited as the principal architect of the five billion dollar Federal Empowerment Zone project to revitalize the nation's urban areas.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Politics in the United States

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Run-D.M.C. *From left, Run (Joseph Simmons), Jam Master Jay (Jason Mizell), and DMC (Darryl McDaniels) combined to form one of the pioneering rap groups of the early 1980s.* © LGI/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Rap

Rap is an African-American term that describes a stylized way of speaking. Salient features of a rap include metaphor, braggadocio, repetition, formulaic expressions, double entendre, mimicry, rhyme, and "signifyin'" (i.e., indirect references and allusions). Folklorists credit the introduction of the term to the masses by the 1960s black nationalist H. "Rap" Brown, whose praise name "rap" suggested his mastery of a "hip" way of speaking, aptly called rappin'. Although Brown is lauded for the name of this genre, the roots of rap can be traced from southern black oral forms such as toasts, blues, game songs (e.g., "hambone") to northern urban street jive—all of which make use of the aforementioned features.

While rap's antecedents developed in the rural South during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its northern counterpart, jive, emerged in urban communities as the prototype of rap around the early part of the twentieth century. Dan Burley, a scholar of jive, observed that jive initially circulated among black Chicagoans around 1921. The primary context of its development was in secular environs remote from home and religious centers, such as street corners, taverns, and parks, known among black urbanites as "the streets." Jive can be defined as a metaphorical style of communicating via the use of words and phrases from American mainstream English but reinterpreted from an African-American perspective. For example, in rap lingo, man becomes "cat," woman becomes "chick," and house becomes "crib." The art of jive resided in its ability to remain witty and original, hence its constant fluctuation in vocabulary over the years.

From the 1920s to the 1950s jive proliferated on all levels in the urban milieu—from the church to the street corner; but it was also incorporated in the literary works of noted black writers of the time, such as Langston Hughes. Alongside its use by writers, jive became the parlance of jazz musicians. "Jam" (having a good time), "bad" (good), and "axe" (instrument) are some jive words commonplace in the jazz vernacular. By the late 1940s and 1950s this urban style of speaking was introduced over radio airwaves by two Chicago disc jockeys, Holmes "Daddy-O" Daylie and Al Benson, who utilized jive in rhyme over music. Even the boastful poetry of former heavyweight champion boxer Muhammad Ali as well as comedian Rudy Ray Moore, known for popularizing audio recordings of toasts like "Dolemite" and "The Signifying Monkey," moved jive further into the American mainstream.

By the 1960s jive was redefined and given a newer meaning by black nationalist H. "Rap" Brown, who laced his political speeches with signifyin', rhyme, and metaphor. Although Brown's stylized speech inaugurated the shift from jive to rap, it soon gained popular acceptance among young urban admirers as rappin'. It was not, however, until the late 1960s that Brown's speaking style was

set to musical accompaniment by such political poets as the Watts Prophets of Los Angeles, the Last Poets of Harlem, Nikki Giovanni, and singer-pianist-poet Gil Scott-Heron, who recited rhyming couplets over an African percussion accompaniment.

In the late 1960s and the 1970s rappin' to music emerged as two distinct song styles: the soul rap and the funk-style rap. The soul rap, a rappin' monologue celebrating the feats and woes of love, was popularized by Isaac Hayes and further developed by Barry White and Millie Jackson. The funk-style rap, introduced by George Clinton and his group Parliament, consisted of rappin' monologues on topics about partying. Unlike the music of the political poets, the love and funk-style raps were not in rhyme but rather loosely chanted over a repetitive instrumental accompaniment. These artists nonetheless laid the foundation for a type of musical poetry begun primarily by African-American youth of the Bronx called rap music: a musical form that makes use of rhyme, rhythmic speech, and street vernacular, recited or loosely chanted over a musical soundtrack.

There are certain factors that gave rise to rap music. With the overcommercialization of popular dance forms such as 1970s disco, geopolitics in the Bronx, and ongoing club gang violence particular to New York City, black and Latino youth left the indoor scene and returned to neighborhood city parks, where they created outdoor discotheques, featuring a disc jockey (DJ) and an emcee (MC). These circumstances are instrumental to the development of rap music, which is marked by four distinct phases: the mobile DJ (c. 1972–1978); the rhyming MC and the emergence of the rap music genre (1976–1978); the early commercial years of rap music (1979–1985); and the explosion of rap in the musical mainstream (1986–present).

During the first phase, an itinerant DJ, the mobile DJ, provided music performed in neighborhood city parks. Mobile DJs were evaluated by the type of music they played as well as by the size of their sound systems. Similar to radio jockeys, mobile DJs occasionally spoke to their audiences in raps while simultaneously dovetailing one record after the other, a feat facilitated by two turntables. They were well known in their own boroughs and were supported by local followers. Popular jockeys included Pete "DJ" Jones of the Bronx and Grandmaster Flowers and Maboya of Brooklyn. The most innovative of mobile DJs, whose mixing technique immensely influenced the future sound direction and production of rap music, was Jamaican-born Clive Campbell, known as Kool "DJ" Herc. He tailored his disc-jockeying style after the dub music jockeys of Jamaica, such as Osbourne "King Tubby" Ruddock, by mixing collages of musical fragments, referred to as "break-beats" or "beats" from various recordings in order to create an entire new soundtrack.

Rap star Snoop Dogg. *Among the best known of the G-Funk or "gangsta rap" artists, Snoop Dogg made his solo debut in 1993 with his* Doggy Style *album for Death Row Records, which sold 800,000 copies in its first week of release and helped to popularize the gangsta sub-style.* SCOTT GRIES/GETTY IMAGES

Herc's contemporaries included Grandmaster Flash, Grand Wizard Theodore, and Afrika Bambaataa. Flash extended the Jamaican DJ-ing style with a mixing technique called backspinning (rotating one record counterclockwise to the desired beat, then rotating the second record counterclockwise to the same location, thus creating an echo effect) and "phasing" (repeating a word or phrase in a rhythmic fashion on one turntable during or in between another recording). Grand Wizard Theodore popularized another mixing technique called "scratching" (moving a record back and forth in a rhythmic manner while the tone arm's needle remains in the groove of the record, producing a scratching sound). Bambaataa, on the other hand, perfected Herc's style of mixing by incorporating diverse beats ranging from soul, funk, and disco to commercial jingle and television themes. But, more importantly, he is credited with starting a nonviolent organization called the Zulu Nation—a youth organization composed of local inner-city break-dancers, graffiti artists, DJs, and

MCs—which laid the foundation for a youth arts mass movement that came to be known as hip-hop. Hip-hop not only encompassed street art forms, it also denoted an attitude rendered in the form of dress, gestures, and language associated with street culture.

The second phase of rap music began around the mid-1970s. Since mixing records had become an art in itself, some DJs felt the need for an MC. For example, with the hiring of MCs Clark Kent and Coke La Rock, Kool "DJ" Herc became the Herculords. At many of his performances, Bambaataa was also accompanied by three MCs, Cowboy (not to be mistaken with Cowboy of the Furious Five), Mr. Biggs, and Queen Kenya. Other noted MCs during this phase were DJ Hollywood, Sweet G, Busy Bee, Kurtis Blow, Grandmaster Caz, and Lovebug Starski (the latter credited with the term "hip-hop"). MCs talked intermittently, using phrases like "Get up," and "Jam to the beat," and recited rhyming couplets to motivate the audience to dance while the DJ mixed records. However, it was Grandmaster Flash's MCs, the Furious Five (Melle Mel, Cowboy, Raheim, Kid Creole, Mr. Ness), who set the precedent for rappin' in rhythm to music through a concept called "trading phrases"—the exchange of rhyming couplets or phrases between MCs in a percussive, witty fashion, and in synchrony with the DJ's music—as best illustrated by their hit "Freedom" (1980).

During rap's third phase, the early commercial years from 1979 to 1985, independent record companies like Winley, Enjoy, and Sugar Hill Records initially recorded rap music. Of the three, Sugar Hill Records, cofounded by Sylvia and Joe Robinson, succeeded in becoming the first international rap record company, producing such artists and groups as Sequence, Spoonie G., Lady B., Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, and Sugarhill Gang (best known for recording the first commercial rap song "Rapper's Delight"). By 1982 Afrika Bambaataa pioneered the "electro-funk" concept with rap—the fusing of "techno-pop" or synthesized computerized sounds with funk as heard in "Planet Rock" recorded by his group, Soul Sonic Force. Bambaataa's electro-funk concept ushered in more experimental ventures with rap through the art of sampling, the digital reproduction of prerecorded sounds—musical or vocal—in whole or fragmentary units anywhere throughout an entire soundtrack.

Bambaataa's musical innovation also provided the transition from the early commercial sound of rap, known as the "old school," to the "new school" rap. The former refers to earlier innovators and performers of rap music—for example, Kool Moe Dee, Melle Mel, Fat Boys, and Whodini.

The "new school" performers are basically protégés of the pioneers, who comprise those of the fourth phase. In the fourth phase (1986 to the present), rap music gained access to the musical mainstream. Prior to the mid-1980s, this genre received minimal radio airplay outside urban areas. Contributing to its ascension into the mainstream is Run-D.M.C. and their fusion of rap music with rock as popularized by "Rock Box" (1984), the first rap song aired on the syndicated rock video station MTV, followed by the trio's rendition of Aerosmith's "Walk This Way" (1986). Also contributing to Run-D.M.C.'s success was the vision of its then management, Rush Productions, founded by Russell Simmons, rap's first "b-boy" mogul. Simmons and his business partner, Rick Rubin, cofounded Def Jam Records. Their initial roster of artists consisted of LL Cool J, the Beastie Boys, and Public Enemy.

During the mid-1980s, rap's musical production shifted from manual mixing (hands-on-the-turntable) by DJs to digitally produced tracks facilitated by drum machines, samplers, and computers. Among groups who worked with production units was black nationalist act Public Enemy. The Bomb Squad, masterminded by Hank Shocklee, produced Public Enemy's musical tracks, most notably with sampled sounds from James Brown's music and 1970s funk to black nationalists' speech excerpts. Furthermore, the use of sampling, funk-style drum rhythms with heavy bass drum (kick), a boisterous-aggressive vocal style of delivery, and/or moderate to excessive application of expletives and rhymes contributed to rap music's hard edge, a street-style aesthetic called "keepin' it real."

Other factors that contributed to the broadened appeal of rap in the mainstream during the mid-1980s included the distribution of independent rap music recordings by major record labels and the rise of female MCs (e.g., Roxanne Shanté, Salt N Pepa, MC Lyte, Queen Latifah), and the diversified sound of rap: social conscious rap (e.g., Poor Righteous Teachers, X-Clan); party rap (e.g., Kid 'N' Play, De La Soul, Big Daddy Kane, Biz Markie, DJ Jazz Jeff and the Fresh Prince); a cross between party and hardcore (e.g., Eric B & Rakim, Schoolly D, Heavy D, EPMD).

Because of the entertainment industry's use of rap to advertise fashion and other products, rap artists forayed into acting from television to the silver screen. Some of these early film classics are *Wild Style* (1983), *Breakin'* and *Breakin' 2* (1984), and *Krush Groove* (1985).

The late 1980s and the early 1990s marked more stylistic shifts in rap. For example, rap fused with other styles like rhythm and blues, dubbed "new jack swing," as well as jazz, as evident with such acts as A Tribe Called Quest, Gang Starr, Digable Planets, and Us3. Also, this shift expanded to include artists from California, who introduced a heavy bass sound of rap with a laid-back feel.

Rap singer Missy Elliott. MATTHEW PEYTON/GETTY IMAGES

Commercially dubbed G-funk or "gangsta rap," the West Coast sound is driven by funk music and lyrical themes about harsh life in the ghetto, gangbanging, and police repression. Pioneers of the West Coast rap scene include Toddy Tee, Ice-T, and NWA, formed by Eazy-E along with Dr. Dre, Ice Cube, MC Ren, and DJ Yella. However, it is Dr. Dre who is credited with establishing a West Coast signature sound identified by the sampled sounds of Parliament and the Funkadelics. In 1992 Dr. Dre left NWA and joined forces with ex-college football player and bodyguard Marion "Suge" Knight to form Death Row Records. Both Knight, known for his shrewd yet brutal tactics, and Dr. Dre, respected for his music production skills, made Death Row a major force of the gangsta rap substyle. Death Row recording artists included Dr. Dre (*Chronic,* 1992), Snoop Doggy Dogg, alternately known as Snoop Dogg (*Doggystyle,* 1993), and Tupac Shakur or 2Pac (*All Eyez on Me,* 1996). The latter was considered one of the label's most visionary and prolific artists who also had a blossoming but short-lived acting career owing to his murder in 1996. Other West Coast artists who emerged on the scene are Digital Underground, MC Hammer, Paris, Too $hort of Oakland, and Sir-Mix-A-Lot of Seattle.

Gangsta rap was further exploited by the Geto Boys of Houston and the sexually explicit lyrics of 2 Live Crew of Miami, whose first album, *As Nasty as They Wanna Be,* became rap's first censorship court case sensation.

By 1994 rap music embraced an MC from Brooklyn, Biggie Smalls or the Notorious B.I.G. of the Bad Boy Entertainment label. Sean "Puffy" Combs, also known as "Puff Daddy" or "P. Diddy," founded Bad Boy in 1994 at a time when Death Row was at its commercial peak. Although Smalls employed graphic lyrics, he also created radio-friendly rhymes about urban romance, complemented by Combs's soul-pop musical productions with heavy bass. Among these songs were "Big Poppa" and "One More Chance" from *Ready to Die* (1994) and "Hypnotize" and "Mo Money Mo Problems" from *Life After Death* (1997), released posthumously. Small's success was joined by other East Coast MCs: Jay-Z, Junior M.A.F.I.A. with Lil' Kim, Nas, Terror Squad, Wu-Tang Clan, the Fugees, and Busta Rhymes, to name a few. Despite commercial success, East and West coast rappers eventually succumbed to unhealthy rivalry resulting in the unsolved murders of 2Pac and Biggie Smalls nearly six months apart. Nonetheless, rap artists managed to ameliorate coastal rivalries by promoting themes of unity via music projects.

While gangsta rap undoubtedly impacted rap's landscape, a "dirtier" sound emerged from Atlanta and New Orleans, commonly referred to as "the Dirty South." Sometimes called "crunk," the Dirty South style is distinguished by its voluminous bass, sung refrains, and singsongy execution with a noticeable southern drawl. A pioneer of "The Dirty South" is Master P of New Orleans, who is not only an MC but also a successful entrepreneur and founder of No Limit Records. Similar to Russell Simmons, Sean Combs, and Jay-Z, who own record labels and clothing lines (e.g., Phat Farm/Def Jam Rec., Sean John/Bad Boy Ent., Roca Wear/Roc-a-Fella Rec, respectively), Master P has ventured into filmmaking and sports management. Artists affiliated with his label are Tru, consisting of his brothers Silkk the Shocker and C-Murder, his son Lil Romeo, and the production team Beats by the Pound. What distinguishes a New Orleans hip-hop sound from other southern rap styles are ticking snare drum beats and a booming bass style called "bounce." Other prominent rap acts of New Orleans include Juvenile and members of The Hot Boys (Lil' Wyne, B.G., and Turk) with producer Mannie Fresh of Cash Money Records.

Atlanta established its place in rap during the early 1990s with acts like Da Brat (of Chicago), Kriss Kross, rap/rhythm-and-blues trio TLC, and the nation-conscious group Arrested Development. However, its "Dirty South"

concept, masterminded by Rico Wade and the production crew Organized Noize, laid the foundation for its unique sound. Atlanta-based acts (collectively known as ATLiens) like OutKast, the Goodie MOb, and Ludacris have moved successfully into the twenty-first century, joined by producer Lil Jon and his affiliates.

While the 1990s witnessed a proliferation of artists from various areas—Nelly and the St. Lunatics of St. Louis, Three 6 Mafia of Memphis, Bone-Thugs-N-Harmony of Cleveland, Missy Elliott and Timbaland of Portsmouth—rap expanded its roster to include nonblack acts. Once existing in the shadows of black artists, white rap acts—the Beastie Boys, Third Bass, and House of Pain—crossed over into wider acceptance in the 1990s. Following his bitter departure from Death Row Records, Dr. Dre launched his own label, Aftermath. Within two years, he added Eminem, a white MC from Detroit, whose successful debut album, *The Slim Shady LP* (1999), and sophomore follow-up, *The Marshal Mathers LP* (2000), became the first all-rap album to be nominated by the Grammy Awards under the "Best Album of the Year" category.

Rap music flourishes in the mainstream via television, film, commercials, and fashion, thus making it a vital component of youth culture, nationally and internationally. Because rap artists bring to their performances all that hip-hop embodies from street fashions, attitude, gesture, and language, hip-hop is used interchangeably with rap and as a marketing term to denote rap music. Although rap music continues to be exploited in the mainstream by the entertainment industry and is subjected to much criticism by the media, other arenas such as underground venues—local clubs and neighborhood hangouts—remain as vital sites for rap's creative sustenance.

See also Hip-Hop; Music in the United States; Run-D.M.C.

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CHERYL L. KEYES (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Rapier, James Thomas

November 13, 1837
May 31, 1883

The son of a prosperous free barber in Florence, Alabama, congressman, farmer, and teacher James Rapier received much of his early formal education in Nashville, Tennessee, where his grandmother lived. Deciding that he needed further education, in 1856 Rapier traveled to Buxton, Canada West (now Ontario), a utopian community of African Americans where his father owned property, and began studying again. His proficiency made his tutors encourage him to go on for further study at a teacher's training school in Toronto. He stayed in the city for three years.

As the Civil War raged in the United States, Rapier felt a desire to return and aid in the reconstruction process. After returning to Tennessee in 1863 and participating in several black conventions in Nashville, he became disillusioned when the 1865–1866 Tennessee constitution denied suffrage to African Americans. Borrowing money to purchase some cotton land, he moved to Seven Mile Island in the Tennessee River in Alabama.

Rapier quickly rose in local and state estimation as an intelligent, educated, and reasonable African-American Republican. Despite heated debate about the role of African Americans in the Alabama Republican Party, he participated in party conventions and was one of the ninety-six delegates to draft the Alabama constitution. While he was part of a moderate group that favored less strict disfranchisement provisions and more strict equality statutes, the gains of Rapier and other black delegates were few. They defeated proposals to legalize segregation, but they were also unable to explicitly make discrimination illegal.

As a result of his visible campaigning, Rapier became a target of racist hate across the state. After Rapier and several associates were accused of burning a girl's school, they were hunted by a lynch mob. Rapier escaped, leaving be-

hind his plantation and his belongings; three other men were hanged without legal proceedings. Shortly thereafter he was completely exonerated by a local magistrate.

Despite the amount of hostile opposition to blacks participating in the electoral process, Rapier, an eloquent orator, won a seat in Congress in 1872 by a plurality of almost 3,200 votes, including significant support from whites. He made several speeches during his first term on the need for Reconstruction to go further in guaranteeing civil rights, a federally controlled universal education system, and land redistribution to freedmen.

While the 1874 election initially ended with a Democratic victor, Rapier successfully challenged the result and was seated for his second consecutive term. Again, he spoke militantly about civil rights and segregation. In 1876, after gerrymandering by the Alabama legislature, only one predominantly black district remained in Alabama. Both Rapier and Congressman Jeremiah Haralson decided to run for the seat. When Haralson failed to secure the Republican nomination in 1875, he pledged to run as an independent candidate. The two black candidates split the vote and a white Democrat was elected.

Retiring from politics, Rapier settled down to run his farm. Appointed to the lucrative patronage post of Collector of Internal Revenue for the Second Alabama District (1877–1883), Rapier continued to have influence in Republican circles although he was never again a candidate for office. As a result of his lack of faith in Alabama's government, he became an ardent emigrationist, urging African Americans to move to Kansas or to the West to escape racism and discrimination. His health began to decline, and he died of tuberculosis in Alabama in 1883.

See also Canada, Blacks in; Politics in the United States

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Rastafarianism

On November 2, 1930, Ras Tafari Makonnen (1892–1975) was crowned emperor of Ethiopia, an event that received wide international attention. Makonnen assumed as his imperial name and titles Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God, and Light of the World. In what was one of the first countries to adopt Christianity, the Makonnens had long before claimed descent from the biblical Judaic king, Solomon, and Candace, the queen of Sheba. The story of Candace's visit to the famous king, of his seduction and her return home with his child Menelik, of Menelik's visit to his father and his rescue of the ark of the covenant, which he brought to Ethiopia for safekeeping, is set out in the ancient text, *Kebra Nagast*.

In Jamaica, a few followers of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) interpreted Ras Tafari's coronation as the fulfillment of two prophecies, one by Garvey that the redemption of black people was at hand, and the other by the Old Testament prophet Isaiah that the messiah would bear the title King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. The person generally credited with being the first to go public with this insight was Leonard Howell (Lee, 1999), but others followed—including Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, and Robert Hinds. They all took to the street corners of the capital, Kingston, with the message: Black people have a king; their king is black; he is the messiah, the son sent by God to set free his captive people.

The message found fertile ground among the thousands of migrants fleeing rural poverty. By August 1, 1934, it had taken definite shape: followers of Howell staged a march demanding to be repatriated to Africa. The date marked the one hundredth anniversary of the end of slavery in Jamaica.

Background

The emergence of the Rastafari needs to be understood in the context of a society with a long history of deep racial divisions based on a brutally prosecuted enslavement of Africans by the British, an equally long history of some of the fiercest resistance seen in the Americas, and the culture-building imperative of the Africans centered around a new religious cosmology.

Captured in 1655 from the Spanish, Jamaica became one of Britain's most lucrative sugar-producing colonies based on African slave labor. Until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the steady influx of Africans guaranteed huge fortunes for the planter class, even as it kept memories of "Guinea" alive among the black population.

There evolved on each estate a social structure in which the divisions between those who exploited labor and those whose labor was exploited were racialized. The whites, notwithstanding differences between planters, professionals, and artisans, soon came to regard themselves as members of the ruling elite by virtue of their race. The blacks, notwithstanding differences among themselves between the newcomers, or "salt-water Negroes," and those born in Jamaica, or Creoles, soon came to regard themselves as members of an oppressed class by virtue of their race—the field slaves. And wedged in between these two groups was a new group, the people of mixed racial origins, who attended to the personal needs of the whites in the great house—the house slaves, who regarded themselves as better than the field slaves. An ideology based on skin color emerged: white was associated with power, beauty, enlightenment, virtue, privilege, and wealth; black was aligned with poverty, ignorance, ugliness, vice, and evil. These divisions, formed as early as the seventeenth century, were still current in the twentieth century, inducing theories of cultural pluralism based on an ethnicity of color (Smith 1965).

Slavery met stiff, multiform resistance, ranging from suicide to poison, from sabotage to go-slows, from *marronage* to uprising. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the Maroons had become a viable community able to defend their freedom.

Two extensive revolts occurred, the first in 1760 engulfing two-thirds of the country. The second revolt, from 1831 to 1832, was led by Samuel Sharpe and is regarded as hastening the abolition of slavery in 1834. Their widespread nature was a function of the solidarity brought about by the emergence of a new religion called Myal, which played the same role in Jamaica as vodou was to play a few decades later among the Haitian slaves. Belief in a supreme deity, possession by spiritual powers, and blood sacrifice were central to Myal, one of whose other characteristics was its ability to absorb new influences. When, following the American Revolution of 1776, several American planters and their Christian slaves fled to Jamaica and began proselytizing, Myalists incorporated such powerful Christian figures as Jesus, John the Baptist, the Holy Spirit, and Isaiah, along with a new instrument, the Bible. The Bible gave them a different vision of themselves. They identified themselves in its mention of Ethiopia (in, for example, *Psalms* 68:31 and 87:4), appropriating its myths of exile, exodus, and redemption as their own. Myal thus grew into the Native Baptist movement, and later in the 1860s into Revival. Jamaican followers of Marcus Garvey were steeped in the Revival cosmology, according to which the children of Israel would soon be delivered into the "promised land." That deliverance, they believed, began with the crowning of the Lion of Judah.

Selassie Addresses the United Nations

On October 6, 1963, Haile Selassie addressed the United Nations with praise, criticism, and deep sincerity. He proclaimed, "It is the sacred duty of this Organization to ensure that the dream of equality is finally realized for all men to whom it is still denied, to guarantee that exploitation is not reincarnated in other forms in places whence it has already been banished."

Selassie was instrumental in founding the United Nations, viewing it as an institution that would provide the best hope for the peaceful survival of humankind, replace inhumane self-interest with tolerance and goodwill, and protect the small and weak against those with the most power. He hoped that this institution would devise *peaceful* methods and procedures to resolve conflicts between nations. Selassie, however, was not a pacifist and acknowledged the use of force as often being necessary to prevent injustice and human suffering. He praised the United Nations for being an effective defense against violations of human rights and for daring to take action in Palestine, Korea, Suez, and Congo. The guaranteeing of basic human freedoms, he noted in the address, require the courage to speak and act—and if necessary, suffer and die—for truth and justice.

Beards and Dreadlocks

Rastafari tenets have been a function of its interaction and response to society. Initially, the main focus of its new prophets was preaching allegiance to the "King of Kings," a black man, and the reincarnation of the messiah. This often brought Rastafarians into confrontation with the colonial state, especially in the tense years leading up to World War II, when disloyalty to the British Crown was a serious offense. In the postwar years, when Jamaicans began to migrate to the United Kingdom, repatriation, an idea present from the beginning, came to the fore. Its difference from Garvey's back-to-Africa movement lay in the

Rastafari belief that repatriation was to be a divine act instead of a movement executed by humans. By then a clear identity had been established in the beards worn by the men and the uniforms embroidered in the colors of the Ethiopian flag—red, gold, and green. In addition, a younger generation had joined the movement. Their impatience and aggression led to a series of reforms that further transformed the outlook of the entire Rastafari movement.

First, the younger generation instituted a clear break with Revival, out of which the early founders had come, by denouncing all forms of possession and eliminating certain ritual practices, such as the use of candles to signal the presence of the powers. Younger Rastafari also introduced several far-reaching innovations: the ritualization of "Reasoning," and with it the elevation of ganja *(cannabis)* smoking to sacramental status; the ritual dance known as the *nyabinghi* (pronounced *nai-ya-bing-gi*, with a hard *g;* meaning "death to white and black oppressors"); the wearing of dreadlocks; the ritualization of the patriarchy; the use of dread talk; and a naturalistic style of living.

The Reasoning ritual brought Rastafari into a circle of discussion in which national and international events were interpreted within the framework of the Bible and the words of Haile Selassie. Insights were thereby gained, and thoughts and attitudes were shaped. Facilitating the process was the ritual partaking of the "chalice," or ganja-stuffed chillum pipe. The use of ganja, a banned substance, drew the attention of the police, out of whose repressive actions the young Rastafari developed the notion of "Babylon," the powerful captor of the children of Israel, whose downfall was already prophesied. They enacted this in the *nyabinghi* on the occasions of Haile Selassie's coronation; the Ethiopian Christmas (January 7); the birthday of Marcus Garvey, who was revered for his role as John the Baptist announcing the coming of the messiah (August 17); and, since 1966, Selassie's visit to Jamaica (April 21).

Out of the Reasoning also came the dreadlocks, a hairstyle that identified the Rastafari with Kenyan freedom fighters known as the Mau-Mau. Dreadlocks inspired dread and signaled their rejection of a society in which the characteristics of African phenotype—color, nose, lips, hair—were not only denigrated but subject to chemical as well as physical attempts to suppress them. Dreadlocks symbolized a radical acceptance of the racial self and thereby became a practical criticism of white racism.

Dread Talk

Another important innovation was dread talk: homonyms, inversions, and other wordplay elevated to the level of philosophy. The central word is *I*, the singular first-person pronoun. The power of *I* transforms the objectified and possessive self (you, me, yours, mine) into a singular subject of unity or *I*nity—*I an' I*; breathes new life into others—*I*ncient, *I*lalu, for*I*ver, *I*ly (holy), *I*ses (praises); and uncovers new meaning—the *I* (eye) of sight and of position ('igh). Other words are restored to their true meaning hidden by the English captors: *over*stand, *down*pressor.

Such innovations, which quickly became institutionalized throughout the movement, were accompanied by a radicalization of patriarchal relations. Women were subject to the Levite strictures of the Old Testament concerning menstrual flow and relegated to the periphery of Reasoning circles, while their domestic subordination found expression in the generic word "daughter," or *I*aata. Their status as queens and empresses within the movement derived from their spouses, their kings.

Reggae and Internationalization

During the 1960s and 1970s, Rastafari embraced the youths alienated by the unfulfilled hopes of national independence in 1962. Rastafari gave them its philosophy of an integrated black self and a vision of an end to the historic injustice done to the children of Africa. The movement received in return their creative energy and passion. The young people became the new missionaries, and their medium was reggae music. They spread both music and vision around the world. Since the 1970s Rastafari groups may be found throughout the rest of the Caribbean, including Cuba, Brazil, and in other countries of Latin America, West Africa, South Africa, Europe, North America, New Zealand, and Japan.

The global spread of the movement has not come about without the development of differences in beliefs, particularly those concerning the divinity or merely prophetic character of Haile Selassie. But such divergence is nothing new, since throughout Rastafari history variations in beliefs and practices have been marked. The Bobo, a Rastafari group that worships on the Sabbath, believe in a divine trinity: Haile Selassie the Father; their founder, Immanuel, the Son; and Marcus Garvey the Holy Spirit. The Twelve Tribes of Israel, on the other hand, believe in Jesus Christ, "who has revealed himself in the personality of His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie *I*." The Nyabinghi, who believe only in Jah, the almighty, regard such differences as an example of what Jesus (which they pronounce *Jess-us*) meant when he said that "in my father's house are many mansions." The fact, then, that Italian Rastafari believe that Haile Selassie is God, while some Africans do not, regarding him instead as a great man, or that those in New Zealand do not uphold repatriation to Africa, does not attenuate the power of Rastafari identity,

which is constructed on the basis of a menu of beliefs and practices characterized by a radical opposition to all forms of oppression.

The women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s also had an impact on the Rastafari. Recognition is now given to the matriarchs in the Nyabinghi mansion, who may speak on behalf of the house and participate in the ritual Reasoning. This change has been effected by an internal struggle by Rastafari women.

Livity

A common thread running through all the movement's various groups is the naturalistic style of living called *livity*. Livity refers to a life in harmony with nature as created by God and in avoidance of manmade intrusions into that order. Thus, Rastafari favor a diet of fresh fruits, vegetables, legumes, and nuts, and avoid processed and packaged foods and bottled juices. A salt taboo is part of the livity, as are such ritual observances as the wearing of dreadlocks and the maintenance of good, principled relations with one another. As a way of living, livity is intended as a practical criticism of the hubris of Western, Babylonian civilization, which puts humans above God.

Future

Founded in the 1930s, Rastafari has taken its current shape from developments of the 1950s, which saw the emergence of dreadlocks. Rastafari continues its growth in the twenty-first century in response to the opportunities offered by the communications revolution and other aspects of globalization.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Myal; Revivalism

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BARRY CHEVANNES (2005)

Rebouças, André

January 13, 1838
May 9, 1898

André Rebouças, a pivotal figure in Brazil's abolitionist movement and a scientist committed to the project of modernity during the last decades of the Brazilian empire, was born in Cachoeira, Bahia, in 1838. A child during the decline of Bahia's sugar slave society, a witness to the final decree that abolished slavery in 1888, and a self-imposed exile after the fall of the Brazilian monarchy, Rebouças lived during a transitional era that he himself recognized in his autobiography. Rebouças was born into an educated, middle-class mulatto family, which had ascended socially owing to the support of white patrons. This family background informed his subjectivity. Many of his biographers have described him as a self-made man and a staunch antitraditionalist, albeit a monarchist, in the oligarchic political culture of the late nineteenth century.

In 1846 Rebouças and his family moved to Rio de Janeiro, an event that transformed his educational, professional, and political development. The capital city and cultural center of the Brazilian empire, Rio de Janeiro had, since the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1808, a botanical garden, an imperial library and museum, and a variety of technical schools and universities. Rebouças studied engineering in military school and in the nearby city of Petrópolis, where he met Emperor Dom Pedro II, whom he greatly admired and with whom he developed a long-lasting friendship. Devoted to the project of modernity, as was the enlightened Dom Pedro II, Rebouças studied engineering in France and in England, but was denied further study abroad due to his skin color, and returned to a Brazil that had expansionist ideals. The outbreak of the Paraguayan War in 1864 saw the conscription of many free blacks and mulattoes, as well as slaves who were promised their freedom once the war ended. Rebouças was a military engineer during the war and with his brother directed the infrastructure of several forts around the Brazil-Paraguay border. This experience resulted in a book on the Paraguayan War authored by Rebouças.

On his return, Rebouças coordinated a variety of public works related to water management and distribution in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranhão. Being a hygienist, Rebouças was highly committed to the reformation of urban infrastructure, and his multiple accomplishments in this area resulted in the naming of the "Rebouças Tunnel" in Rio de Janeiro. In addition to his dedication to urban planning, he was a student of agricultural systems. He wrote several works on

post-abolition land tenure and agriculture, and elaborated a legislative project that was intended to facilitate the transition from slavery to free labor. He believed education was the key instrument for the integration of freedpeople into society, and advocated the transformation of ex-slaves into yeoman farmers. During this period, he was a professor at Rio de Janeiro's Polytechnic School, where he founded an abolitionist center and published several abolitionist articles.

As the abolitionist movement gained momentum in the 1870s and 1880s, Rebouças became a close friend of the renowned abolitionists Joaquim Nabuco and Alfredo Taunay. In his memoirs, Nabuco dedicates pages to Rebouças, whom he described as an engineer, mathematician, astronomer, botanist, geologist, industrialist, moralist, hygienist, and philanthropist. Rebouças's political orientations were as diverse as his professional development; he traveled through a political spectrum of "isms," from Yankeeism to Jacobinism to purist individualism. In the 1870s he was a great admirer of U.S. post-Emancipation society, and particularly what he saw as the success of the reconstruction and modernization of the U.S. South. However, his travel experience to the United States in 1873 is likely to have changed this perception; he was relegated to inferior hotels, denied service in restaurants, and not allowed to attend a performance at the Grand Opera House in New York City. Rebouças believed Brazil would follow a different path, transforming into a multiracial and equal society after abolition.

The Golden Law abolished slavery a year before the monarchy was deposed by a military coup d'état in 1889. Rebouças followed the imperial family into exile, thinking the monarchy would be restored, but this dream, as well as his return to Brazil, was never realized. While in exile, Rebouças traveled to France, West Africa, and Madeira. In Africa, he returned to his activities as a reformer and engineer, but disillusionment with increasing racism and inequality, as well as the deterioration of his financial situation, changed his outlook of the future. At the age of sixty he committed suicide in Madeira; patriotic histories suggest that he "slipped" off a cliff.

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Gama, Luiz

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PATRICIA ACERBI (2005)

Rebouças, Antônio Pereira

August 10, 1798
March 28, 1880

Antônio Pereira Rebouças, a free-born Brazilian mulatto, rose to be a prominent lawyer, jurist, and member of Parliament. He was born in the province of Bahia, the legitimate son of a Portuguese tailor and a mulatta ex-slave. With only an elementary formal education, he taught himself Greek, Latin, and French, and he read voraciously. A man of unflagging energy, Rebouças worked as a legal clerk and eventually learned so much law that his employer recommended he be allowed to take the bar exam, which he easily passed.

When Brazil's political fate lay in the balance in 1822–1823, with the Portuguese army in the coastal city of Salvador hoping to reassert colonial rule over the country, Rebouças astutely sided with the slave-owning planter elite who were plotting independence, and not with Portuguese officials, some of whom hinted that freedom might be offered to those slaves who supported them. Rebouças was named member and secretary of the planter-led insurgent council, and, when the Portuguese were finally driven out, he was rewarded with the prestigious Imperial Order of the Southern Cross and named secretary, similar to a chief-of-staff position, to the president of the neighboring province of Sergipe, who directly represented the newly enthroned Brazilian emperor.

Prominent local politicians, however, were quick to protest the appointment of a mulatto to this post, and they invented the story that Rebouças fomented unrest among slaves and free people of color, an allegation that, although easily disproven in the ensuing investigation, cost him his job. He went on to serve in both the provincial and national legislatures and became a sought-after lawyer at the national capital, where his legal opinions carried much weight. His library, with books in many languages, was one of the largest in the city, containing not only legal texts but many plays and novels.

In his legal writings and parliamentary speeches, Rebouças displayed a deep commitment to the principle that

individual rights enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution should be enjoyed by all citizens equally, regardless of their color. He turned his back, however, on efforts to assert the collective rights of blacks and opposed all revolutions. When, in 1837, radicals in Salvador expressed their grievances by declaring the independence of the province, he once again joined the white planters of the interior who opposed the insurgents, even though free blacks and mulattoes of the city made up the bulk of the revolting forces. Over a thousand of them were killed after the defeat of the movement, but there is no record that Rebouças regretted his choice or saw the black and mulatto victims of repression as his fellows.

Indeed, Rebouças argued that among the rights of the individual was the right to own property and not have it confiscated by the government, even if such property included slaves. He did, however, urge that the law recognize the right of slaves to purchase their own freedom and thus become citizens who would be the equal of any white before the law. Like others of his class, regardless of their color, he owned several slaves of his own. As Brazilian elite opinion in the late 1840s shifted away from a liberal philosophy and toward a more conservative and hierarchical view of society, Rebouças found himself marginalized and even forgotten. As an old man he reported to his son that over the course of his lifetime he had often suffered racial discrimination but had kept his peace rather than acknowledge the slight.

See also Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Politics and Politicians in Latin America

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RICHARD GRAHAM (2005)

Recording Industry

In the development of sound recording, primarily an enterprise of European Americans, the cultural input of African Americans was initially relegated to the margins. Even "coon" songs, a staple of early commercial recordings dating from minstrelsy, were almost invariably sung by whites until World War I. Notable exceptions included Bert Williams (1867–1922), the great black vaudevillian, and George Washington Johnson (c. 1850–c. 1910), perhaps the first black recording artist, whose hits "The Whistling Coon" and "The Laughing Song" brought him fame and fortune.

The "blues" craze that swept the country in the 1910s was driven by a number of African-American composers, including W. C. Handy (the Father of the Blues) and Arthur Seals, as well as a number of white blues writers. As with coon songs, however, most of these blues compositions were recorded by whites singing in "Negro dialect."

In 1914 the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) was founded to protect the rights of songwriters. Membership in the society was generally skewed toward writers of pop tunes and semiserious works. Of the society's 170 charter members, only six were black: Harry Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, J. Rosamond Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, Cecil Mack, and Will Tyers. Although other "literate" black writers and composers, such as W. C. Handy and Duke Ellington, were able to gain entrance to ASCAP, the vast majority of "untutored" black artists were excluded from the society and thereby denied the full benefits of copyright protection.

With the advent of recorded jazz in the late 1910s, patterns of racial exclusion skewed public perceptions of African-American music even more. In 1917, when the Victor label decided to take a chance on "jass," the band they chose to record was the all-white Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Though they were heavily influenced by the King Oliver Creole Jazz Band (which included the trumpeter Louis Armstrong), the Oliver ensemble itself did not record until 1923. The first ensemble of color to receive a recording contract was James Reese Europe's Syncopated Society Orchestra, signed by Victor in 1914 to supervise a series of dance records for the white dance team of Vernon and Irene Castle.

An African-American market for African-American records was not "discovered" until 1920, and even then quite by accident. The enterprising black producer and songwriter Perry Bradford convinced the Okeh record company to let him record a black contralto named Mamie Smith. Her recording of Bradford's "Crazy Blues" sold 7,500 copies a week, mostly to black buyers. Ralph Peer, the Okeh recording director who assisted at the sessions, dubbed these records "race records," which remained the designation for black music, by black artists, for a black audience until 1949. Smith's overwhelming

success ushered in an era of classic blues recordings by African-American women such as Ida Cox, Chippie Hill, Sarah Martin, Clara Smith, Trixie Smith, Victoria Spivey, Sippie Wallace, and the most famous of all, Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues."

The initial success of the "race market" encouraged the formation of a handful of black-owned independent labels. W. C. Handy and his publishing partner, Harry Pace, started Black Swan Records in 1921. Mayo "Ink" Williams, head of Paramount's race series, founded the Black Patti label in 1927. However, such labels were soon bought up by the major companies or forced out of the industry. With the onset of the Great Depression, the race market was slowly taken over by Okeh, Columbia, and Paramount, and not a single black-owned label survived the 1920s intact.

As the record companies began to test the limits of the race market, they discovered that there was also a considerable demand for country blues, particularly among southern blacks. In 1924, the same year they acquired the Black Swan catalog, Paramount released Papa Charlie Jackson's "Papa's Lawdy Lawdy Blues." This record was followed by releases by Arthur "Blind" Blake and, perhaps the most popular country blues singer of the decade, Blind Lemon Jefferson. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, a number of companies, including Okeh, Columbia, and Victor, engaged in extensive "field" recordings. As a result, dozens of country blues artists—among them Furry Lewis, Blind Willie McTell, Mississippi John Hurt, Son House, Charlie Patton, Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter, and Robert Johnson—were brought to wider public attention. The country blues artist who dominated the 1930s was Big Bill Broonzy.

In mainstream music, it was the era of big band jazz. Again, patterns of racial segregation obscured the origins of the music. A number of African-American bands managed to achieve major success, however. Among the best known, Duke Ellington's band became famous through their live broadcasts from the Cotton Club in Harlem, New York. William James "Count" Basie, playing at the Reno Club in Kansas City, injected jazz with a heavy dose of the blues. Both the Ellington and Basie bands recorded for major labels and were among the few African-American ensembles that could be heard on radio.

In the 1940s, tension between radio and music publishers signaled a new era in black popular music. The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), representing some six hundred radio stations, formed their own performing rights organization, Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), in 1939, and they proceeded shortly thereafter to boycott all ASCAP music. The Broadway-Hollywood monopoly on popular music, and its considerable influence in shaping public taste, was challenged publicly for the first time, creating a cultural space for rhythm-and-blues (R&B) artists like Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup, Roy Brown, Ivory Joe Hunter, Fats Domino, and Wynonie Harris.

The success of these artists in the late 1940s speaks to what the critic Nelson George has referred to as "an aesthetic schism between high-brow, more assimilated black styles and working-class, grassroots sounds" (1988, p. 10). Until this time, the most notable African-American acts were the more pop-sounding artists like Nat "King" Cole ("For Sentimental Reasons"), Ella Fitzgerald ("My Happiness"), the Mills Brothers ("Across the Valley from the Alamo"), and the Ink Spots ("The Gypsy"). All of these artists recorded for major labels, which failed to appreciate the appeal of rhythm and blues (R&B) in working-class black communities.

With a much smaller horn section and more pronounced rhythm, Louis Jordan and His Tympani Five, something of a transitional act, anticipated the decline of the big bands and helped to define the instrumentation for the R&B combos that followed. Jordan's material was composed and arranged, but selections like "Saturday Night Fishfry," "Honey Chile," and "Ain't Nobody Here but Us Chickens" evoked blues images not found in most black pop of the day. While Jordan was said to have "jumped the blues," other R&B stars screeched, honked, and shouted. "Suddenly it was as if a great deal of the Euro-American humanist facade Afro-American music had taken on had been washed away by the war" (Jones, 1963, p. 171). The raucous styles of such artists as Wynonie Harris ("Good Rockin' Tonight"), John Lee Hooker ("Boogie Chillen"), saxophonist Big Jay McNeely ("Deacon's Hop"), and pianist Amos Milburn ("Chicken Shack Boogie") all deviated significantly from the sound of mainstream black pop.

Since this music did not readily lend itself to the production styles of the major labels, they decided to ignore the relatively smaller R&B market. This situation made it possible for a large number of independent labels to enter the business. It is estimated that by 1949 over four hundred new labels came into existence. Most important among these were Atlantic in New York City; Savoy in Newark; King in Cincinnati; Chess in Chicago; Peacock in Houston; and Modern, Imperial, and Specialty in Los Angeles. White-owned, except for Don Robey's Peacock label, most of these labels specialized in R&B.

This music found a ready home among independent deejays (or disc jockeys) who often experimented with "specialty" music as an antidote to the trivial popular fare

of network radio. Early R&B hits that were popular among both black and white audiences included Fats Domino's "The Fat Man," Jackie Brenston's "Rocket 88," Lloyd Price's "Lawdy Miss Clawdy," and Joe Turner's "Chains of Love," "Sweet Sixteen," and "Honey Hush." All were recorded for independent labels. Pioneer black deejays such as "Jockey" Jack Gibson in Atlanta, "Professor Bop" in Shreveport, and "Sugar Daddy" in Birmingham paved the way for white R&B deejays such as Alan Freed, the self-appointed "Father of Rock and Roll."

With its roots in the Deep South, the music that became rock and roll issued from just about every region in the country. Most of its formative influences, as well as virtually all of its early innovators, were African American: B. B. King ("The Thrill Is Gone"), Muddy Waters ("Got My Mojo Working"), Bo Diddley ("Bo Diddley"), Fats Domino ("Ain't That a Shame," "I'm in Love Again," and "Blueberry Hill"), Ray Charles ("I Got a Woman"), Clyde McPhatter ("A Lover's Question"), Sam Cooke ("You Send Me"), Ruth Brown ("Mama, He Treats Your Daughter Mean"), Laverne Baker ("Tweedle Dee," "Jim Dandy"), Little Richard ("Tutti-Frutti," "Long Tall Sally," "Rip It Up"), Chuck Berry ("Maybellene," "Sweet Sixteen," "School Days," "Johnny B. Goode"), the Orioles ("Crying in the Chapel"), the Crows ("Gee"), the Chords ("Sh-Boom"), and the Penguins ("Earth Angel"). Even with the new name, there was no mistaking where this music came from. As late as 1956, Billboard referred to the music as "a popularized form of rhythm & blues."

Several dozen "rock and roll" songs were successfully "covered" by white artists in the early years of rock and roll, but the vintage rock and roll years were generally good for black musicians. African-American artists made such significant inroads into the pop market that, for a time, Billboard's pop charts and R&B charts were virtually indistinguishable. At the end of the decade the "payola" scandal, which involved offering deejays cash, gifts, or other inducements to air a record, threatened to halt their progress. Deejays became the main target of government hearings that were largely orchestrated by ASCAP with support from the major record companies. The deejays were considered largely responsible for the crossover of black music into the pop market.

Chubby Checker ushered in the 1960s with "The Twist," which remains the only record to reach number one on the pop charts twice, first in 1960 and then again in 1962. It was still listed as the best-selling single of all time well into the 1970s. The twist craze was so powerful that major R&B artists and labels felt compelled to jump on the bandwagon. In 1962 alone, Sam Cooke recorded "Twistin' the Night Away," Gary U.S. Bonds released "Dear Lady Twist" and "Twist, Twist Senora," and the Isley Brothers followed their classic "Shout" with "Twist and Shout." Atlantic Records reissued an album of old Ray Charles material as *Do the Twist with Ray Charles*. Relative unknowns Little Eva and Dee Dee Sharp had hits with two twist spin-offs, "The Loco-Motion" and "Mashed Potato Time," respectively.

During this period, R&B producers emerged as artists in their own right. "Uptown rhythm & blues," to use Charlie Gillett's term, was established in Lieber and Stoller's pioneering work with the Drifters ("There Goes My Baby," "This Magic Moment," "Save the Last Dance for Me") in 1959 to 1960 (Gillett, 1970, p. 220). Luther Dixon's work with the Shirelles ("Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?," "Dedicated to the One I Love," "Soldier Boy"), Phil Spector's with the Crystals ("He's a Rebel," "Da Doo Ron Ron," "Then He Kissed Me") and the Ronnettes ("Be My Baby"), and Berry Gordy's with Martha and the Vandellas ("Heat Wave," "Quicksand," "Dancing in the Street"), the Marvelettes ("Please Mr. Postman"), and the Supremes ("Where Did Our Love Go?" "Baby Love," "Stop! In the Name of Love," "You Can't Hurry Love") developed the style further and rekindled the spirit of early rock and roll. In the hands of these producers, black female vocal harmony groups, known collectively as "girl groups," became a recognized trend in rock and roll for the first time.

During this period, Berry Gordy started the most significant black-owned record label ever—Motown. Until its sale to MCA (and ultimate incorporation into the Universal Music Group), Motown was the centerpiece of the largest black-owned corporation in the United States. As a businessman, Gordy addressed all aspects of career development for African-American artists such as Marvin Gaye, the Temptations, the Four Tops, and Stevie Wonder, in addition to the women mentioned above. As a producer, he had an uncanny ability to incorporate white audience tastes without abandoning a black sound.

As the early civil rights movement gave way to the more radical demand for black power, Motown's hegemony over black pop was challenged by a resurgence of closer-to-the-roots, hard-driving R&B from the Deep South. Chiefly responsible for the popularization of "southern soul" was a short-lived but highly successful collaboration between Atlantic Records and a number of southern studios, most notably Stax in Memphis and Fame in Muscle Shoals (Guaralnick, 1986). From 1965 on, artists like Otis Redding ("I've Been Loving You Too Long"), Wilson Pickett ("Land of 1000 Dances"), Sam and Dave ("Soul Man"), Arthur Conley ("Sweet Soul Music"), and Percy Sledge ("When a Man Loves a Woman") echoed

the spirit of the new militancy with raw, basic recordings easily distinguished from the cleaner, brighter Motown sound.

Stax was originally a white-owned company; its "Memphis sound" was created by the house band, Booker T. and the MGs, and was the product of cross-racial teamwork. Initially the credits on all Stax recordings read simply "produced by the Stax staff." In the late 1960s, leadership was increasingly taken over by black vice president Al Bell, often under controversial circumstances. Motown was not only black-owned, but virtually all of its creative personnel—artists, writers, producers, and session musicians—were black as well. It was clearly a haven for black talent. Paradoxically, Motown is remembered as being "totally committed to reaching white audiences," while Stax recordings, by contrast, were "consistently aimed at R&B fans first, the pop market second" (George, 1988, p. 86).

The two artists who best expressed the spirit of the era were James Brown and Aretha Franklin. In the 1950s, James Brown's music was intended for, and in many ways confined to, the black community. When he "crossed over," he did so on his own terms. His string of uncompromising Top Ten hits ("Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," "I Got You," "Cold Sweat") made few concessions to mainstream sensibilities. His 1968 hit single "Say It Loud—I'm Black and I'm Proud" became an anthem in the struggle for black liberation. Signed to Atlantic records in 1967, Aretha Franklin earned the title "Lady Soul" with her recording of Otis Redding's song "Respect." The vocal and emotional range of her Atlantic releases ("Baby, I Love You," "Natural Woman," "Chain of Fools," "Think," and "Young, Gifted and Black," to name a few) uniquely expressed all the passion and forcefulness of the era.

Two black-led mixed bands in the late 1960s incorporated "psychedelic" sounds into their music—Sly and the Family Stone ("Dance to the Music," "Everyday People," "Hot Fun in the Summertime," "Thank You Falettinme Be Mice Elf Agin," "Family Affair") and the Jimi Hendrix Experience ("Purple Haze," "All Along the Watchtower"). Chemical indulgence guided the careers of both. Sly married the funk and rock cultures in a way that no other artist, black or white, had been able to do. Hendrix explored the electronic wizardry of his instrument and recording studio to a greater extent than any other African-American musician. At his Electric Ladyland studios, he also logged some eight hundred hours of tape with musicians like Miles Davis, John McLaughlin, and other avant-garde jazz notables. None of these tapes was released during Hendrix's lifetime, and he never attracted a black audience to the music with which he was identified.

In the early 1970s a breakthrough of sorts for African-American songwriters was provided by so-called blaxploitation films. Popular movies like *Shaft, Superfly*, and *Troubleman* were scored by Isaac Hayes, Curtis Mayfield, and Marvin Gaye, respectively.

Reflecting the "quieter" mood of the early 1970s was the "soft soul" sound pioneered by Kenny Gamble and Leon Huff and producer-arranger Thom Bell, in league with Sigma Sound Studios in Philadelphia. Working with Jerry Butler, the Intruders, and the Delphonics, Gamble and Huff parlayed a $700 bank loan into thirty million-selling singles in a five-year period. The Philadelphia enterprise hit its stride in 1971 with the formation of Philadelphia International Records (PIR) and a distribution deal with CBS. Harold Melvin and the Blue Notes ("If You Don't Know Me By Now") and the O'Jays ("Back Stabbers," "Love Train") on PIR, the Stylistics ("You Make Me Feel Brand New") on Avco, and the Spinners ("Could It Be I'm Falling in Love") on Atlantic set the standard in black pop for the next few years. Southern soul yielded the velvety smooth Al Green ("Let's Stay Together," "I'm Still in Love with You"). Other artists, such as the Chicago-based Chi-Lites ("Oh Girl") and the ever-changing Isley Brothers ("That Lady") also followed suit. Soft soul was one of the formative influences on the trend that would dominate the rest of the decade—disco.

Disco began as deejay-created medleys of existing (mostly African-American) dance records in black, Latino, and gay nightclubs. As it evolved into its own musical genre, its sources of inspiration came, to some extent, from self-contained funk bands such as Kool and the Gang ("Funky Stuff," "Jungle Boogie"), the Ohio Players ("Skin Tight," "Fire"), and Earth, Wind, and Fire ("Shining Star"), but more clearly from "soft soul" and the controlled energy of what came to be known as Eurodisco.

Most of the early disco releases in the United States were by black artists. Among those that made the rare crossover from clubs to radio were "Soul Makossa," an obscure French import by Manu Dibango, "Rock the Boat" by the Hues Corporation, and George McRae's "Rock Your Baby." The first disco hit to reach the charts as disco was Gloria Gaynor's "Never Can Say Good-bye" in 1974, and the following year Donna Summer's "Love to Love You Baby" moved disco closer to the surface. And by 1975 Van McCoy and the Soul City Orchestra had established the hustle as the most important new dance craze since the twist.

With the exception of deejay Frankie Crocker on WBLS in New York, disco was systematically excluded from radio. The music received its primary exposure in clubs, popularized only by the creative genius of the disco

deejays. Initially shunned by the record companies, the club deejays had to make the rounds to each label individually in order to get records. Organizing themselves into "record pools," disco deejays quickly developed an alternative to the airplay marketing structure of the industry.

Disco's fanatical following turned out to be not only an underground party culture but also a significant record-buying public. By the mid-1970s, the pop charts were bursting with disco acts like the Silver Convention ("Fly, Robin, Fly," "Get Up and Boogie"), Hot Chocolate ("You Sexy Thing"), Wild Cherry ("Play That Funky Music"), K.C. and the Sunshine Band ("Shake Your Booty"), Rhythm Heritage ("Theme from S.W.A.T."), Sylvers ("Boogie Fever"), Johnny Taylor ("Disco Lady"), Maxine Nightingale ("Right Back Where We Started From"), the Emotions ("Best of My Love"), Thelma Houston ("Don't Leave Me This Way"), Rose Royce ("Car Wash"), Brick ("Dazz"), Hot ("Angel in Your Arms"), Taste of Honey ("Boogie Oogie Oogie"), Peter Brown ("Dance with Me"), Yvonne Elliman ("If I Can't Have You"), Chic ("Dance, Dance, Dance"), Heatwave ("The Groove Line"), and, of course, Donna Summer. Most of these acts were black.

The full commercial potential of disco was realized when WKTU, an obscure soft rock station in New York, converted to an all-disco format in 1978 and, within months, became the most listened-to station in the country. By 1979 there were some two hundred disco stations broadcasting in almost every major market. Disco records captured eight of the fourteen pop Grammy Awards in 1979. Syndicated television programs like "Disco Magic" and "Dance Fever" brought the dance craze to the heartland. Some thirty-six million adults thrilled to the musical mixes of eight thousand professional deejays who serviced a portion of the estimated twenty thousand disco clubs. The phenomenon spawned a subindustry whose annual revenues ranged from $4 billion to $8 billion.

Because of disco's roots, the inevitable backlash had racial overtones. Slogans like "death to disco" and "disco sucks" were as much racial epithets as they were statements of musical preference. In the early 1980s, rock radio reasserted its primacy (and its racism) with a vengeance. Black-oriented radio was forced to move in the direction of a new format—urban contemporary (UC). UC was multicultural in its original conception: black artists in the soul, funk, and jazz categories—such as Stevie Wonder, Donna Summer, Rick James, Third World, Funkadelic, Quincy Jones, and George Benson— remained central to a station's playlist, and white acts who fit the format— like David Bowie or Hall and Oates—were added. Paradoxically, UC may well have proven to be a net loss for black artists. While UC provided greater access for white musicians on what had been black-oriented stations, black performers did not gain any reciprocal access to rock radio.

More blatant acts of racial exclusion were occurring in video. In 1983 *People* magazine reported that "on MTV's current roster of some 800 acts, 16 are black" (Bricker, 1983, p. 31). MTV's rejection of five Rick James videos at a time when his album *Street Songs* had sold almost four million copies was rivaled only by their initial reluctance to air even Michael Jackson's "Beat It" and "Billy Jean" videos. New music video outlets formed in reaction to MTV's restrictive programming policies. Black Entertainment Television (BET) and the long-standing Soul Train provided the primary video exposure for black talent in the early 1980s. Ironically, *Yo! MTV Raps* subsequently became one of MTV's most popular offerings.

This restricted access for African-American artists occurred during the first recession in the music business since the late 1940s. Recovery, beginning in 1983, was signaled by the multiplatinum, worldwide success of Michael Jackson's *Thriller,* with international sales of some forty million units, making it the largest-selling record of all time. *Thriller* began a trend toward blockbuster LPs featuring a limited number of superstar artists as the solution to the industry's economic woes. Interestingly, quite a few of these superstars—including Michael Jackson, Prince, Lionel Richie, Tina Turner, and others—were African Americans.

The phenomenal pop successes of these artists immediately catapulted them into an upper-level industry infrastructure fully owned and operated by whites. In this rarified atmosphere, they were confronted with considerable pressure to sever their ties with the attorneys, managers, booking agents, and promoters who may have been responsible for building their careers in the first place. "Aside from Sammy Davis Jr., Nancy Wilson, and Stephanie Mills," said Nelson George, citing a 1984 *Ebony* story, there were "no other black household names with black management. . . . Michael Jackson, Lionel Richie, Prince, Luther Vandross, the Pointer Sisters, Earth, Wind and Fire, Ray Parker Jr., and Donna Summer all relied on white figures for guidance" (1988, p. 177). These artists were further distinguished from less successful black artists in that they were now marketed directly to the mainstream audience, a practice that has since proven successful even with the debut releases of artists like Whitney Houston and Mariah Carey.

A number of cross-racial, pop-oriented duets—including Stevie Wonder and Paul McCartney ("Ebony and Ivory"), Michael Jackson and Paul McCartney ("The Girl Is Mine," "Say Say Say"), Diana Ross and Julio Iglesias ("All of You"), James Ingram and Kenny Rogers ("What

About Me?"), Dionne Warwick and Friends ("That's What Friends Are For"), Patti LaBelle and Michael McDonald ("On My Own"), Aretha Franklin and George Michael ("I Knew You Were Waiting for Me"), and James Ingram and Linda Ronstadt ("Somewhere Out There")—brought a new dimension to the term "crossover." Michael Jackson's and Lionel Richie's "We Are The World" (1985)—the ultimate crossover recording—initiated the phenomenon of "charity rock."

It remained for rap to take African-American music back to the streets. Rap, one cultural element in the larger hip-hop subculture, began in the South Bronx at about the same time as disco, but, given its place of origin, the movement developed in almost complete isolation for more than five years. In the late 1970s, hip-hop was "discovered" in turn by the music business, the print media, and the film industry. Through films like the low-budget *Wild Style* (1982) and the blockbuster *Flashdance* (1983), followed by *Breakin'* (1984) and *Beat Street* (1984), hip-hop was brought to the attention of a mass audience.

In the mid-1980s, early hip-hop culture heroes like Afrika Bambaataa, Kool Herc, and Grandmaster Flash passed the baton to a second generation of artists such as Whodini, the Force MDs, the Fat Boys, and Run-D.M.C., who recorded the first gold rap album, *Run-D.M.C.,* in 1984. This was a new wrinkle for rap, which had always been based on 12-inch singles. In the relative absence of radio play, even on black radio, rap artists such as Run-D.M.C., UTFO, L.L. Cool J, Whodini, Heavy D. & the Boyz, Salt-n-Pepa, and the Fat Boys made significant inroads into the album and cassette market. Eight of Billboard's top thirty black albums for the week of November 28, 1987, were rap albums.

Beginning as a street movement, rap was initially produced by independent labels, some of which (the notorious Sugar Hill, which has since faded from the scene, and Russell Simmons's Def Jam) were black-owned, all of which were independently distributed. In signing Curtis Blow, Mercury was the only major label to take a chance on rap before it was a proven commodity. Mainstream success, however, demanded the kind of national distribution provided by the major labels. In the mid-1980s, Columbia Records concluded a custom label deal with Def Jam, Jive Records entered into distribution arrangements with both RCA and Arista, Cold Chillin' Records signed a distribution deal with Warner (who also bought a piece of Tommy Boy), Delicious Vinyl entered into a national distribution deal with Island, and Priority contracted with Capitol for national distribution (Garofalo, 1990, pp. 116–117).

Roundly criticized for violence, sexism, and bigotry in the late 1980s, rap endeavored to clean up its image while becoming the main target in the controversy over censorship. Following the lead of Nelson George, a number of rap groups—including Stetsasonic, Boogie Down Productions, and Public Enemy, among others—initiated the Stop the Violence Movement, aimed specifically at black-on-black crime. West Coast rappers followed with "We're All in the Same Gang." Artists such as Queen Latifah and Salt-n-Pepa offered a female—if not a feminist—corrective to abusive sexual rantings. Highly politicized rappers like Public Enemy and NWA remained controversial, even as they sold millions of records to black as well as white teenagers.

During this period, rap gained a measure of mainstream acceptability, as the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences added a rap category to the Grammys in 1988 and, immediately following, Billboard unceremoniously inaugurated a rap chart. This momentum soon propelled rap to the upper reaches of the pop market; pop rapper/dancer (M.C.) Hammer's *Please Hammer Don't Hurt 'Em* remained at pop number one for twenty-one weeks, achieving sales of over ten million units. It also propelled rappers into leading roles in other media, including television (Will Smith, Queen Latifah) and film (Ice-T, Ice Cube, Tupac Shakur).

Having achieved a certain level of respectability, rap could not outrun its legacy of controversy. In the 1992 election year, presidential candidate Bill Clinton traded barbs over the Rodney King affair with Sister Souljah, who more than held her own as she graced the cover of *Newsweek*. Ice-T's "Cop Killer" was denounced by public figures ranging from George Bush Sr., Dan Quayle, and Mario Cuomo to Charleton Heston, Beverly Sills, and Oliver North, while sixty congressmen complained to Time Warner, the parent company for Ice-T's label, who then dropped the rapper. Later, Snoop Doggy Dogg, Tupac Shakur, and Flavor Flav made headlines for allegedly crossing the line into violence in real life.

By this time the well-worn path from citizen outrage to government hearings had been taken up by African-American activists, as Dr. C. DeLores Tucker, chairwoman of the National Political Congress of Black Women enlisted the support of Dionne Warwick for a round of Senate hearings scheduled by Senator Carol Moseley-Braun. After 1994, government hearings on rap began to subside, only to pick up again two years later when the violence associated with gangsta rap climaxed with the shooting deaths of Tupac Shakur and then the Notorious B.I.G. (Biggie Smalls).

With the focus on sensationalized rap murders, it was easy to lose sight of the fact that African-American aesthetics, performance styles, and production techniques had

Record producers Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis. FLYTE TYME PRODUCTIONS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

contributed significantly to the development of popular music styles ranging from rage rock and teen pop to electronic dance music and R&B. Again, the work of talented African-American producers was clearly in evidence. Beginning in the 1980s, producers such as Quincy Jones, Nile Rogers, Narada Michael Walden, and the team of Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis paved the way for a next generation that included: Teddy Riley, who invented New Jack Swing; Sean "Puffy" Combs, who established the signature sounds of Jodeci and Mary J. Blige; and Antonio "L.A." Reid and Kenneth "Babyface" Edmunds, who founded LaFace Records.

By the mid-1990s, African-American artists had contributed significantly to a number of trends that peppered the pop landscape: the blockbuster dance-pop of artists like Mariah Carey, who debuted with five number-one pop hits in a row; the growth of hip-hop–flavored R&B vocal groups like Color Me Badd ("All for Love"), Boyz II Men ("End of the Road"), and Jodeci ("Lately"); the sexualized R&B stylings of R. Kelly ("Bump and Grind"); the social engagement of rap groups ranging from Arrested Development ("People Everyday") to the Fugees ("Killing Me Softly"); and the turn toward real life violence that cost the lives of Tupac Shakur (*All Eyez on Me*) and the Notorious B.I.G. (*Ready to Die*).

By this time, hip-hop had expanded geographically beyond the East Coast–West Coast axis of the late 1980s, creating new vocabularies of place and space. In addition to Miami (2 Live Crew), Houston (Geto Boys), Seattle (Sir Mix-A-Lot), and San Francisco (Too Short), hip-hop had established bases in the Midwest and what Tony Green (1999) referred to as "The Dirty South." New Orleans boasted Master P's No Limit Army (Silkk The Shocker, C-Murder, Mo B. Dick, Mia X) and the Cash Money label (Juvenile, B.G., Turk, Lil' Wayne, and Big Tymers), as well as Mystikal on Jive Records. La Face (OutKast, Goodie Mob) was headquartered in Atlanta, as was So So Def (Jermaine Dupri, Lil' Bow Wow, Da Brat). And in 2000, Def Jam opened an Atlanta subsidiary with Scarface as its president and Ludacris as its flagship artist. Timbaland and Magoo represented Virginia Beach, along with Missy "Misdemeanor" Elliott; while Bone Thugs-N-Harmony was in Cleveland and, later, Eminem came out of Detroit.

There was also a next generation of labels in rap's historical strongholds. Dr. Dre had launched Aftermath in Los Angeles. In addition to Bad Boy (Puff Daddy, Notorious B.I.G., MASE, Lil' Kim, Black Rob, Faith Evans), New York added two other significant new rap labels as well—Roc-A-Fella (Jay Z, Beanie Sigel, Cam'ron, M.O.P., Kayne West) and Ruff Ryders (DMX, Eve).

Clearly, rap could no longer be dismissed as a wild street culture; it was a major corporate enterprise, with the most successful artists often playing the multiple roles of performer, writer, producer, and label head. By 1997, Sean "Puffy" Coombs presided over a Bad Boy Entertainment empire that grossed $200 million and employed three hundred people. Master P built a diversified business that included No Limit Records, No Limit Films, No Limit Sports Enterprises, a No Limit clothing line (Soldier Gear), and a multimillion dollar deal with the shoe company Converse, Inc.

The major labels were only too happy to distribute these successful independent rap labels. Bad Boy and La Face were distributed by Arista. Aftermath, Ruff Ryders, Roc-A-Fella, and Cash Money were linked to Interscope and Def Jam, both of which were part of Universal. Still, a number of social practices prompted the major labels to keep rap at arms length: the constant political pressure from conservative watchdog organizations; rap's propensity to sample copyrighted works without permission; and the tendency of hip-hop artists to operate as extended social groups, posses, or crews (e.g., the Bad Boy Family, the No Limit Army, Tha Dogg Pound, Wu Tang Clan). These practices made it more difficult for the industry to track such details as chart position, market share, and royalty rates. This collective ethos led to the routine appearance

Producer Russell Simmons, holding a microphone, is joined by (from left) Antonio "L.A." Reid, Jay Z, and Tony Austin, New York City, 2005. *Simmons, whose efforts and vision as rap producer and artists' manager helped propel rap music onto the national scene in the 1980s, holds a press conference to announce the launch of Russell Simmons Music Group (RSMG), a joint label venture with Def Jam Music Group.* SCOTT GRIES/GETTY IMAGES

of rap artists on each other's recordings, often across label affiliations and to a number of successful ensemble tours at the end of the decade, including No Way Out (Puffy and the Bad Boy Family, Jay-Z, Foxy Brown, Busta Rhymes, Usher); Hard Knock Life (Jay-Z, DMX, Method Man and Redman, DJ Clue); Ruff Ryders/Cash Money (DMX, Juvenile as co-headliners, and both labels' other artists as support); and Up in Smoke (Snoop Dogg, Dr. Dre, Eminem, Ice Cube, MC Ren).

If the Up In Smoke tour rekindled a focus on Los Angeles (and Eminem), New York had become the center for hard-core rap, from verbal jousts like the ones between Jay-Z and Nas and DMX and Ja Rule, to the more menacing real-life violence that hovered around 50 Cent. In a more dispersed rap world, New York itself had become significantly more decentralized. In its run-down of the fifty most influential hip-hop players, *Rolling Stone* went so far as to identify the particular borough or "hood" that each New York artist "represented"—Beastie Boys (Manhattan), Busta Rhymes (Brooklyn), KRS-One (The Bronx), Mase (Harlem), and Wu Tang Clan (Staten Island). Not mentioned by *Rolling Stone* were Jay Z from Brooklyn, DMX from Yonkers, and 50 Cent from Hollis, Queens.

Although the most publicized rap of the era was drenched in testosterone, it is important to note that there were other tendencies as well. OutKast *(Stankonia)* epitomized the Dirty South with less reliance on aggression, more sophisticated lyrics, and more intricate arrangements. Shaggy *(Hot Shot)* was the antithesis of the New York gangsta: polite, well-mannered, and completely non-threatening. In 2002 Nelly *(Country Grammar)* ascended to the number one slot on the year-end pop charts with a laid back Southern drawl, tongue-twister rhymes, and infectious pop hooks.

If there were any doubts as to the popularity of rap and hip-hop-influenced R&B, they were more than laid to rest on October 11, 2003, when *Billboard* reported a first in the magazine's fifty-year history: all of the Top Ten singles in the country were by black artists—nine rappers and the singer Beyoncé, who was at number one with "Baby

Boy." As the strongest measure of popularity across audience demographics, this phenomenon suggested that, in cultural terms, hip-hop had imposed a new paradigm supplanting rock as the major youth cultural force.

See also Blues, The; Hip-Hop; Music in the United States; Rap; Rhythm and Blues

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REEBEE GAROFALO (2005)

Redding, Jay Saunders

October 13, 1906
March 2, 1988

Born and raised in a middle-class family in Wilmington, Delaware, writer J. Saunders Redding attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania for one year before transferring to Brown University, where he received his Ph.B. (bachelor of philosophy) in 1928 and his M.A. in 1932; afterward, he studied at Columbia University for one year on a graduate fellowship. Redding began his career teaching English at a series of colleges and universities: Morehouse College in Atlanta (1928–1931), Louisville Municipal College (1934–1936), and Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where he was chair of the English department (1936–1938).

After Redding's publication of *To Make a Poet Black* (1939), a critical study unique in its time for its examination of African-American literature from the perspective of a black scholar, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded Redding a fellowship to write *No Day of Triumph* (1942), an exploration of the condition of African Americans in the South. The partly autobiographical book was a critical success and established Redding's reputation as an acute observer of social realities who spoke eloquently both to black and white Americans about the struggles and the achievements of African Americans. In 1943 Redding returned to teaching, this time as a professor at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he remained until 1966, and subsequently at George Washington University (1968–1970) and at Cornell University (1970–1975; as professor emeritus, 1975–1988). He also served as an official of the National Endowment for the Humanities (1966–1970) and as a State Department–sponsored lecturer at colleges and universities in India (1952), Africa (1962), and South America (1977).

During his career, Redding wrote ten books, among them an influential psychological study of race relations, *On Being Negro in America* (1951), a novel, *Stranger and Alone* (1950), and several sociohistorical studies, including *They Came in Chains: Americans from Africa* (1950), *An American in India* (1954), and *The Negro* (1967). He coedited two anthologies, *Reading for Writing* (1952), with Ivan E. Taylor, and *Cavalcade: Negro American Writing from 1760 to the Present* (1971), with Arthur P. Davis. Redding's many articles and book reviews have appeared in anthologies and in such periodicals as *The Atlantic Monthly, The Saturday Review, The Nation, The North American Review,* and *American Heritage.* While denying neither the specificity of his perspective nor his abiding interest in the experience and culture of African Americans, Redding continually stressed in his works the necessity for full integration of African Americans into the larger community.

Redding received many awards and honorary degrees for his work, including two Guggenheim fellowships (1944–1945 and 1959–1960), a citation from the National Urban League (1950), a Ford Foundation fellowship (1964–1965), and honorary degrees from Brown University (1963), Virginia State College (1963), Hobart College

(1964), the University of Portland (1970), Wittenberg University (1977), Dickinson College, and the University of Delaware. Redding died in Ithaca, New York, at the age of seventy-one.

See also Intellectual Life; Literary Criticism, U.S.

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
ALEXIS WALKER (1996)

Redding, Otis

September 9, 1941
December 10, 1967

The soul singer and composer Otis Redding was one of the most powerful and original singer-songwriters of the 1960s. He was the mainstay of Stax Records, the Memphis label that became internationally successful releasing gritty southern soul records. Born in Dawson, Georgia, Redding grew up in Macon, 100 miles to the north. He began playing drums in school and was paid six dollars an hour on Sundays to accompany gospel groups appearing on the local radio station, WIBB. Redding stayed in school until the tenth grade (1957), but he quit to help support his family, working variously at a gas station, as a well-digger, and occasionally as a musician. As a singer, he began to win local talent contests with his spontaneous and tough vocal style. He traveled to Los Angeles in mid-1960, where he recorded four songs, and returned to Macon in 1961, where he cut "Shout Bamalama" for the Confederate label, a minor hit that received airplay on area radio stations.

Redding's break came in 1963, when he sang his song "These Arms of Mine" at a Stax recording session of Johnny Jenkins and the Pinetoppers, a group for whom he was guest vocalist and chauffeur. When the record made it into the Rhythm-and-Blues Top Twenty in 1964, Redding's career was launched. Over the next five years, his popularity grew steadily through fiery live performances, hit singles such as "I've Been Loving You Too Long," "Try a Little Tenderness," and "I Can't Turn You Loose," and critically acclaimed LPs such as *Otis Blue, The Soul Album,* and *The Great Otis Redding Sings Soul Ballads*. Like Aretha Franklin (b. 1942), who immortalized his song "Respect", Redding was able to capitalize on the liberal climate of the 1960s, crossing over to white listeners on both sides of the Atlantic. His performances in England in early 1967 so enthralled audiences that he was subsequently named Best Male Vocalist in a poll sponsored by the music publication *Melody Maker,* an accolade won by Elvis Presley the previous eight years. Later in 1967, nestled between rock acts, he captivated an audience of 55,000 at the Monterey Pop Festival in California, one of the milestones of the hippie era.

Redding's death in a plane crash near Madison, Wisconsin, on December 10, 1967, came at the peak of his career and left fans wondering what might have been. His song "(Sittin' on) The Dock of the Bay," recorded three days before his death, revealed a different, introspective musical direction. It became his biggest record, heading the pop charts for four weeks and becoming a posthumous signature song.

See also Franklin, Aretha; Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
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Red Summer

"Red Summer" was the term coined in 1919 by NAACP investigator James Weldon Johnson to describe the summer and early fall of that year, when twenty-five race riots and other racially based incidents erupted across the United States—the largest in Charleston, South Carolina;

Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha, Nebraska; and Elaine, Arkansas. Although the riots had different immediate causes, they had many common roots.

Tensions between blacks and whites were high in the aftermath of World War I. Overly rapid demobilization and the end of price controls led to inflation and unemployment. Whites in the North were angered and frightened by the presence of blacks who had migrated during the war, and white Southerners were aroused by blacks' new self-confidence and willingness to challenge the racial status quo. Black soldiers came home from Europe, where they had been treated as equals by the French (one black unit was decorated for bravery), expecting gratitude and employment opportunity. They received neither. There were seventy-six lynchings in a month and a half, a dozen of them of black veterans still in uniform. Racial tensions were augmented by the postwar anti-Bolshevik "red scare." Whites feared radicalism and reacted hysterically to rumors of subversion. Attempts at social change, particularly in the racial status quo, were stigmatized as "radical" and "subversive."

The riots themselves were generally white-instigated affairs, generated by real or fictitious black challenges to white authority. However, unlike most earlier racial disturbances, blacks often actively resisted white violence, and shot and beat white attackers. Radical black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph gave speeches and wrote articles proclaiming blacks' right to commit violence in self-defense.

Red Summer, though brief, convinced many African Americans that their participation in a war for democracy did not mean that white domination in America was going to disappear. The events pushed many blacks into militant action. Some blacks responded by redoubling their commitment to civil rights protest. Others supported black nationalist leaders, notably Marcus Garvey.

See also Johnson, James Weldon; Riots and Popular Protests

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Reed, Ishmael

February 22, 1938

The author Ishmael Reed was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, but was raised and educated in Buffalo, New York. In high school he discovered the writings of Nathanael West, whose black comedy influenced his own distinctive expressionistic style. Later, while at the University of Buffalo (1956–1960), he discovered the works of William Butler Yeats and William Blake, who taught him the importance of creating personal mythological systems. In 1962 he moved to New York City to become a writer. While living on the Lower East Side he encountered a group of young black writers, including Calvin Hernton, David Henderson, and Askia Muhammad Toure, from the Umbra Workshop, who convinced him of the importance of black literature. His first novel, *Free-Lance Pallbearers* (1967), a parody of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man,* is a savage satire of the United States during the Vietnam War years, personified by the president, Harry Sam, who literally eats American children.

In 1967 Reed moved to Berkeley, California, where he cofounded and published *The Yardbird Reader* (1972–1976), which reflected his new multiethnic spirit, engendered by his move to the multicultural West Coast. His second novel, *Yellow Back Radio Broke-Down* (1969), a surreal western, introduces the theme of the repressive forces of Western culture embattled against the life-affirming forces of black culture, which have survived the Middle Passage from Africa to the New World. In this novel Reed presents voodoo religion as a source of authentic black folk culture and values. In his next novel, *Mumbo Jumbo* (l972), he initiated his countermythology. He argues that there is a conspiracy at the core of the Western tradition: Its mythology preaches the glory of the West at the expense of all other cultures. It therefore became imperative, for Reed, to revise this mythology in order to expose the lies of the Western tradition and affirm the virtues of African civilizations, including Egypt. In his later creative works, his countermythology, which he usually calls Neo-HooDooism, he has drawn on many non-European cultures, including Haitian, black American, and Native American. In 1976 Reed cofounded the Before Columbus Foundation, devoted to the dissemination of multicultural literature. *Flight to Canada* (1976), his fifth novel, is a modern slave narrative, in which he defines freedom as the ability to tell one's own story instead of allowing it to be appropriated by alien and hostile cultures. With *Reckless Eyeballing* (1986), Reed continues his exploration of freedom in the explosive area of sexual politics,

where he argues against white feminist hegemony. In 1993 he published his ninth novel, *Japanese by Spring,* which parodies black neoconservatism and multiethnic abuse of power by the powerful, whether they are white, black, or yellow.

Even though Reed is known primarily as a novelist, he has produced a number of books of poetry and essays. He also has had several plays produced, including *Mother Hubbard* (1981) and *Savage Wilds* (1989). Among his poetry collections are *Conjure* (1972), *Chattanooga* (1974), *A Secretary to the Spirits* (1978), and *New and Collected Poems* (1988). Mostly in free verse, these poems are experimental, humorous, and satiric. In his poetry, as in his fiction, he creates a countermythology, drawing on many non-European cultures for its symbolism. Reed's books of essays include *Shrovetide in Old New Orleans* (1978), *God Made Alaska for the Indians* (1982), *Writin' Is Fightin': Thirty-Seven Years of Boxing on Paper* (1988), *Airing Dirty Laundry* (1993), *The Reed Reader* (2000), *Another Day at the Front: Dispatches from the Race War* (2002), and *Blues City: A Walk in Oakland* (2003). In his essays he tries to refute false and pernicious myths about black people. In recent years he has focused more on black men than on African Americans in general, arguing that they are in a particularly precarious position in American society: that, indeed, they are everybody's scapegoat for the evils of civilization. Reed's impassioned polemics in defense of black men have catapulted him into the center of many heated debates with both black and white feminists. Since all of Reed's works spring from the same individual vision, both his poems and essays help the reader clarify the more significant novels.

Reed is a major innovative writer who relentlessly uses comedy and satire to show the myopia, egotism, and brutality of eurocentric culture. Yet he does not let black culture off scot-free: he criticizes individual blacks when they do not live up to the ideals of freedom and creativity that he finds inherent in the African-American tradition. His critique of the West is often more subtle and penetrating than that of many scholars, and it is always much more amusing.

See also Black Arts Movement; Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the United States

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WILLIAM J. HARRIS (1996)
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Reggae

Reggae is a late twentieth-century black musical phenomenon that draws deeply from Afro-Jamaican religious, dance, and musical practices while positing a distinctive series of meanings and representations about slavery, colonialism, history, and Africa. These meanings have been largely influenced by the theology, cultural practices, and language of Rastafari. In the late 1960s Larry Marshall's *Nanny Goat* with its organ shuffle was one of the signals of the birth of a new musical sound. This sound was crafted in the studios of producers such as Coxsone Dodd and Arthur "Duke" Reid. The musicians who comprised the various studio bands along with the singers who experimented with musical forms lived in districts of Jones Town, Trench Town, or Denham Town, located in the western end of Jamaica's capital city and populated by thousands of migrants bringing religious and other cultural traditions from rural Jamaica. These musicians were inspired by two musical currents: indigenous ska and African-American rhythm and blues.

Ska was an early 1960s urban musical synthesis that transformed twentieth-century Jamaican popular musical culture. It replaced mento, a musical form that was born of the cultural encounter between African musical traditions and the melodies of European instruments. This encounter produced instruments such as the rhumba scraper. Many claim that the first popular indigenous Jamaican music record was the Folkes Brothers' *Oh Carolina.* With the *nyabinghi*-style repeater drumming of Count Ossie holding the entire spine of the track together, the song became an exemplar of the different ingredients that eventually merged to create reggae. When Derrick Morgan sang "Forward March" in honor of Jamaican independence, he did so to the hard driving, horn blowing, and rhythm section of the studio band. Ska was big band music influenced by jazz and swing. But ska sped up the second

Reggae musician, songwriter, and singer Bob Marley performs in Stockholm, Sweden, 1978. *Rising from an early life of austere poverty in his native Jamaica, the charismatic Marley helped to bring reggae music to international popularity. His 1974 hit song "No Woman No Cry" was entered into the Grammy Hall of Fame in 2005.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

beat while slowing down the fourth, so that the music seemed off beat with loose skips to it that would then be reconciled in the male dances of the "legs" and "splits." The ska musical pantheon of horn, drum, bass, and piano players includes Tommy Cook, Roland Alphonso, Dizzy Moore, Rico Rodriguez, Lloyd Knibbs, Lloyd Brevett, Jackie Mitoo, and perhaps the most accomplished of them all, Don Drummond. This group eventually came together as the Skatalites, and their musical skills remain a rich archive of Jamaican music.

There is no popular Jamaican music without the dance steps. For Jamaican popular music the dance steps were often created in the dances in which the ubiquitous sound system provided thousands of watts. With names in the 1970s such as Black Harmony, Black Scorpio, Black Roots, Gemini, Jack Ruby, and perhaps the most dynamic of them all, King Tubby's Hi Fi, the sound system dances became sites in which audience, dancers, and music were integrated into a tight fit. When the audience members are primarily urban dwellers alienated from official society, then the relationship between the music, musicians, and audience often becomes a practice of counter-signification. This is clearly illustrated by the morphing of ska into the musical form of rock steady. In the transition the music slowed down, the loose skip was transformed into a tighter bass, and the fast-paced ska dance movements became languid movements of the shoulders and hands operating in different time to the pelvic motions. The combined effect of the dance and music was a sense of dread, of bodies about to explode: The figure that best represented this was the "rude bwoy." The rude bwoy was unemployed, had lost faith in the dream of political independence, and chafed under the postcolonial dispensation of class and color. Their behavior was a direct confrontation with the conceptions of working-class black respectability and official ideas about how the new Jamaican citi-

zen should comport himself. The era of the rude bwoys produced singers and groups such as The Wailers, Heptones, Ethiopians, Jimmy Cliff, Alton Ellis, Delroy Wilson, and Ken Boothe, as well as producer Prince Buster. Two songs were exemplars of this period: Prince Buster's "Judge Dread" and The Wailers' appeal to the rude bwoys to "Simmer Down." The immediate roots of reggae are therefore to be found in the urban popular Jamaican culture of the dispossessed that developed in the island's postindependence period.

In reggae the drum and bass become pronounced. The singer is given scope, the horns surround the bridge segments of the music, and the dancer skips and moves with feet that are now free from the chains of racial slavery while the body moves in memory of the Middle Passage. There are many streams of reggae, but one of the most popular streams is sometimes called *roots rock reggae.* This music relies heavily upon the message it delivers. From Marley's *Trench Town Rock* to the Abyssinians' classic *Satta Massagana* to Gregory Isaacs's *Roughneck,* reggae music operates in the languages of black struggle and redemption. This is the music of groups and singers with names such as Burning Spear, Black Uhuru, and Culture. The emergence of reggae also saw the development of creative producers who were musical techno-innovators creating new sounds within the general "riddim" structure of the music. Here Lee "Scratch" Perry's Black Ark Studio was the most important site. Roots reggae's musical vocabulary explores the New World black experience through the themes of exile, redemption, and imagery of Africa and slavery. These themes are shaped by Rastafari and therefore are often expressed in the language of black prophecy. As reggae became internationally popular, it carried with it the freight of Rastafari. In the contemporary period, reggae has remained the preferred musical idiom of what is sometimes called "conscious" or "culture" music as distinct from dance hall.

If the internal Jamaican migration eventually led to reggae as a musical and cultural practice, then external migration allowed the music to develop another distinct genre. Here the story is about the passage from Millie Small's "My Boy Lollipop" to the drum and bass (sometimes called jungle music) of artists like LTJ Bukem. Jamaican music arrived in the United Kingdom on board the *Empire Windrush* in 1948 as part of the cultural makeup of the newly arrived West Indians. Initially it was the cloak of home comfort, something in which the new arrivals could wrap themselves in the strange gray land of the former colonial power.

However, as these new communities put down roots and second-generation West Indians began searching for an identity that located them in the United Kingdom—while retaining the connections to the Caribbean—the music changed, and black British identity became a locus for a radical transformation and representation of the self. The first wave of this change occurred in the 1970s with the development of "lovers rock," ostensibly as the antithesis to the more bass-heavy Rasta-influenced roots and culture forms that dominated the reggae scene in the 1970s. In lovers rock the baselines were unmistakably reggae but with an added emphasis on melodic composition and lyrics that dealt almost exclusively with matters of the heart. This reflected a mainstream pop music influence as well as that of soul music. Powered by labels such as Lovers Rock, Arawak, Santic, and Hawkeye and featuring artists such as Janet Kay and Carroll Thompson, lovers rock enjoyed some mainstream success before petering out in the 1980s when the fun pop sensibilities that it embraced were rejected for a harder, bass heavy sound.

This is not to say that Rastafari and roots reggae became lost in translation. More traditional forms were being produced by the likes of Steel Pulse and the dub poet Linton Kewsi Johnson, bubbling under the more commercially accessible lovers rock and satisfying the desire for musical content that directly expressed the problems faced by young blacks. Police brutality, employment difficulties, and other social inequalities were all covered, maintaining the social commentary/criticism that had long been part of reggae, as well as keeping open and vibrant the direct link to Jamaica. In the 1980s, when the conservative political ideology of Thatcherism took hold and young black men in particular found it increasingly difficult to obtain jobs, lovers rock began to lose its appeal and was eventually replaced by "drum and bass." This musical form developed out of the network of sound systems modeled on the sound systems of Jamaica, complete with selectors and box boys. The best known of these was Soul II Soul. Drum and bass practitioners like Goldie, LTJ, and Roni Size started life as mixers on sound systems across the country in such places as Bristol before branching out into music production. With its elongated basslines and irregular, fast-paced drum patterns voiced by the MCs, drum and bass quickly became the voice of disaffected young blacks.

Though its style was more reminiscent of the dancehall style that dominates sound systems in twenty-first-century Jamaica, the influences did not stop there. Hip-hop shares some similarities in production techniques. More recently, jazz sensibilities that allowed improvisation have shaped a new musical style dubbed "intelligent drum and bass." A key individual in this move is LTJ Bukem and his Good Looking/Looking Good record label. A good example of this new form is the title track of Bukem's 2000

A dreadlock from reggae legend Bob Marley is displayed in front of a signed promotional postcard for auction at Christie's in London. *As indicated by the illustration on the postcard, reggae art speaks the language of black struggle and redemption.* SCOTT BARBOUR/GETTY IMAGES

release, "Journey Inwards," in which the shimmering sounds of a keyboard caress and envelop the rhythm created by an upright bass.

But reggae has not only followed a Jamaican diaspora. It has become one of the most popular international musical forms, with artists deploying its rhythmical syntax in Africa, Europe, and beyond. The CD *Reggae Over Africa* (2000), with tracks of Japanese reggae and major tracks by the South African artist Lucky Dube, illustrates this.

In the end reggae remains a form of black cultural production in which its practitioners speak to conditions of oppression and experiences of Africa and peoples of African descent. Its lyrical and musical power resides in its messages and sounds of redemption.

See also Dancehall; Marley, Bob; Rastafarianism; Reggae Aesthetics

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ANTHONY BOGUES (2005)
MACHEL BOGUES (2005)

Reggae Aesthetics

Through the concept of reggae aesthetics, as outlined in his work, *Natural Mysticism*: *Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic* (1999), Kwame Dawes offers a framework for reading Caribbean literature written since the late 1960s. Dawes is certain that "contained in reggae music are principles of beauty that can help to define the arts that emerge from the world that has shaped reggae" (p. 29). Grounding his exploration of the evolution of Caribbean literature in the region's history of enslavement and colonialism, Dawes speaks to the social and political milieu that provides the context within which literature and the reggae aesthetic must be analyzed. Colonial society, defined by European/British cultural hegemony, perpetuated a system by which the elites oppressed the working class and

denied them access to their own history and culture, while elevating the history and culture of the colonizer. Such a system encouraged the working class, descendants of enslaved Africans, to look upon their African past with disdain but to glorify the culture of Europeans/whites. This ensured that emergent Caribbean writing grappled with issues of identity and "almost inevitably wrote in dialogue with the standard Western texts that they learned in school" (p. 46). Furthermore, Caribbean literature was often steeped in a Europe-centered aesthetic and reflected the "peculiarly schizophrenic attitude" of a Caribbean native straddling both worlds (p. 16).

Later works began to defy the rudiments of a Europe-centered aesthetic both stylistically and thematically. Dawes argues that this transition from a literature that reflected an uncertain and insecure Caribbean identity to one that was more self-assured and African-centered was facilitated by the dawn of reggae music. Though the 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of Wilson Harris and Kamau Brathwaite, who began to usher in a solid "Caribbean literary aesthetic," it was not until reggae surfaced in the late 1960s that Jamaica and the wider Caribbean finally got "an artistic form that has a distinctively postcolonial aesthetic" (p. 17). "Exploring literary connections with reggae," Dawes argues, is critical to the project of understanding Caribbean literature written since the late 1960s. Dawes maintains that reggae provided the vehicle through which Caribbean writing moved from a colonial to a postcolonial posture. He encourages critics of Caribbean writing to use reggae as an analytical tool, maintaining that reggae has given impetus to a paradigm shift in the Caribbean literary world. Reggae, according to Dawes, through its "language," "themes," "form," and "overarching ideology," offers a model for the expression of a confident and multifaceted Caribbean identity (p. 94). This model, he contends, has impacted and is evident in the writing of authors such as Lorna Goodison and Robert Lee (p. 242).

Dawes argues that reggae is able to provide this model because it is "grounded in the history of working-class black Jamaican ideologies that have carried across the centuries from Africa through the complicated cauldron of Caribbean society" (p. 96). The relationship between reggae and black working-class Jamaican ideologies emanates from reggae's "inextricable connection with Rastafarian discourse" (p. 99). Rasta's focus on "history and race" is important to the reggae aesthetic, as Rasta beckons to Jamaicans to remember their African roots and their history. Rasta's firm rejection of a European-centered aesthetic is crucial to reggae. There is no doubt that Rastafarianism "abolished the white world or at least cast it into the outer darkness" (p. 65) and that the most famous ambassador of both Rasta and reggae, Bob Marley, was unflinching in his "embrace of African culture" (p. 54). In addition, Rastafari's subversion of colonial sensibilities through language has resulted in the creation of a Rastafarian lexicon, which provides insight into the Rastafarian critique of European cultural hegemony. The wholesale adoption of this lexicon into reggae lyrics demands that reggae and Rasta be considered in tandem, and supports Dawes's assertion that "Rastafarian ideology provided a clear and appealing cosmology for the reggae artist" (p. 100). Rasta gives reggae an ideological base, which gives Caribbean writers a postcolonial scaffold upon which they can freely hang the themes they seek to probe. The example of reggae, Dawes maintains, has given contemporary Caribbean writers a template, enabling them to depart from the Europe-centered standards that define the traditional Anglophone canon.

The reggae aesthetic boasts an accommodative framework, which allows authors to explore not only issues of race and history but also issues of sexuality and gender. In a conservative society like Jamaica, where a pervasive Protestant ethic serves to dichotomize sexuality and piety, Dawes argues that early writing has reflected the repression that characterizes such a society. Reggae, through its unapologetic treatment of sexuality, sexual pleasure, courtship, and love, has initiated a dialogue about such issues that rivals the closed space of the Protestant ethic. Dawes admits that his analysis of exactly how the reggae aesthetic allows literature to handle issues of misogyny (which is also present in reggae) and sexuality is partial, and that future works that will build on the groundbreaking scholarship of Carolyn Cooper will be well served by the reggae aesthetic.

Dawes presents reggae as a uniquely Jamaican phenomenon that is applicable to the wider Caribbean and beyond. As seen by Dawes, reggae is both local and global, and its proven international appeal demonstrates that "it is possible for a particular genre of music, emerging from a small locale, to have an international impact" (p. 31). It is precisely reggae's ability to adapt to different environments and circumstances while maintaining its uniqueness that provides the "most telling argument for the existence of a reggae aesthetic" (p. 103). Importantly, Dawes is not arguing that the reggae aesthetic is the only prism through which all contemporary Caribbean literature should be read. Instead, he contends that the aesthetic is one of the lenses through which contemporary Caribbean writing should be analyzed.

Dawes urges critics of Caribbean writing to acknowledge a link between reggae music and Caribbean writing of the last three decades. Through an analysis of the com-

ponents of reggae, that is, lyrics, form, and performance, Dawes shows reggae's entrenchment in an uninhibited and unique Caribbean culture. This, he argues, has influenced how authors perceive of Caribbean identity, as well as the topics they examine in their works. Reggae has aided Caribbean writers in their departure from the limits of a colonial discourse.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Rastafarianism; Reggae

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MONIQUE BEDASSE-SAMUDA (2005)

Religion

Carter G. Woodson, founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, wrote in 1939: "A definitive history of the Negro Church . . . would leave practically no phase of the history of the Negro in America untouched." Understanding African-American religion—or more accurately, the religious history of peoples of African descent in North America—is crucial for any rounded view of the African-American experience. Religion is often inseparable from culture, as was the case in traditional Africa, and encompasses more than institutional expressions. B. B. King once said that he felt closest to God when he was singing the blues, and African-American art, dance, and literature incorporate and reflect symbols, values, and themes. This essay will focus primarily on some of the principal issues, institutional and intellectual developments, and periods in the study of African-American religious history and culture.

A guiding principle for understanding this topic is that African-American religion is not simply an extension or form of Euro-American Christianity. Early historical work on African-American religion, such as that of Carter G. Woodson on "the Negro Church," focused almost exclusively on the institutional history of Protestantism. Yet to view African-American religious history as merely another chapter in the expansion of European Christianity would be to ignore the special circumstances of the religious pilgrimage of African Americans and gloss over the impact of other religious traditions.

A second guiding principle is that African-American religion is an evolving phenomenon that has taken shape over three centuries of slavery and that has continued to develop since the late nineteenth century. Today African-American religion takes on a variety of expressions, institutional and intellectual, creative and mundane, yet always acknowledging the past, while addressing the present and envisioning the future.

A final guiding principle is the fact that African-American religion is not monolithic. The differences within African-American religious culture are as important as the similarities. The religious outlook of someone of African descent in the Low Country of Carolina and Georgia about 1710, before the impact of the Great Awakening, might understandably be different from that of someone subject to the religious instruction of a white Presbyterian clergyman active in organized plantation missions after 1829. The religious profiles of a member of the Mother Bethel African Methodist Church in Philadelphia in 1880, a communicant of St. Cyprian's Roman Catholic Church in Chicago in 1924, of Zion Baptist Church in rural Mississippi in 1954, and of the Pentecostal C. H. Mason Temple in Memphis today will have significant differences. Generalizations about African-American religion must account for changes over time, including changing demographics and geographic variables.

Indeed, regional geography is an important qualifying factor in understanding the uniqueness of the African-American religious experience in the United States. *Vaudou* in Haiti, the Trinidadian cult of *Shango*, the practices of *Santería* in Cuba, and the *Candomblé* rituals found in Brazil exemplify a high degree of syncretism, or perhaps better what James Noel calls "creolization," between West African traditions and Euro-Christian, principally Roman Catholic, culture. In contrast, Africans who were brought or born into the predominantly British environment of North America were more likely to adapt or remodel their religious beliefs and practices in terms of the prevailing regional religious culture—low church Protestant Evangelicalism. Except for the Sea Islands of the Georgia coast, and a few other places where African slaves were isolated from the dominant white society, the children and grandchildren of those who survived the ordeal of the Middle Passage created a new syncretic religious worldview in America.

Slave Religion

Most Africans who were brought into the colonies of British North America originated from the coast and interior of West and West Central Africa. Approximately 60 percent of the slaves imported into the territory later known as the United States arrived between 1720 and 1780. Legal United States involvement in the international slave trade ended in 1808. Unlike what occurred in much of the Americas, the growth of the slave population in the United States, particularly in the American South, was by natural increase. The end of the slave trade did little to retard the increase of this population. In fact, in 1825 the United States had approximately 36 percent (1,750,000) of the slaves in the Americas, despite the dramatic increase in the arrival of new imports. For many of these individuals, knowledge of Africa was acquired indirectly and was only one of many cultural influences. Therefore, an understanding of the formative influences on the religious experience of African-American slaves, while recognizing the importance of the African cultural base, must take into account the New World cultural experience.

Traditional African languages had no single word for religion—religion was synonymous with a way of life. The importation of Africans into the Americas marked a transference of African ways of perceiving and responding to the spirit world, but just how strongly African influences or Africanisms survived is subject to debate. Proponents of the retention of African beliefs and practices, such as Melville Herskovits, Lawrence Levine, Sterling Stuckey, and Albert J. Raboteau point to spirit possession, musical forms, dance patterns such as the "ring shout," mounded-grave decorations, conjuring practices, and the identification of African divinities with specific saints in Roman Catholic folk piety as evidence of the survival of African traditional religion in the New World. The slaves' preference for the baptismal ritual of total immersion ("river baptisms") is often cited as an especially strong link with the West African river cults.

Other scholars, such as the early Herskovitz, E. Franklin Frazier, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Robert E. Park, have taken the view that traditional African beliefs and practices gradually weakened and in some cases died as the result of the complex interplay of forced acculturation, voluntary adaptation, and assimilation. The terrors of the Middle Passage called into question the omnipotence of the African gods and the ability of the ancestors to come to the aid of the distressed. Dealers in slaves intentionally broke up families and kinship groups and sought to create cultural anomie and linguistic confusion among the new arrivals. Slave buyers shunned the purchase of individuals who had operated as religious specialists in Africa and waged a destructive campaign against all religious practices, including the use of ritual drums that might serve as the focal point for the reconstruction of traditional African social groups on the plantations.

A third group of scholars navigate the complex issue of African influences by interpreting African-American religion as a modern phenomenon that emerges from the encounter of African slaves with European slave traders and slave holders. Charles Long, a historian of religion and the preeminent proponent of this view, maintains that African-American religion is black people's collective awareness of their own autonomy and experience of a divine other, not just a version of Christianity or any other faith tradition. This communal experience is also not confined to institutions. It is a way of being, a perspective on life that allows African Americans to liberate themselves from the oppression of Euro-Americans and to seek new and authentic expressions of human consciousness and community that take into account their value and origins. What is specifically African in African-American religion, then, is a religious consciousness that emerged out of the encounter of African slaves with Europeans.

The Christianity of Europeans is the faith tradition with which African Americans are most associated. African slaves in the Americas did not receive intensive indoctrination in Christianity for several generations. Europeans at first doubted that Africans had souls worth saving, and owners of slaves in the English colonies initially opposed the introduction of Christianity, not only because of lingering doubts about the religious capacity of the African but also because of fears that offering baptism to Africans implied spiritual equality and might spark resistance. European missionaries, such as those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who sponsored preaching among Africans in the Carolinas, persisted, and over time converts were made. The conflict between proponents of chattel slavery and the church diminished after the mid-1600s, when new laws partially relieved owners' anxieties by stating that baptism did not alter the civil estate of a slave. By 1706 at least six colonies had legislation stipulating that baptism did not make any change in the slave's status "as to his bondage, or freedom."

In the New World environment, Africans adapted and transformed European language and religious beliefs and in the process created a new African-American identity. The southern-born children and grandchildren of the Africans who participated in the transatlantic passage had to find religious meaning and seek religious expression within the predominantly white Protestant evangelical environment. The outburst of religious revivals in the 1740s and again in the early 1800s helped dismantle the colonial

establishment of Anglicanism in the South and Congregationalism in New England and proved attractive to many African Americans, slave and free. Black converts and lower-class whites shared in the evangelical emphasis on conviction of sin, individual salvation, ecstatic worship, and the recompense of heaven.

An African-American Christian population of significant size and, in some places, of surprising independence developed during and after the American Revolution. Most black Christians belonged to mixed congregations where the egalitarian legacy of the Great Revival lingered on, despite inroads made by white racism among evangelicals. Independent African-American preachers, such as the Rev. Andrew Bryan of the First African Church of Savannah, established in 1788, planted numerous congregations, mostly Baptist, until a frightened white South curbed the religious freedom of blacks in the wake of the Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 and that led by Nat Turner in 1831. No reliable figures exist for the number of African Americans who became Christians during the era of the pioneer black preachers, but it is important to acknowledge that this experience of relative religious independence and a shared evangelical ethos provided a benchmark by which blacks could judge later efforts to use Christianity as a means of social control.

Although growing numbers of blacks, slave and free, had embraced Christianity by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the camp meetings and other mechanisms used by the evangelical preachers were limited in scope. In some places, such as among the Gullah peoples of the Sea Island district of South Carolina, and in Louisiana, where Roman Catholicism and West Indian-derived practices of voodoo intermixed, religious syncretism or creolization was so strong as to violate mainstream Christian sensibilities. Even in parts of the South, where free blacks and whites experienced common fellowship in local churches, little effort was made to reach the plantation slave.

Although many slave owners were made uneasy by some of the radically egalitarian implications of Christianity, many became convinced that Christianity, properly catechized, could make slaves more docile. In 1829, the Reverend William Capers appealed to plantation owners in South Carolina to allow him to go to their slaves. Supporters of the plantation missions were motivated by the biblical mandate to share the gospel, but they also wanted to rid the slaves of their "heathen" ways, and, as Capers argued, improve plantation efficiency on the premise that a Christian slave would be more obedient.

Nat Turner's insurrection in 1831 cast doubt on Capers's assertion, but gradually many in the white South were won over to the notion that "lessons on salvation and lessons on duty" were compatible and that the South had a divine mandate to convert and civilize the "children of Ham"—as Africans were often called because of the proslavery interpretation of the story told in Genesis 9. When abolitionists chastised southerners for the sin of slavery, the apologists of "the peculiar institution" pointed to plantation missions as evidence of their fulfillment of the Christian duty to civilize and convert and of the legitimacy of their custodial rule over "the darker race."

Just how strongly, if at all, African-American slaves internalized the religious model placed before them by whites is a difficult question. Was the Christian slave successfully indoctrinated with the notion that piety and obedience were inseparable? Or did Christianity, as expressed in the secret or "hush arbor" meetings of slaves, in their prayers and in their songs (spirituals), offer a basis from which both individual psychological independence and organized resistance could spring forth? Frederick Douglass reported that he observed fellow slaves who scoffed at the religious pretensions of whites; personally he found hypocrisy at the root of slaveholding Christianity, which he termed "bad, corrupt, and wicked." But he thought of the Christianity of Christ as impartial and "good, pure, and holy." If we are to judge by the testimony of ex-slaves, many of whom eagerly sought to read the Bible for themselves once freedom came, they had successfully appropriated Christianity in order to give meaning to their lives and cope with systematic efforts to deny their humanity. Estimates are that one in seven of the adult slaves belonged to an organized church, primarily Baptist or Methodist, by the time of the Civil War, and many more had been exposed to the influence of Christianity.

The religious outlook of the African-American slave was a complex and highly creative adaptation of European Christianity and African traditional religion to everyday needs. A few rejected Christianity altogether and retained Islam or their traditional African religion, or became persistent skeptics. Many slaves originally sought the protection and power of the conjurer, but after a period of religious instruction and Christian baptism, many came to the conclusion that conjuration was the work of the devil. Although masters attempted to enforce discipline through the use of Christianity, the slaves heard the sermons preached in the plantation chapels with a critical ear, sorted out the wheat from the chaff, and constructed a religious story in which they were the chosen of God. Although they might have, as the spirituals reflect, trouble and sorrow in this world, they could hope for the joys of heaven where "de' bottom rail become de' top rail."

Labeled as "otherworldly" and "compensatory," this use of Christianity has been judged dysfunctional by those

who emphasize the need for radical political and social transformation. Discussed in the manner of Gary Marx and others, the "opiate-versus-inspiration debate," as it is sometimes referred to, forces our view of the religious culture of the African-American slave into opposing and limiting channels. By recognizing the multiple dimensions of the sacred cosmos operative in the slave quarters and "hush-arbors," we come close to understanding what the African-American slaves meant when they spoke of their beliefs in God as helping them to "keep on keeping on." They testified that they had a "home in glory land" and that no earthly master could close them out of God's house. As historian John Boles wrote, "There was a fateful ambiguity at the heart of the slave response to Christianity, and the fervent rebel, and the passive, long-suffering servant were equally authentic expressions of black religion." Once they had been "killed dead" in the spirit and were reborn, African-American Christian slaves became participants in another community than that which numbered them with cattle and cotton. This suggests Charles Long's view that African-American religion is black people's awareness of their own autonomy and experience of a divine other independent of whites.

Christianity in the Antebellum North

By focusing too exclusively on the South, we run the risk of missing important facets of the antebellum African-American religious experience. There were individual African-American Christians of note in the North, such as Lemuel Haynes, the first African American officially ordained to the Christian ministry and who served as pastor of white congregations in New England; Phillis Wheatley, who wrote religious verse read in both America and Europe; and Jupiter Hammon, a slave on Long Island, New York, who counseled Christian endurance in the hope of heaven. Though few in number until after 1800, independent black churches were organized in the North. Separated from the bulk of the country's black population, African-American Christians in the North kept the plight of their sisters and brothers in chains in their prayers; supported causes such as temperance and education, so as not to provide the apologists for slavery with an argument that freedom would ruin the slave; served as Underground Railroad stations; and assisted in the cause of abolition. They organized voluntary associations to support educational endeavors and to care for widows and orphans, and they served as the focal points of black life in the northern city, where prejudice and discrimination were prevalent.

The northern religious landscape took on more definition with the formation of the first black denominations. Following the pattern of white Christians in the post-Revolutionary era, black Christians organized into denominations. Sometimes the struggle for denominational independence was a particularly dramatic one, as was the case with black Methodists in the Philadelphia area led by Richard Allen. A former slave and convert to Christianity, Allen was convinced that the plain and simple gospel as preached by the spiritual heirs of John Wesley, the English founder of Methodism, was best suited to the unlettered black. However, white authorities resisted when Allen and other Philadelphia black Methodists in the 1790s sought greater control over their own religious affairs by establishing their own church. Armed with a decision from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1816, to the effect that Allen and his coadjutors had a legal right to the church property and self-governance, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination was organized in 1816. About six years later, black Methodists in New York City likewise achieved denominational independence under the banner of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. As suggested by the label "Methodist," both groups replicated much of white Methodist ritual, doctrine, and polity while seeking to liberate themselves from the prejudicial control of white Methodists.

By the Civil War, the AME church had about twenty thousand members and had planted new missions as far west as California. Urged on by the zealous efforts of Daniel Alexander Payne, the AME church established its first institution of higher education, Wilberforce College (now Wilberforce University) and theological school, Payne Seminary, at Xenia, Ohio. The AME Zion denomination numbered about five thousand and would not expand significantly beyond the Northeast until after the Civil War, when the denomination's representatives worked aggressively among the freedmen. Eventually the denomination transferred most of its central operations to North Carolina, where it established a church newspaper and publishing house, and at Livingstone College in Salisbury.

The earliest separate black Baptist congregations appeared in northern cities in the early 1800s. Blacks customarily worshiped with white Baptists, but the "Negro Pew" was tolerated and eventually blacks sought to organize their own congregations. In 1805, Thomas Paul became the first pastor of the First African (or Joy Street) Baptist Church of Boston, and in 1808 he assisted in the organization of Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City. Independent black Baptist congregations eventually emerged in most northern cities, but the traditional Baptist emphasis on local autonomy retarded the development of regional associations until the formation of the Providence Association in 1834 and the Union Association

in 1836, both in Ohio, and the Wood River Association in 1839 in southwestern Illinois.

Sparked by interest in developing missions in Africa, black Baptists gradually moved toward more national organizations. The American Baptist Missionary Convention became the first such cooperative arrangement in 1840. In the decades after the Civil War, black Baptists debated whether or not to continue partnerships with northern white Baptists in foreign missions and the publication of religious literature. The nationalist or independent spirit finally triumphed in the formation of the first truly national black organization, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc., in 1895. The cooperationists formed the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention in 1897.

Because of Baptist disunity during most of the nineteenth century, the African Methodist story tends to assume center stage in accounts of the institutional history of African-American religion. Better organized than the Baptists—and fortunate to have denominational historians such as Bishop Daniel A. Payne and Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner—the northern-based African Methodists dominate the documentary record. But statistics of denominational membership published by the U.S. Census Bureau reveal that black Baptists outnumbered black Methodists as the century drew to a close. This was largely due to expansion in the South after Emancipation when the ex-slaves, though heavily recruited by agents of the northern-based denominations, black and white, elected to form new congregations in which they could hear preachers familiar with the religious style found in the antebellum plantation congregations.

Civil War to World War II

When slaves deserted their masters during the Civil War or became contraband as Union troops advanced on Southern soil, a new religious landscape began to emerge. Eager to read the Bible on their own and worship without white oversight, the freed slaves were convinced that their emancipation was tantamount to the deliverance of the Children of Israel from the pharaoh of Egypt. African-American Christians seized the moment and left the denominations of their former masters in large numbers. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1870 at Jackson, Tennessee, and was comprised principally of former members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who did not desire to join the northern-based African Methodists. As if by spontaneous combustion, black Baptist congregations appeared in great numbers throughout the South. These Baptist churches and their Methodist counterparts in the small towns and rural areas represented the core religious culture of African Americans in the South between the Civil War and World War I. Heavily influenced by the folk practices of the "invisible institution" and often criticized for its demonstrative religious style—with emphasis on dramatic conversion experiences, emotional preaching and "testifying"—southern African-American religion developed its own internal dynamic. African-American churches in the North, with their educated ministers and more formal worship styles, developed differently. On the eve of World War I, therefore, two African-American religious cultures existed: one northern and urban, the other mostly southern and rural.

Despite the cultural differences between the northern and southern black religion, most observers agreed that the church was central to African-American life as the twentieth century dawned. "The Negro Church," Booker T. Washington wrote in 1909, "was the first institution to develop out of the life of the Negro masses and still retains the strongest hold upon them." "The Negro church of today," W. E. B. Du Bois had written six years earlier, "is the social center of Negro life in the United States, and the most characteristic expression of the African character." An institution so central to African Americans could not escape internal discussion of the prevailing social and political issues raised in the larger society.

One of the most important issues concerned the role that women should play in male-dominated institutions such as the church, where the pulpit had been traditionally defined as "men's space" and the pew as "women's place." The AME Zion church authorized the ordination of women in the 1890s, the AME church in 1948, and the CME church in 1954. Appealing to the principle of congregational autonomy, the major black Baptist conventions avoided legislating policy on the ordination of women. Conservative attitudes at the congregational level, where gender bias among the male clergy is strong, has proved to be an obstacle to many women who have sought ordination. The Church of God in Christ, the largest black Pentecostal body, prohibits the ordination of women.

Historically, women have been in the majority in the mainline black denominations, yet men have dominated the leadership. Women serve as "mothers of the church," are active in missionary societies, educational efforts, and a wide variety of charitable causes, and serve local congregations in numerous capacities, such as teachers, stewardesses, and deaconesses. Yet men hold denominational offices and monopolize the clergy rosters to a greater degree than in the more liberal white Protestant churches. Women who wish to exercise the gift of the spirit have had to operate as independent evangelists, such as Jarena Lee did after an originally futile appeal to Richard Allen and

A Southern baptism. *A group of African Americans line up along a river's edge in Aiken, South Carolina, preparing to be baptized.* RARE BOOKS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION, THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the African Methodists in the early 1800s. Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Rebecca Cox Jackson (who eventually joined the Shakers) possessed spiritual gifts that the established black denominations did not formally recognize. Amanda Berry Smith left the AME Church in order to exercise her ministry more freely, joined the Holiness Movement, and thereby served as a precursor for the many women who found the freedom to develop their own ministries within the orbit of the burgeoning Pentecostal and Holiness movement, which flourished in the "sanctified" storefronts of the urban North. For example, Elder Lucy Smith (1874–1952) founded All Nations Pentecostal Church in Chicago and conducted a multidimensional ministry that dealt with the material as well as the spiritual needs of her members.

African-American women such as Maria W. Stewart, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Ida Wells-Barnett channeled their gifts for ministry into social justice causes outside of the male-dominated churches. Stewart and especially Watkins Harper became well known in their time as champions of abolition, temperance, the civil rights of African Americans and women, and the education of African-American children. In the late nineteenth century, Wells-Barnett championed these causes, and also became well known for her anti-lynching campaign. Although working independently of established black churches, these women nevertheless remained affiliated with them, particularly African Methodism. Watkins Harper, whom Carla Peterson calls a "poet-preacher," published her poetry, stories, and essays in the major papers of the AME church throughout her long career.

The majority of reform- and ministerially-minded black women, however, formed auxiliary organizations in churches that maintained and supported the financial and spiritual health of these institutions. For example, the Women's Parent Mite Missionary Society of the AME Church, founded in 1874, supported new churches in the western United States and in South Africa. Sarah Elizabeth Miller Tanner, an active member of this group whose son was active in AME missions in South Africa, and whose husband was Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner, witnessed to the efforts of these churchwomen in an 1896 article in the *A. M. E. Church Review*. Black Baptist women also founded organizations that served as the "backbone" of their churches and communities. Baptist women led by Nannie Helen Burroughs formed the Women's Convention of the National Baptist Convention in 1900, and operated the National School for Girls in Washington.

Many of these church women—AME, Baptist, and otherwise—were also active in the club movement, which stressed self-help, charitable, and civic work, and served as a focal point for women's independent identity. Beset

by racism in the larger society and confronted by patriarchal attitudes within their denominations, African-American churchwomen had to confront multiple challenges. They played an especially important role in bridging the gap between church work as traditionally defined and secular reform activity. The demands upon them intensified with the outbreak of World War I.

The centrality of women in the local congregation became all the more apparent because of external social forces in the flight from field to factory once the call for labor went out from the North. After 1910, in the early years of the Great Migration, males, particularly young males, went north lured by the promise of better jobs. Women and the young were left to carry on congregational life. Urbanization proved to be no panacea. Indeed, in poor urban areas, church adherence was increasingly the sphere of women and children. This is especially true of the independent churches, known as "storefronts." In an extensive study done in the 1980s, researchers found that in 2,150 black churches, of various denominations, women outnumbered men by a factor of 2.5 to 1. Some observers have spoken of the "feminization of the black church" because of the relative absence of males, especially young males, in urban congregations.

The urbanization of African-American religion also precipitated an institutional crisis in the existing black churches. In 1910 nearly 90 percent of the nation's black population lived in the South, mostly in rural regions and small towns. Since the end of the Civil War, the church had assumed a dominant position in the life of southern blacks, whose institutional development in other areas was restricted by racial apartheid. By default, then, the churches served multiple purposes—worship, education, recreation, and socialization. Northern black leaders, as well as some Southern leaders (e.g., Booker T. Washington) pointed to such problems as overchurching, undereducated ministers, pastors with multiple charges, congregations too small to maintain programs and property, and too little emphasis on the social and political problems of the day. Carter G. Woodson referred to rural churches as "mystic shrines" while writing approvingly of northern urban churches as progressive centers of "social uplift." This debate over the mission of the black church was heightened by the Great Migration because it placed new demands upon existing denominational and local church resources and programs.

The population shift put severe strains upon existing denominational structures. Home missionary boards lacked adequate resources to cope with the need in the North, and congregations in the South were left depleted and deserted. Competition among the three major black Methodist bodies prevented a cooperative effort in addressing the needs of the migrants. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., underwent a contentious division in 1915, which resulted in the formation of a rival body, the National Baptist Convention of America Unincorporated, later named National Baptist Convention of America in 1916. The internecine war continued for years, draining away critically needed resources. The secretary of the Home Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., reported in 1921: "We have quite a number of destitute fields both North and South and in many cases no opportunity for religious worship."

The regional shift in America's black population portended difficulties because as World War I began the black denominations were heavily weighted to the South. In 1916 the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies credited the National Baptists with 2,939,579 members, 89 percent of whom were in the South. The AME Church had 548,355 members and was 81.2 percent southern. The AME Zion Church was 84.6 percent southern with a total membership of 257,169. The CME Church, composed principally of the descendants of ex-slaves, was 95.5 percent southern and 245,749 members strong. None of the Pentecostal or Holiness bodies, which became so important in the urban North after the Great Migration, receive recognition in the 1916 religious census.

In addition to placing strains upon ecclesiastical structures inherited from the nineteenth century and oriented primarily toward the small town and rural church, urbanization offered African Americans new religious options. Baptist and Methodist preachers now had to compete with the agents of the Pentecostal and Holiness churches. These churches put great emphasis on an intense personal experience of the Holy Spirit. The Church of God in Christ, led by Charles Harrison Mason, held its first Pentecostal general assembly in 1907. Having started as a rural church in Mississippi, the denomination grew to become a fixture in the northern city. Ill at ease in the more formal worship services of the established northern churches, many migrants organized prayer bands, started house churches, or moved into the storefronts where speaking in tongues (sometimes referred to as the practice of glossolalia) received the blessing of the Pentecostals. The Church of Christ (Holiness), U.S.A., under the leadership of Elder C. P. Jones, likewise expanded as a result of the burgeoning black populations of urban industrial America. Other Holiness and Pentecostal churches were founded by denominationally independent religious entrepreneurs who recognized that the migrants from the South desired something that the northern black middle-class churches did not offer.

Many of the migrants wanted religious environments that reminded them of their churches back home, where they were known by and part of an extended family. The ecstatic worship services and musical styles favored by the Pentecostal and Holiness preachers caught the attention of these ex-southerners. When hard times befell them in the North, migrants sought out spiritual havens in the urban wilderness. Holiness and Pentecostal churches multiplied everywhere, and existing Baptist and Methodist churches split or sponsored daughter congregations as the migrant population swelled. On occasion, northern black Christians criticized their "brothers and sisters" from the South for falling short of northern cultural expectations and the existing class norms. In turn, migrants shunned some northern black churches, where the elaborate and elegant services made them feel out of place. Some fell away from organized religion all together. Others responded to their crisis of faith in the city by transplanting churches from the South led by the pastors who had followed them northward.

The tension between the two cultural streams that came together after the beginning of World War I is illustrated by the reluctance of the older African-American congregations in Chicago to accept gospel music. Gospel music was popularized by Thomas Dorsey, the "father of gospel music," who joined Pilgrim Baptist Church in Chicago in 1921. Unlike the purveyors of commercialized gospel today, early gospel music was church centered. Yet as Mahalia Jackson, the best-known singer of gospel, learned while growing up in New Orleans, the musical distance between the honky-tonk and a Holiness revival with its beating and tambourine shaking is not that great. Dorsey, building on the work of predecessors such as Charles Albert Tindley, was the principal force behind the introduction of blueslike gospel songs into the northern black churches. About 1930, observers of the Chicago scene reported that "Negro churches, particularly the storefront congregations, the Sanctified groups and the shouting Baptists, were swaying and jumping as never before. Mighty rhythms rocked the churches. A wave of fresh rapture came over the people." Jackson earned worldwide acclamation for her solo renditions of gospel classics, and the pioneering touring groups such as the Dixie Hummingbirds and the Five Blind Boys of Mississippi helped make gospel so popular that today it is rare to find a black church, of whatever denomination or class composition, that closes its doors to the gospel sound.

Religious diversity, even dissonance, resonated from the large, densely crowded, black urban centers after World War I. After examining data from the 1926 Federal Census of Religious Bodies, Miles Mark Fisher exclaimed: "Almost in every center, particularly urban, is some unorthodox religious group which makes a definite appeal to Negroes." The Jamaican-born black nationalist Marcus Garvey discouraged talk of founding a new church, but he and his Universal Negro Improvement Association (1918–1927) had many followers who sought collective redemption in the back-to-Africa ideology. There were also some supporters, such as George Alexander McGuire, the founder of the African Orthodox Church, who did initiate Garveyite-inspired demonstrations. The UNIA collapsed after the deportation of its "Black Moses" in 1927, but other charismatic personalities came forward offering often exotic visions of heaven on earth. Father Divine set up a series of Peace Missions during the Great Depression, offering his devotees the unusual mix of "God" in the flesh and a refuge from society's problems. Scores of religious entrepreneurs opened shop in the black ghettos, where they competed with the mainline denominations. Frequently referred to as cults and sects, the groups led by these new messiahs often died when their founders did, but some managed to survive under different leadership, as, for example, the one led by Daddy Grace (the United House of Prayer for All People). Representatives of the mainline churches frequently decried the proliferation of these alternative groups, arguing, as the Baptist Miles Mark Fisher did, that the principal message of the cults and sects was "Let us prey," not "Let us pray."

The appearance on urban street corners of black adherents of Islam and Judaism added to the perception that African-American religion was undergoing a radical reorientation in the interwar period at the expense of the historic black denominations. The first black Jewish group recognized by the federal religious census was founded in 1896 by William S. Crowdy, a Santa Fe Railroad cook, in Lawrence, Kansas. African Americans wearing the yarmulke and speaking Yiddish came to the attention of a wider public in the 1920s. Located primarily in the boroughs of New York City, these teachers of black Hebraism appropriated and adapted the rituals and teachings of Orthodox Judaism. Though never large in number, the followers of Rabbi Arnold Ford and other proponents of Black Judaism generated a great deal of interest among the curious and the skeptical.

Islam was not entirely unheard of among African Americans before the mysterious figure of Wallace D. Fard appeared in the "Paradise Valley" of Detroit in 1930 to wake up the sleeping "Lost-Found Nation of Islam." There is increasing evidence that a small but not insignificant number of enslaved Africans brought knowledge of the Qur'an and Islamic law to North America. But modern Islam among African Americans begins with the career of

Noble Drew Ali, a native of North Carolina and founder of Moorish Science in Newark, New Jersey, about 1913. However, the man who most popularized Islam for African Americans was the one-time disciple of Wallace Fard, Elijah Muhammad, who capitalized on the interest of urbanized blacks in the religiously exotic. Himself a migrant from Georgia, Muhammad (formerly Elijah Poole) assumed leadership of the Nation of Islam after Fard's disappearance in 1934, and moved its headquarters to Chicago. The Nation's version of Islam did not fare well under the scrutiny of orthodox scholars of the Qur'an, and eventually the sect broke into rival factions. Nevertheless, it has had a significant impact upon many African Americans, chiefly the young and angry like Malcolm X who believed that traditional black Christianity was a "pie-in-the-sky" religion.

Attention to the new religious options that appeared in black urban America during the period between World War I and World War II should not be at the expense of the story of the mainline black churches. Stimulated by the crisis brought about by the influx of thousands from the South, the established churches struggled with a redefinition of mission during these decades. Richard R. Wright, Jr., examined the record of black church involvement within the public sphere in 1907 and concluded that only a few churches had "attacked the problems of real city Negroes." His own work in Chicago's Institutional Church and Social Settlement, founded by Reverdy Ransom, and later at Chicago's Trinity Mission and Culture Center, which Wright organized in 1905, convinced Wright that black churches needed a more compelling definition of urban mission than presently at hand. Prior to World War I outreach primarily involved mission and charity work with the intent of recruiting new members. As Wright and Ransom discovered for themselves, pastors who addressed contemporary social problems born of urban and industrial growth were deemed too radical by denominational officials.

Most black preachers, urban and rural, still thought of sin and salvation in individualistic terms. The black denominations lagged behind their white counterparts in adopting the theological message of the social gospel movement with its focus upon the problems of urban America. Beginning with the era of the Great Migration, however, many more black churches incorporated programs into their understanding of "church work" that went beyond the traditional emphasis on praying and preaching. They assisted with needs in housing, employment, education, recreation, and health care. The instrumentalist use of the church to better the community is today so widely accepted that black clergy or congregations who show no interest in everyday problems have little appeal or credibility among African Americans.

Although black denominations were spared the bitter internecine battles that erupted in the 1920s between the white fundamentalists and modernists over such issues as the interpretation of the Creation story in Genesis, their efforts to merge have failed. Concerned about institutional inefficiency and lost opportunities to influence the larger society and motivated by the ideal that Christ's church be one, representatives of the three principal branches of black Methodism began meetings in 1915 to discuss the possibility of merger. But leaders of the CME church (formerly the Colored Methodist Episcopal church and since 1954 the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church), balked at union because of fears of being dominated by the two larger northern black Methodist bodies: the AME and the AME Zion churches. Division among black Methodists was widened by the segregation of 315,000 in the Central Jurisdiction, a nongeographical entity, of the predominantly white United Methodist Church in 1939 after the merger of the northern and southern branches of Methodism (the segregated structure was abolished in the 1960s). Black Baptists likewise have been unable to heal the divisions within their ranks. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., remains the largest of all black church connections, claiming about 7.5 million members and 30,000 local churches in the late 1980s.

The contemporary black Baptist story is still best told in terms of the local congregation. Ministerial alliances at the local level have fostered interdenominational cooperation where there has been sufficient need for common action. In many congregations, the minister is still the dominant personality. Critics have argued that the domineering role played by the pastor in black congregations has retarded the development of lay leadership. The preeminence of the black minister in African-American religious culture has historical roots. Because of the class and caste attitudes of whites in the South, the ministry remained one of the few professions accessible to blacks. Even in the North, where political boundaries were defined by patterns of residential segregation and black political participation was restricted, black ministers were called upon to speak for their community before local authorities. Participation in electoral and protest politics has engaged the energies of many contemporary black clergy, but they have had to divide their time between their civic roles and their pastoral roles.

Civil Rights Era to the Present

The internal life of African-American churches probably escaped the attention of most of white America until the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., began to catch the eye and ear of the news media. Rooted deep in the black Bap-

tist tradition, King was schooled in the preaching tradition of the black church of the South. While doing advanced theological training in the North, he became proficient in the major currents of thought among liberal, socially aware Protestants. This made it possible for him to appeal to the conscience of white America during the civil rights struggle and to enlist the aid of allies from the more liberal white denominations. Yet the grassroots participation of thousands of black churchgoers who marched and sang and prayed transformed King's protest of racial segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, into a mass movement. From the vantage point of these people of faith, a civil rights march was as much a religious crusade as a social movement. While the cause of civil rights united black religious leaders across denominational lines and cemented alliances with progressive forces in the predominantly white Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish communities, there were disharmonious chords. The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, who served as president of the National Baptist Convention from 1953 to 1982, resisted the attempt of King and others to move the largest Protestant denomination in the world into activist or protest politics. As a result, King, with the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, Gardner C. Taylor, and others, formed the Progressive National Baptist Convention in 1961 under the motto: "Unity, service, fellowship, peace."

One of the most important influences on King's thought and activism was Howard Thurman, an African-American churchman of major stature in his own right. A theologian, mystic, professor, and founder of the first interracial church in the United States, Thurman knew King informally through his father. Like many others in the civil rights movement, though, King was compelled by Thurman's *Jesus and the Disinherited*, a small but powerful book that Thurman wrote in the late 1940s in the wake of his meeting with Mohandas K. Gandhi.

The civil rights movement, of course, was not confined to institutional church circles. Nor are its religious dimensions fully measured by focusing, for example, on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led by King. Organizations with a more secular orientation, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), also had crucial roles to play. But even the members of SNCC were animated by a vision of the grassroots black church, especially in the South, an institution that propelled the crusade that eventually broke down the barriers of legalized segregation. While a form of religious sectarianism among many African Americans has led to withdrawal and isolation from the public sphere, orthodox or mainline black churches have for the most part been instrumental in bringing America closer to Dr. King's dream of the "beloved community."

A dramatic scenario for the re-envisioning of America unfolded in the decade of the 1960s, when the call for Black Power was heard. Originating among young radicals, many of whom were estranged from the traditional black church, the largely secular Black Power movement quickly drew a theological response. It came first from individuals such as James Cone, who were situated in academic environments, but it eventually engaged the thinking of denominational representatives. Their statements revealed both agreement with the diagnosis of the wrongs of American society as portrayed by advocates of Black Power, but also some uneasiness regarding the means necessary to achieve a just society. King had taught that nonviolence was ethically essential given the witness of the New Testament. During the civil rights crusade, local churches served as training grounds in nonviolent resistance. In contrast, the more strident advocates of Black Power carried weapons and, rhetorically at least, endorsed their use in conflicts with the police and others in authority. Steeped in the traditional Christian doctrine that the use of violence is a betrayal of the ethics of Jesus, most black Christians remained skeptical of the means the militants justified.

Nevertheless, the Black Power advocates made a lasting impact on black churches. By raising cultural awareness, black nationalists—as Garvey had done in the 1920s and earlier back-to-Africa proponents such as Bishop Henry M. Turner of the AME church did in the 1880s—stimulated interest in and debate over the essential question of "how black is black religion?" Black Muslims also played a significant role in this challenge to black Christian churches. African-American clergy in the predominantly white Protestant groups organized caucuses in which they examined their historic and contemporary relationship with their host denominations. This analysis led to demands for representation in the higher echelons of institutional life, for more black clergy, and for the incorporation of distinctively African-American religious styles in worship. Black Roman Catholics also experienced a renaissance of pride in "blackness," variously defined. Representations of a Black Jesus appeared in Roman Catholic sanctuaries, and the refrains of gospel music could be heard during Mass sung in English following the reforms of Vatican II (1963–1965). In other religious traditions such as the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Lutheran, African Americans also pressed for a greater appreciation of the rich African and African-American religious heritage.

Womanism is one of the most important intellectual and activist traditions of the black Christian churches to emerge from the civil rights, black theology, and women's movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In the late

1980s Jacquelyn Grant, Katie Geneva Cannon, Delores Williams, and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, some of the major figures of this black feminist movement, confronted the paternalism of the black churches, the racism of white feminist theologians, and the sexism, racism, and classism of American society at large. Recognizing their roots in the struggles of generations of black women, and taking their name from an expression in Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens*, they identify themselves as thinkers, teachers, activists, and preachers with a commitment to the well being of African-American women, men, and children. These pioneering women have initiated a powerful and growing movement in seminaries and divinity schools throughout the United States. By training both male and female ministers to think more holistically, they have made an impact—however modest—on both black and white denominations.

One of the most prominent and successful ministers in this tradition is the Reverend Vashti Murphy McKenzie. A graduate of Howard University's divinity school and a member of a prominent black Baltimore family, McKenzie is the first black woman preacher to speak at the democratic national convention. She is one of a few female ministers to lead a large AME congregation, and more important, one of the few black women to be appointed to the office of bishop in the AME church. McKenzie is also a much sought-after speaker.

For all of the gains of womanists such as McKenzie, Grant, Cannon, and others—including being part of the leadership of mainline African-American churches, sitting on the faculty of major seminaries and divinity schools, heading venerable professional organizations such as the Society for the Study of Black Religion, and sitting on the boards of powerful educational organizations such as the Association of Theological Schools and the Fund for Theological Education, African-American women still fight for recognition in black churches. Obtaining such recognition means getting congregants to revise their sense of a male, preacher-centered culture.

At the core of the complex religious pilgrimage of peoples of African descent in America is the importance of the local congregation of believers who celebrate together the rites of passage of its members from baptism to Christian burial. Most black churches, however, emphasize preaching over the sacraments, in contrast to liturgical traditions such as Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism. The spoken word, whether in sermon or song, is at the core of black worship, and the male preacher remains the embodiment of the word. Indeed, the roster of celebrated black preachers is long. The Rev. C. L. Franklin of Detroit is but one example. Called "the most imitated soul preacher in history" by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Franklin shepherded more than ten thousand members of Detroit's New Bethel Baptist Church at the height of his popularity. He carried the sermon to an art form, was heard on the radio by a large audience, and sold millions of records.

In spite of their paternalism, black churches historically have served as the centers of African-American life and identity. Benjamin Mays, the distinguished educator in Atlanta and mentor of Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote of the church of his youth in rural South Carolina: "Old Mount Zion was an important institution in my community. Negroes had nowhere to go but to church. They went there to worship, to hear the choir sing, to listen to the preacher, and to hear and see the people shout. The young people went to Mount Zion to socialize, or simply to stand around and talk. It was a place of worship and a social center as well. There was no other place to go."

The black mainline denominations so central to the lives of persons like Benjamin Mays experienced a renewal in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s that was largely spawned by a growing black middle class. Churches such as Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago under Jeremiah Wright reinterpreted the ongoing issues of civil justice and economic empowerment in terms appropriate to an African-American laity with college and graduate degrees, middle-class aspirations, and professional careers. This educated and upwardly mobile laity, also known as buppies, demanded an equally educated and professionalized ministry with graduate degrees from prestigious institutions such as the University of Chicago Divinity School. By the same token, this prosperous laity itself brought resources of its own to these churches. As Cheryl Gilkes and Beverly Hall point out, such churches, many of them large complexes or megachurches, have health and wellness programs, day care and fitness centers, job training, and men's, women's, and youth's programs staffed by qualified professionals from among the laity.

The nondenominational Word of Faith Movement, which exploded in the 1980s, and continues to thrive into the twenty-first century, also draws adherents from the black middle class. This movement, however, appeals to a larger cross section of African Americans, and preaches a theology of prosperity. According to its adherents, God wants his people to be prosperous, even wealthy. But in order for one to obtain material prosperity, one must have unwavering faith in God's promises and follow God's commands. While not exclusively an African-American phenomenon, blacks nevertheless constitute a large part of the leadership and the membership of these Word churches. Fred Price of South Central Los Angeles is one of the most prominent black ministers in this movement.

Milmon Harrison notes that blacks are attracted to this movement because it foregrounds the material well-being that has always been a part of black religious traditions.

In spite of their differences, the Word of Faith churches and revitalized mainline churches share a common criticism. Critics contend that neither the revitalized mainline black denominations nor the Word of Faith churches are concerned about poor blacks. Both groups succumb to the lure of middle-class America and leave the poorest of the poor behind. Such critics often credit the Nation of Islam with being able to reach into the ranks of the youthful street gangs and to make converts among African Americans in the country's prisons. While there is some truth to their criticisms, they overlook the various street ministries sponsored by mainline black churches or independent evangelical preachers and the extensive community services such as "meals on wheels" programs, Head Start schools, and recreational facilities, found in most places where black churches are active.

The work that black churches do to meet the needs of African Americans often entails a kind of grassroots ecumenism. In his study of a group of small congregations in northern California, theologian and pastor James Noel noted that "it is quite common for members of a particular Marin City congregation to have members of their immediate or extended family represented in . . . other Marin City congregations. Consequently, when it comes to things like pastoral care, and even more self-conscious corporate efforts such as economic development, Marin City pastors [of different denominations] have been involved in 'an ecumenical team ministry' directed toward the community." This kind of collaborative effort and pooling of resources across denominational lines has always characterized black religious institutional life, and is even carried on in the academy, where, as Cheryl Gilkes rightly observes, African-American seminarians in field education placements regularly work across denominations. In professional organizations, African Americans of different denominations and faiths also collaborate with their Hispanic, Asian, and Euro-American colleagues. Examples of the latter are exemplified in anthologies such as *Inheriting Our Mothers' Gardens*, edited by Katie Cannon, Ada María Isasi-Díaz, Kwok Pui-Lan, and Letty Russell, and *The Ties That Bind*, edited by Anthony Pinn and Benjamin Valentin.

Formal expressions of ecumenism on the order of Euro-Christian institutions, however, have been minimal. The major black denominations have indeed been involved in ecumenical agencies such as the National Council of Churches. But there exists no national organization made up exclusively of representatives of the black denominations that could work for a reduction in competition and redundancy at the local level, as well as speak more authoritatively on matters of public concern. The partially successful attempts at African-American ecumenism include: the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches (1934–early 1950s); the Black Power–oriented National Conference of Black Churchmen (1967–1973); the Congress of National Black Churches (1978–present). One of the most successful formal ecumenical efforts by the black church is the Interdenominational Theological Center, a consortium of six primarily black denominations at the Atlanta University Center.

However successful these ecumenical efforts might be, whether formal or informal, they do not diminish the fact that the needs and issues facing most black churches are often overwhelming. HIV/AIDS, troubles facing black youth, especially black males, women and welfare reform, and the like outstrip the resources of these institutions, and often exacerbate the churches' own inability to address the sexuality and gender issues at the core of many of these social ills. Recently, financial assistance has come from the conservative wing of the federal government. Only time will tell whether this kind of support will fuel the biblical conservatism dogging these churches and testing their fifty-year-old identity as grassroots civil-rights organizations. Robert Franklin, Kelly Brown Douglas, and Cornel West bring these matters to the fore and offer fresh assessments and challenges.

During the 1950s, when the crusade to break down the walls of prejudice and discrimination crested, some observers wondered what the fate of the black churches would be if racial assimilation replaced racial apartheid. Since the historic African-American denominations had originated in protest to the exclusionary policies prevalent among white Christians, so the argument went, the rationale for separate black religious institutions weakened as the predominantly white denominations became more egalitarian. That African-American religious institutions continue to expand some four decades after Martin Luther King Jr. trumpeted the call for a new day in the relationship between black and white America should signal that African-American religion has been more than a simple reaction to the religious experiences and practices of Americans of European descent. It stands as an enduring witness to the multicultural texture of the entire American experience.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; African Orthodox Church; African Union Methodism; Baptists; Black Power Movement; Candomblé; Catholicism in the

Americas; Christian Denominations, Independent; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Frazier, Edward Franklin; Gospel Music; Gullah; Islam; Judaism; Nation of Islam; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.; National Black Evangelical Association; Protestantism in the Americas; Santería; Tanner, Benjamin Tucker; Voodoo

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MILTON C. SERNETT (1996)
MARCIA C. ROBINSON (2005)

Remond, Charles Lenox

1810
December 22, 1873

The abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1810, the eldest son of John and Nancy Remond. John Remond, a hairdresser and successful merchant originally from Curaçao, was a prominent figure in Salem's black community and led the campaign to desegregate the city's public schools. Charles Remond received his education from a private tutor and attended integrated schools in Salem.

Remond adopted his parents' antislavery commitment as his own. He participated in the early life of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). He embraced the Garrisonian principles of nonresistance and moral suasion, and he acquired the reputation as an eloquent and persuasive antislavery speaker. In 1838 he became the first full-time black lecturer hired by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Over the following two years, he traveled through New England delivering antislavery lectures and organizing a network of local antislavery societies.

Remond drew on his lecturing and organizational experience during an eighteen-month tour of the British Isles. He represented the AASS at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. When the convention refused to seat women delegates, he created a sensation by chastising the assembly for their exclusionary policy and by withdrawing from the proceedings.

Remond continued his antislavery lecturing when he returned to the United States in December 1841. He worked with Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) on the lecture circuit and participated in the widely publicized "One-Hundred Conventions" antislavery tour of midwestern states. Although an advocate of moral suasion, Remond revealed an interest in political antislavery as president of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society in the late 1840s.

In the wake of federal laws and legal decisions restricting black citizenship, Remond became increasingly pessimistic about the prospects for racial progress. In the late 1850s he judged the antislavery movement a failure. He abandoned nonresistance, defended slave revolts, and predicted a violent resolution to the question of southern slavery. In the 1850s Remond advocated more aggressive tactics in the struggle for equal rights, but he remained committed to racial integration. He continued to oppose expressions of black separatism and criticized those who advocated racially exclusive schools, churches, and reform organizations.

During the Civil War, Remond recruited black soldiers for the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts regiments. He spoke out on Reconstruction issues and urged AASS to extend its commitment to racial justice beyond slave emancipation. Remond attended the 1867 meeting of the American Equal Rights Association, but he apparently retired from public life shortly thereafter. He suffered from ill health most of his life. The deaths of his first wife—Amy Williams, in 1856—and his second wife—Elizabeth Magee, in 1872—further aggravated his condition. Remond spent his last years working as a clerk in the Boston Customs House and died in 1873.

See also Abolition; Remond, Sarah Parker; Slavery

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Remond, Sarah Parker

June 6, 1826
December 13, 1884

Born in Salem, Massachusetts, one of eight children, abolitionist Sarah Remond was the daughter of John Remond, a black immigrant from Curaçao, and Nancy Lenox Remond, daughter of African-American Revolutionary War veteran Cornelius Lenox. The family was noted for its abolitionist activities. In 1832 Remond's mother helped found the Salem Anti-Slavery Society, and her sister Caroline became an active member. In 1835 her father became a life member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and three years later, her brother, Charles Lenox Remond, began lecturing for the society. In 1835 Sarah Remond completed grade school, but she was denied admission to the local high school on racial grounds, so the family moved to Newport, Rhode Island, returning to Salem after her graduation in 1841. In July 1842 Remond joined her brother as an antislavery lecturer and began protesting segregation in churches, theaters, and other public places. In a well-publicized incident in 1853 at Boston's Howard Athenaeum, she refused to vacate a seat in the "whites-only" gallery during an opera. Arrested and thrown down the stairs, she subsequently won $500 in damages in a civil suit. In 1856 she was appointed a lecturing agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and she and her brother covered the Northeast and Midwest. Antislavery leaders hailed her dignified bearing and eloquent speech.

In 1859 Sarah Remond and her brother left for England to further the cause of abolition. Denied a visa to France by the American delegation in London, who claimed that because of her color she was not an American citizen, she toured Great Britain and Ireland. Bitter about the lack of educational opportunity in America, she welcomed the chance to study in Europe. She may have attended the Bedford College for Ladies in the years 1859 to 1861.

Remond stayed in England through the Civil War, urging the British to support the blockade of the Confederacy and raising money for freed slaves. In 1866 she returned to the United States. She attended the New York Constitutional Convention, where she lobbied unsuccessfully for universal suffrage. In 1867 she went back to Europe and settled in Italy, where she spent the rest of her life. She is believed to have studied medicine at the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital in Florence. Remond received her diploma for "Professional Medical Practice" in 1868, married Lorenzo Pintor in 1877, and died in Rome seven years later.

See also Abolition; Remond, Charles Lenox; Slavery

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KIM ROBBINS (1996)

Renaissance Big Five (Harlem Rens)

The premier African-American professional basketball team of the 1930s, the Harlem Renaissance (nicknamed the Rens) was founded by Robert L. Douglas (1884–1979) in 1922, and named for their home court, the Renaissance Casino Ballroom in Harlem, New York. The original team consisted of former Negro League baseball player Clarence (Pat) Jenkins, Bill Yancey, John Holt, James (Pappy) Ricks, and Eyre Saith. Later Charles "Tarzan" Cooper and "Wee" Willie Smith joined the team. The Rens were noted for their flashy, quick passing attack, and players seldom dribbled. While the 6'4" Cooper and 6'5" Smith were inside shooters, most of the players relied on outside shots.

In the early 1930s the Renaissance Casino closed, and the Rens were forced to play all their games on the road as the visiting team. The team bought a $10,000 custom-made bus for travel for the long rides. More importantly, the Rens had just seven players, and members of the team were thus forced to play games virtually without breaks. Still, the Rens reached the peak of their strength during these years. In 1931 the Rens beat their archrivals, the Harlem Globetrotters, in the World Championship Tournament in Chicago. From 1932 to 1934 the team won 473 games out of the 491 it played, including 88 straight in 1934. In 1933 the Rens played a series of games with the original (Boston) Celtics, a champion white team, in Cleveland and Kansas City. The Rens won seven of eight contests. In 1939 the Rens achieved a record of 112–7 and were one of eleven teams invited to the World Tournament in Chicago. They were unbeatable in the tournament and defeated the Oshkosh All-Stars, champions of the National Basketball League (ancestor of the National Basketball Association), to take the world title. The Rens ended their existence in 1944 when professional basketball integrated. Their record was reportedly an estimated 2,300 victories against 500 losses. In 1963 the Harlem Renaissance was inducted into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield, Massachusetts.

See also Basketball; Sports

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Reparations

In May 1969, a man interrupted the Sunday service at the Riverside Church in New York City. Reading from a "Black Manifesto," the late African-American civil rights activist James Forman (1928–2005) made several demands. Among them was a call for reparations from whites to African Americans for historical and ongoing repression. In the first phase of the program, white churches and synagogues would be called upon to pay $500 million to be distributed to black community groups and institutions.

The most recent surge of attention to the cause of reparations for African Americans was actually prompted by the actions of a hostile source. In the spring of 2001, David Horowitz, a former 1960s radical activist who underwent a conversion to neoconservatism, placed an advertisement in a number of college newspapers throughout the United States, listing ten arguments why reparations for African Americans for slavery is a bad idea. The advertisement stimulated more attention than the reparations question had received since the early part of the twentieth century. Subsequently, conferences and symposia have been held on the subject at a wide range of college campuses, including a national teleconference in 2003 held jointly by Duke University, Spelman College, and Harvard University.

Horowitz's attack on reparations was directed exclusively at the case for reparations based upon slavery. He had nothing to say, at the time, about a rationale for reparations based upon the harms of the century-long Jim Crow era that followed slavery and Reconstruction. In fact, Boris Bittker, in his book *The Case for Black Reparations* (1973), argues that the basis for compensation should be anchored exclusively on the costs imposed upon black Americans by the Jim Crow system of American apartheid.

The demand for reparations is hardly a new phenomenon. Even before the Civil War, various groups advocated the redistribution of wealth or property to African Americans, particularly the land that they worked as enslaved laborers. In 1854, the abolitionist Sojourner Truth (1797–1983) warned whites that they "owed the colored race a big debt, and if they paid it all back, they wouldn't have anything left for seed." Although its motives were racist, the nineteenth-century American Colonization Society called for government support of their program to provide free transportation and land in Liberia for any blacks willing to settle there. The champion of the African emigration in the late nineteenth century, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, believed that the government should be financially responsible for the "repatriation" effort.

"Forty Acres and a Mule" became the historic rallying cry for reparations immediately after the Civil War. On January 16, 1865, General William T. Sherman issued Special Field Orders, No. 15, which declared that "not more than forty acres of tillable ground" would be "reserved" for families of four from "[the] islands from Charleston, south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers from thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida" for "the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the Proclamation of the President."

Both the first Freedmen's Bureau Act and the Homestead Act of the late 1860s also contained land allocation provisions of at least forty acres per black family as well. However, opposition to and obstruction of Radical Reconstruction from President Andrew Johnson prevented the massive racial land redistribution from taking place. Such a distribution would have given the ex-slaves a strong economic foundation in the postbellum period. Indeed, by the end of 1865, Johnson had already had blacks removed from the lands they had settled along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts under Sherman's orders, and the property was restored to the white former slave owners.

In 1890, the white Alabaman Walter Vaughan, a lifelong southern Democrat and editor of an Omaha, Nebraska, newspaper, crafted a reparations bill. The bill was introduced in Congress by William Connell, a white Nebraska Republican, who had close connections to Vaughan; the bill would grant government pensions to blacks in partial recompense for the suffering of slavery. African Americans Callie House and Isaiah Dickerson formed the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Association to promote the passage of legislation of this type. House's conviction on mail fraud charges in October 1917 (which were similar to the charges brought against Marcus Garvey in 1922) signaled the end of serious efforts to achieve Congressional approval of pensions for ex-slaves.

Demands for compensation came from other areas as well. In 1892, in the British colony of Natal (part of present-day South Africa), a white missionary named Joseph Booth created an "African Christian Union," whose goal was uplifting Africans. Booth foresaw the formation of a Christian nation of Africans. In order to fund its activities, the organization requested that the United States pay one hundred pounds sterling for every African American who volunteered to emigrate.

Proposals for reparations on behalf of African Americans have surfaced continuously throughout the twentieth century from a wide range of voices. In a somewhat obscure 1913 book, *Prophetic Liberator of the Coloured Race of the United States of America: Command to His People,* Arthur Anderson proposed the creation of a black state in the South. In 1928 the Communist Party of the United States argued that African Americans, especially in the South, were a distinct people and had a national identity. As such, the party argued, blacks were entitled to a homeland and had the right to carve out an independent African-American polity in the "Black belt" states of the South.

Demands for reparations have frequently combined ideological radicalism with black nationalism. In 1934, the Chicago-based National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State advanced its own agenda for redistribution, calling for a new state to be created in the American South. Through the creation of a new polity, blacks would "have the opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers." This state would provide an "opportunity for the nation to reduce its debt to the Negro for past exploitation."

A more recent manifestation of this perspective has been advanced by the members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) who have sought territory in the U.S. South for a separate black nation, encompassing the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Although little support remains for the RNA, Imari

Obadele (Richard Henry), one of the leaders of the organization, continued to advocate reparations as recently as 1993.

In 1955 black activist "Queen Mother" Audley Moore (1898–1997), a former Garveyite and Communist, began her campaign to press for reparations, especially in the pamphlet "Why Reparations? Money for Negroes." Moore believed that there was an effective one-hundred-year statute of limitations for an oppressed group to press legal claims against former captors. At one point in 1962, she even met with President John F. Kennedy to air her views. On the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, Moore formed the Reparations Committee for the Descendants of American Slaves. The primary demand of $500 million was to be partial compensation for historic wrongs. Her organization did file a suit in at least one court in California.

While Moore's calls for reparations seemed to go unheeded, the subject of reparations was a major component of black nationalist rhetoric during the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s, the Nation of Islam called for the establishment of a separate black state. In 1962, its leader Elijah Muhammad asserted that "former slave masters are obligated to provide" choice land for the descendants of slaves to create an African-American nation. In addition, under the Nation of Islam's plan, the United States would support and maintain the population of the proposed black state for at least twenty to twenty-five years until it had reached some level of economic and political autonomy.

In a 1966 platform, the Black Panther Party called for economic restitution from the white community. Citing the promises of "forty acres and a mule" and the example of German aid to Jews after the Holocaust, the Panthers desired monetary payments that would be distributed to "our many communities." Other groups also made calls for reparations. One group located in Harlem, the "Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation," advocated the creation of a state, supported and aided by the American government, in all areas south of the Mason-Dixon Line where African Americans constituted a majority—a policy similar to that promoted by the RNA.

The most vocal of all those urging reparations during the 1960s was James Forman, best known as the executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1961 until 1966. Forman also led the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), which was the organization that had assembled the "Black Manifesto." While some response came from the white community, it never approached the demands made by the BEDC. Reparations money received by the BEDC reputedly was used to create Black Star Publications, which distributed black militant writings by Forman and others. One organization that received its start from funds generated in responses to the manifesto was the Black Economic Research Center (BERC). Originally started by donations from the National Council of Churches, the BERC began publishing the *Review of Black Political Economy,* a journal now published under the auspices of the National Economic Association, the professional organization of black economists. In the early issues of the *Review*, Robert S. Browne, the director of the BERC, advocated substantial reparations to correct disparities in wealth between blacks and whites. Struck by data from a survey that showed that blacks only held two percent of the nation's wealth, Browne felt that reparations would be an appropriate remedy.

The economist David Swinton, formerly a colleague of Browne's at the BERC and now president of Benedict College in South Carolina, argued in 1991 that the "gap between black and white America never changes because of the impact of slavery and Jim Crow on the accumulation of wealth—both financial material, and in terms of human capital." Swinton endorsed reparations of a magnitude that would have a present-day value of anywhere from $1 trillion to $5 trillion to begin to make a transition to a more economically powerful African-American community. Another group in Maryland, the Black Reparations Commission, placed the recommended payment as high as $4 trillion.

During the 1980s, many black activists insisted that at least some discussion of reparations was required. The Detroit City Council passed a resolution in the late 1980s encouraging some compensation for slavery, and a Massachusetts state senator introduced a reparations bill into the state senate in 1989. Arguing in 1992 that the nation owes a singular debt to African Americans above and beyond normal affirmative action programs, the sociologist Paul Starr called for the establishment of a privately funded National Endowment for Black America, which would foster the economic growth of the black community. The neoconservative journalist Charles Krauthammer actually endorsed a limited reparations program as a substitute for affirmative action.

A body of activists and organizations known as the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA) began to agitate for reparations in 1989. From the early 1990s, led by Johnita Scott Obadele, Kalonji Olusegun, and Adjoa Aiyetoro, NCOBRA has supported congressional legislation (proposed annually by Congressman John Conyers of Michigan) to explore the question of reparations. However, that legislation has never been reported out of committee to the floor of Congress.

Today, the primary reparations activity involves a growing array of court cases, particularly those brought by the attorney Deadria Farmer-Paellmann against several U.S. corporations—including insurance companies such as Aetna who provided policies for slave owners to protect them from losses of their enslaved human property, and railroad companies such as CSX that used enslaved blacks to lay their railway tracks. The attorney Jerry Leaphart has been developing a case—as has a team of lawyers and scholars led by Charles J. Ogletree of Harvard Law School—to be brought forward against the U.S. government or individual states.

A major difficulty with court cases brought against corporations is their capacity to argue that while their activities might have been immoral during slavery times, they were not illegal. Cases against the government or the state face two problems: (1) the barrier of sovereign immunity, and (2) the nature of implementation of a compensation program if the litigants were to prevail. Arguably, the most effective means of executing reparations would be via legislation, because successful legislation would require significant political support across the population. However, a 2000 survey conducted by the political scientists Michael Dawson and Rovana Popoff shows that ninety percent of white Americans opposed compensation for African Americans for slavery; a majority even opposed a formal apology. Therefore, the task of building national political support for reparations that would translate into legislation is obviously a challenging one.

Logistical issues of concern to advocates of reparations include the following: How should a program of reparations be funded? Should existing assets be transferred from nonblacks to blacks? Should the government undertake additional borrowing to effect such a transfer? Should reparations be distributed to blacks as individuals, to families, to community-based organizations, or to all three? Would eligibility for receipt require genealogical evidence to establish that recipients are descendants of enslaved Africans? How would the distribution ensure that there is a long-term closure of the gap between blacks and whites rather than a renewed transfer of funds back to nonblacks via black consumption expenditure?

There have been historical precedents for both formal apologies and economic reparations by nation-states to various groups. Japanese-Americans subjected to incarceration in American concentration camps during World War II have received an official national apology and payment of $20,000 per victim. Various Native American nations have received settlements in court for prior seizure of their lands and discrimination. Since World War II, the German government has paid about $50 billion to Holocaust survivors and their near relatives. In 1988, Daimler-Benz, the German industrial giant, agreed to pay the equivalent of almost $12 million to victims of Nazi forced-labor polices and to their families. President Bill Clinton apologized to Hawaiians in 1993 for American involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian sovereign at the turn of the twentieth century. And in 2003 the envoy to the United States from Benin apologized to African Americans for Benin's involvement in the slave trade. But neither apology nor compensation has ever been awarded to African Americans for slavery, Jim Crow, or ongoing discrimination.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Garvey, Marcus; Jim Crow; Moore, Audley "Queen Mother"; Nation of Islam; Slavery; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Truth, Sojourner; Turner, Henry McNeal

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WILLIAM A. DARITY JR. (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Representations of Blackness

This entry consists of two distinct articles with differing geographic domains.

Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean
Jean Muteba Rahier

Representations of Blackness in the United States
Joseph Boskin

Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

For a great part of the twentieth century, largely through the work of American anthropologist Melville Herskovits and his followers, the African diaspora was conceived in terms of isolated and scattered communities of descendants of enslaved Africans in the Americas. Herskovits's model consisted of defining the research project of African-Americanist anthropology, and of African diaspora studies more generally, exclusively in terms of cultural continuity: the cultures of the African diaspora in the Americas were nothing but, in final analysis, transplanted African cultures (Herskovits, 1938, 1941, 1966). The emphasis of his work on the study and discovery of "africanisms," "African retentions," and "cultural reinterpretations" that would have allowed Africa to survive in the Americas is well known (Rahier, 1999a, pp. xiii–xxvi; Gershenhorn, 2004; Price, 2003).

In the 1990s, other conceptualizations of the African diaspora emerged in the work of various scholars, among which one of the most visible was Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* (1993): the Atlantic Ocean was transformed from being a site of unidirectional traveling of African cultures from Africa to the Americas (the Middle Passage) into the more complicated scene of multidirectional circulations of black cultures among a great variety of locations in the Americas, Europe, and Africa. This multidirectional traveling, Gilroy asserted, had in fact characterized the very formation of the African diaspora since its inception in forms such as the return of slaves from Brazil to Benin; the migration of Afro-Caribbeans to Central America; the founding of Liberia; the diasporic writings of African-American intellectuals; and other transnational exchanges (see also Kelley, 1999).

More recently, Percy Hintzen (2003) has theorized the African diaspora in terms that contradict the common understanding of diasporic identity as a subjectivity produced out of a collective phenomenon of displacement and dispersal from a real or imagined homeland. He criticizes the arguments that claim a universality of diasporic subjectivity and a fixity of diasporic identity. Such a common understanding of diasporic identity, he asserts, ignores the integral way in which identity is embedded in national and local, social, cultural, and political geographies. Specifically, he writes, diasporic identity emerges out of historical, social, and cultural conjunctures when constructed discourses of national belonging deny claims of citizenship on racial, cultural, religious, linguistic, or other communal grounds.

Diasporic identity emerges from situations in which representations and practices of cultural citizenship and belonging to national citizenship are actually denied. It is constructed out of memories of movement across local and national boundaries even while inculcating ideas of belonging across different localities. Rather than being based on claims of common origin and on a commonality of culture inherited from an originary "homeland," diasporic identity is a response to nationally-based notions of peoplehood from which diasporic subjects are excluded. It creates solidarities across fragmented geographies. Its manifestations can be multivalent, polysemous, ambiguous, and contradictory. It is a floating signifier of cultural citizenship that facilitates mobility across space, time, and social position. "Someone is West Indian or Black, or Jamaican, or African American, for example, not with reference to originary myths that are fixed in Africa, but in response to the social, political, and cultural geography of location, to her/his social and economic positionality, and to social and institutional context" (Hintzen, 2003, p. 1). Transnationally, blackness—as opposed to whiteness—is ultimately what ties together the different populations of the African diaspora, since whiteness and its association to uncontaminated origin in Europe have conferred a "natural," "ineluctable," and "deserved advantage" over those who are not white and who have been constructed and represented as being "naturally" inferior.

Representations and the Racial Ordering of People

Representations constitute, in part, the world in which we live. As Michel Foucault explained, discursive formations, modes of thought, or modes of representation are used by people for conceptualizing the world, their existence, and the existence of "others." Dominant groups produce and reproduce—differently in different times and in different geographic contexts—representations of themselves and of "others" that justify or naturalize their position at the apex of racial/spatial orders and the socioeconomic and political subjugation of the negatively depicted or racialized "others." Throughout Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, the colonial period has been characterized by a more or less important (depending on the specific locations) mode of production based on the enslavement of Africans; blackness has been associated with notions of savagery, backwardness, cultural deprivation, hypersexuality, and other negative qualities. An important aspect of the dominated black populations' struggles for justice has consisted in—more or less overtly—challenging, manipulating, combating, negating, and sometimes inverting representations of themselves that are reproduced in the dominant discourse of their national society or of the society in which they live. In effect, as Stuart Hall puts it, racism should be seen as a "structure of knowledge and representations," with a symbolic and narrative energy and work that aim to secure "us" over here and the "others" over there, down there, fixing each in its "appointed species place" (Hall, 1992, p. 16).

Mestizaje and *Mulataje* in Latin American Ideologies of National Identity

Mestizaje, *mulataje*, and other notions of "race" and cultural mixings have played a central role in "official" and dominant imaginations of Latin American national identities from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first. These ideologies of national identities have usually downplayed the importance of contemporary racism by proclaiming the myth of "racial democracy" (*En nuestro país no hay racismo porque todos nosotros tenemos un poco de cada sangre en nuestras venas*; "In our country there is no racism because we all have a mixture of different bloods running in our veins"). At the same time, these ideologies have marginalized and marked as "others" the individuals and communities that do not fit—phenotypically and culturally—the prototypical imagined, national, and hybridized (modern) identities.

A long tradition of scholarship on nationalism has emphasized the "homogenizing processes" of the ideologies of national identity from the end of the eighteenth through the first half of the twentieth centuries. According to Benedict Anderson (1983/1991), for example, "national cultures" helped to accommodate and resolve differences by ideologically constructing a singular "national identity." Too often, scholars writing on nationalism have failed to recognize a contingent phenomenon of nationalism that elides a superficial reading and that contradicts its homogenizing ambition: the creation of one or various "others" within and without the limits of the "national space." Indeed, to secure unity and to make their own history, the dominating powers have always worked best with practices that differentiate and classify.

An archaeology of such Latin American ideologies of national identity shows that despite their self-proclaimed antiracism and apparent promotion of integration and harmonious homogeneity, they constitute little more than narratives of white supremacy that always come with an attendant concept of whitening (*blanqueamiento* or *branqueamento*). Early Latin American foundational texts about *mestizaje*, written by "white" and white-mestizo or *Ladino* intellectuals, clearly demonstrate that the discussions of race and cultural mixings have been grounded on racist premises and theories that were popular in nineteenth-century Europe and North America. These texts were usually inspired by Spencerian positivism, unilineal evolutionism, polygenism, eugenics, and social Darwinism. Their arguments were based on an understanding of society as a social organism, which functioned similarly to biological organisms. Latin American (white, white-mestizo, and Ladino) intellectuals, who were convinced of the superiority of the so-called white race vis à vis blacks and "reds," deployed organistic notions and ideas of diseases and infection to support their claim to the inferiority and dysfunctionality of black and indigenous populations in their societies.

Many Latin American intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shared the idea that race mixing between "superior" and "inferior" races was unnatural. Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal has summarized the Latin American racialized discourses on identity, development and progress, and nationalisms. She argues that the period between the 1850s and 1920 was marked by an opposition between two "pseudo-polarities." These were:

> . . .on one hand, the deterministic discourse of naturally "inferior" races accursed by the biblical judgement against Ham and grounded primarily in evolutionary theory and the "scientific" principles of social Darwinism and, on the other, a visionary faith in the political and social viability of increasingly hybridized populations. Advo-

> cates of the former equated miscegenation with barbarism and degeneration; adherents of the latter prescribed cross-racial breeding as the antidote to barbarism and the means to creating modern Latin American nation-states. Closer examination of these supposedly antithetical positions, however, reveals them to be differently nuanced variations of essentially the same ideology, one philosophically and politically grounded in European liberalism and positivism, whose role it was to "improve" the human race through "better breeding" and to support and encourage Western racial and cultural supremacy. (Martínez-Echazábal, 1998, p. 30)

In the early twentieth century, many intellectuals felt the need to proclaim both uniquely Latin American identities in contradistinction to European and North American identities, and the respectability of original "Latin American cultures." This was the golden age of indigenism. Accordingly, in many Latin American nation-states, the idea of *mestizaje* became the "trope for the nation." *Mestizaje* was seen as the source of all possibilities yet to come, and a new image of the "inferior races" eventually emerged. The racial and cultural mixing of "inferior" with "superior" races would provide Latin American nations with what would become their characteristic strength, superior even to the "actual strength" of the white race. This would become a fifth race, the "cosmic race," as José Vasconcelos called it (1961).

This briefly summarized ideological history took, of course, different shapes in different national contexts at different times. *Mestizaje* and *mulataje* are polysemic, they mean different things, at different times, in different places (Rahier, 2003). Although it was first coined for the study of the U.S. racial order, Michael Omi's and Howard Winant's notion of "racial formation" (i.e., "racially structured social formations") captures well the idea of race as a polysemic signifier in Latin American national contexts:

> We define *racial formation* as the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. . . .racial formation is a process of historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized. . . . [We] think of racial formation processes as occurring through a linkage between structure and representation. Racial *projects* do the ideological "work" of making these links. *A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines.* Racial projects connect what race *means* in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially *organized*, based upon that meaning. (Omi and Winant, 1994, pp. 55–56)

The ideology of white supremacy at work in all Latin American racial formations behind the cover of "all-inclusive *mestizaje*" is undergirded by "signifying practices that essentialize and naturalize human identities" (Winant, 2001, p. 317). The racialization of these identities is produced out of understandings of hierarchical biological difference. It is against this ideology of white supremacy that Latin American indigenous and black movements have been struggling—more successfully in the last two decades of the late twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, perhaps—by voicing their opposition to "official *mestizaje*" (see, among others, Whitten, 2003; Sheriff, 2003; Beck and Mijeski, 2000).

Representations of Blackness

In Ecuador, as in other Latin American contexts, white and white-mestizo urban and national elites have imagined or invented the national identity around the notion of *mestizaje* (race mixing). These elites have reproduced an "Ecuadorian ideology" of national identity that proclaims the mestizo (mixed race individual who has both European [Spanish] and indigenous ancestry) as the prototype of modern Ecuadorian citizenship. This ideology is based on a belief in the indigenous population's inferiority, and on an unconditional—although sometimes contradictory—admiration and identification with occidental civilization (see, among others, Whitten, 1981; Stutzman, 1981; Silva, 1995).

Despite this hegemonic attempt at racial and ethnic homogenization, the Ecuadorian ideology of national identity results in a racist map of national territory: urban centers (mostly Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca) are associated with modernity, while rural areas are viewed as places of racial inferiority, violence, backwardness, savagery, and cultural deprivation. These areas, mostly inhabited by nonwhites or nonwhite-mestizos, have been viewed by the elites as representing major challenges to the full national development toward the ideals of modernity. As Norman Whitten explained in a discussion with Jean Muteba Rahier in early 1997, *mestizaje*, for Ecuador, does not mean that the white Indianizes himself or herself but that, on the contrary, the Indian whitens himself "racially" and culturally: the official imagination of Ecuadorian national identity is "an ideology of *blanqueamiento* within the globalizing framework of *mestizaje.*"

In this official imagination of Ecuadorianness, there is logically no place for blacks: they must remain peripheral. Afro-Ecuadorians—who represent between 5 and 10 percent of the national population—constitute the ultimate "other," some sort of a historical accident, a noise in the ideological system of nationality, a pollution in the Ecuadorian genetic pool. The best example of "noncitizenship," "they are not part of *mestizaje*," unlike indigenous peoples (Muratorio, 1994). In the logic of the national "racial"/spatial order, the two "traditional" regions of blackness (both developed during the colonial period), the province of Esmeraldas and the Chota-Mira Valley, are looked down upon by whites and white-mestizos.

The ideological outsiderness of blacks in the biology of national identity is denoted in the representations of black peoples' bodies and their stereotypical hypersexuality, in the representations of black men in urban settings as being physically powerful athletes and dangerous social predators, and in the representations of black women as being nothing more worthy than being either domestic servants or prostitutes. The situation of blacks in Ecuador is of course not unique. Comparable representations can be found in other Latin American national contexts. A series of caricatural drawings called *Negritos de Navidad* circulated on the internet during the Christmas season of 2003. The drawings originated in Peru, and were viewed in Mexico, Ecuador, and, apparently, throughout Latin America. They clearly represent the racializing stereotypes of black males' hypersexuality that participate in the naturalization of racist socioeconomic and political orders. These images have been circulating in Latin American countries and beyond and contribute to the equating of black bodies with savagery. The fact that such drawings continue to be passed around as simple jokes is illustrative of ingrained antiblack racism, and denotes the normalized structural violence that blacks in Latin America have to face on a daily basis.

In Latin America, few national contexts allowed for the development of a black middle class. Brazil is probably the Latin American country where the emergence of a black middle class (according to local standards), in the urban areas of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, has perhaps been the most "visible." As a consequence of this process, representations of blacks as respectable professionals are making their appearance, particularly in the black-owned popular magazine *Raça (Brasil)*.

In Puerto Rico and in the Dominican Republic, blackness continues to be associated with undesirable qualities, and few choose to self-identify as Afro–Puerto Ricans or Afro-Dominicans, while many prefer to call themselves mestizos or even Taínos or Indios in order to justify the brown color of their skin with something other than references to African origins. In the Dominican Republic, *antihaitianismo* brings many to consider blackness, above and beyond its association with savagery and backwardness, as a sign of non-Dominicanness (see Howard, 2001; Sagás, 2000). Even in Haiti and Jamaica, blackness has been associated with negative qualities (see Labelle, 1978; Ulysse, 1999).

Conclusion

Representations of blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean have served the reproduction of ideologies of domination and of socioeconomic and political orders more or less overtly grounded on white supremacy. These representations have had as their objective to naturalize the subjugation of black populations at the same time that they eventually celebrated race-mixing, *mestizaje*, and *mulataje* and their attendant processes of "whitening." That is because such representations have played such a central ideological role that they have been one of the principal targets of antiracist movements throughout the region.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Media and Identity in the Caribbean; Representations of Blackness in the United States

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JEAN MUTEBA RAHIER (2005)

Representations of Blackness in the United States

Stereotypes are the cultural prisms, shaped over time and reinforced through repetition, that predetermine thought and experience. Although based on a semblance of historical reality, once implanted in popular lore, such images penetrate the deepest senses and profoundly affect behavioral actions. Philosopher Walter Lippmann in *Public Opinion* (1922, pp. 89–90) believed that in the twentieth century, stereotypes are "the subtlest and most pervasive of all influences" because people imagine most things before experiencing them.

The collective aspect of stereotyping is self-confirming and provides a continuing sense of reality, "a kernel of truth," as historian H. R. Trevor-Roper observed in *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (1965, pp. 190–191), a study of the witchcraft frenzy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. "Once established, the stereotype creates, as it were, its own folklore, which becomes in itself a centralizing force." As a result, stereotypes pervade personal fantasies and become cultural commodities; they are dislodged only after a series of protracted assaults.

Racist Ideology

In the history of race relations in the United States, stereotypes preceded and accompanied the origins and legalization of slavery. Equipped with stereotypes, whites fastened the dogma of inferiority on Africans and African Americans. With the termination of slavery, stereotypes were then extensively employed to legitimate segregationist policies. Throughout the course of American history, such ingrained stereotypes have subverted black identity and seriously undermined the formation of a biracial society based on egalitarian practices.

The Child and the Savage

The early images of the African American revolved around a conception of primitivism. The English defined this condition as being "uncivilized," a view that posited the indi-

"Aunt Jemima." *In response to the civil rights movement, the image of Aunt Jemima, derived from the "Mammy" figure, changed during the last decades of the twentieth century, with stereotypical elements being progressively removed.* CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

vidual as "child" and "savage." Intriguingly, many of the stock traits ascribed to American blacks existed in other slave cultures. "The white slaves of antiquity and the Middle Ages," noted David B. Davis in *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966), "were often described in terms that fit the later stereotype of the Negro. Throughout history it has been said that slaves, though occasionally as loyal and faithful as good dogs, were for the most part lazy, irresponsible, cunning, rebellious, untrustworthy, and sexually promiscuous."

Thus, on the one hand, American blacks were seen as savages, inherently brutish and vigorously sexual. Males in particular were cast as being physically well endowed. Examples of this were found in southern newspapers in the decades following the Civil War; their spurious accounts of black assaults on white women resulted in numerous lynchings. The definitive example of this stereotype is undoubtedly director D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) early film classic *Birth of a Nation* (1915), which depicted black men as intellectually crude, sexually predatory, and physically volatile.

However, on the whole, the nonthreatening side of the stereotype dominated the popular culture, perhaps because of a fear of encouraging black sexuality or retaliation. Traits of nonaggression, servility, loyalty, docility, and comicality were heavily accentuated. Images fixated on male amiability and female nurturing that became labeled, respectively, as Sambo and Mammy. There were other related images that permeated the culture. In literature and film, women were often delineated as the child "pickaninny," the tragic mulatto, the innocent or ingenue, the hot mama, and the exotically promiscuous. Males were toms, coons, dandies, and bucks who possessed natural rhythm, had flashy dress habits, craved watermelon and chicken, shot dice, and resorted to petty theft.

There were additional factors that led to Mammy and Sambo, not the least of which was Southerners' phobic need for security. Slave rebellions and retaliations, numerous instances of sabotage, acts of miscegenation, and the suspicion that no black person (and especially no black male) could be completely trusted led whites to yearn for a worker beyond question. For these reasons, Mammy was

portrayed, as was her male counterpart, as invariably cheerful, backward, and harmless.

Mammy

As with all stereotypes, these figures held a partial truth. That certain black women achieved relatively high status on the plantation and in other white households is unquestionable. Women were highly skilled workers who supervised a variety of domestic operations, counseled and caressed people of all ages in white homes as well as in their own homes, and played a predominant role in the black community. The portrait of the black woman as loyal without bounds, caring solely for her white charges, cheerfully administering all duties regardless of personal circumstances, and fulfilling her own wants by being a slave and worker was a creation arising out of white requirements. The stereotype was intended to legitimize her enslavement and serve as a role model for all black women.

A Mammy prototype appeared extensively in diaries, novels, speeches, anecdotes, lithographs, and advertising throughout the South in the nineteenth century. She was invariably portrayed as large-girthed, apron-wrapped, shining-faced, and bandannaed; her face was wreathed in a smile, her wisdom often delivered in comical dialect. It was a portrait that eventually became widely recognized in the 1890s in advertising as Aunt Jemima, a popular brand of pancake batter. At various times Mammy was depicted as being tough and domineering, soft and judicious, or slow-witted and comical, but she was always the household worker and nurturer, the one person on whom all could depend when needed. White males in particular were unabashed about their "Mammy" and publicly extolled her.

Southern women were no less effusive in their praise of Mammy, although their relationship was more complex. The request of one aging mistress in the antebellum period that her favorite servant—who had been relegated to sleeping on the floor near her mistress—be interred alongside her was unusual but not unheard of. In 1923, at the prodding of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a bill was submitted to Congress authorizing "the erection in the city of Washington of a monument to the memory of the faithful colored mammies of the South." Strong protests from African-American newspapers and organizations ended the only attempt to place a statue to "Black Mammy" in the nation's capital.

Nonetheless, the durable Mammy stereotype extended well into the twentieth century in all levels of print, from folklore to novels. Novelist William Faulkner (1897–1962), for example, depicted several literary Mammies. In *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), the character Dilsey is an interesting literary variation on the Mammy theme. In *Go Down, Moses* (1940), Faulkner poignantly dedicated the novel to his family's servant, whose energies touched many generations: "To Mammy CAROLINE BARR / Mississippi (1840–1940) / Who was born in slavery and gave to my family a fidelity without stint or calculation of recompense and to my childhood an immeasurable devotion and love." But novelist Margaret Mitchell's (1900–1949) "Mammy" in *Gone with the Wind* (1936), the book that became one of the most popular novels and films of the twentieth century, was the archetypal portrait. The Mammy, as portrayed by Mitchell and others, was a composite of the different types of women that had worked on the plantation: firm, compassionate, smart, morally exemplary, and privy to the inner workings of the family. Her language was ungrammatical and provincial, and, as was often the case with the black male as well, her name always lacked family designation. She answered to the call of Jasmine, Aida, Dilsey, Sapphire, Beulah, Hester, Gossip, Stella, Aunt Dinah, and Aunt Petunia.

Mammy was feted in popular songs and ballads. The new immigrants from Eastern Europe, like the older ethnic groups, astutely recognized her iconical status and wrote lyrically about this ideal American servant. In the popular 1919 song "Swanee," written by George Gershwin and Irving Caesar, there is a longing homage to the figure. But by far the most famous stage and film scene spotlighting the form was rendered by Al Jolson (1886–1950), one of the most prominent of the blackface performers. It came at the end of *The Jazz Singer* (1927), the first major film to include sound. On one knee, his clasped hands in white gloves, eyes rolled upward, Jolson sang to his imaginary servant: "Oh, Oh, Oh, Mammy, My little Mammy / The sun shines East, the sun shines West / I know where the sun shines best. . . . Mammy, Mammy / I'd walk a million miles for one of your smiles / My Mammy." (While Jolson's song is directed at his white mother, the stereotypes of the black Mammy dominate the song's imagery.)

Nowhere was the Mammy stereotype more durable than in film and on radio and television. A number of distinguished actresses, among them Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952), Ethel Waters (c. 1896–1977), and Louise Beavers (1902–1962), fashioned careers playing numerous incarnations and variations of the jolly house servant. The first television series to feature a black female actress, *Beulah* (1950–1953), had a housemaid as the central character.

Sambo

That black men presented a sunny and entertaining stance was a constant observation made by whites. Yet it is appar-

***Scene from* Amos 'n' Andy.** Amos 'n' Andy *was originally conceived for radio by Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, the two white actors who portrayed the black characters in the show. When the program was aired on television, the series had an all-black cast, but lasted only two seasons amid protests about racial stereotypes.* CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ent that Sambo was a form of resistance, a type of disguise used to survive the systems of slavery and segregation by deflecting physical and mental assault. It was also a particular form of retaliatory humor. A nineteenth-century slave song expressed the strategy: "I fooled Ole Master seven years / Fooled the overseer three / Hand me down my banjo / and I'll tickle your bel-lee."

The roots of the name "Sambo" were both African and Latino—from the Hausa fashioning of a spirit or the second son, and "Zambo," meaning a type of monkey—but the English "Sam" had an important role in transposing it into popular lingo. From the mid-nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth century, Sambo became the nickname for the black male along with other designations that found popular expression: Tambo, Rastus, John, Pompey, George, Uncle Tom, Nigger, and Boy. In popular songs he was called Old Black Joe and Uncle Ned; in advertising there was Uncle Ben's Rice and Ben the Pullman Porter; in literature some of the most widely read literary characters were Uncle Remus and Little Black Sambo; and in radio and films he was Amos 'n' Andy, Rochester, and Stepin Fetchit.

The essential features of Sambo consisted of two principal parts. On one hand, he was childish and comical, employed outlandish gestures, and wore tattered clothes. Irresponsibility was a cardinal characteristic and buffoonery an inherent trait. On the flip side, he was the natural slave and servant who displayed the qualities of patience, humility, nonbelligerence, and faithfulness. Here responsibility was expected and intelligence rewarded, though both virtues were carefully monitored by whites.

These two separate sides eventually were translated into theatrical forms. The child became the "plantation darky" called Jim Crow; the servant became the urban mulatto known as Zip Coon or Jim Dandy. There were variations on the Sambo theme, but all varieties involved individuals who fit the stereotypes of being lazy, shiftless, and natural entertainers. On the plantation, the dancing and singing slave was a common sight. Musical abilities were often an important selling point at slave auctions, and masters pressured slaves to perform in order to increase production, undercut hostility, and enliven everyday life. For their part, slaves resorted to music and dance as a release from sunup to sundown labor, a means of communication, and a retention of African folkways.

Early forms of Jim Crow made their way into dramatic theater in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but it was in the minstrels of the 1830s and 1840s that the figure emerged fully developed. It occurred when the popular white performer Thomas D. Rice (1808–1860) applied blackface; dressed in outlandish costume, he caroused around the stage, singing and dancing in a black idiom: "Wheel about, turn about / Do jis do / An' every time I wheel about / I jump Jim Crow."

The heyday of white minstrelsy lasted for more than fifty years, from the 1830s to the 1880s, and was one of the prevailing forms of theater, reaching into many of the remotest geographical corners of the United States and beyond. Almost every white community (and many black communities) boasted a minstrel troupe that performed in blackface and comical dialect. As a neighborhood production, the minstrel continued into the 1960s, reaching millions of persons who had scant knowledge of African-American culture. By distorting black language and emphasizing comicality, the show perpetuated the image of the black male as a natural buffoon.

The plantation black was given heightened profile in the late-nineteenth-century stories of Joel Chandler Harris (1848–1908), one of the first writers to use the folktale as a literary medium. Harris's Uncle Remus tales, which first appeared in *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (1881),

were popular with children and adults for decades and were later adapted to radio and film. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Sambo existed in every nook and cranny of popular culture. In journals, weeklies, newspapers, magazines, novels, short stories, children's stories, humor books, comic pamphlets, and burlesque essays there was a Sambo figure speaking in malapropisms and mispronouncing words. His graphic expressions were even more ubiquitous. On the covers of sheet music, Currier & Ives prints, posters, calendars, book illustrations, dime novels, postage stamps, playing cards, stereoscopic slides, children's toys and games, postcards, cartoons, and comic strips there was a saucer-eyed, thick-lipped, round-faced, kinky-haired, grinningly toothed figure clad in plantation clothing or foppishly attired in formal dress. Sambos also filled the material culture as ceramic figurines on dining-room tables, lawn jockeys, whiskey pourers, men's canes, placemats, wooden coins, salt shakers, and countless bric-a-brac.

From its earliest years, the electronic media made extensive use of the stereotype. Film companies inserted Sambo characters—some of whom were white men in blackface—who savored watermelon and chicken, shot dice, wielded razors, and fearfully escaped from ghostly spirits in animated cartoons and feature movies. On radio, the long-running serial program *Amos 'n' Andy* (1928–1960) was performed by two white men in simulated blackface. And the most widely recognized servant on radio was Rochester on the *Jack Benny Show,* which ran from 1932 through 1958.

Termination and Replacement

Constant pressure from the African-American community, combined with powerful external events such as World War II (1939–45), gradually transformed the harshest aspects of the stereotypes. Their eventual elimination, however, was the consequence of the demands of the civil rights and black nationalist movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. For instance, in response to the civil rights movement, some of the more offensive qualities of the Aunt Jemima image on the pancake-batter package were modified by its manufacturer; in the 1960s, the bandanna was changed to a headband, and since 1990 she has been depicted without any head covering.

The rise to prominence of black legislators, writers, intellectuals, filmmakers, performers, and comedians in the latter decades of the century consigned Mammy and Sambo to the historical dustbin. In the 1980s and 1990s, such films as *Malcolm X* (1992) by Spike Lee (1957–) and *Boyz in the Hood* (1991) by John Singleton (1968–), as well as the extraordinarily popular television sitcom *The Cosby Show* (1984–1992), brought to national attention the complex levels of black history and community life. Whatever traces of the stereotype that may have remained at the turn of the twenty-first century were expunged from the public consciousness with the emergence of a new generation of comedians, among them Richard Pryor (1940–), Eddie Murphy (1961–), Chris Rock (1965–), and the Wayans brothers, whose seminal routines fused retaliation with self-mockery.

If the Mammy and Sambo stereotypes have faded, however, new negative images of African Americans in the mass media have replaced them. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, urban blacks were often stereotypically identified with city crime, gang violence, welfare, and the firebombing and looting accompanying urban uprisings. Such extreme emphasis on the negative aspects of blacks continued to impede the democratic dialogue vital for a biracial society.

See also Identity and Race in the United States; Jim Crow; Media and Identity in the Caribbean; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean

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JOSEPH BOSKIN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Republican Party

See Political Ideologies; Politics in the United States

Republic of New Africa

In 1967 Milton Henry, an African-American attorney and former acquaintance of Malcolm X, and his brother, Richard Henry, founded the Malcolm X Society, an organization based in Detroit whose purpose was to encourage the establishment of an autonomous black nation within the United States. By 1968 the brothers had adopted new names—Milton became Brother Gaidi Obadele and Richard renamed himself Imari Abubakari Obadele—and issued a call to black nationalists for the creation of an independent black republic in the Deep South.

In March 1968 the Obadeles, along with black militant activist Robert F. Williams, convened several hundred nationalists in Detroit, where a declaration of independence was adopted and the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was established. The delegates called for the creation of an independent, communitarian black nation stretching across "the subjugated territory" of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. The republic's economy would be organized according to the guidelines of *ujamaa*, the Tanzanian model of cooperative economics and community self-sufficiency, but political rights and freedom of the press would be limited, unions discouraged, military service made compulsory, and men allowed multiple wives.

Soon several "consulates" were established across the country, officials were chosen, and members declared their allegiance to the "provisional government." In its manifestos, largely written by Imari Obadele, the RNA called on the U.S. government to grant $400 billion in reparations for slavery and racist oppression and to cede the five "homeland" states to the Republic. In anticipation of the government's rejection of the proposal, the RNA's leaders developed a contingency plan of armed resistance in the South and guerrilla sabotage in the North.

Detroit police conducted a violent raid on the RNA's one-year anniversary conference, held in 1969 at the New Bethel Baptist Church. One police officer was killed and four RNA members were wounded after hundreds of rounds of ammunition were fired into the church. Three RNA members were tried and acquitted of murder charges. One of the accused, Chaka Fuller, was stabbed to death several months later by an undiscovered assailant.

In 1971 the RNA purchased twenty acres of land in Hinds County, Mississippi, to be used as the capital, El Malik, but the original owner of the land, an African-American farmer, reneged on the agreement. Soon thereafter local police conducted a raid on the RNA headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi, during which a white police officer was killed. Eleven RNA members, including Imari Obadele, president of the provisional government, were arrested and convicted on charges of murder, assault, and sedition. Ten of the "RNA-11" served sentences ranging from two to ten years. Hekima Ana was convicted of firing the shot that killed the officer and was sentenced to life in prison.

In 1971 five RNA members were accused of robbing a bank in Manhattan. Three of the five were caught at the scene, and a fourth was killed. The fifth, a twenty-four-year-old schoolteacher, Patrick Critton, who was the lookout, escaped. He later hijacked a plane to Havana. In 2004 a police detective in Canada investigating the old case found Critton in Mount Vernon, New York. Critton was arrested and convicted.

Three RNA members who were driving through New Mexico on route to Mississippi to assist the besieged headquarters murdered a police officer when he stopped their car. The three, Michael Finney, Charles Hill, and Ralph Goodwin, then hijacked a commercial airplane and ordered it flown to Cuba. Finney and Hill continue to live in Cuba (Goodwin died there in 1973).

Imari Obadele was released from prison in 1973, but shortly thereafter he and six others were convicted on federal conspiracy charges and incarcerated in a federal prison in Illinois. While serving his seven-year sentence, Obadele filed a civil suit against the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 1977, which resulted in the release of government documents confirming that the RNA had been targeted for subversion by COINTELPRO, the FBI's antiradical program.

Formed at the height of the Black Power movement, the RNA attracted a significant number of sympathizers in both radical and liberal political circles. Communist Party leader Angela Davis organized support campaigns for the group, and prominent Democratic politicians such as Julian Bond, John Conyers, and George Crockett provided legal assistance on various occasions. At the grassroots level, the diffusion of RNA offices in cities throughout the United States attested to the group's position as one of the most popular and influential black nationalist organizations.

Imari Obadele was released from prison in 1980 and went on to pursue an academic career. He received a Ph.D. in political science from Temple University in 1985 and

through the late 1980s taught at several colleges, including Beaver College in Pennsylvania and the College of Wooster in Ohio. Obadele has also published numerous books and articles on the RNA and black separatism in which he continues to advocate reparations, the acquisition of land, and the establishment of an independent, socialist republic where a distinctive and autonomous black culture could flourish. His works include *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968), *Revolution and Nation-Building: Strategy for Building the Black Nation in America* (1970), and *America the Nation-State: The Politics of the United States from a State-Building Perspective* (1988).

After the imprisonment of most of its leaders the RNA declined in prominence but remained committed to its original principles. In the mid-1980s the group moved its headquarters from Detroit to Washington, D.C., and claimed a membership of between five thousand and ten thousand. The RNA, which considers all African Americans to be citizens of the Republic, periodically holds elections on street corners in black neighborhoods to elect officials for the provisional government.

See also Malcolm X; Revolutionary Action Movement; Williams, Robert Franklin

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Revels, Hiram Rhoades

September 1, 1822
January 16, 1901

Politician Hiram Rhoades Revels was the first black man to sit in the U.S. Senate, where he completed the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. Revels was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina. His parents, who were free blacks, sent him to an elementary school run by a black woman. Moving north, Revels studied at several seminaries in Indiana and Ohio. He then became a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and pastored congregations in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and Maryland. In 1854 Revels left the AME Church after the congregation where he was pastor in St. Louis was divided by squabbling. He joined the ministry of the Presbyterian Church and was posted to Baltimore, where he worked until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Once hostilities commenced, Revels helped organize the first black regiments in Maryland and Missouri. Leaving the Presbyterian Church, he went south; reunited with the AME Church, Revels became active in Republican politics, serving on the city council of Natchez, Mississippi, briefly as a state senator, and in 1870–1871 replacing Jefferson Davis in the U.S. Senate.

Compared to other AME ministers who entered Reconstruction politics, Revels was rather lackluster. During his tenure in the Senate, Revels delivered a few speeches, but none of the legislation he introduced was passed. After his term expired, he returned to Mississippi, left the AME Church, and became a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church (North). After he left the Senate, Revels served as president of Alcorn University, Mississippi State College for Negroes.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Politics in the United States; Presbyterians

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CLARENCE E. WALKER (1996)

Revivalism

Revivalism, the term derived from the Great Revival of 1860–1861, is a religious movement in Jamaica that is a syncretism of the Christian faith and African rituals and beliefs. It can be traced to the Myal movement, which first came to European notice during the Tacky Rebellion of 1760. Myal enabled enslaved Africans to unite and protect themselves against what was perceived as European sorcery. With the arrival of the enslaved Baptist preachers George Leile, Moses Baker, and George Lewis in 1776 and their creation of the class-leader system in which their most talented converts were appointed leaders over new converts, Myal reinterpreted and refashioned the symbols and teachings of Christianity.

On the coming of the great religious revival to Jamaica in 1860, Myal split into two variants, Zion and Pukumina (also known as Pocomania). Zion, the first to become public, retained a closer resemblance to Christianity, making greater use of the Bible and Christian symbols. Pukumina, emerging in the early months of 1861, was closer to traditional African religions. Unlike Revivalists, who refused to respect hostile spirits, followers of Pukumina believed that all spirits, including the malevolent ones, can possess and consequently deserve respect.

The Revival religion today attaches great importance to a pantheon of spirits that has at the apex God, the Creator. There are good and bad spirits, and Revivalists worship only the good ones, although they acknowledge the bad ones called *fallen angels*, chief of which is Satan. The use of the red flag, a pair of scissors, or a Bible is designed to expel evil spirits. Spirits are believed to possess individuals and can injure, protect, assist, and induce revelations in the faithful. Revivalists bring about possession by vigorous dancing and singing.

Important among ritual paraphernalia are water, stones, and herbs. The most important religious services of Jamaican Revivalists are: divine worship, baptismal rites, tables, death rites, dedication of a new church building, and installation of new officers. Divine worship services, held weekly, feature drumming, singing, handclapping, praying, Bible reading, preaching, spirit possession, testimonials, and healing. A table is a combined religious service and feast.

One of the main features of the Revival religion is ritual healing. Healing applies not only to physical and mental illness but also to social ills, including failed love affairs and litigation in law courts. Divination, which can be part of the healing process, is important in Revivalism and is often a characteristic of a good Revival leader.

The moral code of Revivalism is based on that found in the Christian Bible. Taboos among the Revivalists include the eating of pork, using profanity, and going to cemeteries at prohibited times.

Revivalism has had a revolutionary role in major rebellions, including the Tacky and Sam Sharpe Rebellions. Charismatic leadership is an important aspect of the Revival complex. The Great Rebellion of 1831–1832, also known as the Baptist War, arguably one of the main factors that led to the abolition of slavery on August 1, 1834, was led by Sam Sharpe, a Baptist deacon and Native Baptist leader (Native Baptist referred to the more Christianized form of Myal).

Revivalism as a form of cultural resistance has helped to shape and reinforce the values of the Jamaican peasantry. In the early twentieth century Revival leader Alexander Bedward combined religion with black nationalist sentiments by urging his followers to rise above their oppression and cast down their oppressors, considered at this time to be the white Jamaican ruling class.

Revivalism has played a role in the emergence and development of Rastafarianism. Barry Chevannes, a leading authority on the Revival and Rastafarian faiths, argues that Rastafari can be regarded as the fulfillment of Revivalism as it retains many of the attributes of Revivalism, although it isolates blackness as divine rather than sinful. Chevannes has observed that the Rastafari faith retained many Revival rituals, including similar hymns, dancing, and drumming. Certain Revival taboos are also preserved, including refraining from the use of salt in foods.

See also Myal; Rastafarianism; Religion

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NICOLE PLUMMER (2005)

Revolta da Chibata

On November 23, 1910, the black navy sailor João Cândido led a revolt of 2,379 men, who took charge of three

modern navy ships in the Bay of Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro, in the midst of the festivities for the inauguration of President Hermes da Fonseca. The incident, known as the Revolta da Chibata (revolt against corporal punishment) was not so much against the new president as it was an indictment of the horrific working conditions and the outdated practice of corporal punishment (*chibata*) applied in the navy, particularly as a disciplinary measure for the rank and file. The rebellion escalated as the protesters shot the commanding officer Batista das Neves and threatened to bomb the capital. Even though the revolting sailors did not list race as a motivating factor for their actions, race played a significant part in the revolt. While navy officers came mostly from white aristocratic Brazilian families, the rank and file comprised Afro-Brazilians or poor whites who were often treated as slaves.

Although the republic had outlawed corporal punishment in November 1889, it continued as a matter of course as a suitable practice to ensure proper behavior within the armed forces. Moreover, racial and class prejudice pervaded the officer corps, members of whom frequently abused corporal punishment and maintained unhealthy conditions for the sailors while they often lived and worked in splendor. Although sailors were routinely whipped, the violent flogging of the Bahian sailor Marcelino Rodrigues Meneses, on November 16, 1910, was the final incident that led the sailors to take action.

On the evening of November 22, 1910, a group of enlisted sailors led by João Cândido (on the ship *Minas Gerais*), Ricardo Freitas and Francisco Dias Martins (on the *Bahia*), Gregorio Nascimento (on board the *São Paulo*), and an organized committee on land decided to strike. The sailors succeeded in gaining command of all three vessels, although not without a fight that led to the death of several men who resisted, including officers. On behalf of the sailors, Cândido negotiated with the national government to surrender and turn over the vessels in exchange for a general pardon for the sailors, the abolition of corporal punishment, improvement in living conditions, and better salaries for the enlisted men. The next day, on November 23, 1910, Brazil's National Congress approved general amnesty for the revolutionaries and promised to meet the sailors' demands.

Unfortunately, rather than honor the amnesty, the Brazilian state sent a strong message to the population that challenges to the national order would not be tolerated. Many of the participants were jailed, executed, or exiled to labor camps in the Amazon region. João Cândido received an eighteen-month prison term and was eventually dismissed from the navy. He died in poverty and has never been given his rightful place in Brazilian social history. Nonetheless, the revolt marked an important moment in the social history of Brazil.

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DARIÉN DAVIS (2005)

Revolutionary Action Movement

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) was one of the earliest expressions of revolutionary black nationalism. It was founded in 1963 by Robert Franklin Williams, former head of a local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) branch in North Carolina who gained national attention for advocating black self-defense and was in exile in Cuba, then China, while serving as RAM's president. RAM was a Marxist-Leninist organization that believed that violence was the only way fundamentally to alter the structure of American society and "free black people from colonial and imperialist bondage." Based in Philadelphia and New York, RAM claimed several hundred members, including teachers, students, clerks, and businesspeople, all of whom were passionately dedicated to the struggle of which they were a part.

RAM's goal was to build a liberation army by educating and mobilizing young African Americans. Through grassroots organizing, it sought to maintain a base in the black community. The organization published a bimonthly magazine, *Black America,* and distributed a free weekly titled *RAM Speaks*. RAM also sent out field organizers to form local groups, organize street meetings, and hold African and African-American history classes. RAM worked with more traditional civil rights groups, but its members were critical of their piecemeal reform agenda. On one occasion, RAM joined the NAACP in demonstrations over discrimination on a school construction site. However, RAM was less interested in integrating the job site than in educating people on the pitfalls of reform struggles and the necessity of revolutionary organization.

Despite its small size and relative obscurity, RAM's militant posture and commitment to grassroots organizing made it a target of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) infiltration. By 1965, as part of a larger program to undermine radical black organizations, undercover FBI agents had penetrated RAM's structure. On June 21, 1967, New York City and Philadelphia police rounded up seventeen RAM members, including Maxwell Sanford, field chair of RAM, in predawn raids and seized about 130 weapons. Fifteen members were charged with criminal conspiracy, but they were never brought to trial and charges were eventually dropped. The other two, Herman Ferguson, an assistant principal at a New York City school, and Arthur Harris, unemployed at the time, were convicted of conspiracy to assassinate Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League and sentenced to three and a half to seven years in prison. After failed attempts at appeals, Harris fled to Sweden, where he remains today, and Ferguson went to Guyana, where he lived for nineteen years. Upon returning to the United States in 1989, Ferguson was immediately taken into custody, but he was released on parole in 1993.

In another raid, in September 1967, seven RAM members in Philadelphia were charged with conspiring to assassinate local and national leaders, blow up city hall, and foment a riot, during which time they planned to poison the city's police force. Charges against RAM members consisted of conspiracy and intent based on fiery speeches or militant rhetoric rather than acts committed. The testimony of informers was the primary evidence used to convict RAM members, who vehemently denied the allegations and claimed that local police and FBI agents had instituted a frame-up to discredit them.

The FBI infiltration and raids on RAM were devastating. With most of the leadership either in prison, under surveillance, or in hiding, few were left to sustain the organization's activities. In 1968 RAM collapsed. Some ex-RAM members helped form the Republic of New Africa, which was intended to be a provisional government of a separate black state within the United States. Despite the short-lived existence of RAM, it was an important example of the changing nature of the black political movement of the 1960s: the disillusionment with conventional politics and the desire to effect social and political change by more radical means.

See also Political Ideologies; Republic of New Africa; Williams, Robert Franklin

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NANCY YOUSEF (1996)
PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

Rhythm and Blues

The term *rhythm and blues* was a product of the post-World War II music industry's effort to find a new word to replace the category that had been known for several decades as "race records." First used by *Billboard* magazine in 1949, *rhythm and blues* was intended to describe blues and dance music produced by black musicians for black listeners, so that rhythm and blues—often abbreviated R&B—was more a marketing category than a well-defined musical style. In effect, R&B reflected the confluence of jazz, blues, gospel, and vocal-harmony group music that took place in cities such as New York, Detroit, Chicago, Memphis, Philadelphia, and New Orleans after World War II. In the 1950s, successful marketing efforts that targeted white listeners made rhythm and blues, and the related category of rock and roll, the most popular music not only in the United States but in the rest of the world as well. Although much rhythm-and-blues music was produced by small, white-owned record labels such as Savoy, Atlantic, and Chess—in the 1960s Motown would be an exception—and was aimed at a multiracial market, rhythm and blues has always drawn its core influences from African-American culture.

The Roots of Rhythm and Blues: Jazz

The most obvious ancestor of rhythm and blues was jazz, which in the 1920s and 1930s was black America's popular music, produced mostly to accompany dancing. In the 1940s many big bands featured "honking" tenor saxophonists who played in a bluesy, at times histrionic style that drove dancers to ever more frenzied steps and tempos. Lionel Hampton's (1909–2002) "Flyin' Home" (1943), with its famous solo by Illinois Jacquet (1922–2004), was the model for such performances. Many tenor saxophonists followed Jacquet's model, including Bill Doggett (1916–1996), Arnett Cobb (1918–1989), Ike Quebec (1918–1963), Hal "Cornbread" Singer (1919–), and Willis "Gatortail" Jackson (1928–1987). Important recordings in this style include "Juice Head Baby" (1944)

R&B trio Destiny's Child performing at the "Concert Celebrating America's Youth," part of the 2001 inaugural festivities in Washington, D.C. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and "Deacon's Hop" (1948) by Big Jay McNeely (1929–) and "The Hucklebuck" (1949) by Paul Williams (1915–2002).

Another jazz influence on rhythm and blues was the jump bands that were popular starting in the mid-1940s. These midsized ensembles, named for their buoyant tempos, combined the extroverted solo style of the honking tenors with the relentless momentum of shuffle and boogie-woogie rhythms of pianists Albert Ammons (1907–1949), Meade "Lux" Lewis (1905–1964), and Pete Johnson (1904–1967), whose "Roll 'Em Pete" (1938) with vocalist Big Joe Turner (1911–1985) was one of the first great rhythm-and-blues performances. Tiny Bradshaw (1905–1958), Slim Gaillard (1916–1991), and Johnny Otis (1921–1984), the latter a white musician whose bands were largely black, all led jump ensembles. The greatest of the jump band leaders was saxophonist and vocalist Louis Jordan (1908–1975). His biggest hits, including "Is You Is or Is You Ain't My Baby?" (1944), "Let the Good Times Roll" (1945), "Caldonia" (1945),"Choo Choo Ch'Boogie" (1946), and "Saturday Night Fish Fry" (1940), were novelty numbers suffused with earthy humor. Jordan was a masterful saxophonist in the jazz tradition, yet most of his records were carefully composed, and his rejection of jazz improvisation became a major characteristic of rhythm and blues.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, the relationship between jazz and rhythm and blues was sometimes reversed, with musicians—especially the pianist Horace Silver (1928–), who recorded "Opus de Funk" in 1953—drawing inspiration from rhythm and blues. In the 1960s, Jimmy Smith (1920–2005), Cannonball Adderley (1928–1975), David "Fathead" Newman (1933–), Eddie Harris (1934–1996), King Curtis (1934–1971), Stanley Turrentine (1934–2000), and Ramsey Lewis (1935–) all performed in the bluesy, funky style known as *soul jazz*. Herbie Hancock (1940–), a groundbreaking avant-garde jazz pianist in the 1960s, went on to experiment with funk music in the 1970s and rap in the 1980s.

Vocal Groups

The vocal harmonizing groups of the 1940s helped develop the heavily rhythmic backing of passionate vocals that characterize rhythm and blues. Some of these groups were called *doo-wop* groups, after the wordless, nonsense-

syllable accompaniments they often sang. The Ink Spots, formed in 1934, were among the earliest important rhythm-and-blues vocal groups, although the group's smooth approach on songs such as "If I Didn't Care" (1939), "To Each his Own" (1946), and "The Gypsy" (1946) was less influential in the development of rhythm and blues than the more heavily rhythmic performances of the Mills Brothers, who had hits with "Paper Doll" (1942) and "You Always Hurt the One You Love" (1944).

After World War II, dozens of important vocal groups, starting with the "bird groups," drew heavily from the gospel tradition and dominated black popular music. Groups such as the Ravens ("Ol' Man River," 1946), the Orioles ("Crying in the Chapel," 1953), the Platters ("Only You," 1955; "The Great Pretender," 1956), the Dominoes ("Sixty Minute Man," 1951), and the Clovers ("Fool, Fool, Fool," 1951; "Good Lovin'," 1953; and "Love Potion Number Nine," 1959), and the 5 Satins ("In the Still of the Night," 1956) used simple arrangements and minimal instrumental accompaniment to highlight their passionate, gospel-style vocals. The Penguins ("Earth Angel," 1954) were notable for their juxtaposition of high falsetto with deep bass voices. The Coasters had a more raucous and humorous style than other doo-wop groups, evidenced on "Riot in Cell Block No. 9" (1954) and "Charlie Brown" (1959). The Drifters were hugely popular throughout the 1950s and early 1960s ("Money Honey," 1953; "Save the Last Dance for Me," 1960; "Up on the Roof," 1962; "On Broadway," 1963; and "Under the Boardwalk," 1964).

In the 1950s and 1960s impromptu, street-corner doo-wop–style singing was an essential part of African-American urban life. Solo rhythm-and-blues singers who drew on gospel, vocal harmony, and doo-wop traditions were among the most popular recording artists of the era. An early member of the Drifters, Clyde McPhatter (1933–1972), topped the R&B and pop charts with "Without Love" (1956), "Long Lonely Nights" (1957), and "A Lover's Question" (1958). Jackie Wilson (1934–1984), another falsetto tenor and Drifters alumnus, had a huge following for his "To Be Loved" (1958), "Lonely Teardrops" (1958), and "Higher and Higher" (1959). Ben E. King (1938–) also worked with the Drifters before recording "Spanish Harlem" (1960) and "Stand by Me" (1960). Frankie Lymon (1942–1968) and the Teenagers achieved great popularity with songs such as "Why Do Fools Fall in Love?" (1956), "The ABCs of Love" (1956), and "I'm Not a Juvenile Delinquent" (1956). A doo-wop group that came to prominence relatively late was Little Anthony Gourdine (1940–) and the Imperials, whose "Tears on My Pillow" was a hit record in 1958.

Gospel music was a direct influence on many important R&B singers. Sam Cooke (1935–1964) sang gospel with the Soul Stirrers starting in 1950 and eventually recorded such secular songs as "You Send Me" (1957), "Chain Gang" (1960), and "Another Saturday Night" (1963). Solomon Burke (1936–), who recorded "Just Out of Reach" (1960) and "Got to Get You off My Mind" (1965), also sang in a gospel-influenced R&B style. The vocals and even the themes of Curtis Mayfield (1942–1999) and the Impressions' "I'm So Proud" (1964) and "People Get Ready" (1965) both have strong connections to black sacred music. Al Green (1946–), a child gospel sensation later known for soul recordings such as "Let's Stay Together" (1972) and "Take Me to the River" (1973), returned to the church in the late 1970s and has since concentrated on gospel music.

Blues

The urban blues styles of the late 1940s and early 1950s, with loud, amplified guitars, anguished vocals, and churning rhythms, are also direct descendants of rhythm and blues. Perhaps the best examples of this influence are Muddy Waters (1915–1983), Howlin' Wolf (1910–1976), and B. B. King (1925–), all of whom were prominent on the rhythm-and-blues charts in the 1950s. Bo Diddley (1928–; "Who Do You Love," 1955; "Bo Diddley," 1955; "I'm a Man," 1955) and Screamin' Jay Hawkins (1929–2000), who had a 1956 hit with "I Put a Spell on You," represent a less pure blues style that was nonetheless equally influential in creating rhythm and blues. Big Joe Turner (1911–1985), whose "Roll 'Em Pete" with pianist Pete Johnson is considered one of the founding songs of rhythm and blues, was known in the 1950s for his shouting renditions of "Chains of Love" (1951) and "Shake, Rattle and Roll" (1954), both of which are considered classic examples of a time when rock and roll was virtually synonymous with rhythm and blues. Another early rhythm-and-blues figure was Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup (1905–1974), a guitarist and singer who was popular throughout the 1940s but was best known for writing "That's All Right" (1946), which became a hit for Elvis Presley (1935–1977) in 1954.

Along with the Chicago blues style, a different kind of blues, at once more derived from jazz and country music but with the same reliance on electric instruments, exerted a strong influence on early rhythm and blues. T-Bone Walker (1910–1975), a singer and guitarist who successfully negotiated the boundary between blues and jazz on "Stormy Monday" (1945), had several hit rhythm and blues–influenced records in the early 1950s, including "Strolling with Bones" (1950) and "Street Walkin' Woman" (1951). Wynonie Harris (1915–1969), a blues shouter with a strong Louis Jordan influence, recorded

"Good Rocking Tonight" (1948) and had several hits in the mid-1940s. A mellower approach was represented by Roy Brown (1925–1981), Amos Milburn (1926–1980), and Lowell Fulson (1921–1999), whose "Every Day I Have the Blues" (1950) later became B. B. King's signature tune.

An even more restrained, elegant blues vocal style, used by the "Sepia Sinatras," also gained a large following among rhythm-and-blues audiences in the 1940s and 1950s. Nat "King" Cole (1919–1965) started out as a jazz pianist but achieved his greatest acclaim as a singer, starting in 1950 with "Mona Lisa." Other singers in this genre included Cecil Gant (1915–1951) and Charles Brown (1922–1999).

Ray Charles (1930–2004) is often grouped with blues singers, but his synthesis of many early rhythm-and-blues influences, in particular the melding of sacred and secular black music traditions, is unique. Starting in the mid-1950s, he combined a smooth, almost country singing style on ballads with infectious gospel inflection and solid jazz rhythms on both slow and up-tempo numbers, including "I Got a Woman" (1955), "Drown in My Tears" (1955), "What'd I Say?" (1959), "Georgia on My Mind" (1960), and "Hit the Road, Jack" (1961).

Female blues singers often landed on the rhythm-and-blues charts in the 1950s. Ruth Brown (1928–), who worked with Lucky Millinder (1900–1966) and Blanche Calloway (1902–1978) in the late 1940s, sang in a jump blues style on "Teardrops from My Eyes" (1950), "Mama He Treats Your Daughter Mean" (1952), and "Wild Wild Young Men" (1954). LaVern Baker (1928–1997), a niece of the blues singer Memphis Minnie (Lizzie Douglas, 1897–1973), recorded "Jim Dandy" (1956) and "I Cried a Tear" (1958), both of which were hits on the R&B chart. Etta James (1938–), who sang blues for Chess Records, recorded "Something's Got a Hold on Me" in 1962, a song that made her reputation in a rhythm-and-blues vein. Dinah Washington (1924–1963) had considerable success as a jazz singer before entering the rhythm-and-blues market with such records as "Baby Get Lost" (1949). Washington later crossed over into the pop field with the ballad "What a Difference a Day Makes" (1959).

New Orleans rhythm and blues almost constitutes its own genre, no doubt because of the city's unique confluence of African-American and Creole cultures. Fats Domino (1928–), whose first hit was "The Fat Man" (1949), became an archetypal crossover success, whose gently rocking voice and piano-playing on "Ain't That a Shame" (1955), "Blueberry Hill" (1956), "I'm Walkin'" (1957), "I Hear You Knockin'" (1958), and "I'm Ready" (1959) appealed to a large white audience. Other important New Orleans rhythm-and-blues musicians include Dave Bartholomew (1920–), Huey "Piano" Smith (1934–), Allen Toussaint (1938–), Irma Thomas (1941–), the Meters, and the Neville Brothers.

Rock and Roll

In the early 1950s, rock and roll—originally a euphemism for sex—was virtually synonymous with rhythm and blues. By the mid-1950s, as more and more white teenagers began to listen to rhythm and blues, the scope of the term *rock and roll* expanded and was primarily applied to white musicians such as Elvis Presley (1935–1977), Buddy Holly (1936–1959), Roy Orbison (1936–1988), or Bill Haley (1925–1981), whose music copied aspects of rhythm-and-blues styles but was aimed at white audiences. However, black musicians remained crucial to the development of rock and roll even after the term was being applied mostly to white musicians. Chuck Berry (1926–), whose country-influenced, bluesy tunes were extraordinarily successful with white audiences, exemplified the adolescent themes, rebellious sound and look, and aggressive guitar-playing of early rock and roll. His "Maybellene" (1955), "Johnny B. Goode" (1958), and "Sweet Little Sixteen" (1958) became rock standards almost immediately. This was also true of Little Richard (1932–), whose "Tutti Frutti" (1955), "Long Tall Sally" (1956), and "Good Golly Miss Molly" (1958) brought to early rock and roll a frenetic, updated version of New Orleans piano styles.

Chuck Berry and Little Richard were enormously influential in England. In fact, the biggest rock groups of the 1960s, including the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, rebelled against the bland, staid sounds of white pop rockers like Pat Boone (1934–) and Paul Anka (1941–) and began their careers by performing mostly cover versions of black rock-and-roll songs. Other rhythm-and-blues musicians who played an important role in the development of rock and roll include Junior Parker (1927–1971), who recorded "Mystery Train" (1953), "Next Time You See Me" (1957), and "Sweet Home Chicago" (1958), as well as Ike Turner (1931–), Jackie Brenston (1930–1979), Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton (1926–1984; "Hound Dog," 1953), the Isley Brothers ("Shout," 1959; "Twist and Shout," 1962), and Chubby Checker (1941–; "The Twist," 1960). During the late 1960s, relatively few black musicians remained involved in rock and roll, notable exceptions being Richie Havens (1941–) and Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970), who had performed as an accompanist with Little Richard, the Isley Brothers, and Ike and Tina Turner (1939–) before leading a popular rock ensemble.

Marvin Gaye (1939–1984), winner of two Grammy Awards for his song "Sexual Healing." AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Soul

By 1964 black popular music had acquired a new name: *soul music.* There is no clear chronological or stylistic division between rhythm and blues and soul music, but there are some important differences. Soul music displayed a more pronounced gospel influence, whether in up-tempo, unrestrained shouting or in slower, more plaintive styles. Furthermore, soul's general rejection of extended instrumental soloing marked the continuing retreat of jazz as the popular music of the black middle class. Finally, even though most soul music consisted of solo singing with vocal backgrounds, the influence of carefully arranged close harmonies also waned.

It is no coincidence that soul flourished alongside the black pride movement. The music was made almost exclusively by blacks, at first almost exclusively for blacks, and was part of a rising black middle-class culture that celebrated black values and black styles in hair and clothing. In addition, soul's secular stance allowed the music to directly confront political issues central to African-American culture in the 1960s. James Brown (1933–), who had been a successful recording artist throughout the 1950s and achieved great popularity in the 1960s with live performances and recordings of songs such as "I Got You" (1965) and "I Feel Good" (1965), forever linked soul music and the Black Power movement with "Say It Loud, I'm Black and Proud" (1968).

Two record companies, Atlantic and Motown, dominated the soul-style rhythm-and-blues markets starting in the late 1950s and defined two major approaches. Atlantic and its Stax subsidiary often concentrated on funky instrumentals. Wilson Pickett (1941–) sang with a thrilling gospel feeling on songs such as "In the Midnight Hour" (1965) and "Mustang Sally" (1966). Otis Redding's (1941–1967) brief career included "These Arms of Mine" (1962), "I've Been Loving You Too Long" (1965), "Try a Little Tenderness" (1966), and "Sittin' on the Dock of the Bay" (1967). Ballad singer Percy Sledge (1941–) recorded "When a Man Loves a Woman" (1966) for Stax. Sam and Dave specialized in energetic, shouting vocals on hits such as "Hold On, I'm Coming" (1966), "Soul Man" (1967), and "I Thank You" (1968). Booker T. Jones (1944–) and the MG's personified the Memphis rhythm-and-blues sound on their instrumental hits for the Stax label, including "Green Onions" (1962) and "Hip Hug-Her" (1967). Aretha Franklin (1942–) reached her prime at Atlantic in the mid-1960s, when her white producer, Jerry Wexler (1917–), encouraged her to return to her gospel roots. She responded by creating perhaps the defining performances of the soul genre. Her majestic, emotional voice made songs such as "I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You" (1967), "Respect" (1967), "Chain of Fools" (1967), and "Think" (1968) bona fide soul masterpieces.

If Stax and Atlantic musicians cultivated a funky, gritty sound, the founder of Motown, Berry Gordy Jr. (1929–), encouraged a sweeter sound, one that came to represent the classic soul sound even more than Atlantic or Stax. Those efforts produced dozens of hits during Motown's peak years in the 1960s by figures such as Marvin Gaye (1939–1984), Stevie Wonder (1950–), Mary Wells (1943–1992), and Gladys Knight (1944–). Important vocal groups included Smokey Robinson (1940–) and the Miracles, the Jackson Five featuring Michael Jackson (1958–), the Four Tops, the Temptations, and the Supremes with Diana Ross (1944–).

Atlantic and Motown were by no means the only producers of soul music. Aside from James Brown, perhaps the most important, independent soul musicians of the 1960s were Tina Turner and her husband, Ike Turner, who had led his own groups and backed the blues guitarist Elmore James (1918–1963) in the early 1950s. The duo had a string of influential hits in the 1960s, including "A Fool in Love" (1960), "It's Gonna Work Out Fine" (1961), and "River Deep, Mountain High" (1966).

In the 1970s, soul-style vocal groups remained popular, although the high lead vocals of the early vocal-harmony groups were backed with sleek, electrified rhythms. These groups included the Chi-Lites, the Stylis-

tics, Harold Melvin (1941–1997) and the Bluenotes, the O'Jays, the Spinners, and Earth, Wind, and Fire. Solo singers in the soul idiom in the 1970s included Roberta Flack (1939–), Barry White (1944–2003), Al Green (1946–), and Teddy Pendergrass (1950–), all of whom created slow, emotional ballads and love songs. In the 1980s and 1990s, Whitney Houston (1963–) and Luther Vandross (1951–2005) have continued the tradition of the gospel-influenced singing style that characterizes soul.

Funk

In the mid-to-late 1960s a new style known as *funk*, derived from the black vernacular term for anything with a coarse, earthy smell, began to dominate the rhythm-and-blues charts. James Brown, who had been so influential in the 1950s and early 1960s in pioneering soul music, once again broke new ground, this time with stripped-down, forceful rhythms and simple, melodic riffs on "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" (1965). This style was picked up by Sly Stone (1944–) on "Dance to the Music" (1968), "Everyday People" (1968), "Hot Fun in the Summertime" (1969), and by George Clinton's (1941–) work with his groups Parliament and Funkadelic in the 1970s. Other R&B musicians who adopted the funk style included Isaac Hayes (1942–), who recorded the soundtrack for the movie *Shaft* in 1971, and Curtis Mayfield (1942–1999), who recorded "Super Fly" in 1972. Disco music by 1970s figures such as Donna Summer (1948–), Gloria Gaynor (1949–), Kool and the Gang, and Rick James (1948–2004) drew directly on funk's interpretation of rhythm and blues.

Although the category of rhythm and blues, created by white music-industry executives to describe a range of musical styles, has undergone dramatic transformations, the term continues to express the essential characteristics of African-American popular music. In the 1980s and 1990s, musicians such as Prince (1958–), Lenny Kravitz (1964–), and Living Color took inspiration from Little Richard, James Brown, and Jimi Hendrix, while groups of younger musicians, such as the group Boyz II Men, updated the close-harmony vocal ensemble sound of the 1940s and 1950s. Black popular music—including funk, rock, rap, and pop-gospel ballads—continued to freely borrow and mix jazz, blues, and gospel, validating rhythm and blues as the common ground of modern African-American popular music.

In 1988 the Rhythm & Blues Foundation was founded in New York as a nonprofit service organization dedicated to the historical and cultural preservation of R&B music. It also provides financial support, medical assistance, and educational outreach programs to support the artists of the 1940s to the 1970s. The foundation's Pioneer Awards Program has recognized more than 150 artists—both individuals and groups—whose contributions have been instrumental in the development of R&B. Past recipients include such legends as Etta James, Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, The Staple Singers, Cissy Houston (1932–), Martha Reeves (1941–) & the Vandellas, James Brown, Little Richard, Sam Cooke, Gladys Knight and the Pips, The Isley Brothers, Marvin Gaye, Al Green, Jackie Wilson, and Dionne Warwick (1940–).

With that range of variety in the past, how does one decide who is an R&B singer in the twenty-first century? Do the late Aaliyah (1979–2001) and the mono-monikered singers Ashanti, Beyoncé, Brandy, Monica, Mya, and Tweet conform to R&B standards? And what of such male counterparts as Babyface, D'Angelo, Maxwell, and Usher? R. Kelly and Keith Sweat? Are Natalie Cole, Anita Baker, and Jill Scott soul divas? Do Alicia Keys and Cassandra Wilson belong in the jazz category? Where does one put the adventurous vocal stylings of Mary J. Blige, Macy Gray, Lauryn Hill, and Erykah Badu? Perhaps, with R&B, one just knows it when one hears it.

See also Blues, The; Gospel Music; Jazz; Music

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PETER EISENSTADT (1996)
JONATHAN GILL (1996)
CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Rice, Condoleezza

November 14, 1954

Condoleezza Rice was born in Birmingham, Alabama, the only child of Rev. John W. Rice Jr., a pastor at the Westminster Presbyterian Church, and his wife, Angelena Ray Rice, who taught science and music at an all-black high school in the segregated city. Her parents named her after a musical term, *con dolcezza,* which means to play with sweetness, and the young girl, nicknamed Condi, began piano lessons at the age of three. Besides music, Rice became an accomplished ice skater and a sports fan, particularly of football, an interest she shared with her father.

Rice grew up in the black middle-class neighborhood of Titusville, where her parents encouraged education and achievement. Her family left Birmingham for Tuscaloosa when Rice was eleven and her father became the dean of Stillman College. Two years later, he became an administrator at the University of Denver, and Condoleezza was enrolled at her first integrated school, a private academy from which she graduated at fifteen; she enrolled as a freshman at the University of Denver in 1970. After realizing she would not become a first-tier concert pianist, Rice switched her focus to political science, influenced by the lectures of former Central European diplomat Josef Korbel (the father of the first female secretary of state, Madeleine Albright), who sparked Rice's interest in Soviet and East-Central Europe studies.

Rice received a B.A. in political science from the University of Denver in 1974, a master of arts from the University of Notre Dame in 1975, and her Ph.D. from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver in 1981, where her doctoral thesis was on the ties between the Soviet and Czech militaries. Rice's father had become a registered Republican in 1952 when Democrats in Alabama would not register African Americans to vote. Rice herself registered as a Democrat in 1976 in order to cast her first presidential vote for fellow southerner Jimmy Carter. Disappointed with Carter's weak response to the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Rice voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980 and changed her registration to Republican in 1982.

Rice joined the faculty of Stanford University in 1981 as a political science professor. While at Stanford, Rice received the 1984 Walter J. Gores Award for Excellence in Teaching and the 1993 School of Humanities and Sciences Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching. She published *Uncertain Allegiance: The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army: 1948–1983* (1984); *The Gorbachev Era,* coedited with Alexander Dallin (1986); and coauthored with Philip Zelikow *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (1995). Rice was also a founding board member for the Center for a New Generation, an educational support fund for schools in East Palo Alto and East Menlo Park, California, which offers at-risk children tutoring, music lessons, and college preparation courses. In 1993, she became Stanford's youngest, first female, and first African-American provost.

Rice stepped down in 1999 and in 2000 became a foreign policy adviser for then–Texas governor George W. Bush, who was in the midst of his presidential campaign. In 1986, while an International Affairs Fellow of the Council of Foreign Relations, Rice had served under his father, President George H. W. Bush, as a special assistant to the director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. From 1989 to March 1991, she was the director and then senior director of Soviet and East European Affairs in the National Security Council. President George W. Bush named Rice as assistant to the president for national security affairs, more commonly referred to as the national security adviser, and she was confirmed on December 22, 2001, becoming the first woman to hold this position. Considered an expert on international security policy and the military, Rice followed Colin Powell as the sixty-sixth U.S. Secretary of State, confirmed by the Senate on January 26, 2005. She is the first African-American woman to hold that position.

Rice is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and has been awarded a number of honorary doctorates, including those from Morehouse College (1991), the University of Alabama (1994), the University of Notre Dame (1995), the National Defense University (2002), the Mississippi College School of Law (2003), the University of Louisville (2004), and Michigan State University (2004).

See also Politics in the United States

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Rier, Carl P.

January 23, 1863
April 14, 1917

Carl P. Rier, who eventually became a Baptist minister, was born in Paramaribo to Jannie Rier and Elizabeth Helena Daalen, who were converts to the Moravian Brotherhood. After limited secondary schooling at the Van Meerten School, he followed in his father's footsteps, working as a carpenter from 1878 to 1888. Then despite bitter opposition from his father, he moved to Demerara, in British Guiana, to work as a plantation supervisor, and he remained abroad for several years. It was during this period that he first joined a local church affiliated with the newly formed American National Baptist Convention, the largest association of black Baptists in the United States. In 1890 Rier returned to Paramaribo and joined the Free Gospel Church (*Vrije Evangelisatie*), a Moravian sect that had been started by Moses Salomo Bromet in 1889. Rier assisted Bromet in his work, and it was in this church that he married Louisa Elisabeth Dunfries on January 25, 1893. They were to have eight children, four boys and four girls.

Around 1898 Rier left the Free Gospel Church, in part because he was not allowed to preach in Sranan (or Sranang, a creole language spoken in Suriname) which he hoped would help him to reach the lower classes. Cornelius Blijd, the first Surinamer to attain the rank of deacon in the Moravian Brotherhood, was among several others who also departed Bromet's church at that juncture. Rier led this group in founding the Suriname Baptist Congregation (*Surinaamsche Baptist Gemeente*) in 1898, but the others soon departed. His financial condition improved at this time through an inheritance left to him upon the death of his father. (While his father had earlier disinherited him because of opposition to Rier's new religious persuasion, in the end he left his son a conciliatory will.) The additional resources enabled Rier to remodel his house and open part of it as the church meeting hall in February 1899. By 1900 the congregation had twenty members and ran a Sunday school, but it then dissolved over an internal dispute concerning finances. Rier then joined a church in Paramaribo associated with the National Baptist Convention. In 1903 he passed the examinations in the theological seminary of that congregation and was sent to the United States to be formally ordained as a minister. His Baptist congregation in Paramaribo never flourished, however, mainly because of difficulties experienced while he was away. For example, there was dissension over finances, and no one else was willing to continue preaching in Sranan. Nevertheless, for the final thirteen years of his life he was to continue to use the church as a platform for the advocacy of social concerns in the black community. His congregation, which at its high point may have just exceeded one hundred, had dwindled to low double digits by the end of his life. In 1908 he sent his eldest son, John P. Rier, to the United States to be educated to become a Baptist minister; but the latter chose to remain there to pursue his career, rather than to return to work with his father as the elder Rier had hoped. Rier's wife, Louisa, died suddenly in 1909. His second marriage, to Sophie Elisa Meeren on August 16, 1911, produced no children. Sophie died on March 7, 1917; Rier soon followed on April 14. He was buried in Lina's Rust Cemetery in Paramaribo. In his will he left his church sufficient funds to purchase a building on Zwartenhovenbrughstraat.

Rier was, by all accounts, a fiery orator, and he preached and wrote Bible passages and church songs in Sranan, some his own compositions. Some of his brief, didactic writings were used in the public schools as well as those of the Moravians. Harking back to emancipation from slavery, a persistent theme throughout his career, was the theme of social and spiritual emancipation for the black population. Sounding at times like his North American contemporary Booker T. Washington, whose example he liked to cite, and like Washington, addressing both blacks and a wider audience, Rier emphasized the work ethic in his teachings. One of his main proposals centered on the need for black Surinamers to engage in agriculture, which both the history of the colony and urbanization had conditioned them to avoid. Unlike Washington, however, Rier emphasized connection with Africa, usually preferring the term "Ethiopia[n]." He was a precursor of later full-blown black nationalists.

See also Baptists; Moravian Church

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ALLISON BLAKELY (2005)

Riggs, Marlon

February 3, 1957
April 5, 1994

Filmmaker Marlon Troy Riggs was born in Fort Worth, Texas. After a childhood spent in Texas, Augusta, Georgia, and Germany, where his father was in the U.S. Army, Riggs received his bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1978. After a short stint as an assistant with a television station in Texas, he entered the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, where in 1981 he received a master's degree in journalism with a concentration in documentary filmmaking. The next year, he began work as a filmmaker. In 1986 Riggs wrote, produced, and directed *Ethnic Notions,* a study of different stereotypes of African Americans. The film won an Emmy Award in 1988. In 1987 Riggs was hired as a professor by the University of California at Berkeley, and he held the post of professor of arts and sciences until his death.

In 1988 Riggs began work on *Tongues Untied,* a documentary about gay black men, and in 1989 he received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) for the film. Shortly after beginning the project, Riggs learned he was HIV-positive. He claimed the diagnosis helped personalize the film. The finished work, a mélange of documentary film, poetry, and Riggs's personal reminiscences, was released in 1989. In 1991 *Tongues Untied* became the center of a national controversy after it was scheduled to be shown on the public television series *P.O.V.* Its frank discussions of black homosexuality horrified such conservative critics as Senator Jesse Helms, who attacked the NEA for its sponsorship of Riggs's work. In

> *Marlon Riggs*
>
> "In this great gay Mecca, I was an invisible man, still...."
>
> *TONGUES UNTIED*, 1991

1992 conservative Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan used a section of the work in a campaign commercial. Riggs, in turn, complained that Buchanan and others distorted his work through selective presentation.

Riggs continued to produce works about the gay black male experience, including the short film *Anthem* (1990) and *Non, Je Ne Regrette Rien/No Regret* (1991), a study of black men in the AIDS epidemic. He also produced films with nongay themes. In 1989 Riggs wrote and produced *Color Adjustment,* a documentary about images of African Americans in television sitcoms. The work won him a Peabody Award the same year. His last project was *Black Is . . . Black Isn't,* an unfinished documentary about African-American intellectuals. While Riggs championed black culture and the fight against racism, he remained critical of black homophobia and silence on AIDS. Riggs died of AIDS at his home in Oakland, California, in 1994.

See also Documentary Film; Film in the United States

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Ringgold, Faith

October 8, 1930

Born in Harlem, painter and sculptor Faith Ringgold was one of three children of Andrew Louis Jones Sr. and Willi Posey Jones, a fashion designer. She was married to Robert Earl Wallace, a pianist, from 1950 to 1956 and had two daughters in 1952: writer Michele Wallace (author of the 1970s feminist classic *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*) and Barbara, a linguist. Ringgold graduated from City College, New York, in 1955, and taught art in New York public schools until 1973. In 1959 she received

a master's degree, also from City College. She began spending summers in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in 1957, took her first trip to Europe in 1961, and married Burdette Ringgold in 1962.

Ringgold's work and life exemplify her interests in civil rights and feminism. Some of her early paintings, such as *The Flag Is Bleeding* (1967), are large with stylized figures; others are abstract, like *Flag for the Moon, Die Nigger* (1969). Her radical use of potent national symbols, such as the flag and, later, postage stamps and maps, fiercely counterpointed American values with their ingrained racism. To achieve greater recognition for blacks and women in the mainstream art world, Ringgold participated in demonstrations at the Whitney Museum (1968, 1970) and at the Museum of Modern Art (1968). She was a cofounder in 1971 of Where We At, a group of black women artists. The following year she created a mural at the Women's House of Detention in New York that used only images of women.

The women's movement and Ringgold's close relationship with her mother influenced her to begin using fabrics, traditionally a women's medium, to express her art. She began to make masks and dolls—soft sculptures. Her mother made the dolls' clothes. They portray, among others, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the murdered children of Atlanta (the Atlanta child murder cases of 1979–1982), and various people in the community. Some of Ringgold's paintings were bordered in tankas, cloth frames made by her mother. Ringgold and her mother also collaborated on the production of Sew Real doll kits in 1979.

Ringgold then began working in the medium that brought her acclaim, story quilts. The first, *Who's Afraid of Aunt Jemima?* (1983), is a visual narrative of a woman restaurateur in painting, text, and patchwork. The quilts' stories vividly raise the issues of racism and feminism. As the stories became more complex, Ringgold began to create multiple quilts to encompass them. Each consists of a large painted panel bordered by printed patches pieced together, with text at the bottom or in the body of the quilt. The quilt series include *The Bitter Nest* (1988), *Woman on the Bridge* (1988), and *The French Connection* (1991). Ringgold used one of her quilts as the basis for her first children's book, *Tar Beach,* which was a Caldecott Honor Book and received the Coretta Scott King Award in 1992. Ringgold has authored a dozen more books for children. The original quilt was acquired by the Guggenheim Museum.

Ringgold's numerous awards include a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts (1989), Warner Communications' Wonder Woman (1983), and the National Coalition of 100 Black Women's Candace Award (1986). She holds honorary degrees from Moore College of Art, the College of Wooster, Ohio, the City College of New York, as well as from thirteen other colleges or universities. A twenty-five-year retrospective of her work traveled from 1990 to 1993. Beginning in 1984 Ringgold taught at the University of California at San Diego, spending half of each year there, before retiring in 2002. Ringgold began the Anyone Can Fly Foundation in an effort to broaden the canon of the art establishment to include artists from the African diaspora and to introduce their works to both children and adults. To this end, the foundation offers grants to scholars and educators whose work will invigorate publishing and teaching about African-American artists. A series of paintings, titled *Faith's Garden Party #1, 2, and 3,* documents the launch of the foundation.

Ringgold's designs from *Street Story Quilt* (1985) were selected by Judith Lieber for a limited edition of jeweled evening bags. She designed a mosaic mural for the 125th Street subway station in Manhattan. A painted quilt adorns the atrium of Hostos Community College in the Bronx. Numerous private collections and institutions hold her quilts and paintings. Her works have been acquired by the High Museum in Atlanta, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Newark Museum in New Jersey, among others.

Ringgold's lengthy and prolific career shows no sign of slowing down as she plans new creations and administers the Anyone Can Fly Foundation.

See also Art; Painting and Sculpture

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BETTY KAPLAN GUBERT (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Riots and Popular Protests

The categorization of the regional histories of riots and popular protest throughout the African diaspora requires a broad understanding of the term *race riot*. On the one hand, the term applies to the mass opposition embodied by violent protest among peoples of African descent challenging the socioeconomic oppression, violence, apartheid, and poverty that they faced throughout the Americas, in Europe, and in colonial Africa. However, the term *race riot* is also applied to the racialized attacks carried out by whites against black communities or individuals in retribution for their perceived transgressions, or to dissuade any future transgressions.

The nature of racially motivated popular protest is related to the very definition of race in a region (in this case, North America, Africa, Europe, and Latin America) and how race is related to political, social, and economic power. Popular protests involving people of color are much more likely to be defined racially in those parts of the African diaspora where the racial difference between black and white populations was once defined and defended by legal categorization, such as in the United States under segregation, in South Africa under apartheid, or in Great Britain when nonwhites immigrated in and threatened white job security and the Commonwealth Immigration Act was passed.

Whereas popular protest throughout Latin America has at times reflected the racial hierarchy that places whites at the top and nonwhites at the bottom, these incidents have often been described as "class violence." This is not to argue that race is unimportant to socioeconomic divisions in Latin American. The overwhelming reliance on forced labor—first indigenous, then African—to support plantation economies throughout the colonial period in both the Spanish and Portuguese colonies left a legacy of poor people of color in many modern Latin American states. However, the lack of *de jure* segregation between whites and blacks following abolition in much of Latin America has led to very different models of race relations and patterns of violence than have been seen in the United States.

The United States

The history of the United States is permeated by hundreds of race riots—there were thirty-three race riots during the Reconstruction era, and twenty-six in the year 1919 alone. During this history, the nature of racially motivated rioting and popular protest changed radically. For nearly a century following the era of abolition, the term *race riot* generally implied white populations violently attacking black individuals or communities. Starting in the 1930s and 1940s, however, the term began to identify African-American uprisings against social hardships, legal inequity, and police mistreatment. This shift in the racial make-up of the rioter was not unique to the United States.

ANTEBELLUM AND RECONSTRUCTION ERAS. In the nineteenth century there were numerous urban race riots in the United States; African-American populations faced violent attacks in Memphis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and Wilmington, North Carolina. The destruction peaked with the New York Draft Riots in July 1863. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, the Democratic Party warned white immigrant populations (largely Irish and German) that Emancipation would draw free blacks from the South into Northern cities, and thus into competitions for jobs. The passage of the new draft laws in March 1863 heightened racial tension in the city. All white men of fighting age were to be entered into a draft lottery, though men who could hire a substitute or pay the government an exception fee could avoid enlisting in the Civil War. Black men, not granted citizenship, were exempted from the draft. Early in the morning on the Monday following the first conscription lottery, held Saturday, July 11, New York erupted into a bloody riot that lasted for five days. During the first hours of the uprising the mobs exclusively targeted military and government buildings, but later that day the tide shifted toward a violent attack on African-Americans, their community, and the whites perceived as supporters of blacks. Before the riot ended, scores of people were killed, eleven black men were lynched, and millions of dollars worth of property had been destroyed. In the years following the riots, blacks fled the city, and the black population dwindled to a forty-year low.

THE WORLD WARS. During the first decade of the twentieth century, white attacks on black communities, which had previously occurred mostly in the South, shifted to urban centers in the North. Mobs attacked blacks in New York City in August 1900 and burned black homes in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908. However, a new surge of racial attacks took place after World War I, as whites struggled to take back the gains African Americans had made during the war. A backlash against the Great Migration, a period of mass movement of blacks from the South to the North, motivated scores of riots. This culminated in the Red Summer of 1919, during which cities across both the North and South exploded into race riots. The worst

Protest Parade, New York City, July 28, 1917. *Marchers, including James Weldon Johnson and W. E. B. Du Bois, parade up Fifth Avenue in response to a race riot in East St. Louis.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

of the violence took place in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Elaine, Arkansas. Each violent incident was initiated by whites, but increasingly there was shock in the popular press at black willingness to fight back. When the Chicago Riot ended, there were fifteen whites killed along with twenty-three blacks, and in Washington, D.C., four whites and only two blacks were killed. This change was generally attributed to black involvement in the war, but it marked an important turning point in racial violence.

The Harlem Riot of 1935 marked a second critical shift in racialized violence in the United States. On March 19, 1935, a sixteen-year-old African-American boy was caught stealing a penknife from a white-owned store in Harlem. The owner called the police, but by the time they arrived a crowd of African-Americans had formed and called for the boy's release. The owner convinced the police to release the boy out the back door to avoid trouble. Rumors quickly spread among the black community that the boy had been killed, and the crowd of picketers turned unruly. Violence and looting followed, but the crowds spared several black-owned businesses (and some with signs in the window that claimed black ownership). In the end, there were 125 arrests, 100 injuries, and three people killed—all were black. This marked the first racially motivated riot started by blacks in a northern city, and it was the first time that white-owned businesses were targeted, or at least the first time that black-owned business were consciously spared. The Harlem and Detroit riots of 1943 followed this model—they started as black protests—and they also followed the model that blacks paid the price, through arrests and attacks at the hands of police and white mobs.

CIVIL RIGHTS ERA AND BEYOND. A series of riots swept inner-city America during the 1960s, affecting Harlem, Boston, Chicago, Newark, Watts, Rochester, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Detroit, to name only a few. By one count, over 300 "important" racial disturbances impacted more than 250 cites, causing more than 300 deaths, 8,000 injuries, and destroying property valued in the hundreds of millions. While the civil rights movement fought legal, or *de jure*, segregation in the South, issues of police brutality, crime, and poverty had been overlooked. As the Kerner Commission reported in 1968, in trying to explain three

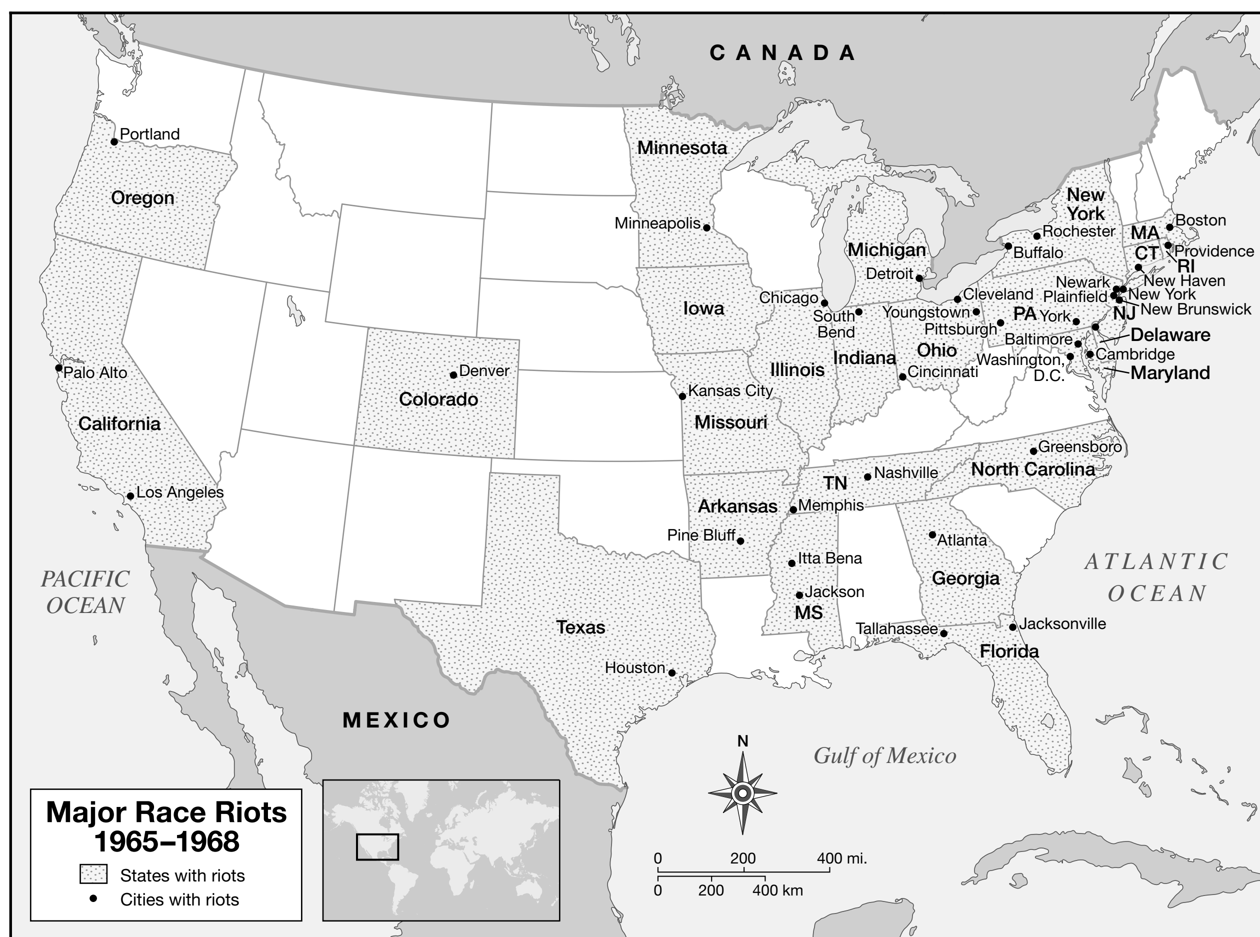
Civil rights march, Texas, 1949. *Students march to the state capitol in Austin, holding signs demanding civil rights and equal opportunity.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

years of racialized violence, "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white separate and unequal."

Black men and women eventually used violence to address these issues, and violence continues to serve in this role into the twenty-first century. In 1980 and 1989 crowds in Miami erupted into violence, first when four white police officers were acquitted after the beating death of a black man, and then when a black man on a motorcycle was killed by a Hispanic policeman. In Los Angeles in 1992, fifty-two people were killed and thousands were wounded following the acquittal of the police officers accused of beating Rodney King, the African-American motorist who was stopped for speeding and whose brutal beating at the hands of Los Angeles police was recorded on videotape by a witness. And in 2001, the African-American community in Cincinnati burst into violence following the killing of an African-American man by the police.

South Africa

The intersection of black and white in South Africa came about as a result of European colonization beginning in the seventeenth century, rather than the importation of enslaved Africans to support the institution of plantation slavery, as was generally the case throughout the Americas. Following the British victory over the white Afrikaners in 1902, the British Parliament established the Union of South Africa in 1910. Segregation and discrimination against nonwhites had already been practiced throughout South Africa for decades, but it was only in 1948, following the election of the all-white National Party (NP), that racial division was written into law with the implementation of apartheid ("separateness" in Afrikaans). Two years later, in 1950, the Group Areas Act was passed. This law called for separate areas for each of the four racial groups (blacks, whites, coloreds, and Asians), and in 1952 strict "pass laws," which controlled black movement in white



Map of the United States showing the locations of major race riots, 1965–1968. *By the mid-1960s, young blacks became increasingly impatient with the slow progress of civil rights and disillusioned with the concept of nonviolent protests that were often met with brutal and violent opposition from authorities as well as from spectators. Two admired black leaders, Malcolm X (1965) and Martin Luther King (1968) were assassinated during these years, fueling "black power" movements and a desire to meet violence with violence.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

areas, were implemented. Black men who remained in urban areas for more than seventy-two hours were subject to arrest and imprisonment.

The African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress and renamed in 1923, originally defended black voting rights, but it became one of the primary opposition groups to the apartheid regime. It started under black leadership but was open to white and Asian membership. In 1952 the ANC launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, and following months of nonviolent protest and thousands of arrests, rioting erupted in several cities, leading to numerous deaths and extensive property damage. Then, in 1956, police killed three black women following protests that involved thousands of black women who opposed the extension of the pass laws, which for the first time would apply to black women as well as men.

After breaking with the ANC in 1958, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924–1978) founded the Pan-African Congress (PAC) the following year. Shunning the multiracial membership of the ANC, the PAC would only accept blacks into its membership. In 1960 the PAC called for a mass demonstration in which people would gather without passes and offer themselves to the police for arrest. Tens of thousands of people gathered at various locations, including a crowd of more than five thousand in the town of Sharpeville, the site of the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960. White police fired on the demonstration, killing sixty-nine and wounding at least 180, though some reports put that number as high at three hundred. This attack led to strikes, demonstrations, and protest marches,

as well at riots across the nation. Both the ANC and the PAC were outlawed and forced underground, and an international outcry led to the United Nations's first sanction vote against South Africa.

Finally, on June 16, 1976, thousands of black students protested in Soweto against new legislation that required that some high school subjects no longer be taught in English, but exclusively in Afrikaans, a language associated with oppression. The violence spread to neighboring townships, and eventually upwards of 575 people were killed, the majority in Soweto.

Although it would be years before the NP and the ANC reached an agreement that would end apartheid in South Africa, popular protests such as those mentioned here were essential parts of the organized resistance that led to the downfall of apartheid on November 13, 1993.

Britain

In the years following World War I, with the return of both black and white British veterans, tensions grew around the small black immigrant communities in Liverpool, Cardiff, and London. In 1919, Britain experienced several race riots between white and black workers. At the core of these events were tensions among white workers who perceived this new immigrant population as a threat to their well-being. The victims of the violence were people of Caribbean descent, Ethiopians, Somalis, and Egyptians.

In the years following World War II, England experienced a large-scale growth among its immigrant West Indian population. In 1951 Britain's nonwhite population (including both West Indians of African descent and South Asians) was estimated at 74,000; in 1959 it was 336,000, and when the Commonwealth Immigration Act was implemented in 1962 to slow this immigration through a series of quotas on arriving immigrants, the nonwhite population had reached 500,000 people.

Although West Indians were welcomed by the British industrialists and by the government as workers in the years following 1948, working-class whites quickly began to view this population as a threat to their job security. Black settlement in England led to an increased white backlash, and white membership in racist and fascist organizations grew in response to the growing Afro-British population. West Indians faced inadequate housing, unemployment, discrimination, and violent attacks.

NOTTING HILL AND NOTTINGHAM RIOTS OF 1958. At the end of the summer of 1958, Britain faced a period of unprecedented racial violence. Initially, the town of Nottingham experienced a weekend of riots following a bar fight on August 23, touched off by white outrage over a white woman talking to a black man. Following the incident, more than 1,000 whites attacked the black community with rocks and sticks. While some blacks retaliated against their attackers, most fled to their homes. Although the bulk of the violence was controlled by the end of the weekend, racial violence flared up over the following two weekends.

Then, in West London one week later, on Saturday, August 30, a mob of white men attacked the white Swedish wife of a black West Indian, irate over the couple's alleged racial betrayal. After throwing stones, glass, and sticks at her and striking her across the back with an iron rod, the mob allowed the police to escort her home. This event was the catalyst to a week of nightly clashes between whites and West Indians in the areas of Notting Hill and Notting Dale. Mobs of white men, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, attacked blacks, broke the windows of stores that sold to blacks, and fought with the police. Most blacks stayed indoors during the riots, but some fought back with knives and razors, and the police arrested both white and black rioters.

TOXTETH AND BRIXTON RIOTS OF 1981. By the 1980s the nature of race riots in Britain underwent an important shift (one can argue that these changes began a decade earlier, given the Notting Hill Carnival Riots of 1976, which ignited among poor Afro-British over arbitrary police arrests). Following the patterns of rioting in the United States in the 1960s, most British riots stopped representing white rage against black settlement in Britain, and instead reflected black hostility towards racially discriminatory patterns of employment, housing, and especially community policing. Rather than attacks by white mobs on black communities, most of the riots that took place in Britain in the 1980s followed the pattern of black outrage at the social injustice carried out in the inner cities where they lived.

In July 1981, in Toxteth, an inner-city area of Liverpool, fierce battles between police and members of the community—largely, but not entirely, young Afro-British men—broke out over the police arrest and handling of a young black man. The police applied the "sus" laws, which allowed them to stop and search anyone who was "suspicious." These laws were overwhelmingly applied to detain young Afro-British men. A fracas broke out between police and an angry crowd who witnessed police handling the man, and three officers were injured. Over the following weekend, this violence erupted into a riot involving Molotov cocktails (thrown by rioters) and tear gas (by the po-

lice). In the following week 470 police were injured, 500 people were arrested, and more than seventy buildings were destroyed.

Similar tensions over the "sus" laws and police procedure were brewing in Brixton, South London. On Monday, April 13, 1981, a police patrol stopped to assist a black youth who had been stabbed in the back. They called for an ambulance and were in the process of bandaging the man up in the back of their car when they were attacked by a crowd of black youths who assumed that the police were responsible for the young man's injury. An ambulance arrived, and the youth was taken to the hospital. When police reinforcements arrived the incident concluded, though the immediate increase in police patrols in the area heightened tensions in the community. For the next three days there was violent rioting against the police by inner-city youths, both white and black. There was also significant looting of stores in the area. Only two people were injured (both police), and 282 people were arrested (mostly black). Twenty-eight buildings were burned while scores of businesses reported losses to looters.

"GREAT BRITISH RIOTS" OF 1985. The tension between police and predominantly black youths continued to simmer, and it exploded again in the summer and fall of 1985, with the worst violence occurring in London and Birmingham. Though each uprising resulted from a separate incident, the violence of 1985 was the result of the same social conditions that previously sparked the uprisings of 1981. In each case, the spark was produced by the tension between the police and the black youth whom they hoped to control.

In September 1985, three different race riots broke out following altercations between police and black citizens. In Birmingham, on September 9, a parking ticket led to an altercation between the police and a black driver. When the police arrested the man, a crowd of angry onlookers protested and a fight ensued; eleven officers were injured and two people were arrested. In Brixton, on September 28, while attempting to arrest a black man for the possession of a firearm, the police shot and permanently paralyzed the mother of their suspect. On October 5, at the Broadwater Farm Estate (a majority black public housing development in the predominantly white Tottenham district of London), the arrest of a black driver led to the death of another black mother. The police had implemented a heavy stop-and-search procedure around the housing project. After arresting a twenty-three-year-old black man with an improperly licensed car, they arrested him for auto theft and, following an altercation, for assaulting a police officer. They then went to his home to follow up, and while they were searching the property his mother collapsed and died. The man was eventually cleared of all charges and collected monetary damages from the police.

In each case, community backlash led to rioting; firebombing; the destruction of homes, stores, and vehicles; massive arrests (black and white); and the widespread injury of police officers and civilians alike—one police officer was stabbed to death in the Broadwater Farm Estate Riots. Indirectly, these patterns of violence impacted police policy; in the period following these uprisings there was an increased commitment to the recruitment and training of black officers, attempts to improve police and community relations, and the repeal of the infamous "sus" laws that allowed police to stop and search "suspicious individuals" without cause.

Brazil

Obviously, not all popular urban uprisings are race riots; labor, class, and gender have been at the center of many popular protests. That said, it is easier to define a race riot as such when the divide between blacks and whites in a society is easily defined and absolute. However, since the abolition of slavery in 1888 in Brazil, there has been a conscious effort to deny racial division, racial hierarchy, and racism in general. Thus, even if a popular protest involves or impacts large numbers of Afro-Brazilians, it is generally not called a race riot.

Before the abolition of slavery, Brazil was the site of numerous slave rebellions. In 1835 in Salvador, the capital of Bahia in northeastern Brazil, a group of enslaved Africans—Muslims who had attained literacy through their religion—organized an uprising in that city. When it was put down by the ruling elite, whites took violent revenge against the African community overall, enslaved and freemen alike, following a violent pattern of revenge replicated in the days following slave rebellions throughout the African diaspora.

Salvador, the former capital of the Brazilian colony, was the site of many episodes of violent protest in the early nineteenth century. Bahia was near the center of the plantation sugar economy, and the overwhelming majority of its population consisted of Brazilian-born blacks and Africans. In the years following Brazilian independence, Brazil claimed its independence as a royalist empire in 1822 under the crown rule of Dom Pedro I, and there were violent struggles between geographic regions and among the various ruling classes throughout the nation. Although wealthy Brazilians had spearheaded the war against the Portuguese elite who had retained political and economic power during the colonial period, once independence was

achieved, wealthy Brazilians recognized the Portuguese as essential business partners. More important to this study is the fact that these movements were actually fought by populations on the fringe of political power: soldiers, freed slaves, urban poor, landless peasants, and, in some cases, slaves. Underlying the broad antiroyalist revolutionary movements were street riots and looting in which predominantly Afro-Brazilian mobs targeted the white Portuguese ruling class. Following Brazilian independence in 1822, Salvador experienced anti-Portuguese uprisings in 1823, 1824, and 1831. These were not explicitly racially motivated attacks, but following centuries of violent oppression under slavery, Europeans (as opposed to Brazilian-born whites) were suddenly politically vulnerable, and African and Afro-Brazilian resentment suddenly took form in acts of organized violence.

In Rio de Janeiro—which was made Brazil's capital in 1763, reflecting the economic shift from the sugar industry in the Northeast to coffee in the South—popular revolts took place in 1880 and 1904. Although neither is defined as a race riot, race played a central role in each. The *Vintem* Riot of 1880 was an uprising against a tax on public transportation (a *vintem* was the coin of smallest value in Brazil at the time) in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Rio had grown rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century, quadrupling in size between 1822 and 1888 to a population of 500,000. This tax affected Rio's poor, predominantly Afro-Brazilian free-blacks and slaves, as well as growing Portuguese and Italian immigrant populations. On the first day of the tax, a group of approximately four thousand protesters at first only demanded that passengers not pay the tax, but later in the day they became violent. They tore up tracks, overturned tram cars, beat up drivers, and built barricades from pavestones and tram tracks. The police and army were called in, and that night peace returned to Rio. Three men had been killed; all were European immigrants. In 1904 the Brazilian administration set out to modernize Rio, in part through a forced vaccination plan against smallpox. The political opposition opposed mandatory vaccinations, and in November 1904 crowds took to the streets for a week of on-and-off rioting. The police reports describe the central role of Rio's underclass, specifically pointing out prostitutes, pimps, drunks, and professional troublemakers. Although neither uprising fits within the traditional rhetoric of the race riot, the role of race among the rioters, and the fact that the overall attempt to "modernize" the city was part of the general attempt to "whiten" Brazil and its capital, cannot be overlooked.

There was a popular movement in Rio de Janeiro that was clearly divided along race lines. During the four-day Revolt of the Lash in November 1910, more than 2,500 Brazilian sailors in Rio (85 percent of whom were Afro-Brazilian) rose up against the use of corporal punishment by white officers in the Brazilian navy. They took over four modern dreadnought battleships and held the city hostage for four days until the national congress met their demands. In this case, the racial division was identifiable because of the segregation practiced in the Brazilian navy. Even though these Afro-Brazilian sailors couched their demands in the language of slavery and race, Brazilian historians have traditionally placed this revolt in a context of class, not race.

See also Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Identity and Race in the United States

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ZACHARY R. MORGAN (2005)

Risquet, Jorge

May 6, 1930

With the exception of Fidel Castro, his brother Raúl Castro, and Che Guevara, no Cuban has played a more prominent role in African affairs than Jorge Risquet Valdés, a man of intelligence, wit, and unswerving commitment to the Cuban Revolution. Born in Havana, Risquet is the descendant of an African slave, her white master, a Chinese indentured servant, and a Spanish immigrant. His parents were tobacco workers who were sympathetic to the Cuban Communist Party. While they could not afford to send their children to secondary school, they did give them a political education.

Jorge Risquet joined the party's youth organization in 1943 and two years later, at age fifteen, he was elected to its executive committee. A self-taught intellectual with a passion for reading, he was not yet twenty when he became the editor of the organization's newspaper. Over the next decade he endured the lot of a committed communist activist: detentions, torture, underground life. He joined Castro's guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra in mid-1958, and, after Castro's victory, he held senior positions in the army and the party.

In July 1965, Castro summoned Risquet. A column of 120 Cubans had secretly left Cuba to join the Congolese insurgents in Congo Leopoldville (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) who were battling an army of mercenaries that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had organized to prop up that country's pro-American regime. A second column of 250 Cubans was preparing to leave for Congo Brazzaville (now the Republic of the Congo) at the request of that country's left-leaning government, which felt threatened by Washington's intervention in the neighboring country. The Cubans believed that Central Africa was ripe for revolution, and that the two Congos would be the seedbed from which revolution would spread. Che Guevara headed the column in Congo Leopoldville; Castro wanted Risquet to lead the other.

For sixteen months Risquet's column remained in Congo Brazzaville. The Cubans saved the host government from a military uprising without bloodshed, instead using bluster and diplomacy. They carried out the country's first vaccination campaign against polio, and they provided critical assistance to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was fighting for independence from Portugal. It was during this period that the first Cubans entered Angola (from Congo Brazzaville) to assist the MPLA, forging a bond that would blossom a decade later.

After returning to Cuba in January 1967, Risquet served as secretary of labor and held other senior positions until, in November 1975, he went to Angola. He left in a hurry, for civil war had broken out the previous spring in the Portuguese colony, which was slated for independence on November 11, 1975. The MPLA was struggling against two movements supported by the United States and South Africa. On October 14, to prevent an imminent MPLA victory, South African troops invaded Angola from neighboring Namibia (a de facto South African colony) and raced toward Luanda, the MPLA's stronghold, smashing all resistance. In an effort to stop the South Africans, Castro decided to send troops to Angola on November 4, and he sent Risquet as his personal representative. By late March 1976, the Cubans had forced the South Africans back into Namibia. Risquet remained in Angola until 1979.

Throughout the next decade, Cuba was a major protagonist in Africa. Tens of thousands of Cuban soldiers and technical advisers were in Angola, Ethiopia, and other African countries; Cuban instructors trained Namibian and South African rebels; and, through it all, Risquet was Castro's point man for Africa. As general Ulises Rosales del Toro, chief of staff of the Cuban armed forces, told a Soviet general in September 1984, "in my country whenever we discuss strategy, even military strategy, about Angola, Risquet has to be present, because for many years he has been at the center of all matters relating to Angola" (Rosales del Toro, 1984).

Risquet, a member of the Communist Party's political bureau, led the Cuban delegation during the 1988 negotiations on Namibian independence between Cuba, South Africa, Angola, and the United States. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was rushing toward implosion. Havana compensated for the growing irrelevance of the Soviet Union in southern Africa with an unprecedented, and successful, military effort on the battlefield (against the South Africans in southern Angola) and with superb diplomatic skill. "Reading the Cubans is yet another art form," Risquet's U.S. counterpart, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, cabled Secretary of State George Shultz in August 1988. "They are prepared for both war and peace. . . . We witness considerable tactical finesse and genuinely creative moves at the table" (Crocker, 1988). The following December, South Africa acceded to Namibian independence. Cuban troops and Cuban diplomats had played an indispensable role in forcing Pretoria to accept a settlement it had bitterly resisted.

In July 1991, Nelson Mandela visited Havana and wrote the epitaph to the story of Cuba's aid to Africa during the Cold War. "We come here with a sense of the great debt that is owed the people of Cuba," he said. "What

other country can point to a record of greater selflessness than Cuba had displayed in its relations to Africa?" (Mandela, 1991).

Risquet began working as a senior adviser for Raúl Castro in 1991. He is also a writer, telling the story of what he and his countrymen and women sought to accomplish in Africa. No other Cuban has written about this important chapter in global history with such verve, insight, and authority.

See also Political Ideologies; Politics

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PIERO GLEIJESES (2005)

Roach, Max

January 10, 1924

The jazz drummer and bandleader Maxwell Lemuel "Max" Roach was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, and raised in Brooklyn, New York. He studied music as a child with his mother, a gospel singer, and received piano lessons from his aunt. He also received music lessons in public school, and by the age of ten he was playing drums in church bands. He performed in Coney Island sideshows, such as the Darktown Follies, while in high school. During this time he also began frequenting Minton's Playhouse in Harlem, where he met some of the leading jazz musicians of the day. In 1941 Roach graduated with honors from Brooklyn's Boys' High School. Soon after, he started performing regularly with the saxophonist Charlie Parker at Clark Monroe's Uptown House in Harlem, and by the next year he had a strong enough reputation to fill in for Sonny Greer for several nights with Duke Ellington's orchestra.

In 1943 and 1944 Roach recorded and performed with the saxophonist Coleman Hawkins at Kelly's Stable as a replacement for Kenny Clarke ("Woody'n' You," 1944; "Bu-Dee-Daht," 1944). In 1944 he also joined the trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie's quintet at the Onyx Club, becoming a member of the first bebop band to open on 52nd Street, which had become the central location for New York jazz nightclubs. The next year Roach began working with Charlie Parker, an association that would last more than five years. On Roach's first important recording with Parker, the uptempo "Ko-Ko" (1945), Roach had already left swing drumming behind for a bebop style, keeping time on the cymbal and reserving the drums themselves for accents.

Together with Kenny Clarke, Roach redefined the rhythmical and structural architecture of jazz drumming, while also creating a new solo role for modern jazz drum performance. Initially influenced by the imaginative "melodic" solo style of Sid Catlett, the driving intensity of Chick Webb, and the fluid swing and finesse of Jo Jones, Roach distilled their stylistic characteristics through Clarke's polyrhythmic innovations. By the end of the 1940s, Roach was recognized as one of the leading drummers in jazz. He performed on Miles Davis's "Birth of the Cool" recordings (1949) and on Bud Powell's "Un Poco Loco" (1951). In the early 1950s he continued his prolific career while pursuing studies in composition and tympani at the Manhattan School of Music. From 1954 to 1956 he co-led the Clifford Brown-Max Roach Quintet, which pioneered the hard-driving style known as hard hop (*Study in Brown,* 1955; *At Basin Street,* 1956).

In the 1960s Roach began to combine his music with his politics, with a particular emphasis on racial oppression in both the United States and South Africa. His 1960 recording of *We Insist: Freedom Now Suite* used free-form musical structures, including an emotionally charged interplay between the drummer and his then-wife, the vocalist Abbey Lincoln, to explore the theme of racial oppres-

sion in America. That work also used West African drumming and Afro-Cuban percussion to draw parallels between slavery in the United States, segregation, and apartheid in South Africa.

In the 1960s Roach began to move away from appearing solely in strict jazz contexts. He began performing solo drum compositions as independent pieces, an effort dating back to his "Drum Conversation" of 1953. He also recorded original works for vocal choruses and pianoless quartets. In the 1960s Roach taught at the Lenox School of Jazz, and in 1972 he assumed a faculty position at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Among Roach's most significant work from the 1970s are duet recordings he made with some of the leading figures from the post-bebop avant-garde, including Archie Shepp, Anthony Braxton, Abdullah Ibrahim, and Cecil Taylor. In the 1980s, Roach's astoundingly protean career included performances and recordings with a jazz quartet, the percussion ensemble M'Boom, the Uptown String Quartet (with his daughter Maxine on viola), rap and hip-hop musicians and dancers. In 1980 Roach recorded an interactive drum solo with a tape recording of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 "I Have A Dream" speech (*Chattahoochee Red*), and in 1989 he recorded duets with Dizzy Gillespie. Roach, who wrote music as early as 1946 ("Coppin' The Bop"), has in recent years dedicated more and more of his time to composition. His *Shepardsets,* a work for the theater, received an Obie Award in 1985, and he has also composed for film and television, and for symphony orchestra.

Throughout the 1990s, Roach was involved with a number of collaborations and creative efforts. He recorded the two-CD set, *To the Max!*, in 1992 and performed with the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. Attentive to new musical ideas, Roach viewed rap as a creative improvisational form and collaborated with MTV's rap-music host Fab Freddie Five in recording the program *From Bebop to Hip-hop*. In 1998, Roach performed with his So What Brass Quintet, which was comprised of five brass instruments and drums, and with dancers in choreographer Donald Byrd's production "Jazz Train."

Roach, who has lived in New York all of his life, is recognized not only as one of the most important drummers in the history of jazz, but as one of the leading African-American cultural figures of the twentieth century, with a decades-long commitment to fighting racial injustice. In addition to the several honorary doctorates he has received throughout his career, in 1988 Roach became the first jazz musician to receive a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship.

See also Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Lincoln, Abbey; Parker, Charlie

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ANTHONY BROWN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Robeson, Eslanda

December 15, 1895
December 13, 1965

The anthropologist and activist Eslanda Cardozo Goode Robeson was born on December 15, 1895, in Washington, D.C. Her father, John Goode, was a clerk in the War Department. Her mother, Eslanda Cardozo, was the daughter of Francis Lewis Cardozo, a prominent pastor and Reconstruction-era politician.

When Eslanda Goode was six, her father died from alcoholism. Her mother moved the family to New York City, where her children could attend nonsegregated schools. Eslanda Goode graduated from Columbia University in 1917 with a bachelor of science degree in chemistry and took a job as a histological chemist at New York's Presbyterian Hospital, the first African American employed there in a staff position. It was there, in 1920, that she met Paul Robeson, who was recovering from a football injury. They were married a year later, and from then on Eslanda Robeson pursued her career as an anthropologist and journalist while managing her husband's singing and acting commitments. She combined both careers in 1930, when she published *Paul Robeson, Negro.*

In the 1920s and 1930s, Eslanda Robeson accompanied her husband on most of his travels. At the same time she studied anthropology at the University of London and at the London School of Economics (1936–1937). She received a Ph.D. in anthropology from the Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1945. She also traveled and worked on her own. A trip through Africa in 1936 resulted in a book, *African Journey* (1945), and led to her commitment to African anticolonialism. She was active on the Council on African Affairs, and in a 1946 address before the United Nations Trusteeship Council urged self-determination for all African people.

The combination of her political activities, a visit to China in 1949 and her public support of its government, and her vocal enthusiasm for the Soviet Union led her to be called before Senator Joseph McCarthy's Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in 1953. From 1958 through 1963 she and her husband lived in self-imposed exile in the Soviet Union. Eslanda Robeson died of cancer in New York City on December 13, 1965.

See also Anthropology and Anthropologists; Council on African Affairs; Robeson, Paul

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated bibliography

Robeson, Paul

April 9, 1898
January 23, 1976

Actor, singer, and political activist Paul Robeson was born in Princeton, New Jersey, where his father, William Drew Robeson, was the minister of a local Presbyterian church, and his mother, Maria Louisa Bustill, was a schoolteacher. His childhood was happy but marred by two defining events. His mother died when he was six, after she was accidentally set on fire at home; and his father lost his church following a fierce dispute among his congregation. After working at menial jobs in Princeton, his father moved first to Westfield and then to Somerville, both in New Jersey, where he again led churches affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination.

An uncommonly brilliant student and athlete, Paul Robeson entered Rutgers College (later Rutgers University) in New Brunswick in 1916. Although he was the only black student there, he became immensely popular. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa as a junior and selected twice (1917 and 1918) as an All-American football player by the famed journalist Walter Camp. After graduating in 1919, he moved to Harlem, and in 1920 entered the law school of Columbia University in New York. To support himself he played professional football on weekends, then turned to acting after winning a role in *Simon the Cyrenian* at the Harlem YMCA in 1921.

Graduating from law school in 1923, he was admitted to the bar and served briefly in a law firm. Then, chafing at restrictions on him as a black, and urged on by his wife, Eslanda Cardoza Goode (a fellow student, in chemistry, at Columbia), he left the law for the stage. He enjoyed immediate success, particularly with the Greenwich Village–based Provincetown Players in Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1923) and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1925). In 1925, with his longtime accompanist Lawrence Brown, he launched his celebrated career as an interpreter of African-American spirituals and of folk songs from around the world with a concert of the former in New York. He then traveled to Europe and Great Britain (where in 1922 he had been well-received as an individual and as an actor in the play *Voodoo*). Critics hailed his acting in the 1925 London production of *The Emperor Jones*.

In the 1928 London production of Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II's musical *Show Boat,* his stirring rendition of "Ol' Man River" took his popularity to new heights. Although he triumphed again when *Show Boat* opened in New York in 1930, Great Britain was the scene of many of his greatest achievements. In the following years he starred there in a number of plays, including *Othello* (1930), *The Hairy Ape* (1931), and *Stevedore* (1933). Robeson also had prominent roles in almost a dozen films, such as *Sanders of the River* (1935), *Show Boat* (1936), *King Solomon's Mines* (1935), and *Proud Valley* (1941). In most of these efforts, his depictions of a black man contrasted starkly with the images of subservience, ignorance, criminality, or low comedy usually seen on the Hollywood screen.

Handsome and blessed with a commanding physique and a voice of unusual resonance and charm, Robeson might have capitalized on his stage and screen success and ignored politics altogether. However, his resentment of racism and his attraction to radical socialism, especially after an outstanding welcome in the Soviet Union in 1934, set him on a leftward course. A frequent visitor to the USSR thereafter, Robeson learned to speak Russian (and eventually almost two dozen other languages, in which he recorded many songs). His son, Paul Jr. attended school there for several years. Robeson became a dependable supporter of progressive causes, including the rights of oppressed Jews and of antifascist forces in Spain. In London, he befriended several students and other intellectuals, such as Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and Jomo Kenyatta, who would later be prominent in the anticolonialist movements in Africa.

Paul Robeson as Othello, with Uta Hagen as Desdemona, in a 1943 Theatre Guild production of the Shakespeare play. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Resettling in the United States in 1939, Robeson joined enthusiastically in the war effort and maintained his stellar position as an entertainer—although racism, including that on Broadway and in Hollywood, still disturbed him. In 1943 his critically acclaimed portrayal of Othello, in the first Broadway production of Shakespeare's play with an otherwise white cast, created a sensation. He was awarded the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1945. He fared less well after the war, when the cold war intensified. In 1946 he vowed to a special committee of the California State Legislature that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. However, when accusations continued, he resolutely refused to cooperate with the authorities. Despite his protests, he was identified as a communist by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Such opposition hampered his career as a recording artist and actor.

In 1949, in a major controversy, he told a gathering in Paris that it was "unthinkable" to him that African Americans would go to war against the Soviet Union, whose fair treatment of blacks was a rebuke to racist American laws and conventions. Later that year the announcement of his participation in a musical festival sponsored by liberals and leftists in Peekskill, New York, led to rioting in the town that left scores of attendees injured. The next year, the State Department impounded his passport. With Robeson refusing to sign an oath disavowing communism, his singing and acting career in effect came to an end. He was widely ostracized by whites and blacks, except those among the far left.

In 1958 the Supreme Court declared the oath and other government rules unconstitutional. That year, Robeson published *Here I Stand,* which combined autobiography with a considered statement of his political concerns and other beliefs. He sang at Carnegie Hall in what was billed as a farewell concert, and also performed in California. Leaving the United States, he was welcomed as a hero in the Soviet Union, which had awarded him the Stalin Peace Prize in 1952, but he fell ill there. Complaining of chronic exhaustion and other ailments, he entered a series of hospitals in the Soviet Union, Europe, and Britain.

In 1963, when he and his wife returned to the United States and a home in Harlem, he announced his formal retirement. In 1965 Eslanda Robeson died. With a further deterioration in health, including a nervous breakdown, Robeson moved to Philadelphia to live with his sister. A seventy-fifth birthday celebration at Carnegie Hall in 1973 found Robeson (whose illness kept him away) saluted, in a more liberal age, by prominent blacks, liberals, and socialists as one of the towering figures of the twentieth century. In a message to the gathering, Robeson described himself as "dedicated as ever to the worldwide cause of humanity for freedom, peace, and brotherhood." He died in Philadelphia in 1976.

See also Folk Music; Musical Theater; Spingarn Medal; Spirituals

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ARNOLD RAMPERSAD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Robinson, A. N. R.

December 16, 1926

Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson was born in Calder Hall, Tobago, to James Andrew and Isabella Muir Robinson. He grew up in Castara, a rural fishing village, and attended the Castara Methodist Primary School, where his father, a strict disciplinarian, was headmaster. As a child, Robinson played cricket and football and ran track, but he never made the school or village team in these sports. Instead, he excelled academically.

In 1938 Robinson won a Bowles Scholarship, which allowed him to attend Bishop's High School in Scarborough, Tobago, where he continued to excel academically. In 1944 he narrowly missed winning an Island Scholarship to a university, so he accepted a teaching position at Bishop's High School. After six months he left this post to become a second-class clerk in the Department of Public Works. This did not suit his ambitions, however, and he enrolled in the University of London's external program in Tobago. He graduated in 1951 with a Bachelor of Laws degree and was called to the bar of the Inner Temple. That same year, he entered St. John's College, Oxford, where he studied philosophy, politics, and economics.

While at Oxford, Robinson was a member of the Oxford Union Society, and he won a number of prizes for his debating skills. He also established a friendship with a fellow debater, Robert K. Woetzel, and he took an interest in Woeztel's thesis on international law concerning the Nuremberg Trials. On the invitation of Woetzel, Robinson joined the Oxford Political Study Circle. He joined other student organizations and later became the president of the West Indian Students Society and secretary of the study circle. Among the other Caribbean students he met at Oxford was Tom Adams, who became prime minister of Barbados. Robinson also established close relationships with several fellow countrymen, including Eldon Warner, Max Ifill, and Doddridge Alleyne. Some of these individuals would later become his political allies. Robinson also participated in discussions on the foundation of the West Indies Federation, which was established in 1958 but lasted only four years.

Robinson returned to Trinidad and Tobago in 1955 to practice law. Initially, Robinson's interest was in local politics, and he joined a group called the Scarborough Political Circle, a spin-off from his Oxford study circle. His interest in developing better social, political, and economic conditions seems to have focused at first on the place of Tobagonians within the twin-island colony of Trinidad and Tobago, but he soon linked this interest to the international arena. His first acquaintance with Eric Williams was at the Scarborough Political Circle, probably in 1955. This meeting would eventually lead Robinson to an active engagement in politics. He later attended a discussion group with John Donaldson, Elton Richardson, and W. J. Alexander at the Chancellor Street residence of Dr. Williams in Port of Spain. The group agreed to form a political party, with Williams as leader. Williams was to be introduced to the electorate through public lectures and other social events throughout the country. The principal venue was Woodford Square—renamed the "University of Woodford Square" by Williams. Robinson worked on the constitution of the party, and he thus became a founding member of the People's National Movement (PNM). After the establishment of the party, he served as its treasurer and deputy leader, and a large section of the citizenry saw him as heir apparent to Eric Williams.

As the PNM's spokesman for Tobago, Robinson was a candidate for Parliament in the 1956 general election. He was defeated, however, by A. P. T. "Fargo" James, a very popular "grassroots" politician. Robinson, fairly well known but new to politics, was portrayed by James as too "proud, too social, and too stuck up" to lead Tobagonians. In 1958, however, Robinson won the Tobago seat in the federal Parliament. He then had to deal with the disappointment of the withdrawal of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago from the West Indies Federation, which he had nurtured since his Oxford days. The federation completely collapsed the following year. However, Robinson won the Tobago seat in the House of Representatives in the election of 1961, which followed the granting of full self-government. He was appointed the minister of finance in the ruling PNM government of the newly independent state of Trinidad and Tobago in 1962.

Robinson inherited the daunting task of developing a financial system for the newly independent state. Unfortunately, his Finance Act of 1966 set off plans within the PNM to marginalize him because the act went against the interests of certain importers and businesspeople. The act sought to reform the tax system, particularly with regard to the export of foreign exchange earned in Trinidad and Tobago. The new tariff structure was a deliberate attempt to change a colonial economy to one suited to independence. Consequently, higher duties were imposed on imported goods in order to protect the local manufacturers. The politics surrounding the Finance Act is explained in his book, *The Mechanics of Independence: Patterns of Political and Economic Transformation in Trinidad and Tobago* (1971).

Robinson felt that the PNM failed to lead the country into real political and economic independence through

sound economic structures and policies. He was also impatient with the failure of the party's leadership to insist on integrity in government, and he felt that the government had not changed much from its colonial predecessor. The result of the PNM's policies was an increase in government corruption, manifested in a system of patronage in the appointment of key personnel to head state enterprises. As a result, popular support for the PNM weakened.

By mid-1969, amid economic and social stresses, the dissatisfaction of students and laborers, and the activities of the Black Power movement, the PNM government was viewed by many as unresponsive and impotent. Increasingly critical of the government's handling of a Black Power–induced crisis, Robinson resigned from the PNM on April 13, 1970. He was accused of wanting to overthrow the government and of being involved in the Black Power movement, leading Williams to declare a state of emergency. Having resigned from the PNM, Robinson became the spokesman for reform.

Robinson's quest for political empowerment for all continued when he formed the Action Committee of Dedicated Citizens (ACDC). The group gradually evolved into a political party and struck an alliance with the traditional opposition party, the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). The merger between the two groups broke down after the DLP became a spent force in 1971. The ACDC evolved into the Democratic Action Congress (DAC), which was viewed principally as a Tobago party, since Robinson had returned there to live. In 1976 Tobagonians rejected the PNM and elected DAC members Robinson and Dr. Winston Murray as their representatives. For the next four years, Robinson engaged in a political struggle with Williams for internal self-government for Tobago, which was finally realized in 1980. Robinson then resigned his seat in the House of Representatives to contest the first Tobago House of Assembly (THA) elections. He was successful and became the assembly's first chair. The island, which had launched his political career twenty-two years earlier, now had his full attention. It was in Tobago that Robinson again developed a political base from which he would compete with, and eventually triumph over, the PNM.

Meanwhile, Robinson sought to build a multicultural and multiracial political party that was truly representative of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. He therefore joined with the leaders of the other main opposition parties to form the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR). Robinson's popularity made him the unquestioned leader of the NAR, which defeated the PNM in the 1986 elections, winning thirty-three seats to the PNM's three, and Robinson became the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago. Yet, in spite of the fact that he successfully restructured the economic foundations of the state, placing it on a path of growth, he lost the general elections of 1991 to Patrick Manning and the PNM. The principal reason for this loss was not the painful economic adjustments he instituted, but the issue of race, as the NAR government was viewed as a marriage of convenience rather than an alliance of genuine unity between the African and East Indian groups. Before leaving office in 1991, Robinson became the victim of an attempted coup led by Imam Yasin Abu Bakr, a black Muslim leader. Robinson was held hostage for six days, along with other members of the government, but he called for the armed forces to defy the insurgents and "attack with full force." He was finally released by the insurgents who, respecting his bravery, carried him triumphantly out of the parliamentary building. While losing the 1991 elections decisively, Robinson won his seat in Tobago and remained in Parliament.

Contrary to popular opinion, Robinson's defeat did not lead to his political demise, for the 1995 general elections brought him back into national prominence. In this election, the United National Congress (UNC) and the PNM were tied, with seventeen seats each. It was left to Robinson, with the two Tobago DAC seats, to decide which party he would support to form the new government. By supporting the UNC, Robinson made history by creating the first "Indian" government of Trinidad and Tobago, and he selected Basdeo Panday as prime minister.

Robinson was appointed president of Trinidad and Tobago in 1997, and he served in that post until March 2003. He has since retired from politics, but he is still viewed as the country's most well-known, statesmanlike, enigmatic, and misunderstood figure. He has certainly had the longest, and one of the most memorable, political careers in Trinidad and Tobago.

See also Black Power Movement; James, A. P. T.; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Manning, Patrick; Peoples National Movement; Williams, Eric; Woodford Square

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SELWYN H. H. CARRINGTON (2005)
FIONA ANN TAYLOR (2005)

Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"

May 25, 1878
November 25, 1949

Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, perhaps the most famous of all African-American tap dancers, demonstrated an exacting yet light footwork that was said to have brought tap "up on its toes" from the flat-footed shuffling style prevalent in the previous era. Born Luther Robinson in Richmond, Virginia, he was orphaned when both his parents, Maria and Maxwell Robinson, died in 1885; he and his brothers were subsequently reared by his grandmother, Bedilia Robinson.

Robinson gained his nickname, "Bojangles"—possibly from the slang term *jangle,* meaning "to quarrel or fight"—while still in Richmond. It was also in Richmond that Robinson is said to have coined the phrase "everything's copasetic," meaning "fine, better than all right." He ran away to Washington, D.C., earning nickels and dimes by dancing and singing, and then got his first professional job in 1892, performing in the "pickaninny" chorus (in vaudeville, a chorus of young African-American children performing as backup for the featured performer) in Mayme Remington's *The South Before the War*. When Robinson arrived in New York City around 1900, he challenged the tap dancer Harry Swinton, the star dancer in *Old Kentucky,* to a buck-dancing contest, and won.

From 1902 to 1914, Robinson teamed up with George W. Cooper. Bound by the "two-colored" rule in vaudeville, which restricted blacks to performing in pairs, Cooper and Robinson performed as a duo on the Keith and Orpheum circuits. They did not, however, wear the blackface makeup performers customarily used. Robinson, who carried a gold-plated revolver, was a gambler with a quick temper. He was involved in a series of off-stage scrapes, and it was allegedly his arrest for assault in 1914 that finally put an end to the partnership with Cooper.

After the split, Robinson convinced his manager, Marty Forkins, to promote him as a soloist. Forkins managed to book him at the Marigold Gardens Theater in Chicago by promising its star and producer, Gertrude Hoffman, Robinson's services as a dance instructor. In this way Robinson launched his solo career, and he eventually became one of the first black performers to headline at New York's prestigious Palace Theatre.

Hailed as "the Dark Cloud of Joy" on the Orpheum circuit, Robinson performed in vaudeville from 1914 to 1927. Onstage, Robinson's open face, flashing eyes, infectious smile, easygoing patter, and air of surprise at what his feet were doing made him irresistible to audiences. His tapping was delicate, articulate, and intelligible. He usually wore a hat cocked to one side, and often exited with a Chaplinesque waddle, or with another signature step, a kind of syncopated "camel walk" (which would later be called the "moonwalk" when it was used by pop star Michael Jackson). Robinson always danced in split-clog shoes, in which the wooden sole was attached from the toe to the ball of the foot and the rest was left loose, allowing for greater flexibility and tonality. Dancing upright and swinging to clean six-bar phrases, followed by a two-bar break, Robinson set new standards of performance, despite the fact that he invented few new steps.

In 1922 Robinson married Fannie Clay, who became his business manager and secretary. (The marriage was his second: in 1907, he had married Lena Chase, from whom he was divorced in 1922.) After twenty-one years he divorced Fannie and married a young dancer, Elaine Plaines.

Broadway fame came with an all-black revue, *Blackbirds of 1928,* in which he sang "Doin' the New Low Down" while dancing up and down a flight of five steps. Success was immediate: Robinson's performance was acclaimed by the major New York newspapers, and he was heralded by several as the greatest of all tap dancers. The dance Robinson performed in *Blackbirds* developed into his signature "stair dance"; notable for the clarity of Robinson's taps and for its unusual tonalities—each step yield-

ed a different pitch—Robinson's appealing showmanship made it seem effortless. *Brown Buddies* (1930) was kept alive by Robinson's performance, as were *Blackbirds of 1933, The Hot Mikado* (1939), *All in Fun* (1940), and *Memphis Bound* (1945). Largely in recognition of his Broadway success, Robinson was named an honorary "Mayor of Harlem" by Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. In 1939 he celebrated his sixty-first birthday by tapping down Broadway, one block for each year.

Robinson turned to Hollywood, a venue largely closed to blacks, in the 1930s. His films included *Dixiana* (1930), which had a predominantly white cast, and *Harlem Is Heaven* (1933), with an all-black cast. Robinson also appeared in the films *Hooray for Love* (1935), *In Old Kentucky* (1935), *The Big Broadcast of 1937* (1936), *One Mile from Heaven* (1937), *Road Demon* (1938), *Up the River* (1938), *By an Old Southern River* (1941), and *Let's Shuffle* (1941); in a newsreel about the 1939 World's Fair in Chicago, *It's Swing Ho! Come to the Fair;* and in a short, *Broadway Brevities* (1934). But of all his many stage and film performances, those that brought him the most fame were his appearances with the child star Shirley Temple, in *The Littlest Colonel* (1935), *The Littlest Rebel* (1935), *Just Around the Corner* (1938), and *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938). In 1943, the all-black film *Stormy Weather*, with Robinson, Cab Calloway, Lena Horne, and Katherine Dunham's dance troupe, met with some success.

A founding member of the Negro Actors Guild of America, Robinson performed in thousands of benefits over the course of his career, and he made generous contributions to charities and individuals. However, Robinson's career had peaked in the late 1930s, and when he died in 1949 he was in debt. According to contemporary accounts, nearly a hundred thousand people turned out to watch his funeral procession; the numbers testify to the esteem in which he was still held by his community and by the audiences who loved him. The founding of the Copasetics Club in the year that Robinson died ensured that his brilliance as a performer would not be forgotten.

See also Musical Theater; Tap Dance

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CONSTANCE VALIS HILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Robinson, Jackie

January 31, 1919
October 24, 1972

Baseball player, civil rights leader, and businessman Jack Roosevelt "Jackie" Robinson was born in Georgia, the youngest of five children of sharecropper farmers Jerry and Mallie Robinson. He was raised in Pasadena, California, where the Robinson family confronted the West Coast variety of American racism. White neighbors tried to drive the family out of their home; segregation reigned in public and private facilities. Robinson became an outstanding athlete at Pasadena Junior College before transferring to the University of California at Los Angeles in 1940, where he won renown as the "Jim Thorpe of his race," the nation's finest all-around athlete. Robinson was an All-American football player, leading scorer in basketball, and record-setting broad jumper, in addition to his baseball exploits.

Drafted into the army in the spring of 1942, Robinson embarked on a stormy military career. Denied access to Officer Candidate School, Robinson protested to heavyweight champion Joe Louis, who intervened with officials in Washington on Robinson's behalf. Once commissioned, Robinson fought for improved conditions for blacks at Camp Riley, Kansas, leading to his transfer to Fort Hood, Texas. At Fort Hood Robinson was court-martialed and acquitted for refusing to move to the back of a bus. Robinson's army career demonstrated the proud, combative personality that would characterize his postwar life.

After his discharge from the army in 1944, Robinson signed to play with the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League. After several months of discontent in the Jim Crow league, Robinson was approached by Branch Rickey of the Brooklyn Dodgers, who offered him the opportunity to become the first black player in major league baseball since the 1890s. Robinson gladly accepted the opportunity and responsibility of this pioneering role in "baseball's great experiment."

In 1946 Robinson joined the Montreal Royals of the International League, the top farm club in the Dodger system. Following a spectacular debut in which he stroked

Jackie Robinson stealing home, 1949. © CORBIS-BETTMANN

four hits, including a three-run home run, Robinson proceeded to lead the league with a .349 batting average. An immediate fan favorite, Robinson enabled the Royals to set new attendance records while winning the International League and Little World Series championships. Robinson's imminent promotion to the Dodgers in 1947 triggered an unsuccessful petition drive on the part of southern players to keep him off the team. In the early months of the season, beanballs, death threats, and rumors of a strike by opposing players swirled around Robinson. Through it all Robinson paraded his excellence. An electrifying fielder and base runner as well as an outstanding hitter, Robinson's assault on baseball's color line captured the imagination of both black and white Americans. He batted .297 and won the Rookie of the Year Award (since renamed the Jackie Robinson Award in his honor) en route to leading the Dodgers to the pennant.

Over the next decade Robinson emerged as one of the most dominant players and foremost gate attractions in the history of the major leagues. In 1949 he batted .342 and won the National League Most Valuable Player Award. During his ten years with the Dodgers the team won six pennants and one World Championship. By his retirement in 1956 Robinson had compiled a .311 lifetime batting average. He was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame on the first ballot in 1961.

But Robinson's significance transcended his achievements on the baseball diamond. He became a leading symbol and spokesperson for the postwar integration crusade, both within baseball and in broader society. During his early years in Montreal and Brooklyn, Robinson adhered to his promise to Branch Rickey to "turn the other cheek" and avoid controversies. After establishing himself in the major leagues, however, Robinson's more combative and outspoken personality reasserted itself. Robinson repeatedly pressed for baseball to desegregate more rapidly and to remove discriminatory barriers in Florida training camps and cities like St. Louis and Cincinnati. He also demanded opportunities for black players to become coaches, managers, and front-office personnel. Baseball officials and many sportswriters branded Robinson an ingrate as controversies marked his career.

Upon retirement Robinson remained in the public eye. He continued to voice his opinions as speaker, newspaper columnist, and fund-raiser for the NAACP. A believer in "black capitalism" through which blacks could become producers, manufacturers, developers and creators of businesses, providers of jobs, Robinson engaged in many successful business ventures in the black community. He became an executive in the Chock full o'Nuts restaurant chain and later helped develop Harlem's Freedom National Bank and the Jackie Robinson Construction Company. Robinson also became active in Republican Party politics, supporting Richard Nixon in 1960 and working closely with New York governor Nelson Rockefeller, who appointed him Special Assistant for Community Affairs in 1966. These activities brought criticism from young black militants in the late 1960s. Ironically, at this same time Robinson had also parted ways with the NAACP, criticizing its failure to include "younger, more progressive voices."

By the late 1960s Robinson had become bitterly disillusioned with both baseball and American society. He refused to attend baseball events to protest the failure to hire blacks in nonplaying capacities. In his 1972 autobiography, *I Never Had It Made,* he attacked the nation's waning commitment to racial equality. Later that year the commemoration of his major league debut led him to lift his boycott of baseball games. "I'd like to live to see a black manager," he told a nationwide television audience at the World Series on October 15, 1972. Nine days later he died of a heart attack. In 1997 major league baseball commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Robinson's breaking of the baseball color line by retiring his number 42 from every team.

See also Baseball; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Jim Crow

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JULES TYGIEL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Robinson, Jo Ann Gibson

April 17, 1912
August 29, 1992

Teacher and civil rights leader Jo Ann Gibson Robinson was at the forefront of the movement to desegregate public transportation and a leader of the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott in Alabama, in which over fifty thousand African Americans participated. Born in Culloden, Georgia, the youngest of twelve children, Gibson attended Macon public schools before entering Fort Valley State College. She taught in Macon schools for five years, then went to Atlanta University, where she received a master's degree in English in 1948. One year later, Robinson accepted a position as a member of the English department at Alabama State College in Montgomery.

Shortly after moving to Montgomery, Robinson joined the Women's Political Council (WPC), an organization of mostly middle-class black women. The WPC was founded in 1946 by Mary Fair Burks, an English professor at Alabama State, to increase the black community's involvement in civic affairs by promoting voter registration and teaching high school students about politics and government. In 1950 Robinson became president of the WPC, and under her leadership the organization grew to over two hundred members and began to challenge the demeaning form of segregation on the city's buses. The WPC lobbied the city in the early 1950s to revise its seating policy so black passengers would not have to give up their seats for whites or stand over an empty seat reserved for a white rider. In May 1954 Robinson wrote a letter to Montgomery's Mayor W. A. Gayle threatening a boycott unless reforms were forthcoming.

After Claudette Colvin, a young black teenager, was arrested in March 1955 for violating a segregation law, Robinson and other black leaders negotiated with the city commissioner about changing the city's seating policy. The meetings yielded very little, and Robinson supported launching a boycott, but other black leaders opposed the idea. When Rosa Parks, secretary of a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was arrested on December 1, 1955, for refusing to give up her seat for a white man on the bus, members of the WPC were prepared for a boycott. After speaking with Parks and E. D. Nixon, former chair of the NAACP in Alabama, they made a flier calling for a boycott the following Monday. Putting her job on the line, Robinson mimeographed fifty thousand copies late one night at Alabama State and, with help from two of her students, distributed them within forty-eight hours of Parks's arrest. The WPC also planned a mass meeting at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church for the afternoon of the boycott, at which time it was decided to continue the boycott indefinitely. It was primarily because of the previous five years of political groundwork laid by women in the WPC, under the direction of Robinson, that the black community in Montgomery was prepared to endure a boycott that lasted over a year.

Although men were the most visible leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), the organization created to coordinate the boycott, women played important roles. Robinson, in particular, was an influential political strategist and an indispensable contributor to the movement. She wielded political power on the executive board of the MIA; served as an important negotiator with the city; produced the MIA newsletter, which not only provided support and encouragement for boycotters but kept people around the country informed about the progress of the protest; and volunteered time in the car pool to help the thousands of ordinary participants get to work on time. In December 1956 a court order desegregating public transportation ended the boycott. Although the importance of the WPC began to diminish, it nevertheless continued to exist for several years.

Robinson left Alabama State College in 1960 after several teachers had been fired for their participation in the boycott. She taught for one year at Grambling State College in Grambling, Louisiana, then moved to Los Angeles, where she taught English in the public schools until 1976, when she retired. After retiring, Robinson remained active in a host of civic and social groups, giving one day a week of free service to the city of Los Angeles and serving in the League of Women Voters, the Alpha Gamma Omega chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the Angel City chapter of the Links, the Black Women's Alliance, the Founders Church of Religious Science, and Women on Target. In 1987 Robinson published her memoir about the boycott, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It,* which won the publication prize by the Southern Association for Women's Historians. Through her historical work, Robinson helped restore women to their proper place in the Montgomery boycott, and through her

political commitment, she helped launch one of the most important civil rights struggles in the Jim Crow South. Robinson died in 1992 at age eighty.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Montgomery Improvement Association; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Robinson, Sugar Ray

May 3, 1921
April 12, 1989

Boxer "Sugar Ray" Robinson was born Walker Smith Jr. in Detroit to Marie and Walker Smith. He moved with his mother in 1933 to Harlem, where he attended DeWitt Clinton High School. Representing the Salem Athletic Club, he began boxing, using the identification card of a Ray Robinson. He won the New York Golden Gloves in 1939 and 1940 and turned professional late in 1940. A reporter described his technique as "sweet as sugar." Robinson won his first forty fights (twenty-six knockouts) until Jake LaMotta beat him on a decision in 1943. He served as a private during World War II, mainly boxing in exhibitions on tour with his idol, Joe Louis. Robinson demanded fair treatment for blacks in the military, refusing to appear at one show until blacks were allowed into the audience and getting into a fight with a military policeman who had threatened Louis for using a phone in a whites-only area.

Robinson won the vacant welterweight (147 pounds) championship on December 20, 1946, in a fifteen-round decision over Tommy Bell. In Robinson's first defense, Jimmy Doyle suffered fatal brain injuries in an eighth-round knockout. When asked if he had intended to get Doyle into trouble, Robinson responded, "Mister, it's my business to get him in trouble." He moved up to the middleweight division (160 pounds), besting champion Jake LaMotta in the 1951 "St. Valentine's Day Massacre," which got its name from the punishment LaMotta took until the fight was stopped in the thirteenth round. Robinson lost the title on a decision five months later to Randy Turpin in London, making his record 128–1–2. Two months later he regained the title from Turpin with a dramatic tenth-round knockout in New York as he bled heavily from a cut above the left eye. In 1952 he fought Joey Maxim for the light heavyweight championship at Yankee Stadium. He was far ahead on points, but he collapsed after the thirteenth round in 100-degree heat.

Robinson retired from the ring and worked for two years as a tap dancer. He returned to boxing in 1955 and in his seventh bout regained the middleweight crown with a second-round knockout of Bobo Olson on December 9, 1955. He lost the title on January 2, 1956, to Gene Fullmer, regaining it in a rematch four months later, knocking Fullmer unconscious in the fifth. Carmen Basilio dethroned Robinson on September 23 but lost the rematch on March 25, 1958, by decision. Robinson held the middleweight title until Paul Pender defeated him on January 22, 1960. Robinson lost the rematch and two other title bouts, and he retired in 1965. He held the middleweight championship a record five times.

Robinson was renowned for his flashy living. He owned a nightclub, Sugar Ray's, and other Harlem properties, and on tours he took a large entourage, including a valet and barber. He appeared in television and films. Once he was well established, he acted as his own manager and was regarded as a tough negotiator. An Internal Revenue Service tax dispute led to a ruling that allowed income averaging. However, Robinson went through $4 million so fast he had to continue boxing well past his prime. In 1969 he moved to Los Angeles, where he established the Sugar Ray Robinson Youth Foundation for inner-city youth. He lived there with his second wife, Millie Bruce, until he died of Alzheimer's disease and diabetes. Robinson had a record of 174–19–6, with 109 knockouts and two no-decisions. Renowned for his superb footwork, hand speed, and leverage, he was so powerful that he could knock out an opponent when moving backwards. He was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1967.

See also Boxing; Sports

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STEVEN A. RIESS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Rodney, Walter

March 23, 1942
June 13, 1980

Walter Rodney, whose father was a tailor and whose mother was a homemaker, was born in Georgetown, Guyana. He won a government scholarship that enabled him to enter Queen's College, then the leading secondary educational institution in the colony. There he did well scholastically, edited the school's newspaper, and took an active part in the debating society. The 1940s and the early 1950s, which saw the emergence of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), Guyana's first mass-based political party, was a period of intense political activity oriented specifically toward the attainment of political independence. Rodney's own political awakening and the beginning of his lifelong adherence to Marxist theory and praxis occurred in the 1950s, when as a youngster he distributed PPP manifestos. He learned while doing so that it was imprudent to enter yards with long driveways, because those who lived in the houses there were of a higher social class and lighter pigmentation than he, and therefore unlikely to be sympathetic to the nationalist aspirations of the PPP.

After winning an open scholarship in 1960 to study at the University College of the West Indies, later called the University of the West Indies (UWI), Rodney majored in history and graduated with first-class honors in 1963. While at the UWI, his intellectual and political sensibilities were further sharpened when he noted that West Indian history was deemphasized, which to him meant seeing reality through European eyes with no connection between history and politics. Upon graduation, Rodney continued the study of history in England and was awarded a Ph.D. in 1966 by the University of London. His doctoral thesis, "A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800," involved research in fascist Portugal, where he became aware of the contradiction of imperialist racism that privileged an educated black like himself while exploiting and repressing uneducated blacks.

In England Rodney also continued to be exposed to a brand of scholarship that divorced history from politics and politics from scholarship, as well as to the trials of racism. Undaunted, he took the opportunity to hone his public-speaking skills by addressing audiences at London's famous Hyde Park, where soap box orators who exercised the right of free speech found willing audiences for whatever topic interested them.

Leaving England in 1966, Rodney accepted an appointment as lecturer in African history at University College in Tanzania, but left to accept a teaching appointment in January 1968 at the Jamaica campus of the UWI, where he launched and taught a course in African history. Consistent with his view that scholarship should not be divorced from politics and that the most meaningful education comes from an understanding of the condition of the people, Rodney took his pedagogy to the "dungles," or the most dispossessed parts of Kingston. This led him, perhaps inevitably, to a sustained critique of the government of Jamaica, whose policies, he maintained, perpetuated the dispossession of black Jamaicans. However, after attending a Conference of Black Writers held at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, in October 1968, Rodney was declared persona non grata by the Jamaican government and banned from reentering the island.

Rodney's exclusion from Jamaica led to various protest demonstrations and confrontations by students and others with the police. Another significant result of the ban was the publication of his 1969 book, *The Groundings with My Brothers.* This book provided Rodney with the opportunity to address issues of major concern to African intellectuals in the diaspora and enabled him to fuse scholarship and reality through the eyes of a person of African descent. Rodney thus addressed the Jamaican situation that had led to his exclusion by challenging what he referred to as the myth of a harmonious Jamaican society that was being perpetuated by the same people who had named Marcus Garvey a national hero, while at the same time using the full force of the law to repress darker-skinned Jamaicans. He warned that black youths were becoming "aware of the possibilities of unleashing armed struggle in their own interests" (Rodney, 1969, p. 15).

Turning his attention to Black Power, Rodney continued to revert to history to explain the oppression of peoples of color by whites. However, fully cognizant of the differences between the experience of the colonized in the United States and those in the West Indies, some of whose territories, like Guyana and Trinidad, had large East Indian populations, Rodney noted that the *Black* in Black Power in the Caribbean must include all colonized individuals who were not of European descent and whose

forebears earlier on had been forced to work on the plantations in the West Indies. Black Power, he continued, must involve efforts by these individuals to control their own "destinies." Moreover, he argued, the major and first responsibility of the nonwhite intellectual in the diaspora was the struggle over ideas and, as a "guerrilla intellectual," participation in the struggle for the transformation of his own orbit.

After his exclusion from Jamaica, Rodney taught in Tanzania from 1968 to 1974 before returning to Guyana to accept a position as professor of history at the University of Guyana (UG). In Tanzania he concluded that he had contributed as much as he could, and that as a non-Tanzanian, his participation in the political culture of that country would be marginal and thus restricted to the university. He could more easily master the nuances of Caribbean culture than those of Tanzania, which were so critical to political activity. However, following the blocking of the UG appointment by the repressive government of President Forbes Burnham, Rodney remained permanently in the country of his birth, where he became a founding member of a political party, the Working People's Alliance. A dynamic speaker with a penchant for breaking down complex ideas into everyday language, Rodney set about mobilizing the Guyanese masses against the regime of Burnham by educating and raising the consciousness of the thousands who attended his lectures in the heart of Georgetown, the capital, all the while using his knowledge of history as his main weapon.

Since some of Rodney's rhetoric was uncompromising and directed at Burnham personally, some felt that Guyana had reached a point where the country was too small for the two antagonists. Thus, in addition to various retaliatory acts by the government, in July 1979, along with seven others, Rodney was arrested and charged, but later acquitted, with arson in connection with the burning of two government offices. At a mass rally on June 6, 1980, Rodney used humor not merely to ridicule Burnham and his government but to criticize the constitution, which arrogated a tremendous amount of power to Burnham as president for life, which Rodney felt was incompatible with democratic socialism. Interspersing his speech with historical references, and much to the amusement of his listeners, Rodney dealt with the serious issue of oppression and death meted out to so-called enemies of the state, referring to Burnham as "King Kong," revealing that some individuals had decided that a certain public convenience should be renamed "Burnham's Palace."

On June 13, 1980, Walter Rodney was killed instantly when a walkie-talkie in his possession, allegedly given to him by an electronics expert in the Guyana Defense Force, exploded. Before his death Rodney had revised a manuscript, which he had submitted for publication to the Johns Hopkins University Press. In that manuscript, published posthumously as *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905,* Rodney continued to emphasize the class nature of Guyanese history, whether he was analyzing the political economy of slavery in general, the capricious labor withdrawal by the Creoles (the former slaves), the role of the planter-controlled legislature in perpetuating the peculiar institution, or Creole opposition to immigration policies that resulted in the introduction of indentured laborers from India to plantation life in the colony. Thus, he remained faithful to the significance of social class and its race/color dimensions, which he had first observed in the 1950s during the struggle for political independence, in his treatment of a particular moment in Guyanese history.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Black Power; Burnham, Forbes; Historians and Historiography; Political Ideologies

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MAURICE ST. PIERRE (2005)

Rolle, Esther

November 8, 1920
November 18, 1998

Actress Esther Rolle was born in Pompano Beach, California, probably in 1920, the tenth of eighteen children of

parents of Bahamian descent. After her family relocated to Florida, she finished Booker T. Washington High School in Miami, and attended Spelman College in Atlanta for one year before moving to New York City. There, while trying to break into theater, Rolle supported herself by working at a pocketbook factory. She was taking drama classes at George Washington Carver School in Harlem when she obtained a scholarship to study acting at New York's innovative New School for Social Research.

During this time, Rolle was introduced to African dance master Asadata Dafora and became a member of his dance troupe, Shogola Oloba. After many years with the troupe, she became its director in 1960. During her dancing career Rolle continued to pursue her interest in theater, and in 1962 she made her professional acting debut as Felicity in Jean Genet's *The Blacks*. Rolle worked in theater throughout the early 1960s, appearing in such productions as *Blues for Mr. Charlie* (1964), *Amen Corner* (1965), and Douglas Turner Ward's *Day of Absence* (1965). She made her film debut as Sister Sarah in 1964's *Nothing But a Man,* and in 1967 she became an original member of the Negro Ensemble Company.

Rolle continued to work steadily in the theater through the early 1970s. She was performing in Melvin Van Peebles's *Don't Play Us Cheap* (1972) when a casting director asked her to audition for the role of the maid on *Maude,* a Norman Lear television show being spun off from *All in the Family*. Rolle won the role and, that same year, with the understanding that her character, Florida Evans, would not be a typical maid, she proceeded to turn the limited role into a popular character. In 1974 the characters of Florida Evans and her husband were spun off into a new television series, *Good Times*.

Good Times depicted a lower-middle-class family living in a tenement on the South Side of Chicago as they struggled to survive economically in the face of layoffs and unemployment. Originally the show was praised for addressing the economic difficulties faced by many inner-city blacks. However, Rolle and costar John Amos constantly struggled with producers over the role of the oldest son, played by Jimmie Walker, who was portrayed as a fast-talking, womanizing buffoon, and who increasingly became the central figure of the show. Rolle left the show in 1977 over these and other disputes, but returned in 1978. *Good Times* was canceled in 1979.

Rolle continued to act in other roles on television and in the theater through the late 1970s and 1980s. She won an Emmy for her performance as a housekeeper in the 1978 television movie *Summer of My German Soldier* and she was nominated for an Emmy for her role in a 1979 television adaptation of Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings.* During the 1980s she appeared on such television shows as *Flamingo Road* (1982) and *The Love Boat* (1983, 1985). In 1989 she played a housekeeper in *The Member of the Wedding* at the Roundabout Theater, a role she had originated in Philadelphia four years earlier. Rolle played the matriarch in an American Playhouse remake of *A Raisin in the Sun* (1989) with Danny Glover as the errant son. That same year, she also played the maid, Idella, in the Academy Award–winning film *Driving Miss Daisy*.

In 1987 Rolle was inducted into the NAACP Hall of Fame, and in 1990 she became the first woman to win the NAACP chair's Civil Rights Leadership Award. For her achievements in film and television, Rolle was inducted into the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame in 1991. Rolle appeared in John Singleton's *Rosewood* (1995) and Maya Angelou's *Down in the Delta* (1998). Rolle died on November 18, 1998, of complications from diabetes.

See also Drama; Television

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KENYA DILDAY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Romaine-la-Prophétesse

c. 1760
?

Details on the life of Romaine-la-Prophétesse (Romaine Rivière), a late eighteenth-century insurgent leader during the early stages of the Haitian Revolution, are sparse. The most reliable contemporary source describes him as a "free black," although most scholarly accounts generally, and perhaps uncritically, identify him as a *griffe,* which in the French plantation colony of Saint Domingue (1697–1804) designated someone who was three-fourths black and one-fourth white. Either way, good reasons exist to believe that Romaine was born in the Kingdom of Kongo; these include the nature of his military and religious leadership, which each suggest strong Kongolese influences. It

is more certain that at the time of the Haitian Revolution's outbreak in 1791, he was a landowner who was married with two children.

Romaine rose to prominence as an insurgent leader in the southern part of the colony around the same time that slave uprisings in Bois Caiman, led by Boukman Dutty and Cecile Fatiman, and in Plaine-du-Nord sparked the widespread rebellion that mushroomed into history's only successful national slave revolt. By September 1791 Romaine had established a base camp in the mountains near Leogane in the rural hamlet of Trou-Coffy. There he occupied a Catholic shrine, administered the sacraments, and inspired his troops to raids of legendary violence on plantations, which he led on horseback with his trademark "magic" rooster tied to his horse's saddle. Calling himself "the godson of the Virgin Mary," he would say mass in the Trou-Coffy shrine beneath an inverted cross with a saber in his hand. At the height of these syncretic communal rituals, Roman the Prophetess (as his name translates literally from the French) would find written messages from the Virgin Mary in the tabernacle, which would instruct him to liberate slaves and declare to them that the king had set them free. Slaves who remained loyal to their white masters were, like their masters, usually slaughtered by Romaine's troops.

Romaine's military activity ranged from Jacmel to Leogane, covering an impressive expanse of mountains and plains. His troops took part, for instance, in the massive November 1791 assault on Jacmel, in which a total of thirteen thousand slaves (up to four thousand of whom could have been under Romaine's direct command) conquered the city. But his greatest conquest was the port city of Leogane, which he ruled for several months. At least one successful act of nautical piracy had allowed Romaine's forces to attack this city in October 1791 from both sea and land. The conquest of Leogane also relied on an informal alliance that Romaine had made with the city's mulatto elite; they would later come to regret this alliance, however, because of Romaine's increasing religious and royalist fanaticism (one source indicates that his ultimate objective was to rule the entire island of Saint-Domingue as its king). Firmly in control of the city by later that year, on New Year's Eve 1791 Romaine summoned all the white and mulatto residents and prisoners to a meeting, where he made them sign a treaty that recognized him as the "commander of all assembled citizens" in Leogane.

By early 1792 it was apparent that Napoleon's regime had a full-scale revolution on its hands in its most lucrative colony. To quell the revolt in the south of Saint Domingue, Civil Commissioner Saint-Léger was dispatched with a large battalion to retake Leogane and to disband Romaine's highly troublesome band of rebel Maroons. Bringing an end to the protracted guerilla struggle, Saint-Léger's forces finally defeated Romaine's in March 1792. One perhaps legendary contemporary account of the attempted capture of Romaine has survived: Disarmed and surrounded, the Virgin's godson threw his wife into his would-be captors' arms and vanished into thin air, much as the prototypical Dominguean Maroon rebel, Makandal, is said to have done when he turned into a fly to escape his execution.

Romaine-la-Prophétesse is commonly referred to as a Vodou priest, although this title is perhaps anachronistic, because he rose to prominence at precisely the time when Vodou was just emerging as a religion. Other issues pertaining to his identity are likewise shrouded in mystery. Why, for instance, did he choose to refer to himself at one and the same time as the Virgin Mary's godson and as a prophetess? Extant letters written or dictated by Romaine and addressed to a French abbot of Les Amis des Noirs in Paris indicate that he was literate and thus deliberately chose a feminine title for himself. Whatever his true identity, it is clear that Romaine-la-Prophétesse had as great an impact as any of the more celebrated religiously inspired Maroon raiders during the early phase of the Haitian Revolution.

See also Haitian Revolution

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TERRY REY (2005)

Roman Catholicism

See Catholicism in the Americas

Roosevelt's Black Cabinet

Disaffected by Republican Party politics in the decades following the Civil War, victimized by racism, and ravaged

by the Great Depression, African Americans transferred their allegiance to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party during the New Deal when they perceived that his efforts to improve conditions for all citizens included them as well. While Roosevelt did not propose specific civil rights legislation during his administrations, he did move to repeal particularly egregious racial restrictions within the federal government bureaucracy, many of which had been initiated by his Democratic predecessor, Woodrow Wilson. Moreover, the First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, remained a vocal and active champion of racial equality. As a consequence of Mrs. Roosevelt's lobbying, of the concerns and interest of former Chicago NAACP president Harold Ickes, a key figure in the Roosevelt administration, and, most important, of concentrated efforts to secure political appointments for blacks, Roosevelt was made aware of the plight of black Americans. In response, African Americans came to view the Democratic Party as a haven.

Two seminal events in 1933 helped to set the stage for the appointment of a number of blacks to second-level positions within the administration. The first was the Second Amenia Conference, hosted by Joel Spingarn, the chairman of the board of the NAACP. The second was the Julius Rosenwald Fund meeting to discuss the economic status of blacks. Out of both of these meetings grew a determination to seek and secure appointments of racial advisers in the administration in order to ensure that blacks would not be excluded from New Deal programs. An Interracial Interdepartmental Group (IIG), supported by the Rosenwald Fund, was set up to promote black appointees. Working closely with Ickes and Eleanor Roosevelt, the IIG helped to secure the appointment of at least one black adviser in all but five of some two dozen New Deal agencies by 1937. This network of officeholders became known as the "Black Cabinet."

Appointees included people such as Robert Weaver, later appointed by Lyndon B. Johnson to serve as the secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Mary McLeod Bethune, director of Negro affairs, National Youth Organization; Henry Hunt and Charles Hall, who, along with Weaver, were original members of the IIG; Joseph H. B. Evans, Farm Security Administration; Lawrence A. Axley, Department of Labor; Edgar G. Brown, Civilian Conservation Corps; N. Robinson, Agriculture; and Alfred E. Smith, Works Project Administration. Bethune convened the members of this unofficial Black Cabinet in 1935. Thereafter, they met regularly (although unofficially), remaining in constant touch with one another and creating a network whose purpose and goal was to promote the interests of black Americans. With greater direct access to power than they had ever had before, they lobbied actively throughout the administration. Although their achievements were limited, they did realize some success. The Black Cabinet helped to ensure that by 1935 approximately 30 percent of all black Americans participated in New Deal relief programs.

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Great Depression and the New Deal; Politics in the United States; Weaver, Robert Clifton

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)

Ross, Diana

March 26, 1944

Born in a low-income housing project in Detroit, Diana Ross developed an interest in music at an early age, when she sang with her parents in a church choir. In high school she studied dress design, illustration, and cosmetology, spending her free time singing on Detroit street corners with her friends Mary Wilson and Florence Ballard. Betty McGlowan was soon added to the group, and the quartet became known as the Primettes. They came to the attention of Motown Records founder Berry Gordy, who used them as background singers for Mary Wells, Marvin Gaye, and the Shirelles. The group was renamed the Supremes, and from the mid-1960s to 1970 they were one of the most popular groups in pop music, with a string of influential hits. In 1970, however, Ross, who had always sought to dominate what was nominally a balanced trio, left to pursue a solo career.

After leaving the Supremes, Ross's popularity continued ("Ain't No Mountain High Enough," 1970), and she also began a career as a film actress. She was nominated for an Academy Award for her performance as Billie Holiday in *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), and starred in *Mahagony* (1975), which yielded the hit ballad "Do You Know Where You're Going To?" the next year. By the mid-1970s Ross was also considered a top disco diva, recording "Love Hangover" (1976) and "Upside Down" (1980). During this time she also had a starring role in the musical film *The Wiz* (1978).

Ross reached the top of the pop charts again in 1981 with "Endless Love," a duet with Lionel Ritchie. Since then she has recorded less frequently (*Muscles,* 1982; *Eaten Alive,* 1985; and *Workin' Overtime,* 1989; *The Force Behind the Power,* 1991; *Every Day Is a New Day,* 1999). Ross, who was married from 1971 to 1975 to Robert Silberstine, was remarried in 1985 to the Norwegian shipping tycoon and mountaineer Arne Naess. They have two sons and live in Norway and Connecticut.

Ross has had nineteen number-one recordings on the pop charts—the most to date for a solo performer—and continues to perform sporadically in concert and on television. In the 1990s she produced and appeared in the made-for-television movies *Out of Darkness* (1994) and *Double Platinum* (1999). In 2000 the Supremes attempted a reunion tour, but Mary Wilson declined to join and the tour, surrounded by controversy and with low ticket sales, was canceled.

See also Music in the United States; Supremes, The

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KAREN BENNETT HARMON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Rowan, Carl T.

August 11, 1925
September 23, 2000

Born in Ravenscroft, Tennessee, the son of a lumber worker, journalist and governmental official Carl Thomas Rowan grew up in poverty. After graduating from local schools in 1942, he saved enough money to attend Tennessee State University. While at Tennessee State, Rowan was drafted and was selected for a special program to train African-American officers in the then segregated U.S. Navy. In 1945, after completing his military service, Rowan registered at Oberlin College in Ohio; he graduated in 1947. Determined to become a journalist, he moved to Minneapolis and received an M.A. from the University of Minnesota in 1948.

That same year Rowan was hired as a copywriter by the white-owned *Minneapolis Tribune* and was made a reporter in 1950, becoming one of the first African-American reporters for a large urban daily newspaper. The next year Rowan toured the southern states, reporting on racial discrimination. His articles (which were collected in the book *South of Freedom* in 1952) won him national attention. Rowan continued as a reporter for the *Tribune* for ten years and won several journalism awards for his coverage of such issues as the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation case in 1954, the Bandung Conference of Nonaligned Nations in Indonesia in 1955, and the 1960 civil war in the former Belgian Congo. In 1956 Rowan made a second trip to the South and was one of the first national journalists to cover the Montgomery bus boycott. He recounted his journey in *Go South to Sorrow* (1957). During the late 1950s he wrote two other books: *The Pitiful and the Proud* (1956), a report on society and culture in India, and *Wait Till Next Year* (1960), a biography of baseball star Jackie Robinson.

In 1961 Rowan was appointed deputy assistant secretary of state by President John F. Kennedy. He spent two years in the position, directing the drafting of position papers. Rowan also assisted Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, accompanying him on a tour of the Middle East, India, and Vietnam. In 1962 he was assigned to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. In January 1963 Kennedy appointed Rowan U.S. ambassador to Finland. Rowan was one of the first African Americans ever assigned as ambassador to a largely white country.

In December 1963 President Lyndon B. Johnson named Rowan to head the United States Information Agency (USIA), replacing Edward R. Murrow. As USIA director, Rowan held by far the highest executive branch position occupied by an African American up to that time. He also attended cabinet meetings and served as a political adviser. Rowan remained at the agency for a little more than a year before resigning because of friction with Johnson over Vietnam and other policies.

In 1965 Rowan was hired as a columnist and lecturer by the Field Newspaper Syndicate, becoming the first African American with a nationally syndicated column. During the next three decades Rowan remained one of the most visible and respected journalists in the United States. In addition to his newspaper column, Rowan served as a syndicated radio commentator on the daily program *The Rowan Report,* as a regular panelist/commentator on the syndicated television show *Agronsky & Company* (1976–1988), and as a frequent panelist on *Meet the Press.* During the 1970s he wrote *Just Between Us Blacks* (1974), a book of essays on racial topics, and *Race War in Rhodesia*

(1978). In 1987 he was named annual president of the prestigious journalists' group, the Gridiron Club. In 1991 Rowan published *Breaking Barriers: A Memoir*. The following year, he founded the Project Excellence program, a million-dollar college scholarship fund. In recognition of his educational efforts, in 1993 the Lynch Annex Elementary School in Detroit was renamed the Carl T. Rowan Community School in his honor.

Rowan was a committed integrationist and mainstream liberal who attacked both conservatives and black nationalists. He and his writings remained controversial. In 1988 Rowan, long a champion of gun control legislation, drew national headlines after he shot and wounded a white man who had broken into his Washington, D.C., home. He was threatened with arrest on charges of possessing an illegal handgun, but the charges were later dropped. Rowan claimed he was the victim of a politically motivated prosecution led by Mayor Marion Barry, whose administration he had attacked in his column.

In 1986 Rowan wrote and produced *Thurgood Marshall: The Man* (1986), two television documentary programs on Marshall's career. In 1987 he began collaborating on Marshall's memoirs, but the project was abandoned when Marshall refused to discuss his Supreme Court cases. Rowan then wrote a biography, *Dream Makers, Dream Breakers: The World of Justice Thurgood Marshall,* which was published in 1993.

Though plagued by health problems, which ultimately required the amputation of one leg, Rowan continued to write his column and to speak out on racial issues. In 1995 he denounced the Million Man March as racist. In 1996 he published *The Coming Race War in America,* in which he warned of the potential for violence if white prejudice and denial of equal opportunity were not addressed.

Rowan died of natural causes at the age of seventy-five.

See also Barry, Marion; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Journalism; Robinson, Jackie

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Rudolph, Wilma

June 23, 1940
November 12, 1994

Olympic athlete Wilma Glodean Rudolph, the twentieth of twenty-two children, was born in Bethlehem, Tennessee, and raised in Clarksville. As a child she suffered from scarlet fever and pneumonia and was stricken with polio, which left her without the use of her left leg. She wore a leg brace until the age of nine, when she was able to regain the strength in her legs. By age twelve Rudolph was the fastest runner in her school. She entered Cobb Elementary School in 1947 and then attended Burt High School in Clarksville, where she played basketball and ran track.

Rudolph met Edward Temple, the track coach at Tennessee State University, while she was at Burt. After her sophomore year Temple invited Rudolph to a summer training camp and began to cultivate her running abilities. In 1956, at age sixteen, she participated in the Olympics in Melbourne, Australia, where her team won the bronze medal in the 4 x 100-meter relay race. Two years later, Rudolph entered Tennessee State to run track and study elementary education and psychology. She was determined to return to the Rome Olympics in 1960. She trained and ran with the Tigerbelles, the Tennessee State University team, which was one of the premier teams in the country. In 1960 Rudolph became the first woman to receive three gold medals, which she won for the 100-meter race, the 200-meter race, and the 4 x 100-meter relay. She instantly became a celebrity, drawing large crowds wherever she went. The French press called her "*la Gazelle*." Rudolph retired from amateur running at the height of her career, in 1962.

Rudolph graduated from Tennessee State in 1963 and accepted a job as teacher and track coach at Cobb Elementary School. Although she lived in many places and held a number of different jobs, she invariably dedicated herself to youth programs and education. She worked as the director of a community center in Evansville, Indiana, with the Job Corps program in Boston and St. Louis, with the Watts Community Action Committee in California, and as a teacher at a high school in Detroit. In 1981 she started the Wilma Rudolph Foundation, a nonprofit organization that nurtures young athletes.

Wilma Rudolph received many awards and distinctions. She was chosen in 1960 as the United Press Athlete of the Year, and the next year the Associated Press designated her Woman Athlete of the Year. She was inducted in 1973 into the Black Sports Hall of Fame, seven years later into the Women's Sports Hall of Fame, and in 1983

into the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame. In 1993 she became the only woman to be awarded the National Sports Award. In addition, her 1977 autobiography, *Wilma: The Story of Wilma Rudolph,* was made into a television movie. Rudolph's achievements as a runner gave a boost to women's track in the United States and heightened awareness about racial and sexual barriers within sports. In addition, Rudolph served as a role model and inspiration to thousands of African-American and female athletes, as well as people trying to overcome physical disabilities.

See also Olympians; Sports

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)

Ruggles, David

March 15, 1810
December 26, 1849

Abolitionist and journalist David Ruggles was born of free parents in Connecticut and educated at a Sabbath School for the Poor in Norwich. Ruggles moved to New York City at the age of seventeen; in 1829 he opened a grocery, with goods of "excellent quality," but no "spiritous liquors." Ruggles began his antislavery work with a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette in 1830, seeking the revolutionary hero's endorsement of immediate abolition. In 1833 he sharpened his speaking skills as a traveling agent for the *Emancipator,* the New York antislavery newspaper. In his speeches he attacked colonization and spoke of antislavery experiences in New York, of the Conventions of Colored Peoples, and of the recently established Phoenix Society.

With Henry Highland Garnet, Ruggles organized the Garrison Literary and Benevolent Association and was an officer in the New York City Temperance Union. He opened the first known African-American bookshop in New York City, which was located at 67 Lispenard Street, in 1834; it served the abolitionist and black communities until destroyed by a mob in 1835.

In 1834 Ruggles published his first pamphlet, the anticolonization satire *Extinguisher, Extinguished . . . or David M. Reese, M.D. "Used Up."* This pamphlet and the later *An Antidote for a Furious Combination . . .* (1838) attacked the procolonizationist arguments of the Methodist cleric David Reese. Ruggles expanded his abolitionist arguments in the 1835 feminist appeal *The Abrogation of the Seventh Commandment by the American Churches.* The pamphlet, published on Ruggles's own press (another African-American first), stood proslavery arguments and fearful fantasies on their heads and called for northern feminists to shun or ostracize the southern wives of slaveholders. In 1835 he penned numerous articles in William L. Garrison's *Emancipator.*

In 1835 Ruggles founded and headed the New York Vigilance Committee, which protected free blacks from kidnapping. He was a daring conductor on the Underground Railroad, harboring Frederick Douglass and one thousand other blacks before transferring them north to safety.

A fearless activist and fundraiser, Ruggles also went to the homes of whites where he believed black servants were unlawfully held. He served writs against slave-catchers and directly confronted them in the street. In the frequent columns he wrote for the *Colored American,* he exposed racism on railroads. In 1839 he published a *Slaveholders Directory,* which identified the names and addresses of politicians, lawyers, and police in New York who "lend themselves to kidnapping."

Between 1838 and 1841 Ruggles published five issues of the *Mirror of Liberty,* the first African-American magazine. Circulated widely throughout the East, the Midwest, and even the South, the *Mirror of Liberty* chronicled the activities of the Vigilance Committee, gave accounts of kidnappings and related court cases, and printed antislavery speeches and notices from black organizations. Despite its irregular appearances, the magazine was a significant achievement.

Burdened by a fractious and costly dispute with Samuel Cornish, accused of mishandling funds, having been jailed for his activities, and suffering from near blindness, Ruggles moved to Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1842. There Lydia Maria Child and the Northampton Association of Education and Industry gave him succor in the 1840s while he continued his activities on the Underground Railroad. In Northampton, Ruggles overcame his poor health and built a prosperous practice as a doctor of hydropathy, using water in the treatment of various diseases. He attended a huge variety of patients, from the wife of a southern slave owner to William Lloyd Garrison to Sojourner Truth. He died in 1849 from a severe intestinal illness.

See also Abolition; Underground Railroad

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GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES (1996)

Runaway Slaves

This entry consists of two distinct articles with differing geographic domains.

Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean
Richard Price

Runaway Slaves in the United States
Freddie Parker

Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

Throughout the colonial Americas, runaway slaves were called "Maroons." The English word *Maroon* comes from Spanish *cimarrón,* itself based on a Taíno Indian root. *Cimarrón* originally referred to domestic cattle that had taken to the hills in Hispaniola, and soon after to American Indian slaves who had escaped from the Spaniards. By the end of the 1530s the word was being used primarily to refer to Afro-American runaways and already had strong connotations of "fierceness," of being "wild" and "unbroken," of being indomitable.

In 1502 the man who would become the first Afro-American Maroon arrived on the first ship carrying enslaved Africans to the New World. In the 1970s one of the last surviving runaway slaves in the hemisphere was still alive in Cuba. For more than four centuries, the communities formed by Maroons dotted the fringes of plantation America from Brazil to Florida, from Peru to Texas. Usually called *palenques* in the Spanish colonies and *mocambos* or *quilombos* in Brazil, they ranged from tiny bands that survived less than a year to powerful states encompassing thousands of members and lasting for generations or even centuries. Today their descendants still form semi-independent enclaves in several parts of the hemisphere—for example, in Jamaica, Brazil, Colombia, Belize, Suriname, and French Guiana—remaining fiercely proud of their Maroon origins and, in some cases at least, faithful to unique cultural traditions that were forged during the earliest days of Afro-American history.

Drawing of a runaway slave, 1672. *The English referred to escaped slaves as "maroons." Free from white dominance, these refugees established communities in remote areas of the Caribbean and Latin America.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

During the past several decades anthropological fieldwork has underlined the strength of historical consciousness among the descendants of these rebel slaves and the dynamism and originality of their cultural institutions. Meanwhile, historical scholarship on Maroons has flourished, as new research has done much to dispel the myth of the docile slave. Marronage represented a major form of slave resistance, whether accomplished by lone individuals, by small groups, or in great collective rebellions. Throughout the Americas Maroon communities stood out as a heroic challenge to white authority, as living proof of the existence of a slave consciousness that refused to be limited by the whites' conception or manipulation of it. It is no accident that in much of the Caribbean and Latin America today, the historical Maroon—often mythologized into a larger-than-life figure—has become a touchstone of identity for the region's writers, artists, and intel-

Map depicting the locations of revolts and fugitive slave communities in the Caribbean and parts of North and South America, sixteenth century. *In 1502, the first African slaves were brought to Cuba from West Africa. By the middle of that century, the entire Caribbean and most of Central and South America were settled by the Spanish with the support of large African and Indian slave populations. Many slaves revolted and formed what came to be known as* maroon *communities, often in hostile and unproductive regions such as swamps, mountains, and jungles, where they could defend themselves more easily.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

lectuals, the ultimate symbol of resistance and the fight for freedom.

More generally, Maroons and their communities can be seen to hold a special significance for the study of Afro-American societies. For while they were, from one perspective, the antithesis of all that slavery stood for; they were also a widespread and embarrassingly visible part of this system. Just as the very nature of plantation slavery implied violence and resistance, the wilderness setting of early New World plantations made marronage and the existence of organized Maroon communities a ubiquitous reality. And in Haiti Maroons played a signal role as cata-

lysts in the Haitian Revolution that created the first nation in the Americas where all citizens were free (for the scholarly debates on this issue, see Manigat [1977]).

The meaning of marronage differed for enslaved people in different social positions, varying with their perception of themselves and their situation, which was influenced by such diverse factors as their country of birth, the period of time they had been in the New World, their task assignment as slaves, their family responsibilities, and the particular treatment they were receiving from overseers or masters, as well as more general considerations such as the proportion of blacks to whites in the region, the proportion of freedmen in the population, and the opportunities for manumission. Many African runaways, particularly men, escaped during their first hours or days in the Americas. Enslaved Africans who had already spent some time in the New World seem to have been less prone to flight. But enslaved Africans or Creole slaves who were particularly acculturated, who had learned the ways of the plantation best, seem to have been highly represented among runaways, often escaping to urban areas where they could pass as free because of their independent skills and ability to speak the colonial language.

Planters generally tolerated *petit marronage*—truancy with temporary goals such as visiting a friend or lover on a neighboring plantation. But in most slaveholding colonies, the most brutal punishments—amputation of a leg, castration, suspension from a meathook through the ribs, slow roasting to death—were reserved for long-term, recidivist Maroons, and in many cases these were quickly written into law. Marronage on the grand scale (*grand marronage*), with individual fugitives banding together to create communities, struck directly at the foundations of the plantation system, presenting military and economic threats that often taxed the colonists to their very limits. Maroon communities, whether hidden near the fringes of the plantations or deep in the forest or swamps, periodically raided plantations for firearms, tools, and women, often permitting families that had formed during slavery to be reunited in freedom.

To be viable, Maroon communities had to be inaccessible, and villages were typically located in remote, inhospitable areas. In Jamaica some of the most famous Maroon groups lived in the intricately accidented "cockpit country," where deep canyons and limestone sinkholes abound but water and good soil are scarce; in Suriname and Brazil, seemingly impenetrable jungles provided Maroons with a safe haven. Throughout the hemisphere Maroons developed extraordinary skills in guerrilla warfare. To the bewilderment of their colonial enemies, whose rigid and conventional tactics were learned on the open battlefields

March thro' a Swamp or, Marsh in Terra Firma, ***by John Gabriel Steadman.*** *Steadman's drawings, engraved for publication by William Blake and others, accompanied his* Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America, from the year 1772 to 1777. *Pictured are colonial troops and slaves searching for maroon villages.* © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

of Europe, these highly adaptable and mobile warriors took maximum advantage of local environments, striking and withdrawing with great rapidity, making extensive use of ambushes to catch their adversaries in crossfire, fighting only when and where they chose, depending on reliable intelligence networks among non-Maroons (both slaves and white settlers), and often communicating by drums and horns.

In many cases the beleaguered colonists were eventually forced to sue their former slaves for peace. In Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Suriname, and Venezuela, for example, whites reluctantly offered treaties granting Maroon communities their freedom, recognizing their territorial integrity, and making some provision for meeting their economic needs, in return for an end to hostilities toward the plantations and an agreement to return future runaways. Of course, many Maroon societies were crushed by massive force of arms, and even when treaties were proposed

they were sometimes refused or quickly violated. Nevertheless, new Maroon communities seemed to appear almost as quickly as the old ones were exterminated, and they remained, from a colonial perspective, the "chronic plague" and "gangrene" of many plantation societies right up to final emancipation.

African Origins, New World Creativity

The initial Maroons in any New World colony hailed from a wide range of societies in West and Central Africa—at the outset, they shared neither language nor other major aspects of culture. Their collective task, once off in the forests or mountains or swamplands, was nothing less than to create new communities and institutions, largely via a process of inter-African cultural syncretism or blending. Those scholars, mainly anthropologists, who have examined contemporary Maroon life most closely seem to agree that such societies are often uncannily "African" in feeling but at the same time largely devoid of directly transplanted systems. However "African" in character, no Maroon social, political, religious, or aesthetic *system* can be reliably traced to a specific African ethnic provenience—they reveal rather their syncretistic composition, forged in the early meeting of peoples of diverse African, European, and Amerindian origins in the dynamic setting of the New World.

The political system of the great seventeenth-century Brazilian Maroon kingdom of Palmares, for example, which historian R. K. Kent (1965) has characterized as an "African" state, did not (he tells us) derive from a *particular* Central African model but from several. In the development of the kinship system of the Ndyuka Maroons of Suriname, argues anthropologist André Köbben (1996), their West African heritage undoubtedly played a part and the influence of the matrilineal Akan tribes is unmistakable, but so is that of patrilineal tribes, and there are significant differences between the Akan and Ndyuka matrilineal systems. Historical and anthropological research has revealed that the magnificent woodcarving of the Suriname Maroons, long considered "an African art in the Americas" on the basis of formal resemblances, is in fact a fundamentally new, Afro-American art for which it would be pointless, argues Jean Hurault (1970), to seek the origin through direct transmission of any particular African style. And detailed investigations—both in museums and in the field—of a range of cultural phenomena among the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname have confirmed the dynamic, creative processes that continue to animate these societies.

Maroon cultures do possess direct and sometimes spectacular continuities from particular African peoples, from military techniques for defense to recipes for warding off sorcery. These are, however, of the same type as those that can be found, if with lesser frequency, in Afro-American communities throughout the hemisphere. In stressing these isolated African "retentions," there is a danger of neglecting cultural continuities of a more significant kind. Roger Bastide (1972, pp. 128–151) divided Afro-American religions into those he considered "preserved" or "canned," like Brazilian Candomblé, and those that he considered "alive," like Haitian vodou. The former, he argued, manifest a kind of "defense mechanism" or "cultural fossilization," a fear that any small change may bring on the end, while the latter are more secure of their future and freer to adapt to the changing needs of their adherents. And indeed, tenacious fidelity to "African" *forms* seems, in many cases, to indicate a culture finally having lost meaningful touch with the vital African past. Certainly, one of the most striking features of West and Central African cultural systems is their internal dynamism, their ability to grow and change. The cultural uniqueness of the more developed Maroon societies (e.g., those in Suriname) rests firmly on their fidelity to "African" cultural principles at these deeper levels—whether aesthetic, political, religious, or domestic—rather than on the frequency of their isolated "retentions." With a rare freedom to extrapolate ideas from a variety of African societies and adapt them to changing circumstances, Maroon groups included (and continue to include today) what are in many respects *at once* the most meaningfully African *and* the most truly "alive" and culturally dynamic of all Afro-American cultures.

Famous Runaway Communities

Some of the best known Maroon societies are Palmares in Brazil, Palenque de San Basilio in Colombia, the Maroons of Esmeraldas in Ecuador, San Lorenzo de los Negros in Mexico, the Maroons of Jamaica, and the Saramaka, Ndyuka, and other Maroons of Suriname.

Because Palmares, in northeastern Brazil, was finally crushed by a massive colonial army in 1695 after a century of success and growth, actual knowledge of its internal affairs remains limited, based as it is on soldiers' reports, the testimony of a captive under torture, official documents, modern archaeological work, and the like. But as a modern symbol of black (and anticolonial) heroism, Palmares continues to evoke strong emotions throughout Brazil, as do the names of its great leaders, first Ganga Zumba and, later, Zumbi. (For a compilation of historical scholarship, including work in archaeology and anthropology, see Reis and Santos Gomes [1996].)

Palenque de San Basilio, near the Atlantic coast of Colombia, boasts a history stretching back to the seventeenth century. In recent years historians, anthropologists, and linguists—working in collaboration with palenqueros—have uncovered a great deal about continuities and changes in the life of these early Colombian freedom fighters. (For an illustrated introduction to this community, see de Friedemann and Cross [1979].)

In Esmeraldas, on the Pacific coast of Ecuador, Maroon history began in the early sixteenth century, when Spanish ships carrying slaves from Panama to Guayaquil and Lima were wrecked amid strong currents and shifting sandbars. A number of slave survivors sought freedom in the unconquered interior, where they allied with indigenous peoples. In the 1580s, having beaten back military expeditions sent to capture them, several Maroon bands tried to make peace in Quito. All were guaranteed continued autonomy in exchange for safe passage of further shipwreck victims and promises not to ally with English and later Dutch pirates. A 1599 portrait of one such Maroon leader, Don Francisco de Arobe, and his two sons was commissioned in Quito and sent to Philip III of Spain to commemorate these negotiations. (For more on this story, see Lane [2002].)

San Lorenzo de los Negros, in Veracruz, is probably the best known of the seventeenth-century Maroon towns in Mexico. Under their leader Yanga, the Maroons attempted to make peace as early as 1608, but it was not until 1630, after years of intermittent warfare, that the Viceroy and the crown finally agreed to establish the town of free Maroons. (For a summary of Maroon communities in Mexico, see Pereira [1994].)

The Jamaica Maroons, who continue to live in two main groups centered in Accompong (in the hills above Montego Bay) and in Moore Town (deep in the Blue Mountains), maintain strong traditions about their days as freedom fighters, when the former group was led by Cudjoe and the latter by the redoubtable woman warrior Nanny. Two centuries of scholarship, some written by Maroons themselves, offers diverse windows on the ways these men and women managed to survive and build a vibrant culture within the confines of a relatively small island. (A useful entree to Jamaica Maroon literature is provided in Agorsah [1994].)

The Suriname Maroons now constitute the most fully documented case of how former slaves built new societies and cultures, under conditions of extreme deprivation, in the Americas—and how they developed and maintained semi-independent societies that persist into the present. From their late seventeenth-century origins and the details of their wars and treaty making to their current struggles with multinational mining and timber companies, much is now known about these peoples' achievements, in large part because of the extensive recent collaboration by Saramaka and Ndyuka Maroons with anthropologists. Today, Suriname Maroons—who number some 120,000 people—live in the interior of the country in and around the capital Paramaribo, and in neighboring French Guiana. (The relevant bibliography on Suriname Maroons numbers in the thousands of references; useful points of entry are Price and Price [1999] and Thoden van Velzen and van Wetering [2004].) Because of their numerical importance as well as the unusually rich scholarship devoted to them, Suriname Maroons merit expanded discussion here.

Suriname (formerly known also as Dutch Guiana) is in northeastern South America and gained its independence in 1975. Suriname's Maroons (formerly known also as "Bush Negroes") have long been the hemisphere's largest Maroon population, representing one extreme in the range of cultural adaptations that Afro-Americans have made in the New World. Between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, the ancestors of the present-day Maroons escaped, in many cases soon after their arrival from Africa, from the coastal plantations on which they were enslaved and fled into the forested interior, where they regrouped into small bands. Their hardships in forging an existence in a new and inhospitable environment were compounded by the persistent and massive efforts of the colonial government to eliminate this threat to the plantation colony.

The Dutch colonists reserved special punishments for recaptured slaves—hamstringing, amputation of limbs, and a variety of deaths by torture. The organized pursuit of Maroons and expeditions to destroy their settlements date at least from the 1670s, but these rarely met with success, for the Maroons had established and protected their settlements with great ingenuity and had become expert at all aspects of guerrilla warfare. By the middle of the eighteenth century, when, in the words of a prominent planter, "the colony had become the theater of a perpetual war," (Nassy, 1788, p. 87) the colonists finally sued the Maroons for peace. In 1760 and 1762 peace treaties were successfully concluded with the two largest Maroon peoples, the Ndyukas and the Saramakas, and in 1767 with the much smaller Matawai, guaranteeing Maroons their freedom and territory (even though slavery persisted for another hundred years on the coast) in return for nonaggression and an agreement not to harbor posttreaty escaped slaves. New slave revolts and the large-scale war of subsequent decades, for which an army of mercenaries was imported from Europe, eventually led to the formation of the Aluku (Boni), as well as the smaller Paramaka and Kwinti groups.

Map depicting the locations of revolts and fugitive slave communities in the Americas and the Caribbean, seventeenth century. MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Today, there are six politically distinct Maroon peoples in Suriname and neighboring French Guiana; the Ndyuka and Saramaka each have a population of about fifty thousand, the Aluku (Boni) and Paramaka are each closer to six thousand, the Matawai are some four thousand, and the Kwinti number fewer than five hundred. Their traditional territories are deep in the forests of the country, although today large numbers of Maroons live outside of these areas, mainly in Paramaribo and the coastal towns of French Guiana. Although formed under broadly similar historical and ecological conditions, these societies display significant variation in everything from language, diet, and dress to patterns of marriage, residence, and migratory wage labor. From a cultural point of view, the greatest differences are between the Maroons of central Suriname (Saramaka, Matawai, and Kwinti) on

the one hand, and those of eastern Suriname and western French Guiana (Ndyuka, Aluku, and Paramaka) on the other.

Since the colonial government of Suriname signed treaties with the Ndyuka, Saramaka, and Matawai in the 1760s and later recognized the Aluku, Paramaka, and Kwinti, a loose framework of indirect rule has obtained. Except for the Kwinti, each group has a paramount chief (who from an internal perspective might better be described as a "king"), as well as a series of headmen and other village-based officials. Traditionally, the role of these people in political and social control has been exercised in a context replete with oracles, spirit possession, and other forms of divination. Until the mid-twentieth century almost all Maroons lived by a combination of, on the one hand, forest horticulture, hunting, and fishing, and on the other, men doing wage labor on the coast to buy and bring back Western-manufactured goods. But rapid change began in the 1960s, as the widespread use of outboard motors and the development of air service to the interior encouraged increased traffic of people and goods between Maroon villages and the coast. At the same time the construction, by Alcoa and the Suriname government, of a giant hydroelectric project brought a dramatic migration toward the coast, with some six thousand people forced to abandon their homes as an artificial lake gradually flooded almost half of Saramaka territory. Meanwhile in French Guiana, beginning in the 1970s, the Aluku were subjected to intense pressures for "*francisation,*" which caused wrenching economic, cultural, and political transformations. Suriname's independence in 1975 changed life for most Maroons less than for the coastal population, but a civil war (1986–1992), which pitted the national army of Suriname against the "Jungle Commandos" (largely made up of Ndyukas but with a significant number of Saramakas as well), annihilated the Ndyuka villages along the Cottica River and sent some ten thousand Maroons fleeing to French Guiana. Today, continuing battles over the control of the valuable gold mining and timber rights in the interior affect every aspect of contemporary Maroon life in Suriname, with the national government claiming sovereignty over the territories the Maroons' ancestors died for. Many outside observers now fear the government has embarked on a policy of ethnocide toward the Maroons.

The Suriname Maroons, whose ancestors came from a wide variety of West and Central African societies, created new, vibrant Afro-American cultures in the rainforest, drawing primarily on their diverse African backgrounds but with lesser contributions as well from Amerindians (primarily subsistence techniques) and Europeans. Their enormously rich religious systems, their unique Creole languages, and their vibrant artistic and performance achievements are remarkably African in feeling yet unlike those of any particular culture or society in Africa. In building creatively upon their collective past, the early Maroons synthesized African cultural principles and adapted, played with, and reshaped cultural forms into ones that were new, yet still organically related to that past. The culture of the Suriname Maroons, forged in an inhospitable rainforest by people under constant threat of annihilation, stands as enduring testimony to African-American resilience and creativity and to the exuberance of the Maroon imagination working itself out within the rich, broad framework of African cultural ideas.

Current Issues

Since the fieldwork of pioneer Afro-Americanists Melville and Frances Herskovits in Suriname in the 1920s (see their 1934 book and the Prices' 2003 pamphlet), Maroons have moved to the center of scholarly debates, ranging from the origins of Creole languages and the "accuracy" of oral history to the nature of the African heritage in the Americas and the very definition of Afro-American anthropology. Indeed, David Scott argues that the Saramaka Maroons have by now become "a sort of anthropological metonym . . . providing the exemplary arena in which to argue out certain anthropological claims about a discursive domain called Afro-America" (1991, p. 269). Much of the most recent anthropological research has focused on Maroon historiography—how Maroons themselves conceptualize and transmit knowledge about the past—and has privileged the voices of individual Maroon historians. Eric Hobsbawm, commenting on this work in the more general context of the social sciences, notes that "Maroon societies raise fundamental questions. How do casual collections of fugitives of widely different origins, possessing nothing in common but the experience of transportation in slave ships and of plantation slavery, come to form structured communities? How, one might say more generally, are societies founded from scratch? What exactly did or could such refugee communities . . . derive from the old continent?" (1990, p. 46). Questions such as these are sure to keep students of Maroon societies engaged in active research for many years to come.

See also Maroon Societies in the Caribbean; Nanny of the Maroons; Palenque San Basilio; Palmares; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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RICHARD PRICE (2005)

Runaway Slaves in the United States

On June 27, 1838, Betty—a slave belonging to Micajah Ricks of Nash County, North Carolina—ran away with her two children, Burrel and Gray, aged seven and five. Betty had violated one of her owner's rules because, a few days before she fled, Ricks had burned the letter *M* on the left side of her face. Humiliated by this, Betty tried to hide the brand by covering her head and face with a piece of cloth and a "fly bonnet." The branding of Betty's face was the spark that forced her to strike a personal blow against the institution of slavery in North Carolina. Ricks presumed that Betty and her children would "attempt to pass as free."

Betty's flight for some measure of psychological and physical freedom was an act played out by thousands of slaves in North Carolina and throughout the South during slavery. From slavery's inception until its end, black slaves employed several methods to resist the dehumanization and horrors the institution presented. Slaves committed acts of day-to-day resistance, dozens of revolts occurred, and they ran away from their masters, often placing great distance between themselves and enslavement. Virginia, the first British colony in North America, was plagued with the problem of slave flight. As other American colonies were established, including Maryland, the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and even the New England colonies, wherever slavery existed, there is evidence of slave flight.

Slave owners throughout America were confronted with the problems that runaways presented in their quest to be free. Fugitive slaves lurked about farms and plantations, sometimes robbing owners, stealing food, and generally doing what was necessary to survive in a hostile environment where they were the targets of slave catchers and citizens seeking rewards for capturing runaways. Runaway slaves sometimes committed felonies, including bur-

$200 Reward.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of Thursday, the 30th of Sepember,

FIVE NEGRO SLAVES,

To-wit : one Negro man, his wife, and three children.

The man is a black negro, full height, very erect, his face a little thin. He is about forty years of age, and calls himself *Washington Reed*, and is known by the name of Washington. He is probably well dressed, possibly takes with him an ivory headed cane, and is of good address. Several of his teeth are gone.

Mary, his wife, is about thirty years of age, a bright mulatto woman, and quite stout and strong.

The oldest of the children is a boy, of the name of FIELDING, twelve years of age, a dark mulatto, with heavy eyelids. He probably wore a new cloth cap.

MATILDA, the second child, is a girl, six years of age, rather a dark mulatto, but a bright and smart looking child.

MALCOLM, the youngest, is a boy, four years old, a lighter mulatto than the last, and about equally as bright. He probably also wore a cloth cap. If examined, he will be found to have a swelling at the navel.

Washington and Mary have lived at or near St. Louis, with the subscriber, for about 15 years.

It is supposed that they are making their way to Chicago, and that a white man accompanies them, that they will travel chiefly at night, and most probably in a covered wagon.

A reward of $150 will be paid for their apprehension, so that I can get them, if taken within one hundred miles of St. Louis, and $200 if taken beyond that, and secured so that I can get them, and other reasonable additional charges, if delivered to the subscriber, or to THOMAS ALLEN, Esq., at St. Louis, Mo. The above negroes, for the last few years, have been in possession of Thomas Allen, Esq., of St. Louis.

WM. RUSSELL.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 1, 1847.

Poster advertising reward for runaway slaves, St. Louis, 1847. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

glary, arson, and murder. As troublesome as these actions were, simply put, runaway slaves represented a huge economic loss to their owners. During the 1820s, more than two thousand runaway slaves, valued at more than one million dollars, lived in the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina.

Because of this enormous loss in revenue and the expenses that owners accrued in attempting to capture runaway slaves, along with the acts of violence and theft committed by runaways, slaveholders and nonslaveholders petitioned legislative bodies across America to enact laws to prevent and control the problem of slave flight. The colony of Virginia enacted runaway slave legislation soon after slavery was legally established in the early 1660s. Virginia passed a law that required that slaves have in their possession a "pass" or "ticket" when they were allowed to leave the farm or plantation. The pass contained the slave's name, destination, order of business, and the owner's signature. Slave owners were held responsible and subject to a fine for slaves who were off the plantation without a pass. The Virginia legislature also established a reward system for citizens who apprehended runaway slaves. In addition to the reward, owners were required to pay a fee based on the distance (in miles) the runaway was apprehended from the owner's property.

The reward system provided an incentive to would-be apprehenders to be vigilant in the quest to return slaves to the rightful owner. Most subscribers began their runaway notices with the reward amount offered. In 1741, following Virginia's and South Carolina's lead, North Carolina established a reward system based on proximity from the owner's residence. If a slave were captured in the

Map depicting the locations of revolts and fugitive slave communities in the Americas and the Caribbean, eighteenth century. *As more African slaves were brought to the Americas during the 1700s, the number of maroon communities continued to grow. Among the best known in North America were largely inaccessible camps in the Florida everglades and in the bayous of Louisiana.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

owner's county, five dollars plus any expenses accrued to the apprehender were due. A minimum of ten dollars and expenses were due if the slave was brought back from another county, and if the slave ventured into the Great Dismal Swamp, twenty-five dollars in addition to expenses were due.

Runaway slaves were often harbored by whites and free blacks throughout slaveholding America. To confront this problem, legislative bodies passed laws that imposed fines, jail terms, and public whippings on those who concealed and harbored fugitives. Some owners warned in their notices for runaways that "all persons are forewarned from harboring" or "whoever harbors him will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour" of the law. The extent to which politicians and the citizenry, as a whole, fought to secure runaway legislation is evident in the North Carolina

Revised Slave Code of 1741. Of the dozens of laws passed that year, thirty-seven percent were devoted to some aspect of the runaway problem in North Carolina. Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina enacted "outlawry" legislation. Such laws mandated that owners who wished to have their runaway slave designated an outlaw go before two justices of the peace and draw up a proclamation stating that citizens could kill the outlawed slave without judicial reprisal. If the slave were killed, the owner would be compensated with at least two-thirds the slave's value. Such legislation proved effective in reducing slave flight.

Runaway slaves proved to be such a problem that southern representatives attending the Constitutional Convention in 1787 fought for federal legislation securing the rights of slave owners. Representative Pierce Butler of South Carolina led the effort to ensure that the new federal government would recognize that flight from a slave to a free state did not guarantee freedom. Thus, Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3 of the Constitution states that: "No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due."

Later, Congress passed the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act, which allowed owners to claim their property in the North. Judges and magistrates were empowered to provide a certificate to the slave's owner upon proof of ownership. A fine of $500 was imposed on individuals who harbored or impeded the arrest of runaway slaves. Over the years, the law was highly ineffective and usually not enforced. As a result, slave owners fought to secure stronger legislation year after year, and were finally successful in 1850. The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act was far more stringent, and unlike the 1793 law, it was usually enforced, as evidenced by the thousands of slaves who were returned to the South during the 1850s.

Advertisements placed in hundreds of newspapers across America provide material for the study of runaway slaves. Thousands of slave owners across the South used the press to advertise for their absconded property. Runaway notices appeared in Virginia newspapers very early and continued during the Civil War. More than any other source, these advertisements provide vivid descriptions of who slaves were. The advertisements included the absconded slave's name, gender, age, height, weight, attire, and possible destination, along with a description of the runaway's personality, offers of rewards, and other information owners believed would lead to the return of their valuable property.

An analysis of the notices in all of the slaveholding states reveals that, on average, men constituted 78 to 82 percent of the runaway population. Female slaves composed the remaining 18 to 22 percent. Though female slaves desired freedom as well as men, familial ties kept them bound to the farms and plantations to a greater degree than men. Women were encouraged to have children at a young age, and as primary caregivers, running away with children obviously proved more difficult. Deborah White (1985) has shown that owners provided incentives to female slaves to reproduce would-be laborers for their owners. Despite the risks, some female slaves fled with their children, and there are hundreds of instances where they ran while pregnant.

Typical runaways, both male and female, were in their mid- to late twenties. By the time slaves reached their mid-twenties, they had usually been owned by more than one person. Many of these slaves had a spouse and children on each farm or plantation where they had been enslaved. They became familiar with the different parts of the state in which they lived, and in some instances different parts of the South, as many were shipped from other states. African-born slaves often ran away after being in the United States for only a short time. In order to secure their return, slave owners placed signs around the county and advertised in local newspapers, which described the slave's inability to speak English or fluency in other languages. Owners also sometimes described African-born slaves as having "filed teeth" and ethnic "markings" on the face and arms.

Notices for runaway slaves throughout the South and even the northern states provided rich detail about the slave's physical makeup. Specifically, advertisements described the slave's complexion (or whether a slave was a mulatto), along with height, weight, cuts, bruises, oral health, scars that may have resulted from floggings, and other aspects of the slave's anatomy. Slave owners also described the clothing that slaves wore when they fled and any clothing taken by them. Vivid descriptions about clothing were provided to alert would-be captors that the slave could present himself or herself in a variety of ways. Notices also pointed out that runaways would likely sell any additional clothing. The following advertisement, typical of colonial-era runaway notices, appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on September 12, 1771.

> PRINCE GEORGE, August 27, 1771. RUN away from the Subscriber, on Tuesday the 6th Instant, a NEGRO FELLOW, named FRANK, twenty seven Years of Age, five Feet five or six Inches high, of a yellow Complexion, has a Scar in his right Cheek, and the Sinews in one of his Hams seem to be drawn up in Knots. He has run away several Times, and always passed for a Freeman.

> As he may possibly try to get out of the Country, I hereby forewarn all Masters of Vessels from carrying out the said Slave, at their Peril. I imagine he is sculking about Indian Town on Pamunkey among the Indians, as in one of his former Trips he got himself a Wife amongst them. Whoever brings the said Slave to me shall be handsomely rewarded. DAVID SCOTT.

In an effort to place distance between themselves and their masters, one would expect slaves to have fled by horseback. However, flight by horseback or horse and buggy occurred infrequently because it drew attention to runaways; additionally, horses required feeding and rest. Some slaves fled by boat, but boat travel was slow and exposed the runaway. Slaves often found freedom by boarding vessels leaving southern ports bound for the North. Boarding outbound vessels became such a problem that states enacted legislation to prevent ship captains from harboring, employing, or conveying runaways to the North. It was a capital offense in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for ship captains to carry slaves to the North. Slave owners warned captains in their notices by writing that: "Masters of vessels and others are cautioned at their peril" not to take runaway slaves out of the state. In 1837 Governor Edward B. Dudley of North Carolina offered a $1,000 reward for the return of his slave who had been taken to Boston by a "master of vessel." Dudley pledged $500 for the slave and $500 for the capture of the captain who carried his slave to Boston.

Overwhelmingly, slaves resorted to "foot flight." This mode of escape was safest because it allowed runaways to hide in the woods and swamps free of any encumbrances. Typical of the notices for such runaway slaves is the following advertisement for Quash, who fled from his Wilmington, North Carolina, owner on January 7, 1805.

> Ten Dollars Reward. RAN Away from the subscriber on the 7th inst. A Negro man named QUASH; he is about Twenty-five years old, five feet ten or eleven inches high. The above reward will be given to any person who will deliver him to the Subscriber. Masters of vessels are forewarned from employing or carrying him away. Wilmington, Jan. 22. Thomas Robeson

In the United States, as in Jamaica, Brazil, Cuba, and other slave-owning societies, slaves who fled from farms and plantations formed Maroon societies. These runaway communities provided a sanctuary for thousands of slaves. They could be found deep in the woods, in the mountains, and in the swamps throughout the southern part of the United States. Some slaves lived in these communities for weeks, months, and even years. Slaves used Maroon societies as a launching pad to take livestock, chickens, and vegetables from neighboring farms and plantations. The Great Dismal Swamp—known as the site of the largest Maroon society in North America—was located in southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. Before its drainage in the 1780s and 1790s, the swamp covered 2,200 square miles, encompassing Norfolk and Nansemond counties in Virginia, and Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, and Gates counties in North Carolina. The Great Dismal Swamp provided refuge for thousands of runaway slaves for more than two hundred years.

Whites in Virginia and North Carolina were aware of the black presence and how dangerous it was to venture near or into the Great Dismal Swamp. The swamp was nearly impenetrable, and slave catchers in Virginia and North Carolina received substantially higher rewards when they returned runaways from the Great Dismal Swamp. A recollection of a contemporary of the era indicated that if a runaway slave made it to the swamp, "unless he was betrayed, it would be a matter of impossibility to catch him" (Arnold, p. 6). Writing in 1817, Samuel H. Perkins, a Yale College graduate hired to tutor the children of a prominent citizen in Hyde County, North Carolina, wrote that: "Traveling here without pistols is considered very dangerous owing to the great number of runaway Negroes. They conceal themselves in the woods & swamps by day and frequently plunder by night." Perkins further exclaimed that the Dismal Swamp was "inhabited almost exclusively by run away Negroes, bears, wild cats & wild cattle" (McLean, p. 56). Stories of the Great Dismal Swamp encouraged the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to pen a poem titled "The Slave in the Dismal Swamp" (1842). Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851–1852), wrote a novel about the swamp titled *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856).

The driving forces behind slave flight were many. Overwhelmingly, the desire to find loved ones from whom slaves had been separated was a primary motive for running away. Husbands and wives were separated from their children and other loved ones through the domestic slave trade that lasted through the Civil War. In their private correspondence and advertisements for fugitives, slave owners revealed where they believed slaves were headed. In many cases, fugitives were destined for other farms and plantations in the state where they lived. Slaves would run away from their new owner back to the area where they had lived and raised families. In some cases, slaves risked their lives to find family members in other states. During the 1820s and 1830s, slave owners moved to the virgin soils of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, often

Map depicting the locations of revolts and fugitive slave communities in the Americas and the Caribbean, nineteenth century. *With the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, the institution of slavery was formally prohibited throughout the western hemisphere. Nevertheless, many maroon communities in isolated, inaccessible areas continued to exist into the twentieth century.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

taking their slaves with them. This flight by whites to the Deep South and Southwest resulted in the breaking up of many slave families. Thousands of slaves reportedly lurked about the farms and plantations of former owners to reunite with family members. This action by slaves is testimony to the desire to maintain an intact family unit, despite the constant strain that the family was under on a daily basis.

Slaves ran when they thought their owner would sell them to another owner, within or out of the state in which they lived. The fear of the unknown undoubtedly served as a catalyst for flight. Other slaves fled after being whipped or in fear of such punishment. And there were always slaves who simply sought total freedom from the environs of slavery. Heading north to a free state or to Canada, many of these slaves would obtain free papers and

write passes for themselves and their loved ones. Slave flight to the North occurred from colonial times through the end of the Civil War. Though flight was an individual and occasionally a group effort, there is some evidence that an organized system of aid to runaways developed in the mid-1700s and continued through the end of slavery.

It was the advent of the Underground Railroad in the 1830s that compelled larger numbers of slaves to flee to freedom. It is estimated that as many as fifty thousand slaves ran away from southern plantations and farms between the late 1820s and 1865. The Underground Railroad was not a formal organization, but a loosely structured series of connections that helped slaves reach freedom in the North. Thousands of Americans, black and white, were involved in the intricate network of stations that dotted the South to North corridors to freedom. Both land and water routes were used by slaves traveling to freedom in the North. Individuals who assisted runaway slaves in the Underground Railroad were known as *agents*. Persons who physically aided slaves from station to station were known as *conductors*. Harriet Tubman, who assisted at least three hundred slaves to freedom was one of the best-known conductors of the Underground Railroad.

In 1827 the *Freedom's Journal* became the first abolitionist newspaper in the United States. It was founded in New York City by two black journalists, Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurn. In 1830 free blacks in Philadelphia established the National Negro Convention Movement. William Lloyd Garrison founded *The Liberator* in 1831 and the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Many readers of these publications and members of these organizations were involved in Underground Railroad activity through the end of the Civil War

Whether slaves ran away to find loved ones from whom they had been separated, to escape a flogging, out of fear of being sold, or to find permanent freedom in the North, flight by slaves is a testimony to the human quest to be free from the oppression of enslavement. Slaves usually fled alone, at night, to face wild animals, snakes, and weather so cold that it sometimes caused frostbite. Running away was not a frivolous act, but slaves were able to achieve some measure of physical and psychological freedom by "stealing themselves."

See also Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean; Slave Codes; Slave Narratives; Slave Trade; Slavery

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FREDDIE PARKER (2005)

Run-D.M.C.

Flaunting untied Adidas sneakers, pricey Kangol hats, sweatsuits, and thick-rope gold chains, Run-D.M.C.'s ostentatious image and electric guitar-ridden sound captivated America's white youth culture in the 1980s. Joseph "Run" Simmons (b. November 14, 1964) and Darryl "DMC" McDaniels (b. May 31, 1964) began rapping together and convinced Jason "Jam Master Jay" Mizell (b.

January 21, 1965) to join them as their deejay. Thanks to the fusion of hard-core rock and rap in songs like "Rock Box," Run-D.M.C.'s self-titled debut album struck a chord with white male, suburban rock fans, and the album sold over 500,000 copies to merit gold status. Their punchy, simple rhyme style and sparse tracks also appealed to rap and rock audiences.

In 1985 the group starred in the classic hip-hop film *Krush Groove* and released the platinum-selling *King of Rock*. A year later, the group released *Raising Hell,* whose phenomenal success was propelled by the group's duet with the rock band Aerosmith on "Walk This Way" and MTV's heavy rotation of the crossover video. The album sold over three million copies. The year 1988 saw the release of *Tougher Than Leather,* and while the album was platinum-selling, it was a commercial disappointment.

Audiences were gravitating away from hip-hop toward the more violent gangsta rap genre by the dawn of the 1990s, and the disappointing sales for Run-D.M.C.'s album of the year, *Back From Hell,* indicated that trend. *Down with the King* found a hit single and went gold in 1993. However, the group largely disappeared from sight for the remainder of the decade, although Run-D.M.C. planned a comeback in 2001 with their album *Crown Royal*.

Crown Royal turned out to be Run-D.M.C.'s final release. The band retired in 2002.

See also Hip-Hop; Rap

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RACHEL ZELLARS (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Russwurm, John Brown

October 1, 1799
June 9, 1851

Abolitionist and Liberian government official John Brown Russwurm was born in Jamaica of an unknown slave mother and a white American merchant father, John Russwurm. After eight years as a free black in Jamaica, young John Brown, as he was then known, was sent by his father to Quebec for formal schooling. His father brought the child to Portland, Maine, in 1812 when he married Susan Blanchard, who insisted that John Russwurm acknowledge his son's paternity by name. After the death of John Russwurm Sr. in 1815, John Brown Russwurm stayed with Blanchard until he entered Hebron Academy in Hebron, Maine. Later he attended and graduated (in 1826) from Bowdoin College, becoming one of the first black university graduates in the United States. In his graduation speech, Russwurm praised the Republic of Haiti and encouraged American blacks to consider settling there.

Russwurm moved to New York City in 1827 and helped found *Freedom's Journal,* the first black newspaper. The paper employed itinerant abolitionist blacks to publicize the antislavery cause and gain subscribers across the country and in Europe. *Freedom's Journal* demanded an end to southern slavery and equal rights for blacks in the North. After Samuel Cornish resigned as coeditor on September 14, 1827, to return to the Presbyterian ministry, Russwurm continued to publish the paper until February 1829. Despairing of any hope for an African-American future in the United States, he resigned to take a post in Liberia, scandalizing black New York. Generally condemned by his contemporaries, Russwurm in fact anticipated the Pan-Africanism of Alexander Crummell, Henry Highland Garnet, and Edward Blyden twenty years later.

Arriving in Monrovia, Liberia, in November 1829, Russwurm quickly gained prominence. He edited the *Liberia Herald* from 1830 to 1835, when he resigned in protest over the American Colonization Society's attempts to control the newspaper. At the same time he was superintendent of education for Monrovia. Despite his differences with the colonization society, Russwurm served as its agent, recruiting American blacks to migrate to Africa. He became fluent in several African languages.

In 1836 Russwurm became the first black governor of the Maryland sections of Liberia. He was an able administrator and successfully established relations with nearby African nations, encouraged arriving African Americans,

and worked diplomatically with whites. His administration supported agriculture and trade, and in 1843 completed a census of the colony. Throughout the 1840s, Russwurm negotiated for absorption of the Maryland colony into Liberia. He died, a distinguished leader, on June 9, 1851, five years before that union became a reality. A monument was erected to his memory near his burial place in Harper, Cape Palmas, Liberia. Russwurm Island, off Cape Palmas, is named for him. His shift in favor of colonization offended many in 1829, but he is now remembered as a significant and successful Pan-Africanist.

See also Abolition; Cornish, Samuel E.; Pan-Africanism

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GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES (1996)

Rustin, Bayard

March 17, 1910
August 24, 1987

Bayard Rustin was a civil rights leader, pacifist, political organizer, and controversial public figure. He was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1910, the youngest of nine children. He accumulated a colorful personal history, beginning with his youthful discovery that the woman he had assumed was his older sister was actually his mother. Reared by his mother and grandparents, who were local caterers, he grew up in the relatively privileged setting of a large mansion in town. Like the rest of his family, Rustin became a Quaker, maintaining an enduring commitment to personal pacifism as a way of life. Tall, thin, usually bushy-haired, and with an acquired West Indian accent, Rustin was noticed wherever he appeared.

He attended college at West Chester State College, then moved to Harlem during the 1930s, where he cultivated a bohemian lifestyle, attending classes at City College, singing with jazz groups and at night clubs, and gaining a reputation as a chef. His most notable activity, however, was aligning with the Communist Party through the Young Communist League, a decision based on the party's position on race issues. In 1941, when asked by the party to abandon his program to gain young black recruits in favor of a singular emphasis on the European war effort, Rustin quit the party.

His public personality and organizing skills subsequently brought him to the attention of A. Philip Randolph, who recruited him to help develop his plans for a massive March on Washington to secure equal access to defense jobs. The two men, despite brief skirmishes, remained lifelong friends. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt capitulated to Randolph's threat to hold the march—though Rustin believed that Randolph should not have canceled the march—Randolph arranged for Rustin to meet with A. J. Muste, the head of the radical pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). Muste came to regard the younger man almost as a son, naming him in 1941 as a field staff member for FOR, while Rustin also continued as a youth organizer for the March on Washington movement.

Now possessed of a reputation as an activist in the politics of race, Rustin was able to offer advice to the members of the FOR cell who became the nucleus for a new nonviolent action organization, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Until 1955 Rustin remained a vital figure in the FOR/CORE alliance, holding a variety of offices within both groups, conducting weekend and summer institutes on nonviolent direct action in race relations, and serving as a conduit to the March on Washington movement for ideas and techniques on nonviolence. In 1947 he worked closely with Randolph again in a movement opposing universal military training and a segregated military, and he once again believed Randolph wrong in abandoning his strategies when met with a presidential executive order intended to correct the injustice. They argued briefly and publicly, then reconciled. Rustin is sometimes credited with persuading Randolph to accept nonviolence as a strategy.

Rustin's dual commitment to nonviolence and racial equality cost him dearly. In the summer of 1942, refusing to sit in the black section of a bus going from Louisville, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, he was beaten and arrested. The following year, unwilling to accept either the validity of the draft or conscientious-objector status—though his Quaker affiliation made that option possible—he was jailed as a draft resister and spent twenty-eight months in prison. Following his release, in 1947, he proposed that a racially integrated group of sixteen FOR/CORE activists undertake a bus trip through the Upper South to test a recent Supreme Court decision on interstate travel.

Termed the Journey of Reconciliation, the trip was essentially peaceful, although participants encountered violence outside Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where Rustin and three others were charged with violating the segregation laws. In a sham trial, Rustin and the others were convicted and sentenced to thirty days hard labor on a chain gang. His continuing visible role in racial policies brought him additional arrests and beatings.

After his release from the chain gang, Rustin traveled to India, where he was received by Mohandas K. Gandhi's sons. He had earlier blended strands of Gandhian nonviolence into his conception of pacifism. When the bus boycott developed in Montgomery, Alabama, Rustin appeared on the scene to offer support, advice, and information on nonviolence. Martin Luther King Jr., the leader of the boycott, accepted his help. But when word leaked of Rustin's former ties to the Communist Party and his 1953 conviction on a morals charge—allegedly for homosexual activity—he was rushed out of town. The gossip led to Rustin's resignation from both CORE and FOR in 1955, although he continued the pacifist struggle in the War Resisters League.

A 1952 visit to countries in North and West Africa convinced him of the need to assist Africans in their independence struggle. And he continued to be an active, though less visible, force in the effort to achieve racial justice, invited by King to assist in the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and to serve as a publicist for the group. Conservative members, however, eventually sought his ouster, and from 1960 until 1963 Rustin had little contact with King.

In 1963, as Randolph renewed his plans for a massive March on Washington, he proposed Rustin as the coordinator for the national event. Though initially opposed by some major civil rights leaders and under surveillance by the FBI, Rustin successfully managed the complex planning for the event and avoided violence. He was named executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in 1964, while continuing to lead protests against militarism and segregation.

After the mid-1960s, Rustin's calls for blacks to work within the political system and his close ties with Jewish groups and labor unions made him the target of attacks by younger radicals, while his support for American investment and educational efforts in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s outraged opponents of the Apartheid regime. Toward the end of his life, he also became increasingly open about his homosexuality and spoke out in favor of equal rights for gays and lesbians. Following his death, the Bayard Rustin High School for the Humanities in New York City was named in his honor.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; Randolph, Asa Philip; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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CAROL V. R. GEORGE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Saar, Alison

1956

The visual artist Alison Saar was raised in Los Angeles during the 1960s and early 1970s. She attended Scripps College in Claremont, California, where she majored in studio art and art history. After graduating from Scripps in 1978, she earned an M.F.A. from Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. Since her 1981 thesis show at Otis, Saar has been creating sculptures, installations, and other mixed-media works that have been widely shown, extensively collected, and justly praised. Her artwork is characterized by its range of influences and the use of recycled materials.

Saar's mother, the artist Betye Saar, has been a major influence. In particular, her mother's interests in mysticism, ritual, and the occult, as well as African and black diasporic artistic practices, have been central to the direction of Saar's art. In addition her father, Richard Saar, in his work as a conservator, brought her into contact with arts and artifacts from all over the globe, including Chinese frescoes, Egyptian mummies, and pre-Columbian and African art. In fact, it was an apprenticeship with her father that led to her sculpting—she learned to carve in order to restore art. At Scripps College, Alison Saar studied African, Haitian, and Afro-Cuban art with the art historian Samella Lewis, and she wrote her undergraduate thesis on African-American folk art. In addition, her interest in African influences on the art of the black diaspora parallels the work of the art historian Robert Farris Thompson, and she acknowledges his research as a source of inspiration.

Since the creation of her first mixed-media sculpture in 1981, Saar has consistently grappled visually with black diasporic history and culture. Her first sculpture, *Si j'étais blanc* (If I Were White), takes as its theme a Josephine Baker song about inequality. This carved figurative sculpture depicts a young black boy seated in a bright red chair. Suggesting the horror of Baker's lament, the artist portrays the boy with an open chest filled with shards of glass. Drawing from black diasporic practices, this filled cavity evokes figurative Kongo *minkisi* (sing. *nkisi*), traditional sacred objects from the Congo-Angola region used to effect change. Similarly, the boy's legs are made of cement and embedded with fragments of blue and white tile. Glass and tile have both been found at Kongo-inspired gravesites and yards in the United States, and both materials are also "found objects," typical of the materials used by the black folk artists Saar admires.

While conducting research for her undergraduate thesis, Saar came to admire the way informally trained art-

***A visitor at the Chicago Cultural Center examines Alison Saar's sculpture* Nappy Red Head.** *Saar's piece features among other things a fish, flower, locomotive, scrub brush, angel, pocket knife, butterfly, skull and crossbones, comb, wheel, plane, key, bus, football player, and alligator, all nestled in the wild hair.* TIM BOYLE/GETTY IMAGES

ists often work with abandoned materials. This admiration is evident in her art. Working with found materials such as old floor beams, pressed ceiling tin, rusty nails, iron skillets, linoleum sheeting, and broken glass, Saar recycles and reuses discarded objects for their evocative power and energy. By using previously used objects to explore vital themes of ritual, myth, magic, mystery, and healing, Alison Saar creates artwork powerfully infused with themes of the black diaspora.

Saar has received numerous awards, including grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Guggenheim Foundation. Her work has also been collected by major art museums, including The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Studio Museum in Harlem, The Whitney Museum of American Art, The Walker Art Center, and The High Museum in Atlanta, Georgia.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture

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LISA GAIL COLLINS (2005)

Saar, Betye Irene

July 30, 1926

The artist Betye Brown (later Saar) was born in Los Angeles and moved to Pasadena, California, at age six, following the death of her father. While her mother worked as a seamstress and receptionist to support her family, Brown attended public school in Pasadena and then enrolled at Pasadena City College. She earned a B.A. in design from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1949 and married the artist Richard Saar (pronounced "Say-er") shortly thereafter.

During the early part of her career, Saar worked as a costume designer in theater and film in Los Angeles. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, she resumed formal art training at California State University in Long Beach, at the University of Southern California, and at California State University in Northridge. In graduate school, Saar mastered the techniques of graphics, printmaking, and design, but after seeing a Joseph Cornell exhibition at the Pasadena Art Museum in 1967 she turned to what would become her signature work: three-dimensional assemblage boxes. Saar's encounter with Cornell's surrealist boxes led her away from her early, two-dimensional work in prints to her first landmark piece, "Black Girl's Window" (mixed media, 1969). Here Saar used Cornell-inspired elements like a segmented window and a surrealist combination of objects to explore issues of personal identity. The piece presents a black girl, possibly Saar, pressing her face and hands against a glass pane, surrounded by images of the occult.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, Saar's boxes reflected her political engagement with the civil rights movement by satirizing persistent derogatory images of African Americans. In "The Liberation of Aunt Jemima" (1972), Saar appropriated the racist stereotype of Aunt Jemima by transforming her from a passive black female into a militant revolutionary. Her later work took on a more personal, autobiographical dimension, exploring her own mixed

heritage—she is of Native American, Irish, and African descent—and her spiritual beliefs. The death of her Aunt Hattie in particular pushed her work inward and inspired such nostalgic collages as "Keep for Old Memoirs" (1976), made from old family photographs and personal remnants such as gloves and handkerchiefs.

In 1974 Saar traveled to Haiti and Mexico on a National Endowment for the Arts grant, then to Nigeria for the second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (1977). These trips, together with Saar's visits to the Egyptian, Oceanic, and African collections at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, resulted in a series of altarpieces (1975–1977) combining personal emblems with totems from African, Caribbean, and Asian cultures. "Dambella" (1975) contains obvious references to Haitian Vodou, with its ritualistic animal parts and snakeskin, whereas "Spiritcatcher" (1976–1977), with its spiral structure and found objects, recalls Simon Rodia's Watts Towers in Los Angeles, which Saar had visited as a child.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Saar continued to create assemblage boxes and collages while also experimenting with room-sized installations. As always, she worked in materials culled and recycled from foreign markets, thrift shops, or her own personal history; she intended these "found treasures" to stir emotion and personal or collective memories in the viewer. Her "Mojotech" installation at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1988) explored the relationship between technology and magic, creating hybrid altars out of high-tech elements like computer-system circuit boards as well as traditional religious objects.

Saar's work has been shown at numerous solo exhibitions, including the Studio Museum in Harlem in New York (1980); the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (1984); and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Arts, Philadelphia (1987). Since 1983, she has been awarded several commissions to create installations for public sites in Los Angeles, New Jersey, and Miami. Saar won a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Award in 1991, and she was one of the two artists chosen to represent the United States in the 1994 São Paulo Biennial in Brazil.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary

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TAMARA L. FELTON (1996)
Updated bibliography

SADDLER, JOSEPH

See Grandmaster Flash (Saddler, Joseph)

SALEM, PETER

C. 1750
AUGUST 16, 1816

American Revolutionary War soldier Peter Salem was born a slave in Framingham, Massachusetts. He was originally owned by New England historian Jeremy Belknap and took his last name from Belknap's previous residence, Salem, Massachusetts. Salem was subsequently sold to Maj. Lawson Buckminster.

At the outbreak of the War for Independence, Salem's owners temporarily released him so that he could serve with the Continental army. He enlisted in Cpt. Thomas Drury's company in Col. John Nixon's Fifth Massachusetts Regiment and served at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775. A number of participants in the battle identified Salem as the soldier who fired the shot that killed British major John Pitcairn at Bunker Hill. In 1787 Belknap recorded in his diary that a person present at the battle informed him that "A negro man . . . took aim at Major Pitcairn, as he was rallying the dispersed British troops and shot him thro' the head." Samuel Swett, whose chronicle of the battle was published in 1818, specifically identifies Salem as Pitcairn's killer: "Among the foremost of the leaders was the gallant Maj. Pitcairn, who exultingly cried 'the day is ours,' when Salem, a black soldier, and a number of others, shot him through and he fell." Since no conclusive evidence exists and other black soldiers were present at the battle, historians differ on whether these accounts are accurate and actually refer to Salem, but they generally agree that he was at least present at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Shortly after the battle Salem was nearly discharged from the army because of Gen. George Washington's de-

cree that no more slaves were to be recruited for the militia. But Salem's owners granted him full freedom so that he could continue fighting, and he served at Saratoga and Stony Point.

The legend of Salem's exploits at Bunker Hill was given popular currency by John Trumbull's 1786 painting *The Battle of Bunker's Hill,* which depicts a black soldier, commonly thought to be Salem, standing with musket in hand while Pitcairn lies mortally wounded.

After the war Salem built a cabin in Leicester, Massachusetts, and wove cane for a living. He died in a poorhouse in Framingham in 1816. As a soldier of the American Revolution, Salem was paid respects at his death by the citizens of Framingham. They erected a monument to his memory, with the inscription: "Peter Salem / A Soldier of the Revolution / Concord / Bunker Hill / Saratoga / Died, August 16th, 1816."

A U.S. postage stamp bearing a reproduction of Trumbull's painting was issued in 1968.

See also Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Military Experience, African-American

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

SAMBA

The first known printed reference to *samba* music in Brazil dates to 1838. That reference, found in Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil, does not mention peoples of African descent. The next known reference, found in 1844 in nearby Bahia, describes black slaves playing *samba*, but does not indicate whether those slaves were born in Africa or Brazil.

In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese used the word *calundú* to describe dances and ceremonies that preceded spirit possession and divination. Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century in Brazil and Portugal, the term *lundu* referred to a dance performed by free men and women of mixed racial background. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Brazilian and Portuguese sources also used the word *batuque* to refer to celebrations and entertainment among slaves.

Descriptions of *batuques* and *lundus* coincide on many points: dancers, singers, and observers are arranged in circles; observers participate through palm clapping and singing refrains; couples dance in the middle of a larger circle; and there is a frequent use of *umbigada*, the movement through which dancers select partners by touching navels. *Lundus* were also frequently described as including stringed instruments, and they served as inspiration for a genre of *cançonetas*, or ditties, sold as sheet music for piano and voice beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1944 the author and musical scholar Mário de Andrade declared that *lundu* was the first Afro-Brazilian cultural form accepted in elite circles, even if ridicule often accompanied that acceptance.

The word *samba* began to appear regularly in newspapers and literature during the second half of the nineteenth century. The word's roots are most likely Bantu, but more specific details are difficult to trace. The most accepted version suggests that the word comes from the Quimbundo (Angola) word *semba*, which probably included the pelvic thrusts of *umbigada*. Other scholars also cite Amerindian origins.

Current knowledge of post-1860s *samba* is based primarily on research and sources from Bahia and Pernambuco, with Bahia having received the most attention from scholars. Late nineteenth-century references describe a *samba* quite similar to the one performed today in the Recôncavo (the hinterland beyond the bay around Salvador, Bahia). Recôncavo *samba* relies heavily on small, rapid steps (the famous *miudinho*), is accompanied by *violas* (guitarlike instruments with varying numbers of strings) and *pandeiros* (similar to tambourines), and includes a vocal passage known as *chula*.

Rio de Janeiro

The first references to *samba* in Rio de Janeiro appear at the end of the nineteenth century. They often mention black immigrants from Bahia, who migrated around the time of abolition, in 1888. As Roberto Moura (1995) and others have shown, a number of those immigrants established themselves in the area surrounding Rio de Janeiro's ports, where they built community networks, developed economic support systems, and maintained traditional religious and cultural practices, including *samba*. Some of the principal figures of early *carioca samba* (*carioca* refers to people or things from Rio de Janeiro) frequented the port scene. Among them were Donga (Ernesto dos Santos, 1889–1974), João da Baiana (João Machado Guedes, 1887–1974), Sinhô (José Barbosa de Silva, 1888–1930), and Pixinguinha (Alfredo Viana Filho, 1897–1973). The

first two were sons of immigrants from Bahia; the last two were sons of *cariocas*.

The mothers of Donga and João da Baiana—Tia Amélia and Tia Perciliana de Santo Amaro, respectively—were initiates of João Alabá's Afro-Brazilian religious (Candomblé) community. Alabá's Nagô (Yoruba) community was one of the most important in early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro. Ciata, one of the most famous *tias* (female Afro-Brazilian community and spiritual leaders, often from Bahia), hosted gatherings that often combined musical improvisation and African-influenced worship. An important biography of Pixinguinha by Sérgio Cabral does not mention the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé, but, according to Mário de Andrade, the famous musician frequented spiritual gatherings and developed substantial knowledge about Candomblé. It was most likely Pixinguinha who, in 1926, provided Andrade with the information about *macumba* (a generic term used to refer to numerous African-derived religious practices and music forms) that would form the basis of the chapter "Macumba" in Andrade's modernist masterpiece, *Macunaíma* (1928). It is also possible that the scar-faced Pixinguinha inspired a character in the same chapter, a drum player described by Andrade as the "the pock-marked son of Ogum [the Afro-Brazilian god of War]" (p. 57).

Pixinguinha was not the only important musician with links to Afro-Brazilian religions. For example, Sinhô was linked to the spiritual leader Henrique Assumano Mina do Brasil, also known as the Prince of Alufás (an *alufá* is an Islamic-Brazilian cleric). According to one researcher, "the first performance of [Sinhô's] music took place in Assumano's residence. Sinhô believed that his own popularity was due to Assumano's spiritual influence" (cited in Alencar, 1981, p. 42). References to Afro-Brazilian religion are also found in the titles and genres of numerous early twentieth-century compositions, including Sinhô's "Ai Ué Dendê," "Bofé Pamim Dge," "Ojaré," and "Oju Burucu," as well as Pixinguinha's "Que querê" (with Donga and João da Baiana, 1932); "Xou, curinga" (with João da Baiana, 1932); "Yaô africano" (with Gastão Viana, 1938); "Uma festa de Nanã" (with Gastão Viana, 1941); and "Benguelê" (with Gastão Viana, 1946); and Donga's "Sai, Exu" (with Pixinguinha's brother, Otávio "China" Viana); and "Macumba de Iansã" and "Macumba de Oxóssi" (with Zé Espinguela).

"Pelo Telefone" and the Oito Batutas

The first song labeled as a *samba* to achieve success in Rio de Janeiro was "Pelo telefone," released during Carnival in 1917 by Donga and Mauro de Almeida (1882–1956). (The song is often called the "first recorded *samba*," even though, since the 1960s, researchers have noted the existence of *samba* recordings from the early 1910s.) In his meticulous study of "Pelo telefone," Flávio Silva shows that the song's release was strategically orchestrated by Donga, who sought to transform into "popular music" what had up until that point belonged to a select group, organized by the Bahian *tias* around Praça Onze (like the port area, a geographical landmark of early *samba*). Donga incorporated traditional motifs previously played only independently and asked Almeida (a white journalist) to write the lyrics. He then registered the work at the Nation-

Types of Samba Music

Samba music can be compartmentalized into various categories. Generic samba music is played mostly with different percussion instruments, acoustic guitar, and the *cavaquinho* (small guitar) and is the easiest type of samba to dance to in couples. The music tends to be energetic, but melodic at the same time. *Samba de roda* is one of the earliest forms of samba. Standing in a circle, one person creates a melody while the others clap and improvise on the *atabaques*, a type of drum. *Samba enredo*, used often in Carnival, is upbeat, has a quick tempo, and features a variety of drums played simultaneously.

In the 1950s bossa nova became popular. Heavily influenced by jazz, bossa nova is a softer style of music. *Choro* is mainly instrumental using the flute, guitar, miniature guitar, and clarinet. Like bossa nova, it, too, has a jazzy sound, but is a bit more melancholic. Improvisation is one of its defining characteristics as the musicians enjoy testing each other with their creativity and ability.

From the parties in the backyards of poor areas, where people would play, sing, and drink, came *samba de pagode*. It became popular in the 1970s and 1980s and contains loud, energetic dance rhythms. Other famous types of samba music includes *samba paulista, samba breque,* and *samba rock*.

A group of **samba** *dancers perform during Carnival in Rio de Janeiro.* © ABRIL/CORBIS

al Library (citing himself and Almeida as authors), had the song arranged for a band (at the time, the principal means for publicizing music), and then recorded the song. In some respects, Donga's efforts resulted in a resounding success, turning *samba* into the music of the moment and paving the way for the genre's future consecration. But even this success failed to alter Donga's economic situation. His claims of authorship of "Pelo telefone" were contested by Tia Ciata and other important figures of Afro-Brazilian music in Rio, such as Sinhô and Hilário Jovino. In 1933 the writer Vagalume declared that "Pelo telefone" was the creation of musicians at Tia Ciata's gatherings, and had simply been adapted and registered by Donga and Mauro de Almeida.

It is difficult to gauge whether the population of Rio de Janeiro thought of "Pelo telefone" as an Afro-Brazilian musical production. Aside from Donga's presumed authorship and the fact that the song was called a *samba*, there is little about the song that is specifically African-Brazilian. Despite the official *samba* label, the song was often referred to as either a *tango* or a *modinha*. In fact, there were no racist reactions against "Pelo telefone," as there would be a short time later against the musical group Os Oito Batutas, another enterprise organized largely by Donga.

With four whites and four blacks—Donga, Pixinguinha, Pixinguinha's brother China (Otávio Viana, 1890–1927), and Nélson Alves (1895–1960)—the Oito Batutas were created in 1919 and began playing in the lobby at the Palais cinema in downtown Rio de Janeiro. The Palais was frequented by rich *cariocas* with cosmopolitan pretensions (the French-named theater showed mainly North American films). Despite playing music that Europhile elites often dismissed as "national" or "rural" and wearing clothes associated with poor folk from Brazil's interior, the Batutas still appealed to would-be cosmopolitans. However, not all the elites approved of the Batuta's appearance, and various journalists publicly criticized the group, often including racist attacks in their criticism. Negative reactions were exacerbated in 1922 when the millionaire Arnaldo Guinle financed a trip to Paris for the Batutas, even though the group's success in Parisian cafés and clubs delighted numerous Brazilians, including those elites who had followed the band since its days at the Palais. Interestingly, the group's repertoire did not highlight *samba*, although the genre was represented. Further, there exists no record that the group played "Pelo telefone" a single time.

While the Oito Batutas were becoming famous in Brazil and abroad, the career of Sinhô— the most prolific and original individual composer of the 1920s—took off. Sinhô enjoyed success in the streets, especially during Carnival and the *Festa da Penha*, the then widely-popular religious celebration held on Sundays in October. His success also came through the sale of sheet music for voice and piano and in the *teatro da revista*, the musical theater, which enjoyed its apogee during the 1920s. (The radio would not become the most important vehicle for music until the 1930s.) With compositions like "Jura!," "Gosto que me enrosco," and "A favela vai abaixo," Sinhô consolidated the principal characteristics of *samba*'s first period of popularity more than any other artist.

The 1930s

The death of Sinhô in 1930, and the success of musicians from the Estácio de Sá neighborhood, such as Bide (Alcebíades Barcellos, 1902–1975), Brancura (Sílvio Fernandes, 1908–1935), Nílton Bastos (1899–1931), and above all Ismael Silva (1905–1978), signaled important transformations in Rio de Janeiro *samba*. These composers belonged to the Carnival group Deixa Falar, which, according to most accounts, was the first group to parade during Carni-

val while singing *sambas* and using instruments that would become the basis for modern *samba* school drum-lines: the *surdo* (bass drum played with a felt-headed wooden stick with Iberian origins); *tamborim* (also Iberian, a small tambourine with no jingles, played with a single or double stick); and *cuíca* (friction drum, originally from sub-Saharan Africa).

It was also at the beginning of the 1930s that these instruments began to find their way into the recording studios. A historic landmark often cited is the *samba* "Na Pavuna," a Carnival success from 1930 recorded by the Bando de Tangarás (a group of middle-class white musicians) with the accompaniment of the rhythmists Canuto and Puruca (*ritmistas,* as those who played the *surdo*, *cuíca*, and *tamborim* came to be known), who were both black and lived in the *morro* (hillside shantytown) Salgueiro.

From a rhythmic perspective, the Estácio group's principal contribution was the repeated use of an accompaniment pattern two times longer than those previously used in recordings and sheet music for *carioca samba*. That new pattern resembled more clearly the rhythmic characteristics of African music noted by ethnomusicologists such as Nketia, A. M. Jones, G. Kubik, and S. Arom than did the *samba* forms that preceded it.

The Estácio composers also introduced *malandragem* (guile and street-hustling associated with zoot-suited *malandros*) into *samba* lyrics, which became a staple of popular culture in Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the 1930s. The *malandro* of the 1930s notoriously avoided work and familial obligations and survived through shady means, like gambling and pimping. An activity often associated with *malandragem* was the *pernada* or *batucada*, a type of *capoeira* practiced to *samba* rhythms, in which one fighter attempts to knock down an opponent with a single strike. The most feared and respected *malandros*—known as *bambas*—reportedly dressed in white suits as a sign of confidence that they would never fall.

Malandragem became an important theme in Brazilian social thought, consecrated in the literary critic Antonio Candido's influential essay "Dialectic of Malandroism" (1995) and anthropologist Roberto DaMatta's equally famous text, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes* (1991). Neither work explicitly discusses 1930s *malandros* from Rio, instead focusing on earlier figures, like Pedro Malasartes (a rural character in popular stories, discussed by DaMatta), and Leonardo, from the classic nineteenth-century novel *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias*.

Samba Schools and the Post-1930s Era

The 1930s were also marked by an association between *samba* and Rio's *morros*—then, as now, inhabited predominantly by the poorest groups, who were mostly black. Many observers saw *samba* as the "melodious soul of the *morro*" and the *morro* as the *malandro*'s domain. By extension, *samba* was often seen as the *malandro*'s melody. *Samba* created by the Deixa Falar group spread through the shantytowns, influencing composers such as Cartola (1908–1980) and Paulo da Portela (1901–1949), and Carnival groups, which came to be known as *samba* "schools" (e.g., *Estação Primeira* from the *morro* Mangueira, and *Acadêmicos* from Salgueiro). In 1933 the mayor's office of Rio de Janeiro designated financial support for the Carnival clubs for the first time. The following year, *samba* schools united to form the first umbrella organization to protect and defend the schools' interests.

Estácio samba also influenced professional composers not linked to the *samba* schools, including middle-class whites like Noel Rosa (1910–1937, perhaps the most celebrated *samba* composer of the twentieth century) and Ary Barroso (1903–1964, author of the classic "Aquarela do Brasil"), as well as black composers from humble origins, such as Ataulfo Alves (1909–1969) and Geraldo Pereira (1918–1955).

The process through which *samba* schools secured the dominant position that they now hold in Rio's famous Carnival celebration was a slow one. Only at the end of the 1950s did the parade come to be held on the thoroughfare Avenida Rio Branco, and it was not until 1962 that spectators had to purchase tickets to witness the festivities. The year 1968 saw the release of a record that included *sambas-enredo*, the songs played by each school during their turn in the Carnival parade. The initiative was repeated in following years, and the annual recording is now one of the perennial best sellers in Brazil's enormous music market. Construction of the Sambodrome (*Sambódromo*), a massive runway surrounded by concrete bleachers, began in 1983 and was first put to use for Carnival parades a year later.

The trajectory of Rio's *samba* schools has generated much controversy, both inside and outside the academy, about supposed "commercialization," "domestication," and "whitening." Critics of *samba* and Carnival transformations include Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz (1999), Nei Lopes (1981), and Alison Raphael (1980). These critics often point to the increased presence and decision-making power, especially after 1960, of middle-class and university-educated white outsiders within the schools. This includes *carnavalescos* (professional choreographers charged with conceptualizing and unifying the visual and theatric

aspects of the school's parade) and *bicheiros* (illegal-numbers kings who sustained many schools economically, often through money laundering, in the process gaining social prestige as patrons of national culture). Other authors, such as Maria Laura Cavalcanti (1994), Hermano Vianna (1995), and Samuel Araújo (1992), have pointed to the fact that, since the schools' earliest existence, their representatives appear to have adopted growth strategies based in social, political, and ethnic alliances. These scholars also argue that independent of any judgment about those strategies, a large percentage of Rio's African-derived population continues to see the schools as an expression of their identity and of their *joie de vivre*.

The most important *samba* composers from the 1960s and 1970s include Paulinho da Viola (b. 1942), associated with the *samba* school Portela, and Martinho da Vila (b. 1938), part of Unidos de Vila Isabel. Paulinho da Viola is perhaps the most respected living *samba* musician, known for honoring traditional styles and predecessors, such as Cartola and Nelson Cavaquinho (1910–1986). Martinho da Vila reinvigorated the increasingly commercial language of 1970s *samba*, producing hits like "Casa de bamba" and "Canta, canta minha gente."

The 1980s witnessed the success of underutilized *samba* styles like *partido alto* (improvisation-based group song organized around short refrains) and *pagode* (a variety of styles played most often in informal settings, such as familial gatherings). Both genres were popularized through groups like Fundo de Quintal, composers like Jovelina Pérola Negra (1944–1998), and performers like Beth Carvalho (b. 1946). *Pagode* was also used as a label for 1990s commercial *samba* groups famous for their romantic style and timbre and vocal elements typical of North American soul music. At the turn of the millennium, the most popular composer and performer was Zeca Pagodinho, a holdover from the days of Fundo de Quintal but also versed in more traditional *samba* forms.

It is also worth mentioning the development in Bahia during the 1980s of *samba-reggae*, a genre closely related to Afro-Brazilian Carnival groups from Salvador. In this context, the vindication and valorization of black identity and affiliation with Africa, through song lyrics and composers' political discourse, is more evident than ever was the case in *carioca samba*. Samba from Rio de Janeiro was always associated ideologically with a more inclusive and nationalist posture, leaving room, for example, for the famous praise of racial mixing made by anthropologists like Gilberto Freyre (Vianna, 1995) and Darcy Ribeiro, who was responsible for pushing through legislation for construction of the Sambodrome.

See also Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean; Music in Latin America

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CARLOS SANDRONI (2005)

Sanchez, Sonia

September 19, 1934

The poet Sonia Sanchez was born Wilsonia Benita Driver, the daughter of Wilson L. and Lena Jones Driver, in Birmingham, Alabama. During her childhood in the South and in Harlem, she was outraged by the way American society systematically mistreated black people. This sense of racial injustice transformed her from a shy, stuttering girl into one of the most vocal writer-activists in contemporary literature. In the early 1960s she began publishing poems under her married name, Sonia Sanchez, which she continued to use professionally after she and her husband divorced. Although best known for her verse, which urges black unity and action and reflects the cadences of African-American speech and music, she is also an accomplished dramatist, essayist, and editor, as well as an enduring proponent of black studies.

Sanchez studied at Hunter College in New York (B.A., 1955) and at New York University and has taught at many institutions, including Rutgers, the University of Pittsburgh, and Amherst College. She worked during the civil rights movement as a supporter of the Congress of Racial Equality, but in 1972 she joined the Nation of Islam because she thought that it was doing more to instill cultural pride and morality in young people. In a 1983 interview, Sanchez said that her political and cultural affiliations, harassment by the FBI, and her insistence that black writers be included in curricula explained why she did not gain a permanent academic position until 1978, when she became a professor at Temple University. Sanchez later held the chair of the English department and directed the women's studies program at Temple.

In *Homecoming* (1969), her first collection of poetry, Sanchez addressed racial oppression using angry voices derived from street talk. She soon became sought after for her passionate, confrontational readings. Although her use of profanity was shocking to some, she has never regretted her artistic approach: "There is vulgar stuff out there. One has got to talk about it in order for it not to be."

While the plight of African Americans in a white society is her major subject, Sanchez has also critiqued struggles within the black community. *Sister Son/ji,* a play produced off-Broadway in 1972, is about a militant young woman fighting the sexism of the black revolutionary movement. Sanchez herself left the Nation of Islam in 1975 because the organization would not change the subservient role it assigned to women.

Books by Sanchez include poetry collections, such as *We a BaddDDD People* (1970), *A Blues Book for Blue Black Magical Women* (1973), *homegirls & handgrenades* (1984), *Like the Singing Coming Off the Drums: Love Poems* (1998), and *Shake Loose My Skin: New and Selected Poems* (1999); juvenile fiction, including *A Sound Investment and Other Stories* (1979); plays, such as *Uh, Huh: But How Do It Free Us?* (1975), and *Malcolm Man/Don't Live Here No More* (1979); as well as numerous contributions to journals, recordings, and anthologies as a poet, essayist, and editor. *Does Your House Have Lions?* chronicles her brother's struggle with AIDS and was nominated for both the 1997 NAACP Image Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award. *Wounded in the House of a Friend* (1995) confronts topics such as rape and drug abuse in a mixture of poetry and prose.

Sanchez has received major awards from PEN (1969), the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1970), and the National Endowment for the Arts (1978–1979). Other honors include the Lucretia Mott Award (1984), the Smith College Tribute to Black Women Award (1982), doctorates from Wilberforce University (1972) and Temple University (1998), and the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation (1985).

See also Nation of Islam; Poetry, U.S.

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DEKKER DARE (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Sangster, Donald

October 26, 1911
April 11, 1967

Donald Burns Sangster, the second prime minister of independent Jamaica, was born in Mountainside, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. He was educated at Munro College and was admitted to the Jamaican Bar in 1937 as a solicitor of the Supreme Court. He began his political career in 1933 when he was elected to the Parochial Board of St. Elizabeth, which functioned as the local governing council. He was elected vice chairman of the board in 1941 and chairman in 1949.

Sangster's foray into national politics began in 1944—a momentous year in Jamaican history, for it was the year of the first general elections under universal adult suffrage. The two major political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP), dominated this contest, which the JLP, under the leadership of Alexander Bustamante (1884–1997), won handily. Sangster, who ran as an independent candidate, was defeated.

This reversal was only a temporary setback, however. In 1949 Sangster joined the JLP and won the South St. Elizabeth seat, as the JLP scored another political victory at the polls. After this, Sangster's political fortunes grew—he was appointed minister of social welfare and labour, and he became deputy party leader. Sangster owed this success to Bustamante, the popular prime minister, labor leader, and party chief, who had handpicked him for these posts.

Because of Bustamante's legendary penchant for exercising unchallenged authority, it is arguable that he would have wanted a loyalist for these positions, someone who would not challenge his authority or show overweening political ambition. Sangster's uncomplaining eighteen-year wait to become prime minister only confirmed that he was indeed a loyal, hardworking, and self-effacing team player.

These qualities were much in evidence in succeeding years, as Sangster assumed additional duties. On the international scene he represented Jamaica at Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences in the 1950s. Furthermore, as prospects for the creation of the West Indies Federation (WIF) increased, Sangster headed the bipartisan Jamaican delegation to regional economic conferences on the federation. At home, he became finance minister and leader of the House of Representatives in 1953.

This period also saw a brief reversal of fortunes for Sangster and the JLP, as each met political defeat in the 1955 elections that brought the PNP to power. For Sangster, however, the year was not without its compensations. First, despite losing his seat in the St. Elizabeth constituency, he won a vacant seat in a by-election that was held in the North-East Clarendon constituency, thereby retaining a seat in the House of Representatives. Second, the *Daily Gleaner,* the island's influential newspaper, named him "Political Man of the Year" for his 1955 electoral win, and for being the brainchild behind "Jamaica 300," a year-long festival that marked three hundred years of artistic and cultural achievements by the Jamaican people. The *Gleaner*'s accolade therefore called attention to unnoticed aspects of Sangster's personality—his cultural nationalism, his defense of sovereignty for colonized peoples, and his concern for racial democracy.

Still, Sangster was no black militant. Nor was he a foe of the West. At a time when many in Jamaica, and elsewhere in the colonial world, were espousing black nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments, Sangster subscribed to the multiracial nationalism typical of the brown middle class to which he belonged. He complemented this moderate cultural nationalism with democratic commitments, a pro-Western stance, and an outlook that favored Caribbean regionalism.

But Sangster's regional outlook did not make him an advocate of Jamaica's continued membership in the West Indies Federation, the regional organization that was founded in 1958. Thus, when Bustamante broke with the bipartisan approach on the issue in 1960, calling instead for Jamaica's withdrawal from the federation, Sangster did not oppose him. To settle the issue, the PNP administration, which backed Jamaican membership, held a referendum in September 1961. In a stunning decision that would ultimately doom the regional body, the Jamaican electorate sided with the JLP and voted to remove the island from the federation. The JLP followed up this victory with another win at the polls in the April 1962 general elections. Sangster was reappointed minister of finance and leader of the House. He became deputy prime minister after Jamaica's independence on August 6, 1962.

Sangster's major achievements as a political leader occurred in the immediate years after independence. Most notably, as Bustamante's deputy, he guided the fledgling nation into the turbulent postwar world. As an architect of Jamaica's foreign policy, Sangster affirmed the country's alliance with the United States and secured the island's membership in the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

Sangster also established a reputation as a statesman and parliamentarian in the Caribbean and in the British Commonwealth of Nations. He was the lead spokesman

at the Caribbean Heads of Government Conferences in the early 1960s, and he advocated for more influence for the less-developed countries in the Commonwealth.

The Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 gave Sangster the opportunity to lead by example. Smith's declaration threatened the breakup of the Commonwealth, as Britain rebuffed the members' call for military intervention. Sangster helped avert a walkout of African and other delegates when his compromise resolution was accepted. According to press reports, this achievement earned him the sobriquet "Mr. Commonwealth."

At home, Sangster had little to show that could match these achievements. This was partly due to serving in Bustamante's shadow. Indeed, Sangster's intermittent role as acting prime minister (due to Bustamante's poor health) since 1964 prevented him from putting his own imprimatur on power. When Bustamante did retire in January 1967, Sangster finally won power in his own right by defeating the PNP in the February 1967 general elections. His victory was short-lived, however. A month later, the international statesman and parliamentarian who had smoothed Jamaica's entry onto the world stage and established the island's reputation as a stable and well-governed nation, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. He was flown to Montreal, Canada, for treatment but soon slipped into a coma. Sangster was knighted on his deathbed and passed away on April 11, after serving less than two months as prime minister.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Jamaica Labour Party; People's National Party

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OBIKA GRAY (2005)

San Lorenzo de los Negros

After the fall of the Mexica (Aztec) Empire in 1521, Spanish colonists brought increasing numbers of enslaved Africans into Mexico. These slaves immediately began escaping. As most of Mesoamerica remained unconquered in the 1520s, *cimarrones* (Maroons, or escaped slaves) sometimes fled to native communities. The chronicler Antonio Herrera later wrote that, as early as 1523, "many negro slaves fled to the [unconquered] Zapotecs and they [the slaves] went about rebelling throughout the country" (Palmer, 1976, p. 122). However, due to language and cultural barriers, and because Africans had sometimes joined the Spanish Conquest as black conquistadors, *cimarrones* were not always welcome in native towns, and many formed their own settlements. Maroon communities sprang up wherever Europeans brought African slaves to the Americas, from Florida to Brazil. Between the 1520s and 1650, a quarter of a million Africans were imported to colonial Mexico, making it (after Brazil) the second most important destination for slaves in the Americas during this period. Mexico was thus a center of Maroon activity, and Spanish officials in the colony considered *cimarrones* to be a major problem, with the solution being the complete destruction of Maroon communities.

The most extensive and violent confrontations between Spaniards and *cimarrones* took place near the Gulf Coast port of Veracruz, in the Orizaba region, between 1606 and 1619. In each of the first three years of this period, Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco ordered—in vain—that the region be cleared of *cimarrones* because, he claimed, for decades they had been liberating other slaves, destroying Spanish property, and "assaulting and killing the Indians and the Spaniards along the highways" (Palmer, 1976, p. 126). An attempt to use a Franciscan as a spy failed in 1609 when the friar was expelled from the main Maroon community (named Yanga, after its leader or king, but subsequently renamed San Lorenzo de los Negros).

Meanwhile, Spaniards prepared to destroy the village with a military force of 450 men led by Pedro González de Herrera. Before the attack, Herrera received a letter from King Yanga (or Ñanga), an elderly African, reputedly from the royal family of the Bram nation in West Africa, who had survived as an escapee in Mexico for three decades. He eloquently denounced Spanish colonialism and the treatment of black slaves, arguing that he and his followers were justified in seeking refuge from "the cruelty and treachery of the Spaniards who, without any right, had become owners of their freedom" (Palmer, 1976, p. 129).

Yanga defied the Spaniards to defeat him, although his villagers were fewer in number than Herrera's soldiers, and half of them were more accustomed to tending crops and cattle than to fighting.

In the ensuing battle the Spaniards overran the settlement, but most of the *cimarrones* fled and—led by Yanga and his general, Francisco Angola—fought the colonists to a stalemate. Under the ensuing peace agreement, the *cimarrones* offered to return all slaves who had escaped after September 1608 and to respect Spanish property and life. In return, their community was formally recognized as the *pueblo* of San Lorenzo de los Negros. Yanga was officially made governor, and he ruled the town along with a *cabildo* (town council) of his peers. San Lorenzo's residents also paid tribute, built a church (there had been a chapel in the earlier Maroon village), received a Spanish priest, and pledged to defend the colony from its enemies. This agreement reflected the degree to which the *cimarrones* had adopted aspects of Spanish culture, as well as their concern to preserve their own freedom. What had begun in the 1580s as a roving band of men had become by the 1610s a fully developed community of families, and they wanted to preserve this way of life more than they wanted to destroy colonial rule or the institution of slavery.

Violence by and against *cimarrones* continued in the region of San Lorenzo, as it did in much of Mexico. But the town survived and grew, a symbol of how enslaved Africans in the Americas could not only seize their freedom, but, with audacity and tenacity, win formal recognition as free colonists. The symbolism of this victory became blurred during the seventeenth century, as mixed-race people of indigenous, Spanish, and African descent moved into San Lorenzo. By 1700 the community was indistinguishable from other villages and small towns in the region. Nevertheless, San Lorenzo's origins were not forgotten. Its residents continued to call the village Yanga, as that was its popular name by 1821, the year of Mexican independence, when its population was almost 800. In the nineteenth century its history was promoted by the Afro-Mexican politician and historian Vicente Riva Palacio (1832–1896). Today Governor (or King) Yanga is viewed as a Mexican nationalist hero, and the town, now officially called Yanga, has a prominent statue of its founder, holds an annual Festival of the First Free People of the Americas, and is recognized as a heritage site by the Mexican government.

See also Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean

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MATTHEW RESTALL (2005)

San Martín de Porras

November/December 1579
November 3, 1639

In 1962 Pope John XXIII canonized Martín de Porras Velásquez, thereby making an illegitimate son of a Spanish noble and a free African from colonial Peru into a saint of a new Catholic era. As the patron of racial justice, San Martín de Porras inspired progressive and disenfranchised Catholics who embraced his image as a symbol of a reformed church dedicated to social justice in the twentieth century. However, Martín de Porras asserted spiritual authority through humble service to simultaneously challenge and reinforce the colonial order of a slavery society. Exemplifying the complicated hegemonic location of a free man of color considered holy in his time, he accepted the curse of "*mulato* dog," an epithet normally directed to slaves, out of his deep humility to God and, perhaps, as a strategy to further his good works.

Born to a free woman of African descent, Martín de Porras was maintained by, and later publicly recognized by, his Spanish noble father. The pious youth was raised near the public slave market and indigenous fishing communities in the plebeian neighborhood of San Lázaro in Lima, the Spanish viceregal capital of Peru. Apprenticed first to an apothecary and then to a surgeon, he learned to cure common ailments, extract teeth, set bones, and lance boils. Trained as a healer and able to read and write, Martín chose to enter the Dominican monastery of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in 1594. As a *mulato* (a child of a Spanish-African union in colonial Latin America) and

an illegitimate son, the aspirant could not obtain the positions of friar or priest. He therefore agreed to serve as a simple "donated" brother. At age twenty-nine he swore obedience, poverty, and chastity to the order and became Brother (Hermano) Martín de Porras. For the rest of his life, he was entrusted with the order's dispensary and served as an assistant nurse whose main duties included washing, feeding, and comforting the ill.

With medicinal plants from the monastery's gardens, as well as clothing and food from its stores, Martín de Porras attended to the poor of Lima, including Africans, Indians, and Spaniards. His gentle attentions included herbal baths, regular prayer, and bloodletting. Like other devout men and women of the seventeenth century, he engaged in self-flagellation, wore a hair shirt, fasted regularly (always refusing meat), and slept on a stone pillow. In the testimony supplied for his posthumous case for sainthood, both elite persons and commoners claimed that Brother Martín had the gift of prophecy, could transport himself from one place to another, and levitated during prayer. In 1660, and again from 1679 to 1685, Lima's populace recounted that Brother Martín de Porras performed humble miracles such as inviting a rat, a cat, and a dog to eat from the same bowl and affecting a quick cure on an injured, lowly slave. Welcomed throughout the city, Brother Martín provided counsel to Lima's archbishops and solicited funds to sustain his charitable acts only to succumb to an epidemic in 1639. After a lengthy funeral procession, the Dominicans buried the illegitimate *mulato* in their exclusive crypt, where his uncorrupted body would be exhumed in 1664 to begin the process of making him a black saint of the Americas.

See also Catholicism in the Americas

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RACHEL SARAH O'TOOLE (2005)

SANTERÍA

Santería, or "saint worship," is a religion that has its roots in both the spiritual practices of the Yoruba people of western Africa and in Roman Catholicism. The Yoruba people believed in the supreme God Olodumare and in lesser deities known as *orishas*. As slaves brought to work on sugar plantations in Cuba, they were baptized and catechized in the Roman Catholic Church in accordance with the Slave Code of 1789. The synthesis of these two religious practices occurred as slaves began to recognize Catholic saints as spiritual beings similar to their *orishas*. Eventually each *orisha* was matched with a Catholic saint and came to be known by both the African and Christian name (for instance, Orula and St. Francis of Assisi describe the same being). Under Spanish rule, the followers of this religion, santeros, continued to honor their spiritual ancestors and sought power through them. They communicated to the *orishas* through the ashe, the blood and power, of animal sacrifice and other offerings, such as food or clothing; today, community service is also a method of communication. The *orishas,* in turn, spoke to santeros through divination, performed by *babalawos,* who could read the future in sea- or coconut shells or in cards immersed in clear water.

Santería became a presence in the United States largely as a result of the exodus of Cubans after the revolution of 1959. There is little public display of the religion. Botanicas, which sell candles, beads, oils, herbs, plants, and plaster statues of Catholic saints, are found in Latino sections of New York, Miami, and Los Angeles. The number of followers is not easily determined. In southern Florida, which has had a large Caribbean immigration, roughly seventy thousand people practice Santería.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has protested the ritual slaughter of animals by adherents to Santería on several occasions. One 1980 raid on an apartment in the Bronx where Santería was reportedly being practiced yielded three goats and eighteen chickens. A larger case arose when Ernesto Pichardo opened a public church for Santería followers—the first in the United States—in Hialeah, Florida, in 1987. After a two-year struggle, the town passed an ordinance banning animal sacrifice. Pichardo and others claimed such rulings to be hypocritical in a society where meat is slain daily for consumption, especially since in Santería the animal sacrificed is often eaten afterward. In June 1993 the Supreme Court removed the ban on religious animal sacrifices as discrimination against religious practice.

See also Catholicism in the Americas; Orisha; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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WALTER FRIEDMAN (1996)
GRISSEL BORDONI-SEIJO (1996)

Santería Aesthetics

Santería aesthetics is a Yoruba-American artistic expression rooted in the history of enslaved Africans' desire to preserve their religion and culture during their enslavement in the Americas. Art is seminal to the cultural identity of all African peoples and, in particular, the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria, for whom the arts are intricately connected to their religion. Yoruba artistic preeminence in the visual arts is legendary, dating back to the first millennium. In *Flash of the Spirit,* African art historian Robert Farris Thompson (1983) stated, "Yoruba assess everything aesthetically." Thompson's observation applies to the Yoruba diaspora as well. Everywhere in the Americas where the Yoruba presence is found there is evidence that art and aesthetics play a dominant role in daily life. According to Yoruba religious belief, Olodumare, the supreme being, sent down lesser deities known as *orishas* to begin life on earth. One of the first *orishas* sent by Olodumare was Obatalá, who was given charge of creativity.

The transatlantic slave trade brought about the dispersal of Yoruba religion and culture in the Americas, particularly in Cuba, Brazil, Haiti, and Trinidad, where the first wave of the Yoruba diaspora landed. With the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century, peoples of African descent were able to move freely, resulting in a second wave of Yoruba culture dispersing to other parts of the Caribbean and Central and North America. A third wave spread the religion and culture in the mid-twentieth century as large numbers of Cubans migrated to the United States and other parts of Latin America in the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Finally, the Mariel exodus of 1980 provided a fourth wave of Cuban exiles. Santería practitioners in the last two waves have made significant contributions to religion and culture throughout America. In *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria,* William Bascom (1969), a pioneer scholar of African and African-American culture, writes that "no African group has had greater influence on New World culture than the Yoruba."

The term *Santería* is one of many used to describe a Yoruba-American religion that is based on the traditional religion of the Yoruba known as *Ifa* or *Esin Abalaye* in Nigeria, and on Roman Catholicism. In Cuba it is known as Santería, Lucumí, or Regla de Ocha. It is known as Santería in the Dominican Republic, Panama, the United States, and other parts of the world as a result of the Cuban migration. In Trinidad and Tobago, as well as in other Windward Caribbean islands, it is known as Shango, while in Brazil it is known as Candomblé. Literally translated, *Santería* means "the way of the saints," an apt, albeit mistaken, characterization for what might appear to the uninitiated to be a Roman Catholic cult dedicated to the worship of Christian saints. Another mistaken characterization of the religion is that it is a syncretic faith. Many scholars arrived at this conclusion because of a now defunct practice of requiring Santería devotees to be baptized in the Roman Catholic Church prior to initiation, the presence of statues and polychrome pictures of Roman Catholic saints on home altars, the celebration of the feast days of these saints, and the reference to devotees as *santeros*.

The commingling of the two religions in the Yoruba diaspora began as a subterfuge by enslaved Yoruba who were forced to accept Roman Catholicism. To avoid persecution, the Yoruba and their descendents camouflaged their *orishas* with the images, color symbolism, and iconography of Catholic saints. Essentially, they overtly accepted Roman Catholicism, misleading their enslavers into believing that they had become Christian converts while they covertly continued to practice their religion. This subterfuge also made it possible for them to develop and preserve a Yoruba-American aesthetic from one generation to another through oral tradition, music, literature, dance, folklore, and the visual arts. As religious persecution abated and tolerance increased throughout the Americas in the twentieth century, a number of *santeros* started abandoning vestiges of Roman Catholicism. Also, by the end of the twentieth century many devotees began to view the term *Santería* as pejorative and preferred to refer to their religion as Yoruba religion, Afro-Cuban Orisha worship, Orisha worship, or Lucumí. In spite of semantics, the term *Santería* still has currency with many devotees who refuse to remove the Catholic saints from their altars because of personal allegiances. Santería aesthetics therefore comprises a complex mythology, a pantheon of deities, color symbolism, rituals, and ceremonies that *santeros* employ in the veneration of the *orishas*. This aesthetic also gained currency with modern and contemporary artists beginning in the twentieth century.

A Santería Religious Altar in Cuba. *Santería, literally translated "the way of the saints," is based on the traditional religion of the Yoruba in Nigeria. The resolve of the Yoruba to maintain an intimate relationship with their orishas (gods) in a sacred space led to the phenomenon of home altars like the one pictured here.* © ROBERT VAN DER HILST/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Traditional Yoruba aesthetics in the Americas experienced a serious setback as their art-making traditions became severely curtailed during slavery. Although limited, the making or displaying of religious objects did not become extinct. To avoid punishment, however, the display of such objects, like the religion itself, became secretive. Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz amassed a large and impressive collection of dolls that were used in Lucumí devotional practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His collection is now in the permanent collection of Casa de Africa in Havana, Cuba.

The Yoruba had also distinguished themselves with an impressive legacy in the architectural arts. However, the practice of building palaces, public shrines, altars, and temples with religious and/or political significance was eclipsed in the "New" World. Nevertheless, the resolve of the Yoruba to maintain an intimate relationship with their *orishas* in a sacred space—an important tenet in the religion—led to the phenomenon of home altars called *tronos,* or thrones.

Santería Aesthetics in Modern Art

European avant-garde artists' search for new influences to invigorate their work at the beginning of the twentieth century lead them to investigate the aesthetic properties of African art. Whereas most modern artists were influenced by the formal elements of African art, artists of the African diaspora sought to explore deeper cultural and spiritual meaning in these objects. In his 1925 essay "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," Alain Locke (1992), the principal aesthetician of the Harlem Renaissance, urged African-American artists to look to African art for inspiration. Locke believed that the arts could serve as a vehicle to reverse negative stereotypical images of the "Negro" in an era when racism was at its peak. He wrote, "any vital artistic expression of the Negro theme and subject in art must break thorough the stereotypes to a new style, a distinctive fresh technique, and some sort of characteristic idiom." While Locke was advocating for a cutting-edge Afrocentric aesthetic, so too were the African and Caribbean artists and intellectuals of the *Négritude* movement. The Cuban artist Wifredo Lam, who was part of the *Négritude* movement, was the first to introduce a secular Santería aesthetic in the visual arts when he presented the *orishas* in his paintings as subject matter, albeit camouflaged. Although African-American artists in the United States, at the insistence of Locke, did include African images in their work, in the early years these images appeared more like

African icons. This would change, however, by mid- to late century.

Santeria Aesthetics in Contemporary Art

The aftermath of the civil rights movement in the latter part of the twentieth century shaped the postmodern era with concerns for pluralism, multiculturalism, appropriation, and hybridization, resulting in the mainstream art world becoming more sensitive to the art and culture of the peoples of African descent. During this period new genre art forms were introduced that accommodated Santería aesthetic concerns rather well. Concurrently, the Pan-Africanist movement had politicized artists of African descent with concerns for rediscovering and preserving African legacies. They were determined to produce what Locke called a "racial art" that positively depicted their communities. The intersection of a new climate interested in multiculturalism in the art world, new genre art forms, and Afrocentricity in the arts created a fertile ground in which a secular Santería aesthetic would grow. The result has been a Yoruba aesthetic renaissance. Santería *tronos,* rituals, and ritual objects have been transformed into contemporary art as installations, performance art, concept art, and body art, while the *orishas* have become the subject matter for paintings, drawings, collages, and assemblages. These works are now being exhibited in prestigious galleries and museums worldwide, sometimes with the assistance of *santeros* as collaborators and/or consultants. Locke's call for "a new style, a distinctive fresh technique, and some sort of characteristic idiom" has been realized. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Santería aesthetics continues to thrive in both sacred and secular art.

See also Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures; Orisha; Santería; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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ARTURO LINDSAY (2005)

Santos-Febres, Mayra

1966

The Puerto Rican writer Mayra Santos-Febres has published two novels, two collections of short stories, two collections of poems, and various articles of literary criticism. In her work she deals with themes of female sexuality, the erotic, gender fluidity, desire, and power. Representations of female sexuality in women's fiction is not new in Puerto Rican women's writing, nor in that of the wider Caribbean, but Santos-Febres's work marks a new modality of erotic openness. She often focuses on the powers of seduction, often in the context of a dystopic contemporary Puerto Rico, while the nostalgia that is part of so much Puerto Rican prose is absent in her writing. Puerto Rico's urbanized and industrialized metropolitan areas provide the setting for much of this work, and the denizens of these areas are the key players.

She has published several collections of poetry in Spanish. Her prose work in English translation includes *Urban Oracles* (1997), *Sirena Selena* (2000), and *Any Wednesday I'm Yours* (2005). The stories in *Urban Oracles* deal with the powers and transformations of the female

body, though this theme is treated in a unique way by Santos-Febres, at least compared with most literature by black authors. In "Broken Strand," for example, the beauty of black womanhood is restored through a protagonist who visualizes herself becoming the pinnacle of beauty through the ministrations of a beautician. The story's tone is celebratory, representing nappy hair not as a problem, but as yet another element of black women's beauty. Similarly, in "Marina's Fragrance," a woman protagonist has a particular gift: when she thinks about an aroma, it becomes manifest in the world. Magical and dreamlike, the narrative places women in a position of power. Another story features a gardener who must prepare dead prostitutes for burial after a cataclysmic storm. Yet in performing this task, rubbing oils into the bodies of these women becomes a ritual of love and respect.

Sirena Selena, an iconoclastic first novel, features an underage transvestite who seeks success and money among the rich and powerful in the nighttime world of the Dominican Republic and San Juan. Much is made of transformations of the body as ways to attain the male gaze, the socially accepted dominance of the male through the act of looking at the female. This novel was, and remains, controversial because it questions gender categories in a way that had never been done before in Puerto Rico. The closest anyone had previously come to destabilizing these categories was Luis Rafael Sánchez, in some of the stories in *En cuerpo de camisa* (1966), but even there, the specifics of what, where, and how were not as openly portrayed as they are in Santos-Febres's novel. As in her shorter fiction, there is here a celebration of the erotic, of the body, and of sexual expression in all its forms.

Santos-Febres's second novel, *Any Wednesday I'm Yours,* features a would-be novelist who loses his job at a newspaper and takes a job working nights in a motel. Educated and sophisticated, he discovers ties between a narcotics kingpin and a corrupt labor lawyer who is supposedly engaged in contract negotiations for electrical workers. The power outages common in Puerto Rico turn out to be due to sabotage engineered by this lawyer and the druglord, who meet in the motel where the protagonist works. This is one of the novel's mysteries; another is the identity of a mysterious and sensual woman who makes love with the protagonist every Wednesday (hence the novel's title). Her purloined manuscript contains the necessary clue to solving the novel's crimes, which is the impetus for the protagonist to overcome his difficulties with writing.

The novel also features a secondary character whose identity is Haitian and Dominican. He is trying to make enough money working in the motel and delivering cocaine to Miami to be able to install electricity in his mother's home back in Haiti. There is also a rich episode featuring Santería rituals, complete with the names of African gods and Yoruba prayers, a ritual attended by representatives of all social classes, including professionals.

A promising and talented young writer with a bright future ahead, Santos-Febres represents the newest generation of self-consciously diasporic Puerto Rican authors who embrace rather than bemoan that identity.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean

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DIANA L. VÉLEZ (2005)

Savage, Augusta

February 29, 1892
March 26, 1962

The seventh of fourteen children, portrait sculptor and educator Augusta Christine Fells was born in Green Cove Springs, Florida, to Cornelia and Edward Fells. Fells, a Methodist minister, initially punished his young daughter for making figurines in the local red clay, then came to accept her talent. Augusta attended public schools and the state normal school in Tallahassee (now Florida A&M) briefly. At sixteen she married John T. Moore, who died within a few years of the birth of their only child. In the mid-1910s she married James Savage, a laborer and carpenter; the two divorced in the early 1920s. In 1915 Savage moved to West Palm Beach, where one of her clay pieces won twenty-five dollars at a county fair. Public support encouraged Savage to move north in the Great Migration to New York, where she arrived in 1921 with just $4.60 and a letter of recommendation from the superintendent of the county fair to sculptor Solon Borglum, director of the School of American Sculpture.

Through Borglum's influence Savage was admitted to the tuition-free college Cooper Union ahead of 142 women on the waiting list. She completed the four-year program in three years, specializing in portraiture. In the early 1920s she sculpted realistic busts of W. E. B. Du Bois,

Frederick Douglass, W. C. Handy, and Marcus Garvey. In 1923 she married Robert L. Poston, a Garveyite journalist who died five months later. The same year, Savage was one of a hundred American women who received a $500 scholarship from the French government for summer study at the palace of Fontainebleau. However, when the American committee of seven white men discovered her racial identity, they withdrew the offer. One committee member, Hermon A. MacNeil, gave her private instruction instead. Two years later Countess Irene Di Robilant of the Italian-American Society gave Savage a scholarship for study at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, but Savage was unable to raise money for expenses abroad as she struggled to support her parents while working at a laundry.

In 1926 Savage exhibited her work in three locations—at the New York Public Library, at the Frederick Douglass High School in Baltimore, and at the sesquicentennial exhibition in Philadelphia. The following year she studied privately with sculptor Onorio Ruotolo, former dean of the Leonardo da Vinci Art School. She also worked with sculptor Antonio Salemme and taught soap sculpture classes to children at Procter & Gamble.

In 1928, recognition from the Harmon Foundation, which exhibited her *Evening and Head of a Negro,* brought Savage sales. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, was so impressed with his purchase of a baby's bust Savage had sculpted that he asked the Carnegie Corporation to sponsor her training. Through Carnegie Savage began study with sculptor Victor Salvatore, who urged her to continue her studies in France.

In the fall of 1929 Savage went to Paris with funds from both Carnegie and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. There she studied privately with Felix Benneteau and created realistic portrait busts in plaster and clay. The most notable works Savage created abroad are of black female nudes, such as *Amazon* (a female warrior holding a spear) and *Mourning Victory* (a standing nude who gazes at a decapitated head on the ground), and works that celebrate her African heritage, such as *The Call* (in response to Alain Locke's call for racially representative art) and *Divinité nègre* (a female figurine with four faces, arms, and legs). In 1930 *La dépêche africaine,* a French journal, ran a cover story on Savage, and three of her figurative works were exhibited at the Salon d'Automne. Savage also sent works to the United States for display; the Harmon Foundation exhibited *Gamin* in 1930 and *Bust* and *The Chase* (in palm wood) in 1931. In 1931 Savage won a gold medal for a piece at the Colonial Exposition and exhibited two female nudes (*Nu* in bronze, and *Martiniquaise* in plaster) at the Société des Artistes Français.

After her return to New York Savage exhibited three works (*Gamin, Envy,* and *Woman of Martinique*) at the American Art–Anderson Galleries in 1932. That same year she opened the Savage School of Arts and Crafts. Some of her students, who included Jacob Lawrence, Norman Lewis, William Artis, and Ernest Crichlow, participated in Vanguard, a group Savage founded in 1933 to discuss art and progressive causes. She disbanded the group the following year when membership became communist-controlled.

In 1934 Argent Galleries and the Architectural League exhibited Savage's work, and she became the first African American elected to the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors. Two years later Savage supervised artists in the WPA's Federal Art Projects and organized classes and exhibitions at the Uptown Art Laboratory. In 1937 she became the first director of the Harlem Community Art Center. After receiving a commission from the New York World's Fair Board of Design, she left that position in 1938 to sculpt a sixteen-foot plaster harp, the strings of which were the folds of choir robes on singing black youths. Named after James Weldon Johnson's poem/song (also called the Negro National Anthem), *Lift Every Voice and Sing* was exhibited at the New York World's Fair of 1939 but was bulldozed afterward. (Savage could not afford to have it cast in bronze.)

In June 1939 Savage opened the Salon of Contemporary Art, the first gallery devoted to the exhibition and sale of works by African-American artists. It folded within a few months for lack of funds. The same year, she exhibited fifteen works in a solo show at Argent Galleries; among them were *Green Apples, Sisters in the Rain, Creation, Envy, Martyr, The Cat,* and a bust of James Weldon Johnson. She also exhibited at the American Negro Exposition and at Perrin Hall in Chicago in 1940.

Around 1945 Savage retired to Saugerties, New York, where she taught children in nearby summer camps, occasionally sold her work, and wrote children's stories and murder mysteries. She died of cancer in New York City.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Harlem Renaissance; Painting and Sculpture

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The Savoy Ballroom, c. 1950s. *Harlem's famed Lenox Avenue dance palace opened in 1926 and became a top nightspot for bands during the Swing Era.* PHOTOGRAPH BY AUSTIN HANSEN. USED BY PERMISSION OF JOYCE HANSEN AND THE SCHOMBURG CENTER.

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THERESA LEININGER-MILLER (1996)

Savoy Ballroom

Dubbed the "Home of Happy Feet," the Savoy Ballroom was Harlem's first and greatest swing era dance palace; for more than three decades it was the premiere showcase for the greatest of the swing big bands and dancers.

At the time of the Savoy's opening—on March 12, 1926, at 596 Lenox Avenue, between 140th and 141st streets—Harlem boasted no dance halls to match the opulence of the Roseland and Arcadia ballrooms in midtown Manhattan. Instead, there were primarily cramped, rundown, and often illegal clubs. The Savoy featured two mirrored flights of marble stairs, leading from street level up to a chandeliered lobby, and to the orange-and-blue room itself, which measured 200 by 500 feet and could hold up to 7,000 people. There were two bandstands, a disappearing stage under multicolored spotlights, and a vast dance floor, which was worn down and replaced every three years. Despite the elegance of the setting, the ballroom attracted a working-class audience who paid low-priced entrance fees for an evening of swing dancing. However, none of the Harlem ballrooms that opened after the Savoy ever approached the Savoy's opulence.

Every black big band of note, and many white ones as well, eventually performed at the Savoy. Opening night featured Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra, and in the late 1920s Duke Ellington, King Oliver, and Louis Armstrong brought their orchestras to the Savoy. In 1932, Kansas City swing made its New York debut at the Savoy, as Bennie

Dancers and musicians at the Savoy Ballroom, swinging to the ballroom's anthem, "Stompin' at the Savoy." CORBIS/BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Moten brought a band that included the pianist Count Basie, the trumpeter Oran "Hot Lips" Page, and the saxophonist Ben Webster. Although Al Cooper's Savoy Sultans served as the house band, Chick Webb's orchestra, featuring the vocalist Ella Fitzgerald, became identified with the Savoy during its 1932 to 1939 stay. An arranger and saxophonist with Webb, Edgar Sampson, composed the ballroom's anthem, "Stompin' at the Savoy," in 1934.

Often more than one band was booked into the Savoy for an evening. As the bands alternated tunes and sets, a " battle of the bands," in which the two ensembles would vie for the acclamation of the audience, would ensue. Among the most memorable confrontations was Chick Webb's 1938 victory over an orchestra led by Count Basie.

In the 1940s the Savoy encountered competition from the Golden Gate, the Apollo, the Alhambra, the Rockland Palace, and the Audubon Ballroom. Nonetheless, in the early years of the decade, Coleman Hawkins, Erskine Hawkins, Benny Carter, and Louis Armstrong all led big bands there. In 1942, Jay McShann's appearance at the Savoy and on radio broadcasts from the ballroom introduced the saxophonist Charlie Parker to a wider audience. In the summer of 1943 the temporary closing of the Savoy was a precipitating factor in the Harlem riots that August. More than 250 bands eventually performed at the Savoy, including those of Earl "Fatha" Hines, Don Redman, Jimmie Lunceford, Teddy Hill, and Andy Kirk. Unlike the Cotton Club and Connie's Inn, which enforced a strict whites-only clientele, the Savoy welcomed both black and white patrons and performers.

The dancing at the Savoy was as remarkable as the music. The ballroom was the center for the development of Lindyhopping, the energetic and acrobatic style of swing dancing that made a dramatic break with the previous conventions of popular dance in the 1930s. In the 1920s and 1930s dancers such as Leon James, Leroy Jones, Shirley "Snowball" Jordan, "Killer Joe" Piro, and couples such as George "Shorty" Snowden and "Big Bea" (and Sketch Jones and "Little Bea") created and perfected patterns such as "The Itch" and "The Big Apple." The extraordinary inventiveness and agility of the Savoy dancers was credited not only to a cross-fertilization with the bands on the stage but also to the unwritten rule against Savoy dancers copying each others' steps. In the mid-1930s a new generation of Lindyhoppers, including Frankie Manning, Norma Miller, Al Minns, Joe Daniels, Russell Williams, and Pepsi Bethel, favored leaping "air steps," such as the "Hip to Hip," "Side Flip," "Over the Back,"

"Over the Head," and "the Scratch," which came to dominate the older, more earthbound "floor steps."

During its thirty-two-year existence, the Savoy represented a remarkably successful example of an interracial cultural meeting place, an embodiment of the wide-scale acceptance of black urban culture by whites during the 1930s and 1940s. But unlike the earlier settings of the Harlem Renaissance, the Savoy's music and dance were presented without racial exoticism. The Savoy flourished as long as white audiences saw Harlem as an attractive and safe spot for nightlife. Unfortunately, the heyday of the Savoy lasted only until the postwar economic decline of Harlem. Also, with the rise of bebop and rock and roll, big-band jazz ceased to be America's dominant form of popular music, and the owners of the Savoy found it harder to continue to book new big bands each week. The Savoy's doors closed in the late 1950s, and the building was torn down in 1958 to make way for a housing project.

See also Apollo Theater; Cotton Club; Harlem, New York; Harlem Renaissance; Jazz

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Scholes, Theophilus

c. 1854
c. 1937

Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes was a black Jamaican physician, Christian minister, author, and missionary to Africa. Espousing a strong anti-imperialist and antiracist line of argument, Scholes promoted the idea of absolute political and social equality between Europeans and Africans. He was convinced that the reclamation of ancient African history was the foundation on which continental and diasporic Africans could build toward a future in which they would once again occupy the upper echelons of world civilization. Despite his primary focus on colonized Africans, however, Scholes also demonstrated significant concern for the plight of Indians, Chinese, and aboriginal peoples resulting from European imperial policies. An acknowledged voice within educated black circles in England, Jamaica, and New York, Scholes authored several works, including *Sugar and the West Indies* (1897), *The British Empire and Alliances* (1899), *Chamberlain and Chamberlainism* (under the pseudonym Bartholomew Smith, 1903), and his two-volume opus *Glimpses of the Ages*, published in 1905 and 1908. In these texts he embarked on a detailed analysis and critique of European (and in particular, British) imperial policies, and the race-based ideology, science, and political economy that sustained them. Though Scholes was highly critical of colonialism and imperialism, he did not advocate its abolishment. Instead, he sought for a more modern arrangement in which a network of nations would work together with mutual respect and in total equality.

Scholes was born in Stewart Town in the northwestern Jamaican parish of Trelawny, and he studied at schools there before leaving Jamaica in 1873. He spent the next several years travelling to South America, Central America, parts of North America, and the Sandwich Islands. He then moved to Great Britain, where he studied theology at the Grattan-Guinness Missionary College in London in 1879. Subsequently, he studied medicine in Edinburgh, earning a licentiate from the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1884. After sojourning briefly in the United States and Jamaica, Scholes ventured to Africa in 1886 as the pioneer missionary and physician of the newly formed Missionary Society of the Western Churches, eventually spending a total of seven years there. Within this seven-year period, he journeyed to Belgium where he took another medical degree (at the University of Brussels). He returned to Africa in 1894 to supervise an industrial school run by the Alfred Jones Institute at New Calabar in Nigeria.

Scholes was elected a member of the African Society in 1903 in England, and, after 1911, also became a member of the New York–based Negro Society for Historical Research. Influenced by European nationalists such as Giuseppe Mazzini, Lajos Kossuth, and Giuseppe de Garibaldi, as well as by black Caribbean radicals such as Edward Blyden, Scholes himself exerted some influence on thinkers such as Robert Love, John Edward Bruce, Ras Makonnen, and Jomo Kenyatta. His reception among black intellectuals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his early championing of the rights of the colonized majority, and his assault on European racism and imperialism helped establish a discursive anticolonial tradition within the Anglophone black Atlantic.

See also Intellectual Life; Missionary Movements

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WIGMOORE WASHINGTON ADOLPHUS FRANCIS
(2005)

Schomburg, Arthur

January 24, 1874
June 10, 1938

Bibliophile Arthur Alfonso Schomburg was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, to a German merchant and an unmarried black laundress who was a native of Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands. He received some formal education but was largely self-taught. He emigrated to the United States in 1891, moving to New York City. Schomburg worked in a law office, was active in the "Porto [sic] Rican Revolutionary Party," and began his lifelong quest to amass a collection of African-American books and other materials in order to demonstrate the existence and significance of black history. In 1906 he went to work at Bankers Trust Company, where he eventually became head of the mail room, staying with the company for twenty-three years.

With his broad knowledge and passion for African-American history, Schomburg became a leading spirit in the Harlem Renaissance and an inspiration to a generation of historians. He was an active Prince Hall Mason, he cofounded with John Edward Bruce in 1911 the Negro Society for Historical Research, and in 1922 he became president of the soon-to-be moribund American Negro Academy. Schomburg wrote numerous pamphlets and bibliographical studies. His best-known essay is "The Negro Digs Up His Past" in Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925), a call to the important task of careful scholarly research into African and African-American history.

In 1925 the New York Public Library established a special Negro Division at the 135th Street Branch. The next year the Carnegie Corporation purchased for $10,000 Schomburg's vast and unequalled collection of books, manuscripts, and art works and donated it to the library. Schomburg, who was a librarian at Fisk University from 1930 to 1932, became curator of his own collection with another Carnegie grant, which he received in 1932. His

Arthur Alfonso Schomburg. *A self-taught historian, the bibliophile Schomburg amassed an unparalleled collection of books and materials on black history and culture. These works are preserved in one of the world's largest repositories of such materials—Harlem's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Arthur A. Schomburg

"We need the historian and philosopher to give us with trenchant pen, the story of our forefathers, and let our soul and body, with phosphorescent light, brighten the chasm that separates us. We should cling to them just as blood is thicker than water."

RACIAL INTEGRITY: A PLEA FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIR OF NEGRO HISTORY IN OUR SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, ETC. PUBLISHED IN 1913 IN NANCY CUNARD'S WORK, *NEGRO.*

collection forms the core of the present Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the largest collection of materials by and about people of African descent.

An Arthur Schomburg Award for Excellence in African Studies is awarded each year.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Locke, Alain Leroy

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Schuyler, George S.

February 25, 1895
August 31, 1977

The journalist George Samuel Schuyler, often considered a political gadfly because of his move from young radical socialist to arch-conservative later in life, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1895. Raised in Syracuse, New York, he attended school until he was seventeen, when he dropped out to enter the U.S. Army. He spent seven years in the service and saw action as a first lieutenant in France during World War I.

After leaving the service, Schuyler was active in the labor movement, sometimes moving between Syracuse and New York City. He finally settled in New York as the Harlem Renaissance began. Although never a star of the Renaissance, he served as its goad. It was Schuyler's essay, "The Negro-Art Hokum," for example, that spurred Langston Hughes's now classic 1926 response, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain." Both essays appeared in the *Nation*. In 1923 Schuyler joined A. Philip Randolph's *Messenger* as a columnist and assistant editor, and he later became its managing editor. The publication was considered so fiery that several southern members of Congress brought it under House investigation.

Schuyler moved on to do publicity for the NAACP, whose publication *The Crisis*, under the editorship of W. E. B. Du Bois, had opposed the radicalism of Randolph, Schuyler, and others. Schuyler's first book, *Racial Intermarriage in the United States,* was published in 1929.

In 1931 Schuyler published two novels—*Black No More* and *Slaves Today: A Story of Liberia.* The first is a scathing satire in which black people are able to ingest a certain chemical that causes them to vanish from Harlem and reappear elsewhere as whites. *Slaves Today* describes the slavelike labor conditions in Liberia. A third novel, *Black Empire,* assembled from fiction serialized from 1936 through mid-1937 in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* a black weekly newspaper, was posthumously published in book form in 1991. The novel tells of a black elite, headed by a fascist-like black genius, that revenges wrongs done by whites in the United States, gathers an army and air force, and heads to Africa, where the genius of black scientists carves out a black empire that defeats all incursions by European whites. Schuyler wrote this work under the pen name of Samuel I. Brooks. (He also used Brooks and other pseudonyms until 1939 while publishing fiction in the *Courier*.)

From 1927 to 1933, Schuyler published nine essays in H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury*. Eugene Gordon, a black communist of the period, wrote in 1934 in Nancy Cunard's *Negro* that Schuyler was "an opportunist of the most odious sort," which indicates that to some he had already distanced himself from socialism. Shortly thereafter, Schuyler began a forty-year sojourn with the *Courier*. While he published furiously, he noted that his primary interest was in "having enough money to live on properly." He supplemented his sixty-dollar weekly *Courier* salary by publishing in several white-owned journals, including the *Nation, Plain Talk,* and *Common Ground*.

During his prime, Schuyler was considered to be one of the best journalists working. His satire was called Rabelaisian, and he frequently played devil's advocate. He and his wife, Josephine, had a daughter, Philippa, in 1931. A prodigy who had grown to become a noted concert pianist, she was killed in 1967, at age thirty-five, in a helicopter crash while on tour in Vietnam. Schuyler died in 1977.

See also *Crisis, The*; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Journalism; Randolph, Asa Philip

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JOHN A. WILLIAMS (1996)

Science

As a race, people of African origin have been the object of scientific scrutiny and analysis in America since the colonial period. The practice of science—and the perspectives of its practitioners—were shaped to a large extent by prevailing social and theological notions of racial hierarchy. Science operated on the assumption that "the Negro race" was inferior; it helped define race and was subsequently abused in the promotion of racism in America.

Racial Concepts

Models of racial classification had roots in the work of the eighteenth-century Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus. Linnaeus's framework was adopted by nineteenth-century naturalists and broadened by Georges Cuvier, Charles Lyell, Charles Darwin, and others to include analysis of hair, skull, and facial features. Lyell and Darwin thought of the "Negro" as an intermediate step on the ladder of evolution, somewhere between monkey and Caucasian. Cuvier held that blacks were "the most degraded of human races, whose form approaches that of the beast." Louis Agassiz, the Swiss-born American naturalist and professor at Harvard University, considered the Negro almost a separate species. It was difficult, he said, in observing "their black faces with their thick lips and grimacing teeth . . . to repress the feeling that they are not of the same blood as us."

The racially charged views of these and other scientists became part of the legacy passed on to succeeding generations. Nineteenth-century America, for example, saw the rise of craniometry (measurement of the brain) and anthropometry (the taking of anatomical measurements in general) as methods of exploring and comparing the physical, mental, and moral condition of the races. This work was carried out, during the Civil War and afterward, largely by white physicians in the service of governmental bodies such as the U.S. Sanitary Commission, a predecessor of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Physicians played a vital role in developing a science-based analysis of black people. The condition of African Americans (often referred to as "the other race") was a common topic of discussion in professional journals, at conferences, and in articles on health topics for popular newspapers and magazines during the nineteenth century. White physicians portrayed African Americans as constitutionally weak—more prone to disease than whites, with a higher mortality rate, and exhibiting signs that pointed toward eventual extinction. Data and statistics, generally void of appropriate context, were used to buttress this thesis. The low rate of suicide among blacks, for example, was interpreted as a reflection of limited intellectual capacity—an indication that blacks lived only for the moment and, unlike whites, lacked the conceptual skills necessary to plan and shape the future.

Nineteenth-century black physicians remained more or less silent about the racial dogmas advanced by their white counterparts for several reasons. First, since white organizations generally refused to admit them to membership, black physicians were kept busy developing alternative forums—their own professional societies, discussion groups, journals—to provide opportunities for shared learning and experience. The National Medical Association, the black counterpart of the American Medical Association, was founded in 1895 through the efforts of prominent physicians such as Miles Vandahurst Lynk and Robert Fulton Boyd. Second, black physicians recognized that generating racial or political controversy risked a backlash that could undermine efforts to place their own professional role and community on a solid foundation. And third, some black professionals accepted the truth of racial stereotypes and distanced themselves from the perceived taint of their race by thinking of themselves as unique, as somehow different from the "typical" African American.

Eugenics and Other Movements

In the early twentieth century, activities pursued under the guise of science continued to point to the alleged inferiority of African Americans. The eugenics movement is a good example. While it had always been present in some form (in spirit if not in name), eugenics assumed formal standing as a science with the rediscovery of botanist Gregor Mendel's seminal paper on genetics in 1900 and the establishment in 1910 of the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York. Defined as the science of improving the hereditary qualities of particular races or breeds, eugenics found devotees among geneticists and reputable practitioners in other branches of the biological sciences. It captured the public imagination, bringing issues of racial inferiority into focus not only in the realm of natural science, but in the social arena as well. Eugenics, with its growing stock of data on what were termed "weak races," fed into regressive social policies, such as the anti-immigration movement and programs of coercive sterilization aimed at "purifying" the nation's population stocks. Its ideas permeated American society, promoting racial fear among whites and self-antipathy among some blacks. Although eugenics slipped out of the mainstream of American science in the 1930s following its adoption by the Germans as a social-engineering tool, its

assumptions remained firmly embedded in the American social fabric.

The racial thrust underlying the work of the craniometrists, anthropometrists, physician-scientists, and eugenicists persisted past the middle of the twentieth century—in spite of the rise of the civil rights movement. In some respects, it persists down to the present day. Examples are numerous. From 1932 to 1972, the U.S. Public Health Service carried out the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male (popularly known as the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment). This project gathered together four hundred African-American "guinea pigs"; misled them about the nature of their illness by reinforcing the subjects' belief that they were suffering from vague ailments related to "bad blood"; and withheld treatment from them in order to observe the progress of the disease. One rationale underlying the project was the need to assess racial differences in the impact of the disease. Then there was the segregation of blood in the armed services during World War II. Still later, during the 1960s and 1970s, Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, and William Shockley applied IQ and other data in studies of racial differences. These scientists drew broad conclusions, for example, about the genetic inferiority—and, in particular, the inherently lower intelligence—of blacks as compared to whites. Since the 1980s, some work in sociobiology and genetic engineering has attempted to identify genes with behavioral traits. In 1992 the National Institutes of Health awarded funds for a conference on heredity and criminal behavior but later withdrew support to placate critics who felt that linking genetics and crime in this way could add renewed authority to theories that blacks (represented disproportionately in U.S. crime statistics) were biologically inferior.

African Americans in Science

Science may have been used and abused in racially motivated ways, but this has not stopped African Americans from being drawn to careers in the field. The history of blacks in American science is as old as the history of science in America. In colonial America, free blacks were known for their inventive, scientific, and technical skills. The first to achieve a national reputation in science was Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806), known in the latter part of the eighteenth century as a mathematician, astronomer, and compiler and publisher of almanacs. In 1791 Banneker served as part of a team of surveyors and engineers who contributed to planning the city of Washington, D.C. Other free blacks, including Thomas L. Jennings (1791–1859) and Norbert Rillieux (1806–1894), developed and patented technical devices in the years leading up to the Civil War. Some slaves were known for their inventive abilities, but their legal status prevented them from holding patents and from receiving widespread public recognition of their achievement.

After the Civil War, the number of blacks undertaking scientific work increased slowly. The establishment of black institutions of higher learning—necessary because white institutions did not routinely admit African-American students—provided an essential start. Nevertheless, black colleges and universities tended to focus on curricula in theology, education, medicine, and other fields that were more practical (or technical) than scientific, geared primarily toward creating a niche or foothold for African-American professionals in the social and economic mainstream. Science, in the sense of an activity devoted to pure or basic research, did not fit readily into this framework. As a result, African Americans wanting specialized science education or training were obliged to seek out programs at white institutions. It was a difficult proposition that only a few tackled successfully before the end of the nineteenth century. One of the earliest was Edward Alexander Bouchet (1852–1918), who earned a Ph.D. in physics from Yale University in 1876. Bouchet was said to have been the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from an American university. His subsequent career did not, however, include research in the sciences. He became a high-school science teacher at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia. Because of his race, professional opportunities in science were essentially closed to him. Bouchet's was nonetheless an important accomplishment, a counterexample to the widespread mythology about the mental inferiority of blacks.

The number of blacks entering scientific fields increased markedly after the turn of the twentieth century. Among these were Charles Henry Turner, zoologist; George Washington Carver, agricultural botanist; Ernest Everett Just, embryologist; St. Elmo Brady, chemist; Elmer Samuel Imes, physicist; William Augustus Hinton, bacteriologist; and Julian Herman Lewis, pathologist. Percy Lavon Julian, a chemist, and Charles Richard Drew, a surgeon and pioneer of the blood-banking system, followed a couple of decades later. This cohort represents the first group of black scientists to receive graduate degrees from major white universities, pursue science at the research level, and publish in leading scientific journals.

World War II brought African-American scientists, as a distinct group, to public attention for the first time. Prior to this, they had worked primarily as teachers at black colleges and universities, and had not—with the notable exception, perhaps, of Ernest Just—exerted their influence widely or made their presence felt in the larger scientific

community. As part of the war mobilization effort at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico and in the various branches of the Manhattan Project attached to laboratories at the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and other universities, some white scientists witnessed for the first time a sizable number of black physicists and chemists entering their world. African Americans who worked on the atom bomb project included Edwin Roberts Russell, Benjamin Franklin Scott, J. Ernest Wilkins Jr., Jasper Brown Jeffries, George Warren Reed Jr., Moddie Daniel Taylor, and the brothers Lawrence Howland Knox and William Jacob Knox Jr. At a postwar conference in 1946, one eminent white scientist, Arthur Holly Compton, remarked on how the bomb project had brought races and religions together for a common purpose.

After the war, even though a few white universities began to open up faculty appointments and graduate fellowships to blacks, racial discrimination continued to operate at many levels within the professional world of science. It was common for major associations, including the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to hold conventions in cities where segregation was both customary and legally enforced, and where hotels serving as convention sites denied accommodation to anyone of African-American origin. Blacks often relied on their own scientific associations, such as the National Institute of Science (founded in 1942) and Beta Kappa Chi Scientific Society (incorporated in 1929), to share ideas and foster collegial ties. Furthermore, most science education for African Americans—certainly at the undergraduate level—continued to take place within the confines of historically black colleges and universities.

Following passage of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Bill, new educational opportunities gradually opened up for blacks, and scientific careers—in both academia and industry—became more of a tangible, realistic goal. Rosters of noteworthy scientists from the 1960s to the 1990s mention a number of African Americans, including Harold Amos, bacteriologist; Shirley Ann Jackson, physicist; Edward William Hawthorne, physiologist; Marie Maynard Daly, biochemist; and Ronald Erwin McNair, astronautical physicist. Scientific organizations, learned societies, and educational institutions grew more inclusive during this period. David Harold Blackwell, a mathematician, was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1965. The physicist Walter Eugene Massey became the first African-American president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1988 and the first African-American director of the National Science Foundation in 1990.

President George H. W. Bush's Goals 2000 initiative, in which he pledged to make America's students "first in math and science," gave the scientific renaissance of the 1970s and the mid-1980s a boost in 1989. In the ensuing years, African Americans gained greater access to all levels of education in the sciences, increased the percentage of degrees in the sciences they earned relative to their population in the general society, and entered science-related fields in academia and the professions in unprecedented numbers. However, disparities still remain in precollege, undergraduate, and graduate science education and contribute to persistent racial inequalities in the American workforce in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Although African Americans represented around 12 percent of the total U.S. population in 2004, they constituted less than 3 percent of American scientists.

Science in the Twenty-First Century

The postindustrial revolution gained momentum in the early 1990s and prompted dramatic social, economic, and cultural changes in the United States and the international community. The economy in twenty-first-century America, for instance, no longer relies primarily on manufacturing but rather on information. Computers are the engines that drive the information age, and, though underrepresented in the field, black scientists have made basic contributions to advance digital technologies in the global society. For instance, Mark Dean (b. 1957), a Stanford Ph.D. and vice president of IBM and widely considered to be the architect of the modern personal computer, led the design team that created the first one-gigahertz computer processor. Thus, not only was he central to making computers accessible to the common person, he helped to make them faster and much more efficient, too. In addition, Philip Emeagwali (b. 1954), the Nigerian-born Internet and supercomputer pioneer, made scientific breakthroughs that helped to make the world a much smaller place, opening the door to modes of communication that many now take for granted, such as e-mail and text messages.

See also Banneker, Benjamin; Carver, George Washington; Inventors and Inventions; Race and Science; Race, Scientific Theories of

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KENNETH R. MANNING (1996)
GARRETT ALBERT DUNCAN (2005)

SCLC

See Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Scott, Emmett J.

February 13, 1873
December 12, 1957

The author and administrator Emmett Scott was born in Houston, Texas, and briefly attended Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, before beginning to work as a journalist at the *Houston Post* in 1881. (He was awarded an honorary M.A. from Wiley College in 1901.) In 1894 he founded and edited his own weekly African-American newspaper, the *Houston Freeman.* Because his views were generally in close agreement with those of Booker T. Washington, Washington asked Scott to become his personal secretary. From this position, which Scott held until Washington's death in 1915, he was elected secretary of the Tuskegee Institute in 1912. Scott was widely recognized as a leader in what later became known as the Tuskegee Machine, the group of people close to Booker T. Washington who wielded great influence over African-American presses, churches, and schools in order to promote Washington's views.

After Washington's death, Scott became special assistant to the U.S. secretary of war in charge of Negro affairs at the start of World War I. At a time when race relations in the military were an issue of debate, Scott became the liaison between black soldiers and the War Department. From 1919 until 1939, Scott held positions as secretary, treasurer, or business manager at Howard University, in Washington, D.C. There he helped create procedures for electing the first alumni trustees. In the business community, Scott became the principal organizer of the National Negro Business League. Like Washington, Scott believed that African Americans who achieved business success and property ownership would be given political and civil rights. His views are set forth in such works as *Tuskegee and Its People* (1910), *The American Negro in the World War* (1919), and a biography of his mentor, *Booker T. Washington, Builder of a Civilization* (1916).

See also Washington, Booker T.

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)

Scott, Hazel

June 11, 1920
October 2, 1981

The pianist and singer Hazel Dorothy Scott was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, to Alma Long Scott, a musician, and Thomas Scott, a college professor. In 1924 her father obtained a teaching position in the United States, and the family moved to New York City.

Scott began playing the piano at age two and made her performance debut at age three in Trinidad. At the initiative of her mother, she began formal musical training when the family moved to New York; she made her U.S. debut as a five-year-old at New York's Town Hall. Three years later, Scott auditioned for a scholarship at Juilliard School of Music. Although it was decided that she was too young to enter the school, Professor Paul Wagner, who presided over the audition, was so impressed with her rendition of Rachmaninoff's Prelude in C-Sharp Minor that he offered to take her on as a private student.

Scott's father died in 1934, and her mother took a job as a saxophonist in Lil Hardin Armstrong's all-female band. A few months later, Scott's mother decided to organize her own band—Alma Long Scott's All-Woman Orchestra—with Hazel playing both piano and trumpet. In 1936, at age sixteen, Scott played with the Count Basie Orchestra at the Roseland Ballroom and on a radio program broadcast on the Mutual Broadcasting System. By age eighteen, already a veteran of the road, Scott appeared on Broadway in the musical *Sing Out the News*. She then became a film actress in the 1940s and played herself in such films as *Something to Shout About* (1943), *Broadway Rhythm* (1944), and *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945). In 1945, in a high-profile marriage, Scott married New York Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Although the marriage quickly faltered, beginning with a separation of several years and finally ending in divorce in 1956, the couple produced one child, Adam Clayton Powell III, in 1946.

In 1950 Scott hosted a summer television program, *Hazel Scott,* on which she performed show tunes and café favorites, becoming the first black woman to host her own television program. However, as a political activist who had refused to appear before segregated audiences and was a vocal critic of McCarthyism, she was listed in the notorious *Red Channels,* a publication of names of entertainers who were thought to be involved in Communist Party activity. On September 14, 1950, Scott testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee in defense of her right to appear at rallies and events for political causes. Her show was canceled shortly thereafter.

In 1961 Scott moved to Europe after remarrying, but when her marriage ended in divorce five years later, she returned to the United States. Upon her return, she made guest appearances on such television shows as *Julia* and *The Bold Ones*. Scott continued to perform in New York–area clubs until a few months before her death from cancer in 1981.

See also Basie, William James "Count"; Jazz; Music in the United States

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KENYA DILDAY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Scott, James Sylvester

February 12, 1885
August 30, 1938

The ragtime composer James Scott was born in Neosho, Missouri. As a child, he taught himself to play piano. After his family moved to Carthage, Missouri, around the turn of the twentieth century, Scott worked as a shoeshine boy. He also began to play music professionally, often performing on piano and steam calliope at local fairs and amusement parks. From 1902 to 1914 he worked as a window washer and picture framer, as well as a clerk and song plugger at Dumar's Music Store. It was during this time that he also began composing and publishing ragtime songs. Among his earliest successes were "A Summer Breeze" (1903) and "The Fascinator" (1903). In 1906 he visited Scott Joplin (1868–1917) in St. Louis, and though the two never worked together, Joplin did introduce Scott to John Stark, who became Scott's publisher and gave titles to most of Scott's compositions.

In his prime Scott was considered one of the "big three" of ragtime (along with Scott Joplin and the white composer Joseph Lamb). Scott's compositions, with their manic leaps, buoyant rhythms and rich, moody tonalities, helped define the classic ragtime sound. His most important ragtime compositions from this time include "Frog Legs Rag" (1906), "Great Scott Rag" (1909), "The Ragtime Betty" (1909), "Sunburst Rag" (1909), "Grace and Beauty" (1909), and "Hilarity Rag" (1910). Although Scott made no piano rolls, there is evidence to suggest that, in addition to writing many of the classics of ragtime, he was a fine pianist as well.

In 1914 Scott moved to Kansas City, Kansas, where he taught, arranged, and worked as piano accompanist at the Paramount, Eblon, and Lincoln Theaters. He continued to compose as well, publishing "Climax Rag" (1914), "Evergreen Rag" (1915), "Prosperity Rag" (1916), "Paramount Rag" (1916), "Peace and Plenty Rag" (1919), and "Modesty Rag" (1920). He also wrote waltzes, including "Suffragette" (1914) and "Springtime of Love" (1919).

In the 1920s and 1930s, Scott led a band in Kansas City, but he never regained his previous success and popularity. During his last years Scott lived in relative anonymity. The rise of jazz eclipsed the popularity of ragtime, and the introduction of sound into movies prevented him from earning a living as an accompanist to silent films. Scott suffered from dropsy and died of kidney failure in 1938. His grave in Kansas City was unmarked until 1981, when a resurgence of interest in his music, and of ragtime in general, led to the establishment of a fund to purchase a headstone for the grave.

See also Jazz; Joplin, Scott; Ragtime

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)

Scott-Heron, Gil

April 1, 1949

Composer and writer Gil Scott-Heron spent his childhood in Jackson, Tennessee, until the age of thirteen, when he moved to New York City. He attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania because two men he greatly admired, Langston Hughes and African leader Kwame Nkrumah, had gone to Lincoln. After his freshman year he took a leave of absence to write a novel, *The Vulture,* and a book of poetry, *Small Talk at 125th and Lenox,* both published in 1970. He returned to Lincoln to complete his sophomore year and then applied to the graduate program at Johns Hopkins University. In 1972 he received an M.A. and published a second novel, *The Nigger Factory*.

Although he published a second book of poetry, *So Far, So Good,* in 1988, Scott-Heron has concentrated on composing, performing, and recording music. From 1974 on, he was accompanied by the Midnight Band, led by Brian Jackson. With Jackson, a pianist, generally concentrating on musical arrangements and Scott-Heron collaborating on lyrics, the group has produced nearly twenty recordings, including *Winter in America, Sun City, From South Africa to South Carolina,* and his last album, in 1994, *Spirits*. Combining Latin, blues, and jazz rhythms with a distinct vocal style, Scott-Heron uses music to interpret the political and social experience of black people throughout the world.

In 2001 Scott-Heron was sentenced to from one to three years in prison for failing to enter a drug rehabilitation program after pleading guilty to cocaine possession in 2000.

See also Music in the United States

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Salaam, Kalamu ya. "Where He's Coming From: Gil Scott-Heron." *Black Collegian* 35 (1980): 182–190.

GENETTE MCLAURIN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Scottsboro Case

On April 9, 1931, an Alabama judge sentenced eight black teenagers to death: Haywood Patterson, Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Willie Roberson, Andrew Wright, Ozie Powell, Eugene Williams, and Charley Weems. After perfunctory trials in the mountain town of Scottsboro, all-white juries convicted the youths of raping two white women (Victoria Price and Ruby Bates) aboard a freight train as it moved across northern Alabama on March 25. The case of the ninth defendant—thirteen-year-old Leroy Wright—ended in a mistrial after a majority of the jury refused to accept the prosecution's recommendation for life imprisonment because of his extreme youth.

The repercussions of the Scottsboro case were felt throughout the 1930s; by the end of the decade, it had become one of the great civil rights cases of the twentieth century.

After the quick conviction and draconian verdict, the Communist Party's legal affiliate, the International Labor Defense (ILD), took over the case from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Using both propaganda and aggressive legal action, the ILD succeeded in obtaining a new trial for the eight defendants. In a landmark case, *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that defendants in capital cases had to receive more than a pro forma defense. (One Scottsboro attorney had been drunk at the original trial; the other was elderly and incompetent.)

The April 1933 retrial of Haywood Patterson was moved to Decatur, Alabama. Defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz introduced extensive evidence that the two women had concocted the charge of rape in order to avoid prosecution for prostitution and vagrancy. The highlight of the trial came when Ruby Bates—who had disappeared in 1932—dramatically renounced her earlier accusations and testified on behalf of Patterson and the other Scottsboro defendants.

But the jurors—reflecting the belief of the local white community that Bates was bribed by communist agitators ("Jew money from New York" in the words of one prosecutor)—ignored her testimony. They were particularly incensed by the willingness of Alabama's African-American population to join the defense in attacking the state's all-white jury system. (In pretrial hearings before Judge James E. Horton Jr., ten members of Decatur's black community defied Klan cross burnings and threats to insist that they were qualified to serve as jurors but had never been called.) The jury convicted Patterson and mandated the judge to order the death penalty.

To the surprise of almost everyone, Judge Horton—convinced that Patterson and the other defendants were innocent—set aside the verdict, pointing out that the evidence "overwhelmingly preponderated" in favor of the Scottsboro defendants. He ordered a new trial and announced that the nine defendants would never be convicted in his court. In the next election, however, voters defeated Horton and elected a judge more amenable to the prosecution's case to preside over the trial of Patterson and Clarence Norris.

Many in Alabama had come to see the Scottsboro Case as a test of white Southerners' resolve against the forces of "communism" and "racial amalgamation." The guilt or innocence of the defendants thus seemed irrelevant.

The trials that followed were travesties of justice. Horton's replacement, Judge William Washington Callahan, barred critical defense evidence, bullied and belittled defense attorneys and witnesses, and effectively acted as co-prosecutor. In the fall of 1933 all-white juries convicted both Patterson and Clarence Norris.

ILD attorneys once again successfully appealed to the Supreme Court, this time on the grounds that African Americans had been systematically excluded from Alabama juries. In *Norris v. Alabama* (1935), the Court accepted the defense argument, overturned the Norris and Patterson verdicts, and returned the case to Alabama for retrial. The decision, though not ending all-white juries, marked another step in the Supreme Court's willingness to chip away at the legal system of the South.

In 1936 oversight of the case passed from the Communist Party to a coalition of mainline civil rights organizations. This shift gave Alabama officials—by now embarrassed over the continuing judicial rebukes—an opportunity to compromise. The state dropped the charges against the four youngest defendants, and the other five received prison sentences from twenty years to life with the understanding that once publicity in the case had subsided, they would be quietly released. Despite the intense lobbying of national civil rights leaders (and the secret intervention of President Franklin Roosevelt), Alabama officials blocked their release. It was 1950 before the last of the Scottsboro defendants, Andrew Wright, received his parole.

For a generation of African Americans who came of age in the 1930s, the Scottsboro Case was a vivid reminder of white legal oppression, and it helped further their resolve to mobilize against Jim Crow.

See also Criminal Justice System

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DAN T. CARTER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Seacole, Mary

1805
May 14, 1881

Mary Grant Seacole's autobiography, *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,* was published in England in 1857. Although the book provides some details of her personal life, the text is primarily concerned with detailing Seacole's "roving inclination." Seacole was born in Kingston, Jamaica, to a free black Creole woman and a white Scotsman. As a young woman, she trained under her mother, an eminent "doctress," and she went on to minister to many members of Britain's military force sta-

tioned in Kingston, as well as to local people. In addition to her medical skills, which would continue to expand, she was also an entrepreneur, running a series of business ventures in Jamaica, Panama, England, and the Crimea. Although widowed after a brief marriage, she chose to pursue her goal "to be useful" rather than retire from life and society.

In 1850, Seacole's "roving inclination" persuaded her to follow her brother to Panama, where she planned to help him run his hotel and store. Her autobiography describes her unwavering refusal to let the difficulty of travel deter or dissuade her resolve. In 1854, this perseverance sustained her when she volunteered her services to the War Department in England at the outbreak of the Crimean War. She was rebuffed at every turn, due to what she called the "infection of American racism" upon officials at War Department, British aid agencies, and Florence Nightingale's organization serving in the Crimea. Undeterred, Seacole decided to go to the Crimea anyway, with the intent of opening up a small hotel and hospital. When Seacole returned to England she was destitute. After the failure of a few business ventures, she eventually wrote her memoirs.

Seacole's autobiography is significant for a number of reasons. Her zest for life and adventure are evident through the narrative. Although successful in the womanly arts of nurturance, Seacole consistently portrays herself as a strong and capable woman, willing and able to assert her independence with fortitude and humor. The narrative is strewn with her shrewd observations of various peoples, classes, and nationalities, especially as they pertain to race. Although as a brown, or "yaller," woman, Seacole expresses the sharpest scorn for Americans and others who dislike blacks for no reason other than skin color, she also admonishes lazy blacks and Indians. She also asserts that, due to the enterprising blood of her Scotsman father, she is unlike the usual lazy Creoles. One of the most striking features of the narrative, in addition to the author's strong voice, is Seacole's decision to tell her story in the way she wanted. Unlike other travel narratives, and narratives of the Crimean War, Seacole does not adhere to a strict chronological or diary-style arrangement. Instead, Seacole's narrative is a glorious mélange of letters, narrative description, adventure tale, medical treatise, and social commentary.

See also Women Writers of the Caribbean

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NICOLE N. ALJOE (2005)

Seale, Bobby

October 22, 1936

Activist Robert George "Bobby" Seale was born to George and Thelma Seale in Dallas, Texas. Before he had reached the age of ten, his family moved to California, where his father continued in his profession as a building carpenter. At the age of eighteen, Bobby Seale was accepted into the U.S. Air Force and sent to Amarillo, Texas, for training as an aircraft sheet-metal mechanic. After training for six months, he graduated as an honor student from the Technical School Class of Air Force Training. He was then sent to Ellsworth Air Force Base in Rapid City, South Dakota, where he served for three and a half years and was discharged as a corporal. He attended Merrit College in Oakland, California, after his discharge.

When he enrolled in college in 1961, Seale intended to study engineering. He joined the Afro-American Association, an organization formed by young militant African Americans in Oakland to explore the various problems confronting the black community. Influenced by the association's regular book discussion sessions, Seale became interested in the works of Mao Zedong and Kwame Nkrumah, and he also began to read W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. His awareness of and involvement in the Afro-American Association were shaped by a fellow student, Huey Newton, whose articulation of the social problems victimizing the black community attracted his interest.

With Newton, Seale formed the Soul Students Advisory Council, which was concerned with ending the drafting of black men into the service to fight in the Vietnam War. Fired by nationalist zeal, especially after he heard Malcolm X speak, Seale invited three friends, Kenny, Isaac, and Ernie, to create the Revolutionary Action Movement to organize African Americans on the West Coast for black

liberation. In October 1966, he and Huey Newton formed the Black Panther Party in Oakland. The party's objectives were reflected in its ten-point platform and program, which emphasized freedom, full employment, and equality of opportunity for African Americans. It called for an end to white racism and police brutality against black people. Although the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover's directorship declared Seale's party to be the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States, the party's programs for the poor won it broad support from the community as well as praise from civic groups. The Black Panthers also recognized the need for political participation by African Americans. To this end, it frequently organized voter registration drives. In 1968 he was one of the Chicago Eight, a group of antiwar activists put on trial for inciting a riot outside the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He was sentenced to four years in jail, during which time he was indicted and tried for ordering the murder of a suspected Black Panther government informer. The trial ended in a hung jury.

Three years after the formation of the party, Seale shifted his philosophical and ideological stance from race to class struggle, stressing the unity of the people and arguing that the Panthers would not "fight racism with more racism." In 1973 he ran for mayor of Oakland, forcing a runoff with John Reading, the incumbent, who defeated him. In 1974 he resigned as the chairman of the Black Panther Party, perhaps in an effort to work within the mainstream political system. Since the late 1980s, Seale has been involved in an organization called Youth Employment Strategies, which he founded, and in encouraging black youth to enroll in doctoral programs. Based in Philadelphia, he describes himself as "the old cripple-footed revolutionary humanist," sells books and videos from his Web site, and shares barbecue recipes from his book, *Barbeque'n with Bobby Seale.*

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Newton, Huey P.

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LEVI A. NWACHUKU (1996)

Shabazz, Betty

May 28, 1936
June 23, 1997

Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X who subsequently built a career of her own as an educator and activist, was born Betty Sanders in Detroit, Michigan, and was adopted by the Malloy's, a neighborhood family. After attending Tuskegee Institute, she moved to New York and transferred to Jersey City State College, where she received a B.A. degree. Sanders then began training at the Brooklyn State Hospital School of Nursing, where she received her R.N. in 1958. During this period she joined the Nation of Islam and changed her name to Betty X (she became Betty Shabazz in 1964). She also met the charismatic leader Malcolm X, with whom she struck up a friendship. The couple married in 1958.

During the following seven years, as Malcolm X grew into a national figure, Shabazz rarely saw him, although they remained on good terms. Shabazz gave birth to their six daughters during this period. In 1965 Shabazz and four of the girls were listening to Malcolm X speak at New York's Audubon Ballroom as he was assassinated. Following the death of her husband, Shabazz cut her ties with the Nation of Islam and became an orthodox Muslim.

Following her husband's death, Shabazz earned a Ph.D. in educational administration from the University of Massachusetts. She worked for two decades as director of public relations for Medgar Evers College in New York. During these years she also served as the guardian of Malcolm X's legacy. In 1995 Shabazz began a weekly radio program on New York's WLIB. Two years later, she was badly burned in a fire set by her twelve-year-old grandson Malcolm to protest his mother's absence. Despite many community blood donations, she died three weeks later.

See also Malcolm X

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GREG ROBINSON (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Shakur, Assata (Chesimard, Joanne Deborah Bryon)

July 16, 1947

Born in Queens, New York, Joanne Deborah Bryon, a nationalist and activist, spent her early childhood alternately with her grandparents in Wilmington, North Carolina, and with her mother in New York. She dropped out of high school at seventeen but returned to college during her early twenties, attending Manhattan Community College and City College of New York. She was married for a year while in school and continued to use her married name. She became a student activist and participated in rent strikes, antiwar demonstrations, and sit-ins, protesting racial injustices. As a reflection of her new political consciousness and her commitment to her African heritage, she changed her name to Assata ("she who struggles") Shakur ("the thankful"). The assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 precipitated Assata Shakur's embrace of the militant Black Power movement and her rejection of nonviolence.

Assata Shakur moved to Oakland, California, where she joined the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland and helped organize community education programs, demonstrations, and political rallies. When she returned to New York, she became a key member of the BPP's Harlem chapter. She helped organize and staff the Free Breakfast Program for community children, oversaw the planning of a free clinic, and coordinated member health care, first aid, and community outreach.

Assata Shakur, as well as many other members of the Harlem chapter, believed that politically motivated armed actions were a viable tactic in the struggle for black liberation. It is unclear what specific actions she participated in, but she became a prime target of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO). Partially because of this surveillance and harassment, Assata Shakur went into hiding and became a member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA), a clandestine nationwide network largely composed of former BPP members who had gone underground to escape criminal charges or police and FBI repression and who believed that structural change could be precipitated by armed struggle.

While underground, Assata Shakur was placed on the FBI's Most Wanted List and indicted for three bank robberies (April 5, 1971, August 23, 1971, and September 1, 1972), the kidnapping and murder of two drug dealers (December 28, 1972, and January 2, 1973), and the attempted murder of policemen on January 23, 1973. On May 2, 1973, Assata Shakur and two other BLA members were stopped on the New Jersey Turnpike by New Jersey state troopers. After the officers discovered guns in their cars, a confrontation ensued, and Assata Shakur was shot, one state trooper suffered minor injuries, and another, Werner Forrester, was killed. Assata Shakur's companions escaped. Accounts of this incident conflict, and it is unclear if Assata Shakur discharged any weapon that night. She was hospitalized and charged with Forrester's murder.

During the next four years Assata Shakur was held in detention. The trials for the indictments brought while she was underground either ended in acquittal or were dropped because of lack of evidence. During her imprisonment she was confined to a men's prison, placed in solitary confinement for a year, given inadequate medical attention, and faced physical abuse. While in prison she became pregnant by Kamau, her codefendant during her New York bank robbery trial, and gave birth to a girl in 1974. Assata Shakur's imprisonment and what many of her supporters believed was a false arrest brought international attention to her plight as a political prisoner.

In March 1977 Assata Shakur was convicted of murdering state trooper Werner Forrester, although medical experts testified that her injuries would have rendered her incapable of firing the fatal shot. She was imprisoned at the maximum security prison for women in Alderson, West Virginia, then moved to New Jersey's Clinton Correctional Facility for Women. Two years after her conviction, she escaped from prison and was given political asylum in Cuba. The circumstances behind the escape are unknown.

In 1987 Assata Shakur's autobiography, which chronicles her life and ideological development, was published. Although many of her activities in Cuba have been shrouded in secrecy, Assata Shakur continued to be a vocal activist in the 1980s and 1990s, speaking out on global justice issues and the prison industrial complex. In 1998 the U.S. Congress passed a resolution to demand Shakur's extradition from Cuba, spurring Shakur's supporters to create the "Hands of Assata" campaign.

See also Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; King, Martin Luther, Jr.

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ROBYN C. SPENCER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Shange, Ntozake

October 18, 1948

Playwright, poet, novelist, and performer Ntozake Shange was born Paulette Williams in Trenton, New Jersey. She took the Zulu name Ntozake ("she who comes with her own things") Shange ("she who walks like a lion") in 1971. Shange grew up in an upper-middle-class family that was very involved in political and cultural activities. She earned degrees in American studies from Barnard (1970) and the University of Southern California (1973). She has one daughter.

Shange's writing is marked by unique spelling and punctuation, partly to establish a recognizable style, like that of a musician, but also as a reaction against Western culture. Much of her work is in the form of a "choreopoem," blending music, drama, and dance. Her work is brutally honest, reflective, and intense. She writes for those whose voices have often been ignored, especially African-American women.

Her best-known work is the landmark play *for colored girls who have considered suicide / when the rainbow is enuf* (1976). Despite many harrowing scenes the work is essentially optimistic, showing the "infinite beauty" of black women. The play's conception took place over many years; it opened on Broadway in September 1976 and played there for almost two years before going on a national and international tour.

Shange is a highly prolific author whose other published plays include *a photograph: lovers in motion, boogie woogie landscapes,* and *spell #7,* which were collected in *Three Pieces* (1981). Many other plays have not been published as yet, including *Three Views of Mt. Fuji* (1987) and a powerful adaptation of Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage.* (1980).

Her volumes of poetry include *Nappy Edges* (1978), *A Daughter's Geography* (1983), *From Okra to Greens* (1984), *Ridin' the Moon in Texas: Word Paintings* (1987), and *The Love Space Demands: A Continuing Saga* (1991).

Ntozake Shange. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION

She has also written three novels, *Sassafrass, Cypress & Indigo* (1982), *Betsey Brown* (1985), and *Liliane: Resurrection of the Daughter* (1994). Many of these works have been adapted into theatrical form. Her prose is collected in *See No Evil: Prefaces, Essays and Accounts, 1976–1983* (1984).

In recent years Shange has continued to experiment with forms. She has written a cookbook, *If I Can Cook / You Know God Can* (1998), combining recipes with historical, literary, and cultural discussion. She has also collaborated with the photographic group Kamoinge Workshop on *The Sweet Breath of Life: A Poetic Narrative of the African-American Family* (2004), which alternates poems and photos. Increasingly, Shange has turned her attention to works for young adults. These include *Whitewash* (1997), Muhammad Ali, the Man Who Could Float like a Butterfly and Sting like a Bee (2002), and *Daddy Says* (2003), a novel about the two daughters of African-American rodeo stars.

Shange has received many awards, including the Obie and the Outer Critics Circle awards, and she won the

Heavyweight Poetry champion of the World title, awarded at the Taos Poetry Circus poetry event, from 1991 to 1993. She remains one of the most vital, influential figures in contemporary American literature.

See also Drama; Poetry, U.S.

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LOUIS J. PARASCANDOLA (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Sharpe, Samuel

c. 1801
May 23, 1832

Samuel Sharpe, a Jamaican National Hero, is best known as the chief organizer of the 1831–32 Emancipation War that hastened the passing of the British Abolition Act in 1833. In keeping with a historiographical trend that gives little visibility to the individual enslaved, biographical details on Sharpe are sketchy. Historians generally agree, however, that he was born around 1801, his parents having arrived in Jamaica from Africa between 1787 and 1801. Sharpe himself was a Creole (that is, born in Jamaica). He was named after the lawyer Samuel Sharpe, Esquire, his enslaver. He had a brother, William (who accompanied him when he decided to give himself up in 1832), and a nephew who worked at a printer's shop in Montego Bay. His mother survived him, but his father died years earlier. He was married, but (not unusually) his wife, whose father was among the rebels, lived on another property. According to a letter in the *Jamaica Advocate* in 1896, he had a daughter who married a Mr. Gaynor; and Mrs. Gaynor and her daughter, Mrs. Scott, were living in Montego Bay in 1896.

In 1831 Sharpe was working in a nonfield capacity at Cooper's Hill on the outskirts of Montego Bay in the western parish of St. James. He was, therefore, among that group of enslaved that historians characterize as the "slave elite." Converted to Christianity, he became a deacon in the First Baptist Church in Montego Bay, now the Burchell Memorial Baptist Church. He encouraged enslaved people to strike for wages after the Christmas holidays of 1831 and to resort to armed resistance if their demands were not met. When word came that the whites were planning to break the strike, arson and violence erupted. The ensuing rebellion was, according to a petition to the Jamaica House of Assembly in 1832, one "unparalleled in the history of the colony, whether for depth of design or the extent of misery and ruin which it has entailed on the inhabitants." Not only did Sharpe plan and fight in the war, but he organized subleaders on every plantation or cluster of plantations—revolutionary cells—more effectively to fight the war. The British suppressed the rebellion brutally, killing about 1,000 enslaved rebels during the war or after, through judicial decree.

On April 19, 1832, Sharpe was tried and sentenced to hanging for his role in the war. The testimonies of nine enslaved people who gave evidence against him (and that appear in the records of the Jamaica House of Assembly) confirmed the objectives and strategies of Sharpe's war as well as his deep involvement. James Stirling testified that "[Sharpe] gave me an Oath not to work after X'mas." Edward Barrett confirmed: "Sharpe said we must sit down, we free and we must not work again unless we get half pay"; and Edward Hill reiterated the freedom mission of the rebels: "Sharpe told we all we going to get free; he sent Edward Ramsay to Thomas Reid at Mahoney to swear all the people [to an oath on the Bible]."

At the end of Sharpe's trial, the following sentence, signed by John Coates and others, was handed down:

> . . .That the said Negro man slave named Samuel Sharpe be taken from hence to the place from whence he came and from thence to the place of Execution at such time and place as shall be appointed by His Excellency the Governor and there to be hanged by the neck until he be dead.

According to the historical accounts, Sharpe, age thirty-one, dressed in a white suit, walked in a dignified manner to the gallows on May 23, 1832. After a short speech, he prayed, then declared: "I now bid you farewell! That is all I have to say." Sixteen pounds ten shillings, Sharpe's estimated value, was eventually paid as compensation to his enslaver.

See also Anti-Colonial Movements; Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean; Maroon Wars; Protestantism in the Americas

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VERENE A. SHEPHERD (2005)

Sharpton, Al

October 3, 1954

Born in Brooklyn, New York, political activist Alfred Charles Sharpton Jr. began preaching as a Pentecostal minister at age four and soon began touring the preaching circuit as the "wonder boy preacher." In 1964, the year his father died, Sharpton was ordained as a minister and preached at the New York World's Fair and on tour with gospel singer Mahalia Jackson. In the late 1960s he was attracted to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who became his political mentor. In 1969 he was appointed youth director of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation Breadbasket, where he arranged boycotts and led demonstrations to force employers to hire blacks.

In 1971 Sharpton formed the National Youth Movement, an outgrowth of his Operation Breadbasket activities. The next year he was the youngest delegate to attend the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana. In 1973 he met soul singer James Brown and became involved in promoting him. During the next eight years Sharpton split his time among managing Brown's singing tours, trying to manage the growth and boycott activity of the National Youth Movement, and making political connections in New York's African-American community. In 1978 he ran unsuccessfully for the New York State Senate.

During the early 1980s Sharpton became a leading community activist and led marches for black political and economic empowerment. He first became widely known in 1987, when he led protests after the murder of blacks in Howard Beach, New York, and served as an "adviser" to Tawana Brawley, whose claim that she had been raped by white police sparked a major controversy. Sharpton was discredited by the discovery that Brawley had invented her story and by accusations that he had acted as an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Sharpton was also indicted on charges of financial improprieties in the National Youth Movement. (In 1990 he was acquitted on the fraud charges, and in 1993 he pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge of failing to file a 1986 federal tax return.) He regained the spotlight when he led marches in Bensonhurst, New York, after the 1989 murder of a young African American, Yusef Hawkins.

During the early 1990s Sharpton, still a controversial figure, continued his protest activity on behalf of African Americans and other causes. In January 1991 he was stabbed in the chest just minutes before he was to lead a protest march in Brooklyn, but he quickly recovered. He also turned to mainstream electoral politics. In 1992 he ran in the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate from New York. While he finished third in a bitter four-way race, he earned praise for his refusal to attack opponents personally. In 1993 he served a well-publicized forty-five-day jail sentence that grew out of a 1988 protest march. In 1994 he ran for the state's other U.S. Senate seat. While badly beaten by the popular incumbent, Sharpton realized his own goal by attracting 25 percent of the primary vote.

In 1997, on the strength of a heavy black vote, Sharpton finished second in the Democratic primary race for mayor of New York City and narrowly missed qualifying for a runoff with the leading candidate, Ruth Messinger. However, Sharpton's efforts to moderate his image and reach out beyond blacks were set back in the 1990s. In 1996 he was blamed for inciting a gunman to burn down a Harlem store operated by a Jewish immigrant, where Sharpton had led an angry protest campaign. In 1998 he was drawn back into the Tawana Brawley controversy when Officer Steven Pagones won a judgment for libel against Sharpton and his partners, who had accused him of participation in the alleged rape.

Sharpton campaigned for nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate for president of the United States in 2004, later actively supporting eventual nominee John Kerry.

See also Brown, James; Jackson, Mahalia; Jackson, Jesse Louis; Politics in the United States

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Shearer, Hugh

May 18, 1923
July 5, 2004

Hugh Lawson Shearer's political life spanned the first fifty years of Jamaica's modern political system. Throughout his career, he respected electoral democracy, defended workers' rights, practiced bipartisanship, and supported convergence between Jamaica's two leading political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Shearer played a decisive role in consolidating Jamaica's party and parliamentary systems in their formative years since 1944, and eventually became prime minister of Jamaica.

Shearer started his public life in the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) in 1941 at the age of eighteen, when the union was two years old. It has remained Jamaica's largest trade union. He made his political debut in the 1947 local government elections, the first local elections under universal adult suffrage. Shearer won a seat as a councilor for the Jamaica Labour Party. This improved his status as a young leader of the BITU. As early as 1947 Shearer was regarded as Alexander Bustamante's protégé and the heir apparent of the BITU. Bustamante was leader of both the BITU and the JLP.

Shearer's rise in the BITU went more smoothly than his rise in representational politics. He lost his first general election contest in 1949 to Ken Hill (PNP), himself a labor organizer. However, Shearer was successful in 1955. The JLP lost that election and Shearer became a great asset to Bustamante when the JLP went into the opposition.

From 1955 to 1958 Shearer made many proposals in the legislature to provide severance pay for workers with long service who were dismissed or retrenched, and for holidays with pay for domestic workers. He put workers' rights above politics by supporting much of the PNP's labor legislation. This included legislation establishing the Pensions Authority, the Sugar Workers Pension Fund, amendments to the Holidays with Pay Law, and the Trades Disputes (Arbitration and Enquiry) Law.

In these years in opposition, Shearer became one of the frontline members of the JLP in the Jamaican legislature. He was quick to point to those PNP policies that supported the emerging private-sector market and those favoring labor, as evidence of the convergence between the two parties. The JLP represented a combination of free enterprise and labor rights, and the PNP, a socialist party, favored a larger role for state planning and advocacy of labor.

Shearer and a younger generation of JLP leaders also provided thoughtful advice to the aging Bustamante and represented a new guard of more professional JLP parliamentarians. Despite this, Shearer lost his seat in the 1959 elections. This loss reduced the party's labor representation in the legislature. It signaled a shift to more business and professional middle-class leaders in the party.

Shearer was able to concentrate more on trade union matters. In 1959 he became Island Supervisor of the BITU. In these early days a unique political friendship developed between himself and Michael Manley, later Jamaica's prime minister. As Manley's biographer Darrell Levi said, "Shearer and Manley have shared a friendship which has survived sometimes bitter union and political struggles" (1989, p. 16).

Shearer was appointed senator when the JLP won the general elections in 1962. He became a minister in Jamaica's first government at independence. He was minister of External Affairs. Speaking at the United Nations in 1963, he proposed that 1968 be designated International Year of Human Rights, and this was so done.

Shearer was elected again to the Jamaican parliament in 1967. After the retirement of Bustamante and the sudden death of Prime Minister Donald Sangster in that year, Bustamante steered the succession for the prime ministership in favor of Shearer in order to preserve the labor wing of the party from encroachment by the business wing.

Shearer became Jamaica's third prime minister, serving from 1967 to 1972. He was forty-three years old and the youngest prime minister in the British Commonwealth. During this period, Jamaica achieved its highest continuous rate of growth and reached maturity as a manufacturing economy. He explained that Jamaica's success should be based on "hard work, not faith, hope and foreign charity" (Neita, 2004).

Despite some economic success, the gap between rich and poor widened and the government was attacked for this during the Rodney Black Power riots of 1968. The Shearer government alleged that it could possibly be overthrown and overreacted by limiting rights to march and censoring radical literature.

Shearer's government was voted out in 1972, and he resigned as JLP leader in 1974. But in the ideologically polarized period of the 1970s, Shearer remained the one major figure in the JLP that Michael Manley, prime minister from 1972 to 1980, could reach out to for bipartisan understanding.

Shearer returned to government as deputy prime minister and minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in the 1980s. While Prime Minister Edward Seaga concentrated on Jamaica-U.S. relations and finance and investments, Shearer kept the administration committed to Jamaica's

third-world policy through the United Nations; the Non-Aligned Movement; the Group of 77; the African, Caribbean, and Pacific organization; and the Caribbean Community, a foreign policy championed by Michael Manley but more militantly so.

The JLP lost the elections of 1989, and Shearer lost his parliamentary seat in 1993. He then retired from representational politics. However, one of his greatest achievements has been to detribalize the workers movement through his efforts in the 1990s in building the Joint Confederation of Trade Unions (JCTU), an association of Jamaica's leading trade unions. Shearer remained president of the JCTU until his death in 2004. He passed away as the elder statesman of Jamaica's labor movement and was widely commended for his conciliatory leadership style. Shearer was awarded the Order of the Nation, Jamaica's second highest honor, in 2002.

See also Jamaica Labour Party; People's National Party

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ROBERT MAXWELL BUDDAN (2005)

Sherlock, Philip

February 5, 1902
December 4, 2000

Philip Manderson Sherlock was a historian, civil leader, and vice chancellor of the University of the West Indies. A characteristic of his remarkable public career was that each job seemed to have prepared him for the next. Born in Jamaica, he was a young teacher in a small private secondary school (Calabar High School) from 1919 to 1927. He then went on to become the youthful headmaster of a small private rural secondary school, and then the headmaster of large, long-established urban secondary school (Wolmers Boys School). Subsequently, he became a civil servant, taking the post of secretary of the Institute of Jamaica (1939–1944). This was followed by a short stint as an education officer with a nongovernmental social welfare organization. After serving as a member of the Irvine Committee, which set up the University College of the West Indies in 1944, he was appointed director of the university's Department of Extra-Mural Studies from 1947 to 1960. Sherlock was by then known as a writer of short history books for schools, as a folklorist, as a minor poet, and as a quiet legislator in Jamaica's Legislative Council. A higher university position followed when he was made principal of the Trinidad and Tobago campus of the University College of the West Indies from 1960 to 1963. This was followed by his assumption of the top job of vice chancellor of the autonomous University of the West Indies, a position he held until 1969. Sherlock then established a regional grouping of Caribbean universities, which he directed from 1969 to 1979.

Sherlock's most notable achievement as a young man of twenty-five years was to gain a first class honors degree in English as an external student of the University of London. This underlined his talent, discipline, and energy. Nevertheless, his color (he was nearly white in appearance) probably assisted him in achieving a high public salience in official circles as head of the institute, then the island's premier cultural institution.

Sherlock himself consistently rejected the conservative social, racial, and political values of race-conscious Jamaica, and developed a liberal viewpoint. He was not carried away by political radicalism, however, but committed to cultural nationalism. Influenced positively by Garveyism in his younger days, Sherlock became a patriotic promoter of cultural activism, in the process acquiring an understanding and acceptance of the African-rooted culture of the black masses.

Assessments of Sherlock as a university administrator were also positive. In the early days of the university, the Extra-Mural Department under his leadership committed itself to the cultural development of the West Indies, with a view to self-government and even a federation of the territories. As vice chancellor he presided over an expansion of the university and dealt with government challenges to its autonomy. As a historian, Sherlock's first significant work (coauthored with John Parry) was *A Short History of the West Indies* (1956). Its importance is that it was a part of an effort by West Indian historians in the 1950s and 1960s to create a corpus of historical works to liberate West Indian history from the hands of British imperial historians and to give it a truly West Indian focus.

Sherlock's greatest service to the region as a historian was to have been a persistent popularizer of its history.

From his earliest short books for children, such as *Caribbean Citizen* (1957), to his postretirement tourist guidebooks on Jamaica, Sherlock cultivated a simple narrative style, avoiding all the major controversies about slavery or emancipation and delivering as his main message his conviction that, despite the fragmented island histories, they were in the process of building unified multiracial communities and federal associations across the region. He believed in the need to use history as a tool in multiracial democratic nation building. He turned to West Indian literature, folklore, song, and the environment, not just to official historical documents, to weave his stories about West Indian history. He was preeminently a historian and a storyteller, and he was without equal as a radio broadcaster in the 1960s. His talks in Trinidad in the 1960s and later in Jamaica were anecdotal, insightful, and lucid, and still highly readable in typescript.

Yet Sherlock is not recognized as a major historian, mostly because he did not write an outstanding book of his own until near his death. At the age of ninety-six, Sherlock (with a junior coauthor) produced what was his only radical work, *The Story of the Jamaican People* (1998). In this work he placed African culture and the experiences of the black masses—identified unequivocally as African—in the center of his interpretation of Jamaica's historical development. It is this revisionist book, written to stimulate patriotism, that in the long run will mark his own individual contribution to West Indian historiography.

See also Historians and Historiography; University of the West Indies

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CARL C. CAMPBELL (2005)

Shrine of the Black Madonna

See Pan-African Orthodox Church (The Shrine of the Black Madonna)

Shuttlesworth, Fred L.

March 18, 1922

The minister and civil rights leader Fred Lee Shuttlesworth was born in Mugler, Alabama. He received a B.A. from Selma University in Alabama and a B.S. from Alabama State Teachers College. He became pastor of several Baptist churches, including the First Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, and the Revelation Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. He involved himself with civil rights causes, including participating in an unsuccessful attempt in 1955 to secure positions for African Americans on the local police force. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was banned in Alabama, he joined the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) and was elected its first president. As head of both the ACMHR and the integration movement in Birmingham, Shuttlesworth focused his attention on ending discrimination in public transportation. Although his home was destroyed by dynamite, he succeeded in overturning Birmingham's segregation law in 1961.

A believer in the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s philosophy of nonviolent direct action, Shuttlesworth helped organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and in 1957 he became secretary of the organization. During the spring of 1960, he aided student civil rights sit-ins in Birmingham and was arrested for his participation. In the spring of 1963, he led a major antisegregation campaign in Birmingham, which influenced passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Also in 1963, Shuttlesworth received the Rosa Parks Award from SCLC. Remaining a key adviser to King in the 1960s, he was also active in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the NAACP. In 2003, Shuttlesworth served a term as interim president of the SCLC.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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NEIL GOLDSTEIN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Sickle-Cell Disease

Sickle-cell disease is a genetically acquired disorder of the red blood cells. A person who inherits the sickle-cell gene from both parents is born with the disease; a person inheriting the gene from only one parent is a sickle-cell carrier. Sickling disorders in the United States are concentrated in areas where there are large groups of African Americans, such as the Northeast, Midwest, and rural South. Sickle-cell disease (a term preferred to the older "sickle-cell anemia") can also be found among the populations of West Africa, the Caribbean, Guyana, Panama, Brazil, Italy, Greece, and India. Eight percent of African Americans are heterozygous for the sickling gene or trait. These carriers may become ill at high altitudes, and some unexpected deaths have occurred to soldiers during extreme maneuvers. The gene for sickle-cell hemoglobin was first introduced to the Americas through the slave trade. Carriers of the disease have some immunity to the fatal form of malaria, something that proved useful to African slaves in swampy tidal regions, as in the Chesapeake and South Carolina.

The sickle cell, so called because of its bent shape, was not named until 1910, when J. B. Herrick described the blood cells of an anemic patient. In 1949 Linus Pauling discovered the chemical abnormality that causes red blood cells to become misshapen and also found the link between the sickle cell and malaria. Although the attention given the disease has increased substantially since World War II, misinformation about the illness persists and often causes discrimination against sickle-cell carriers in the insurance industry and the job market. In the 1970s the prevalence and consequences of sickle-cell disease became widely publicized in both the African-American and mainstream media.

Several organizations have been established for education and research about the disease, including the National Association for Sickle-Cell Disease, founded in 1971 in Los Angeles. Numerous hospitals have centers for the study of sickle-cell disease, including the Columbia University Comprehensive Sickle-Cell Center at Harlem Hospital in New York City, founded in 1972, and the Center for Sickle-Cell Disease at Howard University, founded by Ronald B. Scott in 1972. These organizations have undertaken extensive fund-raising campaigns for research and treatment of the illness. Government funding for research has risen since the early 1970s. Attempts to cut federal research support in the 1980s drew vehement opposition from many black organizations. In 1993 thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia required testing of newborns for sickle-cell traits, and the number now is over forty. Support organizations include the Sickle Cell Disease Association of America, the American Sickle Cell Association, The National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, the Sickle Cell Information Center, and the Joint Center for Sickle Cell and Thalassemic Disorders.

In persons with sickle-cell disease, deoxygenated hemoglobin S causes the red blood cells in the body to assume the sickle shape. These cells cannot carry oxygen as normal red blood cells do, and they lodge in small blood vessels, causing ischemia (oxygen deficiency) and necrosis. This blockage of vessels is called vaso-occlusive crisis and gives rise to intense pain.

Symptoms of sickle-cell disease usually appear after six months of age when the last of the fetal hemoglobin, which increases oxygen supply in the blood, leaves the infant's body. Untreated, a patient may develop circulatory collapse. Such a patient is given large amounts of intravenous fluids to support circulation and prevent shock. Older patients may have pain in the larger bones, chest, back, joints, and abdomen and can develop hemorrhages into the eye and brain.

Treatment for sickle-cell patients commonly calls for pain medication ranging from oral analgesics to injectable narcotics for pain management. Intravenous fluids are prescribed to prevent dehydration and flood the vasculature with the intention of floating the sickling cells from occluded vessels. Antibiotics are ordered for infections, and prophylactic penicillin is suggested for infants to prevent infections. Blood transfusions are not routinely recommended for short-term crises but may be indicated during prolonged episodes and when lung and central nervous system involvement is evident.

Experimental treatment for sickle-cell patients includes the use of hydroxyurea, which can increase the level of fetal hemoglobin circulating in the body. Bone-marrow transplants have been performed on some children. This remains a risky procedure, however, carrying a 5 to 10 percent mortality rate. Though no cure exists, methods of treating chronic sickle-cell patients have improved in the past twenty years. Conservative treatment methods offer

a prudent course of disease management. People with sickle-cell disease, once expected to live only to their forties, now live longer and healthier lives.

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JANE M. DELUCA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Simmons, Russell

October 4, 1957

Russell Simmons was born in the Hollis section of Queens, New York. Although his family was middle class, the entrepreneur, nicknamed "Rush" because of the frenetic pace of his life, joined a gang and briefly sold drugs before enrolling at the Harlem branch of New York's City College to study sociology. However, in 1978, Simmons began promoting concerts and worked with his friend, Curtis Walker, who rapped under the name Kurtis Blow. Simmons became Blow's manager and cowrote Blow's 1979 single, "Christmas Rappin'."

Simmons founded his own management company, Rush Artist Management, in 1982 and also became the manager for younger brother Joseph's group, Run-DMC. Simmons then cofounded the hip-hop/rap music label Def Jam Recordings in 1984 with producer Rick Rubin. The label's first release was the LL Cool J single, "I Need a Beat," and Def Jam also signed such artists as the Beastie Boys, Slick Rick, and Public Enemy. In 1985, Simmons turned the story of the label's founding into the film *Krush Groove,* with Blair Underwood starring as the Simmons character Russell Walker. (Rubin played himself while Simmons took a cameo role.)

After Rubin left in 1988 to form the Def American label, Simmons continued to expand his business, founding Rush Communications in 1990, which includes his management company, the movie production company Def Pictures, and other ventures. Simmons also produced the films *Tougher Than Leather* (1988), *The Nutty Professor* (1996), and *How to Be a Player* (1997); two HBO series, *Russell Simmons' Def Comedy Jam* (1991) and *Russell Simmons' Def Poetry Jam* (2001); and *Russell Simmons' Def Poetry Jam on Broadway,* for which he received a 2003 Tony Award. In 1999, Simmons sold his remaining share in Def Jam to Universal Music for a reported one hundred million dollars but remained as nominal chair; Def Jam later merged with Island Records. However, in 2005, Simmons became the head of the Russell Simmons Music Group, a joint venture with Island Def Jam Music Group.

Simmons also founded Phat Fashions in 1992, which includes the urban clothing lines Phat Farm, Baby Phat, and Phat Farm Kids, although he sold a majority stake in the company in 2004. Simmons is also the founder of the nonprofit Hip-Hop Summit Action Network (HSAN), which holds forums in various cities to encourage community development issues, voter registration, and political action; and the Rush Philanthropic Arts Foundation, which provides arts funding and education to inner-city youth. Simmons married model-designer Kimora Lee in 1998; they have two daughters. His autobiography, *Life and Def: Sex, Drugs, Money + God,* was published by Crown Publishing in 2001.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; L. L. Cool J (Smith, James Todd); Recording Industry; Run-D.M.C.

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

Simmons, Ruth J.

July 3, 1945

Educator and college president Ruth Jean Simmons was born in Grapevine, Texas, one of twelve children born to

Isaac Stubblefield, a farmer and factory worker, and Fannie Stubblefield, a homemaker. After graduating from Dillard University with a B.A. degree in 1967, she studied for a year in France on a Fulbright grant. She returned to earn a master's degree (1970) and doctorate in Romance languages (1973) from Radcliffe College, now part of Harvard University.

From 1970 to 1990 Simmons held a number of positions at such colleges as Radcliffe and the University of New Orleans. She then became assistant dean, then associate dean, first at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, then at Princeton University. From 1990 to 1992 she was provost at Spelman College and then returned to Princeton, where she was vice provost in 1992.

Although she was a candidate for many college president vacancies, Simmons was the unanimous choice among 350 candidates on the Smith College list. In 1995 she was appointed the ninth president of Smith, and when she was inaugurated on September 30, she became the first African-American woman president of a top-ranked college or university in the United States. Her tasks were to lead the institution into the twenty-first century, serve as a scholarly role model for students, develop the faculty, engage in financial planning, and become involved in all aspects of leadership of Smith. Soon after her tenure began, applications for admission poured into the college.

In 2001 Simmons left Smith to become the eighteenth president of Brown University, and the first black woman to preside over an Ivy League college. Highly regarded in academic circles and elsewhere as a capable, vibrant, and dedicated leader, she also holds a seat on the boards of several major U.S. corporations, including Pfizer, Texas Instruments, and investment firm Goldman Sachs.

See also Education

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JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

Simone, Nina (Waymon, Eunice Kathleen)

February 21, 1933
April 21, 2003

Born in Tryon, North Carolina, singer Nina Simone was encouraged to study piano and organ starting at age three by her mother, an ordained black Methodist minister. She was soon able to play hymns on the organ by ear, and at age six she became the regular pianist at her family's church. She studied privately, as well as at Asheville (N.C.) High School, to become a classical pianist. She also studied at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia (1950–1953) and the Juilliard School in New York (1954–1956). Simone's career as a vocalist, which spanned nearly four decades and more than forty albums, came almost by accident: During a 1954 nightclub engagement in Atlantic City, New Jersey, she was informed that in addition to playing piano she would have to sing. She adopted the stage name Nina Simone for this occasion, which marked the beginning of her career as a jazz singer.

From the very start, Simone chafed under the restrictions of the label "jazz singer," and indeed, her mature style integrated classical piano techniques with a repertory drawn from sources as varied as the blues and folk music, as in *Jazz as Played* (1958). Early in her career she also began addressing racial problems in the United States. In 1963, angered by the death of Medgar Evers and the bombing of an African-American church in Birmingham, Alabama, she composed her first civil rights anthem, "Mississippi Goddam," and during the next decade much of her work was explicitly dedicated to the civil rights movement, sung in her forceful and clear alto voice. In 1963 she composed "Four Women" with Langston Hughes. Her other popular songs from this time include "Young, Gifted, and Black," "Old Jim Crow," and "Don't Let Me Be Misunderstood." In the 1970s Simone continued to perform internationally and recorded the album *Baltimore* in 1978. Starting in the late 1970s she divided her time between Los Angeles and Switzerland. In more recent years she lived in Paris, but she continued to appear regularly in New York. In 1987 she released *Let It Be Me*. Her autobiography, *I Put a Spell on You,* was published in 1991. In 2003 Nina Simone died in France after a long illness.

See also Jazz Singers

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ROSITA M. SANDS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Simpson, Lorna

August 13, 1960

Born in Brooklyn, New York, photographer Lorna Simpson enrolled as an undergraduate at the School of Visual Arts in New York City to study painting. She soon turned to documentary photography and received a B.F.A. in photography from the school in 1982. In 1985 Simpson earned an M.F.A. degree in visual arts from the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), where she also studied and taught film and became involved in performance art. Her first large-scale series of photographs, *Gestures and Reenactments* (1985), launched her ongoing project of rethinking the relationships among photographic images, textual description, and the representation of African Americans, particularly women.

Simpson's work reflects an awareness of the ways in which photography has been traditionally used by the social sciences and the media to classify, study, objectify, and ultimately control black men and women. In large multipaneled or sequential works such as *You're Fine* (1988), *Stereo Styles* (1988), and *Guarded Conditions* (1989), Simpson typically presents a black Everywoman with her back turned to the viewer or her face deliberately obscured by cropping; the viewer is thus effectively denied access to the woman's identity and inner psychological state. Instead, Simpson provides clues as to subjective meaning in the accompanying captions, which usually refer to issues of gender and racial oppression. In contrast to the neutral, carefully controlled tone of her photographs, Simpson's captions can be emotionally charged, thereby creating an interpretive tension between word and image. In *You're Fine* Simpson presents an anonymous black woman lying on her side in a simple white shift, her back turned away from the viewer in a pose that recalls the reclining pose of the nineteenth-century female nude. The ominous text comments on the invasive and objectifying qualities of public surveillance.

Social commentary also informs Simpson's *Stereo Styles,* which consists of ten Polaroid prints in two tiers; each print shows the back of the same black woman's head done in a different hairstyle. Simpson here comments on the popular idea expressed in cosmetics advertisements that hairstyles can communicate personality traits. Since 1988 Simpson has abstracted the female body even further and combined its parts with such symbolic objects as African masks, black hair, and articles of women's clothing (*Flipside,* 1991; *1978–1988,* 1990; *Bio,* 1992).

In 1991 Simpson created *Five Rooms* with composer Alva Rogers, a site-specific, multimedia installation for the 1991 Spoleto Festival U.S. exhibition in Charleston, South Carolina, which presented a narrative of black slavery in America. She created another installation, *Standing in the Water,* for the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City in 1994. Simpson's work has been shown in more than ninety major exhibitions throughout the United States and Europe; sites of solo exhibits include the Museum of Modern Art (1990) and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (1992–1993), both of which have also acquired her work. Simpson was the first African-American woman ever chosen to exhibit in the Venice Biennale (1990).

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Photography, U.S.

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DEIRDRE A. SCOTT (1996)

Simpson, O. J.

July 9, 1947

The football player and actor Orenthal James "O. J." Simpson was born in San Francisco, where he starred in football, baseball, and track at Galileo High School. In 1965 Simpson enrolled at City College of San Francisco, where he set several junior-college football rushing records in his two seasons. In 1967 the highly recruited halfback transferred to the University of Southern California

(USC), where he emerged as a national star, displaying tremendous speed and open-field running abilities. In two seasons he carried the ball 649 times for 3,295 yards and 34 touchdowns, led USC to a national championship in 1967, and won the Heisman Memorial Trophy in 1968.

Simpson was selected first overall by the American Football League's Buffalo Bills in the 1969 professional football draft. While he failed to live up to expectations in his first three years with Buffalo, in 1972 he rushed for 1,251 yards and established himself as one of the National Football League's best running backs. The following season, Simpson rushed for 2,003 yards, becoming the first player to rush for more than 2,000 yards in one season. He rushed for more than 1,000 yards in each of his next four seasons with Buffalo, and in 1976 he set a single-game rushing record with 273 yards against the Detroit Lions. After that year, Simpson's statistics declined, and following the 1977 season he was traded to the San Francisco Forty-Niners, where he spent the final two years of his football career. Simpson retired in 1979 with a professional rushing record of 2,404 carries for 11,236 yards and 61 touchdowns. He was inducted into the NFL Hall of Fame in 1985.

Following his retirement from football, Simpson lived in Los Angeles and capitalized on his good looks and polished public persona by launching a successful career in television, film, and advertising. He appeared in several made-for-television and feature films, including *Roots* (1977) and three *Naked Gun* films (1988, 1991, 1993). He also served as a network sports commentator, and he was featured in commercials.

Simpson became the center of a sensational murder case when his former wife, Nicole Brown, and a male friend of hers were stabbed to death in Los Angeles on June 12, 1994. Suspicion focused on Simpson, who led the police on a nationally televised car chase before surrendering at his home in a Los Angeles suburb. He was subsequently indicted and pleaded not guilty to both counts of murder. In the avalanche of publicity surrounding the case, some disquieting information about Simpson was revealed, including a pattern of wife abuse that included a little-publicized 1989 conviction for spousal battery. Information also surfaced later about possible police misconduct in the investigation of the case. After a lengthy pretrial hearing, a protracted jury selection process, and an eight-month trial, he was acquitted of all charges on October 3, 1995. During the trial, he published a bestselling book, *I Want to Tell You*. In 1997 the victims' families won a multimillion-dollar settlement in a wrongful death suit against Simpson. By this time, however, most of Simpson's considerable assets had been depleted by legal and tax bills and he was living largely off of a retirement trust from his football career, so little of the money was paid. The case continued in the news when Nicole Brown's parents sued unsuccessfully for custody of the couple's two children.

The O. J. Simpson case, in the eyes of many observers, riveted Americans because of its complex stew of social class, economic status, celebrity status, issues of gender and domestic violence, and, particularly, race. Among the twelve jurors that found Simpson not guilty at his criminal trial, eight were African American; the civil-trial jury that ruled against Simpson, however, was largely white. Further, a 1996 CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll found that while only 20 percent of white Americans believed that the criminal trial jury's acquittal was the correct verdict, 62 percent of African Americans believed that it was the correct verdict. This split suggested deep racial divisions in perceptions of the U.S. criminal justice system. Indeed, an element of the trial that benefited Simpson was his defense attorneys' ability to prove that one of the lead investigators on the case, Mark Fuhrman, had routinely used racial slurs (introducing the phrase "the N-word" to the lexicon), despite his denials that he had done so.

Many scholars and analysts have examined the Simpson case through the lens of what is called "critical race theory," a view that sees racism as endemic in American society, as simply part of the American landscape. The result, according to these theorists, is disparate treatment of blacks and whites by police and in the courts. The viewpoint was summarized by Mari Matsuda in 1995: "When notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, are examined not from an abstract position but from the position of groups who have suffered through history . . . [we discover] a new epistemological source for critical scholars: the actual experience, history, culture, and intellectual tradition of people of color in America. Looking to the bottom for ideas about law will tap a valuable source previously overlooked by legal philosophers" (pp. 63–64). In the viewpoint of analysts of the critical race school, Simpson was found not guilty—despite the strong possibility that he may have committed the crime—because the jury sympathized with a strong, handsome black man, married to a white woman, and rejected a "white" legal system that routinely suppresses the African-American community. Many opponents of this view believe that the evidence overwhelmingly pointed to Simpson's guilt, but that racial divides have created a situation in which murder could go unpunished because of race-based perceptions of bias in the legal system.

See also Criminal Justice System; Football

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
MICHAEL O'NEAL (2005)

Simpson Miller, Portia

December 2, 1945

Born in Woodhall, St. Catherine Parish, Jamaica, Portia Lucretia F. Simpson joined the People's National Party (PNP), beginning an active career in Jamaican politics when she became PNP Parish Councilor for Rose Town and Trench Town in 1974. By 1978, Simpson had become one of the vice presidents of the PNP.

Simpson married business executive Errald Miller and changed to her name to Simpson Miller. By the early 1980s she was gaining notice in the PNP, working on a number of influential party committees. In 1983 Simpson Miller became the PNP's spokesperson on women's issues, pension and social security, and consumer affairs, serving in this capacity for six years until she became a member of Parliament representing South-West St. Andrew in 1989.

As Simpson Miller performed her governmental duties, she did not hide her growing desire to rise within the party ranks. She announced her intention to become Jamaica's first female prime minister and seized an opportunity in 1992 to challenge the PNP's Percival James "P.J." Patterson, who as deputy prime minister had taken over after Prime Minister Michael Manley stepped down for health reasons. Though she did not defeat Patterson, Simpson Miller served as acting prime minister over the next several years whenever Patterson was out of the country.

Simpson Miller held office as Minister of Labour and Welfare from her arrival in Parliament in 1989 to 2000. (During these years, her duties and title varied: Minister of Labour and Welfare; Minister of Labour, Welfare, and Sports; Minister of Labour, Social Security, and Sports.) Hers was an enormous responsibility in a time of mounting turmoil in Jamaica. Not only was there constant friction between the country's two political parties, but unemployment, crime, and violence in the parishes around Kingston, the island's capital, increased. Simpson Miller, however, persevered, initiating programs for the homeless, promoting women's rights, and gaining better funding for sports teams and events. She remained in these posts until early 2000, while earning a bachelor's degree in Public Administration from the Union Institute in Miami, Florida, in 1997.

Simpson Miller was named Minister of Tourism and Sports in 2000. The following year she faced a special challenge in her new role when violence erupted in Kingston. With tourism as Jamaica's top source of income, the economy could not withstand a sharp decline. Simpson Miller rose to the occasion by luring travel agents and travel writers to the island for weekend conferences; promoting the country's own Caribbean jewel, the Sandals Resorts chain; and offering a number of incentives to travelers and businesses.

In 2002 Simpson Miller was named Minister of Local Government, Community Development, and Sports and over the next few years she helped bring both public awareness and respect to the island's athletes, who brought home five medals from the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, Greece. Simpson Miller also improved funding for sports facilities and programs, including greater participation in the Special Olympics and Para Olympics, and captured part of the Cricket World Cup's 2007 tournament action—including the opening ceremony, several first-round matches, and a semifinal—all to be held on Jamaican soil.

Simpson Miller was handed another opportunity to reach her ultimate goal when Patterson announced he would not seek another term as prime minister and would likely retire before the next general elections in 2007. She wasted no time announcing her candidacy, proclaiming she was the perfect candidateto replace Patterson. Simpson Miller told the *Jamaica Observer* that she embodied the best traits of all of the island's previous prime ministers, including "the political savvy and passionate love for the poor and oppressed of Alexander Bustamante; the penchant for hard work of Donald Sangster; the quiet dignity and sincerity of Hugh Shearer; . . .the vision and toughness of Edward Seaga; the charisma and astuteness of Michael Manley; and the shrewdness as well as humility of P. J. Patterson."

By 2005 Simpson Miller had become one of the most popular female politicians in Jamaica, known affectionately as "Sister P." She maintained her commitment to the betterment of her people and continued to participate in programs such as the Eleanor Roosevelt Caucus of Women Political Leaders, the Women in Leadership Conference at Harvard University (1997), and the Fourth World Summit on Women (2000). Simpson Miller was named one of the United Nations' women of "Great Esteem," and she received an honorary doctorate of Humane Letters from the Union Institute in 2001.

See also Patterson, Percival James "P. J."; People's National Party

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NELSON RHODES (2005)

Singleton, Benjamin "Pap"

c. 1809
1892

Little is known about the life of migrationist Benjamin "Pap" Singleton before the 1870s. He was born and raised a slave in Nashville but escaped to Canada as a young adult, stayed there briefly, and then settled in Detroit, where he worked as a scavenger and ran a boarding house that was often used by fugitive slaves.

After the end of the Civil War, Singleton returned to the Nashville area, worked as a carpenter and coffin maker, and began what he saw as his mission to deliver black people from the former slave states. During the late 1860s and 1870s, many of the coffins Singleton made were for victims of the racist violence prevalent during Reconstruction. He later cited this as the reason for his urgent desire to see former slaves leave what he considered the irredeemable South. Throughout his career Singleton considered himself a messianic leader created by God to lead his people to an all-black promised land on earth.

In the late 1860s Singleton, along with W. A. Sizemore and Columbus Johnson, urged black Tennesseans to acquire land in rural parts of the state and establish independent farms. Faced with white landowners who refused to sell to African Americans at affordable prices, Singleton and his allies looked to westward migration as the only hope for freedom. They conducted a scouting tour of Kansas, returned to Nashville, and touted the western state as the best location for African-American settlement. Several black families from Nashville took up Singleton's call and moved to Kansas in the early 1870s.

In 1874 Singleton and Johnson issued fliers throughout the Nashville area urging African Americans to emigrate to Kansas. From 1877 to 1879 Singleton and his associates settled hundreds of black families in Kansas colonies. In 1879, when the largely spontaneous mass migration to Kansas by former slaves from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas began, the "exodusters" filled Singleton's colonies and overwhelmed his movement.

In 1880, while living in one of his own colonies, Singleton was vaulted to fame when he was called to testify before a Senate committee investigating the exodus. Countering charges made by Democratic committee members that the entire migration was merely a plot by Republicans to win political control in western states, Singleton exclaimed, "I am the whole cause of the migration. Nobody but me. I am the Moses of the colored exodus!" In fact, the mass settlement of approximately twenty thousand former slaves in Kansas lacked any one leader or central organization and originated in states Singleton had not attempted to organize. It is likely, however, that Singleton's work in bringing the first families to Kansas may have partly inspired the 1879 exodus.

In 1881 Singleton led a short-lived movement in Topeka to establish a racially integrated, cooperative economy. The organization Singleton founded to achieve this purpose, the United Colored Links, attempted to form a coalition with the white Greenback Party but folded in less than a year.

In 1883 Singleton moved his focus to international migration and selected Cyprus as the next destination of the black exodus. His new organization for settlement in Cyprus, the Chief League, failed to accomplish its original goal, and in 1885 Singleton reorganized it into the Trans-Atlantic Society. Reflecting Singleton's turn toward a more pronounced black nationalism, the Trans-Atlantic Society declared its commitment to returning former slaves to Africa in order to establish "a separate national existence." There are no records of the Trans-Atlantic Society after 1887, when Singleton fell into obscurity. He died in St. Louis in 1892 after a long spell of ill health.

See also Black Towns; Migration

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Singleton, John

January 6, 1968

Born in South Central Los Angeles, John Daniel Singleton began his interest in film as a director, writer, producer, and actor when he enrolled in Pasadena City College in 1986. Shortly after, he began studies at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. While studying film at USC he won three writing awards from the university and was signed by the Creative Artists Agency. He made his debut with the 1991 Columbia Picture *Boyz N the Hood,* whose widespread acclaim at the Cannes Film Festival that year popularized the film nationally. The film garnered Oscar nominations for Best Original Screenplay and Best Director, making Singleton the first African American and the youngest person to be nominated for the latter honor. Singleton's next two efforts were *Poetic Justice* (1993), which was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Original Song, and *Higher Learning* (1995). He received critical acclaim with his next film, the 1997 Warner Bros. release *Rosewood,* the historically based tale of an African-American town destroyed by a lynch mob. Singleton's next feature, *Shaft,* debuted in June 2000, meeting with mixed reactions from critics and initial popularity with audiences.

In addition to his own movies, Singleton has developed other projects through his production company, New Deal Productions. His awards include the 1991 Los Angeles Film Critics Association Award and the New York Film Critics Circle Best New Director Award for *Boyz N the Hood*. In 1992 he won the MTV Movie Award for Best New Filmmaker for *Boyz N the Hood,* as well.

Singleton continues to direct movies, including *2 Fast 2 Furious* in 2003 and *Luke Cage,* due to be released in 2005. He has been nominated for numerous awards, including three Black Reel awards. In 2003 Singleton was awarded a star on the Walk of Fame in Hollywood.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Sisters of the Holy Family

Sisters of the Holy Family, one of the earliest religious orders of black women in America, was founded in 1842 by Henriette Delille in New Orleans, Louisiana. Delille was an educated free woman of African descent who had worked with Sister Ste. Marthe Fontier and Marie Jeanne Aliquot, two Catholic women from France who went to New Orleans in the 1820s to serve the black community. Their efforts to form an integrated religious community were unsuccessful because of state segregation laws. In the late 1820s Delille and Juliette Gaudin, a Cuban-born woman of African descent, continued their service to the black community by teaching religion to slaves. Delille and Gaudin tried to form a community of black nuns but confronted entrenched racism among Catholics and widespread discrimination. In the late 1820s the Ursuline Sisters refused to allow them to become a black branch. When they tried to found an independent order, they faced institutional barriers for recognition under civil law and had to challenge prevalent notions about the inability of black women to become nuns. In 1842, with the support of Abbé Rousselon, the pastor of St. Augustine parish, the diocese finally allowed them to begin a new order in St. Augustine's Church. Only in 1872 did they gain the right to wear the habit publicly, and not until 1949 were they officially recognized by the Vatican as an independent religious congregation.

Although the Holy Family Sisters was a small order—there were only six members in 1960—they provided

many important services for the African-American community. They encouraged slave couples to have their unions blessed in the church and discouraged concubinage between white men and women of color in Louisiana. They nursed the ill during a yellow fever epidemic in 1853. After the Civil War and Reconstruction they supervised an asylum for African-American girls and organized a home for orphaned African-American boys in 1896. In 1920 the boys' home was converted into a home for the aged. Their most important work, however, was in the field of education. They opened schools in Texas and Belize in addition to six schools in New Orleans. The schools served both the middle class and the poor. By 1970 the sisters were also offering day care services. The Sisters of the Holy Family continue to provide crucial social services and religious and academic training for the African-American community into the early 2000s.

See also Catholicism in the Americas

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

SKIN COLOR

Color symbolism has been a potent force in various cultures throughout the world. It has figured prominently in religion, literature, art, and a wide range of human relationships. The emotional or connotative significance of color has translated into attitudes toward the various shades of pigmentation evident in the world's population. While white-dominated Western culture has long exhibited a preference for light or pale-skinned peoples, such a preference has by no means been absent among societies in Asia, the Middle East, and even Africa. Various theories, based on sociological, anthropological, and psychological analyses, as well as historical experience, have been advanced to explain the existence of pigmentocracies that reward peoples of light complexion and penalize those of dark skin color. For many of these theories, the point of reference has been the significance of skin color in defining the status of African Americans, both within the larger white-dominated society and the black community.

In the centuries following the initial contact between sub-Saharan Africans and Europeans, differences in skin color helped shape the relations between the two peoples and also significantly influenced intraracial behavior and attitudes. In time, visible complexional differences, as well as their causes and implications, spawned a vast literature and a host of popular conceptions drawn from a hodgepodge of observations, scripture, pseudoscientific pronouncements, and self-congratulatory speculation. For northern Europeans, especially the English, the most striking characteristic of Africans initially was their "blackness." Conditioned to associate black with baseness and white with purity, Europeans ultimately invented the idea of race based on their perception of differences in skin color, culture, and other elements between themselves and Africans. The ideology of race that gradually emerged classified whites as superior and blacks as inferior. Although the skin color of Africans may not explain their enslavement by Europeans, it did serve as a convenient rationale for a system of bondage.

By the time black slavery had been firmly established in the British colonies of North America, whites had transformed the Africans' color from a matter of intense curiosity into a serious social issue, one complicated by the offspring of black/white and black/Indian unions, who were neither black nor white. The progeny of the black/white unions, commonly called mulattoes, appeared early and multiplied at varying rates throughout the colonial era and the early history of the new republic. Denounced in colonial statutes as an "abominable mixture and spurious issue," mulattoes of numerous shades of dark and light complexion came to occupy an anomalous position in a white-dominated society inclined to associate whites with freedom and blacks with slavery.

In the slave South, the status of mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, and other "mixed-blood" people varied from section to section. The upper South, which contained the majority of the mulatto population, early embraced the "one-drop rule," whereby anyone with any known Negro ancestor, regardless of how fair his or her complexion, was classified as black. But even in the upper South, such a code neither entirely eliminated the privileges accorded mulattoes nor destroyed the belief that mulattoes were superior to blacks. Travelers' accounts and various other sources clearly indicate that whites exhibited a promulatto bias, especially in employing light-skinned slaves as house

servants rather than field hands. Although a majority of the mulattoes in the upper South were slaves, the many free families of color in the region were also characterized by fair complexions. Although the white ancestry of mixed-blood slaves was of varied social origins, well-to-do white fathers of fair-complexioned mulatto children sometimes granted them freedom and provided them with education, property, and opportunities unavailable to other blacks. Through this and other means, especially the purchase of freedom, there came into existence throughout the South free mulatto families whose members tended to marry other light-skinned individuals.

During most of the pre–Civil War era, the lower South, where mulattoes were less numerous, refused to adhere rigidly to the "one-drop rule." In certain lower southern cities, especially along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, there developed a color-caste system similar to one in the Caribbean, in which mixed-blood people occupied a middle tier between free whites and enslaved blacks. Color assumed symbolic significance in these cities. In no other city did the reputation for colorphobia and snobbery equal that of the free-mulatto elite of Charleston, South Carolina, a reputation that persisted well into the twentieth century. Viewed with favor and leniency by the white establishment, Charleston's slaveholding mulatto elite, intricately related to one another by blood and marriage, was sometimes so fair in complexion that it was impossible to discern any African ancestry. Nothing underscored the color consciousness of this mulatto elite more dramatically than the long-lived Brown Fellowship Society, which was organized in 1790 and limited to light-skinned "free brown men." This prompted the later formation of the Society of Free Dark Men, made up of descendants of Charleston's privileged blacks.

The significance of color was only slightly less evident in New Orleans, where three-quarters of the slaves were dark-skinned and about the same proportion of the *gens de couleur libres* was fair complexioned. The presence of Creoles of color—those claiming French or Spanish as well as African ancestry—in New Orleans; Pensacola, Florida; Mobile, Alabama; and other Gulf Coast cities involved an interplay of color and ethnocultural distinctions that created a more complex situation than that existing in Charleston. New Orleans's reputation as a "modern Golgotha" owed much to its alleged sexual permissiveness across the color line. Often cited by critics were the "quadroon balls" involving white men and mulatto women and especially the institution of formalized mistress-keeping known as *plaçage,* in which white males established liaisons with fair-complexioned mulatto girls, who became their "second wives" and the mothers of their "second families." Though less formalized than *plaçage,* the "shadow family" was a phenomenon that existed throughout the South. Both practices contributed to the lightening of the skin color of mixed-blood people, who usually chose fair-skinned mates, further expanding the light-complexioned black population.

By 1850, when the United States census began distinguishing between blacks and mulattoes, a more complex and specific sliding scale of color was already well-established in common usage (and would be refined even further in the future), especially by African Americans. So pervasive was color consciousness that the word *color* became virtually synonymous with race. For example, petitions and resolutions issued by gatherings of northern free blacks often spoke of equal rights "without distinction of color." Skin color also figured significantly in antebellum "mulatto fiction." Novels and stories about light-skinned blacks, especially works produced by antislavery advocates, described with great specificity the complexion of their almost-white characters, who were also usually of extraordinary intelligence, talent, and grace. For such writers, the presence of the "tragic mulattoes" stood as indisputable evidence of the immorality of slaveholding white Southerners, which was considered all the more gross because they often enslaved their own blood kin—"the white children of slavery."

One by-product of the siege mentality that gripped the white South in the wake of the abolitionist crusade was the hardening of the opposition to miscegenation and the acceptance of the "one-drop rule" throughout the region as the means of distinguishing between whites and blacks—no matter how fair the complexion of the latter. The results were momentous. Sizable numbers of light-skinned free blacks migrated out of the South, while free mulattoes who had once identified with the white elite and had stood aloof from dark-skinned blacks, free as well as slave, gradually shifted their allegiance. The Civil War and Emancipation, followed by Reconstruction, accelerated the engagement of light-complexioned mulattoes with the black masses in matters of public concern. In fact, light-complexioned blacks occupied a disproportionately large share of leadership positions in the post–Civil War South. Despite the blending of peoples of widely different skin color in the public life of black America and the existence of the "one-drop rule," color differences among African Americans continued to have meaning for both whites and blacks. Even though whites embraced a two-category (black/white) system of race relations, preached race purity, subscribed to contradictory theories about the "hybrid" nature of mulattoes, and subjected African Americans of all hues to legal and extralegal discrimination, they none-

theless accorded preferential treatment to light-complexioned blacks, especially in employment. At the same time, skin color in the Negro world exercised an influence that was as pervasive as it was mischievous.

Color, according to one observer, "appeared mysteriously in everything" in the black community at the beginning of the twentieth century. An elaborate sliding scale of color among blacks existed and figured in varying degrees in considerations regarding prestige, status, selection of marriage partners, education, church affiliation—virtually every aspect of social life. An accumulation of distortions and unfounded allegations, perpetrated in particular by color-conscious "mulatto baiters," could easily lead to the conclusion that complexion alone determined one's place in the class structure in the African-American community—a conclusion that obscures the fact that the majority of fair-skinned blacks constituted what has been referred to as "nameless mulatto nobodies." Nevertheless, color gradation among African Americans was often an indicator of a range of interrelated variables such as opportunity, education, acculturation, and even wealth. Such variables focused on the minuscule light-skinned aristocracy of color that did, in fact, occupy the highest stratum of the black class structure from the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century.

Viewing themselves as cultural brokers, these aristocrats of color spoke to blacks and for blacks to whites. The alleged colorphobia of this elite became the target of bitter criticism that was aired in black newspapers and magazines. Such criticism became increasingly shrill in the early twentieth century with the triumph of Jim Crow on the grounds that the "white fever" among certain light-skinned blacks disrupted racial solidarity at the moment it was most needed. The concern over color gradations even surfaced in the late nineteenth-century debate among blacks over the proper terminology to be applied to people of African descent. Arguing that whites and blacks had "mixed so thoroughly" that there were few "full-blooded Negroes left" in the United States, some advocated *Afro-American* or *colored* as more accurate terms. Others who preferred to be called Negroes claimed that all other terms were merely subterfuges invoked by fair-complexioned hybrids intent upon distancing themselves from people of darker hue.

Of all the charges leveled against the fair-complexioned upper class, none circulated more widely or persisted longer than those related to "blue veinism," a reference to skin fair enough to reveal one's blue veins. Rumors abounded, from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, that a blue-vein society or club consisting exclusively of fair-skinned blacks had been or was being established in one city or another. Churches that attracted such people were likely to be known as blue vein, or B.V., churches. Opposition to the dominant position occupied by the light-complexioned elite promoted a succession of well-publicized struggles, involving especially the control of schools, churches, and various other organizations. The controversy that erupted in the 1906 convention of the National Association of Colored Women focused on the light complexion of Josephine Wilson Bruce, the wife of the former senator from Mississippi, who was a candidate for president of the organization. Dark-skinned delegates defeated Bruce because they desired a president who was visibly "altogether a Negro" rather than one whose complexion would allow whites to link her ability to her "white blood." Shocked to discover the existence of color lines within black society, white reporters believed that they had witnessed a "new phase of color discrimination."

Obviously such whites were unacquainted with the verbal assaults leveled against the fair-complexioned black aristocrats, called "accidental puny colored exquisites," that appeared regularly in African-American newspapers, magazines, and even novels throughout the opening decades of the twentieth century. Voicing a common sentiment among dark-complexioned blacks, Nannie H. Burroughs declared in 1904 that "many Negroes have colorphobia as bad as the white folks have Negrophobia." Among other African Americans who denounced the color consciousness of blacks as a serious impediment to racial progress were three well-known clergymen: Henry Highland Garnet, Alexander Crummell, and Francis J. Grimké. Critics intent upon combating the white notion that mulattoes were intellectually superior to blacks pointed to the achievements of poet Paul Laurence Dunbar, scholar Kelly Miller, and other dark-skinned individuals. But no African American waged a more relentless battle against those blacks who allegedly placed a premium on their light skin color, hair quality, and other European features than John E. Bruce, a prominent journalist who wrote under the pen name Bruce Grit. From 1877 until his death in 1924, he delighted in referring to mixed-blood blacks as "the illegitimate progeny of vicious white men of the South." The linking of a light skin with bastardy lent support to the exclusiveness practiced by at least some dark-complexioned families who, boasting of "pure African blood," forbade their offspring to associate in any romantic way with persons of light skin.

It scarcely seems surprising that some fair-skinned mulattoes keenly experienced the uncertainties and ambiguities of the "marginal man" described by Everett V. Stonequist in 1937. Proscribed by the white-imposed

"one-drop rule," light mulattoes also confronted contradictory perceptions and expectations in the black community. In expressing this sense of marginality, the young, fair-complexioned Charles W. Chesnutt, who became a famous novelist, confided in his journal: "I am neither fish nor fowl, neither 'nigger,' white, nor 'buckrah.' Too 'stuck up' for the colored folks, and of course, not recognized by the whites." Cyrus Field Adams, a well-known black editor who was regularly accused of trying to "pass" for white, stoutly denied the charge, declaring that he had spent most of his life "trying to pass for colored." Light-skinned individuals coped with the problems of marginality in various ways, from black identity and assuming leadership roles in movements combating antiblack discrimination, to disappearing from the black world and assuming a white identity. The phenomenon of passing for white assumed an extraordinarily fair complexion and physical features identified with whites. Passing could be either permanent or temporary, yet both involved risks and sacrifices.

Even though critics of the African-American preoccupation with the color scale may well have exaggerated the extent to which a light skin shaped one's self-image, behavior, and attitude, especially toward those of darker complexion, the historical evidence clearly suggests that the color preferences of blacks mirrored those of whites. "The whites," a black observer noted in 1901, "regulate all our tastes." As a result, concoctions claiming to change the skin color of African Americans from dark to light or almost-white found a lucrative market in the black community and constituted a staple source of advertising revenue for the black press. From the late nineteenth century on, such products—along with those guaranteed to "de-kink" hair—appeared in profusion under such labels as Dr. Read's Magic Face Bleach, Imperial Whitener, Black Skin Remover, Mme. Turner's Mystic Face Bleach, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener, Shure White, and numerous others. Of all such mail-order preparations, none surpassed Black-No-More for extravagant claims. Produced in Chillicothe, Ohio, by Dr. James H. Herlihy, a self-proclaimed famous chemist, Black-No-More promised to solve the nation's race problem by turning blacks white. "Colored people," one advertisement asserted, "your salvation is at hand. The Negro need no longer be different in color from the white man." This "greatest discovery of the age" guaranteed to transform "the blackest skin into the purest white without pain, inconvenience or danger." Complaints that Black-No-More and several similar concoctions made fraudulent claims and did, in fact, cause severe pain and skin damage prompted the U.S. Post Office to bar them from the mails in 1905. But the crackdown by the post office by no means halted the sale of skin lighteners, which continued in the ensuing decades to proliferate, although they made slightly more guarded claims. As late as the 1960s, skin-bleaching preparations, including Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener, still found ready markets among African Americans. By 1920, however, those concerned about the implications of the widespread popularity of skin bleaches became more strident in their criticism of people who used them. African-American cosmetic specialists were more forthright in warning about the dangers of "strong" bleaches and the inappropriateness of applying white powder to dark complexions. One such specialist assured black women in 1917 that a light skin was "no prettier than a dark one" and that the beauty of any skin, light or dark, was found in "the clarity and evenness of color." The wording of skin-lightener advertisements increasingly referred to skin tone rather than skin color.

This shift occurred within the context of two important developments: the accelerated engagement of light- and dark-skinned blacks in the public arena; and the "browning" of black America. The former was especially evident in the emergence of the "New Negro" associated with the cultural phenomenon known as the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, in which the mulatto elite led the way in articulating and popularizing the nation's black heritage and in condemning blacks' obsession with skin-color gradations. At the same time, the majority of Negro Americans had become neither visibly white nor black; rather the skin color of most consisted of various shades of brown. Although the mixing of blacks and whites declined in the decades after Reconstruction, the widespread mixing of light- and dark-skinned blacks generally had the effect of lightening the complexion of African Americans. Social scientists began to refer to "brown," rather than "black," America. By 1957, *Ebony* could report that "the old definition of 'the true Negro,' one with black skin, woolly hair, a flat nose and thick lips, no longer obtains."

Notwithstanding the emergence of "brown America," the impact of the Harlem Renaissance, and repeated claims that "blue vein societies" and color snobbery were rapidly disappearing, the color question remained an emotion-laden issue among African Americans. In the 1920s and later, black writers commented on the irony involved in the African-American concern with skin color, noting that while whites drew a single color line between themselves and people with "one drop" of Negro blood, blacks who condemned such a practice drew multiple color lines among themselves. The wide variety of complexional shades among African Americans ultimately gave rise to a skin-color lexicon in which minutely defined classifications ranged from peaches-and-cream and high yellow to brown and blue-black. For some African Americans, embarrassed by the obvious color consciousness

present in the black community and troubled by its implications, the less said about "the nasty business of color," the better. Yet, as a black journalist noted early in the twentieth century: "The question of tints is one of the racial follies that die hard."

Among those who refused to remain silent regarding the issue was Marcus Garvey, a flamboyant native of Jamaica whose Harlem-based back-to-Africa movement used the emotive power of blackness to win wide appeal among the urban black masses during the 1920s. Whatever else Garvey may have accomplished, his bellicose discussions of skin color served to keep alive and exacerbate the "question of tints." Deeply distrustful of light-complexioned blacks, he preached race pride and purity, castigated mulattoes, especially those involved in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, and stood the prevailing eschatology of color on its head by equating black with good and white with evil. His newspaper, *The Negro World,* refused to accept advertisements for skin lighteners and hair straighteners. Garvey's emphasis on skin color figured prominently in the controversy that developed between him and W. E. B. Du Bois of the NAACP. Du Bois responded to Garvey's description of him as a "hater of dark people" and "a white man Negro" by describing the Jamaican as a fat, black, and ugly charlatan who "aroused more bitter color enmity inside the race" than ever previously existed. Du Bois denied that a black/mulatto schism had ever possessed "any substantial footing" in the United States and maintained that by the 1920s such a schism had been rejected by "every thinking Negro." Clearly, Garvey had struck a nerve, and Du Bois responded with assertions that, at best, obscured the influence of color gradations among African Americans.

If color consciousness among African Americans received less notice in the popular media in the decades following Garvey's imprisonment and deportation in the mid-1920s, the topic increasingly attracted the attention of scientists and social scientists. By the mid-twentieth century, scientific inquiry regarding human skin pigmentation had evolved into the field of pigment-cell biology. Much of the research in this field focused on the pigment melanin, a term derived from the Greek word for "black." Although scientists generally agree that human skin color is based predominantly on melanin and have discovered much about its origins and pathology, questions about the evolution and distribution of skin pigmentation in the world's population, as an authority noted in 1991, are likely to remain "an ongoing conundrum for a long time." Perhaps even more pertinent to African Americans than biological investigations of pigmentation were the findings of social scientists, both black and white, whose works shed light on the role of skin color in determining everything from status, self-image, and personality development to educational and employment opportunities, the selection of marriage partners, and wealth in the black community. While the results of tests and surveys designed to measure the influence of color gradations upon virtually every aspect of African-American life were by no means identical, they did agree that blacks, to an extraordinary degree, had accepted the skin-color preferences of the dominant white society and that a light skin in all social strata of the Negro community had definite advantages. But Gunnar Myrdal's classic study, *An American Dilemma,* published in 1944, noted that as the black community became increasingly "race conscious," it was no longer considered proper for African Americans to reveal their color preferences publicly. Ten years later, *Ebony* admitted that some fair-complexioned blacks were still "cashing in on color" but that most African Americans of all complexional shades were embracing a common cause and identity.

Such an embrace became even closer as the civil rights movement gained momentum and the "black is beautiful" slogan achieved popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Rejecting skin bleaches and hair straighteners, young blacks of all skin colors donned dashikis and Afro hairstyles and insisted upon being called "black Americans" or "Afro-Americans," often over the objections of their elders. Although *Ebony* continued to accept advertisements for bleaches, its editorials nonetheless reflected the change in color preference by noting that the "old black magic that made Sheba Queen" was again "sending red corpuscles racing up and down male veins." For a time, dark skin was in vogue and many fair-complexioned blacks found themselves on the defensive. Their skin color meant that they had to work harder at proving loyalty to their African heritage and to the larger black community. Some even complained of discrimination and ostracism by dark-skinned persons. Studies conducted during the 1970s suggested that the "black is beautiful" movement was without effect: One demonstrated that black children exhibited a clear preference for "light brown" skin color over that of either "black" or a "very light shade"; another suggested that a light skin retarded rather than facilitated upward mobility in the black class structure; still another indicated that blacks no longer preferred those whose complexions were lighter than their own as mates.

Even while "black is beautiful" was in vogue and African Americans were encouraged to "be proud of the Negro Look," old methods of lightening dark skin continued to flourish and new ones gained in popularity. Skin bleaches,

both for the face and entire body, appeared in various forms—liquid, powder, and cream—and constituted a fourteen million dollar business in 1968. In adjusting to the times, some bleaching products referred to themselves as skin toners. All the while, techniques of lightening skin color other than the use of bleaches had made their appearance. The 1940s and 1950s witnessed the introduction of various new methods of lightening skin, ranging from depigmentation processes to the use of monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone. Later, dermatologists and plastic surgeons developed procedures for lightening dark skin and converting "broad features into aquiline ones." The most widely used dermatological procedures were chemical peel and dermabrasion, which proved to be painful, risky, and expensive. Tinted contact lenses, however, made possible a change of eye color without risk or pain.

Sociological studies of the color question as related to blacks clearly suggested that in the early 1990s skin color remained one of the mechanisms that determined "who gets what" in black America. Light-skinned blacks still enjoyed a more advantageous economic position and higher standing in the black community. One well-known study in 1990 concluded that there was "little evidence that the association between skin color and socioeconomic status [had] changed during the 30-year period from 1950 to 1980." Despite pressure on blacks "to keep quiet" about their color prejudices, antagonism resulting from such prejudices occasionally erupted into public controversies. For example, some cases arising under affirmative action involved charges of intraracial color discrimination. When the fair-complexioned, green-eyed Vanessa Williams, an African American, was chosen Miss America in 1983, some blacks angrily complained that she was "half white" and not "in essence black." Later claims that Michael Jackson, an African-American superstar in the entertainment world, had altered both his skin color and facial features occasioned much comment, including allegations that he was attempting to "get away from his race." In June 1994 a controversy over skin color erupted in response to the portrait of African-American athlete O. J. Simpson that appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine following his arrest on suspicion of murdering his former wife and her friend. That *Time* substantially darkened Simpson's complexion in transforming a mug shot into a "photo-illustration" prompted charges that the magazine had darkened Simpson's face to make him look more sinister and guilty.

Beginning in the 1980s, the significance of skin color preference among African Americans has been explored at length on television talk shows and in films, novels, social science studies, and even autobiographies. African Americans may still consider the issue a bit of dirty linen, but they are less reluctant to discuss it publicly. By candidly confronting the color consciousness and prejudices of African Americans, films such as Kathe Sandler's television documentary "A Question of Color" (1992), as well as scholarly treatises and other works, contributed to a greater understanding of a phenomenon that has persistently helped to shape the experiences, attitudes, and life chances of African Americans.

See also Abolition; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Race, Scientific Theories of; Universal Negro Improvement Association

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WILLARD B. GATEWOOD (1996)
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Slave Codes

During the fifteenth century, as Portuguese explorers and traders moved down the Atlantic coast of sub-Saharan Africa, the Atlantic slave trade was legally justified by the papacy of the Roman Catholic Church as an extension of the Spanish Reconquest: a means to convert Muslim and other non-Christian Africans to Christianity. During the first two centuries of the Atlantic slave trade (c. 1440–1640), the Portuguese crown enjoyed and profited from the monopoly of trade in sub-Saharan Africa sanctioned by the pope.

Iberian law was deeply influenced by Islamic slave law, which was derived from the Qur'an. It was quite complex and contained provisions for humane treatment of slaves. It recognized several distinct, named forms of slavery, including the status of the partially free and their right to own part of their time as well as their production during their free time. Muslims were not to be enslaved. Slaves were usually non-Muslim captives taken in clearly defined, just wars. It gave positive encouragement to manumission.

During the thirteenth century, Toledo, Spain, was a major center for translations of works from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin. These Latin translations were often presented as original works. Although historians have long attributed the slave law of the Siete Partidas of King Alfonso X to Roman and sometimes to Visigothic law, these attributions need to be questioned. In Visigothic law, the distinction between slave and "free" dependents was unclear. Roman law did not define a "just" war, nor did it touch upon the relationship between masters and slaves or the care or treatment to which slaves were entitled. Roman law gave the master the right to free the slave, but it neither encouraged nor discouraged this process. Roman law focused on defining the slave as a form of property and clearly stated that all the property of the slave belonged at all times and circumstances to the master. This element of Roman slave law can be found in the Siete Partidas, but it is contradicted by other provisions in the same law.

The relevance of the Siete Partidas to Iberian slave law in the Americas has been exaggerated. It dealt with domestic slavery and was grounded in feudal principles. It referred to slaves as "serfs" *(siervos)* and never used the word "slave" *(esclavo)*. It stated that human beings were naturally free and servitude was contrary to nature. It gave masters full power over their *siervos,* but they were not allowed to starve them. In addition, they could not wound or kill them without a judge's order unless a slave was caught in sexual relations with the master's wife or daughter, in which case the master had the right to kill him. Slaves who were starved or gravely injured by masters had the right to complain to a judge, who could force them to be sold to another master. Neither Jews nor Moors could own Christian *siervos*. There were no provisions preventing the separation of families of *siervos*. The best explanation is that children born in the house of the masters *(señores)* were automatically free. An echo of this assumption can be found in several manumission documents from Spanish Louisiana that explained that a slave was being formally freed for having been born in the master's house. But the silence in Iberian law about protection of the family resulted in the highest level of slave family breakup in the Spanish American colonies, higher than in French and even in British colonies.

The crowns of Spain and Portugal were merged between 1580 and 1640, and African slavery began to develop in Brazil after this merger. The Siete Partidas of King Alfonso X was in theory relevant to both Portuguese and Spanish America. The Portuguese Manueline Ordinances of 1521 had little relevance to Portuguese America. They required the baptism of all black slaves and contained some very specific marketing regulations applying to finders of lost birds, slaves, and other property, but they were silent about treatment of slaves by masters. Portuguese wealth derived overwhelmingly from taxation of international trade and the creation of far-flung trading posts throughout the world. The bureaucratic and religious reach of the Portuguese empire was therefore weak. In early colonial Brazil, Portuguese settlements remained largely on the coast until the discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior at the very end of the seventeenth century. Laws protective of slaves, including the slave family, were promulgated in Bahia, Brazil, in 1720. They were contained in a large, general code called Constituições do Arcebispado da Bahia de 1720, which emerged from a meeting of priests. It provided that a master could not prevent his slaves from marrying and could not separate the members of slave families. These protective measures arose out of conditions in Brazil, where slaves were frequently married in the church.

In early Spanish America from the earliest years of colonization, the bureaucratic and legal arm of the me-

tropolis reached far into the interior, where mining of precious metals was the major source of wealth. Nevertheless, there were very few laws or legal cases in Spanish America demonstrating royal concern with the protection of black slaves. Spanish law in the Americas focused on protection of Indians, not blacks. Indian slavery was outlawed, and slave law focused almost entirely on the policing rather than the protection of black slaves and on minimizing their contacts with and influence upon Indians. The Spanish slave code of 1789 containing protective regulations for slaves was copied to a great extent from the French Code Noir but without its clauses protecting the slave family. The 1789 Spanish code was successfully and formally abrogated by enraged colonists throughout the Spanish empire shortly after it was promulgated, and its protective provisions continued to be suppressed in the Spanish empire throughout the nineteenth century.

Misinformation has been widely spread by historians who deny the severity of slavery and racism in Latin America. In medieval Iberia, Slavic peoples rather than blacks were viewed as natural slaves. Indeed the word for slave, *esclavo,* means "Slav." But in Spanish and Portuguese America, slavery quickly became associated with blacks, and antiblack racism became and remains very powerful. Aside from varying legal traditions, the intensity and forms of racism throughout the Americas varied over time and place depending on a number of important factors. White blood in the subaltern population carried much more weight in French, Spanish, and Portuguese America than it did in the British mainland colonies that later became part of the United States. In Spanish and Portuguese America, corporatism was the foundation of law. It made legal and social distinctions based on comparative amounts of white blood within the population and the number of generations individuals were removed from slavery.

Thus, Iberian law made important distinctions among nonwhites, a very efficient mechanism of social control in societies where the Spanish and Portuguese were usually a small minority. Except in strategic colonies and at times and places where blacks and mixed bloods were especially needed for police and military reasons, the enforcement of legal protection of slaves and encouragement of manumission by colonial authorities were spotty. During the Latin American wars for independence, many mixed-blood and black slaves were manumitted by both sides in return for military service. Thus, colonial administrators in Ibero-American colonies used free black and mixed-blood layers within the subaltern population to control the slaves. Unlike Ibero-America, British America tended to lump all peoples with any degree of African ancestry together. Some scholars from the United States, impressed by these formal contrasts with racism in their own country, have at times unjustifiably accepted Spanish, Portuguese, and elite Latin American myths of mild slavery and benign race relations in Latin America. But throughout the Americas, restrictions on manumissions and racially exclusive attitudes increased over time.

British colonizers in the Americas lacked a tradition of slave law upon which to build. British law was based on common law rather than legal codes. British slave law was established over time through precedents set by case law. Early preoccupations were the distinction between slavery and indentured servitude and whether slaves who converted to Christianity must be freed. Once slaves were defined as property, what kind of property were they? Were they real estate attached to the land, or were they chattel to be mortgaged, inherited, and/or sold separately from the land, a process that undermined primogeniture? Could slaves brought to England, where slavery did not exist, be forced to return to America with their masters and returned to slavery against their wills?

French slave law was again different. Slavery did not exist in France, and the influence of Roman slave codes was not great. The Code Noir was first promulgated in 1685 for the French West Indies after a careful study of the conditions existing in these colonies. This code was eminently practical. It focused upon how to control the slaves through police measures, established the obligations of masters to feed and clothe their slaves, and restricted the master's right to punish the slave. These protective measures did not stem from humanitarian concerns. They were aimed at controlling mistreatment and exasperation of slaves to avoid theft, running away, and revolts. The original Code Noir encouraged manumission of slaves and gave full rights of French citizenship to all slaves manumitted in French colonies. It provided that masters, regardless of race, had to free and marry their slave concubines and free the children born of these unions or they would be confiscated for the benefit of charity. The first version of the Code Noir was promulgated when effective occupation was the basic principle determining which European power would possess a particular Caribbean colony. It was intended to increase the population considered French.

The Code Noir was modified for Louisiana in 1724. It was reissued several times and changed by royal decree for French colonies throughout the eighteenth century. Manumission became increasingly restricted over time. Nonwhites were increasingly discriminated against and could not, in theory, inherit property from whites, a provision that was totally ignored in Louisiana, as well as in the

French West Indies. Mixed-blood elites arose in both Louisiana and in the French Caribbean, creating three-tiered societies in which the colored elite played a major role in the economy and culture. The free colored elite in Saint Domingue/Haiti initiated the Haitian Revolution, attempting to use the slaves for their own military purposes. But the slaves revolted against both the white and colored elites, destroyed slavery, and declared the second independent nation in the Americas. One of the greatest achievements of the French Revolution, inspired and enforced by the slave revolt in Saint Domingue/Haiti, was the unanimous vote in the French General Assembly in 1794 outlawing slavery in all French colonies and giving full rights of French citizenship to the former slaves. This legislation was annulled by the Napoleonic reaction in France. Fear of slave revolts inspired by the Haitian Revolution became a major factor in sharply restricting manumission of slaves and increasing racial discrimination during the nineteenth century in the United States and in Cuba as their slave plantation systems reached their highest levels of wealth, power, and influence.

Criticism of the widely held myth of benevolent slavery and mild race relations in Latin America is growing. This myth arose as a justification for slavery in Latin America. It has been widely disseminated by mainly white historians in the United States, as well as by a few scholars in Latin America. This myth makes it hard to combat antiblack racism in Latin America because its very existence is denied. It is now being forcefully rejected by the Afro-Latino population throughout America, including in the United States.

See also Black Codes

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GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL (2005)

Slave Narratives

The autobiographical narratives of former slaves compose one of the most extensive and influential traditions in African-American literature and culture. The best-known slave narratives were authored by fugitives from slavery who used their personal histories to illustrate the horrors of America's "peculiar institution." But a large number of former slaves who either purchased their freedom or endured their bondage until emancipation also recounted their experiences under slavery. Most of the major authors of African-American literature before 1900, including Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Harriet Jacobs, and Booker T. Washington, launched their writing careers via the slave narrative.

During the formative era of African-American autobiography, from 1760 to the end of the Civil War (1861–65) in the United States, approximately seventy narratives of fugitive or former slaves were published as discrete entities, some in formats as brief as the broadside, others in bulky, sometimes multivolume texts. Slave narratives dominated the literary landscape of antebellum black America, far outnumbering the autobiographies of free people of color, not to mention the handful of novels published by American blacks during this time. After slavery was abolished in North America, ex-slaves continued to produce narratives of their bondage and freedom in substantial numbers. From 1865 to 1930, during which time at least fifty former slaves wrote or dictated book-length accounts of their lives, the ex-slave narrative remained the preponderant subgenre of African-American autobiography. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Federal Writers' Project gathered oral personal histories and testimony about slavery from 2,500 former slaves in 17 states, generating roughly 10,000 pages of interviews that were eventually published in a "composite autobiography" of 18 volumes. One of the slave narratives' most reliable historians has estimated that a grand total of all contributions to this genre, including separately published texts, materials that appeared in periodicals, and oral histories and interviews, numbers approximately 6,000.

The earliest slave narratives have strong affinities with popular white American accounts of Indian captivity and Christian conversion in the New World. But with the rise

of the antislavery movement in the early nineteenth century came a new demand for slave narratives that would highlight the harsh realities of slavery itself. White abolitionists were convinced that the eyewitness testimony of former slaves against slavery would touch the hearts and change the minds of many in the northern population of the United States who were either ignorant of or indifferent to the plight of African Americans in the South. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the first of this new brand of outspoken slave narratives with strong antislavery messages found their way into print. These set the mold for what would become by mid-century a standardized form of autobiography and abolitionist propaganda.

Typically, the antebellum slave narrative carries a black message inside a white envelope. Prefatory (and sometimes appended) matter by whites attests to the reliability and good character of the narrator and calls attention to what the narrative will reveal about the moral abominations of slavery. The former slave's contribution to the text centers on his or her rite of passage from slavery in the South to freedom in the North. Usually the antebellum slave narrator portrays slavery as a condition of extreme physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual deprivation, a kind of hell on earth. Precipitating the narrator's decision to escape is some sort of personal crisis, such as the sale of a loved one or a dark night of the soul in which hope contends with despair for the spirit of the slave. Impelled by faith in God and a commitment to liberty and human dignity comparable (the slave narrative often stresses) to that of America's founding fathers, the slave undertakes an arduous quest for freedom that climaxes in his or her arrival in the North. In many antebellum narratives, the attainment of freedom is signaled not simply by reaching the free states but by renaming oneself and dedicating one's future to antislavery activism.

Advertised in the abolitionist press and sold at antislavery meetings throughout the English-speaking world, a significant number of antebellum slave narratives went through multiple editions and sold in the tens of thousands. This popularity was not solely attributable to the publicity the narratives received from the antislavery movement. Readers could see that, as one reviewer put it, "the slave who endeavours to recover his freedom is associating with himself no small part of the romance of the time." To the noted transcendentalist clergyman Theodore Parker, slave narratives qualified as America's only indigenous literary form, for "all the original romance of Americans is in them, not in the white man's novel." The most widely read and hotly debated American novel of the nineteenth century, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), was profoundly influenced by its author's

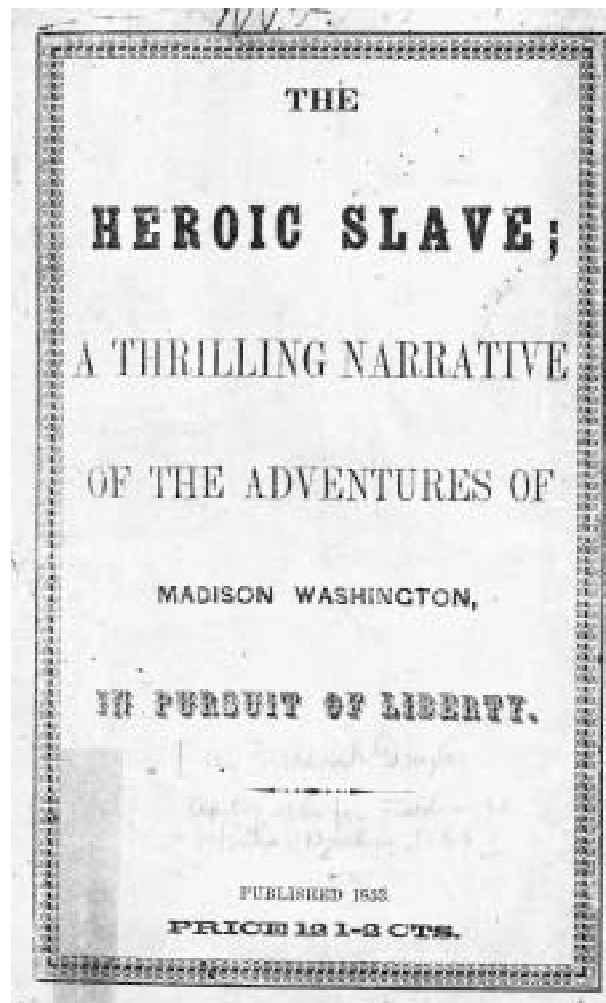
***Postcard of Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, author of* Twenty-eight Years a Slave: or, The Story of My Life in Three Continents.** GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

reading of a number of slave narratives, to which she owed many graphic incidents and the models for some of her most memorable characters.

In 1845 the slave narrative reached its epitome with the publication of the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself.* Selling more than thirty thousand copies in the first five years of its existence, Douglass's *Narrative* became an international best-seller, its contemporary readership far outstripping that of such classic white autobiographies as Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854). The abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison introduced Douglass's *Narrative* by stressing how representative Douglass's experience of slavery was. But Garrison could not help but note the extraordinary individuality of the black author's manner of rendering that experience. It is Douglass's style of self-presentation, through which he re-created the slave as an

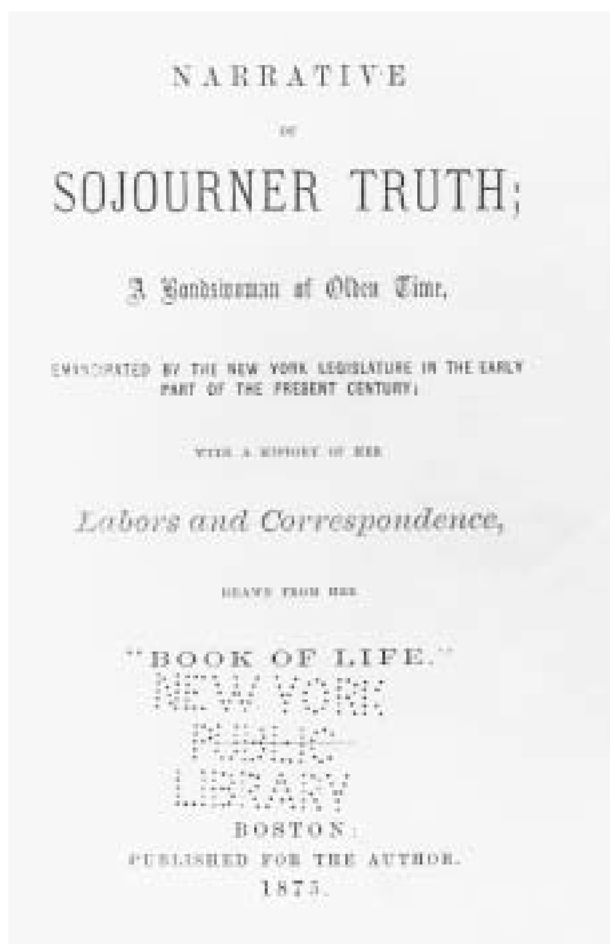
evolving self bound for mental as well as physical freedom, that makes his autobiography so important. After Douglass's *Narrative,* the presence of the subtitle *Written by Himself* on a slave narrative bore increasing political and literary significance as an indicator of a narrator's self-determination independent of external expectations and conventions. In the late 1840s well-known fugitive slaves such as William Wells Brown, Henry W. Bibb, and James W. C. Pennington reinforced the rhetorical self-consciousness of the slave narrative by incorporating into their stories trickster motifs from African-American folk culture, extensive literary and biblical allusion, and a picaresque perspective on the meaning of the slave's flight from bondage to freedom.

As the slave narrative evolved in the crisis years of the 1850s and early 1860s, it addressed the problem of slavery with unprecedented candor, unmasking as never before the moral and social complexities of the American caste and class system in the North as well as the South. In *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), Douglass revealed that his search for freedom had not reached its fulfillment among the abolitionists, although this had been the implication of his *Narrative*'s conclusion. Having discovered in Garrison and his cohorts some of the same paternalistic attitudes that had characterized his former masters in the South, Douglass could see in 1855 that the struggle for full liberation would be much more difficult and uncertain than he had previously imagined. Harriet Jacobs, the first African-American female slave to author her own narrative, also challenged conventional ideas about slavery and freedom in her strikingly original *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861). Jacobs's autobiography shows how sexual exploitation made slavery especially oppressive for black women. But in demonstrating how she fought back and ultimately gained both her own freedom and that of her two children, Jacobs proved the inadequacy of the image of victim that had been pervasively applied to female slaves in the male-authored slave narratives.



***Cover of* The Heroic Slave.** *Frederick Douglass's novella is based on a successful slave mutiny led by Madison Washington in 1841.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

In most post-Emancipation slave narratives, slavery is depicted as a kind of crucible in which the resilience, industry, and ingenuity of the slave was tested and ultimately validated. Thus the slave narrative argued that readiness of the freedman and freedwoman for full participation in the post–Civil War social and economic order. The best-selling of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century slave narratives was Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1901), a classic American success story. Because *Up from Slavery* extolled black progress and interracial cooperation since Emancipation, it won a much greater hearing from whites than was accorded those former slaves whose autobiographies detailed the legacy of injustices burdening blacks in the postwar South. Washington could not dictate the agenda of the slave narrative indefinitely, however. Modern black autobiographies, such as Richard Wright's *Black Boy* (1945), and twentieth-century African-American novels, such as Ernest J. Gaines's *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1971) and Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1989), display unmistakable formal and thematic allegiances to the antebellum slave narrative, particularly in their determination to probe the origins of psychological as well as social oppression and in their searching critique of the meaning of freedom for twentieth-century blacks and whites alike.



NARRATIVE

OF

SOJOURNER TRUTH;

A Bondswoman of Olden Time,

EMANCIPATED BY THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN THE EARLY PART OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;

Labors and Correspondence,

"BOOK OF LIFE."

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

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1875.

Narrative of Sojourner Truth. *The title page from an 1875 edition of Sojourner Truth's* Narrative, *which was told to and written by Olive Gilbert and first published by Truth in 1850.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

See also Autobiography, U.S.; Bibb, Henry Walton; Brown, William Wells; Douglass, Frederick; Jacobs, Harriet Ann; Pennington, James W. C.; Washington, Booker T.; Wright, Richard

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Slave Narratives of the Caribbean and Latin America

Research by historians and literary scholars has discovered that a significant number of narratives by Caribbean and Latin American slaves have survived to the present day—albeit not quite as many as the extant slave narratives from the United States. Generally defined as the written testimony of enslaved black human beings, these stories of slave lives manifest a vital yet complex presence within the narratives of the global slave era. Although the majority of these documents exist in the colonial archive—and as such are entangled with the politics of domination, these narratives provide an important resource for understanding the experience of slavery and its aftermath throughout the African diaspora. Attention to the varied yet global institutional nature of New World slavery—and, more specifically, the slave narrative—is a crucial component in mapping the literary history of the African diaspora.

Although there are some similarities among all slave cultures, there are also very important cultural distinctions. For example, slaves in the Caribbean and Latin America were more likely than their U.S. counterparts to live on large plantations with fifty or more slaves; the white settler population was much smaller than that in the United States; more U.S. slaves in the nineteenth century were native-born than were Caribbean slaves (ninety percent in United States, versus less than seventy-five percent in Jamaica); and finally, due to their larger numbers, slaves in the Caribbean and Latin America were more likely to retain elements of their African cultural heritage than those in the United States.

These distinctions among slave cultures are also reflected within the slave narrative form. In addition to separately published narratives (which predominate in the United States), stories about the lives of slaves in the Ca-

ribbean and Latin America were more frequently incorporated or embedded within other texts, such as travel narratives, diaries, letters, and abolitionist newspapers, as well as church documents, spiritual conversion narratives, legal records, and other forms. Caribbean and Latin American slave narratives share a number of formal and structural characteristics, in addition to offering specific descriptions and details of Caribbean slavery. Like most slave narratives, they not only provided documentary, historical, and persuasive evidence for European readers but also a means to satisfy curiosity about Africans and their descendants.

One of the most striking features of slave narratives produced in the Caribbean and Latin America is that an overwhelming majority of them were narrated to an editor or transcriber. Consequently, these narratives must be viewed as composite texts in which both the narrator and transcriber/editor work together to create meaning. Although the narratives are mediatory in nature, it is important not to view these narratives as "corrupted and inferior forms," but rather to read them as Creole texts emblematic of the dialectical relationships of power in the slave system. Numerous scholars have pointed out the polyvocal nature of the documents such as manumission papers and letters frequently appended to U.S. slave narratives. In the case of the Caribbean and Latin American texts, this polyvocality also exists within the body of the narrative as well. As a result, rather than placing an emphasis on the notion of voice as a historical fact, these narratives make clear the manner in which voice also operates as a discursive act.

For a number of critics, one of the primary problems of dictated narratives is the concern that the voice of the editor/transcriber, rather than the slave, controls the narrative. Others contend that due to the mediated nature of these narratives, there can be no "authentic" subject or author behind these words. However, critical work on the genre of *testimonio,* or dictated narratives, from Latin America and those of Native Americans has made it clear that assumptions of an all-encompassing editorial power are unsupportable. Dictated narratives are written dialogues, in which both the voice of the narrator and the voice of the transcriber work together to create the text. Although the editor or transcriber might have the final word in arranging and ordering the final narrative, the oral storytelling of the narrator is a vital component of the eventual written product. The narrative could therefore not exist without the participation of the narrator.

The multiplicity signaled by the polyvocality of the Creole testimony of Caribbean slaves illuminates the complexity of the slave narrative form. Far from a rigid or unchanging genre, it incorporates numerous rhetorical and narrative strategies that develop out of each narrative's particular cultural context. Plantation slavery was an incredibly complex and varied system of power relationships. It is vital to embrace this complexity by attending to the various ways in which slaves communicated their stories. Although the Caribbean narratives are not always easily accessed, it is necessary to engage with them because they have so much to say. To ignore them is to silence once again the voices of Caribbean slaves.

See also Slave Narratives; Slave Religions; Slave Trade

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NICOLE N. ALJOE (2005)

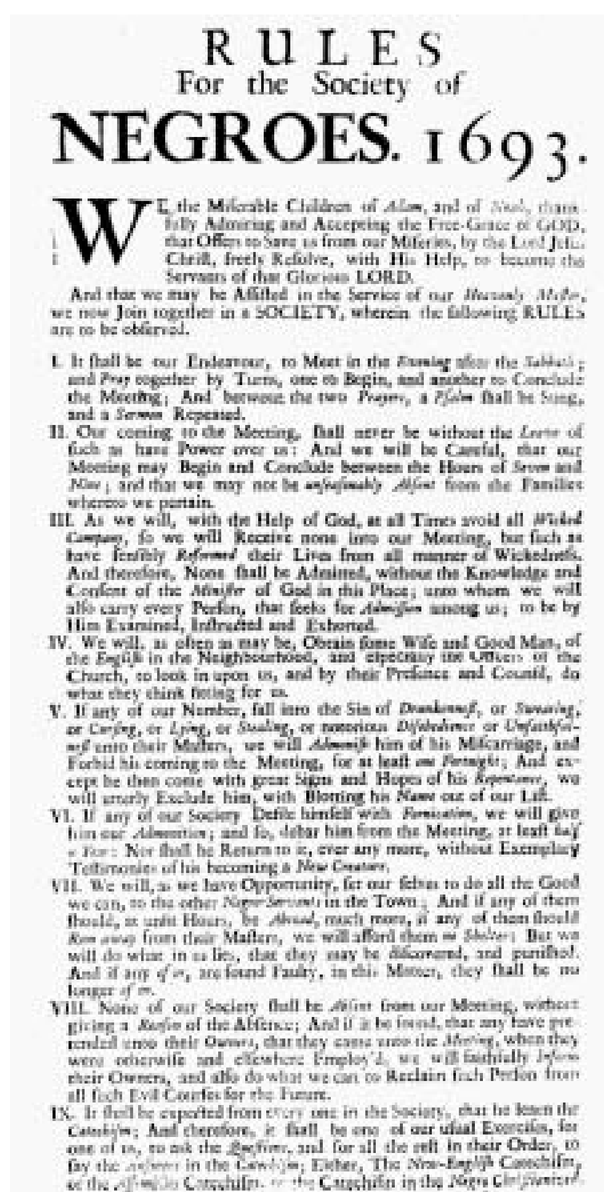
Slave Religions

When captive Africans reached the various shores of the Americas via the transatlantic slave trade, they brought their cultures with them. In addition to artistry, familial patterns, agriculture, and cuisine, they also carried beliefs about worlds seen and unseen, permeating all other aspects of life. Scholars acknowledge that enslaved Africans in the Americas were cultural carriers. But there is debate over the ways in which African cultures changed in the Americas because of contact with European and Native American cultures, enslavement, and separation from Africa. What follows embraces the premise that cultures are dynamic in nature and change over time and in connection with other cultures. However, the context of slavery is critical to understanding how African cultures, and specifically African religions, changed in the Americas.

At least three forms of religious activity were undertaken by enslaved Africans and their descendants. The first involved beliefs and practices that were clearly African but that also underwent some alteration in the American setting. Whereas the assumptions that such activity was more prevalent with native-born Africans than their offspring and that the intensity of such practices lessened with the passing of time are both reasonable, they are not necessarily verified by the historical record. The second form of religious activity concerns Christianity, and here there was a wide-ranging response to Christian teachings on the part of the enslaved. A third form of activity in fact brings together the first two, so that some slaves sought to practice some form of Christianity while maintaining their belief in African deities and rituals. At times Christianity and African religions melded, while at other times they were kept separate. Precisely how religion was pursued was not unrelated to powerful, slaveholding interests. However, the evidence is clear that the enslaved were perfectly capable of feigning certain beliefs in the presence of slaveholders, while practicing a very different set of convictions in private.

Resurgent African Religions

There are many examples of African religions operating throughout the Americas for as long as there was slavery. For example, Islam arrived early by way of captive Africans



RULES
For the Society of
NEGROES. 1693.

WE the Miserable Children of *Adam*, and of *Noah*, thankfully Admiring and Accepting the Free-Grace of GOD, that Offers to Save us from our Miseries, by the Lord Jesus Christ, freely Resolve, with His Help, to become the Servants of that Glorious LORD.

And that we may be Assisted in the Service of our *Heavenly Master*, we now Join together in a SOCIETY, wherein the following RULES are to be observed.

I. It shall be our Endeavour, to Meet in the *Evening* after the *Sabbath*; and *Pray* together by Turns, one to Begin, and another to Conclude the Meeting; And between the two *Prayers*, a *Psalm* shall be Sung, and a *Sermon* Repeated.

II. Our coming to the Meeting, shall never be without the *Leave* of such as have Power over us: And we will be Careful, that our Meeting may Begin and Conclude between the Hours of *Seven* and *Nine*; and that we may not be *unseasonably Absent* from the Families whereto we pertain.

III. As we will, with the Help of God, at all Times avoid all *Wicked Company*, so we will Receive none into our Meeting, but such as have sensibly *Reformed* their Lives from all manner of Wickedness. And therefore, None shall be Admitted, without the Knowledge and Consent of the *Minister* of God in this Place; unto whom we will also carry every Person, that seeks for *Admission* among us; to be by Him Examined, Instructed and Exhorted.

IV. We will, as often as may be, Obtain some Wise and Good Man, of the *English* in the Neighbourhood, and especially the Officers of the Church, to look in upon us, and by their Presence and Counsil, do what they think fitting for us.

V. If any of our Number, fall into the Sin of *Drunkenness*, or *Swearing*, or *Cursing*, or *Lying*, or *Stealing*, or notorious *Disobedience* or *Unfaithfulness* unto their Masters, we will *Admonish* him of his Miscarriage, and Forbid his coming to the Meeting, for at least *one Fortnight*; And except he then come with great Signs and Hopes of his *Repentance*, we will utterly Exclude him, with Blotting his *Name* out of our List.

VI. If any of our Society Defile himself with *Fornication*, we will give him our *Admonition*; and so, debar him from the Meeting, at least *half a Year*: Nor shall he Return to it, ever any more, without Exemplary Testimonies of his becoming a *New Creature*.

VII. We will, as we have Opportunity, set our selves to do all the Good we can, to the other *Negro-Servants* in the Town; And if any of them should, at unfit Hours, be *Abroad*, much more, if any of them should *Run away* from their Masters, we will afford them *no Shelter*: But we will do what in us lies, that they may be *discovered*, and punished. And if any *of us*, are found Faulty, in this Matter, they shall be no longer *of us*.

VIII. None of our Society shall be *Absent* from our Meeting, without giving a *Reason* of the Absence; And if it be found, that any have pretended unto their *Owners*, that they came unto the *Meeting*, when they were otherwise and elsewhere Employ'd, we will faithfully *Inform* their Owners, and also do what we can to Reclaim such Person from all such Evil Courses for the Future.

IX. It shall be expected from every one in the Society, that he learn the *Catechism*; And therefore, it shall be one of our usual Exercises, for one of us, to ask the *Questions*, and for all the rest in their Order, to say the *Answers* in the *Catechism*; Either, The *New-English* Catechism, or the *Assemblies* Catechism, or the Catechism in the *Negro Christianized*.

Rules for the Society of Negroes, 1693. *Broadside written by the Reverend Cotton Mather, a Boston clergyman, outlining ten primary rules of good Christian conduct for both free and enslaved blacks.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

and was practiced in various parts of the Americas through much of the nineteenth century. As early as 1503 Hispaniola's governor, Nicolás de Ovando, complained that African *ladinos* (persons who had acquired facility in either Spanish or Portuguese) were colluding with the Taíno population and fleeing to the mountains to establish Maroon, or runaway, communities. Two decades later these same *ladinos* would be accused of leading an insurrection on the island, the first recorded revolt of Africans

in the Americas. The *ladinos,* in turn, were composed largely of Senegambians, some of whom were Muslims. Senegambians would continue to lead revolts in Hispaniola through the middle of the sixteenth century.

Muslims arrived all over the Americas, although they were never in the numerical majority and usually in the very decided minority. In what became the United States, a number of Muslims achieved some notoriety. For example, Ayuba bin Sulayman, or Job Ben Solomon, arrived in Maryland in 1732 but was able to return to West Africa the following year. Another Muslim who received perhaps the greatest amount of attention because of both his Arabic literacy and his possible conversion to Christianity was Umar bin Said, or Omar ben Said (c. 1765–1864), who came to be known as Prince Moro or Moreau. Initially brought to Charleston, he would wind up in North Carolina. Lamine Kaba, renamed "Old Paul" in America, was held in captivity in at least three southern states. His participation in a Bible-dissemination strategy was a major factor in his manumission and repatriation to Liberia in 1835 after nearly forty years of enslavement. Abd ar-Rahman, known as Prince, arrived in New Orleans in 1788, but like Ayuba bin Sulayman was able to return to West Africa in 1829.

It appears that African Muslims were more numerous along coastal Georgia, where Salih Bilali (known as Tom) lived on St. Simons Island. Initially captured around 1790, he eventually came to St. Simons, where he died in the 1850s. His coreligionist Bilali (d. 1859) lived on nearby Sapelo Island. They were both drivers on their respective plantations.

There were also small but significant Muslim communities in the Caribbean. In Jamaica, for example, Muhammad Kaba (b. 1756) and Abu Bakr (b. 1790) were both well-educated and literate individuals who provided leadership for their fellow believers. In Trinidad was an even larger group of Muslims led by Muhammad Bath, who arrived on the island around 1804. Like Abd ar-Rahman in the United States, these Muslims would repeatedly petition the British for safe passage back to West Africa, some successfully.

Brazil probably had the largest number of African Muslims. Muslim groups had different experiences in the Americas, owing to the particular West African area of origin and to specific political developments relating to Islam in those areas, in combination with their relative concentration and treatment in differing American locales. Consistent with the behavior of Muslims in sixteenth-century Hispaniola, but in contrast to their colleagues in North America and the Caribbean, Muslims in Brazil were continuously involved in multiple insurrections. In particular, the northeastern province of Bahia was a hotbed of discontent. The Hausa, Muslims from what is now northern Nigeria, had been implicated in revolts there as early as 1807; a series of subsequent smaller revolts culminated in what has been called the *malê* revolt of 1835 in Salvador, in the province of Bahia. The revolt involved some five hundred Africans, enslaved and free, led by the "Nagôs," or Yoruba from what is now southwestern Nigeria. Brutally repressed with over seventy killed, the *malê* revolt revealed the importance of Islam, as well as an impressive level of Arabic literacy among the participants, who wore distinctive clothing, maintained their own religious schools, and observed Islamic rituals such as fasting during Ramadan.

The discussion of Islam reveals that much of what is known about African religions comes from the critical roles they played in resistance to slavery. Thus, consideration of vodou in Haiti, Martinique, Louisiana, and Mississippi during slavery is very much connected with revolution in the former. *Voodoo, vodou,* or *vodun* are terms that derive from Dahomean words for "good" and "gods" (as is the term *loas*). The Bight of Benin, a leading source of captives for Haiti and other French-claimed territories, exported such groups as the Fon (contemporary Benin) and Ewe (concentrated in present-day Togo and southeastern Ghana). There are many exceptional features of Fon-Ewe cultures, but the numerous and unique gods of the Fon-Ewe further distinguish the region, and include Mawu-Lisa (high god), Aziri (a riverain goddess), Gu (god of iron, warfare), Papa Legba (god of the crossroads, keeper of the gate, a trickster), and Damballah or Li Grand Zombi (serpent god of the sky). Mawu-Lisa, for example, is a composite of female and male characteristics, representing the Fon-Ewe ideal. These beliefs would become central to practices in such places as Haiti, Brazil, and Louisiana.

Vodou was practiced by François Makandal, probably the most famous of the Maroon leaders of Saint Domingue (Haiti). His background is curious, as he was supposedly raised a Muslim in West Africa and was literate in Arabic. Captured at the age of twelve, he was a full-blown Vodou priest by the time he appeared in Saint Domingue. An eloquent man with extensive knowledge of both the medicinal and injurious properties of plants and herbs, he attracted a following of undetermined size and developed a conspiracy to destroy slavery on the island. Carelessness led to his arrest in early 1758 before the revolt could begin, and after a brief but sensational escape, he was recaptured and burned at the stake. Makandal's career, however, set the stage for events forty years later, when the forces of *marronage* combined with those on the

plantation to effect sweeping change. One of the leaders of the 1791 conspiracy was Boukman Dutty, a Vodou priest. Women played important roles as well, and their ranks included Cécile Fatiman, a Vodou high priestess, or *mambo*. In the dense forest of Bois-Caïman, she and Boukman officiated at a solemn Vodou ceremony for the conspirators that signaled the start of the Haitian Revolution.

Two traditions would develop within vodou. The Rada tradition refers to practices from certain parts of what is now Benin and is called the "cool" side of vodou, as it is concerned with producing harmony and peace. In contrast there is the Petro-Lemba tradition, the "hot" side of vodou, which focuses on healing and the destruction of evil. Petro-Lemba is heavily influenced by rites and beliefs from West Central Africa, specifically what was northern Kongo.

African religion also provided the organizing principles for slave revolts in the Anglophone Caribbean. In Antigua, for example, a 1736 conspiracy engulfing the whole of the island was led by Court (or Tackey), an Akan speaker from the Gold Coast (contemporary Ghana and eastern Ivory Coast). Women were prominent among the Akan, who believed that ancestresses came from the sky or earth to found the first Akan towns in the forests. Matrilineal for the most part, Akan clans each claimed descent from a common mother. Each clan had a male and a female head, and women played critical roles as advisors and heads of the matriclans. The Akan espoused belief in the earth mother Asase Yaa, who together with the high god Onyame (or Onyankopon) created the world. In keeping with most African theologies, the Akan high gods were remote, but the next order of deity, the *abosom* (who numbered in the hundreds), were accessible. Akan speakers were either a part of the expansionist Asante empire (established around 1680 and ruled by the *Asantehene,* or king) or they lived in its shadow. The Asante empire was one of the most militarily powerful and structurally complex states in all of Africa, and its political union was symbolized by the *Sika Dwa,* the Golden Stool.

Such background helps to explain the activities of Court and his accomplice Tomboy, a Creole. For example, they were assisted in their conspiracy by Obbah (Aba) and Queen, both Akan women who provided critical leadership in facilitating the "Damnation Oath," a ceremony derived from Akan traditions in which the insurrectionists committed themselves by drinking rooster blood, cemetery dirt, and rum, among other elements. Court had been crowned by two thousand of the enslaved as the "king of the Coromantees" (a reference to the Akan), the basis of which was the Akan *ikem* ceremony, a tradition preparing participants for war. Queen, in turn, may have been Court's principal advisor, playing the same role as the queen-mother, or *ohemaa,* in Akan society. Although the conspiracy was exposed before it could be executed, planters were astonished that not only the enslaved but many free blacks and "mulattoes" were also implicated. Some eighty-eight enslaved males were executed and forty-nine expelled from the island.

Of course, religion was important in the lives of the enslaved beyond serving as a basis for insurrection. By religion the enslaved throughout the Americas understood life, death, birth, old age, disease, health, misfortune, and serendipity. This was certainly true of the Yoruba-based religions of the New World, transported from what is now southwestern Nigeria through the Bight of Benin by those whose lives tended to be more centered on their respective towns and therefore urban. The Yoruba *orishas,* or deities, include Olodumare (high god), Oshun (goddess of fresh water and sensuality), Ogun (warrior god of iron), Eshu-Elegba (or Ellegua, trickster god of the crossroads), Shango (god of thunder and lightning), and Yemanja (mother of all *orishas* and goddess of the oceans). The best known of the Yoruba-based religious communities were and are in Brazil and Cuba, though they can be found elsewhere in the Americas. Enslaved Africans entering Brazil borrowed ideas from one another while retaining the concept of distinct ethno-linguistic groupings or communities, or *nações* ("nations"). As the black population became predominantly *crioulo* (Brazilian-born) and stratified along lines of color gradation during the nineteenth century (with *prêtos,* or "blacks," and *pardos,* or intermediate shades, as the basic divisions), persons born in Bahia and elsewhere began to choose a *nação*. This was significant, as those who made such choices were also choosing an African identity and an African religion. The various *nações,* such as the Nagôs (Yoruba) and Jêjes (Aja-Ewe-Fon), maintained distinctive religious traditions, which can collectively be referred to as Candomblé. The various African traditions, associated with specific *nações,* were centered upon sacred spaces known as *terreiros,* where rituals were held. Originating in private houses, the *terreiros* expanded to facilitate the pursuit of Candomblé as a way of life with minimal outside interference. As such, the *terreiros* became epicenters of not only African religion but also African culture. Women were the principal leaders of Candomblé, and perhaps the most famous of the *terreiros* in Bahia, Ilê Iyá Nassô or Engenho Velho, was founded around 1830 by women from the Yoruba town of Ketu.

All of these various Candomblé houses were associated with *irmandades,* brotherhoods and sisterhoods that were mutual aid societies, providing burial benefits, un-

employment assistance (for those who were free), and in some instances passage back to Africa. Examples include the Bôa Morte ("Good Death") sisterhood and the Senhor dos Martírios ("Lord of the Martyrs") brotherhood of the Nagôs, and the Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redenção dos Homens Prêtos ("Good Jesus of the Needs and Redemption of Black Men") of the Jêjes. The affiliation of the brotherhoods/sisterhoods with specific *terreiros* underscores an important feature of Candomblé: its connection to the Catholic Church (more on this below). Other African-centered religions include West Central African *macumba* near Rio de Janeiro, and elsewhere the practice of *umbanda*. Together with Candomblé, these religions feature the common elements of African spiritual entities, sacrifice, drumming and singing, and spirit possession.

The Brazilian experience parallels that of Cuba, where research is revealing the importance of such clandestine religious organizations as the *Abakuá,* a society originating in the Cross River area of southeastern Nigeria and Cameroon. Cuba is also a center of Yoruba or Lucumí influence, apparent in the practice of Santería. Divisions among the African-born and their descendants, which like Brazil eventually became a matter of choice, were equally preserved in Cuba's system of *naciones,* supported as they were by the respective *cabildos,* the functional equivalents of the Brazilian *irmandades*. Yoruba-based religion can also be found in Trinidad in the religion of Shango, in which the Yoruba gods Shango, Yemanja, Eshu, and Ogun are worshiped along with deities of Trinidadian origin.

Christianity Africanized

Mention of Candomblé and Santería provides a segue to the second and third forms of religious activity mentioned at the article's beginning. Practitioners of these African-based religions often functioned as members of the Catholic Church as well. There is debate as to what this actually meant: Some scholars maintain that Catholicism was simply a convenient mechanism by which African religions could be concealed, whereas others argue that practitioners of Candomblé and Catholicism approached the two religions as interrelated and mutually reinforcing. One reason for the ability of worshipers to either merge or conceal their beliefs can be found in the multiplicity of both the *orishas* of Candomblé, such as Eshu, Yemanja, Oshun, and Shango, and the equally numerous saints and principal figures of Catholicism. Furthermore, the areas for which the Catholic saints were responsible and could be petitioned were analogous to those of the *orishas*. Finally, consideration of the long historicity of Yoruba-based religions in Cuba and Brazil, or indeed African religions in Suriname, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, goes against the common view that African religions decreased in strength with the passing of time. If anything, these religions have grown stronger since slavery ended.

Such correspondences underscore the observation that African religions and Christianity were not necessarily incompatible or significantly divergent. All posited a supreme deity, the existence of a spirit world, the possibility of communication with that world, the belief that witchcraft caused disease and disaster, that some kind of talisman (whether a Muslim amulet or a Christian cross) was necessary and efficacious in combating evil, and so on. But there were also differences, such as the concept of heaven and a summing up of all human history, or the idea that one religion was meant for all of humankind, concepts introduced by Christianity (and Islam).

Consideration of West Central Africa, source of more than one-third of all captives exported via the Atlantic and therefore well represented throughout the Americas, from Brazil to New Amsterdam (New York), raises the point that some Africans (in addition to those in Ethiopia, Nubia, Egypt, and North Africa) had converted to Christianity before their sojourn in the Americas. Communities throughout West Central Africa had long believed in a supreme deity, often referred to as Nzambi a Mpungu, and related spiritual entities. They also embraced the conviction that spirits of the dead who had led good lives resided in *mpemba,* a subterranean realm separated from the living by a large body of water, or *kalunga*. Since the deceased changed color within ten months of their demise, becoming white, they viewed Europeans initially as departed spirits, having crossed the *kalunga* of the Atlantic. Some also came to see Europeans as witches, a judgment equally applied to African rulers complicit in the slave trade.

But by the fifteenth century, a tradition of Christianity had also been established in West Central Africa, the result of Portuguese commercial activities. The social history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kongo, for example, arguably revolved around the exchange between Christianity and Kongolese religion, giving rise to an Africanized Christianity best symbolized by the life of Dona Béatrice Kimpa Vita (1682–1706), leader of a political movement of reconstruction. A prophet-priest, or *kitomi,* her claim to be the incarnation of St. Anthony, combined with her teachings that Jesus, Mary, and the prophets were all Kongolese, are examples of the way Christianity was reconfigured to accommodate West Central African values. She would be burned at the stake for heresy.

The relative percentage of and degree to which those from Kongo and other parts of West Central Africa were Christians is a matter of scholarly contention. What can be safely stated is that some number were practicing Cath-

olics, others knew of Catholicism but were not adherents, and yet others were unaffected by Christianity. The example of Dona Béatrice demonstrates, however, that those who adopted Christianity were deeply informed by antecedent African beliefs. The question becomes, was this yet Christianity, or had it been subsumed by a preceding conceptual framework?

Although at least some in West Central Africa were Christian, it does not follow that the Portuguese, Spanish, or French were heavily invested in the conversion and catechizing of slaves early in the history of slavery in the Americas. Emphasis on the spiritual welfare of the enslaved ebbed and flowed over the centuries, and differences could be noted between urban and rural settings. Evidence from Inquisition records reveals concern over the religious practices of the enslaved in the sixteenth century, as much of it was condemned as *brujería* (witchcraft). Catholicism became more routinized with the passing of centuries and a growing Creole or American-born population of African descent. However, greater familiarity with Catholicism did not necessarily translate into a rejection of African religion, as is evident in the cases of Brazil, Cuba, and elsewhere throughout Latin America.

Likewise, Christianity, predominantly in the form of Protestantism, was slow to make headway among the enslaved in colonial North America. Indeed, there is evidence that slaveholders, who for the most part could hardly be described as faithful churchgoers themselves, were wary of Christianizing their slaves, fearing that conversion would legitimate demands for manumission. By the 1830s, however, southern slaveholders began a systematic campaign to convert the enslaved to a complacent, docile version of Christianity reinforcing slavery, reacting to the use of Christianity as an abolitionist weapon. Blacks who responded to Christianity's appeal preferred its message of liberation, altering the worship style to allow for freedom of movement and the full expression of the Holy Ghost, within which dance and ceremony were in every way consistent with African notions of spirit possession. The ring shout, featuring worshipers moving counterclockwise in an ever-quickening circle, was derivative of West Central African and West African practice and was widespread in North America. In these and other ways, Christianity itself was first converted, facilitating the subsequent conversion of the African to its main tenets. Even so, it has yet to be demonstrated that most blacks in the American South were Christians by 1865. Whereas some may not have subscribed to any religion, others followed traditions derived from Africa, including those designed to improve health and material conditions by manipulating the spiritual world, practices collectively known as *hoodoo*.

The influence of African religions in the English-speaking Caribbean, where Protestantism also prevailed, was even more palpable. There, Christianity was often infused with substantial African content and connected with Obeah, the use of supernatural powers to inflict harm, and Myalism, the employment of spiritual resources and herbs to counteract witchcraft and other evil. The religions of *convince* and *kumina* also developed, the former involving respect for the Christian deity, but also an active veneration of the spirits of African and Maroon ancestors by practitioners known as Bongo men. *Kumina*, otherwise known as *pukumina* or *pocomania,* also venerated ancestors, who rank after sky gods and earth deities. Sacrifice, drumming, and spirit possession were part of these practices.

Beliefs were also shaped by ethno-linguistic groups like the Igbo from the Bight of Biafra (southeastern Nigeria), who made up large percentages of those brought to such places as Jamaica and Virginia. Among the Igbo, Ala (or Ana) the earth mother was functionally the most important deity, although the high creator god was Chineke, or Chukwu, who like the Fon-Ewe's Mawu-Lisa was a blend of male and female components (*chi* and *eke*), and from whom sprang powerful spiritual forces known as the *alusi* or *agbara,* as well as the personal guardian spirit, or *chi,* of each individual. The ancestral dead, the *ndichie,* added to the realm of the disembodied. Likewise, groups from Sierra Leone brought extraordinary ability to organize clandestinely, as they had maintained such "secret societies" as the female Sande or Bundu and the male Poro. Secrecy was critical to slave religion, Christian or not, as it tended to be practiced stealthily, away from slaveholder gaze.

Conclusion

The various religions practiced by enslaved peoples in the Americas were deeply influenced by beliefs and practices initially developed in Africa. Depending upon the precise locale in the Americas, such beliefs would have been continually reinforced throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the steady arrival of new African captives. All aspects of life, from such everyday concerns as health and family and subsistence, to spectacular displays of resistance in the form of revolt, were significantly informed by religious considerations. In many ways insistence upon adhering to beliefs and perspectives that were fundamentally African in character and derivation was itself an act of defiance repeatedly undertaken throughout the history of slavery in the Americas.

See also Abakuá; Candomblé; Catholicism in the Americas; Muslims in the Americas; Obeah; Orisha; Religion; Santería; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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MICHAEL A. GOMEZ (2005)

Slavery

Slavery is the unconditional servitude of one individual to another. A slave is usually acquired by purchase and legally described as chattel or a tangible form of movable property. For much of human history, slavery has constituted an important dimension of social and occupational organization. The word *slavery* originated with the sale of Slavs to the Black Sea region during the ninth century. Slavery existed in European society until the nineteenth century, and it was the principal source of labor during the process of European colonization.

Some forms of slavery existed among the indigenous societies in the Americas before the arrival of Christopher Columbus. However, the reconstruction of the Americas after 1492 led to a system of slavery quite unprecedented in human experience. Slavery in the Americas was a patently artificial social and political construct, not a natural condition. It was a specific organizational response to a specific labor scarcity. African slavery in the Americas, then, was a relatively recent development in the course of human history—and quite exceptional in the universal history of slave societies.

Slavery was also a form of power relations, so slaves by and large did not have an equal voice in articulating a view of their condition. Their actions, however, spoke loudly of their innermost thoughts and represented their reflections on, and reactions to, the world in which they found themselves. Columbus thought the people he encountered in the Caribbean in 1492 might make good slaves, as he seemed to infer in his log of October 10, 1492, when he wrote: "They ought to make good and skilled servants, for they repeat very quickly whatever we say to them. I think that they can easily be made Christians, for they seem to have no religion. If it pleases Our Lord, I will take six of them to Your Highness when I depart, in order that they may learn our language" (Columbus, p. 77).

Blacks in the New World

Nevertheless, the first Africans who accompanied the early Spanish explorers were not all slaves. Some were free (such as Pedro Alonso Niño, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his third voyage); and others were servants.

Two little boy slaves. Children under ten years old comprised about 18 percent of the domestic slave trade. While many were sold with their mothers, one in three children under age fourteen were separated by sale from one or both parents. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Nuflo de Olano, who accompanied Vasco Nuñez de Balboa across the Isthmus of Panama was, however, a slave. So were Juan Valiente and several others who traveled and fought with Hernán Cortés in Mexico, or the Pizarro brothers in Peru, or Pánfilo de Narváez in Florida. Those blacks who sailed with Columbus on his first voyage to the Americas in 1492 were free men, and their descendants presumably were as free as any other Spanish colonist in the Americas. Other blacks who accompanied the early Spanish *conquistadores* might have been servile, but they were not true slaves as the term was later understood. Estebanico—described as "Andrés Dorantes' black Moorish slave"—accompanied Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca in his amazing journey around the Gulf of Mexico and overland across the Southwest to Mexico City in the late 1520s and 1530s. Estebanico learned several local Indian languages with consummate ease, and he posed, along with his companions, as holy men gifted with healing powers (Weber, p. 44). The chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes several "blacks" who accompanied Hernán Cortés to Mexico—one of whom brought wheat to the New World, and another (a follower of Pánfilo de Narváez) who introduced smallpox among the Indians, with lethal results (Castillo, 1979). Of the 168 men who followed Francisco Pizarro to Peru in 1532 and captured the Inca at Cajamarca, at least two were black: Juan García, born in Old Castile, served the expedition as a piper and crier, and Miguel Ruiz, born in Seville, was a part of the cavalry and probably received a double portion of the spoils, as did all those who had horses.

A significant proportion of the nonwhite inhabitants of the American slave societies were not the direct descendants of slaves. That is to say, they were not freedmen, or the descendants of freedmen, but free men and women who could trace their free status through several generations. They comprised a growing segment of the American Creole population. These forever-free people formed an important part of the history of American slave societies, of the constantly negotiated and changing world of masters and slaves.

Less ambiguous was the remarkable case of the slaves and their community of El Cobre in eastern Cuba, described by Olga Portuondo Zúñiga in *La virgen de la Caridad del Cobre: símbolo de cubanía* (1995) and by María Elena Díaz in *The Virgin, The King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre* (2000). In El Cobre, the original copper mining company went bankrupt in 1670 and the slaves (as well as the physical property, such as machinery, lands, and buildings) reverted to the monarchy of Castile. The slaves of El Cobre became royal slaves with significant traditional privileges, and apparently they knew these privileges better than the officials at the royal court. The slaves successfully exploited Spanish laws and customs to establish a viable self-governing community in which their town council supervised free people. Surely this was a most anomalous situation in the American slave system: enslaved people with more extensive privileges than freeholders. When the residents eventually lost their autonomy in 1780, a compromise with the copper company established a peculiar category called "wage slaves," and those residents who had not purchased their freedom—or had it purchased for them in the intervening years—fell into this category. The mining company nominally recovered its slaves after more than a hundred years of litigation, but it was forced to pay wages to the slaves as though they were regularly hired free laborers.

Indeed, between 1502 and 1518, Spain shipped hundreds of black slaves from Iberia to the fledgling American colonies. These slaves, called *ladinos,* were born in Iberia, in communities of Africans found between Málaga and Huelva in southern Iberia. As such, they were Roman Catholic in religion and Hispanic in culture. In the Americas they worked in the mines of Hispaniola, Mexico, and Peru; dived for pearls off the Venezuelan coast; helped to build the new cities and towns; and supplemented the faltering Indian population everywhere the Spanish established settlements. From this early population, a growing community of free nonwhite, nonindigenous people developed throughout the Americas. These descendants of various mixtures of population were unique to the colonial experience in the Americas.

The Slave Trade

The transatlantic slave trade formally began in 1518, when King Charles I of Spain sanctioned the direct importation of Africans to his colonies in the Americas, finally acknowledging that the potential supply of indigenous slaves was inadequate to maintain the economic viability of his fledgling overseas colonies. Shortly thereafter, the Portuguese started to import Africans to Brazil to create a plantation society and establish an Atlantic bulwark against other Europeans intruding along the coast. As the demand for labor grew, the number of Africans imported as slaves increased, and manual labor throughout the Americas eventually became virtually synonymous with the enslavement of Africans. The transatlantic slave trade became a lucrative international enterprise, and by the time it ended, around 1870, more than ten million Africans had been forcibly transported and made slaves in the Americas. Many millions more died in Africa or at sea in transit to the Americas.

The slave trade responded to an interrelated series of factors operating across Africa, at the supply side, and also in the Americas, at the market level. The trade can be divided into four phases, strongly influenced by the development of colonialism throughout the hemisphere. In the first phase, lasting to about 1620, the Americas were the domain of the Spanish and the Portuguese. These Iberian powers introduced about 125,000 slaves to the Americas, with some 75,000 (or 27 percent of African slave exports of the period) to the Spanish colonies, and about 50,000 (18 percent of the trade) to Brazil. This was a relatively small flow of about 1,000 slaves per year, most of whom were supplied from Portuguese forts along the West African coast. But slavery in the towns, farms, and mines of the Americas then employed less African slaves (about 45 percent of the total Atlantic trade) than in the tropical African islands of Fernando Po and Sâo Tomé, Europe proper, or the islands of the Madeiras, Cape Verdes, and the Azores (about 55 percent of trade). Indeed, the small island of Sâo Tomé alone received more than 76,000 African slaves during the period, exceeding the entire American market.

The second phase of the transatlantic slave trade lasted from 1620 to about 1700 and saw the distribution of approximately 1,350,000 slaves throughout the Americas, with an additional 25,000 or so going to Europe. During this phase, the Americas became the main destination of enslaved Africans. The trade was marked by greater geographical distribution and the development of a more varied supply pattern. The European component of the trade eventually dwindled to less than 2 percent. Instead, Brazil assumed the premier position as a slave destination, receiving nearly 42 percent of all Africans sold on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean. Spanish America received about 22 percent, distributed principally in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and the Andean regions of South America. The English Caribbean colonies bought more than 263,000 slaves, or 20 percent of the volume sold in the Americas. The French Caribbean imported about 156,000 slaves, or 12 percent; and the small islands of the Dutch Caribbean bought another 40,000 slaves, or 3 percent of slaves sold throughout the Americas.

During this phase, a social and demographic metamorphosis occurred, brought about by the sugar revolutions in various parts of the tropical Americas. By the end of the period, the Americas were divided between a number of rival European colonies, all successfully establishing plantation colonies for the production and export of tropical staple crops such as cotton, tobacco, sugar, indigo, and rice. Slaves became perhaps the most important commercial commodity in transatlantic trade, as well as the desired form of labor on American plantations.

Even more important, slavery evolved into a complex system of labor, commerce, and society that was legally, socially, and ethnically distinct from other forms of servitude, and that was almost always applied to the condition of nonfree Africans. Two patterns of colonies developed throughout the western hemisphere: colonies designed as microcosms of European societies and colonies designed primarily for the efficient production of export commodities. The first group of colonies constituted the settler colonies. In these colonies, slaves constituted a minority of the population and did not necessarily represent the dominant labor sector. In the second group were exploitation plantation colonies, marked by their overwhelming proportion of nonfree members, and in which slavery formed the dominant labor system.

Slave dealers Price, Birch & Co., Alexandria, Virginia. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

The period between 1701 and 1810 represented the maturation of the slave system in the Americas. This third phase witnessed the apogee of both the transatlantic slave trade and the system of American slavery. Altogether, nearly six million Africans—amounting to nearly 60 percent of the entire transatlantic slave trade—arrived in American ports. Brazil continued to be the dominant recipient country, accounting for nearly two million Africans, or 31 percent, of the trade during this period. The British Caribbean plantations (mainly on Barbados and Jamaica) received almost a million and a half slaves, accounting for 23 percent of the trade. The French Antilles (mainly Saint-Domingue on western Hispaniola, Martinique, and Guadeloupe) imported almost as many, accounting for 22 percent of the trade. The Spanish Caribbean (mainly Cuba) imported more than 500,000 slaves, or 9.6 percent of the trade. The Dutch Caribbean accounted for nearly 8 percent of the trade, but most of those slaves were re-exported to other areas of the New World. The British North American colonies imported slightly more than 300,000, or slightly less than 6 percent of the trade, while the small Danish colonies of the Caribbean bought about 25,000 slaves, a rather minuscule proportion of the slaves sold in the Americas during this period.

Opposition to Slavery

The eighteenth century formed the watershed in the system of American slavery. Although individuals, and even groups such as the Quakers, had always opposed slavery and the slave trade, general disapproval to the system

gained strength during the later eighteenth century, primarily due to the growth of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on rationality, and British Evangelical Protestantism. Opposition to slavery became increasingly more coordinated in England, and it eventually had a profound impact, with the abolition of the English slave trade in 1807. Before that, prodded by Granville Sharp and other abolitionists, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield declared slavery illegal in Great Britain in 1772, giving enormous impetus to the British antislavery movement. The British legal ruling, in time, freed about 15,000 slaves who were then in Britain with their colonial masters, who estimated their "property loss" at approximately £700,000.

In 1776 the British philosopher and economist Adam Smith declared in his classic study *The Wealth of Nations* that the system of slavery represented an uneconomical use of land and resources, since slaves cost more to maintain than free workers. By the 1780s the British Parliament was considering a series of bills dealing with the legality of the slave trade, and several of the recently independent former North American colonies—then part of the United States of America—began to abolish slavery within their local jurisdictions. After 1808—when Great Britain and the United States legally abolished their component of the transatlantic slave trade—the English initiated a campaign to end all slave trading across the Atlantic, and to replace slave trading within Africa with other forms of legal trade. Through a series of outright bribes, diplomatic pressure, and naval blockades, the trade gradually came to an end around 1870.

But slavery was not only attacked from above. At the same time that European governments contemplated administrative measures against slavery and the slave trade, the implacable opposition of the enslaved in the overseas colonies increased the overall costs of maintaining the system of slavery. Slave revolts, conspiracies, and rumors of revolts engendered widespread fear among owners and administrators. Small bands of runaway slaves formed stable black communities, legally recognized by their imperial powers in difficult geographical locations such as Esmeraldas in Ecuador, the Colombian coastal areas, Palmares in Brazil, and in the impenetrable mountains of Jamaica. Then, in 1791, the slaves of Saint-Domingue/Haiti, taking their cue somewhat from the French Revolution, staged a successful revolt under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803) and a number of other local leaders. The radical French commissioner in the colony, Léger Félicité Sonthonax (1763–1813) saw the futility of trying to defeat the local revolt and declared the emancipation of all slaves and their immediate admission to full citizenship (1793), a move ratified the following year by

Parishes.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.		Aggregate.	Cotton Bales of 400 lbs. each.
			Black.	Mulatto.		
Ascension...	3,940	168	6,564	512	11,484	684
Assumption	7,189	94	7,041	1,055	15,379	619
Avoyelles..	5,909	74	6,661	514	13,167	20,068
B. Rouge, E.	6,944	532	7,201	1,369	16,046	11,621
B. Rouge, W.	1,859	113	4,890	450	7,312	1,405
Bienville...	5,900	100	4,500	500	11,000	..
Bossier	3,348	..	7,337	663	11,348	40,028
Caddo	4,733	69	6,781	557	12,140	9,335
Calcasieu ..	4,452	305	946	225	5,928	640
Caldwell ...	2,888	..	1,762	183	4,833	7,216
Carroll	4,124	20	12,357	1,551	18,052	84,165
Catahoula..	5,492	46	5,538	575	11,651	25,564
Claiborne..	8,996	4	6,720	928	16,848	18,983
Concordia..	1,242	21	12,205	337	13,805	63,971
De Soto....	4,777	14	7,777	730	13,298	16,554
Feliciana, E.	4,081	23	10,148	445	14,697	23,[illegible]
Do. W.	2,036	64	8,333	1,208	11,671	21,[illegible]
Franklin...	2,758	2	3,038	344	6,162	9,307
Iberville ...	3,723	183	10,159	521	14,661	179
Jackson....	5,367	..	3,871	227	9,465	10,687
Jefferson....	9,935	287	4,968	152	15,372	..
Lafayette..	4,309	231	3,392	1,071	9,003	11,530
Lafourche..	7,500	140	4,728	1,067	14,044	476
Livingston.	3,120	..	1,240	71	4,431	1,563
Madison ...	1,640	16	11,663	814	14,133	44,870
Morehouse.	3,784	4	5,822	747	10,357	20,982
Natchitoch's	6,306	959	8,806	[illegible]	16,699	36,337
Orleans....	149,063	10,939	10,391	[illegible]	174,491	400
Ouchita....	1,887	..	2,757	[illegible]	4,727	8,682
Plaquemine	2,595	514	5,384	[illegible]	8,494	..
Pt. Coupee.	4,094	721	11,162	1,741	17,718	23,947
Rapides....	9,711	291	13,486	1,872	25,360	40,168
Sabine.....	4,115	..	1,550	163	5,828	5,052
St. Bernard.	1,771	65	2,020	220	4,076	..
St. Charles.	928	177	3,793	389	5,297	..
St. Helena .	3,412	6	3,[illegible]53	258	7,130	6,434
St. James ..	3,348	61	7,114	976	11,499	..
St. J. Bapt..	3,037	299	4,079	515	7,930	..
St. Landry .	10,703	965	10,1[illegible]6	1,310	23,104	21,198
St. Martin's	5,005	311	6,561	997	12,674	4,717
St. Mary's .	3,508	251	12,532	525	16,816	142
St. Tam'any	3,153	412	1,636	205	5,406	200
Tensas.....	1,479	7	14,536	56	16,078	141,493
Terre Bonne	5,234	72	6,032	753	12,091	105
Union	6,641	8	3,627	118	10,389	10,843
Vermilion..	3,001	7	1,107	209	4,324	14,405
Washington	2,996	22	1,477	213	4,708	2,735
Winn	5,181	41	1,102	252	6,876	2,003
Total...	357,629	18,647	29[illegible],103	32,6[illegible]3	708,002	777,7[illegible]8

1860 Census of Louisiana. *Arranged by parish, the census lists whites, free blacks, and slaves, showing the racial makeup of the population.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the revolutionary government in Paris, which extended the emancipation to all French colonies. Napoleon Bonaparte revoked the decree of emancipation in 1802, but he failed to make it stick in Saint-Domingue, where the former slaves and their free colored allies declared the independence of Haiti—the second free state in the Americas—in 1804.

The fourth and final phase of the transatlantic trade lasted from about 1810 to 1870. During that phase approximately two million Africans were sold as slaves in a

greatly reduced area of the Americas. With its trade legal until 1850, Brazil imported some 1,145,400 Africans, or about 60 percent of all slaves sold in the Americas after 1810. The Spanish Antilles—mainly Cuba and Puerto Rico—imported more than 600,000 Africans (32 percent), the great majority of them illegally introduced to Cuba after an Anglo-Spanish treaty to abolish the Spanish slave trade in 1817. The French Antilles imported approximately 96,000 slaves, about 5 percent of all slaves sold during that period, mainly for the small sugar plantations of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The southern United States also imported about 50,000 slaves, or slightly less than 3 percent of all slaves sold, despite formally agreeing to end their international slave trade in 1807.

Conditions of Slavery

The system of slavery in the Americas was generally restrictive and harsh, but significant variations characterized the daily lives of slaves. The exhaustive demands of the plantation societies in parts of the Caribbean and Brazil, combined with skewed sexual balances among the slaves, resulted in excessively high mortality rates, unusually low fertility rates, and, consequently, a steady demand for imported Africans to maintain the required labor forces. The recovery of the indigenous populations in places such as Mexico and the Andean highlands led to the use of other systems of coerced labor, somewhat reducing the reliance on African slaves in these areas. Frontiers of grazing economies such as the llanos of Venezuela, the southern parts of Brazil, and the pampas of Argentina and Uruguay required only modest supplies of labor, so that African slaves constituted a small proportion of the local population. Only in the United States did the slave population reproduce itself dramatically over the years, supplying most of the internal demand for slave labor during the nineteenth century.

In general, death rates were highest for slaves engaged in sugar production, especially on newly opened areas of the tropics, and lowest among domestic urban workers, except during periodical outbreaks of epidemic diseases.

The Abolition of the Slave Systems

The attack on the slave trade paralleled growing attacks on the system of slavery throughout the Americas. The self-directed abolition from below that occurred in Saint-Domingue in 1793 was not repeated elsewhere, however. Instead, a combination of internal and external events eventually determined the course of abolition throughout the region. The issue of slavery became a part of the struggle for political independence for the mainland Spanish American colonies. Chile (1823), Mexico, and the new Central America States (1824), abolished slavery immediately after their wars of independence from Spain. The British government abolished slavery throughout its empire in 1834, effectively ending the institution in 1838. Uruguay legally emancipated its few remaining slaves in 1842. The French government ended slavery in the French Antilles in 1848. Colombia effectively abolished slavery in 1851, with Ecuador following in 1852, Argentina in 1853, and Peru and Venezuela in 1854. The United States of America abolished slavery after the U.S. Civil War in 1865. Spain abolished slavery in Puerto Rico in 1873 and in Cuba in 1886. Finally, Brazil abolished slavery in 1888.

Slavery Scholarship and the Place of the Slave in the World

The topic of slavery has attracted the attention of a very large number of writers. Before the 1950s, writers tended to view slavery as a monolithic institution. Then, as now, there was much discussion of slavery, and less of the slaves themselves. Standard influential American studies, such as U. B. Phillips's *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929), Kenneth M. Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* (1956), and Stanley Elkins' *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959), misleadingly described slaves as passive participants to their own cruel denigration and outrageous exploitation. In Phillips's world, everyone was sublimely happy. In the world of Stampp and Elkins, they were not happy—but neither could they help themselves. Apparently neither Stampp nor Elkins read much outside their narrow field—or if they did, they discounted it. Certainly the then available scholarship of Eric Williams, C. L. R. James, or Elsa V. Goveia is not evident in their works. Herbert Aptheker in *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943), Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* (1944), and Frank Tannenbaum in *Slave and Citizen* (1946) had tried, in those three intellectually stimulating works, to modify the overall picture, but without much success.

Then, in 1956, Goveia published an outstanding book, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century.* As Francisco Scarano notes of Goveia's work: "Goveia's sensitive and profound study of slave society in the British Leewards . . . is doubtless one of the great works of Caribbean history in any language. The Guyanese historian revealed the ways in which, in a racialized slave society, the imperative of slave subordination permeated all contexts of social interaction, from legal system to education and from religion to leisure. Everything was predicated on the violence necessary to maintain slavocratic order" (Scarano, p. 260). Goveia's ap-

proach inculcated the slaves with agency, a fundamental quality of which earlier writers seemed incredibly unaware. Slaves continuously acted in, as well as reacted to, the world in which they existed.

By the 1970s and 1980s, the maturing of Caribbean historiography, combined with the civil rights revolution in the United States, provided a renewed impetus for more sophisticated writings about slaves and slavery across the Americas. The quality of the debate improved noticeably, and comparative history threw refreshing new insights on some of the old problems. Slaves were seen as an inescapable and integral part of the world they fashioned, not some freak sideshow of helpless, subordinated individuals.

From the Caribbean came a rich outpouring of seminal works, all paying inordinate attention to the essential role of slaves in creating the new American experience. A selective list would include: Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (1970); Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (1971); Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, *El Negro en la economía habanera del siglo XIX* (1971); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (1972); Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (1973); José Luciano Franco, *Los palenques de negros cimarrones* (1973); B. W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1833* (1976); Michael Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (1978); Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio. Complejo económico, social cubano del azúcar* (1978); Guillermo Baralt, *Esclavos rebeldes: conspiraciones y sublevaciones de esclavos en Puerto Rico (1795–1873)* (1981); Léo Elizabeth, *L'abolition de l'esclavage à la Martinique* (1983); Hilary Beckles, *Black Rebellion in Barbados: The Struggle against Slavery, 1627–1838* (1984); Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor* (1984); Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua, with Implications for Colonial British America* (1985); and David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (1987). In addition to these outstanding monographs, a flood of outstanding articles appeared simultaneously in various journals, especially in *Slavery and Abolition,* and in papers read at annual meetings of the Association of Caribbean Historians.

In the United States, too, the attention given to slavery increased enormously in volume and improved tremendously in sophistication after 1970. Among the new studies were: Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (1971); John Blassingame, *The Slave Community* (1972); Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974); Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974) and *From Rebellion to Revolution* (1979); Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (1974); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (1975); Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (1976); Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977); Seymour Drescher, *Econocide. British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (1977); Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (1978); Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (1981); James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (1982); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982); R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (1983); and Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (1988).

Giving agency to the slaves allowed for a realization that overt and bloody revolt was not the only, much less the major, form of resistance to the institution of slavery. Just as the poor do not accept their poverty, slaves did not accept slavery. Michael Craton points out, in his *General History of the Caribbean,* that "slave resistance was as inevitable as slavery itself. Slaves 'naturally' resisted their enslavement because slavery was fundamentally *unnatural*. Slave resistance of one kind or another was a constant feature of slavery. Only the forms varied across time and place, according to circumstances and opportunities, mutating in rhythm to an internal dynamic, if not also in relation to the larger historical context. . . . If slave resistance was endemic, it was overt only in special circumstances" (p. 222).

Overt rebellion was, of course, the most dramatic objection to slavery by far as Barry Gaspar and David Geggus illustrate in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*. Michael Craton provided a detailed catalogue of Caribbean slave revolts in *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (1982), although he retreated and reformulated his original views in his later publication in the UNESCO *General History,* Volume III, which appeared in 1997. Excellent accounts of the various large-scale revolts include: C. L. R James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint l'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938), Thomas Ott, *The Haitian Revo-*

Slaves at work in a cotton field. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

lution, 1789–1804 (1973), and David Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793–1798* (1982)—all dealing with Haiti; Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (1994), on the largest revolt in the history of Guyana; Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (1988); Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787–1834* (1982); Anne Pérotin-Dumon, *Entre patriote sous les tropiques La Guadeloupe, la colonization et la Révolution* (1985); and Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (2004) and *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (2004).

Most rebellions started with small conspiracies, and planters were often prone to exact tremendous retribution based on their paranoid fear of the ultimate consequences of such revolts. This is exactly what happened in 1843 in Matanzas, Cuba (a place-name that, ironically, translates as "the place of the killings"). It was there that the authorities murdered hundreds of slaves and free people of color, some in cold blood, because they felt that some slaves were about to start a rebellion.

Other forms of resistance were more prevalent, more endemic, than outright revolt. Certainly more pervasive in time and place were deliberate absences from work and running away. This perennial absconding took two forms. The first was a mass desertion of slaves who left deliberately with no intention ever to return. Refugees who followed this course sometimes formed independent communities in the relatively inaccessible hills near plantations and towns, operating in a symbiotic relationship with established colonial society. Such mass desertion was called *gran marronage,* and it gave rise to the various Maroon communities all across the Americas. In Spanish these communities were called *palenques,* and in Brazil they were referred to as *quilombos* or *mocambos*. Some Maroon communities lasted only briefly. Others lasted for centuries, as was the case with the Jamaica Maroons. Determined communities in Bahia and Palmares in Brazil, in Esmeraldas in Ecuador, in Maracaibo in Venezuela, and in Le Maniel in French Saint Domingue lasted for decades.

Concomitant with *gran marronage* was the more individual occurrence called *petit marronage,* the spontaneous

decision of an individual slave to leave his master for a short period. *Petit marronage* reflected the strong individual will of the slave to resist forced or unpleasant labor, to procrastinate, or to defy authority. It was never designed to create a viable alternate to the slave society, as was the case with the Maroons. At its most serious, *petit marronage* remained a personal conflict between master and slave.

Other forms of slave resistance were equally personal and vindictive. Suicide among slaves was endemic in the American slave society. Domestic slaves poisoned themselves and their masters. Across the Caribbean, whites spoke often in fear of the magical powers of slaves who they suspected of having cast spells on them. Slaves also malingered and feigned ignorance, pretended not to understand the common plantation language of their drivers, broke farm equipment, killed or maimed cattle, set fires to cane fields at harvest time, destroyed cane carts and milling machinery, or even sold the produce produced on the plantations. By these various forms of industrial action slaves sabotaged the production and productivity of the plantations and increased the overall cost of the system to their owners.

It is extremely difficult to determine what constituted conscious modes of resistance and what actions resulted from the inadvertent consequence of random carelessness on the part of the slaves. But abundant evidence exists to suggest that slaves were largely in command of their world, even when they lacked the force to alter it.

Of course, writers such as Gordon K. Lewis, in *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought,* and Michael Craton, in his contribution in the *General History of the Caribbean,* tend to evaluate all actions of slaves as part of a conscious pattern of resistance. Lewis divides resistance into three categories:

> (1) The category of patterns of accommodation and of habits of learned survival in the daily experience of plantation life: this involved the whole gamut of slave response, short of escape and rebellion, to the general slavery situation, and included everything from feigned ignorance, malingering, sabotage, slowed-down work habits, suicide, and poisoning of masters, on to the endless invention of attitudes that reflected a general war of psychological tensions and stresses between both sides in the master-slave relationship; (2) The category of alternative life-style: this category included the manifold ways whereby the slave populations nourished and developed their own autonomous world of culture—in the areas, variously, of family, religion, language, song and dance, and even economic organization; and (3) The category of escape and open revolt.

Writers such as Lewis and Craton clearly view the entire existence of slave life as a form of resistance—a necessary precondition to a life in freedom, but also a vital manifestation of one's dignity and humanity. As Viotti da Costa writes: "Creating a black community in the slave quarters and holding on to traditions represented resistance to slavery because slavery implied not only the subordination and exploitation of one social group by another, but also the confrontation of two ethnic groups. The slave could resist in different ways: as a slave to his master, as a black man to a white man, and as an African to the Europeans. In the context cultural resistance could be interpreted as a form of social protest" (p. 301).

Nevertheless, viewing the slave systems as merely an enduring inescapable pattern of coercion and resistance is rather narrow and constricting. It fails to do full justice to the dynamic and nuanced world of the American slave systems. Such a narrow view perpetuates an indelible victim mentality and fails to reflect the totality of slavery throughout the Americas. It minimizes the monumental resilience, the astonishing creativity and dynamic contribution of Africans and their descendants in the making of the modern world.

Some of the activities of Africans and their descendants cannot be easily categorized, described, or analyzed within the restrictive bipolar forms of accommodation or resistance. Indeed, a great number of people described as Africans or as African slaves in the Americas were not in any way coerced. Their lot was quite removed from that of plantation field slaves, especially in the later years of the American slave system. The condition of slavery varied too much across the Americas to be neatly categorized. Moreover, it was never a static institution. It changed enormously through time, and even in the same locality.

See also Abolition; Maroon Societies in the Caribbean; Palmares; Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean; Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slave Trade; Slavery and the Constitution; Toussaint-Louverture

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FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT (2005)

Slavery and the Constitution

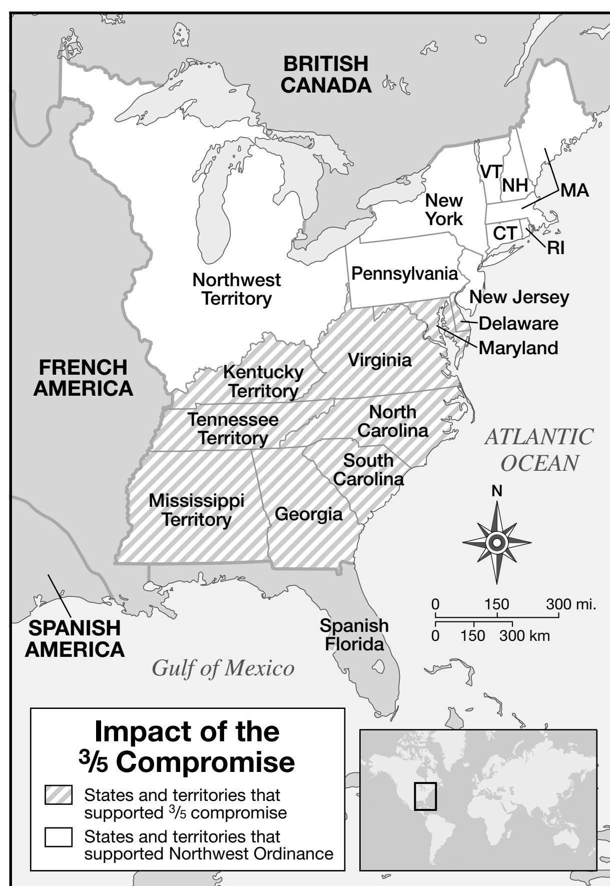
The word *slavery* does not appear in the Constitution, except in the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolishes the institution. Yet slavery was the most divisive constitutional issue in pre–Civil War America.

Constitutional Convention

Throughout the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the delegates heatedly debated the role of slavery under the new form of government. Population-based representation in the new Congress raised the issue of whether to count slaves in allocating representatives. The debates were often blunt and pointed. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania argued against counting slaves for representation because "when fairly explained [it] comes to this; that the inhabitant of Georgia and S.C. who goes to the Coast of Africa, and in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity tears away his fellow creatures from their dearest connections & damns them to the most cruel bondages, shall have more votes in a Govt. instituted for the protections of the rights of mankind, than the Citizen of Pa. or N. Jersey, who views with a laudable horror, so nefarious a practice." On the other hand, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina declared that slavery was "justified by the example of all the world." Pierce Butler, also of South Carolina, declared that "the security the Southen [sic] States want is that their negroes may not be taken from them which some gentlemen within or without doors, have a very good mind to do." Not surprisingly, James Madison of Virginia believed that the split in the convention was not between the large and the small states, but resulted "principally from their having or not having slaves."

The 1787 Constitution explicitly protected slavery in five ways. The three-fifths clause (Art. I, Sec. 2) gave masters extra representation in Congress for their slaves; the capitation-tax clause (Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 4) limited the potential taxation of slaves; the migration-and-importation clause (Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 1) prohibited Congress from ending the African slave trade before 1808; the fugitives-from-labor clause (Art. IV, Sec. 2, Par. 3) provided for the return of fugitive slaves; and the amendment provision (Art. V) gave added protection to the slave trade by prohibiting any amendment of the migration-and-importation clause before 1808. Other clauses strengthened slavery by granting Congress the power to suppress "insurrections," prohibiting taxes on exports (which would have allowed for the taxation on the products of slave labor), and giving the slave states extra votes in the electoral college under the three-fifths clause. The requirement that three-fourths of the states assent to any constitutional amendment guaranteed that the South could always block any proposed amendments. Finally, and most important of all, under the structure of the Constitution the national government had no power to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed.

These clauses led William Lloyd Garrison, America's most famous abolitionist, to call the Constitution a proslavery "covenant with death" and "an agreement in Hell." Southerners also agreed that the document protected their special institution. Shortly after he returned from the Constitutional Convention, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney told the South Carolina legislature, "We have a security that the general government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted, and it is admitted on all



Map of the United States in 1787, showing states and territories that supported the three-fifths compromise and those supporting the Northwest Ordinance. *During the Constitutional Convention that year, southern slaveholding states demanded that slaves be counted in population totals for the purpose of determining representation in Congress. An agreement was reached to count each slave as three-fifths of a person. Meanwhile, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in the Northwest territory (Great Lakes region). In effect, these decisions created a nation half slave and half free, leading to a series of further compromises and, ultimately, civil war.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

hands, that the general government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the constitution; and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several states."

The Three-fifths Clause and Continuation of the Slave Trade

During the struggle over ratification, a number of northern antifederalists complained about the three-fifths provision and the continuation of the slave trade for at least twenty more years. These two clauses have often been misunderstood.

The three-fifths clause was not an assertion that a black was three-fifths of a person. The clause allocated representation in Congress by adding to the free population three-fifths of the total number of slaves. Free blacks were counted the same as whites, and in a number of states, including Massachusetts, New York, and North Carolina, free blacks voted under the same conditions as whites. The three-fifths rule was a compromise over the allocation of political power in the House of Representatives. Southerners at the convention wanted to count slaves fully for purposes of representation, while northerners did not want to count slaves at all for representation.

The slave-trade clause has been misunderstood to require the end of the trade in 1808. Rather, it only prohibited Congress from ending the trade before that date. If the Deep South had had the political clout, it could have kept the trade legal after 1808.

Supreme Court

Ratification of the Constitution led to Supreme Court decisions on the African slave trade, slaves in interstate commerce, fugitive slaves, federal regulation of slavery in the territories, and the rights of free blacks under the Constitution. With the exception of cases dealing with the African slave trade, the Supreme Court invariably sided with slave owners.

After 1808, the federal courts heard numerous cases involving the importation of slaves from Africa. In the *Antelope* case (1825), Chief Justice John Marshall asserted that the African slave trade was "contrary to the law of nature" but that it was "consistent with the law of nations" and "cannot in itself be piracy." Thus the Court recognized the right of foreigners to engage in the slave trade if their own nations allowed them to do so.

The Court consistently condemned the trade as a violation of natural law and morality, but this did not affect its judgments. In all of the slave-trading cases, the Court enforced concepts of international law; slave traders who violated the laws of their own country could expect no support from the Court. But when foreign nationals participated in the trade, they were protected by their own laws. As Justice Joseph Story noted in a circuit court opinion in *La Jeune Eugénie* (1822), "I am bound to consider the trade an offence against the universal law of society, and in all cases, where it is not protected by a foreign government, to deal with it as an offence carrying with it the penalty of confiscation."

Soon after the adoption of the Constitution, the nation reached an unstated political consensus on the question of slavery and commerce. Although most lawyers

would have conceded that after 1808 Congress had the power to regulate the interstate slave trade, the general consensus was that such regulation would be impossible to get through Congress and, in any event, would threaten the Union itself. Arguments of counsel and the opinions of the justices in commerce clause cases recognized the special status of slaves in the general regulation of commerce.

Groves v. Slaughter (1841) was the only major slavery case to come before the Supreme Court that directly raised commerce-clause issues. The Mississippi Constitution of 1832 prohibited the importation of slaves for sale. This was not an antislavery provision, but an attempt to reduce the flow of capital out of the state. In violation of this provision, Slaughter sold slaves in Mississippi and received notes signed by Groves, who later defaulted on the notes, arguing that the sale of slaves in Mississippi was void. The Court ruled that the notes were not void because Mississippi's constitutional prohibition on the importation of slaves was not self-executing, and absent legislation implementing the prohibition, the Mississippi constitutional clause was inoperative. In separate concurrences, northern and southern justices agreed that a state might legally ban the importation of slaves. This principle supported northerners' interest in keeping slaves out of their states and the southern desire to make sure that the federal courts could not interfere with slavery on the local level.

Fugitive Slaves

The jurisprudence surrounding fugitive slaves was the most divisive constitutional issue in antebellum America. The federal and state courts heard numerous cases involving fugitive slaves. While settling the legal issues, none of these cases satisfactorily dealt with the moral and political questions raised when human beings escaped to freedom. Such cases only exacerbated the sectional crisis. Ultimately, these issues were decided not by constitutional arguments and ballots but by battlefield tactics and bullets.

The wording of the fugitive slave clause suggests that the Constitutional Convention did not anticipate any federal enforcement of the law. However, in 1793 Congress passed the first of several fugitive slave laws, which spelled out procedures for the return of runaway slaves. In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), Justice Joseph Story upheld the 1793 law and struck down state laws passed to protect free blacks from kidnapping if they interfered with the return of fugitive slaves. Story urged state officials to continue to enforce the 1793 law but concluded that they could not be required to do so. In response to this decision, a number of states passed new personal-liberty laws, prohibiting state officials from participating in the return of fugitive slaves and barring the use of state jails and other facilities for such returns.

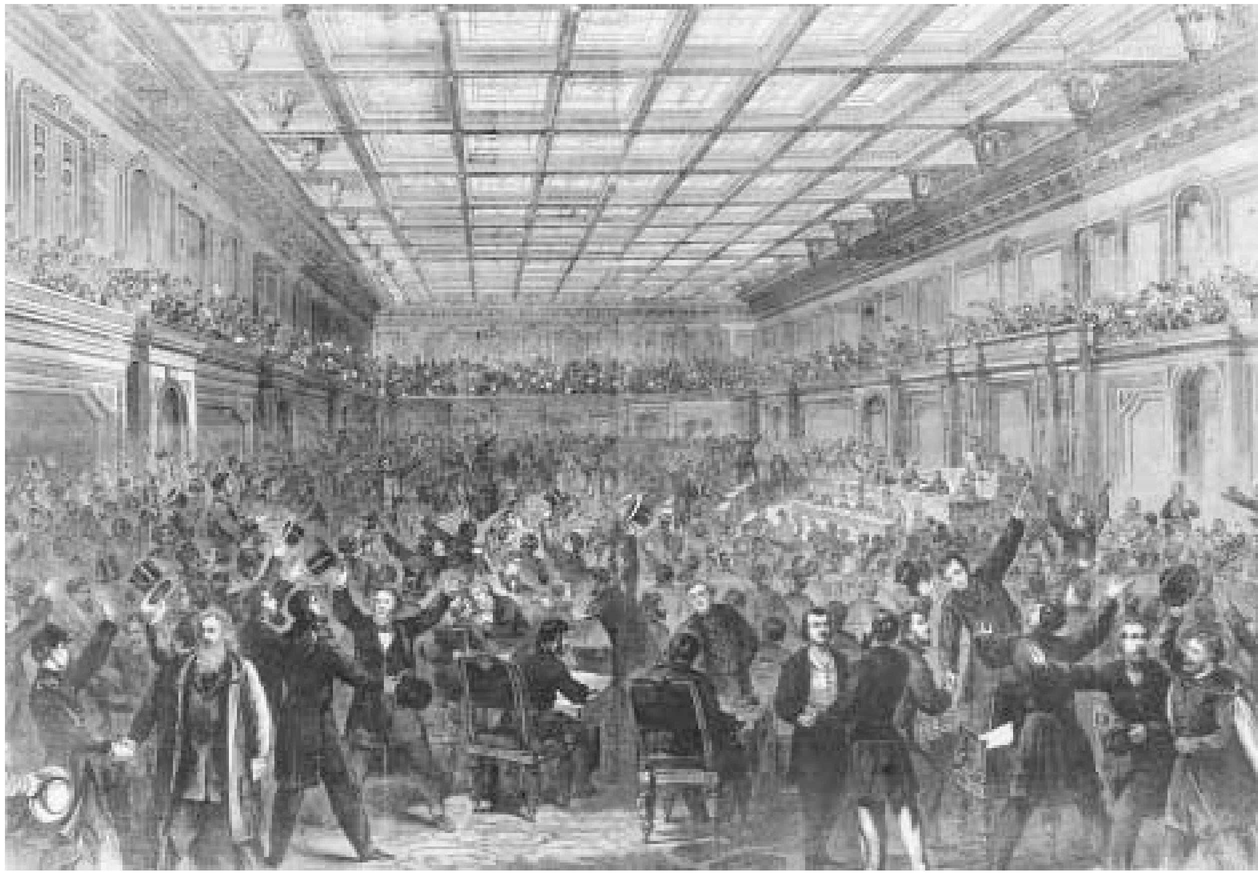
Jones v. Van Zandt (1847) was a civil suit over the value of slaves who had escaped from Kentucky to Ohio, where Van Zandt offered them a ride in his wagon. Van Zandt's attorneys, Salmon P. Chase and William H. Seward, unsuccessfully argued that in Ohio all people were presumed free and thus Van Zandt had no reason to know he was transporting runaway slaves. In a harsh interpretation of the 1793 law, the Court concluded that Van Zandt should have known the blacks he befriended were slaves. In essence, this meant that all blacks in the North were presumptively slaves.

Hostility to these decisions led to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which provided for federal commissioners to enforce the law through the United States. These commissioners could call on federal marshals, the military, and "bystanders, or posse comitatus," as necessary. The law provided stiff prison sentences and high fines for people interfering in its enforcement, while not allowing seized blacks to testify on their own behalf or giving them a jury trial. In *Ableman v. Booth* (1859), the Supreme Court upheld this law against a challenge based on the law's violation of the U.S. Constitution and the Wisconsin Constitution.

Slavery in the Territories

In two monumental acts, the Northwest Ordinance (1787; reenacted in 1789) and the Missouri Compromise (1820), Congress prohibited slavery in most of the territories owned by the United States. These acts led to some of the most important, controversial, and complicated cases that ever reached the Supreme Court.

From 1820 until 1850 the issue of slavery in the territories was governed by the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery in almost all of the West. The acquisition of new lands in the Mexican War, and the acceptance throughout the South of a "positive good" theory of slavery, led southerners to demand access to the western territories. In 1854 Congress repealed some of the Missouri Compromise by opening Kansas and Nebraska to slavery under a theory of popular sovereignty. Under popular sovereignty the settlers of a territory would decide for themselves whether to have slavery. Rather than democratizing the west, popular sovereignty led to a mini–Civil War in Kansas, known as Bleeding Kansas, in which free-state and slave-state settlers fought for control of the territorial government. Meanwhile, in the North the newly organized Republican Party gained enormous success campaigning against the spread of slavery. In 1856 this party, which was



Crowds in the U.S. House of Representatives celebrate the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, January 31, 1865. *Later ratified on December 18 of that same year, the amendment constituted a formal end to slavery, declaring that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" shall ever exist in the United States.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

less than two years old, carried all but five northern states in the presidential election.

Dred Scott and the Civil War

This set the stage for the most significant legal case of the antebellum period, if not the entire history of the Supreme Court, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857). The avidly proslavery Chief Justice Roger B. Taney used *Dred Scott* to decide pressing political issues in favor of the South. In his opinion's two most controversial points, Chief Justice Taney ruled that the Missouri Compromise unconstitutionally prohibited citizens from bringing their slaves into federal territories and that free blacks could never be citizens of the United States or sue in federal courts as citizens of the states in which they lived.

This decision, more than anything else, made the constitutionality of slavery into a major political question. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln successfully ran for president by opposing the further expansion of slavery and by attacking Taney and the *Dred Scott* decision. That in turn led to secession, the Civil War, the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, and a formal end to slavery through constitutional amendment. Ratified on December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment pledged that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" shall ever exist in the United States.

See also Thirteenth Amendment

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Slave Trade

The Atlantic slave trade was one of the most important demographic, social, and economic events of the Modern Era. Extending over four centuries, it fostered the involuntary migration of millions of African peoples from their homelands to forced labor in the Americas and elsewhere around the globe. In the process, it reshaped African societies; provided much of the raw material for constructing new social, economic, and political structures in the New World; promoted the development of a new industrial order; and furnished essential ingredients of modern world culture. It also left an unfortunate legacy of racism by establishing a connection between servility and barbarity and peoples of African descent.

The eighteenth-century interest in slavery derived from the nature of the mercantilist imperial structures that supported the production of tropical staples through plantation labor. Africa was the source of this labor. Since the material or technological distance between Africa and Europe was not then as great as it was to become later, Europeans approached Africans as approximate equals. European traders were highly dependent upon their African partners and associates to ensure an orderly trade. Since trade frequently depended upon the political vagaries on the African coast, European traders had to be aware of political and social conditions in the areas where they wanted to trade. Consequently, they stationed agents ("factors") where Africans would permit, and these factors collected slaves and forwarded reports on African conditions to mercantile companies in Europe. Although these reports were colored by ethnocentrism, factors made a serious attempt to understand the situations they encountered, mainly because such comprehension was crucial to their ability to offer trustworthy advice. In this way, Europeans disseminated important information about Africa and Africans.

While the circumstances of African migration were unique, neither slavery nor the plantation have been singularly associated with blacks. Slavery maintained a con-

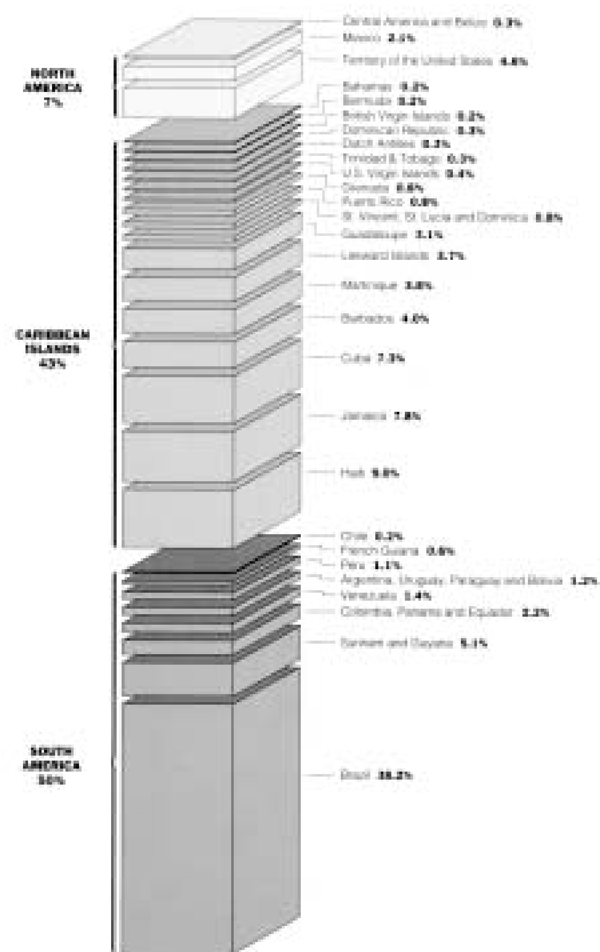

Chart showing the distribution of African slaves in the Americas during the Atlantic Trade, 1450-1870. (Based on information contained in *The African Slave Trade* by Philip Curtin.)

Conservative estimates conclude that upwards of 10 million Africans survived the Middle Passage and were enslaved in the Americas. Indeed, of the first 6.5 million people who crossed the Atlantic and settled in the Americas, 5.5 million were African. Over 90% of these Africans were taken to South America and the Caribbean Islands. Almost as many were sent to the island of Barbados as to the United States, while almost nine times as many were enslaved in Brazil as in the United States.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

tinuous existence in southern Europe from ancient times into the Early Modern Era, and it shaped the attitudes and outlooks of southern Europeans when it was reinvigorated in the New World. In addition, the European-sponsored Atlantic trade was not the only market for bound African labor. Historians have estimated that about six million Africans were taken to Asia and the Middle East, starting as early as the seventh century CE, but reaching a peak between 1750 and 1900. Moreover, an additional eight million slaves were involved in an internal African trade, mostly between 1850 and 1914. But the Atlantic trade,

starting as early as the fifteenth century but becoming important after the discovery of America (it reached its height from about 1650 to 1850), carried approximately twelve million people to captivity in the New World. It was the largest mass movement in history up to that time.

The slave trade can be divided into four epochs, determined by source, destination, and the major carriers of slaves. During the era of Iberian domination in the sixteenth century, when Portugal was practically the sole carrier, slaves were taken from Guinea to Spanish colonies and from the Congo-Angola region to Brazil. During this period, slaves were only one of a number of African commodities, all of equal importance. The seventeenth century was a period of transition. The Dutch broke Spanish control of the seas, destroyed the Portuguese monopoly of the African and Indian trades, and established themselves as the leading European maritime nation. Between 1630 and 1650, Dutch control of the sea and of trade was supreme. Dutch ships carried slaves and supplies to Spanish, French, and English colonies, and they transported New World staples from these colonies to Europe. After 1650, England and France moved to establish themselves in Africa and to tighten the mercantilist system in their respective imperial spheres. The eighteenth century thus represented a period of French and English dominance. They took most of their slaves from the Slave Coast (an area along the Bight of Benin), from east of the Volta River, and from the Niger Delta, while maintaining important interests at the peripheries in Upper Guinea and in southern Africa along the Loango Coast. They carried these slaves in British and French ships to their respective possessions in the West Indies and to Spanish America. This represented the height of the period of trade when human cargo was the overriding European interest in Africa. Finally, there was an Iberian epoch in the nineteenth century. Northern Europeans abolished the trade north of the equator and deprecated the practice everywhere, but the demand in Brazil and Cuba continued until the middle of the century.

The Portuguese Hegemony

Although the acquisition of slaves was not the prime motivating force of the Age of Discovery, it was an early consideration. The era is dated from the Portuguese taking of Ceuta—on the Moroccan coast across the Straits of Gibraltar—in 1415. The first black slaves reached Portugal directly from the Atlantic coast of Africa in 1442, and the first slave trading company was formed in 1444. It obtained slaves through periodic raids. But the Portuguese learned early that trade, whether in slaves or other commodities, proceeded best in cooperation with, rather than in opposition to, Africans. In the fifteenth century, when

Captain William Bosman

"Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other. But those who think so, do deceive themselves. . ."

A NEW AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST OF GUINEA. LONDON, 1705, P. 363.

they laid claim to all of Africa, they divided the western coast into a series of regional monopolies, and the right of exclusive trade in these areas was sold in Lisbon. Some of the Portuguese agents settled in Upper Guinea, intermarried with local peoples, and became middlemen in the trade between Africans and Europeans. These Afro-Portuguese had been joined by a class of Afro-French and Afro-English by the eighteenth century, and these groups operated in competing spheres of influence for the benefit of their respective metropolitan powers. Racially and culturally mixed, they achieved political influence through real or fictitious consanguineous ties to local royalty, and they achieved economic power through their control of trade. Because of their prestige, they—in traditional African fashion—gathered to themselves full-blooded Africans (*grumetes*), who adopted their cultural affectations and became part of a hybrid trade community on the coast. Whereas in the sixteenth century these people were usually in a state of subservience to native chieftains, this condition had reversed by the eighteenth century. By this time they were also able to repel European attempts to circumvent them and establish direct contact with local peoples in those places where they assumed hegemony.

But Portuguese activities were not uniform over all the coast. While a policy of peaceful penetration was adopted in Upper Guinea, in the Gulf of Benin and the coastal regions leading to it a relationship of power politics developed. The Portuguese could not move around freely, but instead were restricted to fortified coastal stations. The most venerable of these, São Jorge da Mina (established in 1482), was important to the Portuguese as a source of gold rather than slaves, with the metal being obtained through barter with local peoples. Africans brought gold from the interior, and because of the long distances they had to travel, they required porters to carry goods secured in trade on the coast to the interior. The slave trade that developed was an internal African trade in which the Por-

Two receipts, or bills of sale, for purchased slaves, Richmond, Virginia, 1859. *These documents guaranteed that the "Negro Slave" being purchased was "sound and healthy." If a slave was later found to be unhealthy or "defective," the buyer could take the seller to court.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

tuguese participated. They brought slaves from the African kingdom of Benin; from their settlement at São Tomé, an island farther down the coast; and from locations in Upper Guinea to meet the demand. The gold trade was so important that in 1610 the king forbade Portuguese subjects to take captives within several miles of São Jorge da Mina so as not to disturb it.

The fifteenth-century slave trade was basically an Old World affair. The Portuguese utilized Africans in colonial settlements on islands off the African coast, where they produced sugar, and they also supplied them to southern Europe and the Mediterranean. Between 1450 and 1500, about thirty thousand Africans were shipped to Europe. Lisbon now served as entrepot, an intermediary center of trade and transshipment for the Mediterranean trade. In 1551, 10 percent of the city's population was servile, consisting of Moorish and Guinea slaves. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the servile percentage was about the same, but they were now nearly all black.

During the sixteenth century, the center of major Portuguese slaving activity gradually shifted from Guinea to south-central Africa, in association with the development of a New World plantation system. São Tomé was entrepot for this trade, which for most of the century centered around the Congo. It was here that the first voluntary African attempt at westernization and Christianiza-

tion played out, as the Portuguese treated the king of the Congo (Manicongo) as an equal and sent craftsmen and missionaries to aid him. But the attempt foundered on the shoals of the slave trade—the Portuguese slaving interests fomented discontent to encourage warfare, from which they secured captives. The kingdom broke up under the strain.

The ruler of Angola was not treated as an equal. Instead, the Portuguese king granted the region to one of his nobles. In 1576 the Portuguese founded Luanda, which supplanted São Tomé as the center of slaving operations—and Angola replaced the Congo as the major source of slaves. Slaving operations were different in Angola than on the Guinea coast. Instead of setting up trading posts, or "factories," to which native chieftains brought captives, merchants sent out their own servants or employees (generally blacks or mulattos) called *pombeiros,* who went into the interior to secure bondsmen by trading or raiding. When captives could not be had, they incited wars or rebellions. Captives were brought to Luanda where they were kept in *barracoons*, or holding stations, to recuperate until ships arrived to take them away. As in Upper Guinea, a racially and culturally hybrid Luso-African trading community developed. Unlike their counterparts on the northern coast, however, the Afro-Portuguese in Angola kept control of their slaves through the Middle Passage and could benefit directly from the price of slaves in Brazil, though they also had to suffer the loss of slaves at sea. The latter consideration caused them to confine their interests to Africa by the end of the eighteenth century. In the three centuries between 1550 and final abolition of the Brazilian slave trade (1850), Angola furnished the majority of Brazil's captive labor.

The Dutch

The Dutch destroyed Portuguese pretensions to an African monopoly. By 1642, Arguim and Gorée in Upper Guinea, São Tomé in the Gulf of Benin, Luanda in Angola, and all the Portuguese forts on the Gold Coast were in Dutch hands. Although Portugal recaptured São Tomé in 1648 and retained the Cape Verde Islands and Cacheu, Holland was the strongest European power in Guinea during the 1650s. The Dutch advantage, however, and their virtual control of the whole European carrying trade for a time, drew the concentrated ire of the English and the French. The latter part of the seventeenth century, therefore, was one of keen competition. Dutch success derived in part from her capitalistic, joint-stock West India Company, formed in 1621. While the Portuguese, claiming all of Africa, granted individual monopolies in various parts of it, the Dutch, claiming parts of Africa, granted a monopoly of trade to one corporation in all of it. Only members of the West India Company were legally enabled to carry slaves or other goods from Africa to Dutch colonies or elsewhere. To better compete, other European nations followed the Dutch model. Most important were the French West Indies Company (1664) and the English Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa (1660), which was superceded by the Royal African Company (1672).

The Spanish, largely excluded from African trade but possessing large territories where slaves were useful, resorted to the *asiento*. This slave contract provided exclusive rights to importation of African bondsmen into Spanish colonies for the nation who held it. The movement of this contract from one European nation to another is to some extent a measure of its ascendancy in the slave trade. It was held successively by the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English.

The French and the English

Although slaves were the single most important trade article by the eighteenth century, gold, ivory, beeswax, rice, camwood, and malaguetta pepper were also traded in significant quantities. The French and English followed in the Dutch wake, establishing their own companies, designated as sole carriers of their countries' trade between Europe, Africa, and the American colonies. These companies were responsible for maintaining factories in areas where Africans would permit in order to secure their nation's position in trade. The British had forts along the Gambia, the French along the Senegal, and each at various other locations in the region, and they all engaged in competition to attract African middlemen. The two nations, along with other Europeans, had outposts along the Gold Coast and adjacent areas, where competition was likewise stiff. The expense of these factories was born by the companies as partial recompense for their monopoly.

The African Input

At the height of the trade in the eighteenth century, the whole coast was regulated on the African side by middlemen who were highly conscious and jealous of their position. They had a monopoly on trade with the interior and insisted that business be conducted through them. Moreover, they refused to be bound by any one European power and insisted on free trade with the outside world. On different parts of the coast, however, different circumstances required distinctive considerations, which changed over time. In Upper Guinea, African polities competed with Afro-Europeans for trade at the posts set up by the French and English in the Senegal and Gambia rivers to

Images of the slave trade: Dutch traders, slaves, and ships, Jamestown, Virginia, 1619. ARCHIVE / GETTY PHOTOS, INC. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

attract commerce. On the leeward coast in the Gulf of Guinea, Akan and Fon kingdoms mediated the trade. In the Niger Delta, various city-states, both monarchies and republics, grew up in response to new opportunities for exchange. Ruled by special political associations, they developed a distinctive trade organization known as the "House system." In *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885,* K. Onwuka Dike describes this as "a kind of co-operative trading company based not so much on kinship as on commercial association between the head of a dominant family, his relatives and trading assistants, and all their followers and slaves" (1956, p. 31)—in other words, a creative adaptation to business opportunities. In Congo-Angola, local governments also ruled, though the Portuguese, busily creating a colonial preserve, claimed exclusive rights in parts of the region. These disparate governments and people had their own peculiar requirements in articles, seasons, and methods of trade. Even the trade mediums or units of accounts diverged, with Europeans adopting African practices. In Upper Guinea they used the iron bar; on the leeward coast, the ounce of gold (in the west) and the cowry shell (in the east); in the Niger Delta, the manilla, a bracelet of brass or lead; and in Congo-Angola, a piece of local cloth. For these reasons, European representatives had to be seriously attentive to peoples and conditions at their station or lose trade to their rivals. They had to treat Africans traders with considerable respect.

African Slavery

Early European observers often justified slaving activities by arguing that many, if not most, Africans existed in some form of indigenous servitude, and that the European version was preferable. Later Europeans justified imperialism on the same basis of Africans' widespread enslavement, which they now sought to abolish. Opponents sought to counter these rationales for injustice by contending that few examples of involuntary servitude existed in Africa before European contact, and that where they existed they were of such a nature as to be scarcely comparable to the Western conception let alone the American reality. Where observers stated otherwise, according to these opponents, they were deluded by racism, ethnocentrism, or ignorance. In *Slavery in Africa* (1977), Suzanne Miers

Advertisement for a slave auction, 1780. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and Igor Kopytoff argue that this confusion results from a misapprehension of the nature of African society. Based on kinship relations that give people social existence to the extent that they belong to or are part of a local lineage, they regard those outside the group as nonpersons. Outsiders, whether slave or free, are nonpersons. Indeed, in some African societies the words for "slave" and "outsider" are the same. There is no dichotomy between slavery and freedom (with its emphasis on autonomy and individualism) as exists in the West, but between nonperson and person (whose identity is found in his association and obligation to the group). Nor are the dichotomies absolute; there are degrees of belonging connected with increasing privileges and acceptability.

Those slaves susceptible of sale (trade slaves) were usually adult males captured in warfare who might never adjust to their captivity and therefore posed a danger to their hosts. At the very least they might run away. They could best serve the community by what they brought in trade. Women and young children, however, were more pliable and less likely to be sold, and therefore were more likely to be absorbed by the local community. The demands of the Atlantic trade were coincident with these African outlooks, in that while Atlantic slavers had more call for adult males, internal African requirements placed more value on women. Consequently, women were not equally available for trade on all parts of the coast, a consideration that slavers had to weigh. Yet Africans who participated in the trade made their decisions within their own contexts and for their own reasons. African slaves were seldom viewed as the simple commodities that capitalism made them in the Americas.

The American Demand

New World planters, thinking of slaves as work units, and being interested in maximum production for the least outlay, ideally desired an adult male in his twenties or thirties. Women, who could also be worked in the fields, were in less demand. Consequently, planters normally asked for slaves in the proportion of two men for every woman. This desire for men was especially great in sugar-producing regions, which had a firm capitalist base by the seventeenth century and considered profit above everything else. Brazilian and Caribbean planters, for example, regarded harsh treatment contributing to high slave mortality in as few as five to seven years after importation to be a more economical management practice than expending either time or money to better the slave's condition and extend his life for labor. They viewed the raising of slave children as equally unprofitable and did not encourage it. Consequently, they had to depend on the slave trade to replenish their labor force for most of the period of slavery's existence in their regions. British planters in North American, raising different crops, computed their finances differently, and while they also asked for slaves in the normal proportions, by the first decades of the eighteenth century they had come to recognize the value of a self-perpetuating labor force. They began to encourage reproduction, an effort that required a more equal balance between males and females. Cargoes containing more males than females, therefore, were likely to find a better market in North America, though such cargoes sold everywhere.

Planters also had distinctive slave preferences, which varied from region to region and over time. The economy of seventeenth-century Brazil was highly dependent on bound labor from Angola, and planters described these laborers as the best that Africa had to offer. In the eighteenth century, both the source and judgment of African labor changed: Brazilian planters now rated "Sudanese" or "Mina" slaves from the leeward coast of West Africa as superior. Indeed, a special relationship developed between the northern Brazilian city of Bahia and the leeward coast, while southern Brazilian traders, centered in Rio de Janeiro, maintained an attachment to Angola. Eighteenth-century Jamaicans exhibited an affinity for Akan-speaking peoples from the Gold Coast, while South Carolina planters desired Senegambians. Virginians expressed no strong likes or dislikes. Traders had to consider these slave fash-

NEGROES
FOR SALE.

Will be sold at public auction, at Spring Hill, in the County of Hempstead, on a credit of twelve months, on Friday the 28th day of this present month, 15 young and valuable Slaves, consisting of 9 superior Men & Boys, between 12 and 27 years of age, one woman about 43 years who is a good washer and cook, one woman about twenty-seven, and one very likely young woman with three children.

Also at the same time, and on the same terms, three Mules, about forty head of Cattle, plantation tools, one waggon, and a first rate Gin stand, manufactured by Pratt &Co.

Bond with two or more approved securities will be required.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock.

E. E. Hundley,
W. Robinson,
H. M. Robinson.

"Negroes for Sale." *A bulletin advertising the sale of "15 young and valuable Slaves," as well as one "very likely woman," who has already borne three children. The sale took place in Spring Hill, Arkansas.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

ions, among other factors, when they planned their voyages. They had also to figure climatological conditions and seasonal variations, since the winter months in North America or the hurricane season in the West Indies could create hazards to trade and sales. Slaves were in greatest demand when they could be put directly to work, and they sold more briskly in some seasons than in others.

Nineteenth-Century Abolition

Humanitarian sentiment against the slave trade grew during the second half of the eighteenth century, supported by economic change in industrializing powers like Great Britain. This sentiment began to have some effects by the century's end. Northern Europeans moved to stop the trade during the nineteenth century's first decade. Denmark outlawed the trade for its citizens effective in 1802, and Great Britain (the largest of slave traders) and the United States followed in 1808. The British government used diplomacy to try to evoke a consensus that the trade was objectionable, and—joined occasionally by the United States, France, and other nations—they sent ships to patrol the African coast to interdict the trade. As the world's strongest naval power, the British attempted to make agreements with other nations that would allow its warships to search vessels suspected of engaging in human commerce, and to seize those that did. Few nations, excluding even the United States, possessed Britain's moral fervor, however, and the struggle continued throughout most of the century.

Iberian nations were conspicuously absent from the developing consensus. Economic expansion in Brazil, Cuba, and Puerto Rico placed a high premium on slaves, and neither Spain nor Portugal regarded the prospect of restricting its labor supply with any enthusiasm. Britain pressured Portugal in 1810 into confining its trade to Portuguese imperial possessions in Africa and America, an agreement that meant that Portuguese subjects could carry slaves only between those regions in Africa where Portugal already had a claim or sphere of influence and other regions within the Lusitanian monarch's realm—most importantly, to Brazil. Portugal agreed to limit the trade to her African possessions below the equator in 1815. That same year, France prohibited the trade. Spain fell into line in 1820, and Brazil, having separated from Portugal, did so in 1830.

These legal prohibitions bore little relationship to reality, however, particularly in Cuba and Brazil. A greater volume of slaves came into Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century (approximately 1.5 million between 1801 and 1850) than had ever gone to any plantation region, including a half-million or more in the twenty years between its legal cessation and its effective termination by British naval action in 1850. While most of those involved in Brazil's illegal traffic were Brazilian or Portuguese, Spain's replacement of the *asiento* with a free-trade policy in 1789 opened the Cuban market to United States, British, French, and other merchants, and American traders dominated the market after Spain agreed in 1835 to permit Britain the right of search and seizure. By then, the flag of the United States, as the only important seafaring nation to refuse to come to a reciprocal arrangement with Great Britain, provided slavers their sole refuge. Some American traders smuggled slaves into the United States, but the market was better in Cuba and Brazil. Not until the American Civil War did American official attitudes change, effecting the end of the Cuban trade in 1865. Still, by various ruses the trade continued until the end of the century. For example, the French and Portuguese adopted theoretical systems of contract labor that were nothing short of slavery: the indentured, often bought in Africa as slaves and legally freed on the coast, had little or no say

GANG OF 25 SEA ISLAND

COTTON AND RICE NEGROES,

By LOUIS D. DE SAUSSURE.

On THURSDAY the 25th Sept. 1852, at 11 o'clock, A.M., will be sold at RYAN'S MART, in Chalmers Street, in the City of Charleston,

A prime gang of 25 Negroes, accustomed to the culture of Sea Island Cotton and Rice.

Broadside announcing sale of twenty-five slaves, 1852. *South Carolina advertisement for the sale of a "Gang of 25 Sea Island Cotton and Rice Negroes," listing each individual's name, age, and capacity, as well as the conditions of sale. South Carolina was a major exporter of slaves, with about 65,000 sold and transported out of the state in the 1850s.* MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

in the matter and were shipped off to colonial possessions in the Americas and elsewhere. Even the British and the Dutch, who considered themselves enlightened in this regard, adopted similar practices for short periods. Nevertheless, in practice, the Atlantic slave trade essentially came to an end with the closing of the trade to Cuba. Moreover, New World slavery itself was moribund, although it lingered in Cuba and Brazil until the 1880s.

Nineteenth-Century Trade Distinctions

In the process of its long expiration, the nineteenth-century slave trade developed some distinctive features. Economic expansion, together with the prospect of the trade's termination, caused slave prices to rise in the Americas, while the activities of British anti-slave-trade squadrons off the African coast caused them to fall there. At the same time, increased demand and depleted resources near the Congo-Angola coast caused slaves to be brought from regions farther inland, which involved different African middlemen. Although slaves might be smuggled from any part of the coast, slaving was heaviest in this region of west-central Africa—partly because it was a Portuguese preserve and legal there (for Portuguese subjects) until 1836, which permitted smugglers to use the Portuguese flag for cover, and partly because the British naval presence was not as great there as along the northwestern coast. It remained a focus of activity after the 1830s ban. Few Atlantic slavers went to Mozambique in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century the trade there at one point reached a height of twenty-five thousand slaves yearly, encouraged by increased demand and an initial absence of British warships from the eastern coast. Portuguese, Arab, East Indian, and mixed-blood middlemen facilitated the trade and dispensed their human cargo to Spanish, French, Brazilian, and American vessels. The Portuguese edict ending the trade in Angola in 1836 applied equally to Mozambique, but neither ceased before rigorous British action rendered it infeasible after 1850. Slavers maintained their preference for males over females, but they accepted more children than formerly because they occupied less room than adults and more could be carried.

By the nineteenth century, then, the trade had come full circle. The Portuguese, having initiated an Atlantic trade in slaves, were among the last to abandon it. Nevertheless, the nineteenth-century Iberian trade would have been much more difficult without active British and American collaboration. Even while their government sought to abolish it, British merchants continued to invest in Brazilian slave-trading voyages, and British manufacturers continued to produce and forward to Brazilian middlemen goods suitable only for the African market. Americans, meanwhile, furnished speedy ships suitable for evading patrolling squadrons, and they innovated the use of steamships, which could carry larger numbers of slaves, though they did not always carry them better as slaves placed too close to boilers could be burned or scalded. Many of the vessels involved in the West Coast trade, and most of those involved in Mozambique, though manned by citizens of other nations, were constructed in the United States.

In a final irony, the desire to abolish slave trading and establish "legitimate" commerce in Africa furnished the basis for British imperialism there, an example that other Europeans copied. In many places, the forced migration of African peoples from their homelands, either to other

parts of Africa or to regions outside of it, was ended by the imperial dictates of western Europeans, though not completely before the twentieth century. By that time, Africans, or peoples with a significant African genetic component, populated much of the globe.

See also Slavery; Slavery and the Constitution

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DANIEL C. LITTLEFIELD (2005)

Sleet, Moneta J., Jr.

February 14, 1926
September 30, 1996

In 1969 Moneta J. Sleet Jr. became the first African American to win a Pulitzer Prize in photography for his now

world-renowned image of Coretta Scott King at her husband's funeral, her upturned face shielded by a heavy veil as she embraced her young daughter Bernice. Sleet, although employed by the monthly *Ebony* magazine, became eligible for the prestigious newspaper award when his black-and-white film containing the image was let into a pool for wire-service use and subsequently published in daily newspapers throughout the country.

Sleet's major contribution to photojournalism has been his extensive documentation of the marches, meetings, and rallies of the civil rights movement. He also has a special talent for photographing people. Over the years, he produced sensitive, humanistic, and, on occasion, humorous portraits of celebrities as well as ordinary men, women, and children of America, Africa, and the Caribbean. His photographs are powerful and direct and show a genuine respect for his subjects.

Sleet was born in Owensboro, Kentucky, where he grew up attending the local segregated public schools. His career as a photographer began in boyhood, when his parents gave him a box camera, and continued into high school. Sleet studied photography at Kentucky State College under the tutelage of John Williams, a family friend who was dean of the college and an accomplished photographer. When Sleet interrupted his studies as a business major to serve in World War II, he resolved to enter photography as a profession, though he returned and finished his degree. His mentor moved on to Maryland State College, and in 1948 invited Sleet to set up a photography department there. After a short time in Maryland, Sleet moved to New York, studying at the School of Modern Photography before attending New York University, where he obtained a master's degree in journalism in 1950.

After a brief stint as a sportswriter for the *Amsterdam News,* Sleet joined the staff of *Our World,* a popular black picture magazine. His five years there were training for his photojournalistic sensibility. He and the other staff photographers and writers were subject to the high editorial standards of the publisher, John Davis. It was under Davis's auspices that Sleet produced one of his most engaging stories, a 1953 series on the coal-mining town of Superior, West Virginia.

Our World ceased publication two years later, and Sleet joined the Johnson Publishing Company's New York–based illustrated monthly magazine *Ebony,* where he continued as staff photographer. Publisher John H. Johnson sent him to the far corners of the world on stories. In addition, coverage of the fledgling civil rights movement established the reputation of *Ebony*'s sister publication *Jet,* and in the early years Sleet's photographs appeared in both.

On assignment in 1956, Sleet first met Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., then a twenty-seven-year-old Atlanta minister, emerging as the leader of the civil rights movement. Their association flourished as the movement dominated the black press, with Sleet covering King's receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Sweden in 1964, his marching from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, and his funeral in Atlanta following his assassination in April 1968.

Sleet's recollection of the circumstances leading to his memorable Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph of Coretta Scott King was still vivid:

> There was complete pandemonium—nothing was yet organized because the people from SCLC [the Southern Christian Leadership Conference] were all in a state of shock. We had the world press descending upon Atlanta, plus the FBI, who were there investigating.
>
> We were trying to get an arrangement to shoot in the church. They said they were going to "pool it." Normally, the pool meant news services, *Life, Time,* and *Newsweek.* When the pool was selected, there were no black photographers from the black media in it. Lerone Bennett and I got in touch with Mrs. King through Andy Young. She said, "If somebody from Johnson Publishing is not on the pool, there will be no pool." Since I was with Johnson Publishing, I became part of the pool. In those days there weren't many blacks [in journalism], whether writers or photographers.
>
> The day of the funeral, Bob Johnson, the executive editor of *Jet,* had gotten in the church and he beckoned for me and said, Here's a spot right here. It was a wonderful spot. It was then a matter of photographing what was going on. It was so dramatic; everywhere you turned the camera—Daddy King, Vice President Humphrey, Nixon, Jackie Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy, Thurgood Marshall, Dr. Ralph Bunche reading the program with a magnifying glass. I considered myself fortunate to be there documenting everything. If I wasn't there I knew I would be somewhere crying.
>
> We had made arrangements with AP [the Associated Press] that they would process the black-and-white film immediately after the service and put it on the wire. Later I found out which shot they sent out (Taped interview, New York, 1986).

Sleet's career also encompassed the great period of African independence, when in the 1950s autonomous na-

tions emerged from former colonies. His first experience in "pack" journalism abroad came on Vice President Richard Nixon's 1957 trip through Africa, where Sleet photographed in Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan. It was on this trip he photographed Kwame Nkrumah at the moment of Ghana's independence. The results of the trip gained Sleet an Overseas Press Club citation in 1957.

Sleet's long career as a photojournalist took him all over the United States and Africa; he also visited and photographed on assignment in South America, Russia, the West Indies, and Europe. Though photo essays and portrait profiles made up the majority of his output, he also photographed the children who tagged alongside him as he worked. To Sleet, the father of three grown children, these personal portraits were the most rewarding.

In addition to winning a Pulitzer Prize in feature photography and a citation for excellence from the Overseas Press Club of America, Sleet received awards from the National Urban League (1969) and the National Association of Black Journalists (1978). Over the years, his work has appeared in several group exhibitions at museums, including the Studio Museum in Harlem and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1970 solo exhibitions were held at the City Art Museum of St. Louis and the Detroit Public Library. A retrospective exhibition organized by the New York Public Library in 1986 toured nationally for three years. Sleet had just returned from an assignment for *Ebony* at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics when he died on September 30, 1996.

See also King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Photography, U.S.

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JULIA VAN HAAFTEN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Smalls, Robert

April 5, 1839
February 23, 1915

The Civil War navy pilot, politician, and businessman Robert Smalls was born a slave near Beaufort, South Carolina. Smalls moved to Charleston, where he was allowed to hire himself out if he paid his owner $15 a month. The knowledge of coastal waterways that he gained as a boatman made possible one of the Civil War's most daring exploits.

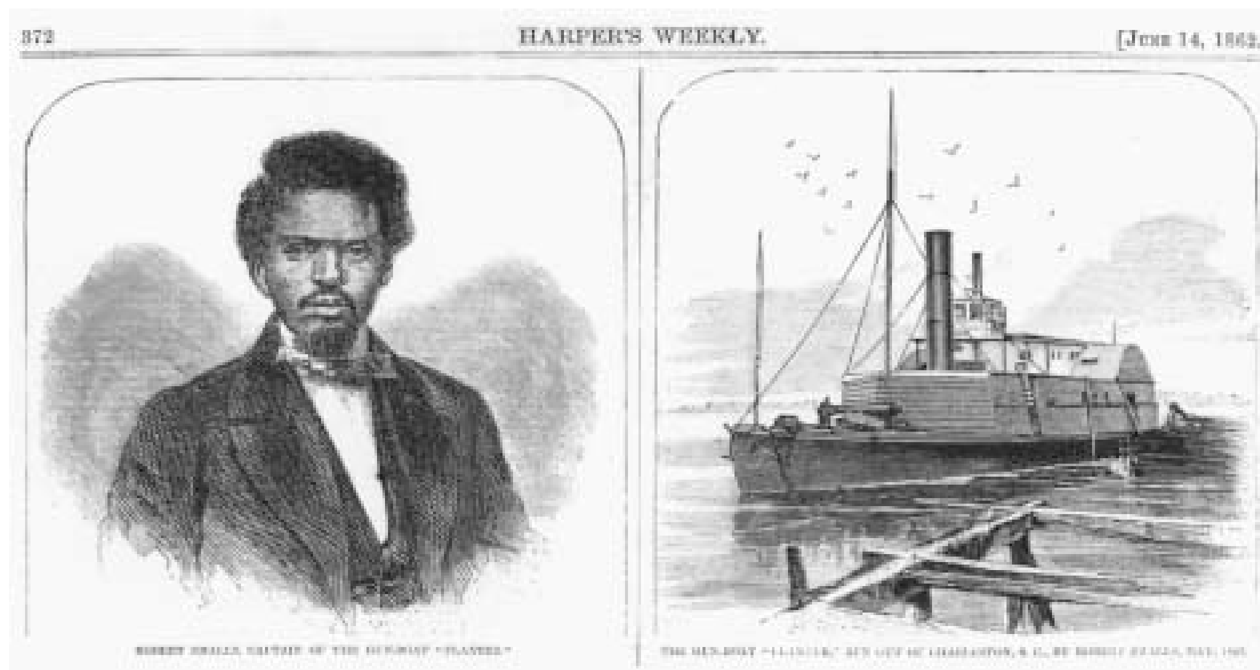
In 1862 the Confederate government made Smalls wheelsman of the steamboat the *Planter* (the title *pilot* was deemed inappropriate for a slave). He learned the signals necessary to pass southern fortifications and the location of mines.

On May 12, 1862, while white crew members were on shore, Smalls steered the ship, containing his family and a small group of other slaves, to Union lines. The news spread across the country. The coup was important militarily and symbolically, demonstrating what slaves—supposedly docile and content in their servitude—could accomplish.

Awarded $1,500 for the armed boat and commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Colored Troops, Smalls became pilot of the *Planter,* participated in seventeen battles, and recruited for the army. During and after the war he raised funds in the North for black southerners' interests. Doggedly pursuing his own education, he bought schools for freedmen while investing extensively in real estate and companies in his native state.

Dramatic as Smalls's escape was, his later career constituted his greatest legacy. During the twelve years that Reconstruction allowed black southerners political opportunities, Smalls became a South Carolina state congressman and senator and then, for most of the years between 1874 and 1886, a U.S. congressman, known for his repartee. In the state legislature he sponsored bills for free compulsory public education. He attended the 1864 Republican National Convention, helped write the 1868 state constitution, and became a major general of the state militia. In office, he fought not only for freedmen's interests—cheap land prices, continuing eligibility for army enlistment, and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act—but for his general constituency's concerns, including a railroad, reformed penitentiaries, property rights of wives and tenants, and health care for the poor.

When the Compromise of 1877 returned political control to Democrats, they quickly sought to drive out and



Robert Smalls and the gun-boat Planter. *Smalls and his fellow black crewman hijacked the Confederate steamer by night in the spring of 1862, sailing the vessel to Union forces and freedom.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

discredit all Republican officeholders. Smalls—who enjoyed the admiration of his African-American constituents for the heroic act he never tired of recounting—did not escape controversy. Despite having consistently attacked governmental extravagance and corruption, he faced a bribery charge, which was ultimately dropped. But staying in office became increasingly difficult, with the Democrats using violence and crooked elections to disfranchise the black population as the federal government lost interest in the former slaves. Smalls won his final congressional election against the viciously racist "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman in 1884.

Even after elected positions were no longer possible, Smalls's loyalty to the Republican Party assured him of patronage jobs. He served as Beaufort's customs collector from 1890 until 1913. He also continued to organize his district's black Republicans and to use his influence for former constituents whenever possible.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Military Experience, African-American

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ELIZABETH FORTSON ARROYO (1996)
Updated bibliography

Smith, Anna Deavere

September 18, 1950

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, playwright, performance artist, and actress Anna Deavere Smith, a 1996 recipient of the McArthur Foundation "Genius" grant, is noted for developing a unique style of performance art that blends traditional theatrical elements with meticulous journalism to provide social commentary from multiple points of view about controversial events. *Fires in the Mirror: Crown Heights Brooklyn and Other Identities* (1991) and *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* (1993), both one-woman shows that Smith premiered to rave reviews and toured around the world, were written as responses to American urban insurrections. The two plays explored themes of racial conflict and racial identity. For *Fires in the Mirror,* Smith received an Obie and a Pulitzer Prize nomination.

Smith's characteristic writing technique involves interviewing people, seeking the "moment when most people say something that nobody else can say." Smith then selects portions of these interviews, arranges them into monologues and dialogues to tell a story, and ends by memorizing and imitating her interviewees' speech and behavior for performance before a live audience. In juxtaposing the thoughts and attitudes of distinctly different people, Smith's plays present a documentary-style cross-section of Americans from the 1980s and 1990s. In 1993, Smith was labeled by *Newsweek* magazine as "the most exciting individual in American Theater." Her technique evolved while teaching theater at Carnegie Mellon University (1978–1979). She has also taught theater in several of America's top dramatic art programs, including the University of Southern California (1982), New York University (1983–1984), Actors Conservatory Theater (1986), Stanford University, where she became the Ann O'Day Maples Professor of the Arts in 1992, and the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University since 2000. Smith's play *House Arrest* premiered in 1997. In 2000 she published the book *Talk to Me: Travels in Media and Politics,* and since 2000 she has worked as a scriptwriter for such television shows as *The Practice* and *West Wing.*

See also Drama; Identity and Race in the United States; Performance Art

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F. ZEAL HARRIS (2001)
Updated by publisher 2005

SMITH, BARBARA

NOVEMBER 16, 1946

Barbara Smith is a lesbian writer, publisher, educator, and activist who was born in Cleveland, Ohio. She received her B.A. from Mount Holyoke College in 1969 and her M.A. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1971. In 1974 she cofounded the Combahee River Collective, an early black feminist organization that challenged racism in the gay movement and homophobia in the black community.

Smith was the first to openly address the subject of black lesbian eroticism in the canon of African-American literature. Her well-known 1977 essay, "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism," offered one of the first critical looks at matters of feminism, race, and literature together. Smith was cofounder and publisher of the now defunct Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press. The press was the first to focus on the realities and politics of women and lesbians of color.

Smith's publications include *This Bridge Called My Black: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981), *All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (1982), *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (1983), *Yours in the Struggle: Three Feminist Perspectives on Anti-Semitism and Racism* (1984), and *The Truth That Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender, and Freedom* (1998). Additionally, Smith has lectured and served as writer-in-residence at numerous colleges and universities, including Radcliffe College, Emerson College, the University of Massachusetts, Boston University, Barnard College, and Mt. Holyoke College. She has remained an outspoken critic of the absence of a discussion of lesbianism within the African-American literary canon.

See also Black Studies; Feminist Theory and Criticism; Intellectual Life; Lesbians

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RACHEL ZELLARS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

SMITH, BARBARA ("B. SMITH")

AUGUST 24, 1949

Entrepreneur, model, and author Barbara Smith was born in western Pennsylvania and grew up in Everson, a work-

ing-class town near Pittsburgh. After developing an interest in modeling, she took weekend classes at the John Robert Powers modeling school in Pittsburgh and graduated just before her high school commencement. When she was nineteen, the slender and attractive Smith was selected to serve as a model for the Ebony Fashion Fair's traveling show. She moved to New York to participate in the fair and begin her modeling career.

Smith's beauty, grace, and intelligence won top spots for her. She appeared on five covers for *Essence,* the first model so honored. In 1976 she became the first African American to appear on the cover of *Mademoiselle.* Since then she has appeared in over fifty print advertisements and television commercials, the most well known of which was a 1990s ad for Oil of Olay.

In the mid-1980s Smith scaled back her modeling to concentrate on the restaurant business, an interest she acquired as a youth watching and assisting her mother and grandmother prepare for family gatherings. Entering a partnership with Ark Restaurant Corporation, she has opened three B. Smith restaurants, two in New York and one in Washington, D.C.

B. Smith, as she prefers to be known, published *B. Smith's Entertaining and Cooking for Friends* in 1995. In 1997 she began hosting *Smith with Style,* a half-hour television show. In late 1999 she launched *B. Smith Style,* a magazine dedicated to her interests in food, fashion, and beauty. That year, too, she published her second book, *B. Smith Rituals and Celebrations,* which won *Food and Wine Magazine*'s 1999 "Best of the Best" Book Award.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States

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Reed, Julia. "Can B. Smith Be Martha?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 22, 1999.

JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Smith, Bessie

April 15, 1894
September 26, 1937

The blues singer Bessie Smith, known as "Empress of the Blues," was the greatest woman singer of urban blues and, to many, the greatest of all blues singers. She was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, the youngest of seven children of Laura and William Smith. Her father, a part-time Baptist preacher, died while she was a baby, and her early childhood, during which her mother and two brothers died, was spent in extreme poverty. Bessie and her brother Andrew earned coins on street corners with Bessie singing and dancing to the guitar playing of her brother.

The involvement of her favorite brother, Clarence, in the Moses Stokes Show was the impetus for Smith's departure from home in 1912. Having won local amateur shows, she was prepared for the move to vaudeville and tent shows, where her initial role was as a dancer. She came in contact with the singer Gertrude "Ma" Rainey (1886–1939), who was also with the Stokes troupe, but there is no evidence to support the legend that Rainey taught her how to sing the blues. They did develop a friendship, however, that lasted all of Smith's lifetime.

Smith's stint with Stokes ended in 1913, when she moved to Atlanta and established herself as a regular performer at the infamous Charles Bailey's 81 Theatre. By then the Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA) consortium was developing into a major force in the lives and careers of African-American entertainers, and managers and owners often made the lives of performers miserable through low pay, poor working and living conditions, and curfews. Bailey's reputation in this regard was notorious. Smith became one of his most popular singers, although she was paid only ten dollars a week.

Smith's singing was rough and unrefined, but she possessed a magnificent vocal style and commanding stage presence, which resulted in additional money in tips. With the 81 Theatre as a home base, Smith traveled on the TOBA circuit throughout the South and up and down the eastern seaboard. By 1918 she was part of a specialty act with Hazel Green, but she soon moved on to a solo act as a headliner.

Smith attracted a growing number of black followers in the rural South, as well as recent immigrants to northern urban ghettos who missed the down-home style and sound. She was too raw and vulgar, however, for the Tin Pan Alley black songwriters attempting to move into the lucrative world of phonograph recordings. White record

company executives found Smith's (and Ma Rainey's) brand of blues too alien and unrefined to consider her for employment. As a result, Smith was not recorded until 1923, when the black buying public had already demonstrated that there was a market for blues songs, a market the record companies became eager to exploit.

Fortunately, Smith was recorded by the Columbia Gramophone Company, which had equipment and technology superior to any other manufacturer at the time. Columbia touted itself in black newspapers as having more "race" artists than other companies. Into this milieu came Bessie Smith singing "Down Hearted Blues" and "Gulf Coast Blues," the former written (and previously performed) by Alberta Hunter (1895–1984), and the latter by Clarence Williams, a studio musician for Columbia who also played piano on both records. Sales were astronomical. Advertisements in the black newspapers reported her latest releases, and Smith was able to expand her touring range to include black theaters in all of the major northern cities. By 1924, she was the highest-paid African American in the country.

Smith sang with passion and authenticity about everyday problems, natural disasters, the horrors of the workhouse, abuse and violence, unfaithful lovers, and the longing for someone—anyone—to love. She performed these songs with a conviction and dramatic style that reflected the memory of her own suffering, and thus captured the mood of black people who had experienced pain and anguish, drawing listeners to her with empathy and intimacy. The poet Langston Hughes said Smith's blues were the essence of "sadness . . . not softened with tears, but hardened with laughter, the absurd, incongruous laughter of a sadness without even a god to appeal to."

Smith connected with her listeners in the same manner as the southern preacher: They were her flock who came seeking relief from the burdens of oppression, poverty, endless labor, injustice, alienation, loneliness, and love gone awry. She was their spiritual leader who sang away the pain by pulling it forth in a direct, honest manner, weaving the notes into a tapestry of moans, wails, and slides. She addressed the vagaries of city life and its mistreatment of women, the depletion of the little respect women tried to maintain. She sanctioned the power of women to be their own independent selves, to love freely, to drink and party and enjoy life to its fullest, to wail, scream, and lambaste anyone who overstepped boundaries in relationships—all of which characterized Smith's own spirit and life.

Columbia was grateful for an artist who filled its coffers and helped move it to supremacy in the recording industry. Smith recorded regularly for Columbia until 1929, producing 150 selections, of which at least two dozen were her own compositions. By the end of the 1920s, women blues singers were fading in popularity, largely because urban audiences were becoming more sophisticated. Smith appeared in an ill-fated Broadway show, *Pansy,* and received good reviews, but the show itself was weak and she left almost immediately. Her single film, *St. Louis Blues* (1929), immortalized her, although time and rough living had taken a toll on her voice and appearance by then.

Because of the Great Depression, the recording industry was in disarray by 1931. Columbia dismantled its race catalog and dropped Smith along with others. She had already begun to shift to popular ballads and swing tunes in an attempt to keep up with changing public taste. Okeh Records issued four of her selections in 1933. She altered her act and costumes in an attempt to appeal to club patrons, but she did not live to fulfill her hope of a new success with the emerging swing ensembles. On a tour of southern towns, Smith died in an automobile accident.

See also Blues, The; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Rainey, Ma; Smith, Mamie; Taylor, Koko

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DAPHNE DUVAL HARRISON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Smith, James McCune

April 18, 1813
November 17, 1865

The physician and abolitionist James McCune Smith was born in New York City, the son of freed slaves. He received his early education at the African Free School, but even with an excellent academic record, he was effectively barred from American colleges because of his race. In 1832 he entered Glasgow University in Scotland, where he

earned three academic degrees, including a doctorate in medicine. He also gained prominence in the Scottish antislavery movement as an officer of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

Following a short internship in Paris, Smith returned to New York City in 1837 and established a medical practice and pharmacy. His distinction as the first degree-holding African-American physician assured him a prominent position in the city's black community. He was involved in several charitable and educational organizations, including the Philomathean Society and the Colored Orphan Asylum.

Smith's intellect, integrity, and lifelong commitment to abolitionism brought him state and national recognition. From the early 1840s, he provided leadership for the campaign to expand black voting rights in New York, although he initially refused to ally with any political party. In the 1850s, Smith continued his suffrage activity through the black state conventions. He eventually gravitated to the political antislavery views of the Radical Abolition Party, and he received the party's nomination for New York secretary of state in 1857.

As a member of the Committee of Thirteen, a group of local black leaders (not to be confused with the U.S. Senate committee formed in 1860 called the Committee of Thirteen) he helped organize local resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. He was ranked among the steadfast opponents of the colonization and black emigration movements, affirming instead the struggle for the rights of American citizenship. Although committed to racial integration, he understood the practical and symbolic importance of separate black institutions, organizations, and initiatives. He called for an independent black press, and he worked with Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) in the early 1850s to establish the first permanent national African-American organization—the National Council of the Colored People.

Smith provided intellectual direction as well as personal leadership for the black abolitionist movement. From his critiques of colonization and black emigration in the 1840s and 1850s to his analysis of Reconstruction in the 1860s, his commentary informed the debate on racial identity and the future of African Americans. Smith's published essays include two pamphlets, *A Lecture on the Haytian Revolution* (1841) and *The Destiny of the People of Color* (1843). He wrote several lengthy articles for *Anglo-African Magazine* in 1859, and also provided introductions to Frederick Douglass's second autobiography and Henry Highland Garnet's *Memorial Discourse* (1865). Although he never published his own journal, he assisted other black editors in all phases of newspaper publishing. His letters to Frederick Douglass's paper often appeared under the pseudonym "Communipaw." He contributed as a correspondent or assistant editor to several other journals, including the *Colored American, Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate, Douglass' Monthly,* and *Weekly Anglo-African*. Smith's professional standing, erudition, and community involvement made his life a triumph over racism, and his name was frequently invoked by contemporaries as a benchmark for black intellect and achievement.

See also Abolition; African Free School; Douglass, Frederick

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Smith, James Todd

See L. L. Cool J (Smith, James Todd)

Smith, Mamie

May 26, 1883
September 16, 1946

Many details surrounding the birth of the blues singer Mamie Smith, the first African-American recording star, are uncertain. It is generally conceded that she was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, but it is not clear what her birth name was. Before reaching adulthood she sang, danced, and acted with white and black traveling vaudeville shows, including the Four Dancing Mitchells and the Salem Tutt-Whitney show. She married the singer William "Smitty" Smith in 1912 and came to New York the next year with the Smart Set, a black vaudeville troupe.

In New York, Smith met Perry Bradford (1893–1970), a minstrel performer and popular song composer, who

eventually hired her for his show *Made in Harlem* (1918); he also launched her recording career in 1920 when he persuaded technicians at Okeh Records to let her record "That Thing Called Love" and "You Can't Keep a Good Man Down." This disc, one of the earliest known recordings by an African-American popular singer, sold well enough to allow Smith to return to Okeh's studios later that year to record "Crazy Blues," a Bradford composition backed by a jazz band whose members included the pianist Willie "The Lion" Smith (1897–1973). "Crazy Blues" is sometimes considered the first blues recording, but the performance shares less with other classic blues records from the 1920s than with popular musical and vaudeville theater songs of the time. Nonetheless, "Crazy Blues" was a huge success that sold more than one million copies and initiated the blues craze of the 1920s. "Crazy Blues" also inaugurated the "race music" industry, which marketed blues and jazz specifically for African-American audiences.

In the 1920s Smith worked extensively with some of the finest improvisers in blues and jazz, including the trumpet player Bubber Miley on "I'm Gonna Get You" (1922), the saxophonist Coleman Hawkins on "Got to Cool My Doggies Now" (1922), and the saxophonist Sidney Bechet on "Lady Luck Blues" (1923). She also continued to perform in vaudeville and stage acts, including *Follow Me* (1922), *Struttin' Along* (1923), *Dixie Revue* (1924), *Syncopated Revue* (1925), and *Frolicking Around* (1926). Smith became wealthy, lived lavishly, and toured and recorded frequently.

In the 1930s Smith sang at clubs and concerts with the bands of Fats Pichon and Andy Kirk, and with the Beale Street Boys. She also performed in the shows *Sun Tan Follies* (1929), *Fireworks of 1930* (1930), *Rhumbaland Avenue* (1931), and *Yelping Hounds Revue* (1932-1934). Smith's film career began in 1929 with Jailhouse Blues and continued with *Paradise in Harlem* (1939), *Mystery in Swing* (1940), *Murder on Lenox Avenue* (1941), and *Because I Love You* (1943). By the early 1940s, however, Smith had lost much of her wealth. In 1944 she made her last appearance in New York, with Billie Holiday. That year Smith fell ill, and she spent the last two years of her life in Harlem Hospital. Though the generally accepted date of Smith's death is September 16, 1946, it is possible that she died on October 30.

See also Blues, The; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Rainey, Ma; Smith, Bessie; Taylor, Koko

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BUD KLIMENT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Smith, Venture

c. 1729
September 19, 1805

Venture Smith, a slave, was the author of a memoir titled *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America, Related by Himself* (1798), one of the earliest American slave narratives and one of the few to include a discussion of African life and of the Middle Passage. Born in Dukandarra, Guinea, as Broteer, son of Prince Saugm, Venture Smith was kidnapped and sold into slavery at the age of eight. Brought first to Barbados, then to North America, he received his names from two owners, a steward and a planter.

Smith spent a dozen years as a slave in Stonington, Connecticut, and Fisher's Island, off Long Island in New York. He was notable in his resistance to slavery. Smith refused to act humble or to accept insults. He grabbed whips away from masters and on one occasion beat his master and his brother after they attacked him. Once he planned an escape in a boat, but he argued with his confederates and the plan collapsed.

During his time in bondage Smith accumulated money through hunting and fishing; he also hired out his labor, chopping large forests of wood on Long Island. He acquired a reputation as a superhuman laborer, a giant man, a combination Paul Bunyan/John Henry figure who weighed three hundred pounds with a six-foot waist. So phenomenal was his strength that, according to legend, he often paddled a canoe forty-five miles across Long Island Sound and back in a single day, between chopping nine cords of wood.

Eventually Smith saved enough money, and in 1765 he bought his freedom for £76. He supported himself by chopping wood, hunting, fishing, trading on merchant ships, whaling, and farming. With the proceeds of his tireless labor he bought freedom for his wife and children and for some friends he had made while in slavery. In 1776 he

moved to Haddam Neck, Connecticut, where he bought a house and hired two black indentured servants. He lived there until his death in 1805. In 1798, his *Narrative,* written with Elisha Niles, was printed. Stories of his prowess followed him to Connecticut and survived for a century after his death.

See also Free Blacks 1619–1860; Slave Narratives

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Smith, Will

September 25, 1968

Born Willard Christopher Smith Jr. in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Will Smith was the second of four children of Caroline and Willard Sr. A graduate of Overbrook High School, Smith declined a scholarship to MIT to focus on his burgeoning musical career. Smith, whose childhood nickname was "Prince," met Jeff Townes at a party, and together they formed the rap duo DJ Jazzy Jeff & the Fresh Prince. In 1987 they issued their first album, *Rock the House*, and had a modest hit with the single "Girls Ain't Nothing But Trouble." Their follow-up album, 1988's *He's the DJ, I'm the Rapper*, achieved double-platinum status and won the first MTV Video Music Award for Best Rap Performance. The duo also won the first Grammy Award for Best Rap Performance in 1989 for the single from that album, "Parents Just Don't Understand." The duo were nominated for Grammys in 1990 and 1991, and won again in 1992 for the song "Summertime" from the album *Homebase*. DJ Jazzy Jeff & the Fresh Prince released their last studio album as a duo with 1993's *Code Red*.

In the meantime, Smith began his acting career on the NBC sitcom *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, which ran from 1990 to 1996 (he served as executive producer for the 1994–1996 seasons). Smith made his film debut in 1992's *Where the Day Takes You* and also had roles in *Made in America* (1993) and *Six Degrees of Separation* (1993). His first major box-office success came costarring with Martin Laurence in the 1995 action film from director Michael Bay, *Bad Boys,* which made more than $145 million worldwide. (A sequel, *Bad Boys II,* was released in 2003.) Smith then went on to star in the summer box-office smashes *Independence Day* (more than $797 million worldwide) in 1996 and *Men in Black* (more than $576 million worldwide) in 1997. He won his first solo Grammy Award for Best Rap Solo Performance for the film's "Men in Black" theme song. Smith also released his first solo album, *Big Willie Style,* that same year.

Smith continued to alternate between music and acting, appearing in the films *Enemy of the State* (1998), *Wild Wild West* (1999), and *The Legend of Bagger Vance* (2000), while releasing the 1999 album *Willennium*. Smith received his fourth Grammy Award in 1999 for the song "Getting' Jiggy Wit It." In 2001, Smith played the role of boxer Muhammad Ali in director Michael Mann's film *Ali,* for which Smith received a 2002 Academy Award nomination as Best Actor as well as a Golden Globe nomination for Best Actor in a Drama. He then went on to star in the films *Men in Black 2* (2002), *I, Robot* (2004), *Shark Tale* (2004), and his first romantic comedy, *Hitch* (2005). Smith also released the albums *Born to Reign* (2002) and *Lost and Found* (2005).

Smith was married to Sheree Smith (with whom he has a son) from 1992 to 1995. He married actress Jada Pinkett Smith (with whom he has a son and daughter) in 1997. The UPN television series *All of Us,* for which the Smiths serve as executive producers, began in 2003 and was inspired by their personal lives.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary; Rap; Television

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CHRISTINE TOMASSINI (2005)

SNCC

See Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Sobers, Garfield

July 28, 1936

World-renowned cricket legend Sir Garfield St. Auburn Sobers is regarded as among the most extraordinarily talented all-round players of the sport during the twentieth century. His towering feats at batting, bowling, and fielding were executed at the international level during his twenty-one-year professional career from 1953 to 1974 playing for the West Indies team, whose players are selected from the Anglophone Caribbean countries. Sir Garfield's most spectacular performances were made in test matches against Australian, English, Indian, New Zealand, and Pakistani teams. In the process he set a number of world records that took decades to break, while others have never been broken.

In recognition of his many outstanding cricketing achievements as a player and team captain and of his overall influence on the game, he was knighted by England's Queen Elizabeth II in 1975 and made a National Hero of Barbados in 1998. A larger-than-life statue of him was unveiled in Barbados in 2002, and Barbados's major sports complex is named after him. He has also received numerous awards from groups and organizations in the Caribbean, as well as around the world, including the Black Hall of Fame in the United States.

Sir Garfield was born in the Bay Land, St. Michael, Barbados, the fifth of six children to Sharmont and Thelma Sobers. When Garfield was five years old, his father, a merchant seaman, died on board a Canadian ship that was torpedoed in January 1942 by a German submarine. Young Garfield attended the Bay Street Boys' School near his home but became intensely involved in a wide range of sports from soccer to basketball. By the age of thirteen he exhibited exceptional bowling cricket skills and with limited mentoring rapidly emerged as one of the best youth players in his country. Three years later at age sixteen he was selected by the Barbados Cricket Board to play in his first international competition against the touring team from India in 1953. The following year he made his debut for the West Indies, playing against England's test team, and at seventeen became the second youngest player to represent the region in international cricket.

Over his professional cricketing career, Sobers played almost year-round in league and county games for Nottinghamshire in England and for South Australia. His international test records include taking 235 wickets and scoring 365 undefeated runs in 614 minutes, which remained the highest score in international cricket for thirty-six years until the record was broken by Trinidadian Brian Lara in April 1994. Sir Garfield because the first player in test cricket to score over 8,000 runs, which included making 26 centuries. At bowling, he became the first West Indian player to take over 100 wickets against English test teams. He also set a record in playing in eighty-five consecutive test matches, and he played in thirty-nine consecutive test matches as team captain. During his captaincy, he drew twenty test matches, lost ten and won nine. He still holds a number of records of batting partnerships with other players. Sobers played in ninety-three world test matches, batted in 160 innings, and was not out twenty-one times and made an average of 57.78 runs. As a bowler, he delivered 21,599 balls, had 978 maiden overs, and took 235 wickets for an average of 34.03 runs.

Sobers was first made the captain of his team in March 1964 and led it to victory against three world-class teams from 1965 to 1967. He led the West Indies team to its first-ever test series victory over the Australian team in 1965 to win the Frank Worrell trophy. The following year he led his team over the English team and won the Wisden Trophy, and the year after that he had a victory in the Indian test team series. Sir Garfield's last test match, against England in 1973, was played at the famous Lord's Cricket Grounds and he made 150 runs in one innings.

At the height of his popularity, Sobers married Prudence Kirby of Melbourne, Australia, on September 11, 1969, and later became the father of two sons and a daughter, Matthew, Daniel, and Genevieve.

Sir Garfield's retirement from international professional cricket did not diminish his enthusiasm for the promotion of cricket and other sports. In the early 1980s he coached the Sri Lanka National Cricket Team for two years and assisted it in achieving international playing status. He also worked for various Caribbean organizations promoting improved playing standards in a number of sports. In 1987 he helped establish the Sir Garfield Sobers International Schoolboys Tournament, which still sponsors youth cricket teams from various parts of the Caribbean as well as England, Canada, South Africa, Australia, India, and New Zealand to improve their skills and compete in a series of matches during the summer months.

Additionally, Sir Garfield has remained an ardent promoter of golf throughout the Caribbean. The 2005 Sir Garry Sobers Festival of Golf was held in mid-May in Barbados simultaneously at three major golf courses and attracted 253 golfers from around the Caribbean who participated in a fifty-four-hole event over three days.

See also Headley, George

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GLENN O. PHILLIPS (2005)

Soccer

Soccer is unquestionably a game of the world, but with histories, dimensions, and passions that are more likely to be felt locally. In the context of the Americas, there is no doubt that the legacy of the African diaspora has proven to be a key element in the evolution of the sport from North to South America. Moreover, the result of the African presence can be measured by Brazil's status as the only five-time World Cup champion and its national hero, Pelé, as the greatest player of the world. Thus, while the African presence and influence must be contextualized by region and nation, the connections between Pelé, Brazil, soccer, and the notion of the *jogo bonito* (the "beautiful game") are virtually coextensive. Still, while Brazil and its players are the apex of the sport and the reification of African influence on the game in the new world, the Americas offer other interesting histories of the black experience within soccer.

In the context of Brazil, long rated among the world's soccer powers, the contributions of blacks have been largely felt on the field, beginning with the goal-scoring prowess of Arthur Friedenrich and the contributions of the first great black Brazilian internationals, Domingos and Leonidas, who participated in the 1938 World Cup. Still, the great Brazilian teams from 1950 through 1970 were heavily reliant on the creative talents of a number of black footballers, including Jair, Garrincha, Zizinho, Pelé, and Carlos Alberto. World champions again in 1994, the image of the Brazilian team is now cemented, a multiracial squad engaged in creative work. From the late 1980s to the present, the Brazilian team has competed with a large number of black stars and a succession of key creative and scoring talents (Romario, Rivaldo, Ronaldo, Ronaldinho, Robinho), each of whom has extended the legacy established by the earlier generations of black Brazilian stars. An important part of this legacy is the Brazilian style of play, a reflection of the individual brilliance and inventiveness of black players who have demonstrated an unequaled capacity to create and score.

Notwithstanding the brilliance of such pivotal players, Brazil has also had a brace of defensive players (notably Junior and Cafu). Still, the issue of race has also been in question in Brazil, extending from the early days of the twentieth century when the game was effectively segregated to the almost traditional location of white players in the pivotal role of goalkeeper. This latter fact is perhaps due to the trauma of the Brazilian populace after losing, on home soil, the 1950 World Cup with the unlucky black goalkeeper, Barbosa. Taken as a whole, across several generations, black athletes in Brazil have been central in the nation's ability to secure an unprecedented five FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association) World Cups, the quadrennial culmination of regional and international group competitions.

The centrality of blacks, however, is not limited to Brazil. Across many parts of Latin America where generations of forced and unforced immigration have led to significant populations of Afro-Latinos, the presence of blacks has been marked and important. For example, in Peru, a nation with a long history of national and international participation in soccer and a period of punctuated excellence in the early- to mid-1970s, Teofilo Cubillas stands out as the seminal figure within the sport. Similarly, black players have contributed to the successes of Uruguay and, especially, Colombia, the latter having finally produced a run of success through the 1990s based on the talents of midfielder Carlos Valderrama and forwards Freddy Rincon and Faustino Asprilla. Colombia is also notable because of the contributions of coach Francisco Maturana at both the club and national team level. He thus represents the incursions, not yet fully realized, of black managers in the game.

Like their counterparts in Brazil, Peru, and Colombia, various Central American nations (principally Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador) and Caribbean nations (Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica) have experienced success at the international level and have contributed important black players to the best Latin American and continental professional leagues.

Indeed, the Central American and Caribbean region, which at the international level was regionalized to include the Caribbean islands, Mexico, Canada, and the United States, also has a rich history of black athletes. Costa Rica became highly competitive in the 1990s because of the contributions of players such as Paulo Wanchope (who has played much of his club football in Europe). Similarly, Haiti in 1974, El Salvador and Honduras in 1982, and Jamaica in 1998 have demonstrated the excellence of largely Afro-Latino teams in World Cup competitions. Jamaica is particularly notable because so much of its team was and

Brazilian soccer star Ronaldo, playing in Italy in 1998. PHOTOGRAPH BY LUCA BRUNO. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

remains comprised of the sons of Jamaican immigrants who moved to the United Kingdom. Thus, a large percentage of these players have developed in England's Premier League and the lower divisions of the English Football Association. Likewise, Trinidad and Tobago's team was reliant on expatriates based in the United Kingdom, including Dwight Yorke, a starting striker during the dominant 1990s iterations of Manchester United.

Closer to the United States the impact of such players can be marked by the importance of Pelé in the grassroots popularity of soccer beginning in the mid-1970s with his arrival in the United States to play for the New York Cosmos in the now-defunct North American Soccer League (NASL). Shortly thereafter, other players of high caliber, including Cubillas, the Brazilian Mirandinha, and the Portuguese Eusebio, and a raft of British imports, often with roots in the Caribbean Islands (e.g., Clyde Best, Clive Charles, Godfrey Ingram, and Vince Hilaire), as well as African players (Jomo Sono, Jean-Pierre Tokoto, Andreis Maseko, Ade Coker, Ken Mogojoa, and Ace Ntsolengoe) began appearing for various clubs during the height of the North American Soccer League (1968–1984).

Although black imports like Pelé and Cubillas raised the profile of soccer, this did not necessarily draw African-American youth to the sport in significant numbers. Unlike in Latin America, soccer has long been the sport of the white suburbs and thus the NASL did not connect well with black communities already drawn to baseball, basketball, and football. Within the U.S. national team, which has persisted in regional and international competitions even while an alphabet soup of professional soccer leagues has risen and fallen in the United States, there had been very few black players between 1930, which marked the first U.S. entrance into the World Cup, and 1990, which marked the team's first World Cup appearance since the historic 1950 competition that saw the U.S. team defeat a seemingly all-powerful squad from England. The 1990 team had among its ranks only two African Americans—Jimmy Banks and Desmond Armstrong.

Nevertheless, the emergence of Major League Soccer (MLS) in 1995 also demonstrated a deeper integration of African-American and Afro-Latino players. Thus, apart from bringing such Afro-Latinos as Carlos Valderrama, Eduardo Hurtado, and Jose Dely Valdez to the league, an impressive list of African Americans has emerged. These players have contributed to the league, as well as the development of the national team, which has qualified for each of the last four World Cups (1990–2002), a feat unparalleled in the history of U.S. soccer. Key players in MLS and on the national team have included goalies Tim Howard and Zach Thornton; defenders Eddie Pope and Tony Sanneh; midfielders Earnie Stewart, Cobi Jones, and teenage sensation Freddy Adu; and Roy Lassiter and DeMarcus Beasley. Indeed, the caliber of such players is marked by their presence on top-division teams in England, Germany, Holland, and Italy.

For most Americans, the issue of African Americans and sport is dominated by the important social and historical developments within the "big three" of U.S. professional team sports. However, a broader geographical view demonstrates that the historical developments and flows that brought Africans to the shores of the Americas have resulted in profound and spectacular developments across a variety of sports, including soccer. It is impossible to think of the game without its African-American contributors, who have left indelible marks on how the game is played by club and national teams across South, Central, and North America. Undoubtedly, these contributions will continue as the sport moves forward and looks forward to the African continent hosting a World Cup.

See also Pelé (Nascimento, Edson Arantes do); Sports

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FERNANDO DELGADO (2005)

Social Dance

One of the most notable aspects of the evolution of American social dance from the late seventeenth century to the end of the twentieth century is the emerging dominance of African-American dance styles. During the first two hundred years the development of a recognizable American dance style progressed slowly through a blending of African and European movement and music forms. By the end of the 1890s, however, a distinct pattern unfolded in which dances created in African-American communities spread out to the American mainstream, moving from the United States to Europe and eventually to other parts of the world, such as the Charleston in the 1920s and the hip-hop/freestyle in the 1970s and 1980s. During the twentieth century the process accelerated. Propelled by the aggressive exportation of American movies, television, records, and videos, African-American dances spread quickly. And since the early 1980s, with worldwide satellite television broadcasting and the consequent expansion of the music-video industry, a world youth culture has developed. Linked together through CDs and music videos and tuned to the latest move, an adolescent in Paris or Tokyo dances to the same beat as a New York hip-hopper. The styles they are trying to master are decidedly African American, and the teenagers dance more like each other than like their parents.

Although American dance has been fused from many different cultural sources over hundreds of years, the two main traditions of movement and music that shaped the way Americans move are those of Western Europe and West Africa. In constant flux, American dance encompasses older traditional dances as well as the newest fads, stage dance and street forms, classical African dances, ballet, square dancing, and the most recent club inventions.

Because popular dances are created democratically by thousands of people over a long period of time and are learned through observation and imitation, traditional movements pass and are recycled from one generation to the next. For example, some of the steps used in hip-hop/rap/freestyle look like updated versions of the fast, slipping footwork of the Charleston, which, in turn, echo the rapid grinding and crisscrossing steps basic to some of the traditional dances of West Africa. The cycle works the other way as well, and contemporary African social dances recycle and retranslate modes of popular American dances.

Because it is nonverbal, dance information can cross temporal and geographic borders. It slips ethnic boundaries, and it blurs the imaginary lines that separate folk art from fine art, popular dance from classical dance. As a result of this flexibility, original functions and forms get altered, movements get reshaped to fit new situations and contexts. Paradoxically—because body language is learned early and strongly and is a fundamental cultural identifier—dance, the most fugitive of artistic expressions, remains one of the most persistent of all cultural retentions.

Carried in the kinetic memories of African slaves and European immigrants, dances arrived whole or in fragmented forms. Subjected in North America to radically different environmental and cultural mixes as well as the harsh conditions of slavery, dances adapted. Circumventing verbal communication, dance (like music) provided a way for Africans from disparate geographic areas to come together, to move together, to bond together in a strange land. Gradually, over time, an African-American style evolved as dances got re-created by those who recalled their dance inheritances whole, those who recalled them only partially, and those of other cultural origins for whom it was not a legacy.

African Traditions in Colonial America

In colonial America the majority of African slaves resided in the middle and southern colonies. The rapid establishment of religious circular dances (grouped under the generic name of "ring shouts") and secular circular dances (called "juba" dances) indicates a probable legacy of compatible movement characteristics shared by the various African groups. These early African Americans also practiced seasonal dances that marked seasonal changes and harvesting and planting times, or dances that celebrated rites of passage such as marriage dances. In addition there seemed to have been a variety of animal dances (probably a fusion of hunting dances and mask-cult or religious dances), and processional dances, used during funeral celebrations.

In the late 1730s slaves were forbidden use of their drums in several colonies, in part because of the 1739 Cato Conspiracy or Stono Rebellion in South Carolina, which led to the subsequent passage of a series of laws forbidding slaves to congregate or to play their big gombe drums. De-

prived of their larger percussion instruments, the slaves turned to smaller means of percussion. They used their bodies as musical instruments. Previously used in complementary rhythmic accompaniment, these now became dominant: hand clapping and body slapping (also known as "patting" or hamboneing), and rhythmic footwork. Small percussive instruments, such as tambourines and "bones" (the legbones, ribs, or jawbones of animals played with pieces of wood or metal rasps) became widespread. (At times the bones could be fashioned into two fine, thin, long pieces that were held in the hand and played like castanets.) In both the religious ring shout and the secular juba, the feet slid, tapped, chugged, and stamped in rhythmic harmony with antiphonal singing and clapping as the dancers moved around the circle. The juba and the ring shout shared other characteristics, such as moving counterclockwise, with the dancers in the surrounding circle providing musical, movement, and percussive motifs in a call-and-response pattern with a changing leader. In the juba, individual improvisations occurred in the middle of the circle; in the ring shout, individual ecstatic possession occurred among some of the participants. In the juba especially there was a fluid relationship between the improvisers and the surrounding circle of watchers and music makers. Those in the center would dance until exhausted; then others from the circle would move in to take their places.

Colonial slave masters rarely allowed religious dances to be performed openly, so religious dances continued to be practiced clandestinely. At times they merged with other, more secular dances and continued to exist syncretically. Although these new dances retained many characteristics of those from the Old World, they had become their own distinctive dance forms.

Blending of African and European Traditions

Certainly the most powerful changes were caused by the mixing of African and European dance styles. European dance featured an upright posture with head held high and a still torso with no hip rotations. Arms framed the body and—because European dance was usually performed inside, on floors, in shoes—there was careful placement and articulation of the feet. Men and women danced in couples, and in this partnership, body line and placement, as well as couple cooperation, were emphasized over individual movement. In European "figure" dances, floor patterns were valued above personal invention (in "figure" or "set" dances many couples will move together as a group in specific designs, similar to a modern-day Virginia reel or square dance). Music and dance tempos were organized around simple rhythms with regularly stressed beats and syncopations, and musical compositions emphasized melody. The pervasive dynamics of European dancing were control and erectness.

By contrast, African dance "gets down" in a gently crouched position, with bent knees and flexible spine. Traditional African dance tends to be performed in same-sex groups. Danced in bare feet on the bare earth, it favored dragging, sliding, and stamping steps. The supple upper body, with its flexible relationship to the lower limbs, could physically carry many rhythms simultaneously, mirroring the polyrhythms of the music. A polyrhythmic, multimetered, and highly syncopated percussive dynamic propelled movement and music. Movement often initiated from the pelvis, and pelvis rotations caused a sympathetic undulation in the spine and torso. Animal motions were imitated and quite realistically portrayed on the entire body. Improvisations were appreciated as an integral part of the performance ethos.

These last two qualities would make especially important contributions to the development of African-American dance. First, when the dancer imitates the animal's motions fully, habitual patterns of locomotion and gestures are bypassed. Timing and tempos get altered, usual choices are supplanted by fresh movements, fueling the dance vocabulary with new material, expanding the lexicon of motion. For example, "peckin'" (the head thrusts forward and backward like a bird feeding) and "wings" (the arms are flapped like the wings of a great bird, or sharply bent elbows beat quickly) spiced the larger body movements of the Charleston in the 1920s. The monkey and the pony were popular dances of the 1960s, and breakdancers of the 1980s did the crab and the spider. In the early 1990s, the butterfly (the legs open and close like butterfly wings) became a popular dance in reggae and dance hall styles.

The emphasis on improvisation advanced the evolution of dance styles. The improviser accomplishes two things simultaneously. While staying within the known stylistic parameters (reinforcing traditional patterns), the improviser is an inventor whose responsibility is to add individual flavor to the movement or timing that updates and personalizes the dance. This keeps social dance perpetually on the edge of change and also helps explain why social dance fads come and go so quickly.

The inevitable exchange between European and African styles led to incorporation and synthesis, and what evolved was neither wholly African nor European but something in between. As they served at the masters' balls, slaves observed the cotillions, square dances, and other "set" or "figure" dances. In turn, European-American

dances were altered by observation and contact with African-American music and dance. Sometimes black musicians played for the white masters' balls. It was also not uncommon on southern plantations for the children of the slaves to play with the masters' children. It was common practice for the masters to go down to the slave quarters to watch slave dances or to have their slaves dance for them on special occasions. At times, slaves engaged in jig dance competitions, where one plantation would pit its best dancers against the best dancers from another. At first, "jig dance" was a generic term that European Americans gave to different types of African-American step dances where the feet rhythmically played against the floor, because this fancy footwork resembled the jigs of the British Isles. Informal jig dance contests occurred in northern cities on market days, when freedmen and slaves congregated to dance after the market closed (in Manhattan this happened in the Five Points Catherine Square area), and along the banks of the great transportation river highways, where slaves hired out by their masters worked as stevedores alongside indentured or immigrant workers. In New Orleans, "Congo Square" was designated as the place where slaves could congregate and celebrate in song and dance on Sunday.

The majority of the earlier European colonists came from the British Isles, and within that group were large numbers of poor Irish settlers and Irish indentured servants. More than any other ethnic group, the Irish mixed with African slaves doing heavy labor—the Irish as indentured servants, the Africans as slaves—for the master. Later they lived alongside each other in slums of poverty, so that the mutual influence of Irish step dances like the jig and hornpipe and African step dances was early and strong.

General patterns of fusion suggest the following progression. Between the late 1600s and early 1800s, African and African Americans adopted aspects of European dance for their use. For example, they began early to move in male-female couples (mixed couples and body contact in traditional African dance is extremely rare) in European figure dances, such as quadrilles and reels. However, they retained their own shuffling steps and syncopated movements of feet, limbs, and hips. After the 1820s that trend reversed, as Europeans and European Americans began to copy African-American dance styles—a trend still in effect. In general, as the African elements became more formal and diluted, the European elements got looser and more rhythmic. Religious dancing became secular; group dancing gave way to individual couples on the dance floor; and following the rise of urbanization and industrialization and the consequent migration of black workers, rural dances moved to the towns. Since the late 1930s, in reverse, urban dances that became dance crazes spread back to rural communities and out to the world.

The 1890s was the decade that marked the beginning of the international influence of African-American dance. The cakewalk had been developing since the late 1850s, and by the 1890s was well established as an extremely popular dance in both theatrical and nontheatrical contexts. According to ex-slaves, the cakewalk, with its characteristic high-kneed strut walk, probably originated shortly after the mid-1850s. The dance had begun as a parody of the formal comportment and upright posture of the white ballroom dancers as they paraded down the center of the floor, two by two, in the opening figures of a promenade that would have begun the formal balls. The simplicity of this walk made it easy to mimic and exaggerate, it fit easily into the African tradition of satiric song and dance, and the formality of the walk resonated with African processional dances. Apparently the dance had been a "chalkline" dance, where the dancers had to walk a line while balancing containers of water on their heads.

The Cakewalk

By the 1890s the cakewalk had been adapted as a ballroom dance by whites, who grafted the high-kneed walking steps with a simple 2/4 or 4/4 rhythm of early ragtime jazz and blended it with the promenading steps that were already a central motif in many of the schottisches and gallops popular in the ballrooms of the time. The cakewalk quickly translated to the stage and had been regularly performed in the big African-American touring shows since the beginning of the decade, by such troupes as Black Patti and her Troubadours and in shows like *The South Before the War* and *A Trip to Coontown,* among others. The cakewalk was danced on Broadway by excellent black performers in *Clorindy: The Origin of the Cakewalk* (1898). As well, there were numerous cakewalk competitions done regularly by whites (one of the largest annual events took place at Madison Square Garden in Manhattan). The enormous popularity of the dance is clear from even the most cursory perusal of sheet music from 1890 to 1907. A few exhibition dance teams of African-American performers traveled to Europe to perform the dance (the most famous was the husband-and-wife team of Charles Johnson and Dora Dean), and in 1904 the cakewalk received the validation of aristocratic society when the Prince of Wales learned the dance from the comedy-and-dance team of African-American performers Bert Williams and George Walker. The structural framework of the cakewalk had open sections for improvisation that shifted emphasis to the individual's role, changing the focus from the group to the

couple and the person. It was the turn of the century, and as the incubator of individual invention, the cakewalk was the perfect artistic catalyst to launch dance into the modernist sensibility of the twentieth century.

A rash of rollicking animal dances gained ascendancy between 1907 and 1914, overlapping the cakewalk and replacing it in the public's favor. The turkey trot, kangaroo hop, and the grizzly bear (three among many) incorporated eccentric animal gestures into the couple-dance format, a blend that had long been practiced by African-American dancers—elbows flapped, heads pecked, dancers hopped—in bits of motion that were derived from such African-American animal dances as the buzzard lope. The rising popularity of these dances paralleled the rise in sheet music publication. For a small investment, people got music and dance instructions, since the song lyrics told how the dance should be done.

A typical example of the instructional song is the well-known ragtime dance *ballin' the jack*, which developed in about 1910. (The meaning of the title is obscure, but it probably originated from railroad slang, with the general meaning of enjoyable, rollicking good times.) As described in 1913 in its published form by two African-American songwriters, Chris Smith and Jim Burris, the dance had the following steps:

> First you put your two knees close up tight, then you sway 'em to the left, then you sway 'em to the right. Step around the floor kind of nice and light, then you twis' around and twis' around with all your might. Stretch your lovin' arms straight out in space, then you do the eagle rock with style and grace, swing your foot way 'round, then bring it back, now that's what I call ballin' the jack.

The Jazz Era

Between 1900 and 1920 a dance fever gripped America. Since the early 1900s couples had been moving closer together, and with the evolution of the slower, more blusey early jazz styles, close-clutching dances like the slow drag, which had always been done at private parties, began to surface in public places. The hip motions and languid gliding feet in such African-American dances as the grind and mooch (both a couple or solo dance) indicate that body contact and postures were already racially shifting. Certainly this prepared the way for the arrival of the tango and its immediate acceptance as a dance craze in 1913. (The tango originated in Argentina. Although its precise origins are quite complex, it was also a likely synthesis of European and African influences.) The tango is a difficult dance to do, necessitating dance lessons, a reality happily exploited by the numerous exhibition tango teams who demonstrated the dance to the eager public, then taught it to them in their studios or at the local dance hall or tango teas. If few could afford this luxury, thousands of people nevertheless danced what they believed to be the tango. In reality, the frank sensuality of thigh and pelvic contact coincided more readily with familiar close-couple African-American dances of the juke joints, small dance halls, and white-and-tan clubs that peppered mixed neighborhoods of every American city.

THEATRICAL DANCE. By the late 1910s a flood of migrating workers moved northward, seeking jobs in urban industries built for the war effort of World War I. As great numbers of African Americans moved into cities, they formed a critical mass of talent that erupted in a variety of artistic expressions. Their energy gave birth to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and turned Harlem—and black neighborhoods in other industrial cities—into crucibles of creativity in the popular and fine arts. The golden years of black Broadway (1921–1929) began with the hugely successful *Shuffle Along* (1921), written, directed, composed, and choreographed by African Americans (its four major creators were Noble Sissle, Eubie Blake, Flournoy Miller, and Aubrey Lyles). This production, and subsequent road shows, brought African-American jazz music and jazz dances to a wide audience. There was little distinction between social dances and stage adaptations, and current popular dances were simply put onstage with few changes. As a result of *Shuffle Along*'s popularity, Broadway dance began to reshape itself, shifting to a jazz mode, as Florenz Ziegfeld and other producer-directors began to copy *Shuffle Along*'s choreography. A spate of new studios opened in the Broadway area to teach this African-American vernacular jazz dance to professional actors and to an eager public (one important instructor was Buddy Bradley, who taught the Astaires and a host of other Broadway and film actors, then went on to choreograph English revues).

THE CHARLESTON. Then with the 1923 Broadway show *Runnin' Wild,* the Charleston burst onstage and into the hearts of the American public, especially through the eponymous song James P. Johnson composed for the show. However, the Charleston had been a popular dance among African Americans long before the 1920s. Although its origins are unclear, it probably originated in the South, as its name suggests, then was brought north with migrating workers. Jazz historian Marshall Stearns reports its existence in about 1904, and the late tap dancer Charles "Honi" Coles said that in about 1916 as a young child he

learned a complete version of the dance, which had long been popular in his hometown of Philadelphia.

The Charleston is remarkable for the powerful resurgence of Africanisms in its movements and performance and for shattering the conventions of European partnering. The Charleston could be performed as a solo or a couple dance, or partners could dance together side by side or in the closed-couple position. For women in particular, its wild movements and devil-may-care attitude broke codes of correct deportment and propriety. It was quick and decidedly angular, and the slightly crouched position of the body imparted a quality of alert wildness. The steps (and the early jazz music it was performed to) are syncopated, the knees turn in and out, the feet flick to the side, and a rapid forward-and-backward prancing step alternated with pigeon-toed shuffles and high kicks. As the arms and legs fling in oppositional balance, elbows angled and pumping, the head and hands shake in counterpoint. Knock-kneed, then with legs akimbo, body slightly squatted, this beautiful awkwardness signaled the aesthetic demise of European ideals of symmetry and grace in social dance. The fast-driving rhythms of the music smoothed the flow of broken motions into a witty dance punctuated with shimmies, rubber-legging, sudden stops, and dance elements such as the black bottom, spank the baby, or truckin'. Although these new dances often caused alarm because of their seeming anarchy of motion, and the uncontrolled freedom that that implies, the Charleston in particular roused the ire of the guardians of public morality. Warning that the Charleston would lead to sexual and political dissolution, the dance was condemned by several clerics and was banned in several cities.

Although the Charleston was immediately introduced to Europe by American jazz artists touring there, it was Josephine Baker (she had been a chorus girl in *Shuffle Along*) who personalized the dance. She went to Paris in 1924 and became the darling of the French, and it was Josephine's charming, humorous, and slightly naughty version of the Charleston that caused such a sensation in Europe. The Charleston, and all the bold young women who performed it, came to symbolize the liberated woman of the twenties, and the rubber-legging "flapper" became an icon of the era.

DANCING AT THE SAVOY. Then, in 1926, the Savoy Ballroom opened in New York City's Harlem. Nicknamed "The Track" or "Home of Happy Feet," the Savoy could accommodate up to four thousand people. Because it had the reputation of being the place to go and hear good music and dance, all the best bands wanted to play there. It was the practice to feature two different bands on the same night, playing one after another on two different bandstands placed at opposite ends of the ballroom. This subsequent "battle of the bands" energized dancers to new heights of daring and improvisation. For thirty years the Savoy would be the center of dance in New York City, and there dances were brought to such a level of excellence that the name "the Savoy" was synonymous with the best in dancing. As its reputation grew, the Savoy also became a showplace, a kind of informal stage arena where people could go to watch the finest Savoy dancers as each tried to outdance the other.

Great dancing is inspired by great music, and the history of African-American social dance parallels the history of African-American jazz music. In truth these social dances are most accurately described as "vernacular jazz dance" (from the title and subtitle of Marshall and Jean Stearns's magnificent 1968 historical study of tap and popular dance, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance*). The juke joints of the South and the dance halls of the North served as forums where musicians and dancers worked together. The sharing of ideas, rhythms, and the heated excitement of music and movement feeding each other produced an environment of experimentation where the spirit moved and dances got created on the spot. Certainly the arrival of big-band swing music, fathered by the great jazzmen and their groups, all of whom played the Savoy, parented the next great African-American dance as well.

THE LINDY HOP. Existing concurrently with the Charleston and evolving from it, a kind of Savoy "hop" was getting formulated on the floor of the Savoy Ballroom. Then, in 1928 the dance was christened "the lindy hop" by a well-known Savoy dancer, Shorty Snowden, in honor of Charles Lindbergh's 1927 solo flight across the Atlantic. The dance, which would become an international craze and an American classic, contained many ingredients of the Charleston—the oppositional flinging of the limbs, the wild, unfettered quality of the movement, the upbeat tempos, the side-by-side dancing of partners. But the two most outstanding characteristics were the "breakaway," when two partners split apart completely or barely held on to each other with one hand, while each cut individual variations on basic steps (a syncopated box step with an accent on the offbeat) and the spectacular aerial lifts and throws that appeared in the mid-1930s. The tradition of individual improvisation was, of course, well entrenched. However, with the lindy hop, it was the climactic moment of dance, and the aerial work set social dance flying. The lindy hop contained ingredients distilled during the evolution of social dance since the 1890s. It had a wide range of expressive qualities, yet it was grounded in steps and

rhythms that were simple enough to be picked up readily and were capable of infinite variations. It would, in fact, become one of the longest lasting of all African-American social dances. Commonly known as the jitterbug in white communities, the dance adapted to any kind of music: There was the mambo lindy, the bebop lindy, and during the 1950s, the lindy/jitterbug changed tempos and syncopations and became known as rock 'n' roll; when looked at carefully, the 1970s "disco hustle" reveals itself as a highly ornamented lindy hop cut down to half time. In the 1980s and '90s, "country-western swing" looks like the lindy hop framed by fancy armwork, and in the South, "the shag" is another regional variation of the lindy hop theme.

On the floor of Harlem's Savoy Ballroom the lindy hop was brought to its highest level of performance, fueled by the big-band swing played by brilliant musicians in orchestras led by such men as Fletcher Henderson, Chick Webb, Al Cooper, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, Cab Calloway, Count Basie, Billy Eckstine, Benny Goodman, and many more. As the dynamics of swing music heated up to its full musical sound and fast, driving, propulsive "swing" beat, the dancers matched it with ever more athletic prowess. In the mid-1930s the lindy took to the air, and using steps with names such as the hip to hip, the side flip, the snatch, over the back, and over the top, the men tossed the women, throwing them around their bodies, over their heads, and pulling them through their legs until the women seemed to fly, skid-land, then rebound again.

The Savoy lindy hop was renowned for its spectacular speed and aerials. An entrepreneurial bouncer at the club, Herbert White, decided to capitalize on this dancing talent, and he formed "Whitey's Lindy Hoppers." Choosing a large group of lindy hop dancers, the best from the ballroom, White split them into smaller troupes or teams that toured the country, appearing in movies, vaudeville, on Broadway, at the 1939 World's Fair in New York City, and in many other venues. The lindy spread out to the world, first through newsreels and films, and then the dance was carried personally to Europe and Asia by American GIs during the 1940s.

As the language of jazz moved from swing to bebop, rhythmically more complex and harmonically daring, so did the nature of jazz dance. With the passing of the great dance halls, the smaller venues that featured the five- or six-piece jazz combo that was the basic form of bebop became the main site for jazz performance, and though many of these clubs had no space for dancing, bebop-influenced jazz dance nonetheless flourished.

Bebop Influence

Bebop jazz often sounded barely in control with its fast pace and solo improvisations, and bebop dancers mirrored the music. The at-times private, introverted quality of musical performance was reflected by the bebop dancer's performance, which appeared disassociated and inward. Rather than having the movement scattering outward, as in the Charleston and the lindy, the bebop dancers used footwork that slipped and slid but basically stayed in place, the dynamic of the dance was introverted and personal, and the dancer appeared to gather energy into the center of the body.

Like the music, the dance was dominated by males. And if the bebopper used many of the same steps as the lindy hopper, there were enormous stylistic differences in the focus and body language. Bebop was almost the reverse of the lindy: Partners broke away for longer periods of time than they spent together. Bebop dance could be done as a solo, in a couple, or in a small group of three or four. This open relationship was perfect for a dance that placed the strongest significance on individual improvisation and devalued group cooperation. The body rode cool and laid-back on top of busy feet that kept switching dynamics, tempo, flow, timing, direction, impulse, and emphasis. Off-balance and asymmetrical, the dance wobbled at the edge of stability. The dance was filled with slips and rapid splits that broke down to the floor and rebounded right back up, and the bebopper was fond of quick skating-hopping steps that appear to be running very fast while remaining in the same place. Elbows pulled into the body, shoulders hitched up, hands lightly paddled the air. Balanced on a small base—the feet remained rather close together—with swiveling body and hips, the dancer seemed made of rubber. Partners rarely touched each other or looked directly at each other. Bebop dancing influenced the dance styles of rhythm and blues and other black popular music of the 1940s. It is also known as "scat" dancing (the comparison is to the vocal freeflights of the scat singer). James Brown is perhaps the best-known entertainer who dances in bebop mode. Watered down and simplified to rapidly rocking heel-and-toe steps that alternated with pigeon-toed motions in and out, with the occasional splits, bebop lost most of its glittering individualism when translated to the mainstream. Yet the effect of bebop dance was to give the social dancer a new "cool" persona, that of the "hipster," whose sensual slipperiness provided a rest, a contrast, to the heat and speed of the jitterbug lindy. This hip attitude had an enormous effect on Broadway jazz. Bob Fosse, Jerome Robbins, and Jack Cole, three powerful Broadway and film choreographers, would convert the physical language of bebop dance into a style of

laid-back, cool jazz that would be viewed as epitomizing the best of Broadway jazz dance.

1950s Rock 'n' Roll

During the 1950s, with the explosion of a "teen culture" and a "teen market," an entertainment industry, led by the record companies, was established to service this market. Bepop dance influenced the dance styles of rock 'n' roll. The record industry, ever quick to seize an opportunity, made the crossover, renaming rhythm and blues rock 'n' roll. The jitterbug got renamed as well, now called by the music's name of rock 'n' roll dance. Partners continued to split apart. With the infusion of the bebop mentality, a slippery smoothness in the footwork calmed down some of the flinging of the older forms of jitterbug, while the twisting hips were beginning to even out the sharp bouncing of the fast-paced Savoy style. Toward the end of the 1950s, gyrating hips (the trademark of Elvis Presley), previously only one movement phrase in the midst of many, would be singled out and made into an individual dance. "The twist," which became another worldwide dance fad, structured an entire dance around a single movement. Its simplicity made it easy to do, and its virtues were promoted in Chubby Checker's beguiling rock 'n' roll song "The Twist" (1960, a close copy of Hank Ballard's 1958 original). Also in the 1950s there was a resurgence of close-clutching couple dances, similar to the older mooch and grind (now known as "dirty dancing"), danced to sweet harmonics of five-part a cappella singing groups who were developing a singing style that became known as doo-wop. It is notable and interesting that in the 1950s, during a period when there was a strong sense of conformity, group line dances such as the stroll and the madison became popular.

Re-Africanization in the 1960s

During the 1960s, the civil rights movement was reflected in a re-Africanization of dance forms in such dances as the Watusi, the monkey, the bugaloo, and a series of spine-whipping, African-inspired dances such as the frug and the jerk. Animal gestures and steps reentered dances with a vengeance, formulated into dances such as the pony, the chicken, and the fish (also known as the swim). Partners did not touch. Instead, they danced face-to-face, but apart, reflecting each other's movements, using a dialogue of movement that was essentially a call-and-response mode of performance.

Motown Choreography

Motown singing groups whose carefully tailored and tasty dance routines were choreographed by Cholly Atkins had an inestimable effect on dance styles. The teenagers who admired these groups and bought their records now watched them perform on television. Then they copied the Motown style, whose choreography was made to underline the message of the song. A variety of pantomimic dances was created in which the words, or story line, of the song were enacted by the dancers. For example, one of the most popular and beautiful of these tunes was Marvin Gaye's "Hitchhiker" (Atkins worked with Gaye on this tune). The major gesture-motif of this dance recurred as the dancer—feet doing little prancing steps, hips swiveling, head bobbing—circled the hand in front of the torso, then swung it off to the side, thumb stuck up, as if he or she were trying to hitch a ride on the road, watching the cars go by.

Disco and Line Dancing

The 1970s disco explosion featured the hustle (if one strips away the ornamentation of multiple turns and sharply pointing arms and poses as the man swings out his partner, the lindy hop becomes visible). The line dance made popular by the movie *Saturday Night Fever* (1976) is actually the old madison, retooled for the 1970s (the same is true for the 1980s' bus stop and the 1990s' electric slide). However, with the explosion of breaking and electric boogie in the Bronx during the late 1970s, and popping in Sacramento and Los Angeles, dance styles underwent a radical change in the United States, then in Europe, Asia, and Africa as the styles spread to the world on television and music videos.

Breakdancing and Hip Hop Culture

Breakdancing was part of a larger cultural movement known as hip-hop, which got established in the South Bronx neighborhood of New York City. Hiphop had a variety of artistic expressions—graphic arts (graffiti or "writing"), spoken poetry (rapping), music (scratchin', which developed into the rap music of the 1980s and 1990s), religion and philosophy (Zulu Nation and the politics put forth in the lyrics of the rap), and dance (breaking, electric boogie, and popping and/or locking). Breakdancing took the structural principle of the breakaway and expanded it into a solo dance form. Accompanying the breakdancers musically were street DJs who were using the techniques of scratchin' (holding the record by its edge, the DJ moves it back and forth on the same groove) and mixing (shifting back and forth between turntables, the DJ replays the same sound bits of a couple of records over and over) to create new syncopations and "breaks" in the old records, thereby improvisationally composing new musical scores. Then,

using one or more microphones, rappers would talk rhythmically over the music.

Intensely competitive, breaking was primarily a solo, male dance form that re-Africanized the aesthetics of African-American dance. Visually it retains powerful reverberations of gestures and phrases derived from *capoeira*, the martial-art dance that came to the New World with the slaves captured in the Angola region of southwestern Africa.

Breaking stressed acrobatic fluency in the spins and in the dancer's buoyancy. In fact, bouncing is one of its most obvious characteristics. Performers effortlessly spring from dancing on their feet in an "uprock" style to "breaking" down to twirl on the floor; then they rebound to an upright position. There is little distinction between up and down, and because the breaker moves within a circle, the focus is multidirectional, as a consequence of its bounding-rebounding quality. Breaking seems to defy gravity, to exist almost at the edge of flight.

Popping and locking are other hip-hop dance styles that were performed along with breaking and were developed first on the West Coast. In these styles the body seems to be broken into segments. As motion moved from the fingers of the left arm through the chest and out the fingers of the right arm, the joints "locked" or "popped" into sharp millisecond freezes. The movement looks as if it were a living rendition of a video game, and popping and locking did evolve from an earlier dance known as the robot. A related but more undulating version of popping and locking, called the electric boogie, developed on the East Coast; in this dance the body seemed to move in fluid, increasingly complex minifreezes.

Breaking was the dance of the young and tough hip-hop subcultures of the ghettos, and the rawness of the sounds and the movements made breaking the dance of protest that rallied against the mainstream disco styles of music and movement. Because of its brilliance, its technical display, its physical virtuosity, and its machismo, and because breaking got immediate and near-hysterical media coverage, it became popular worldwide. Breakers sprung up in Tokyo, Rome, Calcutta, Rio de Janeiro, and Paris, and long after it had faded in popularity in the United States (in about 1984), it was still flourishing in the 1990s in other parts of the world. Breaking was the most powerful and early expression of the hip-hop culture, and because of its worldwide success, it prepared the way for the eventual ascendancy of rap, which de-emphasized the dancer for the rapper and was the centerpiece of the hip-hop movement of the 1980s and early 1990s.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the young adults who were creating the current social dances did little that was reminiscent of traditional European dance and much that was reflective of the ancient African legacy. On the dance floor they gathered in casual circles that randomly arose, then disintegrated. Male/female partnerships, if they existed at all, changed and shifted throughout the night, and a partner was simply another dancer who was focused upon for a while. Dancers moved in loose groupings that may or may not have mixed genders (males often danced together, or there would be a group of females dancing). Though they moved in stylistic harmony, improvisation was highly prized, and each participant brought individual flavor to the movements.

There were many reverberations with traditional African motion. The body was slightly crouched with bent knees, feet flat on the floor. The footwork favored sliding, stamping, or digging steps. When the music was hard-hitting and fast, dancers burst out in vigorous jumps and athletic maneuvers; a phrase may have consisted of diving down to the floor ("breaking" down) in belly slides or shoulder rolls, then smoothly pulling the body upright, swinging back into the beat with fast, sliding steps. Digitalized and engineered, the African drum has been transformed into a sonic bass boom that blasts through the speakers. With volume turned up to the "red zone," the bass power pops the body, vibrating bones, internalizing the beat. The dancers used their torsos as a multiunit instrument with an undulating spine, shimmying shoulders, and swiveling hips. Movement was polyrhythmic, and rippled through the body in waves, or it could lead to very briefly held positions known as freezes. Heads circled and bobbed, arms did not frame the body so much as help it balance. Dances were named for the style of music that is played, such as house, rap, hip-hop or dance hall, or they were called "freestyle" because each dancer improvisationally combined well-known steps as the fancy strikes.

A prime example of an Africanized dance was one performed to Chuck Brown's "The Butt," which hit the top of the commercial pop charts in 1988 and was notable for its bold call-and-response structure. As the title suggests, movement concentrated on shaking buttocks. Dancers "get down" in a deep squat. Placing hands on butts or thighs, they arch their spines, nod their heads, and swivel the pelvis in figure eights. In the early 1990s this same dance remained popular. It was now called "winding," performed by young, urban, black, and white club goers to reggae or go-go (a Washington, D.C., musical style influenced by Jamaican reggae). "Winding" alludes to the circular winding motion of the hips. In 1901 the same moves were called "the funky butt," and in the 1930s they were known as "grinding."

African-American underground club dancers continue to create new dances that will be picked up by the main-

stream tomorrow, disseminated through music videos. All music-video dance styles originate in the clubs and on the streets, so one must look at the places of origination to get a glimpse into the dance styles of tomorrow.

Club Dancing and DJs

Club dancers, mostly African American and Latino youth, are the most active, influential, and democratic of the social dance choreographers. The club community is a specialized one, which has coalesced around an action rather than a neighborhood or through bloodlines. Relationships are made because of a shared obsession with dancing. Perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of a real "clubhead" is that dance is passion and possession, and through movement, they experience "going off," a kind of secular spirituality that echoes the spiritual possession of the older African circle dances brought to this country four hundred years ago.

Music is provided by DJs mixing at their consoles with a couple of turntables, merging the sounds of one record into another in a seamless musical flow, composing on the spot. They are musicians of consoles and amplifiers; they are today's bands and orchestras and conductors. Using raw recorded "cuts" that have not been engineered into their final form (this is not the stuff of commercial radio), DJs are the high priests of the clubs who regulate the emotional and physical heat of the dancing. A good DJ knows how to play the songs that inspire movement. He shifts the mood and pace through musical combinations, acting and reacting to what he sees on the floor. Reading ephemeral signals of movement and energy, breath and beat, a constant flow of information is exchanged between dancer and DJ.

In the early 1990s, dance styles fell into rough generational divisions. Hip-hop tended to be done by the younger generation of early through late teens, while lofting (this style of dance is called different names in different parts of the country) and house tended to be done by a slightly older group in their late teens and twenties. Lofting was a softer assimilation of the "old school" breaking, whose immediate predecessors are the lindy hop, and whose older progenitors are the *capoeria* and other African acrobatic dances. The "New Jack" style of hip-hop uses footwork reminiscent of the Charleston and earlier West African step dances. The pose and punch and stylized gestures of voguing exaggerate the syncopated isolations of jazz, and like the cakewalk, voguing makes satiric commentaries on the mannered postures of the monied classes, as represented in the images of models of high-fashion magazines. At the end of the twentieth century and into the new millennium, hip-hop continues to created variations on breakdancing, including popping, uprock, house, and bebop.

Social dance is a structure of movement that is always open to modification. Propelled by improvisational innovation, dancers can transform a recreational participatory event into a performance within a circle. Perhaps the greatest African aesthetic gift was the reverence for improvisation. It keeps social dance democratic, it is not tied to any one institution or controlled by a small elite group who determine who shall perform and who shall observe. Improvisation and individuals keep dance a celebration of imagination, while the flexibility and power of movement itself is what links the past to the present and the community to the person.

See also Breakdancing; Capoeira; Hip Hop; Jazz

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SALLY SOMMER (1996)
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Social Gospel

Referring generally to a fresh application of the insights of biblical faith to the problems of the social order, historians

have usually identified the "social gospel" with the response of reform-minded church men and women to the urban and industrial crises of the post-Reconstruction North. That interpretation runs the risk of truncating the roots of American social Christianity in reform movements of the antebellum period and failing to see the early origins of a distinctive African-American social gospel.

A social gospel began to develop within African-American communities in late eighteenth-century Christian voluntary societies, which commonly combined the functions of church, school, and mutual aid society. These included the Newport, Rhode Island, Free African Union Society, founded in 1780; the Free African Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1787; Charleston, South Carolina's Brown Fellowship Society, founded in 1790; the African Society of Providence, Rhode Island, founded in 1793; and Boston's African Society, founded in 1796. In the same period, the earliest semiautonomous African Baptist congregations were established in the plantation South, first in Virginia and along the Savannah River bordering South Carolina and Georgia.

As these early African-American voluntary societies developed, particularly in the freer setting of the urban North, they articulated a variety of themes within a framework of millennial expectation: economic development and self-help, freedom and social justice, missionary education, and racial nationalism. In the antebellum North, black clergymen such as Henry Highland Garnet, James W. C. Pennington, and Theodore Wright built institutions and networks for organizations that promoted education, social reform, and the freedom of their enslaved southern kinsmen. These activities were the preparation for northern African-American missionaries to move into the South during and after the Civil War. There they established missions as the institutional seeds of rural social settlements, churches and Sunday schools, and schools and colleges for nurturing the former slaves and their children in freedom.

Usually among the race's educated elite in Reconstruction, African-American clergymen gave direction to the social and political aspirations of southern freedmen. They often served in multiple capacities, as pastor, politician, and professor or school administrator. Commonly committed to a conservative theological orthodoxy, they believed in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and "uplifting the race." They encouraged the freedman to confirm family ties, acquire property, and get an education. Many of them were active in temperance reform. When male freedmen gained the franchise, some clergymen such as Richard H. Cain, William H. Heard, James W. Hood, Hiram R. Revels, and Henry M. Turner were elected to political office. In state legislatures, for example, their efforts helped to lay the foundations for public school systems in the southern states.

After Reconstruction, black clergymen and laywomen turned to building the institutions of social redemption—churches, schools, and social settlements—within the African-American community. In rural and urban settings, North and South, black churchwomen founded social settlements to "uplift the race." From 1890 to 1908, Janie Porter Barrett founded the Locust Street Settlement at Hampton, Virginia; Margaret Murray Washington founded the Elizabeth Russell Settlement at Tuskegee, Alabama; Victoria Earle Matthews founded New York's White Rose Mission; and Lugenia Burns Hope founded Atlanta's Neighborhood Union.

In urban communities, clergymen built institutional churches to extend the range of church services to migrants from the rural South. Hutchens C. Bishop of New York's St. Philip's Episcopal Church, Henry Phillips of Philadelphia's Episcopal Church of the Crucifixion, Matthew Anderson of Philadelphia's Berean Presbyterian Church, and Henry H. Proctor of Atlanta's First Congregational Church first built institutional churches. Their example was followed by African Methodists Reverdy C. Ransom, Monroe Work, and R. R. Wright Jr. in Chicago. Thereafter, urban Baptist congregations followed suit with remarkable results.

Some churches' pulpits passed from father to son: Washington and Gardner C. Taylor presided at Baton Rouge's Mt. Zion First Baptist Church; Richard H. Bowling, Sr. and Jr., at Norfolk's First Baptist Church; Junius Caesar Austin, Sr. and Jr., at Chicago's Pilgrim Baptist Church; Marshall Shepherd, Sr. and Jr., at Philadelphia's Mt. Olivet Baptist Church; and Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. and Jr., at New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church. These pastors built centers of urban religious, social, and political power. More remarkable is the passage of the pulpit through three generations of William H. Grays, I, II, and III, at Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

Martin Luther King Sr., who succeeded his father-in-law, A. D. Williams, at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, would have passed it on to his sons, Martin Luther King Jr., or A. D. Williams King, had their premature deaths not prevented it. Even so, as the heir of many generations of African-American preachers of the social gospel, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had already become its foremost American spokesman in his generation.

See also Brown Fellowship Society; Cain, Richard Harvey; Garnet, Henry Highland; Hood, James Walker; Hope, Lugenia Burns; Pennington, James W. C.; Revels, Hiram

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RALPH E. LUKER (1996)

Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

There has been substantial disagreement among scholars, educators, and policymakers regarding the degree to which the racial climate in the United States has improved for blacks in the decades following the civil rights era. What is clear is that institutionalized racial inequalities of past eras, such as racially separate schools and voting restrictions, no longer exist, and that social policies such as affirmative action have improved the status of black Americans. The burgeoning black middle class evidences the march toward racial equality.

The second half of the twentieth century was a period of "steady and sweeping movement toward general endorsement of the principles of racial equality and integration" (Bobo, 2001, p. 269). Still, trends in racial attitudes suggest that it was not until the mid-1990s that the vast majority of whites endorsed equal employment access and residential and school integration. Despite this improvement, however, whites still show less support for equality of access to housing and interracial marriage, and remain significantly less likely than blacks to support policies intended to rectify racial differences in access to employment and educational opportunities. Trends in racial attitudes suggest that, for whites, the greatest evidence of increasing endorsement of racial equality and integration is in the most public and impersonal arenas, like schools, public accommodations, and the workplace (Bobo, 2001). Hence, blacks and whites remain at a crossroads with regard to the issues of racial discrimination and the causes of racial inequality.

In their landmark study of black residential segregation, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton found that "although blacks and whites may share a common commitment to 'integration' in principle, this word connotes very different things to people in the two racial groups. For blacks, residential integration means racial mixing in the range of fifteen to seventy percent black, with fifty percent being most desirable; for whites, it signifies much smaller black percentages" (Massey and Denton, 1993, p. 93).

There is also strong empirical evidence suggesting that racism remains a powerful, damaging force that bars blacks from complete inclusion in American society. Blacks are still the most residentially segregated and economically disadvantaged group in the United States. Massey and Denton's findings show that residential segregation is the "structural linchpin" impeding black progress. The majority of black Americans (irrespective of social class) reside in "hypersegregated areas" replete with poverty and social disorder. Relative to whites, blacks complete fewer years of school, earn less income, and accumulate less wealth.

These patterns of persisting socioeconomic inequality by race feed into whites' negative perceptions of blacks, and thus perpetuate black disadvantage. If blacks and other minority groups cannot get ahead, whites are inclined to perceive it as a consequence of their own lack of motivation or other cultural deficiencies. Research indicates that the more whites' explanations for inequality are rooted in cultural or volitional deficiencies, rather than in structural barriers, the less likely they are to support government intervention.

Laissez-Faire Racism

Lawrence Bobo, a prominent social psychologist who focuses on intergroup relations and inequality, argues that while the modern polity no longer formerly condones institutionalized racism, spurns the belief that blacks are genetically inferior to whites, and discourages overt intolerance, racism remains a durable force in contemporary America. Bobo uses the term *laissez-faire racism* to denote the difference between present-day racism and its predecessor, Jim Crow racism. Laissez-faire racism relies on free-market enterprise, which is opposed to strict government regulation of economic and political affairs. Race-neutral policies are supported and maintained, providing credence to the widely held belief that the United States is a color-blind society in which anyone can succeed. Bobo contends that the historical legacy of Jim Crow racism—the era when state policy was antiblack and most whites believed that blacks were categorically inferior—lives on. A substantial portion of the white population still adheres to patently negative stereotypes of blacks, in addition to blaming them for their own collective disadvantage. Bobo

believes that government policy has not been successful in ameliorating race-based inequalities and bringing blacks to the table as equal citizens. Laissez-faire racism, he suggests, relies on "loosely coupled, complex, and permeable" forms of domination (Bobo, et al, 1997, p. 17).

The theory of laissez-faire racism is rooted in the sociologist Herbert Blumer's 1958 thesis that racism is embedded in an historical and collective social order. In this view, racism is seen as a grand integrated structural force within society, perpetually justifying white supremacy, whereas laissez-faire racism is the manifestation of whites' efforts to protect their "sense of group position" and alleviate fears of black encroachment following the collapse of Jim Crow ideology and government-sanctioned segregation.

Psychological Responses to Laissez-Faire Racism

Bobo argues that laissez-faire racism results in certain psychological responses by black Americans and may be damaging to the black psyche. Two theories addressing minority-group responses to their disadvantaged positions are known as *stereotype threat* and *oppositional culture*. In different ways, each of these theories details macro-level responses to laissez-faire racism.

Claude Steele, a professor of psychology at Stanford University, developed the theory of stereotype threat, which asserts that members of certain groups are fearful of fulfilling negative stereotypes about their group's intellectual ability, and is a psychosocial explanation for academic underperformance by black students. Stereotype threat is possible whenever a person is placed in a "risky" situation, when there is a perceived "threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype or the fear of doing something that would inadvertently confirm that stereotype" (Steele, 1999, p. 46). A risky situation is when an individual feels mistrustful or apprehensive that his or her actions will be perceived as confirming a group stereotype. Black students may do worse on an exam because of fear of confirming the anti-intellectual stereotype of the racial group. All that is necessary is an awareness of the negative stereotypes; whether or not students believe the stereotypes themselves is irrelevant. At least in the short term, the threat of confirming anti-intellectual stereotypes results in performance anxiety that depresses academic performance.

Long-term exposure to stereotype threat can cause affected students to "disidentify" with school as a psychosocial defense mechanism. Academic success is then dropped as a basis for self-esteem. This is a method of self-protection: if students perform poorly, they can fall back on the belief that they did not try as hard as they could have, or that getting an "A" just is not important to them anyway. The theory of stereotype reconciles the seemingly contradictory findings that African-American students have higher academic aspirations and place greater value on education than any other group, consistently underperform academically, and have very high self-esteem.

The theory of oppositional culture, devised by anthropologist John Ogbu, also details the psychosocial responses of black Americans to laissez-faire racism. Ogbu argues that the detrimental effect of racism actually discourages educational and occupational achievement among black Americans. Oppositional-culture theory posits that black Americans underperform at work and school because of racial discrimination and limited socioeconomic possibilities. Blacks are enmeshed in a "blocked opportunities framework" (Kao, 1995) where they occupy a specifically disadvantaged ecological niche that prevents access into high-status (i.e., Eurocentric) social groups, organizations, and institutions.

Ogbu argues that the status of African Americans as involuntary minorities—meaning they were incorporated into U.S. society through enslavement and relegated to a subordinate status—is largely responsible for their development of negative feelings about mainstream values and institutions, as well as their identification of racial and cultural differences as symbols of pride and resistance. Voluntary minorities—those who enter the United States freely to improve their material well-being—would not fall prey to this detrimental cultural orientation because they compare themselves to compatriots in their countries of origin. This theoretical framework presupposes that black Americans cope with their disadvantaged position in society by adopting a "black cultural frame of reference," the appropriation of attitudes and behaviors contrary to mainstream white ideologies (Ogbu, 1991).

Whereas a majority of the oppositional-culture research is based on ethnographic fieldwork with poor black Americans in racially segregated urban schools, some research has validated Ogbu's results with other groups in varied milieus (Solomon, 1991; Waters, 2001). R. Patrick Solomon (1991) found that, despite their voluntary minority status, West Indian students in Toronto exhibit a strong oppositional identity because they have internalized racial discrimination in Canadian society. Findings from Mary Waters's 2001 study of second-generation West Indians in New York City are also somewhat consistent with the oppositional culture framework: those respondents whose reference group was African Americans tended to perform more poorly in school, whereas those who maintained a strong immigrant identity achieved higher educational success.

A black man climbs the stairs to the "colored" entrance of a movie theater in Belzoni, Mississippi, 1939. PHOTOGRAPH BY MARION POST WOLCOTT. PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

See also Educational Psychology and Psychologists; Psychology and Psychologists: Race Issues

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SOCIAL WORK

Social work and social welfare are intended to help people attain the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—as well as to aid them in developing their human potential. Throughout the twentieth century such efforts were often, though not always, carried out in conjunction with programs for social reform. Although social welfare

activity initially was the preserve of private services and organizations, over the years government has come to play an increasingly active role. The history of U.S. social work, its relationship to social activism, and its growing importance within government distribution of services have had important implications for the quality of life of African Americans as individuals and as a community.

Mutual Aid

Long before social work emerged as a professional field, African Americans carried out a wide range of cooperative self-help and mutual-aid programs in order to better their lives and their communities. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, free black women and men in the North organized benevolent societies; among the earliest was the Free African Society of Philadelphia, formed in 1787 to provide cradle-to-grave counseling and other assistance, including burial aid. Other groups raised money for educational programs or relief to widows and orphans. Northern blacks not only helped themselves, they extended aid to fugitive slaves and linked their work to a larger effort to improve the standing of African Americans in society.

Following the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency, initiated a series of social welfare policies designed to help newly freed black people in their struggle to survive; during Reconstruction many southern states promoted similar relief efforts. But in the context of Emancipation, such economic, educational, and other assistance not only improved the lives of individual African Americans, it posed a challenge to the system of racial inequality itself. After Reconstruction, therefore, most states of the former Confederacy resisted the adoption of programs that would alter the status quo; when local and state government did intervene on behalf of the aged, infirm, and others in need, it did so on a segregated basis.

Largely excluded from such services, African Americans in the North and the South continued to practice the kind of social work that had served them for centuries. Black women were often at the forefront of these efforts, pooling resources and playing a leadership role in establishing orphanages, homes for the poor and aged, educational and health-care services, and kindergartens. The abolitionist Harriet Tubman turned her residence in Auburn, New York, into the Home for Indigent and Aged Negroes, one of perhaps a hundred such facilities by 1915. In urban centers black women organized to aid newly arriving migrant women in finding lodging and employment; among the most prominent of these efforts was New York's White Rose Working Girls Home, founded by Victoria Earle Matthews in 1897.

Professional Social Work and the Black Community

Professional social work emerged around the turn of the twentieth century in response to conditions generated by the processes of industrialization, urbanization, European immigration, and southern migration to the North. Charitable organizations, such as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, sought to coordinate and professionalize their work, but they continued to emphasize personal misfortune or moral failing instead of larger institutional explanations for the pervasive poverty in urban industrial centers. Before the massive exodus of black people from South to North, most charity workers paid scant attention to the problems of African Americans. With the Great Migration, some charitable reformers came to view black people as another immigrant group needing what they called Americanization, and they found ample support for their moralistic emphasis on thrift and industry from Booker T. Washington's philosophy of individual uplift. Other philanthropists insisted that black people were meant to occupy an inferior station in life and urged that they acquire industrial training suited to their "natural" limitations.

In contrast, settlement workers, who were mostly college-educated white women, sought to learn from immigrants and migrants instead of imposing their own values and assumptions. They proposed to live in impoverished communities, providing services that would help newcomers adjust to urban industrial life without giving up their own beliefs and cultural traditions. Although settlement workers could not always mask their middle-class backgrounds, they did establish job training and placement programs, healthcare services, kindergartens, and recreation facilities. Perhaps the best-known settlement was Chicago's Hull House, founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889.

White activists in the settlement movement were often quicker than charity workers to recognize that poor housing, educational, and job opportunities in the burgeoning black communities of the urban North were the direct result of segregation and racial discrimination. Using scientific methods to identify and analyze social problems, settlement workers pressed for government reforms in such areas as factory and tenement conditions, juvenile justice, child labor, and public sanitation. Their efforts to fuse social work with social reform also extended to race relations; one-third of the signatories of the 1909 call that led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) either were or had been settlement workers.

Advocating racial tolerance and an end to discrimination, however, was not the same as calling for social equality. Many social service agencies in Chicago, New York, and elsewhere either refused help to African Americans outright or offered poor quality assistance on a segregated basis; this was especially true for organizations providing lodging, board, and medical care. The settlement houses were no exception. Many were located in white immigrant communities, but a number of settlements that were easily accessible from black neighborhoods still did not serve the African-American population. Some white reformers pursued alliances with black community leaders in establishing interracial settlements; one notable example was the Frederick Douglass Center, founded in Chicago in 1904. But the center disdained what it called slum work among the black poor. Rather, its leaders, including white minister Celia Parker Wooley and black clubwoman Fannie Barrier Williams, sought to bring together the educated elite, black and white, for lectures, concerts, and other cultural activities.

Funding and Control

It was often African Americans themselves who, seeking to remedy the inequities in social service provision, seized the initiative in addressing individual and social problems in the black community. But such activists were faced with a stark dilemma. Without the assistance of white philanthropists, they could not hope to match white agencies in staffing and programming; indeed, their facilities rarely survived. Between 1900 and 1916 at least nine settlements were established in Chicago's black neighborhoods; by 1919 only one remained. In 1910 renowned antilynching agitator Ida B. Wells-Barnett formed the Negro Fellowship League, which offered recreational services for black men and boys, an employment agency, and later, lodging. But she was forced to disband it for lack of funds.

The alternative—support from white people—usually meant control by white people. Chicago's Wendell Phillips Center, for example, was initiated in 1907 by a group of twenty black activists, and its staff was mostly black; its board, however, was overwhelmingly dominated by whites. White reformers were thus able to limit the autonomy of black community leaders; in so doing, they often contributed to the preservation of the racial status quo and helped shape the kinds of programs that were available; services for black girls, for instance, were more likely to win financial support if they emphasized morality and offered training in domestic work. On the other hand, the very involvement of whites in the creation of services "for blacks" often reflected their desire to maintain segregation in social services.

Social Solutions vs. Personal Solutions

Even when forced to rely on the resources of white philanthropists whose agendas clashed with their own, African Americans often strove to translate their reform activities into a larger program of social action. In 1899 the distinguished Harvard University graduate W. E. B. Du Bois produced *The Philadelphia Negro,* a meticulously researched study of urban African-American life. The project had been commissioned by the College Settlement Association, whose conservative wing was driven by the conviction that black people were somehow ridden with criminality and vice—an early version of the culture-of-poverty argument advanced in the 1960s to explain why economic misery persisted in much of the urban black community. But Du Bois consciously sought to set his findings within a historical and social context that acknowledged the importance of economic and political, not personal, solutions. Du Bois's sociological approach pioneered the use of scientific inquiry into the causes and effects of social problems.

Black Social Workers

The National Urban League—formed in 1910–1911 as a merger of the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, the Committee for Improving Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York, and the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes—represented the application of professional social work to the kinds of social services that had long been practiced in the black community. It was founded by George Edmund Haynes, the first black graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy (later the Columbia University School of Social Work), and Ruth Standish Baldwin, a wealthy white reformer. The league offered counseling and other assistance to African Americans in housing, education, employment, health, recreation, and child care. It relied on scientific research techniques to document the exclusion of African Americans and press for greater opportunities.

The league also played an important role in the training and placement of black social workers. Formal social work education made its debut in 1903 with the University of Chicago's School of Civics and Philanthropy, later known as the School of Social Service Administration. In 1917 the National Conference of Charities and Corrections became the National Conference of Social Work. (In 1956 its name was changed to the National Conference on Social Welfare.) But because of racial segregation, blacks were largely barred from social work education and train-

ing outside the North until the 1950s, and they were denied full participation in professional bodies.

Through the able leadership of Urban League personnel, historically black educational institutions stepped in to fill the void. Under Haynes's direction, Fisk University developed an undergraduate social service curriculum, including field placement with league affiliates. The Atlanta School of Social Work was founded in 1920 to provide instruction to black students, and it later affiliated with Atlanta University. By 1926 the Urban League itself employed 150 black social workers. Over the years the league continued to preserve important ties to social work education; Whitney M. Young Jr., for example, served as dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work before becoming the league's executive director in 1961.

Government Involvement

The devastating economic crisis generated by the Great Depression severely strained the capacity of private social service organizations to assist individuals in need. In an extension of the reform impulse of the Progressive period, the federal government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt was forced to intervene with massive programs that placed social work firmly within the public domain. The Social Security Act of 1935 provided old age and survivors' insurance, unemployment insurance (known as entitlement benefits), and public assistance to the aged, the blind, and dependent children.

But for African Americans the impact of government involvement was contradictory, since programs aimed at affected workers automatically excluded large numbers of black people. Nearly half of all African Americans worked in agricultural labor, casual labor, and domestic service, but these occupations were not counted as part of the covered workforce. The Urban League, the NAACP, and others opposed the exclusion, arguing that it would single out black people as a stigmatized, dependent population, but their efforts were unsuccessful. They also openly criticized the unequal distribution of relief and segregated assistance programs.

Impact of the Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement of the 1960s, fueled by legal and social gains achieved by African Americans during the previous decade, attacked racism and discrimination on all fronts, and social work was no exception. Concentrated in segregated enclaves, crowded into dilapidated housing, suffering from dramatically high rates of unemployment, black people in the inner cities had not reaped the benefits promised by the advent of civil rights. When Daniel Patrick Moynihan argued in 1965 that the black community was caught in a "tangle of pathology" resulting from "the deterioration of the Negro family," he was articulating a moralistic theme that had persisted in social welfare policy since at least the late nineteenth century. It was activist-oriented African Americans who led the challenge to such interpretations, defending the integrity of the black family and calling for a deeper understanding of the structural causes of poverty.

The antipoverty programs initiated under the Johnson administration's Great Society, while in part a response to Moynihan's analysis, also created new opportunities for contesting it. African-American social workers condemned racism within the profession and demanded a greater commitment to social justice. In 1967, over opposition from the leadership of the National Association of Social Workers, a nondiscrimination amendment to the association's code of ethics was presented on the floor of the delegate assembly, where it passed. The following year, in San Francisco, African Americans founded the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW). Although some black individuals gained prominence within existing professional organizations—Whitney Young Jr., for example, became president of the NASW in 1969—many African Americans turned to the NABSW as a vehicle for articulating the goals of effective, responsive service delivery in the black community and an end to racial exclusion and discrimination within the ranks of the profession.

Social work and social welfare programs, although widely believed to provide services on a nondiscriminatory basis, have always been influenced by larger historical trends and conditions. The historical exclusion of African Americans from social work schools and organizations virtually assured that concerned black people would continue to rely on their own methods for improving individual and community life. At the same time, the profession's dominant strategies and methodologies have reflected the racial, sexual, and class biases of the European-American middle class, often to the detriment of those most commonly under the scrutiny of social workers.

Challenging Assumptions

An African-American presence within the social work profession has helped to transform service delivery. Many black social workers have developed innovative models that acknowledge the importance of environmental factors, such as socioeconomic status and citizenship rights, in determining the well-being of African-American people. By asserting positive recognition of extended family formations, they have been able to respond with new flexibility to individual and family concerns. And they have

sought to extend these efforts throughout the profession, working to ensure that social work education and training incorporate information about the experiences of people of color. At the same time, many African Americans in social work have rejected the notion of adjustment to the status quo, calling for change in social institutions, laws, and customs that continue to keep African Americans from achieving their full potential.

In the 1990s the assumptions that guided social work theory and practice demanded renewed attention. The problems facing the black community continued to reflect the racism that persisted in employment, health care, education, and other areas. The unemployment rate among African Americans remained twice the national average; the AIDS crisis reached disproportionately into the black community; and drug-addicted children entered an educational system whose capacities were severely constrained by diminishing resources. As in the past, however, the African-American community was left to tap its own potential in order to address these concerns. At the same time, mainstream social workers adopted code words—diversity, multiculturalism, biculturalism—that obscured root causes and so failed to confront deep-seated racism, sexism, and class bias. The challenge facing advocates of social work and social welfare was to respond effectively to these problems by reclaiming a legacy of progressive social reform that would acknowledge the need for structural, not personal, solutions.

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; Young, Whitney M., Jr.

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AUDREYE E. JOHNSON (1996)
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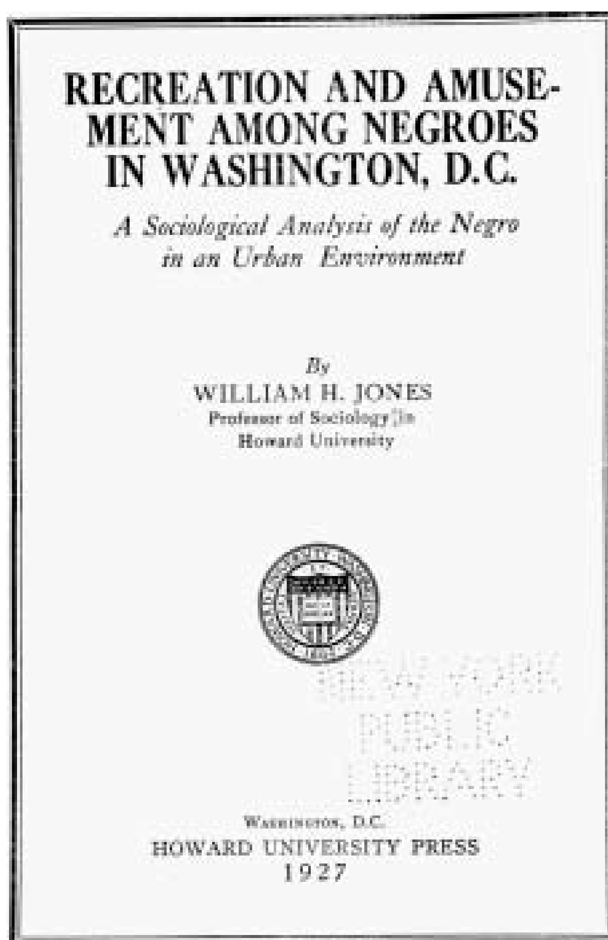
SOCIOLOGY

This entry consists of two distinct articles. The first by James B. McKee provides an overview of the topic of sociology as it relates to the study of race and African-American culture. The second article by Lawrence D. Bobo examines sociological scholarship in the post–civil rights era.

OVERVIEW
James B. McKee

SCHOLARSHIP IN THE POST–CIVIL RIGHTS ERA
Lawrence D. Bobo



RECREATION AND AMUSE-
MENT AMONG NEGROES
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A Sociological Analysis of the Negro in an Urban Environment

By
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WASHINGTON, D.C.
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1927

Cover of a 1927 sociological study analyzing the various leisure activities pursued by blacks in the nation's capitol. GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Overview

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the new discipline of sociology gave little attention to the race problem (or to the Negro problem; the terms were then used interchangeably) and with a very few exceptions accepted uncritically the scientific racism of the day. That racism advanced the claim that the nonwhite races were inferior to the white race by virtue of being endowed by nature with fewer of the attributes required to sustain a civilized society. In the second decade of the twentieth century, however, a new genetics invalidated biology's racial theorizing, and the study of race moved by default to the social sciences. By the 1920s most sociologists had accepted this shift from biology to culture, and a few of them began to study race as a problem in social relations.

At the outset this change in science's understanding of race had no immediate effect beyond the university environment. Racial segregation remained firmly in place, and a racially intolerant white population was unmoved by the collapse of scientific racism and continued to view the nonwhite population as innately inferior and unassimilable. Still, sociologists accepted the scientific judgment that black people were not biologically inferior, but against the arguments of anthropologists, they retained an image of them as culturally inferior. In those two decisions was the beginning of the sociology of race relations.

That beginning was shaped by a perspective rooted in an infrastructure of assumptions and values drawn from sociology's nineteenth-century typology of modern and traditional (premodern) societies, a heritage of social evolutionary thought that was still a central issue for American sociologists in the 1920s. From that perspective came two basic assumptions. The first was the inevitability of modernization —namely, that the historic sweep of urbanization, secularization, and industrialization would wash away all traditional cultures and incorporate into modern society whatever premodern peoples still existed. All people, including the nonwhite races, would need to master the demands of modern civilization.

Their second assumption spelled out the meaning of cultural inferiority: Black people were viewed as a premodern people, culturally backward by modern standards, and still isolated from the socializing currents of modern life. To sociologists that meant they were mostly uneducated, ignorant of the requirements of modern life, and beset with the vices and pathologies peculiar to the poor and ignorant. They were also portrayed as powerless by virtue of white domination and incapable of acting effectively in their own behalf or developing an adequate leadership. Nonetheless, the historic sweep toward modernity made it inevitable that black people would eventually be assimilated.

Given the implacable opposition of white Americans to racial assimilation, however, and the unreadiness of rurally isolated blacks for modern life, sociologists maintained that assimilation would not occur until some unspecified time in the future. It was to be a steady and gradual process, unmarked by large or sudden alterations of existing relations. But there were no immediate prospects of change and no reasons to try to intervene in the structure of racial segregation. Here was a cautious generation's belief in racial progress as a slow but steady process of adjustment and adaptation, not one of conflict and struggle. Until the 1960s such an outlook gave direction and purpose to the sociological study of race; then the events of that decade proved it inadequate.

Studying Race Relations

At the outset, the sociological sense of race relations was expressed by the concepts of assimilation and prejudice. Together they defined the race problem for sociologists in the 1920s: The assimilation of blacks into American society was blocked for the time by the prejudice of the white population, the overwhelming majority of whom regarded blacks as unassimilable.

Neither term was new. Assimilation had been around since the 1850s and was borrowed from sociologists who studied European immigration. Prejudice was first defined as an instinct, but with the decline of the theory of instincts it was redefined as an attitude. But the emphasis then was not on prejudice as an individual attitude (the psychologizing of the term was to come later) but as a group phenomenon; it invoked the idea of a conservative and defensive group consciousness seeking to protect the interests of an advantaged group against the disadvantaged ones.

In 1932 the concept of minority was added, to place under a single covering term the disadvantaged groups —racial, ethnic, and religious—that suffered from the prejudice of the advantaged. It offered the potential for developing an encompassing theory. But the concept was also problematic; in the minds of sociologists, there was an important distinction to be made between the descendants of African slaves and the immigrants from Europe. The two had reached the United States under different historical circumstances, and their futures also seemed to be different. Assimilation was already under way for the recent immigrants but seemed far off for black people. The matter was resolved by the adoption of the paired concepts race and ethnicity.

This also reflected, however, a narrow conception of culture. Although sociologists understood that culture was humanly created, it was nonetheless defined primarily as a social inheritance passed from one generation to the next. Culture is not only inherited, however, it is also created anew under changed circumstances. In their long endurance of slavery and segregation, blacks created themselves as a single people with a distinct culture of their own making. But in the 1920s sociologists, with the exception of Robert Park, had no comprehension of this.

The now familiar concepts of segregation and discrimination entered the sociological vocabulary later. In the 1930s segregation was still constitutionally sanctioned and accepted as the common status of black people. The concept of discrimination was only rarely used, since the unequal treatment of black people was expected and taken for granted. Only later, when segregation and discrimination became legal and political issues, did the terms enter the sociological vocabulary and the concept of discrimination become paired with prejudice.

In the 1930s, with a new vocabulary at hand, sociologists produced a substantial body of work that exemplified what could be done with the new perspective. Consistent with it, they developed measurements of prejudice and discrimination to document racial progress as a steady trendline into the future. While the work was informative and useful, little of it was groundbreaking. Despite the fact that the 1930s was a decade of economic and political upheaval in the nation undergoing the Great Depression and that blacks were moving from the rural South to the urban North in considerable numbers, sociologists resisted examining that process and focused instead on southern race relations, where, they claimed, a caste system still dominated. A number of studies of black life in the rural South in the 1930s, of which John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937) was the most noted, made it clear that race relations were still caste relations, that system-breaking change was not imminent, and that neither precipitate change nor racial conflict seemed likely to occur. A few sociologists, however—notably Park and the black sociologists—challenged this characterization of southern race relations.

This formative period in the sociology of race relations drew to a close with the onset of World War II. What sociology had to say about race relations was summarized in Gunnar Myrdal's mammoth study *An American Dilemma* (1944), undoubtedly the most widely read study on race relations in the United States. Myrdal did three things: He advanced a controversial thesis that race relations were a contradiction between America's democratic ideals and its racial beliefs and practices (that was the "dilemma"); he summarized and assessed what sociologists claimed to know about race relations; and, reflecting his role as a European social democrat and social planner, he criticized American sociologists for not advocating social policies that would change existing race relations. Although Myrdal had little effect on the generation that had produced the work summarized in *An American Dilemma,* he did encourage an oncoming generation that had been raised on the social policies and programs of the New Deal to believe that intervention to change race relations was now possible. It encouraged sociologists, therefore, to move closer to the racial liberals.

Perhaps the least satisfactory aspect of Myrdal's work was his seemingly uncritical acceptance of the denigrating image of the black American from the prevailing sociological literature. While Myrdal did not deny that black people had been culturally innovative, he viewed their innova-

tion as a secondary reaction of the powerless to the primary action of the powerful. But mere reaction did not provide an adequate recognition of the social factors that gave cultural distinctiveness to American blacks. From his reading of the book, the distinguished black novelist Ralph Ellison made this often cited comment in *Shadow and Act* (1964):

> But can a people (its faith in an idealized American Creed nothwithstanding) live and develop for over three hundred years simply by reacting? Are American Negroes simply the creation of white men, or have they at least helped to create themselves out of what they have found around them? Men have made a life in caves and upon cliffs, why cannot Negroes have made a way of life upon the horns of the white man's dilemma?

The Black Sociologists

In the first half of the twentieth century, white sociologists did little to penetrate into the separate communities created by blacks as a consequence of segregation. What was known about blacks came mostly from aggregates of statistical data or from observations of blacks in public, white-controlled places. It became the task of the first black sociologists to reveal the internal structure of black social life and, in doing so, to create a more adequate image of American blacks *as a people.*

The work of black sociologists made evident a perspective on race relations different from that of white sociologists. Although both of them understood that black people wanted the opportunities denied them, white sociologists did not seem to understand what black sociologists knew full well: that black people did not want to so fully assimilate as to disappear as a people; that race pride and a lasting resentment at white oppression had produced a distinctive set of attitudes among black people; and that nationalistic, nonassimilative ideas were emerging among young, educated blacks. Furthermore, black sociologists did not, as did their white colleagues, regard efforts at political reform as illusory; instead, they took them seriously. That was because they were more sensitive than white sociologists to the consequences of economic and demographic change in the United States, in particular the urbanization of black people, for change in race relations. In turn, they viewed the white sociologists' fascination with caste as an illusion of stability in the face of oncoming change.

Two black sociologists, E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson, were soon recognized by their white peers as scholars of the first rank. In such books as *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939) and *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (1940), Frazier made a compelling case for understanding black Americans in terms of their life-shaping experiences from slavery to segregation and in the movement from rural South to urban North and not of biology or the residues of an African heritage. For all who would look to see, he revealed the complexity and distinctiveness of black life in the organization of black communities and in the black class structure.

Charles S. Johnson's *Shadow of the Plantation* (1934) provided a compelling study of black rural life in Alabama in the early 1930s, noting that little had changed since slavery and that the harsh conditions of life for black Americans denied the myth of the spontaneous and happy black. In similar fashion, his *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (1941) revealed the growing aspirations of black youth in the Deep South and their deepening resentment at the treatment of them by white people, while his *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (1943) laid bare the harsh reality of racial segregation.

In 1945 a study began in the 1930s provided the first detailed examination of black life in the urban North. In *Black Metropolis,* St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton described "Bronzeville," the black community of Chicago of the 1930s and '40s. It was a large, inclusive work unlike anything before it, a true classic of the field, and the crowning achievement of the prewar black sociologists.

White sociologists read and appreciated the works of black sociologists, especially those of Johnson and Frazier, but they read them selectively, taking what fitted their perspective on race relations and of blacks as a people. They possessed, in short, a mental outlook that left them unable to grasp the full message of the black sociologists. As a consequence, despite the efforts of black sociologists, an inadequate and selective image of the black American remained a basic feature of the sociology of race relations.

Robert Park: An Unrealized Perspective

At the University of Chicago, Frazier and Johnson were students of Robert Park, whose pioneering work did more to develop the sociology of race relations than that of any other sociologist. Park provided the definitive statement on assimilation, developed his well-known race relations cycle, promoted the idea of prejudice as social attitude, and invented the concept of social distance. Yet these contributions, readily accepted by sociologists, were not all that Park had to offer.

When other sociologists saw black people as a quiescent and backward population not yet ready for modern

society, Park saw them as a race-conscious people involved, like the national minorities of Eastern Europe, in a struggle for independence. He placed the American race problem within a world process of racial and ethnic conflict and change, where subject peoples sought independence and self-determination. That made of race relations a continuing field of conflict. For Park, this was not to be deplored because it was a stage in the eventual assimilation of the world's peoples into a common culture and a common historical life.

But all of this was far beyond the parochial worldview of Park's sociological colleagues. As a consequence, a perspective that gave promise of anticipating and better understanding the emergence of a black-led Civil Rights Movement and preparing the nation for significant changes in race relations went unrealized.

The Postwar Sociology of Race Relations

In the 1940s and '50s there was a rush of political and legal actions, neither predicted nor anticipated by sociologists, that changed some basic aspects of race relations and led to expectations of even further changes. Among these were the 1941 March on Washington movement, which led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order forbidding discrimination in defense industries and which, after the war, stimulated political efforts to promote fair employment practices; the Detroit Riot of 1943 which stimulated the formation of local groups to deal with racial tension in the community; President Harry S. Truman's desegregation of the armed forces; the U.S. Supreme Court's decision rendering restrictive racial convenants illegal and the consequent liberal effort to abolish segregated housing; and the Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* to desegregate the public schools. These changes signified that race was finally on the liberal agenda and that the nation was making its first moves to eliminate the established pattern of racial segregation.

In the face of such changes, a new postwar generation of sociologists abandoned the politically detached position of the prewar generation and tried to shift sociology from the "objective" study of race relations to race as a problem in applied research, in service to the liberal activists and the professional practitioners of intergroup relations. It was also an experiment in bringing together scholar and practitioner, in uniting theory and practice.

But it never worked. One reason was that the professionals were too politically constrained by their social agencies; what they could do in practice was limited by what was acceptable to their governing boards. In the public agencies, among a diverse set of politically appointed community representatives, there were always some who were cautious about, if not unsupportive of, decisive action. To work with professional agencies, therefore, was to seek no more change than the civic elite that controlled those agencies was willing to undertake. There was no consideration of organizing a constituency among nonelite groups or of linking the objectives of intergroup relations with other social causes. It was also the case that a sociology that studied social roles in stable structures had difficulty analyzing the more fluid dynamics of racial conflict and change.

The attempt to construct an applied sociology of race relations and to participate in the liberal effort at racial change did not last long. It emerged in the first decade after the war and then vanished almost without a trace with the coming of the black-led civil rights struggle in the 1960s.

Beyond Prejudice

In the 1950s social psychologists went beyond the measurement of prejudice to examine the relation of race to personality. One direction of study saw prejudice in some whites as an expression of a deeply rooted psychological need, which often led to the projection of hostility on a socially acceptable target such as a racial minority. Such individuals exemplified the authoritarian personality: antidemocratic, rigidly inflexible, and admiring of power. A decade of supporting research claimed that these more prejudiced individuals were likely to be people of lesser social status: the less educated, the working class, the lower class. Whereas prewar sociologists had viewed the whole of the white population as prejudiced, a postwar generation saw racial bias differing by social class. An educated middle class, it seemed, was tolerant and racially progressive, while classes below them were not. This quickly became a fixed element in sociological (and liberal) thought.

While research does indeed show that middle-class whites will more readily endorse principles of equal rights, it also finds that, when it comes to implementation, the difference between the middle class and other classes decreases and even disappears. It also declines when the proportion of blacks increases, and it disappears when blacks become a majority. Sociologists' belief in a racially unprejudiced middle class, it now seems, is unwarranted and has provided no basis for a workable strategy of action.

In 1958 the sociologist Herbert Blumer suggested that prejudice is a sense of group position, not a set of feelings the individuals of one group hold toward those of another. A group's position in the racial order, he argued, produced a proprietary claim to privilege and prerogative, and prej-

udice emerged when that position was threatened. What Blumer had done was return to the earlier idea of prejudice as defense of social advantage. But sociologists made no effort to develop Blumer's conception of prejudice and its promise of a better way to explain race prejudice among social classes.

The relation between prejudice and discrimination and the proclaimed inverse relation between prejudice and social class were easily incorporated into the postwar sociology of race relations. So was another idea: that the firm exercise of authority over recalcitrant whites was necessary to attain racial change. An idea first applied to crowd situations with a potential for violence came to be applied to conflicts over desegregation where, it was believed, the firm exercise of authority would prevent resistance from being effective. Given the fact that sociologists defined the prejudiced person as primarily coming from the working and lower classes, the idea of the firm exercise of authority followed logically.

These were social psychological studies of white people, but sociologists had often commented about the psychological damage done to black people by a racially oppressive environment. In the 1930s one sociologist suggested that blacks suffered from an "oppression psychosis," and in the 1940s another claimed that "personality disorders" were one of the pathologies to be found among black people. The most influential expression of this view came in 1951 when the psychiatrists Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey argued, in *The Mark of Oppression,* that the persistent and pervasive consequence of discrimination had a thoroughly destructive effect on the psychological development of black people.

The image of the black person that emerged from their study was that of a psychological cripple: a mentally unhealthy person given to low self-esteem and self-hatred, to resentment, rage, and an aggression for which there was no safe outlet. Blacks, the authors asserted, lacked any "genuine religiosity," had created no religion of their own, and had been unable to develop their own culture. They bolstered their self-esteem with compensatory activities such as flashy dressing, gambling, taking drugs, and vindictive behavior toward one another.

Perhaps the most damning claim the authors made was that American blacks were incapable of the social cohesion that would enable them to act collectively in their own interests. They traced this back to the severe limitations on personal development imposed by slavery and segregation. The frustrations of childhood, they insisted, produced a distrusting personality lacking confidence in human relations.

Kardiner and Ovesey were not intent on condemning blacks for their deficiencies but on demonstrating the "marks" of oppression under which blacks were forced to live. Nonetheless, their message was that blacks were so victimized by this oppression that they were unable to act in their own behalf and required the assistance of sympathetic whites. Only their oppressors, it seemed, could also be their liberators. For sociologists the book became a seminal work that rounded out their conception of American blacks.

No one can deny that oppression leaves a distorting mark on the human personality. But it is not the case that such oppression can fully and forever cripple the human spirit or leave a people permanently unable to act on its own behalf. Even in the most destructive of environments, a people will create the cultural resources for sustaining hope and preserving a decent sense of their own humanity. From the days of slavery, black Americans did that. Through religion and music they created life-sustaining forces to offset the pain evident in everyday life, while the black church became a force for leadership, for sustaining family, and for building community. But none of this evidence was noted by Kardiner and Ovesey.

Nor did any of this appear in the sociological literature. There was no work to identify and measure cultural resources by which blacks could defend their very humanity against the crippling effects of oppression. Nor did the literature imagine the possibility of black-directed social action. Yet in the 1950s it was already late in the day to be so unaware of the gathering storm already developing in the South.

A Failed Perspective

In the early 1960s that storm of protest and revolt swept through the South and then spread northward, bringing on a decade of black-led civil rights revolution and ending forever the prevailing structure of racial segregation. But the sociologists had provided no warning that such was to occur; a reading of the sociological literature, in fact, would lead one to believe that such was not going to happen. It became painfully obvious to some thoughtful sociologists of race relations that their work could no longer explain what was going on in the world of racial interests and actions. The race relations that appeared in their writings bore little resemblance to the race relations taking shape around them.

Perhaps the greater failure of those writings was their denigrating and inadequate conception of black people as culturally inferior and therefore incapable of acting effectively on their own behalf. The civil rights revolution of the 1960s dispelled that idea once and for all. But it was not until the 1970s that sociologists could acknowledge

that blacks were a people with a distinct culture formed in the oppressive heat of slavery and segregation.

Also found wanting was sociology's confident faith that the inevitable outcome of modernization was a steady dissipation of prejudice and discrimination, a gradual assimilation of blacks into the society, and in time, a disappearance of black people as a distinct people. Instead, a heightened race consciousness prevails among black Americans, ethnicity has experienced a worldwide resurgence, and a multicultural movement has arisen to celebrate ethnicity and to seek legal and institutional means to ensure the persistence of ethnic cultures. Furthermore, belief in a progressively more rational social order is now doubted by many and disbelieved by some.

Over the past quarter century sociologists have continued to measure prejudice, discrimination, and still-existing segregation, but they have done little else to inform and educate the citizenry or the political, civic, and educational leadership. Now, late in the twentieth century, the contemporary discourse between white and black and within both races is discordant and without consensus on what to do. New developments, such as the emerging global economy and a new wave of immigration, make more complex the social context in which race relations are embedded. The task for sociologists is to do more than measure prejudice and discrimination, useful as that still is; they must provide analyses that take adequate account of these complexities while finding in them possibilities for racial progress.

See also Cayton, Horace; Drake, St. Clair; Frazier, Edward Franklin; Johnson, Charles Spurgeon; Race, Scientific Theories of; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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JAMES B. MCKEE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Scholarship in the Post–Civil Rights Era

Although sociologists did not anticipate the emergence of a sustained nonviolent movement for civil rights, they played pivotal roles in three major sets of public policy discussions launched in the mid to late 1960s. A key case in point is Harvard sociologist (then an advisor to the Lyndon B. Johnson administration) Daniel Patrick Moynihan's infamous report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," issued in 1965. Drawing attention to a growing rate of single-parent female-headed households among blacks, and characterizing this circumstance as correlated with a set of unwanted conditions best understood as "a tangle of pathology," Moynihan ignited a fierce debate on black family life, gender roles, and their influence on issues of black socioeconomic attainment (Rainwater and Yancey, 1967).

In 1966 the massive "Equality of Educational Opportunity" report, prepared under the leadership of sociologist James Coleman and statistician Ernest Campbell,

sparked further controversy over the roles of schools and school resources in determining race differences in schooling outcomes. To the surprise of many at the time, the report documented much smaller gaps between black students and white students in school resources and expenditures than anticipated (in part, ironically, because of the NAACP's long-fought and successful legal challenges to "separate but equal" practices, which forced change in many southern states). Moreover, the report undermined the assumption that school expenditures were a key index of school quality, finding instead that family background was much more important to student attainment and achievement.

Then, in 1968, the U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the Kerner Commission after former Illinois governor Otto Kerner (1908–1976), who chaired the commission, issued its extensive assessment of the urban riots that so defined major American cities in the summer of 1967. The report characterized the United States as "two nations, black and white, separate and unequal." It went on to unambiguously fault white racism for the great racial schism in the social fabric.

Both the Moynihan report and the Coleman report, as well as, in a fashion, the Kerner Commission report, occasioned intense controversy, often bitterly acrimonious debate, and reevaluation. The disputes over the theoretical interpretation of social science findings and the remarkable intensity of feeling aroused by the reports also raised doubts about the capacity of social science to directly inform public policy. Emblematic of the intellectual intensity of the times was the influential volume *The Death of White Sociology* (1973), edited by Joyce Ladner. Yet, each of these ambitious reports identified themes, problems, and types of analyses that continue to influence scholarship, and they arguably assumed even greater scholarly importance in the late 1970s and into the present. To wit, this set of studies can be read as defining a still-important spectrum of analyses of racial inequality that sought the main causes of black disadvantage either in the dynamics and function of black families, communities, and culture (Moynihan and Coleman) or in the basic racist structural organization of American society and institutions (Kerner).

Over the course of the 1970s, sociology took a decided turn away from theories of social consensus in general and a focus on prejudice and discrimination in particular as lenses through which to interpret the black experience. Instead, theories of group conflict, internal colonialism, racial oppression, and power and ideology rose to prominence. And sociologists looking at black families and communities increasingly emphasized the resilience and resources of blacks in effectively adapting to the challenges of persistent inequality and racist conditions. Eventually, the research took on a much more structuralist, economy-centered, historical, and often comparative scope. For example, Pierre van den Berghe (1967) and Hubert Blalock (1967) developed important theoretical statements in the 1960s. These came to be focused and amplified in the 1970s by scholars such as Robert Blauner (1972), William Julius Wilson (1973), and Edna Bonacich (1972) who developed analyses of racial antagonism that were focused on the labor market.

This intellectual emphasis on the economy, racism, and structures of racial oppression was decisively reshaped by the publication in 1978 of William Julius Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. Adopting a Weberian conception of class and with a focus on the fundamental intersection of the economy and the polity, Wilson boldly declared that the life chances of black Americans were no longer determined by race but rather by the class attributes they brought to the labor market. In a trenchantly argued work, Wilson suggested that three great epochs defined the black experience, with race clearly determining the life chances of most blacks in the first two stages—slavery and the early- and early-modern industrial stages. However, class, rather than race, rose to predominant importance in the third or modern and post-industrial phase.

Wilson's analysis became the subject of misappropriation from academics and others on the right, great praise and respect from a broad interdisciplinary center, and vituperative attack from those on the left, especially the black left. The latter included a regrettable formal vote of censure against Wilson by the Association of Black Sociologists, which reacted mainly against the title rather than the substance of Wilson's argument. The nearly decade-long debate in sociology on "the declining significance of race thesis" did, however, yield important insights about the need to think in terms of the intersection and interaction of race and class, rather than in terms of analyses that afforded one factor transparent primacy over the other.

In 1980 Wilson issued a second edition of the book, which dealt with some of the early criticism of his work. In particular, he took to task those who offered simplistic readings of the complex argument he had made or who treated racism and discrimination in a monolithic fashion that failed to account for the growing class differentiation within the black community. His rejoinder also signaled his next focus—the urban poor in black America—a subject for which he would once again come to redefine the scholarly agenda across the social sciences (Wilson, 1980).

The 1980s saw the rise to the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). This ascendancy of conservative Re-

publicans brought a new prominence and influence for scholars and think tanks on the right. Prominent among these right-wing scholars was Charles Murray, who published *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980* (1984), an anti-welfare tract putatively rooted in the canons of social science. Although Murray's analysis became the object of much criticism, the book lent legitimacy to a conservative cultural view of a set of social ills dominating public attention and associated with poor, urban, black communities. These problems included steadily rising rates of single-parent female-headed households, juvenile delinquency, high school dropouts, drug use, violent crime, unemployment, poverty, and long-term welfare dependency. Murray, and such fellow conservatives as political scientist Lawrence Mead (1992), faulted the permissive values and social policies of the 1960s' "Great Society" and "War on Poverty" eras for having undermined individual self-reliance and respect for conventional mainstream values.

Among the significant sociological works to appear in his era was Stanley Lieberson's *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880* (1980). This broad-ranging work took up the "immigrant analogy" hypothesis, which maintained that blacks would experience the same social mobility as European immigrant groups. The argument was read by many as one variant of a conservative position that saw racism, discrimination, and racial inequality as of steadily and inevitably waning importance in the United States. Lieberson's detailed analysis documented the myriad ways in which African Africans in the mid-1800s through the early decades of the twentieth century were more severely disadvantaged and faced more durable barriers to mobility than various southern, central, and eastern European immigrant groups. His work called into question any easy assumption of parallel trajectories of progress.

Despite Lieberson's convincing analysis, the larger conservative framework still dominated. Many scholars sought to challenge these approaches and the influence they exerted in policy-making circles. The most influential such work again came from William Julius Wilson with the publication in 1987 of *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Wilson spoke directly about issues of crime, out-of-wedlock childbirth, and welfare dependency—the whole complex of problems seen as defining urban inner-city life. Dismissing as outdated the left's analysis from the perspective of racism and discrimination, as well as the right's analysis from the perspective of individual values and culture as ahistorical, factually wrong, and victim-blaming, Wilson developed a three-part argument. He proposed, first, that America's urban centers had witnessed the emergence of a new urban underclass, a truly disadvantaged group. These inner-city black residents, by virtue of historic discrimination, had low skill levels and were not well positioned to respond to profound changes in the structure of the economy.

Second, Wilson argued that inner-city areas were losing the sort of well-paid, low-skill, unionized jobs that once characterized life in the big cities. This was occurring because of the deconcentration of industry as heavy-goods production and manufacturing moved increasingly from proximity to central city cores to suburban and exurban locations. More importantly, this job loss occurred because of the deindustrialization of the American economy, especially in urban centers, as part of a major shift toward service-oriented, information-processing, technology-related high-skill work. This confluence of circumstances resulted in a skills/spatial mismatch wherein low-skill, inner-city blacks were less and less competitive for the high-skill, high-wage jobs (e.g., in banking, finance, law, communications, etc.) available in central city areas. A major consequence of economic restructuring of this kind and scale was a rising rate of black male joblessness, with long-term unemployment and bleak employment prospects becoming commonplace. Joblessness not only heightened the experience of poverty, but it reduced the likelihood of marriage for both black men and women. Wilson argued that men are reluctant to marry when they cannot provide economically for a family, and women do not find men with severely limited employment prospects to be promising marriage partners.

Third, these circumstances resulted in the profound social disorganization of communities, according to Wilson, because the underclass suffered great isolation from mainstream social values. Underclass communities involved areas of extremely high concentrations of poverty, where 40 percent or more of the residents were below the poverty level. Contributing to this growing isolation for the underclass was a greater mobility for middle-class and skilled working-class blacks who were able to leave inner-city ghetto communities due to opportunities afforded by the successes of affirmative action and the civil rights movement. Those left behind were the poorest of the poor. This is the mix that Wilson associated with welfare dependency, out-of-wedlock childbirths, juvenile delinquency, and crime.

The Truly Disadvantaged initiated a wave of research on ghetto poverty; predictably, Wilson's book also garnered intense controversy. Urban ethnographers, theorists, survey researchers, and economists all tackled aspects of Wilson's call for a focus on the new urban poverty. Three aspects of the subsequent research and controversy

are worthy of extended consideration in this entry because they came to change the intellectual landscape. One of the first lines of sustained critique of Wilson came from Herbert Gans (1995), who took strong objection to the use of the term *underclass*, suggesting that it was merely another stigmatizing epithet that encouraged focusing on the behavior of individuals rather than the structural circumstance of groups and communities. And certainly there were many commentators on the right who used Wilson's terminology in this fashion, ignoring much of the rich sociological context and argumentation he advanced. Wilson ultimately moved away from using the term *underclass*, preferring instead the *ghetto poor* or *ghetto poverty*, in an effort to emphasize the properties of such structural placements in the economy.

A second major line of criticism faulted Wilson for failing to deal with racial residential segregation. In a major book, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (1993), sociologists Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton argued that the racial segregation of communities was the key factor in the rise of concentrated ghetto poverty. On the basis of careful historical, demographic, and econometric simulation analyses, they showed how the emergence and maintenance of racial barriers in the housing market were critical to the development of extremely disadvantaged inner-city communities. As a result, they also pointed out the strong contemporary relevance of racial discrimination in the housing market to larger patterns of modern inequality, thereby resuscitating a focus on processes of discrimination.

A third line of scholarship pointed to the modern potency (not merely historic effects) of racial discrimination in many domains of social life, including the labor market. Ironically, even Wilson's own "Urban Poverty and Family Life Survey of Chicago" (1987) conducted extensive interviews with employers in Chicago and found them to hold clearly negative stereotypes of black workers, especially black men. Employers also engaged in a series of practices to limit or exclude black workers. Careful auditing studies, which involved sending out matched pairs of black job applicants and white job applicants with equivalent resumes, showed significant anti-black (and anti-Latino/a) bias. Sociologist Joe Feagin identified numerous other domains, such as stores, restaurants, and other public spaces, where African Americans reported experiencing racial bias (Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Feagin 2000).

Entrenched ghetto poverty, persistent racial residential segregation and the housing discrimination critical to its maintenance, and ongoing racial bias in the labor market and other spheres of life prompted renewed attention to negative racial attitudes, prejudice, and stereotyping. Thus, a major study carried out by the General Social Survey of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago pointed to the persistence of negative images of blacks among whites (see Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith, 1997), with such negative stereotypes playing an important role in public thinking about how social policy should (or should not) respond to inequality (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Gilens, 1999). This survey would be reinforced by scholarship in social psychology pointing to the widespread but deeply implicit and often unconscious basis of negative racial stereotypes.

Another analytical innovation in the 1990s involved renewed attention to matters of wealth inequality as central to the modern problem of racial inequality. The most important and influential work in this area was Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro's *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (1995). Oliver and Shapiro argued that wealth, the accumulated financial assets a person has, is more important to the capacity to maintain a particular standard of living than income or earnings per se. Critically, they documented that, as of the late 1980s, a vast gap of nearly 12-to-1 separated the median financial assets of blacks from those of whites. To wit, for roughly every ten cents of wealth in black hands, whites had slightly more than a dollar. Oliver and Shapiro also reported that in 1989 the median net worth of black households in the United States was approximately $3,700, as compared to $43,800 for white households. The figures for net financial assets, with debts subtracted, were $6,999 for whites and effectively $0 for blacks.

Furthermore, Oliver and Shapiro showed that even young, dual-income black couples lagged far behind whites in wealth (hence, even post–civil rights movement, high-achieving blacks suffered an enormous wealth gap with whites). This was true even though blacks and whites saved at roughly the same rates and even when matched in occupational or educational attainment. The critical reason for this disparity is that much wealth is inherited, not earned via an individual's schooling or wages from work. Oliver and Shapiro attributed the black/white wealth gap to: (1) racialized state policies that systematically excluded African Americans from many opportunities for government-sponsored asset-building opportunities that many whites benefited from (e.g., home mortgage discrimination practices in the 1930s through 1950s); (2) violence and other acts of bias directed at successful black entrepreneurship; and (3) the sedimentation of inequality whereby disadvantages are reinforced and accumulate over time.

Greater attention to theorizing race and racism also started to assume prominence in the later 1980s. A key

work here was Michael Omi and Howard Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States* (1986). They suggested that racial phenomena were historically contingent and "made" as part of racializing projects, a theme now broadly resonant in the field. Their work, along with that of other scholars, such as Jonathan Stone and David Theo Goldberg, helped to elevate the examination of race and ethnicity to new theoretical prominence within the discipline.

The 1990s also witnessed the emergence of a whole new line of scholarship focusing on whiteness. Whiteness studies took up historical tracing of the development of whiteness as a privileged social status. Sometimes focused on particular ethnic whites (Ignatiev, 1995), the working class in general (Roediger, 1991), or European ethnics in general (Jacobson, 1998; Allen, 1994 and 1997), scholars traced how would-be peers and allies of blacks embraced the offer of skin-privilege in the American racial hierarchy instead. The work has helped to refocus scholarly attention beyond the circumstances of blacks and black communities to a larger perspective on how race itself is enacted and experienced on both sides of the color line.

Another important trend of the 1990s involved examinations of the place of African Americans in increasingly multiethnic, multiracial urban spaces. To some degree, this work developed in response to instances of overt conflict and tension, such as occurred between African-American communities and immigrant Korean merchants in a number of communities. These tensions were, of course, one of the simmering resentments set aflame in Los Angeles in 1992 following the acquittal of the four white police officers who were video-taped beating black motorist Rodney King. But this expanded scope was also accelerated by such developments as the introduction by the U.S. Census Bureau of the option of identifying with more than one race, arguably lending even greater legitimacy to those attempting to claim a mixed- or multiracial identity. And immigration was also serving to make the country's African-ancestry population more diverse as blacks from the Caribbean and Africa continued to immigrate to the United States.

Over the twentieth century, sociology moved very far from the posture of paying little or no attention to matters of race and offering unreflective acceptance of prevailing racist assumptions. Indeed, matters of race moved to a place of increasing prominence in the discipline, with a number of scholars becoming major students of race and ethnic relations; these scholars included Wilson, Lieberson, Massey, and Feagin, all of whom served as president of the American Sociological Association. Sociology also became one of the primary sites of intellectual analysis and critique of racism. And scholars in the field occupy a far more prominent place in public and policy-making discourse than they typically held in the past.

The study of issues of race, especially the African-American experience, remains a site of controversy. Debates and contestation continue over how to conceptualize race and racism; over the relative weight to attach to prejudice and discrimination as compared to economic, political, and other structural constraints; and, of course, over the extent to which persistent racial inequality is traceable to the choices, behavior, and culture of African Americans as compared to the structures and ideology of racial oppression. While there is no consensus theory of race, the approach to issues of race in sociology is more central, seasoned, empirically grounded, influential, and informed by the work of minority as well as nonminority scholars than ever before. Given other trends in the discipline toward the use of multiple-method designs and comparative scope, there are grounds to be optimistic about future theory development and about the likelihood of sociology having a significant impact on public policy and producing important societal outcomes.

See also Economic Condition, U.S.; Educational Psychology and Psychologists; Education in the United States; Kerner Report; Social Psychology, Psychologists, and Race

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LAWRENCE D. BOBO (2005)

Solomon, Patrick

April 12, 1910
August 26, 1997

Patrick Solomon, a government minister, diplomat, and member of the People's National Movement, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad. He displayed a superior intellect as a child and later excelled at the College Exhibition Examinations, placing first among all primary school students, including Eric Eustace Williams (1911–1981), the future prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago. In secondary school at St. Mary's College, he won a prestigious Island Scholarship in 1928, which allowed him to pursue medical studies at University College, London, and Queen's University in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Between 1934 and 1939, Solomon practiced medicine in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. He then returned to the Caribbean, where he served in the Leeward Islands Medical Service until 1942. In 1943 Solomon returned to Trinidad and obtained employment at the Port of Spain General Hospital. That year also marked his entry into politics, as he joined the West Indian National Party (WINP), which was founded in South Trinidad by Dr. David Pitt (1913–1994). Solomon formed a branch of the WINP in Port of Spain and served on its management committee. In 1943 he supported the WINP in its boycott of Victoria County's by-election, an attempt to force the colonial authorities to dissolve the legislature and hold general elections. At the WINP's first party conference on March 19, 1944, Solomon was elected to the party's Central Executive Committee. Three months later, at a meeting of the WINP General Council, Solomon was elected to serve as third vice president.

Within the labor movement, Solomon played a pivotal role but left a transient impression. In 1946 the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union (SWWTU) appealed to their employer, the Shipping Association, for a new contract. The association refused and the waterfront workers decided to strike. Solomon intervened, and he not only marched with the disgruntled workers but aired their plight in the Legislative Council in Trinidad and Tobago. The strike eventually ended due to the increasing hunger of the workers, who reluctantly returned to work.

In 1946 Trinidad and Tobago held its first elections under adult suffrage. The United Front was one of the newly formed political parties contesting the election. This was a coalition of individuals and organizations, including the WINP and the Indian National Council. The objectives of the United Front were: (1) full internal self-government; (2) nationalization of the sugar and oil industries; and (3) mass education. Solomon served as secretary of the United Front and was chosen to contest the Port of Spain North seat. In a keenly contested electoral battle, Solomon and two other candidates of the United Front were victorious in the 1946 elections.

The urgency to increase the number of elected members was one of the major factors leading to the formation of the Constitutional Reform Committee in 1947. Solomon submitted a minority report that criticized the nomination system and appealed for a fully elected single chamber (elected on the basis of adult suffrage), an executive elected by and from the legislature, and an executive council to be responsible to the legislature. However, Solomon's suggestions were ignored by Britain. When the new constitution was announced on January 19, 1949, the noteworthy changes were an elected majority of one person in the executive council and the decrease of the nominated element from six to five persons. The House was to be presided over by a speaker chosen from among the elected members.

In the aftermath of the 1946 elections, the high level of racism prompted Solomon to form the Indo-Caribbean Cultural Institute on August 22, 1949. However, due to accusations of promoting Indian racialism, this venture quickly collapsed. Solomon formed the Caribbean Socialist Party to contest the 1950 elections, but he and the party were soundly defeated at the polls. Solomon then briefly withdrew from politics, but he was persuaded by Eric Williams to return to the political arena as one of the founding members of the People's National Movement (PNM). This was a wise move because Solomon apparently had a genuine interest in the political development of the country, and as a professional he was considered an asset to the PNM. Subsequently Solomon was elected as a member of Parliament for Port of Spain South (1956) and Port of Spain West (1961). On September 25, 1959, Solomon put forth a motion in the Legislative Council seeking full internal self-government. This historic appeal finally materialized on August 31, 1962, when the country attained independence.

As a member of the PNM, Solomon faithfully served in various capacities. He served as minister of education and culture (1956–1960), minister of home affairs (1960–1964), and acting prime minister, deputy prime minister, and minister of external affairs (1962–1966). At the international level, Solomon was chosen as vice president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 and as High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago in London between 1971 and 1976.

In 1978 Solomon was awarded the Trinity Cross, Trinidad and Tobago's highest award for distinguished service. During the 1980s he was no longer in active politics and became a weekly columnist for the *Sunday Express,* a local newspaper.

See also Peoples National Movement; Williams, Eric

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JEROME TEELUCKSINGH (2005)

Sororities, U.S.

According to the National Pan-Hellenic Council, the governing body of black Greek-lettered organizations, there are nine major black fraternities and sororities. Out of the "Divine Nine," four are sororities: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Zeta Phi Beta, and Sigma Gamma Rho. They were all founded in the first half of the twentieth century, with a growing, cumulative membership of over 500,000 worldwide. Black sororities place a high emphasis on academic excellence and sisterly unity, and they tend not to "rush" (a Greek term for recruitment). Instead, members are invited by current sisters (soros), and they often learn about these organizations through their churches and high school. Alumni, famous or not, reflect each sorority's commitment to social change through community involvement.

The nation's first sorority was established in 1851 at Wesleyan College but it was not until 1956 that a black woman (Barbara Collier Delany) was invited to join a white sorority. (The Cornell chapter of Sigma Kappa was ordered to rescind Delany's membership; they refused, and headquarters shut down the sorority.) Despite the end of slavery and the guarantee of certain rights, racism continued in the form of Jim Crow. The Fifteenth Amend-

ment granted black men the right to vote in 1870; it would be another fifty years until any woman could do the same. Even then, the remnants of Victorianism and its tenants of "true womanhood"—virtue, piety, domesticity, and obedience—continued to restrict women, particularly black women. Just as black women formed clubs to counter white racist suffragettes, they also formed sororities to combat similar exclusions faced on college campuses. Black women sought to gain equality not *behind* black men or white women, but *beside* them, and social work through sororities afforded them that opportunity.

Inspired by the black fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha (founded in 1906 at Cornell), the first black sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA), was founded at Howard University by Ethel Hedgeman Lyle, Beulah E. and Lillie Burke, Margaret Flagg Holmes, Marjorie Hill, Lucy Diggs Slowe, Marie Woolfolk Taylor, Anna Easter Brown, and Lavinia Norman. With their motto, "Service to All Mankind," and their colors of salmon pink and apple green, AKA became official on January 15, 1908. While AKA is considered the oldest black sorority, they are sometimes also seen as the most elite, with accusations ranging from intra-racism (accepting light-skinned blacks only) to classicism (choosing members from the wealthy, professional classes). However, their commitment to social issues affecting the black community, as well as a roster of famous sisters cutting across class and color hues, disputes such criticisms. With chapters in the United States, as well as in the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe, the sorority has continued to stay true to its motto with various education and after-school and weekend projects, such as the Ivy AKAdemy, the On-TRACK Program, and Putting Black Families First, a citizen-awareness program.

Delta Sigma Theta, galvanized by the political atmosphere at the time, was established at Howard on January 13, 1913, by twenty-two former AKA's who sought a name dissimilar to the fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha. The Delta's were ordered by AKA to change their name and come back to the fold. Declining, Delta Sigma Theta created their own colors (crimson and cream), along with a new motto ("Greater Service, Greater Progress") and accompanying song, "The Delta Hymn," penned by Alice Dunbar Nelson and Florence Cole Talbert. Defying their families and Howard University officials, they participated in the 1913 Women's Suffragette March. During the Depression, they were at the forefront of providing various types of academic aid to blacks across the country. Other early projects included the National Library Project, which brought books to a black population hampered by the separate and unequal policies of Jim Crow, and going on record against injustices such as the Scottsboro Boys trial, U.S. involvement in Haiti, and lynching laws. Their commitment to social justice and issues continues with projects such as the Dr. Betty Shabazz Delta Academy, named after their soror and designed for preteen girls to supplement the public-school curriculum; the Delta-funded Thika Memorial Hospital/Mary Sick of the Mission Hospital maternity wing in Kenya; and the "Summit V: Health and Healing—Let It Continue" initiative, which focuses on HIV/AIDS education.

The first official sister organization (to the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity, founded in 1914 at Howard), Zeta Phi Beta, Inc., became the third official black sorority on January 16, 1920, nine months before all women received the right to vote. Founded by Arizona Cleaver, Viola Tyler, Pearl Neal, and Fannie Pettie, Zeta Phi Beta was not only first in being officially and constitutionally bound to a fraternity, but it was also the first black sorority to charter international chapters in West Africa, Germany, the Bahamas, and St. Croix. Among their many highlights is the Finer Womanhood Week, begun in the 1930s, during which each chapter holds a celebration to promote the ideals of "finer womanhood." Stressing community involvement over social background and high grades, the Zetas continue the founders' motto "Scholarship, Service, Sisterhood, and Finer Womanhood," with programs such as: Stork's Nest, which encourages women to seek pre- and postnatal care; the National Education Foundation, which provides scholarships, fellowships, and research grants to eligible women; and the Human Genome Project, whose goal is to raise awareness of genetics among people of color.

While the previously mentioned sororities were founded at Howard, an all-black college located in political and cosmopolitan Washington, D.C., blacks at the predominantly white Butler University in Indiana faced other obstacles. During the 1920s, Indiana was referred to as "Klandania" because it was the Ku Klux Klan's main and strongest base of operation; nearly 30 percent of Indiana's white male population were members. It was not until November 12, 1922, that an all-black sorority was to be established at a white university. Sigma Gamma Rho was founded by Mary Lou Allison Gardner Little, Bessie Mae Downey Rhodes Martin, Hattie Mai Annette Dulin Redford, Nannie Mae Gahn Johnson, Dorothy Hanley Whiteside, Cubena McClure, and Vivan White Marbury, women committed to helping other black women, on campus as well as off, to help other black women. Their motto, "Greater Service, Greater Progress," reflected the political climate for women of the period. During the Depression, they sponsored literacy programs that provided books to young black students; created a National Vocational Guid-

Model and actress Halle Berry, second from left, marches with members of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority at Bowling Green State University, 2000. *The sorority was founded in 1913 by twenty-two women at Washington, D.C.'s Howard University, one of the most prominent black academic colleges in the United States at that time.* J. D. POOLEY/GETTY IMAGES

ance Program; and established the Sigma Gamma Rho Employment Aid Bureau, an early networking system that provided Sigma sisters with life-improving jobs. Continuing the tradition are programs such as Wee Savers, which teaches children six to eighteen years of age about various banking facilities and their services, like investing; Program for Africa, which provides African women with the tools to produce grain more efficiently; and BigBookBag, which provides children in need with school supplies.

Although founded for black women by black women, black sororities accept women from various ethnicities, reflecting the growing diaspora of nonwhite women on American campuses. White membership, however slight, is also increasing, with white soros citing the emphasis of social work over socializing that prompted them to join a black, rather than white, sorority. Black sororities continue to provide a space for black collegians to congregate and network, both socially and professionally, long after members graduate. A brief roster of famous sorors include Mary McLeod Bethune, Johnetta Cole, Ruby Dee, Ella Fitzgerald, Aretha Franklin, Nikki Giovanni, Zora Neale Hurston, Mae Jemison, Barbara Jordan, Hattie McDaniel, Toni Morrison, Rosa Parks, and Mary Church Terrell.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Education in the United States; Fraternal Orders; Fraternities, U.S.; Mutual Aid Societies

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LISE ESDAILE (2005)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Initially founded in January 1957 by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other young ministers who were active in local civil-rights protest efforts across the South, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) soon became the primary organization through which the southern black church made significant contributions to the black freedom struggle of the 1960s.

Viewed by many as simply the institutional reflection of King's individual role as the civil rights movement's principal symbolic leader, the SCLC in fact served a somewhat larger function. First, beginning in the late 1950s, the SCLC drew together southern ministers who believed that the black church had a responsibility to act in the political arena and who sought an organizational vehicle for coordinating their activism. Second, in the years after 1961, when SCLC possessed a significant full-time staff, the organization pulled together important protest campaigns in Birmingham (1963) and Selma, Alabama (1965). These campaigns brought the southern struggle to the forefront of national attention and helped win passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Third, between 1965 and 1968 the SCLC provided the means by which King extended his own national agenda for economic change to include protest campaigns in northern cities such as Chicago (1966) and Cleveland (1967), as well as supplying the institutional basis for the Poor People's Campaign of 1968.

Three principal influences shaped SCLC's founding. The first was the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955 and 1956, a successful local protest effort that brought King to national attention and made him the symbol of new black activism in the South. Second, young ministers in other cities seeking to emulate the Montgomery example launched bus protests in southern cities such as Birmingham, Tallahassee, New Orleans, and Atlanta, and sought a forum for exchanging ideas and experiences. Third, New York–based civil rights activists Bayard Rustin, Ella Baker, and Stanley Levison, who already had helped garner northern funds and publicity for the Montgomery protest, began advocating the formation of a region-wide organization in the South that could spread the influence of Montgomery's mass movement and provide King a larger platform.

Initially labeled the "Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration" by King and Rustin, the conference met three times in 1957 before finally adopting Southern Christian Leadership Conference as its actual name. Seeking to avoid competition and conflict with the NAACP, SCLC chose to be composed not of individual members but of local organization "affiliates," such as civic leagues, ministerial alliances, and individual churches. Looking for a goal beyond that of desegregating city bus lines, King and the other ministers leading the conference (C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Joseph E. Lowery of Mobile, and Ralph D. Abernathy of Montgomery) focused on the right to vote and sought to develop a program, staff, and financial resources with which to pursue it. Until 1960, however, their efforts largely floundered, in part because of other demands upon King's time and energy, but also because of personnel problems and relatively meager finances.

The transformation of the SCLC into an aggressive, protest-oriented organization began in 1960 with King's own move from Montgomery to Atlanta and his appointment of the energetic Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker as SCLC's new executive director. The coupling of Walker's organizational skills with King's inspirational prowess as a speaker soon brought about a sevenfold expansion of SCLC's staff, budget, and program. While some staff members concentrated on voter registration efforts and citizenship training programs funded by northern foundations, Walker and King set out to design a frontal assault on southern segregation. Stymied initially in 1961 and 1962 in the southwest Georgia city of Albany, Walker and King chose the notorious segregation stronghold of Birmingham, Alabama, as their next target. In a series of aggressive demonstrations throughout April and May of 1963, the SCLC put the violent excesses of racist southern lawmen on the front pages of newspapers throughout the world. Civil rights rose as never before to the top of America's national agenda, and, within little more than a year's time, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 began fundamentally altering southern race relations.

Following King's much-heralded success at the 1963 March on Washington and his receipt of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, the SCLC repeated the Birmingham scenario with an even more successful protest campaign in early 1965 in Selma, focusing on the still widely denied right to register and vote. Out of that heavily publicized campaign emerged quick congressional passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With King deeply convinced that the civil rights agenda required an expansion of the southern struggle into the North so as to directly confront nationwide issues of housing discrimination and inadequate education and jobs, the SCLC in early 1966 shifted much of its

staff and energies to an intensive organizing campaign in Chicago. Although the "Chicago Freedom Movement" eventually garnered a negotiated accord with Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley, promising new city efforts to root out racially biased housing practices, most observers (and some participants) adjudged the SCLC's Chicago campaign as less than successful.

Following limited 1967 efforts in both Cleveland and Louisville, the SCLC, at King's insistent behest, began planning a massive "Poor People's Campaign" aimed at forcing the country's political elite to confront the issue of poverty in the United States. Following King's assassination on April 4, 1968, however, the SCLC's efforts to proceed with the campaign were marred by widespread organizational confusion. Although the SCLC played an important role in a successful 1969 strike by hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina, the organization's resources and staff shrank precipitously in the years after King's death. Internal tensions surrounding King's designated successor, the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, as well as wider changes in the civil rights movement, both contributed significantly to the SCLC's decline. Only in the late 1970s, when another of the original founders, Joseph E. Lowery, assumed SCLC's presidency, did the conference regain organizational stability. But throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s, SCLC continued to exist only as a faint shadow of the organization that had played such a crucially important role in the civil rights struggle between 1963 and 1968. In August 2004, Fred Shuttlesworth was elected president of the SCLC. One of his goals upon taking the position was to bring more young people into the organization.

See also Abernathy, Ralph David; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Lowery, Joseph E.; Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rustin, Bayard; Shuttlesworth, Fred L.

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DAVID J. GARROW (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Southwell, Paul

July 18, 1913
May 18, 1979

Caleb Azariah Paul Southwell is one of the official national heroes of the Caribbean islands of St. Kitts and Nevis. He was born in Dominica and served as a schoolteacher before becoming a member of the Leeward Islands police force in 1938. He left the police force in 1944 and worked as an assistant stock clerk at the St. Kitts Sugar Factory until his dismissal over a wage dispute in 1948. In 1944 he was also recruited into the St. Kitts-Nevis Trades and Labour Union, where he served as part-time organizer until his election in 1947 as union vice-president. Southwell gained tremendous political clout through his participation in militant strikes against the exploitative sugar industry.

Southwell's political ascendancy was accomplished through the struggle for self-government that characterized much of the English-speaking Caribbean during the twentieth century. With the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1952, Southwell, then the deputy leader of the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party, was elected to the St. Kitts Legislature. He was returned to the Legislative Council in 1956 and became minister of communications and works. During his political tenure, Southwell participated with Robert Bradshaw (St. Kitts's foremost political leader) in daring anticolonial protests. In the aftermath of the massive 1950 demonstration against the appointment of Kenneth Blackburne as Leeward Islands governor, Southwell published "The Truth about Operation Blackburne" (1951), a pamphlet explaining his party's frustration over the failure of the British Colonial Office to consult local inhabitants about political appointments.

In sharp contrast to his early years in Bradshaw's shadow, Southwell took the full reins of political leadership on St. Kitts when Bradshaw left to serve in the West Indies Federation (1958–1962). The 1958 strike against sugar industry employers was mounted and settled on his initiative, and he led a delegation to London in 1959 to advocate for further constitutional and electoral reform. He was elected to the Executive Council in 1960 and elevated to the position of chief minister of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla—a post he held until 1966. When the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla (before the secession of Anguilla) became a state in association with Great Britain in 1967, Southwell—in deference to Bradshaw's return to the legislature after serving in the parliament of the abortive West Indies Federation—became deputy premier and minister of finance, trade, industry, and tourism. Follow-

ing Bradshaw's death in 1978, the mantel of premiership passed to Southwell.

Southwell had hoped to ultimately preside over an independent nation, and he figured prominently in the 1970s independence talks in London. He also worked for years to develop the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and had agreed to serve as its special ambassador. He died suddenly on May 18, 1979, while chairing a meeting of the West Indies Associated States Council of Ministers in St. Lucia. By then, he had set St. Kitts-Nevis well on the way to self-determination.

See also Bradshaw, Robert; West Indies Federation

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CARLEEN PAYNE-JACKSON (2005)

Spaulding, Charles Clinton

August 1, 1874
August 1, 1952

Entrepreneur C. C. Spaulding was born in Columbus County, North Carolina. As a youth he worked on his father's farm and attended the local school until 1894, when he went to live with his uncle, Aaron Moore, the first black physician to practice in Durham, North Carolina. In Durham, after graduating from high school in 1898, Spaulding held a variety of jobs before becoming the manager of a cooperative black grocery store. While there, he also sold life insurance policies for the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, founded in 1898 by seven black men, including his uncle.

When the Mutual floundered in 1900 and most of the founders resigned their positions, Moore became secretary, and John Merrick, who served as president, hired Spaulding as the general manager. The three men then constituted the board of directors. With the death of Merrick in 1919 and the reorganization of the company as the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Spaulding became secretary-treasurer, and with the death of Moore in 1923, president, a position he held until his own death in 1952. Under his leadership, the Mutual became the nation's largest black insurance company, a position it maintains today.

As the head not only of the Mutual but also of its numerous subordinate institutions—banks, a real estate company, and a mortgage company—Spaulding was the most powerful black in Durham and among the most powerful in the nation. His endorsement enabled black initiatives to receive financial support from prominent white foundations, such as the Duke and Rosenwald foundations and the Slater Fund. Spaulding used this power to save such black institutions as Shaw University, Virginia Theological Seminary, and the National Negro Business League from insolvency and to influence the press, church sermons, school curriculums, and the allocation of public funds. With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, both state and federal governments acknowledged Spaulding's stature, appointing him to relief committees.

In 1933 the National Urban League made him national chair of its Emergency Advisory Council, whose purpose was to obtain black support for the National Recovery Administration (NRA), one of the most important parts of the first phase of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945; served 1933–45) New Deal plan for boosting the economy. The Council's role was to inform blacks about new laws regarding relief, reemployment, and property and to receive complaints of violations against blacks. Spaulding worked enthusiastically in this position, but his early hope that the NRA would bring a new era of fairness for blacks quickly soured.

As with his work for the Emergency Advisory Council, throughout Spaulding's career there was a tension between his desire to address the causes of black poverty and his need to protect his moderate image. In 1933 Spaulding introduced two local lawyers, Conrad Pearson and Cecil A. McCoy, who wanted to integrate the University of North Carolina, to NAACP secretary Walter White. However, as the case, *Hocutt v. North Carolina,* gained more publicity, Spaulding withdrew his essential support and worked instead for reform that did not threaten segregation, such as out-of-state tuition and equal teachers' salaries. But by the middle of the 1930s Spaulding actively supported the return of suffrage to blacks and served as chair of the executive committee of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs (founded 1935), which was responsible for the registration of thousands of black voters. Be-

cause its endorsement on average ensured candidates 80 percent of the black vote, the DCNA was a major political force on Durham.

With the onset of World War II, Spaulding became concerned almost exclusively with unifying blacks and whites in the name of patriotism. He invested much of the Mutual's assets in the war effort, buying $4.45 million in war bonds, and traveled and gave speeches as associate administrator of the War Savings Staff. After the war, Spaulding focused on the threat he believed communism posed to business. An article he wrote for *American Magazine* proclaiming its dangers was incorporated into high school textbooks and was reprinted in a variety of languages.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Great Depression and the New Deal; Insurance Companies; National Urban League

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)

Spelman College

Spelman College is the oldest black women's college in the United States. Located in Atlanta, Georgia, Spelman is a four-year liberal arts institution that has traditionally offered both the B.A. and B.S. degrees. Renowned for scholastic excellence and community involvement, Spelman was also one of the founding institutions of the Atlanta University Center.

Spelman College was founded in April 1881 as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary by Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles, two New England educators who had long been involved in education for women. While Packard and Giles were conducting a survey on the condition of the freedpersons in the South for the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS), they became increasingly distressed over the lack of schools for black women. Upon their return to Boston, they were determined to raise the funds necessary to open a school for black girls in the South. After receiving $100 from the First Baptist Church of Medford, Massachusetts, WABHMS finally agreed to sponsor their effort. They arrived in Atlanta, where they met with the Reverend Frank Quarles, who offered the basement of his Friendship Baptist Church as the first home for the new school. When the school opened, there were eleven students; fifteen months later eighty pupils were in regular attendance.

Desperate for financial support, the two women traveled to Cleveland in the summer of 1882 to speak at a church meeting. In attendance at that meeting was John D. Rockefeller, who pledged $250 toward a building for the school. It was the first of his donations toward black education, which eventually totaled millions of dollars.

In 1883 the school moved into what were former Union army officer barracks, which had been purchased by the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS). The school had grown to 293 students with over thirty boarders. Industrial courses, paid for by a grant from the Slater Fund, were also begun that year. A model school was opened for observation and practice teaching, and as a result, an elementary normal course was introduced.

The buildings were paid off with the help of financial gifts from Rockefeller, and the school continued to grow. In honor of Laura Spelman Rockefeller (John D. Rockefeller's wife), the name of the school was changed to Spelman Seminary in 1884. The school was officially designated for females only and had grown to over 350 day pupils and 100 boarders. The students were taught a traditional New England classical curriculum. Courses included mathematics, English grammar and literature, geography, and natural philosophy. The girls' education was comparable to the education boys were receiving at nearby Atlanta Baptist Seminary, which later became Atlanta Baptist College and (in 1913) Morehouse College. In a spelling match against the boys, the girls from Spelman took top honors. In addition, the girls were also taught cooking, sewing, general housework, and laundry skills.

A printing press was purchased as a result of another gift from the Slater Fund, and the *Spelman Messenger* began publication in March 1885. Students were trained in typesetting and composition and began to contribute articles to the publication. The first six high school graduates of Spelman Seminary completed their work in 1886.

In 1888 Spelman was incorporated and granted a charter from the state of Georgia. Two African Americans were members of the original board, and one was on the executive committee of five. In time, the school was increasingly separated from ABHMS as more and more financial resources were provided by philanthropic organizations.

In 1901 the first baccalaureate degrees were conferred upon two Spelman students who had completed the requirements by taking several college-level courses at At-

lanta Baptist College. Spelman continued to grow, new buildings were built, and more lots were purchased. The new buildings led to a constant struggle to stay financially sound, and the board began to seek a source to establish a permanent endowment.

In 1924, after a science building was completed, Spelman was finally in a position to offer a full range of college-level courses. As a result, the name was changed to Spelman College. Sisters Chapel was completed in 1927, and Florence Read became the new president of Spelman. Read placed tremendous emphasis on the development of a strong liberal arts college and greatly increased the college's endowment—from $57,501 in 1928 to $3,612,740 by the time Read retired in 1953. The elementary school was finally abolished in 1928, as was the nurses training department. Cooperation with Morehouse College was expanded in 1928 and 1929. Three members of the faculty were jointly employed, other teachers were exchanged, courses on each campus were opened to juniors and seniors, and the summer school was in joint operation.

Because of constant financial pressures, in 1929 Spelman agreed to a contract of affiliation with Atlanta University and Morehouse College. This allowed them to pool their financial and administrative sources and thus eliminate redundant functions. Part of the agreement required Spelman to eliminate its high school, whose students and function were shifted to Atlanta University, although they were supported by all three affiliates.

Spelman became fully accredited in 1930 by the Association of American Colleges. The Great Depression led to a financial squeeze, but Spelman survived and maintained its standard of excellence. The 1940s saw further growth, both physically and scholastically.

In 1953 Spelman got its first African-American president with the appointment of Albert E. Manley. The contract of affiliation was expanded in 1957 to include other Atlanta area colleges, and the school became part of the Atlanta University Center.

Spelman students were very active in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. They participated in sit-ins at segregated public sites in Atlanta, and several were arrested. Two Spelman students were cofounders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and in 1960 Martin Luther King Jr. delivered the Founder's Day address. In 1961 a non-Western Studies program (in cooperation with Morehouse College) was initiated with the help of a grant from the Ford Foundation. In 1969 a Black Studies program was officially added to the curriculum.

In 1976 Dr. Donald Mitchell Stewart assumed the presidency amid protests from students and faculty, who demanded the appointment of a black woman to that post. That was not to take place until 1987, when Dr. Johnnetta Betsch Cole became the first such president of Spelman College. The following year, $20 million was donated by Bill and Camille Cosby, part of which went into a new building program. In 1992 Spelman had close to two thousand students, 97 percent of whom were African Americans. Cole announced her resignation in 1997.

Beverly Daniel Tatum was inaugurated as the college's ninth president in 2003. In 2004 Spelman partnered with South African University to explore ways of fostering sustainable development.

See also Bethune-Cookman College; Dillard University; Education in the United States; Fisk University; Howard University; Lincoln University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Tuskegee University

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
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Spingarn Medal

The Spingarn Medal is awarded annually by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for "the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro." It is awarded by a nine-member committee selected by the NAACP board of directors. Nominations are open, and the awards ceremony has traditionally been part of the NAACP annual convention. First awarded in 1915, the Spingarn Medal has gone to African Americans who have made significant contributions in different fields of endeavor. It was for many years considered the highest honor in black America, although its prestige has declined somewhat in recent years because of the NAACP's institution of the Image Awards and perhaps because of the fragmenting of black institutional leadership.

The Spingarn Medal is named for Joel E. Spingarn (1874–1939), who originated the idea of it. Spingarn, who was white, was professor and chair of the Department of Comparative Literature at Columbia University from 1909

Spingarn Medal Winners

1915 Ernest E. Just
1916 Charles Young
1917 Harry T. Burleigh
1918 William S. Braithwhite
1919 Archibald H. Grimké
1920 William E. B. [W. E. B.] Du Bois
1921 Charles S. Gilpin
1922 Mary B. Talbert
1923 George Washington Carver
1924 Roland Hayes
1925 James Weldon Johnson
1926 Carter G. Woodson
1927 Anthony Overton
1928 Charles W. Chesnutt
1929 Mordecai Wyatt Johnson
1930 Henry A. Hunt
1931 Richard Berry Harrison
1932 Robert Russa Moton
1933 Max Yergan
1934 William Taylor Burwell Williams
1935 Mary McLeod Bethune
1936 John Hope
1937 Walter White
1938 No award given
1939 Marian Anderson
1940 Louis T. Wright
1941 Richard Wright
1942 A. Philip Randolph
1943 William H. Hastie
1944 Charles Drew
1945 Paul Robeson
1946 Thurgood Marshall
1947 Percy Julian
1948 Channing H. Tobias
1949 Ralph J. Bunche
1950 Charles Hamilton Houston
1951 Mabel Keaton Staupers
1952 Harry T. Moore (posthumous award)
1953 Paul R. Williams
1954 Theodore K. Lawless
1955 Carl Murphy
1956 Jack Roosevelt (Jackie) Robinson
1957 Martin Luther King Jr.
1958 Daisy Bates and the Little Rock Nine
1959 Edward Kennedy (Duke) Ellington
1960 Langston Hughes
1961 Kenneth B. Clark
1962 Robert C. Weaver
1963 Medgar Wiley Evers (posthumous award)
1964 Roy Wilkins
1965 Leontyne Price
1966 John H. Johnson
1967 Edward W. Brooke III
1968 Sammy Davis Jr.
1969 Clarence Mitchell Jr.
1970 Jacob Lawrence
1971 Leon Howard Sullivan
1972 Gordon Parks
1973 Wilson C. Riles
1974 Damon J. Keith
1975 Henry Aaron
1976 Alvin Ailey
1977 Alexander Palmer (Alex) Haley
1978 Andrew Jackson Young
1979 Rosa L. Parks
1980 Rayford W. Logan
1981 Coleman Alexander Young
1982 Benjamin E. Mays
1983 Lena Horne
1984 Tom Bradley
1985 William H. (Bill) Cosby Jr.
1986 Benjamin Lawson Hooks
1987 Percy Ellis Sutton
1988 Frederick Douglass Patterson
1989 Jesse Jackson
1990 Lawrence Douglas Wilder
1991 Colin Powell
1992 Barbara Jordan
1993 Dorothy I. Height
1994 Maya Angelou
1995 John Hope Franklin
1996 Carl Rowan
1997 Leon Higginbotham
1998 Myrlie Evers-Williams
1999 Earl G. Graves Sr.
2000 Oprah Winfrey
2001 Vernon E. Jordan Jr.
2002 John Lewis
2003 Constance Baker Motley
2004 Robert L. Carter

until 1911, when he resigned over free-speech issues. He became involved in the NAACP because of civil rights abuses in the South. Spingarn joined the NAACP's board of directors in 1913 and helped establish the NAACP's New York office. In 1913 and 1914, while traveling throughout the country organizing the association and speaking for the rights of black people, he noticed that newspaper coverage of African Americans tended to be negative, focusing on black murderers and other criminals. A close collaborator of W. E. B. Du Bois, Spingarn was sensitive to media portrayal of blacks. Independently wealthy, he endowed an award, a medal to be made of gold "not exceeding $100" in value, that would pinpoint black achievement, strengthen racial pride, and publicize the NAACP. To assure that white attention would be directed toward the award, Spingarn set up an award committee consisting of prominent men, including Oswald Garrison Villard (grandson of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison) and ex-president William Howard Taft. There were thirty nominations for the first medal, which was awarded to biologist Ernest E. Just and presented by the first of the celebrity presenters Spingarn would arrange, New York governor Charles S. Whitman.

Spingarn Medal winners have included ministers, educators, performers (including musicians), popular entertainers, baseball players, military officers, historians, and other professionals and leaders. Beginning with Mary B. Talbert in 1922, eleven women have won the Spingarn Medal. The award has twice been given posthumously.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Spiritual Church Movement

Although some African Americans became involved with Spiritualism in such places as Memphis, Tennessee; Charleston, South Carolina; Macon, Georgia; and New Orleans during the nineteenth century, the Spiritual movement as an institutional form emerged during the first decade of the twentieth century in Chicago—a city that remains the movement's numerical center. Mother Leafy Anderson, who founded the Eternal Life Christian Spiritualist Church in Chicago in 1913, moved to New Orleans sometime between 1918 and 1921 and established an association not only with several congregations there but also with congregations in Chicago; Little Rock, Arkansas; Pensacola, Florida; Biloxi, Mississippi; Houston; and smaller cities.

Mother Anderson accepted elements from Roman Catholicism, and other Spiritual churches also incorporated elements of voodoo. Whereas the number of Spiritual congregations in Chicago and Detroit surpasses the fifty or so reported in New Orleans, in a very real sense the latter continues to serve as the "soul" of the Spiritual church movement.

Like many other African-American religious groups, the Spiritual movement underwent substantial growth during the Great Migration, particularly in northern cities but also in southern ones. In 1923 Father George W. Hurley, a self-proclaimed god like his contemporary, Father Divine, established the Universal Hagar's Spiritual Church in Detroit. On September 22, 1925, in Kansas City, Missouri, Bishop William F. Taylor and Elder Leviticus L. Boswell established the Metropolitan Spiritual Church of Christ, which became the mother church of the largest of the Spiritual associations. Following the death of Bishop Taylor and a succession crisis that prompted a split in the Metropolitan organization, Rev. Clarence Cobbs, pastor of the First Church of Deliverance in Chicago, emerged as the president of the principal faction, the Metropolitan Spiritual Churches of Christ. Cobbs came to symbolize the "gods of the black metropolis" (Fauset, 1971) with his dapper mannerisms and love of the "good life."

The Spiritual religion cannot be viewed simply as a black version of white Spiritualism. Initially, congregations affiliated with the movement referred to themselves as Spiritualist, but by the 1930s and 1940s most of them had contracted this term to Spiritual. As part of this process, African Americans adapted Spiritualism to their own experience. Consequently, much of the social structure, beliefs, and ritual content of Spiritual churches closely resemble that of other religious groups in the black community, particularly the Baptists and Pentecostalists.

In time, the Spiritual movement became a highly syncretic ensemble that incorporated elements from American Spiritualism, Roman Catholicism, African-American Protestantism, and voodoo (or its diluted form known as *hoodoo*). Specific congregations and associations also added elements from New Thought, Ethiopianism, Judaism, and astrology to this basic core.

The Spiritual church movement has no central organization that defines dogma, ritual, and social structure. Many congregations belong to regional or national associations, but some choose to function independently of such ties. An association charters churches, qualifies ministers, and issues "papers of authority" for the occupants of various politico-religious positions. Although associations sometimes attempt to impose certain rules upon their constituent congregations, for the most part they fail to exert effective control.

Instead, the Spiritual movement exhibits an ideology of personal access to power. Theoretically, anyone who is touched by the spirit can claim personal access to knowledge, truth, and authority. Although associations may attempt to place constraints on such claims by requiring individuals exhibiting a "calling" to undergo a process of legitimation, persons can easily thwart such efforts, either by establishing their own congregations or by realigning themselves with some other Spiritual group. The fissioning that results from this process means that Spiritual associations rarely exceed more than one hundred congregations.

Probably more so than even Holiness-Pentecostal (or Sanctified) churches, Spiritual congregations are small, rarely numbering over one hundred. They often meet in storefronts and house churches and have found their greatest appeal among lower- and working-class African Americans. The larger congregations crosscut socioeconomic lines and may be led by relatively well-educated ministers. In addition to the types of offices found in black Protestant churches, Spiritual churches have mediums who are alleged to possess the gift of prophecy—that is, the ability to "read," or tell people about their past, present, and future. For the most part, mediums focus upon the wide variety of problems of living.

Like many other lower-class religious bodies, Spiritual churches are compensatory in that they substitute religious for social status. As opposed to those of many black religious groups, most Spiritual churches permit women to hold positions of religious leadership. Indeed, most of the earliest Spiritual churches in New Orleans were headed by women. Spiritual churches with their busy schedule of religious services, musical performances, suppers, and picnics also offer a strong sense of community for their adherents. Furthermore, they provide their members with a variety of opportunities, such as testimony sessions and "shouting," to ventilate their anxieties and frustrations.

Despite the functional similarities between Spiritual churches and other African-American religious groups, particularly those of the Baptist and Sanctified varieties, the former represent a thaumaturgical response to racism and social stratification in the larger society. The Spiritual church movement provides its adherents and clients with a wide variety of magico-religious rituals, such as praying before the image of a saint, burning votive candles, visualization, and public and private divination by a medium for acquiring a slice of the "American dream." Whereas the majority of Spiritual people are lower class, others—particularly some of those who belong to the larger congregations—are working and middle class. In the case of the latter, the Spiritual religion may serve to validate the newly acquired status of the upwardly mobile.

Most Spiritual people eschew social activism and often blame themselves for their miseries, faulting themselves for their failure to engage in positive thinking. Conversely, they occasionally exhibit overt elements of protest, particularly in remarks critical of business practices, politics, and racism in the larger society. Social protest in Spiritual churches, however, generally assumes more subtle forms, such as the rejection of what Spiritual people term "pie-in-the-sky" religion and a refusal to believe that work alone is sufficient for achieving social mobility.

See also Baptists; Catholicism in the Americas; Judaism; Pentecostalism in North America; Religion; Voodoo

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HANS A. BAER (1996)
Updated bibliography

SPIRITUALITY

Black North American spirituality lies at one end of a topographic continuum, a continuum composed of African diaspora-and-homeland religions and cultures. At the other extreme lie the African homelands of black peoples forcibly relocated to the Americas during almost four hundred years of the Atlantic slave trade. The intermediate

sectors of the continuum comprise other cultures of the African diaspora, intermediate because black cultures in South America and the Caribbean exhibit stronger continuity with African traditional religions. Most obvious are Yoruba continuities in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Santería, and Brazilian Candomblé.

In this schema the Atlantic world constitutes the best ethnographic and historical context for understanding the nature and development of African-American spirituality. Europe and Britain are components of this world, too, of course. A triangulation of the Atlantic, then, comprising Africa, the New World, and Europe, represents not only commercial exchanges inaugurated in the slave trade, but also multiple sources of new spiritual traditions.

A minimal set of categories for delineating black North American spirituality, in terms of its multifaceted secular and religious expressions, includes aesthetic, ecstatic, and iconographic or "iconic" features. Compare W. E. B. Du Bois's description of black religion as "the music, the frenzy, and the preacher." The disparate religious traditions involved are predominantly Christian (Protestant and some Catholic), but also Islamic and Hebraic, folk or indigenous, spiritualist and other sectarian traditions, and even neo-African. Some aesthetic features are common throughout the diaspora, while other ecstatic and iconic features are heightened in certain traditions and thus demarcate contrasting modes of spirituality.

Musical expression is so central that it provides paradigms of creativity for other domains of black culture (e.g., improvisation, call-and-response). "It is only in his music," James Baldwin declared, "that the Negro in America has been able to tell his story." That story has multiple "scores," Ralph Ellison has further disclosed: "Often we wanted to share both: the classics and jazz, the Charleston and the Irish reel, spirituals and the blues, the sacred and the profane" (Smith, 1989, pp. 387, 389). Indeed, the desire to link black America with cultural expressions from other sources sometimes transcends even ethnic oppression, and perennially revitalizes spiritual experience.

In addition, such bicultural proficiencies reflect a performance rule characterizing ritual and communication processes in the diaspora. "Style-switching" (Marks, 1974) is the musical alternation between codes that signify black or African cultural contents and codes indicating white or European contents. It can also signal ritual transitions to spirit possession and trance phenomena in both religious and secular contexts. A psychosocial or cognitive basis for this aesthetic feature of African-American spirituality is the "double consciousness" articulated by Du Bois's phenomenon: the intersubjective experience of being both African and American. To generalize: Modes of expression (oral or musical, literary or dramatic, religious or secular) can alternate between forms identified as Afro-American, or "black," and polarized forms identified as Euro-American, or "white."

Spirit possession and ecstatic phenomena typify black religious expression in the New World. Many observers attribute the prominence of ecstatic behaviors in ritual, worship, and everyday life to a common African heritage in which possession "was the height of worship—the supreme religious act" (Mitchell, 1975). Parallel Euro-Christian practices allowed this African predisposition to adapt to the predominantly Protestant ethos of North America through the revival traditions of white Baptists and Methodists. Thus, Albert Raboteau (1978) has described spirit possession as a "two-way bridge" that enabled black Americans to "pass over" from African to Christian ecstatic expression.

A similar claim connects European magical traditions to African-American thaumaturgy and pharmacopoeia (e.g., conjure, as discussed below). Finally, ecstatic phenomena occur in secular performance and ritualized group interactions involving political movements and social and entertainment events. For example, Henry Mitchell (1975) has suggested that possession and trance behavior occur covertly in jazz clubs with comparable cathartic and therapeutic effects. Ecstatic performances by black preachers and other orators are renowned, and bear shamanic commonalities with American revival preaching generally.

On the other hand, not all African-American spirituality is ecstatic in character. Rastafarian spirituality, displacing possession phenomena with revelatory discourse and poetic biblicism, offers a Jamaican exception. Such examples distinguish the other major spiritual dimension expressed by black North Americans: the iconographic or "iconic" dimension. The term connotes the contemplative tradition in Western spirituality, in which not only pictorial but also textual icons—most notably biblical narratives, symbols, and figures—mediate divine significations and transcendent ideals.

African sources of this imagistic propensity comprise a "ritual cosmos" or ancestral worldview, in which "one must see every thing as symbol" (Zuesse, 1979). While (1) an iconic spirituality can be distinguished from (2) emotivist or ecstatic forms of spirituality, it is not necessarily (3) rationalist and discursive in the tradition of the European Enlightenment. Yet it can accompany either of the latter (2, 3) in modes that are iconic-ecstatic (for example, shamanic oratory) or iconic-analytic. Perhaps the spiritual-intellectual discourse of the African-American mystical philosopher Howard Thurman best exemplifies both combinations.

The major instance of iconic expression in black North American spirituality is the figural tradition that improvisationally employs biblical types to configure black experience: Moses (liberator), Exodus (emancipation), Promised Land (destiny). Black religious figuralism emerged in slave religion and bears traces both of Puritan typology and the magical folk healing-and-harming tradition of conjure. Conjure practitioners reenvision and transform reality by performing mimetic (imitative) and medicinal operations (using roots, herbs, etc.) on "material metaphors." Conjurational employment of biblical figures as experiential metaphors operated as recently as the 1960s civil rights movement, in which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. represented himself as a Moses and configured the movement as an exodus.

Secular examples include iconic uses of democratic texts and their ideals as found in the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Together these secular and religious vectors account for the "biblical republicanism" that black North Americans share with their compatriots. Even black nationalists and Pan-African political movements (e.g., Ethiopianism and black Zionism) derive from the missionary uses of such Bible figures as Ethiopia and Egypt. Black Muslim and black militant figuration of (Babylonian) exile or captivity in America converge with the Rastafarians' poetic iconography of postcolonial oppression. The iconic dimension, it is evident, conveys liberating and creative energies for future transformations of religion and culture.

See also Candomblé; Religion; Santería; Voodoo; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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Spirituals

African-American sacred folk songs are known as *anthems, hymns, spiritual songs, jubilees, gospel songs,* or *spirituals,* though the distinctions among these terms are not precise. *Spiritual song* was widely used in English and American tune books from the eighteenth century, but *spiritual* has not been found in print before the Civil War. Descriptions of songs that came to be known by that name appeared at least twenty-five years earlier, however, and African-American distinctive religious singing was described as early as 1819.

Travelers and traders in Africa in the early seventeenth century described the musical elements that later distinguished African-American songs from European folk song: strong, syncopated rhythms reinforced by bodily movement, gapped scales, improvised texts, and the universal call-and-response form in which the leader and responding chorus overlapped. To white contemporaries, the music seemed wholly exotic and barbaric, although later analysts identified elements common to European music, such as the diatonic scale. The performance style of African music, quite distinct from familiar European styles, has persisted in many forms of African-American music to the present day.

Although the music of Africans has been documented in the West Indies and the North American mainland from the seventeenth century, conversion to Christianity was a necessary precondition for the emergence of the spiritual, a distinctive form of African-American religious music. Conversion proceeded slowly. Individual slaves were converted by the families with whom they lived in the seventeenth century, but on southern plantations, where most of the slaves lived, some planters opposed the baptism of their slaves because they believed that baptism would bring freedom. Moreover, plantations were widely separated, missionaries were few, and travel was difficult. Where religious instruction was permitted, however, the slaves responded with enthusiasm.

In the mid-eighteenth century, a few Presbyterian ministers, led by Samuel Davies of Hanover County, Virginia, made special efforts to convert blacks within their neighborhoods, teaching them Isaac Watts's hymns from books sent from England. Davies wrote in 1751, "The Negroes, above all the Human Species that I ever knew, have an Ear for Musick, and a kind of extatic Delight in Psalmody" (Epstein, 1977, p. 104). Whether the blacks injected a distinctive performance style he did not say.

Toward the end of the century, Methodist itinerants like Bishop Francis Asbury—together with his black ex-

horter, Harry Hosier—held protracted meetings that lasted several days and drew large crowds of blacks and whites. After 1800 the camp meeting developed on the frontier, where settlements were widely scattered. Black worshipers were present at the earliest camp meetings—sometimes seated separately, but in close proximity to whites. In an atmosphere highly charged with emotion, both groups shared songs, parts of songs, and styles of singing in participatory services where large numbers of people needed musical responses they could learn easily and quickly. The call-and-response style of the Africans resembled the whites' time-honored practice of "lining out."

The first documented reports of distinctive black religious singing date from the beginning of the nineteenth century, about twenty years before the first organized missions to plantation slaves. Throughout the antebellum period, spirituals were mentioned in letters, diaries, and magazine articles written by southerners, but to most northerners they were quite unknown. As northern men and women went south during the Civil War, they heard spirituals for the first time. Newspaper reporters included song texts in their stories from the front. Individual songs were published as sheet music, although some editors were well aware that their transcriptions failed to reproduce the music fully. In a letter to the editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music,* Lucy McKim, an early collector and recorder of spirituals, wrote that "the odd turns made in the throat; and the curious rhythmic effect produced by single voices chiming in at different irregular intervals, seem almost as impossible to place on score, as the singing of birds, or the tones of an Æolian Harp" (21 [November 8, 1862]: 254–255).

When a comprehensive collection of songs, *Slave Songs of the United States,* was published in 1867, the senior editor, William Francis Allen, wrote in the introduction: "The best we can do, however, with paper and types . . . will convey but a faint shadow of the original. . . . [T]he intonations and delicate variations of even one singer cannot be reproduced on paper. And I despair of conveying any notion of the effect of a number singing together" (Allen, 1867, pp. iv–v). In effect, the notational system filtered out most of the characteristic African elements, leaving versions that looked like European music. Collectors of these songs had heard the music sung by its creators, and they fully realized how defective their transcriptions were. But they feared that the music would be lost forever if the transcriptions, however unsatisfactory, were not made.

The pattern of transcribing the music in conventional notation was followed in more popular collections of songs transcribed in the 1870s from the singing of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, the Hampton Singers, and other touring groups from black schools in the South. However, these tours of carefully rehearsed ensembles of well-trained singers introduced audiences in the North and Europe to versions of the spirituals that eliminated many of those characteristic elements that had so attracted Lucy McKim and William Allen. The singers had been trained in European music and felt a responsibility to reflect credit on the rising black population.

By the 1890s, spirituals had become widely popular, both in the United States and in Europe, in the versions sung by the college singers. In 1892 a Viennese professor of jurisprudence, Richard Wallaschek, in a book entitled *Primitive Music,* advanced the theory that the spirituals were "mere limitations of European compositions which the negroes have picked up and served up again with slight variations" (p. 60). He never visited the United States or Africa, and his knowledge of the music was wholly derived from the defective transcriptions in *Slave Songs of the United States* and minstrel songs. Never having heard the music, Wallaschek was unaware that there were elements that could not be transcribed, but his ideas were taken seriously by several generations of scholars.

The strongest statement of the white-origins school was made by George Pullen Jackson, a professor of German at Vanderbilt University, who explored with enthusiasm the so-called white spiritual. In his book *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands* (1933), his discussion of black spirituals was based primarily on an analysis of transcribed versions. He cited priority in publication as certain proof of origin, overlooking the irrelevance of this fact for folk music, most especially for the music of a population kept illiterate by force of law. The white–origins theory is no longer widely accepted. Not until the advent of sound recordings was it possible to preserve the performance itself, including improvised details and performance style, for later study and analysis.

Concert arrangements of spirituals for solo singers and choirs have been made, most notably by Harry T. Burleigh, James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamund Johnson, and William Levi Dawson. Spiritual thematic materials have permeated diverse genres of American music in the twentieth century.

The musical elements that distinguished African-American spirituals from Euro-American hymnody are virtually impossible to reproduce in standard musical notation. Variable pitches; irregular strong, syncopated rhythms; and freely improvised melodic lines presented insoluble problems to the collector before the age of recording. The performance style also included humming,

or "moaning," in response to the solo performer (whether singer or preacher); responsive interjections; and ceaseless physical movement (patting, hand-clapping, foot-tapping, and swaying) in response to the music. The overlapping of leader and responding chorus provided a complex interplay of voice qualities and rhythms. Slurs and slides modified pitch, while turns in the throat, blue notes, microtones, and sighs were equally impossible to notate. Pentatonic scales, however, and flattened fourth or seventh notes could be captured in notation.

Textual elements covered a whole spectrum of concepts, from trials and suffering, sorrow and tribulations, to hope and affirmation. Events from both the Old and the New Testaments were described, including Elijah's chariot and Ezekiel's wheel, along with more common images such as trains, shoes, wings, harps, robes, and ships. Hypocritical preachers and sinners were scorned, while death, heaven, resurrection, and triumph were often invoked.

Besides the purely religious message, there were also hidden meanings in some spirituals, exhorting the singers to resistance or freedom. Songs such as "Steal Away," "Follow the Drinking Gourd," and "Go Down, Moses"—with its refrain, "Let my people go"—could be interpreted in at least two ways. References to crossing Jordan and the trumpet blast could have both religious and secular interpretations.

See also Folk Music; Gospel Music; Music in the United States

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SPORTS

Commonly viewed as a social arena in which egalitarian principles of fair conduct determine the outcome of competition, the world of sport is an arena where fortitude of mind and body coalesce into singular focus, actualizing athletic success. While this merit-based view of athletics represents the ethos of sport itself, it is crucial to note that athletic competition, like any social arena, is invariably influenced by the related phenomena of race and racial discrimination. In Donald Spivey's (2004) apt assessment, "The sanctum of sport is premised on the unofficial doctrines of equality of opportunity, sportsmanship, and fair play. It is thus a perfect arena for the exposure of the dual nature of American society, with its paradoxical blend of democracy and inequality" (p. 148). Though Spivey focuses specifically on the contradictions inherent in the pursuit of athletic achievement within the context of American societal racism, critical readers of sport history must also consider the impact of race and racism within a broader diasporic context, for the predominance of scientific racism, the legacy of Jim Crow, and the impact of colonization and decolonization in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean have determined modern interpretations of black athletic achievement.

Viewed in this manner, sport becomes a symbolic battleground upon which varying ideological and sociopolitical discourses on race and hegemony have been fought in the twentieth century. The black athlete, consequently, has come to symbolize epochal moments of political consciousness, as his/her political stance falls along a continuum, reflecting varying responses to the dialectic of oppression and resistance that lies at the heart of the African diasporic experience.

To properly contextualize black athletic achievement in the twentieth century, it is crucial to first consider the ideological and social impact of scientific racism. During the mid- to late nineteenth century, scientific racism proved to be the ideological rationalization for the en-

slavement and colonization of Africans and other "subject" races. Canonized scholars, such as Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, and Charles Darwin, devoted entire volumes to the hierarchical ranking of the races, which placed Europeans and European civilization at its apex, and African and African civilization at its nadir. Attesting that Gobineau's theories justify the exploitation of slavery and imperialism by proclaiming the unusual stamina of subject peoples, Miller stated:

> Such assertions about European superiority, as strained as they were, also constituted arguments for white supremacy. The ideology of empire thus incorporated the so-called feeble races into elaborate systems of hard labor: the institution of slavery in the United States and colonial workforces elsewhere around the world. Stamina . . . as a kind of brutish endurance, the ability to "bear fatigue" would ultimately be conceived as a trait characteristic of subject peoples who would work on the plantations . . . that fed, clothed and enriched imperialism. (Miller, 2000, p. 331)

In Gobineau's view, subject peoples are able to tolerate fatigue; therefore, their subjugation is not immoral, it is banal.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, racialist theories, seemingly influenced by the earlier work of Gobineau, were used to explain the late-nineteenth-century athletic achievements of blacks. Twentieth-century racial theorists reinterpreted stamina, or brutish strength, as innate athleticism resulting from innate anthropometric difference. These theorized physical differences became common literary fare, as evinced by Miller's citation of a 1900 *Encyclopedia Britannica* entry:

> By 1900 . . . another dimension of scientific racism could be discerned. Rather than simply reinforce prevailing notions of Negro inferiority, experts felt compelled to account for the extraordinary achievements of some black athletes. In the face of an increasing number of victories posted by African Americans, the mainstream culture began to qualify the meanings of excellence in sport. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* had described "the abnormal length of the arm" and "the low instep." Increasingly, these specifications would be advanced as reasons for black success in sports. (p. 331)

Thus, at the dawn of the twentieth century, American society was exposed to social Darwinist thought, which not only discounts the rigor and mental discipline behind black athletic achievement through pseudo-scientific claims of inborn athleticism but also connotes intellectual inferiority as well. Although the commonly held view of innate black athleticism and the anthropometry promulgated by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* would be disproved by African-American scholar W. Montague Cobb's experiments on Jesse Owens in 1935, the early-twentieth-century boxing career of Jack Johnson reveals the sociopolitical impact of racialist theories on African-American athletic achievement.

Johnson's ascendance to the heavyweight throne stirred national controversy on many levels. First and foremost, Johnson refused to placate American society by adhering to white supremacist notions of subservient "negro" behavior. Becoming one of the most vilified public figures in American history, he willfully violated taboo by marrying several white women and adopting a bohemian lifestyle at a time when the Ku Klux Klan terrorized African Americans throughout the country. Of his dangerously unconventional lifestyle, Johnson remarked that he was "not a slave. . . . I have the right to choose who my mate shall be without the dictation of any man. . . . I have eyes and I have a heart . . . and when they fail to tell me who I shall have for mine I want to be put away in a lunatic asylum" (Gilmore, 1975, p. 14).

Johnson's indomitable spirit clearly incurred the wrath of early-twentieth-century American society, and while he is not typically considered an example of revolutionary African-American consciousness, his open defiance of racist norms represents a measure of self-determination atypical of most African Americans in the 1900s. Given Johnson's exceptional confidence and self-possession, it is not surprising that he issued a challenge to then heavyweight titleholder Tommy Burns in 1907, after learning that the Canadian champ would cross the color line unlike the majority of white contenders at the time. Johnson and Burns met for "the fight of the century" in Australia one year later, and predictions of race war made for an intensely charged social climate: "McIntosh announced to the world that Burns and Johnson would fight for the championship. . . . The declaration unleashed an outpouring of racial bigotry. . . . The *Australian Star* offered the opinion that 'this battle may in the future be looked upon as the first great battle of an inevitable race war'" (McCaffrey, 2000, pp. 197–199). Johnson won the match after fourteen rounds, becoming the first man of African descent to win the world heavyweight title.

Johnson's victory over Burns began the search for a "Great White Hope" who could defeat him. In 1909, one year after his title-winning fight against Burns, Johnson easily defeated five white American challengers. Though

Johnson had clearly proven himself to be a formidable boxer, most white Americans did not believe him to be the rightful champion, because he defeated Burns and not the undefeated American champion, Jim Jeffries. Finding himself once again at the center of controversy, Johnson met Jeffries in 1910, and it was this second major bout of Johnson's championship career that revealed the degree to which Americans' acceptance of social Darwinist thought had peaked: "From the very first, it was advertised as a match of civilization and virtue against savagery and baseness. . . . Humanity needed Jeffries. He had inherited the White Man's Burden" (Roberts, 2000, p. 45). Jeffries echoed this sentiment by announcing that he would not "disappoint the public. That portion of the white race that has been looking to defend its athletic superiority may feel assured that I am fit to do my best" (Roberts, 2000, p. 58). Jeffries's proclamations of superior fitness were in vain, for Johnson defeated him and remained world heavyweight champion until 1915.

While Jack Johnson was a youth in the late nineteenth century up until the end of his boxing career in 1915, baseball was thriving in Cuba and among African Americans and Afro-Cubans in the Negro leagues. Numerous baseball teams, referred to as nines, were formed among African Americans in the United States and among Cubans, both in Cuba and in the Negro leagues: "African Americans and Cubans, however, had joined in the baseball fever long before the majors were formed. By 1900 the two peoples had fielded hundreds of nines in their respective communities. Baseball clearly and decisively captured both peoples' imaginations and developed parallel to the game in North America" (Brock and Bayne, 1998, p. 170).

As the American national pastime, baseball's parallel development among African-American and Cuban players may be analyzed through the lens of national identity formation. Continually faced with racial discrimination, African Americans have, according to W. E. B. Du Bois, perceived of their existence from within "the Veil" of "double consciousness." This consciousness of being at once black, subject to the vilest forms at racism, and American creates a bifurcated identity that African Americans ever attempt to reconcile. In their creation of a parallel sphere of baseball, African Americans seemingly reconciled their identities as lovers of the national pastime and as members of a larger African-American community. Barred from participating in the major leagues, African-American baseball players in the Negro leagues gave full expression to their American identity by playing the game among themselves. Interestingly, in Cuba baseball took on nationalistic overtones as Cubans conceptualized the sport as a symbol of Cuban national identity as distinct from their former Spanish colonial identity. These African-American and Cuban players who perceived baseball as a type of national inheritance confounded white American baseball players during off-season exhibition games, known as barnstorming.

As barnstorming brought the exceptional play of African Americans and Cubans to the immediate attention of white players, these exhibition games not only allowed players to hone their skills by playing unfamiliar teams, they also provided baseball players a means of supplementing their incomes. Thus, despite Jim Crow's hold over most team sports, white, African-American, and Cuban players competed against each other. As Lanctot (2000) confirms:

> Organized baseball, despite its unwritten yet unyielding ban on African Americans after 1899, hardly remained isolated from black professional baseball. Eager to supplement their modest salaries, major and minor league players arranged exhibition games against black professional clubs. . . . As early as 1885, the Cuban Giants booked games against the New York Metropolitans and the Philadelphia Athletics . . . and later faced other league clubs, including the St. Louis Browns and Cincinnati Red Stockings as well as . . . the Kansas City Cowboys, Indianapolis Hoosiers, Boston Beaneaters, and Detroit Wolverine. (p. 63)

In addition to barnstorming against African Americans and Cubans on American soil, white American teams also traveled to Cuba during the off-season, continuing their unspoken rivalry with the best Cuban teams: "Since the 1890's, organized baseball teams had traveled to Cuba in the winter to face increasingly stiff local competition. In 1908, the Cincinnati Reds . . . lost seven of eleven games to Cuban teams. . ." (Lanctot, 2000, p. 65).

The undisputed dominance of Cuban baseball players created a conundrum for white American teams adhering to the color line, for most Cuban players were visibly of African descent. New Britain of the Connecticut League signed four light-skinned Cubans, and the Cincinnati Reds signed Armando Marsans and Rafael Almeidau. Darker Cubans, like famed pitcher Jose Mendez, remained unsigned by major and minor league white teams.

Darker skinned Afro-Cubans, however, were eagerly welcomed in the Negro leagues where, "the first team of professional Cubans known to play on the black circuit were the All-Cubans in 1904" (Brock and Bayne, 1998, p. 177). Several other Cuban teams, including the Havana Cubans, the Cuban Stars, and the Cuban Stars-East, were

Cuban sports star Savon, a boxer, is honored by Fidel Castro at an awards ceremony in Havana, 2001. *Savon, a three-time Olympic champion boxer, is presented with a framed certificate honoring him as the most outstanding sportsman of the millennium in Cuba.* © REUTERS/CORBIS

signed to the Negro leagues during the 1900s and 1920s, firmly establishing their incorporation within the Negro leagues. According to one baseball organizer who described the disappointment of African American fans when "the Cuban Stars . . . of Cincinnati . . . did not return to the United States the next year, fans of the west were deprived the privilege of seeing one of the most colorful clubs, and one of the strongest baseball clubs ever assembled in any league" (Brock and Bayne, 1998, p. 182).

Ironically, at the same time that African-American and Cuban baseball players thrived in the segregated, parallel sphere of the Negro leagues in 1918, Paul Robeson, an African-American student at Rutgers University, broke the color-line in football, becoming the first African American selected to the All-American football team. After he graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Rutgers and attended Columbia University Law School, Robeson's athletic career featured brief stints with the Akron Pros and the Milwaukee Badgers. Though Robeson's professional athletic career was brief, it is highly significant that Robeson was a former athlete who transitioned into two careers—theater and international political activism—that were ostensibly distinct from athletics. Although Robeson's selection onto the All-American teams represents an exception to the color line in sports, America was not alone in its racialist practices; racial segregation was also prevalent in Brazil. Only there, the national game in question was soccer.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, soccer in Brazil was the sport of the country's European colonial elite; these Europeans and Euro-Brazilians maintained de facto segregation in soccer through the establishment of soccer clubs. These clubs provided recreation for Brazil's upper classes; businessmen, professionals, and politicians socialized together and competed against one another. Like most social sporting clubs of this nature, Brazilian soccer clubs came to symbolize class and privilege, its members both wealthy and white. In order to join these clubs, Afro-Brazilians were forced to find patrons willing to sponsor their membership; needless to say, this sponsorship clause was merely used as a ploy, ostensibly proving that Brazilian soccer clubs did not officially practice racial segregation. The exclusion of Afro-Brazilian players thus reinforced extant race, caste, and class hierarchies within Brazil's colonial society and led to the formation of parallel soccer clubs reflective of the players' respective social positions:

> The clubs . . . represented and dramatized other social differences . . . in Rio, Fluminese was associated with the old, high-status families, Flamengo the team of the poor and the blacks, Vasco da Gama supported by Portuguese migrants and their Brazilian-born descendants while Botafogo attracted the modern middle class. (Mason, 1995, p. 97)

The late 1920s and early 1930s would prove to be a significant era in the growth of Brazilian soccer. On May 13, 1927, a black-versus-white soccer match was held in celebration of Abolition Day; Afro-Brazilians won the first two matches, proving themselves worthy opponents undeserving of strictures limiting their potential range of competitors. This competition may have catalyzed the integration of Brazil's elite soccer clubs. Brazilian soccer clubs were beginning to integrate; nevertheless, racism was maintained in the Liga Metropolitana de Desportos Terrestres (LMDT). The LMDT instituted exclusionary practices similar to those of the late-nineteenth-century elite soccer clubs. Though it did not formally ban blacks, the LMDT instituted a type of literacy test that would prevent both black and poor soccer players from competing:

> . . . in an astonishing attempt to . . . keep top football for the better-off player they introduced the

> AMEA card. Before each game every player had to complete one in the presence of officials and include the name, nationality, date of birth, place of study and workplace of the player. In a country where neither education nor literacy was widespread this was a test intended to exclude the poor white as well as the black player. (Mason, 1995, p. 50)

Thus, as white soccer clubs became increasingly aware of black soccer talent, the Brazilian sporting establishment seemed dedicated to maintaining a degree of racial segregation in soccer.

The 1930s—the Vargas era—represent a period in Brazilian history when nation building was of utmost importance; soccer was recognized as integral to this process of national and cultural identification:

> The Vargas era was a turning point in the relationship between football and politics. From this time not only the Federal Government but individual politicians would try to associate themselves with what was becoming an increasing powerful manifestation of Brazilian popular culture . . . the success of Brazilian football abroad, both at the club and international level, illuminated the name of Brazil for the rest of the world to see. (Mason, 1995, p. 63)

Clearly, the Brazilian government viewed soccer as a means of glorifying its country's presence on the world stage; as national propaganda became a priority, it followed that the government would encourage the recruitment of the best players onto its teams. As a result, those Afro-Brazilian players who excelled would be selected by soccer clubs, so that their outstanding play abroad would become synonymous with Brazil's greatness as a nation. It is not surprising, then, that "Fausto, one of the great black attacking centre-halves . . . compared himself to an orange which would one day be left as pulp by his white bosses" (Mason, 1995, p. 56). Fausto's experience of exploitation, however unfortunate, is indicative of widespread institutionalized discrimination against Afro-Brazilians. In Moore's study of institutionalized racism in Brazilian society from 1964 to 1985, Fauso's claims of exploitation may be substantiated by statistics revealing that semi-professional and professional soccer in Brazil offered socio-economic opportunity for Afro-Brazilians living in poverty. In Moore's estimation, "Afro-Brazilians are faced with tremendous disadvantages in the arena of education, and nowhere is this more telling than in the area of illiteracy. . . . Blacks had two times more chances than Whites of being illiterate, and Whites had four times more opportunities of going to the university than Blacks." (p. 402). Given that illiteracy remained a serious impediment to acquiring a college degree for Afro-Brazilians, it is not surprising that many viewed soccer as an opportunity for greater socio-economic mobility.

As Afro-Brazilians became more visible in soccer during the 1930s, African-American athletes were steeling themselves against domestic and international pressure to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), along with several international and domestic human rights groups, grew increasingly vocal against the Nazi regime's racialist ideology of Aryan supremacy and its anti-Semitism. A widespread media campaign, involving several of the nation's leading newspapers, debated the issue of American, and particularly African-American, participation in the Games. While a relatively small number of African-American Olympians supported the boycott movement, the majority of athletes resented the AAU's sudden interest in the plight of Jews, when the organization had done nothing to assist its American athletes of African descent: "The most powerful of American amateur sport bodies continually rallied against the cruelties inflicted by the Hitler government but generally did nothing to improve the plight of black athletes in America." (Wiggins, 1997, p. 69).

Jesse Owens' historic four-gold-medal performance was one of several outstanding track-and-field performances of African Americans that earned a staggering half of the American Olympic team's total of 167 medals. Other African American medalists in track and field included Ralph Metcalfe, Mack Robinson (Jackie Robinson's older brother), Archie Williams, James Luvalle, John Woodruff, Cornelius Johnson, David Albritton, and Fritz Pollard, Jr. Thus, in a single Olympiad, African American athletes had disproved Hitler's theory of Aryan supremacy, which only months earlier had seemingly been substantiated by Max Schmeling's defeat of Joe Louis.

The symbolism of Joe Louis's rematch against Schmeling in 1938, consequently, took on epic proportions. Unlike the Johnson-Jeffries bout in which Social Darwinist theories of racial superiority were tested, the Louis-Schmeling match became a struggle that not only tested racial fitness; it became a battle between opposing political philosophies: democracy and justice versus fascism and oppression, with Louis and Schmeling as warring political icons: "The political mood of the country had changed dramatically in the brief two-year span between their first meeting in 1936. . . . With the increasing militaristic tension of the times, both fighters became living symbols of their respective countries' fundamental beliefs" (William Wiggins, 2004, p. 138). Louis's victory announced the per-

petuity of American democratic values; furthermore, his subsequent acts of patriotism—donating a combined total of $82,000 to the Army and Navy Relief Funds, and enlisting in the Army—enshrined him as a national hero whose broad based appeal was unmatched by any other athlete in history.

While Joe Louis's triumph over Max Schmeling was an inspiration to millions of Americans, the sport of boxing was intensely scrutinized among British colonial officials in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Chief Native Commissioner Bullock strongly believed that in order to maintain British imperial order, colonial subjects should not be encouraged to take up the sport, believing that, "boxing would make urban Africans aggressive" (Ranger, 1997, p. 203). Aggressive Africans would be more difficult to rule, more confrontational, less willing to maintain their prescribed subject positions. In addition to fearing widespread African recalcitrance, Bullock was also wary of the tribal linkages that could potentially be strengthened through the event of national boxing tournaments, linkages among Africans that could potentially threaten British colonial rule: "Bullock . . . was himself most worried by the far-ranging tribal networks that underlay the boxing factions of Salisbury" (Ranger, 1997, p. 203). Thus, in boxing, England's chief colonial officer saw something far more troubling than the pursuit of athleticism; Bullock saw the potential for national consciousness and self-determination, the necessary components for decolonization, which directly threatened British hegemony in Rhodesia and on the greater African continent.

As Joe Louis continued to dominate boxing and African men in Rhodesia were prevented from doing so, African-American women were beginning to emerge as international track-and-field stars. Just one year after Jackie Robinson's historic integration of the major leagues, Alice Coachman became the first woman of African descent to win a gold medal at the 1948 London Olympics. Dominating the high jump, Coachman also became the first American woman to win an individual track-and-field medal at the Games. Despite the groundbreaking nature of Coachman's achievement, she did not become famous as Owens had only twelve years earlier and as Jackie Robinson had one year before. Coachman, like other African-American women athletes, remained a relatively obscure figure whose accomplishments were never properly acknowledged by the white media. Explaining the white American media's disregard for Coachman's achievement, Cahn (2000) writes:

> For the most part black women athletes were simply ignored by the white media. Figures like Alice Coachman . . . or Mildred McDaniel, the only American woman to win an individual gold medal in the 1956 Olympic track-and-field competition, did not become national celebrities . . . or even the subject of magazine feature stories. The most striking feature of the historical record on black women athletes is neglect. (p. 220)

Though the triumphs of African-American female track-and-field athletes were ignored by white American society, these women—like the Negro league players of the 1900s—honed their skills in the parallel sphere of historically black colleges where young African-American women were encouraged to participate in track-and-field events. At Tuskegee Institute, where the first collegiate women's track meet was held as early as 1929, Coachman traveled with her teammates throughout the South to compete in track meets in the 1930s. Traveling through the Jim Crow South, away from the haven of Tuskegee, these young women were exposed to the harsh realities of American racism.

As American society in the 1930s and 1940s saw the rise of Joe Louis as a symbol of democracy and justice, British colonial subjects in Trinidad began to view their native cricketers as national heroes. In *Beyond a Boundary,* noted Trinidadian scholar C.L. R. James underscores the manner in which the British colonial hierarchy created racial, caste, and class divisions in cricket, and the society at-large, engendering widespread discrimination against Trinidadians of African descent. Of famous Afro-Trinidadian batsman Wilton St. Hill's outstanding play and his subsequent failure to be selected for the Trinidadian team in 1923, James writes:

> to tens of thousands of coloured Trinidadians the unquestionable glory of St. Hills batting conveyed the sensation that here was one of us, performing in excelsis. . . . It was a demonstration that atoned for a pervading humiliation, and nourished pride and hope. . . . Wilton St. Hill was our boy. . . . We became convinced . . . that St. Hill was the greatest of all West Indian batsmen and on English wickets this coloured man would infallibly put all white rivals in the shade. And they too were afraid of precisely the same thing. (p. 93)

That St. Hill was deemed a Trinidadian national hero is significant, for in embracing St. Hill as a hero, Trinidadians broke the long-standing colonial tradition of idealizing, and idolizing, British culture and British heroes. What is more, St. Hill's superior play refuted theories of inherent British superiority. If St. Hill could beat the British at their own game, surely an entire nation of Trinidadians could

direct the destiny of their own country. Thus, among Trinidadians a burgeoning sense of national consciousness was born, and though they were still colonial subjects they were beginning to experience the stirrings of national pride, a crucial element of national self-definition and self-determination.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, James established a career as a noted cricket writer who continually advocated for the inclusion of Afro-Trinidadian players on the country's national teams. As his editorial agitation for these players' recognition intensified, so did his political beliefs, and in 1932 James penned the influential text, *The Case for West Indian Self-Rule.* This seminal text, according to James, was partially responsible for the politicization of oilfield workers throughout the Caribbean, who were used as an exploited colonial labor force to supply England with an inexpensive oil supply. On *The Case for West Indian Self-Rule's* influence on West Indian colonial laborers, James (1983) writes:

> Trinidad workers in the oilfields moved. They were followed by masses of people in all the other islands, closing one epoch in West Indian history and opening another. . . . When the upheavals did take place these books were high on the list of those few that helped them to make the mental and moral transition which the new circumstances required. (p. 121)

The closing epoch of which James writes is that of colonialism; the emerging one is that of decolonization. Thus, through his and the Trinidadians' love of cricket an independent national consciousness was born; it was a consciousness that allowed James to launch his unflinching assault on the racist colonial practices inherent to the game itself, and intrinsic to Trinidadian colonial society.

West Indian decolonization of the 1960s mirrored the national liberation movements on the African continent, and the American civil rights and Black Power movements. The seeds of dissent and self-determination germinated throughout the African diaspora, and its athletes, from Ethiopia to America, became symbols of black liberation. With Ethiopian runner Abebe Bikila's historic marathon victory in Rome, the 1960 Olympics seemed to herald both the arrival of the African athlete and the age of African nationalism: "Finally, in 1960 Abebe Biklila of Ethiopia ran the marathon barefoot through the streets of Rome to claim the first gold medal for a black African nation" (Baker, 1987, p. 275). Bikila's gold-medal performance marked the beginning of African runners' more than forty-year dominance of distance running that, to date, shows no sign of waning. Although the historical significance of Bikila's marathon win is unquestionable, the athlete that would most famously come to symbolize black people's struggle for self-determination would be former heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali.

In 1964, during the height of the civil rights movement and the pinnacle of Malcolm X's ministry with the Nation of Islam, Muhammad Ali publicly announced his conversion from Christianity to the Black Muslim faith. Formerly known as Cassius Clay, a patriot, Ali shocked America by joining a religious order known for its interrelated doctrines of racial separatism, African-American self-reliance, and African-American pride. Ali took a political stance in joining the Black Muslim order, and it was a stance that many Americans deemed far too radical: "Ali's conversion from Christian to Muslim seemed to some whites much like going from Stepin Fetchit to Nat Turner. The change broke a compact that Americans had forged with their black athletes—'be good negroes and enjoy the fruits of athletic success'" (Zang, 2000, p. 290). In deciding to chart the course of his own sociopolitical destiny as an African American, Ali, like Jack Johnson before him, defied white Americans' preconceived notions of acceptable black behavior.

In 1966 Ali became a conscientious objector to the Vietnam War, famously remarking, "Man, I ain't got no quarrel with them Vietcong" (Zang, 2000, p. 294). The following year, Ali was stripped of his heavyweight title for failing to report for military duty. Though he would not regain his title until 1974, his act of conscience inspired the birth of the 1968 Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), led by San Jose State College professor Harry Edwards, which called for African-American athletes to boycott the 1968 Games in Mexico City. The OPHR's principal demands included the

> restoration of Muhammad Ali's title and right to box in this country; removal of the anti-semitic and anti-black personality Avery Brundage from . . . the International Olympic Committee; curtailment of participation of all-white teams . . . from the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in all United States and Olympic Athletic Events. . . . (Edwards, 1970, p. 59)

The Olympic Committee did, in fact, bar South Africa from competing in the games; as a result African-American athletes did not boycott the Games. Rather, they participated and symbolically displayed their solidarity with the growing Black Power movement: "Tommie Smith and John Carlos startled the world on October 16 when they bowed their heads in defiance and raised black-gloved fists high in the air while on the Olympic victory stand. . ." (Wiggins, 1997, p. 110).

Tommy Smith (center) and John Carlos (right) at the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. *Amid the racial tensions of the 1960s, Smith and Carlos, who finished first and third, respectively, in the 200-meter finals, showed their solidarity with the Black Power movement by raising their black-gloved fists on the victory stand during the playing of the "Star Spangled Banner."* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

While Smith and Carlos's display ignited strong reactions both within the Olympic Village and without, the 1972 Munich Games found yet another black athlete asserting his socio-political identity. Teofilo Stevenson, an Afro-Cuban boxer, competed for the Olympic heavyweight title. Following his gold-medal win, "Stevenson rejected a one million dollar offer to defect from Cuba and fight Ali" (Sugden, p. 191). Stevenson declined the offer, explaining: "not any money in the world is worth losing the love of millions of Cubans" (Sugden, p. 146).

Clearly, Stevenson privileged his national identity as a Cuban above his identity as an athlete; more significant to him than material wealth was his membership within the greater political collective of his native country. It is important to consider that Stevenson grew up during the Cuban Revolution, when anti-American imperialist sentiment ran high. As Sugden emphasizes: "After the revolution the deepening hostility in relations between Castro's government and the United States increased nationalism within Cuba" (Sugden, 1996, p. 150). Given that Stevenson was a young boy inculcated into nationalistic, revolutionary doctrine, his refusal of monetary gains is not surprising. In this manner, Stevenson was seemingly fulfilling his duties as a revolutionary Cuban. As Sugden (1996) further argues: "Olympic achievement provided a showcase for Castro's and Che Guevara's vision of the 'new Cuban' athletic hero who was nurtured through socialism and who participates purely for the love of his country" (p. 150). Stevenson's love of country was evident; regardless of his political indoctrination, he flatly refused a great deal of money that would have ensured him a life of comfort and ease. His rejection of the offer seemingly marked the end of an era, for in the coming decades, lucrative athletic contracts and endorsements would become much more common among black athletes than would acts of political conscience.

In 1984, Michael Jordan was not yet a household name; however, his relative anonymity would prove to be short-lived as the then National Basketball Association rookie would be catapulted into worldwide fame both on and off the court. Jordan's incomparable skills and daring play became well known to basketball fans: "There seemed to be nothing that Jordan could not do on the basketball court. His slam-dunk is legendary and he seems to defy gravity as he flies through the air" (Kellner, p. 309). As he continued to thrill spectators on the court, his lucrative contracts also became the subject of great discussion. During his rookie year with the Chicago Bulls, Jordan entered into his first highly profitable contract with Nike; over the next decade several others followed. Because Jordan's earning power seemed infinite, he opened the door for African-American athletes to obtain lucrative endorsement deals: "It is generally acknowledged that he was one of the first African American athletes to break advertising's color barrier, paving the way for lucrative contracts for the next generation of black athletes" (Kellner, p. 310). Unlike post–World War I and World War II athletes for whom a color barrier connoted Jim Crow segregation, which barred them from competition, in the post–civil rights era, the only color barrier that Jordan had to cross was one of potential earning power, a far cry from being unable to compete, or being underpaid because of race. Because of trailblazers like Harry Edwards and Bill Russell, who spoke out on the professional sports worlds' consistent underpayment of African-American athletes, Jordan did not have to concern himself with worries over equal pay. On the contrary, Jordan's 1984 Nike contract was unprecedented for a rookie player (Kellner, p. 311). Thus, the 1990s found Jordan unstoppable on the court as well as in the boardrooms.

When Jordan's unstoppable play and mounting endorsements created a one-man media frenzy in the early 1990s, Tiger Woods and Venus and Serena Williams were teenage prodigies, already showing signs that they would revolutionize golf and tennis.

As an African-American golfer of extraordinary talent, it is widely acknowledged that Tiger Woods completely changed the game. Prior to Woods, the game had maintained its reputation as the sport of America's white elite; however, once Woods became a force to be reckoned with, African Americans' historical exclusion from America's fairways seemed to have been vindicated: "Most astonishing of all, Woods has taken the most shameful theme of golf's history . . . and turned it inside out. For a hundred years, golf in American has stood as a potent symbol of exclusion and racial intolerance" (Owen, 2001, p. 177). Indeed, Woods' mastery of the game does provide a degree of retribution to black golfers. However, one must also consider that early-twentieth-century African-American golfers, like their fellow sportsmen in the Negro leagues, also established the parallel realm of the United States Colored Golf Association (USCGA), later renamed the (UGA). Equally worthy of note is that the first man to patent the golf tee was an African American by the name of Dr. George Franklin Grant, a dentist from Boston (Sinette, pp. 7–11). Woods's accomplishments in golf are too numerous to list here; suffice it to say that his stellar play not only vindicates African-American exclusion from the sport; it also honors those African American pioneers in golf, like Dr. Grant, who came before him.

Similar to Woods, the Williams sisters transformed the country club sport of tennis. Unconventionally coached by their father, who learned the game by watching instructional videos and reading tennis books, Venus and Serena Williams perfected their game on the asphalt courts of Compton, California, a neighborhood known for widespread drug and gang activity. From the moment Venus turned professional in 1994, and Serena in 1995, the Williams sisters established themselves as athletic virtuosos able to prove that they would—just as they had predicted early into their careers—forever change the game of women's tennis.

Since the dawn of the twentieth century, the black athletic achievement in the African diaspora has come to symbolize various historical and ideological struggles. As a result, black athletes in America, Africa, and the Caribbean have been alternately vilified and lionized by their respective societies. Dramatically altering the black athlete's past political activism, however, have been sociopolitical and socio-economic gains made possible by the national independence struggles in Africa and the Caribbean, and the civil rights and Black Power movements in the United States.

The one societal factor that remains unchanged, that is, remains endemic to the interpretation of black athletic achievement, however, is racism. As recently as the 1980s two well-known sports personalities, Al Campanis, a former Major League Baseball official, and Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder, revealed the extent to which the tenets of scientific racism and social Darwinism are still followed. Campanis remarked that: "blacks performed well on the field but lacked 'the necessities' to occupy managerial positions . . . in the front offices of sports organizations" (Miller, p. 338). In this statement Campanis not only revealed his belief in the intellectual inferiority of blacks; he also revealed his ignorance. Former Celtic Bill Russell coached the Boston Celtics from 1966 to 1969, at which time he led the Celtics to two NBA championships; the Seattle Supersonics from 1973 to 1977; and the Sacramento Kings from 1987 to 1988. Campanis's ideological partner in crime, Jimmy "The Greek," expostulated on Darwinian evolutionary theory, stating: "The slave owner would breed his big black with his big woman so that he could have a big black kid" (Miller, p. 338). The big black kid of whom The Greek so crudely speaks is the black athlete.

Over a century has passed since the works of Gobineau and Darwin were published, and it remains painfully obvious that racialist theories of innate black athleticism and deficient black intelligence are still accepted as truth. The fact that these theories have been repeatedly disproved throughout the twentieth century is, apparently, of no interest to the believers, because as recently as 2000 the latest addition to the canon of racialist theory was published: John Entine's *Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sport and Why We're Afraid to Talk About It.* It is unclear why Entine thinks the subject of black athletic achievement is taboo. Black athletic achievement has been debated for over two centuries and, as Entine has shown, the accomplishments of black athletes will continue to ignite sociopolitical discourse on either side of the ideological divide.

See also Ali, Muhammad; Baseball; Basketball; Boxing; Gibson, Althea; Johnson, Jack; Jordan, Michael; Louis, Joe; Olympians; Owens, Jesse; Robeson, Paul; Robinson, Jackie; Soccer; Tennis; Williams, Venus and Serena; Woods, Tiger

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LAROSE PARRIS (2005)

Stepin Fetchit (Perry, Lincoln)

May 30, 1902
November 19, 1985

Lincoln Theodore Monroe Andrew Perry, named after four U.S. presidents, became a major star as Stepin Fetchit and the center of a still-ongoing controversy. His supporters see him as a pioneering black comic actor who had a pathbreaking Hollywood career; his detractors see him as one who profited through his demeaning depictions of African Americans.

Perry was born and raised in Key West, Florida, and left home in 1914 after a stint at St. Joseph's College (a Catholic boarding school) to pursue a career in show business, joining the Royal American Shows plantation minstrel revues. With comic Ed Lee, he developed a vaudeville act entitled "Step 'n' Fetchit: Two Dancing Fools from Dixie." When Perry and Lee split, he adopted the name "Stepin Fetchit" as his own.

Stepin Fetchit spent years on the TOBA (Theater Owners Booking Association) vaudeville circuit, develop-

ing his stage persona as a lazy, dim-witted, slow, shuffling black servant, where he performed for primarily black audiences to great success. Stepin Fetchit came to Hollywood in the 1920s, and his first appearance in the 1927 film *In Old Kentucky,* playing his stereotyped black persona, earned him a positive mention in *Variety*. The next two films in which he appeared—*Salute* (1929) and *Hearts of Dixie* (1929), the first all-black film musical—brought Stepin Fetchit considerable press attention.

Stepin Fetchit went on to make more than forty films from 1927 to 1976, becoming one of the first black Hollywood stars. He was a favorite of director John Ford, with whom he made five films: *Salute* (1929), *The World Moves On* (1934), *Judge Priest* (1934), *Steamboat Round the Bend* (1935), and *The Sun Shines Bright* (1954). In *Steamboat Round the Bend* and *Judge Priest,* Ford teamed him up with Will Rogers, with whom he had worked years earlier on the vaudeville circuit. The finale of *Judge Priest* consisted of Fetchit's leading a street parade in a top hat to the tune of "Dixie," and thereby stealing the show.

Nonetheless, Stepin Fetchit's main Hollywood career came to an end in the late 1930s. Black audiences were uncomfortable with the caricatures, and white audiences became tired of them. Stepin Fetchit left Hollywood in the early 1940s bankrupt, having reportedly squandered $1 million, and moved to Chicago, where he made occasional nightclub appearances. In the 1950s he reemerged, appearing in *Bend of the River* (1952) and *The Sun Shines Bright* (1954), but neither film succeeded in reviving his career. It was not until the late 1960s that he resurfaced as a member of Muhammad Ali's entourage and as the litigant in a 1970 $3 million lawsuit against CBS for, Stepin Fetchit claimed, "taking me, a Negro hero, and converting me into a villain," in a television show on black history. The suit was eventually dismissed.

In 1972 Stepin Fetchit was awarded a Special Image Award by the Hollywood chapter of the NAACP. He also received the Bethune-Cookman Award for Black Leadership (1972), and in 1978 he was presented with the Black Filmmakers' Hall of Fame Award. Stepin Fetchit died in Los Angeles in 1985.

See also Comedians; Film in the United States; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Musical Theater

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SUSAN MCINTOSH (1996)
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Still, William

1821
July 14, 1902

Abolitionist William Still was the eighteenth and last child born to former slaves near Medford, Burlington County, New Jersey. His mother had escaped from a plantation in Maryland, and his father had bought his own freedom. Still worked on his family's farm until he was twenty, when he went to work for neighboring farmers. He had little formal education and was largely self-taught. In 1844 he left for Philadelphia, where he spent three years working at a number of odd jobs.

Still became involved with the abolitionist movement in 1847, when he was employed by the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Three years later he was named chair of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, the clandestine wing of the Abolition Society that organized the city's Underground Railroad. Still and the committee helped shelter fugitive slaves stopping in Philadelphia on the way to Canada. One of the slaves he helped was his brother, Peter Still, who had been left behind by his mother during her escape.

While working with the Pennsylvania Society, Still gave material aid to John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and housed Brown's wife after the raid. Still also worked as the Philadelphia distribution agent for the national abolitionist paper the *Provincial Freeman*. He discontinued his abolitionist work in 1861 but remained affiliated with the society for the remainder of his life.

During the Civil War Still devoted himself to business ventures; he opened a store that sold stoves, he sold provisions to black soldiers stationed at nearby Camp William Penn, and he started a successful coal business. In the late 1860s he led a successful campaign to end discrimination on Philadelphia streetcars, helped organize a research organization to collect data about African Americans, and played for the all-black Philadelphia Pythians baseball team, which was denied entry into a white league.

In 1872 Still published an extensive account of his work with fugitive slaves, *The Underground Railroad,* one of the few memoirs of this kind written by an African

American after Emancipation. The book portrays the runaway slaves as courageous, even heroic figures and their escape to freedom as an act of self-determination. Still's work was published in three editions and was the most widely circulated nineteenth-century history of the Underground Railroad.

In the late nineteenth century Still developed several modestly successful businesses and continued to devote himself to black social causes. In the 1870s and 1880s he supported local reform candidates, organized a YMCA branch for black youth, served on the Freedmen's Aid Commission, and helped manage homes for African-American elderly and orphans.

In the early 1880s Still was one of a group of older black leaders in the Northeast who left the Republican Party to encourage black political independence and support of Democratic candidates when such support was advantageous to African Americans. Despite his extensive political activities, Still advocated economic self-improvement over politics as the best course for black advancement.

In 1888 Still and his son-in-law, Matthew Anderson, a prominent black minister and businessman in Philadelphia, founded the Berean Building and Loan Association, which provided loans to black home buyers. Still served as the association's first president. From 1896 to 1901 he also served as president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, which after 1865 continued to work for African-American rights and added "and for Improving the Condition of the African Race" to its title. Still died in Philadelphia in 1902.

See also Abolition; Underground Railroad

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Still, William Grant

May 11, 1895
December 3, 1978

Although he was born in Woodville, Mississippi, composer William Grant Still grew up in Little Rock, Arkansas. He attended Wilberforce University and Oberlin College. His private studies in composition were with George Whitefield Chadwick in Boston and Edgard Varèse in New York.

Still's musical style is perhaps best described as nationalist, successfully blending indigenous American musical elements, African-American folk materials, and the blues idiom into a range of musical genres: symphonic and operatic compositions, chamber music, and art songs. Many of his compositions were inspired by the black experience in America. Over the years he developed an eloquent musical expressiveness in his works. An outstanding achievement was his handling of melody in his strongly lyrical pieces.

Because he was an excellent orchestrator, Still was engaged by such celebrities as Paul Whiteman, Don Voorhees, Sophie Tucker, Willard Robison, and Artie Shaw to prepare orchestral arrangements. In his early years he played in various dance orchestras and pit orchestras for musicals. Still was associated in the music industry with W. C. Handy, Harry Pace and his Black Swan Phonograph Company, the *Deep River Hour* on CBS Radio, and Columbia Pictures.

Still composed over 150 musical works. His most significant symphonic compositions are the Afro-American Symphony (1930), Symphony No. 2 in G Minor (1937), *Festive Overture* (1944), *Plain-Chant for America* (1941, revised 1968), *From the Black Belt* (1926), *And They Lynched Him on a Tree* (1940), and *Darker America* (1924). Still composed ten operas, including *Highway 1, U.S.A.* (1962), *Troubled Island* (1941), and *A Bayou Legend* (1941). His ballets include *Sadhji* (1930), *Lenox Avenue* (1937), and *La Guiablesse* (1927). Verna Arvey, his wife, collaborated as a librettist in the writing of many of his works.

Still received many commissions, awards, prizes, and honorary degrees, as well as Guggenheim and Rosenwald Fellowships. His contributions to African-American music are significant: He was the first African-American composer to have a symphony played by a major American orchestra (*Afro-American Symphony*), the first to have an opera performed by a major company, the first to conduct a major orchestra, and one of the first to write for radio, films, and television.

See also Music in the United States; Opera

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LUCIUS R. WYATT (1996)

Stokes, Carl Burton

June 21, 1927
April 3, 1996

Lawyer and politician Carl Stokes was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio. He attended West Virginia State College from 1947 to 1948 and Cleveland College of Western Reserve University from 1948 to 1950. He left college to take a job with the enforcement division of the Ohio State Department of Liquor Control. In 1952 Stokes enrolled in the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, receiving a B.S. degree in law in 1954. He then entered the Cleveland Marshall School of Law, and in 1956 received an LL.B. degree. That year he and his brother, Louis Stokes, opened the law firm of Minor, McCurdy, Stokes & Stokes in Cleveland.

In 1958 Stokes began his career in government when Cleveland's Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze appointed him as an assistant city prosecutor. In the late 1950s Stokes became involved in the civil rights movement, and in 1958 he was elected to the executive committee of the Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1962 he entered electoral politics, becoming the first black Democrat elected to the Ohio General Assembly. He was reelected twice and served through 1967.

In 1965, while serving as a legislator, Stokes ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Cleveland as an independent Democrat in a general election decided by fewer than three thousand votes. In 1967 he ran again, this time in the Democratic primary election and, with the help of voter registration drives conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), defeated his two opponents, including incumbent candidate Ralph Locher. In the general election Stokes easily defeated his Republican opponent, Seth C. Taft, to become the first elected black mayor of a major American city. He was reelected in 1969 but decided not to run for a third term in 1971.

Stokes's tenure as mayor was marked by his efforts to conciliate Cleveland's white and conservative populations

Carl Burton Stokes (1997–1996). *Elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1967, Stokes was the first elected black mayor of a major American city.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

while accommodating the demands of a restive black community. His administration succeeded in raising the city income tax to increase spending for schools, welfare, street improvement, the city zoo, and water purification. Stokes faced his greatest challenge in the summer after his election, when a black nationalist group ambushed and killed several city police officers, sparking a nightlong shoot-out and five days of rioting in the predominantly African-American neighborhood of Glenville. Stokes initially responded by mandating that only black police officers patrol the area, but after several days of rioting, he called in the National Guard, finally quelling the uprising. Stokes's administration was rocked the following spring when it was revealed that funds provided by the mayor's "Cleveland: Now!" urban rehabilitation program had been used without approval to purchase the weapons used in the Glenville shoot-out. Resulting conflicts with the police department, as well as the voters' refusal to raise the city income tax again, compelled Stokes to leave office after his second term.

In 1972 Stokes moved to New York City to work as a reporter and anchor for WNBC-TV, an NBC station. In 1980 he returned to Cleveland to serve as a senior partner

in the labor law firm of Green, Schiavoni, Murphy, Haines & Sgambati. Three years later Stokes successfully ran for a seat as Cleveland municipal court judge, a position he held through the early 1990s. In 1994 President Bill Clinton appointed him U.S. ambassador to the Seychelles. Suffering from poor health, he took an extended leave of absence from his post and died in 1996.

See also Politics in the United States

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Stono Rebellion

The Stono Rebellion of 1739 was the largest uprising of enslaved African Americans to take place in Britain's mainland colonies before the American Revolution. South Carolina's black majority outnumbered whites by nearly two to one and by far more in the coastal low country where West African rice-growing skills were providing planters with enormous profits. Although suppressed by local authorities, the revolt came close to succeeding in ways that could have made it a dramatic turning point in American history.

Despite harsh conditions and diverse languages, underground information networks allowed black Carolinians to communicate. Many were aware of recent resistance in other colonies and knew of the Spanish crown's 1733 offer of freedom to fugitive slaves reaching Florida. Harvest pressures upon blacks and seasonal sickness among whites made September a likely time to rebel, and planners selected Sunday morning because most whites still attended church unarmed and most slaves were released from work on the Sabbath. Much of the leadership came from Angolans, who represented the largest proportion of recently arrived slaves and who brought military experience from Africa.

Led by a man named Jemmy and no doubt spurred by news that the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear had erupted between England and Spain, a score of black Carolinians met near the west branch of the Stono River about twenty miles southwest of Charleston early on Sunday, September 9, 1739. At Stono Bridge they broke into Hutcheson's store, killing the two storekeepers and taking guns and powder. With cries of "Liberty" and beating of drums, the rebels raised a standard and headed south toward Spanish St. Augustine, where escaping Carolina slaves had been granted freedom at Fort Mose. Along the road they gathered black recruits, burned houses, and killed white opponents, sparing one innkeeper who was "kind to his slaves."

By chance Lt. Gov. William Bull glimpsed the insurgents and alerted white parishioners. Late Sunday afternoon, planters on horseback caught up with the band of sixty to one hundred rebels in an open field, where they had paused hoping news of their action would inspire further support. In the ensuing encounter some rebels surrendered or were captured; others were wounded or killed. Several dozen managed to escape, but the organized march southward had been broken up. In the next two days, by one account, militiamen and Indians "kill'd twenty odd more, and took about 40; who were immediately some shot, some hang'd, and some Gibbeted alive." Others remained at large for months.

More than twenty whites and nearly twice as many blacks were killed in the uprising, which led quickly to a harsher slave code and a moratorium on slave imports, as the white minority debated their precarious situation. Had the rebels managed to travel farther, spread word faster, and delay a confrontation a bit longer, their brave attempt might have spiraled into a successful rebellion that challenged the logic and stability of the emerging slave system. But the tide flowed the other way. By the 1750s the neighboring colony of Georgia had legalized African slavery, and a decade later the English had taken over Florida from the Spanish. Occupants of the Carolina gulag would have to wait generations for a plausible opportunity to strike a blow for their release from bondage.

See also Christiana Revolt of 1851; Demerara Revolt; Nat Turner's Rebellion

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PETER H. WOOD (1996)

Stout, Reneé

1958

Reneé Stout was born in Junction City, Kansas, and grew up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. When she was ten years old, Stout attended Saturday art classes at the Carnegie Museum of Art, where she encountered an object in the museum collection that, combined with her fascination with a mysterious spiritualist who had a consultation space in her neighborhood, had a profound effect upon the nature of her mature artwork. The object was an African nail figure by the Bakongo (or Kongo) people of Central Africa called a *nkisi nkondi*. The spiritualist was Madam Ching, and though Stout never actually talked with her, the mystery of Madam Ching ignited Stout's imagination and became a trope for spirit workers and mediators of transformation in Stout's work.

Stout received her B.F.A. degree from Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh in 1980. In 1984 she received a residency in the Afro-American Master Artist Program at Northeastern University in Boston, and six months later she moved to Washington, D.C., where she began creating her mature work.

Stout's early work was photorealistic painting, but the work that first garnered national attention for her in art circles was sculpture informed by the *nkisi* (pl. *minkisi*) she saw at the Carnegie Museum and the ideas associated with Kongo objects. *Minkisi,* whether figurative or not, are sacred Kongo objects that are believed to make things happen, and Stout adapted this notion to the creation of art objects that seemed to be ritual works. Most of Stout's works suggest an intervention in one's love life, while some work for protection. In one of her most notable works, *Fetish No. 2* (1988, collection of the Dallas Museum of Art), Stout created a life-size self-portrait as an *nkisi nkondi* ritual object. This work was firmly placed on the national stage when it was shown at the exhibition *Black Art, Ancestral Legacy: The African Impulse in African American Art*, which originated at the Dallas Museum of Art in 1989 and traveled the country for several years. She gained further attention from the 1993 exhibition *Astonishment and Power: Kongo Minkisi and the Art of Renee Stout*, at the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C., a two-part show pairing her work with a number of *minkisi* power objects from Kongo.

In the 1990s Stout began creating work that reflected influences from the Yoruba culture of West Africa, and she showed an increasing interest in the American cultural forms and spiritual practices of New Orleans and the Mississippi Delta region. An installation titled *Dear Robert, I'll See You at the Crossroads* (1995) was inspired by the life of bluesman Robert Johnson, who, according to legend, encountered the devil at a crossroads and sold his soul for the ability to play the blues better than anyone else. This legend emerges from folklore that transformed the Yoruba trickster deity Eshu Elegba into Papa Legba in the New World. Both are encountered at "the crossroads" because they carry messages and prayers from the human side to the spiritual side.

Reneé Stout's work is in museums and collections all over the United States, and she has received important commissions, including *Houses of Spirit/Memories of Ancestors*, an installation at the Woodlawn Cemetery (an African slave burial site) in the Bronx in New York. She continues to live and work in Washington, D.C.

See also Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas; Contemporary Art in the United States; Painting and Sculpture

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MICHAEL D. HARRIS (2005)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

After an initial protest on February 1, 1960, that attempted to integrate a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, black college students spearheaded a sit-in movement that spread rapidly through the South. Reacting to this upsurge of student activism, Southern Chris-

tian Leadership Conference (SCLC) official Ella Baker invited student protest leaders to an Easter weekend conference in Raleigh, North Carolina. The student leaders, believing that existing civil rights organizations were overly cautious, agreed to form a new group, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, or "Snick"), and elected Fisk University graduate student Marion Barry as chair.

Originally a means of communication among autonomous local student protest groups, SNCC gradually assumed a more assertive role in the southern civil rights movement. In February 1961, four students affiliated with SNCC traveled to Rock Hill, South Carolina, to join a group of protesters arrested at a segregated lunch counter. The arrested students utilized a "jail-no-bail" strategy that was designed to demonstrate their militancy and independence from the NAACP and its legal-assistance staff. In May 1961, after a group of Freedom Riders organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) encountered violence in Alabama, SNCC activists insisted on continuing the protests against segregated transportation facilities. Dozens of black students rode buses from Alabama to Jackson, Mississippi, where they were arrested, quickly convicted of violating segregation norms, and then incarcerated in Parchman Prison.

From the fall of 1961 through the spring of 1966, SNCC shifted its focus from nonviolent desegregation protests to long-term voting rights campaigns in the Deep South. Full-time SNCC field secretaries—many of them veterans of the Mississippi Freedom Rides—gradually displaced representatives of local protest groups as the organization's principal policymakers. Initially dominated by advocates of Christian Gandhiism, SNCC increasingly became composed of secular community organizers devoted to the development of indigenous black leaders and local institutions.

SNCC's ability to work closely with local leaders was evident in the Albany, Georgia, protests of 1961 and 1962. Under the leadership of former Virginia Union University student Charles Sherrod, SNCC workers in Albany mobilized black student protesters and spearheaded marches that resulted in hundreds of arrests. Neither the group's brash militancy nor the more cautious leadership of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. overcame segregationist opposition in Albany, however, and SNCC's voter-registration campaign in nearby rural areas also achieved few gains in the face of violent white resistance. By 1963, SNCC staff members in southwest Georgia and elsewhere had become dissatisfied with the failure of the federal government to protect them. John Lewis, who replaced Barry as chair, expressed this growing disillusionment in a controversial speech given at the massive 1963 March on Washington.

By the time of the march, SNCC's most substantial projects were in Mississippi, where its community-organizing efforts encountered fierce white resistance. After launching the Mississippi effort in McComb in 1961, Bob Moses, a former Harvard University graduate student, became voter-registration director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a SNCC-dominated coalition of civil rights groups. Although SNCC's staff was composed mainly of native Mississippians, the campaign for voting rights in the state attracted increasing support from northern whites. Acknowledging the need for more outside support, COFO sponsored a summer project in 1964 that was designed to bring hundreds of white students to Mississippi. The murder of three civil rights workers, two of them white, during the early days of the project brought unprecedented national attention to the suppression of black voting rights in the Deep South. SNCC staff members, however, became ever more disillusioned with their conventional liberal allies. In August, this disillusionment increased when leaders at the Democratic National Convention refused to back the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's effort to take the seats of the all-white regular Democratic Party delegation.

During 1965 and 1966, the gulf grew larger between SNCC and its former liberal allies. A major series of voting rights protests in Alabama during the spring of 1965 exposed the group's increasing tactical differences with the SCLC. After the killing of Jimmy Lee Jackson in Marion, and a brutal police attack in March on a group marching from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, SNCC militants severed many of their ties to the political mainstream. Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC organizers helped establish an independent political entity, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. In May 1966, SNCC workers' growing willingness to advocate racial separatism and radical social change led to a shift in the group's leadership, with Carmichael replacing Lewis as chair. The following month, Carmichael publicly expressed SNCC's new political orientation when he began using the Black Power slogan on a voting rights march through Mississippi. The national controversy surrounding his Black Power speeches further separated SNCC from the SCLC, the NAACP, and other elements of the coalition supporting civil rights reform.

Confronting increasing external opposition and police repression, SNCC also endured serious internal conflicts that made it more vulnerable to external attack. In 1967, executive director Ruby Doris Robinson's death from illness further weakened the organization. After H.

Rap Brown became the new chair in June 1967, Carmichael traveled extensively to build ties with revolutionary movements in Africa and Asia. Upon his return to the United States, he led an abortive effort to establish an alliance between SNCC and the California-based Black Panther Party. The two groups broke their ties in the summer of 1968, however, and Carmichael remained with the Panthers, leaving James Forman as SNCC's dominant figure. By this time, however, SNCC's Black Power rhetoric and support for the Palestinian struggle against Israel had alienated many former supporters. In addition, its leaders' emphasis on ideological issues detracted from long-term community-organizing efforts. SNCC did not have much impact on African-American politics after 1967, although it remained in existence until the early 1970s.

See also Al-Amin, Jamil Abdullah; Barry, Marion; Black Panther Party for Self-Defense; Black Power Movement; Carmichael, Stokely; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Freedom Rides; Lewis, John; Lowndes County Freedom Organization; Moses, Robert Parris; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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CLAYBORNE CARSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Sullivan, Leon Howard

October 16, 1922
April 24, 2001

Civil rights teacher Leon Sullivan was born in Charleston, West Virginia. As a young man he was encouraged by his grandmother to improve the lives of the disadvantaged; after receiving a B.A. from West Virginia State College in 1943, he decided he could do this best by entering the ministry. That year he moved to New York and, on a scholarship, enrolled in the Union Theological Seminary, where he came to the attention of Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Powell hired Sullivan as an assistant minister at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. Another mentor, A. Philip Randolph, instructed Sullivan in community mobilization tactics. These lessons stood Sullivan in good stead when, after receiving his seminary degree in 1945 and an M.A. from Columbia University in religious education in 1947, he worked as a community organizer in South Orange, New Jersey.

In 1950 Sullivan was named pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia. A small church of six hundred members, it had grown to a membership of three thousand by the time Sullivan retired and became pastor emeritus in 1988. He was active in numerous efforts in the late 1950s and early 1960s to encourage local businesses to hire minorities, although he came to the conclusion that many African Americans were unprepared for a number of employment opportunities. To address that need, Sullivan founded Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC) in 1964. "Integration without preparation is frustration," he claimed. A not-for-profit organization that provided motivation and job training to unskilled workers of all races, OIC grew by 1980 into a network of nationwide comprehensive training centers with 140 affiliates and funding of over $130 million a year. With the advent of the Reagan administration, however, federal funding for OIC dwindled, and the organization was forced to make deep cuts in its programs and budget. Nevertheless, by 1993 the OIC still had training programs in eighty cities, had trained a total of one million men and women for jobs, and had established branches in at least thirteen sub-Saharan African countries.

Sullivan is probably best known, however, for formulating what became known as the Sullivan Principles, a set of guidelines for American corporations doing business in South Africa aimed at obtaining fair treatment of black South African workers. Using his prominent position as the first black director of General Motors (he was appointed to that post in 1971), Sullivan enumerated the principles in 1977. The original six called for nonsegregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities; equal and fair employment practices for all employees; equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time; initiation and development of training programs to prepare substantial numbers of blacks and other nonwhites for supervisory, administrative, cleri-

cal, and technical jobs; increasing the number of blacks and other nonwhites in supervisory positions; and improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation, and health facilities.

In 1984 the principles were revised to require American corporations doing business in South Africa to work to overturn the country's racial policies, to allow black workers freedom of mobility in order to take advantage of work opportunities wherever they existed, and to provide adequate housing for workers close to the workplace. By this time, about 150 of the 350 American corporations with investments in South Africa were voluntarily complying with the principles.

From the beginning, however, the principles were controversial. Some South African trade unionists and many Americans who favored complete corporate disinvestment in South Africa claimed that the principles enabled corporations to say they were fighting racism while profiting from apartheid. But Sullivan claimed that without the principles, the enormous leverage of American corporate power could not create changes in the lives of black South Africans.

Nevertheless, in 1987 Sullivan declared that the principles had failed to undermine apartheid. He called on American corporations to sell their investments in South Africa and on the Reagan administration to sever all diplomatic ties. He also urged a complete trade embargo with South Africa.

At the same time, Sullivan was expanding his self-help and educational efforts in Africa. In 1983 he established the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (IFESH) to fight illiteracy, hunger, and unemployment in fifteen sub-Saharan African countries alongside the OIC. In the 1990s he was the moving force behind a series of African–African American Summits held successively in South Africa, Gabon, Senegal, and Ghana. The last summit, in 1999, drew 3,500 people, including 1,000 prominent African Americans. The purpose of the summits was to focus on ways to improve the living conditions of Africans.

Sullivan received numerous awards and honorary degrees. The NAACP awarded him the Spingarn Medal in 1971 for training inner-city workers for new job opportunities. In 1991 he received the highest U.S. civilian award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, for his life's work in helping the poor and disadvantaged in both America and Africa. That same year he received the Ivory Coast's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award, in recognition of his efforts to improve the lives of sub-Saharan Africans.

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Anti-Apartheid Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Randolph, Asa Philip

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Sullivan, Louis

November 3, 1933

Louis Sullivan, a physician and member of President George H. W. Bush's cabinet, was born in Atlanta, Georgia, to undertaker Walter Wade Sullivan and Lubirda Elizabeth Sullivan, a schoolteacher. Sullivan's parents moved to Blakely, Georgia, where they later founded the Blakely chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Louis stayed in Atlanta with relatives because of its better educational opportunities and graduated from Morehouse College in 1954. Winning a scholarship to Boston University Medical School, he graduated cum laude as the only black member of his class in 1958. He finished his internship and residency at New York Hospital–Cornell Medical Center in New York City in 1960 and subsequently won a fellowship in pathology at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. In 1961 he was awarded a research fellowship to the Thorndike Memorial Laboratory at Harvard Medical School, where he was named instructor of medicine in 1963. From 1964 to 1966, he served as assistant professor of medicine at the New Jersey College of Medicine. He returned to Boston University in 1966 and became assistant professor of medicine at the medical school as well as codirector of hematology at the medical center. In 1974 he became a full professor of medicine and physiology.

In 1978 Sullivan helped found a new medical school, Morehouse School of Medicine (affiliated with Morehouse College yet independent of it), to train African-American

doctors to practice in the South. With Sullivan as its first dean and president, Morehouse School of Medicine became accredited in 1981. Sullivan received personal support for his school from Vice President George Bush and his wife, Barbara Bush. Mrs. Bush became a trustee of the school in 1983, and following her husband's election to the presidency five years later, she led the effort to secure Sullivan's nomination as secretary of health and human services. Despite a moderate position on abortion, Sullivan was nominated by Bush and confirmed in 1989 after calling for the reversal of the U.S. Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* abortion decision.

As secretary, Sullivan devoted most of his attention to minority health care and preventive medicine and opposed further cutbacks in Medicare. He encouraged Congress to reverse the Reagan administration's budget cuts for medical education, and he initiated a program to curtail the spread of tuberculosis. Sullivan incurred controversy when he initially supported needle exchanges with drug users to prevent the spread of AIDS; he later reversed his position.

After Bush left the White House in 1993, Sullivan returned to full-time service as president of the Morehouse School of Medicine. He left the presidency of Morehouse in 2000 but remained as president emeritus and professor. He was named to the *Georgia Trend* Hall of Fame in 2003.

See also Politics in the United States

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Sun Ra (Blount, Herman "Sonny")

May 1914
May 30, 1993

The jazz bandleader and pianist Herman "Sonny" Blount was born in Birmingham, Alabama, played piano as a child, and led his own band while still in high school. He studied music education at Alabama A & M University and studied classical piano with Willa Randolph. Blount moved to Chicago while still in his teens, and in the mid-1930s he toured with John "Fess" Whatley's band. He gradually gained a reputation as a sideman and arranger for shows. From 1946 to 1947, Blount worked at Chicago's Club de Lisa, leading his own group and also serving as pianist and arranger for Fletcher Henderson.

In the late 1940s Blount completely reinvented himself, changing his name to Sun Ra and claiming the planet Saturn as his birthplace. Thereafter his music carried strong science fiction overtones, and he took as his motto "Space Is the Place." At the same time, he also began to turn to ancient Egypt and Ethiopia for his spiritual outlook and sartorial style. In 1953 he formed a big band called the Arkestra, and over the next forty years the group pioneered the use of modern collective improvisation and exemplified the anarchic spirit of free jazz (*Sound of Joy,* 1957). Sun Ra also established a core of remarkable soloists, including saxophonists Marshall Allen, John Gilmore, and Pat Patrick. Sun Ra was himself an accomplished pianist capable of contemplative modal moments as well as roiling solos, never losing the energetic drive of his stride piano roots. He was a pioneer in the use of electric instruments, playing the electric piano as early as 1956. He also gained renown as a composer of songs such as "A Call for All Demons" (1956) and "Cosmic Chaos" (1965).

While in Chicago in the 1950s, Sun Ra found his music rejected by established jazz musicians, but he proved enormously influential to the new generation of avant-garde musicians. In the late 1950s he started Saturn Records, which released dozens of his albums during the next few decades. In the early 1960s, the Arkestra set up communal living quarters in New York and thereafter became a mainstay in avant-garde jazz (*The Heliocentric Worlds of Sun Ra,* 1965; *Nothing Is,* 1966). They participated in Bill Dixon's October Revolution series of concerts in 1964 and joined the cooperative Jazz Composers Guild. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the Arkestra continued to record (*The Solar Myth Approach,* 1970–1971) and tour.

Although Sun Ra's work was always heavily influenced by Henderson's work, it was not until the late 1970s, when the Arkestra moved to Philadelphia, that Sun Ra began to incorporate traditional arrangements of tunes by Henderson, Jelly Roll Morton, Duke Ellington, and Thelonious Monk into its repertoire. Nonetheless, the Arkestra never lost its futuristic eccentricity. During this time, Sun Ra directed circuslike concerts, complete with dancers and spectacular costumes, chants of "next stop Mars!" space-

age prophecy, and tales of intergalactic travel (*Live at Montreux,* 1976; *Sunrise in Different Dimensions,* 1980). By the 1980s Sun Ra had become an internationally acclaimed figure, recording frequently (e.g., *Blue Delight,* 1989) and taking his extravagant show on tours of Europe and Asia. The subject of two documentary films, *The Cry of Jazz* (1959) and *Sun Ra: A Joyful Noise* (1980), Sun Ra died in 1993 in Birmingham, Alabama.

See also Jazz; Music in the United States

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ERNEST BROWN (1996)
Updated bibliography

SUPREMES, THE

The female soul vocal trio called the Supremes was one of Motown's most successful rhythm-and-blues acts and one of the most successful recording groups of all time. They earned twelve number-one hits and sold over twenty million records; their rise to national fame signaled the elimination of the color barrier in the pop market.

Originally a quartet known as the Primettes, the Detroit-based group had several personnel changes during its eighteen-year history. At the height of its popularity (1962–1967), the group included Diana Ross, Florence Ballard, and Mary Wilson. Their hits included "Where Did Our Love Go," "Baby Love," "Come See About Me," "Stop! In the Name of Love" (no. 1, *Billboard* charts 1965), "Back in My Arms Again" (no. 1, 1965), and "I Hear a Symphony" (no. 1, 1965), written by Motown's Holland-Dozier-Holland songwriting team. The Supremes' earliest recordings featured Ballard's strong lead vocals (produced by Smokey Robinson), but the hits from 1964 and 1965 featured Ross's bright, cooing vocals.

In 1967 Cindy Birdsong (formerly with Patti Labelle and the Blue Belles) replaced Ballard, and the group was billed as Diana Ross and the Supremes. Their hits included "Love Child" (no. 1, 1968), "Someday We'll Be Together" (no. 1, 1969), and, with the Temptations, "I'm Gonna Make You Love Me" (no. 2, 1968). In 1970 Ross departed for a solo career and Jean Terrell led the trio, but their popularity declined by 1973. The 1981 Broadway show *Dreamgirls* supposedly depicts Ballard's perspective on the group, and in 1984 Wilson published her own memoir, *Dreamgirl: My Life as a Supreme.* In 2000 a reunion tour was launched, but Mary Wilson, citing displeasure with the financial arrangements, declined to participate. The tour thus began in controversy, and when ticket sales were poor, the remainder of the tour was canceled.

See also Ross, Diana; Music in the United States

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KYRA D. GAUNT (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

SUTTON, PERCY ELLIS

NOVEMBER 24, 1920

The politician and media businessman Percy Ellis Sutton was born in San Antonio, Texas. His parents, Samuel J. Sutton and Lillian Smith, were educators and philanthropists. Percy Sutton graduated from Phillis Wheatley High School in San Antonio and subsequently attended Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tuskegee Institute, and Hampton Institute. When he attempted to join the Army Air Force in Texas during World War II, he was rejected for reasons having to do with his racial background. He then successfully enlisted in New York City. As an intelligence officer with the black Ninety-ninth Fighter Squadron serving in the Italian and Mediterranean theaters, Sutton earned combat stars and rose to the rank of captain.

After the war, Sutton completed his education under the G.I. Bill, graduating from Brooklyn Law School in 1950. During the Korean War, Sutton reentered the Air Force as an intelligence officer and trial judge advocate. When the war ended, in 1953, Sutton opened a law partnership in Harlem with his brother Oliver and George Covington and worked with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on several civil rights cases throughout the 1950s. In addition to its

work with the NAACP, the firm served other clients, such as Malcolm X and the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York.

From 1961 to 1962 Sutton served as branch president of the New York City NAACP, participating in demonstrations and Freedom Rides in the South. During the winter of 1963–1964, Sutton and Charles Rangel cofounded the John F. Kennedy Democratic Club, later known as the Martin Luther King Jr. Club. Sutton was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1964. In 1966, after Manhattan borough president Constance Baker Motley accepted an appointment as a federal judge, the New York City Council chose Sutton to finish Motley's term. Sutton was reelected in his own right later that year and was subsequently reelected in 1969 and 1973. As borough president, Sutton focused on decentralizing the municipal bureaucracy, cutting city spending, and addressing the broader social causes of urban crime and poverty.

In 1970 Sutton endorsed Rangel's campaign to replace Adam Clayton Powell Jr. as congressman from Harlem. Rangel's victory marked the ascendancy of a new black political coalition in Harlem, a coalition that included not only Percy Sutton but also future New York City mayor David Dinkins. In 1971, while still Manhattan borough president, Sutton set out to purchase several black-owned media enterprises, beginning with the New York *Amsterdam News* (which he sold in 1975) and radio station WLIB-AM. In 1977 Sutton became owner and board chair of the Inner-City Broadcasting Company, a nationwide media corporation, and through the corporation he subsequently purchased radio stations in New York, California, and Michigan. He also formed Percy Sutton International, Inc., the investments of which encouraged agriculture, manufacturing, and trade in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Brazil.

In September 1977 Sutton was an unsuccessful candidate for the nomination for mayor. He retired from public office after finishing his second full term as borough president in December 1977, but he continued to advise Rangel, Dinkins, and other black politicians on electoral strategy and urban policy. In 1981 he acquired Harlem's Apollo Theater as a base for the production of cable television programs. By the end of the decade Sutton's estimated net worth was $170 million. In 1990 he was succeeded as head of Inner-City Broadcasting by his son, Pierre Montea ("PePe"), who raised the company's net worth to $28 million by 1992.

Sutton has been a guest lecturer at many universities and corporations and has held leadership positions in the Association for a Better New York, the National Urban League, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, and several other civil rights organizations. A founding member and director of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), Sutton was also a close adviser to Rev. Jesse Jackson. He was awarded the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1987 at the Apollo Theater, which under Sutton's management had been restored as a major Harlem cultural center and landmark.

In 2002 Sutton cofounded Synematics, of which he is the chief executive officer. In 2004 he was named to the *Broadcasting & Cable* Hall of Fame.

See also Apollo Theater; Dinkins, David; Harlem, New York; Jackson, Jesse; Malcolm X; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity); Rangel, Charles Bernard; Spingarn Medal

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DURAHN TAYLOR (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Sweatt v. Painter

Through much of the 1930s and 1940s, the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pursued an "indirect" strategy against segregation in public education. The NAACP reasoned that black exclusion from white schools might be most immediately challenged in graduate and professional schools, because separate black facilities had not generally been provided by states enforcing segregation—and would likely prove too expensive to provide. Accordingly, in 1946 the organization backed Heman Sweatt, an African-American postal employee from Houston, in a suit to compel his admission to the University of Texas School of Law. Segregation in education had been mandated by the state constitution and endorsed in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* but no black law school existed in Texas. Rather than force university president T. S. Painter to admit Sweatt, however, state courts allowed Texas to make efforts to provide "substantially equal" segregated facilities. The state authorized its black

college to expand professional programs, provided for the establishment of a new black university and law school, and, as a stopgap measure, opened a temporary law school for blacks in an Austin basement.

In response, NAACP lawyers, led by Thurgood Marshall, more directly attacked separate-but-equal doctrine. They argued that no newly minted Jim Crow school could offer an education comparable to that of a longstanding and prestigious state institution, but also that segregation itself was intellectually indefensible. Though state appellate courts denied Sweatt's petitions, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in June 1950 that the Fourteenth Amendment's "equal protection" language required his admission to the University of Texas. Blacks could not receive a substantially equal legal education in existing segregated facilities, because they did not compare to the University of Texas School of Law either in material resources or in less tangible realms, such as reputation and prestige. Though the Court did not thereby abandon the separate-but-equal precedent, it made it more difficult to apply. More important, Sweatt foreshadowed the more exacting definitions of equality that would shape the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Fourteenth Amendment; Marshall, Thurgood; *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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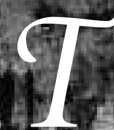
PATRICK G. WILLIAMS (1996)



Tailor's Revolt

Liberty, fraternity, and equality were ideas of the French Revolution spread throughout the Atlantic world. In late-eighteenth-century Brazil, intellectuals read the *philosophes,* Enlightenment thinkers whose writing inspired the Age of Revolution. At fashionable salons, the *letrados,* or intellectuals, gathered to discuss philosophy and the torrent of events unfolding outside of Brazil. Educated in Coimbra, Portugal, alongside the sons of Brazil's wealthiest sugar planters, the *letrados* understood the ideas of the revolution in largely intellectual terms. Their position of privilege within Brazil's slave society limited the extent to which they questioned the colonial compact. The influence of the French Revolution, however, spread beyond the propertied few with access to university education. Like the slaves and mulattoes of Haiti, working people in the northeastern Brazilian city of Salvador da Bahia interpreted ideas of liberty and equality in profoundly radical terms. In August 1798 a group of free mulattoes, black slaves, and white artisans took part in a movement that sought to actualize on Brazilian soil the goals of the French Revolution.

The Tailor's Revolt, named for the profession of a number of its conspirators, was one of a series of plots that signaled the disintegration of the colonial system that bound Brazil to Portugal. Under the great administrator of the Portuguese empire, the Marquis de Pombal, and his less able successor, Martinho de Melo e Castro, the Portuguese crown carried out a program of imperial reorganization intended to make more efficient the extraction of wealth from its overseas dominions, of which Brazil was the crowning jewel. In the gold mining captaincy of Minas Gerais, the reforms spawned in February 1789 an independence movement led by some of the region's most prominent men, angered over the crown's relentless efforts to collect back taxes in the face of declining gold deposits. Colonial authorities managed to uncover the plot before it was executed and forestalled further discontent by loosening fiscal demands. The Minas conspirators sought free trade and independence from Portugal. The propertied men central to the plot offered freedom to Brazilian-born slaves who would join the insurrectionist forces, but they did not propose an end to the transatlantic trade or slavery itself. Following the outbreak of both the French and Haitian revolutions, the Bahian tailors would envisage far more profound social changes: the abolition of slavery and an end to racial discrimination, goals that extended the ideals of liberty and equality in ways that wealthy slaveholders found untenable.

In August 1798 broadsides announcing revolutionary plans appeared affixed to churches and other public walls throughout the city of Salvador. The tailors' manifestos called out to the "Republican Bahian people" and in the "name of the supreme tribunal of Bahian democracy." They publicly displayed their plans to overturn "the detestable metropolitan yoke of Portugal." Most dangerously, the rebels proclaimed that theirs would be a republic in which "all citizens, especially mulattoes and blacks" would enjoy equal protection: "all will be equal, there will be no difference." The conspirators' cries for "freedom, equality, and fraternity" took on an especially subversive meaning in a slave society. Unlike the wealthy men who planned the Minas conspiracy, the Bahian rebels imagined far more than political independence from Portugal. They demanded true social change: "all black and brown slaves are to be free, so that there will be no slaves whatsoever." The tailors further appealed to the free poor, hurt by rising prices that accompanied the economic resurgence of the sugar economy following the Haitian Revolution. They demanded lower food prices, for manioc and meat in particular. They also called for free trade and an opening of ports to trade with France and other foreign powers.

Public authorities countered swiftly the tailors' open display of revolutionary ideas. Domingos de Silva Lisboa, a professional scribe, quickly faced arrest. When manifestos continued to appear in public, police attention focused on Luís Gonzaga das Virgens, a soldier in the mulatto regiment. On August 26 authorities apprehended forty-seven suspected revolutionaries, among them five women, nine slaves, ten whites, and the rest mulattoes, including João de Deus do Nascimento, a tailor of meager means. Investigations failed to uncover a revolutionary plot. Although several detainees were members of a mulatto regiment, they appeared to have formulated no military plan. If, as authorities feared, the tailors had intended to mount a French-style revolution, they had not progressed beyond hanging manifestos throughout the city. Yet the mere dissemination of revolutionary ideas was enough to convict the conspirators. Governor Fernando José de Portugal denounced the "abominable Jacobin ideas," especially dangerous "in a country with so many slaves." On November 8, 1799, four leaders were publicly hanged in the center of the city. Free mulattoes Lucas Dantes, João de Deus, and Manuel Faustas were beheaded and quartered. Authorities displayed their severed body parts for two days until the superintendent of health petitioned to have the rotting flesh taken down due to public health concerns. Two slaves and five free men of color were publicly whipped and compelled to watch the executions. Together with sixteen other defendants, they were deported to the African coast and forbidden from setting foot ever again in Portuguese territory.

The fact that the Bahian conspirators imagined a world free from slavery and racial discrimination made their plot far more threatening than other pre-independence conspiracies in, for example, Minas Gerais and Pernambuco. The Portuguese secretary of state for overseas dominion, Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, expressed concern that "the abominable French principles" had "infected" even "the principal people of the city." Authorities, however, quickly exonerated white Bahian *letrados* found with the same French writings that had cost men of color their lives. The Bahian governor assured the crown that only those of "the lowest orders" had been guilty of treason. "Liberty, fraternity, and equality" took on subversive connotations when voiced by slaves and free men of color. Equality and slavery could not coexist.

See also Haitian Revolution

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ALEXANDRA K. BROWN (2005)

Tanner, Benjamin Tucker

December 25, 1835
January 14, 1923

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church bishop and editor Benjamin Tucker Tanner was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and worked as a barber while he attended Avery College (1852–1857) and Western Theological Seminary (1857–1860). In 1860 he was ordained a deacon and then an elder in the AME Church. In 1867 Tanner became the principal of the AME Conference

School in Frederickstown, Maryland. Later he was appointed to Bethel Church in Philadelphia. From 1868 to 1884 Tanner edited the *Christian Recorder,* an AME publication. During the 1870s he was awarded a master's degree from Avery and an honorary doctor of divinity degree from Wilberforce. In 1884 Tanner founded the *A.M.E. Church Review,* a quarterly journal focusing on African-American issues. Tanner became known as the king of the Negro editors. A black nationalist, he believed that racial solidarity was needed to combat racial injustice and he encouraged black-owned business. In 1888 Tanner was consecrated a bishop. In 1901 he served as dean of Payne Theological Seminary at Wilberforce University. Tanner retired in 1908 at the AME General Conference. He and his wife, Sarah Miller, whom he had married in 1858, had seven children, including the painter Henry Ossawa Tanner. Benjamin Tanner wrote several books, including *An Apology for African Methodism* (1867).

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Tanner, Henry Ossawa

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)
Updated bibliography

Tanner, Henry Ossawa

June 21, 1859
May 25, 1937

Henry Tanner was a painter and illustrator. His father, Benjamin Tucker Tanner (1835–1923) and his mother, Sarah Elizabeth Miller (1840–1914), lived in Pittsburgh at the time of Henry's birth. They gave their son the middle name Ossawa, after the Kansas town of Osawatomie, where white abolitionist John Brown had started an anti-slavery campaign in 1856. After entering the ministry in 1863, Tanner's father rose to the rank of bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888. The Reverend Tanner relocated the family to Philadelphia in 1868 so that he could serve as editor of the *Christian Recorder*. Tanner attended Lombard Street School for Colored Students in 1868. The next year he enrolled at the Robert Vaux Consolidated School for Colored Students, then the only secondary school for black students in Philadelphia, which was renamed Robert Vaux Grammar School the year before Tanner graduated as valedictorian in 1877.

Tanner began painting when he was thirteen years old, and although his parents supported his early efforts, he did not receive formal training until 1880, studying with Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts until 1885. During his academy years and through 1890, Tanner was primarily a painter of seascapes, landscapes, and animal life. Many of his paintings engaged a particular technical challenge in representing natural phenomena such as waves breaking on rocks in stormy seas (*Seascape-Jetty,* 1876–1879), rippling autumn foliage (*Fauna,* 1878–1879), or the light in a lion's mane at the Philadelphia Zoo (*Lion Licking Its Paw,* 1886). While his work in each genre was influenced by numerous lesser-known local artists, Tanner was developing his own style and becoming skilled at controlling effects of light, giving objects form through a subdued color scheme and a subtle sense of tonality, and creating decorative effects with tiny flecks of color. Tanner strategically organized space by surrounding central figures with vast areas of opaque color—representing grass or sky, for example—and using the emptiness to draw the viewer's attention to the locus of dramatic activity.

Although Tanner met with some critical success as a landscape painter during his academy years, he was unable to support himself by painting and worked for a flour business owned by friends of his family. In 1889 he relocated to Atlanta, where he taught at Clark University and worked for a year as a photographer. There was a lull in Tanner's painting from 1889 to 1890, but he used some photographs from this year, taken on a trip to North Carolina, as studies for paintings such as his well-known work *The Banjo Lesson* (1893).

In Atlanta, Tanner met Joseph Crane Hartzell, a white Methodist Episcopal bishop, and his wife. They became his patrons, sponsoring the first exhibition of his work in Cincinnati in 1890. They supported Tanner when he traveled to Europe in 1891 and set up a studio in Paris, where he began studying with Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant and Jean-Paul Laurens. Tanner returned to Philadelphia in 1893, although he found the racial restrictions onerous and soon returned to Paris. In 1899 he married Jessie Macauley Olssen (1873–1925), a white American of Swedish descent who was living abroad in Paris. The two remained happily married and lived in France for most of their lives,

The Banjo Lesson (Henry Ossawa Tanner, 1893). *The first African-American artist to receive national and international recognition for his work, Tanner turned to depictions of African-American life in his paintings of the 1890s.* © HAMPTON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, VIRGINIA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

except for the years Tanner spent at an artists' colony in Mount Kisco, New York, from 1901 to 1904. Tanner's Paris studio became a hub of activity for visiting African-American artists and other visitors from abroad in the early part of twentieth century.

During the 1890s Tanner's work shifted from landscape painting to genre scenes depicting black life in America. The change has been attributed to Tanner's 1893 participation as a speaker in the Columbian Exposition's Congress on Africa, where he asserted the achievements of African-American artists and listened to speakers give an overview of post-Emancipation black leadership across the nation. With his thoughts focused on issues of black identity and productivity, Tanner began depicting genre scenes of African-American life. Though he painted relatively few genre scenes, some of them, such as *The Banjo Lesson* and *The Thankful Poor* (1894), are among his best-known paintings. *The Banjo Lesson* depicts one of the acclaimed themes in American genre painting, an older musician teaching his art to a young boy. *The Thankful Poor* also features an old man and a boy to show how the black family passed on moral and spiritual lessons to its children.

Tanner's style during his genre period had several influences. In 1889 Tanner spent time in the Brittany region of France, involved in the impressionist and postimpressionist movements, particularly those in the circle of Gauguin. Whereas some critics have noted that Tanner borrowed the impressionists' techniques and was influenced by their use of color and spatial organization to communicate mood, the overall character of his work was shaped by academic romantic realism.

Tanner's illustrations appeared in American journals such as *Harper's Young People* and *Our Continent,* as well as in exhibition catalogs at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His work was seen in exhibitions at the academy in 1888, 1889, 1898, and 1906 and was frequently shown at the prestigious Salon de la Société des Artistes Français in Paris during the period 1894 to 1914.

In the later stages of his career, Tanner was most active as a religious painter, and though these works were based on biblical stories and did not directly address issues of black life, they were continually concerned with broad themes of social justice in the earthly world, using the stories as metaphors for more contemporary issues such as slavery and emancipation in America. An early representation of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (1896), one of his two known paintings of this well-known religious theme, was exhibited at the salon, where it received honorable mention. In 1897, shortly after he painted *Daniel in the Lions' Den,* Tanner traveled to the Middle East to observe the people and geography of the ancient lands and to enhance the historical accuracy of his paintings with biblical themes. Among the most celebrated religious compositions was *The Raising of Lazarus* (1896), now located at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris. Other paintings on sacred subjects included *Nicodemus Visiting Jesus* (1899), *Flight into Egypt* (1899), *Mary* (1900), *Return of the Holy Women* (1904), *Christ at the Home of Mary and Martha* (1905), *Two Disciples at the Tomb* (1906), *The Holy Family* (1909–1910), *Christ Learning to Read* (1910), *The Disciples on the Sea of Galilee* (1910), and *The Good Shepherd* (1922).

Tanner's religious work went through multiple stylistic phases and had diverse influences, including Velázquez's portraiture, El Greco's elongated figures, David's scale of historical paintings, and Georges Rouault's use of color in contemporary religious paintings. The style of his paintings after 1920 was marked by an overall conservatism. He remained uninfluenced by contemporary developments. Despite some brilliant coloristic effects, the overall impact of his religious compositions, with their

limited range of tonality and virtually absent source of light, is a brooding, somber, and contemplative mood.

Tanner exhibited widely in the United States after 1900, with paintings appearing at the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, New York) in 1901, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, the Carnegie Institute Annual Exhibition in Pittsburgh in 1906, the Anglo-American Art Exhibition (London) in 1914, the Panama-Pacific Exposition (San Francisco) in 1915, the Los Angeles County Museum in 1920, and the Grand Central Art Galleries in New York in 1920. Since 1968 Tanner's works have been shown in major United States exhibitions celebrating the accomplishments of American artists of African descent.

Tanner served his country during World War I as a lieutenant in the American Red Cross in the Farm Service Bureau. In 1918 he worked in the Bureau of Publicity as resident artist. Although his academic style was increasingly out of fashion, in his later years he was given many honors. He received the coveted Légion d'Honneur (Legion of Honor) from the French government in 1923. Tanner's son Jesse graduated from Cambridge University in 1924 and became an engineer upon his return to France. In 1927 Tanner became the first African American elected to full membership in the National Academy of Design. He continued to work as a painter until his death in Paris.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Painting and Sculpture

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DAVID C. DRISKELL (1996)

Tap Dance

Tap is a form of American percussive dance that emphasizes the interplay of rhythms produced by the feet. Fused from African and European music and dance styles, tap evolved over hundreds of years, shaped by the constant exchanges and imitations that occurred between the black and white cultures as they converged in America. However, since it is jazz syncopations that distinguish tap's rhythms and define its inflections, the heritage of African percussive sensibilities has exerted the strongest influence on tap's evolution.

Unlike ballet, whose techniques were codified and taught in the academies, tap developed informally from black and white vernacular social dances, from people watching each other dance in the streets and dance halls. As a result of the offstage challenges and onstage competitions where steps were shared, stolen, and reinvented, tap gradually got fashioned into a virtuosic stage dance. Because tap must be heard, it must be considered a musical form as well as a dance form, one that evolved as a unique percussive expression of American jazz music. Tappers consider themselves musicians and describe their feet as a set of drums—the heels playing the bass, the toes the melody. Like jazz, tap uses improvisation, polyrhythms, and a pattern of rhythmic accenting to give it a ropulsive (swinging) quality. Many of tap's choreographic structures reflect the formal musical structures of blues, ragtime or Dixieland, swing, bebop, and cool jazz.

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of tap is the amplification of the feet's rhythms. Early styles of tapping utilized boards laid across barrels, sawhorses, or cobblestones; hard-soled shoes, wooden clogs, hobnailed boots, hollow-heeled shoes, as well as soft-soled shoes (and even heavily calloused feet) played against a wooden, oily, or abrasive surface, such as sand. Specially made metal plates attached to the heel and toe of the shoes did not commonly appear until the early 1910s, in chorus lines of Broadway shows and revues.

Opportunities for whites and blacks to watch each other dance began in the early 1500s when enslaved Africans were shipped to the West Indies. During the infamous "Middle Passage" across the Atlantic, slaves were brought to the upper decks and forced to dance (or "exercise"). Without traditional drums, slaves played on upturned buckets and tubs. Thus, the rattle and restriction of chains and the metallic thunk of buckets were some of the first changes in African dance as it evolved toward an African-American style. Sailors witnessing these events set an early precedent of the white observers who would serve as social arbiters, onlookers, and participants at urban slave dances and plantation slave "frolicks." Upon arriving in North and South America and the West Indies, some Africans had been exposed to European court dances like the quadrille, cotillion, and contredanse, and they adopted these dances, keeping the patterns and figures but retaining their African rhythms.

Slaves purchased on the stopover in the Caribbean islands came into contact with thousands of Irishmen and Scotsmen who were deported, exiled, or sold in the new English plantation islands. The cultural exchange between first-generation enslaved Africans and indentured Irishmen—with Ibo men playing fiddles and Kerrymen learning how to play jubi drums—continued through the late 1600s on plantations and in urban centers during the transition from white indentured servitude to African slave labor.

In colonial America, a new percussive dance began to fuse from a stylistic meld of two great dance traditions. The African-American style tended to center movement in the hips and favored flat-footed, gliding, dragging, stamping, shuffling steps, with a relaxed torso gently bent at the waist and the spine remaining flexible. Gradually, that style blended with the British-European style, which centered movement in dexterous footwork that favored bounding, hopping, precisely placed toe-and-heel work, and complicated patterns, with carefully placed arms, an upright torso and erect spine, and little if any hip action.

Between 1600 and 1800, the new American tap-hybrid slowly emerged from British step dances and a variety of secular and religious African step dances labeled "juba" dances and "ring-shouts." The Irish jig, with its rapid toe and heelwork, and the Lancashire clog, which was danced in wooden-soled shoes, developed quickly. The clog involved faster and more complex percussive techniques, while the jig developed with a range of styles and functions that extended from a ballroom dance of articulate footwork and formal figures to a fast-stomping competitive solo performed by men on the frontier.

By contrast, the African-American juba (derived from the African djouba), moved in a counterclockwise circle and was distinguished by its rhythmically shuffling footwork; the clapping of hands; "patting," or "hamboning" (the hands rhythmically slap the thighs, arms, torso, cheeks, playing the body as if it were a large drum); the use of call-and-response patterning (vocal and physical); and solo or couple improvisation within the circle. The religious ring-shout, a similar countercircle dance driven by singing, stomping, and clapping, became an acceptable mode of worship in the Baptist church as long as dancers did not defy the ban against the crossing of the legs. With the arrival of the slave laws of 1740 prohibiting the beating of drums came substitutes for the forbidden drum: bone clappers, jawbones, tambourines, hand-clapping, hamboning, and the percussive footwork that was so crucial in the evolution of tap.

By 1800, "jigging" was a term applied to any black style of dancing in which the dancer, with relaxed and responsive torso, emphasized movement from the hips down with quickly shuffling feet beating tempos as fast as trip-hammers. Jigging competitions that featured buck-and-wing, shuffling ring dances, and breakdowns abounded on plantations and urban centers where freedmen and slaves congregated.

Though African-Americans and European-Americans both utilized a solo, vernacular style of dancing, there was a stronger and earlier draw of African-American folk material by white performers. By the 1750s, "Ethiopian delineators," most of them English and Irish actors, arrived in America. John Durang's 1789 "Hornpipe," a clog dance that mixed ballet steps with African-American shuffle-and-wings, was performed in blackface. By 1810 the singing and dancing "Negro boy" was an established stage character of blackface impersonators who performed jigs and clogs to popular songs. Thomas Dartmouth Rice's "Jump Jim Crow"—which was less a copy of an African-American dance than it was Rice's "black" version of the Irish jig that appropriated a Negro work-song and dance—was a phenomenal success in 1829. After Rice, Irishmen George Churty and Dan Emmett organized troupes of blackface minstrelmen who brought their Irish-American interpretations of African-American song and dance styles to the minstrel stage. By 1840, the minstrel show as a blackface act of songs, fast-talking repartee in black dialects, and shuffle-and-wing tap dancing became the most popular form of entertainment in America.

That the oddly cross-bred and newly emerging percussive dance was able to retain its African-American integrity is due, in large measure, to William Henry Lane (c. 1825–1852). Known as Master Juba, he was perhaps the most influential single performer in nineteenth-century American dance. Born a free man in Rhode Island, Lane grew up in the Five Points district of Manhattan (now South Street Seaport). An accomplished Irish jig dancer, Lane was unsurpassed in grace and technique, popular for his imitations of famous minstrel dancers, and famous as the undisputed champion of fierce dance competitions. This African-American dancer broke the whites-only barrier of the major minstrel companies, and as a young teenager he toured as the featured dancer with four of the biggest troupes. Lane was an innovator who grafted authentic African-American performance styles and rhythms onto the exacting techniques of jig and clog dancing. Because of his excellence, he influenced the direction of tap, and because he was so admired and imitated during his life and after his death, he fostered the spread of this new dance style.

When black performers finally gained access to the minstrel stage after the Civil War, the tap vocabulary was

infused with a variety of fresh new steps and choreographic structures that spurred its growth. The "Essence of Old Virginia," originally a rapid, pigeon-toed sliding step, got slowed down and popularized in the 1870s by Billy Kersands, then refined by George Primrose in the 1890s to a graceful soft shoe. From the minstrel show came the walk-around finale, dances that included competitive and improvisatory sections, and a format of performance that combined songs, jokes, and specialty dances. By the late 1800s, big touring shows such as *Sam T. Jack's Creole Company* and *South Before the War* brought black vernacular dance to audiences across America. With the success of *Clorindy* (1898), which featured a small chorus line of elegant and fashionably dressed women,, and the *Creole Show* (1889), which replaced the usual blackface comedians with stylish cakewalk teams like Johnson and Dean, the stereotypes set by minstrelsy began to be displaced, and new images of the black performer were formed.

Turn-of-the-century medicine shows, gillies, carnivals and circuses helped establish the black dancer in show business and provided seeds for the growth of professional dancing. During the late 1890s, touring road shows like *In Old Kentucky* featured Friday night "buck dance" contests (another early term for tap dancing). Black Patti's Troubadours featured cakewalkers and buck-and-wing specialists, while the "jig top" circus tent had chorus lines and comedians dancing an early jazz style that combined shuffles, twists, grinds, struts, flat-footed buck, and eccentric dancing. Tap dance incorporated rubber-legging, the shimmy, and animal dances (peckin', camel-walk, scratchin') from social dance, as well as an entire vocabulary of wings, slides, chugs, and drags.

Performing opportunities increased with the rise of vaudeville (a kind of variety show). Vaudeville, which began in the 1880s, was the most popular form of stage entertainment in America by 1900. It was controlled by syndicates that brought together large numbers of theaters under a single management, which hired and toured the various acts. Because of racist policies, however, two separate vaudevilles developed, one black and one white.

Because of the nature of vaudeville, where performers spent years perfecting their acts before audiences, tap artists were able to refine the steps and styles that expanded tap's vocabulary. The black vaudeville syndicate, the Theatre Owners Booking Association (TOBA), offered grueling schedules and hard-earned but widespread exposure for such artists as the Whitman Sisters and the Four Covans. Although many black artists—such as "Covan and Ruffin," "Reed and Bryant" and "Greenlee and Drayton"—crossed over to appear on the white vaudeville circuits, they were bound by the "two colored" rule, which restricted blacks to pairs.

Rising from the minstrel show and vaudeville, "Williams and Walker" (Bert Williams and George Walker) introduced a black vernacular dance style to Broadway that was an eccentric blend of the shuffle, strut-turned cakewalk and grind, or mooch. Other important contributions were made by younger tap stylists, such as Ulysses "Slow Kid" Thompson and Bill Bailey, whose styles were descendants of the flat-footed hoofing of King Rastus Brown. The combined contributions of many such artists added to tap's endowment and, equally important, helped shape another stage dance, Broadway jazz.

The *Darktown Follies* (1913) serves as an example of how black shows disseminated African-American dance styles to the wider culture. Opening in Harlem's Lafayette Theater, *Darktown Follies* introduced the Texas Tommy, forerunner of the lindy hop, and tap dancer Eddie Rector's smooth style of "stage dancing," Toots Davis's "over-the-top" and "through-the-trenches" (high-flying air steps that would become the tap act's traditional flash finale). Then the black musicals *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *Runnin' Wild* (1923) on Broadway created rapid-fire tapping by chorus lines dancing to ragtime jazz, combining tap and stylish vernacular dances such as the Charleston, while the speciality solo and duo tappers blended tap with flips, somersaults, and twisting shimmies.

Bill "Bojangles" Robinson gained wide public attention on Broadway in Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds of 1928* at the age of fifty, although he had performed in vaudeville houses since 1921. Wearing wooden, split-soled shoes that gave mellow tones to his tapping, Robinson was known for bringing tap up on its toes, dancing upright and swinging. The 1920s also saw the rise of John "Bubbles" Sublett, credited with inventing "rhythm tap," a fuller and more dimensional rhythmic concept that utilized the dropping of the heels as bass accents and added more taps to the bar. The team of "Buck and Bubbles," formed with Ford Lee "Buck" Washington, was a sensation in the *Ziegfield Follies of 1931.* White Broadway stars had African-American dance directors, such as Clarence "Buddy" Bradley, who created routines that blended easy tap with black vernacular dance and jazz accenting. Bradley coached such stars as Ruby Keeler, Adele and Fred Astaire, Eleanor Powell and Paul Draper.

While white dancers learned tap in the classroom, black dancers developed on their own, often on street corners where dance challenges were hotly contested events. If tap had an institution of learning and apprenticeship, it was the Hoofers Club, next to the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem, where rookie and veteran tappers assembled to share, steal, and compete with each other. During the 1930s, tap dancers were often featured performing in front

of swing bands in dance halls like Harlem's Savoy Ballroom. The swinging 4/4 bounce of the music of bands such as those of Count Basie and Duke Ellington proved ideal for hoofers, while the smaller vaudeville houses and intimate nightclubs, such as the Cotton Club, featured excellent tap and specialty dancers and small (six- to eight-member) tap chorus lines like the Cotton Club Boys.

Tap was immortalized in the Hollywood film musicals of the 1930s and 1940s, which featured Bill Robinson, Robinson and Shirley Temple, Buck and Bubbles, the Nicholas Brothers, and the Berry Brothers. However, these were exceptions, and for the most part, black dancers were denied access to the white film industry. Because of continued segregation and different budgets, a distinction in tap styles developed. In general, black artists like John Bubbles kept the tradition of rhythm-jazz tapping with its flights of percussive improvisation, while white artists like Fred Astaire polished the high style of tapping seen on films, where rhythms were often less important than the integration of choreography with scenography.

As tap became the favorite form of American theatrical dance, its many stylistic genres got bunched into loose categories: The Eccentric style was comedic, virtuosic, and idiosyncratic, exemplified by the routines (progenitors of later breakdancing moves) of Jigsaw Jackson, who circled and tapped while keeping his face against the floor; or the tapping of Alberta Whitman, who executed high-kicking legomania as a male impersonator. A Russian style, pioneered by Ida Forsyne in the 1910s, popularized Russian "kazotsky" kicks. This style was taken to Broadway by Dewey Weinglass and Ulysses "Slow Kid" Thompson. (A profusion of similar kicks and twisting, rubbery legs reemerged in hip-hop dance).

The Acrobatic style made famous by Willie Covan, Three Little Words, and the Four Step Brothers, featuring flips, somersaults, cartwheels, and splits. A cousin of this form, the Flash Act—brought to a peak of perfection by the Nicholas Brothers (Harold and Fayard)—combined elegant tap dancing with highly stylized acrobatics and precision-timed stunts.

Comedy Dance teams such as Slap and Happy, Stump and Stumpy, Chuck and Chuckles, and Cook and Brown inculcated their tap routines with jokes, knockabout acrobatics, grassroots characterizations, and rambunctious translations of vernacular dance in a physically robust style.

The Class Act brought the art of elegance and nuance, complexity and musicality to tap. From the first decades of the century, the debonair song-and-dance teams of Johnson and Cole and Greenlee and Drayton, as well as soloists such as Maxie McCree, Aaron Palmer, and Jack Wiggins, traversed the stage, creating beautiful pictures with each motion. Eddie Rector dovetailed one step into another in a graceful flow of sound and movement, while the act of Pete, Peaches, and Duke brought precision and unison work to a peak. Coles and Atkins (Charles "Honi" Coles and Cholly Atkins), certainly the most famous of the Class Act tappers of the 1930s to 1960s, combined flawless, high-speed rhythm-tapping with the slowest soft shoe in the business. Lena Horne said that Honi Coles made butterflies seem clumsy.

By the mid-1940s, big bands were being replaced by smaller, streamlined bebop groups whose racing tempos and complex rhythms were too challenging for most tappers, who were accustomed to the clear rhythms of swing. However, led by the greatly admired "Baby" Laurence, who meshed into bop combos by improvising and using tap as another percussive voice within the combo, many younger tappers took flight with bop and made the transition. These early tap bopsters of the 1940s and 1950s broke ground for the rapid and dense tap style that gained popularity in the 1990s.

By the 1950s, tap was in a sharp decline. This has been attributed to various causes: (1) the demise of vaudeville and the variety act; (2) the devaluing of tap dance on film; (3) the shift toward ballet and modern dance on the Broadway stage; (4) the imposition of a federal tax on dance floors which closed ballrooms and eclipsed the big bands; and (5) the advent of the jazz combo and the desire of musicians to play in a more intimate and concertized format. "Tap didn't die," says tap dancer Howard "Sandman" Sims, "it was just neglected." In fact the neglect was so thorough that this indigenous American dance form was almost lost, except for television reruns of old Hollywood musicals.

Those hoofers who lived through tap's lean years reveled in tap's resurgence. Jazz and tap historian Marshall Stearns, recognizing the danger of tap's imminent demise, arranged for a group of tap masters to perform at the 1962 Newport Jazz Festival. It was viewed as the last farewell, but it actually marked a rebirth that continued with Leticia Jay's historic *Tap Happening* (1969) at the Hotel Dixie in New York.

By the mid-1970s, young dancers began to seek out elder tap masters to teach them. Tap dance—previously ignored as art and dismissed as popular entertainment—now made one of the biggest shifts of its long history and moved to the concert stage. The African-American aesthetic fit the postmodern dance taste: it was a minimalist art that fused musician and dancer; it celebrated pedestrian movement and improvisation; its art seemed casual and democratic; and tap could be performed in any venue,

from the street to the stage. Enthusiastic critical and public response placed tap firmly within the larger context of dance as art, fueling the flames of its renaissance.

The 1970s produced a number of video documentaries on tap, such as *Jazz Hoofer: The Legendary Baby Laurence, Great Feats of Feet,* and *No Maps On My Taps,* while the 1980s exploded with the films *White Nights, The Cotton Club and Tap;* tap festivals across the country; and the musical *Black and Blue* on Broadway. On television, *Tap Dance in America,* hosted by Gregory Hines and featuring tap masters and young virtuosos such as Savion Glover, bridged the gap between tap and mainstream entertainment.

In the 1990s, tap dance became concertized art form, danced, though not exclusively, to jazz music and infused with upper-body shapes of jazz dance and new spatial forms from modern dance. Incorporating new technologies for amplifying sounds and embellishing rhythms, new generations of tap artists are not only continuing tap's heritage, but forging new styles for the future.

See also Davis, Sammy, Jr.; Glover, Savion; Hines, Gregory; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"; Social Dance

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CONSTANCE VALIS HILL (1996)
SALLY SOMMER (1996)
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Taylor, Koko

September 28, 1935

The 1920s witnessed the musical ascendance of black women blues artists. Mamie Smith's 1920 recording of "Crazy Blues" ushered in the "classic blues" era, facilitating the recording industry's entree into an untapped black market. Ida Cox, Alberta Hunter, Sippie Wallace, Ethel Waters, Bessie Smith, Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, and many others actively toured and recorded throughout the decade. However, the 1929 stock market crash marked a turn in recording company priorities. Country blues, performed by black men, moved to the forefront. The lower cost of scouting and recording a single man with a guitar (or sometimes a piano or harmonica) was more appealing to record company owners than the full rhythm-section sound of classic blues.

Koko Taylor, known as the "Queen of the Blues," was born into a Memphis, Tennessee, sharecropping family during this blues transition. Taylor (née Cora Walton) was the youngest of William and Annie Mae Walton's six children. Her early musical training was in a country Baptist church choir, the cotton fields of the family farm, and impromptu jam sessions with her siblings. The family radio also contributed to Taylor's musical development, particularly the broadcasts of Memphis disc jockeys (and later blues greats) Rufus Thomas and B. B. King. Bessie Smith, Memphis Minnie, and Sonny Boy Williamson were some of her early musical influences.

Taylor's mother passed away when she was four years old, and her father died when she was eleven. In 1953, at age eighteen, she moved to Chicago with her soon-to-be husband, Robert "Pops" Taylor. She did domestic work in the wealthy suburbs while Pops worked in the slaughterhouses. They frequented the South Side and West Side blues clubs and juke joints, with Pops playing guitar and Taylor singing. It was during this time that Taylor began musical relationships with bluesmen such as Howlin' Wolf, Magic Sam, Buddy Guy, Junior Wells, and Muddy

Waters, whom she credits as her greatest influence. In 1963 she recorded her first single for the USA label. However, it was her introduction to the incomparable Willie Dixon that altered the course of her career. In 1965 Dixon produced Taylor's rendition of his "Wang Dang Doodle" for the Checker label, a subsidiary of Chess Records. As Chess's last big hit, the million-selling single moved beyond black radio and broke into the national charts, becoming a signature song for Taylor.

Between 1980 and 2002 Taylor received twenty-two W. C. Handy Awards in a number of categories, including Contemporary Female Artist of the Year, Traditional Female Artist of the Year, Vocalist of the Year, and Entertainer of the Year. She has received multiple Grammy nominations, and she won a Grammy in 1984 for Best Traditional Blues Recording (for *Blues Explosion*). In 1993 Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley proclaimed March 3 "Koko Taylor Day." She has been inducted into the Blues Hall of Fame twice—in 1995 for her classic single "Wang Dang Doodle," and in 1997 as a performer.

Taylor's gritty and powerful "Mississippi blues" sound, coupled with her articulation of female sensibilities and concerns, link classic blues women and country blues men in an unparalleled fashion. Her distinct sound and mesmerizing stage presence have taken her around the world. She has made numerous national television appearances and is the subject of a documentary. In 2003 the Rhythm & Blues Foundation, recognizing Taylor's lifetime contribution to the development of rhythm and blues music, honored her with the Pioneer Award.

See also Blues, The; Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Rainey, Ma; Smith, Bessie; Smith, Mamie

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JUDITH CASSELBERRY (2005)

Television

The growing participation of African Americans in television, both in front of and behind the camera, has coincided with the radical restructuring of race relations in the United States from the end of World War II to the present day. Throughout this period, the specific characteristics of the television industry have complicated the ways in which these changing relations have been represented in television programming.

Television was conceived as a form of commercialized mass entertainment. Its standard fare—comedy, melodrama, and variety shows—favors simple plot structures, family situations, light treatment of social issues, and reassuring happy endings, all of which greatly delimit character and thematic developments. Perhaps more than any other group in American society, African Americans have suffered from the tendencies of these shows to depict one-dimensional character stereotypes.

Because commercial networks are primarily concerned with the avoidance of controversy and the creation of shows with the greatest possible appeal, African Americans were rarely featured in network series during the early years of television. Since the 1960s, the growing recognition by network executives that African Americans are an important group of consumers has led to greater visibility; however, in most cases, fear of controversy has led programmers to promote an unrealistic view of African-American life. Black performers, writers, directors, and producers have had to struggle against the effects of persistent typecasting and enforced sanitization in exchange for acceptance in white households. Only when African Americans made headway into positions of power in the production of television programs were alternative modes of representing African Americans developed.

Although experiments with television technology date back to the 1880s, it was not until the 1930s that sufficient technical expertise and financial backing were secured for the establishment of viable television networks. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC), a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), wanted to begin commercial television broadcasting on a wide scale but was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, and the television age did not commence in earnest until after peace was declared.

In 1948 the three major networks—the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC)—began regularly scheduled prime-time programming. That same year, the Democratic Party adopted

***Cicely Tyson and Maya Angelou in a scene from the groundbreaking 1977 television miniseries* Roots.** *The film adaptation of Alex Haley's novel was nominated for a record 37 Emmys.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a strong civil rights platform at the Democratic convention, and the Truman administration issued a report entitled *To Secure These Rights*, the first statement made by the federal government in support of desegregation. Yet these two epochal revolutions—television and the civil rights movement—had little influence on one another for many years. While NBC, as early as 1951, stipulated that programs dealing with race and ethnicity should avoid ridiculing any social or racial group, most network programming rarely reflected the turbulence caused by the agitation for civil rights, nor did activists look to television as a medium for effecting social change. The effort to obtain fair and honest representation of African Americans and African-American issues on television remains a complex and protracted struggle.

In the early years of television, African Americans appeared most often as occasional guests on variety shows. Music entertainment artists, sports personalities, comedians, and political figures of the stature of Ella Fitzgerald, Lena Horne, Sarah Vaughan, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Pearl Bailey, Eartha Kitt, the Harlem Globetrotters, Dewey "Pigmeat" Markham, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Ethel Waters, Joe Louis, Sammy Davis Jr., Ralph Bunche, and Paul Robeson appeared in such shows as Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater* (1948–1953), Ed Sullivan's *Toast of the Town* (1948–1955), the *Steve Allen Show* (1950–1952; 1956–1961), and *Cavalcade of Stars* (1949–1952). Quiz shows like *Strike It Rich* (1951–1958), amateur talent contests like *Chance of a Lifetime* (1950–1953; 1955–1956), and shows concentrating on sporting events (particularly boxing matches), like *The Gillette Cavalcade of Sports* (1948–1960), provided another venue in which prominent blacks occasionally took part.

Rarely did African Americans host their own shows. Short-run exceptions included *The Bob Howard Show* (1948–1950); *Sugar Hill Times* (1949), an all-black variety

show featuring Willie Bryant and Harry Belafonte; the *Hazel Scott Show* (1950), the first show featuring a black female host; the *Billy Daniels Show* (1952); and the *Nat "King" Cole Show* (1956–1957). There were even fewer all-black shows designed to appeal to all-black audiences or shows directed and produced by blacks. Short-lived local productions constituted the bulk of the latter category. In the early 1950s, a black amateur show called *Spotlight on Harlem* was broadcast on WJZ-TV in New York City; in 1955, the religious *Mahalia Jackson Show* appeared on Chicago's WBBM-TV.

Comedy was the only fiction-oriented genre in which African Americans were visible participants. Comedy linked television with the deeply entrenched cultural tradition of minstrelsy and blackface practices dating back to the antebellum period. In this cultural tradition, the representation of African Americans was confined either to degrading stereotypes of questionable intelligence and integrity (such as coons, mammies, Uncle Toms, or Stepin Fetchits) or to characterizations of people in willingly subservient positions (maids, chauffeurs, elevator operators, train conductors, shoeshine boys, handypeople, and the like). Beginning in the 1920s, radio comedies had perpetuated this cultural tradition, tailored to the needs of the medium.

The dominant television genre, the situation comedy, was invented on the radio. Like its television successor, the radio comedy—self-contained fifteen-minute or half-hour episodes with a fixed set of characters, usually involving minor domestic or familial disputes, and painlessly resolved in the allotted time period—lent itself to caricature. Since all radio comedy was verbal, it relied for much of its humor on the misuse of language, such as malapropisms or syntax error; and jokes made at the expense of African Americans (and their supposed difficulties with the English language) were a staple of radio comedies.

The first successful radio comedy, and the series that in many ways defined the genre, was *Amos 'n' Andy*, (1929–1960), which employed white actors to depict unflattering black characters. *Amos 'n' Andy* featured two white comedians, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, working in the style of minstrelsy and vaudeville. Another radio show that was successfully transferred to television was *Beulah* (1950–1953). The character Beulah was originally created for a radio show called *Fibber McGee and Molly* (1935–1957), in which Beulah was played by Marlin Hurt, a white man. These two shows, which adopted an attitude of contempt and condescending sympathy toward the black persona, were re-created on television with few changes, except that the verisimilitude of the genre demanded the use of black actors rather than whites in blackface and "blackvoice." As with *Amos 'n' Andy* (1951–1953)—in its first season the thirteenth most-watched show on television—the creators of *Beulah* had no trouble securing commercial support; both television shows turned out to be as popular as their radio predecessors, though both were short-lived in their network television incarnations.

Beulah (played first by Ethel Waters, then by Louise Beavers) developed the story of the faithful, complacent Aunt Jemima who worked for a white suburban middle-class nuclear family. Her unquestioning devotion to solving familial problems in the household of her white employers, the Hendersons, validated a social structure that forced black domestic workers to profess unconditional fidelity to white families, while neglecting their personal relations to their own kin. When blacks were included in Beulah's personal world, they appeared only as stereotypes. For instance, the neighbor's maid, Oriole (played by Butterfly McQueen), was an even more pronounced Aunt Jemima character; and Beulah's boyfriend, Bill Jackson (played by Percy Harris and Dooley Wilson), the Henderson's handyperson, was a coon. The dynamics between the white world of the Hendersons and Beulah's black world were those of the perfect object with a defective mirror image. The Hendersons represented a well-adjusted family, supported by a strong yet loving working father whose sizable income made it possible for the mother to remain at home. In contrast, Beulah was condemned to chasing after an idealized version of the family because her boyfriend did not seem too interested in a stable relationship; she was destined to work forever because Bill Jackson did not seem capable of taking full financial responsibility in the event of a marriage. As the show could only exist as long as Beulah was a maid, it was evident that her desires were never to be fulfilled. If Beulah seemed to enjoy channeling all her energy toward the solution of a white family's conflicts, it was because her own problems deserved no solution.

Amos 'n' Andy, on the other hand, belonged to the category of folkish programs that focused on the daily life and family affairs of various ethnic groups. Several such programs, among them *Mama* (1949–1956), *The Goldbergs* (1949–1955), and *Life with Luigi* (1952–1953)—depicting the lives of Norwegians, Jews, and Italians, respectively—were popularized in the early 1950s. In *Amos 'n' Andy*, the main roles comprised an assortment of stereotypical black characters. Amos Jones (played by Alvin Childress) and his wife, Ruby (played by Jane Adams), were passive Uncle Toms, while Andrew "Andy" Hogg Brown (played by Spencer Williams) was gullible and half-witted. George "Kingfish" Stevens (played by

Tim Moore) was a deceiving, unemployed coon, whose authority was constantly being undermined by his shrewd wife Sapphire (played by Ernestine Wade) and overbearing mother-in-law, "Mama" (played by Amanda Randolph). "Lightnin'" (played by Horace Stewart) was a janitor, and Algonquin J. Calhoun (played by Johnny Lee) was a fast-talking lawyer. These stereotypical characters were contrasted, in turn, with serious, level-headed black supporting characters, such as doctors, business people, judges, law enforcers, and so forth. The humorous situations created by the juxtapositions of these two types of characters—stereotypical and realistic—made *Amos 'n' Andy* an exceptionally intricate comedy and the first all-black television comedy that opened a window for white audiences on the everyday lives of African-American families in Harlem.

Having an all-black cast made it possible for *Amos 'n' Andy* to neglect relevant but controversial issues like race relations. The Harlem of this show was a world of separate but equal contentment, where happy losers, always ready to make fools of themselves, coexisted with regular people. Furthermore, the show's reliance on stereotypes precluded both the full-fledged development of its characters and the possibility of an authentic investigation into the pathos of black daily life. Even though the performers often showed themselves to be masters of comedy and vaudeville, it is unfortunate that someone like Spencer Williams, who was also a prolific maker of all-black films, would only be remembered by the general public as Andy.

While a number of African Americans were able to enjoy shows like *Beulah* and *Amos 'n' Andy*, many were offended by their portrayal of stereotypes, as well as by the marked absence of African Americans from other fictional genres. Black opposition had rallied without success to protest the airing of this kind of show on the radio in the 1930s. Before *Amos 'n' Andy* aired in 1951, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began suing CBS for the show's demeaning depiction of blacks, and the organization did not rest until the show was canceled in 1953. Yet the viewership of white and black audiences alike kept *Amos 'n' Andy* in syndication until 1966. The NAACP's victory in terminating *Amos 'n' Andy* and *Beulah* also proved somewhat pyrrhic, since during the subsequent decade the networks produced no dramatic series with African Americans as central characters, while stereotyped portrayals of minor characters continued.

Many secondary comic characters from the radio and cinema found a niche for themselves in television. In the *Jack Benny Show* (1950–1965), Rochester Van Jones (played by Eddie "Rochester" Anderson) appeared as Benny's valet and chauffeur. For Anderson, whose Rochester had amounted to a combination of the coon and the faithful servant in the radio show, the shift to television proved advantageous, as he was able to give his character greater depth on the television screen. Indeed, through their outlandish employer-employee relationship, Benny and Anderson established one of the first interracial onscreen partnerships in which the deployment of power alternated evenly from one character to the other. The same may not be said of Willie Best's characterizations in shows like *The Stu Erwin Show* (1950–1955) and *My Little Margie* (1952–1955). Best tended to confine his antics to the Stepin Fetchit style and thereby reinforced the worst aspects of the master-slave dynamic.

African-American participation in dramatic series was confined to supporting roles in specific episodes in which the color-line tradition was maintained, such as the Philco *Television Playhouse* (1948–1955), which featured a young Sidney Poitier in "A Man Is Ten Feet Tall" in 1955; the *General Electric Theater* (1953–1962), which featured Ethel Waters and Harry Belafonte in "Winner by Decision" in 1955; and *The Hallmark Hall of Fame* (1952–) productions in 1957 and 1959 of Marc Connelly's "Green Pastures," a biblical retelling performed by an all-black cast. African Americans also appeared as jungle savages in such shows as *Ramar of the Jungle* (1952–1953), *Jungle Jim* (1955), and *Sheena, Queen of the Jungle* (1955–1956). The television western, one of the most important dramatic genres of the time, almost entirely excluded African Americans, despite their importance to the real American West. In the case of those narratives set in contemporary cities, if African Americans were ever included, it was only as props signifying urban deviance and decay. A rare exception to this was *Harlem Detective* (1953–1954), an extremely low-budget, local program about an interracial pair of detectives (with William Marshall and William Harriston playing the roles of the black and white detectives, respectively) produced by New York's WOR-TV.

Despite the sporadic opening of white households to exceptional African Americans and the effectiveness of the NAACP's action in canceling *Amos 'n' Andy*, the networks succumbed to the growing political conservatism and racial antagonism of the mid-1950s. The cancellation of the *Nat "King" Cole Show* exemplifies the attitude that prevailed among programmers during that time. Nat "King" Cole had an impeccable record: his excellent musical and vocal training complemented his noncontroversial, delicate, and urbane delivery; he had a nationally successful radio show on NBC in the 1940s; and over forty of his recordings had been listed for their top sales by *Billboard* magazine between 1940 and 1955. Cole's great popularity

was demonstrated in his frequent appearances as guest or host on the most important television variety shows. NBC first backed Cole completely, as is evidenced by the network's willingness to pour money into the show's budget, to increase the show's format from fifteen to thirty minutes, and to experiment with different time slots. Cole also had the support of reputable musicians and singers who were willing to perform for nominal fees. His guests included Count Basie, Mahalia Jackson, Pearl Bailey, and all-star musicians from "Jazz at the Philharmonic." Yet the Nat "King" Cole Show did not gain enough popularity among white audiences to survive the competition for top ratings; nor was it able to secure a stable national sponsor. After about fifty performances, the show was canceled.

African Americans exhibited great courage in these early years of television by supporting some shows and boycotting others. Organizations such as the Committee on Employment Opportunities for Negroes, the Coordinating Council for Negro Performers, and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts constantly fought for greater and fairer inclusion. During the height of the civil rights movement, the participation of African Americans in television intensified. Both Africans and African Americans became the object of scrutiny for daily news shows and network documentaries. The profound effects of the radical recomposition of race relations in the United States and the independence movement in Africa could not go unreported. "The Red and the Black" (January 1961), a segment of the *Close Up!* documentary series, analyzed the potential encroachment of the Soviet Union in Africa as European nations withdrew from the continent; "Robert Ruark's Africa" (May 1962), a documentary special shot on location in Kenya, defended the colonial presence in the continent. The series *See It Now* (1951–1958) started reporting on the civil rights movement as early as 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled to desegregate public schools, and exposed the measures that had been taken to hinder desegregation in Norfolk high schools in an episode titled "The Lost Class of '59," aired in January 1959. *CBS Reports* (1959–) examined, among other matters, the living conditions of blacks in the rural South in specials such as "Harvest of Shame" (November 1960). In December 1960 *NBC White Paper* aired "Sit-In," a special report on desegregation conflicts in Nashville. "Crucial Summer" (which started airing in August 1963) was a five-part series of half-hour reports on discrimination practices in housing, education, and employment. It was followed by "The American Revolution of '63" (which started airing in September 1963), a three-hour documentary on discrimination in different areas of daily life across the nation.

However, the gains made by the airing of these programs were offset by the effects of poor scheduling, and they were often made to compete with popular series programs and variety and game shows from which blacks had been virtually erased. As the civil rights movement gained momentum, some southern local stations preempted programming that focused on racial issues, while other southern stations served as a means for the propagation of segregationist propaganda.

As black issues came to be scrutinized in news reports and documentaries, African Americans began to appear in the growing genre of socially relevant dramas, such *as The Naked City* (1958–1963), *Dr. Kildare* (1961–1966), *Ben Casey* (1961–1966), *The Defenders* (1961–1965), *The Nurses* (1962–1965), *Channing* (1963–1964), *The Fugitive* (1963–1967), and *Slattery's People* (1963–1965). These shows, which usually relied on news stories for their dramatic material, explored social problems from the perspective of white doctors, nurses, educators, social workers, or lawyers. Although social issues were seriously treated, their impact was much diminished by the easy and felicitous resolution with which each episode was brought to a close. Furthermore, the African Americans who appeared in these programs—Ruby Dee, Louis Gossett Jr., Ossie Davis, and others—were given roles in episodes where topics were racially defined, and the color line was strictly maintained.

The short-lived social drama *East Side/West Side* (1963–1964) proved an exception to this rule. It was the first noncomedy in the history of television to cast an African American (Cicely Tyson) as a regular character. The program portrayed the dreary realities of urban America without supplying artificial happy endings; on occasion, parts of the show were censored because of their liberal treatment of interracial relations. *East Side/West Side* ran into difficulties when programmers tried to obtain commercial sponsors for the hour during which it was aired; eventually, despite changes in format, it was canceled after little more than twenty episodes.

Unquestionably, the more realistic television genres that evolved as a result of the civil rights movement served as powerful mechanisms for sensitizing audiences to the predicaments of those affected by racism. But as television grew to occupy center stage in American popular entertainment, the gains of the civil rights movement came to be ambiguously manifested. By 1965, a profusion of top-rated programs had begun casting African Americans both in leading and supporting roles. The networks and commercial sponsors became aware of the purchasing power of African-American audiences, and at the same time they discovered that products could be advertised to African-American consumers without necessarily offending white tastes. Arguably, the growing inclusion of African Ameri-

cans in fiction-oriented genres was premised on a radical inversion of previous patterns. If blacks were to be freed from stereotypical and subservient representation, they were nevertheless portrayed in ways designed to please white audiences. Their emergence as a presence in television was to be facilitated by a thorough cleansing.

A sign of the changing times was the popular police comedy *Car 54, Where Are You?* (1961–1963). Set in a rundown part of the Bronx, this comedy featured black officers in secondary roles (played by Nipsey Russell and Frederick O'Neal). However, the real turning point in characterizations came with *I Spy* (1965–1968), a dramatic series featuring Bill Cosby and Robert Culp as Alexander Scott and Kelly Robinson, two secret agents whose adventures took them to the world's most sophisticated spots, where racial tensions did not exist. In this role, Cosby played an immaculate, disciplined, intelligent, highly educated, and cultured black man who engaged in occasional romances but did not appear sexually threatening and whose sense of humor was neither eccentric nor vulgar. While inverting stereotypical roles, *I Spy* also created a one-to-one harmonious interracial friendship between two men.

I Spy was followed by other top-rated programs. In *Mission Impossible* (1966–1973), Greg Morris played Barney Collier, a mechanic and electronics expert and member of the espionage team; in *Mannix* (1967–1975), a crime series about a private eye, Gail Fisher played Peggy Fair, Mannix's secretary; in *Ironside* (1967–1975), Don Mitchell played Mark Sanger, Ironside's personal assistant and bodyguard; and in the crime show *Mod Squad* (1968–1973), Clarence Williams III played Linc Hayes, one of the three undercover police officers working for the Los Angeles Police Department. This trend was manifested in other top-ranked shows: *Peyton Place* (1964–1969), the first prime-time soap opera, featured Ruby Dee, Percy Rodriguez, and Glynn Turman as the Miles Family; in *Hogan's Heroes* (1965–1971), a sitcom about American prisoners in a German POW camp during World War II, Ivan Dixon played Sergeant Kinchloe; in *Daktari* (1966–1969), Hari Rhodes played an African zoologist; in *Batman* (1966–1968), Eartha Kitt appeared as Catwoman; in *Star Trek* (1966–1969), Nichelle Nichols was Lieutenant Uhura; in the variety show *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* (1966–1973), Chelsea Brown, Johnny Brown, and Teresa Graves appeared regularly; and in the soap opera *The Guiding Light* (1952–), Cicely Tyson started appearing regularly after 1967.

Julia (1968–1971) was the first sitcom in over fifteen years to feature African Americans in the main roles. It placed seventh in its first season, thereby becoming as popular as *Amos 'n' Andy* had been in its time. Julia Baker (played by Diahann Carroll) was a middle-class, cultured widow who spoke standard English. Her occupation as a nurse suggested that she had attended college. She was economically and emotionally self-sufficient; a caring parent to her little son Corey (played by Marc Copage); and equipped with enough sophistication and wit to solve the typical comic dilemmas presented in the series. However, many African Americans criticized the show for neglecting the more pressing social issues of their day. In Julia's suburban world, it was not so much that racism did not matter, but that integration had been accomplished at the expense of black culture. Julia's cast of black friends and relatives (played by Virginia Capers, Diana Sands, Paul Winfield, and Fred Williamson) appeared equally sanitized. Ironically, Julia perpetuated some of the same misrepresentations of the black family as *Beulah*—for despite its elegant trappings, Julia's was yet another female-headed African-American household.

As successful as *Julia* was the *Bill Cosby Show* (1969–1971), which featured Bill Cosby as Chet Kincaid, a single, middle-class high school gym teacher. In contrast to *Julia*, however, this comedy series presented narrative conflicts that involved Cosby in the affairs of black relatives and inner-city friends, as well as in those of white associates and suburban students. The *Bill Cosby Show* sought to integrate the elements of African-American culture through the use of sound, setting, and character: African-American music played in the background, props reminded one of contemporary political events, Jackie "Moms" Mabley and Mantan Moreland appeared frequently as Cosby's aunt and uncle, and Cosby's jokes often invested events from black everyday life with comic pathos. A less provocative but long-running sitcom, *Room 222* (1969–1974), concerned an integrated school in Los Angeles. Pete Dixon (played by Lloyd Haynes), a black history teacher, combined the recounting of important events of black history with attempts to address his students' daily problems. Another comic series, *Barefoot in the Park* (1970–1971)—with Scoey Mitchell, Tracey Reed, Thelma Carpenter, and Nipsey Russell—was attempted, but failed after thirteen episodes; it was an adaptation of the film by the same name but with African Americans playing the leading roles.

By the end of the 1960s, many of the shows in which blacks could either demonstrate their decision-making abilities or investigate the complexities of their lives had been canceled. Two black variety shows failed due to poor scheduling and lack of white viewer support: *The Sammy Davis Jr. Show,* the first variety show hosted by a black person since the *Nat "King" Cole Show* (1966); and *The Leslie*

Uggams Show (1969), the first variety show hosted by a black woman since Hazel Scott. A similar fate befell *The Outcasts* (1968–1969), an unusual western set in the period immediately following the Civil War. The show, which featured two bounty hunters, a former slave and a former slave owner, and addressed without qualms many of the same controversial themes associated with the civil rights movement, was canceled due to poor ratings. Equally short-lived was *Hawk* (1966), a police drama shot on location in New York City, which featured a full-blooded Native American detective (played by Burt Reynolds) and his black partner (played by Wayne Grice). An interracial friendship was also featured in the series *Gentle Ben* (1967–1969), which concerned the adventures of a white boy and his pet bear; Angelo Rutherford played Willie, the boy's close friend. While interracial friendships were cautiously permitted, the slightest indication of romance was instantly suppressed: The musical variety show *Petula* (1968) was canceled because it showed Harry Belafonte and Petula Clark touching hands.

Despite these limitations, the programs of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s represented a drastic departure from the racial landscape of early television. In the late 1940s, African Americans were typically confined to occasional guest roles; by the end of the 1980s, most top-rated shows featured at least one black person. It had become possible for television shows to violate racial taboos without completely losing commercial and viewer sponsorship. However, greater visibility in front of the camera did not necessarily translate into equal opportunity for all in all branches of television: the question remained as to whether discriminatory practices had in fact been curtailed, or had simply survived in more sophisticated ways. It was true that the presence of blacks had increased in many areas of television, including, for example, the national news: Bryant Gumbel co-anchored *Today* (1952–) from 1982 to 1997; Ed Bradley joined *60 Minutes* (1968–) in 1981; Carole Simpson was a weekend anchor for *ABC World News Tonight*, where she had started as a correspondent in 1982, from 1988 to 2003.

Nevertheless, comedy remained the dominant form for expressing black lifestyles. Dramatic shows centering on the African-American experience have had to struggle to obtain high enough ratings to remain on the air—the majority of the successful dramas have been those where blacks share the leading roles with other white protagonists.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the number of social dramas, crime shows, or police stories centering on African Americans or featuring an African American in a major role steadily increased. Most of the series were canceled within a year. These included *The Young Lawyers* (1970–1971), *The Young Rebels* (1970–1971), *The Interns* (1970–1971), *The Silent Force* (1970–1971), *Tenafly* (1973–1974), *Get Christie Love!* (1974–1975), *Shaft* (1977), *Paris* (1979–1980), *The Lazarus Syndrome* (1979), *Harris & Co.* (1979), *Palmerstown, USA* (1980–1981), *Double Dare* (1985), *Fortune Dane* (1986), *The Insiders* (1986), *Gideon Oliver* (1989), *A Man Called Hawk* (1989), and *Sonny Spoon* (1988). The most popular dramatic series with African-American leads were *Miami Vice* (1984–1989), *In the Heat of the Night* (1988–1994), and *The A-Team* (1983–1987). On *Miami Vice* and *In the Heat of the Night*, Philip Michael Thomas and Howard Rollins, the black leads, were partnered with better-known white actors who became the most identifiable character for each series. Perhaps the most popular actor on a dramatic series was the somewhat cartoonish Mr. T, who played Sergeant Bosco "B.A." Baracus on *The A-Team*, an action-adventure series in which soldiers of fortune set out to eradicate crime. Although in the comedy *Barney Miller* (1975–1980) Ron Glass played an ambitious middle-class black detective, the guest spots or supporting roles in police series generally portrayed African Americans as sleazy informants, such as Rooster (Michael D. Roberts) on *Baretta* (1975–1978), or Huggy Bear (Antonio Fargas) on *Starsky and Hutch* (1975–1979).

In prime-time serials, African Americans appeared to have been unproblematically assimilated into a middle-class lifestyle. *Dynasty* (1981–1989) featured Diahann Carroll as one of the series' innumerable variations on the "rich bitch" persona; while *Knots Landing* (1979–1993), *L.A. Law* (1986–1994), *China Beach* (1988–1990), and *The Trials of Rosie O'Neal* (1991–1992) developed storylines with leading black roles as well as interracial romance themes. Later dramatic series featuring African Americans in regularly occurring roles included *Homicide: Life on the Street* (1993–1999), *NYPD Blue* (1993–2005), *Oz* (1997–2003), *The Practice* (1997–2004), *Third Watch* (1999–2005), *Boston Public* (2000–2004), and *Six Feet Under* (2001–2005), as well as *ER* (1994–), *"24"* (2001–), *The Wire* (2002–), *Without a Trace* (2002–), *Law & Order* (1990–) and its spin-offs *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (1999–) and *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (2001–), and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000–) and its spin-offs *CSI: Miami* (2002–) and *CSI: New York* (2004–).

MTM Enterprises produced some of the most successful treatments of African Americans in the 1980s. In their programs, which often combined drama and satire, characters of different ethnic backgrounds were accorded full magnitude. *Fame* (1982–1983) was an important drama about teenagers of different ethnicities coping with

the complexities of contemporary life. *Frank's Place* (1987–1988), an offbeat and imaginative show about a professor who inherits a restaurant in a black neighborhood in New Orleans, provided viewers with a realistic treatment of black family affairs. Though acclaimed by critics, *Frank's Place* did not manage to gain a large audience, and the show was canceled after having been assigned four different time slots in one year.

African Americans have been featured in relatively minor and secondary roles on science fiction series. *Star Trek*'s communications officer Lieutenant Uhura (played by Nichelle Nichols) was little more than a glorified telephone operator. *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987–1994) featured LeVar Burton as Leiutenant Geordi La Forge, a blind engineer who can see through a visor. A heavily made-up Michael Dorn was cast as Lieutenant Worf, a horny-headed Klingon officer, and Whoopi Goldberg appeared frequently as the supremely empathetic, long-lived bartender Guinan. In *Deep Space 9* (1992–1999), the third *Star Trek* series, a major role was given to Avery Brooks as Commander Sisko, head of the space station on which much of the show's action takes place, while *Star Trek: Voyager* (1995–2001) featured Tim Russ as Vulcan security officer Tuvok. *Enterprise* (2001–2005), the fifth *Star Trek* series, featured Anthony Montgomery as Ensign Travis Mayweather.

Until recently, blacks played an extremely marginal role in daytime soap operas. In 1966, *Another World* became the first daytime soap opera to introduce a storyline about a black character, a nurse named Peggy Harris Nolan (played by Micki Grant). In 1968, the character of Carla Hall was introduced as the daughter of housekeeper Sadie Gray (played by Lillian Hayman). Embarrassed by her social and ethnic origins, Carla was passing for white in order to be engaged to a successful white doctor. Some network affiliates canceled the show after Carla appeared. Since then, many more African Americans have appeared in soap operas, including Al Freeman Jr., Darnell Williams, Phylicia Rashad, Jackée, Blair Underwood, Nell Carter, Billy Dee Williams, Cicely Tyson, and Ruby Dee. In most cases, character development has been minor, with blacks subsisting on the margins of activity, not at the centers of power. An exception was the interracial marriage between a black woman pediatrician and a white male psychiatrist on *General Hospital* in 1987. *Generations*, the only soap opera that focused exclusively on African-American family affairs, was canceled in 1990 after a year-long run. However, *The Young and the Restless* (1973–) has featured such African-American actors as Kristoff St. John, Victoria Rowell, Shemar Moore, and Tonya Lee Williams in long-running storylines. In addition, black actor James Reynolds joined the cast of *Days of Our Lives* (1965–) in 1982 as police commander Abe Carver, and continued in the role for more than twenty years, with a short break in the early 1990s to star in *Generations*. Reynold's Abe Carver has become one of television's longest-running black characters.

The dramatic miniseries *Roots* (1977) and *Roots: The Next Generation* (1979)—more commonly known as *Roots II*—were unusually successful. For the first time in the history of television, close to 130 million Americans dedicated almost twenty-four hours to following a 300-year saga chronicling the tribulations of African Americans in their sojourn from Africa to slavery and, finally, to emancipation. Yet *Roots* and *Roots II* were constrained by the requirements of linear narrative, and characters were seldom placed in situations where they could explore the full range of their historical involvement in the struggle against slavery. The miniseries *Beulah Land* (1980), a reconstruction of the southern experience during the Civil War, attempted to recapture the success of *Roots*, but ended up doing no more than reviving some of the worst aspects of *Gone with the Wind*. Other important but less commercially successful dramatic historical reconstructions include *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1973), *King* (1978), *One in a Million: The Ron LeFlore Story* (1978), *A Woman Called Moses* (1978), *Backstairs at the White House* (1979), *Freedom Road* (1979), *Sadat* (1983), and *Mandela* (1987). There are also a number of made-for-television movies based on the civil rights movement, including *The Ernest Green Story* (1993), *Mr. & Mrs. Loving* (1996), *The Color of Courage* (1998), *Ruby Bridges* (1998), *Selma, Lord, Selma* (1999), *Freedom Song* (2000), *Boycott* (2002), and *The Rosa Parks Story* (2002).

A number of miniseries and made-for-television movies about black family affairs and romance were broadcast in the 1980s. *Crisis at Central High* (1981) was based on the desegregation dispute in Little Rock, Arkansas, while *Benny's Place* (1982), *Sister, Sister* (1982), *The Defiant Ones* (1985), and *The Women of Brewster Place* (1989) were set in various African-American communities. Other more recent examples include *The Josephine Baker Story* (1990), *The Temptations* (1998), *Introducing Dorothy Dandridge* (1999), *The Corner* (2000), *Carmen: A Hip Hopera* (2001), *The Old Settler* (2001), *Lackawanna Blues* (2005), and *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (2005).

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of several television sitcoms featuring black family affairs. In these shows, grave issues such as poverty and upward mobility were embedded in racially centered jokes. A source of inspiration for these sitcoms may have been *The Flip Wilson Show* (1970–1974), the first successful variety show hosted by an

The* Oprah Winfrey Show, *so named in 1985 after Winfrey successfully assumed anchor duties for its failing precursor,* A.M. Chicago, *the previous year, is the most-watched television talk show in the United States. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

African American. The show, which featured celebrity guests like Lucille Ball, Johnny Cash, Muhammad Ali, Sammy Davis Jr., Bill Cosby, Richard Pryor, and B. B. King, was perhaps best known for the skits Wilson performed. The skits were about black characters (Geraldine Jones, Reverend Leroy, Sonny the janitor, Freddy Johnson the playboy, and Charley the chef) who flaunted their outlandishness to such a degree that most viewers were unable to determine whether they were meant to be cruel reminders of minstrelsy or parodies of stereotypes.

A number of family comedies, mostly produced by Tandem Productions (Norman Lear and Bud Yoking), became popular around the same time as *The Flip Wilson Show*: these included *All in the Family* (1971–1983), *Sanford and Son* (1972–1977), *Maude* (1972–1978), *That's My Mama* (1974–1975), *The Jeffersons* (1975–1985), *Good Times* (1974–1979), and *What's Happening* (1976–1979). On *Sanford and Son*, Redd Foxx and Demond Wilson played father-and-son Los Angeles junk dealers. *Good Times*, set in a housing development on the South Side of Chicago, portrayed a working-class black family. Jimmie Walker, who played J.J., became an overnight celebrity with his "jive-talking" and use of catchphrases like "Dy-No-Mite." On *The Jeffersons*, Sherman Hemsley played George Jefferson, an obnoxious and upwardly mobile owner of a dry-cleaning business. As with *Amos 'n' Andy*, these comedies relied principally on stereotypes—the bigot, the screaming woman, the grinning idiot, and so on—for their humor. However, unlike their predecessor of the 1950s, the comedies of the 1970s integrated social commentary into the joke situations. Many of the situations reflected contemporary discussions in a country divided by, among other things, the Vietnam War. And because of the serialized form of the episodes, most characters were able to grow and learn from experience.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the focus of sitcoms had shifted from family affairs to nontraditional familial arrangements. *The Cop and the Kid* (1975–1976), *Diff'rent Strokes* (1978–1986), *The Facts of Life* (1979–1988), and *Webster* (1983–1987) were about white families and their

adopted black children. Several comic formulas were also reworked, as a sassy maid (played by Nell Carter) raised several white children in *Gimme a Break!* (1981–1987), and a wise-cracking and strong-willed butler (played by Robert Guillaume) dominated the parody *Soap* (1977–1981). Guillaume later played an equally daring budget director for a state governor in *Benson* (1979–1986). Several less successful comedies were also developed during this time, including *The Sanford Arms* (1976), *The New Odd Couple* (1982–1983), *One in a Million* (1980), and *The Red Foxx Show* (1986).

The most significant comedies of the 1980s were those in which black culture was explored on its own terms. The extraordinarily successful *The Cosby Show* (1984–1992), the first African-American series to top the annual Nielsen ratings, featured Bill Cosby as Cliff Huxtable, a comfortable middle-class paterfamilias to his Brooklyn family, which included his successful lawyer wife Clair Huxtable (played by Phylicia Rashad) and their six children. The series *227* (1985–1990) starred Marla Gibbs, who had previously played a sassy maid on *The Jeffersons*, in a family comedy set in a black section of Washington, D.C. *A Different World* (1987–1993), a spin-off of *The Cosby Show*, was set in a black college in the South. *Amen* (1986–1991), featuring Sherman Hemsley as Deacon Ernest Frye, was centered on a black church in Philadelphia. In all of these series, the black-white confrontations that had been the staple of African-American television comedy were replaced by situations in which the humor was provided by the diversity and difference within the African-American community.

Some black comedies—*Charlie & Company* (1986), *Family Matters* (1989–1998), *Fresh Prince of Bel Air* (1990–1996), and *True Colors* (1990–1992)—followed the style set by *The Cosby Show*. Others like *In Living Color* (1990–1994) took the route of reworking a combination of variety show and skits in a manner reminiscent of *The Flip Wilson Show*. Other popular variety and sketch comedy series starring African-American comedians included HBO's *The Chris Rock Show* (1997–2000) and Dave Chappelle's *Chappelle's Show* (2003–2005) on Comedy Central. Much of the originality and freshness of these comedies is due to the fact that some of them were produced by African Americans (*The Cosby Show, A Different World, Fresh Prince of Bel Air,* and *In Living Color*). *Carter Country* (1977–1979), a sitcom that pitted a redneck police chief against his black deputy (played by Kene Holliday), inspired several programs with similar plot lines: *Just Our Luck* (1983), *He's the Mayor* (1986), *The Powers of Matthew Star* (1982–1983), *Stir Crazy* (1985), *Tenspeed and Brown Shoe* (1980), and *Enos* (1980–1981).

UPN, launched as the United Paramount Network in 1995, has made a staple of programming situation comedies featuring primarily African-American casts, including *Moesha* (1996–2001), *The Parkers* (1999–2004), *Girlfriends* (2000–), *One on One* (2001–), *Half & Half* (2002–), *All of Us* (2003–), *Eve* (2003–), and *Second Time Around* (2004–2005). The actor Taye Diggs produced and starred as a hotshot attorney in the UPN dramatic series *Kevin Hill* (2004–). The Fox network offered the comedy *Living Single* (1992–1998), starring Queen Latifah, and *The Bernie Mac Show* (2001–), while the WB had actors Jaime Foxx in *The Jaime Foxx Show* (1996–2001) and Steve Harvey in *Steve Harvey's Big Time* (2003–2005). ABC's comedies included *The Hughleys* (1998–2002), starring D. L. Hughley, and *My Wife and Kids* (2001–2005), starring Damon Wayans, while cable station Showtime offered a series adaptation of the movie *Soul Food* (2000–2004). Reality series such as *Survivor* (2000–), *The Amazing Race* (2001–), *American Idol* (2002–), and *The Apprentice* (2004–) featured African Americans among their participants. The UPN's popular reality show *America's Next Top Model* (2001–) also featured black participants, as well as an African-American host and producer, Tyra Banks.

Alternatives

Local stations, public television outlets, syndication, and cable networks have provided important alternatives for the production of authentic African-American programming. In the late 1960s, local television stations began opening their doors to the production of all-black shows and the training of African-American actors, commentators, and crews. Examples of these efforts include *Black Journal*—later known as *Tony Brown's Journal*—(1968–1976), a national public affairs program; *Soul* (1970–1975), a variety show produced by Ellis Haizlip at WNET in New York; *Inside Bedford-Stuyvesant* (1968–1973), a public affairs program serving the black communities in New York City; and *Like It Is*, a public affairs show featuring Gil Noble as the outspoken host.

At the national level, public television has also addressed African-American everyday life and culture in such series and special programs as *History of the Negro People* (1965), *Black Omnibus* (1973), *The Righteous Apples* (1979–1981), *With Ossie and Ruby* (1980–1981), *Gotta Make This Journey: Sweet Honey and the Rock* (1984), *The Africans* (1986), *Eyes on the Prize* (1987), and *Eyes on the Prize II* (1990). The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) documentary series *American Masters* (1986–) featured a number of episodes on African-American artists, including Louis Armstrong, James Baldwin, Duke Ellington, Lena Horne, Sidney Poitier, and others. *The American Ex-*

perience (1988–), another documentary series on PBS, included episodes on the careers of Ida B. Wells, Adam Clayton Powell, Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, and other important African Americans, along with episodes on topics in black culture and history, including "Roots of Resistance: The Story of the Underground Railroad" (1995), "Scottsboro: An American Tragedy" (2000), and "The Murder of Emmett Till" (2003). In addition, black journalist Gwen Ifill became the moderator of *Washington Week* (1967–) and senior correspondent for *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (1995–) on PBS in 1999. Ifill also moderated the first televised debate between the candidates for vice president during the 2004 presidential campaign.

Syndication, the system of selling programming to individual stations on a one-to-one basis, has been crucial for the distribution of shows such as *Soul Train* (1971–), *Solid Gold* (1980–1988), *The Arsenio Hall Show* (1989–1994), *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (1986–), and *The Montel Williams Show* (1991–). A wider range of programming has also been made possible by the growth and proliferation of cable services. Robert Johnson took a personal loan for $15,000 in the early 1980s to start a cable business—Black Entertainment Television (BET)—catering to the African Americans living in the Washington, D.C., area. At that time BET consisted of a few hours a day of music videos. By the early 1990s, the network had expanded across the country, servicing about 25 million subscribers, and had a net worth of more than $150 million. (Its programming had expanded to include black collegiate sports, music videos, public affairs programs, and reruns of, among others, *The Cosby Show* and *Frank's Place.*) The Black Family Channel, founded in 1999 as MBC Network, is a black-owned and operated cable network for African-American families with children's programs, sports, news, talk shows, and religious programming.

Children's Programming

As late as 1969, children's programming did not include African Americans. The first exceptions were *Sesame Street* (1969–) and *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids* (1972–1989). These two shows were groundbreaking in content and format; they emphasized altruistic themes, the solution of everyday problems, and the development of reading skills and basic arithmetic. Other children's shows that focused on or incorporated African Americans include *The Jackson Five* (1971), *ABC After-School Specials* (1972–), *The Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine* (1974–1976), *Rebop* (1976–1979), *30 Minutes* (1978–1982); *Reading Rainbow* (1983–2004), *Pee-Wee's Playhouse* (1986–1991); *Saved by the Bell* (1989–1993), *Saved by the Bell: The New Class* (1993–2000), and *Where in the World Is Carmen San Diego* (1991–1996).

Conclusion

Although African Americans have had to struggle against both racial tension and the inherent limitations of television, they have become prominent in all aspects of the television industry. As we enter the twenty-first century, the format and impact of television programming will undergo some radical changes, and the potential to provoke and inform audiences will grow. Television programs are thus likely to become more controversial than ever, but they will also become an even richer medium for effecting social change. Perhaps African Americans will be able to use these technical changes to allay the racial discord and prejudice that persists off-camera in America.

This article primarily explores the racial issues that impacted on television in its golden years right up to the current century. The arrival of digital delivery systems that have enhanced satellite, cable, DVD and even the internet has reduced the power and reach of broadcast television. Nevertheless, African Americans continue to be short-changed by the medium even with the huge success of Oprah Winfrey, Chris Rock, and a few other Black super stars. The more the technology changes the more it stays the same.

See also Black Entertainment Television (BET); Carroll, Diahann; Cosby, Bill; Davis, Ossie; Dee, Ruby; Film in the United States; Gossett, Louis, Jr.; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Poitier, Sidney; Radio; Tyson, Cicely; Wilson, Flip

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CHARLES HOBSON (1996)
CHRIS TOMASSINI (2005)

Temptations, The

During their more than three decades of entertaining, the rhythm-and-blues quintet has seen a number of replacements involving twenty-one group members and fifty-seven albums. Formed from the merger of the Primes and the Distants, based in Detroit in 1960, the original Temptations included Eldridge Bryant (baritone, replaced by David Ruffin in 1963; Ruffin was replaced by Dennis Edwards in 1968; Edwards by Louis Price in 1977; Price by Ali-Ollie Woodson in 1983; Woodson by Edwards in 1987; Edwards by Woodson in 1988; and Woodson was replaced by Terry Weeks in 2003), Eddie Kendricks (first tenor; replaced by Ricky Owens for one show only in 1971; Owens was replaced by Damon Harris that year; Harris by Glenn Leonard in 1975; and Leonard by Ron Tyson in 1983), Paul Williams (second tenor; replaced by Richard Street in 1971; Street by Theo Peoples in 1992; Peoples later joined the Four Tops and was replaced by Barrington Henderson in 1998; and Henderson was replaced by G. C. Cameron in 2003), Otis Williams (baritone; the only remaining original member and of no relation to Paul), and Melvin Franklin (bass; after his sudden death, he was replaced by Parliament/Funkadelic's Ray Davis in 1995; Davis was replaced by Harry McGillberry in 1996; and McGillberry by Joe Herndon in 2003). The original quintet was signed by Berry Gordy to the Motown label in 1960. It was barely noticed when the group released material as The Pirates in 1962.

The group's major successes are defined by three distinct periods. First, featuring a crossover doo-wop style with various lead singers and trademark choreography by Cholly Atkins that resulted in several hit singles, including "The Way You Do the Things You Do" (number eleven, 1964), "My Girl" (number one, 1965), and "Ain't Too Proud to Beg" (number thirteen, 1966). Kendricks's smooth falsetto and David Ruffin's rugged baritone marked this classic lineup from 1964 to 1968.

The second period, beginning in 1966, featured producer Norman Whitfield arranging Grammy-award winning songs for five distinct lead singers rather than one lead and a doo-wop chorus. He introduced the "psychedelic soul" sound with its tight brass and engaging social commentary. This style produced "Cloud Nine" (number six, 1969; Grammy for Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group), "Psychedelic Shack" (number seven, 1970), "Ball of Confusion" (number three, 1970), and "Papa Was a Rolling Stone" (number one, 1972), a powerful, double-platinum-selling anthem depicting the urban story of a deadbeat dad that sold two million copies. "Papa Was a Rolling Stone" won two Grammies in 1972; one for Best R&B Vocal Performance by a Duo, Group, or Chorus and the other for Best R&B Instrumental Performance featuring the Temptations and orchestral arranger Paul Riser.

The Temptations broke with Motown in 1975 and spent an unsuccessful span signed to Atlantic Records (1977-1979) trying to tap into the disco market. In 1980, they returned to Motown releasing the hit "Power." That same year, there was a failed attempt to reunite the original group. They reunited, more or less, in 1982 when Ruffin and Kendricks joined the five current members for the *Reunion* album and the Tribute to the Temptations national tour, but Ruffin's no-shows and problems with Motown sullied the tour. The group was of course featured in the televised Motown 25 Special in 1987 and they earned their induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1989.

Performing on the oldies circuit with groups like the Four Tops and the O'Jays, the third phase of their career was marked by the influence of retro television, online sales, and sampling. The Temptations were the subject of an NBC mini-series in 1998 that was number one in its time-slot. That year they released the album *Anthology: The Best of the Temptations*, which jumped from number

fourteen-hundred to number four on Amazon.com, the likely result of their exposure on NBC. Then, in 2000, the biggest-selling album of their career, *Phoenix Rising,* put the group back on the radar. The album received a Grammy nomination for Traditional R&B Vocal Performance, and the platinum single, "Stay," featuring a sample from the Temps' own 1965 number one hit "My Girl," also was nominated for Best R&B Vocal Performance by a Duo or Group. With the release of *Ear-Resistable*, their fifty-sixth album, featuring R&B crooner Joe and Gerald Lavert as producers, the Temptations garnered their fourth Grammy for Best Traditional R&B Vocal Album almost thirty years after their previous award. Their fifty-seventh album, released in 2004, was aptly titled *Legacy*.

See also Gordy, Berry; Music in the United States; Rhythm and Blues

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KYRA D. GAUNT (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Tennis

A Bermuda socialite, Mary Outerbridge, brought tennis to America in 1874, and national tournaments restricted to whites began in 1881. But enterprising black players organized local tournaments as early as 1895 at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. In the early twentieth century, varsity teams were formed at Howard University, Lincoln University, Tuskegee Institute, Atlanta University, and Hampton Institute. On the eve of World War I, tennis was firmly rooted in black communities in the Northeast, South, and northern California.

In 1916 a group of black tennis enthusiasts formed the American Tennis Association (ATA). The ATA is the oldest continuously operated independent black sports organization in the United States. The first ATA National Championships were held in 1917 at Druid Hill Park in Baltimore. The first ATA women's champion, Lucy D. Slowe, became the first black female national titleholder in any sport.

The ATA has formed the backbone of black tennis participation in the United States, the Caribbean, and Bermuda. It sponsored traveling tours by good players and sought assistance for top black college players. The ATA began serious junior development programs in the late 1930s. Hundreds of tennis courts were built by the federal government during the Great Depression to help provide work, and the ATA wanted to take advantage of these public facilities, as well as ensure a steady flow of players for its events.

Tuskegee Institute sisters Margaret "Pete" Peters and Matilda Roumania "Repeat" Peters (Pete and Repeat) won a record fourteen ATA doubles championships on two streaks from 1938 to 1941 and 1944 to 1953. Roumania Peters also won ATA singles titles in 1944 and 1946, making her and her sister the first set of African-American siblings to make tennis history. In the 1946 tournament, Roumania defeated another woman who would make international tennis history, Althea Gibson.

In September 1950 Althea Gibson became the first black player to compete at the West Side Tennis Club in Forest Hills, New York, the site of the United States Tennis Association (USTA) National Championships. In addition to winning the ATA junior and senior singles and doubles titles, Gibson also captured the French singles and doubles (1956), the Wimbledon singles crown (twice, in 1957 and 1958), and the United States singles title (twice, in 1957 and 1958), as well as the Australian mixed doubles event (1957). After Gibson's initial appearance at Forest Hills in 1950, the USTA and the ATA announced that they had arrived at an arrangement whereby for twenty years to come the ATA would nominate black players who would be automatically entered in the main draw.

Althea Gibson's coach, Robert W. Johnson, led the ATA junior development effort, while his son, Robert Johnson Jr., provided much of the on-court expertise. One of the products of the program was Arthur Ashe Jr., who from 1955 to 1962 won eleven ATA titles. Ashe went on to capture singles crowns in the U.S. Open in 1968, in the Australian Open in 1970, and at Wimbledon in 1975. He was co-ranked number one in the world in 1968 and again in 1975, and was a member of the American Davis Cup team in 1963, 1965 to 1970, 1975, 1977, and 1978. He served as team captain from 1981 to 1985.

The era of "open" tennis (with amateurs and professionals playing together) began in 1968, and black players, schools, and coaches responded with growing numbers and excellence. The 1990s witnessed the development of African-American tennis stars such as Zina Garrison, who in 1990 at Wimbledon became the first African-American woman to reach a Grand Slam final since Althea Gibson thirty-two years earlier. In Garrison's fifteen-year professional career she won fourteen singles titles and twenty doubles crowns. Like Garrison, MaliVai Washington, who won four career singles titles, has transformed tennis success into philanthropic ventures supporting young African Americans. Chanda Rubin, who first gained international recognition in the 1990s, has earned at least seven singles titles. In addition, the number of people of African descent on the tour increased dramatically during the 1990s and early 2000s.

Perhaps the most famous African-American women in tennis history, Venus and Serena Williams have transformed women's tennis in the twenty-first century, turning it into a game requiring far more fitness, agility, speed, and power. They have repeatedly made history, each of them earning dozens of singles and doubles titles, as well as numerous grand slam championships, and often being "first" in everything from service speed to sisters facing each other as finalists in multiple major tennis events.

The success of the Compton, California-reared Williams sisters inspired growing numbers of African Americans to play tennis and encouraged the USTA to invest in developing tennis programs in urban centers. Although great strides have been made in tennis for African Americans, history is still being made. In 2004 eighteen-year-old Scoville Jenkins became the first African American to win the USTA boys title in the event's eighty-nine year history.

See also American Tennis Association; Ashe, Arthur; Gibson, Althea; Williams, Venus and Serena

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ARTHUR R. ASHE JR. (1996)
IMANI PERRY (2005)

Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

September 26, 1863
July 24, 1954

The civil rights activist and women's rights advocate Mary Eliza Church Terrell was born in Memphis, Tennessee, into a prosperous family of former slaves; she graduated from Oberlin College (1884) at the head of her class, then taught at Wilberforce University (1885–1887) and briefly in a high school in Washington, D.C. After receiving an M.A. from Oberlin (1888), she traveled in Europe for two years, studying French, German, and Italian. In 1891 she married Robert Terrell, who was appointed judge of District of Columbia Municipal Court in 1901.

The overlapping concerns that characterized Terrell's life—public-education reform, women's rights, and civil rights—found expression in community work and organizational activities. She served as the first woman president of Bethel Literary and Historical Association (1892–1893) and was the first black woman appointed to the District of Columbia Board of Education (1895–1901, 1906–1911).

In spite of elements of racism and nativism in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Terrell was an active member and addressed its conventions in 1898 and 1900. She joined the Woman's Party picket line at the White House, and after the achievement of suffrage was active in the Republican Party.

Women's international affairs involved her as well. She addressed the International Council of Women (Berlin, 1904) in English, German, and French, the only American to do so; was a delegate to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Zurich, 1919); was a vice president of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races; and addressed the International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths (London, 1937).

Terrell participated in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was vice president of the Washington, D.C., branch for many years. Her various causes coalesced around her concern with the quality of black women's lives. In 1892 she helped organize and headed the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, in Washington, D.C.; she was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women, serving three terms (1896–1901) before being named honorary president for life and a vice president of the National Council of Negro Women.

Terrell worked for the unionization of black women and for their inclusion in established women's affairs. In 1919 she campaigned, unsuccessfully, for a colored women's division within the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, and to have the First International Congress of Working Women directly address the concerns of black working women.

Age did not diminish Terrell's activism. Denied admission to the Washington chapter of the American Association of University Women in 1946 on racial grounds, she entered a three-year legal battle that led the national group to clarify its bylaws to read that a college degree was the only requirement for membership. In 1949 Terrell joined the sit-ins that challenged segregation in public accommodations and a landmark civil rights case, as well as serving as chair of the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the District of Columbia Anti-Discrimination Laws.

In addition to her picketing and sit-ins, Terrell wrote many magazine articles treating disfranchisement, discrimination, and racism, as well as an autobiography, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940).

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Association of Colored Women; National Council of Negro Women

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)

Teshea, Isabel

July 24, 1911
April 14, 1981

Isabel Ursula Teshea was the first woman elected to Trinidad and Tobago's Parliament. Hers was a humble home; her father, Thomas Cadogan, was a tailor, her mother, a homemaker. From early on young Isabel displayed the qualities of leadership and drive that would propel her into politics and two overseas ambassadorships. Always involved in social and community work even as a teaching assistant, in her early forties she founded a boys club in her neighborhood of Princes Town to keep the young out of mischief.

After an unsatisfactory marriage in 1938, and with no children of her own, in the 1950s Teshea turned her attention to the political scene, becoming an ardent supporter of nationalist leader Eric Williams, who would turn the country's colonialist machinery on its head. Her innate organizational and speaking skills, coupled with her links to village councils, quickly became a key factor in the formation of party groups for Trinidad and Tobago's first modern political party, the People's National Movement (PNM).

Teshea never missed a meeting, where throngs of people, most with no formal education, gathered to listen to "university dishes served with political sauce" à la Eric Williams, whose paramount mission was to "teach the people what one French writer of the 18th century saw as the greatest danger, that they had a mind" (Williams, 1969, p. 133).

By 1956 and in recognition of her sterling efforts, Teshea had been elected lady vice-chair of the PNM and, therefore, the first chairwoman of the PNM Women's League. She worked tirelessly to craft a passionate, vibrant, effective women's arm, which helped to ensure the party's success in general elections for six consecutive terms.

In 1961 Teshea served as parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development and two years later was promoted to Minister of Health and Housing. By 1967 these two ministries had been divided, but she continued to hold the latter portfolio until 1970, when she was appointed Trinidad and Tobago's ambassador to Ethiopia and to the Organization of African Unity (in 1964, she had accompanied Trinidad and Tobago's prime minister, Eric Williams, on a tour of major African states).

A self-effacing yet charming individual, Isabel Teshea earned the respect of all who knew and worked with her. During her decades-long tenure as a government official, she addressed several areas of global, national, and regional concern, notably the 1972 United Nations population conference in Romania. As Trinidad and Tobago's high commissioner to Guyana from 1974 to 1977, she participated in the regional unification negotiations that resulted in the creation of CARICOM, the Caribbean Community and Common Market.

Retiring in 1977 and shunning further spotlight, Teshea passed away quietly. Her stellar example of public service and community spirit resulted in the 1981 posthumous award of her country's highest honor, the Trinity Cross. To the extent that she blazed a trail for her nation's modern women at a time when such a path was deemed unthinkable at best, Isabel Ursula Teshea's life remains a beacon of both hope and possibility.

See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Peoples National Movement; Williams, Eric

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ERICA WILLIAMS CONNELL (2005)

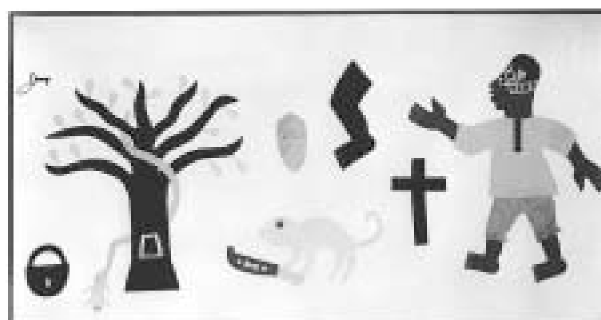
Textiles, Diasporic

When African religious ideas appeared in the New World, they often assumed new forms and meanings and were transmitted in unprecedented ways. As essential tools for survival, these ideas were encoded in arts in a multiplicity of forms, including architecture, dance, funerary practices, narratives, rituals, speech, music, and other visual arts, especially textiles. Arts preserve cultural traditions even when the social context of traditions changes; yet the codes are neither simple nor easy to decipher.

Sometimes forms endure while the meanings once associated with them shift; in other instances, meanings persist and the shapes evolve. Knowledge of ideas and techniques for creating arts are not necessarily verbalized, written down, or expressly transmitted within a family, nor are all levels of meaning always known to everyone in a community. Some African Americans, and most Americans in general, are thoroughly unaware of many of these cultural traditions. One challenge is to examine which ideas can be traced back to African cultures. A bigger challenge is to understand the transmutations and creolizations that occur as each generation improvises upon previous visual traditions.

Africans who came to the Americas brought with them many memories: memories of social organizations, religious values, and technological skills. But this knowledge was often hidden, encoded in decorative arts, arts that were appreciated and continued for their decorative qualities. Often the meanings originally associated with the symbols were lost over time.

Scholars are just beginning to unravel the numerous ways in which valuable African skills, values, and ways of organizing ideas were and are encoded in many art forms. They are learning to read symbolic elements that have been passed on from one generation to the next, not through genes, but through cultural memories. Quilts were one of many media used to encode cultural knowledge. Three themes can be explored to explain continuities between African-American quilting and African cultural knowledge: technical skills, secret scripts, and charm-making traditions. As William Arnett wrote in *Souls Grown Deep*:



Banner of a Dahomean Society, collected by anthropologist Melville Herskovits. *When African societies of a social character were formed, each acquired a flag featuring applique designs sewed on cloth and recounting some of the exploits of its members.* MELVILLE J. AND FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

> Every great quilt, whether it be a patchwork, appliqué, or strip quilt, is a potential Rosetta stone. Quilts represent one of the most highly evolved systems of writing in the New World. Every combination of colors, every juxtaposition or intersection of line and form, every pattern, traditional or idiosyncratic, contain data that can be imparted in some form or another to anyone. All across Africa, geometric designs, the syntax of quilt tops, have been used to encode symbolic or secret knowledge. Bodily decoration and costumes, architectural ornamentation (including painting), and relief carving have been primary media. (Arnett, et al, 2000).

In the ways in which quilts are put together, we find information about how West African textiles were constructed, mainly from narrow strips, about the width of a human hand. Men wove these strips on narrow portable looms, and then the strips were sewn together in symmetrical or asymmetrical arrangements, or strips with different patterns were sewn together to create the most prestigious textiles. In the ways in which designs were borrowed, improvised upon, and jazzed up, scholars find clues to secret African symbol systems, which are also seen in African-American vernacular arts.

African secret society signs and symbols are still hidden in decorative textile designs. Examples include Bogolanfini cloth painted by Bamana women in Mali; Adinkra

cloth stamped by Ashanti men in Ghana; Adire cloth painted with starch and dyed by Yoruba women with designs said to have been given to them by Oshun, the goddess of wealth and fertility, in Nigeria; Ekpe (Leopard) society cloth resist dyed by Ejagham women with Nsibidi secret society signs in Nigeria; and Kuba cloth woven by men and embroidered by women with designs that allude to the Central African Kongo cosmogram, a diamond or a cross that represents the four moments of the sun or the soul: birth, life, death, and rebirth in a watery ancestral realm. Scripts are also considered protective and thus bits of writing—Christian, Islamic, or indigenous secret signs—are enclosed in West African charms.

This tradition of encoding secret signs in textile designs, mostly done by women, continued in the New World, where remembered African signs were combined to create unique new creolized symbol systems. Examples include a Brazilian cloth embroidered with designs called *points* for a Yoruba god, Ogun, as well as Surinamese capes embroidered by women with designs derived from a Djuka script called Afaka, which is based on Adinkra symbols from Ghana and Nsibidi signs from Nigeria. Cuban Abakua society costumes are based on Nigerian ones with light and dark squares to represent leopard spots and valued religious principles of leadership. Haitian Vodou flags are decorated with sequins arranged in *veve* signs, which refer to various remembered Yoruba and Fon gods.

Throughout the southern United States, as insulation against the cold, people decorated the interior walls of their home with cutouts from books, newspapers, and magazines. Some African-American quilts look like those walls, because for many there was an additional religious meaning associated with those multiple images. Unhappy, neglected ancestral spirits could be thwarted from their mischievous ways because they would be distracted by, and need to read and decipher, all the chopped up and discontinuous text before they could do any harm. In much the same way that quilts provided physical warmth and spiritual safety, the wall collages linked African Americans' most corporeal needs with their most metaphysical ones. These practices can be traced to the African belief that writing is considered protective and is thus enclosed in charms. The form has changed but the protective idea persists. Romare Bearden drew upon this African-American tradition of collaging walls with protective images in his famous collaged art. Quilters drew on this collage tradition in their improvised quilts, which feature multiple patterns and thus function as protective bedcovers in several ways.

African-American quilts feature narrow strips, bright contrasting colors, large patterns, multiple patterns, asymmetrical designs, and symbolic designs. All these aesthetic principles can be traced back to African textiles, which feature these same aesthetic values, but often for different reasons. Most African textiles are made by men, to sell, commissioned for special events, or for family use, in cultures that understand the improvised aesthetic and the symbols. Most African-American textiles are made by women for family use; a few women make quilts to sell, and they often make quilts in both the symmetrical Anglo-American tradition and in the improvised African-American traditions. In addition to their technical skills of piecing and appliqué, scholars admire their ability to manipulate and hide symbols.

In the United States, various African and African Latin American and Caribbean signs appear in historic and contemporary African-American quilts. Recent research by Maude Southwell Wahlman concentrates on the convergence of secret African symbols and Masonic signs that were used to run the Underground Railroad. Women sewed Masonic aprons and other textiles and knew of the multiple levels of meaning attached to the symbols. The nineteenth-century quilter and Eastern Star society leader Harriet Powers used these symbols in her Masonic apron and in her quilts, where one can see references to her control of Fon symbols from the Republic of Benin in West Africa, Kongo symbols from Central Africa, Christian symbols, and Masonic signs. Her own Masonic apron features an embroidered cross (the cosmogram of the Kongo people) and an appliquéd light-colored sun for life, as well as a dark-colored "midnight" sun for the undersea world of Kongo ancestors. She may not have known about Kongo or Fon religions, but she did know the symbols.

Hidden in Plain View (2000) by Jacqueline Tobin and Raymond Dobard validates the many African traditions of women encoding secret signs in textile designs. In addition, many abolitionists were Masons, and Tobin and Wahlman have found more and more documentation for cooperation between members of African-American and Anglo-American Masonic societies. Many African-American families have retained knowledge of how artifacts were encoded with secret signs that were used to communicate vital information on how to proceed on the Underground Railroad to freedom.

In the ways in which symbolic designs were included in decorative pieced patterns and appliqués, there is evidence of remembered charm-making traditions, which also persist in African-American vernacular sculpture and textiles. The African-American protective charm, called a *mojo* or a *hand,* is often a small square made of red flannel, which is carried in a pocket or worn around the neck. The writer and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston recorded numerous instructions for how to make these charms. One also

sees them on numerous African-American quilts, particularly those using a nine-patch pattern. Sarah Mary Taylor, a noted Mississippi folk artist, even made a quilt with both blue hands and red squares, indicating her mastery of these symbols. The "vodou dolls" seen on African-American quilts made by Taylor and Mississippi-born quilter Pearlie Posey can be traced back to the cloth Pacquet Kongo charms brought to Haiti by the Kongo peoples of Central Africa, where they are referred to as *minkisi*, or "the medicines of God."

Contemporary African-American fine artists, such as Betye Saar, Joyce Scott, and Renée Stout, incorporate folk art traditions and family oral histories into their arts, particularly their textiles. Stout's *Conjuring Vest* (1995) includes references to West African cloth charms. Both fine and folk (or vernacular) African-American arts possess sophisticated levels of meaning that one has to learn to read. If scholars and students are persistent and attentive, they will find many examples of hidden codes in African-American textiles and other arts. In addition, young people must interview their grandparents before this knowledge is lost. According to an old African proverb, often repeated by folklorist William Ferris, "in Africa when an older person dies, a library burns." That can also be said for elders in African-American cultures.

See also Beardon, Romare; Folk Arts and Crafts; Powers, Harriet

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MAUDE SOUTHWELL WAHLMAN (2005)

Tharpe, "Sister" Rosetta

March 20, 1915
October 9, 1973

The gospel singer and guitarist Sister Rosetta Tharpe was born Rosetta Nubin in Cotton Plant, Arkansas. She began her musical apprenticeship playing guitar and singing in the Church of God in Christ, a Pentecostal church, and she gained professional experience traveling with her mother, Katie Bell Nubin, a missionary. In her teens she followed her mother to Chicago. It is not clear whether she took a new last name as the result of a marriage, but it was as Sister Rosetta Tharpe that she came to prominence in 1938 in New York. At first she was known for performing in secular venues, a controversial practice for a gospel singer. In 1938 she performed at Harlem's Cotton Club with bandleader Cab Calloway and at the famous "Spirituals to Swing" concert at Carnegie Hall. Those performances helped her land a contract with Decca Records, making her the first gospel singer to record for a major label. In 1943 she performed at the Apollo Theater, the first time that a major gospel singer had appeared there. Her 1944 rendition of "Strange Things Happen Every Day" was widely popular.

Starting in the 1940s, Tharpe performed in churches, concert halls, nightclubs, on the radio, and later even on television. She gained fame not only because of her practice of playing secular venues, a practice she defended by calling all of her music evangelical, but also because of her jazz and blues–influenced guitar playing. Tharpe, who recorded "Daniel in the Lion's Den" in 1949 with her mother, eventually toured with such jazz and blues groups as those led by Benny Goodman, Count Basie, Muddy Waters, Sammy Price, and Lucky Millinder, as well as with gospel groups such as the Caravans, the James Cleveland Singers, the Dixie Hummingbirds, the Richmond Harmonizing Four, and the Sally Jenkins Singers, with whom she recorded "I Have Good News to Bring" in 1960. Tharpe, who was the first major gospel singer to tour Europe, was also widely known for her live performances and recordings of "That's All," "I Looked Down the Line," "Up Above My Head," and "This Train." She died in Philadelphia. Tharpe was honored in 1998 by having her image appear on a U.S. postage stamp.

See also Gospel Music; Music in the United States

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IRENE V. JACKSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Theater

See Caribbean Theater, Anglophone; Drama; Experimental Theater; Musical Theater

Theatrical Dance

Africans who came to the Americas brought with them a rich tradition in instrumental music, song, and dance. By the early 1800s, not long after the official creation of the United States as a country, white men were carrying their versions of slave dances to the minstrel stage, arguably America's first indigenous theater form. According to Robert Toll, the arena in which early minstrelsy showed the strongest debt to African Americans was that of dance.

Several African-American minstrel performers were international stars and extraordinary dancers. William Henry Lane, known as Master Juba, ingeniously combined the Irish jig and reel with African derived movements and rhythms to lay the foundation for what is known as American tap dance. Billy Kersands, who introduced the Virginia Essence, was both an excellent dancer and black minstrelsy's most famous comedian. Black minstrel men and women brought fresh and original dance material to the American stage: stop time dances, various trick dances, and authentic exhibitions of the jig, the cakewalk, and the buck-and-wing.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, white road shows generally did not open their stages to black actors and actresses. During those same years, however, such shows as Uncle Tom's Cabin and In Old Kentucky often featured black dancers and choral groups. Some nineteenth-century traveling shows attracted new talent by holding weekly dance contests.

Many touring shows began and ended in New York City around the turn of the twentieth century. With more theaters than any other American city and a solid theatrical tradition for black artists, it was a logical place to plant seeds for the development of black musical theater. Bob Coles and Billy Johnson's production of *A Trip to Coontown* (1898) was the first musical play organized, managed, produced, and written by African Americans. An excellent dancer, Coles staged several specialty acts that included dance. Will Marion Cook's *Clorindy: The Origin of the Cakewalk* (1898) closely followed *A Trip to Coontown. Clorindy* set a new standard for the Broadway stage by introducing exuberant dancing and "Negro syncopated music." Cook's model was adapted for the white stage by George Lederer, who produced *Clorindy* at the Casino Roof Garden.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the cakewalk became the rage of Manhattan, with Bert Williams and George Walker the dancing masters of white New York society. The Williams and Walker musical comedy *In Dahomey* (1902) lifted the cakewalk to the status of an international dance craze after the show's smashing London run of 1903. Walker's wife, Aida Overton Walker, was America's leading black female singer and dancer of that era. She played the female lead in and created most of the choreography for *In Dahomey* and the shows that followed and was probably the first woman to receive program credit as choreographer.

A strong influence on many twentieth-century dance steps, the cakewalk initiated the evolution of American social and theatrical dances that would upstage and then replace the nineteenth-century cotillions, schottisches, and waltzes. The long-standing impact of the cakewalk led James Weldon Johnson to observe in 1930: "The influence [of the cakewalk] can be seen today on any American stage where there is dancing. . . . Anyone who witnesses a musical production in which there is dancing cannot fail to notice the Negro stamp on all the movements."

Between 1910 and 1920 black theatrical development in New York took place away from Broadway, allowing African-American musical theater to develop without the constraints of white critics. *Darktown Follies* (1913), the most important musical of the decade leading into the twenties, exploded with such dances as ballin' the jack, tap air steps, the Texas Tommy, the cakewalk, and the tango. Several critics shared the New York World's claim that the dancing was the best New York had ever seen. Astounded by the energy, vitality, and dynamic dancing of the cast, these critics eventually lured downtown visitors to Harlem. Florenz Ziegfeld, one such visitor, bought the rights to "At the Ball," the *Darktown Follies'* finale, and put it in his Follies of 1914.

In 1921 Eubie Blake, Noble Sissle, Flourney Miller and Aubrey Lyles joined forces and created the most im-

Portrait of J. Leubrie Hill and his Darktown Follies. *The Darktown Follies, beginning in 1913, introduced new and energetic dances to African Americans in Harlem.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

portant black musical comedy of the 1920s, *Shuffle Along*. The dancing in *Shuffle Along* included buck-and-wing, slow-motion acrobatics, tap air steps, eccentric steps, legomania, the soft shoe, and high kicking. Several members of the cast later became international stars, notably Josephine Baker and Florence Mills.

Shuffle Along's greatest contribution and innovation was the dancing of its sixteen-woman chorus line. According to Marshall and Jean Stearns, "musical comedy took on a new and rhythmic life and [white] chorus girls began learning to dance to jazz." Numerous white stars of the theater learned jazz routines from downtown and uptown African-American dance instructors.

Shuffle Along was followed by a wave of African-American cast shows that continued to feature exciting dance. *Runnin' Wild* (1923) introduced the Charleston, *Dinah* (1924) introduced the Black Bottom, and *Chocolate Dandies* (1924), starring Josephine Baker, featured a female chorus line that presented swinging and complex ensemble tap sequences, a new development created by choreographer Toots Davis.

The opening of white producer Lew Leslie's *Dixie to Broadway* (1924) helped stabilize a trend that stifled the evolution of black musicals for years to come: All the performers were black, but all the producers and off-stage creative talents were white. White dance directors were often credited with choreography created by black dancers. Leslie's *Blackbirds of 1928* showcased the talents of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and Earl "Snake Hips" Tucker, and

Blackbirds of 1930 featured Buck and Bubbles, the Berry Brothers, and "Jazzlips" Richardson.

The musical comedy hit of 1929 was *Hot Chocolates*, which began as a revue at Connie's Inn, a Harlem cabaret. Fats Waller, Andy Razaf, and Harry Brooks provided the music and lyrics; Leroy Smith's band played in the orchestra pit; and for part of the show's run, Louis Armstrong played his trumpet during intermission. Even with all the musical talent on hand, however, it was the dancing of the Six Crackerjacks, tap dancer Roland Holder, and "Jazzlips" Richardson that prevailed in the reviews. Cecil Smith commented in 1950 that "the rhythm of Broadway musical comedies is suffused with syncopations and figures which became rooted in our national consciousness in the 1920s."

While black musicals of the twenties were revolutionizing American theatrical dance on Broadway, African-American vaudevillians were impressing theater audiences throughout the country. Since the early 1900s black dance teams were rising in popularity on vaudeville stages, and many original and inventive combinations of comic, tap, and acrobatic routines thrilled audiences and inspired emerging artists. Although some black dancers performed on white theater circuits, most were restricted to black theaters. Jack Wiggins, Bill Robinson, Eddie Rector, the Berry Brothers, and a host of other star dancers served their apprenticeships on the Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA), the black circuit. Free of the constraints imposed on aspiring artists in schools and studios, black artists in this setting could experiment and advance the development of vernacular dance at breakneck speed. The Whitman Sisters troupe (1900-1943), the greatest developer of black dancing talent, toured on the TOBA circuit for many years.

While TOBA and black musicals were enjoying their golden years, Harlem was fast establishing itself as one of the entertainment centers of the world. In Harlem cabarets and night clubs, dancers, musicians, and singers participated jointly in revues that rivaled Broadway shows. Business was booming in Connie's Inn, Smalls Paradise, and the Cotton Club, where revues were usually built around popular dance fads. Many of America's most exciting dancers appear on the roll call of Cotton Club dancers: the Berry Brothers, Cora La Redd, the Nicholas Brothers, Peg Leg Bates, Bill Robinson, the Four Step Brothers, Buck and Bubbles, Whitey's Lindy Hoppers, the Three Chocolateers, Bessie Dudley, and Earl "Shakehips" Tucker.

The early 1930s saw American vernacular dance slowly disappear from Broadway shows. Between the late 1930s and the late 1950s there were only occasional shows that featured leading dancers of authentic jazz dance: *The Hot Mikado* (1939) showcased the fancy footwork of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and Whitey's Lindy Hoppers; the short-lived *Swingin' the Dream* (1939) presented Whitey's Lindy Hoppers, including Norma Miller and Frankie Manning; Avon Long played the role of Sportin' Life in a revival of *Porgy and Bess* (1941); and Cholly Atkins and Honi Coles stole the show every night in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1949). In addition, modern dance pioneer Katherine Dunham included African indigenous dances in some of her revues. For the most part, however, it was during this period that the American theater turned its back on indigenous dance.

A new performance format called "presentation" evolved in the early 1930s, as vaudeville theaters slowly converted to movie theaters. By this time, radio broadcasts helped create a demand for jazz bands throughout the country at hotels, supper clubs, theaters, nightclubs, and dance halls. Big bands took center stage, and many showcased two or three dancing acts. Tap dancer Honi Coles reported that during the late 1920s through the early 1940s, there were as many as fifty topflight dance acts. There was also a diversity of tap dancing acts, among them: eccentric dancing, a catchall term to describe dancers' use of individual styles and movements; flash dancing, which uses acrobatic combinations and fast-paced syncopations; adagio dancing, which features a slow style; comedy dancing, which includes singing, dancing, and dialogue; and acrobatic dancing, which includes somersaults, cartwheels, flips, and spins.

The fruitful years that dancers had enjoyed with jazz musicians and singers were brought to a halt in the mid-1940s. Although several factors led to the separation of jazz music and classic jazz dance, the single most detrimental factor was the imposition of a 20 percent tax against dancing nightclubs by federal, state, and city governments. Many theatrical dancers turned to other jobs, such as choreographing stage routines for pop musicians. With the help of choreographer and tap dancer Cholly Atkins, these artists became the new disseminators of vernacular dance on stage. Dancing singers appeared primarily on television, in films, and in rhythm-and-blues concerts in the United States and abroad. In the 1990s dancing singers continue to have a major impact on American vernacular dance from the Cadillacs through James Brown, the Temptations, the O'Jays, and Michael Jackson, to the hip-hop generation.

During the 1960s vernacular dance was kept alive in part by such television variety shows as *The Ed Sullivan Show, The Lawrence Welk Show, Hollywood Palace, The Tonite Show,* and *American Bandstand.* On Broadway there remained an implied African-American presence in the

work of Broadway choreographers who combined ballet and modern dance with elements of their own particular interpretations of classic jazz dance. On the concert dance stage, black choreographers Alvin Ailey, Talley Beatty, Eleo Pomare, and Donald McKayle successfully presented works influenced by jazz dance. Ailey collaborated with Duke Ellington on several projects, and in 1976 the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater presented "Ailey Celebrates Ellington," featuring fifteen new ballets set to his music.

Fueled by the appearance of several tap masters at the 1962 Newport Jazz festival, jazz music critics began to write about rhythm tap as an art form. By the seventies, Broadway was once again embracing this genre. Tapping feet figured prominently in musicals of the 1970s and 1980s: *No! No! Nanette!* (1971), *The Wiz* (1975), *Bubbling Brown Sugar* (1976), *Eubie!* (1978), *Black Broadway* (1980), *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981), *Tap Dance Kid* (1983), and *My One and Only* (1983), which featured tap master Honi Coles. Cholly Atkins, Frankie Manning, Henry LeTang, and Fayard Nicholas won Tony Awards for their tap and jazz choreography in *Black and Blue* (1989), a musical revue that also featured tap artists Bunny Briggs, Ralph Brown, Lon Chaney, Jimmy Slyde, Dianne Walker, and the talented young dancer Savion Glover.

As Americans danced through the 1990s, African-American vernacular dance took center stage on television, in films, and in American musical theater. The last jazz music critic Martin Williams made this observation in *Jazz Heritage* (1985):

> Most of the characteristics that we think of as "American" in our musicals are Afro-American. . . .The same sort of thing is true of our theatrical dance. Tap dancing is obvious enough. . . . But actually, almost any dancing in which the body moves with hips loose and flexible, with easy horizontal body movement below the waist, is Afro-influenced.

On the North-American continent African-American culture has been a wellspring of new creations in music, dance, comedy, and pantomime. For well over a century, African-American theatrical dancers have graced the stages of the United States and infused American culture with elegance in movement and an unmistakable style that has been embraced worldwide.

See also Baker, Josephine; Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"; Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Musical Theater; Social Dance; Tap Dance; Walker, George; Williams, Bert

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JACQUI MALONE (1996)

Theology, Black

The phrase "black theology" was first used by a small group of African-American ministers and religious leaders in the late 1960s. It referred to their rejection of the dominant view of Christianity as passive and otherworldly and their definition of Christianity as a religion of liberation, consistent with black people's political struggle for justice in America and their cultural identification with Africa. The origin of black theology has two contexts: the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, largely associated with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the rise of the Black Power movement, strongly influenced by Malcolm X's philosophy of black nationalism.

All those who advocated the need for a black theology were deeply involved in the civil rights movement, and

they participated in the protest demonstrations led by King. Unlike most theological movements in Europe and North America, black theology's origin did not take place in the seminary or university. It was created in the context of black people's struggle for racial justice, organized in the churches, and often led by ministers.

From the beginning, black theology was understood by its interpreters as a theological reflection upon the black struggle for liberation, defined primarily by King's ministry. When King and other black church people began to connect the Christian gospel with the struggle for racial justice, the great majority of the white churches and their theologians denied that such a connection existed. Conservative white Christians said that religion and politics did not mix. Liberals, with few exceptions during the 1950s and early 1960s, remained silent or advocated a form of gradualism that questioned the morality of boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides.

Contrary to popular opinion, King was not well received by the white church establishment when he and other blacks inaugurated the civil rights movement with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. Because black clergy received no theological support from white churches, they searched African-American history for the religious basis of their prior political commitment to fight for justice alongside the black poor. They found support in Henry Highland Garnet, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Henry McNeal Turner, and many other pre- and post-Civil War black Christians. They discovered that the black freedom movement did not begin in the 1950s but had roots going back many years. Black Christians played major leadership roles in the abolition movement, always citing their religious faith as the primary reason for their political commitment. They claimed that the God of the Bible did not create them to be slaves or second-class citizens in the United States. In order to give an intellectual account of this religious conviction, black clergy radicals created a black theology that rejected racism and affirmed that the struggle for black liberation was supported by the gospel of Jesus.

After the March on Washington in August 1963, the integration theme began to lose ground to the black nationalist philosophy of Malcolm X. The riots in the ghettoes of U.S. cities were evidence that many blacks agreed with Malcolm's contention that their status in America was the subject not of a dream but of a nightmare. It was not until the summer of 1966, however, after Malcolm's assassination (1965), that the term *Black Power* began to replace the word *integration* among many civil rights activists. The occasion was the continuation of James Meredith's 1966 March against Fear (in Mississippi) by King, Stokely Carmichael, and other civil rights activists. Carmichael seized the occasion to proclaim the Black Power slogan, and it was heard throughout the United States.

The rise of Black Power had a profound effect on the appearance of black theology. When Carmichael and other radicals separated themselves from King's absolute commitment to nonviolence by proclaiming Black Power, white liberal Christians, especially clergymen, urged black clergy to denounce Black Power as unchristian. To the surprise of these white Christians, a small but significant group of black ministers refused to condemn Black Power. Instead they embraced it and wrote a "Black Power" statement that was published in the *New York Times* on July 31, 1966.

The publication of the "Black Power" statement was the beginning of the conscious development of a black theology. While blacks have always recognized the ethical heresy of white Christians ("Everybody talking about heaven ain't going there"), they still assumed that whites had the correct understanding of the Christian faith. However, the call for a black theology meant that black ministers, for the first time since the founding of black churches in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, recognized that white people's privilege in society created a defect not only in their ethical behavior but also in their theological reflections.

No longer able to accept white theology, which was silent on black oppression, black theologians began to make their own theology by rereading the Bible in the context of their participation in the liberation struggles of the black poor. They denounced white theology as racist and were unrelenting in their attack on the manifestations of racism in white denominations. Black clergy also created an ecumenical organization called the National Conference of Black Churchmen, as well as black caucuses in the National Council of Churches and in nearly all the white denominations. It was in this context that the phrase "black theology" emerged.

It was one thing to proclaim the need for a black theology, however, and another to define its intellectual content. Nearly all white ministers and theologians initially dismissed it as ideological rhetoric having nothing to do with real Christian theology. Since white theologians controlled public theological discourse in seminaries and university departments of religion, they made many blacks feel that only Europeans and persons who think like them could define what theology is. In order to challenge the white monopoly on the definition of theology, many young black scholars realized that they had to carry the fight on to the seminaries and universities where theology was being taught and written.

The first book on black theology was written in 1969 by James H. Cone under the title *Black Theology and Black Power*. That study identified the liberating elements of black power with the Christian gospel. Cone's second book, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970), made the liberation of the poor from oppression the organizing center of the author's theological perspective.

After Cone's works appeared, other black theologians joined him, supporting his theological project and also pointing to what they believed to be some of the limitations of his conclusions. In his *Liberation and Reconciliation: A Black Theology* (1971), J. Deotis Roberts, while supporting Cone's accent on liberation, claimed that Cone overlooked reconciliation as central to the gospel in black-white relations. Other black scholars argued that Cone's view of black theology was too dependent on the white European theology he claimed to have rejected, and thus not sufficiently aware of the African origin of black religion. This position was taken by Gayraud S. Wilmore, the author of *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (1972).

While black scholars debated about black theology, they agreed that liberation is the central core of the gospel as found in the scriptures and the religious history of the African Americans. They claimed that the political meaning of the gospel is best illustrated in the Exodus, and its spiritual meaning is found in the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The Exodus was interpreted as analogous to Nat Turner's slave insurrection, Harriet Tubman's liberation of an estimated 300 slaves, and the Black Power revolution of the 1960s. Slave spirituals, sermons, prayers, and the religious fervor and suffering (including martyrs) that characterized the contemporary civil rights movement expressed the spiritual character of liberation found in the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus.

During the early part of the 1970s, black theology in the United States influenced the development of black theology in South Africa. Black theologians in the United States also began to have contact with theologians of liberation in Latin America and Asia. Although Latin-American theologians emphasized classism, in contrast to black theologians' accent on racism, they became partners in their opposition to the dominant theologies of Europe and the United States and in their identification of the gospel with the liberation of the poor. A similar partnership occurred with Asians regarding the importance of culture in defining theology.

In the late 1970s, a feminist consciousness began to emerge among black women as more women entered the ministry and the seminaries. Their critique of black theology as sexist led to the development of a "womanist theology." The term *womanist* was derived from Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (1983), and it was applied to theology by Delores Williams, Katie G. Cannon, Jacquelyn Grant, Kelly Brown-Douglas, and other black women scholars. It has been within the context of black theologians' dialogue with women and Third World peoples that the theological meaning of liberation has been enlarged and the universal character of the Christian faith reaffirmed. The enlargement of black theology's vision has been developed by a "second generation" of black theologians who have incorporated not only race but gender, class, and sexuality into their discourse. They include Dwight Hopkins, Anthony Pinn, and JoAnne Terrell.

See also Black Power Movement; Carmichael, Stokely; Cone, James H.; Garnet, Henry Highland; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Liberation Theology; Malcolm X; Meredith, James H.; Nat Turner's Rebellion; Tubman, Harriet; Turner, Henry McNeal; Walker, Alice

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JAMES H. CONE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Third World Women's Alliance

The Third World Women's Alliance was a collective founded in 1971 as the Women's Liberation Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Under the leadership of founding member Frances Beale, the group later became autonomous, with a

mandate to work for African Americans and other minority communities by exposing the relationship between racism, economic exploitation, and sexual oppression. The organization saw the creation of a socialist society as a necessary part of this process.

Although the Third World Women's Alliance's focus was an international one, the issues of racism and sexism in the United States played an integral part in their work. The magazine produced by the group, *Triple Jeopardy,* carried articles about African-American and Hispanic women in the United States. The journal explored topics such as black women's role in Vietnam protests, the sterilization of women of color in the United States, and the relationship between feminism and the black liberation movement.

During the early 1970s the group, which was based in New York City, established several chapters across the country. By the 1980s it was the last surviving part of its parent organization, SNCC.

See also Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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MARIAN AGUIAR (1996)

Thirteenth Amendment

The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1865, abolished slavery. Its first section states that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" should exist within the United States or in any place subject to its jurisdiction. The second section grants Congress the power to "enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Early in the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln repeatedly assured "loyal" planters that they would be able to keep their slaves, and the Emancipation Proclamation, issued in 1863, specifically exempted most slaves held in areas already under federal military occupation and in the loyal border states. Yet, by encouraging abolitionist sentiment and authorizing the enlistment of African Americans in the Union Army, the Emancipation Proclamation also changed the focus of the war into a struggle against slavery itself—regardless of where it existed.

Because the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued as a war measure, some feared that it might be judged unconstitutional after the war's end. Lincoln came under increasing political pressure from within his Republican Party to resolve the issue with a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The Republican platform of 1864 strongly supported such an amendment, and when Lincoln was re-elected in November, he began an aggressive attempt to win passage from the "lame duck" Congress in early 1865. Though the Democratic opposition had the votes to prevent passage of the amendment in the House of Representatives, Lincoln's electoral mandate served to undermine their unity. Furthermore, secret promises of administration patronage, approaching outright bribery, secured sufficient Democratic votes and absences to allow passage by a vote of 119 to 56—two votes above the required two-thirds margin.

After passage, the proposed amendment then required endorsement by three-quarters of the state legislature for ratification. It was rapidly passed by most of the northern states, and so its ratification rested with the actions of the southern states, then in constitutional limbo after the collapse of the Confederacy in April 1865. President Andrew Johnson, eager to readmit the southern states to the Union under the "lenient" terms of Reconstruction, told southern legislatures that ratification of the amendment was a prerequisite for restoration to the Union. The southern constitutional conventions were very uncomfortable with this condition, especially the second section of the amendment, which apparently legitimated federal intervention to secure civil rights against state intrusion. Mississippi refused to ratify the amendment altogether, but most southern states complied with the president's emphatic instruction, and the amendment was declared ratified on December 18, 1865. Despite the end of the war, the border states of Kentucky and Delaware had refused to emancipate their slaves, so the amendment had a direct and practical effect in those states. In Oklahoma, slavery was abolished in 1866 by a treaty with the Cherokee Nation, thus bringing a formal end to the institution in the entire United States.

The legal interpretation of the Thirteen Amendment engenders continuing controversy, specifically the section granting Congress enforcement powers. Many proponents of the legislation have offered an expansive view of the amendment, maintaining that it gives Congress the power to overturn all state legislation inconsistent with basic civil liberties. Others have taken a more restrained, narrowly defined view of the powers it grants, arguing that its only purpose is to outlaw slavery.

See also Emancipation in the United States; Slavery; Slavery and the Constitution

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MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Thomas, Clarence

June 23, 1948

Born in Pin Point, Georgia, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas was the second of three children of M. C. and Leola (Anderson) Thomas. M. C. Thomas left when his son was two, and Leola Thomas supported the family. They had little money, and after the family house burned down, Clarence Thomas went to live with grandparents in Savannah, Georgia. Thomas attended Catholic schools, whose teachers he later credited with giving him hope and self-confidence.

In 1967 Thomas entered the Immaculate Conception Seminary in Conception, Missouri, intending to become a Catholic priest. He decided to leave after hearing white classmates happily report the assassination of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Thomas transferred to Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the school's first Martin Luther King Scholarship. At Holy Cross Thomas majored in English literature, graduating cum laude in 1971. An admirer of Malcolm X, Thomas helped form the Black Students League, joined the Black Panther Party, and ran a free-breakfast program for black children.

Rejected for military service on medical grounds, Thomas entered Yale University Law School in the fall of 1971 under the university's affirmative action program. He was admitted to the bar in 1974, then accepted a position as an aide to John Danforth, Missouri's attorney general. Shortly thereafter, he read the conservative African-American economist Thomas Sowell's book *Race and Economics* (1975), which he later claimed as his intellectual "salvation." Thomas adopted Sowell's pro-market, anti-affirmative action theories. In 1977 Thomas became a staff attorney for the Monsanto Company in St. Louis. In 1979 he joined Danforth, by that time a U.S. senator, as an energy and environmental specialist on his staff.

In 1980 Thomas spoke at the Fairmount Conference in San Francisco, a meeting of black conservatives. He denounced the social welfare system for fostering dependency. The publicity Thomas's conservative views received won him the interest of the Reagan administration. In 1981, despite his reluctance to be "typed" as a civil rights specialist, Thomas was named assistant secretary for Civil Rights in the Department of Education, where he drew criticism for refusing to push integration orders on southern colleges. In 1982 he was appointed chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Reappointed in 1986, he served until 1990. His tenure was controversial. An opponent of activist judicial action, he refused to press pending class-action suits and opposed the use of comparable-worth guidelines in gender discrimination cases. The commission allowed thousands of age-discrimination lawsuits to lapse through what he claimed was "bad management." Yet Thomas opposed efforts to secure tax-exempt status for racially discriminatory colleges, and in 1983 he secured an important affirmative action agreement with General Motors.

In 1989 President George H. W. Bush nominated Thomas for a seat on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. The appointment was widely understood as preliminary to a possible Supreme Court appointment as a replacement for aging African-American justice Thurgood Marshall. Thomas was easily confirmed for the district court in February 1990. In July 1991 Marshall retired, and Bush nominated Thomas as his successor. Bush claimed race had nothing to do with the nomination and that Thomas was the "most qualified candidate" to succeed Marshall, an assertion widely viewed as disingenuous. Nevertheless, many blacks who opposed Thomas's conservative ideas initially felt torn by the nomination and supported him or remained neutral on racial grounds.

Thomas's confirmation hearings were acrimonious. He denounced the reasoning of the Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) desegregation case as "dubious social engineering." He refused to take a position on the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) abortion decision and aroused doubts by his assertion that he had never discussed it, even in private conversation. On September 27, 1991, the Senate Judiciary Committee deadlocked on Thomas's nomination

and sent it to the Senate floor without recommendation. Shortly thereafter, testimony by Anita Hill, Thomas's former assistant who claimed he had sexually harassed her, was leaked to media sources. The committee reopened hearings to discuss the issue. The questioning of Hill and Thomas became a national television event and a source of universal debate over issues of sexual harassment and Hill's truthfulness. Despite the damaging allegations, on October 15, Thomas was confirmed by a vote of 52–48.

In his first years on the Supreme Court, Thomas voted consistently with the Court's conservative wing. His decisions narrowed the scope of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, upheld new limits on abortion rights (he pronounced himself ready to overturn *Roe v. Wade*), and curbed affirmative action policies. In *Hudson v. McMillian* (1992), perhaps his most controversial opinion, Thomas held that the Eighth Amendment did not proscribe beating of prison inmates by guards. Thomas sometimes spoke about the treatment he had received during his confirmation process. In 1993 he gave a controversial speech linking society's treatment of conservative African-American intellectuals to lynching. During the early 1990s he regularly voted with his conservative colleagues on the Court in cases involving affirmative action, abortion, educational opportunity, the death penalty, and civil rights for gays and lesbians.

Since 1994 Thomas has increasingly become the deciding vote in numerous controversial cases, often those dealing with issues of race and free speech. He continues to make decisions that are not popular in the African-American community but that have helped him gain the respect of many people in the field. In 2003 Thomas signed a contract with book publisher HarperCollins to publish his memoirs, documenting his rise to the Supreme Court. The book is expected to be released in 2005.

See also Affirmative Action; Hill-Thomas Hearings

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CLARENCE E. WALKER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Thurman, Howard

November 18, 1900
April 10, 1981

Minister and educator Howard Thurman, whose career as pastor, scholar, teacher, and university chaplain extended over fifty years, was the author of over twenty books. One of the most creative religious minds of the twentieth century, Thurman touched the lives of many cultural leaders within and beyond the modern civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Alan Paton, Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, Rabbi Alvin Fine, and Arthur Ashe. "The search for common ground" was the defining motif of Thurman's life and thought. This vision of the kinship of all peoples, born of Thurman's own personal struggles with the prohibitions of race, religion, and culture, propelled him into the mainstream of American Christianity as a distinctive interpreter of the church's role in a pluralistic society.

The grandson of slaves, Thurman was born in Daytona, Florida, and raised in its segregated black community. He was educated in the local black school, where he was the first African American to complete the eighth grade. He attended high school at Florida Baptist Academy (1915–1919), one of only three public high schools for blacks in the state. Upon graduation, Thurman attended Morehouse College (1919–1923) and Rochester Theological Seminary (1923–1926). After serving as pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Oberlin, Ohio, for two years (1926–1928), he studied with the Quaker mystic Rufus Jones in the spring of 1929. He served as director of religious life and professor of religion at Morehouse and Spelman Colleges (1929–1930), and dean of Rankin Chapel and professor of religion at Howard University (1932–1944).

Thurman was cofounder and copastor of the pioneering interracial, interfaith Fellowship Church for All Peoples in San Francisco from 1944 to 1953. In 1953 he assumed the dual appointment of professor of spiritual resources and disciplines and dean of Marsh Chapel at Boston University. He founded the Howard Thurman Educational Trust in San Francisco in 1961, which he administered after his retirement in 1965 until his death in 1981.

See also Christian Denominations, Independent; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.

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WALTER EARL FLUKER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Thurman, Wallace

August 16, 1902
December 22, 1934

Writer Wallace Thurman was born in Salt Lake City, Utah. His literary career began shortly after he left the University of Utah to study at the University of Southern California. Although his intent was to study medicine, Thurman soon rediscovered an earlier enthusiasm for writing. According to Arna Bontemps, whom he first met during this period, Thurman "lost sight of degrees" and began to pursue courses related to his interest in literature and writing. In Los Angeles he also wrote a column called "Inklings" for a local black newspaper. Having heard about the New Negro movement in New York, Thurman attempted to establish a West Coast counterpart to the Harlem Renaissance and began editing his own literary magazine, the *Outlet.* The publication lasted for only six months but was described by his friend Theophilus Lewis, the Harlem theater critic, as Thurman's "first and most successful venture at the editorial desk."

Dissatisfied, Thurman left for New York where, as he put it, he "began to live on Labor Day, 1925." Later he became known for his declaration that he was a man who hated "every damned spot in these United States outside of Manhattan Island." In New York Thurman secured his first position, as an editorial assistant at the *Looking Glass,* another small, short-lived review. His first important position was as temporary editor for the leftist *Messenger*, published by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. When the managing editor, George Schuyler, went on leave, Thurman's role provided him with a forum not only for his own work but for that of other nascent Renaissance talent, including Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, Zora Neale Hurston, and Dorothy West.

Wallace Thurman. *One of the most gifted editors of the Harlem Renaissance, Thurman became one of the movement's most virulent critics.* REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY.

When Schuyler returned, Thurman became associated with a white publication, the *World Tomorrow,* and at the same time joined a group of young black writers and artists—Hurston, Hughes, Aaron Douglas, John P. Davis, Bruce Nugent, and Gwendolyn Bennett—to launch "a new experimental quarterly," *Fire,* in 1926. The purpose of *Fire,* according to its founders, was to "burn up a lot of the old, dead conventional Negro-white ideas of the past, épater la bourgeoisie into the realization of the existence of the younger Negro writers and artists." Yet Thurman's enduring ambition to become editor of "a financially secure magazine" seemed ill fated. *Fire* itself became a casualty of a real fire in a basement where several hundred copies had been stored, and the disaster led to its demise after the first issue. Thurman's next editorial venture came two years later, when he began publishing *Harlem, a*

Forum of Negro Life. Although the magazine lasted a little longer than its predecessor, it too folded due to a lack of funds.

Thurman also wrote critical articles on African-American life and culture for such magazines as the *New Republic,* the *Independent,* the *Bookman,* and *Dance Magazine.* The black writer, he contended, had left a "great deal of fresh, vital material untouched" because of his tendency to view his own people as "sociological problems rather than as human beings." Like Hughes, he criticized those writers who felt "that they must always exhibit specimens from the college rather than from the kindergarten, specimens from the parlor rather than from the pantry." He exhorted black writers to exploit those authentic and unique aspects of black life and culture ignored by writers who suppressed the seamy or sordid or low-down, common aspects of black existence.

Thurman published his first novel, *The Blacker the Berry* (1929) while on the staff of MacFadden Publications. Although the book was acclaimed by the critics, the author remained characteristically skeptical of his own efforts. Doubtless invoking some of his own experiences, Thurman's novel deals with the problems of a dark-skinned woman who struggles with intraracial schisms caused by colorism. Later that same year Thurman collaborated with a white writer, William Jourdan Rapp, on the play *Harlem,* which opened at the Apollo Theater. Thurman based the plot and dialogue on his short story "Cordelia the Crude," which was originally published in *Fire.* The play was described by Hughes as "a compelling study . . . of the impact of Harlem on a Negro family fresh from the south." After its production Thurman continued to write prolifically, sometimes ghostwriting popular "true confessions" fiction.

In 1932 Thurman published his second novel, *Infants of the Spring,* an autobiographical roman à clef, documenting the period from a contemporary perspective. The novel is a biting satire and poignant critique of the Harlem Renaissance. For Thurman, the failure of the movement lay in the race consciousness emanating from the literary propagandists on the one hand and the assimilationists on the other, both undermining any expression of racial authenticity and individuality.

His final novel, *The Interne,* written in collaboration with Abraham L. Furman, was also published in 1932. It was a muckraking novel exposing the corrupt conditions in City Hospital in New York. Both of these novels were published by Macaulay, where Thurman became editor in chief in 1932. Two years later he negotiated a contract with Foy Productions to write scenarios for two films, *High School Girl* and *Tomorrow's Children.* But the strain of life in Hollywood took its toll on Thurman, who became ill and returned to New York in the spring of 1934. Not only had he been marked by a certain physical fragility, he had also been plagued with chronic alcoholism. Shortly after his return Thurman was taken to City Hospital, the very institution he had written about in *The Interne.* After remaining for six months in the incurable ward, he died of consumption on December 22, 1934.

Thurman had arrived in New York in 1925 at the peak of the Harlem Renaissance, whose rise and ebb paralleled his own life and career. He early became one of the leading critics of the older bourgeoisie, both black and white; his lifestyle and literary criticism were calculated to outrage their sensibilities and articulate a New Negro attitude toward the black arts. His importance to the Harlem Renaissance can be measured in terms of both his literary contributions and his influence on younger and perhaps more successful writers of the period. His criticism also set a standard of judgment for subsequent scholars of the Harlem Renaissance. Perhaps his evaluation of Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925), a collection inaugurating the movement, best summarizes his own life and contribution: "In [*The New Negro*] are exemplified all the virtues and all the faults of this new movement." Thurman's life itself became a symbol of the possibilities and limitations of the Harlem Renaissance.

See also Bontemps, Arna; Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Hurston, Zora Neale; New Negro; Owen, Chandler; Randolph, Asa Philip; Schuyler, George S.; West, Dorothy

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MAE G. HENDERSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Tia Ciata

April 23, 1854
April 11, 1924

Hilária Batista de Almeida, known as Tia ("Aunt") Ciata (sometimes written Assiata, Siata, Aciata, or Asseata), became a living icon of Afro-Brazilian culture in Rio de Janeiro, then the nation's capital, during a time of accelerating urban growth and cultural ferment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a cook, entrepreneur, spiritual leader, and matriarch within the city's African-descended community, she made her home into the headquarters of the section of Rio de Janeiro known as "Little Africa."

Ciata, never a slave, was born in Salvador, the capital of the northeastern province of Bahia. In 1874, she and her daughter Isabel became part of a massive flow of Brazilians of African descent from the country's northeast southward to Rio de Janeiro. Estranged from the father of her daughter, Ciata married João Batista da Silva, a fellow Bahian who was well situated in Rio's Afro-Brazilian community. She eventually rented a house at 117 Visconde de Itaúna Street in the neighborhood called Cidade Nova, near Praça Onze (de Junho). Here, Ciata settled within a thriving Afro-Brazilian colony populated by former slaves from Bahia and elsewhere in the northeast, free people of color, and (until abolition) slaves from Rio. Praça Onze served as the unofficial "capital" of Little Africa.

Rio's Afro-Brazilian community maintained its vibrant culture largely through religious practice, and Tia Ciata's prominence derived partly from her active participation in Afro-Brazilian religion (Candomblé), a practice in which she had already been initiated in Bahia. Once in Rio, Ciata associated herself with the *terreiro* (religious community) of the African-born João Alabá. She became *mãe-pequena*—literally "little mother" (or Iyá Kekerê)—the second highest position in the Candomblé hierarchy. Among Rio's numerous Bahian matriarchs affectionately called "Tia" at the time, Ciata was the most famous.

A skilled confectioner, Tia Ciata made sweets and other Bahian delicacies in her home and sold them on the street. She also started a successful business renting out the traditional white festive costumes of her native Bahia for carnival and theatrical events, and she set up a food stand at the Festa da Penha, an annual religious festival. This traditionally Portuguese event attracted a diverse crowd of devotees and spectators, and it slowly became Africanized throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as proto-samba associations (*ranchos*) and costumed groups competed for space with the penitent pilgrims. Here, Ciata became an important catalyst for the advancement of the nascent musical genre of samba, as she made her market stall into a meeting place for musicians, composers, and interested audiences.

As other Bahian "tias" did, Tia Ciata threw parties in her home on Visconde de Itaúna Street that served both spiritual and entertainment purposes. Her charisma, famous cooking, and exciting parties drew politicians, literary figures, musicians, composers, fellow devotees of Candomblé, and others. Popular memory holds her house as the birthplace of samba, a music and dance style descended from African-derived *lundu* and *maxixe*, European waltzes and polkas (which were then circulating in Rio de Janeiro), and the Portuguese-Brazilian *modinha*. Ciata united the most important popular musicians and composers of her time, such as Donga, Sinhô, Pixinguinha, Hilário Jovino Ferreira, João da Baiana, and Heitor dos Prazeres. Her distinctive manner of bringing together samba musicians may have influenced the genre's typically collective composition and performance style in Rio de Janeiro. In addition, some have speculated that Tia Ciata managed to avoid police interference at her parties because of her husband's position on the staff of the chief of police.

Participants in one of the sessions at Ciata's house collectively authored the song "Pelo telefone" ("On the telephone"), which a group called Banda Odeon recorded in 1917, a song later recorded by Donga and Mauro de Almeida and registered with the Brazilian National Library under Donga's name. While not the first recorded samba rhythm, as commonly believed, "Pelo telefone" was indeed the first one to enjoy enormous success. The song's controversial theme parodied police persecution of—and involvement in—illicit gambling.

Rio's *belle époque* is often understood as characterized by a stark separation between elite and popular culture, and by elite attempts to extinguish African culture in the name of modernity. Yet historians have pointed to Tia Ciata's house as an example of the cultural mixing that also occurred. Bahian immigrants, of which Tia Ciata was among the most active, productive, and famous, were enormously important in bringing Bahian culture to the capital, thus making such forms of Afro-Brazilian expression as samba so central to Brazilian national culture, a process that really only began in earnest in the late 1920s and 1930s, after the end of Tia Ciata's life.

Upon her death in 1924, Tia Ciata was survived by her fifteen children. Her legendary house at 117 Visconde de Itaúna Street no longer stands, a sacrifice to the demolitions that tore down whole blocks of the Cidade Nova in the middle of the twentieth century. The Escola Municipal

Tia Ciata, an experimental public school near the site where her famous house stood, bears her name.

See also Candomblé; Samba

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AMY CHAZKEL (2005)

Till, Emmett

July 25, 1941
August 28, 1955

Emmett Louis Till was born and raised in Chicago, Illinois. When he was fourteen, his parents sent him to Le-Flore County, Mississippi, to visit his uncle for the summer. That summer Till bragged to his friends about northern social freedoms and showed them pictures of a white girl he claimed was his girlfriend. His friends, schooled in the southern rules of caste based on black deference and white supremacy, were incredulous. One evening they dared Till to enter a store and ask the white woman inside, Carolyn Bryant, for a date. Till entered the store, squeezed Bryant's hand, grabbed her around the waist, and propositioned her. When she fled and returned with a gun, he wolf-whistled at her before being hurried away by his friends.

Till's act of youthful brashness crossed southern social barriers that strictly governed contact between black men and white women. In Mississippi, where the Ku Klux Klan was newly revived and African Americans were impoverished and disfranchised, these barriers were strictly enforced by the threat of social violence. On August 28, 1955, Carolyn Bryant's husband, Roy, and his half brother, J. W. Milam, abducted Till from his uncle's home, brutally beat him, shot him in the head, and then dumped his naked body in the Tallahatchie River. Till's mangled and decomposed body was found three days later, and his uncle named both men as the assailants. Bryant and Milam were tried for murder. Despite the fact that the two men had admitted abducting Till, they were acquitted on September 23 by an all-white jury because the body was too mangled to be definitively identified.

The verdict unleashed a storm of protest. Till's mother, Mamie Till, had insisted on an open-casket funeral, and pictures of Till's disfigured body featured in *Jet* magazine had focused national attention on the trial. Till's age, the innocence of his act, and his killers' immunity from retribution represented a stark and definitive expression of southern racism to many African Americans. Demonstrations were organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and black leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois demanded antilynching legislation and federal action on civil rights.

Emmett Till's lynching was a milestone in the emergent civil rights movement. Outrage over his death was key to mobilizing black resistance in the Deep South. In addition, black protest over the lack of federal intervention in the Till case was integral to the inclusion of legal mechanisms for federal investigation of civil rights violations in the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

In 1959 Roy and Carolyn Bryant and Milam told their stories to journalist William Bradford Huie. Only Milam spoke for the record, but what he revealed was tantamount to a confession. Huie's interviews were subsequently published in 1959 as a book titled *Wolf Whistle*. The NAACP, Mamie Till, and other civil rights leaders continued to call for justice and in May 2004, after new evidence was uncovered by documentary filmmaker Keith Beauchamp, the Justice Department reopened the Till case. Till's body was exhumed for autopsy on June 1, 2005.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); United States Commission on Civil Rights

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ROBYN SPENCER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Tolson, Melvin B.

February 6, 1898
August 29, 1966

The poet and educator Melvin Beaunorus Tolson was born in Howard County, Missouri, to Alonzo Tolson, a Methodist minister, and Lera Tolson. He attended Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri, spent a year (1918) at Fisk University in Nashville, and then transferred to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, where he received his B.A. With his wife, Ruth, whom he married in 1922, he would raise several highly successful children. In 1923, Tolson secured a post at Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, where he taught English literature and coached one of the country's most successful debating teams.

As early as 1917, Tolson had begun to write poems and short tales that reveal and foreshadow the intensity of his intellectual life and his preoccupation with esoteric knowledge. His poetic interests took off, however, while he was attending Columbia University on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship during 1931 and 1932, the dimming of the so-called Harlem Renaissance. His M.A. thesis presents a somewhat brief but accurate portrait of some of the leading figures of the Renaissance, including Langston Hughes (1902–1967), whom he knew fairly well. The fervor and ferment of the Harlem community inspired Tolson in 1932 to write a sonnet about Harlem's denizens. This sonnet was the germ of an extended poetic work, which was published posthumously as *A Gallery of Harlem Portraits* (1979). Lyrics from the blues and spirituals freely intermix with conventional poetic language to create stylized "portraits" of Harlemites of the 1930s and 1940s. Several years after his return to Wiley College, Tolson's enormous success as a debating coach prompted the *Washington Tribune* in 1938 to request that he write a guest column, which for almost seven years flourished as a regular feature titled "Caviar and Cabbages."

With the publication of "Dark Symphony" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1941), Tolson demonstrates his earliest preoccupation with, and mastery of, the poetic sequence. Constructed around the personalities of major historical black figures, the poem won first prize at the American Negro Exposition in Chicago in 1940. The award assisted Tolson in getting *Rendezvous with America* (1944)—his first major poetic composition—published.

In his early phase Tolson's poems, which appeared in magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Prairie Schooner,* were fairly accessible and transparent. But the poems of his second phase became more esoteric and highly allusive. His work then began appearing in magazines such as the *Modern Quarterly,* the *Arts Quarterly,* and *Poetry*. In the intervening years, Tolson was elected four times as mayor of Langston, Oklahoma. In 1947 the government of Liberia commissioned him to write a work to be read at the International Exposition in Liberia, commemorating the country's centennial, and simultaneously made him their poet laureate. To celebrate the ideals upon which Liberia was founded, Tolson wrote *Libretto for the Republic of Liberia* (1953), a difficult and enormously complex work about intellectual freedom and international brotherhood—a virtual constant in his writings. The primary work upon which Tolson's fame rests, however, is *Harlem Gallery* (1965), a lengthy poetic sequence of portraits or odes devoted as much to the modern Anglo-American poetic tradition as to African-American culture. *Harlem Gallery* is primarily concerned, for example, with the integrity of the black artist and his cultural allegiances.

Although Tolson is often grouped with the major poetic figures of the 1950s and early 1960s, such as Gwendolyn Brooks and Robert Hayden, his reputation remains far behind those of his peers, and readers and scholars alike are kept at bay by the erudition and monumentality of his work.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Hughes, Langston; Poetry, U.S.

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GORDON THOMPSON (1996)

Toomer, Jean

December 26, 1894
March 30, 1967

Writer Jean Toomer was born Nathan Pinchback Toomer in Washington, D.C. (He changed his name to Jean Toomer in 1920.) His maternal grandfather, Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, a dominant figure in Toomer's

childhood and adolescence, was acting governor of Louisiana for about five weeks in 1872 and 1873. Because Toomer's father Nathan deserted his wife and child in 1895, and his mother Nina died in 1909, Toomer spent much of his youth in the home of his Pinchback grandparents in Washington, D.C. After graduating from Dunbar High School in 1914, Toomer spent about six months studying agriculture at the University of Wisconsin. During 1916 and 1917 he attended classes at various colleges, among them the American College of Physical Training in Chicago, New York University, and the City College of New York.

By 1918 Toomer had written "Bona and Paul," a story that became part of *Cane,* his masterpiece. This early story signaled a theme that Toomer was preoccupied with in most of his subsequent writing: the search for and development of personal identity and harmony with other people. Throughout his life, Toomer, who had light skin, felt uncomfortable with the rigid racial and ethnic classifications in the United States. He felt such classifications limited the individual and inhibited personal psychic development. Having lived in both white and black neighborhoods in Washington, D.C., and having various racial and ethnic strains within him, he thought it ridiculous to define himself simplistically.

Two events early in Toomer's literary career were of great importance to his development as a writer. In 1920 he met the novelist and essayist Waldo Frank, and in 1921 he was a substitute principal at the Sparta Agricultural and Industrial Institute in Georgia. Toomer and Frank became close friends, sharing their ideas about writing, and Frank, the established writer, encouraged Toomer in his fledgling work. However, it was in Georgia that Toomer became most inspired. He was moved and excited by the rural black people and their land. He felt he had found a part of himself that he had not known well, and perhaps for the first time in his life truly identified with his black heritage. The result was an outpouring of writing, bringing forth most of the southern pieces that would be in *Cane*.

Cane, stylistically avant-garde, an impressionistic collection of stories, sketches, and poems, some of which had been previously published in *Crisis, Double Dealer, Liberator, Modern Review,* and *Broom,* was published in 1923. Though only about a thousand copies were sold, it received mostly good reviews and was proclaimed an important book by the writers who were then establishing what was to become the Harlem Renaissance. Alain Locke praised *Cane*'s "musical folk-lilt" and "glamorous sensuous ecstasy." William Stanley Braithwaite called Toomer "the very first artist of the race, who . . . can write about the Negro without the surrender of compromise of the artist's vision. . . . Toomer is a bright morning star of a new day of the race in literature." A review in *The New Republic* lauded Cane for its unstereotyped picture of the South, and Allen Tate compared Toomer's avant-garde style favorably to other modern works.

However, despite the critical praise for *Cane,* by 1924 Toomer was feeling restless and unhappy with himself. His struggle with personal identity continued. He went to France to study at Georges I. Gurdjieff's Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man at Fontainebleau. Gurdjieff believed that human beings were made up of two parts: "personality" and "essence." Personality is superficial, created by social environment. It usually obscures essence, which is one's true nature and the core of one's being. Gurdjieff claimed that he could help people discover their essence. Toomer soon embraced Gurdjieff's ideas of personal development, and when he returned to the United States, he became an advocate of Gurdjieff's philosophy, leading Gurdjieff workshops at first briefly in Harlem and then in Chicago until 1930.

Due to Gurdjieff's influence and Toomer's continuing search for a meaningful identity, after 1923 he largely abandoned the style and subject matter he had used in *Cane*. To a great extent he abandoned black writing. From 1924 until his death, he wrote voluminously, but with little critical or publishing success. He wrote in all genres: plays, poems, essays, stories, novels, and autobiographies. Whereas his writing became noticeably more didactic, some of it was not without interesting stylistic experimentation, especially his expressionistic drama, most notably *The Sacred Factory,* published posthumously in 1980. During this period, Toomer also wrote a number of autobiographies and provocative social, political, and personal essays, some of which were published posthumously. Works that Toomer did publish after *Cane* include: *Balo* (1927), a play of Southern rural black life, written during the *Cane* period; "Mr. Costyve Duditch" and "Winter on Earth," stories published in 1928; "Race Problems and Modern Society" (1929), an important essay on the racial situation in the United States that complements "The Negro Emergent," published posthumously in 1993; and "Blue Meridian" (1936), a long poem in which Toomer depicts the development of the American race as the coming together of the black, red, and white races.

A decade after the publication of *Cane,* Toomer had dropped into relative obscurity. It was not until the 1960s and the renewed interest in earlier African-American writing and the republication of *Cane* that Toomer began to have a large readership and an influence on the young black writers of the day. Since then, four posthumous collections of mostly previously unpublished material have

appeared: *The Wayward and the Seeking* (ed. Darwin T. Turner, 1980); *The Collected Poems of Jean Toomer* (ed. Robert B. Jones and Margery Toomer Latimer, 1988); *Essentials* (ed. Rudolph P. Byrd, 1991, a republication of a collection of aphorisms originally privately printed in 1931); and *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings* (ed. Frederik L. Rusch, 1993).

Toomer had two wives. He married Margery Latimer in 1931, but she died the following year giving birth to their daughter, also named Margery. In 1934 he married Marjorie Content. From 1936 to his death, Toomer resided in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Literature of the United States

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FREDERIK L. RUSCH (1996)
Updated bibliography

Toussaint, Pierre

c. 1766
June 30, 1853

Businessman, philanthropist, and candidate for canonization Pierre Toussaint was probably born in Haiti in 1766, the slave of a planter, Jean Berard. Toussaint, a house servant, was looked upon affectionately by the Berards and treated as a member of the family. His grandmother taught him to read and his master permitted him use of the home library. In 1787, during the early stages of a slave revolt, the Berards fled Haiti to go to New York City, taking Toussaint and his sister with them. Toussaint remained loyal to his masters throughout the unrest and rebellion. After arriving in New York, he was apprenticed to a hairdresser and, while still a slave, was able to set up a successful business of his own. His services were desired by many of the wealthiest and most distinguished women in the city. As a hairdresser he earned enough to become quite wealthy and to support his mistress after his master died. Although he had the means to purchase his own freedom, he chose to remain with his mistress even after she remarried.

In 1809, on her deathbed, Madame Berard granted Toussaint his freedom. His loyalty did not end with his manumission, however, and he continued to support Madame Berard's daughter for several years. With his considerable wealth he was able to purchase the freedom of his sister, Rosalie, and his future wife, Juliette Noel, in 1811. Three years later he purchased the freedom of his niece, Euphemia, and cared for and educated her. Following Euphemia's death of tuberculosis in 1829, the grief-stricken Toussaint turned to benevolent activities.

Toussaint had been a devout Roman Catholic since he was a child, and after arriving in New York he attended mass every day for sixty-six years at Saint Peter's Roman Catholic Church in lower Manhattan. He was the most notable black layperson in the antebellum Roman Catholic Church in New York City. The kindhearted Toussaint was also generous and charitable. He and his wife took black orphans into their home and raised money in support of the Catholic Orphan Asylum for white children. In 1841 he was the first person to respond to the request of Monsignor de Forbin-Jasson for donations to erect a Roman Catholic church for French speakers (now Saint Vincent de Paul's) with what was then a considerable contribution of one hundred dollars. When Toussaint died in 1853, he was buried beside his wife in Saint Patrick's Cemetery.

In response to the many voices that called for recognition of Toussaint's exemplary piety, in the early 1990s the New York archdiocese began the process of canonizing him as a saint. This effort led to some conflict and disagreement within the church. New York's John Cardinal O'Connor and other Catholics, black and white, regarded Toussaint as a model of faith and charity who deserved the honor of sainthood. Others saw his career as marked by passivity and servility and therefore unworthy of veneration. The canonization is to be decided by a commission in Rome. Despite the controversy surrounding Toussaint's legacy, he remains an important figure within nineteenth-century African-American history.

See also Catholicism in the Americas

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WILLIAM J. MOSES (1996)

Toussaint-Louverture

1743
April 7, 1803

Toussaint-Louverture, born François Dominique Toussaint Bréda, was born a black slave on the Bréda sugar plantation in Saint Domingue (or Santo Domingo, modern Haiti) on May 20, 1743. His death in a French prison in 1803 marked the end of an unparalleled career as a statesman, military general, and leader of the largest and, ultimately, most successful slave revolt in modern history. Some of this success was, no doubt, attributable to his position in the colonial society of Saint Domingue and his ability to move between the white, free colored, and slave populations with ease. He is thought to have spoken the Aja-Fon language of his African father (said to be of a royal lineage), and he certainly spoke the slave vernacular (Haitian) he learned as a child. He later acquired some proficiency in written and spoken French.

As a Creole slave, Toussaint held a privileged position as a coachman and a horse doctor, thus avoiding the awful realities experienced by the *bossales*, or African-born slaves. Although he is often believed to have been an elite slave at the outbreak of the 1791 slave insurrection, records show that he had been a black freedman, or Creole, for some time, possibly twenty years. His free status is of interest because his contemporaries thought he was a slave. He did nothing to disabuse them of this notion, however, and clearly used it to his advantage. And, like many of the free colored of the period, he owned and rented slaves.

A number of scholars have argued that Toussaint was one of the principal organizers of the August 1791 revolt, but he most likely maintained a low profile until several months after the rebellion began, continuing to live on the Bréda plantation (owned by the French Comte de Noé) with his family. Following his entry into the insurrection, he worked his way up the ranks of the rebel fighting force, later becoming the leader of his own army.

In the spring of 1793 Toussaint allied himself with the Spanish, who intended to take over the French colony, and distinguished himself as a leader and battlefield commander. About a year later—and not long after the Jacobin government officially abolished slavery in all the French colonies—he abandoned the Spanish army and joined forces with the French Republicans. It was in this period that he took on the name Louverture—meaning "the opening"—and dropped the name Bréda.

For the next seven years, Toussaint displayed a formidable political and military prowess in what could be described as a relentless quest for power. He brilliantly outmaneuvered successive French administrators and generals, and by August 1800 emerged the victor in the bloody War of the South against André Rigaud, the last leader in Toussaint's way toward complete domination of the island. Rigaud was a light-skinned free colored general from the South. The war (1799-1800) known as the War of the South or the War of Knives, ended with the defeat of Rigaud and his flight to France. The cause of the conflict is highly debated; some say it was a racial conflict and others a regional conflict. In his July 1801 constitution, Toussaint named himself governor for life, but in so doing he attracted the wrath of Napolean Bonaparte, who sent an expedition under General Charles Leclerc to wrest the colony from his control. With Leclerc's conquest of the colony completed by May 1802, Toussaint surrendered and retired to his plantations in the north. The French, however, viewed him as a threat and he was soon detained, deported to France, and held in the Fort de Joux prison in Jura where he later died, probably from pneumonia.

Historians disagree in their evaluation of Toussaint. To some he was an opportunist who sought power and glory; for others he remains one of the Americas' great political visionaries. Even though he might best be described as enigmatic, it is difficult to dismiss his impact as a leader and the success he achieved politically. Nor is it possible to deny his contribution to the creation, training, and maintenance of an army that eventually defeated the French at Vertières on November 18, 1803, under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a victory that culminated in the declaration of Haitian Independence on January 1, 1804.

Toussaint-Louverture's historical significance is wide-ranging. He has been, and continues to be, the subject of a large body of work. Caribbean scholars, in particular, have linked his contributions to the emancipation of the enslaved populations of the Caribbean, and he has been immortalized by authors such as Aimé Césaire and Edo-

uard Glissant. Despite his many contradictions, Toussaint-Louverture remains one of the most important historical actors in the formation of the modern Caribbean, and he remains a powerful symbol of the region's ongoing search for political, economic, and cultural autonomy.

See also Christophe, Henri; Dessalines, Jean-Jacques; Haitian Revolution

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THORALD M. BURNHAM (2005)

Townsend, Fannie Lou

See Hamer, Fannie Lou (Townsend, Fannie Lou)

Track and Field

See Olympians; Sports

TransAfrica Forum

TransAfrica was the African-American lobby for Africa and the Caribbean. Incorporated in September 1977, it became the first national advocacy organization to exist solely for the purpose of articulating an African-American voice in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. TransAfrica Forum, the lobby's research and educational affiliate, was established in 1981. It published the journal *TransAfrica Forum*, sponsored an annual foreign policy conference, and administered a library and resource center. Operating in tandem under a shared executive director, the parent body and its educational offshoot promoted progressive, nonracialist policies to address political, economic, and humanitarian concerns in the black world.

The history of African-American activism in foreign policy predates the Civil War. Indeed, while slavery was still practiced on American soil, abolitionists, among them Frederick Douglass, pressed for official recognition of the independent black republics of Haiti and Liberia. African-Americans opposed the U.S. invasion and occupation of Haiti (1915–1934); tried at the end of World War I to petition the Versailles Peace Conference on behalf of colonial populations; mobilized to circumvent the U.S. federal government's neutrality toward the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1934; and criticized U.S. policy toward the Belgian Congo in the 1960s.

The impact of these early campaigns, however, was largely symbolic. Not until the 1970s—in the aftermath of the civil rights movement and the emergence of a critical mass of black elected officials—did African Americans command the political resources necessary to promote a foreign policy agenda.

The decision to institutionalize a foreign policy lobby was the direct result of a Leadership Conference convened by the Congressional Black Caucus under the direction of congressmen Charles Diggs (Dem-Michigan) and Andrew Young (Dem-Georgia). On September 25, 1976, leaders from civil rights organizations and church, labor, business, and community development groups, as well as academics and elected officials, gathered in Washington, D.C., to discuss Africa policy. Their immediate concern was Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's maneuvers to protect white minority interests in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), which was moving rapidly toward black majority rule. The conferees issued an "African-American Manifesto on Southern Africa" and pledged to mobilize a constituency for Africa. TransAfrica formed one year later, with Randall Robinson as its executive director.

Emerging out of support for liberation movements in Southern Africa, TransAfrica quickly developed an image as an antiapartheid group. This perception was further enhanced in 1985 by the success of its yearlong civil disobedience campaign in front of the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. The demonstrations drew thousands of protesters from around the country and culminated with the passage—over President Ronald Reagan's veto—of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which imposed sanctions on South Africa.

TransAfrica targeted aspects of policy that affect Africa and the Caribbean: development aid, debt relief, human rights and democratization, refugee issues, famine assistance, covert operations, the drug war, and advocacy for a postapartheid South Africa. In 1990 the forum began an International Careers Program to prepare black students for the foreign service exam. The Washington, D.C.–based lobby had chapters in Boston, the District of Columbia, Chicago, Detroit, and Cincinnati.

In 2004 the organization decided to focus its efforts on researching U.S. foreign policy and educating and informing the general public, government officials, and political officials. A name change to TransAfrica Forum signaled this decision.

See also Anti-Apartheid Movement; Haitian Revolution, American Reaction to the; Politics in the United States

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PEARL T. ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Trindade, Solano

July 24, 1908
February 19, 1974

Together with Abdias do Nascimento, the poet and playwright Solano Trindade stands out as one of the most influential black Brazilian activists and intellectuals of the twentieth century. A native of Recife, Pernambuco, Francisco Solano Trindade migrated to Rio de Janeiro, where he would stand apart with other important black intellectuals in the rich cultural and political environment of the time. Before leaving Pernambuco, he participated in the formation of the Frente Negra Pernambucana (Pernambuco Black Front) in 1936. In 1937, with Vicente Lima and others, he established the Afro-Brazilian Cultural Center in Recife, which offered seminars, artistic productions, child education projects, women's support groups, and medical and dental assistance. The center also supported important publications, such as *Xangô,* a book by Vicente Lima. In 1934 and 1937 Trindade participated in the first and second Afro-Brazilian Congresses, held in Recife and in Salvador. Also during this time he traveled to Belo Horizonte and later to Pelotas, where he founded popular art groups.

Trindade settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1942. There was a vibrant debate over the racial question in Brazil, linking intellectuals, activists, and diverse political sectors. Trindade had—together with others—an important role in this political atmosphere. His close affiliations with the Communist Party and communist intellectuals, along with his poems of strong social critique, immediately made him a standout activist, fundamentally denouncing racism and the living conditions of the Afro-Brazilian population. His poems had a strong impact during the period, and with the unfolding of events in the 1970s and 1980s, when left-leaning artists and intellectuals found themselves repressed by the military government, they inspired new generations of intellectuals and popular artists. In the 1940s he also worked in the founding of the Afro-Brazilian Democratic Committee in Rio de Janeiro, where black intellectuals of various political-ideological convictions came together as neighbors and friends—such people as Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, Raimundo de Souza Dantas, Edison Carneiro, Sebastião Rodrigues Alves, and Abdias do Nascimento.

In the 1950s, together with his wife Margarida and others, he created the Brazilian Popular Theater. His theater had important repercussions, attracting black artists and addressing themes from Afro-Brazilian music, dance, and culture. Later, he rooted himself in São Paulo, specifically in the city of Embú, developing a hub of Afro-Brazilian culture and traditions, a movement that still exists under the direction of his daughter, Raquel Trindade.

Beyond his political activity, Solano Trindade stands apart in his artistic work—poems, re-adaptations of folklore, and paintings. He continued working in the city of Duque de Caxias—where his name is still remembered by the poor and black communities—until his death at age sixty-five.

See also Frente Negra Brasileira; Nascimento, Abdias do

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FLÁVIO GOMES (2005)
Translated by James H. Sweet

Tropical Diseases

The field of tropical medicine was first defined by European colonial explorers and settlers whose morbidity and mortality rates skyrocketed in areas such as West Africa and the Caribbean. Malaria, cholera, yellow fever, dysentery, leprosy, yaws, and elephantiasis were among the most common afflictions. In some cases, notably the use of quinine among the Incas, indigenous medical systems provided an important basis for therapy. Theories surrounding the origin and proliferation of these diseases focused on local climatic factors until the late nineteenth century, when scientists established the germ theory (Robert Koch and Louis Pasteur) and the transmissibility of infection by insect vectors (Patrick Manson).

With the increasing mobility of populations in the twentieth century, the notion of tropical disease broadened beyond geographic considerations to include biological, social, and cultural factors as well. The role of nutrition and sanitation in the spread (and control) of disease became clear. Studies undertaken by the National Medical Association (NMA) among selected black populations in the United States during the 1910s helped draw attention to these crucial environmental influences. The NMA's commissions on pellagra, hookworm, and tuberculosis performed investigations and issued annual reports. A prime mover in these studies was H. M. Green, a black physician from Knoxville, Tennessee, who cofounded the National Hospital Association in 1923. Another black physician, Hildrus A. Poindexter, became a specialist in tropical medicine and produced numerous epidemiological studies between 1931 and 1970. The work of such researchers became a prototype for the use of objective scientific criteria, rather than racial or geographic stereotypes, in the study of disease.

See also Mortality and Morbidity

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PHILIP N. ALEXANDER (1996)
Updated bibliography

Trotter, James Monroe

February 7, 1842
February 26, 1892

The politician and author James Monroe Trotter was born in Grand Gulf, Mississippi, to Letitia, a slave, and Richard S. Trotter, her owner. Around 1854 Trotter sent Letitia and her children to the free city of Cincinnati, Ohio, where James attended the Gilmore School for former slaves. He continued his education in Hamilton and Athens, specializing in music and art, and he taught school in the area.

During the Civil War, Trotter enlisted as a private in the all-black 55th Massachusetts Regiment. Although initially the officers were white, Trotter rose rapidly through the ranks; by April 1864 he was a second lieutenant. The U.S. War Department, however, was slow to recognize the field commissions granted to Trotter and several other black men, and Trotter openly protested this discrimination. He also participated in the struggle for equal pay. In both the North and the South, black Union soldiers insisted on the same recognition that their white counterparts received. To Trotter and many of his fellow troops, the principle of racial justice was more important than immediate gratification; the two black regiments in Massachusetts went without pay for a full year before the U.S. Congress approved equal compensation.

After the war, Trotter moved to Boston and was appointed as a clerk in the U.S. Post Office. In 1868 he married Virginia Isaacs of Chillicothe, Ohio. The Trotters intended to demonstrate that black people could achieve the highest standards set by white society; thus they settled in a white neighborhood and sent their children to white schools. At the same time, they remained deeply committed to their racial identity, and they associated with prominent black families steeped in the abolitionist tradition. In 1878 Trotter realized his aims through the publication of *Music and Some Highly Musical People,* a pioneering tribute to African-American musical talent that employed a European model of artistic quality. The book sold more than seven thousand copies.

Trotter, like most African Americans during this period, was a Republican. He had been dismayed, however, by the Republicans' withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1877. Personal evidence of the party's indifference to racial justice came in 1882, when Trotter himself was passed over for a promotion in favor of a white man. Trotter resigned from the post office and broke openly with the Republican Party. He became active in Democrat-

ic Party politics, campaigning for a successful gubernatorial candidate in 1883 and organizing a conference of black Democrats in Boston in 1886.

Meanwhile, Trotter pursued a variety of employment strategies, ranging from musical promotion to real estate. His shift in political allegiances, though, brought unexpected rewards. In 1887 President Grover Cleveland nominated Trotter as U.S. recorder of deeds, a position formerly held by Frederick Douglass. Although a U.S. Senate committee voted narrowly against confirmation, Trotter's appointment was approved by a majority in the full Senate, due largely to Republican support. He served the administration until 1889, when the Republicans were returned to the presidency.

Trotter died in February 1892 of the effects of tuberculosis. As a result of his lucrative recordership, he was able to leave substantial property to his family. His son, William Monroe, absorbed James Trotter's legacy of militancy and his commitment to integration and racial equality.

See also Civil War, U.S.; Douglass, Frederick; Military Experience, African-American

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TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)

Trotter, William Monroe

April 7, 1872
April 7, 1934

William Monroe Trotter, a newspaper editor and civil rights activist, was born in 1872 in Chillicothe, Ohio, the son of James Monroe Trotter and Virginia Isaacs Trotter. Raised in a well-to-do white Boston neighborhood, young Trotter absorbed the militant integrationism of his politically active father, a tradition that he carried on throughout his own life.

Elected president of his senior class by his white high school classmates, Trotter worked briefly as a clerk and entered Harvard College in the fall of 1891. He graduated magna cum laude in June 1895, and moved easily into Boston's elite black social set. In June 1899 he married Geraldine Louise Pindell. That same year he opened his own real estate firm.

By the turn of the century, Trotter and his peers were deeply concerned about worsening race relations in the South and signs of growing racial antagonism in the North. In March 1901 Trotter helped form the Boston Literary and Historical Association, which fostered intellectual debate among prosperous African Americans; he also joined the more politically active Massachusetts Racial Protective Association (MRPA). These organizations served as early forums for his denunciation of the virtually undisputed accommodationist leadership of Booker T. Washington. In contrast to Washington, Trotter defended liberal arts education for black people, championed electoral participation as a means of securing basic rights, and counseled agitation on behalf of racial justice. With fellow MRPA member George W. Forbes, Trotter embarked on what became his life work: the uncompromising advocacy of civil and political equality for African Americans, through the pages of the *Guardian*.

The *Guardian* newspaper, which began weekly publication in November 1901, offered news and analysis of the African-American condition. At the same time, it served as a base for independent political organizing led by Trotter himself. The "Trotterites" not only vilified their enemies in the pages of the *Guardian,* they also resorted to direct confrontation. On several occasions, Trotter and his supporters attempted (without success) to wrest control of the Afro-American Council from the pro–Booker T. Washington camp. More effective was their disruption of a speech Washington himself was scheduled to deliver in July 1903. Amid the fracas, Trotter delivered a litany of accusations and demanded of Washington, "Are the rope and the torch all the race is to get under your leadership?" He served a month in jail for his role in what was dubbed the "Boston Riot." After the incident, Trotter founded the Boston Suffrage League and the New England Suffrage League, through which he called for federal anti-lynching legislation, enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the end of racial segregation.

Although Trotter's editorial belligerence and unorthodox tactics were often disapproved of, many nonetheless respected his unswerving commitment to the cause of racial equality. They rose to Trotter's defense in the aftermath of the "riot" when Washington launched a malicious campaign—including surveillance, threats of libel, and the secret financing of competing publications—to intimidate and silence the *Guardian* and its editor. In this sense, Trot-

ter's actions, and Washington's heavy-handed efforts to squelch them, helped crystallize the growing disaffection with Washington into an organizational alternative. Trotter was able to forge a successful, if temporary, alliance with W. E. B. Du Bois and other proponents of racial integration, and he participated in founding the Niagara Movement in 1905.

Trotter's political independence and confrontational style went beyond the fight against Booker T. Washington, however. He clashed repeatedly with the Niagara Movement over questions of personality and leadership, and he resolved to wage the fight for racial justice under the auspices of his own virtually all-black organization, the National Equal Rights League (NERL; originally founded as the Negro-American Political League in April 1908). Though Trotter attended the founding convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in May 1909, he kept his distance from the white-dominated association. Relations between NERL and the NAACP remained cool over the years, with occasional instances of cooperation to achieve common goals.

Trotter's zeal for direct action remained undiminished through the 1910s and 1920s. In a much-celebrated audience with Woodrow Wilson in 1914, Trotter challenged the president's segregationist policies. Wilson, viewing his adversary's candor as insolent and offensive, ordered the meeting to a close. The following year, Trotter led public protests against the showing of the film *The Birth of a Nation;* as a result of his renewed efforts in 1921, the movie was banned in Boston. In early 1919, denied a passport to travel to the Paris Peace Conference, he made his way to France disguised as a ship's cook, hoping to ensure that the Treaty of Versailles contained guarantees of racial equality; unable to influence the proceedings, he later testified against the treaty before the U.S. Congress. In 1926 Trotter again visited the White House to make the case against segregation in the federal government, this time before President Calvin Coolidge.

The *Guardian,* however, remained the primary outlet for Trotter's political convictions. Dependent largely on the contributions of black subscribers, the paper was often on shaky financial ground. It not only absorbed Trotter's time and energy, it also drained his assets: Having abandoned the real estate business early on in order to devote himself entirely to the *Guardian*, he gradually sold off his property to keep the enterprise afloat. By 1920, with Trotter's standing as a national figure eclipsed by both the NAACP and the Garvey movement, publication of the *Guardian* became even more difficult to sustain.

Over the years, the impassioned advocacy of militant integrationism remained the hallmark of Trotter's *Guardian*. Back in 1908, Trotter, rather than supporting the black community's creation of its own hospital, had called for integration of Boston's medical training facilities. He had insisted that short-term benefits could not outweigh the "far more ultimate harm in causing the Jim Crow lines to be drawn about us." Trotter was driven by that philosophy throughout his life, even in the face of opposition from other African Americans.

On April 7, 1934, Trotter either fell or jumped to his death from the roof of his apartment building. Although he no longer enjoyed a mass following, he was remembered as one who had made enormous personal sacrifices for the cause of racial equality.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Fifteenth Amendment; Garvey, Marcus; *Guardian, The*; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; Washington, Booker T.

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TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)

Troupe, Quincy

July 22, 1939

Quincy Thomas Troupe Jr. has successfully bridged literary and popular culture as a poet, performer, editor, publisher, biographer, scholar, educator, children's writer, screenwriter, art and music critic, and community arts activist. His career has been unified by a deeply rooted sense of place, a grounding in the blues/jazz matrix, a mediation between local and diasporic black experiences, and a commitment to honor what he calls "the continuum of African spirituality."

Troupe was born in St. Louis, Missouri, to Dorothy Marshall Smith Troupe and Quincy Troupe Sr., a catcher and manager for the Cleveland Buckeyes and, for six months, the Cleveland Indians. Quincy Troupe Jr. was raised in St. Louis in a politically active family, and as a boy he was an avid reader, a talented athlete, and a mem-

ber of the church choir. He attended Grambling College in Louisiana, and he played for the Army basketball team in Europe for two years. A knee injury sent him home, and he then moved to Los Angeles, where he received an A.A. degree in journalism from Los Angeles City College in 1967.

Troupe joined the Watts Writers' Workshop, and during this fertile and volatile time he taught community-based creative writing workshops and black literature classes at the University of California, Los Angeles and the University of Southern California. He also co-edited *Shrewd* magazine, directed the Malcolm X Center in Los Angeles, and ran the John Coltrane Summer Festival. He went on to teach at Ohio University; Richmond College (in Staten Island, New York); the University of California, Berkeley; California State University, Sacramento; and the University of Ghana. Troupe spent many years in New York City, teaching at the College of Staten Island and Columbia University's Graduate Writing Program. He returned to the West Coast in 1990 to teach literature and creative writing at the University of California, San Diego.

While in Los Angeles, Troupe began his lifelong commitment to promoting the work of black writers and musicians by publishing the anthology *Watts Poets and Writers: A Book of New Poetry and Essays* (1968). In 1970 Troupe founded *Confrontation: A Journal of Third World Literature,* which led to one of his most significant contributions as an editor, *Giant Talk: An Anthology of Third World Writings* (1975). Troupe's other works include *The Inside Story of TV's "Roots"* (1978), written with David L. Wolper, which sold over a million copies. He paid tribute to his friend James Baldwin by soliciting essays for *James Baldwin: The Legacy* (1989), and he gained notoriety through his collaboration with Miles Davis on *Miles: The Autobiography* (1989) and the more personal *Miles and Me* (2000).

As a poet, Troupe fuses an international poetic sensibility with black American vernacular language and culture. His books include *Embryo Poems 1967–1971* (1972); *Snake-Back Solos: Selected Poems, 1969–1977* (1978); *Skulls Along the River* (1984); *Weather Reports: New and Selected Poems* (1991); *Avalanche: Poems* (1996); *Choruses: Poems* (1999); and *Transcircularities: New and Selected Poems* (2002). Troupe's densely packed, fast-moving poems are rooted in the cadences of black speech, shaped by the driving, improvisatory energy of jazz, and informed by irony, humor, and political anger. Described as "urbane and at times profane," Troupe is also a riveting performer who riffs like a horn soloist and personally engages his audience.

Troupe is the recipient of numerous grants and awards, including two American Book Awards. On June 11, 2002, Troupe was appointed California's first official poet laureate. However, he resigned this post and retired from his teaching position after it was revealed that he had falsified a B.A. degree from Grambling College.

See also Poetry, U.S.

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LORRIE N. SMITH (2005)

Truth, Sojourner

c. 1797
November 26, 1883

Abolitionist, suffragist, and spiritualist Sojourner Truth was born Isabella Bomefree in Ulster County, New York, the second youngest of thirteen children born in slavery to Elizabeth (usually called Mau-Mau Bett) and James Bomefree. The other siblings were either sold or given away before her birth. The family was owned by Johannes Hardenbergh, a patroon and Revolutionary War patriot, the head of one of the most prominent Dutch families in late eighteenth-century New York.

Mau-Mau Bett was mystical and unlettered but imparted to her daughter strong faith, filial devotion, and a strong sense of individual integrity. Isabella Bomefree, whose first language was Dutch, was taken from her parents and sold to an English-speaking owner in 1808, who maltreated her because of her inability to understand English. Through her own defiance—what she later called her "talks with God"—and her father's intercession, a Dutch tavern keeper soon purchased her. Kindly treated but surrounded by the rough tavern culture and probably sexually abused, the girl prayed for a new master. In 1810 John I. Dumont of New Paltz, New York, purchased Isabella Bomefree for three hundred dollars.

Isabella remained Dumont's slave for eighteen years. Dumont boasted that Belle, as he called her, was "better to me than a man." She planted, plowed, cultivated, and harvested crops. She milked the farm animals, sewed, weaved, cooked, and cleaned house. But Mrs. Dumont despised and tormented her, possibly because Dumont fathered one of her children.

Isabella had two relationships with slave men. Bob, her first love, a man from a neighboring estate, was beaten senseless for "taking up" with her and was forced to take another woman. She later became associated with Thomas, with whom she remained until her freedom. Four of her five children survived to adulthood.

Although New York slavery ended for adults in 1827, Dumont promised Isabella her freedom a year earlier. When he refused to keep his promise, she fled with an infant child, guided by "the word of God," as she later related. She took refuge with Isaac Van Wagenen, who purchased her for the remainder of her time as a slave. She later adopted his family name.

Isabella Van Wagenen was profoundly shaped by a religious experience she underwent in 1827 at Pinkster time, the popular early summer African-Dutch slave holiday. As she recounted it, she forgot God's deliverance of his people from bondage and prepared to return to Dumont's farm for Pinkster: "I looked back in Egypt," she said, "and everything seemed so pleasant there." But she felt the mighty, luminous, and wrathful presence of an angry God blocking her path. Stalemated and momentarily blinded and suffocated under "God's breath," she claimed in *Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* Jesus mercifully intervened and proclaimed her salvation. This conversion enabled Isabella Van Wagenen to claim direct and special communication with Jesus and the Trinity for the remainder of her life, and she subsequently became involved with a number of highly spiritual religious groups.

A major test of faith followed Isabella Van Wagenen's conversion when she discovered that Dumont had illegally sold her son, Peter. Armed with spiritual assurance and a mother's rage, she scoured the countryside, gaining moral and financial support from prominent Dutch residents, antislavery Quakers, and local Methodists. She brought suit, and Peter was eventually returned from Alabama and freed.

In 1829 Isabella, now a Methodist, moved to New York City. She joined the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, where she discovered a brother and two sisters. She also began to attract attention for her extraordinary preaching, praying, and singing, although these talents were mainly employed among the Perfectionists (a sect of white radical mystics emerging from the Second Great Awakening who championed millennial doctrines and who equated spiritual piety with morality, social justice with true Christianity). As housekeeper for Perfectionist Elijah Pierson, Isabella was involved in "the Kingdom," a sect organized by the spiritual zealot Robert Matthias. Among other practices he engaged in "spirit-matching," or wife swapping, with Ann Folger, wife of

"Ar'n't I a Woman" Truth or Myth?

Nell Irvin Painter stunned many Americans when she published her iconoclastic 1996 biography, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol*. Therein Painter struggled relentlessly to distinguish the actual life history of Sojourner Truth. In particular, Painter argued that though Truth is now widely credited with making her famed "Ar'n't I a Woman?" speech at an 1851 Akron Ohio women's rights convention, the historical record does not fully support the validity of this mythic moment.

Marius Robinson produced a straightforward report of Truth's comments at the Akron convention soon after it took place in 1851. His report differs quite significantly from Frances Dana Gage's 1863 article in the New York *Independent*, which eventually became the standard treatment of Truth's speech. Nowhere does Robinson suggest that the Akron auditorium was filled with women who were unskilled at public speaking, women who needed to be saved by a more self-confident Truth. Gage reported that Truth said, "'twixt all the niggers of de South and de women at the Norf, all a-talking 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon," at the beginning of her comments. Robinson placed this sentence at the end. It is also unclear, as Gage suggested, that Truth lost thirteen children to the slave trade. Most importantly, however, Robinson never recounted Truth having asked the question, "Ar'n't I a woman?," a phrase that is repeated four times in Gage's version of the speech. Though historians have known for some time that there were significant discrepancies between Gage's depiction of Truth's 1851 comments and Robinson's, Gage's narrative has become standard. Nell Painter argued that this has more to do with the fact that Gage's more dramatic comments serve contemporary interests better than do Robinson's more mundane words.

ROBERT REID-PHARR (2005)

Pierson's business partner. Elijah Pierson's unexplained death brought public outcries of foul play. To conceal Ann Pierson's promiscuity, the Folgers suggested that there had been an erotic attachment between Matthias and Isabella Van Wagenen and that they murdered Pierson with poisoned blackberries. Challenging her accusers, Isabella Van Wagenen vowed to "crush them with the truth." Lack of evidence and prejudice about blacks testifying against whites led to dismissal of the case. Isabella Van Wagenen triumphed by successfully suing the Folgers for slander. Although chastened by this experience with religious extremism, the association with New York Perfectionists enhanced her biblical knowledge, oratorical skills, and commitment to reform.

Isabella Van Wagenen encouraged her beloved son Peter to take up seafaring to avoid the pitfalls of urban crime. In 1843 his vessel returned without him. Devastated by this loss, facing (at forty-six) a bleak future in domestic service, and influenced by the millennarian (known as the Millerite movement) ferment sweeping the Northeast at the time, she decided to radically change her life. She became an itinerant preacher and adopted the name Sojourner Truth because voices directed her to sojourn the countryside and speak God's truth. In the fall of 1843 she became ill and was taken to the Northampton utopian community in Florence, Massachusetts, where black abolitionist David Ruggles nursed her at his water-cure establishment. Sojourner Truth impressed residents, who included a number of abolitionists, with her slavery accounts, scriptural interpretations, wit, and simple oral eloquence.

By 1846 Sojourner Truth had joined the antislavery circuit, traveling with Abby Kelly Foster, Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and British member of Parliament George Thompson. An electrifying public orator, she soon became one of the most popular speakers for the abolitionist cause. Her fame was heightened by the publication of her *Narrative* in 1850, related and transcribed by Olive Gilbert. With proceeds from its sale she purchased a Northampton home. In 1851, speaking before a National Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio, Sojourner Truth defended the physical and spiritual strength of women, in her famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech. In 1853 Sojourner's antislavery, spiritualist, and temperance advocacy took her to the Midwest, where she settled among spiritualists in Harmonia, Michigan.

"I cannot read a book," said Sojourner Truth, "but I can read the people." She dissected political and social issues through parables of everyday life. The Constitution, silent on black rights, had a "little weevil in it." She was known for her captivating one-line retorts. An Indiana audience threatened to torch the building if she spoke. Sojourner Truth replied, "Then I will speak to the ashes." In the late 1840s, grounded in faith that God and moral suasion would eradicate bondage, she challenged her despairing friend Douglass with "Frederick, is God dead?" In 1858, when a group of men questioned her gender, claiming she wasn't properly feminine in her demeanor, Sojourner Truth, a bold early feminist, exposed her bosom to the entire assembly, proclaiming that shame was not hers but theirs.

During the Civil War Sojourner Truth recruited and supported Michigan's black regiment, counseled freedwomen, set up employment operations for freedpeople willing to relocate, and initiated desegregation of streetcars in Washington, D.C. In 1864 she had an audience with Abraham Lincoln. Following the war Sojourner Truth moved to Michigan, settling in Battle Creek, but remained active in numerous reform causes. She supported the Fifteenth Amendment and women's suffrage.

Disillusioned by the failure of Reconstruction, Sojourner Truth devoted her last years to the support of a black western homeland. In her later years, despite decades of interracial cooperation, she became skeptical of collaboration with whites and became an advocate of racial separation. She died in 1883 in Battle Creek, attended by the famous physician and breakfast cereal company founder John Harvey Kellogg.

See also Abolition; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Free Blacks, 1619–1860

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MARGARET WASHINGTON (1996)

Tubman, Harriet

c. 1820
March 10, 1913

The abolitionist, nurse, and feminist Harriet Ross—later Harriet Ross Tubman—was one of eleven children born

Harriet Tubman at her home in Auburn, New York, 1911. *An escaped slave from Maryland, Tubman became the best-known leader of rescue expeditions on the Underground Railroad, bringing more than two hundred persons to freedom on at least fifteen trips to the South. Well before the Civil War, she had attained a legendary status among both slaves and abolitionists.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

to the slaves Benjamin Ross and Harriet Green. She was born about 1820 in Dorchester County, Maryland. Although she was known on the plantation as Harriet Ross, her family called her Araminta, or Minty, a name given to her by her mother.

Early Years

Like most slaves, Ross had no formal education and began work on the plantation as a child. When she was five years old, her master rented her out to a neighboring family, the Cooks, as a domestic servant. At age thirteen, Ross suffered permanent neurological damage after either her overseer or owner struck her in the head with a two-pound lead weight when she placed herself between her master and a fleeing slave. For the rest of her life, she experienced sudden blackouts.

In 1844 she married John Tubman, a free black who lived on a nearby plantation. Her husband's free status, however, did not transfer to Harriet through marriage. Between 1847 and 1849, after the death of her master, Tubman worked in the household of Anthony Thompson, a physician and preacher. Thompson was the legal guardian of Tubman's new master, who was still too young to operate the plantation. When the young master died, Tubman faced an uncertain future, and rumors circulated that Thompson would sell slaves out of the state.

In response, Tubman escaped from slavery in 1849, leaving behind her husband, who refused to accompany her. She settled in Philadelphia, where she found work as a scrubwoman. She returned to Maryland for her husband two years later, but John Tubman had remarried.

Underground Railroad

Tubman's successful escape to the free state of Pennsylvania, however, did not guarantee her safety, particularly after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which facilitated southern slaveholders' efforts to recover runaway slaves. Shortly after her escape from slavery, Tubman became involved in the abolitionist movement, forming friendships with one of the black leaders of the Underground Railroad, William Still, and white abolitionist Thomas Garrett. While many of her abolitionist colleagues organized antislavery societies, wrote and spoke against slavery, and raised money for the cause, Tubman's activities were more directly related to the actual freeing of slaves through the Underground Railroad. She worked as an agent on the railroad, assuming different disguises to assist runaways in obtaining food, shelter, clothing, cash, and transportation. Tubman might appear as a feeble old woman or as a demented, impoverished man, and she was known for the rifle she carried on rescue missions, both for her own protection and to intimidate fugitives who might become fainthearted along the journey.

Tubman traveled to the South nineteen times to rescue approximately three hundred African-American men, women, and children from bondage. Her first rescue mission was to Baltimore, Maryland, in 1850 to help her sister and two children escape. Her notoriety as a leader of the Underground Railroad led some Maryland planters to offer a $40,000 bounty for her capture. Having relocated many runaways to Canada, Tubman herself settled in the village of Saint Catharines, Canada West (now Ontario), in the early 1850s. She traveled to the South in 1851 to rescue her brother and his wife, and returned in 1857 to rescue her parents, with whom she resettled in Auburn, New York, shortly thereafter.

Tubman's involvement in the abolitionist movement placed her in contact with many progressive social leaders in the North, including John Brown, whom she met in 1858. She helped Brown plan his raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, but illness prevented her from participating. Tubman's last trip to the South took place in 1860, after which she returned to Canada. In 1861, she moved

back to the United States as the last of eleven southern states seceded from the Union.

Civil War and Thereafter

When the Civil War broke out, Tubman served in the Union army as a scout, spy, and nurse. In 1862 she went to Beaufort, South Carolina, where she nursed both white soldiers and black refugees from neighboring plantations. Tubman traveled from camp to camp in the coastal regions of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, using her nursing skills wherever they were needed. Tubman also worked as a scout for the Union army, traveling behind enemy lines to gather information and recruit slaves. She supported herself by selling chickens, eggs, root beer, and pies. After returning briefly to Beaufort, Tubman worked during the spring and summer of 1865 at a freedman's hospital in Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

After the war ended, Tubman eventually returned to Auburn to care for her elderly parents. Penniless, she helped support her family by farming. In 1869 Tubman married Nelson Davis, a Civil War veteran. That same year, she published *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman,* written for her by Sarah H. Bradford and printed and circulated by Gerrit Smith and Wendell Phillips. Tubman received some royalties from the book, but she was less successful in her effort to obtain financial compensation for her war work. She agitated for nearly thirty years for $1,800 compensation for her service as a Civil War nurse and cook. In 1890, Congress finally awarded Tubman a monthly pension of $20, not for her own work but because she was the widow of a war veteran.

Tubman's activism continued on many fronts after the Civil War. She was an ardent supporter of women's suffrage and regularly attended women's rights meetings. To Tubman, racial liberation and women's rights were inextricably linked. Tubman formed close relationships with Susan B. Anthony and other feminists. She was a delegate to the first convention of the National Federation of Afro-American Women in 1896 (later called the National Association of Colored Women). The following year, the New England Women's Suffrage Association held a reception in Tubman's honor.

While living in Auburn, Tubman continued her work in the black community by taking in orphans and the elderly, often receiving assistance from wealthier neighbors. She helped establish schools for former slaves and wanted to establish a permanent home for poor and sick blacks. Tubman secured twenty-five acres in Auburn through a bank loan but lacked the necessary funds to build on the land. In 1903, she deeded the land to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and five years later the congregation built the Harriet Tubman Home for Indigent and Aged Negroes, which continued to operate for several years after Tubman's death and was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1974.

Tubman died on March 10, 1913, at the age of ninety-three. Local Civil War veterans led the funeral march. The National Association of Colored Women later paid for the funeral and for the marble tombstone over Tubman's grave. A year after her death, black educator Booker T. Washington delivered a memorial address in celebration of Tubman's life and labors and on behalf of freedom. In 1978, the United States Postal Service issued the first stamp in its Black Heritage series to honor Tubman.

Tubman was called the Moses of her people and had attained legendary status in the African-American community within ten years of her escape to freedom. Perhaps more than any other figure of her time, she personified resistance to slavery, and she became a symbol of courage and strength to African Americans, both slave and free. The secrecy surrounding Tubman's activities on the Underground Railroad and her own reticence about her role contributed to her mythic status. Heroic images of the rifle-carrying Tubman have persisted into the twentieth-first century, when she continues to be the leading symbol of the Underground Railroad.

See also Abolition; National Association of Colored Women; Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slave Narratives; Still, William; Underground Railroad

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Turner, Benjamin Sterling

March 17, 1825
March 21, 1894

Born into slavery near Weldon, North Carolina, congressman and merchant Benjamin S. Turner was taken by his owner, a widow, to Alabama when he was five. Allegedly taught by his owner's children to read, Turner was sold when he was twenty. His new master permitted him to hire his own time. As a result, Turner became a successful merchant and ran a thriving livery stable. After the Civil War he ran an omnibus company and accumulated property in Selma, Alabama.

Turner became involved in local politics, serving as a tax collector for Dallas County and later on the city council of Selma. In 1870 he was easily elected to Congress. While he never addressed the floor, two of Turner's eloquent speeches were read into the *Congressional Record*. One speech called for a refund of the cotton tax levied on the South, which Turner claimed was economically crippling to blacks and whites alike. The other, much less controversial, proposed federal grants to help rebuild government buildings in Selma destroyed by the war.

Turner was generally loyal to the Republican Party, almost always voting the party line on such issues as education, the test oath, and civil rights. A proponent of reconciliation, Turner also urged amnesty for ex-Confederates. In 1872 Turner faced freeborn African American Philip Joseph for the nomination. Both candidates ran anyway, split the vote, and the Democrat won. In March 1873, Turner returned to Alabama and his business. Although he participated in Republican conventions, he never again ran for office. After losing much of his fortune during the recession in the 1870s, he returned to farming and died in Alabama in 1894 in relative poverty and obscurity.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Politics in the United States

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Turner, Henry McNeal

February 1, 1834
May 8, 1915

Born free in Newberry Courthouse, South Carolina, Henry McNeal Turner, a theologian and African colonizationist, worked picking cotton during his youth. He experienced an emotional conversion at a camp meeting as a teenager. Licensed to preach by the Methodist Episcopal Church–South in 1853, he took to the road as a traveling evangelist. In 1858 he joined the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in St. Louis and spent the next five years as an AME pastor in Baltimore and in Washington, D.C. In 1863 he organized the first regiment of the U.S. Colored Troops in his churchyard and was commissioned as chaplain, becoming probably the first African-American army chaplain. He was present at battles in Petersburg, Virginia, and Fort Fisher, North Carolina.

After the Civil War Turner traveled to Georgia, where he was briefly a Freedmen's Bureau agent. Appointed presiding elder of AME missions in Georgia, Turner was largely responsible for the tremendous growth of the AME Church in the state. In 1867 he was elected a delegate to the Georgia constitutional convention. There he primarily supported conservative and elitist positions, such as a clemency petition for Jefferson Davis and opposition to land reform and tax sales of planter property, although he supported the creation of public schools. In 1868 he was elected to the Georgia legislature. The following year, all African-American representatives were illegally expelled from the legislature. Turner was then named postmaster in Macon, Georgia, but resigned after white Macon residents exposed his association with a prostitute. In 1870 he returned to the legislature. His political career was marked by growing distrust for whites and support for problack measures such as protection for sharecroppers.

Turner largely abandoned politics in the early 1870s, although he was a candidate to the national convention of the Prohibition Party in the mid-1880s. He did continue to speak out on issues, however. He was an outspoken advocate of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and strongly de-

nounced the U.S. Supreme Court for voiding most of that legislation eight years later. During the late 1890s he was a passionate opponent of imperialist measures, such as the U.S. annexation of Hawaii, and he called the takeover of the Philippines "the crime of the century." In 1906 Turner joined with W. E. B. Du Bois and others in founding the Georgia Equal Rights League.

In 1876 Turner was named manager of the AME Book Concern in Philadelphia. During the following years, he published the *Christian Recorder* journal, compiled a hymnbook, wrote *The Genius of Methodist Polity* (1885), and put together a catechism of the AME Church. In 1880 he was elected a bishop in the AME Church, one of the first southerners to become a church leader, although his election was opposed by several northern bishops. He soon became a controversial figure in the church as a result of his advocacy of services with elaborate vestments and rituals along with his emotional preaching style. Turner believed it was the church's duty to instill pride and self-respect in its members. A forerunner of the black theology movement, he rejected white teachings of black inferiority. Explaining that blacks had no less right than whites to depict the Creator in their own image, he called for a black translation of the Bible and often stated that "God is a Negro." In 1885 Turner became the first minister to ordain a woman, Sarah Ann Hughes, to the ministry. His act was later rescinded by Bishop Jabez Campbell at the 1887 North Carolina Annual Conference of Bishops. In 1890 he was named chair of the board of Atlanta's Morris Brown College, which in 1900 founded the Turner Theological Seminary in his honor. In 1892 he became editor of the monthly AME magazine, *Voice of Missions,* and published articles on discrimination, black history, and other issues. In 1900 Turner left the journal and began his own organ, *Voice of the People.*

Turner is best known for his black nationalist ideas and advocacy of African colonization. As early as 1866 he had expressed interest in emigration, and in 1876 he drew widespread black criticism by serving as vice president of the American Colonization Society, still despised by many blacks as a racist group. By the 1880s he had become convinced that there was no future for blacks in the United States, and in 1893 he organized an Afro-American convention in Cincinnati, where he strongly urged blacks to emigrate to Africa in order to Christianize the continent and to build up black businesses and governments. He insisted that the federal government finance the project as reparation for slavery.

Turner himself made four trips to Africa during the 1890s. In 1891 he traveled to Liberia to found schools and to convert Liberians to Christianity. He founded annual conferences there, in Sierra Leone, in British South Africa (where he named a "vicar-bishop"), and in the Transvaal. His opponents attacked him for his overly positive depiction of life in Africa and his unrealistic plans for mass emigration. His conservatism and belief in building separate black institutions led him, on occasion, like Marcus Garvey in a later generation, into questionable alliances with race-baiting white politicians.

In the mid-1890s two boatloads of African Americans left for Liberia, but they faced hardship and many later returned. The failure of this mission helped discredit Turner's emigration program. His influence waned after 1900, but he remained active. In 1915, while in Windsor, Ontario, for a church function, he died of a stroke. Despite some idiosyncrasies, Turner was a passionate defender of the cultural and political independence of African Americans and was the most influential black nationalist of the second half of the nineteenth century.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century

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STEPHEN W. ANGELL (1996)

Turner, Lorenzo Dow

January 1895
February 10, 1972

Linguist and ethnologist Lorenzo Dow Turner, the first important African-American linguist, is best known for the book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949) and for scholarly articles tracing the influence of African languages on African-American speech. He was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. He attended Howard University Academy, graduating in 1910, then entered Howard University, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1914.

He then attended Harvard University, where he received a master's degree in English in 1917. The same year, Turner was hired as chair of the English Department of Howard University. During his time at Howard Turner studied for a doctoral degree in English at the University of Chicago, receiving his Ph.D. in 1926. His thesis, "Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865," was published in 1929.

In 1928 Turner left Howard University, and he and his brother Arthur began a short-lived newspaper, the *Washington Sun,* with Turner serving as editor. After the paper's demise, Turner accepted a position as head of the English Department at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. In addition to teaching, Turner was coeditor with Otelia Cromwell and Eva Dykes of a literary textbook, *Readings from Negro Authors for Schools and Colleges* (1931).

During the period Turner taught summer courses at various black colleges. Through his work he became interested in rural southern black English dialects. In 1929 he first heard and became interested in the Gullah dialect. The following year, he began to attend summer Institutes of the Linguistics Society (of which he became the first African-American member in 1931), and from 1932 through 1935 he did field work and collected data for the Linguistics Atlas Project on Gullah and Louisiana Creole. Turner and other scholars, notably Melville Herskovits, rebutted the popular assumption that no artifacts of African culture had survived in the New World. Having studied Gullah, Turner began to study African languages to find similarities. In the late 1930s he received a series of grants that allowed him to study African languages in England and France. In 1940 he spent a year in Brazil, where he compiled large amounts of data on customs and language. In the years following his return he published a series of articles based on his research. His research culminated in a book, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949). In this work Turner presented transcribed texts and word lists and explained the relationship between Gullah and African languages of the Niger-Kordofanian family in terms of etymology, syntax, grammar, and pronunciation. His work inspired linguistic studies of Creole dialects, a reevaluation of the role of Black English, and more generally, the nature of African retentions in southern African-American cultures.

In 1944 Turner moved from Fisk's English department to become director of its Inter-Departmental Curriculum in African Studies. Two years later he accepted an invitation to join the faculty of Roosevelt College, an experimental integrated college in Chicago, as professor of English and lecturer in African culture. Turner remained at Roosevelt until his death. During these years he published articles on jazz, Zulu culture, Western education in Africa, and African-American literature. His expertise in African linguistics served him well when he was made Peace Corps Faculty Coordinator at Roosevelt in the early 1960s. He prepared two works dealing with the Krio language, spoken in Sierra Leone, for Peace Corps volunteers assigned there: *An Anthology of Krio Folklore and Literature with Notes and Inter-linear Translations in English* (1963) and *Krio Texts: With Grammatical Notes and Translations in English* (1965). Turner died in Chicago.

See also Africanisms; English, African-American; Gullah

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Turner, Nat

See Nat Turner's Rebellion

Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment

In the early twentieth century, African Americans in the South faced numerous public health problems, including tuberculosis, hookworm, pellagra, and rickets; their death rates far exceeded those of whites. The public health problems of blacks had several causes—poverty, ignorance of proper health procedures, and inadequate medical care—all compounded by racism that systematically denied African Americans equal services. In an effort to alleviate these problems, in 1912 the federal government united all of its health-related activities under the Public Health Service (PHS). One of the primary concerns of the PHS was syphilis, a disease that was thought to have a moral as well as a physiological dimension. In 1918 a special Division of Venereal Diseases within the PHS was created.

In the late 1920s the PHS joined forces with the Rosenwald Fund (a private philanthropic foundation based

in Chicago) to develop a syphilis control program for blacks in the South. Most doctors assumed that blacks suffered a much higher infection rate than whites because blacks abandoned themselves to promiscuity. And once infected, the argument went, blacks remained infected because they were too poor and too ignorant to seek medical care. To test these theories, PHS officers selected communities in six different southern states, examined the local black populations to ascertain the incidence of syphilis, and offered free treatment to those who were infected. This pilot program had hardly gotten underway, however, when the stock market collapse in 1929 forced the Rosenwald Fund to terminate its support, and the PHS was left without sufficient funds to follow up its syphilis control work among blacks in the South.

Macon County, Alabama, was the site of one of those original pilot programs. Its county seat, Tuskegee, was the home of the famed Tuskegee Institute. It was in and around Tuskegee that the PHS had discovered an infection rate of 35 percent among those tested, the highest incidence in the six communities studied. In fact, despite the presence of the Tuskegee Institute, which boasted a well-equipped hospital that might have provided low-cost health care to blacks in the region, Macon County was home not only to the worst poverty but the most sickly residents the PHS uncovered anywhere in the South. It was precisely this ready-made laboratory of human suffering that prompted the PHS to return to Macon County in 1932. Since they could not afford to treat syphilis, the PHS officers decided to document the damage to its victims by launching a study of the effects of untreated syphilis on black males. Many white southerners (including physicians) believed that although practically all blacks had syphilis, it did not harm them as severely as it did whites. PHS officials, however, knew that syphilis was a serious threat to the health of black Americans, and they intended to use the results of the study to pressure southern state legislatures into appropriating funds for syphilis control work among rural blacks.

Armed with these good motives, the PHS launched the Tuskegee Study in 1932. It involved approximately four hundred black males who tested positive for the disease, as well as two hundred nonsyphilitic black males to serve as controls. In order to secure cooperation, the PHS told the local residents that they had returned to Macon County to treat people who were ill. The PHS did not inform the study subjects that they had syphilis. Instead, the men were told they had "bad blood," a catchall phrase rural blacks used to describe a host of ailments.

Although the PHS had not intended to treat the men, state health officials demanded, as the price of their cooperation, that the men be given at least enough medication to render them noninfectious. Consequently, all of the men received a little treatment. No one worried much about the glaring contradiction of offering treatment in a study of untreated syphilis because the men would not receive enough treatment to cure them. Thus, the experiment was scientifically flawed from the outset.

Although the original plan called for a one-year experiment, the Tuskegee Study continued until 1972, partly because many of the health officers became fascinated by the scientific potential of a long-range study of syphilis. No doubt others rationalized the study by telling themselves that the men were too poor to afford proper treatment, or that too much time had passed for treatment to be of any benefit. The health officials, in some cases, may have seen the men as clinical material rather than human beings.

At any rate, as a result of the Tuskegee Study approximately one hundred black men died of untreated syphilis, scores went blind or insane, and still others endured lives of chronic ill health from syphilis-related complications. Throughout this suffering, the PHS made no effort to treat the men, and on several occasions steps were taken to prevent them from getting treatment on their own. As a result, the men did not receive penicillin when it became widely available after World War II.

During those same four decades, civil protests raised America's concern for the rights of black people, and the ethical standards of the medical profession regarding the treatment of nonwhite patients changed dramatically. These changes had no impact, however, on the Tuskegee Study. PHS officials published no fewer than thirteen scientific papers on the experiment (several of which appeared in the nation's leading medical journals), and the PHS routinely presented sessions on it at medical conventions. The Tuskegee Study ended in 1972 because a whistle-blower in the PHS, Peter Buxtun, leaked the story to the press. At first, health officials tried to defend their actions, but public outrage quickly silenced them, and they agreed to end the experiment. As part of an out-of-court settlement, the survivors were finally treated for syphilis. In addition, the men, and the families of the deceased, received small cash payments.

The forty-year deathwatch had finally ended, but its legacy can still be felt. In the wake of its hearings, Congress enacted new legislation to protect the subjects of human experiments. The Tuskegee Study left behind a host of unanswered questions about the social and racial attitudes of the medical establishment in the United States. It served as a cruel reminder of how class distinctions and racism could negate ethical and scientific standards.

See also Race and Science

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JAMES H. JONES (1996)
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Tuskegee University

Tuskegee University was founded in 1881 as the Normal School for colored teachers at Tuskegee in Alabama's Macon County, as the result of a political deal made between local white politicians and Lewis Adams, a leading black citizen. In exchange for black votes, Arthur Brooks and Col. Wilbur Foster, candidates for the Alabama legislature, promised to seek state appropriation for a black normal school in Tuskegee. Adams successfully rallied black support, and on February 10, 1881, House Bill No. 165 was passed, appropriating $2,000 annually for a black state and normal school in Tuskegee. The act prohibited the charge of tuition and mandated a minimum of twenty-five students to open.

Booker T. Washington was recommended to organize the school by his mentor, Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the founder of Virginia's Hampton Institute, although Tuskegee's trustees had specifically requested a white man. Washington had been Armstrong's best student at Hampton, where he fully accepted Armstrong's philosophy that the first step for blacks was economic and moral uplift.

When Booker T. Washington arrived at Tuskegee on June 24, 1881, there was no actual school to open, just an appropriation and authorization by the Alabama state legislature. Before selecting a location, Washington met with local white supporters, toured the area to recruit students, and investigated existing living and educational conditions for Tuskegee's black population. Washington selected a shack next to Butler Chapel, the African Methodist Episcopal Church on Zion Hill, where Lewis Adams was superintendent, as the site for the school. The school officially opened on July 4, 1881, as a secondary normal school with thirty students.

By July 14, 1881, Tuskegee Normal School had more than forty students ranging in age from sixteen to forty, most of whom were already public school teachers in Macon County. As enrollment increased, Washington recruited other Hampton and Fisk graduates to teach, including Olivia A. Davidson (who served as lady principal from 1881 until her death in 1889 and who married Washington in 1886). He decided that a larger facility would soon be needed. He wrote to J. F. B. Marshall, the treasurer of Hampton Institute, and requested a loan of $200 to purchase a new farm site. Although the school could not make such loans, Marshall personally loaned Washington the money, enabling him to make a down payment on the Bowen estate.

The Bowen estate, owned by William B. Bowen, was located one mile south of town. The main house had been burned down during the Civil War, leaving two cabins, a stable, and a chicken house. In keeping with his philosophy of self-knowledge, self-help, and self-control, Washington required students to clean and rebuild the Bowen estate while attending classes. By requiring such manual labor of his students, Washington was attempting to demonstrate that others were willing to help them—provided that they help themselves.

The money acquired to complete the payments on the Bowen estate came from many sources, including northern philanthropy and student fund-raisers, such as benefit suppers and student "literary entertainments," organized by Olivia Davidson. Payments on the Bowen estate were completed in April 1882.

Washington's philosophy of industrial education made Tuskegee Normal School a controversial model of black progress. Washington supported the use of manual labor as a moral training device, and he believed that manual labor would build students' character and improve their minds. In implementing a program of mandatory labor and industrial education, Washington had four basic objectives: to teach the dignity of labor, to teach the trades, to fulfill the demand for trained industrial leaders, and to offer students a way to pay expenses while attending the school (although no student, regardless of his or her economic standing, was exempt from this labor requirement). Washington also considered industrial education to be valuable because it trained students in specific skills that would prepare them for jobs. However, Tuskegee's graduates primarily became members of the teaching profession. Instructors also offered academic and normal courses in botany, literature, rhetoric, astronomy, and geography in addition to the much publicized industrial courses.

Tuskegee expanded steadily over the years with money acquired from the northern speaking tours of Olivia Davidson and Booker T. Washington. Davidson began touring New England in spring 1882, soliciting support door to door on weekdays and speaking in churches and Sunday schools during the evenings and on weekends. Washington began his own fund-raising tour on May 1, 1882, in Farmington, Connecticut. He traveled through the North with letters of introduction from such prominent southern officials as Henry Clay Armstrong, the state superintendent, and Gov. Rufus W. Cobb. By the end of May, they had collected more than $5,000 for the expansion of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

Porter Hall was the first new building erected, named in honor of a generous Brooklyn businessman, Alfred Haynes Porter. The three-story building housed recitation rooms on the first floor, a chapel and library on the second floor, and the girls' dormitory on the third floor. Up to this time the boys stayed with neighboring black families. Shortly after Porter Hall was completed, Washington arranged to rent several nearby cottages to house the boys, until their three-story dormitory, Armstrong Hall, was completed in 1888.

State funding for Tuskegee was increased in 1883 when the Alabama state legislature approved an additional $1,000 appropriation. The school also began receiving a $500 annual appropriation from the Peabody Fund in 1883 and $1,000 annual awards from the Slater Fund in 1884. Philanthropic funding to Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute signified the extent of northern support for black industrial education.

In addition to fund-raisers, grants, and philanthropic support, money was raised for Tuskegee through brick making, which Washington began at the school in 1883, though its long-term contribution to Tuskegee's financial health was more symbolic than practical.

In 1892 the Alabama legislature adopted an act to incorporate Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, legally changing the school's name. After 1895 new buildings replaced those built from northern philanthropy. With names like Rockefeller, Huntington, and Carnegie, these buildings indicated support from the northern, chiefly New York–based business community. Such support increased Tuskegee's property value to more than $300,000 by 1901 and facilitated the growth of the faculty and student body.

On April 1, 1896, Booker T. Washington wrote to George Washington Carver, an agricultural chemist who had just completed his M.A. at Iowa State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, and offered him a position as the head of the agriculture department at a salary of $1,500. Carver arrived shortly thereafter and established the Agriculture Experiment Station, where research was conducted in crop diversification. Carver taught Tuskegee's students, emphasizing the need for improved agricultural practices and self-reliance, and also made a great effort to educate Tuskegee's black residents. He garnered national and international fame in the 1920s for his experiments with sweet potatoes, cowpeas, and peanuts.

Both Carver and Washington left a powerful legacy of manual and agricultural training at Tuskegee. Their educational philosophies had a lasting impact upon Tuskegee's curriculum and continued to influence the school's direction. After Washington's death in 1915, it had become apparent to many that Tuskegee's industrial training was increasingly obsolete in the face of rapid technological transformation in American business. The school thus entered a new era, shifting its emphasis from industrial to vocational education.

In 1915 Robert R. Moton became the second principal of Tuskegee, and although he practiced Washington's accommodationist style, he moved the school forward in directions that Washington had refused to move. Despite white opposition, Moton was instrumental in bringing a veterans' hospital to Tuskegee in 1923. He ensured that the institution, like Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, was staffed entirely by blacks. Under Moton's direction, a college curriculum was developed in 1927. Two years later, Tuskegee's students demanded a shift away from "Washington's education." Moton heeded their voices and coordinated a new emphasis on science and technology.

Robert R. Moton was succeeded by Frederick D. Patterson in 1935. Patterson's administration also brought fundamental changes to the school, reflected in the name change to Tuskegee Institute in 1937. During World War II Patterson pursued the placement of a program for the segregated training of black pilots in Tuskegee, an action that was criticized by the NAACP. From 1939 to 1943 the air force trained more than nine hundred black pilots at Tuskegee, establishing the Tuskegee Army Airfield in 1941. Patterson also obtained significant state funding for the establishment of a graduate program (1943), a school of veterinary medicine (1945), and a school of nursing (1953).

In its entire history, Tuskegee has had only five presidents. Subsequent presidents have included Luther H. Foster (1953–1981) and Benjamin F. Payton (1981–). Foster modernized and expanded Washington's emphasis on the trade industry and established the College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Business. He led Tuskegee through the civil rights movement, when in 1968, Tuskegee students briefly held members of the board of trustees

hostage in an attempt to force changes in campus policies. When Benjamin E. Payton assumed control of the school in its centennial anniversary, Tuskegee boasted five thousand acres, 150 buildings, and an endowment of more than $22 million. Payton presided over the school's name change to Tuskegee University in 1985, and in 1989 he also undertook a major fund-raising effort for the school, the largest ever attempted by a black college.

Although the school's curriculum and focus shifted over the years, the school continued to emphasize business, scientific, and technical instruction, a legacy of both Washington and Carver. In 1994 Tuskegee University had 3,598 students; the number had dropped to about 3,000 in 2004, but that year's record-setting entering class included over a thousand students. It offered fifty programs of study, twenty-one master's degrees, and a doctor of veterinary medicine degree—the only historically black college to grant such a degree. Distinguished alumni include novelist Ralph Ellison, actor Keenan Ivory Wayans, and Arthur W. Mitchell, the first black Democratic congressman.

See also Carver, George Washington; Education in the United States; Fisk University; Howard University; Lincoln University; Moton, Robert Russa; Washington, Booker T.

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LISA MARIE MOORE (1996)
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Twilight, Alexander

September 26, 1795
June 1857

Born free in Corinth, Vermont, in 1795, Alexander Lucius Twilight, an educator and legislator, was the third of six children of Mary and Ichabod Twilight. Indentured to a local farmer, Twilight worked in his spare time and eventually saved enough to purchase the last year of his indenture in 1815. Twilight went on to attend Randolph Academy and in 1821 graduated with the equivalent of a high school degree and two years of college. He then entered Middlebury College and in 1823 received his B.A. degree. Twilight was probably the first African American to graduate from an American college.

After completing college, Twilight accepted a teaching position in Peru, New York. He studied theology and was granted a license to preach by the Champlain Presbytery of Plattsburgh, New York. In 1829 he moved to Browningon, Vermont, where he took over as principal of the Orleans County Grammar School as well as minister of the local congregation, which prayed in the school building. Twilight began a campaign to raise money for a new, larger school building to house an intermediate school, Brownington Academy. He received little funding either from public or private sources, but he supervised the construction of Athenian Hall, a three-story granite structure with sufficient room.

Twilight became so popular through his various activities that in 1836 he was elected by the village to a one-year term in the Vermont state legislature in Montpelier. He thus became the first African-American state representative and probably the first black elected official in America. His term of office was unexceptional, and at its close Twilight returned to Brownington Academy. In 1847 he left Brownington to teach in other villages, but he returned to his ministerial and educational functions in Brownington in 1852. He retired in 1855, following a stroke, and died in June 1857.

See also Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Politics in the United States

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Tyson, Cicely

December 19, 1939

Born to immigrant parents from Nevis, one of the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean, television, screen, and stage actress Cicely Tyson grew up in East Harlem in New York City. Her father worked as a carpenter, at times selling fruit and vegetables from a pushcart, while her mother worked as a domestic. After the divorce of her parents she lived with her mother, who forbade secular theatrical entertainment such as movies. It was in Saint John's Episcopal Church in Harlem, where she sang and played the organ, that Tyson's theatrical talents surfaced.

After graduating from high school and taking a job as a secretary with the American Red Cross, Tyson was asked to model hairstyles by her hairdresser. He encouraged her to enroll in the Barbara Watson Modeling School, where she met *Ebony* fashion editor Freda DeKnight. Soon she was appearing on the covers of the major fashion magazines in the United States, such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*.

In 1957 Tyson had a small part in the film *Twelve Angry Men* with Henry Fonda. Two years later she made her stage debut, starring in *Dark of the Moon* directed by Vinnette Carroll and produced by the Harlem YMCA's Drama Guild. In 1962 she appeared in both *Moon on the Rainbow Shawl* and Jean Genet's *The Blacks,* for which she received a Vernon Rice Award.

Tyson was recruited in 1963 for a lead role in the CBS television series *East Side, West Side,* becoming the first African-American actress to be a regular on a dramatic television series. The same year she appeared on stage with Alvin Ailey in the Broadway production of *Tiger, Tiger, Burning Bright* and in the Off-Broadway production of *The Blue Boy in Black,* playing opposite Billy Dee Williams. In 1968 she appeared in the film *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter,* for which she received critical and public acclaim for her performance.

Tyson waited four years before doing film work again because of her decision not to accept roles that added to the negative stereotypes of African Americans. Then, in 1972 she accepted the role of Rebecca in the film *Sounder*. Her performance earned her an Academy Award nomination for best actress.

In 1974 Tyson received two Emmy Awards—one for best lead actress in a drama and the other for actress of the year—for her portrayal of aged ex-slave Jane Pittman in *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. She went on to play other socially conscious roles for television, including the part of Harriet Tubman in *A Woman Called Moses* (1976), Kunte Kinte's mother in *Roots* (1977), and Coretta Scott King in *King* (1978).

On Thanksgiving Day 1981 Tyson married jazz trumpeter Miles Davis. Davis's third attempt at marriage and Tyson's first, the arrangement lasted seven years. Tyson continues to be active in film and television, appearing with Oprah Winfrey in the television miniseries *The Women of Brewster Place* in 1989 and in the film *Fried Green Tomatoes* in 1991. In 1994 she won an Emmy for her performance in *The Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All,* and in 1999 she appeared in the highly regarded television movie *A Lesson Before Dying*. She sponsors the Cicely Tyson School for the Performing Arts in East Orange, New Jersey. Scheduled for 2005 is *The Diary of a Mad Black Woman,* in which she appears as the character Myrtle.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary; Television

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JOSEPH E. LOWNDES (1996)
SABRINA FUCHS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Tyson, Mike

June 30, 1966

In 1986 Mike Tyson became the youngest boxer ever to win a world heavyweight championship title. Dubbed "Iron Mike" by the press because his physique made him seem invincible, he was hailed as the long-awaited successor to Muhammad Ali. He was later demonized in the same media after a series of personal and legal problems made headlines. Though he was considered one of boxing's most promising talents, mastering the fortune and fame that came with success proved to be Tyson's toughest challenge in life.

Born in the summer of 1966 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, Tyson later moved

Mike Tyson with flamboyant boxing promoter Don King. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

with his mother to the Brownsville section of the borough during his early years. He knew who his father was but had little contact with him. By fifth grade, the future icon was a habitual truant and could barely read. He was also large and powerful for his age and became known for being able to knock down full-fledged teenagers in street fights. He fell into a bad crowd and compiled a lengthy juvenile record for armed robbery and other transgressions.

The turning point in Tyson's life came around 1980, after he had spent two years at a facility for juvenile offenders in upstate New York. A teacher there introduced him to a local septuagenarian and legendary boxing manager, Constantine "Cus" D'Amato. D'Amato recognized Tyson's promise, and the teen began training in earnest for the ring. D'Amato also became a father figure for the teen, and even his official legal guardian after his mother died. When Tyson failed to win a spot on the 1984 U.S. Olympic boxing team, he decided to turn professional in early 1985. Over the next year, he knocked out seven other fighters in the first round. He became boxing's youngest heavyweight champion when he won a World Boxing Council (WBC) match against Trevor Berbick in November 1986. Four months later, he won the World Boxing Association (WBA) belt, and later in 1987 took an International Boxing Federation (IBF) title.

Tyson successfully defended his title as the world heavyweight champion in 1988 and 1989. The celebrity that came with his new life, however, seemed to prove a deadlier adversary for him. After a whirlwind courtship, he wed actress Robin Givens in 1988, who later that year told television personality Barbara Walters that her husband suffered from manic depression and could sometimes frighten her and become physically violent. The couple filed for divorce two weeks later. The deaths of D'Amato and a subsequent manager left Tyson adrift professionally, and he fell into the orbit of boxing promoter Don King. His first serious professional loss came in February 1990 in a match with James "Buster" Douglas, to whom he ceded the world heavyweight title. Tyson seemed sluggish in the ring, and rumors arose that he was taking mood-stabilizing medication.

Tyson's fortunes continued to sink, and rapidly. In early 1992, he was convicted of the sexual assault of a Miss Black America contestant in a case that seemed shaky at best, and served three years in an Indiana prison. During his incarceration, Tyson took remedial math classes and converted to Islam. He returned to the ring in 1996, handily beating a string of lesser opponents, and won back his WBA championship belt in September of that year. He lost it two months later to Evander Holyfield, who had not

been favored to beat Tyson. In June 1997 the two met again in a massively hyped event, and Tyson bit off a part of Holyfield's ear. Boxing authorities initially banned him from the sport for life because of the transgression, but he was later reinstated.

Tyson made his third comeback in 1999 after he broke professional ties with Don King, but was deeply mired in financial troubles and more than one lawsuit by then. In January 2002, before a press conference to announce a bout with heavyweight champion Lennox Lewis, Tyson rushed at the British boxer and the two brawled for nearly five minutes. Tyson lost their June fight and filed for bankruptcy the following year. He claimed to have racked up thirty-eight million dollars in debt. In July 2004 he lost to another British boxer, Danny Williams, in the fourth round. Sportswriters and boxing fans predicted Tyson's career was over, for at age thirty-eight he was considered well past his athletic prime.

See also Boxing

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CAROL BRENNAN (2005)

Underground Railroad

Few aspects of the antislavery movement have been more shrouded in myth and misunderstanding than the Underground Railroad. Although white abolitionists, including Quakers, played an important role in helping to free thousands of African Americans, the degree of their involvement has been overemphasized. In the years before the Civil War, the Underground Railroad was primarily run, maintained, and funded by African Americans. Black working-class men and women collected the bulk of money, food, and clothing and provided the shelter and transportation for the fugitives. Wealthier, better educated blacks such as Pennsylvania's Robert Purvis and William Whipper arranged for legal assistance and offered leadership, financial support, and indispensable contacts among sympathetic and influential white political leaders. Philadelphia's William Still, who ran the city's vigilance committee and later recorded the stories of many of the people he helped, managed the pivotal point in the North's most successful underground system. He personally assisted thousands of escaping slaves and helped settle them in northern African-American communities or in Canada. As one white abolitionist leader admitted about the Underground Railroad in 1837, "Such matters are almost uniformly managed by the colored people."

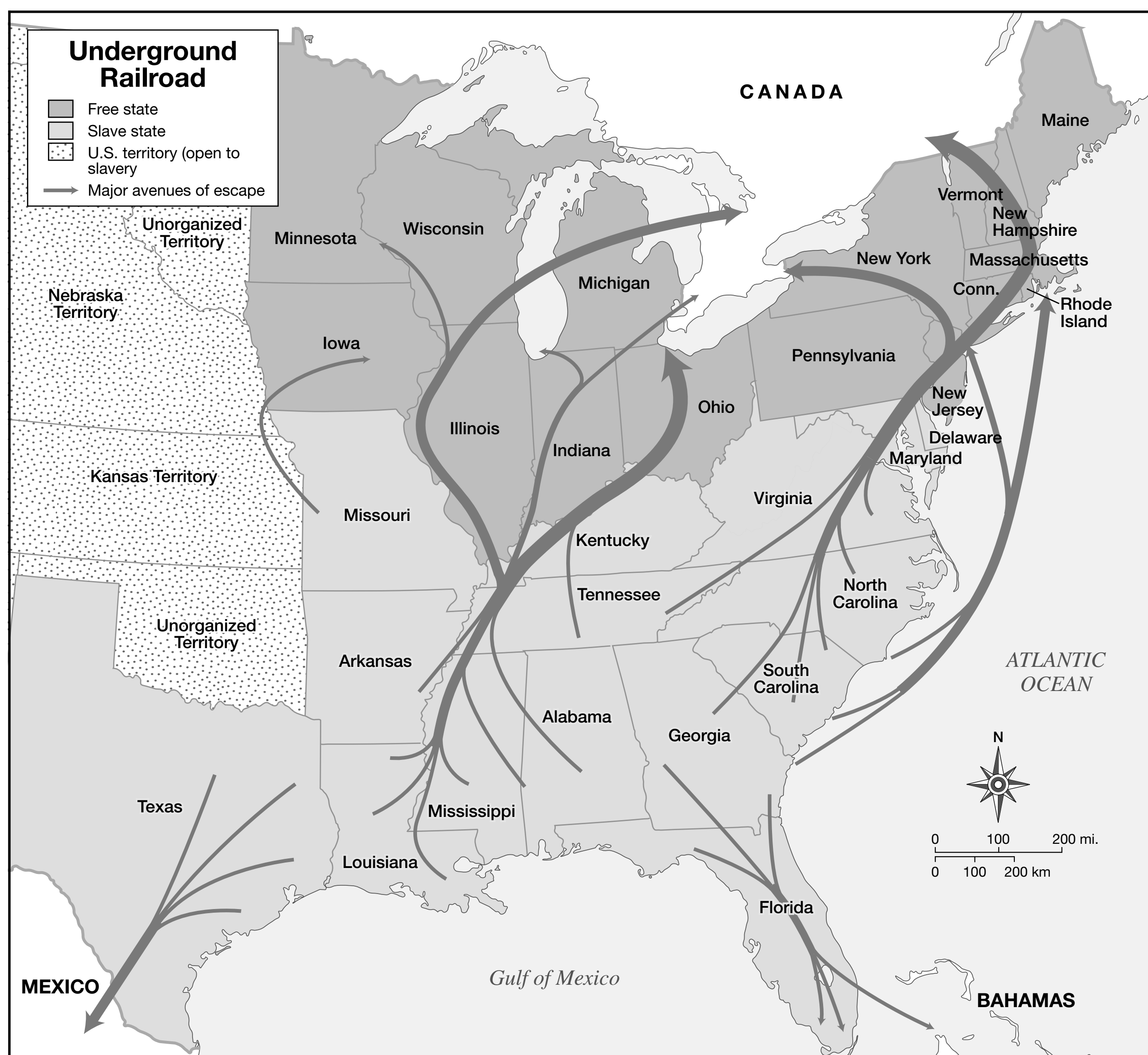
Although the origins of the term Underground Railroad are uncertain, by 1850 both those who participated in it and those who sought to destroy it freely employed metaphors from the railroad business to describe its activities. More important, northerners and southerners understood both its symbolic and its real meanings. The numbers of African Americans who fled or were smuggled out of the South were never large enough to threaten the institutional stability of slavery. Yet the number actually freed was, in a way, less important than what such activities said about the institution of slavery and the true character of southern slaves. Apologists for slavery described blacks as inferior, incapable of living in freedom, and content in their bondage. Those who escaped from the South, and the free African Americans who assisted them, undermined slavery by irrefutably disproving its racist ideology.

Most slaves who reached freedom in the North initiated their own escapes. After their initial flight, however, fugitives needed guidance and assistance to keep their hard-won liberty. Many did not have to travel far before finding help. Although the black underground's effectiveness varied over time and place, an astonishingly large

Children pose for a class picture outside the doors of a "colored" school in Buxton, Ontario, Canada, 1910. *Both black and white children attended the school, one of the few in North America to offer a "classical" curriculum. The town of Buxton was founded as the Elgin settlement, a destination community for escaped slaves seeking refuge via the Underground Railroad.* © REUTERS/CORBIS

number of semiautonomous networks operated across the North and upper South. They were best organized in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, but surprisingly efficient networks, often centered in local black churches, existed in most northern and border states, and even in Virginia. At hundreds of locations along the Ohio River, where many former slaves lived, fugitives encountered networks of black underground laborers who offered sanctuary and passed them progressively northward to other black communities. African-American settlements from New Jersey to Missouri served as asylums for fugitive slaves and provided contacts along well-established routes to Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York for easy transit to Canada.

Urban vigilance committees served as the hub for most of the black undergrounds. Along the East Coast, where the black underground was most effective, the Philadelphia and New York vigilance committees operated as central distribution points for many underground routes. Committee leaders such as William Still and David Ruggles directed fugitives to smaller black "stations," such as that of Stephen A. Myers in Albany, New York, who in turn provided transportation directly to Canada or farther west to Syracuse. Vigilance committees also warned local blacks of kidnapping rings, and members hazarded their lives in searching vessels for illegal slaves. Such black leaders also maintained contacts among influential whites who covertly warned of the movement of slave owners and federal marshals. Where formal committees did not exist, ad hoc ones functioned, supplied with information from, for example, black clerks who worked in hotels frequented by slave catchers. Black leaders such as William Still, who helped finance the famous exploits of Harriet Tubman, employed the latest technology to facilitate their work; during the 1850s these committees regularly used the telegraph to communicate with far-flung "stations."



Map of the Underground Railroad, showing primary routes of escape. *Working class African Americans generally provided asylum and contacts for fugitive slaves along well-established routes to northern states and Canada.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

The most daring and best-organized "station" toiled in the very shadow of the U.S. Capitol. Run by free blacks from Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, this underground network rescued slaves from plantations in Maryland and Virginia, supplied them with free papers, and sent them north by a variety of land and water routes. These free blacks used their good standing among whites—as craftsmen, porters, and federal marshals' assistants—to facilitate their work. One free black used his painting business as a cover to visit plantations and arrange escapes; another employed his carriage service to transport slaves; others sustained the charges of slave owners and used their positions as plantation preachers and exhorters to pass escape plans to their "parishioners." When stealth and secrecy failed, heroic members of the Washington, D.C., "station" successfully attacked a slave pen to free some of its captives.

Members of this eastern network occasionally worked with white abolitionists such as Charles T. Torrey and the Quaker leader Thomas Garrett. But they primarily worked with other blacks, sending fugitives to Philadelphia where, either singly or in large groups, the escapees were directed to New York City and dispersed along many routes reaching into New England and Canada or toward western New York. This network was temporarily disrupted during the 1840s, when race riots in northern cities and escalated

southern surveillance forced the removal of Washington's most active agents. Nevertheless, by one estimate, between 1830 and 1860 over nine thousand fugitive slaves passed through Philadelphia alone on their way to freedom.

The Underground Railroad never freed as many slaves as its most vocal supporters claimed, and far fewer whites helped than the mythology suggests. Undeniably, however, the existence and history of the system reflect the African-American quest for freedom and equality.

See also Abolition; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Ruggles, David; Runaway Slaves in the United States; Slavery; Still, William; Tubman, Harriet

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UNIA

See Universal Negro Improvement Association

Union League of America

The Union League (or Loyal League) was the first mass-based African-American political organization. During congressional Reconstruction it was the vehicle for mobilizing the newly enfranchised voters for the Republican Party. The league was severely maligned by historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but recently scholars have taken a more favorable view.

The Union League originated during the Civil War as a white patriotic organization supporting the Union war effort. Under its longtime president James M. Edmunds, it spawned both the patrician Union League Clubs and many mass organizations in the northern states, and these were generally secret and oath-bound. With the end of the war, Republican leaders decided that the clandestine character of the organization made it appropriate for southern operations, and during presidential Reconstruction thousands of white Unionists, particularly in the mountains, joined the order.

With the passage of the Military Reconstruction acts in March 1867, Republican leaders turned their attention to the freedpeople. Republican donors underwrote an organizing campaign, and paid speakers, black and white, swept through the southern states. Encouraged by a sympathetic Freedmen's Bureau and other government officials, hundreds of thousands of blacks joined in the spring and summer of 1867. This mobilization was the freedpeople's first introduction to partisan politics and the mechanics of voting, and it was instrumental in the overwhelming vote they gave the Republican Party. The league thus helped "reconstruct" southern governments under the congressional plan.

The social impact of the movement was pronounced as well, coming at a critical moment in the evolution of the plantation system. After the war, planters tried to reconstruct production on familial lines: gang labor, physical coercion, tight supervision, and women and children in the work force. The vigorous black response to the league can be seen as a measure of frustration with the similarity the freedpeople's condition still bore to slavery. Their politicization around egalitarian slogans undermined plantation discipline and encouraged the transition to decentralized tenant farming and sharecropping.

The Union League was repressed by the Ku Klux Klan in 1868 and after, and consciously demobilized by the Republican leadership as a conciliatory gesture. Its influence on black voting patterns and on the plantation system was to prove more enduring.

See also Politics in the United States

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Unions

See Labor and Labor Unions

United Negro College Fund

The United Negro College Fund, an alliance of forty-one black colleges and institutions of higher education, is a philanthropic enterprise established to fund black education. It was created during World War II, at a time when almost all black colleges were in dangerously poor financial shape. The Great Depression and wartime shortages had cut deeply into charitable donations, and many students were unable to pay their own tuition. In 1943 Tuskegee Institute president Frederick Douglass Patterson wrote an article in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* proposing that black colleges streamline their fund-raising by uniting in a joint funding appeal. The next year, presidents of twenty-seven colleges met and agreed to support a united mass fund-raising campaign, the proceeds of which they would divide among their colleges. With the aid of donations from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Rockefeller-based General Education Board, the organization, named the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) and based in New York, was founded. It was composed of privately supported (largely southern) black colleges, which authorized the UNCF to raise all funds for operating expenses such as scholarships, teachers' salaries, and equipment. Each college president agreed to serve revolving thirty-day terms leading UNCF efforts. William Trent, a manager trained at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, was its first executive director.

In 1944 the UNCF inaugurated its first national campaign. It was an enormous success: the organization raised $765,000, three times the combined amount that its member colleges had collected in the previous year. Fueled by its rapid success, the UNCF soon grew, hiring a permanent independent staff. In 1951 the UNCF began a separate capital campaign, the National Mobilization of Resources, for the United Negro Colleges to pay for building and endowment funds, and raised $18 million in four years with the help of John D. Rockefeller Jr. In 1963 the UNCF, with the support of President John F. Kennedy and the Ford Foundation, began an additional appeal for funds for long-neglected maintenance and expansion of campus physical plants, and raised $30 million in a single year.

In 1964 Trent resigned. As it struggled to redefine its mission and to promote the legitimacy of black college education in the face of mainstream university desegregation, the UNCF went through six presidents, beginning with Patterson, in the next ten years. The turbulence of the civil rights movement scared away potential donors, and funding levels dropped.

In 1972 the UNCF was accepted by the Advertising Council, and television and radio advertising became a major avenue for fund-raising. The UNCF's slogan, "A mind is a terrible thing to waste," became so well known it was included in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. Under the leadership of Christopher Edley (president from 1973 to 1990), the UNCF's annual campaign receipts went from $11.1 million to $48.1 million, and its membership grew to forty-one colleges. In 1978 the UNCF inaugurated a Capital Resources Development Program, which raised $60 million for its member institutions, and a College Endowment Funding Program, designed by Patterson to reduce college dependence on federal funding for permanent expenses. In 1980 the UNCF also began a yearly fund-raising telethon, "The Lou Rawls Parade of Stars."

In 1990 Christopher Edley resigned, and the following year, U.S. House Majority Whip William Gray III left his seat in Congress to become the UNCF's new president, underlining its importance in the black community. That year the UNCF started "Campaign 2000," a drive to raise $250 million by the year 2000. With the support of President George H. W. Bush and a $50 million gift from media magnate Walter Annenberg, it raised $86 million in its first year.

The United Negro College Fund remains the premier nongovernmental funding source for historically black colleges. Its narrow goal of endowment fund-raising and appeal to donors across the political spectrum has brought it a certain amount of criticism as a politically "safe" charity. However, its defenders have emphasized that quality black colleges remain a necessary alternative for students seeking higher education, and the UNCF's efforts have assured the survival and growth of these institutions.

In 2003, after transforming the UNCF into a powerful philanthropic organization, Gray announced that he would step down as president. In 2004 Dr. Michael L. Lomax became president and CEO.

See also Education in the United States; Gray, William H., III

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United States Commission on Civil Rights

The Commission on Civil Rights was established as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Originally known as the President's Commission on Civil Rights, it was intended to be a temporary commission. The commission's purpose was to investigate complaints about voting rights infringement because of race, color, religion, or ethnicity; to compile information on the denial of equal protection under the law that could be used in further civil rights protection; to serve as a clearinghouse of information on equal protection in the United States; and to submit a final report and recommendations to Congress and the president within two years.

Of the first six commissioners appointed by the president and Congress, only one was black—J. Ernest Wilkins, an assistant secretary of labor in the Eisenhower administration. The first chair was Stanley Reed, a former U.S. Supreme Court Justice who resigned almost immediately, citing "judicial improprieties" in the commission's charter. Reed was replaced by Dr. John Hannah, who served as chair until 1969. The commission, which had its mandate extended by the Civil Rights Act of 1960, served to focus attention on the U.S. government's responsibilities regarding civil rights. The commission was also a place to which African Americans could bring complaints about legislative and extralegal, violent attempts to keep them from voting. In February 1963 the commission issued *Freedom to the Free,* a report marking the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. It pointed out that while the problem in the South remained de jure segregation and discrimination, in the North it was de facto: "The condition of citizenship is not yet full-blown or fully realized for the American Negro. . . . The final chapter in the struggle for equality has yet to be written." The commission's powers were enlarged and its existence extended by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to encompass investigation of allegations of denial of equal protection of any kind. Its two-volume report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (1967), pointed out increasing racial segregation in schools, especially in metropolitan areas, as whites left the cities for the suburbs, laying responsibility at the feet of housing discrimination as practiced by private citizens and local, state, and federal government. In 1969 Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of the University of Notre Dame, a noted liberal on civil rights and segregation issues, succeeded Hannah as chair.

During the busing crisis of the early 1970s, the commission reaffirmed the view that Congress had the responsibility for establishing a "uniform standard to provide for the elimination of racial isolation." It chided President Richard Nixon for being overly cautious about ending de facto segregation in the North in a 1970 report. Largely because of this, Nixon forced Chairman Hesburgh to resign in 1972 and replaced him with the more conservative Arthur S. Fleming the following year. The fifth report of the commission, released in November 1974, documented the failure of the government to fulfill its obligations to blacks in employment. The commission's term was extended by the Civil Rights Commission Authorization Act of 1978, as it had been previously extended every time its term was up.

During Ronald Reagan's administration, the commission became the stage for a debate about affirmative action. In 1980 it endorsed racially based employment quotas in a report titled "Civil Rights in the 1980s: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination." However, in 1981 President Reagan fired Chairman Arthur Fleming and replaced him with Clarence Pendleton Jr., an archconservative and the first African American to serve as chair; all subsequent chairpersons have also been African American. In 1983 Reagan dismissed three other commissioners because they were critical of his administration's civil rights policies. One of the dismissed members, noted African-American historian Mary Frances Berry, successfully sued the Reagan administration to retain her position on the board, citing the commission's loss of independence. Following several months of negotiations involving the administration, Congress, and the commission itself, a compromise was reached and the body was reconstituted as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, with the president and Congress each appointing half the members, now numbering eight. More importantly, commissioners now had eight-year terms that could be terminated "only for neglect of duty or malfeasance in office."

In 1985 Chairman Pendleton declared that affirmative action programs should be ended and the commission

ultimately abolished. The next year he proposed that minority contract set-asides should be ended; the rest of the commission disagreed with him, as did the National Black Republican Council, so the plan did not go forward. During the George H. W. Bush administration, the debate over quotas continued. Pendleton died in 1988 and was replaced by William Barclay Allen, an African American, who was forced to resign in October 1989 following the disclosure that he had been arrested for kidnapping a fourteen-year-old girl in a child custody battle. The commission's authorization expired September 30, 1989, and the reauthorization process was an occasion for Congress to examine the body's composition and future. Its new chair, Arthur A. Fletcher, former executive director of the National Urban League, appointed in February 1990, vowed to be more active than his predecessors and to make the commission the nation's conscience once again. In August 1991 the commission issued its first significant report on discrimination on six military bases in Germany, and followed it six months later with a report on pervasive discrimination against Asians, based on barriers of language and culture. The Civil Rights Commission was stalled through much of the mid-1990s by a battle between the Clinton administration and the Republican Congress over Bill Lann Lee, a former Inc. Fund attorney who was appointed commission chair in 1995. When Congress filibustered on the nomination because of Lee's support for racial preferences, Clinton appointed Lee as a recess appointment.

In 2001 the Civil Rights Commission called for a probe of the 2000 presidential election, stating that thousands of African American voters had their votes rejected as a result of faulty voting machines in areas highly populated by African Americans.

See also Affirmative Action; Civil Rights Congress; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Politics in the United States

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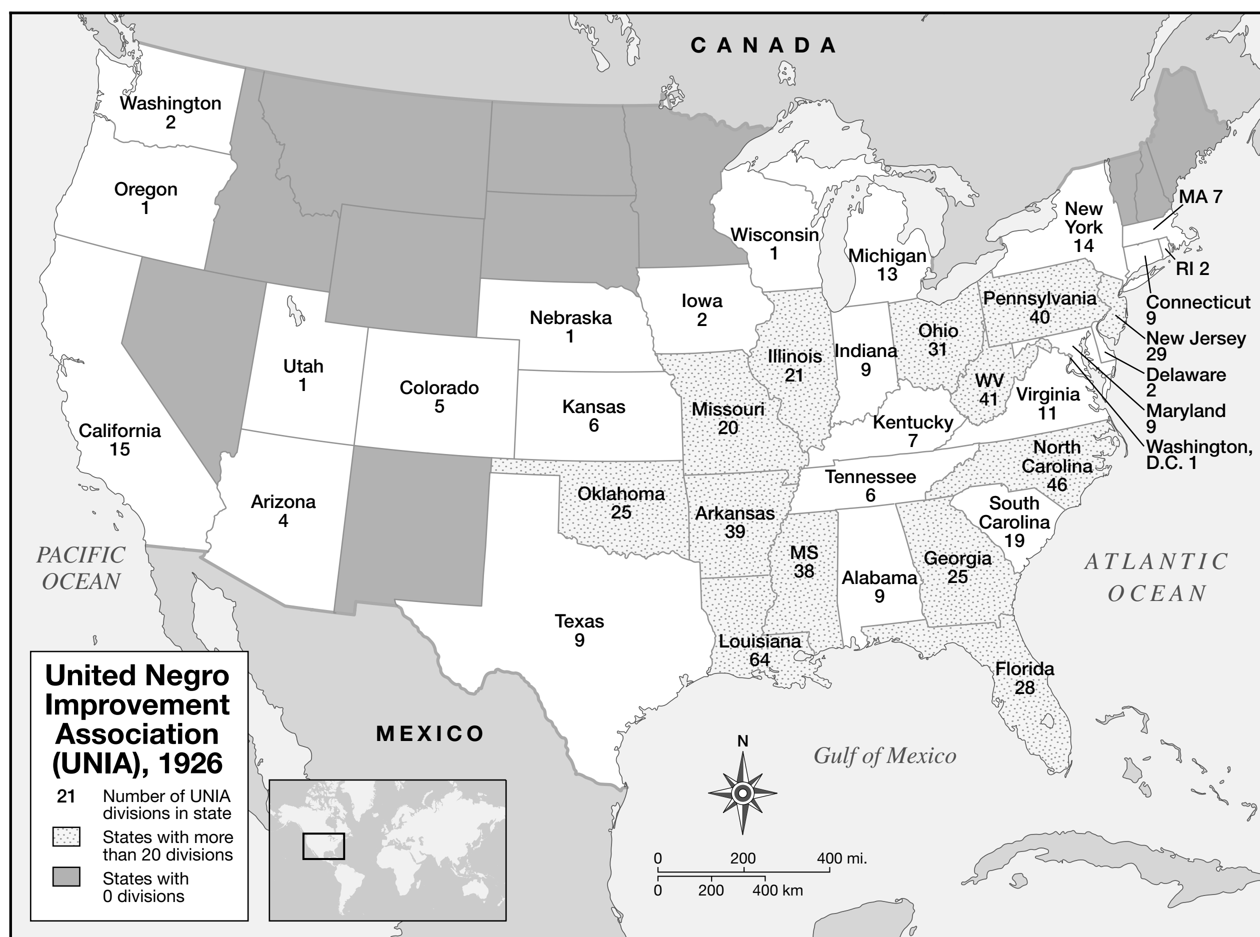
Universal Negro Improvement Association hand card, bearing a portrait of Marcus Garvey along with the UNIA flag. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Universal Negro Improvement Association

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), with its motto "One God, One Aim, One Destiny," stands as one of the most important political and social organizations in African-American history. It was founded by Marcus Garvey in July 1914, in Kingston, Jamaica, in the West Indies.

At the time of its establishment, its full name was the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities (Imperial) League (ACL). Originally organized as a mutual benefit and reform association dedicated to racial uplift, the UNIA and ACL migrated with Garvey to the United States in 1916. Incorpo-



Map showing the growth of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the United States 1926. *Marcus Garvey began the association in his homeland of Jamaica in 1914. Two years later, he moved to Harlem, preaching black nationalism and expanding his remarkably fast-growing all-black organization. The UNIA became so popular that by 1926, there were chapters in thirty-seven states plus the District of Columbia, as well as branches in most of the nations of the Caribbean and Central America.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

rated in New York in 1918, the UNIA gradually began to give voice to the rising mood of New Negro radicalism that emerged within the African-American population following the signing of the armistice ending World War I in November 1918.

The UNIA experienced a sudden massive expansion of membership beginning in the spring of 1919, spearheaded by the spectacular success of the stock-selling promotion of the Black Star Line (BSL). Together with the Negro Factories Corporation and other commercial endeavors, all of which were constituted under the ACL, the BSL represented the heart of the movement's economic program.

Outfitted with its own flag, national anthem, Universal African Legion and other uniformed ranks, official organ (the *Negro World*), African repatriation and resettlement scheme in Liberia, constitution, and laws, the UNIA attempted to function as a sort of provisional government of Africa. The result was that by 1920–1921 the UNIA had become the dominant voice advocating black self-determination under its irredentist program of African Redemption. Accompanied by spectacular parades, annual month-long conventions were held at Liberty Hall in Harlem, in New York City, between 1920 and 1924, at all of which Garvey presided. The document with the greatest lasting significance was the "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World," passed at the first UNIA convention in August 1920.

Nearly a thousand local divisions and chapters of the UNIA were established by the mid-1920s in the United States, Canada, the West Indies, Central and South America, Africa, and the United Kingdom, causing the influence of the UNIA to be felt wherever peoples of African descent lived. With actual membership running into the hundreds

of thousands, if not millions, the UNIA is reputed to have been the largest political organization in African-American history.

After Garvey's 1923 conviction on charges of mail fraud following the collapse of the Black Star Line and his incarceration in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary starting in 1925, membership in the UNIA declined rapidly. When President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence and he was deported from the United States in 1927, the organization found itself racked by increasing factionalization.

Garvey incorporated a new UNIA and ACL of the World in Jamaica at the August 1929 convention, competing with the New York–based UNIA parent body headed at the time by Fred A. Toote, who was succeeded by Lionel Francis in 1931. With the worldwide economic collapse that followed the 1929 stock market crash, the UNIA went into further decline as members' resources dwindled, making it difficult to support two separate wings of the movement. Demoralization also set in as a result of the UNIA leadership's increasing fragmentation. Garvey was able to retain the loyalty of only a part of the movement, notably the Garvey Club and the Tiger division of the New York UNIA.

When Garvey moved his headquarters in 1935 from Jamaica to London, he tried once again to revive the movement but soon found himself confronting considerable opposition by members who were in the forefront of the campaign to support Ethiopia during the Italian–Ethiopian War of 1935. These members repudiated the criticisms Garvey leveled against Ethiopia's Emperor, Haile Selassie I, following the invasion by Mussolini and the Fascist Italian Army.

After Garvey's death in 1940, loyalists moved the headquarters of the organization to Cleveland, Ohio, under the leadership of its new president general, James Stewart, who thereafter relocated with it to Liberia. By the 1940s and 1950s, the UNIA had a mere shadow of its former strength, but it still continues to function into the twenty-first century.

See also Garvey, Marcus; Pan-Africanism

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University of the West Indies

The University of the West Indies comprises three campuses: Mona in Jamaica, St. Augustine in Trinidad, and Cave Hill in Barbados. There are also university centers located in noncampus countries. These constitute the outreach arm of the university, providing classroom teaching and enabling the delivery of some courses via the Distance Education Programme. The university also maintains working relations with a number of tertiary-level affiliated institutions. More recently it has forged alliances in some islands with selected teachers colleges and community colleges that register students for courses approved by the university. Certification in such courses comes from the university.

The university has seven faculties (Agriculture, Humanities and Education, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Pure and Applied Science, and Social Sciences). Only the faculties of Agriculture and Engineering are specific to one campus (St. Augustine); the others are duplicated on all the campuses. The total on-campus student population in the academic year 2002–2003 stood at 22,463 (Mona, 9,440; St. Augustine, 8,644; Cave Hill, 4,359). There were 1,095 full-time academic staff altogether in 2002–2003 (706 males and 389 females).

From about 1926 the British government responded in piecemeal fashion to separate inquiries about the possibilities of university education from the West Indies, Singapore, East Africa, and Malaya. The onset of World War II made it more urgent to promise the colonies a better deal after the fighting and to impress world opinion that Britain was an enlightened imperial power. The social conditions in the colonies had to be drastically improved and more liberal political goals—self-government, for example—agreed on. Not only primary and secondary education but also university education became a matter of importance, if only to control the new colonial elite. In the case of the West Indies, before an aid agency of British advisers implanted in the West Indies (Colonial Development and Welfare) could set in motion British-funded improvements in primary and secondary education, another set of advisers (the Irvine Committee) was set up for funding a scheme of university education for the islands.

The Asquith Commission was a landmark in the evolution of British government support for university education in the colonies. A branch of it, the Irvine Committee, was sent to the West Indies in 1944 to investigate and report. After a tour of major colonies this committee recommended that a small single-campus residential university

allied with the University of London, which would issue degrees in its name, should be established in Jamaica. A major issue before the committee was whether a centralized university, meaning a single-campus university, or a decentralized university, meaning a university of colleges scattered over more than one island, should be set up.

The evidence provided by witnesses, except in Jamaica, suggested that the islands would have been more comfortable with a decentralized university, but the Irvine Committee was convinced that in order to cultivate a West Indian outlook two requirements were nonnegotiable: the university should be residential and it should be centralized on one campus.

With funds for buildings from the British government and commitments from West Indian governments to meet recurrent expenses, such a centralized university college came to life in Jamaica in October 1948, with teaching first in medicine, followed by natural sciences (1949) and arts (1950). Extramural staff to develop adult education and West Indian cultural activities were placed on noncampus islands, but this was not thought to detract from the principle of a centralized university. However, after about twelve years this centralized single-campus residential model was found inadequate to guarantee rapid expansion or to satisfy insular nationalistic drives to possess a part of the university. In 1960 the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, a tertiary-level institution in Trinidad founded in 1922, merged with the University College and became its Faculty of Agriculture.

Two years later (1962) a Faculty of Engineering, with much funding from the government of Trinidad, started at St. Augustine, and the next year (1963) teaching in arts and natural sciences commenced at St. Augustine and Cave Hill. The university had begun its journey to decentralization.

The history of the University College (which became the University of the West Indies in 1962, having claimed its independence from the University of London) may be conveniently divided into three periods: first 1948 to 1960, when it was a residential single-campus centralized University College; then 1960 to 1984, when the struggles to find a new nonresidential, decentralized, multicampus model was most pronounced; and finally 1984 to the present, when a highly satisfactory decentralized model was agreed on, first in 1984 and then refined in the mid-1990s by a new governance system. At this point, for instance, each faculty on each campus got its own dean. The university grew from thirty-three medical students in 1948 to 970 students in 1960, and despite repeated difficulties in raising recurrent financing, it did succeed largely by a mix of students from different territories in creating the West Indian outlook the Irvine Committee dreamed of. However, this outlook was subsequently impaired, though not lost, by a number of developments. West Indian leaders failed to create a national state; the Federation of the West Indies lasted only from 1958 to 1962; territorial nationalism grew; some territories, starting with Jamaica and Trinidad, became independent after 1962; and Guyana withdrew from the university in 1962. Eventually the university authorities found that instead of dealing with seven governments as at the start, they were dealing with fourteen. The university was financed for limited periods, usually for nine years at a time, and it was not until 1989 that the West Indian governments declared their commitment to keeping it as a regional institution in perpetuity. Most of the islands could not seriously think of financing their own university apart from the University of the West Indies, but two islands, Jamaica and Trinidad, because of their greater size and greater resources, talked as if they could establish their own university. The more credible threat came in the mid-1970s from Trinidad, which had surplus oil revenues. But using hindsight now it seems as if all the threats of the leading politicians were only negotiating positions in the struggle to locate faculties and programs in their territories or to have more local power over the university.

From decentralization through two specialized faculties (Agriculture and Engineering at St. Augustine), the university duplicated faculties and programs on any campus that could afford them. It took some twenty years for the management structures of the single-campus centralized university to be adjusted to fit a decentralized university model. By 1984 a university center headed by the vice chancellor assisted by a number of pro–vice chancellors had successfully claimed authority over enough administrative, academic, and financial functions to hold the university together as a regional institution, but large areas of autonomy were allowed to the local campuses.

With the abandonment of a single-campus residential model, student numbers rose sharply from the 1960s onwards. The addition of evening programs boosted numbers especially in the Arts and Social Science faculties on all three campuses. Mona stayed ahead with 3,735 and 7,503 students in 1974 and 1994, respectively; followed by St. Augustine with 2,202 and 5,231 students in 1974 and 1994, respectively; and then Cave Hill with 991 and 2,870 students in 1974 and 1994, respectively. But the proportion of university students was still small and in most faculties applicants outnumbered matriculants. Although the level of financial support offered to students varied from campus to campus, the general trend has been to put more of the real cost of their education on the shoulders of the

students. There were never enough scholarships, and presently there is a conviction that students, not the general taxpayers, should pay for university education. Since the 1990s, in the spirit of globalization several overseas universities, especially from the United States, have offered degree, diploma, or certificate programs in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados, usually in association with a local college but in competition with the University of the West Indies. The university now has to fight to preserve its place as the leading tertiary institution in the West Indies.

The West Indianization of the staff of the university began from the first period of its existence, and as the university established successful graduate programs, some of its bright graduates were able to join the staff. Because West Indian staff members tended to have research interests in West Indian fields, the West Indianization of the staff enabled the university to bring its expertise to bear on West Indian problems. So little research prior to 1948 had been done on West Indian problems that the staff had a wide-open field for research in every discipline. From the start the university aspired to place much emphasis on research, and with the addition of public service to government or nongovernmental agencies as further fields of academic action, those staff members so minded could find ample scope for action outside teaching. While politicians have occasionally complained that research done at the university was irrelevant to some perceived needs, the university has a history of responding favorably to all requests from governments for special help with national projects.

The University of the West Indies has been a serious contributor to the growth of the professions in the islands over the last half of the twentieth century. The rapid expansion of secondary education in the islands, one of the most democratizing social developments of the last fifty years, would have been impossible without the humanities and science graduates from the university. The creation of independent states demanded highly trained public servants, social scientists, economists, and other professionals. The public hospitals are staffed to a significant extent by medical graduates from the university. The university has the largest core of intellectuals in the islands and is the source from which the grand theories of West Indian societies emanate.

A source of much comment is the large number of female students and graduates in most faculties. This trend only started in the mid-1980s. No doubt it has its source in similar movements at the level of the secondary schools. Whether male or female, the student of the university still has the challenge of the Irvine Committee to face: how to nurture a West Indian outlook in a regional institution. The decentralization has lowered the level of the mix of students from different islands on each campus. Cave Hill has a better mix than St. Augustine, and the latter has a better mix than Mona. While the Mona campus in Jamaica was certainly not Jamaican in the early years from 1948 to 1960, it is decidedly Jamaican at present. The cultivation of the West Indian outlook now depends largely on West Indian curricula and a mix of West Indian staff, but even the latter has suffered some dilution. The inherent insular pressures of the decentralized university require constant efforts from the university center, led by the vice chancellor, to mitigate, if not reverse them.

See also Education in the Caribbean

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CARL C. CAMPBELL (2005)

Urban Cinema

Urban Cinema describes a wave of city-based, feature-length films by African-American directors that began in the mid-1980s and that were dominated by action movies and youth dramas. In urban cinema, social and economic injustices, along with the conditions and relationships they produce, function as essential elements that directly motivate a film's characters, plot, dialogue, action, and aesthetics.

Many films within urban cinema have been influenced by hip-hop culture and reflect what S. Craig Watkins calls "the ghettocentric imagination" (1998). In addition to featuring rap-dominated sound tracks, urban cinema sometimes features rap stars in leading roles and often presents the points of view and experiences of young

Ice-T (standing) and Chris Rock in a scene from the 1991 film* New Jack City, *directed by Mario Van Peebles. WARNERS BROS./THE KOBAL COLLECTION

African-American men in the direct, sincere, and fearless style popularized by hip-hop. Early urban films like *Beat Street* (1984) and *Krush Groove* (1985) placed hip-hop culture itself at the center of the drama.

Contemporary urban cinema is also inspired by 1970s "blaxploitation" films, which focused on urban landscapes and celebrated black action heroes and heroines. Much, though not all, contemporary urban cinema abandons the blaxploitation genre's focus on superhuman characters and instead applies the hip-hop ethic of "keeping it real" to film. The result is a cinema that claims to represent the lived experience of young, usually poor, city-dwelling African Americans and/or to expose African-American "gangsta culture." Many argue, however, that the "gangstas" in urban cinema are directly informed by Latino and Italian gangster characters in mainstream movies like *Scarface* (1983) and the *Godfather* films of the 1970s.

Most African-American urban films have been written and directed by African-American men. Urban cinema coincides historically with the growing numbers of African-American men who directed feature films after the success of Spike Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986) and *Do the Right Thing* (1989). From 1990 to 1995 more than forty feature films by African-American directors were released nationally, more than ever before in film history. Through them, modern urban cinema was born.

In 1991 three films were released that established urban cinema's two main sub-genres of crime-driven action films and tragedy-tinged youth dramas. *New Jack City*, directed by Mario Van Peebles, son of legendary blaxploitation director Melvin Van Peebles, resurrected blaxploitation cinema's themes of action, crime, and violence. That same year, John Singleton's *Boyz N the Hood,* which was nominated for two Academy Awards, and nineteen-year-old Matty Rich's *Straight Out of Brooklyn* established somber, socially conscious youth dramas as a foundation of urban cinema.

These films were soon joined by Ernest Dickerson's *Juice* (1992); The Hughes Brothers's *Menace II Society* (1993); Leslie Harris's *Just Another Girl on the IRT* (1993) and Darnell Martin's *I Like It Like That* (1994), two of the only films in the genre directed by women and among the few, along with Singleton's *Poetic Justice* (1993), that feature female leads; and Spike Lee's masterful *Clockers* (1995). This period also saw successful urban comedies such as *House Party* (1990), *Friday* (1995), and the comedy-action hybrid *Bad Boys* (1995), all of which were followed by sequels. Not long after came the urban cinema spoof *Don't Be a Menace to South Central While Drinking Your Juice in the Hood* (1996) and the sexual satire *Booty Call* (1997). From 1996 to 2000, the number of feature films directed by African Americans dropped by almost half, and as a result, urban cinema also declined. Films that sustained the genre included *Set It Off* (1996), *Gridlock'd* (1997), *Belly* (1998), and a remake of *Shaft* (2000).

Since 2001 African-American directors have produced a handful of feature films each year but have never replicated their previous numbers. Urban cinema continued with films like *Prison Song* (2001), *Baby Boy* (2001), and *Never Die Alone* (2004). However, action-driven films like *Bad Boys* (1995), *2 Fast 2 Furious* (2003), and *Four Brothers* (2005) have frequently attracted more attention than personal dramas. Antoine Fuqua's interracial crime thriller, *Training Day* (2001), brought Denzel Washington his first best-actor Oscar. *8 Mile* (2002) successfully mimicked the formula of earlier youth dramas but replaced the unknown African-American leads that anchored those films with white rap star Eminem. In 2005, *Hustle and Flow*, produced by urban-cinema auteur John Singleton and featuring an acclaimed performance by Terrence

Dashon Howard, attempted to renew urban cinema by moving it to the South and by merging contemporary hip-hop themes with the classical blaxploitation plot of a pimp, in the spirit of *Superfly* (1972), who is desperate to escape the streets.

Debates within urban cinema echo debates about the hip-hop culture that has always influenced it. Advocates of urban cinema celebrate its focus on the marginalized lives of young African-American men and its role in the artistic achievements of African-American filmmakers and performers. Its critics claim that urban cinema glorifies violence, demeans women, and perpetuates negative stereotypes. Other critics challenge its emphasis on "authentic" representations of African Americans, arguing that urban films pretend to represent "gritty," "ghetto" realities when they are actually well-constructed cinema fantasies. However, the final judgment of urban cinema rests in the hands of its young African-American consumers whose profound longing to see any version of their lives reflected on screen has always served as the soul of the genre.

See also Blaxploitation Films; Film in the United States; Film in the United States, Contemporary; Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of; Lee, Spike; Singleton, John

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DIONNE BENNETT (2005)

Urban Poverty in the Caribbean

In a global environment defined by great upheaval and disorder, the small-island states of the Caribbean have largely been spared the worst aspects of the upheaval and violence afflicting other parts of the world. Indeed, in a world where war, social violence, genocide, state collapse, and terror are commonplace, the English-speaking and politically independent states of the Caribbean remain exceptional for their low levels of social disorder, high levels of human development, and unity of democratic governance. The stereotype of the Caribbean as an idyllic tropical paradise where tourists and visitors can enjoy their leisure time in politically free and fairly well-governed societies is in fact not too far from the truth. Political stability, democracy, and high levels of social well-being remain defining features of the region.

It is also true, however, that upheaval in the economic, political, and cultural structures of world society is dramatically undermining these positive inheritances and altering this condition of Caribbean exceptionalism. For example, North American media images depicting dissident youth cultures, hedonistic lifestyles, and the subversion of conventional values are now common fare in the Caribbean. Television commercials and media programming celebrating leisure, sex, and conspicuous consumption helped undermine commitment to thrift, personal modesty, and the value of education and hard work. Consequently, for Caribbean youths today, prize-winning high school students are no longer the role models; they have been replaced by the gold chain-wearing drug dealer and the gangster with a fancy car. The emulation of these role models by unemployed youth, along with the easy availability of drugs and guns, has led to an increase in antisocial behaviors by youths across the region.

This contagion is apparent in the explosion in urban street crime. Kidnappings, armed robberies, extortion, and murder are now commonplace in the larger islands of the Caribbean. For example, Jamaica, with a population of 2.6 million, had more than 1,200 murders in 2004—one of the highest rates in the western hemisphere. That same year there were 164 kidnappings in Trinidad, a record for that country. That the smaller islands with tiny populations had fewer incidents of crime did little to diminish concern about this epidemic of violence and its destructive effects on urban communities.

While the link between poverty and crime remains complicated, there is little doubt that globalization is influencing both crime and urban poverty across the En-

glish-speaking Caribbean. Indeed, because of the highly interactive nature of the globalization process, both the dynamics of Caribbean societies and the ecology of their inner cities resemble patterns in the advanced industrial societies of western Europe and North America.

Today, inner-city Caribbean communities duplicate almost exactly the sociology of urban poverty in the United States. For example, the city of Kingston, Jamaica, particularly its western precincts, is known for its intense poverty, especially among youths aged fifteen to twenty-four. Lacking education and bereft of skills, urban youths in Jamaica make up a significant proportion of the 18 percent of the population that fell below the poverty line in 2002.

Furthermore, having lost the diverse class composition of earlier decades—in which the unemployed poor lived in the same neighborhoods with unionized workers, domestics, and middle-class professionals—whole areas of West Kingston have been transformed into segregated ghettos in which the poor are cut off from the wider society.

The same is true of Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and its poorer eastern precincts, where joblessness, crime, and poverty afflict residents, most of whom are deprived of family and community ties. Decrepit housing, poor drainage, and squalor in impoverished hillside communities such as Levantville only aggravate this situation.

Much like the physical and social isolation of urban ghetto residents in the United States, chronic joblessness of poor residents, the collapse of family and community life, and the erosion of conventional values are now pervasive features of urban poverty in the Caribbean. Global upheaval, and its nexus with the political economy of these dynamic islands, has made Caribbean societies—and particularly the disadvantaged populations in the capital cities—poorer, more violent, and more ungovernable than they were a generation ago. Reports indicate that poverty in the Caribbean persists despite significant economic growth in countries like Trinidad and Barbados. Paradoxically, Trinidad's current oil boom and double-digit economic growth rate have done little to reduce high unemployment and poverty rates there.

Although the incidence of poverty is greatest in the Caribbean countryside, poverty is felt much more intensely in the urban areas, particularly in the capital cities of Kingston, Jamaica; Georgetown, Guyana; and Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. In these and other islands, poverty rates remain high. Surveys indicate that even though the rate of poverty has declined in recent years, 21 percent of the population in Trinidad and Tobago lived below the poverty line in 2003. In Guyana, the poorest country in the Anglophone Caribbean, the rate was 35 percent.

Failing economies have been a major cause of poverty in the region. Low worker productivity, low educational achievement, limited economic diversification, and scarcity of productive investment beyond a few economic enclaves have historically restricted economic growth and curbed employment in the region. As economic growth lagged in the late 1970s, and as export earnings fell in the 1980s and after, Caribbean governments typically resorted to deficit spending and high levels of borrowing. But due to poor export earnings and an increased debt load, deficit spending became unsustainable. The result throughout the region was an imposition of austerity measures and the adoption of structural adjustment policies.

This retrenchment proved to be a double-edged sword, however. Fiscal discipline certainly helped cut ballooning deficits and reduced inflation rates, but because of high interest rates and cuts in state spending, these very measures also curbed investment, dampened economic growth, fed unemployment, and spurred poverty rates across the region. Thus, throughout the region, tight fiscal management did not result in new jobs or economic growth. In instances of extreme structural adjustment, as in Jamaica and Guyana, such measures merely drove more persons into poverty and crime.

In an increasingly competitive global environment, the structural dependence of Caribbean economies and low worker productivity contributed to these worsening social conditions. Lagging income from agricultural exports and rising prices for critical imports, such as oil and manufactured goods, highlight Caribbean dependence in the international economy. Poor export earnings in turn hamper investment in equipment and human resources, and these together lower wages and employment. The result is low worker productivity that reinforces this vicious cycle. This nexus of structural dependence and low worker productivity is the proximate source of urban poverty in the Caribbean. While poor governance, undeveloped human capital, and a lack of institutional capacity have aggravated the incidence of poverty in the region, the key determinants were economic. In sum, poorly performing economies within a global context of increased competition fed and sustained poverty in the Caribbean.

Nevertheless, this erosion in the quality of life of Caribbean populations did not lead to gross malnutrition or starvation, as is the case in some poverty-stricken parts of the world. Rather, the extent of urban poverty and the profile of the urban poor in the Anglophone Caribbean reveal a far more ambiguous and nuanced condition.

For example, successive annual reports on human development in the world have repeatedly placed English-speaking Caribbean nations in the ranks of countries with

high human development because of their low levels of poverty, as well as high literacy and life expectancy rates. These countries made investments in human development in such areas as health and education and had enough economic growth to afford their populations both longevity and a decent standard of living. Barbados, for example, has for several years been the best performer in the Anglophone Caribbean on the United Nations Human Development Index.

Yet, despite this achievement, countries in the Anglophone Caribbean are neither wealthy nor immune to having populations living in abject poverty. Data on these economies reveal that despite a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of US$16,691 in the Bahamas in 2003 and US$15,290 in Barbados in 2004, the region's average GDP per capita in 2003 was a mere US$5,366. After Haiti, Guyana was the poorest country in the wider Caribbean, with a per capita GDP of US$911 in 2003. (This did mark an increase from the low of US$300 in 1992.) Indeed, dire poverty and unsustainable debt in Guyana qualified this country for relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, established by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1996.

These variations point to the wide gap between prosperity and want in a region full of paradoxes. Thus, for example, Trinidad—with its booming oil and petrochemical sectors—experienced record economic growth rates in the early twenty-first century. Yet despite a spectacular rate of growth of over 10 percent in 2004, with huge revenues generated by the oil and petrochemicals industries, these breakthroughs did not create jobs or reduce the incidence of poverty. As in Trinidad, improved inflows of revenue based on exports and investments (the Holy Grail of Caribbean development) have done little to alleviate poverty and unemployment in the region.

In the early twenty-first century, then, the region has experienced rising but comparatively moderate rates of poverty, with inner-city communities and blighted urban areas experiencing harsh conditions. Women, children, and young people have been the victims, as they make up a high proportion of those trapped in poverty. Throughout the region, the fifteen to twenty-five age group has had the lowest level of educational achievement and the highest rate of unemployment. Though better off when compared with poverty-stricken nations elsewhere, the Anglophone Caribbean has several countries with particularly deep pockets of urban poverty.

But even here, paradox is apparent: the level of material want in the Caribbean has been buffered by protective circumstances that rescue the poor-but-not-indigent urban population from great material want. These alleviating circumstances include massive poverty-relief programs throughout the region, significant remittances from relatives abroad, and poor people turning to crime and petty entrepreneurship in the informal, underground economy. Together with extensive migration away from the region, these measures have tempered the worst effects of poverty and economic hardship in the Caribbean.

See also Caribbean Commission; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Media and Identity in the Caribbean; Mortality and Morbidity, Latin America and the Caribbean

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OBIKA GRAY (2005)

Urban Riots

See Riots and Popular Protests

VanDerZee, James

June 29, 1886
May 15, 1983

Photographer James Augustus VanDerZee was born in Lenox, Massachusetts, the eldest son and second child of Susan Brister and John VanDerZee. He grew up in Lenox and attended the public schools there. In 1900 he won a small box camera as the premium for selling packets of sachet powder. Shortly afterward he purchased a larger camera and began photographing family members, friends, and residents in Lenox. Thus began his lifelong commitment to photography. In 1906 VanDerZee and his brother Walter moved to New York City to join their father, who was working there. By this time VanDerZee was already an accomplished photographer; however, his first New York job was waiting tables in the private dining room of a bank. In New York he met his first wife, Kate L. Brown, whom he married in 1907. The next year he and Kate moved to Phoebus, Virginia, then a small resort town near her home at Newport News. He worked as a waiter at the popular Hotel Chamberlin, a favored resort for the wealthy in Hampton. While in Virginia, VanDerZee continued photographing and made some of his most notable early images: photographs of the faculty and students of the Whittier School, a preparatory academy for Hampton Institute.

In 1908, after the birth of their first child Rachel, the family returned to New York. VanDerZee continued working at a variety of jobs, including photography. For a brief period he commuted to Newark, New Jersey, where he operated the camera in a department-store portrait studio. In 1910, a son, Emile, was born. At the end of the first quarter-century of his life, James VanDerZee had much to celebrate—he was twice a father, happily married, and a success in the economically competitive world of pre–World War I New York. But this period of happiness did not last long. Emile died in 1911, and the following year, VanDerZee and Kate separated.

VanDerZee had recovered sufficiently by 1916 to open his first photography portrait studio. It was in Harlem, on 135th Street at Lenox Avenue. He also had a partner in the enterprise, his new wife, Gaynella Greenlee Katz. From 1916 to 1931 VanDerZee stayed at this location, and the studio became one of Harlem's most prominent photographic operations. He specialized in portraits and wedding photographs but also took on assignments away from the studio. Among these assignments was his work for Marcus Garvey in 1924. It was also during these years that

VanDerZee began his experimental photomontage assemblages.

VanDerZee and his wife weathered the Great Depression, and in 1943, in the midst of World War II (1939–45), they purchased the building they had been renting at 272 Lenox Avenue. For the rest of the decade he continued his portrait work and took assignments for a variety of Harlem customers. However, a decline in business began to set in during the early 1950s. Ultimately, all he could maintain was a mail-order restoration business. Through a complicated series of loans and second mortgages, the VanDerZees were able to keep their property until 1969, when they were evicted. Ironically, VanDerZee's greatest fame and success as a photographer were yet to come.

Two years before his eviction, VanDerZee had met Reginald McGhee, who was a curator for the Metropolitan Museum exhibition *Harlem on My Mind*. Through McGhee's efforts, his work of the previous four decades became the central visual focus of the exhibition. The photographs became some of the most written-about images in the history of photography, while their maker was reduced to living on welfare. VanDerZee's fame grew when in 1969 McGhee and other young black photographers formed the James VanDerZee Institute, which showed his work in the United States and abroad. His photographs became even more widely known when three monographs were published during the 1970s. By the second half of that decade, VanDerZee's work was being sought out by both institutional and individual collectors. By the time Gaynella died in 1976, VanDerZee had become a symbol of artistry and courage to the Harlem community. He resumed making portraits, spoke at conferences, and gave countless interviews. In 1978, he was named the first recipient of the New York Archdiocese Pierre Toussaint Award. That year he married for the third time, to Donna Mussendon, a woman sixty years his junior.

In 1980, with his wife's help, VanDerZee began a series of portraits of African-American celebrities. Among his sitters were Eubie Blake, Miles Davis, Cicely Tyson, and Muhammad Ali. He made his last portrait, for art historian Reginia Perry, in February 1983. VanDerZee died on May 15, 1983. That day he had received an honorary doctorate of humane letters at the Howard University commencement. He was ninety-six years old.

See also Harlem, New York; Harlem Renaissance; Photography, U.S.

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RODGER C. BIRT (1996)
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Van Peebles, Melvin

August 21, 1932

Filmmaker Melvin Van Peebles was born on the South Side of Chicago in 1932. He grew up in Phoenix, Illinois, a middle-class suburb of Chicago. He attended West Virginia State College in Institute, West Virginia, and Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio, where he received a B.A. degree in literature in 1953.

After graduation, Van Peebles enlisted in the U.S. Air Force, where he spent three and a half years as a flight navigator. Facing a lack of employment opportunities for blacks at commercial airlines, Van Peebles was unable to continue this career after his military service. Instead, he became a cable-car gripman in San Francisco. In 1957 he published *The Big Heart,* a sentimental portrait of the cable cars illustrated with photographs by Ruth Bernard. Shortly afterward, he was fired from his job.

Van Peebles spent the next two years making a number of short films in an unsuccessful attempt to interest Hollywood in his ideas. Frustrated, he emigrated to the Netherlands, where he studied with the Dutch National Theatre and toured as an actor in Brendan Behan's play *The Hostage*. Van Peebles then moved to Paris to continue his attempt to get his work produced. He discovered that the French film directors' union would grant a union card to any writer who wished to make a film on his or her own. He wrote five works of fiction that were published in French: the novels *Un Ours pour le FBI* (translated as *A Bear for the FBI,* 1968); *Un Americain en enfer* (1965; translated as *The American: A Folk Fable,* 1965); *La Fête à Harlem* and *La Permission* (published jointly, 1965; the former translated as *Don't Play Us Cheap: A Harlem Party,* 1973); and a collection of short stories, *Le Chinois du XIVe* (1966). He filmed *La Permission,* under the title of *The Story of a Three Day Pass,* in 1967 for $200,000. The film concerns a black U.S. serviceman and the harassment he experiences when his army buddies discover that he has a white girlfriend. It was shown at the 1967 San Francisco

Film Festival, where it won the Critics Choice award for best film. The film garnered sufficient attention to earn Van Peebles a studio contract with Columbia Pictures.

In 1969, Van Peebles directed *Watermelon Man,* a farce about a white racist insurance salesman who wakes up one morning to discover that he has become black. Though the film was a moderate success, Van Peebles found that he disliked working in the studio system. He set out to make his next film, *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), without studio financing. By employing non-union technicians, investing his own money, and receiving financial support from friends and investors, Van Peebles was able to shoot the film for $500,000. Although *Sweetback,* an unconventional fantasy film about a pimp-turned-revolutionary avenger, had difficulty finding distribution through mainstream sources, Van Peebles successfully promoted the film, and it had a large black audience. *Sweetback* became one of the top-grossing independently produced features, and its success proved that there was a large black audience ready for something other than mainstream films. Along with *Shaft,* released later in the same year, *Sweetback* inaugurated the era of the blaxploitation film. By portraying kinetic and picaresque black heroes in opposition to the white establishment, these films played out contemporary urban black fantasies of power and retribution.

The financial success of *Sweetback* made it possible for Van Peebles to open his musical play *Ain't Supposed to Die a Natural Death* on Broadway in 1972. The play's gritty portrayal of life in the black ghetto included frank and controversial discussions of lesbians and prostitution. When the play had difficulty attracting an audience, Van Peebles employed the same kind of tactics he had used to promote *Sweetback,* including the recruitment of black celebrities to attend the performances. Van Peebles's vigorous promotion efforts expanded the play's Broadway run to 325 performances.

While this show was still running, Van Peebles was able to mount another Broadway production, *Don't Play Us Cheap* (1972), adapted from his novel *A Harlem Party* (1973). A few months later, he shot a film version of *Don't Play Us Cheap*.

In 1973 Van Peebles went on tour throughout the United States with his one-man show *Out There by Your Lonesome,* his last stage work of the 1970s. In the middle of the 1970s he shifted to television, writing two scripts that were produced as television films for NBC. *Just an Old Sweet Song* was broadcast in 1976, and the highly regarded *Sophisticated Gents,* filmed in 1979, was broadcast in 1981. In 1982 Van Peebles returned to the stage to appear with his son Mario in his own *Waltz of the Stork*.

After *Waltz of the Stork* ended its run, Van Peebles temporarily set aside entertainment in favor of business, becoming an options trader on the floor of the American Stock Exchange in 1983. At the time, he was the only black trader at the exchange. In the middle of the decade, he followed up on his success in options trading with two books, *Bold Money: A New Way to Play the Options Market* (1986) and *Bold Money: How to Get Rich in the Options Market* (1987).

At the end of the decade, Van Peebles returned to entertainment to direct *Identity Crisis* (1989), a comedy film written by and starring his son Mario. He later acted in another of his son's films, *Posse* (1993), an all-black Western, as well as in such films as *Terminal Velocity* (1994), *Panther* (1995), and *Time of Her Time* (1999). In 2000 he released *Bellyful,* a film written thirty years earlier. In the mid-1990s he co-created two made-for-television films, *Gang in Blue* and *Riot.* He also resurrected his musical career with *Ghetto Gothic* in 1995.

In the 1990s Van Peebles's work received renewed attention as an influence on the second wave of black filmmaking. His films have been featured at several film festivals. In 1990 the Museum of Modern Art honored him with a retrospective showing of his film oeuvre.

See also Blaxploitation Films; Film in the United States, Contemporary

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ELIZABETH V. FOLEY (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Varick, James

1750
July 22, 1827

The church founder, bishop, and abolitionist James Varick was born near Newburgh, New York, to a slave mother

(manumitted when Varick was a small boy) and a free father. When he was sixteen, he joined the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City, where he was eventually licensed to preach. He learned shoemaking and had opened his own business by 1783. In 1790 he married Aurelia Jones and they had seven children, four of whom lived to adulthood.

As black membership in the John Street Church grew, segregation was introduced and black members had to sit in the back pews. In 1796, in response, a small group of black men, led by Varick, obtained church approval to hold separate services for the black congregation. By 1800 they had purchased a lot and built their own church and they secured an independent charter in 1801. This church, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church, became the mother church of the AME Zion Church movement.

In 1806 Varick and two others were ordained as the first black deacons in New York. Varick's intelligence, oratorical skills, and piety were well known and he became a spokesperson for African Americans and a pioneer in the independent black church movement. He assisted in and encouraged the formation of the Zion Church in New Haven in 1818, and in Philadelphia in 1820. He also fought for twenty years to free his church from white Methodist Episcopal control. In 1820 Varick led his congregation to adopt resolutions (which he had written) that would formally separate the Zion church from the white denomination. Not only was he able to formally charter this new denomination based on Wesleyan Methodist doctrines (and not to be confused with the African Methodist Episcopal Church founded in 1816 by Richard Allen), but he made sure that the church maintained undisputed rights to its finances and properties. In 1821 he was elected district elder during a conference with other black Methodist leaders. And after a two-year struggle with the white church hierarchy, he was finally ordained as the first black bishop of the independent African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1822.

Varick was a gifted preacher, but black preachers were paid little or nothing. During the twenty-year struggle to break away from white control, the white pastor of his church made a full-time salary while Varick was forced to continue in the shoemaking trade and also taught classes out of his home. Yet this did not slow his efforts for equality. He was named the first chaplain of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief in 1810. In 1817 he became one of the vice presidents of the New York African Bible Society. Having been deeply influenced by the spirit of the revolution, in 1821 he joined a group of black businessmen and clergy and petitioned the New York State Constitutional Convention for black suffrage. He was strongly opposed to the colonization movement and worked to enlighten white supporters as to its unfairness.

Shortly before his death in his home in 1827, Varick became one of the founders of the first black newspaper in the United States, *Freedom's Journal.* His commitment to freedom for all and to universal dignity were in evidence in all the articles he contributed.

In 1996, the AME Zion Church held its bicentennial. More than 15,000 members converged on Washington, D.C., in July, and a celebration was held in New York in October. In addition to the festivities, an exhibit of AME archives was on display at the Schomburg Center for Research and Black Culture.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; *Freedom's Journal*

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SASHA THOMAS (1996)
DEBI BROOME (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

VASSA, GUSTAVUS

See Equiano, Olaudah

VAUGHAN, SARAH

MARCH 29, 1924
APRIL 3, 1990

Nicknamed "Sassy" and "the Divine One," Sarah Vaughan is considered one of America's greatest vocalists and part of the triumvirate of women jazz singers that includes Ella Fitzgerald (1917–1996) and Billie Holiday (1915–1959). A unique stylist, she possessed vocal capabilities—lush tones, perfect pitch, and a range exceeding three octaves—that were matched by her adventurous, sometimes radical sense of improvisation. Born in Newark, New Jersey, she began singing and playing organ in the Mount Zion Baptist Church when she was twelve.

In October 1942, Vaughan sang "Body and Soul" to win an amateur-night contest at Harlem's Apollo Theater. Billy Eckstine (1914–1993), the singer for Earl "Fatha" Hines's big band, happened to hear her and was so impressed that he persuaded Hines to hire Vaughan as a second pianist and singer in early 1943. Later that year, when Eckstine left Hines to organize his own big band, Vaughan went with him. In his group, one of the incubators of bebop jazz, Vaughan was influenced by Eckstine's vibrato-laced baritone, and by the innovations of such fellow musicians as Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker. Besides inspiring her to forge a personal style, they instilled in her a lifelong desire to improvise. ("It was just like going to school," she said.)

Vaughan made her first records for the Continental label on New Year's Eve 1944, and she began working as a solo act the following year at New York's Cafe Society. At the club she met the trumpeter George Treadwell, who became her manager and the first of her four husbands. Treadwell promoted Vaughan and helped create her glamorous image. Following hits on Musicraft (including "It's Magic" and "If They Could See Me Now") and Columbia ("Black Coffee"), her success was assured. From 1947 through 1952, she was voted Top Female Vocalist in polls in *Down Beat* and *Metronome* jazz magazines.

Throughout the 1950s, Vaughan recorded pop material for Mercury Records, including such hits as "Make Yourself Comfortable" and "Broken-Hearted Melody" and songbooks (like those made by Ella Fitzgerald) of classic American songs by George Gershwin and Irving Berlin; she also recorded jazz sessions on the EmArcy label (Mercury's jazz label) with trumpeter Clifford Brown, the Count Basie Orchestra, and other jazz musicians. By the mid-1960s, frustrated by the tactics of record companies trying to sustain her commercially, Vaughan took a five-year hiatus from recording. By the 1970s, her voice had become darker and richer.

Vaughan was noted for a style in which she treated her voice like a jazz instrument rather than as a conduit for lyrics. A contralto, she sang wide leaps easily, improvised sometimes subtle, sometimes dramatic melodic and rhythmic lines, and made full use of timbral expressiveness—from clear tones to bluesy growls with vibrato. By the end of her career, she had performed in more than sixty countries, in small boîtes and in football stadiums, with jazz trios as well as symphony orchestras. Her signature songs, featured at almost all of her shows, included "Misty," "Tenderly," and "Send In the Clowns." She died of cancer in 1990, survived by one daughter.

See also Fitzgerald, Ella; Holiday, Billie; Jazz; Jazz Singers

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Vernacular Architecture

See Architecture: Vernacular Architecture

Vietnam War

See Military Experience, African-American

Vodou

See Voodoo

Voodoo

Voodoo, also spelled Vodou (following the official Haitian Creole orthography) or vodoun, refers to traditional religious practices in Haiti and in Haitian-American communities such as the sizable ones in New York City and Miami. New Orleans has the oldest Haitian immigrant community, dating from the eighteenth century. In New Orleans priests and priestesses are sometimes called "voodoos," and throughout the southern United States the term is also used as a verb, to "voodoo" someone, meaning to bewitch or punish by magical means. More frequently "voodoo," or "hoodoo"—as well as "conjure," "rootwork," and "witchcraft"—is a term used to refer to a diverse collection of traditional spiritual practices among descendants of African slaves in the United States.

Haiti, a small, mountainous, and impoverished West Indian country, was a French slave colony and a major

sugar producer during the eighteenth century. The strongest African influences on Haitian Vodou came from the Fon and Mahi peoples of old Dahomey (now the Republic of Benin); the Yoruba peoples, mostly in Nigeria; and the Kongo peoples of Angola and Zaire. The term *vodun* is West African, probably Ewe, in origin and came to the Western Hemisphere with Dahomean slaves. Today, "vodun" is the most common Fon term for a traditional spirit or deity.

Haitian Vodou is said to have played a key role in the only successful slave revolution in the history of transatlantic slavery, the plotters being bound to one another by a blood oath taken during a Vodou ceremony. The ceremony, conducted by the legendary priest Makandal, took place in Bois Cayman in northern Haiti. It is also claimed that word of the uprising spread via Vodou talking drums, and Vodou charms gave strength and courage to the rebels.

Haiti declared its independence in 1804, when the United States and much of Europe still held slaves. For approximately fifty years the Catholic Church refused to send priests to Haiti, and for nearly a century the struggling black republic was economically isolated from the larger world. Political concerns played a major role in shaping the negative image of Haitian Vodou in the West. Vodou has been caricatured as a religion obsessed with sex, blood, death, and evil. The reality of Haitian Vodou, a religion that blends African traditions with Catholicism, is strikingly different from the stereotypes.

Following independence, large numbers of Haitians acquired small plots of land and became subsistence farmers. This agricultural base distinguishes Vodou from other New World African religions. Central to Vodou are three loyalties: to land (even urban practitioners return to conduct ceremonies on ancestral land), to family (including the dead), and to the Vodou spirits. Most Haitians do not call their religion Vodou, a word that more precisely refers to one style of drumming and dancing. Haitians prefer a verbal form. "Li sevi lwa-yo," they say, "he (or she) serves the spirits." Most spirits have two names, a Catholic saint's name and an African name. Daily acts of devotion include lighting candles and pouring libations. Devotees wear a favored spirit's color and observe food and behavior prohibitions the spirits request. When there are special problems, they make pilgrimages to Catholic shrines and churches and undertake other trials. Most important, they stage elaborate ceremonies that include singing, drumming, dancing, and sumptuous meals, the most prestigious of which necessitate killing an animal. Possession, central in Vodou, provides direct communication with the *lwa,* or spirits. A devotee who becomes a "horse" of one of the spirits turns over body and voice to that *lwa*. The spirit can then sing and dance with the faithful, bless them, chastise them, and give advice. In Vodou persons are defined by webs of relationship with family, friends, ancestors, and spirits. The central work of Vodou ritual, whether performed in a community setting or one-on-one, is enhancing and healing relationships. Gifts of praise, food, song and dance are necessary to sustain spirits and ancestors and to enable them to reciprocate by providing wisdom and protection to the living.

The large Haitian immigrant communities that have grown up in the United States over the last forty years are thriving centers for Vodou practice. Hundreds of Vodou healers serve thousands of clients who are taxi drivers, restaurant workers, and nurse's aides. Most of the rituals performed in Haiti are now also staged, albeit in truncated form, in living rooms and basements in New York and Miami. Vodou "families" provide struggling immigrants with connections to Haitian roots and an alternative to American individualism.

Voodoo in New Orleans is more distant from its Haitian roots. Scholars believe there were three generations of women called Marie Laveau who worked as spiritual counselors in New Orleans. The first was a slave brought from Haiti to Louisiana during the time of the slave revolution. The most famous Marie Laveau, the "voodoo queen of New Orleans," born in 1827, was the granddaughter of this slave woman. The religion she practiced was a distillation of Haitian Vodou. She kept a large snake on her altar (a representative of the spirit Danbala Wedo), went into possession while dancing in Congo Square, presided over an elaborate annual ceremony on the banks of Lake Pontchartrain on St. John's Eve (June 24), and above all, worked with individual clients as a spiritual adviser, healer, and supplier of charms, or *gris-gris.* Contemporary New Orleans voodoo is largely limited to these last activities.

Hoodoo, or voodoo as practiced throughout the American South, is similarly limited to discrete client/practitioner interactions. This type of voodoo is not a child of Haiti but the legacy of Dahomean and Kongo persons among North American slaves. As with Haitian Vodou, engagement with hoodoo has typically worked as a supplement to Christianity, most likely because hoodoo addresses issues Christianity ignores—issues of spiritual protection, romantic love, and luck. Harry M. Hyatt (1970) said it well: "To catch a spirit or to protect your spirit against the catching or to release your caught spirit—this is the complete theory and practice of hoodoo." The spiritual powers used in voodoo or hoodoo are morally neutral (e.g., souls of persons not properly buried) and

can therefore be used constructively or destructively. Yet clear moral distinctions in how they are used are not always easy to make.

In hoodoo the illness in one person may be traced to an emotion in another, jealousy being the most destructive. In such a case, attacking the jealous person may be the only way to a cure. A related dynamic emerges in love magic, a very common type of healing that inevitably tries to control another's will. Zora Neale Hurston collected this cure for a restless husband: "Take sugar, cinnamon and mix together: Write name of a husband and wife nine times. Roll paper . . . and put in a bottle of holy water with sugar and honey. Lay it under the back step." There have been root doctors—conjure men and women—who have used their powers unethically and maliciously, but hoodoo's fear-provoking reputation is unmerited. Most hoodoo or voodoo is of the type described in Hurston's example.

See also Candomblé; Central African Religions and Culture in the Americas; Divination and Spirit Possession in the Americas; Myal; Orisha; Religion; Santería; Slave Religions; Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

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Voting Rights Act of 1965

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on August 6, 1965, was intended to reverse the historic disenfranchisement of the black electorate, which had been the hallmark of southern politics since the end of Reconstruction. It applied to states and counties in which a test or other device was used to determine voter eligibility, and where voter registration or turnout for the 1964 presidential election had been less than 50 percent of potentially eligible voters. In those "covered jurisdictions," it suspended literacy and other racially discriminatory tests; authorized federal examiners to replace or supplement local registrars; allowed federal observers at polling sites; and required advance federal approval for changes in election laws and voting procedures. It also expanded the voting rights of non-English-speaking citizens.

Although the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution had conferred voting rights on black men and black women, respectively, violence and economic reprisals, as well as more subtle methods, had effectively barred African Americans from the election rolls for generations. Although the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 contained some voting rights provisions, their enforcement depended on the cooperation of recalcitrant southerners and on appeals through a slow, cumbersome judicial process.

In the context of rising demands for more substantive redress of race-based discrimination, the Johnson administration proposed to restore suffrage by a more direct route. In Selma, Alabama, black people had tried to register to vote in the early 1960s; obstructed from doing so, they appealed to the Justice Department for support. By late 1964, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) decided to launch an all-out campaign in Selma aimed at winning new federal voting-rights legislation. Their efforts were met with police attacks and mass arrests, which culminated in a brutal assault on peaceful demonstrators marching to Montgomery on March 7, 1965. Even though "Bloody Sunday" was not the direct catalyst for Johnson's initiative, it proved decisive for rallying public and congressional sentiment around his plan.

Congressional passage of the bill was marked by intense controversy, however. The Johnson administration successfully resisted efforts to impose an outright ban on poll taxes (although the Supreme Court struck down the poll tax in 1966), and House Republican leaders and southern Democrats failed in their bid to weaken the legis-

FIGURE 3

Voting-age population, percent reporting registered, 1976–2004

			% Registered				% Voted			
	Population (in millions)		Presidential election years		Congressional election years		Presidential election years		Congressional election years	
Year	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
1976	146.5	14.9	66.7	58.5	—	—	59.2	48.7	—	—
1978	151.6	15.6	—	—	62.6	57.1	—	—	45.9	37.2
1980	157.1	16.4	66.9	60.0	—	—	59.2	50.5	—	—
1982	165.5	17.6	—	—	64.1	59.1	—	—	48.8	43.0
1984	170.0	18.4	68.3	66.3	—	—	59.9	55.8	—	—
1986	173.9	19.0	—	—	64.3	64.0	—	—	46.0	43.2
1988	178.1	19.7	66.6	64.5	—	—	57.4	51.5	—	—
1990	182.1	20.4	—	—	62.2	58.8	—	—	45.0	39.2
1992	185.6	n.a.	68.2	63.9	—	—	61.3	54.0	—	—
1994	190.2	n.a.	—	—	62.5	58.5	—	—	45.0	37.1
1996	193.6	n.a.	65.9	63.5	—	—	54.2	50.6	—	—
1998	198.2	22.6	—	—	62.1	60.9	—	—	41.9	40.0
2000	202.6	23.6	63.9	64.3	—	—	54.7	54.1	—	—
2002	210.4	24.4	—	—	60.9	58.5	—	—	42.3	39.7
2004	215.7	24.9	65.9	64.4	—	—	58.3	56.3	—	—

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports.*

lation. Still, in its final form, the measure was overwhelmingly approved, by a vote of 328 to 74 in the House and 79 to 18 in the Senate.

In the immediate aftermath of the act's passage, impressive gains were made by federal authorities; in the first six months, they registered more than 100,000 southern blacks, while local officials, aware of the new threat of federal action, added another 200,000. In 1965, some 2 million African Americans were registered to vote in the South; by mid-1970, that figure had jumped to 3.3 million.

But the Justice Department preferred voluntary compliance with the new directives; moreover, since enforcement depended on the department's own vigorous commitment, during the Nixon and Ford years it was significantly weaker than in the early period. The Nixon administration, in fact, sought to dramatically curtail the act's powers when it came up for Congressional extension in 1970.

Many southern officials resisted the Voting Rights Act, challenging its constitutionality in court and continuing to withhold the ballot through arbitrary means. They also adopted new mechanisms that, although not directly denying the right to register and vote, diluted the black community's electoral power. Using a variety of techniques—redrawing districts to break up black majorities (racial gerrymandering), imposing new restrictions and property qualifications on candidates, and holding at-large races in which an expanded electoral base ensured a white majority—southern politicians made it difficult for black candidates to run for and win office. These measures were contested by civil rights advocates in litigation that lasted well into the 1980s. In the case of *Mobile v. Bolden* in 1980, the Supreme Court upheld the use of at-large elections, arguing that their practical effect—preventing minority black populations from electing their own candidates—was not the same as discriminatory intent.

The Voting Rights Act has been extended three times since its initial passage. Originally, its targets included Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, parts of North Carolina, and Alaska. In 1970 the ban on literacy tests was expanded nationwide and the formula for identifying covered areas was altered to broaden its scope. It was again extended in 1975, with less southern resistance than in the past. In 1982 the Reagan administration fought vigorously against another extension. But it was not only extended, it was also amended to address the wide range of strategies designed to circumvent its authority, effectively nullifying the Mobile decision. By 1989, a total of 7,200 African-Americans held elected office in the United States (compared to just 500 in 1965); of these, 67 percent were in the South.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Politics in the United States; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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MICHAEL PALLER (1996)
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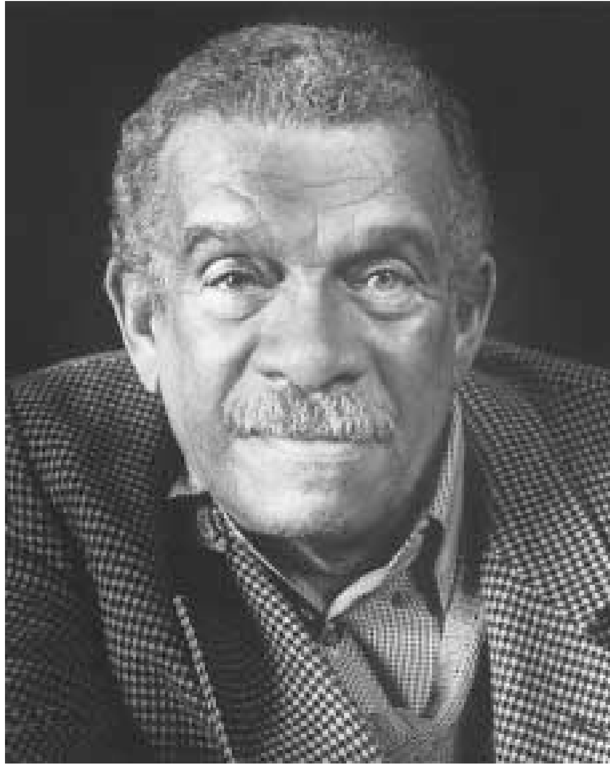
Walcott, Derek Alton

January 23, 1930

The poet, playwright, and essayist Derek Walcott is the son of Warwick Walcott, a civil servant and skilled painter in watercolor who also wrote verse, and Alix Walcott, a schoolteacher who took part in amateur theater. He and his twin brother Roderick were born in Castries, Saint Lucia, a small island in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies. He grew up in a house he describes as haunted by the absence of a father who had died quite young, because all around the drawing room were his father's watercolors. He regards his beginnings as an artist, therefore, as a natural and direct inheritance: "I feel that I have continued where my father left off." After completing his studies at St. Mary's College in his native Saint Lucia, he continued his education at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica.

His literary career began in 1948 with his first book of verse, *25 Poems* (1948), followed not long thereafter by *Epitaph for the Young, XII Cantos* (1949), and *Poems* (1951), all privately published in the Caribbean. The decade of the 1950s, however, marked his emergence as a playwright-director in Trinidad. His first theater piece, *Henri Cristophe* (1950), a historical play about the tyrant-liberator of Haiti, was followed by a series of well-received folk-dramas in verse. *The Sea at Dauphin* (1954), *Ione* (1957), and *Ti-Jean and His Brothers* (1958) are usually cited among the most noteworthy, along with his most celebrated dramatic work, *Dream on Monkey Mountain* (an Obie Award winner), which he began in the late 1950s but did not produce until 1967 in Toronto. After a brief stay in the United States as a Rockefeller Fellow, Walcott returned to Trinidad in 1959 to become the founding director of the Trinidad Theatre Workshop. He continues to work as a dramatist, contributing a libretto for the Paul Simon Broadway musical *Capeman* (1997), and is still more likely to be identified by a West Indian audience as a playwright.

Walcott debuted internationally as a poet with *In a Green Night: Poems 1948–1960* (1962), followed shortly thereafter by *Selected Poems* (1964). These volumes established the qualities usually identified with his verse: virtuosity in traditional, particularly European literary forms; enthusiasm for allegory and classical allusion—for which he is both praised and criticized; and the struggle within himself over the cruel history and layered cultural legacy of Africa and Europe reflected in the Caribbean landscape, which some critics have interpreted as the divided con-



Playwright and poet Derek Walcott. *Walcott, born in St. Lucia, became the first native West Indian writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1992.* © CHRISTOPHER FELVER/CORBIS

sciousness of a Caribbean ex-colonial in the twilight of empire. A prolific quarter-century of work was shaped by recurrent patterns of departure, wandering, and return—in his life as well as in his poetry—and a powerful preoccupation with the visual imagery of the sea, beginning with *Castaway and Other Poems* (1965), in which he establishes an imaginative topography (e.g., of "seas and coasts as white pages"), and a repertory of myths, themes, and motifs (e.g., of "words like migrating birds") for the titular exile, a repertory that recurs in later volumes.

In *The Gulf and Other Poems* (1969), reprinted with *Castaway and Other Poems* in a single volume titled *The Gulf* (1970) in the United States, he sounds an ever more personal note as he considers the Caribbean from the alienating perspective of the political turbulence of the late 1960s in the southern and Gulf states of the United States. In *Another Life* (1973), his book-length self-portrait (dealing with his life both as a young man and at age forty-one), he contemplates the suicide of his mentor and the attempted suicide of a close childhood companion with whom he discovered the promise, and the disappointment, of their lives dedicated to art. In *Sea Grapes* (1976), he identifies the Caribbean wanderer as caught up in the same ancient and unresolved dilemmas as the exiles Adam and Odysseus, whose pain the poems of a West Indian artist, like the language of the Old Testament and the Greek and Latin classics, can console but never cure.

At his most eloquent in *The Star-Apple Kingdom* (1979), Walcott fingers the rosary of the Antilles in the title poem in order to expose the inhumanity and corruption belied by the gilt-framed Caribbean pastoral of the colonialist's star-apple kingdom, so named for a native fruit tree found in the West Indies. In the volume's other verse narrative, "The Schooner Flight," he finds a powerful voice in the West Indian vernacular of the common man endowed with "no weapon but poetry and the lances of palms of the sea's shiny shields." In *The Fortunate Traveler* (1981) he sounds repeated and painful notes of exhaustion, isolation, and disappointment of the peripatetic poet in exile and at home, perhaps most sharply in the satirical mode of the *kaiso* (a Trinidadian term for calypso) vernacular of "The Spoiler Returns."

In *Midsummer* (1984), published in his fifty-fourth year, he probes the situation of the poet as prodigal, *nel mezzo del camin* (in the middle of the journey) of exile in fifty-four untitled stanzas of elegiac meter. In *The Arkansas Testament* (1987), divided into the sections "Here" and "Elsewhere" (recalling the divisions of "North" and "South" of *The Fortunate Traveler*), he succumbs once again to pangs of art's estrangement. However, in *Omeros* (1990), his most ambitious verse narrative yet, he overlays his problematic but richly figured Caribbean environment with Homer's transformative Mediterranean domain, weaving together the myths, themes, motifs, and imaginary geography of a prolific career to attempt a consummation and reconciliation of the psychic divisions and the spiritual and moral wounds of history and exile.

In 1992 Walcott was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. In the following decade he published three books of poetry: *The Bounty* (1997), *Tiepolo's Hound* (2000), and *The Prodigal* (2004). He has explored, in different registers, the arc of a lifetime, and a heightened sense of mortality—brought on by the deaths of his mother, Alix; his brother Roderick; and many friends—inflects his work as he addresses his personal sunset in the twilight of empire. "This is how people look at death / and write a literature of gliding transience / as the sun loses its sight, singing of islands" (*The Prodigal,* p. 54). Themes, phrases, and motifs established earlier—the mysteries of language, the writer's vocation, exile and homecoming, and the echoes of his beloved Caribbean—are evoked and reworked together (often "blent" together, to use a favored Walcott word) in a single verbal flourish. A singular image of the prodigal sitting like Oedipus on his plinth at Colonus awaiting transformation catches the spirit of Walcott's new mood in these works.

Although he has described himself as a citizen of "no nation but the imagination," and has lived as an international bard, directing plays, creating poetry, and teaching at a number of colleges and universities, he has remained faithful to the Caribbean as his normative landscape. His affirmation of identity and of the significance of myth over history for the poetic imagination is inseparable from a discussion of the historic drama played out over recent centuries across the islands of the Caribbean, and from which the Odyssean wayfarer ventures in a lifelong cycle of escape and return. This profound engagement with the Caribbean, explored in a series of early essays—"What the Twilight Says: An Overture," "Meanings," and "The Muse of History"—and restated in his Nobel lecture *The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory,* is summed up in a particularly poignant credo: "I accept this archipelago of the Americas. I say to the ancestor who sold me, and to the ancestor who bought me . . . and also you, father in the filth-ridden gut of the slave ship . . . to you inwardly forgiven grandfathers, I like the more honest of my race, give a strange thanks. I give the strange and bitter and yet ennobling thanks for the monumental groaning and soldering of two great worlds, like the halves of a fruit seamed by its own bitter juices, that exiled from your own Edens you have placed me in the wonder of another, that was my inheritance and your gift."

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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JAMES DE JONGH (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Walcott, Frank

September 16, 1916
February 24, 1999

Frank Leslie Walcott was born in the parish of St. Peter on Barbados. His father died during Frank's infancy, and his mother, Marian Walcott, was a plantation worker who later migrated to the capital city of Bridgetown, where she worked as a domestic helper. After attending the Wesley Hall Boys' School, Walcott worked in two merchant houses in Bridgetown, where he observed the harsh conditions under which the Barbadian working class labored. Membership in the Weymouth Debating Club helped to round out his education, developed his talent for debate, and enabled him to establish contacts that would be important in later life.

In 1945 Walcott became an assistant to Hugh Springer, the general secretary of the Barbados Workers' Union (BWU) and a fellow member of Weymouth. In 1947, following Springer's resignation, Walcott acted as general secretary until he was formally elected to the post in 1948. He continued organizing as many sectors of the Barbadian working class as possible under the union's umbrella, increasing its social and political influence.

Walcott articulated the union's position on all social issues. The union helped to institutionalize industrial relations, successfully lobbied for labor and social legislation, established a credit union, strengthened its bureaucracy, and constructed modern physical facilities, a labor college, and housing for its membership.

Walcott was a member of the House of Assembly and, after breaking with Grantley Adams, premier and leader of the government and the Barbados Labour Party, in 1954, he became an independent. Later, he joined the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). He also served as president of the senate, wrote a newspaper column, and was Barbados's first ambassador to the United Nations. The BWU came of age during the era of British West Indian nationalism and economic modernization. In this, Walcott put the union's weight behind Barbados's national leadership.

Walcott remained a servant of the regional and international working class. Before ill health forced his retirement from public life in 1991, he was general secretary of the BWU for forty-three unbroken years and a longstanding member of regional and international labor organizations. He received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of the West Indies in 1987 and was made a Knight of St. Andrew in 1988. In 1998 he was de-

clared a National Hero of Barbados. His work with the National Insurance Scheme was honored by the naming of its new complex in his honor. In a long, distinguished public career, he rose from the depths of the Barbadian working class and made the Barbados Workers' Union, and himself, respected both at home and abroad.

See also West Indies Democratic Labour Party

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Walcott, Jersey Joe

January 13, 1914
February 25, 1994

Boxer Jersey Joe Walcott was born Arnold Raymond Cream and raised in Merchantville, near Camden, New Jersey, one of twelve children of Ella and Joseph Cream. His father, an immigrant from Barbados, died when Arnold was fourteen. To help support the family, the boy began working in a soup factory and did odd jobs. He also began to train as a boxer. In 1930 he started his professional career as a lightweight. Soon after, he took the name "Jersey Joe Walcott" in honor of Joe Walcott, a well-known Barbadian welterweight champion.

Walcott fought, largely in obscurity, for fifteen years before becoming a championship contender. In 1933, after growing into the light-heavyweight class, Walcott knocked out Al King to become the light-heavyweight champion of South Jersey. In 1936, in a heavyweight bout at Coney Island in Brooklyn, New York, Walcott attracted significant attention for the first time by knocking out Larry LaPage in three rounds. Unable to support himself and his family on his small boxing earnings, he worked in a number of manual labor jobs, fighting only sporadically.

In 1945, after a two-year stint working at the Camden shipyards, Walcott returned once more to boxing. Over the following two years, he won eleven of fourteen fights, including seven by knockouts. On December 5, 1947, he fought a heavyweight bout against champion Joe Louis. Although he knocked Louis down twice, he lost in a split decision. Many commentators felt that Walcott had defeated the champion, and he appealed the ruling unsuccessfully to the New York Athletic Commission. On June 25, 1948, he and Louis fought again. Although Walcott floored Louis, Louis knocked him out in the eleventh round.

The following year, Louis retired, and Walcott signed to box Ezzard Charles for the championship. On June 22, 1949, Charles beat Walcott in a fifteen-round decision for the title, then defeated him again in March 1951. Undaunted, Walcott signed to face Charles a third time. On July 18, 1951, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Walcott knocked Charles out in the seventh round, thus becoming the oldest man to that time to hold the heavyweight title. On June 15, 1952, Walcott successfully defended his title in a rematch with Charles. However, on September 23, 1952, Walcott fought Rocky Marciano, who knocked him out to take the heavyweight championship. Walcott met Marciano in a rematch on May 15, 1953, but was knocked out in the first round. He retired after the fight.

After retiring, Walcott worked as a fight referee and acted in the 1956 film *The Harder They Fall.* In 1972 he became sheriff of Camden County, New Jersey, and in 1975 he was made chair of the New Jersey State Athletic Commission. Following his retirement in 1984, he spent his time working with children for the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs. A longtime diabetic, he died in Camden in 1994 of complications resulting from the disease.

See also
Boxing; Louis, Joe

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"Jersey Joe Walcott, Boxing Champion, Dies at 80." *New York Times,* February 26, 1994.

GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Walker, Aida Overton

1880

October 11, 1914

Aida Overton Walker was the leading African-American female performing artist at the turn of the twentieth century. Unsurpassed as a ragtime singer and cakewalk dancer, she became a national, then international, star at a time when authentic black folk culture was replacing minstrelsy and making a powerful and permanent impact on American vernacular entertainment. Born in New York City, Walker began her career in the chorus of "Black Patti's Troubadours." She married George William Walker, of the vaudeville comedy team Williams and Walker, and soon became the female lead in their series of major musical comedies: *The Policy Players, Sons of Ham, In Dahomey, Abyssinia,* and *Bandanna Land*.

In Dahomey played London in 1903, including a command performance before the royal family on the lawn of Buckingham Palace. Walker also choreographed these shows, perhaps the first woman to receive program credit for doing so. Among her best-known songs were "Miss Hannah from Savannah," "A Rich Coon's Babe," and "Why Adam Sinned." At George Walker's death she continued in musical theater and vaudeville, playing the best houses, including Hammerstein's Victoria Theater in New York, where she performed *Salome* in 1912. She died in New York in 1914, at the age of thirty-four. Critics considered Walker a singer and dancer superior to both of her better-known successors, Florence Mills and Josephine Baker.

See also Musical Theater; Social Dance; Theatrical Dance

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)

Walker, A'Lelia

June 6, 1885

August 17, 1931

Through the lavish parties she hosted, entrepreneur A'Lelia Walker made herself the center of elite social life during the Harlem Renaissance. She was born Lelia Walker to Sarah and Moses McWilliams in Vicksburg, Mississippi. (She changed her name to "A'Lelia" as an adult.) After her father died when she was two, her mother took her to St. Louis. She attended public schools there and graduated from Knoxville College, a private black school in Knoxville, Tennessee.

She and her mother then moved to Denver, where her mother married C. J. Walker, from whom they took their surnames. A'Lelia also married, but although she took the surname Robinson from her husband, she only occasionally used it, and the marriage was as short-lived as two subsequent unions. While in Denver, the Walkers began their hair-care business. Madam C. J. Walker developed products that straightened and softened African-American women's hair, and assisted by her daughter, she quickly created a vast empire. She moved parts of her operations and her residence to Pittsburgh and Indianapolis before finally settling in New York. In 1917 the Walkers built a thirty-four-room mansion in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, which A'Lelia's friend, the opera singer Enrico Caruso, dubbed "Villa Lewaro" (short for Lelia Walker Robinson).

With her mother's death on May 25, 1919, A'Lelia inherited the bulk of her mother's estate, including Villa Lewaro and two twin brownstones at 108–110 West 136th Street in Harlem. Soon after her mother's death, Walker also bought an apartment at 80 Edgecombe Avenue in Harlem. While she was the titular director of the Walker business interests, A'Lelia Walker devoted most of her money and attention to social life. She threw parties at Villa Lewaro and in Harlem. She established "at-homes" at which she introduced African-American writers, artists, and performers to each other and to such white celebrities as photographer Carl Van Vechten. Her "salon" was regarded as a place where artistic people, particularly male and female homosexuals, could go to eat, drink, and hear music. In 1927 and 1928, she turned part of the brownstones into a nightclub, which she named "The Dark Tower."

When the Depression came, Walker experienced grave financial difficulties. She was forced to close her nightclub, and she mortgaged Villa Lewaro. When she died suddenly on August 17, 1931, poet Langston Hughes

wrote that this "was really the end of the gay times of the New Negro era in Harlem." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to which Walker had willed Villa Lewaro, was unable to keep up the payments on the estate and ended up putting it on the auction block.

See also Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States; Harlem Renaissance; Walker, Madam C. J.

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SIRAJ AHMED (1996)
Updated bibliography

Walker, Alice

February 9, 1944

Novelist Alice Walker was born in Eatonton, Georgia, the eighth child of sharecroppers Willie Lee and Minnie Lou Grant Walker. The vision in Walker's right eye was destroyed when she was eight years old by a brother's BB gun shot, an event that caused her to become an introverted child. Six years later Walker's self-confidence and commitment to school increased dramatically after a minor surgical procedure removed disfiguring scar tissue from around her injured eye. Encouraged by her family and community, Walker won a scholarship for the handicapped and matriculated at Spelman College in 1961.

After two years Walker transferred to Sarah Lawrence College because she felt that Spelman stifled the intellectual growth and maturation of its students, an issue she explores in the novel *Meridian*. At Sarah Lawrence, Walker studied works by European and white American writers, but the school failed to provide her with an opportunity to explore the intellectual and cultural traditions of black people. Walker sought to broaden her education by traveling to Africa during the summer before her senior year. During her stay there Walker became pregnant, and the urgency of her desire to terminate the pregnancy (she was prepared to commit suicide had she not been able to get an abortion), along with her experiences in Africa and as a participant in the civil rights movement, became the subject of her first book, a collection of poems entitled *Once* (1968).

Walker moved to Mississippi in 1965, where she taught, worked with Head Start programs, and helped to register voters. There she met and married Melvyn Leventhal, a civil rights lawyer whom she subsequently divorced (a daughter, Rebecca, was born in 1969), and wrote her first novel, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* (1970), a chilling exploration of the causes and consequences of black intrafamilial violence. While doing research on black folk medicine for a story that became "The Revenge of Hannah Kemhuff," collected in *In Love and Trouble* (1973), Walker first learned of Zora Neale Hurston.

In Hurston, Walker discovered a figure who had been virtually erased from American literary history in large part because she held views—on the beauty and complexity of black southern rural culture; on the necessity of what Walker termed a "womanist" critique of sexism; and on racism and sexism as intersecting forms of oppression—for which she had herself been condemned. In Hurston, Walker found legitimacy for her own literary project. Walker obtained a tombstone for Hurston's grave, which proclaimed her "A Genius of the South," and focused public attention on her neglected work, including the novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*.

In her influential essay "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens" Walker asked, with Hurston and other marginalized women in mind, "How was the creativity of the black woman kept alive, year after year and century after century?" Some of the most celebrated of Walker's works—from the short stories "Everyday Use" and "1955" to the novel *The Color Purple* (1982)—explore this question. By acknowledging her artistic debt to such writers as Phillis Wheatley, Virginia Woolf, and Hurston, as well as to her own verbally and horticulturally adept mother, Walker encouraged a generation of readers and scholars to question traditional evaluative norms.

After *In Love and Trouble,* Walker published several novels (including *Meridian, The Temple of My Familiar,* and *Possessing the Secret of Joy*), volumes of poetry (including *Horses Make a Landscape Look More Beautiful*), collections of essays, and another short story collection, *You Can't Keep a Good Woman Down* (1981). In all these works, she examined the racial and gendered inequities that affect black Americans generally and black women in particular. The most celebrated and controversial of these works is her Pulitzer Prize– and National Book Award–winning epistolary novel, *The Color Purple,* which explores, among other matters, incest, marital violence, les-

bianism, alternative religious practices, and black attitudes about gender.

Walker continues to add to an acclaimed and varied body of work that challenges and inspires its readers, including a volume of new poetry, *Absolute Trust in the Goodness of the Earth* (2003), and her novel *Now Is the Time to Open Your Heart* (2004). In 2003 Walker was arrested, along with other members of a group called CodePink, while protesting the war in Iraq.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Hurston, Zora Neale; Literature of the United States

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MICHAEL AWKWARD (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Walker, David

c. 1785
June 28, 1830

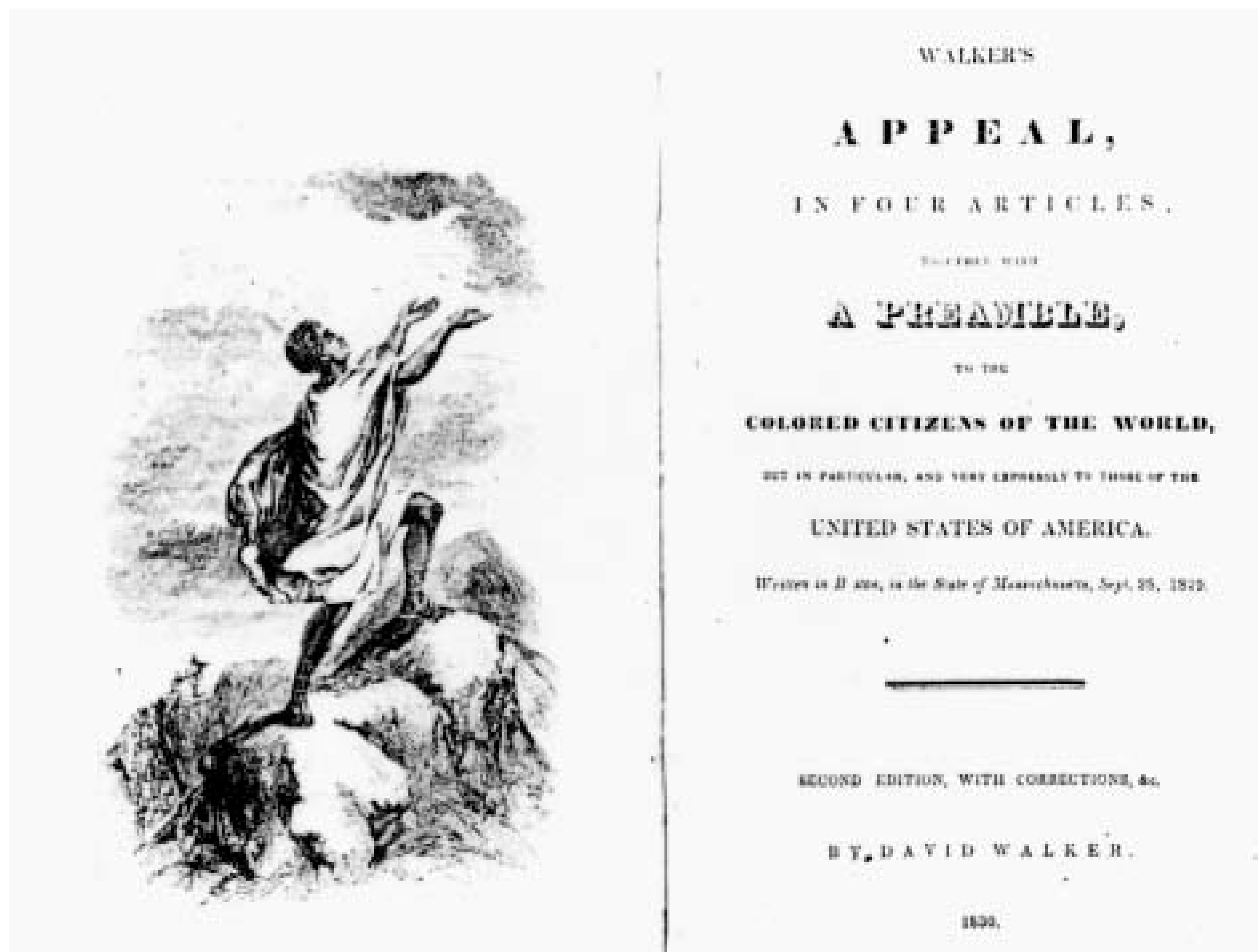
The civil rights activist and pamphleteer David Walker was born free in Wilmington, North Carolina, the son of a free white mother and a slave father. He traveled extensively in the South and observed the cruelty of slavery firsthand. Little is known about his life until he settled in Boston, where he was living as early as 1826. A tall, dark-complexioned mulatto, he operated a clothing store, selling both new and secondhand clothes, and became a leader in Boston's black community. Walker was a member of Father Snowden's Methodist Church and was active in the Massachusetts General Colored Association, formed in 1826. He was a contributor of funds to emancipate George M. Horton, a slave poet in North Carolina, and also served as an agent for *Freedom's Journal* (New York), established in 1827. Walker and his wife, Eliza, had one son, Edwin G. Walker, who later became the first black elected to the Massachusetts legislature.

Walker represented a new generation of black leaders forged by the experience of creating the first extensive free black communities in urban centers of the United States in the half-century after the American Revolution. The achievement of African Americans in establishing institutions (churches, schools, and mutual aid and fraternal societies) and in producing leaders (ministers, educators, businessmen) emboldened some in Walker's generation to challenge the reigning view among whites that African Americans, even if freed, were destined to remain a degraded people, a caste apart, better served by the removal of free blacks to Africa, which became the objective of the American Colonization Society (ACS), formed in 1817 by leading statesmen and clergy.

In an address in 1828 delivered before the Massachusetts General Colored Association, Walker laid out a strategy of opposition. Overcoming resistance to organization from within the black community, Walker and others recognized the need for a formal association to advance the race by uniting "the colored population, so far, through the United States of America, as may be practicable and expedient; forming societies, opening, extending, and keeping up correspondences" (*Freedom's Journal*, December 19, 1828). Presaging his famous *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World,* Walker sought to arouse blacks to mutual aid and self-help, to cast off passive acquiescence in injustice, and to persuade his people of the potential power that hundreds of thousands of free blacks possessed, once mobilized.

Published in 1829, Walker's *Appeal* aimed at encouraging black organization and individual activism. It went through three editions in two years, each one longer than the previous one, the final version reaching eighty-eight pages. For many readers, the most startling aspect of the *Appeal* was its call for the violent revolt of slaves against their masters. But Walker was also vitally concerned with the institutions of free blacks in the North. Walker understood that the formation of organizations such as the Massachusetts General Colored Association and the appearance of *Freedom's Journal* in 1827 were evidence of a rising tide of black opposition to slavery and racism. Walker, along with many African-American activists of his era, was profoundly opposed to the African colonization schemes of the American Colonization Society. Colonizationists ignored and suppressed the prevailing black opposition and sought support among African Americans. For Walker, colonization represented an immediate threat to any long-term hopes of black advancement, since its cardinal assumption was that such advancement was impossible.

Walker's *Appeal* was thus much more than a cry of conscience, for all its impassioned rhetoric. Despite its rambling organization, its prophetic denunciations of injustice and apocalyptic predictions, the *Appeal* forms a



WALKER'S

APPEAL,

IN FOUR ARTICLES,

A PREAMBLE,

COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD,

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS, &c.

BY DAVID WALKER.

1830.

Title page and frontispiece for the second edition of David Walker's* Appeal, *published in 1830. *Walker sought in his impassioned essay to persuade blacks to struggle with whites, abandoning colonization schemes and striving instead toward a society of racial equality. He published three editions of the work beginning in 1829, each expanding upon ideas presented in the previous iteration.* MANUSCRIPTS, RARE BOOKS AND ARCHIVES DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

David Walker

"This country is as much ours as it is the whites', whether they will admit it now or not, they will see and believe it by and by … Their prejudices will be obliged to fall lightning to the ground, in succeeding generations."

DAVID WALKER'S APPEAL. REVISED EDITION, NEW YORK: HILL AND WANG, 1995.

complex, cogent argument with political purpose: to persuade blacks to struggle with whites to abandon colonization and to strive toward racial equality. The essay culminates in an attack on colonization and concludes with an affirmation of the *Declaration of Independence*.

Walker aimed the *Appeal* at two audiences simultaneously. His first target was blacks, whose achievements in history, Walker argued, rebutted the degraded view popularized by colonizationists and the "suspicion" of Thomas Jefferson of inherent black intellectual inferiority. Walker insisted on the importance of black self-help through rigorous education and occupational training to refute Jefferson and others. He was also unsparing in his condemnation of the ignorance and passivity of free blacks and the complicity of the enslaved—of their acquiescence in helping to sustain the American racial regime. Yet in

justifying physical resistance—the element which most alarmed many readers in his own day and since—Walker carefully qualified his views. He relied primarily on the power of persuasion to convince white people to recognize that slavery and racism perverted Christianity and republicanism, though his apocalyptic warnings undoubtedly were designed to stir fear in the hearts of tyrants.

Indeed, Walker succeeded in creating this fear. He circulated copies of the *Appeal* through the mails and via black and white seamen who carried them to southern ports in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. Southern leaders became alarmed and adopted new laws against teaching free blacks to read or write, demanding that Mayor Harrison Gray Otis of Boston take action against Walker. Otis gave assurances that Walker's was an isolated voice, without sympathy in the white community, but Walker had violated no laws. Georgians, however, placed a large sum on Walker's head. In 1830, Walker died from unknown causes amid suspicion, never confirmed, of foul play.

Few documents in American history have elicited such diverse contemporary and historical evaluations as Walker's *Appeal*. Benjamin Lundy, the pioneer abolitionist, condemned it as incendiary. The abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) admired the *Appeal*'s "impassioned and determined spirit," and its "bravery and intelligence," but thought it "a most injudicious publication, yet warranted by the creed of an independent people." The black leader Henry Highland Garnet (1815–1882) in 1848 proclaimed it "among the first, and . . . the boldest and most direct appeals in behalf of freedom, which was made in the early part of the Antislavery Reformation." In 1908 a modern white historian, Alice D. Adams, deemed it "a most bloodthirsty document," while in 1950 the African-American scholar Saunders Redding thought "it was scurrilous, ranting, mad—but these were the temper of the times." In their biography of their father, the Garrison children probably came closest to the truth about Walker: "his noble intensity, pride, disgust, fierceness, his eloquence, and his general intellectual ability have not been commemorated as they deserve."

See also Abolition; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; *Freedom's Journal;* Slavery

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PAUL GOODMAN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Walker, George William

1873
January 6, 1911

Entertainer George William Walker was born in Lawrence, Kansas. While still a teenager he joined a traveling "medicine-man" show in which he rattled bones, shook a tambourine, and mugged for the audience. The show took Walker to San Francisco, where he settled in the early 1890s to look for theater work. There, in 1893, Walker met Bert Williams, a comedian with whom he began a sixteen-year stage career.

The Williams and Walker comedy team found little success in San Francisco, but in 1895 the pair gained popular acclaim when they appeared in Chicago with John Isham's Octoroons, a black vaudeville company. During that production the two developed their act into the classic minstrel interaction between the slapstick buffoon—played by Williams—and the cocky, flamboyant huckster—played by Walker.

In 1896 Williams and Walker came into their own at Koster and Bial's Music Hall, then New York's most important vaudeville theater. Billed as "The Two Real Coons," the duo introduced their famous "cakewalk" routine during their highly successful forty-week run at Koster and Bial's. Having established themselves as a major Broadway attraction, the comedy team went on to perform in a number of major musicals, including *Clorindy, The Origin of the Cakewalk* in 1898.

Williams and Walker became major entertainment figures over the first decade of the twentieth century with a series of Broadway shows in which they were the featured attraction. Their successful, all-black shows included *The Policy Players* (1900), *Sons of Ham* (1900), *In Dahomey* (1902), *Abyssinia* (1906), and *Bandanna Land* (1908). *In Dahomey* was the first all-black production in a major Broadway theater. In these productions the pair's roles

evolved from two-dimensional parodies of African Americans into more human, complex, and often tragic characterizations. During the production of *Bandanna Land* Walker began to show symptoms of the final stage of syphilis and was forced to leave the cast in February 1909. Over the next two years Walker gradually and painfully deteriorated from the disease. He died in Islip, New York, in 1911. Bert Williams went on to a highly successful solo career on Broadway.

See also Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Williams, Bert

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THADDEUS RUSSELL (1996)

Walker, Kara

November 26, 1969

Since being awarded a coveted John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant in 1997, Kara Walker has become one of the most celebrated and controversial African-American women artists of her generation. Best known for life-size cut paper silhouette installations that feature ribald and provocative scenes of antebellum plantation life and interracial cultural farce, Walker is also an accomplished draftsperson whose drawings, prints, and paintings in various media—from gouache watercolor to Colombian coffee—are owned by numerous institutions and private collectors.

Kara Elizabeth Walker was born in Stockton, California, where she lived until the age of thirteen, when her family moved to the Atlanta suburb of Stone Mountain, Georgia. The artist has often credited her coming-of-age in a community steeped in a southern culture dominated by the lore of *Gone with the Wind* as being pivotal to her work. Following high school, Walker attended the Atlanta College of Art and then enrolled as a graduate student at the Rhode Island School of Design. While working on her master's degree, she became interested in the silhouette, a medium that she felt was uniquely able to communicate complicated sociohistorical and psychoracial issues within a deceptively simple yet visually complex form.

In 1994 Walker's work received much critical acclaim when it was featured in a group show at The Drawing Center in New York City. Following this auspicious debut, many of her silhouettes and drawings that skewer uncannily familiar historical subject matter were exhibited nationally and internationally. In 1997 the ambitious installation *The End of Uncle Tom and the Grand Allegorical Tableau of Eva in Heaven* (1995), measuring up to 50 feet and covering three gallery walls and inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* was included in the Biennial at the Whitney Museum of American Art.

Whereas Walker's work has been celebrated by the mainstream art world for its technical virtuosity and its biting racial satire, it has also received a great deal of negative criticism from well-established, often older, African-American artists and scholars. Many of these critics fought actively during the 1960s and 1970s to open up an often resistant and blatantly racist art establishment that excluded artists of color (such as the artist's own father, the painter Larry Walker) from exhibition opportunities in the museums and high-profile galleries that are essential to an artist's career. One of the most visible critiques of Walker's work came in 1998 when the assemblage artist Betye Saar, who saw Walker's use of negatively charged racial stereotypes as being at odds with the goals and achievements of the previous generation, mounted a letter-writing campaign to pressure potential exhibition venues to withdraw the artist's work from view.

Despite this limited domestic dissent, or perhaps because of it, Walker's art has been warmly received in many international venues; solo exhibitions have been mounted in Austria (1998 and 2002), Sweden (1999), Switzerland (2000), Israel (2001), Tokyo (2001), Brazil (2002), and Germany (2002). And as Walker's geographic reach has increased, so too has the scope of her work, evolving from the ubiquitous life-size, black-and-white silhouettes of the 1990s into theatrical, transparent, multicolored light-projection installations. One such work, *Insurrection!* (2000), actively incorporates the viewer into the scene through the use of projectors that have been sequestered in the corners of the gallery walls, thereby making the would-be witness of the static tableau an active participant in the drama.

Slavery! Slavery! presenting a GRAND and LIFELIKE Panoramic Journey into Picturesque Southern Slavery, or Life at Ol' Virginny's Hole (sketches from Plantation Life) ***(Kara Walker, 1997).*** *Walker's installation, featuring silhouettes in a panorama, combines a nineteenth century style of art with an uncensored modern perspective, highlighting the full range of physical and sexual exploitation of blacks during the antebellum era.* PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENT SIKKEMA, NEW YORK CITY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Two major exhibitions, accompanied by large catalogs, of Walker's work appeared in university art museums in 2002 (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) and 2003 (Skidmore College and Williams College), solidifying her presence within academia as well as the mainstream art world—a world that her father's generation had fought hard to open to the work of African-American artists.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Painting and Sculpture

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GWENDOLYN DUBOIS SHAW (2005)

Walker, Madam C. J.

December 23, 1867
May 25, 1919

Madame C. J. Walker was an entrepreneur, hair-care industry pioneer, philanthropist, and political activist. Born Sarah Breedlove to ex-slaves Owen and Minerva Breedlove on a Delta, Louisiana cotton plantation, she was orphaned by age seven. She lived with her sister, Louvenia, in Vicksburg, Mississippi, until 1882, when she married Moses McWilliams, in part to escape Louvenia's cruel husband. In 1887, when her daughter, Lelia (later known as A'Lelia Walker), was two years old, Moses McWilliams died. For the next eighteen years she worked as a laundress in St. Louis. But in 1905, with $1.50 in savings, the thirty-seven-year-old McWilliams moved to Denver to start her own business after developing a formula to treat her problem with baldness—an ailment common among African-American women at the time, brought on by poor diet, stress, illness, damaging hair-care treatments, and scalp disease. In January 1906 she married Charles Joseph Walker, a newspaper sales agent, who helped design her advertisements and mail-order operation.

Although Madam Walker is often said to have invented the "hot comb," it is more likely that she adapted metal implements popularized by the French to suit black

women's hair. Acutely aware of the debate about whether black women should alter the appearance of their natural hair texture, she insisted years later that her Walker System was not intended as a hair "straightener" but rather as a grooming method to heal and condition the scalp to promote hair growth and prevent baldness.

From 1906 to 1916 Madam Walker traveled throughout the United States, Central America, and the West Indies promoting her business. She settled briefly in Pittsburgh, establishing the first Lelia College of Hair Culture there in 1908, then moved the company to Indianapolis in 1910, building a factory and vastly increasing her annual sales. Her reputation as a philanthropist was solidified in 1911, when she contributed one thousand dollars to the building fund of the Indianapolis YMCA. In 1912 she and C. J. Walker divorced, but she retained his name. Madam Walker joined her daughter, A'Lelia, and A'Lelia's adopted daughter, Mae (later Mae Walker Perry), in Harlem in 1916. She left the daily management of her manufacturing operation in Indianapolis to her longtime attorney and general manager, Freeman B. Ransom, factory forewoman Alice Kelly, and assistant general manager Robert L. Brokenburr.

Madam Walker's business philosophy stressed economic independence for the twenty thousand former maids, farm laborers, housewives, and schoolteachers she employed as agents and factory and office workers. To further strengthen her company, she created the Madam C. J. Walker Hair Culturists Union of America and held annual conventions.

During World War I Walker was among those who supported the government's black recruitment efforts and war bond drives. But after the bloody 1917 East St. Louis riot, she joined the planning committee of the Negro Silent Protest Parade, traveling to Washington, D.C., to present a petition urging President Woodrow Wilson to support legislation that would make lynching a federal crime. As her wealth and visibility grew, Walker became increasingly outspoken, joining those blacks who advocated an alternative peace conference at Versailles after the war to monitor proceedings affecting the world's people of color. She intended her estate in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York—Villa Lewaro, which was designed by black architect Vertner W. Tandy—not only as a showplace but as an inspiration to other blacks.

During the spring of 1919, aware that her long battle with hypertension was taking its final toll, Madam Walker revamped her will, directing her attorney to donate five thousand dollars to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's antilynching campaign and to contribute thousands of dollars to black educational, civic, and social institutions and organizations.

When she died at age fifty-one, at Villa Lewaro, Walker was widely considered the wealthiest black woman in America and was reputed to be the first African-American woman millionaire. Her daughter, A'Lelia Walker—a central figure of the Harlem Renaissance—succeeded her as president of the Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company.

Walker's significance is rooted not only in her innovative (and sometimes controversial) hair-care system but also in her advocacy of black women's economic independence and her creation of business opportunities at a time when most black women worked as servants and sharecroppers. Her entrepreneurial strategies and organizational skills revolutionized what would become a multibillion-dollar ethnic hair-care and cosmetics industry by the last decade of the twentieth century. Having led an early life of hardship, she became a trailblazer of black philanthropy, using her wealth and influence to leverage social, political, and economic rights for women and blacks. In 1992 Madam Walker was elected to the National Business Hall of Fame.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Hair and Beauty Culture in the United States; Walker, A'Lelia

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A'LELIA PERRY BUNDLES (1996)
Updated bibliography

Walker, Margaret

July 7, 1915
October 1998

The writer Margaret Abigail Walker was born in Birmingham, Alabama. She received her early education in New Orleans and completed her undergraduate work at Northwestern University at the age of nineteen. Although Walker had published some of her poems before she moved to

Chicago, it was there that her talent matured. She wrote as a college student and as a member of the federal government's Works Project Administration, and she shared cultural and professional interests with black and white intellectuals in Chicago, the best known of whom was the writer Richard Wright (1908–1960). Wright and Walker were close friends until Walker left Chicago for graduate work at the University of Iowa in 1939, by which time she was on her way to becoming a major poet.

In 1942 Walker completed the manuscript of a collection of poems entitled *For My People,* the title poem of which she had written and published in Chicago in 1937. The book served as her master's thesis at the Iowa Writers Workshop, and it won a measure of national literary prominence. In 1942 *For My People* won the Yale Younger Poets Award. About the same time, Walker began work on a historical novel based on the life of her grandmother, Elvira Dozier Ware, a work she did not finish until she returned to Iowa in the 1960s to complete her Ph.D. In the interim, she joined the faculty at Jackson State University in Jackson, Mississippi, where she and her husband, Firnist James Alexander, raised their four children.

Walker played an active role in the civil rights movement in Mississippi, while continuing to write. The novel she created from her grandmother's stories was published in 1966 as *Jubilee,* and it received the Houghton Mifflin Literary Award. It was translated into seven languages and enjoyed popularity as one of the first modern novels of slavery and the Reconstruction South told from an African-American perspective. Other books followed: *Prophets for a New Day* (1970), *How I Wrote Jubilee* (1972), *October Journey* (1973), and *A Poetic Equation: Conversations Between Nikki Giovanni and Margaret Walker* (1974). Throughout her long career, Walker received numerous awards and honors for her contribution to American letters. She received several honorary degrees, and in 1991 she received a Senior Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts.

Walker retired from full-time teaching in 1979. She remained in Jackson and worked on several projects, especially a controversial biography of Richard Wright, published in 1988 as *Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius*. In 1989 Walker brought together new and earlier poems in *This Is My Century: New and Collected Poems.* A year later she published her first volume of essays, *How I Wrote Jubilee and Other Essays on Life and Literature*.

In all her work, Walker incorporated a strong sense of her own humanistic vision, together with an autobiographical recall of her own past and cogent themes from black history. Her artistic vision recognized the distinctiveness of black cultural life and the values associated with it. She was also outspoken on matters of political justice and social equality, for women as well as for men.

Jubilee tells the story of Vyry, a slave on an antebellum Georgia plantation who aspires to freedom. The unacknowledged daughter of the master, she marries a fellow slave and assumes responsibility for the plantation during the Civil War. After the war she moves away and discovers that her courage and determination make it possible for her to triumph over numerous adversities. In a 1992 interview, Walker stated, "The body of my work springs from my interest in the historical point of view that is central to the development of black people as we approach the twenty-first century."

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the United States; Poetry, U.S.

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MARYEMMA GRAHAM (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Walker, Wyatt Tee

August 16, 1929

Born in Brockton, Massachusetts, minister and civil rights activist Wyatt Walker was educated at Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia (B.S., 1950, M.Div., 1953). He received a D.Min. from Colgate Rochester Bexley Hall/Crozer in 1975. Walker was minister of Gillfield Baptist Church in Petersburg, Virginia, from 1953 to 1960. In 1960, with his wife, two children, and several followers, Walker entered Petersburg's segregated public library and asked for the first volume of Douglas Southall Freeman's biography of Robert E. Lee. Arrested for trespassing, Walker refused to post bail and spent three days in jail. This event attracted the attention of Martin Luther King Jr., who invited Walker to join him in Atlanta.

From 1960 to 1964 Walker worked closely with King as executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference (SCLC). Combining an intense personality with strong tactical skills, Walker was at the forefront of the civil rights movement. In addition to his administrative duties he was often on the frontline of the protests, enduring police beatings and arrests. On June 16, 1961, Walker was one of the delegates from the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee to meet with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Walker is credited with organizing "Project C," the detailed plan for the Birmingham campaign in April 1963. He controlled the marches and sit-ins by walkie-talkie all day, and stayed up at night personally typing King's famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" as it was smuggled to him in installments.

In the summer of 1964 Walker resigned his position with the SCLC and moved to New York City, where, as assistant to Adam Clayton Powell Jr., he served as pulpit minister at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. He was also vice president of American Education Heritage, publishers of a multivolume series on the history and culture of black America. In 1966 he was appointed assistant on urban affairs to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. In 1967, having left Abyssinian, he became minister (and subsequently senior pastor) of the Canaan Baptist Church of Christ in Harlem. From this pulpit Walker continued to work on behalf of the African-American community into the 1990s. As CEO of the Church Housing Development Fund, Walker supervised the construction of housing for the elderly known as the Wyatt Tee Walker Apartments. From 1977 to 1987 he was director of the Freedom National Bank, which later failed. In August 1979 he was a member of the controversial SCLC delegation that met with the UN Representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in order to promote peace in the Middle East. He served as an advisor to Jesse Jackson and was National Coordinator for Church and Clergy during Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential bids. An expert in black gospel music, in February 1985 Walker participated in "Thank God!" a four-part TV "docu-drama" about black church music.

In the early 1990s Walker was active in the Consortium for Central Harlem Development, a group of religious, civic and business leaders working to improve living conditions for the needy; as National Chairman of the Religious Action Network of the American Committee on Africa, Walker raised funds for Nelson Mandela and the African National Conference.

Walker has authored numerous books, including *Somebody's Calling My Name: Black Sacred Music and Social Change* (1979); *Road to Damascus* (1985), which tells of the group he and Jesse Jackson led to Syria in 1984 to obtain the freedom of a black Navy flier, Lt. Robert O. Goodman, held hostage there; and most recently *My Stroke of Grace: A Testament of Faith Renewal* (2002).

See also Abyssinian Baptist Church; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Freedom Rides; Gospel Music; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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LYDIA MCNEILL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Wallace, Ruby Ann

See Dee, Ruby

Walrond, Eric Derwent

1898
1966

The writer Eric Walrond was born in Georgetown, British Guiana. He immigrated to Barbados in 1906, and in 1910 he left for the Panama Canal Zone, where he worked as a clerk for the health department of the Panama Canal Commission. From 1916 to 1918 he worked as a reporter and sportswriter for the Panama *Star and Herald.* In 1918 Walrond moved to New York, where he attended the College of the City of New York until 1921. During this time he also worked as an associate editor of Marcus Garvey's *Negro World.* Walrond soon broke with Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, and he eventually became one of its chief African-American critics. From 1922 to 1924 Walrond took writing classes at Columbia University. He contributed fiction and nonfiction to magazines such as the *New Republic,* the *Messenger, Vanity Fair,* and the *New Age.* His short story "The Palm Porch" was included in the well-known 1925 anthology edited by Alain Locke, *The New Negro.*

From 1925 to 1927 Walrond served as the business manager for the Urban League's *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life.* He also published a critically acclaimed collection of short stories, *Tropic Death* (1926), about life in Barbados, the Canal Zone, and British Guiana. Using native dialects and an impressionistic style, Walrond addressed

the problems of physical suffering and discrimination facing African Americans in the tropics. His work was anthologized in *The American Caravan* (1927).

In 1928 Walrond received a Guggenheim Fellowship and became a Zona Gale scholar at the University of Wisconsin. That same year he moved to Europe. Although Walrond had been considered one of the brightest young voices of the Harlem Renaissance, when interest in black literature waned in the 1930s, he disappeared from American literary life. In the late 1930s, when Walrond and Garvey were both living in London, the two grew close again, and Walrond contributed to a Garveyite magazine, *Black Man*. His contributions included a short story and articles that dealt with American literature and politics. Thereafter, Walrond virtually ceased writing. He traveled throughout Europe, and lived for several years in France before settling again in London. He was at work on a novel set in the Panama Canal region when he died in England in 1966.

See also *Negro World*; Garvey, Marcus

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JONATHAN GILL (1996)
Updated bibliography

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

See Civil War, U.S.

WARD, SAMUEL RINGGOLD

OCTOBER 17, 1817
C. 1866

Abolitionist and clergyman Samuel Ward was born on Maryland's Eastern Shore. His parents, believed to have been William Ward and Anne Harper, escaped from slavery to Greenwich, New Jersey in 1820 and moved to New York City in 1826. Samuel Ward attended the African Free School, where Alexander Crummell and Henry Highland Garnet were fellow students.

Ward taught in black schools in Newark, New Jersey, until 1839, when he was ordained by the New York Congregational (General) Association. From 1841 to 1843 he served as pastor to a white congregation in South Butler, New York, and from 1846 to 1851 to a white congregation in Cortland, New York. During a period of poor health between the two ministries, he studied medicine and law.

In 1839 Ward was also appointed an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and he embarked upon a career as an orator in abolition and party politics, for which he became known as "the black Daniel Webster." Active in the Liberty Party from its establishment in 1840, he addressed its convention in 1843 and lectured under its auspices, having particular effect in the defeat of Henry Clay in New York State. In 1846 Ward served as a vice president of the American Missionary Association, an abolition-oriented missionary group.

Ward fled to Canada in 1851 because of his involvement in the rescue of the "fugitive slave" William ("Jerry") Henry. From 1851 to 1866 he served as an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, as well as a member of its executive committee, lecturing against slavery as he had done in the United States. Under its auspices he traveled to England seeking aid for exiled and immigrant former slaves. He addressed the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1853 and 1854.

Ward was associated as agent or editor with a number of black periodicals, including *The True American and Religious Examiner* and the *Impartial Citizen;* in Canada he was the nominal editor of the *Provincial Freeman*. Ward also was the author of *The Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, & England* (London, 1855) and an account of the Jamaica Rebellion of 1865, *Reflections upon the Gordon Rebellion* (1866).

Ward was given land in Jamaica by an English Quaker and moved there in 1855, serving as a Baptist minister in Kingston. Little is known of his last years.

See also Abolition; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Missionary Movements; Runaway Slaves in the United States

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QUANDRA PRETTYMAN (1996)

Washington, Booker T.

c. 1856
November 14, 1915

Founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and prominent race and education leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Booker Taliaferro Washington was born a slave on the plantation of James Burroughs near Hale's Ford, Virginia. He spent his childhood as a houseboy and servant. His mother was a cook on the Burroughs plantation, and he never knew his white father. With Emancipation in 1865, he moved with his family—consisting of his mother, Jane; his stepfather, Washington Ferguson; a half-brother, John; and a half-sister, Amanda—to West Virginia, where he worked briefly in the salt furnaces and coal mines near Malden. Quickly, however, he obtained work as a houseboy in the mansion of the wealthiest white man in Malden, General Lewis Ruffner. There, under the tutelage of the general's wife, Viola Ruffner, a former New England schoolteacher, he learned to read. He also attended a local school for African Americans in Malden.

From 1872 to 1875 Washington attended Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia, where he came under the influence of the school's founder, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who inculcated in Washington the work ethic that would stay with him his entire life and that became a hallmark of his educational philosophy. Washington was an outstanding pupil during his tenure at Hampton and was placed in charge of the Native American students there. After graduation he returned to Malden, where he taught school for several years and became active as a public speaker on local matters, including the issue of the removal of the capital of West Virginia to Charleston.

In 1881 Washington founded a school of his own in Tuskegee, Alabama. Beginning with a few ramshackle buildings and a small sum from the state of Alabama, he built Tuskegee Institute into the best-known African-American school in the nation. While not neglecting academic training entirely, the school's curriculum stressed industrial education, training in specific skills and crafts that would prepare students for jobs. Washington built his school and his influence by tapping the generosity of northern philanthropists, receiving donations from wealthy New Englanders and some of the leading industrialists and businessmen of his time, such as Andrew Carnegie, William H. Baldwin Jr., Julius Rosenwald, and Robert C. Ogden.

In 1882 Washington married his childhood sweetheart from Malden, Fanny Norton Smith, a graduate of Hampton Institute, who died two years later as a result of injuries suffered in a fall from a wagon. Subsequently Washington married Olivia A. Davidson, a graduate of Hampton and the Framingham State Normal School in Massachusetts, who held the title of lady principal of Tuskegee. She was a tireless worker for the school and an effective fund-raiser in her own right. Always in rather frail health, Davidson died in 1889. Washington's third wife, Margaret James Murray, a graduate of Fisk University, also held the title of lady principal and was a leader of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and the Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

Washington's reputation as the principal of Tuskegee Institute grew through the late 1880s and the 1890s; his school was considered the exemplar of industrial education, viewed as the best method of training the generations of African Americans who were either born in slavery or were the sons and daughters of freed slaves. His control of the pursestrings of many of the northern donors to his school increased his influence with other African-American schools in the South. His fame and recognition as a national race leader, however, resulted from the impact of a single speech he delivered before the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895. This important speech, often called the Atlanta Compromise, is the best single statement of Washington's philosophy of racial advancement and his political accommodation with the predominant racial ideology of his time. For the next twenty years, until the end of his life, Washington seldom deviated publicly from the positions taken in the Atlanta address.

In his speech Washington urged African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are"—that is, in the South—and to accommodate to the segregation and discrimination imposed upon them by custom and by state and local laws. He said the races could exist separately from the standpoint of social relationships but should work together for mutual economic advancement. He advocated a gradualist advancement of the race, through hard work, economic improvement, and self-help. This message found instant acceptance from white Americans, north and south, and almost universal approval among African Americans. Even W. E. B. Du Bois, later one of Washington's harshest critics, wrote to him immediately after the Atlanta address that the speech was "a word fitly spoken."

Whereas Washington's public stance on racial matters seldom varied from the Atlanta Compromise, privately he was a more complicated individual. His voluminous

Booker T. Washington (seated, third from left) with some of the teachers and trustees of the Tuskegee Institute, 1906. PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

private papers, housed at the Library of Congress, document an elaborate secret life that contradicted many of his public utterances. He secretly financed test cases to challenge Jim Crow laws. He held great power over the African-American press, both north and south, and secretly owned stock in several newspapers. While Washington himself never held political office of any kind, he became the most powerful African-American politician of his time as an adviser to presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft and as a dispenser of Republican Party patronage.

Washington's biographer, Louis R. Harlan, called the Tuskegean's extensive political network "the Tuskegee Machine" for its resemblance to the machines established by big-city political bosses of the era. With his network of informants and access to both northern philanthropy and political patronage, Washington could make or break careers, and he was the central figure in African-American public life during his heyday. Arguably no other black leader, before or since, has exerted similar dominance. He founded the National Negro Business League in 1900 to foster African-American business and create a loyal corps of supporters throughout the country. Indirectly he influenced the National Afro American Council, the leading African-American civil rights group of his day. The publication of his autobiography, *Up from Slavery,* in 1901 spread his fame even more in the United States and abroad. In this classic American tale, Washington portrayed his life in terms of a Horatio Alger success story. Its great popularity in the first decade of the twentieth century won many new financial supporters for Tuskegee Institute and for Washington personally.

Washington remained the dominant African-American leader in the country until the time of his death from exhaustion and overwork in 1915. But other voices rose to challenge his conservative, accommodationist leadership. William Monroe Trotter, the editor of the *Boston Guardian,* was a persistent gadfly. Beginning in 1903 with the publication of Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk,* and continuing for the rest of his life, Washington was criticized for his failure to be more publicly aggressive in fighting the deterioration of race relations in the United States, for his avoidance of direct public support for civil rights legislation, and for his single-minded emphasis on industrial education as opposed to academic training for a "talented tenth" of the race. Washington, however, was adept at outmaneuvering his critics, even resorting to the use of spies to infiltrate organizations critical of his leadership, such as the Niagara Movement, led by Du Bois. His intimate friends called Washington "the Wizard" for his mastery of political intrigue and his exercise of power.

Washington's leadership ultimately gave way to new forces in the twentieth century, which placed less emphasis on individual leadership and more on organizational power. The founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 and of the National Urban League in 1911 challenged Washington in the areas of civil rights and his failure to address problems related to the growth of an urban black population. The defeat of the Republican Party in the presidential election of 1912 also spelled the end of Washington's power as a dispenser of political patronage. Nevertheless, he remained active as a speaker and public figure until his death, in 1915, at Tuskegee.

Washington's place in the pantheon of African-American leaders is unclear. He was the first African American to appear on a United States postage stamp (1940) and commemorative coin (1946). Although he was eulogized by friend and foe alike at the time of his death, his outmoded philosophy of accommodation to segregation and racism in American society caused his historical reputation to suffer. New generations of Americans, who took their inspiration from those who were more outspoken critics of segregation and the second-class status endured by African Americans, rejected Washington's leadership role. While much recent scholarship has explored his racial philosophy and political activity in considerable depth, he remains a largely forgotten man in the consciousness of the general public, both black and white. In recent years, however, there has been some revival of interest in his economic thought by those who seek to develop African-American businesses and entrepreneurial skills. Indeed, no serious student of the African-American experience in the United States can afford to ignore the lessons that can be gleaned from Washington's life and from the manner in which he exercised power.

See also Atlanta Compromise; Autobiography, U.S.; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Intellectual Life; Tuskegee University; Washington, Margaret Murray

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RAYMOND W. SMOCK (1996)

Washington, Denzel

December 28, 1954

Born into a middle-class family in Mount Vernon, New York, actor Denzel Washington is one of three children of a Pentecostal minister and a beauty shop owner. His parents divorced when he was fourteen, and Washington went through a rebellious period. Consequently, his mother sent him to boarding school at Oakland Academy in Windsor, New York. He went on to matriculate at Fordham University in New York City.

Washington became interested in acting while at college. When he was a senior at Fordham, he won a small role in the television film *Wilma,* the story of Olympic track star Wilma Rudolph. After graduating with a B.A. in journalism in 1978, Washington spent a year at San Francisco's American Conservatory Theater.

Washington's first film, *Carbon Copy* (1981), received little notice. However, his portrayals of Malcolm X in *When the Chickens Come Home to Roost* by Laurence Holder (Audelco Award, 1980) and Private Peterson in *A*

Soldier's Play by Charles Fuller (Obie Award, 1981) brought him to the attention of New York's theater critics. After refusing to take roles that he deemed degrading, Washington took the part of the idealistic surgeon Dr. Philip Chandler on the popular hospital television drama series *St. Elsewhere* (1982–1988). In 1984, accompanied by most of the original stage cast, Washington reprised his role as Private Peterson in *A Soldier's Story*, the film version of *A Soldier's Play*.

Despite his consistently powerful performances, it was not until the end of the 1980s that Washington was acknowledged as one of America's leading actors. He appeared as martyred South African activist Stephen Biko in *Cry Freedom* (1987), a policeman in *The Mighty Quinn,* and the embittered ex-slave and Union soldier Trip in *Glory,* both in 1989. Washington received an Academy Award nomination for his work in *Cry Freedom* and in 1990 won an Academy Award for best supporting actor for his performance in *Glory*. That same year he played the title role in *Richard III* in the New York Shakespeare Festival.

In 1990 Washington starred as a jazz musician in director Spike Lee's film *Mo' Better Blues*. He teamed with Lee again in 1992, playing the title role in the controversial film *Malcolm X*. The film received mixed reviews, but Washington's performance as the black nationalist was a critical success, and he received an Oscar nomination as best actor. The following year he appeared in leading roles in three films to much acclaim. He portrayed Don Pedro, Prince of Aragon, in Kenneth Branagh's version of the Shakespearean comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*, an investigative reporter in the thriller *The Pelican Brief,* and a trial lawyer in *Philadelphia*. In 1995 he starred with Gene Hackman in *Crimson Tide*. His starring roles since then have included *Devil in a Blue Dress* (1995), an adaptation of Walter Mosley's novel; *Courage Under Fire* (1996); *The Preacher's Wife* (1997); *Love Jones* (1997); *Fallen* (1998); *He Got Game* (1998); *The Siege* (1998); *Remember the Titans* (2000); *John Q* (2002); *Antwone Fisher* (2002); *Out of Time* (2003); *Man on Fire* (2004); and *The Manchurian Candidate* (2004).

Washington won a Golden Globe for Best Actor for his role in *The Hurricane* (1999) and an Academy Award for Best Actor for his role in *Training Day* (2001).

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary

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JANE LUSAKA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Washington, Harold

April 15, 1922
November 25, 1987

The politician Harold Washington was born on the South Side of Chicago to Bertha and Roy Lee Washington Sr. His parents separated, and Washington's father, a stockyard worker, raised the children; he also earned a law degree at night and became a Democratic party precinct captain in the Third Ward.

Harold Washington attended DuSable High School but dropped out after his junior year. He was drafted during World War II and while in the army earned a high school equivalency diploma. In 1941 he married Dorothy Finch; they divorced in 1950.

After the war, Washington entered Roosevelt University in Chicago, where he was the first black student to be elected senior class president. He graduated in 1949 with a degree in political science. He completed law school at Northwestern University in 1952—by "quota" the only black student in his class.

When Roy Washington died in 1953, Ralph Metcalfe, an alderman and Democratic party committeeman, invited Harold Washington to take over his father's precinct. Washington proved to be a talented organizer, successfully mobilizing votes for Metcalfe and training new Democratic party leadership. He was also involved in independent black political organizations.

Washington served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1965 to 1976, and in the state senate from 1976 to 1980. In office, he selectively dissented from "machine" policies, incurring special wrath in the late 1960s by calling for a police review board with civilian participation. In 1969, he helped organize the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus. He fought for consumer protection for the poor and elderly, supported the Equal Rights Amendment, and strengthened the Fair Employment Practices Act.

In 1977, Washington openly broke with the machine, running for mayor of Chicago in the special election that

followed Richard J. Daley's death. He lost the Democratic primary but won 10.7 percent of the vote. A year later, Washington returned to the state senate despite a machine-orchestrated challenge. In 1980 he was elected to the U.S. Congress, where he demonstrated leadership on issues important to blacks and Latinos. Washington played a key role in the 1982 fight to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and he was secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus. He also supported a nuclear freeze and a 20 percent cut in defense spending.

Shortly after Washington's election, he was approached by independent political and community groups hoping to draft a black candidate for mayor of Chicago. After a massive campaign that registered at least 20,000 new voters by October 1982, Washington agreed to run. The media slighted his candidacy, casting the Democratic primary as a contest between incumbent mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of the former mayor. But Washington's overwhelming support in the black community, his debate performance, and a high level of grassroots mobilization tipped the balance in his favor. He won with a plurality of 38 percent.

In the 1983 general election, many white Democrats, including some key party leaders, backed Republican Bernard Epton. The campaign was volatile and racially charged, as whites jeered Washington and hurled accusations of personal impropriety. Still, he prevailed with 51.5 percent of the vote due to record-breaking turnouts and support in the black community, and to strong support from Latino and liberal white neighborhoods.

Washington's first term was marred by opposition on the city council, led by Democratic Party–machine stalwarts Edward Vrydolyak and Ed Burke. Washington lacked majority support on the council, and his initiatives often were defeated. The "Council Wars" raged from 1983 through 1986, when a federal court ruled the ward map was racially biased. When Washington sought re-election in 1987, he was challenged by former mayor Jane Byrne in the primary and by Vrydolyak, running as an independent, in the general election. He outpolled his rivals, garnering 99.6 percent of the black vote and significant backing among gays, Latinos, and Asian Americans.

Despite resistance, Washington's structural and programmatic reforms were substantial. He signed the Shakman Decree, which outlawed patronage hiring and firing, and he imposed a $1,500 cap on campaign contributions from companies doing business with the city. He increased racial and ethnic diversity in the city administration, and he aided women and minorities in competing with white male contractors. He appointed Chicago's first black police chief and sought to provide city services more equitably in the black community.

On November 25, 1987, Washington suffered a heart attack at his desk in city hall. He died later that day, mourned by many who believed his career had both reflected and helped to create new avenues for political participation among African Americans.

See also Congressional Black Caucus; Metcalfe, Ralph; Politics in the United States; Voting Rights Act of 1965

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DIANNE M. PINDERHUGHES (1996)
Updated bibliography

Washington, Margaret Murray

c. 1861
June 4, 1925

The child of a black mother, Lucy Murray, and a white father, educator and clubwoman Margaret Murray was born in Macon, Mississippi. March 9, 1865, is inscribed on her gravestone as her birthday, but she was listed as being nine years old in the census of 1870. She may have lowered her age in 1881, when she began attending Fisk Preparatory School in Nashville, Tennessee. Taken in by a Quaker brother and sister after her father's death when she was seven, Washington was educated by them, and it was they who suggested she become a teacher.

Margaret Murray became Booker T. Washington's third wife. After completing her Fisk University education

in 1889, she joined the Tuskegee faculty and the next academic year became dean of the women's department. Washington, who was recently widowed and had three small children, proposed to her in 1891 and they married on October 12, 1892. Margaret Murray Washington advised her husband in his speaking and fund-raising work, and she shared his advocacy of accommodation with whites while uplifting the black race. As an educated woman, Margaret Washington believed she had a responsibility to help those of her race who had fewer opportunities. She pursued her own work at Tuskegee and was a leader in the black women's club movement.

Washington was the director of the Girls' Institute at Tuskegee, which provided courses in laundering, cooking, dressmaking, sewing, millinery, and mattress making, skills that students were to use in maintaining healthy, efficient, and gracious homes. She founded the women's club at Tuskegee for female faculty and faculty wives, which was active, especially in the temperance movement. She also worked with people in the surrounding rural area on self-improvement. By 1904 nearly three hundred women had attended her mothers' meetings each Sunday. Especially concerned about high rates of black mortality and illegitimate births, Washington instructed the women on diet and personal hygiene for better health and urged them to set good moral examples at home for both boys and girls.

These sentiments found expression in the motto of the influential National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW)—"Lifting as we climb." Washington was one of the women invited by Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin to meet in Boston in July 1895 to form the National Federation of Afro-American Women. She became vice president and then, in 1896, president of the federation, which was now sixty-seven clubs strong; it joined with the Colored Women's League to form the NACW that year. In 1914 Washington was elected president of the NACW after holding numerous other offices and served two terms. She also edited the NACW's *National Notes* until her death.

President of the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs (AAWC) from 1919 until her death in 1925, Margaret Murray Washington led the movement to establish a boys' reform school as an alternative to prison, and later the Rescue Home for Girls, both in Mt. Meigs, Alabama. Through the AAWC she worked with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to provide educational opportunities for blacks in Alabama. A lifelong friend of W. E. B. Du Bois, in 1920 Margaret Washington helped found the International Council of Women of the Darker Races to promote race pride through knowledge of black culture around the world.

See also Black Women's Club Movement; Education in the United States; National Association of Colored Women; National Federation of Afro-American Women; Washington, Booker T.

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ALANA J. ERICKSON (1996)

Waters, Ethel

October 31, 1896?
September 1, 1977

Singer and actress Ethel Waters was born in Chester, Pennsylvania, to a musical family; her father played piano, and her mother and maternal relatives sang. Her first public performance was as a five-year-old billed as Baby Star in a church program. Waters began her singing career in Baltimore with a small vaudeville company where she sang W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues," becoming, apparently, the first woman to sing the song professionally. She was billed as Sweet Mama Stringbean.

About 1919 Waters moved to New York and became a leading entertainer in Harlem, where her first engagement was at a small black club, Edmond's Cellar. As an entertainer she reached stardom during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. In 1924 Earl Dancer, later the producer of the Broadway musical *Africana,* got her a booking in the Plantation Club as a replacement for Florence Mills, who was on tour. When Mills returned, Waters toured in Dancer's *Miss Calico*. By then she had begun to establish herself as an interpreter of the blues with such songs as Perry Bradford's "Messin' Around." In 1921 she recorded "Down Home Blues" and "Oh Daddy" for Black Swan Records. The success of her first recording led her to embark on one of the first personal promotion tours in the United States.

In 1932 and 1933 Waters recorded with Duke Ellington and Benny Goodman, respectively. Her renditions of "Stormy Weather," "Taking a Chance on Love," and

"Lady Be Good" were closer stylistically to jazz than to popular music. She sang with the swing orchestra of Fletcher Henderson, who was her conductor on the Black Swan tours. Although her performances were unquestionably potent, many critics did not consider her a real jazz performer but rather a singer who possessed a style that was more dramatic and histrionic than jazz oriented. However, Waters, along with Billie Holiday and Louis Armstrong, significantly influenced the sound of American popular music. Though generally regarded as blues or jazz singers, all of them sang the popular songs of their day like no other singers of the period.

"Dinah" (first performed in 1925), "Stormy Weather," and "Miss Otis Regrets" were among Waters's most popular songs. Later she recorded with Russell Wooding and Eddie Mallory, among others. Beginning in 1927 she appeared in Broadway musicals, including *Africana* (1927), Lew Leslie's *Blackbirds* of 1930, *Rhapsody in Black* (1931), *As Thousands Cheer* (1933), *At Home Abroad* (1936), and *Cabin in the Sky* (1940). All these roles primarily involved singing.

It was not until the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) that she had the chance to do more serious and dramatic roles. Waters received excellent reviews for her performance in Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion,* which led to her being cast as Hagar in Dubose and Dorothy Heyward's *Mamba's Daughters* (1939), for which she again received good notices. Ten years later, she was acclaimed for her performance as Berenice in Carson McCullers' *The Member of the Wedding* (which won the Drama Critics Circle Award for Best American Play of the Year in 1950).

Waters appeared in nine films between 1929 and 1959, the most popular being *Pinky,* which garnered her an Academy Award nomination as Best Supporting Actress (1949). From 1957 to 1976 she toured with evangelist Billy Graham's religious crusades in the United States and abroad and became celebrated for singing "His Eye Is on the Sparrow." This song became the title of her first autobiography, which was published in 1951. A second autobiography, *To Me It's Wonderful,* was published in 1972. Waters died in 1977 following a long bout with cancer.

See also Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s; Drama; Jazz Singers; Musical Theater

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JAMES E. MUMFORD (1996)

Waters, Maxine Moore

August 15, 1938

Maxine Moore, the daughter of Remus Carr and Velma Moore, was born in Saint Louis, Missouri, and eventually became a congresswoman. She attended the public schools in Saint Louis and married Edward Waters immediately upon graduation from high school. In 1961 she moved with her husband and two children to the Watts section of Los Angeles. After working at a garment factory and as an operator for Pacific Telephone, Waters was hired in 1966 as an assistant teacher in a local Head Start program and was later promoted to supervisor.

In 1971 Waters received her bachelor's degree in sociology from California State University at Los Angeles. She became active in local and state politics, serving as a chief advisor for David S. Cunningham's successful race for a city council seat in 1973. After Cunningham's election, Waters became his chief deputy.

In 1976 Waters was elected to the California State Assembly, where she served for fourteen years. She represented the Watts area and was a noted spokesperson for women's issues. In 1978 she cofounded the Black Women's Forum, a national organization designed to provide a platform for the discussion of issues of concern to black women—programs for the poor and minorities, and divestiture of investments in South Africa. Among her many achievements, Waters helped establish the Child Abuse Prevention Training Program and sponsored legislation to protect tenants and small businesses, to impose stringent standards on vocational schools, and to limit police strip-and-search authority. Waters served as the assembly's first black female member of the Rules Committee and the first Judiciary Committee member who was not a lawyer.

In 1990 Waters was elected to represent a wide area of South Central Los Angeles in the United States House of Representatives. In the ensuing years, she voiced her criticism of U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf War and advocated a number of reintegration services for black troops on their return home.

Following the outbreak of riots in her Los Angeles district after the acquittal of the police officers charged in the Rodney King case in April 1992, Waters received national attention for her statements about the root social causes of the riots. In 1993 Waters proposed legislation for the Youth Fair Chance Program, an inner-city job training program, and supported passage of AIDS and abortion-

rights legislation. Over the course of her first two terms, Waters rapidly emerged as a major spokesperson for the black community and one of the most prominent women in Congress. In 1998 she distinguished herself as a defender of President Bill Clinton, and she voted against impeachment as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

In the early 2000s, Waters worked with various hip-hop artists to reclaim hip-hop from what she felt was coopting by and racism on the part of the white music industry. In 2004 Waters sponsored a resolution in Congress to provide assistance to the ravaged country of Haiti.

See also Politics in the United States

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Watts, J. C.

November 18, 1957

Julius Caesar Watts Jr., a leading Republican in the U.S. House of Representatives, was born in Eufaula, Oklahoma, the son of a policeman. He later described his childhood poverty, noting that he had only two pairs of pants, both patched. Watts attended the University of Oklahoma in Norman on a football scholarship, and he received a B.A. degree in journalism in 1981. As quarterback for the powerful Sooners, Watts led the team to victories in the Orange Bowl in 1980 and 1981 and was named Most Valuable Player of both bowls. After graduation, Watts joined the Ottawa Roughriders of the Canadian Football League. In his rookie year he led the Roughriders to the Grey Cup and was named Most Valuable Player of the Cup game. He retired after four years with Ottawa and a year with the Toronto Argonauts.

Following his retirement from football, Watts returned to Norman, where he formed the Watts Energy Corporation. An ordained minister, Watts also became the youth director of Sunnylane Baptist Church in nearby Del City. In 1994, relying on his football celebrity and conservative Republican politics, Watts campaigned for Congress. That fall, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Oklahoma's largely white fourth district, and he was easily reelected in 1996 and 1998. As the sole black Republican in Congress during the late 1990s, Watts cultivated a color-blind image, declining to join the Congressional Black Caucus and calling for an end to affirmative action and welfare programs. In 1997 Watts was selected by House Republicans to respond to the president's State of the Union Address, and in November 1998 he was named chair of the congressional Republican Conference.

Watts published his autobiography in 2002. In 2003 he left Congress and became chairman of FN Policy Focus, a government-sponsored enterprise.

See also Politics in the United States

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Waymon, Eunice Kathleen

See Simone, Nina

Weaver, Robert Clifton

December 29, 1907
July 19, 1997

Economist Robert Weaver's maternal grandfather, Robert Tanner Freeman, the son of a slave who bought freedom for himself and his wife in 1830 and took his surname as the badge of his liberty, graduated from Harvard University in 1869 with a degree in dentistry, the first African American to do so. His daughter Florence attended Virginia Union University, then married Mortimer Grover Weaver, a Washington, D.C., postal clerk, and gave birth to Robert Weaver. Raising Robert and his older brother, Mortimer Jr., in a mostly white Washington neighborhood, Florence Weaver repeatedly emphasized to her sons that "the way to offset color prejudice is to be awfully good at whatever you do."

The Weaver boys did exceptionally well in Washington's segregated school system: Mortimer went on to Williams College and then to Harvard for advanced study in English; Robert joined him at Harvard as a freshman, and when he was refused a room in the dormitory because he was African American, he lived with his brother off campus. Robert Weaver graduated cum laude in 1929, the year his brother died of an unexplained illness, and stayed at Harvard to earn his master's degree in 1931 and doctorate in economics in 1934. In 1933, with the advent of the New Deal, Weaver was hired by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to be the race-relations adviser in the Housing Division. While holding that post, Weaver helped desegregate the cafeteria of the Interior Department and became an active member of the "Black Cabinet," an influential group of African Americans in the Roosevelt administration who met regularly to combat racial discrimination and segregation in New Deal programs and within the government itself.

In 1935 Weaver married Ella V. Haith, a graduate of Carnegie Tech, and from 1937 to 1940 he served as special assistant to the administrator of the U.S. Housing Authority. During World War II he held positions on the National Defense Advisory Committee, the War Manpower Commission, and the War Production Board. In 1944 he left the government to direct the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations in Chicago, and then the American Council on Race Relations. After the war, he worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, headed a fellowship program for the John Hay Whitney Foundation, and published two critical studies of discrimination against African Americans—*Negro Labor: A National Problem* (1946) and *The Negro Ghetto* (1948)—before being chosen by New York's Democratic governor, Averell Harriman, in 1955 as the state rent commissioner, the first African American to hold a cabinet office in the state's history.

This was followed by Weaver's appointment by President John F. Kennedy after the 1960 election to be director of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, at the time the highest federal position ever held by an African American. While heading what he termed an "administrative monstrosity," Weaver authored the acclaimed *The Urban Complex* (1964) and *Dilemmas of Urban America* (1965), which focused attention on the inadequate public services and the inferior schools in lower-class inner cities, but he achieved only minor successes in his endeavors to stimulate better-designed public housing, provide housing for families of low or moderate incomes, and institute federal rent subsidies for the ailing and the elderly.

Kennedy had promised in 1960 to launch a comprehensive program to assist cities, run by a cabinet-level department. But because of his intention to select Weaver as department secretary, and thus the first African-American cabinet member, Congress twice rebuffed Kennedy's plan. Southern Democrats opposed Weaver because of his race and his strong support of racially integrated housing. Following the landslide election of Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, however, Congress approved a bill to establish a new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1965, and, because of Johnson's influence, confirmed his choice of Weaver to head it. By then, Weaver's moderation and reputation for being professionally cautious had won over even southern Democrats who had formerly voted against him, like Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, who claimed: "I thought he was going to be prejudiced. But I have seen no evidence of prejudice."

Weaver ably administered HUD's diffuse federal programs and the billions of dollars spent to attack urban blight, but innovative policies and plans, such as those in the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, soon fell victim to the escalating expenditures for the Vietnam War and to the conservative backlash fueled by ghetto rioting from 1965 to 1968. In 1969, after more than a third of a century of government service, Weaver left Washington to preside over the City University of New York's Baruch College for two years and then to be Distinguished Professor of Urban Affairs at CUNY's Hunter College until 1978, when he became professor emeritus. He stayed busy during his retirement, serving on the boards of the Metro Life Insurance Company, the Bowery Savings Bank, and Mount Sinai Hospital and Medical School, and he was active in the American Jewish Congress, the Citizens Committee for Children, and the New York Civil Liberties Union.

Although never an active frontline fighter in the civil rights movement, Weaver chaired the board of directors of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in 1960, served on the executive committee of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund from 1973 to 1990, and was president of the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing from 1973 to 1987. He received numerous awards, including the Spingarn Medal of the NAACP (1962), the New York City Urban League's Frederick Douglass Award (1977), the Schomburg Collection Award (1978), and the Equal Opportunity Day Award of the National Urban League (1987), and he was the recipient of more than thirty honorary degrees from colleges and universities before his death in 1997. In 2000 the Housing and Urban Development headquarters in Washington, D.C., was named in his honor, the first building in the nation's capital to be named after an African American.

See also Politics in the United States

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HARVARD SITKOFF (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Webb, Frank J.

March 21, 1828
May 7, 1894

Novelist, newspaperman, and educator Frank Johnson Webb was named after an internationally popular black orchestra leader in Philadelphia. His proud, striving family apparently provided a classical education. In 1845 Webb married Mary E., the similarly educated daughter of a fugitive Virginia slave and reputed Spanish nobleman. Before Frank and Mary launched their artistic careers, the Webbs' Philadelphia cloth and clothing designing business failed in 1854, despite winning prizes in Philadelphia for its products in the early 1850s.

Early in the spring of 1855 Mary set out to become a dramatic reader with Frank as her manager. She gained encouragement and training assistance from Harriet Beecher Stowe, who dramatized selections from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* precisely for Mary. John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and others commended her efforts. Through May 1856, she performed from Washington, D.C., to Cleveland, Ohio. Nearly everywhere, however, the Webbs faced racial restrictions and condescension. Frank publicly and independently spoke out in favor of black emigration and martial training. In September 1855 the Webbs sought passage to Brazil but were denied because, as Mary said in a private letter, her husband was "somewhat more brown" than she.

Believing they might be treated better in England, they encouraged Stowe to write introductions and were well received there by friendly nobility in July 1856. Mary's readings and Frank's well-written, groundbreaking novel *The Garies and Their Friends,* published in London in September 1857, both enjoyed generally positive reviews. The modest adventures of the novel's black hero, Charlie Ellis, and those of mixed-race peers in and around racist Philadelphia suggest the author's own experiences. Stowe's hasty preface may have encouraged sales, but did not throw any light on the novel or its little-known author. By that September Mary's consumption had also been noted; the Webbs went to southern France for her health through January 1858. English friends then arranged for a clerk's position in the post office for Frank in Kingston, Jamaica.

Despite their English successes, the couple's short stop in Philadelphia before heading for Jamaica was disappointing. A dramatic reading was not well attended, and no American offered to publish Frank's novel. Stowe abandoned them. She wrote to friends that she had been "worn down" attempting to guide the Webbs and other African Americans in England. No English person had noticed this burden—nor did Stowe's sister, who admired the Webbs' refinement.

In March the Webbs moved to Jamaica, where Mary died in June 1859. Five years later Frank married Jamaican Mary Rosabell Rodgers, and together they had six children. In 1869 he moved to Washington, D.C., worked as a Freedman's Bureau clerk, studied law at Howard University, and contributed two stories with male characters like his novel's hero further refined, but white; three short race-defending commentaries; and two love poems. He also attempted, unsuccessfully, to find a publisher for another novel.

Late in 1870 the reunited Webb family moved to Galveston, Texas. Frank edited and published the assertively black *Galveston Republican* newspaper from January to August 1871. Between 1872 and 1878 he clerked in a post office and strove to create a Republican Party that respected blacks. From 1881 through 1894 he was a teacher, and he served as a high school principal through his remaining years. His wife lectured and wrote race-lifting papers. His eldest son was also a writer and newspaperman.

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ALLAN D. AUSTIN (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Weems, Carrie Mae

April 20, 1953

The photographer Carrie Mae Weems was born in Portland, Oregon, and began taking pictures in 1976, after a friend gave her a camera as a gift. Weems worked as a professional modern dancer and also held odd jobs on farms and in restaurants and offices until 1979, when she began taking classes in art, folklore, and literature at the California Institute of the Arts (B.F.A., 1981). She traveled to Mexico and Fiji, and then studied photography at the University of California, San Diego, where she worked with Fred Lonidier (M.F.A., 1984).

In 1978 Weems began taking her first series of images, *Environmental Profits,* which focused on life in Portland. Weems continued to develop her interest in autobiographical images in *Family Pictures and Stories* (1978–1984), which took the format of a family photo album and featured images of relatives at their jobs and at home, often with accompanying narrative text and audio recordings. *Family Pictures* was Weems's response to the Moynihan Report of ten years earlier, which claimed that a matriarchal system of authority was responsible for a systemic crisis in the black family. Images in the series, one of which is titled "Mom at Work," were arranged to look like snapshots of ordinary moments to show that the process of passing on family history is an aspect of everyday life.

Weems's work on *Family Pictures* intensified her interest in folklore, and she took graduate classes in the folklore program at University of California, Berkeley, from 1984 to 1987. Her work *Ain't Jokin* (1987–1988), which grew out of her studies at the university, was a series of captioned photographs that prompts viewers to question racial stereotypes ("Black Woman with Chicken").

In 1990 Weems explored the conflict between a woman's political ideals and her emotional desires in "Untitled" (*Kitchen Table Series*). Shot with a large-format camera, the images record episodes in the relationship between a woman and man; they are taken from a single vantage point in front of the receding kitchen table.

In the same year, Weems completed *Then What? Photographs and Folklore,* a collection of images that illustrates or comments upon folk sayings, signs, and omens. Weems's image of a coffee pot highlights a superstition by quoting parents who tell their child not to drink coffee because "coffee'll make you black." *Then What?* also includes *Colored People* (1989–1990), a series of front- and side-view mug shots of girls and boys that explores the process of color stereotyping.

In 1991, Weems began creating large-scale color still lifes and portraits that were included in *And 22 Million Very Tired and Angry People* (1992). Selecting a title that echoes Richard Wright's 1941 *12 Million Black Voices,* Weems combines photos of ordinary objects such as an alarm clock ("A Precise Moment in Time"), a fan ("A Hot Day"), and a typewriter ("An Informational System") with text from thinkers such as Ntozake Shange, Malcolm X, and Fannie Lou Hamer, to educate viewers about historical causes of political change. In 1992, Weems exhibited a series of images on the Gullah culture of the Sea Islands, located off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, at the P.P.O.W. Gallery in New York City. Weems also traveled to West Africa during this period, producing her "Africa" series (1990–1993), a selection of photos taken around Djenne, one of the oldest cities of sub-Saharan Africa. In this historical venue, Weems explored themes of myth, history, and the quest for origins, retelling the story of Adam and Eve with an African setting.

In 1995, the artist began work on her 32–piece installation "From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried," an emotional response to Getty Museum's "Hidden Witness" exhibition depicting African-American life in the decades preceding the Civil War. Weems explored the relation between art and politics in two significant 1998 installations, "Who What When Where" and "Ritual and Revolution." Turning again to historical subjects, she was commissioned by Tulane University to create a new series of images to celebrate the bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase in 2003. That same year, the artist produced two more installations, "May Days Long Forgotten" and "Dreaming in Cuba," offering perspectives on social history in twentieth-century America and the Caribbean.

Weems has taught photography at institutions such as San Diego City College in California (1984); Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts (1987–1992), Hunter College in New York City (1988–1989), and California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland (1991). She has been artist-in-residence at the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, New York (1986); Rhode Island School of Design in Providence (1989–1990); and the Art Institute of Chicago (1990).

Weems's work has been shown in solo exhibitions at the Alternative Space Gallery, San Diego, California (1984); Hampshire College Art Gallery (1987); CEPA Gallery, Buffalo, New York (1990); P.P.O.W. Gallery, New York City (1990, 1992, 2003); New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York City (1991); National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C. (1993); Everson Museum of Art, Syracuse (1999); Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts (2001); the International Center of Photography, New York, New York (2001); and the Newcomb Art Gallery, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana (2003).

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Photography, U.S.

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RENEE NEWMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

July 6, 1862
March 25, 1931

Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931). *Born a slave in Mississippi, Wells-Barnett used the power of the pen to fight for civil rights, particularly in her unflagging campaign against lynching.* PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

The journalist and civil rights activist Ida Bell Wells was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, the first of eight children of Jim and Elizabeth Wells. Her father was a slave—the son of his master and a slave woman—and worked as a carpenter on a plantation. There he met his future wife, who served as a cook. After emancipation, Jim Wells was active in local Reconstruction politics.

Young Ida Wells received her early education in the grammar school of Shaw University (now Rust College) in Holly Springs, where her father served on the original board of trustees. Her schooling was halted, however, when a yellow fever epidemic claimed the lives of both her parents in 1878 and she assumed responsibility for her siblings. The next year, the family moved to Memphis, Tennessee, to live with an aunt, and Ida found work as a teacher. She later studied at Fisk University and Lemoyne Institute.

A turning point in Wells's life occurred on May 4, 1884. While riding a train to a teaching assignment, she was asked to leave her seat and move to a segregated car. Wells refused, and she was physically ejected from the railway car. She sued the railroad, and though she was awarded $500 by a lower court, the Tennessee Supreme Court reversed the decision in 1887. In the same year, she launched her career in journalism, writing of her experiences in an African-American weekly called the *Living Way*. In 1892 she became the co-owner of a small black newspaper in Memphis, the *Free Speech*. Her articles on the injustices faced by southern blacks, written under the pen name "Iola," were reprinted in a number of black newspapers, including the *New York Age,* the *Detroit Plain-Dealer,* and the *Indianapolis Freeman*.

In March 1892, the lynching of three young black businessmen, Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Henry Steward, in a suburb of Memphis focused Wells's attention on the pressing need to address the increasing prevalence of this terrible crime in the post-Reconstruction South. Her approach was characteristically forthright. She argued that though most lynchings were fueled by accusations of rape, they actually were prompted by economic competition between whites and blacks. Wells infuriated most whites by asserting that many sexual liaisons between black men and white women were not rape but mutually consensual.

She urged African Americans in Memphis to move to the West (where, presumably, conditions were more fa-

> ***Ida B. Wells-Barnett***
>
> "Our country's national crime is lynching. It is not the creature of an hour, the sudden outburst of uncontrolled fury, or the unspeakable brutality of an insane mob. It represents the cool, calculating deliberation of intelligent people who openly avow that there is an 'unwritten law' that justifies them in putting human beings to death without complaint under oath, without trial by jury, without opportunity to make defense, and without right of appeal."
>
> "LYNCH LAW IN AMERICA," THE ARENA 23.1 (JANUARY 1900): 15-24.

vorable) and to boycott segregated streetcars and discriminatory merchants. Her challenges to the prevailing racial orthodoxy of the South were met by mob violence, and in May 1892, while she was out of town, the offices of the *Free Speech* were destroyed by an angry throng of whites.

Wells then began to work for the *New York Age*, and she continued to write extensively on lynching and other African-American issues. She penned exposés of southern injustice and decried the situation before European audiences in 1893 and 1894. During these European tours, she criticized some white American supporters of black causes for their halfhearted opposition to lynching. Wells's most extended treatment of the subject, *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States,* appeared in 1895. This was the first serious statistical study of lynchings in the post-Emancipation South. She continued this work for the rest of her life. Some of her more widely read articles in this area include "Lynching and the Excuse for It" (1901) and "Our Country's Lynching Record" (1913). Perhaps her greatest effort in this arena was her tireless campaign for national antilynching legislation. In 1901 she met with President William McKinley to convince him of the importance of such legislation. Her appeal was to no avail.

Another issue that provoked Wells's ire was the decision not to permit an African-American pavilion at the 1893 World's Fair. Wells, with the financial support of Frederick Douglass, among others, published a widely circulated booklet entitled *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Exposition* (1893).

In 1895 Wells married Ferdinand L. Barnett, a lawyer and editor from Chicago who was appointed assistant state attorney for Cook County in 1896. The couple had four children, and Chicago would remain their home for the rest of their lives. While Wells-Barnett was a devoted mother and homemaker, her political and reform activities were unceasing. She served as secretary of the National Afro-American Council from 1898 to 1902 and headed its Antilynching Speakers Bureau. She played an important role in the founding of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896, and in 1910 she founded the Negro Fellowship League, which provided housing and employment for black male migrants. The Barnetts challenged restrictive housing covenants when they moved to the all-white East Side of Chicago around 1910. Her concern for the welfare of Chicago's black community led Wells-Barnett to become, in 1913, the first black woman probation officer in the nation. She lost her appointment in 1916, when a new city administration came to power.

Wells-Barnett was also active in the fight for women's suffrage. In 1913 she organized the Alpha Suffrage Club, the first black women's suffrage club in Illinois. That year, and again in 1918, she marched with suffragists in Washington, D.C. On the former occasion she insisted on marching with the Illinois contingent, integrating it over the objection of many white women marchers.

Wells-Barnett's militant opposition to the southern status quo placed her at odds with Booker T. Washington and his strategy of accommodationism. She was much more sympathetic to the ideology of W. E. B. Du Bois, and in 1906 she attended the founding meeting of the Niagara Movement. She was also a member of the original Executive Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910. She was, however, uneasy about the integrated hierarchy at the organization, believing that their public stance was too tempered, and she ceased active participation in 1912.

In 1916 Wells-Barnett began an affiliation with Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In December 1918, at a UNIA meeting in New York, Wells-Barnett was chosen, along with A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979), to represent the organization as a delegate to the upcoming Versailles Conference. Both representatives were repeatedly denied U.S. State Department clearance, however, so they never attended the meeting. Wells-Barnett did speak on behalf of the UNIA at Bethel AME Church in Baltimore at the end of December 1918, but her continued affiliation with the organization after this was less public.

In the last decades of her life, Wells-Barnett continued to write about racial issues and American injustice.

The East St. Louis race riot of July 1917 and the Chicago riot of July and August 1919 provided the impetus for impassioned denunciations of the treatment of African Americans in the United States. She wrote *The Arkansas Race Riot* in 1922 in response to the accusation of murder aimed at several black farmers, an accusation that was said to have instigated the disturbance. Most of her later work targeted social and political issues in Chicago. In 1930, Wells-Barnett ran unsuccessfully as an independent candidate for the U.S. Senate from Illinois.

Ida Wells-Barnett died on March 25, 1931. In 1941 the Chicago Housing Authority named one of its first low-rent housing developments the Ida B. Wells Homes. In 1990 the U.S. Postal Service issued an Ida B. Wells stamp.

See also Abolition; Douglass, Frederick; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Garvey, Marcus; Journalism; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Niagara Movement; Randolph, Asa Philip; Universal Negro Improvement Association; Washington, Booker T.

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MARGARET L. DWIGHT–BARRETT (1996)
Updated bibliography

Wesley, Charles Harris

December 2, 1891
August 16, 1987

Historian, educator, and minister Charles H. Wesley was a native of Louisville, Kentucky, where he attended public schools. He received a B.A. from Fisk University in 1911, an M.A. from Yale University in 1913, and a Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1925. He was the third black American to receive a Ph.D. in history from Harvard, following W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson.

Upon graduation Wesley accepted a position on the faculty of Howard University, where he served from 1913 to 1942 (leaving briefly, from 1920–1921, to attend Harvard). Wesley rose from the position of instructor to that of professor, then to chair of the history department and finally to dean of the graduate school. In 1930 he was the first black historian to receive a Guggenheim Fellowship, and he spent the following year in England studying slave emancipation in the British Empire.

Wesley was an ordained minister and a presiding elder of the African Methodist Episcopal church (1914–1937). He was also general president of the black fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha (1931–1946), about which he wrote *The History of Alpha Phi Alpha* (1953). He was one of Carter G. Woodson's principal associates at the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), with which he was involved from 1916 to 1987. Wesley worked with Woodson on several important research projects. He was also cofounder of the Association of Social Science Teachers at Negro Colleges (1936).

Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850–1925* (1927) grew out of his dissertation at Harvard and was the first comprehensive historical study of black workers. It is still one of the basic works on the subject, and was pioneering in its use of economic and social analysis for black history. *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (1937) established Wesley's expertise in southern history, and his scholarly articles on subjects ranging from black abolitionists to the diplomatic history of Haiti and Liberia helped to legitimize and popularize the emerging discipline of black history. Wesley also wrote several other histories of black organizations and their leaders, such as *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (1935), *History of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World* (1955), and *Prince Hall: Life and Legacy* (1977).

Wesley was a vocal critic of the limited curriculum and paternalistic procedures at black colleges. In 1942 he was elected president of Wilberforce University in Ohio, an AME church-supported school. In the spring of 1947 church trustees, led by his former mentor Bishop Reverdy Ransom, dismissed Wesley. Student protests followed, and afterward an acrimonious legal battle between the university and the state of Ohio, which provided funds for the School of Education. The school was permanently split into two institutions, and Wesley became the first president of Wilberforce State College (later renamed Central State University). Wesley upgraded the faculty, integrated the student body, and introduced new programs such as African Studies.

During this period Wesley also served as president of the ASNLH (1950–1965), and when he retired as president of Central State University in 1965, he assumed the executive directorship of the association. He continued to write histories of African Americans, including *Neglected History: Essays in Negro History by a College President* (1965), *In Freedom's Footsteps, From the African Background to the Civil War* (1968), *The Quest for Equality: From Civil War to Civil Rights* (1968), and a new introduction for Woodson's treatise, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1969). In 1972 Wesley resigned his position as executive director of the ASNLH.

Wesley came out of retirement in 1974 to direct the new Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum in Philadelphia, serving until 1976. In 1979 Wesley, a widower of six years, married Dorothy B. Porter, a librarian and bibliographer. He continued to write in his later years, publishing his last book, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service,* in 1984 at the age of ninety-two. He died in Washington, D.C., three years later.

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Historians/Historiography; Howard University; Wilberforce University; Woodson, Carter G.

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FRANCILLE RUSAN WILSON (1996)

West, Cornel

June 2, 1953

Cornell Ronald West, an educator, was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard and received an M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton. He taught at Union Seminary, Yale, the University of Paris, and Princeton, where he was director of the Afro-American Studies Program. In 1994 he moved to Harvard, where he took a position as Alphonse Fletcher Jr. University Professor.

West is one of the leading contemporary African-American intellectuals and activists at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The author or editor of more than fifteen books, he is also a popular public speaker. West's work ranges over the fields of philosophy, literature, religion, music, and black history, and focuses on social thought, cultural and political criticism, modern philosophy, and issues of social justice. West has deep roots in the Baptist church, the source of his preaching style. His intellectual foundation combines democratic socialism, Christian compassion, the modernity of Franz Kafka, and black music. His intellectual heroes include Anton Chekhov and John Coltrane.

A list of his books begins with professional works of scholarship, such as *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Generation of Pragmatism* (1989) and *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (1991). West became a national figure with *Race Matters* (1993), a collection of essays that made the best-seller list. His later books, *Keeping Faith* (1993) and *Restoring Hope* (1997), were followed by a large compendium of his work, *The Cornel Reader* (1999). With Jack Salzman and David Lionel Smith, he coedited the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History.* He has also edited two books dealing with black-Jewish relations: *Jews and Blacks: A Dialogue on Race, Religion and Culture in America* (with Michael Lerner), and *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations* (with Jack Salzman), 1997. West made his first major foray into national politics during the 2000 presidential primaries when he worked for Democrat Bill Bradley as an adviser and as cochair of Bradley's Massachusetts campaign.

After a falling out with Harvard president Lawrence Summers in 2002, West left Harvard for Princeton University.

See also Black Studies; Intellectual Life

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RICHARD NEWMAN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

West, Dorothy

June 2, 1907
August 16, 1998

Writer Dorothy West was born to Rachel Pease West and Isaac Christopher West in Boston, where she attended Girls' Latin School and Boston University. Hers was a long and varied writing career that spanned over eighty years, beginning with a short story she wrote at age seven. When she was barely fifteen, she was selling short stories to the *Boston Post*. And before she was eighteen, already living in New York, West had won second place in the national competition sponsored by *Opportunity* magazine, an honor she shared with Zora Neale Hurston. The winning story, "The Typewriter," was later included in Edward O'Brien's *The Best Short Stories of 1926*.

As a friend of such luminaries as Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and Wallace Thurman, Dorothy West judged them and herself harshly for "degenerat[ing] through [their] vices" and for failing, in general, to live up to their promise. Thus, in what many consider the waning days of the Harlem Renaissance and in the lean years of the Depression, West used personal funds to start *Challenge,* a literary quarterly, hoping to recapture some of this failed promise. She served as its editor from 1934 until the last issue appeared in the spring of 1937. It was succeeded in the fall of that year by *New Challenge*. The renamed journal listed West and Marian Minus as coeditors and Richard Wright as associate editor, but West's involvement with the new project was short-lived.

The shift from *Challenge* to *New Challenge* is variously explained but can perhaps be summed up in Wallace Thurman's observation to West that *Challenge* had been too "high schoolish" and "pink tea." Whether *Challenge* was to *New Challenge* what "pink tea" was to "red" is debatable, but West admitted that *New Challenge* turned resolutely toward a strict Communist Party line that she found increasingly difficult to toe. Despite her resistance to this turn in the journal's emphasis, *Challenge,* under West's editorship, succeeded in encouraging and publishing submissions that explored the desperate conditions of the black working class.

Because of her involvement with *Challenge* and her early associations with the figures and events that gave the period its singular status and acclaim, West in the 1990s was generally designated the "last surviving member of the Harlem Renaissance." The bulk of her writing, however, actually began to be published long after what most literary historians consider the height of the movement.

In the more than sixty short stories written throughout her career, West showed that form to be her forte. Many of these stories were published in the *New York Daily News*. The first to appear there was "Jack in the Pot" (retitled "Jackpot" by the editors), which won the Blue Ribbon Fiction contest and was anthologized in John Henrik Clarke's 1970 collection *Harlem: Voices from the Soul of Black America*. Another story, "For Richer, for Poorer," has been widely anthologized in textbooks and various collections.

Although the short story was the mainstay of her career, West is best known for her novel, *The Living Is Easy*. Published in 1948, the novel has been praised for its engaging portrayal of Cleo Judson, the unscrupulous and manipulative woman who brings ruin on herself as well as on family members who fall under her domination and control. But the novel also earned West high marks for its treatment of the class snobbery, insularity, and all-around shallowness of the New England black bourgeoisie, whom West termed the "genteel poor." Whereas Mary Helen Washington (1987) commends *The Living Is Easy* for its array of feminist themes—"the silencing of women, the need for female community, anger over the limitations and restrictions of women's lives"—in the final analysis she faults it for silencing the mother's voice.

In the last decades of her life Dorothy West lived on Martha's Vineyard, contributing after 1968 a generous sampling of occasional pieces and columns to its newspaper, the *Vineyard Gazette*. In 1995 she published *The Wedding,* which dealt with blacks on Martha's Vineyard and was turned into a television movie in 1998 by director Charles Burnett.

See also Harlem Renaissance; Literary Magazines

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DEBORAH MCDOWELL (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Westerman, George

February 22, 1910
August 30, 1988

George Washington Westerman was an autodidact, tennis champion (1936–1938), journalist, diplomat, advisor to several Panamanian presidents, defender of human rights, friend of the United States, and a moderate Panamanian

nationalist. The fifth child of George Benjamin Westerman and Marie Josephine Rosena Bridget, he was born in Coolie Town, on the Atlantic Coast of the Republic of Panama. His father was born in Barbados but traveled to Panama in 1905 with his wife and four daughters. Like tens of thousands of West Indians, he found work in the Canal Zone, contributing significantly to the successful building of the Panama Canal, which was completed in 1914.

Westerman became one of the best chroniclers of West Indian participation in the building and maintenance of the waterway. He started his journalism career at the age of sixteen with the *Panama American,* and in 1928 he joined the *Panama Tribune.* In 1959, Westerman became the editor and publisher of the *Tribune,* and over the years, he wrote hundreds of articles and editorials, dozens of pamphlets, and several published and unpublished books on isthmian West Indians and their progeny.

Although Westerman wrote on many topics and themes, his journalistic and literary production was primarily driven by his concern for the civil and human rights of minorities in the Canal Zone and Panama. During the 1940s and 1950s he wrote incessantly in defense of non-U.S. citizens in the Panama Canal Zone who were victims of segregation. In Panama, he organized the National Civic League in 1944 to lobby the Panamanian government to return citizenship rights to children of West Indian parents.

Westerman's success as a defender of minority rights on the Isthmus of Panama, and as a diplomat, was due to his reputation as a fair and objective journalist, his moderate nationalism and admiration of U.S.-style democracy, and his many support networks among the Panamanian elite and within African-American literary, artistic, and political circles. His penchant for chronicling the West Indian experience on the isthmus and in defending the group's labor interest in the Canal Zone (and their cultural and political rights in Panama) was shaped by his understanding of their many contributions to the United States and to the Republic of Panama.

On several occasions during the 1950s, Westerman was approached to run for political office. He declined, however, and supported other West Indian-Panamanian candidates. In 1952 he endorsed the successful candidacy of Alfredo Cragwell, who became the first of his ethnic group to serve in the national Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, Westerman was very interested in behind-the-scenes politics as well as in diplomatic affairs.

In 1952, West Indian-Panamanians supported the presidential candidacy of Colonel José Antonio Remón Cantera, who was put forward by the National Patriotic Coalition (Coalición Patriótico Nacional, or CPN), a political coalition of five parties, including the Partido Renovador, a liberal party with which Westerman was affiliated. Between 1952 and 1955, Westerman played several important roles in the CPN and in the Remón government. For example, as the United States and Panama negotiated the 1955 Eisenhower-Remón Treaty, President Remón called on Westerman to advise the Panamanian negotiating team on Canal Zone labor issues, a task that prepared him for a larger diplomatic role during the 1956–1960 presidency of Ernesto de la Guardia Jr.

As a friend, colleague, and political partisan of the president, Westerman was appointed to the United Nations (UN) in each of the four years that de la Guardia served as president of Panama. By all accounts, Westerman did a great job promoting the president's agenda and Panama's national interests. He served with distinction on the Fourth Committee, which won him much acclaim and a brief mention to succeed Dag Hammarksjold as UN Secretary-General.

Despite his success on the international diplomatic stage, Westerman will be most remembered for single-handedly tackling segregation in the U.S. Canal Zone in the 1940s and 1950s, and for denouncing prejudice and the cultural exclusion of West Indians in Panama during the same period.

See also Panama Canal

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GEORGE PRIESTLEY (2005)

West Indies Democratic Labour Party

The West Indies Democratic Labour Party (WIDLP) was formed in 1958 and led by Alexander Bustamante, a Jamaican who was also leader of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP, formed in 1943). The WIDLP was formed to contest the 1958 federal elections. The party ceased to exist in

1962, when the West Indies Federation collapsed. While it lasted, it was an alliance of political parties from the twelve member countries of the West Indies Federation, and it became the opposition party in the federation, having narrowly lost the first and only federal elections, which were won by the West Indies Federal Labour Party. The WIDLP's affiliates, including the JLP, were opposition parties in the territories of the West Indies Federation, with the exception of Saint Vincent. The party itself existed more as a label than as an organization with a strong center. It had no constitution and offered no manifesto in contesting the federal elections.

The WIDLP won twenty of the forty-five seats contested in the federal elections. Its strength lay in three territories where it won the majority of seats: Jamaica (twelve), Trinidad and Tobago (six), and Saint Vincent (two). Bustamante's JLP was the strongest affiliate, and he was the dominant labor personality in the West Indies. The party moderately supported federation, preferring a gradual and cautious approach to such issues as the creation of a customs union and freedom of movement, as well as a weak federal center.

The fate of the party rested on Bustamante's political ambitions in Jamaica, and he was more nationalist than regionalist. He did not offer himself as a candidate in the federal elections; did not try to establish close personal links in the Eastern Caribbean, where he was not popular; feared that Jamaica would be asked to subsidize the less-developed Eastern Caribbean countries; and feared Trinidad and Tobago's competition with Jamaica's manufacturing sector. Bustamante eventually led a successful secession from the federation when the JLP won a 1961 referendum in Jamaica, which was the largest member.

The WIDLP lacked distinct foundations in doctrine, traditional themes, and structures around which leaders of diverse territorial parties could rally. Furthermore, communication across the Caribbean was difficult. Leaders in the Eastern Caribbean could hardly tell what Jamaica's leaders were planning. The politics of Bustamante and the WIDLP often reflected the competitive politics of the JLP and its rival Peoples National Party (PNP) in Jamaica. It failed to consolidate itself during the four-year life of the federation. The reason is captured by Bustamante's statement that he would sacrifice the WIDLP and the federation if he thought they might hurt Jamaica's interest. In the end, he did.

See also Bustamante, Alexander; Jamaica Labour Party; West Indies Federal Labour Party; West Indies Federation

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ROBERT MAXWELL BUDDAN (2005)

West Indies Federal Labour Party

Throughout its existence, the West Indies Federal Labour Party (WIFLP) was led by Jamaican Norman Manley, who was also president of Jamaica's People's National Party (PNP, formed in 1938). The WIFLP was formed in 1956 and its leaders were among the strongest proponents of the West Indies Federation (1958–1962). The opposing party within the federation was the West Indies Democratic Labour Party (WIDLP), led by Alexander Bustamante, also a Jamaican, who was also leader of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP, formed in 1943).

The WIFLP had twelve affiliate parties from the territories of the West Indies Federation. It also had a constitution and presented a manifesto for the federal elections of 1958. It required affiliated territorial parties to declare themselves socialist. However, it was forced to accept some parties as affiliate members that had not so declared themselves. The WIFLP and its affiliates were therefore socialist more in name than in program.

The WIFLP narrowly defeated its rival WIDLP by winning twenty-two (to the latter's twenty) of the forty-five federal seats in the elections of March 1958. Its minority government was generally supported by three independent members. The party's narrow victory was surprising considering the prestige of its leaders. Norman Manley was the region's most prestigious political leader, followed by Grantley Adams of Barbados and Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago. The party also had the advantage that eleven of its affiliates formed territorial governments in the federation's member countries.

The WIFLP affiliates faced strongest antifederal sentiments in the largest and most important countries: Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The federal election was conducted under local election laws. The WIFLP's largest affiliate, the PNP of Jamaica, won only five of the seventeen seats allocated to Jamaica. The WIFLP also suffered a major defeat when the People's National Movement of Trinidad and Tobago, led by Eric Williams, failed to secure a majority of seats allocated to that island.

This meant that two of the strongest affiliates of the WIFLP had relatively few representatives in the federal

parliament, and neither Manley nor Williams contested seats to that parliament. The strongest support for the WIFLP came from Barbados and the eastern Caribbean. The first prime minister of the federation was Grantley Adams, but his Barbados Labour Party lost national elections in 1961, denying him much prestige at the federal level.

This meant that, although the parliamentary group of the WIFLP represented eight islands altogether, more than two-thirds of the MPs were from Barbados and the Leeward and Windward islands of the eastern Caribbean. The opposition WIDLP's parliamentary group came entirely from four islands: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Saint Vincent. Furthermore, neither of the leaders of the two federal parties contested elections and so none were members of the federal parliament.

Sir John Mordecai raised the question of how truly federal the two parties were. He writes, "Both the WIFLP and the DLP were contrived in expediency—both lacking distinct foundations in doctrine, traditional themes and standards around which leaders of territorial Federal Parties, so diverse in pattern and status, could rally. The fact of each alliance being headed by the founders of the two Jamaican Parties for twenty years at 'war' with each other, also contributed to the weakness of both Federal Parties" (p. 85).

At the outset, the WIFLP favored a relatively strong central government and the rapid development of a customs union. However, nationalist politics and regional fragmentation undermined the party's leadership of the federal government and its policies. Norman Manley, for instance, had decided to remain as head of the Jamaican government rather than become prime minister of the federation in order to fight the antifederal tendencies in Jamaica. This undermined both his regional stature and that of the federation itself.

Furthermore, the WIFLP suffered from the fragmentation of the West Indian islands and the long distances between them, especially between Jamaica and the eastern Caribbean. Communication systems were weak and travel was irregular. This affected the coherence of the WIFLP and its ability to consolidate its regional organization. Manley's PNP, being the largest affiliate of the WIFLP, lost a referendum in 1961 on whether Jamaica should remain in the federation and this forced the country to withdraw, which led to the demise of the federation and the WIFLP in 1962.

See also Barbados Labour Party; Jamaica Labour Party; West Indies Democratic Labour Party; West Indies Federation

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ROBERT BUDDAN (2005)

West Indies Federation

The federal idea evolved from Britain's desire for administrative convenience in managing her colonial empire since its beginnings in the seventeenth century. From William Stapleton's General Assembly of the Leeward Islands of 1674 to the establishment of Robert Melvill's Government of Grenada of 1763, to John Pope-Hennessy's Confederation of the Windward Islands of 1876, Britain had, throughout the centuries, sought to rationalize the administration of her possessions in the West Indies. These attempts to impose federation by imperial fiat all ended in failure.

There was, however, an unofficial but no less real sense of unity among ordinary Caribbean people, particularly in the eastern Caribbean. They impeded the advance of European colonialism for the two centuries before 1763 and participated in each other's anticolonial, antislavery, proto-nationalist struggles at the end of the eighteenth century. Close bonds of friendship, trade, and consanguinity developed among them, despite the continued insularity and parochialism of the elites of their respective colonies. Few such relationships developed between the people of the eastern Caribbean and those of Jamaica, more than a thousand miles to the northwest, despite their common history of British colonial rule.

The experiences of Afro-Caribbean soldiers during World War I, leading to the formation of a "Caribbean League," brought about some semblance of a West Indian ethos to the forefront of the collective consciousness of the ordinary people. No less important was the granting of test status to the West Indies cricket team in 1928. By then, Britain had already regarded her West Indies possessions as a single unit. By the middle 1920s the British had also begun the gradual process of dismantling colonial rule by granting increasing degrees of self-government to the colonial constitutions.

By the 1930s the federation's chief ideologue was T. Albert Marryshow, the Grenadian editor of *The West Indian* newspaper, which carried the masthead, "The West In-

The inauguration of the West Indies Federation (1958–1962), April 22, 1958, Governor General's House, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. *Pictured are Princess Margaret, who presided over the ceremony, and to her left, Lord Hailes, Governor General of the newly formed Federation. The short-lived Federation held most of Britain's West Indian colonies under a single administration, suggesting the promise of a future unified West Indian nation.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS

dies must be West Indian." He used the paper to popularize both the causes of West Indian self-government and federation. A conference of British West Indies labor leaders in Dominica in 1932 then called for a West Indies federation. The cause was strengthened in 1933 by the West Indian intellectual C. L. R. James, who argued persuasively in his essay, *The Case for West Indian Self-Government*, for the British West Indies to be granted self-government, even if it meant freedom to make their own mistakes.

After 1945 the federal idea was entrenched—somewhat—among ordinary West Indians, and somehow synchronized with Britain's post–World War II exhaustion and a newfound disposition to relinquish her colonial empire. In cricket, the West Indies won its first ever series victory over England in 1950. Cricket had, by then, become a major theater in which the struggle for West Indian nationhood was fought. The West Indians' mastery of this complex, quintessentially British game demonstrated their ability to manage their own affairs.

In 1948 the University College of the West Indies was established, with a single campus at Mona, Jamaica. It was in a special relationship with the University of London. This brought the region's tertiary students together at a university in the Caribbean for the first time, and also brought together some of the region's best intellectual talent for teaching and research on primarily West Indian subjects and issues. It was not an independent degree-granting institution at the time.

The 1947 Montego Bay, Jamaica, Conference of colonial leaders produced the Closer Union Committee and

the Regional Economic Committee. The former produced a draft constitution for a British West Indies federation that was accepted by all British colonies except the British Virgin Islands, British Honduras, and British Guiana, which eventually opted out of membership of the proposed body. This left a body of ten member units, all island colonies.

Follow-up conferences in London in 1953, 1955, and 1956 worked out the general details. The British Parliament then passed the British Caribbean Federation Act. Britain retained powers over external affairs, defense, and general financial affairs in the colonial federation. The constitution established a bicameral legislature, with a governor-general vested with significant executive powers. The forty-five-member House of Representatives was elected by universal adult suffrage, and the Senate comprised nineteen nominated members. The executive was a "Council of State," composed of and presided over by the governor-general, prime minister, and ten ministers. A supreme court and a civil service were also established. Chaguaramas, an American World War II naval base on the northwestern peninsula of Trinidad and Tobago, was chosen as the site for the federal capital.

The British continued the gradual constitutional decolonization in the major colonies, to the extent that the 1958 federal constitution lagged behind those of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, all of which then possessed varying degrees of self-government. This policy was, however, not consistently followed in the eastern Caribbean. This continued after 1958, a policy that ultimately helped to undermine the federal body itself.

In the 1958 federal elections, the West Indies Federal Labour Party, an association of political parties with a socialist outlook, won twenty-six seats, with the Democratic Labour Party winning seventeen. Norman Manley and Eric Williams, two of the most prominent figures in British West Indian politics, refused to stand for election to the federal parliament. Their absence lowered the federation's legitimacy for many West Indians. This left them free to criticize the federation from the sidelines, while simultaneously pursuing their respective colony's particular interests independent of the federation's official authority.

In any event, the political arrangement after the elections left Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago underrepresented in the federal government, while the eastern Caribbean was overrepresented. Lord Hailes was appointed governor-general. The Barbadian Grantley Adams became prime minister, with most ministers from the eastern Caribbean.

The first British West Indian parliament was inaugurated by Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret at Governor General's House, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, on April 22, 1958. Marryshow's death on October 19, 1958, boded ill for the fledgling federation. A member of the federal Senate and the "Father of Federation," Marryshow may have died happy in seeing his dream realized in his lifetime, but the federation was constituted contrary to his declared wish that self-government should be granted before federation.

Outside of the West Indies Welfare Fund, the University College of the West Indies, the Federal Supreme Court, and the West India Regiment, the federation's powers did not extend very far. In addition, its revenue base was narrow, largely due to the colonial legislatures' refusal to surrender the powers of taxation to the federal parliament. It could contribute little to real development, as such matters as education and economic development remained the preserve of the individual colonies.

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the two largest colonies and major contributors to the federation's operating costs, prevailed upon the British to overrule the eastern Caribbean representatives' objections and revise the constitution at a conference in September 1959—well ahead of schedule—with a view to making the federal parliament more representative of these colonies' size and contribution. The membership of the House of Representatives was increased to sixty-four, with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago allocated thirty and fifteen seats respectively. Cabinet government was granted and the governor-general's powers reduced. Overall, the federal constitution was brought on par with those of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

The conference that produced these constitutional advances could not repair the serious rift that developed over the two dominant colonies' rival and opposing concepts of federation. Trinidad and Tobago, or at least Eric Williams, wanted a strong centralized federation with powers over taxation and economic development and a customs union. Jamaica, or at least Manley, wanted a loose, weak union leaving economic development to the individual territories. The Jamaican delegation all but walked out of the 1959 conference and the federation itself.

Other tensions arose, particularly when Williams successfully negotiated with the U.S. government for the return of Chaguaramas to Trinidad and Tobago, independent of the federal authorities and despite the protests of the federal officials. There were also strong disagreements, particularly between Trinidad and Tobago and the eastern Caribbean territories, over the question of freedom of movement of people in the federation. The smaller, poorer, and densely populated member colonies desired

freedom of movement, particularly after Britain imposed restrictions on immigration to the United Kingdom itself. Trinidad and Tobago, however, strongly resisted this measure.

The question of the free movement of goods was another issue. Trinidad and Tobago was in favor of the free movement of goods within the free trade area created by the federation and a system of uniform tariffs outside of it. Jamaica, whose government revenues depended heavily on customs duties, strongly opposed this.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the federation was that of economic development. The federal parliament desired control over the economic development of the federation as a whole. Jamaica opposed this on the grounds that this might be achieved at the expense of her own development. This was a crucial factor in Jamaica's eventual withdrawal from the federation.

Both the Jamaicans and Trinidadians were convinced that in granting federation, Britain had in fact transferred her liability for the eastern Caribbean to their colonies, which they saw was adversely affecting their own development. The passage of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act by the British Parliament, enacted to control immigration from Commonwealth countries, and Britain's decision to become a member of the European Common Market seemed to vindicate their concerns.

Unless some compromise was worked out, the federation was doomed. Unofficial discussions between Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica failed to produce a satisfactory solution. In a September 1961 referendum, Jamaica voted to secede from the federation, prompting Williams's calculation that "1 from 10 leaves 0." Ignoring all entreaties to continue a rump, Jamaica-less federation composed effectively of the eastern Caribbean—virtually integrated already—Williams followed Jamaica's lead. The British Parliament dissolved the federation effective May 1962. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago proceeded to independence in August 1962, leaving the smaller colonies to work out their future individual relationships with Britain.

From 1958 to 1962 Britain held most of her West Indian colonies under a single administration, and for a brief moment their peoples glimpsed the possibilities of a West Indian nation. Representatives of the entire Caribbean with a common history of British rule met in one place and under one authority to address the issues that concerned them. The British West Indies received diplomatic recognition from the rest of the British Commonwealth and the United States. The federation's sportsmen participated in international events as a single unit.

The collapse of the British West Indies Federation was the result of many deep-seated causes. Perhaps the most important was the intercolonial rivalries, insularity, and parochialism that have characterized British West Indian politics for three centuries. For most West Indians, the island was the unit that held the first claim to their allegiance. Whereas in the eastern Caribbean, profederation sentiment seemed to have always been strong, it was not uniformly so in the rest of the Caribbean. This was particularly so in the case of Jamaica, which had more in common with her neighbors and North America than the eastern Caribbean.

Perhaps most of all, the British West Indies Federation was still a collection of British colonies not yet granted full self-government, and for which the United Kingdom retained ultimate control. There were left too many fundamental issues to be worked out between politicians who had no significant history of working together for a common purpose and who were more inclined to place the interests of their individual territories before those of a federated whole.

The British West Indies Federation was a shattered dream to many West Indian people. In the decades that followed its collapse, the West Indies cricket team and The University of the West Indies, which received its independence in 1962, have remained the most visible manifestations of the dream of a West Indian nation.

See also Adams, Grantley; Williams, Eric; West Indies Democratic Labour Party; West Indies Federal Labour Party

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C. M. JACOBS (2005)

Wheatley, Phillis

c. 1753
December 5, 1784

The poet Phillis Wheatley was born, according to her own testimony, in Gambia, West Africa, along the fertile lowlands of the Gambia River. She was abducted at the age of seven or eight, and then sold in Boston to John and Susanna Wheatley on July 11, 1761. The horrors of the Middle Passage very likely contributed to the persistent asthma that plagued her throughout her short life. The Wheatleys apparently named the girl, who had nothing but a piece of dirty carpet to conceal her nakedness, after the slave ship *Phillis,* which had transported her. Nonetheless, unlike most slave owners of the time, the Wheatleys permitted Phillis to learn to read, and her poetic talent soon began to emerge.

Her earliest known piece of writing was an undated letter from 1765 (no known copy now exists) to Samson Occom, a Native American Mohegan minister and one of Dartmouth College's first graduates. The budding poet first appeared in print on December 21, 1767, in the *Newport Mercury* newspaper, when the author was about fourteen. The poem, "On Messrs. Hussey and Coffin," relates how the two gentlemen of the title narrowly escaped being drowned off Cape Cod in Massachusetts. Much of her subsequent poetry also dealt with events occurring close to her Boston circle. Of her fifty-five extant poems, for example, nineteen are elegies; all but the last of these are devoted to commemorating someone known by the poet. Her last elegy is written about herself and her career.

In early October 1770, Wheatley published an elegy that was pivotal to her career. The subject of the elegy was George Whitefield, an evangelical Methodist minister and privy chaplain to Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon. Whitefield made seven journeys to the American colonies, where he was known as "the Voice of the Great Awakening" and "the Great Awakener." Only a week before his death in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on September 30, 1770, Whitefield preached in Boston, where Wheatley very likely heard him. As Susanna Wheatley regularly corresponded with the countess, she and the Wheatley household may well have entertained the Great Awakener. Wheatley's vivid, ostensibly firsthand account in the elegy, replete with quotations, may have been based on an actual acquaintance with Whitefield. In any case, Wheatley's deft elegy became an overnight sensation and was often reprinted.

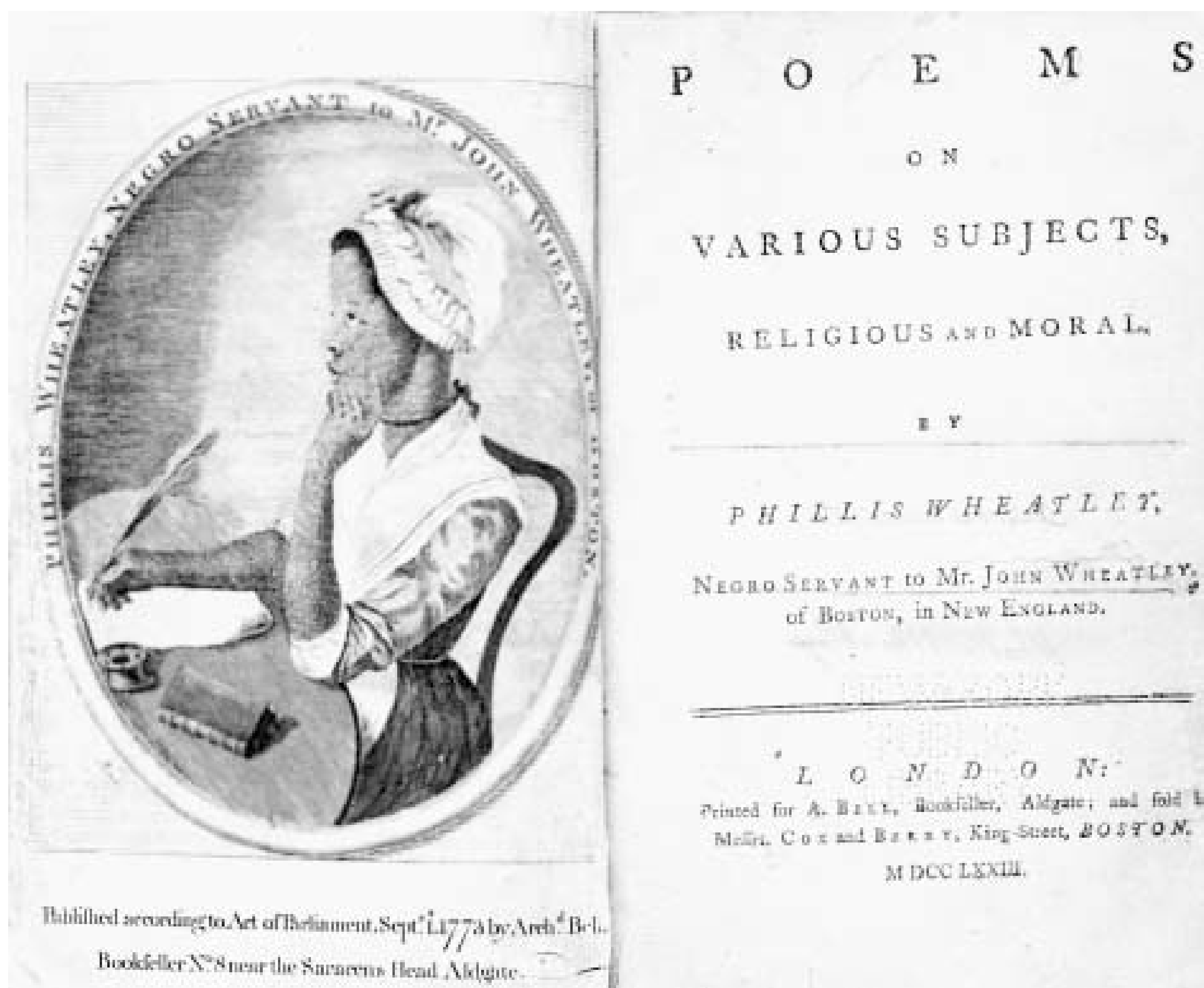
It is almost certain that the ship that carried news of Whitefield's death to the countess also carried a copy of Wheatley's elegy, which brought Wheatley to the sympathetic attention of the countess. Such an acquaintance ensured that Wheatley's elegy was also reprinted many times in London, giving the young poet the distinction of an international reputation. When Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* was denied publication in Boston for racist reasons, the Countess of Huntingdon generously financed its publication in London.

Wheatley's support by Selina Hastings, and her rejection by male-dominated Boston, signaled her nourishment as a literary artist by a community of women. All these women—the countess, who encouraged and financed the publication of her *Poems* in 1773; Mary and Susanna Wheatley, who taught her the rudiments of reading and writing; and Obour Tanner, who could empathize probably better than anyone with her condition as a slave—were much older than Wheatley and obviously nurtured her creative development.

During the summer of 1772, Wheatley actually journeyed to England, where she assisted in the preparation of her volume for the press. While in London she enjoyed considerable recognition by such dignitaries as Lord Dartmouth, Lord Lincoln, Granville Sharp (who escorted Wheatley on several tours about London), Benjamin Franklin, and Brook Watson, a wealthy merchant who presented Wheatley with a folio edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and who would later become lord mayor of London. Wheatley was to have been presented at court when Susanna Wheatley became ill. Wheatley was summoned to return to Boston in early August 1773. Sometime before October 18, 1773, she was granted her freedom, according to her own testimony, "at the desire of my friends in England." It seems likely, then, that if Selina Hastings had not agreed to finance Wheatley's *Poems* and if the poet had not journeyed to London, she would never have been manumitted.

As the American Revolution erupted, Wheatley's patriotic feelings began to separate her even more from the Wheatleys, who were loyalists. Her patriotism is clearly underscored in her two most famous Revolutionary War poems. "To His Excellency General Washington" (1775) closes with this justly famous encomium: "A crown, a mansion, and a throne that shine, / With gold unfading WASHINGTON! be thine." "Liberty and Peace" (1784), written to celebrate the Treaty of Paris (September 1783), declares: "And new-born Rome [i.e., America] shall give Britannia Law."

Phillis Wheatley's attitude toward slavery has also been misunderstood. Because some of her antislavery statements have been recovered only in the 1970s and 1980s, she has often been criticized for ignoring the issue.



PHILLIS WHEATLEY, NEGRO SERVANT to Mr. JOHN WHEATLEY, of BOSTON.

Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept. 1. 1773 by Archd. Bell, Bookseller No. 8 near the Saracens Head Aldgate.

POEMS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.

BY

PHILLIS WHEATLEY,

NEGRO SERVANT to Mr. JOHN WHEATLEY, of BOSTON, in NEW ENGLAND.

LONDON:

Printed for A. BELL, Bookseller, Aldgate; and sold by Messrs. COX and BERRY, King-Street, BOSTON.

M DCC LXXIII.

Title page and frontispiece for Wheatley's* Poems *(1773). Because she was a slave, Wheatley's book was not printed in the United States, but support from a number of Boston women led to the volume being published in London. As a result, Wheatley became the first published African American author. MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

But her position was clear: In February 1774, for example, Wheatley wrote to Samson Occom that "in every human breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance." This letter was reprinted a dozen times in American newspapers over the course of the next twelve months. Certainly Americans of Wheatley's time never questioned her attitude toward slavery after the publication of this letter.

In 1778 Wheatley married John Peters, a free African American who was a jack-of-all-trades, serving in various capacities from storekeeper to advocate for African Americans before the courts. But given the turbulent conditions of a nation caught up in the Revolution, Wheatley's fortunes began to decline steadily. In 1779 she published "Proposals for Printing by Subscription," a solicitation for funds for a new volume of poems. Although this failed to attract subscribers, it attests that the poet had been diligent with her pen since the 1773 *Poems,* and that she had indeed produced some three hundred pages of new poetry. This volume never appeared, however, and most of its poems are now lost.

Phillis Wheatley Peters and her newborn child died in a shack on the edge of Boston on December 5, 1784. Preceded in death by two other young children, Wheatley's tragic end resembles her beginning in America. Yet Wheatley has left to her largely unappreciative country a legacy of firsts: She was the first African American to publish a book, the first woman writer whose publication was urged and nurtured by a community of women, and the

first American woman author who tried to earn a living by means of her writing.

On February 4, 1999, a long-lost poem by Phillis Wheatley, titled "Ocean," was read publicly for the first time in 226 years. The copy of the poem, written in Wheatley's hand, was part of the Newseum's 1999 special exhibition *African American Newspeople, Newsmakers*.

See also Poetry, U.S.

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JOHN C. SHIELDS (1996)

Whipper, William

c. February 22, 1804
March 9, 1876

The moral reformer and businessman William Whipper was born in Little Britain Township, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Although the inscription on Whipper's tombstone gives 1804 as his date of birth, census data list his year of birth as 1806. Little is known about Whipper's early life, but by 1830 he was living in Philadelphia and working as a steam scourer, cleaning clothing with a steam process.

By the early 1830s, Whipper, who was operating a "free labor and temperance grocery" in Philadelphia, had become active in the intellectual life of the city's black community. In 1828 he delivered an "Address Before the Colored Reading Society of Philadelphia," and in 1833 he was selected to deliver a public eulogy on the British abolitionist William Wilberforce. That same year, he was among the nine founders of the Philadelphia Library of Colored Persons.

Whipper attended every annual National Negro Convention from 1830 to 1835 and was chosen to help draft the movement's declaration of sentiments. In 1834, Whipper, who had earned a reputation among Philadelphia's black elite for his support of moral reform, delivered an address to the Colored Temperance Society of Philadelphia that emphasized the importance of virtue in promoting racial uplift.

At the 1835 national convention, Whipper spearheaded the movement to form the American Moral Reform Society (AMRS), an interracial organization with a broad reform agenda that did not focus exclusively on slavery. Whipper was appointed to the committee to draft the society's constitution, was elected as secretary, and delivered the address "To the American People" at the society's first annual meeting in Philadelphia in 1837. Whipper also helped establish and served as editor of the society's journal, the *National Reformer* (1838–1839).

By 1835 Whipper had moved to Columbia, Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna River, where he became active in the Underground Railroad, providing economic aid to fugitive slaves who passed through the city. While in Columbia, Whipper joined with Stephen Smith, a wealthy African-American lumber merchant, to establish Smith and Whipper, a lucrative lumber business with operations in Philadelphia and Columbia.

The AMRS lost most of its support in the late 1830s, and with its collapse in 1841 Whipper's public career began to fade. Whipper focused his attention on his lumber company, although he continued to participate in the activities of the northern black leadership. In 1848, he attended the state convention in Philadelphia, reversing his previous denunciation of "complexional" gatherings, and participated in the national conventions of 1853 (Rochester, New York) and 1855 (Philadelphia).

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Whipper became interested in emigration to Canada West (now Ontario), shifting his longtime opposition to emigrationist schemes. In 1853 Whipper traveled to Canada and decided to purchase property in the town of Dresden. He was on the verge of moving his family there in 1861 when the outbreak of the Civil War caused him to abandon his plans.

Whipper moved to New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1868, but he retained his residence in Philadelphia. In

1870 he was appointed a cashier in the Philadelphia branch of the Freedmen's Savings Bank and two years later he relocated to that city. When the bank collapsed in 1873, Whipper apparently lost a large portion of his substantial personal savings. He died at his home in Philadelphia.

See also American Moral Reform Society; Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Free Blacks, 1619–1860; Freedman's Bank; Underground Railroad

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LOUISE P. MAXWELL (1996)

White, Walter Francis

July 1, 1893
March 21, 1955

Civil rights leader Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1931 to 1955, was born in Atlanta, Georgia. Blond and blue-eyed, he was an African American by choice and social circumstance. In 1906, at age thirteen, he stood, rifle in hand, with his father to protect their home and faced down a mob of whites who had invaded their neighborhood in search of "nigger" blood. He later explained: "I knew then who I was. I was a Negro, a human being with an invisible pigmentation which marked me a person to be hunted, hanged, abused, discriminated against, kept in poverty and ignorance, in order that those whose skin was white would have readily at hand a proof of their superiority, a proof patent and inclusive, accessible to the moron and the idiot as well as to the wise man and the genius."

In 1918, when the NAACP hired White as assistant executive secretary to investigate lynchings, sixty-seven such crimes were committed that year in sixteen states. By 1955, when he died, there were only three lynchings, all in Mississippi, and the NAACP no longer regarded the problem as its top priority. White investigated forty-two lynchings, mostly in the Deep South, and eight race riots in the North that developed between World War I and after World War II in such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Omaha, and Detroit.

In August 1946 White helped to create a National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence. The following month, he led a delegation of labor and civic leaders in a visit with President Harry S. Truman to demand federal action to end the problem. Truman responded by creating the President's Committee on Civil Rights, headed by Charles E. Wilson, chair and president of General Electric. The committee's report, *To Secure These Rights,* provided the blueprint for the NAACP legislative struggle.

The NAACP's successful struggle against segregation in the armed services was one of White's major achievements. In 1940, as a result of the NAACP's intense protests, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Judge William H. Hastie as civilian aide to the secretary of war, promoted Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, the highest-ranking black officer in the Army, to brigadier general, and appointed Colonel Campbell Johnson as special aide to the director of Selective Service. As significant as these steps were, they did not satisfy White because they were woefully inadequate. So he increasingly intensified the NAACP's efforts in this area.

White then attempted to get the U.S. Senate to investigate employment discrimination and segregation in the armed services, but the effort failed. He therefore persuaded the NAACP board to express its support for the threat by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to lead a march on Washington to demand jobs for blacks in the defense industries and an end to segregation in the military. To avoid the protest, President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802, barring discrimination in the defense industries and creating the Fair Employment Practice Committee. That was the first time a U.S. president acted to end racial discrimination, and the date marked the launching of the modern civil rights movement. Subsequently, the NAACP made the quest for presidential leadership in protecting the rights of blacks central to its programs.

As a special war correspondent for the *New York Post* in 1943 and 1945, White visited the European, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Pacific theaters of operations and provided the War Department with extensive recommendations for ending racial discrimination in the military. His book *A Rising Wind* reported on the status of black troops in the European and Mediterranean theaters.

White was as much an internationalist as a civil rights leader. In 1921 he attended the second Pan-African Congress sessions in England, Belgium, and France, which were sponsored by the NAACP and led by W. E. B. Du Bois. While on a year's leave of absence from the NAACP in 1949 and 1950, he participated in the "Round the World Town Meeting of the Air," visiting Europe, Israel, Egypt, India, and Japan.

In 1945 White, Du Bois, and Mary McLeod Bethune represented the NAACP as consultants to the American delegation at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco. They urged that the colonial system be abolished, that the United Nations recognize equality of the races, that it adopt a bill of rights for all people, and that an international agency be established to replace the colonial system. Many of their recommendations were adopted by the United Nations.

White similarly protested the menial roles that blacks were forced to play in Hollywood films and sought an end to the harmful and dangerous stereotypes of the race that the industry was spreading. He enlisted the aid of Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential candidate who was defeated in 1940 and who had become counsel to the motion picture industry, in appealing to Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Brothers, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and other major studios and producers for more representative roles for blacks in films. He then contemplated creating an NAACP bureau in Hollywood to implement the organization's programs there. Although the bureau idea fizzled, the NAACP did create a Beverly Hills–Hollywood branch in addition to others in California.

During White's tenure as executive secretary, the NAACP won the right to vote for blacks in the South by getting the U.S. Supreme Court to declare the white Democratic primary unconstitutional, opposed the poll tax and other devices used to discriminate against blacks at the polls, forged an alliance between the organization and the industrial trade unions, removed constitutional roadblocks to residential integration, equalized teachers' salaries in the South, and ended segregation in higher education institutions, in addition to winning the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, overturning the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" doctrine. Overall, White led the NAACP to become the nation's dominant force in the struggle to get the national government to uphold the Constitution and protect the rights of African Americans.

White was a gregarious, sociable man who courted on a first-name basis a vast variety of people of accomplishment and influence, including Willkie, Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and Governor Averell Harriman of New York. In 1949 he created a furor by divorcing his first wife, Gladys, and marrying Poppy Cannon, a white woman who was a magazine food editor.

In addition to his many articles, White wrote two weekly newspaper columns. One was for the *Chicago Defender,* a respected black newspaper, and the other for white newspapers such as the Sunday *New York Herald-Tribune*. He wrote two novels, *The Fire in the Flint* (1924) and *Flight* (1926); *Rope and Faggot* (1929, reprint 1969), an exhaustive study of lynchings; *A Man Called White* (1948), an autobiography; and *A Rising Wind* (1945). An assessment of civil rights progress, *How Far the Promised Land?* was published shortly after White's death in 1955.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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DENTON L. WATSON (1996)
Updated bibliography

Whitehead, Colson

1969

Colson Whitehead is what many scholars would call a modern-day Renaissance man. A 1991 graduate of Harvard University, his failure to be accepted into the creative writing program brings to mind basketball player Michael Jordan's narrative of overlooked talent. Like Jordan, Whitehead would prove his doubters wrong within a decade of leaving Harvard, garnering the MacArthur Foundation's "genius" award in September 2002. His first novel, *The Intuitionist* (1998), a creative detective story framed around the black female protagonist, Lila Mae Watson, won the Whiting Writers' Award in 2000 and the Quality Paperback Book Club's New Voices Award in 1999. Whitehead was also a finalist for an Ernest Hemingway/PEN Award for First Fiction in 1999.

Whitehead's popularity stems from his ingenious approach to history, culture, and literature. Born in 1969, this Brooklyn native has written his way into the social

consciousness of America's elite literary circle. Critics have located Whitehead's fiction within the tradition of mythical realism, comparing his work with that of such authors as Toni Morrison and Ishmael Reed. Whitehead himself has located his work within the tradition of the black intellectual novel, tracing his literary roots back to such writers as Jean Toomer, whose 1923 narrative *Cane* was a tour de force during the Harlem Renaissance because of its creative attention to folk culture and history. Whitehead's 2001 novel, *John Henry Days,* is inventive in the same manner as it explores the historical impact of the nineteenth-century folk hero John Henry upon a modern-day hack journalist, J. Sutter, who is sent to cover the first annual "John Henry Days" festival in Talcott, West Virginia. The ensuing narrative parallels the lives of these two black men, shaping a complex allegorical portrait of racism, history, and popular culture that explores heroism in the postmodern age. This novel likewise investigates the impact of technology on the moral and social development of American society at key moments in the nation's history.

The literary evolution of *John Henry Days* mirrors, in some respects, the real-life journey of Whitehead himself. In the summer of 1997 Whitehead found himself working at a new Internet company in San Francisco to pay off the debt he had incurred while writing *The Intuitionist*. His job—to write forty-word blurbs for upcoming Web chats in the style of *TV Guide*—allowed him the opportunity to experience not only the transcoastal worlds of the West and East Coasts with his wife; it gave him the chance to surf the Web each afternoon while completing his weekly assignment. One afternoon Whitehead stumbled across the U.S. Postal Service's press release of its John Henry stamp, which had been released in 1996 as part of its "Folk Heroes" series. Whitehead's fascination with the details surrounding not only the commercialization of folk heroes but also the life and death of John Henry—particularly his race with a steam drill engine—gave him the kernel he needed to begin his next literary project.

Whitehead's publishing career is as varied and extensive as his intellectual pursuits. His articles have appeared in the *New York Times, Salon*, *Vibe, Spin, Newsday,* and the *Village Voice,* where he worked as an editorial assistant and a TV critic. His third book, *The Colossus of New York: A City in 13 Parts* (2003), blends Whitehead's journalistic talents with his creative cultural voice.

See also Literature of the United States

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CAROL E. HENDERSON (2005)

Wideman, John Edgar

June 14, 1941

Born in Washington, D.C., novelist John Edgar Wideman spent much of his early life first in Homewood, Pennsylvania, and then in Shadyside, an upper-middle-class area of Pittsburgh. In 1960 he received a scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania, where he proved himself equally outstanding in his undergraduate studies and on the basketball court. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1963, and his athletic achievements led to his induction into the Big Five Basketball Hall of Fame. Upon graduation, Wideman became only the second African American to be awarded a Rhodes Scholarship (Alain Locke had received one almost fifty-five years earlier), an honor that allowed him to study for three years at Oxford University in England, where he earned a degree in eighteenth-century literature.

After returning to the United States in 1966 and attending the Creative Writing Workshop at the University of Iowa as a Kent Fellow, Wideman returned to the University of Pennsylvania, where he served as an instructor (and later, professor) of English. In 1967, at the age of twenty-six, he published his first novel, *A Glance Away*. The novel was well-received by critics, and two years after its appearance Wideman published *Hurry Home* (1969), a novel that chronicled its protagonist's struggle to reconcile the past and the present. After publishing a third novel in 1973, a dense and technically complex work titled *The Lynchers,* Wideman found his name increasingly associated with a diverse set of literary forebears including James Joyce, William Faulkner, and Ralph Ellison.

During this period Wideman served as the assistant basketball coach (1968–1972) at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as director of the Afro-American Studies Program (1971–1973). In 1975 he left Philadelphia to teach at the University of Wyoming in Laramie. Six years later he ended a long literary silence with the publication of two books: a collection of stories, *Damballah,* and *Hid-*

ing Place, a novel. Both books focus on Wideman's Homewood neighborhood. And with the publication in 1983 of the third book in the trilogy, Wideman's reputation as a major literary talent was assured. *Sent for You Yesterday* won the 1984 P.E.N./Faulkner Award, winning over several more established writers.

At this point, Wideman was drawn (by circumstance rather than choice) into the world of nonfiction after his brother, Robbie, was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to life imprisonment. At times angry, at others deeply introspective and brooding, *Brothers and Keepers* (1984) relates the paradoxical circumstances of two brothers: one a successful college professor and author, the other a drug addict struggling to establish an identity apart from his famous older brother. Nominated for the 1985 National Book Award, the memoir set the stage for what arguably might be called Wideman's "next phase."

In 1986, after seeing his son, Jake, tried and convicted for the murder of a camping companion, Wideman moved back east to teach at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, where he was named Distinguished Professor in 2001. The following year saw the publication of his less than successful but nonetheless intriguing novel *Reuben*. Two years later, Wideman published a collection of stories, *Fever* (1989), and followed that in 1990 with a novel, *Philadelphia Fire*. Both of these works reflect Wideman's ability to interrogate his own experiences, even as his fiction takes up pertinent social issues. In the short stories and the novel, Wideman weaves fiction into the fabric of historical events (the former involves an outbreak of yellow fever in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, and the latter the aftermath of the confrontation with and subsequent bombing by Philadelphia police of the radical group MOVE). In 1992 Wideman brought out *The Stories of John Edgar Wideman* (1992), which contains ten new stories written especially for the collection, themselves titled *All Stories Are True*. What distinguishes these ten stories is their extraordinary repositioning of the reader's attention, away from the source of the stories and toward the human issues they depict. He returned to nonfiction in 1994 with *Fatheralong: A Meditation on Fathers and Sons, Race and Society* and in 2001 with the memoir *Hoop Roots: Basketball, Race, and Love*. Later works of fiction include *The Cattle Killing* (1996) and *Two Cities* (1998). As he works to make sense of his own assets and losses, one finds in Wideman's fiction a continuing engagement with the complexity of history as layered narrative and an ability to articulate the inner essence of events that often elude us.

See also Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary); Literature of the United States

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HERMAN BEAVERS (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Wilberforce University

Wilberforce University, one of the nation's oldest historically black colleges and universities, was founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856 on the site of Tarawa Springs, a former summer resort in Greene County, Ohio. The school, which had as its purpose the education of African Americans, was named for British abolitionist William Wilberforce; its first president was Richard S. Rust. From the outset, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church maintained Wilberforce University cooperatively, despite the earlier founding of an AME school, the Union Seminary, in Columbus, Ohio.

The exigencies of the Civil War led to dwindling funds, declining enrollments, and the closing of both Union Seminary and Wilberforce University. In 1863 the AME Church purchased Wilberforce University from the Methodist Episcopal Church for $10,000, sold the property of Union Seminary, and combined the faculty of the two institutions. The prime mover of the transformation, AME Bishop Daniel Payne, served as president from 1863 to 1873, the first African-American college president in the United States; Payne continued to be involved in Wilberforce's affairs until his death in 1893. Under Payne's direction, a theology department was established in 1866 (it became the autonomous Payne Theological Seminary in 1891). Payne, concerned with establishing Wilberforce as a serious academic institution, introduced classical and science departments the following year. Among the faculty members in its first decades was the classicist William Scarborough (1856–1926), born to slavery in Georgia, who was the author of a standard textbook for Greek, translator of Aristophanes, and president of Wilberforce from 1908 to 1920. Occasional lecturers included Alexander Crummell and Paul Laurence Dunbar.

In 1887 AME Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, who was also a successful Ohio politician, convinced the state legis-

The faculty of Wilberforce University in Ohio, 1922. *Founded in 1856, Wilberforce is one of the nation's oldest historically black universities.* GENERAL RESEARCH AND REFERENCE DIVISION, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

lature to establish a normal and industrial department at Wilberforce with its own campus, providing Wilberforce with unusual joint denominational and public supervision and sources of financial support. Shortly thereafter, from 1894 to 1896, W. E. B. Du Bois was an instructor at Wilberforce; he left in part because he was uncomfortable with the intense evangelical piety he found on the campus. Hallie Quinn Brown, a leader of the women's club movement and an 1873 graduate of Wilberforce, joined the faculty in 1893 as professor of elocution (i.e., public speaking), and remained on the faculty of the English department and the board of trustees for many years. The university library was named in her honor. In 1894 a military department was created under the leadership of Charles Young, one of the most distinguished African-American military officers.

In 1922 Wilberforce instituted a four-year degree program, and in 1939 it was formally accredited. A Wilberforce graduate, Horace Henderson, gained attention for his alma mater through a student jazz band, the Wilberforce Collegians, that he founded in the early 1920s and that went on to considerable national success. From 1942 to 1947 the historian Charles Wesley was president. In 1947 the former normal and industrial department was formally separated from Wilberforce as Wilberforce State College. Later renamed Central State University, it remains a predominantly black school, with an enrollment more than triple that of Wilberforce University.

The removal of state support for Wilberforce caused a financial crisis, a decline of enrollment, and a loss of accreditation. Under the leadership of Pembert E. Stokes, Wilberforce began to return to academic and financial health, and its accreditation was restored in 1960. In 1967 construction was begun on a new campus, a quarter mile from the old campus. In 1991 Wilberforce initiated a continuing education program for nontraditional students, Credentials for Leadership in Management and Business Education (CLIMB).

In 2002 Reverend Floyd Flake became president of the university. Financial problems continued to plague Wilberforce into the twenty-first century, and in 2003 faculty

members agreed to take a pay cut and increase their workload.

See also African Methodist Episcopal Church; Bethune-Cookman College; Dillard University; Education in the United States; Fisk University; Howard University; Lincoln University; Morehouse College; Payne, Daniel Alexander; Spelman College; Tuskegee University

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VALENA RANDOLPH (1996)
JACQUELINE BROWN (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Wilder, Lawrence Douglas

January 17, 1931

Politician and attorney L. Douglas Wilder was born into a large, poor family in Richmond, Virginia. His grandparents had been slaves. Wilder and his six siblings grew up in a tight-knit family that had a strong work ethic. In 1947 Wilder graduated from high school and enrolled as a chemistry major at Virginia Union University, a historically black college in Richmond. After graduating, Wilder was drafted into the army and served during the Korean War (1950–53). He received a Bronze Star Medal for bravery. After returning home, Wilder worked as a chemist in the state medical examiner's office. In 1956 he enrolled in Howard University Law School in Washington, D.C. Two years later Wilder married Eunice Montgomery; they subsequently had three children.

Upon graduation from law school, Wilder returned to Richmond to practice law. His law practice brought him fame and financial prosperity. While sometimes serving low-income clients free of charge, Wilder also represented wealthy and powerful clients and in the process became a self-made millionaire. His professional success inspired him to run for the state senate in 1969.

Wilder's victory made him the first African-American state senator in Virginia since Reconstruction (1865–77). Wilder successfully promoted legislation that prohibited racially discriminatory housing and employment practices, and he helped to create a state holiday to honor Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968). He chaired the senate's powerful Privileges and Elections Committee, which oversaw state appointments and voting legislation. As a result, he was able to increase the hiring of African Americans to various positions in state government. In a 1985 newspaper poll, Wilder was rated as one of the five most influential members of the Virginia senate. That same year Wilder ran for the statewide office of lieutenant governor. Since African Americans constituted only 18 percent of Virginia's population, Wilder, running as a political moderate, conducted an extensive and shrewd campaign at the grassroots level to win the support of white voters. Wilder won the lieutenant governorship in November 1985. His ability to garner the support of both African American and white voters helped him to win election as chair of the National Democratic Lieutenant Governors Association.

In the 1989 Virginia gubernatorial election, which was decided by less than 2 percentage points, Wilder became the first African American elected governor of a state since Reconstruction. As governor he balanced the state's budget, created a surplus state fund during an economic recession, and increased the number of African Americans working in the state government. The *Financial World* magazine ranked Virginia as the nation's best-managed state two consecutive years during his term. Wilder also obtained legislative approval for gun-control laws, barred state agencies from investing in companies doing business with South Africa, and promoted foreign trade between Virginia and various countries, especially those of Africa.

In 1992 he made an unsuccessful bid to become president. He completed his gubernatorial tenure in January 1994, because the Virginia Constitution prohibits governors from seeking a second consecutive term. In an attempt to unseat United States Senator Charles Robb (1939–) from the United States Senate, Wilder entered the 1994 Virginia senatorial race. After Robb was renominated by the Virginia Democratic Party, Wilder ran as a political independent. Wilder withdrew from the race shortly before the election and endorsed Robb. He campaigned energetically for Robb among African Americans. The votes of African Americans were seen as providing Robb his small margin of victory.

After the election, Wilder began hosting a radio talk show, teaching courses at Virginia Commonwealth University, and speaking on a national lecture circuit. He spearheaded the effort to build the National Slavery Museum in Fredericksburg, Virginia. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Wilder was still active in politics. In

2002, Virginia governor Mark Warner appointed Wilder to lead the Governor's Commission on Efficiency and Effectiveness. Wilder began cochairing in 2003 a drive to have Richmond's mayor elected by its citizens. The change-in-government proposal won approval by city voters and by the Virginia state legislature in 2004. In 2004 Wilder was elected mayor of Richmond, Virginia.

See also Politics in the United States

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MANLEY ELLIOTT BANKS II (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Wilkins, Roy

August 30, 1901
September 8, 1981

The civil rights leader, laborer, and journalist Roy Ottoway Wilkins was born in a first-floor flat in a black section of St. Louis, Missouri. Wilkins got his middle name from the African-American physician who delivered him, Dr. Ottoway Fields. At age four, following his mother's death, Wilkins went to St. Paul, Minnesota to live with his Aunt Elizabeth (Edmundson) and Uncle Sam Williams. The Williamses wrested legal guardianship of Roy, his brother Earl, and sister Armeda from their absentee, footloose father, William.

After graduating from the University of Minnesota in 1923, and following a stint as night editor of the college newspaper and editor of the black weekly, the *St. Paul Appeal,* Wilkins moved to Kansas City where he was editor of the *Kansas City Call* for eight years. In 1929, in Kansas City, he married Aminda Badeau. In St. Paul and Kansas City, he was active in the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapters during a period when the NAACP was waging a full-scale attack against America's Jim Crow practices. Under Wilkins's stewardship the *Call* gave banner headline coverage to NAACP (acting) executive secretary Walter White's 1930 campaign to defeat President Herbert Hoover's nomination of Circuit Court Judge John J. Parker to the United States Supreme Court. Parker, in a race for North Carolina governor ten years earlier, had declared his antipathy toward blacks. The *Call* published Parker's photo alongside his quote during the campaign: "If I should be elected Governor . . . and find that my election was due to one Negro vote, I would immediately resign my office." The *Kansas City Call* editorialized that "for a man who would be judge, prejudice is the unpardonable sin." The NAACP's success in blocking Parker's ascension to the U.S. Supreme Court gave Walter White national prominence and a friendship was forged between White, in New York, and Wilkins, in Kansas City.

In 1931 White invited Wilkins to join the national staff of the NAACP in New York as assistant secretary. Wilkins accepted the post with great excitement and anticipation, regarding the NAACP at the time as "the most militant civil rights organization in the country." Wilkins, in his autobiography, recalled that the NAACP during the 1920s and 1930s had "pounded down the South's infamous grandfather clauses, exposed lynchings, and pushed for a federal antilynching law" and had "exposed the spread of peonage among black sharecroppers in the South, prodded the Supreme Court into throwing out verdicts reached by mob-dominated juries, and blotted out residential segregation by municipal ordinance." The NAACP was overturning the racial status quo and Wilkins wanted to be involved.

But there was also dissent within the NAACP. In 1934, following a blistering public attack on Walter White's leadership and on the NAACP's integrationist philosophy from NAACP cofounder W. E. B. Du Bois, who subsequently resigned as editor of the NAACP's penetrating and influential magazine, *The Crisis,* Wilkins succeeded Du Bois as editor of *The Crisis* while continuing in his post as assistant secretary. Wilkins was editor of *The Crisis* for fifteen years (1934–1949).

Du Bois's open flirtation with voluntary segregation did not alter the NAACP's course; throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, the NAACP continued to attack Jim Crow laws and to work on behalf of blacks' full integration into American society. But by 1950, Walter White's leadership was on the wane; in that year Wilkins was designated NAACP administrator. White lost key support because of a divorce and his remarriage to a white woman, and his failing health made him especially vulnerable to his detractors. Upon White's death in 1955, Wilkins became execu-

tive secretary of the NAACP in the wake of its momentous victory in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the Supreme Court case in which NAACP lawyers had successfully argued that racially separate public schools were inherently unequal.

Wilkins served as the NAACP's executive secretary and director for twenty-two years, longer than any other NAACP leader. His tenure characterized him as a pragmatist and strategist who believed that reasoned arguments, both in the courtroom and in public discourse, would sway public opinion and public officials to purposeful actions on behalf of racial equality. During the 1960s, Wilkins was widely regarded as "Mr. Civil Rights," employing the NAACP's huge nationwide membership of 400,000, and its lawyers' network, to back up the direct-action campaigns of more fiery leaders like the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and James Farmer. The NAACP supplied money and member support to the massive March on Washington in 1963. Always moderate in language and temperament, and lacking a charismatic personal style, Wilkins was most comfortable as a strategist and adviser. He had meetings with presidents from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Jimmy Carter, and he was a friend of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Major civil rights legislation was signed into law in Wilkins's presence, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

As the standard-bearer of integration during the turbulent 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the NAACP was pilloried with criticism from black separatists and from whites who opposed school busing and affirmative action programs. Wilkins steered a steady course, however, eschewing racial quotas but insisting on effective legal remedies to purposeful and systemic racial discrimination that included race-conscious methods of desegregating schools, colleges, and the workplace. He simultaneously took to task the exponents of black nationalism. During the height of the Black Power movement, in 1966, Wilkins denounced calls for black separatism, saying Black Power "can mean in the end only black death." Although one of America's most influential and well-known leaders, Wilkins refused to arrogate to himself the plaudits due him because of his successes. He was a frugal administrator and humble individual who routinely took the subway to work.

By 1976, after forty-five years with the NAACP, Wilkins, at age seventy-five, was barely holding on to his post at the NAACP's helm. A year later, in failing health, he retired to his home in Queens, New York, where he spent his last years in the company of his wife. The winner of the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1964, and the recipient of many other awards, including over fifty honorary degrees, Wilkins died in September 1981. At his funeral in New York City, hundreds of mourners, black and white, remembered him as a man who refused to bend to fashion.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; *Crisis, The*; Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Voting Rights Act of 1965; White, Walter Francis

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MICHAEL MEYERS (1996)

Williams, Bert

November 12, 1874?
March 4, 1922

It is likely, though unconfirmed, that Egbert Austin "Bert" Williams was born in Antigua, the West Indies, on November 12, 1874. In 1885 he moved with his parents, Fred and Julia, to Riverside, California, where his father became a railroad conductor. After high school, Bert moved to San Francisco, seeking an entertainment career. He sang in rough saloons, toured lumber camps in a small minstrel troupe, learned minstrel dialect, became a comedian, and in 1893 formed a partnership with George Walker that lasted sixteen years and brought them fame.

After years of trial and error, by 1896 they had evolved their act—the classic minstrel contrast of the "darky" and the "dandy." The large, light-skinned Williams used blackface makeup, ill-fitting clothes, heavy dialect, and a shuffle to play hapless bumblers while the smaller, darker Walker played well-dressed, cocky, nimble-footed hustlers. In 1899, they launched the first of a string of successful African-American musicals, *A Lucky Coon.* In 1903, *In Dahomey,* with exotic African elements, exciting chorus numbers, hard-luck songs and comedy for Williams, and snappy dances and a wise-guy role for Walker, brought them international acclaim, from appearances on Broadway to a command performance at Buckingham Palace in London. Their successes continued until Walker fell ill and retired in 1909.

Without Walker, Williams became a "single" in vaudeville and in 1910 was the first African American to perform in the *Ziegfeld Follies.* He was at the center of American show business, where he remained—in the *Follies* (1910–1912, 1914–1917, 1919), other top-notch revues and vaudeville (1913, 1918), and his own shows (1920–1922). A master of pantomime, pathos, understatement, and timing, he gave universal appeal to his poignant hit songs, such as "Nobody" and "I'm a Jonah Man," and his comedy sketches of sad-sack bellhops, gamblers, and porters, despite heavy dialect and caricatures. The critic Ashton Stevens in 1910 hailed Williams as "the Mark Twain of his color," whose "kindly, infectious human . . . made humans of us all."

Williams felt blackface and dialect liberated him as a comedian by letting him become "another person" onstage, but offstage this racially stereotyped minstrel mask stifled a man who longed to be accepted as a human being. "Bert Williams is the funniest man I ever saw," observed *Follies* veteran W. C. Fields, "and the saddest man I ever knew." Suffering discrimination and rejection everywhere except onstage and at home with his devoted wife, Lottie, whom he married in 1900, he became a heavy drinker plagued by depression. Despite failing health, he drove himself mercilessly onstage, where he was happiest. On February 25, 1922, weakened by pneumonia, he struggled through a matinee of his new show, *Under the Bamboo Tree.* During the performance that evening, he collapsed. He died a week later.

See also Minstrels/Minstrelsy; Musical Theater; Walker, George

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ROBERT C. TOLL (1996)
Updated bibliography

Williams, Billy Dee (December, William)

April 6, 1937

Born in Harlem, New York, actor Billy Dee Williams originally studied art at New York's High School of Music and Art and the National Academy of Fine Arts and Design. Although he was training as an artist, Williams also participated in the Actor's Workshop in Harlem, where he was able to study with Sidney Poitier and Paul Mann. His first appearance on the stage came at the age of seven in *The Firebrand of Florence* (1945), but Williams did not begin regularly performing in Broadway and off-Broadway productions until the late 1950s and early 1960s. His early stage credits include *Take a Giant Step* (1956), *A Taste of Honey* (1960), *The Cool World* (1961), and *The Blacks* (1962).

After his initial success on the stage, Williams traveled to the West Coast seeking roles in movies and on television. While his first movie role, as a rebellious ghetto youth in *The Last Angry Man,* came in 1959, he would not gain substantial fame for more than a decade. In 1970 he received an Emmy nomination for his portrayal of Chicago Bears football player Gale Sayers in the made-for-TV movie *Brian's Song.* He also made numerous television appearances, including guest roles in *Hawk, The Mod Squad,* as well as soap operas such as *Another World.*

Williams's early success earned him a seven-year film contract with Motown's Berry Gordy. Through vehicles such as *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972) and *Mahogany* (1975), both with Diana Ross, Williams gained a reputation as a romantic male lead. He also starred in *The Bingo Long Travelling All Stars and Motor Kings* (1976), a movie with James Earl Jones and Richard Pryor about an itinerant baseball team of African Americans during the Negro League era. In Universal's *Scott Joplin* (1978), he portrayed the famous composer.

In the 1980s Williams played leading roles in George Lucas's *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980) and *Return of the Jedi* (1983) and opposite Sylvester Stallone in *Nighthawks* (1981). His role with Diahann Carroll on the television prime-time soap opera *Dynasty* in the mid-1980s further reinforced his image as a sex symbol. In 1985 he also played in *Double Dare,* a short-lived television detective series. In the late 1980s he had roles in *Deadly Illusions* (1987) and *Batman* (1989). Other ventures were slightly more controversial; he came under harsh attack from African-American community groups in 1989 for taking part in beer commercials.

It was also in the 1980s that Williams began to receive recognition for his professional achievements. Shortly after being inducted into the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame in 1984, Williams received a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 1985. In 1988 the Black American Cinema Society awarded him its Phoenix Award.

In the early 1990s Williams continued to play parts in television movies. He also began to exhibit some of his artwork, which had become an increasingly neglected hobby as his acting career flourished. Exhibitions in galleries in New York and Washington, D.C., received favorable reviews. In 1993 the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture sponsored a display of Williams's work.

Since 1995 Williams has continued to be extremely active and has appeared in almost twenty TV movies, short films, and Hollywood productions. In addition to numerous guest appearances on a variety of television programs, he has also lent his voice to several projects, including a short film and at least one video game based on the Star Wars series. Since 2000 he has published (with coauthors) three works of fiction. He continues to paint; Sears chose his artwork to illustrate its 2004 Black History Month calendar. During the first half of 2004 Williams also toured with costar Robin Givens in the play *If These Hips Could Talk*.

See also Film in the United States, Contemporary

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JOHN C. STONER (1996)
Updated by author 2005

WILLIAMS, ERIC

SEPTEMBER 25, 1911
MARCH 29, 1981

Eric Eustace Williams, the first prime minister of the independent Trinidad and Tobago, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, the eldest of twelve children of Thomas Henry Williams, a junior-level post office official, and Eliza Boissiere. He received his early education at the Tranquility Boys' School. From a tender age, his father groomed him to achieve excellence. In 1922 Williams won one of eight college "exhibition" scholarships for free tuition at Queen's Royal College (QRC) in Port of Spain. He excelled both academically and in sports, becoming captain of the school's intramural soccer team.

Williams's first goal was to win the coveted Island Scholarship, which he achieved on his third attempt, in October 1931. The following year he left for England, where he studied Latin, French, European history, and political economy at Oxford University, earning first-class honors in history in 1936. He then immediately began to read for the degree of doctor of philosophy. He received this degree in 1938 with a thesis titled "The Economic Aspect of the Abolition of the West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery."

EARLY NATIONALIST INFLUENCES

While in England, Williams attended lectures of the West Indian Association in London. There he met other prominent West Indians, including George Padmore and C. L. R. James, his former QRC teacher, who had a significant influence on his work and his early political point of view. He also socialized with future African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. These men gave Williams insights into their Pan-African ideology. In London, he also met and married his first wife, a Trinidadian named Elsie Ribeiro.

Williams's failure to earn a fellowship at the prestigious All Soul's College redirected his desire to lecture at Oxford and motivated him to accept an appointment as an assistant professor at Howard University in Washington, D.C. This appointment had a major influence on his life, as it transformed him from a colonial scholar to a West Indian/Caribbean nationalist. Though Howard was (and remains) a predominantly black university, Williams was not insulated from racism while he was there. Howard University did nevertheless provide him with a sanctuary and brought him into contact with many scholars who were his academic equals, such as Abram L. Harris, Rayford Logan, E. Franklin Frazier, Sterling Brown, Charles Wesley, Alain Locke, William Hastie, and Ralph J. Bunche.

Williams was initially given a one-year appointment. In his first year he inaugurated a social-science course, "the development of civilization from primitive man to the present," for which he prepared his own text of readings (Heywood, 1998, p. 18).

Eric Williams. *The first prime minister of the independent state of Trinidad and Tobago (1962), Williams remained that nation's highest official until his death in 1981.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

While Williams was at Howard, he also met and befriended a number of other Trinidadians, including Ibit Mosaheb, a dental student, and Winston Mahibir, a medical student. Both Mosaheb and Mahibir were instrumental in the formation of a discussion group known as the Bacchacs, and they were original members of the People's National Movement (PNM).

Williams's years at Howard were productive. He wrote prolifically and published several articles and books, including his masterpiece, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). His 1940 article "The Golden Age of the Slave System in Britain," which appeared in the *Journal of Negro History,* won the first history prize at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in New Orleans on October 29, 1939. In all his publications, Williams tried to show the contributions that Africans and their descendants made to the development of Western society. He was also establishing his own anticolonial sentiments.

Williams's Early Career

In his first year at Howard, Eric Williams received a Rosenwald Fellowship, which enabled him to travel extensively and to conduct research in Cuba, Haiti, and Puerto Rico. He also sought employment with the United States Office of Strategic Services. In 1942 Williams joined the Research and Analysis section, where he met important scholars such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Herbert Marcuse. He was also recommended for a position at the U.S. War Productions Board, which was responsible for shipping in the Caribbean, but because he was not a U.S. citizen he was ineligible. In March 1943 Williams was appointed as a part-time consultant to the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (AACC). This office stimulated his research interests, and it provided him with a larger perspective on the entire Caribbean. By the time of his appointment, Williams was well into the organization of a conference at Howard University on "The Economic Future of the Caribbean."

Williams's job as a consultant with AACC was to collate prices of essential foodstuffs and to update the laws of the Caribbean countries to achieve greater democracy. At about this time, Williams wrote a study titled "The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission: Its Problems and Prospects." The work criticized colonialism, called for a West Indian federation, expressed fears of American racism if the United States gained influence in the region, and forecast a Pan-American federation led by the United States. On March 1, 1944, a year after joining the organization, Williams was appointed secretary to the Agricultural Committee of the Caribbean Research Council, a branch of the commission. But he also continued his writings on issues that affected one or more of the European members of the commission, and the British section was unhappy with his lectures on independence for Jamaica. This brought him into open conflict with the British governor. The Americans, meanwhile, were not concerned with Williams's actions until he published "Race Relations in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands" in the *Journal of Foreign Affairs* in January 1945.

In May 1948 Williams left Howard University to accept full-time employment with the AACC in Trinidad and Tobago. He was appointed to a six-month term as acting deputy chairman of the Caribbean Research Council. His intellectual work, however, continued to clash with his position at the commission. He participated in a number of public events, including debates with Dom Basil Mathews, one of the leading members of the Roman Catholic clergy, on various issues dealing with philosophy, the state, and the church. The public reception of Dr. Williams at the debates indicated that the people of Trinidad were hungry for a new kind of politics. It also showed that he had successfully challenged the church's position on such issues as religious education in the schools. Williams con-

tinued to give several intellectual and informative lectures on matters of local and international politics to increasingly enthusiastic crowds. These lectures were given at Woodford Square in Port of Spain, and this venue came to be known as the "University of Woodford Square." The AACC, however, viewed his activities as having political implications that created tensions within the organization.

The People's National Movement

Williams left the AACC in 1955. On June 24, the day he left the commission, he went to Woodford Square and delivered one of his famed lectures, telling the crowd, "I will let down my bucket here with you in the West Indies" (Williams, 1981, pp. 5–10). He immediately put into action his plan for a political party, and the People's National Movement (PNM) was founded in January 1956. Later that year the PNM won the general elections and Williams became the chief minister.

Though Williams had left academic life, he continued writing during his tenure as prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, a position he held when the nation became independent in 1962. His works did not gain the high academic acclaim of his earlier writings, however, though they played an important role in the study and documentation of local history. The most significant of these works are: *The History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1962), *British Historians and the West Indies* (1964), and *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492–1969* (1970). Their greater importance was to showcase the historian as politician.

A number of universities conferred honorary degrees on Williams during the 1960s and 1970s. The University of the West Indies was the first to award him the honorary doctor of letters, in 1963; St. Catherine's College, Oxford, followed, appointing him a fellow in 1964. He received the doctor of laws (LL.D.) from the University of New Brunswick, Canada, the same year, and Andrews University, in Michigan, gave him a similar award in 1974, the same year he was appointed as a member of the Council of the University of the United Nations.

Williams's Political Career

At the start of his political career, Williams reiterated his commitment to Trinidad and the liberation of its peoples in his famous University of Woodford Square speeches. Woodford Square was the center of mass education in politics and history—as dictated and defined by Williams. He chose the topic, set up the parameters, did the analysis, and timed and tailored his delivery to suit the packed audiences, who learned what was happening in Africa and the rest of the world through these lectures.

Williams successfully contested all national general elections held after 1956, and he remained in office until his death in 1981. Throughout this period, the PNM avoided formal ties to the trade or labor unions. Likewise, both the party and Williams had no fixed ideological tags.

Williams also played a key role in policy decisions within the PNM, and he held several ministerial positions in the party, including minister of finance, planning and development, and foreign affairs. During his twenty-five years in politics he advocated many issues, from nationalization and the "Buy Local" campaign to improved awards for calypsonians, a matter he corrected when his party came to power in 1956. Williams also introduced significant changes to recapture Trinidad and Tobago's national cultural heritage. One of the most well-known of his initiatives is the Best Village competition. In addition, he championed the decolonization of the Caribbean school curriculum, the establishment of free secondary education for all in the 1960s, socioeconomic development planning, multiracialism in politics, and anticolonialism.

Williams also had profound influence internationally. His avid support for West Indian integration was manifested in his early attempts to promote the West Indies Federation, which comprised Trinidad and Tobago and nine other British Caribbean colonies, but which only lasted from 1958 to 1962. Williams remained committed to issues of joint cooperation among the Caribbean territories, however, even though his own decision to withdraw from the federation (after Jamaica already had) may have caused some to doubt his commitment to Caribbean unity. He sought to foster amicable relationships between Venezuela and the rest of the Caribbean, and he took leading initiatives to resolve border disputes between Venezuela and Guyana. Committed to West Indian integration, Williams spearheaded numerous meetings among Commonwealth Caribbean heads of government. These served as forerunners to the establishment of the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) in 1968 and the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) in 1973.

Dissension within the PNM

When Williams sought power in 1956, he proposed independence for the twin island state, promising to liberate the poor from centuries of colonial oppression. No significant attempt at reform was made, however, until the Finance Act of 1966. This caused a split within the PNM because businesses interests were opposed to the act and because it imposed a new tax system; Williams fell increasingly under the control of business interests in the party. This strengthened his accusers' assertions that no structural changes were being implemented by the government.

> *Eric Williams*
>
> "You are now a member of the Commonwealth Family in your own right, equal in status to any other of its members. You hope soon to be a member of the World Family of Nations, playing your part, however insignificant, in world affairs. You are on your own in a big world, in which you are one of many nations, some small, some medium size, some large. You are nobody's boss and nobody is your boss."
>
> INDEPENDENCE DAY ADDRESS TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AUGUST 31, 1962. REPRINTED IN SELWYN R. CUDJOE, ED. *ERIC E. WILLIAMS SPEAKS: ESSAYS ON COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE*. BOSTON: CALALOUX PUBLICATIONS, 1993.

Unemployment was very high among the young, and the policy of import substitution had failed, reducing the expectation of economic growth. The disconnect between the youth of Trinidad and Tobago and the government gave rise to Williams's first real challenge, which came from the Black Power movement in February 1970, whose members felt that William's government had not made adequate changes. Williams moved to restrict the influence of the movement, and he declared a state of emergency in April. These moves helped him to survive the challenge of his adversaries in the Black Power movement. His response to the high level of unemployment was to impose an additional levy of 5 percent on all taxable incomes over $10,000.

Williams also embarked on a national localization campaign, which stressed the need for greater state participation in the economic development of the country. This move resulted in the ownership and part ownership of a considerable amount of the nation's resources by the state. As he expressed it, "We follow the pattern that is being increasingly used by developing countries where State participation is up to 51% in particular enterprises, to ensure that decision-making remains in local hands."

Later in his life, Williams concentrated his efforts on charting the economic and industrial direction of the country. He attempted to focus his efforts on increasing agricultural production and channeling the financial surplus from oil production into the industrial production of fertilizer, iron, and steel, and other energy-based industries. Petroleum would thus be used to create a large number of permanent jobs in other industries.

In 1973 Williams expressed a desire to leave politics, but in the end the party would not allow it, and he remained its leader until his death. These last years of Williams's political life were described by Ken Boodhoo as "the last difficult years." No single reason explains Williams's desire to leave office. His reforms were slow to materialize, and many members of his cabinet were opposed to any change in the status quo. Many party members did not share his vision of restructuring the society. For such an astute man, Williams must have resolved that he had failed to alter the political culture of Trinidad. On the whole, Trinidadians and Tobagonians did not seize the moment available to them, and Williams felt that he alone was carrying the burden of his vision for Trinidad and Tobago.

During his final five years in office, Williams's circle of advisers shrank significantly. At this time, Williams's physical condition, and to some extent his mental condition, deteriorated. One Cabinet official commented that Williams was spending a lot of time at home. He also spent much of these years researching and writing, as though he knew that his end was near. His last known academic endeavor was to be a project on the impact of slavery for the publisher Andre Deutsch. He also planned to compile his speeches into a book. Unfortunately, Williams died before he could complete either project.

See also Caribbean Commission; Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Peoples National Movement; Robinson, A. N. R.; Woodford Square

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SELWYN H. H. CARRINGTON (2005)
FIONA ANN TAYLOR (2005)

Williams, Fannie Barrier

February 12, 1855
March 4, 1944

Fannie Barrier Williams's career in the black women's club movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is representative of the hard work and dedication of this network of women and of their success as community organizers. Fannie Barrier was born to a free black family in Brockport, New York. After graduating from the State Normal School in her hometown, she taught school in the South and in Washington, D.C. Her experiences with racism in these contexts focused her interests on working for racial uplift.

Barrier married S. Laing Williams, a young lawyer, in 1887 and the two settled in Chicago, where they worked closely with Ida Wells-Barnett and her husband, Ferdinand Barnett. From this point Williams became involved with a wide range of organizations and activities. Along with Wells-Barnett, she pressed for the inclusion of African Americans in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. She worked with women's clubs, black and white, in Chicago and across the country and gained a reputation as an effective leader and lecturer.

In 1893 Williams became one of the founding members of the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, which would be among the founding organizations of the National Association of Colored Women three years later. She was also a close associate of T. Thomas Fortune and Emmett Scott, the founders of the National Negro Business League, and was elected the organization's corresponding secretary in 1902. The league was ideologically aligned with Booker T. Washington's economic and political program, and Williams's work here caused a break with the more radical Barnetts.

Williams went on to work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and to be a strong advocate of women's suffrage. After her husband's death in 1921, she returned to her hometown, where she lived until her own death.

See also Black Women's Club Movement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Association of Colored Women; National League for the Protection of Colored Women; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)
Updated bibliography

Williams, Francis

c. 1700
1770

Francis Williams was a Jamaican poet and classical scholar. The freeborn son of John and Dorothy Williams, Francis was educated in England from the age of ten as an experiment to test the assumed intellectual inferiority of blacks. Sponsored by the Duke of Montagu, Williams studied Latin, Greek, and mathematics over a period of years.

Williams's life and work must be traced mainly from the biased account given by Edward Long in his *History of Jamaica* (1774), but a rich discussion of the significance of his achievements may be found in Michele Valerie Ron-

nick's valuable 1998 study. For philosophers of the Enlightenment such as David Hume, the case of this black classical scholar-poet threatened existing ideas regarding the role of race in the divine order of the cosmos. Indeed, racial justifications for slavery were to become less secure in the face of Williams's achievements.

Williams remained in England after completing his studies, during which time he wrote a popular satiric ballad, "Welcome, Welcome, Brother Debtor." Full of classical allusions, it characterizes human existence as a prison: "every island's but a prison / strongly guarded by the sea / Kings and princes for that reason / Prisonner's [sic] are as Well as We." Long casts doubt on Williams's authorship, but Jean D'Costa and Barbara Lalla present strong alternative evidence in *Voices in Exile* (1989) that Williams was indeed the author.

Williams returned to Jamaica during the governorship of Edward Trelawny (1738–1751). This was a crucial period in Jamaican history, for some eighty years of Maroon warfare had just ended with the treaty of 1739 to 1740. The island was therefore now internally safe for its English colonial overlords. In the subsequent three decades of his life, Williams witnessed the doubling of the African slave population and the economic explosion of the sugar plantations.

Intended for a position in government, Williams was rejected by Governor Trelawny. Instead, he founded a school in the capital, Spanish Town, teaching reading, writing, Latin, and mathematics with some success. Long describes a schoolmaster of fashionable dress and manner. During this period, Williams is said to have written a number of Latin odes addressed to successive governors of Jamaica. Long points to "An Ode to George Haldane" (1759) as exemplifying Williams' poetic style: a panegyric filled with classical allusions, lavishing praise on the new governor, George Haldane. Much of its forty-six lines deal with Williams's blackness and the racial abyss separating his poem's white subject (Haldane) from the poem's speaker. Here one may see the fractured Williams, living the double exile of a free black among enslaved blacks and of a cultivated mind in the intellectual wilderness of eighteenth-century Jamaican society.

See also Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean

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JEAN D'COSTA (2005)

Williams, George Washington

October 16, 1849
August 2, 1891

Born in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, clergyman and legislator George Washington Williams had no formal schooling until after the Civil War. He enlisted with the Union troops in 1864, with the revolutionary forces in Mexico, and with the Tenth Cavalry in 1868. He studied briefly at Howard University and the Wayland Seminary before going to the Newton Theological Institution, where in 1874 he became the first African American to graduate. Successively he became pastor of the Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston, editor of the *Commoner* in Washington, D.C., and pastor of the Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati. There he contributed articles regularly to the *Cincinnati Commercial* under the pen name "Aristides," became the first African American to serve in the stage legislature, and manifested a lively interest in public affairs. He had a reputation as a skillful politician and a gifted orator. After studying law in the office of Judge Alfonso Taft, he passed the Ohio bar.

Meanwhile, one of Williams's greatest interests was in the study of history. He had already written a history of the Twelfth Baptist Church, as well as a historical sketch of blacks from 1776 to 1876. In 1882 he published his two-volume *History of the Negro Race in America, 1619–1880*. As the first serious work in the field, it was widely reviewed among critics, whose judgments ranged from very favorable to unenthusiastic. Williams was nevertheless an immediate success and in such great demand as a lecturer that he hired one of the major literary agents in New York to handle his engagements.

After publishing a *History of Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion* in 1887, Williams turned his interests largely to international affairs. He had received an appointment in 1885 as United States minister to Haiti, but the incoming administration of President Benjamin Harrison refused him a commission. Crushed and embittered, Wil-

liams decided to make his mark abroad. In 1889 he attended the antislavery conference in Brussels, and in the following year he journeyed to the Congo. He found conditions there so miserable that he published for circulation throughout Europe and the United States "An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty, Leopold II, King of the Belgians." He roundly condemned the king for his cruel oppression and exploitation of the people of the Congo. This first general criticism of Leopold was followed some years later by similar strictures in Europe and the United States.

Williams did not return to the United States. After traveling extensively in South Africa and East Africa, he went to England, where he died.

See also Historians and Historiography, African-American

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JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN (1996)

Williams, Henry Sylvester

March 24, 1867
March 26, 1911

Henry Sylvester Williams was one of the ambitious, confident, outspoken, and politically conscious blacks who emerged in the British West Indies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His parents were Barbadians who migrated to Trinidad in the second half of the nineteenth century (Williams was born in Barbados). Williams's father worked as a wheelwright on the Bon Air sugar estate in Arouca. In 1887 Williams was appointed headmaster of a primary school and simultaneously served as the Registrar of Births and Deaths in South Trinidad. His teaching career abruptly ended in 1891 when he decided to emigrate to New York City. While in the United States, he became acutely aware of the oppression of African Americans, particularly those disenfranchised in the South.

After two years, Williams left the United States and settled in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada. Between 1893 and 1894, he enrolled for a law degree at Dalhousie University in Halifax, but he never completed the course. The desire to travel led him to England in 1896. He worked as a lecturer for the Church of England Temperance Society, where he met and married a white woman named Agnes Powell. Subsequently, Williams enrolled at the University of London, and in 1897 he gained admittance to Gray's Inn, where he successfully completed his legal studies.

On September 24, 1897, Williams founded the African Association and served as its honorary secretary. The purposes of the association were "to encourage a feeling of unity and to facilitate friendly intercourse among Africans in general." It also sought "to promote and protect the interests of all subjects claiming African descent" (Mathurin, 1976, p. 41). These goals were to be achieved by appealing to the governments of local (occupied or conquered) countries or regions, as well as the governments of imperial countries (United States, Germany, France, Belgium, and Britain). Williams is credited with having coined the term *Pan-African,* and he spearheaded the organization of the first Pan-African Conference, which took place July 23 to 25, 1900, at Westminster Town Hall in London. One of the aims of the Pan-African Conference was to create a common bond or linkage among the world's blacks. Conference participants unanimously adopted an *Address to the Nations of the World*, which was circulated to the major imperial powers. This document contained an appeal for an end to racial prejudice and demanded that Britain grant "responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the West Indies" (Mathurin, 1976, p. 71). Among the prominent blacks from the United States at the Conference were W. E. B. Du Bois, a professor at Atlanta University, and John L. Love, a teacher at a black school in Washington who served as secretary of the Pan-African Conference in 1900.

In the aftermath of this historic conference, Williams continued to take an active interest in the conditions and progress of persons of African descent. He attended the Anti-Slavery Congress in Paris from August 6 to 8, 1900. A year later, Williams attended the annual meeting of the National Afro-American Council held in Philadelphia.

Williams briefly returned to the West Indies and founded a branch of the Pan-African Association in Trinidad on June 28, 1901. During this tour, he also visited Jamaica and addressed various black groups. In October 1901 Williams began publishing a monthly journal, the *Pan-African,* but it ceased publication after less than a year. In 1903 Williams emigrated to South Africa, and he became the first black lawyer to practice in Cape Town. Between 1903 and 1908, Williams visited a number of African countries, including Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea, to witness the living and working conditions of Africans.

By 1905 Williams had returned to London and become a candidate in local elections. On November 2, 1906, he was elected councilor on the St. Marylebone Council. In 1906, while in London, he was appointed vice president of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association. This was a radical working-class organization in Trinidad that campaigned for political and social reforms. In August 1908 Williams returned to Trinidad and spent his final years as a lawyer in the country's capital, Port of Spain.

Williams was a visionary West Indian and is credited with having sown the seeds of Pan-Africanism, which influenced such Caribbean personalities as Marcus Garvey, Stokely Carmichael, C. L. R. James, and George Padmore. The influence of the historic Pan-African Conference of 1900 was felt throughout the twentieth century, even serving as a catalyst for the civil rights movement, the Black Power movement, and the anticolonial struggles of the third world.

See also Pan-Africanism

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JEROME TEELUCKSINGH (2005)

Williams, Hosea Lorenzo

January 5, 1926
November 16, 2000

Civil rights leader and politician Hosea Williams was born and raised in Attapalgus, Georgia. He served in the military from 1944 to 1946. In 1951 he graduated from Morris Brown College in Atlanta with a B.A. in chemistry, and went on to earn a master of science degree from Atlanta University. Upon graduation he worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture as a research chemist in Savannah, Georgia. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he became active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and participated in desegregation drives and other civil rights activities. In 1960 he became head of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters. Williams was an outspoken believer in direct action, and under his direction the crusade waged one of the most successful voter registration drives in the South.

In 1962 the crusade affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and one year later Williams moved to Atlanta to join the staff of SCLC as a full-time project director. He became a top assistant to SCLC's president, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and organized grassroots voter registration drives. In 1965 he led the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in which marchers were brutally attacked by state troopers and local police.

After King's assassination in 1968, Williams remained active in the SCLC. From 1969 to 1971 he served as executive director of the SCLC under the leadership of Rev. Ralph Abernathy. Williams led a militant faction in the SCLC who called for "black power" and self-help and rejected integration as a movement goal. In 1971 he resigned his position and founded an SCLC chapter in Atlanta with his supporters to practice the type of grassroots activism he favored.

In 1974 Williams entered the political arena and was elected to the Georgia General Assembly as Atlanta representative. From 1977 to 1979 he returned to the position of SCLC national executive director, but he was removed from his post by members of the board of directors who were critical of his outside activities and insisted that he devote more time to his position. (In 1972 Williams had founded and served as the pastor of the Martin Luther King Jr. People's Church of Love in Atlanta; after 1976 he was proprietor of his own business, the Southeast Chemical Manufacturing and Distributing Corporation.)

Although Williams maintained his commitment to grassroots organizing and direct action, his political allegiances shifted to the Republican Party, and in 1980 he endorsed Ronald Reagan for president. He argued that African Americans should seek to make the Republican Party accountable to them and that few Democratic candidates were willing to deal with the "meat and bread" issues facing blacks and the poor. Four years later, running as a Republican, he lost the race for the Fifth District U.S. congressional seat from Atlanta, but the next year he was elected to the Atlanta city council.

Williams's consistent championing of issues that affected the poor, and his flamboyant and often contentious personal style, made him a well-known figure in Atlanta politics. In 1987 he led a march into Georgia's Forsyth County, a nearly all-white suburb, to protest residential segregation. The march attracted national attention when the participants were attacked by members of the Ku Klux Klan. In 1989 Williams made an unsuccessful bid for

mayor of Atlanta on the Republican ticket. Three years later he once again led a protest march into Forsyth County.

Williams retired from the city council in 1994 and died in 2000 after a lengthy battle with prostate cancer.

See also Black Power Movement; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Politics in the United States

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"Civil Rights Leader Hosea Williams Dies at 74." *Jet,* December 2000, p. 16.

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STEVEN J. LESLIE (1996)
ROBYN C. SPENCER (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Williams, Mary Lou

May 8, 1910
May 28, 1981

Although she never led her own big band, and recorded only occasionally as a leader, the pianist Mary Lou Williams is generally acknowledged as the most significant female instrumentalist in the history of jazz. She composed and arranged works that exemplify the rhythmic drive and harmonic sophistication of the swing era. Born Mary Elfrieda Scruggs in Atlanta, Georgia, she moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with her mother in 1914, and she performed professionally on the piano at the age of six. Using the surname of her two stepfathers, she performed as Mary Lou Burley and Mary Lou Winn at private parties in Pittsburgh and in East Liberty, Pennsylvania, before the age of ten.

At age fifteen, while a student at Pittsburgh's Lincoln High School, she played the piano on the Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA) black vaudeville circuit. Two years later she married John Williams, a baritone saxophonist, and moved with him to Memphis. They next lived in Oklahoma City and then Kansas City, where Mary Lou Williams quickly became a prominent member of the developing swing scene. In 1929, her husband arranged for her to have an audition with the bandleader Andy Kirk. She became a full-time member of Kirk's Clouds of Joy in 1930, and she was the band's star soloist, composer, and arranger. Williams was one of the few well-known instrumentalists of the swing era.

Although Williams's early style as a soloist was influenced by Earl Hines, Jelly Roll Morton, and Fats Waller, by the late 1920s she was a well-known exponent of Kansas City swing, a somewhat lighter style of swing derived from stride influences. As one of her Kirk recordings pointed out in its title, Williams was "The Lady Who Swings the Band" (1936). She was significant as both a composer and arranger, lending harmonic sophistication and a bold sense of swing to Kirk's repertory, including "Mess-a-Stomp" (1929 and 1938), "Walkin' and Swingin' " (1936), "Froggy Bottom" (1936), "Moten Swing" (1936), "In the Groove" (1937), and "Mary's Idea" (1938).

In the mid-1930s the Clouds of Joy moved to New York, where Williams also worked as an arranger for Louis Armstrong, Earl Hines, Tommy Dorsey, and Benny Goodman, for whom she arranged the famous 1937 versions of "Roll 'Em," "Camel Hop," and "Whistle Blues." In 1940 she arranged and recorded "Baby Dear" and "Harmony Blues" as Mary Lou Williams and Her Kansas City Seven, an ensemble drawn from the Kirk band. Williams divorced her husband in the late 1930s, and she left Kirk's band in 1942, the same year she married and began performing with the trumpeter Shorty Baker. That marriage also ended in divorce. Throughout the 1940s, Williams continued to work as an arranger, again with Goodman, as well as on "Trumpets No End" (1945), an arrangement of the song "Blue Skies" done for Duke Ellington. She also continued to perform, as a solo act in the mid-to-late 1940s at both the uptown and downtown Cafe Society in New York, and with an all-female group (1945-1946). At Carnegie Hall in 1946 the New York Philharmonic performed three movements of her Zodiac Suite, a version of which she had recorded the year before.

While many giants of the swing era failed to make the transition to bebop, Williams readily assimilated into her playing the developments of Thelonious Monk (1917–1982) and Bud Powell (1924–1966), both of whom were regular guests at the informal piano salon she held at her Harlem home throughout the 1940s and 1950s. In 1952 Williams began a two-year tour of England and France. In 1954 she underwent a religious experience while performing at a Paris nightclub and walked off the bandstand in mid-set. Back home in Harlem, Williams, who had been raised a Baptist, joined a Roman Catholic church because she was allowed to pray there at any time of the day or night. She refused to play in public until 1957, when,

urged on by Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993), she performed at the Newport Jazz Festival. From the late 1950s on, she regularly toured and performed, including a concert with fellow pianists Willie "The Lion" Smith, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, and Billy Taylor in Pittsburgh in 1965.

In the 1960s Williams, who had become a devout Roman Catholic, composed several large-scale liturgical works (*Black Christ of the Andes,* 1963; *St. Martin de Porres,* 1965), culminating in *Mary Lou's Mass* (1969), which was commissioned by the Vatican and choreographed by Alvin Ailey. In the 1970s she continued to perform and record (*Solo Recital,* 1977), particularly with the intention of educating listeners about the history of jazz. She also performed with avant-garde pianist Cecil Taylor at Carnegie Hall (*Embraced,* 1977), and in that year became an artist in residence at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, where she died.

See also Gillespie, Dizzy; Jazz; Monk, Thelonious Sphere

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D. ANTOINETTE HANDY (1996)
Updated bibliography

Williams, Patricia Joyce

August 28, 1951

Patricia Joyce Williams is a leading scholar on race, class, gender, and the law. One of the pioneers of critical race theory, she has distinguished herself as an incisive commentator and a public intellectual. Williams has stated that she is "trying to create a genre of legal writing to fill the gaps of traditional legal scholarship." She does so by using narrative, literary theory, philosophy, history, and anecdote to superb effect. She writes engagingly and uses popular events and masterful storytelling to delve into complex and important legal and social issues.

Williams began teaching at the Columbia Law School in 1991, eventually earning the position of James L. Dohr Professor of Law. Prior to entering Columbia she practiced law as a consumer advocate and deputy city attorney for Los Angeles, and as a staff attorney for the Western Center on Law and Poverty. A graduate of Wellesley College and Harvard Law School, Williams has taught at a number of institutions, including Golden Gate University, the City University of New York, the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Harvard University, and Stanford University.

In Williams's first book, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: A Diary of a Law Professor* (1991), she discusses a range of cases, events, and personal experiences in order to unveil the politics behind abstracted legal language, and she eloquently argues on behalf of rights and redemptive measures for those traditionally marginalized in American law. For this work she received numerous distinctions, such as the National Association of Black Political Scientists Book Award. The book was named one of the twenty-five best books of 1991 by the *Village Voice Literary Supplement.*

Williams followed with two other critically acclaimed books, *The Rooster's Egg: On the Persistence of Prejudice* (1995) and *Seeing a Color-Blind Future: The Paradox of Race* (1997). In *The Rooster's Egg,* she explores the range of social forces that allow racial prejudice to persist. In *Seeing a Color-Blind Future,* a book based upon the Reith Lectures she gave at the British Broadcasting Corporation, she challenges the law's literal mandates of color-blindness for their obfuscation of the very color prejudices individuals seek to remediate.

Williams' scholarly contributions are matched by her status as a public intellectual. She is a contributing editor and columnist writing on current legal, gender, and race issues for *Nation* magazine. In addition to law review articles, she has written for publications as varied as the *New York Times Book Review,* the *Village Voice,* and *USA Today.* She has appeared on a number of television and radio shows, including *All Things Considered* and *Fresh Air* (NPR), *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (PBS), and the *Today Show* (NBC), as well as international radio and television programs.

While challenging the boundaries of traditional legal scholarship, Williams has made observations that are compelling to a wide spectrum of readers both within and beyond the legal profession. She is consistently one of the fifty most cited professors in law review articles. She has been the recipient of various prestigious fellowships, including a MacArthur Fellowship, and she has been awarded a number of honorary doctorates.

See also Critical Race Theory; Intellectual Life

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IMANI PERRY (2005)

Williams, Paulette

See Shange, Ntozake

Williams, Peter, Jr.

c. 1780
October 18, 1840

Peter Williams Jr., a church founder, abolitionist, and priest, was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, about 1780. Schooled at the New York African Free School, he was also tutored by his white pastor at the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church, the Reverend Thomas Lyell. When Lyell left the John Street Church for the Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Williams followed him. He was elected lay reader by the congregation in 1812.

Under his leadership, with the approval and assistance of the whites of Trinity Church, Williams organized blacks into a separate congregation in 1818. They acquired a lot and built a church that was formally consecrated as Saint Philip's African Church on July 3, 1819. Williams was licensed to preach and became rector in 1820, and after a number of years of study under Bishop John Henry Hobart, Williams was ordained as the second black Episcopalian priest in 1826.

A firm believer in equality, Williams was one of the cofounders in 1827 of the first black newspaper in the United States, *Freedom's Journal*. Dedicated to the universal welfare of mankind, unity between the races, and the elevation of all races and people, the journal included many articles on the abolition of slavery. Williams was an abolitionist who strongly opposed the ideals of the American Colonization Society. In 1830 he and other black leaders called for a national convention of African Americans. They gathered in Philadelphia and resolved to "devise ways and means for the bettering of our condition" and "to somewhat combat the lack of government recognition and equal opportunities."

Williams continued his efforts to help other blacks by establishing the Phoenix Society, a benevolent organization, in 1833. That same year, he became one of six managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Fueled by a rumor that Williams had performed an interracial marriage, Saint Philip's Church was looted and burned during a riot on July 4, 1934, and Williams was forced to flee for his life. Bowing to the pressure of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Williams publicly resigned from the Board of Managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This action cost him severely in prestige with large sections of the black community. Although he lost his position of influence in the community, he remained at his church, where he continued to act as a mentor to promising young black men.

See also Abolition; Episcopalians; *Freedom's Journal*

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DEBI BROOME (1996)

Williams, Robert Franklin

February 26, 1925
October 15, 1996

Revolutionary nationalist Robert Franklin Williams, founder of the Revolutionary Action Movement and former head of a local NAACP branch in North Carolina, was born in Monroe, North Carolina, where he attended segregated public schools. He graduated from Winchester

Street High School in 1944, was drafted into the army, and after his discharge worked briefly for the Ford Motor Company in Michigan before attending West Virginia State College in 1949. Williams enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1954 but was released when he protested being denied a position for which he was well qualified. In 1955 he returned to Monroe, and one year later he was elected president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an ineffective branch with only six members. Williams recruited working-class and poor people of Monroe—domestic workers and sharecroppers—to the NAACP and wrote numerous articles to local newspapers denouncing racism and segregation. Under Williams's leadership, the Monroe NAACP developed into a forthright and militant organization of over 250 members.

The group pursued several cases in the late 1950s that demonstrate Williams's growing effectiveness. In 1958 Williams worked on behalf of two young black boys, aged seven and nine, who were found guilty and sent to reform school for playing a kissing game with white children. As a result of his efforts, they were eventually released after widespread publicity and international pressure. Williams and other NAACP members also mounted protests when Louis Medlin, a white Monroe resident charged in 1959 with assault with intent to rape a black woman who was eight months pregnant, was acquitted, despite an independent eyewitness.

White vigilante violence and legal setbacks that Williams and his allies encountered in their quest for racial justice made them increasingly skeptical of the impartiality of the legal system, the ability of the federal government to protect black citizens, and the nonviolent reform agenda of mainstream civil rights groups. Williams expressed this new militant consciousness in 1959, shortly after the Medlin case was decided, when he said, "If it's necessary to stop lynching with lynching, then we must be willing to resort to that method. We must meet violence with violence." As a result of this statement, national leaders immediately expelled Williams from the NAACP.

Despite his expulsion by the national board of the NAACP, Williams was reelected president of the local branch the next year. He then continued to lead protests and pickets in Monroe, and with his wife, Mabel, started a newsletter, *Crusader*. On August 27, 1961, Williams and other Monroe residents organized a demonstration in downtown Monroe to protest the segregated white swimming pool. As a white mob gathered to challenge the protesters, tension rose and violence erupted. Later that night a white couple driving past Williams's house met a group of angry black protesters. The couple claimed Williams had kidnapped them, and a county grand jury later indicted him on two counts of kidnapping. Williams, however, asserted that he was trying to protect the couple from the angry protesters outside his house.

Fearing for their safety, Williams, his wife, and their two children escaped that night and eventually went to Cuba, where they stayed until 1966. In 1962 he published an account of his experiences in Monroe, *Negroes with Guns*. While in Cuba, Williams helped form the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a Marxist organization that sought to achieve black liberation through the fundamental restructuring of the U.S. economic and political system. In 1966, the Williamses went to China for three years, finally returning to the United States in 1969. Williams lived in Michigan, where he found a job in 1971 at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan. He fought extradition to North Carolina until the charges against him were dropped in 1976. Williams has since become a symbol of resistance for subsequent proponents of black self-defense and revolutionary nationalism.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Revolutionary Action Movement

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PREMILLA NADASEN (1996)
Updated bibliography

WILLIAMS, VENUS AND SERENA

The Williams sisters, Venus and Serena, are the two most prominent African-American female tennis players since Althea Gibson (1927–2003). Participating in a sport that has traditionally been dominated by whites, they have been ranked among the top players in the world of tennis,

Venus Williams (r) consoles her younger sister Serena, after defeating Serena in a women's singles semifinal match at Centre Court, Wimbledon, 2000. PHOTOGRAPH BY ADAM BUTLER. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and they have introduced a style of play that combines power and grace in a way never before witnessed in professional women's tennis.

Venus Ebone Starr Williams was born in Lynwood, California, on June 17, 1980, and Serena Williams was born in Saginaw, Michigan, on September 26, 1981. Both are the daughters of Richard and Oracene Brandi Williams. Serena is the youngest of five daughters, and Venus is the second youngest. Both grew up in the suburbs of Compton, California. Their early playing careers evolved while competing on the public courts in the housing projects of Watts and Compton. Although this was an area that was full of violence, gangs, and high rates of homicides, they prevailed to become two of the elite tennis players in the world.

The family moved to Palm Beach Gardens, Florida, so that the sisters could train under coach Rick Macci, a well respected and established tennis professional. Mr. Williams looked to further his dream of both his daughters one day dominating the tennis world.

Venus Williams turned professional in October 1994, winning her first professional match against Shaun Stafford at the Bank of West Classic in Oakland. Venus participated in the event to avoid a new Women's Tennis Association (WTA) rule, to be phased in beginning in 1995, limiting the number of events in which fourteen-year-old girls could compete. As of 2005, Venus had won thirty-one WTA tour singles titles and nine doubles titles, and she had earned over fourteen million dollars in prize money.

Serena played in her first professional tournament (the Bell Challenge) in 1995. She went on to win the mixed doubles title with Max Mirnyi in July 1998. Serena officially won her first WTA tour singles championship in 1999 (the Open Gaz de France in Paris). As of 2005, Serena had won twenty-six WTA singles tournaments and eleven doubles titles. She has also won each of the four Grand Slam singles titles. As of early 2005, her career prize money totaled over fourteen million dollars.

In addition to their tennis winnings, both Venus and Serena have signed lucrative endorsement contracts. In 2003, Venus signed a five-year endorsement deal worth forty million dollars with Reebok, reported to be the richest contract ever for a female athlete. She also signed a multimillion-dollar deal with Avon Products Inc., and she has designed a collection of leather apparel sold exclusively at Wilsons Leather. In November 2003, Venus launched her own interior design business, V Starr Interiors. Serena signed an endorsement deal with the sneaker company Nike that, with performance related endorsements, could net her sixty million dollars. She also has endorsement deals with Avon Products Inc., Close-Up, McDonald's, Wilson Racquet Sports, and Wrigley/Doublemint.

When Serena met Venus in the finals of the U.S. Open in 2001, it was the first time in history that two sisters had made it to the finals of a Grand Slam tournament. They have since become the first two women in history to square off in four consecutive Grand Slam finals. (At one point Serena held all four major championships at the same time.) When Venus won Wimbledon in 2000 and Serena won the U.S. Open in 1999, it was the first time in tennis history that two sisters had each won a Grand Slam singles title.

The Williams' domination of tennis has illuminated several social and cultural aspects of the sport. Women's professional tennis has historically been predominately white. The way in which the sport of tennis had been traditionally viewed—socially, economically, and culturally—has now been challenged by the insurgence of the Williams sisters. Mainstream tennis followers have witnessed a style of tennis unlike that previously played by women, and in the process of playing tennis the Williams sisters have altered the traditional role of women in the sport. Wearing braids and beads in their hair, with stylish attire and a unique style of play, the Williams sisters brought a new energy to women's tennis. Accompanying this new and distinct style came conflict and controversy. The spectators, media, and athletes on the tour had not experienced the

style of play, charisma, and flair that was on display, on as well as off the court. Suddenly, a consciousness of race and culture were infused into tennis in a scope unprecedented in the game's history.

Controversy has surfaced throughout both of the Williams' careers, and both have been subject to adverse situations during matches. In the 2003 French Open against Justine Henin Hardenne, Serena was subject to catcalls and was booed loudly by the crowd. In Indian Wells, California, in 2001, Venus was scheduled to face Serena and withdrew due to medical reasons. In the ensuing match against Kim Clijsters, Serena was loudly booed and the crowd of 16,000 was boisterous and cheered when she double faulted. Some speculated that Venus's withdrawal was done to gain or maintain both of their rankings. Serena and Venus were accused of fixing their match, while their father stated "it was the worst act of prejudice he had ever witnessed." He also claimed that ethnic slurs were directed towards Venus and him while exiting the match.

Controversy has also been directed towards the Williams' and their commitments to tennis. Several critics have expressed concerns about their involvement in fashion, movies, and other outside activities, although other players, particularly Anna Kournikova, have had similar outside activities, and Maria Sharapova, another young Russian tennis star, is also commanding large endorsement deals.

Venus and Serena Williams' presence in tennis goes beyond the sport itself. Together they have redefined the sport, not only with their athletic ability, but with the contemporary style, exposure, and infusion of African-American culture. They have had a marked effect on the media, marketing agencies, sponsorships, and young women around the world. They have also embraced the notion of social activism by meeting issues of race and culture within the world of tennis head on. The world of sport has benefited socially and culturally, and a new dimension of multiculturalism is being seen in the sport. The galleries are now filled with professional athletes, actors, and movie stars of multiple ethnicities. They have provided star power to the sport and infused it with aspects of African-American culture. In the process, they have changed the path of tennis immeasurably.

See also Ashe, Arthur; Gibson, Althea; Sports; Tennis

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FRITZ G. POLITE (2005)

Willis, Deborah

February 5, 1948

Deborah Willis is a photographer, curator, and art and cultural historian. Born in Philadelphia, Willis developed an early interest in photography from her father's cousin, who was the proprietor of a commercial photography studio and took many photographs of her family. Willis's most vivid early memory of the impact of photography came at age seven, when she encountered Roy DeCarava's photographs in *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (1955) at the public library. It was, she recalls, the first time she had seen a book with photographs of black people, and the impact was indelible. It inspired Willis to assemble a family photo album, trying to emulate the organization of images in DeCarava's book. She would subsequently devote her career to unearthing, promoting, and celebrating photography by artists of the African diaspora. Concurrently, she has maintained a long and successful career as an image-maker, with subject matter ranging from women bodybuilders to shotgun houses of the South, and in media ranging from photo-quilts to digital prints. Family, history, and memory are important recurring themes in her visual work.

Willis began her formal study of photography in the mid-1970s as a student at the Philadelphia College of Art in Pennsylvania, where she earned her B.F.A. degree. After receiving her M.F.A. degree from Pratt Institute in Brooklyn in 1980, Willis became curator of prints and photographs and exhibitions coordinator at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, part of the New York Public Library. For twelve years she helped not only to reorganize and develop that immense collection, she also almost single-handedly established the discipline of the history of black photographers. In her exhibitions at the Schomburg, Willis debuted the work of many now-prominent photographers, including Lorna Simpson (b. 1960) and Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953). Willis received an M.A. in museum studies from the City College of New York in 1986.

Willis also rediscovered the forgotten careers of some of the earliest African-American photographers, including James Presley Ball (1825–1904) and James VanDerZee (1886–1983), on whom she published monographs in

1993. Her groundbreaking surveys *Black Photographers, 1840–1940: An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography* (1985) and *An Illustrated Bio-Bibliography of Black Photographers, 1940–1988* (1989) remain the most important and influential sources for information about black photographers. In 1992 Willis moved to Washington, D.C., to become curator of exhibitions at the Center for African American History and Culture, part of the Smithsonian Institution. In 2000 she published *Reflections in Black: A History of Black Photographers 1840 to the Present*, the culmination of more than twenty-five years' research and scholarship. The more than six hundred images in the book were also part of a touring exhibition organized through the Smithsonian.

As a photographic artist Willis has turned her uncompromising eye on explorations of the themes of family and history. Her series of photo quilts, made in the 1990s, incorporate the textile tradition of her grandmother and great aunt, as well as referencing her father's profession as a tailor, using vintage fabrics (including his old neckties) overlaid with photographs, some made by Willis as a teenager. In 2000 Willis became the recipient of the prestigious MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant, which allowed her to focus on personal projects, including series of photographs on beauty shops and women at work. In 2001 she became professor of photography and imaging at New York University's Tisch School for the Arts, and she completed her doctorate in cultural studies at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, in 2003.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary; Photography, U.S.

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CARLA WILLIAMS (2005)

Wilson, August

April 27, 1945

The playwright August Wilson was born Frederick August Kittel in Pittsburgh, the fourth of six children. Growing up near the steel mills, in a neighborhood called the Hill that was populated by poor African Americans, Italians, and Jews, he had a childhood of poverty and hardship. He rarely saw his father, a German baker who visited only occasionally, and the family subsisted on public assistance and on his mother's earnings as a janitor. Wilson adopted his mother's maiden name in the 1970s as a way of disavowing his father.

Wilson's stepfather, David Bedford, moved the family to a white suburb when Wilson was a teenager. This change, however, also proved difficult. As a student at a predominantly white Catholic school in Pittsburgh, Wilson was ostracized by his white schoolmates and misjudged by his white teachers, who doubted his intelligence. He frequently found notes on his desk reading "Nigger, go home." When he was fourteen, he dropped out of school.

Wilson continued his education in the library, where he discovered the works of Ralph Ellison, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and other African-American writers, as well as the poetry of Dylan Thomas, which contributed to his still-evolving aesthetic. In 1965 Wilson heard recordings of the blues for the first time, and their lyrical expression of the hardships of life was to become another major influence on his work. Except for a one-year stint in the army (1967), Wilson spent the middle 1960s writing poetry at night while holding a series of menial jobs during the day.

In 1968 he returned to Pittsburgh, where he became caught up in the black arts movement. Influenced by the plays and polemical writings of Amiri Baraka, Wilson and his friend Rob Penny founded the Black Horizons on the Hill Theatre in 1968—although he had no previous theater experience. Their aim was to use theater to provoke social change. His earliest one-act plays—*Recycle* (1973), *The Homecoming* (1976), and *The Coldest Day of the Year* (1977)—were written for this theater.

In 1977 Wilson moved to Saint Paul, Minnesota, where he wrote a musical satire with a western theme: *Black Bart and the Sacred Hills*. This rambling verse narrative was staged a year later by the Inner City Cultural Center in Los Angeles. While supporting himself by writing educational dramas for the Minnesota Science Center, Wilson wrote the plays *Jitney!* and *Fullerton Street* in 1982. Both were produced that year by the Minneapolis Playwrights' Center.

It was the play *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom*, written in 1983 and first produced by the Eugene O'Neill National Playwrights Conference, that gained Wilson national attention. Produced at the Yale Repertory Theatre in 1984 under the direction of Lloyd Richards, and later that year on Broadway with the same director, the play won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for Best Play. *Ma Rainey*, which is set in 1927 and depicts a day in the life of the famous blues singer, explores not only the exploitation of black artists of that era, but also reveals the high price such artists pay when they cut themselves off from their cultural past. Wilson's next play, *Fences* (1985), is set in 1957 and focuses on the frustrations of Troy Maxson, a Pittsburgh garbage collector who had been a star ball player in the Negro Leagues before Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line. The play was awarded the Pulitzer Prize and the Tony Award for Best Play of the Year.

After noticing that he had fortuitously written four plays set in four separate decades, Wilson decided to continue to write a play set in each decade of the twentieth century. *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* and *Fences* would then become part of a ten-play cycle that would chronicle the challenges that African Americans have confronted since Emancipation. In *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* (1986), set in 1911, Wilson explores the emotional and physical displacement experienced by former slaves in the early twentieth century. Produced on Broadway in 1988, it won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for Best Play. Wilson's cycle continued with *Seven Guitars* (1994), set in the 1940s, and *Jitney* (1996), a revision of the earlier play, set in the 1970s.

The Piano Lesson (1987), set in 1936, concerns the ownership of a piano that had been built by the slave grandfather of a feuding brother and sister. The source of their contention is a 125-year-old piano that sits untouched in the living room of Berniece Charles. Her brother wants to sell it to buy land, but Berniece wants it left alone to revere. *The Piano Lesson* perhaps best expresses Wilson's view of black history as something to be neither sold nor denied, but employed to create an ongoing, nurturing cultural identity. Produced on Broadway in 1990, the play received the Drama Desk Best Play award and the New York Drama Critics Circle Award, and Wilson won his second Pulitzer Prize for the play. In 1996 it was transformed into a successful television film.

Wilson's play about the 1960s, *Two Trains Running* (1990), is also set in Pittsburgh, in 1968. It explores the allegiances and frictions among a group of friends who find themselves confronted with the era's radical social changes and by a sense that they will be swept along by large forces beyond their control. It was produced on Broadway in 1992 and won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for Best Play.

Seven Guitars (1995), Wilson's seventh play, is the story of Floyd "School Boy" Barton, a Pittsburgh blues singer who goes to Chicago in 1948 to record two songs. After he returns to Pittsburgh to rekindle a romance, he is jailed for ninety days on a phony charge. When he gets out, he discovers that his record is getting airplay, and he is asked to come back to Chicago to make additional records. However, he is killed by the demented Hedley before he can go, and the play is told in flashback after his death.

King Hedley II (2001), set in the 1980s, revisits characters and extends the storyline introduced in *Seven Guitars*. Set in the Hill District of Pittsburgh in 1985, the play fast forwards some thirty-seven years to highlight the struggles of Ruby's now adult son, King. After serving seven years for killing the man who disfigured him, King has returned to the house where Ruby and Tonya, who is pregnant with his child, now live. Symbolized by his attempts to raise flowers out of infertile soil, King, as he is called, seeks spiritual renewal but is instead set back by the revelation that Hedley is not his biological father.

Wilson's ninth play, *Gem of the Ocean* (2004), is set in 1904 and begins the day before Aunt Ester's 287th birthday in Pittsburgh's Hill District. Citizen Barlow, who believes he's committed a mortal sin, comes to Aunt Ester to get his soul washed. Aunt Ester gives Citizen a meal, a job, and a place to stay. She later sets him on a spiritual journey that leads him on a perilous road to redemption.

In 2005, August Wilson had begun writing the tenth and final play in his history cycle. *Radio Golf*, to be set in the 1990s, concerns two golf-loving real-estate developers who plan to destroy the former home of the now familiar clairvoyant Aunt Ester (she also appears in *Two Trains Running*), who is now over three hundred years old.

See also Black Arts Movement; Drama

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SANDRA G. SHANNON (1996)
Updated by author 2005

Wilson, Flip

December 8, 1933
November 25, 1998

Comedian Clerow "Flip" Wilson was born in Jersey City, New Jersey. Abandoned by his mother in 1940, he was placed in foster homes from which he ran away so often that he was sent to reform school. Wilson quit school at the age of sixteen, lied about his age, and joined the U.S. Air Force. He served until 1954.

Wilson then worked as a comic in small clubs and by 1960 was working in New York. An appearance in 1966 on the *Tonight Show* was followed by many others and led to appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show* and *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In,* and to his own special in 1968. NBC starred him in the *Flip Wilson Show,* which ran from September 17, 1970, to June 27, 1974. The program ranked among the top ten.

Wilson was the first black entertainer to host a successful weekly variety show on network television. He was noted for his storytelling and his flamboyant impersonations of characters like the sassy waitress Geraldine.

After Wilson left the show in 1974, he went into semiretirement, appearing in specials and in movies like *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974) and *The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh* (1979). He also starred in a daytime game show and a situation comedy that were failures. In the last decade of his life, he limited his performances to occasional guest appearances on situation comedies. He died of liver cancer.

See also Comedians; Television

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ROBERT L. JOHNS (2001)

Wilson, Fred

August 25, 1954

Fred Wilson was born in the Bronx, New York, and earned his B.F.A. degree from the State University of New York, College at Purchase in 1976. As a young artist he worked temporarily at the Longwoods Art Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Natural History, and the Just Above Midtown Gallery in New York. Since the late 1980s, Wilson has explored the intersection of race discourse and the history of museums through innovative installation art projects that emphasize archiving, collecting, and display. Unlike traditional painting and sculpture, installation art is site-specific, temporary, and designed to surround or interact with the viewer. In 1990, at White Columns Gallery in New York, the artist exhibited *The Other Museum,* a mock-ethnographic display that used African "artifacts" and innovative wall labels to highlight the historical relationship between European colonialism, slavery, and museum collecting practices.

One of Wilson's best-known exhibitions is *Mining the Museum* (1992), which was jointly supported by the Contemporary Museum in Baltimore and the Maryland Historical Society. For this work the artist studied the archives and permanent exhibitions of the Maryland Historical Society in order to reinstall the collection in new, more provocative displays. Wilson brought to light histories that had been buried in the museum's basement for decades, particularly those of African Americans and Native Americans in Maryland. One of the more powerful juxtapositions of the exhibition, *Metalwork 1793–1880*, grouped to-

gether Baltimore repoussé silver vessels with a single pair of iron slave shackles. The interdependence of slave labor and a luxury economy was made evident in the visual contrast of fine silver craftsmanship and abject ironwork. The nearly one-hundred-year time span from 1793 to 1880 also marked the gradual abolition of slavery in the Americas from the 1793 Anti-Slavery Act of Ontario, Canada, to the abolition of slavery in Cuba in 1880.

Since the early 1990s, Fred Wilson has offered critical interpretations of numerous art museums and their collections in North America, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. He has been the recipient of major awards from the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, the American Association of Museums, and the New York State Council on the Arts. He was given a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in 1999. In 2003 Wilson was selected as the United States representative to the Venice Biennale, the second artist of African-American descent granted this prestigious honor. His project for the Biennale mapped the presence of Africans in the city of Venice from the time of the Moors to the present day, taking its title—*Speak of Me as I Am*—from Shakespeare's *Othello*. All of Fred Wilson's artworks offer careful critiques of representation, demonstrating how race discourse and historical relations of power circulate in museums and visual culture.

See also Art in the United States, Contemporary

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JENNIFER A. GONZÁLEZ (2005)

Wilson, Harriet E. Adams

c. 1827
c. 1863

Author Harriet E. Wilson is believed to be the pseudonymous "Our Nig," who wrote what may have been the first novel by an African American published in the United States: *Our Nig; or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North. Showing That Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There* (1859). Some scholars also include her with Maria F. dos Reis, who in 1859 published a novel in Brazil, as the first two women of African descent to publish a novel in any language. "Our Nig's" work describes the life of Alfredo, a mulatto indentured servant, and condemns northern whites for a magnitude of racial prejudice and cruelty more commonly associated with slavery and the South. Three letters presumably written by friends of the novelist are appended to the novel, and it is because of the correspondences between the seemingly supplementary biographical information included there that the novel has been considered semi-autobiographical.

Despite these letters, however, little definite is known about Harriet Wilson's life. For instance, according to the 1850 federal census for the state of New Hampshire, a twenty-two-year-old "Black" (not "mulatto") woman originally from New Hampshire named Harriet Adams lived in the town of Milford with the family of Samuel Boyles, which in part corresponds to information included in the novel. This suggests that Wilson was born about 1827–1828. However, the 1860 federal census for the city of Boston, where Wilson moved in approximately 1855, and where she had her novel printed, lists a "Black" woman named Harriet E. Wilson born in Fredericksburg, Virginia in about 1807–1808.

The appended letters, as well as the end of *Our Nig,* provide details of the author's life between 1850 and 1860, when she lived in Massachusetts and worked as a weaver of straw hats. About 1851 Harriet Adams met Thomas Wilson, a fugitive slave from Virginia, and together they moved to Milford, New Hampshire, and married, perhaps on October 6, 1851. By the time Harriet Wilson gave birth in May or June of 1852 to their son, George Mason Wilson, Thomas Wilson had abandoned his wife and she had gone to a charity establishment in Goffstown, New Hampshire, the Hillsborough County Farm. Thomas Wilson returned and supported his wife and child for a short time, but then suddenly left them again and never returned.

Harriet Wilson, whose health had been bad since she was eighteen, was rescued by a couple who took in and cared for her and her son. When her health failed, Wilson began writing her novel in an effort to make money: "Deserted by kindred, disabled by failing health," she wrote in her preface to *Our Nig,* "I am forced to some experiment, which shall aid me in maintaining myself and child without extinguishing this feeble life." Little is known of Wilson's life after the publication of *Our Nig,* on September 5, 1859. Her son died in New Hampshire in February 1860, and Harriet Wilson died sometime between the death of her son and January 1870.

For more than a hundred years, *Our Nig* was barely noticed. In 1983, however, the critic Henry Louis Gates Jr. raised scholarly interest in Wilson and the novel by arranging to have the book republished, the text being an exact reprint of the 1859 edition.

See also Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.; Literature of the United States

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PETER SCHILLING (1996)

Wilson, William Julius

December 20, 1935

Born in Derry Township, Pennsylvania, to Esco and Pauline Bracy Wilson, sociologist and educator William Wilson received degrees in sociology from Wilberforce University (B.A., 1958), Bowling Green State University (M.A., 1961), and Washington State University (Ph.D., 1966).

Wilson taught at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (1965–1971) and the University of Chicago (1971–1976). While at Chicago he was promoted to full professor in 1975, named chair of the sociology department in 1978, and was named distinguished professor in 1994. The next year he received a rare distinction for a sociologist when he was invited to join the National Academy of Sciences. In 1993 he founded the Center for the Study of Urban Inequality, a permanent organization for poverty research located at the university. Wilson joined Harvard University in 1996, where he was appointed Lewis P. and Linda L. Gayser University Professor in the John F. Kennedy School of Government and later the Malcolm Wiener Professor of Social Policy.

Among his numerous publications, Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978) and *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) are highly regarded by many, stimulating academic and popular debates on race and urban poverty. His book *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (1996) furthers the discussion on poverty in inner cities and diagnoses and prescribes remedies for the ailments in these areas. Wilson's views have proved controversial, for he has supported national health and child care systems, work and training programs similar to those of the New Deal, and training programs for the poor that will allow them to gain employment.

Wilson was the recipient of the 1998 National Medal of Science, the highest scientific honor in the United States. He continues to write and edit books, including the 2002 *Youth in Cities: A Cross-National Perspective.*

See also Black Studies; Economic Condition, U.S.; Sociology

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JESSIE CARNEY SMITH (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Winfrey, Oprah

January 29, 1954

Born on a farm in Kosciusko, Mississippi, to Vernita Lee and Vernon Winfrey, talk-show host and actress Oprah Gail Winfrey was reared by her grandmother for the early part of her life. At age six, she was sent to live with her mother, who worked as a domestic, and two half brothers in Milwaukee. It was in Milwaukee that Winfrey began to display her oratorical gifts, reciting poetry at socials and teas. During her adolescence she began to misbehave to such a degree that she was sent to live with her father in Nashville. Under the strict disciplinary regime imposed by her father, Winfrey started to flourish, distinguishing herself in debate and oratory. At sixteen, she won an Elks Club oratorical contest that awarded her a scholarship to Tennessee State University.

While a freshman in college, Winfrey won the Miss Black Nashville and Miss Black Tennessee pageants. As a

result of this exposure, she received a job offer from a local television station and in her sophomore year became a news anchor at WTVF-TV in Nashville. After graduating in 1976, Winfrey took a job with WJZ-TV in Baltimore as a reporter and co-anchor of the evening news. In 1977 she was switched to updates on local news, which appeared during the ABC national morning show *Good Morning America*. That same year she found her niche as a talk-show host, cohosting WJZ-TV's morning show, *Baltimore Is Talking*.

In 1984 Winfrey moved to Chicago to take over *A.M. Chicago,* a talk show losing in the ratings to Phil Donahue's popular morning program. Within a month Winfrey's ratings were equal to Donahue's. In three months she surpassed him. A year and a half later the show extended to an hour and was renamed *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. The show, which covers a wide range of topics from the lighthearted to the sensational or the tragic, was picked up for national syndication by King World Productions in 1986. By 1993 *The Oprah Winfrey Show* was seen in 99 percent of U.S. television markets and sixty-four countries. Since the show first became eligible in 1986, it has won Emmy awards for best talk show or best talk-show hostess each year except one. In 1998 she withdrew her name from Daytime Emmy Award consideration because that year she was given the Emmy's Lifetime Achievement Award.

In 1985 Winfrey was cast as the strong-willed Sofia in the film version of Alice Walker's novel *The Color Purple,* for which Winfrey received an Oscar nomination. The following year she formed her own production company, Harpo Productions ("Oprah" spelled backwards), to develop projects. In 1989 Winfrey produced and acted in a television miniseries based on Gloria Naylor's novel *The Women of Brewster Place*; in 1993 she starred in and produced the television drama *There Are No Children Here*; and in 1997 she produced and appeared in *Before Women Had Wings.* In 1993 *Forbes* magazine listed Winfrey as America's richest entertainer based on her 1992 and 1993 earnings of approximately $98 million; in 2003 *Forbes* listed her as the first African-American woman to become a billionaire, and by 2005 her net worth was estimated at $1.3 billion.

During the mid-1990s and beyond, Winfrey's career continued to expand. Her talk show remained the most watched daytime show, and she also produced evening interview specials, notably an exclusive interview with the reclusive singer Michael Jackson. She began a wildly successful reading club, the Oprah book club, whose books she promoted on her show. In 1998 she produced and starred in Jonathan Demme's *Beloved,* adapted from Toni Morrison's novel. In 2005 she was executive producer of *Their Eyes Were Watching God,* a television movie based on a novel with the same title written by Zora Neale Hurston. In 2000 she launched *O: The Oprah Winfrey Magazine,* which quickly developed a readership of 2.5 million.

Winfrey's wealth and influence have afforded her the opportunity to pursue numerous philanthropic ventures. In 1998 she launched Oprah's Angel Network, which in its first year provided $3.5 million in college scholarships for students with financial need. Beginning in 2000 the Angel Network donated $100,000 "Use Your Life" awards on the television show each Monday to people who used their lives to better the lives of others. She is also involved with Habitat for Humanity and A Better Chance, a Boston-based program that gives inner-city youths the opportunity to attend college preparatory schools. She has given large grants to organizations such as the United Negro College Fund. She also has made large donations and made benefit appearances for disaster relief after, for example, the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001 and after the tsunami in the South Pacific/Southeast Asia in 2004. In 2002 she was the first recipient of the Bob Hope Humanitarian Award at the Emmy Awards.

See also Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Television

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KENYA DILDAY (1996)
MICHAEL O'NEAL (2005)

Winti in Suriname

Winti is as old as the contacts between the Wild Coast of South Africa and Africa since the 1650s. It has been such a tabooed religious practice that it is difficult to find good studies about what it precisely is. Winti is a lifestyle in which people remain in constant exchange with Suriname. This contact does not exclusively take place in Suriname itself; it can also be in the Netherlands or elsewhere. Most important is that it connects with the place where Winti has developed and acquired its general characteristics, that

is to say with Sranan, the Creole word for the language and the country of Suriname.

The word *Winti* seems to derive from the English word *wind*. A vocabulary published in 1961 in Paramaribo considers *winti* to be a Sranan word for "wind," "frenzy," "ghost," and "spirit." It is immediately followed by *winti-dansi,* or *winti-pré,* indicating the relevance of music and rhythm. The concept of Winti contains the totality of the ghosts and spirits in the Winti pantheon, with Aisa, the *gron-winti,* or the goddess of the earth, as the most important point of reference. The Christian religion has only a marginal influence, and what distinguishes Winti from other American religions is its exclusiveness; almost everything is secret and only accessible to the initiated specialists. The three poles of Winti are the *kra* (the human soul), the *wintis* or gods, as well as the *jorkas,* the ghosts of the dead. They have to be connected in order for practitioners to be able to interpret individual perceptions and human experiences in past and present. For this balance, the Winti-believer needs to consult the *lukuman,* the *bonuman* or *obiahman,* or the *wisiman*. They have knowledge of the invisible connections and can explain, heal, and cure sickness or lack of spiritual orientation. Winti is included in Sranan storytelling, understood by most of the ethnic groups in the past.

Two Surinamese, Charles Wooding and Henri Stephen, have written informative books on Winti. Wooding concentrates on the African influences, whereas Stephen shows that Winti goes through all Surinamese groups and ethnic communities. Many people are afraid of Winti because it makes use of magic. There is good and evil magic, and only the medicine man knows how to handle them properly. The importance of Winti became visible in the eighteenth century. The African-born slave Quassi (c. 1690–1787), a *lukuman* and *bonuman,* was set free and became the most important link for the white government to negotiate with slaves and Maroons. He was celebrated as a god and recognized in Europe because of his specialized knowledge of plants and herbs. Also, narratives written by contemporary Creole writers, such as Edgar Cairo, recur to the description of Winti in Surinamese reality.

See also Religion

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INEKE PHAF-RHEINBERGER (2005)

WOMAN'S ERA

Woman's Era, the first monthly newspaper published by African-American women, was a key factor in the creation of national networks of middle-class black activist women at the turn of the twentieth century. The paper was established in 1894 by Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and her daughter, Florida Ruffin Ridley. The two had founded the Boston Woman's Era Club that same year, and Ruffin served both as the club's president and as editor of the paper until 1903. The paper dealt with issues of politics, family, health, fashion, and community. It had correspondents from around the country, many of whom were renowned activists. Victoria Earle Matthews reported from New York, Fannie Barrier Williams from Chicago, Josephine Silone-Yates from Kansas City, Mary Church Terrell from Washington, D.C., Elizabeth Ensley from Denver, and Alice Ruth Moore (later known as Alice Dunbar-Nelson) from New Orleans.

The paper was of great use in 1895 in calling a meeting to protest a letter insulting the character of black women. Using the vehicle of the *Woman's Era,* Ruffin insisted that African-American women could no longer stand idle while whites asserted that black men were natural rapists and that black women were amoral. Out of this national conference of a hundred women representing ten states came the National Federation of Afro-American Women. The federation pledged itself to deal with these attacks, among other pressing issues. The organization would become part of the larger National Association of Colored Women the following year.

Although the *Woman's Era* did not have the longevity of many other periodicals, it played a key role at a critical time for black women. Ruffin's creation of the paper as a means of linking the work of various women from around the country made possible the creation of such vitally important organizations as the National Association of Colored Women.

See also Journalism; National Association of Colored Women; National Federation of Afro-American Women; Women's Magazines

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JUDITH WEISENFELD (1996)

Women's Magazines

Though absent from most histories of American, African-American, and women's publishing, African-American women's magazines have a long history in the United States. Taken as a group, from their inception to the present, African-American women's magazines have allowed African-American women to find work as journalists, printers, writers, and editors; to define personal as well as group identities; to create a sense of unity by establishing a communication network between women in different regions; to present and comment on world and local events from an African-American female perspective; and to highlight achievements often overlooked and ignored by the white and/or African-American male press. African-American women's magazines have been and continue to be an important part of both American and African-American culture.

If African-American women's magazines are defined as those publications owned, edited, or aimed at an African-American reading public, the first magazine for African-American women was established in 1891. From 1891 to 1950 there were eight African-American women's magazines published for a variety of purposes, and from 1950 to the present another few magazines fit that definition. Some, such as *Ringwood's Journal of African American Fashion* (1891–1894), *Woman's Era* (1894–1897), and *Sepia Socialite* (1936–1938), provided a space where readers who considered themselves educated and refined could, despite geographical distance, mingle with like-minded individuals. Other publications, such as *Half-Century Magazine for the Colored Home and Homemaker* (1916–1925), *Woman's Voice* (1912–1927), and the *Home Magazine* in *Tan Confessions* (1950–1952), prepared African-American women for a place in urban social landscapes and overwhelmingly focused on the significance of consumerism for African-American women within those locales. Still others, like *Our Women and Children*, published by the Black Baptist Association from 1888 to 1891, and *Aframerican Woman's Journal* (1935–1954), attempted to speak to specific political, domestic, or religious aspirations on the part of an African-American female readership. In terms of more contemporary magazines, one of the longest-running publications to target African-American women as readers, *Essence*, initially owned by a group of four African-American men, first appeared in May 1970, and Oprah Winfrey's *O, The Oprah Magazine,* targeting women of all races, began publication in 2000.

The magazines published through the 1950s had relatively small readerships, never reaching more than forty thousand readers each month. However, the importance of those African-American women's magazines does not so much reside in their subscription numbers but rather in the fact that they ask readers to think more deeply about, or in some instances rethink, what they are sure we know about relationships between groups of African Americans during different periods of time and to listen in on intra-racial conversations from a number of historical periods. African-American women's magazines contextualized, portrayed, and communicated societal expectations to an African-American female reading audience. As a result, when taken as a group, these magazines are source material about the lives, thoughts, and political leanings of African-American women.

From the 1970s on, the import of African-American women's magazines shifted. *Essence* magazine's significance lies in its success at becoming a gateway through which mainstream advertisers are able to reach a lucrative group of African-American consumers of both sexes. In that sense, it is a profitable example of American magazine-publishing industry practices, and the magazine's founders were able to succeed at and modernize marketing strategies. Indeed, in 2001 African Americans spent $356 million on books, and *Essence* has the ability to reach upwards of 72 percent of such buyers. Within that same vein, *O* has transformed magazine publishing. Oprah Winfrey and her business partner in the venture, Hearst Publishing, with little advance marketing, were able to sell out the initial newsstand run of 1.6 million copies. In a few short months the publication signed up 1.9 million subscribers (by way of comparison, *American Vogue* has 1.1 million subscribers). Featuring an image of Winfrey, an African-American woman, on the cover of each issue, the magazine outsells more established rivals such as *In Style, Glamour, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Good Housekeeping.*

Whereas the two more contemporary magazines obviously demand more nuanced definitions of ownership and readership than did those African-American women's publications that came before, they also reveal quite a bit about a post–civil rights, post–Black Power, postintegration use and meaning of both race and gender in American

and African-American magazine culture. They communicate that in many ways times have changed. They are a testament to the success of the political movements and struggles of past generations. They make clear that in some areas, such movements have paid tangible dividends. In relation to questions about ownership, marketing strategy, and an ability to firmly locate African Americans within American culture, they are at the same time substantially dependent on what came before, and a world apart.

See also *Woman's Era*; Journalism

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NOLIWE ROOKS (2005)

Women Traders of the Caribbean

Women's market trading activity has a long history in the Caribbean. It began in the earliest days of slavery and remains strong in the present. Anthropologists and historians conclude that this practice is a cultural inheritance from West Africa, brought to the Americas by the enslaved black population. Black women first entered the internal market as hawkers and peddlers for their owners. Eventually, they began to sell for themselves. Higglers, as they became known, sold the surplus of their provision grounds and house gardens (plots of land on which they cultivated their aliments). After emancipation, this practice became rampant with the development of a tradition of small farming, and the distribution of agricultural produce became predominantly women's work. On smaller islands in the eastern part of the region, women have dominated inter-island trade. In St. Lucia, for example, they are known as speculators. They operate on a small scale, traveling to neighboring islands to purchase both local and imported goods. They sell at different points before returning home with other consumer items.

During the late 1970s, in Jamaica, a new type of independent trader emerged as a result of shortages due to the global economic crisis, United States–supported confrontations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and nationally imposed trade restrictions on imports. The ruling People's National Party (PNP) sought to boost local industry and lessen the island's dependence on foreign-made products (such as shoes, bags, canned goods, and alcoholic beverages), which they referred to as "felt needs." Originally known as "suitcase traders" or "foreign higglers," these traders began as importers/exporters of these items that were absent on local shelves. They traveled throughout the Caribbean as well as North and South America where they exported Jamaican products such as music, canned goods, and arts and crafts to earn foreign exchange. Then they purchased goods (e.g., plastics, haberdashery, food items as well as clothing and other dry goods) unavailable in Jamaica, which they sold both wholesale and retail. Without spaces to conduct their activities, they squatted in front of stores, on streets of commercial areas to attract customers. Without any overhead, they sold their items more cheaply than established merchants. In many instances, they became fierce competitors with established businesses. In the early 1980s, the Jamaican government implemented a series of policies to regulate this activity. Traders were required to register with the United Vendors Association (UVA), carry identity cards, and had limited access to foreign exchange. Prior to that, they purchased dollars on the parallel market. In addition, they were officially titled Informal Commercial Importers (ICIs), which distinguished them from higglers. Lastly, special arcades were built to accommodate a significant number of them.

ICIs, like their counterparts throughout the region, abide by some guidelines and find creative ways to circumvent others. Most of their businesses are small in scale with a few employees, who are often extended family members. They use formal and informal networks to facilitate various aspects of their businesses from their buying trips abroad to the bureaucratic process of declaring goods at customs. While traditional market traders are primarily lower-classed individuals, independent importers exist across the class structure. For example, in Barbados, Dominican Republic, and Martinique, professional women—such as stewardesses, informatics agents, bank tellers, and university lecturers—also engage in this business as a sideline to supplement their income. These importers tend to travel infrequently and purchase specific goods for their customers, depending on their destinations. They sell their wares at home or other private settings, which renders them invisible to the state.

Little has changed in terms of social attitudes toward traders since their emergence during slavery. They are

Women stallholders in the marketplace at Nassau, Bahamas, 1938. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

often stereotyped as tricksters and greedy individuals who overcharge for their products. While several among them may control the market on certain items and can therefore charge what the traffic will bear, not all traders share this position. The location of their operations, how competitive the market is, and the scale of their holdings all contribute to the extent of their profit margins. What is definitive about women traders of the region is that they are capitalists who play a role in the global market at multiple levels. For that reason, in many instances, traders are tolerated. Indeed, consumers benefit from the goods they provide, though they remain a nuisance to governments, established merchants, and civil societies. The state usually regards them as a drain on local economy because they take hard currency out of the country and flood the market with imports. Social attitudes toward them tend to be negative. Also, because many import secondary products, they are viewed by the upper classes as contributors to the destruction of local taste. Initially, a notable number of traders fared extremely well and made significant profits. Rumors of their success stories still draw new recruits today. As a result, the market has become saturated, and this activity is no longer as profitable for most participants as it was during the 1980s.

While the surge in independent international trading occurred throughout the Caribbean region, it was most notable in Jamaica, Haiti, and Guyana. The numerative effect that informal traders have had on their national economies remains unclear. Without doubt, however, their impact is significant as their visibility on city streets and country roads attests. The extent of their contribution is hard to determine for multiple reasons. First, traders hardly report their full earnings to governments to avoid full taxation that disregards their periods of losses. Second, outside of regulation, they are rarely recognized by the state. They are often the backbone of nontourist-based economies as they provide employment, sustain households, and reproduce labor power. In addition, they supply goods to the poor at more affordable prices. Third, because independent traders link "formal" and "informal" sectors of the economy, the lines that demarcate legality are blurred. Hence, even existing statistics are inaccurate, due to these clandestine elements. Throughout the region informal economies contribute substantially to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). More specifically, it is estimated that in the year 1999, for example, informal economy accounted for 35 percent of Jamaica's GDP, 60 percent of Haiti's, and 10 percent of the GDP of Trinidad and Tobago.

Their impact on the global economy is more complex. On smaller islands, they are single-handedly responsible for the flow of goods that traverse the region, especially to remote areas without big businesses. Because of their import/export activities, they are directly involved in the circulation of the capital integral to globalization.

Historically, the gender of this trade is not solely a cultural phenomenon, but an economic one as well. It is most common among single-income, female-headed households. Women often turn to this profession when unemployment is high and the state fails to provide them with a social welfare net. For most of these participants, independent trading has become another low-income occupation. Women choose trading despite these shortcomings. Compared to other jobs such as free-trade-zone factory work or housekeeping, trading allows women not only to earn an income but to have considerable autonomy over their daily lives. They often emphasize that they choose this particular occupation because they want to be their own boss.

See also Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM); Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship; Natural Resources of the Caribbean

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GINA ULYSSE (2005)

Women Writers of the Caribbean

In 1831, when Mary Prince published the vivid autobiographical narrative of her experiences as a slave, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave,* black women in the Caribbean and Latin America lived in circumstances that precluded their development as writers. The institution of slavery had been abolished in the British Caribbean in 1834, just three years after Prince's narrative—the first ever published by a black woman in England—had become a best seller with three editions in its first year. Slavery remained alive in other countries in the two regions, however, until 1888, the year it was abolished in Brazil.

The end of slavery did not put an end to the enduring power of the plantation system, nor to the social and economic oppression suffered by people of African ancestry. The lack of access to land for cultivation and restricted access to training and educational opportunities meant that as late as the early years of the twentieth century the literacy rates among former slaves in the Caribbean and Latin America remained as high as 97 percent in rural areas. With some salient exceptions, such as that of Mary Prince, most literary writing remained in the hands of the white or light-skinned upper and middle classes until well into the twentieth century. Whereas the publication of *The History of Mary Prince* played a significant role in the fostering of pro-abolition sentiment in Britain, for example, the most salient antislavery literature in the rest of the region was published by whites. *Sab* (1841), the most powerful antislavery novel in Spanish, for example, was written by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, a white upper-class Cuban woman. In the nineteenth century, for the masses of African-Caribbean women, whose lives were circumscribed by the plantation, a writing career seemed an impossibility.

It is precisely the difficulties inherent in emerging as a writer from the prevailing conditions in the Caribbean and Latin America in the nineteenth century that make the writings of individuals like Mary Prince and Mary Seacole so significant. Prince, the daughter of slaves, was born in Bermuda in 1788. Her life as a slave, which she narrates so lucidly in her autobiography, took her from field hand to the salt mines of Turk Island, where she was taught to read and write by the Moravians. The publication of her book, a remarkable tale of abuse and endurance, was promoted by the Moravians, who saw it as a powerful weapon against the institution of slavery.

Mary Seacole's *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (1857) is in many ways a testament to

how deeply the abolition of slavery had changed conditions for urban black women in the Caribbean by the mid-nineteenth century. Seacole—born Mary Jane Grant in Jamaica in 1805—had learned nursing from her mother, who kept a boarding house for invalid soldiers in Kingston. After the death of her husband in 1844, Seacole, who had already traveled widely throughout the Caribbean and visited England, moved to Las Cruces, Panama, where she ran an inn and developed her knowledge of herbal medicine, gaining renown through her successful treatment for yellow fever. Nursing became the path to fame for Seacole. After unsuccessfully offering her services during the Crimean War (1853–1856) to Florence Nightingale, who was then assembling a contingent of nurses to follow the British Army to the Crimea, Seacole went to the war front and set up the hotel/hospital for which she became famous. *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* was written after her return to England at the conclusion of the war. It was purportedly an attempt to reestablish her finances after her losses during the war, but it became a lively vehicle for her claim to recognition as a woman of African descent in the midst of an empire that sought to reduce her to a minor role. The text pits her against Nightingale, and she represents herself as a heroine and claims for herself equal, if not higher, status than Nightingale, since she had done better nursing with surer skills and fewer resources—though she had been turned down by Nightingale for what she hinted were racial objections. She marshaled her fame into a position as masseuse to Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, and was received by Queen Victoria.

The success of Prince and Seacole as writers was built on the autobiographical element in their work. They did not offer their readers the creative work of their imagination, but served as witnesses who claimed the truth of testimony. As such, their work could fit into the nineteenth-century canon not as "literature," but as a "slave narrative" and the "adventures" of a colorful character that readers had come to know through newspaper reports about the Crimean War. They remained the only women of African descent writing in the Caribbean or Latin America in the nineteenth century.

The circumstances that made Prince and Seacole such rarities as writing women in the nineteenth century prevailed through the early decades of the twentieth. During this period, the writer most associated with the representation of African-Caribbean culture, Lydia Cabrera (1899–1999) was not a woman of African descent, but a *mundele* (white woman) of the Cuban upper middle class. Cabrera, a mostly self-trained ethnologist and anthropologist, is still considered a leading authority on Afro-Cuban religion, culture, and healing traditions. Having established long-lasting relationships with the black servants in her parents' house, she used the African folklore she learned from them as the basis for stories she described as "transpositions." Methodologically, she would use African folk tales as the basis of her narratives, recreating and altering elements, and fusing them with European folk narratives and tales derived from Caribbean and Latin American colonial history. Her most famous work of fiction, *Cuentos negros de Cuba* (1940), was followed in 1954 by her seminal ethnographic work, *El Monte,* which remains a basic text for the study of traditional Santería and healing practices in Cuba.

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Cabrera's writings were not isolated phenomena, however. They were important texts in an exploration of the African roots of Caribbean cultures, and they would have a profound impact on the development of decolonization movements and on the process of national formation that followed independence in the 1950s and 1960s.

It was from the islands at the forefront of that decolonization movement that the first generation of twentieth-century African-Caribbean women writers emerged. In Jamaica, Una Marson (1905–1965), the Anglophone Caribbean's first major poet and a social activist who was once Haile Selassie's secretary, produced a poetry in which she mixed Calypsonian rhythms and the cadences of local speech in a conscious attempt to create a poetry true to Jamaica's Africa-derived culture. She would go on to conceive and direct the influential BBC Radio show *Caribbean Voices*, which offered a space for the dissemination of Caribbean writing in London. Among the writers for whom *Caribbean Voices* became a crucial vehicle was Jamaica's beloved poet and folklorist Louise Bennett ("Miss Lou," 1919–), an important figure in the development of a Caribbean literature in English that sought to break away from British models to become the conduit for local culture and language. Miss Lou's best-known books of poems, *Jamaica Labrish* (1966) and *Anancy and Miss Lou* (1979), use Jamaican Creole as an affirmation of what she calls "diasporic wisdom."

Francophone writers of Marson's and Bennet's generation, such as Mayotte Capécia (1928–1953), Michèle Lacrosil (1915–), and Jacqueline Manicom (1938–1976) focused instead on voicing the historical plight of the Caribbean mulatto, adrift between the black masses and the longed-for acceptance into the world of whites. The protagonists of their novels—of Capécia's *Je suis martiniquaise* (1948), Lacrosil's *Sapotille et le serin d'argile* (1960), and Manicom's *Mon examen de blanc* (1972)—are mulatto women burdened by a feeling of inferiority in society who thus seek to identify themselves with the whites, to their eventual detriment. Their quest for autonomy and racial identity is meant to mirror the African-Caribbean woman's problems of race, gender, class, and social power. Yet they fail to strike a balance between personal autonomy and acceptance as women of mixed race within their communities.

The most significant African-Caribbean writer of this generation is the Haitian novelist Marie Chauvet (1916–1973), the author of five novels. The two considered her best are *Amour, Colère, et Folie* (1968) and *Fonds-des-nègres* (1960). Chauvet, like her male contemporaries Seymour Pradel and Jacques-Stéphen Alexis, waged a frontal battle against the violence, hunger, and oppression that became the reality of life for most Haitians under the dictatorship of François (Papa Doc) Duvalier and that of his son, Jean-Claude. Her trilogy *Amour, Colère, et Folie* offers a devastating indictment of tyranny and repression in Haiti, seen primarily through the abuse and torture of the female body. Her dissection of the impact on a middle-class Port-au-Prince family of the appropriation of their lands by the Tonton Macoutes (the Duvaliers' dreaded militia) in *Colère* is the most acute and detailed indictment of the complex web of social, historical, and political forces that sustained the Duvaliers' extended dictatorship. Chauvet's blend of eroticism, social realism, and political engagement makes hers a unique voice in Caribbean writing. Her *Fonds-des-nègres* is the most nuanced and compelling literary depiction of the importance of Vodou in Haitian culture and of its powerful hold on the hearts of the Haitian people.

The generation that followed Chauvet's—that of writers born after World War II who began to write in the 1960s and 1970s—was part of a veritable explosion in Caribbean women's writing. During the 1970s, women's voices moved into the mainstream of literary activity in the region after decades of relative silence and neglect. Women of African descent moved for the first time in Caribbean literary history into the center of literary production, bringing racial oppression and African culture into the forefront. In their work, these women writers sought to articulate their gendered position in Caribbean societies through narratives that told of their search for "agency" in their personal and social lives.

The earliest texts by this generation of writers were the five great female bildungsroman (novels of development) of Anglophone Caribbean literary history: Merle Hodges's *Crick Crack Monkey* (1970), Zee Edgell's *Beka Lamb* (1982), Michelle Cliff's *Abeng* (1984), and Jamaica Kincaid's *Annie John* (1986). Hodge, born in Trinidad in 1944, writes in *Crick Crack Monkey* about the plight of a young girl, Tee, who must leave her native rural village, with its African-derived values and culture, to live with her aunt in an unfamiliar city marked by its anglicized culture. Tee's painful trajectory allows Hodges to trace the devastating psychological costs of the imposition of colonial mores and racial categories on a young black girl. The novel has become a classic of West Indian fiction, and it is often compared with Edgell's *Beka Lamb,* with which it shares many thematic elements.

Edgell, born in British Honduras in 1940, sought in *Beka Lamb*—published the year after her country became the newly independent nation of Belize—to trace her country's complex social and racial stratification through her protagonist Beka, a young black girl in a multiethnic country. Edgell's interest in portraying the political dimensions of the struggle to create new nations out of former Caribbean and Latin American colonies through her central characters is echoed by the Jamaican writer Michelle Cliff (1946–) in *Abeng* and her subsequent novels. Cliff's central concern is that of portraying the hybrid na-

ture of identity in former colonies where racial and social categories have led women to problematic allegiances and psychological confusion. In *Abeng,* Cliff traces the need to recover and acknowledge the individual's and the nation's African past. The story is told through the struggles of the protagonist Clare—a young light-skinned girl of the impoverished middle class—to establish her identity as a Jamaican. Cliff, a fierce critic of her country's class hierarchies and dependence on color stratification, uses the form of the bildungsroman to great effect in dissecting the destructive impact of these hierarchies on the developing identities of the young.

These same concerns appear, although in more muted and less overtly political form, in Kincaid's *Annie John.* Kincaid, born in Antigua in 1949, sought in her autobiographical first novel to explore the conflict experienced by Annie when her deep affection for her mother and for her island nation (which had gained its independence in 1981) needed to give way to separation and independence. Through carefully articulated parallels between Annie's mother and British colonialism, Kincaid subtly weaves her depiction of the complexities of growing up female in a colonial environment. Kincaid would move on from *Annie John* to become one of the most widely read of Caribbean writers. She is the author of *Lucy* (1990), *A Small Place* (1988), *The Autobiography of My Mother* (1996), *My Brother* (1997), and *Mr. Potter* (2002).

Closely linked to this generation of authors of bildungsromans are two of Jamaica's most successful writers: Erna Brodber (1940–) and Olive Senior (1941–). Senior, a master storyteller, is the author of three collections of short stories: *Summer Lightning* (1986), *Arrival of the Snake-Woman* (1989), and *Discerner of Hearts* (1995). Her writing—at times autobiographical but always rooted in her experiences as a rural Jamaican—is deeply committed to exploring the Caribbean region's struggles for definition after centuries of colonial rule, which she sees as her duty as a writer. Olive, the daughter of peasant farmers, grew up with affluent relatives whose way of life and mores were quite different from those of her rural childhood. In stories like "Bright Thursdays," where she recounts the travails of a child like herself trying to adapt to the ways and notions of rich town relatives, Senior's talent for characterization and for recreating the cadences of everyday speech shine through. Her stories have been praised for their delicate exploration of the human spirit to face adversity, and for their insightful explorations of relationships across race, class, and gender differences.

Erna Brodber is the author of three novels: *Jane and Louisa Will Soon Come Home* (1980), *Myal* (1988), and *Louisiana* (1994). Her concerns as a writer were influenced by her growing up in a family of committed community activists and by contact with the Black Power and women's liberation movements while studying in the United States. A social scientist by training, her first novels were conceived as test cases to help her students understand the dangers of losing touch with community values and one's native culture. Brodber is, above all, interested in showing how characters who have strayed from their culture and community, like light-skinned Ella in *Myal,* can be healed through the combined efforts of a diverse but unified community.

While women writers in the Anglophone Caribbean have occupied center stage since the 1980s, writers from the Francophone Caribbean have struggled for a readership and international recognition, remaining in the periphery of a literature dominated by Edouard Glissant and later the members of the Creolité movement—Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant among them. The two names most immediately recognized are those of Maryse Condé (Guadeloupe, 1934–) and Simone Schwarz-Bart (Guadeloupe, 1938–).

Condé is a prolific and widely translated author whose novels have addressed a variety of topics, from Africa's epic past in her historical novel *Sègou* (1984–1985), through the history of witchcraft in the United States (*Moi, Tituba, sorciére noire de Salem,* 1986), to a rewriting of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (*La migration des coeurs*, 1995). Her first novel, *Hérémakhonon,* the story of a young woman seeking her roots in Africa, appeared in 1976. Its exploration of the confrontation between a naive young woman from the diaspora seeking her identity in Africa only to come to terms with political corruption and profound disillusionment is reprised in *Une saison à Rihata* (1981). Condé's central concern as a writer is that of exploring the historical and mythical links between Africa and the nations of the diaspora through the prism of a painful history of European imperialism and the shadow of contemporary Africa as a continent of troubled and often corrupt nations.

Simone Schwarz-Bart is the author of four novels, among them *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* (with her husband André Schwarz-Bart, 1967), *Ti Jean l'horizon* (1979), and *Pluie et vent sur Telumée miracle* (1979). A writer concerned with the many diasporas of the twentieth century, she was encouraged to write by her husband, the author of *Le dernier des justes* (1959), which charts the history of a Jewish family since the year 1000. Together they produced *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* (1967), which tells the story of Mariotte, a Martiniquan woman whose search for her own identity and her alienation from French society is told from her confinement in an asylum

Maryse Condé. *Born in Guadeloupe in 1934, Condé is the author of novels, historical fiction, plays, and other works generally centering on the relationship between the individual and society, particularly in the societies of Guadeloupe, other Caribbean lands, and equatorial Africa.* PHOTOGRAPH BY JERRY BAUER. © JERRY BAUER. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

for the aging. The novel was meant as the first of a cycle of seven novels covering the period between slavery and the present in the Antilles. Their second collaboration produced *La mulâtresse solitude* (1972). Simone Schwarz-Bart's first solo contribution to this project, *Pluie et vent sur Telumée miracle* (1972), the moving story of a young woman brought to the edge of madness by alienation and heartbreak—and of her healing through the African-derived practices and rituals of her grandmother—was praised by readers and critics for its lyrical examination of a woman's struggle to come to terms with herself and her island, as well as for the insightful rendering of the history of the Caribbean in the twentieth century through the eyes of a peasant woman. Her fourth novel, *Ti Jean l'horizon* (1979) fuses magical realism and folk myth to tell the story of a legendary Guadeloupean folk hero.

Whereas women of African descent have been able to maintain central positions in the literary histories of the Anglophone and Francophone Caribbean, the same cannot be said about writing in the Spanish-speaking Antilles, where literature by women continues to develop primarily among white or light-skinned women like Rosario Ferré, Magali García Ramis, Daína Chaviano, Zoé Valdés, and Angela Hernández. Ironically, the Cuban Revolution, despite its efforts to give a voice to the formerly oppressed masses of former cane workers, has produced only one Afro-Cuban writer of note, Nancy Morejón.

Morejón, Cuba's best known and most widely translated contemporary poet, was born in 1944. She was the first Afro-Cuban to graduate from the University of Havana. Her work—which is collected in *Mirar adentro* (2000)—addresses topics such as Cuba's Afro-Cuban identity, folklore and ethnicity, history, gender and race, and sociopolitical issues. Her poems, beginning with her most famous and most-often anthologized, "Mujer negra," incorporate the rhythm and language of Afro-Cuban speech and music while insisting that blackness is an integral part of the broader Cuban literary tradition. Working within the Afro-Antillean tradition established by Nicolás Guillén, her poems celebrate the hybrid nature of Cuban culture and explore its connections to the broader Caribbean and Latin American cultures. Critics have noted her use of humor as a vehicle for the presentation of subtle and nuanced critiques of the history of imperialism in the Caribbean, indictments of slavery and its impact on social development in the region, and the inhumane treatment of the oppressed. Her books include *Piedra pulida* (1986), *Elogio y paisaje* (1997), and *La Quinta de los Molinos* (2000).

In Puerto Rico, Ana Lydia Vega's often hilarious short stories—collected in *Encancaranublado y otros cuentos de naufragio* (1992) and *Pasión de historia y otras historias de pasión* (1987)—set the tone for Puerto Rican feminist literature in the 1980s. Vega addresses questions of race as part of her efforts at voicing the concerns of the poor and oppressed classes with which she identifies. Her stories depicting the plight of Haitians as a despised black group among lighter-skinned mulatto Antilleans are among the best of her work. The one writer to make African-Caribbean culture the very center of her work, however, has been Mayra Montero, who was born in Cuba to a white family and has been a resident of Puerto Rico most of her life. Her work bears mentioning here because of her commitment to laying bare the Haitian people's struggle against repression and poverty. This commitment was already evident in her first novel, *La trenza de la hermosa luna* (1987), a beautifully rendered tale of an exile's return to Haiti after twenty years as a wandering sailor, including the transformation that leads him from disillusionment to passionate commitment to action against the Duvalier regime. In *Del rojo de tu sombra* (1992), Montero unveils the

vicious and corrupt politics and African-derived religious traditions that link the Dominican Republic and Haiti, despite the enmity that has existed between the countries for centuries. In *Tú, la oscuridad* (1995) she uncovers a new and haunting postcolonial space built upon the conflict between a scientific and an animistic worldview. This space is marked by the extinction of species due to a collapsing environment; the troubled landscape of Haiti, peopled with zombies and other frightening, other-worldly creatures; and political corruption, violence, and religious turmoil.

Of the new generation of Puerto Rican writers that followed in the wake of Rosario Ferré, Magali García Ramis, and Ana Lydia Vega, Mayra Santos-Febres (1966–), a Puerto Rican of African descent, is the most accomplished. Known as a poet—she has published a number of poetry books, including *El orden escapado* (1991), *Anamú y manigua* (1991), and *Tercer mundo* (2000)—she emerged in the first years of the twenty-first century as a gifted prose writer. The texts of Santos-Febres's short stories, collected in *Pez de vidrio* and *El cuerpo correcto,* are erotic urban vignettes about desire and its frustration as they play themselves out in contemporary Puerto Rico. Her novel *Sirena Selena vestida de pena* (2000), the story of a gay teenage boy earning a living on the streets, and of the transvestite who recognizes the crystalline sweetness of his singing voice and helps him become a famous *travestí* in the Dominican Republic, is one of the best narratives to come out of the Caribbean in many years. Santos-Febres represents the bright future of Africa-Caribbean women's writing.

See also Bennett, Louise; Brodber, Erna; Condé, Maryse; Danticat, Edwidge; Kincaid, Jamaica; Literature of Haiti; Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean; Marson, Una; Morejón, Nancy; Prince, Mary; Santos-Febres, Mayra; Seacole, Mary; Wynter, Sylvia

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lizabeth paravisini-gebert (2005)

Wonder, Stevie (Morris, Stevland)

May 13, 1950

Born Stevland Morris on May 13, 1950, in Saginaw, Michigan, singer and songwriter Stevie Wonder has been blind since birth. He grew up in Detroit and by the age of nine had mastered the harmonica, drums, bongos, and piano. His early influences included rhythm-and-blues artists B. B. King and Ray Charles. Once his youthful talent as a musician and composer was discerned, Berry Gordy signed him to Hitsville, U.S.A. (later known as Motown) in 1961. He was soon dubbed "Little Stevie Wonder" and in 1963 achieved the first of many number one pop singles with "Fingertips—Pt. 2," a live recording featuring blues-flavored harmonica solos. The album of the same year, *Twelve-Year-Old Genius,* was Motown's first number one pop album. From 1964 to 1971 Wonder had several top

twenty hits, including "Uptight (Everything's Alright)" (1966), "Mon Cherie Amour" (1969), and "Signed, Sealed, Delivered I'm Yours" (1970), cowritten with Syreeta Wright, to whom he was married for eighteen months.

In 1971 at the age of twenty-one, Wonder obtained a release from his Motown contract that allowed him to break free of the strict Motown production sound. With his substantial earnings he employed the latest electronic technology, the ARP and Moog synthesizers, to record original material for future use, playing most of the instruments himself. That same year he negotiated a new contract with Motown for complete artistic control over his career and production. The album *Music in My Mind* that followed was the first fruit of his new artistic freedom. In 1975 he renegotiated with Motown for an unprecedented $13 million advance for a seven-year contract.

Wonder's humanitarian interests have charged his music since the early 1970s. His material has consistently reflected an effort to incorporate contemporary musical trends (reggae and rap) and social commentary that has given a voice to the evolution of American black consciousness. This is demonstrated in "Living for the City" (1973), a ghetto-dweller's narrative; "Happy Birthday" (1980), the anthem for a nationwide appeal to honor Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as a national holiday; "Don't Drive Drunk" (1984); and "It's Wrong," (1985), a critique of South African apartheid. He also supported such causes as the elimination of world hunger (U.S.A. for Africa's recording "We Are the World"), AIDS research ("That's What Friends Are For" with singer Dionne Warwick and friends, 1987), and cancer research.

Wonder's popularity has been strengthened by his scores for various films, including *The Woman in Red* (1984), which won an Oscar for Best Original Song ("I Just Called to Say I Love You") and *Jungle Fever* (1991), a film about interracial relationships by Spike Lee. Wonder has been the recipient of more than eighteen Grammys, eighteen gold records, five platinum records, and five gold albums. He was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame in 1982. In 1996 he won a Lifetime Achievement Award and two Grammies for his album *Conversation Peace.* In 2004 he received the Johnny Mercer Award from the National Academy of Popular Music/Songwriters Hall of Fame, he released the album *Time 2 Love,* and he won the Century Award at the *Billboard* Music Awards.

See also Rhythm and Blues

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KYRA D. GAUNT (1996)
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Woodford Square

Woodford Square, previously known as Brunswick Square, is the enclosed space that opens up across the street from the Red House, the edifice housing the government of Trinidad and Tobago. It was named after Sir Ralph Woodford, who was governor of the colony between 1813 and 1826. The square has been used by many anticolonialists to mount campaigns against the colonial establishment. Many of the country's protest leaders first hoisted their banners in Woodford Square, including Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, the labor leader who in the 1930s became known as the King of Woodford Square.

A New King of Woodford Square

In 1955, Dr. Eric Williams became the new King of Woodford Square. He was a radical, anticolonial Trinidadian scholar and the author of *Capitalism and Slavery,* the classic study of emancipation in the Anglophone Caribbean. Williams was employed by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, an organization sponsored and supported by the British, French, American, and Dutch governments, all of whom had colonies in the region. Williams's writings and public speeches did not sit well with the plantation elites in the region, or with the expatriate officials of the commission, who resented his radical anticolonial analyses of what colonialism meant for the peoples of the region. They were equally unhappy with his arguments about the need to West Indianize the school curriculum and the public services, and with his views on restructuring Caribbean economies to make them less mercantilist and less linked to the industrial production of Europe in general and Britain in particular—views he developed in his groundbreaking 1942 book *The Negro in the Caribbean.*

Williams's contract with the commission was not renewed when it expired in June 1955. He was instead offered a one-year extension, which meant that he was either on probation or being provoked into resignation. Williams assumed the latter and resigned, turning his energies toward politics. He had anticipated the commission's action and written to Norman Manley, the premier of Jamai-

ca, five months earlier, telling him that "there is no doubt that throwing my hat in the ring will be a sensation. . . . Elections are to be postponed until September 1956; this will give me more time. . . . I am immersed in a vast adult education programme . . . [and] this will keep my name before the public."

Following his dismissal, Williams took his case to the people of Trinidad and Tobago in Woodford Square, delivering a speech to an audience of 10,000 that effectively launched his political career.

Addressing the question of why, if he believed the commission was an imperialist agency, he had sought to become its secretary general, he explained:

> I tolerated those conditions for over twelve years [because] I represented . . . the cause of the West Indian people. I also had more personal reasons. My connection with the Commission brought me into close contact with present problems in the territories, the study of whose history has been the principal purpose of my adult life, while my association with representatives of the metropolitan governments enabled me to understand, as I could not otherwise have understood, the mess in which the West Indies find themselves today.

Williams went on to say:

> I was born here, and I stay with the people of Trinidad and Tobago, who educated me free of charge for nine years at Queen's Royal College and for five years at Oxford, who have made me whatever I am, and who have been the victims of the very pressures which I have been fighting against for twelve years. . . . I am going to let down my bucket where I am, right here with you in the British West Indies. (*My Relations With the Caribbean Commission*)

The speech was a brilliant apologia. He had cast himself in the role of the providential messiah who had been preparing himself in the wilderness of the commission so that he might with greater effectiveness set his people free.

Educating a Generation

Following his dismissal from the commission and his resignation from Howard University, where he held the post of associate professor (from which he was on leave), Williams delivered more than a hundred lectures in Woodford Square and at other venues in the towns of San Fernando, Couva, Tunapuna, Point Fortin, Sangre Grande, Fyzabad, and Arima. The lectures dealt with a wide range of burning public issues, including the Federation of the West Indies, the need for party politics, and constitutional reform. In these lectures, Williams never patronized his audiences or simplified his presentations for the benefit of the least educated. If anything, his lectures were pitched at too high a level. Williams, however, believed that his historic mission was to raise the level of public education and bring university-type education to the public square, where it properly belonged. As he told the cheering crowd:

> The age of exclusiveness in university education is gone forever, though our West Indian University College perversely refuses to recognize this. Somebody once said that all that was needed for a university was a book and the branch of a tree; someone else went further and said that a university should be a university in overalls. With a bandstand, a microphone, a large audience in slacks and hot shirts, a topical subject for discussion, the open air and a beautiful tropical night, we have all the essentials of a university. Now that I have resigned my position at Howard University in the U.S.A., the only university in which I shall lecture in future is the University of Woodford Square and its several branches throughout the length and breadth of Trinidad and Tobago.

The University of Woodford Square

From 1955 to 1965, Williams made the people's political education the main plank in his political platform. As he said in his *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*:

> The PNM [People's National Movement] organised what has now become famous in many parts of the world, the University of Woodford Square with constituent colleges in most of the principal centers of population in the country. The political education dispensed to the population in those centers of political learning was of a high order and concentrated from the outset on placing Trinidad and Tobago within the current of the great international movements for democracy and self-government (1964, p. 243).

The "University of Woodford Square," the cradle of Trinidad nationalism, was closed in 1970 in the wake of the black power revolution to prevent it from being used by radical Black Power elements for their protest meetings. Although the King of Woodford Square returned to the lecture podium from time to time after 1970, the students had in effect chased Williams from the professor's chair.

Ironically, Williams had achieved his goal: He had educated a generation, and it had graduated politically, thanks to his tutelage.

See also International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean; Williams, Eric

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SELWYN RYAN (2005)

Woodruff, Hale

August 26, 1900
September 10, 1980

Born in Cairo, Illinois, Hale Aspacio Woodruff, a painter and educator, moved with his mother to Nashville, Tennessee, where he attended public schools. In 1920 he moved to Indianapolis to study at the John Herron Art Institute while working part-time as a political cartoonist for the black newspaper the *Indiana Ledger*. In 1927 he traveled to Europe and lived in France for the next four years. He studied with the African-American painter Henry O. Tanner and at the Académie Scandinave and Académie Moderne in 1927 and 1928. Like other American artists who sought an education in the center of the art world, Woodruff spent his time recapitulating the succession of avant-garde art movements of the previous fifty years. His landscapes and figure paintings first synthesized elements of the late-nineteenth-century styles of impressionism and postimpressionism in their interest in the nonrealistic shifts of color and the manipulation of the texture of the brushstroke. His key work of the period, *The Card Players* (1930; repainted in 1978), plays on the distortions of figure and space found in the work of Paul Cézanne and the cubists Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque. This work emphasizes Woodruff's debt to African art (which had also been a source for the cubists) in the masklike nature of the faces. Woodruff had first encountered African art in Indianapolis in the early 1920s, when he saw one of the first books on the subject. As it was written in German, he could not read it, but he was intrigued by the objects. Woodruff and the African-American philosopher and teacher Dr. Alain Locke visited flea markets in Paris, where the artist bought his first works of African art.

In 1931 Woodruff returned to the United States to found the art department at Atlanta University. Through his pioneering efforts, the national African-American arts community developed the kind of cohesion that previously had been lacking. Woodruff himself taught painting, drawing, and printmaking. To teach sculpture, he recruited the artist Nancy Elizabeth Prophet. The works that came from the department's faculty and students came to be known as the "Atlanta School" because their subjects were the African-American population of that city. Fully representational with modernist nuances, they fall into the style of American regionalism practiced throughout the country at that time. The use of woodcuts and linoleum prints added a populist tone to these works, which dealt with everyday life. Besides teaching, he brought to Atlanta University exhibitions of a wide range of works, including those of historical and contemporary black artists and the Harmon Foundation exhibitions, providing a unique opportunity for the entire black Atlanta community, since the local art museum was then segregated. The year 1942 saw the initiation of the Atlanta University Annuals, a national juried exhibition for black artists that expanded opportunities for many who were frequently excluded from the American art scene. Woodruff's legacy can be seen in the remarkable list of his students—Frederick Flemister, Eugene Grigsby, Wilmer Jennings, and Hayward Oubré—and of the artists who showed in the Annuals, including Charles Alston, Lois Mailou Jones, Elizabeth Catlett, Claude Clark, Ernest Crichlow, Aaron Douglas, William H. Johnson, Norman Lewis, Hughie Lee-Smith, Jacob Lawrence, and Charles White. The exhibitions continued until 1970.

During this same period, Woodruff, as part of his efforts to present a populist art, produced a series of murals. Two of his inspirations were the murals placed in public buildings across the country by WPA artists, and the Mexican mural movement. Woodruff himself received a grant to study with Diego Rivera for six weeks in the summer of 1934, when he assisted in fresco painting. After completing two WPA murals, he painted the major work of this period, the *Amistad Murals* (1938–1939) at Talladega College (Alabama). Designed in the boldly figurative style

associated with social realism, the murals depict the mutiny led by Cinqué aboard the slave ship *Amistad* in 1834 and the subsequent trial and repatriation of the Africans. Other mural projects included *The Founding of Talladega College* (1938–1939), murals at the Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company (Los Angeles) on the contribution of blacks to the development of California (1948), and *The Art of the Negro* for Atlanta University (1950–1951).

In 1946, after receiving a two-year Julius Rosenwald Foundation Fellowship to study in New York (1943–1945), Woodruff moved to that city permanently to teach in the art education department of New York University. The move was not a rejection of the South, but came as an attempt by Woodruff to be part of the new art capital, which had shifted from Paris to New York. Woodruff changed his style from that of a figurative painter of the American scene to a practitioner of the ideas of abstract expressionism. While employing the gestural spontaneity of that style, he incorporated design elements from the African art he had studied since his student days in Indianapolis. Worked into his compositions are motifs from a variety of African cultural objects, including Asante goldweights, Dogon masks, and Yoruba Shango implements—a kind of aesthetic Pan-Africanism. This, the third major style of his career, demonstrates the adaptability of an artist always open to new currents in both the aesthetic and political worlds. He continued to be supportive of African-American artists by being one of the founders in 1963 of Spiral, a group of black New York artists (including Charles Alston, Emma Amos, Romare Bearden, Norman Lewis, and Richard Mayhew) who sought to weave the visual arts into the fabric of the civil rights struggle.

Woodruff received awards from the Harmon Foundation in 1926, 1928 and 1929, 1931, 1933, and 1935, and an Atlanta University Purchase Prize in 1955. He received a Great Teacher Award at NYU in 1966 and became professor emeritus in 1968.

See also Painting and Sculpture; Tanner, Henry Ossawa

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HELEN M. SHANNON (1996)

Woods, Tiger

December 30, 1975

Eldrick “Tiger” Woods is the most acclaimed golfer of African-American ancestry to compete on the Professional Golfers’ Association (PGA) tour. His enormous success is attributable to his great talent and personal appeal, especially among young people. Woods’s greatest achievement thus far is his 1997 victory in the prestigious Masters Tournament by a record margin of 12 strokes. He was the youngest Masters champion in history.

Born and raised in Cypress, California, Woods became interested in golf at a young age. At two he putted against Bob Hope on the *Mike Douglas Show*. By seventeen he had won three U.S. Junior Amateur Championships (1991–1993). His come-from-behind victory at the 1996 U.S. Amateur Championship capped an impressive amateur career including the NCAA title and three successive U.S. Amateur victories.

Woods turned professional in August 1996, hoping to earn enough money in eight tournaments ($150,000) to qualify for the 1997 PGA Tour. He stunned the golf world by winning the Las Vegas Invitational and the Disney/Oldsmobile Classic, earning $790,594 and finishing twenty-fifth on the money list. He was the PGA Tour’s 1996 Rookie of the Year.

Apart from his Masters victory, Woods won another four tournaments in 1997 including the Mercedes Championship, the Asian Honda Classic in Thailand, the GTE Byron Nelson Classic, the Motorola Western Open, and the Masters. He finished 1997 with a record $2,066,833—a PGA Tour record for single season earnings—and was selected 1997 Player of the Year by the PGA Tour, PGA of America, and Golf Writers Association of America. The Associated Press chose Woods as the 1997 Male Athlete of the Year.

Woods’s success continued through the rest of the decade and beyond. By the end of the 1990s he had won twenty-four professional tournaments, and his total earnings approached $14 million. In 2000 he won ten tournaments, including the British Open, the U.S. Open, and the

Eldrick "Tiger" Woods. *Woods made history in 1997 as the youngest player and first African American to win the prestigious Masters Tournament.* PHOTOGRAPH BY DIEGO GIUDICE. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

PGA. In 2001 he won the Masters again, and in 2002 he repeated as Masters and U.S. Open champion. In 2003 he began to cool off a little, with five wins that year but no Grand Slam wins. In 2004 he had only one tournament win, but he seemed to be regaining his form in early 2005 with wins in the Buick Invitational and Ford Championship at Doral.

See also Sports

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JILL LECTKA (1996)
Updated by publisher 2005

Woodson, Carter G.

December 19, 1875
April 3, 1950

The historian and educator Carter Godwin Woodson was born in New Canton, in Buckingham County, Virginia. Woodson probably descended from slaves held by Dr. John Woodson, who migrated from Devonshire, England, to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. He was the first and only black American of slave parents to earn a Ph.D. in history. After the Civil War, Woodson's grandfather and father, who were skilled carpenters, were forced into sharecropping. After saving for many years, the family purchased land and eked out a meager living in the late 1870s and 1880s.

Although they were poor, James Henry and Anne Eliza Woodson instilled in their son high morality and strong character through religious teachings, and they also gave him a thirst for education. One of nine children, he was the youngest boy and a frail child. As such, he purportedly was his mother's favorite and was sheltered. He belonged to that first generation of blacks whose mothers did not have to curry favor with whites to provide an education for their children. As a boy, Woodson worked on the family farm, and in his teens he was an agricultural day laborer. In the late 1880s the family moved to West Virginia, where Woodson's father worked in railroad construction and Woodson worked as a coal miner in Fayette County. In 1895, at the age of twenty, Woodson enrolled at Frederick Douglass High School. Perhaps because he was older than the rest of the students and felt that he needed to catch up, he completed four years of course work in two years and graduated in 1897. He then enrolled at Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, which had been founded by abolitionists in the 1850s for the education of ex-slaves. He briefly attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, but graduated from Berea College in 1903, just a year before Kentucky would pass the infamous "Day Law," which prohibited interracial education. Woodson then briefly taught at Frederick Douglass High School. Because of his belief in the uplifting power of education, and because of the opportunity to travel to another country to observe and experience its culture firsthand, he decided to accept a teaching post in the Philippines, remaining there from 1903 to 1907.

Experiences as a college student and high school teacher expanded and influenced Woodson's worldview and shaped his ideas about the ways in which education could transform society, improve race relations, and benefit the lower classes. Determined to obtain additional edu-

> **Carter G. Woodson**
>
> "If a race has no history, if it has no worthwhile tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world, and it stands in danger of being exterminated."

cation, he enrolled in correspondence courses at the University of Chicago. By 1907 he was enrolled there as a full-time student, earning both a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in European history. His thesis examined French diplomatic policy toward Germany in the eighteenth century. He then attended Harvard University, matriculating in 1909 and earning his Ph.D. in history in 1912. He studied with Edward Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Frederick Jackson Turner, the latter of whom had moved from the University of Wisconsin to Harvard in 1910. Turner influenced the interpretation Woodson advanced in his dissertation, which was a study of the events leading to secession in West Virginia after the Civil War broke out. Unfortunately, Woodson never published the dissertation.

Woodson taught in the Washington, D.C., public schools, at Howard University, and at West Virginia Collegiate Institute. In 1915, in Chicago, he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (now the Association for the Study of African American Life and History), and began the work that sustained him for the rest of his career. Indeed, his life was given over to the pursuit of truth about the African and African-American pasts. He later founded the *Journal of Negro History* (now the *Journal of African American History*), the *Negro History Bulletin* (now the *Black History Bulletin*), and the *Associated Publishers.* In addition, he launched the annual celebration of Negro History Week in February 1926, and he had a distinguished publishing career as a scholar of African-American history.

After the publication in 1915 of *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861,* his first book, Woodson began a scholarly career that, even if judged by output alone, very few of his contemporaries or successors could match. By 1947, when the ninth edition of his textbook *The Negro in Our History* appeared, Woodson had published four monographs, five textbooks, five edited collections of source materials, and thirteen articles, as well as five sociological studies that were collaborative efforts. With his writings covering a wide array of subjects, Woodson's scholarly productivity and range were equally broad. He was among the first scholars to study slavery from the slaves' point of view, and to give attention to the comparative study of slavery as an institution in the United States and in Latin America. His work prefigured the interpretations of contemporary scholars of slavery by several decades. Woodson also noted in his work the African cultural influences on African-American culture.

One of the major objectives of his own research and the research program he sponsored through the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was to correct the racism promoted in works published by white scholars. Woodson and his assistants pioneered in writing the social history of black Americans, and they used new sources and methods. They moved away from interpreting blacks solely as victims of white oppression and racism. Instead, blacks were viewed as major actors in American history. In recognition of his achievements, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) presented Woodson with its highest honor, the prestigious Spingarn Medal, in June 1926. In the award ceremony, John Haynes Holmes (1879–1964), the minister and interracial activist, cited Woodson's tireless labors to promote the truth "about Negro life and history."

Woodson suffered a heart attack and died in his sleep on April 3, 1950, in his Washington, D.C., home. He had dedicated his life to the exploration and study of the African-American past. In view of the enormous difficulties he faced battling white racism and in convincing whites and blacks alike that his cause was credible and worthy of support, the achievement of so much seminal work in black history seems almost miraculous. Through his own scholarship and the programs he launched, Woodson made an immeasurable contribution to the advancement of black history.

See also Associated Publishers; Association for the Study of African American Life and History; Black History Month/Negro History Week; *Journal of African American History, The*; Lincoln University; Spingarn Medal

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JACQUELINE GOGGIN (1996)
Updated bibliography

Woolridge, Anna Marie

See Lincoln, Abbey

Work, Monroe Nathan

August 15, 1866
May 2, 1945

Soon after the birth of Monroe Work, a sociologist, in rural Tredell County, North Carolina, Work's parents joined many other former slaves migrating westward and acquired a farm under the provisions of the Homestead Act. Remaining to help his aging parents, Work began secondary school when he was twenty-three. In 1903 he received his master of arts degree in sociology from the University of Chicago and accepted a teaching job at Georgia State Industrial College in Savannah, Georgia, where he met and married Florence E. Henderson.

Appalled by the plight of the city's African Americans, in 1905 he took two actions to improve conditions. He attended the conference called by W. E. B. Du Bois that established the Niagara Movement and founded the Savannah Men's Sunday Club, which combined protest, lobbying, and petitioning with the functions of a lyceum and civic club. By means of a streetcar boycott, the group attempted, but finally failed, to prevent the enactment of the city's first segregation law in 1906.

In 1908 Booker T. Washington offered Work a position at Tuskegee Institute in Macon County, Alabama. After his alliance with Du Bois, Work seemed an unlikely candidate to accept a job from Washington—the nemesis of the Niagara Movement. By 1908, however, Work was disillusioned with the power of protest and the Niagara Movement was floundering. Work reassessed his talents. Dignified instead of dynamic, he was a quiet scholar and researcher rather than a leader. Believing prejudice was rooted in ignorance, Work had long been compiling "exact knowledge concerning the Negro." The resources and audience available at Tuskegee for his research proved irresistible.

Work utilized his Department of Records and Research to compile a daily record of the African-American experience from newspaper clippings, pamphlets, reports, and replies to letters of inquiry. In 1912 he began publishing the *Negro Yearbook* and the yearly *Tuskegee Lynching Report* to enlighten black and white newspaper editors, educators, and leaders, especially in the South. In 1927 Work published *A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America,* the first extensive, classified bibliography of its kind. In addition, he was one of the participants invited to the conference held at Howard University on November 7, 1931, to plan the proposed (but never completed) *Encyclopedia of the Negro*.

Work also remained an activist after leaving the Niagara Movement for Tuskegee. He worked to improve black health conditions, to eradicate lynching, and to improve race relations. A pivotal figure in the establishment of National Negro Health Week in 1914, he subsequently organized it for seventeen years. He also participated in the southern antilynching movement of the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. From those contacts he became involved in other interracial groups.

By the time of his death, Work had published over seventy articles and pamphlets, including pioneering studies of Africa's contributions to and its impact on African-American culture. In 1900 he was the first African American to publish an article in the *American Journal of Sociology,* and in 1929 he presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

See also Niagara Movement; Sociology; Tuskegee University

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LINDA O. MCMURRY (1996)

Work Projects Administration

See Great Depression and the New Deal

World War I

See Military Experience, African-American

World War II

See Military Experience, African-American

Wright, Richard

September 4, 1908
November 28, 1960

The writer Richard Wright was born near Roxie, Mississippi, the son of a sharecropper and a rural schoolteacher who supported the family when her husband deserted her. Wright's childhood, which he later described in his classic autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), was horrific. His mother, Ella Wilson Wright, was never healthy, and she had become completely paralyzed by the time her son was ten. Wright and his family were destitute, and their lives were sharply constricted by pervasive segregation and racism. Wright and his brother Leon moved several times to the homes of relatives in Natchez and in Memphis, Tennessee, and then to their grandmother's house in Jackson. A staunch Seventh-Day Adventist, Wright's grandmother discouraged his reading, destroyed a radio he had built, and unwittingly alienated him from religious practice. Wright had already had his first story published in a local newspaper, however, by the time he completed the ninth grade, in 1925. He found employment in Memphis, where he discovered the work of H. L. Mencken. Mencken's essays spurred Wright's writing ambitions. Determined to escape the segregated South, which had plagued his childhood, Wright moved to Chicago in 1927.

Marxism

Over the next several years, during the worst of the Depression, Wright supported himself and his family, which had joined him in Chicago, through menial labor and through work at the post office, and he wrote when he could find the time. He became acquainted with contemporary literature through Mencken's essays and through friends at the post office, and in 1932 he began meeting writers and artists, mostly white, at the communist-run John Reed Club. Impressed by Marxist theory, Wright became a leader of the Chicago club and published revolutionary verse in *New Masses* and in small magazines like *Anvil, Left Front* (whose editorial board he joined), and *Partisan Review.* Recruited by communists eager to showcase African Americans in their movement, Wright became active in the party as much for literary reasons as for political ones. He wished, he later explained, to describe the real feelings of the common people and serve as the bridge between them and party theorists. Wright participated in party literary conferences, wrote poetry and stories, and gave lectures. Wright's first novel, *Lawd Today,* written during this period, was published posthumously, in 1963. In 1935, the same year he started as a journalist for *New Masses,* Wright joined the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), helping write a guide to Illinois; he was transferred to the local Negro Theater unit of the Federal Theater Project the next year. By this time, Wright was having doubts about the Communist Party, which he believed was promoting him only because of his skin color. He insisted on freedom from the party line for his creative work, but he remained publicly committed to the party. In 1937, eager to find a publisher for his work, Wright moved to New York, where he worked as Harlem reporter for the Communist Party newspaper the *Daily Worker* and wrote the Harlem section of the WPA's *New York City Guide* (1939).

Richard Wright (1908–1960). GETTY IMAGES

In the autumn 1937 issue of the leftist magazine *Challenge,* Wright wrote his influential "Blueprint for Negro Writing," in which, within a larger Marxist perspective, he asserted and tried to encourage black nationalism among writers. Wright called on black writers to make use of folklore and oral tradition in their work, but also to pay attention to psychological and sociological data in framing their work. Wright's own short stories, whose unsparing treatment of racism and violence in the South was couched in poetic style, were winning competitions in *Story* magazine and elsewhere, and were collected under the title *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938). Although the work was a success, Wright was dissatisfied. He thought that while he had generated sympathy for victims of racism, he had not shown its effects on all of society.

Native Son (1940), Wright's first published novel, became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and called national attention to his compelling talent, although his unrelenting depiction of racism aroused controversy. In fact, editors had already toned down some controversial material (it was not until 1992 that the unexpurgated version of the novel was published). *Native Son* is the story of a ghetto youngster, Bigger Thomas. Trapped by white racism and his own fear, Bigger accidentally murders a white woman. He tries to cover up his deed but is arrested, put on trial, and sentenced to death. Bigger's white communist lawyer argues that he is not responsible for his crimes, but Bigger feels that the murder and cover-up were his first creative acts, through which he has found a new freedom. The book's success won Wright the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s prestigious Spingarn Medal in 1941, and a dramatization by Wright and Paul Green was produced by Orson Welles. It was adapted for film twice, once as a Brazilian film, *Sangre Negra* (1950), in which Wright himself played the part of Bigger Thomas, and as *Native Son* (1986), starring Victor Love, but neither was commercially successful.

In 1941 Wright wrote a lyrical Marxist "folk history" of African Americans, *Twelve Million Black Voices.* The following year, he finally left the Communist Party. Although still a Marxist, Wright felt that the communists were unrealistic, self-serving, and not truly interested in the liberation of African Americans. During the war years, Wright worked on *Black Boy* (1945), "a record of childhood and youth," which brought him money and international fame. In *Black Boy,* Wright gives a precise, unrelenting account of how he was scarred by the poisons of poverty and racism during his early years in Mississippi. *American Hunger* (1977), a version that included Wright's Chicago years, was published posthumously.

The same year *Black Boy* appeared, Wright wrote an introduction to *Black Metropolis,* the sociological study by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton of African Americans in Chicago, in which Wright first expounded his major political theories. White American racism, Wright argued, was a symptom of a deeper general insecurity brought about by the dehumanizing forces of modernity and industrialization. He considered the condition of African Americans a model, and an extreme example, of the alienation of the human individual by modern life.

Exile in France

Wright was invited to France by the French government in 1945, and during the trip he found himself lionized by French intellectuals as a spokesperson for his race. Wright had married a white woman, Ellen Poplar, in 1941, and the couple had a daughter, Julia. They wished to escape America's racial discrimination. He was delighted by France's apparent freedom from racial prejudice and impressed by the central role that literature and thought enjoyed in French society. Wright decided to "choose exile," and moved to Paris permanently in 1947, although he kept his American passport.

While in France, Wright became friendly with the French existentialists, although he claimed that reading Dostoyevsky had made him an existentialist long before he met Jean-Paul Sartre and the others. Wright's thesis novel, *The Outsider* (1953), explores the contemporary condition in existentialist terms, rejecting the ideologies of communism and fascism. A posthumously published novella Wright wrote during the period, *The Man Who Lived Underground* (1971), also makes use of existential ideas. Neither *The Outsider* nor Wright's next novel, *Savage Holiday* (1954), was well received.

Wright shared the French intellectuals' suspicion of America and participated with Sartre and the existentialists in political meetings in 1948 with the idea of producing a "third way" to preserve European culture from the Cold War struggle between American industrial society and Soviet communism. Ironically, Wright was harassed for his leftist background in America, despite his repudiation of communism. The Communist Party's hostility to Wright grew after he published his essay "I Tried to Be a Communist" in the important anticommunist anthology *The God That Failed* (1950).

Wright had been an original sponsor of the review *Présence Africaine* in 1946, and he turned his primary attention to anticolonial questions during the 1950s. After visiting Africa's Gold Coast in 1954, he wrote *Black Power* (1954), "a record of reactions in a land of pathos," in which he approved of Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist policies but stressed his own estrangement from Africa. Wright's introduction to George Padmore's *Pan-*

Africanism or Communism? (1956) further disclosed his Pan-African ideas. In *The Color Curtain* (1956) he reported on the First Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, and explored the importance of race and religion in the world of politics. The same year, he helped organize, under *Présence Africaine*'s auspices, the First Conference of Black Writers and Intellectuals. Papers from the conference, along with texts from the numerous lectures on decolonization Wright gave in Europe, were published as *White Man, Listen!* in 1959.

Final Works

Wright's last works include *Pagan Spain* (1958), a report on Franco's Spain, which included a discussion of the Catholic impact on European culture; *The Long Dream* (1959), the first novel of an unfinished trilogy dealing with the lasting effects of racism; *Eight Men* (1960), a collection of short stories; and thousands of unpublished haiku. Wright died unexpectedly in 1960 in Paris of a heart attack. He was under emotional and mental stress at the time, partly due to spying by U.S. intelligence agents on African Americans in Paris. His sudden death fostered lasting rumors that he had been poisoned by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) because of his persistent fight against racial oppression and colonialism.

Wright was the first African-American novelist of international stature, and his violent denunciation of American racism and the deprivation and hatred it causes was uncompromising. Wright inspired both African-American novelists such as Ralph Ellison and Chester Himes, and foreign writers such as the novelists Peter Abrahams and George Lanning and the political theorist Frantz Fanon. Wright's legendary generosity to other writers was both moral and sometimes financial, through the grants and jobs he found them. Wright also created for himself a role as expatriate writer and international social critic. His intellectual interests and earnestness, through which he melded Freudian, Marxist, and Pan-African perspectives, were matched by a deep spirituality—despite his rationalist suspicion of religion—and occasional humor and comedy in his works.

See also Communist Party of the United States; Fanon, Frantz; Literature of the United States; Padmore, George; Spingarn Medal

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MICHEL FABRE (1996)
Updated bibliography

Wright, Theodore Sedgwick

1797
March 25, 1847

Theodore Wright, a Presbyterian clergyman and abolitionist, was born in New Jersey, the son of Richard P. G. Wright, who was prominent in the early anticolonization protests and the antislavery movement. Theodore received instruction from Samuel E. Cornish (1795–1858) at New York City's African Free School. When he continued his studies at Princeton Seminary, he remained in contact with his mentor and served as an agent for Cornish's newspaper, *Freedom's Journal.* Wright shared his father's anticolonization sentiment, and he coauthored with Cornish an anticolonization pamphlet, *The Colonization Scheme Considered* (1840).

Wright succeeded Cornish as pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1828, and he nurtured his church into the second largest African-American congregation in the city. The principles of moral reform informed his thought and activities. He created a temperance society as an auxiliary to his church. He founded the Phoenix Society, an organization dedicated to "morals, literature and the mechanical arts." He also promoted black education through his work with the Phoenix High School for Colored Youth.

Wright's commitment to abolitionism drew him to several black organizations. He participated in the New York Committee of Vigilance in the mid-1830s. A pioneer in the long, frustrating campaign to expand black suffrage in the state, he cofounded the New York Association for the Political Elevation and Improvement of the People of Color (1838) and attended the black state convention at

Albany in 1840. Occasionally, Wright revealed a streak of militancy. At the 1843 national convention in Buffalo, New York, he surprised many delegates by supporting Henry Highland Garnet's (1815–1882) call for slave violence.

Wright had a highly visible role in the organized antislavery movement. He was a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) and was one of the few blacks to hold a seat on the society's executive committee. He also participated in the New York State Anti-Slavery Society. Through his work in these organizations, he became aware of the subtle racism present among white reformers, and he chastised them publicly for their failure to "annihilate in their own bosom the cord of caste."

Like many black clergymen, Wright was never comfortable with the radical social doctrines of the Garrisonians. When these issues precipitated a schism in the AASS, Wright, along with several other black abolitionists, abandoned the old organization in favor of the new American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Wright served on the new society's executive committee, and embraced political abolitionism as an active supporter of the Liberty Party in the early 1840s.

In his last years of public life, Wright devoted his efforts to African missions. He joined with several other black clergymen to found the Union Missionary Society in 1841; he later served as a vice president of the American Missionary Society.

See also Abolition; Cornish, Samuel E.; *Freedom's Journal*; Garnet, Henry Highland; Presbyterians

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MICHAEL F. HEMBREE (1996)

Writers and Writing

See Canadian Writers; Caribbean/North American Writers; Drama; Federal Writers' Project; Literature; OBAC Writers' Workshop; Poetry, U.S.; Women Writers of the Caribbean

Wynter, Sylvia

May 11, 1928

Sylvia Wynter was born in Cuba but grew up and was educated in Kingston, Jamaica. A series of scholarships took her to King's College, London University, as well as to the University of Madrid. Her studies culminated in a B.A. (with honors) in Spanish literature (with a minor in English) and an M.A. with a thesis on Golden Age Spanish drama.

Wynter spent the next decade in London as a writer. She wrote screenplays for the BBC's Third Program, as well as a novel, *The Hills of Hebron,* published in 1962. In 1963 Wynter returned to the then newly independent Jamaica and joined the faculty of the University of the West Indies (UWI). While teaching at UWI in Mona, she helped to establish *Jamaica Journal,* one of the premier Anglophone journals of Caribbean intellectual thought. During this time she also wrote several plays, including *Maskarade* and *1865: Ballad of a Rebellion,* which were directed by Lloyd Reckord. In the context of the island's postcolonial intellectual ferment, Wynter wrote "We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk about a Little Culture: Reflections on West Indian Literature and Criticism," an essay that set the stage for her rethinking of the belief system of race.

Coincidentally, at the time that she began to explore the theoretical question posed by Elsa Goveia in "The Social Framework" (1970) as to the why of the premise of black inferiority and of white superiority, a parallel order of intellectual questioning had begun to emerge in the United States to accompany the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. In the context of the call for black studies, Wynter was invited to teach at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD). At UCSD Wynter was appointed to teach and to further develop a new interdisciplinary program, Literature and Society in the Third World. Three years later, at Stanford University, Wynter was appointed chair of the Program in African and Afro-American Studies (AAAS) as well as professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. She served as chair of the AAAS program until 1982 and continued to teach at Stanford until her retirement as professor emerita in June 1994.

After coming to the United States in the 1970s, Wynter authored a series of major essays in which she put forward a unified theory of culture able to explain both the fifteenth-century rise of the West and the price that the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the enslaved black population would pay for the West's global expansion and

techno-scientific breakthroughs. By calling into question what she defined as our *biocentric* (as a reformulation of the feudal *theocentric*) conception of being human, Wynter opened up a path for the elaboration of a new science of the human, one able to explain, she asserts, the "puzzle of conscious experience" (Chalmers, 1995).

Wynter argued that the issue of *race,* which had become a global status-organizing principle, could be understood only within the terms of the originally Judeo-Christian religio-cultural ground out of which it emerged. In the wake of the voyages of the Portuguese into newly discovered lands in Africa and of Christopher Columbus into the Americas, together with the rise of the natural sciences in the sixteenth century, the West would become the first culture to secularize (that is, "degod," desupernaturalize) its order of knowledge. In the place of the earlier supernaturally ordained identity of the Christian, an increasingly (and by the nineteenth-century Darwinian revolution, purely) biological conception of the human, "man," was instituted. In other words, the laity/clergy issue that structured the feudal order had been transformed into that of the black/white (as well as man/native) issue. At the same time, the belief system of spiritual caste, to which the former issue had given expression, was transformed into the modern belief system of *race,* in effect, of biological caste.

Wynter hypothesized that all humans must necessarily know their social reality in adaptively advantageous terms, able to ensure the realization of their specific mode or *genre* of being human, or of *sociogeny* (Fanon, 1967), as well as of the reproduction of the specific societal order, which is each such genre's indispensable condition of existence. On the basis of Fanon's redefinition of the human as hybridly phylogeny (the evolution or development of a kind or type of animal or plant) and ontogeny (the development of an individual organism) on the one hand, and sociogeny on the other (in Western terms, a nature/culture mode of being), Wynter put forward the idea of the sociogenic principle or code as the explanatory key, both to "the puzzle of conscious experience" (Chalmers, 1995) and to the laws that govern human behaviors. She does so in the context of Aimé Césaire's 1946 proposal for a "science of the Word" (Césaire, 1982, pp. 24–25), as a science of the human able to complete what Césaire defines as the "half-starved" nature of the natural sciences, which for all their technological achievements have yet to come up with a scientific description of the reality of what it is to be human, that is, hybridly organic/meta-organic, gene *and* word.

See also Césaire, Aimé; Fanon, Frantz; Goveia, Elsa V.; Race, Scientific Theories of; Women Writers of the Caribbean

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DEMETRIUS L. EUDELL (2005)

X, Malcolm

See Malcolm X

Yerby, Frank

September 5, 1916
November 29, 1991

The son of a postal clerk, novelist Frank Garvin Yerby was born in Augusta, Georgia. He received a bachelor's degree in English from Paine College in Augusta in 1937 and a master's degree from Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1938. He then studied education for a year at the University of Chicago while working on the Illinois Federal Writers' Project. He taught at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College (1939), at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana (1940–1941), and then briefly at the University of Chicago, before moving to Detroit, where he worked at the Ford Motor Company's Dearborn assembly plant (1942–1944). Yerby then moved to Jamaica, New York, where he worked as the chief inspector at Ranger Aircraft until 1945.

Yerby's prolific and commercially successful literary career was launched in 1944, when he received the O. Henry Memorial Award for "Health Card," a short story about racial injustice. Some of Yerby's early stories, including "The Homecoming" (1946), also dealt with social issues, but he soon began publishing "swashbuckling" historical romance novels that won popular if not critical acclaim. Over the course of his career, Yerby was attacked by reviewers and academics for his lack of attention to racial issues, his use of primarily Anglo-Saxon protagonists, and his reliance on pulp fiction formulas, but his thirty-two novels were immensely popular with the general reading public, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s.

His first novel, *The Foxes of Harrow* (1946), focused on the white owners of an antebellum southern plantation. The book became an immediate bestseller, sold over two million copies within a few years, was translated into numerous languages, and was made into a film by Twentieth Century-Fox in 1947. Yerby then began producing melodramatic adventure novels, set in various centuries and geographical locales, at the rate of one a year. His most popular titles were *The Vixens* (1947), *The Golden Hawk* (1948), *A Woman Called Fancy* (1951), and *The Saracen Blade* (1952).

Yerby moved to France in the early 1950s, then settled in Madrid in 1955. He lived there the rest of his life and

wrote such novels as *Fairoaks* (1957), *An Odor of Sanctity* (1965), and *Goat Song* (1968). Considered by many to be Yerby's masterpiece, *The Dahomean* (1971) is his only work dealing primarily with blacks; set in the nineteenth century, the novel traces the life of an African protagonist who rises to a position of great authority in Dahomean tribal culture only to be sold into American slavery by his own kinsmen. Yerby was granted an honorary doctor of letters degree by Fisk University in 1976 and a doctor of humane letters by Paine College in 1977. His last published works were *Devilseed* (1984) and *McKenzie's Hundred* (1985). He died of heart failure in Madrid in 1991.

See also Federal Writers' Project; Literature of the United States

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CAMERON BARDRICK (1996)

Yergan, Max

July 19, 1892
April 11, 1975

Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, educator and civil rights leader Max Yergan attended Shaw University, graduating in 1914. Shortly thereafter he received an M.A. degree from Howard University. In 1915 he was hired as a traveling secretary with the student division of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in New York City. During World War I he worked in India, then was sent to Kenya to organize YMCA units among Indian and African troops in the British army. Although not an ordained minister, he was named a chaplain by the American army, and he briefly served with African-American troops in France.

In 1920 Yergan was appointed senior secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA and was stationed in South Africa, where he remained for sixteen years, working mainly with college students. He combined missionary work and improving educational facilities for black South Africans. For his efforts he received the Harmon Award in 1926 and the NAACP's Spingarn Medal in 1933. He published two sociological reports, *Christian Students and Modern South Africa* (1932), and *Gold and Poverty in South Africa* (1938), in which he described the horrible living and working conditions faced by black African gold miners.

In 1936, claiming he had done all he could for Africans within the YMCA framework, Yergan returned to New York. City College hired him as a professor in history, one of the first African-American professors at an integrated college. Among the courses he taught was Negro History, the first such course taught outside black colleges. In 1937, with the support of Paul Robeson and others, he founded the Council on African Affairs (CAA)—then the International Committee on African Affairs—which promoted interest in Africa and lobbied against colonialism, and became its executive director.

While in New York, Yergan grew active in Harlem communist political circles. Together with Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., at the time an ally of the communists, he published a newspaper, *The People's Voice*. He also became active in the communist-dominated National Negro Congress (NNC). In 1940, after A. Philip Randolph resigned as executive director, Yergan was named to lead the organization. He led the NNC in its opposition to military preparedness programs and its support of Powell's successful mass transit boycott in New York City during 1940–1941. In 1941 the Communist Party promoted Yergan as a candidate for the New York City Council, but Powell convinced him to drop out of the race.

After 1941 Yergan supported the war effort but spoke out in favor of decolonization and African self-determination and against discrimination in the army. During the war years the CAA grew in size and power, and Yergan devoted more time to it. In 1946, at a CAA meeting in New York City, Yergan accused the Truman administration of opposing African freedom. In 1946 he led a delegation of the NNC to the United Nations to present a petition against "political, economic and social discrimination against Negroes in the United States," and lobbied against poll taxes in southern states.

Sometime in 1947, however, Yergan underwent a dramatic shift in his political views and turned away from his former associates. In October of that year he resigned from the NNC, by then largely inactive, claiming that "Communists sought to sabotage the decisions of the board." In December, after the U.S. government charged that the CAA was a subversive organization, Yergan affirmed its noncommunist character. In 1948 the CAA board, led by Robeson, opposed the statement. Yergan claimed that a communist-led minority had seized control of the CAA in order to attack American foreign policy. Yergan attempted to seize the organization's property and brought suit

against Robeson's procommunist faction. He was expelled from the board and resigned in October.

In later years Yergan became an increasingly strident anticommunist. In 1948 he testified on communist involvement in civil rights efforts before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. During the 1950s and 1960s he lectured and wrote articles for conservative magazines and was a leading consultant on Africa to the U.S. State Department. He was also rumored to be an FBI informer. In 1962 he organized and chaired the Free Katanga Committee, which worked against UN involvement in the former Belgian Congo and supported the Belgian-backed Katanga secessionist movement of Moise Tshombe. In 1964, while speaking in South Africa, Yergan praised the country's apartheid policy as a "realistic policy" in a "unique situation," which gave Africans "dignity and self-respect." During the 1970s he spoke in support of Ian Smith's white minority government in Rhodesia. These actions prompted widespread criticism that Yergan had "sold out," and that his earlier activism had been self-serving and insecure. Yergan died near his home in Ossining, New York, in 1975.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Council on African Affairs; National Negro Congress; Robeson, Paul

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GREG ROBINSON (1996)

Yoruba Religion and Culture in the Americas

The Yoruba presence in the Americas is evident in Cuban Santería, Brazilian Candomblé and Xangô, and the Orisha and Shango religions of Trinidad and Grenada. Less well known are the St. Lucian Kele, or Shango cult, and Jamaican Kumina. These diasporic religions are testimony to the memory and determination of those Africans and their descendants who retained their sacred traditions, often in the face of attempts to marginalize or eliminate them. Some returned to Africa to renew their knowledge. Brazilian Candomblé has been nourished by ongoing contact with its sources of origin. In recent years, Nigerian traditional religious leaders have visited Cuba, Brazil, and Trinidad.

Many features of diasporic Orisha worship remain close to their origins, including myths, elements of ritual, language, material culture, and the names of deities. Yet changes have also occurred. These reflect the challenges of transmission, societal constraints on practice, and encounters with other cultures. Today, people of all colors can assume a Yoruba identity through initiation into the religion. Religious teachings formerly handed down solely by word of mouth are now available in written form. Equivalents for the plants and herbs used for healing and ritual work have been sought out among the American flora.

This capacity to successfully translate an African culture to a new environment—while at the same time absorbing outside influences—was not simply a product of enslavement, as some scholars have suggested. An openness to other cultural traditions was already a feature of Yoruba society. Recent studies of Orisha cults show how their decentralized nature made them suitable for transmission. However, it must be noted that their vitality in the diaspora contrasts with West Africa, where the cults have largely lost ground to Christianity and Islam.

Religious Syncretism

Many accounts of African-derived religions focus on the syncretism with Roman Catholicism. Devotees identified similarities among the religions and sometimes concealed their gods behind the mask of Catholic saints. For example, Ogun, the *orisha* (deity) of metalworking and war, is matched with the sword-carrying Saint George in Rio de Janeiro. In Bahia, his counterpart is Saint Antony, the soldier; in Cuba he is linked with Saint Peter, who holds an iron key; and in Trinidad and Grenada, he is linked with Saint Michael the Archangel.

Orisha worshippers in the Americas commonly display images of the Catholic saints among their ritual objects, but the *orisha*s are represented by the sacred stones and other items that embody their *ashe* or spiritual power. These are kept hidden from public view. In some cases, practices that originated out of the need for concealment became enshrined in tradition. In Cuban Santería and Recife Xangô, the annual celebrations in honor of the *orishas* are held on the feast days of their Catholic saint counterparts. Some devotees attend church on these days, though the main rituals are celebrated in the cult houses. The

Bahian traditional Candomblés differ in that the annual cycle of Orisha festivals is determined by divination. Catholic baptism is often a prerequisite for initiation into Cuban Santería and Brazilian Candomblé. Similarly, in Trinidad, some Shango priests insist that novices be baptized by the Baptists before initiation. This lack of religious exclusivity is found in West Africa, where some Yoruba celebrate birth, marriage, and burial with ceremonies from more than one religious tradition.

Yet external elements were not always incorporated for reasons of secrecy. Yorubas and their descendants drew not only upon Christianity, but also on Kardecan spiritism and religious practices from other parts of Africa and from Asia. Brazilian Candomblé incorporated elements from the Congo-Angola, Aja-Ewe-Fon, and other African groups. Trinidad Orisha shows Hindu influences, including the use of prayer flags, brought to the island with East Indian indentured laborers. A Cuban avatar of Changó, Sanfancón (San Fan Kung), demonstrates the incorporation of Chinese cultural elements. Yoruba deities and ceremonial structures also appear in practices originating among other African nations.

The Merging of Separate Cults

Focusing on syncretism with Catholicism sometimes leads scholars to overlook other important adaptations. In Africa, each Orisha cult is self-contained as far as devotees are concerned. In the Americas, while devotees of Santería and Candomblé are only initiated into the cult of one *orisha*, they worship others. Priests and priestesses of separate Orisha cults had to exchange religious knowledge because of the difficulties of reconstituting the cults under slavery. Similarly, declining numbers of worshippers and priests sometimes leads to integration and exchange between cult groups in West Africa.

Each Orisha cult has a dedicated priesthood and a public temple or shrine in Africa. The practice became more secretive and compressed in the Americas. In Cuba, the sacred objects of a number of *orishas* are housed in the *ilé ocha* or *casa de santo,* usually the home of the *iyalocha* or *babalocha*. They are kept in covered china soup tureens, called *soperas*, which are often placed in a *canastillero*—a type of sideboard that may have doors for further concealment. In Trinidadian temples, or *palais,* the ritual objects or emblems of all *orishas*, or "powers," are stored in a room called the *chapelle*. In Grenada they are kept in the home of the priestess. Bahian Candomblé has remained more public and spacious. A *terreiro* may consist of several buildings. The sacred items of indoor deities such as Oxala or Shango are kept in small shrines called *peji*. Outdoor gods such as Exu, Omolu, Ossâim, and Oxóssi reside in a garden where plants used in rituals and for healing are cultivated.

There are an indefinite number of *orishas* in Africa—mythical figures are sometimes given, such as 401 or 1,444. However, surveys of specific towns show that a finite number of cults are important for inhabitants. Between twenty and twenty-five *orishas* are worshipped in Cuba, with perhaps fifteen being the most popular. In Bahia, around twelve *orishas* find devotees in nearly all *terreiros*.

Societal conditions and a new geography made certain *orishas* less relevant. Obatala, the creator of humankind, remains important everywhere, as does Eshu-Elegbara, the guardian of social order and the messenger of the gods who is invoked at all ceremonies. The most widely revered *orishas,* both in Africa and the diaspora, are those connected with aspects of daily life, such as motherhood, love, wealth, health, and sex. Sometimes their functions are modified: in Cuba and Brazil, Yemayá/Yemanja, the goddess of the River Niger, is associated with the sea. Hence, in Cuba, the cult of the African sea god Olokun has gradually been subsumed into that of Yemayá. This tendency to fuse *orishas,* or, conversely, for an *orisha* to split off into different avatars, ensures the flexibility and adaptability of the system of worship. In Cuba these avatars are known as *caminos* and in Brazil as *firmas*. Obatala, an *orisha* with numerous regional manifestations in West Africa, has a profusion of *caminos,* each having different characteristics and syncretized with different Catholic saints. Another example of this flexibility is the way in which the myths of the *orishas* retain their African historical references and fields of experience while acquiring others relevant to their new environment.

The prominence of one *orisha*, Shango, whose cult plays a central role in the installation of kings of Oyo, is a feature of diaspora worship. In Cuban Santería, rituals and items specific to Changó's cult, such as the kingly crown, the mortar, and batá drums, appear in the rituals of all *orishas*. In Brazil, *orisha* worship is called Xangô in Alagôas and Pernambuco, and in Trinidad and Grenada, Shango. St. Lucian Kele is named after the *ikele* beads of Shango worshippers. There are historical reasons for this. Following the collapse of the Oyo empire, the Shango cult spread throughout Yorubaland with the dispersal of refugees. A larger proportion of slaves from that region were transported to the Americas late in the slave trade.

Yet the traditions of other Yoruba subgroups are also apparent. Some Bahian Candomblé houses are identified as Ketu or Ijexá (Ijesha). In Recife Xangô there were formerly Ijesha and Egba cult groups, though today the differences between them survive only in music and songs. In the Cuban province of Matanzas, there are cult groups

***A Santeria shrine to the Virgin of Regla, Havana, Cuba, 2004.** The image of a black virgin holding a white child is venerated as Yemaya, goddess of the sea, in the Afro-Cuban religion of Santeria, whose deities were worshipped by Yoruba slaves brought to Cuba centuries earlier.*
© CLAUDIA DAUT/REUTERS/CORBIS

called *iyesá* (Ijesha) and *egguado* (Egbado). Differences between this and Havana Santería are found in the ritual use of plants, ritual language, dances, and musical instruments.

Ritual

In West Africa, devotees petition *orishas* for children, wealth, health, and long life. In the Americas, worshippers rarely petition the gods for fertility, perhaps because in the past enslaved women were reluctant to bear children. Ceremonies are performed to offer praise or thanks or when specified by divination. As in Africa, they involve blood sacrifice, drumming, and possession trance, which offer devotees a direct experience of the divine. Spiritual power, or *aché/axé,* is received during these ritual encounters.

The merging of Orisha cults is apparent in that, even in ceremonies to honor one *orisha*, all the gods are praised in turn. Each deity is distinguished by particular drum rhythms, dance steps, symbols, colors, sacrificial animals, and offerings. The prayers and songs are generally in a form of the Yoruba language.

A Trinidad drum dance starts and ends with Catholic prayers. Eshu is sent away by means of a song. Then Ogun is summoned, followed by the other *orishas*. In Grenada, the ceremony begins with invocations to the deities in French patois interspersed with African words. At a Cuban *tambor* or *toque de santo,* the liturgy, called *oro,* begins with prayers in Lucumí—the Cuban form of Yoruba—to pay homage to Olofin and the ancestors. Then the *orishas* are called down one by one, beginning with Elegguá, as befits his role as opener of paths, followed by Ogun and the rest. At a Bahian *obrigação,* the annual public ceremony to honor an *orisha*, the liturgy to call down the *orisha* is called *xiré*. Percussion is an important feature of ceremonies, though drums are sometimes replaced with gourds

or box drums, recalling past laws restricting the use of African instruments.

In Yoruba society, seniority is important. People will curtsy, bow, or prostrate themselves before their elders and betters as a mark of respect. Orisha worshipers in the Americas also physically express their deference to the gods and those with religious seniority. Respect for the ancestors is also important. However, the *egungun* masquerades, which offer communication with the ancestors, are generally no longer found in the Americas, though there is evidence of their former existence in Cuba. This may be because, unlike the Orisha cults, they were dependent on kinship systems destroyed by the Middle Passage and slavery. However, in Bahia there is a secret society of *egún*, which has a special priesthood, and Recife Xangô cult houses have a *balé,* or house of the dead. In Cuban Santería, Kardecan spiritism offers cultic possibilities for dealing with the dead, which are called *eguns*. Many santeros have a little altar to the spirits called a *bóveda espiritual* (spiritual vault).

Priesthood

In Africa, membership in an Orisha cult is normally determined by birth. One consequence of enslavement was the disruption of family lineages, and thus of the inheritance of ritual responsibilities. Today, with a few exceptions, to become the devotee of a particular *orisha* one must become initiated into the cult. In Cuban Santería this is a staged process. Receiving bead necklaces called *elekes* or *collares* is the minimum requirement for becoming a member of an *ilé ocha*. The next stage is to receive the *guerreros* (warriors), a Cuban innovation, so called because Elegguá, Oggún, Ochosi, and Osun are regarded as *orishas* who will "fight" to protect their owner.

Some devotees are recommended to enter into a deeper relationship with one *orisha*. During this initiation, which takes a similar form in Africa and the Americas, an *orisha*, determined or confirmed by divination, is said to be "seated" in the initiate's head. In Cuba, a number of other *orishas* are also received as part of this initiation. This contrasts with both African and Brazilian practice. For a period after the initiation, the *omo oricha* (child of the *orisha*) is required to sit on a mat and eat using the hands. This obliges them to recreate an African experience and identity.

Whereas both men and women head Cuban *ilé ocha,* priestesses are excluded from some of the higher ritual roles. In traditional Bahian Candomblé houses, the salient role of women marks a departure from Yoruba tradition. Male Candomblé members, called *ogan,* do not become initiated. In Trinidad, although many temples are headed by male priests, the majority of cult leaders are women. In Grenada, "Queens of Shango" usually come from families in which the cult is popular in the female line.

Divination

Divination is an important feature of worship. It enables devotees to shed light on a problem or to determine their destiny. *Obí* (kola nut) and *owó merindinlogun* (sixteen-cowry) divination are found everywhere. In Cuba, *obí* divination is commonly called *los cocos,* because pieces of coconut have replaced kola nuts. These and other liturgical items continued to be imported from Yorubaland to Brazil after the ending of the slave trade. Another Cuban modification, which reflects the merging of Orisha cults, is that a varying number of *orishas* speak through the *diloggún* oracle, including Orunmila. In African *owó merindinlogun,* only the presiding deity of the particular cult will speak, and Orunmila only ever speaks in Ifá divination. In Brazilian sixteen-cowry divination, called *jogo de búzios,* only Exu speaks.

Another Cuban modification is that shells are sometimes cast to obtain double figures *(mejis)* or combinations of *odu*. This makes *diloggún* more complex, thus resembling Ifá divination, which is performed by male priests of the cult of Orunmila called *babalawo*. Yet Cuba is unique in the Americas in having preserved its own version of Ifá with a huge corpus of divination verses. In Recife and Bahia, the *babalawo* has largely been replaced by *babalorixá,* who perform sixteen-cowry divination, though elements of the Ifá corpus have survived as part of the knowledge of the *mãe* or *pai de santo*.

See also Africanisms; Candomblé; Orisha; Santería

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CHRISTINE AYORINDE (2005)

Young, Andrew

October 23, 1932

Civil rights activist and politician Andrew Jackson Young Jr. was born in New Orleans. His father was an affluent, prominent dentist, and Young was raised in a middle-class black family in a racially mixed neighborhood. He attended Howard University in Washington, D.C., and graduated in 1951. Young pursued his growing commitment to religion at Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut and was awarded a bachelor of divinity degree in 1955. He was ordained a Congregational minister, and from 1955 to 1959 he preached in churches in Georgia and Alabama. In the course of this work, Young experienced firsthand the wrenching poverty that shaped the lives of African Americans in the rural South. He became active in challenging racial inequality, joined the local civil rights movement, and helped organize a voter-registration drive in Thomasville, Georgia, one of the first of its kind in southern Georgia.

In 1959 Young went to New York to become an assistant director of the National Council of Churches and help channel New York City philanthropic money into southern civil rights activities. Two years later he returned to Georgia and joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organization headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Young became an active participant in the SCLC, building a reputation for coolness and rationality and often providing a moderating influence within the movement. From 1961 to 1964 he served as funding coordinator and administrator of the SCLC's Citizenship Education Program—a program aimed at increasing black voter registration among African Americans in the South.

Young grew to be one of King's most trusted aides. In 1964 he was named executive director of the SCLC and three years later took on additional responsibility as executive vice president. During his tenure, he focused on creating social and economic programs for African Americans to broaden the scope of SCLC's activism. In 1970 Young relinquished his executive positions. However, he continued his affiliation with SCLC, serving on the board of directors, until 1972.

In 1972 Young turned his energies to the political arena and launched a successful campaign to become the first African American elected to the House of Representatives from Georgia since 1870. In Congress he served on the House Banking Committee and became familiar with the national and international business markets. In 1976 he vigorously supported the candidacy of fellow Georgian Jimmy Carter for president and vouched for Carter's commitment to black civil rights to many who were skeptical of supporting a white Democrat from the Deep South. Upon Carter's election, Young resigned his congressional seat to accept an appointment as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

As ambassador Young focused on strengthening the ties between the United States and the third world. In 1979 he was forced to resign his position when it was revealed that he had engaged in secret negotiations with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in violation of U.S. policy. Young's supporters argued that Young was merely doing the job of a diplomat by speaking to all interested parties in sensitive negotiations. Many Jews and other supporters of Israel, however, believed that Young's actions gave the PLO unwarranted legitimacy. The furor that surrounded his actions forced him to submit his resignation.

In 1982 Young mounted a successful campaign for mayor of Atlanta. During his administration he faced the same urban problems that plagued other big-city mayors, including a shrinking tax base, rising unemployment, and rising costs—all of which required difficult decisions in fund allocation. Despite these constraints, he was able to increase business investment in Georgia. He successfully

ran for reelection in 1986, despite growing criticism from some African Americans who argued that black Atlantans had been hurt by his economic development programs. In 1990, after he ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, Young reentered private life. He served as chair of Law International, Inc., until 1993, when he was appointed vice chair of its parent company, Law Companies Group, an internationally respected engineering and environmental consulting company based in Atlanta.

During the course of his career, Young has received many awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom—America's highest civilian award—and more than thirty honorary degrees from universities such as Yale, Morehouse, and Emory. In 1994, his spiritual memoir, *A Way Out of No Way,* was published. Young lobbied successfully to bring the 1996 Summer Olympics to Atlanta and served as cochair of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games.

Young's papers are housed at the Atlanta-Fulton Public Library. In 2004 Young participated in a DNA test that helped determine that his ancestors originated in Sierra Leone and the Sudan in Africa.

See also Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Mayors; Politics in the United States; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

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CHRISTINE A. LUNARDINI (1996)
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Young, Coleman

May 18, 1919
November 29, 1997

Coleman Alexander Young, a politician, was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. He moved to Detroit at the age of five and grew up in an integrated eastside Detroit neighborhood called Black Bottom. After graduating from high school in 1936, he went to work for the Ford Motor Company. At the Ford plant Young became an organizer for the United Auto Workers, fighting in the auto industry's nascent labor movement. The draft interrupted his labor career. During World War II, he was given a commission in the army and joined the Army Air Corps's elite all-black flying unit, the Tuskegee Airmen. After he returned from the service, he rose through the ranks to become the first paid African-American union staff officer in the city. Young, who had previously been the executive secretary of the National Negro Council's Detroit branch, was a founder and executive director of the National Negro Labor Council (NNCL).

In 1951 Young was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities to answer charges that the NNCL was a subversive organization. He refused to provide the committee with the membership list of the organization and publicly rebuked committee members for questioning his patriotism. Rather than responding to its questions, he chided the panel for its members' positions on racial issues. The exchange angered top labor leaders, who promptly blackballed him. During the 1950s Young found it difficult to find steady employment and operated a short-lived cleaning business, among other occupations.

The next decade marked a change in Young's fortunes. He found steady work as a salesman, then reentered public life. In 1960 he was elected a delegate to the Michigan Constitutional Convention. In 1962 he lost a race for the state assembly, but in 1964 he was elected to the state senate and became a Democratic Party floor leader. In 1968 he was the first African American elected to the Democratic National Committee.

Young wanted to run for the office of mayor of Detroit in 1969 but was stopped by a state law that prevented sitting state legislators from running for city office. The law was later changed, and in 1973 Young launched an improbable mayoral campaign. He promised to curb police brutality and made disbanding of the police special "decoy squad" his defining campaign issue. Blessed with rhetorical skills and the support of black trade unionists, he finished a strong second in the primaries. In the general election, he received few white votes, but he carried 92 percent of the black vote and narrowly defeated Detroit police chief John Nichols. In January 1974 he took office as Detroit's first black mayor.

Young eased the formerly troubled relations between the city's residents and police, but the search for ways to revitalize the depressed local economy occupied much of the mayor's time. Among the developments and projects associated with Young's administration were the Joe Louis

Arena, the General Motors Poletown plant, the Renaissance Center (a hotel, office, and retail complex), and the Detroit People Mover (an elevated rail system around the central business district).

Although his aggressive style and personality aroused opposition, Young's popularity among his core constituency of black working-class voters, plus the support of the Detroit business community, won him an unprecedented five terms as mayor. In 1993, however, he announced that he would not seek a sixth term. Following his retirement, Young wrote an autobiography, *Hard Stuff* (1995).

See also Mayors; National Negro Labor Council; Politics in the United States

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WILBUR C. RICH (1996)
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Whitney M. Young Jr. (1921–1971). *Young, a skilled negotiator, served as executive director of the National Urban League during the turbulent civil rights era of the 1960s, greatly expanding its programs and its funding.* NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Young, Whitney M., Jr.

July 31, 1921
March 11, 1971

The civil rights leader Whitney Moore Young Jr. was born and raised in rural Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky, the son of Whitney and Laura Ray Young. He grew up on the campus of Lincoln Institute, a vocational high school for black students where his father taught and later served as president. In this setting, Young, who attended the institute from 1933 to 1937, was relatively isolated from external racism. At the same time, he was surrounded by black people who held positions of authority and were treated with respect. In September 1937, Young enrolled at Kentucky State Industrial College in Frankfort; he graduated in June 1941. In college he met Margaret Buckner, whom he married in January 1944; the couple later had two daughters.

In the spring of 1946, after serving in World War II, Young entered a master's program in social work at the University of Minnesota, which included a field placement with the Minneapolis chapter of the National Urban League (NUL). He graduated in 1947 and, in September of that year, became industrial relations secretary of the St. Paul Urban League, where he encouraged employers to hire black workers. Two years later he was appointed to serve as executive secretary with the NUL's affiliate in Omaha, Nebraska.

During his tenure in Omaha, Young dramatically increased both the chapter's membership base and its operating budget. He fared less well, however, in his attempts to gain increased employment opportunities for African Americans; victories in this area continued to be largely symbolic, resulting primarily from subtle behind-the-scenes pressure exerted by Young himself. Through his Urban League experience, Young became adept at cultivating relationships with powerful white corporate and political leaders.

In early 1954 Young became dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work. He doubled the school's budget, raised teaching salaries and called for enhanced

professional development. With the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the unfolding of civil rights activism, his activities became increasingly political. He served on the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Atlanta and played a leadership role in several other organizations committed to challenging the racial status quo, including the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action. Unlike some other black community leaders, Young supported and even advised students who engaged in sit-in demonstrations in 1960. Yet Young personally opted for a low-key approach characterized by technical support for the civil rights movement rather than activism.

Young retained close ties with NUL, and in 1960 he emerged as a top candidate for executive director of the New York–based organization. Although by far the youngest of the contenders for the position, and the least experienced in NUL work, Young was selected to fill the national post effective October 1961. Since its founding in 1910, NUL had been more concerned with social services than social change, and its successes had long depended on alliance with influential white corporate and political figures. However, by the early 1960s it was clear that unless it took on a more active and visible role in civil rights, the organization risked losing credibility with the black community. It was Whitney Young who, in more ways than one, would lead NUL into that turbulent decade.

For years, local Urban League activists had lobbied for a more aggressive posture on racial issues. At Young's urging, NUL's leadership reluctantly resolved to participate in the civil rights movement—but as a voice of "respectability" and restraint. In January 1962, Young declared that, while NUL would not engage actively in protests, it would not condemn others' efforts if they were carried out "under responsible leadership using legally acceptable methods." By helping to plan the 1963 March on Washington, Young simultaneously hoped to confirm NUL's new commitment and ensure that the march would pose no overt challenge to those in authority. Young also furthered NUL's moderate agenda by participating in the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership (CUCRL), a consortium founded in June 1963 to facilitate fundraising and information sharing. (CUCRL was initiated by wealthy white philanthropists concerned with minimizing competition among civil rights organizations and tempering the movement's more militant elements.)

As "Black Power" gained currency within the movement, new tensions surfaced inside NUL itself. Students and other Urban League workers disrupted the organization's yearly conferences on several occasions, demanding the adoption of a more action-oriented strategy. Young continued to insist on the primacy of social-service provision. But in June 1968, in an address at the Congress of Racial Equality's (CORE) annual meeting, he spoke favorably of self-sufficiency and community control. The NUL initiated a "New Thrust" program intended to strengthen its base in black neighborhoods and to support community organizing.

During his ten-year tenure, Young made his mark on NUL in other significant ways. He guided the development of innovative new programs meant to facilitate job training and placement, and he vastly increased corporate and foundation support for the organization. In the early and mid-1960s, as corporations (especially government contractors) came under fire for failing to provide equal employment opportunities, business leaders turned to the NUL and its affiliates for help in hiring black workers. At the same time, by aiding NUL financially, they hoped to demonstrate convincingly a commitment to nondiscriminatory policies.

Of the three U.S. presidents in office during Young's tenure with the league, Lyndon B. Johnson proved to be the closest ally; he drew on Young's ideas and expertise in formulating antipoverty programs, tried to bring Young into the administration, and awarded him the Medal of Freedom in 1969. Although the relationship with Johnson was important for accomplishing NUL's goals, at times it constrained Young's own political positions. In mid-1966, Young clashed with the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders who opposed the Vietnam War—Young insisted that communism must be stopped in Southeast Asia, and he disagreed that the military effort would divert resources away from urgent problems facing African Americans at home. A year later he was no longer so sure, however. Nonetheless, at Johnson's request, he traveled to South Vietnam with an official U.S. delegation. Young did not speak publicly against the war until late 1969, when Richard M. Nixon was president.

In addition to overseeing NUL's "entry" into civil rights, Young heightened the organization's visibility to a popular audience. He wrote a regular column, "To Be Equal," for the *Amsterdam News*, which was syndicated through newspapers and radio stations nationwide. He published several books, including *To Be Equal* (1964), and *Beyond Racism* (1969). At the same time, Young continued to maneuver in the highest echelons of the corporate world; among other activities, he served on the boards of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Rockefeller Foundation. He also remained a prominent figure in the social-work profession, serving as president of the National Con-

ference on Social Welfare in 1967 and acting as president of the National Association of Social Workers from June 1969 until his death.

In March 1971, Young traveled to Lagos, Nigeria, with a delegation of African Americans, in order to participate in a dialogue with African leaders. He died there while swimming, either from drowning or from a brain hemorrhage.

See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League

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TAMI J. FRIEDMAN (1996)

Zydeco

Zydeco is a style of popular dance music played by African Americans of Francophone descent in the Gulf Coast region, particularly in the bayou country of southwestern Louisiana. Despite its frenetic tempos, often led by a buoyant singer doubling on accordion, the term *zydeco* derives from the old Louisiana song "Les Haricots Sont Pas Salés," literally translated as "the green beans aren't salted," but commonly having the meaning "times aren't good."

The origins of zydeco go back to the popular dance tunes of French settlers, or Acadians, who were expelled from Nova Scotia by the British and arrived in Louisiana in the eighteenth century. They intermarried with African Americans and Native Americans of French and Spanish descent, and their European-derived string music absorbed Afro-Caribbean rhythmic elements. The first zydeco recordings, difficult to distinguish from other forms of Cajun music, are 1934 field recordings, including "Cajun Negro Fais Dos-Dos Tune," by Ellis Evans and Jimmy Lewis, and "Les Haricots Sont Pas Salés," by Austin Coleman and Joe Washington. Accordionist Amadé Ardoin was an important early zydeco musician whose "Les Blues de la Prison" (1934) shows a strong blues influence.

After World War II, rhythm and blues began to influence zydeco, a development clearly heard on Clarence Garlow's "Bon Ton Roula" (1950), which translates as "Let the Good Times Roll." During this time, the accordionist Clifton Chenier (1925–1988), perhaps the greatest of all zydeco musicians, came to prominence. Born in Opelousas, Louisiana, in 1925, he made his first recordings in the 1950s. Chenier pioneered the use of the piano accordion (an accordion with a keyboard) in zydeco music. Among the many popular and important records, noted for their heavy dance rhythms, that Chenier made before his death from diabetes in 1987 are "Black Gal" (1965), "Jambalaya" (1975), and *Country Boy Now* (1984).

In Louisiana, zydeco is invariably performed for dancers, often at nightclubs, dance halls, churches, picnics, and house parties known as "fais-do-do." Zydeco bands are typically led by a singer; with lead accompaniment by fiddle, button or piano accordion, or guitar; and with backing by a rhythm section of bass, piano, and drums. The harmonica, washboard, "frottoir" (a metal rubbing board played with household implements), and the "bas trang" (triangle), were often used earlier in the century, but today are often replaced by electric instruments. Zydeco is sung in the patois of Creole Louisiana, with lyrics ranging from narrative tales, love songs, and laments to simple invocations of dancing and good times.

Although zydeco has been, along with jazz and blues, a mainstay of the secular music scene among the Creole-descended population along the Gulf Coast from Louisiana to Texas, it has also achieved international popularity, and its greatest exponents have become celebrities with prolific touring and recording schedules. In addition to Chenier, other important zydeco musicians include accordionist Boozoo Chavis ("Paper In My Shoe," 1984), singer Queen Ida (*Cookin' With Queen Ida,* 1989), Rockin' Sidney ("My Toot Toot," 1984), and Lawrence "Black" Ardoin ("Bayou Two Step," 1984). Important ensembles include the Lawrence Ardoin Band, Terrence Semiens and the Mallet Playboys, and Buckwheat Zydeco's Ils Sont Partis Band.

Although zydeco and Cajun music share many musical elements and have common sociocultural origins in the late nineteenth-century contact between Creoles and Acadians, they are distinct forms, representing two aspects of the complex, multiracial culture that also produced jazz. Zydeco tends toward faster tempos, a syncopated rhythmic structure, and a de-emphasis of the melodic line. Cajun's rhythms are often more rigid two-step dances or waltzes emphasizing melody. Zydeco has been documented in such films as *Zydeco: Creole Music and Culture in*

Rural Louisiana (1984), and *J'ai Eté au Bal* (1991). Zydeco continues to be popular. In some cases, as with musicians such as Buckwheat Zydeco, who studied with Clifton Chenier, zydeco traditions have been mixed with influences of other forms of music.

See also Music; Rhythm and Blues

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Moody, Anne
Moore, Richard Benjamin
Moses, Robert Parris
Nabrit, James Madison
Nascimento, Abdias do
Nash, Diane
Newton, Huey P.
Nixon, Edgar Daniel
Parks, Rosa
Proctor, Henry Hugh
Randolph, Asa Philip
Robinson, Jo Ann Gibson
Rodney, Walter
Rustin, Bayard
Scott, Emmett J.
Seale, Bobby
Shuttlesworth, Fred L.
Terrell, Mary Eliza Church
Walker, Wyatt Tee
Washington, Booker T.
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.
White, Walter Francis
Wilkins, Roy
Williams, Hosea Lorenzo
Yergan, Max

Young, Whitney M., Jr.

Dance

Ballet
Breakdancing
Capoeira
Dance, Diasporic
Dance Theater of Harlem
Jongo
Social Dance
Tap Dance
Theatrical Dance
Zydeco
Biographies
Ailey, Alvin
Allen, Debbie
Bubbles, John
Dove, Ulysses
Dunham, Katherine
Glover, Savion
Hines, Gregory
Holder, Geoffrey
Jamison, Judith
McBurnie, Beryl
Mitchell, Arthur
Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"

Diasporic Cultures

African Diaspora
Africanisms
Cemeteries and Burials
Creole Languages of the Americas
Diasporic Cultures in the Americas
Digital Culture
Ethnic Origins
Free Blacks, 1619–1860
Liberation Theology
Maroon Arts
Migration in the African Diaspora
Names and Naming, African
Names Controversy
New Media and Digital Culture

Diasporic Cultures, Caribbean

Afrocubanismo
Anti-Haitianism
Bahá'í Communities in the Caribbean
Black Caribs
Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)
Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean
Coartación
Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean
International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean
Maroon Societies in the Caribbean
Natural Resources of the Caribbean
Négritude
Negros Brujos
Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean
Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean
Urban Poverty in the Caribbean
Woodford Square
Biographies
Aponte, José Antonio
Gordon, George William
Goveia, Elsa V.
Nanny of the Maroons
Scholes, Theophilus

Diasporic Cultures, Latin American

Capoeira
Carnival in Brazil and the Caribbean
Coartación
Colón Man
Congos of Panama
Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean
Food and Cuisine, Latin American and Caribbean
Hair and Beauty Culture in Brazil
Palenque San Basilio
Palmares
Representations of Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean
Runaway Slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean
San Lorenzo de los Negros
Slave Narratives of the Caribbean and Latin America
Tailor's Revolt
Winti in Suriname
Biographies
Anastácia
Chica da Silva
Dom Obá II D'África
Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco)
Querino, Manuel
Romaine-la-Prophétesse
Tia Ciata

Diasporic Cultures, North American

African Burial Ground Project
Black Codes
Black-Indian Relations
Black Middle Class
Black Towns
Brownsville, Texas, Incident
Canada, Blacks in
Free Villages
Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose
Gullah
Harlem, New York
Law and Liberty in England and America
Migration/Population, U.S.
Mound Bayou, Mississippi
Runaway Slaves in the United States
Stono Rebellion
Biographies
Du Sable, Jean Baptiste Pointe
Singleton, Benjamin "Pap"

Education

American Negro Academy (ANA)
Black Studies
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Critical Mixed-Race Studies
Education in the Caribbean
Education in the United States
Educational Psychology and Psychologists
Intellectual Life
Literacy Education
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
Race and Education in Brazil
Sweatt v. Painter
United Negro College Fund
Schools
African Free School
Bethune-Cookman College
Dillard University
Fisk University
Hampton Institute
Highlander Citizenship School
Howard University
Lincoln University
Morehouse College
Spelman College
Tuskegee University
University of the West Indies
Wilberforce University
Biographies
Alleyne, George
Augier, Roy
Bailey, Beryl Loftman
Barnett, Marguerite Ross
Bethune, Mary McLeod
Bond, Horace Mann

Brawley, Benjamin Griffith
Brawley, Edward McKnight
Brown, Charlotte Hawkins
Brown, Roscoe, Jr.
Brown, Sterling Allen
Burke, Lilly Mae
Burroughs, Margaret Taylor
Carver, George Washington
Clark, Septima
Cook, Mercer
Cooper, Anna J.
Coppin, Fanny Jackson
Cox, Oliver Cromwell
Dalton-James, Edith
Davis, Allison
Dodson, Owen
Franklin, John Hope
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.
Goveia, Elsa V.
Gray, William H., III
Hancock, Gordon Blaine
Harris, Abram Lincoln, Jr.
Hart Sisters of Antigua
Hope, John
Hunton, William Alphaeus, Jr.
Jackson, Luther Porter
Jeffers, Audrey
Johnson, Mordecai Wyatt
Just, Ernest
Logan, Rayford W.
Mays, Benjamin E.
Moses, Robert Parris
Moton, Robert Russa
Nabrit, James Madison
Nettleford, Rex
Oblate Sisters of Providence
O'Leary, Hazel Rollins
Painter, Nell Irvin
Schomburg, Arthur
Shabazz, Betty
Sherlock, Philip
Simmons, Ruth J.
Turner, Lorenzo Dow
Washington, Booker T.
Washington, Margaret Murray
Wesley, Charles Harris
West, Cornel
Williams, Patricia Joyce
Wilson, William Julius
Woodruff, Hale
Woodson, Carter G.
Wynter, Sylvia

Film and Television

Black Entertainment Television (BET)
Blaxploitation Films
Christianity in Film
Documentary Film
Film in Latin America and the Caribbean
Film in the United States
Film in the United States, Contemporary
Filmmakers, Los Angeles School of
Filmmakers in the Caribbean
Television
Urban Cinema
Biographies
Allen, Debbie
Baker, Josephine
Belafonte, Harry
Berry, Halle
Burnett, Charles
Cambridge, Godfrey MacArthur
Carroll, Diahann
Cosby, Bill
Dandridge, Dorothy
Dash, Julie
Davis, Ossie
Dee, Ruby
De Passe, Suzanne
Foxx, Redd
Freeman, Morgan
Glover, Danny
Goldberg, Whoopi
Gossett, Louis, Jr.
Hemphill, Essex
Hines, Gregory
Johnson, Noble and George
Jones, James Earl
Jones, Philip Mallory
Kitt, Eartha Mae
Lee, Spike
Lincoln, Abbey
McDaniel, Hattie
Micheaux, Oscar
Murphy, Eddie
Palcy, Euzhan
Parks, Gordon
Peck, Raoul
Poitier, Sidney
Pryor, Richard
Queen Latifah (Owens, Dana Elaine)
Riggs, Marlon
Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"
Rolle, Esther
Singleton, John
Smith, Will
Tyson, Cicely
Van Peebles, Melvin
Washington, Denzel
Williams, Billy Dee (December, William)
Wilson, Flip
Winfrey, Oprah

Gender and Sexuality

Black Dandy, The
Brown Fellowship Society
Colón Man
Feminist Theory and Criticism
Gay Men
Lesbians
Masculinity
National Association of Colored Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Federation of Afro-American Women
Politics: Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean
Third World Women's Alliance
Women Traders of the Caribbean
Women Writers of the Caribbean
Biographies
Burroughs, Nannie Helen
Chica da Silva
Cooper, Anna J.
Dalton-James, Edith
Delany, Samuel R.
Gomes, Peter John
Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins
Hart Sisters of Antigua
Height, Dorothy
Hemphill, Essex
Madame Satã (dos Santos, João Francisco)
Morris Knibb, Mary
Norton, Eleanor Holmes
Smith, Barbara
Terrell, Mary Eliza Church
Tubman, Harriet
Williams, Fannie Barrier
Williams, Patricia Joyce

Health and Healing

AIDS in the Americas
Domestic Workers
Folk Medicine
Freedmen's Hospital
Healing and the Arts in Afro-Caribbean Cultures
Hospitals in the United States, Black
Medical Associations
Midwifery
Mortality and Morbidity in Latin America and the Caribbean
Mortality and Morbidity in the United States
Myal

National Hospital Association
Negros Brujos
Nursing in the Caribbean
Nursing in the United States
Obeah
Sickle-Cell Disease
Social Work
Tropical Diseases
Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment
Biographies
Bedward, Alexander
Cobb, W. Montague
Drew, Charles Richard
Edelman, Marian Wright
Gravenberch, Adolf Frederik
Kennedy, Imogene Queenie
Lawrence, Margaret
Moody, Harold Arundel
Moore, Audley "Queen Mother"
Oblate Sisters of Providence
San Martín de Porras
Scholes, Theophilus
Smith, James McCune
Sullivan, Louis

History

Abolition
African Burial Ground Project
African Civilization Society (AfCS)
African Diaspora
Amelioration
Amistad Mutiny
Antebellum Convention Movement
Anti-Apartheid Movement
Anti-Colonial Movements
Archival Collections
Association for the Study of African American Life and History
Atlanta Compromise
Atlanta Riot of 1906
Belmanna Riots
Black History Month/Negro History Week
Black Manifesto
Black Women's Club Movement
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Brownsville, Texas, Incident
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands
Chaguaramas
Christiana Revolt of 1851
Civil Rights Movement, U.S.
Civil War, U.S.
Colón Man
Crisis, The
Declaration of Independence
Demerara Revolt
Durham Manifesto
Emancipation in Latin America and the Caribbean
Emancipation in the United States
Ethnic Origins
February Revolt
Fifteenth Amendment
Free Blacks, 1619–1860
Freedom Rides
Freedom Summer
Gabriel Prosser Conspiracy
Gary Convention
Great Depression and the New Deal
Haitian Revolution
Haitian Revolution, American Reaction to the
Historians and Historiography, African-American
Journal of African American History, The
Kerner Report
Liberation Theology
Lynching
Malê Rebellion
Manumission Societies
Maroon Societies in the Caribbean
Migration in the African Diaspora
Migration/Population, U.S.
Military Experience, African-American
Million Man March
Missionary Movements
Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott
Morant Bay Rebellion
Museums
Music Collections, Black
Mutual Aid Societies
Nat Turner's Rebellion
New Jewel Movement
Palmares
Panama Canal
Poor People's Campaign
Red Summer
Reparations
Republic of New Africa
Revolta da Chibata
Revolutionary Action Movement
Riots and Popular Protests
Scottsboro Case
Slavery
Slave Trade
Social Gospel
Spiritual Church Movement
Stono Rebellion
Tailor's Revolt
Thirteenth Amendment
Woodford Square
Biographies
Abernathy, Ralph David
Albizu Campos, Pedro
Aponte, José Antonio
Attucks, Crispus
Bailey, Amy
Bandera, Quintín
Barrow, Errol
Blyden, Edward Wilmot
Bogle, Paul
Bradshaw, Robert
Burke, Lilly Mae
Burns, Anthony
Butler, Uriah
Carmichael, Stokely
Carney, William H.
Christophe, Henri
Critchlow, Hubert Nathaniel
Davis, Benjamin O., Jr.
Dessalines, Jean-Jacques
Dickson, Moses
Dom Obá II D'África
Dreke, Víctor
Evers, Charles
Evers, Medgar
Farmer, James
Flipper, Henry O.
Franklin, John Hope
Garnet, Henry Highland
Garrido, Juan
Gómez, Juan Gualberto
Gordon, George William
Goveia, Elsa V.
Grajales Cuello, Mariana
Hall, Prince
Hector, Tim
Holly, James T.
Hope, Lugenia Burns
Hoyte, Desmond
Hutson, Jean Blackwell
Jackson, Jimmy Lee
Jackson, Luther Porter
James, Daniel "Chappie"
Langston, John Mercer
Luperón, Gregorio
Lynch, John Roy
Maceo, Antonio
Mais, Roger
Makandal, François
Moncada, Guillermo
Moody, Harold Arundel
Moore, Audley "Queen Mother"
Mulzac, Hugh
Nanny of the Maroons
Nash, William Beverly
Padmore, George

Parsons, Lucy
Pindling, Lynden Oscar
Poor, Salem
Quarles, Benjamin
Romaine-la-Prophétesse
Salem, Peter
Schomburg, Arthur
Shakur, Assata (Chesimard, Joanne Deborah Bryon)
Sharpe, Samuel
Singleton, Benjamin "Pap"
Smalls, Robert
Sullivan, Leon Howard
Till, Emmett
Toussaint-Louverture
Trotter, James Monroe
Williams, Eric
Williams, George Washington

Ideas and Ideologies

African Blood Brotherhood
Afrocentrism
Afrocubanismo
Anti-Colonial Movements
Anti-Haitianism
Black Arts Movement
Black Manifesto
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense
Black Power Movement
Communist Party of the United States
Council on African Affairs
Critical Mixed-Race Studies
Critical Race Theory
Environmental Racism
Feminist Theory and Criticism
Intellectual Life
Kawaida
Kwanza
Liberation Theology
Messenger, The
Nationalism in the United States in the Nineteenth Century
Négritude
Negro World
New Jewel Movement
New Negro
Pan-Africanism
Political Ideologies
Reparations
Republic of New Africa
Revolutionary Action Movement
Social Gospel
Theology, Black
Universal Negro Improvement Association
Woodford Square

Biographies

Alleyne, George
Augier, Roy
Bailey, Amy
Bailey, Beryl Loftman
Blyden, Edward Wilmot
Bontemps, Arna
Brawley, Benjamin Griffith
Briggs, Cyril
Brimmer, Andrew Felton
Brodber, Erna
Brown, Sterling Allen
Bunche, Ralph
Burroughs, Nannie Helen
Carew, Jan
Carmichael, Stokely
Carneiro, Edison
Cayton, Horace
Clarke, John Henrik
Cone, James H.
Cook, Mercer
Cox, Oliver Cromwell
Crummell, Alexander
Cruse, Harold
Cuffe, Paul
Douglass, Frederick
Du Bois, W. E. B.
Fanon, Frantz
Ford, James W.
Franklin, John Hope
Frazier, Edward Franklin
Garvey, Amy Ashwood
Garvey, Amy Jacques
Garvey, Marcus
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr.
Glissant, Edouard
Gómez, Juan Gualberto
Goveia, Elsa V.
Hancock, Gordon Blaine
Harris, Abram Lincoln, Jr.
Harrison, Hubert Henry
Haywood, Harry
Hector, Tim
Hill, Ken
Holly, James T.
Hudson, Hosea
Huiswoud, Otto
Hutson, Jean Blackwell
Innis, Roy
James, C. L. R.
Jones, Claudia
Karenga, Maulana
Labov, William
Lewis, Arthur
Locke, Alain Leroy
Mais, Roger
Murray, Pauli
Nettleford, Rex
Newton, Huey P.
Ogbu, John
Padmore, George
Painter, Nell Irvin
Patterson, William
Quarles, Benjamin
Querino, Manuel
Redding, Jay Saunders
Risquet, Jorge
Russwurm, John Brown
Schomburg, Arthur
Seale, Bobby
Shakur, Assata (Chesimard, Joanne Deborah Bryon)
Sullivan, Leon Howard
Trindade, Solano
Turner, Henry McNeal
Washington, Booker T.
Wesley, Charles Harris
West, Cornel
Williams, Eric
Williams, Henry Sylvester
Williams, Patricia Joyce
Williams, Robert Franklin
Woodson, Carter G.

Language

Africanisms
Congos of Panama
Creole Languages of the Americas
Dialect Poetry
English, African-American
Gullah
Haitian Creole Language
Turner, Lorenzo Dow

Literary Traditions

Autobiography, U.S.
Afrocubanismo
Biography, U.S.
Black Arts Movement
Canadian Writers in English
Canadian Writers in French
Caribbean/North American Writers (Contemporary)
Caribbean Theater, Anglophone
Children's Literature
Comic Books
Comic Strips
Federal Writers' Project
Harlem Renaissance
Harlem Writers Guild
Literary Criticism, U.S.
Literary Magazines
Literature of French Guiana

Literature of Haiti
Literature of Martinique and Guadeloupe
Literature of Suriname
Literature of the English-Speaking Caribbean
Literature of the Netherlands Antilles
Literature of the United States
Women Writers of the Caribbean
Biographies, Caribbean
Brodber, Erna
Carew, Jan
Césaire, Aimé
Condé, Maryse
Danticat, Edwidge
Harris, Wilson
Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar)
Lovelace, Earl
Mais, Roger
Phillips, Caryl
Prince, Mary
Santos-Febres, Mayra
Walrond, Eric Derwent
Biographies, Latin American
de Jesus, Carolina Maria
Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria
Biographies, North American
Attaway, William
Baldwin, James
Bambara, Toni Cade
Bontemps, Arna
Bradley, David
Brown, Claude
Brown, Sterling Allen
Brown, William Wells
Bullins, Ed
Butler, Octavia
Chesnutt, Charles W.
Childress, Alice
Clarke, Austin
Crouch, Stanley
Delany, Martin R.
Delany, Samuel R.
Dodson, Owen
Dunbar-Nelson, Alice
Ellison, Ralph
Fauset, Jessie Redmon
Fisher, Rudolph
Fuller, Charles
Gaines, Ernest J.
Griggs, Sutton Elbert
Haley, Alex
Hansberry, Lorraine
Hearne, John (Caulwell, Edgar)
Hemphill, Essex
Himes, Chester
Hopkins, Pauline Elizabeth
Hurston, Zora Neale
Johnson, Charles Richard
Johnson, James Weldon
Kennedy, Adrienne
Killens, John Oliver
Kincaid, Jamaica
Lamming, George
Larsen, Nella
Lester, Julius
Marrant, John
Marshall, Paule
Mayfield, Julian
McMillan, Terry
Micheaux, Oscar
Morrison, Toni
Naylor, Gloria
Neal, Larry
Parks, Suzan-Lori
Redding, Jay Saunders
Reed, Ishmael
Rowan, Carl T.
Schuyler, George S.
Scott, Emmett J.
Shange, Ntozake
Smith, Barbara
Thurman, Wallace
Toomer, Jean
Walker, Alice
Walker, Margaret
Webb, Frank J.
West, Dorothy
Whitehead, Colson
Wideman, John Edgar
Wilson, August
Wilson, Harriet E. Adams
Wright, Richard
Yerby, Frank

Literature, Folk and Oral

Africanisms
Black Arts Movement
Congos of Panama
Dozens, The
Dub Poetry
Folklore
Folklore: Latin American and Caribbean Culture Heroes and Characters
Folklore: U.S. Folk Heroes and Characters
John Henry
Maroon Arts
Biographies
Anastácia
Bennett, Louise
Chica da Silva
Jones, Gayl
Lester, Julius

Literature, Poetry

Black Arts Movement
Dialect Poetry
Dub Poetry
Harlem Renaissance
Last Poets
Poetry, U.S.
Biographies
Angelou, Maya
Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi)
Bennett, Louise
Braithwaite, William Stanley
Brathwaite, Edward Kamau
Brooks, Gwendolyn
Carter, Martin
Cortez, Jayne
Cullen, Countee
Dixon, Melvin
Dove, Rita
Dunbar, Paul Laurence
Gama, Luiz
Giovanni, Nikki
Grimké, Angelina Weld
Guillén, Nicolás
Horton, George Moses
Hughes, Langston
Johnson, James Weldon
Jones, Gayl
Jordan, June
Lorde, Audre
Madhubuti, Haki R. (Lee, Don L.)
Manzano, Juan Francisco
Marson, Una
McKay, Claude
Morejón, Nancy
Prince, Lucy Terry
Sanchez, Sonia
Scott-Heron, Gil
Tolson, Melvin B.
Trindade, Solano
Troupe, Quincy
Walcott, Derek Alton
Wheatley, Phillis
Williams, Francis

Literature, Slave Narratives & Autobiography

Autobiography, U.S.
Biography, U.S.
Slave Narratives
Slave Narratives of the Caribbean and Latin America

Biographies
Angelou, Maya
Baldwin, James
Clarke, Lewis G.
Cleaver, Eldridge
de Jesus, Carolina Maria
Equiano, Olaudah
Grimké, Archibald Henry
Haley, Alex
Hammon, Briton
Jacobs, Harriet Ann
Keckley, Elizabeth
Manzano, Juan Francisco
Marrant, John
Montejo, Esteban
Moody, Anne
Northrup, Solomon
Prince, Mary
Seacole, Mary
Smith, Venture
Wilson, Harriet E. Adams

Media, Broadcast

Black Entertainment Television (BET)
Community Radio
Media and Identity in the Caribbean
Radio
Television
Biographies
De Passe, Suzanne
Michaux, Elder
Simmons, Russell
Sutton, Percy Ellis
Winfrey, Oprah

Media, Print

Anglo-African, The
Associated Publishers
Baltimore Afro-American
Black Press in Brazil
Black World/Negro Digest
Broadside Press
Chicago Defender
Christian Recorder
Crisis, The
Ebony
Frederick Douglass' Paper
Freedom's Journal
Guardian, The
Jet
Journalism
Journal of African American History, The
Liberator, The
Literary Magazines
Media and Identity in the Caribbean
Messenger, The
Negro World
North Star
Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life
Phylon
Pittsburgh Courier
Woman's Era
Women's Magazines
Biographies
Abbott, Robert Sengstacke
Bibb, Henry Walton
Briggs, Cyril
Bruce, John Edward
Cary, Mary Ann Shadd
Cornish, Samuel E.
Crouch, Stanley
Denbow, Claude H. A.
Domingo, W. A.
Douglass, Frederick
Du Bois, W. E. B.
Fortune, T. Thomas
Hunter-Gault, Charlayne
Johnson, Charles Spurgeon
Jordon, Edward
Nell, William Cooper
Owen, Chandler
Padmore, George
Rowan, Carl T.
Ruggles, David
Schuyler, George S.
Tanner, Benjamin Tucker
Trotter, William Monroe
Troupe, Quincy
Walrond, Eric Derwent
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.
Wilkins, Roy

Music

Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians
Black Arts Movement
Blues, The
Blues in African-American Culture
Blueswomen of the 1920s and 1930s
Breakdancing
Calypso
Capoeira
Cotton Club
Dancehall
Fisk Jubilee Singers
Folk Music
Gospel Music
Hip-Hop
Jazz
Jazz in African-American Culture
Jazz Singers
Jongo
Modern Jazz Quartet
Music in Latin America
Music in the United States
Music, Religion, and Perceptions of Crime in Early Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro
Musical Instruments
Musical Theater
Music Collections, Black
National Association of Negro Musicians
Negro National Anthem
Negro String Quartet
Opera
Ragtime
Rap
Recording Industry
Reggae
Reggae Aesthetics
Rhythm and Blues
Samba
Savoy Ballroom
Spirituals
Zydeco
Biographies
Anderson, Marian
Armstrong, Louis
Baker, Ella J.
Baker, Josephine
Basie, William James "Count"
Battle, Kathleen
Belafonte, Harry
Berry, Chuck
Blake, Eubie
Blakey, Art (Buhaina, Abdullah Ibn)
Bonds, Margaret
Brown, James
Caesar, Shirley
Calloway, Cab
Carroll, Diahann
Charles, Ray (Robinson, Ray Charles)
Cleveland, James
Cole, Nat "King"
Coleman, Bessie
Coleman, Ornette
Coltrane, John
Combs, Sean
Dandridge, Dorothy
das Neves, Eduardo
Davis, Miles
Davis, Sammy, Jr.
Dee, Ruby
Diddley, Bo (McDaniel, Otha Elias)
Dorsey, Thomas A.
dos Prazeres, Heitor
Eckstine, Billy

Ellington, Edward Kennedy "Duke"
Europe, James Reese
Fitzgerald, Ella
Francisco, Slinger "The Mighty Sparrow"
Franklin, Aretha
Gaye, Marvin (Gay, Marvin Pentz)
Gillespie, Dizzy
Gordy, Berry
Grandmaster Flash (Saddler, Joseph)
Green, Al
Hammon, Jupiter
Hampton, Lionel Leo
Hancock, Herbie
Hayes, Isaac
Hendrix, Jimi
Holiday, Billie
Hooker, John Lee
Horne, Lena
Houston, Whitney
Jackson, Janet
Jackson, Mahalia
Jackson, Michael
Jackson Family
James, Etta
Jefferson, Blind Lemon
Jones, Quincy
Joplin, Scott
King, B. B.
Kitt, Eartha Mae
Knight, Gladys
LaBelle, Patti (Holt, Patricia Louise)
Leadbelly (Ledbetter, Hudson William)
Lincoln, Abbey
Little Richard (Penniman, Richard)
L. L. Cool J (Smith, James Todd)
Marley, Bob
Marsalis, Wynton
Mathis, Johnny (Mathias, John Royce)
McRae, Carmen
Mingus, Charles
Monk, Thelonious Sphere
Muddy Waters (Morganfield, McKinley)
Newton, James
Norman, Jessye
Odetta (Gordon, Odetta Holmes Felious)
Parker, Charlie
Price, Mary Violet Leontyne
Pride, Charley Frank
Prince (Nelson, Prince Rogers)
Queen Latifah (Owens, Dana Elaine)
Rainey, Ma
Redding, Otis
Roach, Max
Robeson, Paul
Robinson, Bill "Bojangles"
Ross, Diana
Run-D.M.C.
Scott, Hazel
Scott, James Sylvester
Scott-Heron, Gil
Simmons, Russell
Simone, Nina (Waymon, Eunice Kathleen)
Smith, Bessie
Smith, Mamie
Smith, Will
Still, William Grant
Sun Ra (Blount, Herman "Sonny")
Supremes, The
Taylor, Koko
Temptations, The
Tharpe, "Sister" Rosetta
Vaughan, Sarah
Walker, Aida Overton
Waters, Ethel
Williams, Mary Lou
Wonder, Stevie (Morris, Stevland)

Politics

Abolition
Affirmative Action
African Blood Brotherhood
Anti-Apartheid Movement
Anti-Colonial Movements
Barbados Labour Party
Black Codes
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense
Black Power Movement
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands
Caribbean Commission
Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)
Chaguaramas
Communist Party of the United States
Congressional Black Caucus
Criminal Justice System
Declaration of Independence
Dred Scott v. Sandford
Environmental Racism
Farm Worker Program
Fifteenth Amendment
Fourteenth Amendment
Frente Negra Brasileira
Gary Convention
Grandfather Clause
Hill-Thomas Hearings
International Relations of the Anglophone Caribbean
Jamaica Labour Party
Jamaica Progressive League
Jim Crow
Law and Liberty in England and America
League of Revolutionary Black Workers
Mayors
New Jewel Movement
Panama Canal
Partido Independiente de Color
People's National Congress
Peoples National Movement
People's National Party
Plessy v. Ferguson
Political Ideologies
Politics and Politicians in Latin America
Politics in the United States
Politics: Women and Politics in Latin America and the Caribbean
Racial Democracy in Brazil
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
Roosevelt's Black Cabinet
Scottsboro Case
Slave Codes
Slavery and the Constitution
Sweatt v. Painter
Thirteenth Amendment
Union League of America
Voting Rights Act of 1965
West Indies Democratic Labour Party
West Indies Federal Labour Party
West Indies Federation

Biographies, Caribbean

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The Beginnings of the Portuguese-African Slave Trade in the Fifteenth Century, as Described by the Chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara (c. 1450)

SOURCE: Conrad, Robert Edgar. *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 5–11.

INTRODUCTION: *Portuguese historian Gomes Eannes de Azurara offers perhaps the earliest description of the onset of the Portuguese-African slave trade in the fifteenth century, commenting on the traders' motives and detailing the capture, treatment, and distribution of "Moorish captives."*

Since Prince [Henry the Navigator] was normally to be found in the Kingdom of the Algarve after his return from Tangier because of the town he was having built there, and since the prisoners whom [his captains] brought back were landed at Lagos [the town where Henry established his headquarters], it was the people of this place who first persuaded the Prince to grant them permission to go to that land from which the Moorish captives came. . . .

The most important captain was Lançarote, and the second Gil Eannes, who, as we have written, was the first to round Cape Bojador. Aside from these, there were Stevam Affonso, a nobleman who died later in the Canary Islands, Rodrigo Alvarez, Joham Dyaz, a shipowner, and Joham Bernaldez, all of whom were very well qualified. Setting out on their voyage, they arrived at the Island of Herons [Ilha das Garças] on the eve of Corpus Christi, where they rested for a time, living mainly from the many young birds they found there, since it was the breeding season. . . .

And so these two captains [Martim Vicente and Gil Vasquez] made preparations, and they took five boats manned by thirty men, six in each boat, and set out at about sunset. Rowing the entire night, they arrived about daybreak at the island they were looking for. And when they recognized it by signs the Moors had mentioned, they rowed for awhile close to the shore until, as it was getting light, they reached a Moorish village near the beach where all the island's inhabitants were gathered together. Seeing this, our men stopped for a time to discuss what they

should do. . . . And after giving their opinions, they looked toward the village where they saw that the Moors, with their women and children, were leaving their houses as fast as they could, for they had seen their enemies. The latter, crying the names of St. James, St. George, and Portugal, attacked them, killing and seizing as many as they could. There you could have seen mothers forsaking their children, husbands abandoning their wives, each person trying to escape as best he could. And some drowned themselves in the water; others tried to hide in their huts; others, hoping they would escape, hid their children among the sea grasses where they were later discovered. And in the end our Lord God, who rewards every good deed, decided that, for their labors undertaken in His service, they should gain a victory over their enemies on that day, and a reward and payment for all their efforts and expenses. For on that day they captured 165 [Moors], including men, women, and the children, not counting those who died or were killed. When the battle was over, they praised God for the great favor He had shown them, in wishing to grant them such a victory, and with so little harm to themselves. After their captives had been put in the boats, with others securely tied up on land, since the boats were small and could not hold so many people, they ordered a man to go as far as he could along the coast to see if he could sight the caravels. He set out at once, and, going more than a league from where the others were waiting, he saw the caravels arriving, because, as he had promised, Lançarote had sailed at dawn.

And when Lançarote, with those squires and highborn men who accompanied him, heard of the good fortune which God had granted to that handful of men who had gone to the island, and saw that they had accomplished such a great deal, it pleasing God to bring the affair to such a conclusion, they were all very happy, praising God for wishing to aid those few Christians in this manner. . . .

On the next day, which was a Friday, they prepared their boats, since the caravels had to remain where they were, and loaded into them all the supplies needed for two days only, since they did not intend to stay away from their ships any longer than that. Some thirty men departed in the boats, namely Lancarote and the other captains of the caravels, and with them squires and highborn men who were there. And they took with them two of those Moors whom they had captured, because they had told them that on the island of Tiger, which was five leagues distant, there was a Moorish village of about 150 persons. And as soon as it was morning, they set out, all very devoutly commending themselves to God, and asking His help in guiding them so that He might be served and His Holy Catholic Faith exalted. And they rowed until they reached the said island of Tiger; and as soon as they had leaped upon the shore the Moor who was with them led them to a village, where all the Moors, or at least most of those on the island, had earlier assembled . . . ; and Lançarote, with fourteen or fifteen men, went toward the place where the Moor led them. And walking half a league . . . they saw nine Moors, both men and women, with ten or twelve asses loaded with turtles, who hoped to cross over to the island of Tiger, which would be a league from there, it being possible to cross from one island to the other on foot. And as soon as they saw them, they pursued them, and, offering no effective defense, they were all captured except one, who fled to inform the others in the village. And as soon as they had captured them, they sent them to the place where Gil Eannes was, Lançarote ordering him to place a guard over the Moors, and then to set out after them, using all the men he had, because he believed that they would find someone to fight with.

And as soon as the captives reached them, they bound them securely and put them in the boats, and leaving only one man with them, they set out at once behind Lançarote, following constantly in his footsteps until they reached the place where Lançarote and his followers were. After capturing the Moors whom they had sent to the boats, they followed the Moor to a village that its inhabitants had abandoned, having been warned by the Moor who had escaped when the others were taken prisoner.

And then they saw all the people of the island on a smaller island where they had gone in their canoes; and the Christians could not reach them except by swimming, nor did they dare to retreat for fear of encouraging their enemies, who were much more numerous than they were. And thus they remained until all the other men had reached them; and seeing that even when they were all together they could not do them any harm, because of the water that lay between them, they decided to return to their boats which were a good two leagues away.

And, upon their return, they entered the village and searched everything to see if they might find something in the houses. And, while searching, they found seven or eight Moorish women, whom they took with them, thanking God for their good fortune which they had received through His grace; and thus they returned to their boats, which they reached at about sunset, and they rested and enjoyed themselves that night like men who had toiled hard throughout the day. . . .

The needs of the night forced them to spend it mainly in sleep, but their minds were so fixed upon the tasks that lay before them that they could think of nothing else. And

so they discussed what they would do the next day, and, after hearing many arguments, which I will omit in order not to make my story too long, they decided to go in their boats to attack the settlement before daybreak. . . . Having reached this decision, they set out in the dark, rowing their boats along the shore. And as the sun began to rise, they landed and attacked the village, but found no one in it, because the Moors, having seen their enemies leaving, had returned to the village, but, not wanting to sleep in it, they had gone to stay a quarter of a league away near a crossing point by which they went over to Tiger. And when the Christians recognized that they could find nothing in the village, they returned to their boats and coasted along that island on the other side of Tiger, and they sent fifteen men overland to see if they could find any Moors or any trace of them. And on their way they saw the Moors fleeing as fast as they could, for they had already observed them, and then all our men leaped out on land and began to pursue them. They were not able to reach the men, but they took seventeen or eighteen of the women and small children who could not run so fast. And one of the boats, in which Joham Bemaldez was traveling, one of the smallest, went along the coast of the island; and the men in the boat saw some twenty canoes which were moving toward Tiger, in which Moors of both sexes were traveling, both adults and children, four or five in each boat. And they were very pleased when they first saw this, but later greatly saddened. Their pleasure came from seeing the profit and honor that lay before them, which was their reason for going there; their sadness came when they recognized that their boat was so small that they could put only a very few aboard. And with their few oars, they pursued them as well as they could, until they were among the canoes; and, stirred by pity, even though the people in the canoes were heathens, they wished to kill very few of them. However, there is no reason not to believe that many of them, who in their terror abandoned the boats, did not perish in the sea.

And some of them were on the left and some on the right, and, going in among them, they selected the smallest, because this way they could load more into their boats, of which they took fourteen, so that those who were captured in those two days, not including some who died, totaled forty-eight. . . .

The caravels arrived at Lagos, from where they had set out, enjoying fine weather on the voyage, since fortune was no less generous in the mildness of the weather than it had been to them in the taking of their prizes. And from Lagos the news reached the Prince, who just hours before had arrived there from other places where he had spent some days. . . . And the next day, Lançarote, as the man who had had the main responsibility, said to the Prince: "Sir! Your Grace knows full well that you must accept the fifth of these Moors, and of everything which we took in that land, where you sent us in the service of God and yourself. And now these Moors, because of the long time we have been at sea, and because of the obvious sorrow in their hearts at finding themselves far from their birthplace and held in captivity, without possessing any knowledge of what their future will be; as well as because they are not used to sailing on ships; for all these reasons they are in a rather poor condition and sickly; and so it seems to me that it will be useful for you to order them removed from the caravels in the morning and taken to that field that lies outside the city gate, and there divided up into five parts, according to custom, and that Your Grace should go there and select one of the parts which best suits you." The Prince said that he was well pleased, and very early the next day Lançarote ordered the masters of the caravels to bring them outside and to take them to that field, where they were to be divided up, as stated before; but, before doing anything else, they took the best of the Moors as an offering to the church of that place, and another little one who later became a friar of St. Francis they sent to São Vicente do Cabo, where he always lived as a Catholic Christian, without any knowledge or feeling for any other law but the holy and true doctrine, in which all Christians await our salvation. And the Moors of that conquest numbered 235. . . .

On the next day, which was August 8, the seamen began to prepare their boats very early in the morning, because of the heat, and to bring out those captives so that they could be transferred as ordered. And the latter, placed together in that field, were a marvelous thing to behold, because among them there were some who were reasonably white, handsome, and genteel; others, not so white, who were like mulattoes; others as black as Ethiopians, so deformed both in their faces and bodies, that it seemed to those who guarded them that they were gazing upon images of the lowest hemisphere. But what human heart, no matter how hard, would not be stabbed by pious feelings when gazing upon such a company of people? For some had their heads held low and their faces bathed in tears, as they looked upon one another. Others were moaning most bitterly, gazing toward heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, as if they were asking for help from the father of nature. Others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves prostrate upon the ground; others performed their lamentations in the form of a chant, according to the custom of their country, and, although our people could not understand the words of their language, they were fully appropriate to the level of their sorrow. But to increase their suffering even more, those responsible for

dividing them up arrived on the scene and began to separate one from another, in order to make an equal division of the fifths, from which arose the need to separate children from their parents, wives from their husbands, and brothers from their brothers. Neither friendship nor kinship was respected, but instead each one fell where fortune placed him! Oh powerful destiny, doing and undoing with your turning wheels, arranging the things of this world as you please! do you even disclose to those miserable people some knowledge of what is to become of them, so that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their tremendous sorrow? And you who labor so hard to divide them up, look with pity upon so much misery, and see how they cling to each other, so that you can hardly separate them! Who could accomplish that division without the greatest toil; because as soon as they had put the children in one place, seeing their parents in another, they rose up energetically and went over to them; mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves face down upon the ground with them, receiving blows with little regard for their own flesh, if only they might not be parted from them!

And so with great effort they finished the dividing up, because, aside from the trouble they had with the captives, the field was quite full of people, both from the town and from the surrounding villages and districts, who for that day were taking time off from their work, which was the source of their earnings, for the sole purpose of observing this novelty. And seeing these things, while some wept, others took part in the separating, and they made such a commotion that they greatly confused those who were in charge of dividing them up.

The Prince was there mounted upon a powerful horse, accompanied by his retinue, distributing his favors, like a man who wished to derive little material advantage from his share; for of the forty-six souls who belonged to his fifth, he quickly divided them up among the rest, since his main source of wealth lay in his own purpose; for he reflected with great pleasure upon the salvation of those souls that before were lost.

And his thoughts were certainly not in vain, because, as we have said, as soon as they gained a knowledge of our language, they turned Christian without much difficulty; and I who have brought this history together in this volume saw boys and girls in the town of Lagos, the children and grandchildren of those people, born in this land, Christians as good and true as though they were descended from the beginnings of Christ's law, through the generation of those who were first baptized.

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself (Olaudah Equiano, 1789)

SOURCE: Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself.* Edited by Werner Sollors. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991, pp. 38–43.

INTRODUCTION: *Born in 1745 in the region of Africa now known as Nigeria, Olaudah Equiano was sold into slavery in 1756 and transported with other slaves by ship to Barbadoes. He purchased his freedom a decade later and moved to England, where he penned his autobiography in 1789. The following excerpt from Equiano's narrative relates his experience of the "middle passage" from Africa to the West Indies.*

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair. They told me I was not; and one of the crew brought me a small portion

of spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks therefore took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consternation at the strange feeling it produced, having never tasted any such liquor before. Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and although, not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water: and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us; they gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast, that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place (the ship): they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. "Then," said I, "how comes it in all our country we never heard of them?" They told me because they lived so very far off. I then asked where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told they had: "and why," said I, "do we not see them?" they answered, because they were left behind. I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell; but that there were cloths put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on; and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would sacrifice me: but my wishes were vain; for we were so quartered that it was impossible for any of us to make our escape. While we stayed on the coast I was mostly on deck; and one day, to my great astonishment, I saw one of those vessels coming in with the sails up. As soon as the whites saw it, they gave a great shout, at which we were amazed; and the more so as the vessel appeared larger by approaching nearer. At last she came to an anchor in my sight, and when the anchor was let go I and my countrymen who saw it were lost in astonishment to observe the vessel stop; and were now convinced it was done by magic. Soon after this the other ship got her boats out, and they came on board of us, and the people of both ships seemed very glad to see each other. Several of the strangers also shook hands with us black people, and made motions with their hands, signifying I suppose we were to go to their country; but we did not understand them. At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed the vessel. But this disappointment was the least of my sorrow. The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched

situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself. I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with served only to render my state more painful, and heighten my apprehensions, and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites. One day they had taken a number of fishes; and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings. One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made it through the nettings and jumped into the sea: immediately another quite dejected fellow, who, on one account of his illness, was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very soon have done the same if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a moment put down under the deck, and here was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs [latrines], carried off many. During our passage I first saw flying fishes, which surprised me very much: they used frequently to fly across the ship, and many of them fell on the deck. I also now first saw the use of the quadrant; I had often with astonishment seen the mariners make observations with it, and I could not think what it meant. They at last took notice of my surprise; and one of them, willing to increase it, as well as to gratify my curiosity, made me one day look through it. The clouds appeared to me to be land, which disappeared as they passed along. This heightened my wonder; and I was now more persuaded than ever that I was in another world, and that every thing about me was magic. At last we came in sight of the island of Barbadoes, at which the whites on board gave a great shout, and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer we plainly saw the harbour, and other ships of different kinds and sizes; and we soon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels, and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought by this we should be eaten by these ugly men, as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the deck again, there was much dread and trembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much; and sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were all pent up together like so many sheep in a fold, without regard to sex or age. As every object was new to me every thing I saw filled me with surprise. What struck me first was that the houses were built with stories, and in every other respect different from those in Africa: but I was still more astonished on seeing people on horseback. I did not know what this could mean; and indeed I thought these people were full of nothing but magical arts. While I was in this astonishment one of my fellow prisoners spoke to a countryman of his about the horses, who said they were the same kind they had in their country. I understood them, though they were from a distant part of Africa, and I thought it odd I had not seen any horses there; but afterwards, when I came to converse with different Africans, I found they had many horses amongst them, and much larger than those I then saw. We were not many days in the merchant's custody before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this:—On a signal given, (as the beat of a drum) the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make choice of that

parcel they like best. The noise and clamour with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, serve not a little to increase the apprehensions of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again. I remember in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men's apartment, there were several brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots; and it was very moving on this occasion to see and hear their cries at parting. O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God, who says unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you? Is it not enough that we are torn from our country and friends to toil for your luxury and lust of gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice? Are the dearest friends and relations, now rendered more dear by their separation from their kindred, still to be parted from each other, and thus prevented from cheering the gloom of slavery with the small comfort of being together and mingling their sufferings and sorrows? Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their sisters, or husbands their wives? Surely this is a new refinement in cruelty, which, while it has no advantage to atone for it, thus aggravates distress, and adds fresh horrors even to the wretchedness of slavery.

An Appeal in Four Articles (David Walker, 1829)

SOURCE: Walker, David. *David Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America.* 1829. Edited by Charles M. Wiltse. New York: Hill and Wang, 1965, pp. 19–33.

INTRODUCTION: *Born in the South in 1785, the son of a free black woman, David Walker traveled widely as a young man, eventually settling in Boston during the 1820s, where he began writing and lecturing on the abolition of slavery. His* Appeal, in Four Articles, *first published in 1829, constituted a fervent plea for slave rebellion, frightening many Southerners and causing rumors of a bounty for Walker's head. He died mysteriously in Boston the following year.*

Article II.

Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance.

Ignorance, my brethren, is a mist, low down into the very dark and almost impenetrable abyss in which, our fathers for many centuries have been plunged. The Christians, and enlightened of Europe, and some of Asia, seeing the ignorance and consequent degradation of our fathers, instead of trying to enlighten them, by teaching them that religion and light with which God had blessed them, they have plunged them into wretchedness ten thousand times more intolerable, than if they had left them entirely to the Lord, and to add to their miseries, deep down into which they have plunged them tell them, that they are an *inferior* and *distinct race* of beings, which they will be glad enough to recall and swallow by and by. Fortune and misfortune, two inseparable companions, lay rolled up in the wheel of events, which have from the creation of the world, and will continue to take place among men until God shall dash worlds together.

When we take a retrospective view of the arts and sciences—the wise legislators—the Pyramids, and other magnificent buildings—the turning of the channel of the river Nile, by the sons of Africa or of Ham, among whom learning originated, and was carried thence into Greece, where it was improved upon and refined. Thence among the Romans, and all over the then enlightened parts of the world, and it has been enlightening the dark and benighted minds of men from then, down to this day. I say, when I view retrospectively, the renown of that once mighty people, the children of our great progenitor I am indeed cheered. Yea further, when I view that mighty son of Africa, HANNIBAL, one of the greatest generals of antiquity, who defeated and cut off so many thousands of the white Romans or murderers, and who carried his victorious arms, to the very gate of Rome, and I give it as my candid opinion, that had Carthage been well united and had given him good support, he would have carried that cruel and barbarous city by storm. But they were dis-united, as the coloured people are now, in the United States of America, the reason our natural enemies are enabled to keep their feet on our throats.

Beloved brethren—here let me tell you, and believe it, that the Lord our God, as true as he sits on his throne in heaven, and as true as our Saviour died to redeem the world, will give you a Hannibal, and when the Lord shall have raised him up, and given him to you for your possession, O my suffering brethren! remember the divisions and consequent sufferings of *Carthage* and of *Hayti.* Read the history particularly of Hayti, and see how they were butchered by the whites, and do you take warning. The person whom God shall give you, give him your support

and let him go his length, and behold in him the salvation of your God. God will indeed, deliver you through him from your deplorable and wretched condition under the Christians of America. I charge you this day before my God to lay no obstacle in his way, but let him go.

The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us. As true as the sun ever shone in its meridian splendor, my colour will root some of them out of the very face of the earth. They shall have enough of making slaves of, and butchering, and murdering us in the manner which they have. No doubt some may say that I write with a bad spirit, and that I being a black, wish these things to occur. Whether I write with a bad or a good spirit, I say if these things do not occur in their proper time, it is because the world in which we live does not exist, and we are deceived with regard to its existence.—It is immaterial however to me, who believe, or who refuse—though I should like to see the whites repent peradventure God may have mercy on them, some however, have gone so far that their cup must be filled.

But what need have I to refer to antiquity, when Hayti, the glory of the blacks and terror of tyrants, is enough to convince the most avaricious and stupid of wretches—which is at this time, and I am sorry to say it, plagued with that scourge of nations, the Catholic religion; but I hope and pray God that she may yet rid herself of it, and adopt in its stead the Protestant faith; also, I hope that she may keep peace within her borders and be united, keeping a strict look out for tyrants, for if they get the least chance to injure her, they will avail themselves of it, as true as the Lord lives in heaven. But one thing which gives me joy is, that they are men who would be cut off to a man, before they would yield to the combined forces of the whole world—in fact, if the whole world was combined against them, it could not do any thing with them, unless the Lord delivers them up.

Ignorance and treachery one against the other—a grovelling servile and abject submission to the lash of tyrants, we see plainly, my brethren, are not the natural elements of the blacks, as the Americans try to make us believe; but these are misfortunes which God has suffered our fathers to be enveloped in for many ages, no doubt in consequence of their disobedience to their Maker, and which do, indeed, reign at this time among us, almost to the destruction of all other principles: for I must truly say, that ignorance, the mother of treachery and deceit, gnaws into our very vitals. Ignorance, as it now exists among us, produces a state of things, Oh my Lord! too horrible to present to the world. Any man who is curious to see the full force of ignorance developed among the coloured people of the United States of America, has only to go into the southern and western states of this confederacy, where, if he is not a tyrant, but has the feelings of a human being, who can feel for a fellow creature, he may see enough to make his very heart bleed! He may see there, a son take his mother, who bore almost the pains of death to give him birth, and by the command of a tyrant, strip her as naked as she came into the world, and apply the cow-hide to her, until she falls a victim to death in the road! He may see a husband take his dear wife, not unfrequently in a pregnant state, and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet! Can the Americans escape God Almighty? If they do, can he be to us a God of Justice? God is just, and I know it—for he has convinced me to my satisfaction—I cannot doubt him. My observer may see fathers beating their sons, mothers their daughters, and children their parents, all to pacify the passions of unrelenting tyrants. He may also, see them telling news and lies, making mischief one upon another. These are some of the productions of ignorance, which he will see practiced among my dear brethren, who are held in unjust slavery and wretchedness, by avaricious and unmerciful tyrants, to whom, and their hellish deeds, I would suffer my life to be taken before I would submit. And when my curious observer comes to take notice of those who are said to be free, (which assertion I deny) and who are making some frivolous pretentions to common sense, he will see that branch of ignorance among the slaves assuming a more cunning and deceitful course of procedure. —He may see some of my brethren in league with tyrants, selling their own brethren into *hell upon earth,* not dissimilar to the exhibitions in Africa, but in a more secret, servile and abject manner. Oh Heaven! I am full ! ! ! I can hardly move my pen! ! ! and as I expect some will try to put me to death, to strike terror into others, and to obliterate from their minds the notion of freedom, so as to keep my brethren the more secure in wretchedness, where they will be permitted to stay but a short time (whether tyrants believe it or not)—I shall give the world a development of facts, which are already witnessed in the courts of heaven. My observer may see some of those ignorant and treacherous creatures (coloured people) sneaking about in the large cities, endeavouring to find out all strange coloured people, where they work and where they reside, asking them questions, and trying to ascertain whether they are runaways or not, telling them, at the same time, that they always have been, are, and always will be, friends to their brethren; and, perhaps, that they themselves are absconders, and a thousand such treacherous lies to get the better information of the more ignorant! ! ! There have been and are at this day in Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and

Baltimore, coloured men, who are in league with tyrants, and who receive a great portion of their daily bread, of the moneys which they acquire from the blood and tears of their more miserable brethren, whom they scandalously delivered into the hands of our *natural enemies*! ! ! ! ! !

To show the force of degraded ignorance and deceit among us some farther, I will give here an extract from a paragraph, which may be found in the Columbian Centinel of this city, for September 9, 1829, on the first page of which, the curious may find an article, headed

"Affray and Murder."

"Portsmouth, (Ohio) Aug. 22, 1829.

> "A most shocking outrage was committed in Kentucky, about eight miles from this place, on 14th inst. A negro driver, by the name of Gordon, who had purchased in Maryland about sixty negroes, was taking them, assisted by an associate named Allen, and the wagoner who conveyed the baggage, to the Mississippi. The men were handcuffed and chained together, in the usual manner for driving those poor wretches, while the women and children were suffered to proceed without incumbrance. It appears that, by means of a file the negroes, unobserved, had succeeded in separating the iron which bound their hands, in such a way as to be able to throw them off at any moment. About 8 o'clock in the morning, while proceeding on the state road leading from Greenup to Vanceburg, two of them dropped their shackles and commenced a fight, when the wagoner (Petit) rushed in with his whip to compel them to desist. At this moment, every negro was found to be perfectly at liberty; and one of them seizing a club, gave Petit a violent blow on the head, and laid him dead at his feet; and Allen, who came to his assistance, met a similar fate, from the contents of a pistol fired by another of the gang. Gordon was then attacked, seized and held by one of the negroes, whilst another fired twice at him with a pistol, the ball of which each time grazed his head, but not proving effectual, he was beaten with clubs, and left for dead. They then commenced pillaging the wagon, and with an axe split open the trunk of Gordon, and rifled it of the money, about $2,400. Sixteen of the negroes then took to the woods; Gordon, in the mean time, not being materially injured, was enabled, by the assistance of one of the women, to mount his horse and flee; pursued, however, by one of the gang on another horse, with a drawn pistol; fortunately he escaped with his life barely, arriving at a plantation, as the negro came in sight; who then turned about and retreated.
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> "The neighbourhood was immediately rallied, and a hot pursuit given—which, we understand, has resulted in the capture of the whole gang and the recovery of the greatest part of the money. Seven of the negro men and one woman, it is said were engaged in the murders, and will be brought to trial at the next court in Greenupsburg."

Here my brethren, I want you to notice particularly in the above article, the *ignorant* and *deceitful actions* of this coloured woman. I beg you to view it candidly, as for ETERNITY! ! ! ! Here a *notorious wretch,* with two other confederates had SIXTY of them in a gang, driving them like *brutes*—the men all in chains and hand-cuffs, and by the help of God they got their chains and hand-cuffs thrown off, and caught two of the wretches and put them to death, and beat the other until they thought he was dead, and left him for dead; however, he deceived them, and rising from the ground, this *servile woman* helped him upon his horse, and he made his escape. Brethren, what do you think of this? Was it the natural *fine feelings* of this woman, to save such a wretch alive? I know that the blacks, take them half enlightened and ignorant, are more humane and merciful than the most enlightened and refined European that can be found in all the earth. Let no one say that I assert this because I am prejudiced on the side of my colour, and against the whites or Europeans. For what I write, I do it candidly, for my God and the good of both parties: Natural observations have taught me these things; there is a solemn awe in the hearts of the blacks, as it respects *murdering* men [footnoted: Which is the reason the whites take the advantage of us.]: whereas the whites, (though they are great cowards) where they have the advantage, or think that there are any prospects of getting it, they murder all before them, in order to subject men to wretchedness and degradation under them. This is the natural result of pride and avarice. But I declare, the actions of this black woman are really insupportable. For my own part, I cannot think it was any thing but servile deceit, combined with the most gross ignorance: for we must remember that *humanity, kindness* and the *fear of the Lord,* does not consist in protecting *devils.* Here is a set of wretches, who had SIXTY of them in a gang, driving them around the country like *brutes,* to dig up gold and silver for them, (which they will get enough of yet.) Should the lives of such creatures be spared? Are God and Mammon in league? What has the Lord to do with a gang of desperate wretches, who go *sneaking about the country like robbers*—light upon his people wherever they can get a chance, binding them with chains and hand-cuffs, beat

and murder them as they would *rattle-snakes*? Are they not the Lord's enemies? Ought they not to be destroyed? Any person who will save such wretches from destruction, is fighting against the Lord, and will receive his just recompense. The black men acted like *blockheads.* Why did they not make sure of the wretch? He would have made sure of them, if he could. It is just the way with black men—eight white men can frighten fifty of them; whereas, if you can only get courage into the blacks, I do declare it, that one good black man can put to death six white men; and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle, and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites.—The reason is, the blacks, once you get them started, they glory in death. The whites have had us under them for more than three centuries, murdering, and treating us like brutes; and, as Mr. Jefferson wisely said, they have never *found us out*—they do not know, indeed, that there is an unconquerable disposition in the breasts of the blacks, which, when it is fully awakened and put in motion, will be subdued, only with the destruction of the animal existence. Get the blacks started, and if you do not have a gang of tigers and lions to deal with, I am a deceiver of the blacks and of the whites. How sixty of them could let that wretch escape unkilled, I cannot conceive—they will have to suffer as much for the two whom, they secured, as if they had put one hundred to death: if you commence, make sure work—do not trifle, for they will not trifle with you—they want us for their slaves, and think nothing of murdering us in order to subject us to that wretched condition—therefore, if there is an *attempt* made by us, kill or be killed. Now, I ask you, had you not rather be killed than to be a slave to a tyrant, who takes the life of your mother, wife, and dear little children? Look upon your mother, wife and children, and answer God Almighty; and believe this, that it is no more harm for you to kill a man, who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty; in fact, the man who will stand still and let another murder him, is worse than an infidel, and, if he has common sense, ought not to be pitied. The actions of this deceitful and ignorant coloured woman, in saving the life of a desperate wretch, whose avaricious and cruel object was to drive her, and her companions in miseries, through the country like cattle, to make his fortune on their carcasses, are but too much like that of thousands of our brethren in these states: if any thing is whispered by one, which has any allusion to the melioration of their dreadful condition, they run and tell tyrants, that they may be enabled to keep them the longer in wretchedness and miseries. Oh! coloured people of these United States, I ask you, in the name of that God who made us, have we, in consequence of oppression, nearly lost the spirit of man, and, in no very trifling degree, adopted that of brutes? Do you answer, no? —I ask you, then, what set of men can you point me to, in all the world, who are so abjectly employed by their oppressors, as we are by our *natural enemies*? How can, Oh! how can those enemies but say that we and our children are not of the HUMAN FAMILY, but were made by our Creator to be an inheritance to them and theirs for ever? How can the slaveholders but say that they can bribe the best coloured person in the country, to sell his brethren for a trifling sum of money, and take that atrocity to confirm them in their avaricious opinion, that we were made to be slaves to them and their children? How could Mr. Jefferson but say, "I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are *inferior* to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind?" —"It," says he, "is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genius, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications." [Here, my brethren, listen to him.] "Will not a lover of natural history, then, one who views the gradations in all the races of *animals* with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of MAN as *distinct* as nature had formed them?" —I hope you will try to find out the meaning of this verse—its widest sense and all its bearings: whether you do or not, remember the whites do. This very verse, brethren, having emanated from Mr. Jefferson, a much greater philosopher the world never afforded, has in truth injured us more, and has been as great a barrier to our emancipation as any thing that has ever been advanced against us. I hope you will not let it pass unnoticed He goes on further, and says: "This *unfortunate* difference of colour, and *perhaps* of *faculty,* is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature are anxious also to preserve its *dignity* and *beauty.* Some of these, embarrassed by the question, 'What further is to be done with them?' join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only." Now I ask you candidly, my suffering brethren in time, who are candidates for the eternal worlds, how could Mr. Jefferson but have given the world these remarks respecting us, when we are so submissive to them, and so much servile deceit prevail among ourselves—when we so *meanly* submit to their murderous lashes, to which neither the Indians nor any other people under Heaven would submit? No, they would die to a man, before they would suffer such things from men who are no better than themselves, and *perhaps not so good.* Yes, how can our friends but be embarrassed, as Mr. Jefferson says, by the question, "What further is to be done with these people?" For while they are working for our emancipation, we are, by our treachery, wickedness and deceit,

working against ourselves and our children—helping ours, and the enemies of God, to keep us and our dear little children in their infernal chains of slavery! ! ! Indeed, our friends cannot but relapse and join themselves "with those who are actuated by *sordid avarice* only! ! ! !" For my own part, I am glad Mr. Jefferson has advanced his positions for your sake; for you will either have to contradict or confirm him by your own actions, and not by what our friends have said or done for us; for those things are other men's labours, and do not satisfy the Americans, who are waiting for us to prove to them ourselves, that we are MEN, before they will be willing to admit the fact; for I pledge you my sacred word of honour, that Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us, have sunk deep into the hearts of millions of the whites, and never will be removed this side of eternity. —For how can they, when we are confirming him every day, by our *groveling submissions* and *treachery*? I aver, that when I look over these United States of America, and the world, and see the ignorant deceptions and consequent wretchedness of my brethren, I am brought oftimes solemnly to a stand, and in the midst of my reflections I exclaim to my God, "Lord didst thou make us to be slaves to our brethren, the whites?" But when I reflect that God is just, and that millions of my wretched brethren would meet death with glory—yea, more, would plunge into the very mouths of cannons and be torn into particles as minute as the atoms which compose the elements of the earth, in preference to a mean submission to the lash of tyrants, I am with streaming eyes, compelled to shrink back into nothingness before my Maker, and exclaim again, thy will be done, O Lord God Almighty.

Men of colour, who are also of sense, for you particularly is my APPEAL designed. Our more ignorant brethren are not able to penetrate its value. I call upon you therefore to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren, and to do your utmost to enlighten them—*go to work and enlighten your brethren!*—Let the Lord see you doing what you can to rescue them and yourselves from degradation. Do any of you say that you and your family are free and happy, and what have you to do with the wretched slaves and other people? So can I say, for I enjoy as much freedom as any of you, if I am not quite as well off as the best of you. Look into our freedom and happiness, and see of what kind they are composed! ! They are of the very lowest kind—they are the very *dregs*!—they are the most servile and abject kind, that ever a people was in possession of! If any of you wish to know how FREE you are, let one of you start and go through the southern and western States of this country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man (a servant is a *slave* to the man whom he serves) or have your free papers, (which if you are not careful they will get from you) if they do not take you up and put you in jail, and if you cannot give good evidence of your freedom, sell you into eternal slavery, I am not a living man: or any man of colour, immaterial who he is, or where he came from, if he is not *the fourth from the negro race*! ! (as we are called) the white Christians of America will serve him the same they will sink him into wretchedness and degradation for ever while he lives. And yet some of you have the hardihood to say that you are free and happy! May God have mercy on your freedom and happiness! ! I met a coloured man in the street a short time since, with a string of boots on his shoulders; we fell into conversation, and in course of which, I said to him, what a miserable set of people we are! He asked, why? —Said I, we are so subjected under the whites, that we cannot obtain the comforts of life, but by cleaning their boots and shoes, old clothes, waiting on them, shaving them &c. Said he, (with the boots on his shoulders) "I am completely happy! ! ! I never want to live any better or happier than when I can get a plenty of boots and shoes to clean! ! !" Oh! how can those who are actuated by avarice only, but think, that our Creator made us to be an inheritance to them for ever, when they see that our greatest glory is centered in such mean and low objects? Understand me, brethren, I do not mean to speak against the occupations by which we acquire enough and sometimes scarcely that, to render ourselves and families comfortable through life. I am subjected to the same inconvenience, as you all. —My objections are, to our *glorying* and being *happy* in such low employments; for if we are men, we ought to be thankful to the Lord for the past, and for the future. Be looking forward with thankful hearts to higher attainments than *wielding the razor* and *cleaning boots and shoes.* The man whose aspirations are not *above,* and even *below* these, is indeed, ignorant and wretched enough. I advanced it therefore to you, not as a *problematical,* but as an unshaken and for ever immovable *fact,* that your full glory and happiness, as well as all other coloured people under Heaven, shall never be fully consummated, but with the *entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world.* You may therefore, go to work and do what you can to rescue, or join in with tyrants to oppress them and yourselves, until the Lord shall come upon you all like a thief in the night. For I believe it is the will of the Lord that our greatest happiness shall consist in working for the salvation of our whole body. When this is accomplished a burst of glory will shine upon you, which will indeed astonish you and the world. Do any of you say this never will be done? I assure you that God will accomplish it—if nothing else will answer, he will hurl tyrants and devils into *atoms* and make way for his people. But O my brethren! I say unto you again, you must go to work and prepare the way of the Lord.

There is a great work for you to do, as trifling as some of you may think of it. You have to prove to the Americans and the world, that we are MEN, and not *brutes,* as we have been represented, and by millions treated. Remember, to let the aim of your labours among your brethren, and particularly the youths, be the dissemination of education and religion. [footnoted: Never mind what the ignorant ones among us may say, many of whom when you speak to them for their good, and try to enlighten their minds, laugh at you, and perhaps tell you plump to your face, that they want no instruction from you or any other Niger, and all such aggravating language. Now if you are a man of understanding and sound sense, I conjure you in the name of the Lord, and of all that is good, to impute their actions to ignorance, and wink at their follies, and do your very best to get around them some way or other, for remember they are your brethren; and I declare to you that it is for your interests to teach and enlighten them.] It is lamentable, that many of our children go to school, from four until they are eight or ten, and sometimes fifteen years of age, and leave school knowing but a little more about the grammar of their language than a horse does about handling a musket—and not a few of them are really so ignorant, that they are unable to answer a person correctly, general questions in geography, and to hear them read, would only be to disgust a man who has a taste for reading; which, to do well, as trifling as it may appear to some, (to the ignorant in particular) is a great part of learning. Some few of them, may make out to scribble tolerably well, over a half sheet of paper, which I believe has hitherto been a powerful obstacle in our way, to keep us from acquiring knowledge. An ignorant father, who knows no more than what nature has taught him, together with what little he acquires by the senses of hearing and seeing, finding his son able to write a neat hand, sets it down for granted that he has as good learning as any body; the young, ignorant gump, hearing his father or mother, who perhaps may be ten times more ignorant, in point of literature, than himself, extolling his learning, struts about, in the full assurance, that his attainments in literature are sufficient to take him through the world, when, in fact, he has scarcely any learning at all! ! ! !

I promiscuously fell in conversation once, with an elderly coloured man on the topics of education, and of the great prevalency of ignorance among us: Said he, "I know that our people are very ignorant but my son has a good education: I spent a great deal of money on his education: he can write as well as any white man, and I assure you that no one can fool him," &c. Said I, what else can your son do, besides writing a good hand? Can he post a set of books in a mercantile manner? Can he write a neat piece of composition in prose or in verse? To these interrogations he answered in the negative. Said I, did your son learn, while he was at school, the width and depth of English Grammar? To which he also replied in the negative, telling me his son did not learn those things. Your son, said I, then, has hardly any learning at all—he is almost as ignorant, and more so, than many of those who never went to school one day in all their lives. My friend got a little put out, and so walking off, said that his son could write as well as any white man. Most of the coloured people, when they speak of the education of one among us who can write a neat hand, and who perhaps knows nothing but to scribble and puff pretty fair on a small scrap of paper, immaterial whether his words are grammatical, or spelt correctly, or not; if it only looks beautiful, they say he has as good an education as any white man—he can write as well as any white man, &c. The poor, ignorant creature, hearing, this, he is ashamed, forever after, to let any person see him humbling himself to another for knowledge but going about trying to deceive those who are more ignorant than himself, he at last falls an ignorant victim to death in wretchedness. I pray that the Lord may undeceive my ignorant brethren, and permit them to throw away pretensions, and seek after the substance of learning. I would crawl on my hands and knees through mud and mire, to the feet of a learned man, where I would sit and humbly supplicate him to instil into me, that which neither devils nor tyrants could remove, only with my life—for coloured people to acquire learning in this country, makes tyrants quake and tremble on their sandy foundation. Why, what is the matter? Why, they know that their infernal deeds of cruelty will be made known to the world. Do you suppose one man of good sense and learning would submit himself, his father, mother, wife and children, to be slaves to a wretched man like himself, who, instead of compensating him for his labours, chains, handcuffs and beats him and family almost to death, leaving life enough in them, however, to work for, and call him master? No! no! he would cut his devilish throat from ear to ear, and well do slave-holders know it. The bare name of educating the coloured people, scares our cruel oppressors almost to death. But if they do not have enough to be frightened for yet, it will be, because they can always keep us ignorant, and because God approbates their cruelties, with which they have been for centuries murdering us. The whites shall have enough of the blacks, yet, as true as God sits on his throne in Heaven.

Some of our brethren are so very full of learning, that you cannot mention any thing to them which they do not know better than yourself! !—nothing is strange to them! !—they knew every thing years ago!—if any thing should be mentioned in company where they are, immaterial how important it is respecting us or the world, if they had not

divulged it; they make light of it, and affect to have known it long before it was mentioned and try to make all in the room, or wherever you may be, believe that your conversation is nothing! !—not worth hearing! All this is the result of ignorance and ill-breeding; for a man of good-breeding, sense and penetration, if he had heard a subject told twenty times over, and should happen to be in company where one should commence telling it again, he would wait with patience on its narrator, and see if he would tell it as it was told in his presence before—paying the most strict attention to what is said, to see if any more light will be thrown on the subject: for all men are not gifted alike in telling, or even hearing the most simple narration. These ignorant, vicious, and wretched men, contribute almost as much injury to our body as tyrants themselves, by doing so much for the promotion of ignorance amongst us; for they, making such pretensions to knowledge, such of our youth as are seeking after knowledge, and can get access to them, take them as criterions to go by, who will lead them into a channel, where, unless the Lord blesses them with the privilege of seeing their folly, they will be irretrievably lost forever, while in time! ! !

I must close this article by relating the very heart-rending fact, that I have examined school-boys and young men of colour in different parts of the country, in the most simple parts of Murray's English Grammar, and not more than one in thirty was able to give a correct answer to my interrogations. If any one contradicts me, let him step out of his door into the streets of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, (no use to mention any other, for the Christians are too charitable further south or west!)—I say, let him who disputes me, step out of his door into the streets of either of those four cities, and promiscuously collect one hundred school-boys, or young men of colour, *who have been to school,* and who are considered by the coloured people to have received an excellent education, because, perhaps, some of them can write a good hand, but who, notwithstanding their neat writing, may be almost as ignorant, in comparison, as a horse. —And, I say it, he will hardly find (in this enlightened day, and in the midst of this *charitable* people) five in one hundred, who, are able to correct the false grammar of their language. —The cause of this almost universal ignorance among us, I appeal to our schoolmasters to declare. Here is a fact, which I this very minute take from the mouth of a young coloured man, who has been to school in this state (Massachusetts) nearly nine years, and who knows grammar this day, *nearly* as well as he did the day he first entered the schoolhouse, under a white master. This young man says: "My master would never allow me to study grammar." I asked him, why? "The school committee," said he "forbid the coloured children learning grammar—they would not allow any but the white children to study grammar." It is a notorious fact, that the major part of the white Americans, have, ever since we have been among them, tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slaves to them and theirs. *Oh! my God, have mercy on Christian Americans! ! !*

The Confessions of Nat Turner (1831)

SOURCE: *The Nat Turner Rebellion.* Edited by John B. Duff and Peter M. Mitchell. New York: Harper & Row, 1971, pp. 11–28.

INTRODUCTION: *Nat Turner led a rebellion of slaves in Virginia in 1831, killing more than fifty whites. When the revolt was finally brought to an end by local militia, about twenty blacks were tried and executed, including Turner, and scores of others were put to death by bands of vengeful vigilantes in the weeks that followed. The text reprinted below is the entire confession of Nat Turner as recorded by white lawyer Thomas R. Gray just before Turner's trial.*

Agreeable to his own appointment, on the evening he was committed to prison, with permission of the jailer, I visited Nat on Tuesday the 1st November, when, without being questioned at all, he commenced his narrative in the following words:—

Sir,—You have asked me to give a history of the motives which induced me to undertake the late insurrection, as you call it—To do so I must go back to the days of my infancy, and even before I was born. I was thirty-one years of age the 2d of October last, and born the property of Benj. Turner, of this county. In my childhood a circumstance occurred which made an indelible impression on my mind, and laid the ground work of that enthusiasm, which has terminated so fatally to many, both white and black, and for which I am about to atone at the gallows. It is here necessary to relate this circumstance—trifling as it may seem, it was the commencement of that belief which has grown with time, and even now, sir, in this dungeon, helpless and forsaken as I am, I cannot divest myself of. Being at play with other children, when three or four years old, I was telling them something, which my mother overhearing, said it had happened before I was born—I stuck to my story, however, and related somethings which went, in her opinion, to confirm it—others being called on were greatly astonished, knowing that these things had

happened, and caused them to say in my hearing, I surely would be a prophet, as the Lord had shewn me things that had happened before my birth. And my father and mother strengthened me in this my first impression, saying in my presence, I was intended for some great purpose, which they had always thought from certain marks on my head and breast—[a parcel of excrescences which I believe are not at all uncommon, particularly among negroes, as I have seen several with the same. In this case he has either cut them off or they have nearly disappeared] —My grand mother, who was very religious, and to whom I was much attached—my master, who belonged to the church, and other religious persons who visited the house, and whom I often saw at prayers, noticing the singularity of my manners, I suppose, and my uncommon intelligence for a child, remarked I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was, I would never be of any service to any one as a slave—To a mind like mine, restless, inquisitive and observant of every thing that was passing, it is easy to suppose that religion was the subject to which it would be directed, and although this subject principally occupied my thoughts—there was nothing that I saw or heard of to which my attention was not directed—The manner in which I learned to read and write, not only had great influence on my own mind, as I acquired it with the most perfect ease, so much so, that I have no recollection whatever of learning the alphabet—but to the astonishment of the family, one day, when a book was shewn me to keep me from crying, I began spelling the names of different objects—this was a source of wonder to all in the neighborhood, particularly the blacks—and this learning was constantly improved at all opportunities—when I got large enough to go to work, while employed, I was reflecting on many things that would present themselves to my imagination, and whenever an opportunity occurred of looking at a book, when the school children were getting their lessons, I would find many things that the fertility of my own imagination had depicted to me before; all my time, not devoted to my master's service, was spent either in prayer, or in making experiments in casting different things in moulds made of earth, in attempting to make paper, gunpowder, and many other experiments, that although I could not perfect, yet convinced me of its practicability if I had the means. I was not addicted to stealing in my youth, nor have ever been—Yet such was the confidence of the negroes in the neighborhood, even at this early period of my life, in my superior judgment, that they would often carry me with them when they were going on any roguery, to plan for them. Growing up among them, with this confidence in my superior judgment, and when this, in their opinions, was perfected by Divine inspiration, from the circumstances already alluded to in my infancy, and which belief was ever afterwards zealously inculcated by the austerity of my life and manners, which became the subject of remark by white and black. —Having soon discovered to be great, I must appear so, and therefore studiously avoided mixing in society, and wrapped myself in mystery, devoting my time to fasting and prayer—By this time, having arrived to man's estate, and hearing the scriptures commented on at meetings, I was struck with that particular passage which says: "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you." I reflected much on this passage, and prayed daily for light on this subject—As I was praying one day at my plough, the spirit spoke to me, saying "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you." Question—what do you mean by the Spirit. Ans. The Spirit that spoke to the prophets in former days—and I was greatly astonished, and for two years prayed continually, whenever my duty would permit—and then again I had the same revelation, which fully confirmed me in the impression that I was ordained for some great purpose in the hands of the Almighty. Several years rolled round, in which many events occurred to strengthen me in this my belief. At this time I reverted in my mind to the remarks made of me in my childhood, and the things that had been shown me—and as it had been said of me in my childhood by those by whom I had been taught to pray, both white and black, and in whom I had the greatest confidence, that I had too much sense to be raised, and if I was, I would never be of any use to any one as a slave. Now finding I had arrived to man's estate, and was a slave, and these revelations being made known to me, I began to direct my attention to this great object, to fulfil the purpose for which, by this time, I felt assured I was intended. Knowing the influence I had obtained over the minds of my fellow servants, (not by the means of conjuring and such like tricks—for to them I always spoke of such things with contempt) but by the communion of the Spirit whose revelations I often communicated to them, and they believed and said my wisdom came from God. I now began to prepare them for my purpose, by telling them something was about to happen that would terminate in fulfilling the great promise that had been made to me—About this time I was placed under an overseer, from whom I ranaway—and after remaining in the woods thirty days, I returned, to the astonishment of the negroes on the plantation, who thought I had made my escape to some other part of the country, as my father had done before. But the reason of my return was, that the Spirit appeared to me and said I had my wishes directed to the things of this world, and not to the kingdom of Heaven, and that I should return to the service of my earthly master—"For he who knoweth his Master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes,

and thus have I chastened you." And the negroes found fault, and murmurred against me, saying that if they had my sense they would not serve any master in the world. And about this time I had a vision—and I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams—and I heard a voice saying, "Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bare it." I now withdrew myself as much as my situation would permit, from the intercourse of my fellow servants, for the avowed purpose of serving the Spirit more fully—and it appeared to me, and reminded me of the things it had already shown me, and that it would then reveal to me the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of tides, and changes of the seasons. After this revelation in the year 1825, and the knowledge of the elements being made known to me, I sought more than ever to obtain true holiness before the great day of judgment should appear, and then I began to receive the true knowledge of faith. And from the first steps of righteousness until the last, was I made perfect; and the Holy Ghost was with me, and said, "Behold me as I stand in the Heavens"—and I looked and saw the forms of men in different attitudes—and there were lights in the sky to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were—for they were the lights of the Saviour's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary for the redemption of sinners. And I wondered greatly at these miracles, and prayed to be informed of a certainty of the meaning thereof—and shortly afterwards, while laboring in the field, I discovered drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven—and I communicated it to many, both white and black, in the neighborhood—and I then found on the leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters, and numbers, with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood, and representing the figures I had seen before in the heavens. And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, and made plain the miracles it had shown me—For as the blood of Christ had been shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners, and was now returning to earth again in the form of dew—and as the leaves on the trees bore the impression of the figures I had seen in the heavens, it was plain to me that the Saviour was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgment was at hand. About this time I told these things to a white man, (Etheldred T. Brantley) on whom it had a wonderful effect—and he ceased from his wickedness, and was attacked immediately with a cutaneous eruption, and blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and after praying and fasting nine days, he was healed, and the Spirit appeared to me again, and said, as the Saviour had been baptised so should we be also—and when the white people would not let us be baptised by the church, we went down into the water together, in the sight of many who reviled us, and were baptised by the Spirit—After this I rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God. And on the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first. Ques. Do you not find yourself mistaken now? Ans. Was not Christ crucified. And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work—and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men—And on the appearance of the sign, (the eclipse of the sun last February) I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons. And immediately on the sign appearing in the heavens, the seal was removed from my lips, and I communicated the great work laid out for me to do, to four in whom I had the greatest confidence, (Henry, Hark, Nelson, and Sam)—it was intended by us to have begun the work of death on the 4th July last—Many were the plans formed and rejected by us, and it affected my mind to such a degree, that I fell sick, and the time passed without our coming to any determination how to commence—Still forming new schemes and rejecting them, when the sign appeared again, which determined me not to wait longer.

Since the commencement of 1830, I had been living with Mr. Joseph Travis, who was to me a kind master, and placed the greatest confidence in me; in fact, I had no cause to complain of his treatment to me. On Saturday evening, the 20th of August, it was agreed between Henry, Hark and myself, to prepare a dinner the next day for the men we expected, and then to concert a plan, as we had not yet determined on any. Hark, on the following morning, brought a pig, and Henry brandy, and being joined by Sam, Nelson, Will and Jack, they prepared in the woods a dinner, where, about three o'clock, I joined them.

Q. Why were you so backward in joining them.

A. The same reason that had caused me not to mix with them for years before.

I saluted them on coming up, and asked Will how came he there, he answered, his life was worth no more than others, and, his liberty as dear to him. I asked him if he thought to obtain it? He said he would, or loose his life. This was enough to put him in full confidence. Jack, I knew, was only a tool in the hands of Hark, it was quickly

agreed we should commence at home (Mr. J. Travis') on that night, and until we had armed and equipped ourselves, and gathered sufficient force, neither age nor sex was to be spared, (which was invariably adhered to.) We remained at the feast, until about two hours in the night, when we went to the house and found Austin; they all went to the cider press and drank, except myself. On returning to the house, Hark went to the door with an axe, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family, if they were awaked by the noise; but reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood, we determined to enter the house secretly, and murder them whilst sleeping. Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and hoisting a window, entered and came down stairs, unbarred the door, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood. On which, armed with a hatchet, and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber, it being dark, I could not give a death blow, the hatchet glanced from his head, he sprang from the bed and called his wife, it was his last work, Will laid him dead, with a blow of his axe, and Mrs. Travis shared the same fate, as she lay in bed. The murder of this family, five in number, was the work of a moment, not one of them awoke; there was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten, until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Henry and Will returned and killed it; we got here, four guns that would shoot, and several old muskets, with a pound or two of powder. We remained some time at the barn, where we paraded; I formed them in a line as soldiers, and after carrying them through all the manoeuvres I was master of, marched them off to Mr. Salathul Francis', about six hundred yards distant. Sam and Will went to the door and knocked. Mr. Francis asked who was there, Sam replied it was him, and he had a letter for him, on which he got up and came to the door; they immediately seized him, and dragging him out a little from the door, he was dispatched by repeated blows on the head; there was no other white person in the family. We started from there for Mrs. Reese's, maintaining the most perfect silence on our march, where finding the door unlocked, we entered, and murdered Mrs. Reese in her bed, while sleeping; her son awoke, but it was only to sleep the sleep of death, he had only time to say who is that, and he was no more. From Mrs. Reese's we went to Mrs. Turner's, a mile distant, which we reached about sunrise, on Monday morning. Henry, Austin, and Sam, went to the still, where, finding Mr. Peebles, Austin shot him, and the rest of us went to the house; as we approached, the family discovered us, and shut the door. Vain hope! Will, with one stroke of his axe, opened it, and we entered and found Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Newsome in the middle of a room, almost frightened to death. Will immediately killed Mrs. Turner, with one blow of his axe. I took Mrs. Newsome by the hand, and with the sword I had when I was apprehended, I struck her several blows over the head, but not being able to kill her, as the sword was dull. Will turning around and discovering it, despatched her also. A general destruction of property and search for money and ammunition, always succeeded the murders. By this time my company amounted to fifteen, and nine men mounted, who started for Mrs. Whitehead's, (the other six were to go through a by way to Mr. Bryant's, and rejoin us at Mrs. Whitehead's,) as we approached the house we discovered Mr. Richard Whitehead standing in the cotton patch, near the lane fence; we called him over into the lane, and Will, the executioner, was near at hand, with his fatal axe, to send him to an untimely grave. As we pushed on to the house, I discovered some one run round the garden, and thinking it was some of the white family, I pursued them, but finding it was a servant girl belonging to the house, I returned to commence the work of death, but they whom I left, had not been idle; all the family were already murdered, but Mrs. Whitehead and her daughter Margaret. As I came round to the door I saw Will pulling Mrs. Whitehead out of the house, and at the step he nearly severed her head from her body, with his broad axe. Miss Margaret, when I discovered her, had concealed herself in the corner, formed by the projection of the cellar cap from the house; on my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and after repeated blows with a sword, I killed her by a blow on the head, with a fence rail. By this time, the six who had gone by Mr. Bryant's, rejoined us, and informed me they had done the work of death assigned them. We again divided, part going to Mr. Richard Porter's, and from thence to Nathaniel Francis', the others to Mr. Howell Harris', and Mr. T. Doyles. On my reaching Mr. Porter's, he had escaped with his family. I understood there, that the alarm had already spread, and I immediately returned to bring up those sent to Mr. Doyles, and Mr. Howell Harris'; the party I left going on to Mr. Francis', having told them I would join them in that neighborhood. I met these sent to Mr. Doyles' and Mr. Harris' returning, having met Mr. Doyle on the road and killed him; and learning from some who joined them, that Mr. Harris was from home, I immediately pursued the course taken by the party gone on before; but knowing they would complete the work of death and pillage, at Mr. Francis' before I could get there, I went to Mr. Peter Edwards', expecting to find them there, but they had been here also. I then went to Mr. John T. Barrow's, they had been here and murdered him. I pursued on their track to Capt. Newit Harris', where I found the greater part mounted, and ready to start; the men now amounting to

about forty, shouted and hurraed as I rode up, some were in the yard, loading their guns, others drinking. They said Captain Harris and his family had escaped, the property in the house they destroyed, robbing him of money and other valuables. I ordered them to mount and march instantly, this was about nine or ten o'clock, Monday morning. I proceeded to Mr. Levi Waller's, two or three miles distant. I took my station in the rear, and as it 'twas my object to carry terror and devastation wherever we went, I placed fifteen or twenty of the best armed and most to be relied on, in front, who generally approached the houses as fast as their horses could run; this was for two purposes, to prevent their escape and strike terror to the inhabitants—on this account I never got to the houses, after leaving Mrs. Whitehead's, until the murders were committed, except in one case. I sometimes got in sight in time to see the work of death completed, viewed the mangled bodies as they lay, in silent satisfaction, and immediately started in quest of other victims—Having murdered Mrs. Waller and ten children, we started for Mr. William Williams'—having killed him and two little boys that were there; while engaged in this, Mrs. Williams fled and got some distance from the house, but she was pursued, overtaken, and compelled to get up behind one of the company, who brought her back, and after showing her the mangled body of her lifeless husband, she was told to get down and lay by his side, where she was shot dead. I then started for Mr. Jacob Williams, where the family were murdered—Here we found a young man named Drury, who had come on business with Mr. Williams—he was pursued, overtaken and shot. Mrs. Vaughan was the next place we visited—and after murdering the family here, I determined on starting for Jerusalem—Our number amounted now to fifty or sixty, all mounted and armed with guns, axes, swords and clubs—On reaching Mr. James W. Parker's gate, immediately on the road leading to Jerusalem, and about three miles distant, it was proposed to me to call there, but I objected, as I knew he was gone to Jerusalem, and my object was to reach there as soon as possible; but some of the men having relations at Mr. Parker's it was agreed that they might call and get his people. I remained at the gate on the road, with seven or eight; the others going across the field to the house, about half a mile off. After waiting some time for them, I became impatient, and started to the house for them, and on our return we were met by a party of white men, who had pursued our blood-stained track, and who had fired on those at the gate, and dispersed them, which I knew nothing of, not having been at that time rejoined by any of them—Immediately on discovering the whites, I ordered my men to halt and form, as they appeared to be alarmed—The white men, eighteen in number, approached us in about one hundred yards, when one of them fired, (this was against the positive orders of Captain Alexander P. Peete, who commanded, and who had directed the men to reserve their fire until within thirty paces) And I discovered about half of them retreating, I then ordered my men to fire and rush on them; the few remaining stood their ground until we approached within fifty yards, when they fired and retreated. We pursued and overtook some of them who we thought we left dead; (they were not killed) after pursuing them about two hundred yards, and rising a little hill, I discovered they were met by another party, and had halted, and were re-loading their guns, (this was a small party from Jerusalem who knew the negroes were in the field, and had just tied their horses to await their return to the road, knowing that Mr. Parker and family were in Jerusalem, but knew nothing of the party that had gone in with Captain Peete; on hearing the firing they immediately rushed to the spot and arrived just in time to arrest the progress of these barbarious villains, and save the lives of their friends and fellow citizens.) Thinking that those who retreated first, and the party who fired on us at fifty or sixty yards distant, had all only fallen back to meet others with ammunition. As I saw them re-loading their guns, and more coming up than I saw at first, and several of my bravest men being wounded, the others became panick struck and squandered over the field; the white men pursued and fired on us several times. Hark had his horse shot under him, and I caught another for him as it was running by me; five or six of my men were wounded, but none left on the field; finding myself defeated here I instantly determined to go through a private way, and cross the Nottoway river at the Cypress Bridge, three miles below Jerusalem, and attack that place in the rear, as I expected they would look for me on the other road, and I had a great desire to get there to procure arms and ammunition. After going a short distance in this private way, accompanied by about twenty men, I overtook two or three who told me the others were dispersed in every direction. After trying in vain to collect a sufficient force to proceed to Jerusalem, I determined to return, as I was sure they would make back to their old neighborhood, where they would rejoin me, make new recruits, and come down again. On my way back, I called at Mrs. Thomas's, Mrs. Spencer's, and several other places, the white families having fled, we found no more victims to gratify our thirst for blood, we stopped at Majr. Ridley's quarter for the night, and being joined by four of his men, with the recruits made since my defeat, we mustered now about forty strong. After placing out sentinels, I laid down to sleep, but was quickly roused by a great racket; starting up, I found some mounted, and others in great confusion; one of the sentinels having given the alarm that we were about

to be attacked, I ordered some to ride round and reconnoitre, and on their return the others being more alarmed, not knowing who they were, fled in different ways, so that I was reduced to about twenty again, with this I determined to attempt to recruit, and proceed on to rally in the neighborhood, I had left. Dr. Blunt's was the nearest house, which we reached just before day; on riding up the yard, Hark fired a gun. We expected Dr. Blunt and his family were at Maj. Ridley's, as I knew there was a company of men there; the gun was fired to ascertain if any of the family were at home; we were immediately fired upon and retreated, leaving several of my men. I do not know what became of them, as I never saw them afterwards. Pursuing our course back and coming in sight of Captain Harris', where we had been the day before, we discovered a party of white men at the house, on which all deserted me but two, (Jacob and Nat,) we concealed ourselves in the woods until near night, when I sent them in search of Henry, Sam, Nelson, and Hark, and directed them to rally all they could, at the place we had had our dinner the Sunday before, where they would find me, and I accordingly returned there as soon as it was dark and remained until Wednesday evening, when discovering white men riding around the place as though they were looking for some one, and none of my men joining me, I concluded Jacob and Nat had been taken, and compelled to betray me. On this I gave up all hope for the present; and on Thursday night after having supplied myself with provisions from Mr. Travis's, I scratched a hole under a pile of fence rails in a field, where I concealed myself for six weeks, never leaving my hiding place but for a few minutes in the dead of night to get water which was very near; thinking by this time I could venture out, I began to go about in the night and eaves drop the houses in the neighborhood; pursuing this course for about a fortnight and gathering little or no intelligence, afraid of speaking to any human being, and returning every morning to my cave before the dawn of day. I know not how long I might have led this life, if accident had not betrayed me, a dog in the neighborhood passing by my hiding place one night while I was out, was attracted by some meat I had in my cave, and crawled in and stole it, and was coming out just as I returned. A few nights after, two negroes having started to go hunting with the same dog, and passed that way, the dog came again to the place, and having just gone out to walk about, discovered me and barked, on which thinking myself discovered, I spoke to them to beg concealment. On making myself known they fled from me. Knowing then they would betray me, I immediately left my hiding place, and was pursued almost incessantly until I was taken a fortnight afterwards by Mr. Benjamin Phipps, in a little hole I had dug out with my sword, for the purpose of concealment, under the top of a fallen tree. On Mr. Phipps' discovering the place of my concealment, he cocked his gun and aimed at me. I requested him not to shoot and I would give up, upon which he demanded my sword. I delivered it to him, and he brought me to prison. During the time I was pursued, I had many hair breadth escapes, which your time will not permit you to relate. I am here loaded with chains, and willing to suffer the fate that awaits me.

I here proceeded to make some inquiries of him, after assuring him of the certain death that awaited him, and that concealment would only bring destruction on the innocent as well as guilty, of his own color, if he knew of any extensive or concerted plan. His answer was, I do not. When I questioned him as to the insurrection in North Carolina happening about the same time, he denied any knowledge of it; and when I looked him in the face as though I would search his inmost thoughts, he replied, "I see sir, you doubt my word; but can you not think the same ideas, and strange appearances about this time in the heaven's might prompt others, as well as myself, to this undertaking." I now had much conversation with and asked him many questions, having forborne to do so previously, except in the cases noted in parenthesis; but during his statement, I had, unnoticed by him, taken notes as to some particular circumstances, and having the advantage of his statement before me in writing, on the evening of the third day that I had been with him, I began a cross examination, and found his statement corroborated by every circumstance coming within my own knowledge or the confessions of others whom had been either killed or executed, and whom he had not seen nor had any knowledge since 22d of August last, he expressed himself fully satisfied as to the impracticability of his attempt. It has been said he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious, that he was never known to have a dollar in his life; to swear an oath, or drink a drop of spirits. As to his ignorance, he certainly never had the advantages of education, but he can read and write, (it was taught him by his parents,) and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have ever seen. As to his being a coward, his reason as given for not resisting Mr. Phipps, shews the decision of his character. When he saw Mr. Phipps present his gun, he said he knew it was impossible for him to escape as the woods were full of men; he therefore thought it was better to surrender, and trust to fortune for his escape. He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. On other subjects he possesses an uncommon share of intelligence, with a mind capable of attaining any thing; but warped and perverted by the influence of early impressions. He is below the ordinary stature, though

strong and active, having the true negro face, every feature of which is strongly marked. I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him; clothed with rags and covered with chains; yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man; I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins.

I will not shock the feelings of humanity, nor wound afresh the bosoms of the disconsolate sufferers in this unparalleled and inhuman massacre, by detailing the deeds of their fiend-like barbarity. There were two or three who were in the power of these wretches, had they known it, and who escaped in the most providential manner. There were two whom they thought they left dead on the field at Mr. Parker's, but who were only stunned by the blows of their guns, as they did not take time to re-load when they charged on them. The escape of a little girl who went to school at Mr. Waller's, and where the children were collecting for that purpose. excited general sympathy. As their teacher had not arrived, they were at play in the yard, and seeing the negroes approach, she ran up on a dirt chimney, (such as are common to log houses,) and remained there unnoticed during the massacre of the eleven that were killed at this place. She remained on her hiding place till just before the arrival of a party, who were in pursuit of the murderers, when she came down and fled to a swamp, where, a mere child as she was, with the horrors of the late scene before her, she lay concealed until the next day, when seeing a party go up to the house, she came up, and on being asked how she escaped, replied with the utmost simplicity, "The Lord helped her." She was taken up behind a gentleman of the party, and returned to the arms of her weeping mother. Miss Whitehead concealed herself between the bed and the mat that supported it, while they murdered her sister in the same room, without discovering her. She was afterwards carried off, and concealed for protection by a slave of the family, who gave evidence against several of them on their trial. Mrs. Nathaniel Francis, while concealed in a closet heard their blows, and the shrieks of the victims of these ruthless savages; they then entered the closet where she was concealed, and went out without discovering her. While in this hiding place, she heard two of her women in a quarrel about the division of her clothes. Mr. John T. Barron, discovering them approaching his house, told his wife to make her escape, and scorning to fly, fell fighting on his own threshold. After firing his rifle, he discharged his gun at them, and then broke it over the villain who first approached him, but he was overpowered, and slain. His bravery, however, saved from the hands of these monsters, his lovely and amiable wife, who will long lament a husband so deserving of her love. As directed by him, she attempted to escape through the garden, when she was caught and held by one of her servant girls, but another coming to her rescue, she fled to the woods, and concealed herself. Few indeed, were those who escaped their work of death. But fortunate for society, the hand of retributive justice has overtaken them; and not one that was known to be concerned has escaped.

The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen (1833)

SOURCE: Allen, Richard. *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen.* Philadelphia: Lee and Yeocum, 1888, pp. 11–17.

INTRODUCTION: *From the posthumous autobiography of Richard Allen (1760–1831), founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.*

I was born in the year of our Lord 1760, on February 14th, a slave to Benjamin Chew, of Philadelphia. My mother and father and four children of us were sold into Delaware state, near Dover; and I was a child and lived with him until I was upwards of twenty years of age, during which time I was awakened and brought to see myself, poor, wretched and undone, and without the mercy of God must be lost. Shortly after, I obtained mercy through the blood of Christ, and was constrained to exhort my old companions to seek the Lord. I went rejoicing for several days and was happy in the Lord, in conversing with many old, experienced Christians. I was brought under doubts, and was tempted to believe I was deceived, and was constrained to seek the Lord a fresh. I went with my head bowed down for many days. My sins were a heavy burden. I was tempted to believe there was no mercy for me. I cried to the Lord both night and day. One night I thought hell would be my portion. I cried unto Him who delighteth to hear the prayers of a poor sinner, and all of a sudden my dungeon shook, my chains flew off, and, glory to God, I cried. My soul was filled. I cried, enough for me—the Saviour died. Now my confidence was strengthened that the Lord, for Christ's sake, had heard my prayers and pardoned all my sins. I was constrained to go from house to house, exhorting my old companions, and telling to all

around what a dear Saviour I had found. I joined the Methodist Society and met in class at Benjamin Wells's, in the forest, Delaware state. John Gray was the class leader. I met in his class for several years.

My master was an unconverted man, and all the family, but he was what the world called a good master. He was more like a father to his slaves than anything else. He was a very tender, humane man. My mother and father lived with him for many years. He was brought into difficulty, not being able to pay for us, and mother having several children after he had bought us, he sold my mother and three children. My mother sought the Lord and found favor with him, and became a very pious woman. There were three children of us remained with our old master. My oldest brother embraced religion and my sister. Our neighbors, seeing that our master indulged us with the privilege of attending meeting once in two weeks, said that Stokeley's Negroes would soon ruin him; and so my brother and myself held a council together, that we would attend more faithfully to our master's business, so that it should not be said that religion made us worse servants; we would work night and day to get our crops forward, so that they should be disappointed. We frequently went to meeting on every other Thursday; but if we were likely to be backward with our crops we would refrain from going to meeting. When our master found we were making no provision to go to meeting, he would frequently ask us if it was not our meeting day, and if we were not going. We would frequently tell him: "No, sir, we would rather stay at home and get our work done." He would tell us: "Boys, I would rather you would go to your meeting; if I am not good myself, I like to see you striving yourselves to be good." Our reply would be: "Thank you, sir, but we would rather stay and get our crops forward." So we always continued to keep our crops more forward than our neighbors, and we would attend public preaching once in two weeks, and class meeting once a week. At length, our master said he was convinced that religion made slaves better and not worse, and often boasted of his slaves for their honesty and industry. Some time after, I asked him if I might ask the preachers to come and preach at his house. He being old and infirm, my master and mistress cheerfully agreed for me to ask some of the Methodist preachers to come and preach at his house. I asked him for a note. He replied, if my word was not sufficient, he should send no note. I accordingly asked the preacher. He seemed somewhat backward at first, as my master did not send a written request; but the class leader (John Gray) observed that my word was sufficient; so he preached at my old master's house on the next Wednesday. Preaching continued for some months; at length, Freeborn Garrettson preached from these words, "Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting." In pointing out and weighing the different characters, and among the rest weighed the slaveholders, my master believed himself to be one of that number, and after that he could not be satisfied to hold slaves, believing it to be wrong. And after that he proposed to me and my brother buying our times, to pay him 60£ gold and silver, or $2000, Continental money, which we complied with in the year 17__.

We left our master's house, and I may truly say it was like leaving our father's house; for he was a kind, affectionate and tender-hearted master, and told us to make his house our home when we were out of a place or sick. While living with him we had family prayer in the kitchen, to which he frequently would come out himself at time of prayer, and my mistress with him. At length he invited us from the kitchen to the parlor to hold family prayer, which we attended to. We had our stated times to hold our prayer meetings and give exhortations at in the neighborhood.

I had it often impressed upon my mind that I should one day enjoy my freedom; for slavery is a bitter pill, notwithstanding we had a good master. But when we would think that our day's work was never done, we often thought that after our master's death we were liable to be sold to the highest bidder, as he was much in debt; and thus my troubles were increased, and I was often brought to weep between the porch and the altar. But I have had reason to bless my dear Lord that a door was opened unexpectedly for me to buy my time and enjoy my liberty. When I left my master's house I knew not what to do, not being used to hard work, what business I should follow to pay my master and get my living. I went to cutting of cord wood. The first day my hands were so blistered and sore, that it was with difficulty I could open or shut them. I kneeled down upon my knees and prayed that the Lord would open some way for me to get my living. In a few days, my hands recovered and became accustomed to cutting of wood and other hardships; so I soon became able to cut my cord and a half and two cords a day. After I was done cutting I was employed in a brickyard by one Robert Register, at $50 a month, Continental money. After I was done with the brickyard I went to days' work, but did not forget to serve my dear Lord. I used ofttimes to pray, sitting, standing or lying; and while my hands were employed to earn my bread, my heart was devoted to my dear Redeemer. Sometimes I would awake from my sleep, preaching and praying. I was after this employed in driving of wagon in time of the Continental war, in drawing salt from Rehoboth, Sussex County, in Delaware. I had my regular stops and preaching places on the road. I enjoyed many happy seasons in meditation and prayer while in this employment.

After peace was proclaimed, I then travelled extensively, striving to preach the Gospel. My lot was cast in Wilmington. Shortly after, I was taken sick with the fall fever and then the pleurisy. September the 3rd 1783, I left my native place. After leaving Wilmington, I went into New Jersey, and there traveled and strove to preach the Gospel until the spring of 1784. I then became acquainted with Benjamin Abbott, the great and good apostle. He was one of the greatest men that ever I was acquainted with. He seldom preached but what there were souls added to his labor. He was a man of as great faith as any that ever I saw. The Lord was with him, and blessed his labors abundantly. He was a friend and father to me. I was sorry when I had to leave West Jersey, knowing I had to leave a father. I was employed in cutting of wood for Captain Cruenkleton, although I preached the Gospel at nights and on Sundays. My dear Lord was with me, and blessed my labors—Glory to God—and gave me souls for my hire. I then visited East Jersey, and labored for my dear Lord, and became acquainted with Joseph Budd, and made my home with him, near the mills—a family, I trust, who loved and served the Lord. I labored some time there, but being much afflicted in body with the inflammatory rheumatism, was not so successful as in some other places. I went from there to Jonathan Bunn's near Bennington, East New Jersey. There I labored in that neighborhood for some time. I found him and his family kind and affectionate, and he and his dear wife were a father and mother of Israel. In the year 1784, I left East Jersey and labored in Pennsylvania. I waked until my feet became so sore and blistered the first day, that I scarcely could bear them to the ground. I found the people very humane and kind in Pennsylvania. I having but little money, I stopped at Caesar Waters's, at Radnor township, twelve miles from Philadelphia. I found him and his wife very kind and affectionate to me. In the evening they asked me if I would come and take tea with them; but after sitting awhile, my feet became so sore and painful that I could scarcely be able to put them to the floor. I told them that I would accept their kind invitation, but my feet pained me so that I could not come to the table. They brought the table to me. Never was I more kindly received by strangers that I had never before seen, than by them. She bathed my feet with warm water and bran; the next morning my feet were better and free from pain. They asked me if I would preach for them. I preached for them the next evening. We had a glorious meeting. They invited me to stay till Sabbath day, and preach for them. I agree to do so, and preached on Sabbath day to a large congregation of different persuasions, and my dear Lord was with me, and I believe there were many souls cut to the heart, and were added to the ministry. They insisted on me to stay longer with them. I stayed and labored in Radnor several weeks. Many souls were awakened and cried aloud to the Lord to have mercy upon them. I was frequently called upon by many inquiring what they should do to be saved. I appointed them to prayer and supplication at the throne of grace, and to make use of all manner of prayer, and pointed them to the invitation of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who has said: "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Glory be to God! and I know he was a God at hand and not afar off. I preached my farewell sermon, and left these dear people. It was a time of visitation from above, many were the slain of the Lord. Seldom did I ever experience such a time of mourning and lamentation among a people. There were but few colored people in the neighborhood—the most of my congregation was white. Some said, "this man must be a man of God, I never heard such preaching before." We spent a greater part of the night in singing and prayer with the mourners. I expected I should have had to walk, as I had done before; but Mr. Davis had a creature that he made a present to me; but I intended to pay him for his horse if ever I got able. My dear Lord was kind and gracious to me. Some years after I got into business and thought myself able to pay for the horse. The horse was too light and small for me to travel on far. I traded it away with George Huftman for a blind horse but larger. I found my friend Huftman very kind and affectionate to me, and his family also. I preached several times at Huftman's meeting-house to a large and numerous congregation.

I proceeded on to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. I found the people in general dead to religion and scarcely a form of godliness. I went on to Little York, and put up at George Tess's, a sadler, and I believed him to be a man that loved and served the Lord. I had comfortable meetings with the Germans. I left Little York and proceeded on to the state of Maryland, and stopped at Mr. Benjamin Grover's; and I believed him to be a man that loved and served the Lord. I had many happy seasons with my dear friends. His wife was a very pious woman; but their dear children were strangers to vital religion. I preached in the neighborhood for some time, and travelled Hartford circuit with Mr. Porters, who travelled that circuit. I found him very useful to me. I also travelled with Jonathan Forest and Leari Coal.

December 1784, General Conference sat in Baltimore, the first General Conference ever held in America. The English preachers just arrived from Europe were, Rev. Dr. Coke, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vassey. This was the beginning of the Episcopal Church amongst the Methodists. Many of the ministers were set apart in holy orders at this conference, and were said to be entitled to the gown; and I have thought religion has been declining in

the church ever since. There was a pamphlet published by some person which stated that when the Methodists were no people, then they were a people; and now they have become a people, they were no people, which had often serious weight upon my mind.

In 1785 the Rev. Richard Whatcoat was appointed on Baltimore circuit. He was, I believe, a man of God. I found great strength in travelling with him—a father in Israel. In his advice he was fatherly and friendly. He was of a mild and serene disposition. My lot was cast in Baltimore, in a small meeting-house called Methodist Alley. I stopped at Richard Mould's, and was sent to my lodgings, and lodged at Mr. McCannon's. I had some happy meetings in Baltimore. I was introduced to Richard Russell, who was very kind and affectionate to me, and attended several meetings. Rev. Bishop Asbury sent for me to meet him at Henry Gaff's. I did so. He told me he wished me to travel with him. He told me that in the slave countries, Carolina and other places, I must not intermix with the slaves, and I would frequently have to sleep in his carriage, and he would allow me my victuals and clothes. I told him I would not travel with him on these conditions. He asked me my reason. I told him if I was taken sick, who was to support me? and that I thought people ought to lay up something while they were able, to support themselves in time of sickness or old age. He said that was as much as he got, his victuals and clothes. I told him he would be taken care of, let his afflictions be as they were, or let him be taken sick where he would, he would be taken care of; but I doubted whether it would be the case with myself. He smiled, and told me he would give me from then until he returned from the eastward to make up my mind, which would be about three months. But I made up my mind that I would not accept of his proposals. Shortly after I left Hartford Circuit, and came to Pennsylvania, on Lancaster circuit. I travelled several months on Lancaster circuit with the Rev. Peter Morratte and Irie Ellis. They were very kind and affectionate to me in building me up; for I had many trials to pass through, and I received nothing from the Methodist connection. My usual method was, when I would get bare of clothes, to stop travelling and go to work, so that no man could say I was chargeable to the connection. My hands administered to my necessities. The autumn of 1785 I returned again to Radnor. I stopped at George Giger's, a man of God, and went to work. His family were all kind and affectionate to me. I killed seven beeves, and supplied the neighbors with meat; got myself pretty well clad through my own industry—thank God—and preached occasionally. The elder in charge in Philadelphia frequently sent for me to come to the city. February, 1786, I came to Philadelphia. Preaching was given out for me at five o'clock in the morning at St. George church. I strove to preach as well as I could, but it was a great cross to me; but the Lord was with me. We had a good time, and several souls were awakened, and were earnestly seeking redemption in the blood of Christ. I thought I would stop in Philadelphia a week or two. I preached at different places in the city. My labor was much blessed. I soon saw a large field open in seeking and instructing my African brethren, who had been a long forgotten people and few of them attended public worship. I preached in the commons, in Southwark, Northern Liberties, and wherever I could find an opening. I frequently preached twice a day, at 5 o'clock in the morning and in the evening, and it was not uncommon for me to preach from four to five times a day. I established prayer meetings; I raised a society in 1786 for forty-two members. I saw the necessity of erecting a place of worship for the colored people. I proposed it to the most respectable people of color in this city; but here I met with opposition. I had but three colored brethren that united with me in erecting a place of worship—the Rev. Absalom Jones, William White and Dorus Ginnings. These united with me as soon as it became public and known by the elder who was stationed in the city. The Rev. C_______ B_______ opposed the plan, and would not submit to any argument we could raise; but he was shortly removed from the charge. The Rev. Mr. W_______ took the charge, and the Rev. L_______ G_______. Mr. W_______ was much opposed to an African church, and used very degrading and insulting language to us, to try and prevent us from going on. We all belonged to St. George's church—Rev. Absalom Jones, William White and Dorus Ginnings. We felt ourselves much cramped; but my dear Lord was with us, and we believed, if it was his will, the work would go on, and that we would be able to succeed in building the house of the Lord. We established prayer meetings and meetings of exhortation, and the Lord blessed our endeavors, and many souls were awakened; but the elder soon forbid us holding any such meetings; but we viewed the forlorn state of our colored brethren, and that they were destitute of a place of worship. They were considered as a nuisance.

A number of us usually attended St. George's church in Fourth street; and when the colored people began to get numerous in attending the church; they moved us from the seats we usually sat on, and placed us around the wall, and on Sabbath morning we went to church and the sexton stood at the door, and told us to go in the gallery. He told us to go, and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took those seats. Meeting had begun, and they were nearly done singing, and just as we got to the seats, the elder said, "Let us pray." We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable

scuffling and low talking. I raised my head up and saw one of the trustees, H_______ M_______, having hold of the Rev. Absalom Jones, pulling him up off of his knees, and saying, "You must get up—you must not kneel here." Mr. Jones replied, "Wait until prayer is over." Mr. H_______ M_______ said, "No, you must get up now, or I will call for aid and force you away." Mr. Jones said, "Wait until prayer is over, and I will get up and trouble you no more." With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees. Mr. L_______ S_______ to come to his assistance. He came, and went to William White to pull him up. By this time prayer was over, and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued with us in the church. This raised a great excitement and inquiry among the citizens, in so much that I believe they were ashamed of their conduct. But my dear Lord was with us, and we were filled with fresh vigor to get a house erected to worship God in. Seeing our forlorn and distressed situation, many of the hearts of our citizens were moved to urge us forward; notwithstanding we had subscribed largely towards finishing St. George's church, in building the gallery and laying new floors, and just as the house was made comfortable, we were turned out from enjoying the comforts of worshipping therein. We then hired a store-room, and held worship by ourselves. Here we were pursued with threats of being disowned, and read publicly out of meeting if we did continue worship in the place we had hired; but we believed the Lord would be our friend. We got subscription papers out to raise money to build the house of the Lord. By this time we had waited on Dr. Rush and Mr. Robert Ralston, and told them of our distressing situation. We considered it a blessing that the Lord had put it into our hearts to wait upon those gentlemen. They pitied our situation, and subscribed largely towards the church, and were very friendly towards us, and advised us how to go on. We appointed Mr. Ralston our treasurer. Dr. Rush did much for us in public by his influence. I hope the name of Dr. Benjamin Rush and Robert Ralston will never be forgotten among us. They were the first two gentlemen who espoused the cause of the oppressed, and aided us in building the house of the Lord for the poor Africans to worship in. Here was the beginning and rise of the first African church in America. But the elder of the Methodist Church still pursued us. Mr. John McClaskey called upon us and told us if we did not erase our names from the subscription paper, and give up the paper, we would be publicly turned out of meeting. We asked him if we had violated any rules of discipline by so doing. He replied, "I have the charge given to me by the Conference, and unless you submit I will read you publicly out of meeting." We told him we were willing to abide by the discipline of the Methodist Church, "And if you will show us where we have violated any law of discipline of the Methodist Church, we will submit; and if there is no rule violated in the discipline we will proceed on." He replied, "We will read you all out." We told him if he turned us out contrary to rule of discipline, we should seek further redress. We told him we were dragged off of our knees in St. George's church, and treated worse than heathens; and we were determined to seek out for ourselves, the Lord being our helper. He told us we were not Methodists, and left us. Finding we would go on in raising money to build the church, he called upon us again, and wished to see us all together. We met him. He told us that he wished us well, that he was a friend to us, and used many arguments to convince us that we were wrong in building a church. We told him we had no place of worship; and we did not mean to go to St. George's church any more, as we were so scandalously treated in the presence of all the congregation present; "and if you deny us your name, you cannot seal up the scriptures from us, and deny us a name in heaven. We believe heaven is free for all who worship in spirit and truth." And he said, "So you are determined to go on." We told him "Yes, God being our helper." He then replied, "We will disown you all from the Methodist connection." We believed if we put our trust in the Lord, he would stand by us. This was a trial that I never had to pass through before. I was confident that the great head of the church would support us. My dear Lord was with us. We went out with our subscription paper, and met with great success. We had no reason to complain of the liberality of the citizens. The first day the Rev. Absalom Jones and myself went out we collected three hundred and sixty dollars. This was the greatest day's collection that we met with. We appointed a committee to look out for a lot—the Rev. Absalom Jones, William Gray, William Wilcher and myself. We pitched upon a lot at the corner of Lombard and Sixth streets. They authorized me to go and agree for it. I did accordingly. The lot belonged to Mr. Mark Wilcox. We entered into articles of agreement for the lot. Afterwards the committee found a lot in Fifth street, in a more commodious part of the city, which we bought; and the first lot they threw upon my hands, and wished me to give it up. I told them they had authorized me to agree for the lot, and they were all well satisfied with the agreement I had made, and I thought it was hard that they would throw it upon my hands. I told them I would sooner keep it myself than to forfeit the agreement I had made. And so I did.

We bore much persecution from many of the Methodist connection; but we have reason to be thankful to Almighty God, who was our deliverer. The day was appointed to go and dig the cellar. I arose early in the morning and addressed the throne of grace, praying that the Lord would bless our endeavors. Having by this time two or

three teams of my own—as I was the first proposer of the African church, I put the first spade in the ground to dig a cellar for the same. This was the first African Church or meetinghouse that was erected in the United States of America. We intended it for the African preaching-house or church; but finding that the elder stationed in this city was such an opposer to our proceedings of erecting a place of worship, though the principal part of the directors of this church belonged to the Methodist connection, the elder stationed here would neither preach for us, nor have anything to do with us. We then held an election, to know what religious denomination we should unite with. At the election it was determined—there were two in favor of the Methodist, the Rev. Absalom Jones and myself, and a large majority in favor of the Church of England. The majority carried. Notwithstanding we had been so violently persecuted by the elder, we were in favor of being attached to the Methodist connection; for I was confident that there was no religious sect or denomination would suit the capacity of the colored people as well as the Methodist; for the plain and simple gospel suits best for any people; for the unlearned can understand, and the learned are sure to understand; and the reason that the Methodist is so successful in the awakening and conversion of the colored people, the plain doctrine and having a good discipline. But in many cases the preachers would act to please their own fancy, without discipline, till some of them became such tyrants, and more especially to the colored people. They would turn them out of society, giving them no trial, for the smallest offense, perhaps only hearsay. They would frequently, in meeting the class, impeach some of the members of whom they had heard an ill report, and turn them out, saying, "I have heard thus and thus of you, and you are no more a member of society"—without witnesses on either side. This has been frequently done, notwithstanding in the first rise and progress in Delaware state, and elsewhere, the colored people were their greatest support; for there were but few of us free; but the slaves would toil in their little patches many a night until midnight to raise their little truck and sell to get something to support them more than what their masters gave them, but we used often to divide our little support among the white preachers of the Gospel. This was once a quarter. It was in the time of the old Revolutionary War between Great Britain and the United States. The Methodists were the first people that brought glad tidings to the colored people. I feel thankful that ever I heard a Methodist preach. We are beholden to the Methodists, under God, for the light of the Gospel we enjoy; for all other denominations preached so high-flown that we were not able to comprehend their doctrine. Sure am I that reading sermons will never prove so beneficial to the colored people as spiritual or extempore preaching. I am well convinced that the Methodist has proved beneficial to thousands and ten times thousands. It is to be awfully feared that the simplicity of the Gospel that was among them fifty years ago, and that they conform more to the world and the fashions thereof, they would fare very little better than the people of the world. The discipline is altered considerably from what it was. We would ask for the good old way, and desire to walk therein.

In 1793 a committee was appointed from the African Church to solicit me to be their minister, for there was no colored preacher in Philadelphia but myself. I told them I could not accept of their offer, as I was a Methodist. I was indebted to the Methodists, under God, for what little religion I had; being convinced that they were the people of God, I informed them that I could not be anything else but a Methodist, as I was both and awakened under them, and I could go no further with them, for I was a Methodist, and would leave you in peace and love. I would do nothing to retard them in building a church as it was an extensive building, neither would I go out with a subscription paper until they were done going out with their subscription. I bought an old frame that had been formerly occupied as a blacksmith shop, from Mr. Sims, and hauled it on the lot in Sixth near Lombard street, that had formely been taken for the Church of England. I employed carpenters to repair the old frame, and fit it for a place of worship. In July 1794, Bishop Asbury being in town I solicited him to open the church for us which he accepted. The Rev. John Dickins sung and prayed, and Bishop Asbury preached. The house was called Bethel, agreeable to the prayer that was made. Mr. Dickins prayed that it might be a bethel to the gathering in of thousands of souls. My dear Lord was with us, so that there were many hearty "amens" echoed through the house. This house of worship has been favored with the awakening of many souls, and I trust they are in the Kingdom, both white and colored. Our warfare and troubles now began afresh. Mr. C. proposed that we should make over the church to the Conference. This we objected to; he asserted that we could not be Methodists unless we did; we told him he might deny us their name, but they could not deny us a seat in Heaven. Finding that he could not prevail with us so to do, he observed that we had better be incorporated, then we could get any legacies that were left for us, if not, we could not. We agreed to be incorporated. He offered to draw the incorporation himself, that it would save us the trouble of paying for to get it drawn. We cheerfully submitted to his proposed plan. He drew the incorporation, but incorporated our church under the Conference, our property was then all consigned to the Conference for the present bishops, elders, ministers, etc., that belonged to the white Confer-

ence, and our property was gone. Being ignorant of incorporations we cheerfully agreed thereto. We labored about ten years under this incorporation, until James Smith was appointed to take the charge in Philadelphia; he soon waked us up by demanding the keys and books of the church, and forbid us holding any meetings except by orders from him; these propositions we told him we could not agree to. He observed he was elder, appointed to the charge, and unless we submitted to him, he would read us all out of meeting. We told him the house was ours, we had bought it, and paid for it. He said he would let us know it was not ours, it belonged to the Conference; we took counsel on it; counsel informed us we had been taken in; according to the incorporation it belonged to the white connection. We asked him if it couldn't be altered; he told us if two-thirds of the society agreed to have it altered, it could be altered. He gave me a transcript to lay before them; I called the society together and laid it before them. My dear Lord was with us. It was unanimously agreed to, by both male and female. We had another incorporation drawn that took the church from Conference, and got it passed, before the elder knew anything about it. This raised a considerable rumpus, for the elder contended that it would not be good unless he had signed it. The elder, with the trustees of St. George's, called us together, and said we must pay six hundred dollars a year for their services, or they could not serve us. We told them we were not able so to do. The trustees of St. George's insisted that we should or should not be supplied by their preachers. At last they made a move that they would take four hundred; we told them that our house was considerably in debt, and we were poor people, and we could not agree to pay four hundred, but we agreed to give them two hundred. It was moved by one of the trustees of St. George's that the money should be paid into their treasury; we refused paying it into their treasury, but we would pay it to the preacher that served; they made a move that the preacher should not receive the money from us. The Bethel trustees made a move that their funds should be shut and they would pay none; this caused a considerable contention. At length they withdrew their motion. The elder supplied us preaching five times in a year for two hundred dollars. Finding that they supplied us so seldom, the trustees of Bethel church passed a resolution that they would pay but one hundred dollars a year, as the elder only preached five times in a year for us; they called for the money, we paid him twenty-five dollars a quarter, but he being dissatisfied, returned the money back again, and would not have it unless we paid him fifty dollars. The trustees concluded it was enough for five sermons, and said they would pay no more; the elder of St. George's was determined to preach for us no more, unless we gave him two hundred dollars, and we were left alone for upwards of one year.

Mr. Samuel Royal being appointed to the charge of Philadelphia, declared unless we should repeal the Supplement, neither he nor any white preacher, travelling or local, should preach any more for us; so we were left to ourselves. At length the preachers and stewards belonging to the Academy, proposed serving us on the same terms that we had offered to the St. George's preachers, and they preached for us better than twelve months, and then demanded $150 per year; this not being complied with, they declined preaching for us, and we were once more left to ourselves, as an edict was passed by the elder, that if any local preacher should serve us, he should be expelled from the connection. John Emory, then elder of the Academy, published a circular letter, in which we were disowned by the Methodists. A house was also hired and fitted up for worship, not far from Bethel, and an invitation given to all who desired to be Methodists to resort thither. But being disappointed in this plan, Robert R. Roberts, the resident elder, came to Bethel, insisted on preaching to us and taking the spiritual charge of the congregation, for we were Methodists he was told he should come on some terms with the trustees; his answer was that "He did not come to consult with Richard Allen or other trustees, but to inform the congregation, that on next Sunday afternoon, he would come and take the spiritual charge." We told him he could not preach for us under existing circumstances. However, at the appointed time he came, but having taken previous advice we had our preacher in the pulpit when he came, and the house was so fixed that he could not get but more than half way to the pulpit. Finding himself disappointed he appealed to those who came with him as witnesses, that "That man (meaning the preacher), had taken his appointment." Several respectable white citizens who knew the colored people had been ill-used, were present, and told us not to fear, for they would see us righted, and not suffer Roberts to preach in a forcible manner, after which Roberts went away.

The next elder stationed in Philadelphia was Robert Birch, who, following the example of his predecessor, came and published a meeting for himself. But the method just mentioned was adopted and he had to go away disappointed. In consequence of this, he applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus, to know why the pulpit was denied him. Being elder, this brought on a lawsuit, which ended in our favor. Thus by the Providence of God we were delivered from a long, distressing and expensive suit, which could not be resumed, being determined by the Supreme Court. For this mercy we desire to be unfeignedly thankful.

About this time, our colored friends in Baltimore were treated in a similar manner by the white preachers and trustees, and many of them driven away who were disposed to seek a place of worship, rather than go to law.

Many of the colored people in other places were in a situation nearly like those of Philadelphia and Baltimore, which induced us, in April 1816, to call a general meeting, by way of Conference. Delegates from Baltimore and other places which met those of Philadelphia, and taking into consideration their grievances, and in order to secure the privileges, promote union and harmony among themselves, it was resolved: "That the people of Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., etc., should become one body, under the name of the African Methodist Episcopal Church." We deemed it expedient to have a form of discipline, whereby we may guide our people in the fear of God, in the unity of the Spirit, and in the bonds of peace, and preserve us from that spiritual despotism which we have so recently experienced—remembering that we are not to lord it over God's heritage, as greedy dogs that can never have enough. But with long suffering and bowels of compassion, to bear each other's burdens, and so fulfill the Law of Christ, praying that our mutual striving together for the promulgation of the Gospel may be crowned with abundant success.

The God of Bethel heard her cries,
He let his power be seen;
He stopp'd the proud oppressor's frown,
And proved himself a King.

Thou sav'd them in the trying hour,
Ministers and councils joined,
And all stood ready to retain
That helpless church of Thine.

Bethel surrounded by her foes,
But not yet in despair,
Christ heard her supplicating cries;
The God of Bethel heard.

Address at the African Masonic Hall (Maria Stewart, 1833)

SOURCE: Moses, Wilson Jeremiah, ed. *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey.* New York: New York University Press, 1996, pp. 90–98.

INTRODUCTION: *Portraying African Americans as a people with a special God-given destiny, Stewart draws parallels from biblical references to Israel and Egypt in the Old Testament, and to Babylon in the Apocalypse, proclaiming her conviction that "many powerful sons and daughters of Africa will shortly arise, who will put down vice and immorality among us, and declare by Him that sitteth upon the throne, that they will have their rights. . . ." She concludes with a firm condemnation of the idea of African emigration.*

African rights and liberty is a subject that ought to fire the breast of every free man of color in these United States, and excite in his bosom a lively, deep, decided and heartfelt interest. When I cast my eyes on the long list of illustrious names that are enrolled on the bright annals of fame among the whites, I turn my eyes within, and ask my thoughts, "Where are the names of *our* illustrious ones?" It must certainly have been for the want of energy on the part of the free people of color, that they have been long willing to bear the yoke of oppression. It must have been the want of ambition and force that has given the whites occasion to say, that our natural abilities are not as good, and our capacities by nature inferior to theirs. They boldly assert, that, did we possess a natural independence of soul, and feel a love for liberty within our breasts, some one of our sable race, long before this, would have testified it, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labor. We have made ourselves appear altogether unqualified to speak in our own defence, and are therefore looked upon as objects of pity and commiseration. We have been imposed upon, insulted and derided on every side; and now, if we complain, it is considered as the height of impertinence. We have suffered ourselves to be considered as dastards, cowards, mean, faint-hearted wretches; and on this account, (not because of our complexion,) many despise us, and would gladly spurn us from their presence.

These things have fired my soul with a holy indignation, and compelled me thus to come forward, and endeavor to turn their attention to knowledge and improvement; for knowledge is power. I would ask, is it blindness of mind, or stupidity of soul, or the want of education, that has caused our men who are 60 or 70 years of age, never to let their voices be heard, nor their hands be raised in behalf of their color? Or has it been for the fear of offending the whites? If it has, O ye fearful ones, throw off your fearfulness, and come forth in the name of the Lord, and in the strength of the God of justice, and make yourselves useful and active members in society; for they admire a noble and patriotic spirit in others; and should they not admire it in us? If you are men, convince them that you possess the spirit of men; and as your day, so shall your strength be. Have the sons of Africa no souls? feel they no ambitious desires? shall the chains of ignorance forever confine them? shall the insipid appellation of

"clever negroes," or "good creatures," any longer content them? Where can we find among ourselves the man of science, or a philosopher, or an able statesman, or a counsellor at law? Show me our fearless and brave, our noble and gallant ones. Where are our lecturers on natural history, and our critics in useful knowledge? There may be a few such men among us, but they are rare. It is true, our fathers bled and died in the revolutionary war, and others fought bravely under the command of Jackson, in defence of liberty. But where is the man that has distinguished himself in these modern days by acting wholly in the defence of African rights and liberty? There was one, although he sleeps, his memory lives.

I am sensible that there are many highly intelligent gentlemen of color in these United States, in the force of whose arguments, doubtless, I should discover my inferiority; but if they are blest with wit and talent, friends and fortune, why have they not made themselves men of eminence, by striving to take all the reproach that is cast upon the people of color, and in endeavoring to alleviate the woes of their brethren in bondage? Talk, without effort, is nothing; you are abundantly capable, gentlemen, of making yourselves selves men of distinction; and this gross neglect, on your part, causes my blood to boil within me. Here is the grand cause which hinders the rise and progress of the people of color. It is their want of laudable ambition and requisite courage.

Individuals have been distinguished according to their genius and talents, ever since the first formation of man, and will continue to be while the world stands. The different grades rise to honor and respectability as their merits may deserve. History informs us that we sprung from one of the most learned nations of the whole earth; from the seat, if not the parent of science; yes, poor, despised Africa was once the resort of sages and legislators of other nations, was esteemed the school for learning, and the most illustrious men in Greece flocked thither for instruction. But it was our gross sins and abominations that provoked the Almighty to frown thus heavily upon us, and give our glory unto others. Sin and prodigality have caused the downfall of nations, kings and emperors; and were it not that God in wrath remembers mercy, we might indeed despair; but a promise is left us; "Ethiopia shall again stretch forth her hands unto God."

But it is of no use for us to boast that we sprung from this learned and enlightened nation, for this day a thick mist of moral gloom hangs over millions of our race. Our condition as a people has been low for hundreds of years, and it will continue to be so, unless, by true piety and virtue, we strive to regain that which we have lost. White Americans, by their prudence, economy and exertions, have sprung up and become one of the most flourishing nations in the world, distinguished for their knowledge of the arts and sciences, for their polite literature. While our minds are vacant, and starving for want of knowledge, theirs are filled to overflowing. Most of our color have been taught to stand in fear of the white man, from their earliest infancy, to work as soon as they could walk, and call "master," before they scarce could lisp the name of *mother.* Continual fear and laborious servitude have in some degree lessened in us that natural force and energy which belong to man; or else, in defiance of opposition, our men, before this, would have nobly and boldly contended for their rights. But give the man of color an equal opportunity with the white from the cradle to manhood, and from manhood to the grave, and you would discover the dignified statesman, the man of science, and the philosopher. But there is no such opportunity for the sons of Africa, and I fear that our powerful ones are fully determined that there never shall be. Forbid, ye Powers on high, that it should any longer be said that our men possess no force. O ye sons of Africa, when will your voices be heard in our legislative halls, in defiance of your enemies, contending for equal rights and liberty? How can you, when you reflect from what you have fallen, refrain from crying mightily unto God, to turn away from us the fierceness of his anger, and remember our transgressions against us no more forever. But a God of infinite purity will not regard the prayers of those who hold religion in one hand, and prejudice, sin and pollution in the other; he will not regard the prayers of self-righteousness and hypocrisy. Is it possible, I exclaim, that for the want of knowledge, we have labored for hundreds of years to support others, and been content to receive what they chose to give us in return? Cast your eyes about, look as far as you can see; all, all is owned by the lordly white, except here and there a lowly dwelling which the man of color, midst deprivations, fraud and opposition, has been scarce able to procure. Like king Solomon, who put neither nail nor hammer to the temple, yet received the praise; so also have the white Americans gained themselves a name, like the names of the great men that are in the earth, while in reality we have been their principal foundation and support. We have pursued the shadow, they have obtained the substance; we have performed the labor, they have received the profits; we have planted the vines, they have eaten the fruits of them.

I would implore our men, and especially our rising youth, to flee from the gambling board and the dance-hall; for we are poor, and have no money to throw away. I do not consider dancing as criminal in itself, but it is astonishing to me that our young men are so blind to their own interest and the future welfare of their children, as to

spend their hard earnings for this frivolous amusement; for it has been carried on among us to such an unbecoming extent, that it has became absolutely disgusting. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." Had those men among us, who have had an opportunity, turned their attention as assiduously to mental and moral improvement as they have to gambling and dancing, I might have remained quietly at home, and they stood contending in my place. These polite accomplishments will never enrol your names on the bright annals of fame, who admire the belle void of intellectual knowledge, or applaud the dandy that talks largely on politics, without striving to assist his fellow in the revolution, when the nerves and muscles of every other man forced him into the field of action. You have a right to rejoice, and to let your hearts cheer you in the days of your youth; yet remember that for all these things, God will bring you into judgment. Then, O ye sons of Africa, turn your mind from these perishable objects, and contend for the cause of God and the rights of man. Form yourselves into temperance societies. There are temperate men among you; then why will you any longer neglect to strive, by your example, to suppress vice in all its abhorrent forms? You have been told repeatedly of the glorious results arising from temperance, and can you bear to see the whites arising in honor and respectability, without endeavoring to grasp after that honor and respectability also?

But I forbear. Let our money, instead of being thrown away as heretofore, be appropriated for schools and seminaries of learning for our children and youth. We ought to follow the example of the whites in this respect. Nothing would raise our respectability, add to our peace and happiness, and reflect so much honor upon us, as to be ourselves the promoters of temperance, and the supporters, as far as we are able, of useful and scientific knowledge. The rays of light and knowledge have been hid from our view; we have been taught to consider ourselves as scarce superior to the brute creation; and have performed the most laborious part of American drudgery. Had we as a people received one half the early advantages the whites have received, I would defy the government of these United States to deprive us any longer of our rights.

I am informed that the agent of the Colonization Society has recently formed an association of young men, for the purpose of influencing those of us to go to Liberia who may feel disposed. The colonizationists are blind to their own interest, for should the nations of the earth make war with America, they would find their forces much weakened by our absence; or should we remain here, can our "brave soldiers," and "fellow-citizens," as they were termed in time of calamity, condescend to defend the rights of the whites, and be again deprived of their own, or sent to Liberia in return? Or, if the colonizationists are real friends to Africa, let them expend the money which they collect, in erecting a college to educate her injured sons in this land of gospel light and liberty; for it would be most thankfully received on our part, and convince us of the truth of their professions, and save time, expense and anxiety. Let them place before us noble objects, worthy of pursuit, and see if we prove ourselves to be those unambitious negroes they term us. But ah! methinks their hearts are so frozen towards us, they had rather their money should be sunk in the ocean than to administer it to our relief; and I fear, if they dared, like Pharaoh, king of Egypt, they would order every male child among us to be drowned. But the most high God is still as able to subdue the lofty pride of these white Americans, as He was the heart of that ancient rebel. They say, though we are looked upon as *things,* yet we sprang from a scientific people. Had our men the requisite force and energy, they would soon convince them by their efforts both in public and private, that they were men, or things in the shape of men. Well may the colonizationists laugh us to scorn for our negligence; well may they cry, "Shame to the sons of Africa." As the burden of the Israelites was too great for Moses to bear, so also is our burden too great for our noble advocate to bear. You must feel interested, my brethren, in what he undertakes, and hold up his hands by your good works, or in spite of himself, his soul will become discouraged, and his heart will die within him; for he has, as it were, the strong bulls of Bashan to contend with.

It is of no use for us to wait any longer for a generation of well educated men to arise. We have slumbered and slept too long already; the day is far spent; the night of death approaches; and you have sound sense and good judgment sufficient to begin with, if you feel disposed to make a right use of it. Let every man of color throughout the United States, who possesses the spirit and principles of a man, sign a petition to Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and grant you the rights and privileges of common free citizens; for if you had had faith as a grain of mustard seed, long before this the mountains of prejudice might have been removed. We are all sensible that the Anti-Slavery Society has taken hold of the arm of our whole population, in order to raise them out of the mire. Now all we have to do is, by a spirit of virtuous ambition to strive to raise ourselves; and I am happy to have it in my power thus publicly to say, that the colored inhabitants of this city, in some respects, are beginning to improve. Had the free people of color in these United States nobly and boldly contended for their rights, and showed a natural genius and talent, although not so brilliant as

some; had they held up, encouraged and patronized each other, nothing could have hindered us from being a thriving and flourishing people. There has been a fault among us. The reason why our distinguished men have not made themselves more influential is, because they fear that the strong current of opposition through which they must pass, would cause their downfall and prove their overthrow. And what gives rise to this opposition? Envy. And what has it amounted to? Nothing. And who are the cause of it? Our whited sepulchres, who want to be great, and don't know how; who love to be called of men "Rabbi, Rabbi," who put on false sanctity, and humble themselves to their brethren, for the sake of acquiring the highest place in the synagogue, and the uppermost seats at the feast. You, dearly beloved, who are the genuine followers of our Lord Jesus Christ, the salt of the earth and the light of the world, are not so culpable. As I told you, in the very first of my writing, I tell you again, I am but as a drop in the bucket—as one particle of the small dust of the earth. God will surely raise up those among us who will plead the cause of virtue, and the pure principles of morality, more eloquently than I am able to do.

It appears to me that America has become like the great city of Babylon, for she has boasted in her heart,—"I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow"? She is indeed a seller of slaves and the souls of men; she has made the Africans drunk with the wine of her fornication; she has put them completely beneath her feet, and she means to keep them there; her right hand supports the reins of government, and her left hand the wheel of power, and she is determined not to let go her grasp. But many powerful sons and daughters of Africa will shortly arise, who will put down vice and immorality among us, and declare by Him that sitteth upon the throne, that they will have their rights; and if refused, I am afraid they will spread horror and devastation around. I believe that the oppression of injured Africa has come up before the Majesty of Heaven; and when our cries shall have reached the ears of the Most High, it will be a tremendous day for the people of this land; for strong is the arm of the Lord God Almighty.

Life has almost lost its charms for me; death has lost its sting and the grave its terrors; and at times I have a strong desire to depart and dwell with Christ, which is far better. Let me entreat my white brethren to awake and save our sons from dissipation, and our daughters from ruin. Lend the hand of assistance to feeble merit, plead the cause of virtue among our sable race; so shall our curses upon you be turned into blessings; and though you should endeavor to drive us from these shores, still we will cling to you the more firmly; nor will we attempt to rise above you: we will presume to be called your equals only.

The unfriendly whites first drove the native American from his much loved home. Then they stole our fathers from their peaceful and quiet dwellings, and brought them hither, and made bond-men and bond-women of them and their little ones; they have obliged our brethren to labor, kept them in utter ignorance, nourished them in vice, and raised them in degradation; and now that we have enriched their soil, and filled their coffers, they say that we are not capable of becoming like white men, and that we never can rise to respectability in this country. They would drive us to a strange land. But before I go, the bayonet shall pierce me through. African rights and liberty is a subject that ought to fire the breast of every free man of color in these United States, and excite in his bosom a lively, deep, decided and heart-felt interest.

An Address to Slaves of the United States of America (Henry Highland Garnet, 1843)

SOURCE: Bracey, John H. Jr., August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, eds. *Black Nationalism in America.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970, pp. 67–76.

INTRODUCTION: *Addressing an abolitionist convention in Buffalo in 1843, Presbyterian minister Garnet advocated the violent overthrow of slave masters by slaves, declaring: "You had better all die—* die immediately, *than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity."*

Brethren and Fellow Citizens:

Your brethren of the North, East, and West have been accustomed to meet together in National Conventions, to sympathize with each other, and to weep over your unhappy condition. In these meetings we have addressed all classes of the free, but we have never, until this time, sent a word of consolation and advice to you. We have been contented in sitting still and mourning over your sorrows, earnestly hoping that before this day your sacred liberty would have been restored. But, we have hoped in vain. Years have rolled on, and tens of thousands have been borne on streams of blood and tears, to the shores of eternity. While you have been oppressed, we have also been partakers with you; nor can we be free while you are enslaved. We, therefore, write to you as being bound with you.

Many of you are bound to us, not only by the ties of a common humanity, but we are connected by the more

tender relations of parents, wives, husbands, children, brothers, and sisters, and friends. As such we most affectionately address you.

Slavery has fixed a deep gulf between you and us, and while it shuts out from you the relief and consolation which your friends would willingly render, it affects and persecutes you with a fierceness which we might not expect to see in the fiends of hell. But still the Almighty Father of mercies has left us to a glimmering ray of hope, which shines out like a lone star in a cloudy sky. Mankind are becoming wiser, and better—the oppressor's power is fading, and you, every day, are becoming better informed, and more numerous. Your grievances, brethren, are many. We shall not attempt, in this short address, to present to the world all the dark catalogue of this nation's sins, which have been committed upon an innocent people. Nor is it indeed necessary, for you to feel them from day to day, and all the civilized world look upon them with amazement.

Two hundred and twenty-seven years ago, the first of our injured race were brought to the shores of America. They came not with glad spirits to select their homes in the New World. They came not with their own consent, to find an unmolested enjoyment of the blessings of this fruitful soil. The first dealings they had with men calling themselves Christians, exhibited to them the worst features of corrupt and sordid hearts; and convinced them that no cruelty is too great, no villainy and no robbery too abhorrent for even enlightened men to perform, when influenced by avarice and lust. Neither did they come flying upon the wings of Liberty, to a land of freedom. But they came with broken hearts, from their beloved native land, and were doomed to unrequited toil and deep degradation. Nor did the evil of their bondage end at their emancipation by death. Succeeding generations inherited their chains, and millions have come from eternity into time, and have returned again to the world of spirits, cursed and ruined by American slavery.

The propagators of the system, or their immediate ancestors, very soon discovered its growing evil, and its tremendous wickedness, and secret promises were made to destroy it. The gross inconsistency of a people holding slaves, who had themselves "ferried o'er the wave" for freedom's sake, was too apparent to be entirely overlooked. The voice of Freedom cried, "Emancipate yourselves." Humanity supplicated with tears for the deliverance of the children of Africa. Wisdom urged her solemn plea. The bleeding captive plead his innocence, and pointed to Christianity who stood weeping at the cross. Jehovah frowned upon the nefarious institution, and thunderbolts, red with vengeance, struggled to leap forth to blast the guilty wretches who maintained it. But all was in vain. Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by—the priests prophesied falsely, and the people loved to have it so. Its throne is established, and now it reigns triumphant.

Nearly three million of your fellow citizens are prohibited by law and public opinion (which in this country is stronger than law) from reading the Book of Life. Your intellect has been destroyed as much as possible, and every ray of light they have attempted to shut out from your minds. The oppressors themselves have become involved in the ruin. They have become weak, sensual, and rapacious—they have cursed you—they have cursed themselves—they have cursed the earth which they have trod.

The colonists threw the blame upon England. They said that the mother country entailed the evil upon them, and that they would rid themselves of it if they could. The world thought they were sincere, and the philanthropic pitied them. But time soon tested their sincerity.

In a few years the colonists grew strong, and severed themselves from the British Government. Their independence was declared, and they took their station among the sovereign powers of the earth. The declaration was a glorious document. Sages admired it, and the patriotic of every nation reverenced the God-like sentiments which it contained. When the power of Government returned to their hands, did they emancipate the slaves? No; they rather added new links to our chains. Were they ignorant of the principles of Liberty? Certainly they were not. The sentiments of their revolutionary orators fell in burning eloquence upon their hearts, and with one voice they cried, Liberty or Death. Oh what a sentence was that! It ran from soul to soul like electric fire, and nerved the arm of thousands to fight in the holy cause of Freedom. Among the diversity of opinions that are entertained in regard to physical resistance, there are but a few found to gainsay that stern declaration. We are among those who do not. Slavery! How much misery is comprehended in that single word. What mind is there that does not shrink from its direful effects? Unless the image of God be obliterated from the soul, all men cherish the love of Liberty. The nice discerning political economist does not regard the sacred right more than the untutored African who roams in the wilds of Congo. Nor has the one more right to the full enjoyment of his freedom than the other. In every man's mind the good seeds of liberty are planted, and he who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God and man. Brethren, your oppressors aim to do this. They endeavor to make you as much like brutes as possible. When they have blinded the eyes of your

mind—when they have embittered the sweet waters of life—then, and not till then, has American slavery done its perfect work.

TO SUCH DEGRADATION IT IS SINFUL IN THE EXTREME FOR YOU TO MAKE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION. The divine commandments you are in duty bound to reverence and obey. If you do not obey them, you will surely meet with the displeasure of the Almighty. He requires you to love him supremely, and your neighbor as yourself—to keep the Sabbath day holy—to search the Scriptures—and bring up your children with respect for his laws, and to worship no other God but him. But slavery sets all these at nought, and hurls defiance in the face of Jehovah. The forlorn condition in which you are placed, does not destroy your moral obligation to God. You are not certain of heaven, because you suffer yourselves to remain in a state of slavery, where you cannot obey the commandments of the Sovereign of the universe. If the ignorance of slavery is a passport to heaven, then it is a blessing, and no curse, and you should rather desire its perpetuity than its abolition. God will not receive slavery, nor ignorance, nor any other state of mind, for love and obedience to him. Your condition does not absolve you from your moral obligation. The diabolical injustice by which your liberties are cloven down, NEITHER GOD, NOR ANGELS, OR JUST MEN, COMMAND YOU TO SUFFER FOR A SINGLE MOMENT. THEREFORE IT IS YOUR SOLEMN AND IMPERATIVE DUTY TO USE EVERY MEANS, BOTH MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND PHYSICAL THAT PROMISES SUCCESS. If a band of heathen men should attempt to enslave a race of Christians, and to place their children under the influence of some false religion, surely Heaven would frown upon the men who would not resist such aggression, even to death. If, on the other hand, a band of Christians should attempt to enslave a race of heathen men, and to entail slavery upon them, and to keep them in heathenism in the midst of Christianity, the God of heaven would smile upon every effort which the injured might make to disenthral themselves.

Brethren, it is as wrong for your lordly oppressors to keep you in slavery, as it was for the man thief to steal our ancestors from the coast of Africa. You should therefore now use the same manner of resistance, as would have been just in our ancestors when the bloody foot-prints of the first remorseless soul-thief was placed upon the shores of our fatherland. The humblest peasant is as free in the sight of God as the proudest monarch that ever swayed a sceptre. Liberty is a spirit sent out from God, and like its great Author, is no respecter of persons.

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, "if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." You can plead your own cause, and do the work of emancipation better than any others. The nations of the world are moving in the great cause of universal freedom, and some of them at least will, ere long, do you justice. The combined powers of Europe have placed their broad seal of disapprobation upon the African slave-trade. But in the slave-holding parts of the United States, the trade is as brisk as ever. They buy and sell you as though you were brute beasts. The North has done much—her opinion of slavery in the abstract is known. But in regard to the South, we adopt the opinion of the *New York Evangelist*—We have advanced so far, that the cause apparently waits for a more effectual door to be thrown open than has been yet. We are about to point out that more effectual door. Look around you, and behold the bosoms of your loving wives heaving with untold agonies! Hear the cries of your poor children! Remember the stripes your fathers bore. Think of the torture and disgrace of your noble mothers. Think of your wretched sisters, loving virtues and purity, as they are driven into concubinage and are exposed to the unbridled lusts of incarnate devils. Think of the undying glory that hangs around the ancient name of Africa—and forget not that you are native born American citizens, and as such, you are justly entitled to all the rights that are granted to the freest. Think how many tears you have poured out upon the soil which you have cultivated with unrequited toil and enriched with your blood; and then go to your lordly enslavers and tell them plainly, that you *are determined to be free.* Appeal to their sense of justice, and tell them that they have no more right to oppress you, than you have to enslave them. Entreat them to remove the grievous burdens which they have imposed upon you, and to remunerate you for your labor. Promise them renewed diligence in the cultivation of the soil, if they will render to you an equivalent for your services. Point them to the increase of happiness and prosperity in the British West Indies since the Act of Emancipation.

Tell them in language which they cannot misunderstand, of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and of a future judgment, and of the righteous retributions of an indignant God. Inform them that all you desire is FREEDOM, and that nothing else will suffice. Do this, and for ever after cease to toil for the heartless tyrants, who give you no other reward but stripes and abuse. If they then commence the work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had better all die—*die immediately,* than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity. If you would be free in this generation, here is your only hope. However much you and all of us may desire it, there is not much hope of redemption without the shedding of blood. If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather *die freemen, than live*

to be slaves. It is impossible like the children of Israel, to make a grand exodus from the land of bondage. The Pharaohs are on both sides of the blood-red waters! You cannot move *en masse,* to the dominions of the British Queen—nor can you pass through Florida and overrun Texas, and at last find peace in Mexico. The propagators of American slavery are spending their blood and treasure, that they may plant the black flag in the heart of Mexico and riot in the halls of the Montezumas. In the language of the Rev. Robert Hall, when addressing the volunteers of Bristol, who were rushing forth to repel the invasion of Napoleon, who threatened to lay waste the fair homes of England, "Religion is too much interested in your behalf, not to shed over you her most gracious influences."

You will not be compelled to spend much time in order to become inured to hardships. From the first moment that you breathed the air of heaven, you have been accustomed to nothing else but hardships. The heroes of the American Revolution were never put upon harder fare than a peck of corn and a few herrings per week. You have not become enervated by the luxuries of life. Your sternest energies have been beaten out upon the anvil of severe trial. Slavery has done this, to make you subservient, to its own purposes; but it has done more than this, it has prepared you for any emergency. If you receive good treatment, it is what you could hardly expect; if you meet with pain, sorrow, and even death, these are the common lot of slaves.

Fellow men! Patient sufferers! behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of the merciful God, and by all that life is worth, let it no longer be a debatable question whether it is better to choose *liberty* or *death.*

In 1822, Denmark Veazie, of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellow men. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed. He was betrayed by the treachery of his own people, and died a martyr to freedom. Many a brave hero fell, but history, faithful to her high trust, will transcribe his name on the same monument with Moses, Hampden, Tell, Bruce and Wallace, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Lafayette and Washington. That tremendous movement shook the whole empire of slavery. The guilty soul-thieves were overwhelmed with fear. It is a matter of fact, that at that time, and in consequence of the threatened revolution, the slave States talked strongly of emancipation. But they blew but one blast of the trumpet of freedom and then laid it aside. As these men became quiet, the slaveholders ceased to talk about emancipation; and now behold your condition today! Angels sigh over it, and humanity has long since exhausted her tears in weeping on your account!

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Veazie. He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque, the hero of the *Amistad.* He was a native African, and by the help of God he emancipated a whole ship-load of his fellow men on the high seas. And now he sings of liberty on the sunny hills of Africa and beneath his native palm-trees, where he hears the lion roar and feels himself as free as that king of the forest.

Next arose Madison Washington that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig *Creole,* of Richmond, bound to New Orleans, that great slave mart, with a hundred and four others. Nineteen struck for liberty or death. But one life was taken, and the whole were emancipated, and the vessel was carried into Nassau, New Providence.

Noble men! Those who have fallen in freedom's conflict, their memories will be cherished by the true-hearted and the God-fearing in all future generations; those who are living, their names are surrounded by a halo of glory.

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been—you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. *Rather die freemen than live to be slaves.* Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

It is in your power so to torment the God-cursed slaveholders that they will be glad to let you go free. If the scale was turned, and black men were the masters and white men the slaves, every destructive agent and element would be employed to lay the oppressor low. Danger and death would hang over their heads day and night. Yes, the tyrants would meet with plagues more terrible than those of Pharaoh. But you are a patient people. You act as though you were made for the special use of these devils. You act as though your daughters were born to pamper the lusts of your masters and overseers. And worse than all, you tamely submit while your lords tear your wives from your embraces and defile them before your eyes. In the name of God, we ask, are you men? Where is the blood of your fathers? Has it all run out of your veins? Awake, awake; millions of voices are calling you! Your dead fathers speak to you from their graves. Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust.

Let your motto be resistance! *resistance!* RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make, you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency. Brethren, adieu! Trust in the living God. Labor for the peace of the human race, and remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS.

What to the Slave is the Fourth of July? (Frederick Douglass, 1852)

SOURCE: Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave.* Edited by David W. Blight. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993, pp. 141–145.

INTRODUCTION: *Frederick Douglass, a powerful and popular abolitionist orator, delivered the following address in Rochester, New York, on July 5, 1852. Douglass reflects on the hypocrisy of whites who celebrate their ancestors' successful struggle for liberty, while denying freedom to millions of African Americans dwelling among them.*

Fellow Citizens:

Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I or those I represent to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions. Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the "lame man leap like a hart."

But such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you, that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrevocable ruin. I can to-day take up the lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people.

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yes! We wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow citizens, is "American Slavery." I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity, which is outraged, in the name of liberty, which is fettered,

in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery—the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse;" I will use the severest language I can command, and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slave-holder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slave-holders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of these same crimes will subject a white man to like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgment that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being? The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute-books are covered with enactments, forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or write. When you can point to any such laws in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that while we are reading, writing, and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men—digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave—we are called upon to prove that we are men?

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? That he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom, speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively? To do so would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven who does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What! Am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood and stained with pollution is wrong? No; I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength that such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine. Who can reason on such a proposition? They that can, may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would to-day pour out a fiery streak of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be denounced.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which

he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; you boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practises more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the Old World, travel through South America, search out every abuse and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every-day practises of this nation, and you will say with me that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

The Atlanta Declaration (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1854)

SOURCE: Carson, Clayborne, et al, eds. *The Eyes on the Prize: Civil Rights Reader.* New York: Viking, 1991, p. 82.

INTRODUCTION: *In May 1954, shortly after the Supreme Court reached its unanimous decision in* Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, *an NAACP press conference was held in Atlanta, Georgia. The organization urged rapid compliance with court-ordered desegregation.*

All Americans are now relieved to have the law of the land declare in the clearest language: ". . . in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Segregation in public education is now not only unlawful; it is un-American. True Americans are grateful for this decision. Now that the law is made clear, we look to the future. Having canvassed the situation in each of our states, we approach the future with the utmost confidence. . . .

We stand ready to work with other law abiding citizens who are anxious to translate this decision into a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible. . . .

While we recognize that school officials will have certain administrative problems in transferring from a segregated to a nonsegregated system, we will resist the use of any tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation. . . .

We insist that there should be integration at all levels, including the assignment of teacher-personnel on a nondiscriminatory basis. . . .

We look upon this memorable decision not as a victory for Negroes alone, but for the whole American people and as a vindication of America's leadership of the free world.

Lest there be any misunderstanding of our position, we here rededicate ourselves to the removal of all racial segregation in public education and reiterate our determination to achieve this goal without compromise of principle.

The Call of Providence to the Descendants of Africa in America (Edward Wilmot Blyden, 1862)

SOURCE: Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey.* New York: New York University Press, 1996, pp. 188–208.

INTRODUCTION: *Born on the Caribbean island of St. Thomas to free black parents in 1832, Blyden traveled to the United States at the age of seventeen, seeking admission to Rutgers Theological College. Turned down because of his race, he left the United States in January 1851 for Liberia, aided by the support of members of the American Colonization Society (ACS). In Liberia, Blyden resumed his education, becoming an educator, statesman, and Presbyterian minister, eventually holding many academic and governmental offices. Blyden also became a vocal proponent of pan-Africanism, with a major portion of his writings focusing on a call for blacks to colonize in Liberia.*

Among the descendants of Africa in this country the persuasion seems to prevail, though not now to the same extent as formerly, that they owe no special duty to the land of their forefathers; that their ancestors having been brought to this country against their will, and themselves having been born in the land, they are in duty bound to

remain here and give their attention exclusively to the acquiring for themselves, and perpetuating to their posterity, social and political rights, notwithstanding the urgency of the call which their fatherland, by its forlorn and degraded moral condition, makes upon them for their assistance.

All other people feel a pride in their ancestral land, and do everything in their power to create for it, if it has not already, an honorable name. But many of the descendants of Africa, on the contrary, speak disparagingly of their country; are ashamed to acknowledge any connection with that land, and would turn indignantly upon any who would bid them go up and take possession of the land of their fathers.

It is a sad feature in the residence of Africans in this country, that it has begotten in them a forgetfulness of Africa—a want of sympathy with her in her moral and intellectual desolation, and a clinging to the land which for centuries has been the scene of their thralldom. A shrewd European observer of American society, says of the Negro in this country, that he "makes a thousand fruitless efforts to insinuate himself among men who repulse him; he conforms to the taste of his oppressors, adopts their opinions, and hopes by imitating them to form a part of their community. Having been told from infancy that his race is naturally inferior to that of the whites, he assents to the proposition, and is ashamed of his own nature. In each of his features he discovers a trace of slavery, and, if it were in his power, he would willingly rid himself of everything that makes him what he is."

It can not be denied that some very important advantages have accrued to the black man from his deportation to this land, but it has been at the expense of his manhood. Our nature in this country is not the same as it appears among the lordly natives of the interior of Africa, who have never felt the trammels of a foreign yoke. We have been dragged into depths of degradation. We have been taught a cringing servility. We have been drilled into contentment with the most undignified circumstances. Our finer sensibilities have been blunted. There has been an almost utter extinction of all that delicacy of feeling and sentiment which adorns character. The temperament of our souls has become harder or coarser, so that we can walk forth here, in this land of indignities, in ease and in complacency, while our complexion furnishes ground for every species of social insult which an intolerant prejudice may choose to inflict.

But a change is coming over us. The tendency of events is directing the attention of the colored people to some other scene, and Africa is beginning to receive the attention, which has so long been turned away from her; and as she throws open her portals and shows the inexhaustible means of comfort and independence within, the black man begins to feel dissatisfied with the annoyances by which he is here surrounded, and looks with longing eyes to his fatherland. I venture to predict that, within a very brief period, that down-trodden land instead of being regarded with prejudice and distaste, will largely attract the attention and engage the warmest interest of every man of color. A few have always sympathized with Africa, but it has been an indolent and unmeaning sympathy—a sympathy which put forth no effort, made no sacrifices, endured no self-denial, braved no obloquy for the sake of advancing African interests. But the scale is turning, and Africa is becoming the all-absorbing topic.

It is my desire, on the present occasion, to endeavor to set before you the work which, it is becoming more and more apparent, devolves upon the black men of the United States; and to guide my thoughts, I have chosen the words of the text: "Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged."

You will at once perceive that I do not believe that the work to be done by black men is in this country. I believe that their field of operation is in some other and distant scene. Their work is far nobler and loftier than that which they are now doing in this country. It is theirs to betake themselves to injured Africa, and bless those outraged shores, and quiet those distracted families with the blessings of Christianity and civilization. It is theirs to bear with them to that land the arts of industry and peace, and counteract the influence of those horrid abominations which an inhuman avarice as introduced—to roll back the appalling cloud of ignorance and superstition which wherever found. This is the work to which Providence is obviously calling the black men of this country.

I am aware that some, against all experience, are hoping for the day when they will enjoy equal social and political rights in this land. We do not blame them for so believing and trusting. But we would remind them that there is a faith against reason, against experience, which consists in believing or pretending to believe very important propositions upon very slender proofs, and in maintaining opinions without any proper grounds. It ought to be clear to every thinking and impartial mind, that there can never occur in this country an equality, social or political, between whites and blacks. The whites have for a long time had the advantage. All the affairs of the country are in their hands. They make and administer the laws; they teach the schools; here, in the North, they ply all the trades, they own all the stores, they have possession of all the banks, they own all the ships and navigate them; they are the

printers, proprietors, and editors of the leading newspapers, and they shape public opinion. Having always had the lead, they have acquired an ascendency they will ever maintain. The blacks have very few or no agencies in operation to counteract the ascendant influence of the Europeans. And instead of employing what little they have by a unity of effort to alleviate their condition, they turn all their power against themselves by their endless jealousies, and rivalries, and competition; everyone who is able to "pass" being emulous of a place among Europeans or Indians. This is the effect of their circumstances. It is the influence of the dominant class upon them. It argues no essential inferiority in them—no more than the disadvantages of the Israelites in Egypt argued their essential inferiority to the Egyptians. They are the weaker class overshadowed and depressed by the stronger. They are the feeble oak dwarfed by the overspreadings of a large tree, having not the advantage overspreads the land, and to rear on those shores an asylum of liberty for the down-trodden sons of Africa of rain, and sunshine, and fertilizing dews.

Before the weaker people God has set the land of their forefathers, and bids them go up and possess it without fear or discouragement. Before the tender plant he sets an open field, where, in the unobstructed air and sunshine, it may grow and flourish in all its native luxuriance.

There are two ways in which God speaks to men: one is by his word and the other by his providence. He has not sent any Moses, with signs and wonders, to cause an exodus of the descendants of Africa to their fatherland, yet he has loudly spoken to them as to their duty in the matter. He has spoken by his providence. First; By suffering them to be brought here and placed in circumstances where they could receive a training fitting them for the work of civilizing and evangelizing the land whence they were torn, and by preserving them under the severest trials and afflictions. Secondly; By allowing them, notwithstanding all the services they have rendered to this country, to be treated as strangers and aliens, so as to cause them to have anguish of spirit, as was the case with the Jews in Egypt, and to make them long for some refuge from their social and civil deprivations. Thirdly; By bearing a portion of them across the tempestuous seas back to Africa, by preserving them through the process of acclimation, and by establishing them in the land, despite the attempts of misguided men to drive them away. Fourthly; By keeping their fatherland in reserve for them in their absence.

The manner in which Africa has been kept from invasion is truly astounding. Known for ages, it is yet unknown. For centuries its inhabitants have been the victims of the cupidity of foreigners. The country has been rifled of its population. It has been left in some portions almost wholly unoccupied, but it has remained unmolested by foreigners. It has been very near the crowded countries of the world, yet none has relieved itself to any great extent of its overflowing population by seizing upon its domains. Europe, from the North, looks wishfully and with longing eyes across the narrow straits of Gilbraltar. Asia, with its teeming millions, is connected with us by an isthmus wide enough to admit of her throwing thousands into the country. But, notwithstanding the known wealth of the resources of the land, of which the report has gone into all the earth, there is still a terrible veil between us and our neighbors, the all-conquering Europeans, which they are only now essaying to lift; while the teeming millions of Asia have not even attempted to leave their boundaries to penetrate our borders. Neither alluring visions of glorious conquests, nor brilliant hopes of rapid enrichment, could induce them to invade the country. It has been preserved alike from the boastful civilization of Europe, and the effete and barbarous institutions of Asia. We call it, then, a Providential interposition, that while the owners of the soil have been abroad, passing through the fearful ordeal of a most grinding oppression, the land, though entirely unprotected, has lain uninvaded. We regard it as a providential call to Africans every where, to "go up and possess the land"; so that in a sense that is not merely constructive and figurative, but truly literal, God says to the black men of this country, with reference to Africa: "Behold, I set the land before you, go up and possess it."

Of course it can not be expected that this subject of the duty of colored men to go up and take possession of their fatherland, will be at once clear to every mind. Men look at objects from different points of view, and form their opinions according to the points from which they look, and are guided in their actions according to the opinions they form. As I have already said, the majority of exiled Africans do not seem to appreciate the great privilege of going and taking possession of the land. They seem to have lost all interest in that land, and to prefer living in subordinate and inferior positions in a strange land among oppressors, to encountering the risks involved in emigrating to a distant country. As I walk the streets of these cities, visit the hotels, go on board the steamboats, I am grieved to notice how much intelligence, how much strength and energy is frittered away in those trifling employments, which, if thrown into Africa, might elevate the millions of that land from their degradation, tribes at a time, and create an African power which would command the respect of the world, and place in the possession of Africans, its rightful owners, the wealth which is now diverted to other quarters. Most of the wealth that could be drawn from that land, during the last six centuries, has passed into the hands of Europeans, while many of Afri-

ca's own sons, sufficiently intelligent to control those immense resources, are sitting down in poverty and dependence in the land of strangers—exiles when they have so rich a domain from which they have never been expatriated, but which is willing, nay, anxious to welcome them home again.

We need some African power, some great center of the race where our physical, pecuniary, and intellectual strength may be collected. We need some spot whence such an influence may go forth in behalf of the race as shall be felt by the nations. We are now so scattered and divided that we can do nothing. The imposition begun last year by a foreign power upon Hayti, and which is still persisted in, fills every black man who has heard of it with indignation, but we are not strong enough to speak out effectually for that land. When the same power attempted an outrage upon the Liberians, there was no African power strong enough to interpose. So long as we remain thus divided, we may expect impositions. So long as we live simply by the sufferance of the nations, we must expect to be subject to their caprices.

Among the free portion of the descendants of Africa, numbering about four or five millions, there is enough talent, wealth, and enterprise, to form a respectable nationality on the continent of Africa. For nigh three hundred years their skill and industry have been expended in building up the southern countries of the New World, the poor, frail constitution of the Caucasian not allowing him to endure the fatigue and toil involved in such labors. Africans and their descendants have been the laborers, and the mechanics, and the artisans in the greater portion of this hemisphere. By the results of their labor the European countries have been sustained and enriched. All the cotton, coffee, indigo, sugar, tobacco, etc., which have formed the most important articles of European commerce, have been raised and prepared for market by the labor of the black man. Dr. Palmer of New-Orleans, bears the same testimony. And all this labor they have done, for the most part not only without compensation, but with abuse, and contempt, and insult, as their reward.

Now, while Europeans are looking to our fatherland with such eagerness of desire, and are hastening to explore and take away its riches, ought not Africans in the Western hemisphere to turn their regards, thither also? We need to collect the scattered forces of the race, and there is no rallying-ground more favorable than Africa. There

"No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,

The whole boundless continent is ours."

Ours as a gift from the Almighty when he drove asunder the nations and assigned them their boundaries; and ours by peculiar physical adaptation.

An African nationality is our great need, and God tells us by his providence that he has set the land before us, and bids us go up and possess it. We shall never receive the respect of other races until we establish a powerful nationality. We should not content ourselves with living among other races, simply by their permission or their endurance, as Africans live in this country. We must build up Negro states; we must establish and maintain the various institutions; we must make and administer laws, erect and preserve churches, and support the worship of God; we must have governments; we must have legislation of our own; we must build ships and navigate them; we must ply the trades, instruct the schools, control the press, and thus aid in shaping the opinions and guiding the destinies of mankind. Nationality is an ordinance of Nature. The heart of every true Negro yearns after a distinct and separate nationality.

Impoverished, feeble, and alone, Liberia is striving to establish and build up such a nationality in the home of the race. Can any descendant of Africa turn contemptuously upon a scene where such efforts are making? Would not every right-thinking Negro rather lift up his voice and direct the attention of his brethren to that land? Liberia, with outstretched arms, earnestly invites all to come. We call them forth out of all nations; we bid them take up their all and leave the countries of their exile, as of old the Israelites went forth from Egypt, taking with them their trades and their treasures, their intelligence, their mastery of arts, their knowledge of the sciences, their practical wisdom, and every thing that will render them useful in building up a nationality. We summon them from these States, from the Canadas, from the East and West-Indies, from South-America, from every where, to come and take part with us in our great work.

But those whom we call are under the influence of various opinions, having different and conflicting views of their relations and duty to Africa, according to the different stand-points they occupy. So it was with another people who, like ourselves, were suffering from the effects of protracted thralldom, when on the borders of the land to which God was leading them. When Moses sent out spies to search the land of Canaan, every man, on his return, seemed to be influenced in his report by his peculiar temperament, previous habits of thought, by the degree of his physical courage, or by something peculiar in his point of observation. All agreed, indeed, that it was an exceedingly rich land, "flowing with milk and honey," for they carried with them on their return, a proof of its amazing fertility. But a part, and a larger part, too, saw only giants and walled towns, and barbarians and cannibals. "Surely," said they, "it floweth with milk and honey. Nevertheless the

people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled, and very great; and moreover we saw the children of Anak there. The land through which we have gone to search it, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature. And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." It was only a small minority of that company that saw things in a more favorable light. "Caleb stilled the people, before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once and possess it; for we be well able to overcome it." (Numbers 13.)

In like manner there is division among the colored people of this country with regard to Africa, that land which the providence of God is bidding them go up and possess. Spies sent from different sections of this country by the colored people—and many a spy not commissioned—have gone to that land, and have returned and reported. Like the Hebrew spies, they have put forth diverse views. Most believe Africa to be a fertile and rich country, and an African nationality a desirable thing. But some affirm that the land is not fit to dwell in, for "it is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof," notwithstanding the millions of strong and vigorous aborigines who throng all parts of the country, and the thousands of colonists who are settled along the coast; some see in the inhabitants incorrigible barbarism, degradation, and superstition, and insuperable hostility to civilization; others suggest that the dangers and risks to be encountered, and the self-denial to be endured, are too great for the slender advantages which, as it appears to them, will accrue from immigration. A few only report that the land is open to us on every hand—that "every prospect pleases," and that the natives are so tractable that it would be a comparatively easy matter for civilized and Christianized black men to secure all the land to Christian law, liberty, and civilization.

I come to-day to defend the report of the minority. The thousands of our own race, emigrants from this country, settled for more than forty years in that land, agree with the minority report. Dr. Barth, and other travelers to the east and south-east of Liberia, indorse the sentiment of the minority, and testify to the beauty, and healthfulness, and productiveness of the country, and to the mildness and hospitality of its inhabitants. In Liberia we hear from natives, who are constantly coming to our settlements from the far interior, of land exuberantly fertile, of large, numerous, and wealthy tribes, athletic and industrious; not the descendants of Europeans—according to Bowen's insane theory—but *black* men, pure Negroes, who live in large towns, cultivate the soil, and carry on extensive traffic, maintaining amicable relations with each other and with men from a distance.

The ideas that formerly prevailed of the interior of Africa, which suited the purposes of poetry and sensation writing, have been proved entirely erroneous. Poets may no longer sing with impunity of Africa:

"A region of drought, where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with osiered sides;
Where sedgy pool, nor bubbling fount,
Nor tree, nor cloud, nor misty mount,
Appears to refresh the aching eye,
But barren earth and the burning sky
And the blank horizon round and round."

No; missionary and scientific enterprises have disproved such fallacies. The land possesses every possible inducement. That extensive and beauteous domain which God has given us appeals to us and to black men every where, by its many blissful and benigant aspects; by its flowery landscapes, its beautiful rivers, its serene and peaceful skies; by all that attractive and perennial verdure which overspreads the hills and valleys; by its every prospect lighted up by delightful sunshine; by all its natural charms, it calls upon us to rescue it from the grasp of remorseless superstition, and introduce the blessings of the Gospel.

But there are some among the intelligent colored people of this country who, while they profess to have great love for Africa, and tell us that their souls are kindled when they hear of their fatherland, yet object to going themselves, because, as they affirm, the black man has a work to accomplish in this land-he has a destiny to fulfill. He, the representative of Africa, like the representatives from various parts of Europe, must act his part in building up this great composite nation. It is not difficult to see what the work of the black man is in this land. The most inexperienced observer may at once read his destiny. Look at the various departments of society here in the *free* North; look at the different branches of industry, and see how the black man is aiding to build up this nation. Look at the hotels, the saloons, the steamboats, the barbershops, and see how successfully he is carrying out his destiny! And there is an extreme likelihood that such are forever to be the exploits which he is destined to achieve in this country until he merges his African peculiarities in the Caucasian.

Others object to the *climate* of Africa, first, that it is unhealthy, and secondly, that it is not favorable to intellectual progress. To the first, we reply that it is not more insalubrious than other new countries. Persons going to Africa, who have not been broken down as to their constitutions in this country, stand as fair a chance of successful acclimation as in any other country of large, unbroken forests and extensively uncleared lands. In all new countries there are sufferings and privations. All those countries which have grown up during the last two centu-

ries, in this hemisphere, have had as a foundation the groans, and tears, and blood of the pioneers. But what are the sufferings of pioneers, compared with the greatness of the results they accomplish for succeeding generations? Scarcely any great step in human progress is made without multitudes of victims. Every revolution that has been effected, every nationality that has been established, every country that has been rescued from the abominations of savagism, every colony that has been planted, has involved perplexities and sufferings to the generation who undertook it. In the evangelization of Africa, in the erection of African nationalities, we can expect no exceptions. The man, then, who is not able to suffer and to die for his fellows when necessity requires it, is not fit to be a pioneer in this great work.

We believe, as we have said, that the establishment of an African nationality in Africa is the great need of the African race; and the men who have gone, or may hereafter go to assist in laying the foundations of empire, so far from being dupes, or cowards, or traitors, as some have ignorantly called them, are the truest heroes of the race. They are the soldiers rushing first into the breach physicians who at the risk of their own lives are first to explore an infectious disease. How much more nobly do they act than those who have held for years that it is nobler to sit here and patiently suffer with our brethren! Such sentimental inactivity finds no respect in these days of rapid movement. The world sees no merit in mere innocence. The man who contents himself to sit down and exemplify the virtue of patience and endurance will find no sympathy from the busy, restless crowd that rush by him. Even the "sick man" must get out of the way when he hears the tramp of the approaching host, or be crushed by the heedless and massive car of progress. Blind Bartimeuses are silenced by the crowd. The world requires active service; it respects only productive workers. The days of hermits and monks have passed away. Action—work, work—is the order of the day. Heroes in the strife and struggle of humanity are the demand of the age.

"They who would be free, themselves *must* strike *the blow."*

With regard to the objection founded upon the unfavorableness of the climate to intellectual progress, I have only to say, that proper moral agencies, when set in operation, can not be overborne by physical causes. "We continually behold lower laws held in restraint by higher; mechanic by dynamic; chemical by vital; physical by moral." It has not yet been proved that with the proper influences, the tropics will not produce men of "cerebral activity." Those races which have degenerated by a removal from the North to the tropics did not possess the proper moral power. They had in themselves the seed of degeneracy, and would have degenerated any where. It was not Anglo-Saxon blood, nor a temperate climate, that kept the first emigrants to this land from falling into the same indolence and inefficiency which have overtaken the European settlers in South-America, but the Anglo-Saxon Bible—the principles contained in that book, are the great conservative and elevating power. Man is the same, and the human mind is the same, whether existing beneath African suns or Arctic frosts. I can conceive of no difference. It is the moral influences brought to bear upon the man that make the difference in his progress.

"High degrees of moral sentiment," says a distinguished American writer, "control the unfavorable influences of climate; and some of our grandest examples of men and of races come from the equatorial regions." Man is elevated by taking hold of that which is higher than himself. Unless this is done, climate, color, race, will avail nothing.

"—unless above himself he can

Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"

For my own part, I believe that the brilliant world of the tropics, with its marvels of nature, must of necessity give to mankind a new career of letters, and new forms in the various arts, whenever the millions of men at present uncultivated shall enjoy the advantages of civilization.

Africa will furnish a development of civilization which the world has never yet witnessed. Its great peculiarity will be its moral element. The Gospel is to achieve some of its most beautiful triumphs in that land. "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem," was the blessing upon the European and Asiatic races. Wonderfully have these predictions been fulfilled. The all-conquering descendants of Japheth have gone to every clime, and have planted themselves on almost every shore. By means fair and unfair, they have spread themselves, have grown wealthy and powerful. They have been truly "enlarged." God has "dwelt in the tents of Shem," for so some understand the passage. The Messiah—God manifest in the flesh—was of the tribe of Judah. He was born and dwelt in the tents of Shem. The promise to Ethiopia, or Ham, is like that to Shem, of a spiritual kind. It refers not to physical strength, not to large and extensive domains, not to foreign conquests, not to wide-spread domination, but to the possession of spiritual qualities, to the elevation of the soul heavenward, to spiritual aspirations and divine communications. "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God." Blessed, glorious promise! Our trust is not to be in chariots or horses, not in our own skill or power, but our help is to be in the name of the Lord. And surely, in reviewing our history as a people, whether we

consider our preservation in the lands of our exile, or the preservation of fatherland from invasion, we are compelled to exclaim: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us!" Let us, then, fear not the influence climate. Let us go forth stretching out our hands to God, and be as hot as Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, there will be one in midst like unto the Son of God, counteracting its deleterious influences.

Behold, then, the Lord our God has set the land before us, with its burning climate, with its privations, with its moral, intellect and political needs, and by his providence he bids us go up possess it without fear or discouragement. Shall we go up at bidding? If the black men of this country, through unbelief indolence, or for any other cause, fail to lay hold of the blessings which God is proffering to them, and neglect to accomplish work which devolves upon them, the work will be done, but others will be brought in to do it, and to take possession of the country.

For while the colored people here are tossed about by various and conflicting opinions as to their duty to that land, men are going thither from other quarters of the globe. They are entering the land from various quarters with various motives and designs, and may eventually so preoccupy the land as to cut us off from the fair inheritance which lies before us, unless we go forth without further delay and establish ourselves.

The enterprise and energy manifested by white men who, with uncongenial constitutions, go from a distance to endeavor to open up that land to the world, are far from creditable to the civilized and enlightened colored men of the United States, when contrasted with their indifference in the matter. A noble army of self-expatriated evangelists have gone to that land from Europe and America and, while anxious to extend the blessings of true religion, they have in no slight degree promoted the cause of science and commerce. Many have fallen, either from the effects of the climate or the hands of violence; still the interest in the land is by no means diminished. The enamored worshiper of science, and the Christian philanthropist, are still laboring to solve the problem of African geography, and to elevate its benighted tribes. They are not only disclosing to the world the mysteries of regions hitherto unexplored, but tribes whose very existence had not before been known to the civilized world have been brought, through their instrumentality, into contact with civilization and Christianity. They have discovered in the distant portions of that land countries as productive as any in Europe and America. They have informed the world of bold and lofty mountains, extensive lakes, noble rivers, falls rivaling Niagara, so that, as a result of their arduous, difficult, and philanthropic labors of exploration, the cause of Christianity, ethnology, geography, and commerce has been, in a very important degree, subserved.

Dr. Livingstone, the indefatigable African explorer, who, it is estimated, has passed over not less than eleven thousand miles of African ground, speaking of the motives which led him to those shores, and still keep him there in spite of privations and severe afflictions, says:

> "I expect to find for myself no large fortune in that country; nor do I expect to explore any large portions of a new country; but I do hope to find a pathway, by means of the river Zambesi, which may lead to highlands, where Europeans may form a settlement, and where, by opening up communication and establishing commercial intercourse with the natives of Africa, they may slowly, but not the less surely, impart to the people of that country the knowledge and inestimable blessings of Christianity."

The recently formed Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin Missionary Society state their object to be to spread Christianity among the untaught people of Central Africa, "so to operate among them as by mere teaching and influence to help *to build up native Christian states.*" The idea of building up "native Christian states" is a very important one, and is exactly such an idea as would be carried out if there were a large influx of civilized blacks from abroad.

I am sorry to find that among some in this country, the opinion prevails that in Liberia a distinction is maintained between the colonists and the aborigines, so that the latter are shut out from the social and political privileges of the former. No candid person who has read the laws of Liberia, or who has visited that country, can affirm or believe such a thing. The idea no doubt arises from the fact that the aborigines of a country generally suffer from the settling of colonists among them. But the work of Liberia is somewhat different from that of other colonies which have been planted on foreign shores. The work achieved by other emigrants has usually been—the enhancement of their own immediate interests; the increase of their physical comforts and conveniences; the enlargement of their borders by the most speedy and available methods, without regard to the effect such a course might have upon the aborigines. Their interests sometimes coming into direct contact with those of the owners of the soil, they have not unfrequently, by their superior skill and power, reduced the poor native to servitude or complete annihilation. The Israelites could live in peace in the land of Canaan only by exterminating the indigenous inhabitants. The colony that went out from Phenicia, and that laid the foundations of empire on the northern shores of Africa, at first paid a yearly tax to the natives; with the in-

creasing wealth and power of Carthage, however, the respective conditions of the Carthaginians and the natives were changed, and the Phenician adventurers assumed and maintained a dominion over the Lybians. The colonies from Europe which landed at Plymouth Rock, at Boston, and at Jamestown—which took possession of the West-India islands and of Mexico, treated the aborigines in the same manner. The natives of India, Australia, and New-Zealand are experiencing a similar treatment under the overpowering and domineering rule of the Anglo-Saxons. Eagerness for gain and the passion for territorial aggrandisement have appeared to the colonists necessary to their growth and progress.

The work of Liberia, as I have said, is different and far nobler. We, on the borders of our fatherland, can not, as the framers of our Constitution wisely intimated, allow ourselves to be influenced by "avaricious speculations," or by desires for "territorial aggrandisement." Our work there is moral and intellectual as well as physical. We have to work upon the *people,* as well as upon the *land*—upon *mind* as well as upon *matter.* Our prosperity depends as much upon the wholesome and elevating influence we exert upon the native population, as upon the progress we make in agriculture, commerce, and manufacture. Indeed the conviction prevails in Liberia among the thinking people that we can make no important progress in these things without the cooperation of thez aborigines. We believe that no policy can be more suicidal in Liberia than that which would keep aloof from the natives around us. We believe that our life and strength will be to elevate and incorporate them among us as speedily as possible.

And, then, the aborigines are not a race alien from the colonists. We are a part of them. When alien and hostile races have come together, as we have just seen, one has had to succumb to the other; but when different peoples of the same family have been brought together, there has invariably been a fusion, and the result has been an improved and powerful class. When three branches of the great Teutonic family met on the soil of England, they united. It is true that at first there was a distinction of caste among them in consequence of the superiority in every respect of the great Norman people; but, as the others came up to their level, the distinctions were quietly effaced, and Norman, Saxon, and Dane easily amalgamated. Thus, "a people inferior to none existing in the world was formed by the mixture of three branches of the great Teutonic family with each other and the aboriginal Britons."

In America we see how readily persons from all parts of Europe assimilate; but what great difficulty the Negro, the Chinese, and the Indian experience! We find here representatives from all the nations of Europe easily blending with each other. But we find elements that will not assimilate. The Negro, the Indian, and the Chinese, who do not belong to the same family, repel each other, and are repelled by the Europeans. "The antagonistic elements are in contact, but refuse to unite, and as yet no agent has been found sufficiently potent to reduce them to unity."

But the case with Americo-Liberians and the aborigines is quite different. We are all descendants of Africa. In Liberia there may be Mend persons of almost every tribe in West-Africa, from Senegal Congo. And not only do we and the natives belong to the same ice, but we are also of the same family. The two peoples can no lore be kept from assimilating and blending than water can be kept from mingling with its kindred elements. The policy of Liberia is to diffuse among them as rapidly as possible the principles of Christianity and civilization, to prepare them to take an active part in the duties of the nationality which we are endeavoring to erect. Whence, then, comes the slander which represents Liberians as "maintaining a distance from the aborigines—a constant and uniform separation"?

To take part in the noble work in which they are engaged on that coast, the government and people of Liberia earnestly invite the descendants of Africa in this country. In all our feebleness, we have already accomplished something; but very little in comparison of what has to be done. A beginning has been made, however—a great deal of preparatory work accomplished. And if the intelligent and enterprising colored people of this country would emigrate in large numbers, an important work would be done in a short time. And we know exactly the kind of work that would be done. We know that where now stand unbroken forests would spring up towns and villages, with their schools and churches—that the natives would be taught the arts of civilization—that their energies would be properly directed—that their prejudices would disappear—that there would be a rapid and important revulsion from the practices of heathenism, and a radical change in their social condition—that the glorious principles of a Christian civilization would diffuse themselves throughout those benighted communities. Oh! that our people would take this matter into serious consideration, and think of the great privilege of kindling in the depths of the moral and spiritual gloom of Africa a glorious light—of causing the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad—the desert to bloom and blossom as the rose—and the whole land to be converted into a garden of the Lord.

Liberia, then, appeals to the colored men of this country for assistance in the noble work which she has begun. She appeals to those who believe that the descendants of Africa live in the serious neglect of their duty if they fail

to help to raise the land of their forefathers from her degradation. She appeals to those who believe that a well-established African nationality is the most direct and efficient means of securing respectability and independence for the African race. She appeals to those who believe that a rich and fertile country, like Africa, which has lain so long under the cheerless gloom of ignorance, should not be left any longer without the influence of Christian civilization—to those who deem it a far more glorious work to save extensive tracts of country from barbarism and continued degradation than to amass for themselves the means of individual comfort and aggrandizement—to those who believe that there was a providence in the deportation of our forefathers from the land of their birth, and that that same providence now points to a work in Africa to be done by us their descendants. Finally, Liberia appeals to all African patriots and Christians-to all lovers of order and refinement—to lovers of industry and enterprise—of peace, comfort, and happiness—to those who having felt the power of the Gospel in opening up to them life and immortality, are desirous that their benighted kindred should share in the same blessings. "Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged."

The Emancipation Proclamation (1863)

SOURCE: Franklin, John Hope. *The Emancipation Proclamation.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963.

INTRODUCTION: *On September 22, 1862, in an attempt to bring an end to the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln, acting on his authority as commander-in-chief, issued a warning that slavery would be abolished in any state that continued to rebel. With the war still raging, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, freeing slaves in those states that had seceded from the Union.*

January 1, 1863

By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation

Whereas on the 22d day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

> "That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then, be in rebellion against the United States shall be thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.
>
> "That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

> Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves

within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

Address to the First Annual Meeting of the Equal Rights Association (Sojourner Truth, 1867)

SOURCE: Hill, Patricia Liggins, ed. *Call and Response: The Riverside Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition.* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998, pp. 263–264.

"My friends, I am rejoiced that you are glad, but I don't know how you will feel when I get through. I come from another field—the country of the slave. They have got their liberty—so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed. I feel that if I have to answer for the deeds done in my body just as much as a man, I have a right to have just as much as a man. There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women; and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before. So I am for keeping the thing going while things are stirring; because if we wait till it is still, it will take a great while to get it going again. White women are a great deal smarter, and know more than colored women, while colored women do not know scarcely anything. They go out washing, which is about as high as a colored woman gets, and their men go about idle, strutting up and down; and when the women come home, they ask for their money and take it all, and then scold because there is no food. I want you to consider on that, chil'n. I call you chil'n; you are somebody's chil'n, and I am old enough to be mother of all that is here. I want women to have their rights. In the courts women have no right, no voice; nobody speaks for them. I wish woman to have her voice there among the pettifoggers. If it is not a fit place for women, it is unfit for men to be there.

"I am above eighty years old; it is about time for me to be going. I have been forty years a slave and forty years free, and would be here forty years more to have equal rights for all. I suppose I am kept here because something remains for me to do; I suppose I am yet to help to break the chain. I have done a great deal of work; as much as a man, but did not get so much pay. I used to work in the field and bind grain, keeping up with the cradler; but men doing no more, got twice as much pay, so with the German women. They work in the field and do as much work, but do not get the pay. We do as much, we eat as much, we want as much. I suppose I am about the only colored woman that goes about to speak for the rights of the colored women. I want to keep the thing stirring, now that the ice is cracked. What we want is a little money. You men know that you get as much again as women when you write, or for what you do. When we get our rights we shall not have to come to you for money, for then we shall have money enough in our own pockets; and may be you will ask us for money. But help us now until we get it. It is a good consolation to know that when we have got this battle once fought we shall not be coming to you any more. You have been having our rights so long, that you think, like a slave-holder, that you own us. I know that it is hard for one who has held the reins for so long to give up; it cuts like a knife. It will feel all the better when it closes up again. I have been in Washington about three years, seeing about these colored people. Now colored men have the right to vote. There ought to be equal rights now more than ever, since colored people have got their freedom. I am going to talk several times while I am here; so now I will do a little singing. I have not heard any singing since I came here."

Accordingly, suiting the action to the word, Sojourner sang, "We are going home." "There, children," said she, "in heaven we shall rest from all our labors; first do all we have to do here. There I am determined to go, not to stop short of that beautiful place, and I do not mean to stop till I get there, and meet you there, too."

Thanksgiving Day Sermon: The Social Principle among a People and Its Bearing on Their Progress and Development (Alexander Crummell, 1875)

SOURCE: Oldfield, J.R., ed. *Civilization and Black Progress: Selected Writings of Alexander Crummell on the South.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995, pp. 29–42.

INTRODUCTION: *In 1875, Crummell devoted his annual Thanksgiving Day sermon in Washington, D.C., to themes of self-help and racial solidarity. Citing a scripture from the Bible book of* Isaiah *(They helped every one his neighbor, and every one said to his neighbor, Be of good courage*—Isa. *41:8), Crummell declared: "[This] principle of united effort, and of generous concord, is worthy of the imitation of the colored people of this country, if they would fain rise to superiority and achievement."*

More than a month has passed away since we received the proclamation of our Chief Magistrate, appointing the 25th of November a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God.

And, in accordance with this pious custom, we, in common with millions of our fellow-citizens, have met together this morning, to offer up our tribute of praise and thankfulness to our common Parent in heaven, for all the gifts, favors, blessings, and benefactions, civil, domestic, religious, and educational, which have been bestowed upon us during the year; for the blessings of heaven above; for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun; for the precious things of the earth and the fullness thereof; for the golden harvests of peace, unstained by blood, and unbroken by strife; for the constant stream of health which has flowed through our veins and households, untainted by plague or pestilence; for the babes whom the Lord has laid upon your arms and given to your hearts; for the plentiful supply of food which has been granted us from the fields, and which has laden our boards; for the goodly instruction which trains the mind and corrects the hearts of our children, and prepares them for responsibility, for duty, and eternity; for the civil privileges and the national freedom, in which we are permitted to participate; for the measure of success which God has given His Gospel, and for the hope that is ours that the Cross shall yet conquer everywhere beneath the sun, and that JESUS shall rule and reign through all the world. For these and all other gifts and blessings we render our tribute of praise and gratitude to the Lord, our Maker, Preserver, and Benefactor, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord!

Grateful as is this theme of gratitude, and inviting as it is for thought and further expression, it is not my purpose to pursue it to-day. I feel that we should turn the occasion into an opportunity for improvement and progress.

Especially is this the duty of a people situated as we are in this country; cut loose, blessed be GOD, for evermore, from the dark moorings of servitude and oppression; but not fully arrived at—only drifting towards, the deep, quiet waters of fullest freedom and equality. Few, comparatively, in numbers; limited in resources; the inheritors of prodigious disasters; the heirs of ancestral woes and sorrows; burdened with most manifest duties and destinies; anxious for our children; thoughtful for our race; culpability and guilt of the deepest dye will be ours, if we do not most seriously consider the means and instruments by which we shall be enabled to go forward, and to rise upward. It is peculiarly a duty at this time when there is evidently an ebb-tide of indifference in the country, with regard to our race; and when the anxiety for union neutralizes the interest in the black man.

The agencies to the high ends I have referred to are various; but the text I have chosen suggests a train of thought, in a distinct and peculiar line. It shews us that spirit of unity which the world exhibits, when it would fain accomplish its great, commanding ends.

The prophet shews us here the notable sight, that is, that GOD comes down from heaven to put an end to the devices of the wicked. Whatever discord and strife may have before existed among them, at once it comes to an end. A common danger awaits them; a common peril menaces. At once they join hands; immediately their hearts are united. "They helped every one his neighbor, and every one said to his neighbor, be of good courage."

The lesson is one which we shall do well to learn with diligence; that it comes from the wicked, does not detract from its value. The world acts on many a principle which Christians would do well to lay to heart. Our Saviour tells us that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." So here, this principle of united effort, and of generous concord, is worthy of the imitation of the colored people of this country, if they would fain rise to superiority of both character and achievement. I shall speak, therefore, of the *"Social principle among a people; and its bearing on their progress and development."*

What I mean by the social principle, is the disposition which leads men to associate and join together for specific

purposes; the principle which makes families and societies, and which binds men in unity and brotherhood, in races and churches and nations.

For man, you will observe, is a social being. In his mental and moral constitution God has planted certain sympathies and affections, from which spring the desire for companionship. It is with reference to these principles that God declared of the single and solitary Adam, "It is not good for the man to live alone."' It was no newly-discovered affinity of the Maker, no after-thought of the Almighty. He had *formed* His creature with a fitness and proclivity for association. He had made him with a nature that demanded society. And from this principle flows, as from a fountain, the loves, friendships, families, and combinations which tie men together, in union and concord. A wider and more imposing result of this principle is the welding of men in races and nationalities. All the fruit and flower of these organisms come from the coalescence of divers faculties and powers, tending to specific ends. For no one man can effect anything important alone. There never was a great building, a magnificent city, a noble temple, a grand cathedral, a stately senate-house which was the work of one single individual. We know of no important event in history, no imposing scheme, no great and notable occurrence which stands as an epoch in the annals of the race, which was accomplished by a single, isolated individual. Whether it is the upbuilding of Imperial Rome; or the retreat of the Ten Thousand; or the discovery of America; or Cook's or Anson's voyages around the globe; or the conquest of India; or the battle of Waterloo; everywhere we find that the great things of history have been accomplished by the combination of men.

Not less is this the case in those more humane and genial endeavors which have been for the moral good of men, and wherein the individuality of eminent leaders has been more conspicuous. We read of the evangelization of Europe, from the confines of Asia to Britain; and, in more modern times, we have the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, the grand efforts for the relief of prisoners, the Temperance Reformation, the Sunday-school system. These were noble schemes, which originated in the fruitful brains and sprung from the generous hearts of single individuals, and which, in their gracious results, have made the names of Howard and Wilberforce, of Clarkson and Robert Raikes, bright and conspicuous. But yet we know that even they of themselves did not achieve the victories which are associated with their names. Thousands, nay, tens of thousands of the good and pious were aroused by their passionate appeals to stirring energy; and only when the masses of the godly were marshalled to earnest warfare, were those evils doomed; and they fell, never to rise again!

The application of this truth to the interests and the destiny of the colored race of America is manifest. We are living in this country, a part of its population, and yet, in divers respects, we are as foreign to its inhabitants as though we were living in the Sandwich Islands. It is this our actual separation from the real life of the nation, which constitutes us "a nation within a nation:" thrown very considerably upon ourselves for many of the largest interests of life, and for nearly all our social and religious advantages. As a consequence on this state of things, all the stimulants of ambition and self-love should lead this people to united effort for personal superiority and the uplifting of the race; but, instead thereof, overshadowed by a more powerful race of people; wanting in the cohesion which comes from racial enthusiasm; lacking in the confidence which is the root of a people's stability; disintegration, doubt, and distrust almost universally prevail, and distract all their business and policies.

Among a people, as in a nation, we find farmers, mechanics, sailors, servants, business men, trades. For life, energy, and progress in a people, it is necessary that all these various departments of activity should be carried on with spirit, skill, and unity. It is the cooperative principle, working in trades, business, and manufacturing, which is the great lever that is lifting up the million masses in great nations, and giving those nations themselves a more masterly superiority than they have ever known, in all their past histories. No people can discard this principle, and achieve greatness. Already I have shown that it cannot be done in the confined sphere of individual, personal effort. The social principle prevails in the uprearing of a nation, as in the establishing of a family. Men must associate and combine energies in order to produce large results. In the same way that a family becomes strong, influential, and wealthy by uniting the energies of parents and children, so a people go on to honor and glory, in the proportion and extent that they combine their powers to definite and productive ends.

Two principles are implied in the remarks I have made, that is, the *one* of mutuality, and the *other* of dependence.

By *mutuality* I mean the reciprocal tendencies and desires which interact between large bodies of men, aiming at single and definite ends. I mean the several sentiments of sympathy, cheer, encouragement, and combination, among any special body of people; which are needed and required in distinct departments of labor. Solitude, in any matter, is alien to the human heart. We need, we call for the aid of our fellow-creatures. The beating heart of man waits for the answering heart of his brother.

It is the courageous voice of the venturesome soldier that leads on a whole column to the heart of the fray. It

is the cheering song of the hardy sailor as he hangs upon the shrouds, amid the fierceness of the tempest, that lifts up the heart of his timid messmates, and stimulates to boldness and noble daring. On the broad fields of labor, where the scythe, the plough, and the spade work out those wondrous transformations which change the wild face of nature to order and beauty, and in the end, bring forth those mighty cargoes of grain which gladden the hearts and sustain the frames of millions; there the anthems of toil invigorate the brawny arms of labor; while the sun pours down its fiery rays, and the midday heat allures in vain to the shade and to rest. Deep down in the dark caves of earth, where the light of the sun never enters, tens of thousands of men and children delve away in the coal beds, or iron mines, buried in the bowels of the earth; cheered on in their toilsome labor by the joyous voices and the gladdening songs of their companions. What is it, in these several cases, that serves at once to lighten toil, and to stimulate to hardier effort? Several principles indeed concur; but it is evident that what I call mutuality, *i.e.*, sympathy and unison of feeling, act upon the hearts of soldiers, sailors, laborers, and miners, and spur them on to duty and endurance.

So, likewise, we may not pass by the other motive, *i.e.*, the feeling of *dependence*. We need the skill, the energy, the achievement of our fellow-creatures. No man stands up entirely alone, self-sufficient in the entire circle of human needs. Even in a state of barbarism the rude native man feels the need of the right arm of his brother. How much more with those who are civilized and enlightened! If you or I determine upon absolute independency of life and action, rejecting the arm and the aid of all other men, into how many departments of labor should we not at once have to multiply ourselves?

It is the recognition of this principle of association, which has made Great Britain, France, the United States, Holland, and Belgium the greatest nations of the earth. There are more partnerships, combinations; trades-unions, banking-houses, and insurance companies in those countries than in all the rest of the world together. The mere handful of men in these nations, numbering but one hundred millions, sway and dominate all the other nine hundred millions of men on the globe. Or just look at one single instance in our own day: here are England and France—fifty-eight millions of men—who, united, only a few years ago, humbled the vast empire of China, with its three hundred millions of semi-civilized inhabitants.

The principles of growth and mastery in a race, a nation, or people, are the same all over the globe. The same great agencies which are needed to make a people in one quarter of the globe and in one period of time are needed here, at this time, in this American nationality. We children of Africa in this land are no way different from any other people in these respects. Many of the differences of races are slight and incidental, and oftentimes become obliterated by circumstances, position, and religion. I can take you back to a period in the history of England when its rude inhabitants lived in caves and huts, when they fed on bark and roots, when their dress was the skins of animals. When you next look at some eminent Englishman, the personification, perchance, of everything cultivated, graceful, and refined, you may remember that his distant ancestors were wild and bloody savages, and that it has taken ten centuries to change him from the rudeness of his brutalized forefathers into an enlightened and civilized human being.

The great general laws of growth and superiority are unchangeable. The Almighty neither relaxes nor alters them for the convenience of any people. Conformity, then, to this demand for combination of forces is a necessity which we, as a people, cannot resist without loss and ruin. We cannot pay heed to it too soon; for if there has been anything for which the colored people of this country have been and now are noted, it is for disseverance, the segregation of their forces, the lack of the co-operative spirit. Neither in farming operations, nor trades, nor business, nor in mechanical employment, nor marketing, nor in attempts at grocery-keeping, do we find attempts at combination of their forces. No one hears anywhere of a company of fifty men to start a farm, to manufacture bricks, to begin a great trading business, to run a mill, or to ply a set of vessels in the coasting trade. No one sees a spontaneous movement of thirty or forty families to take possession of a tract of land for a specific monetary venture. Nowhere do we see a united movement in any State for general moral and educational improvement, whereby the masses may be delivered from inferiority and degradation. The people, as a body, seem delivered over to the same humble, servile occupations of life in which their fathers trod, because, from a lack of co-operation they are unable to step into the higher callings of business; and hence penury, poverty, inferiority, dependence, and even servility is their one general characteristic throughout the country, along with a dreadful state of mortality.

And the cause of this inferiority of purpose and of action is two-fold, and both the fault, to some extent, of unwise and unphilosophic leaders. For, since, especially emancipation, *two* special heresies have influenced and governed the minds of colored men in this nation: (I) The one is the dogma which I have heard frequently from the lips of leaders, personal and dear, but mistaken, friends,

that the colored people of this country should forget, as soon as possible, that they ARE *colored people:*—a fact, in the first place, which is an impossibility. Forget it, forsooth, when you enter a saloon and are repulsed on account of your color! Forget it when you enter a car, South or West, and are denied a decent seat! Forget it when you enter the Church of God, and are driven to a hole in the gallery! Forget it when every child of yours would be driven ignominiously from four-fifths of the common schools of the country! Forget it, when thousands of mechanics in the large cities would make a "strike" rather than work at the same bench, in the same yard, with a black carpenter or brick-maker! Forget it, when the boyhood of our race is almost universally deprived of the opportunity of learning trades, through prejudice! Forget it, when, in one single State, twenty thousand men dare not go to the polls on election-day, through the tyranny of caste! Forget it, when one great commonwealth offers a new constitution for adoption, by which a man like *Dumas* the younger, if he were a North Carolinian, could be indicted for marrying the foulest white woman in that State, and merely because she was white! Forget that you are colored, in these United States! Turn madman, and go into a lunatic asylum, and then, perchance, you may forget it! But, if you have any sense or sensibility, how is it possible for you, or me, or any other colored man, to live oblivious of a fact of so much significance in a land like this! The only place I know of in this land where you can "forget you are colored" is the grave!

But not only is this dogma folly, it is disintegrating and socially destructive. For shut out, for instance, as I am and you are from the cultivated sociall life of the superior classes of this country, if I forget that I am a black man, if you ignore the fact of race, and we both, ostrich-like, stick our heads in the sand, or stalk along, high-headed, oblivious of the actual distinctions which *do* exist in American society, what are you or I to do for our social nature? What will become of the measure of social life among ourselves which we now possess? Where are we to find our friends? Where find the circles for society and cheerful intercourse?

Why, my friends, the only way you, and I, and thousands of our people get domestic relations, marry wives and husbands, secure social relations, form good neighborhood and companionship, is by the very remembrance which we are told to scout and forswear.

2. The other dogma is the demand *that colored men should give up all distinctive effort, as colored men, in schools, churches, associations, and friendly societies.* But this, you will observe, is equivalent to a demand to the race to give up all civilization in this land and to submit to barbarism. The cry is: "Give up your special organization." "Mix in with your white fellow-citizens."

Now I waive, for the present, all discussion of abstract questions of rights and prerogatives. I direct my attention to the simple point of practicality; and I beg to say, that this is a thing which cannot be forced. Grieved, wearied and worried as humanity has been with the absurd, factitious arrangements of society in every quarter of the globe, yet men everywhere have had to wait. You can batter down oppression and tyranny with forceful implements; not so social disabilities and the exclusiveness of caste. The Saxon could not force it upon the Norman. Upon this point, if everything is not voluntary, generous, gracious, and spontaneous, the repulsive will is as icy, and as obstinate too, as Mt. Blanc. I wonder that the men who talk in the style I have referred to, forget that nine-tenths of the American people have become so poisoned and stimulated by the noxious influence of caste, that, in the present day, they would resist to the utmost before they would allow the affiliations, however remote, that implied the social or domestic principle.

Nay, more than this: not only would they reject your advances, but, after they had repelled you, they would leave you to reap the fruits of your own Folly in breaking up your own distinctive and productive organisms, under the flighty stimulants of imaginative conceit.

And the disaster, undoubtedly, would be deserved; not, indeed, morally, for the inflictions of caste are unjust and cruel; but because of your unwisdom; for it is the office of common sense to see, as well the exact situation, to comprehend the real condition of things as they exist in this nation; as well as to take cognizance of the pernicious and atrocious virulence of caste!

Few things in policy are more calamitous in result than mere conceit. An unbalanced and blind imagination is one of the most destructive, most disastrous of all guides. Such I believe to be the nature of the suggestion which I reprobate. But remember, I do not condemn the men who hold them. Oppression and caste are responsible for many worse things than unwisdom, or blind speculation. How intolerable are the distinctions which hedge up our ardent, ambitious minds, on every side, I thoroughly apprehend! How the excited mind turns passionately to every fancied and plausible mode of escape, I can easily understand! But remember that the pilotage of a whole people, of an entire race, through the quicksands and the breakers of civil and social degradation, up to the plane of manly freedom and equality, while it is, by its very hazards, calculated to heighten the pulse, and to quicken the activity of the brain, is, nevertheless, just that sort of work which calls for the coolest head, and the hardest, most

downright reasonableness. When you are pleading for natural rights, when men are endeavoring to throw off the yoke of oppression, you may indeed

—imitate the action of the tiger,
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood.

But a war against a gross public sentiment, a contest with prejudices and repulsions, is a thing of a different kind, and calls for a warfare of an opposite character. You cannot destroy caste with a ten pounder! You cannot sweep away a prejudice with a park of artillery!

I know, to use the words of another, "how difficult it is to silence imagination enough to make the voice of Reason even distinctly heard in this case; as we are accustomed from our youth up to indulge that forward and delusive faculty ever obtruding beyond its sphere; of some assistance indeed to apprehension, but the author of all error; as we plainly lose ourselves in gross and crude conception of things, taking for granted that we are acquainted with what indeed we are wholly ignorant of"; so it seems to me the gravest of all duties to get rid of all delusions upon this subject; and to learn to look at it in the light of hard, serious, long-continued, painful, plodding work. It is *work,* you will observe, not abnormal disturbances, not excitement; but a mighty effort of moral and mental reconstruction, reaching over to a majestic end. And then when that is reached and secured, then all the hindrances of caste will be forever broken down!

Nothing is more idle than to talk of the invincibility of prejudice. The Gospel is sure to work out all the issues and results of brotherhood, everywhere under the sun, and in this land; but, until that day arrives, we are a nation, set apart, in this country. As such, we have got to strive—not to get rid of ourselves; not to agonize over our distinctive peculiarities; but to accept the situation as Providence allows it, and to quit "ourselves as men," in, if you say so, painful and embarrassing circumstances; determined to shift the groove of circumstance, and to reverse it.

The special duty before us is to strive for footing and for superiority in this land, *on the line of race,* as a temporary but needed expedient, for the ultimate extinction of caste, and all race distinctions. For if *we* do not look after our own interests, as a people, and strive for advantage, no other people will. It is folly for mere idealists to content themselves with the notion that "we are American citizens;" that, "as American citizens, ours is the common heritage and destiny of the nation;" that "special solicitude for the colored people is a superfluity;" that "there is but one tide in this land; and we shall flow with all others on it."

On the contrary, I assert, we are just now a "peculiar people" in this land; looked at, repulsed, kept apart, legislated for, criticised in journals, magazines, and scientific societies, at an insulting and intolerable distance, as a peculiar people; with the doubt against us whether or not we can hold on to vital power on this soil; or whether we have capacity to rise to manhood and superiority.

And hence I maintain that there is the greatest need for us all to hold on to the remembrance that *we* are "colored men," and not to forget it!

While one remnant of disadvantage abides in this land, stand by one another! While proscription in any quarter exists, maintain intact all your phalanxes! While antagonism confronts your foremost men, hold on to all the instincts of race for the support of your leaders, and the elevation of your people! While the imputation of inferiority, justly or unjustly, is cast upon you, combine for all the elements of culture, wealth, and power! While any sensitiveness or repulsion discovers itself at your approach or presence, hold on to your own self-respect, keep up, *and be satisfied with,* your own distinctive circles!

And then the "poor, forsaken ones," in the lanes and alleys and cellars of the great cities; in remote villages and hamlets; on old plantations which their fathers' blood has moistened from generation to generation; ignorant, unkempt, dirty, animal-like, repulsive, and half heathen—brutal and degraded; in some States, tens and hundreds of thousands, not slaves, indeed, according to the letter of the law, but the tools and *serfs* of would-be oppressors: stand by THEM until the school-master and preacher reach them as well as us; and the noble Christian civilization of the land transforms their features and their forms, and changes their rude huts into homes of beauty; and lifts them up into such grand superiority, that no one in the land will associate the word "Negro" with inferiority and degradation; but the whole land, yea, the whole world shall look upon them by-and-by, multitudinous in their brooding, clustered masses, "redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled," and exclaim, "Black, but comely!" But, while they are low, degraded, miserable, almost beastly, don't forget that you are colored men, as well as they; "your brothers' keepers."

Do not blink at the charge of inferiority. It is not a race peculiarity; and whatever its measure or extent in this country, it has been forced upon you. Do not deny it, but neutralize and destroy it, not by shrieks, or agonies, or foolish pretence; but by culture, by probity, and industry.

I know the natural resource of some minds, under these painful circumstances, to cry out, "Agitates agitate!" But *cui bono?* What advantage will agitation bring? Everything has a value, according to its relation to its own natural and specific end. But what is the bearing of agitation to a purpose which is almost entirely subjective in its na-

ture. For, as I take it, the object we must needs have in view, in the face of the disabilities which confront our race in this land, is the attainment of such general superiority that prejudice must decline. But agitation has no such force, possesses no such value. Agitation is the expenditure of force: our end and aim is the husbandry of all our vital resources.

Character, my friends, is the grand, effective instrument which we are to use for, the destruction of caste: Character, in its broad, wide, deep, and high significance; character, as evidenced in high moral and intellectual attainments; as significant of general probity, honor, honesty, and self-restraint; as inclusive of inward might and power; as comprehending the attainments of culture, refinement, and enlightenment; as comprising the substantial results of thrift, economy, and enterprise; and as involving the forces of combined energies and enlightened cooperation. Make this, *not* the exceptional, but the common, general reality, amid the diverse, widespread populations of the colored people in this country; and then all the theories of inferiority, all the assumptions of your native and invincible degradation will pass, with wonderful rapidity, into endless forgetfulness; and the people of the very *next,* nay, multitudes, in the decline of *this* generation, when they look upon us, will wonder at the degrading facts of a past and wretched history. Only secure high, commanding, and masterly Character; and then all the problems of caste, all the enigmas of prejudice, all unreasonable and all unreasoning repulsion, will be settled forever, though you were ten times blacker than midnight! Then all false ideas concerning your nature and your qualities, all absurd notions relative to your capacity, shall vanish! Then every contemptuous fling shall be hushed, every insulting epithet be forgotten! Then, also, all the remembrances of a servile heritage, of ancestral degradation, shall be obliterated! Then all repulsive feelings, all evil dislikes shall fly away! Then, too, all timid disconcert shall depart from us, and all cramped and hesitant manhood shall die!

Dear brethren and friends, let there be but the clear demonstration of manly power and grand capacity in our race, in general, in this country; let there only be the wide out-flashings of art and genius, from their brains; and caste will slink, at once, oblivious to the shades. But no mere self-assertion, no strong, vociferous claims and clamor, can ever secure recognition and equality, so long as inferiority and degradation, if even cruelly entailed, abide as a heritage and a cancer. And I maintain we must *organize,* to the end that we may attain such character. The whole of our future on this soil depends upon that single fact of magnitude-character. Race, color, and all the incidents thereof have but little to do with the matter; and men talk idly when they say "we must forget that we are colored men." What is needed is not that we should forget this fact, but that we should rise to such elevation that the *people of the land* be forced to forget all the facts and theories of race, when they behold our thorough equality with them, in all the lines of activity and attainment, of culture and moral grandeur. The great necessity in this and is that its *white* population should forget, be made to forget, that we are *colored* men! Hence there is a work ahead of us, for the overthrow of caste, which will consume the best part of a century. He, whoever he may be, commits the greatest blunder, who advises you to disband your forces, until that work is brought to its end. It was only *after* the battle of Waterloo that England and her allies broke up their armies, and scattered their huge battalions. Not until we, as a people, have fully vindicated our race; not until we have achieved to the full their rights and prerogatives; not until, by character, we challenge universal respect and consideration in the land, can we sing the song:

—Come to the sunset tree,
The day is past and gone,
The woodman's axe lies free,
And the reaper's work is done.

Until that time, far distant from to-day, should the cry be everywhere among us: "Combine and marshal, for all the highest achievements in industry, social progress, literature, and religion!"

I hasten to conclude with two brief remarks:

First, then, let me remind and warn you, my friends, that we, as colored men, have no superfluity of powers or faculties in the work which is before as, as a race, in this country. First of all, we all start with maimed and stunted powers. And next, the work before us is so distinct, definite, and, withal, so immense, that it tolerates no erratic wanderings to out-of-the-way and foreign fields.

And yet there are men who tell us that much of our work of the day is objective, that it lies among another people. But I beg to say that we have more than we are equal to in the needs of the six millions of our ignorant and benighted people, yet crippled and paralyzed by the lingering maladies of slavery. If we address ourselves strenuously and unitedly to *their* elevation and improvement we shall have our hands full for more than one generation, without flowing over with zeal and offices to a masterful people, laden with the enlightenment of centuries.

For one, I say very candidly that I do not feel it *my* special calling to wage war with and to extirpate caste. I am no way responsible for its existence. I abominate it as an enormity. *Theirs* is the responsibility who uphold it, and theirs is the obligation to destroy it. My work is special to my own people, and it is constructive. I beg leave to dif-

fer from that class of colored men who think that ours is a special mission, to leave our camp and to go over, as it were, among the Philistines, and to destroy their idols.

For my part, I am satisfied that my field of labor is with my own race in these times. I feel I have no exuberance of powers or ability to spend in any other field, or to bestow upon any other people. I say, as said the Shunamite woman, "I DWELL AMONG MY OWN PEOPLE" (2 Kings: IV, 13); not, indeed, as mindless of the brotherhood of the entire species, not as forgetful of the sentiment of fellowship with disciples of every name and blood; but as urged by the feeling of kinship, to bind myself as "with hooks of steel" to the most degraded class in the land, my own "kinsmen according to the flesh." I have the most thorough and radical conviction that the very first duty of colored men, in this our day and generation, is in the large field of effort which requires the regeneration and enlightenment of the colored race in these United States.

And second, from this comes the legitimate inference suggested by the text, i.e., of union and co-operation through all our ranks for effective action and for the noblest ends. Everywhere throughout the Union wide and thorough organization of the people should be made, not for idle political logomachy, but for industrial effort, for securing trades for youth, for joint-stock companies, for manufacturing, for the production of the great staples of the land, and likewise for the higher purposes of life, *i.e.,* for mental and moral improvement, and raising the plane of social and domestic life among us.

In every possible way these needs and duties should be pressed upon their attention, by sermons, by lectures, by organized societies, by state and national conventions; the *latter not* for political objects, but for social, industrial ends and attainments. I see nought in the future but that we shall be scattered like chaff before the wind before the organized labor of the land, the great power of capital, and the tremendous tide of emigration, unless, as a people, we fall back upon the might and mastery which come from the combination of forces and the principle of industrial co-operation. Most of your political agitation is but wind and vanity. *What* this *race needs in this coun*try is *POWER—the forces that may be felt.* And that comes from character, and character is the product of religion, intelligence, virtue, family order, superiority, wealth, and the show of industrial forces. THESE ARE FORCES WHICH WE DO NOT POSSESS. *We are the only class which, as a class,* IN THIS COUNTRY, IS WANTING IN THESE GRAND ELEMENTS. The very first effort of the colored people should be to lay hold of them; and then they will take such root in this American soil that only the convulsive upheaving of the judgement-day can throw them out! And therefore I close, as I began, with the admonitory tones of the text. God grant they may be heeded at least by You who form this congregation, in your sacred work *here,* and in all your other relations: "They helped every one his neighbor, and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, It is ready for the soldering; and he fastened it with nails, that it SHOULD NOT BE MOVED!"

Guerilla Warfare, A Bush Negro View (Johannes King, 1885)

SOURCE: Price, Richard, ed. *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pp. 298–304.

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A Voice from the South (Anna Julia Cooper, 1892)

SOURCE: Cooper, Anna Julia. *A Voice from the South.* Xenia, Ohio: Aldine Printing House, 1892, pp. 24–31. Available online via the University of North Carolina Library's *Documenting the American South* website at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/cooper/cooper.html>
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I would beg, however, with the Doctor's permission, to add my plea for the *Colored Girls* of the South:—that large, bright, promising fatally beautiful class that stand shivering like a delicate plantlet before the fury of tempestuous elements, so full of promise and possibilities, yet so sure of destruction; often without a father to whom they dare apply the loving term, often without a stronger brother to espouse their cause and defend their honor with his life's blood; in the midst of pitfalls and snares, waylaid by the lower classes of white men, with no shelter, no protection nearer than the great blue vault above, which half conceals and half reveals the one Care-Taker they know so little of. Oh, save them, help them, shield, train, develop, teach, inspire them! Snatch them, in God's name, as brands from the burning! There is material in them well worth your while, the hope in germ of a staunch, helpful, regenerating womanhood on which, primarily, rests the foundation stones of our future as a race.

It is absurd to quote statistics showing the Negro's bank account and rent rolls, to point to the hundreds of newspapers edited by colored men and lists of lawyers, doctors, professors, D.D's, LL D's, etc., etc., etc., while the source from which the life-blood of the race is to flow is subject to taint and corruption in the enemy's camp.

True progress is never made by spasms. Real progress is growth. It must begin in the seed. Then, "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." There is something to encourage and inspire us in the advancement of individuals since their emancipation from slavery. It at least proves that there is nothing irretrievably wrong in the shape of the black man's skull, and that under given circumstances his development, downward or upward, will be similar to that of other average human beings.

But there is no time to be wasted in mere felicitation. That the Negro has his niche in the infinite purposes of the Eternal, no one who has studied the history of the last fifty years in America will deny. That much depends on his own right comprehension of his responsibility and rising to the demands of the hour, it will be good for him to see; and how best to use his present so that the structure of the future shall be stronger and higher and brighter and nobler and holier than that of the past, is a question to be decided each day by every one of us.

The race is just twenty-one years removed from the conception and experience of a chattel, just at the age of ruddy manhood. It is well enough to pause a moment for retrospection, introspection, and prospection. We look back, not to become inflated with conceit because of the depths from which we have arisen, but that we may learn wisdom from experience. We look within that we may gather together once more our forces, and, by improved and more practical methods, address ourselves to the tasks before us. We look forward with hope and trust that the same God whose guiding hand led our fathers through and out of the gall and bitterness of oppression, will still lead and direct their children, to the honor of His name, and for their ultimate salvation.

But this survey of the failures or achievments of the past, the difficulties and embarrassments of the present, and the mingled hopes and fears for the future, must not degenerate into mere dreaming nor consume the time which belongs to the practical and effective handling of the crucial questions of the hour; and there can be no issue more vital and momentous than this of the womanhood of the race.

Here is the vulnerable point, not in the heel, but at the heart of the young Achilles; and here must the defenses be strengthened and the watch redoubled.

We are the heirs of a past which was not our fathers' moulding. "Every man the arbiter of his own destiny" was not true for the American Negro of the past: and it is no fault of his that he finds himself to-day the inheritor of a manhood and womanhood impoverished and debased by two centuries and more of compression and degradation.

But weaknesses and malformations, which to-day are attributable to a vicious schoolmaster and a pernicious system, will a century hence be rightly regarded as proofs of innate corruptness and radical incurability.

Now the fundamental agency under God in the regeneration, the re-training of the race, as well as the

ground work and starting point of its progress upward, must be the *black woman.*

With all the wrongs and neglects of her past, with all the weakness, the debasement, the moral thralldom of her present, the black woman of to-day stands mute and wondering at the Herculean task devolving around her. But the cycles wait for her. No other hand can move the lever. She must be loosed from her bands and set to work.

Our meager and superficial results from past efforts prove their futility; and every attempt to elevate the Negro, whether undertaken by himself or through the philanthropy of others, cannot but prove abortive unless so directed as to utilize the indispensable agency of an elevated and trained womanhood.

A race cannot be purified from without. Preachers and teachers are helps, and stimulants and conditions as necessary as the gracious rain and sunshine are to plant growth. But what are rain and dew and sunshine and cloud if there be no life in the plant germ? We must go to the root and see that it is sound and healthy and vigorous; and not deceive ourselves with waxen flowers and painted leaves of mock chlorophyll.

We too often mistake individuals' honor for race development and so are ready to substitute pretty accomplishments for sound sense and earnest purpose.

A stream cannot rise higher than its source. The atmosphere of homes is no rarer and purer and sweeter than are the mothers in those homes. A race is but a total of families. The nation is the aggregate of its homes. As the whole is sum of all its parts, so the character of the parts will determine the characteristics of the whole. These are all axioms and so evident that it seems gratuitous to remark it; and yet, unless I am greatly mistaken, most of the unsatisfaction from our past results arises from just such a radical and palpable error, as much almost on our own part as on that of our benevolent white friends.

The Negro is constitutionally hopeful and proverbially irrepressible; and naturally stands in danger of being dazzled by the shimmer and tinsel of superficials. We often mistake foliage for fruit and overestimate or wrongly estimate brilliant results.

The late Martin R. Delany, who was an unadulterated black man, used to say when honors of state fell upon him, that when he entered the council of kings the black race entered with him; meaning, I suppose, that there was no discounting his race identity and attributing his achievements to some admixture of Saxon blood. But our present record of eminent men, when placed beside the actual status of the race in America to-day, proves that no man can represent the race. Whatever the attainments of the individual may be, unless his home has moved on *pari passu,* he can never be regarded as identical with or representative of the whole.

Not by pointing to sun-bathed mountain tops do we prove that Phoebus warms the valleys.

We must point to homes, average homes, homes of the rank and file of horny handed toiling men and women of the South (where the masses are) lighted and cheered by the good, the beautiful, and the true,—then and not till then will the whole plateau be lifted into the sunlight.

Only the BLACK WOMAN can say "when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole *Negro race enters with me.*" Is it not evident then that as individual workers for this race we must address ourselves with no half-hearted zeal to this feature of our mission. The need is felt and must be recognized by all. There is a call for workers, for missionaries, for men and women with the double consecration of a fundamental love of humanity and a desire for its melioration through the Gospel; but superadded to this we demand an intelligent and sympathetic comprehension of the interests and special needs of the Negro.

The American Negro and His Fatherland (Henry McNeal Turner, 1895)

SOURCE: Congress on Africa, Atlanta, 1895. *Africa and the American Negro.* Edited by J. W. E. Bowen. Gammon Theological Seminary, 1896. Reprinted. Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing, 1969, pp. 195–197.

It would be a waste of time to expend much labor, the few moments I have to devote to this subject, upon the present status of the Negroid race in the United States. It is too well known already. However, I believe that the Negro was brought to this country in the providence of God to a heaven permitted if not a divine-sanctioned manual laboring school, that he might have direct contact with the mightiest race that ever trod the face of the globe.

The heathen African, to my certain knowledge, I care not what others may say, eagerly yearn for that civilization which they believe will elevate them and make them potential for good. The African was not sent and brought to this country by chance, or by the avarice of the white man, single and alone. The white slave purchaser went to the shores of that continent and bought our ancestors from their African masters. The bulk who were brought to this

country were the children of parents who had been in slavery a thousand years. Yet hereditary slavery is not universal among the African slaveholders. So that the argument often advanced, that the white man went to Africa and stole us, is not true. They bought us out of a slavery that still exists over a large portion of that continent. For there are millions and millions of slaves in Africa to-day. Thus the superior African sent us, and the white man brought us, and we remained in slavery as long as it was necessary to learn that a God, who is a spirit, made the world and controls it, and that that Supreme Being could be sought and found by the exercise of faith in His only begotten Son. Slavery then went down, and the colored man was thrown upon his own responsibility, and here he is today, in the providence of God, cultivating self-reliance and imbibing a knowledge of civil law in contra-distinction to the dictum of one man, which was the law of the black man until slavery was overthrown. I believe that the Negroid race has been free long enough now to begin to think for himself and plan for better conditions than he can lay claim to in this country or ever will. *There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro.* He may eke out an existence for generations to come, but he can never be a man—full, symmetrical and undwarfed. Upon this point I know thousands who make pretensions to scholarship, white and colored, will differ and may charge me with folly, while I in turn pity their ignorance of history and political and civil sociology. We beg here to itemize and give a cursory glance at a few facts calculated to convince any man who is not biased or lamentably ignorant. Let us note a few of them.

1. There is a great chasm between the white and black, not only in this country, but in the West India Islands, South America, and as much as has been said to the contrary, I have seen inklings of it in Ireland, in England, in France, in Germany, and even away down in southern Spain in sight of Morocco in Africa. We will not however deal with foreign nations, but let us note a few facts connected with the United States.

I repeat that a great chasm exists between the two race varieties in this country. The white people, neither North nor South, will have social contact as a mass between themselves and any portion of the Negroid race. Although they may be as white in appearance as themselves, yet a drop of African blood imparts a taint, and the talk about two races remaining in the same country with mutual interest and responsibility in its institutions and progress, with no social contact, is the jargon of folly, and no man who has read the history of nations and the development of countries, and the agencies which have culminated in the homogeneity of racial variations, will proclaim such a docrine. Senator Morgan, of Alabama, tells the truth when he says that the Negro has nothing to expect without social equality with the whites, and that the whites will never grant it.

This question must be examined and opinions reached in the light of history and sociological philosophy, and not by a mere think-so on the part of men devoid of learning. When I use the term learning, I do not refer to men who have graduated from some college and have a smattering knowledge of Greek, Latin, mathematics and a few school books, and have done nothing since but read the trashy articles of newspapers. That is not scholarship. Scholarship consists in wading through dusty volumes for forty and fifty years. That class of men would not dare to predict symmetrical manhood for the Negroid race in this or any other country, without social equality. The colored man who will stand up and in one breath say, that the Negroid race does not want social equality and in the next predict a great future in the face of all the proscription of which the colored man is the victim, is either an ignoramus, or is an advocate of the perpetual servility and degradation of his race variety. I know, as Senator Morgan says, and as every white man in the land will say, that the whites will not grant social equality to the Negroid race, nor am I certain that God wants them to do it. And as such, I believe that two or three millions of us should return to the land of our ancestors, and establish our own nation, civilization, laws, customs, style of manufacture, and not only give the world, like other race varieties, the benefit of our individuality, but build up social conditions peculiarly our own, and cease to be grumblers, chronic complainers and a menace to the white man's country, or the country he claims and is bound to dominate.

The civil status of the Negro is simply what the white man grants of his own free will and accord. The black man can demand nothing. He is deposed from the jury and tried, convicted and sentenced by men who do not claim to be his peers. On the railroads, where the colored race is found in the largest numbers, he is the victim of proscription, and he must ride in the Jim Crow car or walk. The Supreme Court of the United States decided, October 15th, 1882, that the colored man had no civil rights under the general government, and the several States, from then until now, have been enacting laws which limit, curtail and deprive him of his civil rights, immunities and privileges, until he is now being disfranchised, and where it will end no one can divine.

They told me in the Geographical Institute in Paris, France, that according to their calculation there are not less than 400,000,000 of Africans and their descendants on the globe, so that we are not lacking in numbers to form a nationality of our own.

2. The environments of the Negroid race variety in this country tend to the inferiority of them, even if the argument can be established that we are equals with the white man in the aggregate, notwithstanding the same opportunities may be enjoyed in the schools. Let us note a few facts.

The discriminating laws, all will concede, are degrading to those against whom they operate, and the degrader will be degraded also. "For all acts are reactionary, and will return in curses upon those who curse," said Stephen A. Douglass, the great competitor of President Lincoln. Neither does it require a philosopher to inform you that degradation begets degradation. Any people oppressed, proscribed, belied, slandered, burned, flayed and lynched will not only become cowardly and servile, but will transmit that same servility to their posterity, and continue to do so *ad infinitum,* and as such will never make a bold and courageous people. The condition of the Negro in the United States is so repugnant to the instincts of respected manhood that thousands, yea hundreds of thousands, of miscegenated will pass for white, and snub the people with whom they are identified at every opportunity, thus destroying themselves, or at least *unracing* themselves. They do not want to be black because of its ignoble condition, and they cannot be white, thus they become monstrosities. Thousands of young men who are even educated by white teachers never have any respect for people of their own color and spend their days as devotees of white gods. Hundreds, if not thousands, of the terms employed by the white race in the English language are also degrading to the black man. Everything that is satanic, corrupt, base and infamous is denominated *black,* and all that constitutes virtue, purity, innocence, religion, and that which is divine and heavenly, is represented as white. Our Sabbath-school children, by the time they reach proper consciousness, are taught to sing to the laudation of white and to the contempt of black. Can any one with an ounce of common sense expect that these children, when they reach maturity, will ever have any respect for their black or colored faces, or the faces of their associates? But, without multiplying words, the terns used in our religious experience, and the hymns we sing in many instances, are degrading, and will be as long as the black man is surrounded by the idea that *white* represents God and black represents the devil. The Negro should, therefore, build up a nation of his own, and create a language in keeping with his color, as the whites have done. Nor will he ever respect himself until he does it.

3. In this country the colored man, with a few honorable exceptions, folds his arms and waits for the white man to propose, project, erect, invent, discover, combine, plan and execute everything connected with civilization, including machinery, finance, and indeed everything. This, in the nature of things, dwarfs the colored man and allows his great faculties to slumber from the cradle to the grave. Yet he possesses mechanical and inventive genius, I believe, equal to any race on earth. Much has been said about the natural inability of the colored race to engage in the professions of skilled labor. Yet before the war, right here in this Southland, he erected and completed all of the fine edifices in which the lords of the land luxuriated. It is idle talk to speak of a colored man not being a success in skilled labor or the fine arts. What the black man needs is a country and surroundings in harmony with his color and with respect for his manhood. Upon this point I would delight to dwell longer if I had time. Thousands of white people in this country are ever and anon advising the colored people to keep out of politics, but they do not advise themselves. If the Negro is a man in keeping with other men, why should he be less concerned about politics than any one else? Strange, too, that a number of would-be colored leaders are ignorant and debased enough to proclaim the same foolish jargon. For the Negro to stay out of politics is to level himself with a horse or a cow, which is no politician, and the Negro who does it proclaims his inability to take part in political affairs. If the Negro is to be a man, full and complete, he must take part in everything that belongs to manhood. If he omits a single duty, responsibility or privilege, to that extent he is limited and incomplete.

Time, however, forbids my continuing the discussion of this subject, roughly and hastily as these thoughts have been thrown together. Not being able to present a dozen or two more phases, which I would cheerfully and gladly do if opportunity permitted, I conclude by saying the argument that it would be impossible to transport the colored people of the United States back to Africa is an advertisement of folly. Two hundred millions of dollars would rid this country of the last member of the Negroid race, if such a thing was desirable, and two hundred and fifty millions would give every man, woman and child excellent fare, and the general government could furnish that amount and never miss it, and that would only be the pitiful sum of a million dollars a year for the time we labored for nothing, and for which somebody or some power is responsible. The emigrant agents at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St. John, N. B., and Halifax, N. S., with whom I have talked, establish beyond contradiction, that over a million, and from that to twelve hundred thousand persons, come to this country every year, and yet there is no public stir about it. But in the case of African emigration, two or three millions only of self-reliant men and

women would be necessary to establish the conditions we are advocating in Africa.

The Atlanta Exposition Address (Booker T. Washington, 1895)

SOURCE: *Up from Slavery.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1901, pp. 217–225.

INTRODUCTION: *Invited to offer one of the opening addresses at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, Booker T. Washington sought "to say something that would cement the friendship of the races and bring about hearty cooperation between them." Rejecting legislated equality in favor of progress and an equality that he felt blacks could eventually earn, Washington made the proposal that came to be known as the Atlanta Compromise. The following excerpt, from Washington's autobiography,* Up from Slavery, *includes the address as well as the author's recollections about the response it drew.*

The Atlanta Exposition, at which I had been asked to make an address as a representative of the Negro race . . . was opened with a short address from Governor Bullock. After other interesting exercises, including an invocation from Bishop Nelson, of Georgia, a dedicatory ode by Albert Howell, Jr., and addresses by the President of the Exposition and Mrs. Joseph Thompson, the President of the Woman's Board, Governor Bullock introduced me with the words, "We have with us to-day a representative of Negro enterprise and Negro civilization."

When I arose to speak, there was considerable cheering, especially from the coloured people. As I remember it now, the thing that was uppermost in my mind was the desire to say something that would cement the friendship of the races and bring about hearty cooperation between them. So far as my outward surroundings were concerned, the only thing that I recall distinctly now is that when I got up, I saw thousands of eyes looking intently into my face. The following is the address which I delivered:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention of stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling

a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sickbed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defence or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:—

The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug-stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago. I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting

out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, then, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

The first thing that I remember, after I had finished speaking, was that Governor Bullock rushed across the platform and took me by the hand, and that others did the same. I received so many and such hearty congratulations that I found it difficult to get out of the building. I did not appreciate to any degree, however, the impression which my address seemed to have made, until the next morning, when I went into the business part of the city. As soon as I was recognized, I was surprised to find myself pointed out and surrounded by a crowd of men who wished to shake hands with me. This was kept up on every street on to which I went, to an extent which embarrassed me so much that I went back to my boarding place. The next morning I returned to Tuskegee. At the station in Atlanta, and at almost all of the stations at which the train stopped between that city and Tuskegee, I found a crowd of people anxious to shake hands with me.

The papers in all parts of the United States published the address in full, and for months afterward there were complimentary editorial references to it. Mr. Clark Howell, the editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* telegraphed to a New York paper, among other words, the following, "I do not exaggerate when I say that Professor Booker T. Washington's address yesterday was one of the most notable speeches, both as to character and as to the warmth of its reception, ever delivered to a Southern audience. The address was a revelation. The whole speech is a platform upon which blacks and whites can stand with full justice to each other."

The Boston *Transcript* said editorially: "The speech of Booker T. Washington at the Atlanta Exposition, this week, seems to have dwarfed all the other proceedings and the Exposition itself. The sensation that it has caused in the press has never been equalled."

I very soon began receiving all kinds of propositions from lecture bureaus, and editors of magazines and papers, to take the lecture platform, and to write articles. One lecture bureau offered me fifty thousand dollars, or two hundred dollars a night and expenses, if I would place my services at its disposal for a given period. To all these communications I replied that my life-work was at Tuskegee; and that whenever I spoke it must be in the interests of the Tuskegee school and my race, and that I would enter into no arrangements that seemed to place a mere commercial value upon my services.

Plessy v. Ferguson

INTRODUCTION: *At issue in* Plessy v. Ferguson *was an 1890 Louisiana law that required passenger trains operating within the state to provide "equal but separate" accommodations for "white and colored races." The Supreme Court upheld the law by a 7–1 vote, in the process putting a stamp of approval on all laws that mandated racial segregation. In his majority opinion, Justice Henry Billings Brown concluded that the Fourteenth Amendment "could not have intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either."*

Justice John M. Harlan, the lone dissenter, responded that the "arbitrary separation of citizens on the basis of race" was equivalent to imposing a "badge of servitude" on African Americans. He contended that the real intent of the law was not to provide equal accommodations but to compel African Americans "to keep to themselves." This was intolerable because "our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens." Nevertheless, Plessy *was the law of the land until 1954.*

Plessy v. Ferguson

(May 18, 1896.)

No. 210.

1. An act requiring white and colored persons to be furnished with separate accommodations on railway trains does not violate Const. Amend. 13, abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude. 11 South. 948, affirmed.

2. A state statute requiring railway companies to provide separate accommodations for white and colored persons, and making a passenger insisting on occupying a coach or compartment other than the one set apart for his race liable to fine or imprisonment, does not violate Const. Amend. 14, by a abridging the privileges or immunities of United States citizens, or depriving persons of liberty or property without due process of law, or by denying them the equal protection of the laws. 11 South. 948. affirmed.

Mr. Justice Harlan dissenting.

In Error to the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana.

This was a petition for writs of prohibition and certiorari originally filed in the supreme court of the state by Plessy, the plaintiff in error, against the Hon. John H. Ferguson, judge of the criminal district court for the parish of Orleans, and setting forth, in substance, the following facts:

That petitioner was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the state of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in

the proportion of seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege, and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the white race by its constitution and laws; that on June 7, 1892, he engaged and paid for a first-class passage on the East Louisiana Railway, from New Orleans to Covington, in the same state, and thereupon entered a passenger train, and took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated; that such railroad company was incorporated by the laws of Louisiana as a common carrier, and was not authorized to distinguish between citizens according to their race, but, withstanding this, petitioner was required by the conductor, under penalty of ejection from said train and imprisonment, to vacate said coach, and occupy another seat, in a coach assigned by said company for persons not of the white race, and for no other reason than that petitioner was of the colored race; that, upon petitioner's refusal to comply with such order, he was, with the aid of a police officer, forcibly ejected from said coach, and hurried off to, and imprisoned in, the parish jail of New Orleans, and there held to answer a charge made by such officer to the effect that he was guilty of having criminally violated an act of the general assembly of the state, approved July 10, 1890, in such case made and provided.

The petitioner was subsequently brought before the recorder of the city of preliminary examination, and committed for trial to the criminal district court for the parish of Orleans, where an information was filed against him in the matter above set forth, for a violation of the above act, which act the petitioner affirmed to be null and void, because in conflict with the constitution of the United States; that petitioner interposed a plea to such information, based upon the unconstitutionality of the act of the general assembly, to which the district attorney, on behalf of the state, filed a demurrer; that, upon issue being joined upon such demurrer and plea, the court sustained the demurrer, overruled the plea, and ordered petitioner to plead over to the facts set forth in the information, and that, unless the judge of the said court be enjoined by a writ of prohibition from further proceeding in such case, the court will proceed to fine and sentence petitioner to imprisonment, and thus deprive him of his constitutional rights set forth in his said plea, notwithstanding the unconstitutionality of the act under which was being prosecuted; that no appeal lay from such sentence, and petitioner was without relief or remedy except by writs of prohibition and certiorari. Copies of the information and other proceedings in the criminal district court were annexed to the petition as an exhibit.

Upon the filing of this petition, an order was issued upon the respondent to show cause why a writ of prohibition should not issue, and be made perpetual, and further order that the record of the proceedings had in the criminal cause be certified and transmitted to the supreme court.

To this order the respondent made answer, transmitting a certified copy of the proceedings, asserting the constitutionality of the law, and averring that, instead of pleading or admitting that he belonged to the colored race, the said Plessy declined and refused, either by pleading or otherwise, to admit that he was in any sense or in any proportion a colored man.

The case coming on for hearing before the supreme court, that court was of opinion that the law under which the prosecution was had was constitutional and denied the relief prayed for by the petitioner (*Ex parte Plessy*, 45 La. Ann. 80, 11 South. 948); whereupon petitioner prayed for a writ of error from this court, which was allowed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

A.W. Tourgee and S. F. Phillips, for plaintiff in error. Alex. Porter Morse, for defendant in error.

Mr. Justice Brown, after stating the facts in the foregoing language, delivered the opinion of the court.

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the general assembly of the state of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. Acts 1890, No. 111, p. 152.

The first section of the statute enacts

> "that all railway companies in this state, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white, and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations: provided, that this section shall not be construed to apply to street railroads. No person or persons shall be permitted to occupy seats in coaches, other than the ones assigned to them, on account of the race they belong to."

By the second section it was enacted

> "that the officers of such passenger trains shall have power and are hereby required to assign each passenger to the coach or compartment used for the race to which such passenger belongs; any passenger insisting on going into a coach or compartment to which by race he does not belong, shall be liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars, or in lieu thereof to imprisonment for a period of not more than twenty days in the parish

prison, and any officer of any railroad insisting on assigning a passenger to a coach or compartment other than the one set aside for the race to which said passenger belongs, shall be liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars, or in lieu thereof to imprisonment for a period of not more than twenty days in the parish prison; and should any passenger refuse to occupy the coach or compartment to which he or she is assigned by the officer of such railway, said officer shall have power to refuse to carry such passenger on his train, and for such refusal neither he nor the railway company which he represents shall be liable for damages in any of the courts of this state."

The third section provides penalties for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors, and employes of railway companies to comply with the act, with a proviso that "nothing in this act shall be construed as applying to nurses attending children of the other race." The fourth section is immaterial.

The information filed in the criminal district court charged, in substance, that Plessy, being a passenger between two stations within the state of Louisiana, was assigned by officers of the company to the coach used for the race to which he belonged, but he insisted upon going into a coach used by the race to which he did not belong. Neither in the information nor plea was his particular race or color averred.

The petition for the writ of prohibition averred that petitioner was seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him; and that he was entitled to every right, privilege, and immunity secured to citizens of the United States of the white race; and that, upon such theory, he took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated, and was ordered by the conductor to vacate said coach, and take a seat in another, assigned to persons of the colored race, and, having refused to comply with such demand he was forcibly ejected with the aid of a police officer and imprisoned in the parish jail to answer a charge of having violated the above act.

The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts both with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery and the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the states.

1. That is does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. Slavery implies involuntary servitude—a state of bondage; the ownership of mankind as a chattel, or, at least, the control of the labor and services of one man for the benefit of another, and the absence of a legal right to the disposal of his own person, property, and services. This amendment was said in the *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, to have been intended primarily to abolish slavery, as it had been previously known in this country, and that it equally forbade Mexican peonage or the Chinese coolie trade, when they amounted to slavery or involuntary servitude, and that the use of the word "servitude" was intended to prohibit the use of all forms of involuntary slavery, of whatever class or name. It was intimated, however, in that case, that this amendment was regarded by the statesmen of that day as insufficient to protect the colored race from certain laws which had been enacted in the Southern states, imposing upon the colored race onerous disabilities and burdens, and curtailing their rights in the pursuit of life, liberty, and property to such an extent that their freedom was of little value; and that the Fourteenth Amendment was devised to meet this exigency

So, too, in the *Civil Rights Cases*, 100 U.S. 3, 3 Sup. Ct. 18, it was said that the act of a mere individual, the owner of an inn, a public conveyance or place of amusement, refusing accommodations to colored people, cannot be justly regarded as imposing any badge of slavery or servitude upon the applicant, but only as involving an ordinary civil injury, properly cognizable by the laws of the state, and presumably subject to redress by those laws until the contrary appears. "It would be running the slavery question into the ground," said Mr. Justice Bradley,

> "to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make as to the guests he will entertain, or as to the people he will take into his coach or cab or car, or admit to his concert or theater, or deal with in other matters of intercourse or business."

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is found in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or re-establish a state of involuntary servitude. Indeed, we do not understand that the Thirteenth Amendment is strenuously relied upon by the plaintiff in error in this connection.

2. By the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are made citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside; and the states are forbidden from making or enforcing any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United

States, or shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The proper construction of this amendment was first called to the attention of this court in the *Slaughter-House Cases,* 16 Wall. 36, which involved, however, not a question of race, but one of exclusive privileges. The case did not call for any expression of opinion as to the exact rights it was intended to secure to the colored race, but it was said generally that its main purpose was to establish the citizenship of the negro, to give definitions of citizenship of the United States and of the states, and to protect from the hostile legislation of the states the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as distinguished from those of citizens of the states.

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but, in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation, in places where they are liable to be brought into contact, do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which have been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

One of the earliest of these cases is that of *Roberts v. City of Boston,* 5 Cush. 198, in which the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts held that the general school committee of Boston had power to make provision for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established exclusively for them, and to prohibit their attendance upon the other schools. "The great principle," said Chief Justice Shaw,

> "advanced by the learned and eloquent advocate for the plaintiff [Mr. Charles Sumner], is that, by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, all persons, without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law. * * * But, when this great principle comes to be applied to the actual and various conditions of persons in society, it will not warrant the assertion that men and women are legally clothed with the same civil and political powers, and that children and adults are legally to have the same functions and be subject to the same treatment; but only that the rights of all, as they are settled and regulated by law, are equally entitled to the paternal consideration and protection of the law for their maintenance and security."

It was held that the powers of the committee extended to the establishment of separate schools for children of different ages, sexes, and colors, and that they might also establish special schools for poor and neglected children, who have become too old to attend the primary school, and yet not acquired the rudiments of learning, to enable them to enter the ordinary schools. Similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its general power of legislation over the District of Columbia (sections 281–283, 310, 319, Rev. St. D. C.), as well as by the legislatures of many of the states, and have been generally, if not uniformly, sustained by the courts. *State v. McCann* 21 Ohio St. 210; *Lehew v. Brummell* (Mo. Sup.) 15 S. W. 705; *Ward v. Flood,* 48 Cal. 36; *Bertonneau v. Directors of City Schools,*3 Woods, 177 Fed. Cas. No. 1,361; *People v. Gallagher,* 93 N. Y. 438; *Cory v. Carter,* 48 Ind. 337; *Dawson v. Lee,* 83 Ky. 49.

Laws forbidding the intermarriage of the two races may be said in a technical sense to interfere with the freedom of contract, and yet have been universally recognized as within the police power of the state. *State v. Gibson,* 36 Ind. 389.

The distinction between laws interfering with the political equality of the negro and those requiring the separation of two races in schools, theaters, and railway carriages has been frequently drawn by this court. Thus, in *Strauder v. West Virginia,* 100 U.S. 303, it was held that a law of West Virginia limiting to white male persons 21 years of age, and citizens of the state the right to sit upon juries, was a discrimination which implied a legal inferiority in civil society, which lessened the security of the right of the colored race, and was a step towards reducing them to a condition of servility. Indeed, the right of a colored man that in the selection of jurors to pass upon his life, liberty, and property there shall be no exclusion of his race, and no discrimination against them because of color, has been asserted in a number of cases. *Virginia v. Rives,* 100 U. S. 313; *Neal v. Delaware,* 103 U.S. 370; *Bush v. Com,* 107 U.S. 110, 1 Sup. Ct. 625; *Gibson v. Mississippi,* 162 U.S. 565, 16 Sup. Ct 904. So, where the laws of a particular locality or the charter of a particular railway corporation has provided that no person shall be excluded from the cars on account of color, we have held that this meant that persons of color should travel in the same car as white ones, and that the enactment was not satisfied by the company providing cars assigned exclusively to white persons. *Railroad Co. v. Brown,* 17 Wall. 445.

Upon the other hand, where a statute of Louisiana required those engaged in the transportation of passengers among the states to give to all persons traveling within that state, upon vessels employed in that business, equal rights and privileges in all parts of the vessel, without distinction on account of race or color, and subjected to an action for damages the owner of such a vessel who excluded colored passengers on account of their color from the cabins set aside by him for the use of whites, it was held to be, so far as it applied to interstate commerce, unconstitutional and void. *Hall v. De Cuir,* 95 U. S. 485. The court in this case, however, expressly disclaimed that it had anything whatever to do with the statute as a regulation of internal commerce, or affecting anything else that commerce among the states.

In the *Civil Rights Cases,* 109 U. S. 3, 3 Sup. Ct. 18, it was held that an act of Congress entitling all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances, on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement, and made applicable to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude, was unconstitutional and void, upon the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the states only, and the legislation authorized to be adopted by Congress for enforcing it was not direct legislation on matters respecting which the states were prohibited from making or enforcing certain laws, or doing certain acts, but was corrective legislation, such as might be necessary or proper for counteracting and redressing the effect of such laws or acts. In delivering the opinion of the court, Mr. Justice Bradley observed that the Fourteenth Amendment

> "does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects that are within the domain of state legislation, but to provide modes of relief against state legislation or state action of the kind referred to. It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights, but to provide modes to redress against the operation of state laws, and the action of state officers, executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the amendment. Positive rights and privileges are undoubtedly secured by the Fourteenth Amendment; but they are secured by way of prohibition against state laws and state proceedings affecting those rights and privileges, and by power given to Congress to legislate for the purpose of carrying such prohibition into effect; and such legislation must necessarily be predicated upon such supposed state laws or state proceedings, and be directed to the correction of their operation and effect."

Much nearer, and, indeed, almost directly in point, is the case of the *Louisville, N. O. & T. Ry Co. v. State,* 133 U.S. 587, 10 Sup. Ct. 348, wherein the railway company was indicted for a violation of a statute of Mississippi, enacting that all railroads carrying passengers should provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger cars by a petition, so as to secure separate accommodations. The case was presented in a different aspect from the one under consideration, inasmuch as it was an indictment against the railway company for failing to provide the separate accommodations, but the question considered was the constitutionality of the law. In that case, the Supreme Court of Mississippi (66 Miss. 662, 6 South. 203) had held that the statute applied solely to commerce within the state, and that being the construction of the state statute by its highest court, was accepted as conclusive. "If it be a matter," said the court (page 591, 133 U.S., and page 348, 10 Sup. Ct.),

> "respecting commerce wholly within a state, and not interfering with commerce between the states, then, obviously, there is no violation of the commerce clause of the federal constitution. * * * No question arises under this section as to the power of the state to separate in different compartments interstate passengers, or affect, in any manner, the privileges and rights of such passengers. All that we can consider is whether the state has the power to require that railroad trains within her limits shall have separate accommodations for the two races. That affecting only commerce within the state is no invasion of the power given to Congress by the commerce clause"

A like course of reasoning applies to the case under consideration, since the Supreme Court of Louisiana, in the case of *State v. Judge,* 44 La. Ann. 770, 11 South, 74, held that the statute in question did not apply to interstate passengers, but was confined in its application to passengers traveling exclusively within the borders of the state. The case was decided largely upon the authority of *Louisville, N. O. & T. Ry. Co. v. State,* 66 Miss. 662, 6 South. 203, and affirmed by this court in 133 U.S. 587, 10 Sup. Ct. 348. In the present case no question of interference with interstate commerce can possibly arise, since the East Louisiana Railway appears to have been purely a local line, with both its termini within the state of Louisiana. Similar

statutes for the separation of the two races upon public conveyances were held to be constitutional in *Railroad v. Miles,* 55 Pa. St. 209; *Day v. Owen,* 5 Mich. 520; *Railway Co. v. Williams,* 55 Ill. 185; *Railroad Co. v. Wells,* 85 Tenn. 613; 4 S. W. 5; *Railroad Co. v. Benson,* 85 Tenn. 627, 4 S. W. 5; *The Sue,* 22 Fed. 843; *Logwood v. Railroad Co.,* 23 Fed. 318; *McGuinn v. Forbes,* 37 Fed. 639; *People v. King* (N. Y. App.) 18 N. E. 245; *Houck v. Railway Co.,* 38 Fed. 226; *Heard v. Railroad Co.,* 3 Inter St. Commerce Com. R. 111, 1 Inter St. Commerce Com. R. 428.

While we think the enforced separation of the races, as applied to the internal commerce of the state, neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of his property without due process of law, nor denies him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, we are not prepared to say that the conductor, in assigning passengers to the coaches according to their race, does not act at his peril, or that the provision of the second section of the act that denies to the passenger compensation in damages for a refusal to receive him into the coach in which he properly belongs is a valid exercise of the legislative power. Indeed, we understand it to be conceded by the state's attorney that such part of the act as exempts from liability the railway company and its officers is unconstitutional. The power to assign to a particular coach obviously implies the power to determine to which race the passenger belongs, as well as the power to determine who, under the laws of the particular state is to be deemed a white, and who a colored person. This question, though indicated in the brief of the plaintiff in error, does not properly arise upon the record in this case, since the only issue made is as to the unconstitutionality of the act, so far as it requires the railway to provide separate accommodations, and the conductor to assign passengers according to their race.

It is claimed by the plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the reputation of belonging to the dominant race, in this instance the white race, is "property," in the same sense that a right of action or of inheritance is property. Conceding this to be so, for the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how this statute deprives him of, or in any way affects his right to, such property. If he be a white man, and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so-called "property." Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man, and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man.

In this connection, it is also suggested by the learned counsel for the plaintiff in error that the same argument that will justify the state legislature in requiring railways to provide separate accommodations for the two races will also authorize them to require separate cars to be provided for people whose hair is of a certain color, or who are aliens, or who belong to certain nationalities, or to enact laws requiring colored people to walk upon one side of the street, and white people upon the other, or requiring white men's houses to be painted white, and colored men's black, or their vehicles or business signs to be of different colors, upon the theory that one side of the street is as good as the other, or that a house or vehicle of one color is as good as one of another color. The reply to all this is that every exercise of the police power must be reasonable, and extend only to such laws as are enacted in good faith for the promotion of the public good, and not for the annoyance or oppression of a particular class. Thus, in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins,* 118 U. S. 356, 6 Sup. Ct. 1064, it was held by this court that a municipal ordinance of the city of San Francisco: to regulate the carrying on of public laundries within the limits of the municipality, violated the provisions of the constitution of the United States, if it conferred upon the municipal authorities arbitrary power, at their own will, and without regard to discretion, in the legal sense of the term, to give or withhold consent as to persons or places, without regard to the competency of the persons applying or the propriety of the places selected for the carrying on of the business. It was held to be a covert attempt on the part of the municipality to make an arbitrary and unjust discrimination against the Chinese race. While this was the case of a municipal ordinance, a like principle has been held to apply to acts of a state legislature passed in the exercise of the police power. *Railroad Co. v. Husen,* 95 U. S. 465; *Louisville & N. R. Co. v. Kentucky,* 161 U. S. 677, 16 Sup. Ct. 714, and cases cited on page 700, 161 U. S., and page 714, 16 Sup. Ct.; *Daggett v. Hudson,* 43 Ohio St. 548, 3 N. E. 538; *Capen v. Foster,* 12 Pick. 485; *State v. Baker,* 38 Wis. 71; *Monroe v. Collins,* 17 Ohio St. 665; *Hulseman v. Gems,* 41 Pa. St. 396; *Osman v. Riley,* 15 Cal. 48

So far, then, as a conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness, it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children

in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. As was said by the court of appeals of New York in *People v. Gallagher,* 93 N. Y. 438, 448:

> "This end can neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law, and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized, and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed."

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts, or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other socially, the constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

It is true that the question of the proportion of colored blood necessary to constitute a colored person, as distinguished from a white person, is one upon which there is a difference of opinion in the different states; some holding that any visible admixture of black blood stamps the person as belonging to the colored race (*State v. Chavers,* 5 Jones [N. C.] 1); others, that it depends upon the preponderance of blood (*Gray v. State,* 4 Ohio, 354; *Monroe v. Collins,* 17 Ohio St. 665); and still others, that the predominance of white blood must only be in the proportion of three-fourths (*People v. Dean,* 14 Mich. 406; *Jones v. Com.,* 80 Va. 544). But these are questions to be determined under the laws of each state, and are not properly put in issue in this case. Under the allegations of his petition, it may undoubtedly become a question of importance whether, under the laws of Louisiana, the petitioner belongs to the white or colored race.

The judgment of the court below is therefore affirmed.

Mr. Justice BREWER did not hear the argument or participate in the decision of this case.

Mr. Justice HARLAN dissenting.

By the Louisiana statute the validity of which is here involved, all railway companies (other than street-railroad companies) carrying passengers in that state are required to have separate but equal accommodations for white and colored persons, "by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations." Under this statute, no colored person is permitted to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to white persons; nor any white person to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to a colored persons. The managers of the railroad are not allowed to exercise any discretion in the premises, buy are required to assign each passenger to some coach or compartment set apart for the exclusive use of his race. If a passenger insists upon going into a coach or compartment not set apart for persons of his race, he is subject to be fined, or to be imprisoned in the parish jail. Penalties are prescribed for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors, and employes of railroad companies to comply with the provisions of the act.

Only "nurses attending children of the other race" are excepted from the operation of the statute. No exception is made of colored attendants traveling with adults. A white man is not permitted to have his colored servant with him in the same coach, even if his condition of health requires the constant personal assistance of such servant. If a colored maid insists upon riding in the same coach with a white woman whom she has been employed to serve, and who may need her personal attention while traveling, she is subject to be fined or imprisoned for such an exhibition of zeal in the discharge of duty.

While there may be in Louisiana person of different races who are not citizens of the United States, the words in the act "white and colored races" necessarily include all citizens of the United States of both races residing in the state. So that we have before us a state enactment that

compels, under penalties, the separation of the two races in railroad passenger coaches, and makes it a crime for a citizen of either race to enter a coach that has been assigned to citizens of the other race.

Thus, the state regulates the use of a public highway by citizens of the United States solely upon the basis of race.

However apparent the injustice of such legislation may be, we have only to consider whether it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

That a railroad is a public highway, and that the corporation which owns or operates it is in the exercise of public functions, is not, at this day, to be disputed. Mr. Justice Nelson, speaking for this court in *New Jersey Steam Nav. Co. v. Merchants' Bank,* 6 How. 344, 382, said that a common carrier was in the exercise "of a sort of public office, and has public duties to perform, from which he should not be permitted to exonerate himself without the assent of the parties concerned." Mr. Justice Strong, delivering the judgment of this court in *Olcott v. Supervisors,* 16 Wall. 678, 694, said

> "That railroads, though constructed by private corporations, and owned by them, are public highways, has been the doctrine of nearly all the courts ever since such conveniences for passage and transportation have had any existence. Very early the question arose whether a state's right of eminent domain could be exercised by a private corporation created for the purpose of constructing a railroad. Clearly, it could not, unless taking land for such a purpose by such an agency is taking land for public use. The right of eminent domain nowhere justifies taking property for a private use. Yet it is a doctrine universally accepted that a state legislature may authorize a private corporation to take land for the construction of such a road, making compensation to the owner. What else does this doctrine mean if not that building a railroad, though it be built by a private corporation, is an act done for a public use?"

So, in *Township of Pine Grove v. Talcott,* 19 Wall. 666, 676: "Though the corporation [a railroad company] was private, its work was public, as much so as if it were to be constructed by the state." So, in *Inhabitants of Worcester v. Western R. Corp.,* 4 Metc. (Mass.) 564:

> "The establishment of that great thoroughfare is regarded as a public work, established by public authority, intended for the public use and benefit the use of which is secured to the whole community, and constitutes, therefore, like a canal, turnpike, or highway, a public easement."

> "It is true that the real and personal property, necessary to the establishment and management of the railroad, is vested in the corporation; but it is in trust for the public."

In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances, when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I can deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation as that here in question is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, national and state, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States.

The Thirteenth Amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country. This court has so adjudged. But, that amendment having been found inadequate to the protection of the rights of those who had been in slavery, it was followed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which added greatly to the dignity and glory of American citizenship, and to the security of personal liberty, by declaring that

> "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the sate wherein they reside,"

and that

> "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; not shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

These two amendments, if enforced according to their true intent and meaning, will protect all the civil rights that pertain to freedom and citizenship. Finally, and to the end that no citizen should be denied, on account of his race, the privilege of participating in the political control of his country, it was declared by the Fifteenth Amendment that

> "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

These notable additions to the fundamental law were welcomed by the friends of liberty throughout the world. They removed the race line from our governmental systems. They had, as this court has said, a common purpose, namely, to secure "to a race recently emancipated, a race that through many generations have been held in slavery, all the civil rights that the superior race enjoy." They declared, in legal effect, this court has further said

> "that the law in the states shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the states; and in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color."

We also said:

> "The words of the amendment, is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity or right, most valuable to the colored—race the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored; exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy; and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject."

It was, consequently, adjudged that a state law that excluded citizens of the colored race from juries, because of their race, however well qualified in other respects to discharge the duties of jurymen, was repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment. *Strauder v. West Virginia,* 100 U.S. 303, 306, 307; *Virginia v. Rives,* Id. 313; *Ex parte Virginia,* Id. 339: *Neal v. Delaware,* 103 U.S. 370, 386; *Bush v. Com.,* 107 U.S. 110, 116, 1 Sup. Ct. 625. At the present term referring to the previous adjudications, this court declared that

> "underlying all of those decisions is the principle that the constitution of the United States, in its present form, forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the general government or the states against any citizen because of his race. All citizens are equal before the law. *Gibson v. State,* 162 U.S. 565, 16 Sup. Ct. 904."

The decisions referred to show the scope of the recent amendments of the constitution. They also show that it is not within the power of a state to prohibit colored citizens, because of their race, from participating as jurors in the administration of justice.

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travelers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while traveling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary. The fundamental objection, therefore, to the statute, is that it interferes with the personal freedom of citizens. "Personal liberty," it has been well said, "consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or removing one's person to whatsoever places one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law." 1. Bl. Comm. *134. If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so; and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each.

It is one thing for railroad carriers to furnish, or to be required by law to furnish, equal accommodations for all whom they are under a legal duty to carry. It is quite another thing for government to forbid citizens of the white and black races from traveling in the same public conveyance, and to punish officers of railroad companies for permitting persons of the two races to occupy the same passenger coach. If a state can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street, and black citizens to keep on the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in street cars or in open vehicles on a public road or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites to one side of a court room, and blacks to the other? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day? Furthermore, if this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not

the state require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

The answer given at the argument to these question was that regulations of the kind they suggest would be unreasonable, and could not, therefore, stand before the law. Is it meant that the determination of questions of legislative power depends upon the inquiry whether the statute whose validity is questions is, in the judgment of the courts, a reasonable one, taking all the circumstances into consideration? A statute may be unreasonable merely because a sound public policy forbade its enactment. But I do not understand that the courts have anything to do with the policy or expediency of legislation. A statute may be valid, and yet, upon grounds of public policy, may well be characterized as unreasonable. Mr. Sedgwick correctly states the rule when he says that, the legislative intention being clearly ascertained "the courts have no other duty to perform than to execute the legislative will, without any regard to their views as to the wisdom or justice of the particular enactment." Sedg. St. & Const. Law, 324. There is a dangerous tendency in these latter days to enlarge the functions of the courts, by means of judicial interference with the will of the people as expressed by the legislature. Our institutions have the distinguishing characteristic that the three departments of government are co-ordinate and separate. Each must keep within the limits defined by the constitution. And the courts best discharge their duty by executing the will of the lawmaking power, constitutionally expressed, leaving the results of legislation to be dealt with by the people through their representatives. Statutes must always have a reasonable construction. Sometimes they are to be construed strictly, sometimes literally, in order to carry out the legislative will. But, however construed, the intent of the legislature is to be respected if the particular statute in question is valid, although the courts, looking at the public interests, may conceive the statute to be both unreasonable and impolitic. If the power exists to enact a statute, that ends the matter so far as the courts are concerned. The adjudged cases in which statutes have been held to be void, because unreasonable, are those in which the means employed by the legislature were not at all germane to the end to which the legislature was competent.

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage, and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guarantied by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott Case.*

It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, were not included nor intended to be included under the word "citizens" in the constitution, and could not claim any of the rights and privileges which that instrument provided for and secured to citizens of the United States; that, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, they were

> "considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them." 17 How. 393, 404.

The recent amendments of the constitution, it was supposed, had eradicated these principles from our institutions. But it seems that we have yet, in some of the states, a dominant race—a superior class of citizens—which assumes to regulate the enjoyment of civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race. The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the constitution, by one of which the blacks of this country were made citizens of the United States and of the states in which they respectively reside, and whose privileges and immunities, as citizens, the states are forbidden to abridge. Sixty millions of whites are in no danger from the presence here of eight million of blacks. The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted

under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? That, as all will admit, is the real meaning of such legislation as was enacted in Louisiana.

The sure guaranty of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, national and state, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States, without regard to race. State enactments regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised to defeat legitimate results of the war, under the pretense of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible, and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned. This question is not met by the suggestion that social equality cannot exist between the white and black races in this country. That argument, if it can be properly regarded as one, is scarcely worthy of consideration; for social equality no more exists between two races when traveling in a passenger coach or a public highway than when members of the same races sit by each other in a street car or in the jury box, or stand or sit with each other in a political assembly, or when they use in common the streets of a city or town, or when they are in the same room for the purpose of having their names placed on the registry of voters, or when they approach the ballot box in order to exercise the high privilege of voting.

There is a race so different from our own that we do not permit those belonging to it to become citizens of the United States. Persons belonging to it are, with few exceptions, absolutely excluded from our country. I allude to the Chinese race. But, by the statute in question, a Chinaman can ride in the same passenger coach with white citizens of the United States, while citizens of the black race in Louisiana, many of whom, perhaps, risked their lives for the preservation of the Union, who are entitled, by law, to participate in the political control of the state and nation, who are not excluded, by law or by reason of their race, from public stations from public stations of any kind, and who have all the legal rights that belong to white citizens, are yet declared to be criminals, liable to imprisonment, if they ride in a public coach occupied by citizens of the white race. It is scarcely just to say that a colored citizen should not object to occupying a public coach assigned to his own race. He does not object, nor, perhaps, would he object to separate coaches for his race if his rights under the law were recognized. But he does object, and he ought never to cease objecting, that citizens of the white and black races can be adjudged criminals because they sit, or claim the right to sit, in the same public coach on a public highway.

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens—our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.

The result of the whole matter is that while this court has frequently adjudged, and at the present term has recognized the doctrine, that a state cannot, consistently with the constitution of the United States, prevent white and black citizens, having the required qualifications for jury service, from sitting in the same jury box, it is now solemnly held that a state may prohibit white and black citizens from sitting in the same passenger coach on a public highway, or may require that they be separated by a "partition" when in the same passenger coach. May it not now be reasonably expected that astute men of the dominant race, who affect to be disturbed at the possibility that the integrity of the white race may be corrupted, or that its supremacy will be imperiled by contact on public highways with black people, will endeavor to procure statutes requiring white and black jurors to be separated in the jury box by a "partition," and that, upon retiring from the court room to consult as to their verdict, such partition, if it be a movable one, shall be taken to their consultation room, and set up in such was as to prevent black jurors from coming too close to their brother jurors of the white race. If the "partition" used in the court room happens to be stationary, provision could be made for screens with openings through which jurors of the two races could confer as to their verdict without coming into personal contact with each other. I cannot see but that, according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the

purpose of humiliating, citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the constitution.

I do deem it necessary to review the decisions of state courts to which reference was made in argument. Some, and the most important, of them, are wholly inapplicable, because rendered prior to the adoption of the last amendments of the Constitution, when colored people had very few rights which the dominant race felt obliged to respect. Others were made at a time when public opinion, in many localities, was dominated by the institution of slavery; when it would not have been safe to do justice to the black man; and when, so far as the rights of blacks were concerned, race prejudice was, practically, the supreme law of the land. Those decisions cannot be guides in the era introduced by the recent amendments of the supreme law, which established universal civil freedom, gave citizenship to all born or naturalized in the United States, and residing here, obliterated the race line from our systems of governments, national and state, and placed our free institutions upon the broad and sure foundation of the equality of all men before the law.

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that state, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several states of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law, would, it is true, have disappeared from our country; but there would remain a power in the states, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race, and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community, called the "People of the United States," for whom, and by whom through representatives, our government is administered. Such a system is inconsistent with the guaranty given by the Constitution to each state of a republican form of government, and may be stricken down by congressional action, or by the courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the reason stated, I am constrained to withhold my assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority.

Mr. Justice Brewer did not hear the argument or participate in the decision of this case.

God is a Negro (Bishop Henry M. Turner, 1898)

SOURCE: *Black Nationalism in America.* Edited by John H. Bracey Jr., August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970, pp. 154–155.

> *Bishop Turner of the African Methodist Church says, "that God is a Negro." The good Bishop has been represented as one of the ablest men of his race and we thought justly so, for he is not only an intelligent thinker, but upon all subjects connected with his people his reasoning is profound, and in most instances unanswerable, but he is evidently becoming demented if he used the language attributed to him.*
>
> *—Observer.*

The Observer has our thanks for the compliment tendered in respect to our thinking faculties, notwithstanding our demented condition when we understand God to be a Negro. We have as much right biblically and otherwise to believe that God is a Negro, as you buckra or white people have to believe that God is a fine looking, symmetrical and ornamented white man. For the bulk of you and all the fool Negroes of the country believe that God is a white-skinned, blue-eyed, straight-haired, projecting nosed, compressed lipped and finely robed *white* gentleman, sitting upon a throne somewhere in the heavens. Every race of people since time began who have attempted to describe their God by words, or by paintings, or by carvings, or by any other form or figure, have conveyed the idea that the God who made them and shaped their destinies was symbolized in themselves, and why should not the Negro believe that he resembles God as much so as other people? We do not believe that there is any hope for a race of people who do not believe they look like God.

Demented though we be, whenever we reach the conclusion that God, or even that Jesus Christ, while in the flesh, was a white man, we shall hang our gospel trumpet upon the willow and cease to preach.

We had rather be an atheist and believe in no God, or a pantheist and believe that all nature is God, than to believe in the personality of a God, and not to believe that He is a Negro. Blackness is much older than whiteness, for black was here before white, if the Hebrew word, coshach, or chashach, has *any* meaning. We do not believe in the eternity of matter, but we do believe that chaos floated in infinite darkness or blackness millions, billions, quintillions and eons of years before God said, "Let there be light," and that during that time God had no material light Himself and was shrouded in darkness, so far as *human* comprehension is able to grasp the situation.

Yet we are no stickler as to God's color, anyway, but if He has any we would prefer to believe that it is nearer symbolized in the blue sky above us and the blue water of the seas and oceans; but we certainly protest against God being a white man or against God being white *at all;* abstract as this theme must forever remain while we are in the flesh. This is one of the reasons we favor African emigration, or Negro naturalization, wherever we can find a domain, for, as long as we remain among the whites, the Negro will believe that the devil is black and that he (the Negro) favors the devil, and that God is white and that he (the Negro) bears no resemblance to Him, and the effects of such a sentiment is contemptuous and degrading, and one-half of the Negro race will be trying to get white and the other half will spend their days in trying to be white men's scullions in order to please the whites; and the time they should be giving to the study of such things as will dignify and make our race great will be devoted to studying about how unfortunate they are in not being white.

We conclude these remarks by repeating for the information of the Observer what it adjudged us, demented, for "*God is a Negro.*"

Of Our Spiritual Strivings (W. E. B. Du Bois, 1903)

SOURCE: Du Bois, W. E. B. "Of Our Spiritual Strivings." In *The Souls of Black Folk.* 1903. New edition, with introductions by Nathan Hare and Alvin F. Poussaint. New York: The New American Library, 1969, pp. 43–53.

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or, Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.

And yet, being a problem is a strange experience,—peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe. It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Taghkanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the words I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said: some, all, I would wrest from them. Just how I would do it I could never decide: by reading law, by healing the sick, by telling the wonderful tales that swam in my head,—some way. With other black boys the strife was not so fiercely sunny: their youth shrunk into tasteless sycophancy, or into silent hatred of the pale world about them and mocking distrust of everything white; or wasted itself in a bitter cry, Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self.

In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a coworker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Through history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like weakness. And yet it is not weakness,—it is the contradiction of double aims. The double-aimed struggle of the black artisan—on the one hand to escape white contempt for a nation of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and on the other hand to plough and nail and dig for a poverty-stricken horde—could only result in making him a poor craftsman, for he had but half a heart in either cause. By the poverty and ignorance of his people, the Negro minister or doctor was tempted toward quackery and demagogy; and by the criticism of the other world, toward ideals that made him ashamed of his lowly tasks. The would-be black *savant* was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood. The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people. This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people,—has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries. To him, so far as he thought and dreamed, slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice; Emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of wearied Israelites. In song and exhortation swelled one refrain—Liberty; in his tears and curses the God he implored had Freedom in his right hand. At last it came,—suddenly, fearfully, like a dream. With one wild carnival of blood and passion came the message in his own plaintive cadences:—

"Shout, O children!
Shout, you're free!
For God has bought your liberty!"

Years have passed away since then,—ten, twenty, forty; forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development, and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the Nation's feast. In vain do we cry to this our vastest social problem:—

"Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble!"

The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the Negro people,—a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the simple ignorance of a lowly people.

The first decade was merely a prolongation of the vain search for freedom, the boon that seemed ever barely to elude their grasp,—like a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp, maddening and misleading the headless host. The holocaust of war, the terrors of the Ku-Klux Klan, the lies of carpet-baggers, the disorganization of industry, and the contradictory advice of friends and foes, left the bewildered serf with no new watchword beyond the old cry for freedom. As the time flew, however, he began to grasp a new idea. The ideal flow of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him. And why not? Had not votes made war and emancipated millions? Had not votes enfranchised the freedmen? Was anything impossible to a power that had done all this? A million black men started with renewed zeal to vote themselves into the kingdom. So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free serf weary, wondering, but still inspired. Slowly but steadily, in the following years, a new

vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power,—a powerful movement, the rise of another ideal to guide the unguided, another pillar of fire by night after a clouded day. It was the ideal of "book-learning"; the curiosity, born of compulsory ignorance, to know and test the power of the cabalistic letters of the white man, the longing to know. Here at last seemed to have been discovered the mountain path to Canaan; longer than the highway of Emancipation and law, steep and rugged, but straight, leading to heights high enough to overlook life.

Up the new path the advance guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly; only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings, of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. The old statistician wrote down the inches of progress here and there, noted also where here and there a foot had slipped or some one had fallen. To the tired climbers, the horizon was ever dark, the mists were often cold, the Canaan was always dim and far away. If, however, the vistas disclosed as yet no goal, no resting-place, little but flattery and criticism, the journey at least gave leisure for reflection and self-examination; it changed the child of Emancipation to the youth with dawning self-consciousness, self-realization, self-respect. In those sombre forests of his striving his own soul rose before him, and he saw himself,—darkly as through a veil; and yet he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power, of his mission. He began to have a dim feeling that, to attain his place in the world, he must be himself, and not another. For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back, that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named Negro problem. He felt his poverty; without a cent, without a home, without land, tools, or savings, he had entered into competition with rich, landed, skilled neighbors. To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships. He felt the weight of his ignorance,—not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanities; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and feet. Nor was his burden all poverty and ignorance. The red stain of bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race, meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity, but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers, threatening almost the obliteration of the Negro home.

A people thus handicapped ought not to be asked to race with the world, but rather allowed to give all its time and thought to its own social problems. But alas! while sociologists gleefully count his bastards and his prostitutes, the very soul of the toiling, sweating black man is darkened by the shadow of a vast despair. Men call the shadow prejudice, and learnedly explain it as the natural defence of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the "higher" against the "lower" races. To which the Negro cries Amen! and swears that to so much of this strange prejudice as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress, he humbly bows and meekly does obeisance. But before that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this he stands helpless, dismayed, and well-nigh speechless; before that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the distortion of fact and wanton license of fancy, the cynical ignoring of the better and the boisterous welcoming of the worse, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black, from Toussaint to the devil,—before this there rises a sickening despair that would disarm and discourage any nation save that black host to whom "discouragement" is an unwritten word.

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds: Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve? And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying: Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of higher culture for half-men? Away with the black man's ballot, by force or fraud,—and behold the suicide of a race! Nevertheless, out of the evil came something of good,—the more careful adjustment of education to real life, the clearer perception of the Negroes' social responsibilities, and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress.

So dawned the time of *Sturm und Drang*: storm and stress to-day rocks our little boat on the mad waters of the world-sea; there is within and without the sound of conflict, the burning of body and rending of soul; inspiration strives with doubt, and faith with vain questionings. The bright ideals of the past,—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands,—all these in turn have waxed and waned, until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong,—all false? No, not that, but each alone was over-simple and incomplete,—the dreams of a credulous race-childhood, or the fond imaginings of the other world which does not know and does not want to know our power. To be really true, all these ideas must be melted and welded into one. The

training of the schools we need to-day more than ever,—the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and above all the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence,—else what shall save us from a second slavery? Freedom, too, the long-sought, we still seek,—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people, the ideal of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro, not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack. We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes; there is no true American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folklore are Indian and African; and, all in all, we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness. Will America be poorer if she replace her brutal dyspeptic blundering with light-hearted but determined Negro humility? or her coarse and cruel wit with loving jovial good-humor? or her vulgar music with the soul of the Sorrow Songs?

Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic is the Negro Problem, and the spiritual striving of the freedmen's sons is the travail of souls whose burden is almost beyond the measure of their strength, but who bear it in the name of an historic race, in the name of this the land of their fathers' fathers, and in the name of human opportunity.

And now what I have briefly sketched in large outline let me on coming pages tell again in many ways, with loving emphasis and deeper detail, that men may listen to the striving in the souls of black folk.

The Talented Tenth (W. E. B. Du Bois, 1903)

SOURCE: *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today.* New York: J. Pott & Company, 1903. (This text is available online at <http://douglassarchives.org>.)

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life. . . .

If this be true—and who can deny it—three tasks lay before me; first to show from the past that the Talented Tenth as they have risen among American Negroes have been worthy of leadership; secondly, to show how these men may be educated and developed; and thirdly, to show their relation to the Negro problem. . . .

From the very first it has, been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were slavery and race prejudice; . . .

And so we come to the present—a day of cowardice and vacillation, of strident wide-voiced wrong and faint hearted compromise; of double-faced dallying with Truth and Right. Who are to-day guiding the work of the Negro people? The "exceptions" of course. And yet so sure as this Talented Tenth is pointed out, the blind worshippers of the Average cry out in alarm; "These are exceptions, look here at death, disease and crime—these are the happy rule." Of course they are the rule, because a silly nation made them the rule: Because for three long centuries this people lynched Negroes who dared to be brave, raped black women who dared to be virtuous, crushed dark-hued youth who dared to be ambitious, and encouraged and made to flourish servility and lewdness and apathy. But not even this was able to crush all manhood and chastity and aspiration from black folk. A saving remnant continually survives and persists, continually aspires, continually shows itself in thrift and ability and character. Exceptional it is to be sure, but this is its chiefest promise; it shows the capability of Negro blood, the promise of black men . . . . Is it fair, is it decent, is it Christian to ig-

nore these facts of the Negro problem, to belittle such aspiration, to nullify such leadership and seek to crush these people back into the mass out of which by toil and travail, they and their fathers have raised themselves?

Can the masses of the Negro people be in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God's fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never; it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters. The Talented Tenth rises and pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground. This is the history of human progress; . . .

How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained and the hands of the risen few strengthened? There can be but one answer: The best and most capable of their youth must be schooled in the colleges and universities of the land. . . . All men cannot go to college but some men must; every isolated group or nation must have its yeast, must have for the talented few centers of training where men are not so mystified and befuddled by the hard and necessary toil of earning a living, as to have no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training, and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedom trained. Out of the colleges of the North came, after the blood of war, Ware, Cravath, Chase, Andrews, Bumstead and Spence to build the foundations of knowledge and civilization in the black South. Where ought they to have begun to build? At the bottom, of course, quibbles the mole with his eyes in the earth. Aye! truly at the bottom, at the very bottom; at the bottom of knowledge, down in the very depth of knowledge there where the roots of justice strike into the lowest soil of Truth. And so they did begin; they founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men who to-day hold $300,000,000 of property. If was a miracle—the most wonderful peace-battle of the 19th century, and yet to-day men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake; that a proper way to found a system of education is first to gather the children and buy them spelling books and hoes; afterward men may look about for teachers, if haply they may find them; or again they would teach men Work, but as for Life—why, what has Work to do with Life, they ask vacantly. . . .

These figures illustrate vividly the function of the college-bred Negro. He is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thoughts and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the Negro people need social leadership more than most groups; that they have no traditions to fall back upon, no long established customs, no strong family ties, no well defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the Negroes, and the church their greatest social institution. Naturally this preacher was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by direct influence on other preachers, and on congregations, the college-bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the Negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood, in one generation, was not only a very difficult undertaking, but a very important one, in that it placed before the eyes of almost every Negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred Negroes were first teachers, and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning, has been the point of the Negro's deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been simply for bread winning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men. . . .

The main question, so far as the Southern Negro is concerned, is: What under the present circumstance, must a system of education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization? The answer to this question seems to me clear: It must strengthen the Negro's character, increase his knowledge and teach him to earn a living. Now it goes without saying, that it is hard to do all these things simultaneously or suddenly, and that at the same time it will not do to give all the attention to one and neglect the others; we could give black boys trades, but that alone will not civilize a race of ex-slaves; we might simply increase their knowledge of the world, but this would not necessarily make them wish to use this knowledge honestly; we might seek to strengthen character and purpose, but to what end if this people have nothing to eat or to wear? . . . . If then we start out to train an

ignorant and unskilled people with a heritage of bad habits, our system of training must set before itself two great aims—the one dealing with knowledge and character, the other part seeking to give the child the technical knowledge necessary for him to earn a living under the present circumstances. These objects are accomplished in part by the opening of the common schools on the one, and of the industrial schools on the other. But only in part, for there must also be trained those who are to teach these schools—men and women of knowledge and culture and technical skill who understand modern civilization, and have the training and aptitude to impart it to the children under them. There must be teachers, and teachers of teachers, and to attempt to establish any sort of a system of common and industrial school training, without *first* (and I say *first* advisedly) without *first* providing for the higher training of the very best teachers, is simply throwing your money to the winds. . . . Nothing, in these latter days, has so dampened the faith of thinking Negroes in recent educational movements, as the fact that such movements have been accompanied by ridicule and denouncement and decrying of those very institutions of higher training which made the Negro public school possible, and make Negro industrial schools thinkable . . . .

I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I *do* say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk, with its vision of success, to imagine that its own work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to teach the teachers of the public schools.

But I have already said that human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life—the training of one's home, of one's daily companions, of one's social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black world—a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that all culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. Can such culture training of group leaders be neglected? Can we afford to ignore it? . . . You have no choice; either you must help furnish this race from within its own ranks with thoughtful men of trained leadership, or you must suffer the evil consequences of a headless misguided rabble.

I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys, and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war, has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important: the first is to give the group and community in which he works, liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conventionally located and properly equipped . . . .

Further than this, after being provided with group leaders of civilization, and a foundation of intelligence in the public schools, the carpenter, in order to be a man, needs technical skill. This calls for trade schools. . . .

Even at this point, however, the difficulties were not surmounted. In the first place modern industry has taken great strides since the war, and the teaching of trades is no longer a simple matter. Machinery and long processes of work have greatly changed the work of the carpenter, the ironworker and the shoemaker. A really efficient workman must be to-day an intelligent man who has had good technical training in addition to thorough common school, and perhaps even higher training. . . .

Thus, again, in the manning of trade schools and manual training schools we are thrown back upon the higher training as its source and chief support. There was a time when any aged and worn-out carpenter could teach in a trade school. But not so to-day. Indeed the demand for college-bred men by a school like Tuskegee, ought to make Mr. Booker T. Washington the firmest friend of higher training. Here he has as helpers the son of a Negro senator, trained in Greek and the humanities, and graduated at Harvard; the son of a Negro congressman and lawyer, trained in Latin and mathematics, and graduated at Oberlin; he has as his wife, a woman who read Virgil and Homer in the same class room with me; he has as college chaplain, a classical graduate of Atlanta University; as teacher of science, a graduate of Fisk; as teacher of history,

a graduate of Smith,—indeed some thirty of his chief teachers are college graduates, and instead of studying French grammars in the midst of weeds, or buying pianos for dirty cabins, they are at Mr. Washington's right hand helping him in a noble work. And yet one of the effects of Mr. Washington's propaganda has been to throw doubt upon the expediency of such training for Negroes, as these persons have had.

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

The Niagara Movement: Declaration of Principles (1905)

SOURCE: *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, and Francis L. Broderick. 2d ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971, pp. 59–62.

INTRODUCTION: *In 1905, W. E. B. Du Bois assembled a group of black civil rights advocates to demand full civil liberties for African Americans. With the manifesto that is reprinted here, the group provided vocal opposition to the accommodationist philosophy of Booker T. Washington, who argued for a gradual attainment of social equality through industry and economic advancement. Generally considered the first significant African-American protest movement of the twentieth century, the Niagara Movement convened near Niagara Falls in Canada after conference members met with opposition in Buffalo, New York.*

The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, and uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public accommodation according to their behavior and deserts.

We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this I amounts to peonage and virtual slavery; all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and every-where American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro-Americans to earn a decent living.

Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of I no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency, or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discrimination based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color of skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

We protest against the "Jim Crow" car, since its effect is and must be, to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and *yet* have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and navy training schools.

We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed.

The Negro race in America, stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—on the increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men in some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the cooperation of all men of all races.

At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the abolitionist down to those who to-day still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

And while we are demanding, and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

—The duty to vote.
—The duty to respect the rights of others.
—The duty to work.
—The duty to obey the laws.
—The duty to be clean and orderly.
—The duty to send our children to school.
—The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.

This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and Almighty God.

Poems of the Harlem Renaissance (1919–1931)

If We Must Die (Claude McKay, 1919)

SOURCE: Johnson, James Weldon, ed. *The Book of American Negro Poetry.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1922.

Text Not Available

Text Not Available

The Negro Speaks of Rivers (Langston Hughes, 1921)

SOURCE: Hughes, Langston. *Collected Poems.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

Text Not Available

Heritage (Countee Cullen, 1925)

SOURCE: Cullen, Countee. *Color.* New York: Harper & Bros, 1925.

—For Harold Jackman

What is Africa to me:
Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang?
One three centuries removed
From the scenes his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

So I lie, who all day long
Want no sound except the song
Sung by wild barbaric birds
Goading massive jungle herds,
Juggernauts of flesh that pass
Trampling tall defiant grass
Where young forest lovers lie,
Plighting troth beneath the sky.
So I lie, who always hear,
Though I cram against my ear
Both my thumbs, and keep them there,
Great drums throbbing through the air.
So I lie, whose fount of pride,
Dear distress, and joy allied,
Is my somber flesh and skin,
With the dark blood dammed within
Like great pulsing tides of wine
That, I fear, must burst the fine
Channels of the chafing net
Where they surge and foam and fret.

Africa? A book one thumbs
Listlessly, till slumber comes.
Unremembered are her bats
Circling through the night, her cats
Crouching in the river reeds,
Stalking gentle flesh that feeds
By the river brink; no more
Does the bugle-throated roar
Cry that monarch claws have leapt
From the scabbards where they slept.
Silver snakes that once a year
Doff the lovely coats you wear,
Seek no covert in your fear
Lest a mortal eye should see
What's your nakedness to me?
Here no leprous flowers rear
Fierce corollas in the air;
Here no bodies sleek and wet,
Dripping mingled rain and sweat,
Tread the savage measures of
Jungle boys and girls in love.
What is last year's snow to me,
Last year's anything? The tree
Budding yearly must forget
How its past arose or set—
Bough and blossom, flower, fruit,
Even what shy bird with mute
Wonder at her travail there,
Meekly labored in its hair.
One three centuries removed
From the scenes his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

So I lie, who find no peace
Night or day, no slight release
From the unremittent beat
Made by cruel padded feet

Walking through my body's street.
Up and down they go, and back,
Treading out a jungle track.
So I lie, who never quite
Safely sleep from rain at night—
I can never rest at all
When the rain begins to fall;
Like a soul gone mad with pain
I must match its weird refrain;
Ever must I twist and squirm,
Writhing like a baited worm,
While its primal measures drip
Through my body, crying, "Strip!
Doff this new exuberance.
Come and dance the Lover's Dance!"
In an old remembered way
Rain works on me night and day.

Quaint, outlandish heathen gods
Black men fashion out of rods,
Clay, and brittle bits of stone,
In a likeness like their own,
My conversion came high-priced;
I belong to Jesus Christ,
Preacher of Humility;
Heathen gods are naught to me.

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
So I make an idle boast;
Jesus of the twice-turned cheek,
Lamb of God, although I speak
With my mouth thus, in my heart
Do I play a double part.
Ever at Thy glowing altar
Must my heart grow sick and falter,
Wishing He I served were black,
Thinking then it would not lack
Precedent of pain to guide it,
Let who would or might deride it;
Surely then this flesh would know
Yours had borne a kindred woe.
Lord, I fashion dark gods, too,
Daring even to give You
Dark despairing features where,
Crowned with dark rebellious hair,
Patience wavers just so much as
Mortal grief compels, while touches
Quick and hot, of anger, rise
To smitten cheek and weary eyes.
Lord, forgive me if my need
Sometimes shapes a human creed.

All day long and all night through,
One thing only must I do:
Quench my pride and cool my blood,
Lest I perish in the flood,
Lest a hidden ember set
Timber that I thought was wet
Burning like the dryest fax,
Melting like the merest wax,
Lest the grave restore its dead.
Not yet has my heart or head
In the least way realized
They and I are civilized.

Strong Men (Sterling Brown, 1931)

SOURCE: Johnson, James Weldon, ed. *The Poetry of Black America: Anthology of the Twentieth Century.* New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

They dragged you from homeland,
They chained you in coffles,
They huddled you spoon-fashion in filthy hatches,
They sold you to give a few gentlemen ease.

They broke you in like oxen, They scourged you,
They branded you,
They made your women breeders,
They swelled your numbers with bastards. . . .
They taught you the religion they disgraced.

You sang:
Keep a-inchin' along
Lak a po' inch worm. . . .

You sang:
Bye and bye
I'm gonna lay down dis heaby load. . .

You sang:
Walk togedder, chillen,
Dontcha git weary. . . .
The strong men keep a-comin' on
The strong men git stronger.

They point with pride to the roads you built for them
They ride in comfort over the rails you laid for them
They put hammers in your hands
And said—Drive so much before sundown.

You sang:
Ain't no hammah
In dis lan',
Strikes lak mine, bebby,
Strikes lak mine.

They cooped you in their kitchens,
They penned you in their factories,
They gave you the jobs that they were too good for,
They tried to guarantee happiness to themselves
By shunting dirt and misery to you.

You sang:
Me an' muh baby gonna shine, shine
Me an' muh baby gonna shine.

The strong men keep a-comin' on
The strong men git stronger. . . .

They bought off some of your leaders
You stumbled, as blind men will. . . .
They coaxed you, unwontedly soft voiced. . . .
You followed a way.
Then laughed as usual.
They heard the laugh and wondered;
Uncomfortable;
Unadmitting a deeper terror. . . .

The strong men keep a-comin' on
Gittin' stronger. . . .

What, from the slums
Where they have hemmed you,
What, from the tiny huts
They could not keep from you—
What reaches them
Making them ill at ease, fearful?
Today they shout prohibition at you
"Thou shalt not this."
"Thou shalt not that."
"Reserved for whites only"
You laugh.

One thing they cannot prohibit —

The strong men . . . coming on
The strong men gittin' stronger.
Strong men. . .
Stronger. . . .

Our Women Getting into the Larger Life (Amy Jacques Garvey, c. 1925)

SOURCE: Guy-Sheftall, Beverly. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought.* New York: The New Press, 1995, pp. 91–92.

The worldwide movement for the enlargement of woman's sphere of usefulness is one of the most remarkable of the ages. In all countries and in all ages, men have arrogated to themselves the prerogative of regulating not only the domestic, but also the civic and economic life of women. In many countries, women were subject entirely to the whims and legislation of men. It is that way now in most Asiatic countries and among some of the tribes in Africa.

The recent upheaval in Turkey has carried with it condemnation of harem relations and the sanction of the family life as it has developed in Christian countries. Madam Kemal is the leader of the Turkish women for larger freedom in the ordering of their lives, but the innovation, which is bound to work for the betterment of men as well as women as the harem life is a blight on womanhood which degrades manhood as well, could only have been accomplished by the separation of Church and State, the Sultanate and the Caliphate, which amounts to negating the hitherto predominating influence of the Mohammedan religion in the affairs of State as of Church. However far the innovation will extend to other Moslem countries, and what influence, if any, it will have on the domestic life of the people of Asia and Africa, where the Mohammedan religion is strong, remains to be seen.

In Europe, average womanhood has been held at a very low valuation until it got into the recently developed currents of modern innovation, and the average still remains low, peasant life for the man and the woman and their children being of the lowest and hardest. Only in Great Britain has the movement for the larger and better life for women, by allowing them reasonable voice in making and enforcing the laws, made any appreciable headway.

The United States has gone further than any other nation in giving woman a share in making and enforcing the laws and in regulating her economic life to her advantage and not entirely to the advantage of man. She is now given an equal part in political matters, and she is allowed a freedom in earning and controlling her earnings, which is a great improvement upon the former of old things. In social and personal matters, the American woman has attained to an independence and freedom which it will take centuries for the women of other nations to attain to.

Negro women of the United States share equally in the larger life which has come to women of other race groups, and she has met every test in the home, in bread winning, in church and social upbuilding, in charitable uplift work, and in the school room which could have been expected of her reasonably. She has yet to develop as active an interest in political affairs as the women of other race groups, but she is bound to grow in this as in other matters in which her interests are involved.

The women of the Universal Negro Improvement Association have shown an interest and a helpfulness so far-flung as to make it doubtful if the organization could have reached the high point of strength and effectiveness it has without them. To take woman and her sympathies and work out of the association would be like taking the wife out of the home of the husband. The women of the association are a tower of strength. They know it and glory in the fact, and their men are proud of them, and justly. The

success of the Negro race thus far has been largely due to the sympathy and support which our women have given to the cause.

Our women are getting into the larger life, which has the womanhood of the world in its sweep. We are sure they will be equal to all of the demands made upon them in the future as in the past, and the demands are going to increase in volume and importance as we go along. It stands to reason.

Black Skin, White Masks (Frantz Fanon, excerpts, 1952)

SOURCE: Bolland, O. Nigel, ed. *The Birth of Caribbean Civilization: A Century of Ideas about Culture and Identity, Nation and Society.* Kingston: Ian Randle, 2004, pp. 228–235.

INTRODUCTION: *Born in Martinique in 1925, Fanon journeyed to France to study medicine at the age of 22. He became a psychiatrist, later drawing on the experiences of his youth in the Caribbean to formulate two ground-breaking analyses of the black experience in the colonial world:* Peau Noire, Masques Blancs *(Black Skin, White Masks), 1952, and* Les damnés de la terre *(The Wretched of the Earth), 1961.*

I propose nothing short of the liberation of the man of color from himself. We shall go very slowly, for there are two camps: the white and the black. . . .

We shall have no mercy for the former governors, the former missionaries. To us, the man who adores the Negro is as "sick" as the man who abominates him.

Conversely, the black man who wants to turn his race white is as miserable as he who preaches hatred for the whites. . . .

The white man is sealed in his whiteness.

The black man in his blackness. . . .

Concern with the elimination of a vicious circle has been the only guide-line for my efforts.

There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men.

There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect.

How do we extricate ourselves? . . .

The analysis that I am undertaking is psychological. In spite of this it is apparent to me that the effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process:

–primarily, economic;

–subsequently, the internalization—or, better, the epidermalization—of this inferiority. . . .

It will be seen that the black man's alienation is not an individual question . . .

The black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonist subjugation is beyond question. . . .

Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. . . .

In any group of young men in the Antilles, the one who expresses himself well, who has mastered the language, is inordinately feared; keep an eye on that one, he is almost white. In France one says, "He talks like a book". In Martinique, "He talks like a white man" . . . .

And the fact that the newly returned Negro adopts a language different from that of the group into which he was born is evidence of a dislocation, a separation. . . .

In every country of the world there are climbers, "the ones who forget who they are", and, in contrast to them, "the ones who remember where they came from". The Antilles Negro who goes home from France expresses himself in dialect if he wants to make it plain that nothing has changed. . . .

To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture. The Antilles Negro who wants to be white will be the whiter as he gains greater mastery of the cultural tool that language is. . . .

Historically, it must be understood that the Negro wants to speak French because it is the key that can open doors which were still barred to him fifty years ago. . . .

There was a myth of the Negro that had to be destroyed at all costs. . . .

I was hated, despised, detested, not by the neighbor across the street or my cousin on my mother's side, but by an entire race. . . .

A feeling of inferiority? No, a feeling of nonexistence. Sin is Negro as virtue is white. All those white men in a group, guns in their hands, cannot be wrong. I am guilty. I do not know of what, but I know that I am no good. . . .

The Negro is a toy in the white man's hands; so, in order to shatter the hellish cycle, he explodes. . . .

Nevertheless . . . I feel in myself a soul as immense as the world, truly a soul as deep as the deepest of rivers, my chest has the power to expand without limit. I am a master and I am advised to adopt the humility of the cripple. . . .

The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about "our ancestors, the Gauls," identifies himself with the explorer, the bringer of civilisation, the white man who carries truth to savages—an all-white truth. There is identification—that is, the young Negro subjectively adopts a white man's attitude. He invests the hero, who is white, with all his own aggression. . . .

Little by little, one can observe in the young Antillean the formation and crystallization of an attitude and a way of thinking and seeing that are essentially white. When in school he has to read stories of savages told by white men, he always thinks of the Senegalese. As a schoolboy, I had many occasions to spend whole hours talking about the supposed customs of the savage Senegalese. In what was said there was a lack of awareness that was at the least very paradoxical. Because the Antillean does not think of himself as a black man; he thinks of himself as an Antillean. The Negro lives in Africa. Subjectively, intellectually, the Antillean conducts himself like a white man. But he is a Negro. That he will learn once he goes to Europe; and when he hears Negroes mentioned he will recognize that the word includes himself as well as the Senegalese. . . .

As long as he remains among his own people, the little black follows very nearly the same course as the little white. But if he goes to Europe, he will have to reappraise his lot. For the Negro in France, which is his country, will feel different from other people. One can hear the glib remark: The Negro makes himself inferior. But the truth is that he is made inferior. The young Antillean is a Frenchman called upon constantly to live with white compatriots. Now, the Antillean family has for all practical purposes no connection with the national—that is, the French, or European—structure. The Antillean has therefore to choose between his family and European society; in other words, the individual who *climbs up* into society—white and civilized—tends to reject his family—black and savage—on the plane of imagination. . . .

I have just shown that for the Negro there is a myth to be faced. A solidly established myth. The Negro is unaware of it as long as his existence is limited to his own environment; but the first encounter with a white man oppresses him with the whole weight of his blackness. . . .

The civilized white man retains an irrational longing for unusual eras of sexual license, of orgiastic scenes, of unpunished rapes, of unrepressed incest. . . . Projecting his own desires onto the Negro, the white man behaves "as if" the Negro really had them. When it is a question of the Jew, the problem is clear: He is suspect because he wants to own the wealth or take over the positions of power. But the Negro is fixated at the genital; or at any rate he has been fixated there. Two realms: the intellectual and the sexual. . . . The Negro symbolizes the biological danger; the Jew, the intellectual danger.

To suffer from a phobia of Negroes is to be afraid of the biological. For the Negro is only biological. The Negroes are animals. . . .

In the beginning I wanted to confine myself to the Antilles. But . . . I was compelled to *see* that the Antillean is first of all a Negro. Nevertheless, it would be impossible to overlook the fact that there are Negroes whose nationality is Belgian, French, English; there are also Negro republics. . . . The truth is that the Negro race has been scattered, that it can no longer claim unity. When Il Duce's troops invaded Ethiopia, a movement of solidarity arose among men of color. . . .

Wherever he goes, the Negro remains a Negro. . . .

Is not whiteness in symbols always ascribed in French to Justice, Truth, Virginity? I knew an Antillean who said of another Antillean, "His body is black, his language is black, his soul must be black too." This logic is put into daily practice by the white man. The black man is the symbol of Evil and Ugliness. . . .

European civilization is characterized by the presence, at the heart of what [Carl Gustav] Jung calls the collective unconscious, of an archetype: an expression of the bad instincts, of the darkness inherent in every ego, of the uncivilized savage, the Negro who slumbers in every white man. And Jung claims to have found in uncivilized peoples the same psychic structure that his diagram portrays. Personally, I think that Jung has deceived himself. . . .

Jung locates the collective unconscious in the inherited cerebral matter. But the collective unconscious, without our having to fall back on the genes, is purely and simply the sum of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a given group. . . .

I hope I have shown that . . . the collective unconscious is cultural, which means acquired. . . . *In Europe, the black man is the symbol of Evil.* . . . Satan is black, one talks of shadow, when one is dirty one is black—whether one is thinking of physical dirtiness or of moral dirtiness. It would be astonishing, if the trouble were taken to bring them all together, to see the vast number of expressions that make the black man the equivalent of sin. In Europe, whether concretely or symbolically, the black man stands for the bad side of the character. As long as one cannot understand this fact, one is doomed to talk in circles about the "black problem". . . . In Europe, that is to say, in every

civilized and civilizing country, the Negro is the symbol of sin. The archetype of the lowest values is represented by the Negro. . . .

In Europe the Negro has one function: that of symbolizing the lower emotions, the baser inclinations, the dark side of the soul. In the collective unconscious of *homo occidentalis,* the Negro—or, if one prefers, the color black—symbolizes evil, sin, wretchedness, death, war, famine. . . .

The collective unconscious is not dependent on cerebral heredity; it is the result of what I shall call the unreflected imposition of a culture. Hence there is no reason to be surprised when an Antillean exposed to waking-dream therapy relives the same fantasies as a European. It is because the Antillean partakes of the same collective unconscious as the European.

If what has been said thus far is grasped, this conclusion may be stated: It is normal for the Antillean to be anti-Negro. Through the collective unconscious the Antillean has taken over all the archetypes belonging to the European. But I too am guilty, ... There is no help for it: I am a white man. For unconsciously I distrust what is black in me, that is, the whole of my being. . . .

[W]ithout thinking, the Negro selects himself as an object capable of carrying the burden of original sin. The white man chooses the black man for this function, and the black man who is white also chooses the black man. The black Antillean is the slave of this cultural imposition. After having been the slave of the white man, he enslaves himself. The Negro is in every sense of the word a victim of white civilization. . . .

Hence a Negro is forever in combat with his own image. . . .

[E]ach individual has to charge the blame for his baser drives, his impulses, to the account of an evil genius, which is that of the culture to which he belongs (we have seen that this is the Negro). This collective guilt is borne by what is conventionally called the scapegoat. Now the scapegoat for white society—which is based on myths of progress, civilization, liberalism, education, enlightenment, refinement—will be precisely the force that opposes the expansion and the triumph of these myths. This brutal opposing force is supplied by the Negro.

In the society of the Antilles, where the myths are identical with those of the society of Dijon or Nice, the young Negro, identifying himself with the civilizing power, will make the nigger the scapegoat of his moral life. . . .

As I begin to recognize that the Negro is the symbol of sin, I catch myself hating the Negro. But then I recognize that I am a Negro. . . .

[A]t its extreme, the myth of the Negro, the idea of the Negro, can become the decisive factor of an authentic alienation. . . .

I wonder sometimes whether school inspectors and government functionaries are aware of the role they play in the colonies. For twenty years they poured every effort into programs that would make the Negro a white man. In the end, they dropped him and told him, "You have an indisputable complex of dependence on the white man". . . .

I said in my introduction that man is a *yes.* I will never stop reiterating that.

Yes to life. *Yes* to love. *Yes* to generosity.

But man is also a *no. No* to scorn of man. *No* to degradation of man. *No* to exploitation of man. *No* to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom . . . .

I do not carry innocence to the point of believing that appeals to reason or to respect for human dignity can alter reality. For the Negro who works on a sugar plantation in Le Robert, there is only one solution: to fight. He will embark on this struggle, and he will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis but quite simply because he cannot conceive of life otherwise than in the form of a battle against exploitation, misery, and hunger. . . .

Those Negroes and white men will be disalienated who refuse to let themselves be sealed away in the materialized Tower of the Past. For many other Negroes, in other ways, disalienation will come into being through their refusal to accept the present as definitive.

I am a man, and what I have to recapture is the whole past of the world. I am not responsible solely for the revolt in Santo Domingo.

Every time a man has contributed to the victory of the dignity of the spirit, every time a man has said no to an attempt to subjugate his fellows, I have felt solidarity with his act.

In no way should I derive my basic purpose from the past of the peoples of color.

In no way should I dedicate myself to the revival of an unjustly unrecognized Negro civilization. I will not make myself the man of any past. I do not want to exalt the past at the expense of my present and of my future. . . .

If the question of practical solidarity with a given past ever arose for me, it did so only to the extent to which I was committed to myself and to my neighbor to fight for all my life and with all my strength so that never again would a people on the earth be subjugated. It was not the black world that laid down my course of conduct. My black skin is not the wrapping of specific values. . . .

I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: That of demanding human behavior from the other.

One duty alone: That of not renouncing my freedom through my choices. . . .

I am a Negro, and tons of chains, storms of blows, rivers of expectoration flow down my shoulders.

But I do not have the right to allow myself to bog down. I do not have the right to allow the slightest fragment to remain in my existence. I do not have the right to allow myself to be mired in what the past has determined.

I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors. . . .

Let us be clearly understood. I am convinced that it would be of the greatest interest to be able to have contact with a Negro literature or architecture of the third century before Christ. I should be very happy to know that a correspondence had flourished between some Negro philosopher and Plato. But I can absolutely not see how this fact would change anything in the lives of the eight-year-old children who labor in the cane fields of Martinique or Guadeloupe.

No attempt must be made to encase man, for it is his destiny to be set free.

The body of history does not determine a single one of my actions.

I am my own foundation. . . .

The Negro is not. Any more than the white man.

Both must turn their backs on the inhuman voices which were those of their respective ancestors in order that authentic communication be possible. Before it can adopt a positive voice, freedom requires an effort at disalienation. . . .

It is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self, it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world.

Superiority? Inferiority?

Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself?

We Shall Overcome (1960)

SOURCE: Musical and lyrical adaptation by Zilphia Horton, Frank Hamilton, Guy Carawan, and Pete Seeger. Inspired by African American Gospel Singing, members of the Food & Tobacco Workers Union, Charleston, SC, and the southern Civil Rights Movement. TRO Songways, Ludlow Music, Inc., 1960.

INTRODUCTION: *"We Shall Overcome" was the unofficial theme song of the freedom movement, adapted from a union version of an old spiritual.*

Text Not Available

The African Presence (George Lamming, 1960)

SOURCE: Lamming, George. *The Pleasures of Exile.* London and New York: Allison & Busby, 1960, pp. 160–165.

I shall no longer graze the donkey
Now my camel is full grown
—*Jolof folk poem*

GHANA

An American tourist in Europe is often in search of monuments cathedrals and palaces, important graves, the whole kingdom of names and faces that are kept alive by the architecture of history. He rummages through his reading to pay homage, in person, to those streets, and rooms and restaurants that have survived the men who made them famous. He claims some share in this heritage, and long before he arrives, his responses are, in some way, determined by this sense of expectation. He is a descendant of men whose migration from this continent was a freely chosen act, and whose memory is kept alive today by his own way of looking at the world. Europe does not add to his problem of identifying himself.

The West Indian Negro who sets out on a similar journey to Africa is less secure. His relation to that continent is more personal and more problematic. It is more personal because the conditions of his life today, his status as a man, are a clear indication of the reasons which led to the departure of his ancestors from that continent. That migration was not a freely chosen act; it was a commercial deportation which has left its consequences heavily marked on every level of his life in the West Indies. Consequences which are most deeply felt in his personal life and relations with his environment: the politics of colour and colonialism that are the very foundation as well as the landmarks of his voyage from childhood to adolescence. His relation to Africa is more problematic because he has not, like the American, been introduced to it through history. His education did not provide him with any reading to rummage through as a guide to the lost kingdoms of names and places which give geography a human significance. He knows it through rumour and myth which is made sinister by a foreign tutelage, and he becomes, through the gradual conditioning of his education, identified with fear: fear of that continent as a world beyond human intervention. Part product of that world, and living still under the shadow of its past disfigurement, he appears reluctant to acknowledge his share of the legacy which is part of his heritage.

So throughout that flight from London to Accra I was trying to put together the fragments of my early education; trying to recall when I had first heard the word Africa, what emotions it had registered. I recalled that at the age of eight or nine I had heard the headmaster of my primary school making some noise about Ethiopia. He seemed angry; for it was the 24th of May, and the English inspector of schools had come to distribute prizes. No one really told us what Ethiopia was. There were no maps in that room to indicate its position in the world. Some of us thought it might have been the Christian name of a lion whose surname was Judah. The name Judah made more sense since the Bible was a part of our alphabet.

Such were the fragments of rumour and fantasy which I was trying to put together during that flight. But planes leave little time for this kind of reflection, and when the land appeared, flat, scorched and empty, I found that I was even without any preconceptions. Nor was I prepared, on leaving the airport, for my first shock of familiarity.

At midday, indifferent to the stupefying heat of Accra, a loyal procession of Boy Scouts had arrived to welcome some dignitary from England. Incredibly correct in their stance, they went through the role of welcome. It was exactly like a West Indian village migrating its children in order to celebrate some important occasion. Neither waiters nor my friends could now distract my attention from the efficient soldiery of those little boys. Their limbs were tight as wire, now supple as water, according to the orders which their training had taught them to follow. Their faces split wide with laughter when a voice allowed them to stand at ease. But in a matter of seconds their muscles were like stone, the smiles rubbed out, and their eyes turned still and sinister as knives. The sun could set no mark on their complexion. When the wind came, the green and yellow scarves ran like flames around their necks, raving like a prisoner to be released.

They were completely identified with the role which they had rehearsed for today. It was a profound experience, for I was seeing myself in every detail which they lived. So I remembered again the old primary school headmaster reminding the English inspector about the name of the lion which was somewhere on this land mass. This experience was deeper and more resonant than the impression left by the phrase: "we used to be like that." It was not just a question of me and my village when I was the age of these boys. Like the funeral ceremony of the King, it was an example of habits and history reincarnated in this moment. It was as though the Haitian ceremony of the Souls had come real: a resurrection of voices at once familiar and unknown had taken place.

The English Scoutmaster was a fragile man, lean, amiable, and full of wonder. I hadn't noticed him on the 'plane; for in that roaring kennel we were all anonymous cargo. But it was impossible to avoid him now. He tried to support a smile; but always the sun closed his teeth, reminding him that this heat was no laughing matter. He looked quite startled; and one wondered whether it was his recognition of the boys' imperviousness to the weather, or the stupendous shock of his own importance in their presence.

Soon it was all over: a brief speech of welcome and reply, a final salute, and the ceremony was dead. The boys forgot their uniform and turned the whole place into their own jamboree. They ran in all directions towards the buses where the village spectators, aunts and cousins, presumably, had watched them perform. They were all talking at the same time. The voices clashed like steel; and their hands were like batons conducting the wild cacophany of their argument. It was impossible to understand how so harmless a ritual as meeting that English Scoutmaster could now lead to such a terrifying chorus of discord.

What were they quarrelling about? Or what were they rejoicing about? For it was difficult to distinguish which noise was war and which was peace. I turned to ask my West Indian friend what it was all about. He smiled; and suddenly I realised the meaning of that smile and the fact about that invading noise. Neither of us could understand a word of what those boys were saying. Nor could the English Scoutmaster. It was at this point that the difference between my childhood and theirs broke wide open. They owed Prospero no debt of vocabulary. English was a way of thinking which they would achieve when the situation required it. But their passions were poured through another rhythm of speed.

"They are speaking Fanti and Ga," said N.

"And if you know Fanti, does it mean that you also know Ga?"

I was getting my first lesson in speech magic.

"Not necessarily," said N., "but what often happens is this: when I speak to you in Fanti you will reply in Ga, and although I can't speak Ga and you can't speak Fanti, somewhere in between the meaning is clear."

Sitting on the terrace of the airport hotel I had lived through again, and forgotten as quickly, all the trouble I had had with school uniforms. I found that I was soon talking, unheard, to myself; and instinctively the same delight kept revealing itself: "But Ghana is free," I was thinking, "a free independent State." And the implication of that silence was an acute awareness that the West Indies were not. And as we had our first drink, both N. and I agreed that it was Ghana which helped to reduce our feeling of disgrace.

The afternoon was, in its way, a kind of emergency. Accra had the look of a place unfinished: there was scaffolding everywhere, the open spaces where demolition had recently taken place, roads under repair, the brand-new building on the eve of opening. You could not detect the precise form of the town; you could not guess its centre, because the town itself was in the process of going up. It was a workshop whose centre was activity. You had the impression that it would change face every day. A year from now you would not know it. Ghana was in a fever of building: roads, schools, harbours and hospitals. It was, I felt, part of the freedom feeling.

And the names, not a day older than the present Government, were still fresh with the echo of an historic moment: Nkrumah Circle, Independence Avenue. And the life-size bust of the Prime Minister dominating the entrance to the House of Assembly with its urgent inscription: "Seek Ye first the political Kingdom."

But behind all this, there is the Ghana of mud-hut villages and an ancient communal living, impenetrable vegetation, the declining magic of chieftancy. As you come, so to speak, to the heart of the soil, the traditional belly and life-blood of the country, you realise that this is not only a country in a state of peaceful emergency; it is a country in a state of transition. The splendour of African dress comes first as a shock; but the shock is too frequent, and soon you are beyond surprise. Green and gold, orange and purple, night blue and lily white. Natural as grass, they are simply there, at once an ordinary and intoxicating part of the street, crowded with cars, pavement traders, cattle, and an occasional madman. Or a Hausa is seen making ready to meet his God. He unfolds his mat, squats and worships with his brow in the dust, unnoticed, as though he were an inanimate part of the pavement.

It is this amalgamation of the various styles of living, this feeling of ambiguity towards the future that gives the country its special quality of excitement. But what is even more striking is the overwhelming sense of confidence.

Some weeks later I witnessed an example of this confidence. I was sitting with a group of Ashantis in one of the popular hotels of Kumasi. We were talking about various aspects of Ashanti culture, and in particular the custom whereby the nephew and not the son is regarded as the heir. I had now grown used to the kind of variety in this place: a few Europeans, meaning white, jawing away over beer, the Ashanti girls looking magnificent in their cloth. One will never forget the rhythm of their bodies moving with an almost insolent casualness across the floor; some of the men in shirt and pants, others in N.T. smocks.

Suddenly A. left the table and walked up to two old women who were standing at the door. They were, one

felt, the embodiment of all that is meant by Ashanti. The expression of the faces was male with the hair cropped close to the skull, and the fine, razor line making a complete circle round the base and brow of the skull. A. was also Ashanti, but the old women belonged to another world of intercourse. He sat them at a table, ordered their drinks, and returned to us.

"They came in from the village for a funeral," he said, "and felt like a drink before going back."

Funerals, I should say, are an expensive business in this part of the world. Until you get to know the continuity of relations between the living and the dead, you can't help thinking of funerals as a kind of expensive bacchanal. The occasion surpasses Christmas for drinking; and once when my friend Kufuor suggested that I should get a lift into Accra with a driver who was thought very erratic, I had the distinct suspicion that it was some funeral drinking he was getting at.

A. was looking to see that all was well with the old women. We talked about their dress, the purple cloth drawn easily round the body, and tucked under the arm: the grave, silent concentration of the faces as though they were trying to read the meaning, of this place, the intentions of the young, or the motives of those who, were obviously foreign. When they finished their beer, they walked over to our table. Instinctively, everyone stood, and we shook hands all round, each man bowing to the brief curtsy of the old women. They were leaving. And what one was struck by was the formality of it all; as though each Ashanti understood by instinct his relation to those women within the context of a single and unified culture. They did not know each other; but they knew the meaning of age in their world of morality.

Then A. said: "Five years ago they wouldn't have come in here."

"But of course they could have come?" I suggested.

"They could have come," said A., "but they would not have had any desire to do so. It was not their sort of place." And then he continued: "And five years ago I might not have made it my business to remind them that it belongs to them."

This is not just a change which denotes increase of privileges. It is a fundamental change of attitude even to privileges which could have been claimed five years before. It permeates everything that Ghanians do or say. And here one saw the psychological significance of freedom. It does something to a man's way of seeing the world. It is an experience which is not gained by education or money, but by an instinctive re-evaluation of your place in the world, an attitude that is the logical by-product of political action. And again one felt the full meaning, the full desecration of human personality which is contained in the word: colonial. One felt that the West Indian of my generation was truly backward, in this sense. For he was not only without this experience of freedom won; it was not even a vital force or need in his way of seeing himself and the world which imprisoned him.

I Have A Dream (Martin Luther King Jr., 1963)

SOURCE: Washington, James Melvin, ed. *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Harper & Row, 1986, pp. 217–220.

INTRODUCTION: *Highlighting the civil rights movement's March on Washington, August 28, 1963, Martin Luther King delivered the following address on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial.*

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Letter from Birmingham Jail (Martin Luther King Jr., 1963)

SOURCE: Carson, Clayborne, et al, eds. *The Eyes on the Prize: Civil Rights Reader.* New York: Viking, 1991, pp. 153–158.

INTRODUCTION: *In the spring of 1963, Martin Luther King was arrested and jailed for leading a protest march in Birmingham, Alabama. A group of Alabama clergymen wrote him a letter while he was imprisoned, criticizing his activities and accusing him of being an outside agitator stirring up trouble and violence in the city. King responded to their charges in the letter reprinted below.*

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The Ballot or the Bullet (Malcolm X, 1964)

SOURCE: Frazier, Thomas R., ed. *Readings in African-American History,* 3d edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001, pp. 374–388.

INTRODUCTION: *On April 3, 1964, Malcolm X appeared with journalist Louis Lomax at a symposium sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Cleveland. Lomax supported CORE's philosophy of nonviolence in the pursuit of civil liberties for black Americans. Malcolm X advocated "action on all fronts by whatever means necessary."*

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LIFE IN MISSISSIPPI: AN INTERVIEW WITH FANNIE LOU HAMER (1965)

SOURCE: Frazier, Thomas R., ed. *Readings in African-American History.* 3d edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001, pp. 348–357.

INTRODUCTION: *Civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer was one of the delegates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to the National Democratic Convention in 1964. The following year, in an interview first published in the civil rights journal* Freedomways, *Hamer reflected on her childhood and later life in Mississippi.*

O'DELL:

Mrs. Hamer, it's good to see you again. I understand you have been to Africa since we last talked? I would like for you to talk about your African trip today.

HAMER:

It was one of the proudest moments in my life.

O'DELL:

That is a marvelous experience for any black American, particularly for anyone who has lived here all of his life. Then, too, we want to talk about some of your early childhood experiences which helped to make you the kind of person you are and provided the basis for your becoming so active in the Freedom Movement.

HAMER:

I would like to talk about some of the things that happened that made me know that there was something wrong in the South from a child. My parents moved to Sunflower County when I was two years old. I remember, and I will never forget, one day—I was six years old and I was playing beside the road and this plantation owner drove up to me and stopped and asked me "could I pick cotton." I told him I didn't know and he said, "Yes, you can. I will give you things that you want from the commissary store," and he named things like crackerjacks and sardines—and it was a huge list that he called off. So I picked the 30 pounds of cotton that week, but I found out what actually happened was he was trapping me into beginning the work I was to keep doing and I never did get out of his debt again. My parents tried so hard to do what they could to keep us in school, but school didn't last but four months out of the year and most of the time we didn't have clothes to wear. My parents would make huge crops of sometimes 55 to 60 bales of cotton. Being from a big family where there were 20 children, it wasn't too hard to pick that much cotton. But my father, year after year, didn't get too much money and I remember he just kept going. Later on he did get enough money to buy mules. We didn't have tractors, but he bought mules, wagons, cultivators and some farming equipment. As soon as he bought that and decided to rent some land, because it was always better if you rent the land, but as soon as he got the mules and wagons and everything, somebody went to our trough—a white man who didn't live very far from us—and he fed the mules Paris Green, put it in their food and it killed the mules and our cows. That knocked us right back down. And things got so tough then I began to wish I was white. We worked all the time, just worked and then we would be hungry and my mother was clearing up a new ground trying to help to feed us for $1.25 a day. She was using an axe, just like a man, and something flew up and hit her in the eye. It eventually caused her to lose both her eyes and I began to get sicker and sicker of the system there. I used to see my mother wear clothes that would have so many patches on them, they had been done over and over and over again. She would do that but she would try to keep us decent. She still would be ragged and I always said if I lived to get grown and had a chance, I was going to try to get something for my mother and I was going to do something for the black man of the South if it would cost my life; I was determined to see that things were changed. My mother got down sick in '53 and she lived with me, an invalid, until she passed away in 1961. And during the time she was staying with me sometime I would be worked so hard I couldn't sleep at night. . . .

O'DELL:

What kind of work were you doing?

HAMER:

I was a timekeeper and sharecropper on the same plantation I was fired from. During the time she was with me, if there was something I had to do without, I was determined to see that she did have something in her last few years. I went almost naked to see that my mother was kept decent and treated as a human being for the first time in all of her life. My mother was a great woman. To look at her from the suffering she had gone through to bring us up—20 children: 6 girls and 14 boys, but she still taught us to be decent and to respect ourselves, and that is one of the things that has kept me going, even after she passed. She tried so hard to make life easy for us. Those are the things that forced me to try to do something different and when this Movement came to Mississippi I still feel it is one of the greatest things that ever happened because only a person living in the State of Mississippi knows what it is like to suffer; knows what it is like to be hungry; knows what it is like to have no clothing to wear. And these people in Mississippi State, they are not "down"; all they need is a chance. And I am determined to give my part not for what the Movement can do for me, but what I can do for the Movement to bring about a change in the State of Mississippi. Actually, some of the things I experienced as a child still linger on; what the white man has done to the black people in the South!

One of the things I remember as a child: There was a man named Joe Pulliam. He was a great Christian man; but one time, he was living with a white family and this white family robbed him of what he earned. They didn't pay him anything. This white man gave him $150 to go to the hill (you see, I lived in the Black Belt of Mississippi) . . . to get another Negro family. Joe Pulliam knew what this white man had been doing to him so he kept the $150 and didn't go. This white man talked with him then shot him in the shoulder and Joe Pulliam went back into the house and got a Winchester and killed this white man. The other white fellow that was with him he "outrun the word of God" back to town. That gave this Negro a chance to go down on the bayou that was called Powers Bayou and he got in a hollowed-out stump where there was enough room for a person. He got in there and he stayed and was tracked there, but they couldn't see him and every time a white man would peep out, he busted him. He killed 13 white men and wounded 26 and Mississippi was a quiet place for a long time. I remember that until this day and I won't forget it. After they couldn't get him, they took gas—one man from Clarksdale used a machine gun—(Bud Doggins)—they used a machine gun and they tried to get him like that and then they took gas and poured it on Powers Bayou. Thousands of gallons of gas and they lit it and when it burned up to the hollowed-out stump, he crawled out. When they found him, he was unconscious and he was lying with his head on his gun but the last bullet in the gun had been snapped twice. They dragged him by his heels on the back of a car and they paraded about with that man and they cut his ears off and put them in a showcase and it stayed there a long, long time—in Drew, Mississippi. All of those things, when they would happen, would make me sick in the pit of my stomach and year after year, everytime something would happen it would make me more and more aware of what would have to be done in the State of Mississippi.

O'DELL:

What do you think will have to be done?

HAMER:

The only thing I really feel is necessary is that the black people, not only in Mississippi, will have to actually upset this applecart. What I mean by that is, so many things are under the cover that will have to be swept out and shown to this whole world, not just to America. There is so much hypocrisy in America. This thing they say of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" is all on paper. It doesn't mean anything to us. The only way we can make this thing a reality in America is to do all we can to destroy this system and bring this thing out to the light that has been under the cover all these years. That's why I believe in Christianity because the Scriptures said: "The things that have been done in the dark will be known on the house tops."

Now many things are beginning to come out and it was truly a reality to me when I went to Africa, to Guinea. The little things that had been taught to me about the African people, that they were "heathens," "savages," and they were just downright stupid people. But when I got to Guinea, we were greeted by the Government of Guinea, which is *Black People*—and we stayed at a place that was the government building, because we were the guests of the Government. You don't know what that meant to me when I got to Guinea on the 12th of September. The President of Guinea, Sekou Touré, came to see us on the 13th. Now you know, I don't know how you can compare this by me being able to see a President of a country, when I have just been there two days; and here I have been in America, born in America, and I am 46 years pleading with the President for the last two to three years to just give us a chance—and this President in Guinea recognized us enough to talk to us.

O'DELL:

How many were in your delegation?

HAMER:

It was eleven of us during that time, and I could get a clear picture of actually what had happened to the black people of America. Our foreparents were mostly brought from West Africa, the same place that we visited in Africa. We were brought to America and our foreparents were sold; white people bought them; white people changed their names . . . and actually . . . here, my maiden name is supposed to be Townsend; but really, what is my maiden name. . . ? What is my name? This white man who is saying "it takes time." For three hundred and more years they have had "time," and now it is time for them to listen. We have been listening year after year to them and what have we got? We are not even allowed to think for ourselves. "I know what is best for you," but they don't know what is best for us! It is time now to let them know what they owe us, and they owe us a great deal. Not only have we paid the price with our names in ink, but we have also paid in blood. And they can't say that black people can't be intelligent, because going back to Africa, in Guinea, there are almost 4 million people there and what he, President Touré, is doing to educate the people: as long as the French people had it they weren't doing a thing that is being done now. I met one child there eleven years old, speaking three languages. He could speak English, French and Malinke. Speaking my language actually better than I could. And this hypocrisy—they tell us here in America. People should go there and see. It would bring tears in your eyes to make you think of all those years, the type of brain-washing that this man will use in America to keep us separated from our own people. When I got on that plane, it was loaded with white people going to Africa for the Peace Corps. I got there and met a lot of them, and actually they had more peace there in Guinea than I have here. I talked to some of them. I told them before they would be able to clean up somebody else's house you would have to clean up yours; before they can tell somebody else how to run their country, why don't they do something here. This problem is not only in Mississippi. During the time I was in the Convention in Atlantic City, I didn't get any threats from Mississippi. The threatening letters were from Philadelphia, Chicago and other big cities.

O'DELL:

You received threatening letters while you were at the Convention?

HAMER:

Yes. I got pictures of us and they would draw big red rings around us and tell what they thought of us. I got a letter said, "I have been shot three times through the heart. I hope I see your second act." But this white man who wants to stay *white,* and to think for the Negro, he is not only destroying the Negro, he is destroying himself, because a house divided against itself cannot stand and that same thing applies to America. America that is divided against itself cannot stand, and we cannot say we have all this unity they say we have when black people are being discriminated against in every city in America I have visited.

I was in jail when Medgar Evers was murdered and *nothing,* I mean *nothing* has been done about that. You know what really made me sick? I was in Washington, D.C., at another time reading in a paper where the U.S. gives Byron de la Beckwith—the man who is charged with murdering Medgar Evers—they were giving him so much money for some land and I ask "Is this America?" We can no longer ignore the fact that America is NOT the "land of the free and the home of the brave." I used to question this for years—what did our kids actually fight for? They would go in the service and go through all of that and come right out to be drowned in a river in Mississippi. I found this hypocrisy is all over America.

The 20th of March in 1964, I went before the Secretary of State to qualify to run as an official candidate for Congress from the 2nd Congressional District, and it was easier for me to qualify to run than it was for me to pass the literacy test to be a registered voter. And we had four people to qualify and run in the June primary election but we didn't have enough Negroes registered in Mississippi. The 2nd Congressional District where I ran, against Jamie Whitten, is made up of 24 counties. Sixty-eight percent of the people are Negroes, only 6–8 percent are registered. And it is not because Negroes don't want to register. They try and they try and they try. That's why it was important for us to set up the "Freedom Registration" to help us in the Freedom Democratic Party.

O'DELL:

This was a registration drive organized by the Movement?

HAMER:

Yes. The only thing we took out was the Constitution of the State of Mississippi and the interpretation of the Constitution. We had 63,000 people registered on the Freedom Registration form. And we tried from every level to go into the regular Democratic Party medium. We tried from the precinct level. The 16th of June when they were holding precinct meetings all across the state, I was there and there was eight of us there to attend the meeting, and they had the door locked at 10 o'clock in the morning. So we had our own meeting and elected our permanent chairman and secretary and regulars and alternates and we passed a resolution as the law requires and then mailed it to Oscar Townsend, our permanent chairman. This is what's happening in the State of Mississippi. We had hoped for a

change, but these people (Congressmen) go to Washington and stay there 25 and 30 years and more without representing the people of Mississippi. We have never been represented in Washington. You can tell this by the program the federal government had to train 2,400 tractor drivers. They would have trained Negro and white together, but this man, Congressman Jamie Whitten, voted against it and everything that was decent. So we've got to have somebody in Washington who is concerned about the people of Mississippi.

After we testified before the Credentials Committee in Atlantic City, their Mississippi representative testified also. He said I got 600 votes but when they made the count in Mississippi, I was told I had 388 votes. So actually it is no telling how many votes I actually got.

O'DELL:
In other words, a Mr. Collins came before the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention and actually gave away the secret in a sense, because the figure he gave was not the same figure he gave to you as an official candidate?

HAMER:
That's right. He also said I had been allowed to attend the precinct meeting which was true. But he didn't say we were locked out of the polling place there and had to hold our meeting on the lawn.

O'DELL:
So now you have a situation where you had the basis for a Freedom Democratic Party. You have had four candidates to run for Congress. You had a community election where 63,000 of our folk showed their interest in the election. How do you size up the situation coming out of Atlantic City? What impressions did you get from your effort in Atlantic City to be seated, and how do you feel the people back home are going to react to this next period you are going into?

HAMER:
The people at home will work hard and actually all of them think it was important that we made the decision that we did make *not to compromise*; because we didn't have anything to *compromise* for. Some things I found out in the National Convention I wasn't too glad I did find out. But we will work hard, and it was important to actually really bring this out to the open, the things I will say some people knew about and some people didn't; this stuff that has been kept under the cover for so many years. Actually, the world and America is upset and the only way to bring about a change is to upset it more.

O'DELL:
What was done about the beating you and Miss Annelle Ponder, your colleague in the citizenship school program, experienced while in jail? Was any action taken at all?

HAMER:
The Justice Department filed a suit against the brutality of the five law officials and they had this trial. The trial began the 2nd of December 1963 and they had white jurors from the State of Mississippi, and the Federal Judge Clayton made it plain to the jurors that they were dealing with "nigras" and that "who would actually accuse such upstanding people like those law officials"—be careful what they was doing because they are law-abiding citizens and were dealing with agitators and niggers. It was as simple as that. And those police were cleared. They were on the loose for about a week before I left for Atlantic City. One of those men was driving a truck from the State Penitentiary. One night he passed my house and pointed me out to one of the other men in the State Penitentiary truck and that same night I got a threat: "We got you located Fannie Lou and we going to put you in the Mississippi River." A lot of people say why do they let the *hoodlums* do that? But it is those people supposed to have class that are doing the damage in Mississippi. You know there was a time, in different places, when people felt safe going to a law official. But I called them that day and got the answer back, "You know you don't look to us for help."

O'DELL:
This threat: the man called you up and said "we've got you spotted"; I gather from that that the river has some special meaning to us living there in Mississippi?

HAMER:
Yes. So many people have been killed and put in the Mississippi River. Like when they began to drag the river for Mickey and Chaney and Andy. Before he was to go to Oxford, Ohio, Mickey was telling me his life had been threatened and a taxi driver had told him to be careful because they was out to get him.

When they (the sailors) began to drag the river they found other people and I actually feel like they stopped because they would have been shook up to find so many if they had just been fishing for bodies. The Mississippi is not the only river. There's the Tallahatchie and the Big Black. People have been put in the river year after year, these things *been* happening.

O'DELL:
The general policy of striking fear in people's hearts. In other words, it's like lynching used to be. They used to night ride. . . .

HAMER:
They still night ride. The exact count was 32 churches they had burned in the State of Mississippi and they still ride at night, and throw bombs at night. You would think they would cut down with Mrs. Chaney. But since they murdered James Chaney, they have shot buckshot at his moth-

er's house. And hate won't only destroy us. It will destroy these people that's hating as well. And one of the things is, they are afraid of getting back what they have been putting out all of these years. You know the Scripture says "be not deceived for God is not mocked; whatsoever a man sow that shall he also reap." And *one day,* I don't know how they're going to get it, but they're going to get some of it back. They are scared to death and are more afraid now than we are.

O'DELL:

How active is the White Citizen's Council? Has it the kind of outlet through TV and radio and so forth that Negroes are aware of its presence?

HAMER:

They announce their programs. In fact, one day I was going to Jackson and I saw a huge sign that U.S. Senator John Stennis was speaking that night for the White Citizens Council in Yazoo City and they also have a State Charter that they may set up for "private schools." It is no secret.

O'DELL:

Does it seem to be growing? Is the white community undergoing any change as a result of all the pressure that has been put now with the Mississippi Summer Project and the killing of the three civil rights workers? What effect is it having on the white community?

HAMER:

You can't ever tell. I have talked to two or three whites that's decent in the State of Mississippi, but you know, just two or three speaking out. I do remember, one time, a man came to me after the students began to work in Mississippi and he said the white people were getting tired and they were getting tense and anything might happen. Well, I asked him "how long he thinks *we* had been getting tired"? I had been *tired* for 46 years and my parents were *tired* before me and their parents were *tired*; and I have always wanted to do something that would help some of the things I would see going on among Negroes that I didn't like and I don't like now.

O'DELL:

Getting back just for a minute to Atlantic City. You all were in the national spotlight because there was nothing else happening in the Democratic National Convention other than your challenge to the Mississippi delegation and I would like to go back to that and pull together some of the conclusions you might have drawn from that experience.

HAMER:

In coming to Atlantic City, we believed strongly that we were right. In fact, it was just right for us to come to challenge the seating of the regular Democratic Party from Mississippi. But we didn't think when we got there that we would meet people, that actually the other leaders of the Movement would differ with what we felt was right. We would have accepted the Green proposal. But, when we couldn't get that, it didn't make any sense for us to take "two votes at large." What would that mean to Mississippi? What would it have meant to us to go back and tell the Mississippi people? And actually, I think there will be great leaders emerging from the State of Mississippi. The people that have the experience to know and the people not interested in letting somebody pat you on the back and tell us "I think it is right." And it was very important for us not to accept a compromise and after I got back to Mississippi, people there said it was the most important step that had been taken. We figured it was right and it was right, and if we had accepted that compromise, then we would have been letting the people down in Mississippi. Regardless of leadership, *we have to think for ourselves*!

O'DELL:

In other words, you had two battles on your hands when you went to Atlantic City?

HAMER:

Yes. I was in one of the meetings when they spoke about accepting two votes and I said I wouldn't dare think about anything like this. So, I wasn't allowed to attend the other meetings. It was quite an experience.

O'DELL:

There will be other elections and other conventions and the people in Mississippi should be a little stronger.

HAMER:

I think so.

O'DELL:

Well, it's good to know that the people you have to work with every day are with *you.*

HAMER:

Yes, they are with us one hundred percent.

O'DELL:

That's encouraging because it makes the work that much easier. Is there any final thing you want to say that is part of this historic statement of life in Mississippi for yourself as a person who lives there?

HAMER:

Nothing other than we will be working. When I go back to Mississippi we will be working as hard or harder to bring about a change, but things are not always pleasant there.

O'DELL:

You will probably have the support of more people than you have ever had, all around the country.

HAMER:
Yes, actually since the Convention I have gotten so many letters that I have tried to answer but every letter said they thought this decision, not to accept the compromise, was so important. There wasn't one letter I have gotten so far that said we should have accepted the compromise—not one.

O'DELL:
So, those are the people who are interested in your work, and as you get back into the main swing of things you will be keeping in touch with those people so that they should be asked to help in any way they can regardless of where they live. It is national and international public pressure that is needed.

Are you aware that there has been any coverage of the African trip by the Mississippi press? Have they made any comments on it?

HAMER:
I don't know about the press, but I know in the town where I live everybody was aware that I was in Africa, because I remember after I got back some of the people told me that Mayor Durr of our town said he just wished they would boil me in tar. But, that just shows how ignorant he is, I didn't see any tar over there. But I was treated much better in Africa than I was treated in America. And you see, often I get letters like this: "Go back to Africa."

Now I have just as much right to stay in America—in fact, the black people have contributed more to America than any other race, because our kids have fought here for what was called "democracy"; our mothers and fathers were sold and brought here for a price. So all I can say when they say "go back to Africa," I say "when you send the Chinese back to China, the Italians back to Italy, etc., and you get on that Mayflower from whence you came, and give the Indians their land back, who really would be here at home?" It is our right to stay here and we will stay and stand up for what belongs to us as American citizens, because they can't say that we haven't had patience.

O'DELL:
Was there a lot of interest in your trip among the African people that you met?

HAMER:
Yes. I saw how the Government was run there and I saw where black people were running the banks. I saw, for the first time in my life, a black stewardess walking through a plane and that was quite an inspiration for me. It shows what black people can do if we only get the chance in America. It is there within us. We can do things if we only get the chance. I see so many ways America uses to rob Negroes and it is sinful and America can't keep holding on, and doing these things. I saw in Chicago, on the street where I was visiting my sister-in-law, this "Urban Renewal" and it means one thing: "Negro removal." But they want to tear the homes down and put a parking lot there. Where are those people going? Where will they go? And as soon as Negroes take to the street demonstrating, one hears people say, "they shouldn't have done it." The world is looking at America and it is really beginning to show up for what it is really like. "Go Tell It on the Mountain." We can no longer ignore this, that America is not "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

O'DELL:
Thank you, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Vice-Chairman of the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi; courageous fighter for human rights.

Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party (1966)

SOURCE: Frazier, Thomas R., ed. *Afro-American History: Primary Sources.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970, pp. 467–470.

INTRODUCTION: *Founded in Oakland, California, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in 1966, the Black Panthers vocally affirmed Black Power and black pride and took an uncompromising stance on civil liberties for black Americans. The ten points outlined in the party's Platform and Program itemize their demands for justice and for an equal share in the protection and benefits of American citizenship.*

What We Want, What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment as currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over twenty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariable the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Toward Black Liberation (Stokely Carmichael, 1966)

SOURCE: Frazier, Thomas R., ed. *Readings in African-American History.* 3d edition. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001, pp. 402–410.

INTRODUCTION: *In the fall of 1966, Carmichael published the following article in* The Massachusetts Review, *articulating the concept of black power while insisting that the black community must organize more effectively to gain political power and bring an end to civil rights abuses.*

One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for Black Power, as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism, is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in national media of publicity. In this "debate," as in everything else that affects our lives, Negroes are dependent on, and at the discretion of, forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the national press has been that where they have managed to escape a meretricious special interest in "Git Whitey" sensationalism and race-war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the enveloping racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observation and reporting of racial *incidents,* much less the analysis of *ideas.* But this limitation of vision and perceptions is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretation, and consciousness, along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon the Negro—and itself.

Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem, the necessity to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation of self-justifying white guilt.

To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves and our relationship to the society, and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people, and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. The white fathers of American racism knew this—instinctively it seems—as is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and omission in their dealings with the red and black men. In the same way that southern apologists for the "Jim Crow" society have so obscured, muddied and misrepresented the record of the reconstruction period, until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened, their contemporary counterparts are busy doing the same thing with the recent history of the civil rights movement.

In 1964, for example, the National Democratic Party, led by L. B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, cynically undermined the efforts of Mississippi's Black population to achieve some degree of political representation. Yet, whenever the events of that convention are recalled by the press, one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the House of Representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's Negroes when it failed to unseat the Mississippi Delegation to the House which had been elected through a process which methodically and systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age Negroes, almost one half of the total electorate of the state. Whenever this event is mentioned in print it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed Negro people of Mississippi are at fault for confronting the Congress with a situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racist political practices.

I mention these two examples because, having been directly involved in them, I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what happened, and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus the victimization of the Negro takes place in two phases—first it occurs in fact and deed, then, and this is equally sinister, in the official recording of those facts.

The "Black Power" program and concept which is being articulated by SNCC, CORE, and a host of community organizations in the ghettoes of the North and South has not escaped that process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analyses, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations. For example, while the press had given wide and sensational dissemination to attacks made by figures in the Civil Rights movement—foremost among which are Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League—and to the hysterical ranting about black racism made by the political chameleon that now serves as Vice-President, it has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the Negro community, and in certain important areas in the white religious and intellectual community. A national committee of influential Negro Churchmen affiliated with the National Council of Churches, despite their oblivious respectability and responsibility, had to resort to a paid advertisement to articulate their position, while anyone shouting the hysterical yappings of "Black Racism" got

ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenor of this debate. I wish to quote briefly from the statement by the national committee of Churchmen which I suspect that the majority of Americans will not have seen. This statement appeared in the *New York Times* of July 31, 1966.

> *We an informal group of Negro Churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about "black power." What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619.*
>
> *. . . The conscience of black men is corrupted because, having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power, threatening the very foundations of our Nation.*
>
> . . . We deplore the overt violence of riots, but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the Ghetto, but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middleclass America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city.
>
> . . . In short the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunity *in life* as well as *law,* this is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power.
>
> . . . Without the capacity to *participate with power, i.e.,* to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts—integration is not meaningful.
>
> . . . America has asked its Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as *individuals,* whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the *whole group,* not just for selected and approved Negroes.
>
> . . . We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power, for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans, as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglosaxon Protestants, among others, to have and to wield group power. [©1966 by The New York Times Company.]

Traditionally, for each new ethnic group, the route to social and political integration into America's pluralistic society, has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the larger society. This is simply stating what the advocates of black power are saying. The strident outcry, *particularly* from the liberal community, that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between Negro and White power in this country.

Negroes are defined by two forces, their blackness and their powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America. The White community, which controlled and defined the forms that all institutions within the society would take, and the Negro community which has been excluded from participation in the power decisions that shaped the society, and has traditionally been dependent upon, and subservient to the White community.

This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates that a major concern in the ordering and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the Negro community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of discrimination between individual whites against individual Negroes, but as total acts by the White community against the Negro community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized—the racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply ingrained in the structure of the society that it infuses its entire functioning, and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized.

Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and institutionalized racism, and the society's response to both. When unidentified white terrorists bomb a Negro Church and kill five children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 Negro babies die each year because of a lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society either pretends it doesn't know of this situation, or is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in that ghetto

comes from the fact that the ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests in the white community, and the groups that have access to the resources and power to change that situation benefit, politically and economically, from the existence of that ghetto.

It is more than a figure of speech to say that the Negro community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitation. This is in practical economic and political terms true. There are over 20 million black people comprising ten percent of this nation. They for the most part live in well-defined areas of the country—in the shanty-towns and rural black belt areas of the South, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any Negro community, whether it be in Jackson, Miss., Cambridge, Md., or Harlem, N.Y., one will find that the same combination of political, economic, and social forces are at work. The people in the Negro community do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards; and even the physical ownership of the land, houses, and stores *lie outside that community.*

It is white power that makes the laws, and it is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and nightsticks. The vast majority of Negroes in this country live in these captive communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because, and only because, *they are black and powerless.* I do not suppose that at any point the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black enclaves, and formally articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status, as was done, for example, by the Apartheid government of South Africa. Yet, one can not distinguish between one ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning-unit had done precisely this—designed each one from the same master blueprint. And indeed, if the ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned, instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society, it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening because, if these ghettoes were the result of design and conspiracy, one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed, rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston and Birmingham. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern—economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination in employment and education—one can see that to correct this pattern will require far-reaching changes in the basic power-relationship and the ingrained social patterns within the society. The question is, of course, what kinds of changes are necessary, and how is it possible to bring them about?

In recent years the answer to these questions which has been given by most articulate groups of Negroes and their white allies, the "liberals" of all stripes, has been in terms of something called "integration." According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by "integrating the Negro into the mainstream institutions of the society from which he has been traditionally excluded." It is very significant that each time I have heard this formulation it has been in terms of "the Negro," the individual Negro, rather than in terms of the community.

The concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the Negro community and that little of value could be created among Negroes, so the thing to do was to siphon off the "acceptable" Negroes into the surrounding middle-class white community. Thus the goal of the movement for integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of Negroes into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accommodation, open housing, job opportunity on the executive level (which is easier to deal with than the problem of semi-skilled and blue collar jobs which involve more far-reaching economic adjustments), are quite simply middle-class goals, articulated by a tiny group of Negroes who had middle-class aspirations. It is true that the student demonstrations in the South during the early sixties, out of which SNCC came, had a similar orientation. But while it is hardly a concern of a black sharecropper, dishwasher, or welfare recipient whether a certain fifteen-dollar-a-day motel offers accommodations to Negroes, the overt symbols of white superiority and the imposed limitations on the Negro community had to be destroyed. Now, black people must look beyond these goals, to the issue of collective power.

Such a limited class orientation was reflected not only in the program and goals of the civil rights movement, but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most "respectable" civil rights organizations have constitutions which *specifically* prohibit partisan political activity. CORE once did, but changed that clause when it changed its orientation toward black power. But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. The civil rights movement saw its role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent Negro one. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since—if the movement were successful—it

was going to blend into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the Negro community, but appealed to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself, the civil rights movement could, by forming coalitions with various "liberal" pressure organizations in the white community—liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic groups—and at times one or other of the major political parties—influence national legislation and national social patterns.

I think we all have seen the limitations of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeals to conscience and decency are chancy things, simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interests. The political and social rights of Negroes have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interests of our "allies." If we do not learn from history, we are doomed to repeat it, and that is precisely the lesson of the Reconstruction. Black people were allowed to register, vote and participate in politics because it was to the advantage of powerful white allies to promote this. But this was the result of white decision, and it was ended by other white men's decision before any political base powerful enough to challenge that decision could be established in the southern Negro community. (Thus at this point in the struggle Negroes have no assurance—save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism—that if it were to become necessary, even the painfully limited gains thrown to the civil rights movement by the Congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiments should occur.)

The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of Negroes, and of the movement. We depended upon the good-will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended on the financial support of other groups, we were vulnerable to their influence and domination.

Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small select group of Negroes. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to "qualified" Negroes and presumably each year a few more Negroes armed with their passport—a couple of university degrees—would escape into middle-class America and adopt the attitudes and life styles of that group; and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor particularly desirable. You can integrate communities, but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program were possible its result would be, not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society, with its own cultural identity, life patterns, and institutions, but to abolish it—the final solution to the Negro problem. Marx said that the working class is the first class in history that ever wanted to abolish itself. If one listens to some of our "moderate" Negro leaders it appears that the American Negro is the first race that ever wished to abolish itself. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community, but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power.

What has the movement for integration accomplished to date? The Negro graduating from M.I.T. with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the Negro community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated Negroes hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before, but the gap between white income and Negro income has almost doubled in the last twenty years. More suburban housing is available to Negroes, but housing conditions in the ghetto are steadily declining. While the infant mortality rate of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history, the infant mortality rate of Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court's order to integrate the schools, and the federal government has not acted to enforce that order. Less than 15 percent of black children in the South attend integrated schools; and Negro schools, which the vast majority of black children still attend, are increasingly decrepit, overcrowded, under-staffed, inadequately equipped and funded.

This explains why the rate of school dropouts is increasing among Negro teenagers, who then express their bitterness, hopelessness, and alienation by the only means they have—rebellion. As long as people in the ghettoes of our large cities feel that they are victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have their needs represented—and these are frequently simple needs: to get the welfare inspectors to stop kicking down your doors in the middle of the night, the cops from beating your children,

the landlord to exterminate the vermin in your home, the city to collect your garbage—we will continue to have riots. These are not the products of "black power," but of the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power, to deal with its problems.

SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black freedom movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of the white middle class in the attempt to earn its "good-will," and to return to the ghetto to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt counties of the South. The chief antagonist to this organization is, in the South, the overtly racist Democratic party, and in the North the equally corrupt big city machines.

The standard argument presented against independent political organization is "But you are only 10 percent." I cannot see the relevance of this observation, since no one is talking about taking over the country, but taking control over our own communities.

The fact is that the Negro population, 10 percent or not, is very strategically placed because—ironically—of segregation. What is also true is that Negroes have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political subdivisions in Negro neighborhoods so the true voting strength is never reflected in political strength. Would anyone looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan, ever think that Negroes represented 60 percent of the population there?

Just as often the effective political organization in Negro communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage—the time honored practice of "giving" certain offices to selected Negroes. The machine thus creates a "little machine," which is subordinate and responsive to it, in the Negro community. These Negro political "leaders" are really vote deliverers, more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure, than to the community they allegedly represent. Thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for audacious black power in the Negro community. This is precisely what Johnson tried to do even before the Voting Rights Act of 1966 was passed. The National Democrats made it very clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not Negroes. The President and top officials of the Democratic Party called in about almost 100 selected Negro "leaders" from the Deep South. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties, nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastland and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George Wallace in Alabama. What was said was simply "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party—*then* we'll see about poverty money and appointments." (Incidentally, for the most part the War on Poverty in the South is controlled by local Democratic ward heelers—and outspoken racists who have used the program to change the form of the Negroes' dependence. People who were afraid to register for fear of being thrown off the farm are now afraid to register for fear of losing their Head-Start jobs.)

We must organize black community power to end these abuses, and to give the Negro community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly "responsible"—not to the white press and power structure, but to the community—must be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of that community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige, and will force them to talk to the community's representatives in terms of real power.

The single aspect of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent organization. This is presented as third-partyism which has never worked, or a withdrawal into black nationalism and isolationism. If such a program is developed it will not have the effect of isolating the Negro community but the reverse. When the Negro community is able to control local office, and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances.

The next question usually is, "So—can it work, can the ghettoes in fact be organized?" The answer is that this organization must be successful, because there are no viable alternatives—not the War on Poverty, which was at its inception limited to dealing with effects rather than causes, and has become simply another source of machine patronage. And "Integration" is meaningful only to a small chosen class within the community.

The revolution in agricultural technology in the South is displacing the rural Negro community into northern urban areas. Both Washington, D.C. and Newark, N.J. have Negro majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is black. "Inner city" in most major urban areas is already predominantly Negro, and with the white rush to suburbia, Negroes will in the next three decades control the heart of our great cit-

ies. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter and volatile population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized and powerful communities able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power to control their lives and their communities, without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society, these communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that the country will have to make.

Black Power—Its Relevance to the West Indies (Walter Rodney, 1968)

SOURCE: Bolland, O. Nigel, ed. *The Birth of Caribbean Civilization: A Century of Ideas about Culture and Identity, Nation and Society.* Kingston: Ian Randle, 2004, pp. 476–491.

INTRODUCTION: *Guyanese historian Walter Rodney received his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in 1966. An activist and advocate of the politics of Black Power, he taught at a university in Tanzania before returning to the Caribbean in 1968 to lecture on African History at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. Rodney's popular lectures drew the attention of the Jamaican government, who expelled him as a dangerous influence, leading to widespread rioting in Kingston and a temporary closing of the university. Before that time, Rodney spoke to an audience assembled at the UWI campus at Mona on the subject of Black Power and its relevance to the West Indies.*

About a fortnight ago I had the opportunity of speaking on Black Power to an audience on this campus. At that time, the consciousness among students as far as the racial question is concerned had been heightened by several incidents on the world scene—notably, the hangings in Rhodesia and the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. Indeed, it has been heightened to such an extent that some individuals have started to organize a Black Power movement. My presence here attests to my full sympathy with their objectives.

The topic on this occasion is no longer just "Black Power" but "Black Power and You." Black Power can be seen as a movement and an ideology springing from the reality of oppression of black peoples by whites within the imperialist world as a whole. Now we need to be specific in defining the West Indian scene and our own particular roles in the society. You and I have to decide whether we want to think black or to *remain* as a dirty version of white. (I shall indicate the full significance of this later.)

Recently there was a public statement in *Scope* where Black Power was referred to as "Black supremacy." This may have been a genuine error or a deliberate falsification. Black Power is a call to black peoples to throw off white domination and resume the handling of their own destinies. It means that blacks would enjoy power commensurate with their numbers in the world and in particular localities. Whenever an oppressed black man shouts for equality he is called a racist. This was said of Marcus Garvey in his day. Imagine that! We are so inferior that if we demand equality of opportunity and power that is outrageously racist! Black people who speak up for their rights must beware of this device of false accusations. Is it intended to place you on the defensive and if possible embarrass you into silence. How can we be both oppressed and embarrassed? Is it that our major concern is not to hurt the feelings of the oppressor? Black people must now take the offensive—if it is anyone who should suffer embarrassment it is the whites. Did black people roast six million Jews? Who exterminated millions of indigenous inhabitants in the Americas and Australia? Who enslaved countless millions of Africans? The white capitalist cannibal has always fed on the world's black peoples. White capitalist imperialist society is profoundly and unmistakably racist.

The West Indies have always been a part of white capitalist society. We have been the most oppressed section because we were a slave society and the legacy of slavery still rests heavily upon the West Indian black man. I will briefly point to five highlights of our social development: (1) the development of racialism under slavery; (2) emancipation; (3) Indian indentured labour; (4) the year 1865 in Jamaica; (5) the year 1938 in the West Indies.

Slavery.

As C.L.R. James, Eric Williams and other W.I. scholars have pointed out, slavery in the West Indies started as an economic phenomenon rather than a racial one. But it rapidly became racist as all white labour was withdrawn from the fields, leaving black to be identified with slave labour and white to be linked with property and domination. Out of this situation where blacks had an inferior status in practice, there grew social and scientific theories relating to the supposed inherent inferiority of the black man, who was considered as having been created to bring water and hew wood for the white man. This theory then served to rationalise white exploitation of blacks all over Africa and Asia. The West Indies and the American South

share the dubious distinction of being the breeding ground for world racialism. Even the blacks became convinced of their own inferiority, though fortunately we are capable of the most intense expressions when we recognise that we have been duped by the white men. Black power recognises both the reality of the black oppression and self-negation as well as the potential for revolt.

Emancipation.

By the end of the 18th century, Britain had got most of what it wanted from black labour in the West Indies. Slavery and the slave trade had made Britain strong and now stood in the way of new developments, so it was time to abandon those systems. The Slave Trade and Slavery were thus ended; but Britain had to consider how to squeeze what little remained in the territories and *how to maintain the local whites in power.* They therefore decided to give the planters £20 million compensation and to guarantee their black labour supplies for the next six years through a system called apprenticeship. In that period, white society consolidated its position to ensure that slave relations should persist in our society. The Rastafari Brethren have always insisted that the black people were promised £20 million at emancipation. In reality, by any normal standards of justice, we black people should have got the £20 million compensation money. We were the ones who had been abused and wronged, hunted in Africa and brutalised on the plantations. In Europe, when serfdom was abolished, the serfs usually inherited the land as compensation and by right. In the West Indies, the exploiters were compensated because they could no longer exploit us in the same way as before. White property was of greater value than black humanity. It still is—white property is of greater value than black humanity in the British West Indies today, especially here in Jamaica.

Indian Indentured Labour.

Britain and the white West Indians had to maintain the plantation system in order to keep whites supreme. When Africans started leaving the plantations to set up as independent peasants they threatened the plantation structure and therefore Indians were imported under the indenture arrangements. That was possible because white power controlled most of the world and could move non-white peoples around as they wished. It was from British-controlled India that the indentured labour was obtained. It was the impact of British commercial, military and political policies that was destroying the life and culture of 19th century India and forcing people to flee to other parts of the world to earn bread. Look where Indians fled—to the West Indies! The West Indies is a place black people want to leave, not to come to. One must therefore appreciate the pressure of white power on India which gave rise to migration to the West Indies. Indians were brought here solely in the interest of white society—at the expense of Africans already in the West Indies and often against their own best interests, for Indians perceived indentured labour to be a form of slavery and it was eventually terminated through the pressure of Indian opinion in the homeland. The West Indies has made a unique contribution to the history of suffering in the world, and Indians have provided part of that contribution since indentures were first introduced. This is another aspect of the historical situation which is still with us.

1865.

In that year Britain found a way of perpetuating White Power in the West Indies after ruthlessly crushing the revolt of our black brothers led by Paul Bogle. The British Government took away the Constitution of Jamaica and placed the island under the complete control of the Colonial Office, a manoeuvre that was racially motivated. The Jamaican legislature was then largely in the hands of the local whites with a mulatto minority, but if the gradual changes continued the mulattoes would have taken control—and the blacks were next in line. Consequently, the British Government put a stop to the process of the gradual takeover of political power by blacks. When we look at the British Empire in the 19th century, we see a clear difference between white colonies and black colonies. In the white colonies like Canada and Australia the British were giving white people their freedom and self-rule. In the black colonies of the West Indies, Africa and Asia, the British were busy taking away the political freedom of the inhabitants. Actually, on the constitutional level, Britain had already displayed its racialism in the West Indies in the early 19th century when it refused to give mulattoes the power of Government in Trinidad, although they were the majority of free citizens. In 1865 in Jamaica it was not the first nor the last time on which Britain made it clear that its white "kith and kin" would be supported to hold dominion over blacks.

1938.

Slavery ended in various islands of the West Indies between 1834 and 1838. Exactly 100 years later (between 1934–38) the black people in the West Indies revolted against the hypocritical freedom of the society. The British were very surprised—they had long forgotten all about the blacks in the British West Indies and they sent a Royal Commission to find out what it was all about. The report of the conditions was so shocking that the British government did not release it until after the war, because they wanted black colonials to fight the white man's battles. By the time the war ended it was clear in the West Indies and throughout Asia and Africa that some concessions would

have to be made to black peoples. In general, the problem as seen by white imperialists was to give enough power to certain groups in colonial society to keep the whole society from exploding and to maintain the essentials of the imperialist structure. In the British West Indies, they had to take into account the question of military strategy because we lie under the belly of the world's imperialist giant, the U.S.A. Besides, there was the new and vital mineral bauxite, which had to be protected. The British solution was to pull out wherever possible and leave the imperial government in the hands of the U.S.A., while the local government was given to a white, brown and black petty-bourgeoisie who were culturally the creations of white capitalist society and who therefore support the white imperialist system because they gain personally and because they have been brainwashed into aiding the oppression of black people.

Black Power in the West Indies means three closely related things: (i) the break with imperialism which is historically white racist; (ii) the assumption of power by the black masses in the islands; (iii) the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks.

I shall anticipate certain questions on who are the blacks in the West Indies since they are in fact questions which have been posed to me elsewhere. I maintain that it is the white world which has defined who are blacks—if you are not white then you are black. However, it is obvious that the West Indian situation is complicated by factors such as the variety of racial types and racial mixtures and by the process of class formation. We have, therefore, to note not simply what the white world says but also how individuals perceive each other. Nevertheless, we can talk of the mass of the West Indian population as being black—either African or Indian. There seems to have been some doubts on the last point, and some fear that Black Power is aimed against the Indian. This would be a flagrant denial of both the historical experience of the West Indies and the reality of the contemporary scene.

When the Indian was brought to the West Indies, he met the same racial contempt which whites applied to Africans. The Indian, too, was reduced to a single stereotype—the coolie or labourer. He too was a hewer of wood and a bringer of water. I spoke earlier of the revolt of the blacks in the West Indies in 1938. That revolt involved Africans in Jamaica, Africans and Indians in Trinidad and Guyana. The uprisings in Guyana were actually led by Indian sugar workers. Today, some Indians (like some Africans) have joined the white power structure in terms of economic activity and culture; but the underlying reality is that poverty resides among Africans and Indians in the West Indies and that power is denied them. Black Power in the West Indies, therefore, refers primarily to people who are recognisably African or Indian.

The Chinese, on the other hand, are a former labouring group who have now become bastions of white West Indian social structure. The Chinese of the People's Republic of China have long broken with and are fighting against white imperialism, but *our* Chinese have nothing to do with that movement. They are to be identified with Chiang-Kai-Shek and not Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are to be put in the same bracket as the lackeys of capitalism and imperialism who are to be found in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Whatever the circumstances in which the Chinese came to the West Indies, they soon became (as a group) members of the exploiting class. They will have either to relinquish or be deprived of that function before they can be re-integrated into a West Indian society where the black man walks in dignity.

The same applies to the mulattoes, another group about whom I have been questioned. The West Indian brown man is characterised by ambiguity and ambivalence. He has in the past identified with the black masses when it suited his interests, and at the present time some browns are in the forefront of the movement towards black consciousness; but the vast majority have fallen to the bribes of white imperialism, often outdoing the whites in their hatred and oppression of blacks. Garvey wrote of the Jamaican mulattoes—"I was openly hated and persecuted by some of these coloured men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes but as white." Naturally, conscious West Indian blacks like Garvey have in turn expressed their dislike for the browns, but there is nothing in the West Indian experience which suggests that browns are unacceptable when they choose to identify with blacks. The post–1938 developments in fact showed exactly the opposite. It seems to me, therefore, that it is not for the Black Power movement to determine the position of the browns, reds and so-called West Indian whites—the movement can only keep the door open and leave it to those groups to make their choice.

Black Power is not racially intolerant. It is the hope of the black man that he should have power over his own destinies. This is not incompatible with a multiracial society where each individual counts equally. Because the moment that power is equitably distributed among several ethnic groups then the very relevance of making the distinction between groups will be lost. What we must object to is the current image of a multi-racial society living in harmony—that is a myth designed to justify the exploitation suffered by the blackest of our population, at the hands of the lighter-skinned groups. Let us look at the figures for the racial composition of the Jamaican population. Of every 100 Jamaicans,

76.8% are visibly African
0.8% European
1.1% Indian
0.6% Chinese
91% have African blood
0.1% Syrian
14.6% Afro-European
5.4% other mixtures

This is a black society where Africans preponderate. Apart from the mulatto mixture all other groups are numerically insignificant and yet the society seeks to give them equal weight and indeed more weight than the Africans. If we went to Britain we could easily find non-white groups in the above proportions—Africans and West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis, Turks, Arabs and other Easterners—but Britain is not called a multi-racial society. When we go to Britain we don't expect to take over all of the British real estate business, all their cinemas and most of their commerce as the European, Chinese and Syrian have done here. All we ask for there is some work and shelter, and we can't even get that. Black Power must proclaim that Jamaica is a black society—we should fly Garvey's Black Star banner and we will treat all other groups in the society on that understanding—they can have *the basic right of all individuals* but *no privileges to exploit Africans* as has been the pattern during slavery and ever since.

The present government knows that Jamaica is a black man's country. That is why Garvey has been made a national hero, for they are trying to deceive black people into thinking that the government is with them. The government of Jamaica recognises black power—it is afraid of the potential wrath of Jamaica's black and largely African population. It is that same fear which forced them to declare mourning when black men are murdered in Rhodesia, and when Martin Luther King was murdered in the U.S.A. But the black people don't need to be told that Garvey is a national hero—they know that. Nor do they need to be told to mourn when blacks are murdered by White Power, because they mourn every day right here in Jamaica where white power keeps them ignorant, unemployed, ill-clothed and ill-fed. They will stop mourning when things change—and that means a revolution, for the first essential is to break the chains which bind us to white imperialists, and that is a very revolutionary step. Cuba is the only country in the West Indies and in this hemisphere which has broken with white power. That is why Stokely Carmichael can visit Cuba but he can't visit Trinidad or Jamaica. That is why Stokely can call Fidel "one of the blackest men in the Americas" and that is why our leaders in contrast qualify as "white."

Here I'm not just playing with words—I'm extending the definition of Black Power by indicating the nature of its opposite, "White Power," and I'm providing a practical illustration of what Black Power means in one particular West Indian community where it had already occurred. White power is the power of whites over blacks without any participation of the blacks. White power rules the imperialist world as a whole. In Cuba the blacks and mulattoes numbered 1,585,073 out of a population of 5,829,029 in 1953—i.e., about one quarter of the population. Like Jamaica's black people today, they were the poorest and most depressed people on the island. Lighter-skinned Cubans held local power, while real power was in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. Black Cubans fought alongside white Cuban workers and peasants because they were all oppressed. Major Juan Almeida, one of the outstanding leaders of Cuba today, was one of the original guerillas in the Sierra Maestra, and he is black. Black Cubans today enjoy political, economic and social rights and opportunities of exactly the same kind as white Cubans. They too bear arms in the Cuban Militia as an expression of their basic rights. In other words, White Power in Cuba is ended. The majority of the white population naturally predominates numerically in most spheres of activity but they do not hold dominion over blacks without regard to the latter's interests. The blacks have achieved power commensurate with their own numbers by their heroic self-efforts during the days of slavery, in fighting against the Spanish and in fighting against imperialism. Having achieved their rights they can in fact afford to forget the category "black" and think simply as Cuban citizens, as Socialist equals and as men. In Jamaica, where blacks are far greater in numbers and have no whites alongside them as oppressed workers and peasants, it will be the black people who alone can bear the brunt of revolutionary fighting.

Trotsky once wrote that Revolution is the carnival of the masses. When we have that carnival in the West Indies, are people like us here at the university going to join the bacchanal?

Let us have a look at our present position. Most of us who have studied at the U.W.I. are discernibly black, and yet we are undeniably part of the white imperialist system. A few are actively pro-imperialist. They have no confidence in anything that is not white—they talk nonsense about black people being lazy—the same nonsense which was said about the Jamaican black man after emancipation, although he went to Panama and performed the giant task of building the Panama Canal—the same nonsense which is said about W.I. unemployed today, and yet they proceed to England to run the whole transport system. Most of us do not go to quite the same extremes in denigrating ourselves and our black brothers, but we say

nothing against the system, and that means that we are acquiescing in the exploitation of our brethren. One of the ways that the situation has persisted especially in recent times is that it has given a few individuals like you and . . . [me] . . . a vision of personal progress measured in terms of front lawn and the latest model of a huge American car. This has recruited us into their ranks and deprived the black masses of articulate leadership. That is why at the outset I stressed that our choice was to *remain* as part of the white system or to break with it. There is no other alternative.

Black Power in the W.I. must aim at transforming the Black intelligensia into the servants of the black masses. Black Power, within the university and without must aim at overcoming white cultural imperialism. Whites have dominated us both physically and mentally. This fact is brought out in virtually any serious sociological study of the region—the brainwashing process has been so stupendous that it has convinced so many black men of their inferiority. I will simply draw a few illustrations to remind you of this fact which blacks like us at Mona prefer to forget.

The adult black in our West Indian society is fully conditioned to thinking white, because that is the training we are given from childhood. The little black girl plays with a white doll, identifying with it as she combs its flaxen hair. Asked to sketch the figure of a man or woman, the black schoolboy instinctively produces a white man or a white woman. This is not surprising, since until recently the illustrations in our textbooks were all figures of Europeans. The few changes which have taken place have barely scratched the surface of the problem. West Indians of every colour still aspire to European standards of dress and beauty. The language which is used by black people in describing ourselves shows how we despise our African appearance. "Good hair" means European hair, "good nose" means a straight nose, "good complexion" means a light complexion. Everybody recognises how incongruous and ridiculous such terms are, but we continue to use them and to express our support of the assumption that white Europeans have the monopoly of beauty, and that black is the incarnation of ugliness. That is why Black Power advocates find it necessary to assert that BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL.

The most profound revelation of the sickness of our society on the question of race is our respect for all the white symbols of the Christian religion. God the Father is white, God the Son is white, and presumably God the Holy Ghost is white also. The disciples and saints are white, all the Cherubim, Seraphim and angels are white—except Lucifer, of course, who was black, being the embodiment of evil. When one calls upon black people to reject these things, this is not an attack on the teachings of Christ or the ideals of Christianity. What we have to ask is "Why should Christianity come to us all wrapped up in white?" The white race constitute about 20 per cent of the world's population, and yet non-white peoples are supposed to accept that all who inhabit the heavens are white. There are 650 million Chinese, so why shouldn't God and most of the angels be Chinese? The truth is that there is absolutely no reason why different racial groups should not provide themselves with their own religious symbols. A picture of Christ could be red, white or black, depending upon the people who are involved. When Africans adopt the European concept that purity and goodness must be painted white and all that is evil and damned is to be painted black then we are flagrantly self-insulting.

Through the manipulation of this media of education and communication, white people have produced black people who administer the system and perpetuate the white values—"white-hearted black men," as they are called by conscious elements. This is as true of the Indians as it is true of the Africans in our West Indian society. Indeed, the basic explanation of the tragedy of African/Indian confrontation in Guyana and Trinidad is the fact that both groups are held captive by the European way of seeing things. When an African abuses an Indian he repeats all that the white men said about Indian indentured "coolies"; and in turn the Indian has borrowed from the whites the stereotype of the "lazy nigger" to apply to the African beside him. It is as though no black man can see another black man except by looking through a white person. It is time we started seeing through our own eyes. The road to Black Power here in the West Indies and everywhere else must begin with a revaluation of ourselves as blacks and with a redefinition of the world from our own standpoint.

A Black Feminist Statement (The Combahee River Collective, 1977)

SOURCE: Guy-Sheftall, Beverly. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought.* New York: The New Press, 1995, pp. 232–240.

INTRODUCTION: *Taking their name from the name of a river in South Carolina where Harriet Tubman organized a campaign to free hundreds of slaves during the Civil War, the Combahee River Collective was an important black feminist group of the 1970s. The group*

formed in 1974 as the Boston chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization, founded the previous year. In 1977, the Collective published a statement discussing their activities and articulating their philosophy.

We are a collective of black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face.

We will discuss four major topics in the paper that follows: (1) The genesis of contemporary black feminism; (2) what we believe, i.e., the specific province of our politics; (3) the problems in organizing black feminists, including a brief herstory of our collective; and (4) black feminist issues and practice.

1. The Genesis of Contemporary Black Feminism

Before looking at the recent development of black feminism, we would like to affirm that we find our origins in the historical reality of Afro-American women's continuous life-and-death struggle for survival and liberation. Black women's extremely negative relationship to the American political system (a system of white male rule) has always been determined by our membership in two oppressed racial and sexual castes. As Angela Davis points out in "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," black women have always embodied, if only in their physical manifestation, an adversary stance to white male rule and have actively resisted its inroads upon them and their communities in both dramatic and subtle ways. There have always been black women activists—some known, like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frances E. W. Harper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell, and thousands upon thousands unknown—who had a shared awareness of how their sexual identity combined with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggles unique. Contemporary black feminism is the outgrowth of countless generations of personal sacrifice, militancy, and work by our mothers and sisters.

A black feminist presence has evolved most obviously in connection with the second wave of the American women's movement beginning in the late 1960s. Black, other Third World, and working women have been involved in the feminist movement from its start, but both outside reactionary forces and racism and elitism within the movement itself have served to obscure our participation. In 1973 black feminists, primarily located in New York, felt the necessity of forming a separate black feminist group. This became the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO).

Black feminist politics also have an obvious connection to movements for black liberation, particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s. Many of us were active in those movements (civil rights, black nationalism, the Black Panthers), and all of our lives were greatly affected and changed by their ideology, their goals, and the tactics used to achieve their goals. It was our experience and disillusionment within these liberation movements, as well as experience on the periphery of the white male left, that led to the need to develop a politics that was antiracist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of black and white men.

There is also undeniably a personal genesis for black feminism, that is, the political realization that comes from the seemingly personal experiences of individual black women's lives. Black feminists and many more black women who do not define themselves as feminists have all experienced sexual oppression as a constant factor in our day-to-day existence.

Black feminists often talk about their feelings of craziness before becoming conscious of the concepts of sexual politics, patriarchal rule, and, most importantly, feminism, the political analysis and practice that we women use to struggle against our oppression. The fact that racial politics and indeed racism are pervasive factors in our lives did not allow us, and still does not allow most black women, to look more deeply into our own experiences and define those things that make our lives what they are and our oppression specific to us. In the process of consciousness-raising, actually life-sharing, we began to recognize the commonality of our experience and, from that sharing and growing consciousness, to build a politics that will change our lives and inevitably end our oppression.

Our development also must be tied to the contemporary economic and political position of black people. The post-World War II generation of black youth was the first to be able to minimally partake of certain educational and employment options, previously closed completely to

black people. Although our economic position is still at the very bottom of the American capitalist economy, a handful of us have been able to gain certain tools as a result of tokenism in education and employment that potentially enable us to more effectively fight our oppression.

A combined antiracist and antisexist position drew us together initially, and as we developed politically we addressed ourselves to heterosexism and economic oppression under capitalism.

2. What We Believe

Above all else, our politics initially sprang from the shared belief that black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else's but because of our need as human persons for autonomy. This may seem so obvious as to sound simplistic, but it is apparent that no other ostensibly progressive movement has ever considered our specific oppression a priority or worked seriously for the ending of that oppression. Merely naming the pejorative stereotypes attributed to black women (e.g., mammy, matriarch, Sapphire, whore, bulldagger), let alone cataloguing the cruel, often murderous, treatment we receive, indicates how little value has been placed upon our lives during four centuries of bondage in the Western Hemisphere. We realize that the only people who care enough about us to work consistently for our liberation is us. Our politics evolve from a healthy love for ourselves, our sisters, and our community, which allows us to continue our struggle and work.

This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the most profound and potentially the most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression. In the case of black women this is a particularly repugnant, dangerous, threatening, and therefore revolutionary concept because it is obvious from looking at all the political movements that have preceded us that anyone is more worthy of liberation than ourselves. We reject pedestals, queenhood, and walking ten paces behind. To be recognized as human, levelly human, is enough.

We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. We know that there is such a thing as racial-sexual oppression that is neither solely racial nor solely sexual, e.g., the history of rape of black women by white men as a weapon of political repression.

Although we are feminists and lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women who are separatists demand. Our situation as black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with black men against racism, while we also struggle with black men about sexism.

We realize that the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy. We are socialists because we believe the work must be organized for the collective benefit of those who do the work and create the products and not for the profit of the bosses. Material resources must be equally distributed among those who create these resources. We are not convinced, however, that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and antiracist revolution will guarantee our liberation. We have arrived at the necessity for developing an understanding of class relationships that takes into account the specific class position of black women who are generally marginal in the labor force, while at this particular time some of us are temporarily viewed as doubly desirable tokens at white-collar and professional levels. We need to articulate the real class situation of persons who are not merely raceless, sexless workers, but for whom racial and sexual oppression are significant determinants in their working-economic lives. Although we are in essential agreement with Marx's theory as it applied to the very specific economic relationships he analyzed, we know that this analysis must be extended further in order for us to understand our specific economic situation as black women.

A political contribution that we feel we have already made is the expansion of the feminist principle that the personal is political. In our consciousness-raising sessions, for example, we have in many ways gone beyond white women's revelations because we are dealing with the implications of race and class as well as sex. Even our black women's style of talking/testifying in black language about what we have experienced has a resonance that is both cultural and political. We have spent a great deal of energy delving into the cultural and experiential nature of our oppression out of necessity because none of these matters have ever been looked at before. No one before has ever examined the multilayered texture of black women's lives.

As we have already stated, we reject the stance of lesbian separatism because it is not a viable political analysis or strategy for us. It leaves out far too much and far too many people, particularly black men, women, and children. We have a great deal of criticism and loathing for what men have been socialized to be in this society: what

they support, how they act, and how they oppress. But we do not have the misguided notion that it is their maleness, per se—i.e., their biological maleness—that makes them what they are. As black women we find any type of biological determinism a particularly dangerous and reactionary basis upon which to build a politic. We must also question whether lesbian separatism is an adequate and progressive political analysis and strategy, even for those who practice it, since it so completely denies any but the sexual sources of women's oppression, negating the facts of class and race.

3. Problems in Organizing Black Feminists

During our years together as a black feminist collective we have experienced success and defeat, joy and pain, victory and failure. We have found that it is very difficult to organize around black feminist issues, difficult even to announce in certain contexts that we are black feminists. We have tried to think about the reasons for our difficulties, particularly since the white women's movement continues to be strong and to grow in many directions. In this section we will discuss some of the general reasons for the organizing problems we face and also talk specifically about the stages in organizing our own collective.

The major source of difficulty in our political work is that we are not just trying to fight oppression on one front or even two, but instead to address a whole range of oppressions. We do not have racial, sexual, heterosexual, or class privilege to rely upon, nor do we have even the minimal access to resources and power that groups who possess any one of these types of privilege have.

The psychological toll of being a black woman and the difficulties this presents in reaching political consciousness and doing political work can never be underestimated. There is a very low value placed upon black women's psyches in this society, which is both racist and sexist. As an early group member once said, "We are all damaged people merely by virtue of being black women." We are dispossessed psychologically and on every other level, and yet we feel the necessity to struggle to change our condition and the condition of all black women. In "A Black Feminist's Search for Sisterhood," Michele Wallace arrives at this conclusion:

> We exist as women who are black who are feminists, each stranded for the moment, working independently because there is not yet an environment in this society remotely congenial to our struggle—because, being on the bottom, we would have to do what no one else has done: we would have to fight the world. (Michele Wallace. "A Black Feminist's Search for Sisterhood," *Village Voice,* July 28, 1975, 6–7.)

Wallace is not pessimistic but realistic in her assessment of black feminists' position, particularly in her allusion to the nearly classic isolation most of us face. We might use our position at the bottom, however, to make a clear leap into revolutionary action. If black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression.

Feminism is, nevertheless, very threatening to the majority of black people because it calls into question some of the most basic assumptions about our existence, i.e., that gender should be a determinant of power relationships. Here is the way male and female roles were defined in a black nationalist pamphlet from the early 1970s.

> We understand that it is and has been traditional that the man is the head of the house. He is the leader of the house/nation because his knowledge of the world is broader, his awareness is greater, his understanding is fuller and his application of this information is wiser. . . . After all, it is only reasonable that the man be the head of the house because he is able to defend and protect the development of his home. . . . Women cannot do the same things as men—they are made by nature to function differently. Equality of men and women is something that cannot happen even in the abstract world. Men are not equal to other men, i.e., ability, experience, or even understanding. The value of men and women can be seen as in the value of gold and silver—they are not equal but both have great value. We must realize that men and women are a complement to each other because there is no house/family without a man and his wife. Both are essential to the development of any life. (Mumininas of Committee for Unified Newark, *Mwanamke Mwananchi [The Nationalist Woman],* Newark, N.J., c. 1971, 4–5.)

The material conditions of most black women would hardly lead them to upset both economic and sexual arrangements that seem to represent some stability in their lives. Many black women have a good understanding of both sexism and racism, but because of the everyday constrictions of their lives cannot risk struggling against them both.

The reaction of black men to feminism has been notoriously negative. They are, of course, even more threatened than black women by the possibility that black feminists might organize around our own needs. They realize that they might not only lose valuable and hard-working allies in their struggles, but that they might also be forced

to change their habitually sexist ways of interacting with and oppressing black women. Accusations that black feminism divides the black struggle are powerful deterrents to the growth of an autonomous black women's movement.

Still, hundreds of women have been active at different times during the three-year existence of our group. And every black woman who came came out of a strongly felt need for some level of possibility that did not previously exist in her life.

When we first started meeting early in 1974 after the NBFO first eastern regional conference, we did not have a strategy for organizing, or even focus. We just wanted to see what we had. After a period of months of not meeting, we began to meet again late in the year and started doing an intense variety of consciousness-raising. The overwhelming feeling that we had is that after years and years we had finally found each other. Although we were not doing political work as a group, individuals continued their involvement in lesbian politics, sterilization abuse, and abortion rights work, Third World Women's International Women's Day activities, and support activity for the trials of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, Joan Little, and Inez Garcia. During our first summer, when membership had dropped off considerably, those of us remaining devoted serious discussion to the possibility of opening a refuge for battered women in a black community. (There was no refuge in Boston at that time.) We also decided around that time to become an independent collective since we had serious disagreements with NBFO's bourgeois-feminist stance and their lack of a clear political focus.

We also were contacted at that time by socialist feminists, with whom we had worked on abortion rights activities, who wanted to encourage us to attend the National Socialist Feminist Conference in Yellow Springs. One of our members did attend and despite the narrowness of the ideology that was promoted at that particular conference, we became more aware of the need for us to understand our own economic situation and to make our own economic analysis.

In the fall, when some members returned, we experienced several months of comparative inactivity and internal disagreements which were first conceptualized as a lesbian-straight split but which were also the result of class and political differences. During the summer those of us who were still meeting had determined the need to do political work and to move beyond consciousness-raising and serving exclusively as an emotional support group. At the beginning of 1976, when some of the women who had not wanted to do political work and who also had voiced disagreements stopped attending of their own accord, we again looked for a focus. We decided at that time, with the addition of new members, to become a study group. We had always shared our reading with each other, and some of us had written papers on black feminism for group discussion a few months before this decision was made. We began functioning as a study group and also began discussing the possibility of starting a black feminist publication. We had a retreat in the late spring, which provided a time for both political discussion and working out interpersonal issues. Currently we are planning to gather together a collection of black feminist writing. We feel that it is absolutely essential to demonstrate the reality of our politics to other black women and believe that we can do this through writing and distributing our work. The fact that individual black feminists are living in isolation all over the country, that our own numbers are small, and that we have some skills in writing, printing, and publishing makes us want to carry out these kinds of projects as a means of organizing black feminists as we continue to do political work in coalition with other groups.

4. Black Feminist Issues and Practice

During our time together we have identified and worked on many issues of particular relevance to black women. The inclusiveness of our politics makes us concerned with any situation that impinges upon the lives of women, Third World, and working people. We are of course particularly committed to working on those struggles in which race, sex, and class are simultaneous factors in oppression. We might, for example, become involved in workplace organizing at a factory that employs Third-World women or picket a hospital that is cutting back on already inadequate health care to a Third World community, or set up a rape crisis center in a black neighborhood. Organizing around welfare or day-care concerns might also be a focus. The work to be done and the countless issues that this work represents merely reflect the pervasiveness of our oppression.

Issues and projects that collective members have actually worked on are sterilization abuse, abortion rights, battered women, rape, and health care. We have also done many workshops and educationals on black feminism on college campuses, at women's conferences, and most recently for high school women.

One issue that is of major concern to us and that we have begun to publicly address is racism in the white women's movement. As black feminists we are made constantly and painfully aware of how little effort white women have made to understand and combat their racism, which requires among other things that they have a more than superficial comprehension of race, color, and black history and culture. Eliminating racism in the white women's movement is by definition work for white

women to do, but we will continue to speak to and demand accountability on this issue.

In the practice of our politics we do not believe that the end always justifies the means. Many reactionary and destructive acts have been done in the name of achieving "correct" political goals. As feminists we do not want to mess over people in the name of politics. We believe in collective process and a nonhierarchical distribution of power within our own group and in our vision of a revolutionary society. We are committed to a continual examination of our politics as they develop through criticism and self-criticism as an essential aspect of our practice. As black feminists and lesbians we know that we have a very definite revolutionary task to perform, and we are ready for the lifetime of work and struggle before us.

The Afrocentric Idea in Education (Molefi Kete Asante, 1991)

SOURCE: Asante, Molefi Kete. "The Afrocentric Idea in Education." *Journal of Negro Education* v. 60, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 170–180.

INTRODUCTION: *Creator of the first Ph.D. program for African American Studies in 1987, Asante is also credited as the founder of the theory of Afrocentricity in education, which calls for students to study peoples, places, ideas, and history from an African, rather than Eurocentric, perspective.*

Introduction

Many of the principles that govern the development of the Afrocentric idea in education were first established by Carter G. Woodson in *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1933). Indeed, Woodson's classic reveals the fundamental problems pertaining to the education of the African person in America. As Woodson contends, African Americans have been educated away from their own culture and traditions and attached to the fringes of European culture; thus dislocated from themselves, Woodson asserts that African Americans often valorize European culture to the detriment of their own heritage (p. 7). Although Woodson does not advocate rejection of American citizenship or nationality, he believed that assuming African Americans hold the same position as European Americans vis-à-vis the realities of America would lead to the psychological and cultural death of the African American population. Furthermore, if education is ever to be substantive and meaningful within the context of American society, Woodson argues, it must first address the African's historical experiences, both in Africa and America (p. 7). That is why he places on education, and particularly on the traditionally African American colleges, the burden of teaching the African American to be responsive to the long traditions and history of Africa as well as America. Woodson's alert recognition, more than 50 years ago, that something is severely wrong with the way African Americans are educated provides the principal impetus for the Afrocentric approach to American education.

In this article I will examine the nature and scope of this approach, establish its necessity, and suggest ways to develop and disseminate it throughout all levels of education. Two propositions stand in the background of the theoretical and philosophical issues I will present. These ideas represent the core presuppositions on which I have based most of my work in the field of education, and they suggest the direction of my own thinking about what education is capable of doing to and for an already politically and economically marginalized people—African Americans:

(1) Education is fundamentally a social phenomenon whose ultimate purpose is to socialize the learner; to send a child to school is to prepare that child to become part of a social group.

(2) Schools are reflective of the societies that develop them (i.e., a White supremacist-dominated society will develop a White supremacist educational system).

Definitions

An alternative framework suggests that other definitional assumptions can provide a new paradigm for the examination of education within the American society. For example, in education, *centricity* refers to a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. Centricity is a concept that can be applied to any culture. The centrist paradigm is supported by research showing that the most productive method of teaching any student is to place his or her group within the center of the context of knowledge (Asante, 1990). For White students in America this is easy because almost all the experiences discussed in American classrooms are approached from the standpoint of White perspectives and history. American education, however, is not centric; it is Eurocentric. Consequently, non-White students are also made to see themselves and their groups as the "acted upon." Only rarely do they read or hear of non-White people as active participants in history. This is

as true for a discussion of the American Revolution as it is for a discussion of Dante's *Inferno*; for instance, most classroom discussions of the European slave trade concentrate on the activities of Whites rather than on the resistance efforts of Africans. A person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups' contributions as significant and useful. Even a White person educated in such a system does not assume superiority based upon racist notions. Thus, a truly centric education is different from a Eurocentric, racist (that is, White supremacist) education.

Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person (Asante, 1987). In education this means that teachers provide students the opportunity to study the world and its people, concepts, and history from an African world view. In most classrooms, whatever the subject, Whites are located in the center perspective position. How alien the African American child must feel, how like an outsider! The little African American child who sits in a classroom and is taught to accept as heroes and heroines individuals who defamed African people is being actively de-centered, dislocated, and made into a nonperson, one whose aim in life might be to one day shed that "badge of inferiority": his or her Blackness. In Afrocentric educational settings, however, teachers do not marginalize African American children by causing them to question their own self-worth because their people's story is seldom told. By seeing themselves as the subjects rather than the objects of education—be the discipline biology, medicine, literature, or social studies—African American students come to see themselves not merely as seekers of knowledge but as integral participants in it. Because all content areas are adaptable to an Afrocentric approach, African American students can be made to see themselves as centered in the reality of any discipline.

It must be emphasized that Afrocentricity is *not* a Black version of Eurocentricity (Asante, 1987). Eurocentricity is based on White supremacist notions whose purposes are to protect White privilege and advantage in education, economics, politics, and so forth. Unlike Eurocentricity, Afrocentricity does not condone ethnocentric valorization at the expense of degrading other groups' perspectives. Moreover, Eurocentricity presents the particular historical reality of Europeans as the sum total of the human experience (Asante, 1987). It imposes Eurocentric realities as "universal"; i.e., that which is White is presented as applying to the human condition in general, while that which is non-White is viewed as group-specific and therefore not "human." This explains why some scholars and artists of African descent rush to deny their Blackness; they believe that to exist as a Black person is not to exist as a universal human being. They are the individuals Woodson identified as preferring European art, language, and culture over African art, language, and culture; they believe that anything of European origin is inherently better than anything produced by or issuing from their own people. Naturally, the person of African descent should be centered in his or her historical experiences as an African, but Eurocentric curricula produce such aberrations of perspective among persons of color.

Multiculturalism in education is a nonhierarchical approach that respects and celebrates a variety of cultural perspectives on world phenomena (Asante, 1991). The multicultural approach holds that although European culture is the majority culture in the United States, that is not sufficient reason for it to be imposed on diverse student populations as "universal." Multiculturalists assert that education, to have integrity, must begin with the proposition that all humans have contributed to world development and the flow of knowledge and information, and that most human achievements are the result of mutually interactive, international effort. Without a multicultural education, students remain essentially ignorant of the contributions of a major portion of the world's people. A multicultural education is thus a fundamental necessity for anyone who wishes to achieve competency in almost any subject.

The Afrocentric idea must be the stepping-stone from which the multicultural idea is launched. A truly authentic multicultural education, therefore, must be based upon the Afrocentric initiative. If this step is skipped, multicultural curricula, as they are increasingly being defined by White "resisters" (to be discussed below) will evolve without any substantive infusion of African American content, and the African American child will continue to be lost in the Eurocentric framework of education. In other words, the African American child will neither be confirmed nor affirmed in his or her own cultural information. For the mutual benefit of all Americans, this tragedy, which leads to the psychological and cultural dislocation of African American children, can and should be avoided.

The Revolutionary Challenge

Because it centers African American students inside history, culture, science, and so forth rather than outside these subjects, the Afrocentric idea presents the most revolutionary challenge to the ideology of White supremacy in education during the past decade. No other theoretical position stated by African Americans has ever captured the imagination of such a wide range of scholars and students

of history, sociology, communications, anthropology, and psychology. The Afrocentric challenge has been posed in three critical ways:

(1) It questions the imposition of the White supremacist view as universal and/or classical (Asante, 1990).

(2) It demonstrates the indefensibility of racist theories that assault multiculturalism and pluralism.

(3) It projects a humanistic and pluralistic viewpoint by articulating Afrocentricity as a valid, nonhegemonic perspective.

Suppression and Distortion: Symbols of Resistance

The forces of resistance to the Afrocentric, multicultural transformation of the curriculum and teaching practices began to assemble their wagons almost as quickly as word got out about the need for equality in education (Ravitch, 1990). Recently, the renowned historian Arthur Schlesinger and others formed a group called the Committee for the Defense of History. This is a paradoxical development because only lies, untruths, and inaccurate information need defending. In their arguments against the Afrocentric perspective, these proponents of Eurocentrism often clothe their arguments in false categories and fake terms (i.e., "pluralistic" and "particularistic" multiculturalism) (Keto, 1990; Asante, 1991). Besides, as the late African scholar Cheikh Anta Diop (1980) maintained: "African history and Africa need no defense." Afrocentric education is not against history. It is *for* history—correct, accurate history—and if it is against anything, it is against the marginalization of African American, Hispanic American, Asian American, Native American, and other non-White children. The Committee for the Defense of History is nothing more than a futile attempt to buttress the crumbling pillars of a White supremacist system that conceals its true motives behind the cloak of American liberalism. It was created in the same spirit that generated Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) and Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987), both of which were placed at the service of the White hegemony in education, particularly its curricular hegemony. This committee and other evidences of White backlash are a predictable challenge to the contemporary thrust for an Afrocentric, multicultural approach to education.

Naturally, different adherents to a theory will have different views on its meaning. While two discourses presently are circulating about multiculturalism, only one is relevant to the liberation of the minds of African and White people in the United States. That discourse is Afrocentricity: the acceptance of Africa as central to African people. Yet, rather than getting on board with Afrocentrists to fight against White hegemonic education, some Whites (and some Blacks as well) have opted to plead for a return to the educational plantation. Unfortunately for them, however, those days are gone, and such misinformation can never be packaged as accurate, correct education again.

Ravitch (1990), who argues that there are two kinds of multiculturalism—*pluralist multiculturalism* and *particularist multiculturalism*—is the leader of those professors whom I call "resisters" or opponents to Afrocentricity and multiculturalism. Indeed, Ravitch advances the imaginary divisions in multicultural perspectives to conceal her true identity as a defender of White supremacy. Her tactics are the tactics of those who prefer Africans and other non-Whites to remain on the mental and psychological plantation of Western civilization. In their arrogance the resisters accuse Afrocentrists and multiculturalists of creating "fantasy history" and "bizarre theories" of non-White people's contributions to civilization. What they prove, however, is their own ignorance. Additionally, Ravitch and others (Nicholson, 1990) assert that multiculturalism will bring about the "tribalization" of America, but in reality America has always been a nation of ethnic diversity. When one reads their works on multiculturalism, one realizes that they are really advocating the imposition of a White perspective on everybody else's culture. Believing that the Eurocentric position is indisputable, they attempt to resist and impede the progressive transformation of the monoethnic curriculum. Indeed, the closets of bigotry have opened to reveal various attempts by White scholars (joined by some Blacks) to defend White privilege in the curriculum in much the same way as it has been so staunchly defended in the larger society. It was perhaps inevitable that the introduction of the Afrocentric idea would open up the discussion of the American school curriculum in a profound way.

Why has Afrocentricity created so much of a controversy in educational circles? The idea that an African American child is placed in a stronger position to learn if he or she is centered—that is, if the child sees himself or herself within the content of the curriculum rather than at its margins—is not novel (Asante, 1980). What is revolutionary is the movement from the idea (conceptual stage) to its implementation in practice, when we begin to teach teachers how to put African American youth at the center of instruction. In effect, students are shown how to see with new eyes and hear with new ears. African American children learn to interpret and center phenomena in the context of African heritage, while White students are taught to see that their own centers are not threatened by

the presence or contributions of African Americans and others.

The Condition of Eurocentric Education

Institutions such as schools are conditioned by the character of the nation in which they are developed. Just as crime and politics are different in different nations, so, too, is education. In the United States a "Whites-only" orientation has predominated in education. This has had a profound impact on the quality of education for children of all races and ethnic groups. The African American child has suffered disproportionately, but White children are also the victims of monoculturally diseased curricula.

The Tragedy of Ignorance

During the past five years many White students and parents have approached me after presentations with tears in their eyes or expressing their anger about the absence of information about African Americans in the schools. A recent comment from a young White man at a major university in the Northeast was especially striking. As he said to me: "My teacher told us that Martin Luther King was a commie and went on with the class." Because this student's teacher made no effort to discuss King's ideas, the student maliciously had been kept ignorant. The vast majority of White Americans are likewise ignorant about the bountiful reservoirs of African and African American history, culture, and contributions. For example, few Americans of any color have heard the names of Cheikh Anta Diop, Anna Julia Cooper, C. L. R. James, or J. A. Rogers. All were historians who contributed greatly to our understanding of the African world. Indeed, very few teachers have ever taken a course in African American Studies; therefore, most are unable to provide systematic information about African Americans.

Afrocentricity and History

Most of America's teaching force are victims of the same system that victimizes today's young. Thus, American children are not taught the names of the African ethnic groups from which the majority of the African American population are derived; few are taught the names of any of the sacred sites in Africa. Few teachers can discuss with their students the significance of the Middle Passage or describe what it meant or means to Africans. Little mention is made in American classrooms of either the brutality of slavery or the ex-slaves' celebration of freedom. American children have little or no understanding of the nature of the capture, transport, and enslavement of Africans. Few have been taught the true horrors of being taken, shipped naked across 25 days of ocean, broken by abuse and indignities of all kinds, and dehumanized into a beast of burden, a thing without a name. If our students only knew the truth, if they were taught the Afrocentric perspective on the Great Enslavement, and if they knew the full story about the events since slavery that have served to constantly dislocate African Americans, their behavior would perhaps be different. Among these events are: the infamous constitutional compromise of 1787, which decreed that African Americans were, by law, the equivalent of but three-fifths of a person (see Franklin, 1974); the 1857 Dred Scott decision in which the Supreme Court avowed that African Americans had no rights Whites were obliged to respect (Howard, 1857); the complete dismissal and nonenforcement of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution (this amendment, passed in 1868, stipulated as one of its provisions a penalty against any state that denied African Americans the right to vote, and called for the reduction of a state's delegates to the House of Representatives in proportion to the number of disenfranchised African American males therein); and the much-mentioned, as-yet-unreceived 40 acres and a mule, reparation for enslavement, promised to each African American family after the Civil War by Union General William T. Sherman and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton (Oubre, 1978, pp. 18-19, 182-183; see also Smith, 1987, pp. 106-107). If the curriculum were enhanced to include readings from the slave narratives; the diaries of slave ship captains; the journals of slaveowners; the abolitionist newspapers; the writings of the freedmen and freedwomen; the accounts of African American civil rights, civic, and social organizations; and numerous others, African American children would be different, White children would be different—indeed, America would be a different nation today.

America's classrooms should resound with the story of the barbaric treatment of the Africans, of how their dignity was stolen and their cultures destroyed. The recorded experiences of escaped slaves provide the substance for such learning units. For example, the narrative of Jacob and Ruth Weldon presents a detailed account of the Middle Passage (Feldstein, 1971). The Weldons noted the Africans, having been captured and brought onto the slave ships, were chained to the deck, made to bend over, and "branded with a red hot iron in the form of letters or signs dipped in an oily preparation and pressed against the naked flesh till it burnt a deep and ineffaceable scar, to show who was the owner" (pp. 33–37). They also recalled that those who screamed were lashed on the face, breast, thighs, and backs with a "cat-o'-nine tails" wielded by White sailors: "Every blow brought the returning lash pieces of grieving flesh" (p. 44). They saw "mothers with babies at their breasts basely branded and lashed, hewed and scarred, till it would seem as if the very heavens must smite the infernal tormentors with the doom they so richly

merited" (p. 44). Children and infants were not spared from this terror. The Weldons tell of a nine-month-old baby on board a slave ship being flogged because it would not eat. The ship's captain ordered the child's feet placed in boiling water, which dissolved the skin and nails, then ordered the child whipped again; still the child refused to eat. Eventually the captain killed the baby with his own hands and commanded the child's mother to throw the dead baby overboard. When the mother refused, she, too, was beaten, then forced to the ship's side, where "with her head averted so she might not see it, she dropped the body into the sea" (p. 44). In a similar vein a captain of a ship with 440 Africans on board noted that 132 had to be thrown overboard to save water (Feldstein, 1971, p. 47). As another wrote, the "groans and soffocating [*sic*] cries for air and water coming from below the deck sickened the soul of humanity" (Feldstein, 1971, p. 44).

Upon landing in America the situation was often worse. The brutality of the slavocracy is unequalled for the psychological and spiritual destruction it wrought upon African Americans. Slave mothers were often forced to leave their children unattended while they worked in the fields. Unable to nurse their children or properly care for them, they often returned from work at night to find their children dead (Feldstein, 1971, p. 49). The testimony of Henry Bibb also sheds light on the bleakness of the slave experience:

> I was born May 1815, of a slave mother. . .and was claimed as the property of David White, Esq. . . . I was flogged up; for where I should have received moral, mental, and religious instructions, I received stripes without number, the object of which was to degrade and keep me in subordination. I can truly say that I drank deeply of the bitter cup of suffering and woe. I have been dragged down to the lowest depths of human degradation and wretchedness, by slaveholders. (Feldstein, 1971, p. 60)

Enslavement was truly a living death. While the ontological onslaught caused some Africans to opt for suicide, the most widespread results were dislocation, disorientation, and misorientation—all of which are the consequences of the African person being actively de-centered. The "Jim Crow" period of second-class citizenship, from 1877 to 1954, saw only slight improvement in the lot of African Americans. This era was characterized by the sharecropper system, disenfranchisement, enforced segregation, internal migration, lynchings, unemployment, poor housing conditions, and separate and unequal educational facilities. Inequitable policies and practices veritably plagued the race.

No wonder many persons of African descent attempt to shed their race and become "raceless." One's basic identity is one's self-identity, which is ultimately one's cultural identity; without a strong cultural identity, one is lost. Black children do not know their people's story and White children do not know the story, but remembrance is a vital requisite for understanding and humility. This is why the Jews have campaigned (and rightly so) to have the story of the European Holocaust taught in schools and colleges. Teaching about such a monstrous human brutality should forever remind the world of the ways in which humans have often violated each other. Teaching about the African Holocaust is just as important for many of the same reasons. Additionally, it underscores the enormity of the effects of physical, psychological, and economic dislocation in the African population in America and throughout the African diaspora. Without an understanding of the historical experiences of African people, American children cannot make any real headway in addressing the problems of the present.

Certainly, if African American children were taught to be fully aware of the struggles of our African forebears they would find a renewed sense of purpose and vision in their own lives. They would cease acting as if they have no past and no future. For instance, if they were taught about the historical relationship of Africans to the cotton industry—how African American men, women, and children were forced to pick cotton from "can't see in the morning 'till can't see at night," until the blood ran from the tips of their fingers where they were pricked by the hard boll; or if they were made to visualize their ancestors in the burning sun, bent double with constant stooping, and dragging rough, heavy croaker sacks behind them—or picture them bringing those sacks trembling to the scale, fearful of a sure flogging if they did not pick enough, perhaps our African American youth would develop a stronger entrepreneurial spirit. If White children were taught the same information rather than that normally fed them about American slavery, they would probably view our society differently and work to transform it into a better place.

Correcting Distorted Information

Hegemonic education can exist only so long as true and accurate information is withheld. Hegemonic Eurocentric education can exist only so long as Whites maintain that Africans and other non-Whites have never contributed to world civilization. It is largely upon such false ideas that invidious distinctions are made. The truth, however, gives one insight into the real reasons behind human actions, whether one chooses to follow the paths of others or not. For example, one cannot remain comfortable teaching

that art and philosophy originated in Greece if one learns that the Greeks themselves taught that the study of these subjects originated in Africa, specifically ancient Kemet (Herodotus, 1987). The first philosophers were the Egyptians Kagemni, Khun-anup, Ptahhotep, Kete, and Seti; but Eurocentric education is so disjointed that students have no way of discovering this and other knowledge of the organic relationship of Africa to the rest of human history. Not only did Africa contribute to human history, African civilizations predate all other civilizations. Indeed, the human species originated on the continent of Africa—this is true whether one looks at either archaeological or biological evidence.

Two other notions must be refuted. There are those who say that African American history should begin with the arrival of Africans as slaves in 1619, but it has been shown that Africans visited and inhabited North and South America long before European settlers "discovered" the "New World" (Van Sertima, 1976). Secondly, although America became something of a home for those Africans who survived the horrors of the Middle Passage, their experiences on the slave ships and during slavery resulted in their having an entirely different (and often tainted) perspective about America from that of the Europeans and others who came, for the most part, of their own free will seeking opportunities not available to them in their native lands. Afrocentricity therefore seeks to recognize this divergence in perspective and create centeredness for African American students.

Conclusion

The reigning initiative for total curricular change is the movement that is being proposed and led by Africans, namely, the Afrocentric idea. When I wrote the first book on Afrocentricity (Asante, 1980), now in its fifth printing, I had no idea that in 10 years the idea would both shake up and shape discussions in education, art, fashion, and politics. Since the publication of my subsequent works, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Asante, 1987) and *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge* (Asante, 1990), the debate has been joined in earnest. Still, for many White Americans (and some African Americans) the most unsettling aspect of the discussion about Afrocentricity is that its intellectual source lies in the research and writings of African American scholars. Whites are accustomed to being in charge of the major ideas circulating in the American academy. Deconstructionism, Gestalt psychology, Marxism, structuralism, Piagetian theory, and so forth have all been developed, articulated, and elaborated upon at length, generally by White scholars. On the other hand, Afrocentricity is the product of scholars such as Nobles (1986), Hilliard (1978), Karenga (1986), Keto (1990), Richards (1991), and Myers (1989). There are also increasing numbers of young, impressively credentialled African American scholars who have begun to write in the Afrocentric vein (Jean, 1991). They, and even some young White scholars, have emerged with ideas about how to change the curriculum Afrocentrically.

Afrocentricity provides all Americans an opportunity to examine the perspective of the African person in this society and the world. The registers claim that Afrocentricity is anti-White; yet, if Afrocentricity as a theory is against anything it is against racism, ignorance, and monoethnic hegemony in the curriculum. Afrocentricity is not anti-White; it is, however, pro-human. Further, the aim of the Afrocentric curriculum is not to divide America, it is to make America flourish as it ought to flourish. This nation has long been divided with regard to the educational opportunities afforded to children. By virtue of the protection provided by society and reinforced by the Eurocentric curriculum, the White child is already ahead of the African American child by first grade. Our efforts thus must concentrate on giving the African American child greater opportunities for learning at the kindergarten level. However, the kind of assistance the African American child needs is as much cultural as it is academic. If the proper cultural information is provided, the academic performance will surely follow suit.

When it comes to educating African American children, the American educational system does not need a tune-up, it needs an overhaul. Black children have been maligned by this system. Black teachers have been maligned. Black history has been maligned. Africa has been maligned. Nonetheless, two truisms can be stated about education in America. First, some teachers *can and do* effectively teach African American children; secondly, if some teachers can do it, others can, too. We must learn all we can about what makes these teachers' attitudes and approaches successful, and then work diligently to see that their successes are replicated on a broad scale. By raising the same questions that Woodson posed more than 50 years ago, Afrocentric education, along with a significant reorientation of the American educational enterprise, seeks to respond to the African person's psychological and cultural dislocation. By providing philosophical and theoretical guidelines and criteria that are centered in an African perception of reality and by placing the African American child in his or her proper historical context and setting, Afrocentricity may be just the "escape hatch" African Americans so desperately need to facilitate academic success and "steal away" from the cycle of miseducation and dislocation.

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10.3 Membership of racially mixed denominations in the U.S., 1963–1992

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11.1 African-American members of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, N.Y.
11.2 African-American members of the National Track & Field Hall of Fame, Indianapolis, Ind.
11.3 African-American Olympic medalists
11.4 First African-American players on Major League Baseball teams
11.5 Sticky Wicket West Indies Cricket Hall of Fame
11.6 African-American members of the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Springfield, Mass.
11.7 Negro League batting champions
11.8 Negro League teams
11.9 African-American members of the Pro Football Hall of Fame, Canton, Ohio

FIGURE 1.1

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. asset managers, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Assets under management*
1	1	Ariel Capital Management L.L.C.	Chicago, IL	John W. Rogers, Jr.	1983	88	21,433.000
2	2	Earnest Partners L.L.C.	Atlanta, GA	Paul E. Viera	1998	35	13,934.000
3	3	Rhumbline Advisers	Boston, MA	J. D. Nelson	1990	15	10,307.000
4	4	Brown Capital Management Inc.	Baltimore, MD	Eddie C. Brown	1983	24	5,279.000
5	6	Advent Capital Management L.L.C.	New York, NY	Tracy V. Maitland	1995	40	3,848.000
6	5	MDL Capital Management Inc.	Pittsburgh, PA	Mark D. Lay	1992	32	2,821.000
7	10	Holland Capital Management L.P.	Chicago, IL	Louis A. Holland	1991	24	2,628.000
8	7	NCM Capital Management Group Inc.	Durham, NC	Maceo K. Sloan	1986	25	2,145.000
9	9	The Edgar Lomax Group	Springfield, VA	Randall R. Eley	1986	12	1,962.000
10	8	Smith Graham & Co. Investment Advisors L.P.	Houston, TX	Gerald B. Smith	1990	25	1,958.000

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Verified by Barge Consulting & the Securities and Exchange Commission. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

SOURCE: Securities and Exchange Commission.

FIGURE 1.2

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. private equity companies, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Capital under management*
1	1	Fairview Capital Partners Inc.	Farmington, CT	Laurence C. Morse/ JoAnn H. Price	1994	16	1,600.000
2	4	Pharos Capital Group L.L.C.	Dallas, TX	Dale LeFebvre	1998	14	350.000
3	5	SYNCOM	Silver Spring, MD	Herbert P. Wilkins, Sr.	1977	8	250.000
4	3	Smith Whiley & Co.	Hartford, CT	Gwendolyn Smith Iloani	1994	12	222.000
5	6	Quetzal/J.P Morgan Partners	New York, NY	Reginald J. Hollinger/ Lauren M. Tyler	2000	4	170.000
6	7	Provender Capital Group L.L.C.	New York, NY	Frederick O. Terrell	1997	5	145.000
7	8	Opportunity Capital Partners	Fremont, CA	J. Peter Thompson	1993	8	135.000
8	9	ICV Capital Partners L.L.C.	New York, NY	Willie Woods	1999	10	130.000
9	10	Black Enterprise Greenwich Street Corporate Growth Management L.L.C.	New York, NY	Ed A. Williams	1998	8	91.000
10	—	United Enterprise Fund L.P.	New York, NY	John O. Utendahl/ Jeffery Keys/Daniel Dean	2000	5	41.000

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004 Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

FIGURE 1.3

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. auto dealers, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Sales*	Type of business
1	1	Prestige Automotive	Detroit, MI	Gregory Jackson	1989	400	1,066.597	Chevrolet, Pontiac, Ford, Saturn, Lincoln-Mercury, Buick, GMC Truck
2	2	March/Hodge Automotive Group	Hartford, CT	Tony March/ Ernest M. Hodge	1998	800	558.383	GM, Toyota, Lexus, Honda, Infiniti, Volkswagen, Jaguar, Volvo
3	3	Martin Automotive Group	Bowling Green, KY	Cornelius A. Martin	1985	706	382.445	Cadillac, Dodge, Jeep, Chrysler, Kia
4	4	S. Woods Enterprises Inc.	Tampa, FL	Sanford L. Woods	1989	354	343.556	Dodge, Chrysler, Jeep, Toyota, Lexus, Honda, Hyundai, Chevrolet, Ford, Hummer, Saab
5	5	The Harrell Companies	Atlanta, GA	H. Steve Harrell	1987	412	287.791	Lexus, Nissan, Honda, Volvo, Kia, Hyundai
6	7	Boyland Auto Group	Orlando, FL	Dorian S. Boyland	1987	380	241.630	Dodge, Nissan, Ford, Honda, Mercedes-Benz
7	6	Family Automotive Group	San Juan Capistrano, CA	Raymond Dixon	1993	320	206.518	Ford, Toyota, Honda
8	11	Winston Pittman Enterprise	Louisville, KY	Winston R. Pittman, Sr.	1988	235	167.578	Dodge, Chrysler, Jeep, Toyota, Lexus, Scion, Nissan
9	9	Legacy Automotive Group	McDonough, GA	Emanuel D. Jones	1992	220	162.000	Ford, Toyota, Scion, Mercury
10	10	32 Ford Mercury Inc.	Batavia, OH	Clarence F. Warren	1990	130	161.388	Ford, Lincoln-Mercury

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.Black Enterprise Top 10 Auto

FIGURE 1.4

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. advertising companies, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Billings*
1	1	Globalhue	Southfield, MI	Donald A. Coleman	1988	180	400.000
2	2	Carol H. Williams Advertising	Oakland, CA	Carol H. Williams	1986	165	350.000
3	4	UniWorld Group Inc.	New York, NY	Byron E. Lewis	1969	117	220.798
4	3	Burrell	Chicago, IL	Fay Ferguson/McGhee Williams	1971	131	190.000
5	5	Compas Inc.	Cherry Hill, NJ	Stanley R. Woodland	1991	54	170.000
6	6	Muse Communications	Los Angeles, CA	Jo Muse	1995	50	60.000
7	—	Fuse Inc.	St. Louis, MO	Clifford Franklin	1997	22	53.396
8	7	Equals Three Communications Inc.	Bethesda, MD	Eugene M. Faison, Jr.	1984	40	50.000
9	10	Matlock Advertising & Public Relations	Atlanta, GA	Kent Matlock	1986	30	48.700
10	8	Spike DDB	New York, NY	Dana Wade	1997	45	45.000

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

FIGURE 1.5

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. banks, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Assets*	Capital*	Deposits*	Loans*
1	1	Carver Federal Savings Bank	New York, NY	Deborah C. Wright	1948	137	616.415	56.893	443.316	411.462
2	2	OneUnited Bank	Boston, MA	Kevin Cohee	1982	126	478.590	30.214	329.229	391.430
3	6	Liberty Bank and Trust Company	New Orleans, LA	Alden J. McDonald, Jr.	1972	160	348.175	24.589	293.835	219.999
4	5	Industrial Bank NA	Washington, DC	B. Doyle Mitchell, Jr.	1934	165	333.496	25.816	274.387	157.890
5	3	Citizens Trust Bank	Atlanta, GA	James E. Young	1921	164	330.833	31.025	266.564	261.406
6	7	City National	Newark, NJ	Louis E. Prezeau	1973	96	325.103	20.080	280.863	159.359
7	4	Seaway National Bank	Chicago, IL	Walter E. Grady	1965	250	322.144	30.230	276.476	163.602
8	8	Broadway Federal Bank FSB	Los Angeles, CA	Paul C. Hudson	1947	61	276.067	19.444	197.184	252.518
9	10	The Harbor Bank of Maryland	Baltimore, MD	Joseph Haskins, Jr.	1982	82	234.979	23.029	210.224	172.205
10	9	M&F Bank	Durham, NC	Lee Johnson, Jr.	1907	97	230.541	20.340	189.059	170.779

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

FIGURE 1.6

***Black Enterprise*'s top U.S. insurance companies, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Assets*	Insurance in force*
1	1	North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.	Durham, NC	James H. Speed, Jr.	1898	147	161.207	14,372.304
2	2	Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Co.	Los Angeles, CA	Larkin Teasley	1925	250	112.836	2,842.000
3	3	Atlanta Life Financial Group	Atlanta, GA	Ronald D. Brown	1905	30	76.389	11,809.837
4	4	Booker T. Washington Insurance Co.	Birmingham, AL	Walter Howlett, Jr.	1931	85	56.209	1,382.784
5	—	Williams-Progressive Life & Accident Insurance Co.	Opelousas, LA	Patrick Fontenot	1947	44	10.366	35.158

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

FIGURE 1.7

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. investment banks, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Total managed issues*
1	1	The Williams Capital Group L.P.	New York, NY	Christopher J. Williams	1994	58	122.318
2	2	Blaylock & Partners L.P.	New York, NY	Ronald E. Blaylock	1993	70	109.329
3	3	Loop Capital Markets L.L.P.	Chicago, IL	James Reynolds, Jr.	1997	80	83.753
4	5	Utendahl Capital Partners L.P.	New York, NY	John Oscar Utendahl	1992	29	29.299
5	4	Siebert Brandford Shank & Co. L.L.C.	Oakland, CA	Suzanne Shank	1996	45	50.957
6	6	M. R. Beal & Co.	New York, NY	Bernard B. Beal	1988	35	45.325
7	7	Jackson Securities L.L.C.	Atlanta, GA	Reuben R. McDaniel III	1987	30	36.425
8	9	SBK-Brooks Investment Corp.	Cleveland, OH	Eric L. Small	1993	20	14.500
9	10	Rice Financial Products Co.	New York, NY	J. Donald Rice, Jr.	1987	26	12.388
10	—	Powell Capital Markets Inc.	Roseland, NJ	Arthur F. Powell	1990	5	2.982

* In Billions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

FIGURE 1.8

***Black Enterprise*'s top 10 U.S. industrial/service companies, 2005**

2005	2004	Company name	Location	Chief Executive	Began	Staff	Sales*	Type of business
1	1	World Wide Technology Inc.	St. Louis, MO	David Steward	1990	620	1,400.00	IT systems integrator, supply chain services of IT products
2	2	CAMAC International Inc.	Houston, TX	Kase Lawal	1986	1,300	987.000	Crude oil and gas exploration, production, and trading
3	22	Bridgewater Interiors L.L.C.	Detroit, MI	Ronald E. Hall	1998	1,100	645.309	Car seat and overhead systems manufacturer
4	3	Act-1 Group	Torrance, CA	Janice Bryant Howroyd	1978	300	622,729	Staffing and professional services
5	4	Johnson Publishing Co.	Chicago, IL	Linda Johnson Rice/ John H. Johnson	1942	1,699	498.224	Publishing, TV productions, and cosmetics
6	5	The Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co.	Philadelphia, PA	L. Bruce Llewellyn	1985	1,900	450.000	Bottling and distributing soft drinks
7	10	Converge	Peabody, MA	Dale LeFebvre/ Frank Cavallaro	2002	283	390.000	Distributor of semiconductors and computer products
8	6	Barden Cos. Inc.	Detroit, MI	Don H. Barden	1981	4,055	372.000	Casino gaming, real estate development, and international trade
8	7	The Bing Group	Detroit, MI	Dave Bing	1980	1,414	372.000	Steel processing, steel stamping, full seat assembly, mirror assembly
10	8	Radio One Inc.[1]	Lanham, MD	Alfred C. Liggins III	1980	1,750	363.982	Radio broadcasting and other media businesses

* In Millions of Dollars to the nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 2004. Prepared by B.E. Research. Reviewed by the certified public accounting firm Edwards & Co.

(1) Publicly traded company. Majority ownership of voting class stock is held by African Americans.

FIGURE 2.1

Children living below the poverty level in the U.S., 1970–2000*

Year	Total (All races, in thousands)	%	Blacks (in thousands)	%
1970	10,235	14.9	3,922	41.5
1980	11,114	17.9	3,906	42.1
1985	12,483	20.1	4,057	43.1
1990	12,715	19.9	4,412	44.2
1995	13,999	20.2	4,644	41.5
2000	11,005	15.6	3,495	30.9

* Persons are classified as being above or below the poverty level using the poverty index, based on the Department of Agriculture's 1961 Economy Food Plan. Poverty thresholds are updated every year. In 1990 the weighted average poverty threshold for a family of four was $13,359; in 2000 it was $17,604. These statistics cover only children under 18 years of age living in families.

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract, 1992, 2004–2005.*

FIGURE 2.2

Median money income of families in the U.S, 1980–2002[1]

	Black	White	All races
1980	12,674	21,904	21,023
1985	16,786	29,152	27,735
1990	21,423	36,915	35,353
1995	25,970	42,646	40,611
2000	33,676	53,029	50,732
2002	33,525	54,633	51,680

(1) In current dollars.

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 2004–2005.*

FIGURE 2.3

Persons living below the poverty level in the U.S., 1959–2000*

Year	Total (in millions)	%	Blacks (in millions)	%
1959	39.5	22.4	9.9	55.1
1970	25.4	12.6	7.5	33.5
1980	29.3	13.0	8.6	32.5
1990	33.6	13.5	9.8	31.9
2000	31.6	11.3	8.0	22.5

* Persons are classified as being above or below the poverty level using the poverty index, based on the Department of Agriculture's 1961 Economy Food Plan. Poverty thresholds are updated every year. In 1990 the weighted average poverty threshold for a family of four was $13,359; in 2000 it was $17,604.

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract, 1992,* and *Statistical Abstract, 2004–2005* using information from the 2000 U.S. Census.

FIGURE 3.1

Bachelor's degrees conferred in the U.S., 1976–1977 to 2001–2002

	All			Black			% Black		
Year	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
1976–1977[1]	917,900	494,424	423,476	58,636	25,147	33,489	6.6	5.1	7.9
1978–1979[2]	919,540	476,065	443,475	60,246	24,659	35,587	6.6	5.2	8.0
1980–1981[3]	934,800	469,625	465,175	60,673	24,511	36,162	6.5	5.2	7.8
1984–1985[4]*	968,311	476,148	492,163	57,473	23,018	34,455	5.9	4.8	7.0
1986–1987	991,264	480,782	510,482	56,560	22,501	34,059	5.7	4.7	6.7
1988–1989[5]	1,016,350	481,946	534,404	58,078	22,370	35,708	5.7	4.6	6.7
1989–1990	1,051,344	491,696	559,648	61,046	23,257	37,789	5.8	4.7	6.8
1990–1991	1,094,538	504,045	590,493	66,375	24,800	41,575	6.1	4.9	7.0
1991–1992	1,136,553	520,811	615,742	72,680	27,092	45,588	6.4	5.2	7.4
1992–1993	1,165,178	532,881	632,297	78,099	28,962	49,137	6.7	5.4	7.8
1993–1994	1,169,275	532,422	636,853	83,909	30,766	53,143	7.2	5.8	8.3
1994–1995	1,160,134	526,131	634,003	87,236	31,793	55,443	7.5	6.0	8.7
1995–1996	1,164,792	522,454	642,338	91,496	32,974	58,522	7.9	6.3	9.1
1996–1997	1,172,879	520,515	652,264	94,349	33,616	60,733	8.0	6.5	9.3
1997–1998	1,184,406	519,956	664,450	98,251	34,510	63,741	8.3	6.6	9.6
1998–1999	1,200,303	518,746	681,557	102,214	34,876	67,338	8.5	6.7	9.9
1999–2000	1,237,875	530,367	707,508	108,013	37,024	70,989	8.7	7.0	10.0
2000–2001	1,244,171	531,840	712,331	111,307	38,103	73,204	8.9	7.2	10.3
2001–2002	1,291,900	549,816	742,084	116,624	39,194	77,430	9.0	7.1	10.4

(1) Excludes 1,121 men and 528 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(2) Excludes 1,279 men and 571 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(3) Excludes 258 men and 82 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(4) Excludes 6,380 men and 4,786 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(5) Excludes 1,400 men and 1,005 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
* For years 1984–85 to 2001–02, reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. Data for 1998–99 were imputed using alternative procedures. Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred" surveys 1976–77 through 1984–85, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completions" surveys, 1986–87 through 1998–99, and Fall 2000 through Fall 2002 surveys. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.2

Doctoral degrees conferred in the U.S, by major field of study, 2001–2002*

Major field of study	Total	Total black**	Black men	Black women
All fields, total	44,160	2,397	921	1,476
Agriculture and natural resources	1,166	19	12	7
Architecture and related programs	183	8	0	8
Area, ethnic, and cultural studies	216	33	14	19
Biological sciences/ life sciences	4,489	117	54	63
Business	1,158	71	42	29
Communications	374	33	10	23
Communications technologies	9	0	0	0
Computer and information sciences	750	22	14	8
Education	6,967	900	252	648
Engineering	5,195	86	60	26
Engineering-related technologies	15	0	0	0
English language and literature/letters	1,446	74	24	50
Foreign languages and literature	843	17	7	10
Health professions and related sciences	3,523	124	32	92
Home economics and vocational home economics	355	32	6	26
Law and legal studies	79	1	0	1
Liberal arts and sciences, general studies, and humanities	113	6	1	5
Library science	45	5	0	5
Mathematics	958	16	7	9
Multi/interdisciplinary studies	384	18	11	7
Parks, recreation, leisure and fitness studies	151	5	2	3
Philosophy and religion	606	17	6	11
Physical sciences and science technologies	3,803	77	44	33
Protective services	49	3	2	1
Psychology	4,341	257	52	205
Public administration and services	571	75	31	44

[continued]

Doctoral degrees conferred in the U.S., by major field of study, 2001–2002*[CONTINUED]

Major field of study	Total	Total black**	Black men	Black women
Social sciences and history	3,902	206	107	99
Theological studies and religious vocations	1,355	150	115	9
Visual and performing arts	1,114	25	16	9

* Includes Ph.D., Ed.D, and comparable degrees at the doctoral level. Excludes first-professional degrees, such as M.D., D.D.S., and law degrees.

** Reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. To facilitate trend comparisons, certain aggregations have been made of the degree fields as reported in the IPEDS "Completions" survey: "Agriculture and natural resources" includes Agricultural business and production, Agricultural sciences, and Conservation and renewable natural resources; and "Business" includes Business management and administrative services, Marketing operations/marketing and distribution, and Consumer and personal services.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2002 survey. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.3

First professional degrees conferred in the U.S., by major field of study, 2001–2002

Major field of study	Total	Total black*	Black men	Black women
All fields, total	n.a.	5,811	2,223	3,588
Dentistry (D.D.S. or D.M.D.)	4,239	155	63	92
Medicine (M.D)	n.a.	1,104	407	697
Optometry (O.D)	1,280	22	10	12
Osteopathic medicine (D.O.)	2,416	97	39	58
Pharmacy (Pharm.D.)	7,076	570	190	380
Podiatry (Pod.D. or D.P.) or podiatric medicine (D.P.M.)	474	38	16	22
Veterinary medicine (D.V.M)	2,289	67	17	50
Chiropractic medicine (D.C. or D.C.M)	3,284	116	63	53
Law (LL.B. or J.D.)	n.a.	3,002	1,092	1,910
Theology (M.Div., M.H.L., B.D., or Ord.)	5,195	636	324	312

* Reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of study, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2002 survey. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.4

Master's degrees conferred in the U.S., 1976–1977 to 2001–2002*

	All			Black			% Black		
Year	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1976–1977[1]	316,602	167,396	149,206	21,037	7,781	13,256	6.6	4.6	8.9
1978–1979[2]	300,255	152,637	147,618	19,418	7,070	12,348	6.5	4.6	8.4
1980–1981[3]	294,183	145,666	148,517	17,133	6,158	10,975	5.8	4.2	7.4
1984–1985[4]**	280,421	139,417	140,004	13,939	5,200	8,739	5.0	3.7	6.2
1986–1987	289,349	141,269	148,080	13,873	5,153	8,720	4.8	3.6	5.9
1988–1989[5]	309,770	148,872	160,898	14,095	5,175	8,920	4.6	3.5	5.5
1989–1990	324,301	153,653	170,648	15,336	5,474	9,862	4.7	3.6	5.8
1990–1991	337,168	156,482	180,686	16,616	5,916	10,700	4.9	3.8	5.9
1991–1992	352,838	161,842	190,996	18,256	6,112	12,144	5.2	3.8	6.4
1992–1993	369,585	169,258	200,327	19,744	6,803	12,941	5.3	4.0	6.5
1993–1994	387,070	176,085	210,985	21,986	7,424	14,562	5.7	4.2	6.9
1994–1995	397,629	178,598	219,031	24,166	8,097	16,069	6.1	4.5	7.3
1995–1996	406,301	179,081	227,220	25,822	8,445	17,377	6.4	4.7	7.6
1996–1997	419,401	180,947	238,454	28,403	8,960	19,443	6.8	5.0	8.2
1997–1998	430,164	184,375	245,789	30,155	9,652	20,503	7.0	5.2	8.3
1998–1999	439,986	186,148	253,838	32,541	10,058	22,483	7.4	5.4	8.9
1999–2000	457,056	191,792	265,264	35,874	11,212	24,662	7.8	5.8	9.3
2000–2001	468,476	194,351	274,125	38,265	11,568	26,697	8.2	6.0	9.7
2001–2002	482,118	199,120	282,998	40,373	11,796	28,577	8.4	5.9	10.1

* Areas of study included agriculture, architecture and environmental design, area and ethnic studies, biological sciences, business, communications, computer science, construction trades, education, engineering, English language and literature, foreign languages, health, home economics, law, letters, liberal/general studies,library and archival sciences, life sciences, mathematics, multi/interdisciplinary studies, philosophy and religion, theology, physical sciences, protective services and public affairs, psychology, public administration, social sciences, visual and performing arts, other.

(1) Excludes 387 men and 175 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(2) Excludes 733 men and 91 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(3) Excludes 1,377 men and 179 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(4) Excludes 3,973 men and 1,857 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(5) Excludes 482 men and 369 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

** For years 1984–85 to 2001–02, reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. Data for 1998–99 were imputed using alternative procedures. Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred" surveys 1976–77 through 1984–85, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completions" surveys, 1986–87 through 1998–99, and Fall 2000 through Fall 2002 surveys. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.5

Bachelor's degrees conferred in the U.S., by major field of study, 2001–2002

Major field of study	Total	Total black*	Black men	Black women
All fields, total	1,291,900	116,624	39,194	77,430
Agriculture and natural resources	23,353	653	281	372
Architecture and related programs	8,808	348	203	145
Area, ethnic, and cultural studies	6,557	881	290	591
Biological sciences/life sciences	60,256	4,807	1,329	3,478
Business	281,330	28,153	10,088	18,065
Communications	62,791	5,540	1,873	3,667
Communications technologies	1,110	149	76	73
Computer and information sciences	47,299	5,030	2,670	2,360
Construction trades	202	6	4	2
Education	106,383	6,976	1,822	5,154
Engineering	59,481	3,099	1,966	1,133
Engineering-related technologies[1]	14,117	1,387	1,077	310
English language and literature/letters	53,162	4,049	1,029	3,020
Foreign languages and literature	15,318	622	153	469
Health professions and related sciences	70,517	8,011	1,041	6,970
Home economics and vocational home economics	18,153	1,659	235	1,424
Law and legal studies	1,971	303	58	245
Liberal arts and sciences, general studies, and humanities	39,333	4,688	1,399	3,289
Library science	74	0	0	0
Mathematics	12,395	935	417	518
Mechanics and repairers	164	18	17	1
Multi/interdisciplinary studies	27,629	2,739	824	1,915
Parks, recreation, leisure and fitness studies	20,554	1,751	951	800
Philosophy and religion	9,306	481	273	208
Physical sciences and science technologies	17,851	1,142	463	679
Precision production trade	468	25	21	4
Protective services	25,536	4,484	1,812	2,672
Psychology	76,671	8,107	1,614	6,493
Public administration and services	19,392	4,036	757	3,279
R.O.T.C. and military sciences	3	0	0	0
Social sciences and history	132,874	12,530	4,493	8,037
Theological studies and religious vocations	7,785	411	247	164
Transportation and material moving workers	4,020	220	197	23
Visual and performing arts	66,773	3,373	1,506	1,867
Not classified by field or study	264	11	8	3

* Reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. To facilitate trend comparisons, certain aggregations have been made of the degree fields as reported in the IPEDS "Completions" survey: "Agriculture and natural resources" includes Agricultural business and production, Agricultural sciences, and Conservation and renewable natural resources; and "Business" includes Business management and administrative services, Marketing operations/marketing and distribution, and Consumer and personal services.

(1) Excludes "Construction trades" and "Mechanics and repairers," which are listed separately.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2002 survey. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.6

First professional degrees conferred in the U.S., 1976–1977 to 2001–2002

	Total			Black			% Black		
Year	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1976–1977[1]	63,953	51,980	11,973	2,537	1,761	776	4.0	3.4	6.5
1978–1979[2]	68,611	52,425	16,186	2,836	1,783	1,053	4.1	3.4	6.5
1980–1981[3]	71,340	52,194	19,146	2,931	1,772	1,159	4.1	3.4	6.1
1984–1985[4]*	71,057	47,501	23,556	3,029	1,623	1,406	4.3	3.4	6.0
1986–1987	71,617	46,523	25,094	3,420	1,835	1,585	4.8	3.9	6.3
1988–1989	70,856	45,046	25,810	3,148	1,618	1,530	4.4	3.6	5.9
1989–1990	70,988	43,961	27,027	3,409	1,671	1,738	4.8	3.8	6.4
1990–1991	71,948	43,846	28,102	3,588	1,679	1,909	5.0	3.8	6.8
1991–1992	74,146	45,071	29,075	3,628	1,645	1,983	4.9	3.6	6.8
1992–1993	75,387	45,153	30,234	4,132	1,801	2,331	5.5	4.0	7.7
1993–1994	75,418	44,707	30,711	4,444	1,902	2,542	5.9	4.3	8.3
1994–1995	75,800	44,853	30,947	4,747	2,077	2,670	6.3	4.6	8.6
1995–1996	76,734	44,748	31,986	5,022	2,112	2,910	6.5	4.7	9.1
1996–1997	78,730	45,564	33,166	5,301	2,201	3,100	6.7	4.8	9.3
1997–1998	78,598	44,911	33,687	5,499	2,310	3,189	7.0	5.1	9.5
1998–1999	78,439	44,339	34,100	5,333	2,197	3,136	6.8	5.0	9.2
1999–2000	80,057	44,239	35,818	5,555	2,313	3,242	6.9	5.2	9.1
2000–2001	79,707	42,862	36,845	5,416	2,110	3,306	6.8	4.9	9.0
2001–2002	80,698	42,507	38,191	5,811	2,223	3,588	7.2	5.2	9.4

(1) Excludes 394 men and 12 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(2) Excludes 227 men and 10 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(3) Excludes 598 men and 18 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
(4) Excludes 2,954 men and 1,052 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.
* For years 1984–85 to 2001–02, reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. Data for 1998–99 were imputed using alternative procedures. Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred" surveys 1976–77 through 1984–85, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completions" surveys, 1986–87 through 1998–99, and Fall 2000 through Fall 2002 surveys. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.7

Doctoral degrees conferred in the U.S., 1976–1977 to 2001–2002*

	Total			Black			% Black		
Year	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
1976-1977[1]	33,126	25,036	8,090	1,253	766	487	3.8	3.1	6.0
1978-1979[2]	32,675	23,488	9,187	1,268	734	534	3.9	3.1	5.8
1980-1981[3]	32,839	22,595	10,244	1,265	694	571	3.9	3.1	5.6
1984-1985[4]**	32,307	21,296	11,011	1,154	561	593	3.6	2.6	5.4
1986-1987	34,041	22,061	11,980	1,057	485	572	3.1	2.2	4.8
1988-1989[5]	35,659	22,597	13,062	1,066	491	575	3.0	2.2	4.4
1989-1990	38,371	24,401	13,970	1,149	531	618	3.0	2.2	4.4
1990-1991	39,294	24,756	14,538	1,248	597	651	3.2	2.4	4.5
1991-1992	40,659	25,557	15,102	1,239	584	655	3.0	2.3	4.3
1992-1993	42,132	26,073	16,059	1,350	617	733	3.2	2.4	4.6
1993-1994	43,185	26,552	16,633	1,385	627	758	3.2	2.4	4.6
1994-1995	44,446	26,916	17,530	1,667	730	937	3.8	2.7	5.3
1995-1996	44,652	26,841	17,811	1,632	727	905	3.7	2.7	5.1
1996-1997	45,876	27,146	18,730	1,865	795	1,070	4.1	2.9	5.7
1997-1998	46,010	26,664	19,346	2,067	824	1,243	4.5	3.1	6.4
1998-1999	44,077	25,146	18,931	2,136	873	1,263	4.8	3.5	6.7
1999-2000	44,808	25,028	19,780	2,246	876	1,370	5.0	3.5	6.9
2000-2001	44,904	24,728	20,176	2,207	855	1,352	4.9	3.5	6.7
2001-2002	44,160	23,708	20,452	2,397	921	1,476	5.4	3.9	7.2

* Includes Ph.D., Ed.D., and comparable degrees at the doctoral level. Excludes first professional degrees, such as M.D., D.D.S., and law degrees.

(1) Excludes 106 men whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(2) Excludes 53 men and 2 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(3) Excludes 116 men and 3 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(4) Excludes 404 men and 232 women whose racial/ethnic group was not available.

(5) Excludes 51 men and 10 women whose racial/ethnic group and field of study were not available.

** For years 1984–85 to 2001– 02, reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. Data for 1998–99 were imputed using alternative procedures. Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), “Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred” surveys 1976–77 through 1984–85, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), “Completions” surveys, 1986–87 through 1998–99, and Fall 2000 through Fall 2002 surveys. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.8

Master's degrees conferred in the U.S., by major field of study, 2001–2002

Major field of study	Total	Total black*	Black men	Black women
All fields, total	482,118	40,373	11,796	28,577
Agriculture and natural resources	4,519	122	61	61
Architecture and related programs	4,566	164	76	88
Area, ethnic, and cultural studies	1,578	130	36	94
Biological sciences/ life sciences	6,205	303	92	211
Business	120,785	10,434	3,962	6,472
Communications	5,510	532	116	416
Communications technologies	549	36	14	22
Computer and information sciences	16,113	745	403	342
Construction trades	9	1	1	0
Education	136,579	13,069	2,829	10,240
Engineering	26,015	794	512	282
Engineering-related technologies[1]	896	75	49	26
English language and literature/letters	7,268	349	74	275
Foreign languages and literature	2,861	55	17	38
Health professions and related sciences	43,644	3,249	568	2,681
Home economics and vocational home economics	2,616	270	36	234
Law and legal studies	4,053	176	82	94
Liberal arts and sciences, general studies, and humanities	2,754	214	66	148
Library science	5,113	259	35	224
Mathematics	3,487	126	55	71
Multi/interdisciplinary studies	3,211	250	63	187
Parks, recreation, leisure and fitness studies	2,754	210	102	108
Philosophy and religion	1,334	60	37	23
Physical sciences and science technologies	5,034	149	74	75
Precision production trades	2	0	0	0
Protective services	2,935	482	205	277
Psychology	14,888	1,837	381	1,456
Public administration and services	25,448	4,386	1,010	3,376
Social sciences and history	14,112	1,022	403	619

[continued]

Master's degrees conferred in the U.S., by major field of study, 2001–2002 [CONTINUED]

Major field of study	Total	Total black*	Black men	Black women
Theological studies and religious vocations	4,952	334	178	156
Transportation and material moving workers	709	32	29	3
Visual and performing arts	11,595	508	230	278
Not classified by study	24	0	0	0

* Reported racial/ethnic distributions of students by level of degree, field of degree, and sex were used to estimate race/ethnicity for students whose race/ethnicity was not reported. To facilitate trend comparisons, certain aggregations have been made of the degree fields as reported in the IPEDS "Completions" survey: "Agriculture and natural resources" includes Agricultural business and production, Agricultural sciences, and Conservation and renewable natural resources; and "Business" includes Business management and administrative services, Marketing operations/marketing and distribution, and Consumer and personal services.

(1) Excludes "Construction trades" which is listed separately.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Fall 2002 survey. (This table was prepared August 2003.)

FIGURE 3.9

Enrollment in undergraduate degree-granting institutions in the U.S., 1976–2001*

	Total			Black		
Year	Both	Male	Female	Both**	Male	Female
1976[1]	9,419.0	4,896.8	4,522.1	943.4	430.7	512.7
1980[1]	10,469.1	4,997.4	5,471.7	1,018.8	428.2	590.6
1990[1]	11,959.1	5,379.8	6,579.3	1,147.2	448.0	699.2
1996[2]	12,326.9	5,420.7	6,906.3	1,358.6	513.6	845.0
1998[2]	12,436.9	5,446.1	6,990.8	1,421.7	530.2	891.5
1999[2]	12,681.2	5,559.5	7,121.8	1,471.9	548.4	923.5
2000[2]	13,155.4	5,778.3	7,377.1	1,548.9	577.0	971.9
2001[2]	13,715.6	6,004.4	7,711.2	1,657.1	611.7	1,045.4

* In thousands.

** Because of underreporting and nonreporting of racial/ethnic data, some figures are slightly lower than corresponding data in other tables. Data for 1999 were imputed using alternative procedures. Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

(1) Institutions that were accredited by an agency or association that was recognized by the U.S. Department of Education, or recognized directly by the Secretary of Education.

(2) Data are for 4-year and 2-year degree-granting higher education institutions that participated in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" surveys, 1976 and 1980; and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Fall Enrollment" surveys, 1990 through 1999, and Spring 2001 and Spring 2002 surveys. (This table was prepared September 2003.)

FIGURE 3.10

Years of school completed by persons twenty-five and over in the U.S., 1940–2002

	Less than 5 yrs. of elementary school (%)		4 yrs. of high school or more (%)		4 years of college or more (%)	
Date	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
April 1940	13.7	41.8	24.5	7.7	4.6	1.3
April 1950	11.1	32.6	34.3	13.7	6.2	2.2
April 1960	8.3	23.5	41.1	21.7	7.7	3.5
March 1970	5.3	14.7	55.2	36.1	11.0	6.1
March 1975	4.2	12.3	62.5	42.6	13.9	6.4
March 1980	3.4	9.1	68.6	51.4	17.0	7.9
March 1985	2.7	6.1	73.9	59.9	19.4	11.1
March 1990	2.4	5.1	77.6	66.1	21.3	11.3
March 1995	1.8	2.5	81.7	73.8	23.0	13.3
March 2000	1.6	1.6	84.1	78.9	25.6	16.6
March 2002	1.6	1.6	84.1	79.2	26.7	17.2

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population*, 1960, Volume 1, part 1; Current Population Reports, Series P-20 and previously unpublished tabulations; and 1960 Census Monograph, “Education of the American Population,” by John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam. (This table was prepared October 2003.)

FIGURE 4.1

Emmy Award winners

Year	Performer	Category	Performance
1959	Harry Belafonte	Outstanding Performance in a Variety or Musical Program Series	"Tonight with Belafonte," *Revlon Revue*
1966	Bill Cosby	Outstanding Continued Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role in a Dramatic Series	*I Spy*
1967	Bill Cosby	Outstanding Continued Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role in a Dramatic Series	*I Spy*
1968	Bill Cosby	Outstanding Variety or Musical Program	*The Bill Cosby Special*
1970	Flip Wilson	Outstanding Writing Achievement in Variety or Music Series	*The Flip Wilson Show*
1973	Cicely Tyson	Best Lead Actress in a Drama—Special Program	*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*
1973	Cicely Tyson	Actress of the Year—Special Program	*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*
1976	Olivia Cole	Outstanding Single Performance by a Supporting Actress in a Drama or Comedy Series	*Roots, Part 8*
1976	Louis Gossett, Jr	Outstanding Lead Actor for a Single Appearance in a Drama or Comedy Series	*Roots, Part 2*
1976	Quincy Jones	Outstanding Music Series Composition	*Roots, Part 1*
1978	Robert Guillaume	Outstanding Supporting Actor in a Comedy or Music Series	*Soap*
1978	Esther Rolle	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Limited Series	*Summer of My German Soldier*
1980	Isabel Sanford	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Comedy Series	*The Jeffersons*
1981	Debbie Allen	Outstanding Choreography	"Come One, Come All," *Fame*
1981	Nell Carter	Outstanding Individual Achievement—Special Class	*"Ain't Misbehavin'"*
1982	Debbie Allen	Outstanding Choreography	"Class Act," *Fame*
1982	Leontyne Price	Outstanding Individual Performance in a Variety or Music Program	*From Lincoln Center*
1982	Leslie Uggams	Outstanding Host/Hostess in a Variety Series	*Fantasy*
1983	Suzanne de Passe	Outstanding Producing	*Motown 25: Yesterday, Today, Forever*
1984	Robert Guillaume	Outstanding Lead Actor in a Comedy Series	*Benson*
1985	Alfre Woodard	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Drama Series	"Doris in Wonderland," *Hill Street Blues*
1985	George Stanford Brown	Outstanding Directing in a Drama Series	"Parting Shots," *Cagney & Lacey*
1985	Roscoe Lee Browne	Outstanding Guest Performer in a Comedy Series	*The Cosby Show*
1985	Suzanne de Passe	Outstanding Producing	*Motown at the Apollo*
1985	Whitney Houston	Outstanding Performance in a Variety or Music Program	*The 28th Annual Grammy Awards*
1986	Alfre Woodard	Outstanding Guest Performer in a Drama Series	*L.A. Law*
1987	Jackée (Harry)	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Comedy Series	*227*
1988	Beah Richards	Outstanding Guest Performer in a Comedy Series	*Frank's Place*
1989	Suzanne de Passe	Outstanding Producing	*Lonesome Dove*
1991	Debbie Allen	Outstanding Choreography	*Motown 30: What's Goin' On!*
1991	Ruby Dee	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Miniseries or Special	"Decoration Day," *Hallmark Hall of Fame*
1991	James Earl Jones	Outstanding Lead Actor in a Drama Series	*Gabriel's Fire*
1991	James Earl Jones	Outstanding Supporting Actor in a Miniseries or Special	*Heat Wave*
1991	Madge Sinclair	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Drama Series	*Gabriel's Fire*
1991	Lynn Whitfield	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Miniseries or Special	*The Josephine Baker Story*
1992	Eric Laneuville	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Directing in a Drama Series	"All God's Children," *I'll Fly Away*
1993	Mary Alice	Outstanding Supporting Actress in a Drama Series	*I'll Fly Away*
1993	Laurence Fishburne	Outstanding Guest Actor in a Drama Series	"The Box," *Tribeca*
1994	Oprah Winfrey	Best Talk Show	*The Oprah Winfrey Show*
1994	Oprah Winfrey	Best Talk Show Host	*The Oprah Winfrey Show*
1994	Dianne Hudson	Outstanding Producing	*The Oprah Winfrey Show*
1994	Legrande Green	Outstanding Producing	*The Oprah Winfrey Show*
1995	Paul Winfield	Best Guest Actor in a Drama Series	*NYPD Blue*
1996	Robi Reed-Humes	Casting For A Miniseries or A Special	*The Tuskegee Airmen*
1997	Chris Rock	Best Writing of a Variety or Music Program	*Chris Rock: Bring the Pain*
		Best Variety, Music, or Comedy Special	*Chris Rock: Bring the Pain*

[continued]

Emmy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Performer	Category	Performance
1997	Alfre Woodard	Best Lead Actress for a Miniseries or Special	*Miss Evers' Boys*
1998	Andre Baugher	Outstanding Actor in a Drama Series	*Homicide: Life on the Street*
1998	Paris Barclay	Outstanding Director for a Drama Series	*NYPD Blue*
1998	Thomas Carter	Outstanding Made for Television Movie	*Don King: Only in America*
1999	Chris Rock	Best Writing, Variety or Music Show	*The Chris Rock Show*
1999	Ali LeRoi	Best Writing, Variety or Music Show	*The Chris Rock Show*
1999	Wanda Sykes-Hall	Best Writing, Variety or Music Show	*The Chris Rock Show*
1999	Lance Crouther	Best Writing, Variety or Music Show	*The Chris Rock Show*
1999		Best Television Movie	*A Lesson Before Dying*
1999	Paris Barclay	Best Directing for a Drama Series	"Hearts and Souls," *NYPD Blue*
1999	Ja'Net DuBois	Outstanding Voice-Over Performance	*The PJs*
1999	Judith Jamison	Outstanding Choreography	*Dance In America: A Hymn for Alvin Ailey (Great Performances)*
1999	Donald A. Morgan	Outstanding Lighting Direction "Electronic" For a Comedy Series	*Home Improvement*
2000	Halle Berry	Best Actress in a Television Movie	*Introducing Dorothy Dandridge*
2000	Charles S. Dutton	Outstanding Directing for a Miniseries, Movie, or Special	*The Corner*
2000		Best Miniseries	*The Corner*
2001	Ja'Net DuBois	Outstanding Voice-Over Performance	"Let's Get Ready to Rumba" *The PJs*
2003	Bill Cosby	Bob Hope Humanitarian Award	
2003	Wayne Brady	Best Individual Performance in a Variety or Music Program	*Whose Line Is It Anyway?*
2003	Alfre Woodard	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	*The Practice*
2003	Charles S. Dutton	Outstanding Guest Actor in a Drama Series	*Without A Trace*
2004	Jeffrey Wright	Best Supporting Actor in a Miniseries	*Angels in America*

FIGURE 4.2

Academy Award/Oscar winners

Year	Performer	Category	Performance
1939	Hattie McDaniel	Best Supporting Actress	*Gone With the Wind*
1947	James Baskett	Special Award	*Song of the South*
1963	Sidney Poitier	Best Actor	*Lilies of the Field*
1971	Isaac Hayes	Best Song (from film)	"Theme from *Shaft" —Shaft*
1978	Paul Jabara	Best Song (from film)	"Last Dance"—*Thank God It's Friday*
1982	Louis Gossett, Jr.	Best Supporting Actor	*An Officer and a Gentleman*
1984	Stevie Wonder	Best Song (from film)	"I Just Called to Say I Love You" — *The Woman in Red*
1985	Lionel Ritchie	Best Song (from film)	"Say You, Say Me"— *White Nights*
1986	Herbie Hancock	Original Score	*'Round Midnight*
1989	Denzel Washington	Best Supporting Actor	*Glory*
1990	Whoopi Goldberg	Best Supporting Actress	*Ghost*
1996	Cuba Gooding, Jr.	Best Supporting Actor	*Jerry Maguire*
2001	Halle Berry	Best Actress	*Monster's Ball*
2001	Denzel Washington	Best Actor	*Training Day*
2004	Jamie Foxx	Best Actor	*Ray*
2004	Morgan Freeman	Best Supporting Actor	*Million Dollar Baby*

FIGURE 4.3

Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inductees

Year	Inductee	Category
1986	Robert Johnson	Early Influences
	Jimmy Yancey	Early Influences
	Chuck Berry	Performers
	James Brown	Performers
	Ray Charles	Performers
	Sam Cooke	Performers
	Fats Domino	Performers
	Little Richard	Performers
1987	Louis Jordan	Early Influences
	T-Bone Walker	Early Influences
	The Coasters	Performers
	Bo Diddley	Performers
	Aretha Franklin	Performers
	Marvin Gaye	Performers
	B.B. King	Performers
	Clyde McPhatter	Performers
	Smokey Robinson	Performers
	Big Joe Turner	Performers
	Muddy Waters	Performers
	Jackie Wilson	Performers
1988	Berry Gordy, Jr.	Nonperformers
	Leadbelly	Early Influences
	The Drifters	Performers
	The Supremes	Performers
1989	The Ink Spots	Early Influences
	Bessie Smith	Early Influences
	The Soul Stirrers	Early Influences
	Otis Redding	Performers
	The Temptations	Performers
	Stevie Wonder	Performers
1990	Lamont Dozier, Brian Holland & Eddie Holland	Nonperformers
	Hank Ballard	Early Influences
	The Platters	Performers
1991	Dave Bartholomew	Nonperformers
	Howlin' Wolf	Early Influences
	La Vern Baker	Performers
	John Lee Hooker	Performers
	The Impressions	Performers
	Wilson Pickett	Performers
	Jimmy Reed	Performers
	Ike & Tina Turner	Performers
1992	Elmore James	Early Influences
	Professor Longhair	Early Influences
	Bobby "Blue" Bland	Performers
	Booker T. & the MG's	Performers
	The Jimi Hendrix Experience	Performers
	The Isley Brothers	Performers
	Sam & Dave	Performers
1993	Dinah Washington	Early Influences
	Ruth Brown	Performers
	Etta James	Performers
	Frankie Lymon & the Teenagers	Performers
	Sly & the Family Stone	Performers
1994	Willie Dixon	Early Influences
	Bob Marley	Performers
1995	The Orioles	Early Influences
	Al Green	Performers
	Martha & the Vandellas	Performers
1996	Gladys Knight & the Pips	Performers
	Little Willie John	Performers
	The Shirelles	Performers
1997	Mahalia Jackson	Early Influences
	The Jackson Five	Performers
	Parliament-Funkadelic	Performers

[continued]

Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inductees [CONTINUED]

Year	Inductee	Category
1998	Allen Toussaint	Early Influences
	Lloyd Price	Performers
1999	Charles Brown	Early Influences
	Curtis Mayfield	Performers
	The Staple Singers	Performers
2000	Nat "King" Cole	Early Influences
	Billie Holiday	Early Influences
	King Curtis	Sidemen
	James Jamerson	Sidemen
	Earl Palmer	Sidemen
	Earth, Wind & Fire	Performers
	The Moonglows	Performers
2001	Johnnie Johnson	Sidemen
	Solomon Burke	Performers
	The Flamingos	Performers
	Michael Jackson	Performers
2002	Isaac Hayes	Performers
2003	Benny Benjamin	Sidemen
2004	The Dells	Performers
	Prince	Performers
2005	Buddy Guy	Performers
	The O'Jays	Performers
	Percy Sledge	Performers

FIGURE 4.4

Tony Award winners

Date	Performer	Category	Performance
1962	Diahann Carroll	Best Actress in a Musical	*No Strings*
1968	Leslie Uggams	Best Actress in a Musical	*Hallelujah, Baby!*
1968	Lillian Hayman	Best Supporting Actress in a Musical	*Hallelujah, Baby!*
1968	Pearl Bailey	Special Award	
1969	James Earl Jones	Best Actor in a Dramatic Play	*The Great White Hope*
1969	The Negro Ensemble Company	Special Award	
1970	Cleavon Little	Best Actor in a Musical	*Purlie*
1970	Melba Moore	Best Supporting Actress in a Musical	*Purlie*
1974	Virginia Capers	Best Actress in a Musical	*Raisin*
1974	Producer: The Negro Ensemble Company	Best Play	*The River Niger*
1974		Best Musical	*Raisin*
1975	John Kani & Winston Ntshona	Best Actor in a Dramatic Play	*Sizwe Banzi Is Dead* & *The Island*
1975	Dee Dee Bridgewater	Best Supporting Actress in a Musical	*The Wiz*
1975	Ted Ross	Best Supporting Actor in a Musical	*The Wiz*
1975		Best Musical	*The Wiz*
1977	Trazana Beverley	Best Actress in a Featured Role in a Dramatic Play	*For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide…*
1977		Most Innovative Production of a Musical	*Porgy and Bess*
1977	Diana Ross	Special Award	
1978		Best Musical	*Ain't Misbehavin'*
1978	Nell Carter	Outstanding Performance by an Actress in a Featured Role in a Musical	*Ain't Misbehavin'*
1982	Jennifer Holliday	Outstanding Performance by an Actress in a Musical	*Dreamgirls*
1982	Cleavant Derricks	Outstanding Performance by a Featured Actor in a Musical	*Dreamgirls*
1982	Ben Harney	Outstanding Performance by an Actor in a Musical	*Dreamgirls*
1983	Charles "Honi" Coles	Outstanding Performance by a Featured Actor in a Musical	*My One and Only*
1987	James Earl Jones	Best Actor in a Play	*Fences*
1989	Ruth Brown	Best Actress in a Musical	*Black and Blue*
1991	Hinton Battle	Outstanding Actor in a Featured Role in a Musical	*Miss Saigon*
1992	Gregory Hines	Best Actor in a Musical	*Jelly's Last Jam*
1992	Laurence Fishburne	Outstanding Featured Actor in a Play	*Two Trains Running*
1992	Tonya Pinkins	Outstanding Featured Actress in a Musical	*Jelly's Last Jam*
1993	Jeffrey Wright	Best Actor in a Featured Role, Play	*Angels in America: Millennium Approaching*
1994	Audra McDonald	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Musical	*Carousel*
1996	Ruben Santiago-Hudson	Best Actor in a Featured Role, Play	*Seven Guitars*
1996	Audra McDonald	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Play	*Master Class*
1996	Ann Duquesnay	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Musical	*Bring in 'da Noise, Bring in 'da Funk*
1996	George C. Wolfe	Best Director	*Bring in 'da Noise, Bring in 'da Funk*
1996	Savion Glover	Best Choreographer	*Bring in 'da Noise, Bring in 'da Funk*
1997	Lynne Thigpen	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Play	*An American Daugher*
1997	Chuck Cooper	Best Actor in a Featured Role, Musical	*The Life*
1997	Lillian White	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Musical	*The Life*
1998	Audra McDonald	Best Actress in Featured Role, Musical	*Ragtime*
1998		Best Musical	*The Lion King*
1998	Garth Fagan	Best Choreographer	*The Lion King*
1999	Crossroads Theatre Company	Best Regional Theatre Award	
2000	Brian Stokes Mitchell	Best Actor in a Musical	*Kiss Me, Kate*
2000	Heather Headley	Best Actress in a Musical	*Aida*
2000		Best Revival of a Musical	*Aida*
2001	Viola Davis	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Play	*King Hedley II*
2002		Best Revival of a Musical	*Into the Woods*
2003	Russell Simmons	Best Special Theatrical Event	*Russell Simmons' Def Poetry Jam on Broadway*
2004	Phylicia Rashad	Best Actress in a Play	*A Raisin in the Sun*
2004	Audra McDonald	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Play	*A Raisin in the Sun*
2004	Anika Noni Rose	Best Actress in a Featured Role, Musical	*Caroline, or Change*
2005	Adriane Lenox	Best Performance by a Featured Actress	*Doubt*

FIGURE 4.5

Grammy Award winners

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
1958	Best Vocal Performance, Female	*The Irving Berlin Song Book*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Performance by a Dance Band	*Basie*	Count Basie
	Best Jazz Performance, Individual	*The Duke Ellington Song Book*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Performance, Group	*Basie*	Count Basie
1959	Best Vocal Performance, Female	"But Not for Me"	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Performance by a Dance Band	*Anatomy of a Murder*	Duke Ellington
	Best Jazz Performance, Soloist	*Ella Swings Lightly*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Performance, Group	"I Dig Chicks"	Jonah Jones
	Best Musical Composition	*Anatomy of a Murder*	Duke Ellington
	Best Performance by "Top 40" Artist	"Midnight Flyer"	Nat "King" Cole
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance	"What a Diff'rence a Day Makes"	Dinah Washington
1960	Best Vocal Performance—Single, Female	"Mack the Knife"	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Vocal Performance—Album, Female	*Mack the Knife—Ella in Berlin*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Vocal Performance—Single, Male	"Georgia On My Mind"	Ray Charles
	Best Vocal Performance—Album, Male	*Genius of Ray Charles*	Ray Charles
	Best Performance by a Band for Dancing	*Dance with Basie*	Count Basie
	Best Classical Performance Vocal Soloist	*A Program of Song*	Leontyne Price
	Best Performance by a Pop Artist	"Georgia On My Mind"	Ray Charles
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance	"Let the Good Times Roll"	Ray Charles
	Best Performance—Folk	"Swing Dat Hammer"	Harry Belafonte
	Best Jazz Composition of More Than Five Minutes	*Sketches of Spain*	Miles Davis & Gil Evans
1961	Best Rock and Roll Recording	"Let's Twist Again"	Chubby Checker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"Hit the Road Jack"	Ray Charles
	Best Gospel Recording	"Everytime I Feel the Spirit"	Mahalia Jackson
1962	Best Solo Vocal Performance—Female	*Ella Swings Brightly with Nelson Riddle*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"I Can't Stop Loving You"	Ray Charles
	Best Gospel Recording	*Great Songs of Love and Faith*	Mahalia Jackson
1963	Best Performance by an Orchestra for Dancing	*This Time by Basie!*	Count Basie
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	"I Can't Stop Loving You"	Quincy Jones
	Best Classical Performance	*Scenes from "Porgy and Bess"*	Leontyne Price
	Most Promising New Classical Recording Artist	*André Watts*	André Watts
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"Busted"	Ray Charles
	Best Comedy Performance	*Bill Cosby Is a Very Funny Fellow…Right!*	Bill Cosby
1964	Best Vocal Performance, Male	"Hello, Dolly!"	Louis Armstrong
	Best Comedy Performance	*I Started Out As a Child*	Bill Cosby
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	*How Glad I Am*	Nancy Wilson
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist	*Berlioz: Nuits d'été*	Leontyne Price
1965	Best Comedy Performance	*Why Is There Air?*	Bill Cosby
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Small Group	*The "In" Crowd*	Ramsey Lewis Trio
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Large Group	*Ellington '66*	Duke Ellington
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"Papa's Got a Brand New Bag"	James Brown
	Best Folk Recording	*An Evening With Belafonte*	Harry Belafonte
	Best Classical Vocal Performance	*Strauss: Salomé*	Leontyne Price
1966	Best Comedy Performance	*Wonderfulness*	Bill Cosby
	Best Original Jazz Composition	*In the Beginning God*	Duke Ellington
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"Crying Time"	Ray Charles
	Best Rhythm & Blues Solo Vocal Performance	"Crying Time"	Ray Charles
	Best Rhythm & Blues Group Performance	"Hold It Right There"	Ramsey Lewis
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist	*Prima Donna*	Leontyne Price
1967	Record of the Year	"Up, Up, and Away"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Performance by a Vocal Group	"Up, Up, and Away"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Performance by a Chorus	"Up, Up, and Away"	Johnny Mann Singers
	Best Comedy Recording	*Revenge*	Bill Cosby
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Small Group	*Mercy, Mercy, Mercy*	Cannonball Adderly Quintet
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Large Group	*Far East Suite*	Duke Ellington
	Best Contemporary Single	"Up, Up, and Away"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Contemporary Group Performance	"Up, Up, and Away"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Rhythm & Blues Recording	"Respect"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Solo Vocal Performance, Female	"Respect"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Solo Vocal Performance, Male	"Dead End Street"	Lou Rawls
	Best Rhythm & Blues Group Performance	"Soul Man"	Sam & Dave
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Prima Donna, Vol. 2*	Leontyne Price

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
1968	Best Contemporary Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Do You Know the Way to San José?"	Dionne Warwick
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Chain of Fools"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"(Sittin' on) the Dock of the Bay"	Otis Redding
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	*Cloud Nine*	The Temptations
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"(Sittin' on) The Dock of the Bay"	Otis Redding
	Best Comedy Recording	*To Russell, My Brother, Whom I Slept With*	Bill Cosby
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Large Group	*And His Mother Called Him Bill*	Duke Ellington
1969	Record of the Year	"Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Contemporary Vocal Performance by a Group	"Aquarius/Let the Sunshine In"	The 5th Dimension
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Share Your Love with Me"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"The Chokin' Kind"	Joe Simon
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance by a Group	*It's Your Thing*	The Isley Brothers
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Color Him Father"	The Winstons
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	*Games People Play*	King Curtis
	Best Soul Gospel Performance	*Oh Happy Day*	Edwin Hawkins Singers
	Best Comedy Recording	*Bill Cosby*	Bill Cosby
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Small Group	*Willow Weep for Me*	Wes Montgomery
	Best Instrumental Jazz Performance, Large Group	*Walking in Space*	Quincy Jones
	Best Vocal Soloist Performance, Classical	*Barber: Two Scenes from "Antony & Cleopatra"*	Leontyne Price
1970	Best Contemporary Vocal Performance, Female	*I'll Never Fall in Love Again*	Dionne Warwick
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Don't Play That Song"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"The Thrill Is Gone"	B.B. King
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Group	"Didn't I (Blow Your Mind This Time)?"	The Delfonics
	Best Soul Gospel Performance	"Every Man Wants to Be Free"	Edwin Hawkins Singers
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*Good Feelin'*	T-Bone Walker
	Best Comedy Recording	*The Devil Made Me Buy This Dress*	Flip Wilson
	Best Spoken Word Performance	*Why I Oppose the War in Vietnam*	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
	Best Jazz Performance, Large Group	*Bitches Brew*	Miles Davis
1971	Best Instrumental Arrangement	*Shaft*	Isaac Hayes, Johnny Allen
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	*Smackwater Jack*	Quincy Jones
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Bridge Over Troubled Water"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"A Natural Man"	Lou Rawls
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Group	"Proud Mary"	Ike & Tina Turner
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Ain't No Sunshine"	Bill Withers
	Best Soul Gospel Performance	*Put Your Hand in the Hand of the Man from Galilee*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Sacred Performance	*Did You Think to Pray?*	Charley Pride
	Best Gospel Performance	*Let Me Live*	Charley Pride
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*They Call Me Muddy Waters*	Muddy Waters
	Best Original Film Score	*Shaft*	Isaac Hayes
	Best Recording for Children	*Bill Cosby Talks to Kids About Drugs*	Bill Cosby
	Best Jazz Performance by a Big Band	*New Orleans Suite*	Duke Ellington
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Leontyne Price Sings Robert Schumann*	Leontyne Price
1972	Record of the Year	"The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face"	Roberta Flack
	Best Jazz Performance by a Group	*First Light*	Freddie Hubbard
	Best Jazz Performance by a Big Band	*Toga Brava Suite*	Duke Ellington
	Best Pop Vocal Performance by a Duo	"Where Is the Love?"	Roberta Flack, Donny Hathaway
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance by an Instrumental Performer	"Outa-Space"	Billy Preston
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance with Vocal Coloring	*Black Moses*	Isaac Hayes
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*Young, Gifted & Black*	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Me & Mrs. Jones"	Billy Paul
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Group	"Papa Was a Rollin' Stone"	The Temptations
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Papa Was a Rollin' Stone"	The Temptations
	Best Soul Gospel Performance	"Amazing Grace"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Country Vocal Performance, Male	*Charley Pride Sings Heart Songs*	Charley Pride
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*The London Muddy Waters Session*	Muddy Waters
1973	Record of the Year	*Killing Me Softly With His Song*	Roberta Flack
	Album of the Year	*Innervisions*	Stevie Wonder
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	"Summer in the City"	Quincy Jones
	Best Jazz Performance by a Soloist	*God Is in the House*	Art Tatum
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Killing Me Softly with His Song"	Roberta Flack
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	"You Are the Sunshine of My Life"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Group	"Neither One of Us"	Gladys Knight & The Pips
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Master of Eyes"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Superstition"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance by a Group	"Midnight Train to Georgia"	Gladys Knight & The Pips

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Hang On, Sloopy"	Ramsey Lewis
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Superstition"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Country Vocal Performance, Male	"Behind Closed Doors"	Charley Pride
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Puccini: Heroines*	Leontyne Price
1974	Album of the Year	*Fulfillingness' First Finale*	Stevie Wonder
	Best Jazz Performance by a Soloist	*First Recordings!*	Charlie Parker
	Best Jazz Performance by a Group	*The Trio*	Joe Pass, Niels Pedersen & Oscar Peterson
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	*Fulfillingness' First Finale*	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Boogie On, Reggae Woman"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Group	"Tell Me Something Good"	Rufus
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"TSOP (The Sound of Philadelphia)"	MFSB
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Living for the City"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Comedy Recording	*The Nigger's Crazy*	Richard Pryor
	Best Score From the Original Cast Show	*Raisin*	Judd Woldin & Robert Britton
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Leontyne Price Sings Richard Strauss*	Leontyne Price
1975	Best New Artist of the Year		Natalie Cole
	Best Jazz Performance by a Soloist	*Oscar Peterson & Dizzy Gillespie*	Dizzy Gillespie
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"This Will Be"	Natalie Cole
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Living for the City"	Ray Charles
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Group	"Shining Star"	Earth, Wind & Fire
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Fly, Robin, Fly"	Silver Convention
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Where Is the Love"	Betty Wright
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*The Muddy Waters Woodstock Album*	Muddy Waters
1976	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	*Fitzgerald & Pass … Again*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Performance by a Soloist	*Basie & Zoot*	Count Basie
	Best Jazz Performance by a Big Band	*The Ellington Suites*	Duke Ellington
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	*Songs in the Key of Life*	Stevie Wonder
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	*Breezin'*	George Benson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Sophisticated Lady"	Natalie Cole
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"I Wish"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Theme from Good King Bad"	George Benson
	Best Comedy Recording	*Bicentennial Nigger*	Richard Pryor
	Album of Best Original Score for Film or TV	*Car Wash*	Norman Whitfield
	Best Cast Show Album	*Bubbling Brown Sugar*	Producers: Luigi Creatore & Hugo Peretti
1977	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	*Look to the Rainbow*	Al Jarreau
	Best Jazz Performance by a Soloist	*The Giants*	Oscar Peterson
	Best Jazz Performance by a Big Band	*Prime Time*	Count Basie & Orchestra
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Don't Leave Me This Way"	Thelma Houston
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	*Unmistakably Lou*	Lou Rawls
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance by Group	"Best of My Love"	The Emotions
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Q"	Brothers Johnson
	Best Soul Gospel Performance Traditional	*James Cleveland Live at Carnegie Hall*	James Cleveland
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recordings	*Hard Again*	Muddy Waters
	Best Opera Recording	*Gershwin: Porgy & Bess*	John De Main conducting Houston Grand Opera Production
1978	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Last Dance"	Donna Summer
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"On Broadway"	George Benson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance by a Group	*All 'n All*	Earth, Wind & Fire
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Runnin'"	Earth, Wind & Fire
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Traditional	*Live and Direct*	Mighty Clouds of Joy
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*I'm Ready*	Muddy Waters
	Best Cast Show Album	*Ain't Misbehavin'*	Composer: Fats Waller; Producer: Thomas Z. Shepard
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	*All Fly Home*	Al Jarreau
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Montreuz '77 Oscar Peterson Jam*	Oscar Peterson
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	*The Wiz (Original Soundtrack)*	Quincy Jones & Robert Freedman
1979	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"I'll Never Love This Way Again"	Dionne Warwick
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Female	"Hot Stuff"	Donna Summer
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Déjà Vu"	Dionne Warwick
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Don't Stop 'Til You Get Enough"	Michael Jackson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance by a Group	"After the Love Has Gone"	Earth, Wind & Fire

[continued]

Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Boogie Wonderland"	Earth, Wind & Fire
	Best Disco Recording	"I Will Survive"	Gloria Gaynor
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Contemporary	*I'll Be Thinking of You*	Andrae Crouch
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Traditional	*Changing Times*	Mighty Clouds of Joy
	Best Ethnic of Traditional Recording	*Muddy "Mississippi" Waters Live*	Muddy Waters
	Best Ethnic of Traditional Recording	*Muddy "Mississippi" Waters Live*	Muddy Waters
	Best Jazz Fusion Performance	*8:30*	Weather Report
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	*Fine and Mellow*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Jousts*	Oscar Peterson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*At Fargo, 1940 Live*	Duke Ellington
	Best Historic Reissue	*Billie Holiday (Giants of Jazz)*	Billie Holiday, Produced by Michael Brooks
1980	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	*One on One*	Bob James & Earl Klugh
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Never Knew Love Like This Before"	Stephanie Mills
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	*Give Me the Night*	George Benson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Group	"Shining Star"	The Manhattans
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Off Broadway"	George Benson
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Contemporary	*Rejoice*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Traditional	*Lord, Let Me Be an Instrument*	James Cleveland & the Charles Fold Singers
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*Rare Blues*	Dr. Isaiah Ross & Others
	Best Recording for Children	*In Harmony/A Sesame Street Record*	Al Jarreau, George Benson, and others
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Female	*A Perfect Match/Ella & Basie*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Male	"Moody's Mood"	George Benson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*On the Road*	Count Basie & Orchestra
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	"Dinorah, Dinorah"	Quincy Jones & Jerry Hey
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Prima Donna, Vol. 5*	Leontyne Price
1981	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	*Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music Live on Broadway*	Lena Horne
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	*Breakin' Away*	Al Jarreau
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Female	"Hold On, I'm Comin'"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	"One Hundred Ways"	James Ingram
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Group	*The Dude*	Quincy Jones
	Best Jazz Fusion Performance, Vocal or Instrumental	*Winelight*	Grover Washington, Jr.
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Contemporary	*Don't Give Up*	Andrae Crouch
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Traditional	*The Lord Will Make a Way*	Al Green
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording	*There Must Be a Better World Somewhere*	B.B. King
	Best Comedy Recording	*Rev. Du Rite*	Richard Pryor
	Best Cast Show Album	*Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music Live on Broadway*	Producer: Quincy Jones
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Female	*Digital III at Montreux*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Male	"Blue Rondo à la Turk"	Al Jarreau
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Bye Bye Blackbird*	John Coltrane
	Best Arrangement on an Instrumental Recording	"Velas"	Quincy Jones
	Best Instrumental Arrangement—Accompanying Vocals	"Ai No Corrida"	Quincy Jones
	Producer of the Year		Quincy Jones
1982	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	"Truly"	Lionel Richie
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	"Sexual Healing"	Marvin Gaye
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Group with Vocals	"Let It Whip"	Dazz Band
		"Wanna Be With You"	Earth, Wind & Fire
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance	"Sexual Healing"	Marvin Gaye
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Contemporary	*Higher Plane*	Al Green
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Traditional	*Precious Lord*	Al Green
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Alright Again*	Clarence Gatemouth Brown
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Folk Recording	*Queen Ida and the Bon Temps Zydeco Band on Tour*	Queen Ida
	Best Comedy Recording	*Live on the Sunset Strip*	Richard Pryor
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*We Want Miles*	Miles Davis
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*Warm Breeze*	Count Basie & Orchestra
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Leontyne Price Sings Verdi*	Leontyne Price
1983	Record of the Year	"Beat It"	Michael Jackson
	Album of the Year	*Thriller*	Michael Jackson
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Flashdance (What a Feeling)"	Irene Cara
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	*Thriller*	Michael Jackson
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	"Being With You"	George Benson
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Male	"Beat It"	Michael Jackson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Female	*Chaka Khan*	Chaka Khan
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	"Billie Jean"	Michael Jackson

[continued]

Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Group or Duo	"Ain't Nobody"	Rufus & Chaka Khan
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"Rockit"	Herbie Hancock
	Best Gospel Performance by Duo or Group	"More Than Wonderful"	Larnelle Harris
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	*We Sing Praises*	Sandra Crouch
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Male	*I'll Rise Again*	Al Green
	Best Instrumental Performance	"He's a Rebel"	Donna Summer
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Blues 'n' Jazz*	B.B. King
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Folk Recording	*I'm Here*	Clifton Chenier & His Red Hot Louisiana Band
	Best Recording for Children	*E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*	Michael Jackson, Quincy Jones
	Best Comedy Recording	*Eddie Murphy, Comedian*	Eddie Murphy
	Best Spoken Word or Nonmusical Recording	*Copland: A Lincoln Portrait*	William Warfield
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Female	*The Best Is Yet to Come*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Think of One*	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Vocal Arrangement for Two or More Voices	"Be Bop Medley"	Arif Hardin & Chaka Khan
	Producer of the Year		Quincy Jones & Michael Jackson
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Leontyne Price & Marilyn Horne in Concert*	Leontyne Price & Marilyn Horne
1984	Record of the Year	"What's Love Got to Do With It?"	Tina Turner
	Album of the Year	*Can't Slow Down*	Lionel Richie
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"What's Love Got to Do with It?"	Tina Turner
	Best Pop Performance by a Group	"Jump (for My Love)"	Pointer Sisters
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	"Ghostbusters"	Ray Parker, Jr.
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Female	"Better Be Good to Me"	Tina Turner
	Best Rock Performance by Duo or Group	*Purple Rain*	Prince & the Revolution
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Female	"I Feel for You"	Chaka Khan
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	"Caribbean Queen"	Billy Ocean
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Group	"Yah Mo B There"	James Ingram
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	*Sound-System*	Herbie Hancock
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	*Sailin'*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Male	"Always Remember"	Andrae Crouch
	Best Soul Gospel Performance by Duo or Group	"Sailin' on the Sea of Your Love"	Shirley Caesar & Al Green
	Best Inspirational Performance	"Forgive Me"	Donna Summer
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Folk Recording	*Elizabeth Cotton Live!*	Elizabeth Cotton
	Best Reggae Recording	*Anthem*	Black Uhuru
	Best Album of Original Score for Film or TV	*Purple Rain*	Prince & the Revolution
	Best Video Album	*Making Michael Jackson's Thriller*	Michael Jackson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Hot House Flowers*	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*88 Basie Street*	Count Basie & Orchestra
	Best Arrangement on an Instrumental	"Grace (Gymnastics Theme)"	Quincy Jones
	Best Vocal Arrangement for Two or More Voices	"Automatic"	Pointer Sisters
	Producer of the Year		Lionel Richie
	Best Classical Performance	"Wynton Marsalis"	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Ravel: Songs of Maurice Ravel*	Jessye Norman
1985	Record of the Year	"We Are the World"	Producer: Quincy Jones
	Song of the Year	"We Are the World"	Michael Jackson & Lionel Richie
	Best New Artist		Sade
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Saving All My Love for You"	Whitney Houston
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Female	"One of the Living"	Tina Turner
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Female	"Freeway of Love"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	*In Square Circle*	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Group	"Nightshift"	The Commodores
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Male	"Another Night in Tunisia"	Jon Hendricks & Bobby McFerrin
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Black Codes from the Underground*	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Group	*Black Codes from the Underground*	Wynton Marsalis Group
	Best Gospel Performance, Male	"How Excellent Is Thy Name"	Larnelle Harris
	Best Gospel Performance, Group	"I've Just Seen Jesus"	Larnelle Harris
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	"Martin"	Shirley Caesar
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Male	"Bring Back the Days of Yea and Nay"	Marvin Winans
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Group	*Tomorrow*	The Winans
	Best Inspirational Performance	"Come Sunday"	Jennifer Holliday
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	"My Guitar Sings the Blues"	B.B. King

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Ethnic or Traditional Folk Recording	"My Toot Toot"	Rockin' Sidney
	Best Reggae Recording	*Cliff Hanger*	Jimmy Cliff
	Best Comedy Recording	*Whoopi Goldberg*	Whoopi Goldberg
	Best Music Video, Short Form	"We Are the World"	Producer: Quincy Jones
	Best Vocal Arrangement for Two or More Voices	"Another Night in Tunisia"	Bobby McFerrin
1986	Song of the Year	"That's What Friends Are For"	Dionne Warwick, Gladys Knight & the Pips, Stevie Wonder
	Best Pop Performance by a Group	"That's What Friends Are For"	Warwick, and others
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Female	"Back Where You Started"	Tina Turner
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Female	*Rapture*	Anita Baker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Male	"Living in America"	James Brown
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance, Group	"Kiss"	Prince & the Revolution
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Male	"'Round Midnight"	Bobby McFerrin
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Tutu*	Miles Davis
	Best Jazz instrumental Performance, Group	*J Mood*	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Gospel Performance, Male	*Triumph*	Philip Bailey
	Best Gospel Performance by a Duo or Group	"They Say"	Sandi Patti & Deniece Williams
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	"I Surrender All"	Deniece Williams
	Best Soul Performance, Male	"Going Away"	Al Green
	Best Soul Gospel Performance by a Duo or Group	*Let My People Go*	The Winans
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Showdown!*	Albert Collins, Robert Cray & Johnny Copeland
	Best Reggae Recording	*Babylon the Bandit*	Steel Pulse
	Best Comedy Recording	*Those of You With or Without Children, You'll Understand*	Bill Cosby
1987	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Kathleen Battle Sings Mozart*	Kathleen Battle
	Song of the Year	"Somewhere Out There"	James Ingram & Linda Ronstadt
	Best New Artist		Jody Watley
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"I Wanna Dance with Somebody"	Whitney Houston
	Best New Age Performance	*Yusef Lateef's Little Symphony*	Yusef Lateef
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*Aretha*	Aretha Franklin
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Just to See Her"	Smokey Robinson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"I Knew You Were Waiting"	Aretha Franklin & George Michael
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	"What Is This Thing Called Love?"	Bobby McFerrin
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Group	*Marsalis Standard Time—Vol. 1*	Wynton Marsalis
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*Digital Duke*	Duke Ellington Orchestra
	Best Gospel Performance, Female	"I Believe in You"	Deniece Williams
	Best Gospel Performance, Male	*The Father Hath Provided*	Larnelle Harris
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	"For Always"	CeCe Winans
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Male	"Everything's Gonna Be Alright"	Al Green
	Best Soul Gospel Performance by a Duo or Group	"Ain't No Need to Worry"	The Winans & Anita Baker
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Houseparty New Orleans Style*	Professor Longhair
	Best Contemporary Blues Recording	*Strong Persuader*	The Robert Cray Band
	Best Traditional Folk Recording	*Shaka Zulu*	Ladysmith Black Mambazo
	Best Reggae Recording	*No Nuclear War*	Peter Tosh
	Best Recording for Children	*The Elephant's Child*	Producer: Bobby McFerrin
	Best Instrumental Composition	"Call Street Blues"	Herbie Hancock
	Best Historical Album	*Thelonious Monk—The Riverside Recording*	Thelonious Monk
1988	Best Classical Vocal Soloist Performance	*Kathleen Battle—Salzburg Recital*	Kathleen Battle
	Record of the Year	"Don't Worry, Be Happy"	Bobby McFerrin
	Song of the Year	"Don't Worry, Be Happy"	Bobby McFerrin
	Best New Artist		Tracy Chapman
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Fast Car"	Tracy Chapman
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	"Don't Worry, Be Happy"	Bobby McFerrin
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Female	*Tina Live in Europe*	Tina Turner
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Giving You the Best That I Got"	Anita Baker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	*Introducing the Hardline According to Terence Trent D'Arby*	Terence Trent D'Arby
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Love Overboard"	Gladys Knight & the Pips
	Best Rap Performance	"Parents Just Don't Understand"	D.J. Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Male	"Brothers"	Bobby McFerrin
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Duo or Group	"Spread Love"	Take 6

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Group	*Blues for Coltrane*	McCoy Tyner, Pharoah Sanders, David Murray, Cecil McBee, & Roy Haynes
	Best Gospel Performance, Male	*Christmas*	Larnelle Harris
	Best Soul Gospel Performance, Female	*One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism*	Aretha Franklin
	Best Soul Gospel Performance by a Duo or Group	*Take Six*	Take 6
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Hidden Charms*	Willie Dixon
	Best Contemporary Blues Recording	"Don't Be Afraid of the Dark"	The Robert Cray Band
	Best Contemporary Folk Recording	*Tracy Chapman*	Tracy Chapman
	Best Reggae Recording	*Conscious Party*	Ziggy Marley & The Melody Makers
	Best Spoken Word Recording	*Speech by Rev. Jesse Jackson*	Rev. Jesse Jackson
1989	Best Pop Vocal Performance by a Duo or Group	"Don't Know Much"	Linda Ronstadt & Aaron Neville
	Best Pop Instrumental	"Healing Chant"	Neville Brothers
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*Giving You the Best That I Got*	Anita Baker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Every Little Step"	Bobby Brown
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Back to Life"	Soul II Soul
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	"African Dance"	Soul II Soul
	Best Rap Performance	"Bust a Move"	Young MC
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*Aura*	Miles Davis
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	*Aura*	Miles Davis
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	"I'm in the Mood"	John Lee Hooker
	Best Gospel Vocal Performance, Female	"Don't Cry"	CeCe Winans
	Best Gospel Vocal Performance, Male	"Meantime"	BeBe Winans
	Best Gospel Vocal Performance by a Duo or Group	"The Savior Is Waiting"	Take 6
	Best Soul Gospel Vocal Performance	"As Long As We're Together"	Al Green
	Best Soul Gospel Vocal Performance by a Group	"Let Brotherly Love Continue"	Daniel Winans & Choir
	Best Reggae Recording	*One Bright Day*	Ziggy Marley & The Melody Makers
	Best Music Video—Short Form	*Leave Me Alone*	Michael Jackson
	Best Music Video—Long Form	*Rhythm Nation*	Janet Jackson
	Best Historical Album	*Chuck Berry—The Chess Set*	
1990	Best New Artist		Mariah Carey
	Album of the Year	*Back on the Block*	Quincy Jones
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Vision of Love"	Mariah Carey
	Best Pop Vocal Performance by a Duo or Group	"All My Life"	Linda Ronstadt & Aaron Neville
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*Compositions*	Anita Baker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Here and Now"	Luther Vandross
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"I'll Be Good to You"	Ray Charles & Chaka Khan
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"U Can't Touch This"	M.C. Hammer
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Back on the Block"	Ice-T, Melle Mel, Big Daddy Kane, Cool Moe Dee, Quincy Jones
	Best Jazz Fusion Performance	"Birdland"	Quincy Jones
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance, Female	*All That Jazz*	Ella Fitzgerald
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Soloist	*The Legendary Oscar Peterson Trio Live at the Blue Note*	Oscar Peterson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Group	*The Legendary Oscar Peterson Trio Live at the Blue Note*	Oscar Peterson Trio
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Big Band	"Basie's Bag"	Frank Foster
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*So Many 2 Say*	Take 6
	Best Traditional Blues Recording	*Live at San Quentin*	B.B. King
	Best Music Video—Long Form	*Please Hammer, Don't Hurt 'Em*	M.C. Hammer
	Best Arrangement on an Instrumental	"Birdland"	Quincy Jones
	Best Instrumental Arrangement—Accompanying Vocals	"The Places You Find Love"	Quincy Jones
	Producer of the Year		Quincy Jones
	Best Historical Album	*Robert Johnson: The Complete Recordings*	
	Record of the Year	"Unforgettable"	Natalie Cole
1991	Album of the Year	*Unforgettable*	Natalie Cole
	Best Traditional Pop Performance	"Unforgettable"	Natalie Cole
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*Burnin'*	Patti LaBelle
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	*Power of Love*	Luther Vandross
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	*Cooley High Harmony*	Boyz II Men

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Rap Performance	"Mama Said Knock You Out"	L.L. Cool J.
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Summertime"	D.J. Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance	*He Is Christmas*	Take 6
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Group	*Saturday Night at the Blue Note*	Oscar Peterson Trio
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	*Live at the Royal Festival Hall*	Dizzy Gillespie & the U.N. Orchestra
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Pray for Me*	Mighty Clouds of Joy
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Different Lifestyles*	BeBe & CeCe Winans
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir	*The Evolution of Gospel*	Sounds of Blackness
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Live at the Apollo*	B.B. King
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Damn Right, I've Got the Blues*	Buddy Guy
	Best Reggae Album	*As Raw As Ever*	Shabba Ranks
	Best Historical Album	*Billie Holiday: The Complete Decca Recordings*	Billie Holiday
1992	Best New Artist		Arrested Development
	Best Pop Performance by a Duo or Group	"Beauty and the Beast"	Celine Dion & Peabo Bryson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	*The Woman I Am*	Chaka Khan
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	*Heaven and Earth*	Al Jarreau
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"End of the Road"	Boyz II Men
	Best Rhythm & Blues Instrumental Performance	*Doo-Bop*	Miles Davis
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Baby Got Back"	Sir Mix-A-Lot
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Tennessee"	Arrested Development
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance/Album	"'Round Midnight"	Bobbie McFerrin
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo Performance	"Lush Life"	Joe Henderson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Performance, Individual or Group	*I Heard You Twice the First Time*	Branford Marsalis
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	*The Turning Point*	McCoy Tyner Big Band
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*He's Working It Out for You*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir	*Edwin Hawkins Music—Live in L.A.*	Edwin Hawkins
	Best Reggae Album	*X-Tra Naked*	Shabba Ranks
	Best Spoken Word Album	*What You Can Do to Avoid AIDS*	Earvin "Magic" Johnson
	Best Instrumental Composition	*Harlem Renaissance Suite*	Benny Carter
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	"Here's to Life"	Johnny Mandel
	Producer of the Year		L.A. Reid & Babyface
	Best Historical Album	*The Complete Capitol Recordings of the Nat "King" Cole Trio*	
	Best Classical Vocal Performance	"Kathleen Battle at Carnegie Hall"	Kathleen Battle
1993	Best New Artist		Toni Braxton
	Album of the Year	*The Bodyguard*	Whitney Houston
	Record of the Year	"I Will Always Love You"	Whitney Houston
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"I Will Always Love You"	Whitney Houston
	Best Pop Instrumental	"Barcelona Mona"	Branford Marsalis & Bruce Hornsby
	Best Pop Performance by a Duo or Group	"A Whole New World"	Peabo Bryson & Regina Bell
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"That's the Way Love Goes"	Janet Jackson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Another Sad Love Song"	Toni Braxton
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"A Song for You"	Ray Charles
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"No Ordinary Love"	Sade
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance/Album	*Take A Look*	Natalie Cole
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo	*Miles Ahead*	Joe Henderson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*So Near, So Far (For Miles)*	Joe Henderson
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	*Miles & Quincy Live at Montreux*	Miles Davis & Quincy Jones
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Let Me Ride"	Dr. Dre
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Rebirth of Slick"	Digable Planets
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Blues Summit*	B.B. King
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Feels Like Rain*	Buddy Guy
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Stand Still*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*All Out*	The Winans
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Live…We Come Rejoicing*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Bad Boys*	Inner Circle
1994	Best Spoken Word Album	*On the Pulse of Morning*	Maya Angelou
	Best Historical Album	*The Complete Billie Holiday on Verve 1945–59*	
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*II*	Boyz II Men
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Breathe Again"	Toni Braxton
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"When Can I See You"	Babyface
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"I'll Make Love to You"	Boyz II Men

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance/Album	*Mystery Lady—Songs of Billie Holiday*	Etta James
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo	"Prelude to A Kiss"	Benny Carter
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*A Tribute to Miles*	Ron Carter, Herbie Hancock, Wallace Roney, Wayne Shorter & Tony Williams
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	"Journey"	McCoy Tyner
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"U.N.I.T.Y."	Queen Latifah
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"None of Your Business"	Salt-N-Pepa
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Chill Out*	John Lee Hooker
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Father Father*	Pops Staples
	Best Pop/Contemporary Gospel Album	*Mercy*	Andrae Crouch
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Songs of the Church—Live in Memphis*	Albertina Walker
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Join the Band*	Take 6
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Live in Atlanta at Morehouse College*	Love Fellowship Crusade Choir and Through God's Eyes Thompson Community Singers
	Best Reggae Album	*Crucial! Roots Classics*	Bunny Wailer
	Best Historical Album	*The Complete Ella Fitzgerald Songbooks on Verve*	
1995	Best New Artist		Hootie & the Blowfish
	Song of the Year	"Kiss from a Rose"	Seal
	Record of the Year	"Kiss from a Rose"	Seal
	Best Pop Performance by a Duo or Group	"Let Her Cry"	Hootie & The Blowfish
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*CrazySexyCool*	TLC
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"I Apologize"	Anita Baker
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"For Your Love"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Creep"	TLC
	Best Jazz Vocal Performance/Album	*An Evening With Lena Horne*	Lena Horne
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	"Infinity"	McCoy Tyner Trio & Michael Brecker
	Best Rap Album	*Poverty's Paradise*	Naughty by Nature
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Gangsta's Paradise"	Coolio
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"I'll Be There for You/You're All I Need"	Method Man & Mary J. Blige
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Deep in the Blues*	James Cotton
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Slippin' In*	Buddy Guy
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Shirley Caesar Live—He Will Come*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Alone in His Presence*	CeCe Winan
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Praise Him…Live!*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Boombastic*	Shaggy
	Best Spoken Word Album	*Phenomenal Women*	Maya Angelou
	Producer of the Year		Babyface
	Best Music Video, Short Form	"Scream"	Michael Jackson & Janet Jackson
1996	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Male	"Kiss from a Rose"	Seal
	Best Rock Song	"Give Me One Reason"	Tracy Chapman
	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"Unbreak My Heart"	Toni Braxton
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Words*	Tony Rich Project
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"You're Makin' Me High"	Toni Braxton
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Your Secret Love"	Luther Vandross
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Killing Me Softly"	Fugees
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*New Moon Daughter*	Cassandra Wilson
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	*Live at Manchester Craftsmen's Guild*	Grover Mitchell
	Best Rap Album	*The Score*	The Fugees
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Hey Lover"	L.L. Cool J
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"The Crossroads"	Bone Thugs-N-Harmony
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Don't Look Back*	John Lee Hooker
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Just Like You*	Keb' Mo'
	Best Pop/Contemporary Gospel Album	*Tribute—The Songs of Andrae Crouch*	Andrae Crouch
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Face to Face*	Cissy Houston
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Whatcha Lookin' 4*	Kirk Franklin
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Just A Word*	Shirley Caesar's Outreach Convention Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Hall of Fame—A Tribute to Bob Marley's 50th Anniversary*	Bunny Wailer
	Best Historical Album	*The Complete Columbia Studio Recordings*	
	Producer of the Year		Babyface

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
1997	Best Pop Performance by a Duo or Group	"Virtual Insanity	Jamiroquai
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Baduizm*	Erykah Badu
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"On & On"	Erykah Badu
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"I Believe I Can Fly"	R. Kelly
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"No Diggity"	Blackstreet
	Best Dance Recording	"Carry On "	Donna Summer & Giorgio Moroder
	Best Rap Album	*No Way Out*	P. Diddy
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Men in Black"	Will Smith
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"I'll Be Missing You"	P. Diddy, Faith Evans & 112
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Chill Out*	John Lee Hooker
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Sẽnor Blues*	Taj Mahal
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray*	Fairfield Four
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Brothers*	Take 6
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*God's Property from Kirk Franklin's Nu Nation*	God's Property
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*Dear Ella*	Dee Dee Bridgewater
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo Performance	"Stardust"	Doc Cheatham & Nicholas Payton
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble Performance	*Joe Henderson Big Band*	Joe Henderson Big Band
	Best Reggae Album	*Fallen Is Babylon*	Ziggy Marley & The Melody Makers
	Best Spoken Comedy Album	*Roll With the New*	Chris Rock
	Producer of the Year		Babyface
	Best Music Video, Short Form	"Got Till It's Gone"	Janet Jackson
1998	Best New Artist		Lauryn Hill
	Album of the Year	*The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*	Lauryn Hill
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*	Lauryn Hill
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Doo Wop (That Thing)"	Lauryn Hill
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"St. Louis Blues"	Stevie Wonder
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"The Boy is Mine"	Brandy & Monica
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Performance	*Live! One Night Only*	Patti LaBelle
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Doo Wop (That Thing)"	Lauryn Hill
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Male	"Fly Away"	Lenny Kravitz
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*I Remember Miles*	Shirley Horn
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*Gershwin's World*	Herbie Hancock
	Best Instrumental Arrangement Accompanying Vocals	"St. Louis Blues"	Herbie Hancock
	Best Large Jazz Ensemble	*Count Plays Duke*	Grover Mitchell/Count Basie Orchestra
	Best Rap Album	*Volume 2…Hard Knock Life*	Jay-Z
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Gettin' Jiggy Wit It"	Will Smith
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Any Place I'm Going*	Otis Rush
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Slow Down*	Keb' Mo'
	Best Pop/Contemporary Gospel Album	*This Is My Song*	Deniece Williams
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*He Leadeth Me*	Cissy Houston
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*The Nu Nation Project*	Kirk Franklin
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Reflections*	O'Landa Draper & The Associates Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Friends*	Sly & Robbie
1999	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"It's Not Right But It's Okay"	Whitney Houston
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Fanmail*	TLC
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Staying Power"	Barry White
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"No Scrubs"	TLC
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Performance	*Staying Power*	Barry White
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"No Scrubs"	TLC
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Male	"American Woman"	Lenny Kravitz
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo Performance	"In Walked Wayne"	Wayne Shorter
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"You Got Me"	The Roots & Erykah Badu
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Blues on the Bayou*	B.B. King
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Take Your Shoes Off*	The Robert Cray Band
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Christmas With Shirley Caesar*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Mountain High…Valley Low*	Yolanda Adams
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*High and Lifted Up*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Calling Rastafari*	Burning Spear
	Best Spoken Word Album	*The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*	LeVar Burton

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Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Spoken Comedy Album	*Bigger and Blacker*	Chris Rock
	Best Historical Album	*The Duke Ellington Centennial Edition—The Complete RCA Victor Recordings (1927–73)*	
	Best Music Video, Long Form	*Band of Gypsies—Live at Filmore East*	Jimi Hendrix
2000	Best Pop Vocal Performance, Female	"I Try"	Macy Gray
	Best Pop Collaboration with Vocals	"Is You Is, Or Is You Ain't (My Baby)"	B.B. King & Dr. John
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Voodoo*	D'Angelo
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"He Wasn't Man Enough"	Toni Braxton
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Untitled (How Does It Feel)"	D'Angelo
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Say My Name"	Destiny's Child
	Best Rhythm & Blues Song	"Say My Name"	Destiny's Child
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Male	"Again"	Lenny Kravitz
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Performance	*Ear-Resistable*	The Temptations
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*In the Moment—Live in Concert*	Dianne Reeves
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*Contemporary Jazz*	Branford Marsalis Quartet
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Riding With the King*	B.B. King & Eric Clapton
	Best Dance Recording	"Who Let the Dogs Out"	Baha Men
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Shoutin' in Key*	Taj Mahal & the Phantom Blues Band
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Forgot About Dre"	Dr. Dre & Eminem
	Best Pop/Contemporary Gospel Album	*CeCe Winans*	CeCe Winans
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*You Can Make It*	Shirley Caesar
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Thankful*	Mary Mary
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Live…God Is Working*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Art and Life*	Beenie Man
	Best Spoken Word Album	*The Measure of A Man*	Sidney Poitier
	Best Historical Album	*Louis Armstrong: The Complete Hot Five and Hot Seven Recodings*	
	Producer of the Year		Dr. Dre
2001	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Songs in A Minor*	Alicia Keys
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Fallin'"	Alicia Keys
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"U Remind Me"	Usher
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Survivor"	Destiny's Child
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Vocal Album	*At Last*	Gladys Knight
	Best Jazz Vocal Album	*The Calling*	Dianne Reeves
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*This Is What I Do*	Sonny Rollins
	Best Rap Album	*Stankonia*	Outkast
	Best Rap Solo Performance	"Get Ur Freak On"	Missy Elliott
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Ms. Jackson"	Outkast
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Feels Like Rain*	Buddy Guy
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Spirit of the Century*	Blind Boys of Alabama
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*The Experience*	Yolanda Adams
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Love is Live!*	LFT Church Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Halfway Tree*	Damian Marleyfor
	Best Spoken Word Album	*Q: The Autobiography of Quincy Jones*	Quincy Jones
	Song of the Year	"Fallin'"	Alicia Keys
	Best Dance Recording	"All for You"	Janet Jackson, Jimmy Jam, Terry Lewis, Steve Hoge
	Best Rap/Song Collaboration	"Let Me Blow Ya Mind"	Eve & Gwen Stefani
	Best Pop Vocal Album	*Lovers Rock*	Sade
	Best Rock Vocal Performance, Male	"Dig In"	Lenny Kravitz
	Best Historical Album	*Lady Day: The Complete Billie Holiday on Columbia, 1933–44*	
2002	Best Pop Performance by a Duo or Group	"Beauty and the Beast"	Celine Dion & Peabo Bryson
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Voyage to India*	India.Arie
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"He Don't Think I Know"	Mary J. Blige
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"U Don't Have to Call"	Usher
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"Love's in Need of Love Today"	Stevie Wonder & Take 6
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Performance	"What's Goin' On"	Chaka Khan & The Funk Brothers
	Best Contemporary Rhythm & Blues Album	*Ashanti*	Ashanti
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo Performance	"My Ship"	Herbie Hancock
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*Directions in Music*	Michael Brecker, Herbie Hancock & Roy Hargrove
	Best Urban/Alternative Performance	"Little Things"	India.Arie
	Best Rap Solo Performance, Female	"Scream aka Itchin'"	Missy Elliott
	Best Rap Solo Performance, Male	"Hot in Herre"	Nelly
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"The Whole World"	Outkast & Killer Mike
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*A Christmas Celebration of Hope*	B.B. King

[continued]

Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Don't Give Up on Me*	Solomon Burke
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Higher Ground*	Blind Boys of Alabama
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Sidebars*	Eartha
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Be Glad*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Jamaican E.T.*	Lee "Scratch" Perry
	Best Spoken Word Album	*A Song Flung Up to Heaven*	Maya Angelou
	Best Historical Album	*Scream' and Hollerin' the Blues: The Worlds of Charley Patton*	
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	"Auld Lang Syne"	B.B. King
	Best Rhythm and Blues Song	"Love of My Life (An Ode to Hip Hop)"	Erykah Badee
	Best Rap/Sung Collaboration	"Dilemma"	Nelly & Kelly Rowlands
2003	Best New Album	*Speakerboxx/The Love Below*	Outkast
	Song of the Year	"Dance with My Father"	Luther Vandross
	Best Pop Collaboration with Vocals	"Whenever I Say Your Name"	Sting & Mary J. Blige
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*Dance With My Father*	Luther Vandross
	Best Contemporary Rhythm & Blues Album	*Dangerously in Love*	Beyoncé
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"Dangerously in Love 2"	Beyoncé
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Dance with My Father"	Luther Vandross
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"The Closer I Get to You"	Beyoncé & Luther Vandross
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance	"Wonderful"	Aretha Franklin
	Best Urban/Alternative Performance	"Hey Ya!"	Outkast
	Best Rap Album	*Speakerboxx/The Love Below*	Outkast
	Best Rhythm and Blues Song	"Crazy in Love"	Beyoncé Knowles, Jay-Z, Rich Harrison
	Best Rap Solo Performance, Female	"Work It"	Missy Elliott
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Shake Ya Tailfeather"	Nelly, P. Diddy, Murphy Lee
	Best Rap/Sung Collaboration	"Crazy in Love"	Beyoncé & Jay Z
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Blues Singer*	Buddy Guy
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Let's Roll*	Etta James
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*A Little Moonlight*	Dianne Reeves
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*Alegría*	Wayne Shorter
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*Go Tell It on the Mountain*	Blind Boys of Alabama
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*…Again*	Donnie McClurkin
	Best Gospel Choir or Chorus Album	*A Wing and a Prayer*	Bishop T.D. Jakes & The Potter's House Mass Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*Dutty Rock*	Sean Paul
	Best Historical Album	*Martin Scorsese Presents the Blues: A Musical Journey*	
	Producer of the Year		The Neptunes
	Best Music Video, Long Form	*Legend*	Sam Cooke
	Best Instrumental Composition	*Sacajawea*	Wayne Shorter
2004	Album of the Year	*Genius Loves Company*	Ray Charles & Various Artists
	Record of the Year	"Here We Go Again"	Norah Jones & Ray Charles
	Best Pop Vocal Album	*Genius Loves Company*	Ray Charles & Various Artists
	Best Rhythm & Blues Album	*The Diary of Alicia Keys*	Alicia Keys
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Female	"If I Ain't Got You"	Alicia Keys
	Best Rhythm & Blues Vocal Performance, Male	"Call My Name"	Prince
	Best Rhythm & Blues Performance by a Duo or Group	"My Boo"	Usher & Alicia Keys
	Best Traditional Blues Album	*Blues to the Bone*	Etta James
	Best Contemporary Blues Album	*Keep It Simple*	Keb' Mo'
	Best Traditional Rhythm & Blues Performance	"Musicology"	Prince
	Best Contemporary Rhythm & Blues Album	*Confessions*	Usher
	Best Jazz Performance/Album	*R.S.V.P. (Rare Songs, Very Personal)*	Nancy Wilson
	Best Jazz Instrumental Solo Performance	"Speak Like A Child"	Herbie Hancock
	Best Jazz Instrumental Album, Individual or Group	*Illuminations*	McCoy Tyner with Gary Bartz, Terence Blanchard, Christian McBride & Lewis Nash
	Best Rap Album	*The College Dropout*	Kanye West
	Best Rap Solo Performance, Male	"99 Problems"	Jay-Z
	Best Rap Performance by a Duo or Group	"Let's Get It Started"	Black Eyed Peas
	Best Rap/Song Collaboration	"Yeah!"	Usher, Lil Jon, Ludacris
	Best Rap Song	"Jesus Walks"	Kanye West, Che Smith, Miri Ben Ari

[continued]

Grammy Award winners [CONTINUED]

Year	Category	Performance	Performer
	Best Urban/Alternative Performance	"Cross My Mind"	Jill Scott
	Best Pop Instrumental Performance	"11th Commandment"	Ben Harper
	Best Pop Collaboration with Vocals	"Here We Go Again"	Ray Charles & Norah Jones
	Best Gospel Performance	"Heaven Help Us All"	Ray Charles & Gladys Knight
	Best Traditional Soul Gospel Album	*There Will Be A Light*	Ben Harper & Blind Boys of Alabama
	Best Contemporary Soul Gospel Album	*Nothing Without You*	Smokie Norful
	Best Gospel Album by a Choir or Chorus	*Live…This Is Your House*	Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir
	Best Reggae Album	*True Love*	Toots & the Maytals
	Best Historical Album	*Night Train to Nashville: Music City Rhythm and Blues, 1945–70*	
	Best Instrumental Arrangement	*Past, Present and Future*	Slide Hampton

FIGURE 5.1

Death rates in the U.S. by selected causes, 1960–2002*

	Total					Black				
Cause of death	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1989**	**2002**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1989**	**2002**
Total	760.9	714.3	585.8	523.0	847.3	1,073.3	1,044.0	842.5	783.1	768.4
Diseases of the heart	286.2	253.6	202.0	155.9	241.7	334.5	307.6	255.7	216.4	205.6
Malignant neoplasms (cancer)	125.8	129.9	132.8	133.0	93.2	142.3	156.7	172.1	172.7	165.9
Cerebrovascular diseases[1]	79.7	66.3	40.8	28.0	56.4	18.6	140.2	114.5	68.5	49.0
Accidents and adverse effects	49.9	53.7	42.3	33.8	37.0	66.4	74.4	51.2	42.7	33.1
Homicide and legal intervention	—	9.1	10.8	9.4	6.2	—	46.1	40.6	35.7	22.3
Diabetes	13.6	14.1	10.1	11.5	25.4	22.0	26.5	20.3	23.7	33.6
Pneumonia, influenza[2]	28.0	22.1	12.9	13.7	22.8	56.4	40.4	19.2	19.8	15.6
Chronic lower respiratory diseases[3]	—	—	15.9	19.4	43.3	—	—	12.5	16.6	20.7
Cirrhosis and chronic liver disease	10.5	14.7	12.2	8.9	9.5	11.7	24.8	21.6	13.9	6.9
Suicide	—	11.8	11.4	11.3	11.0	—	6.1	6.4	7.1	5.1

* Deaths classified according to the revision of the International Classification of Diseases in use at that time; rates are per 100,000 for residential, age–adjusted population.

(1) Primarily strokes.

(2) 1960s figures for pneumonia and influenza

(3) Such as emphysema or asthma

— = data not available on a comparable basis with later years.

SOURCES: *National Abstract* (1984, 1992); U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 2004–2005.*

FIGURE 5.2

HIV/AIDS deaths in the U.S., 1987–2002*

Year	Black male	Black female	White male	White female	Total all races
1987	26.2	4.6	8.7	0.6	11.5
1990	46.3	10.1	15.7	1.1	18.5
1993	74.5	17.6	20.0	1.9	29.3
1995	89.0	24.4	20.4	2.5	27.3
1997	40.9	13.7	5.9	1.0	9.6
1998	33.2	12.0	4.5	0.8	7.6
1999	36.1	13.1	4.9	1.0	8.2
2000	35.1	13.2	4.6	1.0	7.9
2002	7.4	2.5	3.0	1.6	3.9

* Per 100,000 population.

SOURCES: *Black Americans: A Statistical Sourcebook* (2001) and *Statistical Abstract, 2004–2005.*

FIGURE 5.3

Birthrate, 1917–2002*

Year	Total	Black[+]
1917	28.5	32.9
1920	27.7	35.0
1930	21.3	27.5
1940	19.4	26.7
1950	24.1	33.3
1960	23.7	32.1
1970	18.4	25.3
1980	15.9	22.1
1990	16.7	22.4
2000	14.4	17.0
2001	14.1	16.3
2002	13.9	15.7

* Total live births per 1,000 population for specified group.

[+] Figures through 1960 are for total nonwhite births.

SOURCES: *Historical Statistics of the United States; Statistical Abstract, 1992*; U.S. National Center for Health Statistics data, 2005.

FIGURE 5.4

Top ten countries in Central & South America and the Caribbean with the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS cases, by percent of population, 2003

Number	Country	Total population	% Infected
1.	Haiti	7.6 million	5.6
2.	Trinidad & Tobago	1.1 million	3.2
3.	Bahamas	300,000	3.0
4.	Guyana	749,000	2.5
5.	Belize	273,000	2.4
6.	Honduras	6.9 million	1.8
7.	Dominican Republic	8.7 million	1.7
	Suriname	440,000	1.7
8.	Barbados	280,000	1.5
9.	Jamaica	2.7 million	1.2

FIGURE 5.5

Life expectancy at birth, 1900–2000

Year	Total*	Black and other nonwhite*[+]
1900	47.3	33.0
1910	50.0	35.6
1920	54.1	45.3
1930	59.7	48.1
1940	62.9	53.1
1950	68.2	60.8
1960	69.7	63.6
1970	70.8	64.1
1980	73.7	68.1
1990	75.4	70.3
2000	77.0	71.7

* In years

[+] Figures through 1960 are for all nonwhites.

SOURCES: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, part 1, p. 55; *Statistical Abstract, 1992*; *Statistical Abstract, 2004.*

FIGURE 6.1

Presidential Medal of Freedom honorees

1963	Marian Anderson, singer
	Ralph J. Bunche, scholar, diplomat—with distinction
1964	Lena F. Edwards, physician, humanitarian
	Leontyne Price, singer
	A. Philip Randolph, trade unionist
1969	Ralph Ellison, writer
	Roy Wilkins, civil rights leader
	Whitney M. Young, social worker
	Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington, pianist, composer
1976	Jesse Owens, athlete, humanitarian
1977	Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights leader (posthumously)
1980	Andrew Young, public servant
	Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., lawyer, civil rights activist
1981	James H. "Eubie" Blake, ragtime pianist and composer
	Andrew Young, public servant
1983	James Edward Cheek, educator, scholar
	Mabel Mercer, singer
1984	Jack Roosevelt Robinson, sportsman, baseball player (posthumously)
1985	William "Count" Basie, jazz pianist
	Jerome H. Holland, educator and ambassador, president of American Red Cross (posthumously)
1988	Pearl Bailey, entertainer
1991	Colin L. Powell, general, U.S. Army
	Leon Howard Sullivan, civil rights leader
1992	Ella Fitzgerald, singer
1993	Arthur Ashe, tennis player (posthumously)
	Thurgood Marshall, jurist (posthumously)
	Colin L. Powell, general, U.S. Army
1994	Dorothy Height, humanitarian
	Barbara Jordan, orator
1995	John Hope Franklin, educator, author
	William T. Coleman, Jr., lawyer, government official
	A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., jurist
1996	James L. Farmer, civil rights leader
	John H. Johnson, publisher
	Rosa Parks, civil rights activist
2000	Marian Wright Edelman, humanitarian
	Jesse Jackson, religious and social leader
2002	Bill Cosby, entertainer
2003	Roberto Clemente, baseball player (posthumously)

FIGURE 6.2

Pulitzer Prize winners

Year	Recipient	Category
1950	Gwendolyn Brooks	Poetry
1969	Moneta Sleet, Jr.	Photography
1970	Charles Gordone	Drama
1975	Ovie Carter	International Reporting
	Matthew Lewis	Feature Photography
1976	Scott Joplin (posthumous)	Special Awards and Citations—Music
1977	Alex Haley	Special Awards and Citations—Letters
	Acel Moore	Local Investigative Specialized Reporting
1978	James Alan McPherson	Fiction
1982	Charles Fuller	Drama
	John H. White	Feature Photography
1983	Alice Walker	Fiction
1984	Kenneth Cooper	Local Investigative Specialized Reporting
	Norman Lockman	Local Investigative Specialized Reporting
1985	Dennis Bell	International Reporting
	Ozier Muhammad	International Reporting
1986	Michel duCille	Spot News Photography
1987	Michel duCille	Feature Photography
	Rita Dove	Poetry
1988	August Wilson	Drama
	Toni Morrison	Fiction
	Dean Baquet	Investigative Reporting
1989	Clarence Page	Commentary
1990	Rita Dove	Poetry
1994	Yusef Komunyakaa	Poetry
	David Levering Lewis	Biography
	William Raspberry	Commentary
	Isabel Wilkerson	Feature Writing
1995	Leon Dash	Explanatory Journalism
	Margo Jefferson	Criticism
1996	E.R. Shipp	Commentary
	George Walker	Music
1997	Wynton Marsalis	Music
1998	Clarence J. Williams	Feature Writing
1999	Angelo B. Henderson	Feature Writing
2001	David Levering Lewis	Biography
2002	Suzan Lori-Parks	Drama
2003	Colbert I. King	Commentary
2004	Edward P. Jones	Fiction
	Leonard Pitts, Jr.	Commentary

FIGURE 6.3

African Americans on U.S. postage stamps*

Name	Date appeared
Thirteenth Amendment	1940
Booker T. Washington	1940; 1956
George Washington Carver	1948; 1998
Emancipation Proclamation	1963
Frederick Douglass	1967
Peter Salem	1968
W.C. Handy	1969
Henry O. Tanner	1973
Paul Laurence Dunbar	1975
Salem Poor	1975
Harriet Tubman	1978; 1995
Martin Luther King, Jr.	1979; 1999
Benjamin Banneker	1980
Whitney M. Young, Jr.	1981
Charles Drew	1981
Ralph J. Bunche	1982
Jackie Robinson	1982
Scott Joplin	1983
Carter G. Woodson	1984
Roberto Clemente	1984; 2000
Mary McLeod Bethune	1985
Sojourner Truth	1986
Duke Ellington	1986
Matthew A. Henson	1986
Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable	1987
James Weldon Johnson	1988
A. Philip Randolph	1989
Ida B. Wells	1990
Jesse Owens	1990; 1998
Jan E. Matzeliger	1991; 1998
W. E. B. Du Bois	1992
Percy Lavon Julian	1993
Joe Louis	1993
Otis Redding	1993
Clyde McPhatter	1993
Dinah Washington	1993
Porgy and Bess	1993
Allison Davis	1994
Bill Pickett	1994
Jim Beckwourth	1994
Bessie Smith	1994
Billie Holiday	1994
Buffalo Soldier	1994
Jimmy Rushing	1994
Muddy Waters	1994
Robert Johnson	1994
Ma Rainey	1994
Howlin' Wolf	1994
Ethel Waters	1994
Olympic Games and Sports	1994
Nat "King" Cole	1994
Louis Armstrong	1995
Eubie Blake	1995
Bessie Coleman	1995
John Coltrane	1995
Frederick Douglass	1995
Erroll Garner	1995
Coleman Hawkins	1995
John Henry	1996
James P. Johnson	1995
Charles Mingus	1995
Thelonious Monk	1995
Jelly Roll Morton	1995
Charlie Parker	1995
Count Basie	1996

[continued]

African Americans on U.S. postage stamps* [CONTINUED]

Name	Date appeared
Ernest E. Just	1996
Benjamin O. Davis, Sr.	1997
Mahalia Jackson	1998
Jazz Flourishes	1998
Leadbelly	1998
Roberta Martin	1998
Sister Rosetta Tharpe	1998
Madam C.J. Walker	1998
Clara Ward	1998
Josh White	1998
Desegregating Public Schools	1999
Malcolm X	1999
Josh Gibson	2000
Patricia Roberts Harris	2000
Satchel Paige	2000
Jackie Robinson	2000
Roy Wilkins	2001
Langston Hughes	2002
Ethel L. Payne	2002
Zora Neale Hurston	2003
Thurgood Marshall	2003
Alvin Ailey	2004
James Baldwin	2004
Kwanzaa	2004
Paul Robeson	2004
Wilma Rudolph	2004
Sickle Cell Disease Awareness	2004
Arthur Ashe	2005
Marian Anderson	2005
Brown v. Board of Education	2005
Civil Rights Act of 1964	2005
Freedom Riders	2005
Little Rock Nine	2005
Lunch Counter Sit-Ins	2005
Montgomery Bus Boycott	2005
Selma March	2005
Executive Order 9981	2005
March on Washington	2005
Voting Rights Act of 1965	2005

* Includes people as well as important events in African American history.

FIGURE 6.4

Nobel Prize winners

Year	Winner	Birth–Death	Country	Category
1950	Ralph J. Bunche	(8/7/04–12/9/71)	United States	Peace
1964	Martin Luther King, Jr.	(1/15/29–4/4/68)	United States	Peace
1979	Arthur W. Lewis	(1/23/15–6/15/91)	St. Lucia	Economic Sciences
1992	Derek Alton Walcott	(1/23/30–)	St. Lucia	Literature
1993	Toni Morrison	(2/18/31–)	United States	Literature

FIGURE 7.1

Occupations in the U.S., 1890–2000[1]

Year	Occupations	Total	Black		
			Both sexes	Male	Female
1890	All occupations	22,735,661	3,073,161	2,101,379	971,782
	Agriculture, fisheries & mining	9,013,336	1,757,403	1,329,594	427,809
	Professional services	944,333	33,991	25,170	8,821
	Domestic & personal services	4,360,577	963,080	457,091	505,989
	Trade & transportation	3,326,122	145,717	143,371	2,346
	Manufacturing & mech. industries	5,091,293	172,970	146,153	582,001
1900	All occupations	29,287,070	3,992,337	2,675,497	1,316,840
	Agriculture, fisheries & mining	10,438,219	2,143,154	1,561,153	582,001
	Professional services	1,264,536	47,219	31,625	15,594
	Domestic & personal services	5,693,778	1,317,859	635,933	681,926
	Trade & transportation	4,778,233	208,989	204,852	4,137
	Manufacturing & mech. industries	7,112,304	275,116	241,934	33,182
1910	All occupations	28,167,336	5,192,535	3,178,554	2,013,981
	Agriculture, forestry & husbandry	12,659,203	3,893,375	1,842,238	1,051,137
	Extraction of minerals	964,824	61,629	61,048	81
	Manufacturing & mech. industries	10,658,881	631,377	563,410	67,967
	Transportation	2,637,671	255,969	254,683	1,286
	Trade	3,614,670	119,491	112,464	7,027
	Public service (N.E.C)*	459,291	22,382	22,033	349
	Professional service	1,663,569	67,245	37,600	29,645
	Domestic & personal service	3,772,194	1,122,231	268,874	853,357
	Clerical occupation	1,737,053	19,336	16,204	3,132
1920	All occupations	41,617,248	4,824,151	3,252,862	1,571,289
	Agriculture, forestry & husbandry	10,953,158	2,178,888	1,566,627	612,261
	Extraction of minerals	1,090,223	73,229	72,892	337
	Manufacturing & mech. industries	12,818,524	886,810	781,827	104,983
	Transportation	3,063,582	312,421	308,896	3,525
	Trade	4,242,979	140,467	129,309	11,158
	Public service (N.E.C.)*	770,460	50,552	49,586	966
	Professional service	2,143,889	80,183	41,056	39,127
	Domestic & personal service	3,404,892	1,064,590	273,959	790,631
	Clerical occupation	3,126,541	37,011	28,710	8,301
1930	All occupations	48,829,920	5,503,535	3,662,893	1,840,642
	Agriculture	10,471,998	1,987,839	1,492,555	1,840,642
	Forestry & fishing	250,469	31,732	31,652	80
	Extraction of minerals	984,323	74,972	74,919	53
	Manufacturing & mech. industries	14,110,652	1,024,656	923,586	101,070
	Transportation & communication	3,843,147	397,645	395,437	2,208
	Trade	6,081,467	183,809	169,241	14,568
	Public service (N.E.C.)*	856,205	50,203	49,273	930
	Professional service	3,253,884	135,925	72,898	63,027
	Domestic & professional service	4,952,451	1,576,205	423,645	1,152,560
	Clerical occupation	4,025,324	40,529	29,687	10,862

[continued]

Occupations in the U.S., 1890–2000[1] [CONTINUED]

Year	Occupations	Total	Black		
			Both sexes	Male	Female
1940	All occupations**	44,000,963	4,479,068	2,936,795	1,542,273
	Professional & semi-pro workers	3,345,048	119,200	53,312	65,888
	Farmers & farm managers	5,143,614	666,695	620,479	46,216
	Proprietors, managers, & officials, except farm	3,749,287	48,154	37,240	10,914
	Clerical, sales & kindred workers	7,517,630	79,332	58,557	20,765
	Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	5,055,722	132,110	129,736	2,374
	Operatives and kindred workers	8,252,277	464,195	368,005	96,190
	Domestic service workers	2,111,314	1,003,508	85,566	917,942
	Service workers, except domestic	3,458,334	522,229	362,424	159,805
	Farm laborers & foremen	1,924,890	780,312	581,763	198,549
	Laborers, except farm and mine	3,064,128	636,600	623,641	12,959
	Occupation not reported	378,719	26,743	16,072	10,671
1950	All occupations	56,225,340	5,832,450	3,787,560	2,044,890
	Prof., tech., & kindred workers	4,909,241	179,370	75,090	104,280
	Farmers and farm managers	4,306,253	503,970	471,180	32,790
	Managers, officials, & proprietors, except farm	5,017,465	97,080	71,130	25,950
	Clerical & kindred workers	6,894,374	197,610	116,760	80,850
	Sales workers	3,926,510	68,460	42,030	26,430
	Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	7,772,560	310,830	297,540	13,290
	Operatives & kindred workers	11,146,220	1,092,750	792,060	300,690
	Private household workers (PHW)	1,407,466	571,950	38,700	533,250
	Service workers, except PHW	4,287,703	877,440	498,180	379,260
	Farm laborers & foremen	2,399,794	529,920	377,460	152,460
	Laborers, except farm and mine	3,417,232	936,120	904,230	31,890
	Occupations not reported	740,522	166,950	103,200	63,750
1960	All occupations***	64,646,563	6,622,658	4,004,770	2,617,888
	Prof., tech., & kindred workers	7,223,241	352,298	155,774	196,524
	Farmers & farm managers	2,508,172			
	Managers, officials & proprietors, including farm	5,407,890	315,152	267,855	196,524
	Clerical & kindred workers	9,303,231	433,090	206,269	226,821
	Sales workers	4,643,784	108,316	62,274	46,042
	Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	8,753,468	424,817	407,343	17,474
	Operatives & kindred workers	11,920,442	1,278,134	941,073	337,061
	Service workers, including PHW	7,171,837	2,015,683	580,090	1,435,593
	Laborers, including farm	4,532,950	1,154,253	1,052,092	102,161
	Occupation not reported	3,181,548	540,915	332,000	208,915
1970	All occupations	76,805,171	7,403,056	4,069,397	3,33,659
	Prof., tech. & kindred workers	11,451,868	616,321	237,733	378,588
	Managers & administrators, except farm	6,386,977	166,187	119,562	46,625
	Sales workers	5,432,778	165,767	80,686	85,081
	Clerical & kindred workers	13,782,783	1,021,589	330,492	691,097
	Craftsmen & kindred workers	10,638,804	674,849	626,709	48,140
	Operatives, except transport	10,515,834	1,333,099	798,945	534,154
	Transport equipment operatives	2,954,932	416,146	403,209	12,937
	Laborers, except farm	3,430,637	688,212	639,840	48,140
	Farmers and farm managers	1,426,742	42,001	36,928	5,073
	Farm laborers & farm foremen	962,077	181,465	144,266	37,199
	Service workers, except PHW	8,653,987	1,483,993	633,538	850,455
	Private household workers	1,167,752	613,427	17,489	595,938

[continued]

Occupations in the U.S., 1890–2000[1] [CONTINUED]

Year	Occupations	Total	Black		
			Both sexes	Male	Female
1980	All occupations	97,639,355	9,334,048	4,674,871	4,659,177
	Managerial & prof. specialty occupations	22,151,648	1,317,080	546,271	770,809
	Tech. sales & admin. support occupations	29,593,506	2,352,079	712,342	1,639,737
	Service occupations	12,269,425	2,156,194	792,530	1,363,664
	Farming, forestry & fishing occupations	2,811,258	182,190	156,822	25,368
	Precision product, craft & repair	12,594,175	834,947	726,192	108,755
	Operators, fabricators & laborers	17,859,343	2,491,558	1,740,714	750,844
1990	All occupations	127,041,599	12,775,917	6,102,232	6,673,685
	Managerial & prof. specialty occupations	31,226,845	2,156,676	821,977	1,334,699
	Tech. sales & admin. support occupations	38,525,740	3,723,838	1,130,062	2,593,776
	Service occupations	16,567,557	2,886,289	1,179,182	1,707,107
	Farming, forestry & fishing occupations	7,673,495	203,383	175,111	28,272
	Precision product, craft, & repair occupations	14,031,300	1,051,714	889,906	161,808
	Operators, fabricators & laborers	18,976,662	2,754,017	1,905,994	848,023
2000	Total employed population, 16 years and over	129,721,512	13,001,795	n.a.	n.a.
	Management, prof., and related occupations	43,646,731	10,998,976	n.a.	n.a.
	Service occupations	19,276,947	4,240,928	n.a.	n.a.
	Sales and office occupations	34,621,390	9,451,639	n.a.	n.a.
	Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	951,810	38,072	n.a.	n.a.
	Construction, extractions, and maintenance occupations	12,256,138	796,649	n.a.	n.a.
	Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	18,968,496	3,528,140	n.a.	n.a.

(1) Methods of improving classification have been implemented by the Bureau of the Census over the years, making comparison of data difficult. A large-scale reworking of the classification system was put in place in 1940 (a partial key is included for that year). In some cases there were changes in title with no change in content. In others there were no changes in title but changes in content. Complete information on changes in occupational classification can be obtained from the Bureau of the Census and, for the 1940 census, from Alba M. Edwards, *Population: Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940* (Washington D.C., 1943).

* N.E.C.=Not Elsewhere Classified

** Key to 1940 Census:

"Operatives and kindred workers" includes apprentices, attendants, brakemen, chauffeurs, conductors, motormen, power-station operators, mechanical workers in manufacturing plants, etc.

"Laborers, except farm and mine" workers includes fishermen and oystermen, longshoremen, lumbermen, laborers (not specified) in manufacturing plants, etc.

"Proprietors, managers, and officials, except farm" workers includes proprietors and managers of transportation and communication utilities, eating and drinking establishments, wholesale companies, advertising and insurance agencies, etc., and postmasters and miscellaneous government officials.

"Clerical, sales, and kindred workers" includes baggagemen, bookkeepers, mail carriers, office-machine operators, telegraph operators, canvassers and solicitors, clerks in stores, and salesmen and saleswomen.

"Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers" includes bakers, blacksmiths, boilermakers, carpenters, electricians, and foremen in industry.

"Professional and semiprofessional" workers includes actors, architects, authors, chemists, clergymen, dentists, engineers, lawyers, musicians, pharmacists, teachers, trained nurses, surveyors, etc.

"Service workers, except domestic" workers includes barbers, beauticians and manicurists, charwomen, janitors, cooks, waiters, etc.

***Data for 1960 are based on a 5 percent sample.

SOURCE: U.S. Census data, 1890–2000.

FIGURE 8.1

African-American mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 50,000, 1967–2005[1]

City	Mayor	Term
Alexandria, Va.	William D. Euille	2003—
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Albert Wheeler	1975–1978
Atlanta, Ga.	Maynard H. Jackson	1973–1982
	Andrew J. Young	1982–1990
	Maynard H. Jackson	1990–1993
	Bill Campbell	1994–2002
	Shirley Franklin	2002—
Baltimore, Md.	Clarence H. “Dru” Burns	1986–1987
	Kurt L. Schmoke	1987–1999
Berkeley, Calif.	Warren H. Widener	1971–1979
	Eugene “Gus” Newport	1979–1986
Birmingham, Ala.	Richard Arrington, Jr.	1979–1983
	Bernard Kincaid	1999—
Boulder, Colo.	Penfield W. Tate III	1974–1976
Cambridge, Mass.	Kenneth S. Reeves	1992–1995
Camden, N.J.	Melvin R. Primas, Jr.	1981–1990
	Aaron Thompson	1990–1993
	Arnold Webster	1993–1997
	Gwendolyn A. Faison	2000—
Carson, Calif.[2]	Clarence A. Bridgers	1975–1976
	Thomas G. Mills	1982–1986
Chandler, Ariz.	Coy Payne	1990–1994
Charlotte, N.C.	Harvey B. Gantt	1983–1987
Chesapeake, Va.		1990–2004
Chicago, Ill.	Harold Washington	1983–1987
	Eugene Sawyer	1987–1991
Cincinnati, Ohio	Theodore M. Berry	1972–1975
	John K. Blackwell	1979–1980
	Dwight Tillery	1991–1993
Cleveland, Ohio	Carl B. Stokes	1967–1971
	Michael R. White	1989–2000
Columbus, Ohio	Michael B. Coleman	1999—
Compton, Calif.	Douglas F. Dollarhide	1969–1973
	Doris A. Davis	1973–1977
	Lionel Cade	1977–1981
	Walter R. Tucker III	1981–1992
	Bernice Wood (interim appt.)	1992–1993
	Omar Bradley	1993–2001
	Eric Perrodin	2001—
Dayton, Ohio	James H. McGee	1970–1982
	Richard Clay Dixon	1989–1993
	Rhine McLin	2002—
Denver, Colo.	Wellington E. Webb	1991–2003
Detroit, Mich.	Coleman A. Young	1974–1993
	Dennis Archer	1993–2002
	Kwame Kilpatrick	2002—
Durham, N.C.	William V. Bell	2001—
East Orange, N.J.	William S. Hart, Sr.	1970–1978
	Thomas H. Cooke	1978–1985
	John Hatcher, Jr.	1985–1989
	Cardell Cooper	1990–1997
	Robert Bowser	1998—

[continued]

African-American mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 50,000, 1967–2005[1] [CONTINUED]

City	Mayor	Term
East St. Louis, Ill.	James E. Williams, Sr.	1971–1975
	William E. Mason	1975–1979
	Carl E. Officer	1979–1991
	Gordon D. Bush	1991–n.d.
Evanston, Ill.	Lorraine H. Morton	1993—
Fayetteville, N.C.	Marshall B. Pitts, Jr.	2001—
Flint, Mich.	James A. Sharp	1984–1987
	Stanley Woodrow	1991–2002
Gary, Ind.	Richard G. Hatcher	1967–1988
	Thomas Barnes	1988–1992
Grand Rapids, Mich.	Lyman S. Parks	1973–1975
Hampton, Va.	Mamie E. Locke	2000–2004
Hartford, Conn.	Thirman L. Milner	1981–1987
	Carrie Perry	1987–1993
Inglewood, Calif.	Edward Vincent	1983–1995
	Roosevelt S. Dorn	1997—
Irvington, N.J.	Michael Steele	1990–1994
	Wayne Smith	2002—
Jackson, Miss.	Harvey Johnson	1997—
Jersey City, N.J.	Glenn D. Cunningham	2001–2004
Kalamazoo, Mich.	Robert Jones	1997—
Kansas City, Mo.	Emanuel Cleaver II	1991–1999
Little Rock, Ark.	Charles Bussey	1981–1982
	Lottie Shakelford	1987–1988
Los Angeles, Calif.	Thomas Bradley	1973–1993
Macon, Ga.	Jack Ellis	1999—
Memphis, Tenn.	Willie Herenton	1991—
Miami Gardens, Fla.	Shirley Gibson	2003—
Minneapolis, Minn.	Sharon Sayles Belton	1994–2001
Monroe, La.	James Mayo	2001—
Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	Ronald A. Blackwood	1985–n.d.
	Ernest D. Davis	1995—
New Haven, Conn.	John C. Daniels, Jr.	1990
New Orleans, La.	Ernest N. “Dutch” Morial	1978–1986
	Sidney Barthelemy	1986–1994
	C. Ray Nagin	2002—
New York, N.Y.	David Dinkins	1990–1994
Newark, N.J.	Kenneth A. Gibson	1970–1986
	Sharpe James	1986—
Newport News, Va.	Jessie M. Rattley	1986–1990
North Miami, Fla.	Josaphat “Joe” Celestin	2001–2005
Oceanside, Calif.	Terry Johnson	2000–2004
Oakland, Calif.	Lionel J. Wilson	1977–1990
	Elihu M. Harris	1992–1999
Pasadena, Calif.	Loretta Thompson–Glickman	1982–1984
Philadelphia, Pa.	Wilson Goode	1983–1991
	John F. Street	2000—
Pompano Beach, Fla.	Pat Larkins	1985–1989

[continued]

African-American mayors of U.S. cities with populations over 50,000, 1967–2005[1] [CONTINUED]

City	Mayor	Term
Pontiac, Mich.	Wallace E. Holland	1974–1986
	Walter L. Moore	1986–1989
	Wallace E. Holland	1989–1993
	Charles Harrisson	1994–n.d.
	Willie Payne	2002—
Portsmouth, Va.	James W. Holley	1984–1987, 1996—
Raleigh, N.C.	Clarence Lightner	1973–1975
Richmond, Calif.	Booker T. Anderson	1969–1975
	George Livingston	1985–n.d.
	Irma Anderson	2001—
Richmond, Va.	Henry L. Marsh III	1977–1982
	Roy A. West	1982–1988
	Walter T. Kenney	1990–1994
	Rudolph C. McCollum, Jr.	2001–2004
Roanoke, Va.	Noel C. Taylor	1975–1992
Rochester, N.Y.	William Johnson	1993–2003
Rockford, Ill.	Charles E. Box	1989–n.a.
Saginaw, Mich.	S. Joe Stephens	1977–1979
	Lawrence D. Crawford	1983–1987
	Henry Nickelberry	1989–1993
	Gary Loster	1994–2001
	Wilmer Jones–Ham	2001—
Santa Monica, Calif.	Nathaniel Trives	1975–1979
Savannah, Ga.	Otis Johnson	2004—
Seattle, Wash.	Norman B. Rice	1990—
Southfield, Mich.	Brenda L. Lawrence	2001—
Spokane, Wash.	James Chase	1982–1985
St. Louis, Mo.	Freeman Bosley, Jr.	1993–1997
Tallahassee, Fla.[2]	James R. Ford	1972, 1976, 1982
	Jack McLean	1986–n.d.
	Dorothy J. (Lee) Inman	1989, 1993
Toledo, Ohio	Jack Ford	2001—
Trenton, N.J.	Douglas H. Palmer	1990—
Washington, D.C.[3]	Walter E. Washington	1974–1979
	Marion S. Barry, Jr.	1979–1990
	Sharon Pratt Kelly	1990–1994
	Anthony A. Williams	1999—
West Palm Beach, Fla.	Eva W. Mack	1982–1984
	Samuel A. Thomas	1986–1987
	James Poole	1989–1991
Wichita, Kans.	Price Woodard	1970–1971
Wilmington, Del.	James H. Sills, Jr.	1993–2001
	James M. Baker	2001—

(1) As of July 2005
(2) City council members of these cities each serve mayoral terms of one year at a time
(3) Washington, D.C., began holding mayoral elections in 1974

FIGURE 8.2

Black heads of state in the Americas and the Caribbean, 2005

Country	Head of state	Appointed/elected
The Caribbean		
Anguilla	Osbourne Fleming	March 3, 2000
Antigua and Barbuda	Winston Baldwin Spencer	March 24, 2004
Aruba	Nelson O. Oduber	October 30, 2001
Barbados	Owen Seymour Arthur	September 7, 1994
The Bahamas	Perry Christie	May 3, 2002
Bermuda	William Alexander Scott	July 24, 2003
British Virgin Islands	D. Orlando Smith	June 17, 2003
Dominica	Roosevelt Skerrit	January 8, 2004
Grenada	Keith Mitchell	June 22, 1995
Guadeloupe	Jacques Gillot	March 26, 2001
Jamaica	Percival James Patterson	March 30, 1992
Montserrat	John Osborne	April 5, 2001
Netherlands Antilles	Etienne Ys	June 3, 2004
St. Kitts and Nevis	Denzil Douglas	July 6, 1995
Trinidad and Tobago	Patrick Manning	December 24, 2001
Turks and Caicos	Michael Eugene Misick	August 15, 2003
U.S. Virgin Islands	Charles Wesley Turnbull	January 5, 1999
South America		
Guyana	Samuel Hinds	December 1997
Suriname	Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan	August 12, 2000

SOURCE: CIA World Factbook.

FIGURE 8.3

African-Americans in the U.S. Congress, 1870–2005

Name	Term
U.S. Senate	
Hiram R. Revel (R-MS)	1870–1871
Blanche K. Bruce (R-MS)	1875–1881
Edward W. Brooke (R-MA)	1967–1879
Carol Mosley Braun (D-IL)	1993–1999
Barack Obama (D-IL)	2005—
U.S. House of Representatives	
Joseph H. Rainey (R-SC)	1870–1879
Jefferson F. Long (R-GA)	1870–1871
Robert B. Elliott (R-SC)	1871–1874
Robert C. DeLarge (R-SC)	1871–1873
Benjamin S. Turner (R-AL)	1871–1873
Josiah T. Walls (R-FL)	1871–1873; 1873–1875; 1875–1876
Richard H. Cain (R-SC)	1873–1875; 1877–1879
John R. Lynch (R-MS)	1873–1877; 1882–1883
James T. Rapier (R-AL)	1873–1875
Alonzo J. Ransier (R-SC)	1873–1875
Jeremiah Haralson (R-AL)	1875–1877
John A. Hyman (R-NC)	1875–1877
Charles E. Nash (R-LA)	1875–1877
Robert Smalls (R-SC)	1875–1879
James E. O'Hara (R-NC)	1883–1887
Henry P. Cheatham (R-NC)	1889–1893
John M. Langston (R-VA)	1890–1891
Thomas E. Miller (R-SC)	1890–1891
George W. Murray (R-SC)	1893–1895; 1896–1897
George H. White (R-NC)	1897–1901
Oscar DePriest (R-IL)	1929–1935
Arthur W. Mitchell (D-IL)	1935–1943
William L. Dawson (D-IL)	1943–1970
Adam C. Powell, Jr. (D-NY)	1945–1967; 1969–1971
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-MI)	1955–1980
Robert N.C. Nix (D-PA)	1958–1979
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	1963–1991
John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI)	1965—
William L. Clay (D-MO)	1969–2001
Louis Stokes (D-OH)	1969–1999
Shirley A. Chisholm (D-NY)	1969–1983
George H. Collins (D-IL)	1970–1972
Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA)	1971–1998
Ralph H. Metcalfe (D-IL)	1971–1979
Parren H. Mitchell (D-MD)	1971–1987
Charles B. Rangel (D-NY)	1971—
Walter E. Fauntroy (D-DC)*	1971–1991
Yvonne B. Burke (D-CA)	1973–1979
Cardiss Collins (D-IL)	1973–1997
Barbara C. Jordan (D-TX)	1973–1979
Andrew J. Young (D-GA)	1973–1977
Harold E. Ford (D-TN)	1975–1997
Bennett M. Stewart (D-IL)	1979–1981
Julian C. Dixon (D-CA)	1979–2000
William H. Gray (D-PA)	1979–1991
Mickey Leland (D-TX)	1979–1989
Melvin Evans (R-V.I.)*	1979–1981
George W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI)	1980–1991
Mervyn M. Dymally (D-CA)	1981–1993
Gus Savage (D-IL)	1981–1993
Harold Washington (D-IL)	1981–1983
Katie B. Hall (D-IN)	1982–1985
Major R. Owens (D-NY)	1983—

[continued]

African-Americans in the U.S. Congress, 1870–2005

[CONTINUED]

Name	Term
Edolphus Towns (D-NY)	1983—
Alan Wheat (D-MO)	1983–1995
Charles A. Hayes (D-IL)	1983–1993
Alton R. Waldon, Jr. (D-NY)	1986–1987
Mike Espy (D-MS)	1987–1993
Floyd H. Flake (D-NY)	1987–1997
John Lewis (D-GA)	1987—
Kweisi Mfume (D-MD)	1987–1996
Donald M. Payne (D-NJ)	1989—
Craig A. Washington (D-TX)	1989–1995
Barbara R. Collins (D-MI)	1991–1997
Gary A. Franks (R-CT)	1991–1997
William J. Jefferson (D-LA)	1991—
Eleanor H. Norton (D-DC)*	1991—
Maxine Waters (D-CA)	1991—
Lucian E. Blackwell (D-PA)	1991–1995
Eva M. Clayton (D-NC)	1992–2003
Sanford Bishop (D-GA)	1993—
Corrine Brown (D-FL)	1993—
James E. Clyburn (D-SC)	1993—
Cleo Fields (D-LA)	1993–1997
Alcee L. Hastings (D-FL)	1993—
Earl F. Hilliard (D-AL)	1993–2003
Eddie B. Johnson (D-TX)	1993—
Cynthia McKinney (D-GA)	1993–2003
Carrie Meek (D-FL)	1993–2003
Mel Reynolds (D-IL)	1993–1995
Bobby L. Rush (D-IL)	1993—
Robert C. Scott (D-VA)	1993—
Walter R. Tucker III (D-CA)	1993–1995
Melvin Watt (D-NC)	1993—
Albert R. Wynn (D-MD)	1993—
Bennie G. Thompson (D-MS)	1993—
Chaka Fattah (D-PA)	1995—
Victor O. Frazer (D-Virgin Islands)	1995–1997
Jesse L. Jackson, Jr. (D-IL)	1995—
Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	1995—
J.C. Watts, Jr. (R-OK)	1995–2003
Elijah E. Cummings (D-MD)	1996—
Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)	1996—
Julia M. Carson (D-IN)	1997—
Danny K. Davis (D-IL)	1997—
Harold E. Ford, Jr. (D-TN)	1997—
Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick (D-MI)	1997—
Barbara Lee (D-CA)	1998—
Gregory Meeks (D-NY)	1998—
Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH)	1999—
Diane E. Watson (D-CA)	2001—
Artur Davis (D-AL)	2003—
Kendrick Meek (D-FL)	2003—
Denise L. Majette (D-GA)	2003—
David Scott (D-GA)	2003–2005
Frank W. Ballance (D-NC)	2004—
G.K. Butterfield (D-NC)	2004—
Emanuel Cleaver II (D-MO)	2005—
Al Green (D-TX)	2005—
Gwen Moore (D-WI)	2005—

* Indicates members of Congress with restricted voting.

FIGURE 9.1

Households, total number, average size, 1890–2004

Year	Total	Black[1]	Total	Black
1890	12,960	1,411	4.93	5.32
1900	15,964	1,834	4.76	4.83
1910	20,256	2,173	4.54	4.54
1920	24,352	2,431	4.34	4.31
1930	29,905	2,804	4.11	4.27
1940	34,949	3,142	3.67	4.12
1950	43,554	3,822	3.33	3.82
1960	52,799	4,779	3.33	3.54
1970	63,401	6,180	3.14	3.06
1980	80,390	8,382	2.75	3.06
1990	93,347	10,486	2.63	n.a.
2000	104,705	12,849	2.62	n.a.
2004	112,000	13,629	2.57	2.64

* A household consists of all persons who occupy a housing unit, which is a house, apartment, or other group of rooms occupied or intended as separate living quarters.

(1) For years prior to 2003 multiple race reporting was not available to CPS respondents. The category shown as "Black" refers to Black Alone.

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstracts, 1992: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790–1978*; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2005.

FIGURE 9.2

Black population by selected countries, 2003

Country	Total population	% Black
Argentina	38.7 million	3*
Barbados	280 thousand	90
Bahamas	300 thousand	85
Bermuda	64.5 thousand	58
Brazil	182.0 million	44
Canada	32.2 million	2
Cuba	11.3 million	11
Colombia	44.5 million	4**
Dominican Republic	8.7 million	11
Grenada	89.3 thousand	82
Guatemala	13.9 million	2*
Haiti	7.6 million	95
Honduras	6.7 million	2
Jamaica	2.7 million	90.9
Mexico	104.9 million	1*
Peru	27.9 million	1*
United States	290.3 million	12.9
Uruguay	3.4 million	4
Venezuela	24.7 million	1*
Virgin Islands	124.8 thousand	78

* Of mixed race, including black.

** Another 14 percent is mulatto (Spanish/African) and 3 percent zambo (Amerindian/African).

FIGURE 9.3

African-American population by state, 1790–2000

	1790				1800			
State	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black
Alabama	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
California	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	237,946	2,648	2,771	2.28	251,002	951	5,330	2.50
Delaware	59,096	8,887	3,899	21.64	64,273	6,153	8,268	22.44
Florida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	82,548	29,264	398	35.93	162,686	59,406	1,019	37.14
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Idaho	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	—	—	—	—	5,641	135	163	5.28
Iowa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	73,677	12,430	114	17.03	220,955	40,393	739	18.59
Louisiana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maine	96,540	0	536	0.56	151,719	0	818	0.54
Maryland	319,728	103,036	8,043	34.74	341,548	105,635	19,587	36.66
Massachusetts	378,787	0	5,369	1.42	422,845	0	6,452	1.53
Michigan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minnesota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	—	—	—	—	8,850	3,489	182	41.48
Missouri	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire	141,885	157	630	0.55	183,858	8	852	0.47
New Jersey	184,139	11,423	2,762	7.70	211,149	12,422	4,402	7.97
New Mexico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New York	340,120	21,193	4,682	7.61	589,051	20,903	10,417	5.32
North Carolina	393,751	100,783	5,041	26.88	478,103	133,296	7,043	29.35
North Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio	—	—	—	—	45,365	0	337	0.74
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	434,373	3,707	6,531	2.36	602,365	1,706	14,564	2.70
Rhode Island	68,825	958	3,484	6.45	69,122	380	3,304	5.33
South Carolina	249,073	107,094	1,801	43.72	345,591	146,151	3,185	43.21
South Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	35,691	3,417	361	10.59	105,602	13,584	309	13.16
Texas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont	85,425	0	269	0.31	154,465	0	557	0.36
Virginia	747,610	292,627	12,866	40.86	880,200	345,796	20,124	41.57
Washington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Washington, D.C.	—	—	—	—	14,093	3,244	783	28.57
West Virginia[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1810				1820			
State	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black
Alabama	—	—	—	—	127,901	41,879	571	33.19
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	1,062	—	—	—	14,273	1,617	59	11.74
California	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	261,942	310	6,453	2.58	275,248	97	7,870	2.89
Delaware	72,674	4,177	13,136	23.82	72,749	4,509	12,958	24.01
Florida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	252,433	105,218	1,801	42.40	340,989	149,656	1,763	44.41
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Idaho	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	12,282	168	613	6.36	55,211	917	457	2.49
Indiana	24,520	237	393	2.57	147,178	190	1,230	0.96
Iowa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	406,511	80,561	1,713	20.24	564,317	126,732	2,759	22.95
Louisiana	76,556	34,660	7,585	55.18	153,407	69,064	10,476	51.85
Maine	228,705	0	969	0.42	298,335	0	929	0.31
Maryland	380,546	111,502	33,927	38.22	407,350	107,397	39,730	36.12
Massachusetts	472,040	0	6,737	1.43	523,287	0	6,740	1.29
Michigan	4,762	24	120	3.02	8,896	0	174	1.96
Minnesota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	40,352	17,088	240	42.94	75,448	32,814	458	44.10
Missouri	19,783	3,011	607	18.29	66,586	10,222	347	15.87
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire	214,460	0	970	0.45	244,161	0	786	0.32
New Jersey	245,562	10,851	7,843	7.61	277,575	7,557	12,460	7.21
New Mexico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New York	959,049	15,017	25,333	4.21	1,372,812	10,088	29,279	2.87
North Carolina	555,500	168,824	10,266	32.24	638,829	204,917	14,712	34.38
North Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio	230,760	0	1,899	0.82	581,434	0	4,723	0.81
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	810,091	795	22,492	2.87	1,049,458	211	30,202	2.90
Rhode Island	76,931	108	3,609	4.83	83,059	48	3,554	4.34
South Carolina	415,115	196,365	4,554	48.40	502,741	204,917	14,712	43.69
South Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	261,727	44,535	1,317	17.52	422,823	80,107	2,737	19.59
Texas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont	217,895	0	750	0.34	235,981	0	903	0.38
Virginia	974,600	392,516	30,570	43.41	1,065,366	425,148	36,883	43.37
Washington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Washington, D.C.	24,023	5,395	2,549	33.07	33,039	6,377	4,048	31.55
West Virginia[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1830				1840			
State	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black
Alabama	309,527	117,549	1,572	38.48	590,756	253,532	2,039	43.26
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	30,388	4,576	141	15.52	97,574	19,935	465	20.91
California	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	297,675	25	8,047	2.71	309,978	17	8,105	2.62
Delaware	76,748	3,292	15,855	24.95	78,085	2,605	16,919	25.00
Florida	34,730	15,501	844	47.06	54,477	25,717	817	48.71
Georgia	516,823	217,531	2,486	42.57	691,392	280,944	2,753	41.03
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Idaho	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	157,445	747	1,637	1.51	476,183	331	3,598	0.83
Indiana	343,031	3	3,629	1.06	685,866	3	7,165	1.05
Iowa	—	—	—	—	43,112	16	172	0.44
Kansas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	687,917	165,213	4,917	24.73	779,828	182,258	7,317	24.31
Louisiana	215,739	109,588	16,710	58.54	352,411	168,452	25,502	55.04
Maine	399,455	2	1,190	0.30	501,793	0	1,355	0.27
Maryland	447,040	102,994	52,938	34.88	470,019	89,737	62,078	32.30
Massachusetts	610,408	1	7,048	1.15	737,699	0	8,669	1.18
Michigan	31,639	32	261	0.93	212,267	0	707	0.33
Minnesota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	136,621	65,659	519	48.44	375,651	195,211	1,366	52.33
Missouri	140,455	25,091	569	18.27	383,702	58,240	1,574	15.59
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire	269,328	3	604	0.23	284,574	1	537	0.19
New Jersey	320,823	2,254	18,303	6.41	373,306	674	21,044	5.82
New Mexico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New York	1,918,608	75	44,870	2.34	2,428,921	4	50,027	2.06
North Carolina	737,987	245,601	19,543	35.93	753,419	245,817	22,732	35.64
North Dakota	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio	937,903	6	9,568	1.02	1,519,467	3	17,342	1.14
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	1,348,233	403	37,930	2.84	1,724,033	64	47,854	2.78
Rhode Island	97,799	17	3,561	3.68	108,830	5	3,238	2.98
South Carolina	581,185	315,401	7,921	55.63	594,398	327,038	8,276	56.41
South Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	681,904	141,603	4,555	21.43	829,210	183,059	5,524	22.74
Texas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont	280,652	0	881	0.31	291,948	0	730	0.25
Virginia	1,211,405	469,757	47,348	42.69	1,239,797	448,987	49,842	40.23
Washington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Washington, D.C.	39,834	6,119	6,152	30.81	43,712	4,694	8,361	29.87
West Virginia[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	—	—	—	—	30,945	11	185	0.63
Wyoming	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[continued]								

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1850				1860			
State	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black	Total population	Slave population	Free black population	% Black
Alabama	771,623	342,844	2,265	44.73	946,201	435,080	2,690	45.40
Alaska	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	209,897	47,100	608	22.73	435,450	111,115	144	25.55
California	92,597	0	962	1.04	379,994	0	4,086	1.08
Colorado	—	—	—	—	34,277	0	46	0.13
Connecticut	370,792	0	7,693	2.07	460,147	0	8,627	1.87
Delaware	91,532	2,290	18,073	22.25	112,216	1,798	19,829	19.27
Florida	87,445	39,310	932	46.02	140,424	61,745	932	44.63
Georgia	906,185	381,682	2,931	42.44	1,057,286	462,198	3,500	44.05
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Idaho	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	851,470	0	5,436	0.64	1,711,951	0	7,628	0.45
Indiana	988,416	0	11,262	1.14	1,350,428	0	11,428	0.85
Iowa	192,214	0	333	0.17	674,913	0	1,069	0.16
Kansas	—	—	—	—	107,206	2	625	0.58
Kentucky	982,405	210,981	10,011	22.49	1,155,684	225,483	10,684	20.44
Louisiana	517,762	244,809	17,462	50.65	708,002	331,726	18,647	49.49
Maine	583,169	0	1,356	0.23	628,279	0	1,327	0.21
Maryland	583,034	90,368	74,723	28.32	687,049	87,189	83,942	24.91
Massachusetts	994,514	0	9,064	0.91	1,231,066	0	9,602	0.78
Michigan	397,654	0	2,583	0.65	749,113	—	6,799	0.91
Minnesota	6,077	0	39	—	172,023	0	259	0.15
Mississippi	606,526	309,878	930	51.24	791,305	436,631	773	55.28
Missouri	682,044	87,422	2,618	13.20	1,182,012	114,931	3,572	10.03
Montana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	—	—	—	—	28,841	15	67	0.28
Nevada	—	—	—	—	6,857	0	45	0.66
New Hampshire	317,976	0	520	0.16	326,073	0	494	0.15
New Jersey	489,555	236	23,810	4.91	672,035	18	25,318	3.77
New Mexico	61,547	0	22	—	93,516	0	85	0.09
New York	3,097,394	0	49,069	1.58	3,880,735	0	49,005	1.26
North Carolina	869,039	288,548	27,463	36.36	992,622	331,059	30,463	36.42
North Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	4,837	—	—	—
Ohio	1,980,329	0	25,279	1.28	2,339,511	0	36,673	1.57
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	13,294	0	207	—	52,465	0	128	0.24
Pennsylvania	2,311,786	0	53,626	2.32	2,906,215	0	56,949	1.96
Rhode Island	147,545	0	3,670	2.49	174,620	0	3,952	2.26
South Carolina	668,507	384,984	8,960	58.93	703,708	402,406	9,914	58.59
South Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	1,002,717	239,459	6,422	24.52	1,109,801	275,719	7,300	25.50
Texas	212,592	58,161	397	27.54	604,215	182,566	355	30.27
Utah	11,380	26	24	0.44	40,273	29	30	0.15
Vermont	314,120	0	718	0.23	315,098	0	709	0.23
Virginia	1,421,661	472,528	54,333	37.06	1,596,318	490,865	58,042	34.39
Washington	—	—	—	—	11,594	0	30	0.26
Washington, D.C.	51,687	3,687	10,059	26.59	75,080	3,185	11,131	19.07
West Virginia[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	305,391	0	635	0.21	775,881	0	1,171	0.15
Wyoming	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1870			1880		
State	Total population	Black population	% Black	Total population	Black population	% Black
Alabama	996,992	475,510	47.69	1,262,505	600,103	47.53
Alaska	—	—	—	33,000	—	—
Arizona	9,658	26	0.27	40,440	155	0.38
Arkansas	484,471	122,169	25.22	802,525	210,666	26.25
California	560,247	4,272	0.76	864,694	6,018	0.70
Colorado	39,864	456	1.14	194,327	2,435	1.25
Connecticut	537,454	9,668	1.80	622,700	11,547	1.85
Delaware	125,015	22,794	18.23	146,608	26,442	18.04
Florida	187,748	91,689	48.84	269,493	126,690	47.01
Georgia	1,184,109	545,142	46.04	1,542,180	725,133	47.02
Hawaii	—	—	—	—	—	—
Idaho	14,999	60	0.40	32,610	53	0.16
Illinois	2,539,891	28,762	1.13	3,077,871	46,368	1.51
Indiana	1,680,637	24,560	1.46	1,978,301	39,228	1.98
Iowa	1,194,020	5,762	0.48	1,624,615	9,516	0.59
Kansas	364,399	17,108	4.69	996,096	43,107	4.33
Kentucky	1,321,011	222,210	16.82	1,648,690	271,451	16.46
Louisiana	726,915	364,210	50.10	939,946	483,655	51.46
Maine	626,915	1,606	0.26	648,936	1,451	0.22
Maryland	780,894	175,391	22.46	934,943	210,230	22.49
Massachusetts	1,457,351	13,947	0.96	1,783,085	18,697	1.05
Michigan	1,184,059	11,849	1.00	1,636,937	15,100	0.92
Minnesota	439,706	759	0.17	780,773	1,564	0.20
Mississippi	827,922	444,201	53.65	1,131,597	650,291	57.47
Missouri	1,721,295	118,071	6.86	2,168,380	145,350	6.70
Montana	20,595	183	0.89	39,159	346	0.88
Nebraska	122,993	789	0.64	452,402	2,385	0.53
Nevada	42,491	357	0.84	62,266	488	0.78
New Hampshire	318,300	580	0.18	346,991	685	0.20
New Jersey	906,096	30,658	3.38	1,131,116	38,856	3.43
New Mexico	91,874	172	0.19	119,565	1,015	0.85
New York	4,382,759	52,081	1.19	5,082,871	65,104	1.28
North Carolina	1,071,361	391,650	36.56	1,399,750	531,277	37.96
North Dakota[1]	14,181	94	0.66	135,177	401	0.30
Ohio	2,665,260	63,213	2.37	3,198,062	79,900	2.50
Oklahoma	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	90,923	346	0.38	174,768	487	0.28
Pennsylvania	3,521,951	65,294	1.85	4,282,891	85,535	2.00
Rhode Island	217,353	4,980	2.29	276,531	6,488	2.35
South Carolina	705,606	415,814	58.93	995,577	604,332	60.70
South Dakota[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	1,258,520	322,331	25.61	1,542,359	403,151	26.14
Texas	818,579	253,475	30.97	1,591,749	393,384	24.71
Utah	86,786	118	0.14	143,963	232	0.16
Vermont	330,551	924	0.28	332,286	1,057	0.32
Virginia	1,225,163	512,841	41.86	1,512,565	631,616	41.76
Washington	23,955	207	0.86	75,116	325	0.43
Washington, D.C.	131,700	43,404	32.96	177,624	59,596	33.55
West Virginia[2]	442,014	17,980	4.07	618,457	25,886	4.19
Wisconsin	1,054,670	2,113	0.20	1,315,497	2,702	0.21
Wyoming	9,118	183	2.01	20,789	298	1.43

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1890			1900		
State	Total population	Black population	% Black	Total population	Black population	% Black
Alabama	1,513,401	678,489	44.83	1,828,697	827,307	45.24
Alaska	32,000	—	—	64,000	—	—
Arizona	88,243	1,357	1.54	122,931	1,848	1.50
Arkansas	1,128,211	309,117	27.40	1,311,564	366,856	27.97
California	1,213,398	11,322	0.93	1,485,053	11,045	0.74
Colorado	413,249	6,215	1.50	539,700	8,570	1.59
Connecticut	746,258	12,302	1.65	908,420	15,226	1.68
Delaware	168,493	28,386	16.85	184,735	30,697	16.62
Florida	391,422	166,180	42.46	528,542	230,730	43.65
Georgia	1,837,353	858,815	46.74	2,216,331	1,034,813	46.69
Hawaii	—	—	—	154,000	—	—
Idaho	88,548	201	0.23	161,722	293	0.18
Illinois	3,826,352	57,028	1.49	4,821,550	85,078	1.76
Indiana	2,192,404	45,215	2.06	2,516,462	57,505	2.29
Iowa	1,912,297	10,685	0.56	2,231,853	12,693	0.57
Kansas	1,428,108	49,710	3.48	1,470,495	52,003	3.54
Kentucky	1,858,635	268,071	14.42	2,147,174	284,706	13.26
Louisiana	1,118,588	559,193	49.99	1,381,625	650,804	47.10
Maine	661,086	1,190	0.18	694,466	1,319	0.19
Maryland	1,042,390	215,657	20.69	1,188,044	235,064	19.79
Massachusetts	2,238,947	22,144	0.99	2,805,346	31,974	1.14
Michigan	2,093,890	15,223	0.73	2,420,982	15,816	0.65
Minnesota	1,310,283	3,683	0.28	1,751,394	4,959	0.28
Mississippi	1,289,600	742,559	57.58	1,551,270	907,630	58.51
Missouri	2,679,185	150,184	5.61	3,106,665	161,234	5.19
Montana	142,924	1,490	1.04	243,329	1,523	0.63
Nebraska	1,062,656	8,913	0.84	1,066,300	6,269	0.59
Nevada	47,355	242	0.51	42,335	134	0.32
New Hampshire	376,530	614	0.16	411,588	662	0.16
New Jersey	1,444,933	47,637	3.30	1,883,669	69,844	3.71
New Mexico	160,282	1,956	1.22	195,310	1,610	0.82
New York	6,003,174	70,092	1.17	7,268,894	99,232	1.37
North Carolina	1,617,949	561,018	34.67	1,893,810	624,469	32.97
North Dakota[1]	190,983	373	0.20	319,146	286	0.09
Ohio	3,672,329	87,113	2.37	4,157,545	96,901	2.33
Oklahoma	258,657	21,609	8.35	790,391	55,684	7.05
Oregon	317,704	1,186	0.37	413,536	1,105	0.27
Pennsylvania	5,258,113	107,596	2.05	6,302,115	156,845	2.49
Rhode Island	345,506	7,393	2.14	428,556	9,092	2.12
South Carolina	1,151,149	688,934	59.85	1,340,316	782,321	58.37
South Dakota[1]	348,600	541	0.16	401,570	465	0.12
Tennessee	1,767,518	430,678	24.37	2,020,616	480,243	23.77
Texas	2,235,527	488,171	21.84	3,048,710	620,722	20.36
Utah	210,779	588	0.28	276,749	672	0.24
Vermont	332,422	937	0.28	343,641	826	0.24
Virginia	1,655,980	635,438	38.37	1,854,184	660,722	35.63
Washington	357,232	1,602	0.45	518,103	2,514	0.49
Washington, D.C.	230,392	75,572	32.80	278,718	86,702	31.11
West Virginia[2]	762,794	32,690	4.29	958,800	43,499	4.54
Wisconsin	1,693,330	2,444	0.14	2,069,042	2,542	0.12
Wyoming	62,555	922	1.47	92,531	940	1.02

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African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1910			1920		
State	Total population	Black population	% Black	Total population	Black population	% Black
Alabama	2,138,093	908,282	42.48	2,348,174	900,652	38.36
Alaska	64,000	—	—	55,036	—	—
Arizona	204,354	2,009	0.98	334,162	8,005	2.40
Arkansas	1,574,449	442,891	28.13	1,752,204	472,220	26.95
California	2,377,549	21,645	0.91	3,426,861	38,763	1.13
Colorado	799,024	11,453	1.43	939,629	11,318	1.20
Connecticut	1,114,756	15,174	1.36	1,380,631	21,046	1.52
Delaware	202,322	31,181	51.14	223,003	30,335	13.60
Florida	752,619	308,669	40.01	968,470	329,487	34.02
Georgia	2,609,121	1,176,987	45.11	2,895,832	1,206,365	41.66
Hawaii	192,000	1,000	0.52	255,912	—	—
Idaho	325,594	651	0.20	431,866	920	0.21
Illinois	5,638,591	109,049	1.93	6,485,280	182,274	2.81
Indiana	2,700,876	60,320	2.23	2,930,390	80,810	2.76
Iowa	2,224,771	14,973	0.67	2,404,021	19,005	0.79
Kansas	1,690,949	54,030	3.20	1,769,257	57,925	3.27
Kentucky	2,289,905	261,656	11.43	2,416,630	235,938	9.76
Louisiana	1,656,388	713,874	43.10	1,798,509	700,257	38.94
Maine	742,371	1,363	0.18	768,014	1,310	0.17
Maryland	1,295,346	232,250	17.93	1,449,661	244,479	16.86
Massachusetts	3,366,416	38,055	1.13	3,852,356	45,466	1.18
Michigan	2,810,173	17,115	0.61	3,668,412	60,082	1.64
Minnesota	2,075,708	7,084	0.34	2,387,125	8,809	0.37
Mississippi	1,797,114	1,009,487	56.17	1,790,618	935,184	52.23
Missouri	3,293,355	157,452	4.78	3,404,055	178,241	5.24
Montana	376,053	1,834	0.49	548,889	1,658	0.30
Nebraska	1,192,214	7,689	0.64	1,276,372	13,242	1.02
Nevada	81,875	513	0.63	77,407	346	0.45
New Hampshire	430,572	564	0.13	443,083	621	0.14
New Jersey	2,537,167	89,760	3.54	3,155,900	117,132	3.71
New Mexico	327,301	1,628	0.50	360,350	5,733	1.59
New York	9,113,614	134,191	1.47	10,385,227	198,483	1.91
North Carolina	2,206,287	697,843	31.63	2,559,123	763,407	29.83
North Dakota[1]	577,056	617	0.11	646,872	467	0.07
Ohio	4,767,121	111,452	2.34	5,759,394	186,187	3.23
Oklahoma	1,657,155	137,612	8.30	2,028,283	149,408	7.37
Oregon	672,765	1,492	0.22	783,389	2,144	0.27
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	193,919	2.53	8,720,017	284,568	3.26
Rhode Island	542,610	9,529	1.76	604,397	10,036	1.66
South Carolina	1,515,400	835,843	55.16	1,683,724	864,719	51.36
South Dakota[1]	583,888	817	0.14	636,547	832	0.13
Tennessee	2,184,789	473,088	21.65	2,337,885	451,758	19.32
Texas	3,896,542	690,049	17.71	4,663,228	741,694	15.91
Utah	373,351	1,144	0.31	449,396	1,446	0.32
Vermont	355,956	1,621	0.46	352,428	572	0.16
Virginia	2,061,612	671,096	32.55	2,309,187	690,017	29.88
Washington	1,141,990	6,058	0.53	1,356,621	6,883	0.51
Washington, D.C.	331,069	94,446	28.53	437,571	109,966	25.13
West Virginia[2]	1,221,119	64,173	5.26	1,463,701	86,345	5.90
Wisconsin	2,333,860	2,900	0.12	2,632,067	5,201	0.20
Wyoming	145,965	2,235	1.53	194,402	1,375	0.71

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1930			1940		
State	Total population	Black population	% Black	Total population	Black population	% Black
Alabama	2,646,248	944,834	35.70	2,832,961	983,290	34.71
Alaska	59,278	—	—	72,524	141	0.19
Arizona	435,573	10,749	2.47	499,261	14,993	3.00
Arkansas	1,854,482	478,463	25.80	1,949,387	482,578	24.76
California	5,677,251	81,048	1.43	6,907,387	124,306	1.80
Colorado	1,035,791	11,828	1.14	1,123,296	12,176	1.08
Connecticut	1,606,903	29,354	1.83	1,709,242	32,992	1.93
Delaware	238,380	32,602	13.68	266,505	35,876	13.46
Florida	1,468,211	431,828	29.41	1,897,414	514,198	27.10
Georgia	2,908,506	1,071,125	36.83	3,123,723	1,084,927	34.73
Hawaii	368,336	—	—	423,330	255	0.06
Idaho	445,032	668	0.15	524,873	595	0.11
Illinois	7,630,654	328,972	4.31	7,897,241	387,446	4.91
Indiana	3,238,503	111,982	3.46	3,427,796	121,916	3.56
Iowa	2,470,939	17,380	0.70	2,538,268	16,694	0.66
Kansas	1,880,999	66,344	3.53	1,801,028	65,138	3.62
Kentucky	2,614,589	226,040	8.65	2,845,627	214,031	7.52
Louisiana	2,101,593	766,326	36.94	2,363,880	849,303	35.93
Maine	797,423	1,096	0.14	847,226	1,304	0.15
Maryland	1,631,526	276,379	16.94	1,821,244	301,931	16.58
Massachusetts	4,249,614	52,365	1.23	4,316,721	55,391	1.28
Michigan	4,842,325	169,453	3.50	5,256,106	208,345	3.96
Minnesota	2,563,953	9,445	0.37	2,792,300	9,928	0.36
Mississippi	2,009,821	1,009,718	50.24	2,183,796	1,074,578	49.21
Missouri	3,629,367	223,840	6.17	3,784,664	244,386	6.46
Montana	537,606	1,256	0.23	559,456	1,120	0.20
Nebraska	1,377,963	13,752	1.00	1,315,834	14,171	1.08
Nevada	91,058	516	0.57	110,247	664	0.60
New Hampshire	465,293	790	0.17	491,524	414	0.08
New Jersey	4,041,334	208,828	5.17	4,160,165	226,973	5.46
New Mexico	423,317	2,850	0.67	531,818	4,672	0.88
New York	12,588,066	412,814	3.28	13,479,142	571,221	4.24
North Carolina	3,170,276	918,647	28.98	3,571,623	981,298	24.47
North Dakota[1]	680,845	377	0.06	641,935	201	0.03
Ohio	6,646,697	309,304	4.65	6,907,612	339,461	4.91
Oklahoma	2,396,040	172,198	7.19	2,336,434	168,849	7.23
Oregon	953,786	2,234	0.23	1,089,684	2,565	0.24
Pennsylvania	9,631,350	431,257	4.48	9,900,180	470,172	4.75
Rhode Island	687,497	9,913	1.44	713,346	11,024	1.55
South Carolina	1,738,765	793,681	45.65	1,899,804	814,164	42.86
South Dakota[1]	692,849	646	0.09	642,961	474	0.07
Tennessee	2,616,556	477,646	18.25	2,915,841	508,736	17.45
Texas	5,824,715	854,964	14.68	6,414,824	924,391	14.14
Utah	507,847	1,108	0.22	550,310	1,235	0.22
Vermont	359,611	568	0.16	359,231	384	0.11
Virginia	2,421,851	650,165	26.85	2,677,773	661,449	24.70
Washington	1,563,396	6,840	0.44	1,736,191	7,424	0.43
Washington, D.C.	486,869	132,068	27.13	663,091	187,266	28.24
West Virginia[2]	1,729,205	114,893	6.64	1,901,974	117,754	6.19
Wisconsin	2,939,006	10,739	0.37	3,137,587	12,158	0.39
Wyoming	225,565	1,250	0.55	250,742	956	0.38

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

State	1950 Total population	1950 Black population	1950 % Black	1960 Total population	1960 Black population	1960 % Black
Alabama	3,061,743	979,617	32.00	3,266,740	980,271	30.01
Alaska	128,643	—	—	226,167	6,771	2.99
Arizona	749,587	25,974	3.47	1,302,161	43,403	3.33
Arkansas	1,909,511	426,639	22.34	1,786,272	388,787	21.77
California	10,586,223	462,172	4.37	15,717,204	883,861	5.62
Colorado	1,325,089	20,177	1.52	1,753,947	39,992	2.28
Connecticut	2,007,280	53,472	2.66	2,535,234	107,449	4.24
Delaware	318,085	43,598	13.71	446,292	60,688	13.60
Florida	2,771,305	603,101	21.76	4,951,560	880,186	17.78
Georgia	3,444,578	1,062,762	30.85	3,943,116	1,122,596	28.47
Hawaii	499,794	2,651	0.53	632,772	4,943	0.78
Idaho	588,637	1,050	0.18	667,191	1,502	0.23
Illinois	8,712,176	645,980	7.41	10,081,158	1,037,470	10.29
Indiana	3,934,224	174,168	4.43	4,662,498	269,275	5.78
Iowa	2,621,073	19,692	0.75	2,757,537	25,354	0.92
Kansas	1,905,299	73,158	3.84	2,178,611	91,445	4.20
Kentucky	2,944,806	201,921	6.86	3,038,156	215,949	7.11
Louisiana	2,683,516	882,428	32.88	3,257,022	1,039,207	31.91
Maine	913,774	1,221	0.13	969,265	3,318	0.34
Maryland	2,343,001	385,972	16.47	3,100,689	518,410	16.72
Massachusetts	4,690,514	73,171	1.56	3,148,582	111,842	2.17
Michigan	6,371,766	442,296	6.94	7,823,194	717,581	9.17
Minnesota	2,982,483	14,022	0.47	3,413,864	22,263	0.65
Mississippi	2,178,914	986,494	45.27	2,178,141	915,743	42.04
Missouri	3,954,653	297,088	7.51	4,319,813	390,853	9.05
Montana	591,024	1,232	0.21	674,767	1,467	0.22
Nebraska	1,325,510	19,234	1.45	1,411,330	29,262	2.07
Nevada	160,083	4,302	2.69	285,278	13,484	4.73
New Hampshire	533,242	731	0.14	606,921	1,903	0.31
New Jersey	4,835,329	318,565	6.59	6,066,782	514,875	8.49
New Mexico	681,187	8,408	1.23	951,023	17,063	1.79
New York	14,830,192	918,191	6.19	16,782,304	1,417,511	8.45
North Carolina	4,061,929	1,047,353	25.78	4,556,155	1,116,021	24.49
North Dakota[1]	619,636	257	0.04	632,446	777	0.12
Ohio	7,946,627	513,072	6.46	9,706,397	786,097	8.10
Oklahoma	2,233,351	145,503	6.52	2,328,284	153,084	6.57
Oregon	1,521,341	11,529	0.76	1,768,687	18,133	1.03
Pennsylvania	10,498,012	638,485	6.08	11,319,366	852,750	7.53
Rhode Island	791,896	13,903	1.76	859,488	18,332	2.13
South Carolina	2,117,027	822,077	38.83	2,382,594	829,291	34.81
South Dakota[1]	652,740	727	0.11	680,514	1,114	0.16
Tennessee	3,291,718	530,603	16.12	3,567,089	586,876	16.45
Texas	7,711,194	977,458	12.68	9,579,677	1,187,125	12.39
Utah	688,862	2,729	0.40	890,627	4,148	0.47
Vermont	377,747	443	0.12	389,881	519	0.13
Virginia	3,318,680	734,211	22.12	3,966,949	816,258	20.58
Washington	2,378,963	30,691	1.29	2,853,214	48,738	1.71
Washington, D.C.	802,178	280,803	35.01	763,956	411,737	53.90
West Virginia[2]	2,005,552	114,867	5.73	1,860,421	89,378	4.80
Wisconsin	3,434,575	28,182	0.82	3,951,777	74,546	1.89
Wyoming	290,529	2,557	0.88	330,066	2,183	0.66

[continued]

African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	1970			1980		
State	Total population	Black population	% Black	Total population	Black population	% Black
Alabama	3,444,165	903,467	26.23	3,893,888	996,283	25.59
Alaska	300,382	8,911	2.97	401,851	13,748	3.42
Arizona	1,770,900	53,334	3.01	2,718,215	74,159	2.73
Arkansas	1,923,295	352,445	18.33	2,286,435	373,025	16.31
California	19,953,134	1,400,143	7.02	23,667,902	1,818,660	7.68
Colorado	2,207,259	66,411	3.01	2,889,964	101,695	3.52
Connecticut	3,031,709	181,177	5.98	3,107,576	216,641	6.97
Delaware	548,104	78,276	14.28	594,338	96,157	16.18
Florida	6,789,443	1,041,651	15.34	9,746,324	1,343,134	13.78
Georgia	4,589,575	1,187,149	25.87	5,463,105	1,464,435	26.81
Hawaii	768,561	7,573	0.99	964,691	17,687	1.83
Idaho	712,567	2,130	0.30	943,935	2,711	0.29
Illinois	11,113,976	1,425,674	12.83	11,427,518	1,674,467	14.65
Indiana	5,193,669	357,464	6.88	5,490,224	414,489	7.55
Iowa	2,824,376	32,596	1.15	2,913,808	42,228	1.45
Kansas	2,246,578	106,977	4.76	2,363,679	126,356	5.35
Kentucky	3,218,706	230,793	7.17	3,660,777	359,289	9.81
Louisiana	3,641,306	1,086,832	29.85	4,205,900	1,238,472	29.45
Maine	992,048	2,800	0.28	1,124,660	3,381	0.30
Maryland	3,922,399	699,479	17.83	4,216,975	957,418	22.70
Massachusetts	5,689,170	175,817	3.09	5,737,037	221,029	3.85
Michigan	8,875,083	991,066	11.17	9,262,078	1,197,177	12.93
Minnesota	3,804,971	34,868	0.92	4,075,970	52,325	1.28
Mississippi	2,216,912	815,770	36.80	2,520,637	887,111	35.19
Missouri	4,676,501	480,172	10.27	4,916,686	513,385	10.44
Montana	694,409	1,995	0.29	786,690	1,738	0.22
Nebraska	1,483,493	39,911	2.69	1,569,825	47,946	3.05
Nevada	488,738	27,762	5.68	800,493	51,203	6.40
New Hampshire	737,681	2,505	0.34	920,610	4,324	0.47
New Jersey	7,168,164	770,292	10.75	7,364,823	924,909	12.56
New Mexico	1,016,000	19,555	1.92	1,302,894	23,071	1.77
New York	18,236,967	2,168,949	11.89	17,558,072	2,405,818	13.70
North Carolina	5,082,059	1,126,478	22.17	5,881,766	1,319,054	22.43
North Dakota[1]	617,761	2,494	0.40	652,717	2,471	0.38
Ohio	10,651,987	970,477	9.11	10,797,630	1,076,742	9.97
Oklahoma	2,559,229	171,892	6.72	3,025,290	204,810	6.77
Oregon	2,091,385	26,308	1.26	2,633,105	37,454	1.42
Pennsylvania	11,793,909	1,016,514	8.62	11,893,895	1,045,318	8.79
Rhode Island	946,725	25,338	2.68	947,154	27,361	2.89
South Carolina	2,590,516	789,041	30.46	3,121,820	947,969	30.37
South Dakota[1]	665,507	1,627	0.24	690,768	2,152	0.31
Tennessee	3,923,687	621,261	15.83	4,591,120	724,808	15.79
Texas	11,196,730	1,399,005	12.49	14,229,191	1,704,741	11.98
Utah	1,059,273	6,617	0.62	1,461,037	9,691	0.66
Vermont	444,330	761	0.17	511,456	1,188	0.23
Virginia	4,648,494	861,368	18.53	5,346,818	1,008,665	18.86
Washington	3,409,169	71,308	2.09	4,132,156	105,604	2.56
Washington, D.C.	756,510	537,712	71.08	638,333	448,370	70.24
West Virginia[2]	1,744,237	67,342	3.86	1,949,664	65,041	3.34
Wisconsin	4,417,731	128,224	2.90	4,705,767	183,169	3.89
Wyoming	332,416	2,568	0.77	469,557	3,270	0.70

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African-American population by state, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

State	1990 Total population	1990 Black population	1990 % Black	2000 Total population	2000 Black population	2000 % Black
Alabama	4,040,587	1,020,705	25.26	4,447,100	1,155,930	26.0
Alaska	550,043	22,451	4.08	626,932	21,787	3.5
Arizona	3,665,228	110,524	3.02	5,130,632	158,873	3.1
Arkansas	2,350,725	373,912	15.91	2,673,400	418,950	15.7
California	29,760,021	2,208,801	7.42	33,871,648	2,263,882	6.7
Colorado	3,294,394	133,146	4.04	4,301,261	165,063	3.8
Connecticut	3,287,116	274,269	8.34	3,405,565	309,843	9.1
Delaware	666,168	112,460	16.88	783,600	150,666	19.2
Florida	12,937,926	1,759,534	13.60	15,982,378	2,335,505	14.6
Georgia	6,478,216	1,746,565	26.96	8,186,453	2,349,542	28.7
Hawaii	1,108,229	27,195	2.45	1,211,537	22,003	1.8
Idaho	1,006,749	3,370	0.33	1,293,953	5,456	0.4
Illinois	11,430,602	1,694,273	14.82	12,419,293	1,876,875	15.1
Indiana	5,554,159	432,092	7.79	6,080,485	510,034	8.4
Iowa	2,776,755	48,090	1.73	2,296,324	61,853	2.1
Kansas	2,477,574	143,076	5.77	2,688,418	154,198	5.7
Kentucky	3,685,296	262,907	7.13	4,041,769	295,994	7.3
Louisiana	4,219,973	1,299,281	30.79	4,468,976	1,451,944	32.5
Maine	1,227,928	5,138	0.42	1,274,923	6,760	0.5
Maryland	4,781,468	1,190,000	24.89	5,296,486	1,477,411	27.9
Massachusetts	6,016,425	300,130	4.99	6,349,097	343,454	5.4
Michigan	9,295,297	1,291,706	13.90	9,938,444	1,412,742	14.2
Minnesota	4,375,099	94,944	2.17	4,919,479	171,731	3.5
Mississippi	2,573,216	915,057	35.56	2,844,658	1,033,809	36.3
Missouri	5,117,073	548,208	10.71	5,595,211	629,391	11.2
Montana	799,065	2,381	0.30	902,195	2,692	0.3
Nebraska	1,578,385	57,404	3.64	1,711,263	68,541	4.0
Nevada	1,201,833	78,771	6.55	1,998,257	135,477	6.8
New Hampshire	1,109,252	7,198	0.65	1,235,786	9,035	0.7
New Jersey	7,730,188	1,036,825	13.41	8,414,350	1,141,821	13.6
New Mexico	1,515,069	30,210	1.99	1,819,046	34,343	1.9
New York	17,990,455	2,859,055	15.89	18,976,457	3,014,385	15.9
North Carolina	6,628,637	1,456,323	21.97	8,049,313	1,737,545	21.6
North Dakota[1]	638,800	3,524	0.55	642,200	3,916	0.6
Ohio	10,847,115	1,154,826	10.65	11,353,140	1,301,307	11.5
Oklahoma	3,145,585	23,301	0.74	3,450,654	260,968	7.6
Oregon	2,842,321	46,178	1.62	3,421,399	55,662	1.6
Pennsylvania	11,881,643	1,089,795	9.17	12,281,054	1,224,612	10.0
Rhode Island	1,003,464	38,861	3.87	1,048,319	46,908	4.5
South Carolina	3,468,703	1,039,884	29.98	4,012,012	1,185,216	29.5
South Dakota[1]	696,004	3,258	0.47	754,844	4,685	0.6
Tennessee	4,877,185	778,035	15.95	5,689,283	932,809	16.4
Texas	16,986,510	2,021,632	11.90	20,851,820	2,404,566	11.5
Utah	1,722,850	11,576	0.67	2,233,169	17,657	0.8
Vermont	562,758	1,951	0.35	608,827	3,063	0.5
Virginia	6,187,358	1,162,994	18.80	7,078,515	1,390,293	19.6
Washington	4,866,692	149,801	3.08	5,894,121	190,267	3.2
Washington, D.C.	606,900	399,604	65.84	572,059	343,312	60.0
West Virginia[2]	1,793,477	56,295	3.14	1,808,344	57,232	3.2
Wisconsin	4,891,769	244,539	5.00	5,363,675	304,460	5.7
Wyoming	453,588	3,606	0.79	493,782	3,722	0.8

(1) Figures for North Dakota represent whole of Dakota Territory until 1890. North and South Dakota became states in 1889.

(2) West Virginia was originally part of Virginia. It became a separate state in 1863.

FIGURE 9.4

African-American population during the colonial period, according to the U.S. Census

Year	Total population[1]	Black population	%
Connecticut			
1756	130,612	3,657	2.80
1774	197,842	6,529	3.30
Georgia			
1753	2,261	1,600	70.77
1756	6,355	1,856	29.21
Maryland			
1701	22,258	2,849	12.80
1704	34,912	4,475	12.82
1710	42,741	7,945	18.59
1712	46,151	8,408	18.22
1762	164,007	49,694	30.30
Massachusetts			
1764	245,698	6,880	2.80[2]
New Hampshire			
1767	52,720	633	1.20
1773	73,097	674	0.92
1775	81,300	650	0.80
New Jersey[3]			
1726	32,442	2,595	8.00
1737–38	46,676	3,981	8.53
1745	61,403	4,606	7.50
New Orleans[4]			
1721	372	94	25.27
1771	3,190	1,387	43.48
New York			
1698	18,067	2,168	12.00[5]
1703	20,665	2,258	10.93
1712–14	22,608	2,425	10.73
1723	40,564	6,171	15.21
1731	50,286	7,231	14.38
1737	60,437	8,941	14.79
1746	61,589	9,107	14.79
1749	73,348	10,592	14.44
1756	96,590	13,348	13.82
1771	168,007	19,825	11.80
Rhode Island			
1708	7,181	424	5.90
1730	17,935	1,648	9.19
1774	59,607	5,067	8.50
South Carolina			
1708	9,580	5,499	57.40[6]
Virginia			
1624	1,275	22	1.73

(1) The terms "black," "Negro," and "slave" were often used interchangeably by colonial census-takers, so accurate figures on free blacks and slaves are not available.

(2) Includes 0.7% Indians.

(3) West Jersey, 1726–74

(4) Not a British colony; no census data available for Louisiana.

(5) Includes 2.3% Indians.

(6) Includes 14.5% Indians.

FIGURE 9.5

African-American population in selected cities, 1790

City	Total population	Black population	%
Charleston, SC	16,359	8,270	50.5
New York, NY	33,131	3,470	10.5
New Orleans, LA[1]	4,516	2,451	54.3
Philadelphia, PA	28,522	2,078	7.3
Petersburg, VA	3,761	1,744	46.4
Baltimore, MD	13,503	1,578	11.7
Norfolk, VA	2,959	1,355	45.8
Boston, MA	18,038	761	4.2
Newport, RI	6,716	640	9.5
Albany, NY	3,498	598	17.1
Providence, RI	6.380	475	7.4
Brooklyn, NY	1,603	419	26.1

(1) Figures for New Orleans, then owned by Spain, from 1791.

SOURCE: U.S. Census, 1790; Randall M. Miller and John David Smith, eds., *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery.*

FIGURE 9.6

Black population for selected cities of Canada, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, 2004

City	Total population	% Black population
1. Buenos Aires, Argentina	12.0 million	2*
2. São Paolo, Brazil	10.9 million	2*
3. Mexico City, Mexico	8.7 million	1*
4. Lima, Peru	8.3 million	0.6*
5. Bogotá, Colombia	11.3 million	3*
6. Toronto, Canada	5.2 million	6.6
7. Caracas, Venezuela	5.1 million	0.5*
7. Havana, Cuba	2.1 million	8*
8. Santo Domingo	2.1 million	9.5*
9. Port au Prince, Haiti	950,000	97*
10. Kingston, Jamaica	600,000	92*

* Figures are estimates extrapolated from the black population for the entire country.

FIGURE 9.7

African-American population of the United States, 1790–2000

Decade	Total population	Total black population	Slave population	Free population	% Black
1790	3,929,214	757,208	697,624	59,557	19.27
1800	5,308,483	1,002,037	893,602	108,435	18.88
1810	7,239,881	1,377,808	1,191,362	186,446	19.03
1820	9,638,453	1,771,656	1,538,022	233,634	18.38
1830	12,866,020	2,328,612	2,009,043	319,599	18.10
1840	17,069,453	2,873,648	2,487,355	386,293	16.84
1850	23,191,876	3,638,808	3,204,313	434,495	15.69
1860	31,443,321	4,441,830	3,953,760	488,070	14.13
1870	38,558,371	4,880,009			12.66
1880	50,155,783	6,580,793			13.12
1890	62,947,714	7,488,676			11.90
1900	75,991,575	8,883,994			11.62
1910	91,972,266	9,827,763			10.69
1920	105,710,620	10,463,131			9.90
1930	122,775,046	11,891,143			9.69
1940	131,669,275	12,865,518			9.77
1950	150,697,361	15,042,286			9.98
1960	179,323,175	18,871,831			10.52
1970	203,211,920	22,580,289			11.11
1980	226,546,000	26,495,000			11.70
1990	248,710,000	29,986,000			12.06
2000	281,421,906	34,658,190			12.32

FIGURE 9.8

Families, total number, average size, status of head, U.S., 1940–1991

	Single parent families (in thousands)*		Average size		% Husband-wife		% Male head		% Female head	
Year	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
1940	32,166	2,699[1]	3.76	—	83.8	77.1	4.9	5.0	11.2	17.9
1950	39,303	3,432[2]	3.54	—	87.6	77.7	3.0	4.7	9.4	17.6
1960	45,111	3,950	3.67	—	87.2	74.1	2.8	4.1	10.0	21.7
1970	51,586	4,774	3.58	4.13	86.8	68.1	2.4	3.7	10.8	28.3
1980	59,550	6,184	3.29	3.67	82.5	55.5	2.9	4.1	14.6	40.3
1990	66,090	7,470	3.17	3.46	79.2	50.2	4.4	6.0	16.5	43.8
1991	66,322	7,471	3.18	3.51	78.6	47.8	4.4	6.3	17.0	45.9
2003	75,596	4,165	n.a.	n.a.	80.1	n.a.	5.0	n.a.	14.5	n.a.
2004	76,217	4,040	3.19	2.90	n.a.	n.a.	4.2	n.a.	12.3	n.a.

* "Family" refers to a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and residing together in a household.

(1) Data revised to exclude one-person families.

(2) Data include families of other nonwhite races.

SOURCES: *Statistical Abstract, 1992*; *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*; *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790–1978*; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2005 and earlier years.

FIGURE 9.9

Top ten U.S. cities of African-American population, 1820–2000

City	Total population	Black population	%
1820			
1. Baltimore	62,738	14,192	22.62
2. Charleston	24,780	14,127	57.01
3. District of Columbia	33,039	10,425	31.55
4. New York	123,706	10,086	8.15
5. Philadelphia	63,802	8,785	13.77
6. New Orleans	14,175	8,515	60.07
7. Richmond	12,067	5,622	46.59
8. Savannah	7,523	3,657	48.61
9. St. Louis	10,049	2,035	20.25
10. Boston	42,536	1,737	4.08
1860			
1. Baltimore	212,418	27,898	13.13
2. New Orleans	168,675	24,074	14.27
3. Philadelphia	562,529	22,185	3.94
4. Charleston	40,522	17,146	42.31
5. District of Columbia	75,080	14,316	19.07
6. Richmond	37,910	14,275	37.65
7. New York	805,658	12,472	1.55
8. Savannah	22,292	8,417	37.76
9. Mobile	29,258	8,404	28.72
10. Donaldsonville, La.	11,484	4,544	65.69
1900			
1. District of Columbia	278,718	86,702	31.11
2. Baltimore	508,957	79,258	15.57
3. New Orleans	287,104	77,714	27.07
4. Philadelphia	1,293,697	62,613	4.84
5. New York	3,437,202	60,666	1.76
6. Memphis	102,320	49,910	48.78
7. Louisville	204,731	39,139	19.12
8. Atlanta	89,872	35,727	39.75
9. St. Louis	575,238	35,516	6.17
10. Richmond	85,050	32,230	37.90
1920			
1. New York	5,620,048	152,467	2.71
2. Philadelphia	1,823,799	134,229	7.30
3. District of Columbia	437,571	109,966	25.13
4. Chicago	2,701,705	109,458	4.05
5. Baltimore	733,826	103,322	14.08
6. New Orleans	387,219	100,930	26.07
7. Birmingham	178,806	70,230	39.28
8. St. Louis	772,897	69,854	9.04
9. Atlanta	200,616	62,796	31.30
10. Memphis	162,351	61,181	37.68
1940			
1. New York	7,454,995	458,444	6.15
2. Chicago	3,396,808	277,731	8.18
3. Philadelphia	1,931,334	251,880	13.04
4. District of Columbia	663,091	187,226	28.24
5. Baltimore	859,100	165,843	19.30
6. Detroit	1,623,452	149,119	9.19
7. New Orleans	494,537	149,034	30.14
8. Memphis	292,942	121,498	41.48
9. Birmingham	267,583	108,938	40.71
10. St. Louis	816,048	108,765	13.33
1960			
1. New York	7,781,984	1,087,931	13.98
2. Chicago	3,550,404	812,637	22.89
3. Philadelphia	2,002,512	529,240	26.43
4. Detroit	1,670,144	482,223	28.87
5. District of Columbia	763,956	411,737	53.90
6. Los Angeles	2,479,015	334,916	13.51
7. Baltimore	939,024	325,589	34.67
8. New Orleans	627,525	233,514	37.21
9. Houston	938,219	215,037	22.92
10. St. Louis	750,026	214,377	28.58
1990			
1. New York	7,322,564	2,102,512	28.17
2. Chicago	2,783,726	1,087,711	39.07
3. Detroit	1,027,974	777,916	75.67
4. Philadelphia	1,585,577	631,936	39.86
5. Los Angeles	3,485,398	487,674	13.99
6. Houston	1,630,553	457,990	28.09
7. Baltimore	736,014	435,768	59.21
8. District of Columbia	606,900	399,604	65.84
9. Memphis	610,337	334,737	54.84
10. New Orleans	496,938	307,728	61.92
2000			
1. New York	8,008,278	2,129,762	26.6
2. Chicago	2,898,016	1,065,009	36.8
3. Detroit	951,270	775,772	81.6
4. Philadelphia	1,517,550	655,824	43.2
5. Houston	1,953,631	494,496	25.3
6. Los Angeles	3,694,820	415,195	11.2
7. Baltimore	651,154	418,951	64.3
8. Memphis	650,100	399,208	61.4
9. District of Columbia	572,059	343,312	60.0
10. New Orleans	484,674	325,947	67.3

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2005, and earlier reports.

FIGURE 9.10

African-American population by U.S. region, 1790–2000

	Region	Total population of region	Black population of region	% of U.S. black population in region	% of regional population black
1790	Northeast	1,968,040	67,120	8.86	3.41
	Midwest	0	0	0.00	0.00
	Southeast	1,961,174	690,061	91.13	35.19
	South Central	0	0	—	—
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1800	Northeast	2,635,576	83,066	8.29	3.15
	Midwest	51,006	635	0.06	1.24
	Southeast	2,621,901	918,336	91.65	35.03
	South Central	0	0	—	—
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1810	Northeast	3,486,675	102,237	7.42	2.93
	Midwest	292,107	7,072	0.51	2.42
	Southeast	3,383,481	1,226,254	89.00	36.24
	South Central	77,618	42,245	3.07	54.43
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1820	Northeast	4,359,916	110,724	6.25	2.54
	Midwest	859,305	18,260	1.03	2.12
	Southeast	4,251,552	1,515,784	85.56	35.65
	South Central	167,680	81,216	4.58	48.44
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1830	Northeast	5,542,381	125,214	5.38	2.26
	Midwest	1,610,473	41,543	1.78	2.58
	Southeast	5,461,721	2,030,870	87.21	37.18
	South Central	246,127	131,015	5.63	53.23
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1840	Northeast	6,761,082	142,324	4.95	2.11
	Midwest	3,351,542	89,347	3.11	2.67
	Southeast	6,500,744	2,427,623	84.48	37.34
	South Central	449,985	214,354	7.46	47.64
	Mountain	0	0	—	—
	Pacific	0	0	—	—
1850	Northeast	8,626,851	149,762	4.12	1.74
	Midwest	5,403,595	135,607	3.73	2.51
	Southeast	8,042,361	2,983,661	82.00	37.10
	South Central	940,251	368,537	10.13	39.20
	Mountain	72,927	72	0.00	0.10
	Pacific	105,891	1,169	0.03	1.10
1860	Northeast	10,594,268	156,001	3.51	1.47
	Midwest	9,096,716	184,239	4.15	2.03
	Southeast	9,385,694	3,452,558	77.73	36.79
	South Central	1,747,667	644,553	14.51	36.88
	Mountain	174,923	235	0.01	0.13
	Pacific	444,063	4,244	0.10	0.96
1870	Northeast	12,298,730	179,738	3.68	1.46
	Midwest	12,981,111	273,080	5.60	2.10
	Southeast	10,258,055	3,680,957	75.43	35.88
	South Central	2,029,965	739,854	15.16	36.45
	Mountain	315,385	1,555	0.03	0.49
	Pacific	675,125	4,825	0.10	0.71
1880	Northeast	14,507,407	229,417	3.49	1.58
	Midwest	17,364,111	385,621	5.86	2.22
	Southeast	13,182,348	4,866,198	73.95	36.91
	South Central	3,334,220	1,087,705	16.53	32.62
	Mountain	653,119	5,022	0.08	0.77
	Pacific	1,147,578	6,830	0.10	0.60

[continued]

African-American population by U.S. region, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	Region	Total population of region	Black population of region	% of U.S. black population in region	% of regional population black
1890	Northeast	17,406,969	269,906	3.60	1.55
	Midwest	22,410,417	431,112	5.76	1.92
	Southeast	15,287,076	5,382,487	71.88	35.21
	South Central	4,740,983	1,378,090	18.40	29.07
	Mountain	1,213,935	12,971	0.17	1.07
	Pacific	1,920,334	14,110	0.19	0.73
1900	Northeast	21,046,695	385,020	4.36	1.83
	Midwest	26,333,004	495,751	5.61	1.88
	Southeast	17,991,237	6,228,903	70.51	I34.62
	South Central	6,532,290	1,694,066	19.18	25.93
	Mountain	1,674,607	15,590	0.18	0.93
	Pacific	2,634,692	14,664	0.17	0.56
1910	Northeast	25,868,573	484,176	4.93	1.87
	Midwest	29,888,542	543,498	5.53	1.82
	Southeast	20,604,796	6,765,001	68.84	32.83
	South Central	8,784,534	1,984,426	20.19	22.59
	Mountain	2,633,517	21,467	0.22	0.82
	Pacific	4,448,304	30,195	0.31	0.68
1920	Northeast	29,662,053	679,234	6.49	2.29
	Midwest	34,019,792	793,075	7.58	2.33
	Southeast	22,883,579	6,848,652	65.46	29.93
	South Central	10,242,224	2,063,579	19.72	20.15
	Mountain	3,336,101	30,801	0.29	0.92
	Pacific	5,877,819	47,790	0.46	0.81
1930	Northeast	34,427,091	1,146,985	9.65	3.33
	Midwest	38,594,100	1,262,234	10.62	3.27
	Southeast	25,680,803	7,079,626	59.54	27.57
	South Central	12,176,830	2,281,951	19.19	18.74
	Mountain	3,701,789	30,225	0.25	0.82
	Pacific	8,622,047	90,122	0.76	1.05
1940	Northeast	35,976,777	1,369,875	10.65	3.81
	Midwest	40,143,332	1,420,318	11.04	3.54
	Southeast	28,601,376	7,479,498	58.13	26.15
	South Central	13,064,525	2,425,121	18.85	18.56
	Mountain	4,150,003	36,411	0.28	0.88
	Pacific	10,229,116	134,691	1.05	1.32
1950	Northeast	39,477,986	2,018,182	13.42	5.11
	Midwest	44,460,762	2,227,876	14.81	5.01
	Southeast	32,659,516	7,793,379	51.81	23.86
	South Central	14,537,572	2,432,028	16.17	16.73
	Mountain	5,074,998	66,429	0.44	1.31
	Pacific	15,114,964	507,043	3.37	3.35
1960	Northeast	44,677,823	3,028,499	16.05	6.78
	M	51,619,139	3,446,037	18.26	6.68
	Southeast	38,021,858	8,543,404	45.27	22.47
	South Central	16,951,255	2,768,203	14.67	16.33
	Mountain	6,855,060	123,242	0.65	1.80
	Pacific*	21,198,044	962,446	5.10	4.54
1970	Northeast	49,040,703	4,344,153	19.24	8.86
	Midwest	56,571,633	4,571,550	20.25	8.08
	Southeast	43,474,807	8,959,787	39.68	20.61
	South Central	19,320,560	3,010,174	13.33	15.58
	Mountain	8,281,562	180,382	0.80	2.18
	Pacific	26,522,631	1,514,243	6.71	5.71
1980	Northeast	49,165,283	4,849,969	18.18	9.86
	Midwest	58,886,670	5,332,907	19.99	9.06
	Southeast	51,625,566	10,617,734	39.79	20.57
	South Central	23,746,816	3,521,048	13.20	14.83
	Mountain	11,372,785	267,538	1.00	2.35
	Pacific	31,799,705	1,993,153	7.47	6.27

[continued]

African-American population by U.S. region, 1790–2000 [CONTINUED]

	Region	Total population of region	Black population of region	% of U.S. black population in region	% of regional population black
1990	Northeast	50,809,229	5,613,222	18.72	11.05
	Midwest	59,668,632	5,715,940	19.06	9.58
	Southeast	58,725,137	11,900,363	39.69	20.26
	South Central	26,702,793	3,718,126	12.40	13.92
	Mountain	13,658,776	373,584	1.25	2.74
	Pacific	39,127,306	2,454,426	8.19	6.27
2000	Northeast	53,594,000	6,100,000	11.4	17.6
	Midwest	64,393,000	6,500,000	10.0	18.8
	South	100,237,000	18,982,000	18.9	54.8
	West	63,198,000	3,077,000	4.9	8.9

Geographic Distribution 1790–1990:
Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Virginia, West Virginia
South Central: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas
Southeast: Alabama, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.
Mountain: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming
Pacific: Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington

Geographic Distribution, 2000:
Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont.
Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin.
South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.
West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

* Includes Alaska and Hawaii for first time.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census Release, 1991, 2000; and *Statistical Abstract, 1990.*

FIGURE 10.1

Estimated membership of predominantly black denominations in the U.S., 1947–1993

Denomination (year of founding)	1950–1975 Year	Churches	Members	1976–1993 Year	Churches	Members
African Orthodox Churches						
African Orthodox Church (1921)	1957	24	6,000	1971*	—	10,000
African Orthodox Church of the West (1984)	—	—	—	1985	2	200
Baptist Bodies						
Black Primitive Baptists (1877)	1970	43	3,000	—	—	—
Fundamental Baptist Fellowship Association (1962)	1970	10	—	—	—	—
National Baptist Convention of America (1915)	1956	1,398	2,668,799	1987	2,500	3,500,000
National Baptist Convention of the United States of America, Inc. (1895)	1958	26,000	5,500,000	1991	30,000	7,800,000
National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the United States of America (1920)	1951	264	57,674	—	—	—
National Primitive Baptist Convention of the United States of America (1907)	1975	606	250,000	1991	—	250,000
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. (1961)	—	—	—	1991	1,400	2,500,000
United Free-Will Baptist Church (1901)	—	—	—	1992	836	100,000
Black Hebrews						
Church of God and Saints of Christ (1896)	—	—	—	1991	217	38,127
House of Judah (1965)	—	—	—	1985	1	80
Original Hebrew Israelite Nation (1960)	—	—	—	1980	—	3,000
Yahweh's Temple (1947)	1973	—	10,000	—	—	—
Catholic Bodies						
American Catholic Church (Syro–Antiochean) (1930s)	1961	40	4,663	1979	3	501
Sacred Heart Catholic Church (1980)	—	—	—	1983	3	50
The Coptic Orthodox Church	—	—	—	1992	55	260,000
International Council Of Community Churches (1946)	—	—	—	1988	300	250,000
Kodesh Church of Immanuel (1829)	—	—	—	1980	5	326
Methodist Bodies						
African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816)	1951	5,878	1,666,301	1991	8,000	3,500,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1821)	1959	4,083	770,000	1991	3,000	1,200,000
African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church (1866)	—	—	—	1988	35	6,500
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (1870)	1961	2,523	444,493	1988	—	788,922
Free Christian Zion Church of Christ (1905)	1956	742	22,260	—	—	—
Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church (1885)	1970	21	5,000	1980	33	3,800
Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church (1869)	1960	50	16,000	—	—	—
Mount Hebron Apostolic Temple of Our Lord Jesus of the Apostolic Faith (1963)	—	—	—	1980	9	3,000

[continued]

Estimated membership of predominantly black denominations in the U.S., 1947–1993 [CONTINUED]

	1950–1975			1976–1993		
Denomination (year of founding)	**Year**	**Churches**	**Members**	**Year**	**Churches**	**Members**
Muslim Bodies						
Muslims	—	—	—	1993	—	1,000,000
Nation of Islam (Farrakhan) (1978)	—	—	—	1989	—	20,000
Pentecostal Bodies						
Alpha and Omega Pentecostal Church of God of America, Inc. (1945)	1970	3	400	1990	—	800
Apostolic Assemblies of Christ, Inc. (1970)	—	—	—	1980	23	3,500
Apostolic Church of Christ (1969)	1980*	6	300	1900	10	600
Apostolic Church of Christ in God	—	—	—	1980	13	2,150
Apostolic Faith Mission Church of God (1906)	—	—	—	1989	18	6,200
Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God (1920)	1956	300	75,000	1988	200	12,000
The Bible Church of Christ	—	—	—	1991	6	6,812
Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ World Wide (1957)	1970	350	30,000	1991	300	250,000
Christ's Sanctified Holy Church (Louisiana) (1904)	1957	30	600	—	—	—
Church of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A. (1907)	1965	159	9,289	1990	189	12,890
Church of God in Christ (1906)	1965	4,500	425,000	1991	15,300	5,477,875
Church of God in Christ, Congregational (1932)	1970	33	—	—	—	—
Church of God in Christ, International (1969)	1971	1,041	501,000	1982	300	200,000
Church of God (Sanctified Church) (1901)	1975	60	5,000	1991	69	6,000
Church of the Living God (Christian Workers for Fellowship) (1889)	—	—	—	1985	170	42,000
Church of Living God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth (1903)	—	—	—	1988	100	2,000
Church of the Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith (1919)	1954	155	30,000	1993	457	81,000
Churches of God, Holiness (1914)	1967	42	165,000	—	—	—
Commandment Keepers Congregation of the Living God (1924)	1970	—	3,000	—	—	—
Fire-Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas (1908)	1958	53	998	1991	49	695
Highway Christian Church of Christ (1929)	1980*	13	3,000	1991	—	900
House of God, Which Is the Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth, Inc. (1919)	1956	107	2,350	1970*	103	25,800
Latter House of the Lord for All People and the Church of the Mountain, Apostolic Faith (1936)	1947	—	4,000	—	—	—
Mount Sinai Holy Church (1924)	1968	92	2,000	1991	125	10,000
Original Glorious Church of God in Christ Apostolic Faith (1921)	—	—	—	1980	55	25,000
Original United Holy Church International (1977)	—	—	—	1985	210	15,000
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (1906)	1960	550	4,500	1989	1,005	500,000
Pentecostal Churches of Apostolic Faith (1957)	—	—	—	1991	128	151,000
Shiloh Apostolic Temple (1953)	—	—	—	1985	33	7,500
Sought Out Church of God in Christ	1949	4	60	—	—	—
Triumph the Church and Kingdom of God in Christ (1902)	1972	475	54,307	—	—	—
United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) (1945)	—	—	—	1985	75	100,000
United Holy Church of America (1886)	1960	470	28,890	1970*	470	50,000
United Way of the Cross Churches of Christ of the Apostolic Faith	1980*	14	1,100	1990	14	1,002
Universal Christian Spiritual Faith and Churches for All Nations (1952)	1965	60	40,816	—	—	—
Way of the Cross Church of Christ (1927)	1980	48	50,000	1987	68	60,000

[continued]

Estimated membership of predominantly black denominations in the U.S., 1947–1993 [CONTINUED]

	1950–1975			1976–1993		
Denomination (year of founding)	**Year**	**Churches**	**Members**	**Year**	**Churches**	**Members**
Presbyterian Bodies						
Second Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the United States (1874)	1959	221	30,000	—	—	—

* Most recent data available

SOURCE: "Black Americans and the Churches," in *Religions of America* (New York, 1975); *Black Americans Information Directory (1990–91)* (New York, 1990); *Directory of African American Religious Bodies: A Compendium by the Howard University School of Divinity* (Washington, D.C., 1991); "The Negro in American Religious Life," in *The American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970); *Statistical Record of Black America* (Detroit, 1990); *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches: 1993* (Nashville, Tenn., 1992); *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches: 1992* (Nashville, Tenn., 1991); *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches: 1973* (Nashville, Tenn., 1973). Membership figures provided by denominations themselves, which use different criteria to determine them.

FIGURE 10.2

Membership of racially mixed denominations in the U.S., 1890, 1916, and 1936

	1890		1916		1936	
Denomination	**Black members**	**Total members**	**Black members**	**Total members**	**Black members**	**Total members**
Adventist Bodies						
Advent Christian	—	25,816	317	30,597	—	26,258
Seventh-Day	—	28,991	2,553	79,355	6,367	133,254
Baptist Bodies						
Northern Convention	35,221	800,025	53,842	1,232,135	45,821	1,329,044
Congregational Church	6,908	512,771	13,209	791,274	20,437	976,388
Disciples of Christ	18,578	641,051	11,478	1,226,028	21,950	1,196,315
Lutheran Bodies						
Synodical Conference	211	357,153	1,525	777,701	8,985	1,463,482
Methodist Bodies						
Methodist Episcopal	246,249	2,240,354	320,025	3,717,785	193,761	3,509,763
Methodist Protestant	3,183	141,989	2,869	186,908	2,321	148,288
Moravian Bodies						
Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum)	—	11,781	419	26,373	628	30,904
Presbyterian Bodies						
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	14,961	788,224	31,957	1,611,251	279	449,045
Presbyterian Church in the United States	1,568	179,721	1,429	357,769	2,971	1,797,927
Protestant Episcopal Church	2,977	532,054	23,775	1,092,821	29,738	1,735,335
Reformed Episcopal Church	1,723	8,455	3,017	11,050	2,434	7,656
Roman Catholic Church	17,079	6,231,417	51,688	15,721,815	137,684	19,914,937
Salvation Army	—	8,741	—	35,954	436	103,038

SOURCES: *Report on Statistics of Churches of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1894); *Religious Bodies: 1916* (Washington, D.C., 1919); *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington, D.C., 1941).

FIGURE 10.3

Membership of racially mixed denominations in the U.S., 1963–1992

Denomination	Year	Black membership	Total membership
American Baptist Convention	1964	200,000	1,559,103
	1990	496,000	1,535,971
Christian Churches	1964	80,000	1,920,760
(Disciples of Christ)	1992	61,000	1,039,692
Congregational Christian	1964	38,000	110,000
Churches	1992	9,000	75,000
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	1991	15,147	2,609,025
Mennonite Church	1992	3,476	114,307
Protestant Episcopal Church	1963	73,867	3,340,759
	1990	250,000	2,446,050
Reformed Episcopal Church	1992	3,184	6,042
Roman Catholic Church	1964	722,609	45,640,619
	1990	2,000,000	58,568,015
Seventh-Day Adventists	1964	167,892	370,688
	1990	280,000	717,446
United Church of Christ	1964	21,859	2,056,696
	1989	62,048	1,662,568
United Methodist Church	1964	373,327	10,304,184
	1992	257,436	8,853,455
United Presbyterian Church	1964	6,000	3,302,839
in the United States of America	1990	65,000	3,788,009

FIGURE 11.1

African-American members of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, N.Y.

Year inducted	Member	Born-Died
1962	Jack R. Robinson	1919–1972
1969	Roy Campanella	1921–1993
1971	Leroy R. "Satchel" Paige*	1906–1982
1972	Joshua Gibson*	1911–1947
	Walter F. "Buck" Leonard*	1907–1997
1973	Roberto W. Clemente	1934–1972
	Monford "Monte" Irvin*	1919—
1974	James T. "Cool Papa" Bell*	1903–1991
1975	William J. "Judy" Johnson*	1900–1989
1976	Oscar M. Charleston*	1896–1954
1977	Ernest Banks	1931—
	Martin Dihigo*	1905–1971
1979	Willie H. Mays	1931—
1981	Andrew "Rube" Foster*	1878–1930
	Robert Gibson	1935—
1982	Henry L. Aaron	1934—
	Frank Robinson	1935—
1983	Juan A. Marichal	1937—
1985	Louis C. Brock	1939—
1986	Willie L. McCovey	1938—
1987	Raymond E. Dandridge*	1913—
	Billy Williams	1938—
1988	Wilver D. Stargell	1940—
1990	Joe L. Morgan	1943—
1991	Rodney C. Carew	1945—
	Ferguson A. Jenkins	1943—
1993	Reginald M. Jackson	1946—
1995	Leon Day*	1916–1995
1996	Bill Foster*	1904–1978
1997	Willie Wells*	1906–1989
1998	Larry Doby	1924–2003
	Wilber "Bullet" Joe Rogan*	1889–1967
1999	Orlando Cepeda	1937—
	Joe Williams*	1886–1951
2000	Tony Pérez	1942—
	Turkey Stearnes*	1901–1979
2001	Kirby Puckett	1961—
	Hilton Smith*	1907–1983
	Dave Winfield	1951—
2002	Ozzie Smith	1954—
2003	Eddie Murray	1956—

* Members of the Negro League.

FIGURE 11.2

African-American members of the National Track & Field Hall of Fame, Indianapolis, Ind.

Year inducted	Member	Born-Died
1974	Ralph Boston	1939–
	Lee Calhoun	1933–1989
	Harrison Dillard	1923–
	Rafer Johnson	1935–
	Jesse Owens	1913–1980
	Mal Whitfield	1924–
	Wilma Rudolph	1940–
1975	Alice Coachman (Davis)	1932–
	Edward Hurt	1900–1989
	Ralph Metcalfe	1910–1978
1976	Mae Faggs (Starrs)	1932–
	Bob Hayes	1942–2002
	Hayes Jones	1938–
1977	Bob Beamon	1946–
	Andy Stanfield	1927–1985
1978	Tommie Smith	1944–
	John Woodruff	1915–
1979	Jim Hines	1946–
	Dehart Hubbard	1903–1976
	Edith McGuire (DuVall)	1944–
1980	Dave Albritton	1913–1944
	Wyomia Tyus Tillman	1945–
1981	Willye White	1939–
1982	Willie Davenport	1943–2002
	Eddie Tolan	1908–1967
1983	Lee Evans	1947–
	Mildred McDaniel (Singleton)	1933–2004
	LeRoy Walker	1918–
1984	Madeline Manning (Mims)	1948–
	Joseph Yancey	1910–1991
1985	John Thomas	1941–
1986	Barney Ewell	1918–1996
1987	Eulace Peacock	1914–996
	Martha Watson	1946–
1988	Greg Bell	1928–
	Barbara Ferrell (Edmonson)	1947–
1989	Milt Campbell	1933–
	Nell Jackson	1929–1988
	Ed Temple	1927–
1990	Charles Dumas	1937–2004
1992	Charles Greene	1944–
	Charlie Jenkins	1934–
	Archie Williams	1915–1993
1993	Rod Milburn	1950–1997
	Stan Wright	1921–1998
1994	Cornelius Johnson	1913–1946
	Edwin Moses	1955–
1995	Valerie Brisco-Hooks	1960–
	Florence Griffith-Joyner	1959–
1996	Cleve Abbott	1894–1955

[continued]

African-American members of the National Track & Field Hall of Fame, Indianapolis, Ind. [CONTINUED]

Year inducted	Member	Born-Died
1997	Evelyn Ashford	1957–
	Henry Carr	1942–
	Renaldo Nehemiah	1959–
1999	Willie Banks	1956–
	Larry Ellis	1929–1998
2000	John Borican	1913–1943
	Chandra Cheeseborough	1959–
2001	Carl Lewis	1961–
	Larry Myricks	1956–
2002	Gwen Torrence	1965–
2003	John Carlos	1945–
	Larry James	1947–

FIGURE 11.3

African-American Olympic medalists

1904: St. Louis, Missouri, USA		
George C. Poage	bronze	400-m hurdles
	bronze	200-m hurdles
1908: London, England		
John Baxter Taylor	gold	4 x 400-m relay
1924: Paris, France		
Edward Gourdin	silver	long jump
William DeHart Hubbard	gold	long jump
Earl Johnson	bronze	10,000-m cross country
1932: Los Angeles, Calif.		
Edward Gordon	gold	long jump
Ralph Metcalfe	silver	100-m dash
	bronze	200-m dash
Eddie Tolan	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
1936: Berlin, Germany		
David Albritton	silver	high jump
Cornelius Johnson	gold	high jump
James Luvalle	bronze	400-m dash
Ralph Metcalfe	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Jesse Owens	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
	gold	long jump
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Fritz Pollard, Jr.	bronze	110-m hurdles
Mack Robinson	silver	200-m dash
Archie Williams	gold	400-m run
Jackie Wilson	silver	boxing (bantam weight)
John Woodruff	gold	800-m run
1948: London, England		
Women		
Alice Coachman	gold	high jump
Audrey Patterson	bronze	200-m dash
Men		
Don Barksdale	gold	basketball
John Davis	gold	weightlifting (heavyweight)
Harrison Dillard	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Norwood Ewell	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Horace Herring	silver	boxing (welter weight)
Willie Steele	gold	long jump
Mal Whitfield	gold	800-m run
Lorenzo Wright	gold	4 x 100-m relay
1952: Helsinki, Finland		
Women		
Mae Faggs	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Catherine Hardy	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Barbara Jones	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Men		
Charles Adkins	gold	boxing (light welterweight)

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Jerome Biffle	gold	long jump
James Bradford	silver	weightlifting (heavyweight)
Nathan Brooks	gold	boxing (flyweight)
Milton Campbell	silver	decathalon
John Davis	gold	weightlifting (heavyweight)
Harrison Dillard	gold	110-m hurdles
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Meredith Gourdine	silver	long jump
Norvel Lee	gold	boxing (light heavyweight)
Ollie Matson	silver	4 x 400-m relay
	bronze	400-m dash
Floyd Patterson	gold	boxing (middle-weight)
Edward Hayes Sanders	gold	boxing (heavy-weight)
Andrew Stanfield	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Mal Whitfield	gold	800-m run
	silver	4 x 400-m relay
1956: Melbourne, Australia		
Women		
Isabelle Danielles	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Mae Faggs	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Margaret Matthews	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Mildred McDaniel	gold	high jump
Wilma Rudolph	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Willye White	silver	long jump
Men		
Greg Bell	gold	long jump
James Boyd	gold	boxing (light heavyweight)
Carl Cain	gold	basketball
Lee Calhoun	gold	110-m hurdles
Milton Campbell	gold	decathalon
Josh Culbreath	bronze	400-m hurdles
Charles Dumas	gold	high jump
Charles Jenkins	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	gold	400-m dash
Rafer Johnson	silver	decathalon
K.C. Jones	gold	basketball
Lou Jones	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Leamon King	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Ira Murchison	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Bill Russell	gold	basketball
Andrew Stanfield	silver	200-m dash
Jose Torres	silver	boxing (light middleweight)
1960: Rome, Italy		
Women		
Earline Brown	bronze	shot put
Martha Hudson	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Barbara Jones	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Wilma Rudolph	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Lucinda Williams	gold	4 x 100-m relay

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Men		
Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali)	gold	boxing (light-heavyweight)
Walt Bellamy	gold	basketball
Bob Boozer	gold	basketball
Ralph Boston	gold	long jump
James Bradford	silver	weightlifting (heavyweight)
Lee Calhoun	gold	110-m hurdles
Lester Carney	silver	200-m dash
Edward Crook	gold	boxing (middle-weight)
Quincey Daniels	bronze	boxing (light welterweight)
Otis Davis	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Rafer Johnson	gold	decathalon
Hayes Jones	bronze	110-m hurdles
Willie May	silver	110-m hurdles
Wilbert McClure	gold	boxing (light middleweight)
Irvin Roberson	silver	long jump
Oscar Robertson	gold	basketball
John Thomas	bronze	high jump
1964: Tokyo, Japan		
Women		
Edith McGuire	gold	200-m dash
	silver	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Wyomia Tyus	gold	100-m dash
	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Marilyn White	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Willye White	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Men		
Jim Barnes	gold	basketball
Ralph Boston	silver	long jump
Charles Brown	bronze	boxing (feather-weight)
Joe Caldwell	gold	basketball
Henry Carr	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Paul Drayton	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	200-m dash
Joseph "Joe" Frazier	gold	boxing (heavy-weight)
Ronald Harris	bronze	boxing (light-weight)
Bob Hayes	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Walt Hazzard	gold	basketball
Luke Jackson	gold	basketball
Hayes Jones	gold	110-m hurdles
John Rambo	bronze	high jump
Richard Stebbins	gold	4 x 100-m relay
John Thomas	silver	high jump
Ulis Williams	gold	4 x 400-m relay
George Wilson	gold	basketball

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

1968: Mexico City, Mexico		
Women		
Margaret Bailes	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Barbara Ferrell	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Madeline Manning	gold	800-m run
Mildrette Netter	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Wyomia Tyus	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Men		
John Lee Baldwin	bronze	boxing (light middleweight)
Bob Beamon	gold	long jump
Ralph Boston	bronze	long jump
John Carlos	bronze	200-m dash
Edward Caruthers	silver	high jump
Willie Davenport	gold	110-m hurdles
Lee Evans	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
George Foreman	gold	boxing (heavy-weight)
Calvin Fowles	gold	basketball
Ron Freeman	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	bronze	400-m dash
Charles Greene	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	bronze	100-m dash
Ervin Hall	silver	110-m hurdles
Ronald Harris	gold	boxing (light-weight)
Spencer Haywood	gold	basketball
James Hines	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Larry James	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	silver	400-m dash
Alfred Jones	bronze	boxing (middle-weight)
James King	gold	basketball
Harlan Marbley	bronze	boxing (light flyweight)
Vincent Mathews	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Melvin Pender	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Albert Robinson	silver	boxing (feather-weight)
Charlie Scott	gold	basketball
Ronnie Smith	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Tommie Smith	gold	200-m dash
James Wallington	bronze	boxing (light welterweight)
Jo Jo White	gold	basketball
1972: Munich, West Germany		
Women		
Mable Ferguson	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Madeline Manning	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Cheryl Toussaint	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Men		
Mike Bantom	silver	basketball

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Larry Black	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	200-m dash
Jim Brewer	silver	basketball
Ricardo Carreras	bronze	boxing (bantam-weight)
Wayne Collett	silver	400-m dash
James Forbes	silver	basketball
Eddie Hart	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Tom Henderson	silver	basketball
Marvin L. Johnson	bronze	boxing (middle-weight)
Dwight Jones	silver	basketball
Vincent Mathews	gold	400-m dash
Rod Milburn	gold	110-m hurdles
Ed Ratleff	silver	basketball
Arnie Robinson	bronze	long jump
Ray Seales	gold	boxing (light-welterweight)
Robert Taylor	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Gerald Tinker	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Randy Williams	gold	long jump
1976: Montreal, Canada		
Women		
Rosalyn Bryant	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Anita DeFrantz	bronze	rowing (eights with coxswain)
Lusia Harris	silver	basketball
Sheila Ingram	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Pamela Jiles	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Charlotte Lewis	silver	basketball
Gail Marquis	silver	basketball
Patricia Roberts	silver	basketball
Deborah Sapenter	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Men		
David Lee Armstrong	silver	boxing (feather-weight)
Benny Brown	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Quinn Buckner	gold	basketball
James Butts	silver	triple jump
Kenny Carr	gold	basketball
Allen Coage	bronze	judo
Adrian Dantley	gold	basketball
Willie Davenport	bronze	110-m hurdles
Howard Davis	gold	boxing (light-weight)
Dwayne Evans	bronze	200-m dash
Phil Ford	gold	basketball
Herman Frazier	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	bronze	400-m dash
Harvey Glance	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Millard Hampton	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	200-m dash
Phil Hubbard	gold	basketball
John Jones	gold	4 x 100-m relay

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Lloyd Keaser	silver	wrestling (freestyle)
"Sugar" Ray Leonard	gold	boxing (light-welterweight)
Scott May	gold	basketball
Charles Michael Mooney	silver	boxing (bantam-weight)
Edwin Moses	gold	400-m hurdles
Fred Newhouse	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	silver	400-m dash
Maxie Parks	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Leo Randolph	gold	boxing (flyweight)
Arnie Robinson	gold	long jump
Steve Riddick	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Steve Sheppard	gold	basketball
Leon Spinks	gold	boxing (light-heavyweight)
Michael Spinks	gold	boxing (middle-weight)
Johnny Tate	bronze	boxing (heavy-weight)
Randy Williams	silver	long jump
1984: Los Angeles, California, USA		
Women		
Evelyn Ashford	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Jeanette Bolden	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Cathy Boswell	gold	basketball
Valerie Brisco-Hooks	gold	200-m dash
	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Alice Brown	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Judi Brown	silver	400-m hurdles
Rita Crockett	silver	volleyball
Chandra Cheeseborough	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	silver	400-m dash
Teresa Edwards	gold	basketball
Benita Fitzgerald-Brown	gold	100-m hurdles
Florence Griffith	silver	200-m dash
Sherri Howard	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Flo Hyman	silver	volleyball
Jackie Joyner	silver	heptathlon
Janice Lawrence	gold	basketball
Lillie Leatherwood	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Rose Magers	silver	volleyball
Pam McGee	gold	basketball
Cheryl Miller	gold	basketball
Kim Turner	bronze	100-m hurdles
Lynette Woodard	gold	basketball
Men		
Ray Armstead	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Alonzo Babers	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Kirk Baptiste	silver	200-m dash
Tyrell Biggs	gold	boxing (super heavyweight)

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Mark Breland	gold	boxing (welter-weight)
Ron Brown	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Mike Conley	silver	triple jump
Patrick Ewing	gold	basketball
Vern Fleming	gold	basketball
Greg Foster	silver	110-m hurdles
Greg Gibson	silver	wrestling (Greco-Roman)
Sam Graddy	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	100-m dash
Danny Harris	silver	400-m hurdles
Virgil Eugene Hill	silver	boxing (middle-weight)
Evander Holyfield	bronze	boxing (light heavyweight)
Earl Jones	bronze	800-m run
Michael Jordan	gold	basketball
Al Joyner	gold	triple jump
Roger Kingdom	gold	110-m hurdles
Carl Lewis	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
	gold	long jump
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Edward Liddie	bronze	judo
Steve McCroy	gold	boxing (flyweight)
Antonio McKay	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	bronze	400-m dash
Edwin Moses	gold	400-m hurdles
Sunder Nix	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Jerry Page	gold	boxing (light welterweight)
Sam Perkins	gold	basketball
Alvin Robertson	gold	basketball
Calvin Smith	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Frank Tate	gold	boxing (light middleweight)
Meldrick Taylor	gold	boxing (feather-weight)
Henry Tillman	gold	boxing (heavy-weight)
Waymon Tisdale	gold	basketball
Nelson Vails	gold	cycling
Peter Westbrook	bronze	fencing (saber)
Pernell Whitaker	gold	boxing (light-weight)
Leon Wood	gold	basketball
1988: Seoul, Korea		
Women		
Evelyn Ashford	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Valerie Brisco	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Alice Brown	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Cynthia Brown	gold	basketball
Victoria Bullett	gold	basketball
Diane Dixon	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Sheila Echols	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Teresa Edwards	gold	basketball
Bridgette Gordon	gold	basketball

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Florence Griffith-Joyner	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Denean Howard-Hill	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Jackie Joyner-Kersee	gold	heptathlon
	gold	long jump
Katrian McClain	gold	basketball
Teresa Weatherspoon	gold	basketball
Men		
Willie Anderson	silver	basketball
Stacey Augman	silver	basketball
Anthony Campbell	bronze	110-m hurdles
Vernell Coles	silver	basketball
Joe Deloach	gold	200-m dash
Romallis Ellis	bronze	boxing (lightweight)
Danny Everett	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Kenneth Gould	bronze	boxing (welterweight)
Hersey Hawkins	silver	basketball
Roy L. Jones II	silver	boxing (light middleweight)
Robert Kingdom	gold	110-m hurdles
Carl Lewis	gold	100-m dash
	gold	long jump
	silver	200-m dash
Steve Lewis	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Danny Manning	silver	basketball
Andrew Maynard	gold	boxing (light heavyweight)
Kennedy McKinney	gold	boxing (bantamweight)
Ray Mercer	gold	boxing (heavyweight)
Edwin Moses	bronze	400-m hurdles
Andre Phillips	gold	400-m hurdles
Mike Powell	silver	long jump
H Reid	silver	basketball
Harold “Butch” Reynolds	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	silver	400-m dash
Mitchell Richmond	silver	basketball
David Robinson	silver	basketball
Charles D. Smith	silver	basketball
Charles E. Smith	silver	basketball
1988: Calgary, Canada		
Debi Thomas	bronze	figure skating
1992: Barcelona, Spain		
Women		
Evelyn Ashford	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Victoria Bullett	bronze	basketball
Dedra Charles	bronze	basketball
Tara Cross-Battle	bronze	volleyball
Clarissa Davis	bronze	basketball
Gail Devers	gold	100-m dash
Medina Dixon	bronze	basketball
Sandra Farmer-Patrick	silver	400-m hurdles
Carlette Guidry	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Tammie Jackson	bronze	basketball
Carolyn Jones	bronze	basketball
Esther Jones	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Jackie Joyner-Kersee	gold	heptathlon

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

	bronze	long jump
Natasha Kaiser	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Ruth T. Lawanson	bronze	volleyball
Lavona Martin	silver	100-m hurdles
Katrina McClain	bronze	basketball
Jearl Miles	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Elaina Oden	bronze	volleyball
Kimberly Yvette Oden	bronze	volleyball
Vickie Orr	bronze	basketball
Tonya “Tee” Sanders	bronze	volleyball
Rochelle Stevens	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Gwen Torrence	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	silver	4 x 400-m relay
Janeene Vickers	bronze	basketball
Teresa Weatherspoon	bronze	basketball
Men		
Tim Austin	bronze	boxing (flyweight)
Charles Barkley	gold	basketball
Mike Bates	bronze	200-m dash
Chris Byrd	silver	boxing (middleweight)
Leroy Burrell	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Chris Campbell	bronze	wrestling (freestyle)
Mike Conley	gold	triple jump
Tony Dees	silver	110-m hurdles
Clyde Drexler	gold	basketball
Patrick Ewing	gold	basketball
Johnny Gray	bronze	800-m run
Joe Greene	bronze	long jump
Kevin Jackson	gold	wrestling (freestyle)
Michael Johnson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Earvin “Magic” Johnson	gold	basketball
Michael Johnson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Carl Lewis	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	gold	long jump
Steve Lewis	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	silver	400-m dash
Karl Malone	gold	basketball
Mike Marsh	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Dennis Mitchell	gold	4 x 100-m relay
	bronze	100-m dash
Kenny Monday	silver	wrestling (freestyle)
Scottie Pippen	gold	basketball
Mike Powell	silver	long jump
David Robinson	gold	basketball
Charles Simpkins	silver	triple jump
Rodney Smith	bronze	wrestling (Greco-Roman)
Quincy Watts	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Andrew Yalmon	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Kevin Young	gold	400-m hurdles
1996: Atlanta, Georgia, USA		
Women		
Kim Batten	silver	400-m hurdles
Ruthie Bolton	gold	basketball
Tonya Buford-Bailey	bronze	400-m hurdles
Chryste Gaines	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Dominique Dawes	bronze	gymnastics (floor exercise)
	gold	gymnastics (team)

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Gail Devears	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Teresa Edwards	gold	basketball
Kim Graham	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Jackie Joyner-Kersee	bronze	long jump
Venus Lacey	gold	basketball
Lisa Leslie	gold	basketball
Maicel Malone	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Katrina McClain	gold	lbasketball
Nikki McCray	gold	basketball
Carla McGhee	gold	basketball
Jearl Miles	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Inger Miller	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Brianna Scurry	gold	soccer
Dawn Staley	gold	basketball
Rochelle Stevens	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Sheryl Swoopes	gold	basketball
Gwen Torrence	bronze	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Linetta Wilson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Men		
Derrick Adkins	gold	400-m hurdles
Kurt Angle	gold	wrestling (freestyle)
Charles Austin	gold	high jump
Charles Barkley	gold	basketball
Terrance Cauthen	bronze	boxing (light-weight)
Mike Crear	silver	110-m hurdles
Calvin Davis	bronze	400-m hurdles
Jon Drummond	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Joe Greene	broze	long jump
Anfernee Hardaway	gold	basketball
Tim Harden	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Alvin Harrison	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Kenny Harrison	gold	triple jump
Grant Hill	gold	basketball
Allen Johnson	gold	110-m hurdles
Michael Johnson	gold	200-m dash
Carl Lewis	gold	long jump
Jair Lynch	silver	gymnastics (parallel bars)
Karl Malone	gold	basketball
Michael Marsh	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Anthuan Maybank	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Floyd Mayweather	bronze	boxing (feather-weight)
Reggie Miller	gold	basketball
Derek Mills	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Dennis Mitchell	silver	4 x 100-relay
Tim Montgomery	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Hakeem Olajuwon	gold	basketball
Dan O'Brien	gold	decathlon
Shaquille O'Neal	gold	basketball
Gary Payton	gold	basketball
Scottie Pippen	gold	basketball
Mitch Richmond	gold	basketball
David Reid	gold	boxing (light middleweight)
David Robinson	gold	basketball
Jason Rouser	gold	4 x 400-m relay
LaMont Smith	gold	4 x 400-m relay

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Antonio Tarver	bronze	boxing (light heavyweight)
Roshii Wells	bronze	boxing (middle-weight)
2000: Sydney, Australia		
Women		
Ruthie Bolton	gold	basketball
LaTasha Colander-Richardson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Teresa Edwards	gold	basketball
Torrie Edwards	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Chryste Gaines	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Yolanda Griffith	gold	basketball
Monique Hennagan	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Chamique Holdsclaw	gold	basketball
Marion Jones	gold	100-m dash
	gold	200-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
	bronze	long jump
Lisa Leslie	gold	basketball
Katrina McClain	gold	basketball
Nikki McCray	gold	basketball
Jearl Miles-Clark	gold	4 x 400-m relay
DeLisha Milton	gold	basketball
Melissa Morrison	bronze	100-m hurdles
Nanceen Perry	bronze	4 x 100-m relay
Brianna Scurry	silver	soccer
Danielle Slaton	silver	soccer
Dawn Staley	gold	basketball
Sheryl Swoopes	gold	basketball
Natalie Williams	gold	basketball
Men		
Shareef Abdur-Rahim	gold	basketball
Ray Allen	gold	basketball
Vin Baker	gold	basketball
Dain Blanton	gold	beach volleyball
Vince Carter	gold	basketball
Mike Crear	bronze	110-m hurdles
Jonathan Drummond	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Kevin Garnett	gold	basketball
Maurice Greene	gold	100-m dash
	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Tim Hardaway	gold	basketball
Alvin Harrison	silver	400-m dash
Calvin Harrison	gold	4 x 400-m relay
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Allan Houston	gold	basketball
Chris Huffins	bronze	decathlon
Lawrence Johnson	silver	pole vault
Michael Johnson	gold	400-m dash
	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Jason Kidd	gold	basketball
Brian Lewis	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Antonio McDyess	gold	basketball
Alonzo Mourning	gold	basketball
Gary Payton	gold	basketball
Antonio Pettigrew	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Steve Smith	gold	basketball
Angelo Taylor	gold	400-m hurdles
Jermain Taylor	bronze	boxing (light middleweight)

[continued]

African-American Olympic medalists [CONTINUED]

Terence Trammell	silver	110-m hurdles
Clarence Vinson	broze	boxing (bantam-weight)
Bernard Williams III	gold	4 x 100-m relay
Ricardo Williams	silver	boxing (light welterweight)
2004: Athens, Greece		
Women		
Swin Cash	gold	basketball
Tamika Catchings	gold	basketball
Crystal Cox	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Allyson Felix	silver	200-m dash
Yolanda Griffith	gold	basketball
Joanna Hayes	gold	100-m hurdles
Monique Henderson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Monique Hennagan	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Angela Hucles	gold	soccer
Shannon Johnson	gold	basketball
Lisa Leslie	gold	basketball
Melissa Morrison	bronze	100-m hurdles
Sanya Richards	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Ruth Riley	gold	basketball
Moushaumi Robinson	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Brianna Scurry	gold	soccer
Dawn Staley	gold	basketball
Sheryl Swoopes	gold	basketball
Tina Thompson	gold	basketball
DeeDee Trotter	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Lauryn Williams	silver	100-m dash
Men		
Carmelo Anthony	bronze	basketball
Carlos Boozer	bronze	basketball
Derrick Brew	gold	4 x 400-m relay
Shawn Crawford	gold	200-m dash
	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Andre Dirrell	bronxe	boxing (middle-weight)
Tim Duncan	bronze	basketball
Justin Gatlin	gold	100-m dash
	bronze	200-m dash
	silver	4 x 100-m relay
Maurice Greene	bronze	100-m dash
Otis Harris	silver	400-m dash
Allen Iverson	bronze	basketball
Lebron James	bronze	basketball
Richard Jefferson	bronze	basketball
Stephon Marbury	bronze	basketball
Shawn Marion	bronze	basketball
Lamar Odom	bronze	basketball
Emeka Okafor	bronze	basketball
Amaré Stoudemire	bronze	basketball
Terence Trammell	silver	110-m hurdles
Dwyane Wade	bronze	basketball
Andre Ward	gold	boxing (light heavyweight)
Bernard Williams	silver	200-m dash

FIGURE 11.4

First African-American players on Major League Baseball teams

Player	Date	Team
Jackie Robinson	4/47	Brooklyn Dodgers
Larry Doby	4/47	Cleveland Indians
Henry Thompson	7/47	St. Louis Browns
Henry Thompson	7/49	New York Giants
Sam Jethroe	4/50	Boston Braves
Sam Hairston	7/51	Chicago White Sox
Bob Trice	9/53	Philadelphia Athletics
Gene Baker	9/53	Chicago Cubs
Curt Roberts	4/54	Pittsburgh Pirates
Tom Alston	4/54	St. Louis Cardinals
Nino Escalera	4/54	Cincinnati Reds
Carlos Paula	9/54	Washington Senators
Elston Howard	4/55	New York Yankees
John Kennedy	4/57	Philadelphia Phillies
Ossie Virgil	6/58	Detroit Tigers
Pumpsie Green	7/59	Boston Red Sox

FIGURE 11.5

West Indies Cricket ("Windies") Board* Sticky Wicket West Indies Cricket Hall of Fame

Name	Country
Sir Vivian Richards	Antigua
Andy Roberts	Antigua
Michael Holding	Jamaica
Curtly Ambrose	Antigua
Lance Gibbs	Guyana
George Headley	Panama
Michael Holding	Jamaica
Brian Lara	Trinidad
Clive Lloyd	Guyana
Malcolm Marshall	Barbados
Sir Garfield Sobers	Barbados
Courtney Walsh	Jamaica
Sir Everton Weekes	Barbados

* Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad & Tobago, Winward Islands.

FIGURE 11.6

African-American members of the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Springfield, Mass.

Year inducted	Member	Born-Died
1963	New York Renaissance (team)	
1971	Robert L. "Bob" Douglas*	1884–1979
1974	William F. "Bill" Russell	1934–
1976	Elgin Baylor	1934–
	Charles T. "Tarzan" Cooper	1907–1980
1978	Wilton N. "Wilt" Chamberlain	1936–1999
	John B. McLendon, Jr.*	1915–1999
1979	Oscar P. "Big O" Robertson	1938–
1982	Clarence E. "Bighouse" Gaines*	1923–2005
	Harold E. "Hal" Greer	1936–
	Willis Reed, Jr.	1942–
1983	Samuel "Sam" Jones	1933–
1984	Nate Thurmond	1941–
1987	Walter "Walt" Frazier, Jr.	1945–
1988	Wesley S. "Wes" Unseld	1946–
1989	William "Pops" Gates	1917–1999
	K.C. Jones	1932–
	Leonard R. "Lenny" Wilkens+	1937–
1990	Earl "The Pearl" Monroe	1944–
	David "Dave" Bing	1943–
	Elvin E. Hayes	1945–
1991	Nathaniel "Nate" Archibald	1948–
1992	Connie "The Hawk" Hawkins	1942–
	Robert J. "Bob" Lanier	1948–
	Lusia Harris Stewart	1955–
1993	Walt Bellamy	1939–
	Julius W. "Dr. J" Erving II	1950–
	Calvin J. Murphy	1948–
1995	Kareem Abdul-Jabbar	1947–
	Cheryl Miller	1964–
1996	George Gervin	1952–
	David Thompson	1954–
1997	Alex English	1954–
1998	Marques Haynes	1926–
	Leonard "Lenny" Wilkens+	1937
1999	John Thompson*	1941–
2000	Robert "Bob" McAdoo	1951–
	Isiah Thomas	1961–
2001	John Chaney*	1932–
	Moses Malone	1955–
2002	The Harlem Globetrotters (team)	
	Earvin "Magic" Johnson	1959–
2003	Meadowlark Lemon	1935–
	Earl Lloyd	1928–
	Robert Parish	1953–
	James Worthy	1961–
2004	Clyde Drexler	1962–
	Maurice Stokes	1933–1970
	Lynette Woodard	1959–

* Coach
\+ Inducted as a player and a coach.

SOURCE: www.hoophall.com/index.htm

FIGURE 11.7

Negro League batting champions

Year	Player, Team	Average
Negro National League I		
1920	Cris Torriente, CAG	.411
1921	Charles Blackwell, STL	.448
1922	Heavy Johnson, KC	.389
1923	Cris Torriente, CAG	.412
1924	Dobie Moore, KC	.453
1925	Edgar Wesley, DET	.416
1926	Mule Suttles, STL	.418
1927	Red Parnell, BIR	.426
1928	Pythian Russ, CAG	.406
Negro National League		
1929	Mule Suttles, STL	.372
1930	Willie Wells, STL	.403
1931	Nat Rogers, MEM	.424
Negro National League II		
1933	Oscar Charleston, PIT	.372
1934	Jud Wilson, HG	.361
1935	Turkey Stearnes, CAG	.430
1936	Lazaro Salazar, NYC	.367
1937	Bill Wright, HG	.410
1938	Ray Dandridge, NWK	.404
1939	Bill Wright, BAL	.402
1940	Buck Leonard, HG	.383
1941	Monte Irvin, NWK	.463
1942	Willie Wells, NWK	.344
	Josh Gibson, HG	.344
1943	Josh Gibson, HG	.474
1944	Frank Austin, PHI	.390
1945	Josh Gibson, HG	.393
1946	Monte Irvin, NWK	.389
1947	Luis Marquez, HG	.417
1948	Buck Leonard, HG	.395
Eastern Colored League		
1923	Jud Wilson, BB	.373
1924	Pop Lloyd, BG	.433
1925	Oscar Charleston, BG	.445
1926	Robert Hudspeth, LG	.365
1927	Clarence Jenkins, BG	.398
1928	Pop Lloyd, LG	.564
Negro American League		
1929	Chino Smith, LG	.454
1930	John Beckwith, NY/BB	.480
1931	George Scales, NY/HG	.393
East-West League		
1932	Bill Perkins, CLE	.352
Negro American League		
1937	Willard Brown, KC	.371
1938	Willard Brown, KC	.356
1939	Willard Brown, KC	.336
1940	Chester Williams, MEM	.473
1941	Lyman Bostock, CAG	.488
1942	Ducky Davenport, BBB	.381
1943	Lester Lockett, BBB	.408
1944	Sam Jethroe, CLE	.353
1945	Sam Jethroe, CLE	.393
1946	Buck O'Neil, KC	.350
1947	John Ritchie, CAG	.381
1948	Artie Wilson, BBB	.402

FIGURE 11.8

Negro league teams*

Team	Years
Negro National League I	(1920–1931)
Birmingham Black Barons	(1925,1927–1930)
Chicago American Giants	(1920–1931)
Chicago Giants	(1920–1921)
Columbus Buckeyes	(1921)
Cuban Stars	(1920, 1922)
Cleveland Browns	(1924)
Cleveland Cubs	(1931)
Cleveland Elites	(1926)
Cleveland Hornets	(1927)
Cleveland Tate Stars	(1922)
Dayton Marcos	(1920, 1926)
Detroit Stars	(1920–1931)
Indianapolis ABCs	(1920–1926, 1931)
Kansas City Monarchs	(1920–1931)
Louisville White Sox	(1931)
Memphis Red Sox	(1924–1925, 1927–1930)
Milwaukee Bears	(1923)
Nashville Elite Giants	(1930)
Pittsburgh Keystones	(1922)
St. Louis Giants	(1920–1921)
Toledo Tigers	(1923)
Eastern Colored League/	(1923–1928)
American Negro League	(1929)
Bacharach Giants [Atlantic City]	(1923–1929)
Baltimore Black Sox	(1923–1929)
Brooklyn Royal Giants	(1923–1927)
Cuban Stars (East)	(1923–1929)
Harrisburg [Pa.] Giants	(1924–1927)
Hilldale [Philadelphia]	(1923–1927, 1929)
Homestead Grays	(1929)
Lincoln Giants [New York]	(1923–1926, 1928–1929)
Newark Stars	(1926)
Philadelphia Tigers	(1928)
Washington Potomacs	(1924)
Negro Southern League	(1920–1932)
Cole's American Giants (Chicago)	
Columbus (Ohio) Turfs	
Indianapolis ABCs	
Louisville Black Caps	
Memphis Red Sox	
Monroe Monarchs	
Montgomery Grey Sox	
Nashville Elite Giants	
East-West League	(Spring 1932)
Baltimore Black Sox	
Cleveland Stars	
Cuban Stars	
Hilldale [Philadelphia]	
Homestead [Pa.] Grays	
Newark Browns	

[continued]

Negro league teams* [CONTINUED]

Team	Years
Negro National League II	(1933–1948)
Bacharach Giants [Atlantic City]	(1934)
Baltimore Black Sox	(1933–1934)
Baltimore Elite Giants	(1938–1948)
Brooklyn Eagles	(1935)
Cleveland Giants	(1933)
Cleveland Red Sox	(1934)
Cole's American Giants [Chicago]	(1933–1935)
Columbus Blue Birds	(1933)
Columbus Elite Giants	(1935)
Detroit Stars	(1933)
Harrisburg-St.Louis Stars	(1943)
Homestead Grays[1]	(1935–1948)
Nashville Elite Giants	(1933–1934)
Newark Dodgers	(1934–1935)
Newark Eagles	(1936–1948)
New York Black Yankees	(1936–1948)
New York Cubans	(1935–1936, 1939–1948)
Philadelphia Stars	(1934–1948)
Pittsburgh Crawfords	(1933–1938)
Washington Black Senators	(1938)
Washington Elite Giants	(1936–1937)
Negro-American League	(1937–1950)
Atlanta Black Crackers	(1938)
Baltimore Elite Giants	(1949–1950)
Birmingham Black Barons	(1937–1938, 1940–1950)
Chicago American Giants	(1937–1950)
Cleveland Buckeyes	(1943–1948, 1950)
Cincinnati Buckeyes	(1942)
Cincinnati Tigers	(1937)
Cleveland Bears	(1939–1940)
Detroit Stars	(1937)
Houston Eagles	(1949–1950)
Indianapolis ABCs	(1938–1939)
Indianapolis Athletics	(1937)
Indianapolis Clowns[2]	(1943–1950)
Indianapolis Crawfords	(1940)
Jacksonville Red Caps	(1938, 1941–1942)
Kansas City Monarchs	(1937–1941, 1943–1950)
New York Cubans	(1949–1950)
Philadelphia Stars	(1949–1950)
St. Louis Stars	(1937, 1939, 1941)
Toledo Crawfords	(1939)

* Home cities have been identified where known.

(1) Sometimes referred to as Washington Homestead Grays.

(2) Cincinnati Clowns (1943); Cincinnati-Indianapolis Clowns (1944).

FIGURE 11.9

African-American members of the Pro Football Hall of Fame, Canton, Ohio

Year inducted	Member	Born-Died
1967	Emlen Tunnell	1925–1975
1968	Marion Motley	1920–1999
1969	Fletcher Joseph “Joe” Perry	1927–
1971	James N. Brown*	1936–
	Gene Upshaw	1945–
1972	Ollie Matson	1930–
1973	James Thomas Parker	1934–2005
1974	Richard “Night Train” Lane	1928–2002
1975	Roosevelt Brown	1932–2004
	Lenny Moore	1933–
1976	Len Ford	1926–1972
1977	Gale Sayers	1943–
	Bill Willis	1921–
1980	Herb Adderley	1939–
	David “Deacon” Jones	1938–
1981	Willie Davis	1934–
1983	Bobby Bell	1940–
	Bobby Mitchell	1935–
	Paul Warfield	1942–
1984	Willie Brown	1940–
	Charles Robert “Charley” Taylor	1942–
1985	Orenthal James “O.J.” Simpson	1947–
	Willie Lanier	1945–
1986	Ken Houston	1944–
1987	Charles Edward “Mean Joe” Greene	1946–
	John Henry Johnson	1929–
1988	Alan Page	1945–
1989	Mel Blount	1948–
	Art Shell	1946–
	Willie Wood	1936–
1990	Buck Buchanan	1940–1992
	Franco Harris	1950–
1991	Earl Campbell	1955–
1992	Lem Barney	1945–
	John Mackey	1941–
1993	Larry Little	1945–
	Walter Payton	1954–1999
1994	Tony Dorse	1919–2003
	Jimmy Johnson	1938–
	Leroy Kelly	1942–
1995	Lee Roy Selmon	1954–
	Kellen Winslow	1957–
1996	Charlie Joiner	1947–
	Mel Renfro	1941–
1997	Mike Haynes	1953–
1998	Mike Singletary	1958–
	Dwight Stephenson	1957–
1999	Eric Dickerson	1960–
	Ozzie Newsome	1956–
	Lawrence Taylor	1959–
2000	Ronnie Lott	1959–
2001	Jackie Slater	1954–
	Lynn Swann	1952–
2002	John Stallworth	1952–
2003	Marcus Allen	1960–
	Elvin Bethea	1946–
	James Lofton	1956–
2004	Carl Eller	1942–
	Barry Sanders	1968–
2005	Fritz Pollard	1894–1986

* James Brown was inducted into the Lacrosse Hall of Fame, Baltimore, Md., in 1957. As of 2005 he was the only African-American member of the Lacrosse Hall of Fame.

SOURCE: www.profootballhof.com

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